GUIDE TO THE EG1 ALBANIA FILE

[This file is concerned with the people and culture of twentieth-century Albania, including the Ghegs in the North and the Toscs in the South. Albania (the People's Republic of Albania, called Shqiperia by the Albanians) has been a national state since 1912, and has been under Communist control since 1944; and since 1961, has been rigidly aligned with Communist China. The economy today is government controlled. The lack of accessible resources, arable land, and trained work force make for slow growth. Agricultural production is low because of the lack of arable land and inefficient methods. Cereal crops for domestic use and exportable items, such as tobacco, fruits, and vegetables are the most important crops. Organized religion was destroyed by government action in 1967, but for the period covered by most of the sources in the file, the population was approximately 70% Muslim, 20% Eastern Orthodox and 10% Roman Catholic.

There are nine sources in the Albania file, numbered 2-4 and 6-11. All of them are in English. The major sources are 2: Durham, by a well-known folklorist, which contains materials on tribal groupings, law and blood feuds, rites of passage, sorcery and witchcraft, and medical beliefs; 8: Coon, by an American physical anthropologist, which contains a great deal of anthropometric and biological data on the Ghegs of Northern Albania, as well as general ethnographic information, and 10: Hasluck, by a foreign resident, which is concerned primarily with the tribal laws and legal procedures of the northern highlanders, but which contains a considerable amount of other data as well. Other sources in the file are 3: Redlich, a popular account which provides general

information on the Albanian kingdom up to 1936; 4: Garnett, by a folklorist, which is a compendium of information on the role of Albanian women; 6: Lane, a travel account which contains a good deal of superficial ethnographic data; 7: Amery, by a British intelligence agent, which describes guerrilla warfare in World War II; 9: Albania, which is the 1946 Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, and 11: United States, which is a concise statement on the administrative reorganization which occurred in 1953. Most of the materials in the file are concerned with the northern highlanders of Albania during the period 1910-1940. In addition, much of the material is quite superficial, which is not surprising considering the difficulties of obtaining information in this country during this century. The file is useful for some types of comparative research, but considerable caution should be exercised in using the materials, because the reliability of much of it is unknown. Probably the most reliable are the data of Hasluck, Durham and Coon. The file was processed between 1955 and 1962.]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

1. The Tribal System in North Albania

The tribal system seems to be a social stage through which mankind normally passes. Within historic times Europe was a welter of tribes, from which in the course of years have been evolved the present "Powers"—Powers which themselves are compounded each of several racial elements and whose frontiers are in a constant state of flux. 174

In Europe it is only in the Balkan peninsula that the tribal system survived intact into the twentieth century. The Great War has broken up the last tribe lands of Europe—Montenegro and North Albania; and as I lived for some time in each previous to the catastrophe, it seems worth while to record all the details I managed to collect about these interesting relics of a distant past.

The Balkans were tribal in Herodotus's day. Strabo (*ob.* A.D. 25) gives a clear account of the Illyrian and Epirotic tribes who is his time dwelt on the east coast of the Adriatic and had recently been subdued by Rome. "The Istri," says he, "are the first people on the Illyrian coast contiguous to Italy and the Carni. The present government has advanced the limits of Italy to Pola, a city of Istria." Now again, 1,900 years later, Italy has "advanced her limits"—and included Pola, and hankers after other districts which Strabo describes as under Roman rule. "Next come the Japodes, who are a warlike people, but were completely subdued by Augustus . . . the country is poor and the people live mainly on spelt and millet. Their armour is of the Celtic fashion. Their bodies are punctured like those of the other Illyrian and Thracian people." Next come the Liburnians with a city Scardona and a navigable river (the Kerka), and then the "coast of the Dalmatæ and their naval arsenal Salona. They were long at war with the Romans and had fifty considerable settlements, some of which had the rank of cities. Augustus burnt them down . . . then follows the river Narenta, and the peoples of the neighbourhood are the Duorizi, Ardæi, and Pleraii. . . . The Romans drove the Ardæi into the interior because the coast was infested by their piracies, and forced them to cultivate the land. But, as the country was barren, the nation was entirely ruined and nearly extinguished. The same happened to neighbouring nations. People once very powerful are now extinct or 175 105 101

175 reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani
105 among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

101 "Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived. Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Peligones*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

174 This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still
622 found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe
623 still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania. 619 173 [166]

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them. [648] [186 727]

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude. 619 173

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether 619 101 779

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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they penetrated yet farther into the Albanophone and Catholic Albanian mountains. In the latter case they have remained Albanian; in the former they have been Serbized, and have also acquired doubtless some Slav blood. That the Vlah (Roman-Illyrian) forms a considerable part of the present Albanian inhabitants is indicated by Brocardus's reference to "Latini" and Farlati's to "Blachia."

5. The Tribes of Montenegro up to 1913

The tribes of Montenegro, as they existed up to the beginning of the Great War, have not been recorded in English. I therefore describe them in some detail, for they are the last example of the development of a wholly tribal nation into a State in Europe. I say the last because the tribal system of Albania had disappeared, save in the Northern mountains, long before Albania became independent. When I first went to Montenegro in 1900 it consisted of about thirty tribes. I say "about," for some were recent compounds and not, strictly speaking, tribes.

Montenegro was divided into two parts—Montenegro and the Brda. The first was old Montenegro with some additions on the Herzegovinian side; the second, the mountain mass that borders on Albania. The real "plemé" (tribe) in each consisted of a group of people believing itself to be descended from a common male ancestor. In some cases there was a tale of some previous inhabitants, and in others of later settlers who had been admitted as part of the tribe. I regret that I did not collect the tale of ancestry of each tribe instead of the details of a few, but these will serve to show how a tribe was formed and developed.

Each tribe till recently was exogamous, except when the tribe descended from two or more separate stocks, which were then intermarriageable. Male blood alone counted.

Each tribe was divided into several "bratstvos" (groups of brothers literally) consisting of many cousins and brothers, each calling the other "brother" or "sister." In my time a bratstvo was not reckoned farther than and including second cousins; but in former days it extended farther. When I first lived in my guide's, Krsto's, house Njegushi, I was amazed at the number of his brothers. The neighbours were equally surprised by my narrow idea of a "brother." When I said I believed I had cousins whom I had never seen and whose names I did not know, all were horrified and said the English were no better than dogs. They could not understand a bratstvo that did not live on its own patch of ground. Scattering over the world they thought

[P-35-62 BLANK]

Ancient Albania

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THE Albanians, or *Shqipëtars*,[1] as they rightfully call themselves, inhabit the territory covered by ancient Epirus and the country of the Illyrians, a country extending from the old Montenegro on the north to the Gulf of Arta, or Ambracia, on the south, and from the coast of the Adriatic on the west to the central chain of the Pindus Mountains on the east, or, in other words, Albania is situated on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, southwest of Yugoslavia and north of Greece. Therefore, Albania is a Balkan country, not only because of her position, but principally by reason of her geographical characteristics, for the greater part of her area consists of the Balkan mountain ranges and her rivers belong to the same river system of the Balkan peninsula. Epirus is wild, mountainous and scenic; in fact, is the veritable Switzerland of the Balkans abounding in valleys of exceptional beauty and fertility.

000 The ancient Epirots were as distinct from

1 [i.e., Sons of Eagle; see category 116, p. xv -- Analyst]

Illyria

IN its beginning, the Kingdom of Illyria comprised the actual territories of Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and northern and central Albania with a large part of modern Serbia. But in the course of its development, it extended all along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. Scutari was its capital just as it is now the capital of central and northern Albania. These boundaries were never clearly defined, and the name "Illyria" was ethnological rather than a geographical term. The older Greek historians wrote of "the Illyrians" not so much as a solid people but in reference to those Illyrian tribes inhabiting the regions extending eastward from the Adriatic between Liburnia and Epirus. (The Latin name, "Illyricum," was not synonymous with Illyria, for it was a name applied to divisions of the Roman Empire, the boundaries of which were frequently changed and often included an area much greater than Illyria proper.)

of whom were born in Epirus (Albania). The brother of Aeacides, Alcetas, succeeded him, but Alcetas was put to death by his subjects in 295 B. C. and Pyrrhus became king in 295 and ruled until 272 B. C. It was the same Pyrrhus who led his people against the Romans in Southern Italy and Sicily for six years and gave to Epirus its sole time of historic importance.

Three reigns of little importance followed this mighty king, after which Epirus was governed by a magistrate elected annually in a general assembly at Passaron, capital of Molossia.

Due to Epirus' opposition to Rome, it was devastated in 168 B. C. and never recovered. Later, in 146 B. C., it became part of the Roman province of Macedonia, receiving the name of Epirus Vetus.

A few centuries later Epirus was overrun by Illyrians. But it remained for Scanderbeg the Great, in 1443, to unite more closely the Epirots and the Illyrians.

Albanian tradition claims that the name "Shqipetar,"[1] meaning "Son of the Eagle," is their rightful title, as the name "Albanian" is entirely foreign to them. This title,

[1] [Errata: should be Shqipëtar. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

101 "Shqipetar"[1] originated with Pyrrhus of Epirus. It is related that when the swiftness of his troops was praised, Pyrrhus proudly answered that this was natural, inasmuch as his soldiers were the sons of the eagle, their movement as the flight of the king of birds.

000 Subjection to Rome, however, did not mean that the Shqipetars[1] were to give up all hope for independence.

491 Eventually Albania became the passageway for the Roman legions on their way to the East. Embarking at Brindisi, the terminus of the Appian Way, they were transported to Dyrrachium (Durazzo—Durrës in Albanian language), continuing their journey on the Via Aegitana or Egnatia, the road bed of which is well preserved to the present day.

177 On the whole, Roman influence in Albania had been of little importance. Remains of Roman architecture and civilization may be seen throughout the country even today, but the influence of Rome in shaping the course of Albanian domestic culture or national life has been slight or was completely absorbed by later invasions.

1 [Errata: should be Shqipëtar(s). Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116--Analyst]

175 former came under the influence of Roman Catholicism through Rome and the latter was swayed by Byzantium and the Greek Church.

In their temporary settlements the Serbs absorbed most of the Latinized civilization and attempted to infringe upon the powerful Illyrian city-states on the coast but they were fiercely rebuked and were driven back.

Most of the Illyrian tribes in the interior remained unconquered and never came under Slavonic influence.

[101] Through the disintegration of united population, language and culture, the name of Illyria began to disappear from history and was only revived in the "Illyrian Provinces" of 1809 and the "Kingdom of Illyria" of 1816-49.

One invasion succeeded another. The Slavs under Emperor Heraclius, the Bulgarians under Tsar Simeon, and the Norman Conquest of 1081, under the leadership of Robert Guiscard, entrenched themselves in Albania. [101] The Normans, it is believed, are responsible for the name of Albania, which name has been used ever since.

During the time of the Crusaders, Albania was a thoroughfare for the Crusaders of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER VIII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

121 As the character of a people is generally so much influenced by the nature of the country they inhabit, a brief description of the division of Turkey occupied by the Albanians may give greater interest to my
● 101 remarks on this race. Albania, as its native name of *Skiperi*, "The Land of Rocks," signifies, is one of the most mountainous divisions of Turkey. The principal
133 chain runs north and south, parallel with the Adriatic, and from it jut many spurs, composed of mountains as lofty as the main range, which ramify in every direction, so that almost the whole surface of the country is covered with rugged hills and deep valleys, save near the mouth of the river Ergenth. Even the coast is grandly mountainous, the spurs there often terminating in abrupt precipices, the sides of which are eternally beaten by the lashing waves.

132 Almost every variety of climate is found within the limits of Albania. In the south, and near the coast, the temperature is as mild as at Naples, and oranges, citrons, grapes, pomegranates, figs, and other fruits grow in abundance. But the cold increases with the distance from the sea, and only twenty miles from the Adriatic the snowfalls are heavy, and
[137] the frosts severe. The higher and more northern

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg,[1] the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

[1] "*Iskender Bey*, the Lord Alexander."

valley of Bulqis, where there are springs of 173
strange waters, and that as they passed through the forest—there was in those days a great forest in the Bulqis, where now there are fields of grain —they rested by one of the springs, in the place where the great rocks are standing in rows. There they heard a sound of singing in a strange tongue, but the end of the song they understood, and the end of the song was, 'Long live Lec, the son of Filip i dyte, Lec i Madhe, the king of the world!'[1]

[1]This story was told me in upper Thethis in the spring of 1921. In 114
the summer of 1922 I visited the Mati, accompanied by Annette Marquis 101
and Rrok Perolli. The Mati is a fertile high plateau defended by an unbroken ring of almost impassable mountains. It has never been conquered by foreign armies, though assailed by Romans, Turks, and Serbs; through 1920 and 1921 the men of Mati successfully defended their lands with their rifles against Serbian artillery. The present Prime Minister of the Albanian republic, Ahmet Bey Mati (or Ahmet Zogu, as he endeavors to persuade the people to call him, since the abolition of titles in Albania) is chief of the family which has ruled the Mati since Albania's quarter century of freedom under Scanderbeg, in the fifteenth century.

We were the first foreigners who had ever entered the Mati. We found the country, the people, and the customs quite different from those of the Dukaghini tribes described in this book, excepting only the unvarying Albanian hospitality. We visited the Bulqis, very terribly devastated by the invading Serbs in 1920 and 1921, and partly circled the city of Dibra, taken from Albania by the 1913 frontier line as a knife takes out the eye of a potato. The Albanian frontier commission of the League of Nations was at that time sitting in Scutari, and I regret that commissions do not sometimes travel along the frontiers they have made.

As to the story of Lec i Madhe, we drank the delicious waters of the many strangely flavored springs of Bulqis, and we lunched in the "place where the great rocks are standing in rows." These stones resemble those 172
of Carnac and Stonehenge, though on a much smaller scale, and they may be relics of peoples who lived here prior to the arrival of the Albanians, or they may be a curious accident of geological formation.

On the site of the city Emadhija we found traces which seemed to us undeniably left by the work of human hands. They lie at the head of a valley in a flat triangular space formed by meeting mountain chains,

7 [See cat. 173, pp. 176-187 [185] -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

101 The Albanians, who claim descent from the ancient Illyrians and Epirots, call themselves "Shkipetare", which, being interpreted, means "Sons of the Eagle". According to their folk-lore, they derive this name from a remark attributed to Pyrrhus, the King of Epirus. Returning from his victories in Macedonia, Pyrrhus was hailed by his troops as "Eagle", because of the swiftness of his movements in war. "You call me Eagle", he is said to have answered, "and it is true; for you, my soldiers, are 'Sons of the Eagle', and your lances are the pinions on which I soar."—J. A.

"Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together."—St. Matthew xxiv. 28.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

people, too, had their part, for they formed the permanent garrison of the key to the Adriatic. Once again, as so often in the past, the rival nations vied with one another to secure the friendship or compel the obedience of the Albanians; and they, owning no common allegiance, took sides and changed them in accordance with the dictates of interest and the counsels of opportunity. Thus the situation in Albania came to reflect, as in a mirror, the true relations between the Powers, obscured to the general view by the smoke of battle blown before the wind of words.

The policies of nations devolve in the last instance upon individuals; and in this, as in past struggles, lone men went out among the Albanian mountaineers to make their local feuds subserve the divergent and often inconsistent purposes of the strategists and statesmen who had sent them forth. Of these men I was one; and of a part of what I saw this is the tale.

2

THE Albanians are a distinct people, not perhaps a nation, but remarkable by the strength of their sense of nationality. Archaeologists believe the two main branches of their race — the Ghegs and Tosks, whom the river Shkumbi divides — to be descended from the ancient Illyrians and Pelasgians. These peoples, perhaps the earliest Aryan invaders of the Balkans, may once have inhabited the whole region between the Danube and the Aegean and Adriatic seas; but successive waves of invasion have worn them down by assimilation or massacre, and only a remnant survive in the land known as Albania.

This land, the exact boundaries of which have fluctuated with the fortunes of the Albanians and their conquerors, forms a wedge between the massif of Montenegro and the Pindus range. It consists of a rich but malarial coastal plain, in which lie the two harbours of Durazzo and Valona, and a mountainous interior; an extension of the Dinaric Alps. In contrast, however, to the bare and arid Karst of Dalmatia, the Albanian mountains are thickly wooded and convulsed out of their former

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

or compounded and, above all, what sides the clan should take 596
in the strife of political factions. Tsen Lezi had long been a supporter of Abas Kupi and he received us well.

It was already May, but in the mountains we had still lived /33
amid the gales and snow of winter. Next morning, however, as we descended from Tsen Lezi's house, we came out of the mists into the sunlight and saw the broad Mati valley spread out below us like a promised land. Fat sheep and cattle grazed in the undulating pastures; whitewashed houses, the tallest in Albania, were scattered over the low, wooded hills; and beyond the sparkling river the ground rose steeply to the wild glens of Mirdita. The guerillas had not left the mountains since autumn; and now, at the sight of the sunlit valley, the long line of men winding down the hillside broke into a strident song. Presently Abas Kupi called a halt and we sat down to refresh our eyes with the view. Hitherto I had always looked on mountains as holiday grounds; but the guerillas' song touched some atavistic chord in me and for the first time I experienced the weary highlander's longing for the plain.

Mati was rich and populated, the region where the tribal /01
system of the mountains mingled with the feudalism of the coastal plain. The land and flocks were still owned and worked in common by the different clans; but their chiefs were already known as *Beys*; and the wealthier among them employed hired labour and rented out some of their fields to poorer families. The men of Mati were reputed devout Moslems and, as is often the way of the pious, they lived well; renowned for their lavish hospitality and comfortably appointed houses. They had prospered especially under the monarchy;
for King Zog was a man of Mati and his first care had been 643
for the people of his valley. Many, though they could not [212]
read nor write, had been given appointments in the civil service; and, following the tradition of the Turks, Zog had conferred reserve commissions on most of the *Beys*. This was not indeed to compel them to military service, but to bind them more closely to his cause by the payment of an honourable and regular pension. The valley had benefited, moreover, 653
from an ambitious programme of public works; a road and

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

The Dibrans, like the men of Mati, lived an existence half pastoral, half agricultural, in which the tribalism of the mountains merged with the feudalism of the plains. They were a grim and calculating breed of men, a border people waging a ceaseless war with their Slav neighbours from Macedonia. The town of Dibra had been a rich centre of trade under the Ottoman Empire, but now it was shrunk to little more than a quarter of its former size. The fall of the Turk had perhaps interrupted the peaceful progress of commerce, but the struggle of the Powers for the control of Macedonia afforded the Dibran chiefs splendid opportunities for mercenary enterprise. For close on a century the rival nations had provided their clients among them with arms and subsidies; and so practised had the chiefs become in the technique of power politics that at any time the balance of power between the leading Dibran families reflected the exact relation between their foreign patrons. The ends which the Dibrans served were purely mercenary, but nevertheless they had learnt from experience the fundamental truth that freedom can only be preserved and wealth attained by the exercise of power. Moreover they understood, and this was perhaps the surest proof of their political genius, that it is not given even to the keenest brains to know with certainty where their interests lie. Each clan accordingly sought to reinsure against the imponderable factors in a situation by systematically placing a relative in each of the different political camps.

Dibra was said to hold five thousand rifles; but so divided were the Dibrans by local blood feuds and foreign intrigues that it seemed doubtful whether any clan could command the direct allegiance of more than five hundred men. The most powerful man in the region was Fikri Dine, once a henchman of King Zog. Fikri had led the rising of the Dibran clans in 1943: then he had routed the Italians and driven them out of Dibra city; but now, for fear of the Communists, he supported the Tirana Government. He came from a small clan and drew his power, not from the number of his rifles, but from his personal ascendancy over the bigger chiefs who had control of man-power. Like the chiefs of Mati they were torn by blood

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

LAND OF THE HIGHLAND GHEGS

●101 THE people who form the object of this study are the mountaineers who inhabit the Dinaric mountain chain on either side of the gorge cut by the river Drin on its way from the Serbian plain to the Adriatic. Most of their country lies inside the political boundaries of Albania, but parts of it have belonged to Yugoslavia for the past third of a century. [197] They speak the northern of the 2 Albanian languages, or dialects,[1] Gheg. They are not, however, the only Gheg speakers. There are [121] Lowland as well as Highland Ghegs. The present study concerns only the latter. The reason why they were specially chosen is that they still preserved, in 1929, a full tribal system of social organization, something very rare in Europe. This has one critical advantage: rules of preferential mating are definite, and are still observed. We know not only who marries whom, but we may also be sure that the same system has been going on for many generations. For a study of human genetics this material has obvious advantages.

The Highland Ghegs who form the object of our investigation belonged to 10 tribes, shown on figure 1.[2] These are Malsia e Madhe, Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Has, Luma, Puka, Mirdita, Zadrima, Mati, and Dibra. Before 1913 all of the tribes, except Dukagin, which now touch Yugoslavia extended a certain distance into the present territory of that country. On parts of the northern border the overlap is an old one. Many of the Montenegrin gentes admit descent from Albanian families, and one finds every stage of linguistic and cultural assimilation between the 2 ethnic 728 units. Just north of Scutari, however, several 101 fully Albanian villages were handed over to Serbia after the Balkan War, and this caused both economic and political distress. Farther east, from Peia to Dibra, the boundary commission which laid out the border between the 2 countries at that time gave the Yugoslavs all of the strategic positions, and all of the market

[1] Gheg and Tosk in extreme dialectic forms are mutually incomprehensible. It would be hard to state definitely whether they are closely related languages or dialects of one language. Each has numerous local

[1] [see cat. 116, p.6 -- Analyst]

[2] [cont. p. 7c -- Analyst]

[728] 101 towns along the Serbo-Albanian border which served as an economic outlet for both peoples.

This ethnic border is far from clear-cut. Several whole tribes of Ghegs live on the Kossovo plain, along with villages of Serbs. The ancestors of these Lowland Ghegs migrated there in the time of the Turks, after the defeat of the Tzar Dushan. These displaced Ghegs are probably descended from the highland tribes, but it would take much work to establish their exact relationships. We were unable to measure more than a few of them, and therefore shall not consider them in this study.

101 162 The Lowland Ghegs of Albania, who equally eluded our calipers, occupy the country from the tribal regions eastward[1] to the Adriatic and southward to the river Shkumbi, the traditional frontier between Ghegnia and Toskeria. Many of the Tosks are Greek Orthodox Christians. The Ghegs who are Christians are Roman Catholics. The majority of both divisions is Moslem. The most solidly Moslem part of Albania is the central region, in both Ghegnia and Toskeria, where the landscape is the least rugged. Both brands of Christianity lived through the Turkish regime most successfully in the mountains. In the south, beside the Tosks, are thousands of Vlachs—shepherds speaking Rumanian as their native tongue—and Bulgars. The Epirote borderland cuts through an area where Greek and Albanian villages overlap, causing trouble.

Throughout Albania one finds camps of nomadic gypsies, living by their traditional trades of metal-working, fortune-telling, horse-trading, etc. In the larger cities there is always a gypsy quarter, whose inhabitants also serve as musicians and prostitutes. In the Gheg country, however, there is no room for gypsy camps or quarters, and the only gypsies which I saw or heard of there were a single individual in Bicaj, and another in Kukës, both in the tribe of Luma.

[197] subdivisions. The official language of Albania is based on the southern Gheg dialect spoken in the city of Elbasan.

[1] [author must mean westward. - Analyst]

133 heaved at different periods, flow its 2 rivers and their tributaries. These are the Drin and the Mati. By studying them one can arrive most readily at a knowledge of the tribal geography of Ghegnia.

East of Kukës there are 2 Drins, White and Black. The White Drin carries off the water from the eastward slope of the Peia or Pesh region in Montenegro, then flows southward to the Albanian border, where it turns west. A short but swift confluent flows westward under the bridges and flourmills of the city of Prizren. The Black Drin is the outlet for Lake Ochrida, south of Gheg territory. It flows northward in a nearly straight line through the Dibra valley, past the towns of Big Dibra and Little Dibra (Peshkopia). As it flows northward the valley grows narrow, and in places becomes a gorge, which opens out again before the river reaches Kukës.

At Kukës the 2 branches meet. From this point on, the slope of the river bed is great, and the water rushes down, foaming and leaping, through its canyon-like channel until it reaches the lowlands, where it divides into 2 channels. One flows into Lake Scutari, which in turn empties into the sea. The other goes directly into the Adriatic. Except for the last few miles of its passage, the Drin is too swift for navigation. Its possibilities for hydroelectric power are great.

The other river, the Mati, flows into the sea a short distance south of Lesh. It drains the tribal lands of Mati, and most of Mirdita. It too is swift and unnavigable, and in winter and spring often impossible to ford.

133 These rivers and their watersheds form the
●101 usual boundaries between tribes. Dibra and Mati form the drainages of the Black Drin and Mati rivers, respectively; and the watershed between these rivers is their boundary. The White Drin, in Yugoslavia, is the boundary between Has and the lowland tribe of Podrima; in both countries it divides Has from Luma; and in Albania alone, the combined Drin divides Has from Puka, Malsia e Jakovës from Puka, Dukagin from Puka, and Malsia e Madhe from Puka and Zadrima. The northern branch of the Mati, the Fan, which is in turn divided into the Little Fan and the Big Fan,

[8] Semple, 1931, chap. 5.

133 drains Mirdita, except for the *bairak* of Spaç,
101 the northwestern finger of which forms part of the Drin system. With this same exception, the watershed between the Drin and the 2 Fans is the boundary between Puka and Mirdita. The continuation of the watershed between Mati and Dibra again separates, farther north, Mirdita from Luma. Mati and Mirdita, and Dibra and Luma east of the Black Drin, are parted by deep valleys, running laterally, cut on opposite sides of the river.

133 These rivers serve more often as tribal boundaries than as routes of travel. Their banks are so steep that the roads usually follow the crests and shoulders of the mountains, only dipping down into the valleys where it is necessary to cross them. Their waters are so swift that only in rare spots can they be navigated. All in all, they are barriers to travel and communication.

132 It is a rule long known to geographers that in the Mediterranean basin, lands lying on the western slopes of peripheral land masses receive more rain than those on the east.[2] The higher the mountains flanking the coast, the more the rain. Ghegnia and Montenegro have the heaviest rainfall of any Mediterranean countries. The Adriatic coast, from Lesh up to Dubrovnik, receives well over 60 inches of rain a year; and all of Ghegnia, back from the coast, gets between 60 and 40 inches, with the total decreasing to the east.

This is not all winter rain. It may rain any month of the year, and the summer rainfall totals anywhere from 4 to 8 inches, enough to permit the cultivation of maize by dry farming. This fact alone takes the Gheg highlands out of the Mediterranean climate area. The winter rain, which begins to fall in September, becomes snow at the higher altitudes. Only in the highest valleys and on the peaks does it last out the winter. Elsewhere a succession of snowfalls and thaws renders this region as unpleasant as New England in early spring.

The temperature again prohibits the growth of many Mediterranean crops, such as the fig and olive, which soon disappear as one leaves the coast. All of the uplands receive severe winter frosts, and on the border of the Kossovo plain the climate becomes continental.

121 HABERLANDT, Baron Nopcsa, and others have written learnedly and in detail about the material culture of the Gheg mountaineers.[1] It is not my intention to duplicate their work. What I have to say about technology in this place is written for one purpose only, to elucidate the problem of human genetics in northern Albania. First of all, we shall examine the anthropometric series itself, since that is the source of our information on the Gheg phenotype (fig. 12).[2] The measurement blanks contain, besides the anthropometric and observational constants, the following information for each subject: serial number, sex, date, place measured, age, tribe, *bairak*, father's group, mother's group, number of wives belonging to father, number of children of each sex per wife, occupation, office or rank, religion, kinship with other members of series, and photographic reel and frame number.

124

We measured 1102 persons. Of these, 1058 were tribesmen both of whose parents had come from the same tribe as the subject. Eleven resulted from intertribal marriages. Thirty-three others remain to be accounted for. Nine were sons of Has fathers and Podrima mothers, 4 were Podrima men. These 13 were living in Has tribal territory, on the Yugoslav side of the border. Podrima is one of the Albanian tribes situated on the plain of Kossovo, wholly in Yugoslav territory. No

101

1 [see cat. 121, p. 11 d -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

101 intermarriages were recorded between Podrima people and Has tribesmen from the Albanian side of the border.

124 The 20 others were outsiders in Albanian-controlled Gheg tribal territory. Sixteen came from the large market town of Big Dibra (Dibra e Madhe to the Albanians, Debar to the Serbs) in Yugoslavia, which contains a mixed population of Albanians, Serbs, and a few Turks. One was a Serbian-speaking Moslem from the alien *bairak* of Gorë which forms part of the tribe of Luma; his home lay also beyond the border. Another was an Albanian from the town of Jakova. Two others came from inside Ghegnia but outside the tribal territory—from Krujë and Elbasan, respectively.

These 20 men were all first-generation immigrants. There was no older generation like them. I measured none of their sons, and thus this particular immigration had had no effect on our series. All of them were specialists in some kind of technology. Through the study of the data on occupations given in our tabulations we can discover the exact situation of these people.

124 463 In our series of 1102 men, 36 occupations were listed. These may be grouped into 7 classes: extractive, processing, services, transport, trade, political, and religious. Their distribution among the 10 tribes and 44 "others" is as follows:

1/1 [See p. 11d - Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

merely to ethnologists and social anthropologists but also to those concerned with the early history of jurisprudence.

Apart from that the contents of this volume are likely to be of no little interest to the general reader as giving an account of the unfamiliar way of life of a people of very distinct and individual culture, who have throughout history taken pride and pleasure in their separateness. For the Albanians, direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians, still retain something of their ancient form of Aryan speech very distinct from that of other branches of the family; they still retain an ancient tribal system; and they still have that passionate love of independence which caused many of them to forsake their native mountains and form settlements in Greece, Calabria, and Sicily when their country was occupied by the Turks after the death of their leader Skanderbeg (George Castriota) in 1467. As a result of the Turkish conquest several of the Albanian tribes changed from Christianity to Islam, and there are now many Muslim Albanians as well as both Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. The Mirdite, who constitute the biggest tribe, were perhaps at one time Orthodox, and are now staunch Catholics. But their profession of faith seems to have affected but little the adherence of the Albanians to their ancient customs.

J. H. HUTTON

NEW RADNOR
June 1953

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

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619

[End map (A) - Upper Left]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

101
619

Key to tribes

1. Berishë	8. Hot	15. Kurbin	22. Nikç
2. Beshkash	9. Kastrat	16. Lumë	23. Pukë
3. Bytyç	10. Kastriot	17. Lurë	24. Selcë
4. Dibër	11. Kir	18. Matjë	25. Shalë
5. Drisht	12. Krasniq	19. Mertur	26. Shkrel
6. Gash	13. Kryezez	20. Mirditë	27. Theth
7. Has	14. Kthellë	21. Nikaj	28. Toplanë

[End map (B)- Upper Right]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

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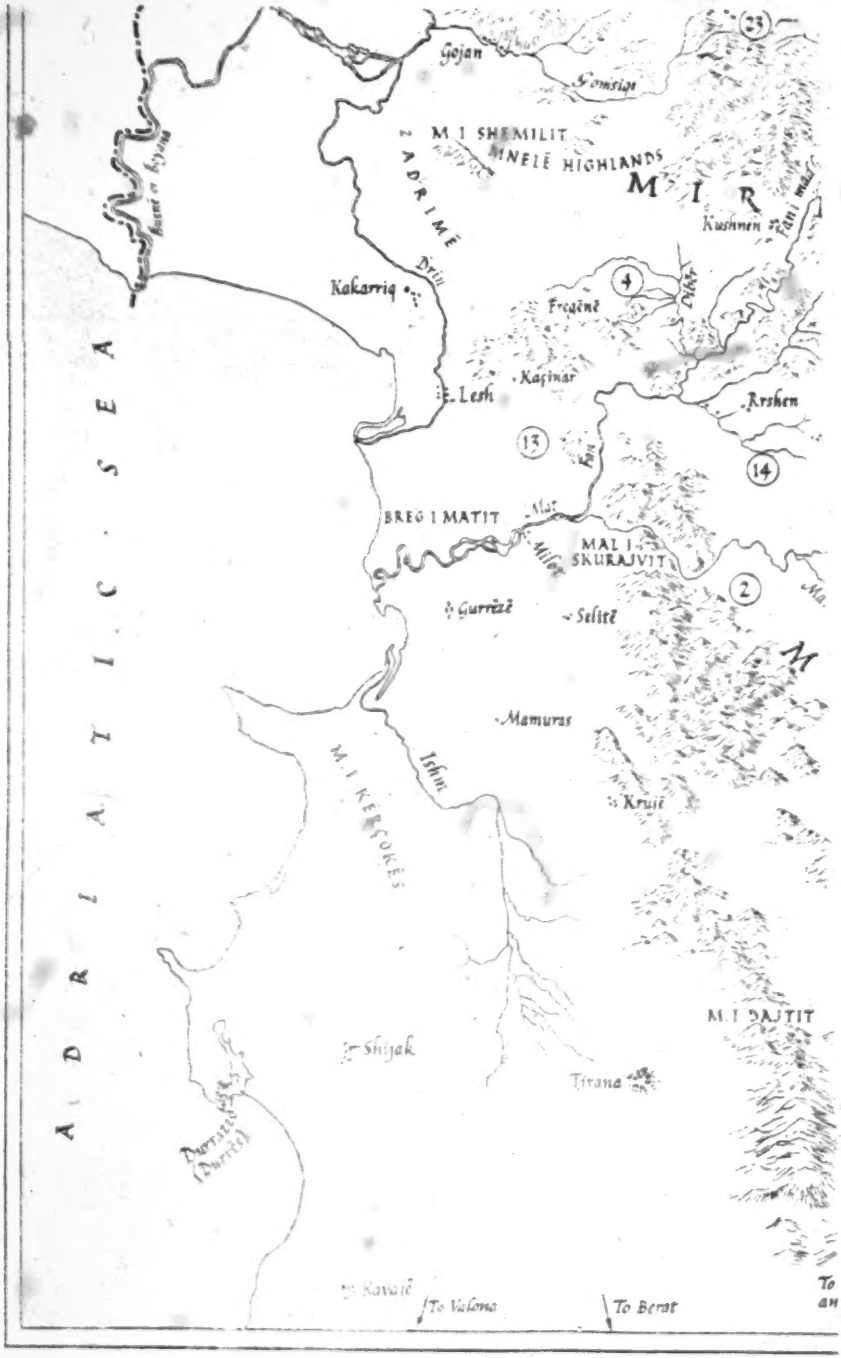

THE NORTH ALBANIAN MOUN

[End Map (C)-Lower Left]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

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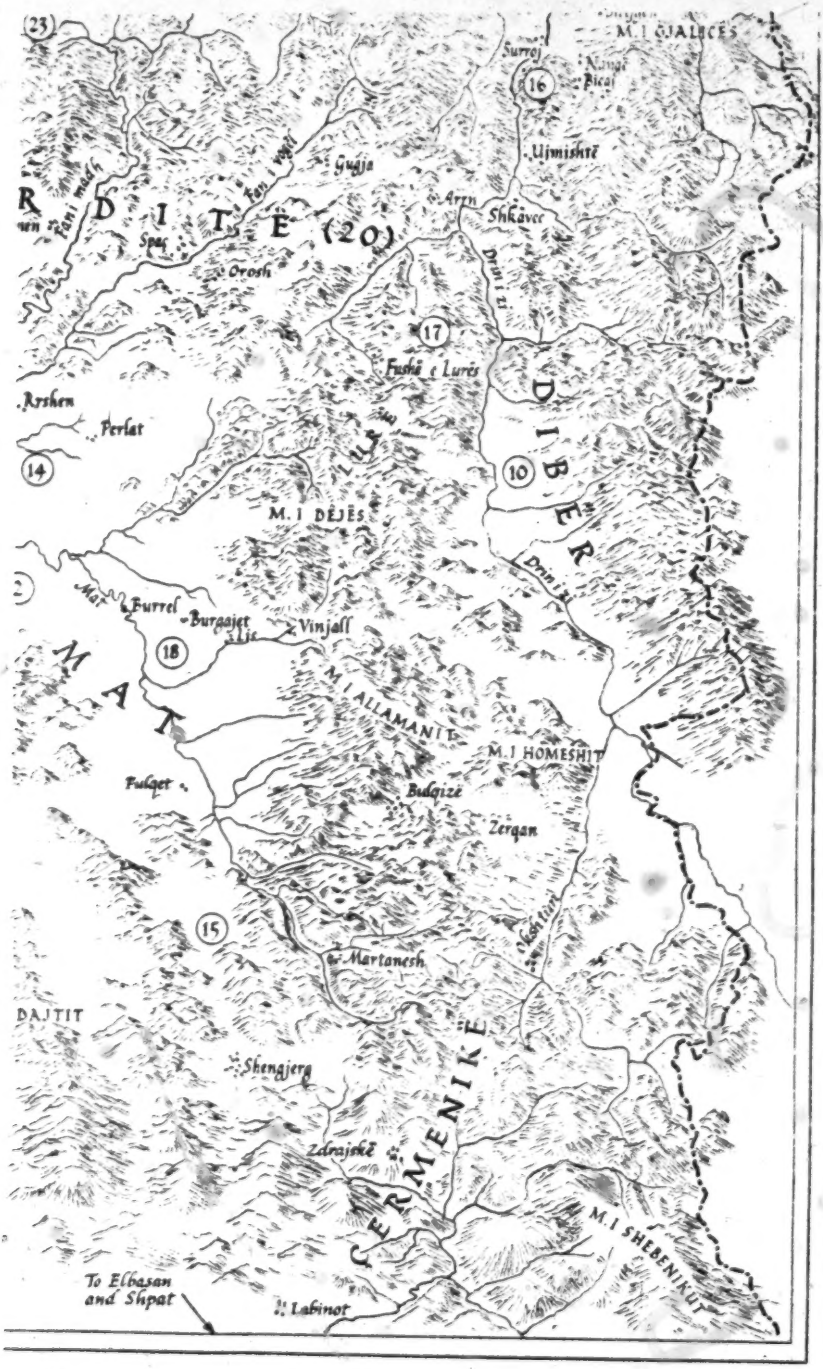


N MOUNTAINS AND TRIBES

[End Map (D)-Lower Right]

4. 291 consists of caps that have been sewn on, as well as a bush of peacock's feathers and colored cock's feathers. (Compare Globus, volume 78, page 387). The carpet aprons that are illustrated in Figure 5[1] likewise 4. 326 have their original provenience from the northeast. As is the rule throughout the Balkans, the silver ornamentation among the Bosnian South Slavs is rich and variegated. Especially filigree is forged with the greatest of artistic skill.

/97: Illustrations./

/98/ The Albanians

I.

000 1. Type of fortified building. 2. Hut in Durazzo. 3. Mountain hut near Gusinje. 4. and 5. Chairs. 6. Cradle from Planti. 7. Fireplace in Nikaj. 8. Interior of a hut in Pula with intertwined reed walls, and a roof consisting of rafters, reed, and bulrush bundles. 9. Fireplace and hearth bench in a niche of the wall, in Hotin. 10. House door in Brebula, with an ornament arched like a wedge, and hook-like stone projections used for hanging up the guns. 11. Interior of a fortified house (kula). 12. Fireplace with hearth bench and smoke outlet in the niche of the wall. 13. Carving on a chest from Scutari[1]

A. 101 Between Montenegro and Epirus the strongly mountainous coastal area of the Balkan Peninsula has preserved primitive European racial elements and maintained ancient cultural forms. Here the Albanian people is settled, the people of the Skyptars, the troglodytes or inhabitants of the land of the eagles or of the descendants of eagles, A. 144 according to the various explanations. By the Turks they are called Arnauts. From pre-Aryan Illyrians, who belong to the oldest inhabitants of the European-Asiatic land mass, and from Aryan Thracians there was formed a basic stock. To this were added Goths, Slavs, Greeks, and, since 1450, Turks, as well as sporadic Roman elements and later A. [197] Italian influxes along the coast. All these combined to form the Albanians who today are divided into two groups according to the dialects of their Indo-European language, that is, into the northern Gegen and A. 144 the southern Tuscans. These two groups are in turn divided into a great 181 number of sub-stocks. The former, with predominantly Slavic, Serbian blood, are tougher, more war-like, more conservative; the Tuscans,

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 67a--Analyst]
2 [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 66a--Analyst]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

III. THE HOUSES OF THE ALBANIANS

The Albanians, as descendants of the ancient Illyrians (1), belong, as well as the Greeks, to the most ancient inhabitants of the Haimos Peninsula, but they have not developed their own civilization either in ancient times nor in medieval years. Living almost isolated on a mountainous and inaccessible country, the Albanians have retained for many centuries their ancient customs, and even to-day they represent the patriarchal level in the evolution of civilization (2). This is the reason why everything connected with the life and the dwellings of the Albanians presents a particular interest to the numerous foreign tourists and ethnographers who, from time to time, have made relative surveys. 101

The most complete survey on the dwellings of the Albanians is, as far as I know, the book on Albania by Franz Baron Nopcsa (3). In this book, the author has summed up his previous impressions on housing in Northern Albania (4), and, at the same time, took into 342 114

1) The question of the origin of Albanians has not yet been clarified. Some recent linguistic surveys question the origin of the Albanian language from the Illyrian and accept a rather close relation between the Albanian and Thracian languages. C. Patsch (see **Herbert Louis**, Albanien, Stuttgart, 1927, p. 41) has found traces of Thracians near the Adriatic sea. [174]

2) See **K. Amantos**, Οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1923, pp. 129-189. **A. Keramopoulos**, Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες. Athens, 1915, p. 198. Compare the journeys of **K. Steinmetz**, **E. Liebest**, and **Fr. Nopcsa** in «Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von C. Patsch, vol. 1 3. 6 10. 11. **Baschmakoff**, A travers le Montenegro et le pays de Geuges, St. Petrsb. 1911 and **H. Louis**, pp. 36-40.

3) **Frans Baron Nopcsa**, Albanien, Bauten, Trachten, Geräte, Nordalbaniens, Berlin und Leipzig, 1925. Nopcsa is followed by **H. Louis**, on the subject of Albanian houses (p. 53-59).

4) **Fr. Baron Nopcsa**, Aus Sala und Klementi (Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von Patsh, vol. II) Sarajevo 1910. Haus und Hausrath im Katholischen Nordalbanien (volume 16) Sarajevo 1912.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

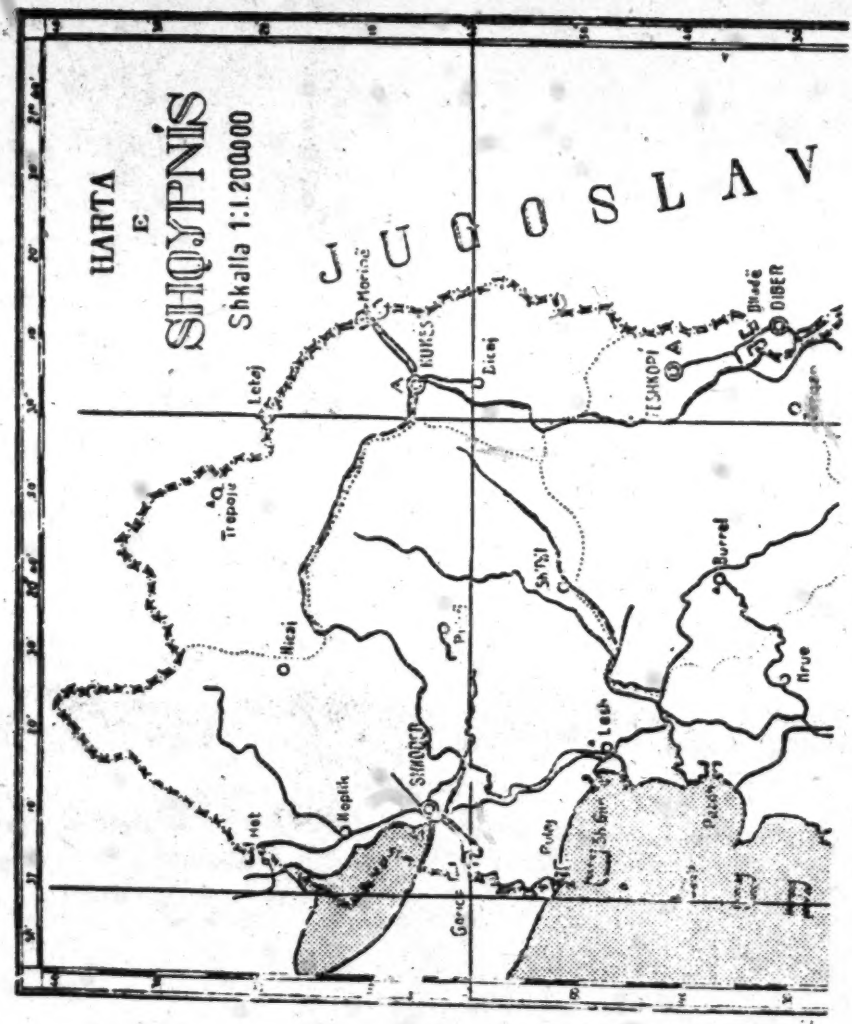
prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

102

ALBANIA'S LOCATION IN EUROPE

p. vi(e)

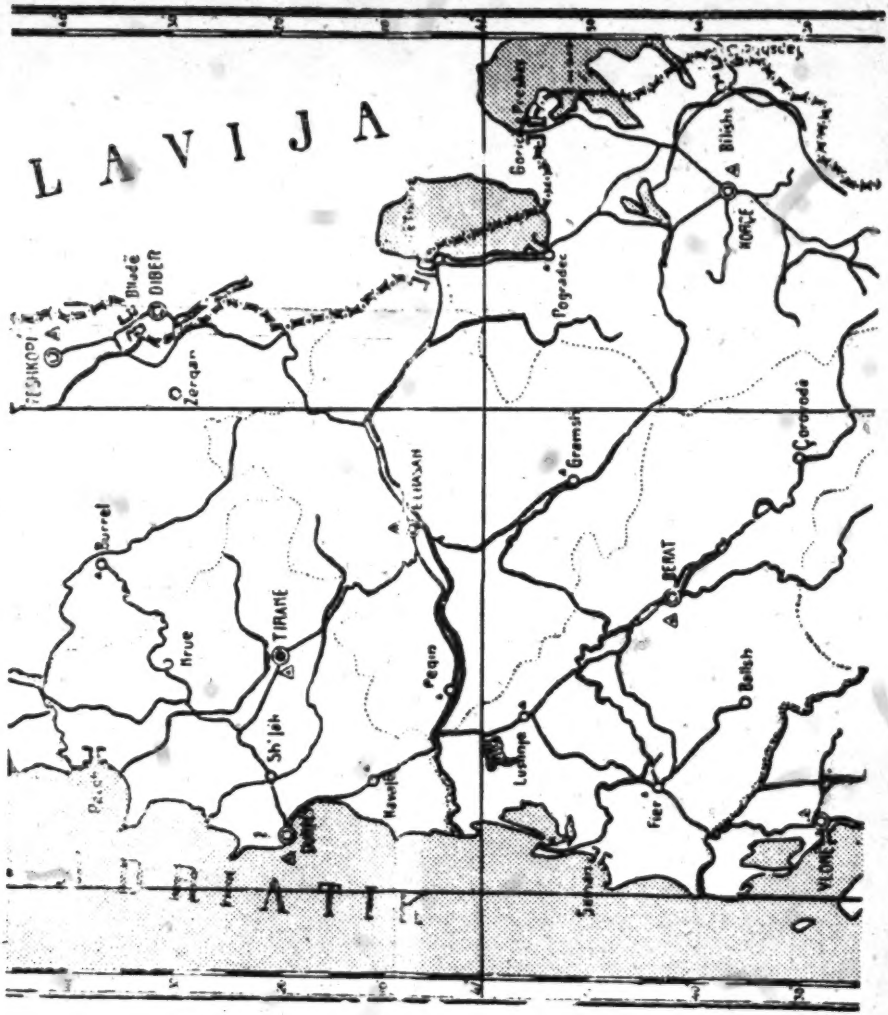
●102



MAP OF

End map (A)

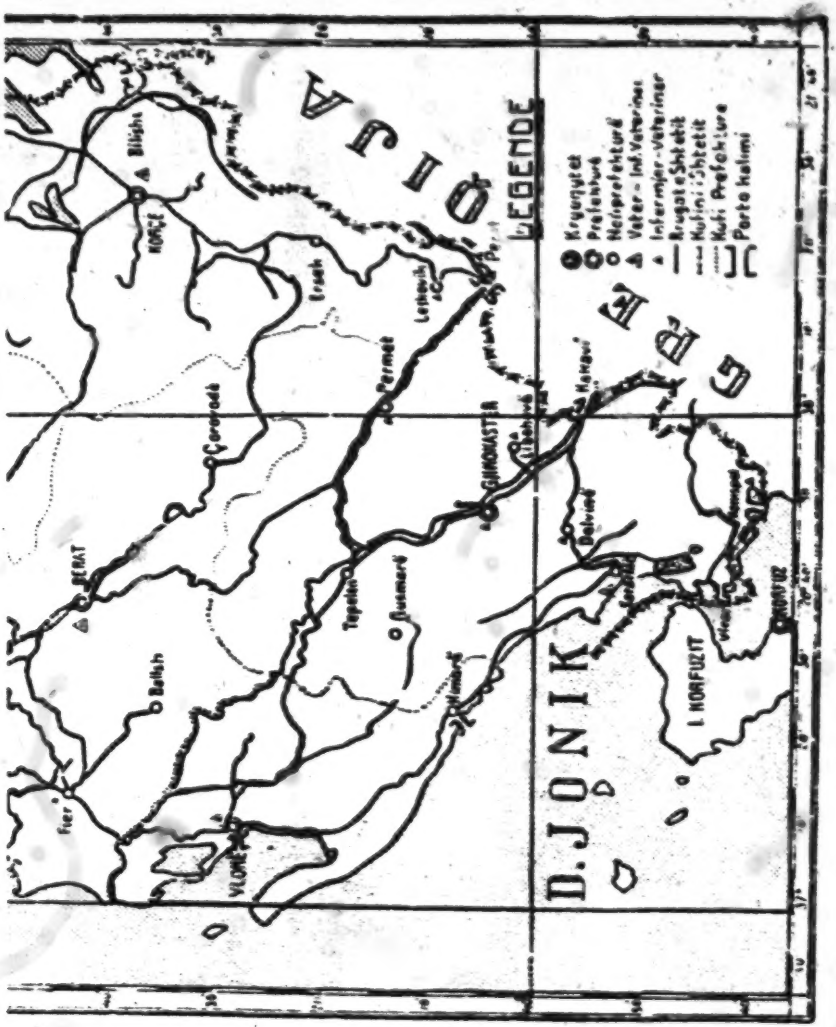
102



MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF ALBANIA

End map (B)

102



NIA

End map(c)

102
162
491
496

ALBANIA
Scale of Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50
Roads (in red)
Railways
Albanian Frontier pre-1941
Frontier assigned to Albania by the Axis Powers
MONTENEGRO
YUGOSLAVIA
KOSSOVO
MACEDONIA
(YUGOSLAVIA)
ADRIATIC SEA
Straits of Otranto
Corfu
MOSLEM
ORTHODOX
SCUTARI
L. Scutari
PETCH
PRIZREN
SKOPLYE
DIBRA
TIRANA
DURAZZO
KUYA
VALONA
KORCHA
BITOLYE
Prespa
L. Ochrida
Ochrida
FLORINA
SAKANDA
CORFU
Kozani
Prilep
Veles
Tetovo
Gostivar
Kichevo
Elbasan
Librashd
Kavaye
Pogradeca
Leskovik
Argyrocastro
Tepeleno
Kukes
Bitsa
Korcb
Peshkopi
Burrel
Lezha
Shengjin
Pukë
Arrs
Orosh
Mt. Velyes
Tropoye
Vlad
Jakova
Suhi Reka
Uroshevatz
Katchanik
Kumanovo
Gruetchia
Podgoritsa
Tuzi
Plavnitsa
Virpazar
Ulcinj
Kotor
Ragusa
Cattaro
Andrivevica
Berane
Vetlica
Priština
Kosovska Mitrovica
Ibar
Drin
Lim
Vardar
Strumica
Ohrid
Kastoria
Florina
Grevena
Tomori
Kuchoveo
Berat
Fier
Lushnja
Durres
Tirana
Shkodra
Lezhë
Kavaje
Shiyak
Pasa
Bizza
Tepelenë
Himarë
Sarandë
Gjirokastër
Korçë
Pogradec
Ersekë
Klisura
Bilisht
Mellisodhetra
Gjirokastër
Vlorë
Fier
Lushnjë
Durrës
Tirana
Shkodër
Lezhë
Kavajë
Shijak
Peqin
Elbasan
Librazhd
Bizë
Tiranë
Durrës
Shkodër
Lezhë
Kukës
Bajram Curri
Tropojë
Bujan
Gjakovë
Prizren
Peja
Ibar
Morava

102
133

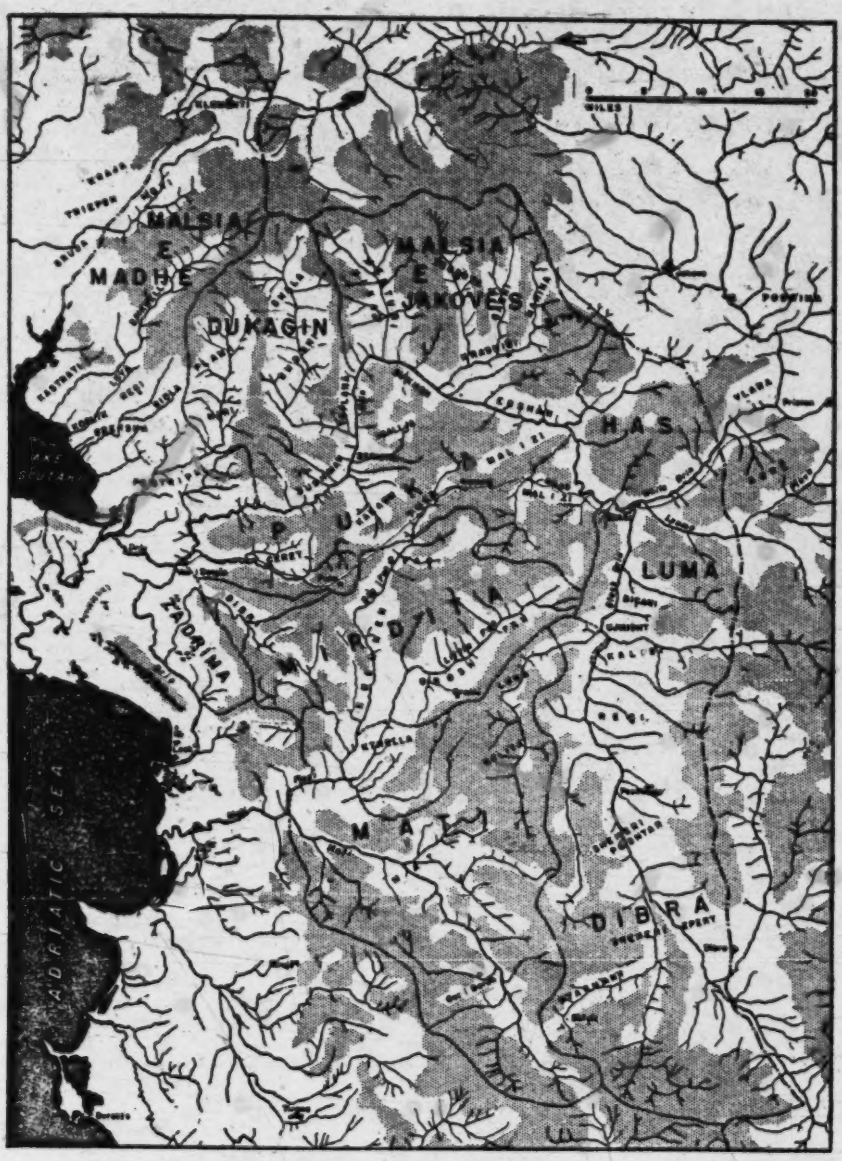


FIG. 1. Northern Albania—the tribal area. (Stippled area symbolizes mountain and forest, unoccupied except as seasonal pasture and source of timber.) Scale, 1: 250,000.

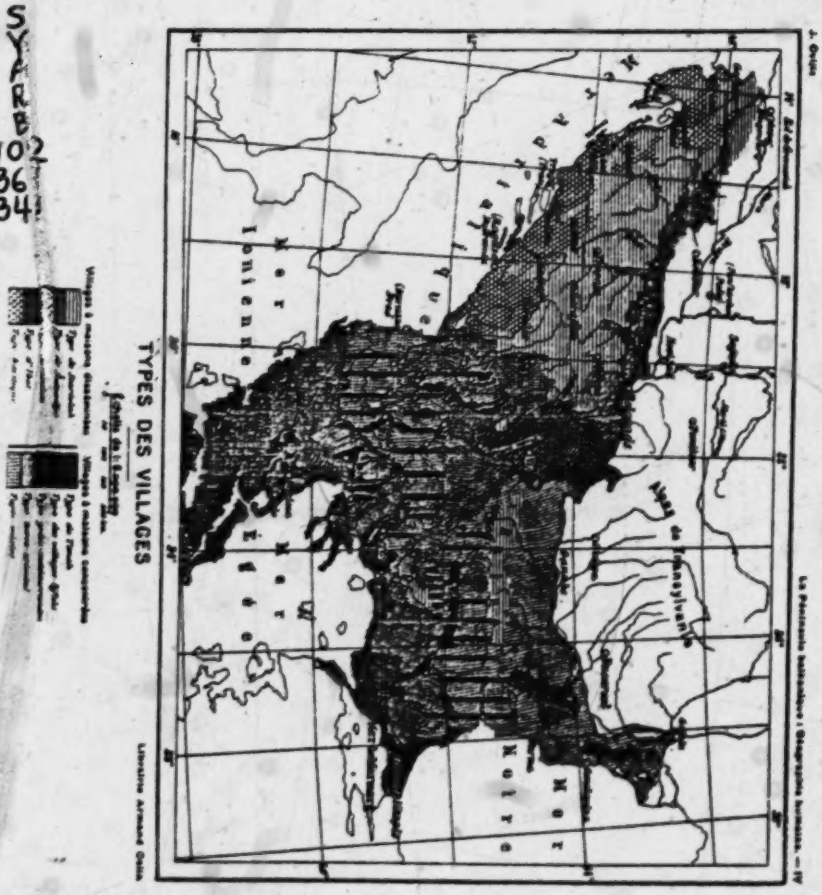
11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1

AY 102

FIG. 1.—Sketch map of Yugoslavia and Albania. Names and boundaries of countries existing when the garments were collected are given. Modern names in brackets.

17: Thurnher E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

SYARB
102
36
341


TYPES DES VILLAGES
Mer Ionienne
Mer Egée
Mer Noire
Vallée de Transylvanie
Danube
Vallée de Tisza
Vallées à maisons dispersées
Vallées à maisons concentrées
Type de Danubiens
Type de Dinaric
Type de Pindus
Type de Thrace
Type de Rhodope
Type de Pontus
Type de Carpates
Type de Transylvanie
Type de Tisza
Type de Bihor
Type de Banat
Type de Moldavie
Type de Valachie
Type de Dobrudja
Type de Bessarabie
Type de Bucovine
Type de Maramureş
Type de Crişana

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

nation, which is the greatest, could put into the field more than 15,000 men on horseback, well fitted to wage war in the manner of their country, valiant and good fighters. And the said nations, both Latins and Abbanois, are harshly oppressed under the intolerable and very hard servitude of the most hateful and abominable lordship of the Slavs. Indeed, they are a downtrodden people; their clergy is lowered and humbled; their bishops and abbots often imprisoned; their nobles disinherited and imprisoned; their churches, both cathedrals and collegiate, are dispersed and deprived of power; their monasteries and priories lost and destroyed. They, one and all, would think to consecrate their hands in the blood of the said Slavs if they saw coming a Prince of France who would be their leader and chief against the said Slavs, the enemies of truth and of our faith. One thousand French horse and five or six infantry, along with the said Abbanois and Latins, could conquer at their ease the whole of this Kingdom of Rassie, such as it is."

This passage, written almost at the height of Serb power, shows clearly that the Serb conqueror had failed to destroy the Albanian sense of nationality, and failed to force the Serbian Orthodox Church upon the people; and that there was a very large Albanophone population with a Catholic clergy of its own. The bishoprics of Antivari, Scutari, Sappa, and Pulati still exist, and have survived both Serb and Turk. Into this reserve of Albanian nationality the refugees from the surrounding districts fled when the Turks advanced. The mountain population, then as now, was no doubt scattered in isolated houses or family groups of several houses on the mountain pastures, and not gathered into towns or villages. They formed "katuns." That the population was numerous is shown by the many ecclesiastical and political documents, correspondence with the Vatican, Venice, and Ragusa, and old Serbian archives. Thus in 1348 Tsar Stefan Dushan gives to the monastery he is founding at Prizren nine Albanian "katuns" near Prizren, the said Albanians to give serf labour to the monastery. He gives also some land in Upper Pulati, together with its inhabitants. Several still existing place-names are mentioned: Shikje, Krue e Madhe (the great spring of water), and Sakati. "The existing Catholic clergy at Shikje who have vineyards" are to pay a tribute of wine to the monastery (an Orthodox one), and so are certain other districts. The people of Lower Pulati are to pay tribute of 100,000 silk cocoons. Several mills are handed to the monastery and in one case the miller, Zan, and his brethren are mentioned. No one may erect a mill on Church land, under penalty of a fine and loss of the mill. (The Church alone has the right to grind corn. This would give it immense power.) Large districts of Lower Pulati are given to the Serb Church, including the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is
[103 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the
174] road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the
[197 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are
779] said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat,
174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo,
776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and
614 widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti,
[166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli.
[582] They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the
174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza). 103 779 596 614

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it. [582] [221 648]

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church. 619 614 779 [174 794]

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas." 619 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group. [779 294] 648

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 619 779 103 [776] [628 166] 648 779

614 Along with Ljuma were grouped Bruti, Mal i zi (the Black Mountain, not to be confounded with Montenegro), Rechi, Vlas, and some other small groups—all offshoots of older tribes, especially of Shala and the Fandi bairak of Mirdita.

DJAKOVA GROUP

614 1. *Gashi.*—All Moslem. About eight hundred houses. I did not
619 visit it.

779 2. *Hashi.*—A very large tribe of, it was said, about a thousand houses, almost all Moslem. They had never seen a woman in European dress, and were greatly amused at my arrival armed only with an umbrella. They occupy the Pestriku mountains, traditionally a former [184] home of the Mirdites. They were hospitable and allowed me to pass through their land, but were so unused to foreigners and so afraid that their admission might bring about foreign annexation that I asked no questions about origin or anything personal.

● [103 173] 3. *Tropopoja.*—Three hundred Moslem houses—I did not visit. The town of Djakova was founded by an offshoot of the Merturi-Berisha, and I was told derives its name from St. Jak (St. Giacomo), and that its founders were Christians. But when I visited it almost the whole of its large population was Moslem. There was a small Catholic church and school. Except for one hundred Serb families the town was solid Albanian. Two stocks claimed descent from the original founders: the Merturi and the Vula. The Vula was a large and powerful family, and I was told I could travel anywhere safely with a Vula as guide. I did so. He carried no weapon.

A large number of villages surround Djakova. These I found to be all Albanian, tracing descent from Berisha, Shala, Fandi, and other bairaks of Mirdita, as do many inhabitants of the town. None intermarry with their tribe of origin. The villages were mixed Catholic and Moslem. There were no Serb villages. The district is now part of Jugoslavia, and the population doubtless much changed by immigration and emigration.

IPEK GROUP

614 1. *Ipek* (now called Petch) and its villages.—A large Albanian
619 population of many stocks flowed down from the mountains when the
173 Serbs evacuated it in 1640 and reoccupied the lands formerly taken from their ancestors.

Some villages traced origin from Berisha and Shala. Dechani was populated by descendants of the ancient Shala stock (*q.v.*). This

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 167 721 727 the trees and, as for arms, did not know what they were, except for two or three kinds of javelins and darts."

Thus he describes them as a savage horde, but gives no information as to tribes or chiefs.

It was fully another century before the Serbs were finally established and settled. Presbyter Diocleas, though hopelessly confused in his details about dates and persons, probably records a true tradition in his *Chronicles* when he describes the invasion of the pagan Slavs thus: "The Christians, seeing themselves placed in great tribulation and persecution, began gathering themselves together on mountain-tops, and strove to construct strongholds and castles and edifices, that they might escape from the hands of the Slavs till God should visit them and set them free."

H A 312 The mountain dwellings of the Vlahs and the Albanians still bear witness to the flight of the old inhabitant before the invader. To what extent the partly Romanized Illyrian populations became intermixed with the Serb it is impossible to say, but the Serb differs so much from the Northern Slav-speaking peoples (Poles, Czechs, Russians) that a considerable admixture of other blood is suggested. That this differed in various regions is shown by the place-names. Slavonic names are thickest in Serbia (pre-war), in Macedonia, and in Bosnia—that is, in the most fertile districts. They are rarest of all in North Albania, and are scanty in South Albania and in Thrace. In Montenegro and the Herzegovina there is a sprinkling of non-Slavonic names. Antique Greek and Roman names appear mainly on the coasts. Inland, "Nish" preserves the Roman (? pre-Roman) name of "Naissus"; and "Uskub" (Turkish) and "Shkupi" (Albanian) preserve the old "Scupi," now completely distorted by the Serbs into "Skoplje."

A 103 197

A 173 How much of what survives of tribe and tribe law is a remnant of the Illyrians and the "peligones," and how much is Slavonic, can hardly now be determined; but it is of interest to note that tribe and tribe law have survived longest in those districts which were least under Serb rule—Albania, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina.

2. Tribe Law in North Albania

THE CANON OF LEK DUKAGIN

A 671 173 Whenever in the mountains I asked why anything was done, I was told, "Because Lek ordered it." Law, custom, usage, were all attributed to Lek. That he must have been a man of strong personality to have thus set a mark on a people is obvious; but very little is known about

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

245 olive groves cover the surrounding hills turning them into lofty, dark mounds of rich olive-green. Amid all of this rolling naturalness 258 of Mother Nature, the new factory for refining the local[1] oil gives it a startling note of modernity. There is oil in plenty in these rich regions.

361 Rounding the corner of a hill, a sheer wall rises in the near vicinity, with a few, ancient spires soaring above it. Upon approaching the wall, its height becomes more apparent and which proves to be the historic old town of Elbasan over which there hangs an aura of historic romance. This high wall gives the small city a most oriental appearance which is in truth, a reality, for Elbasan was founded by Sultan Mohammed II for the purpose of suppressing the natives of this district, because, in 1566, at the time of his conquest, there were few settlements in this region. The Sultan therefore built the town which [103] is now known and called Elbasan, a word of uncertain derivation, but most probably being the Turkish *el basan*, meaning "*land subduing*," and which in all likelihood, was a copy of Alexander the Great's foundation of 000 Smyrna. Here also Mohammed II left several

[1] In the heart of Albania towards Elbasan --Analyst

DURAZZO

• /03 Durazzo, the principal port of Albania, is one of the richest in historic traditions in the world. About six hundred years before our time counting, Durazzo was the city of Epidamnus which later became Dyrrachium, one of the powerful and most important Corinthean possessions. While it was called Epidamnus it experienced a leading role in the Peloponnesian war caused by the politics in that city. It was in old Dyrrachium that Caesar and Pompeius fought the greatest battle of that ancient civilization for the supremacy of the world; it is the so-called Porta Romana, and was the gateway for the Imperial Roman legions into their more easternly possessions by way of the Via Egnatia which began here and led through Salonica to Constantinople. Remnants of the Roman-
[/12] built city walls, with the gate of the old Roman fortress, are still standing, relics of the mighty civilization that existed many centuries before Christ. In the third century before Christ Durazzo was the prosperous capital of Roman Epirus and had also, previously, been the capital of the old independent Epirotic Kingdom. Later, in the middle ages, Durazzo was under the Doges of Venice,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

103 and this influence also had left its mark on the town. Then came the Anjous of the Neapolitan line who were the first to assume for themselves the title of King of Albania. However, during the four hundred years of Turkish domination, some of the Byzantine and Venetian architecture was altered or destroyed by the invaders. To-day, picturesque Durazzo lies peacefully on the Adriatic converted into a thriving modern city, amid all
504 of its interesting ruins, with an ideal port that has become a growing center for both sea-going and general trade, and the largest
277 cigarette factory in Albania is located here.

Scutari

103 OF all the cities in Albania there are very few that can lay claim to as much romance as can Scutari (Shkodra). In the past it has seen the foreign invaders swarm all around in the neighboring districts 112 only to be repulsed at the walls of the Rozafat Citadel which surrounds Scutari.

36 This ancient city in northern Albania is encircled by the lofty peaks of the north Albanian Alps and is situated on the southern extremity of the lake of Scutari at the conflux of the Bojana, Drin and Kiri rivers.

175 The Labeatans, a branch tribe of the Illyrians, resided in this district about two centuries before Christ, when for a time Scutari was the capital of Illyria. King Gentius ruled over this strongly fortified city until 168 before Christ, at which time the Romans occupied the city under Praetor Ancicius. It was left to the Emperor Diocletian to unite the city into the Roman Empire and he named Scutari as the capital of the province of Praevalis; in this capacity it remained until

Valona

THIS colorful city of Valona—the ancient Aulon—(Vlona in Albanian language) presents the charm and beauty of past ages and in addition can boast of rapid, modern progress. The fascinating old ruins of Moslem architecture are perfect representatives of the skill employed in by-gone years, combined with the beauties of the natural scenery of sea and mountains, make an unbeatable vacation land. 103

Geographically, Valona lies across the Adriatic Sea from Brindisi and is one of the cleanest, friendliest and sympathetic cities that a tourist may find anywhere. One of its startling features to a stranger is the countless number of storks that fly around the city and make their homes on the roof-tops. Strange to relate, in this connection, Valona is not the most populous city in Albania! 361

The fashionable place for promenade in this lovely town is the modern city park laid out to occupy a city block and consists of an enchanting variety of trees and flowers. An- 367 000

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Butrinto

•103 THE city of delight for the archaeologist is Butrinto—or the old Buthrotum, a classical city of the ancient world. In the third book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, it is written that Aeneas, after the sack of Troy and during his long travels of adventure, finds Andromache, the widow of Hector, in the fortress of Buthrotum. The next mention of this city is found in Julius Caesar's "De bello civili" which deals with the civil war against Pompeius. The final mentions of this city in classical literature are in Racine's "Andromaque" and in the tragedy "Buthrote, ville d'Epire."

172 The Italian archaeologist, Dr. Luigi M. Ugolini, worked in Albania, first at Fenike then at Butrinto. Among the most perfect of his excavations is an ancient Greco-Roman Theater formed in an amphitheatre with many of the sculptured columns still standing. Other discoveries are from the Roman colonization. In addition, these excavations have brought to light many magnificent pieces of sculpture, among which are a head of a

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XI

BAJRAKTARS

It is an Albanian tradition that when the Turks began to raise Albanian levies for their army they chose specially brave tribesmen to lead the levies and called them by the Turkish name of *deli*, meaning 'madman' or 'desperado'. At a later date they called them *spahis* (cavalrymen), and at a still later date *bajraktars* (standard-bearers), from the Turk *bajrak*, standard. So the word bajraktar conveys the business of the man so-called, and the origin of his title. He was the military leader of his tribe and owed his appointment to the Turks, not to his fellow-Albanians.

Neither delis nor spahis seem to have been blood ancestors of the bajraktars. Each tribe knows how its first bajraktar won his flag but never says that he was either a deli or a spahi. In the folk-tales which purport to recount their deeds, the spahis figure not as heroes but as ordinary cavalrymen of the type we still find in Algeria. Certain families, notably in Lumë and Yugoslav Losovë, are surnamed Spahi. These claim descent not from medieval bravos but from relatively modern cavalrymen, and they are not bajraktars. The memory of the delis and their deeds survives only in folk-tales and an occasional personal name. The bajraktar of Hot at the beginning of the century was Deli Metë Çuni. In the folk-tales the delis, more fortunate than the spahis, preserve their reputation as doughty fighters.

Tribal traditions agree that most *bajraks* were bestowed on the original holder like a Victoria Cross, for valour in battle. The combats were generally against the Serbs and Montenegrins, natural enemies of the Albanians as they were their nearest neighbours, and had not ceased ever since they appeared in the Balkans to steal ancient Albanian territory. Some bajraks are said to have been gained hundreds of years ago, and others only a few generations since. The historical details in the traditions are generally meagre and the chronology vague, but these defects make on the whole for greater credibility, assuring us that no lively imagination has been at work. To minds running as Albanian

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

1. The Tribal System in North Albania

The tribal system seems to be a social stage through which mankind normally passes. Within historic times Europe was a welter of tribes, from which in the course of years have been evolved the present "Powers"—Powers which themselves are compounded each of several racial elements and whose frontiers are in a constant state of flux. 174

In Europe it is only in the Balkan peninsula that the tribal system survived intact into the twentieth century. The Great War has broken up the last tribe lands of Europe—Montenegro and North Albania; and as I lived for some time in each previous to the catastrophe, it seems worth while to record all the details I managed to collect about these interesting relics of a distant past.

The Balkans were tribal in Herodotus's day. Strabo (*ob.* A.D. 25) gives a clear account of the Illyrian and Epirotic tribes who is his time dwelt on the east coast of the Adriatic and had recently been subdued by Rome. "The Istri," says he, "are the first people on the Illyrian coast contiguous to Italy and the Carni. The present government has advanced the limits of Italy to Pola, a city of Istria." Now again, 1,900 years later, Italy has "advanced her limits"—and included Pola, and hankers after other districts which Strabo describes as under Roman rule. "Next come the Japodes, who are a warlike people, but were completely subdued by Augustus . . . the country is poor and the people live mainly on spelt and millet. Their armour is of the Celtic fashion. Their bodies are punctured like those of the other Illyrian and Thracian people." Next come the Liburnians with a city Scardona and a navigable river (the Kerka), and then the "coast of the Dalmatæ and their naval arsenal Salona. They were long at war with the Romans and had fifty considerable settlements, some of which had the rank of cities. Augustus burnt them down . . . then follows the river Narenta, and the peoples of the neighbourhood are the Duorizi, Ardæi, and Pleraii. . . . The Romans drove the Ardæi into the interior because the coast was infested by their piracies, and forced them to cultivate the land. But, as the country was barren, the nation was entirely ruined and nearly extinguished. The same happened to neighbouring nations. People once very powerful are now extinct or 175 105 101

175 reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani
105 among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

101 "Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived. Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Peligones*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

174 This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still
622 found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe
623 still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

105
summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg,[1] the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

[1] "*Iskender Bey*, the Lord Alexander."

625 did, it let in new traders, craftsmen, and government officials, by the mere fact that the gendarmes secured the road and put down banditry.

631 643 In a vain attempt to deal the tribal system a deathblow, King Zog abolished all of the old divisions and boundaries, and all of the old system of government. He divided Albania into provinces, deliberately cutting across tribes and *bairaks* and ignoring natural geographical frontiers as completely as did the 1913 boundary commission.[1] Kukës and Peshkopia became centers of administration, as did a remote hamlet in Mati named Bureli. In these new places he set up prefects and secretaries and soldiers.

124 We measured one "secretary of commune" in Mirdita, whom the tribesmen ignored. He was a native of Elbasan. He employed a local man to guard the telephone line, his only link with the extra-feudal world. In Bureli we measured a secretary of court and a schoolteacher, both Mati natives. Others whom we did not measure were outsiders. In Kukës we measured a government clerk, a schoolteacher, and a turnkey in the jail. In Peshkopia our score was 3 government clerks, 2 Big Dibra men and one local; a secretary of court, from Big Dibra; and a local country schoolteacher.

These 7 civil service employees whom we included in our series were all the products of the imposition of Zog's government on the Mountain Ghegs. Of these only 4 came from outside the area. Three of these were part of the group that fled Big Dibra after 1913.

000 The history of the mountain people of northern Albania since 1930, while interesting, is beyond the scope of this report. Some later anthropologist may study it with profit to discover the changes, technological, institutional, and anatomical, which may have taken place since our series was measured. Before moving on, we offer the following summary of the preceding chapters:[2]

105

1. As far as we know these mountains were uninhabited before 500 B.C. They were first effectively settled at this time or a little later by Illyrian-speaking Hallstatt Iron Age people moving southward and eastward from Bosnia.

2. The majority of the Hallstatt people in

1 [See cat. 116, p. 46a -- Analyst]

2 [See cat. 116, pp. 3 b - 46a -- Analyst] - 47a

0/05 Bosnia were Nordic in cranial type. A minority consisted of planoccipital brachycephals.

3. The mountaineers have retained the core of their ancient language and the essential features of their original culture—in technology and social behavior—into the time period covered by our study.

4. From Roman times onward they have lived by a typically Iron Age regional and ethnic division of labor. The mountaineers farm and tend their herds, and exchange their raw and home-processed surplus materials with townsmen along their borders, receiving in exchange processed goods and skilled services.

5. The Romans introduced Christianity, which had little if any effect on their way of life. If anything it fortified their exogamic system of mating.

6. The mountains have been overpopulated since almost the first settlement. This has caused feuding and emigration. Many have left the mountains to settle elsewhere, few have entered.

7. At several periods outside peoples have seized control over the Drin highway and, to varying degrees of effectiveness, its more accessible side valleys. The Romans built the road, and Slavs and Turks followed them over it.

8. The Turks massacred many Ghegs in the Malsia e Madhe country. The wholly and partly empty villages were repopulated by immigrants from Bosnia. These were Catholic tribesmen, who spoke the parent language, Illyrian, in a semi-Romanized form. It differed little from the speech of the Ghegs themselves. These people were, in fact, a reinforcement from the earlier Gheg homeland, thrust out by the pressure of Slavs and Turks. They were a second wave of migration.

9. The Turks introduced firearms and fortified castles (*kullas*), thus increasing the tempo of feuding.

10. They also converted many of the mountaineers to Islam. This meant that Moslem Ghegs could circulate freely in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. In some of the Moslem areas the Gheg system of mating has become less strongly exogamic.

11. From the standpoint of theoretical genet-

105 ics, the Mountain Gheg population forms a (for Europeans) peculiarly closed breeding unit, within which mating proceeds along known rules. Except for the Bosnian invasion a dozen generations before the date of our sample, no new genetic elements of numerical importance can have been added since the first Iron Age settlement.

12. The Bosnians, who were derived from the same population as the earlier Gheg im-

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

105 migrants, settled north of the Drin, mostly in Malsia e Madhe. Their descendants have, by and large, remained there.

13. The tribal Ghegs grow their own food, village by village, and eat almost exclusively local products. Since their country varies greatly in geological base material, this series offers a splendid chance to study local growth differences in relation to differences in mineral soil content.

000 THIS chapter need not be long. It will consist merely of a restatement of the problem, a review of the evidence, and a conclusion.

105 1. The problem is, what is a Dinaric, and how does he come to be one? The Gheg mountaineers were selected as subjects for this experiment because they seemed to be the most Dinaric people in the world, and because they are located in an area ideal for controls.

2. The mountains in which they live prove to be a true refuge, difficult of access, conservative in every sense.

3. The work of the Gheg keeps him and his family busy at home. It utilizes all of the available soil, and the limit of the number of people whom it can support has long since been reached in terms of the techniques employed. The few craftsmen who come into it to work, like the castle-builders, move on. The Mountains of Giants, like the Highlands of Scotland, export men. None are imported.

4. The mountaineer chooses his bride by a time-honored system which, while sociologically exogamous, biologically keeps the genes within very close lines.

5. His political system provides local autonomy and keeps people home. Feuding keeps men home, too, or, if they lose, sees that they are exiled completely out of the mountains.

6. Religious differences help block marriage with outsiders. Neither Catholics nor Moslems will marry Orthodox. Except in a few regions it segregates Catholics and Moslems as well, and has done so for 4 centuries.

7. The historical picture is reasonably clear. Except for the lowlands along the coast, the tribal area was probably uninhabited, or nearly so, until the second half of the first millennium B.C. Illyrians moved down from the northwest, following the mountains, and settled it. Some Thracians may have entered from the east, and a few Goths straggled into the country around the fork of the Drin. No real addition to the basic Illyrian population took place until the 16th century. At that time the Turks massacred whole villages all the way

105 from Durazzo to Scutari, and in the region of Malsia e Madhe and the lower reaches of Dukagin. To replace the nearly exterminated population, immigrants arrived from the land from which the first ancestors of the Ghegs had come—Bosnia.

000 8. The series which we have studied covers all of the tribes, most of the *bairaks*, and many of the villages. Except for a few tribes within which the regional distribution is uneven, it gives a true coverage of the anthropometry of the mountain people.

9. It defines the Mountain Gheg as a Dinaric of the classic type, as expected, but with wide variations. These are concentrated in gross body size and strength, the size and shape of the cranial vault, and in a few local peculiarities such as the incidence of bilateral chins, baldness, and deep lumbar curves. The greatest uniformity is found in the breadths and proportions of the face, the dimensions and morphology of the nose, hair form and distribution, and pigmentation. The characters which are most uniform are the ones most likely to be genetically controlled; most of those which are most variable are those which the environment can affect the most.

10. Many of these latter differences can be tentatively eliminated or equated by the use of certain controls: age, dental occlusion, nutrition, and the effects of cradling.

11. A few others cannot, as, in Dukagin, the high frequency of brown hair, lambdoid flattening, bilateral chins, and broad shoulders. This points to the presence of a genetic element much less evident in the other tribes, except, in lesser degree, in Malsia e Madhe. Similarly the men of Has, who marry often with their fellow Albanians on the Kossovo plain, have a few peculiarities of their own, particularly a tendency to more baldness, more black hair, and a slightly darker skin. These characters would relate them to the people farther east.

12. Despite all the controls, an east-west gradient remains in head and face form. The people to the northwest are broader headed,

2: Durham, M. Edith. Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd. 1928.

Pp. 318, 11 plates.

HRAF Copy (Theodoratus)

Pp. 35-62, 77-120, 132-151, 157-190, 215-242 were not processed for the files.

/In this volume the author has reworked the materials in many of her earlier monographs and papers on Albania, Montenegro, Serbia and Bosnia. Although the data is presented in a folkloristic framework this does not detract from its value and reliability. The best sections are those on tribal groupings in Northern Albania and Montenegro, law and blood feuds, rites of passage, sorcery and witchcraft and on medical beliefs--Analyst/

Field date: ca. 1910
Analyst: Robert J. Theodoratus

Evaluation: Folklorist - 5
Processed in 1962

111 EGl Albania EGl

3: von Redlich, Marcellus D. A. R. Albania: Yesterday and Today. Worcester, Mass.: The Albanian Messenger, 1936.

Pp. xvi, 269; 2 maps; 53 plates.

Yale: Bx71. 4g

[This popular account of Albania provides general information on the history, geography, political structure, economic development and tourist attractions of the Albanian Kingdom up to 1936. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Robert Lee

Evaluation: Social Scientist--3
Processed in 1955

4: Garnett, Lucy M. J. "Albanian Women," in The Women of Turkey and Their Folk-Lore, Vol. II, Pp. 214-345. London, David Nutt, 1891.

Yale: Ngk 95 T5 890g v. 2

[This rather comprehensive source on Albanian women is a section of the author's two volume study on the women of Turkey. It covers the role and status of women in occupational, ceremonial and familial context. It also contains materials on the moral and ethical notions of Albanian women, their folk-lore, and folk songs. Garnett classifies conceptions found in both written and orally transmitted folk-lore, and interpretes them in relation to the expressions of these conceptions in their folk life. The author based her study primarily on her personal observations in the field but also consulted "every available book on the East." This source provides valuable materials on ethnography of Albania, especially on their family life, life cycle, and their belief and practices. --Analyst]

Field date: ca. 1880
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Folklorist-4, 5
Processed in 1962

6: Lane, Rose Wilder. Peaks of Shala. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1923.

Pp. X, 349, 14 plates.

Yale: Edla A1 13 921

/Mrs. Lane describes in this book her two weeks' trip in 1921 through the land of two Northern Albania mountain tribes, the Shala and the Shoshi. A total stranger to the country, she traveled with two other American women who were going to establish schools in the mountains. They were accompanied by Perolli, secretary to the Albanian Minister of the Interior; Rexh, a 12 years old Mohammedan Albanian, and two Albanian gendarmes. Mrs. Lane recounts her personal experiences; she does not claim to make a scientific contribution to the knowledge of the Balkans. In her subjective manner, however, she paints a vivid picture of the primitive mountaineers' way of life, their dwellings and their etiquette, their clothing and their ingroup and intergroup enforcement of justice, their diet and mythology, their attitudes toward religion, family, property. In a postscript she gives her eyewitness report of the March 1922 rebellion of the mountaineers against the newly formed Albanian government in Tirana. In her account of the

6: Lane, Rose Wilder

background of the rebellion, she presents a summary of Albanian history, of Albania's position among the European powers, and of the way in which this affects Albanian internal affairs. --Analyst/

Field date: none
Analyst: Masha Vorobiov

Evaluation: Traveler-3
Processed in 1956

7: Amery, Julian. The Sons of the Eagle: A Study in Guerilla War. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1948.

Pp. xii, 354; 3 maps; 59 illustrations; index.

Yale: Bia98, B23, Am3.

[This account by a British Intelligence agent, assigned as liaison officer to underground activity in northern and central Albania during World War II, presents a graphic view of the forces at work in the Balkans at that time. In addition to the seven months that the author spent in Albania during 1943-1944, he was also variously associated with other Resistance movements in the Balkans, notably that of Yugoslavia. The work is thus important as a contribution to the history of the war in one of its key areas and shows the role played by the Great Powers in the historic struggle for power in the Balkan peninsula. It is, moreover, an invaluable source of information on the leading personalities of the contemporary Albanian scene, even though the majority of the persons described are now living as political exiles in the West. Many details of the Albanian way of life, particularly among the Highland tribes of the North, are recorded.

111

EG1 Albania

7: Amery, Julian

Field Date: 1943-1944
Analyst: Jack Crane

Evaluation: Government official, 5
Processed in 1955

8: Coon, Carleton S. The Mountains of Giants: A Racial and Cultural Study of the North Albanian Mountain Ghegs. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University, Vol. XXIII, No. 3, pp. viii-105. Cambridge (Mass.): The Peabody Museum, 1950.

Yale: C52. C11. 25 /3

[This monograph is concerned essentially with the anthropometry and descriptive somatology of the Mountain Ghegs of Northern Albania. It includes data on the geography and geology as well as on the cultural background of the area and people: the technology, the economy and ecology, the kinship structure and marriage network, political organization and dynamics, ritual life and the history of one tribal region of the area, that of Malsia e Ghegnisë. The bulk of the data presented and analyzed by the author cover the physical anthropology of the Mountain Ghegs within the framework of the theoretical problem of the "Dinaric" racial type, and include discussion and analysis of such pertinent factors as age, bite, soil, cradling and cranial deformations. The author has included data on a control group, the Tosks of the Boston area, who were measured by two Harvard graduate students. The anthropometric data and observations, as

8: Coon, Carleton S.

well as statistical controls on reliability and validity of data, have been presented largely in tables found throughout the text. A detailed bibliography and collo-type plates of the anthropometric subjects are included at the end of the work. --Analyst]

Field date: 1929-30; 46-48.
Analyst: Eugene Lerner

Evaluation: Ethnologist - 5
Processed in 1956

111 EG1 Albania

9: Albania. Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania. Boston: Committee for the Defense of Albania, 1946.

Pp. 23.

Library of Congress: Albania. Law Ref. No. 13.

[This is an integral English translation, without comment, of the Albanian Constitution as approved by the Constituent Assembly of 14 March 1946. It is stated in a number of articles that their provisions were to be defined in more specific detail by subsequent legislation. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Jack Crane

Processed in 1956

10: Hasluck, Margaret. The Unwritten Law In Albania. Cambridge: The Syndics of the Cambridge University Press, 1954.

Pp. xv, 285; 1 map.

Library of Congress. LAW. Albania, 7, Hasl.

[This study of customary law in Albania, based on the author's 13 years of actual residence in that country, represents a unique contribution, particularly in view of the dearth of Albanian ethnographic materials available in English. Although concerned primarily with the tribal laws and legal procedures of the northern Albanian Highlanders, the book sheds considerable light on little known aspects of Albanian life, such as the composition of the Albanian family, family relationships, kinship organization, the general pattern of village and tribal life, and the functioning of General Assemblies on the tribal and local level. Concepts of property rights and accepted methods

10: Hasluck, Margaret.

for dealing with their violation are discussed in detail, as is the role of oath-taking of compurgators, and of community elders as law-makers and arbiters. The precise conventions regulating the blood-feud, so characteristic of Albanian social inter-relationships, are set forth in great detail. Regional and local variations in custom and law are also shown. The author, whose death in 1948 prevented her from completing the work herself, had training as a folklorist and served after her departure from Albania in 1939 as principal briefing agent for British Intelligence operations into Albania during the war. An appendix of recorded laws and an index are supplied at the end of the book, as is a map showing the geographic distribution of Highland tribes. --Analyst]

Field date: 1926-1939
Analyst: Jack Crane

Evaluation: Foreign resident--5
Processed in 1956

11: United States. Administrative Divisions of Albania. Intelligence Report, No. 6628, July 16, 1954, Office of Intelligence Research, Department of State.

Pp. 4

State Department copy.

[The above excerpt is a concise statement on Albanian administrative reorganization that took place in 1953. It is a factual report with no attempt at analysis or projection--Analyst.]

Field date: none
Analyst: Robert Karlowich

Evaluation: Government Official-4
Processed in 1956

● 113

Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1 ●
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For additional bibliography, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs, category 116, pp. 88-92./

• 113
513

Yugoslavia EF1
Slovenes EF7
Albania EG1 •
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For general information on sleeping quarters in the house, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

113	Yugoslavia EF1
231	Albania EG1
233	Rumania ED1
235	Bulgaria EE1
	Slovenes EF7

/For information on the types of shelter provided for domesticated animals (including cattle), see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

● 113
333
323

Slovenes EF7
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1 ●
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For additional miscellaneous bits of information on the use of brick, stone, tiles and masonry in building construction, see scattered references in 1/7: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

●113
192

Slovenes EF7
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1 ●
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For the use of special terms associated with the parts of a dwelling or of a non-residential structure, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

113, 167, 177 Albania EG1

[For a brief statement regarding the status and organization of the 3,000 Albanians in the Soviet Union said to have survived World War II, see 21:Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, p. 147. A bibliographic note citing a Soviet ethnographic study of this group appears on p. 161.]

113, 439, 648 Albania EG1

[For a discussion of the nature, scope and probable future trends (up to 1970) of Soviet economic relations with the East European satellites since World War II, and the degree of inter-satellite economic integration, see 60: Bergson, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, pp. 321-355]

113, 183, 563 Albania EG1

[For data on beliefs and customs relative to baptism of Moslems in Albania, see 9: Filipovich, EF1 Yugoslavia, category 116, pp. 4-5.]

Bulgaria EE1
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1

113, 342

/For each end plate illustrating house plans in source 9:Megas, the author lists his sources of information in an appendix. See 9:Megas, EH1 Greece, category 116, pp. 120-134./

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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[771] Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
[782] which at one point were most probably human sacrifices; the faith
[769] in the existence of certain snakes that guarded treasures and in the tutelary spirits of people; exposing the dead after the manner of the Parsi, as a result of that lack of respect for the corpse which springs from the knowldege of the eternity of the spirit--the ancient Thracians were jubilant whenever someone died, and they wailed when some-
[775] one was born--; werewolf conceptions; separation of the soul in sleep; wandering about of the dead, especially of evil people who in the form of a ghost or in a transformed human shape cause harm. The foreseeing of the future makes use of materialistic means in order to survive before the masses in a degenerate age which no longer knows
[787] or believes. It prophesies from the fissures that appear in a heated sheep's shoulder blade or hen's breast bone; also from the bright and dark spots in the light filtering through, or from the flight of birds.
[784] The old knowledge of the emanating, radiating spiritual forces of beings and things is used for magical purposes, for instance little pieces of paper that have something written on them and which are worn as a protection or drunk after they have been dissolved in water. The sun still lives among the Albanians as "God's reflection."

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Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

SERBIAN

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INTRODUCTION

113 There is a singular absence of ethnographical material in English which deals with either the Balkan tribes in general or the Albanians in particular. In fact, apart from handbooks compiled during the Hitler war and still inaccessible to the general public, almost all that the student of Albanian life and custom can consult is the work, admirable indeed but of a single author, the late Miss Durham—*High Albania* (1909), and *Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans* (1928), and two other works more nearly concerned with politics. In languages other than English there are the valuable *Albanesische Studien* of J. G. von Hahn (Jena, 1854), the same author's *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* published in Leipzig ten years later, the *Contes Albanais* of Auguste Dozon (Paris, 1881), and possibly passages in Strabo and other ancient authors with regard to the Illyrians from whom the Albanians in the main derive. More recently the Reale Accademia d'Italia has published an Italian version of Gjeçov's *Code of Lek Dukagjini* (Rome, 1941) and a number of other studies on Albania have been published in Italian as a result of the Italian interest in and occupation of that country under Mussolini's régime.

114 This volume of Mrs Hasluck's therefore constitutes a very important contribution to ethnography in English. Principally, it is true, it is concerned with the customary law of the Albanian highlands. But, as a means of understanding the fundamental logical basis of that code and how it works in practice, the author has been under the necessity of explaining the manner of Albanian life in considerable detail, and of illustrating it from time to time by the details of specific cases which illustrate the working of the unwritten law. We are thus given a great deal of information as to the composition of the Albanian family, and its mode of life, the general set up of the village and tribal life, and the nature and working of tribal assemblies. We are shown the methods of dealing with crimes against property or person, the conventions that govern, for instance, trespass, travel, and the feeding of flocks, or the guarding of houses by watch-dogs. We have detailed accounts of the administration of oaths, and of the imposition of

(p. x is blank)

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in con- 304
flict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. 771
So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. 531
Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died 114
in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to 771
Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle 174
I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is 776
the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and 174
floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern 776
and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his [787]
armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is [821]
driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda 531
tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear 304
tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from 173
the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XI.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-BELIEFS.

144 114 Mr. Stuart Glennie's suggestion[1] that the Albanians are probably a mixed Pelasgo-Aryan race, and that the Pelasgians, whose Larissas extend from Italy and Greece through Asia Minor to Northern Syria and Chaldea, were related to the Archaian White Race, the founders of civilisation in the Euphrates Valley, gives special interest to all their folk-lore.

771 Survivals of ancient Nature-worship, which neither Christianity nor Islam has succeeded in eliminating, may be found in the form of the oaths still in 788 use in the Albanian highlands. Contact with the [177] outer world has taught the dwellers in towns to call upon the Virgin and Saints, or Allah and Mohammed, as witnesses to their word; but the oaths of the pastoral Skipetar are still "By sky and earth" (*Per kielh e per dhé*), "By mountain and plain" (*Per ket ziarm e per ket uï*), and "By sun and moon" (*Per ket dielh e per ket hân*). The curious ceremony of taking the "Oath of the Stone," which is said by Wassa Effendi[2] to have been a Pelasgian custom, is

[1] First made in Europe and Asia (1879), and more fully in papers on the Archaian White Races, read in 1887 at meetings of the Royal Historical Society and of the British Association.

[2] *Etudes sur l'Albanie et les Albanais.*

[Page 272]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-POESY—FOLK-TALES.

THE subject of Albanian folk-lore attracted many years ago the attention of Von Hahn, whose *Albanesische Studien* and *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen* are well known to folk-lorists throughout Europe. Other collections have since been made by French and Italian students of the language and lore of the Skipetars, not only in their native land, but also in their colonies in Italy, Sicily, and the Greek Islands, where, though long settled, they still remain a distinct race.[1] 114

Long contact with the neighbouring Greeks has, in South Albania, naturally resulted in much interborrowing of folk-tales, and it is often difficult to determine to which nationality a story originally belonged. M. Dozon finds also traces of a Slav origin in several tales contained in his collection, which may have been introduced either by the Bulgarians of Upper Macedonia, or by the Montenegrin settlers in Northern Albania. The pious Pagano-Christian element, as M. Dozon calls the legends of Saints which are found both in Greek and Armenian 538 177 [773]

[1] See, for instance, Jubany, *Raccolta, &c.*; and Dozon, *Contes Albanais* and *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*. A small collection, untranslated, referred to by M. Dozon as *L'Abeille Chkipe*, but of which I have not been able to learn the exact title, has also been published at Cairo.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

She then takes hold of the flower with both hands 539
and lays her head upon it.

Almost every Albanian tribe has a more or less 173
mythical tradition of its origin, which is generally traced to some single ancestor. Of these I have already mentioned two, the legends of the Miridite clans of the Clementi and the Castrati. Another tradition, however, traces the descent of the entire tribe of the Miridites from one man, who, like the favourite hero of fairy tales generally, was the youngest of three sons. His father, according to the story, lived on Mount Pastrik, near Diakova, and at his death the three brothers divided their poor inheritance, the eldest taking the saddle (*Shalla*), the second the sieve (*Shosh*), the third receiving only the salutation of "Good-day" (*Mir dia*). As is, however, always the case in such stories, the prosperity of the portionless one greatly excelled that of his brothers. For while they became the founders of the clans called Shialla and Shoshi, in remembrance of the saddle and sieve they had respectively inherited, he who had been dismissed with an ironical salutation bequeathed it as a name to a far more numerous and powerful tribe, the *Miridites*.

Out of so many charming folk-tales it is a difficult 114
matter to choose the best or most characteristically 538
Albanian. I have, however, limited myself to those [121]
of which the originals are available, in order to obtain the precise names of the Supernals described in them, many of whom are disguised by their French translator under the name of *Lamie*, and by Von Hahn under the Teutonic *Elfs* or *Kobold*. As mentioned in

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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114 the previous chapter, most of these magical beings
538 have their equivalents in Greek folk-lore, but the Liouvía is peculiar to Albania, and has, so far, been found only in two stories, the following, and that entitled "Perseus" by Von Hahn.[1] The "Beauty
538 of the Earth," or "The World," is the subject of other stories, both Albanian and Greek, and also occurs in Greek folk-song under the same title.[2] This story, however, has a parallel in the Epirote Greek tale of "The King's Son and the Beardless One," in which the hero, a king's son, is personated by a beardless muleteer, a blind *Drache* being substituted for the Liouvía, and an old lame horse for the old man of the Albanian version. The king's son throws pieces of meat to the *Drache*, who recovers his sight, and out of gratitude swallows the hero, who, while in the creature's stomach, learns the language of birds, an attainment which afterwards serves him in good stead. In one of the Greek variants the Beauty is described as "The Golden-haired One," and all the maidens of the town form her train.[3] The incident of stealing the magic dress occurs also in the Bulgarian song of "The Samodiva Married against her Will."[4]

[1] *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, No. 98.

[2] See Passow, *Carmina, &c.* : 'Η ὡραία τοῦ κόσμου.

[3] Von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen;* and the story of "The Twins" in Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια.

[4] See vol. i. p. 352.

valley of Bulqis, where there are springs of 173
strange waters, and that as they passed through the forest—there was in those days a great forest in the Bulqis, where now there are fields of grain —they rested by one of the springs, in the place where the great rocks are standing in rows. There they heard a sound of singing in a strange tongue, but the end of the song they understood, and the end of the song was, 'Long live Lec, the son of Filip i dyte, Lec i Madhe, the king of the world!'[1]

[1]This story was told me in upper Thethis in the spring of 1921. In 114
the summer of 1922 I visited the Mati, accompanied by Annette Marquis 101
and Rrok Perolli. The Mati is a fertile high plateau defended by an unbroken ring of almost impassable mountains. It has never been conquered by foreign armies, though assailed by Romans, Turks, and Serbs; through 1920 and 1921 the men of Mati successfully defended their lands with their rifles against Serbian artillery. The present Prime Minister of the Albanian republic, Ahmet Bey Mati (or Ahmet Zogu, as he endeavors to persuade the people to call him, since the abolition of titles in Albania) is chief of the family which has ruled the Mati since Albania's quarter century of freedom under Scanderbeg, in the fifteenth century.

We were the first foreigners who had ever entered the Mati. We found the country, the people, and the customs quite different from those of the Dukaghini tribes described in this book, excepting only the unvarying Albanian hospitality. We visited the Bulqis, very terribly devastated by the invading Serbs in 1920 and 1921, and partly circled the city of Dibra, taken from Albania by the 1913 frontier line as a knife takes out the eye of a potato. The Albanian frontier commission of the League of Nations was at that time sitting in Scutari, and I regret that commissions do not sometimes travel along the frontiers they have made.

As to the story of Lec i Madhe, we drank the delicious waters of the many strangely flavored springs of Bulqis, and we lunched in the "place where the great rocks are standing in rows." These stones resemble those 172
of Carnac and Stonehenge, though on a much smaller scale, and they may be relics of peoples who lived here prior to the arrival of the Albanians, or they may be a curious accident of geological formation.

On the site of the city Emadhija we found traces which seemed to us undeniably left by the work of human hands. They lie at the head of a valley in a flat triangular space formed by meeting mountain chains,

7 [See cit. 113, pp. 176-187 [185] -- Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

POSTSCRIPT

"Long may you live, *zonyas!*" said he, and, after he had glanced at our passports: "All honor to you. Go on a smooth trail!" And the words rekindled an old hearth fire in my heart. After a year of the bleakness of Europe, I was at home again.

Three days later rifles were crackling, machine guns were ripping out their staccato shots, and we were under fire in the streets of Tirana. It was the rebellion of March, 1922—a strange affair, which I am about to relate. But before it can be understood, Albania itself must be understood, for that crisis and its outcome are incomprehensible, incredible, without their background.

It would be useless, even though it were not dishonest, to claim that I see Albania with impartial eyes. But this should be said: if I feel a fondness for the little country which perhaps obscures clear judgment, that fondness was created by knowing Albania. I came into it, as I have said, rather prejudiced against it than otherwise. I did not intend to stop there; I was persuaded to stay two weeks; and I have twice returned to Albania and will go there again.

Yes, I have become a special pleader for Albania. But I know the country, I speak the language, I have traveled along the northwestern frontier from Lake Scutari to the Dibra, I have spent months with the people of tribes never before visited by a foreigner. And I have yet to read in any American publication a reference to

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

POSTSCRIPT

114 Albania which is accurate. When a writer so well informed as Mr. Lathrop Stoddard refers to Albania as a "land of rugged mountains and equally rugged mountaineers which raises nothing but trouble," and thinks that its importance in the Balkan problem is due to Italy's exaggeration of Valona's military importance; when all American consuls in Europe warn travelers not to go to Albania, a land of brigands; when Albania appears in the newspapers only as a joke or as the scene of another lawless revolution—the few Americans who know Albania do become special pleaders.

000 There are good reasons for these misconceptions of Albania. For six centuries the Albanians were one of the buried Christian minorities of the Turkish Empire in Europe. Their great men who rose to places of power in the Near East were not known to the outside world as Albanians. Ismail Kemal Bey, Grand Vizier of Turkey, who raised the flag of Albanian independence in 1912; Mehmet Ali, who led the struggle for Egyptian independence in 1811 and founded the dynasty of the Khedives of Egypt; Crispi, the great Italian statesman—these are a few of the Albanians who, having lost their own country, have fought under other banners. When the Albanians of Sicily rose behind Garibaldi and fought for a free and united Italy, they were thought to be Italians. When the Albanians of Epirus fought for the freedom of Greece, they were thought to be Greek. When they fight for the

7: Amery EG1 Albania EG1
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[For the author's account of his entry into the British Intelligence group known as the "D" organization, its organizational set-up, and its World War II mission in the Balkans, see pp. 23-31, category 116.]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

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THE AUTHOR

(From a drawing by Olive Snell)

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

PREFACE

THE Resistance Movements of the second World War will not lack their memorials. The passions which they aroused, the causes which they served, and the deeds which they inspired assure them a lasting place in the annals of history. Their military worth has been acknowledged alike by victors and by vanquished; and their influence will long be felt in the affairs of the nations.

From 1940 to 1945 I was variously associated with the Resistance Movements of the Balkans, and more especially with those of the South Slavs and the Albanians. I have written here of the Albanian Revolt, but the implications of my theme inevitably transcend the narrow limits of Albania. The story of Abas Kupi and Enver Hoja is, in its essentials, the story of Mihailovitch and Tito, of Zervas and E.A.M. In a wider sense, indeed, it is also the story of de Gaulle and Thorez, of Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. The forms may change but the content is the same; for Resistance is a universal phenomenon—a compound of war and revolution.

To stir up strife behind an enemy's lines is a stratagem as old as war itself; but in this last war new techniques of wireless-transmission and airborne-supply made possible the long-range preparation and support of revolts in occupied territories on a scale unexampled in history. The organisation of Resistance has thus become a distinct branch of the art of war, of comparable importance as an instrument of national policy to the traditional arms and the new weapons of the atomic age.

The chronicle of events recorded in these pages has been composed with the help of contemporary diaries and reports. The mind, however, tends irresistibly to impose a pattern on its memories, and it has not always been easy to recapture the mental and moral climate of our experiences. Yet therein lay much of their personal significance.

In the seven months that our mission lasted we lived

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

PREFACE

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THE data on which this study is based were gathered in northern Albania during the fall, winter, and spring of 1929–30. Funds were provided by the National Research Council of Washington, D. C., and Mr. Francis Drexel Smith of Colorado Springs, Colorado. After the field work was over the National Research Council, whose Fellow I was, paid my salary for one year, as well as the expenses of statistical analysis and typing. On April 7, 1932, the report was presented to the National Research Council, which approved it. It was also submitted to, and approved by, the then Albanian government. Owing to a number of reasons publication was postponed; with the generous help of a grant from the Milton Fund and J. H. Clark Bequest of Harvard University, and of another from the Viking Fund, I was able to employ an assistant in 1946–48 to help me with a complete revision. That revision is now finished.

The personnel of the 1929–30 expedition included, beside myself, Mrs. Stanley Salmen (then Mrs. Coon); Mr. Frederick E. Farnsworth, now a U. S. Foreign Service Officer; Mr. Anthony Stevens, a member of the U. S. Consulate staff at Tirana; and Mr. Stavre Frasheri. We were facilitated in our work by Brigadier General Julius C. Holmes, then chargé-d'affaires at the U. S. Legation in Tirana; the late Dr. J. Dineley Prince, then U. S. Minister to Yugoslavia; Mr. Paul deMille, then U. S. Consul at Tirana, and Mr. Joseph Shutack, a member of his staff. Messrs. Kota, Rauf Fico, and Xhelal Frasheri, of the erstwhile Albanian government, all rendered us aid, as did the British officers in charge of the

Cambridge, Mass.
June, 1948

[p. -v b-]

619 643 feud; his cousin, Marka Gjoni, a weak character; his son, Jon Markajon, the incumbent in 1929, a man powerful enough to maintain the tribal system in defiance of the central government, to have his men exempted from military service and taxation, and to exact from Ahmed Zog an annual stipend in return for which he would keep his men quiet.

634 619 Each tribe in Ghegnia is an aggregation of *bairaks*. In 1929 we found 13 *bairaks* in Malsia e Madhe, 6 in Dukagin, 7 in Malsia e Jakovës, 2 in Has, 5 in Luma, 7 in Puka, 5 in Mirdita, one in Zadrima, 4 in Mati, 4 in Dibra, making 54 in all. The names of these, as recorded on our measurement blanks, are:

Malsia e Madhe: Klementi, Gruda, Hoti, Kastrati, Koplik, Greisha, Shkrelli, Rioli, Reçi, Loya, Postripa, Triepsh, and Kraja.
Dukagin: Shoshi, Shala, Kiri, Dushman, Pulati, Toplana.
Malsia e Jakovës: Krasniqi, Gashi, Bituç, Marina, Vunshaj, Merturi, Nakaj.
Has: Vlana, Ershan.
Luma: Biçani, Kalishi, Ujmisht, Dolovisht, Çaja (Gorë, a Serbian-speaking *bairak*, is sometimes also counted with Luma).
Puka: Kabash, Puka, Çerer, Mal i Zi, Berisha, Buxhon, Iballja.
Mirdita: Dibri, Fan, Orosh, Speç, Kushnen.
Zadrima: Zadrima.
Mati: Mat, Lura, Kthella, Selita.
Dibra: Reçi, Stashani, Sheheri Poshtar, Sheheri Epert.

This list cannot be wrong in the cases of Puka and Mirdita, for the members of these tribes use the names *shtat bairaket* and *pes bairaket*, meaning *seven bairaks* and *five bairaks*, to designate their tribes. In Luma, Malsia e Jakovës, and Malsia e Madhe the picture is complicated by the presence of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, which not only cuts through *bairaks*, but has caused wholesale migrations and flights within the lifetimes of the subjects measured. Dozens of *fis* of a few households each have shifted about, and it is hard to tell to which *bairak* each belonged at the time the series was measured.

619 634 114 Miss Durham, who made her observations between 1908–13, some 20 years ahead of

* Three from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Malsia e Jakovës, 1 Puka, 1 Mirdita, 2 Dibra. All of these except the Mirdita man bore reserve titles.

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me, found the tribal rosters different in some areas from those I later encountered. She calls Malsia e Madhe not a tribe at all, but a confederation of tribes. Of these Klementi is given 4 *bairaks*, Seltzi, Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi, while the other 9, Gruda, Hoti, Skreli (Shkrelli), Klementi (Kilmeni), Lohe (Loya), Rechi (Reçi), Rioli (Riola), Kopliku, and Grizha (Greisha), are said to have consisted of a single *bairak* each. Triepsh and Kraja were not listed, doubtless because they lay over the Montenegrin border even before the imposition of the 1913 boundary. She did not include Postripa in the confederacy, but made it a separate group of tribes.

These were Mazreku, Drishti, Shlaku, Dushmani, and Summa. Only one of these, Dushmani, is given 2 *bairaks*, the others having one each. Dushman is the only one of these names which appears on my list, where it is given the status of a *bairak* of Dukagin. I measured in the village of Postripa itself, and am surprised that no subjects from these separate "tribes" appeared. What I was told was called Dukagin, she lists as "the Pulati group," dividing this into Upper and Lower Pulati. She grants Lower Pulati 4 small, one-*bairak* tribes: Plani, Ghoanni, Mgula, and Kiri. Upper Pulati is given Shala, with 4 *bairaks*, Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj; Shoshi, number of *bairaks* not stated; Toplana, same; Nikaj, same. Merturi, which intermarried with Nikaj and is now called part of Malsia e Jakovës, she listed with Puka as a part of Berisha. The reason for this was that "Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago."[6]

Mal i Zi, listed in my roster as a *bairak* of Puka, she assigns to Luma. She makes Gashi, a *bairak* of Malsia e Jakovës, a separate tribe. She also grants tribal independence to the *bairak* of Lura, which she places at the head of a confederation including Mati and Dibra, and to Kthella, which she divides into 3 *bairaks*, Kthella, Selita, and Perlati.

1/1 [See Cat. 116, p 31 b Analyst]

It is my impression that some of these differences are due to a confusion on Miss Durham's part between *fis* and *bairak*, *bairak* and tribe. On page 68 she translates *bairaktar* as "head of the tribe." Had she not gone wrong somewhere it would have been remarkable.

[6] Durham, 1928, p. 27.

619 634 114 Travel in Ghegnia in the years 1908–13 would not have been easy, even for an experienced man. For a woman to have made these journeys is something of a miracle. Others may be the result of the process of amalgamation, for many of the "tribes" which she mentions were miserable fragments of former populations decimated by warfare, and massacred, in some cases, by the Serbs. By 1929 a considerable realignment must have taken place in the whole area north of the Drin, and especially in the regions which she designates as Postripa and Pulati. In any case the 10 groups of people whom I have designated as tribes were so considered by the people with whom I worked in 1929, and form more or less self-contained, intermarrying units, sufficient for our present purpose.

619 628 Under the tribal system warfare was almost continuous. The underlying cause was of course population pressure. The overt causes were seduction, theft of women, elopement, cattle-stealing, and general raiding. It did not take much to give offense, particularly in the late winter, when food was scarce. Even a man who had almost enough to eat himself would be under severe tension, because of the general nervous strain of his kinsmen and dependents, and consequent maladjustment within the household.

A chance blow, a harsh word, even a play on words which is very easy in Shqip, or above all a cruel joke—these seemingly minor conflicts often led to gunplay and murder, with 522 consequent feuding. I had several occasions to feel their Iron Age wit, so much like that of the Norse sagas. Once my host in Zadrima remarked, in front of many people, that I had the skinniest legs he had ever seen, and wondered how I could walk. The assembled company burst into Homeric roars. On another occasion, in a Puka *han*, I lifted my head suddenly and hit it a sound smack on a protruding nail, partially stunning myself in the process. This was the funniest thing in the world. Once again, when Farnsworth and I crawled into our sleeping bags for the night, the whole household laughed and laughed. When we asked what was the matter, they said, "Just think, if the house should catch on fire! You

173 politics what they are, probably will not be. They serve our purpose of illustrating a principle of population movement in a feuding society.

This ends our history up to the final date of the ethnographic present as defined in chapter 1, "The Dinaric Problem."*

175 Turkish rule lasted in Albania until 1912. After the Balkan wars an opera bouffe kingdom was set up with the Prince of Wied as king, and the capital in Durazzo. During his uninspired reign an international boundary commission laid out the borders of the new state, and at every point where there was any question, Albania came out the loser. Gruda was given to Montenegro. The Grudans who survived this political change fled to Scutari. Hoti lost part of its land, particularly its winter pasture. The tribesmen of Klementi were so cut off that they could not drive their flocks to their winter pasture near Scutari without crossing Montenegrin territory, which would have been equivalent to losing their animals. The Serbs closed the border to mountaineers bringing their goods to Jakova to trade, and expelled many of the Albanians from both that city and Ipek. They made it almost impossible to travel between Kukës and Prizren; in 1929 our party was held up a whole day while we were searched to the skin, ordered to read aloud all of our papers, accused of being renegade Croats, etc., and we finally got away only after a great deal of telephoning on the plea that one of us was dangerously ill. In Prizren we found the jail full of Albanians.

[114]

[361] Dibra as well was lost as a market town. Kukës sprang up as a makeshift metropolis, as did Peshkopia. Tradesmen and artisans, as we have seen, stole over the border from Jakova, Prizren, and Dibra, to set up shop in the new places. The boundary commission could have created no more international hatred if this had been its principal objective.

World War I followed immediately after these unwise decisions, and the powderpuff king ran away. An army of Serbs, fleeing for their lives, marched across Dibra and Mati, burning and looting as they passed, to seek refuge on Corfu. Austrian troops, at their heels, occupied Scutari and the Malsia e Madhe, as well as the region of Kukës. They built

*[See cat. 116, p. 56 -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)194's EG1 Albania EG1

Highland Ghegs
Tosks

[114]
304
*128

During the winter of 1946–47, 2 graduate students in the Harvard Department of Anthropology, despite busy programs, undertook to measure and observe a sample of the colony, including both Albanian-born and American-born (fig. 16)[1] cradled and uncradled. They measured 37 adults of both sexes who had been born in Albania, and cradled, and 30 individuals, also of both sexes, born in America, of whom only 12 were 20 years old or over.

Table 26[2] gives the results in the categories of occipital and lambdoid flattening. Only one person born in Albania lacked any kind of flattening; he is Mr. Peter Peterson, whose picture may be seen on plate 14, fig. 3, of "The

1 [See cat. 116, p. 116 -- Analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, p. 95c -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

PREFACE

Margaret Hasluck was the daughter of a Scottish farmer, John Hardie. She was born in 1885 and spent her early years in Morayshire. From Elgin Academy she went to Aberdeen University, where she graduated in 1907 with first class Honours in Classics. Continuing her classical studies in Cambridge, she took a first class in both parts of the Tripos. She then went to the British School at Athens where her future husband, Mr F. W. Hasluck, was Assistant Director. They were married in 1912 and continued to work in Athens till the condition of Mr Hasluck's health compelled them to go to Switzerland in 1916. Mr Hasluck died in 1920, and his wife returned to England to prepare his book on *The Monasteries of Mount Athos*. When this work was completed, Mrs Hasluck, who had become greatly interested in the folklore of the Balkan countries, decided to devote herself to the study of this subject, and, with the help of a Wilson Travelling Fellowship, she returned to the Middle East. After extensive wanderings, she decided to settle in Albania. She remained in that country for thirteen years, building herself a house at Elbasan, and travelling constantly, especially in the mountainous region of the north where she lived with the people and got to know them intimately.

With the threat of the Italian invasion of Albania in 1939, she left that country for Athens, where she worked for some time in the British Embassy. When that city was being heavily bombed she was taken to Alexandria and thence to Cairo. In Cairo she was given the task of briefing the men who were to be infiltrated into Albania by air and sea, in the manners and ways of life of the Albanian people. She was, of course, well qualified for this work by her long and intimate knowledge of the country and of the language. Unfortunately, she became seriously ill in Cairo, and was found to be suffering from leucaemia. In the hope of some improvement she went to live in Cyprus, but, driven to realize that she had not long to live, she came back to England determined to finish the book which she had been planning for many years and for which she had collected a mass of material. After some indecision as to a suitable place to live she went to Dublin, and during the short time left to her she worked there with great courage and

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

114 persistence on her book. She died in 1948 with her task far from completed.

Mrs Hasluck appointed the writer of this preface as her literary executor, not because of any knowledge of Albania or of folklore, but as an old friend who would do everything possible to get the book ready for publication. Had she completed it herself or entrusted it to some authority on her subject, the book would undoubtedly have been free of some of its faults. When the material came into my hands, only four of the chapters had been completed and much of the remaining material was in a chaotic condition. But Mrs Hasluck had sketched out the plan of the book with the proposed chapter headings, and the preliminary inquiries I made as to her standing as an authority and her knowledge of Albania and its language were very encouraging. Also the [122] Leverhulme Research Fellowships Trust, from which Mrs Hasluck had received grants for her work, undertook to give me a grant towards my personal expenses and to make it possible to employ a sub-editor at a later stage of the work.

I am indebted to a great many people, both English and Albanian, who helped me at the early stages of the work with information and ideas. I cannot mention all of these by name, but I heard from several of the officers who were briefed by Mrs Hasluck for their work in Albania. I discussed with Professor Jopson of St John's College, Cambridge, Mrs Hasluck's knowledge of the Albanian language, and was assured by him that it was good and that her *Albanian-English Reader*, published in 1932, was a reliable and useful book. But at the early stages of my task I owed a very special debt of gratitude to Lord Haden Guest, who was then Secretary of the Leverhulme Research Fellowships, and to Miss Branney, the present secretary. Without their interest and encouragement I do not think I could have found the necessary confidence to persevere in what has proved to be a difficult and prolonged task.

One source of great difficulty was the spelling of geographical names, and it was natural to turn to the Royal Geographical Society for help. I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing my very sincere gratitude to Mr Aurousseau, Secretary of the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names, who gave much time and thought to this matter and whose advice was invaluable.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

INTRODUCTION

There is a singular absence of ethnographical material in English which deals with either the Balkan tribes in general or the Albanians in particular. In fact, apart from handbooks compiled during the Hitler war and still inaccessible to the general public, almost all that the student of Albanian life and custom can consult is the work, admirable indeed but of a single author, the late Miss Durham—*High Albania* (1909), and *Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans* (1928), and two other works more nearly concerned with politics. In languages other than English there are the valuable *Albanesische Studien* of J. G. von Hahn (Jena, 1854), the same author's *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* published in Leipzig ten years later, the *Contes Albanais* of Auguste Dozon (Paris, 1881), and possibly passages in Strabo and other ancient authors with regard to the Illyrians from whom the Albanians in the main derive. More recently the Reale Accademia d'Italia has published an Italian version of Gjeçov's *Code of Lek Dukagjini* (Rome, 1941) and a number of other studies on Albania have been published in Italian as a result of the Italian interest in and occupation of that country under Mussolini's régime.

This volume of Mrs Hasluck's therefore constitutes a very important contribution to ethnography in English. Principally, it is true, it is concerned with the customary law of the Albanian highlands. But, as a means of understanding the fundamental logical basis of that code and how it works in practice, the author has been under the necessity of explaining the manner of Albanian life in considerable detail, and of illustrating it from time to time by the details of specific cases which illustrate the working of the unwritten law. We are thus given a great deal of information as to the composition of the Albanian family, and its mode of life, the general set up of the village and tribal life, and the nature and working of tribal assemblies. We are shown the methods of dealing with crimes against property or person, the conventions that govern, for instance, trespass, travel, and the feeding of flocks, or the guarding of houses by watch-dogs. We have detailed accounts of the administration of oaths, and of the imposition of

(p. x is blank)

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

114 penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud.
[628] For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no
[577] doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

171 It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that
721 of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss
[826] Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants,
[842] its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance
[583] is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance
[302] of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the head by Albanians (p. 230), as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but
[628] quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other
000 primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

III. THE HOUSES OF THE ALBANIANS

The Albanians, as descendants of the ancient Illyrians (1), belong, as well as the Greeks, to the most ancient inhabitants of the Haimos Peninsula, but they have not developed their own civilization either in ancient times nor in medieval years. Living almost isolated on a mountainous and inaccessible country, the Albanians have retained for many centuries their ancient customs, and even to-day they represent the patriarchal level in the evolution of civilization (2). This is the reason why everything connected with the life and the dwellings of the Albanians presents a particular interest to the numerous foreign tourists and ethnographers who, from time to time, have made relative surveys. 101

The most complete survey on the dwellings of the Albanians is, as far as I know, the book on Albania by Franz Baron Nopcsa (4). In this book, the author has summed up his previous impressions on housing in Northern Albania (3), and, at the same time, took into 342 114

1) The question of the origin of Albanians has not yet been clarified. Some recent linguistic surveys question the origin of the Albanian language from the Illyrian and accept a rather close relation between the Albanian and Thracian languages. C. Patsch (see **Herbert Louis**, Albanien, Stuttgart, 1927, p. 41) has found traces of Thracians near the Adriatic sea. [174]

2) See **K. Amantos**, Οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1923, pp. 129-189. **A. Keramopoulos**, Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες. Athens, 1915, p. 198. Compare the journeys of **K. Steinmetz**, **E. Liebest**, and **Fr. Nopcsa** in «Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von C. Patsch, vol. 1 3, 6 10. 11. **Baschmakoff**, A travers le Montenegro et le pays de Geuges, St. Petrsb. 1911 and **H. Louis**, pp. 36-40.

3) **Frans Baron Nopcsa**, Albanien, Bauten, Trachten, Geräte, Nordalbaniens, Berlin und Leipzig, 1925. Nopcsa is followed by **H. Louis**, on the subject of Albanian houses (p. 53-59).

4) **Fr. Baron Nopcsa**, Aus Sala und Klementi (Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von Patsh, vol. II) Sarajevo 1910. Haus und Hausrath im Katholischen Nordalbanien (volume 16) Sarajevo 1912.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1
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A 342 consideration the remarks of all other previous investigators, especially those of J. Von Hahn (1) and A. Haberlandt (2).
[114]

According to Nopcsa, the social status existing in Albania which, as Haberlandt remarked, has not changed since the medieval years, the lack of security, frequent revolutions and the systematic burning by the Turkish army of the houses of the fugitives from justice, contributed, before 1900, in bringing the housing situation to a very low level. Inhabitants of some mountainous regions of Albania (Sala, Kastrati), have stated that any relatively high buildings were considered as a novelty introduced into the country only before sixty years. According to Nopcsa, before the introduction of the two-storey house with a prostoon and of the Kula, the Albanians, who live in mountainous regions, the two-thirds of the country being at an altitude of over 1.000 meters, must have inhabited low huts, comprising one or two rooms at most and covered with hay or branches. Generally speaking, the evolution from the simpler forms of housing to the more composite ones has been very slow and toilsome in Albania, comparable to the slow process of Albanian civilisation.
A [133]
A [127]

Here below I shall try to consider the house of Northern Albania, studied by Nopcsa, and, as regards Middle Albania (3), I shall only refer to the little but verified information we have from von Hahn and Ekrem bei Vlora (4).

According to Nopcsa, we distinguish in Albania a) houses of temporary or semi-temporary and permanent character, and b) houses built of timber, of other organic material and of stone.

In Northern Albania we first see the most primitive forms of housing, such as the cave dwellings of the Cem valley with the Cruda tribe, which entirely correspond to the prehistoric shelters. Caves formed at the ends of the valley, were enclosed by stone
Y [342]

1) **J. G. von Hahn,** Albanische Studien. Jena 1853/54.

2) **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien. Zeitschrift für Oesterreichische Volkskunde, Ergänzungsband 23, Wien 1918 — Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1919.

A [171] 3) The area to the South of the Avlon gulf, as far as the Greek border is not examined in this book. This area is very wrongly referred to as Southern Albania in foreign surveys. The houses of this region are those of North Epirus and their building style is purely Greek.

4) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** Aus Berat und vom Tomor. Tagebuchblätter (Zur Kunde d. Balkanh 13) Sarajevo 1911.

2 Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

625 wild and lawless country on the borders of Montenegro and to the prefect is allotted the difficult task of maintaining
000 order there. This part of Albania, which is exceedingly mountainous and extends northwards to the Serbian border, is the part which is most often visited by travellers and most frequently described in books of travel. Indeed, it is a matter of complaint amongst Albanians that so many books are published which deal with this particular portion of the country—a portion by no means representative of the whole—and convey the impression that all Albania is similar to it. My original intention had been to cross the border from Kolašin, in Montenegro, and travel down through this mountainous country to Scutari, but I was dissuaded by the Governor of Cettinje, who declared that it would be very unwise to attempt such a journey on account of the danger of being attacked by brigands, and although the idea of being attacked by brigands—so romantic and such excellent " copy "—rather appealed to me, I was not anxious to share the fate of two Americans who had recently been killed there. Afterwards I regretted that I had been induced to change my plans, for I learned that the two Americans had accidentally walked into an ambush that was intended for somebody else and that I might have made the trip with safety.

114 Those who want to know about these highlands of Albania will find a vivid description of them in " High Albania " by Miss Durham, a book which was written a year or two
000 before the war. At that time the blood-feud and the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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PLATE I.—MEN OF SHALA

(Photo by Marubbi)

[Frontispiece)

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SOME TRIBAL ORIGINS LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF THE BALKANS

By

M. E. DURHAM

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE

ILLUSTRATED BY THE AUTHOR

[Title page]

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PREFACE

By way of Preface my main task is to give thanks to all who have helped me.

To the President and Council of the Royal Anthropological Institute I am especially indebted for permission to include in this book much material already published in the *Journal* of the Institute and its monthly periodical *Man*, and to reproduce also many illustrations. Nor is this all my debt, for had it not been for the kind interest and encouragement of many individual Fellows of the Institute I should hardly have accomplished my task.

To Baron Franz Nopcsa, whose knowledge of North Albania is unrivalled, and who was working there when I was, I am indebted for much kind help.

My debt to the many Balkan friends who admitted me to their daily life, and allowed me to see their way of living, is very great. This debt I have paid, I hope, in some degree by several years of hospital and refugee work among them.

These friends are too numerous to name, as they range from very humble peasants to officials and high ecclesiastics. But among them I would specially record my old Albanian guide, Marko Shantoya, without whose skill, kindness, and care I should never have accomplished the toilsome journeys in the mountains. The good old man died during the Great War. Peace be to his soul!

Thus many people have aided me, and to them is due all that may be of value in this book. For its errors I am alone responsible. That it is incomplete no one is more aware than myself. I can only plead that my plans, like so many others, were completely put an end to by the Great War.

M. EDITH DURHAM.

April 1928.

[Pages 1 and 2 are blank]

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SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

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5. The Montenegrin Tribes up till 1913. Katunski Nahia; Rijeka Nahia.
6. The Tzrnojevitches. Ivan Beg.
7. Tzrmnitza, the Brda, and the recently annexed Tribes.
8. Development of Montenegro into an independent State and its fall.

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SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

1. The Tribal System in North Albania

The tribal system seems to be a social stage through which mankind normally passes. Within historic times Europe was a welter of tribes, from which in the course of years have been evolved the present "Powers"—Powers which themselves are compounded each of several racial elements and whose frontiers are in a constant state of flux. 174

In Europe it is only in the Balkan peninsula that the tribal system survived intact into the twentieth century. The Great War has broken up the last tribe lands of Europe—Montenegro and North Albania; and as I lived for some time in each previous to the catastrophe, it seems worth while to record all the details I managed to collect about these interesting relics of a distant past.

The Balkans were tribal in Herodotus's day. Strabo (*ob.* A.D. 25) gives a clear account of the Illyrian and Epirotic tribes who is his time dwelt on the east coast of the Adriatic and had recently been subdued by Rome. "The Istri," says he, "are the first people on the Illyrian coast contiguous to Italy and the Carni. The present government has advanced the limits of Italy to Pola, a city of Istria." Now again, 1,900 years later, Italy has "advanced her limits"—and included Pola, and hankers after other districts which Strabo describes as under Roman rule. "Next come the Japodes, who are a warlike people, but were completely subdued by Augustus . . . the country is poor and the people live mainly on spelt and millet. Their armour is of the Celtic fashion. Their bodies are punctured like those of the other Illyrian and Thracian people." Next come the Liburnians with a city Scardona and a navigable river (the Kerka), and then the "coast of the Dalmatæ and their naval arsenal Salona. They were long at war with the Romans and had fifty considerable settlements, some of which had the rank of cities. Augustus burnt them down . . . then follows the river Narenta, and the peoples of the neighbourhood are the Duorizi, Ardæi, and Pleraii. . . . The Romans drove the Ardæi into the interior because the coast was infested by their piracies, and forced them to cultivate the land. But, as the country was barren, the nation was entirely ruined and nearly extinguished. The same happened to neighbouring nations. People once very powerful are now extinct or 175 105 101

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175 reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani
105 among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

101 "Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived. Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Peligones*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

174 This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still
622 found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe
623 still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

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(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 174
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of [628]
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 582
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 602
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence 611
it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

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A 779 582 Finally he said he supposed he could not; but that such a case had never occurred, and he hoped he should never have to do anything so horrible. So long as he lived in the mountains he was safe.

I dared not ask how many cousins in the female line he had married in all good faith.

A 614 The tribe is sometimes a group of several stocks, in which case marriage within the tribe is possible between them. These groups are called "bairaks" (standards: Turk.). Some tribes consist of but one bairak. The head is the "bairaktar" (standard-bearer). This post is hereditary from father to eldest son. Of old the bairaktar is said to have been important. In my time he had lost ground and was often quite cut out in council by abler men.

A 596 Each bairak contains many groups, called "vlaznii" (brethren), consisting of a family group including second cousins or even further. The Turkish word "mehala" is also used for these groups.

H 1114 779 A vivid picture of North Albania before the coming of the Turk is given by Father Brocardus, a Dominican who wrote an account of the routes suitable for the Crusaders in 1332, and presented it to his sovereign, Lord Philippe de Valois. He shows Albania under Serb rule. Especially he recommends the route from Brindisi to Durazzo, and thence across "Abbanie where the people are devout and obedient to the Church of Rome," and thence by way of the Blaques (Vlahs of the Pindus) to Thessalonica.

Of the Kingdom of Rassie (Serbia) he says that it is a land where Catholics are treated with insult and violence. He proposes to the King of France: "Some movements to assail it, and certain easy conditions for taking it. . . . Among other things there is one which does much to make the capture of the said Kingdom of Rassie more easy. Be it known there are two nations, the one the Abbanois, and the H [794] other the Latins, who are both of the faith and owe obedience to the Church of Rome, according to which they have Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and religious and secular priests of lower estate and degree. The Latins have six cities and as many bishops. These are Antivari—the Archiepiscopate—Cattaro, Dulcigno, Suacinense, Scutari, and Drivasto. In these cities only Latins live, and some are without the walls. In all their dioceses are Abbanois, who have also four cities: that is to say Polat Major, Polat Minor, Sabbate, and Albanie, which together with the Latins are all subject to the Archbishop of "Antivari" H 197 (these "cities" are, in fact, districts), "and his Church. And though 212 these *Abbanois have a language quite other from that of the Latins, they* 245 *use the Latin letters in all their books*. Thus the power of the Latins is enclosed within the circuit of the cities which are theirs, though they H 702 have some vineyards and fields without the cities. . . . The Abbanois

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nation, which is the greatest, could put into the field more than 15,000 H 702
men on horseback, well fitted to wage war in the manner of their
country, valiant and good fighters. And the said nations, both Latins H
and Abbanois, are harshly oppressed under the intolerable and very 636
hard servitude of the most hateful and abominable lordship of the 798
Slavs. Indeed, they are a downtrodden people; their clergy is lowered
and humbled; their bishops and abbots often imprisoned; their nobles
disinherited and imprisoned; their churches, both cathedrals and
collegiate, are dispersed and deprived of power; their monasteries and
priories lost and destroyed. They, one and all, would think to con-
secrate their hands in the blood of the said Slavs if they saw coming
a Prince of France who would be their leader and chief against the
said Slavs, the enemies of truth and of our faith. One thousand French
horse and five or six infantry, along with the said Abbanois and Latins,
could conquer at their ease the whole of this Kingdom of Rassie,
such as it is."

This passage, written almost at the height of Serb power, shows H
clearly that the Serb conqueror had failed to destroy the Albanian [186]
sense of nationality, and failed to force the Serbian Orthodox Church
upon the people; and that there was a very large Albanophone popula- A
tion with a Catholic clergy of its own. The bishoprics of Antivari, 194
Scutari, Sappa, and Pulati still exist, and have survived both Serb and 779
Turk. Into this reserve of Albanian nationality the refugees from the
surrounding districts fled when the Turks advanced. The mountain A
population, then as now, was no doubt scattered in isolated houses or 361
family groups of several houses on the mountain pastures, and not
gathered into towns or villages. They formed "katuns." That the popu- H
lation was numerous is shown by the many ecclesiastical and political A
documents, correspondence with the Vatican, Venice, and Ragusa, 161
and old Serbian archives. Thus in 1348 Tsar Stefan Dushan gives to H
the monastery he is founding at Prizren nine Albanian "katuns" near A
Prizren, the said Albanians to give serf labour to the monastery. He 792
gives also some land in Upper Pulati, together with its inhabitants. 566
Several still existing place-names are mentioned: Shikje, Krue e Madhe 103
(the great spring of water), and Sakati. "The existing Catholic clergy
at Shikje who have vineyards" are to pay a tribute of wine to the H
monastery (an Orthodox one), and so are certain other districts. The 651
people of Lower Pulati are to pay tribute of 100,000 silk cocoons. 792
Several mills are handed to the monastery and in one case the miller, 233
Zan, and his brethren are mentioned. No one may erect a mill on Church H
land, under penalty of a fine and loss of the mill. (The Church alone 256
has the right to grind corn. This would give it immense power.) Large H
districts of Lower Pulati are given to the Serb Church, including the 794

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H 794 present Kopliku; Albanian districts on the Drin are also given or ordered to pay tribute. All of which confirms Father Brocardus's statements.

H 792 651 Stefan Urosh III, when founding the monastery at Dechani, gives it in 1330 many "villages and katuns of Vlahs and Albanians between the Lim and White Drin," and gives a list of persons who are to pay tribute, the last of which are Zaharia and Mihal of Nikita in Pulati, who are to pay the former 4,000 and the latter 2,000 cocoons annually to the Church. All Vlahs and Albanians are to carry salt for the monastery. Thus numbers of peasants were put into the power of the Orthodox Church, but though severe laws were enacted against Catholicism, North Albania in large part remains Catholic.

H 175 779 So soon as the Serb Empire fell, references to Albanian chiefs become frequent, and the Catholic Church speedily took the ascendancy. Many of these chiefs took service with their men under Venice. Others were subsidized by Venice as allies. All documents show that at the time of the Turkish invasion there was a large Albanian population both in the mountains and on the plains, which then, as now, were largely used as winter pasture.

The swoop of the conquering Turk, the capture of Scutari and Alessio, the complete destruction of Drivasto, caused a great dislocation of population. As the Turk settled on the fat plains, numbers of refugees took to the mountains. The tradition now told in the mountains of the north is often that of these immigrant refugees, who tell of having found other inhabitants in the land, but the families who H 582 now trace direct male descent from these are few. The strict law of exogamy must, however, have forced the immigrant to intermarry largely with the old inhabitant, and the race continuity is, therefore, unbroken.

2. The Maltsia e Madhe Group

A 619 614 The tribes fall into several main groups.

The Maltsia e Madhe (the Great Mountains) group consisted, when I visited it, of five large tribes and some smaller ones.

1. *Gruda.*—A tribe of one bairak, situated between the river Tsem and the old Montenegrin frontier. To the north of it is Triepshi and south is Hoti. Triepshi was part of this group till given to Montenegro in 1878. Gruda in 1908 consisted of about five hundred "houses." A [592] A "house" was roughly reckoned at from eight to ten souls.

Of these five hundred "houses," eighty traced descent from Berisha (see below), and thus are of old indigenous stock. The remainder, A [167] called Djell, said they were immigrants from the Herzegovina, and that

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the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

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619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[779 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming
614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167] the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[669] died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

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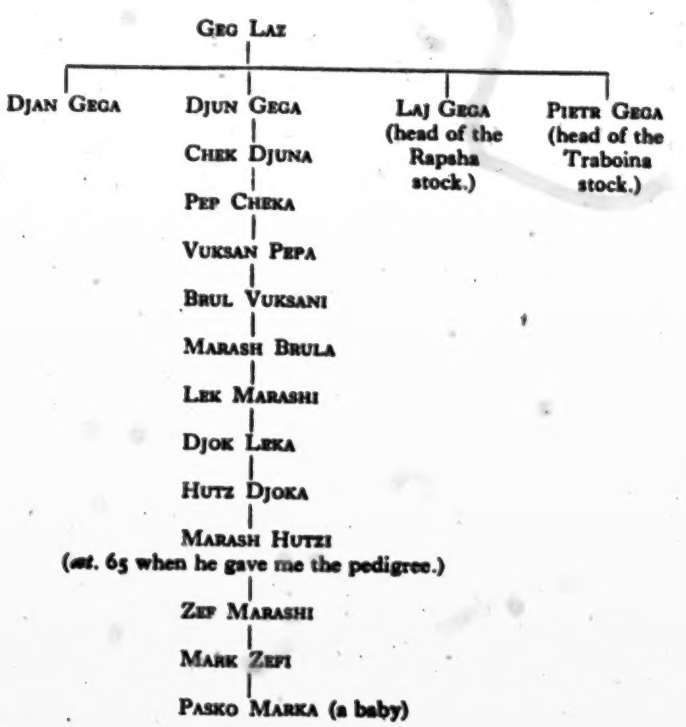
me not to give him more than his share. One of the Franciscans gave him shelter, for he was generally beloved, but he did not survive the winter. I mourned him at the time, but was later glad that he had died before his beloved tribe was handed to the enemy. The name "Hoti" is older than the arrival of Geg Laz. Jirecek, quoting the Venetian archives, states that the Hoti ("montanea Ottanorum") allied itself in 1474 with Ivan Tzrnojevitch and fought the Turks. The "Anas" must then have been numerous.



The tribe of Nikaj (see below) is also related to Hoti. Marash Hutzi said that Nikaj descends from a son of Krasnich. Baron Nopcsa learnt from another quarter that Nik was another brother of Geg Laz. That they are related is clear, for they are not intermarriageable.

Hoti usually marries the neighbour tribe Kastrati. As Kastrati mainly marries Hoti, after so many generations the two must be very closely related. But old Marash was extremely proud of the strict exogamy of the tribe. To marry "one's own blood" he looked on with unspeakable horror. I asked how many generations must pass before the descendants

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619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is [103 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the 174] road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the [197 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are 779] said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat, mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred 174 years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo, 776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltai Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. 614 They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti, [166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli. [582 They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the 174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza). 103 779 596 614

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it. [582] [221 648]

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church. 619 614 779 [174 794]

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas." 619 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group. [779 294] 648

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 619 779 103 [776] [628 166] 648 779

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648 and priests, which have not been interfered with, the Jugoslav Govern-
779 ment has tried to plant a Serb bishop in Scutari on their behalf. They should be exchanged for some Albanians in Serb territory. The whole of the Maltsia e Madhe district is included in the diocese of Scutari.

There is a sprinkling of Serb place-names in the district, but most of them are Albanized, showing how, on the retreat of Serb rule, the older race reasserted itself.

3. The Pulati Group

175 Polati, Pilot, Pulati occurs as the name of a large mountain district
794 and as a bishopric at an early date.[1] In 877 a bishop of Polati is mentioned by the Council of Delmitano. Then Pope Alexander II, in a letter written to the Archbishop of Antivari in 1062, puts Pulati and its bishop under his care. Towards the end of that century Antivari, owing doubtless to the growing power of the Serbs, ceased to be an archbishopric, though it was still a bishopric, and Pulati is mentioned by Callixtus II in 1121 as under the Archbishop of Ragusa. In 1251 the Archbishopric of Antivari was restored, and Pulati again mentioned as under Antivari. Between 1372 and 1421 is a gap in which Farlati tells us that Helena, widow of Stefan Dushan, and her son, Urosh, "vexed most bitterly the Catholics, and spoiled them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty." No bishop is then mentioned. The Church was kept alive by the Franciscans, who faced danger and hardship in the mountains. Again, under the Turks, extreme misery is mentioned, and bishops are intermittent. It was reported that here were then still some twenty thousand Catholics. But, in spite of missionary effort, the Church almost lapsed. In 1653 Marcus Crisius traversed Pulati and reported: "It is incredible how ignorant the people now are of religion." Up till 1520 there were two bishoprics, Pulatenses Majores, and Pulatenses Minores. To Pulati Minor bishops were appointed from 1345 to 1520; then the two dioceses were united. It appears that it was hard to find men to accept the post, and some of those who did, broke down under the difficulties. Thus Bishop Serafinus, who learnt Albanian and worked very hard, had to retire through illness. Even though the Church of St. Nikola, at Ghoanni, "was rebuilt in 1703 more elegantly and larger and is called a cathedral," it was a humble enough edifice.

In *Illyricum Sacrum* (1817) a contemporary account mentions that Pulati is in the deepest recesses of the roughest mountains; that it

[1] *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia*, and Farlati.

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PLATE II.—WOMEN OF SHALA

[Facing p. 25]

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includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, 175
that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the 794
vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, 619
and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," 779
not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the [651]
mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati 794
extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani.*—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three 614
stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, 619
Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population). 779

2. *Ghoanni.*—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula.*—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala.*—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of 173
Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and [582]
three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

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173 dark people inhabiting the land, with whom they intermarried. Eight houses near Abate, in lower Shala, trace descent from these old inhabi-
142 tants. The rest of them migrated to Dechani. The Albanians I saw at Dechani in 1903 were certainly all of the small dark type.

614 Shala consists of four bairaks: Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj. The three latter are said to have separated into three groups 376 years
[613 ago (told me in 1908). Lothaj and Lekaj recently decided they were far
582] enough removed to be intermarriageable. But Shoshi and Mirdita still would not marry with them.

The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

619 2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate
[611] child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood is possible.

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The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Baron Nopcsa considers the ancestor Nikol to have been brother and not son to Krasan. 619 173

THE PUKA GROUP

This is sometimes reckoned a large tribe of seven bairaks. Sometimes as a group of tribes. 614 619

It is an important group, as here are the oldest of all the population. Much is probably of indigenous origin with little immigration.

1. *Berisha-Merturi.*—The Berisha people state that they have always been in their present homeland. They formerly, says Nopcsa, occupied more, but were driven from Ibalja by the Thachi. With great patience the Baron traced some very extensive pedigrees with certainty back to 1370, and with probability to 1270, an extraordinarily detailed piece of oral tradition. Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago. Even in the days when the district was included in the Serb Empire we find no Slav names in these pedigrees, and only two, Sokol (falcon) and Uk (wolf), occur later. As above mentioned, both Gruda and Kuchi also trace descent in part from Berisha. I would particularly direct ethnologists to this region before it is penetrated and broken up by roads.

Merturi, I was told, was an ancient Roman name "Merituri," but I have not traced it. That the Romans had a route through the district is shown by the place-names "Valbona" and "Apripa." Berisha-Merturi is all Catholic.

2. *Cheriti.*—Part Catholic, part Moslem. These people also stated that they were "very old," but I have no particulars. [779]

3. *Komani.*—Catholic. In this tribe land are the ruins and the ancient graveyard known as Kalja Dalmaches, or tower of the Dalmatians, which is generally considered to be the remains of the Illyrian tribe of the Delmates or Dalmates, driven from the coast by the Romans. The present inhabitants seem to have no tradition of descent from these people, and no tradition, in fact, about them at all, so are clearly later immigrants.

The name Komani occurs also for a district in Montenegro, not far from Podgoritza. One is tempted to connect it with the Cumans or Komans, who were used as hired troops by various Balkan rulers, especially the Bulgars, in the Middle Ages. But we have no definite tale of their movements.

4. *Chiri.*—All Catholic.

5. *Dushaj.*—Catholic.

6. *Kabashi.*—Moslem. Nopcsa reports they came about 250 years ago to their present site.

7. *Puka.*—All Moslem.

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THE POSTRIPA GROUP

619 175 Postripa is obviously a name bequeathed by the Romans. It consists of five tribes, all included in the Diocese of Pulati. Much of Postripa is Moslem, for it was quarrelled about by several bishops. In 1702 Pope Clement XI, who was of Albanian blood on his mother's side, sent Vicentius Zmajevitch as Visitator Apostolicus, who reported among other lamentable things that three bishops were all claiming Postripa, and that meanwhile the people are left "without leader or shepherd, like a scattered flock subject to oppression and persecution."

In Postripa are included five tribes:—

619 175 614 1. *Mazreku.*—A small Catholic tribe. That the place was in ancient days a centre of civilization is shown by the considerable ruins of an abbey, Shenkol Shati, believed to have belonged to the Benedictines and to be the one mentioned by several ancient writers as not far from Scutari. It is now lost in a tangle of trees and brushwood. There is [784] a strong feeling throughout Albania against felling trees on the spot where a church once existed—a feeling that probably goes back to the very ancient days of sacred groves. The abbey presumably fell into ruin when the Serbs seized the district in the Middle Ages. The hatred [798] of the Serb Orthodox for the Catholics was shown in 1913 in the Balkan War, when the Montenegrin troops, whose object was said to be "to liberate Christians," fell upon the little church of Mazreku, trampled the Host under foot, dressed up in the priestly vestments, danced about, and amused themselves by cutting off the noses from images of the saints and firing bullets into the crucifix.

2. *Drishti.*—A small Moslem tribe that was almost annihilated in 1913 by the Montenegrins. Drishti is the site of the ancient city of Drivasto, in ancient days a bishopric, mentioned as early as 877. The town was entirely destroyed by the Turks, who beheaded the leaders before the walls of Scutari—then too besieged—in order to terrify the Scutarines into submission. The wasted spot was afterwards settled by incomers from the neighbourhood of mixed origin. And in the period when three bishops were quarrelling for Postripa the Drishti folk all turned Moslem.

3. *Shlaku.*—A tribe of one bairak on the right bank of the Drin, in a [779] very poor district. It is all Catholic and traces origin from Toplana (*q.v.*).

4. *Dushmani.*—A Catholic tribe of two bairaks—Temali and Dushmani. Dushmani takes its name from a chieftain family which ruled here. In 1403 "Goranimus, Damianus, and Nenada, brothers Dusmani, Lords of Polati Minor," offer themselves as subjects to Venice and swear fidelity on condition that Venice will guarantee them in possession

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of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured 619
of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of 614
their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, 175
was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states [173] that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When 619
I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses 779
with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from [793] a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was 643
one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence 614
of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, 173
Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the 582
Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

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173 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have
582 no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi
166 came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared
765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally
582 with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to
614 lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North.
619 Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more
779 fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners
186 and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak
614 of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some
779 Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress.
582 When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

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Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra.*—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji.*—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma.*—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

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614 Along with Ljuma were grouped Bruti, Mal i zi (the Black Mountain, not to be confounded with Montenegro), Rechi, Vlas, and some other small groups—all offshoots of older tribes, especially of Shala and the Fandi bairak of Mirdita.

DJAKOVA GROUP

614 1. *Gashi.*—All Moslem. About eight hundred houses. I did not
619 visit it.

779 2. *Hashi.*—A very large tribe of, it was said, about a thousand houses, almost all Moslem. They had never seen a woman in European dress, and were greatly amused at my arrival armed only with an umbrella. They occupy the Pestriku mountains, traditionally a former [186] home of the Mirdites. They were hospitable and allowed me to pass through their land, but were so unused to foreigners and so afraid that their admission might bring about foreign annexation that I asked no questions about origin or anything personal.

[103 3. *Tropopoja.*—Three hundred Moslem houses—I did not visit.
173] The town of Djakova was founded by an offshoot of the Merturi-Berisha, and I was told derives its name from St. Jak (St. Giacomo), and that its founders were Christians. But when I visited it almost the whole of its large population was Moslem. There was a small Catholic church and school. Except for one hundred Serb families the town was solid Albanian. Two stocks claimed descent from the original founders: the Merturi and the Vula. The Vula was a large and powerful family, and I was told I could travel anywhere safely with a Vula as guide. I did so. He carried no weapon.

A large number of villages surround Djakova. These I found to be all Albanian, tracing descent from Berisha, Shala, Fandi, and other bairaks of Mirdita, as do many inhabitants of the town. None intermarry with their tribe of origin. The villages were mixed Catholic and Moslem. There were no Serb villages. The district is now part of Jugoslavia, and the population doubtless much changed by immigration and emigration.

IPEK GROUP

614 1. *Ipek* (now called Petch) and its villages.—A large Albanian
619 population of many stocks flowed down from the mountains when the
173 Serbs evacuated it in 1640 and reoccupied the lands formerly taken from their ancestors.

Some villages traced origin from Berisha and Shala. Dechani was populated by descendants of the ancient Shala stock (*q.v.*). This

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district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the 619
hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by 173
Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania. [166]

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty [648] of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to [186 Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had 727] these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all prob- 619
ability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the 173
Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate 619
fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they 101
settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether 779

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they penetrated yet farther into the Albanophone and Catholic Albanian mountains. In the latter case they have remained Albanian; in the former they have been Serbized, and have also acquired doubtless some Slav blood. That the Vlah (Roman-Illyrian) forms a considerable part of the present Albanian inhabitants is indicated by Brocardus's reference to "Latini" and Farlati's to "Blachia."

5. The Tribes of Montenegro up to 1913

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The tribes of Montenegro, as they existed up to the beginning of the Great War, have not been recorded in English. I therefore describe them in some detail, for they are the last example of the development of a wholly tribal nation into a State in Europe. I say the last because the tribal system of Albania had disappeared, save in the Northern mountains, long before Albania became independent. When I first went to Montenegro in 1900 it consisted of about thirty tribes. I say "about," for some were recent compounds and not, strictly speaking, tribes.

Montenegro was divided into two parts—Montenegro and the Brda. The first was old Montenegro with some additions on the Herzegovinian side; the second, the mountain mass that borders on Albania. The real "plemé" (tribe) in each consisted of a group of people believing itself to be descended from a common male ancestor. In some cases there was a tale of some previous inhabitants, and in others of later settlers who had been admitted as part of the tribe. I regret that I did not collect the tale of ancestry of each tribe instead of the details of a few, but these will serve to show how a tribe was formed and developed.

Each tribe till recently was exogamous, except when the tribe descended from two or more separate stocks, which were then intermarriageable. Male blood alone counted.

Each tribe was divided into several "bratstvos" (groups of brothers literally) consisting of many cousins and brothers, each calling the other "brother" or "sister." In my time a bratstvo was not reckoned farther than and including second cousins; but in former days it extended farther. When I first lived in my guide's, Krsto's, hovel at Njegushi, I was amazed at the number of his brothers. The neighbours were equally surprised by my narrow idea of a "brother." When I said I believed I had cousins whom I had never seen and whose names I did not know, all were horrified and said the English were no better than dogs. They could not understand a bratstvo that did not live on its own patch of ground. Scattering over the world they thought

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SECTION II

GOVERNMENT AND LAW

1. Strabo and the Ancient Tribes. The Coming of the Slav

As we have seen, Strabo (*ob. c.* A.D. 20), in his detailed account of the Balkan tribes of his day, tells us in the fragmentary account of Dodona that "Among the Thesprotæ and the Molotti the persons who hold office are called Peligones, as among the Macedonians." Also that "most of the tribes were governed by native princes." A 175

In most parts of the world the tribe, with a chieftain and a council of headmen, has existed or exists. The North Albanian tribes, when I visited them, were the last tribes in Europe to preserve autonomy.

The governing councils consisted of elders—"plaki," an old man ("pleknit," plural). The idea of administration of law is so closely connected with old age that "to arbitrate" is "me plechnue," and "plechni" means both "seniority" and "arbitration." A 623 175

The resemblance between Strabo's word "peligones" and the modern Albanian terms is so striking as to suggest that the Albanian "plak, plaku, pelaku" (all variations of the same word) are in fact Strabo's "pelig," that "ones" is merely an added termination, and that both custom and name have survived uninterruptedly. We need not doubt that under Roman rule the tribal system continued just as it does to-day in Africa under the British Empire.

The Serbs, we are told, were also tribal, but of this there is little information. One of the earliest contemporary accounts of their irruption into the Balkan peninsula is that of John of Ephesus, who says: "This same year, the third after the death of Justin (A.D. 574), was famous for the invasion of the accursed people called Slavonians. . . . And four years have now elapsed and still, because the Emperor is engaged in war with the Persians, they live at their ease in the land, and spread far and wide, and ravage and burn, and take captives. . . . They have ridden even to the walls of the town (Byzantium) and driven away the Emperor's horses—many thousand—and even to this day they still dwell free of care or fear and lead captive, slay, and burn, and have now grown rich in gold and silver and herds of horses, and have learned to fight better than the Romans, though at first they were rude savages and did not dare show themselves outside the forests and coverts of H 167 721 727

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H the trees and, as for arms, did not know what they were, except for two
167 or three kinds of javelins and darts."
721 Thus he describes them as a savage horde, but gives no information
727 as to tribes or chiefs.

It was fully another century before the Serbs were finally established and settled. Presbyter Diocleas, though hopelessly confused in his details about dates and persons, probably records a true tradition in his *Chronicles* when he describes the invasion of the pagan Slavs thus: "The Christians, seeing themselves placed in great tribulation and persecution, began gathering themselves together on mountain-tops, and strove to construct strongholds and castles and edifices, that they might escape from the hands of the Slavs till God should visit them
H and set them free."

A The mountain dwellings of the Vlahs and the Albanians still bear
342 witness to the flight of the old inhabitant before the invader. To what extent the partly Romanized Illyrian populations became intermixed with the Serb it is impossible to say, but the Serb differs so much from the Northern Slav-speaking peoples (Poles, Czechs, Russians) that a considerable admixture of other blood is suggested. That this differed
A in various regions is shown by the place-names. Slavonic names are
103 thickest in Serbia (pre-war), in Macedonia, and in Bosnia—that is, in
197 the most fertile districts. They are rarest of all in North Albania, and are scanty in South Albania and in Thrace. In Montenegro and the Herzegovina there is a sprinkling of non-Slavonic names. Antique Greek and Roman names appear mainly on the coasts. Inland, "Nish" preserves the Roman (? pre-Roman) name of "Naissus"; and "Uskub" (Turkish) and "Shkupi" (Albanian) preserve the old "Scupi," now completely distorted by the Serbs into "Skoplje."

A How much of what survives of tribe and tribe law is a remnant
173 of the Illyrians and the "peligones," and how much is Slavonic, can hardly now be determined; but it is of interest to note that tribe and tribe law have survived longest in those districts which were least under Serb rule—Albania, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina.

2. Tribe Law in North Albania

THE CANON OF LEK DUKAGIN

A Whenever in the mountains I asked why anything was done, I was
671 told, "Because Lek ordered it." Law, custom, usage, were all attributed
173 to Lek. That he must have been a man of strong personality to have thus set a mark on a people is obvious; but very little is known about

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him. His Canon was handed down orally to the elders and in their hands has been somewhat modified in different districts, but was in force through all the North Albanian mountains, both Moslem and Christian. Truly "in force," for "Lek said so" obtained more obedience than the Ten Commandments, and the teaching of the hodjas and the priests was often vain if it ran counter to that of Lek. 671 173

Who was Lek Dukagin? The Dukagini were chieftains in North Albania, and the few references to them show they ruled wide lands. In 1309 King Urosh II signed himself "King of Serbia, Chelmie, Dioclie, and Albania," and his successors styled themselves "King of Albania" till Stefan Dushan's death in 1356; but the Serbs, though they exacted tribute and labour from certain districts, do not seem to have penetrated and influenced the mountains. Only thus can we account for the fact that, except near Scutari, the place-names are Albanian, and that so soon as the Serb Empire began crumbling on Dushan's death the names of Albanian chieftains appear. The oldest reference to the Dukagini I can find is a letter, *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia* (No. 133), from Pope Innocent III to the "noble man Demetrius, Prince of Albania," replying to one asking for religious instruction, and a document of 1216, explaining that "Demetrius is son of Progon and brother of Gini, Count of Albania." 173 643

Hopf (*Chroniques inédits Greco-Romanes*, Berlin, 1873) gives, as a result of much search, a pedigree of the Dukagini. The earliest is "Tanusius I, Dux Ginus, Lord of Zadrima, the Black Mountain (Mal i zi on the Drin?), Pulati, and Shati." He is probably the "Dux Ginius Tanuschus Albanensis" who is taken prisoner by Johannis Scotus, Charles of Sicily's Captain, at Durazzo in 1281 (*v. Acta et Dip.*, No. 455). "Gini" is Albanian for John. "Dukagini" is Duke John; "dux," in the sense of leader or chief. The title "duca" hails from Venice, just as do "gubernador" and "kapetan" in Montenegro.

From Tanusius Dux Ginus descends Lek (Alexander) I. He was a chieftain who aided the Venetians against the Turks. A dispatch from Alessio, December 1387 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 413), states that the brothers Lek and Paul Dukagin permit free passage through their lands to the Ragusans. In 1393 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 501), the "noble lords, Progon and Tanus, brothers, sons of the late lord Lek Dukagin, lords of the castle of Alessio," in their own names and on behalf of their relatives, hand over Alessio to the Venetians, being unable to hold it against the Turks. This Tanus is described by Hopf as lord of Fandi (now part of Mirdita). As he was lord also of Alessio this shows his lands to have been wide. He had a son, Paul, lord of Gurikuchi, Salita, etc., whose son, Lek II, is probably the Lek of the Canon. Hopf describes him as lord of Dagno and Zadrima between 1444 and 1459. These were the

173 days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice,
643 and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.

[688] Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

671 Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law
681 of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth
174 century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

682 Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any
[574] house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He
[609] at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

order his house to be burnt. Among the Dukagini the council has power also to destroy his crops, cut down his fruit trees, slaughter his beasts, and condemn the land to lie unworked for a term of years. An incredible amount of food-stuff is thus wasted. In this group not only the man who has taken blood, but all the males of his "house," are liable for blood, so they, too, have to fly. The "house" is the home maybe of a whole family community—forty people. But the law is carried out to the last letter. Such desolated spots have I seen. But "It is the Canon, so must he obeyed," was the answer to any remonstrance I made. The women and children may scatter and find shelter in other houses if they can; they usually do. A man can save his house if he can return to it and defend it three days successfully, so that the men sent by the council cannot set fire to it; I saw "a very brave man" in Berisha who had three times saved his house thus. Or a man can save his house by inviting the head of another mehala to act as house lord and defend it with his own men. This might cause severe fighting. The council, to prevent this, then as a rule agrees to burn the house only and spare the property. The amount of property to be destroyed was always to be decided by the council. 682 609

In Maltsia e Madhe a man was allowed to redeem his house by paying from £5 to £10 by a modification of the old law.

In addition to the burning of the house, in all tribes a fine has to be paid. Fines are paid in sheep or cattle. The fines varied in different districts. In both groups a fine had to be paid to the Turkish Government. In the case of Maltsia e Madhe this was paid to the Sergerdé and the Bulukbashes, who represented the tribes in Scutari. It was generally paid punctually. "Lek decreed that a fine must be paid, so it must be." Moreover, the Turkish Government had a certain hold on all the nearer tribes, for it could hold as hostage any member of a tribe which owed blood-gelt and came to market at Scutari. The outlying tribes of Dukagini by no means always either notified or paid for their murders.

Feuds being very weakening to a tribe, the headmen of the tribe or friends of the family would attempt to stop the feud. Blood-feuds of the Dukagini and Pulati tribes are settled in the mountains; those of Maltsia e Madhe were settled in Scutari before the representatives of those tribes who lived there.

The peace-making is preceded by the "gjaksur" (he who owes blood) sending some friends to the "zoti i gjakut" (lord of blood) to ask for "besa" (promise of truce). This may be granted and further prolonged, and during the truce the gjaksur and his relatives are safe. To end the feud, "me paitue gjak" (pacify the blood), twenty-four con-jurors are needed to swear the peace oath with the gjaksur. The 682 609 693

693 plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be
609 named by the "bairaktar" (head of the tribe). This is only done if the
682 matter cannot be settled by con-jurors chosen by the plaintiff.

The gjaksur has the right to object to two of the con-jurors, who must be replaced by others. The con-jurors are all men of standing in the tribe ("plect," elders; "kren," heads). They examine the facts and hear the accused ("gjaksur") and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood-gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. If they all agree but one, he may be replaced by two others. If still no agreement is come to, the gjaksur may bring more con-jurors, who are members of his family, up to the number of eight.

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the
[682 church (or mosque) before which the council has been held. In the
608] church the candles are lighted on the altar, and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood and is, therefore, innocent. Next swear those of his family who may have been summoned, and then all the con-jurors. After this the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood (*v.* Blood Brotherhood).

By Moslems the oath is sworn in the mosque.

693 Each of the con-jurors has to be paid a small fee for his services. The plaintiff in some cases can thus annoy the accused by insisting upon the full number of con-jurors allowed by the law. A priest counts as twelve con-jurors, and sometimes an important elder is reckoned as two.

628 The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.

627 To Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari, I am indebted for an
682 account of how two families can make peace voluntarily without appeal to the law. Having ascertained by means of emissaries that peace will be acceptable, the gjaksur and his relatives choose a feast day and enter the house of the injured family with their hands bound. A child placed the wrong way round in a cradle is carried with them. If the peace offer is accepted the lord of blood loosens their bonds and puts the child straight in the cradle. The blood-gelt is then arranged and paid. This custom existed among the Dukagini.

682 The above all refers to a murder committed by one man. But it
628 may happen that several men all fire at once and kill a man. A search

for bullets is made in the body. If four men have fired and but three 682
bullets are found, any one of them may be innocent of the death. 628
If each can get twenty-four con-jurors to swear innocence with him, all secure acquittal. Any who cannot find twenty-four con-jurors are guilty and owe blood. If there are as many bullets as men, then all owe blood.

For killing a woman, which is a rare thing, blood may be taken. 682
If she is unmarried, it is taken by her father's family; usually by her brother. If married, her father's family may take blood for her within the year. After that only her husband's family has the right to do so. Blood-gelt, if any, for a woman is very small. The tribe does not punish the murderer; it is purely a family affair. The death of a woman does not weaken the tribe, for she is of another blood and can easily be replaced from without; whereas a man cannot be replaced.

If a pregnant woman be killed two bloods can be claimed. Dom 682
Kol Ashti told me that cases have occurred even in which a grave has 843
been opened to settle the question of blood-gelt for the unborn child, and full payment claimed if it proved to be a male.

Cases in which killing is justified and is not punishable.—1. Blood may 684
be taken for rape and none may be taken in return.

2. If the relatives of the man who is shot succeed in taking blood 682
at once, shoot the murderer that day, the blood is laid and no more can be taken.

3. A woman taken in adultery may be killed along with her partner 684
by her husband or brother, and no punishment follows. But should her husband kill her and not the man, her family can take blood for her.

In none of the above cases, I believe, does the tribe punish; nor has 682
the tribe, at any rate in some places, the power to punish a crime 578
committed within the "shpi" (house). When I was in Shala, at the priest's house in 1908, we heard two shots fired. Someone ran in to call the priest to a man who was dying; it was too late. In a dispute [685]
about the irrigation channels in the fields, a man had killed his own first cousin. Both were inmates of one large house. The crime excited genuine horror and was loudly discussed. Public opinion seemed to think something should be done—but what? It is the clear duty of a house to take blood as atonement for blood that has been taken. But the house, having already lost a man, cannot make matters any better by taking more of its own blood. This could not be expected; nor could any outsider interfere in what was a matter for the house lord. He could not be both lord of blood and gjaksur—could not owe himself blood. It was, in fact, an example of *patria potestas*. He decided to do nothing but hold a fine funeral to show his regret for the loss; and so sure was he that he was acting correctly that he sent a boy to the priest's

682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
576 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the
[608] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

The question as to whether a wound had really been given accidentally was, of course, a fertile source of dispute. In a land where everyone carried fire-arms there were surprisingly few accidents. 683

THEFT

Theft within the Tribe.—The procedure for trial is the same as with murder. The plaintiff appeals to the bairaktar if he has previously not been able to obtain redress by appealing to the head of the family which has robbed him. 685

A sufficient number of con-jurors must then be found before whom the accused may swear his innocence and who will swear it with him. [693]

There is a fixed number for various thefts. Eight for horse-stealing, six for cattle-, and two for sheep- or goat-stealing.

A thief found guilty has to pay twice the value of the article stolen: give two sheep for one. Half the value of the article stolen is divided between the elders who have tried the case. For anything stolen off Church land as much as ten times the value may be demanded; and in olden times I was assured that a fancy value was placed upon a stolen cock—possibly because it was held to have great power against evil spirits. If a man's only cock was stolen, it is easy to see that these might suddenly attack him when unprotected.

If the house or cattle-shed is broken into, an extra fine of about £4 has to be paid.

The number of con-jurors depends on the value of the stolen article, and may be as many as ten.

Theft from another Tribe.—As in the Highlands of Scotland of old, lifting cattle from across the border of another tribe was considered rather a sporting event than a crime. 685 721

Mountain bands who raided the environs of Scutari and carried off Turkish goods were heroes. The practice was precisely the same as that of the Chetniks of Montenegro and the Hayduks of Bosnia. This custom had been modified, and the tendency was to arrange intertribal theft by arbitration—the procedure being the same as that with theft within the tribe, except that heads of both tribes took part in them.

This was usual in Maltsia e Madhe. But in the Dukagini tribes, especially the distant ones, much cattle- and horse-theft went on between tribes who, owing to blood-feud, had not a "besa" (peace oath) with each other. When I was in Nikaj, one of the wildest of the tribes, Nikaj and Krasnichi were on the worst terms. Watch-fires twinkled at night on the Krasnichi mountains, and talk was all of horse-stealing and cattle-lifting.

579 A quarrel broke out between Krasnichi and Shala. Shala had a besa
685 with Krasnichi, but the Krasnichi had harried some Christian villages
609 near Djakova which claimed descent from Shala. Shala therefore declared the besa ended and raided Krasnichi at night, stealing three mules. This caused complications, for Shala and Krasnichi do not border with each other. Krasnichi sent three headmen to Nikaj to accuse Nikaj of having sheltered and fed the mule-stealers on their way, and being thus party to the theft. The Nikaj men and three Krasnichi sat all day at the foot of the big wooden cross in front of the church and argued furiously—Nikaj loudly protesting ignorance and innocence of the whole affair and bidding Krasnichi to go to Shala.

Vexed with Shala for getting them into trouble thus, a day or two afterwards Nikaj went a-raiding to Shala and stole two fine horses. Shala sent delegates and complained that the theft was unfair. The horses were not Shala horses but belonged to guests—some Klimenti men who had come under besa to pasture some beasts. The horses were, therefore, under besa, too, and should not be touched. Nikaj only replied rudely: "You should not leave the horses of guests straying about." And my horse and Marko's were put at night into one of the church outbuildings to secure them from retort. The two horse-stealers, however, kindly offered to sell the horses to Shala for five hundred piastres apiece. Shala was enraged. The sitting lasted till late, and the debate was put off till to-morrow. But next day the Shala men and the horses had all disappeared in the night. The two horse-thieves came in hot indignation to the church house to ask the Franciscan's advice. They considered that in stealing their own horses back and going off with them Shala had played a dirty trick and acted most unfairly. The Franciscan, Marko, and I all shouted with laughter: "Bravo, Shala!" The two thieves were hurt. In all innocence they told of the great pains they had taken to steal the horses in the first place, and now they had been robbed. It was most unfair. Nor could the padre make them see it in another light; for to them robbery from a tribe with which there is no besa was rather a merit than a crime.

Nikaj argued that if Shala had the right to take back these horses, then Shala should restore the three mules taken from Krasnichi. A delegate came from Shala to debate this and to ask, "Are you in besa with Krasnichi? If so, we return the mules." As Nikaj was in blood with Krasnichi and only a day or two before had refused to have anything to do with the mule matter, Nikaj could not defend its proposition. Shala withdrew, leaving Nikaj furious and the poor horse-thieves much depressed.

609 Such raids, of course, easily start blood-feuds. The more civilized
579 tribes and the intelligent headmen, who were increasing in number

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe. 609 579

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes. 726

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep. 684 848

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head. 685

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider. 423 428

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has 842 554 562 592

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

should strike the next man and the blow would entail a fight and 671
blood. Women should walk the length of a distaff apart—they usually spin as they go—lest a blow given should draw their men into a fight.

Neither man nor woman must pass between two persons who have 671
just been speaking together, for (? in some occult manner) this will 576
cause them to quarrel. So strong is this belief that once in a small hut a woman gripped me by the shoulder, dragged me out, and squeezed herself between me and the wall in order to avoid passing between me and Marko, where there was plenty of room. Lek, I was told, had so ordained. I like to think that he did his best by means of house-burning and fines to diminish the very ancient custom of "blood," and that he did not deserve the Pope's excommunication.

As we have seen, house-burning and fine are the only punishments 681
under the Canon. Nevertheless, by decree of the council of the whole 627
tribe the death penalty can be inflicted. In February 1912 an amazing case of wholesale justice was reported to me which had recently taken place in Mirdita. A certain family of the Fandi bairak had long been notorious for evil-doing—robbing, shooting, and being a pest to the tribe. A gathering of all the heads condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lay in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off; and on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was but five and another but twelve years old. I protested against thus killing children who must be innocent and was told: [827]
"It was bad blood and must not be further propagated." Such was the belief in heredity that it was proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant, lest she should bear a male and so renew the evil. Three shots which missed were fired at her; she rushed to a man and [671]
called on him to protect her. He took her under his besa and she was spared.

A case of private "justice," though it took place in South Albania 681
at Postenani, a small isolated village, and so is not connected with the 183
Canon of Lek, is so singular that it should be recorded. I stayed some days at the village and, when leaving, a crowd gathered to see me start. When we were on the way my guide asked if I had noticed a woman who had stood near the door; I had not. He said it was a pity, as she was a very brave woman and had saved her husband. They owned a house and some land; a child was born to them, and all went well till her husband's brother arrived. He was a bad man, and demoralized the village, not only by starting gambling with card games, but by [525]
drinking and teaching very vicious practices to the youth. The woman with dismay saw her husband taken with the gambling craze, playing away his goods, and nearing ruin. Then the child was ill. She prayed her husband to send for a doctor; but the nearest was a whole day's

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681 ride distant, and he replied it would cost too much. The child died.
183 The woman then became desperate, and to save her husband she killed her brother-in-law. I asked, "Did she shoot him herself?" "No, she
627 paid a Turk to waylay him on his way to market." The whole village was glad to be rid of him. Everyone knew she had done it. "But what did her husband say?" "At first he was angry, but he soon saw it was for the best. Now they live happily, but God has not given them another child." "Could he not have been handed over to justice instead of being shot?" "No, he was rich and would have bribed the Turkish authorities, and have been let off and been worse than ever." "Did not the Turkish authorities interfere about the murder?" "No, why should they? It was within the family, and all agreed it was right. She saved not only her husband but the whole village, and was a very brave woman."

3. Montenegro

The first written Code of Laws was drawn up for Montenegro by Vladika Petar I in 1796.

An examination of this Code shows that it is meant to deal with a state of affairs resembling that with which the Canon of Lek Dukagin deals, and is a step in advance. All early accounts of Montenegro show the tribes ceaselessly "in blood" with each other, and the rules and customs identical in most respects with those of the Dukagini. Nor is this surprising, for our examination of the Montenegrin tribes has shown that many are of Vlah and Albanian origin, and that the Montenegrin is not so much a Serb as a Serbized descendant of the older inhabitants.

Vladan Georgevitch, in *Europa i Crnagora* (Belgrade, 1912), gives many documents which show this resemblance of the customs of Montenegro to those of the Dukagini. From that of the Russian, Putchkov, dated March 21, 1760, we learn that the then Vladika Vasili was afraid of his own people and kept near Putchkov as a protection. This shows that in Montenegro, as in Albania, a man could not be shot if with a guest. "The people," he said, "are wild, and without great trouble no order could be made among them, for they recognized no right and knew no law. If any does harm to another, blood is at once taken, and the murderer flies to another district, where he is safe from punishment. Thus a Popovitch of Tzrmnitza Nahia killed a neighbour and, leaving wife and children, fled to Cetinje. They 'destroyed' his house—that is, they pulled off the thatch and pulled out a few stones." He reports that he saw many such houses. "If the murderer is of a powerful house he stays at home, and 'the house' wages war with that of the murdered man till peace is arranged by the headmen or the

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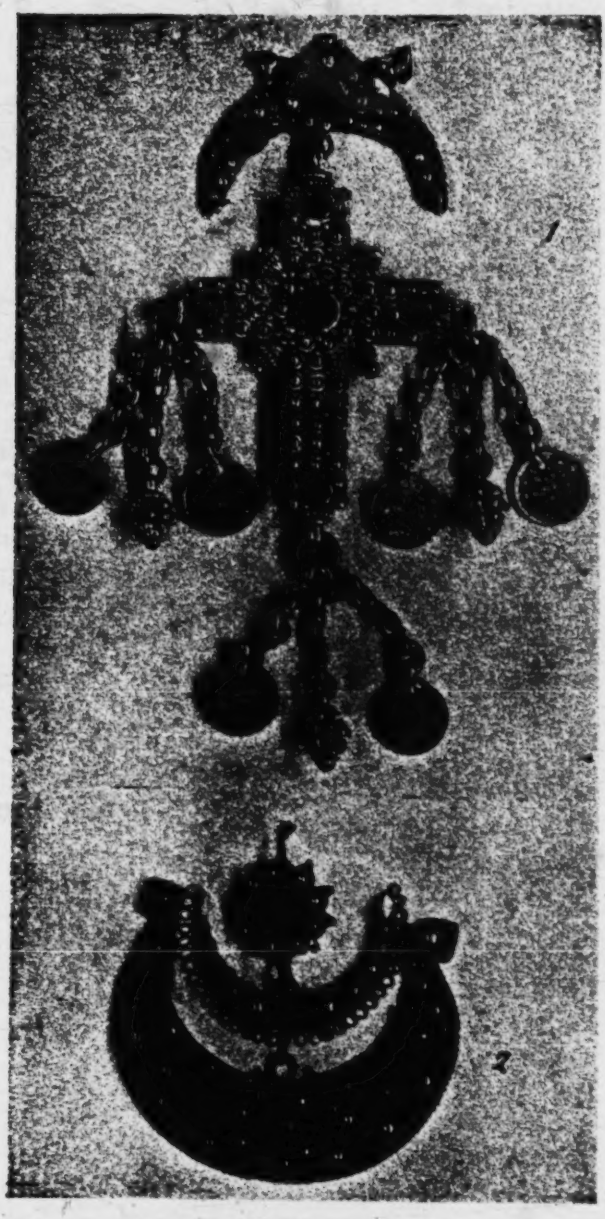

PLATE IV

(1) CRESCENT AND CROSS ORNAMENT
(2) CRESCENTS AND STAR

Worn by Catholic women of Maltsia e Madhe.

NOTE.—Here the "Suns" at the ends of the cross are replaced by coins and a pendant resembling the cowry shape. Both cross and crescent are covered with rayed balls.

[Facing p. 121]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

visible mark has a strong effect on primitive and childish minds—witness national flags and school and college colours. The missionizing "popes" of the Orthodox Church had every reason to denounce a practice which thus "sealed" part of the population and made it turn a deaf ear to the attractions of Byzantium.

To this day the object of the Orthodox is to wipe all that belongs to Rome from the peninsula. I found the bitterest dislike, even among the educated classes; and among the peasants neither side would admit that the other was Christian. In early days the struggle must have been even cruder than to-day.

3. Tattooing in Albania

We will trace these symbols farther south. In North Albania I noticed that every Catholic woman among the five large tribes (Kastrati, Shkreli, Hotí, Gruda, and Klementi) wore, if not too poor, a large silver filigree crescent and star stitched to the crown of her flat cap; or a similar design was embroidered and the "star" then larger. Asked why they wore a Turkish symbol, they crossed themselves and denied the charge indignantly, saying: "We wear it because we always do. It is not Turkish. We are good Catholics." They declared also it was "very old"; and were quite correct. For the sun and moon symbol, as we have seen, was long pre-Turkish in the Balkans. I next found that the bulk of these tribes-folk, both men and women, are tattooed on the back of the hand, the forearm, or the breast (seldom on all) with a cross; but never a plain cross. It has a crescent above and below it; or the arms terminate in small circles, as do those on Byzantine coins; or some in circles and some in crescents; or the cross is in the "sun-wheel" form. None of these people at all objected to showing the tattoos. I at once recognized in a simplified form the elements of the Bosnian designs. Most people said they did it because they were Catholics. Anxious to give a reason, one man said it was to ensure you Christian burial if you died abroad.

When I asked the Albanian tribesmen what was the meaning of the circle and crescent on the cross-arms, they said at once it was "Dielli"—the sun; and "Hana"—the moon. The cross was to show you were a Christian. What were the sun and moon for? The only reply was "per bukur" (for beauty). Often they laughed and gave none. Mgr. Ernesto Cozzy, then priest of Rechi and later Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, a Tyrolese whose knowledge of the mountain people was the result of years of sympathetic study, told me: "They have a number of curious pagan beliefs which they will not tell me. I have found that

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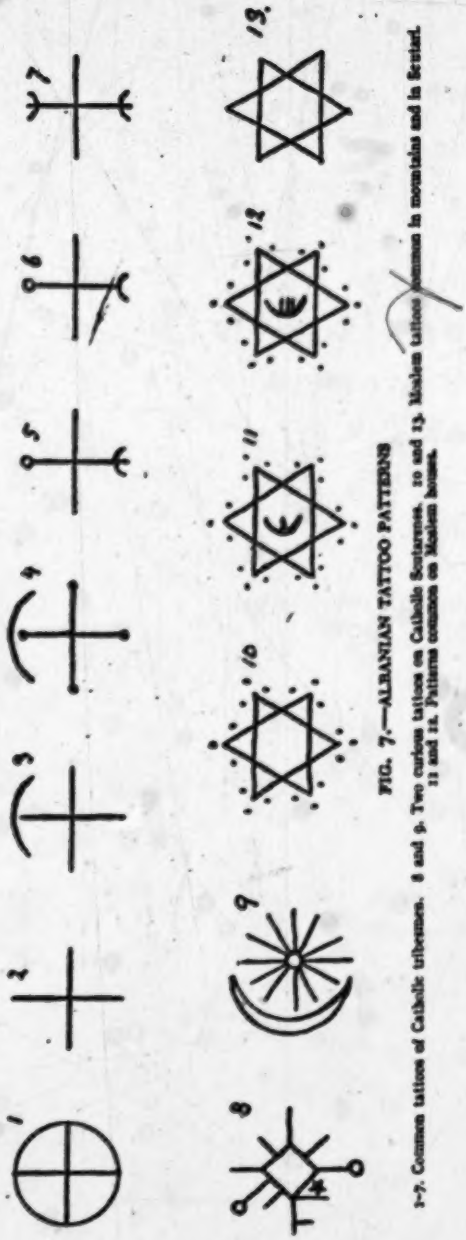

FIG. 7.—ALBANIAN TATTOO PATTERNS

1–7. Common tattoos of Catholic tribesmen. 8 and 9. Two curious tattoos on Catholic Serbians. 10 and 13. Moslem tattoos common in mountains and in Serbia. 11 and 12. Patterns common on Moslem women.

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in con- 304
flict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. 771
So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. 531
Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died 114
in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to 776
Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle 174
I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is 776
the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and 174
floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern 776
and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his [787]
armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is [821]
driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda 531
tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear 304
tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from 173
the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

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304 [173] the influence of the Roman missionaries. Tattooing is not confined to tribes tracing northern origin, but is more marked among them.

Among the Pulati and Dukagini, who trace a different origin, tattooing is common but not universal, and takes the form often of

[764]

FIG. 8.—MODERN GRAVESTONES IN ROMAN CATHOLIC GRAVEYARD, DUSHMANI, NORTHERN ALBANIA

(Showing variants of Cross, Crescent, and Sun. All recent)

one tiny cross. I did not see a sun or moon tattoo, but found the sun and moon extremely common carved on graves, furniture, over doors, etc. Here the moon is carved as a semicircle with rays, just as shown in the Bosnian tattoos.

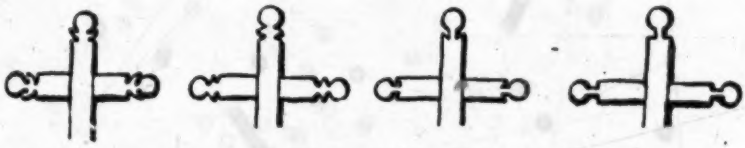
Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The finest carved rayed suns are those on the arms of the big wooden crosses in the Theti graveyard, which are beautifully chip-carved (Fig. 9, No. 3). Upon one of them a carved watch and chain marks the grave of the first tribesman of Thethi who possessed one. 531 764

Most interesting are some quite recent gravestones at Dushmani

[352]

4. "Sun and Moon" Chair, Shala. 2. Variant design of arm, end, and back. 3 Cross terminating in "suns," Thethi.



4. Series of common wooden crosses, showing all stages of patterns (Catholic cemeteries).

5. Wooden headpost and head and foot posts of Moslem graves (Hashi and Puka).

FIG. 9.—SUN AND MOON PATTERNS IN NORTH ALBANIA

(Fig. 8), whereon strange devices are carved, in some of which the cross and sun are turned into the figure of a man. A woman who came up told me I was drawing the grave of her mother (Fig. 8, No. 6). Asked what was the meaning of the things upon it, she said: "We poor people of the mountains cannot write. I put this to remember my mother. The sun and moon are 'per bukur' (to look pretty)."

[Text continues on p. 127]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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FIG. 10.—BIRD AND SERPENT DESIGN ON SCUTARI WOMAN'S CLOAK

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The large uncarved wooden crosses in most of the graveyards of 531
Dukagini and Pulati (Fig. 9) show at the ends of the arms either (1) a sun 764
and crescent, (2) a sun alone, or (3) a sun with two notches below it—a transition form in which the carpenter has forgotten what the crescent is and merely chopped notches. The sun-wheel forms the back and the crescent and sun the ends of the arms of the typical wooden arm-chair in which the house-lord sits. Such chairs were used by all the tribes, but are now chiefly found in the further Dukagini tribes. The chip-carved distaffs of the women show the cross frequently; but chip-carving does not lend itself to curves, and the moon appears as an angle on which the cross stands. Some distaffs, however, suggest that their complicated designs are based on rayed curves, though they are now angular.

The cross and rayed sun are also traceable on many of the elaborately 291
knitted socks. Here, owing to the exigencies of the material, the sun 531
is square, but the rays are duly shown.

A rayed sun is part of the elaborate design embroidered on the scarlet cloak of the married Catholic women of Scutari. Of this design, which with variations consists always of similar elements, I have failed to find an explanation. "It must be some old story which we have forgotten," say the embroiderers, who are always men. The sun, an ear of wheat (? feather), a flowering plant, the dove and the serpent always appear. It is given to the bride by the bridegroom on her wedding- [585]
day. The sun, the wheat, and the flowers suggest fertility. And the facts that the serpent and dove were symbols of the mother goddess worshipped at Knossos, and that bird and serpent played an important part in Egyptian mythology, show that the origin of this Albanian pattern is, indeed, so old that it is no wonder the embroiderers have forgotten it (Figs. 10 and 11).

The sun and moon were firmly established as symbols in the Balkans 174
long before the Turk arrived. I think that probably the Turkish crescent 531
and star is really the rayed sun and moon, the sun being diminished so as to fit decoratively within the crescent.

On the wall of a house at Vuthaj, when the district was wholly 531
Moslem and almost closed to outsiders, I saw, in 1908, a large rayed 342
sun painted with a alim crescent beside it (Fig. 12, No. 10). More striking yet was the emblem at that time placed over the gate of the Turkish Konak at Prizren. It was a large wooden sun with long rays of unequal length. At the tip of each ray was a small wooden crescent. At this time there was huge excitement over the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, and I was warned neither to draw nor photograph anything in public. I made, therefore, only a memory sketch (Fig. 12, No. 9), but it gives a correct idea of this curious sign, which, as the

[Text continues on p. 129]

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FIG. 11.—BIRD AND SERPENT DESIGN

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

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PLATE V.—MONTENEGRIN DANCE

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PLATE VI.—KRSTO AND IKÉ (GUSLE-PLAYING)

[Facing p. 129]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

place has been given to the Jugoslavs, has doubtless been destroyed. A 531
Here beyond doubt the Turkish "star" is the sun. The crescents at 342
the ray-tips suggest that many of the "twigs" of the Bosnian tattoos are really tiny crescents at the end of rays, and have in many cases been evolved into crosses.

We have examined tattooing and sun-symbols among the Catholics. Y
The Moslems of Bosnia, according to Truhelka, occasionally tattoo. [304]
I saw no examples myself.

But among the Moslems of North Albania tattooing is common. A 304
In the entirely Moslem districts of Hasi, Vuthaj, Arnji, and by the 531
Moslems of Luria it was not easy to make any investigation, and impossible to ask questions. The population received me kindly as the only female foreigner who had ever visited them. But the "giaour" was suspected of being the forerunner of foreign annexation, and any questions regarding beliefs would have led to difficulties and probably closed the route to me. I could only observe and make secret notes. I saw many tattooed Moslems in these districts but never a tattooed crescent and star. All, both here and at Scutari, were marked with a triangle, and sometimes with an Arabic inscription. Or with a double triangle—which forms a star and is, I suppose, the substitute for the rayed sun. This same triangle or double triangle (Fig. 7, Nos. 10–13) A
is commonly painted on Moslem houses both up-country and in Scutari, [342
where it sometimes contains a crescent within it. Oddly enough, the 531]
only time I saw the crescent and rayed sun (or star) without a cross as a tattoo it was on the hand of an old Catholic in Scutari (Fig. 12, No. 9).

But though the up-country Moslem does not tattoo the sun and A
crescent (probably because the Christians tattoo them along with the 764
cross), he cuts them out of wood—a circle for the sun and a sickle-shaped piece for the moon—and plants them at head and foot of his graves. Or the circle with a crescent below is cut in one piece and used as headpost (Fig. 9, No. 5). The Moslem Albanian, in fact, on quitting Christianity has rejected the cross but retained the ancient religious symbols of his pre-Christian ancestors—the sun and moon. He has not, except in the towns which were under Turkish influence, adopted the well-known Turkish gravestone with turban or fez upon it.

Emerging from these Moslem tribes I was amused to find that at A 531
Prizren, which was then by large majority Albanian, the sun and moon 346
figured over the door of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

In Montenegro, traces of sun and moon can be found. The arms of M
the solid stone crosses usual in the graveyards end as a rule in hemi- 764
spheres. Limestone is hard to tackle and no moon appears. When, 531
however, a cross is carved in relief on a slab the moon appears as a

[Text continues on p. 131

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Historical. Yugoslavia EF2

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

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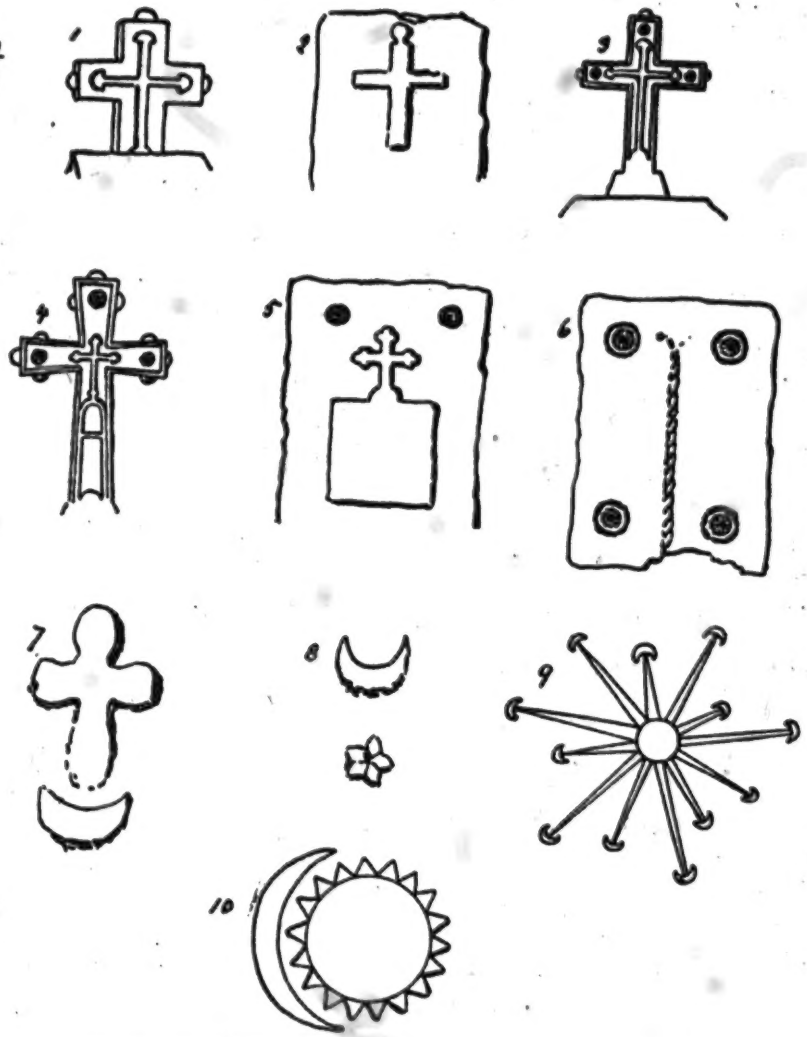

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FIG. 12.—MONTENEGRIN AND ALBANIAN SUN AND MOON DESIGNS

1–3. Modern Montenegrin gravestones, showing sun-and-moon arms. 4–8. Mediæval gravestones at Stolats, Herzegovina, ascribed to Bogumil period. 9. Wooden sun with crescents on the Konak at Prizren (1908). 10. Rayed sun and crescent on Moslem house at Vulthaj.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Historical Yugoslavia FF2

crescent upon which the cross stands and the half-sphere is clearly the sun. The design is, in fact, much like some of the Albanian tattoos (*v.* Fig. 7). The sun-circle on the cross is common also upon graves much nearer home, but into its history we cannot now enter.

A trace of Bogumilism (or Manichæism) among the Montenegrins especially, but among other of the Serb-speaking peoples also, is probably the custom of apologizing for the existence of a wife: "Moja zhena da oprostish"(My wife, if you will forgive me), the formula which, till recently, was always used when a man had to indicate his wife's existence. Marriage among the Bogumils was permitted only among the lower order, and the married, it appears, were the lowly, and served the "Perfect," who were celibate. It seems probable that it was when Bogumilism flourished that the custom of apologizing for the existence of a wife arose. This is indicated by a note of Vuk Karadjitch to the well-known ballad of the Maiden of Kosovo. The wounded warrior asks the maiden who is wandering on the battlefield: "Art thou searching for thy brother or thy cousin, or thy old *father through sin*?" She replies that she seeks neither brother, cousin, nor old father through sin. Vuk explains: "father through sin means real father. This shows the popular belief that marriage was a sin. I have heard a great chief say of his son: 'He is my son through sin.'" The Manichæan theory that woman is compounded of evil and devoid of particles of Light may lurk behind the Montenegrins' (and other South Slavs') disgust at the birth of a daughter and contemptuous treatment of women. All beliefs that take a strong hold upon a people as a rule leave some sort of a "mental scar."

4. A Bird Tradition in the Balkan Peninsula

It is noteworthy that even to-day a large proportion of the people who live in the districts we are considering identify themselves with birds, and a mass of traditional ballads shows that the custom is ancient.

The Albanians call themselves Shkypetars, their language Shkyp, and their land Shkyperia or Shkypnia. This they derive from "shkyp," an eagle; and say, "We are the sons of the eagle, our land is the land of the eagle." Beyond a vague idea that to kill an eagle is unlucky I could learn nothing about it; but in Plutarch's *Life of Pyrrhus, King of Epirus*, who is still a popular hero in Albania, we are told that after his great victory over the Macedonians his Epirots hailed him as "The Eagle." Skenderbeg, the mediæval chieftain, adopted the eagle for his banner, and the eagle is the crest of the newly formed Albanian State.

[P. 132 - 151 blank]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

000 Brother—Brat. Applied to all cousins within the bratstvo in ordinary conversation. "Born brother" or "brother by my mother" added to explain real brother.

Sister—Sestra.

A woman's husband's brother is her Djever.

A woman's husband's sister is her Zaova.

A woman's sister is her husband's Svast.

A woman's brother is her husband's Shura. The Shura's wife is Shurnjaja.

The wives of two or more brothers are each other's Jetrva.

A woman's father is her husband's Tast.

A man's father is his wife's Svekar.

A man's mother is his wife's Svekrva.

A woman's mother is her husband's Punitza.

Nephew (brother's child) is Bratanatz or Sinovatz, or Bratuched.

Nephew (sister's child) is Sestritch.

A man's sister's husband is his Svak.

A man's brother's wife is his Snaha.

A daughter of the house married into another tribe is called Odiva.

A cousin on the father's side to almost any degree, Rodjak or Bratsvenik.

When first plunged into a peasant family one finds these numerous names most complicated.

RELATIONSHIPS IN NORTH ALBANIA

Mother's Side.

601 Mother—Am. But familiarly and commonly Nané.

Uncle (mother's brother)—Daje, or Vla i Nanes.

Aunt (mother's sister)—Dajeshe, or Tezé.

Daughter—E bija. Often Vaiza eme (my maiden).

Sister—Moter.

Wife—Shoké (lit., companion). Sometimes Fat, my fate.

Bride or fiancée or newly married woman—Nusé.

Mother-in-law—Vjehera.

The in-law family collectively—Vjeherii.

Daughter-in-law—Ree.

Godmother—Nriku, or Nuné.

Cousin on mother's side. This seemed hardly to be considered a relation. Marko denied that his mother's sister's daughter was his "cousin," but said if she had been his father's sister's child she would have been his Kushrina. The dictionaries give "kushrina" without mentioning on which side the family. There seems to be no special word for "cousin" on female side.

Female head of the household—E zoja shpis.

Father's Side.

Father—Bab. (This is the word commonly used. When speaking of the father of the family, Ati fmjevet would be used. Ati is used when speaking of God the Father, e.g. Ati i pustueshem, the Eternal Father.)

Grandfather (father's father)—Gyushi.

Great-grandfather—Katragjushi.

Brother—Vlla.

Brethren collectively—Vllaznii.

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Uncle (father's brother)—Adsh: this is a Turkish word, but is in common use. There is another word, which is Albanian: "Mighe," also "unghe," but "adzh" is commonly used. 601

Aunt (father's sister)—Hallé.
Nephew (brother's or sister's son)—Nipi, collectively Nipnii.
Niece (brother's or sister's daughter)—Mesé.
Son—I biri.
Brother-in-law—Konati.
Son-in-law—Dhaner. Also used for bridegroom and fiancé.
Sister-in-law—Kunata.
Cousin—Kushrin.
Female cousin—Kushrina.
Husband—Shok, i.e. companion; or Bur, i.e. man.
Father-in-law—Vjeher.
Godfather, sponsor—Kumar. Godfather of baptism—Kumar i pakzimit. [608]
Godfather of haircutting—Kumar i flokah.
Tribe—Fis.
Relations collectively—Dzinije.

Vlaznija, lit. brethren. A large family group within the tribe like the Montenegrin bratstvo.
Mehala—a Turkish word used for a group of related houses, i.e. a Vlaznija.
Shpi—House and house community.
Krue—Head of a Vlaznija or Mehala.
Plak—Old man. Hence an elder—member, that is, of a tribal council. [623]
Zoti i shpis—Lord of the house.
Bairaktar—Standard-bearer. Head of Fis (Turkish word).

2. Blood-brotherhood

"But the flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof shall ye not eat" (Gen. ix. 4). 608

"For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof" (Lev. xvii. 14). 174

He who ate the blood would take within him the life of the beast—would become, in fact, partly beast. It follows naturally that he who eats the blood of man establishes kinship with him whose life he thus shares. Blood-brotherhood is a very old and widespread custom. "Whenever the Scythians," says Herodotus (Bk. IV, lxx), "form alliances a large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties . . . in this cup they dip some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After some solemn praying the parties who form the contract . . . finally drink the contents of the bowl."

From the lands lying north-east of the Balkans came down neighbours of the Scythians, the Pechinegs and the Comans, and the Bulgars. The Comans, says B. H. Minns (*v. Scythians and Greeks*), were a

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Byzantine Civilization EH3

Mongol people. Both Pechinegs and Comans, we hear in contemporary accounts of the Crusades, were used as soldiery by the Balkan princes.

B 101 175 726 A vivid account of Balkan armies in the Middle Ages is given by Nicephor Gregory and by Villehardouin (v. Dufresne Ducange, *History of Constantinople*, 1729), telling of the Latin capture of Constantinople when Count Baldwin of Flanders and the other princes established a Latin empire there, though on their way to a crusade in Palestine.

In 1204 Baldwin was crowned Emperor of Byzantium in St. Sofia with great magnificence, and was about to lead an army eastward when, "on a sudden, like the crash of a great thunderstorm, the terror of a Bulgarian rising stayed them. John, the brother of the first Asan and his successor, with troops levied through all Bulgaria, and not a few of the Scythians who dwell north of the Ister (Danube), fell upon Thrace with violence and greatly endangered the Latin State." Baldwin fought the Bulgars, with terrible slaughter on both sides. But the heavily armoured Crusaders could not cope with the swift Scythians; "some forty thousand Comans, who are a pagan people," ambushed them and overwhelmed them with lances and arrows. The ground was covered with corpses. Many Latins were taken prisoner, among them Baldwin himself, who was never seen again. "And the Scythians, in their fashion, laid waste Macedonia."

The whole of Villehardouin's account of the Fourth Crusade in the Balkans is of high interest for the light it throws on the conditions then prevailing. We see the Balkans reinforced by hordes from the north-east. Russia has always pressed Balkan-ward, and will again. The Turk had not yet arrived on the scene, but the Balkan already was the East, with aims and aspirations different from those of the West—a thing apart from West Europe, with its civilization built upon Rome. The Fourth Crusade was but one of the many vain attempts of the West to establish a permanent footing in the East.

Vain it was. Baldwin II, the last Latin emperor, poverty-stricken, was reduced to obtaining funds by selling the much-treasured relic, the Crown of Thorns, to the King of France, and buying the support of those very Comans who had formerly broken the Latin forces. He did this by swearing an alliance "with these barbarous people. In order to make the treaty more solemn they drew blood from their veins—one giving it to be drunk by the other, believing that from this mixture of blood they contracted a kind of brotherhood . . . which our people, driven by the necessity in which they found themselves, had also to do."

B 608 643 Thus in 1240 did the knights of France swear blood-brotherhood with pagans—a grotesque result of a Crusade which was to free the East of Unbelievers. A French noble, Nariot de Toucy, further cemented the bond by marrying the daughter of Jonas, Prince of the Comans. Vain

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efforts. Jonas died in 1241 and was buried outside Constantinople with full Scythian honours. A huge mound was raised above him, on the sides of which twenty-five of his serving-men, who voluntarily offered themselves, were hanged. Twenty-five horses were also hanged, and the prince thus provided with a mounted escort in another world. Not long afterwards the East expelled the West, and the Comans took part in the expulsion. The markedly Mongol types still common in Macedonia and Bulgaria are partly, maybe, the legacy of the "Coman and Scythian from beyond the Danube." B 608 643

The custom of blood-brotherhood is so widely spread through the world that it was probably practised by other Balkan peoples besides the Comans.

It was very common among the North Albanian tribesmen, both Catholic and Moslem, when I was in the mountains. The Catholic Church regarded it as a pagan survival, and has made no effort to "Christianize" it, as has the Orthodox. The usage of ancient days is, therefore, little changed. In its crudest form the arm, or finger, of each was pricked by a thorn, and either party licked the other's blood. The favourite and more elaborate way was described to me by my old friend, Tony Precha, of Mirdite descent, thus: "I travelled through a dangerous district with a young Moslem when I was a lad. He asked me to be his brother. I had to ask permission of my father, the head of the house. He said theirs was a good house to be allied to. When some time had passed and we still wished for brotherhood, we met, and each tied a tight string round his little finger till it swelled, then pricked the finger, and each let his blood drop on a lump of sugar. I ate his lump and he mine. We were then of the same blood and swore brotherhood. Then I dined at his house, and we gave each other presents of socks knitted in beautiful patterns. He is now dead, but his brothers are my brothers and our children are cousins, and they cannot marry for more than a hundred years." A 608

The interdict against marriage, however, in a case of sworn brotherhood, applied only to the direct descendants of the couple and not to any collaterals. A 608 582

Sugar was used in this case because one party was Moslem. In the case of Christians the blood is always taken in raki or in wine. Red wine, doubtless because most resembling blood, is the correct medium.

Blood-brotherhood was, of course, not reckoned a "forbidden degree" by the Church, but in practice was strictly observed by the people.

The swearing of blood-brotherhood between some members of either side was one of the ways of making peace after a blood-feud. In Dushmani I met a high-spirited youth who had laid in wait on the A 608 628

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608 628 banks of the Drin to shoot another lad with whose family he was in blood, and who was due to cross the river on the usual inflated sheep-[501] skins. Drin ran swiftly, the sheep-skin float broke loose. Soon the foe was struggling for life in the torrent. The blood-seeker threw aside his rifle, dashed into the torrent and saved his foe at the risk of his own life. They then and there swore brotherhood and the feud ceased. This episode goes to prove that blood-taking is not vengeance. The drowning of the foe would have in no way settled the feud, for expiatory blood would not have been taken.

608 The old bairaktar of Nikaj heard that I was sister to the King of England and believed a blood alliance with me would be for the good of the tribe. The priest at whose house I was, however, laughed at him uproariously and he was hurt; so I never took part in the ritual.

In Albanian this brotherhood is called "Vllam" or "Vlaa me Tenzone" (brother in God). It is also very commonly called "probotin" or "probo," an obvious corruption of the Serb "pobratim." "Birazel" (? Turkish) was, I was told, used also by the Moslems.

The custom extends all over Albania, but of the South I have no details.

Serbs and Montenegrins

In Montenegro I was often assured that the custom was extinct, and I never came across a case. But it possibly still lingered in out-of-the-way places. People who wished to appear "civilized" in Montenegro were very apt to deny the existence of customs they thought would be despised. But it was admitted that "pobratimstvo" had but recently died out. Medakovitch in 1860 mentions it as prevalent.

The Orthodox Church, both in Serbia and Montenegro, adopted this pagan custom and tried to "Christianize" it.

Two forms of pobratimstvo were known:—

1. "Probratimstvo prichestno" (communion pobratimstvo). "Prichest" is the word for the Holy Communion. It was not, however, a case of the two parties taking the Communion together, but a special ceremony. In the Orthodox Church, when the people receive the Communion, the Host is put into the consecrated wine. The pope takes a portion of the soaked bread in a special spoon and gives it to the communicant. The ritual for pobratimstvo, so far as I could learn, was as follows: The two parties went together to church. The pope read a prayer. The two then took a large goblet full of wine, and both, setting their lips to it, sipped at once. They then broke bread and each ate a piece. They sipped and ate together thus three times and then kissed the cross, the Gospels, and the ikon, and lastly each other. It is a curious

[P157-190 blank]

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Montenegrins EF5

Birth, Marriage, and Death

In 1392 Bogavach Cuiavich of Rudine of his own free will releases 000 from servitude Radaca, daughter of John of Albania, whom he had bought of Braycho Ucarich.

This seems to have been the case of an actual slave. But the lot of others, when sold for a long term of service, can have been little better than slavery unless they fell into good hands.

ALBANIA

I heard of a similar custom of thus selling children for a term of years in Malacastra in South Albania. Here poor Moslems sometimes sent their daughters as far as Constantinople; and I was told that some of the Albanian beys thus purchased servant-girls from their mothers, and at the end of the term dowered them and married them to peasants on the estate. The Italian Consul at Valona, the first time I was there, told me he had thus purchased a servant girl. A 597

Birth.—In Albania, as in Montenegro, childbirth received but the most ignorant treatment. The death-rate of mothers and children was high. M A 844

There was great rejoicing among the mountain tribes when a boy was born and proportionate disappointment over a girl. For a son, especially a first-born, the whole family group turned out and fired rifles.

Some kind of spiritual relationship was held to exist between the child and the woman who cut the umbilical cord; but I learnt no particulars.

As in Montenegro, even in the towns there was the greatest reluctance to summon medical aid. In Scutari one day the Austrian doctor was summoned to a Moslem woman who was in the last stages of exhaustion. He found the child was already dead, and said that to save the woman's life it must be removed at once. The family refused to believe or permit this and dismissed him. Some hours later they fetched him again—but she was dead. A [758]

On the birth of a child, both in Scutari and the mountains, all the women neighbours go at once to visit the mother and take offerings of eggs. For a boy, two, four, six, or eight—an even number—are brought; for a girl, one, three, five, or seven. One egg is broken over the child's face to protect it from the Evil Eye. Presumably this makes the child unrecognizable or hideous. A [431 777]

Both in Albania and Montenegro, and I believe in all Balkan lands, infants are swaddled. The cradle is of wood and serves as a packing-case in which to carry the child on its mother's back. In Scutari the cradles are very gaily painted with conventional patterns of flowers and birds, M A 854 A 854 531

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854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of laths—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. Marriage

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

ALBANIA

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

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PLATE VIII.—AN ALBANIAN VIRGIN

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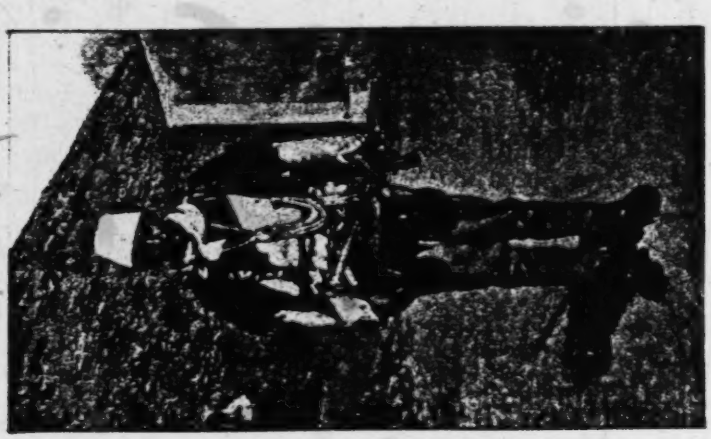

PLATE VII.—BOGA BOY IN FULL DRESS
(See p. 23)

[Facing p. 193]

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of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583
rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162
women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585
bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834
important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581
one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609
days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should
cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585
born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842
it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman
bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589
married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562
has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to
do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right
to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt
twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836
ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842
priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585
betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal,
and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage."
"They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586
miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away.
In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great
trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31,
1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage."
And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584
and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577
and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each
other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the
relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted,
and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626
the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585
it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be
forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the
Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or
immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states
that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

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585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before
585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common.
584 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage
589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her
626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms,
689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given
562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself,
939 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's 689
dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to 562
one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after [428] which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping [689] with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, 689
so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church 562
at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard 773
a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man 585
refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in 583
blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed 578
daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" 577
that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 583

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

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583
577 and ask the girl. The usual answer was that they were too modest. The suggestion seemed to be thought indecent.

581 The fact that both in Montenegro and Albania a word of Turkish
152 origin is used commonly for "to make love" (Montenegrin and Bosnian, "ashikovati"; Albanian, "ashik," lover—"ashari," love) suggests that love-making played little or no part in the marriages of both lands. I heard that the son of an Austrian mother and an Albanian father was betrothed and asked his mother if he was much in love. "O dear, no!" she cried. "Not in the least; he is quite Albanian!"

183 One case only I met in which—perhaps for the first time—a betrothal
583 was broken and the girl left free to marry. She was the niece of Mgr. Premi Dochi, mitred abbot of the Mirdites, a very remarkable man, whose death during the war was an immense loss to Albania.

I passed the night at her father's house. The girl sat sullen and glowering in a corner like a wild cat at bay. No one spoke to her. I asked what was the matter. She had refused to be sent to her betrothed. Her father was furious. Only the abbot's intervention had saved her. He talked the young man into admitting that it was useless to marry a girl who hated him and would probably run away, when another more amenable could be found, and got him to swear that no blood-
581 vengeance should be taken if the girl married another. But the father, enraged, declared often and loudly, "A girl marries to please her house and not for herself"; and rated her till I was sorry I had asked. Awe of the abbot alone had made him yield.

585 *Marriage Ceremonies.*—When the wedding-day is fixed the male relatives of the bridegroom go to fetch the bride. The bridegroom usually does not go. As the tribes are exogamous the distance may be considerable. Sometimes the men of the bride's family take her to a spot half-way and hand her over there. Sometimes she is fetched from her father's house. Moslem girls are always accompanied by one or two female relatives. Christian girls usually are, if the journey is a long one; but not always. In no case does the mother go.

Marriage among the Christians is according to the rites of the Catholic Church.

I was never at a mountain wedding, but was told some local ceremonies. In Klementi the bride, on coming to her husband's home, must throw an apple over the roof, and is given some corn. This recalls the confarreatio of the Romans. She is then led three times round the hearth. All through the mountains I gathered that a bride must enter the house with her right foot first and carry in a male child with her. On marriage the hair of the woman is dyed black and dressed differently from that of a virgin. There are various modes, according to district. In the Maltsia e Madhe the head is shaved in front and over the temples,

and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585
The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842]
uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592]
take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584
relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon
I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583
price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585
at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were
in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291]
kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and
pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301]
necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291]
and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom,
who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576]
have to assume a superhuman modesty.

585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and [533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house. [534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The [592 301] display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped; the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern [262] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker- [251] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell. [777] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait, punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take [777 842] the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

enable her to bear male children. The ladies again sang songs of greeting. 585
Then the two bride-leaders manipulated the bride as though she were [777
a lay figure. She was absolutely passive. They raised her to her feet, 842]
set her feet one after the other, shod in the wedding-boots, on to the steps of the carriage, and then on the ground. They then draped her with the red silk handkerchief sent her yesterday, and pinned it to the top of her head. Supported under the armpits she was slowly shuffled across the yard. It was but a few yards long, but her passage took full ten minutes. She was pelted with sweets, which a crowd of children gathered, and sprinkled with holy water, and led into the women's room. The bridegroom then arrived on foot and went to the men's room. I followed the bride. She was led backwards, and seated, still blinded by the veils, upon the chair in the corner. Her hands were laid on her sash and nervously grasped a folded handkerchief. Her immobility as her attendants handled her was so inhuman as to be almost horrible. One of her leaders carefully lifted a corner of her head-coverings and gave her lemonade to drink under it. The attendants [272]
themselves were then ceremoniously served with refreshments. They then removed her wedding-boots and put on the slippers, raised her to her feet, lifted a corner of her veil, said good-bye under it, and withdrew. The poor bride still stirred never a finger, but the violent [152]
heaving of her breast showed her on the verge of hysterics. She pulled herself together and the ordeal continued. One of the bridegroom's female relatives unpinned the red handkerchief from the bride's head and held it as a screen before her. Behind it her headdress was changed. Her white veil was removed, and a yellow beflowered silk one substituted.

The great moment had now come. We were to see her face. A lady on each side of her threw back the veil and showed her off. She was exposed to a crowd of staring females. Her head dropped modestly. Her attendants each placed a finger under her chin and raised it again. The sweat streamed down her face. They wiped it. They straightened her wide coat, settled her sash, and waved the flies off her. Such was her Spartan heroism that when a fly, unobserved by the attendants, crawled up her face, she did not even by a twitch show that she was alive. Then a front row of chairs was arranged and all the men came in. The bridegroom, witnesses, and father took their seats. The background was crowded with miscellaneous youths. They stared with all their eyes at the luckless girl, who in vain dropped or turned her head, only to have it put straight again.

Only the bridegroom held his head down and would not look. His 533
witnesses grasped his chin and made him look, and he faltered, "But 585
I've seen her already."

The wedding song then began:—

533 How beautiful is the bride, Mashallah, Mashallah.
585 She has a forehead for a "perishan" (gold ornament of coins, etc.).
Her eyebrows are like braid, Mashallah, etc.
Her eyes large as coffee cups, Mashallah, etc.
Her nose is like a gold coin ("muskala").
Her cheeks like sweet cake ("gurabi," given at night by the bride to the bridegroom).
Her mouth is like a casket, Mashallah, etc.
Her teeth like pearls.
Her neck like a lily. Her figure is like a standard

585 sang the ladies, the men roaring: "She is, she is!" in a high falsetto, pressing their hands on their ears, and the small boys yelling "Mashallah," a strange cry at a Catholic wedding. All the time her two attendants [152] patted, straightened, and wiped the bride. My neighbour whispered to me: "They often faint." I anxiously watched her panting and swaying, and was relieved when the bridegroom left the room and the men followed. The ladies then bent the bride's knees and she plopped on to the chair. By now she was almost hypnotized, and mechanically at intervals tried to rise, but was at once replaced unless a child came in, when it was correct for her to rise for a moment. Then came midday and the wedding dinner, to which I did not stay. The bride is allowed to withdraw for a time. She does not eat with the guests. Her attendants [264] put little bits of food into her mouth. If very modest she does not take it, but when left alone secretly consumes some food she has hidden in her marriage coffer. On my return she was again enthroned. I was given three tumblers of wine and a dish of sweets and told to consume them, and did my best. I was then given a special view of all the bride's ornaments, and invited to return at night for the final ceremony. This I did not do. It was described as follows: The two attendants prepare the bed at midnight. They undress the bride and put a long silk shirt on her; lay her forcibly on the bed, and withdraw. The two male [833 533] witnesses then lead or drag in the bridegroom and prepare him. The wedding guests all stand outside the door when the couple are left alone, and sing epithalamia of an encouraging nature and shout advice through the keyhole. The bride has to feed the bridegroom with the "gurabi" (cake) she has brought in her wedding coffer.

The company sings continually till told the marriage has been consummated. In a short time the bride and bridegroom emerge completely redressed. She wears a married woman's dress. They are greeted as man and wife and at last left in peace.

585 The whole of the next week the bride may be visited at any hour
574 of the day and must not speak a word, but sit rigid as before.

At the end of the week she has a holiday and goes back to her own people on the Sunday. On the Wednesday her husband is invited to

make acquaintance with the family into which he has married. Again 585
the party is divided into "buck-herds and doe-herds." The husband 574
enters the ladies' room and embraces all of his new female relations,
except his wife, whom modesty compels to turn away. He sups with [576]
the family and goes home alone. Next day the bride is brought back
to his house and the same pantomime of extreme reluctance is gone
through. She comes home usually in a carriage. I was told that formerly
it was etiquette for her to come on foot, but only inch by inch, so that
her return from a house round the corner might perhaps take hours.
She visits her family thus at week-ends for several months, but only
on the first occasion is a carriage and ceremony necessary.

A bridegroom, while I was in Scutari, revolted against the midnight ceremony, and turned all the guests out of his house after the feast. In spite of her assumed modesty the bride was deeply hurt at being thus deprived of publicity. She complained to her parents, who angrily asked why their daughter should have been thus insulted. Was she not good enough to show as his wife to his friends in the usual manner? Nor could they see that in this case the bridegroom's modesty had been real and not assumed.

He was in the unusual position of having a house of his own. In most 591
cases the young couple lives in the house of the bridegroom's parents 592
in the town and has a separate room. The parents rule and control the household, and the bride is often very hard-worked. The emigrants returned from America have brought new ideas and the system is breaking down.

Much of the above ceremony resembles Roman practice. The distaff, the casket of household implements, the throwing of sweets, sprinkling of water, epithalamia, the *patria potestas* also.

The girls of a family must be married according to age—the eldest 582
first, and so on. The origin of this is perhaps that formerly infant betrothals were almost universal and girls were sent to their husbands so soon as old enough.

In Scutari, and, I believe, in the other towns, the daughters, or at least one of them, must be married before the sons can be married. The explanation offered was that the daughters must be dowered, and the sons cannot marry till they have helped earn the dowries.
Over these wedding outfits the parties are very exacting. The bride- 583
groom's family bargains for every stitch of the garments and stipulates as to their quality. While I was in Scutari a betrothed man, who had always worn Albanian costume, went to work abroad and dressed *à la Franga*. He wrote home to say he now required drawers that could be worn under trousers, and his fiancée, who had already finished I forget how many dozen voluminous Albanian garments, had all her

583 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian 684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he 183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. The Levirate

587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the 688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Maltsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose [628] between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

[577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

Sometimes the brother-in-law was unmarried, but this did not help 587
matters, such marriages being prohibited by the Church. To stop the 688
practice it was usual to excommunicate not only the couple but the whole "house" which permitted it, until the "levirate wife" was dismissed. I visited, at Apripa Gurit, a house of eighteen people thus under the ban. The son, a fine young fellow, had taken his elder brother's young widow to wife one month after her husband's death: this by tribe rule is the correct time. She had been married a very short time to her first husband and had not yet borne a child. The whole household was very uneasy about the excommunication, and offered the priest in my presence first thirty and then fifty guldens and pictures and candles for the church. But they stubbornly refused to put a stop to the "levirate marriage"; it would not be honourable. The young man himself was very certain of this. It was a duty he owed to his brother, and, no matter what the consequences, he would do it. He said they had found a girl, and arranged that he should marry her in a year's time. Till then he must cohabit with his sister-in-law. This he assured me very earnestly.

At Thethi Shala I found a case of a man who had thus taken his 587
uncle's widow and his brother's widow. He then proposed taking a legitimate wife as well and had paid most of the purchase money. Only then did the bride's parents learn of the two other "wives." They said he should not have their daughter till the other two were [578
dismissed. He replied she was paid for, and was his property and 684]
threatened vengeance.

The parents appealed to the padre, who sheltered them and the girl at the church-house, and succeeded in arranging a marriage for her with a man at a safe distance. The parents returned the first purchase money. "The aunt and sister-in-law" arrangement continued. The 595
padre at Thethi had routed out all polygamous arrangements in his parish but two.

He said that the people had a deep-rooted belief that it was right 587
thus to take as wife the widow of uncle, cousin, or brother if she con- 577
tinued to live in the communal house. If this was not permitted she must be sent home to her people. They could see no alternative, and pleaded: "It is our old custom. Do not interfere with it."

In the wild and distant tribes of Nikaj, Toplana, and Berisha the 587
custom was extremely common among the Christians. Thus at Nikaj, out of three hundred houses about fifty had sister-in-law concubinage, and other houses similarly kept aunts, so a large proportion of the children were illegitimate in the eyes of the Church, but not of the people. The legitimate wives were very apt to bolt with another man, and there was much blood-feud. In Berisha I was told that the sister-in-

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

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of the padres, being Albanian mountain men themselves, thought this right, though they admitted that the beating was sometimes cruelly severe. A 593 681

In some ways the women have more freedom than among the Montenegrins, for they are permitted to give their opinion freely on important subjects, and it is often asked, and they join in general conversation. Nor do their husbands ever apologize for their existence. M A 562

In Montenegro, on the other hand, as often as not the master of the house has shouted: "Be quiet, woman," when his wife only wanted to ask some innocent question. I never heard any of Iké's views except when Krsto was out, and one was always hearing, "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head!" hurled at the women. The Albanian woman, on the other hand, would joke and chaff the men; would even, in the streets of Scutari, call their husbands out of the drink-shop and tell them they had had enough. Nor does the Albanian woman have to bow humbly and kiss the hand of every male visitor as does the Montenegrin peasant woman. Among the Dukagini I found the men would even fetch water—a thing no Montenegrin "junak" would condescend to do.

A curious case illustrating the rights of the husband occurred while I was in Albania. A mountain woman left her husband and came to Scutari, where she lived by prostitution among the Turkish garrison. The husband's honour was blackened, but if he killed his wife he would owe blood to her family. He therefore consulted her brother, her nearest surviving male relative. The brother agreed that his family, too, was blackened, and gave the man the cartridge wherewith to shoot her. Shot she was, and public opinion considered the husband had acted rightly and cleaned the honour of both families. I said that in such a case divorce should be permitted, but was told that so long as she was alive the family honour would still be black; a divorce would be useless. A 577 684

5. Marriage Customs in Montenegro

In Montenegro, and all through the Serb-speaking lands, marriages were arranged by the head of the house. The young people were rarely consulted. A century ago in Montenegro infant and child betrothals were not uncommon, and the young couple did not see each other before marriage. Old Serbian ballads show that exogamy was the rule, for the hero, we are usually told, "sought his bride from afar." Such marriages were designed to strengthen the "house." We find in ballads and tales the youth who laments to his father that no wife has yet been found for him; to whom his father replies: "I have long sought M 583 M [582]

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583 for one, but where I find a maiden for thee, I do not find a friend for myself; and where I find a friend, I find no maiden."

582 When the father found a suitable "friend" (i.e. ally), the son had to accept the arrangement. Till well into the nineteenth century boys were commonly married at sixteen and girls as young as thirteen. I knew a monk who said he was only fourteen years younger than his mother. As in Albania, this system was the cause of the bulk of the
582 old blood-feuds.

177 In Montenegro, when I was there, young people were beginning to have some freedom of choice. Child-betrothal was extinct, and the marriage age for girls raised to sixteen. The economic conditions
684 tended to defer marriage. The suppression of the blood-feud made
628 it no longer so dangerous to seduce a man's daughter, and throughout Serbia, Bosnia, and Montenegro there was much immorality. Especially
[162 in Montenegro was there a great superfluity of women, as a large
167] amount of the young male population was in America.

In truth the "chastity" of the Montenegrin, as sung by Tennyson (who knew nothing of the country), consisted of old in the fact that he was given a wife when very young, and that he and any of his male relatives were liable to be shot if he tampered with any other woman. The betrothed girl, when handed over by her parents, had to be *intacta virgo*, and they were held responsible. Hence any lapse on the girl's part was punished with hideous brutality by her family. Tribe law forbade the entry of any outsider into the tribe. The illegitimate child
[848] of an outsider was of its father's blood, and the tribe would not have it.
582 The girl, moreover, being already betrothed, was the property of her
628 betrothed's family, and they would refuse to take "damaged goods,"
684 demand compensation, and a blood-feud might follow. Tales were told of hapless girls being hunted out and left to starve; of being stripped and tied naked to a tree on the mountain; of being stoned or beaten, and of the child, when born, being thrown to the pigs (I heard of one such case). Let us hope these were the exception and not the rule.

582 Up till well into the nineteenth century, in Montenegro a wedding had to be approved not only by the respective fathers, but by their bratstvos. The match being decided, the betrothal ("vjeridba") took place.
584 The bridegroom's father prepared a bottle of rakia with an apple (or
431 orange) on the top, in which a gold coin was stuck. The men of both bratstvos met before the church in presence of the pope. The bride's father brought a bottle of rakia and a bunch of flowers. He accepted the "golden apple" in exchange for the flowers and health-drinking took place. The betrothal was then an accepted fact. The next step was the giving of the ring ("prstenovanje") and exchanging of gifts. The bridegroom took no part. Again his father and two male relatives

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went. They took with them rakia, the ring, an apple with a coin in it, 584
a bunch of sweet basil, and sometimes a piece of linen for a shirt. 431
The bride was brought in and had to look modestly on the ground and bow to the guests. The ring was given to her father, who put it on her finger. She was given the apple and gifts. Gifts were sometimes given to the other women of the house. The maiden withdrew, and the wedding-day and the number of "svatovi" (men who come to fetch the bride) was discussed. Each svat must receive a gift from the bride's family (fancy knitted socks, embroidered shirts, etc.). In old days often a small army went—a hundred or more men. In recent days twenty-five or even less was usual, to avoid the ruinous expense in food and gifts.

On the appointed day the svatovi started. The elder svat and the 585
standard-bearer, the sponsor ("kum"), and the two bride-leaders ("djeveri") were leaders of the party. The djeveri were the bridegroom's brother and a cousin or uncle. They went off singing and firing guns. The djeveri carried rakia and gave drinks to passers-by. At the bride's house a great feast took place.

Strict etiquette as to precedence, seat at table, etc., was observed, [576]
and regulation healths drunk. The Stari Svat put a large flat loaf ("pogatch") on the table. The headman of the bride's house then asked that the bread should be gilded. The Stari Svat asked: "But what do I owe you?" The bride's elder replied: "We have given you a beautiful girl and you must gild the bread." The Stari Svat then asked: "But have we then to buy her?" and the bride's elder replied: "No; we do not sell her, but by our old custom you must gild the bread." The Stari Svat then poured coins on the bread, and the loaf thus "gilded" was given to the bride's father. He was supposed to take some payment for the expenses of the gifts, etc., and to return the rest. The ceremony is obviously a reminiscence of the bride-price. The bride's elder then broke the loaf on his head, and the party set to work on the roast meats.

Then the two djeveri went into the room where the bride was and gave her a new pair of sandals ("opanke"), which she put on. The 292
women of the house veiled her face and put a woman's belt on her [301
(leather set with cornelians, or silver filigree). Her hair was plaited in 302]
two long tails.

Her brother had to stand guard over her all the time to see that no one tied knots in her fringed "strukka" and thus prevented her child- [754
bearing. The djeveri came to fetch her, and the brother asked for 842]
something in exchange and was given some trifle—often a cartridge.

The djeveri took her by each arm, and after this no relation of hers might touch her. As she left she was on no account to look backwards. [777]
If she did so her sons would be like her brothers. I was assured that this was very often the case. She was then taken off by this army of

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585 strange men. With a view to sparing her inconvenience if the journey was one or two days, I was told she was fed on hard eggs previous to [262 751] starting in order to produce constipation. If there was a halt at night, she slept between the two djeveri. I met an unlucky English journalist who thought it would be great fun to act as djever at a Montenegrin wedding, and was highly embarrassed when he found what was expected of him. "And the beast of a girl snored like a pig!" was his account.

On arriving at the bridegroom's house the whole party went straight to the church as a rule. No woman except the bride was present. The usual Orthodox ceremony was performed. The djevers escorted the bride from the church to her new home. The bridegroom rushed home with the svatovi and was ready to receive her. The mother-in-law received her at the doorway holding a male child. The bride carried the child into the house and made him a present. It was usual to spread [789 842] a carpet or skin rug at the doorway and hide weapons under it, as by stepping on the weapons she was the more likely to bear a warrior. Then feasting began. In old times it lasted three days. The bride sat apart with the djeveri. She bowed humbly to her new relatives and [576] kissed their hands, but did not converse. She slept at night fully clothed between the two djeveri so long as the feast-days continued. She had to rise early and fetch water from the well to wash their hands and faces (all that requires washing, that is) and those of the svatovi. They rewarded her by dropping small coins in the bowl.

When the feast-days were over the bride slept with her mother-in-law ("svekrva"), who taught her how to address all her new relatives.

The custom of sleeping with the djeveri after the marriage ceremony was extinct when I was in Montenegro, as the marriage feasts had been recently restricted to one day. It needs explanation, and suggests [174] a reminiscence of earlier days when brothers shared a wife in the communal bratstvo. There is no historic record of such a state of things; but some old usage must lie behind so unusual a custom.

The custom of the bride sleeping with her mother-in-law still was [577 833] in force. It was, in fact, considered honourable to defer the consummation of the marriage; the longer the more honourable. I was assured that it was even sometimes deferred for a year or more. In a large number of the peasant houses there is no privacy. Several couples and a lot of children all sleep in one room. The bride was coarsely joked for being "stidna" (modest). This was the explanation offered 431 for her sleeping with the mother-in-law. About a week after marriage 585 the bride's brothers or her brother and uncle and her mother bring her marriage coffer. The mother brings gifts for the women of the house, and during her visit sleeps with her daughter. When the visitors

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leave they are given return gifts, such as a ham, some bread, or a bottle of rakia. Within the year the bride visits her parents for a few days.

The complete lack of any sense of what we think decency was shown 585 at the wedding of one of Krsto's bratstvo. The man had just returned 577 after two years' work in the United States and brought home about 183 £200 in gold, so was thought a millionaire. His family at once found him a bride and he spent some £30 on a gold embroidered suit of clothes for himself. He gave gold rings to his brothers and some friends, and the rakia flowed. Knowing that the family hut was little larger than Krsto's, I asked where the couple would live. "In his father's house, of course!" I said it was too small, so was taken to see that, though there were already three bedsteads in it, a fourth could be squeezed in and leave enough floor space. I said, as he was so rich, I wondered he did not build another room. All were horrified at the idea of thus wasting money. An embroidered suit and gold rings one could understand, but an extra room when you could squeeze into what you had got! So a strange young woman was duly brought to Njegushi by a gang of Krsto's male relatives, with much flag-waving, golden apples (oranges), and rakia, and they all pigged in together in the single room.

The bride has to provide a large outfit—a mass of clothes, sheets, 583 towels, stockings, etc., for herself and her husband. In old days she had to spin and weave the material as well as make the garments, and it was a common complaint that girls were no use at home, as scarce out of childhood they had to begin on their trousseau. Even after they had made it they were not sure of it. The daughter of one of the chief schoolmistresses in Cetinje married without her mother's consent (her father was dead). There was nothing against the young man, so far as I could learn. The couple had waited some time before deciding to marry without leave. I went to see the mother just after the marriage, and she told me with fiendish glee that she had sold the whole of the girl's trousseau to a neighbour. It was improper for a girl to choose for herself.

I asked some of the women I knew well about their marriages. Mitar's wife, Krsto's sister-in-law, said she was about sixteen when her parents told her she was going to be married in a week or two. She was extremely pleased. Was she not afraid of going to strangers? Oh, no. She knew both tribe and bratstvo were honourable. She was very eager to go. Her mother-in-law told her who all her new relations were. In fact, the marriage was a happy one.

The "popadija" (pope's wife)[1] was still more emphatic. She, too, had 582 been quite a girl when she heard she was to be married. They were 793 both very young, as a pope cannot be married after he is ordained.

1 [Analyst's note - Priest's wife.]

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

M 582 793 Boys destined for the priesthood were, therefore, often married when thirteen, but the couple did not live together till he became a full pope. To be wife of a pope, she explained, was the greatest luck; for as he cannot marry again he takes great care of you. To many of these girls it was no more surprising to be told they were to be sent to a strange husband than for an English girl to be told she is going to school next term.

M [538] A story to explain why a pope may not marry again was told in Montenegro. When the patriarchs of the Church met to make marriage laws, the men sent a petition that popes should not be allowed to marry, so that there should be plenty of wives left for them. Four women then came and begged that popes should be allowed to marry, so that there should be plenty of husbands. All talked and shouted at once. The patriarchs chose one pope and one man. Then they said: "Now you four women, run away as fast as you can!" And when the women had a good start they let loose the pope and the man and said: "Run after them and catch what you can." Off they went. The man grabbed three women and the pope only one; and so it was decided. M No man may marry more than three times, and a pope only once.

593 562 Though the wives showed much devotion, often the attitude of the men in these made marriages seemed very hard and unfeeling. The woman chosen for them was too often treated without the smallest consideration. If she broke down under harsh treatment his attitude was that of a man who has had a broken-winded horse palmed off on him. He had the legal right to beat her, and did so if she pleaded she was too tired to fetch another barrel of water. She had no business to be either ill or tired so long as his comforts needed attending to. Not S only among the peasants, but among the *intelligentsia* one found 589 this. At Grachanitza, which was then Turkish territory, a young 765 Serbian schoolmaster came to see me, one of the many political agents 577 of the Serbian Government working for the destruction of Turkey. He was depressed and angry, for all Europe was hailing with enthusiasm the new Turkish Constitution; and if this were allowed to succeed, all hopes of making Great Serbia were over. Also his work was now very difficult, for he had no woman to work for him. His wife had recently died in childbirth. He was wearing a black shirt, which, he said, was not so much as mourning as to save the trouble of washing it. S I expressed sympathy, and said it was especially sad she had died in 871 childbirth. What of the child? Oh, that was dead, too. A good thing, for it would only have been an extra trouble. When he got the post of S schoolmaster his father had found a wife for him. They had spent 585 a lot on the wedding and had expected she would work and make him 843 comfortable. Then when the baby was coming she was always com-

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S 585 843 S 593

plaining; and when it was born she was very ill. This he seemed to think outrageous conduct on her part, as she should have been up and at work three days afterwards. The neighbours then told him he must fetch a doctor from the town. He thought this absurd and at first refused. He ought to have continued refusing, for when at last he did fetch a doctor the latter only said that she was dying. So that money was wasted, too. And then he had to pay for the funeral. For the sufferings of the poor girl he had no pity, and, most of all, he grudged the doctor's fee. Now he did not know how to afford another wedding. When he began to abuse both his poor wife and her relatives, I told him he himself had killed her with overwork and neglect. He was angry; but as he was one of those who was educating young Serbia, it was as well that he be shown an outside point of view.

S 583 584

In Serbia the bride-price existed till the beginning of the nineteenth century, when old Karageorge abolished it because it had become so high that many men could not obtain suitable wives.

In Serbia old women often acted as marriage brokers and conveyed information as to who had a marriageable daughter and what she was like, and expected a fee when a marriage was arranged. I met a life-insurance agent who dabbled in this business and was anxious to dispose of me.

S M 585

The marriage customs of Bosnia and Serbia, though there are local differences, are, in the main, the same as those described for Montenegro. The bride is fetched, after a formal betrothal, by the svatovi and djeveri.

M 589 838

Sworn Virgins.—Among the tribes of Montenegro which are of Albanian origin, it appears that the custom of allowing a girl to swear virginity and assume male rights and attire existed till recently. I heard nothing of it in my time. But Medakovitch describes meeting a girl of the Rovatz tribe in 1855 who had no brothers and "acted as son to her father, wore men's clothes, and carried a gun on her shoulder; smoked tobacco and was always with the men." He adds that she was bound by a vow.

M 587 595

The Levirate in Montenegro.—As to whether the Levirate formerly existed in Montenegro I could get no definite information. I suspect that it did, for I frequently heard that in "the good old times" men often had two wives and that it was allowed. Medakovitch, writing of the 'forties, says that Montenegrins used often to have two wives, "but do not now." A similar statement is made by Joseph Kermpotitch in 1788 (*v.* Vladan Georgevitch, *Extracts from Vienna Archives*): "Except that they keep fasts, they have no religion. They rob, steal, have many wives; steal the wife of a weaker man and marry her. Some sell women and girls to the Turks, and commit other unnatural vices as one hears daily."

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as one hears daily." Some writers have ascribed this to "Turkish influence." But as the custom of the Levirate was common all through the neighbouring Albanian tribes and many of the Montenegrin tribes are of Albanian stock, it is highly probable that at least some of these extra wives were levirate. The custom of the djeveri sleeping with the bride before she is given to the bridegroom suggests that they stand in a peculiar relationship to her. In Albania the widow can be taken by the eldest male relative of her deceased husband—barring his father. In Montenegro the djeveri as a rule were the bridegroom's next brother and his uncle. In the old ballads we very frequently find the wife appealing to her djever brother-in-law as one whose special duty it is to help and protect her.

Among the oldest ballads in the Karadjitch Collection are two versions of the same theme—the punishment inflicted upon a criminal land by the Virgin Mary and the Saints. In the first version the land is India; in the second it is Syrmia. In both the crimes are similar: "An accursed land where God's religion is not; where they do not pray God's help; where children obey not their parents; where the younger obey not the elders; where kum (sponsor) does not keep faith with kum; *where the djever works shame to his sister-in-law;* where brother drives brother before the judges and inflicts penalties on him before the Turks; where they do not celebrate the saints, nor burn candles in the churches, nor read God's liturgy." The saints burnt up the land first, and then St. Sava buried it in snow, and finally the population returned to the paths of virtue and were pardoned. This curious tale sounds like a reminiscence of the struggle of the Church against pagan practices. The reference to the sin of the djever is noteworthy.

6. Divorce

In Montenegro, when I was there, divorce was according to the rules of the Orthodox Church, and more easily obtained by men than by women.

But within living memory a local form of divorce had existed. Against this Prince Danilo legislated in 1855 in Law 67: "Divorces between man and wife, so frequent in our land, are forbidden, except in the cases permitted by our Holy Church owing to the faults or impediments of husband or wife."

When neither party to the marriage had any choice in it, it is not surprising that ill-matched couples should have wished to part so soon as possible. Local usage forced them to marry; but local usage permitted divorce. Vladika Petar I is said to have favoured and per-

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mitted it because of the frightful blood-feuds caused by fights over women who fled back to their own families or went off with other men. Parents, having once betrothed a daughter in the cradle to a youth also in the cradle, dared not refuse to carry out the bargain when the time came, even if they knew the boy infant had grown up into a bad lot. The marriage was accomplished, and the daughter encouraged to come home if she could not stand it. M 586

If no signs of pregnancy soon occurred a man demanded divorce. Till Vladika Petar's time a woman could not sue for divorce; but by flying home and refusing cohabitation she could drive her husband to do so. The old formula was that a council of elders, at which the pope presided, having been called, the wrongs of the husband were declared and discussed. If the elders decided in his favour, a cup of wine was offered to the wife's male relatives, who drank of it and offered it to the husband, who refused to drink with them. The pope then gave one corner of the wife's apron to her father, and the other corner to the husband's father. He then drew a cord between them and declared them separated. Thus the parents who made the marriage also unmade it. M 586 842 623

Vladika Petar I (1796) decreed that "He who takes a woman whose husband is living or a girl not given to him by her parents or guardians, according to the rites of religion, shall be expelled from our territory and his goods confiscated." M 683 684

12. "A pope who marries a man and woman when the woman has a living husband, or marries a girl forcibly captured, or a woman not permitted by religion to marry, shall be expelled both from the priesthood and from our land." M [688 585]

He permitted women to sue for divorce and instituted a fine of fifty thalars, which the man who had divorced his wife had to pay to her father. If the woman asked and gained the divorce, her father had to pay fifty thalars to the husband. M 586

If there were any children, the elders usually did not grant a divorce. In case of the wife's adultery the husband obtained divorce at once and paid no damages. He could, if he pleased, cut off his wife's nose, and not infrequently did so.

ALBANIA

Among the Catholics, as elsewhere, there was no divorce. Such was the severity of the local priesthood that few persons were aware that it was possible to get a marriage annulled. A 586

An unlucky young Scutarene was told by his parents that they had arranged for him to marry a certain girl. He had already said he wished to marry her, for he had known her as a child. During the A 584

584 betrothal, as was customary, they were not allowed to meet, and the unfortunate man did not know till the veil was lifted in church that they had betrothed him to the girl's elder sister. He at once said, "I refuse to take her." The assembled relatives hushed him up and said he must not make a disturbance in church. He, thinking his protest was sufficient, allowed the service to finish. So soon as it was over he repudiated the girl, and said if she was taken to his home he should not return there. Nor did he. His parents kept her some time and then sent her to her own home. He returned then; but left when they again [586] sent her round. The affair was some two or three years old. All parties were greatly concerned. But I could not make them believe that Rome, if properly applied to, would certainly declare this to be no marriage.

Among the Moslems the usual form of Mohammedan divorce prevailed.

7. Marriage of an Outsider into a Tribe

MONTENEGRO

600 *Outsider into the Tribe.*—There was one exception to the rule which forbade any man—an outsider—to become a member of a tribe. If a man had no sons and one or more daughters he could, with the consent of his bratstvo and tribe, import a son-in-law instead of exporting all his daughters.

This man then lived as son of the house and took the place of a son. He lost all rights in his former tribe and was a member of that which he had married into. He dropped his own family name and took that of Domazet ("dom," the house; "zet," son-in-law). His sons were Domazetovitch, a name which can still be found in Montenegro and, I believe, in Bosnia.

But the introduction of a man of another tribe was so much disliked that in marriages of this kind the domazet was, as a rule, chosen if possible from another group within the tribe that was not related by blood. Such groups existed in most of the larger tribes (*v.* Tribes).

FORBIDDEN DEGREES

In Montenegro, though the ancient strict rule of exogamy no longer held good as regards tribes according to law, yet in practice there was still a tendency to marry outside the tribe or into a quite distant group of it.

The laws of the Orthodox Church on forbidden degrees were given me by Pope Gjuro as follows:—

[P. 215 – 242 blank]

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SECTION VII

MAGIC, MEDICINE, SOOTHSAYING

1. Magicians, Witches, and Vampires

In Albania many believe in witchcraft. It plays a great part in the 754
life of the people, who live in a constant state of protecting themselves from evil influences and inviting good ones. Both men and women practise magic. A witch is called "Shtriga." Illnesses and pains not caused by a wound are commonly believed to be the result of evil spells.

Shtrigas not only cause illness by spells; they suck people's blood [753]
and drain their lives slowly. Anæmia, tuberculosis, and all wasting diseases are ascribed to this. To be able to do it the shtriga takes the form of a moth or fly, and crawls into the house at night by the keyhole or a cranny.

Thus it is clear that these simple folk long ago realized that insects that fly by night cause fatal diseases, though it is but very recently that the species has been discovered by scientists. The Balkan tribesman did not think an insect unaided could work such harm and ascribed it to wicked human influence.

The shtriga can reduce herself or another person to insect size by smearing the body with an ointment which is a profound secret. Every inch of the body must be smeared or the part left will remain full-sized. In Scutari a young married woman, being pregnant, craved greatly for wine, but was too poor to buy any. Her mother-in-law, a shtriga, stripped her and smeared her so that she became small enough to pass through the keyhole of a certain cellar famed for good wine. "But do not mention the name of God till you are safely back," said the shtriga. Off flew the woman at night, entered the cellar, and drank freely, and felt so cheered and grateful that she cried: "Thank God!" At once she found herself standing naked in her usual form. "A shocking thing to happen to a respectable married woman," said my informant, who knew the parties and firmly believed the "facts." There she had to wait till next day, when the owner came to draw wine. He, good man, was astonished; but on hearing how it came about, kindly lent her clothes to go home in. "The cellar and keyhole are still there," I was told, "and prove the truth of this beyond doubt."

A shtriga, when glutted with blood, will go out in the dark and vomit it. If you can follow her undetected you must scrape up some

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A 754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A [163 761] Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So A [751] terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh A [853 777] air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The M 754 same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen 853 luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the A 755 child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air and sunlight.

A 754 Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony 755 Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away. It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead. The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He A [681] rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying, 'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

A 754 In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied 776 round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special pre- 777 caution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors, the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

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working harm to the world in general. It is interesting to find in Herrick's *Hesperides* a charm for stables:—

> Hang up hooks and shears to scare
> Hence the hag that rides the mare.

The scissors, too, are among the amulets worn on a silver chain by the women around Nish in Serbia. 777 754

Tony was proof against the Evil Eye, for he wore a powerful amulet. A similar one is used in other Balkan lands and in Hungary. A snake is caught by pinning down its head with a forked stick. The head is then cut off with silver—the sharpened edge of a large coin will do. It is then dried and enclosed between two silver St. Georges, and finally blessed by the priest. This protects against all spells. It is evidently a piece of sympathetic magic. Evil is to die as did the dragon—represented by the snake's head—slain by St. George.

Tony's wife was once bewitched and had sharp pains all over, but could not be sure who caused this. The same evil person attempted to bewitch Tony, but, protected by the snake's head, he only felt a few twinges. His wife, who suffered much, was cured by a dervish, who took some hair from the top of her head and from her armpits, tied it up, and burnt it while muttering some unknown charm. The pain went as the hair burnt and never came back. This and the case of the child both occurred at Djakova, at that time a wholly Albanian town. 755

Marko, too, was cured of similar pains. A Moslem gathered some herbs, but kept their species a secret. He fumigated them over a brazier, muttering a charm. He then tied them up, and Marko had to stand upright with his arms fully extended on either side. The Moslem put the bunch of herbs on Marko's head, drew them down the side of the face, along the arm, back to the body, and down the side of the body to the foot. He then repeated the operation on the other side, and cried: "Pain, pain, fly away from this man to the top of the highest mountain, where there is neither man, woman, nor child, bird nor beast, and stay there!" He burnt the herbs. The pain flew away and apparently remained on the mountain-top, for it never returned.

When I was in the Scutari hospital, very ill with acute sciatica, poor old Marko sought in vain for the right herbs and was grieved at his failure. 278

Shtrigas were said to be very numerous all through North Albania. At Zumi, near Djakova, I was told that perhaps one-third of the women were blood-suckers; and in Nikaj was assured by the Franciscan in charge that most of the women were shtrigas, and he strove continually against the vile deeds, in which they were assisted by the Devil. 754 776

That the whole cult is the remains of ancient, long pre-Christian

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776 beliefs and rites one can hardly doubt. As is well known, the gods of the heathens became the devils of the Christians.

776 Marko was greatly afraid of Beelzebub and mentioned him with
777 a curse and a whisper. Belial and Beelzebub were supposed to be the most active. The tribesman followed the advice of his priest and put
[304] a cross on his house and tattooed himself with a cross, but he further protected himself with more ancient signs; he planted the skulls of horses, goats, and oxen on poles round his house and fields. Some houses had rows of skulls. I wondered whether, in old days, human ones had figured there, too.

The horse-skull was most valued not only in Albania, but also in Bosnia and in Montenegro. Where civilization has penetrated the horse-skull was often replaced by a twisted petroleum tin whitewashed. Short-sighted devils, seeing it from a distance, could easily have mistaken it for the real thing and fought shy.

[793] Priests are but human. I found one Catholic priest had a whole array of horse- and other skulls round his beehives. He laughed it off when I remarked on it, and added that bees were very liable to disease. He evidently wanted to be on the safe side.

754 I often found in the mountains a distinct fear of being drawn, or "written," as they always called it. At Vraka I asked if I might draw the interior of a house. The woman was doubtful. She at last said I was not to "write" her or her children, and, to make sure, she drove the children out of the house. In Luria I was told not to "write" anyone or any house. At Lohja was a wonderful old man, who was reputed to be 110, who boasted that he had sinned but twice in his life—and then it was not his fault. Men in plenty he had killed, but never dishonourably or for money. The company suggested that I should "write" him. Much flattered, the old man sat still for a while, but when everyone shouted that the sketch was exactly like him, he became greatly alarmed, and earnestly begged me never to destroy what I had "written" about him, for at the moment it was torn he would drop down dead. I preserved the sketch, and five years later found him still going strong.

754 At Seltzi, in the Klimenti tribe, I was told the best way to detect
787 a shtriga is to keep the bones of the pig you ate on the last day of Carnival. All through the Balkans the pig, abhorred by Turk and Jew, is a sign of Christianity. On Easter Day you make a cross with the pig's bones and tie it on the church door when the church is full of people. If any shtrigas are in the church they cannot get out except carried on the shoulders of the man who made the cross. They run
754 wildly round and round and can be caught.

681 There was, so far as I could learn, no traditional punishment for a

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witch in Albania; and though there can be no doubt that one has now 754
and then been done away with, the general idea was that it was best [681]
not to interfere lest worse should follow.

Marko strongly believed this. A woman a few doors away from us was a shtriga, and he ascribed much ill-luck to her. He avoided her as much as possible, and did not speak with her. When the autumn began to turn cold, numbers of mice that had summered in the cornfields came into the house. My room swarmed, and they ran over me at [136]
night. I told Marko to buy a trap. He seldom forgot things, and when I asked for the trap in the evening, I was surprised that he had not bought one. Again next day I asked him not to forget the mouse-trap; and again there was no trap. Then Teresi, his wife, came to me and said: "Please do not ask Marko to buy a trap; he does not want to." "But why?" She hesitated. "Marko thinks the mice are sent." "Sent?" I asked. "But who can send them?" "Marko thinks that woman—the shtriga—has sent them." I was delighted and asked: "How do people send mice?" "Marko says that with Beelzebub all things are possible." "But why should we not kill the mice?" "Because she would be angry and send something worse. Perhaps rats! Who knows?"

It was clearly impossible to trap the mice. I considered the situation, and next day asked if we might have a cat. Marko thought deeply. He then said it was natural for a cat to kill mice; we, in fact, should [136
be powerless to prevent it, and should not be responsible. The cat was [825]
obtained—a splendid mouser; and so we defeated the shtriga. It is clearly better not to incense them.

Men also are magicians, but I think not so often. A magician appeared at Nikaj when I was there. He was believed by the priest, whose guest I was, and by Marko to be so diabolical that the former ordered him to leave the parish, and neither of them would let me go out without a strong bodyguard; so I never got near him. He was famed for being able to raise many devils by dancing and wagging one leg behind him, and was believed to have come to Nikaj because most of the women were shtrigas.

A magician in Albanian is "maghistar" or "menghistar." Magic is "maghi" or "menghi"; "menghi" is also a remedy. In early days medicine and magic were one and the same. The words appear to be derived from, or connected with, "magus." The wise man of old used spells just as did the "wise woman" of the English village.

A strange tale which all believed was told of such a man who had worked much harm with magic in the Djakova district. One of the local beys, therefore, arrested him and locked him up. When he had been some time imprisoned the bey was one day entertaining guests on a feast day. The party was dull, and someone asked where that magician

754 was who used to do wonders. The bey thought it a good idea, and the man was fetched from his cell. He was very willing to perform, and asked only for a bowl of water. One was brought, and he made an [787] incantation over it. He then said that if any guest would name a place he wished to see, it could be seen in the water. Someone asked for Malta, and Malta was duly reflected; the harbour, the quay, and a steamer just getting up steam. When it had been admired, the magician asked the bey: "Have I your permission, noble Bey, to go off in that steamer?"

"Certainly," said the bey.

The magician lifted his foot and put it on the steamer in the water-bowl, and immediately went off in that steamer and was never heard of again. No one but myself could see anything improbable in this amazing tale; with Beelzebub all things are possible.

2. The Evil Eye

754 The Evil Eye was rampant. At Vukli an unhappy woman told me 761 it had killed all her eight children. A man there, to prove the power of his eye, had stared at a bunch of grapes, which had withered under his gaze and fallen to the ground before the awe-struck spectators. I did not meet this man.

754 Marko had a milch ewe he greatly valued. One day a mountain woman came to the door begging. He gave her bread, but she was not satisfied, and as she left she looked at the poor beast, which was perfectly well, and said: "What a fine ewe!" Soon afterwards it began to sicken. Marko sent for the vet., who said at once: "I can do nothing—someone has looked at this ewe. You must find her and make her remove the spell." She could not be found and the ewe died. Marko cut her up for mutton. I expressed horror. "The meat," said he, "is beautiful. There was nothing the matter with the ewe except a lot of yellow spots in its liver, made by that woman."

754 *Protection against Evil Eye.*—Many amulets are worn. Most horses 777 and many cattle wear blue beads (sham turquoise), tufts of badger-hair, which is said to be very efficacious, or triangular leather cases containing inscriptions. A universal protection, as in many other parts of the world, is a horn or horns. Though the horse-skull is now popular to guard fields and houses, the original skull was probably a horned one, e.g. the familiar ox-skull carved on the frieze of many a classical and pseudo-classical building. A pair of boar's tusks, mounted as a crescent and hung round the neck, is a favourite amulet for a handsome [776] saddle-horse. It prevents evil spirits riding the horse at night and

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prevents stumbling. A man I knew galloped for his life across the long, narrow, and slippery bridge at Djakova while some six others were firing at him. Usually one would have led the horse across. But horse and rider escaped unscathed. The former wore a fine pair of boar's tusks and the latter a piece of a meteorite, a good protection against bullets. One Albanian I knew wore a piece of meteorite continually in London and was never once shot at. A 754 777 [776]

A small brass imitation of the boar's tusk amulet formed part of the headstall of the Turkish gendarmerie horse-trappings. I possess a charming little crescent formed of a pair of falcon's talons which I bought of a Maltsori woman who said it was a great "ilatch" (remedy).

As a single horn, a wolf's fang, a cock's spur, a crab's claw are all good. Of a Vlah at Prishtina I bought a dried mole's paw set in silver, especially recommended to keep a child in health. It is a miniature "Fatima Hand."

Another highly valued object in Albania was a "stone snail" (ammonite). Baron Nopcsa, when geologizing, tried to remove a big ammonite, conspicuous on a wayside rock in the mountains. The quarrying of it out was too difficult and he left it; but the stone snail was chipped in the attempt. Marko, who had great faith in stone snails, lamented this much. It was discussed in the mountains and folk agreed it was lucky it was no worse. God alone knew what might have happened had the stone snail been removed.

The cowrie is a potent defence, but is rare in North Albania, so not more than one or two per person are worn, usually round the neck or sewn to the cap—except by the women of Vraka, who always wear two, one on each side of the face, sewn to the hair-plait. The cowrie is worn by women and children, but not, so far as I have seen, by men.

Though the natural cowrie is scarce, cowrie-land being afar, a large number, if not all, of the silver circular pendants, common all through the west side of the Balkan peninsula, are clearly derived from the cowrie, as Fig. 19 shows. In the older examples the cowrie type is evident. Two wriggly lines imitate the lip of the shell and a round hole the end aperture. In modern specimens sometimes this hole is all that is left; the cowrie is forgotten. In some the shape of the cowrie is preserved, and filigree replaces the wriggly line of the shell lip. In others the circle evolves into a crescent, as the plate shows. It seems possible that the pear-shaped pendant, so common on Near-Eastern, African, and Asiatic ornaments, is, in fact, derived from the cowrie (e.g. Fig. 19, No. 4*a*).

The cock is very powerful against evil spirits, who "vanish at the crowing." A cock appears on each side of the ornamental head-band worn until recently by the Herzegovinian women round their caps. Y 776 777

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Glass "turquoises" made the head-band yet more protective. Small cocks are still made as heads of pins to fasten the head-dress to the hair in the Herzegovina.

Y 777 172 In the prehistoric graves at Glasinatz in Bosnia, tiny bronze amulets, shaped like doves, have been found. In North Albania three wooden

A 764 777 301 M [301]

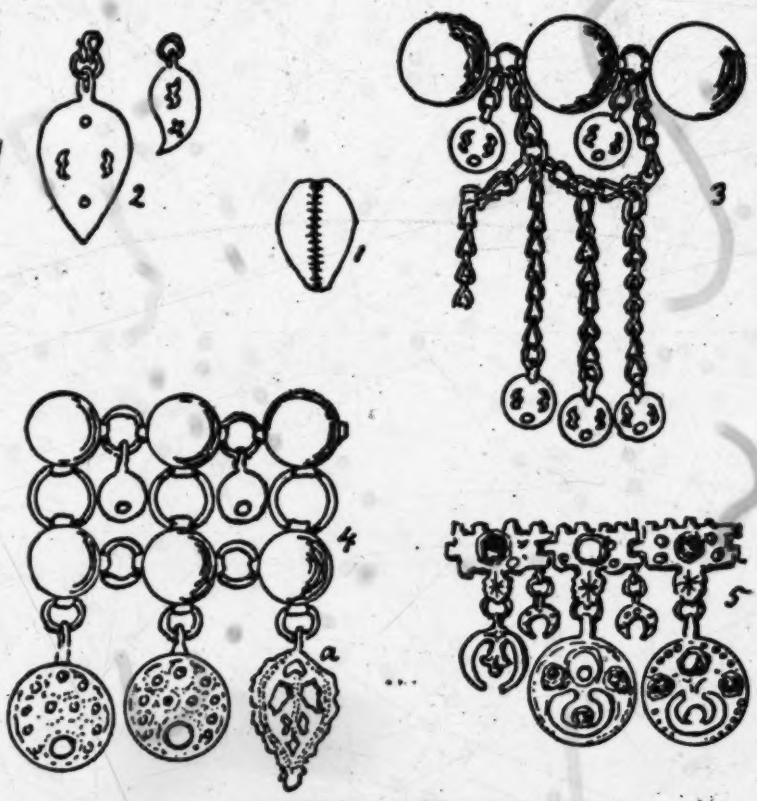

FIG. 19—SPECIMENS SHOWING EVOLUTION OF ORNAMENT FROM COWRY

1. Natural cowry. 2. Pendant common in North Albania. 3. Necklace from Kolashin, Montenegro (old specimen). 4. Breast ornament from Nikaj, North Albania (modern). 5. Old necklace, Scutari.

A [531] doves perch on many a wooden grave-cross. Especially good examples are at Boga. A dove forms part of the decorative design worked on the scarlet cloak worn by the Catholic married women of Scutari, as A does also the serpent. My repeated inquiries failed to find any explana- 142 tion of this dove. "It must be some old tale which we have forgotten," 171 was the reply of the embroiderers. The Glasinatz amulets from ancient

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pre-Christian and pre-Slav days show the tale to have been, indeed, so old as to justify its being forgotten. The dove appears, too, on a pair of silver earrings I have from Mirdita. A 142 171

Many of the Hallstadt period bronze ornaments, notably a number of tiny pendants in the form of buckets, cups, jugs, crosses, and animals, found at Prozor in Croatia (Kunst Histor. Museum, Vienna, Room XIII, 31), are extraordinarily like the strings of little household and other articles which dangle from a silver chain hooked to either side of the head-dress of the women of Nish in Serbia. Shoes, scissors, ploughs, plates, hammers, hatchets, hoes, pistols, the war-club ("buzdovan"), and sword are mixed with frogs, hares, and cocks. The cross, the ladder, and the paten usually hang in the middle, thus bringing the ornament into Christian times as the pistol does into "civilized ones." This curious chain hangs under the chin. It was still being made by the local silversmiths in 1902 and much worn. I had seen nothing like it anywhere else till I found, in the Kunst Hist. Museum in Vienna, a sumptuous gold chain a yard long, found in 1797 at Szilagy Somlyo in Hungary, along with fifteen big gold medals of Roman emperors set in gold frames—three of Maximianus, seven of Valens, one of Valentinianus, one of Constantine the Great, two of Constantius, and one of Gratianus. Thus from A.D. 284 to A.D. 383. The official catalogue describes it; "The principal object is the chain (No. 290), with models of implements of all sorts." I found ox-yoke, ladder, adze, several hammers, trident, straight sword, shield, war-club, pincers, tongs, scissors, ploughshare, axe, curved sword, reaping-hook, spear-heads, and an outstretched hand. In the centre hangs a ball of topaz, on which stands a golden vase on which two lions set their paws. Above the ball and attached to the chain is a curious dugout canoe in which a man with an oar sits. The whole is beautifully worked in solid gold and is very magnificent—the lordly ancestor of the peasant ornament still made in inferior silver at Nish. S [301]

The twisted chain-link is the same; so are the bulk of the implements—and nothing resembling this chain of implements have I found elsewhere. Did the Hallstadt folk of Prozor wear those little bronze pots and vases on a chain? For whom and when was the golden chain of Somlyo wrought? And why do the smiths of Nish still imitate it? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In Bosnia very elaborate head-dresses were, till recently, worn by women with plumes of coloured grasses, peacock's feathers, beads, coins, and dingle-dangles, all designed to attract the Evil Eye away from the wearer. Perhaps the subtlest way is to wear a small looking-glass, for the Evil Eye then throws its evil glance upon itself. Best of all was to wear the glass at the back of the head on the headkerchief, Y 777 754

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777 754 and catch it there, thus literally "saving your face," as did the women of Konjitza in Bosnia.

A 753 754 777 Illness being very largely ascribed to Evil Eye or magic, amulets in Albania are usually called "derman" or "ilatch," both of which words also mean remedy.

A 755 *Sympathetic Magic.*—In this the disease is supposed to act in accord with some object or other and disappears as it does.

A cure for jaundice was thus performed by a Moslem wise man on the child of a Scutari Christian. He tied some red wool round the child and some yellow wool round a red rose in the garden. He ordered the red to go out of the rose into the child, and the yellow to go out of the child into the rose. In a few days the rose wilted and yellowed and the child recovered its rosy cheeks. The efficacy of the cure was undoubted.

Marko had another he thought better, because it could be carried out at any time of year. You put a small fish in a bucket of water. The patient had to stare at it as it swam round and round. If he stared at it long and steadily enough, the disease went out of the patient into the fish, which died.

A [722 164] In 1912–13, owing to the Albanian Revolution and the Balkan wars, large numbers of the mountain tribesmen who pasture their beasts on the Bojana plains in winter were unable to return to the mountains, and were blocked in the malaria swamps all the summer, with terrible consequences. Almost all were struck down with a virulent form of the disease. I went through the worst districts with a load of quinine, and found the people trying to cure their greatly enlarged spleens by slowly roasting the spleen of a sheep at a fire, and muttering spells which ordered their own spleens to diminish as that of the sheep shrivelled at the fire.

A 164 776 753 A [755] Epilepsy was not uncommon in the mountains. It was looked upon as a possession by evil spirits. I once saw a woman fall down suddenly in a fit. Some men at once rushed up and, telling me to get out of the way, fired their revolvers alongside of her head. This was to scare away the evil spirit. As she soon recovered, they believed they had done so. I once saved a woman under similar circumstances from being flogged. Luckily she recovered quickly. But it is not so very long ago that lunatics were flogged in England.

A 777 755 Marko knew of a certain cure for epilepsy, but difficult to obtain. If you see a snake swallowing a frog, you must throw a black handkerchief over it. This scares the snake and it disgorges the frog. Keep the handkerchief, and when someone falls in a fit, throw it over him. He will then disgorge the disease as the snake did the frog. We kept a careful look-out, on our travels, for a snake eating a frog, but we never found one.

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Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

Disease as a rule is attributed to evil spirits. I met with one notable exception. It was at the Serb monastery of Dechani. The dead body of a man had, some years previously, been found on a lonely track in the neighbourhood; there was no wound of any kind upon him. His death was a complete mystery, till a search showed that he had secreted on his person some small objects of value, stolen from the church. It was then clear to all that he had been struck dead by the Holy Mother of God. It is of interest to note that in an early Montenegrin ballad (Vuk Karadjitch, vol. i) the Holy Virgin figures as "Fiery Maria"; she is the sender of lightning and St. Elijah is the thunderer. Together with some other saints they scatter death over the land to cure the people of impious ways. Here, no doubt, we have pagan gods masquerading in Christian garb.

Sympathetic Magic in Montenegro.—In the Tzrmnitza valley I was told of a cure for hernia, performed by "wise women." The operator expected a fee of about twopence and the gift of a cheese or some eggs. She must know the exact name and bratstvo of the patient, but his presence was not necessary. She put some freshly drawn water in a long-necked jug ("ibrik") and set it to boil on the fire, saying: "Water, I call on you three times from heaven to earth—let the bowel of Mr. X return to its place." She crossed the water three times. When it boiled she poured it quickly into a shallow metal dish, repeating the above words, and turned the ibrik mouth downwards into the water. As the ibrik cooled a certain amount of the water would rise up into its neck. The more the luckier—for in such way should the bowel of Mr. X return to its place. The charm is repeated daily till relief is experienced. A fresh fee is exacted each time. I was told that five or six women in Gluhidol practised this art, and that Montenegrins afflicted abroad would write home to have the charm performed.

In Montenegro and in Albania an infallible cure for a scorpion-bite was oil in which scorpions had been soaked in the sun. Marko always had a bottle full of them in the window.

Near Njegushi, Krsto showed me a perforated rock through which children had been passed to cure them of disease. This had been done especially at the time of the cholera epidemic in 1860. Old Mitar, Krsto's brother, remembered this well, and said that they had also tried placing people in the middle of a field and ploughing round them to isolate them from the disease, but, he added sadly, it had not done much good.

In the Tzrmnitza valley I learnt that a similar protection against cattle plague had been practised till recently. On news coming that cattle plague was in the neighbourhood, all were ordered to gather their beasts in a field. Two pairs of oxen were selected which must be

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M 755 231 brothers and not yet have begotten a calf. Two youths were also chosen, also brothers who had not yet begotten a child. The oxen were yoked to ploughs. The ploughs were started from opposite sides of the field. When one plough reached the spot whence the other had started and a complete furrow surrounded the herd of beasts, the assembled peasants fired their guns over the herd and each drove his own home. The ceremony was called "oborivanje" (ploughing round).

M 777 842 Under magic, too, one may class various beliefs about pregnancy. A pregnant woman must not see a snake or the child will be marked like one. She must not see or hear a sheep being slaughtered or the child will snore; must not eat the meat of a cow in calf, or a lump will grow under the child's neck.

A pregnant woman can learn what will be the sex of her child by throwing a piece of dried fish-roe into the fire. If it goes off "pop, pop," there will be a boy; if it fizzles out miserably, a girl.

Should she crave for anything during pregnancy she must beware of touching herself with her hand, for should she crave wine and touch her face, the child will be marked on this spot with a red stain; or milk, and it will be marked with white. Patches of white hair are said to be thus produced. If she craves pig meat, the child will grow bristles on the spot touched. These are all attempts to explain personal peculiarities, and similar beliefs prevail still even in England.

If anyone jumps over a child in a cradle, the child will be stunted. The cradle must be jealously watched. This is reason rather than magic, for if the cradle be kicked over by a careless jumper, injury to the spine might well result. The belief that the jump causes the evil is a protective belief for the child.

It is not easy to say where magic ends and medicine begins. Those who sought the help of a European doctor took care to supplement his treatment with amulets and charms—just as English patients will go on taking someone's patent mixture, warranted to cure everything, and follow a doctor's prescription at the same time.

Bul 777 755 When looking after wounded Bulgars at Ochrida in 1904 I noticed that a wounded child wore round his neck an antique Greek silver coin—a rather fine specimen. I asked the child's mother to sell it to me. She said she must ask leave. When she next appeared she had asked consent of the grandmother, and it was not to be sold. As a great favour it had been lent for this child to wear. It had been many generations in the family and had cured countless persons. As a matter of curiosity I asked what price it was valued at, and received the reply, "Not all the gold in the world could buy it"—which settled the matter.

A S BP 777 All through the Balkans great value is set on written amulets. The Moslems write sentences from the Koran, the Christians from the

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598 house of a relative of his to live there till the marriage was arranged and declared herself a Mohammedan. As she was not of age, her parents appealed to the archbishop, who intervened, and she was sent home. Then, to save her from Turkish influence, she was sent to friends at Podgoritza. Here she obstinately declared that she wished to be Moslem
777 till those in charge of her saw that she wore a Turkish amulet round her neck. They cut the string and threw the thing in the fire. Scarcely had it burnt up when she at once became Christian again. So ended her poor little romance, and I was told it was unlikely she would ever find a good husband owing to this fatal infatuation. Marko considered it, indeed, a mercy that the evil amulet had been discovered, and was horrified when I said I was sorry for her.

776 *Evil Spirits.*—In addition to witches and magicians in Albania there are many mischievous spirits. These are the "ore," a word which an Albanian often translates as "devil." The ore, however, are not the ordinary devils known to Christianity; they are relics of some pre-Christian beliefs, and are usually seen at night as fiery sparks, and delight to prevent a traveller from proceeding by circling round him and confusing him completely. Once, when starting from Scutari to Djakova, Tony Precha was thus stopped on the way. There is but one thing to be done, and that is to wait till the first cock crows, when they vanish at once.

Another delight of theirs is to ride horses at night and knot their manes. These knots should on no account be untied. The ore also guard hidden treasure, and by confusing the seeker prevent him from finding it.

The ore were generally believed to be females.

776 Much magic surrounds hidden treasure. Throughout the Balkans
777 there is a belief in masses of treasure hidden in ancient days. The hider
789 consigned it to the care of the earth "amanet," which may deliver it up only if certain formulæ are observed. A person ignorant of these formulæ may dig on the right spot and find nothing but sticks and stones. An example given me in the mountains was that of a man who buried some money at the foot of a tree, at the same time bidding the earth not to give it up till two mice had drawn a carriage round the tree. Unfortunately a man passing by heard this. He returned home, caught two mice, tamed them, and with some trouble harnessed them to a tiny box. He then returned to the tree, drove the mouse-chariot round it, dug on the spot, and found the money. I suggested that he might have done so without troubling to catch and train the mice, but was assured it was impossible. The earth would not have yielded that which had been consigned to it. Much time and ingenuity is spent over the search for treasure. It has led to the destruction of

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much probably valuable material, for when many an ancient grave has been opened and nothing but pottery and bits of bronze or iron found, the treasure-seekers, enraged that the gold should have thus been turned to rubbish because they did not know the formula, have smashed it all into small fragments. 776 777 789

One way to find treasure is to spread a layer of wood-ash over the spot where it is believed to lie. Next morning, if it bears the footprint of any bird or beast—a fox, sheep, etc.—such a creature must be sacrificed upon the spot. A black animal or bird with no touch of white on it is particularly efficacious. 777 782

In many places I had to declare to the headmen that I had not come to search for treasure.

Those good days are past. Albania is now being searched for petroleum, and, unless the kindly earth refuses to give it up, the land will be devoured by foreign speculators.

I was once taken a weary tramp in Berisha to see and explain a marvel. On a great mass of rock was a slight hollow into which a man's hand would fit, and near it a depression that was supposed to be like a mule's hoof-print. Both were natural weatherings of the rock. But the native theory was that ages ago, when the rock was soft, a man had hidden a treasure and made the rock flow over it. He had then marked the spot with his hand and the hoof-mark of his beast. Unless the right formula could be obtained there was nothing for it but to quarry and blast the huge mass, and without the formula even this might not avail. I vainly said the marks meant nothing. My excited escort would not let me leave till I had "written" (i.e. drawn) the marks, and promised that if learned men in England could explain them I would return and show them how to find the treasure. 777 789

"Hoof-marks" are favourite things in the Balkans. One was shown me on the shores of Lake Presba and ascribed to Sharatz, the magic horse of Marko Kralyevitch; and in a cave on the slopes of the Lovchen in Montenegro I was shown, as a great marvel, a small roundish depression—a hoof-mark, also "made when the rock was soft." Krato thought it possible that Marko Kralyevitch had once stabled Sharatz here, and several people asked my opinion about it. In the long weary hours, when watching goats on the mountains, men ponder over such trifles and build fancies upon them. Weary and weary are those endless hours. I never met anyone who did not speak with hate of the watching of beasts he had had to do when young. Often was I asked to build a factory where a man would be given enough bread for a day's labour and no longer have to watch goats on the mountain. The foreigner is now starting works; I doubt if they bring the expected happiness. [517] 777

In the hill-side on the left of the road from Djakova to Prizren I 778

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A 777 772 [776] was told there is a magic cave which contains an ancient city. No living being is in it, but the bazaar is full of every fine fruit, flesh, and garment. Few have reached it, for it is guarded by the "ore." One man wandered in, and was untouched till he tried to pick up something in the bazaar. Fiery serpents darted at him, his torch went out, and with great difficulty he reached the entrance, where he was found unconscious. Poisonous gases are, no doubt, the explanation. No one would undertake to guide me to the place.

3. Witches and Magic in Montenegro

M 754 Witches in Montenegro and all Serb-speaking lands are called "vjeshtitza." I was assured that they used to exist but did not now; but in fact they were still believed in. Here as in Albania it was believed that a witch could enter a house in the form of an insect and suck blood. Iké always hastened to kill a moth which entered the hut, and remarked that they did no good; and I have heard "Perhaps it is a vjeshtitza" murmured. Witches could sail upon water in the shell of an egg eaten on the 1st of March. Iké always smashed all egg-shells at once, saying it was best to do so, but gave no reason. Many people in England habitually smash their egg-shells—a custom probably handed down from days when a similar belief existed.

M [681] Witches, I was told, were stoned to death in old days if they were known to have killed anyone. As in many other lands, the test for a witch was to bind her and throw her into water. If she floated, she was a witch. This had happened, I was told, within the recollection of still-living persons. Modakovitch, writing of the eighteen-fifties, says that a blood-feud was caused by a fight, in which four men were killed, which arose over an attempt to duck a woman of the Raitchevitches.

M [393 843] While I was in Montenegro it was still the duty of the bride's brothers to guard her till the svatovi fetched her, lest some evil person should tie a knot in the fringes of her "strukka" (straight shawl, worn like a plaid)—for, if so, she would miscarry or bear a deformed child. Many knots would make delivery impossible.

M 791 I never heard a witch openly referred to, but there was talk of mysterious women "who knew many things." These supplied drugs and charms to ease labour and cause the childless to bear.

M 789 But I did not learn how these spells were made. In Serbia are still rites carried out which necessitate that the witch shall stand stark-naked under a tree at night. This suggests the holy trees and groves of old Slavonic beliefs.

M 278 789 A favourite medium for making magic ointment, I was told, is wax

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dropped from church candles. As these droppings are regarded by the pope as his perquisite, they are hard to get. M 278 789

In his Canon of 1349, Stefan Dushan legislated against magic. Law 109: "Magicians and poisoners caught in the act shall be punished as directed by the Holy Fathers." This is said to refer to Byzantine Church law. It is of interest to find the mysterious action of poison classed with magic. M 754 687

Dushan's efforts were vain, for as late as 1905 we find Vladan Georgevitch, in his *Last of a Dynasty*, ascribes to magic the influence of Draga over the unlucky young King Alexander Obrenovitch. "Do you not know," said Rista Bademlitch (Councillor of State), "that she has made him so foolish with all kinds of love-potions that he stands for hours under her window begging to be let in."

Vampires.—I found belief in vampires in Montenegro, where they are called "tenatz." To become a vampire is "potentziti se." The vampire is a dead man or woman who rises from the grave and works evil at night. A corpse must be carefully watched, for if a cat leaps over it, it surely becomes a vampire. I was told there had been recent cases where death had been caused by vampires. Their deeds seem to be confused with those of the witch ("vjeshtitza"), for both are said to suck blood. M 754 775 M [764]

A strange tale was current in the Tzrmnitza valley. A young man loved a girl, but her parents, as is customary, had already betrothed her, and she was forced against her will to marry her betrothed. Her lover left Montenegro in despair and died abroad. After his death he returned home as a vampire and visited the woman at night. Much frightened, she told some of her neighbours. She bore a child by the vampire, which Krsto, who knew it, assured me earnestly was so exactly like the deceased man that its paternity could not be doubted; and as the man died abroad it was impossible to lay the vampire and stop his visits. A corpse suspected of being a vampire can be prevented from rising by transfixing it with a stake, preferably whitethorn. A pope must assist at the ceremony; or the corpse may be exhumed and lifted from the grave by means of whitethorn poles and then burnt; or it may be hamstrung. A way to detect whether a corpse is a vampire is to try to lead a black foal with no white hair on it over the grave. If the foal refuses, this is a sign that the corpse is a vampire. Stefan Dushan, in Law 20 of his Code, refers thus to this practice: "If for magical purposes men are taken from the grave and burnt, the village where this takes place shall be fined and the pope who has assisted shall be unfrocked." The law failed; the ceremony is not yet dead. M 755 M [787] M [688]

In Bosnia I found much belief in vampires, here called "lampir" or "vukodlak" (lit., wolf's hair)—a word which suggests the werewolf. Y 775

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Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

Y 775 761 Several local Austrian governors told me that in the early years of the Austrian occupation the burning of lampirs' bodies was frequent. The Government forbade and suppressed the practice and caused much discontent. A recent case (told me in 1906) was caused by an outbreak of enteric at Vlasenitza. A young man died. His wife sickened and vowed that her husband had returned at night and sucked her blood. The terrified villagers wanted to dig up and burn his body. The authorities forbade it. The lampir was then seen and heard by many persons whose blood he sucked. Fifteen persons died. It would be interesting to know how many died of enteric, and how many because A they believed they were doomed to die by the lampir.

CM 761 The peasants all through Albania and Macedonia I found to be extraordinarily affected mentally if convinced they must die. They would then make no effort to live, but simply "lie down and die."

A 761 787 In Albania I heard of several cases in which a man's death being foretold by "reading it in a bone," he proceeded forthwith to sicken and die; and there seemed no reason to doubt the truth of this.

I have often seen a patient refuse all food under the belief that he would die in a week, and have resuscitated many who were very far gone by forcibly pouring egg and brandy into them. The result of the pick-me-up was sometimes comically quick. After an hour the patient would ask for another and decide to live. Without it he would certainly have died, as all the family continually said: "You are dying," A and did not try to make him eat.

761 775 Belief in the fatal visit of a lampir has, no doubt, caused death. Since the civilizing power of Austria has been removed a fresh instance of corpse-burning has been reported from Bosnia.

M 776 [177] *Vilas.*—Last but not least the "vila," a female spirit which haunts the mountains, is very capricious, and works much evil as well as some good. In Montenegro I was told vilas used to be plentiful, but had been driven away by the advent of artillery. Maybe some still haunted the deep limestone caverns.

M [761] Of old, vilas sometimes swore sisterhood with mortals, and even married them. But they were excessively jealous, and when a handsome youth wished to marry they were apt to kill the bride.

Krsto told me a tale "that happened a long time ago in Montenegro." A vila disguised herself as a beautiful maiden and caused two brothers to fall in love with her. She urged them to fight each other and promised herself to the conqueror. They fought and one was killed. The vila M then laughed and flew away. The unhappy survivor killed himself.

Y 776 787 I asked how, as both were dead, it was known that the vila had caused the trouble. Krsto merely replied it was a fact well known to all. But the sympathies of the vilas were Slavonic, for till recent times

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they warned both Serbs and Montenegrins of the approach of the Turks, and saved Serb heroes by covering them with mist and hiding them from the foe. Y M 776 787

Some examples from the ballads show the character of vilas in "pre-artillery" days (Karadjitch Collection, vol. ii, No. 37). Marko Kralyevitch and Voyvoda Milosh ride over the mountains. Marko asks Milosh to sing to him. Milosh replies that last night he drank wine with the Vila Ravijojla and she forbade him to sing. Urged by Marko, Milosh sang. The vila tried to out-sing him, but Milosh had the finer voice, so the infuriated vila shot him in the throat with an arrow and he was like to die. Marko pursued her furiously on his horse, Sharatz. The vila flew up into the air. Marko hurled his war-club and brought her down, and threatened to smash her if she would not cure Milosh. Y M 776 533

The vila then called on him for sisterhood in the name of God and St. John, and promised to cure Milosh if he released her. He did so; she gathered herbs and made Milosh far stronger than before. The ballad ends by her advising the other vilas not to shoot at heroes when Marko is about. On several occasions afterwards she helps her "pobratim," Marko. The mediæval ballad-maker has depicted a wine-swilling, revengeful, and murderous fairy who suits her savage environment.

Jealousy and cruelty are seen in the *Death of the two Dragitchitches* (*op. cit.*, vol. i). Dragitch is about to celebrate a great festival. He is giving his daughter in marriage and marrying his two sons. His wife dreams that two ravens, with their wings bloody to the root, bring a black letter in their claws. She prays her husband to be satisfied with marrying their daughter and to put off the sons' wedding for a week. He refuses, and the train of groomsmen and the two bridegrooms ride off on fine horses. But the vilas watch them unseen and from behind the trees shoot their arrows. At midday a halt is called, and then only are the two young men missed. The father remembers the dream, and goes in search of them in fear: "By the side of the path he found his two sons. The accursed vilas had shot them. Dragitch cried out as doth a fierce serpent . . . then he drew his bright sword and cut off his sons' heads and put them in his saddle-bags. And he moved their bodies from the blood-stained path and covered them with leaves, saying: 'Farewell, my two sons, this day have I wedded ye.' " He carries home the heads, and tells his wife that he has brought her two golden apples as a gift. And the cursed vilas thank God (an odd thing for them to do) for the woe they have caused. M Y [585 587]

The phrase "beautiful as a vila" is in constant use in Montenegro, and in recent ballads the vila still warns Montenegro against invasion. A M 776 [787]

I once rode up-country on a handsome white stallion, which belonged

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to my faithful Albanian horseboy, Shan, who had lived all his life in Montenegro. The horse was turned out to graze at night. Next morning, before mounting, I began to comb out its tangled mane with my fingers. Shan anxiously begged me not to. The vilas, he said, had been making love to it all night because it was a beauty. It had been covered with sweat. If I untied the knots the vilas had made we should have an accident. Shan, being an Albanian, probably meant the "ore" when he said "vila." I heard of no other case of a vila acting thus. But the ore are notorious for such conduct.

A M 777 773 887 *Hidden Treasure.*—As in Albania, so all through Montenegro and the Herzegovina, and probably in other Balkan lands, it is believed that mighty treasures lie hidden. The treasure of the Royal Nemanjas has yet to be found, and that of Voyvoda Momchilo at Pirlitor.

Opinions differ as to the best means of treasure-hunting. The most certain thing is when the site of the treasure is revealed in a dream; you are then sure to find it. If a steer that is perfectly black stands still on a spot, bellows, and butts his horns into the ground, there is almost surely treasure beneath. But there must not be a single white hair on the steer. If when the third cock crows in the morning a number are seen gathered together holding council, there is surely treasure beneath the spot.

Vuk Vrchevitch gives a good account of treasure-seeking in the Herzegovina. A certain man dreamed of hidden treasure. Early before the sun rose he went with some of his brethren in search of it, and took with him a black cock and a black wether. Arrived at the spot, he killed the wether and made a circle of blood round the site. They began to dig, and after a while reached a slab of stone. On this the black cock was sacrificed. They were now so near success that one of the brethren cried aloud: "God help us now and for ever." But God's name must not be invoked in aid of magic. When they raised the slab they found, indeed, a stone box—but the treasure had been turned to ashes.

Some poisoned water should be carried when treasure-hunting to kill the serpent which often guards it.

If a black stallion is led to the spot where treasure is suspected to lie and refuses to walk over it, it shows treasure is, or was, there. The foundation for these tales is the large number of Roman and prehistoric graves that have been opened. The ashes and fragments of iron and bronze found in them were ascribed to the fact that a wrong spell had been used and the treasure transmuted to something valueless —in the eyes of the searchers.

A 777 787 *A Magic Plant.*—In Albania I was told there grows a most valuable plant. Any stone or iron touched by a leaf of it at once falls to pieces. To persons thievishly inclined it is extremely useful. The difficulty is

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to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

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A 755 759 indicates that the first professional doctors inland were Turkish. Previous to the Turkish conquest, when the Serbian Empire was at its height, it is clear that there were no Serbian doctors of repute, for S 759 192 the archives of Ragusa and Venice contain letters asking that the medical man of one or other of the coast towns may be allowed to leave his post temporarily in order to visit an ailing Serbian magnate, and the ballads sometimes say of a sorely wounded hero: "Shall we send for a doctor from the coast?"

S A 755 The Serbian for doctor is "ljechnik," from "ljechiti" (to heal). This derives from Teutonic, and is akin to our old word "leech." The word "doktor" also is used. The professional doctor was evidently a foreigner. Magic was probably the oldest Balkan remedy for disease. Disease is an inexplicable mystery which demands a mystery to combat it. Wounds, on the contrary, are shrouded in no mystery and demand different treatment.

HERBAL REMEDIES IN ALBANIA

A 757 278 *For Sciatica.*—(1) The limb is beaten with stinging-nettles till blistered —a counter-irritant. I refused to allow this to be tried on me, though a neighbour vowed it had cured her. (2) The limb is rubbed with a paste of roasted onions boiled in oil. This in the form of gentle massage gave M CM A [757] some relief.

Pounded onions are commonly used for dressing contusions where the skin is broken in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and appear to have a soothing effect. Such a dressing at least prevents dirty clothing from rubbing the wound and, by keeping it clean, assists healing.

A great variety of herbs and leaves are valued as "cures" when parboiled, and applied hot to sprains, contusions, abscesses, boils, etc. In most, if not all, cases it is the hot fomentation, frequently renewed, which does the cure, rather than the particular herb. Thus at Berisha they fomented Marko's sprained ankle with ferns (*Ceterach* and *Trichomanes nigra*) boiled with wild peppermint, taking much trouble to search for and find the right kinds. Boiled walnut leaves are also believed in.

For Weak Eyes.—Pound up wall pellitory, squeeze out the juice and mix with salt. To be dropped twice a day into the eye. Maximum dose, three drops.

For a Cough.—Oil in which some tortoise flesh has been boiled; or a decoction of wild-sage leaves boiled with honey.

The leaves of the wild sage dried and made into "tea" make a very pleasant drink used in Montenegro and Albania.

Tuberculosis.—This disease, in all its forms, ravages the Balkans.

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The favourite remedy in Scutari for the pulmonary form was a drink made of the root of "bader" (*Iris Dalmatica*), which grows wild plentifully. It soothed the throat and allayed coughing somewhat. 757 278

Diarrhœa.—A decoction of oak bark—a strong astringent—was efficacious.

Constipation.—There was no local remedy. It was a very common trouble and I was constantly asked for "English salts."

Opium "tea," made by boiling haphazard a handful of poppy-seed, was given recklessly to stop pain. It was common to give a small dose nightly to infants to keep them quiet. In a communal house, where some twenty people sleep together, a crying child is not tolerated. Children suffering from opium poisoning were often brought to the Austrian hospital, the mother being quite unaware of the cause of the child's state.

Animal Remedies.—When I was suffering from acute sciatica, was paralysed with pain, and quite helpless, Marko wanted to slaughter a sheep in the yard and wrap me in the raw hide. As is customary when people are ill, all the neighbours crowded into my room to cheer me. When I was on the point of collapse with pain and heat, the cat jumped on to my bad leg, hurting me horribly. The neighbours chorused: "Thank God! The cat has jumped on her. Now she will not die. The cat always knows." [755 758] [787]

Then the Austrian doctor carried me off to his hospital.

The reason given for the raw hide is that the sheep eats many herbs and their virtue will soak into the patient. But in fact the raw hide is a hot fomentation. Other beasts are used.

This same Austrian doctor told me he was called to a moribund man. The hut was crowded, it was midsummer, and the heat and stench indescribable. Ten days before, a black cat had been split and applied to the patient's abdomen and was still there.

Enteric Fever.—This is endemic all through the Balkans. In Albania a horrid remedy was believed in. The dung of a dog which had been dropped on a stone and dried in the sun was pounded and given in water. I vainly tried to prevent this on one occasion; but the dose had been prepared by the local priest, who had the greatest faith in it. This repulsive remedy was included in the official pharmacopœia of Vienna till 1795, to be used internally for dysentery and griping pains. In Albania, at any rate, patients survived the treatment. Did the dog's dung supply an intestinal bacillus which combated that of enteric?

Emetic.—Human excrement mixed with water was given. Mixed with rakia it was given to an habitual drunkard with the idea of curing him. The experiment failed.

The boiled flesh of the glass snake (*Pseudopus pallasi*), a common

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757 enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for con-
278 sumptive patients.

A The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value
[262] for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong
A and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided
[136] my meal.

A So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says:
164 "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."
136 *Diseases.*—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common.
A A preparation of buckthorn is given.

165 Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If
853 a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies;
A and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye
854 causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest
754 survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and
M Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not
CM suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.
A
151 *Wounds.*—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which
A was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the
757 art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never
752 be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old
A man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some
757 probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.
826 From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge
752 of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

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it was not." As "first aid" for a wound he prescribed the yolk of an 757
egg and a lot of salt, well mixed and applied on a pad of wool; after- 826
wards dress as above. It was very necessary, he said, to leave no 752
splinters of bone in a wound. He described how he had spent two hours removing seventeen splinters from a fractured tibia with some little forceps he had made himself. You must work slowly and very carefully. You must watch your patient and compare his symptoms with those of others. So you learn. He had lately mended the leg of a horse by slinging it to the branch of a tree and putting the limb in a splint.

A shot through the knee, he declared, was usually fatal, and one [761] through the ankle was difficult to make a good job of. But three fingers' breadth below the knee-cap and three above the ankle he could always be sure of curing.

For inflammation he used leeches freely. Had just treated a woman successfully for apoplexy. She was "dead" on one side and speechless. He bled her from the temple on the "dead" side and seven times from the arm on the other side. She was better next day, and he bled her five times. She completely recovered. Marash expounded head-surgery. The head, he said, is like an egg. There is a shell, then a skin, and then the meat. If this skin is broken through you can do nothing; if it is not and the fractured skull is only pressing on the brain it is curable. He demonstrated how a flap should be cut and turned back. The broken pieces of bone must be carefully removed and replaced by a piece of hard-dried bottle-gourd chosen to fit the shape. The ointment must be added and the flap replaced and dressed. Some men were very clever at cutting away bone. He had never cut away skull-bone himself. A man in Mirdita had lately cut away a large piece of the skull of an injured man successfully. He indicated the upper part of the left parietal. The "kirijee" boy from whom I had hired horses then told us that he had a piece of bottle-gourd in his head. Had been knocked on the head and stunned in a quarrel, and been unconscious till a "hekim" had taken out the broken bone. Now he said he never felt any trouble except that his head itched a good deal. I felt his head carefully, and there certainly was a hard edge to be found.

Marash Hutzi had a great reputation for curing wounds and certainly deserved it. It is of interest to find that a strictly antiseptic method was being used so long ago as his grandfather's time in the Albanian mountains when in England we still washed our wounds with any pump-water. Marash was over sixty. Trephining, I was told, was still practised to cure pains in the head, but I did not meet a case.

A dressing much used for slight wounds was olive oil in which a 757
quantity of pounded leaves of the common St. John's wort (*Hypericum* 278
perforatum) had been macerated in the sun. This seemed to have some

757 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by
278 homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.
757 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or
753 boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many
151 I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought
[563 a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and
326] pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him
759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can
752 survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house
757 in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound
[278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen,
757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He
278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

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salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he 757
was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some 278
and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse.

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the 761
Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is 753
said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad ear-ache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose.

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could [842
conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives 174]
as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it.

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

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5. Remedies in Montenegro and Bosnia

M 755 759 In both of these lands there was less of "home-made" treatment and more trained doctors were practising. Especially in Bosnia, where there was an excellent and active Austrian medical service. In Montenegro matters were not so advanced. For the most part their trained men were trained in Russia, and about them the less said the better. Two I worked under at Podgoritza were unspeakable—dirty, ignorant, and cruel. The one good surgeon was Austrian-trained.

M 752 757 In Montenegro I learnt some local remedies from the older people. Vuk Vrchevitch gives an account of how a sword-cut, which severed three ribs on the right breast, was treated in 1853 by Marko Ilitchkovitch of Tzrmnitza. He poured wine into the gaping wound and rolled the patient backwards and forwards as though cleaning a barrel, and continued pouring wine and rolling till the wine came out clean and not blood-stained. He then drew the edges of the wound together and stitched them, and spread some ointment on the wound with a feather and more ointment on the bandage, which he finally bound round the patient. This dressing was changed every day, and the patient recovered in fifteen days. Asked why he washed it out with wine, the doctor replied: "We are divided at the waist into two storeys like a house. If I had left that blood which had flowed into the upper story it would have rotted there and the man would have died." Unluckily the prescription for the ointment is not given. The treatment resembles that M of Marash Hutzi, and the wine and oil of the Good Samaritan.

A 752 Till recently, skull surgery like that of Albania was practised in Montenegro and called "Sharonanje." According to Dr. S. Trojanovitch (*Narodna Starina*, viii, 1924) this operation is not known in other Slav lands. This is another proof that the Montenegrin descends from the older Balkan inhabitants rather than from the Serb.

M 752 The curator of the Belgrade Museum in 1902 told me the museum greatly wanted a trephined Montenegrin skull. A Montenegrin immigrant, an old man, was known to be trephined, and the museum staff awaited his death. He had recently died, but his relatives refused to sell his skull, kept guard over his grave, and threatened vengeance to any desecrator. An attempt was being made to bribe a Vlah from over the border to obtain the skull, but whether this succeeded I do not know.

I found it usual in Montenegro to wash wounds with wine or rakia, with the curious proviso that whichever you chose to have your wound washed with, you must drink for the rest of your life. Mitar, Krsto's eldest brother, had been shot right through the lungs in the Russo-

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Turkish War of 1877 and taken to a Russian field hospital. He was at death's door, and his family, distrusting "foreign" remedies, stole him at night and carried him home. Here they poured unlimited rakia into his lungs through the wounds, which were suppurating badly. He graphically told how frightfully he had coughed, and coughed rakia out of the holes in his back and chest as well as from his mouth; and under this treatment he completely recovered. The big scars on back and chest showed the severity of the wound. The old-fashioned bullets made a frightful wound at exit, tearing out the flesh. I saw such wounds in Macedonia in 1903. Instead of the neat little hole of the modern bullet you got a ripped and ragged wound as big as the palm of the hand. M 752

Nothing would induce old Mitar to touch wine. His inside had been washed with rakia and rakia he drank to the end of his days. If he touched wine he would certainly drop down dead. M [761]

In Njegushi I learnt an infallible cure for pneumonia. Pound the dried gall-bladder of a pig with some gunpowder and drink it mixed with rakia. Gunpowder and rakia were held in high esteem as a powerful cure for most diseases. Abbé Fortis, in his *Travels in Dalmatia* (1778), mentions this as a favourite remedy of the Morlachs. M 757 278

Tuberculosis.—Montenegro was, one might say, riddled with it. I could learn of no local "remedy." Probably because, so far as one could learn, it had been introduced comparatively recently—that is, some seventy years ago, when the Montenegrins began to go out into the world. Especially youths going abroad to study caught the infection and came home, not merely to die, but to spread it far and wide, for whole families slept together—and do still—and nowhere in the world can the habit of spitting be more universal or more frequent. And "civilization" brought glass windows and iron stoves and put a stop to ventilation. M 164

The schools were hotbeds of infection, especially in winter, when the floor was covered with saliva, and the snow-soaked clothes of the children steamed in the hot, close room. But I vainly strove to get the schoolmasters to stop the spitting. They said: "It is our custom and we always do"—illustrating the fact by skilfully spitting round my feet without hitting them. It was believed that the habit was wholesome.

In Bosnia the Austrian authorities carried on an energetic anti-tuberculosis campaign. Spitting on the school floor was forbidden. Children who spat were made to clean it up. This made the parents furious, and in spite of explanations they reckoned it as "Austrian tyranny." H 744 278

In Bosnia a "remedy" was to bury a bottle of wine along with a person who had died of tuberculosis, and to dig it up after seven years. Those relatives of the deceased who drank the wine would be immune.

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Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

H 744 278

In Bosnia a remedy for coughs was to burn oak-galls and inhale the smoke.

A 752 844

In all districts that I visited in the Balkans I found mud used to dress wounds by the common people; but never heard of a case of tetanus, though I have had hundreds of wounded through my hands. The land is very poorly, or not at all manured, which may explain this fact. The Austrian doctor in Scutari told me that in seven years he had had but two cases—both came up the river on ships, so were not local infections; also, though "Albanian women are not so well cared for at childbirth as an Austrian cow," he had never seen a case of puerperal fever, and believed neither the tetanus nor the puerperal-fever germs had reached these districts.

But with these two exceptions the Balkans are decimated with disease. It is a mistake to imagine that a rough, simple life produces health.

M A 751 164

The apparent sturdiness of the survivors blinds the outsider to the intensity of the struggle for existence and its mass of victims. Compulsory vaccination has immensely reduced small-pox in many districts. It is interesting to see how an epidemic will sweep up to the vaccination line—and there stop short. But exposure, hunger, and toil wear out many a peasant in early middle age; and disease takes a heavy toll as well. The two worst Balkan scourges are tuberculosis and syphilis. In Montenegro and in Albania there are districts where every individual is reputed to be infected with the latter. So, too, in Bosnia, and there alone it was being scientifically combated by the Austrian medical staff.

H 164

Of tuberculosis the Bosnian doctor—a Vienna-trained man—with whom I worked in Montenegro said: "We South Slavs are the most tuberculous people in Europe. Thirty per cent. of us are badly infected. I do not count an 'apex,' for I have one myself."

H 164

Leprosy is sometimes seen, but not often, and much skin disease is carried probably by dirt and vermin.

165

Finally, those individuals who succumb to neither disease nor hardship are unbelievably tough, and live on to a green old age, often active to the last. That there are as many centenarians as is popularly believed I doubt. No registers of birth have been kept and dates are fixed haphazard. A gay old boy at Rioli was said to be 102. Five years afterwards I met him again and he was 120. To prove this his family earnestly declared he must be very old, because his father lived at the time when the ancient Romans—those people who made the bits of money you dig up out of the ground—were living at Podgoritza. Others were grandfathers at the time of the Russo-Turkish War; of one it was said no one could remember him without white hair, and so

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forth. Seventy to eighty years was nearer their age than a hundred; and many who looked sixty were younger. H 164 165

Women are early worn out. Especially in Montenegro, there is a very great difference in height between men and women. Women I found usually shorter than I am (5 ft. 3 ins.); whereas men well over six foot are not uncommon. The Montenegrins seemed proud of this difference, and when I said that of course, if a girl was married at fifteen and had four children before she was twenty she never grew to her full height, they were very angry indeed. M 142 165 583

Lunacy and Mental Diseases.—Lunacy is very generally believed to be possession by evil spirits, if the lunatic is a violent and dangerous one. Exorcisms are much used both by the Catholic and Orthodox priests. In Orthodox monasteries lunatics are often treated with great cruelty, and beaten and otherwise maltreated in order to drive out the spirits. I once saw an unfortunate man, almost naked, chained like a dog to a sort of kennel in the yard of a monastery. He was very quiet and half-dazed. The monks admitted that they beat him whenever he resisted or tried to escape. H A 164 753 776

The women of the Balkans, completely exhausted as they only too often are by severe toil and perpetual child-bearing and lactation, often suffer from neurasthenia and "hysteria." A curious form is not uncommon among the women of Macedonia and Montenegro. I am told it occurs also in Russia. It begins as a hiccough, and becomes more and more intense until it is a violent and fast-recurring spasm of the diaphragm. The hiccoughs become louder and louder till they are an uninterrupted crowing like that of a hoarse rooster. So quick are they that the patient cannot breathe. Just as she appears to be in danger of choking, she suddenly pulls herself together, draws a long breath, gives a gasp or two, and recovers in a few minutes. At intervals the attacks may go on all day; nor, when the habit is acquired, is it easy to cure. To a certain extent it is under the patient's control; but not entirely. When I did relief work among the Bulgar peasants in Macedonia after the revolt in 1903, I met a case which had been reported as "a Turkish atrocity" by relief workers unacquainted with the complaint. I visited the village where she was. She was quite quiet. So soon as she heard I was an English relief agent she began to "crow" loudly and had one spasm after another. By way of a test I said: "Tell her if she makes that noise I will do nothing for her." And after some gasping she recovered and made no more noise while I was there. But she was not cured. H A 164 A 362

The Balkan remedy is one of suggestion. On a saint's day the patient is taken to the Orthodox church. On St. Petar's Day, at Moratchka H 755

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H 755 Monastery, I saw three. They stood with their hands on their knees and their heads thrust under the desk from which the pope was to read the Lessons. The desk being draped, their heads were hidden and their hind-quarters protruded grotesquely. If they could refrain from crowing during the reading of the Lessons they would be cured. The cure failed. Hardly had the pope begun to read when a hideous and unearthly din arose beneath his desk. No one intervened; no one even smiled. The pope read steadily, though his voice was drowned by the noise. At the end the three were led away—uncured. But I was A told that as a rule the cure is successful. It may well be, for the Balkan [761 peasant is very much affected by suggestion. He pines if he believes 754] he has been cursed; he dies if he believes his death is "egil" (written in the Book of Fate). I did not see or hear of a case of crowing hysteria in Albania.

M In Montenegro I was told a remedy for fever. It was to make fire with 753 a fire-drill of wood. The patient helped to work the drill. The fire went 278 out of him and into the wood and he was cured. Perhaps the exertion of drilling produced sweat and so relieved the patient. Krsto believed greatly in this cure.

6. Soothsaying

A For some inscrutable reason man in many lands has thought his 787 gods were likely to choose the insides of animals as a means for revealing the future.

"Plucking the entrails of an offering forth, they could not find a heart within the beast." So the augurs warned Cæsar to beware the ides of March. Balkan folk still find their fate written in the bones of certain animals.

I first saw the bones read at Selchan, a village in the Spata mountains, near Elbasan. It was in those days a very remote spot, and a Russian Consul was the only foreigner who had visited it within memory. A Most of the male population were "wanted" by the Turkish Govern- [636 ment. But for the purpose of my visit the friendly Albanian Mutasarif 702] of Elbasan arranged a truce. We were halted outside the village for a parley, and also to give time to all the men of military age (whom the Government was trying to conscript for the Army) to hide in the bushes. I was then received with great joy, and even greater hospitality. The ancient headman, Constantine Suliman, a fine figure in a white A fustanella, swore friendship, and hustled the women to spread a noble 346 banquet of roast lamb, stewed fowl, cheese, milk, and maize-bread.

The district had neither church nor mosque. Every inhabitant had

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Every inhabitant had two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Constantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all children that had meanwhile been born. A 553 702 651 A 852 771

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of ancient days. A 574

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more? A 787

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro. M 787 M 781

787 During that war I again heard the bones fatally read. An Albanian friend of mine in Podgoritza, owner of the local omnibus, was a great student of bones. He spent his leisure reading them as we others do books. One day he begged me to come for something very important, for my eye and ear alone.

The windows of his little room were closely curtained to prevent spying, and in the half-darkness was a pile of bladebones. He chose one and showed me a white opaque spot on it as large as a sixpence, and gravely asked if I knew what it meant. Now an opaque spot in certain places means death. "Yes," said he, "but what a spot! Did you ever see such a large one?" I never had, nor had he. He was troubled and anxious and pondered and pondered. The position of the spot meant someone must die soon. But it was so large, it must mean a great man. "Could it mean anything less than a king?" That was what he wished to ask me.

There flashed through my brain: "Are they plotting to assassinate King Nikola?" (He was very unpopular, for the war was going badly for Montenegro.) I discreetly said: "I do not know." He decided that it must mean a king—and shortly.

Just about a fortnight afterwards King George of Greece was assassinated. It was quite impossible that the seer should have known of any plot. We had hardly any news from other fronts.

It was one of those coincidences which, in the popular mind, overwhelm a thousand previous failures and annihilate reason. My poor friend was awestruck at the revelation that had been granted him.

648 The last time I heard, and probably ever shall hear, the bones read was
721 at Durazzo, when the Prince zu Wied was there, in the fatal summer of 1914. Durazzo was seething with representatives of every Power that had a finger in the Balkan pie. France, Russia, and Serbia were doing all they could to start a war. Italy was active. Fighting was going on and the hospitals were full of wounded. On the quay a very ragged mountain man insisted on speaking with "the Kralitza" as they
787 called me. He had come a long distance to consult me. He was eager and excited. Pulling a fowl's breast-bone from his sash, he held it against the blazing sun. The bone glowed red. The others said he was stupid and did not know how to read the bones. But he insisted and cried vehemently: "Gjak! gjak (blood, blood) everywhere, everywhere nothing but blood and more blood." And about a week or two afterwards the Great War began, and blood has not yet ceased flowing in the Near East.

Enough examples. That very many people believe the bones is undoubtable. I have been at meals where elder men have stopped

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the younger from looking at the bones because we were all happy, so "why pry into unknown evils?" A 787

It is not easy to say how the bones are read. Bone-readers will not tell their lore. I have pieced together the facts I gathered. The bone must be the breast-bone of a fowl (Fig. 20), or the blade-bone of a sheep or goat —no others serve. In Albania I found the fowl's bone most generally used, and in Montenegro the sheep's blade-bone. In both lands the fowl or sheep must have been bred by the house of the reader; otherwise, though it can tell of foreign affairs, it knows nothing of the fate of the house. The best fowl is a cock which is black without a white feather. It must be decapitated. If the neck were wrung the blood would all go wrong and the marks be useless. M A 787

This is the Albanian reading of the breast-bone: A good seer can tell at once if the fowl has been bought or bred. The keel is the part used. In the thickness of the neck-end (A) runs a line of marrow which tells the fortune of the house. A hole in it means the house-lord's death, and a break means an illness or accident. Breaks and branches from this main line show illness, accident, or death to members of the family. Red spots and patterns in the bone mean blood. Some holes mean graves, others cradles, according to where they are placed. I failed to learn where. The sides (B) of the bone tell public events. When a line belonging to the family forks it means a quarrel in the family. A 787

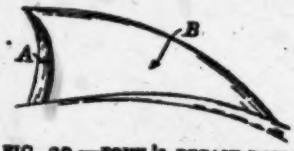

FIG. 20.—FOWL'S BREAST-BONE FOR SOOTHSAYING

The late Mgr. Cozzy, Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, told me that he had tried hard to learn how to read the bones, and a man who refused to tell him said: "You make black marks on paper and know what they mean; but I do not. God makes marks on bones and you do not know what they mean; but I do."

Such is the belief in bones in Albania that I believe men have died from sheer terror when their death has been read. Thus, an only son—well known to a friend of mine from Djakova—was at a family feast. He picked up a fowl's bone, looked at it, and threw it down with a cry. His father asked what was the matter and the youth said: "In three days you will bury me." His horrified father picked up the bone and saw the reading was only too true. He cried out in grief: "In three days we shall bury thee." His kith and kin wailed on all sides: "In three days we shall bury thee." The poor lad blenched and sickened. He could not eat, gave up hope, and died. A [152 761]

"When he saw in the bones he must die," said the Djakovan, "he died." And with more truth than he was aware of he added: "You

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A 787 would not die because you do not believe it. We believe it; it is true to us."

It is not truth that sways men, but what men believe to be true; and that is a very different thing.

I had many strange examples given me of bone-reading which had come true. It is important that the meat be torn from the bone with the fingers and not touched with a knife.

M 787 The following details about blade-bone-reading are from Montenegro. Bone-reading, I believe, is also practised in Serbia and Bosnia.

The best sheep is a black one with no white hair. The right blade-bone should preferably be used and the meat torn off with the fingers. The joint-socket represents the house, and its depth or shallowness shows if the house will be full of wealth, i.e. harvest and crops. The ridge on the blade shows if the flocks will flourish. Small holes in the blade are cradles. Their position measured from the upper corner of the bone with the last joint of the thumb shows if the births will be within the house or without it, i.e. in the house where the bone is read or in that of a relative. The shapes formed by the marrow, as seen when held against the light, show where fighting will take place and when. A bone with no marks in the centre means a peaceful year. Red marks near the edge mean frontier fighting. Opaque white spots are death within or without the house, according to position. Other marks—I know not which—show banners and victory.

When a man has read the bone and another wishes to do so, it must not be passed from hand to hand, but must be laid down by one man and picked up by the other. Bone-reading in Montenegro is called "gatanje." To read a bone is "gatati." The shoulder-blade is called "lopatitza" (little shovel). Fastened to a stick it is often used to shovel the hearth ashes.

A M 787 *Dreams.*—In Albania and Montenegro, and, I believe, all through the Balkans, there is great belief in dreams. The ladies of the *intelligentsia* in Cetinje had dream-books (Italian) and discussed each other's dreams at length. Dream-books have circulated so much that it is not easy to tell which beliefs are old native ones.

M 787 777 In Montenegro I was told it was lucky to dream of a room full of corn. To dream of a dead man means that it will rain. A girl dreamed that her hair grew right down to the ground. The women told her this meant terrible disgrace would fall on her, and she was so upset that she came a considerable distance to consult me. I reassured her.

A 787 [774] In Albania it seemed to be believed by many of the tribesmen that their "hi" (soul or shadow) left them sometimes during sleep and its experiences formed the dream. Dreams were very strongly believed in. One Sunday morning Marko, much perturbed, told me his wife,

Teresi, had dreamed that I should receive bad news from home that day. I laughed and reminded him there was no post till Tuesday. At that moment there was a knock at the gate. The kavass from the British Consulate brought me a note to tell me of the death of King Edward VII. After this it was vain for me to say that dreams foretold nothing. Teresi had dreamed the death of King Edward and the matter was beyond dispute. A 787

The man who looked after my horse dreamed he had seen my sister in the bazaar buying butter and was greatly mystified. No one could explain it, but all were relieved when I had a letter from her saying she was quite well.

An Englishman who travelled in the mountains and was popular was dreamed of. He was seen fording with difficulty a river and hurting his hand as he climbed out. It was decided that he would get safely through a great danger.

It was considered extremely lucky to dream of climbing up a mountain—perhaps because the tribesman places Heaven on a mountain-top. It is lucky to dream of fishing.

7. The Curse

A curse is dreaded still in Balkan lands; it is closely related to a spell. But a spell is accompanied by pagan rites; a curse is without rites—it acts by suggestion. Someone believed to be powerful cries: "May you wither and die!" and you proceed to do so. A curse can be retrospective, and is then considered peculiarly horrible. One of the worst is for a mother to say to her son: "May my milk poison you!' Though he be a grown man she may thus harm him. A 754

A good example is found in the Serb ballad of the *Murderess Mother* (Karadjitch Collection). The mother was wroth with her son, Jovan: "O Jovan, 'tis five years since thy mother gave thee a wife, yet neither boy nor maiden has been born to thee. Someone hath cast a spell on thee; or evil people have wrought wickedness; or has someone cursed you on your marriage? or dost thou not like the maiden? or she like not thee? Something there must be. Kill thy wife, O my son, and I will give thee a better of better stock, who will bear thee offspring!" Jovan refuses with horror, and his mother unbuttoned the coat on her bosom, and tore open her shirt and drew forth both her breasts, crying: "O Jovan, disobedient son! If thou obeyest not thine old mother, may thy mother's milk be leprous to thee, which thou hast sucked from these breasts! Kill thy wife and I will give thee a better." And young Jovan was greatly afeared of his mother's terrible curse, S 754 538 842 593

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S 754 538 842 593

and he thought: "Better that I lose my soul and then repent of my sin than that I should ruin my mother's desire (for offspring), and hearken not to my mother's curse." He then orders his young brother Bogdan to do the deed and bring back a bloody knife as token. Bogdan refuses, and Jovan wishes to kill him, too. Bogdan weeps and prays his mother to remove the curse. But she will not, and Bogdan consents and leads away his sister-in-law. She implores to be allowed to pass three days in church, and he grants her prayer. There a miracle is vouchsafed her and she bears a beautiful boy. Jovan and Bogdan rejoice. But the mother, even then, will not pardon their disobedience. Filled with wrath, she stabs herself, and, very properly, "the demons seized her soul."

Here is a picture of the ancient power of life and death that parents had over children as well as of the power and terror of a curse. We see, too, the dawning influence of the Church upon the minds of a savage people. The tale probably dates from the days when Christianity was beginning to break down the pagan customs of the peasantry.

S 754

Strange is it to find the retrospective curse in the official report of the trial at Salonika of the Serbian "Black Hand" officers in 1917. Naum Dimitrijevitch, a journalist, giving evidence about the lawless state of the Serbian Army on July 25, 1914, states: "Major Dobrosav Gjorgevitch came up quickly, cursing as he came my *father and mother*. He reached me and overwhelmed me with his horrible curses against the *father and mother* of the Prime Minister, Nikola Pashitch, and Stojan Protitch, Minister, and all the Radical members. . . . He shouted: 'Now you shall meet your God. You shall never get away from here.' Then he cursed the *father and mother* of Colonel Okanovitch, etc."

A M 754 761

Thus even among the *intelligentsia* the use of the retrospective curse persists. Pashitch's parents had long been dead. Small wonder the peasant still believes in it.

Mothers in Albania and Montenegro will still tell you, when a child has died, that a curse has been put on their breasts.

M 754 681

In Montenegro, in the days when the vladikas (bishops) were said to be rulers, they had no temporal power in fact. They had no way of enforcing orders save by terrifying recalcitrants with a threat of excommunication or by putting curses on them. The vladika's curse was greatly dreaded. When Danilo Petrovitch decided to rule as temporal Prince and refused to be made bishop, I fancy he shore himself of much power. The curses of Vladika Petar I were very powerful.

He is said to have cried to an evil-doer: "May leprosy devour you!" And a year afterwards the man died of it. To another he cried: "May your stock die out!" And Medakovitch, writing of Montenegro in

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1844-54, tells the tale and says the entire bratstvo was extinct. The fishermen on the lake had to pay the vladika yearly a barrel of fish for fishing rights. No barrel arrived. They were asked why, and wickedly replied that they had not been able to catch any fish. The vladika was patient. Still no fish arrived. The fishermen then explained: "There are now no fish in the lake." "No," said the vladika firmly, "*there are none and there will be none.*"

M 754 681
M 726 577

To everyone's horror the lake was fishless. The fishermen hurried to the vladika and prayed him to withdraw his curse. He kindly did so—and the fish reappeared.

This mighty prelate was canonized by the Montenegrin Church shortly after his death, and is the revered St. Petar Cetinski.

His curses, however, pale before that laid on the Greek statesman Venizelos in 1916. I give it to show what the Orthodox Church is capable of when roused, and the present belief in the curse in the Near East. Venizelos was denounced for having "betrayed the nation to the Anglo-French." "Therefore against the traitor Venizelos we have invoked the following injuries: the ulcers of Job, the whale of Jonah, the leprosy of Naaman, the bite of Death, the shuddering of the dying, the thunderbolt of Hell, and the malediction of God and man. We shall call for the same injuries upon those who, at the forthcoming elections, shall vote for the traitor Venizelos, and further pray for their hands to wither and for them to become deaf and blind. Amen."

G 754 664

Curse-pits were dug, and crowds, filing by, put their curses upon stones and hurled them into the pits.

True, the ecclesiastics who laid the curse got into trouble. But they had, in fact, but expressed—flamboyantly—the feelings of the people. Venizelos, having once fallen, has never returned to power. The peasant has little faith in elections—he has every reason to doubt their efficacy; but of the efficacy of a real good curse he has ample evidence.

In Albania a curse may lie for generations on a family and end it. I visited the house of a family group at Plani in Pulati. The curse was that the family should not multiply, and I was assured it was dying out. No one knew who had laid the curse and all attempts to remove it had failed. Eighteen persons were living crowded in its one room. In cases of this kind it is obvious that unwholesome surroundings, bad water, or inherited disease is the origin of the "curse." To those so "cursed," however, the thing is a mystery, and mysterious means are the only ones used to combat it.

A 754

All medicine begins as magic. The invention of the microscope has at last revealed many of the real "demons." But even in England there are still people who prefer quack remedies to scientific "demon"-slaying ones.

A 121

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8. The Oath

A M 626 728 628 The oath played a most important part in the whole tribal area of Albania and Montenegro. The tribes lived, till recent times, in a constant state of blood-feud both with each other and within the tribes, and this was regulated only by means of sworn intervals of peace. In Montenegro you were in "krv" (blood) or under oath ("pod vjere"). In Albania, in "gjak" (blood) or under "besa." The tribesman as a rule kept the oath when formally sworn with rigid fidelity. A man forsworn was universally condemned. How by means of such oaths blood-feuds were settled we have told in another chapter.

A 626 783 *Manner of Taking Oath.*—Among the Albanian tribes there still exists the very antique custom of swearing the oath upon a stone. The priest and the hodja have succeeded in adding respectively the cross and Allah to his oath, but to the priest's vexation the mountain man persistently says, as he throws down the stone in the circle of headmen, "Per guri i per kruch" (by the stone and the cross), and puts the stone first. When a Catholic tribesman had confessed and received absolution he liked to come to church next time carrying a stone in proportion to the size of the sins confessed. What pact he had sworn on the stone I could not understand. The stone in this case was said to represent penitence. Some priests forbade the practice; others said it was unnecessary, but allowed it because this visible sign of contrition seemed really to help them. "But," said Padre Kiri of Thethi, laughing, "when a man came with a rock on his shoulder I told him he might leave it at the door."

A reason suggested for this custom is that the penitent transferred his sin to the stone and so got rid of it.

In trials before the elders a man accused of crime would swear his innocence upon a stone and fling it down before his judges.

M 626 783 *Montenegro.*—I did not find the custom in Montenegro, but it was clearly common till recently. Prince Danilo, in his Code of 1855, decrees (Law 65): "If after this day a Montenegrin or Brdjanin present himself before justice with a stone tied to his neck, whether innocent or guilty he shall be flogged."

M 754 The custom, it appears, has been flogged out. But in spite of Danilo's floggings I still found the custom of throwing a stone with a curse on to the reputed grave of a bad man. On the western side of Montenegro are several stone piles, and many such are to be found in the Herzegovina, some of which have been excavated and proved to be prehistoric tumuli. Krsto firmly believed all such heaps to be "proklete gomile" (accursed heaps) over the body of a desperate criminal who

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had been stoned to death "many, many years ago." He never failed to add at least half a dozen stones and a multitude of curses to any heap we passed by the way. M 754

Vuk Vrchevitch, in his book on old customs at minor religious festivals, collected in the Bocche di Cattaro, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina, mentions in a footnote that it was customary in the middle of the nineteenth century in Montenegro, when "a man made a statement and at once recognized he had made a mistake, to strike it on a stone (u kamen udariti). He scratched a stone with the nails of his right hand to transfer the error to the stone." As the author thought it necessary to explain this custom to Serbian readers, it is clear that the custom was a local one. M 789 Sb 626

It is noteworthy that I can find no reference to swearing upon stones in old Serbian ballads, though swearing enough takes place in them. 783

That it is a custom of extreme antiquity there can be no doubt.

Lavrov (*v.* Jirecek) states that the Macedonian Slavs of old worshipped trees and stones. But tree- and pillar-worship is common to very many lands and existed in the Balkans long before the advent of the Slavs. Sir Arthur Evans describes the cult at Mycenæ and Dodona (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi). The oath on the stone may, therefore, belong to all and any of the Balkan people. SP 771 783 627

The Northern Slavs appear to have had some such oath. Helmoldus, in his *Chronica Slavorum* (*c.* 1160), tells that they "showed great reverence to their holy places, which were frequently sacred groves or springs, and would not lightly take an oath there, lest they should be overtaken by the wrath of the avenging god." When the church at Oldenburg was built and dedicated to St. John the Baptist in 1066 by the Saxons, "the Count bade the Slavs gather in the church to hear the Word of God . . . and the Slavs were restrained in future from *swearing by trees, fountains, and stones*; they were to bring those accused of crimes to the priest to be examined by the iron or the ploughshare" (*c.* 83). The steps taken by various races to "civilize" others are very interesting. Here the Saxons evidently consider the practice of ordeal by hot iron a more Christian method than that of swearing innocence upon an object believed to be sacred by the swearer.

Helmoldus's statement shows that this ordeal was not Slavonic. We must, therefore, suppose that the hot-iron ordeal, recommended in Stefan Dushan's Code (1349) as a means of testing serfs accused of crime, was borrowed from a neighbour land. Be this as it may, the ordeal was in use in South Slav districts till well into the nineteenth century.

Swearing on a stone has survived only in Albania as a means of self-justification; and it is not impossible that it has existed from A 783 627

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A 783 627 pre-Slavonic times. One other trace maybe of holy trees and stones I saw in 1904 when riding through Albania, and never again.

My horse-boy picked up stones and thrust them in the forks of trees when we passed through a wood. To the horror of my companion, A [775 769] who was a colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society from South Albania, the boy declared he was doing so for the spirits of the dead to have something to tread on as they passed. Unfortunately the colporteur blamed him, and he would say no more about it. Hahn, in his Albanian studies, mentions this custom.

A 778 On this journey we passed two small woods where, I was told, no trees were ever cut because "a long while ago a church stood there." No one knew when. The "church" had probably been imagined, to account for the sanctity of the wood.

S 627 538 782 In Serbian tales and ballads the oaths are usually sworn by "God and St. John." Does St. John the Baptist represent a former oath on a holy spring? In Montenegro, SS. Petar Cetinski and Vasili of Ostrog were daily asked to bear witness to many dubious statements. No Montenegrin peasant can make a statement, whether true or false, without calling on God and one or other of his saints; and, alas! the old idea of the sanctity of an oath had evaporated and the statement was too often a lie.

Whereas I found the word of the Albanian tribesman reliable; but civilization may weaken his word, too.

M 782 Old King Nikola of Montenegro used to call Heaven to witness many remarkable statements. Once, when the Diplomatic Circle had been summoned to hear an unusually remarkable one, it is said that an astonished silence ensued, till one Minister Plenipotentiary, recovering his presence of mind, politely said: "Your Royal Highness is famed through Europe as . . . a poet."

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SECTION VIII

SOME BALKAN TABOOS. IRON. HAIR

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[p. 285]

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1. Propitiating the stranger.
2. The Name Taboo. Importance of the name.
3. The Food Taboo. Men will not eat with women.
4. Taboo on showing the face.
5. Iron. Degradation of the smith. Power of iron against spirits.
6. Hair. Beliefs and customs connected with it.

[p. 286]

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SECTION VIII

SOME BALKAN TABOOS. IRON. HAIR

1. Propitiating the Stranger

In a land where magic is still practised it is not surprising to find some ancient taboos still alive. A M 186 784

Of the many things that mankind fears, the unknown is perhaps the most dreaded. Therefore in old days, when travellers were scarce, save on well-marked trade routes, the stranger was an object of great suspicion. Who could tell what evil spells he might work? Magic was then the great danger; to-day it is "politik," the mysterious power of secret diplomacy. The stranger is still suspect in lands much nearer home.

In those parts of the Balkans where the tribal system was still in force, the reluctance of the tribe to admit a stranger was still marked. Off the beaten track a guide was a necessity, not merely to show the way but to act as a passport and explain one. In many places the peasant believed firmly in hidden treasure, and every stranger was suspected of knowing the spell by which to acquire and run off with it. A reason for the stranger's presence is required. A M [787]

Krsto Pejovitch, when I first went up-country with him, began to explain me so soon as we got off the highroad. He was showman, so to speak, and I was the monkey to his organ-grinding. On arrival at a han he would begin loudly: "She can read and write several languages. She can make pictures without a machine [i.e. draw]. She can sing. She can," etc. According to Krsto there were few things I could not do. Moreover, the Montenegrin proverb says: "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head," and as I wore my hair short, an uncommon thing in those days, the simple folk accepted the fact that my wits were necessarily long. Krsto would point this out, and add, in an aside, to bachelors: "She is not married, and God knows how rich." M 186 114 787 M [563]

When I protested, he declared this was the right way to conduct a tour, and he knew all about it. I had come to see real Montenegrin life—and I saw it. But so long as I live I shall feel for the luckless dancing bear who is prodded up to perform once more when dead tired, and remember the days when I could not make a note or a sketch except before a changing crowd as curious as monkeys, which flocked to see a woman who could not only write but write English. As often M 186 114

M 186 114 as not the schoolmaster picked up each sheet to examine as I finished it. How many times, when hoarse and exhausted, I have howled the "British Grenadiers," or some such ditty, only to have it rapturously encored!

M 574 In return I was crammed with food and drink.

One should never look a gift-horse in the mouth; but the suspicion with which a stranger is received, the endless questions that must be answered, and finally the lavish hospitality when it is decided to admit him, recall the fact that among primitive people it is necessary to propitiate the stranger, lest, offended, he should work evil to the house. A 186 574 By eating under the roof he acquires a temporary membership of the family. In the Albanian mountains, and, indeed, in the towns, I have been given hospitality with the words, "Buk i kryp i zemer i em" ("Bread and salt and my heart").

M 574 In Montenegro, rakia was the universal symbol of hospitality. When, after weeks of showing off my "parlour tricks," we returned to Krsto's house at Njegushi, he was triumphant. He confessed he had had grave doubts as to the propriety of a warrior going round the country as servant to a woman. But, managed in his manner, the tour had been a great success. I had, he said, made an excellent impression, and on one point only had offended. If he might say so, it was thought improper for an unmarried woman to imitate the manners of the officers. Greatly surprised, I asked what military action I had performed. He explained that in Montenegro all modest women blew their noses "like this"— M 576 here he performed loudly upon his own, with his fingers—whereas 515 the officers who had been trained abroad used a handkerchief, and so my doing so was thought decidedly "fast." I conformed carefully to many a local custom, but in spite of Krsto's request I drew the line at "the finger trick."

M 777 787 Upon the journey he repeatedly affirmed that I had not come to search for treasure. At Pirlitor upon Durmitor, the legendary site of the castle of Voyvoda Momchilo, the belief in treasure was very strong. The local headmen followed me about the alleged ruins, though by nothing short of magic could I have moved the great stones. I purposely dropped my heavy pocket-knife, and the clank of metal on stone brought them up swiftly with the cry: "Has she found it?"

S 186 114 In Serbia, where I travelled without a guide, for I was raw to the Balkans at that time, I found the stranger taboo very strong. As I was ignorant of their politics, I merely thought they were crazy when they dogged me perpetually and went my way. When the powers in Belgrade ascertained, by means of countless cipher telegrams, that I was really a British subject and not a Karageorgevitch in disguise, as they had been foolish enough to suppose, then suddenly the hospitality phase

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began and I was propitiated on all sides. It was the thing to ask me into the nearest house and stuff me with food, and for days my hotel bills were almost nil. But that was in the days of the Obrenovitch, when the Karageorgevitches had been exiled for ever and ever for having murdered Prince Michael. They now reign over wide lands for having murdered the Archduke Ferdinand. S 186 114

We, too, have a stranger craze. We still hedge the stranger with difficulties until, or unless, we think fit to feast him at the Guildhall, hoping earnestly that by thus feeding the beast we may induce him to work magic in our favour with tariffs or arm his compatriots on our behalf.

2. The Name Taboo

Among many primitive races all the world over a man's name is part of himself. Just as spells to hurt a man may be wrought by means of bits of his hair or nails, so, too, can evil be worked by using his name. The name is, therefore, a thing to be carefully guarded. Thus is the name taboo explained by authorities on the subject. A 784 551 121

The taboo is common in the Balkans. In 1904, among the Bulgars of Macedonia, I had to classify long lists of refugees. Woman after woman would give her name as "Maria," and refuse, with tears running down her cheeks, to give her husband's name, or any clue to her identity, save perhaps the name of her father in a distant village. "They are ashamed. You must not ask such a thing," I was told. I had asked an indecent question and hurt their feelings. "Ask another woman." The Maria in question would hurry from the room, while I learnt from a woman of the same village that the husband's name was Dmitri, son of George. This constantly happened when I have dealt with Bulgar and Albanian refugees. The explanation always is that they are "modest." A B 784 551 576

In Montenegro the custom was nearly dead—but not quite. Old folk still thought it improper for man and wife to name each other. The schoolmaster at Tzrmnitza told me that there were still many who had never done so. Savo Vuletitch, himself a Montenegrin, in one of his admirable tales of Montenegro, tells how "Petar Radisitch, though he had lived on the best of terms with his wife for full twenty years, had never called her by her name, nor even spoken to her as a human being, on any subject, if it were possible for a stranger to overhear. Had he to speak to her in public he muttered through his teeth, and she did the same by him. To have done otherwise would have been shameful." M 784 551 576

A plan I found adopted was that the man gave his order in the

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M 784 third person without looking at his wife: "She is to bring coffee." 551 Or turned his back and gave the order over his shoulder: "Bring 576 coffee." If he had to mention his wife or present her, the older men still did so with a formal apology: "Da oprostish—moja zhena" ("If you will pardon me—my wife"). This I heard often enough. The mention of any female relative was avoided, and a man with daughters but no sons would emphatically declare he had no children. The girl child was made to feel her inferiority early. "A man feeds his son for himself, but his daughter for another man," she was told.

M The name taboo till recently extended to other members of a 606 household. The daughter-in-law, when brought to the family house, 551 was not to call her new in-laws by their baptismal names.

576 "She dared not, for modesty," says Vuk Karadjitch. She addressed them all by nicknames which implied admiration or respect. Thus she called the elder brethren of the house Gospodin (sir), or Djever (brother-in-law), or even Ago (a great Aga). The younger more familiarly, as Sokolo (falcon), Miloshto (dear one), Zlatoye (golden one), or Krasni (the handsome). The elder women of the house were called Gospa (lady); the sisters-in-law Snasha, if they were the wives of the husband's brothers. If they were the unmarried sisters of the husband, who would all be very young in a land where girls are often married at fourteen, they were given fancy names, such as Lepotitza or Ubavitza (pretty little one), or Gospodjitza (little lady), or Golubitza (little dove). Beyond the family circle I found no trace of name taboo in Montenegro.

A In the North Albanian mountains, however, in the Dukagin districts, 551 it was decidedly unadvisable for a man's real name to be known. 553 Especially in Shala, Shoshi, and Nikaj, I found it customary for men to adopt another name. It was a constant annoyance to the Franciscans that, though they baptized their flocks with good Albanian Christian names such as Kol (Nicholas), Gin (John), Ded (Dominic), or Pietr (Peter), the lads, on growing up, persisted in calling themselves by A another name, preferably a Moslem one. They rigidly kept the fasts; [571 784] they flocked to church on a feast day; according to their rather dim lights they fulfilled some, at least, of their religious duties. But they called themselves Hussein, or Ismail, or Mehmed, and no plea or threat of the priest could budge them. I was once asked by a Franciscan to express my horror of the practice to a whole party of men. I therefore said no one in England would believe they were Christians if they had such names. They did not like this and crossed themselves repeatedly in proof of their faith. But on this question they were obstinate. They did it "because they wished to," "because the names were beautiful" and, most convincing of all, "because we always do."

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The district was known to swarm with witches and, though none of them said so, similar customs in other lands make it probable that the nickname was intended to shield its owner's identity. How better than by taking a Moslem name? A 551 553 [754]

A good example was my old friend, plucky old Mehmed Shpend of Shala, a well-known headman. It was incredible—nor did anyone pretend—that he had been baptized Mehmed the Raven. But when asked what his Christian name was he only grinned and twinkled, and said that "Mehmed Shpend" was "fort i bukur" ("very pretty"). G

A curious example of the belief that the Name is the Person occurred at Mount Athos at the beginning of this century. A Russian officer entered one of the monasteries as a monk. He was pious and much respected. Pondering over the sacred mysteries, it seemed fit to him that separate worship should be given to the Name of God. The idea found favour among some of the monks, and the cult of the name was instituted by them. The authorities at Athos forbade it, but the cult became more popular. It ended abruptly by the arrival of a Russian warship. The misguided monk was carried off and the heresy ended. The Russian Government, whether Tsarist or Bolshevist, stands no nonsense. GR 776

The Importance of a Name.—In Montenegro it was believed that the naming of a child may have an influence on its fate. It is customary for the same man to be christening "kum" (godfather) to all the children of one family. But if one child after another dies it is clear that the kum is unsuitable; and, in order to make sure this time that the kum is pleasing to God, the next infant is left in its cradle by the wayside. The mother hides close by. The first wayfarer who rashly stoops and looks at the infant is at once claimed as kum and must not refuse. M 753 777 852

On the way up to Durmitor I saw a cradle all alone, and was about to investigate it when Krsto snatched hold of me, crying: "No! no! you will have to be kum!" He then halted and shouted out for the mother, saying that neither of us was going to be trapped into being kum. The mother came up laughing, with a sickle in her hand. She said she was merely cutting some grass and had brought the baby with her. It was already baptized; so we passed on safely. Being kum cost a deal of money and trouble. But we might have refused? "No," said Krsto decidedly; "if you are caught that is quite impossible." M [551 462]

Under such circumstances, and especially if the child is weakly, it is common to baptize it Zhivko (lively), or Vuk (wolf), or one of the many derivatives of Vuk—Vuksan, Vujadin, Vule, etc., or Dabizhiv (mayest thou live), in order to give strength. S [852]

The custom exists, too, in Serbia and Bosnia. In old days, in Montenegro, when the christening of children was part of the ceremony M 852 623

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1

M 852 628 of ending a blood-feud, it was usual to delay baptism for two or three years so as to have children ready in case of need. The child meanwhile M [553] was known by a nickname which often stuck to him for life and became a recognized name. Such, it was said, was the origin of such names as Predrag (very dear); Mrko, or Mirko (dark); Mrgud (sulky); Plavo (fair), etc. Some names derive from personal habits: Krivokapitch (son of a crooked cap), an heroic bratstvo of the Tzutzi tribe; Pletikos (plaited hair), indicating an ancestor with a fine pigtail; Delibashovitch and Haydukovitch (son of a brigand leader), etc.

But how far such names were adopted with a view to concealing another name it is at this date impossible to say.

3. The Food Taboo

M A 262 252 The pig is, of course, taboo among the Moslems. I never saw an instance of this being broken. On the contrary, careful inquiry was always made about unknown dishes. The Montenegrins, therefore, regard the pig as peculiarly Christian. Roast pig is a special dish both at Easter and Christmas.

Very good it was, too, when stuck with sweet herbs and roasted under an iron cover on the hearth. I remember eating hot sucking-pig, smothered in cream, at one o'clock in the morning to celebrate the M dawn of Easter Day at Sophia Petrovna's school at Cetinje, with all [796] the girls and many of the members of the Russian Legation. We had just come from the chapel after crying triumphantly "Christ is risen." All save myself had abstained from flesh and fat many days. And they C fell on that pig!

S 262 That pre-eminently Orthodox country, Serbia, is pre-eminent also for pigs. In Macedonia, too, a drove of pigs showed a village to be Christian, though my poor guide, a Macedonian Bulgar, did not quite express what he meant when he said sadly: "Ici seulement les cochons sont Chrétiens."

Y A 262 Among the Catholics of Albania and Dalmatia the land tortoise is thought very good eating. It does, in fact, make a very palatable stew and is more meaty than one would think. But the Orthodox regard it with horror. Krsto repeatedly told me that none but a "Latinski" would eat anything so filthy.

Neither Serb nor Albanian will eat frogs, though the ponds swarm with fat ones and the people are hungry.

A 262 Catholics, Orthodox, and Moslems all regarded the eating of horse-flesh as most unclean. The report that it was sold as an article of food in Italy caused that country to be called an accursed and unclean place.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5
Yugoslavia EF1

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The Abbé Fortis, in his *Journey in Dalmatia*, 1776, notes that the Morlachs seldom or never eat veal, and states that it is an ancient prohibition, quoting St. Hieronimus contra Jovin: "In nostra provincia scelus putant Vitulos devorare." Marnovitch, a Bosnian, writing at the beginning of the seventeenth century, says that the Dalmatians, "who have not been infected with foreign vices, think veal an unclean flesh." That it was so considered by many of the Slavs is shown by the fact that one reason why the Russians (1607) suspected the false Demetrius of being an impostor was that "in his diet he would ordinarily eat calves' flesh, which is held an abomination among them" (*The Russian Impostor*, London, 1674). H 262

I never heard veal prohibited in Montenegro, but certainly never came across it in a native house. But this may not be the result of a taboo so much as the fact that the grown animal is so valuable for draught purposes and for milk that it is not slaughtered till fit for nothing else. The beef, as hard as your boot, is a thing to avoid. It was very funny to see the British Navy, when they occupied Scutari, trying to make roast beef out of dead Scutari ox. They had an erroneous idea that the local mutton was unwholesome, and when draught ox failed, ate tinned stuff from the ships. M 262

An interesting question arises from food taboos. It would appear that the beast tabooed by one race is the favourite diet of their enemy next door. Thus veal, we are told, was tabooed by the South Slav, and pig is tabooed by the Turk and Jew. The two most popular meats of Vienna are pork and veal. Mutton, they will tell you, is uneatable. The South Slav eats pork with great gusto and makes it his Christmas, and often Easter, dish as something peculiarly Christian, abhorred by both Jew and Turk. Y 262

Abbé Fortis mentions also of the Morlachs that the man apologizes for his wife in the words "Da oprostish" ("Mayest thou excuse"), and that women never eat at the table with the men. I found this custom strong in Montenegro. Only in the towns among the *intelligentsia* did men and women ate together. Even in the houses of the old Voyvodas up-country the wife and daughters stood humbly round the table, fetching and carrying, and not daring to sit down for a moment. They retired to another room when the males had finished, and ate up what was left in company with the children. When, after a good deal of discussion, it was decided to rank me as a man, and I ate at the male table, women often would refuse to eat with me, saying that it would be shameful ("sramotno"), and that their modesty ("stid") prevented them. Krsto, who, of course, ate with the men, used to give himself great airs to the women in the houses we visited. He thrust out his hand for them humbly to kiss on arrival, and shouted his orders rudely H 262 264 562 576

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 263 264 562 576 to them. Any women sitting by the roadside when a man passed at once arose and gave humble greeting. Krato always was very lordly on these occasions. He always ate with me—partly, I think, to convince himself he was not my servant but my equal. Poor Iké fed apart afterwards. Once when he was absent a week I begged her to feed with me, for it was ridiculous to make two meals of it. But the mere idea of doing anything so unseemly distressed her so that she burst into tears and prayed me to excuse her. She said it was a thing that could not be done; it would "shame" me.

H 576 562 554 For a man to wait on a woman was very humiliating. A mounted gendarme, a Bosnian Moslem, was once ordered to escort me in Turkish territory. He had conscientious scruples about obeying a woman. After a midday halt at a "kavana," he hurried down to get the horses ready, leaving his rifle on the balcony. Presently he shouted up to no one in particular, "Give me my rifle." As it was alongside of me I handed it down. His ruse had succeeded, and he cried with childish glee, "She has waited on me! she has waited on me!" Honour was satisfied.

A 554 264 Among the Albanian tribesmen it was considered very degrading to eat with a woman. I remember how a Kastrati man jeered at the Austrian Consul. A poor creature, indeed. He drank coffee and ate meat and bread, and let his wife eat at the same time. A shameless woman! A despicable man. The Kastrati man would not let his wife so misbehave. He would never eat with a woman, not he.

A [186] It is amusing how often ambassadors, generals, admirals, ministers, and other exalted beings are looked down on with contempt by the native whose respect and admiration they fondly imagine they are arousing.

When I arrived at Vuthaj, a Moslem Albanian village, where they had never before entertained a strange female, there was a very long powwow as to the correct course to pursue. I had gone there on the invitation of a headman. It was decided that I was too important a guest to feed with the harem. I was to rank as a man and feed with the chiefs. But in order to comply with their sense of fitness I was helped last of all, even after my horse-boy. And so honour was satisfied. The women waited at table—unveiled—but I did not enter their apartment and had no communication with them.

A [576] Among the Christian Mirdites at the house of the Kapetan, where I was treated with great honour, the younger men of the family waited at table, as did Chaucer's Squire, and no woman was allowed to come near me at all. I heard a giggling crowd trying to get a peep at me through the crack of the door, but they were chivied away by a male, and my suggestion that I should see them was met by the statement that they were too modest.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

Both the name and the food taboos being even to-day so common in the Balkans, it is strange to find Herodotus, so many centuries ago, mentioning both as peculiar customs of the Ionians and explaining them thus: "Even those who esteemed themselves the most noble of the Ionians on first settling in the country brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women whose husbands they put to death. In consequence of this violence the women made a compact which they delivered to their daughters never to sit at meals with their husbands nor to call them by their appropriate names" (Bk. I, c. xlvi). He, however, expressly states that these Ionians were of very mixed origin, saying that: "Molossians, Pelasgians of Arcadia, and Dorians of Epidaurus were mingled with them." These are some of the oldest known Balkan tribes. The Molossians especially were in South Albania. The food and name taboos were thus possibly brought from the Balkans to Asia by the men. Judging by the present Balkan peoples, it is far more likely that the customs should have been enforced by them on their captured wives than that Herodotus's explanation should be correct.

B 262 175 171 562

4. Taboo on Showing the Face

The amount of veiling done by the women varies very considerably among the Balkan peoples, I know. The most closely veiled and hooded of all were the Moslem Slavs of Mostar and Serajevo. The Moslem Slav, whether called Serb or Croat, is a very strict Mohammedan.

A H 784 562

This may be because the Bosnians and Herzegovinians—the Bosnians more especially—adopted Islam in many cases as early as the fifteenth century, whereas the Albanians, upon whom it sits far more lightly, and a very large number of whom belong to the heretical Bektashi sect, became Mohammedan mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some in the nineteenth. The women of the Moslem Albanian mountain tribes are never veiled, and will come to market and bargain freely with any man, their faces more exposed than those of many Christians.

A 794 562 292 171

In the towns, which were under the rule of Turkish officials whose womenfolk possibly set the fashions, the Albanian Moslem women were all more or less closely veiled. In Dulcigno they almost exceeded the hooding of Mostar, and have preserved the custom under the rule of the Montenegrin, which was forced upon them by the pious efforts of Mr. Gladstone.

A 292 171

The veiling of women was, however, not unknown in Ancient Greece, and the veiling or partial veiling of both men and women was practised in various primitive and non-Moslem lands. The usual explanation of

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the A [186] lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

Y A 292 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

562 561 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, Y too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

A [12] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with A their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their Y teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

M 754 776 774 Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

A Y M 777 "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and A 585 hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

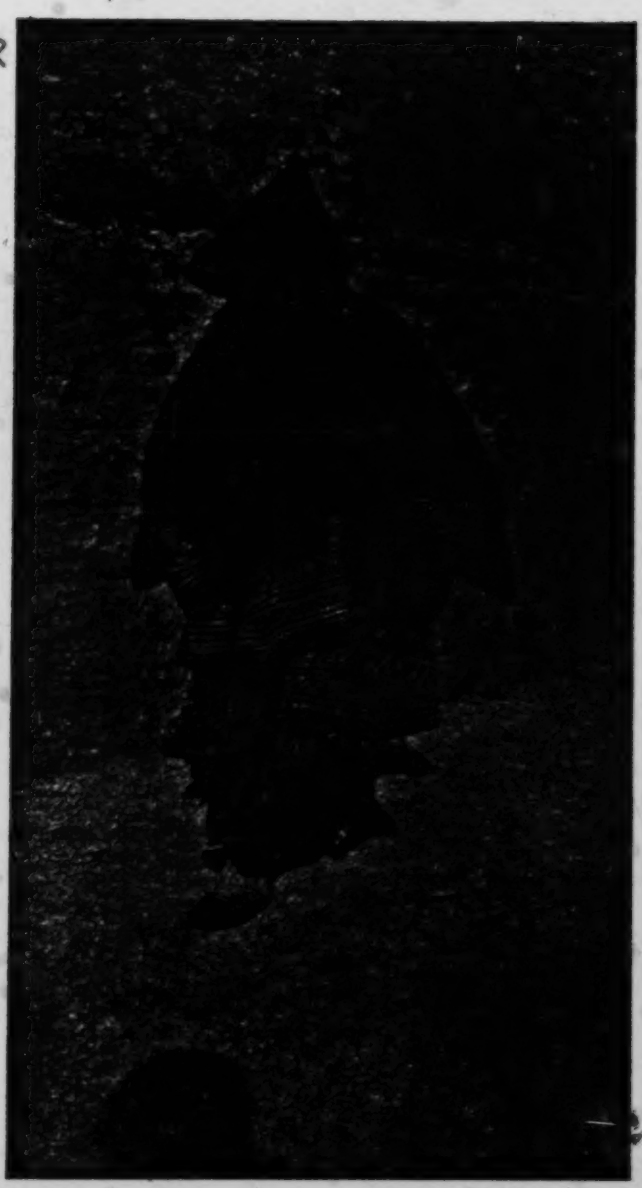

PLATE XI.—MOSLEM ALBANIAN WOMAN, DULCIGNO (1907)

[Facing p. 297]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The Catholic thus goes safely to church and there the veil is raised. Evil spirits are powerless there; and as we have seen, when she leaves the sacred building she is carefully veiled and conveyed safely to her future home. Food and drink are given her by her attendants behind the veil; all possible precautions are taken, in fact, to prevent her soul escaping and harmful glances falling on her. A 585 777 A 264 777 714

In early days in Montenegro the brides were so closely veiled when fetched from home by the svatovi that in the Martinovitch family, of Baitza near Cetinje, there is a tradition of a bride being accidentally exchanged for the bride of another wedding-party. M 585 293 578

Two parties of svatovi started from Baitza to fetch brides from afar, and had to pass the night on the mountain-side. They met at the same wayside spring and encamped. The two girls begged to be allowed to sleep together. Next morning each party rode off with the wrong girl. The weddings were celebrated at once on arrival, and as no one had previously seen the girls and they, as was customary, knew nothing about their future bridegrooms, the mistake was not detected till a week after, when the girls' relatives came to pay the first visit to them. They were then infuriated to find that the carefully planned alliances had gone wrong and they had not acquired the "in-laws" they had intended. The respective bridegrooms expressed themselves quite satisfied. Not so the parents of brides. A violent quarrel took place. Blows were exchanged and a blood-feud was imminent. The annulment of the weddings was demanded, and peace was only restored by the metropolitan, who declared the marriages legal and the whole complication evidently the will of God, Who must be obeyed. M [627] M A B 513

All Balkan people, so far as my experience goes, sleep with the head covered, no matter how hot it may be.

I remember a suffocating night in a wretched cottage at Bratonozhitch, Montenegro. I lay on a bench on one side of the hut, and the floor was covered by some sixteen persons of both sexes. So hot was it that the men stripped their shirts and slept in their breeches; but all buried their heads under thick, felt-like blankets.

Often have I been awakened from a much-needed midday sleep under a tree by a choking, horrible smell, and have found that some kindly creature while I slept had covered my head with a filthy towel or coat. Poor old Marko perpetually told me it was most unhealthy to sleep with an uncovered head. By way of warning he told me the horrible end of a neighbour of ours. He not only left his head uncovered, but he slept near an open window. The wind blew into his head and went round and round inside it, and the unhappy man, driven distracted, hanged himself in the vineyard. M [762 753] B 761 513

A possible further reason for shrouding the head is the strange

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Balkan Peoples E13

B 741 513

belief described in the section on Balkan Remedies that life depends on a worm that lives in the ear. The ear in this case would be a great danger-spot.

A 292

A very large proportion of the Albanian mountain men, especially in the Maltsia e Madhe, completely shroud the head in a long strip of cotton and wear it even in the hottest weather. That it is not needed as protection from the sun is shown by the townsmen wearing only a small fez.

B 171 174 177

Blunt, in his *Voyage into the Levant* (1650), gives a quaint tale about the origin of head-wrapping: "At last we came to an high and large mountain of a daye's journey over. The Jew held it to be Thermopylæ. . . . Herewith he told me that the Easterne custome of wearing Turbantes came from thence and that how once the Barbarous people having the Grecian Army at a great advantage there was no other remedy but that some few should make good that narrow passage. . . . There were some brave Spirits who undertooke it, and knowing they went to an inevitable death they took care of nothing but sepulture, which of old was much regarded; wherefore each carreyed his winding sheet wrapped around his head and then with the loss of their own lives saved their fellowes: whereupon for an honourable memorial of that exploit the Levantines used to wrap white Linnen about their heads and the fashion so derived upon the Turke." Thus in 1650 there was a tradition of pre-Turkish head-wraps.

Head-wraps are commonly worn by many men of the East and of the Mediterranean coast of Africa. Some—the Tuaregs—cover the whole face. It is not unlikely that in the past head-wraps and veils were to protect the ear as well as the mouth and nose. That the ear is a danger-spot is shown by the numerous earrings worn to protect it from the Evil Eye, and the dingle-dangles hanging over the ear from the cap.

5. Iron

B 176 179

The Balkans within historic times have not been the centre of production or invention. Neither the Slav, who destroyed the civilization Rome had begun to implant, nor the Turk, who in turn conquered him, added anything of value to the world's store of resources. Both inherited a good deal from Byzantium, but originated nothing.

B 172

But in prehistoric times Bosnia was one of the great centres of the iron trade, and probably one of the very early ones. Iron ore in an easily smelted form, and great forests side by side, together with their own brains and energy, enabled these unknown people, some six or eight centuries before our era, to develop and spread the use of the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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Historical Yugoslavia EF2

new metal and so give an impulse to the vast iron industry upon which the whole of our present material civilization is based. But into this prehistory we cannot now enter. The epoch-making discoveries of the Austrian experts attached to the Serajevo Museum require a volume to themselves, and can be studied in the volumes of the *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*. In his *Voyage en Bosnie*, 1807–1808, Chaumette-des-Fossés says: "The mines which abound in this country would become under another government an inexhaustible source of wealth. . . . That which has always contributed to the wealth of Bosnia and, at the present time, has become its principal branch of industry are the numerous iron mines. The most considerable are near Foinitza and Cressevo. They employ more than two thousand workers, of whom one-third are Catholics and the rest gipsies." According to this report the Orthodox Serbs did not work in the mines.

Iron being such a very ancient Balkan industry, it is strange to find that the bulk of the Balkan populations still consider iron-working as most degrading. When I travelled, the tide of foreign blue-enamelled ironware was only beginning to set in, and iron was still worked almost entirely by gipsies a-squat in ramshackle sheds on the outskirts of the towns of Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Albania, who, with most primitive anvil, hammer, and bellows, forged the horseshoes, hobbles, chains, ploughshares, fish-tridents, dentistry forceps, nails, and hooks commonly used by the peasants. Everyone bought their ware, and everyone looked on the gipsy as beneath contempt.

Respectable people, both Serb and Albanian, could make copper pots or cut up old petroleum canisters and fashion tin pots and other articles of them. No one who valued his reputation could hammer iron.

In 1907 I was Commissioner for Montenegro at the Balkan States Exhibition at Earl's Court, and took the Montenegrins who then came over for their first walk to see the shops. None of them had ever left their native land before. We stopped outside a large hardware shop in the Brompton Road, and the two men examined every tool and pot in the window. They then glanced inside. I shall never forget their contempt when they saw that the men behind the counter were not, as they expected, "tsrni tziganini" (black gipsies) but English.

"What!" cried the elder in horror, "Englishmen making and selling iron things!" He thought, of course, they made the goods they were selling. "I had rather see my son dead than see him sink so low as this! The English! By God, they are no better than Black Gipsies."

And, until we arrived at Whitehall and saw the Horse Guards, nothing would make him modify his opinion that the English were a "pogan

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

M 186 narod" (unclean or depraved race). The gorgeous uniform of the Guards cheered him, and he asked if it were possible to enlist in the regiment and if the pay were good. But to the end of his stay he never forgot those Englishmen who sold iron pots. He left with the poorest idea of England and the English, and when I met him four years afterwards, as a gendarme at Podgoritza, he again referred with disgust to this unpleasant British habit.

M 174 But the name Kovatchevitch (son of a smith) is sufficiently common among persons who do not appear to be of gipsy origin.

326 As the working of iron was highly developed by the pre-Slav inhabitants of the Balkans, it is possible that it remained in their hands after the Slav invasion and was looked on as especially the task for the vanquished.

The smith in mediæval days had none too safe a position, if we may judge by the way the Serb hero, Marko Kralyevitch, treated Novak the Smith (Vuk Karadjitch, *Narodne Pesme*, vol. ii, Marko i Musa Kesedjija):—

H [538] "Marko hied him to Novak the Smith. 'Forge me a sword, O Novak, such as never before thou hast forged!' And Marko gave him thirty ducats and rode away to the new wineshop. For three or four days drank he wine and back went he then to Novak.

" 'Hast forged me the sword, O Novak?' And Novak brought him the sword and said softly: 'Here are the sword and the anvil. See what a sword it is!' Marko swung up the sword in his right hand and struck it upon the anvil and cleft the anvil in twain, saying: 'So help thee God, Novak the Smith, hast ever forged a better?'

"And Novak answered: 'So help me God, Kralyevitch Marko, a better one have I forged, and for a better warrior. Such a sword forged I for Musa the Albanian that when he struck it upon the anvil not a scrap of the anvil was left whole.'

"Then was Marko angered. 'Hold out thy hand, Novak,' cried he, 'that I may pay thee for the sword.'

"Then Novak betrayed himself. The serpent bit him" (i.e. misfortune seized him). "He thrust out his right hand. Marko swung his sword and smote off his arm at the shoulder. 'Look thee now, Novak, thou shalt never forge a better nor a worse! Here are a hundred ducats to keep thee the rest of thy life!' And he mounted his horse and rode away."

H 721 175 326 When Marko Kralyevitch lived, at the end of the fourteenth century, the Serb Empire of Dushan was falling to pieces. The Albanians were shaking off Serb rule. Musa was the famous Albanian chieftain whose name survives in the Musakija, the plain lands in South Albania. Novak the Smith clearly sympathized rather with Musa than with

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Montenegrins

the Serb chieftain. Maybe Novak was by race one of the "under-dogs" of the old Serb Empire—a serf or slave.

In a Montenegrin ballad, dictated to me by Krsto and which I do not know in print, the smith again appears as low caste. Milosh of Drobnjak bids his sister take his brown horse to be shod by Suljo the Gipsy. Suljo refuses to do so unless he may kiss her. Milosh rides away on the unshod horse, and on his return rode to Suljo's. "When Suljo saw him he was afeared. He took his cap in his left hand, and in his right, the hammer and tongs to shoe Milosh's brown horse. But Milosh smote the gipsy with his sword. Though he struck him but lightly, he cleft him in twain. And thus spoke Milosh: 'Well, Suljo! Dost wish to kiss my sister now?' "

The smith was low class and of another race.

How different from these benighted ideas are those of our higher civilization. It is universally recognized that the making and selling of machines for killing the people over the border is the most honourable of trades. Far from being classed as a Black Gipsy, the armament dealer receives a title, and can marry anybody's daughter.

But a fear or dislike of iron has been widespread. When one considers its great usefulness and the ages it has been in use, it is incomprehensible that the idea it was uncanny should have been so persistent. No iron tool, we are told, was used in building the Temple at Jerusalem. Iron might not be used to repair the Pons Sublicius at Rome. Roman priests had to shave with bronze, not iron razors. The uncanny properties of magnetic iron and the rooted dislike of the human race for innovations are not enough to account for it; and it appears that this dread of iron was transferred to the workers of it and long clung to them.

I found the uncanny power of iron still recognized in the Balkans. Iron drives off evil spirits. When I was living in Montenegro many a "junak" (hero) who boasted freely of his courage did not like passing a graveyard at night. That cheeriest of boasters, Krsto, was hurt when I told him such fear was not compatible with "junashtvo." If obliged to pass such places after dark he thought it indispensable to carry a knife. This was not meant for stabbing the ghost. Oh, no! He would have run away at its first appearance. It was to keep the ghost off. In fact, the necessary piece of iron. One would have thought the revolver every man carried had iron enough to frighten any ghost. Not at all. A knife it must be. This, no doubt, because the belief dates from many centuries before the invention of fire-arms, to the days when a knife was the handiest piece of portable iron; and ever since then it has remained the recognized protector.

In North Albania a shovel or hoe was always left in a grave until

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Turkey MB1
Serbs EF6

A 764 the body was laid in it, in order to prevent any devil lurking there to seize the dead.

I remember waiting by the tiny grave dug for a child at Thethi Shala in the graveyard. Someone tripped over the long protruding handle of the shovel and dislodged it. The old gravedigger dashed forward and replaced it at once, and drew it out only as the little corpse was lowered. The Franciscan, an Albanian, who stood by the graveside, acquiesced. "It is the custom," he said when questioned. Possibly, like the rest of us, he could not keep demons at bay unaided.

M A 776 777 778 Iron keeps off all spirits, good and bad, it appears; for no knife must touch the fowl's breast-bone or sheep's blade-bone in which the Albanian and Montenegrin soothsayers read the future. No one can tell you why; but everyone knows it would be the height of folly to try to read a bone that has been cleaned with a knife—it would not tell the truth.

A 726 Colonel Aubrey Herbert, that friend of the Turks and Albanians, whose untimely death has left an unfillable gap, gave me a curious instance of the belief in the magic of iron. During the Balkan war of 1913 the Turkish general, Djavid Pasha, retreated with what was left of his army into South Albania, where "he occupied the house of a friend of mine. The tide of war was running fiercely against the Turks and the general wanted to consult the spirits. The family carpenter was ordered to make a three-legged table without any nails in it—T 778 775 'for the spirits hate metal,' said Djavid. The young Turks invoked the spirit of Nazim Pasha, who had been shot by Enver and his friends. . . . When no answer came, the absent ghost of Nazim was cursed for refusing to give information."

Even the absence of iron could not induce the spirit of the murdered man to advise his murderers.

6. Hair. Some Beliefs and Customs connected with it

A 121 In many lands much mystery surrounds hair, that strange substance that grows continually from youth to age; which is part of the person, but can be cut off without pain and is, therefore, the most convenient substitute or symbol for the whole person.

S 754 By means of hair spells can be wrought even in an electric-lighted European capital. Draga Mashin, the mistress of the luckless young King Alexander Obrenovitch, forced him to marry her and make her queen by clipping some of her hair in little bits and mixing it with appropriate spells in his food. Having thus eaten a portion of her, he was hopelessly in her power. At least, so we were assured by one of

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Byzantine Civilization EH3
Hellenic Greece EH5
Serbs EF6

the Serbian *intelligentsia*, formerly Minister at the Court of St. James's. Possibly the belief that Draga dabbled in witchcraft was one reason why the populace cheerfully acquiesced in her murder. Near-Eastern politics are more often swayed by old-world beliefs than some folk are aware of.

By chance one night in Krsto's hut I learnt that the ancient rite of dedication by hair is part of the Orthodox baptismal ceremony. I was showing my folding pair of nail-scissors when Pope Gjuro exclaimed in admiration that they were just the thing for clipping hair at baptisms. Old Gjuro himself, of course, wore a beard, and his unclipped locks flowed on his shoulders. Hair, as we have seen, can be used to work grievous harm. "The simplest way of avoiding this peril," says Sir James George Frazer, "is not to cut the hair at all." Samson's strength lay in his hair. Kings, medicine-men, and others who were very holy, have gone unshorn, and so to this day do the priests of the Orthodox Church, the direct descendants of the priests of pre-Christian cults. Firmicus (Julius Maternus) wrote the *Errors of Religion* about A.D. 350, and described "men who stay in temples in an unkempt state, and walk abroad thus and never cut their hair, and who would announce something to men as if said by gods." Firmicus was a Sicilian and had, doubtless, been taught by Rome, for he did not connect holiness with hairiness as did Byzantium.

One of the many bitter complaints brought against the Church of Rome by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Byzantium (1043–58), was that Latin clerks shave the beard. So abhorrent did this practice seem to the Byzantine that he refused the Communion to shaven clerks. Thus a deep-rooted belief in the magic power of hair was one of the several odd reasons which helped to split the Church and ultimately affect the fate of Europe.

Rome, not given to haggling over unimportant details, did not and does not object to moustachioed and bearded priests should local custom prefer them. The Orthodox Church makes no exceptions. In the more civilized lands the Orthodox pope now likes to twist his locks into a "bun" pinned up under his high hat when he is not officiating. But up-country I have seen strange popes whose tangled black locks streamed in the wind, and whose faces were muffled to the eyes in beard that had never been profaned by steel: wild men of the mountains with knife and revolver in belt.

Hair-cutting as a dedication of the person is an old Balkan rite. Daremburg and Saglio, in the *Dictionnaire d'Antiquités*, figure a marble slab found in Thessaly, on which are carven two neat pigtails, "offered to Poseidon by the sons of Dumachos," says the inscription. In a storm hair would thus be cut off and thrown overboard with the hope that

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Hellenic Greece EH5
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

H 302 782 Poseidon would kindly accept it as substitute for the body. In this case evidently he did so.

G 302 852 The Orthodox Church, too, dedicates the child, after immersion and unction, by "clipping off four locks of hair as sign of the Cross, the pope saying: 'The servant of God is shorn in the name of God.' The pieces of hair are mixed with some wax from the candle and dropped into the font by the child's father" (Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Roman Church*). The hair, no doubt, is dropped into the holy water to save it from being used for spells by some wicked person.

My friend Mr. Stroud Read, who has lived much in Greece, tells me that there is a tendency there now to omit the hair-cutting from baptism, the pope sometimes refusing to have it done in church, but that it is done, nevertheless, by the laity at home after returning from the church. Someone is invited to be hair-cutter, and the clippings are dropped into a pan of hot charcoal.

M 852 582 608 The two ceremonies were formerly separate ones in Montenegro. Pope Gjuro told me there used to be two kumstvos (sponsorships): Shishano Kumstvo (shearing kumstvo), and Mokro (wet) or Krsteno Kumstvo (baptism). The former, as a separate kumstvo, is now extinct. It used to carry with it spiritual relationship and prevent the intermarriage of the direct descendants of the sponsor and those of the child's father for several generations. The marriage circle was thus further restricted and drove folk farther afield in search of a wife. Medakovitch, describing the ceremony as done by the laity between 1840 and 1850, says it was done some time after baptism. Three locks were cut in the name of the Trinity and thrown on the dunghill. At that time the ceremony did not form an obstacle to marriage.

A 852 [174] About three years after my nail-scissors had become an ecclesiastical implement I learnt in the Albanian mountains what is probably the most complete form in which the ceremony now survives. It is performed habitually by both Moslems and Christians. The Catholic priests try to suppress this pagan practice, which, nevertheless, their flock considers quite as important as baptism and even more so. A careful study of those pagan practices adopted by one Church and abhorred by the other might throw light on the centres or origin of such practices.

A 852 608 In North Albania the "kumpare i floksh" (sponsor of hair) is chosen when the child is about two years old. He is a man with whom the head of the house wishes to be related. The family being assembled out of doors, the kumpare (conpatrem, compère) sits down on the ground, and first takes another child on his knees to ensure that his "hair child" shall not be the last his parents have. He then takes his "hair child," whose hair as yet has never been cut, and snips off four locks of hair

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Great Russians RF2

to the four quarters of the heavens—north, south, east, and west. A 852
These locks are at once destroyed. Handsome gifts are then exchanged, 608
the kumpare giving sometimes as much as two or three gold napoleons, and receiving some embroidered garments or the elaborately patterned knitted socks which are favourite ceremonial gifts. A great feast, of course, follows. The child's father and the kumpare are now brothers, A
and their children are not intermarriageable till the seventh degree. [582]
In olden days I was assured they were never intermarriageable, and ranked exactly as consanguines. Near Scutari this prohibition had lapsed altogether. Among the Pulati and Dukagini it was still believed in. At Thethi Shala in 1908 a man rushed into the church to stop a marriage on the ground that the parties were cousins by hair-cutting. The Franciscan who was officiating refused to recognize the impediment and married the couple. Whereupon the outraged tribesman ran hot-foot to the Bishop of Pulati and denounced the Franciscan for having celebrated an incestuous marriage. The bishop refused to listen to him. He and his friends then hastened to Scutari, and begged the Turkish Vali to denounce the marriage. The Vali said he did not care whom the Christians married. The bridegroom belonged to a very strong house and so was not molested, and the matter dropped.

The Moslems cut but three locks of hair because four makes a cross, whereas a triangle is a popular Moslem pattern (*v.* Tattoos). But the Montenegrin, as we have seen, cut three for the Holy Trinity.

The clipping of the four locks out of doors to the four quarters of the heavens has all the appearance of being a dedication to the sun. Sun-worship, as we have seen, was widely spread in the Balkans. When we find this ceremony considered of high importance in the very district where sun and moon symbols are still commonly carved and tattooed, we are tempted to connect them. That the rite is ancient and pre-Christian cannot be doubted.

The Catholic Church strives to suppress the notion of "hair-cutting A
incest." The Orthodox Church, by admitting hair-cutting as part of [779]
the baptismal ceremonial, has perpetuated it; for baptismal godfatherhood prohibits the marriage of descendants of either party till the seventh degree. "Hair-cutting incest," therefore, prohibits marriage between the descendants of the Duke of York and the Karageorgevitch, for the papers were careful to inform us that locks of hair were duly clipped when the Duke and Duchess of York acted as godparents to the heir to the Serbian throne. Their Royal Highnesses took part in a pagan ceremony of unknown antiquity. You can never tell what a Balkan alliance will let you in for.

The hair-cutting in the Russian baptism is probably an importation G
from Byzantium, as is also the unshorn priest. A deacon, on ordination, 852

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Great Russians RF2
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

G 852 is shorn of four locks, but after becoming a holy man he goes unshorn. The most wonderful I met was a young monk at Zdrebanik Monastery, M Montenegro, whose well-combed flaxen hair fell to below his waist. His 792 beard was equally fine. I remember, too, two "kalugers" whom we met on the Nikshitch road. They carried begging bowls and offered holy pictures for sale. They spoke no tongue anyone could understand, but their immense coal-black manes and beards showed them, as Krsto remarked, to be undoubtedly exceptionally holy.

S Hair is also offered, as we have seen in the chapter on funerals, 782 on graves. In Bosnia and the Herzegovina I saw tresses of hair hung 764 along with rags, oranges, bread, etc., on the young tree or branch stuck at the head of most graves. In a lonely graveyard between Gorazhda and Chajnitza (1906) I saw what must have been some

PRAYING BOSNIAN CATHOLIC, JAITZA, 1907

SKETCH SHOWING THE PIGTAIL (PERCHIN)

FIG. 21

mourning woman's whole head of hair, waving and bleaching in the sun and wind from the head-post of a grave. Here the hair seems part of a purificatory rite.

A The Eastern belief in the magic of hair is shown in the book of 121 Numbers vi. *et seq.*: "When a man or woman shall make a special vow to separate himself unto the Lord . . . all the days of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head . . . he shall be holy, he shall let the locks of his hair grow long. . . . All the days that he separateth himself unto the Lord he shall not come near to a dead body. . . . And if any man die very suddenly beside him and he defile the head of his separation, then he shall shave his head in the S day of his cleansing. On the seventh day shall he shave it." St. Paul M (Acts xxi. 26) observed this ceremony.

302 In Bosnia, Serbia, and Montenegro, till very recently, most men

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania
Historical Yugoslavia Erd
Turkish Greece EH2
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

wore the head shaven except for one long "perchin" (plaited pigtail). It was still worn commonly in Bosnia in 1906. The Catholics at Jaitze unrolled their head-wraps at the church door and went in looking singularly Chinese, with the long perchin which had been coiled under the wrap hanging down. Lady Strangford in 1866 describes the men of Sebenico in Dalmatia as wearing pigtails to the waist decorated with tassels and ornaments.

S M 302 H 302 171 175

A marvellous fine one must have been worn by the Hayduk near Zara, who is famous in ballads as Pletikosé Pavlo (Paul of the plaited hair).

King Nikola as a boy, I was told, wore the perchin.

Head-shaving was usual all through the Near East. Dr. Brown, in his *Travels* in 1669, describes various head-shaves at Larissa: "The Barber would handsomely perform his work, trimming each man according to the fashion of his country.

T [502]

"The Greeks have a place the size of a dollar left bare on the crown of the head, then let the hair grow round it the breadth of two fingers more or less, after which they shave the rest of the head and wear it bare.

"The Croatian hath one side of his head shorn, and the other neither cut nor shorn, but lets the hair grow as long as it will. The Hungarian shaves the whole head except the foretop. The Turk shaves the whole except the lock on his crown. The Francs shave not the head, but wear the hair as long as with us. The Greek priests neither shave nor cut the hair, but wear it so long as it will grow."

In the interesting frescoes in the old Serbian church at Grachanitza, St. Sava, first Metropolitan of Serbia, is depicted with a large tonsure, showing that, though the Serbs were in communion with the Eastern Orthodox Church, they did not adopt the fashion of the unshorn priest till a later date. Sava, though tonsured, wears a long beard. Serbia swayed irresolute for some time between the two Churches. Sava's father, Stefan Nemanya, Prince of Serbia, and the Serbian Synod of 1119 had declared "the most holy Roman Church the mother of all Churches." And in 1218, when Sava was made head of the Serbian Church, the Latins held Constantinople, and the Patriarch of Byzantium was in exile at Nicea.

Y 302 [532] 776

The importance of beards is shown in Stefan Dushan's Canon, Law 97: "He who tears out the beard of a Vlastelin, or of a man of standing among the Serfs, shall have both hands cut off."

Y [683]

The Serbar (serf) in certain cases could be sentenced, in addition to flogging, to having his hair and beard burnt off as ultimate degradation.

John of Ephesus, writing about A.D. 584, gives an amusing threat of hair-cutting. He tells of the coming of the Avars, in the time of "the Emperor Justinian, who received their ambassadors with great

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania
Historical Yugoslavia Era

302 honour, and made them rich presents of gold and silver dresses, and
171 girdles and saddles decked with gold. . . . As often as they sent, so
175 often did he give them presents, imagining thus he would subdue his enemies, and the murmuring against him grew great on the part of

[532
769
212]

FIG. 22.—EARLY MEDIÆVAL BOSNIAN VOYVODINA ON TOMB AT STOLATZ, HERZEGOVINA

(Showing body armour and the fustanella.)

the senate and the people, who said: 'He is stripping the kingdom and giving it to the barbarians.' And when Justin, his sister's son, reigned in his stead, a troop of them came in the usual way. But Justin refused them presents, and when the Avars threatened him, he grew

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13
Montenegrins EF5

angry and said: 'Do you dead dogs dare threaten the Roman realm? I will shave off those locks of yours and then cut off your heads.' H 302 171

"He then imprisoned them for six months and released them terrified, and for some time the Avars submitted to Rome and gave no trouble." 175

The Nemanja kings, as seen on the frescoes at Dechani, all wore the moustache. Their beards are very small. The hair of the head is completely hidden by the crown.

To-day in the Balkans the beard is worn almost solely by the Orthodox priesthood and the Moslem dervishes and hodjas. Thus the holy men of both faiths observe the hair taboo. B 302

Laymen in all parts where the modern fashion of clean-shaving has not penetrated always wear the moustache. Perhaps vague memories of the days when the hair was burnt as ultimate disgrace haunt the mind, for the clean-shaven man, I found, was a creature condemned and despised. M A 302

In Krsto's hut I mentioned that my brother was clean-shaven, and the company, abashed, stared at their toes and were speechless. Then someone, deeply shocked, said: "No noble family will give him a wife." And kind old Pope Gjuro, wishing to be polite, said that such things might be done in London, but in Montenegro it was better not to speak of them. Whereupon the repulsive subject was dropped. 186

In both Albania and Montenegro a hairless man is called by the Turkish word "Chosé." Bald heads in both lands are very rare. I never saw more than a slight thinning on the top. A really bald, shining head is thought an awful thing. We were once discussing the American regulations for emigrants. A Montenegrin who had been to America angrily denounced the injustice of the health inspectors at the landing-place. "I myself," he cried, "saw them allow a man with no hair on the top of his head—a most horrible sight—to pass. And they stopped a poor boy who had only a few little bare spots on his head and said he was diseased!" M A 183 554 186

In old Serbian ballads the hero's moustache is his glory. Mighty fine were these warriors. H 538 554 302

And there came five horsemen clad in black;
At their head rode a hero upon a raven steed.
His black moustachios reached below his shoulders
And hung to the pistols in his sash.
His breastplate ("toké") glittered through his moustachios
As doth the moon when fifteen days old
Shine through the branches of a fir-tree.
Lo and behold, O my brother Mujo!
Next to them come three horsemen
Clad in white cloth and riding upon greys.
At their head is a warrior on a grey steed,
And his fair moustachios reach to his shoulders, etc.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 538 554 302 And so they follow on, each matching his horse to his immense moustache. As Krsto used to say with a sigh, "One does not see such sights nowadays."

H 764 It is noteworthy that the warriors carved on the mediæval gravestones of Bosnia show no hair either on face or head. The work is very rude and shows no features either (Fig. 22).

A 302 In Albania, too, the moustache is very precious. My old friend Marko cherished a fine one. When he was young he declared he could easily tie its ends behind his head—the true test, he said, for a moustache.

A 776 554 In the fairy tales he used to tell, the villain was a "Chosé," a hairless man. They were always abominably wicked, he said.

The British Navy lost its prestige when clean-shaven officers appeared in Scutari in 1913.

A 302 293 554 When Marko was young and his moustache in its prime, he was kavass to the Turkish Embassy in Vienna, wore a gold-embroidered Albanian dress, and cut such a gallant figure that no less a person than one of the Rothschilds noticed him. The wealthy Jew asked the poor Albanian to quit Turkish service and be doorkeeper at the Rothschild palace. The salary offered was beyond Marko's wildest imagination. "I thought I should be a rich man," said he, "but the dog—yes, he was a dog—he told me his servants were clean-shaven and I must cut off my moustache. My moustache that I could tie behind my head! I said that not for all the gold of the Rothschilds would I cut it off." So Marko was never rich, and was never tired of telling of the insult.

So great is the respect for the moustache that the Catholic Church humours her Albanian flock, and bishops, abbots, and secular priests all wear the finest moustaches they can grow.

A [293] "If an Italian or Austrian comes here as a missionary," said a young Albanian Franciscan to me, roaring with laughter, "we shut him up till he's grown a decent moustache. It would be useless to send him to a mountain parish without one; they would hunt him out."

A 302 A great variety of head-shaves is found among both men and women of the Albanian mountains. The Catholic married women of Maltsia e Madhe shave the forehead and temples, and dye the hair black on marriage, and make their face look very large. A similar fashion is to be seen in many early Italian portraits of ladies. The Mirdite women and some of the allied groups wear a fringe over the forehead and do not dye the hair. The men of Maltsia e Madhe shave a great part of the head, and leave either one great lump on the top or two big side tufts; or they shave the back and leave the front. The temples are usually shaved, even by Scutarenes, who wear European dress.

A 292

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Serbs EF6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

In the Pulati mountains the head is often shaved, except for the perchin. A 302

In olden days a boy did not rank as a male till his head had been shaved. This was not done till after the ceremony of the first hair-cutting, described above. When once shaved he could be killed for blood-vengeance as male blood of the tribe. A 302 554 885

Mothers would defer the head-shave if they could for a year or two in consequence, but it was a practice not approved of.

The heads of both girls and boys are shaved in the mountains, and a fringe is left over the girl's forehead. A 302

When I was in Kosovo vilayet in 1908 I found that among the scattered Serbian peasants the heads of both girls and boys were S 302

A [302]

FIG. 23.—VARIETIES OF ALBANIAN HEAD-SHAVES

shaved. Both had a perchin, and the girls a fringe over the forehead. So soon as the girl was betrothed her hair was allowed to grow. In the rare case of her remaining unmarried I was told she would keep her head shaved. S 584 554

In the Albanian mountains, where the girls were betrothed as children, I found the hair was not allowed to grow till they were marriageable. A 584 302

Wood-ash and water in the mountains is the usual shaving mixture. Even in civilized places methods were sometimes barbaric. I watched a barber, who stood at the gates of Ragusa on a market-day, inviting incoming peasants to indulge in a shave before entering the town. The patient sat cross-legged on the ground. The barber gripped his head between his knees, spat freely on the razor blade, and set to work. A H 302

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Bulgaria EE1

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The results seemed quite as good as those achieved by the most advertised shaving creams.

Head-washing in old days was a purificatory ceremony. The Roman women, says Plutarch, washed their heads on Diana's day, August 13th. What a pity head-washing has not been made part of Bank Holiday ritual.

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515
302

The only head-washing ceremonial I met within the Balkans was at Ochrida, where the Bulgar women all washed their heads on the last day of Carnival. My landlady appeared without her sham pigtails and with her head dripping. She was deeply shocked to find me dry-headed. All the women at the refugee hospital I worked at were also wet-headed. The meaning of the ceremony was the renunciation of cleanliness during Lent. But I fear most of them regarded it as a penance, and so far as head-washing was concerned kept Lent all the year round.

One poor woman whose only son had been killed as a Komitadji had formally renounced washing of every kind as a sign of mourning for the rest of her life. It was a genuine expression of everlasting grief, and she was greatly respected for it.

Even so did Queen Isabella of Spain vow not to change her linen, and so gave her name to a colour. A light dun horse in France is still called "Isabelle."

Farewell

So far we have traced ancient life in Balkan corners. Much yet remains to be told—of dwellings and of manner of life; of costume, of the hearth, of tools, boats, and implements; of tales and fables: but our tale is already long enough, and the rest must be left for another day.

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ALBANIA
YESTERDAY AND TODAY

By

BARON MARCELLUS D. A. R. von REDLICH, LL. D., Ph. D., D. Litt.

1936

THE ALBANIAN MESSENGER
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HIS MAJESTY KING ZOG I

KING OF THE ALBANIANS

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HER MAJESTY THE LATE QUEEN MOTHER

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Sisters of His Majesty King Zog I

RIGHT TO LEFT:

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS NAFIE AND HER IMPERIAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS SENIE

p.vi(a)

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Sisters of His Majesty King Zog I

RIGHT TO LEFT:
THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES PRINCESS RUHIE (RUHIJE). PRINCESS MAXHIDE (MADJIDE) AND PRINCESS MUZEJEN (MYZEJEN).

P.VI(b)

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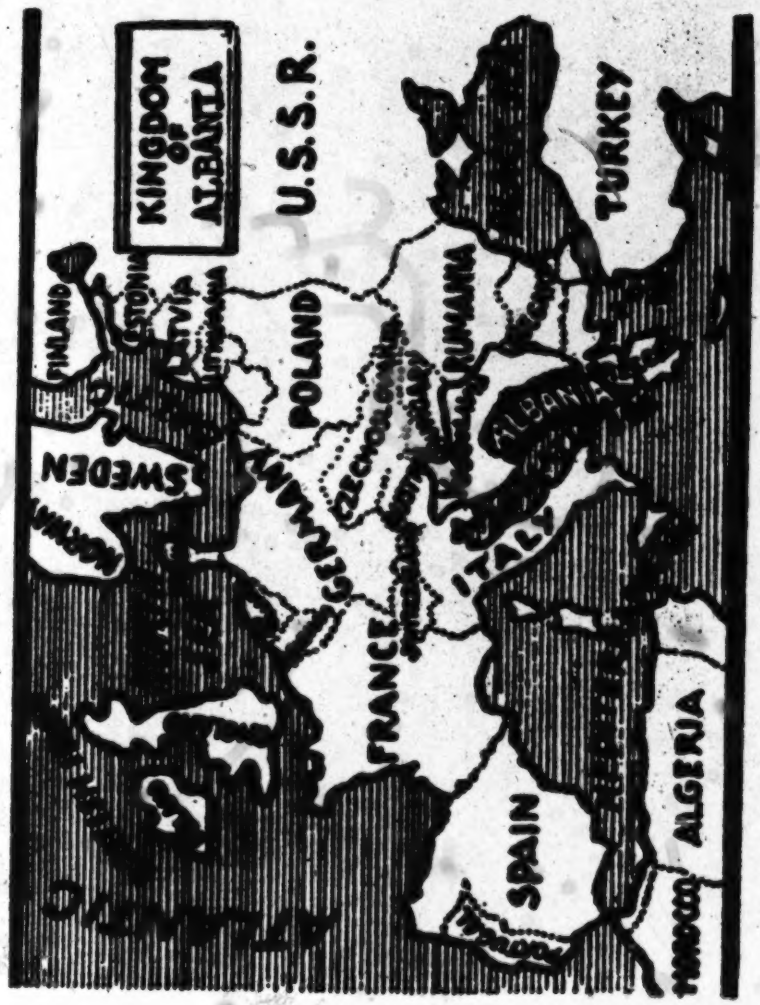

ALBANIA'S LOCATION IN EUROPE

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Preface

121 There are some people today who contend that a detailed history of a country is too lengthy, too tedious and too statistical to hold the interest of the reader whose object is to gain a broad and not-too-complicated outline of a nation's history. Therefore, within these pages it has been the author's sincere endeavour to write the history of the Kingdom of Albania in such a manner as to include not only the major events but also the steps which were influential in their making. In this way the highlights in Albania's history have been chronicled in a brief, but not minimized aspect. Thus it is to be hoped that the reader will gain a clear and and coherent view into a unique nation which is of great interest as well as importance to the world, not only because of its strategic position but also on account of all that Albania has to offer of worldly goods, as there are few who know the intimate details of its making. While this book is full of

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precise historical data, condensed as much as possible, the author, prompted by a desire to present a clear and true picture, has also written of the country and the people and their distinctive customs.

In addition to the historical information herein contained, the author has given personal impressions of the country: the originality of the people, the vivid and wild beauty of the mountainous regions, the peacefulness of the countryside emphasized by waving fields of green, the memorially historical spots, marked with ruins, where history has been made in the ceaseless flow of time, the progressive spirit of the towns, the advantages of location and many such intimate bits of information that will add interest and charm for the reader who finds great advantage in striding through strange and fascinating lands in seven-league boots!

THE AUTHOR

October 1, 1936.

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Introduction

It has been evident for some time past that foreign business and travel circles have been insufficiently informed of the general conditions in the Kingdom of Albania. This has mainly been due to the lack of literature on Albania in foreign languages. This book will endeavor to fill this gap.

The rapid exhaustion of the last book, "Unconquered Albania", written by the author in 1935, is the best proof that such a book supplied a definite need, but even so the number of the books published was insufficient to satisfy the demands of an interested reading public, therefore, the present book "Albania Yesterday and Today" has been prepared more completely and with additional information.

The writer, after attempting to assimilate that mountain of literature written on the question of the Balkans and Albania, feels that he has succeeded in bringing out of the maze something true and just in its representation of existent facts.

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ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000 One finds no place quite so romantic as Albania in Southeastern Europe. No country has successively, from century to century, furnished the battleground for the Balkans, as has Albania. We have writers who tell us there is no form of culture or education in Albania; they would have people believe that the ancient Epirots and the Illyrians are today savages, in approximately the same state of civilization as were certain north European tribes before the Roman conquests centuries ago. And still another group of writers, deeply obsessed by nationalism, has tried to prove why this or that nation should have control of Albania. They endeavor to put every other force in its worst light and convince us that a world has banded together to drag Albania down to annihilation.

We wish to call the attention of the reader to the fact that Albania has kept pace, in spite of her numerous invasions, with the rise of learning and culture in continental and central Europe and that she gave to the world men who were able not only to make an excellent record for themselves, but likewise to take their place in the world of affairs, as

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recognized leaders of thought and action along with men of other nations.

Down through the centuries Albania's greatest scourge has been the fact that she was constantly used as the stage for the war-play of Southeastern Europe. It is hardly necessary for us to say that no one who has lived through the last quarter of a century and kept abreast of the world affairs needs to be told of the treacheries, frauds, as well as the cold-blooded brutality and cruelty, which, in Europe, certain States have used against States in order to gain possession of Albania.

At the outset, however, we think it well to impress upon the mind of the reader the thought that the Albanians are the only "Condottieri" left in Europe at the present time. They have been known and denoted by various names down through the ages, but, perhaps, the one term best descriptive of their life and tradition is *Shqipëtar*—Son of the Eagle.

Also, it is most important to remember that these people have behind them a glorious history of national development and a rather enviable heritage of folklore only partially known to the rest of the world. This the

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000 author will attempt to set forth.

It is a strange paradox, therefore, that this nation should have been the veritable greed of other nations of Europe. It is most unfortunate, indeed, that their history, their customs, and their traditions should have been lost to the world in the din of battle and the spilling of blood. Even now, when a unified Albania—under a most able leader, His Majesty Zog I, King of the Albanians—strives for their well-deserved glorious future, the forces of viciousness are going about and maintaining veritable propaganda of malicious untruths concerning the Kingdom of Albania.

121 The purpose of the present work is to give a clear, complete and truthful outline of Albania's ancient and modern history, present-day conditions, climatic facts, roads, mountains, thermal and health springs, educational work, cities, industry, tourism and allied subjects. In a word, all information that could possibly be of interest to the historian, the archaeologist, the tourist, the businessman and those who read for the purpose of learning more about all corners of the earth.

Ancient Albania

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THE Albanians, or *Shqipëtars*,[1] as they rightfully call themselves, inhabit the territory covered by ancient Epirus and the country of the Illyrians, a country extending from the old Montenegro on the north to the Gulf of Arta, or Ambracia, on the south, and from the coast of the Adriatic on the west to the central chain of the Pindus Mountains on the east, or, in other words, Albania is situated on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, southwest of Yugoslavia and north of Greece. Therefore, Albania is a Balkan country, not only because of her position, but principally by reason of her geographical characteristics, for the greater part of her area consists of the Balkan mountain ranges and her rivers belong to the same river system of the Balkan peninsula. Epirus is wild, mountainous and scenic; in fact, is the veritable Switzerland of the Balkans abounding in valleys of exceptional beauty and fertility.

000 The ancient Epirots were as distinct from

1 [i.e., Sons of Eagle; See category 116, p. xv -- Analyst]

Ancient Albania

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

144 The ancient Epirots were as distinct from the Hellenes as the Albanians are from the modern Greeks. The Greek writers of ancient times referred to them as a Pelasgic race, or, in other words, the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country.

The Pelasgian Zeus has his memory, even today, in their language, for we find the Albanian word for God is "Zoti." A minute's examination of the term "Gheg" and "Tosk" reveals that they are identical with "Truscus" or "Etruscus," while the form "Tyrrhenus" perhaps survives in Tirana, the capital of the Kingdom of Albania, as no other explanation for the derivation of the name of the city can be found.

618 These Pelasgians formed a cluster of rude,
619 rough, highland clans, very similar to those of the Highlanders of Scotland a hundred and fifty years ago, brave, illiterate and essentially barbarian in character. Oftimes these clans and tribes were banded together in an independent government of a tribal sort. They even went farther and coalesced into little
175 kingdoms of greater or lesser extent. In the times of the successor of Alexander the Great, Epirus made considerable progress in civilization, and its kings exerted no small degree

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of influence in the affairs of state of Eastern 175
Europe. Pyrrhus, one of the last of these kings, was a man of the greatest ability and made an illustrious name for himself because of his learning and his statescraft, and, moreover, augmented the glory of his nation by reason of his executive ability. Among the bravest of brave, Pyrrhus did not hesitate to cross the Adriatic to aid in the defense of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, Magna Craecia; neither did he hesitate to grapple with the rising power of Rome, and as a result, winning a prominent place for himself among the great commanders of the world.

In the year 168 before Christ, the Romans wreaked a terrible vengeance on Epirus, destroying seven towns and reducing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants to slavery. This was the only time in the history of the race that the Epirots were ever thoroughly sudbued. But even the Roman conquest 177
wrought little change in their social customs. They still retained their own language, national customs and usages, and withal, remained a distinct and peculiar people.

The question as to whether the Albanians 144
are genuine Epirots and Illyrians or a new 197
people formed by large and repeated infusions

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144 of barbarians from the north has been very
197 much discussed. It was finally decided, upon evidence furnished by their language, which has been definitely determined a true representative of the ancient Illyrian, that the Albanians are the direct descendants of these ancient people, the Epirots and the Illyrians, who were neighbors and kindred tribes speaking different dialects of the same language; though, perhaps through the course of the ages, the Albanians may have become mingled, especially in the north, with other foreign elements.

144 Some ethnologists and students of the race and language declare with certainty that the Illyrian is one of the aboriginal races of Europe and that, if the term "Pelasgi" was ever used to designate a particular people, this must have been the race to which it referred. There is definite proof that their numerous tribes extended far into the north, even beyond the Danube, and this leads us to surmise rightfully that the Illyrians were the first branch of the Indo-European race to settle in Europe and were there long before the time of the Celts.

The old division between the Epirots and

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the Illyrians has its modern counterpart in the 114
marked distinction between the Northern and Southern Albanians. For, as is brought to the attention of the traveller through Albania, there is a most evident dissimilarity between these two peoples. Yannina, or, more correctly speaking, Ioannina, was the capital of Epirus, while Scutari—in Albanian language Shkodra—was the seat of the Northern Province.

In the course of her long history, Albania 177
has been invaded by countless civilized, half- 175
civilized and barbaric peoples. The Greeks colonized a part of the Illyrian seaboard probably in the latter half of the seventh century. The most important of these settlements were Epidamnus (Durazzo or Durrës in Albanian language) and Salona (near Spalato). Greek inscriptions and pottery have been excavated by archaeologists. However, Greek influence never penetrated into the interior. These colonies were superceded by the Latins about three hundred years before Christ. The Spartans and Athenians were the next to come into conflict with the Illyrians. In the beginning of the fourth century the Celts invaded Albania. The Gauls, the Goths, the Romans, the Slavs, the Venetians, and, finally, the Turks

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177 successively invaded and obtained, for a time
175 at least, a mastery over Albanian territory. But, watching the parade of the centuries down the corridors of time, we note with admiration that always Albania drove out or assimilated her invaders; perhaps conquered but invincible in her national individuality. So powerful the characteristics, so indelible the traditions, so adamant the customs, so appreciated the language of the Albanians that no remnant, not even the slightest trace of the numerous invasions can be found in Albanian life today.

000 The Albanian people, then, present the unique and impressive phenomenon of a continuous national existence, which had its beginning many centuries before the coming of Christ and which has its integral life even at the present time.

Illyria

IN its beginning, the Kingdom of Illyria comprised the actual territories of Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and northern and central Albania with a large part of modern Serbia. But in the course of its development, it extended all along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. Scutari was its capital just as it is now the capital of central and northern Albania. These boundaries were never clearly defined, and the name "Illyria" was ethnological rather than a geographical term. The older Greek historians wrote of "the Illyrians" not so much as a solid people but in reference to those Illyrian tribes inhabiting the regions extending eastward from the Adriatic between Liburnia and Epirus. (The Latin name, "Illyricum," was not synonymous with Illyria, for it was a name applied to divisions of the Roman Empire, the boundaries of which were frequently changed and often included an area much greater than Illyria proper.)

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*175 The earliest known ruler of Illyria was Hyllus (The Star), whose death was recorded in 1225 B. C.

Illyria, however, reached the zenith of its expansion and development in the fourth century before Christ, about 383 B. C., when Bardhyllus (White Star) united under his scepter Illyria, Molossia or Epirus and a large part of Macedonia. This amalgamation of the tribes of Illyria was due partly to the undesirable migrations of the aforementioned Celts. The decay began under the same ruler as a result of the attacks made on the country by Philip of Macedonia, father of Alexander the Great. On the victorious conclusion of the wars against Athens, Permenion, the Macedonian general, attacked and defeated the Illyrian forces between the lakes of Prespa and Ochrida, and recovered that part of Macedonia that had been annexed by Bardhyllus.

Alexander II, known as The Great (356-323 B. C.), King of Macedon, was the son of Philip of Macedon and Olympias, an Epirotic princess. Olympias was the sister of Alexander I, King of Epirus, who in a few years was brother-in-law, through Olympias, and son-in-

[Errata should be Presba. See Errata sheet, p. 209, Sect 116 -- Analyst]

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law of Philip of Macedon by reason of his 175*
marriage with Cleopatra (336 B. C.), the daughter of Philip by his second marriage. This caused Alexander I to be Alexander the Great's uncle as well as half-brother-in-law. In 337 B. C. Philip of Macedon repudiated Olympias for another wife, Cleopatra. Alexander the Great accompanied his mother to her Epirotic home, and though later he assumed reconciliation with his father, they were never intimate.

Alexander the Great, on succeeding his father, continued the wars against the Illyrians. The Illyrian troops, under the command of Kleitos, son of Bardhyllus, were subdued and joined in the expedition against the Persians. The Illyrian troops comprised a formidable unit in the forces of the conqueror of the Persians and they shared in the triumph.

Upon the death of Alexander the Great, the Illyrians regained their freedom of action within their own domains, and in the year 232 B. C., the Illyrian Throne was occupied by the enterprising Queen Teuta. She brought the Romans in contact with the Balkans. The many destructive acts of her navy on the rising of commercial development forced the

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175 Romans to declare war against her. A huge army and navy under the Roman consuls, Gaius Fulvius Santumalus and Lucius Postumius Alvinus, attacked the central section of Illyria, and after two years of bitter warfare, Queen Teuta, in the year 227 B. C., sued for peace, and a considerable part of Illyrian territories were annexed by the conquerors.

The last ruler of Illyria was Gentius, who was taken as captive to Rome.

Henceforth, Illyria became a Roman dependency. The country was divided into three independent republics with the cities of Scutari, Durazzo and Dulcigno as the capitals.

Even after this division of territory Illyria remained a fiercely independent and powerful kingdom, and so remained until 180 B. C. when Dalmatia, attempting to follow Illyria's example, drew down the wrath of the Romans by proclaiming her independence. Hostilities began again in real earnest. Neither Gaius Marcius Figulus, in 156 B. C., nor Caecilius Metellius, in 119 B. C., were highly successful until Octavian himself took the field in 33 B. C. By this time the Illyrians were considerably involved and had suffered defeat when Octavian took command. Revolts fol-

[Errata: should be was. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

lowed in 11 and 16 B. C. and in 6 and 9 A. D., 175 joined by the rebel Pannonians. Finally, Tiberius completely subjugated them in 9 A. D. along with Dalmatia, Iapidia and Liburnia, forming them into the Province of Illyricum.

For the next two or three centuries Latin civilization flourished in Illyria. Industrially, [316] gold was mined in Bosnia and commercial cities sprang into being along the coast. Agri- [345] culturally, the cultivation of the vine was introduced with more than satisfactory results. Almost the whole of Illyria became a recruiting ground for the Roman legions, and in turbulent times, from the East, many of the Illyrian soldiers fought their way up to the imperial purple. Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian and Maximian were all sons of Illyrian peasants. Through the growth in importance of Illyricum, many districts were added and thus in the second century A. D. the *Illyricum Times* included Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia and Thrace.

The Via Egnatia which extended from 491 Dyrrachium, across Illyricum to Constantinople, was built during this period, in this manner forming a definite link between Rome and Constantinople.

[Errata: should be Maximinus. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

000 and Constantinople. The proof of Illyricum's
631 rising importance came when Diocletian made Illyricum one of the four prefectures into which the empire[1] was divided. Each of these was governed by a *praefectus praetorio.* This prefecturate of Illyricum consisted of Pannonia, Noricum, Crete and the Balkan peninsula except Thrace, which belonged to the prefecturate of the East. Until 379 Illyricum was included in the western partition of the empire, but in this year eastern Illyricum was annexed to the prefecturate of the East. This new frontier was a natural and logical one in so far as it corresponded to the line of demarcation between Latin and Greek-speaking people as it even now sets the boundary which separate Latin and Greek Christianity in the Balkan peninsula.

1 [i.e., Roman Empire--Analyst]

Epirus

THE southern part of the Kingdom of /131
Albania of today was the ancient
Epirus. This territory was bounded
on the north by the Ionian Sea and on the
south by the Ambracian Gulf. Its landward
sides were next to Illyria, Macedonia and
Thessaly. The terrain is essentially moun- /133
tainous. About the fourth century before 619
Christ these Epirots were divided in fourteen
tribes. Epirus at this time exerted no small 791
influence on Thessaly through the oracle of
Dodona. Historically, the part of Epirus was
passive. Epirus was divided into the smaller 631
kingdoms of Molossia, Thesprotia, Chaonia,
etc., which were formed into an Epirotic
League.

The chieftains of Molossia, who dominated /73
all Epirus, claimed to be descended from
Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who settled in the
country after the fall of Troy. (Plutarch also
relates that Achilles was known in this coun-
try under the name of "Aspetos" which in
Albanian means "swift.") Upon Pyrrhus'
death his kingdom was transmitted to Molossus,
his son by Andromache.

000 death his kingdom was transmitted to Molossus, his son by Andromache.

175 The early history of this dynasty is obscure. However, it is known that Admetus, in the fifth century before Christ, offered hospitality to Themistocles. Admetus was followed by his son or grandson, Tharymbas or Arymbas I, about 429 B. C., who was educated in Athens and did much to elevate civilization in his country. A later king, Alcetas, was restored to his throne about 385 B. C. His son, Arymbas II, did much for the people by the encouragement of literature and the arts. He ruled with equity and prudence. Upon the death of his brother, Neoptolemus, he took great pains with the education of his nieces and nephews. One of them, Troas, he married, Olympias, the other, was married to Philip of Macedon. After the death of Arymbas, Alexander, the brother of Olympias, was enthroned by Philip who later married Alexander's daughter, Cleopatra.

Aeacides, son of Arymbas II, succeeded Alexander. He was killed in battle in 313 B. C. against Philip, brother of Cassander. He had by his wife, Phthia, a son, the celebrated Pyrrhus, and two daughters, all three

of whom were born in Epirus (Albania). The /75 brother of Aeacides, Alcetas, succeeded him, but Alcetas was put to death by his subjects in 295 B. C. and Pyrrhus became king in 295 and ruled until 272 B. C. It was the same Pyrrhus who led his people against the Romans in Southern Italy and Sicily for six years and gave to Epirus its sole time of historic importance.

Three reigns of little importance followed this mighty king, after which Epirus was governed by a magistrate elected annually in a general assembly at Passaron, capital of Molossia.

Due to Epirus' opposition to Rome, it was devastated in 168 B. C. and never recovered. Later, in 146 B. C., it became part of the Roman province of Macedonia, receiving the name of Epirus Vetus.

A few centuries later Epirus was overrun by Illyrians. But it remained for Scanderbeg the Great, in 1443, to unite more closely the Epirots and the Illyrians.

Albanian tradition claims that the name /101 "Shqipetar,"[1] meaning "Son of the Eagle," is their rightful title, as the name "Albanian" is entirely foreign to them. This title,

[1] [Errata: should be Shqipëtar. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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101 "Shqipetar"[1] originated with Pyrrhus of Epirus. It is related that when the swiftness of his troops was praised, Pyrrhus proudly answered that this was natural, inasmuch as his soldiers were the sons of the eagle, their movement as the flight of the king of birds.

000 Subjection to Rome, however, did not mean that the Shqipetars[1] were to give up all hope for independence.

491 Eventually Albania became the passageway for the Roman legions on their way to the East. Embarking at Brindisi, the terminus of the Appian Way, they were transported to Dyrrachium (Durazzo—Durrës in Albanian language), continuing their journey on the Via Aegitana or Egnatia, the road bed of which is well preserved to the present day.

177 On the whole, Roman influence in Albania had been of little importance. Remains of Roman architecture and civilization may be seen throughout the country even today, but the influence of Rome in shaping the course of Albanian domestic culture or national life has been slight or was completely absorbed by later invasions.

1 [Errata: should be Shqipëtar(s) Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116--Analyst]

Early Invasions

THE closing days of the fourth century were the beginning of a dark period, for in those days the barbarian forces poured over the Balkan peninsula. The first to descend upon Albania were the Goths, who remained masters for a century or more. In the year 535, Albania was redeemed by Emperor Justinian, who was a native of Central Albania.

After Emperor Justinian had driven the Goths from Albania, the Huns ravaged the country, but this was only in the nature of raids. During this warlike period, in 481, Dalmatia was annexed to the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths. National life became even more disintegrated and it was in the nature of a climax that the third series of invasions began, this time by the Slavonic people who formed permanent settlements. Between 600 and 650 the main body of these immigrants—Croats and Serbs—settled in Illyria proper: Croats in the western part and Serbs in the east. It was through this division that the

175 former came under the influence of Roman Catholicism through Rome and the latter was swayed by Byzantium and the Greek Church.

In their temporary settlements the Serbs absorbed most of the Latinized civilization and attempted to infringe upon the powerful Illyrian city-states on the coast but they were fiercely rebuked and were driven back.

Most of the Illyrian tribes in the interior remained unconquered and never came under Slavonic influence.

[101] Through the disintegration of united population, language and culture, the name of Illyria began to disappear from history and was only revived in the "Illyrian Provinces" of 1809 and the "Kingdom of Illyria" of 1816-49.

One invasion succeeded another. The Slavs under Emperor Heraclius, the Bulgarians under Tsar Simeon, and the Norman Conquest of 1081, under the leadership of Robert Guiscard, entrenched themselves in Albania. The Normans, it is believed, are responsible [101] for the name of Albania, which name has been used ever since.

During the time of the Crusaders, Albania was a thoroughfare for the Crusaders of

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France and Italy. A record of this fact is to be found in Villehardouin's "Conquete de Constantinople."

In 861 the Bulgarians invaded central and southern Albania (Epirus), defeating the Serbs and driving them out between 893 and 927. Thereafter, they settled themselves in the greater part of the peninsula, 976-1014, but were driven out in 1014 by the Emperor Basil II who reconquered southern Albania and placed it under Byzantine rule until 1204. About 1180 the Serbs attempted to reinstall themselves in Scutari and Prizren.

When these invasions had subsided, there came into being three independent Albanian principalities. The southern part of Albania was declared an independent principality by Michael Comnenus, a prince of the imperial family of Constantinople. He took up his residence in Janina. It remained under his family's rule until 1318, when they were succeeded by the princes of the House of Orsini, who held sway until 1358.

Through the negotiations of the ruler of southern Albania, a family alliance was made with Manfred, King of the Two Sicilies and natural son of Frederick II, whereby Manfred

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175 married the daughter of Comnenus, and received as a dowry the cities of Corfu, Durazzo, Valona, Himara, Butrinto and Berat. Manfred was defeated and slain at Benevento by Charles of Anjou, sovereign count of Provence. Thereafter these cities were formed into the so-called Albanian Kingdom of the Angevin princes. This kingdom existed until 1368.

At the battle of Kosova, in 1389, the Albanians proved themselves valiant heroes. Of all the battles of the world, none was more bloody; the leaders of both armies were slain. Even prior to this date, however, in the early centuries, Albanians had distinguished themselves on the battlefield.

In the defeat of 1389 at Kosova, the Albanians, under the leadership of George Balsha, defied the arms of Islamism and entrenched themselves in the mountains. The Balsha family, said to be of French extraction and originating from Anjou, were previously the rulers of the Principality of Zeta, in 1366, of which Scutari was the capital. George Balsha induced the chieftains to unite with him to drive out the Serbs and Bulgarians. His power was short-lived, for the close of the

EARLY INVASIONS

fourteenth century saw the Venetians estab- 175
lished in this district.

The year 1412 saw a new and formidable invader, the Turk, attacking Albania.

Scanderbeg

175x DURING this period of Turkish invasion the national hero of Albania was still a young boy.

The progenitor of the family of Castriota was one Branilo, Governor of Kanina in 1368. The father of Scanderbeg was John Castriota, a hereditary Prince of Matja, a small district lying between the mountains of Epirus and the Adriatic, who resided in his palace at Kruja, where Scanderbeg, George Castriota, was born in 1403. Under the heavy pressure of Bajazet I, John Castriota was forced to submit to the Turks, to pay tribute, and to surrender his four sons as hostages to Constantinople. The youngest son being George Castriota, later known as Scanderbeg (Skenderbeg).[1] George's ability, military bearing and extraordinary intelligence attracted the attention of the Sultan, who caused him to be received into his imperial household and educated for military service. From this time on he was known by his Turkish name of Iskander ("Alexander")

[1] [Errata: should be Skenderbeg. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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175x

SCANDERBEG THE GREAT
ALBANIA'S NATIONAL HERO

(facing p. 22)

175 with the title of prince—Lord Alexander in honorable reference to Alexander the Great. His name and title was abbreviated by his countrymen into Scanderbeg. Early in life he won renown for his military exploits and was placed in command of a cavalry of five thousand soldiers.

Upon the death of Scanderbeg's father, John Castriota, Amurath II caused the three elder sons of John Castriota to be put to death and privately seized Castriota's principality. Scanderbeg, he reasoned, was bound to him securely, but in this he was decidedly wrong. Bitter thoughts of the seizure of the rightful belongings of his father and the underhanded murder of his three brothers filled the mind of Scanderbeg with a desire for revenge. So, he bided his time, waiting for an opportunity to cast off his mask and declare himself the avenger of his family. This opportune occasion was not long in presenting itself; in the confusion following the defeat at Nish suffered by the Turkish armies in the war with the Hungarian troops under Janos Hunyady, Scanderbeg took captive the fleeing Reiis Effendi, Turkish Minister of State, compelled him to sign an order directing the Governor

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175x of Kruja to surrender the city and fortress to Scanderbeg. The Turkish Governor of Kruja, Sabel Pasha, obeyed the imperial order, and Scanderbeg became master of Albania at the age of forty.

[177] His first act, as Albania's leader, was to renounce Islamism and proclaim himself champion of the Christian faith. During this period of their history, the Albanians were all Christians.

Scanderbeg's personal influence was augmented by his marriage with Andronica, daughter of Arianites Comnenus, a prominent Albanian leader.

The Albanians upheld the standards of Scanderbeg, and with the aid of these loyal forces, Scanderbeg withstood the efforts of the Turks to regain possession of Albania for a period of twenty-three years. The story of Scanderbeg's coming to Kruja has been beautifully portrayed by the American poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn."

"Anon from the castle walls
The crescent banner falls,
And the crowd beholds instead,
Like a portent in the sky,
Iskander's banner fly,

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175X

The Black Eagle with double head;
And a shout ascends on high,
For men's souls are tired of the Turks,
And their wicked ways and works,
That have made of Ak-Hissar
A city of the plague;
And the loud, exultant cry
That echoes wide and far
Is: "Long live Scanderbeg!"

Scanderbeg is ranked by Sir William Temple "among the seven chiefs who have deserved, without wearing a royal crown."

The reign of Scanderbeg fills some of the brightest pages of Albanian history, and his indomitable spirit is to be known only through reading the stories of the innumerable battles waged and won under his command against the hordes of Amurath II and Mohammed II, the conqueror of Constantinople. With an army of not more than thirty thousand men, Scanderbeg was able to put up an invincible defense, and thus, Albania was soon the only remaining bulwark of Christianity in the civilized world. Scanderbeg was appointed commander-in-chief of the Christian armies of Europe by Pope Pius II, and thus was fighting the battle of European Christendom and civilization against barbarism and heathenism.

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175 Of all the records and traditions of wars upon this mortal plane, there have been none more glorious and spectacular than those of Albania, under the leadership of Scanderbeg. The records of glorious achievement are not excelled even by the much praised patriots of Marathon and Thermopylae. Albania's entire history in the annals of a long struggle against the Turks, and the history of her military achievements is a triumph of a mountain race against tremendous odds.

Scanderbeg was, beyond all question, one of the greatest men of his time and deserving of a high place among the foremost of the brave Christian soldiers who finally checked the seemingly forever-victorious career of the Turks. But, finally, in the fullness of years and honors, the now old hero yielded up his life, on January 17, 1468, at Alessio (Lesh in Albanian language), with a last request that his youthful sons be assured the friendly protection of the Venetians. After splendid and impressive funeral ceremonies in the Cathedral at Alessio, he was buried near the shimmering waters of the Adriatic. Strange irony that, during his lifetime he was able to ward off the Turks, but that, eleven years after his

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000

A VIEW OF KRUJA

THE REMAINS OF THE PALACE OF SCANDERBEG AT KRUJA

(facing p. 26)

175 death, in 1478, the Turks should have seized his tomb and made of his burial place a superstitious veneration. They disturbed the bones of his mortal body, fashioning them into rings and amulets in superstitious hope that, through some unearthly spiritual alchemy, Scanderbeg's fortune might become theirs.

The bereaved Albanians have never ceased to mourn their leader and king. Even today the memory of this medieval hero-king, who added so many glorious pages to Albania's history, lives in the heart of the Albanian, even though many have since embraced Islamism, which Scanderbeg abjured.

167 Upon the death of Scanderbeg the Great, his sons, accompanied by a large following, emigrated to Italy, where they retained their own language and social customs and remained Roman Catholics. The whole surface of Bogotia, Attica, Magaris, Corinthia and Argolis, a considerable part of Laconia, several districts in Messina, and a portion of Arcadia, Elis and Achaia were colonized by Albanians. Albanians also live on the islands of Aegina, Hydra, Psara and Spetzae.

291 Scanderbeg's death caused the Albanians to dye their jackets black, and black they remained through the ages in never ending mourning.

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mained through the ages in never ending mourning. Their traditional folklore told them that some day Scanderbeg shall return to them, walking upon the long beams of light from the sun rising across the jagged and altitudinous peaks of their native mountains. Then, will the voices of these ancient Shqipetars be raised in one mighty and thunderous shout that will resound from peak to peak and be re-echoed down the quiet valley of their native land in glad heralding of the return of the leader.

There is still a lane near the Quirinal in Rome which commemorates Scanderbeg's name and his visit to Rome.

The life and bravery of Scanderbeg has been made the subject of a Latin poem by de Bussieres, an Italian poem by Signora Sarrocchi, and an English tragedy, *Scanderbeg, or Love and Liberty*, by Whincop in 1747. This great leader was also described by an historian as "a saint like Saint Louis of France, a diplomat like Talleyrand, and a general like Alexander the Great."

The Turks

SCANDERBEG willed his country to the Republic of Venice. Under her protectorate, Albania was able to withstand the rule of the Turks until 1501, when she again came under the rule of the Sultan, with the exception of several of her clans which remained essentially free and independent as before. The Pashalic of Scutari was bestowed on an Albanian from Bushat, who founded the line which reigned in northern Albania until 1833. Berat, Janina and other towns were the seats of the Pashas in central and southern Albania.

Strangely enough, although the Turks were supposed to have complete control of Albania, yet the fact remains they were unable to appoint any provincial governor who was not a native Albanian, and who had not already established his arms and his force, as well as his policy and connections. It is noteworthy that the forebears of the present-day ruler, His Majesty King Zog I, King of the Albanians, were amongst those ruling families that

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175 would not yield their local autonomy to the Turks, and it is not surprising, then, that a son of Mati should rise to be the guiding star to pilot his people from bondage to freedom.

Near the close of the eighteenth century, under the leadership of the famous Ali Pasha Tepeleni of Janina, who was born in 1741 at Tepelene, Albania, Albania became again, for many years duration, the seat of a really independent power, in fact of sufficient importance to exert considerable weight as an influence in foreign affairs. Ali Pasha was the son of a powerful Albanian leader. He was named by the Sultan as Vali of Janina and later he forced the Sultan to give independence to Janina. Ali Pasha had built the strong castle at Tepelene, the ruins of which still stand. Lord Byron was an admirer of Ali Pasha and was his guest, in 1809, at the Tepelene Castle.

Ali Pasha never broke completely with the Sublime Porte, but his allegiance was little more than nominal. In fact, Constantinople regarded him with great fear and distrust and as a very dangerous man for Turkey. Early in 1820, Sultan Mahmoud II proclaimed Ali Pasha an outlaw and called upon the

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strength of the entire empire to destroy him. After two years siege Ali Pasha surrendered to Kurshid Pasha and was put to death.

In 1816 the "Kingdom of Illyria" came into existence and lasted until 1849.

A period of comparative calm ensued, extending from this time to the outbreaks of a revolutionary character in northern and southern Albania in 1835 and in 1847, respectively. These did not bring about any appreciable change in the nation, however, and so we come to the year of 1865, when the Sublime Porte took advantage of the existing situation in order to apply a new administrative system which had been especially formulated for Albania. By this new arrangement, northern Albania, which had been forever a thorn in the side of the Sublime Porte, was carved into three provinces.

About 1870, the attention of the world was attracted to Albania and her part in world affairs. Great Britain proposed the institution of an administrative autonomy in such parts of Albania wherein peace and order had been restored.

The reaction against the continuous endeavor to encircle and suppress the Albanians,

175 made its appearance in the form of an irredentistic movement, which made its first manifestation in 1878 by the formation of the Albanian League at Prizren under the presidentship of Abdul Bey Frasheri, supported by the leader of the Mirdites—Prenk Bib Doda.

175 It was about the year 1880 that the Turkish 668 Government relaxed the interdiction on Albanians, and national societies, with the object of furthering Albanian independence and political autonomy, sprang into existence. The particular work of these organizations was to re-awaken the dormant nationalism of the Albanians, to re-kindle the patriotism of the former centuries.

The rise into power of Sultan Abdul Hamid, surnamed the "Red Sultan," marked the beginning of the persecution of those engaged in the Albanian movement crystalized in these Albanian societies. His Grand Vizier was none other than Ferid Pasha, who, curiously enough, had a deep interest in Albanian politics. At this period, Prenk Bib Doda, the leader of the Mirdites, had been president of the Albanian League. The Red Sultan's bodyguard was composed of Albanian mountaineers. Numerous of the Turkish Grand Viziers,

politicians, statesmen and high army officers were pure Albanians. These positions of importance held by Albanians could not help but rebound to the aid of their country. Thus went forward the movement for independence and prepared the minds of the Albanians for those events which were to take place in the few crowded years just prior to the world war.

In 1908, Sultan Abdul Hamid was informed that he must bow to the inevitable and promulgate the Turkish Constitution, and, thus, usher in the heyday of a new political life in the land of the Shqipetars. In the following year, the Red Sultan strove to overthrow the Constitution, but was frustrated by the Albanians. The Albanians delegated Essad Pasha Toptani to inform Sultan Abdul Hamid that, so far as Albania was concerned, he was dethroned. Although true that this self-government came tragically late, for, alas, fate decreed that only the next day the tables should be turned on the Albanians by the intrigues of their neighbors, however, the seed had been sown and the Albanians had at last started on the path toward independence. Thus, a glorious chapter was closed in preparation for the sordid workings of the European and Balkan diplomacy in Albania.

Rise of Albanian Nationalism

668 IN any discussion of the Albanian policy and the awakening of the dormant spirit of the Albanians, due consideration should be given to the Albanian League (Albanian National League), for it was the one great and dominant force that made for the re-arousing of the ancient Sons of the Eagle, the Shqipetars, to a full sense of their responsibility as loyal countrymen.

175 668 To possess a complete and just view of the Albanian question, it is necessary to turn back to the days of 1877 and 1878, the period of the great Balkan upheaval occasioned by the Russo-Turkish war. The Albanians were invited by the Montenegrins to join in this war, but the Albanians refused to participate in any conflict. With the close of the war, however, at the convening of the Congress of Berlin, Albania as one of the oppressed nations, brought before that Congress a petition for the full recognition of Albanian nationality and political autonomy. It was this petition that caused the Iron Chancellor,

RISE OF ALBANIAN NATIONALISM

Prince von Bismarck, when Lord Salisbury proposed that some attention be given the Albanian question, to cry out, "there is no Albanian Nationality." 175-X 668

As a result of the Congress of Berlin, Albania was divided quite generously amongst her neighbors, with little regard for national groups or local sentiment.

Not only was this arrangement contrary to the liking of the Albanians, but it was also grossly unfair. The Albanians registered a vigorous protest, which received no attention due to Prince von Bismarck's erroneous statement that there was no Albanian nationality. Not receiving any attention, the Albanians decided, if they were to have any sort of political autonomy, it must come through their own efforts. Thus, to promote the cause of the Albanians as a nationality and to sound to the world the clarion call of the desire of the Albanians for national independence and self-government, the Albanian League for the Defense of the Rights of the Albanian Nationality was organized with headquarters at Prizren.

The first act of the League was to issue a

175 668 protest against the parcelling out of Albanian territory.

By reason of the irresistible force of this League, the European powers who were signatories of the Berlin Treaty found it advisable, as well as necessary, to modify their original decision.

Space forbids us to go into details concerning the dealings between the Albanian League and the "Young Turks," whose success was largely due to the Albanian support, 175 669 which led up ultimately to the winning of Albanian autonomy. At one time, the "Young Turks" attempted to disarm the northern Albanians, who, by the way, had been their main source of aid in the overthrow and dethronement of the Red Sultan. The loyal Albanians, equal to the occasion, did not bow to the apparently inevitable. In July, 1910, the Albanian chieftains met in Ferizovitch, where they decided that the crying need of the hour was autonomous administration. Insurrections followed, because of the failure of the "Young Turks" to accede to the wishes of the Albanian chieftains. Two attempts were made by the Turks to crush the Albanians; finally, they were, to all appearances, subdued,

RISE OF ALBANIAN NATIONALISM

but no sooner had the Turkish armies withdrawn from Albania than the invincible Shqipetars rose again and once more sent forth their cry of defiance. The Albanians were repeatedly successful in the month of May, 1912. Southern Albania joined forces with the insurgents, and together demanded autonomy and recognition as a separate government. In August of the same year, the Turkish regime surrendered to the demands of the unconquerable Albanians. 669 175x

The concessions granted by Turkey, after cessation of hostilities, were surprising. Albania was recognized as an autonomous province, constituting four Albanian vilayets, namely, Monastir, Kosova, Scutari and Janina; further, it was provided that these vilayets shall be ruled by native governors, in accordance with local customs and laws. There were many other minor concessions, but a very important one was the fact that Turkey admitted that Albania was composed of four vilayets. This was the first attempt to set a boundary line for Albania.

The Balkan question was one of the most delicate that has ever been presented to Southeastern Europe. When one reflects that, dec- 175x

175 ade after decade, the Bulgarians, the Greeks and the Serbs regarded Albania with ever jealous eyes and avaricious minds, and that the Albanians are, after all, their equals, if not their superiors in many respects, one asks the question, why should not the Albanians be able to rule their own land like the other Balkan people?

The recognition of the autonomy of Albania was an event that stirred the Balkans to the very depth, for it signalized the advent of a new political power in the Balkan peninsula. There resulted two major effects of this act; namely, the balance of power was consequently immeasurably disturbed; and, secondly, with an autonomous regime in the four western vilayets, which were formerly under Turkish rule, all thought of expansion, so far as the Balkan States were concerned, were[1] automatically barred.

By the provisions of the Balkan Alliance, the whole of Albania was distributed among several signatories with no regard to the rights, wishes or prerogatives of Albania. More than that, they paid no attention or exhibited any regard for the rights of Albanian nationality, nor gave a passing thought

[1] [Errata: should be was. Cf. Errata sheet p. 269, Cat. 116--Analyst]

to that which is termed international morality. 175 What sordid travesty, what an unpardonable sin was committed in the name of the Balkan Alliance. Nevertheless, when Albanian autonomy became a reality, the revenge of justice was destined to be hurled upon their own heads.

The Balkan States, with the cries of the frenzied multitudes still ringing in their ears, proceeded to a dastardly piece of diplomacy, in that they demanded that the Sublime Porte grant Macedonia an autonomous government such as had been given Albania. When their demands were refused by Turkey, they next set about to find some other small nation that might be used as the "cat's paw" or "the agent provocateur" to do the bidding of the Balkan States in the enacting of their sordid little drama.

Montenegro was compelled by the Balkan States to march its army upon the Turkish forces, without so much as a formal declaration of war. Hostilities began officially on October 8, 1912, but Greece did not enter into the conflict until ten days had elapsed. This war was a complete surprise to the Albanians, as also it was to the rest of the world. There

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175 was a great deal of doubt in the minds of many as to the degree of good faith and sincerity to be expected from the Balkan States, however, the important fact was that Albania had been driven to the wall and made to face the crucial test. The Balkan States were repeatedly successful in their military operations and threw the Turks into a wild and disorderly retreat. The whole of Albania was placed under the command of Balkan military leaders, with the one exception of the fortress of Janina. Central and northern Albania was overrun by the Montenegrins and Serbs, while southern Albania was occupied by the Greeks. Forthwith, Albania was treated as a conquered nation, and the occupation was considered a permanent one.

175 668 The Albanians were not easily beguiled by wily statesmen, especially when they happened to be Balkans. Even though the darkness of abject slavery seemed to have descended upon them, even when an autonomous Albania seemed but an unsubstantial dream, all this did not prevent them from banding together in a brave effort to defend their own. Only a miracle would be their salvation, and, a miracle man arose in the person of Ismail

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ISMAIL QEMAL BEY VLORA

(facing p. 40)

RISE OF ALBANIAN NATIONALISM

175 668 Qemal Bey Vlora of Valona, an old Albanian leader, who volunteered to use all of his power to bring about the redemption of Albania.

At the beginning of the Balkan invasion Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora was in Constantinople, where he was tendered a seat in the Turkish Ministry, which, by the way, had for its sole purpose the annexation of Albania to the cause of Turkey. However, he refused the offer that he might better devote all his time to the interests of Albania.

Being apprised of the invasion, he resolved to save Albania by a "coup de main." Hurriedly leaving Constantinople to preside over a meeting of Albanian leaders at Bucharest, where he received assurances of support of such leaders, he at last arrived in Albania accompanied by a few friends. His first act was to call together at Valona a meeting, and as a direct result thereof, on November 28, 1912, the national emblem, symbolized in a red flag bearing the double-headed black eagle of Scanderbeg, was flown above the city. On the same day he proclaimed the independence of Albania. A provisional government was established with Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora as its president, and a Provisional National

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175 Assembly was commissioned to take care of
[668] the enactment of a series of laws for the welfare of Albania.

About this time it came to light that Austria and Italy had been concerned as to the future of Albania as far back as 1900, at which time they entered into an agreement guaranteeing the integrity of Albania, if and when the Turkish Empire be dismembered and Albania assume the position of an independent nation.

This agreement was not generally known to exist, and, in truth, came about through an interchange of notes between the two nations, taking place on the eve of Italy's acceptance of her place in the Entente as against the League of the Central Powers. Some reference is made of this agreement in the Italian Green Book of 1914-1915, and is contained in the seventy-first document of the Green Book. The exact text of the formal agreement is not universally known and, to the knowledge of the author, has not been published. There is some question in regard to whether Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora had any knowledge of the existence of such an agreement, but perhaps he was cognizant of it.

The natural curiosity of the reader will

undoubtedly lead him to wonder why these two Great Powers felt the necessity of such an understanding in regard to a small country. This is rather clearly explained in the declaration of Count Tittoni, Italian Minister for Foreign Affairs, made, in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, on May 14, 1904: 175

> "The proper value of Albania resides in her ports and in her seacoast, the possession of which would mean for either Italy or Austria, the incontestable supremacy over the Adriatic Sea. This is what Italy would never allow Austria to obtain, nor Austria, Italy; but in the event that either one of these States should seek to appropriate for itself that region, the other ought to oppose it by all available means."

Thus, it is easily comprehended that, while these two Great Powers might oppose each other in the control of Albania, yet they would unite against a third State, attempting to launch a campaign of expansion at the expense of Albania.

Throughout all these happenings, Austria was considerably worried as to just what was transpiring in Albania and as to the movements of the Balkan troops. The Austrian High Command was even more concerned, because of interest in the Balkans occasioned

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175 by reason of membership in the Teutonic Alliance and the accompanying problems of the Bagdad railway project and the "Drang Nach Osten" policy. When the Balkans evidenced that they had no intention of relenting in their advance upon Albania, Austria mobilized her forces with the apparent resolve of waging war with Montenegro and Serbia. Italy, though momentarily not disposed to proceed to such extent, nevertheless, felt it was necessary that she join forces with her ally, Austria, in order to restrain the Greeks and the Slavs from descending upon the shores of the Adriatic and crushing Albania.

Russia had been striving to gain a foothold in Albania through the Slav element in Scutari, an element so small as to be almost negligible. Her work, therefore, was ineffective, in that a tiny church and school was all she could hope to fill with all her supporters, and that was scarcely sufficient for the materialization of her intended project.

From what has gone before it is obvious that the Great Powers had, for a quarter of a century, been collecting material that would serve as inflammable tinder and succeed in inaugurating a great world conflict, the result

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of which we all know only too well. It became clear that, unless Serbia and her allies curbed their attack upon Albania, Austria would rise against Montenegro and Serbia, Italy would resort to arms against Greece, while Russia would rush to the assistance of the Slav nations by declaring war upon Austria; Germany, in turn, would make common cause with her allies, Austria and Italy, while France would join her ally, Russia. Thus, the time came when the crux of the situation rested in the hands of Great Britain and the man who directed the destinies of her foreign policy at that time, Sir Edward Grey.

It was Sir Edward Grey who proposed that all Ambassadors of the European Great Powers accredited to the Court of St. James form a Conference, which would decide the fate of Albania, as well as the right of Serbia to a commercial outlet in the Adriatic Sea. This Conference, now known as the Conference of Ambassadors, was composed of the Ambassadors of Austria-Hungary, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy and Russia, and held the first formal meeting at the British Foreign Office, on December 17, 1912.

Three days later, on December 20, 1912,

175 the following statement was issued by the British Foreign Offce:

> "The Ambassadors have recommended to their governments and the latter have accepted in principal Albanian autonomy, together with a provision guaranteeing to Serbia commercial access to the Adriatic Sea. All six governments have agreed in principal on these points."

This agreement averted an armed conflict among the Great Powers.

The Albanian Principality

THUS was inaugurated the official existence of an independent and sovereign Albanian State.[1] 175

It is clear that the Great Powers were conscious of acting under the stress of the time in an effort to avoid a general state of war. For once justice and equity were forced to give way to expediency. Later developments, however, demonstrated that what the Ambassadors had in mind was not the formation of a sound and strong Albanian Principality, but rather the establishment of a sort of *modus vivendi.* This was later modified to some extent in the naming of Prince Wilhelm of Wied as ruler of the country. In passing, it is well to know that the view on the Albanian questions held by the Great Powers was neither unknown nor unappreciated by the eminent statesman who presided over the Conference of Ambassadors. In fact, upon being questioned in the House of Commons concerning Albania, Sir Edward Grey replied that not too much was to be expected

1 [See category 116, pp. 45-46 -- Analyst]

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175 from the Conference and further stated: "the primary essential was to preserve agreement between the powers themselves."

Finally the Conference of Ambassadors reached some unanimous decision as to the future status of Albania and agreed upon some general provisions concerning the new State. One very important decision was that which recognized Albania as an independent and sovereign nation, to be governed by a European prince chosen by the Great Powers; and, perhaps still more important, this new nation was to enjoy perpetual neutrality under the combined protection of the Great Powers. The Great Powers were to be represented in Albania by an International Commission, which would exercise a kind of guardianship over the nation and which would be empowered to control the finances of the country and check the government in case of its procedure beyond the limits of its jurisdiction. This International Commission of Control comprised one delegate from each of the Great Powers and one Albanian representative.

We will not pause long for a discussion of the Scutari Crisis, except to say that the Con-

THE ALBANIAN PRINCIPALITY

ference of Ambassadors had scarcely drawn 175x
the boundary lines to the northeast, the Albanian-Montenegrin-Serbian frontier, than a new war crisis appeared in the offing, none the less serious than that of the preceding November. After a great deal of debate the Great Powers decided to occupy Scutari, and, on May 13, an international contingent of marines entered Scutari. At this time Scutari was governed by Vice-Admiral Cecil Burney.

Of the provisional government, which was 642
operating at this time in Albania, we wish to 175x
point out that it received its authority by the proclamation of independence of November 28, 1912, and this status was confirmed, on December 20, 1912, by the Conference of Ambassadors[1] having taken cognizance thereof.

The official title of the new government was "The Provisional Albanian Government" and was placed under the presidency of Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora and the vice-presidency of Monsignor Nicholas Kachori, Catholic Prelate of Durazzo.

The territory over which they ruled was unique because of its miniature size. Their jurisdiction extended about a stone's throw

1 [See category 116, pp. 49-46 --Analyst]

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642 175 from Valona, and the funds necessary for the support of any government was sadly lacking. The principal work of this government was to uphold the Albanian cause and defend the rights of the people. However, the government was a virtual prisoner within the walls of Valona and was exposed to the machinations of the Balkan intrigues. To the north of Valona were the troops of Serbia, to the south those of the Greeks, and to the east, barely twenty miles from the city, was the ubiquitous Djavid Pasha, avowed destroyer of Albania. To complete the vicious net that the Balkans hoped to cast about the new Albania, the sea was blocked by a Greek squadron.

By April of the year 1913, the territory of the provisional government had been enlarged by the addition of territories in central and northern Albania evacuated by the Serbian troops. The government then proceeded to establish in these areas local authorities patterned and based upon the "Organic Law of Albania."

175 One of the great sins of the Conference of Ambassadors and the International Commission of Control was the evil of procrastination, in which both indulged. Had a ruling prince

been appointed shortly after the Conference of Ambassadors drew to a close, it would not have presented so difficult a problem to the new ruler destined to take up the reins of the government where the provisional government left off.

The Boundaries Commission was beguiled at an early date by the craftiness of the Greeks. In their zeal to present to the Boundary Commission only a Greek-speaking people, those inhabitants who spoke also the Greek tongue only were allowed to appear on the streets during the convening of the Commission. In places where there happened to be none who spoke the Greek language, Greek colonists, criminals and refugees were imported from Asia Minor for the express purpose of impressing the Commission with the existence of a Greek-speaking population in Albania. During this period those inhabitants not speaking Greek were confined to their premises under guard. Stores and all buildings boasted a new coat of paint in the traditional Greek colors, white and blue; moreover, a fact which would be ludicrous if it were not so significant of the apparently forever unsuccessful struggle of Albania to

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175X achieve her nationalism, was the fact that even the populace was forced by the Greek soldiery to appear in blue and white apparel. These were only a few of the extreme measures resorted to by the Greek Government in order to falsely impress the Commission.

In the meantime many events were transpiring which indicated that the negligence in appointing a ruler was proving fatal to the Albanian cause.

Austrian bankers had assembled for the formation of the Albanian National Bank. But the Boundaries Commission delayed for a month in Monastir, where it accomplished nothing. The Albanians were becoming impatient of results and, more than that, suspicious that their provisional government was much too conservative. There was a feeling in certain quarters that Greece would never relinquish possession of southern Albania. In the midst of all this, Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora notified the Great Powers of his inability to cope with the situation and besought them to make immediate arrangements for the establishment of a ruling prince at the head of the government, as that alone would restore the confidence of the people in

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the benevolence of Europe.

After more delay and further quibbling, it was at last officially announced, on December 3, 1913, that Prince Wilhelm of Wied was elected to be the Prince of Albania.

On March 7, 1914, Prince Wilhelm of Wied and his consort landed at the port of Durazzo from the yacht "Taurus," which was surrounded by battleships and destroyers of the Great Powers. His arrival in Albania was greeted with vociferous rejoicing on the part of the population.

From the very first Prince of Wied was destined to encounter innumerable difficulties, difficulties inherited from the Conference of Ambassadors and the International Commission of Control, an unfortunate inheritance for both Albania and himself. At the outset the Conference of Ambassadors had failed to settle the question of the boundary lines of southern Albania. It had appointed a Commission of Boundaries, to be sure, but this Commission had dallied in Monastir and been sadly duped by the agents of Greece. It became evident that it was nothing short of a fiasco to give to Prince of Wied the reins of the Albanian Government while the southern

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175 provinces were still in the hands and under the control of an irresponsible "brigandesque camarilla." This was one of the momentous problems that was to cause Prince of Wied a great deal of trouble and, later, cost the lives of thousands of innocent human beings.

669 Affairs in Albania had scarcely returned to
175 normalcy[1] when again the principality was thrown into a state of ferment and confusion by a small agrarian revolt in central Albania. The Albanian Government had the whole situation well in hand and would have been successful were it not that certain foreign newspaper correspondents sent the false alarm to Durazzo that the rebels were arriving at the gates of the city. This caused the populace to rush frantically to ships lying in the harbor, while the prince failed to gain his point in the hill country in an effort to save the city itself. By means of intrigue and duplicity, it was not long until the whole of central Albania was in a state of revolt.

While negotiations were being carried on with the rebels, it was next to impossible to bring about a state of quietness and normalcy to a populace that had so many times suffered gross betrayal. Prince of Wied found himself

1 [after the institution of the Prince of Wied as Prince of Albania in 1913--Analyst]

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unable to staunch the stream of violence and [669] confusion, or bring under control the forces 175 at the bottom of the mad uproar.

In the mean time, the Greeks took advantage of the situation in central Albania and completed the devastation of southern Albania, thereby violating the Treaty of Corfu. Meanwhile, to resist the incorporation of southern Albania in the new Albanian Principality, Greece instigated during February the constitution of a "Provisional Government of Autonomous Epirus," supported by Greeks masquerading as insurgents. An attempt was made through the necessary channels to expel the Greeks from southern Albania and to further strengthen the government at Durazzo. Just at this time, however, there resounded throughout the world the ominous report of the assassin's gun, which felled the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and the world war, with its dire consequences, was imminent. In this deadly and all-including conflict, the Albanian problem was forgotten.

At the end of a most troublesome six months rule, on September 3, 1914, Prince of Wied and his family embarked upon the Italian

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175 yacht "Misurata," and set sail for the Wied estates on the Rhine.

Before he left, however, he returned his Commission to govern Albania to that body from which he received it—The International Commission of Control. It is of interest to note that this Commission even though vested with the authority and prestige of the Great Powers, nevertheless, could fare no better than the Prince of Wied, for with the opening of the world war most of the delegates of the Great Powers to the Commission had been recalled by their respective governments.

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Albania from 1914 to 1919

ESSAD Pasha Toptani, formerly Minister of Interior and War under the Prince of Wied Government, not only betrayed the Prince of Wied but also conspired against him and Albania's independence, now taking advantage of the sad state of affairs, returned from his forced exile to Albania and set up a new government of his own, but this was not to be stable. The Greeks re-entered the southern part of Albania in November, 1914, and on Christmas Day of the same year, Italian troops landed at Valona, declaring that they had come to uphold the rights of Albania and safeguard Albania's interests. Later French troops came to the outskirts of Korcha, and finally entered the city and acknowledged the "Autonomous Albanian Province of Koritsa." The Albanian flag was hoisted and the French troops accorded it the usual honors.

On June 3, 1917, Italy officially declared that it was one of her aims to re-establish the independence and integrity of the Albanian

175x State. On that day the occupation of southern Albania by Italian troops having been completed, General Ferrero, Commander of the Italian occupation forces, read the following formal proclamation before a great gathering of Albanian notables at Argyrocastro (Gjinokastra), the erstwhile seat of the autonomous Epirus Government:

"To The Whole People of Albania:

"Today, June 3rd, 1917, which is the memorable anniversary of the establishment of Italian constitutional liberties, I, General Giacinto Ferrero, Commander of the Italian Expeditionary Forces in Albania, do solemnly proclaim, in accordance with the orders of His Majesty King Victor Emmanuel, the unity and independence of the whole of Albania, under the shield and protection of the Italian Kingdom.

"By virtue of this proclamation, you, Albanians, have a free government, an army, tribunals, all composed of Albanians, and are free to use as you wish your property and the products of your labor, for your own benefit, and for the enrichment of your country.

"Albanians:

"Wherever you are, whether free in the land of your birth, or in exile in other countries and under foreign domination, we are bringing back

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THE ROYAL PALACE IN TIRANA

(facing p. 58)

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175 to you the civilization of the Romans and the Venetians.

"You know the bonds that unite the Italian and Albanian interests. The sea divides them, and, at the same time, the sea binds them together. Let all good citizens, then, stand unitedly, having faith in the future of your beloved nation. Come all of you, under the flags of Albania and Italy, and pledge yourselves to Albania, which is today proclaimed independent, in the name of the Italian Government and under its friendly protection."

Thus came the dawn of a new happy era for the land of Scanderbeg the Great.

The Albanians pleaded their cause before the Peace Conference, but here there were too many divergent interests rivaling with each other; France, Greece, Rumania and Yugoslavia—each of these powers pursuing its own ambitions when deliberating the Albanian question, and none of them gave thought to help Albania and her sacred rights. Two entire years were spent in fruitless discussions, but even when a partition of Albania began to be seriously considered, a profound emotion was shaking Albania and the people's patience had reached its lowest ebb.

At this period, there emerged into national

175 prominence, a youthful personality who was destined to be the modern saviour of his country. A princely youth of twenty-five, Ahmed Bey Zogu, was one of the outstanding Albanians who might be trusted to lay the foundation of a new Albania.

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Albanian Independence

UPON the initiative of Ahmed Bey Zogu, the Albanian leaders called a Congress at Lushnja, March 27, 1920, to form a provisional government and to draw up a Constitution. While orders had been given to the army of occupation to prevent any national movement, these same soldiers realized that the presence of Ahmed Bey Zogu, with his deadly sharpshooters from Mati, his birthplace, at this Congress put a different aspect on the situation. This youthful national champion rose in that meeting and pledged himself to protect the Congress even at the cost of his life. His courageous demeanor, masterful manner and methodical movements at once impressed all present. The delegates, unhampered by fear, proceeded to form a regency of four members, and a cabinet, under the premiership of Sulejman Bey Delvina, was elected, in which Ahmed Bey Zogu was named Minister of Interior, and a new delegation was sent to Paris to plead Albania's cause.

175 Thus from Mati a guiding star arose which was to extend its rays of erudition and calmness over an entire nation that had yearned through the centuries for a lasting peace.

Ahmed Bey Zogu, as Minister of Interior, displayed so much energy and circumspection, that within a short time tranquility and security were completely established throughout the nation. Thus all pretext for the foreign powers to continue maintaining garrisons in Albania was eliminated, and such armed forces had to be withdrawn. In June, 1920, the Albanians drove the Italians into Valona, and they, wishing to remain in Albania's good will, recognized the new government and evacuated the country. The Yugoslavs, when asked to withdraw, advanced on Tirana, the new capital of Albania, but were repulsed to their previous position. But they still worked quietly and secretly to gain possession of northeastern Albania. One year later, the Yugoslavs proclaimed a "Mirdite Republic" at Prizren, which was unsupported outside of Yugoslavia. This "Republic" collapsed when Albania protested through the League of Nations, of which Albania became a member

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AN OFFICIAL OCCASION AT THE ROYAL PALAC

(facing p.62)

175 on December 17, 1920, and the Yugoslavs evacuated Albania.

The Albanian gendarmerie and militia were reorganized and a strong foundation of civil administration was successfully laid. A public loan was floated with great success; Parliament convened; Albania's independence was recognized at the Peace Conference, thereby crowning with triumph the efforts of the first act on the stage of the political life of Albania.

The various political parties, represented in the Albanian Parliament, were showing a very intense activity, and great emotions, liberated from age-old chains, were indulging in unrestrained vehemence. This way the various cabinets succeeded each other in rapid succession, but without any exception, Ahmed Bey Zogu, having given such remarkable proofs of his organizing capacities and unselfish patriotism, held a seat in all of them.

Prime Minister Sulejman Bey Delvina was succeeded by two cabinets under the Premiership of Elias Vrioni, who was replaced by a coalition-government, called the "Sacred Union," headed by Pandeli Evangheli, who was succeeded by a cabinet, lasting four days,

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175 under Hassan Prishtina, who made way for a provisional government under Idomene Kosturi and thereby paving the way for the Xhafer Ypi cabinet, which was of greater stability and longer duration. In most of these cabinets, Ahmed Bey Zogu held Ministerial portfolios, but in all cabinets he was actually its soul and leading spirit.

These first years of stabilization could not pass without certain frictions from within and without. Conflicts on the Greek and Yugoslav borders, principally caused by the artificial delineations, which had been fixed on many points contrary to natural geographical and ethnographical conditions, absorbed a great amount of force and attention, which otherwise could have been used to much more fertile purposes. On the other hand, the uneasiness and unstability, aroused by these more or less serious troubles were exploited by political gamblers from within and from abroad; personal jealousy combined with differences in politics were creating interior troubles, at times very grave. The seditious movement of March, 1922, was one of the more dangerous cases of this kind. During this entire period, full of difficulties and great anxieties,

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it was due only to Ahmed Bey Zogu's extraordinary qualities as a statesman, political leader and to his inexhaustible energy, that Albania succeeded in overcoming the infantile diseases of its first days of independent political life without any serious consequences. 175

On December 2, 1922, Ahmed Bey Zogu took over the Premiership from Xhafer Ypi, who was elected a member of the Council of Regency.

The government leaned chiefly on the conservative parties, who called for a quiet and systematic way in the execution of reforms and who were for avoiding any political adventure in reference to foreign relations with Greece and Yugoslavia by giving up all irredentistic tendencies, preferring peace and tranquility. Whereas, their opponents favored radical proceedings, which in certain points, as on the question of agrarian reforms, ran very close to communism; with regard to the Albanian territories given away to Greece and Yugoslavia by decision of the Great Powers, they believed in a strong and inflexible policy directed towards recovery of the lost provinces even at the peril of a new war. Ahmed Bey Zogu succeeded very skillfully for some

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175x time in maneuvering between these two charged currents, but finally he resigned, when on February 23, 1924, an unsuccessful attempt to shoot him, during a session of Parliament, was made by a fanatic student. He was succeeded by Shefqet Verlaci, who became Prime Minister, but Ahmed Bey Zogu continued to maintain his influence in the course of politics which he had initiated and directed until now.

669 Agitation and arguments, calculated to stir
175x the instincts of the thoughtless masses, taken among the people, finally let loose a new revolution, which proved to be quite serious. The revolutionary movement, led by Fan Noli (Theophan Stylian Noli), Bishop of the Albanian-Orthodox Church, who managed to gain sufficient prestige to launch a revolution in June, 1924.

Ahmed Bey Zogu sought refuge in Yugoslavia.

For a time it seemed that the destiny of Albania was in the hands of Bishop Fan Noli, but fate doles out strange verdicts and Noli was unsuccessful. In his role as leader, he was looked to as the one to settle the agrarian question, but he was unable to produce results.

ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE

His fatal error, however, was in petitioning the League of Nations for the loan of huge sums of money for Albania. His manner of presenting the request displayed lack of diplomacy, and many members of the League looked upon him with an eye of suspicion, while others were deeply offended at his action. The final blow came when he entered into diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and accorded recognition to a Soviet Russian Minister with a large staff, who was to use the Albanian capital, Tirana, as a center for Soviet propaganda in Europe. Fascist Italy and conservative England frowned upon Noli's policy. They could not properly tolerate sovietism in Albania, where about ninety-five per cent of the inhabitants were land-owners, who were most reluctant to submit to any radical experiments. With the continued growth of unrest and discontent, revolt gained headway while Bishop Noli's political drama waned and he left Albania.

About three years ago, Bishop Fan Noli, so long King Zog's bitterest opponent, was ill and in poverty in the United States of America, and at the end of 1933 applied to King Zog for help. The King in his generous way sent

006 financial help, without any conditions attached, and Bishop Noli voluntarily declared by written statement that King Zog is a great unselfish leader as he so ably proved himself to be for Albania. Bishop Noli further declared that he is retiring from politics and would from now on confine himself to the church and to literary activities.

The Republic of Albania

ON Christmas evening of 1924, Ahmed 642 Bey Zogu won over the considerate and 643 intelligent elements of the population. He re-entered Tirana and was greeted by the whole town with shouts of cheer and gratitude and was hailed as the leader who would direct Albania into a peaceful and prosperous future. As soon as harmony and tranquility had been restored, the young leader called upon the Albanians for the election of a Constitutional Assembly, which body declared Albania a republic in January, 1925, and the Albanians showed unwavering loyalty by electing, on January 31, 1925, Ahmed Bey Zogu as their first president.

The new president studied the needs, re- 663 quirements and the psychology of his people. 642 He was determined to make Albania into a peaceful and united nation, and, through his obvious efforts, he won the support and admiration of the strongest and sturdiest clans of Albania. These clans, which had never paid taxes to the Sultans of Turkey, now began to

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663 pay taxes to the new government. As a further
642 sign of their loyalty, they laid down their arms, returned to their homes and their farms, thoroughly convinced that the new president will safeguard the interests of the nation.

Through his highly developed penchant for law and order, President Ahmed Bey Zogu won the cooperation of the Beys of Albania. Until this time the Beys of Albania were too proud to unite under another Bey as their chief. They had engaged in petty quarrels and waged war against each other like the Barons of mediaeval England. The firm hand of Ahmed Bey Zogu tended towards forming them into a national union, and they accepted Ahmed Bey Zogu as their chief and president.

In reaching these ends, Ahmed Bey Zogu proved himself a magnet rather than an autocrat or tyrant. In his way he has given ample evidence to his people that his chief aim in life, and his only objective is to put Albania on an equal rank with other civilized nations.

CHILDREN'S FESTIVAL IN TIRANA

(facing p.70)

The Kingdom of Albania

642 THE peak of President Zogu's success was reached on September 1, 1928, when, upon the acclamation of his subjects, Albania was declared a democratic, constitutional, hereditary monarchy and this able leader was proclaimed the King of the Albanians, under the title of King Zog I.

643 King Zog's rise to the throne of Albania is in keeping with the psychology of the Albanian people. In this rugged country, the idea of a king has taken very deep root, and in the mind of the Albanian no president can fill the places occupied by King Pyrrhus, Alexander the Great and Scanderbeg the Great.

Under King Zog, Albania has been making steady progress toward modernization of such magnitude that it can be favorably compared to that promoted by other leaders of great nations who have assumed power and built an united country out of what might have been chaos.

When we consider that Albania has passed through the upheaval of the world war fol-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

643 lowed by several uprisings, and, when we realize that, following the world war, Albania was pillaged by her neighbors, and, lastly, when we comprehend in some measure the tremendous task that confronted the king as the ruler of a torn and sadly mutilated country endeavoring, in the role of a new and independent nation, to struggle to its feet, and against terrific economic, social, and political odds to take its place in the family of nations, when he was called upon to face innumerable problems in organizing a government without money and to create a peaceful nation out of chaos, only then can we appreciate the great achievements of King Zog. He has met and beneficially solved the numerous post-war problems, social, political, cultural and economic, which confronted Albania, creating the necessary administration of government and freeing the country of invaders.

191 The promotion of national consciousness was pushed ahead by the use of a common language in which school-books, newspapers and literary works have to be printed, substituting for the local dialects. The law of agra-
423 rian reform of 1930 laid the foundation for
[565] the creation of a nationalistically-inclined class of small peasant proprietors.

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class of small peasants proprietors. The sta- 423
bility of the country has been further promoted by the pacification of the outlying districts.

During the more recent years of the reign 663
of King Zog, his actions and work have all tended toward the true pacification and reconciliation of divided interests, to internal union and prosperity, and to the political and social progress of Albania.

The work accomplished for Albania by King Zog can be outlined briefly as follows: a highway construction program; new roads built; new modern bridges constructed throughout the country; new government and public buildings erected in Tirana and other cities; better housing; greater trade relationship; increased exports and imports; general development of the country and of some of the mineral resources; establishment and stabilization of the Albanian currency; hospitals and clinics built in the various cities; codification and improving changes of the laws; the assurance of absolute safety and security throughout the country by organizing the militia and the gendarmerie, thereby giving to Albania for the first time a permanent mili-

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663 tary and police force; reforms in the government service; improvement of the ports; modernization and improvement of agriculture and similar industries for increase of home production; in the educational field much has been done by the building of a large number of new schools, libraries and placing education under government subsidy and supervision; introduced the Boy Scouts organization making membership compulsory between the ages of 12 and 18, this was done for the upbuilding of health and character of the Albanian youth, and numerous other improvements were made by King Zog.

In foreign policies, King Zog is for peace and true friendship equally with all nations.

Free from all those prejudices which separate society and create dissension, tolerant to men of other beliefs, fair and impartial to men of other races, he so obviously succeeded in welding all the conflicting elements of his country into a strong and prosperous whole.

000 It is evident that the golden opportunity for Albania has arrived. Under the able guidance of King Zog I, Albania is being restored to all of those things which were hers from the days of antiquity. It must be realized

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643

HIS MAJESTY KING ZOG I AT HIS DESK

(facing p. 74)

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that a nation that could retain all of its native customs, its folklore, and its nationalistic trend, even under oppression and cruel domination from without, must live on through the centuries to see her wrongs righted and her grievances redressed. The avowed desire of the many tribal units to be united in one great mother country is so self-evident that it cannot be questioned. The Albanian loves his farm land, and after many centuries of warfare, he has settled down into the occupation of peace. He has beaten the proverbial sword of warfare into the plowshare and begun to build constructively for his descendants that they may enjoy the blessings of peace and happiness, the heaven-sent attributes of every law abiding citizen and nation on the face of the earth.

And, thus, to-day Albania is a consolidated State and a most valuable member of the great family of western nations.

System of Government

642 ALBANIA is a democratic, constitutional, hereditary monarchy, ruled by a king of the ancient dynasty of the Zogus of Mati, which family was interrelated by marriage in the fifteenth century with Scanderbeg the Great, Albania's national hero-king.

643 According to the Constitution, the monarchy is hereditary in the male line in the Zogu dynasty. In case of the absence of a direct heir, the ruling king designates, with the approval of Parliament, his own successor from the male line of his family.

The king names the Prime Minister and the cabinet.

646 Parliament is composed of a House of Representatives, deputies to which are elected by free, equal, universal and direct suffrage of all male citizens. One deputy for every 15,000 population is elected for the term of four years. Parliament consists now of 56[1] deputies.

Any citizen of 30 years of age and over,

[1] [Errata: should be 58. cat. 116--Analyst]

[76] Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269,

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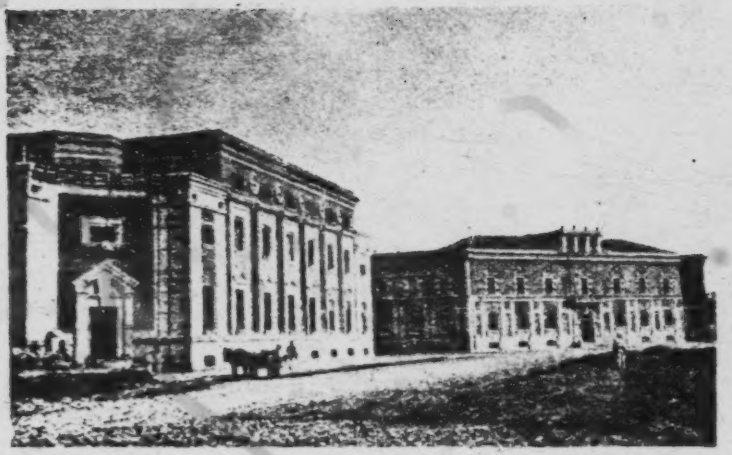

TWO OF THE SEVERAL NEW GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS IN TIRANA

3

(facing p. 76)

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

646 who is in full possession of all his citizenship rights and can read and write the Albanian language, may be elected as a deputy.

641 All citizens are equal before the law and their citizenship and political rights secured.

425 Confiscation of property is definitely abolished.

659 The State recognizes no official religion, all religions are equal and have full rights and receive equally favorable treatment in every respect.

641 Foreigners enjoy equal rights with Albanian citizens, except they cannot vote nor hold parliamentary and certain other offices.

645 The official business of the State is carried on by the eight Ministries, namely: Ministry of Interior Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Brëndëshme), Ministry of Justice (Ministria e Drejtësisë), Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme), Ministry of Public Instructions (Ministria e Arësimit), Ministry of Finance (Ministria e Financave), Ministry of National Economy (Ministria e Ekonomisë Kombëtare), Ministry of Public Works (Ministria e Punëve Botore), and Ministry of National Defense (Ministria Komonda e Përgjithshme e Mprojtjes Kombëtare).

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

000 (Ministria Komonda e Përgjithshme e Mprojtjes Kombëtare).

631 The administration of interior affairs of the State are based on the laws of May 13, 1928. The State is divided into 193 communes, administered by ten Prefectures. These are: Tirana, Durazzo, Scutari, Dibra, Kosova, Elbasan, Korça, Berat, Vlona and Gjinokastra. The prefectures are assisted by 31 sub-prefectures. The centrum is the Ministry of Interior Affairs at Tirana. Every prefecture has attached an administrative council composed of the Prefect as President (Chairman) of the Council, the Mayor, and the next high official of the prefecture are members in addition to the four aldermen elected by each commune for two years. The sub-prefectures are the assisting organs of the prefectures. Prefects, Sub-Prefects and the Mayors are appointed by the Albanian Government and are State officials.

Villages with more than 2,500 population are designated as communes; villages with less population are attached to communes for administrative purposes.

692 At the seat of every prefecture exists a Superior Court, with appellate jurisdiction,

which is a court of original jurisdiction in 692 cases where sums over 2,500 Gold Francs are involved.

At the location of every sub-prefecture exists a Magistrate's court, with jurisdiction in civil and commercial affairs up to the sum of 2,500 Gold Francs.

Appellate and Supreme Courts are located in Tirana.

All courts have also criminal jurisdiction.

The laws administered by the courts are 671 based on the law of February 7, 1929.

The laws are administered on the basis of the Civil Code of May 1, 1929, which was prepared on the basis of the Italian, French and Swiss Codes; a Criminal Code of January 1, 1928, based on the Italian Codice Penale; the Commercial Code of March 10, 1932, with all modern inclusions covering bankruptcy and negotiable instruments; the Code of Civil Procedure of April 1, 1929, which is based on the Austrian and Italian Civil Procedure. The Civil Procedure Code and Criminal Procedure Code are under consideration for revision.

There is a Notarial Law of 1929, based on

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671 the Italian example, and a Barrister and Solicitor Law, of 1931, modelled after the Austrian example.

675 The exemplary police and gendarmerie of Albania have been brought to a high degree of discipline and efficiency, the latter especially under the able command of Major General Sir Jocelyn Percy, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

Physical Features

ALBANIA, situated on the east coast of 131
the Adriatic Sea, southwest of Yugoslavia and north of Greece, two and a half hours distance from Rome by aeroplane, has an area of about 11,000 square miles (approximately the size of Belgium). The 133
larger part of the country is mountainous; amongst the geographical and geological divisions of the country the most familiar are roughly as follows: Northern Albania consisting principally of mountains; Central Albania, between the Mati and the Viosa rivers, is comprised of littoral plains; Southern Albania is mountainous to the greater extent.

From this simple picture we see that Albania consists of a marginal lowland, crossed by powerful perennial streams, and a mountainous hinterland which encloses small fertile basins. The Albanian Alps in the north consist mostly of massive limestones rising to a height of 6,500 to 8,500 feet. Scattered among these ranges are the rich summer pas-

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133 tures, especially around Lake Scutari, also the lower slopes are used by the herdsmen.

The sea-shore is almost entirely flat and sandy; only in its southern regions limestone rocks, approaching the sea and combining their picturesque contours with the lavish beauty of the vegetation, create scenery of the highest charm and attraction. These mountains cease abruptly at about thirty miles from the sea-shore and become undulating hills which are used for farm lands. A large plain in a more south-westerly direction is called the "Plains of Myzeqeja." To the southward again appear the higher ranges and limestone is mingled with sandstone. These belts are heavily wooded and above the timberline are the usual high pastures. In the extreme east are three parallel mountain belts divided by the Black Drin river.

The main rivers in Albania are the Lower Drin flowing west to east, the Black Drin flowing northwards, the White Drin enters Albania from Yugoslavia and flows southwards to the Adriatic, gradually increased by the tributaries from the Albanian Alps. Other rivers are the Semeni, Viosa,

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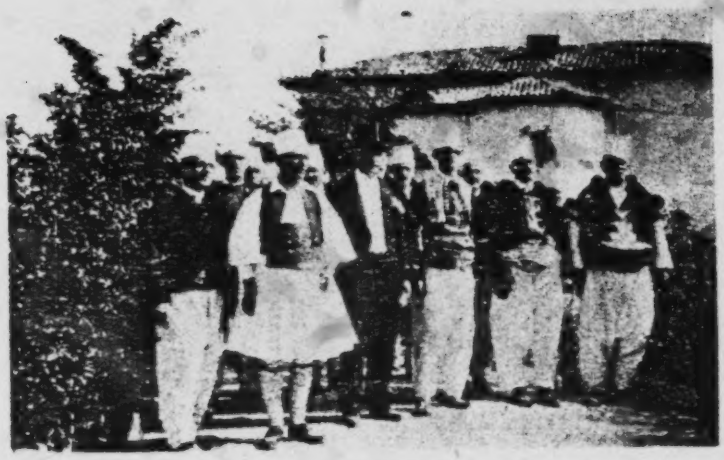

ALBANIANS IN NATIVE DRESS

(facing p. 82)

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133 Bojana, Shkumbi, Osumi and Devolli. Of the mamy lakes in Albania the Scutari with a surface of 137 square miles and Ochrida, with 104 square miles, are the largest with that of Presba, 131 square miles, and Malik, covering 20,000 acres, next in size. The more important ranges are the Pindus mountains and the Gramos range in the southeast. In the Shara range is Mount Lyuboten with an altitude of 8,230 feet. East of Berat and south of the Semeni river is the famous Mount Tomor, 7,861 feet in height. After passing Petrela, which is about ten miles from Tirana, one begins the long pull up to the summit of the Krraba Pass, which is one of the highest in Albania. From this point the Tomori and Krrab peaks, 7,861 feet and 7,933 feet respectively, stand out clearly. Krrab mountain is in the direction of Dibra (Dibër). From Cape Linguetta at the Bay of Valona to the south, there rises a range of peaks whose summits reach over 6,500 feet. Naturally this territory as far as the Gulf of Arta belongs to Albania by right.

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ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

133 The extensive basin-shaped plains of eastern Albania—especially the plain of Metova in the upper region of the White Drin Valley, and the plains of Kosova and Tetova—are important to Albania. There are many lakes in these regions.

463 Agriculture and cattle raising are the principal occupations, with olives, the making of
241 olive oil, grains and tobacco being the prin-
135 cipal products of the country. But there is great mineral wealth (asphalt, arsenic, copper, iron, lead, lignite, naphtha, oil, and other mineral resources), which is largely yet undeveloped, and with time, possibly a very short time, through the development of the great abundance of these natural resources, including the fisheries, they will become the principal resources of the country.

162 Korça, Berat and Vlona, the Orthodox are also numerous.

795 The Albanian Orthodox Church came into existence in 1922, after the Congress of Berat, with the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople. This Church has four metropolitans: Durazzo, Berat, Argyrocastro and Korça. The Roman Catholic Apostolic Delegate and Archbishop are at Scutari, and there are five Catholic bishoprics scattered throughout the country.

It is known that Christianity came early to Albania for St. Paul says, "Round about Illyria have I fully preached the Gospel of Christ." The Albanians claim him as the first missionary among them.

771 Although religion is a strong force with the Albanians, it does not interfere with their patriotism and powerful nationalism. In the face of a demand on their loyalty Moslem, Roman Catholic and Albanian Orthodox become brothers in one cause.

It can be said that Albania is the only country in Europe where there is no religious dissension; they have always remained united at every period of their national history.

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361

SANTI QUARANTA (SARANDA)

(facing p. 86)

POPULATION AND RELIGION

77 Mixed marriages are common in spite of the vast differences between Moslems and Christians.

162 361 504 Tirana, the capital, has about 35,000 inhabitants, Durazzo (Durrës), the main port of Albania, has 9,739, Valona (Vlona), second important port of Albania, 9,110, Elbasan 13,800, Scutari (Shkodra) 29,209, Argyrocastro (Gjinokastra) 12,500, Korça 25,000, Berat 10,500, Pogradec 3,400, Leskovik 2,500, Permet 3,000, Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the third port of Albania, 2,000, Delvina 4,000, Fier 3,700, Kruja, Kukës, Prizren Peshkopi, Dibër, Libohova, Kavaja, Lesh, Butrinto, Lushnja, Llixha, etc., are also well populated. San Giovanni di Medua is the fourth port of Albania. Butrinto Bay is also a harbour, measuring about a mile by 1,300 yards and has very good anchorage in 14 and 16 fathoms.

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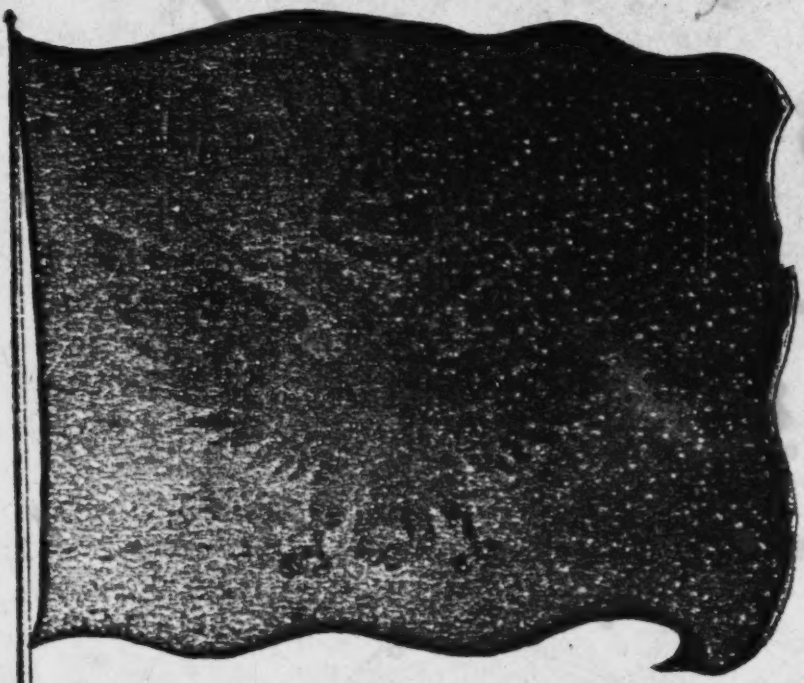

ALBANIAN FLAG

186

The Albanian national flag is blood-red in color with the double-headed black eagle in the center and the Scanderbeg Golden Helmet above the double-headed black eagle.

502

The Albanian ships and merchant marine carry the flag of commerce, which is red-black-red in color.

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The Albanian Language

THE Albanian language, as is spoken to-day, is the only surviving representative of the Thraco-Illyrian group of languages, which formed the primitive speech of the Balkan peninsula. Its ground work and grammar are distinctly Indo-European, but the language is entirely different from the neighboring tongues. The proofs of its Indo-European origin are to be found in many of the personal pronouns as, *ty* meaning thee, *na* signifying we, *ju* as you; and the verbal forms as illustrated by *thom* meaning I say; *thotë*, he says; *thomi*, we say, and *thonë*, they say.

Professor Max Muller, speaking about the Albanian language, says: "This language... has been traced back to...the Illyrian,..."

And also Strabo, in his writings, gives specimen of the language in his day, and also place names, and the strong resemblance of these to the modern Albanian fully justifies the Albanians in believing that the Albanian language is the direct descendant of that

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spoken by Alexander the Great and King Pyrrhus of Epirus.

It stands to reason that, in the course of time, the Albanian language, as it is to-day, has become impregnated with numerous words of foreign extraction, which are necessarily much younger than the language itself, although there are positive indications that the Illyrian tongue exerted considerable influence upon the subsequent development of the grammar as it is used to-day. In spite of these fragments borrowed from innumerable sources, the native element predominates. Scarcely any words can be traced to the ancient Greek, whose influence barely reached Albania in classical days. Many words of Latin origin have become an integral part of the vernacular. Some of the Latin loan-words are obvious, for instance we have *katër*—four, and *qind* meaning hundred. The Albanian word *këndoj*, I sing or I read, comes from canto, also *qen*, meaning dog, is decidedly the Latin canis. And last, but far from least, there is *kujtoj* meaning I recall or I remind from the Latin cogito.

Albanian is a language of interest to the student, for this language, feeling Roman

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MOUNTAINOUS GRANDEUR OF DUKAGJINI

(facing p. 90)

192 civilization as it did, still absorbed it into its own speech, for the vocabulary has many Latin words, while the grammar and pronunciation have remained constant to indigenous forms.

197 Albanian is difficult to learn and more difficult to pronounce. It is divided into two dialects, that of the Tosks, which has more borrowed words, and that of the Ghegs spoken in the north and being the more primitive of the two. There is to be found only a very slight line of demarcation between these two dialects. A few indigenous words come directly from the Indo-European stock as shown in the dialect of the Ghegs, such as: *Dimën* meaning winter with its plural as *dimna* and *emën* meaning name and the plural form *emna*. In the south the Tosks have these same nouns only varying in form as the *n* between vowels becomes *r*—thus, *dimër*, *dimëra* and *emër*, *emëra*.

212 The alphabet employed in the Ghegian dialects is generally Roman.

197 Not only is the Albanian language spoken in Albania proper but also in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Turkey,

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197 United States of America, Yugoslavia, and in such other countries where the Albanian emigrants have established themselves.

193 Upon examining the grammar, one finds that its most striking characteristic is its abundance of auxiliaries. The verbs have eight conjugations, distinguished by their infinitives.

197 To the scholar who investigates the language another striking feature presents itself, namely, that the Albanian language alone offers a satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the names of the ancient Greek gods and other Greek mythological creations. The facts in the case are so very convincing as to confirm the opinion that Greek mythology has been borrowed at one time in its entirety from the Illyrian-Pelasgians. For example, we see that Zeus survives even to this day in the *Zoti* (God) of the Albanian language which word is an ordinary, native oath used by the modern Albanians; Athena, the Latin Minerva, goddess of wisdom, has her derivation in the Albanian *e thëna*, which simply means speech. Thetis, goddess of water and the sea, would be but the Albanian *det*, meaning sea. Another example of great interest is the word

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197 Ulysses, or the Greek form *Odysseus*, means traveller, in the Albanian tongue; *udhë* is interpreted as both travel and road.

The works of the great poet Homer abound with words that not only survive in the Albanian language but are also in constant use. Not only words but even phrases may be taken from Homer that possess all the earmarks of a typical Albanian expression. Were someone to interpret Homer from the standpoint of the Albanian language, a great deal of light would be shed on that renowned poet's works. Between the Homeric and Albanian sentences there is a striking resemblance of expression, phraseology and sentence structure. A study of this nature would aid in the interpretation of Homer, as the Albanian tongue is older than that of Greece, a great deal might be learned as to the influence of the former on the Homeric and subsequent Greek language.

To-day the historic name of Macedonia, formerly known as "Emathia" probably is derived from the Albanian word *E Madhia* meaning the great. Also we find for Illyria the word *liria* in Albanian meaning the freedom or liberty.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

197 The Albanian language, as nationally spoken to-day, is a beneficial consolidation of the aformentioned two dialects—Gheg and Tosk—formed into a unified vocabulary without changing the essential meanings of the words. And in this manner all magazines, newspapers, school books, etc., are published throughout the nation.

The Zogu Family

BURGAYETI, encircled by four towering mountains that form natural barriers commanding an uninterrupted view of the surrounding country, is a small village in the Mati district. In the very heart of this picturesque little town rises a sheer, steep rock as if purposely so placed by nature as a watchful sentinel and guardian-angel of the vicinity. On the pinnacle of this mighty rock are the historic ruins of the grand old castle which was destroyed in the world war. As far as history can ascertain, this great, ancient castle dates from the fifteenth century, when legend narrates that Princess Mamica of Kruja, sister of the mighty warrior, Scanderbeg the Great, was given in solemn marriage to Zogu, Lord of Burgayeti Castle. 173

According to history, this ancient Albanian ruling family has its origin in the northern provinces of Albania, and gradually moving southward, made permanent settlement in the fifteenth century in the district of Mati. Hav-

ing firmly established themselves in Burgayeti, Zogu with a loyal following of his Mati people rose in revolt against Gazi Bey, then the Turkish Governor of this district, who lost his life in the ensuing battle, and Zogu
173 seized the existing government, exchanged the Catholic faith for the more popular Islam religion, was accorded the hereditary title of Pasha by the Turkish Sultan, who later recognized Zogu Pasha as the hereditary prince ruler of Mati.

The next of this dominating family to enter the annals of history was Abdullah Bey Zogu, grandson of the victorious Zogu Pasha, who was killed in a valiant but fruitless battle for Albanian independence in 1621, according to the inscription of his tombstone. He was followed by his son Ahmed, who gallantly defended his country against invading enemies. Mahmud Pasha Zogu, son of Ahmed, upon his succession after his father's death, ruled Mati with an able display of his exceptional abilities. It fell to the lot of Djelal Pasha Zogu, son of Mahmud, to rekindle the ever-smouldering fires of rebellion against the foreign masters of Albania, and upon his return from Russia, whither he had been led by political

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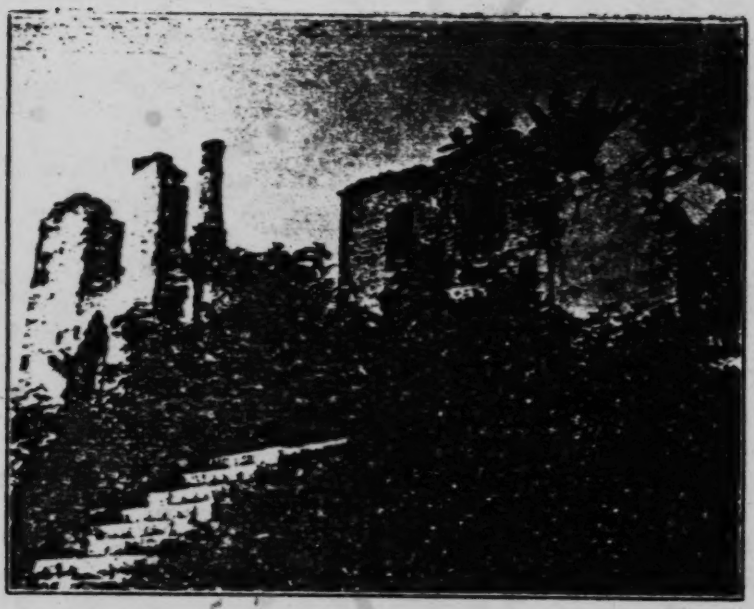

RUINS OF CASTLE OF THE ZOGU FAMILY IN MATI

(facing p. 96)

173 plans, he immediately assumed command of a renewed effort to acquire Albanian independence. This courageous leader was seized by the Turks and sent into exile at Constantinople, and he was succeeded in command by his son, Xhemal Pasha Zogu, who succeeded in clearing Mati of the invaders. It was to this ruler of Mati that a son was born on October 8, 1895—a son that was to prove a redeemer of the people for whom his ancestors had so bravely laid down their lives, and whose name is Ahmed Bey Zogu, the present King of the Albanians.

This powerful ruling dynasty, uninterrupted through the generations, had continued as the hereditary princes of Mati since the fifteenth century, and under whose untiring vigilance the Turks were never able to set foot into this part of the country. A council of elders, presided over by the head of the house of Zogu, shaped the destinies of the warrior-natives according to the *Kanun i Lek Dukagjinit*, the old law of the Albanian mountaineers collaborated in the course of the centuries.

175 Ahmed Bey Zogu's father died in 1908, in Ahmed's thirteenth year, during which time

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175 the youth had remained in his native mountains, learning the invaluable lessons of wisdom taught by Mother Earth. At the death of his father, Ahmed being too young to assume the guidance of his people, his mother, Sadié, mentioned in a later chapter, with her amazing character and unfaltering judgment, with which her son is endowered, continued, as the rulers of Mati had done heretofore, to retain her people's independence and closely-knit union while her young son was studying and developing his clear-sightedness and exceptional will-power, first as a student of the Page Institute of Galata Serail and later at the Officer's Academy in Constantinople. Young Zogu remained in Constantinople until rumours of the impending Balkan war caused him to return in haste to his native land. War clouds were indeed darkening the horizon, filling Albania with great anxiety as to her future. The blow fell in 1912, when the Balkan war broke out.

Impelled by the fiery enthusiasm and optimism of his seventeen years, the young ruler of Mati marshaled his people and rushed to Scutari which was besieged by the Serbs. It was only after losing 200 of his ablest men in

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THE RIVER BED OF MATI

facing 98

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175 the ensuing battle that Ahmed Bey Zogu returned to Mati. At this time, a stirring call to all Albanian patriots was issued by Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora to convene at Valona, where on November 28, 1912, Albanian independence was proclaimed. As voting delegate of Mati, Ahmed Bey Zogu went to Valona, but as soon as the Valona Congress was adjourned, he hastened back to his district to defend it against the menace of advancing Serbs. For fourteen long, dreary months, Ahmed Bey Zogu, with a handful of men, fought the Serbs, and until their retreat, no Serbian soldier ever set foot on the soil of Mati.

The Great Powers began to realize, at the close of 1912, that an independent Albania was a political necessity if European peace was to be restored and maintained. So the Conference of Ambassadors at London, on December 20, 1912, recognized Albanian independence, and later nominated as Prince of Albania the Prince Wilhelm of Wied, who, on March 7, 1914, arrived in Durazzo. Buffeted by every kind of political intrigue between the rivalling interests of the Great Powers, having no knowledge of internal conditions in

175 Albania and antagonizing the local influences, the Prince of Wied could gain no foothold in the country. Thorough discontent and rising indignation was stirred up by ambitious politicians within and by the enemies without. Essad Pasha Toptani, who first professed loyal devotion to the Prince of Wied only to conceal his own ambitious aims, was the Prince of Wied's most dangerous opponent, and who, under the pretext of friendship, undermined Prince of Wied's position until revolution again broke out. During these turbulent times, Ahmed Bey Zogu was ever loyal to the Prince of Albania, looking upon his person as the embodiment of the State. However, recognizing the great danger the nation was risking by these selfish rivalries, Ahmed Bey Zogu did everything in his power to aid the Prince of Wied, but the intrigues proved too strong for him, and loathing to see Albania writhing again in civil strife, he returned to his home at Mati. The regime of the Prince of Wied was terminated before the outbreak of the world war, and upon his departure, the warring factions again attempted to run the country for their own ends, which only served to defeat themselves and

did no good for Albania as a whole which was 175
besieged from the exterior.

Finally, in 1916, Ahmed Bey Zogu recognized his opportunity to help his country, and as the Serbs retreated before the victorious Austrians, he began negotiations with the victors, clearing the country of stragglers of the fleeing armies, he hoisted the Albanian national flag on the Palace of Durazzo.

When the Austro-Hungarian High Command, in 1916, was looking for a commander of the Albanian volunteer troops the selection fell on Ahmed Bey Zogu. He was named the commander of the Albanian military forces and was commissioned by the Austrian High Command with the full rank of a colonel. He distinguished himself on the field of battle in a series of astonishing feats of daring. Once, single-handed, he captured a whole company of the enemy. Fortune had given Colonel Ahmed Bey Zogu all the great qualities of a leader. It was always Colonel Zogu who led his Albanian warriors into battle. Upon his resignation as commander of the Albanian troops he was invited to an audience with Emperor Karl of Austria, who bestowed on him the insignia of a commander of the Impe-

175 rial Austrian Order of Francis-Joseph. But when Austria discovered that he had intentions to re-establish Albanian administrative independence, he was invited to Vienna for a council of war and then treacherously interned. With the conclusion of the Armistice he returned to Albania, where he was entrusted by Turkhan Pasha, head of the Albanian Provisional Government, with the command of the Albanian troops. He saved Scutari from invasion by Serbian troops and he occupied Scutari, where he remained as governor until March 27, 1920, when the Congress of Lushnja was assembled.

From this point onward the life of Ahmed Bey Zogu is synonymous with the history of Albania. Suffice it to say that from 1918 he was the guiding and liberating spirit of Albania until he became, by unanimous acclamation of the Albanian people, on September 1, 1928, the King of Albanians.

"Scanderbeg II," as His Majesty King Zog I is often called by his subjects, is a fitting title for this great man who has led his country and people through war and strife to ultimate peace, just as the famous old national hero, Scanderbeg the Great, did centuries ago.

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An Audience with the King

ON the morning set for the writer's audi- 000
ence with His Majesty King Zog I, we drove from Tirana directly to the beach of Durazzo, where the king was then occupying his summer "cottage." We stopped at the villa of the king's aide-de-camp, who, with the Chief of Protocol of the Royal Court received us, and, at the appointed time, accompanied us to the villa of the king which is situated directly on the sea.

In the large ante-chamber, we were met by another aide-de-camp who led us to the reception room of the king. Here, in a handsomely and most tastefully furnished room, we stood in the compelling presence of the man who holds the destiny of Albania in his capable hands.

After the formal bows were made, we found ourselves shaking hands with the king, who, in his graciousness, seemed like an old friend. We were seated around a small table whereupon reposed several brands of cigarettes, and after we had each chosen a cigarette to our

taste, the conversation began to flow readily under the kindly suavity of the king.

We saw before us a tall, light-haired, well-built man, who just beginning the prime of his life, has hitherto led a vigorous out-of-door existence, which is still evident in his erect, healthy and military bearing. Even the strenuous unceasing work for the betterment of his country, has not succeeded in taking the elasticity from his carriage. The noble set of his head on his broad shoulders is proof against any weakness. The high and slightly broad forehead defies the clouds of anxiety to settle for long. But it is his eyes that draw and reveal the innate greatness of the prince become ruler. They are clear, grey-blue, shining eyes of the Seer, who ever keeps his goal in sight and marches steadfastly onward. His sensitive and fastidious nature is portrayed by his aquiline nose, but his mouth, shaded by a small, light mustache, shows that his sensitiveness is under iron control. A strong, clean-shaped chin instantly gives the observer an unfailing index to the king's character: courageous, well-tempered with reason, and is dominated over by a rigid will which brooks

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no sullenness nor pettiness in himself or in others.

He possesses great political acumen, consistency and constancy.

He is at his desk from early morning until late in the night. He does his work with zest, urbanity and serenity.

There is no doubt that the king is the leader of his people; his word is law—a law which is necessary and always most beneficial for the welfare of the country and people. He is most gracious and friendly and has the knack of putting everyone at his ease immediately. His smile is slow but brilliant as if letting one in on a secret known only to himself.

It was with genuine regret that we took leave after a pleasant ever-to-be-remembered seventy minutes with His Majesty, and we felt that we had truly been in the presence of a great and generous man and king who will unfalteringly lead his people to a definite prosperity and happiness.

An Intimate Glimpse into Albania

361 IT is like stepping from one world into another to visit Albania. Its naturalness and quaintness, which goes hand-in-hand with the native customs and costumes are still retained. It is a country of wild, unconquered mountains which have infused their strength into the inhabitants and given justification to their name: "The Eagle Men" —*Shqipetars*. These vast towering mountain ranges with their majestic peaks and forest-clad slopes, make up almost the whole of Albania, and have rendered invaluable natural assistance as barriers to attacking enemies. Their grandeur fills the human soul with awe before their solemnity. The picturesque towns, perched in the laps of these magnificent guardians, are studies for those interested in folklore. Situated as they are on tiny plateaus, with part of the towns straggling up the side of the mountains, and the narrow, little streets winding their way between high walls, they are invaded with an air of mystic knowledge that has been mel-

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MOUNTAIN VISTA

(facing p. 106)

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361 lowed into them and is to be found in no other place in Europe.

These little hamlets are constant sources of surprise with their old traditions, native [61] songs and legends. In the more distant fastnesses of the mountains, the natives live in tribes as their ancestors did before them, generations ago, each tribe having distinctive ornaments for their costumes. There are hundreds of small farms scattered throughout the mountains; some in the valleys, others clinging to the side of a mountain, and still others perched on the summit of the lower knolls and even a few on the rocky heights. Their implements and methods are of the simplest 312 variety. Irrigation is their chief way of watering their fields, for water is plentiful. This delicious, cold, spring water has many sources in the heart of the mountains and is inexhaustible. The natives dig small channels, and where necessary, they make troughs for the water and lead it in zig-zag fashion down the mountain-side to their farms. There is nothing more refreshing nor cooling than this icy-cold fountain that Mother Nature has given the Albanians.

000 Albania is also a seat of historic interest,

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

712 Albania is also a seat of historic interest having been the battle ground for many wars with the Greeks and the Turks. The national hero of Albania—Scanderbeg the Great—lived in Kruja, where, as a silent testimonial to this great hero's strength, are the remains of the old fortress. It looms directly above the town on a cliff, and the old Tower and lower massive walls still stand. If these old stones could speak, what a story they could tell of the Albanian struggle and strife against the invader! Throughout the country many strategic points are heavily fortified and many watch towers raise their white heads on mountain tops.

574 The Albanians are by far the most hospitable people in Southeastern Europe. Their doors are never closed and a friend cannot ask too much. They are charmingly naive in their manners and delightfully quaint in their cus-
461 toms. There is nothing of the hurried, hysterical existence in Albania; the natives are leisurely and get the full benefit out of their
493 sunny, mellow days. The city man is aware of a pleasant surprise at the lack of the constant blare of the motor horn; the peaceful serenity of the golden days is only broken by the occasional honk of the droschka and the cries of the street vendors.

cries of the street vendors. The nights, even 000
during the summer, are delightfully cool and enjoyable; sitting in one of the comfortable café gardens of Tirana with a cup of delicious 275
coffee! The old saying of "being killed with kindness" is literally true in this unique kingdom.

Upon leaving Tirana, the capital of Alba- 133
nia, and journeying further into the heart of 311
the country, one comes more in contact with the native aspect of this country in all of its charm. The land, in the vicinity of Tirana, is smooth and devoted to wide, rich fields of maize and wheat. A few miles further on the landscape loses its cultivated appearance and the scenery becomes more wild and desolate, and at the same time extraordinarily beautiful. From plains the country rapidly rises into rolling hills and rugged rocky mountains, and becomes a country from Wonderland.

The first point of interest along this route 712
are the ruins of the Petrela Castle, which dominated this district until the rise of Tirana about 1600. However, fragments of tile proclaim the fact that it was built for fortifying purposes in ancient times, but the more evident pro-Turkish brick and stone mortar de-

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cisively date its construction in the early fifteenth century, as well as being frequently mentioned in the old histories of Scanderbeg the Great. Even to-day this point has not lost its strategic value as is proven by the trenches dug during the world war. Directly beneath these magnificent old ruins, a half-deserted village still holds its weekly bazaars—a strange contrast of the unceasing incongruity between the old and the new.

At this point are also four monasteries of dervishes: two Khalveti, one Rifai and one Hajati. The surrounding slopes are ablaze with irises during April, making a colorful and dainty setting for such severe buildings.

As the solidly-built road twists and turns up the majestic sides of the Krraba Pass, magnificent gorges, which form the head of the valley and which were cut in the course of the ages by winter torrents, come into view. At the summit of this mighty pass, eight hundred metres above sea-level and eighteen miles from Tirana, it is possible to gain a glimpse, on a clear day, of Durazzo (Durrës) and the Adriatic Sea. After having reached the top, the road, a result of much blasting, travels along the ridge of the mountains for some dis-

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A TYPICAL MOUNTAIN TOWN IN ALBANIA

(facing p. 110)

133 tance. On one side the rocks rise sheer and uncovered and on the other a deep precipice drops directly downward into seemingly bottomless depths. Only here and there a few farms dot the landscape. The trees at this 137 231 altitude are small oaks, with very grotesque appearance because of the absence of many branches, but this is explained by the fact that the poorer peasants cut them off and store them as winter fodder for their animals.

133 Gradually, glimpses can be caught of the immense fertile plain of Elbasan, with the River Shkumbi dividing it like a sharp, silver knife, and on one side of this magnificent range of mountains, rich in the shades of green and brown, roll away to the west. Just before beginning the descent from this ridge one should note that to the southward in this mighty range are to be found the two highest peaks of Albania: Krrab and Tomori. Krrab, 2,418 meters (7,933 feet), is really the higher, but it is the popular belief that "Father Tomori," 2,396 meters (7,861 feet), is the more lofty due to surrounding low hills. These twin peaks are accessible about five or six months out of the year, being entirely inaccessible on account of snow during the winter months.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000 cessible on account of snow during the winter months.

778 Much festivity pervades in this part of the country in the summer months, for tradition has it that on the summit of Tomori is the grave of Iman Abbas Ali to which many natives make pilgrimages every August from
346 the 19th to 28th. For this purpose, a monastery has been built 1,900 feet below the summit by the Bektashi Dervishes, where the pilgrims and visitors may lodge in comfort before the strenuous climb to the topmost
776 point; and it is another native belief that that top is the seat of the ancient sky-god, related to the Zeus of Dodona and Homer's Olympia, and only certain, privileged mortals may reach his abode, others being warned away by
773 nose bleedings and sickness. Also, there is said to be an inaccessible tree bearing golden apples growing on the summit. The peasants
778 often take oath by "Father Tomori," which mountain they regard with superstitious awe. Tourists to Albania often hear this mountain referred to as "The Olympia of Albania."

771 It is the district of Shpat at the base of
551 Mount Bokanik just to the east of this richly historical center that was in constant dispute

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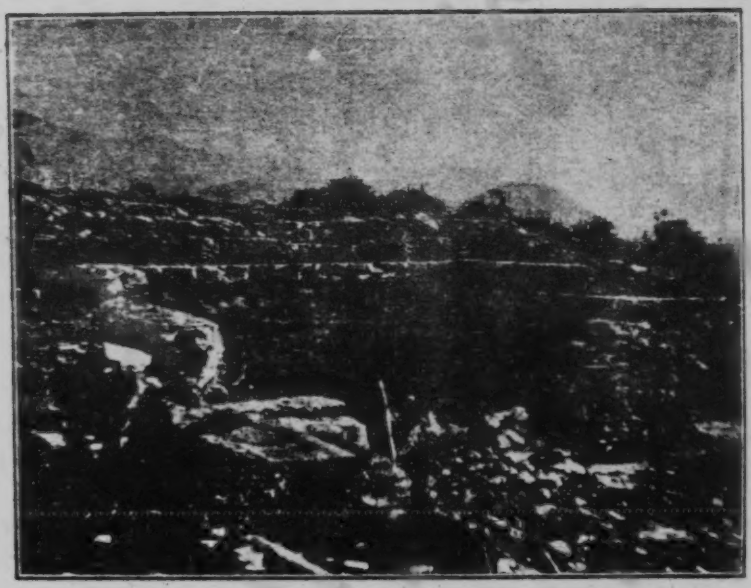

ARCHAEOLOGICAL RUINS AT FINIKE, ALBANIA

(facing p. 112)

771 years ago as to whether it was to be Christian
551 or Moslem. Therefore, in silent compromise, the elder members of the inhabitants had two names: the Moslem one used for public purposes, and the Christian one used privately and for baptisms and marriages, for these ceremonies a priest was smuggled in and out of the neighborhood by night. It was only about thirty years ago that the Christians felt free to declare openly their faith; this was due greatly to the intervention of the Austrians and Russians. However, those of the older generation retain their Moslem names but their children have been given Christian names only.

3/2 Perhaps of greatest interest to one visiting
529 this fascinating country for health purposes,
757 will be the healing springs at Llixha, only a few readily negotiable miles from Elbasan. These most unusual springs are certain cures for various forms of rheumatism. The sulphuric waters are so healing that merely by the repeated emptying of cans of water over the body in the oriental fashion many cures have been effected. The ground around these springs is very warm, and until forty years ago, before the useful invasion of the modern

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

3/2 baths and hotels, the natives dug large holes
751 near the springs of the desired temperature
529 and saturated themselves therein until cured.
The weirdest phenomena of nature lies in the fact that the temperature of the springs is extremely varied: there are the cool, almost cold, enjoyable springs and others that are of varying degrees of heat up to the boiling point. It has been ascertained, however, that the mineral content of all the springs is the same. These famous sulphur baths have performed many seemingly miraculous cures, and are considered usurpers of Carlsbad; and what is more important, the price of living is unbelievably low. The price one pays a day
[435] in the average European capital would serve for three or four luxurious days in Albania. It is really amazing that the price of regained health should be so astonishingly moderate. The advent of comfortable and convenient hotels has greatly increased the value of these health-restoring springs, and make them the most desirable of their kind in Europe. One of the most outstanding of these hotels is the Park Hotel constructed on European lines with comfortable bathrooms, electric light and electrotherapy by a visiting doctor.

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

It is also to be noted, with interest to the archaeologist, that there have been many traces found in the neighborhood of ancient Roman baths, but the secret of their architecture has been lost during the Turkish occupation, if not before. 172

Further into the north and central part of the country is to be found the old Monastery of St. John Vladimir, the most important Orthodox monastery in Albania. Here abounds the richest folklore and tradition of the natives of Central Albania. St. John Vladimir is quite unknown to the rest of the Orthodox world, but great faith is placed in him by thousands of the people in that part of the country. History has it that John Vladimir was a Serbian prince, murdered in 1016 on the Island of Presba in Macedonia, by his brother-in-law, John Vladislav, the last of the mediaeval Bulgar Tsars of Ochrida. His body, buried in the Church of Our Lady at his birth place, soon became the object of a pious religious cult; and due to the gentleness of his personality, the horrible method of his death, and the strange lights said to be seen on his grave, the followers of his day proclaimed him [174] a saint, and his last resting place became renowned for its miraculous powers. 176

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776 nowned for its miraculous powers. Fearing that the Serbs would steal the body and transfer it to Durazzo, the Greeks who occupied temporarily this section in 1215, exposed that town to so many attacks that this plan was soon abandoned, and in the next century this district fell into the hands of Charles Thopia of Kruja, a Catholic, but little distinction was made in the two branches of the religion at that time. It was the same valiant Thopia who removed the body of this saint to the monastery where it now lies. This church was rebuilt at the end of the nineteenth century, but as it became too small for its congregation, it was demolished and rebuilt in 1901.

346 This old monastery, built on mediaeval plans, stands in a shady olive grove, where the low, long line of monastic buildings with picturesque red-tiled roofs, are surrounded by a moat and a bridge, giving suggestion of the drawbridge and of high, lofty walls of an ancient fortress. The interior is an irregular square courtyard with the cells of the monks lining each side, and shaded by old galleries, underneath which were the storerooms and stables. The wood of these picturesque gal-

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leries and the long proportions of the build- 346
ings, and the rich-hued tiles of the roof combined to make a unique harmony of color design. However, these cells have been uninhabited for some time, as the Orthodox monks have almost died out in Albania, and the monastery is now under the jurisdiction of a priest; but in due respect to their former occupants the wives of the priests do not go beyond the threshold of this old monument sacred to the memory of the devout ones who dwelt therein. To-day most of the cells are tenanted by the servants and aged dependents of the monastery, also, a modern comfortable guest-house is maintained for the use of visitors.

The remains of the saint are placed in the 778
chapel, where the faithful peasants, on the days of pilgrimage and exposition in early September, make wild efforts to get close enough to place a handkerchief or scarf on the coffin and to preserve these in case of illness, at which time, if worn, are believed to possess healing powers, especially against malaria and other fevers.

Returning to the highroad one soon arrives 342
at Bradshesh, where the peculiarity in the

342 dwellings immediately enables one to make the distinction between the natives of this district. The comfortable handsome stone houses, with large galleries on the upper stories before the living rooms and the stables below, denote the typical Albanian peasant homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

543 There are two kinds of gypsies in this in-
197 teresting country: one is the same as the
[140] English variety, speaking the quaint old
191 Romany, although knowing at the same time the language of the country. This branch of gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly moving from one district to another, pitching their temporary tents wheresoever they will.
[443] Their keenest interest is in horses and they live by their tradings and quite often entirely by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is those, who, having forgotten almost all of their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a little Turkish where they are old enough to have experienced the Turkish occupation of Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up
533 tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their
535 daily bread in the simplest and most conven-
563 ient way possible for them: singing and danc-

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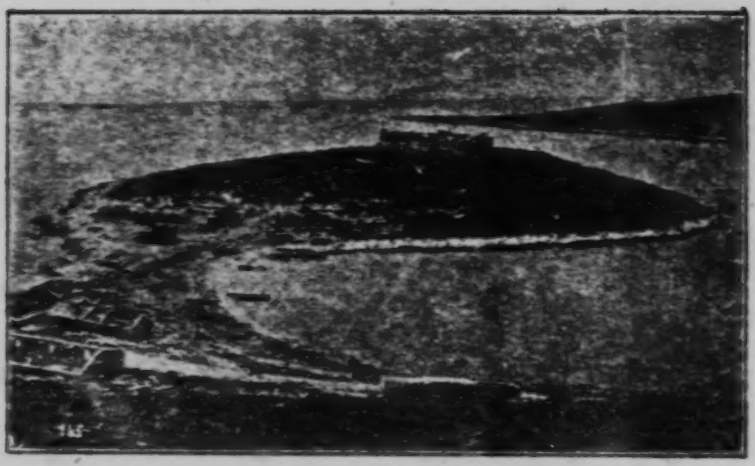

PORTO PALERMO (HIMARA)

(facing p. 118)

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

563 ing, accompanied by the women on tambour-
533 ines and they by the men on violins and
535 cornets. Their dances are picturesque in their native costumes with their hair either flowing or bound up, according to the particular dance. For those who may interpret their dances, there is a rich abundance of narrative in store for the reader. The harmony of tambourine, violin and cornet is not at all unpleasant when played by skilled musicians. The singing, however, is not harmon-
563 ized, the performers using only one voice.
[461] Regardless of where these gypsies may live they earn their living in the same way, and being too lazy to cultivate even a small truck-garden, they lead easy, happy-go-lucky exist-
[427] ences, and they have their huts free of rent, provided they work a few days out of the year for their ground landlord, Shevket Bey. Strange as it may seem, these wandering,
[326] anchorless people are about the only local blacksmiths found in this country, for the Albanians proper have a curious aversion to this occupation.

245 After leaving this quaint little town of Bradshesh, and penetrating into the heart of Albania towards Elbasan, large, beautiful

245 olive groves cover the surrounding hills turning them into lofty, dark mounds of rich olive-green. Amid all of this rolling naturalness 258 of Mother Nature, the new factory for refining the local[1] oil gives it a startling note of modernity. There is oil in plenty in these rich regions.

361 Rounding the corner of a hill, a sheer wall rises in the near vicinity, with a few ancient spires soaring above it. Upon approaching the wall, its height becomes more apparent and which proves to be the historic old town of Elbasan, over which there hangs an aura of historic romance. This high wall gives the small city a most oriental appearance which is in truth, a reality, for Elbasan was founded by Sultan Mohammed II for the purpose of suppressing the natives of this district, because, in 1566, at the time of his conquest, there were few settlements in this region. The Sultan therefore built the town which [103] is now known and called Elbasan, a word of uncertain derivation, but most probably being the Turkish *el basan*, meaning "*land subduing*," and which in all likelihood, was a copy of Alexander the Great's foundation of Smyrna. Here also Mohammed II left several

[1] In the heart of Albania towards Elbasan --Analyst

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Here also Mohammed II left several
pure-blooded Turks, a plantation which does 563
not seem to have occurred in any other place, for the great majority of the natives in this town today are of the Moslem faith, and strongly resemble the dark and powerful physiques of the Turks. The Christian inhabitants of Elbasan are all Orthodox, as this is the seat of an Orthodox Archbishop. The older Albanian colony has almost confined itself to the castle area, whereas, the Vlachs, first cousins to Rumanians, more recent inhabitants, have satisfied themselves with the southern area of the town.

The great, impressive old castle built by 712
Mohammed II is still in a fair state of preservation on two of its rectangular sides. The main part of the havoc that has been wrought upon this magnificent old pile was caused by Reshid Mehmed Pasha in 1832, when he quelled an insurrection in this area. The other part of the damage is due to the natural ravages of time and the elements. The castle proper is 1,060 by 1,000 feet and its massive old walls are nine feet thick. A small, daintily-designed mosque stood over the South Gate until 1920, when it was destroyed. There is no material evidence to 000

There is no material evidence to
513 the tradition that there was once a Jewish colony in Elbasan.

443 The picturesque brown bazaar is held once a week just outside the south wall, and nowhere in all Albania is there to be found such a grand confusion of color as among the native costumes on market-day, which is generally Saturday.

346 There are several fine old mosques which are gems of Turkish architecture, especially that of Nazireshe located near the Vlach quarter, and it is one of the oldest and most beautiful in the country.

Among the newer buildings are the archaeological museum, the Baholi library, the normal school, erected at the foot of the dense olive groves just north of the town, and the
274 new Alcohol factory a very few miles along the road leading to Korcha (Korça). The
485 Grand Hotel and the Hotel Adriatik, with excellent European and native cuisines, add much to the desirability of visiting this Albanian center.

000 A strange, weird beauty is found among the olive groves at Elbasan, and the many walks through these young forests are indeed delightful. They add a strong note of contrast,

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BUREL IN THE ALPINE FOOTHILLS

(facing p. 122)

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

000 with their dusky green leaves and snarled old roots and trunks, to the grey, white and sun-baked shades of the dreamy little town, and all this set like a tiny little drop on the vast, fertile plain.

132 Elbasan is well-known for its great variety of products, made possible by the rich soil of the plain. The town, sheltered by the immense old wall, enjoys a somewhat hot-house atmosphere, for which it should indeed be grateful, for it becomes terrifically cold during the winter months when the east winds sweep over it from the mountains of
133 Librazhd. These great monarchs, snow-crowned ten months of the year, which surround the plain are very cool even in August, making them delightful resorts from the heat of the plain.

241 This district is versatile in that it can produce, in this dual atmosphere, both the products of the north and the south. There is an abundance of cotton, rice and tobacco, as
245 well as maize, barley and wheat. And unlike many of its neighbors, it has its own figs, grapes, melons, oranges, lemons and olives growing on the plain, and apples, pears, raspberries and various other northern fruits mellowing into ripeness on the mountains
p. 123 surrounding Elbasan.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000 mellowing into ripeness on the mountains
137 surrounding Elbasan. These same mountains
are well-timbered, giving rich promise of
136 future wealth. However, these mountainous
forests are so dense and wild that they are
veritably thick with bears, wild boars, wolves
and other savage animals, an excellent but
dangerous opportunity for the game-hunter.
131 Being the center from which all the roads
radiate; to Korcha (Korça) in one direction, and to Durazzo (Durrës) in the other, Elbasan may be rightly called the "naval" of Albania. This old center of Turkish strife is also the natural boundary between the Ghegs and the Tosks: northern and southern
197 Albanians. It also marks the difference in the pronunciation of the native dialects. North of the River Shkumbi many words have an "n" where on the southern side these same words have an "r." The dialect spoken by the inhabitants of Elbasan is intelligible to the natives in either of the extremes of the country, being proverbially as beautiful as the Greek of Athens and the Turkish of Constantinople. For this reason the native tongue, as spoken by an Elbasanian, has been adopted as the basis of the language of the whole country.

? Ef Librazhd--Analysis 124

as the basis of the language of the whole 000
country.

The majority of the villages between Tirana 563
and Elbasan are Moslem, due to the invasion of the Turks. Many of these little hamlets have preserved the tradition of having received visits from the mighty Scanderbeg the Great, the national hero.

A view of Albania from an aeroplane, is 361
like looking down upon a checkerboard of blazing colors. On one side, the home-made brick huts of the peasants situated on the pebbled-banks of the river amid waving green fields of maize, and on the other, the sunburnt stucco of the new buildings, surrounded by lovely old-fashioned gardens, with the bright mosaics of the mosques with their golden spires lending rich hues to the already bewildering mass of color, a subject fit for an artist's brush. The ancient in contrast with the modern—past and present walking hand in hand. Age old fortresses and castles and modern buildings; narrow, winding streets and wide, spacious boulevards; palaces of glistering white and the ageless ruins of bygone glories. This thriving country, seen from the air, seems to glitter and shimmer

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

under a bright sun amid the encircling majestic heights of the mountains, leaving the observer a well-stored memory of the ageless mystery of the country, the charming graciousness of the people and scenery never to be forgotten.

If one were to set before himself the map of Europe and tried to find the one country in Europe that has been the seat of the greatest controversies, the land of the most invasions and exploitations, the most disputed territory of all Europe for many hundreds of years before Christ up to the twentieth century, that country would in truth, be Albania. For these reasons, the National Museums of Tirana, Elbasan, Fier, Valona and those of the other Albanian cities are treasure houses for those interested in archaeology and history, for there are to be found many relics of these influences. There are priceless and interesting excavations of prehistoric Albania as well as many valuable pieces from the Greco-Roman period. It is also necessary to mention here the marvelous Acropolis of Fenike, the porticus and the various statues and busts from Pojani. There are hundreds of other pieces of historic value that are worthy of notation here, but

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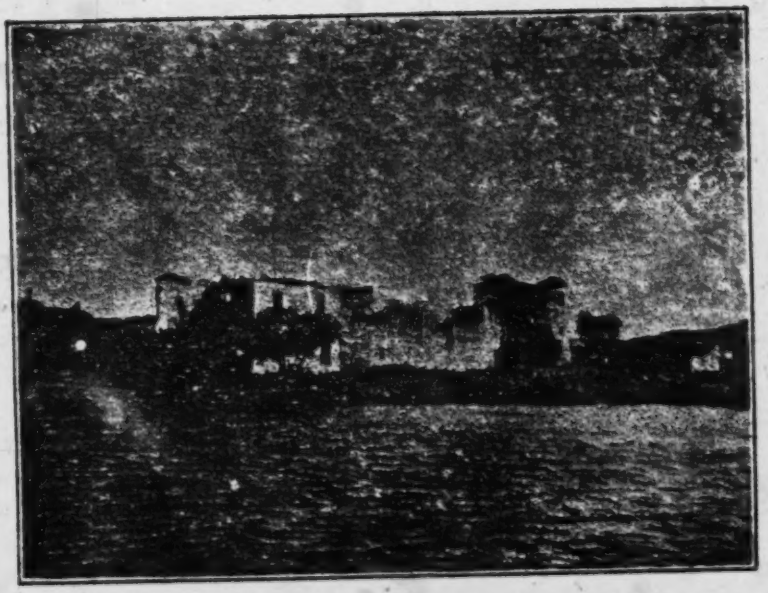

BUTRINTO'S MEDIAEVAL FORTRESS

(facing p. 126)

543 space forbids this long list; suffice it to mention as a last source of interest, Butrinto (ancient Buthrotum) with treasures beyond price of antique art and architecture which will captivate the admiration of all who appreciate classical beauty in its purest expression: The Greek porticus and the Temple of Asklepios, the Roman Theatre of the third century before Christ, the statues, the intricacies of the many-colored mosaic works, the magnificent workmanship on the Baptisterium of the Byzantine era, and so forth.

Albania's Contribution to History

000 FOR 2500 years Albania furnished able, efficient and loyal leaders and soldiers to Greece, the Roman Empire, the Byzantine Empire, Serbia and to the Venetian Doges and Turkish Sultans.

Albania also gave Turkey generations of Albanian Grand Viziers, Generals and many of her highest officials whose names are prominent in Turkish history.

Albania gave Egypt a ruling and still existing royal dynasty—the present Egyptian King being of Albanian origin. The founder of the present Egyptian dynasty was Muhammed Ali (Mehemet Ali), who was born in Albania and was a pure Albanian. Early in 1805, the Egyptian people prepared a formal statement of their wrongs endured under Khorshid Pasha and requested Muhammed Ali to govern them. He was invested at once and soon thereafter a messenger from Constantinople brought a firman confirming Muhammed Ali as Vali (Governor) of Egypt. His rule began on May 13th of the same year.

With the aid of his son, Ibrahim Pasha, he built a powerful State. The government of the Pashalik of Egypt was made hereditary in the family of Muhammed Ali about 1841. He died on August 2, 1849, aged 80. The present-day King of Egypt is a direct descendant of this same Muhammed Ali.

The most famous of all emperors of the Eastern Roman Empire was Justinian I (483-565)—Flavius Anicius Iustinianus—surnamed the Great. He was a native of Tauresium in Illyria and was in all probability born on May 11, 483. His real name was Uprauda. Iustinianus was a Roman name taken from his uncle Justin I, who adopted him and gave him his education and advancement which he used so prosperously. Nothing is known of his early life except that he was born in Albania (Illyria), of Albanian parents, that he went to Constantinople where he received an excellent education. Upon the death of Justin I, in 527, and as he had been associated with him as co-emperor for four months, there was no opposition to Justinian's succession to the throne. He married the famous Theodora in about 523, who, as empress regnant, was closely interested and

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associated with all his actions until her death in 547. The reign of this mighty emperor was filled with great events both domestic and foreign and in peace and in war. These may be classed under four headings: (1) his legal reforms; (2) his administration of the empire; (3) his ecclesiastical policy; and (4) his wars and foreign policy generally.

Of Philip of Macedon and his son, Alexander the Great, we have spoken of elsewhere, but that they were not Greeks nor were they Macedonians is set forth by Aristotle, Plutarch, Herodotus and Demosthenes. It is a provable fact that they were the forefathers of the Albanians.

To Greece Albania gave great leaders in diplomacy, politics and statesmanship as well as generations of able soldiers. The famous Greek Dictator Theodore Pangalos, the well-remembered Greek Admiral and later President of Greece, Paul Coundouriotis, General Danglis, Repoulis, Miaoulis, Sanctouris, and others, were Albanians or of Albanian origin.

Master Sinan, who was the leader in the creation of the highest periods of Turkish architecture in the sixteenth century, was an Albanian.

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THE ANCIENT THEATRE OF BUTRINTO

(facing p. 130)

ALBANIA'S CONTRIBUTION TO HISTORY

000 The great Italian statesman, Francesco Crispi, (1819-1901), who was an intimate friend of the Iron Chancellor, Prince von Bismarck, was of pure Albanian origin.

Emperor Diocletian of Rome, Emperor Constantine, who was the first Christian ruler of Europe, Saint Jerome, who translated the bible into Latin and thus helped to christianise Europe, Canari, Chavella, Bochari and others, leaders in the Greek wars of liberation, were all Albanians.

John IV, pope from 640 to 642, an Albanian by birth, succeeded Severinus after an interval of four months. While he adhered to the rcpudiation of the Monothelite doctrine of his predecessor, but tried to explain away the connection of Honorius I with the heresy. Pope Clement XII was of Albanian origin.

Alexander Moissi, a descendant in the direct line from Moisi Golemi, a follower of Scanderbeg the Great, was of Albanian origin.

Charles (Karl) von Ghega, the builder of the Semmering (Austria) railway, was of Albanian origin.

Climate

132 ALBANIA lies in the north temperate zone. It is mid-way between the north pole and the equator. This position gives the climate its characteristics—moderate heat, sufficient moisture and a suitable distribution of atmospheric pressure throughout the year.

Albania has three climates: the Mediterranean, the continental and the temperate continental, due to the alignment of the mountain ranges which leaves the country open towards Central Europe and the Pannonian plain.

The Mediterranean climate exists only in the narrow strip of coastline between the mountains and the sea and to a height of 1,300 metres at most.

During the summer there are large patches of snow on the higher peaks, and, were the temperature a little different, these patches would become a ridge of snow-caps.

The winters are not too cold, often broken by warmer days. There is a moderate rain-

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HIMARA ON THE MOUNTAIN

(facing p.132)

CLIMATE

132 fall during this season. The summer days are very warm between eleven and five o'clock, at which hour the temperature drops to a delightful coolness which makes even the indoors very comfortable and a coat becomes necessary outdoors. The heat is not as intense as the thermometers would have us believe for the summer climate is very dry and not of the humid variety that makes one so uncomfortable in some climates.

The coastal cities are rapidly becoming fashionable summer resorts for foreigners on account of the mild, summer temperature.

The continental weather predominates in the central portion of Albania causing coolness to last throughout the summer. This climate is also general in the southern sections. Also in these sections the winters are damp with the heavy rains starting in November. While the coastal cities of Durrazzo (Durrës) and Valona (Vlona) have a milder winter of not lower than 8° or 9° Centigrade. There is little of the intense freezing that one finds in North America.

Here in Albania the artistic beauties are wedded to the beauties of nature and climate. This health-giving atmosphere makes a visit

132 to Albania, whether for rest or recreation, a most delightful one. In the summer, one is not troubled by climatic changes — the weather is consistent with its season. There are no sudden heat waves, cold waves or storms as are to be found in many climates. Nor does the temperature take quick leaps up and down.

This invigorating climate, combined with the natural beauty and historic lore of this enchanting country, causes this "Gem of the Adriatic Sea" to be the most ideal and delightful place to spend a vacation.

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Touristic

CROSS the saga of the ages, through the dramatic chapters of romance, adventure, bravery and heroism, the story of Albania is the story of the ancient civilization triumphantly marching from East to West. Back to the dawn of history the migratory tribes came westwards, Pyrrhus, Alexander the Great, Caesar, Cicero, Pompeius, Roman Emperors, Turkish Sultans, Scanderbeg the Great, Venetian Doges, Angevin Princes and legions of others who led the march for the freedom of men and the realization of man's ideals, all finally saw their destinies shaped among the mountains, plains and seashore of this valiant country. Certainly, the shadows of Scanderbeg, the national hero, and Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora, the father of modern Albania, to-day guard from fortress walls and council tables the heritage of "The Sons of the Eagle."

To-day, many of those searching for new places, new adventures, new customs, have

found Albania to give them their hearts' desire.

What other country, besides Albania, can offer to the pleasure-seeker a combination of the warm waters of the Adriatic lazily lapping away the hours on dazzling white sand, and the tall, majestic, cloud-tipped mountains, an extremity of the Alps, just in the background? But of more interest to the traveller are the natural and picturesque little towns, now perched loftily on a mountain shoulder, now snuggled dreamily in a cozy green valley, all abounding in a wealth of native folklore and tradition that is as original and unique as the little towns themselves. To seek out their quaint old houses, to visit the shrines of past glories, to explore the massive fortifications and monuments will give the sensation of having stepped into a hidden treasure house.

In Albania a range of the Alps raise their proud heads as high as 8,500 feet to the sun, towering over their surroundings like veritable monarchs of the earth, which would easily lead one to imagine that the natives of these lofty regions are either sun-worshippers or imitators of that lonely bird which frequents

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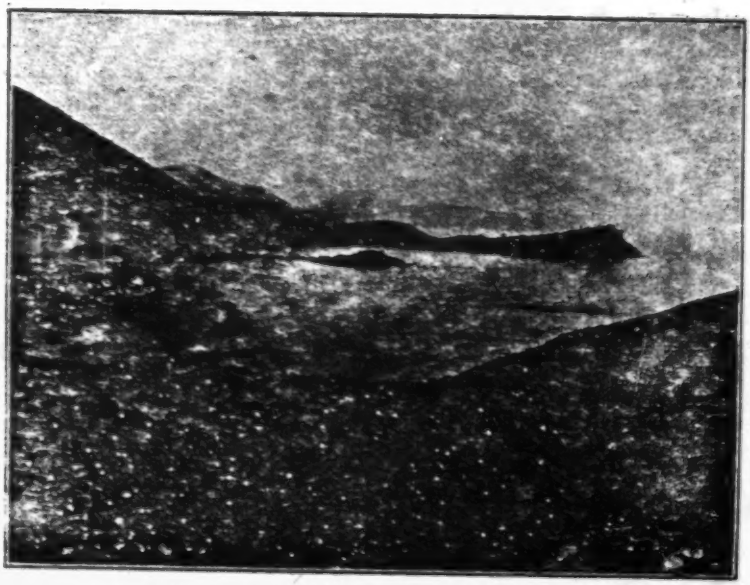

THE ALBANIAN RIVIERA NEAR HIMARA

(facing p. 136)

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133 their heights—the Eagle; and the latter guess would be the true index to the character of the inhabitants—courageous, strong and en-
[137] during. These mountains, covered with stately pinewoods and beautiful forests of beeches and olives many hundreds of years old, are often cut into deep, mysterious gorges and lovely green valleys which lend their soft, rich and dark colors to make a picture worthy of the talents of a master.

The natural geography of Central Albania is that of littoral plains, imperceptibly changing into smooth hills with dense oakwoods, which encircle and hold as precious secrets many wide and fertile basins. These rolling hills further to the south, heighten into mountains of unusual grandeur, intersected with wooded ravines and sheer precipices. For those who are irresistibly attracted by the invading charms of the solitary plains, the typical character of the Karst of these higher regions holds a peculiar fascination; also the lonely splendor of the bare, rocky, limestone cliffs and summits, haunted by the mountain eagle.

499 Transportation in Albania is of the pleasantest sort—by air, by automobile or by

489 steamer. Albania has no railroad. This fact is readily ignored for a view of a country from a moving train is no view at all. Travelling is more delightful when we can stop wheresoever we will please and enjoy ourselves to the fullest. And when the time comes for a regretted farewell the aeroplane is much faster and far more comfortable.

000 The most well-known of Swiss and Tyrolian landscapes are in no way superior to the picturesque mountain lakes of Ochrida and Presba in Albania; their clear and limpid waters reflect the varied shades and colors of their rich surroundings and the magnificence of the Balkan sky in an unbelievable harmony of hues, pierced occasionally with a flash of red or gold or black as the rich, wild water darts hither and yon.

However, as stated above, the more lasting charm of Albania lies in the varied little villages and the unusual originality of the people expressed by their colorful and characteristic costumes, rather than in the exceptional beauty of the country. Here a friendly people seek to gratify every wish and whim of the visitor, to make him feel at home and welcome so that he will quickly return to this delightful country.

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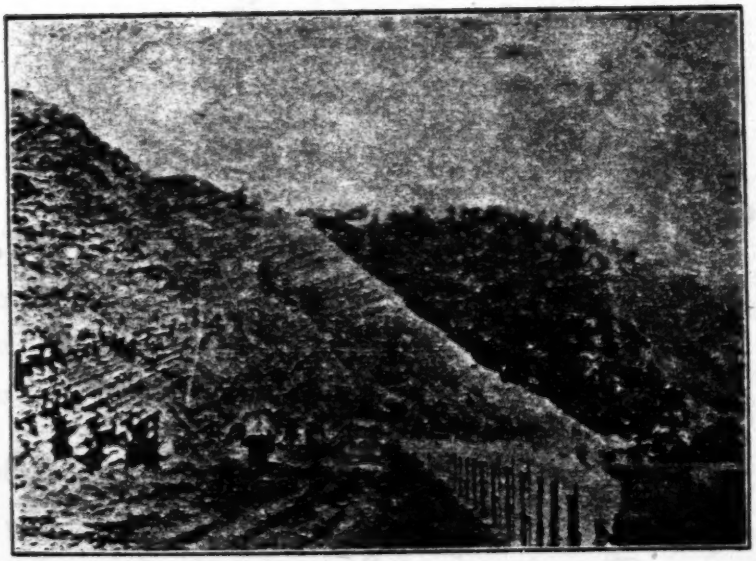

THE ANCIENT VIA EGNATIA
Along the Riverside Drive of the Shkumbi River

(facing p. 138)

Hunting with the Gun and Camera

224 GAME throughout Albania is plentiful both in the hills and in the sea and the lakes. Especially in the northern Alps, where in many places man has never set foot, [136] there is a great quantity of big game. Bear, deer, cats of almost every species, fox, wolves, etc., have all at some time or other made their presence known. Many of the natives of these regions are expert huntsmen and have learned the habits of these beasts as well as any man ever will. They have acted as guides for many parties and the members of such groups have returned enthusiastic with ample proof of their prowess and bigger stories about "the one that got away." These men always come back for another adventurous holiday having left their wives to sight-see throughout the country and at the end it is hard to tell which one has more enjoyed his or her holiday.

136 All of the lakes of Albania possess a limit-
226 less amount of fish of all varieties. Lake Scutari is considered the wealthiest in this respect, especially in eels. There are some

p. 139

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136 interesting hours to be enjoyed by those who
226 derive keen satisfaction from this sport. The elusive trout can make a difficult goal when pursuited to his familiar haunts in the mountain streams. Or if more adventurously inclined to test one's ability over the broad bays and lagoons or cruising the deep seas and matching the lightning skill of the tarpon or sail fish which is ticklish work for the best of the "Isaak Waltons." To the man who has felt inwardly proud of his mess of perch, just let him realize his dreams of great fishing in Albania.

136 For camera studies in Albania, bird life presents itself as the best subject. The most ordinary bird in this country is the common jay, but also in the Acroceraunian mountains is found the elusive, great black woodpecker, whose presence was authenticated for the first time in 1935. In this region the magpie is not very common.

In the forests near Durazzo there is a variety of feathered life, such as six species of woodpecker, jay, hawfinch, nuthatch and short-toed tree-creeper. Nests of the black woodpecker were discovered in the forests in the Drin valley along with the hazel grouse

p. 140

and the capercaillie, Europe's biggest game bird.

In the more travelled forests the common nesters are the nightingale, Cetti's warbler, sub-alpine warbler and cirl bunting. The lakes and bogs of Bojana have a number of purple herons, great egrets, and bitterns. Among the lake nests at Durazzo are the yellow-legged herring gull and the pelican, and also the Dalmatian pelican at the Kravasat Lagoon.

Small birds found in the highest mountains are the alpine accentor and alpine chough, and in the lower ranges are the skylark, linnet, partridge, rock-trush and wheatear, which bird is the traditional "sign of spring;" dippers haunt the mountain streams.

The Imperial Eagle is fairly common in Albania, and is smaller than the golden eagle and has a white patch on its shoulders. This eagle is a bird of prey and was found nesting in a huge plane tree in open country below Delvina. The booted Hawk-Eagle, about two feet long with white shoulder patch and long legs, nests in the Logra Forest. Hobbies and small, beetle-hunting falcons infest the swamps of Fier and Lushnja. The sea-eagle

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136 is to be seen fishing at Butrinto Bay, while there is an old established eyrie at Durazzo Lake which sells the young annually.

Other birds of prey are the harrier-eagle, a long-tailed, dark brown bird with small chest, and the Egyptian vulture, a bird a little larger than the buzzard and uglier by reason of its color of dirty white, black-tipped wings and bare, yellow skin. These birds live principally around Durazzo, Logra Pass, Saranda and Valona.

Valona and Saranda, with vast numbers of storks, have been mentioned elsewhere in this book, but it is amusing to see these great birds, mostly white, following the ploughs with ambling ungainly strides in search of worms.

The common heron, as found in Great Britain and most of Europe, is to be seen in many districts of Albania.

There is an abundance of wild duck in Albania of the black and white tufted variety along with the diving duck, the pintail and the gargeney, all to be found mainly on Durazzo Lake. On a little island near Corfu is the common wild duck or mallard of Europe

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ST. NAUM

(facing p. 142)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

136 nesting with a large colony of yellow-legged herring-gulls.

For a delicious meal, one should try the wood-pigeon or ring-dove, so common in England, that stays mostly in the Logra Forest, where also nests the Robin as high as 2,500 feet.

The hooded crow, jackdaw, the raven, golden oriole and chaffinch are common birds of Albania. The nesting chaffinches examined were found to be the subspecies *Fringilla coelebs balearica.*

Spanish sparrows and common blackbirds are widespread, and in the nesting season, the white wagtail is confined to the shoreland cliffs and boulders.

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Tirana

361

TIRANA, capital of Albania, founded in 1600 by Suleiman Pasha, has grown, in the last few years, from a small town to a large, modern city with flowered squares and gardens surrounding the many café houses and other places of amusement, and with well-lighted streets, comfortable hotels, residences and prosperous business houses, wherein beats the heart of a progressive nation.

The city is located in one of the fertile plains of Central Albania, surrounded by a chain of pleasant hills rapidly rising to more lofty heights, and dominated over by the Dajti mountain which rears its majestic head 5,000 feet above the city. From this point is seen one of the most beautiful of panoramas in Albania with the gentle undulating hills to the sparkling Adriatic; to the north are mountains of impressive grandeur rising to breathless heights; on the south and east are farms scattered over the plains which, from

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361

A THOROUGHFARE IN TIRANA

(facing p. 114)

TIRANA

361 this height have the appearance of a colorful checkerboard of the gods.

363 Tirana also has many modern boulevards, recently laid, equalling the cement boulevards of any cosmopolitan city, as well as all the modern conveniences that one finds in other capitals of the world.

367 In the large city park, music is provided every afternoon by the Royal Court Orchestra and where people promenade to the strains of Beethoven, Puccini, Strauss and Wagner.

644 In the center of Tirana is located the beautiful Royal Palace, lying in the midst of an immense, well-cared for garden. This garden 351 is one of the show places of Tirana and has a large collection of rare flowers.

344 Also in the central part of the city in a vast square are to be found a group of modern and most convenient office buildings, wherein the various departments of the government—the Prime Minister's office, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Interior Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of National Economy, the Ministry of Public Instructions, the Ministry of Public Works, the Parliament and others—are housed.

000 All foreign legations, except that of Great

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

648 All foreign legations, except that of Great Britain, are located in Tirana. The British Legation is in Durazzo (Durrës).

366 To an eager tourist Tirana's allure will lie in the bazaars located in the side streets away from the center of the city, where craftsmen have plied their trades for centuries. Side by side are the shops of the silver- and goldsmiths and the displays of pottery, tapestry, and the laces and skillful handwork of the Albanian women will catch the feminine eye.

363 Those who never tire of the unique and intriguing will be swept along through a maze of streets that have nothing in common with the progressive edifices in the modern section of Tirana. Through these narrow streets which offer every form of merchandise in its own interesting way, the explorer will come

342 on the outskirts of the city to the small huts of peasants, made of sun-baked bricks of surprising endurance surrounded by the usual fence or wall, and here one touches a life that is different—prompted by traditions and cultures that have come down from person to person, perhaps from the days when modern progress was not even a dream.

346 Among the numerous other sights not to be missed in Tirana are the Mosque of Suleiman

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346

A MOSQUE IN TIRANA

(facing p. 146)

TIRANA

346 Pasha, built in 1645, and that of Etem Bey in 1835, both of which possess a group of exceptionally valuable and wonderful paintings and mosaics distinct in their kind. The Na-
543 tional Museum of Tirana is of unusual interest, containing the ancient and the modern: Priceless antiquities from the excavations of various cities in Albania, along with models of the native dress worn in various districts.

Tirana is now the residence of the head of the Albanian Orthodox Church.

Durazzo

361 IN a setting that has no rival in Europe, is the small town of Durazzo (Durrës), which Cicero called "admirabilis urbs," the summer residence of King Zog I. There is great historic charm about this ancient city with century-old narrow streets reminiscent of the days of swaggering Roman invaders—crumbling fortresses and towers, battered by many fierce attacks of yore, grim sea walls that tell of slumbering memories, all in vivid contrast to the modern city that Durazzo has become.

Situated at one end of a natural bay, with stately mountains forming the immediate background, this unique city has advantages that are the desire of every vacation seeker. The neat white stucco houses with dim, cool interiors, and on the outskirts of the town, a few small red, mud-brick native cottages, form a vivid contrast to the sapphire blueness of the Adriatic Sea and the dark, olive-green grandeur of the mountains upon which half of the town is built.

361

A VIEW OF DURAZZO

LOOKING SEAWARD FROM DURAZZO

(facing p. 148)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E61

DURAZZO

/03 Durazzo, the principal port of Albania, is one of the richest in historic traditions in the world. About six hundred years before our time counting, Durazzo was the city of Epidamnus which later became Dyrrachium, one of the powerful and most important Corinthean possessions. While it was called Epidamnus it experienced a leading role in the Peloponnesian war caused by the politics in that city. It was in old Dyrrachium that Caesar and Pompeius fought the greatest battle of that ancient civilization for the supremacy of the world; it is the so-called Porta Romana, and was the gateway for the Imperial Roman legions into their more easternly possessions by way of the Via Egnatia which began here and led through Salonica to Constantinople. Remnants of the Roman-
[112] built city walls, with the gate of the old Roman fortress, are still standing, relics of the mighty civilization that existed many centuries before Christ. In the third century before Christ Durazzo was the prosperous capital of Roman Epirus and had also, previously, been the capital of the old independent Epirotic Kingdom. Later, in the middle ages, Durazzo was under the Doges of Venice,

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103 and this influence also had left its mark on the town. Then came the Anjous of the Neapolitan line who were the first to assume for themselves the title of King of Albania. However, during the four hundred years of Turkish domination, some of the Byzantine and Venetian architecture was altered or destroyed by the invaders. To-day, picturesque Durazzo lies peacefully on the Adriatic converted into a thriving modern city, amid all
504 of its interesting ruins, with an ideal port that has become a growing center for both sea-going and general trade, and the largest
277 cigarette factory in Albania is located here.

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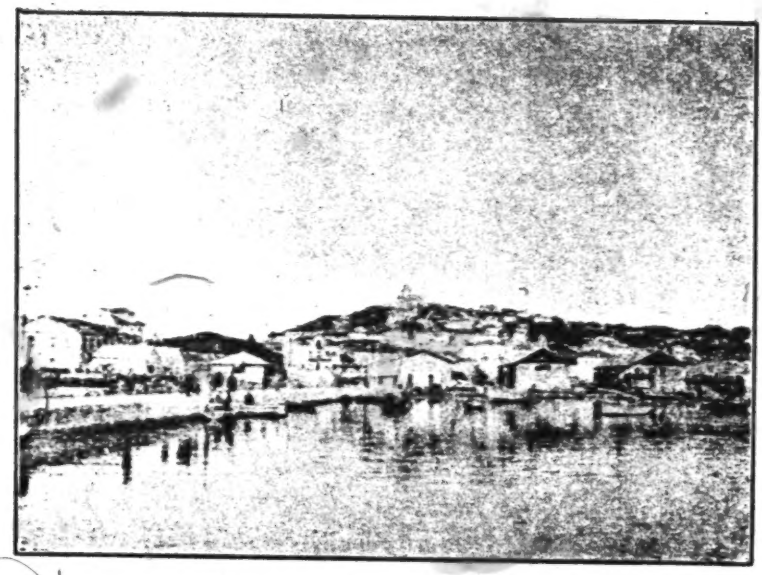

THE PORT OF DURAZZO

(facing p. 150)

Durazzo Beach

529 ALONG the crystal-white sands of the beach and on to the opposite end of the bay, are comfortable villas not more than fifty yards from the water. The last villa in this scattered row belongs to the King of the Albanians.

Looking from the far end of the beach towards Durazzo, one is faced with a view that contains more color than the Entrance of the Bay at Naples. There is the same rich blue of the water and its reflection in the vast, blue vault of the heavens, the various startlingly vivid colors of the town with two or three slender, graceful spires rearing their gold-tipped heads upward and here the resemblance ends; Naples has no more; but Durazzo presents a picture nestled into the olive-green and brownness of the surrounding mountains —like a rare and priceless opal placed on a piece of half-blue and tawny velvet.

342 The villas are built comfortably of stucco and native stone and are very light and airy. It will completely astonish some to learn that

342 these five and six room villas can be built for, including the price of the land, from $800.00 to $1,500.00 and live as comfortably as in a city with much more offered them; and strange as it may seem, there are only about a dozen villas, most of them belonging to government officials, along this ideal beach, with its white, clean sand and the cool waters of
529 the Adriatic. Nothing is more enviable than to see these people on a hot morning taking a cool, refreshing "dip" before breakfast and to walk back—fifty yards—to their front porches for a delicious meal—taking life easily and leisurely and enjoying it to the fullest. For those who work all winter in a close office, the warm, healing air of the Adriatic is as a rebirth. And for those who are more inclined to mountain-climbing, they have only to walk about a half mile and begin the long, steady climb up to the summits of the Albanian mountains and they shall be rewarded with views that are indescribable. These great hills are covered with rich olive and fig trees and in the spring are complete blankets of irises. These dainty little flowers the natives bring down and plant before their villas, or in boxes for ornamentation. For the artist,

[Errata: Should be one can live, Cf. Errata sheet, cut. 116, p. 269 — Analyst.]

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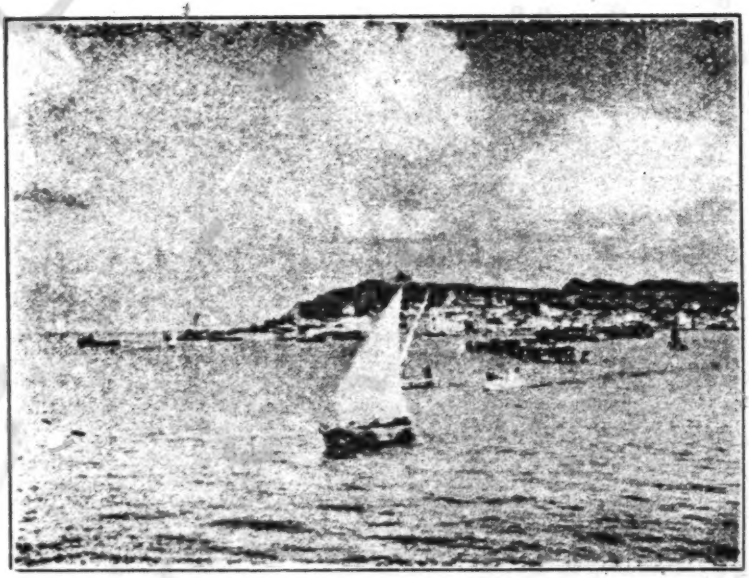

DURAZZO'S AQUATIC PLAYGROUND

(facing p. 152)

DURAZZO BEACH

529 Albania is as a paradise the year around; a rich riot of color and landscape is his reward in whatever direction he may turn; and as character subjects, the Albanian people lend themselves as unique studies.

In no other country would it be possible to have the great advantages of the sea at your front door and the mountains for your backyard, which abound in promise of adventure and discovery. Life in the summer is lazy and informal. The vacationer lives as only he has dreamed it possible, and enjoys a thorough relaxation in healing air, with wonderful swimming, aqua planing, water sports and mountain climbing. And a last feature of this interesting vicinity, but a very important one, is that Durazzo Beach is entirely free from those demoralizing pests—mosquitos.

Scutari

103 OF all the cities in Albania there are very few that can lay claim to as much romance as can Scutari (Shkodra). In the past it has seen the foreign invaders swarm all around in the neighboring districts
1/2 only to be repulsed at the walls of the Rozafat Citadel which surrounds Scutari.

36 This ancient city in northern Albania is encircled by the lofty peaks of the north Albanian Alps and is situated on the southern extremity of the lake of Scutari at the conflux of the Bojana, Drin and Kiri rivers.

175 The Labeatans, a branch tribe of the Illyrians, resided in this district about two centuries before Christ, when for a time Scutari was the capital of Illyria. King Gentius ruled over this strongly fortified city until 168 before Christ, at which time the Romans occupied the city under Praetor Ancicius. It was left to the Emperor Diocletian to unite the city into the Roman Empire and he named Scutari as the capital of the province of Praevalis; in this capacity it remained until

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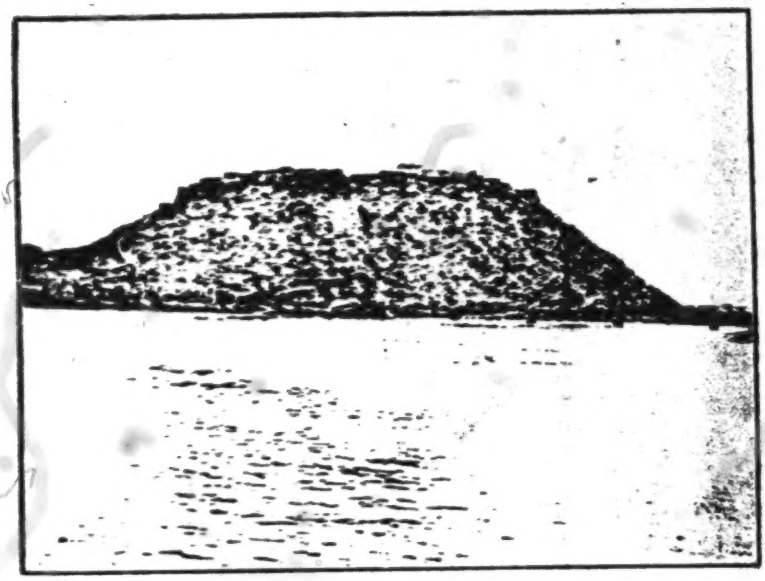

THE FORTRESS OF SCUTARI

(facing p. 154)

SCUTARI

175 395 A.D., when this district passed from the East Roman Empire into the increasing power of Byzantium. From this period on into the Middle Ages, Scutari fought one invader after another in an effort to retain its integrity. First the Serbs were repulsed and then the Turks. In the early fifteenth century, the Venetians gained possession of Scutari and the surrounding territory, but it was not long until the Turks were again at the citadel of Scutari, and for ten long, dreary months, 1478-79, Scutari withstood the armies of Sultan Mohammed II, and finally was brought under Turkish rule but remained unconquered.

During the Balkan war, Scutari was the last city to withstand the Turks. Until January 29, 1912, Vali (Governor) Hassan Riza was able to hold and protect Scutari against the Serbs and Montenegrins, and afterwards Essad Pasha Toptani took over the command with his avaricious and ambitious schemes for personal glorification. The attacks of the Montenegrins and Serbs continued until April 22, 1913.

175 A Roman Catholic Archbishopric is established in Scutari.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

366 This city with its romantic and war-like past, still retains its old bazaar established years and years ago, for Scutari is the chief market town of this region. Here the natives throng on market day in all their vivid array of costumes and make a picture that no one can easily forget. Scutari to-day, with its old Rozafat still standing, is the source of much of the folklore and tradition of the northern districts of Albania and also is the gateway to the neighboring mountainous villages which have retained their old and honorable customs and where the stranger is always welcomed with an age-old hospitality.

346 Other sights not to be missed in Scutari are the Jesuit Museum, Convent of the Franciscans, the Catholic Cathedral and the mosques, all of which hold some interest for everyone.

Near Scutari, in the mountains of Shala, there is an abundance of game to be had just for the sport—deer, fox, wildcats and fishing which will test any man's skill.

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Valona

THIS colorful city of Valona—the ancient Aulon—(Vlona in Albanian language) presents the charm and beauty of past ages and in addition can boast of rapid, modern progress. The fascinating old ruins of Moslem architecture are perfect representatives of the skill employed in by-gone years, combined with the beauties of the natural scenery of sea and mountains, make an unbeatable vacation land. 103

Geographically, Valona lies across the Adriatic Sea from Brindisi and is one of the cleanest, friendliest and sympathetic cities that a tourist may find anywhere. One of its startling features to a stranger is the countless number of storks that fly around the city and make their homes on the roof-tops. Strange to relate, in this connection, Valona is not the most populous city in Albania! 361

The fashionable place for promenade in this lovely town is the modern city park laid out to occupy a city block and consists of an enchanting variety of trees and flowers. An- 367 000

346 other place, among the numerous, to be visited with interest and close attention is the Neshad-Pasha Mosque which is a gem among its kind.

366 Here also is an exceedingly active branch of the Albanian National Bank.

529 From the center of the city, it is but a few kilometers' run to the seashore. In the cool of the day it is a delightful ride and after even a short swim in the clear waters one readily promises oneself to return to this lovely spot. For this strip of country from Valona to Himara is the Albanian Riviera and in no way can the rivieras of France and Italy surpass it. The climate is as agreeable, the natural beauties are far more picturesque, but the most inviting quality of this pleasant resort is that if privacy is desired it can be obtained and if, on the other hand, the gayety of a crowd is preferred, one has only to step from the front door and be buoyed along in a pleasant excitement.

315 A great deal of the wealth of Valona is derived from the rich petroleum fields that are situated near the city.

000 Another product important to Valona is

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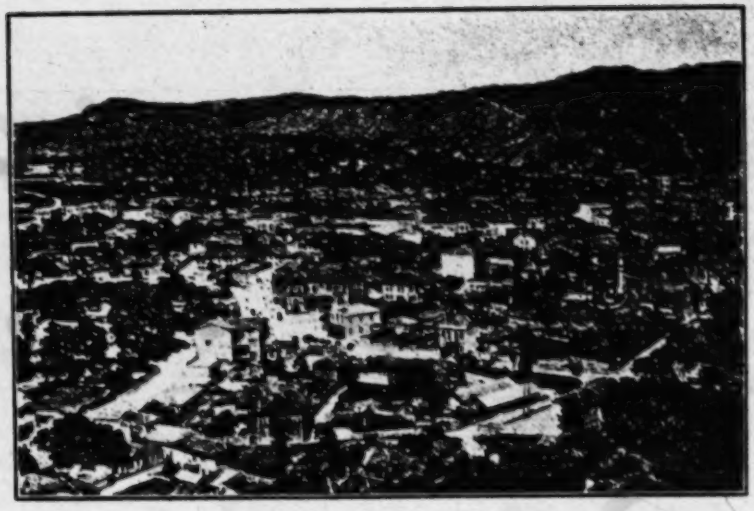

VALONA (VLONA)

(facing p. 158)

VALONA

317 Another product important to Valona is salt which is taken from the lagoons of the village of Arta, lying near Valona.

712 An excursion not to be missed is from Valona to Kanina. The road, going to the southwards, leads through luxuriant olive groves, fruity vineyards and waving fields of towering maize. About 400 meters above the town of Kanina stands the mighty Kanina Fortress, a relic of Byzantium. For its age, this veteran of so many attacks stands with comparatively few marks of the ravages of time and war. In the center of the village of 346 Kanina, directly under this fortress, is a Con- 764 vent of the Dervishes. Immediately in front of this building, a great tree proudly waves its branches far overhead, for this tree is the guardian of the last resting place of Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora, the father of modern Albania.

Valona has further interest historically for it was here that Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora proclaimed Albania's independence on November 28, 1912.

Korcha

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438

KORÇA (sometimes referred to as Korcha and also as Koritsa) is the central terminus for Albania. It lies in one of the most fertile plains of Central Albania which is under intense cultivation. This causes Korça to be rich industrially for here are located three tobacco factories, a large sawmill and an alcohol factory. Near Korça are rich coal mines, vineyards, and so forth.

Several of the principal roads connecting Albania with Yugoslavia on the north and with Greece on the south and east meet here. To this valued and fortunate location Korça owes her importance and her development into an exceedingly up-to-date center for trade and traffic which enables her to transport materials of all kinds to and from all parts of the country.

The King Pyrrhus, of historic renown, was born in this district in which the city of Korça now stands.

342 Each home in Korça is surrounded by a garden enclosed with a wall made of light-colored stones, giving the residences an appearance of wealth.

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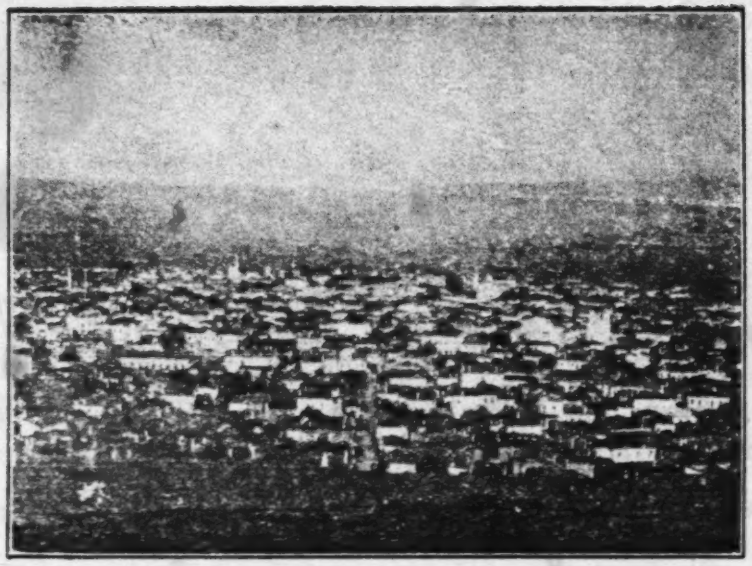

A PANORAMA OF KORCHA

(facing p. 160)

KORÇA

000 colored stones, giving the residences an appearance of wealth.

775 Korça is now[1] the residence of the head of the Albanian Orthodox Church.

769 The local hero of Korça is one Themistokli Gërmeni.

167 About 70% of the Albanian immigrants to other countries come from Korça.

361 Korça is two and a half hours by automobile from Florina, Greece, where the railroad comes from Salonica northward. Thus making Korça the point nearest to railway connection.

1 [Erata should be was until recently (F. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

Berat

361 WHOSE who have seen Berat have been justly profuse in praising it. With its stately old Cathedral and many inter-
[346] esting and unique churches and mosques, and above all its splendid castles, gems of archi-
[712] tecture, it is worthy of its high reputation and the admiration of all peoples. The ruins of the fortresses and once handsome loggias only enhance the beauty of this city.

The town itself lies on an unsurpassingly picturesque defile of the Osum River, and resembles the exquisite pictures by the old masters of quaint cathedral cities.

In this city stand many palaces of those old noble families, as the Vloras' and the Vrionis', who centuries ago held the power of princes in their own districts.

Here to-day all is fraternal harmony with Moslem and Christian living side by side.

245 The principal means of livelihood of the inhabitants of Berat is the olive trade, which is supported by all the vicinity as the chief crop.

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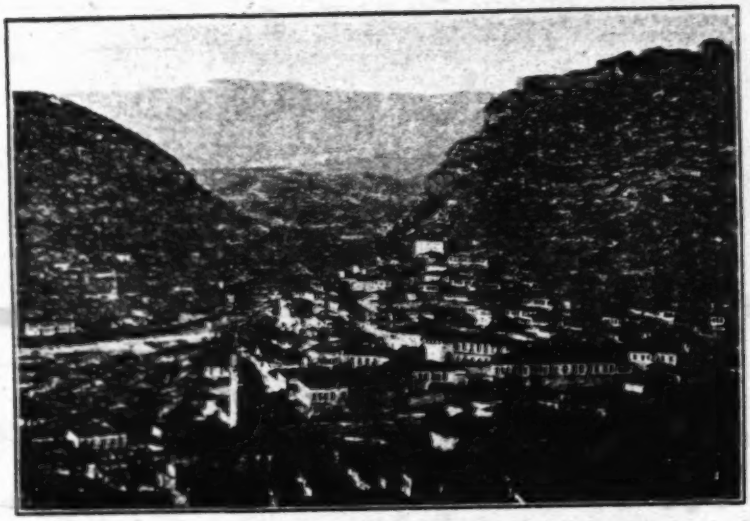

BERAT AND THE BERAT FORTRESS

(facing p. 162)

BERAT

286 Also many of the loveliest tapestries of Albania come from Berat and the bright and skillful work of the patterns testify to the natural beauties that surrounds their makers.

Alessio

361 ANOTHER city wealthy with memories of the past is Alessio (Lesh), the ancient Lissos, situated southward from Scutari on the left bank of the Drin River. This city still lives in the shadows of its ancient glory; the great ruins of her ancient [34B] Acropolis and the strong, old Citadel sur- [34C] round the present-day St. Nicholas Church which is built on the same spot where the St. Nicholas Cathedral stood, which was Scan- [778] derbeg's burial place in 1468. Sometime after Scanderbeg had been laid to rest here, the Turks, entering Alessio, made his tomb a place of veneration.

It was to this town that the chieftains of central Albania invited Scanderbeg to come when they offered him their allegiance. This great warrior had many faithful followers among the families of Alessio, and upon one of his visits, twenty-five years after he first went to Alessio to become their ruler, Scanderbeg died here.

Alessio (Lesh in the Albanian language)

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A GLIMPSE OF ALESSIO (LESH)

(facing p. 164)

ALESSIO

361 Alessio (Lesh in the Albanian language) is easily accessible from all points of the compass. One of the newer roads terminates at San Giovanni di Medua, Shën Gjin in Albanian, which is a small port in the northern part of Albania.

This village, with a population of 3,000, is rapidly becoming a thriving town although it is more dominated over by Scutari. Here has
491 been built a new bridge, one of the government projects, across the Drin River, however, the ancient bridge has not been demolished.

000 From a historic standpoint this charming town has enough to occupy an archaeologist for some time, not to mention the lovely setting of which Alessio is justly proud.

Kruja

361 KRUJA is one of the oldest towns of Albania. It is situated in a highly strategic position 1,500 feet up the mountain side and the great, well preserved [312] ruins of the Scanderbeg fortress loom like a sentinel over the town. On account of its fortified walls, many of the houses, some dating from the early fifteenth century, have escaped from the ravages of the invaders. And thus one finds all types of interesting architecture scattered throughout the city which bear mute witness to the influence of those who for so short a time tried to gain a foothold in this unconquerable country.

To one whose eye is ever eager for the adventurous and romantic setting, they need travel no further. Approaching Kruja from the south, the beholder feels as if he had taken a centuries-long step backward. The whole aspect is mediaeval. The town clings to the mountain side and every corner turned makes one tingle with anticipation for the unexpected. This lovely gem of an old world town

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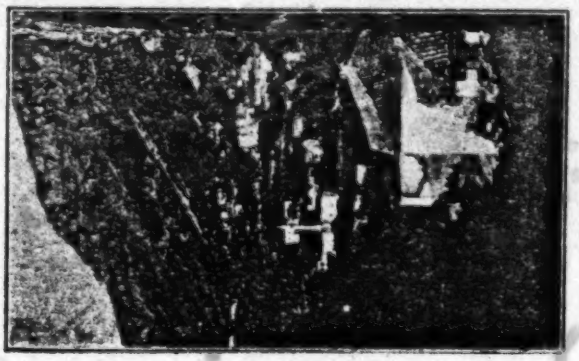
THE ROAD TO MATI



KRUJA

(facing p 166)

KRUJA

361 with cobble stone streets creeping between rows of houses, its beautiful old mosque—all guarded over by the proud monarch on the hilltop which saw Scanderbeg the Great and his faithful followers drive the Turks from the country.

From the top of the tower it is possible to get a magnificent view of the country for miles around. On clear days Durazzo and the heavenly blue of the Adriatic make a picture that comes straight from fairyland.

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Pogradec

361 THROUGH many narrow, shady and cool dales and over steep, majestic slopes, first along the Shkumbi River and then, after much winding and twisting, along the Langajaka River, we reach the town of Pogradec on the emerald shores of the charming Ochrida Lake, one of the prettiest in this more southernly district.

Pogradec is much visited by all who know of its fresh and invigorating climate in the summer; the Albanians themselves consider [529] it one of the best and most healthy of summer resorts.

It is a small, clean, prosperous town encircled by some of the most beautiful mountainous scenery in Albania. The town is also noted for its friendly and hospitable appearance which adds much to the natural charm of its surroundings. It is essentially a city for relaxation with its marvelous fishing, and also because here there is wine and tobacco aplenty.

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POGRADEC

(facing p. 168)

Butrinto

103 THE city of delight for the archaeologist is Butrinto—or the old Buthrotum, a classical city of the ancient world. In the third book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, it is written that Aeneas, after the sack of Troy and during his long travels of adventure, finds Andromache, the widow of Hector, in the fortress of Buthrotum. The next mention of this city is found in Julius Caesar's "De bello civili" which deals with the civil war against Pompeius. The final mentions of this city in classical literature are in Racine's "Andromaque" and in the tragedy "Buthrote, ville d'Epire."

172 The Italian archaeologist, Dr. Luigi M. Ugolini, worked in Albania, first at Fenike then at Butrinto. Among the most perfect of his excavations is an ancient Greco-Roman Theater formed in an amphitheatre with many of the sculptured columns still standing. Other discoveries are from the Roman colonization. In addition, these excavations have brought to light many magnificent pieces of sculpture, among which are a head of a

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172 bearded man with extremely life-like eyes, a maiden with a headband set over natural-looking curly hair, and a statue of a warrior with the inscription Sosicles.

One of the most valuable finds in this collection is a marble head designated as the "Goddess of Butrinto" or "Venus of Butrinto," which King Zog I presented to the Prime Minister of Italy, Benito Mussolini, in 1929. This excellent work has been wrought with great character and a masterly technique with the materials of the time, so much so that it is believed to be from the hand of Praexiteles or one of his co-workers.

The excavation work is being successfully continued.

Of course, the position of Butrinto explains, to a great extent, the finding of these museum pieces, for this city lies in the extreme south of Albania on the coast opposite the island of Corfu.

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RUINS OF THE BYZANTINE BAPTISTRY IN POJANI

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ONE OF ELBASAN'S MOSQUES

(facing p. 170)

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Other Towns of Interest

TO anyone familiar with Albanian history the name of Tepelene is well known. For this town, in southern Albania, is the birthplace of Ali Pasha Tepelene, born in 1741. The castle of this leader still stands although part of it has sunk into ruins. During the days of Napoleon one of the country's greatest fortresses stood near this town.

Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra) is a progressive city where many of the old families of this region live in comfortable homes. Being the largest city in the district it is a market place of note. The famous Ali Pasha Tepelene resided here for some time and his castle still remains. For the art devotee, the interiors of the churches, convents and mosques of Argyrokastro will give unfailing delight.

The city of mosques in Albania is Leskovik. Here are many of the most beautiful specimen of mosque architecture to be found in the country. There is also a large bazaar in Leskovik that will interest even the most seasoned traveller.

361 seasoned traveller. The climate in this small town is delightful due to its position at 930 feet above sea level.

Kavaja, an agricultural center, is also the seat of many excellent schools. Tobacco is the [249] main crop in this vicinity and the tobacco leaves are marketed at Kavaja. There are also large fruit groves intercepted by vegetable gardens.

[346] Fier, a rich and prosperous town, is the market place of cereals. As these crops are among the largest in Albania, the wealth of the town is understood. As Fier is only forty minutes from Pojani, the majority of the valuable excavations from Apollonia soon [543] found their way into the artistic museum of Fier. This collection from Apollonia in Pojani is as rich as that from Butrinto.

Lushnja is important in Albanian history as the city wherein that memorable congress convened which confirmed Albania's independence in 1920.

504 Santa Quaranta (Saranda), a port of 361 southern Albania, lies in that strip of coastline which, by reason of its beauty of scenery and vegetation, merits the name of Riviera of Albania. It is the third port of Albania with

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a good harbor and here connections may be made with Janina and Florina, Greece, by steamer. This service is very regular and frequent. Also, Butrinto is only two hours distance from this port.

Almost lost among vast gardens, vineyards, orange and olive groves lies Delvina, on the road to Korça. This lovely little town is like a miniature paradise, so pervaded is it by the rich perfumes of flowers and fruit and many ladies have wished that its essence were in bottle form!

Have you ever looked at a miniature water color where the vari-colored roofs visible above tree-tops on a high hill and at the base a river gurgles along and wondered if such a place ever existed? It does. The picturesque little town on the hill is Përmet and the laughing river that goes tumbling along is the Viosa. It has to be seen to be believed.

Of all the towns there is surely not one that has such a tragic past, one so full of willing sacrifices, as has Voskopoj. In 1753 it was one of the largest cities in Albania and now it is a tiny village of about 400 inhabitants. In 1753 this city was a center of culture, of intellectual achievement, with 60,000

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361 inhabitants. A few years later, in 1769, robbers annihilated the city, but was later rebuilt. During the world war, in 1914, the Greek forces attacked the city, and in order to drive the enemy from this district Salih Butka, leader of the Albanian troops of this vicinity, evacuated the city and had it burned to the ground. This was a supreme sacrifice of the people, but the plan succeeded and the Greeks left the district.

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THE TOWN OF PERMET

(facing p.174)

Albanian Women

562 THE Albanian women are an intriguing combination of charm and grace with the addition of more serious virile qualities; the results of this association make them delightful and quite unique. They have rapidly risen from any form of servitude which they may have endured in the long past and now walk hand in hand with the men of their country.

142 In appearance she is tall and slender and of the brunette type, with large, black eyes smouldering between long, curling, black lashes—the warm, emotional type. Her carriage is pleasing, moving as she does with a suppleness that denotes the women who are accustomed to living in the open air and not spoiled by those instruments of torture which, for the sake of coquetry, support the elegant Parisian woman. It is perhaps easier to imagine Diana the Huntress and her retinue under the natural aspects of the Albanian woman.

155 The marshes, the great forests or the mighty mountains do not frighten her at all.

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A CHARITY BALL IN TIRANA
Right to left: Princess Ruhie, Senie, Adile, Muzejen and Maxhide

(facing p. 176)

155 They will go into these places without fear. They will, under any conditions, willingly take the place of their husbands or brothers should the necessity arise, for the national sentiment, so dominant in the Albanian race, inspires the woman as well as the man. In the history of Albania there are numerous examples of the heroism of women as well as men which recall the admirable anecdotes of Spartan history.

The Albanian women acquire the right of coquetry, but they have the art as surely as their Parisian sisters. This is readily realized when they are seen arrayed in their beautiful gold-embroidered dresses with their magnificent tresses becomingly adjusted under their head-dress.

562 As a rule the women of Albania are generally domesticated. They derive great pleasure from their homes and live out of it very little. It is in the home that she works and makes everything she needs—outside of her 289 household duties, she finds time to embroider, to spin and much of the lovely silk handwork that one finds in Tirana, Elbasan and other Albanian cities, which is so skillfully done in lovely, harmonizing colors on the finest of

3:Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

562 tissues, is made by the women who are so [86] occupied with other duties! The Albanian wife in the cities is also acquainted with domestic industry—she knows not laziness. Many of them, being good housewives, try to flatter the tastes of their husbands. Culinary arts are by no means alien to her: her cakes and tarts may easily cause the best patissiers of Paris to cast an envious eye into her kitchen. She is her husband's companion, his daily associate, and he keeps the lady of his hearth informed of all his affairs and often asks her advice and seeks her suggestions.

Womanhood is universally respected in Albania. They are held in the highest regard in all places to the extent that she may go any place unmolested and even in a man's company he is the one who derives protection through her.

[728] Negotiations for a truce of peace have formerly been intrusted many times to women, for they were allowed protection and safety in an enemy's camp where a man would never have survived.

186 Even in Albanian history women have played many important roles; as above-mentioned she has been endowed with strong

nationalistic tendencies. One of the most extreme women who possessed these qualities was that renowned national heroine, Queen Teuta of Illyria.

The same proud and patriotic attitude exists throughout Albanian history in her women. They have been known to make supreme sacrifices willingly for the cause of Albania's liberty and independence. When the Sultan's armies marched upon Scutari, it was the women who gave the alarm and urged their husbands and brothers into battle. When men fell mortally wounded the women filled the gaps and fought courageously. They carried the mutilated bodies of their loved ones and tenderly cared for them, while others urged the warriors on into the fray. It is also related that should a husband, son or brother turn their backs upon the enemy, they are refused entrance into their homes. Albanian women do not tolerate cowardice.

This selfsame indomitable will power and courageous spirit was portrayed in the mother of Ali Pasha Tepelene of Janina. It was to her that he owed the success of his early youth, paving the way for his illustrious career in later years. His mother, the noble

Khamko, changed him from a wild, rapacious and almost incorrigible youth into an intelligent and judicious young man after the death of his father. Through her influential connections—she was related to many well known families of Albania—she exercised her strength of character which gave to Ali Pasha everything that he was to have.

A modern magnificent example of Albanian womanhood was the mother of the present ruler. At the death of her husband, Sadié, daughter of Emin Bey Toptani, a member of one of the most illustrious and ruling families of Central Albania, was left with her ten-year-old son, now King of the Albanians, and six daughters. Without counting the costs and led on by her courageous spirit, she assumed the leadership of the people of her adopted district of Mati and through her keen sense of judgment, resourcefulness and integrity and her instinctive knowledge of statescraft, she ably ruled the district while her son was away in school. She well merits the extravagant praise that she receives for she was no ordinary woman. Queen Mother Sadié displayed the highest qualities of character and purpose that were no less noble than those

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644 of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great.

The late Queen Mother aided her people to an unlimited extent, without rest or pause. She showed marvelous ability of leadership in the darkest days of Albania. She earned the everlasting gratitude of the people. And today her resting place is one of veneration and pilgrimage.

After King Zog ascended the throne, the Queen Mother and her six daughters devoted themselves to helping their fellowmen. Of these six daughters, one is a widow, two others are married and the three remaining are single.

644 741 575 Before her death, the Queen Mother gave large donations and devoted her time towards the organization of women movements, charitable institutions, orphanages, hospitals and similar activities for the welfare of the Albanian people at large. It was this beloved Queen Mother and her daughter, Princess Senié, who were directly responsible for the creation and organization on a modern basis of the Albanian Red Cross. Also through the work of the Queen Mother and Princess Senié, the Albanian National Women's Society, the

ALBANIAN WOMEN

"Gruja Shqipëtare," came into existence in 575
1929, as the first woman's organization in 644
Albania. This Society has branches through- 741
out the country, not only with the object to educate the women and children and further the interests of womanhood, but also to donate clothing, food and warmth to the needy. The Queen Mother also encouraged the organization of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

The Princesses Muzejen, Madjidé and Ruhijé are directly responsible and can justly be proud of the work they have done and are doing for the furtherance of the arts, music, sports and allied subjects. These three sisters of King Zog are active participants and patronesses of the National Union of Albanian Youth.

Princess Madjidé (Maxhidé), who takes a keen interest in sports, does much to further the interests and welfare of the Albanian youth. She has aptly been chosen as the patroness of the Royal Albanian Touring and Automobile Club.

The proper upbringing and education of 644
their children occupies most of the time of the Princesses Adilé and Nafié, but they never

644 fail to contribute their assistance to whatever is being done for Albanian womanhood and youth.

Therefore, there is little wonder that the six sisters of King Zog are so well-beloved by all Albanians.

562 The moral code of the Albanians is sharply drawn in respect to their women. It is considered a very grave breach of etiquette to make them the object of jokes or stories. Any unfaithfulness on the part of Albanian women is very, very rare. However, under certain specified reasons, as provided by law, divorces are possible both in the Moslem and Christian religions.

814 562 The intellectual occupations also attract the attention of Albanian women. It is thus that Albanian erudition is honored with the presence of a woman, Dora d'Istra, who has written numerous volumes that are authorities, such as "La Suisse allemande et l'Ascension du Moenich," "La Vie monastique dans l'Eglise Orientale," "Les Femmes en Orient," etc. This capable writer is an ardent feminist, in the sensible use of the word and she has done much in directing the Albanian women to intellectual freedom.

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A LADY OF SCUTARI IN NATIVE DRESS

(facing p. 182)

ALBANIAN WOMEN

291 The native dress for women in Albania is as interesting as it is varied and picturesque. The dress of the Albanian ladies is rich and costly. The ladies of rank dress extravagantly with very full trousers of some bright silk—generally red—and are drawn tight at the ankles where they are further ornamented with a deep flounce of rich, handmade lace. Over this is worn the sleeveless vest and coat reaching to the knees, both, probably, of crimson velvet, gorgeously trimmed with gold lace and embroidered around the hem. The 302 Albanian lady of the higher class generally divides her hair into three strands, two of which are plaited around a red fez and the other allowed to hang free. From this fez 301 hangs a long, dark blue tassel which is full and decorated with small discs of pure gold or seed pearls.

291 The women of the Mirdite district wear a coat of thick, white woolen material, red trousers like those just mentioned, and a richly embroidered apron with fringe a half yard in length, but her headdress is simply a dark blue kerchief.

The poor peasant women dress in coarse

homespun which is similar to that worn by other peasants in the Balkan peninsula.

Of course, the dress of Albanian ladies may vary somewhat as to detail in certain districts, but generally the essential parts are the same.

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Public Instruction

WE often read in books appearing from the pen of persons who never have been in Albania nor taken the trouble to study the question, that the Albanians are illiterate and have no schools, but we can easily prove the exact opposite to be the truth.

Among Albanian statesmen, officials and individuals, we find graduates from the Universities of Brown (Providence), Cambridge, Constantinople (Robert's College), Harvard, London, Oxford, Paris, Vienna, and other celebrated centers of learning.

National law in Albania makes education compulsory through the elementary schools, thereby putting knowledge within the reach of every child.

Education in Albania has been nationalized by law passed in Parliament and sanctioned by the King of the Albanians and all institutions of learning are placed under the control of the Minister of Public Instructions. By the same law all private schools have been

871 abolished and were replaced by schools created by the government.

The law suppressing the private schools had become a necessity. Of course these private schools filled a beneficial purpose, for prior to 1920 the system of education was in a chaotic state. Foreign societies and organizations, interested politically or religiously, came into the country and established private schools. These served a need there is no question, but, in a country with three different religions like in Albania, the aims of such private schools did not coincide with any national views although they were open to all Albanian people equally. At first, these schools were only primary, but gradually they broadened into secondary grades. It is obvious that such schools, operated by independent capital and interests, would be hard to control—impossible to make any definite system of education. Finally, by the above-mentioned law passed unanimously by the Albanian Parliament, the education and instruction of all Albanian people became the exclusive right of the State. Primary instruction became compulsory and given gratuitously. This law became effective in the fall of 1933.

Thus, out of chaos, order has been established.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

Thus, out of chaos, order has been estab- 000
lished.

There have been created nine normal 873
schools, a combination of the State and pri- 874
vate normal schools. Also, five professional schools were founded.

The normal school for girls at Korça and the private institute for girls, "Naim Frasheri," were suppressed. The institute for girls, "Kyrias," was transferred as a branch of the Gymnasium at Tirana. The normal school operated by the Stigmatines Sisters was transferred as a branch of the Gymnasium of Scutari.

In the place of these abolished institutions, a large educational center for girls, "Nana Mbretneshë," was founded at Tirana, and is one of the most excellent institutions of learning in Albania. The late Queen Mother organized this school into normal and secondary sections. The complete course lasts eight years.

At Korça, a girl's school was created for the former students of the "Naim Frashëri" school, the course of which lasts four years.

The pupils of the private technical school 874
at Tirana were transferred to other normal

874 schools created by the State where the same courses are obtainable.

The professional schools of Berat, Argyrokastro, Korça and Scutari, the courses of which conflicted with State instruction, were closed. As a substitute, a type of school more helpful was created—"Shkollë Qytetse"—with a curriculum of four years responding to the needs of the localities in which it has branches: at Berat, Durazzo and Korça.

The technical school of Tirana is one of the best of its kind. The professors are specialists chosen for their abilities along technical lines. The section for agriculture, which existed in the old technical school, has been formed into an entirely new and separate school also at Tirana.

872 Since the State has taken over the educational system, public instruction has made great progress in all Albanian districts, new schools have sprung up in all districts throughout the nation. Since 1933 sixty more schools have opened their doors. This brings the total of public schools to the fifth grade to 577 and it is contemplated to improve these schools to provide eight years of study. There are now more than 41,000 students instructed by 1,100 teachers in these primary schools.

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by 1,100 teachers in these primary schools. 000

At the present time the number of advanced 873
schools stands at twenty, six of which are 874
gymnasiums and five are pedagogic institutions. Among these are to be found commercial, technical, agricultural and domestic science schools. In the latter school alone there are over 3,000 students in attendance. All of these advanced schools make the knowledge of two foreign languages compulsory.

Here the elementary school and gymnasium 873
of the Franciscan Fathers is worthy of spe- 872
cial mention, which is one of the oldest educational institutions in Albania.

Also the Gymnasium of the Jesuits, with which is maintained an affiliated Theological Seminary, is another of the well established and progressive institutions.

There are a large number of kindergartens scattered throughout the entire country.

All these schools, elementary, normal, ad- 871
vanced, are conducted in the Albanian language.

The years 1933 and 1934 proved to be years of great and beneficial reconstruction of the educational system in Albania on a permanent and broader basis.

871 Scholarships are paid by the Albanian Government. However, if the winners of these scholarships be of rich parentage, they pass the financial part of the scholarship to the next deserving and needy pupil.

For the past few years the king and the government have been encouraging and financially assisting Albanian students to take courses, as well as graduate work, in foreign colleges and universities. Thus, we find several hundred Albanian students in the colleges and universities of various countries every year. To-day there are Albanian students in American, Austrian, Canadian, English, Egyptian, French, German, Indian, Swiss and Turkish colleges and universities, and such students receive the necessary financial wherewithal from the king personally and/or from the Albanian Government.

874 For the past ten years there have been in Kavaja, Albania, farm schools for boys and girls, which were established by Dr. C. Telford Erickson, and were taken over in 1930 by the Near East Foundation. These two schools were moved to a new location on ground contributed by the Albanian Government on the coast of the Adriatic midway

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

between Kavaja and Durazzo, and were 874
housed in new buildings constructed by the
Near East Foundation. The construction is [346]
American,[1] but the architectural motive is
taken from such examples of Albanian architecture as the ancient Scanderbeg Tower of Kruja. The result is that the major portion of the buildings harmonize well with the rural landscape of Albania. The two schools are called the "Albanian-American Institute." They are supported by the Albanian Government and the Near East Foundation. The Boys' School has a large farm and work on the farm is the basis for education in farming, training peasant boys in advanced farming and the art of good citizenship. Originally this school provided a four-year course, but with the approval of the Ministry of Public Instructions, the four years have been reduced to a three-year course. The Girls' School, formerly a normal institution where young women were trained for teaching in village schools, is now a Folk School and the curriculum includes: cooking and food preservation, household sanitation and baby care, weaving, pottery, mending and dress-making, poultry, bees, and gardening. The teaching in

1 [Two farm schools taken over in 1930 by the Near East Foundation--Analyst]

874 both schools is done by trained Albanian teachers and under the direction of American specialists. An experimental village school is administered by the Girls' Schools staff in a nearby viliage. These two schools have been operating successfully and under the supervision of the Albanian Ministry of Public Instructions. The number of young men and women who have graduated from these schools have carried their acquired knowledge into practical usage and conclusively proved that the good training given them is bearing fruit.

575 883 One of the new movements of great advantage and assistance to the children of Albania is the National Union of Albanian Youth, organized by the late Queen Mother and the sisters of the king in 1928. To-day this is one of the strongest recognized organizations in the country. Among the main objects of this Union are the physical, moral and patriotic upbuilding of the Albanian youth, encouragement in the arts, music, etc., and a greater impetus to sports—baseball, football, gymnastics, rowing, skiing, swimming, tennis, et cetera. Thus, we realize the care given to

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

the sound upbuilding of the Albanian citizen of to-morrow. 575 883

Prior to the establishment of the National Union of Albanian Youth, King Zog I introduced and made obligatory the Boy-Scout system for boys between the ages of 12 and 18.

There is naturally great need for more schools, especially colleges, and the Albanian Government is continually improving on the existing educational system and new schools are opened as the budget and conditions permit. 871

It can be truthfully stated that the present educational system in Albania is of a high standard.

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Public Health

743 THE care of the health of the general population has been undertaken in a particularly efficient and modern manner. The creation of the necessary institutions began immediately after the war.

Hospitals and clinics have been established and endowed in recent years by the king and the Albanian Government in Tirana and in all the principal cities of the country, all receiving government subsidies. All these hospitals are modern and have complete equipment with up-to-date instruments and necessities.

Hospitals of other nations have been most carefully studied and copied, and from time to time researches and studies are carried on under authorities in specific fields in special institutions in various countries for the modernization of these Albanian hospitals which are thereby kept absolutely up-to-date.

All health institutions in Albania have the necessary equipment for the special care of children.

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PUBLIC HEALTH

The hygienic education of the people has 744
met with great success.

A part of the health program of Albania is the improvement of sanitation in all the villages and towns.

The Albanian doctors are graduates of the 759
medical schools of various foreign universities, mostly of Vienna, Austria, and are rapidly becoming specialists in their fields.

In addition to the hospitals, there are, 743
naturally, clinics, dispensaries and other sanitary and hygienic institutions.

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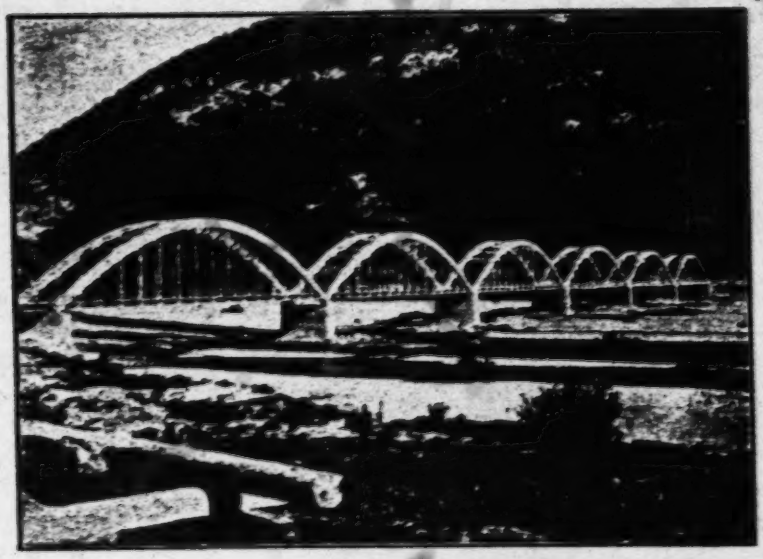

THE ZOGU BRIDGE OVER THE MATI RIVER AT MILOTI

(facing p. 196)

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Eo 1

Roads

491 IN few other countries has there been such giant steps taken in furthering the development and welfare of a nation as has been the case in Albania since the inauguration of the present regime. No field has been overlooked: Agriculture, Banking, Education, Industry, Trade and all other forms of internal services including roads. It is of vital importance to the wealth of a nation to have adequate means of transportation, and, since 1925, the king and government has given much careful consideration to the development and improvement of roads and construction of bridges.

In the northern part of the country, a very important road from Scutari, through Pukë, to the Yugoslavian border has been commenced and will very soon be ready. This road is seventy-five miles in length and unites the main sections of the Scutari and Kosova districts. Another road of great national benefit is the so-called Dibra-Road, which has its beginning at the new Zogu Bridge, near

491 Miloti, and makes its way to the Yugoslavian frontier, which is a distance of over eighty miles, connecting some of the most fertile regions of the interior with the port of Durazzo and with Tirana, thus making an outlet for the tremendous agricultural sections and forming new markets for commerce and trade.

Amongst some of the well constructed roads in Albania which lend much to the enjoyment of the country and enhances its commercial value are those from Kruja to Mati, a distance of about thirty-three miles, from Peshkopi sixty miles to Librazhd, which road connects with that running between Elbasan and Tirana, a distance of thirty-four miles. Another of these roads is the one from Lushnja leading to Fier twenty miles away, where a spur runs on to Valona.

Numerous roads throughout the country are rapidly nearing completion, and once finished will prove a decided advantage for further developments in every field of industry; the agricultural districts will be brought nearer their natural marketing centers, and will facilitate the traffic between individual markets.

The total mileage of the roads in Albania

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491 that were completed by March 31, 1933, was approximately two thousand one hundred miles.

Due to the unusual and difficult formations of the country, especially in the mountainous regions where the flow of water is constant and therefore presents the necessity of numerous large and small bridges, a complication is arrived at which no other country has to cope with. In spite of the colossal interference, however, the number of permanent bridges has increased from three hundred sixty in 1921 to eight hundred in 1928. But the last six years have seen even greater strides and by March 31, 1933, Albania had two thousand six hundred and seventy-four permanently constructed bridges, and still work continues!

Albania has many roads leading to her neighbors on the three points of the compass, the following of which are the principal ones:

I. In a northeasterly direction from Scutari to the Albanian border near Hani i Hotit, and afterwards to Yugoslavia through to Podgorica, a distance of twenty-one miles.

II. Another eastern route having its source at Scutari leads from Cattaro (Yugoslavia) via Antivari and Dulcigno or by Cetinje, Ritjeka,

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Virbazar and then Antivari and Dulcigno to the Albanian-Yugoslavian frontier near Gorica, and afterwards via Obliki to Scutari. 49/

III. Twelve miles southeast from Peshkopi, the road winds its way from Dibra (Dibër) to the Albanian-Yugoslavian border near Biladë, (Albania), and continues southwards from Biladë to Librazhd, a distance of sixty miles. At Librazhd, the road branches to the west towards Durazzo and Elbasan (Elbasan being about twenty-five miles from Librazhd); and the southern fork leads to Pogradec and Korça, the former town being about thirty-seven miles from Librazhd.

IV. Qafa e Thanës is a border line town between Albania and Yugoslavia and is used in the east of Albania for the road coming from Struga, Yugoslavia, which forks, going eastwards to Librazhd, and southwards to Pogradec and Korça. The distance from Qafa e Thanës to Pogradec is about twenty-seven miles, and from Pogradec to Korça is approximately forty-six miles.

V. From Korça a road extends southeast along the Albanian-Greek frontier. On another more round-about route, the traveller finds himself in three countries in a radius of little more than fifty miles, for this road begins at Monastir (Yugoslavia) and continues, via Florina (Greece), to Bilisht (Albania).

VI. The road from Janina (Greece) leads, via Ersek-Leskovik (Kolonja) in a northeastern direction to Korça by way of Perat. The distance between these cities being: Perat to

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Leskovik thirteen miles; Leskovik to Ersek approximately forty-seven miles, and from Ersek to Korça about forty-one miles.

VII. Another road comes northeastward to Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra), from Janina, to the Albanian frontier at Kakavi; about nine miles to the rear of Kakavi, at Yorgusati, the road branches: One fork continues to Delvina and Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the former town being twenty-four miles from Yorgusati; and the other on to Argyrokastro, a distance of seventeen miles from Yorgusati.

For those travellers desirous of visiting Albania by automobile, it will be found to be more advantageous to use the Gorica road in the northern part of the country and, entering from the east, the road northwards from Pogradec via Qafa-e-Thanë. In the south, the more desirable road is by way of Bilisht, also the roads from Perat to Korça and from Kakavi to Santa Quaranta (Saranda) and Argyrokastro; the road from Dibra (Dibër) to Librazhd having too many slopes.

By far one of the most beautiful and interesting of roads in Albania is the one opened on July 2, 1933, between Tirana and Elbasan, and is thirty-four miles in length. Since it is only an hour and fifteen minutes' journey it should be of great assistance in opening the

central part of the country. Before this road 491
was constructed, the traveller had to go by way of Durazzo and spend some four hours on the journey. And only ten years ago, it was necessary to go on horse-back over the difficult pass of Krrab and spend a minimum of eleven hours on the trip. Thus the progress of Albania!

Taking this motor-route from Tirana, one first follows the interesting old caravan path that was made through the years. But soon the main road veers off because the path took the steeper climb upward.

This road has to cross many new bridges which are very compactly built and substantial, one of these being the long bridge over the Erzen into Petrela.

Upon leaving Petrela, one begins the long, steady pull upward to the summit of the pass of Krrab. However, the gradients are never very steep, but there are many long ascents. This mountain pass is really an achievement in road-making: The road twists and turns ever upward with strong embankments above and below. In the more dangerous parts of the road, powerful balustrades have been erected to insure the riders' safe passage. The

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491 firm and solid foundation is very good, being metalled with the famous local stone which is said to have durability enough to serve as grindstones for flour mills.

At the summit of the pass, very heavy blasting was necessary and many thousands of dollars were spent for sufficient dynamite. The road runs along the spine of the ridge for some distance, affording much beautiful scenery. Upon leaving the summit, the road begins to unwind itself slowly down to the great plains of Elbasan, and the traveller feels he has had a magnificent view of a picturesque and romantic country in complete safety.

Thus we see Albania with connecting arteries throughout the nation which allows easy passage from Yugoslavia to Greece and vice-versa and facilitates passage with the whole of Europe. The economic importance of these routes have already been mentioned, for economically a country depends upon good communication and this is why the construction of roads and bridges properly heads the list of public works.

Nothing could be of more pleasure and interest than travelling in Albania to-day with

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COSTUMES OF SCUTARI

(facing p. 202)

ROADS

491 its well-constructed and durable roads which
cross at all parts of the country. For those
494 who have not the leisure to travel slowly in
their own automobiles or one of those which
may be easily hired with careful and skilled
chauffeurs, and yet who wish to travel independent of the time-tables of the official service, there are motor-coaches available which
make excellent connections with each other in
487 any town. Albania may be reached by good
roads from Greece and Yugoslavia; by sea on
Italian, Greek or Yugoslavian lines and by air
from any metropolis in a few short hours.

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Aerial Service

509 TO-DAY, with man in the air as often as the bird, there is no inconvenience caused by the more southeasternly location of Albania; it has access by air, road and sea. There are flights to Albania running on regular schedule and are most comfortable and efficient, none lasting more than a few short hours. The Ala Littoria has control of the Albanian air lines which affords regular passenger and mail service between Tirana, Korça, Scutari and Valona in a very short while, thus affording a bird's eye view of this picturesque country of beauty and tradition. The trip from Tirana to Scutari (Shkodra) and back is made three times weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. The Tirana-Korça-Tirana service is effectual on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday of every week, also from Tirana-Vlona-Tirana and return is made on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. The service from Tirana to Kukësi and return is made on the same day and on second days of the week.

AERIAL SERVICE

The connections abroad are through Bari, 509 Italy, on the west and Salonica on the east.

The schedule between Rome and Tirana and vice-versa runs regularly three times every week and lasts only about three hours. The time seems as naught, for the beautiful mountainous landscape below and the shimmering Adriatic will fascinate the most sophisticated eye.

The schedule between Tirana-Salonica-Athens and vice-versa runs also three times a week.

There are also convenient aeroplane connections between Vienna (Austria) and Tirana (Albania).

A recent addition to the air connections abroad is the run between Trieste and Durazzo (Durrës) and vice-versa twice weekly.

It is worthy of mention that since these communications were introduced in Albania, in 1925, there has not been one single accident, which is a record to boast of for eleven years, for there are very few countries, if any, that have an achievement such as this of which to be consciously proud.

Postal and Telegraph Service

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206

IF historical tradition is to be believed, then it can scarcely be said that any country has prospered under the temporary domination of a foreign power. Intentions may be for the benefit of the invaded country or of a more nefarious character, but seldom has such an occupation of a country ended with bettered conditions. Such was the result of the Turkish domination of Albania. This nation's postal and telegraphic service was left in such a miserable condition that it could not satisfy even the most primitive needs. The regular telephone system did not exist, and there was practically nothing that could be called a regular postal organization, for all that remained were ten poor post offices that were too disorganized to be of any assistance to the country.

Within the last decade the Albanian postal and telegraph system has been developed to a surprising efficiency. There are over fifty-seven of such offices with one general post office in Tirana and nine district offices scattered throughout the country in the larger and more important towns. 206

tered throughout the country in the larger 206
and more important towns.

The telegraph system is more highly developed than the telephone system. The former service has at its disposal a net of about two thousand miles of wire for the inland service —this is almost the same in proportion to its size as any other European country. This same organization also has three submarine cables for foreign service, namely: Durazzo-Brindisi, Valona-Otranto and Valona-Brindisi; and to Yugoslavia on the north are two more long-distance connections: One via Cetinje and one via Dibra (Dibër). The other country directly connected with Albania through this system is Greece which is reached by one line via Salonica and another via Janina.

In further cooperation with the telegraph system is the three kilowatt wireless station of Tirana, which is in regular connection with Brindisi, Vienna and Zagreb.

The telephone service is rapidly being more fully developed. The local lines are in excellent condition in the larger towns and many of these are connected with each other. Much

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206 is being done to further the advancement of this necessity to the business men.

[205] Since her rapid strides in development have begun, Albania, since 1922, is a member of the Union Postal Universelle, of the Union Télégraphique Universelle, and later, in 1925, has become a member of the Union Radiolé-télégraphique Universelle.

Industry

HAVING immense natural wealth and possessing an abundance of raw materials and considerable reserves of power, Albania is well placed for the development of industry and may therefore be considered a country of the future. Already one can observe great progress made since the world war.

Albania being essentially an agricultural [241] country, it is logical that agriculture and the food industries are so far most developed. The possibilities of future development are also great, there also being large surplus stocks of agricultural products not required for home consumption.

Another industry yet to be developed on a [313] larger scale is timber. Albania is exceptionally rich in forests. Many of the forests are still untouched as domestic needs are filled easily from so dense a growth. Taking into consideration the large number of fully grown forests suitable for felling, and the excellent 433
quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably. 209

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000 quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably.

137 There are in Albania oak forests, coniferous trees, chestnut trees, beech trees, the latter being mingled with pine and firs. Juniper, maple and box grow on the higher slopes of the mountains. The elm, chestnut, walnut and plane trees are more prevalent on the plains.

313 There are steam sawmills near Valona and elsewhere which work continually.

433 Albania being so centrally located for the Balkan States and with one of their main outlets to the Adriatic Sea, is an ideal place for the establishment of factories, branch-factories and wholesale supply houses covering all trades, from canneries to automobile manufactures to supply the needs for the Balkan States and other nearby countries, this being [441] especially desirable and ideal when we con- [445] sider that there is ample labor to be had and the wages are the lowest in Europe.

[425] Land and building materials are extremely low in price, making it possible for the men of moderate means to live luxuriously.

000 Taxation on new properties does not exist,

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A BAZAAR IN ALBANIA

(facing p 210)

INDUSTRY

Taxation on new property does not exist
651 all new buildings being fully free of all taxation for a long number of years.

457 The Albanian Government is always ready to extend all facilities in its power to encourage foreign industries to establish business branches, factories and store houses for their products.

651 Customs duties are low, in some instances negligible or entirely eliminated.

000 When we consider the fact that a Ford automobile, costing in the United States about $500.00, with the customs duties and taxes sells in France for about $1,200.00, and that if the same automobile would be shipped directly to Albania, where the parts would be assimilated and sold from Albania, the automobile would be available to the European public for about $650.00 to $800.00, this clearly gives us a good example of low customs duties and taxation in Albania.

From Albania it is easily and most conveniently possible to supply the needs of Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and other countries.

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Agriculture

000 UNTIL the last two decades Albania has had little time to devote herself to agricultural pursuits. She was too busy defending her land from the foreign invaders. The Turks had a saying: "To the Armenians, the pen, to the Albanians, the sword." This is not true any longer. With the people completely happy and content under the beneficial rule of King Zog I, they have turned their backs upon the sword or beaten it into the plough. They have settled down to developing their homeland.

654 243 The fertile plains and hillsides of Albania are devoted solely to farming, thus making the country almost essentially agricultural. Since the land is the main source of livelihood for the majority of the people, it is one of the chief aims of the government to care for the prosperity of the farmers. For this purpose the government has undertaken a project of model farms to demonstrate methods which may be of assistance and instruction to the natives. The best example of this is maize,

AGRICULTURE

Almost three-fourths of the cultivated soil of 654
Albania is devoted to raising maize of the 243
white and yellow variety, very much similar to the German maize grown in the vicinity of Baden. As there are such tremendously large quantities of this food material, the model farms are doing their best to accustom the farmer to the use of maize as feed for cattle to substitute it for grain for direct consumption. This is efficiently demonstrated by trial efforts to fatten different types of cattle and the experiment has met with success. The government is also conducting considerable propaganda work in various agricultural fields through these model farms. A considerable portion of this crop is exported.

The next in importance to maize is wheat, the growth of which has been bettered and greatly increased under governmental direction. This grain is grown largely in the south where the dry soil and intermittent rains are more suitable for its growth. The government imported several thousands of pounds of wheat of the Montana variety and distributed it to be used for sowing purposes; this has brought about excellent results. This importation was necessary because of the de-

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

654 sirability to improve the quality and the
243 quantity of the domestic crop in order to be able to export wheat into the eastern neighboring country, Greece, and elsewhere.

243 Besides maize and wheat, there are numerous other grainfruits grown in rather equally large proportions. Rye is to be found in the mountainous regions of the east and northeast; oats and barley are grown in almost all sections of the country.

It is also to be noted with interest the rapid growth in the production of rice in Albania. This particular industry thrives in the districts of Elbasan and Berat. Here are many
[312] rice plantations and improvements in the irrigation system which has been rather antiquated to a certain extent, and since such a great supply of water is necessary, there have been great strides made in bettering the method of agriculture which will, without doubt, greatly enhance the production of rice.

248 Hemp is also raised successfully.

Flax and cotton are also cultivated and the crops show a steady increase.

245 Following in importance to the stabilizing grainfruits, the growth of olives holds a position of note. Albania possesses about 1,500,-

AGRICULTURE

000 trees which are scattered over an area of 245
about 5,000 acres; to increase the supply, about 40,000 young olive trees have been planted in the last few years. The more favorable localities are in Elbasan and Durazzo, although there has been great success in raising trees at Alessio (Lesh), Kavaja and Delvina (Delvinë). However, the fruit alone was exported in former years and the fine oil 258
had to be imported, but since 1930, two large oil refineries have been erected in Elbasan, and others elsewhere later on, and it is interesting to relate that, for the first time in 1931, about 110,000 pounds of refined oil could be exported.

Almost throughout the entire country, vast 249
tobacco fields are to be found, which represent another great source of potential wealth for Albania. The more important fields are in the neighborhoods of Berat, Durazzo, Elbasan, Kavaja, Tepelena and Tirana where an excellent tobacco is grown in great quantities. The tobacco crop of 1932 amounted to about 3,500,000 pounds, and has been vastly increased year by year since. In order to draw every possible benefit for this branch of production, a far-reaching program has been

[Errata: should be Tepelenë, Scutari and Tirana. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

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249 started which will, in all probability, help not only to increase the production of tobacco, but also to improve the quality and preparation of the leaf, so that it will find a better and more ready market the world over. This program has already been set in motion and it is believed that it will be of considerable importance toward increasing national wealth.

245 In the fertile orchards and gardens of Albania there is hardly any kind of fruit missing; the cultivation of these is carried on on a vast scale, and offers a more prosperous future. There are figs, lemons, oranges, cherries, apples, pears, pomegranates, pistachios, mulberries, apricots, peaches, melons, tomatoes, almonds and nuts grown in a large number of sections of Albania and an ample quantity exists for export. Within the last three [654] years, the government has distributed about 200,000 fruit trees, gratis, to the fruit growers with the view of increasing production.

The Citrus fruit is preeminently Albanian and more than 300,000 pieces are exported annually.

249 The sumac, used by dyers, is the principal cultivation of the Mirdites and in the district of Scutari and Durazzo. There is a certain amount of export trade in the wood and leaves.

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amount of export trade in the wood and 000
leaves.

The cultivation of vegetables has not been 244
neglected, and in recent years special care has been taken to spread and increase the growth of all kinds of vegetables. The most favored districts for the growth of vegetables, especially peas, beans and all the other leguminous products, are around Durazzo, Elbasan and Korça. In the neighborhood of these towns the increase of vegetable cultivation is steadily progressing, and has become a rather important source of income for the suburban population.

The growing of cotton was started during 248
war time; most of its cultivation was centered first in the valley of the Viosa River, and later spread into the districts of Tirana and Elbasan where it met with such success that it was later tried at Durazzo and elsewhere where it bore very good results. The government has zealously favored the cotton plantations and helping in numerous ways to increase production.

Among the almost all-embracing produc- 245
tions of Albania is to be added the grape. The wild vine grows on the calcereous mountains

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245 to the north-east of Scutari and on the mountains of southern Albania. These vineyards are rather extensive. The best vineyards to be found are in the sections of Berat, Elbasan,
274 Korça, Scutari and Tirana. A wine, which in color and fire resembles that of the south of Spain, is produced on the slopes of Podrina, north of the Drin.

253 Due to the large supplies of game and stock-bred cattle in this rich country, meat is plentiful—meat of all varieties. Since the native market is more than cared for a considerable quantity is prepared for exportation.

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Fisheries

THE fishery industry in Albania has tremendous possibilities and is so far only partially developed. At the present time, canned fish is imported into Albania from foreign countries, which is without reason or actual necessity, for the whole of Albania's western boundary is the plentiful Adriatic Sea, not to mention the innumerable large lakes and rivers. If this tremendous, almost inexhaustible, possibility were to be sounded, there would be found a resource more than sufficient to supply the whole of Europe. This great promise for canneries is only one of the many for which the Adriatic Sea may be utilized.

In the large lakes of Scutari, Ochrida, Malik and Presba there is a supply of fish which has remained abundant through the centuries. The method of catching these fish is still the primitive use of fences on the banks of the rivers and lakes. From these fisheries the State claims 70%, the remaining 30% being kept by the fisherman. If fish are caught

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outside of these enclosures, the government claims only 20%. The percentage of fish which comes to the government is sold by auction to private enterprises.

The centers of these auction markets are as follows:

(1) Scutari: The lakes of Scutari, Murtepe, Kakarriqi and Lundra, with the rivers of Bojana and Drin;

(2) Leshnja: The Old-Drin river and the Adriatic coast from the mouth of the Bojana to that of the Mati;

(3) Durazzo: The mouth of the Mati, the lake of Durazzo, Shlliza, the mouth of the Erzen and the Adriatic coast from the mouth of the Mati to lake Karavasta;

(4) Lushnja: The lakes of Karavasta, Divjaku, Terbuffi, the river Shkumbi, and the Adriatic coast from Karavasta to the mouth of the Semeni;

(5) The Semeni and Devolli rivers;

(6) Valona: The lakes of Narta, Sverneci; the Shushica and Viosa rivers, and the coast of the Adriatic from the mouth of the Semeni to Himara;

(7) Saranda-Delvina: The lakes of Butrinto and Ristica; the Argyrocastro river and the

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coast of the Adriatic from Himara to the 443
frontier of Greece;

(8) The lakes of Pogradec, Ochrida and Prespa.

There are all kinds of fish to be found in 136
these waters, mainly: bass, trout, eel, carp, whitebait, red mullet, sole, sea-fish, etc.

The proceeds from these sales are generally 228
between 350,000 and 400,000 gold Francs annually, although there are some years when the amounts are remarkably higher.

There is no element of risk in this industry.

This industry promises to become an immense source of revenue when fully developed on a modern basis and for this purpose foreign capital is urgently needed and would be welcomed in Albania.

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Minerals and Mining

316 MINING is rapidly becoming an important and profitable item in the economic life of Albania.

The soil of the country is extremely rich in ores of various kinds but unfortunately it has not been developed to the extent justified by the natural conditions and the riches of the sub-soil. Speaking generally, it has scarcely been developed beyond the phase of exploration and that of actual exploitation is just now actually beginning.

135 The Romans were aware of the deposits of asphalt near Valona, but in mediaeval times the continuous wars and later the Turkish domination did not favor the development of the mining industry.

Induced by the appalling scarcity of all raw materials during the world war and the numerous foreign occupations of Albania, a more intensive search for mineral products had been undertaken, and thus, the Italians found naphtha near Valona and lignite in the vicinity of Tepelene and elsewhere. The Aus-

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THERMAL BATHS AT LLIXHA, NEAR ELBASAN

(facing p.222)

MINERALS AND MINING

135 trians discovered lignite near Tirana and along the side road to Elbasan and also an abundance of copper near Pukë. The French unearthed lignite at Pogradec and copper in several places near Korça.

654 The Albanian Government, since 1925, has given greater and more systematic assistance to the mining industry and to the research and study of geological conditions and possibilities.

There were eighteen mining concessions granted between the years 1922 and 1928 and twenty-one more concessions given out in 1929, thus giving these industries a strong impetus.

There are numerous concessions for oil, copper, iron, lead, asbestos, talcum, plaster and marls of cement, lignite, asphalt, chrome, et cetera, still available to responsible companies and individuals.

315 Some of the large international mining
316 enterprises have begun a continually increasing activity in Albania—the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Standard Oil Company, the Franco-Albanian Syndicate, Azienda Italiana Petroli Albania (AIPA), Societa Italiana Miniere di Selenizza, and others.

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316 A company has most successfully exploited the bitumen mines near Valona. The bitumen is found in solid form, both dull and shining, in liquid form and also as asphalt. The shining bitumen, called *romsi*, after the name of the village where it is principally found, is a remarkable product which does not exist in many countries. Albania exported in 1934 and 1935 bitumen in kilos 6,490,012 and 6,178,783 respectively.

135 Copper has been found near Pukë, Rehova, Kamenica and in the Mirdite district; iron in the Drin valley, near Kolonja, and in the Griba mountains; stratas of asbestos and talcum near Kruja, Deshnica, Voskopoja, Valona, Alessio and generally throughout the country; chrome near Pogradec; lead in the north; arsenic in several places; plaster and marls of cement appearing in large quantities near Valona, Alessio and many other places; lignite in numerous parts of Albania, especially in the vicinity of Tirana, Korça, etc. The asphalt and petroleum fields in some parts of Albania are the more advanced in development.

Few countries have a greater variety of mineral wealth, from precious metals down to

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lignite. The greater number of the deposits possess all the natural conditions for exploitation.

There are lignite, asbestos, talcum and asphalt fields throughout the entire country. The greater number of these seams have not yet been touched.

Were the chrome deposits fully exploited Albania would rank among the first in world production of this ore.

Gold, silver, antimony, cinnabar, chromium, coal and petroleum have been discovered by experts in several parts of Albania.

There are also ample indications in many parts of Albania of oil and natural gas, especially in the Viosa valley.

Some experts stated authoritatively that quicksilver has been discovered.

Salt in large quantities is obtained by evaporation, either from the seawater as at Durazzo, near Valona and at the mouth of the Semeni, or from the salt springs.

This great and varied mineral wealth suggests untold possibilities for the economic development and cultural progress of Albania.

A most profitable future is open to the

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

3/2 A most profitable future is open to the many thermal and mineral springs, especially the hot sulphur springs at Llixha, near Elbasan, the springs near Përmet, Peshkopi, etc. -all with diversified medical possibilities.

These thermal and mineral springs have been known and used with great results by the neighboring population for many years for all ailments, and only in recent years has their fame spread and great numbers of visitors from abroad began to come and appreciate the salutary effects of these springs.

3/6 The factors of importance in considering investments in Albanian mining enterprises are:

Albania is and has been for years consistently on a gold basis. That is to say, mines owe their regular and current profit-earning and divident-paying capacity to low costs of production and not to manipulated or artificial exchange premiums.

Albania is in Europe. It is geographically situated in the world's chief markets and does not have to contend with highly expensive transportation costs. It is directly linked with the great industrial centres of Europe by direct water routes.

The Kingdom of Albania is a modern well-

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DINNER AT A PEASANT'S HOME

(facing p. 226)

MINERALS AND MINING

433 The Kingdom of Albania is a modern well-
316 developed European State. It is already possessed of such social amenities as schools, hospitals, churches, aeroplanes, telegraphs, telephones, wireless, automobile roads, etc., consequently capital outlay and overhead charges are not, as in most mining countries, burdened with the provision of these services.

[464] Albania has at hand an adequate supply of qualified and skilled workers, from university graduates downwards. Apart, therefore, from foreign managers and technical specialists, there is no need for the otherwise usual expense and difficulty of staffing.

433 Albania is possessed of coalfields and is well wooded and exceptionally well watered. There is always available unlimited timber for mining and building, coal for power and water for general purposes.

Tirana, the capital of Albania, is within one day's air journey from London, a few hours' air journey from Paris and only about three hours' air trip from Rome.

[464] Albania is possessed of an abundant supply of willing unskilled and peasant labor. There is in the world to-day probably nowhere available such cheap, eager and efficient labor as is everywhere at hand in Albania.

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454 Existing laws and current legislation en-
451 courage the investment of foreign capital and technical experience. Albania imposes no embargo upon the re-export of capital or dividends, nor are there any exchange restrictions. The fact of the matter is that foreign investments are absolutely safe and not subject to confiscation. Albania's record for protecting foreigners and foreign capital is irreproachable. Taxation is moderate and equi-
651 table.

Monetary and Banking System; Budget and Public Loans

THE monetary unit of Albania is the 436
gold Franc at one hundred Qindtar according to the law of July 12, 1925. The gold coin of twenty gold Francs has a weight of 6.45161 grams with an allowance of 1.29%. The issues of the Albanian National Bank are for five, twenty and one hundred gold Francs, and the coins issued for circulation are for one, one-half and one-fourth Lek, one Lek being the equivalent of one-fifth of a gold Franc—a Lek having twenty Qindtar.

The Albanian National Bank (Banka Kom- 453
bëtare e Shqipnis) was created by law of September 2, 1925.

The exclusive privilege of emitting notes [436]
was granted to the Albanian National Bank, which is a limited company, and which right is solely theirs for a duration of fifty years. The capital of the bank is 12,500,000 gold Francs of which three-tenths are actually

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453 paid in. The by-laws of the bank provide that the notes issued for circulation have to be covered with thirty-three and one-third per centum; any decline of this percentage would have, eventually, to be circumvented by an increase of the rate of discount, which, at the present time is two and one-half per centum. Covering must be made in actual gold or of sight-drafts payable in gold; but in any case, one-third of it must consist of actual gold, that is: one-ninth of the total amount of notes in circulation.

[436] Notes in circulation were 13,294,840 gold Francs, which were covered by 116%, according to the bank's balance sheet of December 31, 1932; the liabilities of the bank, on the same date, which were payable on sight, amounted to 19,432,192 gold Francs. Both of these totals were balanced by 5,534,837 in gold, sight-drafts also payable in gold amounted to 26,365,270 gold Francs and by 8,041,902 [436] of other stable values. The Albanian gold Franc, at the regular rate of exchange, has for a number of years last past always been equal with the Swiss Franc. In fact, at the present time, the Albanian gold Franc stands higher

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than the Swiss Franc in the regular course 453
of exchange.

The Albanian National Bank has six active branches in the various towns of Albania.

It is rapidly becoming more desirable to establish new banks in Albania, for at present there is only the Albanian National Bank and a branch of a Yugoslavian bank, and with the rapid increase of trade and general impetus to business, there are greater demands for other banking institutions which are becoming a necessity.

The national budget of Albania for the 652
financial year of 1933-34 showed the following figures.

Income	24,563,040 gold Francs
Expense	23,921,683 gold Francs

The national budget for the financial year of 1934-35 showed the following figures:

Income	18,506,500 gold Francs
Expense	18,888,192 gold Francs
Deficit	381,692 gold Francs

For the financial year of 1935-36 the figures of the national budget were as follows:

Income	17,237,191 gold Francs
Expense	18,035,563 gold Francs
Deficit	798,372 gold Francs

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

652 Albania's national budget for the year 1936-37 is as follows:

Income	18,584,042	gold Francs
Expense	18,879,427	gold Francs
Deficit	295,385	gold Francs

Albania has contracted two loans, namely: A loan of 50,000,000 gold Francs, redeemable
653 in forty years. This loan was made by the Society for the Economic Development of Albania (SVEA), in 1927, to be used exclusively for the purpose of developing the projects of public works, such as constructing bridges, building roads, the improvement of the port of Durazzo (Durrës) and for furthering agricultural development. As security for this loan the incomes on salt, matches, cigarette paper and playing cards were pledged.

648 The second loan of 100,000,000 gold Francs
652 was agreed upon in 1931 by the Italian Government, the whole sum of which was to be liquidated by annual installments of not over 10,000,000 gold Francs, to be used to balance the budget as long as the investments, presently in course, will have beneficially assisted in giving economic stability to the nation, so that the necessary expenses may be taken care of by Albania's own resources, and a part of

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such annual installment also to be applied towards further development of public works, agriculture and for the furtherance of education. 648 652

In 1936, Italy and Albania agreed upon several new agreements, conventions and treaties, one of which covers the liquidation of the aforesaid two loans and provides for other loans to be used by the Albanian Government for the further economic development and welfare of the Kingdom of Albania.

The following eight Agreements were duly ratified by Italy and Albania and ratification documents were exchanged on May 30, 1936:

(1) A Protocole, signed January 28, 1936, as supplementary to the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of January 20, 1924;

(2) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, liquidating the loan of 100,000,000 gold Francs of June 26, 1931;

(3) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, with the aim of systemizing the financial situation of Albania;

(4) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, for a loan of 10,000,000 gold Francs for agricultural development;

(5) An Agreement, signed March 19,

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648 1936, for a loan, creating a monopoly on
652 tobacco in Albania as security for such loan;

(6) A Convention, signed March 19, 1936, for the further development of the port of Durazzo (Durrës);

(7) A Convention, signed March 19, 1936, relating to veterinarian research and sanitation measures;

(8) A Provisional Agreement of Commerce, signed March 19, 1936.

Foreign Trade

DUE to the constant change of government that Albania was subjected to prior to 1925, the country had been unable to develop its natural resources and trade possibilities. However, since 1925, trade relations with foreign nations has received great impetus and has continued with even greater intensity. 439

In accordance with the figures of the official statistics for 1932, the total of Albanian imports amounted to 22,814,500 gold Francs and her total exports amounted to 4,500,360 gold Francs. The figures for 1933 are of necessity reduced for the imports because of the regrettable consequence of the world economic crisis, which, naturally, has affected Albania as well as other countries of the world. These figures being: Imports 15,938,221 gold Francs and 5,746,476 gold Francs for exports. For the year 1934 the figures are: Imports 12,-332,708 gold Francs and exports 4,284,331 gold Francs. For 1935 the imports amounted to 13,727,138 gold Francs and exports 6,037,-

439 478 gold Francs. In the first three months of 1936 the exports amounted to 1,575,803 gold Francs and imports reached the sum of 3,-574,540 gold Francs.

Albania being an essentially agricultural country, has also suffered from the world disaster in this field, and the blow to her in this connection has been a severe one, since 4/5 of her exports consist in farming products of the agricultural industries, such as: olives, olive oil, cheese, eggs, live-stock, wool, hides and skins, fruits of all kinds, vegetables, cereals, charcoal, bitumen, wood-pulp, various kinds of woods, lumber, et cetera.

One of the widest fields for imports at the present time is Albania. She has just begun in recent years to tap her own source of supply and is dependent to a great extent upon other countries for various products. It is expected that in the near future Albania will be enabled to develop her own great possibilities and consequently reduce her imports and increase her exports.

It is worthwhile to note that the number of nations with which Albania transacts business is constantly increasing. The principal imports of Albania are of a more constructive

nature; some of which are technical and 439
chemical products, textiles of all kinds, constructing materials, machineries and motors of all kinds, cement, hardware and cutlery, leather goods, rubber and rubber articles, paper and paper articles of all kinds, coffee, chocolate, tea, sugar, musical instruments, medicines, et cetera. Up until recent years it has also been necessary to import cereals for the years in which the crops have been unsuccessful, but these imports have now become superfluous since modernization of agricultural methods have recently caused greater strides towards progress.

The deficit in the balance of trade seems exceptionally heavy at first glance but it is naturally explained by the fact that most of the imported merchandise such as machinery, construction materials, et cetera, have been put to profit-bearing uses which are bound to increase, in due time, the productive possibilities of the country.

The following list is of the Albanian imports of a more specific nature: 3,864,327 kilos of sugar in 1935 as compared to 3,882,046 kilos in 1934. There were 6,842,330 kilos of cement bought in 1935 while 11,717,440

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439 kilos were absorbed in 1934. Another item of great importance is benzine, of which 3,135,795 kilos were used in 1935 and 2,943,-690 kilos in 1934. Petroleum in 1935 found a market of 2,198,230 kilos compared to the 2,306,911 kilos in 1934—this product is slowly being excluded by the development of the plentiful native fields. 2,693,780 kilos of naphtha was imported in 1935 as contrasted with 1,991,414 kilos in 1934. Paper and paper articles of all kinds were absorbed to the amount of 1,136,689 kilos in 1935. Large quantities of chemicals and medicine were also imported.

Smaller items on the import list are: Beer, vegetable and mineral oils, cotton goods and textures, silk and artificial silk tissues, wool textures, biscuits of all kinds, meat extracts, sausages, sardines, 24,983 kilos of cacao and chocolate.

Coffee was imported from: England 882 kilos, United States of America 34,456 kilos, Egypt 9 kilos, Brazil 508,387 kilos, Italy 25 kilos and Austria 147 kilos in 1935. There were 5,433 kilos of tea imported in 1935. Also cognac, grains, shoes, leather goods, bicycles, motorcycles, automobiles, gramophones, ra-

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dios, and numerous other articles. 439

Albanian exports in 1935 were lower than in some of the previous years and are as follows: Various kinds of live-stock, such as horses, colts, mares, mules, donkeys, oxen, cows, sheep, lambs, ewes, goats, pigs, et cetera; poultry; game meats; 1,200 kilos of butter; 817,080 kilos of cheese; 1,222,611 kilos of eggs; 322 kilos of honey; 380,861 kilos of fish; 2,629,767 kilos of fresh and salted olives; 1,314,750 kilos of marc d'olives; 56,000 kilos of cotton seeds; large quantities of tobacco and cigarettes; 1,232 kilos of olive oil; 83,168 kilos of new hides; 607,666 kilos of dry hides; 200 kilos of colored hides; 12,782 kilos of pelts of fox, otter, etc.; 1,700 kilos of horse hair; 4,467 kilos of fertilizer; 7,898 kilos of wax; 31,333 kilos of bones, horns and hoofs, and large quantities of soap.

Among the cereals were 835,580 kilos of wheat; 865 kilos of rye; 11,941,683 kilos of maize; 53,654 kilos of barley; 50,640 kilos of oats; 1,808,224 kilos of hay; 9,527 kilos of special citrus fruits; 17,880 kilos of ordinary citrus fruits; 29,199 kilos of nuts; 1,210,510 kilos of haricots; onions; potatoes; starch, and sausage casings.

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439 Other exports of interest are 1,358,706 kilos of firewood; 757,045 kilos of ebony; 319,000 kilos of malaca; 240 kilos of works of malaca; 18,285 kilos of cotton; 400,313 kilos of wool; 2,329,425 kilos of charcoal; 6,784,383 kilos of bitumen; 574 kilos of oakwood and 4,194,764 kilos of crude petroleum.

And the articles of needlecraft, the laces and tapestries of Albania hold a very high place. In this diligent country the women spend much spare time over these exquisite additions to the feminine toilet and household decorations. These bits of art may not be widely known as yet, but where their markets have already been established there is the greatest demand for these; also the products of the silver- and goldsmiths and pottery makers, which are a symphony in precious medals and clay, have found an eager market.

The lists which follow are from the official statistical records of the principal exports and imports of Albania for the last nine years (1927-1935).

439

Exports and Imports

Covering the Period from 1927 to 1936

Year	Imports Gold Francs	Exports Gold Francs
1927	24,681,888	11,106,901
1928	32,311,583	14,694,203
1929	38,643,900	14,682,603
1930	33,288,900	12,352,063
1931	29,513,300	7,509,000
1932	22,814,500	4,500,360
1933	15,938,221	5,746,476
1934	12,332,708	4,284,331
1935	13,730,138	6,037,478

For the first three months of 1936 the imports amounted to 3,574,540 gold Francs and the exports reached the figure of 1,575,803 gold Francs.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS WITH SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES FOR 1935

Country	Imports Gold Francs	Exports Gold Francs
Belgium	457,219	9,551
Brazil	317,187	—
Czechoslovakia	948,431	52,039
Egypt	181,298	9,608
France	385,210	79,246
Germany	1,114,493	560
Great Britain	1,344,524	22,306
Greece	581,913	1,241,482
India	101,404	—

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439 Italy	3,905,374	3,686,743
Japan	1,583,801	—
United States	550,346	865,391
Yugoslavia	617,154	78,349

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS WITH SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES FOR THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF 1936

Country	Imports Gold Francs	Exports Gold Francs
Austria	120,483	2,636
Belgium	198,959	—
Czechoslovakia	255,796	6,734
Egypt	45,264	3,104
France	138,363	9,348
Germany	313,574	120
Great Britain	357,563	17,148
Greece	242,962	134,193
Hungary	72,083	—
Italy	904,192	1,223,364
Japan	401,844	—
Switzerland	16,208	2,575
United States	202,009	162,025
Yugoslavia	120,311	14,556
Other countries	184,929	—
Total	3,574,540	1,575,803

Principal Albanian Exports

With Quantities For Period 1928-1935

ARTICLES	QUANTITY	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Live Animals	Pieces	110,025	114,239	60,110	22,839	11,574	4,707	48,542	25,700
Cheese	Kilos	1,498,797	1,433,009	1,435,087	730,669	738,645	523,026	412,126	817,080
Eggs	Kilos	1,191,432	1,154,522	1,475,915	1,479,927	639,219	582,013	933,235	1,159,601
Fish	Kilos	279,695	188,293	353,950	476,030	507,858	523,751	531,415	380,604
Olives	Kilos	3,262,926	2,217,261	981,042	4,372,883	3,388,655	11,284,061	1,112,571	2,629,767
Olive oil	Kilos	828,402	1,697,685	1,415,501	47,489	4,632	17,145	2,748	1,247
Tobacco and Cigarettes	Kilos	72,425	40,751	95,501	305,191	23,377	55,455	63,025	140,725
Hides and Skins	Kilos	1,047,731	865,415	763,918	435,783	372,021	849,627	668,162	691,900
Wool	Kilos	474,203	634,880	480,079	396,747	289,100	324,851	364,600	468,369
Charcoal	Kilos	9,636,308	9,812,960	5,695,989	3,585,730	2,899,450	735,222	665,197	2,329,425
Bitumen	Kilos	3,232,355	4,425,984	4,334,853	3,163,259	4,358,650	7,352,718	6,490,012	6,178,783
Timber and Woodpulp	Kilos	10,296,404	10,666,207	8,545,928	2,484,510	4,197,925	4,570,582	4,036,258	2,115,811

439

Principal Imports

With Quantities For Period 1928-1935

ARTICLES	QUANTITY	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Rice	Kilos	2,808,147	3,164,954	2,887,567	3,440,355	3,164,505	1,756,326	2,587,639	2,805,731
Coffee	Kilos	497,365	625,052	640,111	639,887	609,327	602,295	507,289	543,734
Sugar	Kilos	5,247,294	4,819,389	5,509,372	5,356,629	4,720,541	4,350,151	3,882,046	3,864,327
Beer	Kilos	415,080	470,153	531,333	616,189	546,292	302,254	83,091	106,730
Hides and Skins	Kilos	207,019	231,413	258,540	211,105	150,926	228,137	206,046	238,060
Textile Products	Kgr.	1,224,202	134,435	1,429,471	1,258,661	1,186,613	1,365,606	1,556,441	1,933,615
Cement	Kgr.	12,404,280	22,728,115	22,481,150	26,547,740	23,079,520	13,508,917	11,717,440	6,842,330
Industrial Machines	Kgr.	734,421	1,177,582	715,975	867,659	541,603	215,869	98,768	448,793
Agricultural Machines	Kgr.	89,184	182,286	153,478	210,140	71,551	93,797	37,409	78,342
Automobiles	Pieces	200	413	283	276	163	123	75	91
Benzine	Kgr.	2,587,796	2,925,386	3,581,471	3,290,186	3,133,266	3,880,086	2,943,690	3,135,795
Petroleum	Kgr.	4,119,202	3,338,816	2,510,918	2,321,019	2,091,780	2,393,735	2,306,911	2,198,230
Naphtha and Gasoline	Kgr.	928,030	1,289,129	1,229,038	947,780	1,961,265	2,193,369	1,991,414	2,693,780

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Imports from the Principal Countries

(In Gold Francs)

1928-1935

COUNTRY	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Italy	15,623,810	17,840,100	16,707,000	13,839,500	8,918,800	6,675,655	4,203,080	3,905,374
Great Britain	2,062,426	2,694,200	2,464,600	1,770,900	1,586,200	1,438,222	1,134,154	1,344,524
Czechoslovakia	2,386,967	2,414,700	2,430,400	1,982,000	1,766,900	1,078,134	679,320	948,431
United States	2,651,053	3,919,500	2,416,500	2,803,600	2,215,700	1,012,842	705,281	550,346
Japan	———	6,700	32,000	115,500	290,000	984,431	1,442,825	1,583,801
Germany	1,388,420	1,892,700	1,801,100	1,325,300	1,113,200	973,013	640,837	1,114,493
Yugoslavia	1,828,815	3,061,400	2,554,100	2,733,300	2,063,000	967,817	826,636	617,154
Greece	1,878,495	1,598,500	1,186,200	1,076,200	644,900	823,150	633,882	581,913
France	660,407	788,200	947,500	672,000	436,800	509,910	362,264	385,210
Austria	926,997	1,079,300	1,120,400	951,400	667,300	434,298	429,468	522,093
Belgium	422,221	796,600	695,800	600,100	374,700	380,655	409,596	457,219
Hungary	88,745	167,100	310,300	430,400	255,000	249,750	392,169	318,236
Holland	42,872	31,460	63,000	40,500	48,100	67,775	61,184	71,415
Egypt	1,125,775	2,015,400	111,000	110,000	35,300	60,382	85,755	181,298
Switzerland	96,809	30,800	152,000	116,100	77,800	57,750	45,955	95,333
Sweden	62,725	52,090	16,000	11,500	10,400	32,929	27,827	19,117
Turkey	68,486	47,590	82,000	131,400	53,300	19,242	11,863	9,861
Rumania	743,059	67,390	27,000	117,300	1,030,800	2,946	3,236	564,153
Bulgaria	60,339	12,200	12,000	224,600	862,200	2,035	4,123	3,525
Other Countries	193,162	127,970	160,000	461,700	364,200	167,285	233,251	456,642
Total	32,311,583	38,643,900	33,288,900	29,513,300	22,814,500	15,938,221	12,332,708	13,730,138

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Foreign Representation

648 THE Kingdom of Albania has concluded treaties of amity, arbitration, commerce, extradition, navigation and consular conventions with numerous foreign countries.

Albania is a member of the League of Nations since December 17, 1920, and also a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

Albania is one of the signatories to the Universal Postal Union Convention, signed at Cairo, March 20, 1934.

Albania, on May 6, 1935, acceded to the International Telecommunication Convention and the Radiocommunication Regulations Annexed thereto of Madrid, of December 9, 1932.

It is the earnest wish of King Zog I and the Albanian Government, according to a statement made personally by the king to the author, to continue in amity and peace with all nations alike.

Albania maintains diplomatic and consular

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relations with practically all foreign nations, 648 having legations in Ankara, Athens, Belgrade, Cairo, London, Paris, Rome, Sofia, Washington, and in other capitals, and consulates-general or consulates in various cities of Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Dominion of Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States of America, Yugoslavia, and so forth. Albania has also appointed permanent press representatives—Chiefs of Press Service of the Albanian Government and or Press Attachés to Austria, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Dominion of Canada, France, Great Britain, Haiti, India, Irish Free State, Mexico, United States of America and in other countries.

A permanent delegate to the League of Nations resides in Geneva, Switzerland.

Austria, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Iran (Persia), Italy, Latvia, Rumania, Russia, Turkey, the United States of America, Yugoslavia and other countries have legations in Albania, while numerous other nations maintain consulates-general or consulates in Tirana and other cities of Albania.

Hotels and Restaurants

485 THERE are innumerable large and small but most comfortable hotels throughout Albania.

While one must not expect to find in Albania the same kind of large modern hotels as in London, New York, Paris and Vienna, the traveller will find clean and comfortable hotels, with running hot and cold water, like the Continental Hotel and Hotel International in Tirana, which two are classified in the first class category, and the Hotel London, Adriatik Hotel and the Hotel Metropol, also in Tirana, which are classified in the category of second class, but, of course, there are several other hotels. In Scutari (Shkodra) the tourist will find the Grand Hotel, Hotel International and the Park Hotel very comfortable, but the Park Hotel has no restaurant, while the others have first class restaurants. Garages serve the majority of the hotels throughout Albania. In Durazzo (Durrës) the main hotels are the Isola Bella, Miramare and the Palace. The two largest first class

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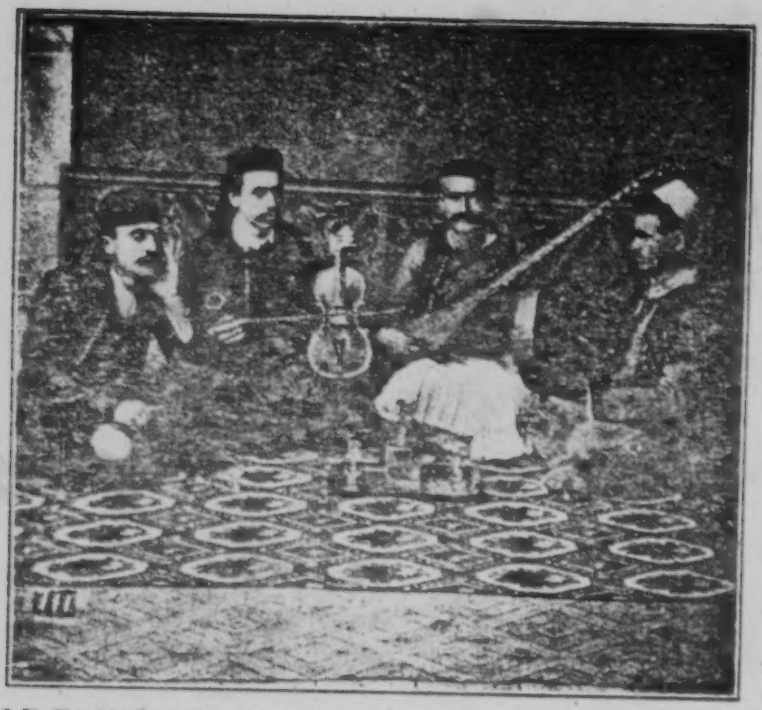

OLD-FASHIONED GROUP OF ALBANIAN MUSICIANS

(facing p 248)

HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

985 hotels in Elbasan are the Grand Hotel and Adriatik Hotel. From Elbasan to Llixha is fourteen kilometers where there is a special hotel in connection with the thermal baths. The Hotel Colombo is the largest in Berat. The most convenient hotels of Valona (Vlona) are the Adriatik and the Gambino. The Palace Hotel of Korça is very nice and the restaurant in connection will satisfy the pallet of the most fastidious. In Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra) the largest hotels are the Savoja and the Royal. At Santa Quaranta (Saranda) the Piro Palas is the best. This latter city is the most convenient stop to visit Butrinto, Delvina and Himara for these three towns are all within a very short distance.

265 There are countless large and small restaurants throughout the country—spotlessly clean—serving the most delicious, tasty food —American, European or Oriental.

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Time and Costs

000 STUDY any map and you will see that almost anybody can get away long enough for an Albanian vacation. It is nearer than ever before!

By air from anywhere in Europe, Albania is as close as to-morrow—a few hours.

For those whose time for vacation is limited and must come from the Americas by steamship and train, even a four-week vacation gives one plenty of time for Albania—time that will never be wasted and always will afford glowing memories.

The trip by steamer from any port of the Americas direct to an Italian port, and from the Italian ports to the Albanian ports is fascinating, full of entertainment and beauty.

Whatever transportation method one prefers, just visit or write to any steamship or travel bureau and they will have sent to you, free, a detailed routing from your home city to Albania.

As a prospective visitor to Albania one naturally wants some idea of what the cost is

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AN ALBANIAN GYPSY DANCER

(facing p. 250)

TIME AND COSTS

000 likely to be. Obviously the answer depends on the individual's personal tastes in accommodations and how he or she spends the time.

485 In Albania the visitor may spend as much or as little as he may like. There are accommodations of every type, metropolitan, residential, suburban—whatever taste and purse dictate. However, because Albania is a year 'round playground one escapes the "peak" prices necessary in resorts having only brief "seasons" each year.

Ordinary expenses in Albania will never exceed those at home.

Furthermore, surveys indicate that costs in Albania are about forty per cent under the average for Europe as a whole.

000 Conditions in Albania are such that summer and winter hold much more attraction to the visitor than do the periodical summer or winter weeks elsewhere.

To spend a few days, weeks or months in Albania is to be furnished with refreshing and delightful memories for years to come!

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Passport and Visa Regulations

486 FOREIGNERS who desire to enter Albania are required to be in possession of a valid passport, issued by the proper authorities of the country of which they are citizens or subjects, and an Albanian visa, issued by an Albanian diplomatic or consular official.

Albanian visa is granted by the Albanian diplomatic or consular representatives, without delay, to the following:

(a) Persons going to Albania on official missions;

(b) Persons going to Albania for scientific, educational or humanitarian purposes;

(c) Tourists and travellers.

Austrian, Italian, Liechtenstein and Swiss nationals must be in possession of a valid passport but require no Albanian visa.

American citizens require the Albanian visa on their passports for travel to Albania. Such visa will be granted by any diplomatic or consular representative of Albania without any fee. American naturalized citizens of

PASSPORT AND VISA REGULATIONS

Albanian birth or origin, who intend taking up 486
permanent residence in Albania, are required to comply with certain regulations prior to the obtaining of the visa.

Tourists and visitors going to Albania in groups of over five persons can receive specially one visa for all, paying the fee of only one visa for the whole group.

Persons intending to become temporary or 167
permanent residents in Albania will find that there are no difficulties or restrictions whatsoever for prospective residents.

For further information about passports 000
and visas apply to any Albanian diplomatic or consular representative.

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ERRATA

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Page 8 line 18 read: Presba instead of: Prespa
Page 10 line 8 read: was instead of: were
Page 11 line 18 read: Maximinus instead of: Maximian
Page 15 line 25 read: Shqipëtar instead of: Shqipetar
Page 16 line 1 read: Shqipëtar instead of: Shqipetar
Page 16 line 8 read: Shqipëtars instead of: Shqipetars
Page 22 line 17 read: Skënderbeg instead of: Skenderbeg
Page 27 line 10 read: mediaeval instead of: medieval
Page 28 line 7 read: Shqipëtars instead of: Shqipetars
Page 30 line 7 read: Tepelene instead of: Tepeleni
Page 32 line 5 read: Frashëri instead of: Frasheri
Page 33 line 13 read: Shqipëtars instead of: Shqipetars
Page 34 line 8 read: Shqipëtars instead of: Shqipetars
Page 37 line 3 read: Shqipëtars instead of: Shqipetars
Page 38 line 19 read: was instead of: were (meaning second "were")
Page 66 line 6 read: Shevqet instead of: Shefqet
Page 76 line 21 read: 58 instead of: 56
Page 106 line 9 read: Shqipëtars instead of: Shqipetars
Page 114 line 4 read: phenomenon instead of: phenomena
Page 119 line 19 read: Shevqet instead of: Shevket
Page 152 line 3 read: to $1,500.00 and *one can* live as comfortably as in a
Page 161 line 3 read: Korça *was until recently* the residence of the head of
Page 172 line 23 read: Santi Quaranta instead of: Santa Quaranta
Page 173 line 23 read: Voskopoja instead of: Voskopoj
Page 182 line 19 read: Dora d' Istria instead of: Dora d' Istra
Page 187 line 8-9 read: Frashëri instead of: Frasheri
Page 188 line 3 read: Argyrocastro instead of: Argyrokastro
Page 196 line 11 read: have instead of: has
Page 215 line 21 read: Tepelene instead of: Tepelena
Page 215 line 21 read: ...san, Kavaja, Tepelene, *Scutari* and Tirana where an
Page 215 line 26 read: from instead of: for
Page 221 line 4 read: Presba instead of: Prespa
Page 249 line 10 read: Argyrocastro instead of Argyrokastro
Page 249 line 12 read: Santi Quaranta instead of: Santa Quaranta

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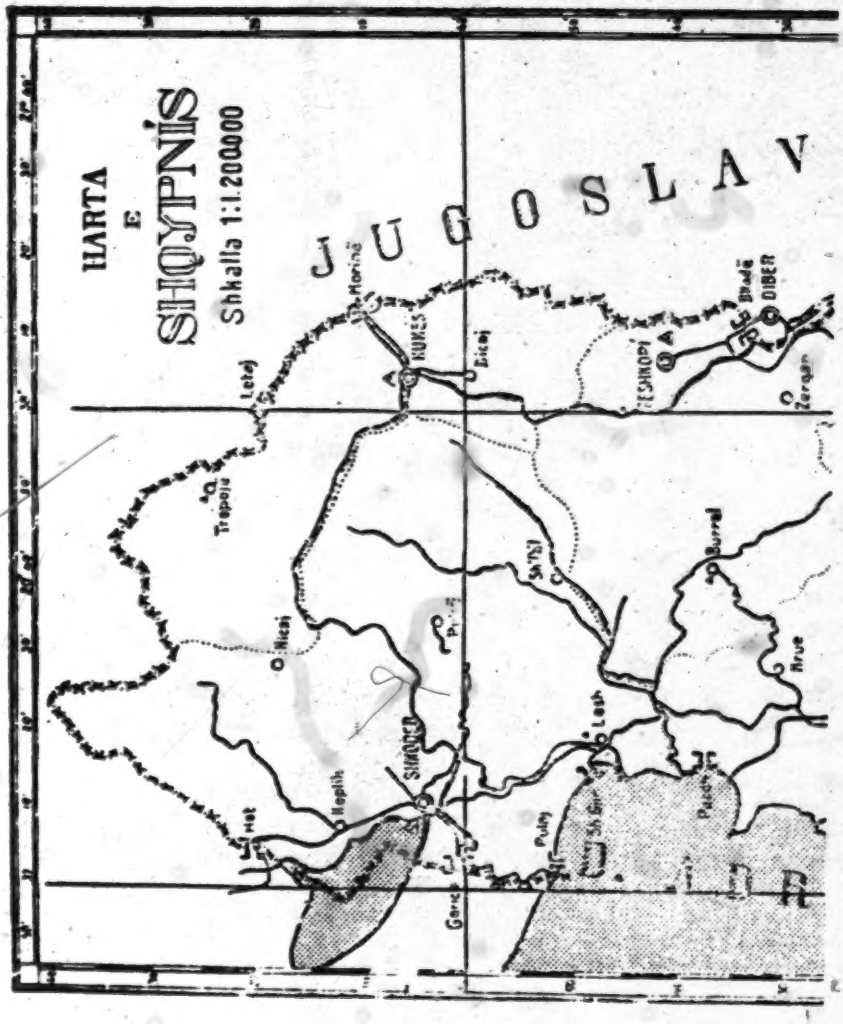

MAP OF

End map (A)

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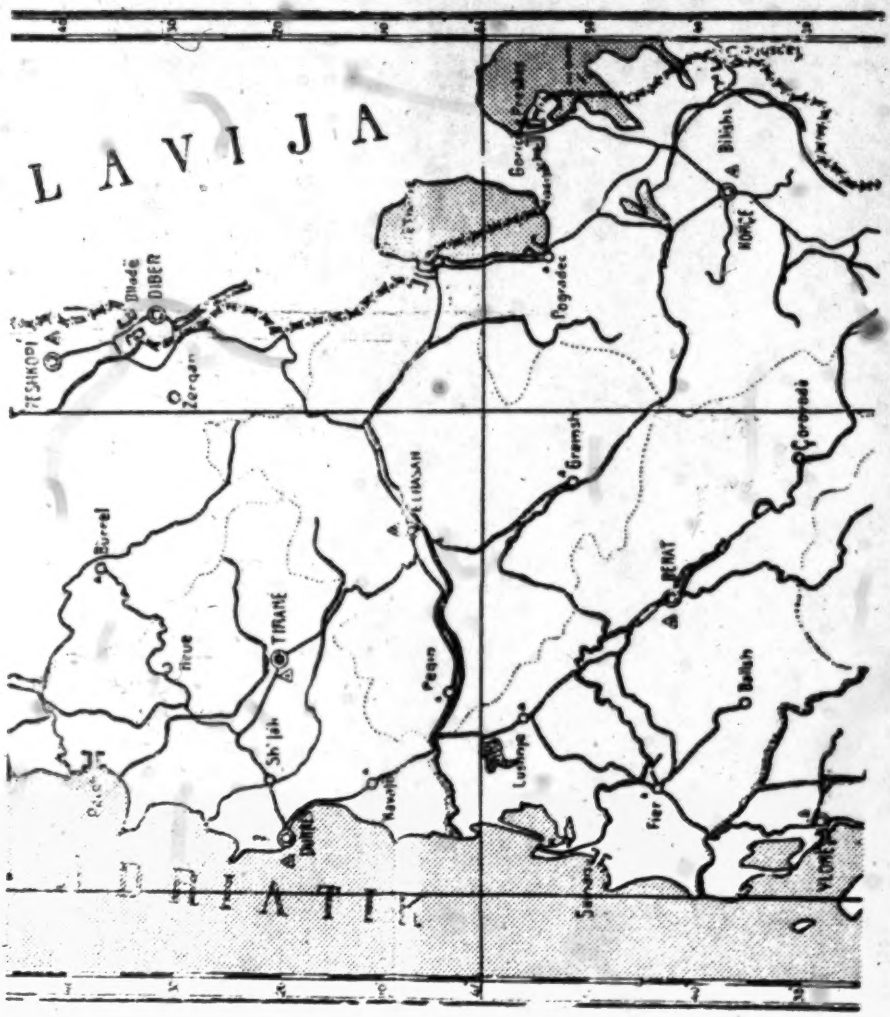

MAP OF THE KINGDOM OF ALBANIA

End map (B)

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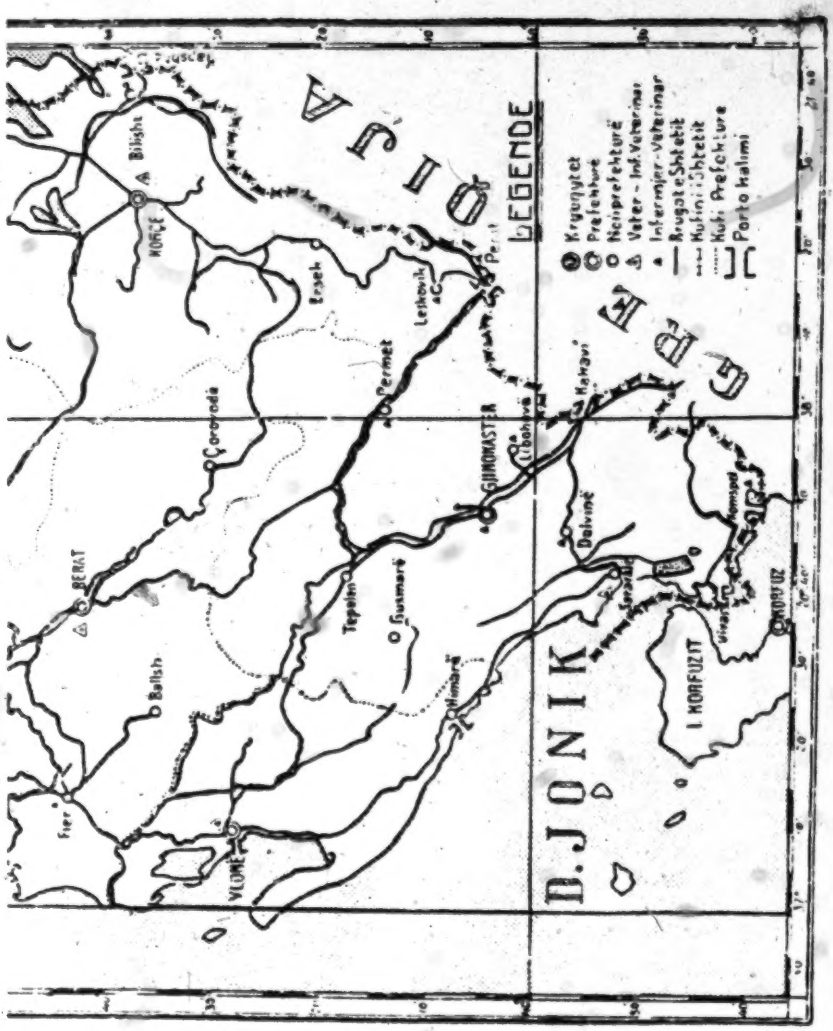

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[For history of Albania from the time of Illyria to the abortive revolution of 1924, see category 116, pp. 8-11, 14-15, 17-27, 29-67.]

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EGl Albania EGl

[For biographical information on King Zog I see category 116, pp. 97-102.]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

THE

WOMEN OF TURKEY

AND THEIR FOLK-LORE

BY

LUCY M. J. GARNETT

WITH CONCLUDING CHAPTERS ON

THE ORIGINS OF MATRIARCHY

BY

JOHN S. STUART-GLENNIE, M.A.

OF THE MIDDLE TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW
AUTHOR OF "THE NEW PHILOSOPHY OF HISTORY," ETC.
EDITOR OF "GREEK FOLK-SONGS," ETC.

Al Γυναῖκες . . . μάλιστα τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀκρίβειαν σώζουσι.
PLATO, *Κριτ.* 74.

Facilius enim Mulieres incorruptam antiquitatem conservant.
CICERO, *De Orat.* iii. 12.

[Title Page]

THE JEWISH AND MOSLEM WOMEN

LONDON
DAVID NUTT, 270-271 STRAND, W.C.
1891

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER VIII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

121 As the character of a people is generally so much influenced by the nature of the country they inhabit, a brief description of the division of Turkey occupied by the Albanians may give greater interest to my
101 remarks on this race. Albania, as its native name of *Skiperi*, "The Land of Rocks," signifies, is one of the most mountainous divisions of Turkey. The principal
133 chain runs north and south, parallel with the Adriatic, and from it jut many spurs, composed of mountains as lofty as the main range, which ramify in every direction, so that almost the whole surface of the country is covered with rugged hills and deep valleys, save near the mouth of the river Ergenth. Even the coast is grandly mountainous, the spurs there often terminating in abrupt precipices, the sides of which are eternally beaten by the lashing waves.

132 Almost every variety of climate is found within the limits of Albania. In the south, and near the coast, the temperature is as mild as at Naples, and oranges, citrons, grapes, pomegranates, figs, and other fruits grow in abundance. But the cold increases with the distance from the sea, and only twenty miles from the Adriatic the snowfalls are heavy, and
[137] the frosts severe. The higher and more northern

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

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Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

631
101

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg,[1] the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

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[1] "*Iskender Bey*, the Lord Alexander."

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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175 famous of these chieftains were Kara Mohammed of Scutari, and Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The former, at the end of the last century, aimed at an independent sovereignty, which his son, Mustapha Pasha, asserted
175 in open rebellion in 1831; and the latter, notwith-
669 standing the frightful cruelties of which he was guilty, still lives in tale and song as the mighty upholder of Albanian independence against Ottoman tyranny. Subsequent risings have, however, resulted only in the death or banishment of the most influential members of leading families, the last *coup d'état* of this description having been carried out at Prisrend and
[423] Uskup in 1881. The great landholders are now all Moslems, the property of which the Christian proprietors were despoiled at the end of last century by Ali Pasha having, on his death, been appropriated by the Sultan.

671 But, whether Christian or Moslem, each section of the Albanian nation has its own traditional laws and usages by which their social life is alone regulated. The Miridites claim to have received theirs from the Dukadjini princes, who, according to them, were the ancestors of their own chieftains. Their internal
642 government is a species of aristocratic republic, all
623 matters affecting the community being decided in council by the chiefs, the elders, and other hereditary functionaries.

342 The dwellings of the Albanians are quite in keeping with the character and mode of life of their occupants. Even at Ioannina, where the customs more closely approximate to those of the Greeks, the houses have a gloomy appearance from without, being shut in by

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the 342
street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, 363
the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly 347
mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a 352
low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold 353
the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are 415
hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride 411
of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys 342
are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high 711
walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to 181
slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his 577
feud with him. The villages of these districts are 361
generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the 352
cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

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fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in, a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes, which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to preserve them. The other serves as general living and sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green, in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor, where the grain is trodden out by horses.

The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly

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courageous. The Tosks are blue-eyed, and also have 142
frequently blonde or chestnut hair. Their features are refined, and they are extremely elegant in figure and deportment. The Khams resemble the Greeks somewhat in feature. They have black eyes and hair, and darker skins than the Ghegs. The Liaps are the [462]
least handsome of all the Albanian women, and the laborious out-of-door life they lead, surrounded by privations of all kinds, soon destroys any degree of beauty they may have possessed in youth. They 481
are, however, expert swimmers and divers, this pastime affording almost their only distraction.

The national costumes of the Albanians are ex- 291
tremely varied and picturesque, and are still rigidly adhered to by all classes. The dress of a Skipetar lady is extremely rich and costly. It consists of a sleeved gown of striped white gauze; a pair of very full Turkish trousers drawn in at the ankle, where they are finished off with a revers of thick embroidery; a long sash, also of gauze; a sleeveless vest, and a coat reaching to the knees, both of crimson velvet, handsomely trimmed round the borders with elaborate gold embroidery. The hair is separated into three [302]
tresses, one of which floats on the shoulders, the other two being twisted round the little red fez which is worn on the head, and kept in place by a kerchief of silk. The dark-blue fez-tassel, which is very full and long, is ornamented with tiny plates of gold or with seed-pearls, and droops on the left shoulder. Formerly the Moslem women went barefoot, but they now wear embroidered slippers in the house and yellow *babouches* out of doors. The Miridite women

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291 wear a coat of thick white woollen stuff, red trousers, an embroidered apron with fringe half a yard long, and on the head a blue kerchief. The dress of the Christians is similar in form but usually of a violet colour. The *yashmak* and *feridgé* (veil and cloak) of [563] the Turkish women is worn out of doors by the [562] Moslem women in the towns, and also, if they live in close proximity to Moslems, by the Christian women. The cloak of the latter is, however, of a different shape and of a light red colour, with a cross embroidered in front. This distinctive dress is said to have been imposed by a native pasha, who, being attracted by a Christian girl, not knowing her to be such, asked her in marriage and was refused.

The country women, however, both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about unveiled. Their costumes vary extremely in detail, but are generally of stout homespun and felt, and in [171] form resemble those of the Greek and Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia, the leading features of which are two aprons worn under a coat. In the villages of the plains, however, a blue petticoat, trimmed [531] with red bands, is worn over an embroidered linen gown, with a bodice of white cloth embroidered in black.

302 Albanian ladies appear to be even more addicted than Osmanlis to the use of cosmetics. No sooner are they married than they begin to dye their hair [303] with a decoction made from gall-nuts and palm oil, paint their eyelashes, and extend their eyebrows till they meet over the nose. For their skins they use a "wash" in which various deleterious ingredients

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enter, redden their lips and cheeks with iris powder 302
or carmine, and stain their nails and the palms of
their hands with henna.

The social status of the Albanian women varies 562
according to district and creed. The Liaps and the
Christians of Southern Albania and Epirus generally
occupy the least enviable position, all the hard out- [462]
of-door work devolving upon them. The Northern
Albanians and also the Tosks, on the other hand, treat
their wives with much greater consideration, consult
them willingly in their affairs, both public and private,
and accord them a position in the family almost
equal to their own. And well do they merit
the respect of their husbands and brothers. For
often have they proved themselves to be fit com-
panions for men, unmindful of fatigue, danger, and
even death in the cause of liberty. When the
armies of the Sultan menaced the privileges of which
the people of Scutari had always been proud, it was
the women who were the first to give the alarm and
to excite the men to resist to the death, themselves
following to aid in the combat. Restraining the [703]
tears natural to their sex, they would carry the
mutilated bodies of their loved ones among the com-
batants in order to excite them to avenge their deaths.
And the same women are said to have refused to
receive back into their homes the husbands and sons
who had for a moment turned their backs upon the
enemy.

Albanian women, too, are often entrusted with 562
negotiations for truce or peace. Such is the respect 628
with which Albanians regard their women that they 728

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562 may traverse the camps of belligerents with greater
628 safety than men. The terms of treaties of peace, too,
728 are often discussed by the women belonging to the hostile parties in the privacy of the harems of the chieftains. More ready, however, as a rule, are they to espouse and take part in the quarrels of their male relatives than to act as peacemakers, and, owing to their practice of carrying arms, they are always ready for a fray. Miss Mackenzie relates that, when traversing the Pass of Katchanik, her attention was directed by her escort to two Albanian women whom they chanced to meet. "Look at them," he cried, "they are women worth looking at, for well do they know how to handle a gun!"

"Are they Moslems?" asked the traveller.

"Assuredly."

"But they do not wear the yashmak."

"Not they, indeed," was the reply. "They have never worn it, and why should they? for they are fiercer and more unapproachable than men."[1]

159 Such being the character of the Albanian women,
175 it is not surprising that they have played a considerable part in the history of their country. It
562 was, indeed, to the indomitable energy and courageous spirit of his mother, Khamko, that Ali Pasha, the "Lion of Ioannina," owed the earlier successes that paved the way for his subsequent brilliant career. Ali, who had during his father's lifetime been a wild and intractable boy, appears at his death to have submitted with the utmost docility to the authority of his mother. This lady, who was the daughter of a

[1] *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes.*

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Bey of Konitza, and connected with some of the best Tosk families, had not, until the death of her husband placed the responsibility for the well-being of the family in her hands, given any signs of the extraordinary strength of character and readiness of resource which afterwards distinguished her, qualities which were, however, sullied by an implacability of soul which only too nearly resembled that displayed by Olympias, the mother of Alexander, herself a native of Epirus.

"To my mother," said the tyrant of Ioannina on one occasion to the French Consul-General—"to my mother I owe everything, for my father left me but a mere hole (τρίνα) and a few fields. My imagination, fired by the counsels of her who had twice given me birth—for she has made me both a *man* and a *vizier*—revealed to me the secret of my destiny."[1] The hereditary enemies of the family having at once taken advantage of its head being a minor, by seizing upon some of his lands, Khamko suddenly exchanged the distaff for the sword, and gathering round her the partisans of her house, and those among her late husband's vassals who still remained faithful, tried in various skirmishes her strength against that of the enemies of her family. In these raids she was accompanied by her young son, to whom she pointed out the lands of which he had been despoiled, and the estates of the despoilers. Braving every danger, the *Aghadina*, as Khamko was called by her followers, continued to harass her enemies by open hostility or secret intrigue until she was finally taken in an

[1] See pp. 245 and 319, *Fate*.

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159 ambuscade by the men of Gardiki and Tchormovo,
175 together with Ali and her only daughter, Shainitza.
562 After having been subjected to every indignity and
628 outrage by their captors, Khamko and her children had the good fortune to be ransomed by the generosity of a Greek merchant for the sum of 22,800 piastres (£3700).

Hatred of those who had thus humiliated her took entire possession of the Aghadina's soul, and her one idea thenceforward was to train up her son as the avenger of her wrongs. With this object she commenced to instil into his mind those pernicious principles which he was only too well disposed to receive, and which may be summed up in the words [577] *Might is right*, an adage sufficiently popular among the turbulent Albanian clans. Ali's first attempt to vindicate his rights in the field was a complete failure. Having met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected, he fled from the fight, and was one of the first to re-enter Tepeleni. Khamko, furious at finding all her hopes blasted by what she deemed his cowardice, loaded him with reproaches, and thrusting her distaff into his hand, added, "Go, coward, and spin with the women in the harem; thou art fitter for that than for the career of arms!" Ali's fortunes indeed fluctuated for some time between success and failure. While he was absent on a campaign, Khamko found herself on her death-bed, and, though repeated and urgent messages were despatched to him, she died before he could arrive. The Aghadina in her will bequeathed to her son and daughter the task of immo- [789] lating to her *manes* the inhabitants of Gardiki and Tchormovo, at whose hands they had suffered such

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unpardonable indignities, and over her dead body the brother and sister swore to utterly exterminate her enemies.

Some years later Shainitza was grieving for the death of her favourite son, Aden Bey. So wild was her sorrow that she smashed with a hammer all his and her own diamond ornaments, burnt all her cashmeres and valuable furs, and forced his young widow to lie on straw mats spread on the ground instead of on a bed. The mirrors and ornaments of her serail were also destroyed, its windows were by her order painted black,[1] and everything which in any way recalled joy or happiness was banished from the palace. Roused from this abandonment of grief by the news of the fall of Gardiki,[2] she wrote to Ali reminding him of the oath they had sworn together over their mother's corpse, and of her wrongs and theirs, and urged him to have no mercy on the inhabitants of that town. "As for me," she added in conclusion, "it is only on cushions stuffed with the hair of the women of Gardiki that Shainitza will henceforward repose!"

Faithfully was the terrible oath, sworn to the dead, kept both by brother and sister. The chief men of Gardiki, to the number of some three hundred, induced by fair promises to meet Ali at the Khan of Valieré, were there ruthlessly massacred by the Christian troops under his Greek lieutenant, Thanasé

[1] See p. 265; and compare similar custom in folk-tale, p. 315.

[2] In 1802. A Greek folk-song graphically describes the gallant defence made by this town, which was taken by one of Ali's lieutenants, "Yousóuf the Arab" (*Greek Folk-songs*, p. 234).

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175 Vaghia,[1] not one escaping. Shainitza caused the town
159 to be razed to the ground, and, after cutting off the
[669] hair of the women with every insult which she could heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove them forth with their children to the mountains, menacing any with a like doom who should venture to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath. The traveller passing through the valley of Drynopolis may to this day see in the wall of the khan the tablet which records, in letters of gold, the number of the dead and the date of their sacrifice to the *manes* of the mother and the fury of the sister of the Vizier of Ioannina.

[428] In a codicil to her will, Khamko directed that a *hadji*, or pilgrim, should be despatched on her part to lay offerings on the tomb of the Prophet, and pray
788 there for the repose of her soul. Such pilgrimages and offerings may, however, only be made when the expenses are defrayed with money lawfully and honestly acquired. And as it was found on inquiry into the estate of the late Veli Bey, Ali's ancestor, that the property to be sold for this purpose had been taken by force or fraud from a Christian, the pilgrim-
175 age was disallowed by the religious authorities.
159
562 Such extreme ferocity of disposition as that mani-
[152] fested by Khamko and Shainitza is, however, exceptional among Albanian women, and even in Ali Pasha's

[1] The Greek poet, Aristotle Valaorites, has made Thanasó Vaghia the subject of one of his most striking poems, Ὁ βρυκόλακας, "The Vampire," a translation of which may be found in my *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 121. The tragedy of Ἡ κυρὰ φροσύνη, "The Lady Phrosyne," by the same writer, part of which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica, gives a vivid picture of Ali Pasha and his Court.

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own household was one whose character stands out in striking contrast to theirs. This was the Vizier's favourite wife, Emineh, the daughter of the Pasha of Delvino, a chieftain whose ruthless cruelty had gained for him the surname of the Tiger, but who had fallen a victim to Ali's ambition. In the dirges sung by the Liaps on the death of her husband, Emineh is described as "the gentle hind of Mount Pelagos," and her sympathy for the victims of the Vizier's rancour brought about her untimely and tragical end.

When the news arrived at Ioannina of the fall of Souli, Emineh, touched with the story of their heroism, fell at the Vizier's feet and implored his clemency on their behalf. "O Effendi!" she cried, clasping his knees, "deign to listen to thy most devoted slave, and be not insensible to her tears! Your Fate has warned me in a dream that it will be well for you if you spare the Souliotes!"

"The *Souliotes!*" exclaimed the Vizier, in a voice of thunder—"the *Souliotes!* Darest thou intercede for my worst enemies and not tremble for thyself?"

"Effendi," replied the brave woman, rising with dignified firmness—"Effendi, remember that I am the daughter of a Pasha. Yes, I dare intercede for them, and, moreover, dare to tell thee that their blood, and the blood of my unhappy father, which thou hast shed whilst I was yet a child, will be upon thy head!"

"And upon thine also," replied the Vizier, beside himself with fury. Drawing from his girdle a pistol, he discharged it at his wife, who, falling in a swoon, was carried by her slaves into the haremlik. Ali, think-

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159 ing he had killed her, and overcome with grief and
175 remorse, shut himself up in his most private apart-
562 ments until he was informed by his physician that Emineh was not even wounded, but had merely fainted from emotion. His mind thus relieved, Ali shed tears, and, with all his tenderness for his favourite wife revived, proceeded to her apartment. Admittance being from fear refused him, he entered the chamber by force. The noise, however, and the sight of the tyrant, gave to the tender Emineh a shock which proved fatal, and she expired during the night in a state of delirium.

The death of Emineh was a terrible shock also to her murderer. Her memory perpetually haunted him, whether at the festal board or in the council chamber, and, above all, in the silent watches of the night. He feared to be left alone, and was frequently heard by his pages to start up, and exclaim: "Emineh! it is she!—it is she! Save me from her vengeance!" Years later, when the Dervish Sheikh, Youssouf, while boldly reproving the Vizier for his crimes and cruelties, pointed out from the window the tomb of the murdered Emineh, he was interrupted by Ali, who exclaimed with tears: "Stop, stop, my father! Thou hast named the name of Emineh; overwhelm me not with the weight of thy maledictions!"

628 An account of the Albanian women would hardly
578 be complete without some mention of the terrible blood-feuds (*Ram de Ghiak*), which, though often originating in the most trifling causes, result in great loss of life, and are frequently handed down from generation to generation. Sometimes these feuds

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exist between individuals or families only; at others, whole villages, or clans, are concerned in them. In carrying them on, however, certain traditional rules are punctiliously adhered to, and occasionally those concerned, finding the state of continual hostility irksome, agree to a *bessa*, or truce, for a fixed period. When entire clans take part in the feud, each keeps strictly to its own wells or fountains, its public ovens and its markets. Such dissensions, however, rarely interrupt the usual occupation of a district, the land being tilled and the flocks pastured as usual in the daytime, the combatants assembling for the fray at evening on the common or in the market-place of the town or village. When a few men have bitten the dust, the hostile parties withdraw, in order to bury the dead, and the battle is over for the time.

Though women are not the principals in these vendetta, it is no uncommon thing for them to take part in the bloody frays to which they give rise, and for which their custom of carrying arms makes them always ready. Mrs. Blunt describes[1] a combat of this description which took place in the neighbourhood of Uskup (Skopia), the cause of contention being merely a hare, to which two sportsmen laid equal claim. As neither would give in, it was decided that the case should be tried by combat on the village green. The duel, however, soon became a general *mêlée*, relatives and friends joining the principals, and women fighting by the side of their husbands and brothers. One girl of seventeen, the sister of one of the sportsmen, fought, it is said, with a desperation and success

[1] *The People of Turkey*, vol. i. p. 81.

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628 worthy of a better cause, and fourteen victims fell,
562 578 thus perpetuating the feud among the survivors.

On another occasion the breaking of a girl's pitcher at the fountain by two mischievous boys resulted in such a desperate contest between her friends and theirs that some sixty persons fell in the fight. It is said, however, that even on such occasions as these
562 the men refrain, as far as possible, from striking or
577 wounding the women, for the Albanian code of
484 honour makes it impossible to attack a woman, whether armed or unarmed. The sacredness attached to their persons extends also to those whom they take under their protection. Escorted by a girl only, travellers may safely pass through the wildest parts of the country, and a man may cross, without fear, the lands of one with whom he is at feud, if he have the safe-conduct of a woman belonging to his enemy's family.

577 To such an extent is respect for women carried by
562 the Albanians, that it is contrary to their notions of
522 propriety ever to make women the subject of jokes or humorous stories. Insult or annoyance offered to a
578 girl, or carrying off one without the consent of her
562 parents, almost invariably results in bitter feuds between families, or fierce battles between tribes. As with most mountain people, the moral code is with
684 the Skipetars exceedingly strict. Among many of the tribes any lapse from virtue on the part of a woman is punished with death, a subsequent marriage not being allowed to condone the fault. The penalty of adultery is of equally Draconic severity. The unfaithful wife is placed up to her shoulders in a pit, and

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then literally buried under a heap of stones, which are piled upon and around her; and her husband has a right to slay the partner of her guilt wherever he may find him. Such cases are, however, of extremely rare occurrence. 684

Considering this rigidity of morals it is a rather curious fact that two clans, or tribes—the Clementi and the Castrati—ascribe their origin to irregular connections between the daughters of shepherds and strangers, exiles from other countries. The stories are almost identical. That of the Clementi is as follows:— 173

A young man named Clement, clerk to a priest of Moratcha, a district of Montenegro, weary of the tyranny of his superior, ran away, and, not knowing which way to go, made for the road leading from Selze to Scutari. Arriving at a place called Tamara, he came upon a flockmaster of Triepsei, who, astonished to see a youth dressed as he was in such a place, inquired his business there. Without disclosing whence he came, Clement related his misfortunes, and declared his intention of going to Scutari in order to seek service with some family of position. Touched with pity, and fearing for him the dangers of the way, the shepherd invited the stranger to stay with him and help him to keep his flocks. Clement accepted the offer; and when the number of sheep he was to receive as wages was settled, he followed his new master home. 173 539

The shepherd was rich in flocks and lands, possessed of a second wife with a young family, and also of a grown-up daughter, Bubce, who was both ugly

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and lame. Clement, being young and active, and also attentive to his new duties, soon gained the affection of his master, and, at the same time, that of his daughter, who, seeing no chance of ever being asked in marriage by her equal, took it into her head to make the shepherd lad fall in love with her. Clement long resisted the allurements of the uncomely Bubce, and pointed out to her the danger they would both run should any understanding between them come to her father's ears, and also the misery that would follow for her a union with a penniless man. "It is not our danger, but my deformity that thou fearest," the shrewd Bubce would reply, and, her devotion finally touching the heart of Clement, the lovers met frequently in secret.

Finding herself compelled to take her stepmother into her confidence, the latter, fearing that her husband's pride would impel him to some act of violence were the state of affairs to come suddenly to his knowledge, tried to prepare him for the news, and made him swear by St. Nicholas not to do harm to any one. The angry father, in spite of his oath, at first threatened to kill both his daughter and her lover, and reproached them bitterly for the dishonour they had brought upon his house. Bubce, however, took all the blame upon herself, and her tears and prayers, joined to those of his wife, who reminded him of the oath he had sworn "by St. Nicholas," and which is of all oaths the most binding on an Albanian, finally prevailed with him. Clement might marry his daughter, but on condition that neither of them ever again should appear before him. So the couple

[788]

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173
retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd 539
gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep
which constituted Clement's wages. Here they [465]
settled down and prospered, leaving behind them
great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of de-
scendants. At the present day the tribe of the 162
Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by 562
the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women 577
enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot,
out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her
family without risking the loss of her reputation,
a calamity which few would care to survive. M.
Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an
Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an
Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened
to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his
friends, and before several other persons, that he had
seen her in conversation with a young man, whose
name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sun- 796
day, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, 788
who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after 762
partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucha- 577
rist, called God to witness to her innocence, and
seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself
through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man
whose careless words had been the cause of the 627
tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, 583
which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the 184
extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of
the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

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583 principal inhabitants of Orosh have all been acquired
184 in this way, and far from resenting or being ashamed of the circumstance, they are, on the contrary, proud of it, and their relatives accept the situation on payment of the usual dowry. And although they may not embrace with enthusiasm the faith into which they are generally baptised as a preliminary to marriage, they scrupulously observe its external forms, are much devoted to their husbands, proud of their reputation, and jealous of their honour, which, should occasion require, they are ready either to defend or avenge.

428 Among these exogamous tribes, succession is, as a
611 rule, in the male line. If, however, there are no surviving sons, and a daughter chooses to remain single, she may enjoy the usufruct of her father's property, which on her death reverts to her nearest male relatives. If a man die childless his property is divided among his male relatives, who pay to his widow a pension, she remaining in his house or returning to her friends as she pleases, and retaining all that she has received from her parents either before or after her marriage.

567 As with the Osmanlis, the children by slaves of
428 Moslem Albanians have an equal right with those of free mothers to succeed to the estate of their father.[1]

587 If the deceased husband has an unmarried brother, the latter has a right to marry the widow with or without her consent. On the wedding-day she receives from him the present of an ox, or its equivalent, four goats.

[1] The father of Ali Pasha, of Ioannina, was the son of a slave.

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If, however, she returns home and marries into another 587
family, her father pays to her first husband's heirs, or to her son if she have one, half the dowry promised at her second betrothal. With the exception of her deceased husband's brother, a woman may not re-marry in the same village without the consent of his relatives. In the mountains of Pulati this is [628]
never given, and a vendetta follows if it is dispensed with. If the betrothed man die, his brother has also the right to marry the betrothed maiden, but must pay to her parents, in addition to the dowry already promised, a hundred and fifty piastres.

An Albanian has the right to beat his wife if she 593
misconducts herself, but this right is little exercised except among the Liaps, who are the rudest and most brutal of all Albanians. He must, however, be careful not to draw blood even in the most trifling degree, for, if a wife receives a mere scratch in the course of a castigation, she complains to her parents, who cite the husband before the authorities. The penalty [681]
consists chiefly in the payment of a considerable fine, which becomes the private property of the woman abused.

Divorce is not uncommon among the Moslem Al- 586
banians, who follow in this respect the customs of the [171]
Ottomans, the husband paying to the discarded wife the sum specified in the marriage contract in view of such a contingency. The divorce generally takes place at the instance of the husband, but the wife may also claim it for a limited number of reasons. If, for instance, a man has left his native town or village, and does not return within the period fixed by the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 462 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593 591] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their families they return to their employment, leaving

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their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband [484]
leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
with which they console themselves testify. Unknown to their partners, they sew in their clothes [789]

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484 562 777 789 small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various 787 methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

The men on their side are not free from home-152 593 sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

[539]

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
From Fatherland as outlaws lorn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
Poisoned by my blood would pine!

527 535 The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

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holding each other with one hand while they execute a step composed of shuffles and leaps, and not particularly graceful, waving at the same time over their heads a kerchief, or scarf, with their disengaged hand. Another dance of a pantomimic character is sometimes performed at weddings for the amusement of the company. Three masked men, in the characters of a man, his wife, and his servant, perform a burlesque representing the weakness of man and the unfaithfulness of woman. The husband expresses by gesture his despair at seeing his wife make eyes at the wedding guests, while her servant, armed with a broom in lieu of a gun, threatens to shoot her mistress's lovers.

The Albanians are, as M. Dozon remarks,[1] "without literature, without art, and almost without a history." Their language, which is difficult to learn and difficult to pronounce, is a complete mosaic of fragments borrowed from many sources, though a native element naturally predominates. Greek and Turkish words abound, and many of Slav and Latin origin have become part of the vernacular. The language of the Skipetars is also divided between the two dialects spoken respectively by the Tosks and the Ghegs, though there is no well-defined line of demarcation between them. The purest Albanian is said to be spoken at Elbassan, the inhabitants of which according to the native saying:

> "Turk of Stambolhit [Constantinople],
> Skipe of Elbasanit,"

are looked upon as representative Skipetars. The total neglect of the mother tongue has been due in

[1] *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*, pp. 1 and 163.

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197 great measure to the profession of three creeds by the Albanian people, Turkish only being taught in the Moslem schools; in the Roman Catholic, Italian; and in the Orthodox Christian, Greek. The only section of the Albanians who can boast of any degree of culture are the Khams, and even this is not indigenous, but is borrowed entirely from the Epirote Greeks of Ioannina and its neighbourhood.

871 The education of the vast majority of Albanian
565 girls, whether Moslem or Christian, is of a purely
562 domestic character, and, with the exception of a small number of Gheg and Tosk maidens of the better class, who are taught a little reading and writing and a great deal of etiquette by old lady *hodjas*, they are entirely unlettered. From the age of twelve to the
562 time of their marriage, which generally takes place
571 before they are sixteen, both Moslem and Christian
868 girls are condemned to complete seclusion from the outer world. The customs of the Christians in this respect are, indeed, more rigid than those of the Moslems, for their daughters are not, during this interval, allowed to present themselves before visitors even of their own sex. Time is not, however, allowed to hang heavily upon the hands of these maidens, whatever their position and prospects. Besides taking an active part in all household duties, there is the important task to accomplish of getting ready her trousseau, and this involves the spinning, weaving, sewing, and embroidering of the various stuffs, cotton, linen, woollen, and silken, of which it is to be composed.

369 The peasant and country girls generally, both of
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the mountains and of the plains, enjoy, as has been seen, much greater liberty than their sisters of the towns. With the exception of the Miridites, social intercourse with members of the other sex is not denied to them, and, like the Greek and Vlach maidens, they tend the flocks on the hills, fetch water from the fountain, and lead a life generally of healthy industry.

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[184]

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CHAPTER IX.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

562 184 The domestic usages of the Albanians vary slightly, according to locality and religion, but are, in their main features, identical. And though the customs surrounding such family ceremonies as births, marriages, and deaths belong naturally more to the domain of women than of men, the latter are not less scrupulous in the fulfilment of the part in these observances which fall to their share.

156 181 Tribal and family pride being, as has been already seen, the leading feature of Albanian character, the desire of offspring, and especially male offspring, is naturally very strong with them. A childless man [554] is designated by an expression which signifies "without a root," and is looked upon as a most unfortunate [754] being. The wish, "May you be childless!" is also considered the most weighty curse that can be launched against a man by his enemy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the dearest wish of every woman's heart is consequently to be the mother of a numerous family of boys, both for the sake of the future prosperity of the tribe and for the present social consideration which their birth ensures to her. 843 When the fact that an Albanian woman is about to

[p. 242]

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become a mother is announced to her husband's 843
family, she becomes thenceforward the object of the most devoted attention on their part, the slightest wish or preference she may express being immediately gratified. Custom, however, forbids her eating certain things, such as pomegranates and snails, and she must not dye her hair more than three times before her baby is born, or some unlucky accident would be sure to happen to her or to the infant.

As soon as the baby is born it is washed, and a 844
sickle, with which straw has just been cut, is laid for a few seconds on its stomach to prevent colics. The maternal grandmother, whose privilege it is to per- [603]
form this office for the baby, then proceeds to swathe its little body tightly in broad swaddling bands of white woollen stuff, and finally deposits it in a narrow [352]
wooden cradle. A jar of water is taken to the Hodja [855]
or the Papas, according to the creed of the mother, to be blessed, and with some of its contents all the women who officiated at the birth wash their hands. The rest of the water is placed near the mother, and all the women who visit her during the five ensuing days dip their fingers in it and sprinkle her, expressing at the same time a wish that she may have a plentiful supply of milk for the baby, Albanian women [853]
making a point of nursing their own children. The relatives are now admitted to felicitate the mother and admire the baby, with the exception of its father, whom custom obliges to keep out of the way and refrain from seeing his child until it is eight days old. The mother is presently placed on a state bed, 846
over which a magnificently embroidered silk coverlet

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846 is spread, the national head-dress, ornamented with
[301] sequins, is placed on her head, and all her necklaces are hung round her neck, to receive the friends and acquaintances who now flock in to offer their con-
[431] gratulations. In some parts of Albania, and especially among the Moslems, it is customary to bring hand-
[688] some presents to the infant. As each visitor did her best to outshine her neighbour in the value of her gift, this usage, among the Roman Catholic Miridites, became so ruinously expensive, that the ban of the Church was finally laid upon it. The visitors to the mother and baby consequently now bring with them only an egg, with which they rub the face of the new arrival, with the wish, "*Pashi bar*" (May it be always white!)—*i.e.*, never have cause to blush for its actions.

852 When the baby is three days old the Fates are be-
[776] lieved to arrive and decide what its fortune is to be. When two of the Weird Sisters have had their say, the third speaks, and her decision is final.[1] On the evening of this day, which is called the child's *Poganik*,[2] all the relatives of the family assemble uninvited, each bringing a small loaf, a girdle cake, and a wooden flask of wine. On these they feast and drink healths to the mother and child, the formula addressed to the latter being, "May he have strong legs!"
[777] The women then set to work to make a large cake, all present touching, "for luck," the sieve used to sift the flour. As the dough is being kneaded coins are put into it, and when baked it is broken in pieces

[1] See "The Story of the Child," p. 319.
[2] The meaning of this term appears to have been lost by the Albanians.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch 852
the cradle while they sing:

> *Poganik*, When the boy grows a man,
> A weaver we'll make him,
> And money he'll bring us.[1]

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And for a girl:

> *Poganik*, When our girl grows up tall,
> She shall go to the valley
> And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother 846
nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by 553
the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal 852
rite of the churches to which they respectively 779

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on.

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553 belong. With the Moslems no religious character is
852 attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male
[779] relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father
[608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his godchild;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a
[302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 Although the Albanian beys have neither written
554 charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these
[779 177] ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely.

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Their wives and mothers, like women generally, are 581
well up in all the degrees of kinship and descent, and the preliminaries of betrothals are usually settled by them in the harem before they are submitted to the head of the family and communicated to the parties most nearly interested. Children are frequently 582
betrothed before they are ten years of age, and 584
occasionally while still in the cradle. In such cases, [583]
however, the arrangement is kept secret from the couple until the young man is in a position to marry. This usage is intended to prevent the Albanian youths marrying in the towns to which they resort for employment. A refusal on the part of a young 626
man to fulfil an engagement made for him by his 584
parents, would inevitably result not only in a vendetta with the relatives of the rejected bride, but in social ostracism. Such cases are, however, extremely rare, for, as the bridegroom elect has, as a rule, never beheld the bride chosen for him, he can have no reason for refusing to marry her. In such an eventuality 582
national usage decrees that the younger brothers and sisters of the maiden may not marry until her matrimonial affairs are satisfactorily settled.

Women in Albania being less numerous than men, 583
it is not customary to require a portion with the [162]
bride, which is, on the contrary, as among the Vlachs and Bulgarians, practically purchased from her father or brothers for a sum of money which varies according to the wealth and standing of the respective families. The parents of the maiden, however, besides providing the materials for her trousseau, supply her with various articles of jewellery and a

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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583 certain amount of plenishing, the bridegroom supplying the rest.

585 184 With the exception of the nuptial benediction, the marriage customs of the Christian and Moslem Albanians are similar, and there is very little difference in the songs by which they are accompanied. Among the Moslems the betrothal takes [584] place in the presence of the Kadi. This functionary receives the declaration of mutual consent, made on the part of the maiden by her natural guardians, who undertake to prove it by the mouth of two Moslem witnesses. After a prayer for the benediction of Allah on the union, a contract is drawn up enumerating the articles to be given to the bride by her parents, and stipulating the sum to be paid to her by the husband in the event of his divorcing her. To this document the Kadi and the witnesses affix their seals, and this ceremony constitutes the legal marriage.

As with the Osmanlis, the bride does not, however, go to her husband's house until the wedding festivities have taken place, the interval ranging in duration from a few weeks to a year, according to the convenience of the bridegroom's family. As the ceremonies observed in Epirus present so many points of similarity with those of the Greeks,[1] I will here describe only those belonging to Upper Albania which present features peculiar to themselves.

The festivities invariably begin on a Thursday with the sending of the *dunti* by the bridegroom. This is the decorated box containing the presents to the bride of various articles of dress and ornament,

[1] Vol. i. chap. iii.

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including boots and shoes of yellow leather embroidered with gold, together with a loaf of sugar, some coffee, and other customary trifles. The *dunti* is carried by two boys belonging to the bridegroom's family, both of whose parents must be living. As they arrive at the house the women and girls sing a song beginning :

> O flaxen one, far whiter
> Than foam on Drin's wave-crest,
> —— sends to thee the *dunti*,
> All in a golden chest.

All the members of the family receive the boys at the foot of the staircase with every mark of respect, and conduct them to the reception-room. As the *dunti* is placed on a coffer, all present cry, "*Per heir*" (Good luck !) The envoys are seated in the place of honour, while all the family of the bride remain standing; refreshments, consisting of liqueurs and bonbons, are served twice, complimentary speeches are exchanged, and after about an hour of polite attentions, the boys depart. On the same day a youth is despatched by the bridegroom's parents to invite the guests for the following Monday. The formula he makes use of is—"So-and-so is to be married, and begs you to come next Monday to the wedding with all your family, or, if you prefer it, let the head of the family come alone." At each house he receives in return for his invitation a present of a few piastres. The number of persons invited by each family is fixed according to the degree of kinship or friendship existing between them and the bridegroom's family.

The bride's family send out their invitations in the

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585 same way on the Friday. On this day, too, the women assemble to help in the preparations for the ceremony. While some busy themselves with putting finishing touches to the trousseau, or helping in the kitchen, the others take the bride in hand and commence to "busk" her for the occasion. Compelled by custom [302] to submit silently to whatever operation they may, in their zeal to make her as beautiful as possible, subject her, the poor bride is bathed, scrubbed, "massaged," and *dépilée*, her hair and eyebrows are dyed black, and her feet and hands stained red with henna.

On Sunday evening the bride, dressed in her bridal array, and decked in all her ornaments, is presented to the women of the family. If she is of humble station, jewels are borrowed for her to wear for the occasion, so that, on this day at least, she may lack nothing. The work of the women who have dressed her is then freely and openly criticised, no word, however, being uttered which could possibly hurt the feelings of the bride; for, according to the good ladies of Scutari, a bride can never be otherwise than beautiful. Later on the father and brothers enter, and the maiden, throwing herself at their feet, asks their pardon with tears for all the faults she has since her childhood com- [152] mitted. Hardly has the father raised her than a chorus of sobs and cries is heard from all the company, who thus testify their sorrow at the approaching separation of the maiden from her family. When their grief has exhausted itself, they dry their tears and break into a song, which, translated, is as follows:—

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[539]

Lower your crests, ye mountains high,
That we may the moon descry
Sailing through the azure sky.
Our bride her mother's counsels heard,
Who said, "My daughter, mark my word,
Love and respect your father new."
"That, mother will I gladly do—
I'll love and honour him alway
Who's given to me a bridegroom gay."

On Monday morning, the homes of both bride and bridegroom are thronged with guests, sometimes to the number of several hundreds. Each one brings an *oka*[1] of coffee and another of sugar for the benefit of the house, and at the same time presents the bride with a gold coin, the value of which varies with the degree of relationship of the giver. These coins are subsequently strung into necklaces, and constitute part of the personal property of a married woman.

[431]
[422]
[302]

At early dawn the bride is dressed in her wedding finery, decked with all her jewels, and, at sunrise, is led to a corner of the principal reception-room. Here custom requires her to stand, motionless and speechless, with downcast eyes and hands crossed on her breast, until she starts for her new home. Two women, posted at either side, keep watch and ward over her, and the rest of the female guests, seated round the room on the divans, stare at the poor girl as if she were the idol of their worship. At meal-times, on this and the two following days, she eats alone, covered with a veil, though if she is anxious to make a good impression she will partake of food only

[1] About 2¾ lbs. avoirdupois.

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585 if compelled to do so, in order to show how great is her regret at leaving the paternal roof.[1] In fact, her behaviour throughout is intended to typify her reluctance to exchange the single for the married state. Meantime the guests divert themselves with liqueurs, [262 463] coffee, and sweets, and the performances of the professional musicians hired for the occasion.

About ten o'clock a cart arrives from the bridegroom's abode to fetch the bride's baggage, which is [415 531] packed in a large wooden box ornamented with designs of flowers rudely executed. When it starts every one shouts, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!), and among the Christians, several women accompany the cart [788] outside the gate, sprinkling both it and its contents with holy water. A few minutes afterwards, all the male guests invited by the bridegroom's friends set out, preceded by his father, who leads a richly caparisoned horse on which the bride will ride home. As they leave the house the women sing:

[539]

Happy may thy journey be,
Eldest of our family.
Holy sign of cross now make,
To the right thy way then take.
If to us thou bring fair bride,
May the sugar-plums taste sweet,
If a foul one by thy side
That they bitter taste were meet.

585 Arrived at their destination, the party range them- 262 selves around the courtyard, where glasses of cognac and water, and sweets and sugar-plums of various kinds

[1] The Mongols of Tibet observe a similar custom. See *Journal of Sarat Chandra Das*, published by the Royal Geographical Society.

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are handed round by men-servants. During this 585
ceremony, which every one endeavours to prolong, the [262]
bride, enveloped in a long cloak and covered with a veil, is led downstairs. She walks as slowly as possible, supported on either hand by an attendant as if infirm, and is hidden from all eyes by silken draperies held on either side of her path until she has been seated on her horse.

The procession then starts. The husband's guests walk first, then comes the bride, her horse led by a servant, supported on either side by her brothers, behind her follow the musicians and singers, the rear being brought up by her relatives and friends. Various songs are sung *en route*, of which the following may serve as a specimen :— [539]

Our fair bride is on the way,
Like a pink, so fresh and gay.
At the door's our brideling fair,
Like the pink's her perfume rare.
In the courtyard is the bride,
She's a rose that's open'd wide.
On the stair the bride see now,
White as jasmine is her brow.
Now she comes within the room,
Her neck is like the lily's bloom.
"Bride of mine, now cease to grieve,
Let not sobs thy bosom heave."
"Bridegroom mine, can I be gay?
I've my father left to-day.
From my home for ever torn,
It is meet that I should mourn."

The bride, on leaving the door of her childhood's 585
home, and at every street corner she passes, inclines

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585 her head three times in token of farewell to the places she will never again, as a maiden, behold.[1] When her approach is announced to the women of her husband's family, they sing:

[539]

"Bride, lost bride, what wouldst thou find?"
"The courtyard gate of my bridegroom kind."
"What, O bride, wilt thou give to me
If I show now his courtyard gate unto thee?"
"Shirts, O my bridegroom, all broidered and fine."
"Small is thy guerdon, O brideling of mine,
For I can take them, nor ask leave of thine."

Arrived at the bridegroom's home, the same precautions are taken in dismounting the bride as were observed in placing her upon her horse. The women of the house come down to receive her, and pushing her gently, lead her, as if against her will, into the nuptial chamber, where she is seated on cushions. When coffee has been served and partaken of, the bride's friends take their leave, the eldest among them saying in a loud voice:

"Until now she belonged to God and to us, now and henceforward she belongs to you and to God, who will protect her."[2]

As they retire, the last message of the bride to her mother is sung:

[539]

Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!
A word to you the bride would say.
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!

[1] This observance may possibly have its origin in the propitiatory farewells paid by a bride, among the ancient Slavs, to her father's household gods. Compare Kovalevsky, *Modern Customs, &c., of Russia*, pp. 33-4.

[606] [2] This is intended to signify that if the bride is not well treated in her new home her parents will intervene on her behalf.

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My greetings to my mother bear,
My greetings to my sisters fair,
Tell them my heart will love them e'er.
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!
Each day, when comes the even glow,
My prayers, on winds that softly blow,
For them to God on high shall go—
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!

As soon as the bride's relatives have left, the women raise her veil with the silver handle of a dagger, or some other object made of the same metal,[1] and whether she comes up to their expectations or not, they are in duty bound to sing:

How beautiful she is, the bride!
May God preserve her!
Her brow is high and white and wide,
May God preserve her!
Her eyebrows have the rainbow's curve,
May God preserve her!
Her eyes for coffee cups might serve,[2]
May God preserve her!
Her cheeks the rose's inmost fold
May God preserve her!
Her mouth a little box of gold
May God preserve her!
Her lips as red as cherries are
May God preserve her!
Her teeth than pearls are whiter far!
May God preserve her!
Like milk her skin is fair and white
May God preserve her!
Like cypress is she tall and slight
May God preserve her!

Among the Christian Albanians, the religious ceremony is now performed in the nuptial chamber, where 585

[1] Magical properties are attributed to this metal by the Albanians.
[2] Literally, "as large as coffee-cups"—*findjanes.*

[777]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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585 an altar is specially prepared. The nearest relatives of the bridegroom only are present, and he, like the bride, simulates great unwillingness to enter the apartment. The mass performed, the priest asks the bride three times if she accepts the man kneeling at her side for her husband. Custom, however, forbids her to [577] reply, and at the third interrogation the women in attendance force her to bow her head in token of assent. The bridegroom, on the contrary, pronounces his consent in a loud voice. However plain the bride may prove to be, custom forbids that any sign of disgust or annoyance should be manifested. If, however, she be afflicted with any physical deformity, such as lameness, blindness, or a humped back, the husband may claim an indemnity from her parents, or, if he is prepared to abide the consequences of such an insult, may send her back to them.

The ceremony terminated, the bridegroom leaves the room, and the female guests re-enter, extolling in song the graces and virtues with which, according to [562 264] them, every bride is endowed. The feast is then served, the men sitting down by themselves in one room, and the women in another, and the two parties amuse themselves separately for the rest of the evening. An hour before midnight, the women conduct the bride to the nuptial chamber, and, having taken off her bridal finery, cover her face with a veil, and leave her. When the bridegroom enters, he simulates astonishment at finding a maiden there. Lifting the veil from her head, he declares himself to be enraptured with her beauty, and asks her a hundred questions. The bride feigns sleep and pretends not to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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hear him. He offers her sweets which have been left 585
there purposely, but still she heeds him not. This comedy may, if the bridegroom be timid and the bride reserved, be prolonged until the third evening after the marriage, in which case the courage and virtue of the bride are extolled by the women in song. On the third evening, however, custom requires the bride to respond to her husband's advances. On the three days following the wedding the bride, dressed as before, stands like a statue in the reception-room to receive the women visitors who flock to the house in order to inspect her.

The ceremonies attending the nuptials of the [369]
mountain people are almost precisely similar to those customary in the towns, with the exception that the bride is not veiled when conducted to her husband's home. A romantic reserve, however, surrounds the 593
interviews between the young couple, who, especially 831
if the husband be one of a numerous family and have no private apartments, can only meet in secret until they have children of their own. The mountaineers cherish this custom, which, they contend, by surrounding with a halo of romance and mystery the relations of the young couple, tends to keep their love for each 585
other fresh and warm. The wedding processions of the 184
Moslems and Christians are only to be distinguished by the more picturesque effect of those of the former. Many of the company, dressed in rich apparel glitter- [291]
ing with gold embroidery, accompany the bride on [531]
horseback, indulging as they go, whenever they arrive at a spot sufficiently spacious, in the manly old Os- [524]
manli game of throwing the *djerid*, or spear. Pistols

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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585 are fired incessantly, and the strains of wild music
184 echoing from the surrounding hills add to the animation of the scene.

The wedding ceremonies observed in Southern Albania, in so far as they differ from those of the Northern Albanians, resemble very closely the Greek country customs described in the preceding volume.[1]

764 The funeral observances of the Albanians also re-
171 semble in some degree those of the Greeks. Family ties are equally strong in both races, and the death of a relative is always a source of poignant grief to the
763 survivors. The demonstrations of sorrow are loudest and most heartrending when a man or woman dies in the prime of life. When he is believed to be at the point of death, the women watching round him give utterance to frightfully piercing cries and shrieks, upon hearing which the friends hasten to the house of mourning in order to take part in the death chorus. When the last breath is drawn, all the near female relatives of the deceased who are not past middle age —wife, sisters, sisters-in-law, and daughters—testify their grief by beating their breasts, scratching their faces until the blood flows, and tearing out or cutting off their hair. In their utter abandonment of sorrow they also beat their heads against the walls of the room, calling wildly upon the deceased by his or her name, often exhausting themselves to such a degree as to lose for the time the use of their voices. With the weaker among them these frenzies of sorrow gene-

[1] Chapter iii. An account of these ceremonies may be found in Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, and Dozon, *Contes Albanais*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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rally terminate in a fainting fit, while others have frequently to be restrained by their friends from doing themselves grievous bodily harm in their excitement. 763

The men of the family receive visits of condolence from those of their own sex, standing in the courtyard. 764 The formula in which sympathy is usually expressed is, "May you continue to enjoy good health," the speaker at the same time putting his right hand on the shoulder of the mourner. The latter responds, "May our friends be well," and the visitor enters the house to express in the same way his sympathy to the women of the family. The corpse is washed and laid out according to the usages of the faith, Christian or Moslem, professed during lifetime, and is dressed in its best clothes, which are, however, taken off before burial. And now begins the formal wailing round the body, in which the women of the family are assisted by their neighbours.

The majority of the dirges used are, like those of the Greeks, conventional, every woman having her memory well stored with a *répertoire*, from which she selects those suited to the occasion. They are sung antiphonically, a verse or couplet being first chanted as a solo, and then repeated by the rest in chorus. The nearest relatives first lead the chant, and continue without interruption until either their voices or their memories are exhausted. It is then the turn of the other women, who, when they consider that one has had the lead long enough, stop her with a sign, and another lifts up her voice. Among the dirges sung for a youth killed in battle the following, which is in the Tosk dialect, is one of the oldest and best known. 764 533 [462]

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764
533 The ideas expressed in it may also be found in Greek and Roumanian folk-song.

[539]

Kyabése's bridge hard by,
Slain by treach'rous foes I lie.
Comrades, greet my mother well,
Bid her the two oxen sell;
Give the money to my Life,
To my dear, my promised wife.
Asks mother what doth me betide,
Say, I have wedded here a bride.
Asks she who holds me with her charms,
Tell her, three bullets in my breast,
Six in my legs and in my arms.
Asks she who came as bidden guest,
And at my wedding feast was seen;
The crows and ravens, say, were there;
They have the friends and neighbours been,
And they devoured the wedding fare!

Sometimes animals and inanimate objects, with which the deceased has been associated in his lifetime, are poetically represented as missing him and mourning his loss, as in this lament for a Tosk chieftain who has met with a violent death:—

[539]

Derwen Agha, *veh!*[1] all slain
Lie thy followers on the plain!
Hear thy sword cry from the wall,
"Where's my lord?" in sorrow's thrall,
"Where's my lord, that he no more
Draws and waves me as of yore?"
Hear thy charger from his stall,
"Where's my lord?" complain and call,
"Where's my lord, to fill my rack,
Girth the saddle on my back?
Where's my lord, that he bestride me,
Gaily through the mountains ride me?"

[1] The Albanian exclamation of distress.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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For the untimely death of a young wife, not yet a mother, the following may serve as a specimen :— 764 533

O willow-wand so golden,
No townswoman more slight;
O beautiful of feature,
As partridge on the height! [539]

O swift as weaver's shuttle,
Where wilt thou henceforth bide?
O partridge on the red rock,
Thy dower in chest must hide!

Where wilt thou be this summer,
Reft from thy dear lord's side?
O beauteous dancing vine-branch,
Thou wast a virgin bride!

Like blade of grass thou grewest,
Refined as finest gold,
And thy short life, O joyless!
Few joys for thee did hold.

A mother's grief is expressed in these, the opening verses only, of a long dirge for an only son. As I have previously had occasion to mention, the women of South Albania especially manifest an excessive degree of grief for the death of children, and often refuse, when left childless, to survive them. 764 533 539

O Death! O thou who know'st no ruth!
Why rob me of my son?
Why tear him from my loving arms?
My boy, my dearest one!

No pity hadst thou in thy stroke!
Before thou laidst him prone,
Why torture him with cruel pains?—
My boy, my dearest one!

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[539]

Remorseless, Death, I know thou art,
  Yet, from a mother lone,
How couldst thou take her only son,
  Her boy, her dearest one?

Why didst thou not, my treasured child,
  My only darling son—
Why didst thou not resist his blow?
  My boy, my dearest one!

Ah! knew'st thou not, within my heart,
  Should'st thou from me be gone,
Thou ope'st a wound must ever bleed?
  My boy, my dearest one!

[152] Sometimes, too, as among the Greek women, a mourner finds no adequate outlet for her grief in the conventional dirges, and, inspired by sorrow, bursts into an improvised lament for the lost son, brother, or husband, extolling his virtues and bewailing his fate.

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763
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It is said that when an Albanian of the mountains is led to execution by the authorities for any crime but that of theft, which is by these people alone considered disgraceful, he walks to his doom with head erect and bearing dignified, improvising as he goes his own dirge, in which he relates the circumstances that have led to his premature departure from the world. His mother and sisters follow him to the place of execution, their hearts devoured with grief, but wearing smiles on their lips, in order that their relative may, on his side, show no sign of weakness. Intently they listen to his death-song, the words of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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764

which they treasure in their memories, and hand down to their posterity.[1]

The funeral, in conformity with the usual Eastern custom, takes place within four-and-twenty hours after death. Before the corpse leaves the house, it is measured with a string, which is then thrown up into the rafters. If the deceased has not a silver ring on his finger, a coin is placed, as among the Greeks, on the mouth; and one of the relatives seats himself three times on that part of the floor on which he breathed his last. On the way to the burial ground, the men surround the bier, the women follow behind, and resume their wailings as the procession leaves the house. Arrived at the mosque, or church, the men enter, but the women remain without, weeping, shrieking, and lamenting continually. Before leaving the church, the men give the dead a last kiss, the women doing the same at the grave. The body is laid in the bare earth, and a stone slab is placed over it, on which the earth is cast. At this stage of the proceedings, the cries of the women become quite heartrending; they crowd round the grave, and can with difficulty be prevented from throwing themselves

[1] This calls to mind Burns' spirited song, "MacPherson's Lament," the words of which might fittingly be used by an Albanian *pallikar:*

"I've lived a life of sturt and strife;
I die by treacherie;
It burns my heart, I must depart,
And not avenged be.
Sae rantingly, sae wantonly,
Sae dauntingly gaed he;
He played a spring, and danced it round,
Beneath the gallows tree."

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764 into it, and even the men are frequently heard to sob aloud. As soon as it is filled up, however, a sudden silence prevails, for now the *Kokiele*, the Greek [262] Kólyva (Κόλυβα)[1] is handed round, and it is accounted sinful to mourn whilst eating it. As each person takes a handful of this funeral dish, he says, "May he (or she) be forgiven."

765 On this and the two following days, the house of mourning is filled with a succession of condoling friends, who bring with them all the food necessary [252] for the family, for no cooking is done in it during this period. Others send presents of wine or spirits, the bearer of which delivers them with the words: "May I have come for your good." On the third day, the wailing at the grave is repeated, and continued in the house of mourning for forty days, being performed either early on the morning of each day, or on Sundays and feast days only, by the women of the house and those who visit them for this purpose.

[184] With members of the Orthodox Church it is customary, as among the Greeks, to exhume the bones at the end of three years. Moslems, however, have a great dislike to disturbing a dead body in any way.

765 761 The grief of relatives is, as a rule, less demonstrative for the death of a woman; and for a man well stricken in years, no wailing takes place. In the latter case, the deceased has usually set aside one or more sheep to be sacrificed on his death as an atonement for his sins, the flesh of which serves for the funeral feast. At this feast, the guests drink "to

[1] See description of this funeral dish, vol. i. p. 99.

[Analyst's note: Kólyva is made of flour, boiled wheat, pomegranates, raisins, nuts, and spices.]

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the forgiveness" of the departed, and sing funeral songs in his honour.

When, as often happens, a man dies at a distance from his home, on the arrival of the tidings of his death, the funeral ceremonies are, with the exception of the actual interment, performed as above described. The women lament, friends hasten to comfort them, and the procession goes to church, the place of the bier being occupied by a youth, who carries the dish of *Kólyva*, on which is placed a cake for the priest.

765

Only slight changes are generally made in their dress by the Albanian women on the death of a relative. The chief mourners cut their hair short, turn their coats inside out, so that the fur lining alone is seen, and lay aside all ornaments. The nieces of the deceased allow their hair to hang loose for some months, or cut off a lock, and wear on their heads a black kerchief. A similar head-dress is assumed by the widow, who, if she has arrived at middle age, wears it for the rest of her life. If, however, she is still young, and intends to return to her father's house with the expectation of finding another husband, she wears at the same time her bridal apparel, and does not manifest such an exaggerated degree of grief.

[604]

[292 587]

Sometimes, as illustrated in the history of Shainitza[1] and in folk-tale,[2] the grief of the women finds expression in giving to their dwelling the most dismal and funereal appearance, by painting black either the whole of the outside of the house, or the shutters only, and covering up or removing from their usual places the mirrors and other ornaments.

[1] See p. 225. [2] P. 315.

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CHAPTER X.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR CULTURE-BELIEFS.

779 THOUGH speaking the same language, observing the same customs, and cherishing the same traditions and aspirations, the Albanians, as may have been seen from the foregoing chapter, are, in matters of religious belief, divided by three Creeds, the Moslem, Orthodox Greek, and Roman Catholic. The Moslems constitute about one-half of the population, and of the remaining half the majority follow the rites of the Eastern Church.

797 175 After the loss of their independence the Albanians began by degrees to abandon the faith of their forefathers for that of their conquerors. Islam, however, made but slow progress among them until towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the Porte promulgated a law assuring the possession of their property to those Albanian families who would bring up one of their sons in the Moslem faith. A Tosk proverb [538] says, "Where the sword is, there is the faith;" and the advantages which a nation of mercenary soldiers could not fail to find in belonging to the religion of the dominant race, soon made conversion so general that the populations of whole villages, towns, and even districts would simultaneously apostatise to Islam. Wholesale perversions, such as these, have

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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not been unfrequent even in the present century, and 797
the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders 175
to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian
agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, [167]
makes it probable that in course of time the country
may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians 771
have among the Turks the reputation of being but 184
indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same
opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of
the Albanians who call themselves members of the
Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem [582]
women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the [869]
faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ;
Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian
saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Chris-
tians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints [755]
for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while [778]
Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-
beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which
both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The [779]
Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast
adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of
the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some
Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administra-
tion of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of 796
Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary 771
of the departure of her image from the Latin church
in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems par-
ticipate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief
of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years 173

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173 since, when all the country was Christian, there stood in the city of Scutari a beautiful image of the Virgin Mary, to whose shrine thousands flocked every year from all parts of the country to offer their gifts, perform their devotions, and be healed of their infirmities. Such, indeed, was the healing power of [755] this Madonna that no sick person was ever known to kiss in faith her white feet and not depart completely cured.

For some cause or other, however, it fell out that there was dissension between the priest and the people, and one day the latter came to the church in great crowds, declaring that unless the priest yielded to them they would then and there abjure the faith of Christ and embrace in its stead that of Mohammed. The priest, whether right or wrong, still remaining firm, his congregation tore the rosaries and crosses from their necks, trampled them under their feet, and, going to the nearest mosque, were received by the Mollah into the fold of the True Believers. Grieved and displeased at this wholesale desertion of those who had received nothing but benefits at her hands, Our Lady of Skodra disappeared during the night from that ungrateful land. What new shrine the beautiful image had hallowed with its presence was, for a time, unknown. Some months later, however, tidings were brought that, on the night of her departure from Scutari, an image of the Madonna had miraculously entered the church of a remote village in Italy, and had there taken up its abode. A voice was also, it is said, heard crying out over Scutari that not till the last *Türki* (Moslem) had left the land of

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Skiperi would Our Lady of Scutari forgive her 173
children, and return to her ancient shrine.

The scene on this day in the great square building, 796
which, with its bare walls and absence of ornament, [346]
bears little resemblance to a Romish church, is most
striking and strange. The mass performed on the
occasion is listened to by a congregation whose
waists are perfect arsenals, bristling with pistols and
yataghans of every shape and pattern. There are [291 411]
wild-looking, fierce-moustachioed highlanders, white-
kilted Mussulmans, chieftains blazing with gold em-
broidery, and milder citizens in more homely garb, all
assembled in honour of the Madonna, before whose
shrine their ancestors had worshipped. Yet, notwith-
standing their participation in the religious rites of 577
their neighbours, the Albanians are not less tenacious 579
of their own honour than of that of the creed they
profess, any insult offered to a Christian church being
promptly retaliated upon a Moslem mosque, and *vice
versâ*. Of this the following incident, which occurred
about the middle of the century, offers a striking
illustration.

A certain Tahir Mala, of Bugna, belonging to the 585
Moslem tribe of the Gascii, having married his son to
a maiden of the Christian Schialla, set out to bring
the bride home, accompanied, according to national
custom, by a numerous train, and preceded by the
tribal banners. On the return journey, they stopped,
as usual, every now and then to fire volleys into the air.
Their way, however, lying past a Christian cemetery,
the cross, standing in the midst, offered a mark for 798
their pistols too tempting to be resisted, and was soon

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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798 riddled with balls. The tribe of the Schialla, having heard of this insult to their religion, prepared to take
798 vengeance for it; but, the offenders being out of reach, they made the family of Bobi, to which the bride
579 belonged, responsible. The Bobi engaged to obtain
628 satisfaction within a week, or pay the penalty, and on the morrow the young men of the family set off for Bugna, where they killed two nephews of Tahir Mala. Not content, however, with this retribution, they entered the mosque, where they killed a pig, rubbed the doors with its blood, and placed the head on the ledge of the pulpit.

The Moslems, at this profanation of their mosque, hastened to complain to Mustapha Pasha, of Skodra, who prepared to send a military expedition against the Bobi. The latter, with the rest of the Schialla tribe, placed themselves under the protection of the Miridite Prince, Prenk Doda, who threatened the Pasha that, if troops were sent against the Schialla, he would not only support them, but call all the Christian highlanders to arms. The Pasha, alarmed at the prospect of a religious war for which he would be held responsible, then agreed to let the insulted cross atone for the polluted mosque, and cry quits with the Christians.

795 The number of Albanians affiliated to the Bektashi Order of Dervishes is said to be no fewer than 80,000. The lax observance of even the outward forms of Islam, characteristic of the followers of Hadji Bektash generally, is more especially observable in the conduct of the Skipetars, and has occasionally subjected them to persecution from their Osmanli Moslem neigh-

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bours. One of their chief offences, in the eyes of the strictly orthodox, is the scant attention paid by the wives of these sectarians to the law of *namekhram*, or wearing the veil, it being their practice to appear unveiled before their husband's friends when he gives them permission to do so.

Cloistered life is not more popular with the women of Albania than with those of the rest of Turkey. In Islam there is, of course, no such resource for disappointed maidens, and marriage being as much the rule among Christians, whether orthodox Greek or Roman Catholic, as among Moslems, nunneries are not numerous, and their inmates are but few. Those which exist, however, offer a welcome asylum to the small section of women whom circumstances have doomed to a life of celibacy, and who the more willingly enter them as they, by so doing, acquire a degree of liberty which could never be theirs while living as unmarried women in the house of their father or brother. For in the East, as I have before remarked, convent rule is remarkably lax, and, beyond attending the prescribed church services, no very strict account is required of the way in which the good sisters spend their time. If report speaks true, they do not always refrain from making use of the opportunities for flirtation afforded them by their emancipation from conventional restraint.

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CHAPTER XI.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-BELIEFS.

144 114 Mr. Stuart Glennie's suggestion[1] that the Albanians are probably a mixed Pelasgo-Aryan race, and that the Pelasgians, whose Larissas extend from Italy and Greece through Asia Minor to Northern Syria and Chaldea, were related to the Archaian White Race, the founders of civilisation in the Euphrates Valley, gives special interest to all their folk-lore.

771 Survivals of ancient Nature-worship, which neither Christianity nor Islam has succeeded in eliminating, may be found in the form of the oaths still in 788 use in the Albanian highlands. Contact with the [177] outer world has taught the dwellers in towns to call upon the Virgin and Saints, or Allah and Mohammed, as witnesses to their word; but the oaths of the pastoral Skipetar are still "By sky and earth" (*Per kielh e per dhé*), "By mountain and plain" (*Per ket ziarm e per ket uï*), and "By sun and moon" (*Per ket dielh e per ket hân*). The curious ceremony of taking the "Oath of the Stone," which is said by Wassa Effendi[2] to have been a Pelasgian custom, is

[1] First made in Europe and Asia (1879), and more fully in papers on the Archaian White Races, read in 1887 at meetings of the Royal Historical Society and of the British Association.

[2] *Etudes sur l'Albanie et les Albanais.*

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also made use of by the Albanian highlanders generally, when settling matters of importance. According to this writer, quoting from M. Ampère,[1] a similar custom also existed among the ancient Romans. Sylla, on leaving Rome to fight against Mithridates, required Cinna to swear, not by the national divinities, but on the Sacred Stone, and according to an ancient rite of the Etruscans, to make no innovations during his absence. Cinna, when pronouncing this oath, placed the stone on his shoulder, and then threw it backwards, while he pronounced, in a loud voice, the curses which should fall upon him were he false to his promise. The taking of this oath in Albania is attended with the same ceremonies. It is sworn by the elders of the *phars*, or clans, on the occasion of settling serious disputes, such as those concerning the boundaries of village lands, or other communal matters. The elders of the two tribes, Christian or Moslem, after taking the Oath of the Stone, assemble in council and settle the question at issue.

This oath, in another form, also enters into everyday speech. In course of conversation, when a Gheg wishes to emphasise what he is saying, he takes up in his hand, or points to, the nearest stone, saying, "By this weight" (*Per ket pésh*), and a Tosk makes use of the phrase, "By the heaviness of this stone" (*Per te rand te keti gúr*).[2]

The Supernals, with which the Albanian women terrify themselves and their children, appear to be, for the most part, like those of the Bulgarians,

[1] *Histoire des Romains à Rome.* [2] Wassa Effendi, *Op. cit.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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776 personifications of the powers of Nature. Of these imaginary beings, some belong exclusively to Albania, [171] while others may also be found among the superstitions of Slavs, Greeks, and Turks. The Vilas seem to approach most nearly to our own fairies; though, like the Nereids of the Greeks, they are of the full stature of mortals. Like our fairies, too, it is unlucky to mention them by name, and they are generally referred to as "Those outside," "The Happy Ones," the "Brides of May," or "The Brides of the Mountain." As a rule they are harmless, if not offended, and amuse themselves with elfish tricks, such as taking little children up to the roof of the house to play with and bringing them back safely. 776 They, however, take it very ill when mortals disturb 753 them in their haunts, and interrupt their banquets; and 761 so capricious are they, that they will place themselves invisibly in spots where they are likely to be disturbed, in order to have a little vent for their pent-up malice. The unlucky wight who sets an irreverent foot within their elfin rings receives a stroke from an invisible hand, and ere long sickens and dies. In consequence of this belief, it is said of one for whose death no adequate cause can be assigned, "He has received a blow."

776 The favourite haunts of the Vilas are retired and shady spots, but they also have a partiality for the gutters on the eaves of houses, which it is a rather risky matter to clean out, especially at night. The Vilas are said, in North Albania, to be of two kinds—well-disposed and beautiful beings, who ride about on fleet horses; and ill-disposed and hideous creatures,

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whose heads are covered with writhing serpents instead of hair. To meet the former is considered a good augury, but the appearance of the latter presages certain misfortune.

Another and similar class of supernal beings, known by the Turkish name of Djins, attach themselves to dwellings, in which they perform the rôle generally attributed to good fairies, putting the house in order and plaiting the manes and tails of the horses in the stable. Sometimes, too, like the Nereids and Lamias of the Greeks and the Samodivas of the Bulgarians, they form matrimonial alliances with mortals. M. Hecquard[1] mentions a story of a man, living at Scutari, who declared himself to be married to one of these female Djins, who was able to fulfil every desire he expressed. However ancient or rare the coin he might show her, she always trebled it. This Djin was, according to her master's report, exceedingly jealous of mortal women, and would allow no servant in the house. Indeed, she had no need of one, for everything she or her husband required was ready to hand in a moment.

The Mauthia appears to be peculiar to Elbassan, and is described as a beautiful woman dressed in gold-gleaming garments, and wearing on her head a fez covered with jewels. The man who can succeed in getting this fez from her, whether by force or fraud, will be happy for the rest of his life. In Albanian fairy-lore the Peri, whose name is of Turkish origin, is of the masculine sex, and resembles a beautiful boy of twelve with a glistening white skin, clothed in

[1] *La Haute Albanie*, p. 343.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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776 dainty raiment, and exhaling a fragrant odour. They live in the mountains, but after nightfall frequently approach the abodes of men in order to allure mortal youths to join their dances. If a boy so favoured keeps his own counsel, he may join in these fairy revels with impunity, but should he venture to inform others of his relations with these nocturnal visitors, they revenge themselves by killing him.

The Ore is a being who constantly wanders about in order to hear and carry into effect the blessings and curses pronounced by men on each other. In [735 789] North Albania the usual formula with which a beggar concludes his thanks and blessings for alms received is, "May the Ore hear and bring it to pass."

Among the malevolent supernals are three kinds of man-devouring female monsters. The Koutchédra (κουτζέδρα), the Dogsuckler (συκγεννεζα), and the Liouvía (λιουβία). The first figures frequently in folk-tale, and besides her cannibalistic propensities, is credited with the power of drying up the springs and fountains at which she drinks. The Dogsuckler is endowed with four eyes, two in the front of her head, and two in the back. The Liouvía is extremely partial to the flesh of little children.

776 Diseases are generally personalised as female mon-
753 sters, whose touch is death. One of these is called in Elbassan the Phliame (φλιάμε), whose touch causes "the falling sickness." She is, however, never alluded to by name, it being said of her victim that "The Thing has attacked him." The plague and fatal epidemics generally are represented as more or less similar, but blind beings, called Koukoúdh (κουκούδ).

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A horrible belief prevails among the Ghegs that when 776
men or women live to be a hundred years old their 753
breath becomes poisonous and kills healthy people. 761
Von Hahn says that old people suspected of causing 888
sickness in this way, especially when an epidemic is raging, have atoned for their longevity with a fiery death at the hands of their panic-stricken neighbours.[1]

A curious notion is also shared by Greeks and Albanians that shadows are capable of assuming an independent existence, and, being malevolently disposed, are able to deal men blows which usually cause their death. 776 822 761

The Dif, or Dev (δίφι, δίβι, δεφ, δίβι), is, like the Kūrdish supernal of the latter name,[2] a being possessed of extraordinary physical strength. "He is a regular Dif" is said of a remarkably strong man, as we say, "He is another Samson." According to the people of Elbassan, the Dif is an enormous giant who lives underground and never comes to the surface, and whose business it is to keep the cauldrons boiling which supply the hot and medicinal springs in the neighbourhood of that town. These springs, in common with those found in other parts of the country, are much resorted to for curative purposes. Their waters are, however, drunk indiscriminately for all kinds of ailments, without regard to their various medicinal properties. The cures effected not being attributed to the water itself so much as to the influence of the magical beings who have their abodes in the springs and wells, people consequently go 776 [823] 776 755

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 163.

[2] See p. 155. Von Hahn suggests an Indian origin for this word, which, he says, he had found in no other part of Turkey. *Op. cit.* p. 162.

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776 from one spring to another in the hope of propitiating
755 the various tutelary deities in charge of them.

The Dragoua are children who are born with
776 bunches of hair or feathers on their shoulders, by
845 means of which they are able to fly, or at least to take tremendous leaps. The mother of such a child must, it is said, be very careful to keep secret its peculiarities, for, should they be observed by a stranger, the child would die, and in any case it will not be long lived. On stormy nights the Dragoua leave their cradles, or beds, and, rising into the air, fight with the Koutchédras, the contest often waxing so hot that they uproot trees to use as weapons, which are, on the following morning, found strewn on the ground.

826 Another curious belief current in Albania maintains the actual existence there of men with tails, either like those of goats or of horses. Persons retaining these appendages of their remote ancestors are held to be always short and broad of figure, untiring walkers, and endowed with great physical strength. Von Hahn was of opinion that this is not a mere vague popular superstition, but has a foundation in fact. "Soliman of Dragoti, one of my cavasses at Ioannina," he says,[1] "maintained that in his part of the country tailed men of this sort were often to be seen, and that he had himself a tailed cousin, whom he had often, in youth, when bathing together, pulled by this gift of nature. An even more trustworthy authority, Theodoris, who had in his younger days been a klepht on Pindus, related that in his band there was, for several years, an undersized, broad-

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, pp. 163-4.

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shouldered, fair-complexioned man, called Kapitan Yannaki (Captain Johnny), who was reputed to possess a tail. In order to convince themselves of the truth of this report, half a dozen of his comrades (for he was uncommonly strong) had fallen upon him together when he was taking his noon-nap, and he himself had taken part in this ocular inspection. He distinctly remembered seeing a goat-like tail about four finger-breadths long, covered on the outer side with short reddish-coloured hairs." M. Von Hahn's endeavours to see for himself such a *lusus naturæ* were in vain, and the Turkish military surgeons, who inspected annually hundreds of recruits from all parts of the country, confessed that no specimen of the tailed man had ever come under their notice. 826

The villagers of the Ritza tribe hold in great honour a kind of good genius of the house which they call the Vittóre (βιττόρι), a word which signifies "ancient," and seems to convey the idea of a survival of ancestor worship. The Vittóre is in reality a little thick snake with a speckled skin, which lives in the house walls and seldom leaves its hole. These snakes are believed to live in the same house from generation to generation. They are regarded with great reverence by the family, and especially by the women, who heap benedictions upon them, and predict joyful or sorrowful events according to the sounds made by this house genius. On hearing any unusual or unaccountable noise the women say, "It is the Vittóre." If all the members of a household die, and the house is left empty, or passes into other hands, the Vittóre, too, abandons it, never to return. When an old and much 776 825

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776 respected woman dies, the friends who come to offer
825 their condolences say to her relatives, "She was the Vittóre of the house."

In Elbassan the Vittóre also conveys the idea of a good genius, though the snake element is absent, and a wife who has presented her husband with a large family of sons is designated by this name.

775 Vampire beliefs are, generally speaking, more or less the same in Albania as in the rest of Turkey. The hair and beard of the "Restless One" are believed to grow in the tomb, and any one bending over the grave may hear him rattle and grind his teeth. Some
754 men are also held to possess the propensities of
774 vampires before death, and to be in the habit of unconsciously going forth by night to suck the blood of children and young maidens.

775 Strangely enough, in Elbassan and the neighbourhood, Von Hahn found no traces of the Vampire (βρυκολακ) pure and simple, as he elsewhere exists. Two connected species, however, came under his notice, the Lougát (λουγάτ) and the Karkantsoli (καρκαντσολι). The first was described as the corpse of a Turk with finger- and toe-nails of prodigious length, which, wrapped in its winding-sheet, roams about at night devouring everything it finds, and strangling any human being unfortunate enough to cross its path. The name of Lougát is also given generally in Northern Albania to a class of uncanny apparitions, which are believed to be the bewitched forms of persons who have led evil lives. These have the faculty of changing their forms with surprising and confusing rapidity, appearing successively as

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charred corpses, howling like wolves, donkeys, 775
pigs, black cats, crows, oil-jars, brooms, &c. The Karkantsoli is the reanimated corpse of a Gipsy, which is believed to wander about, more especially during [761]
January nights, ridden by cats, and slaying men with its poisonous breath.

In Albania, as in all the remoter parts of Turkey, 172
there is no Pelasgian ruin to which is not attached 776
some legend of a treasure hidden, and either "guarded 789
by word and by spell," or placed in the safe keeping of a gigantic Negro, Djin, or other Supernal. Those who have concealed treasure in such places have also, it is believed, fixed the time at which it may be brought to light, and have left to their heirs a document containing a description of the hiding-place, the formula of the magic spell pronounced over it at the moment of burial, with the year, day, and hour, on which alone it can be recovered.[1] At the appointed time the heir goes to the spot indicated, pronounces the mysterious words, and the treasure immediately rises to the surface. Sometimes, however, the treasure is buried in such a way that, at the appointed time, it rises spontaneously to the surface, and any one finding it may appropriate it. The lucky person must, however, be careful to keep his own counsel in the matter, or he will be punished by finding the gold turned to charcoal, and will not long survive the incident. When the treasure is in the keeping of a Negro, he 776
occasionally spreads it out in the sunshine in order that it may not be damaged by the damp, and, at the

[1] Compare the Kürdish story of "The Armenian and the Dervish," p. 169.

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776 appointed time, he never fails to bring it permanently to the surface.

776 A story is told of a shepherd who, when pasturing
825 his sheep in Dibra, saw one day a snake curled up asleep on a great heap of gold. In order to induce him to leave it, the shepherd fetched a pail of milk, which he placed near the snake, and then retired to a little distance to watch his movements. As he had calculated, the snake gorged himself with the milk, and then returned to sleep on the gold heap. But the quantity of milk he had drunk made him thirsty and uneasy, and he wriggled and wriggled and could not rest. Finally he went off to get some water, and, the spring being at some distance, before he returned the shepherd had removed the whole of the treasure to a place of safety. What the snake did when he came back and found his property gone, the story omits to mention.

776 The Tosks hold that hidden treasures are guarded by fire-breathing winged snakes with human faces. These creatures they, however, call by the Greek name of Stoichiò (στοιχιὸ), which signifies generally an elemental spirit. On the eve of Sunday the Stoichiò relaxes its vigilance, and the treasure may then be seized by a bold and enterprising individual.

787 The existence of a treasure, and the spot where it is to be found, are held to be frequently revealed in dreams, which are repeated on three consecutive nights. As in the above-mentioned case, should the fortunate person take another into his confidence, the gold turns to charcoal and his days are numbered. The Albanian women, however, who are learned in the expounding of dreams, say that, as a rule, they go by contraries.

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The *Ghiak*, the terrible blood feud, or vendetta, 775
before alluded to, may possibly, as suggested by Wassa 628
Effendi, have been in its origin a sacrifice to the *manes* of murdered relatives. As the numerous class of vampire stories tends to show, the ancient belief that those who have died by violence cannot rest quietly in their graves still survives, and the slaying of their murderer, or at least of one of his kindred or clan, would thus be rather an act of religious duty towards the dead than of vengeance on the part of the living.

The majority of the ailments which afflict mankind 753
are believed by the Albanians to be caused by magical influences, and I shall now proceed to give some illustrations of their folk-remedies. These are usually 755
accompanied by some form of incantation, the secret of which is possessed only by some wise-woman who has inherited it from her mother, and who, in her turn, imparts it to her daughter. If, for instance, a person believes himself to have received a blow from one of the invisible Vilas, or some other supernal being, he [753 776]
has recourse to the witch-wife, who, after dressing the patient in white garments, conducts him to an uninhabited house in a retired situation. On arriving, she greets the mysterious powers whom she believes to be invisibly present. She then places her patient in a suppliant posture, gives him rose-water to drink, and both observe a solemn silence for some ten minutes, during which she makes certain mysterious signs and motions. After wishing the Vilas good-night, the witch-wife leads her patient home by a circuitous road.

Sometimes a circle is drawn round a person so afflicted,

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755 in which he remains seated three days, at the end of which time he is washed with "unspoken-over" water.[1] This, which is also called by an Albanian word signifying "stolen," is water drawn from the well or fountain in silence and carried home without the bearer having spoken, or been spoken to, on the way, and it is believed to possess highly salutary virtues. Into the water some "sweet" or "heavy" leaves are thrown, the number and also the kind being determined by fixed rules according to the nature of the malady. Among the "sweet" leaves are those of the pomegranate, apple, and rose trees, and also, strange to say, of nettles; among the "heavy," those of the laurel, cypress, ivy, and other evergreens. Three days after such an ablution the patient is expected either to recover or to die. Should he be able to indicate the spot on which he received the blow, the earth is there sprinkled with rose-water in order to appease the offended beings, who are said to be extremely fond of this scent; or he there throws down something, the nature of which is known only to himself, in the belief that the malady from which he suffers will be transferred to the being who may chance to tread upon it.

[137 245] [782]

755 The effects of the evil eye are also removed by sprinkling the patient with "unspoken-over" water, three nettle stalks being dipped into it for that purpose, and giving him to eat three mulberry buds, the mulberry tree being one of the sovereign antidotes for that much dreaded influence.

755 754

755 Rheumatism in the hands or feet is cured by

[1] Such water is also used by the Greeks, who call it περὶ ἄκρων.

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bathing the affected member three times in warm water, rubbing it with salt, and finally passing over it the blade of a knife with the words, "As this salt melts, so may the evil melt!" The house is then swept with a new broom, the sweeper saying as the dust is swept out, "So may all evil be swept away!" 755

If ringworm (οὔθι) appears with the new, it may be made to disappear with the waning moon, by covering the place with wood ashes, and repeating at the same time the charm:

> Came the spot and made him foul,
> Came the ash and made him whole.[1]

The remedy for the bite of a tarantula is to place the sufferer on a heap of dung, while nine women bearing the name of Maro[2] sit round him in a circle and chant the following incantation:— [136 164]

> Nine Maros here are we,
> And but one art thou.
> Thou hast worked, thy work succeeds;
> We have worked without success.
> Evil hast thou wrought,
> Good do thou now work,
> O mistress spider![3]

When an Albanian wife has no children, or is the mother of girls only, she, like her Greek sister, attributes her misfortune to some enemy of her family having tied together a number of nettles with this object, and has recourse to counter-spells in order to 842

[1] Ἐρθ' σόρδι ε ντρεσθί
Ἐρθ' χίνι ε ντρεσίνι (lit. "drank it up").

[2] Perhaps, like the similar Greek name, a form of Maria or Mary.

[3] Tarantulas are called by the Albanians by the generic name for spider φαρμακα. Comp. Von Hahn's *Albanesische Studien*, p. 157.

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842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, [491] as in those of other nations, are said to have been formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 731 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

[1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

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times happens, are ravaging the country, a number of women assemble, and, having captured some of the insects, form a mock funeral procession, and, with hair dishevelled, proceed to drown them in the nearest well or stream, singing in turn as they go the following dirge, which is repeated by the others in chorus: 789 731

> O locusts! O cockchafers! parents kind,
> Orphaned you have left us all behind!

This ceremony is believed to cause the death of the rest of the destructive swarm.

If one of a herd of cattle dies, its head is buried in the farmyard in order that a similar fate may not befall the rest of the herd. When an ox or cow is ill, "unspoken-over" water is brought and sprinkled over it. If several of the cattle are ailing, and in other cases of a serious nature, the water used is brought from three different wells or springs, and mixed together, its efficacy being believed to be thus increased to a threefold degree. 782 231

Very numerous are the ceremonies observed with the object of ensuring good, or averting bad, luck. In Northern Albania, when a youth, or man, is about to leave his home for a distant town a curious ceremony is performed, which is believed to ensure him a safe and successful journey. In front of the house-door the women place a jar filled with "unspoken-over" water, decorated with foliage and hung with earrings of gold and silver. The traveller touches the jar with his foot, takes in his hand the earrings and some of the foliage, and sets out, accompanied for a mile or two by his relatives, to whom, when they finally take 789 484

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789 484 leave of him, he returns the earrings. It is considered a bad omen for the journey if the traveller should for any reason turn or look back. If he have left anything behind, he sends another to fetch it; and should a friend or stranger call to him from behind, he will not turn back to meet him, but remain standing where he is until the other comes up, a practice which foreigners, not understanding the reason for it, have [777] put down to discourtesy. If on the road the traveller meets a fox, or a flock of sheep, he considers it a good augury; a flock of goats, however, or a hare crossing the road, is held to signify ill luck.

778 775 484 Travellers in Upper Albania may frequently see stones placed in the forks or hollows of roadside trees. According to M. Hecquard,[1] this practice originates in the belief that the stones serve as resting-places for the feet of those unhappy beings for whom the rites of sepulture have not been properly performed, and who, while wandering in mid-air, can alight upon them as on the solid earth. To place a stone on a tree is also said in some mysterious way to diminish the fatigue of the pedestrian, and help him on his journey.

787 Omens and auguries, too, both good and evil, are drawn from all the trifling occurrences of every-day life, as well as from the observation of the phenomena of Nature, besides being sought for in the bones and entrails of slaughtered sheep and in the flight of birds. Among the omens read in the actions of the domestic animals are the following. When introducing a newly purchased cow into the farmyard, some object, made of iron or silver, is placed across the gateway

[1] *La Haute Albanie.*

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through which the animal is led. If the cow steps 787
over the object with the right hoof, it is considered a good augury; if with the left, the omen is unfavourable. If a hen shakes her feathers in the house, or if one of her feathers hangs askew without falling, it foretells the arrival of a friend, or the receipt of news from an absent relative. Should the hen crow like a cock without turning its head to the East, it signifies a death or other serious misfortune. If, during the night, a cock crows at an unusual hour, it is either a sign of a change in the weather, or that important news will arrive in the morning. To an expectant mother, however, it announces [843]
that her child will be a boy. Should the dog howl while looking away from the dwelling, it is a sign of death; and if the cat mews repeatedly, that a member of the family will shortly fall ill. If, however, she licks herself frequently, it is merely a sign of rain.

Cats, I may here remark, are treated with great 231
kindness by the Albanians, who, it is said, are not 825
in the habit of laying to their charge the smashing of crockery, or the disappearance of provisions. According to a myth current among the Albanian highlanders, the cat was created by Jesus, who produced one from the sleeve of His mantle when dining in a house infested with mice. To kill a cat is con- [577]
sequently considered a most reprehensible action. When such a family pet dies, the children of the 766
house call in their friends to assist in pussy's obsequies, and, after she has been carried in solemn procession to the grave, the little party sit down to a funeral feast, for which the mother willingly furnishes the necessary viands.

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787 825 The cries of wild beasts and birds, and also the circumstances under which they are heard, or the animals themselves met with, have also their signification. If wolves howl in packs, it betokens, in some districts, a death; in others, severe frost. To meet a snake before sunrise, or about sunset, augurs the death of a relative. If the turtle-dove, which in Middle Albania builds in the towns and villages, sits on a roof and coos, it announces to the inmates the return of a relative from a foreign land. When a cuckoo, however, sits there and sings, or an owl hoots there, it betokens a death in the house. The croak of a raven in the vicinity of a house, or the hoot of an owl, announces to the expectant mother the birth of a girl. Sparrows flying in large flocks are held to be a sign of severe cold.

787 Various auguries are also drawn from the arrival in spring of the birds of passage, and the circumstances under which they are first seen. For instance, to see the first swallow or turtle-dove before breaking one's fast in the morning portends sickness. Accordingly, about the time when these birds are expected, and more particularly on the 1st of May, the precaution 751 777 is taken of placing by the bedside a small piece of bread, which is eaten immediately on awakening in order to avoid any such risk. In Northern Albania, on the contrary, it is held that to see while fasting the first swallow brings luck. Here, too, when a mother, 755 whose child has been born with a running sore, sees the first stork, she places on her baby's head a stone, saying:

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755

Head thy poultice,
Head this stone.[1]

A few of the trifling occurrences of every-day life 787
to which a superstitious significance is attached by the Albanians have their parallels in our own country. We say, for instance, when seized by a sudden shiver, "Some one is walking over my grave;" while an Albanian says, "Death is calling me," and mentally replies, "I am not yet ready." When attacked with a fit of hiccough, the Albanian believes that some friend is speaking of him, and calls over the names of all his relatives and acquaintances, in the belief that the one he mentions with the last hiccough will be the one who has uttered his name. If the eye itches, it denotes coming rain; if the right hand, vexation consequent on being called upon to pay money; if the left, the receipt of money; itching of the lips signifies the arrival of a friend or relative; of the nose, strife and discord. Humming in the right ear is looked upon as a good omen, and in the left the reverse. If a little child drops asleep just before a meal, the incident is regarded as most propitious for the whole household.

In addition to the every-day observances with respect 527
to auspicious and inauspicious actions and events, so 777
many are attached to certain seasons and days of the year as to form quite a Calendar of Superstitions. Some tribes, the Ritza, for example, celebrate their New Year's Day on the 1st of September, and every

[1] Κρυε τον πιδολ,
κρυε τον γδυρ.

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527 777 incident that occurs during its twelve hours is believed to presage the events of the corresponding months of the coming year, and the events of the first day of each month the character, lucky or unlucky, of the other days generally. It is unlucky to work in the [461] fields during the first week of October, and no corn is sown this month, as the crop would be sure to fail.

527 777 776 784 The period between the 15th of November and the 6th of January is, like the Greek *Fishoti* and the Bulgarian *Kulada*,[1] supposed to be the carnival time of the Vilas and other supernal beings, who are, at that season, not only more active, but more powerful than at others, and especially during the night. After sunset, consequently, people refrain from going abroad, or drinking water, for fear of mischief, and give no credence to their dreams. They are also careful not to leave any article of wearing ap- [296] parel out of doors after nightfall, and if, by some oversight, a garment should be so left, it is washed before being used, in order to get rid of any spell cast upon it by the supernals.

527 777 Christmas, which bears a name (*Kolendravet*[2]) apparently connected with those by which it is known among the Bulgarians and Vlachs, is observed with ceremonies that recall those of more Northern nations, as well as with some similar to those of their last-mentioned neighbours. On the 24th and 25th of

[1] Vol. i. pp. 123 and 329.

[2] Von Hahn derives this name from the κολόβρα, the ring-shaped cakes made at this season. I would, however, suggest the greater likelihood of the cakes having been named after the name of the feast in its various forms of (Albanian) *Kolendravet*, (Vlach) *Kolindi*, and (Bulgarian) *Kulada*.

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December the housewife makes, besides other sweet cakes, some in the shape of rings, which are called *Koléndhra*. The one first made is termed "the cake of the oxen," and is hung up on the wall "for luck," and left there until the farmer goes out with his team to the fields. On this occasion the cake is taken down and broken to pieces on the head of one of the yoked oxen, and then divided between the pair. 527 777

Fire-ceremonies play a great part in the Christmas observances of the Albanian highlanders. As may have already been remarked in connection with birth-ceremonies, a protective and salutary character appears to attach to the fire on the hearth, and not only on such occasions, but on the eve of every important festival, the Albanian peasants light fires and keep them burning until sunset on the following day, even in summer; and from the crackling, or exploding, noises emitted by the wood in burning, they learn when the enemies of their house are conspiring against them, and whether the flocks will thrive, or the contrary. On ordinary occasions they consider it inauspicious when the thick end of a log burns before the thin, and are careful not to place one log across another. On Christmas Eve, however, all such precautions are considered unnecessary. The fire is piled up as high as the safety of the house will permit, as this is supposed to neutralise all evil effects of the non-observance of the foregoing precautions during the coming year. The largest log that can be found is brought home at sunset, when all the family, who are reunited for the festival, rise to greet it with the words, "Welcome, our log! God has destined thee for the fire! Bring 789 787 372 789 372

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789 good luck to us and to our flocks!" Before the
372 family sit down to supper a small quantity of food from every dish on the table is placed upon the burning log. Some branches of a cherry tree are also put on the fire, and, when partially burnt, are taken off again and kept.

857 Soon after midnight, the boys, in companies of from
533 ten to fifteen, go singing from house to house, and receive, in reward for their carols, a ring-cake from each housewife.

527 On the Eve of St. Basil (January 1) the fire is
789 also kept burning all night, and the half-burnt cherry
787 branches are again thrown on and withdrawn, to be
[372] wholly consumed on the Eve of the Epiphany, when the ashes are collected and strewn in the vineyard. The fire of St. Basil's Eve is often watched by an expectant mother, who thus hopes to ensure an easy confinement. In the morning people wash themselves and their children with "unspoken-over" water, and draw omens from the character, gay or sad, of the person who first enters the house. A cock is also sacrificed, for it is auspicious to spill blood in the house on St. Basil's Day.

789 On the Eve of Epiphany the fire is also kept alight
[787] all night, and in the morning the character of the coming seasons is prophesied from the set of the wind. If a south wind blows, it indicates a full harvest and sickness; if the wind is from the east, a scanty harvest and a healthy year are predicted; if from the north, a late spring. The Christians, on the Feast of Epiphany, sprinkle their vineyards with holy water, in the hope of ensuring a plentiful crop of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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grapes. They also place at the four corners of each 789
plot four vine stems tied together with straw bands, and under them a piece of a cake called a *kophtopite*, made specially for the purpose, wine being one of its ingredients. A round loaf is rolled from the gate to the middle of the vineyard, and then distributed to the ravens, crows, and other birds which damage the grapes, with this invitation, "Assemble, O crows and ravens, so that we may eat and drink, and that you may do us no more harm!"

On the 1st of February, St. Tryphon's Day, it is 789
considered lucky to work in the fields, but not in the 787
vineyards. On the 2nd, the "Feast of the Purification," all kinds of small pulse and cereals are [372]
cooked together in a pot, and this mess, called *karkasina*, forms the staple food of the day. On the eve of the 1st of March, a kind of divination is performed by throwing into the fire a particular kind of leaf and pronouncing at the same time the name of a member of the family. If the leaf makes an explosive noise while burning, it is held to be a good omen for the person indicated, but if it burns quietly, the reverse.[1] On this vigil a clod of earth, on which a few drops of wolf's milk have been sprinkled, is thrown against the door in order that the cows and goats may milk well. In the morning the cattle are whipped with cherry branches, in order that they may enjoy good [515]
health, and people wash themselves with wine with a view to preserving themselves from vermin during the summer. As an additional precaution, they also 789
catch a flea, which they impale on the point of a new

[1] The ancient φυλλοφρυία.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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789 needle, a warning evidently to other fleas of the fate awaiting them.

The women in South Albania twist together a [751] number of coloured threads and tie them round the children's wrists and necks, in order to preserve them from sunburn or sunstroke, and draw a similar thread along the threshold of the house. They also roll up tightly little balls of rag, at which they stitch assiduously with a needle and thread; and when asked what they are doing, they reply, "We are sewing up the plague, snakes, and sickness." On this day no vegetables are eaten, the sweet cakes and dishes, in which the Ritza alone indulge, being believed to ensure a good [777] summer. The whole of this month is a close time for the ravens, as to kill one would bring bad luck to the vintage.

527 The North Albanians begin their year on the 1st
789 of March. On this day the cattle are decked with gar-
777 lands of flowers, and the Ghegs not only tie threads of
[805] many colours on the wrists and necks of their children, but themselves also wear one of red silk on the little finger of the right hand and the great toe of the right foot. When the first swallow has been seen, they take off these threads, and hang them on the rose-bushes, in order that the swallows may take them to their nests. [177] Von Hahn is of opinion that this graceful little custom is not indigenous, and it may indeed have been partly borrowed, either from the Bulgarians, or, through the neighbouring Vlachs, from the Roumanians, with whom, as I have already mentioned,[1] a similar usage exists. While I was at Salonica, one

[1] Vol. I. p. 335.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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of these parti-coloured bracelets, with a tiny gold coin 527
attached, was, on the 1st of March (Old Style), pre- 789
sented by the Roumanian Consul-General to each lady 777
of his acquaintance, and I, for one, religiously wore my charm against the power of the March sun, which in the East generally is said to "blacken" the complexion, until the month was out. It was not, however, finally thrown to the swallows, but carried off by an English visitor as a curio.

On the 25th of this month the women go through 789
the house beating on copper pans, in order to drive out any poisonous snakes that may have intended to take up their abode there. The two last days of March and the first of April are called *Plyáketé*, a word signifying "old," and referring to the past season, personified as "Old Mother Winter." If by [754]
the last-mentioned date Spring has not yet fully set in, the blame is laid at the door of the old women, who are evidently held to be in league with "Old Mother Winter."

On Easter Eve in some places, Selitza, for instance, 789
the young men assemble with lighted torches, which [372]
they wave about as they walk in procession through the village. Arrived at the river, they throw them in, crying, "*Koré-ya* (O Maiden)! We throw thee into the water with these torches, so mayest thou never [776]
return!" the *Koré* evidently referring, as Von Hahn suggests,[1] to the malevolent supernals, Vilas, Dragouas, &c., before described. When the priest comes to bless the house on Easter Day, the women [788]
throw after him, as he leaves, hot embers from the

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 160.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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789 hearth, in order that he may take away with him all
788 danger from fire for the coming year.

St. John's Eve is observed in Albania with the
789 customary bonfire, to leap over which is considered so
372 salutary that even the old people venture to do so at least once. A curious ceremony, performed about this season, when the spring sowing is concluded, may also be here mentioned. Standing with his back to the plough, the farmer rubs part of the
[136] handle with earth in the belief that the wild swine will thus be prevented from damaging his crops.

789 On the day on which the new moon is first seen, all possible work is avoided, and no important task of any kind, such as ploughing, sowing, or harvesting, is commenced, for it would be sure to be unsuccessful. The girls and children look at the moon through a sieve, and rub their faces with a piece of silver, while they sing:

[539]

Young moon!
Young maid!
Health to me;
Ill to thee!
Head as soft as dough be thine!
Head as hard as stone be mine!

777 The 9th, 19th, and 29th days of every month are considered unlucky, as is also the Tuesday of every week, for setting out on a journey, or commencing any kind of work. Friday is also an inauspicious day
[241] for sowing, and Saturday for beginning to plough or dig.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER XII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-POESY—FOLK-TALES.

THE subject of Albanian folk-lore attracted many years ago the attention of Von Hahn, whose *Albanesische Studien* and *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen* are well known to folk-lorists throughout Europe. Other collections have since been made by French and Italian students of the language and lore of the Skipetars, not only in their native land, but also in their colonies in Italy, Sicily, and the Greek Islands, where, though long settled, they still remain a distinct race.[1] 114

Long contact with the neighbouring Greeks has, in South Albania, naturally resulted in much interborrowing of folk-tales, and it is often difficult to determine to which nationality a story originally belonged. M. Dozon finds also traces of a Slav origin in several tales contained in his collection, which may have been introduced either by the Bulgarians of Upper Macedonia, or by the Montenegrin settlers in Northern Albania. The pious Pagano-Christian element, as M. Dozon calls the legends of Saints which are found both in Greek and Armenian 538 177 [773]

[1] See, for instance, Jubainville, *Recueil, &c.*; and Dozon, *Contes Albanais* and *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*. A small collection, untranslated, referred to by M. Dozon as *L'Abeille Chkipe*, but of which I have not been able to learn the exact title, has also been published at Cairo.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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538 177 773 folk-tales, is, however, almost entirely absent from those of the Albanians. Of the so-called religious legends current among the Skipetars, some are of Christian and others of Moslem origin. The following explanation, given by the highlanders, of the [262] reason for the Moslem's distaste for pork, savours, however, rather of Bektashí scepticism. One day, they say, Mohammed went out in company with a Christian on a thieving expedition. Finding nothing else to lay their hands upon, the pair took possession of a sow, which, having killed, they proceeded to divide by drawing lots. As luck would have it, the head, shoulders, and best parts of the carcase fell to the Christian, while the Prophet received as his portion only the tail and the hams. Discontented with his share of the spoil, Mohammed proclaimed the pig unclean, and forbade his followers to eat thenceforward of its flesh.[1]

538 773 Some of the sayings proverbially current among the Albanians have their origin in myths, which are for the most part of a religious character. The phrase, "The drop has fallen," used with reference to any one who has died suddenly, with the connected imprecation, "May the drop fall on thee!" are thus explained. While the rebellious angels were falling [776] from heaven into the abyss, the angel Gabriel called a halt, and every one stopped exactly where he happened to be at that moment. Some had already reached the regions below the earth, others were on the earth itself, while a third section were still in mid-air, where they have remained suspended ever

[1] Compare Hecquard, *La Haute Albanie*, p. 510.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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since. If the tears of remorse which they are continually shedding happen to fall upon a human being he dies instantaneously. "Suspended devils" also occur in the Armenian legend of the Fall, already related.[1]

538 773

The saying, "Eat him, wolf, and make him burst, O Michael," refers to the part played by Satan in the following legend. When God created Adam, Satan, after inspecting him, observed that he did not think highly of His handiwork, and believed himself capable of producing something better. The Lord took Satan's remarks in good part, and gave him leave to try his hand at creation. Satan then kneaded some dough, as he had seen the Lord do, and fashioned it into the shape of a wolf, which he asserted to be equal to God's handiwork. "Thou must give thy creature life," said the Lord to him, "as I have given to mine." So Satan set about doing this, and he blew into the wolf till his black head became red and blue, but to no purpose, for it still remained lifeless. The Lord, finally becoming weary of his vain attempts, struck the wolf on the side with a staff and gave him life. Hence it is that the wolf has a hollow beneath his ribs. God then said to the wolf, "Creature, devour thy creator." What the Archangel Michael has to do with the story does not, however, appear.[2]

Another legend concerning the Devil describes him as fastened by a chain of enormous strength to a rock. The whole year through he gnaws at the links,

538 776

[1] Vol. i. p. 272.
[2] Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 165.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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538 776 which, by Easter Eve, have become very thin. On the morning of Easter Sunday, however, the Saviour arrives with a new chain with which He again secures Satan to the rock.

A graceful little myth is related in some parts of Albania concerning the origin of the Cuckoo and the *Gyon*, or *Gyonit*, which is, I believe, a species of small 539 owl. The story goes that the cuckoo and the gyon were brother and sister, and had a brother named Gyon, who had been killed. Various causes are assigned for his death in the different versions of the story, that current among the Ritza tribe being that he was accidentally stabbed by his brother with a pair of scissors. In order the better to mourn his loss, the surviving brother was changed into the bird gyon, and the sister into a cuckoo. And so the gyon calls his brother all night long by his name, "*Gyon, Gyon!*" and the cuckoo in the daytime sings, "*Kou! Kou!*" which means, "Where art thou?"[1] In Elbassan, however, it is also said that the sister was changed into the blue flower, which is called the "cuckoo flower," or "cuckoo's bread," and when a woman finds this flower in the field she sings:

Cuckoo, cuckoo, more than cuckoo,
Saw'st thou me?
Saw I thee?
Saw'st thou thy dear brother, Gyon?
How they slew him like an ox?
Blood a spoonful,
Flesh a cupful;
Give me both thine hands!

[524 857] [1] It has occurred to me that the call of "Cuckoo," used by children both in the East and in the West when playing hide-and-seek, may have its origin in some such bird legend.

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She then takes hold of the flower with both hands 539
and lays her head upon it.

Almost every Albanian tribe has a more or less 173
mythical tradition of its origin, which is generally traced to some single ancestor. Of these I have already mentioned two, the legends of the Miridite clans of the Clementi and the Castrati. Another tradition, however, traces the descent of the entire tribe of the Miridites from one man, who, like the favourite hero of fairy tales generally, was the youngest of three sons. His father, according to the story, lived on Mount Pastrik, near Diakova, and at his death the three brothers divided their poor inheritance, the eldest taking the saddle (*Shalla*), the second the sieve (*Shosh*), the third receiving only the salutation of "Good-day" (*Mir dia*). As is, however, always the case in such stories, the prosperity of the portionless one greatly excelled that of his brothers. For while they became the founders of the clans called Shialla and Shoshi, in remembrance of the saddle and sieve they had respectively inherited, he who had been dismissed with an ironical salutation bequeathed it as a name to a far more numerous and powerful tribe, the *Miridites*.

Out of so many charming folk-tales it is a difficult 114
matter to choose the best or most characteristically 538
Albanian. I have, however, limited myself to those [121]
of which the originals are available, in order to obtain the precise names of the Supernals described in them, many of whom are disguised by their French translator under the name of *Lamie*, and by Von Hahn under the Teutonic *Elfe* or *Kobold*. As mentioned in

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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114 the previous chapter, most of these magical beings
538 have their equivalents in Greek folk-lore, but the Liouvía is peculiar to Albania, and has, so far, been found only in two stories, the following, and that entitled "Perseus" by Von Hahn.[1] The "Beauty
538 of the Earth," or "The World," is the subject of other stories, both Albanian and Greek, and also occurs in Greek folk-song under the same title.[2] This story, however, has a parallel in the Epirote Greek tale of "The King's Son and the Beardless One," in which the hero, a king's son, is personated by a beardless muleteer, a blind *Drache* being substituted for the Liouvía, and an old lame horse for the old man of the Albanian version. The king's son throws pieces of meat to the *Drache*, who recovers his sight, and out of gratitude swallows the hero, who, while in the creature's stomach, learns the language of birds, an attainment which afterwards serves him in good stead. In one of the Greek variants the Beauty is described as "The Golden-haired One," and all the maidens of the town form her train.[3] The incident of stealing the magic dress occurs also in the Bulgarian song of "The Samodiva Married against her Will."[4]

[1] *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, No. 98.

[2] See Passow, *Carmina, &c.* : 'Η ὀμορφιὰ τοῦ κόσμου.

[3] Von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*; and the story of "The Twins" in Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια.

[4] See vol. i. p. 352.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The Liouvia[1] *and the Beauty of the Earth.*[2]

There was once a Vlach[3] who was very rich and had a big sheep farm. A king once happened to be travelling that way, and stopped at his house, and the Vlach gave him the best of all he had. That same night the Vlach's wife gave birth to a son. The king made the father promise to have his son taught various languages, and gave him a cross, saying, "When thy son is fifteen years old, give him this cross and tell him to come to me in such and such a town." This said, he went away. 539

The Vlach did as the king had advised, and the boy learnt to speak several languages. On his fifteenth birthday, his father gave him the cross. He read the inscription it bore, which was, "I am the king, thy godfather; come to me in such and such a town." When he had read it, he said to his father:

"See what the king has written for me. I must go to him."

So the father gave him a companion.

On the way, the boy, being hungry, descended a ravine, at the bottom of which was a spring. When he had finished his meal, he saw his companion standing on the top of a rock with a great stone in his hand, and heard him say:

"Take off thy clothes, give them to me, and take mine; then swear that thou wilt reveal to no man what has passed between us." [788]

[1] This appears to me the most correct way of rendering phonetically the word Λιουβία.

[2] Dozon, *Manuel Chkipe*, No. xvi., and *Contes Albanais*, No. xii.

[3] See vol. i. chap. i., "The Vlachs."

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 The boy pronounced this oath, "If I die and come
788 to life again, then only will I denounce thee."

When they had changed dresses, the companion mounted the horse, and they arrived at the king's palace. The latter, on seeing the cross, took the youth who presented it for his godson, and, giving him his hand, led him to his private apartment. As to the son of the Vlach, he remained in the basement, and spoke to each person there in his own language.

539 The companion pretended to be ill. The king went to see him, and asked him what he ailed.

"I feel very ill," he replied.

"What shall we do for you?"

"Get me one of the cabbages guarded by the Liouvía."

"So many kings, and so many more powerful than I, have gone to take one, and have never succeeded," replied the king.

"Command the youth who is downstairs to go. If he refuses, threaten him."

Then the king said to the boy, "Willy, nilly, thou must go to such and such a place, and bring back a cabbage" (the companion pretended to be ill because he knew that if the son of the Vlach went for the cabbage, he would never come back).

The boy passed his days and nights in weeping, and knew not what to do. One night he saw in a dream an old man, who said to him, "My son, dry thy tears; this is what thou must do. Take forty loads of honey and forty loads of milk, and manage to arrive about noon, for then the Liouvía is out hunting, and is not in her den."

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The next morning the youth asked the king for the provisions mentioned by the old man, and set out. On the road he met the old man he had seen in his dream. Said he, "Good luck, my son. But be sure when you get there to sweep out the lair of the Liouvía; then mix together the honey and the milk, and hide thee close by. When the Liouvía comes, she will eat half the honey and milk, and then she will leave her den, saying, 'Let him to whom I owe this kindness show himself; I would see him.' Then," continued the old man, "when she has said this, leave thy hiding-place, and say, 'Here I am.' She will ask thee how she can reward thee. Reply that thou wouldst have a cabbage, and she will give thee leave to choose one. Choose three of the finest, and eat them thyself, for they are very wholesome, and on thy way back come to me, and I will give thee another for the invalid."

The young man did precisely what the old man advised. In the afternoon, just two hours before sunset, the Liouvía came home, making known her approach by the noise she made in lashing her tail. She ate half of what the youth had brought, and then came out, saying, "Let him to whom I owe this kindness show himself," and the youth came out, saying, "Here I am," and it all fell out as the old man had foretold.

When they had become better acquainted, the Liouvía said to the boy, "You can come here as often as you like, and without fear." (Now this was the road that led to the abode of the Beauty of the Earth.) He then took his cabbages and left, and on

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 the way back he met the old man, who gave him what he had promised. When he arrived he gave it to the king.

The patient ate the cabbage, and declared himself cured; but, after a few days, he pretended to have a relapse. The king having asked him what he should do for him, he replied, "What I require is the Beauty of the Earth; tell this boy to go and fetch her."

"So many kings have gone, and have never returned."

"Well, if he refuses to go, threaten him."

The youth passed the day in tears, and knew not what to do. But at night the old man again appeared to him in a dream, and said, "Dry thy tears; this is what thou must do. Ask of the king a thousand lambs, four rams, a hundred loads of wheat, a hundred of honey, and ten brooms. On arriving kill the lambs, but it must be at noon, for then the wild beasts are not on guard, save the lions. There are two doors, one within the other, each guarded by two lions. When thou hast passed the outer door, throw the lambs to the eagles, the wheat to the ants, the honey to the bees; and when thou comest to the inner door, throw the four rams to the lions. Then enter without fear, but do not forget to sweep the walls, or they will fall upon you and crush you, and when you come to the door of the Beauty's room, you must sweep that too. All these animals, after having eaten, will ask thee what recompense they can make for what you have done for them. Ask of the lions a hair, of the bees, the ants, and the eagles, a feather each.

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The youth did all that the old man told him. 539
After eating, the animals cried, "Show thyself, O our benefactor; we would see thee!"

When he showed himself, they gave him a hair and three feathers, saying, "Each time that thou requirest our services, burn a feather or a hair, and we will be with thee."

Armed with the hair and the feathers, the youth, after having carefully swept the door, entered the apartment of the Beauty of the Earth. The Beauty soon appeared, attended by eleven maidens, and asked him, "Who art thou? What seekest thou here?"

"I am a man, as you may see, and I have come to carry thee off."

"So many others," she replied, laughing, "have come, and have not been able to carry me off." Then, going out of the room, she called the lions and asked them, "Why did you let this man come in?"

"Because," they answered, "we only get from you bad meat, and very little of that, while he has given a whole ram to each of us."

She then asked the eagles, "Why did you let this man come in?"

"Because," they replied, "he gave to each of us a lamb, while you left us without any food."

She next asked the same question of the bees and the ants. The former replied, "You gave us but wax, and he has given us honey;" and the latter, "You gave us only crumbs of mouldy bread, and he has given us corn."

She then asked the walls and doors, "Why did you let him come in?"

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539 "Because," they replied, "thou hast never swept us, while he has made us clean."

Then the Beauty of the Earth said to the son of the Vlach, "I will set you three tasks, and if you accomplish them I will be yours."

"Agreed," said the youth.

"This is the first. I will heap up together a quantity of wheat, barley, rye, and earth, and thou must separate them in one night."

"I will separate them."

"This is the second task. Thou must go to the two mountains which open and shut, and bring me thence some of the Water of Life."[1]

"I will bring it."

"Here is the third task. I will cover myself with a veil; these eleven maidens will do the same, and if you can distinguish me among them, I will be yours."

"Very good," replied the youth.

In order to accomplish the first task, he burnt the feather which had been given to him by the ants. "Can you," he asked, "separate all these grains of wheat, barley, rye, and earth in one night?"

"Certainly," replied the ants. So our hero lay down and slept. He awoke very early in the morning, but seeing all the grains in separate heaps, he had another nap, from which he was awoke by the Beauty of the Earth, who had just got up.

[1] The late Mr. Geldart, in the little book before referred to, translated this as "Deathless Water." I venture, however, to think that the Water of Life, the Oriental myth concerning which is related in a subsequent chapter, is here referred to. In a following story (p. 334) the hero is restored to life with a draught of "swallow's milk," also brought from a mountain which opened and shut.

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"Let me sleep," he replied, "I haven't closed my eyes all night." But in a moment she came back again to the youth, saying: 539

"You have accomplished the first task, now let us see about the others."

For the second task he burnt the feather given to him by the eagles, who immediately appeared. Said he, "I would go to draw Water of Life from the two mountains which open and shut, but we must be there at noon, for then only do they remain open for half an hour."

He took a bottle, and they started. Arrived near the mountain, the eagles took the youth up on their wings, and carried him in; and with his bottle filled, he returned to the Beauty of the Earth.

For the third task he burnt the feather given to him by the bees, and when they appeared, he asked them, "What shall I do to recognise the Beauty of the Earth when she is in the midst of the eleven maidens, and all are covered with a similar veil?"

"Let them be veiled," replied the Queen Bee; "I will alight on the head of the Beauty, and thou must seize and hold her fast, for if once thou let her go, even I could not find her again."

Accordingly, when the maidens entered, all veiled and dancing in a ring, the youth seized the one on whom the bee poised, and did not let her escape. So finally the Beauty was obliged to accept him for her husband.

When they arrived at the palace of the king, he gave her to the invalid, and our hero resumed his place among the servants. On the following day the

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539 patient begged the king to kill the youth, and as he refused, he went himself down stairs, found our hero asleep, and slew him with his own hand. The Beauty, hearing of this, also went down, and found out from one of the servants, who was very fond of him, where his body was. She then had the dead youth carried to her own chamber, where she opened his mouth, and poured in some of the Water of Life, and he revived. Having thus "died and come to life again" he was able to tell the king who he was, and what his companion had done to him while coming from his father's house. Then, by the king's command, and in his presence, they led the pretended invalid outside the town to a place where were four trees. Having bent a branch from each, they tied him to them by his hands and feet, and the branches when let go tore him into four quarters.

Some time afterwards our hero wished to pay a visit to his father and mother. Before leaving, he gave to the queen a dress which he had bought for the Beauty of the Earth, and begged her not to give it to the latter until his return.

One day, however, when they were dancing, the Beauty refused to take part in the dance unless the dress left by her husband were given to her, Then all the maidens went together and begged the queen to give it to her. She refused, but the youngest went and took it by stealth. As soon as she had put it on, she said to the dancers:

"Farewell. Tell my husband, when he returns, that, until he has worn out three pairs of iron shoes, he need not hope to find me."

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When our hero returned, they repeated to him the 539
words of his wife. Without losing a moment, he bought three pairs of iron shoes, and set out in search of her. On the spot at which he had arrived when the last pair was worn out he built a khan, where travellers might eat and drink without paying, and he questioned them as to what they had seen on their journeys. One said, "Not far from here I had let my water-cask fall, and it rolled to the bottom of a ravine. When I went down to find it, I saw twelve maidens bathing in a fountain."

At these words our hero rushed out of doors, and the traveller having described to him the spot, he approached the bathers unperceived, seized the dress of his wife, and threw it into the fire which they had kindled in order to wash their clothes. Her dress burnt, the Beauty had no means of escaping him again, for in it was contained all her magic power, and she returned with her husband to the king.

The story of the "Maiden promised to the Sun" is [538] made up of two separate episodes, both of which have [171] their variants in the folk-lore of the Greeks and Bulgarians. In the Greek variant[1] of the first part of the story, the maiden is stolen by a ray of sunshine which enters through the key-hole, and carries her to his master. Two hares are commissioned to take her back to her mother, who silvers the tail of the surviving one as a reward for its services. A Bul-

[1] Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, No. 41.

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539 garian ballad[1] also describes the stealing of a maiden by the Sun. Prayers addressed to Nature-powers, as to the Sun in this story, are not uncommon in Greek and Albanian folk-tales, though the name of God is occasionally substituted for or added to them.[2] The following is, however, the only instance of the Sun or other power voluntarily relinquishing his captive. In [538 171] a Greek parallel to the second part of the story, Τὸ μαχαίρι της σφαγῆς, &c., "The Knife of Slaughter,"[3] a Gipsy woman is substituted for the slave. The incident of the man transformed to stone by a spell is of frequent occurrence, as, for instance, in the story from the island of Astypaleá, Τὸ χρουσὸ ἄλογο, "The Golden Horse,"[4] and in the Gipsy story of "The King's Son and the Daughter of the Dervish."[5]

The Maiden who was Promised to the Sun.[6]

There was, and there was not.[7] There was once a queen who had no child, and she prayed continually the Sun to give her one, were it only a girl; when [582] she should be twelve years old,[8] she added, the Sun could have her back again.

Finally the queen had a daughter, and she went

[1] Dozon, *Chants Bulgares*, No. xii.

[2] See, for instance, Von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, Nos. iv. v. liv. and cxli.

[3] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 49, translated by Geldart in the little volume somewhat too ambitiously entitled *The Folk-lore of Modern Greece.*

[4] *Ibid.* p. 80. [5] See below, p. 370.

[6] Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, No. vii.

[7] The usual preface to an Albanian folk-tale. The Magyar formula, *Volt, nem volt*, has the same meaning.

[8] The marriageable age.

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to school every day. One day, as she was on her way thither, the Sun said to her : 539

"Remind thy mother to give me what she promised."

The girl repeated what the Sun had said. Her mother told her to say to him, "It is still too young;" and she gave this answer to the Sun.

On her twelfth birthday, as she was going to school, the Sun carried her off to his house. The mother awaited her daughter's return, but, seeing nothing of her, she concluded that the Sun had stolen her, as he had threatened. So she had the house painted black,[1] barred the door, which she never allowed to be opened, and sat all alone, weeping and lamenting.

The Sun had at his house, among other creatures, a Koutchédra. She, scenting the maiden, said, "I smell kingly flesh."

"It is my daughter," replied the Sun; "so see that thou touch her not."

One day he sent her into the garden to cut a cabbage, and, as she was cutting it, she said to herself, "Just as this cabbage cracks, so my heart is rent at the remembrance of my mother," and she burst into tears.

The Sun, who had observed this, asked her, "What hast thou to weep for? Dost thou grieve for thy mother?"

"I am dying of grief for her," she replied.

"Well, if thou wilt go home, call the animals that they may carry thee."

[1] See pp. 221 and 261.

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539 She called several of the animals, and the Sun, on his side, sent for the Koutchédra, and said to her, "If thou bearest this maiden, and art hungry on the way, what wilt thou eat?"

"Herself."

"If thou art thirsty, what wilt thou drink?"

"Her blood."

Seeing that the Koutchédra was not be depended upon, the Sun told the maiden to call another animal. She called the Stag.

The Sun asked him, "Wilt thou carry this maiden home?"

"Willingly."

"If thou art hungry on the way, what wilt thou eat?"

"The green grass."

"If thou art thirsty, what wilt thou drink?"

"The cool water; only when we arrive her mother must give me three *okas* of hay."

The Stag took the maiden and placed her on his horns. As they went, he was hungry, and said to her, "Climb on this tree, and if any one passing asks you to come down, be sure not to do so before I return." So the girl climbed up the tree.

Presently there came by a Koutchédra, who, looking this way and that, perceived the maiden, and begged her to come down, so that they might gossip together.

"I shall not come down; I'm afraid you'd eat me."

"I won't eat you."

"Well, go home, and come back later."

The Koutchédra went off, and when the maiden

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saw the Stag coming back, she cried, "Make haste, for there is a Koutchédra coming to eat me." 539

She mounted again on the horns of the Stag, who set off at a gallop, and to every one they met he said, "If you meet a Koutchédra, don't betray us, but tell her that the Stag and the maiden have taken another road."

Arrived at the house of the queen, they knocked at the door, but no one answered. Then, while still knocking, the girl cried, "Open, *Néné!* (mother). It is thy daughter!"

At last the mother opened, and, seeing her daughter, was beside herself with joy.

The maidens of the quarter, hearing of her return, came to the queen and said, "Let her come with us, to walk about and amuse herself," and the queen allowed her. They went together towards a garden, and this garden had a big gate, which they could not open. But hardly had the queen's daughter touched it than it opened wide, and drew her in, closing again upon her immediately. Her companions waited for her, but seeing that the gate did not re-open, they returned in great distress to relate to her mother what had happened. And the mother became as desolate as before.

The maiden meanwhile walked about the garden, where she found men and animals all turned to stone. Among them there was a king, who held in his hand a paper on which she read as follows:

"The woman who is able to pass three days, three nights, and three weeks without sleeping, will I wed, for then shall I come again to life."

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539 So she began to abstain from sleep, taking books and reading them. The three days, three nights, and two of the weeks had already passed when there came by a man selling slaves. She put her head out of the window[1] and asked him how much he wanted for a female slave.

"Whatever you please to give me," was the reply.

So she threw to the merchant a handful of sequins, let down a cord, and the slave fastening herself to it, she drew her up. She then said to her:

"Thou must watch for two or three nights, so that I may sleep a little, for it is long since I closed my eyes, because of the promise contained in the paper which the king holds; but thou must awaken me when the king comes to life. So after relating to her at length what was written in the paper, she laid down and slept. But the slave hastened to take off her clothes and put them on herself, so that when the king should come to life, he might marry her instead.

The three weeks passed, the king came to life.

"Who art thou?" he asked of the slave.

"I am she who has for three days, three nights, and three weeks remained without sleep," she replied; and he married her. He then asked who was the woman who lay sleeping there.

"It is a slave whom I bought because I was all alone."

When the maiden woke up, the king said to his wife, "What shall we do with this slave?"

"Send me to keep the geese," replied the princess,

[1] Probably of the *kotla*, or tower, built at one of the angles of the garden wall.

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who had heard him. So they built a hut for her to live in. But she did nothing but weep and recount her misfortunes. The king having heard her once or twice lamenting in this way, approached and asked her why she wept; so the maiden told him her story. Then the king took her for his wife, and as for the slave, he cut her into a thousand pieces, the biggest of which was not larger than that! 539

The following story strikingly illustrates the fatalistic beliefs entertained by the Albanians in common with the generality of Orientals. The incident of the substituted letter is of common occurrence in Greek as well as Albanian folk-tale.[1] [829] [538]

The Story of the Child; or, The Fates.[2]

There was once an old man and an old woman who had no children. At last, after I don't know how many years, God gave them a son, and their joy had no bounds when they found that the Lord had at length thus remembered them. Two nights had passed since it was born, and the third was coming on when the Three Women would appear to assign to the infant its destiny.[3]

The same night it rained so heavily that no one dared put his nose out of doors for fear of being carried off by the water and drowned. However, who should arrive in the midst of the rain but a Pasha,

[1] See, for instance, "The Three Brothers and the Dev," p. 156; Dozon's "La Boîte Merveilleuse," *Manuel, &c.*, No. xviii., *Contes*, No. xi.; and Hahn's Tinote story of "Kosta and the Drakos," in the Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια.

[2] Dozon, *Langue Chkipe*, No. xx.; *Contes Albanais*, No. xiii. [3] See p. 244.

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539 who asked the old man for shelter. The latter, seeing that he was a man of importance, made him welcome, led him to the hearth, made up a great fire, and gave him to eat of the best he had. He then piled up in the corner a number of things so as to make room for the Pasha's horse, for part of the house was roofless.

The Pasha, warmed and fed, had now nothing to do but sleep. But how could he sleep when he had on his person I don't know how many thousands of piastres?

That night, as we have said, the Three Women were expected to determine the child's destiny. Well, they came, and sat down by the fire. The Pasha, when he saw them, was horribly frightened, but he kept quiet, and made no noise whatever.

Let us leave the Pasha, and attend to the Women.

The first said: "This child will not live long; he will die young."

The second said: "This child will live long, but he will die by the hand of his father."

Then the third said: "My sisters, what are you saying?—This child will live long enough to kill the Pasha here, to strip him of his power, and to marry his daughter."

Now, what the last had said must come to pass. They remained but a moment longer, and then disappeared.

The Pasha, who had heard everything, shivered with terror. He couldn't sleep a wink all night, and only thought of finding means of killing the baby. Next morning he said to the old man:

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"I also am childless; wilt thou not give me thy child? I will pay thee what thou wilt." 539

"How could that be?" replied the old man. "We have so longed for the birth of this child, and you would take him from us. Never!"

"Yes, yes; you will let me have him," said the Pasha, and he poured out of his bag three thousand piastres, which he offered to the father. When he refused to take them, the Pasha pulled out another three thousand piastres, because he was determined to kill the child. The sight of these six thousand piastres decided the father, but not the mother, who would not consent even after the Pasha offered another three thousand piastres.

Then the old man said to his wife, "What are you thinking of, wife? We don't even know if the child will live or not. Why, then, not give him up, and take all this money in exchange? Supposing we had had no child? But at all events thou knowest that the child will be better cared for than by thee, and we can go now and then to see him." And with such words he persuaded his wife.

To make a long story short, they took the nine thousand piastres, and gave up the child in his cradle to the Pasha, who placed it on his horse before him. Then they could not help sobbing.

"Don't fret," said the Pasha, "and come to see the child whenever you please."

As he went, however, he only thought of the best way of getting rid of the child, for he couldn't find in his heart to draw his poniard and cut its head off. What did he do? As he passed by a river, he took

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539 the cradle, threw it in, and then hurried off, so as not to hear the baby's cries.

The child, thought he, must have been drowned. On the contrary, however, it was saved, for on falling into the water its body went under, while its head remained above, so that it could breathe, and after being borne along by the current, it was finally left among some bushes which grew on the borders of a forest.

In this forest a herdsman kept his goats, and he was in the habit of leading them to the river every day about noon, to give them water. On this day, one of the goats, leaving the flock, went towards the baby, whose cries she heard. She placed herself over him, and put one of her teats in his mouth so that he could suck, and when he was satisfied she rejoined her companions.

When the time came to milk the goats, they saw that this goat had no milk, and the master said to the shepherd, "Why dost thou milk the goats in secret? Hast thou not enough to eat, that thou takest the milk which belongs to me?"

The poor shepherd protested with all his might that he knew not how it had happened. At last, the master said, "You stay here and work, and I will look after the goats this afternoon."

So he took the goats to graze outside the forest, and, towards sunset, as he led them to the river to drink, he saw the goat whose milk had failed leave the rest, straddle its legs, and give suck to the baby. Astonished, he went up to her, perceived the cradle with the new-born baby in it, and carried

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it home, acknowledging that his shepherd was not to blame. 539

It was not long before it was discovered to whom the child belonged, and the finder gave him up to the old man (who lived in the same village), so that he might take care of him and let him have him again when he was grown up.

To be brief, this is what happened. The boy, brought back by the old man to the flockmaster who had found him, showed himself so intelligent and so wise that he excelled all the other servants of this man, and was put over them.

One day the Pasha came to this village, of which he was the lord, and he lodged in the house where the young man lived. The latter, almost from the first day, pleased him and won his heart by his beauty, his modesty, and all his other good qualities.

On one occasion, the Pasha was praising the youth to the peasant, who said, "If you knew his story, you would be surprised in another way," and he told him all about it from beginning to end. What was the consternation of the Pasha when he discovered by this history that it was the child he had thrown into the river.

So what does he do? He hits upon another way of getting rid of him, and with that end he writes a letter to his wife, in which he says, "Order the bearer of this letter to be put to death, and when he is killed let them fire a salute, so that I may know and be glad."

The letter ready, he tells to the peasant that he wants a trusty man to take it to his wife.

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539 "Your lordship," replied the villager, "knows that I have no one more trustworthy than the young man of whom we spoke."

"Precisely. I had him in my mind. Let him take my horse, and let him come to me for the letter."

The youth took it, mounted the horse, and set out. On the road he was thirsty, and having found a spring, he dismounted from the horse, drank his fill, and lay down to take a nap. While he slept, a negro appeared, took the letter out of his bosom, and wrote another to this effect.

"The man whom I send to thee thou must receive with all honour, prepare for him a magnificent feast, and then marry him to our daughter. At the [585] moment the wedding crowns are placed on their heads[1] let a salute be fired, so that I may hear and take part in the rejoicings."

The letter finished, the negro folded and sealed it as the other had been, and then placed it in the bosom of the youth, who was not long in waking. Unconscious of what had happened, he continued his journey, and delivered the letter forthwith to the Pasha's lady. She had no sooner read it than she began to treat him with great politeness, gave orders for a great feast, and married him to her daughter, while salutes were fired by the gunners. The Pasha, hearing in the village the sound of the guns, concluded that the youth was dead. "At last I have got rid of him," he said to himself. So you may

[1] "Placing the crowns," being a part of the Christian marriage ceremony, is somewhat out of place in the wedding of a Pasha's daughter.

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imagine what was his dismay when, on his return home several days afterwards, he saw him alive, and especially on finding him married to his daughter.

So again he cudgels his brain to find a means of doing away with him. After thinking some time, he said to a certain blacksmith:

"To-morrow I will send a youth for such and such a thing. Tell him to wait till thou hast made it; then, take thy big hammer and give him two or three blows with it, so that he die. That done, cut off his head, put it in a handkerchief, and give it to another youth whom I will send."

In the evening, having called his son-in-law, he said to him, "To-morrow thou must get up very early, and go to such and such a blacksmith, who will give thee something which I have ordered."

"I will not fail," replied the young man, and he went to bed. At daybreak he rose to go to the blacksmith, when his wife said it was too early, and persuaded him to lie down and go to sleep again. The Pasha, however, having also awoke, called his son and asked him if his brother-in-law had gone out.

"I will go and see," he replied, and he went to the apartments of his brother-in-law, whom he awoke, asking him if he had yet been to the blacksmith's.

"No," he said, "but I will go immediately."

But the Pasha's son thought to himself that, instead of waiting till his brother-in-law was dressed, it was better to go himself, so he went. Seeing him in the distance, the blacksmith took his big hammer, and with one blow he killed him; and, after cutting off his head, he tied it up in a handkerchief. Soon after-

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539 wards the Pasha's son-in-law arrived to fetch the article ordered. The blacksmith gave him the handkerchief, which he carried to his father-in-law.

When the Pasha saw him alive before his eyes, he trembled in every limb; but what was his grief when, on opening the handkerchief, he found the head of his son! However, he made no sign, but gave this order to his groom—"To-night, if the horses fight, leave them alone, so that my son-in-law may go down and quiet them. Do thou, however, be behind the door, with a bludgeon in thy hand, and the moment he appears, smash his skull."

"Very well," was the reply.

During the night, the horses having begun to fight, the Pasha called to his son-in-law to go and quiet them, but his wife persuaded him not to get up, saying that they would soon stop. The Pasha, who thought that this time he was really dead, went out of his room and crept softly towards the stable. The groom thought it was the son-in-law coming, and with one blow struck him dead.

Then the youth took the power into his own hands, and became Pasha in place of the other. And so it all fell out as the Third Woman had foretold, at the time of his birth, that he should supplant the Pasha.

Our story is done. The youth was lucky, and may we be luckier still!

538 171 The following story of The Three Brothers and the Three Sisters has many parallels in Greek folk-tale. In an Epirote variant the sisters are married respect-

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ively to a lion, a tiger, and an eagle,[1] and in the others we have besides the "Mother of Night," the Mother of the Sun, of the Moon, and of the Wind, who protect the princess against their own sons.[2] 538 171

The Three Brothers and the Three Sisters.[3]

There were, and there were not. There were once three brothers who had three sisters, and they married them, and gave the first to the Sun, the second to the Moon, and the third to the South Wind.[4] 539

Some time afterwards, I don't know how long, the brothers said to each other, "Let us go to our sisters and see how they fare." So without wasting time they made ready for the journey, took their provisions, and set off. As they were going the night overtook them when they were on a plain near a mountain. So they stopped there, took out their provisions, and made a fire. Supper finished, the eldest of the brothers said to the others:

"Lie down and sleep, and I will watch and keep guard for fear that some one might come to rob or kill us."

So the two younger ones slept, and he mounted guard. Presently a Koutchédra, seeing the light, came up, and, her mouth watering at the sight of the men, she threw herself upon the one who was watching, to eat him. But he with a shot from

[1] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια; No. 12, *Gr. und Alb. Märchen*, No. 25.
[2] *Ibid.* No. 10.
[3] Dozon, *Langue Chkipe*, No. xxiv., *Contes Albanais*, No. xv.
[4] *Youga.* In Albanian, as in Servian and Bulgarian, the moon and the south are masculine, and from this circumstance M. Dozon was of opinion that this story is of Slav origin. [821]

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his gun stretched her dead on the ground. Then, drawing his poniard, he cut off her head, which he hid in his bag, after throwing her body into a ditch so that his brothers might not see it. He then resumed his watch. After some time he awoke them, and all three continued their journey.

On the second night they found themselves in another place. After having lighted a fire and supped, two of the brothers lay down, guarded by the second, who, as soon as a Koutchédra came up killed her, as his brother had done.

The third night, the youngest said to the others, "Go to sleep; it is now my turn to watch."

"No," they replied, "thou art too young; one of us must do that duty."

However, he would not consent, and so it was he who kept watch that night, and was, in his turn, attacked by a Koutchédra. As he was but young, he fired too soon, and when, having drawn his dagger, he threw himself on the Koutchédra in order to finish her, she, in a convulsion of pain, put out the light with a stroke of her tail. How was he to kindle it again; for he had not the materials? A fire happened to be burning on the top of the mountain, so he went towards it.

On the way he met the Mother of the Night, and asked her where she was going.

"I am going to make the day," she replied.

"Wait," he said, "until I have got a light."

"Very well, I will wait." But as he did not trust her word, he bound her so that she could not make the day.

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When he came near the fire, he saw upon it an enormous cauldron with twelve handles. He lifted it up, and lighted his torch. By chance the brigands, to whom it belonged, arrived at that moment, and asked him who he was.

"A traveller," he replied. "My light had gone out, and I came here to re-light it."

"But how," they asked again, "did you manage to lift the cauldron? The twelve of us, when we want to take it off the fire, take hold of a handle each, and it is as much as we can do to lift it."

"I didn't find it very heavy," replied the youth, and he lifted it again.

"You must be the most valiant of men," said the brigands, "and you are the man to help us to rob the king."

So they set off, all the thirteen, to rob the king. Having made a hole in the wall, they entered the stable in order to steal the horses, and the boy remained outside. Left alone, he began to reflect.

"Until now," he said to himself, "I have never committed the smallest theft. There is but one thing to do—kill these men and run away." So he began to shout, "Quick! save yourselves; we are discovered!"

The robbers came out as fast as they could, but as each one appeared he cut off his head. After having thus killed every one, he entered the lower court, and stuck his poniard in the ground. Then, having relighted his torch, he unbound the Mother of the Night, and, returning to his brothers, they set out again together.

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539 But let us leave them and go back to the king. When he arose, the sight of the twelve corpses and the dagger in the middle of the court astonished him greatly. Then he gave orders that a *khan* should be built at the cross roads, where every traveller would be lodged and fed gratis on condition of his relating all that he had done in his life, whether good or evil. This order was obeyed. Many people came to the *khan*, and lodged and slept without paying a *para*.

Chance willed it that the brothers too came and stopped at the *khan*. In the morning, as they were going away, they asked the *khandji* (innkeeper) how much was to pay. He replied, "Here we take no money; we only require every man to tell the story of his life, whether good or bad."

So the eldest told the story of what he had done, and among other things how he had killed a Koutchédra, and the second the same. But when it was the turn of the third, and he came to the adventure with the Koutchédra, and the robbers he had killed when they were in the act of robbing the king, the *khandji* cried, "Thou art the man whom the king seeks."

The two eldest brothers went their way, and we don't know what became of them. As for the youngest, the king, having heard his story, gave him his daughter in marriage, and made him the first person in the kingdom.

In that country it was customary, on the occasion of a royal wedding, to set at liberty several prisoners. Among the people then in prison was one half iron and half man, who had not been set free with the

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others, and who cried and complained continually. 539
Moved with compassion, the bridegroom begged the king to set him also at liberty. He was, however, condemned for life, and the bridegroom had to beg very hard before he would give orders to strike off his fetters. At the moment they were taken off the king's daughter was close by, and in a moment he had seized her and swallowed her, after which he instantly disappeared.

Horrified at this misfortune, the king drew his sword to kill his son-in-law. But he said, "I can find her again and bring her back, only you must give me a pair of iron shoes and an iron staff (because he had to undertake a terribly long journey), and I promise before the year is out to return with your daughter." And when the king had had made for him the things he required, he set out.

That evening he went straight to his sister, who had married the Sun.

"Who is there?" she asked, when he knocked at the door.

"So and so," he replied. The sister opened the door, and great was her joy on seeing her brother. But directly afterwards the Sun came, and, fearing that he might devour the new arrival, she pushed him into a chest. Hardly had the Sun entered than he asked, "What is there for supper?"

"Whatever there may be," was the reply.

"I smell fresh meat," said the Sun.

"No, you are mistaken; there is no flesh here," she replied again. But seeing that he began to look about for it, she added, "It were better for thee to

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539 eat me than to eat my brother, who came in just before thee."

"Let him show himself, and I will not hurt him."

So he came out of his hiding-place, and on seeing his brother-in-law the Sun shared the joy of his wife. He asked them if by chance they knew where Half-man-half-iron lived.

"No," they replied, "we know nothing about him; go and ask the Moon."

To make a long story short, the next evening he arrived at the house of his sister who had married the Moon; but they could tell him nothing, and so he went on to see the third, the wife of the South Wind. When he asked her the same question, she replied, "I don't know. But to-morrow, before daybreak, take that road which you see up there, and in such and such a place you will find a falcon so big that he cannot fly. Come up to him very softly from behind, seize him by the head, and say to him, 'I will kill thee if thou tell me not where Half-man-half-iron lives.' Then when he has told thee that, and also what thou must do, set out to seek him."

Accordingly, at daybreak, he mastered the falcon, who said, "I know where he is, but thou must give me so many *okas* of meat and then wait till my wings be grown, because I am old."

So he waited till the falcon's wings were grown, and collected a supply of meat to feed him with while he was flying, for the place they were going to was a mountain so high, so high, that no man had ever climbed it. They called it "The Other World," and

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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it was there that Half-man-half-iron lived with the king's daughter. 539

At last he bestrode the falcon, placed before him the meat, and the bird began its flight. As they ascended, the youth gave him from time to time pieces of meat, but presently the supply was exhausted, and he had no more to put in his beak.

"I want meat," said the falcon.

"I have no more; it is all finished."

"You must give me meat, or I shall let you fall."

At his wits' end, the young man cut off a piece from his thigh and gave it to him, and then, as he still clamoured for more, from the other thigh. Arrived at the summit, the falcon, seeing his rider all bloody, vomited the pieces of flesh which he had swallowed, and the young man, on putting them back in their places, found his wounds healed.

Close to the spot on which they had alighted was a palace; he knocked at the door, and it was his wife, the king's daughter, who opened it. She knew him at once, and cried in her joy, "It is thou, my husband! How hast thou come hither, and who has carried thee?"

He told her of all his adventures, and while they were talking Half-man-half-iron came home. Fearing for her husband's life, she took him up to the loft and hid him there. He came in and asked:

"What is there for supper?"

"What there may be."

"I smell fresh meat," and as he said this, he chanced to see through a hole the man in the loft. In a second

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 he had caught hold of him, and drunk his blood. As for his skin and bones, he threw them out of doors.

The falcon saw these remains, and said:

"That is the young man whom I brought here. Let us be quick and fetch some swallow's milk so as to bring him back to life." And without loss of time he spread his wings, and sailed off towards two mountains which opened and shut, for it was there that swallows' milk was to be found. He arrived, filled his mouth, and returned as fast as he could. Hardly had the milk touched the lips of the youth than he came back to life. Entering the house, he said to his wife: "Pretend to be ill, and then say to Half-man-half-iron: 'We have lived so long together, and you have never yet revealed to me where your strength lies. I am going to die, so you need not fear to tell me.' Then he will tell you." Then the youth went away to sleep, for fear of being eaten up a second time.

So the king's daughter pretended to be ill, and questioned Half-man-half-iron as to where his strength lay. "In the broom," he replied.

When he had gone out she burnt the broom, but to no purpose, for his strength was not affected. Again she pretended to be ill, and pressed him with questions. Then he said: "My strength is in a wild boar which lives on such and such a mountain. It has a silver tusk; in this tusk is a hare, the hare has in its inside three pigeons, and in them resides my strength." This said, he went about his business. The princess went out, called her husband, and repeated to him what she had learnt. Without losing a moment, he set out for the mountain, where, finding a shepherd

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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tending his sheep, he asked him where the great boar had his lair. 539

"Don't speak so loud," said the shepherd, "or he will hear you and come and devour us." But he made still more noise, so that at last the boar came up and rushed upon him, but he drew his dagger and defended himself bravely. While they were fighting thus, the boar cried:

"If I had only a root to sharpen my tusks with, thou would see!"

"And I," retorted the young man, "if I had only a cake of fine flour, some fried fish, and a jar of wine, *thou* would see too!"

In a moment the shepherd had brought what they mentioned. After they both had eaten, the boar his root, and the youth his cake of fine bread and fried fish, the fight began again, and continued till the youth had slain the boar. He looked at his tusks, saw that one was of gold and silver, and, having split it, he found inside a hare, and, having opened its stomach, he found inside three pigeons.

Let us now return to Half-man-half-iron. Hardly had the boar expired, than he felt bad; when the hare had been opened he felt worse, and could hardly stand. Then the youth cut the throats of two of the pigeons which he had found, and, holding the third in his hand, he returned to the house of Half-man-half-iron. The latter, when he saw him, tried to rise, but could not; and when the young man killed the last pigeon, he died on the spot.

The youth took his wife, mounted with her on the falcon's back, and descended from the mountain. They

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539 returned to the king, who, on seeing them, was quite overjoyed, and gave a splendid feast in their honour.

This is the end of the story.

[538] The following comic story is a good illustration of the adage, "Set a thief to catch a thief."

Mosko and Tosko.

There were once two brothers, who were robbers by trade, and they had a sister for whom they had long sought a husband of their own quality. Years passed, and one fine day they met on the road a man whom they asked, "Where goest thou? Wilt thou join us, and have our sister for thy wife? We will give her to thee, for we have long wanted a husband for her."

"Done," said the other, "and that shall not prevent our being comrades." So they gave him their sister.

One day, as they had not seen their sister for some time, Mosko and Tosko went to pay her a visit. The husband happened to be absent, having gone to the mill. You must know, however, that there was some [251] *pastourma*[1] hanging in the loft.[2] Arrived in the house, Mosko said to his sister: "My dear sister, give me some water." She went to fetch the water-barrel, and gave it to him. After having drunk, Mosko asked Tosko if he were not likewise thirsty. "Yes," he replied, and his brother passed him the barrel. Then Mosko said to Tosko:

[1] Smoke-dried meat.

[342] [2] *Tares*, the space between the uncelled rafters of a cottage and the roof.

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539

"Hast thou seen it?"

"Yes."

"Hast thou seen it?" he asked again.

"Yes."

"Hast thou seen it?" he asked a third time.

"Yes," and this said, they left.

When the husband came home, he asked his wife if any one had been there.

"My brothers," she replied, "have been; it was long since I had seen them."

"Did they ask anything of thee?"

"They asked for some water to drink."

"Didst thou give them some?"

"I did."

"Did they both drink?"

"They did, and, while they drank, they said to each other, 'Hast thou seen it?' 'Yes.'"

"Nothing more?"

"They said nothing more."

The evening had now come, and the couple went to bed. During the night the two brothers returned. Mosko, standing at the door, imitated the mewing of a cat, while Tosko entered the house. The husband, hearing the voice of a cat, asked his wife where the *pastourma* was.

"In the loft," she replied.

Tosko, hearing this, climbed up hastily into the loft, seized the meat, and both made off. The husband, however, got up to see if the meat was in its place, and, finding it gone, he went in pursuit of the brothers. He overtook Tosko, to whom Mosko, tired of carrying the *pastourma*, had given it.

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539 "Thou must be tired," he said to his brother-in-law; "give me the meat and I will carry it," and Tosko, thinking it was his brother, gave up the *pastourma*. Soon afterwards, Tosko, coming up with Mosko, asked him where the meat was.

"But thou hast it," he replied. "Hast thou forgotten that thou asked me for it, and I did give it to thee?"

"You gave me nothing of the kind," returned Tosko. Soon, however, it dawned upon him that this had been a trick of the husband's.

"Wait here for me," he said to his brother, "and I will bring it back." So he made haste, and got first to his sister's house. When the husband arrived, Tosko feigned to be his wife, and mimicked so well that the man gave the *pastourma* into his hands.

Having rejoined Mosko, they sat down together, and prepared to cook the meat. But the husband, who soon found out the trick that had been played him, went again in search of them, and finding them in the act of cooking their booty, what does he do? Well, there was close by a tree which had been half burnt, and with the charred wood he blackens his face till he looks like a negro, and then goes and sits opposite the couple grinning and showing his teeth. Tosko, who was turning the spit, no sooner caught sight of him than, taking him for a *lougât*,[1] he in a fright woke his brother, who was lying asleep, and both ran off as fast as their legs could carry them.

The husband took possession of his property, and

[1] See preceding chapter p 280.

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returned home. Said he to his wife, "Go and invite your brothers to dinner." 539

Arrived at their house, she said, "We beg you to come and dine with us," and they followed her home. They began to eat the *pastourma*, but tried in vain to chew it, for it was not cooked.

"How is this," they asked, "that you give us raw meat?"

"It is the same meat you had on the spit the other evening," replied the husband. "I have served it to you precisely as you roasted it yourselves."

"What! Was it thou who gave us such a horrible fright?"

"I myself. But let us be comrades all the same."

And comrades they were.

Though the Albanians cannot be called a musical people, singing is the favourite pastime of both men and women. Their airs have little variety, being for the most part monotonous recitatives, and the singer's merit depends upon his success in rivalling the violin, mandolin, or flute, by which his song is accompanied, in prolonging the last note. The songs are generally long ballads, which recount the victories of the tribe, the doughty deeds of ancestors, of the family, or the exploits of some national hero. For in the songs of the Skipetars the later history of the country is preserved, and in those of the Ghegs more particularly may be found the record of how they obstinately resisted, yard by yard, the Turkish advance into their mountains, and were only subdued at last by the

533 [517] [534] 533 173

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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533 173 overwhelming numbers and equal pertinacity of the foe. The record, too, of every insurrection, and they have been many, has thus from 1572 downwards been orally transmitted from generation to generation, keeping alive in the memory of the Albanians the heroism of their ancestors, and inciting them in their turn to similar deeds of daring.

533 538 The songs vary greatly in literary merit. Poetical talent seems now to have died out in the country, though formerly Albania had her national poets, the last of them (so far as I can ascertain), Hussein Mollah, having lived in the eighteenth century. The old ballads are consequently far superior to those of more recent date, which consist chiefly of detached couplets, and are very episodic, though they describe with sufficient accuracy the events they profess to record. In the more remote highlands some very ancient historical ballads are preserved, but unfortunately none of these have yet been collected.

One of the most striking songs of the Skipetars commemorates the revolution of 1572 under Ibrahim Pasha of Scutari. The result of this insurrection was the recognition by the Porte of its leader as Pasha of Scutari, he being the first Albanian since the conquest who had been allowed to assume that title. The song is, unfortunately, too long to give in full, but the following opening and concluding lines may give some idea of its spirit:—

539

No! no! our country only must we mother call,
For on her breast she us has nourished all.
She is the wife we to our bosoms press,
Who wakes within our hearts love's tenderness.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Where is the man, love of such mother, wife, 539
Who holds within his heart, counts not his life
As naught, as naught whatever he
May sacrifice, to keep his loved one free.

* * * * *

Come! Oh, ye generous sons, brave children, come!
And you, ye cherished husbands, hasten home.
Come to the arms of those who, with your fall,
Would have lost loved ones, country, home, and all!
Come back and rest from war's dread strife and din,
And teach your sons a hero's name to win!

The following ballad graphically describes a struggle 533
which took place in 1795 between the Ghegs under 173
Mahmoud Pasha of Scutari and the Tosks under Kourd Pasha of Berat.

Beat, beat, O valiant hearts of Ghegs, with noble pride! 539
The hosts of Tosks we've scattered far and wide; 173
For warrior Scutari has now at length,
With Roumeli's famed hero tried her strength.

To Hussein Mollah hear them call with glee,
"Now onward march, Tabácchi and Tersi,
Tosk has met Gheg. Come thou, our Laureate,
And make a song this fight to celebrate."

Kourd Pasha's at Berat, there let him bide;
Mean is his rank to stand Mahmoud beside;
What's he before Mahmoud Pasha, our lord?
How dares he 'gainst his master draw the sword?

Rebel is Kourd Pasha and *verlazi*,[1]
To his liege lord a traitor foul is he;
With fear he trembles when afar the drum,
Three hours[2] away, proclains Mahmoud doth come. [805 822]

[1] One who takes arms against his suzerain.
[2] Distance in the East is always calculated by time

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173

Scared at the sound, he in the tekkéh[1] hides,
His standards leaves, nor heeds what them betides;
Beard and moustache he tears with flowing tear,
And in a swoon at length he falls from fear.

Mahmoud his charger mounts, and riding out
His men before, now "Forward!" hear him shout;
"Forward with me! to-day, if Allah will,
I Kourd Pasha with my own hand will kill."

Now, like a roaring lion, where'er he goes,
With Allah's aid, in terror flee his foes;
The tekkéh of Baba Hussein before,
See how they rend from Tosks the spoils of war!

Veli escapes. Poor Tahir, from the rout
Into the mill thou fleest; there dost hold out.
It is in vain that bravely still thou fight;
How couldst thou stand against this vulture's might?

Death thee awaits, this day will be thy last,
Riddled with balls, thy troops are fleeing fast;
Long will it be before the Tosks forget
The valour of the Ghegs when last they met.

Now to his men hear Agha Rouka cry,
"Are ye then women, that from foe ye fly?
Of what avail the manly arms ye bear?
Of what avail the sabres bright ye wear?

Rally yourselves, as skirmishers in bands,
Fall on the Ghegs, and, with your curvéd brands,
Strike off their heads! Who falls the field upon
Wept is, but scorned who lives with honour gone!"

Naught heed they him, but in confusion fly.
Tosks of Berat! your sandals[2] go and tie!
Measure no more yourselves with Scutarine,
Who flees not, wields true gun, and sabre keen!

[346]

[1] A Dervish chapel.

[291]
[281]

[2] The hide shoes, with the hairy side turned inwards, worn generally in the mountains.

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The following little Tosk song refers to an unsuccessful rising in South Albania about 1835:— 538

From Corfu they tidings bear, 539
Tafilbouz is landing here; 173
On Avlona's shore he lands,
Three detachments he commands.

To the mosque they crowd and shout,
"Hodo, from thy house come out!"
Now may Allah be his shield,
If to them should Hodo yield!

O Hodo, O Sadik, Bekir, and Karafili!
Simon the Liap's brave sons!
'Mid the rattle of the guns,
They have fall'n, unhappy ones!
May the rest be lucky!

The national songs, as well as the folk-tales, of the land of their forefathers are also sacredly cherished by those Albanians who, as before mentioned, for centuries past have been settled in Southern Italy and Sicily. There the exploits of the heroic Scanderbeg are still celebrated, and at their feasts they sing how the hero of Croia [538]

Of hares and capons ate the flesh, [262]
Of partridges the heads ate; [264]

and how

His cups and forks were all of gold,
And of fine silk his napkins.

The women, too, in their Easter dances, relate how, as he went forth to battle, Death met him on the road, and revealed to him the secrets of the Book of Destiny; how he called to him his young son, and bade him tie his horse to a cypress on the seashore, plant his 538 776

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538 776 banner beside it, and on it hang his sword, stained with the blood of the Turk:

539

Within its blade Death yet shall sleep,
And, 'neath that sombre tree,
The arms of their erst dreaded foe,
Shall they now silent be?

No! When the wind shall furious blow,
And waves my flag around,
When whinnies my good charger there,
My sword makes clanking sound,

The Turk shall hear, and, tremblingly,
He'll turn, with bated breath,
With visage blanched, and hear behind
Him, swiftly following, Death.

[854 533] The Gheg mother, in her mountain home, rocks her little ones to sleep and amuses their waking hours with such lullabies as these:

I.

539 854

"*De! De!* Lambkin mine,
Where didst thou this even dine?"
"In the fields where waters flow,
'Neath the trees where cherries grow,"

"Tell me what thou there didst see?"
"Two twin birdies on a tree."
"What song did they sing to thee?"
"*Chili! Chili! Mangouli!*

I saw the old woman
'Mong corn ears all ripe;
I heard her a-playing
Upon the black pipe!"

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II.

Oloria! Boloria!
Come and listen to my story!

A sieve my master bade me bring,
To sift the flour some cakes to make;
A faggot in the oven fling,
When they were made the cakes to bake;
That he a lady bride might take.

Said he, "I'll do to her no ill,
Nor will I my dear wife kill;
My sheep and goats shall be her care,
And bread and nuts shall be her fare."

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854
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Peaks of Shala

By

Rose Wilder Lane

Profusely Illustrated by Photographs taken on a Special Expedition to Albania

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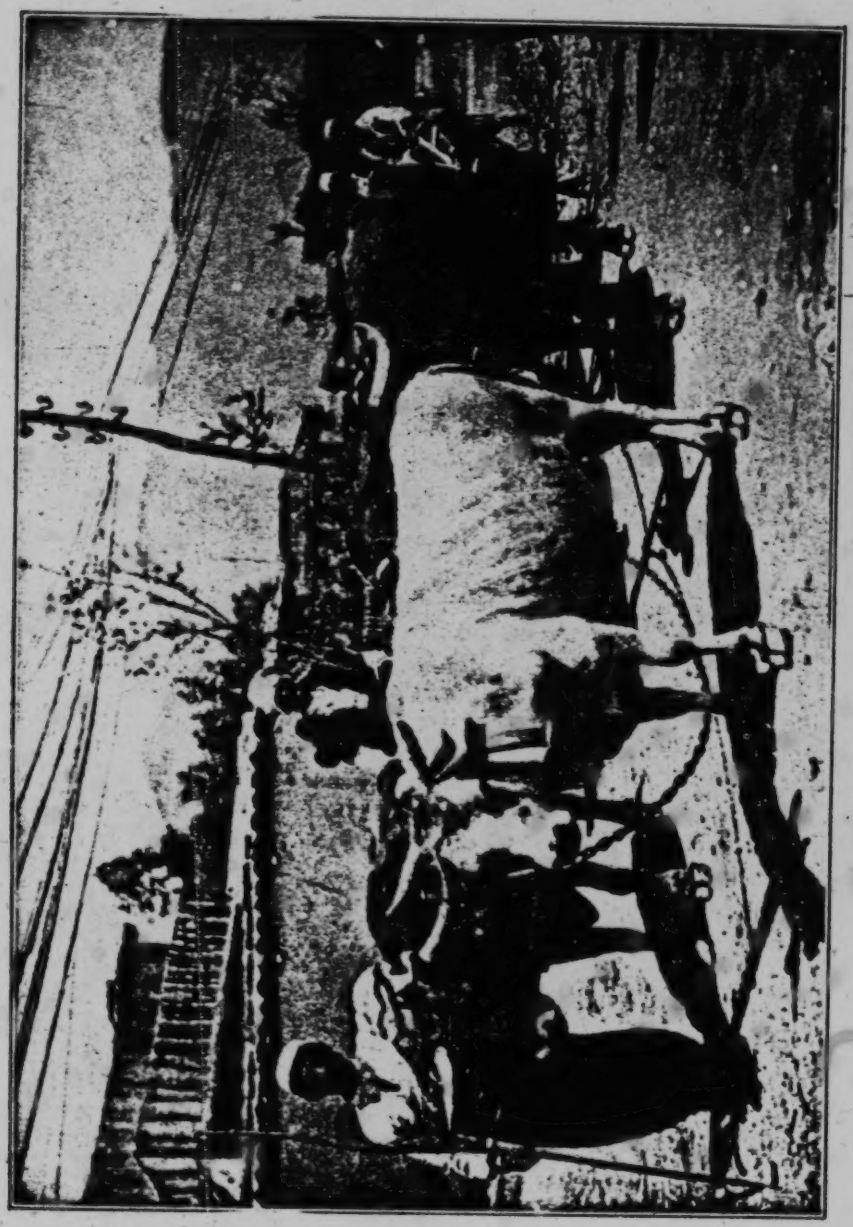

THE ROLLER THAT IS SMOOTHING THE NEW BOULEVARD IN TIRANA

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PEAKS OF SHALA

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To My Mother

Laura Ingalls Wilder

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INTRODUCTION

121 I WOULD not have this book considered too seriously. It is not an attempt to untangle one thread in the Balkan snarl; it is not a study of primitive peoples; it is not a contribution to the world's knowledge, and I hope no one will read it to improve the mind. It should be read as the adventures in it were lived, with a gayly inquiring mind, a taste for strange peoples and unknown trails, and a delight in the unexpected.

Here I give you only what I saw, felt, and most casually learned while adventuring among the tribes in the interior northern Albanian mountains. It is not even all of Albania, that little country too small to be found on every map. It is simply a fragment of this large, various, and romantic world, sent back by a traveler to those who stay at home.

R. W. L.

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ooo Annette Marquis accompanied the author on her trip through Albania and it is to her skill that the photographs are due.

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Peaks of Shala

ooo

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CHAPTER I

SHADOWS ON SCUTARI PLAIN—THE VOICE IN THE CHAFA BISHKASIT—THE LANDS OF THE HIDDEN TRIBES—A WOMAN OF SHALA.

000 WHEN the sun rose over the blue, snow-crested mountains that are the southernmost slopes of the Dinaric Alps, it made, on the Scutari plain, a pattern of our shadows; shadows of four small wooden-saddled ponies, each led by a mountaineer with a rifle on his back, of two tall, ragged gendarmes, and of a small trudging boy in a red Turkish fez—all moving single file across an interminable plain shaggy with blossoming cactus.

[492] The wooden saddles were three-sided boxes made of peeled branches; padded beneath with sheepskins, they fitted over the ponies' backs. On top of them our blankets were packed; saddlebags hung from the four corners; enthroned in the midst we rode, comfortable as in an easy-chair, sitting sidewise, our knees crossed, smoking cigarettes and rocking gently with the ponies' pace. And all this was to me an enchantment suddenly appearing above the surface of well-arranged days, as new South Sea islands rise before a mariner in hitherto familiar waters.

Three days earlier the mountains of Albania,

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooo indeed, Albania itself, had been unknown to me, and disregarded. I had meant to go by Scutari as a hurried walker brushes by the stranger on the street. Scutari had been merely a place to pass on the way from Podgoritza to Constantinople. And now, in this brightening dawn upon the Scutari plain, I was riding to unknown adventure among the hidden tribes of Dukaghini.

This was the doing of Frances Hardy. That impetuous and efficient girl had seized upon me and my small affairs as six months earlier she had seized upon the refugee situation in Scutari, taking control, making adjustment, creating a new pattern. A thin, athletic, sun-browned girl, so full of energy that her very finger tips seemed to crackle electrically—that was Frances Hardy. An Albaniac, I called her at our first meeting, perceiving that one might disagree with her, argue with her, even poke fun at her, and still be her friend. She had seized on the word with delight—the perfect word, she said—and had returned at once to her attack.

"Constantinople's nothing. Everyone goes to Constantinople. But if you don't see Albania, you're wasting the chance of a lifetime. Up in those mountains—right up there in those mountains, a day's journey from here—the people are living as they lived twenty centuries ago, before the Greek or the Roman or the Slav was ever known. There are prehistoric cities up there, old legends, songs, customs that no one knows anything about. No stranger's ever even seen

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them. Great Scott, woman! And you sit there and talk about Constantinople!"

"But if nobody goes there, how can we do so?" I said.

"How does anyone ever do anything? Simply do it. Hire horses, get on them, and go."

"Carrying our own guns?"

"Oh, we'll be safe enough! We may run into a blood feud or two, and get our guides shot up, but nobody ever harms a woman. Nobody even [562] shoots a man in her presence."

"She means no Albanian ever does," said Alex.

"Bless 'em!" said Frances, and added, in Albanian, "Glory to their feet!"

I had the vaguest notion of Albania. I knew it was the smallest and newest member of the League of Nations; I knew it was in the Balkan wars, and I knew that recently the Albanians had driven from their shores the Italian army of occupation. If some one, testing my intelligence or psycho-analyzing, had said to me, "Albanians," I should have replied, "Bandits."

But Frances Hardy is irresistible in more ways than one. Therefore, on this spring morning, while mists rose slowly from the blue waters of Lake Scutari and the shadows of the mountains retreated from its shores, we were riding northward toward the lands of the mountain tribes.

There were four of us, not counting our retainers. No, five, for at the last moment small, chubby-cheeked Rexh,[1] in his red Mohammedan

[1] Rexh—pronounced Redge.

fez, had gravely engaged Frances Hardy in argument as to the desirability of his accompanying us. Twelve years old, a stanch Mohammedan, self-adopted father of seven smaller refugee children for whom he maintained a family life in a hut he had found, he had made all arrangements for the trip without consulting us. He said that he had never seen the mountains and that he thought it necessary to learn about them as part of the education of a good Albanian. He pointed out that he spoke excellent English, which he had learned in some three months of association with Miss Hardy, and that he would be valuable as an interpreter. It was true that we had one interpreter, but there were six men and many saddlebags; he would keep an eye upon them all. The care of his children he had arranged for; as to the Mohammedan school in which he was a pupil, it taught him nothing; he would take a vacation from it. He would be of use to us upon the trip; the trip would be of value to him. Having said this, he gravely awaited Miss Hardy's decision. When she said, "All right, Rexh," he permitted himself to smile and looked over the packs, suggesting some changes that would make us more comfortable. He now walked behind Miss Hardy's pony, a pistol and a knife in the belt of his American pajama coat.

Our interpreter was also a friend; Rrok Perolli, secretary to the Albanian Minister of the Interior. He was on a vacation, he said, but as the northern interior tribes were antagonistic to the new gov-

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ernment, it might be as well not to mention who he was. We were going very near to the Serbian lines; he had recently escaped from sentence of death in a Serbian prison; there was a price on his head in Serbia. It would be easy for one of the tribes to hand him across the line. They could not kill him in our presence, of course, but, once out of our sight, they could in ten minutes find Serbians who would do it for them.

He was a care-free young man, black haired, dark eyed, dressed in the smartest of English tweed suits, with a businesslike revolver and one of the handiest of daggers swinging in leather holsters at the belt. His father was a merchant in Ipek, rich territory now held by the Serbs; the son had been educated in London, Berlin, and Paris, and spoke their languages as well as his own Albanian, also Serbian, Italian, Turkish, and Greek. He enlivened the morning with songs in all these languages, illustrating a running discussion of comparative music. Swaying gently on his pony's back, he sniffed the sweet air, cool from the waters of Lake Scutari; he gazed cheerfully at the blue hills beyond the lake, held by the Serbian armies; he was altogether the happy office man off for a lazy vacation. Just the same, I wondered a bit, taking everything into consideration. It cannot be said that I was entirely unprepared for the interesting developments before us.

Fourth in our party was Alex. Sunshiny hair, softly fluffed; wide blue eyes; and that com-

plexion of pink and white, like roses painted on a china plate that drives a dagger of envy into every feminine heart and makes the fortunes of cosmetic makers. She wore a purple tam, a leaf-brown sweater with a purple tie, and the trimmest of riding trousers; she looked like a magazine cover. She was in reality the most hard-headed, soberly sensible of girls; to her finger tips an anti-Potterite. She and Frances were going into the mountains to decide where to establish three schools. They had themselves collected in America the money for them, and this was their vacation from Red Cross work.

At about noon we left the plain, and almost at once our ponies began to stand up like pet dogs begging for cake, their hind legs supporting their weight while front hoofs pawed for foothold above on the stairlike, rocky trail. An Albanian held each of us tightly by elbow or knee, ready to save us from squashy death if the pony lost its balance, and as the little animals strained, clambered, gathered their feet together for desperate leaps, a sudden long high wail broke forth ahead. The two gendarmes were singing.

Walking easily up a trail that I could have overcome only on hands and knees, carrying their rifles and twenty pounds of canned goods on their backs, they were merrily singing. Thumbs pressed tightly against their ears, to prevent the air pressure of their lungs from bursting ear drums, they sent far over the crags the long,

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shrill, high notes, like nothing human I had ever 006
heard. Frances Hardy, lying almost perpendicular along her pony's back, her chin on what would have been the saddle pommel had there been one, looked downward at me, similarly extended.

"They're making a song to the Chafa Bishkasit, the Road of the Mountaineers," she said. "That's the Chafa up there. We're going over it to-day, and then we'll be in the mountains. Aren't you happy?"

I could find no word emphatic enough for reply as I gazed up at the tiny notch in a wave of snow-crest that curled against the sky five thousand feet above us.

The sun swung to its highest and sank again while we climbed. It was low in the sky—it 133
seemed on a level with us—when we made the last interminable hundred yards up into the Chafa Bishkasit. We were in the sky; there is no other way to say it, and no way in which to describe that sensation of infinite airiness. Forty miles behind and below us Lake Scutari lay flat, like a pool of mercury on a gray-brown floor. At each side of our little gay-colored cavalcade a gray cliff rose perhaps two hundred feet, too sheer to hold the snow that thickly crusted its top. These cliffs were the posts of a gateway through which we looked into the country of the hidden tribes.

I had never seen or dreamed such mountains. Like thin, sharp rocks stood on edge, they cov-

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133 ered hundreds of miles with every variation of light and shadow, and we looked across their tops to a far-away wave of snow that broke high against the sky. The depths between the mountains were hazy blue; out of the blueness sharp cliffs and huge flat slopes of rock thrust upward, streaked with the rose and purple and Chinese green of decomposing shale, and from their tops a thousand streams poured downward, threading them with silver white. A low, continuous murmur rose to us—the sound of innumerable waterfalls, softened by immeasurable distances.

202 Suddenly, clear and very far and thin, a call came out of the spaces.[1] It was like a fife, and yet not like it. Instantly our guides were still, attentive. A moment of silence, and farther and thinner, hardly to be heard above the beating of blood in our ears, there was an answer. Then the first note began again and went on and on; there seemed to be a pattern to it, not a tune—words? I looked at the others.

Rrok Perolli was motionless, a cigarette between his lips, his hand arrested in the act of striking a match. Little Rexh, his round face intent beneath the red fez, his mouth slightly open, his eyes wide and blank, was an image of concentrated listening. The two gendarmes stood alert, like dogs straining at a leash, scent-
[291] ing something. Our four guides, in their long white trousers, black jackets, colored turbans and sashes, were like men frozen in attitudes of interrupted talk.

[1] In Chafa Bishkasit Mountains [8] of Albania -- Analyst

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THE CHAPA DISHKASIT

The "Road of the Mountaineer"—the gateway to the northern lands.

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202 The voice ceased. The other one came back like an echo, so faint I thought I imagined it. Then—Bang! Bang! Bang! The very mountains lifted up their voices and roared. It was like the cataclysm at the end of the world; mountain striking against mountain, the air smashed like glass and falling, clattering. Rrok Perolli lighted his cigarette. The others shifted their rifles, tightened their sashes, said "Hite!" to the horses, and we started on. All around us the echoes were still contending, striking and breaking against one another like ore in a mill.

"What was it?" I cried to Perolli, whose horse was slipping down the trail ahead, kept from going headlong by its owner, who held it by the tail, bracing his bare feet on every foothold.

"Telephoning," said Perolli. "It's the way they send news through the mountains. A man on one of the peaks calls, and another one somewhere hears him and answers. You've seen 'em hold their ears and throw their voices. That's it. And three shots to show that the talk's ended."

"What was he saying?"

"Something about Shala. Shala and Shoshi are in blood, evidently."

000 "Do we go through those tribes?"

My horse slipped just then and a man snatched me from the saddle. The horse, held by the tail, floundered on the trail, striking sparks from his hoofs, shod with solid thin plates of steel; the packs went over his head. My man set me on a

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000 shoulder-high rock and dashed to aid the rescue. It looked for a moment as though they would all go down upon Perolli below, but the horse got his footing and stood trembling, his head covered with streaming blankets.

I said then that I would walk, but it was not walking. It was jumping, scrambling, dropping. Those mountains were evidently created to be looked at, not to be walked upon. Bathed in perspiration, I stopped from time to time to eat a bit of snow, and twelve-year-old Rexh looked at me with compassion. He had walked nearly twenty miles that day and was still gay and fresh; the men were still singing.

788 "In a minute, Mrs. Lane, we will come to a resting place," the pitying Rexh encouraged me, and in perhaps half an hour my trembling legs brought me around a bowlder to see the two gendarmes stopped in the trail, crossing themselves. A wooden cross, blackened by storms and years, leaned forward above them, supported by a pile of stones on a small grassy knoll. Alex and Frances dropped from their ponies to lie panting beside me on the grass, while the guides, [ורד] smiling at our whim, stopped also. Each of them crossed himself before sitting down, for the mountain tribes have been Catholic almost ever since St. Paul preached in the Balkans, and missionary priests have put the cross at each resting place on the trails, to bring thoughts of God to weary men.

000 Below our feet the cliffs fell away, down into

[on Chafa Bishkasit [10] Mountains -- Analyst]

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blue haze; above us were forested slopes, and 000
above them sheer, great cliffs throwing shadows across a dozen valleys. Our small grassy knoll was white with daisies and with fallen petals from a blossoming apple tree that arched above the cross. On it our men lay at ease, beautiful, graceful animals, their rifles swung from their shoulders and laid ready to their hands.

"Why are Shala and Shoshi in blood?" Frances 628
asked, casually, biting idly at the stem of a 576
daisy. Perolli did not know; he had gathered only the fact that there was a feud.

"Do we go through both tribes?" I wanted to know.

"Through Shala. Shoshi's farther down the river. We'll go around it."

"Are our men Shala or Shoshi?"

Perolli glanced at them. "Shala, by the pattern of the braiding on their trousers. So we won't have any troub—— Hello! That's a Shoshi man coming up the trail, now."

It was Alex who acted quickest. She was sitting on a rock beside me, her arms clasped about her knees; she rose instantly and, flinging out a hand in the gesture of greeting, cried in her most feminine voice those Albanian words that sound like, "Tune yet yetta!" and mean, "May you live long!"

The Shoshi man's hand was on his rifle, but his step had not faltered. He replied, coming on steadily, and the appropriateness of the greeting struck me, for if it had not been uttered by a

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[628] woman he would at that moment have been
576 dead. Our Shala men, with perfect courtesy, went through the formalities of greeting on the trail, and this is the form, translated to me by Rexh:

"Long life to you!"

"And to you, long life!"

"How could you?" meaning, "How could you get here?"

"Slowly, slowly, little by little."

No one who has ever seen those trails can doubt it.

291. The Shoshi man sat down, our men offered him cigarettes, and up the trail came a woman of Shoshi.[1] She wore a tight, bell-shaped skirt of horizontal black and white stripes, made of cloth heavier and thicker than felt, the twelve-inch-wide marriage belt of heavy leather studded with pounds of nails, and a jacket covered with three-inch-thick fringe. Two heavy braids of black hair hung forward on her breasts, a colored handkerchief was bound around her head, and her face, smoothly weather browned, large eyed, delicately shaped, was the most beautiful that I
[854] had ever seen. On her back, held by woven woolen straps that crossed between her breasts, was a cradle tightly covered by a thick blanket;
[283] in one hand she held a bunch of raw wool, and from the other dangled a whirling spindle. Her feet were bare, and as she came up that trail which had exhausted me she sang softly to herself, dexterously spinning thread from the bunch of wool.

[1] [Albanian mountain tribe — [12] Analyst]

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Cheremi, our gayer gendarme, rose quickly 576
and went to meet her. He took her by the hand
and laid his cheek caressingly against hers. He
was like a child, Cheremi, with his happy face,
deep wrinkled with laughter, the mischievous
twinkle in his eyes, his bursts of wit and song.
But he looked all of his forty years as he gazed
tenderly at the woman of Shoshi.

"She is a woman of my people," he said, lead-
ing her gallantly to us.

"Are you a woman?" said Frances Hardy, cor-
rectly, in Albanian.

"I am born of Shala[1] married in Shoshi," she 591
answered. Her voice was soft, and her hands
and feet would have been madness to a sculptor.
In any Paris restaurant those slender fingers,
almond nails, and delicate wrists, aristocratic,
well bred, would have been a sensation.

We admired the baby, excavating it from five [854]
folds of blankets to do so. How they live be-
neath the smothering I do not know; a Western
baby would die in three hours. We asked the
mother how old she was. Eighteen, she said,
and she had been married three years.

"And have you been home since?"

"Ah no," she said, with a wistful smile.

"Born in Shala," said Cheremi. "But she was
married in Shoshi, and in Shoshi she will die."

"I wonder what she thinks of us," I said, for, 000
though she must have felt great curiosity about
these strange beings, dropped apparently from
the sky upon her well-known trails, she did not

1 [Albanian Mountain [13] tribe -- Analyst]

reveal it by the flicker of an eyelash, and she asked no questions. It was we who were so rude.

"How old do you think we are?" Frances asked her. She looked at us candidly beneath her long lashes.

"How can I say?" she answered. "I cannot read or write; I am stupid; I gather wood."

The Shoshi man now rose, slinging his rifle back on his shoulder, and said farewell. "Go on a smooth trail," said our men, his blood enemies, who must have killed him at sight if no woman had been there, and he went on up the trail without turning his head, the woman following him.

"Well, we must be getting on," said Perolli. "We've a long way to go, and we ought to get in before dark." And he showed us, far away across the darkening valley, the white dot that was the priest's house where we were to spend the night.

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CHAPTER II

TRAILS OF THE MOUNTAINEERS—THE MAN OF IPEK KILLS HIS DONKEY—THE HOUSE OF THE BISHOP OF PULTIT—MARRIAGE BY THE LAW OF LEC—THE BLOOD FEUD BETWEEN SHALA AND SHOSHI

DARKNESS was creeping up the slopes like a rising flood from the valleys, and it had engulfed the trails long before we made the descent into the village of Gjoanni, which I may as well say at once is pronounced Zhwanee. Not that we were thinking about such far-away things as written words. Everything that makes our ordinary lives was already as far from us as another planet. It was as though we had dropped through a hole in time and fallen into the days when men were wild creatures in the forests.

One reads in books of dizzying trails twelve inches wide, on which travelers cling precariously between the sky and sudden death. Long before dense darkness had risen to meet the shadow of the mountain wall between us and the rest of the world we would have welcomed a twelve-inch trail as though it were the Champs-Élysées. We were in a land where a twelve-inch trail is to the people what the Twentieth Century Limited is to America.

My memories become incoherent here. I

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recall a thousand-foot slide of decomposed shale, the color of an American Beauty rose. The flakes of it were as large as a thumb-nail, and the mass of them tilted at surely thirty-five degrees, sloping to a sheer cliff that dropped I cannot say how far. The stone houses looked like children's blocks at the bottom of it. Across this we made our way on foot, and at every step a considerable quantity of the shale sped away beneath the pressure and plumped over the edge. The fourth time I slipped I remained on my hands and knees; it seemed simpler. And for something like a century I had the sensation a squirrel must have in a revolving cage—steadily clawing upward and making no progress in that direction. But sidewise, crablike, I did eventually come out on the other side and into the waterfall.

The waterfall was called a river. It was about two thousand feet long, and stood on end. About every three feet it struck a bowlder as large as an office desk, and leaped into the air until it hit the next one. The shale was wet with spray for several yards. The water between three bowlders, where we crossed, was a little more than knee deep, and there was nothing whatever leisurely about its progress. I try to be calm about it; I tried to be calm then.

The horses went across first, four men to each horse. One gripped a rope tied about its neck, one firmly held the tail, two stood downstream and leaned their weight against the saddle. Then the men carried across the packs and their

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trousers, which they had taken off so that they should not get wet. Then they quite simply picked us up, slung us across their shoulders, and took us over.

It is a strange sensation, being a bag of meal hanging over a muscular back, clutched firmly around the knees, green water roaring at toes and chin, white spray choking and blinding you, and a thousand feet of hungry bowlders waiting below for your bones. In the middle my man stopped, braced himself, and shifted me to his other shoulder. Then he shouted, and another man came out above us and held his free hand to steady him through the worst of the current.

After we were all over, the men clasped their ears, sent an exuberant call out through the twilight, were answered from the far distances, fired all their guns several times in joyous unison, and then, slinging them back on their shoulders, went on blithely.

They went on blithely into such a rain as I had never supposed could be. Around the shoulder of the mountain we walked into it, as one walks into a shower bath—scattering drops on the fringes of it so few that they did not break the shock of its impact. Water fell upon us suddenly; our piteous gasps and small cries of protesting misery were muffled by the sound of its pouring on the rocks. In an instant rivulets of chilly water were wandering over shrinking skin from soggy mufflers to filling shoes, and there was no longer gayety in the world. Even

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ooo the Albanians were gloomy, occupied with the task of keeping the slipping horses on the trail. In a few moments we had left their struggles behind us.

We climbed doggedly, in silence. Only the swishing of the relentless rain and the clicking of our staffs on the rocks made little noises against the distant roaring of waterfalls. By some trick of light reflected from peak or cloud, the trail and the valley below it were visible in a green-gray ghost of daylight, which made us seem unreal even to ourselves. And we climbed, interminably, forever, putting one foot before the other with the patient deep attentiveness of trudging animals, while rain dripped unheeded from forehead to cheek to chin. We climbed, absorbed in detail of slippery shale and stubborn bowlder, till Perolli's exclamation shocked us as though a rock had spoken.

We must wait for our men, he said, and we dropped where we stood and sat soddenly. To light a cigarette was as impossible to us in that rain as to a swimmer under water. We sat and looked at one another, and laughed aloud, and were silent again. The horses came past us at last, each held by halter and by tail, and slowly they struggled over the crest of the mountain and disappeared. We should go on, Perolli said,
166 and we murmured assent, but still we sat. When a stranger appeared on the trail[1] against the gray sky we moved only our eyes to look at him.

He was a young man, dark eyed and hand-

[1] [on Chafa Bishkasit Moun- [18] tain trail --Analyst]

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some, but haggard. Besides the rifle on his back was strapped a small baby. The little head, uncovered, streaming with water, appeared above the thick woolen-fringed collar of the man's black jacket. The baby's mouth was open, drawn into a square of misery, but no sound came from it. The man's jacket had been darned and darned again, till no thread of the original weaving was visible; his white homespun woolen trousers, hung low on the hips, were worn so thin that the darns no longer held together, and tatters fell around his bare ankles, above feet wrapped in rags. The remnants of black braiding on his trousers were of a pattern I had not seen before; I could not guess his tribe. Behind him a shapeless bundle of household goods moved slowly on the tiny hoofs of a donkey, and the little beast's drooping ears and nose almost touched the trail.

"Long may you live!" And when he had returned the greeting we continued the courteous formula. "How could you get here?"

"Slowly, slowly, little by little."

"Are you a man?"

"I am a man of Kossova, of the district of Ipek," he answered, and it was not necessary to say more, for the Serbs hold Ipek. The memory of their taking it moved like a darkening shadow over his face, and it is best to ignore such memories.

Yet there was a little hope in his vague voice. He was going, he said, in search of a farm on

which he could live. He had tried to live in the Shala country, but it was impossible there. There was too little land for the tribe of Shala, and the making of land is slow among mountains where stone walls must be built to catch the little earth that remains when rain melts limestone. He had heard that in the valley of Scutari there was soil, as there had been in Kossova, and his voice sank into silence as though it were a burden too heavy to lift.

But he tried to make the baby smile for the American *zonyas*. The baby, too exhausted to cry any longer, was equally unable to smile, and this last baffled effort suddenly became rage. It was only a twist of the haggard face, an explosion in the depths of the man's spirit, and, like an explosion, it was over before we saw it, leaving on our eyeballs a picture of something that no longer existed.

"He has a beautiful smile," the father said, apologetically, "very beautiful," and he took up his rifle.

"Long may you live," we said. "Go on a smooth trail."

In a moment the rain had blurred the figures of the man and the tiny donkey, moving slowly down the mountain side.

We wiped the streaming wet from our faces with water-withered hands, picked up our staffs, and drove our bodies again to their task of climbing. The burden of the world's helplessness in misery was heavier on our spirits than the weight

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of water-soaked woolen on exhausted muscles. ooo Why should man toil over such heart-breaking trails, endure and struggle through such sufferings, only to keep alight a little fire of life, when life means only suffering and painful effort? The rifle-shot which interrupted the question seemed an answer to it. We stopped, and the same thought was in all our eyes while we waited for the echoes of the shot to roll away like thunder among the cliffs.

Then Cheremi pressed his thumbs tightly against his ears and sent down the trail the wild high note of the "telephone call." He waited, repeated it, repeated it once more. An answer came.

The man of Ipek had killed his donkey. It had slipped from the trail; it would not try to get up. And there on the mountain side, five hours from shelter, with night upon them, he had killed it.

"I wish you blind!" Cheremi called through the rain, and fired his rifle to end the talk.

We must help the man, we said. We must do something. But Cheremi and Perolli, in whom also weariness had become anger, went on over the ridge of the mountain, and we followed them. It was true; what could we do? We could not carry the donkey's pack, the only goods left to the man of Ipek.

In half an hour we met a beautiful girl. Her hazel eyes and chestnut hair shone through the grayness of the rain, a wide silver-studded marriage belt held the dripping tatters of a Shala

ooo dress about her slender body, and her ankles were white above delicate feet bruised by the trails. She drove before her six starveling goats that constantly tried to evade her; they were traveling strange trails and wanted to turn homeward.

"Long may you live!" she murmured, anxiously urging them forward with her staff, while we climbed the bowlders above the trail to let them pass. Cheremi bent to take her hand and lay his cheek against hers, and for an instant there was a beautiful smile on her lovely troubled face. When she was gone we continued to sit, gazing into the valley. Far below us, below jagged cliffs as vague as clouds, below tortured trees from which every bough had been hacked to feed hungry flocks, below slopes of bowlders which ran down into darkness, lights were already gleaming. A thousand feet above them on the other side of the valley the white speck of the priest's house promised us rest and warmth.

"But we must wait here," said Perolli, surprised by our impatience. "The woman is the wife of the man of Ipek, and she is a Shala woman. He has killed his donkey; it may be that he is mad and will kill her, too."

Cheremi's childlike smile was gone. His rifle lay across his knees, his profile was set and stern, cruel. He was a man of Shala, and, though he had never before seen this woman, he would avenge her if there were need for vengeance, for she had been born in his tribe. So we waited for

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the crash of a second shot. But only the rushing sound of the waterfalls came up to us from the darkening valleys.

With staffs and aching feet we found the trail when we went onward. Unseen bowlders bruised our knees, unseen rocks rolled when we stepped on them. We went for two hours down a slide of shale, slipping at every step and clutching the empty darkness. At its bottom we came to wide rapids, and this time the men put us on the little horses, and the horses crossed by jumping from bowlder to bowlder; this seemed cruelty to animals, but we were too weary to protest, and already we had become Albanian in one thing—an absolute indifference to danger.

When, an hour later, one of my pony's hind legs went over the edge of a crumbling trail and only my man's grip on his tail kept him from quite going over, the incident interrupted for only a second my enjoyment of the wild, weird scene; a hundred miles of mountain tops fighting with their shadows the light of the moon.

At ten o'clock we fell from our saddles in the walled courtyard of a ghostly white house, and a tall figure in the hooded robe of a Franciscan father lighted us across it with a flaming pine torch.

We really were in the Middle Ages, or in some century perhaps even earlier. An hour after our greeting by the Bishop of Pultit we had forgotten even to realize it; so adaptable are human beings that we quite forgot that modern civilization had ever been.

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000 The hooded priest lighted us with his torch up a flight of worn stone stairs and into a low, beamed room on the second floor of the bishop's house. There the bishop, rising from a wooden bench, welcomed us in Albanian and Latin. He wore a rough, homespun woolen robe; his bare feet were in wooden sandals; a rosary of wooden beads hung on his chest. He was perhaps fifty, rotund, jovial, dignified. Perolli bent one knee and kissed the episcopal hand; little Mohammedan Rexh, in his red fez, gravely saluted; Cheremi, the ragged gendarme, put his rifle in a corner and knelt for the bishop's blessing.

We sat, Alex, Frances, and I, in a row on a wooden bench in the chilly bare room. A servant came in, barearmed, barelegged, clad in one piece of brown cloth that reached his knees, and the bishop gave orders; the servant returned with a hammered copper tray holding an earthen [213] cup and a wooden bottle of rakejia. Now rakejia is a cousin to vodka and one of the strongest drinks that ever turned the imbiber's blood to liquid fire. We girls had debated about it; what should we do when courtesy required us to drink it? We had decided that Perolli should explain that we came from America and that in our tribe it was forbidden to drink intoxicants. But after sixteen hours of travel in the Albanian mountains we did not hesitate. One by one we took the cup that the servant filled, and drained it dry. From that time onward we drank the stuff like water, and it had no visible effect upon us,

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though in a Paris restaurant one glass of mild 000
wine will make me realize that a second would be unwise. I don't explain this, I simply note the fact, and it gives me a different point of view on the chronicles of hard-drinking past centuries.

We sat there, talking, for an hour or more. 793
The bishop[1] said that he had never been out of the mountains except for a trip long ago to the Vatican in Rome; he had been there a year, and had conversed with his brother priests in Latin. Then he had come back to the mountains and had lived there ever since. His diocese included all the northern tribes, and he visited them from time to time, riding wherever a donkey could carry him, and walking where it could not. Ten years earlier he had had another foreign visitor, a Miss Durham of England; he had heard that she later wrote a book in which she told about the visit, and if he could have afforded it he would have liked to send for that book.

No, the Church had not very greatly altered [771]
the ancient customs of the people. They were all good Catholics, and attended mass. But [764]
they still buried the dead uncoffined, with three apples on the breast, and when they put a stone or a wooden slab above the grave they often carved on it, not only the cross, but also the sun. One would note, too, that at the rising and set- [788]
ting of the sun they made the sign of the cross to it.

He was not too intolerant of these things. After all, beyond the sun was always the good God.

1 [Franciscan Bishop of Rilit - [25] Analyst]

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000 583 God. It was not strange that what I had heard of the marriage customs had baffled me, he[1] said; I should not look for traces of marriage by capture or marriage by purchase; the basis of the tribal ceremonies is fire worship.

585 On the day of the wedding the bride, elabo-
593 rately dressed, is carried, screaming and struggling, from her father's house, and by her brothers is delivered to the husband's family at a place midway between the lands of the two
[582] tribes. Since each tribe is technically a large
[619] family, claiming a common prehistoric ancestor, it is forbidden to marry within the tribe. The bride carries with her from her home one invariable gift—a pair of fire tongs. When she arrives at her husband's house she takes a humble place in the corner, standing, her hands folded on her breast, her eyes downcast, and for three days and nights she is required to remain in that position, without lifting her eyes, without moving, and without eating or drinking.

"Though I believe," said the bishop, smiling, "that she takes the precaution of hiding some food and drink in her garments, and no doubt the mother-in-law sees that she is allowed to rest a little while the household is asleep." And he explained that this custom remains from the old days when the father of each house was also the priestly guardian of the fire, and anyone coming to ask for a light from it stood reverently in that position, silent, before the hearth, until the father priest gave it to him. The bride, new-

1 [Bishop of Pultit -- Analyst]

comer in the family, is a suppliant for the gift of 585
fire, of life, of the Mystery that continues the race. 593

On the third day she puts on the heavy belt that means she is a wife, and thereafter she goes about the household, obeying the commands of the elders, always standing until they tell her to sit, and for six months not speaking unless they address her. And it is her duty to care for the fire, and with her fire tongs to light the cigarettes smoked by any of the family, or by their guests. Sometime, when it is convenient, she and her husband will go to the church and be married by the priest. Usually she has not seen 584
her husband until she comes to his house, since she is of another tribe and the marriage is arranged by the families.

"We have tried to prevent the betrothing of children before they are born," said the bishop,[1] smiling ruefully, "and in many centuries we have had some effect. Children now are usually not betrothed until they are two or three years old. Even that we combat, of course, yet I cannot say that the custom makes much unhappiness. Husbands and wives are good comrades; they almost never quarrel and they are devoted to their children. But you will see all that for yourself. Yet occasionally there is something ooo
like this Shala-Shoshi affair, which I fear will lead to much bloodshed. But the dinner is ready and my servant will show you your room and bring water to wash your hands."

The servant led us to the bishop's own bed-

1 [Bishop of Pultit -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 room, furnished by a mattress laid on a raised platform of boards. Our saddlebags and blankets had been piled on the rough wooden floor, and Rexh held the torch while the bishop's servant poured cold water from a wooden bucket over our hands. Then he offered us a beautifully hand-woven towel of red-and-white striped linen, and when we had dried our hands he led us down a stone stairway, through a kitchen crowded with villagers, where an old woman tended cooking pots over a fire built on the earthen floor, and into the dining room.

There was a long, rude table covered with hand-woven linen, rough benches on each side of it. The bishop sat at its head, on a stool, and served the soup. The Franciscan brother and a meek little priest in black sat humbly near the foot of the table, and did not speak. There was nothing in the stone-floored, plaster-walled room except the table, the benches, and a rain-stained photograph on the discolored wall—a picture of a gathering of Albanian priests, taken many years ago in Tirana.

628 "The feud between Shala and Shoshi[1] looks
619 very bad," said the bishop[2]. "I fear there will be many deaths. We do what we can to prevent it, all the authority of the Church is used against these feuds, but——" He shrugged his shoulders. "It is their way of enforcing their law, the Law of Lec, which has come down to them from prehistoric times. And the Albanians are very tenacious of their own customs."

1 [Albanian Mountain tribes -- [28] Analyst]
2 [Bishop of Pultit -- Analyst]

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PEAKS OF SHALA

He filled our glasses with red wine. "You must not mistake my people," he said. "The blood feud is bad, very bad, but it is their only way of enforcing laws, which are, in general, admirable. 628 619

"The blood feud is not a lawless thing, as strangers sometimes think. Nor has it anything to do with personal strife or hate. It is a form of capital punishment, such as all nations have, and it is governed by most strict laws.

"You must remember that in these mountains we have never been conquered by foreign governments. The Roman Empire claimed to have overpowered Albania, it is true, as later the Turks did, but neither Rome nor Constantinople was able to send its government into these mountains. The people live as they did before the days of Greece, except for the influence of the Church. It is a simple, communistic society, [181] without private property or any organized government. The only law is the moral law, enforced by tradition, by custom, and by common consent. The father of the family becomes the chief of the tribe, but he has no power that conflicts with the moral law, the ancient Law of Lec. There is a tradition that all this group of tribes [173] was once, long ago, given this moral law by a man named Lec, but that is doubtless a myth added to through the ages.

"This Law of Lec is based on personal honor, which is also the honor of the tribe. A man or a tribe must punish an insult to honor by killing

628 the man who has given it. Thus, if a member of
619 a tribe is killed unjustly by a man of another tribe; if a woman is stolen or injured or affronted; if any part of the tribal property is stolen; if a man or a tribe fails to keep a *besa* (a word of honor) in a matter of land or war or marriage or
[312] irrigation—you will find excellent and admirable irrigation systems here—then the crime is punished by death. But if these crimes are committed against a member of the same tribe, then the house of the guilty man is burned, and he is cast off by the tribe and must go into the wilderness and live alone.

"You will see this law working out in the case of Shala and Shoshi. Last week a Shala man crossing the lands of Shoshi—the two tribes having some time ago sworn a *besa* that they would keep the peace between them—saw a woman of Shoshi on the trail. He said to himself that he would like that woman for his son, who was unmarried, though of marriageable age, because his betrothed had died in childhood. So the man of Shala took the woman of Shoshi to his house for his son, and there she is now.

"Apparently," said the bishop, dryly, "she did not make any outcry, for her husband was in their house only a few yards away, and it is a question whether she and the son had not previously arranged the abduction. However, the husband was, of course, obliged to avenge his honor, and he went at once to the heights above Shala and shot the son. This was, according to

the Law, an unjustifiable murder, since he should 628
have killed the father who was the abductor. 619
Therefore the father waited on the trail above Shoshi and shot the husband.

"It should have stopped there, but Shoshi's honor is involved as long as a woman of the tribe is held unlawfully in the hands of Shala. So a hot-tempered Shoshi man has shot a man of Shala and it has become a blood feud between the two tribes. As the woman was born in Pultit, some say that Pultit's honor is also involved. So you see that the affair becomes complicated; I have been told by wise men that no less than sixteen deaths will wipe out the insults on both sides. You perhaps heard telephoning about it as you came in? The mountain sides have been ringing with it. But what can one do? Excommunication, of course. At every mass I tell my people that the anger of the Church will descend on all who take part in the killings, but the Law of Lec holds them, and it is, after all, their only civil law."

It took time to tell this, what with filling the 000
glasses, serving the food platters of delicious stewed rabbit and bowls of macaroni, a dish the bishop had grown fond of in Rome—and then there were the cups of syrupy Turkish coffee to be ceremoniously served and drunk, and for hours, struggling with an agony of sleepiness, we 574
had implored Perolli in English to make our excuses and let us go to bed, he refusing sternly, since it is the most terrible breach of mountain hospitality for a guest to grow sleepy as early as midnight,

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ooo hospitality for a guest to grow sleepy as early as midnight. But at one o'clock, seeing Alex's desperate eyes stony with the effort to keep them open, and myself beholding at times two bishops, very small and far away, and at times one, who loomed like a mountain, I managed in Latin to suggest that we were tired. We had, I said—calling upon vagrant memories of Cæsar and using both hands to illustrate—been walking and riding over the trails since five the previous morning. The bishop was interested, and asked my opinion of the mountains in comparison with those of Switzerland and of the United States, and I hope I replied coherently.

The rest I do not remember. Perolli says that I sat up straight, and talked, though sometimes rather strangely. Frances and Alex were dumb, he says, but smiled as though they were enjoying the conversation. How was he to know that we were really tired? He thought we had been joking about it.

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CHAPTER III

THE STORY OF PIGEON AND LITTLE EAGLE—THE PREHISTORIC CITY OF POG, AND THE TALE OF THE GOLDEN IMAGE—THE GENDARMES SING OF POLITICS.

I CAME back to full consciousness for an instant, stumbling up the stairs, and gathered that we were going to bed. By the torchlight my wrist watch said a quarter past two. Frances and Alex do not remember even that. Rexh awakened us at eight by shaking us, and we were rolled in blankets on the floor of the bishop's room. Outside was the pouring sound of a steady rain.

As soon as we were fully roused the bishop's servant brought us tiny cups of Turkish coffee. That was breakfast. Afterward we rose with groans, opened the heavy wooden shutters of the window space, and looked out. Through a rain that poured almost as solidly as a waterfall we saw a low-walled courtyard and a schoolhouse.

Beyond the schoolhouse there lay some fifty miles of the wildest beautiful mountain country—blue peaks, fifteen-hundred-foot slanting rocks, soft pink and rose and purple and green; brighter green masses of young foliage in the valleys, bronze-brown and bright-brown bare forests

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 above them, and here and there snow drifts flung up among smoky-gray clouds. Thirty-two waterfalls I counted from that window, veining the mountains with wandering streaks of silver.
871 But our gaze came back and fastened upon the school.

"I didn't know they had one in the mountains!" exclaimed Alex, thinking of her Mountain School Fund. "I thought our school at Thethis would be the first one!"

"Padre Marjan certainly said so when he walked down to ask us for it," said Frances.

"Perhaps this isn't a school," said I. Though it looked like one, the little square stone house through whose open doorway we saw rows of
[291] benches, and boys sitting on them, barefooted, wearing the long, tight, white trousers braided with black that hang low on the hip bones, the gorgeous sashes, and the short black jackets thick with fringe, that were white centuries ago, but were changed to mourning when Scanderbeg died for Albanian liberty.

It was a school. The pale, meek priest[1] in black, who is the bishop's ecclesiastical household, showed it to us with pride; he is the teacher.
178 The Turks and the Austrians had blocked all
871 attempts to bring schools into the mountains, he said, and the people, not knowing that schools existed, were naturally not eager to have them. But now the Land of the Eagle was said to be free, after so many centuries of Turkish rule in the valleys, and refugee children who had fled

1 [bishop of Pulti't --Analyst]

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before the Serbs were coming back to their tribes 178
and telling about the American school in Scutari, 871
so that all the people wanted their children to
learn to read and write. The chiefs themselves, [212]
hearing that there was a Tirana government, and
not being able to write or read letters about it,
or to learn from newspapers (oh, simple-minded,
mediæval people!) the truth about European
politics, saw what education meant.

The people had taken rocks from the moun- 871
tains and made the schoolhouse. They had cut
precious trees and made the benches and the
desks. They had made a slate of a slab of the
native rock, set in a rough wooden frame; they
wrote upon it with softer rocks. From Italy,
across the Adriatic to Durazzo, up to Tirana, to
Scutari, and into the mountains—a two weeks'
journey by donkey and river ferry—the bishop
had got three copy books and a bottle of ink.
Pens had been made from twigs. The priest had
one book printed in Albanian.

Since the boys must herd the flocks in the [857]
mountains, they could not spend the day in 233
school. There is so little land that the goats and
sheep are fed from trees. The shepherd climbs
a tree, carefully cuts the tender branches, and
throws them down to the nibbling beasts that
eat the young buds and strip off the juicy bark.
There is no tree in all the mountains that the
shepherds have not climbed; not a tree that is
not a branchless, gnarled trunk.

So the school was open from six to nine in the 871

871 mornings, and the boys came to it, some from ten, twelve, fifteen miles away, and after school they walked back again and took out the flocks. The school had been open six weeks; already the copy books were half filled with beautiful, neat writing, and the boys not only read easily from their one book, but had no difficulty with sentences that Perolli wrote on the slate.

I asked the priest what I could send him from Paris, and his eyes filled with tears as he asked, hesitating a little for fear it was too much, if I could send just a little white paper and half a dozen pencils. The ink was almost gone; they could make more from berries, but he would like the boys to see pencils and learn how to use them. And, of course, when the two copy books were filled, there would be no more paper.

ooo Returning from the dusky schoolroom through the gray slant of the rain, we found in the bishop's house the most handsome man we had [291] yet seen. Tall and lithe, wearing the tight black jacket, scarlet sash, and snowy woolen trousers braided in black, he amazed us by his animal beauty and grace. His silver chain was of the finest pattern, a ring was on a hand that might have been perfectly gloved on Fifth Avenue, and his quiet air of the aristocrat would have made him remarkable in any company. Beside him was a manly little boy perhaps seven years old. He wore with the same grace a miniature copy of the mountain costume. His manners were perfection of grave courtesy, his eyes were

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keen and intelligent, and his frank smile was charming.

They were father and son, come to arrange for the boy's schooling. The father spoke to the boy with the courtesy he would have used to an equal, and the boy replied as one. There was such pride and love in their eyes that it was beautiful to see them together. For a little while the father spoke of his ambitions for his son; he hoped to be able to send him to the American school in Tirana, he dreamed even of a university in Europe. He was proud that he and the boy were mountain men, but he wanted the boy to be wiser, more learned, than the mountain life had let his father be.

"I," he said, "am Plum [Pigeon], but my son is Sokol [Eagle]. I gave him that name because his wings shall be stronger, his eyes keener, and his flight higher, than mine."

Having been thus presented to the bishop, Sokol knelt for a blessing, Plum on one knee beside him. Then the two went across the courtyard to the schoolhouse, and I shall not forget the two against the dusky doorway, the father looking down at the boy, and the boy visibly courageous and resolute before the mysteries he was facing.

"Long may you live," said the father. "Go on a smooth trail."

"Long may you live," said the boy. "God take you safely home." Then he went into the schoolhouse, and Plum followed the trail toward the mountains.

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000 "He is a good man, and brave," said the bishop, "and little Sokoi will be a great one."

At noon the rain was still pouring from apparently inexhaustible skies, but Cheremi, Rexh, and Perolli assumed, as a matter of course, that we would go on; the difficulty was that there [361] were no mules. There should have been a mule in the village, whose houses were scattered, miles apart, all the way down the deep-walled gorge to the banks of the River Shala, twenty-five miles away, but when Cheremi hastened lightly up a twelve-hundred-foot peak and cried to the farthest house that we wanted mules, the answer came back that there were none since the war.

So he found an aged man—seventy-five years old, he was, but still agile and bright eyed—and put our packs on his back, and at noon we started out on foot, with fresh-peeled staffs provided by Rexh, and new-baked corn bread in the saddlebags.

576 202 After an hour of desperate climbing we stood on the peak from which Cheremi had telephoned. The bishop's house and the school lay dwarfed beneath our feet, and Perolli, standing on a rock and holding his ears, sent down to them a shrill hail. "Ooeeoo! Monseignor!"

The bishop appeared in his woolen gown, a rifle in his hand, and all the guns in our party went off at once, and again, and again, while fifty miles of sheer rock cliffs barked back at them. My hands were over my ears, but I saw the three answering white puffs from the bishop's

[Pultit, in Albanian [88] Mountains -- Analyst]

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291

AN OLD SHEPHERD

Wearing goatskin opangi on his feet, and trousers braided in his tribal pattern.

574 rifle, and while the echoes were dying, still
202 repeating themselves down the valley, we saw him hand it to his servant and protect his ear-drums with his thumbs. His call came up to us, "Go on a smooth trail!"

"Now," said Perolli, thrusting his revolver back into its holster, "we have said good-by to the bishop. *Allons!*"

ooo "And to-night," I said, joyously, "we'll sleep in a native house."

Frances and Perolli did not seem enthusiastic about that hope, and as we toiled up trails that were stairways of giant bowlders, or slid down slopes of pale-green shale, above valleys where the clouds swirled beneath us, the discussion continued fragmentarily.

Frances's reluctance I could ascribe to the shrieking of her muscles, which, if tortured as mine had been by the previous day's travel, must be screaming with agony at her every step. But Perolli, true Albanian in spite of his years of living in foreign capitals, was as fresh as the crisp air that blew upon us between the gusts of driving rain. He leaped up bowlders, he joined in the singing of the others, who, with sixty-pound sacks on their backs, walked easily up the incredible steeps, their thumbs at their ears, chanting songs of ancient battles with the Turks.

"Don't you think it safe to stay in a native house?" said I, remembering that he was an officer of the government traveling incognito among unfriendly tribes, and that within sight

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000 were the Albanian mountains held by the Serbs who had put a price on his head.

576 627 "Safe?" said he, scornfully. "A man is always safe in another man's house. It has happened not once, but often, in these mountains, that a man has given shelter to a hunted man and found, while the guest sat at his fire, that he was harboring a man who had shot the son of the house not an hour before. The neighbors bring in the body, and the father sits beside it, with the murderer under his roof. And the father gives him coffee and food and drink and rolls cigarettes for him, until the guest is ready to go, and then he accompanies him for an hour's journey, so that none of the tribe can injure him, and says a courteous farewell to him on the trail. 'Go on a smooth road,' he says. 'There is a word of peace between us for a day and a night because you are my guest. After that I will follow you all my life, until I kill you.'"

I began to see the exquisite, infinite complications of that system of law and order, the Law of Lec, which guides these people in all their actions, and I thought, "This goes back beyond the Middle Ages," remembering the old Bible stories of the time when men lived similarly, under the laws of Moses.

000 But already the sense of perspective in time was growing dim; we were living in the past, not thinking of it, and the scores of future centuries in which men would spread over Europe, invent private property, build great cities and

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empires, discover America, and invent machines, 000 became as faint to us as the old memory of a dream. By the next day we had forgotten it all; two weeks later I was to come back to a room with a rug on the floor, a window in the wall, a bed, and a stove, and feel such a sense of strangeness among them that, tired as I was, I could not sleep between the unfamiliar sheets. Now that I am back in my own century, writing of those days in the Albanian mountains, I understand why men so easily slip into the ancient savagery of war and all war's atrocities. All that we call civilization is like a tune heard yesterday, a little thing floating on the surface of our minds, which sometimes we can keep step to, and then in a moment it is gone so that we cannot remember it.

Upon the trail that day we were barbarians, 628 simple and primitive; we were isolated, small bits of warmth and energy in a hostile universe of stone and rain. And when, out of the gray mist of the trail ahead, another simple barbarian appeared, we greeted him with the unquestioning acceptance of understanding. He was a man of Pultit, bare in the rain save for turban, loin cloth, and opangi. He was bound for the house of the bishop to bring back the boy Sokol, whose father was dead.[1]

Standing around him in the rain, we listened to the news. Three days earlier Plum had sheltered a woman who was leaving a cruel husband, a man of Shoshi. She had slept beneath Plum's roof one night on her way to her father's tribe.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 36-37 -- [41] Analysis]

628 That morning, as Plum returned after taking his son to school, he had met the husband on the trail, and without a word the husband had shot him down. But as he died Plum had managed to reach his revolver and had killed the husband, saying, "This, from Sokol." And as Sokol was now the head of his family, he must return from school to the house where the women were mourning his father.

Cheremi thrice made the sign of the cross. "Plum was a good man," he said.

"And loved his son," Perolli added. For Plum with his last effort had avenged himself, had closed the account. He left no blood feud to darken the life of the little Eagle. The boy would be known as the son of a hero, and to-day would take his place as a chief and a member of all village councils.

000 The man of Pultit, having told us this news and wished us long life and smooth trails for our feet, went on down the mountain side, and gripping our staffs tighter in water-soaked hands, we resumed our climbing.

We had begun that day with ponchos over our sweaters; our gendarmes had begun it by taking off their jackets and trousers, so that the sluicing rain would not wet them. These garments were in the packs, protected by ponchos, and, barelegged, barearmed, with only the colored sashes about their waists and cloths wound around their heads, the men went up and down the interminable trails as easily as panthers. Now and

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then they stopped and, kneeling on the trail, reached down a hand to one of us, pulling us up over unusually large and steep bowlders, and from time to time, as we struggled and panted after them, they offered to carry us. With the blood pounding in our heads, blinding and deafening us, our lungs torn with gasping in our aching sides, we refused, and struggled on. Our gloves had become sodden in a moment; we stripped them off, and soon the ponchos which impeded our climbing followed them; and then, as we were wet to the skin, anyway, we discarded sweaters and began to long for the complete freedom of nakedness. At each step our feet made a sucking sound in the water that filled our shoes, but the exertion of climbing and sliding kept out bodies warm, and by degrees, as suppleness returned to our stiff muscles, we began to see the magic country around us. We stood on rocks from which we saw a hundred miles of snow-tipped peaks, blue gorges, bronze-brown forests. White and smoke-colored clouds swirled beneath us, and through rifts in them we saw tiny green terraced fields, the blue hair line of water in stone-walled irrigation ditches, and houses tiny as those on a relief map, made of stone and almost indistinguishable from the native rocks, as large as they, among which they were set.

"I shall not be happy until I stay in one of them," I said, and at that moment we heard a hail from Cheremi, who stood on the trail thirty

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000 361 feet above our heads. He[1] gestured toward three cone-shaped peaks of solid rock that, rising steeply from the gorge three thousand feet below, rose to some hundreds of feet above the level of our eyes. Little Rexh, silent and watchful as ever at Frances's side, translated his words.

"There is an old city," he said, "the city of Pog. He says it was built by his people, men of the Land of the Eagle, a hundred years before the Romans came."

"Tell him to wait where he is," we exclaimed, for, looking again at the nearest cone-shaped mountain, we saw on its top traces of old walls, and on its sides what might once have been a circling road, and we clambered up the trail to ask Cheremi about it.

"It is a very old city," said Cheremi. "It was built before men began to remember." Standing on the edge of the trail, which was also the edge of the gorge, he looked over perhaps a quarter of a mile of space to the sharp-pointed peak of rock. In one hand he held his rifle, its butt resting on the rock at his feet; the thumb of the other hand was thrust through a fold of the scarlet sash about his loins, and the sun, appearing blindingly at that moment in a rent of the clouds, shone on his wet white skin and made it shimmer like satin. The deep seams worn in his leathery face by forty years of childlike, mischievous mirth became shallow (an unaccustomed look of solemnity had ironed them out) and, looking straight and unwinking at the sun, he said, "The

[1] [Albanian gendarme accompanying author's expedition -- Analyst]

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sun is now the only living thing that saw that 361
city built."

We shaded our eyes with cupped hands and looked at it. The world was suddenly all aglitter, every leaf a heliograph, every giant slope of rock reflecting a thousand rays, and our eyes watered. But, gazing steadily, we saw the fragment of a wall, and below it, curling around the tall, slender cone of the mountain, traces of a road that had been walled, and a broken flight of four broad steps, torn apart by the roots of a tree. It was the only tree we could see on the three-thousand-foot height, but, like all the others of the forests, it was a gnarled, branchless trunk; its young boughs had been cut every spring to feed the goats.

"Does anyone live there now?"

"No," said Cheremi. "It[1] is the place where 776
the ora love to sit, and sometimes one hears them crying, like trees in a wind, when there is no wind. But no human person lives there."

"What is an ora?" I asked, when Perolli had translated.

"An ora—a spirit of the forest, soul of a tree or a rock.[2] Nature spirits," said Frances. "You know the Greek oreads? Well, that's the Greek name of the Albanian ora; the Greeks got them from the Albanians."

"And they still live in these mountains?"

"Apparently. Did you ever see an ora, Cheremi?" she asked him, in Albanian.

"No. Very few people see them. But I have

1 [Ancient city of Pog -- Analyst] [45] 2 [see also pp. 61-64 pp. 66-76 -- Analyst]

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776 heard them singing, and once, in the Wood of the Ora, which we will pass to-morrow, I heard 761 them[1] talking together in the twilight. I heard 776 them say that my cousin would die," said Cheremi, seriously.

"And did he die?"

"Of course," said he, surprised by the question. "He was a strong man, but within six weeks, sitting beside the fire one night, he said that he felt a pain in his heart, and in an hour he was dead." Cheremi crossed himself.

361 "But about the city of Pog. Does anyone ever go there? Could we go there?"

People sometimes went, he said; the shepherds always went to cut the branches of the trees, which belonged to the tribe of Pultit. How far was it from where we stood? He thought for [804] a time, and said, "Four hours." Albanians have no measure for distance except the time it takes to walk it, and this time corresponds with no measurement of ours. He had said that our walk of that day would be an hour and a half; we had already been exhausting every ounce of energy and breath for four, and were scarcely a third of the way.

"What does one find when one gets there?"

"Very little. There is the old wall which you see, and on the rock one can follow the lines of the walls of houses, built square and with many rooms, and from the rocks which have fallen they must have been tall houses. That is all, except that on some of the large stones one can

1 [The ora or nature spirits-[46] Analyst]

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see that the sun circle was carved. Everything else has been eaten by the great flocks of years. But there is still treasure buried there." 361 173

"How do you know?"

"I know because I have seen men who have seen it. There is a man of Pultit whom I know. He went to the old city of Pog one day with his goats. There had been a great storm and part of the wall had fallen. Before that day the wall had had a corner, where now you see nothing. Where the wall had fallen there was a golden image of a man, as large as himself, shining in the sun. The man of Pultit forgot his goats in looking at it. It was too heavy for him to carry, so he took a stone and broke off four of its fingers, and with them in his sash he went to get his brothers to help him carry away the image.

"But it was night before he reached their house, and they said it was better not to go to that city until morning. In the morning they went, and where the image had been there was nothing but stones. Afterward, in thinking of nothing but that image, the man went mad, and he now lives alone and naked in the mountains, talking to the ora and begging them to take him again to that image. But before that he sold the fingers to the gold beaters in Scutari, and they said those fingers were of the purest gold and not alloyed, as gold is now. I did not see the fingers, but many did before they were beaten into ornaments."

"What do you think became of the image?"

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[173]

"Doubtless it had a bird or snake for guardian, 789 and that spirit came and took it away again," 776 said Cheremi, and Perolli explained that when one buries a treasure one calls to some creature of the woods and intrusts the hoard to its care. "O spirit of the small gray serpent with poison in thy tooth, guard for me this treasure. Let no man see it for ten times ten years, and then deliver it only to those of my family," would be a simple formula, but usually more imagination is used. For instance, Perolli knew of a man who called the large magpie to watch him bury his treasure, and he said to the bird, "Let no one uncover this gold until two black mice have dragged three times around this tree a carriage made of an acorn cup, with a small mouse in it." But his incantation was overheard, and the crafty neighbor caught and dyed and trained the mice and made the carriage, and had them drag it three times around the tree, after which the magpie gave up the treasure. Otherwise it would have disappeared when a hand was laid upon it.

ooo "But does Cheremi really believe these things?" I asked myself, and, looking at his serious face and Perolli's, I was struck with the startling idea that Perolli believed them, too, in spite of his English suit and European education, and I felt in my own mind something like a soft landslide, uncovering possibilities of wild beliefs in myself. "Anything can happen in the mountains of Albania," I said, picking up my staff and rising, for the shadows of the western mountains were

1 [Image of gold, see cat. 116, p. 47. - [48] Analyst]

already climbing up the cone-shaped pinnacle of Pog.

We went on, up and down the trail, over mountain after mountain that at home no one would dream of climbing. The rain fell again, bringing premature night down with the flood of water, and again we came into clear weather and saw all the colors of sunset on the clouds below and around us.

Many times we passed above villages that clung like mud-daubers' nests on the cliffs below the trail, and once Cheremi stopped at the trail's edge and, closing his ears firmly with his thumbs, sent out into the interminable miles of air the clear high note of the "telephone call."

A voice from the depths responded, and, searching with our eyes, we discovered a white-and-black figure among the rocks some hundreds of feet below. Then this conversation ensued:

"Are you a man?"

"I am a woman of Shoshi, married in Pultit."

"What is the name of your husband?"

"The name of my husband is Lulash."

"Say to your husband, Lulash, that Cheremi is on the trail. Cheremi goes to Plani with four strangers from far away and with a Mohammedan youth of Scutari. To-night Cheremi will be in Plani. Say to Lulash that he may bring to Cheremi in Plani the hundred kronen which he owes him."

"I will say to my husband, Lulash, that Cheremi is on the trail. Cheremi goes to Plani

000 with four strangers from far away and with a Mohammedan youth of Scutari. To-night Cheremi will be in Plani. I will say to Lulash that he may bring to Cheremi in Plani the hundred kronen which he owes him."

"Oo-ee-oo-oo!" The final shrill call came circling back among the peaks like ripples of disturbed water, and up through its circling came [576] the answering call of the woman. Since he had been telephoning to a woman, Cheremi did not fire his rifle three times, for which my ears were grateful.

We went on. And once, as I clambered up the side of a rock pile that the child of a giant might have made in building a tower with blocks, my staff (ah, how grateful I was for that third leg!) dislodged a stone the size of my head, and Cheremi, turning like a cat, flung himself downward and caught it as it tottered on the trail's edge. Then I looked and saw, far below, the miniature images of a woman and a cradle, set among moving white spots that were sheep, and I saw that the rock would have gone down the slope like a bomb from an airplane and struck the cradle beside which the woman was sitting, and, I thought, spinning.

628 "One must be careful on the trails," said Cheremi, and as the men at that moment had finished a song with a joyous fusillade of rifle shots, I asked if people were not sometimes killed by stray bullets. Perolli said that of course it happened now and then, but everyone under-

stood that the killing was an accident and it 628
caused no blood feud. Accidents, he remarked, will happen anywhere, and he spoke of the death toll of automobiles, which at that moment seemed as far from my knowledge as the twenty centuries that separated us from them.

"Through the Land of the Eagle the news is 533
sung," the second gendarme began a new song, 186
thumbs against his ears and sixty-pound pack on his back, as he ascended the rocks above us. Cheremi took it up, repeating each line as the other improvised it, and under his breath Rexh translated them for me, storing them away in his memory, from which I later transferred them to my notebook. As I listened I glanced at Rrok Perolli, disguised servant of the new government about which they were making the song, but his face wore a cheerful and unconcerned expression, like a mask so perfect that it seems real.

"Through the Land of the Eagle the news is sung —— (It has a double rhyme as they sing it, Mrs. Lane, but I do not know the English to make it rhyme in your language)," said Rexh, apologetically.

"What have the men of Tirana been doing?
I am a son of the mountain eagles;
I do not give up my nest while there is life in my claws;
I do not yield to the gendarmes!
I will drown them in their own blood.
Rise, rise, and go to the door.
There is a sergeant with twenty soldiers.

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[533] Ho! Ho! Sergeant, I am not the man you think!
186 I will not bow and be led to the slaughter.
I will not be killed like a lamb for the men of Tirana,
I am a goat and will fight!"

"What do they mean about sergeants and soldiers?" I asked Perolli, and he said, "These tribes do not understand that the new government in Tirana is an all-Albanian government. They don't think as a nation; they think as tribes. They think the government is a Tirana government, trying to destroy their liberty as the Romans and the Turks and the Austrians and Italians and the Serbs and the Greeks and the Peace Council tried to do. They know that the Peace Conference in Paris arranged to divide Albania into three parts, giving one to Greece, one to Italy, and one to Jugo-Slavia (and would have done it if Greece and Serbia had been strong enough at the moment to grab a third of a hornets' nest and if we hadn't driven out Italy). They know there is a connection between the Peace Conference and the League of Nations, so, now that the Albanian government is a member of the League, they think that the men of Tirana have joined their enemies. They were so dangerous that we had to send soldiers up here to burn the houses of the Shala chiefs. But everything will be all right as soon as we can get the government going and begin building schools and roads up here. They just don't understand yet."

000 Political discussion was cut short by one of the men who had run ahead a few miles to inform the

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village of Plani that we were coming, and who now popped out of the gathering darkness to announce that the priest refused to receive us in his house. 000

"The macaroni!" cried our men, with a contempt like vitriol. The priest was of Italian blood; no Albanian would have been such a dog, they said. And we sat down on the mountain side to consider what we should do.

"Why won't the priest take us in?" I asked, shivering in my wet garments, for night had brought chill down from the snow-covered peaks above us. They were still pale fawn color and pink where the clouds left them unhidden, but the valleys were black, and far away on some distant slope there was a small light, red as a ruby—the flare from a charcoal burner's fire.

"He says he has no servant," replied the man who had run ahead to tell the priest that we were coming, and even Cheremi, the joyous gendarme, snorted aloud.

"Priest though he is, he is a macaroni!" and, "Only a macaroni would so disgrace our villages!" the Albanians exclaimed, shamed before the strangers by such incredible inhospitality.

"Perhaps he knows who you are and is afraid to take us in?" I said to Perolli.

"No. He doesn't know who we are, and is afraid to shelter strangers who may be Serbian or English spies. Cowardly Italian!" said Perolli.

"My house," Cheremi volunteered, hopefully, "is only across two mountain ranges. You would be welcome there."

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CHAPTER IV

WELCOME TO THE HOUSE OF MARKE GJONNI—WE HEAR THE VOICE OF AN OREAD—A GUARDIAN SPIRIT OF THE TRAILS.

574 CONCEALED by the darkness, we lay back in our wet clothes on the wet rocks and shook with smothered laughter. How Albanian! While Perolli with a hundred honeyed words made excuses for the feebleness of foreign women, already weary with only sixteen miles of mountain climbing. He was still explaining when up the trail came the flare of a torch, and an Albanian boy of perhaps fourteen years appeared, a turban on his head, a rifle on his back, and a silver-hilted knife stuck through his orange sash.

"May you live long!" said he.

"May you live long!" said we.

"How could you?" He meant, "How could you get here?"

"Slowly, slowly, little by little," we replied.

"Are you a man?" said Perolli.

"I am a man of Pultit, of the village of Plani, of the house of Marke Gjonni," said the boy. "In our house there is always a welcome for the stranger. The door of the house of Marke Gjonni is open to you."

"Glory to your lips and to your feet," said

Perolli, and to us in English: "His father has 574
sent him to ask us to come to his house. What do you think?"

"Is anyone going to think?" we cried. "There'll be a fire, won't there?"

We followed the boy up the mountain side, our lungs sobbing and our feet slipping on the trail dimly lighted by the torch, and so steep that the palms of our hands were bruised by climbing it. Out of the ceaseless swishing murmur of falling water that had surrounded us all day one note rose above the rest; flying spray was like a mist on our faces; we were following the edge of a waterfall hidden by the dark. Then 574
the trail turned; we stood on a level ledge; and 576
suddenly all the rifles in the world seemed to go off not ten feet away.

"It's all right!" Perolli's shout came up from the darkness beneath our feet. "They're only welcoming you!" But I have never felt so defenseless, so nakedly exposed to sudden death, as I did standing there, clutching Frances and Alex, while sharp flashes darted out of the blackness and deafening explosions contended with more deafening echoes. All the household of Marke Gjonni stood on the trail, every man firing his rifle until it was empty. Then a woman appeared with a torch, her beautiful face and two heavy braids of hair painted on the darkness like a Rembrandt, if Rembrandt had ever used a model from ancient Greece, and we made our way through a jumble of greetings ("May you

574 live long! May you live long!" we repeated),
[576] and up a flight of stone steps along the side of a blank stone wall, and through a low, arched stone doorway.

The stone-walled room was large—as large as the house itself—and low ceilinged, and filled with shadows. Near the farther end, on the stone floor, a bonfire burned in a ring of ashes. In the corner near the door several goats and two kids and two sheep stopped their browsing on a heap of dry-leaved branches, and looked at us with large eyes shining in the torchlight. Five or six women came out of the shadows to greet us, and behind us the men were coming in, reloading their rifles, hanging them on pegs, closing and bolting the heavy wooden door.

Rexh and our two gendarmes were already busy unrolling the packs, spreading our blankets over heaps of dried grass on the other side of the fire. In a moment we were sitting comfortably on them, extending wet feet toward the flames, while one of our hosts put a fresh armful of brush on the coals, another hacked slivers of pitch pine from a great knot of it and set them blazing in a small wrought-iron basket that hung from the ceiling, and another, with hollowed-out wooden bowls of coffee, of sugar, and of water around him, began making Turkish coffee in a tiny, long-handled iron bowl set in the hot ashes.

"We're going to have a night in a native house, after all," said I, happily, and added, starting, "What's that?" A long, thin, curiously un-

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earthly sound—hardly a wail, though that is the 574
dearest word I have for it—was abroad in the night that surrounded the stone house. Even the shadows seemed to crouch a little nearer the fire, hearing it, and when it ceased the splashing of the waterfall was louder in the stillness. Then the man with the coffee pot pushed it farther among the coals, and with the little grating noise the movement of the household recovered and went on.

"Are you a man?" said our host, courteously, turning his clear dark eyes on Perolli, and Perolli, silencing me with a glance, folded his arms more comfortably around his drawn-up knees and began the proper conversation of a guest.

By degrees the house of Marke Gjonni grew clearer to our eyes; they became accustomed to the firelight and the shadows and saw the guns hanging on the wall, the browsing goats that, with a little tinkling of bells, worried and tore at the dried green leaves on the oak branches heaped for them, the outlines of a painted wooden 252
chest filled with corn meal, at which a woman worked making a loaf of bread on a flat board. One of the men raked out some coals and set in them a round flat iron pan on legs—the cross and the sun circle were wrought on its bottom. In the midst of the flames he laid its cover to heat. Soon the woman came with the bread, a loaf two feet across and two inches thick, and deftly slid it from the board into the pan, which it exactly fitted; one of the children put the cover over it and buried all in hot ashes.

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291 There were ten or twelve children—little girls half naked, with serious, beautiful faces and long-lashed brown eyes; small boys dignified in little long tight trousers of white wool beautifully braided in black, short fringed black jackets, and colored sashes and turbans like those of their [854] fathers. Two cradles stood near the fire, covered tightly over high footboards and headboards with heavy blankets; presently a woman partly uncovered one and, kneeling, offered her breast to the tiny baby tied down in it. Only the baby's puckered little face showed; arms and legs tightly bound, it lay motionless and uncomplaining, and when it was fed the mother kissed it tenderly and covered it again, carefully smoothing the many folds of thick wool and tucking the ends tightly beneath the cradle.

576 Meantime Cheremi was taking off our shoes and stockings and bathing our feet in cold water brought by one of the women. This was proper, since when guests arrive the member of the family nearest to them by ties of blood or affection acts as their servant, and Cheremi, being an Albanian who knew us, was judged to stand in that position. By the time we had drawn on dry woolen stockings from our packs the first 576 cup of coffee was ready. To the boiling water in 272 the tiny pot the coffee maker added two spoonfuls of the powdered coffee, two of sugar, stirred the mixture till it foamed, and poured it into a handleless little cup which he offered Perolli. But Perolli indicated me, and without the

[In home of Marke [58] Gjonni of Pulhit—Analyst]

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576 slightest revelation of his surprise the host
272 changed his gesture.

"Beauty and good to you," said I, in Albanian, prompted by Perolli, and when I had drunk the thimbleful, "Good trails!" said I, handing back the cup. For this is the manner in which one
273 drinks coffee. Do not make the mistake, when
576 next you are in the Albanian mountains, of saying the same things when you are offered rakejia. For rakejia there is a quite different form of courtesies. And as soon as the coffee cup, rinsed and refilled with freshly made coffee, has been given to each guest in turn, you will be offered rakejia.

Alex and Frances and I looked at one another, but we drained the large goblet of colorless liquid fire in turn, without a word of protest. It might have been the water that it looked like, so far as it affected our minds or tongues, for I continue to ascribe to the fire warmth and the blessed sensation of resting after those trails the sense of contentment that filled us all.

000 "Strange," I said, for I still dimly remembered another way of life, as though, perhaps, I had sometime dreamed it, "chimneys that don't draw make so much smoke in a room, yet here there is no chimney and a large fire, and we don't notice the smoke." And, leaning back on the piled blankets, I gazed up at the pale-blue clouds of it, rising beyond the firelight into a velvety darkness overhead. But I really felt that I had always lived thus, shut off by stone walls from the mountains and the night, ringed around by

000 friendly familiar faces, smelling the delicious odor of corn bread baking and hearing the tinkling bells of goats.

609 "Where is America?" said our hosts, and: "How large are your tribes? Do they have villages like ours, and mountains? Do you raise corn? How many donkey loads do you raise to a field, and what is your method of cultivating the soil? Have you stone ditches for carrying 000 water from the rivers to the fields?" Rousing ourselves, we tried to give them in words a picture of our cities; we told of horses made of iron, fed by coal, snorting black clouds of smoke and racing at great speeds for long distances on roads made of iron; and I told of the irrigation systems of California's valleys, and Oregon's; of orchards plowed by steel-shod plows; of great machines as large as houses, cutting grain on the plains of Kansas; of mountain streams like Albanian mountain streams, which we harness as one might harness a donkey, and how their invisible strength is carried unseen on wires for many, many long hours—as far as an Albanian could walk in two days—and used to turn wheels far away.

609 Resting comfortably on their heels around the fire, they listened as one would listen to a traveler from Mars, the men opening silver tobacco boxes and deftly rolling cigarettes for us, the women spinning, the children—each given its space in the circle—propping little chins on beautiful, delicate hands and listening wide eyed. The questions they asked—and the elders were

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as courteous to the children's curiosity as the 609
children were to theirs—were keen and intelligent, but when it came to explaining electricity I was as helpless as they and could answer only with vague indications of some strange unknown force which we use without understanding it.

A woman, barefooted, barearmed, graceful as 776
a sculptor's hope of a statue, lifted the cover from the baking-pan, crossed herself, made the sign of the cross over the hot loaf, and took it up. Stooping, with the smoking golden disk between her hands, she stopped, suddenly struck motionless. The long, strange cry came again through the darkness, like a voice of the wind and the mountains and the night.

"Look here, Perolli," said I, my stretched nerves unexpectedly relaxing into the kind of anger that is part of fear, "what is that? Don't be an idiot! Tell me!"

"It is an ora,[1] if you must know," said Perolli, and he looked at me defiantly, as though he expected me to laugh.

"An ora!" said Frances, sitting up. The strange, unearthly call came again, very far away this time; we strained our ears to hear it. Then silence and the roaring of the river. The turbaned men in the circle of firelight, who had understood the word, nodded.

"Holy crickets! Rose Lane, we're actually hearing an oread!" Frances exclaimed. And Alex said: "Oh no! Undoubtedly there is some natural explanation."

1 [A nature spirit, see also [61] Pcat, 116, pp. 45-61 -- Analyst pp. 66-76]

776 "How do you know there isn't what you call a natural explanation for an oread?" Frances demanded, and the wild notion crossed my mind that if Perolli had not been with fellow sharers of the blessings of Western civilization he would have been crossing himself instead of lighting another cigarette. Little Rexh, in his red fez, spoke earnestly: "Do not believe there are no ora or devils in these mountains, Mrs. Lane. There are very many of them."

"Of course," said I, and I do not know how much I believed it and how much I assumed that I did, in order to encourage our hosts to talk. "Do you often see ora in this village?" I said across the fire to the many intelligent, watching eyes, and Rexh picked up our words and turned them into Albanian or English as we talked.

"We do not see the ora," said a tall man with many heavy silver chains around his neck. "Do you see the ora in your country?"

"I do not think they live in the West," said I. "I think that they are very old, like the Albanians, and, like you, do not leave their mountains. This is the first time I have ever been where they live, and I should like to meet one." But I doubt if I should have said that if I had been outside those solid stone walls.

"Perhaps you will hear them talking when you go through the Wood of the Ora," said a woman whose three-year-old daughter was going to sleep in her lap.

"Very few people have seen them," said the

coffee maker, licking a cigarette and placing his 776
left hand on his heart as he offered it to me. I fitted it into my cigarette holder; he lifted a burning twig from the fire and lighted it. "Now my father was accompanied by an ora all his life, but he was the only one who saw it, and he told no one about it until just before he died."

"Did he ever talk with her?"

"No, but she always walked before him on every safe trail. He was sixteen when he first saw her; he was watching the goats in the mountains. She appeared before him, standing on the trail. He said that he knew at once that she was not of our kind, because she was so beautiful. She was about twelve years old, wearing clothing not like ours, but of a white and shining material —my father said that it was like mist and it was like silk and it was like fire, but he could not say what it was like. Her hair was golden. She stood on the trail and with her hand she made a sign to him to stop, and he stopped, and they looked at each other for a long time. Then he spoke to her, but she did not answer. She was not there. And my father went on, and found on the trail he would have taken a great rock that had just fallen, and he knew that the ora had saved his life.

"He came home, and said nothing. The next morning when he went out with the goats the ora was waiting outside the door, and she went before him all that day. Always after that, whenever he left the house, she went before him on the trails.

1 [at house of Marke Gjonni -- [63] Analyst]

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776 "My father was a strong man and very wise; he married and had many children; he fought the Turks and the Austrians and the Serbs and the Italians. He had a good life. But he never went anywhere unless the ora went before him. In the morning when he left the house, if she was not there he returned and sat by the fire that day. Often on the trails he was with many people, but none but him ever saw the ora. She remained always the same, always the size of a twelve-year-old child, always very beautiful, shining white and with golden hair.

"When she turned aside on the trail, my father turned also, and the people did as he did, though he did not say why. My father was known as a very wise man. Many times he saved the lives of many people by following the ora."

Several of the older men in the intently listening circle shook their heads, as though they remembered this, and when I asked them with my eyes they said, "*Po! Po!*" which means, "Yes."

776 "When my father[1] was sixty-five years old,
763 strong and healthy, one day the ora did not come. She did not come the next day, nor the next, nor the next, for many days. Then my father knew that she would not come again and that it was his time to die. So he arranged all his affairs and died. Just before he died he told us about the ora; he told us so that we would know why he was making ready for death, and it was because his ora had left him."

[1] [coffee-maker at house of [64] Marke Gjonni-- Andy St]

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CHAPTER V

THE UNEARTHLY MARRIAGE OF THE MAN OF IPEK —FIRST NIGHT IN A NATIVE ALBANIAN HOUSE.

THERE was a moment of contemplative silence. Beyond the circle of firelight the goats still tore and worried the dried leaves from the oak branches. A woman came leisurely forward and put an iron pan on the coals. When it was hot she brought scraps of pork and laid them in it. Rexh, the little Mohammedan, turned his head so that he should not smell that unclean meat. Frances said to Perolli, in a ravenous voice, "How much longer will it be before we can eat?"

He looked at her reprovingly. "In Albania it is not polite to care about food."

"But it's past midnight and we've had nothing to eat since noon!" Frances mourned.

"Slowly, slowly, little by little," said Perolli, soothingly. For myself, I curled more comfortably among the blankets, too contented to ask for anything at all. It was as though I had returned to a place that I knew long ago and found myself at home there. I had forgotten that these people are living still in the childhood of the Aryan race and that I am the daughter of a century that is, to them, in the far and unknown

future. Twenty-five centuries had vanished, for me, as though they had never been.

"That lady ora was no doubt betrothed to one of her own people," said a man who had not previously spoken. "Now in my lost country of Ipek—may the Serbs who are murdering her feel our teeth in their throats!—I know a man who was married to an ora."

A woman, barefooted, wearing a skirt of heavy black and white wool, a wide, silver-studded leather belt and a blouse of sheer white, her two thick black braids of hair falling from beneath a crimson headkerchief almost to her knees, came out of the shadows beyond the fire and lowered from her shoulder a beautifully shaped wooden jar of water. She held it braced against her hip, and, stooping, poured a thin stream over our outstretched hands. We laved them, the water sinking into the ashes around the fire, and another woman handed us each a towel of hand-woven red-and-white-plaided linen. Then we sat expectantly, but only a wooden bowl of cheese was set on the floor before us.

It was goat's-milk cheese, rather like the cottage cheese of home, except that it was hard, cut in cubes, and of an acrid, sourish flavor. We each took a piece, nibbled it.

"Oh, Perolli, can't you tell them we're starving? It's almost one o'clock in the morning!" cried Frances, pathetically.

"Be patient," said Perolli. "How many times

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must I say that it isn't polite in Albania to be so greedy?"

"But it's eleven hours since any of us had a bite!" Frances protested. "Don't tell me Cheremi and our other men aren't starving."

"Albanians don't care so much about food," said Perolli. "I'm not hungry." He lit another cigarette, and, seeing the circle of politely incurious but keen eyes fixed on us, I said, "Tell them that we are very much interested in the story about the ora, and that we want to hear about the man who married one." And I surreptitiously prodded Alex, who, sitting bolt upright with her eyes open, was obviously asleep with fatigue.

The man who had spoken of that unearthly marriage rolled and licked a cigarette, offered it to Alex with his hand on his heart, rolled himself another, lighted both with a blazing twig, settled comfortably on his heels, and began.

"This man was my friend, well known to me and to all the families of Ipek. A strong man, a good fighter, and respected by all. But his life was not complete, for the girl his father had chosen for him had died, and he was not married. There were many girls he might have had, girls of Montenegro and even of Shala and Shoshi and Kossova, but he said that he did not wish to marry. He came to his thirty-seventh year and was not married.

"One night he was sitting alone in his house, making a cup of coffee in the ashes of the fire, when the door opened. He looked, and there was

776 a woman who had come out of the darkness. She was no woman of our tribe, nor of any other tribe of man, though she was dressed like our women. My friend looked at her and said to himself that he had never known women could be so beautiful. Men could be as beautiful as that, yes, but not women. And he knew, though he did not know how he knew, that she was not of our kind.

"He said to her, 'Long life to you!' and she replied, 'And to you long life!' She came and sat by his fire, and he gave her the cup of coffee one gives a guest. She drank it and returned the cup to him, saying, 'Good trails to your feet!' Then they looked at each other for some time without speaking.

"Then she said to him, 'Am I not beautiful?' And he said, 'Yes.' She said to him, 'Have you ever seen a woman more beautiful?' And he said, 'No.' And after she had been silent for a long time she said to him, 'Will you marry me?' And he said, 'No.'

"She said to him, 'Do you think you will find a woman more beautiful than I?' He looked at her between the eyes and said, 'I know that I shall never see a woman so beautiful.' She said, 'Then will you marry me?' And he said, 'No.'

"'Why will you not marry me?' she asked, and he said, 'I do not wish to marry.' So for a time they sat silent, and then she said, 'Do not forget me,' and went away.

"He told me these things, and I said to him, 'She was an ora.' He said, 'Yes, I know.' I said,

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'Was she a gypsy ora?' For, as you know, there 776
are two kinds of ora, and if she were a gypsy ora I would have been troubled for my friend. He said, 'No, she was a lady ora.' We spoke no more about it.

"Three years went by, to a day, and again it happened that my friend was sitting alone in his house, making a cup of coffee in the ashes of the fire, when again the door opened."

The man of Ipek stopped speaking, opened his [276]
silver tobacco box, and put a pinch of the long, fine, golden tobacco on a cigarette paper. He spread it carefully, twisted it into the cone shape of the Albanian cigarette, glanced at us to see that none of our cigarette holders were empty, and placed the white slender cone between his lips. He lighted it and drew several deliberate puffs. No one spoke. There was the red circle of firelight, the graceful black and white and colored figures huddled close to it, around us the shadows of the house, and beyond them the vast, murmurous blackness of the night and the mountains; the chill and mystery of them seemed to be pressing against the stone walls that kept them out, and the sound of the waterfall was like the sighing breaths of strange, wild things.

"My friend was sitting by his fire, like this, but he was alone. It was the third coming of that day of the year on which the ora had come out of the darkness, and when again the door opened he knew, without turning to see, who it was.

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776 "She came in, and he turned and said, 'Long life to you!' Then he saw that with her was a manservant, and that manservant was of her own kind. She said to my friend, 'And to you long life!' She sat by the fire, and he gave her coffee, and she drank, and the manservant stood in the shadows behind them.

"'Have you forgotten me?' she said, and my friend said, 'No.' They looked at each other, and she said, 'Am I not beautiful?' And he said, 'Yes.' Then she leaned close to him and said, 'Will you marry me?' And he said, 'No.'

"When he said that she rose, and she was more beautiful angry than she had been before. She said: 'Come with me. My father wishes to see you.'

"He said, 'What have I to do with your father?'

"She said, 'Come with me.'

"My friend did not know why he went, or how he went, or where he went. They came to a place in the mountains, but it was a strange place, and strange mountains—my friend could not describe that place. It was a place in our mountains, but such a place as no man had ever seen. There were trees that were alive; it was all my friend could say. There were many souls of trees about him, and they were ora, and among them was their king, who is the king of the ora. He stood before the king of the ora.

"The king looked at him and said, 'Will you marry my daughter?' And he said, 'No.'

"The king said to him: 'My daughter has 776
seen you. My daughter wishes to be your wife. She will be a good wife to you. She will bring you great happiness. She is my daughter, a lady ora.'

"My friend said: 'I thank you. Your daughter is very beautiful and very good. But I do not wish to marry.'

"The king of the ora said, 'If you will marry my daughter you will have all the heart desires. I will make you rich in the things that men call riches in the Land of the Eagle.'

"My friend said: 'I am a poor man. I am not a bey of the south, of the land of the Toshk, but I am a Gheg, a man of the mountains. All that I need I earn with my hands, and that is enough. I do not wish to marry.'

"Then the king of the ora rose, and he was not angry, but he was very terrible. He said, 'Marry my daughter.'

"And my friend married his lady daughter."

The man of Ipek seemed to think that the story was ended. But I, who had been scribbling all this down in my notebook, hidden in the shadow of Rexh, as Perolli translated it to me paragraph by paragraph, did not agree with him at all. "What happened?' I wanted to know.

"Nothing happened. His family came into the empty house and he was gone, leaving his gun on the wall and the empty coffee cup by the dead ashes of the fire. They were very much

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776 afraid. My friend had not told any man but me about the visit of the ora three years before, and I said nothing. Some days went over the tops of the mountains, and no one knew where he had gone. Then he came back, and brought with him his wife, the ora."

The rest I got by questions.

"No one could see her except my friend," said the man of Ipek. "No one but he ever saw her. He built himself a beautiful house; there were rugs in it, and tables of carved wood, and bowls of copper and silver—all things that are beautiful. Cigarette holders of amber and silver with jeweled bowls, and sashes and turbans of silk, and cushions of silk, and beautiful jars for bringing water from the springs. All kinds of rich and beautiful things, and always great quantities of delicate and rich foods. The men of Ipek remember that house well.

"Yes, my friend is dead now. He lived in happiness with his wife for twenty years, and they had children whom he loved. But only he could see them, for to others they were invisible, like his wife. I have been in his house many times when she was there, but I never saw her. Others say they have seen strange things in that house; they have seen things moved by hands they could not see. But I never saw that. Only I know that my friend was happy with his wife and children. She was a lady ora, and kept his house well. The gypsy ora are dirty folk, but the lady ora love cleanliness and order. Every-

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one respected my friend and his lady wife. Whenever he entered a village, all guns were fired in his honor, for men said, 'The man who married a lady ora is coming into the village.' Oh, it was all very well known in Ipek, among the people of my tribe who are now slaves to the cursed Serbs.

"When he died, no doubt she went back to her own people, taking their children with her. His family came to take back his house, and they found all manner of beautiful things, but no money. No money anywhere."

"What do you think of it?" I said to Frances. "Do you believe —— Great Scott! Of course it isn't true! I don't know what's wrong with my mind. Men don't marry tree spirits. It's absurd."

But, frankly, my conviction was that of the man who whistles cheerfully while passing a graveyard at night, because, of course, he does not believe in ghosts.

"There's some natural explanation," said Alex. "The man went away for some reason—perhaps he actually had found some of the treasure they say is buried in these mountains—and when he came back he invented the story to account for it."

"But he had told this man about seeing the ora three years earlier."

"Well, they're a very patient people. Perhaps he waited three years after he found the treasure before he dug it up."

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000 "I should say they're patient!" cried Frances. "Perolli, if you don't tell them we are simply dying of hunger, I will! It's almost two o'clock in the morning. Do they think we are made of—cast iron? I want something to eat, and I want to go to sleep. Do they intend to talk until morning?"

[576] [521] "It is the custom, when strangers come, to talk to them," said Perolli, severely. "Their only way of hearing news, and their only entertainment, is talking to guests. If you want to be rude about eating and sleeping, go ahead; I won't."

"Oh, all right," Frances relented, sadly. "Perolli, do you believe in ora?"

"Well—do you believe in heaven and hell, and God and the devil? There are lots of things in the world that you don't see or touch. I don't know——" He said, briskly, "Of course I don't believe in ora!" He wavered again. "But when you know so many people who have seen them and talked with them—I mean, who think they have—— Everyone used to believe such things, long ago, and perhaps, here in these mountains, where the people have changed so little through all the centuries, there may still be things—spirits, phantoms, whatever you like to call them. Understand, I don't believe it. But there may be something in that myth that's part of every religion, that there was a time when there were other beings on earth besides men. And if there were once, why then, if we could

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still see them, they must still be—— But of course it must be all imagination."

"And there was that sound we heard. I never heard anything like it before. Perolli, you said it was an ora."

He looked badgered. "I meant, whatever it was, it is what these people call an ora."

"Do the ora ever come into this village?" I demanded at large.

"We hear them in the village at night," said the coffee maker, quite casually, as he measured a spoonful of brown powder into the tiny pot. "No, we never see them. They call to us, and when we answer they talk, but we cannot understand their language. Always when we speak to them they answer in their own tongue."

"But, Cheremi, you heard them talking about your cousin's death," I said.

"We hear them talking together sometimes, yes," said the coffee maker. "If you go through the Wood of the Ora at twilight you will often hear them talking in some language you will understand—in Persian or Arabic or Greek or Albanian. Then if you listen perhaps you will hear them speak of you or of some one you know. But if you speak to them, they will be silent, and then they will go on talking together in their own language, which no man understands. It is no doubt the old language of the trees."

"But you cut the trees," said Alex.

"Yes," I cried, struck by it. "You cut all the

776 branches off the trees. Doesn't it cripple or hurt the ora?"

"The ora is a spirit," said the man of Ipek. "You cannot hurt a pure spirit that has no body. Ora are spirits of the forests, but they are not part of the trees. I understand it, but I do not say it very well. Even if you cut down a tree you do not kill the ora. An ora does not live, an ora simply is."

000 We were interrupted by Cheremi, who approached, knelt mysteriously by Perolli's side, and whispered. Perolli turned to us. "Our dinner is delayed," he said, "because they can find nothing to give to Rexh. They have only pork in the house, and they have sent through all the village and cannot find any eggs or goat's meat. A boy has gone now, over the mountains to the next village, to get something they can offer a Mohammedan. You see, their flocks were destroyed when the Serbs retreated through here, and if they kill one of the two sheep for us, it means losing the lambs next year."

"But, Miss Hardy, I can eat corn bread. That is all I need," said Rexh, earnestly.

"We can't tell them that now. We should have thought of it sooner," said Perolli. "We must wait at least until the boy comes back."

"Oh, my sainted grandmother!" cried poor Frances. "Aren't we going to have any dinner at all till breakfast time?"

"Is it because we are guests that our hosts are taking all this trouble to give Rexh the food a

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000 Mohammedan can eat?" I asked. "They're Roman Catholics, aren't they? Shouldn't we have brought a Mohammedan into their house?"

"Oh, that makes no difference," said Perolli.
798 "One religion or another—all religions are the same in the sight of God. Mohammedan or Catholic, we are all human, we all respect one another. No, our hosts don't mind the trouble; they're only sorry that they have nothing but pork in the house."

"What would happen, Rexh, if you ate pork without knowing it?" said I.

[262] "Nothing, Mrs. Lane. Nothing would happen even if I ate it, knowing I was doing it. But for me it is wrong to eat pork, so I would never do that. For these others," he explained, carefully, looking very serious and very twelve-year-old, "it is not wrong to eat pork. It is not the pork itself that matters, Mrs. Lane. It is doing what is wrong that matters. See"—he sat up, making his points gravely with straight forefinger—"some things are wrong for the Catholics to do; they are right for me. I can have nine wives, but the Catholics can have only one. They can eat pork, but that is wrong for me. There are many things like that. Each must do what he thinks is right. It does not matter what it is. Men think differently. But God knows whether they do what seems right to them. And in the end we all go to the same heaven, if we have been good."

"Good*ness*, Rexh!" I murmured, feebly. I

[Rexh = Mohammedan -- Analyst]

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798 ask you, is that the talk you would expect between Mohammedan and Catholic in the Near East? What about massacres, and holy wars, and all that?7

"What about them?" said Perolli, when I asked him. "They may be in Asia Minor—though, myself, I think religion hasn't much to do with the fighting between Christian and Turk. But we don't have them in Albania. We are all Albanians, first. And second, the Virgin Mary is the mother of all good people, Mohammedan or Catholic. Why should we fight each other?"

And he told of Italy's attempt to block Albania's entry into the League of Nations by asserting that the people were Mohammedan, and of the Albanian Mohammedans' quiet retort in sending to Geneva a delegation led by an archbishop followed by I forget how many bishops. Then he told about the people in Kossova, who are both Catholic and Mohammedan, going to the mosque by day and attending mass by night; that is because they were conquered by the Turks, who told them they must become followers of Mohammed. "Very well," they said, since it made little difference to them. But then the priests told them that they must not forsake the Church. "Very well," they said again. And they are called in Albania a word which means, "half-and-half."

ooo "All that is not important," said Perolli, his attention wandering, for the group around the

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fire began to talk Albanian politics. Behind his casually cheerful brown eyes I saw many things stirring, and I lay back, staring up at the smoke beneath the roof and wondering what was in all the hidden minds around me. Did our hosts suspect that Perolli was part of the new, distrusted Tirana government? Why, really, was he in these mountains? Was it truly only a vacation, and was he taking his life in his hands and wandering along the edge of the Serbian armies' lines merely for pleasure? What were the real thoughts of these barbaric-looking men, these men with shaved heads and scalp locks hidden beneath their turbans, as question and answer and argument went back and forth across the fire?

They were talking in perhaps six languages; not everyone there understood all those tongues, and subtle conversations beneath conversations were going on; this man dropping into Italian for a phrase, that one into a dialect of Samarkand or northern India. And there was one man who persistently talked Serbian to Perolli—that language, at least, I could recognize, and I could see him growing restive under it, trying to take the talk into Albanian instead.

The children who were still awake sat soberly listening, not speaking, but gathering it all into their minds, turning their eyes from speaker to speaker as the languages changed, puzzled a little, trying to understand. And I realized how Albanian children get their education.

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000 "We'd be saying: 'Run away and play, dear. This isn't for children,'" I commented.

"We wouldn't," said Frances. "They'd have been in bed six hours ago. How on earth do they live to grow up?"

"Heaven knows. But aren't they strong and beautiful when they do!"

"It's all right," said Perolli, aside. "They're talking about the French—whether France will become enough afraid of Jugo-Slavia to side with Italy down here. They aren't for or against the Tirana government; they don't exactly understand it, but they're waiting to find out. They don't know who I am. Don't be worried."

And at last dinner appeared. It was exactly half past two in the morning.

Most of the children—they had had no supper at all, so far as we could determine—were going to sleep, collapsing in soft little heaps where they sat beside the fire. Various women of the household lifted them tenderly, carried them to the farther corner of the house, near the goats, and laid them in a row on the floor. There, covered head and foot with heavy, tucked-in blankets, they continued to sleep.

264 574 Meantime the table was brought for us.[1] It was a large round piece of wood, raised on little legs perhaps five inches from the floor. We sat about it, comfortably cross-legged on our blankets, and before each of us was laid a large chunk of corn bread broken from the flat loaf. In the

1 [At Marke Gjonni's house. For detailed account of visit, see cat. 116, pp. 54-86 -- Analyst]

center of the table was set a wooden bowl filled 264 with pieces of pork. 574

"Don't!" said Perolli, quickly, restraining our famished gestures. "In Albania it is not good manners to be eager to eat." So we sat wretched for some moments, savoring the delicious odor of food that we must not touch, and politely making conversation with our hosts, who still sprawled in graceful attitudes about the fire. Then, with slow and indifferent movements, we fished out bits of the meat with our fingers, and ate.

It was delicious, the lean meat, stripped of every scrap of fat and broiled on sticks over a wood fire. We ate eagerly, biting first the meat, then a morsel of corn bread, coarse, made without leavening, but sweet and nutty. The smallest crumb of it must not be scattered on table or floor; when one fell, Perolli instructed us to pick it up and kiss it. We should also have made the sign of the cross, for bread is sacred in these mountains. Since we were not Catholics, that omission might be overlooked. But we must pick up the crumb and kiss it; to have ignored it would have been scandal.

"In Albania," said Perolli, "it is etiquette to leave a great deal of the food." And while we were still starving, after fourteen hours of hunger, he ordered the dish away.

After that, another wooden bowl filled with cubes of the fat pork, fried crisp. Rexh[1], sitting a little apart, soberly ate his piece of corn bread,

[1] [A Mohammedan boy -- Analyst]

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264 for not even in the next village had the mes-
574 senger been able to find eggs or goat's meat.

When this second course was removed, fresh water was again brought to wash our hands, while the table was removed to a little distance. Then I saw why it was courteous to leave food, for all the villagers who had come in to see us gathered around this second table. And when they had finished and all had washed their hands —it was now past three in the morning—the table was again moved, and the family ate, men and women together, chatting and daintily dipping into the common dish.

000 "Do you think, Perolli," said Frances, "that we could go to bed now?" And she looked enviously at Alex, who sat stony eyed, upright, and fast asleep.

"Oh, surely!" said Perolli. "They'll understand that you're tired." And he explained this to our hosts, who nodded, smiling. So Cheremi and Rexh spread our blankets more smoothly on the floor, and we lay down in a row, our heads on our saddlebags, and pulled another blanket over us.

For a time the others sat by the fire and talked; one roasted coffee over the coals in a long-handled pan, and then ground it in a cylinder of brass. The warm brown smell of it and the sound of grinding kept coming through my daze of fatigue. Then one by one they lay down, covering their heads with blankets; the fire died to a fading glow of coals; there was no sound

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except the incessant tinkling of the goats' bells 000
and the crunching and tearing of the dried oak branches which they munched.

"My first night in a native Albanian house," I thought, and the next instant, it seemed to me, I started awake. The room was full of movement and talk. It was still dark, but in the farther corner a gray, slanting block of light came through the open door; smoke curled and twisted in it. The fire was blazing; near it a man knelt, making coffee. All around him men stood, twisting tighter their long colored sashes; the rifles on their backs stood upward at every angle. Then I saw the goats and sheep going one by one through the block of gray light; a boy followed them, rifle on back and staff in hand, and I realized that it was morning.

I looked at my wrist watch, whose radium dial shone in the darkness. Half past five. The man who was making coffee smiled at me. "Long may you live!" said he, warmly, offering me the tiny cup with one hand, the other on his heart. As in a nightmare I struggled to reach it, and made my stiff lips say, "And to you long life!"

Perolli sat up quickly, wide awake as an aroused animal. "Good morning!" said he, happily. "Time to get up!"

Rain was still sluicing down from a gray sky; every rock in the interminable ranges of mountain peaks seemed to be the source of a foaming stream. Frances, Alex, and I, with our toilet cases in our hands, made our way along the side

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000 of a cliff to a waterfall, knelt on the dripping rocks beside it, and washed and brushed our teeth. The woman who accompanied us watched us with interest, and exclaimed, while we showed her the tooth-paste tubes, the tooth brushes in their cases, the cakes of soap, the jars of cold cream, the strange machine-made Turkish toweling, and the white combs. Even to ourselves they seemed exotic luxuries. How many curious things we have invented for the care of our bodies, since the days when we lived as the mountain Albanians still live.

"And at that," I said, enviously, "I wish I had her complexion!" The woman stood by the waterfall, as graceful as a cat, strong limbed, clear eyed, fine skinned, and her bare feet in the cold water were joys to the eye, slim, beautifully formed, arched, with almond nails and a rose-marble color. True, her face and hands were grimy with wood smoke, and ours, when we looked at one another, set us off into exhausting laughter.

"My house is clean," said the woman as she watched us scrubbing and scrubbing again. "There are no lice in it."

"Now I wonder where she got that idea?" said Alex. "I thought they thought lice were healthy."

Frances asked questions in Albanian. Yes, this house had kept for a time a refugee child on his way from the American house in Scutari to the lands of his tribe, and he had insisted on

washing his bed and his clothes; he had hated lice with an astonishing hatred; he said they were small devils who would grow to be large devils, and the woman did not think this was true, but she had washed all the beds, also all the house, and now it was like an American house and had no lice.

"But that isn't what she meant. She meant that she doesn't see why we are washing," said Alex, lifting her dripping face above a pool and rubbing it with one hand. It isn't easy to wash in a waterfall, with no place to lay the soap.

"We do this every morning," Frances explained in Albanian. "It is American custom." The woman looked as though she thought it rather foolish, still, if it were the custom——

"Also," said Frances, "every morning we wash the children and the babies, all over, from head to foot."

"Yes?" said the woman, indifferently. "Here babies stay in their cradles. Children go into the water when they are old enough to swim. Then only in the summer, when it is not cold."

Frances gave it up. We came back from the waterfall, on a path that was like a terrace of heaven overlooking all the world of mountains and valleys and swirling clouds. We were already wet to the skin with rain, but that did not matter, for we had before us the day's walking in it, and our indifference to wet clothes and feet was already quite Albanian. And the morning, and the mountain air, and the water-gushing

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ooo range after range of mountains, seemed to us glorious. We thought that it would be fun to herd goats among these peaks and to live forever in a stone house with a fire on the floor and a pan of corn bread baking in the coals. No dusting, for there was no furniture; no making of beds, for there were no beds; no curtains to keep fresh, for there were no windows; no trouble with clothes, for centuries saw no change in fashions; no work except hand weaving and embroidery and the washing of linen in a brook. No haste, no worry, no struggle to invent new needs that one must struggle to satisfy. All that simplicity and leisure our ancestors traded for a rug on the floor, a trinket-covered dressing table, for knives and forks and kitchen ranges, fountain pens and high white collars and fashion books. It seemed to us, on that morning, a trade in which we had been cheated.

And even now I wonder, sometimes, about the value of the centuries that have given us civilization.

We had no doubt at all about their worthlessness that morning, when we set out again—after a cup of Turkish coffee, each—to walk another twenty miles over the Albanian mountains, through the Wood of the Ora and the tribal lands of Plani and over the Chafa Bosheit to the next village.

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CHAPTER VI

THE SONG OF THE FLIGHT OF MARKE GJLOSHI—THE HUNTED MAN OF SHOSHI — THE WAY THROUGH THE WOOD OF THE ORA—A WOMAN WHO BELIEVES IN PRIVATE PROPERTY.

FOUR men of Marke Gjonni's household 000 went with us to carry the packs, so we left the stone house peaceful on the cliff below our upward-climbing path, not disturbing it with any parting volley when we paused for our last glimpse of it. A faint haze of blue smoke hung over it, seeping through the slates of the roof; there was no other sign of life about it, and only the smoke distinguished it from the natural rocks. Beside us the stream, which was the waterfall, roared and glittered in the sunlight as it fell into the depths; following with our gaze its narrowing ribbon of silver and searching for the blue smoke haze, we found the house, and I would have had Cheremi fling down to it the keen high call of farewell, ended by six times three shots, that we had sent back to the bishop.

But no; there were only women left in the [576] house, and how could I be so crude as to imagine that one greeted women with rifle-shots?

We went on for a time over sunshiny uplands, and I remember that day as a succession of sun

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ooo and shower, of small grassy plateaus and quick dips down cliffsides, and struggles up again, beside and through waterfalls that drenched the rocks with spray for yards around. Our muscles were now accustomed to the exercise; they complained hardly at all, and with occasional pauses for rest beneath the wooden crosses set at long intervals along the trail we went gayly, accompanied by the shrill songs of the men.

"Marke Gjloshi is putting on his jacket," sang the leading man.

533 539 "Marke Gjloshi is putting on his jacket," repeated Cheremi, for this was a song he knew well, a song of Shala made in the days of the Turks, and, repeating each line alternately, they sang:

"Marke Gjloshi is putting on his jacket.
He goes to the Pasha and makes complaint:
'The Mohammedan has cursed the cross of my Christ!
He has cursed it, and I draw my pistol,
My death-spitting pistol, I draw it
And blow him to bits. He is scattered,
He is scattered like leaves on the rocks.'
The Pasha is angry, the Pasha is crazy,
The Pasha goes mad and the bugles blow
And the guns are out, the gendarmes are out!
Marke Gjloshi is away on the road,
Away on the road a long way,
All the long way through the six tribes.
The Arabian Sea stops him, the Arabs stop him,
Arabs of the sandy sea, black Arabs.
There he stands, there he fights with the gendarmes.
'O Marke Gjloshi, what will you tell the nations?
What will you tell the Five Nations?'

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'I will tell the consuls the Sultan is to blame, 533
I will tell to God the Sultan is to blame. 539
But they will not free me,
But they will not let me go
Back to my tribe, back to my own tribe.
They tear me in pieces, they send me far away,
Far away to the other side of the sea.
My greetings, my greetings, to the lost six tribes!'"

So in the mountains they sing the tales of the men who have been driven from them, to become khedives of Egypt, pashas, themselves, of Turkey, political leaders in Italy, great surgeons of France. From all these countries men are coming back now to make the new free government of Albania, and here among the mountaineers we were walking with Perolli, an agent of this government, who dared not say who he was, for danger of death.

"I ask myself sometimes why God did not000 make me born in a happier land," said Perolli, as we looked out over scores of miles of valleys inclosed by the sky-touching mountains, dotted meagerly with the tiny stone houses. "But then I think, He has made me an Albanian, and given me the most beautiful and the most unhappy land in all the world, for His own purposes."

And he spoke of roads through these mountains, railroads, mines, great power plants, all feeding the people, giving them comforts and luxuries and knowledge. For all of Albania, beneath six feet of upper soil, belongs to the government, as well as all the water power, and we

000 walked on, seeing even with our untrained eyes that the "white coal" of those thousand streams is enough to turn every wheel in a reorganized Europe, and dreaming—dreams that will never be realized.

627 Then we saw the men stopping on the trail ahead, stopping with quick hands on their rifles, and, remembering in a strange kind of panic that [576] no one could be killed in the presence of a woman, I flung myself gasping up the slope, crying with my last half breath, "Long may you live!" to two strange men who appeared before us.

Then I collapsed, panting, on a grassy knoll, and dimly through my dizzy eyes I saw that the men, relaxing gladly, were sitting down around me and taking out their silver tobacco boxes.

"A Shoshi man," said Perolli, "with one of Pultit. I don't just get it; something to do with the blood feud. Let me listen."

We sat on the grassy knoll that seemed to be the edge at the end of the world, so far below it the valleys lay, and listened while the men of the tribes that were "in blood" talked easily together of unimportant matters and offered one another cigarettes.

The Shoshi man had taken off his turban and wore on his handsome head only the tiny round white cap, hardly larger than the curved palm of a hand, that covered his scalp lock. Around its edges the hair was shaved clean to the skull, and with his weather-browned face and scarlet sash bristling with knives he looked altogether the savage.

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He was an exile from his own tribe, we learned. 627 A man of the tribe had killed this man's brother in a quarrel over irrigation water; the chief men of the tribe had called a council and deplored the murder, condemning the murderer to pay ten thousand kronen to the murdered man's family. This had been done, but the brother rebelled against the decision. Blood could be paid for only in blood, he declared; such was the ancient Law of Lec, and who were the men of these young centuries, that they should set aside that law? Therefore he had shot and killed the man who had killed his brother, and, sending his wife to the chiefs to return the ten thousand kronen, he had fled to the house of a friend in Pultit.

Now it is the law that when the chiefs of a tribe take council together and arrive at a decision, they must consult all the members of the tribe involved in that decision; when they all agree to it, it must be carried out. The honor of the chiefs is involved. If any party to the agreement breaks it, then all the chiefs, together and separately, with all masculine members of their families, must not rest until they kill that man and clear their honor. So seven chiefs of Shoshi, with all their sons and brothers, were hunting this Shoshi man.

"As it should be," said one of our men, judicially, and quoted their proverb, "A goat is tied by the horns, a man by his word."

"That may be," said the Shoshi man, retorting with another, "but 'where the tooth aches

627 the tongue will go.' This matter was a sore tooth to me, and I had no sleep until I killed that man who killed my brother. As to the money, I have returned it. Money will not buy my brother's blood."

The men fell silent, smoking. "But why hasn't he been killed before now?" I demanded of Perolli, when their words had been translated to me.

"He is traveling with his friend, the man of Pultit," said Perolli. "He is under that man's protection. If the chiefs of Shoshi kill him, they will be in blood with the tribe of Pultit, whose hospitality they will have violated. Shoshi is already in blood with Shala, and——"

I exclaimed aloud. The endless complexities of the laws of these supposedly lawless people were too much for me. It was almost as bewildering as our own courts.

"Meantime," said Perolli, "the chiefs have torn down this man's house, and that would make it seem that they will reach some peaceful settlement."

"Would it?" said I.

"Of course. For if they meant not to stop until they killed him they would not have destroyed his house. I think that they will hold another council and simply banish him from the tribe and from the mountains."

"But if he does not go?"

"Oh, then, of course, they would really have to kill him. And of course they must kill him

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now, if they meet him. But as long as the man of Pultit is with him, they will try not to meet him."

"So," said I, "wherever there are laws there are ways of getting around them. And," I continued, remembering, "these men of ours would have to be killing him now, if I were not here?"

"Certainly," said Perolli. "Our Shala men would have to, because Shala is in blood with Shoshi, and this is a Shoshi man."

"Even when his own chiefs are hunting him? Even if he were banished from the tribe?"

"Well, one doesn't stop to ask that. He wears the Shoshi braiding on his trousers."

"I see," said I, and after we had rested and talked and smoked together for some time, the Shoshi man rose leisurely to go. The man of Pultit rose instantly, with him, and each cast a searching glance over the valley before them. Then they hitched more comfortably over their shoulders the woven woolen straps that held their rifles, ran an alert hand over the knives and pistols in their sashes, threw away the butts of their cigarettes.

"Long life to you," they said, politely.

"And to you long life," we responded. "Go on a smooth trail."

In a moment the last glimpse of their heads had disappeared as they made their way down the steep path. The forest was very still, the sunlight on the wet rocks very golden, and for a hundred miles the mountains stretched into

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day voice that was like a ray of daylight in a cave, "it's simple enough. These cliffs repeat far-away echoes, and that's how the superstition started."

"One can explain everything," said Frances.

"And then explain the explanations," said I.

"And still most of the learning of every age seems to consist in proving most of the learning of the other ages wrong," said Frances.

"Do you mean you actually believe that there are ora?" said Alex. "All these stories of people who have seen people who have seen them—I'd like to see one myself."

"And if you see one, it doesn't prove that it exists," said I. "We see a great many things that don't exist—and don't see a great many that do.

"How can you prove that anything exists? Only by common belief. I once had a letter from a man in an insane asylum, who wrote to ask if Art Smith, an aviator I knew, saw in the upper air the shapes that he did. Art Smith never had; I didn't even bother to ask him. But if Art Smith had seen them, and all other aviators had seen them, we would believe that they existed; they would exist, and the man would be sane, because he would believe as all the rest of us did. How do we know there are air currents five thousand feet from the earth? Because everyone who has been there has felt them. How do we know there are subtler currents that carry wireless messages? Because

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ooo everyone who uses a wireless uses them. How do we know that there are ora in the Albanian mountains? Because all the Albanians who live here have heard them, and many have seen them. If we say there are no ora we will be crazy, by the standards of these men. Or simply foolishly ignorant. What do we think of an Albanian when he tells us that the power in a waterfall cannot be carried invisibly on a wire?"

"Do you believe there are ora?" said Alex.

"No," I said, "I don't. But human beings began life on this planet among spirits and demons; they knew they were there, they saw them and heard them and arranged their lives by them; therefore, by any measurement we know, spirits and demons existed. Here in the Albanian mountains they still exist. We live among electric currents and ether waves and X-rays and radium; we see them or use them; they exist. They exist for us and not for the Albanians; spirits and demons exist for the Albanians and not for us. And none of us can explain any of them; it is all mystery. Listen!"

We listened. All around us the trees seemed to be listening, too. From far away on a distant peak we heard the shrill, clear, infinitely fine sounds of a conversation, a conversation carried on from mountain to mountain, swinging like thin wires over the wide valley of the Lumi Shala. All around us the woods were perfectly silent, the cliffs were still; against that background of profound silence we heard a water

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drop falling from a rock, the delicate sound of ooo
our breathing and of the blood in our ears.

"Which proves nothing, of course. The sound wasn't in the right direction; the echoes didn't work," said Alex.

"Yes," I said. "But I wish they had. It would have given us such delightfully shivery sensations."

So we came up out of the wood,[1] and over the next mountain, and there on a slope, where the dead grass was splotched with patches of rotting snow and the soft earth trodden by the sharp hoofs of goats, we came back with a jolt to problems of unquestioned reality. For we met a 423
woman, herding the goats, who believes in 578
private property.

She was a tall, dark-eyed woman, handsome, but not beautiful. Her face, as we say, was full of character; and there was independence, even a shade of defiance, in her bearing as she stood watching us approach, her chin up, her eyes cool and steady, one hand grasping a peeled branch as a staff, her ragged skirt strained against her by the wind that blew down from the mountain pass. Her thick, dark hair hung forward [777]
over her shoulders in two braids, and from each dangled a charm of bright blue beads, defense against any demon she might meet in the mountains.

"Long life to you!" she said.

"And to you long life!" we replied, and, seeing her glance fall covetously on my cigarette—only

[1] [Wood of the Ore -- Analyst]

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423 the swiftest flicker of a glance, it was—I offered
578 her one. She took it, thanked me, lighted it from mine.

"A bold woman," said Perolli.

"Why?"

[562] "In these mountains[1] the women smoke, but
[576] not before men; that is a man's privilege, and it is unwomanly to smoke in their presence. Are you a woman?" he asked her, in Albanian.

"A woman of Pultit, married in Shala. A widow with two children, demanding justice from my tribe," she said.

I looked about. There was nothing but snow and wet earth to sit on. Well, she must have been standing for hours, watching the goats. I leaned on my staff. "What justice?" said I.

She told us with a calm precision; none of her people's rhetorical flourishes. Even through the barrier of language I could see that she was stating her case as a lawyer might who was not addressing a jury.

She had been married five years; she was twenty-one years old. She had two children—boys. While she was married her husband had built a house. It was a large house; two rooms. She had helped her husband build that house. With her own hands she had laid the slate on the roof. She liked that house. She had lived in it four years. Now her husband had been killed by the Serbs and she wanted to keep that house. She wanted to live in it, alone, with her two children.

1 [Albanian mountains-- [98] Analyst]

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"But it is impossible!" said Perolli. "A large house, with two rooms, for one woman?" 423 578

By the Virgin Mary, she said, yes! She wanted that house; it was her house. She was going to have that house. She was not going to stop talking till she got that house.

"By Jove! I like her spirit!" said Frances. The woman stood looking from one to the other of us, defiant, superb.

"Well, but what's become of the house?" Alex demanded.

Her husband's brother, head of the family now, had taken it. He was living in it with his wife and children and brothers and cousins and —I forget exactly; seventeen of them in all. The family, which comprised all the village at the foot of the slope on which we stood, had decided that the house should be used for them. She and her children could live with them. But she would not do it. She wanted that house all for herself; she said again that it was her house. Until she got that house nothing would content her or keep her silent. Her sons she had sent to the priest's house in Plani—to the same "macaroni" who had refused us shelter. He had taken them in and promised to educate them for the priesthood. For herself, she remained in this village, clamoring for that house. If she got it before her sons were grown and married she would bring them back to live with her. She might do so, even when they were married. That did not matter; what she wanted was the house, her house, all for herself.

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423 "Well," said Perolli, "I pity the chiefs of that
578 village."

"But where do you suppose she got the idea?"

"Heavens knows. Who can tell what women will think of?" said Perolli.

We left her standing on the cliff edge, still superb and still defiant, the cigarette in her hand and the blue beads twinkling at the ends of her braids. A bright scarlet handkerchief was twisted around her head, and her wide belt, thickly studded with silver nails, shone like armor. A picture of revolt, and I thought what a catastrophe she must be in the peaceful village to which, clinging and dropping from bowlder to bowlder, we were descending.

"Will we see her again?" I asked.

"Oh, she'll probably drop in during the evening. She looks like a woman who would," said Perolli.

361 The village was perhaps fifteen houses, clustered on flat land at the foot of the cliffs. Beyond it, a creamy blue flood swollen by the rains, the Lumi Shala ran straight between the mountain
[32] ranges. A score of little streams, stone walled and crossed by tiny stone bridges, ran through the village, and all the land on which it stood was cut into odd-shaped pieces by many stone fences and raised channels of stone for irrigation water. Dropping down into that village was rather like being a very small gnat descending on a piece of half-made honeycomb.

000 All the earth was sodden with water; we sank

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over shoe tops in it, and, wading the streams, walking on fences, crossing the tiny bridges, we came to the house selected for us by the man we had sent ahead, were greeted with shouts and a volley of shots and ushered into the smoky, warm dusk where the house fire glimmered like a red eye.

Although this was our second night in a native house in the heart of the Albanian mountains, I cannot tell you how natural it seemed to us. It was as though we had always come home from the vast chill mountain twilight to a dark warm room where a fire smoldered on an earthen floor and the night was shut out by unbroken walls. It was as though we had always said, "Long may you live!" to our hosts and crouched comfortably, in steaming garments, beside the flames.

We drank the offered cups of sweet thick coffee, the large glasses of rakejia; Cheremi washed our feet; the dripping-wet goats and sheep were herded in through the open door and fell to munching dried leaves; the women nursed their babies, stooping above the painted gay cradles where the infants lay bound. It was all quite commonplace to us, and when, after an hour or so, Alex spoke of the stairway, she seemed for a moment to be a stranger coming from strange, unknown experiences.

"That stairway," said Alex, "is about eighth century. I saw one like it in Norway, preserved by the historical society. It was in a house like

000 this, too," she added, in a tone of surprise, as though she saw the house for the first time.

It was slightly different from the house of Marke Gjonni. The end where the goats were eating was shut off from the rest by a latticework of woven willow boughs, and high against the wall where we sat by the fire an inclosed platform of the same latticework hung like a huge bird's nest. It was reached by the stairway Alex had remarked—simply a slanting log, notched roughly into steps. Above the fire itself was another square of the interlaced branches, hung from the ceiling; the smoke rose and curled against it and made long velvety fringes of soot, and all around its edges were wooden pegs on which our coats were hung to dry and haunches of goat's meat were hung to smoke. From one of the pegs swung the basket of wrought iron holding slivers of blazing pitch pine; this was the lamp.

"Eighth century," I repeated, vaguely. "So we are living in the eighth century."

"Or earlier. Oh yes, surely earlier, for the house I saw must have been one of the last of its kind in Norway," said Alex. But we said no more about it, for centuries seemed unimportant then, and, indeed, we did not remember very clearly any newer ways of living; we were too comfortable where we were, like people coming home after a very short journey.

574 Perhaps ten men of the village had come in to see us;[1] several older and more dignified ones

[1] [At house in Albanian mountains -- Analyst]

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whom we took to be chiefs, and some young ones, 574
and half a dozen boys, all moving gracefully as panthers, their white garments ghostly in the gloom, and each swinging his rifle from his shoulder and hanging it on a peg near the door before he settled himself near the fire, where the quivering light flickered over silver chains, bright sashes, and colored turbans. Their large brown eyes regarded us with serious friendliness; when they turned their heads their profiles were sharp and fine against the darkness; and their hands were slender, firmly molded, aristocratic.

A small kid was brought for our inspection; we were to eat it for dinner. It looked at us mildly, contented in the arm that held it comfortably; its fur was soft as sealskin. One of the children rose and smilingly kissed its delicate muzzle, with a gesture of charming affection. Then they took it out and killed it, bringing back its skin, which they hung on a peg. After a time the mother goat came over and nuzzled that skin thoughtfully.

Then they brought us a lamb, all woolly white with youth, and we praised that, and they took it out and killed it. Its skin hung beside that of the kid. And after that they showed us a fat hen, and it also was so used to the companionship of humans that it uttered no faintest squawk when the woman who held it nonchalantly wrung its neck, just beyond the circle of firelight.

After that our host handed over the making of coffee to one of the village men and went out

574 to help his wife cook the dinner; there was a built-up place of stone outside where the cooking fire was made. All this time we had been talking, making the courteous speeches that accompany coffee drinking, and exchanging cigarettes.

One of the empty cigarette boxes—the little, ten-cigarette, tin-foil-lined ones—I handed to a little boy, perhaps four years old. He took it gravely, thanking me like a man, and retired to look at it. But hardly had he opened the flap when I saw the hand of a chief come over the boy's shoulder and quietly take the box. The boy gave it up, not even a shade of discontent on his face, and it passed slowly from hand to hand, was inspected, marveled at, discussed. The cunningness of the folding, the beautiful design of printing and picture, the delicacy of the tissue paper that had been around the cigarettes, the pliability of the tin foil, of metal, and yet so thin, engrossed them all. When they had satisfied their curiosity and admiration, it went back to the boy, who took it with his hand on his heart, bowed, and sat for a long time looking at it.

"Have you ever seen such perfect courtesy?" said, I, marveling. "And from such a baby!"

Perolli looked at me in amazement. "Why, what's strange about it?" he asked.

423 Undoubtedly we were among the most cour-
578 teous people in the world, I thought, but the next moment that idea was completely upset,

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for out of the darkness walked that rebel woman who believes in private property. 423 578

She came quite calmly into the circle of the firelight, her beautiful hands low on her thighs, below the wide, silver-shining marriage belt, the blue beads twinkling at the ends of the long black braids of her hair, her chin up, and a light of battle in her eyes.

"May you live long!" said she to the circle, and, "To you long life!" we responded. But the chiefs looked at her sidewise from narrowed eyes and then again at the fire, and hostility came from them like a chill air. The children looked at her with wide, attentive eyes, chins on their hands; the sprawling, graceful, handsome youths seemed amused. Beyond the firelight, the women of the household went about their tasks; one came in and lowered from her shoulders a large, kidney-shaped wooden keg of water.

"When am I going to get my house?" said the woman. She stood there superb, holding that question like a bone above a mob of starving dogs, and they rose at it.

I have never seen such pandemonium. Three chiefs spoke at once, snarling; they were on their feet; all the men were on their feet; it was like a picture by Jan Steen changed into the wildest of futurist canvases. I expected them to fly at one another's throats, after the words that they hurled at one another like spears. I expected them to strike the woman, so violently they thrust their faces close to hers, clenching quiver-

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423 ing fists on the hilts of the knives in their sashes.
578 She stamped her foot; her lips curled back like a dog's from her fine, gleaming teeth, and she stood her ground, flashing back at them words that seemed poisoned by the venom in her eyes. "My house!" she repeated, and, "I want my house!" These words, the only ones I recognized, were like a motif in the clamor; Rexh and Perolli were both too much absorbed to translate, and we added to the turmoil by frantic appeals to them.

Then, suddenly as the calm after an explosion, they were all quiet. They sat down; they rolled cigarettes; the coffee maker picked up his flung-away pot and went on making coffee. Only the eyes of the chiefs were still cold and bitter, and the woman, though silent, was not at all defeated. There was a pause.

"Ask them what she wants," said I, quickly, to Perolli.

"Who can say what the avalanche desires?" replied the chief, contemptuously. "She would break our village into pieces. She has no respect for wisdom or custom. She says that a house is her house; she is a widow with two sons, and she demands the house in which she lived with her husband. She wishes to take a house from the tribe and keep it for herself. Have the mountains seen such a thing since a hundred hundred years before the Turks came? She is *gogoli*."[1]

"I helped to build that house," said the woman.

[1] Gogoli—bewitched by a demon of the mountains; insane.

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A GROUP OF MOUNTAIN FOLK
The woman of Pultit in the center.

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423 578 "With my own hands I laid the roof upon it. It is my house. I will not give up my house."

Frances and I hugged each other in silent convulsions of delight. My pen spilled ink on my excited hands as I tried to capture their words in shorthand. I was seeing, actually seeing with my own eyes, the invention of private property!

"What are they going to do about it?"

The question was not too tactful, nor too happily received, but they answered it. "They have already called a council of the whole village four [627] times," said Perolli. "They will do nothing about it.* Houses belong to the tribe. It is a large house, and the people have decided that her dead husband's brother shall have it for his household. She has been offered a place in it. If she does not want that, she can live wherever she likes in the tribe. No one will refuse shelter or food to her and her children. She has friends with whom she can live, since she quarrels with her husband's brother. All this is absurd, and they will not call another council to satisfy a foolish woman."

"I want my house," said the woman.

Then the oldest man—one of the little boys was playing with the silver chains around his neck, and another hung heavily against his shoulder, but his dignity was undisturbed and he was obviously chief of the chiefs—appealed to me.

609 423 "In your country, what would you do with such a woman?" And I perceived that I was

* [For data on this gnie- [107] vance, see cat. 116, pp. 97-101, 104-107 -- Analyst]

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423obliged to explain to this circle of eager listeners
(09a system of social and economic life of which they had never dreamed, of which they knew as little as we know of the year 2900.

The woman sat impassive, as unmoved as a rock of her mountains; the younger men turned, propping their chins on their elbows and looking at me attentively, and the chiefs waited with expectation. The children, settled comfortably here and there in the mass of lounging bodies, stopped their quiet playing to listen.

"Go on," said Alex, with friendly malice. "Just tell them what private property is."

"I expect sympathy, not ribald mirth," said I. "Well," I said, carefully, "tell them, Perolli, that when I say 'man' I mean either a man or a woman. It isn't quite true, of course, but I'll have to say that. Now then. In my country, a man owns a house."

"*Po! Po!*" they said, shaking their heads from side to side in the sign that in Albanian means, "Yes." "It is so here. A man owns the house in which he lives."

"No, it's not that. In my country, a man can own a house in which he does not live."

Then they were surprised. "You must have many houses in your tribe, if some are left vacant."

("Shades of the housing situation!" murmured Alex. "Shut up!" said I.)

"No," I said. "You don't understand. In my country a man owns a house. It is his very

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own house. He owns it always; he owns it after 423
he is dead. He owns it when other people live 609
in it."

"In your country dead men own houses? Dead men live in houses?"

"No. Living in a house has nothing to do with owning a house. A man owns a house; it is his house; other people live in that house, and they pay him money to be allowed to live in his house."

"We do not understand. In your country do men of the same tribe pay one another money for houses?"

"Yes."

There was always a pause after I had spoken, while they pondered.

"Ah!" they said. "In your country a man can build a house all by himself. You have one man who makes all the houses for the village, and the others divide with him the money they earn outside the tribe."

"No," I said. "In my country many men must work to build a house." And I tried to think how best to go on.

"But it is so here," they said. "Many men of the tribe build a house, and then the house is a house of the tribe."

"But it is different in my country," I insisted. "In my country the house does not belong to the tribe. It belongs to the man who owns the land on which it is built, and he pays money to the men who build it for him, and then it is his house.

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423 Even if he lives somewhere else, it is still his
609 house. Now in the case of this woman, the house would belong to her husband, and when he died he would give her the house, and then it would be her house. It would belong to her. The tribe would not own the house, but she would pay money to the tribe from time to time, because she had the house."

("Don't tell me you're going to explain taxation, too!" chortled the joyous Frances. "For the love of Michael, do this yourself, then!" said I.)

But the chiefs passed over the taxation idea; they stuck to the main point, though their eyes were clouded with bewilderment.

"How can a man own land?" said one, more in amazement than in question. And, "But how can a man pay another man for helping him to build a house, except by helping him as much in building another house? And when all have helped one another equally, then no man would have two houses unless every man had two houses, and that would be foolish, for half the houses would be empty," reasoned another, slowly.

It was then that the remarkable intelligence of these people began to dawn on me. For, given the experience from which he was reasoning, I consider this one of the most intelligent and logical methods of meeting a new idea that I have known. A case of almost pure logic, given his starting point.

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CHAPTER VII

CAN A MAN OWN A HOUSE?—WE SING FOR OUR HOSTS OF PULTIT—DAWN AND A MEETING ON THE TRAIL—THE VILLAGE OF THETHIS WELCOMES GUESTS—LIFE OR DEATH FOR PEROLLI.

BUT my delight in this discovery of their 423
intelligence received a violent blow almost at once, for another man—tall, keen featured, black bearded, his face framed in the folds of a white turban, red and blue stones gleaming dully in the links of the silver chains on his breast; I will never forget him—leaned forward in the firelight and said: "Such things can never be. Even a child knows that it would be foolish to own a house in which he did not live. Of what use is a house, except to live in? As it is, each man has the house in which he lives, and there are houses for all, and they belong to the tribe that built them. It is impossible that a man can own a house. It is not the nature of men to own houses, and we will never do it, for the nature of man is always the same. It is the same to-day as it was before the Romans came, and it will always be the same. And no man will ever own a house."

"Glory to your lips!" they said to him. "It is so."

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000 The woman, who had been sitting quietly listening to this, now rose and very quietly, without saying farewell, slipped out of the firelight, and in a moment, by the sound of the closing door, I knew she had left the house. But there was something about my last glimpse of her back that makes me believe she is still clamoring for her house, and will be until long after her baby sons are grown and married. Unless she gets it sooner.

533 There was a little silence after the woman had gone, and then one of the youths, compressing his ears with his thumbs, began to sing.[1] He sang softly, for an Albanian mountaineer, but the high, clear notes filled the house like those of a bugle. He uttered a phrase and paused; Cheremi repeated it and paused; and, so singing alternately, repeating always the same musical phrase with changing words, they chanted long songs of war and adventure, old legends of men whose lives had been worn into myths by the erosion of centuries.

The music, strange and nostalgic, seemed to follow a scale quite different from ours, a simple scale of five notes, thin and vibrating like a violin string.

000 [551] "Sing one of the songs of your land, Flower," said Cheremi to me, politely. All the Albanians addressed us by our first names, as is the custom, for among them the last name is merely the possessive form of the father's, and it is dropped in conversation. Long since my name had been

1 [At house in Albanian moun- [112] tains -- Analyst]

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translated into their tongue, becoming Drana Rugi-gnusht, Flower of the Narrow Road.

And we gave them our best. We sang "Juanita," and "My Old Kentucky Home" and "Marching Through Georgia" and "Dixie" and "Columbia." We stood up and filled our lungs and sang with all our might, but the result was thin and faint; even to our own ears our songs were difficult to hear, after the ringing voices of the Albanians. "Glory to your lips," they said, courteously, trying to cover their disappointment and lack of interest. Then we tried "A Hot Time in the Old Town To-night," and that fell flat. But from depths of her memory Frances resurrected an old American popular song; its name I never knew, I had never heard it before; it had something to do with an obviously improper conversation over a telephone, ending, "Are you wise, honey eyes? Good-by!"

That got them! They sat up, very much interested. "We know that song, too!" said they, and, putting their thumbs to their ears, they sang it in voices that compared with ours as a factory whistle to a penny one. Except that in their mouths it became a beautiful thing, vibrant with innumerable grace notes, and striking truly where our version became banal. Changed, but it was our melody as unmistakably as a beautiful woman is the mother of her ugly daughter. "But that is not a true mountain song, it is a song of the cities," they said, and we wondered whether it had come to us through Vienna or gone from us to them through Paris.

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000 "Try them on the 'Merry Widow,'" I said, knowing that tnat music had come to us from the Balkans, and they laughed aloud at the [534] strains of that famous waltz. "Albanian gypsy music," said they, and from somewhere in the shadows they produced a sort of musical instrument, cunningly carved from pine, in shape like a long, thin mandolin, strung with horse hair, and on this with a hair-strung bow they played us the real "Merry Widow" waltz. "You have gypsies in your country, too," said they, and we thought how the centuries have transformed the wandering bands of ragged entertainers into our press-agented musical-comedy companies; how the commercial age had divided fortune telling, thieving, and music into complex and separate activities.

At eleven o'clock Cheremi broke reluctantly from the merry group and, approaching us stealthily, whispered his request to be permitted to go home for the night. His house lay only four hours away, perhaps forty miles by our measurements; he had not seen his family for two years, and he wished to visit them. He would be back before dawn. We gave him permission, and one of the villagers went with him, to guard him from the village dogs.

231 Then we learned that when darkness came the dogs were let loose, and after their loosening only the boldest ventured outside stone walls. And the long wolf howl that rose and quavered and sank and rose again along the trail that Cheremi

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followed made the dangers of the night vocal for us. We had seen the dogs, tied by the houses, curled into sullen gray-white balls; they are wolves, they are the first dogs, torn from the forests and made half-tame savage companions of these primitive men. Here in the Albanian mountains the long process of molding life, by which men have created the breeds of dogs we know, the great Dane, the collie, the monstrous, fantastic bulldog, and the wispy Pekingese is still in its beginning.

For us, safe in the shelter of solid walls, the night wore away as the previous one had done. Talk and music and the desperate struggle with weariness; the leisurely dinner in the small hours of the morning; the brief lapse into unconsciousness, lying on the floor, which we shared with twenty others—our host and his wife and their smallest child, the last quite naked, had ascended the notched log to the nest of woven willow branches that hung above us on the wall—and the awakening at dawn to the smell of new-made coffee.

"Perolli," said Frances, desperately, "I simply can't walk another twenty miles on one little cup of coffee. Isn't there something left over from dinner? Can't I have just one little bite of corn bread? Oh, Perolli, please!"

"If we stay for that, it means we'll never start," said I. "Slowly, slowly, little by little, breakfast will be ready at six this afternoon."

"But I'm starving!" she wailed.

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 To Alex and me the cool, sweet morning outside the smoke-filled dark house called more irresistibly than any thought of food. So at six o'clock, accompanied by the gay Cheremi, who had just returned, she and I set out on the twenty-mile walk to Thethis,[1] leaving Perolli explaining that Frances was of a different American tribe, a tribe whose custom was to eat in the mornings.

It was not rain; the sky was like one enormous waterspout. When we came out of the smoky, reeking darkness of the cavelike house it was like plunging into a waterfall. We gasped with the shock of it; water poured down our faces, and in an instant there was not a dry inch of skin on our bodies. But we had been some days in these mountains, walking in the rain, and after the first chill impact our blood rebounded; we were warm, and, clutching streaming staffs in dripping hands, Alex and I followed Cheremi gayly enough. Though when we were separated for a few feet on the trail the figures of the others became blurry and indistinct, like figures seen through ground glass.

We went first down the bed of a small stream that ran steeply from the mountains above to the Lumi Shala below. The water was about a foot deep, but as soon as we got used to the force of the current we went very well. Whenever we came to a sheer drop of three or four feet Cheremi braced himself and swung us lightly down. So

[1] Pronounced as Thaythee—th as in truth.

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we progressed for perhaps a third of a mile, tingling with the exertion. Then we came out on the narrow gravelly banks of the Lumi Shala, and were joined by a strange Albanian, nude to the waist, who was out for a morning stroll.

The proper thing was to offer him cigarettes, but how could one do it beneath that pour of water? However, the difficulty soon solved itself, for we found a bowlder as large as a house, with a natural corridor running through it, and, though its walls dripped and our feet sank to the ankles in little wells, we managed here to produce and light our damp cigarettes.

The little cave was filled with a curious greenish light, like that beneath the sea; at either end of it a gray wall of falling water shut off our view. Dimly we saw through it a vague blur of tawny gravel, and nothing more.

The strange Albanian conveyed to us with effort, in broken Serbian, Italian, German, and Albanian, that this weather was bad for the health, because when it rained the water in the streams was not good, and drinking it caused pains in the lungs.

"Good Heavens!" said we. "Pneumonia!"

Then we went out of the cave, and Cheremi and the stranger carried us across the waist-deep Lumi Shala on their backs, balanced precariously on their shoulders, surrounded by what seemed an infinity of rushing water, milky greenish in color and seeming to snap up at us with millions of white teeth as the violent raindrops struck upon it.

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000 After that, it was only fifteen miles up the beds of streams, across damp expanses of green and crimson and gray-blue shale, and along narrow ledges suspended between two vaguenesses of gray, until we came to the village of Thethis, on the headwaters of the Lumi Shala.

We came to it suddenly, a high-lifted sweep of rock, like the prow of a gigantic ship wedged between the sides of the narrowing valley. It towered a thousand feet above our heads, and on either side of it a white waterfall plunged from the sky and roared into gray depths below.

We followed the side of a narrowing chasm, climbing back and forth like ants on the side of the cliff, making for the top of one of those waterfalls. We reached it and, standing in a welter of spray on a tiny rock ledge, we hung over that battle of roaring water and granite cliffs to admire the workmanship of the three-foot wall of stone that held up the trail. The Albanian who was with us had made it, and he was very proud of it. He might well be.

Then the trail turned the shoulder of the cliff, climbed up a gorge so narrow that the two-foot stream covered its bottom, turned again and came out on a little plateau. There was a wide stream running across the flat space; its water was milky green with melted limestone, and it was strewn with large, smooth, round bowlders. Some of the bowlders were pure white marble, others were bright rose pink, others were black as ebony, and one great one was green as jade.

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A bridge of two logs, with railing of twisted 100
branches, ran from bowlder to bowlder across this incredible river, and we stood on it, gazing at these colors and at a cliff that rose before us, striped rose and green and gray and white in long jagged lines, as though it had been painted, when we heard overhead an outburst of cries, like a hundred sea gulls shrieking in a storm. We looked higher, and there on the top of the 526
cliff we saw a score of boys, naked except for 576
bright loin cloths, engaged in acrobatics. 609

They made pyramids of their wet white bodies; four, three, two, one, they stood on one another's shoulders, and the four who upheld the pyramid ran swiftly along the edge of the cliff, passing and circling about a similar pyramid; from top to top of the pyramids the top youths swung, passing each other in the air, landing on other shoulders, balancing, taking flight again. The pyramids melted, as though dissolved in the rain, and formed again, while all along the edge of the precipice other boys made a freize of living bodies, turning cart wheels, somersaulting over one another, walking on their hands.

We stood paralyzed. What did it mean? Then there was an explosion of shots; the cliffs around us crackled like giant firecrackers, the air seemed to fall in fragments around us, and through the din came multiplied shouts. Four tall chiefs appeared on the cliff trail, gorgeous in black and white and red and blue and green and silver. We were being welcomed to Thethis.

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756 The shouts redoubled, rifles cracked from
609 every rock, the church bell wildly rung, and through the clamor, deafened and a little dizzy, we came into the village of Thethis. The four chiefs, having greeted us ("Long life to you! Glory to your feet! Glory to the trails that brought you!" they said) preceded us up the last breathless quarter of a mile of trail, and all along the way the boys turned handsprings on the cliff tops.

361 The village of Thethis is built on the plateau that tops the gigantic, shiplike rock wedged in the narrow head of Shala Valley. All around it rise the mountains, snow capped, seamed with white waterfalls like rich quartz with streaks of silver; the shadows of them lie almost all day long across the village. Thethis itself is perhaps thirty large, oblong stone houses scattered at wide intervals on the flat land, and all the land is divided neatly into squares by stone fences—some fields for corn, some for grain, some for meadow. In the midst stands the church, two stories, oblong and gray like the houses, and a network of trodden paths leads to it.

It seemed a quiet, peaceful place. But on the mountains above it to the north the Serbian armies lay; their mountain-trained eyes were doubtless watching us as we crossed the sodden fields. This is the village, these are the chiefs, whose houses were destroyed by a company of soldiers sent from the struggling Albanian government in Tirana. The Serbs held the Albanian

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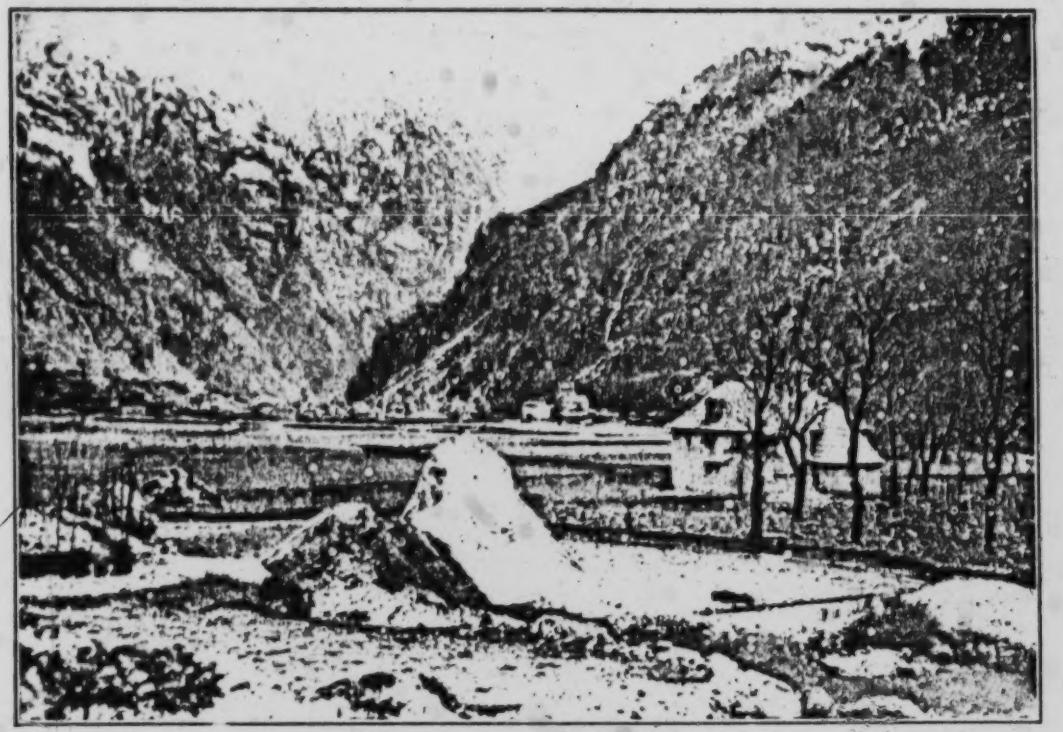

THE PLATEAU OF THETHIS

In the foreground the church, etc. The hills in the background are held by the Serbs.

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361 cities where the men of Thethis have always gone to market; the grazing lands where they have always fed their sheep lie in the grasp of Serbian armies. Scutari, the nearest free Albanian market place, is a hundred miles away across two mountain ranges. Therefore it was said that Thethis was friendly to the Serbs; it was said that her men still went to market in the Albanian cities that are now clutched by Serbia, that spies came and went across the border, that the chiefs listened to the clink of Serbian gold. And Alex and I remembered that in Thethis we were not to address Rrok Perolli, secretary of the Albanian Minister of the Interior, by his real name.

609 514 But he was behind us on the trail, doubtless still engaged in trying to get breakfast for Frances in the house we had left, and we went forward with easy minds to meet Padre Marjan. He came barefooted and bareheaded across the fields to welcome us, a thin, ascetic-looking man in the brown robes of the Franciscan friar. Large brown eyes burned in his face that seemed made of bones and stretched skin, the grasp of his thin hand was hot and nervous. He spoke to us in Albanian, Italian, and German, ushering us with apologies into the bleak rooms above the church.

000 The Serbians and Montenegrins, in their drive down toward Scutari, had looted the church, he said. He had come into Thethis two months ago, and found not even a wooden stool left. He was doing his best, but it took time ——

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000 The rickety broken stairway led upward to a long hall; from this, a door let us into the living room. It was bare; rain-stained wooden walls and a floor that clattered beneath our feet. The one window was shattered; fragments of glass held together by pasted paper. There were a long wooden table and a bench, nothing more. No fire. Our soaked garments were suddenly cold on us, and a chill entered our very bones.

609 The only fire in the house, he said, was in the
574 kitchen. We begged him to take us to it, and in a moment we were sitting on a bench before a crackling fire in a big stone fireplace. The tiny room was crowded with villagers, the floor was muddy with their trampling, and more arrived every moment. Padre Marjan had no servant, but all were eager to help him. Some took off our shoes, others heated water over the fire, a handsome youth who looked Serbian and talked German anxiously beat eggs and sugar together while Padre Marjan made coffee. The warmth and the genuine welcome they all gave thawed us and made us happy, and we sat drinking the heartening mixture of eggs and coffee, while clouds of steam rose from us all and a babble of talk went on.

One tall, handsome chief—Lulash, his name was, and beyond doubt he was the handsomest man we had yet seen—brought us a lamb as a gift. Dripping beside him stood a ragged boy, barefooted and blue with chill, who had come down the valley to bring us three eggs, which he

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carried tied around his waist in a pouch of goat's 609
skin. He put them carefully into our hands, and 574
we tried to return the gift with some pieces of hoarded candy. But he gazed in dismay at the strange things, and nothing would persuade him to taste them. A colored handkerchief, however, was accepted in an ecstasy that made him dumb; he could only lay it upon his heart and touch our hands to his forehead. Another chief came with a fat hen, others with eggs; all were eager to roll cigarettes for us, all were smiling, and in a hundred beautiful phrases they overwhelmed us with thanks for our coming, for our presence, for the school that Alex and Frances had promised Thethis. For this was to be the first of the [871]
mountain schools, and Alex, who had come into the mountains to decide where to put the other two, was delighted to learn that already, before the school building was begun, Padre Marjan had started the school, and Lulash had promised a hundred trees to be burned to make lime for the building.

We sat talking of these things while Padre Marjan set pots of soup to boiling in the fireplace, broke eggs, unlocked his box of precious flour, busied himself with all preparations for dinner, climbing over and around the tangle of lounging bodies, until another outbreak of echoing noises announced the arrival of Frances and Perolli and Rexh and our men with the packs. We felt a little tension with Perolli's arrival, seeing the keen eyes of the men fixed on his English

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609 clothes and swarthy, intelligent face. He is as
574 tall as most Europeans, but he was small among those giants, and the neat leather-holstered revolver and dagger that hung from his belt looked inadequate among all those long, bristling rifles.

But Padre Marjan, unaware of our apprehensions, was altogether the happy welcoming host. He greeted the dripping Frances warmly, anxious only to make her comfortable—she who was also responsible for the hope of a school in Thethis. He welcomed Perolli also, calling him by his first name. "How does he know that Perolli's name is Rrok?" we girls asked one another with startled eyes—and then, turning to the chiefs with a radiant smile, "This guest," said Padre Marjan, with pleasure, "is Rrok Perolli, the secretary of the Minister of the Interior in Tirana."

000 You read of such things calmly. Nothing that one reads is real to him. Therefore you can never know what Padre Marjan's innocent words meant to us as he spoke them in his crowded kitchen in Thethis, at the headwaters of the Lumi Shala, a hundred miles and twenty centuries from anything you know.

The wildness, the savagery and isolation of those mountains seemed to come into the room. A hundred miles to Scutari, a hundred miles of almost impassable mountains between us and any kind of help. There we were, three girls and a boy, alone in the narrow valley beneath the eyes of the Serbs, the Serbs who six months

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earlier had caught Perolli and condemned him to death.

A chill wind seemed to blow through the room; it was not imagined. Every wide, friendly eye about us had narrowed, every lip tightened a trifle. A thousand currents of antagonism, of distrust, of intrigue, seemed like tangible things in the air; only Padre Marjan remained warm, innocent and smiling.

None of us four, certainly not Perolli, doubted that we had just heard his death sentence spoken. And I felt again the depths below depths in the Albanian mind, in that primitive mind which is so much more complex than ours, as I saw him smile, easily and naturally, and heard him saying, "Long may you live!" to the circle of his enemies.

"And to you long life!" said they, while he offered them cigarettes and they rolled others in exchange. He sat down easily on the bench before the fire; with an unconsidered simultaneous movement we three girls moved forward and sat beside him; the chiefs again took their places on the floor, foremost of a mass of bodies and faces, and Padre Marjan moved in and out and around us all, stirring and seasoning the contents of the pots that bubbled in the fireplace.

"Talk to them, say something!" said Perolli, in a careless tone, offering me a cigarette.

"Thank you," said I, in Albanian, taking it. "Tell them that I come from California, the most beautiful part of America, and that I have

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ooo seen the American mountains and the mountains of Switzerland, both famous around the world, and that I have never seen such beautiful mountains as those of the Land of the Eagle. (They will not do anything while we are here, will they?)"

Perolli translated. "They say: 'Glory to your lips. Do you live among the American mountains?' (No, not unless they get me alone.)"

"In America we cannot live among such mountains. We cannot climb such trails; we are not strong, like the Albanians. When we go any distance we ride, and we have forgotten how to walk up cliffs. We have rich, soft houses, and we travel everywhere on soft cushions, and all our life is easy. But old men still remember when our life was hard and rugged, as it is here, and I have seen in America houses of stone, like these, with very small windows and pegs on the walls where rifles were hung. For our fathers' fathers lived hard lives surrounded by enemies, as the Albanians do now, and some old men still remember those days. (Do you want me to keep them talking?)"

"They say: 'What has made the change? Have you cut down your mountains?' (Yes. I want a little while to think.)" And he leaned back and crossed his knees and lighted another cigarette.

"Well, America was very much like Albania in many ways," said I. "We were ruled by another nation, as the Albanians were, and we

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revolted, like the Albanians. Then our tribes fought, as these tribes fight, among themselves. And life was very hard. But we had a young government of our own, as the Albanians have, and it grew stronger, and after a while all the tribes stopped fighting. Then when they were not fighting they used all their strength to make life easy, and it became very easy, and all the houses had windows, because there were no more enemies to shoot through them, and we made great wide trails that were easy to travel, and we made and carried all kinds of goods on them and became very rich, just as Albania will do."

"And schools," said Alex. "Don't forget the schools."

Perolli translated at length. When he had finished, Lulash rose, and he was very splendid in his six feet of height, a snowy turban with folds beneath the chin outlining his strong, sensitive, sun-browned face, silver chains clinking against the jewel-studded silver pistols in his orange-and-red sash, and he made a beautiful speech, graceful with a hundred flowery metaphors, thanking us and, beyond us, America, in the name of his village, his tribe, and all his people, for the school and the hope it brought.

"I," he said, "am a great chief; I have a great house and large flocks and much silver, and all that I have I would give if I could read. I am a chief of Thethis, and my people look to me, and many things are happening outside our mountains that mean much to my people and

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ooo I cannot learn what they are and what they mean, because I cannot read. Every night I come to Padre Marjan and study the little black marks, and long afterward I lie awake in my house and am shamed before myself for the ignorance of my whole life. But you have brought learning into my village; our children will know more than we. Our hope is in the children; they will be little torches leading us out of the darkness. You have lighted these torches, and I say to you, for Thethis, for Shala, and for the Land of the Eagle, our hearts are yours to walk upon. Long may you live!"

"Go on a smooth trail," said we, as he went out, all the other men following him. Then, released from their observant eyes, we looked at one another with all the panic we felt.

"What will they do? Did he mean what he said? Can we expect any protection from him for you, if we ask it?" said Frances.

"*Qui sait?*" said Perolli. "We Albanians use many words. They have gone to hold a council. All their immediate interests lie with the Serbs. If they hand me over—well, you know the Serbian armies hold their markets and their grazing lands, and a million Albanians are in Serbia's power. We have nothing like that to offer these chiefs from Tirana, yet."

"But we are guests! But we are women!" we exclaimed.

"Oh, they won't act quickly. But the trails are long, in the mountains. Let me think," said

Perolli. And we were silent, watching Padre Marjan busy and anxious about the cooking.

The hours went by, with a steadily increasing tension on the nerves. It is so rarely that we are actually in the center of a situation involving murder that we do not easily adjust ourselves to it. With Perolli it was different; he did not disguise a very earnest desire to save his life, but he is Albanian. He laughed, quite as usual; he sat on the bench before the fire and told stories, and sang Albanian songs, and joked with Padre Marjan. Only occasionally the thoughts beneath the surface of his mind rose and engulfed him in a dark silence. At dinner he ate with good appetite. As for us, watching him, we could not avoid the horrid idea of the good breakfasts served before executions.

We ate in the bare, bleak living room. It was intensely cold; we wore sweaters and coats. Rain blew through the broken window upon us. We would infinitely have preferred to be squatting by the fire in a native house, but Padre Marjan's hospitable pride would have been stabbed if we had suggested eating in the kitchen. So we sat on the bench, with the table before us, and both of them seemed very strange, and knives and forks and plates appeared to us the most absurd of hindrances to the simple and pleasant action of eating. Why, we said, did we ever invent them; they are not really beautiful or useful; they simply clutter up our lives; and we were aghast, thinking of all the factories and

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∞∞railroad cars and stores and dishpans and the millions of hours of washing up, all of it, one might say, an enormous river of human energy running into the waste of heaps of broken crockery, and nothing more.

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CHAPTER VIII

IN THE HOUSE OF PADRE MARJAN—LULASH GIVES A WORD OF HONOR AND DISCUSSES MARRIAGE—THE STOLEN DAUGHTER OF SHALA.

PADRE MARJAN sat with us, but did not eat, as it was a fast day. An apparently endless succession of dishes—soup, lamb, omelettes, pork chops, chicken—was brought in by Cheremi and served by Rexh in his red fez. Poor little Rexh! He ate nothing but a bit of corn bread; he said the pork chops had been broiled in the fireplace, and he feared that some of the fat had spattered into the cooking pots. He was not sure, but he feared so, and he thought it safer not to eat anything prepared in them.

The lamb's head, skinned but otherwise intact, was served separately, boiled, and the delicacy of the meal was its brains, which we got at by cutting through the skull. When the chicken came, Cheremi presented it with awe in his eyes, and after we had eaten he whispered behind his hand to Perolli. In the kitchen, he said, they were talking of the chicken; it was not of Padre Marjan's raising, but it had been hatched and brought up in the village, and they were sure that its breastbone would foretell the immediate future of Thethis. Would we let him have it?

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787 Perolli took up the thin bone and very carefully cleaned it of every clinging bit of flesh. Then, with an apology to Padre Marjan, he held it up to the light from the window. Through the translucent bone the marrow, clouded with clotted blood, showed clearly, and Perolli read it with serious eyes, pointing out to us its meaning. There was a clot that meant a battle, a battle to the north, and there was a widening red line running from a dark spot; the signs were clear. The government would grow more powerful, and there would be war to the north, war with the Serbs.

He gave the bone to Cheremi, who tiptoed toward the kitchen with it. I strained my ears to hear how it was received; I thought that the portent of strong government might make the people think it unwise to hand Perolli over to the Serbs; they must know that in any case his death would be avenged by soldiers from Tirana. But would it, since he was traveling "on a vacation"? Governments do not usually back up their secret-service men who fail on the job. There was no sound from the kitchen, and we entertained Padre Marjan by showing him how, in America, we use the wishbone to foretell a part of the future. But any wishbone will do that for us, while in Albania only the breastbone of a hen that has lived all her life in the family will foretell that family's future.

000 Outside, it continued to rain, if that state of the air when it is surely half water can be called

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rain. We were glad to get back to the kitchen fire. The chiefs and older men of the village did not return, but many women and children came in to talk to the strangers, and it was evident that the padre's kitchen was the village club-house; they were all at home and happy there. The padre himself washed the dishes and swept the floor with a pine bough, chatting with them all as he did so; one saw, in the atmosphere of intimacy and democracy and respect around him what the Church used to be to the people long ago.

Then he set pans of water to heating for our baths, and when they were warm he lighted the way with a candle to his bedroom, which he had loaned to us. Another large, bare room with wooden unpainted walls, a bedstead of rough boards with a mattress laid on them, and sheets and pillow cases of red-and-white-plaided cotton, hand woven; in one corner an office desk, and on the wall beside the bed a rosary.

At midnight Perolli and Padre Marjan retired to the cold, wet living room, to roll themselves in blankets and sleep on the floor. We three girls sat shivering on the mattress and wished we knew what the chiefs were deciding.

But, oh! it was good to take off the clothes, so many times soaked with rain, in which we had walked and climbed and slept for three days and nights. And forks may be idle luxuries, but there is no question that a thin mattress filled with straw and laid on raised boards is one of the greatest comforts in life!

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 We were awakened in the damp chill of a watery gray dawn, and with surprise found ourselves on its unfamiliar softness, in the bleak room of unpainted boards. Padre Marjan was knocking at the door. In a moment he entered, barefooted, in his long brown robe girded with cord, and, going to the incongruous office desk, he carefully unlocked a lower drawer and took out a box of soap. There were twenty small cakes of soap in the box. He took out one, carefully, put the box back in the drawer, locked it.

871 He[1] had been followed by a small boy, a very
861 serious child, and visibly nervous. About eleven years old, he wore the long, tight, black-braided white trousers, colored sash, and woolly, fringed short black jacket of his people, but they were all soaking wet and very old, mended and mended again until hardly any of the original fabric was left. His bare feet were blue with cold, and so were his bare arms, for the Scanderbeg jacket has no sleeves, and he did not wear a shirt. He stood very straight, and swallowed hard, keeping his face impassive.

Padre Marjan turned to him, holding the cake of soap. He spoke earnestly and at some little length. He then presented the cake of soap to the child, who bent a knee to receive it, and kissed the padre's hand and then the soap. An impressive little ceremonial, which we witnessed, wide eyed, from the mattress where we sat huddled among the blankets. Rain was still sluicing

1 [Padre Marjan of Thethi's -- [134] Analyst]

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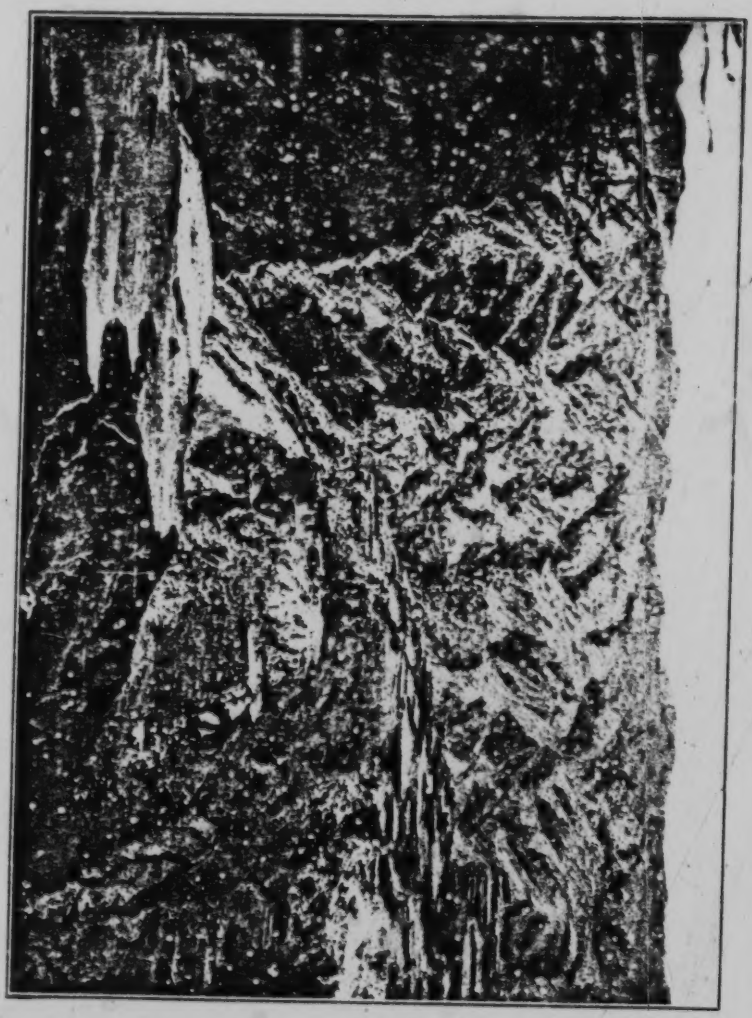

THE SHALA VALLEYS

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against the windows, so that the water on them was surely as thick as the glass.

We looked inquiringly at Frances, who understood Albanian. Her eyes shone, she was so excited. "It's a school prize!" she said, and, listening, "He's the best scholar in school; already he can read and write. Isn't it splendid!" The boy saluted us gravely; one saw that he had just gone through a profound emotional experience. "Long may you live!" said he, and went out.

Padre Marjan said that the school had been opened ten days before. On the first day there were forty-three pupils, on the second day sixty-two, on the third day ninety-seven. All the tribe was sending its children to live with relatives in Thethis and go to school. No more than ninety-seven could get into the padre's living room; the others must wait until, with the money Alex and Frances had collected, the schoolhouse could be built. There were no benches or desks, of course; the children stood packed tightly in the cold room, and he taught them by writing with a piece of chalk on the walls. Already this boy could read and write words of one syllable and merited a cake of soap. Padre Marjan, at his own expense, had sent two hundred miles to Tirana for fifty cakes of soap, to be used as prizes. There was, of course, no other soap in the tribe; a more magnificent gift could not have been imagined.

The boy who got the cake of soap walked

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871 The boy who got the cake of soap walked every morning nine miles over the mountains to [857] reach school at seven o'clock, and at nine, after school, he walked back and took out the goats and spent all day climbing trees and cutting twigs for them to eat.

Padre Marjan said that as soon as he knew the Americans would build the school he had started teaching, and he had written to the government in Tirana and asked if it would help. He brought from the desk the letter he had received in reply. Written by hand, for the poverty-stricken young government had no typewriters, and sent by messenger into the mountains, in six weeks it had reached Thethis, and the padre kept it wrapped in a bit of hand-woven silk. Frances spelled it out; it said that the government would give a hundred kronen a month to pay the teacher. It was signed for the Minister of the Interior by Rrok Perolli.

000 "My sainted grandmother!" cried Frances. "Where is Perolli?" At that very minute the chiefs might be sending word to the Serbs to come and get him. The chiefs themselves would surely not violate the hospitality of their priest, but the Serbs would have no reverence for it and they were only a few miles away. When we thought what a bargain the chiefs might drive with the Serbs for Perolli it seemed too much to hope that one of them, at least, would not hand him over.

Padre Marjan spoke warmly of Perolli, whom he had so innocently betrayed; he said that he

had once seen him at a distance in Scutari, and the village was honored to have him for a guest. While he said this he wrapped the precious letter in its silk and laid it carefully away in the desk. Then he went away, saying that he would send us a fire.

In a few minutes it came, a pile of hot coals in a large iron baking dish. Cheremi set it in the middle of the floor—where, indeed, it made little impression on the damp chill of the room—and went to fetch us cups of Turkish coffee. But we were too anxious to linger over it; we swallowed it hastily and dressed as quickly as possible, talking about what we could do to save Perolli. We thought that perhaps as American citizens we could overawe the Serbs, but none of us really had much hope of it; indeed, we had no right to attempt American protection for a secret-service agent of the Albanian government along the borders of the land held by invading Jugo-Slav armies. Still, we did not know that he was a secret-service agent; we had every right to suppose that he was merely our companion on a vacation trip. It was all very vague, but distressing.

Frances and Alex hurried out to find Perolli, but I sat helpless. No human effort would get my feet into the iron-hard shrunken shoes that had so long been water soaked. What on earth was I to do? Could I go barefooted over the mountains? More immediate question, could I go forth shoeless to inspire terror

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ooo of America in the breasts of possible Serbs? Ignoble predicament!

While I sat struggling with the obdurate leather the door opened and in came the magnificent figure of Lulash, the chief. He had none of the marks of self-conscious importance that our statesmen have; he was as simple, as graceful, and as unself-conscious as a tiger in his own jungle, and at the moment he struck me with something of the same spellbound, half-admiring terror. He looked as capable of swift, unconcerned killing as the rifle on his back. Behind him came Perolli, betraying the tension of his excitement only by the ease with which he concealed it.

Lulash saluted me as I stared up at him, petrified, from the mattress. "Long may you live!" said he, and, swinging the rifle from his back, he set it against the padre's desk. Then he sat down on the floor—there were, of course, no chairs in the room—close to the baking dish filled with warm coals. He did not lounge, but sat straight, his legs folded beneath him, and Perolli sat similarly on the other side of the baking dish. Lulash took a silver tobacco box from his sash and slowly rolled a cigarette; Perolli took from his pocket a box of the American variety; they exchanged cigarettes, lighted them by bending close to the red coals, and sat back again, watching each other in silence for some moments.

I put my shoes down stealthily, making not

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the slightest noise, tucked my feet beneath me, and sat perfectly still. Outside, the rain made a swishing sound; the soft roaring of a thousand waterfalls ran beneath it like an accompaniment. Thin streaks of snow-chilled, wet air came through the many cracks in the board walls and floor; they tore the cigarette smoke into dancing wisps. Wet spread slowly on the walls; the floor was spotted with damp where we had dropped our sodden clothes the night before. The coals in the baking dish were filming over with gray ash.

It was the first time I had ever been present at a diplomatic conference, and that one on which the fate of a nation depended. For if these mountain men did turn Perolli over to the Serbs, getting thereby the favor of the armies that held their cities and grazing lands, I had no doubt that it meant soldiers from Tirana coming up to Thethis, civil war with the northern tribes, and not at all improbably the murdering of the new-born government. Perhaps, indeed, another outbreak in the Balkans, the sore spot of Europe. And I could not understand Albanian!

Lulash spoke first, in short, decisive sentences. I caught the word "Serbs" and the word for "markets." At the end of each sentence Perolli shook his head sidewise, in the quick gesture that means, "Yes." Lulash was stating the case; Perolli was in his power; the Serbs wanted Perolli; the Serbs held Thethis's markets and grazing lands; moreover—for I caught the word

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"kronen"—there was the probability of reward. To all this Perolli assented. He had not yet spoken.

There was another slight pause, but not for him to break. Lulash was thinking. Then he leaned a little forward, put his hand on his heart, and spoke again. There was not the faintest expression on Perolli's face; I could not make out what was happening. When Lulash had ceased speaking Perolli smoked for a moment in silence. "You have done well," he said, then, in Albanian; and to me, "Have you got your fountain pen?"

I got it out of my trousers pocket and gave it to him quickly—too quickly. He was very leisurely about taking it. Then he opened his notebook and wrote in it. Lulash watched the moving pen with a sort of awed fascination. Perolli read aloud the words he had written, closed the notebook, and put it in his pocket. He showed no pleasure of relief, but the very atmosphere of the room had lightened.

Both men leaned back more easily and for the first time seemed to taste their cigarettes. Lulash looked at me; the aquiline profile became a full-face view of the handsome, sensitive, strong face framed in folds of white. What did I look like to those mountain eyes, I wondered, sitting there disheveled among tumbled blankets, a brown sweater bunched around my neck, my riding trousers creased and muddy and dangling their unputteed legs?

PEAKS OF SHALA

"I should be glad to see the women of my tribe wearing American garments," said Lulash. "Skirts are heavy and cumbersome; trousers are far better."

Perolli translated.

"Goodness! He thinks all American women wear trousers!" I said. "Well, tell him I thank him; I agree with him; for the mountains trousers are more comfortable. Tell him I am much interested in the women of his tribe and would like to ask him some questions about them. And I'll die right here if you don't tell me what's happened."

"He will be glad to tell you anything he knows, but no man understands the nature of women, which is like the streams that run under the mountains. Don't worry; it's all over."

"What do you mean? Ask him if he thinks it is a good idea to betroth children before they are born. (What did you write in the notebook?)"

"He says he does not think it a good idea. (I tell you it's all right.)"

"Oh, thank goodness! Then he does not think the women are happy in their marriages? (But tell me what he was saying to you, won't you?)"

"He says that as for happiness, his people do not expect happiness in marriage; happiness comes from other things. (I cannot tell you; he would understand the word; I will spell it. He has sworn a *b-e-s-a* that his whole tribe will be loyal to the Albanian government as long as he

[581]

[Lulash, tribal chief in Thethis -- Analyst]

ooolives. Careful! Don't let him suspect I'm talking about it.)"

Albanians, with their many languages, are used to such conversations. I hope I deceived Lulash; my training in dissimulation has been small. I was rather dizzy.

"From what does their happiness come, then?" said I. ("For Heaven's sake, what happened to make him do that?")

581 "Happiness," said Lulash, "comes from the
828 skies. It comes from sunshine, and from light and shadow on the mountains, and from green things in the spring. It comes also from rest when one is tired, and from food when one is hungry, and from fire when one is cold. It comes from singing together, and from walking on hard trails and being harder than the rocks; and there is a kind of happiness that comes to a man in battle, but that is a different kind. For us, marriage has nothing to do with happiness."

ooo Perolli, translating, added, "He did it because the Albanian government has helped the American school here."

Then for the first time I really looked at Lulash. He had been until then simply a marvelously beautiful animal; a man such as men must have been before cities and machines and office desks brought dull skins and eyes, joy rides, padded shoulders, and crippling collars. Now I perceived that he was also a real person.

He saw beyond immediate gain for himself or his people. He had refused any advantages to

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be gained by this unexpected dropping into his hands of this man that the Serbs wanted; he lived under the shadow of mountains alive with Serbian troops, his village was filled with Serbian influences, the Tirana government was two hundred miles away, and he knew nothing of it except that it had promised a hundred kronen a month to the mountain school that Alex and Frances had started. Yet he had come, voluntarily, without urging, to swear a *besa* of loyalty to that government because it had helped the school. And the *besa*, the word of honor, would hold him, I knew, as the strongest treaties never hold Western governments. I admired that man. I felt a tender sort of pity for him, too, because of his faith in the value of being able to read. After all, what has it done for us? Like most of civilization, it has done little more than create a useless desire that men become slaves to satisfy. It has made us very little kinder, very little less unsympathetic with alien points of view, and no farther from war, poverty, and misery than the Albanians are.

"Then what does marriage mean to the Albanians?" I said, grasping for the thread of the conversation.

Lulash was really puzzled by my idea that marriage and happiness were in some way connected. He was courteous, but there was a little surprise in his voice. "Marriage is a family question," he said. "One marries because one is old enough to marry, and that is the way

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581 the family goes on from generation to generation. You marry in America, do you not? You keep the family alive? How are marriages arranged in America?"

000 "With us," I said, "marriage does not have much to do with the family. Young people grow up thinking about themselves. Then, when they are old enough, if they have money enough to live on, and if they meet some one they like and want to marry, they marry. They marry to be happy, because they have found some one they want to live with always. They go away from their families, sometimes very far away, and live in a house by themselves."

It came over me, while I watched the surprise growing in Lulash's eyes, how haphazard and egotistic — how shallowly rooted, really — our whole system is. We marry because we want another human being, because—it really comes to that—we want to use that other human being to make happiness for ourselves. For even when one gets happiness by giving, instead of taking, it is still fundamentally a demand, a demand that the other take what is given, and that is sometimes the hardest of all demands to satisfy. Two persons, each demanding that the other be a source of personal happiness to him or her, each demanding, clutching, insisting on that gift from the other—that is the spectacle of American marriage. No wonder it so often ends in a heap of wreckage, out of which maimed human beings struggle through divorce.

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"I do not understand what you mean by saying they must have money enough to marry," said Lulash. "There is always money enough to marry, isn't there? A man costs the tribe no more married than not married, and if new girls are brought into the tribe by marriage, others are given away in marriage. Even in the poorest tribes marriages never stop." 581

"We have another system of owning property in America," said I. "By that system, often men cannot afford to marry until they are quite old. They are never able to marry as young as you do here. In fact, many persons never marry at all." 000

"Because there are not enough women?"

"Oh no! The women work, too, and do not marry. (Goodness! Perolli, tell him it is too difficult to explain.)"

"He thinks," said Perolli, "that you mean that in your country the young men live like priests and the women like sworn virgins, such as they sometimes have here. He's very deeply shocked by such an idea. I'll have to tell him something—what? Either way, he'll get the idea that Americans are utterly immoral."

"Well, say that we have—that we have another kind of marriage, that isn't exactly marriage—say we have concubines. He'll understand that, from Turkey," said I, in desperation. And while Perolli endeavored to explain and still uphold the honor of America in the eyes of a profoundly shocked chief of Shala, I tried to

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 devise another way of getting at the subject. For I did want to know what Albanian women felt about being married to men they had never seen, in strange tribes, and I knew they would never tell me through masculine interpreters. Lulash would know.

[156] "But most of the sources of happiness that you mentioned are in the lives of men," I said. "Are the women happy?"

"No," said Lulash. "I do not think our women are happy." He seemed deeply troubled; there were perplexity and anxiety in his dark eyes, and he moved restlessly—which Albanians almost never do—as he sat on the floor by the heap of coals in the baking dish. They had sunk quite into gray ashes; the bleak room was very cold, filled with the ceaseless swishing sound of the rain and of the innumerable waterfalls that poured from the mountains overhead.

"Perhaps I shouldn't be asking him this? Perhaps he is married to an unhappy woman?" I asked.

"No," said Perolli. "He is not married; he is the only man in Shala who is not married."

[593] "Our women have their children; they love their children," said Lulash. "And they do not quarrel with their husbands. It almost never happens that there are ugly words in a family. 531 But I do not think the women are happy. I do not know whether they would be happier if they chose their own husbands. Girls of the marrying age are not very wise. But I often think,

*[Tribal chief in [146] The this -- Analyse]

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when I see a young girl taken away to the house 581
of some old man, who perhaps is sick and ugly and morose because he must stay all day in the house, that it is a sad thing. For myself, I would like to see the American way tried here. I have [582]
said to my people that it is wrong to betroth children before they are born. We do not do it very often, now. Usually they are five or six years old, old enough so that one can see what they will become and what they will like. But parents do not often think of those things; they think more of marrying their children into a richer, stronger tribe, so that when war and bad seasons come there will be the strong, rich tribe to help them. Also, it is better for the child who is married into a good tribe. So that parents do not think much about the children themselves; they think more about the family and the tribe."

"Why isn't he married?" I said to Perolli. "Did they give the girl he wanted to some one else?"

"How could they, when he would have been a baby then?" said Perolli, indignant at my stupidity. "No. When he was old enough to marry he paid the girl's family and arranged her marriage to some one else. It is well known why he has not married; he does not want to marry a woman of the mountains, and he knows no other women."

"And in my country," I said to Lulash, "I think it would be better if parents thought more about the young man's family."

581 "Yes," he replied, "if they thought about the character of that family, as they would doubtless do in America. Here, they think more about the lands and herds and strong fighting men that the tribe has. I have often thought at night—for I lie awake a great deal, thinking about my people—that we would have better children if the women were free to choose their own husbands. They would choose men who were young and strong and beautiful. Also the young men would choose the strongest and most beautiful girls. There is another thing, too. I believe there is something like a spirit between two people, something that knows more than their brains do about what their children will be, and that that spirit would lead them into better marriages if they could listen to it. I do not say it very well, because there is no word for it, but I understand it. I would like to see my people try the American way," he repeated.

ooo He rose to his six feet of height, splendid in fine white wool and silken sash, the jewel-studded chains clinking together on his chest, and swung the rifle again on his back. "I will go now to my own house," he said. "If the *zaushka* from America would follow me and drink coffee before my fire, the path her feet would take would always be flowery with spring to my eyes."

There is something contagious in that sort of thing. "Say to him that my feet will be happy on the path," I said to the amused Perolli.

"Glory to your lips!" said Lulash. "Glory

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forever to the little feet that brought you to Thethis!"

The little feet were wearing at that moment two pairs of wrinkled, thick woolen stockings, indescribably ludicrous beneath the flapping legs of trousers around which I had not rewound the soaked woolen leggings, and Perolli and I were helpless with laughter as soon as the door had closed behind Lulash.

"How am I ever going to get to his house?" I asked, wiping my eyes.

"Oh, we'll have somebody make you some goatskin opangi," said Perolli. "He won't expect us very soon." He flung out his arms in a jubilant gesture. "A *besa* of peace from Shala!" he exclaimed. "I couldn't have hoped for that! It means peace through the whole north; it means internal security for northern Albania—if I can only get the other tribes to join it."

Frances and Alex came in, desperately anxious to know what had happened, and we three did a dance of pure delight. It was an inexpressible relief to know that Perolli would get out of Shala alive, and the *besa* was almost too much.

"But, Perolli," said Frances, when I had told the whole conversation, "do you mean to say that these people are—are absolutely moral? I mean, as we understand morality? No love making along all these mountain trails? No illegitimate children? Never?"

"Never? Well, I have heard of one case," said Perolli. "But don't forget that such a

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837 thing would mean a blood feud between tribes.
628 No man would make love to a girl of his own
619 tribe, of course; a tribe traces its ancestry back to a common ancestor, and it would be like an American's making love to his own sister. And if he seduced a girl of another tribe he would be involving hundreds of people. Men have to respect women in these mountains; they're killed if they don't, and not only they, but their families. A blood feud is no joke.

"However, I did hear of its happening once. The man's family had to send word to the family of the girl to whom he was betrothed, to say that he could not marry her because he was going to have a child by another woman. The three tribes met in council and prevented a blood feud, but the man's family had to pay his fiancée's tribe ten thousand kronen, and ten thousand kronen to the family of the man that the other girl was engaged to. Then those two married, and the first man married the girl who was going to have his child. But it was a terrible disgrace to both their families.

But he cut short our awed admiration for such a rigidly moral community. He was a man of Ipek, educated in Europe, and returned to Tirana, and his attitude to the ignorant tribes of these mountains was not one of admiration.

584 "They are really a wretched lot," he declared.
627 "Now, take a thing like this, for instance." And he told us that in a house a few miles down the valley there was a nine-year-old girl held prisoner. The story was this:

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THE SHOPPING CENTER IN TIRANA

These mountain women are admiring the strange weaving and color of bandana handkerchiefs and unbleached muslin from Europe. But they will sigh and content themselves with their own hand-woven silks and cottons, and if they buy anything, it will be the brightly painted cradle. An unbetrothed girl baby who was strapped into so fine a cradle might well hope to be married in Tirana or Scutari.

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(150a)

PEAKS OF SHALA

584 627 A man of Pultit had betrothed his unborn child to the unborn child of a man of Shala, eighteen years ago. The two men, being friends, and one evening drinking rakejia together, had agreed that if one child proved to be a boy and the other a girl, they should marry. The wife of the Pultit man had protested; she did not like the tribe of Shala, and she did not like her husband's friend, perhaps because he was too fond of rakejia. Besides, she was an ambitious woman, and said that if she had a daughter she would marry her in Scutari. Wild, irrational woman! But the compact was made, and nothing was left to her but to hope that both children would be boys, or both girls.

However, she became the mother of a daughter, and the Shala man became the father of a son. The girl was eleven years old, and in a few more years would have been duly married in Shala, when the Serbs and Montenegrins, pouring down over the mountains in the retreat before the Austrians, suddenly invaded Albania, and in fighting those ancestral enemies the girl's father was killed. The mother immediately took her children and fled to Scutari.

Four years later, the girl now being of marriageable age, Shala sent to Scutari for her, and what was their outrage to discover that the mother not only would not give her up, but had actually betrothed her to a Scutari man! The gendarmes of Scutari make simple and direct justice difficult; mountain law does not apply

584 there. Two Shala men made an attempt to
627 carry off the girl, and were captured by superior forces and thrown into jail. Not killed, you perceive, but trapped, and talked over at length, and kept in a cage for some time, and at length freed, all most absurdly and unreasonably. They returned at once to their task, but they found it impossible to seize the girl again. She was closely guarded, not only by her mother, but by the family of the Scutari man to whom she was unjustly betrothed. So, finding that way to justice blocked, the Shala men caught her little sister, eight years old, and triumphantly escaped with her into the mountains.

She was not yet of marriageable age, and the Shala bridegroom must wait another six years, but justice had been done, though imperfectly. Pultit owed him a bride, and a Pultit bride he would have, with patience. The girl was brought to his house, and was even now being kept there, much against her will, while the family waited for her to grow old enough to be married.

ooo "Those are things that we must change as soon as the government is strong enough," Perolli said, decisively, and we hoped that the government would be strong enough in time to rescue the girl, though the poor Shala lad, through no fault of his own, seemed doomed to live an unhappy bachelor.

In Padre Marjan's kitchen we found at least twenty visitors from the village; the men were there again, among them all the chiefs but

Lulash. The fireplace was full of bubbling pots and sizzling pans; the padre, helped informally by whoever happened to be nearest, was preparing our luncheon. My dilemma was announced; I stood before them shoeless. A boy ran at once across the village and returned streaming, as though he had been in a river, bringing two pieces of goatskin, tanned with the soft brown hair on it.

To the eager interest of everyone, I set my feet on the pieces, and there were many exclamations of wonder at their smallness and at the curious shape of them, the toes so close together and making a point, instead of arching, each one separately, as the toes of their people do, and they would have been glad to examine them more closely—asking one another, as Rexh explained, if I would or would not take off the strangely woven stockings later. Meanwhile the boy with a nail drew the outlines of my feet on the leather and went away with it to his house, where the opangi would be made.

While this was happening the older men of the tribe went back to the cold bedroom with Perolli, each one adding his own *besa* of loyalty to the one Lulash had sworn, and asking many questions about the aims and strength of the Tirana government. They would not yet call it the Albanian government; they could not comprehend the idea of the state, so familiar to us that we never examine it. "Government" meant to them not only the consent of the governed, but the active participation of everyone in govern-

[men from village of Thethis--

 Analyst]

641 829 ing; they had, indeed, no conception of what we mean by "government." When they say "government" they mean what we mean when we say, in a group, "Well, now we're all agreed, let's go on and do it."

185 Perolli spent that morning—and indeed most of his time in the few succeeding days that we were together—trying to explain the idea of a representative government to these simple communist people. And he told us that within six weeks the Albanian government would really come up into the mountains. The plan was to begin by sending into the tribes men from Tirana who could read and write; they would be connecting links between Tirana and the tribes, sitting in all the tribal councils, making reports to Tirana and explaining the wishes of the Tirana parliament to the mountaineers.

ooo These men would bring in with them, of course, the private-property ideas of southern Albania (which is just changing from the feudal system to modern capitalism), and I felt a regret, purely romantic, perhaps, at the inevitable disappearance of this last surviving remnant of the Aryan primitive communism in which our own forefathers lived, and at the replacing of Lulash by men like our politicians. I am a conservative, even a reactionary; I should like to keep the Albanian mountains what they are. But no one can stop the changes in human affairs; the eternal swing of the pendulum goes on; we have shop stewards in England and a Plumb plan in

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America, and in Thethis, on the headwaters of the Lumi Shala, we shall have agitators for private ownership of land and houses, and—no doubt, in time—for private property in mines and railroads and electric-power plants.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHIEFS OF SHALA PROBATE A WILL—WE VISIT THE HOUSE OF LULASH—A JOURNEY TO UPPER THETHIS.

000 I MAY say that such agitators will have a very bad time of it, as doubtless all agitators deserve to have, since all agitators always have 428 had it. There was a conference that afternoon 794 in the padre's bedroom, and this time it was the padre who wanted the principle of private property established. A man had died and left a piece of land to the Church, and the padre[1] wanted the land to build the school on. Four chiefs of Shala sat beside the desk, on a bench brought in for the purpose, and Padre Marjan, gaunt and earnest in his Franciscan robe, talked the case out before Perolli.[2] (Perolli was no longer a hunted man who might be turned over to the Serbs; he was now an honored guest, emissary from an allied tribe, whose words were heard with respect.)

Padre Marjan had written down the testator's dying words in a notebook. He read them, those little mysterious marks on paper. They said that the man had made much land—every foot of earth is made by incredible labor of uprooting bowlders and building stone walls to catch

1 [Padre Marjan of Thethis [156] -- Analyst]
2 [Secretary of Albanian Ministry of Interior -- Analyst]

washed-down soil—and he felt that he was leaving enough land to the tribe to stand as his contribution, without this one small piece. That piece he wished the tribe to give to the Church. 428 794

There was also a statement from the man's wife, saying that her husband had long wished the Church to have that piece of land, and that she and her children wished it also.

"Those words are written words," said Perolli, gravely, the eyes of all upon him. "Therefore they are holy words; they are as the words of the saints."

"That is doubtless so," said one of the chiefs. "But this man was not a saint, and, besides, how can he give away land? Land belongs to the tribe of Shala." [423]

"It is not as though I wished to take the land from Shala," said Padre Marjan. "I do not want it for myself. I wish to build a school upon it, and the school will be for all the children of Shala. It will be for the good of the tribe, that their children can learn to read and write."

"Glory to your lips," said another chief. "But since it is for the children of Shala, let it be built on the land of Shala. Build our school upon it, and all our tribe will bless you."

"But this man left the land to the Church, for the welfare of his soul. It is written here upon this paper that the land belongs to the Church. It is the Church that will build the school in Thethis; I myself am already teaching your children, and even when the new teacher comes from

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428 794 Tirana the school will be under my care. I am the servant of the Church in Thethis, and this land must belong to the Church."

"We will think about it," said the chiefs.

"Shall it be said," demanded the padre, "that the Americans have come from far across strange seas to bring money to build a school for the children of Thethis, and that the people of Thethis will not give even one small piece of land?"

"But," said I to Frances, "why do you want to take land from the tribe and give it to the Church?"

"The Church is the only light they have up here; the only center of inspiration and learning," said Frances. "See how the people come to the padre's kitchen; see what he means to them. I'm not a Catholic, but can't you see that if the school is to be a community center the Church must have it? They don't know how to make it what we want it to be, themselves."

"Very well," said the chiefs. "You may have the land, Padre Marjan."

291 My opangi had arrived. The edges of the leather had been turned upward and joined across the toes by an intricately woven network of rawhide thongs. Another network made a heel piece, and there were thongs to go around the ankles. With the opangi came a pair of short, knitted purple socks reaching just to the ankle, where they ended in points bound with black braid and stiff with gold and silver

1 [Albanian handmade shoes] [158] Analyst

embroidery. These were really separate linings 291
to the stiff and hard opangi, which had to be
soaked a long time in water and put on wet, in
order to get them on at all.

Very conscious of my feet, which seemed large 342
and unwieldy flopping objects at the ends of my
legs, I went across the flat, wet fields with Perolli
to drink coffee in the house of Lulash. 1

The house of Lulash was different from any of
the others we had seen. It stood on a castlelike
rock; we went up to it by a stairway cut in the
side of a cliff that rose almost sheer for so far
that the waterfall pouring down it looked like a
motionless streak of snow near the top. A
natural bridge of rock crossed the little space
between the cliff and the rock on which the
house of Lulash was built; a furious little stream
roared beneath us as we crossed the bridge, and
then there was another stairway leading up to
the house.

Lulash and a dozen men and women of his [574]
household stood outside his door to receive us.
No rifles were fired. We passed through a
double line of salutes and greetings and into a
high-arched stone doorway. There was a little
hall, floored and walled with stone, and a massive
stone stair leading upward. This we climbed, [352]
and were in a large whitewashed room, lighted
by a window and furnished with beautifully
painted chests and a few hand-woven rugs. But
this was not the only room; there were others, 000
and, leading us through several arched stone

1 [tribal chief in Thethis -- Analys F]

ooo doorways, Lulash brought us into the living room, where I exclaimed, "My house in San Francisco!"

It was exactly the same—long, wide, with the large gray stone fireplace in the center of one wall, folded blankets of goats' wool piled like cushions around it; the alcove where my bookshelves used to be was there—an old carved chest stood in it; and there were my windows, where the nasturtiums used to grow and the orange curtains frame the blues of San Francisco Bay and the Berkeley hills and the sky. I went to those windows at once. But, no, the magic departed; there was only the flat wet lands of Thethis below me, the stone houses and stone fences, and beyond them the blue and purple and white and black and rose color of the snow-crested mountains with a hundred waterfalls. Beautiful, but like the stranger's face that shatters the wild, irrational expectation of having found a friend in an impossible place. I turned my back upon those windows.

But it was, it was the living room that I remembered! The gray walls—but these were of plaster; the black floor; the huge gray stone fireplace. Even the rug on the wall, where my treasured shawl used to be. "It *is* my house!" I said, while Perolli looked as though I had suddenly gone mad, and all the others stood concealing their amazement. "Tell them that it is exactly like my house at home, far away on the other side of the world," And I sat down on a

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pile of folded blankets before the fire, not yet sure that I was not dreaming and that the strange chests and stranger figures of turbaned men and barbarically dressed barefooted women would not vanish when I awoke.

"I did not think," said Lulash, "that any of our houses would be as fine as an American house." He was so pleased that his hand quivered a little on the long handle of the tiny brass pot in which he was making the coffee. So I told them that only our finest houses are of stone, that my house was of wood, and much smaller than his. But all our houses had windows, I said.

"Yes," said Lulash, wistfully "Windows are very good; I always wish that all our houses had windows. But first we must have a *besa* of peace among all the tribes; it is not safe now to have windows, a man never knows when his tribe will be 'in blood' and enemies will shoot him through windows. You see that mine are so placed that it would be difficult to shoot through them, and I have heavy shutters for closing them at night, when the firelight makes it easier to see us from outside."

But he was pleased that I praised his windows; he had gone through many other tribes and down into Scutari to bring up the glass of which he had heard, and made them with his own hands. They were on leather hinges so that they would open and let in the air; he said he had observed that sunshine and air were good things.

342 and, if good outdoors, why not good in houses?
619 "But it will be a long time before my people can have windows," he said, sadly.

He did not think it was good to keep the sheep and goats with the family, either; all his flocks were driven at night into their own quarters, on the lower floor of the house.

000 Houses are the most endless subject in the world; all of humanity and its history is expressed in houses, and while the coffee cup was passed back and forth I told about American houses; about the log cabins of the pioneers, such a little time ago as crude as those of the Albanians; about the loophole glassless windows, and the pegs on which rifles were hung; and about farmers' houses in New England, where the cattle live under the same roof, at the end of long sheds; and suburban houses with gardens, and apartment houses where whole tribes of people live, going up and down in movable rooms. And then I spoke about water power and said that it became electricity—Lulash asked me eagerly how it was done, but I did not know—and that brought us to the whole subject of machinery. I drew a picture of a spinning wheel for them and explained it, but they said it would not be practicable on the trails, where the women did most of the spinning; a woman could not carry her baby in its cradle and a spinning wheel, too; the spindle was better; and I agreed with them. But if men and women did not work so hard carrying water from the springs, they would

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have time to sit in the house and work a spinning wheel, and I said that water could come into houses in pipes, and Lulash and I discussed for some time how a hollowed-out log could bring part of the waterfall into his house. But he said regretfully that a log was so expensive; cutting a tree meant destroying so much pasture for the goats, and it took a long time for a tree to grow again. And I saw how princely had been his gift of a hundred trees to be burned to make the lime to make the mortar to make the schoolhouse, and the infinite labor of such a life made me realize the stupendous obstacles mankind has overcome in climbing out of it. And I thought that it was the long struggle to wrest from the unwilling earth the material necessities of human life that turned humanity's terrific energy in the course it still follows, though the need for it is past, and that perhaps some day this energy, turned into other channels, will make the life of civilized man as rich in spiritual and emotional values as it now is in material things.

The gay Cheremi, bringing our breakfast of Turkish coffee next morning, spoke with proud nonchalance in English. "Padre gone," said he. "When wake, no padre. He is went."

The import of these words came slowly to us. Awakening in that chill room, to find ourselves between crimson sheets, beneath blankets of woven goat's hair, and to see the scarlet-sashed, scalplocked Cheremi bearing the brass tray with

○○○ its coffee cups, had always a quality of unreality. It was not so much an awakening from dreams as to them. In the transition from unconsciousness to consciousness we must traverse so many centuries to feel at home, that we arrived a little breathless.

But, "The padre gone?" Frances cried, after an instant. And we sat dumb, staring at Cheremi's beaming. Any impossibility was probable; we did not question that the padre had disappeared in some strange fashion, and our minds, while we hurriedly dressed, were not concerned with the manner of his going so much as with what we should do without him. We were prepared to deal gallantly with the catastrophic emergency, as the walker up stairs in the dark is prepared for the last step, which is not there.

For when we found Perolli squatting by the kitchen fireplace, busy with long-handled coffee pot and spoon, he confirmed Cheremi's report absent-mindedly. "Mmmhm. He went at dawn. Off to hear confessions in upper Thethis. Getting ready for Easter. More coffee?"

He seemed more abstracted than this anticlimax justified, and we drank coffee again, in silence. The kitchen was dismal, a poor and wretched place without Padre Marjan. Rain was pouring steadily outside, and the house was filled with roar of waterfalls as a shell is filled with sound of the sea. In those moments of cold gray light by the fire which was dying

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slowly under hissing raindrops, I realized the courage and endurance of Padre Marjan—of all the priests who, in these mountains, keep alight a warmth and gayety of spirit for their people.

"I'm going to upper Thethis myself," said Perolli, at length. "Like to come along? We've been invited to visit Sadiri Luka, the richest man in the Five Tribes."

We roused ourselves with some little effort, for the grayness of the day, the chill, and the ceaseless sound of pouring water were like an actual weight on muscles. We swept the floor painstakingly and long, with the pine bough. We went down the draughty stairs and out into the downpour to bring back a wooden bucket of water; we tried to stir the sullen embers into a blaze to warm it; we gave up in despair and washed the coffee cups in water cold and sooty. We made the beds; we went up and down the stairs, bringing water, emptying wash basins, carrying ashes and wet wood. Our admiration and reverence for Padre Marjan grew like Jonah's gourd while we did these things, which he does every day before beginning his work. At last we set out, opangi laced and staffs in hand, to go to upper Thethis.

A day of comparative dryness had broken our fishlike habits, and water seemed again an unkind element in which to be moving. Crossing the flat valley in single file, accompanied by the sucking, slushy sound of water-filled stockings,

we said little. The sheets of rain blurred our sight, and the sound of it dulled our hearing. But when we began cautiously to climb the slippery trail that edged up the mountain side, exercise had begun to warm us, and we escaped from the silence which is to human beings a more unfamiliar element than water.

"How can he be the richest man in the Five Tribes? I thought these people were communistic," said Alex.

"The tribes own only lands and houses and most of the forests," said Perolli. "A man or a family can own flocks, or buy and sell when they go down to the cities. Sadiri Luka's the richest man because he went down to Ipek. He was a merchant there, and everyone is rich in Ipek. How I wish I might show you that valley, my own valley—it is more beautiful than you can imagine. There are such rich fields—the cows stand knee deep there in greenness like a carpet—and the best fruits of all the Balkans grow there. And butter, and honey, and fine flour, and quantities of the finest wool that makes the beautiful rugs of my people—there is everything in Ipek that you could wish to have, and both hands running over. I mean," he added, grimly, "there *was*. Yes, Ipek was a rich and happy place before the Serbs came. And if Sadiri Luka——" He broke off, on such a savage note that we were startled.

"You see," he resumed with a note of eagerness, stopping to point with his staff, "just over

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that mountain—no, that one, farthest east—ooo well, just over that mountain, and down through a little gorge where there will be violets soon, and then around the curve of the hills, there begins my valley of Ipek. In four hours I could go there. I know every step of the way. My father and my mother are there, and I am the only son, and I have not seen them for two years, nor my houses, nor my fields. And I could go there in four hours."

"Do you suppose," said Frances, nervously, "that the Serbs have field-glasses? If they had, Rrok, they could recognize you from their lines up there. They might be looking at you right now."

"If they even had any code of honor," he continued, not heeding her, "if they had any proper respect for women, I could go straight through their lines with you girls beside me, and I could go to see my people, and I could show you what a country Albanians make when they only have land to work, and we could come back again—we could do it all in one day. There is not a tribe in our mountains who would not let a Serb come and go in safety, with a woman beside him. But the Serbs—— And Christ tells us to love our enemies! How can we? How *can* we?"

It was the unanswerable passionate question, and we did not try to answer it. We went on, the little valley of Thethis narrowing below us, till mountain overlapped mountain, and the gorge between was filled with a foam-white green

000 river. From time to time we struggled through a waterfall, and there was one huge torrent that, leaping from a cliff above the trail, arched over it in a curve that seemed solid as glass, and we 361 passed beneath it. Then, descending, we came to the little valley of upper Thethis. Perhaps six or ten houses were scattered there, among broken-off fragments of cliff as large as they, and between them all the level land was glistening with water at the grass roots.

[342] The house of Sadiri Luka was notable for its stone-walled courtyard and its broad balcony. The heavy arch of the gateway was mediæval in its grim solidity; we escaped from the rain to the peace of its shelter, and there were welcomed [291] by Sadiri Luka. He was middle-aged, sturdy, even a little stodgy of figure, among the lithe mountaineers, and this appearance suggested the successful business man—a suggestion incongruous with his picturesque clothes. His trousers were the purest white that new wool can be, his fringed jacket the densest black, the colors of his sash were clear and gay, and his silver chains were massive. There was even a heavy silver ring on his finger. And there was no rifle on his back.

343 The courtyard was a litter of cornstalks, almost entirely covered with a roof of woven branches; evidently it was the home of flocks now out in the rain attended by a shepherd cutting leaves for them. An arched doorway opened into the first floor of the house, where we saw a pensive donkey gazing profoundly upon the liquid gray weather -- Analysis] [168]

donkey gazing profoundly upon the liquid gray 000
weather.

Obviously this was a rich house, and we fol- 353
lowed Sadiri Luka[1] expectantly, up the stone stairs and down a long hall mysterious with closed doors, to a large room full of color. There were rugs on the stone floor, rugs on the stone walls, floor cushions covered with rugs in front of the fireplace. There was no other furniture save a row of old rifles on a wall. Their slender four-foot-long barrels were inlaid with silver, their curved thin butts were of silver chased and enameled, their triggers were intricate flint-lock affairs, and we tore our eyes from them with a wrench, to reply with proper courteousness to the welcome of our host.

While he made the coffee a woman came quietly through the door beside the fireplace and greeted us with poised and gracious dignity—one of those many beautiful Albanian women who, because they were so poised and so silent, remain a background for all our memories of the mountains, more mysterious behind their level eyes and courteous phrases than Turkish women behind their veils.

Sitting on the cushions, we drank the coffee and the rakejia, from time to time responding to the greeting of other guests come to meet us. Perolli was quiet, fallen into one of the moods which we had learned not to interrupt with requests for interpreting. There was constraint in the atmosphere, and when, presently, he fell

[1] [In upper Thethis--Analyst]

ooo into low-voiced talk with Sadiri Luka, we tactfully engaged the others in such conversation as occurred to us. I forget how it happened that we first mentioned the ora. There were, of course, ora in Thethis, we were told, but no one remembered any news of interest concerning them. Then, prompted by the incessant sound of rushing water, we inquired if there were ora of the waters as well as of the forests.

"The old men know these things," said a handsome youth, somewhat bored. He was a traveled young man; he had been in Budapest and Bucharest, and spoke their languages as well as German and Italian, and—from wherever gotten—he wore an American army shirt. Ora did not interest him. "Old man," said he, politely, turning to an aged chief beside him, "what do you know of the water ora?"

The old man took the amber mouthpiece of his long cigarette holder from his shrunken lips and blew a reflective cloud of smoke. The alert Rexh produced my notebook and fountain pen from his pajama pocket, laid them beside me, and leaned forward, attentive.

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CHAPTER X

THE WATER ORA OF MALI SHARIT—THE COMING OF THE TRIBES TO EUROPE BEFORE THE SEAS WERE BORN, AND HOW THE FIRST GREEKS CAME IN BOATS—WHY ALEXANDER THE GREAT WAS BORN IN EMADHIJA, AND OF HIS JOURNEY TO MACEDONIA—THE SAD HOUSE OF KOL MARKU.

"THE water ora were an ancient race," said the old man. "They were here before the ora of the forests. I do not think there are very many of them left, and no man has seen them in my time, nor in the time of my father. But very long ago, before the tribes of Shala, Shoshi, and Pultit were founded by the three brothers from the land that is now the Merdite country, there was a man of their tribe who caught a water ora. It is a very old song, and much of it has been forgotten, but the man was a man from the Mali Sharit, and by three days he missed becoming the king of the world. In my father's time the thing that happened to him was still sung. I heard that song when I was a child, but I have forgotten the words of it. I remember only the thing that happened.

"The man of Mali Sharit went every day to the wood on the mountain, and in that wood was

776 a lake, small, but like the sky in clearness. I do
539 not know why he went; he was probably laying by green leaves to feed his sheep in the winter. But it happened that one day while he worked he saw a very beautiful girl lift her head from that clear water and look carefully in every direction. He was hidden by low leaves and she did not see him. When she saw no one, she came from the water into the sunshine, and danced in the sunshine. When she had danced until she wished no longer to dance, she went again into the water. The man of Mali Sharit went to the pool and looked into it, and it was like the sky in clearness.

"The next day this happened, and the next, and on the evening of the third day the man of Mali Sharit went to a wise old woman and told her what he had seen. He said: 'I am thirsty for this girl. If I cannot marry her I will marry no one and have no sons. Tell me what I can do.'

"The old woman thought, and said: 'I will tell you what to do. To-morrow you shall take to the edge of the pool a silver mirror and lay it beside the pool. And you shall take a rope and tie yourself round and round with your back against a tree trunk. And you shall stay there without moving while the girl comes from the pool and goes into it again. Then come and tell me what you saw.'

"The man of Mali Sharit did this. When the girl came from the water and saw the mirror she looked into it for a long time. Then she saw

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the man of Mali Sharit where he stood tied to 776
the tree, and quickly she went back into the 539
water. That day she had not danced.

"In the evening the old woman said: 'It is good. For three days you shall do again as you have done to-day. On the third day, lay beside the mirror a dress of white silk in which there has been cut no opening for the head to go through. The girl will put this on, in order to see it upon her in the mirror. But when her head is inside it, while she tries to find the opening that is not there, then loosen your ropes and leap quickly, and take her to your house as your wife.'

"All that the old woman had said was wise, and the man of Mali Sharit took the ora of the pool to his house as his wife. But that is not the end of the song."

The old man paused to adjust a freshly rolled 000
cigarette in his silver holder. For a moment pale sunshine came through the slits of windows in bars of light across the colored rugs and the mass of loungers upon them; it struck a sparkle here and there from revolver hilt and silver chain. Then it went out, and only the firelight richly accented the duskiness. There was a constant coming and going on the long balcony outside the windows, for behind one of the closed doors Padre Marjan was hearing confessions and giving absolution or penance for sins.

"It's like some old, half-forgotten story," I said, puzzled. "I remember it, but only as he tells it."

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "Mmmh. So do I," said Alex. "I can't just remember what comes next."

"*Asht shum i buker* (It is very beautiful)," I said to the old man. "And what was the end of the song?"

539 "The man of Mali Sharit kept in his house the
776 ora of the pool," the old man continued, "and she was his wife. For six months he was not unhappy, for she was beautiful and she was good, but he longed to hear her speak. And when the six months of humbleness and modesty were gone and the time had come for her to laugh and be gay in his house, she was still silent. The man of Mali Sharit worked hard for her. He brought her fine wool to weave and he made a most beautiful cradle painted with figures of animals and of birds and of fishes, for he remembered that she was of the water. But when he gave her the wool she said nothing, and when he showed her the cradle she was silent. He said to her, 'Tell me what you want, that I may get it for you,' and she did not answer. He went into the woods to a place he knew, and fought the wild bees and brought her honey, and she ate the honey, smiling, but still she did not speak. He did other things that I do not remember; he did everything that his mind could devise, to make her break that stillness, and she did not. His home was always very still, and he was troubled. And when their son was born she loved the child, but she made no sound when he was born and she made no song when she nursed him.

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"And when a year had gone by since their marriage he could endure this stillness no longer. He went to the wise old woman and told her this and asked her how to make his wife speak. 776 539

"The old woman thought, and said, 'You will kill a sheep and take the bladder of the sheep and fill it with its blood. Secretly put the bladder into the cradle of the child. To-night speak sternly to your wife and command her to speak. If she does not answer, take your knife and say to her, 'Speak, or I will kill the child.' If then she does not speak, strike with your knife into the cradle and cut the bladder. When she sees the blood your wife will speak.'

"The man of Mali Sharit went with a heavy heart and a dark mind and did as the old woman had told him. He said to his wife, 'Speak!' and she was silent. He took out his knife and showed it to her, and she was silent. He laid his hand upon the cradle, he said he would kill the child, and she looked at him with terrible eyes and was silent. Then he struck, and the blood came red upon the blankets, and she spoke.

"She spoke with a sob and a scream. She lifted the cradle in her arms, and she said, 'Had you been patient for three days longer, I could have made you king of the world.' Then she wept, and her tears became a fountain, and the fountain became a mist, and the mist was gone. The man of Mali Sharit never saw his wife again, and as for the child, in three days he died. And I do not know what became of the man of Mali Sharit."

539 In my disappointment I spoke too quickly, forgetting the excellence of Rexh as an interpreter. "It isn't Albanian, after all; it's Greek," I said. "I remember now that I read it years ago."

"Yes, so do I," said Alex, and her words crossed those of Rexh, who had picked up mine and was turning them into Albanian.

"*Po*," said the old man, with irony. "It is a Greek song—it is as Greek as Lec i Madhe."

[186] I had thanked the old man with an insult, for even the Ghegs keep smoldering in their hearts the knowledge that the Greeks hold Janina, and the memory of the burned villages and slaughtered Albanians of Epirus is only six years old. In an unguarded instant I had made for myself one of those recollections that burn in sleepless night hours. I called myself a fool, while I heard my voice trying to bury the irremediable mistake by
173 hurried words. "What is Lec i Madhe?"
186 Frances and Alex were busy in a scrap bag of mythology, and Rexh replied. "I don't know what you call him in English, Mrs. Lane. Lec i Madhe was our king of very long years ago, who went down from the mountains and took all the cities of the world. He was the son of our twentieth king, and he was a very great fighter. I think surely you must know him by some name in English. We call him Lec i Madhe; it means, the Great Lec. Because we had other kings before him called Lec."

"Lec i Madhe?" cried Frances, headlong at

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Once a week she comes walking over fifteen miles of mountain trails, to be ready for business bright and early on Bazaar Day. This week she has brought jars of kos (the thickened but not soured milk that she makes by putting three sprigs of grape vine into the boiled milk) and plums and baskets, and on the way she has been knitting. When she finishes the gay sock pinned to her jacket she will sell that, too.

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[296]

173 the word. "Alexander the Great! What are
186 they saying about him?"

The young man in the American army shirt had listened not at all to the story of the ora, but he heard Frances's words and misunderstood them. "Alexander the Greek?" he repeated. "Alexander was not Greek; he was Albanian."

"You mean his mother was an Albanian," said Frances.

The young man smiled scornfully. "And you think his father was not? When has a king of Albania married a foreign wife? Albanians marry Albanians. When Filip the Second married, he married a woman of his own people, but of another tribe, as the custom has always been. Do the Greeks dare to say that Filip was a Greek? If he had been Greek, no Albanian chief would have given him a daughter for wife. Even then we Malisori[1] despised the Greeks."

"But Philip of Macedonia—was a Macedonian," I said, feebly. "Wasn't he a Macedonian? The Macedonians weren't Albanians, were they?"

"Ask the old man what he knows about Lec i Madhe, Rexh," said Frances. But the old man, drawing solace from the amber mouthpiece with his toothless lips, still brooded upon the song of the man of Mali Sharit.

"The things which I have told happened to an Albanian of the tribe of the Mali Sharit," he said. "The song of them has been sung by the

[1] Mountaineers.

PEAKS OF SHALA

173 Malisori from the days when they happened till
186 the days of my own father's manhood. The Greeks are a little, inquisitive people who have played with paper and with writing since they first came to our shores in boats, long ago—a hundred hundred years before the Romans came. We gave them shelter then, we let them come to our shores, we let them come from the cold seas and stay on our land, and they are guests who steal from their hosts. They have killed our people; they have taken Janina. Let them leave our songs and our kings alone. Greek!" said he, muttering. "They will be claiming the Mali Shoshit, next!"

ooo Excitement so shook my fingers that the writing wavers on the page. The blotted and rain-smeared notebook before me now evokes like a crystal before the gazer the picture of that old man in the warm duskiness of the house of Sadiri Luka, the streaming of rain on the roof, the smell of coffee and cigarette smoke, the soft sound of moccasined feet going down the corridor to confession at the knee of Padre Marjan.

173 "The Greeks came to your shores?" I said, goading the old man on. "But it is written in the books that they came from the lands watered by the Danube, by the river that flows through Belgrade to the Black Sea. It is written that they came down through the Balkans to build their great and beautiful cities on the shores of the Ægean. And no one writes about the Albanians. Where did the Albanians come from?"

[Author -- Analyst]

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These words created a perceptible sensation. 173 Hazel eyes and blue eyes turned upon me in amazement. A middle-aged man who had come from the room of confession to stack his rifle with others beside the fireplace and to roll a cigarette stopped with the tobacco half poured and stared at me. "It is not written where the Shqiptars came from?" said he, in a tone of stupefaction. "But surely all the world knows where the Shqiptars came from."

I assured him that it was written only that the Greeks, when they came, found some savage tribes whose origin was unknown. But it was thought that these tribes were old peoples of Europe who died out when the peoples of to-day came—I stopped, to give them no clew to the migrations of Aryans from India—who died out, I said, when the great civilizations of to-day came into the world. And the first of these civilizations was the Greek.

The newcomer finished his cigarette thoughtfully, put it in its holder, lighted it from a coal, and summed up his conclusions in an Albanian proverb. "It is very true," said he, "that only the spoon knows what is in the dish."

"And when we speak of the Greeks," said [186] another chief, "let us remember the saying of our fathers: The tree said to the wood cutter, 'Why do you kill me, for I have done nothing to you.' And the wood cutter replied, 'You gave me the handle for the ax.'"

The old man's irritation had died. He looked

173 upon us now with pity, as ones who had offended because of ignorance. "If the American *zonyas* wish to know what we have learned from our fathers, who learned it from their fathers and their fathers' fathers, I will speak," he said. "All these things are very old, and none of them are written in books, therefore they are true. I am an old man, and I have seen that when men go down to the cities to learn what is in the books they come back scorning the wisdom of their fathers and remembering nothing of it, and they speak foolishly, words which do not agree with one another. But the things that a man knows because he has seen them, the things he considers while he walks on the trails and while he sits by the fires, these things are not many, but they are sound. Then when a man is lonely he puts words to these things and the words become a song, and the song stays as it was said, in the memories of those who hear it. Like the song of the man of Mali Sharit. These things in our songs are therefore true, for I know many songs about many things, but no song shows that another song is a liar.

"Now it has always been said in our songs that the Shqiptars came long ago from the east, from a crowded country beyond the eastern mountains. There was no water in the Black Sea then. The people came across mountain and valley, in many tribes. It was a land of great animals, good to eat when they were killed. These peoples—we were not then called Shqip-

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tars, but each tribe had its own name, the name 173
of its chief—these peoples who were our fathers' fathers took all the land from the river in the north, that flows to-day through Belgrade, to the plains in the south that are now a sea.

"I do not know how long they lived here before the valleys became seas. There was a rain that was like the rain that is falling now, and there was a water that came up from the earth to meet it. And then there were the seas, on the east and the west and the south, and many tribes, many large tribes, were drowned in them. My grandfather told me this, and he said that his grandfather said there had been a song with the names of all these lost tribes, a song of mourning for the tribes that were eaten by the seas. But the grandfather of my grandfather had not heard that song. New songs come all the time and old songs are forgotten, and we have had much to mourn since the forgotten tribes ceased to be living men.

"But this you must understand. It was after the seas came that the Greeks came. They came in boats across the seas, and they were strange peoples that we had never seen before, speaking a strange tongue. Their boats came to the shores in the south, and our fathers had never seen boats. That was the coming of the Greeks. They came, and came again, and stayed, and built cities. The fathers of the Shqiptars stayed on the mountains and watched them, and went down and gave them gifts. We did not kill them,

173 as we might have done when they were few and weak and there were no Five Powers.

"The Greeks were always a soft people—except one tribe of them, whose name I do not remember. There was one tribe of good fighting men. But most of the Greeks were plainsmen. From the first, they loved to sit and think, to talk, and to write, and to read to one another what they had written. That was their pleasure.

"For this reason, all mountain men who liked to take their pleasure in that way went down to their cities and learned from the Greeks how to write, and having learned, they stayed there and wrote, and read what they had written, and in this way their days passed and no songs were sung about them. But the Greeks did not come to the mountains. When at last the mountain men went down to Greece behind their king, then there was no more Greece. And for these many years of years there would be no Greece if the Five Powers would take their hands from the Balkans."

The old man did not speak without interruption. There were promptings and contributions from his listeners, and now and then a question from us. And he had to be brought back to Lec i Madhe, for the politics of his own lifetime were fresher in his mind and more stirring to his emotions.

"Lec i Madhe was not a wise man like his father, but he was a chief and a fighter, and a leader of great fighters," said he. "There were

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twenty-one kings before his father, who were 113
kings of all the tribes from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, north of the tribes of Greeks. The kingdom was made by Karanna, who was a foreign chief from the eastern shores of the Black Sea. He came over the sea and made the united kingdom, and its capital was the city Emadhija.[1] After him came these kings: Cenua, Trimi, Perdika, Argua, Filip, Ajeropi, and Ajeropi was the first king whose family was of the pure blood of our fathers who came first from the east. After him there were these kings: Alqeti the son of Ajeropi; Aminti the son of Alqeti, who was the ally of Darius the king of Persia. Then Lec the son of Aminti; Perdika i dyte, the son's son of Perdika, Arqelloja the son of Lec; Oresti the son of Perdika i dyte; Arqelloja i dyte the son of Arqelloja; Armint' i dyte the son of Arqelloja i dyte; Pafsania who was a foreigner; Armint' i trete, the son of Armint' i dyte; Lec i dyte, the son of Armint' i trete; Ptolemeoja, who was a foreigner; Perdika i trete, of the family of Perdika; Armint' i katerte, the son of Lec i dyte; Filip i dyte, the son of Lec i dyte, and Lec i Madhe, the son of Filip i dyte. After Lec i Madhe was Filip i trete——"

But here the genealogy breaks off, for we wished to hear more of Lec i Madhe, and we never came back to the story of his successors.

"Lec i Madhe was born at Emadhija in the

[1] The great city.

173 Mati," began the old man, and was interrupted by three small shrieks of excitement.

"Alexander the Great born in Albania!" we exclaimed. "But—but it is written that he was born in Macedonia!"

"There were at that time two capitals of the united kingdom," said the old man. "There was Pela, between Salonika and Monastir, and there was Emadhija, the old capital, lying in the valley which is now the Mati. In Pela and in Emadhija Filip the Second had great houses, and sometimes he was in Pela and sometimes in Emadhija. There was a trouble between Filip the Second and his wife, because she loved Emadhija and would not go with him to Pela. She went, it is true, but she did not want to. And there was trouble between them because of a Greek woman of Pela. I do not know the song, but I think that it was fancy and foolishness, for Filip the Second was a good man and a wise king. But this is true, that before Lec i Madhe was born his mother left Pela and came back to the city Emadhija, and ~~it was~~ in Emadhija that Lec i Madhe was born, and there he lived until he was out of the cradle. He rode on a horse when he first went down to Pela, and Filip the Second came out from Pela to meet him, and it was from the back of a horse that Lec i Madhe first saw his father.

"And it is said that when Lec i Madhe rode down from Emadhija with his mother and many chiefs of the Malisori they passed through the

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valley of Bulqis, where there are springs of 173
strange waters, and that as they passed through the forest—there was in those days a great forest in the Bulqis, where now there are fields of grain —they rested by one of the springs, in the place where the great rocks are standing in rows. There they heard a sound of singing in a strange tongue, but the end of the song they understood, and the end of the song was, 'Long live Lec, the son of Filip i dyte, Lec i Madhe, the king of the world!'[1]

[1] This story was told me in upper Thethis in the spring of 1921. In 114
the summer of 1922 I visited the Mati, accompanied by Annette Marquis 01
and Rrok Perolli. The Mati is a fertile high plateau defended by an unbroken ring of almost impassable mountains. It has never been conquered by foreign armies, though assailed by Romans, Turks, and Serbs; through 1920 and 1921 the men of Mati successfully defended their lands with their rifles against Serbian artillery. The present Prime Minister of the Albanian republic, Ahmet Bey Mati (or Ahmet Zogu, as he endeavors to persuade the people to call him, since the abolition of titles in Albania) is chief of the family which has ruled the Mati since Albania's quarter century of freedom under Scanderbeg, in the fifteenth century.

We were the first foreigners who had ever entered the Mati. We found the country, the people, and the customs quite different from those of the Dukaghini tribes described in this book, excepting only the unvarying Albanian hospitality. We visited the Bulqis, very terribly devastated by the invading Serbs in 1920 and 1921, and partly circled the city of Dibra, taken from Albania by the 1913 frontier line as a knife takes out the eye of a potato. The Albanian frontier commission of the League of Nations was at that time sitting in Scutari, and I regret that commissions do not sometimes travel along the frontiers they have made.

As to the story of Lec i Madhe, we drank the delicious waters of the many strangely flavored springs of Bulqis, and we lunched in the "place where the great rocks are standing in rows." These stones resemble those 172
of Carnac and Stonehenge, though on a much smaller scale, and they may be relics of peoples who lived here prior to the arrival of the Albanians, or they may be a curious accident of geological formation.

On the site of the city Emadhija we found traces which seemed to us undeniably left by the work of human hands. They lie at the head of a valley in a flat triangular space formed by meeting mountain chains,

7 [See cat. 173, pp. 176-187 [185] -- Analyst]

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173 "Filip the Second was very proud of his son, and his pride led him to the one great foolishness of a good and wise king. He said that he would make Lec i Madhe king of the world, and that was well enough, but he thought that to be king of the world a man must be more learned than he himself. Whereas all old men who have watched the ways of the world know that to be strong and ruthless will make a man powerful, but to be learned makes a man full of dreams and hesitations. In his pride and blindness, Filip the Second sent to Greece for an Albanian who had learned the ways of the Greeks, and to that man he gave the boy, to be taught books."

"Really, this is too much!" said Alex. "Aristotle an Albanian?"

"Yes," continued the old man, taking the

172 [continued from footnote, pp. 185--Analyst]

one day's journey from Kruja, the magnificent fifteenth-century fortress built by Scanderbeg. One side of this triangular space is the bed of a small stream, flowing against the base of the mountains; on the opposite side, a stone conduit brings water from a spring several miles distant to a fountain from which the village people still draw their drinking water. The present village is on the mountain side above the site of the city. The villagers say that the conduit was built by Filip the Second.

Of Emadhija itself nothing remains but a city pattern drawn on the sterile level land by lines of stones. These lines are fairly regular, four to six feet in width and two to three feet high; they form squares and oblongs, arranged in curving rows, like plans of houses and courtyards following winding streets. The stones, though much weathered and broken, are in general rough cubes, and they are black, while the stones of the river bed are white and gray limestone. Unfortunately, none of our party had any archæological knowledge, but our untrained observations convinced us that a city had undoubtedly existed there at some time long past, and we believed that we saw the tops of walls which had been buried by centuries of erosion from the adjacent mountains. The villagers of that part of the Mati speak of the place indifferently as "the ancient city Emadhija," and "the birthplace of Lec i Madhe."

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amber mouthpiece from his lips and tranquilly 173
answering the sound of the name, "his name was Aristotle, and he was from a family of the tribe of Ajeropi, his father having gone to a village in Macedonia and become a merchant there. Being rich, he sent his son, who was fond of thought rather than of action, to learn the Greek ways of thinking. And it was this man who was brought back by Filip the Second to teach his son, though there were many chiefs of the Malisori who could have shown him how to be a man and a leader of men.

"The end of it was that Lec i Madhe became the king of the world. Is that written in the books? *Po?* Is it also written that he was made king of the world by the chiefs of the Malisori who had loved his father, and that Lec i Madhe himself was no man, nor ruler of men? Is it written that when the Malisori came back to their mountains after following Lec i Madhe to the ends of the earth they sang a song saying it was good that the eyes of Filip the Second were closed forever, that they might not shed tears of shame for his son? Is it written that this harm was done to the Shqiptars by a man who had gone down to the cities to learn from the Greeks to despise his own people?"

"No," I said, "it is not exactly written so."

But there were expostulations from some who, as Albanians, were proud of Lec i Madhe and would cry down this attack on their most renowned king, and objections from others who

173 contended that the old man was right, and all these were silenced by the entrance of Padre Marjan, whose pale, fervent face and gentle voice brought us back to the present.

He was given the place of honor among these of his flock whom he had shriven, and Sadiri Luka hastened from the withdrawn corner where he had been talking with Perolli to make with his own hands a cup of coffee for the padre. When the readjusted group was settled again, and we had replied to Padre Marjan's questions about our morning and our journey, I asked him whether Aristotle was an Albanian. He said, yes. I asked him then about the migration of the first Albanians and the coming of the Greeks in boats, and he said he believed these stories to be true. It was strange, I said, that the historians of the west, the Greek scholars of the universities, could be so misled. Padre Marjan smiled.

"All these old things are debatable, of course," he said, "and it must be remembered that Greeks and Hellenized Albanians wrote all the records. We Albanians have given no material to scholars. Besides, is it strange that they should be mistaken about the lives of men who died thirty centuries ago, when they are mistaken even about their own times? In the same books which say that the Greeks were shepherds from the Danube you will read that the Albanians of to-day are Mohammedans, or brigands, or both."

000 This was so true that I was silent, and, loung-

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ing comfortably upon the cushions, I smoked and watched the firelight run nimbly along silver chains and leap from cigarette holder to knife hilt with every slight movement of the entangled bodies around us. Padre Marjan spoke of the unimportance of past glories and shames, of the new dawn of liberty for Albania which brought responsibilities and duties, and of the importance of eternal things, of goodness, strength, and courage, given by God to man for man to use. For, said he, the knife in its scabbard cuts no leaves to feed the flocks, and the goodness of man when not used for those around him becomes a rusty knife, which is of value to no one.

His voice was tense in its softness, and, looking at his wasted face and feverish eyes, I thought, "This man is wearing himself out, here in these mountains, unknown, alone—for he must be starving for the companionship of equals; it is lonely to be always the superior—and when he has burned to ashes he will lie in a grave beside some village church, under a wooden cross from which the rain will wash his painted name long before the wood decays. There are so many of those little graves that the rain has made nameless and that no one visits except the nibbling sheep searching for a grass blade." And I wondered where Lec i Madhe lay buried, for, after all, all men wear themselves out, or are worn out by the years, and the difference between the king of the world and the priest of Thethis is nothing to the rain. Then Padre Marjan gave back the

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ooo empty coffee cup to Sadiri Luka, saying, "*Per te mire* (All good to you)," and rose. He would not stay to share the food which the women were even then bringing, for there was a sick man in upper Thethis, too ill to come to confession, who had sent, begging the padre to come to him. The sick man's son waited for him at the door, and two chiefs laced his opangi, gave him his staff, and went with him a little way on the trail.

574 It was midafternoon, and since early morning
264 the women had been preparing the feast they offered us.[1] A special dispensation had been asked, and granted by Padre Marjan, for that feast, for though this was Lent, we were not Catholics, and never before had Americans been guests in upper Thethis. Far and wide the rumor had gone that in our own tribe we were daughters of chiefs, and it was with apologies that the village offered us its best.

When we had washed our hands in water poured from a silver pitcher, and dried them on a towel of white silk, a large brass tray was set on four midget legs in the midst of our cushions, and the other guests withdrew to places near the walls. Much urging persuaded Sadiri Luka to sit with us and share such parts of the feast as did not break the Lenten fast. Newly made wooden spoons were given us, and a silver bowl of hot chicken broth was set in the center of the tray.

829 Sadiri Luka spoke little, but his remarks were sound and well considered. While our spoons

1 [At house of Sadiri Luka, [190] wealthy man of upper Thethis -- Analy]

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rhythmically dipped the delicious broth, he said 829
that the whole question of good government in Albania depended upon the fixing of the frontiers, and that the League of Nations talks too much and does too little. He suggested, as explanation of this fact, that the League is made of human beings.

While we gorged upon pieces of miraculously tender roasted lamb, fished from a heaping platter, he said that any definite frontier, however unjust, would be better than the prolonged uncertainty which daily encouraged further Serbian invasions.

While we chose morsels of stewed chicken, he said that the greater danger was not from Serbia, which fought with artillery, but from Italy, now driven to intrigue. Italy, having been promised southern Albania and much of the eastern Adriatic coast in return for joining the Allies in the Great War, had now been cheated of payment, driven from Albania by the Albanians, and refused Fiume. However, Italy had authority from the League of Nations to occupy Albania again if the Albanians could not maintain a stable government. Italy would, therefore, do two things; first she would spend money and munitions in trying to stir rebellion within Albania and in encouraging the already savage discontent of Montenegro, Bosnia, and Croatia; then she would develop an aggressive foreign policy, drop all pretense of accord with France or England, and fight it out with Jugo-Slavia.

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829 When this occurred, of course both Serbia and Italy would fall on Albania; any trouble in the Balkans was a signal for that.

[262] The chicken being taken away, we were given a bowl of little cakes, light as whipped cream, cooked in brown butter and served with honey. Sadiri Luka said that the only hope of peace in the Balkans was a Balkan federation; nothing less, he said, would persuade the European Powers and Turkey to leave the Balkans alone. It was true that for fifteen centuries the Slavs had been attacking Albania and tearing territory from her; it was true that more than a million Albanians were suffering under Serbian and Greek rule to-day; it was true that Albanians had won the Greek war of independence, and the Young Turk revolution, and their own revolution, only to see their country mutilated by their neighbors and by European diplomacy. But if it were possible for free Albania to live, he believed she would be the leader in a movement for a Balkan federation, and he pointed out that, with frontiers free and military expenses pooled, all the Balkan peoples could develop lands and mines, water power and industries, and in time readjust their boundaries by purchase, which would be cheaper than war.

000 This solution was so logical that I suspected it to be in the realm of pure fantasy, for I have long observed that human affairs and logic have little in common. But we listened with great interest to these opinions of Sadiri Luka, which

[At house of Sadiri [192] Luka of Thethis --Analyst]

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came strangely from an Albanian mountaineer whose trousers proclaimed in black braiding his descent from a tribe older than history.

The feast continued for a long time; there were bowls of kos, which is sweet milk made solid in texture, but not sour, a joy on the tongue, and there were platters of fluffy rice with gravy and giblets, and many kinds of cheese, and little individual spits of broiled lamb, onions and potatoes, and a cream made of powdered rice, milk, and honey, and breast of chicken baked in sour cream, and crisp cakes of whipped white of egg browned in butter and smothered in beaten raw eggs and sugar—which is strange in words, but unexpectedly good to eat—and many other things which we tasted absent-mindedly. For the setting sun had briefly conquered the clouds, the rain had stopped, and we thought of the trail to Thethis.

It was good to be out in the rain-sweet air, and the waterfalls were music in the evening quiet. Sunshine gleamed on the peaks of snow, blue and purple shadows filled the valleys, and bells of flocks came tinkling down the trails. When we had said farewell to Sadiri Luka and the chiefs of upper Thethis, by the arching glass-clear torrent to which they had accompanied us, we went on light-heartedly, humming to ourselves. And Perolli sang a song of the mountaineers which is more sound than words, being a song of evening with rippling water in it, and sleepy birds, and the bells of the flocks answer-

[At house of Sadiri Luka [193] of Thethis -- Analyst]

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ooo ing one another across ravines and from far mountain slopes.

576 "Yes," he said, "I am happy. I am happy, for Sadiri Luka is a true Albanian, and when I go back to the plains I shall see that he is released from the price on his head which has been offered in Scutari."

"What!" we cried. Yes, he said, in a matter-of-fact tone, ten thousand kronen were officially offered for the head of Sadiri Luka.

"And he doesn't even carry a gun?"

"Why should he? He is among his own people. It is no shame to go unarmed among his own people. He would carry a rifle, certainly, if he had to go to Scutari."

"But you are from Scutari—we are all from Scutari—Cheremi, Rexh—and he asked us to his house?"

Perolli looked at us with scorn. We had been guests in the house of Sadiri Luka, he explained, with weary patience. If he had been twenty times a traitor to Albania, could a guest have killed him? And on the trail he had not carried a gun; no one could kill him, unarmed. He could go to Scutari in safety, if he went unarmed. But, of course, he would not do that, for that 627 would be shameful. For two years he had been living in upper Thethis, unable to go to Scutari without risking his life, though he was a merchant, and poor, and could have made a business for himself in Scutari. But it had all been a mistake, said Perolli, which he would clear up.

1 [Perolli, secretary to Albanian [194] minister of Interior -- Analyst]
2 [of Thethis -- Analyst]

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Sadiri Luka had lost all he owned in Ipek when 627
the Serbs came in. He escaped with only his rugs and the few pieces of silver we had seen. But his flocks, which were in summer pasture on the high mountains, had not been taken. Sadiri Luka had come back to his people in upper Thethis, and in the winter he had brought his flocks there. And in the spring he had sent them back to their summer pasture, now on the other side of the 1913 frontier. For this the price had been put on his head, as a traitor. How could his shepherds come and go with his flocks across the new frontier, guarded by Serbian troops, unless he were a traitor to Albania, unless he had secret dealings with the Serbs? For two years his sheep had got safely to their summer pastures and back again, while all the other flocks of Thethis had been taken by the Serbs or killed at home because there was no longer pasture for them.

The explanation, however, was quite simple. Sadiri Luka was a successful smuggler of his sheep. He explained to Perolli how he did it, for both of them knew by heart these mountains, which were strange to the Serbs. Once safely across the frontier, the flocks were comparatively safe, for the high plateaus where they grazed were uninhabited and hard to reach; so far, none but Albanian shepherds of Ipek had seen them there. Sheep, when they had no bells or lambs, were silent things, and the flocks were moved by night. Sadiri Luka said that, if he had reached

627 Thethis in time, he could have saved all the flocks by smuggling them through the ways he knew; already his shepherds were taking with them the few lambs born in Thethis in the last two years.

There was no question that Sadiri Luka was a true Albanian. For the Serbs had relied on their possession of the pasture lands to starve the tribes on the border into treason to Albania, so that the frontier could again be moved forward. Sadiri Luka, with his flocks, could have been a powerful weapon in Serbian hands, an object-lesson to the people of the advantages of friendship with Serbia which would have been well worth paying for. But he preferred to risk his sheep by smuggling them. The price on his head had been a mistake. The chiefs of Thethis had already said this to Perolli, and talk with Sadiri Luka had convinced him that it was true. Therefore he was very happy, and sang along the trail.

But joy is not a lasting thing on Albanian trails. We had gone but a little way, perhaps half an hour, when the skies opened again. The water fell with such force that we feared we would be washed from our foothold, and, gasping and drenched, clutching bowlders and deformed trees, we struggled into the shelter of a leaning cliff. We had hardly reached it when around its corner came two women under loads of wood. One was old and withered, with a strange, sharp expression; the other, as she put down her burden and straightened her back,

showed us a most beautiful face. The pose of 627
her head was regal, her forehead and eyes and mouth struck the heart with their perfection of beauty and sorrow.

"You are a happy girl," she said to Frances, after our greetings. "I have never before seen anyone so happy. Why do you come to our sad country?"

Frances said we came because we loved the Albanian people and wanted to know them better.

"We would bless the trails that led you to our house," they said, and added, "but ours is a sad house."

"Why?" we asked, and the old woman answered, while the younger stared into the sheets of rain that veiled Thethis from us.

The son of the house, Kol Marku, husband of the younger woman, was an exile from his home. His wife had been brought to his house only a week before the night when he killed his cousin, Pjeter Gjon. He had not meant to do it. With a number of other men they had been sitting by his fire, their rifles on their knees, as usual. They were cold and tired and had been talking of crops, when suddenly Kol's rifle spoke and Pjeter fell back and died. Kol swore that he had not touched the trigger, but when the body was carried to the house of Pjeter, Pjeter's family said that Kol had killed him in order to become the head of the family and move with his bride into Pjeter's rich house. They claimed blood vengeance, by the Law of Lec.

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627 It was a killing within the tribe, a matter for the chiefs to settle. They had conferred, and decided that Kol's family should pay to the family of Pjeter twelve thousand kronen, or that value in goods. The family of Pjeter had refused to accept this. Again the chiefs met. Twelve hundred kronen had been blood payment within a tribe before the Balkan war, but everything was higher now, and the chiefs offered fifteen hundred kronen. But the old mother of Pjeter was bitter, and the family said that no money would pay for the blood of her only son. They demanded blood for blood, life for life; only the death of Kol or one of his brothers would pay the debt. Kol fled from the mountains and his brothers walked in fear.

Without their men the family could not live. The land was poor, was too hard for the women to work. The irrigation ditches were down, and they could not lift the rocks to rebuild them. And the lives of the men, hunted without rest, became no longer good to them, so that they became morose and sat always by the fire talking of death. Then the women went to Padre Marjan, to ask of him the last ultimate effort.

The good padre granted their plea. Wearing his holy robes and attended by twenty-four chiefs walking in silence, he took the crucifix itself from the church, and went to the house of Pjeter in upper Thethis. For twelve hours he stood, holding the crucifix before the eyes of that family and telling them as God's messenger that they

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must forgive Kol. For twelve hours the twenty-four chiefs stood beside him, waiting. But the old mother was bitter, and upheld the spirits of her nephews, so that they refused.

Never before in all the mountains had anyone refused forgiveness asked by the crucifix itself. It had been carried back to the church above twenty-five bowed heads, and the people of Thethis knelt before it in shame. And Kol could not come home, the men could not work in the fields. The family was always hungry, and the young wife had wept till her eyes were dry of tears.

"We could not again ask Padre Marjan to take the crucifix," said the old woman, looking at us with eyes that begged that we would do so. But the young woman's eyes were somber and hopeless. The violence of the rain had lessened; below us we saw the green valley, the many little houses linked by tiny fields and a network of overflowing irrigation ditches, and the wounded church which had no steeple. But a column of smoke from the chimney showed that Padre Marjan was there. The women lifted their packs, bent forward under them, and slowly went out of sight down the trail.

Before we reached the level of the valley Padre Marjan had seen us, and came across the flat fields to escort us again to his door. He met us at the edge of a gorge in whose depths a waterfall turned the wheel of a mill beside a tiny house. Smoke seeped from the house roof to

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ooo mix with the spray of the waterfall, and as Padre Marjan greeted us, up from that misty gorge leaped a figure that seemed risen from an incantation. She was less a child than a sprite, bare of arm and leg, clad in a scrap of sheepskin, with wildly tangled hair and bright, wild eyes. Even as she leaped she addressed us in passionate words.

Padre Marjan's response was clear without translation. He told her to be still and to go away; he spoke in distress and shame, but the sternness of his tone was hollow. The child stood her ground, she gulped and avoided the padre's eye, but determination shook all her little body, and she spoke again with vehemence. She was like one crying out against some monstrous injustice.

"What on earth does she say?"

"Well"—Perolli was reluctant, and also avoided the padre's eye—"did you give her brother a handkerchief? She says it is not just, because he also has new trousers, and she has neither handkerchief nor trousers. Absurd! What would she do with trousers?" And he also looked at her accusingly.

Feet planted firmly, the child faced the tall group of us, flung back her hair, and continued defiantly to speak: "It is not just. Is it my fault I am a girl? Is it my fault that I am too small to work in the mill? I go with the sheep, I carry the lamb, I climb the trees and cut leaves. I bring water from the spring." She

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beat her breast. "And my brother gets new trousers, and also a handkerchief! I, I have nothing! I have nothing to wear to the Easter mass, and my brother has new white trousers! And my brother has a handkerchief!" She stamped her bare foot. "I say to the world that it is not just. I shall cry to the Five Tribes that it is not just!"

"My word, but she's magnificent!" said Frances.

"Tell her quickly, Rexh—she shall have a handkerchief—she shall have two handkerchiefs," said Alex.

"Glory to your lips," said the child, for an instant unbroken by the happiness. Then she swung her tangled hair across her face and fled, weeping.

It was curiosity as much as the renewed violence of rain which made us follow her down the trail and go into the little house. Two women welcomed us on the doorstep and led us into darkness lightened by a handful of fire. They were mother and grandmother, both haggard and worn by work. They had no coffee and no sugar, but they welcomed us to their house by offering each in turn a cup of hot water, with all the ceremonies of coffee drinking. They thanked us beautifully for the handkerchief we had given their boy—the little girl had not yet returned to the house—and we thanked them for the three eggs. He was a good boy, they said, fourteen years old, and he had built the mill and

ooo worked in it. A clever, good boy. The new trousers lay on the earthen floor, carefully wrapped in a cloth; while she talked, the mother unwrapped them and worked on the black Shala pattern. The boy's father had been killed in the Serbian retreat of 1914, but the boy had been too young to fight. And the little girl was born on the mountains while their village was burning. But the boy—always the talk returned to the boy, and it was easy to see why he had the new Easter trousers.

"Perhaps it is unjust to the girl, but it is because they are so poor," Padre Marjan said, as we went home through the gathering darkness. "And I am sure she did not mean to beg. But you see they have so little, and they do give all they have to the boy. After all, he is the head of the family, and he is a good boy; he works their land and he works in the mill; he keeps them all alive."

"And out of such poverty they sent us three eggs," said Alex.

Padre Marjan asked what she had said, and when he was told he answered, "My people are poor and ignorant, but they know what is due a guest."

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CHAPTER XI

MASS IN THE CHURCH OF THETHIS—A MOUNTAIN CHIEF SEEKS A WIFE—DOWN THE VALLEY OF THE LUMI SHALA, WHILE THE DRANGOJT FIGHT THE DRAGON—HOW REXH CAME TO SCUTARI.

THE next morning was Sunday, and we were awakened by the church bell. It hung in a belfry over the padre's kitchen, and the padre pulled the rope himself. Then tucking his brown robe about his bare ankles, he descended the broken, draughty stairs to the church, and we followed him through blasts of cold rain that the wind drove through holes that had been made in the walls by the invading Serbs. 796

The church itself was bleak and cold; a bare room, whitewashed, with the stations of the Cross represented by crudely colored lithographs stained by the damp. A railing separated the body of the church from the altar, where a very brightly colored picture of the Virgin hung, surrounded by wreaths of paper flowers, above a rough table with a bit of brocade spread carefully upon it. We girls were given a bench inside the railing, and sat there in a row, in our many-times-water-soaked sweaters and trousers. Outside the railing all the women and [346]

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796 children and half the men of the village knelt on the cold floor, and their rain-drenched garments, threadbare and patched, made pools of water about their knees. The rain was still pouring down, as undiminished as a river, and the sound of it and of the waterfalls filled the chill place.

Padre Marjan began the mass, his high Albanian voice chanting the Latin, and the congregation made the responses in the same tongue. A ragged, barefooted man came to swing the censer for the padre, and Perolli, in his neat English tweeds, revolver and knife swinging at the belt, also assisted, going behind the altar with the padre to help him put a brocaded robe over the brown one, and reverently handing the cup and the wine. Rexh, in his red Mohammedan fez, watched it all with serious eyes, his head around the edge of the doorway.

851 After mass the padre dashed upstairs to look at our cooking dinner, and hastened down again for a christening.[1] I am not familiar with Catholic ceremonial, but nothing could have been more touching than Padre Marjan, thin, worn by fasting and work, barefooted, the edge of his brown robe showing below the front hem of a white cotton garment, bringing into the arms of the Church the tiny, wrinkled infant strapped in its painted cradle. The woman who held it looked at him with a sort of apprehensive anxiety; the crowd pressed informally around them. Every time the padre turned to fetch the little glass bottle of oil, or the tin can of holy

[1] In church of Upper Thethis - [204] Analyst

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water, or the square of crocheted cotton lace that 851
he laid over the cradle, the packed bodies gave way for him, and one child or another picked up the end of his trailing robe to keep it from beneath muddy, bare feet.

At the end, "Is it a boy or a girl?" he asked.

"A girl," the woman whispered. And the padre ended his solemn words with the name, "Regina."

The woman sighed and her tenseness relaxed. It must have been a great moment for the mother, I thought; some one said that she had carried the cradle forty miles over the mountains for this christening. We did want to give the baby something; for the hundredth time we regretted not having brought presents, and a hurried ransacking of all our possessions produced only a little colored sport handkerchief. But when we gave it to the baby it was as though we had presented a golden bowl; the excitement, the passing from hand to hand, the reverent marveling over such weaving, such color!

We found Perolli upstairs in the kitchen, grinning to himself, and when we asked him why, he said the christening was a joke on the padre. The woman was not the child's mother; the real mother, married by Albanian custom, had not yet got around to having the church ceremony, and the priest in the village forty miles away had refused to christen the child until the parents were married by the Church. But the devout neighbor, knowing that the infant was in danger

851 of hell fire, had brought it over the mountains and had it christened as her own, and Padre Marjan, all unsuspecting, had performed the ceremony.

Not half an hour later an almost naked man, streaming with rain as though he had swum the forty miles, appeared, breathless, with a water-soaked note from the other priest, and Padre Marjan read it aghast. "Merely parochial business," he said, tucking it in his belt and bending over the bubbling pots in the fireplace to taste and season. But his brown face remained wrinkled with worry.

581 A matter far more serious distracted attention from this complication in Church affairs, for Perolli, taking me aside, said to me: "You say you love the Albanians and the Albanian mountains. Do you want to stay here?"

"I'd love to stay here for years," I said. "It's the most beautiful country I've ever seen, and the most interesting people. But I can't, of course. Why?"

"Because you can, if you really do want to," said he. "I have a proposal of marriage for you."

"What!" said I. "You're joking!"

"Not at all," said Perolli, indignantly. "Do you think marriage is a thing to joke about?"

"But I never know what you mean," I complained. "And why should anyone want to marry me, here?"

"You needn't take it as a compliment to your

* [Sec. to the Minister of the Interior -- Analyst] [206] 2 * [Author -- Analyst]

personal charm, if that's what you mean," said 581
Perolli, coldly. "It's really your short hair. But I can get twenty thousand kronen for you, if you want to marry and stay here."

"Twenty thousand kronen!" said I. "Two thousand dollars? For me? Here? But for Heaven's sake, why? You don't mean anyone thinks me beautiful, among all these Albanian women?" said I, indignantly.

"Of course not," said Perolli.

"And I can't even talk their language. What do you mean, twenty thousand kronen? And what has short hair to do with it? Don't be so annoying, Perolli. What *do* you mean?"

"Well," said Perolli, "Lulash* would like to have an American wife. I don't mean he put it to me so crudely as that. He didn't actually put it to me at all, in fact. But I know that he will [583] give twenty thousand kronen for you, and you can stay here and make over the whole life of Shala, if you like."

"But why me? Why not Frances, or Alex?"

"Because you are all a long way past marrying 302
age, in Albania, and their hair is long, so natur- 582
ally these people think they are already married. But your hair is short, so they think you are a sworn virgin. In these mountains, when a girl is old enough to marry and absolutely refuses to marry the man to whom she has been promised, she may escape the marriage by swearing before the chiefs of the two tribes an oath of life-long virginity, and she cuts her hair and takes a man's

*[Tribal chief in Thethis -- Analyst]

582 place in the tribe. Naturally, when they see
302 you, at your age, with short hair, they think that is what you did. If you were an Albanian no one would dream of marrying you, for the man to whom your parents gave you would have to kill your husband to clear his honor, and all the chiefs before whom you had sworn would be bound in honor to see that your husband was killed. But America is a long way off; that man and the chiefs would hardly come so far after you, especially as your customs are so different.
581 Besides, I think Lulash would take the chance,
562 anyhow. He really very much wants a woman to help him with the people, and he will not marry a mountain woman."

"You mean he would listen to my ideas and take my advice—you mean he wants a wife who will be his equal, a sort of partner?"

"Of course. What else is a wife? He would like nothing better than to have you give him American ideas."

"But I thought a woman had no rights at all, here."

"How absurd! She has all the rights that a man has."

"But women aren't in the tribal councils?"

"They are when it's a council of the whole tribe. They aren't chiefs, no. But chiefs always talk things over with their wives."

583 "But women are bought and sold. You just said so. Didn't you say you were offered twenty thousand kronen for me?"

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"It's an unusual situation. Here you are, 583
without a family; I'm the only man in the party; naturally he thinks of me as in the position of a brother or a father. The man's family always pays money to the girl's family before a marriage, but the girl isn't sold; she's been betrothed in her childhood, for any number of reasons. The money the man pays is spent for the girl's clothes and household things."

"Then you'd be supposed to give me the twenty thousand kronen? And then it would be his again, after all."

"Of course not. It's yours, isn't it? No one [562]
has any right to a woman's personal belongings, except her."

"You mean I could do anything I liked with it? I wouldn't have to have his consent?"

"Of course you could do anything you liked with it," Perolli said, wearily. "This isn't Europe."

"Obviously," said I. "Nor America."

"Well, what do you say? Do you want to ooo
do it?"

Men ask women to marry them for many reasons and from many motives, even though they are all lumped under the word "love." Sometimes the asking is an honor that should make any woman, either happily or regretfully, proud. And sometimes it isn't. For myself, I shall always remember as one of my finest experiences this offer of a scalplocked Shala chief to pay twenty thousand kronen for me. There was

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ooo no eager clutching in it, no selfish, grasping, personal asking for personal happiness; he could have had no idea whether or not this strange woman would bring happiness into his house; his motives in asking her to marry him had their roots quite outside himself. He believed that she would help him in his work for the tribe.

And I thought that a woman might have a much worse life than in this remote, stranded fragment of primitive times still left among the Albanian mountains, where respect for women is not taught like courteous manners, but is as natural as breathing, so natural that it is never discussed nor even thought about, and where marriage is not centered in small egotisms, but in the larger idea of the family and the future.

But I must admit that to live that life requires other training than any daughter of the twentieth century has received, for one's ideas have little to do with one's actions; my mind might admire this alien concept of life, but I fear that nothing will ever lead a Western woman to marry for the good of anyone but herself.

"Why, Perolli," I said, "of course I can't marry a Shala chief!"

627 We came back to the fireplace where Padre Marjan was stirring the tantalizing contents of the cooking pots, and were clutched by a radiant Frances. She had ventured to speak to Padre Marjan about the family of Kol Marku.* And this was the news he had told her. The bitter old mother of Pjeter was relenting. Because the

* [See cat. 627, pp. 196-201 210] for case of Kol Marku --Analyst]

holy Easter-time was near—so Padre Marjan 627
said, but we guessed that Padre Marjan himself had caused her change of heart—the family of Pjeter had told him the day before in upper Thethis that Kol Marku might come home, and the men of his family work in peace, for two weeks.

This was the law of the blood-feud truce; that the injured party might grant, when it desired to do so, on holy days or at a time of common danger from without, a reprieve of a stated length of time. During that time the families or tribes involved would meet and greet each other courteously, although on the day that the truce ended the law of the blood debt applied again, and they must kill each other at sight. The family of Pjeter had granted two weeks—fourteen days of burden lifted from the spirit of the family of Kol Marku. A great deal could be done in fourteen days, Padre Marjan said—fields cleared, ditches repaired, seed sown, family councils held. And he was hopeful that this was the beginning of complete forgiveness; perhaps in another year Kol Marku might come home to stay with his family. The news was being telephoned to the tribe in which he had taken refuge—a tribe in the valley of the Kiri, near Scutari—and in two days at most he would be in Thethis. Already the men of his family were working; we could see them from the windows of Padre Marjan's dining room, working in the rain with iron bar and hammer, attacking a gigantic

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ooo bowlder which lay in the middle of their poor little field. Laboriously they chipped at it, cutting it into pieces small enough to roll away, and they worked with trembling haste, for it seemed a task too long to be done in two weeks. We wished that we might be there when Kol Marku came home.

And the next morning, in the rain that still continued to flood down from apparently inexhaustible skies, we all stood on the edge of the cliff, half a mile down the trail, and said farewell to the village of Thethis. Everyone had come so far on the trail with us; Padre Marjan thanked us in the name of the village; Lulash spoke, his hand on his heart; Frances and Alex and I addressed them with as many happy phrases of thanks as we could devise. All the guns were fired and fired again; all along the cliff tops the boys were giving a last display of the astounding feats that human muscles can do.

"Go on a smooth trail!" they all called after us as we went over the rustic bridge that crosses the green stream dotted with white bowlders and black bowlders and rose-colored bowlders and the one huge bowlder of jade, and, looking back from far down the trail, we saw the people of Thethis still standing there, a black and white and gorgeously colored mass against the gray rocks.

Our way led down the Lumi Shala. Going northeastward from Scutari, we had reached that river's headwaters at Thethis, and now, crossing

it, we came southeastward, high on the shoulders of the mountains that wall its narrow valley. Higher still, seen at intervals through breaks in the lower mountains, a wall of pure white snow rose into the sky; the wall of the second great mountain range, which we were to cross to reach still more hidden fastnesses and wilder tribes.

We went across the lands of the Shala tribe, but there were no villages on the way and no scattered houses; it was fifteen miles to our next stopping place, the village of Shala. "An hour and a half," said Cheremi, gayly; he had learned to speak short English sentences in the few days he had been with us, but he could not learn that fifteen miles of exhausting mountain climbing meant more than ninety pleasant minutes to anybody.

Padre Marjan has lent us his little horse, a beautiful bay, hardly larger than a Shetland, but perfectly built, with a saddle of red leather held on by finely woven woolen straps. He went across slides of slippery shale, climbed giant bowlders, walked on a log that crossed a two-hundred-foot gorge, and made his way straight up the courses of waterfalls as easily and cheerfully as a pet dog. But after our days of walking our muscles did not like even the very slight idleness of such riding, and our own feet carried us most of the way.

An indescribably wild, beautiful way it was, with hundred-mile vistas opening before us, changing, disappearing again, as we rounded

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cliffs or passed the ends of smaller mountain ranges that ran down to the opposite banks of the Lumi Shala. There were villages over there; we saw them built against the mountains like clumps of gray swallows' nest—the villages of [376] Shoshi, with whom Shala was in blood. At the foot of the waterfall streams that dashed down their cliffs we saw now and then a little mill, flooded with water, its roof of slate hardly showing above the flood, where in drier season Shoshi ground its grain or put the loosely woven white woolen cloth to be soaked in the running water and pounded by paddle wheels until it shrank into the feltlike fabric that makes their garments. [233] 246 Here and there a red-brown or gray-white moving patch at the foot of a clump of mangled trees announced that a little shepherd was there, clinging to a tall stump and cutting twigs to throw down to the goats and sheep; we were too far away to see him. And there were other clumps of trees green with uncut leaves; always near these we saw, bronze brown among the gray rocks, structures taller than a man and shaped like a beehive. These were trees that the axes spare until the leaves are fully grown and filled with sap. Then the branches are cut and piled in a circle, the cut ends outward and the leaves to the center, layer upon layer, until the beehive shape is completed, when they are weighted down with rocks. The leaves dry, remaining green and nutritious, and slowly through the winter the curious silos are demolished armful

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by armful and carried into the houses to be fed 246
to the sheep and goats.

The sky was still a leaden gray, with darker ooo
clouds moving sluggishly among the mountains, and the air still seemed more than half full of falling water. The soaked rawhide opangi were like soft rags on my feet; at every step my woolen stockings emptied and filled with water like sponges, and all our fingers were shrunk in ridges from the long wetting. But we were gay, 522
we sang along the way, the weak little songs that so amused the steel-lunged mountaineers, and when a low growl of thunder and a flicker of fire among the clouds announced a stronger onslaught of the rain, Perolli waved his hand toward the mountain tops and joyously shouted something—we thought, to the effect that we were not flowers.

"*Dranit?*" said I. "Great Scott! do you need announce that we aren't flowers? Shout that we are not drowned puppies, if you want to startle onlookers."

"Not *dranit—drangojt,*" Perolli corrected. "I said to the dragon he may growl as he likes; we're not drangojt."

"No," I said. "No, we aren't. But what aren't we?"

"Drangojt," replied Perolli, and broke into careless song. There were times when I could have boxed that young man's ears, for nothing is more irritating than a sense of humor which is not yours. And the Albanians have a sense

522 of humor which is never idle, and seldom comprehensible to the foreigner.

776 "Drangojt means the people with wings, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh, and thought that all was clear. "You know, the people born with little wings under their arms," he elaborated, when I regarded him blankly. "The people—I don't know how other to say it, Mrs. Lane. Wings, you know—what the birds fly with—wings. Under their arms. Don't you have people born with wings in your country?"

I said that if we had I knew nothing of it, and Rexh's forehead wrinkled with perplexity. "But perhaps—— Of course you are not a drangue, you would not know the American drangojt," he concluded, his face clearing. "You can usually tell them, though, by their running to their houses whenever it rains. First, you hear the dragon on the mountains; then, you see all the drangojt running to houses. That is the way you tell them; except, if you are their mother, then you see the wings when they are born. But if you are not their mother, you cannot see the wings, and you only know they are drangojt when they run to their houses in the rain."

"Are they afraid they'll get their wings wet?" said I, with great interest.

"Oh no! They are not afraid of anything. When the weather is thundering, that is the dragon fighting with the drangojt. So when they hear the dragon, all the drangojt go quickly to their houses to be ready if they are called to

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fly and fight the dragon. Even the babies fly home with their cradles. There is no drangue so young that it could not anyway scratch the dragon."

That was the charm and delight of those days and nights, all too few, which I spent in the Albanian mountains. Around every turn in the trail the unexpected awaited us.

We gazed with new interest upon the gray clouds that struggled among the mountain tops. The dragon and the drangojt were fighting up there, then? Yes, indeed, said Rexh. When the drangojt had defeated the dragon, then he would go away and we would see the sun again. All the world, he said, would be taken by the dragon, and we would never see the sun again, if it were not for the brave drangojt. Once the dragon had almost taken the world—that was when the waters fell and the seas were born—and only the drangojt of Dukaghini had saved it then. That was long ago. "Long, long years of years ago," said Rexh. "I guess, even before these tribes of people and drangojt were ever called Dukaghini." At that time, the dragon had lost his three heads, and that was why there never since had been such a battle in the skies.

"How do you know all this, Rexh?" we asked, respectfully.

"It was told in the songs," said he.

"And do you know those songs?"

No, he said regretfully. He had heard some of them when he was very little—when he lived

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with his people in the mountains. But when the Montenegrins came and killed all his family that had not died in the fighting, and burned his village, then he had had to go all the way to Scutari, hiding from the Montenegrins. "You know, they came all the way to Scutari, too, Mrs. Lane. And I had to hide from them, because I was so little. I took a gun from a dead man, and it was a good gun, too, but it was so heavy I could not carry it, so I could not fight. I was only six years old. So I had to hide, and when I came to Scutari I found the first of my children, and then little by little I found the others, and so I was very busy all these years. And learning English and Arabic, and working with Miss Hardy, and all, I have forgotten to sing. I'm sorry I do not remember the songs.

"How did I find my children? They were just there, in the streets, Mrs. Lane, and I saw them. I took the first one because he was littler than me—than I—and he had cut his foot on a rock, and I knew by his clothes he was of my tribe. And I had found a dry place to sleep, so I took him there. And then the others just came, little by little. Some when the Serbians came through in 1914, and some when the Austrians came, and Glosh came from Gruda last fall when the Montenegrins were killing up there. I hope they are all well and clean," he added, anxiously. "I told them to wash themselves and their clothes and their blankets every week while I was gone. I made them give a *besa* to do it, and there is

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anyway plenty of water in the river and probably it is not raining in Scutari, so it will be all right. But if it is raining, then they will have to wash their clothes because they gave a *besa*, and it perhaps can be that they will take cold."

The rain had become so breath-taking that we said no more, rapidly following the trail which ran easily through a small deformed wood, among the ten-foot cones of dried branches which were last fall's store of winter fodder. The path came soon to the edge of a cliff, dipped over it, and ran along the wall of rock, high above the Lumi Shala. Here, sheltered in a smoke-blackened shallow cave, we found Cheremi and four strange men sitting by a tiny fire and smoking cigarettes Bundles of dried boughs which two of them had been carrying were stacked behind them, and Padre Marjan's little horse was munching a handful of leaves and gazing out at the rain.

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CHAPTER XII

THE SONG OF THE LAST GREAT WAR WITH THE DRAGON — AN UNEXPECTED BANDIT — HOW AHMET, CHIEF OF THE MATI, WENT BY NIGHT TO VALONA—THE RAISING OF SCANDERBEG'S FLAG—AN ALBANIAN LOVE SONG.

THEY made places for us, laid another handful of dry twigs on the fire, and rolled fresh cigarettes. The Lumi Shala was rising higher than they had ever known it to do, they said, and the Drin was overflowing in the Merdite country. And learning that we were from Scutari, they asked us what we knew of the Tirana government, of which they had heard. Was it true that the Land of the Eagle was free?

Leaving discussion of politics to Perolli, we sat cross-legged, looking into the straight lines of rain that covered the mouth of the cave like a curtain. Faintly through them we could see a blueness of mountains and a greenness of fields beyond the narrow rust-red ledge of the trail. Time passed, with a murmur of talk and a crunching of leaves, until Rexh touched my elbow.

"Here is a man, Mrs. Lane, who knows the end of one of those songs. He does not know it all, but he can sing about the eating, after the

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war was ended. He will sing it for you, if you want him to."

He was a grimy man, barefooted, ragged, and incredibly whiskered. But he carried besides his rifle on his back an old beautifully made musical instrument somewhat resembling a mandolin, with a long neck ending in a carved ram's head. It was strung with fine wire, and he handled it proudly; the wire, he said, had come from Scutari. In his father's day it had been strung with horsehair and played with a bow, but at the time of his own marriage he had sent to Scutari for the wire, and he now played it with a finger nail. Fresh cigarettes were rolled and adjusted in holders, knees were crossed comfortably, and the song began.

It was only a fragment—the last song of all the songs about that great war of the dragon and the drangojt above the Dukaghini mountains. The strangely pitched twang of the wire accompanied the words, chanted in a wild rhythm to the rain-filled valley of the Lumi Shala:

"The ora of Shala came from the deathless forest,
From the wood that is always green beyond the Mali Nicaj.
The ora of Shala saw the war in the air above the forest,
She saw the war in the air above the crashing peaks,
She saw the blood of the dragon spilled on the rocks.
Ho lo! Ho la! The head of the dragon falls!
Ho lo! Ho la! Two heads of the dragon are dead!
Ho lo! Ho la! Three heads of the dragon fall on the rocks!
The men of the earth are saved!
The ora of Shala screamed the word that the earth was saved.

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533 Three times the ora of Shala screamed,
539 And her scream was heard on the Mali Nicaj,
Her voice was heard on the Chafa Morines,
And the Lumi Shala ran through the valley of Shala.
Three times the ora of Shala called,
And the ora of all the mountains came to her call,
They came like sparks from a fire to the ora of Shala.
'Oh, my sisters, this is the word from the battle.
The dragon is dead and the world is saved!
The brave drangojt have saved the world.
The mountains stand without moving forevermore,
And the waters go back to their places,
For the brave drangojt have saved the world.
We will make a feasting for the saviors of the world.
My sister, go to the field for grain,
Cut it and thresh it and grind it,
Make bread and bake it well.
My sister, go to the mountains among the flocks,
Find a sheep with a lamb beside her,
Ask the sheep to give you her milk
For we make a feast for the brave drangojt.
My sister, go to the tree that is hollow.
To the tree where the honey is made,
And ask the bees for their yellow honey.
My sister, here is a knife that is sharp;
Strike true, strike deep, strike quickly,
And bake the meat in a heated pit.'
The first ora came with bread on her head,
The second ora came with a sack of milk,
A milk sack made from the skin of trees.
The third ora came with her hands full of honey.
The fourth ora came with two roasted animals,
Large roasted animals, hot and brown.
Now we can go to our brave drangojt.
The hair of the ora was unbound,
And their heads were crowned with flowers,
And the beauty of the world was their garment.

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The ora of Shala came first to the Mali Riges, 533
The ora of Shala came to the camp of the drangojt. 539
'I hope we find you well, heroes of the earth,
Long may you live, the courage of the world.'
Then rose and spoke Lleshi of Lleshi,
Chief of the tribe of the Merdite drangojt.
'Welcome to you from wherever you come.
Where have you been hiding your beauty?'
'I am the sister of the ora of the Merdite,
She who is guarding the Mali Mundelles.
I am the ora of Shala.
Long live the heroes who have killed the dragon,
Long live the warriors who have saved the world.'
Then on the grass they sat for the feasting.
All the ora turned back their sleeves,
Making ready to serve the heroes.
The first ora broke the round loaf of bread,
The second ora brought the hot roasted meat,
The third ora brought the bowl of yellow honey,
The fourth ora poured the milk from the sack.
All the ora brought good water from the spring,
And the drangojt drank from the cup of their hands.
When the feasting was ended they left that place,
They washed their hands in flowing water,
They lay by a fire on a carpet of leaves,
And they spoke of many things pleasant to hear.
They spoke till the star of the dawn came out
Above the peaks of the Mali Mundelles.
The star of the daylight came out,
For the power of the dragon was broken.
This was the feast of the Merdite drangojt
After the last great war with the dragon."

The player ran his finger down the wire in a final weird whine, and the instrument lay silent on his knees. "That is all I know of that one," he said. "But if the American *zonyas* would like ooo

ooo to hear other songs, I can sing them, for I am a bandit."

I cannot describe the shock we felt at those simple words. "*Jam comitadj.*" Yes, he had said them. Or had he?

"*Comitadj?*" said I, noticing a strange stiffness in my lower jaw. "*Nuk comitadj?*"

"*Po,*" said he, quite calmly. And the modesty which reveals too great pride touched his voice as he added, "I have been a bandit for many years."

Automatically my eyes sought Frances's. Hers were widely open, and expressed only a shock as great as mine. We both turned a fascinated gaze upon the bandit, who had laid aside his musical instrument and rested a fond hand on his rifle. "For many years," he repeated.

"Do you like it?" said I, weakly. "Do you like—banditing?"

I had read of bandits in the Balkans, and I had heard of them, and I had even thought how self-possessed and cool I would be if I encountered one of them. "Certainly," I would say, with dignity. "Take my money if you like; it is very little; you are welcome. But there will be no use whatever in your holding me for ransom, because——" I suppose everyone falls into these absurdities of imagined and impossible conversations. The lure of them is their offer of escape from reality. Certainly I had never believed that a real, living bandit would step out of that fantastic realm and be a solid figure in

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THE BANDIT WHOM WE MET IN THE CAVE ABOVE THE LUMI SHALA AND WHO SANG US THE SONG OF DURGAT PASHA

A letter just received from Albania brings the news that he has cut his beard, hung his rifle on the wall (when disarming the mountaineers the Albanian government made an exception in his case), and is now running, with considerable success, a sawmill in the Mati.

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the daylight. I, *I* in a bandit's cave! Such things didn't *happen;* they were only in books. So I said, meekly, timidly, quite inadequately, "Do you like—banditing?"

579 Yes, he said, he liked it very much. He became even poetic about it. I admit I took no notes of what he said. But I recall Rexh's voice repeating lyrical words about life on the mountains, camp fires and stars, freedom and fighting—the only life for a man, he declared. Once he had stopped being a bandit and gone back to the life of houses, but he was glad when the time came to be a bandit again.

I had not thought that being a bandit was a seasonal occupation, and I begged an explanation of these mysterious words. It developed that they referred to wars unknown and unrecorded save in the songs of the mountaineers, and we became so involved in references cryptic to me, but clear to the listening Albanians, that at last I was obliged to beg him to begin at the beginning and tell the straight story of his life. This he did, with the modest reluctance of a hero surrounded by admirers.

"I was not a rich man," he began, "but as our saying is, 'The smallest hair has its own shadow.' There were sheep in my house, and it was a house of two rooms, and the fields repaid our labor. The tobacco box in my sash was never empty, and there was bread in the baking pan. There was a son in the cradle and another by the fire, and life was as smooth as the Lumi

* [Albanian bandit [225] encountered on trail above Lumi Shala -- Analyst]

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PEAKS OF SHALA

579 Shala in summer, until the coming of Durgat Pasha.

"After that came the treason of Essad Pasha, and, having then neither house, nor sheep, nor sons, nor tobacco, but only my rifle——"

We must interrupt, to bring him back to Durgat Pasha, and he was astonished that more than that name was needed to make us understand. Had we never heard the songs of Durgat
533 Pasha? Durgat Pasha, who in 1912 came from
539 the Sultan of Turkey to subdue the Sons of the Eagle? Durgat Pasha, who burned and killed, from the Mali Malines to the Malit Shkodra? He bent over the instrument on his knees, twanged three wild notes from it, and sang:

"Seven Powers had called a council,
Seven Powers met and said,
'Shqiperia is no more in our hands,
All Shqiperia is not in our hands.'
Then rose Durgat Pasha and took his gun.
'Leave this to me for three years.
O Sultan, I go for three years.
When I return the Shqiptars are yours.'
Durgat Pasha came past the white lake,
Durgat Pasha to the Mali Malines,
Durgat Pasha to the Mali Shoshit,
Durgat Pasha and five thousand soldiers.
He sends word to Hasjakupit,
'You shall send your rifle to me.
'Thirty Turkish pounds have I paid for my rifle,
Thirty pounds for my own rifle,
But I leave houses and lands and go with my rifle.
Thirty houses I leave behind me.'
These were the words of Hasjakupit.

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PEAKS OF SHALA

'Thirty houses I leave behind me, 533
And into Montenegro I go. 539
I go to King Nichola of Montenegro;
He will give me meat and bread.'
Durgat Pasha on the top of the mountain,
Durgat Pasha with Shala around him,
Durgat Pasha had no bread or water,
Durgat Pasha's rifles had nothing to eat.
And the fighting men of Shala were all around him,
The fighting of Shala was terrible.
Durgat Pasha went out of his way to Puka.
Puka and Iballa greeted him.
When he came to Bashchellek
All of Scutari came to greet him.
The people of Scutari were frightened.
Durgat Pasha was going to die,
And Scutari rubbed his face with a sack,
Scutari gave him food and drink.
Then rose Salo Kali of Scutari.
'My rifles I cannot give,
I have made *besa* with one hundred men;
Our rifles are not for Durgat Pasha.'
'Leave the *besa*, Salo Kali,
Take your hammer and shoe the horses.
That is your business, Salo Kali.
What have you to do with rifles?'
'I have made *besa* with one hundred men;
Our rifles are not for Durgat Pasha.'
Durgat Pasha rubbed his forehead.
'I have never seen this kind of people,
I never saw a nation like Shala or Shoshi.
What can be done with the Shqiptars?'
These were the words of Durgat Pasha.

"That is the song of Durgat Pasha," said the 725
bandit. "When I came home from the fighting,
the men of Durgat Pasha had burned my house,

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725 and my wife and my sons were dead. It was then I gave *besa* to myself never to hang my rifle on the wall and never to cut my beard until all Albania was free. And I went to fight the Serbs at Chafa Bullit. That was good fighting. All day we fought, and at night we lay by the camp fires and the women gave us bread and meat. All day long, while we were fighting, the women were on the trails bringing us bread and meat. Then we were tired and slept, and the air was good, not like the air in houses. And in the morning, when the stars were pale, we raised the war cry and killed more Serbs. It was a good life.

"It was at this time that the chiefs of Kossova came secretly by night through the Serbian lines to the house of Ahmet Bey Mati, and I was called by Ahmet to take them to Valona. He said that a word would be spoken in Valona to make Albania free. I said to Ahmet: 'The Montenegrins hold Scutari and the seacoast even to San Giovanni, the European Powers are in Durazzo, the Serbs have Kossova and the Dibra, the Greeks are in the south. What is talk of freedom? This is not a time to talk; it is a time to fight.' Ahmet said, 'Before the war cry, the council of chiefs.' Ahmet is chief of the Mati, head of the family that has ruled the Mati since the days of Scanderbeg. He was a boy of sixteen, newly come from the court of Sultan Abdul Hamid; he did not wear the clothes of the Malisori, and the chiefs of the Mati laced

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his opangi before every battle, because he did 725
not know how to lace opangi. Yet it must be said that it was his coming that saved the Mati from the Serbs. He came quickly, killing seven horses between Monastir and Borelli, and he told the chiefs what to do, and they saved the Mati. It was hot fighting. For five months he had been fighting and sleeping on the rocks. His chiefs loved him.

"I said, 'I am killing Serbs, and have no wish to go to Valona.' Ahmet said: 'When my father died, my older brother sent me from my country to the Turks. I do not know the trails. The chiefs of Kossova are my guests, and they do not know the trails. We must go to Valona through Elbassan, where the Serbs are. There is a meeting of all the chiefs of Albania in Valona. If we are killed by the Serbs, there will be no chiefs of the Malisori at that meeting. There will be only Toshks—men of the plains.' I said: 'To-night the moon will be dark. We must start as soon as we can see the small stars.'

"In three nights we were at the house of Asif Pasha in Elbassan. No, nothing disturbed us on the way, except that we were obliged to kill with our hands the dogs that sometimes came upon us from the villages. The Serbs were everywhere, and we could not use our guns. When we came to the house of Asif Pasha, the chiefs of Kossova with Ahmet slept in one room, and I sat with Asif Pasha by the fire in another room. Elbassan was held by many hundred Serbian sol-

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725 diers. At midnight five officers with thirty soldiers came to the door. They came in, and would not take coffee. They stood, and said: 'Who are the twelve men who sleep to-night in this house? Do not lie, for we know that they are here.'

"Asif Pasha said, 'This is one of them.' I said, 'I will tell you who they are, but I beg you not to let them know that I have told. I am only a servant, and they are great chiefs. They are byraktors of five villages of the Mati, three villages of the Merdite, and three villages of Shala and Shoshi. They have come to Elbassan to talk with the Serbs. They have come secretly, hiding from the other chiefs. I do not know why. I beg you not to tell them that I have told, for they are tired and dirty, and they are sleeping while the women clean their clothes so that they will be clean to-morrow when they go to speak to your chiefs.'

"The officers sat down then, and one of them wrote. He wrote the names of the chiefs as I gave them to him, and he wrote what I said, that the Malisori were tired of fighting, and had little ammunition, and did not like their chiefs that made them fight. While he wrote, Asif Pasha gave them rakejia, and more and more rakejia, but no coffee. When the Serbs had become foolish I went to the other room where the chiefs were listening with their rifles in their hands, and I took them all by a way I knew, out of Elbassan.

PEAKS OF SHALA

"So we came to Valona, to the house of Ismail 725
Kemal Bey Vlora, the same who had been Grand Vizier of Abdul Hamid. He had come on an Austrian warship to Durazzo, and there they had tried to kill him, and he had come secretly, as we had come, to Valona. Valona was the only free village in Albania then, except our mountain villages. There was a council in his house. Chiefs of all the tribes from Kossova to Janina were there, and when the council was ended Ismail Kemal Bey brought the flag of Scanderbeg, which had always been hidden in his house, and with a rope he made it run to the top of a pole on his house. It was the red flag with the two-headed black eagle on it. I stood in the street and saw it go to the top of the pole. The chiefs were on the balcony, and Ismail Kemal Bey wept. Many men had tears on their cheeks. In the streets they cried, 'Rroft Shqiperia!' and embraced one another. They said that the spirit of Scanderbeg lived, and that Albania was free. But I said, 'The time has not come when I can hang my gun on the wall or cut my beard.'

"The next night I started secretly back through the Serbian lines with Ahmet and the chiefs of Kossova, to come to our own mountains and kill the Serbs. We had been twenty-two days in Valona, and for those twenty-two days I had not been a *comitadj*[1]. I was glad to be one again."

For the moment the fortunes of war were with ooo
the drangojt; the heavier clouds had been driven

1 [Bandit-- Analyst]

000 away, and a pale sunshine fell on Shoshi, which looked like a water-color picture in a gray frame. Our side of the valley was in shadow, but the rain had ceased and we should have been going on. I was held by a still unsatisfied curiosity about that bandit.

579 "I thought bandits were highwaymen," I murmured, and, unwilling to ask interpreters to put the question that was in my mind, I laid the burden on my own lame knowledge of their language. "You kill Serbs?" I asked. "How do you get money?"

The whiskered face seemed to smile broadly at this boldness. "I get it on the trails," he said.

"From Albanians?"

"I get it where I can," he answered, indifferently. "The Austrians had money, and there were many Austrians in Albania. This rifle came into the mountains on an Austrian officer. I gave his clothes to a naked man of Dibra who was fighting the Serbs there. I got four Italian capes and trousers in one day, on the road north of Scutari, and there was money on their bodies, too. As to Albanians—there was a rich Albanian once, whom I met riding out from Ipek. Why should a man of Albanian blood ride in the eyes of the Serbs with gold in his pocket, while true Albanians are dying of cold and hunger? I took from him everything he had, and left him on the trail as naked as he came to the cradle. I said to him, 'You are the Sultan, and I am the Grand

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Vizier. In your name I will give these things to your people, and they will be grateful.'"

We laughed hastily.

"But it is time to cut your beard and hang your rifle on the wall," Perolli suggested. "There is a free Albanian government now."

"But not a free Albania," said the bandit. "The government forgets that, and sits in council with the Powers that sold us to Italy and gave us to Serbia. Have you forgotten Kossova and a million of your brothers who are slaves to the Serbs?"

"I am of Ipek," Perolli answered him. "Nevertheless, I am first a Shqiptar and second a man of Kossova. And I remember our proverb that says, 'Better an egg to-day than a chicken next year.'"

"We have also a saying, 'Better the nightingale once than the blackbird every day,'" replied the bandit.

"Let it be. 'Every sheep hangs by her own leg,'" Perolli retorted, rising.

The honors were with him. For the moment, the bandit could think of no proverb which would be a weapon, and could only reply to our courteous farewells by wishing us smooth trails.

"The good man of yesterday becomes a burden to-day and a danger to-morrow," said Perolli, as we went slowly along the ledge of trail. "Why is it that our minds do not change as rapidly as the world changes around us? These mountain men will cling to their rifles, though the time is

ooo past when killing will solve our problems. Stupidity! But sometimes I think the whole world is stupid."

We agreed with little assenting sounds, our minds too much occupied with the difficulty of the way to spend energy on words. We were absorbed in the narrow, slippery trail running rust red along a cliff that wept iron. Only when we paused for breath did we see the beautiful valley of the Lumi Shala beneath us. The rain was falling gently now, a wavering veil of gray chiffon over the mountains that ran a scale of paling blues to the white peaks in the west. Below them little fields were green, burgeoning woods were faintly rainbow misted with colors of new leaves, and there was a foam of plum blossom and a sudden rosy note from a solitary peach tree.

533 We looked in silence. And when we resumed our toiling way, Perolli began to sing. It was a song with springtime in it, a song like the valley of the Lumi Shala, an Albanian song of strangely pitched half notes and indescribable transitions, breaking at intervals into the burbling melody of a bird's throat. We listened entranced; we begged him to sing it again.

"It is called 'The Mountain Song,'" he said. "But it isn't one of the songs of the trails; it is a song of the large villages of Kossova. I think it isn't more than fifty or sixty years old, because it is a love song. Love songs are new in Albania, and you find them only in the villages." And he sang:

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PEAKS OF SHALA

533 "How beautiful is the month of May
When we go with the flocks to the mountains!
On the mountains we heard the voice of the wind.
Do you remember how happy we were?

"In the month of May, through the blossoming trees,
The sound of song is abroad on the mountains.
The song of the nightingale, ge re ge re ge re.
Do you remember how happy we were?

"I would I had died in that month of May
When you leaned on my breast and kissed me, saying,
'I do not wish to live without you.'
Do you remember how happy we were?

"I wish again for the month of May
That again we might be on the mountains,
That again we might hear the mountain voices.
Have you forgotten those days of beauty?"

000 Again and again he sang it, while we tried to follow with our voices those unwritten notes that express so much more clearly than any words the beauty and fleetingness of spring. And when, unexpectedly, we came upon five young men drawn up in a line to greet us, we could not believe that the way had been so short and that we had come to the village of Shala.

It was indeed Shala, and in a moment we were being welcomed by the padre and escorted up a stone stairway into his rooms above the church.

These were better rooms than Padre Marjan's; the windows were not broken and the walls were solid. But they were bitterly cold, and this priest was not our Father Marjan. He was

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooo older, squarer, more sturdy, his hair was iron gray, and his presence was commanding—so commanding that it was a bit chilly. He led us formally into a large, bare room, where there were a long table and four hand-made chairs; he gave us each a chair and himself remained standing, talking with grave formality, in Albanian, to Perolli. Little pools of water spread around our feet, as though we were umbrellas.

We sat there half an hour, an hour, an hour and a half. There was no fire; the room had the feeling of a room that has never had a fire in it. We suggested to Perolli that he take us into the kitchen to get warm, but he silenced us with a glance; indeed, it was obvious that we were in the hospitable hands of the priest and that it would be an unforgivable affront to make such a suggestion to him.

We were so cold from the first, holding ourselves so tight to prevent our shivering from becoming uncontrollable, that I do not know when the real chills began. It was Alex's gray-blue lips and cheeks that first alarmed me. I said to Perolli that he *must* get us warmed. He said that before long we would have something to eat, and that would warm us.

Then I saw Alex's cheeks turn to a hot, burning red, and I said: "Perolli! You've got to get Alex a chance to get into dry clothes. Can't you see she's ill?"

"Are you ill?" said Perolli, and, "Oh no, no, not at all!" said Alex, her teeth chattering

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together. "I would like to lie down, if I could, but it's all right."

Another half hour went by, lengthening into an hour. Alex seemed still more ill to me, though I could not see her very well; she grew very, very large before my eyes and then very small and far away. My head ached, and just as I thought I was warm at last, I would be disappointed again by a chill that made me clench my teeth and grip my chair. But when I saw Alex's head fall forward as though she were faint, I could stand it no longer. I got up.

"Perolli," I said, "tell our host we've got to get Alex dry and warm. If you don't I'll undress her and rub her right here!"

I would have said more, but I couldn't. A pain like a knife stabbed through my lungs, and before I could catch my breath stabbed neatly again. It's the kind of pain you can't describe; if you've felt it you know it, and if you haven't, you can't. I recognized it; it had struck me years before and laid me in a hospital for six weeks. Pneumonia!

There's a kind of clan morality that controls us. It has nothing to do with the moralities of religions or races or states; it is a group affair, and the groups seem roughly to be made by common occupations. Soldiers must conceal, and deny, their natural fear of death. Labor-union men must let their children starve before they "scab." Farmers must not let their stock break through fences, or let a bit of unused land

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○○○ become a nursery for weeds. Employers—and one sees this, now, everywhere in Europe—must not pay higher wages than other employers, however easy and more efficient it may be to do so. Women who are married, or expect to marry, must not let a man's fancy wander from the woman who claims him. Doctors must let a patient die rather than take the case from another doctor. And women like Alex and Frances and me—for whom there is no generic term, except the meaningless "modern women" —must never, so long as they can keep on their feet, admit that they are ill.

How Alex felt I don't know; for myself, I was in a blue panic. I have never wanted anything so much as I wanted to collapse right there, in sheer terror. Pneumonia, in Shala, a hundred and fifty miles from a doctor, from medicines, [753] from even a bed. Pneumonia, among the Albanians, whose only medical knowledge of it was that it came from drinking rain water!

Perolli had been surprised by my exclamation. "Why didn't you say you were uncomfortable?" he said to Alex. "If I'd had any idea——"

"I'm all right," said Alex, getting the words out quickly and shutting her teeth hard.

"Well, what are you fussing about, then?" said Perolli to me, anxiously. "I'd take you girls to a fire if I could, but, you see, they're cooking in the kitchen, and naturally the padre doesn't want to take his guests there. We've been here three hours now; dinner ought to be

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ready before long, and you'll be all right as soon as you've had something to eat."

That pain stabbed through my lungs again, taking all my breath and engaging all my self-control, and I wilted. I wasn't the good sport Alex was.

"I know I'm abominably rude," I said, "but I'm too tired. I want to lie down. Ask the padre if there isn't somewhere we can lie down till dinner."

It was too bad. Guests shouldn't behave like that. There was another room, and it had a mattress on the floor, but there was no candle; a bit of blazing wood must be brought from the kitchen to light me into it; our bags must be fetched; the household was quite upset. I apologized and apologized, but at last I was able to tear off my sopping stockings, pull some of our blankets over me, and lie down in the darkness. I was falling into a kind of stupor. I could not get off my soaking garments, but it did not matter, fever kept me even too warm in them, and in a moment I—as the old-time novelists say—knew no more. During that moment I felt some one crawling on the mattress beside me, put out a hand, and touched Alex's blazing cheek.

We were awakened and brought out to dinner. It did not seem real. I remember it like a delirium. There was hot soup, but each mouthful seemed a cannon ball to get through a closing throat, and there were corn bread and goat's-

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milk cheese; the padre stood at the head of the table through the meal, holding the torch. He did not eat with us, Perolli said, because we were using all the dishes he had. It transpired, too, that there was but the one mattress in the house. The padre's niece slept on it; he himself slept on the floor with a blanket. The niece was a sweet, round-cheeked little girl of about fourteen, quite the German Fräulein; she had been educated in Vienna and Munich, and seemed most desperately lonely in Shala, hungry for companionship and talk of the things she knew; but since the war and the wreck of central Europe she must stay in Shala. I saw a tragedy there. But I saw it very dimly through the mist of pain and fever.

Alex and I took the mattress, with the simple, direct selfishness of miserable animals; it was very narrow, but we lay head to foot on it and managed. Frances, Perolli, and Rexh slept in blankets beside us on the floor. All night long Alex moaned in her sleep, and I could not tell the difference between reality and delirium; only the knives in my lungs brought me out of the mists now and then to hear the ceaseless pouring sound of rain and feel the damp chill of the room.

In the gray morning Alex and I sat up and looked at each other.

"How do you feel?" said I.

"Fine," said she. "Have you a fever?"

"Fever? Not a bit," said I. "But I've been thinking. It's the tenth, and I absolutely must

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be in Paris by the twentieth. It's most important—a business matter. So I don't think I'd better go on with you into the Merdite country. I think I'd better go back to Scutari and catch the boat from Durazzo next Tuesday."

"But you can't make it out of these mountains alone!" said she. "It's a hundred and fifty miles and you don't know the trails or the language."

"Oh yes, I can!" I said. "Don't talk nonsense, Alex dear."

"Well, you know what it is. It is up to you," said she. (How I love women for the way they love you and yet leave you free!) "Only, if you did have a fever, you realize it would be dangerous to try to make it, in this weather."

"If I had a fever, it strikes me it would be equally dangerous to stay here," I replied. "And I must be in Paris, on the job, by the twentieth."

"Well, if it's the job——" said she, and called Perolli.

Perolli was deep in politics, and paused only a moment to say that if he had any authority over me he would not listen for a moment to such a mad notion; but I told him he hadn't and asked him to get me a guide. He said he did not know the men here, but would do his best, and by the time I was dressed he brought the guide, a slim, too-handsome youth who spoke Italian and swore to get me to Scutari in two days.

Frances said that if I would insist on going, I

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must take Rexh with me; and I said I would not dream of it, I would not think of letting that twelve-year-old give up the trip into the farther mountains. All along the way he had thought of little else, and half his sentences had begun, "When we get into the Merdite country——" We argued about it, Frances patient and I surprised to find how bad tempered I could be. The packs must be rearranged, and I kept putting my hand down on things that were not there; everything moved with incredible slowness, and eternities passed before I cut short the interminable formalities of farewell and plunged out into the cool, delightful rain.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE BACKWARD TRAIL—THE MAN OF SHALA HAS A SENSE OF HUMOR—THE BYRAKTOR OF SHOSHI HEARS THAT THE EARTH IS ROUND.

WE started down the bed of a waterfall, the guide and I; the bad going, the exhausting force of the current, my dizziness and breath-taking pains, made the first half mile a blur. When we came out on a cliff edge I sat down, and then for the first time I saw Rexh. He stood very gravely, watching me; the rain had melted the dye in his red fez and little streams of it ran down his round, serious face.

"It is much better for me to come with you, Mrs. Lane," he said. "You do not know the language, and this Shala man he is a bad man."

"But, Rexh, my dear!" I said. "No, no! You must go back to Miss Hardy and say that I say you cannot come." He might never again have an opportunity to see that farther interior country; it was a trip to dream of for years and to remember always afterward. I had not asked him to give it up; I did not want him to. I was safe enough; all the tribal laws protected me; no one had any motive for injuring me, and the Shala man, however bad, knew that I had no money and that he would be well paid when he delivered me in Scutari.

ooo "All that is true, Mrs. Lane. But I think it best for me to come with you," said Rexh, inflexibly. And because I really had no strength for combating such determination, I got up and went on, the Shala man going before, with my pack protected by a poncho on his back, and Rexh following after.

We climbed up cliffs and lowered ourselves down them; we slipped and slid and jumped down more little waterfalls; we waded knee-deep streams and struggled over decomposed shale that clutched at our feet like sand; we came down a switchback trail to the banks of the Lumi Shala, and the Shala man carried me across it, on top of his pack. It was all like a nightmare, of which I remember clearly only my thirst. Though I was as wet as anything that lives in the sea, I could not get enough to drink, and every one of the millions of springs invited my drinking cup. Rexh, whose endless task was to fill it for me, protested. "In the rains, the water makes you sick," he said. "It turns to knives inside you. You will be sick, Mrs. Lane."

He was the funniest figure you can imagine, in a suit of striped American flannelette pajamas and the red fez that poured a dozen little wavering streams of dye over his forehead and down his cheeks.

If I were in France, I knew, the doctors would put me in a hot room with all the windows closed, and insist that I must not have much water. In America I would be given fresh air

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and water, and bathed to keep down the fever. Well, I was in Albania, and I reasoned that, if I was to have pneumonia, I might as well have it on the mountain trails as in a cold, wet house, and when I got to Scutari I could be as ill as I liked, with very little bother to anybody.

"If the water makes me sick, Rexh, and if I become *gogoli*, with a wild spirit of the mountains entered into me, you are not to mind," I said. "You are to get me down to Scutari somehow; above all things, do not let me stay in a native house."

"Yes, Mrs. Lane." Then we began to climb up the next mountain, and, kneeling on a bowlder above me to help pull me up its side, Rexh said: "Your hand is like a hot coal, Mrs. Lane, and this is not such a very big bowlder. I think we must get a *mooshk*."

"What is a *mooshk*?"

"He is what you ride on. I forget the English word—with long ears and very little feet."

"A mule?"

"Yes, that is it. We must get a mule for you to ride."

"Oh, do you think we can? Ask the Shala man if he knows where there is one."

The Shala man, to my joy—but Rexh looked doubtful—said at once that there was one at the next house. So we went into it, and sat for some time by the fire, and were given coffee, our steaming clothes making the place like a Turkish bath. But there was no mule; the Shala man said we

would find one at the next house. The houses were perhaps a quarter of a mile apart here, scattered along the mountain sides above the Lumi Shala, and the Shala man stopped at every one of them. There would be a delirium of struggling up slopes so steep that I could go, as it were, on all fours, without having to admit that my knees were limp, and then of staggering downward, and then an interval of smoke and fire and thick, sweet coffee, and then out into the water again. At last I began really to protest.

"I won't go into this house," I said, flatly. "We ought to make forty miles at least before we stop, if we're to get to Scutari in three days. We have to keep going all the time. I'm not going to stop in any more houses."

"Mrs. Lane, we have to," said Rexh.

"But why? It's nonsense! This man's saying always that the mule is at the next house. These people know whether there's a mule in the village or not. We needn't stop in every house."

"Yes, we do, Mrs. Lane. We are in Shoshi and this man will be killed if he does not take care. You do not look like a woman, Mrs. Lane. You look like a Montenegrin man, in those pants and that long gray coat. He has to stop in every house, so that the people will see he is traveling with a woman."

"But, Rexh, I thought we were going through Pultit."

"This is Shoshi, Mrs. Lane."

PEAKS OF SHALA

The Shala man, tall and young and very conscious that he was handsome, stood easily on the slope beside us, rain running over him as though he were a stone in a stream, his rifle held carefully protected from the wet by a fold of the poncho. He seemed entirely happy.

"What do you mean," said I, furiously "by bringing me through Shoshi when you agreed to take me through Pultit?" And when Rexh, like a small image of an accusing judge, had translated, the Shala man looked like an artless child surprised in innocent mischief.

"He says he thought it would be fun. Because they can't kill him while you're here, and he likes to go into their houses and drink coffee," said Rexh.

I sat for some moments on the streaming bowlder, wiping my streaming face now and then with my hand, and staring at that man with the peculiar sense of humor. So he thought it funny, did he, to bring me through a tribe whose rifles were oiled to kill him, and to sit at their firesides, perfectly safe in my protection? Fastened in my own little affairs like a turtle in his shell, I sat there, black with rage, thinking that I would like to murder him, myself. Then suddenly I put out my head and saw the wide world, and the spectacle of us three, dripping there on that immense and drenched landscape in the middle of Albania—the innocent Shala man who had been delightedly thumbing his nose at Shoshi's warriors, the small, serious Rexh

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

with a map of tiny red rivers over his face, and me, who looked like a Montenegrin man, all of us so intently solemn——

But the vision was disastrous, for laughter set the knives slashing through my lungs again, and I did not know how much of the rain on my face was tears before I was able to speak.

"Tell him I hope he enjoyed the joke, for it's over," I said. "You're Mohammedan, Rexh, and safe; just call to the house and tell them who I am, and ask if they have a mule. And when they ask us in, tell them glory to their house, but I cannot stop; I have made a vow to get to Scutari."

The Shala man was so downcast at passing one household he could not crow over, that my harshness would have relented under any other circumstances. But I was convinced that I was in for pneumonia, and every impulse in me concentrated in one obsession—to get to Scutari.

"After this, Rexh, you are managing this party," I said.

"Yes, Mrs. Lane," said he, toiling up the trail like a small pajama-clad gnome. And with all the sagacity and resource with which he manages his household of younger refugee children in Scutari, he took charge. The clearest picture that remains to me of that day is that of Rexh, his head tipped back and the staff in his left hand firmly planted, while with his right forefinger he sternly laid down the law to a thoroughly cowed Shala man.

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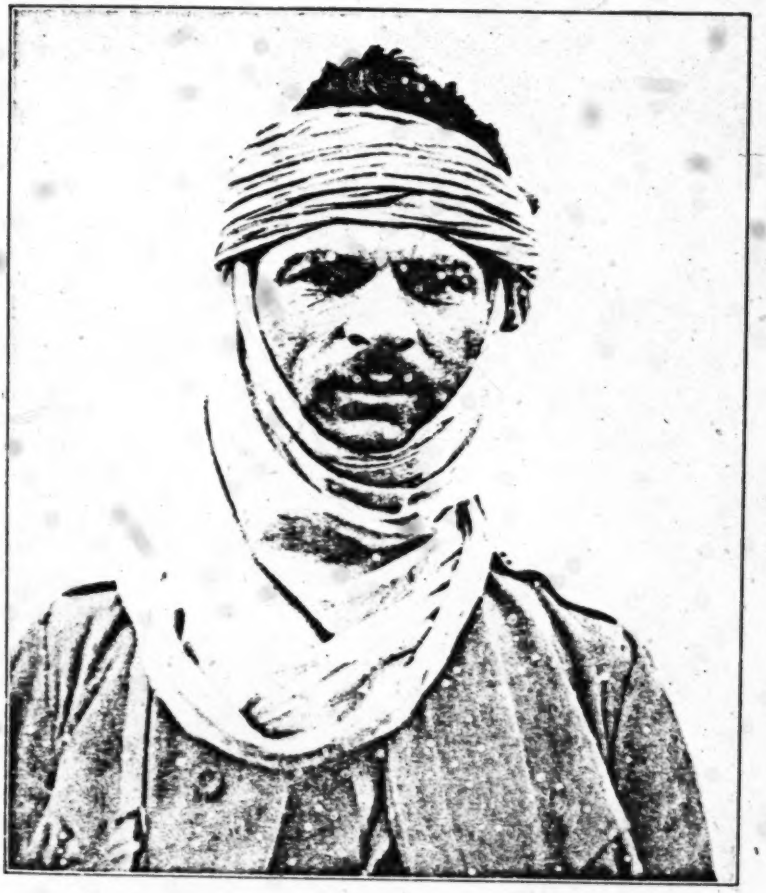

THE SHALA GUIDE
Who took the author through Shoshi for a joke

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooo It was Rexh who decreed that he carry the pack, while the Shala man carried me up the worst of the slopes; it was he who sent a man from one of the houses to climb the nearest mountain and call down the valley that we were searching for a mule; it was he who decided when we should stop to eat.

He and the Shala man ate cold meat and corn bread and goat's-milk cheese, beside a fire on the earth floor of one of the houses, and it was there that a violent-looking man, with a scarred face, clothed in the merest fragments of rags, tried to terrify me into giving him an order on the Red Cross in Scutari for clothes. He was a guest in the house; he had been driven from his own village by the Serbs; his wife and all his children had been killed around him; and I think he was a little mad.

"Give me clothes!" said he, thrusting his horrible face almost against mine, one hand on the wooden-handled knife in his grimy sash. "You Americans have given clothes to others! Give them to me!"

"Tell him that all the American clothes are gone, all of them have been given away, and there are no more. And tell him that in any case I am not of the Red Cross and cannot give him an order. I am very, very sorry."

"Write! Write me clothes on your pieces of paper!" the man snarled, and if Rexh had not sat so calmly beside me I would have thought he meant to strike me with the knife he

○○○ drew. The incident was like the horror in a nightmare.

"Tell him I can write on paper," I said, shrugging, "but the paper will not get him clothes." So he sat down, muttering. I was glad when Rexh said we would go on, for I did not, like the Shala man, delight in receiving courtesy at the hands of those people who so gladly would have killed him.

We went on over the trails, driven by the unflagging Rexh. His quiet persistency really maddened the Shala man; it was like that of a fly. He drove the Shala man onward without a pause, up and down cliffs, over bridges of logs just missed by roaring cascades, through streams where currents made him stagger. Surely half the time Rexh demanded that the Shala man carry me; the rest of the time the two were pulling me upward, or letting me downward, by both hands, as though I were a bundle. And just as the light was failing we stood on the brink of the most magnificent cañon of which I have ever dreamed.

There were depths below depths of it, falling away from narrow green terrace to terrace, and far down, at the edge of a drop that looked as though it were a crack sheer to the center of the world, there was a stone house. From the other side of the chasm a tilted slab of rock rose up into the clouds—a stupendous great sweep like a wing of the Victory of Samothrace, and it was striped in jagged lines of green and gray and rose

and white, hundreds of stripes, each as wide as the stone house down in the blue distance.

We knew it was a large house; we could hardly have seen it if it had been a small one; it looked as large as a match box.

"The byraktor of Shoshi lives there, Mrs. Lane, and I think we had better stay with him to-night," said Rexh. "There is a priest, but he is four miles farther down the valley, and we would have to come back in the morning, for this is where the trail begins to cross the mountains to Scutari. Also, if there is a mule in Shoshi, the byraktor will know him."

So we began dropping down to the house, the Shala man much pleased by the adventure of calling upon his enemies' war chief. We went easily, for the way was a gigantic staircase of cliff and terraced green field. Each field had its little house of stone; the trails down the cliff were broadened and held up by walls of stone. True, the centers of the trails were running ankle deep in water and springs gushed from every wall, but the effect was of ease and order and fresh green things, and before we reached the house of the byraktor my head was clearer and my breath no longer stabbing pains.

How to account for it I do not know; I am sure that in happier conditions I should have had pneumonia. But the fact is that after nearly forty miles of incredibly difficult journeying over those mountains in twelve rain-drenched hours, I came to the byraktor's fire weak, it is true, and

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000 trembling like a convalescent, but with fever gone and my lungs merely aching. I suggest the remedy for what it is worth.

[417] The byraktor received us at his gateway, for his house was surrounded by a high fence, almost a stockade, of woven branches. He was a tall, keen, quick man; bright, dark eyes and aquiline nose and thin, flexible lips, framed by the white turban's fold beneath his chin; a jacket of black sheep's wool; one massive jeweled silver chain on his breast. His swift smile was warm and beautiful, but one had a sense of reservations behind it; he welcomed the audacious Shala man without a quiver, and ushered us up the stone steps to the second floor of his house.

[342] There were several rooms[1], divided from the main large one by partitions of woven willow boughs, and from the large room a high, arched doorway in the stone wall led into farther regions.

592 At least forty men and women and children—five generations—were around the fire on the floor[1]. There was a little flurry of welcome and rearrangement, and in a moment we were in the center of the circle, sitting on thick mats of woven straw, while the byraktor made our coffee in the coals.

[302] The women were beautifully dressed; I had not seen so much elegance of embroidery, of colored headkerchiefs, earrings, and chains of silver and gold coins. Their dark, beautifully modeled faces, large dark eyes, and heavy braids of black hair were set off by the profusion of rich

[1] [House of war chief of Shoshi—] 252] Analysis]

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color. Most of them were sitting on low stools, 592
embroidering or working opangi, and the white-
garbed men lounged at their feet, closer to the
fire, resting on elbows and smoking.

There was the delicate negotiation about the ooo
mule. The byraktor owned one, but he did not
want to take it to Scutari. I left that to Rexh;
the byraktor listened to him as courteously as
though the boy had been twenty years older,
and Rexh bargained with him as with an equal.
A hundred kronen, Rexh said, tentatively, at last,
but even at that terrific price the byraktor did
not seem eager to make the trip (for, of course,
he himself would go where his mule went) and
Rexh thought best to drop the question for a
while.

"Where do you come from?" one of the youths 823
asked me; and when I had replied, "In what
direction from here is America?"

"California, the part of America from which I
come," I answered—and did not very greatly
stretch the truth—"is directly through the
earth, on the other side."

Why they sat up in such excitement I did not
know; I had expected surprise, but not such a
volley of questions, not such a visible sensation.
Rexh sat replying to them, earnestly explaining,
making a gesture now and then; their eyes fol-
lowed his hands, fascinated. His talk became a
monologue; it went on and on; all work stopped,
cigarettes burned to heedless fingers, the coffee
bubbled unnoticed by the byraktor. Little Rexh,

* [Shoshi people at [253] warchief's house --Analyst]

823 sitting erect in his pajama coat, the streaks of red dye now dried fantastically on his chubby face, held them all spellbound, while I begged him in vain to tell me what he was saying.

"It is nothing, Mrs. Lane," he answered me, at last. "I am telling them about the map. I am telling them that the map is not flat, as it looks, but round, like a ball."

He was telling them that the earth was round! And hearing my voice, they appealed to me in a bombardment of questions.

"Is the earth really round?"

"Yes."

"You have seen it? You know that it is round?"

"Yes."

"You have been around it, yourself?"

"Yes," I said, mendaciously.

They sat back and considered this. Then they asked particulars. They could understand that the earth was curved, for they had seen that the mountains were not flat, so it would be possible for the earth to be curved. But were the seas curved also? Would water curve? I said that it would, that, indeed, it did.

Had I been upon the great spaces of water and seen that they were curved?

I had been upon the seas, I said, and they were curved. They did not look curved, because the earth was so large and the eye saw so little of it, but they were curved, for one could go quite around the earth on them.

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They smoked over this for some time. The 823
byraktor rescued his coffee pot, in deep abstraction. I did not expect them to believe what I had said. How could they? It must have appeared to them the wildest of fairy tales (although in all Albania there are no fairies, and therefore —I suppose that is the reason—there are no Albanian fairy tales). Men suffered much at the hands of our ancestors for telling them the monstrous idea that the flat earth is round. I wished I knew what thoughts were taking shape behind those dark Albanian eyes.

Then the byraktor looked up. "If the solid earth is round," he said, "and if the water lies upon it in a curve, then this earth is moving very rapidly. For if the earth were standing still the water would fall off."

My astonishment was profound. I felt myself 000
a child beside that mind, and I thought that a man who could so wrestle with a new fact and evolve from it an even more amazing conclusion was no man for me to contend with in a little matter of hiring a mule and getting, somehow, to Scutari.

Presently large flocks of sheep and goats were 231
driven through the room[1], past the fire, and into 562
the darkness beyond the arched doorway. Rain-drenched shepherdesses, half clad in rags, followed them, and having, with much noise of tearing branches, given them their dried oak boughs to eat during the night, the shepherdesses returned and sat by the fire, addressing the byraktor in tones of accustomed equality.

1 [In house of Sheshi wanchief [255] -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 There was a constant movement in the room—women coming and going, nursing their babies and tucking blankets more tightly over the cradles, undressing the smaller children, who played naked about the fire until they were taken, unprotesting, to their blankets in other rooms, and bringing casks of water, and making corn bread.

One could always amuse the women by asking them about ages; they guessed mine all the way from sixteen to forty, and there was one of them, a splendid, smiling woman, good natured and competent, whose age I guessed to be forty. She laughed aloud, showing all her white, perfect teeth, and said that she was seventy-two, and that the byraktor was her daughter's son.

[753] "You have been drinking the new water," she said, wisely, though I had not mentioned the ache of my breathing. "You have the feeling of knives here," and she touched her chest. "But do not worry; it is all right; it is only the water, and when the rain stops you will not feel them any more." And she patted my shoulder comfortingly.

The question of the mule still hung unsettled. The byraktor seemed to be thinking deeply; he asked the Shala man many questions about Rrok Perolli. I caught the name and asked Rexh to listen, for I felt myself surrounded by web within web of intrigue, but Rexh said that the Shala man had nothing to tell, except that Perolli was in the mountains. I wondered whether to tell

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

the byraktor that Shala had sworn a *besa* with the Tirana government, and then thought best not venture into mazes that I did not understand. But the byraktor was greatly interested on learning that I had been in Montenegro, and all that I knew about that part of Jugo-Slavia I told him; it was very little, but he seemed to see more than I did in the robbery of the Serbian Minister of Finance by Montenegrin bandits.

"The story was in the newspapers," I told him. "Some day there will be newspapers in Albania, and schools in the mountains, and then you will learn about these things when they happen."

"I have heard about the school in Thethis," he answered. "Schools are very good, but what my people need is food and clothes. We are very poor. We have too little land. A school is of no use to a child who is hungry, for hunger has no brains with which to learn. I do not care for a school in Shoshi until all my people have enough bread. It is not right to give the well-fed child a school, too; he has already more than other children, and the school will only make him wiser and prouder than the poorer ones. Already the families with fewer children are stronger than those with many, and that is not right. I do not want a school; I want land for my people, for food comes from land, and after food comes the school. There is no hope for the mountain people while enemies hold our valleys. First the Romans, then the Turks, then the

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Austrians and Italians, and always, always the Serbs! And it may be that the Serbs will be too strong for us and that we shall all die fighting them."

After that he went to the other side of the fire, beside his grandmother, and he sat for a long time talking to her. "Shkodra," I heard, which is the Albanian name of Scutari, and "*mooshk*," and I knew he was talking of me and the mule I wanted to hire, but why it should be such a long and grave discussion I did not understand.

264 Then we had dinner,[1] served on several little tables, that all might eat at the same time, and the men and women ate together, but only the youngest and most beautiful woman ate at the byraktor's table, silent and respectful, dipping her long, aristocratic fingers diffidently in the dish. I thought she was his wife, but Rexh said no, she was his son's bride, still in those six months when she must not speak until spoken to, nor sit unless asked, and the byraktor liked her very much and wished to make her feel at home, because she was lonely for her own tribe.

After we had all washed our hands for the second time, and the men had had an after-dinner smoke—I still turned my head from the proffered cigarettes—the byraktor said that he would himself escort me to-morrow on the road to Scutari. I should ride his mule, and it was arranged that we should start at four o'clock.

[1] [At house of Shoshi warchief -- Analyst]

CHAPTER XIV

A NIGHT BY THE BYRAKTOR'S FIRE—THE BYRAKTOR CALLS A COUNCIL—REXH TO THE RESCUE—THE BYRAKTOR'S GENDARME TEARS A PONCHO—MOONLIGHT ON THE SCUTARI PLAIN.

THEN his grandmother made three beds, 513
on three sides of the fire. She brought a two-inch-thick mat of woven straw and laid it on the floor; over it she spread a handsome blanket of goats' hair dyed in stripes of magenta and purple; under one end of the mat she put a triangular piece of wood to serve as pillow, and when I lay down she tucked other blankets over me. Rexh and the Shala man had the other mats, and all the byraktor's family went to their own places, leaving the big room and the dying fire to us three guests.

At four in the morning the house was astir. 512
Out of the darkness yawning men came to stir the slumbering fire; the byraktor appeared without his turban, a weird figure with his shaven, [302]
skin-white head and long black scalplock, and began to make the morning coffee; the sheep and goats were driven out into the rain by the ragged shepherdesses. I sat up and put on my ooo
opangi, and the sleepy Rexh, still streaked with red dye from his fez, rolled out of his blankets.

[Shoshi war chief's -- [259] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooo "To-day," I said, "we get to Scutari." For the pains in my lungs had returned and I had lain all night half waking, haunted by fever visions and voices.

"Yes, yes," said the Shala man. "I swear it! To-day we get to Scutari!" But the byraktor looked at him, saying nothing, a quizzical look in his dark eyes, and leisurely went on with his coffee making.

"Rexh," I said at five o'clock, "why don't they start?"

"I don't know, Mrs. Lane," he replied, earnestly. "They will not tell." He sat listening to every casual word, and thinking deeply. A dozen times I had suggested that we should be starting.

"Tell the byraktor we must go!" I said at six o'clock, impatient in the doorway. For a long time all the world had been a clear gray, shadowed only by the falling rain. "I pay a hundred kronen for his mule only because it gets me to Scutari to-night."

Rexh announced this firmly to the byraktor; the byraktor, listening attentively, assented with a shake of his head.

[188] At seven o'clock I walked madly up and down the small stone porch. The byraktor's gendarme had arrived; he stood washing his face in a stone basin filled with rain water; at every splash in it he raised his head and solemnly crossed himself and made the sign of the cross toward the dawn. Inside the house, the byraktor was deep in conversation with his grandmother.

[At house of Shoshi [260] warchief -- Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

PEAKS OF SHALA

"They are talking politics, Mrs. Lane," Rexh reported. "I do not yet quite understand, but I think that you will not get to Scutari to-day."

"Rexh," I said, "listen to me. I shall get to Scutari to-day. In ten minutes by my watch I shall start to walk to Scutari, without the mule. I have waited long enough. Tell that to the byraktor."

The byraktor came to the door and looked at me kindly. He had put on his turban; he was a figure of rather awe-inspiring dignity. "Slowly slowly, little by little," said he, indulgently, and went back into the house.

When eight minutes had passed his grandmother came out—I was now walking restlessly up and down the soaked, corn-stalk-strewn yard—and led out of the lower part of the house the mule. The mule was the very smallest donkey I have ever seen, the most bedraggled, the most violently antagonistic to all the world. The woman tied him to the wicker fence and brought out a measure of corn. "Slowly, slowly," said she to me, triumphantly. "One cannot start until the mule has eaten." Then she went back to her talk with her grandson, the byraktor.

A moment later I interrupted them by the most courteous of farewells. I blessed them and their house and their past and their future, their families, their tribe, their hospitality, and their mule, and then I left. The Shala man followed me, protesting; Rexh trudged beside me, saying nothing, but very disapproving.

PEAKS OF ṢHALA

000 "You cannot do such a thing to the byraktor of Shoshi!" said the Shala man.

"I have done it to the byraktor of Shoshi," said I, violently, gasping on the trail. I kept my knees stiff with sheer rage, but on the first terrace above the byraktor's house not even that could keep me going, and I sat down in a heap on the trail to rest.

The sun had not yet cleared the top of the stupendous sweep of striped rock that soared above the chasm; it could hardly do so before noon. The cañon was filled with silver light; the rain itself seemed silver; the rose and blue and white of that great cliff glowed softly through it, and the greens of the little fields below were soft as mist. I sat looking at this, and insensibly realizing why time was so little to these people, and how unimportant, really, all our little hastes are.

Then, coming leisurely across the green, like little toys on a carpet, appeared the byraktor, his gendarme, and the minute mule. In half an hour they reached us, calm and unperturbed. 492 The donkey bore a wooden saddle quite as large as himself; they placed me on this and leisurely began to climb.

"To-night," said I, firmly, "I shall be in Scutari."

Rexh translated this to the byraktor, but the byraktor said nothing.

We proceeded slowly over the mountains.* This was wilder going than I had yet seen, and

* [From Shoshi to [262] Scutari -- Analyst]

again the simplicity of these people was borne 492
in upon me. Coming to places that, to any European understanding, would be absolutely impassable, the byraktor's action was simple and direct. He wrapped around his wrist the steel chain that held the mule by the neck, and easily, without haste, he went on. The mule came, too; it could not do otherwise, and when it would have fallen the steel chain and the gendarme's firm grip on its tail kept it going until its feet got their grip again. I was, of course, on the mule's back, and where it went I went, too.

The byraktor and the gendarme thought 000
nothing of thus casually carrying between them a mule with me on its back, and very shortly—so adaptable is the human mind—I thought little of it myself. I recall sitting there, comfortable in that armchair of a saddle, taking my smoked glasses out of my pocket and polishing them; the sun was piercing through the clouds, and the glare on the snow above was blinding to my eyes. We were passing along a trail really too narrow for the mule; my knees grazed a cliff; a glance over my shoulder went straight down into depths where pine-tree tops looked like a lawn; at every second the mule's tiny hoofs slipped and rocks showered downward, the chain tightened around the byraktor's wrist and the muscles of his shoulders knotted as the mule's weight bore on them. It crossed my mind, as I settled the smoked glasses on my nose, that two weeks earlier my heart would have stopped at

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000 very sight of that trail, and then, as it dipped downward and I heard the gendarme bracing his feet and felt the mule's weight sag against the strength of that useful tail, I looked up and forgot everything else in the magnificence of shadow and sunshine on the snow-piled heights.

I do not mean that I am at all unusual in my attitude to danger. I'm not, and the prospect of sudden death scares me stiff, as it does everyone else. I mean that human beings are all chameleons. The stuff of humanity is always the same, it merely takes on different colors from its environment; in Albania there is not one of us who will not become Albanian. There are many morals to be drawn from this; you may apply the idea to education, or to your attitude toward immigrants or capitalists or criminals or even to your next-door neighbor; it would be useful also in considering international politics or religions that are not yours, or the actions of men in war, 484 but I did not draw any morals, being immediately engaged in crossing the foot of the largest waterfall I had yet encountered. 7

It was so large that the men unsaddled the mule, stripped themselves, and wrapped their clothes in several bundles before attempting to cross it. Then they made a living chain of themselves; the byraktor, at its head, advanced to a water-worn bowlder in the center of the current, braced himself firmly, and became the pivot on which the chain moved. The end man carried over the clothes, bundle by bundle, wrapped in

7 [on return trip, [204] Shoshi to Scutari --Analyst]

my poncho; then he carried me across—I was 484
soaked in spray, but that did not matter. Then he put one arm around the donkey and supported it across, and then the saddle, and then he went back once more and took the protesting Rexh and brought him over. The water was above their waists; their white bodies slanted in the glassy current; three yards below them the water poured in a crystal mass over the edge of the pool, a second waterfall that struck in roaring foam fifty feet below.

The worst of the current was between me and the central rock where the byraktor was braced; several times the end man's feet slipped there, notably when he crossed with the donkey, which I gave up for lost, but each time the chain of hands held firm.

Their bodies came blue from the icy water, but they put on only their cotton underdrawers, for they said we would next go through the snow, and they did not want to get their beautifully embroidered trousers wet; for the same reason they left their purple, gold-embroidered socks and rawhide opangi in the packs, and went on barefoot.

"Good! If we're crossing the snow fields 622
already, we'll surely be in Scutari by to-night," I said. But I was joyful too soon, for when we reached the first of the snow the party stopped. The byraktor sat down on a rock and lighted a cigarette; the gendarme, without a word, began to climb a tall cliff that overhung the trail.

[Warchief of Shoshi -- [265] Arabyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

622 What did it mean? Rexh did not know, and I sat impatiently on the mule, which began nosing through the snow for some bite to eat.

Then overhead the high, keen telephone call rang out, answered by far, thin voices that sounded as though the crystal air itself had been tapped, far away, by a giant finger. Even while the voices called and answered in the sky, silent men began to appear, suddenly, without my having noticed their approach. It was startling to see a strange, turbaned head beside my elbow, to find that between two glances a dignified, half-naked man was sitting on the rock beside the byraktor.

Rexh came and led the mule to a little distance. The figure of the gendarme, against the sky, raised its rifle, and I put my hands over my ears just in time to dull the echo crash. "It is polite to go away for a little distance, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh. "The byraktor has called a council of all chiefs of Shoshi."

[291] In half an hour twenty men surrounded the byraktor. They were all, like the byraktor and his gendarme, in cotton underdrawers, barefooted, and naked above the waist, many of them wearing on their heads only the tiny round white cap that covered their scalplocks. Each of them carried his rifle on a woven strap slung over his shoulder, and all had an arsenal in their sashes. They sat on small rocks, on the snow-filmed ground, in a group about the byraktor's bowlder.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

PEAKS OF SHALA

We were at the mouth of the highest pass. All around the little open space towered cliffs heavy with snow, only to the east the mountain ranges fell away, one beyond the other, to the just-suggested chasm of the Lumi Shala Valley, and beyond it they rose again, purple and blue and gray, to the foot of the great wave of snow that touched the sky—the wave that Alex and Frances and Perolli were climbing, if they had left Shala. A black cloud hanging over the pass they were to take told that they were traveling in a storm.

The council lasted half an hour, three quarters of an hour, an hour. It concerned grave matters; the earnestness of those intent bodies and keen faces said that. Meantime Rexh and I talked in low tones.

"I am not paying the byraktor a hundred kronen to sit here while he holds a council," said I. "Do you think he intends to get me to Scutari to-night?"

"I do not think so, Mrs. Lane. But if you want to get there, it shall be done. We must consider many things." Rexh used his fingers to check them off. "First, the byraktor must be thinking a great deal about the new Tirana government. You remember that he asked the Shala man about Rrok Perolli. Also he talked a long time with his mother's mother, and that was about politics. Second, the byraktor holds a council. Therefore he is going to do something that concerns the tribe. The byraktor, you

* [See pp. 265-6 [267] -- Analyst]

[522] know, is the war chief; he is the one who leads
ooo the tribe to war. Shoshi is in blood with Shala, and Shala has sworn a *besa* with the Tirana government. We must think of all these things. Now I think that the byraktor is also in blood with some of the tribes along the Kiri River, between here and Scutari. I think that he has hired you the mule so that he can travel in safety with you through those tribes and get to Scutari, where he will inquire about the Tirana government and whether it intends to join Shala in war against Shoshi. That is what I think."

I looked at that twelve-year-old lad in amazement and admiration. "Well, Rexh," I said, humbly, "I must leave it to you to get me to Scutari to-night, somehow. You think the byraktor intends to stop along the way?"

"Yes, Mrs. Lane. Also I think that the Shala man does not want to reach Scutari to-night. He swears earnestly, but I think he is a serpent with a forked tongue."

I sat there on the donkey, appalled. "But, Rexh, you know that I must get to Scutari to-night. Tell them I have said it. I am of the American tribe, and what Americans say they will do, they do. To-night I get to Scutari!"

"Yes, Mrs. Lane. But one must not tell all one thinks. We will say nothing. We will see."

When the council was ended we went on leisurely through the pass, and down into valleys, and up again over other mountains. At two o'clock we left behind the last glimpse of the

wall of snow to the east, the last sight of the interior mountains of northern Albania, the most beautiful mountain country in the world. At three o'clock we saw, glimmering on the far-western horizon, the silvery edge of Lake Scutari, and far to the right, deep between two ranges, the valley of the tribe of Pultit, and the white house of the bishop, the tiniest of specks to my eyes; but the Albanians saw it plainly, and distinguished it from any other.

At four o'clock we began the tremendous descent into the Kiri Valley and I was obliged to dismount. "The gendarme says he cannot hold the donkey by the tail here, Mrs. Lane. He is afraid the tail will break."

And for two miles we swung downward bowlder by bowlder, exhausting travel to the arms and shoulders; but the mountain women came up that way with cradles on their backs. The mule made it by little leaps.

"Now the road is good," said the Shala man, and, indeed, the two-foot path, no steeper anywhere than the steep trails on Tamalpais, seemed a boulevard to me. Only twenty miles more to Scutari! And I thought of getting off the clothes in which I had slept for three nights, and a shampoo shone before me like a bright star. Rexh had been borrowing trouble, I thought; there was still light on the western slopes and twenty miles was nothing to these people. And just as I was thinking this the byraktor halted.

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "We will go this way, now," he said, "to the village where we stay to-night."

Why was it so necessary that I reach Scutari before I slept? I do not know. But the idea had become fixed, an obsession; I was irrational, for the moment a monomaniac. There was nothing I would not have sacrificed to satisfy that imperious desire.

"Tell the byraktor that I must get on to Scutari," I said. "I am sick and must get quickly to a doctor. I cannot stay in any village to-night; I must be with my own people."

"Yes, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh, and, having talked for some time, he explained, "I have told him that you have had word from your father, who is the chief of your tribe, and that the word said you must go to Durazzo and take a boat to your own country."

"Very well. What does he say?"

"He says that you stop in this village to-night. It is a good village, and you will be rested in the morning."

"I will be in Scutari in the morning," I said. "Tell him again that I must go to Scutari. If he cannot go himself, will he let me take the mule?"

"But he says the roads are dangerous and it will be dark."

"Tell him I am American and there is no danger that stops an American."

The byraktor looked at me, puzzled, but with a little humor in the depths of his dark eyes.

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He had put on his turban; below its white folds 000
the silver chain dangled on his bare breast; above
it the muzzle of his rifle caught a glint of the
western sunlight.

"He says it is not a question of your safety; 628
it is a question of his honor. I was right, Mrs. 577
Lane; he says that he is in blood with the tribes
through which one goes to Scutari. If he travels
through them by night he will be killed, and in
the darkness no one will know who has done it.
He does not mind being killed, but to be killed
by some one his tribe cannot know and kill after-
ward would be black dishonor to him. It is true,
Mrs. Lane, and he is a great byraktor—the
byraktor of five hundred houses."

"But he need not go with me. You and the
Shala man will go with me. I only want his
mule. Is he afraid for his mule? I will give him
a paper, and if I am killed and the mule is stolen
he can get another mule from the Red Cross
house in Scutari."

I said this quite innocently, but the words taught
me what blazing eyes are. One hears of them; one
seldom sees them. But the byraktor's eyes seemed
actually to kindle into flame, and involuntarily I
shrank back when he turned them on me.

"He does not think of the mule, Mrs. Lane.
He thinks only of his honor. You must not say
such things. He says you cannot go on without
him; you are traveling under his protection, and
it is his honor that is concerned if anything hap-
pens to you."

7 [Shoshi warchief and [271] author's guide to Scutari --
analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

577 628 I looked at the ring of utterly savage-looking men, half naked, with shaven heads and scalp-locks, surrounding me in those wild mountains, and suddenly I struggled not to laugh. If a magic vision could have shown me then to my friends at home, how they would have prayed that I escape alive, while the real difficulty was that these savages wanted only too embarrassingly to protect me.

"But, Rexh, it is absurd. I did not ask for his protection; I simply hired his mule. Tell him that he has brought me so far safely, so far I have traveled under his protection. I thank him, I thank him deeply, I am most grateful with my whole heart, but now I will leave his protection and travel onward." And to Rexh's words, with my hand on my heart, I added in Albanian, "I thank you from my heart."

The byraktor made a gesture, only a little gesture with his hand, but the violence of its fury I cannot describe. "You thank me! You have broken my honor!" he said, and even without Rexh's murmured translation I would have felt the menace of the silence that followed.

"But," I said, bewildered, "I am traveling with the Shala[1] man. Isn't the Shala man protection? Besides, tell him I don't need protection. I am protected even here by the power of my own tribe."

"The Shala man shall take you in, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh. That too-handsome youth had hung back from the conversation, but Rexh's stern

1 [Shala tribe is in blood feud [272] with Shoshi tribe -- Analyst]

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eye brought him into it. And then there was such a battle of words that the very rocks joined it. The byraktor stood listening, bending down a little, intent; Rexh—short, pudgy Rexh in his flannelette pajamas—drove home with fist on chubby fist his earnest words, and the Shala man called Heaven and the cliffs to witness his clamor. The byraktor turned his eyes from Rexh to the Shala man, from the Shala man to Rexh, and thoughtfully stroked his chin. Around us the other men stood attentive.

Then the Shala man turned and, lifting me from the trail to which I had dismounted, swung me again into the saddle. He pounded the saddle with his fist and exclaimed violently, his face congested with dark blood.

"It is all right, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh, grimly. "He will take you in. He has told the byraktor why he cannot take you to Scutari; it is because the gendarmes are looking for him to kill him. But he will take you in. After that the gendarmes can have him; he is of no use."

Even my fixed idea was shaken by those astounding, calm words.

"But, Rexh," I said, in horror, "I can't kill a man, even to get to Scutari to-night. Do you think the gendarmes will really kill him if he takes me in?" But one glance at the violently miserable Shala man answered the question.

"Yes, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh. "They will kill him by law, because he has killed some men. But, Mrs. Lane, he said he would take you to

577 628 Scutari and he must take you to Scutari. The byraktor will tell you so."

"*Po, po,*" said the byraktor, agreeing, and, "*Po, po,*" said the others; and looking at the Shala man, I had no doubt that if he faltered on the way Rexh's tongue had barbs to drive him onward.

"But explain to the byraktor that it is not American custom—that I can't take a man to be killed, Rexh. I'm sorry," said I, for it did seem a pity to disappoint Rexh so, when he had so nicely arranged everything. I leaned from the saddle and spoke earnestly to the byraktor myself, Rexh's murmured translation for his ears while I held his eyes: "I must get to Scutari to-night. It is necessary. But I do not want to risk any man's life. I take my own life in my hands and go with it on the trail. No one else can carry it for me. That is American custom. It is American custom that I thank you now, and give back to you your protection, and go on alone. If it is not your custom, I am sorry, but by all American custom your honor is safe, and I am American, and Albanian law does not apply to me."

"You speak with a tongue of great learning," said the byraktor, but this time his manner was sympathetic. "However, my honor is my honor, and my protection goes with you all the way to your own tribe. I will go with you to Scutari."

"But I don't want the byraktor to be killed, either!" I wailed; and then the byraktor's

gendarme came forward. He was a low-browed, 577
rascally-looking fellow, a man with bad eyes like 628
those of an untrustworthy horse, and a charming smile. He was naked except for the wide scarlet sash around his loins and the tiny white cap over his scalplock.

"The honor of my byraktor is my honor," he said. "My byraktor is a good byraktor and a great byraktor. He is byraktor of five hundred houses. If he is killed, all the valley mourns. If he is killed in the dark and we never know who killed him so that we can kill that man, that is black dishonor for all the tribe of Shoshi. I am only one man, and if I am killed it does not matter. I will go with you to Scutari."

"Glory to your lips!" said the others. "Good! It is decided."

"Well," I thought, "all this is beautiful 628
rhetoric, but no one will kill him while I am with him." As for the danger in the darkness, I did not believe it for a moment. Who would shoot a person he could not see? So I said good-by to the byraktor—all our long and flowery speeches consumed another quarter of an hour, and the sunlight was climbing away over the mountains so rapidly that we could see it go—and I said good-by to all the others, and promised the frantic Shala man that indeed he should be paid what had been promised; I would send him the money by the gendarme, and I would send the mule and the hundred kronen to the byraktor—and then another difficulty arose. If I left the

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628 Shala man unprotected here, in the midst of the Shoshi men who had traveled amiably with him all that day—but he had never wandered beyond eyeshot of me—his life would be no safer than in the hands of the gendarmes of Scutari.

I actually felt despair when Rexh pointed this out. "Well, but he has to get back through the tribe of Shoshi somehow, anyway, hasn't he? Why on earth did he ever start this idiotic trip?"

"He wanted the money, Mrs. Lane, and he cannot think ahead. He came through Shoshi only for a joke. If he can get away alive from these men he can go back through Pultit."

"Well, ask the byraktor if he will give me this Shala man's worthless life. Ask him not to let his men shoot him until after to-morrow night. Ask him if the Shala man may stay safely under the byraktor's protection until the gendarme gets back with his money, and then go in peace."

ooo So this was arranged, and the Shala man, turning his beautiful eyes most languishingly to mine, fervently kissed my hands in Italian fashion; and again I said good-by to the byraktor, and at last, just as the last sunlight left the mountains, Rexh, the gendarme, the mule, and I continued our way toward Scutari.

We followed the winding trail along the banks of the Kiri River. Twilight was over the rushing waters and the cliffs; all along the way the trees were misty green with the youngest of new leaves, and the air was very pure and still. It was all peaceful and very beautiful, and, lulled

into dreaminess, I leaned back in the wooden saddle, watching the first stars pricking through the sky. The only sounds were the little tinkling of the donkey's steel-plated hoofs upon the rocks, and the pouring, rushing noise of the Kiri. Mile after mile we went, the narrow cañon opening fresh vistas before us at every turn of the trail around the cliffs, and the twilight grew grayer, the stars brighter.

But we were coming down the river, out of the mountains, and a sudden shaft of pale sunlight striking a green hill on the other bank surprised me by announcing that the sun had not yet set on the Scutari plain. It was like coming into a new day. I sat up.

"Tired, Rexh?"

"No, Mrs. Lane."

"But you've been walking twelve hours! Sure you don't want to ride?"

"No, thank you, Mrs. Lane. I am truly not tired."

"I think I'll walk awhile," said I, sliding down from the saddle. Even then he would not ride, but it was good to stretch tired muscles again, and, hand in hand, Rexh and I ran for some time along the almost level, winding trail, splashing through the little streams that crossed it, until suddenly Rexh stopped.

"We must not leave the gendarme behind, Mrs. Lane. Some one will shoot him."

"So they will!" said I. "Well, let's wait for him."

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 He overtook us, hurrying the mule with blows, and we fell in behind him, speculating now and then around which turn of the cliffs we would first see the Kiri bridge, that lovely succession of old stone arches, built long ago in the Italian style, and wondering what the girls in the Red Cross house would say when we so unexpectedly arrived.

628 The crash of the thing that happened was like an explosion—over before one had time to comprehend it. I happened to be looking toward the gendarme, a couple of yards ahead of me, walking at the donkey's head; I had just taken my eyes from the creamy blue river and I saw him reach for his rifle. A misty rain was falling; he had thrown my poncho over his shoulders; the strap that held his rifle ran under it. His gesture was quick and desperate, some part of the rifle caught on a rent in the poncho and the heavy oilcloth ripped apart with a loud tearing sound. The broken, frantic, struggling movement was printed on my eyeballs, and then with headlong leaps I had reached him; we stood beside a bowlder that had blocked my view of the trail, and in front of us were two rifles, pointed straight at us.

There were two men behind the rifles, but I swear that I saw only the rifles. I flung out my hand and heard the most fluting feminine voice I have ever commanded crying, "Long life to you!" And then the rifles fired.

I have tried to give the effect of the thing as

* [of Shoshi tribe atom [278] panying author to Scutari --Analyst]

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THE KIRI BRIDGE

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628 it happened; I may now say at once that I was not killed, though I shouldn't have been at all surprised if I had next realized that I was dead. Instead, I saw two very haughty and displeased Albanians advancing up the trail. "And to you long life!" they said, stiffly, and turned their heads from the gendarme as they passed him. When they were quite gone I was startled to find myself in a heap on the trail, weeping aloud like a six-year-old. It's odd how such things take you; I suppose it was the surprise of it.

The gendarme did not seem unduly excited. He said he had killed the cousin of one of those men not long before, and had been a little afraid of meeting him on this road. He said they had lifted their rifles when they saw me, and the bullets had gone over our heads. He said that from now on, if I did not mind, he would wear my hat as a disguise, because there were more of that man's relatives about. And would I mind walking beside him until we passed the Kiri bridge? He would then be out of the dangerous territory. As for my poncho, he was very sorry that he had torn it. I assured him that it did not matter.

000 I walked beside him all the way to the Kiri bridge, and then got on the wooden saddle again and leaned back and rested. There was still an hour of traveling across the Scutari plain.

The sunlight faded from the silvering western sky, the western mountains were low dark shapes blotting out the stars. Far away a light twinkled

ooo on the citadel of Scutari. For a long time it was the only light in a vast darkness, and then the moon rose slowly above the snow peaks of the eastern mountains. The sky was the pale blue of a turquoise, flooded with creamy light, the lake of Scutari was a silver glimmer, like quicksilver spilled far out on the plain. All around us the tall spikes of yucca blossoms stood vaguely creamy in the moonlight. We traveled over the silent land like silent ghosts, our shadows wavering uncertainly beside us.

The donkey walked with little, quick, indefatigable steps; the gendarme swung along easily, his rifle on his back; Rexh trudged beside me with his hand on the saddle. The soft earth let us pass without a sound.

"Tired, Rexh?"

"No, Mrs. Lane."

"What is the matter?"

"I am thinking that you will go away to your own country and forget us. You say you will come back to Albania, but you never will. It is easy to forget when one is far away; the mind changes. A mind is like the water in a river. We will forget you, too. But I would like to keep this night, because it is a very beautiful night."

"Yes, Rexh, so would I."

The lights of Scutari were like scattered glowworms among the trees. How strange it would be to come back into the twentieth century again! Scutari, Tirana, Salonica—Constanti-

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nople? No, not Constantinople. I would go back to Paris. It was not so much that I was tired of traveling as that I was filled with it. One must go across the centuries and back, across a great deal of the world and back, perhaps, to know all the strange things that are at home, all the romances and surprises in one's own self.

The lights of Scutari were coming nearer. Scutari, Tirana, Durazzo, the Adriatic, Trieste, and Venice, and then Paris—perhaps ten days to Paris, the center of all Europe's intrigues. For a weary instant I felt again the pressure of all those currents which bewilder, crush, and smother the struggling individual—movements of peoples, marching of armies, alliances of nations, the tides of poverty and disease, the tremendous impersonal economic conflicts. Silicia's coal, Galicia's oil, England's unemployed millions, Ireland, Egypt, India—my mind slid away from them all. I was too pleasantly tired, too much under the spell of the Albanian moon—perhaps, now, a little too old—to care tremendously again for movements. They seemed at once too inevitable and too unpredictable to be concerned about.

The three of us were so small on that vast plain, the sweep of the moon-filled sky and the bulk of the blue-black mountains were too vast; simple as an Albanian, I thought of the world as made of little individuals like ourselves, each lonely, surrounded by the unknown, each a little

world in himself. That little world was the real world. Externals did not matter. If each of us could only make our own little world clean and kind and peaceful——

"Tired, Mrs. Lane?" Rexh said, softly.

"No, Rexh. Just thinking."

"Slowly, slowly, little by little," said the byraktor's gendarme.

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IN WHICH IS RELATED WHAT MAY BE FOUND BEHIND THE CURTAIN OF SILENCE WHICH HIDES ALBANIA, ALSO HOW THE MEN OF DIBRA CAME WITH THEIR RIFLES TO TIRANA, AND HOW AHMET, THE HAWK, CHIEF OF THE MATI AND PRESENT PRIME MINISTER OF ALBANIA, SAVED THE BALKAN EQUILIBRIUM.

FOR me, there has been a sequel to this tale of my first adventures in the Albanian mountains. And if I have transmitted, through the little clickings of my typewriter, something of the interest and charm those adventures had for me, perhaps there will be interest in the few additional things I have learned about the Albanians.

Just a year from the day on which I parted with the byraktor of Shoshi, I came with a friend, Annette Marquis, down the Adriatic on a Lloyd-Triestino boat to Durazzo. As always, a flock of little boats came out to meet the steamer. Dingy, unpainted, rowed by villainous-looking, swarthy men in rags, they seemed indeed the emissaries of a nation of brigands. The nice girl from Boston, who was traveling from Venice to Athens chaperoned by two aunts, looked at us with horrified eyes.

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000 "You aren't really going into Albania—all alone?" she gasped. "Why—won't you be killed?" The shipload of passengers crowded the rail to watch us descend the swaying ladder, and gazed as the safe crowd watches the lion tamer, divided between admiration for daring and contempt for such senseless waste of courage. The weight of this mass opinion swayed even my friend, who said, nervously, as we went bobbing across waves of green water: "I wish I hadn't listened to you in Budapest. I wish I'd brought the gun they told us to bring."

"Nonsense!" I said, firmly—and would have believed no fortune teller who had told me I was lying—"we'll be safer in Albania than in New York." And with irrational, vicarious pride I pointed out to her the many masts of sunken ships around us—remains of Austrian and Italian cruisers impartially sunk by Albanians during the Great War.

3G1 As the boat came nearer to the yellow walls of Durazzo I gazed with complacency on the ruins of the palace of the Prince of Wied, the German king forced on Albania by the European Powers just before the Powers themselves leaped at one another's throats. In 1914 the Albanians rose and drove him out with their rifles; his palace is a ruin now, and the palace grounds are a public park. But all Durazzo is built upon ruins, for it was an ancient city when the Romans built the towers and walls that still surround it, and there are still cafés on the sites of the cafés where

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Cicero sat with parchment and stylus, writing 361
home to Rome for money to pay his way back—
because, as he admitted with some chagrin, he
had wasted all his substance in that merry and
wicked city. Even for Cicero Durazzo had, in
addition to its living charms, the flavor of an-
tiquity, for the Roman city was built on the
ruins of the older Albanian seaport.

A year earlier there had been no automobiles
in Albania, but now, to our surprise, we found
a valiant small Ford waiting at the pier, and
engaged it at once to take us to Tirana, forty
miles away. Our baggage was a problem until [609]
the chauffeur of a government truck, addressing
us in French, volunteered on his own responsi-
bility to take it to the capital for us. "Pay?
Mais, non!" said he, hurt. "You are Americans,
and the stranger in Albania is our guest."

The road from Durazzo to Tirana crossed the 491
low mountains that, from Trieste to Valona,
make the endless monotonous eastern wall of the
Adriatic. When you come over the crest of them
you see lying before you the green low central
valley and the farther blue peaks of the lands of
the hidden tribes. And everything accustomed, 492
everything commonplace, everything that reflects
ourselves to us, is left behind. Gray water buf-
falo, flat-nosed, curly-horned, monstrous beasts
that seem risen from depths of primeval slime,
plod down the road drawing high, narrow wagons
of wickerwork on huge wooden wheels. Shaggy,
small donkeys carry picturesque folk down the

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[492] winding road to Shijak, the village by the river
491 where the bridge begins and ends in willow groves.

Beyond Shijak the road goes over the last low
[133] hill, and twenty miles of plain lie before it, most sparsely dotted with the great white houses of the beys of central Albania. Against the eastern sky the towering mountains, with their eternal smoke of clouds, catch the last rays of the sun and make magic with it. For an hour the colors shift and change, plum purple, orange gold, mauve and violet and sea green, until at last only a pale gold moon and a silvery star shine in a lemon-yellow sky. And the seven white minarets of Tirana lift above the green of trees.

342 Dusk was on the plain, and lights were glimmering through little houses here and there, when we came to Tirana. No, the lights do not glimmer through windows; these houses of peasants on the great estates have no windows, as they have no chimneys. The light of the evening fire, built on the earthen floor, shines through walls woven of willow withes, and the smoke seeps through thatched roofs.

373 Before us twinkled the street lamps of Tirana. These are literally lamps, filled every day with kerosene and set on their poles, to be lighted with a match after the evening call to prayer from the minarets. Our little car passed between low, ghostly white walls, and stopped before the gendarmerie. An officer came out, lifted one of the street lamps from its pole and held it over the car door, the better to see us.

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"Long may you live, *zonyas!*" said he, and, after he had glanced at our passports: "All honor to you. Go on a smooth trail!" And the words rekindled an old hearth fire in my heart. After a year of the bleakness of Europe, I was at home again.

Three days later rifles were crackling, machine guns were ripping out their staccato shots, and we were under fire in the streets of Tirana. It was the rebellion of March, 1922—a strange affair, which I am about to relate. But before it can be understood, Albania itself must be understood, for that crisis and its outcome are incomprehensible, incredible, without their background.

It would be useless, even though it were not dishonest, to claim that I see Albania with impartial eyes. But this should be said: if I feel a fondness for the little country which perhaps obscures clear judgment, that fondness was created by knowing Albania. I came into it, as I have said, rather prejudiced against it than otherwise. I did not intend to stop there; I was persuaded to stay two weeks; and I have twice returned to Albania and will go there again.

Yes, I have become a special pleader for Albania. But I know the country, I speak the language, I have traveled along the northwestern frontier from Lake Scutari to the Dibra, I have spent months with the people of tribes never before visited by a foreigner. And I have yet to read in any American publication a reference to

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Albania which is accurate. When a writer so well informed as Mr. Lathrop Stoddard refers to Albania as a "land of rugged mountains and equally rugged mountaineers which raises nothing but trouble," and thinks that its importance in the Balkan problem is due to Italy's exaggeration of Valona's military importance; when all American consuls in Europe warn travelers not to go to Albania, a land of brigands; when Albania appears in the newspapers only as a joke or as the scene of another lawless revolution—the few Americans who know Albania do become special pleaders.

There are good reasons for these misconceptions of Albania. For six centuries the Albanians were one of the buried Christian minorities of the Turkish Empire in Europe. Their great men who rose to places of power in the Near East were not known to the outside world as Albanians. Ismail Kemal Bey, Grand Vizier of Turkey, who raised the flag of Albanian independence in 1912; Mehmet Ali, who led the struggle for Egyptian independence in 1811 and founded the dynasty of the Khedives of Egypt; Crispi, the great Italian statesman—these are a few of the Albanians who, having lost their own country, have fought under other banners. When the Albanians of Sicily rose behind Garibaldi and fought for a free and united Italy, they were thought to be Italians. When the Albanians of Epirus fought for the freedom of Greece, they were thought to be Greek. When they fight for the

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freedom of Turkey, they are thought to be Turks. And—this is of greater importance—when the Albanians rose to fight for the freedom of Albania, they fought behind a curtain of impenetrable silence.

They were surrounded by a battle line. The Slavs were north and east; the Greeks were south; the Italians were west. Albania was cut off from the outside world in 1910; for thirteen years she has been cut off from the world. No telegraph or telephone lines ran from Albania to Europe; no mail got through without censorship, no traveler without passport visé from enemies. Letters for Europe must still go by messenger through Jugo-Slavia, or by Italian steamer to Italian ports. During May and June, 1922, while I was in Tirana, Albania's communication with Europe was completely closed by the Italians, in retaliation for Albania's protest against the establishing of Italian post offices in Albanian cities.

Behind this veil of silence, the truth about Albania lies hidden. Only one newspaper correspondent, to my knowledge, has visited Albania in recent years—Mr. Maurer of the Chicago *Post*. Mr. Kenneth Roberts of the *Saturday Evening Post* lay for ten days ill in Tirana, left with all haste for Montenegro, and later wrote of Albania—entertainingly. News of Albania bears the date lines of Belgrade, Rome, Athens. Since 1910 it has been as accurate as news of France bearing a Berlin date line. This is only

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000 human, for few of us are accurately just to our enemies, and the Hungarian, Austrian, Serbian, Italian, and Greek soldiers who have campaigned in Albania have returned to describe the country as hell with variations. The one European who has spoken to me of the Albanians without horror is a doctor in Budapest. He had worked in Serbia during the war, and there had encountered a terribly wounded Albanian still alive on a battlefield. The doctor bent over him to examine his wounds, and the Albanian bit off the doctor's little finger.

"I cannot think of that man without admiration," said the doctor, looking thoughtfully at his mutilated hand. "I can't blame him for this; I had not spoken to him, and he thought I was an enemy. He was a splendid fellow—stood the most frightful agony without a murmur, and kept his spirit like a lion. I did what I could for him—had no hope of saving him—and that night, wounded as he was, he got away. I hope he reached home alive. Some day I'm going to see Albania."

795 I spoke of Albanians as a Christian minority in the old Turkish Empire. One of the most frequent errors about Albania is the belief that it is Mohammedan; this report has been used for political propaganda. The Albanians became Christians before the Roman conquest, and were Christians when they were subjugated by Turkey. They remained Christian without exception until after the death of George Kastriotes—

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known in European history by his Turkish name 795
of Iskander Bey Scanderbeg—who successfully revolted against Turkey and maintained Albanian independence for twenty-five years, defeating the Turks in thirteen great battles and innumerable small ones. After his death in 1467 [197]
some of the chiefs of the central mountain tribes, exhausted by a quarter century of war and confronting fresh Turkish armies, purchased their actual independence by a verbal submission and became nominally Mohammedan. When the Bechtaski sect—which may roughly be said to bear the relation to Islam that the Methodist bears to the Church of Rome—rose in Turkey, it found its most fertile ground among these Mohammedan Albanians. The northern mountain tribes have always remained Roman Catholic, and southern Albania Greek Catholic.

None of these creeds, however, have affected 771
national unity—Albania is the only Balkan 184
country in which religion and nationality are not synonymous—and all of them are rooted shallowly above the old religion of Albanians, which is the formless belief in a Great Unknown from which sprang the gods and mythology of ancient Greece. In southern Albania you will still hear the people taking oath *per kete djelle eghe per kete hene* (by the power of the sun and the moon). You will still hear them calling upon Zeus—Zaa or Zee, the Voice—and upon Athena—E Thana, The Intelligence. In the north, the Catholic mountaineer greets the rising sun with the sign

[See cat. 795, pp. [293] 292-293 -- Analyst]

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of the cross, and hears in his forests the voices of the ora. This vague religion is unconscious. The Albanian himself does not recognize it, but it is the resisting subsoil which has prevented acknowledged religions from taking deep root. Families of all religions freely intermarry; Mohammedan women are unveiled, or Catholic women veiled, according to the fashion of their town; in the mountains neither are veiled. In Guri-Bardhe, a village of the Mati known as being fanatically Mohammedan, the women were quite willing to pose for photographs, and Limoni, the chief, was defying the local *hodji* by demanding a modern school; the *hodji* taught the children nothing worth while, he said. In the spring religious festivals—the two Easters and the fast of Ramazan—all Albanians in Tirana took part, and Mohammedan fezzes were thick in the midnight processions carrying Easter candles.

There has never been friction along the frontiers of the three religions. All Albanians united to resist the Romanizing and Germanizing influence of Catholicism, the attempt of Shiek ul Islam to cripple the Albanian language by a Turkish alphabet (a revolution was fought, and won, for the Latin alphabet in 1910), and the Hellenizing propaganda of certain Orthodox Churchmen.

But there is a real division in Albania. It lies between the Toshks, or southerners, and the Ghegs, who are the mountaineers. Men who have held their mountain fastnesses and main-

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tained their independence for six centuries within 184
the Turkish Empire look with distrust and con- 578
tempt on the Toshks whose valleys have been flooded by every wave of invaders. The Toshks, who are the educated men of Albania, and the travelers, are equally contemptuous of the Ghegs, ignorant men unable to read or write. Nor do the Toshks admit that they cannot fight as well as the Ghegs. It was the Toshks in Sicily who fought with Garibaldi, the Toshks of Egypt who fought with Mehmet Ali; the Albanian soldiers in Russia and Rumania and Turkey are Toshk; the 50,000 Albanians in the United States are Toshk, and fought well with the Americans in France. Hundreds of them have returned to spread American ideas through the south; there are Toshk villages in which American English is spoken by nearly every child. Men from these villagers led the forces that drove the Italians from Valona in 1920. Indeed, say the Toshks, they can fight as well as Ghegs. But it is not fighting that Albania needs.

One of the errors about Albania, to which I 133
fear my descriptions may contribute is the belief that the country is entirely mountainous. This is true of the northern part, adjoining Montenegro. Farther south the ranges are like the partitions in a house; steep, high, almost impassable, they surround valleys and plateaus of rich level land, much of it irrigated. The 132
climate of the valleys is semitropical; rice, cot- 241
ton, tobacco, citrus fruits, figs, and pomegranates

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241 flourish. The southern plains, before the war,
439 exported fine horses in considerable numbers. Properly developed, Albania would be a rich agricultural country, even without the fertile valleys of Kossova and Epirus.

135 The mineral resources of Albania are unknown. During the Austrian occupation, a survey was made, looking toward the development of copper mines during the war; the results of the survey have vanished into the archives of the Austrian War Department. However, even the untrained eye perceives that there are copper and lead in the mountains. English mining engineers have told me that there are probably also silver and gold. I have seen veins of coal projecting on mountain sides; the mountaineers chip it off with hatchets or pry it loose with levers, and use it as fuel to a
[137] small extent. There are millions of feet of pine, oak, birch, and beech timber; unlimited water
[315] power. There are oil fields near Valona; producing oil wells were sunk, and later destroyed, by the Italians. Valona's military importance is not the only reason that Albanians are not left in peace.

175 There is also the political background. For twenty centuries the Albanians have been a beleaguered remnant of the first Aryan race in Europe. By character, temperament, and choice they belong with the peoples of the west, not with their Slav neighbors in the Balkans. But they have had no friends, either in west or east; their whole history has been a struggle for existence.

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A TOSHK
In his native costume of southern Albania.

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175 They were never entirely subjugated by Rome; they were not destroyed or assimilated by the Slavs who have been pushing them southward for sixteen hundred years; they never ceased their resistance to Turkey. Since 169 B.C., when the Romans drove them into the mountains, they have been fighting for a free Albania, and giving the Balkans no peace.

They fight with rifles and with diplomacy. They have had no friends, but they profit by the quarrels of their enemies. Wherever there was a weak place in Asia Minor or Central Europe, there the Albanians have tried to strike a blow for Albania. The opportunity of their hero, Scanderbeg, came in the fifteenth century, when the Sultan of Turkey was killed on the battlefield he had won in Kossova. Scanderbeg, whose childhood and youth had been spent in the Sultan's court, was left second in command of the Sultan's victorious forces. He profited by the confusion attending the Sultan's death to get an order giving him command of the fortress of Kruja, built by his father on a mountain overlooking Tirana. The song says that he killed seven horses in reaching Kruja, leaving his escort far behind in the Mati mountains. When he reached the fortress, he at once proclaimed Albanian freedom, and maintained it for twenty-five years of warfare, during which he built citadels and roads and established laws which still exist. After his death, his people waited four hundred years for another chance to strike.

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175 Then the Young Turk movement rose. Albanians seized upon it, precipitated the revolution at Uskub in Kossova, and were the deciding factor in terrifying the Sultan and winning the Constitution which promised to respect the languages and laws of subject peoples in Turkey. When these promises were broken, when Montenegro and Serbia invaded Albania, the chiefs raised the flag of Scanderbeg and wrote their own Constitution of Lushnija. The Six Powers, in an effort to maintain the Balkan equilibrium, gave Albania a German king. As soon as the Powers were engaged in the Great War, Albania drove him out. During the war she impartially fought both sides whenever they invaded Albanian territory. When the war ended, when Jugo-Slavia replaced Austria as Italy's rival on the Adriatic, and England and France quarreled, Albania played a shrewd game at Versailles and Geneva and became officially an independent republic.

175 727 Still blockaded after ten years of war and blockade, still fighting invaders in the Mati and the Dibra, she became an independent republic. Her people, from Hoti and Gruda to Corfu, from the Merdite to the Adriatic, were refugees. Her flocks had been killed, her villages burned, her orchards hacked down, her irrigation systems destroyed. She had a provisional government, hardly strong enough to hold itself together. She could not have a permanent government until her boundaries were fixed by the League of Nations.

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She had great natural wealth and no debts, 175
but she had no currency of her own, no banks, 727
no credit system. She had hides, wool, and olive oil to export, but all her frontiers were closed by enemies. She had minerals, forests, water power, oil, harbors, but no machines of any kind, no trained men, no commercial organization. She had the strongest men, the bravest fighters, the most indomitable national spirit in Europe, but few of her people could read or write. Certainly more than half the population was ill from malnutrition and malaria, and she had probably the highest infantile mortality rate in Europe.

This was the new Albania which must somehow maintain itself. And if the curtain of silence behind which this Balkan drama is played were a stone wall shutting out her neighbors, the situation would not be so difficult. But Italy—promised southern Albania by the secret Treaty of London in 1915 which induced her to join the Allies against Germany, and cheated of her payment—has authority from the League of Nations to occupy Albania again if the Albanians fail to maintain a stable government. Serbia is still intriguing to push farther south and west the boundary lines not yet entirely fixed by the League of Nations.

There were other difficulties. Because the 175
Toshks are the Albanians who can read and 727
write, the weak provisional government was 578
Toshk. Around the fires in their mountain houses, the Ghegs were saying that only cow-

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175 ardly Toshks would allow free Albania to bow
727 to a League of Nations—a League of the very
578 Powers who were her enemies. The Ghegs, they said, were no such shameful trucklers. And every fire had its refugee guests who had fled from burning villages, leaving terror and death behind them. These refugees cried to their brother Ghegs for vengeance. Did the Ghegs call themselves men and Albanians? they demanded. "Our teeth in the throats of the Serbs!" the Ghegs replied.

Meanwhile in Tirana the Toshks were talking softly of patience, and of more patience, of waiting month after month for a commission and yet another commission from the League of Nations. The Toshks—with that threat of Italian invasion over them—were demanding peace, peace at any cost. Albania must wait for the League of Nations to fix the boundaries, must acquiesce in any boundaries fixed, must be quiet, must wait.

While they waited, the people starved. Prices in Albania are higher than in the United States —higher in dollars. The homespun garments have worn out; there is nothing to replace them. Fields have been devastated, and no men left alive to till them. Flocks have disappeared, horses and mules are gone. And as the boundaries have been fixed, mile by mile upon a map, Dibra and Mati have lost their market cities, Dukaghini and Merdite have lost their grazing lands, the tribes of Hoti and Gruda and Castrati have been cut in two. Still, the Albanian gov-

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ernment spoke of peace, demanded peace, and— 175
determined to have peace—set about disarming 727
the Ghegs in the very face of their enemies. 578

This was the Albania into whose capital I 000
blithely rode, in the rattling little Ford, on that spring night of 1922. I pass over all the minor political disputes, the ambitions of selfish men, the mistakes of foolish ones, the bitter rivalry between Elbassan, to the south, Scutari, to the north, and Tirana, in the center, for the honor and profit of being Albania's capital. Tirana 361
was, tentatively, the capital; made so because it was everywhere conceded to be the least progressive, the most hopelessly Mohammedan, the most dangerously un-Albanian city in the country. The government had made Tirana the capital for the same reason that the teacher puts the worst boy of the class in the front seat. But this was no solace to Scutari or Elbassan.

Tirana, the white, low town, drowsed in the sun; * water rippled in the gutters of the winding, walled streets; donkeys laden with cedar boughs, the brooms of Tirana, carefully picked their footing on the uneven cobbles; women with gayly painted cradles on their backs trudged behind the donkeys. Men in rags of their homespun white garments and Scanderbeg jackets and colored sashes sat all day on the low walls around the mosques. The fez makers, amid their piles of raw wool and mixing bowls and heating irons, were talking politics, and so were the men in the street of the coppersmiths, which is musical from

* [In spring 1922 -- Analyst]

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36 day to sunset with the sound of little hammers beating glowing sheets of metal. At noon the *hodjis* droned their long prayers to Allah from the minarets. At sunset their voices wailed again, above the sound of clattering hoofs and tinkling bells as the flocks came home to the courtyards. Then the sunset left a yellow sky behind the dark blue mountains. The air was so still that the bells of a mule train, winding down to Tirana on the far-off foothill trails, chimed with the sound of running water in the gutters beside the courtyards' mud-brick walls. And the Cabinet Ministers of Albania came out to walk.

They walked in a row, sedately, hands behind their backs, and after them marched their escort, a single row of soldiers. They walked down from Government House, the square two-storied building behind a half-ruined wall; they walked past the Tirana Vocational School and, turning in front of the painted mosque, by the two Cypresses of the Dead, they went past the block of little shops that is Main Street, past the cemetery filled with toppling turbaned stones, past the large white barracks where soldiers sang of Lec i Madhe, and out on the Durazzo road. Then they came slowly back, and slowly went out again. With them on this same way walked all the men of Tirana, for this is the custom at the sunset hour. And we walked, too, saying at intervals: "Long may you live! Long may you live!"

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THE PAINTED MOSQUE IN TIRANA, AND THE LOW WALL ON WHICH, ALL DAY LONG, MEN SIT AND DISCUSS POLITICS

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000 It was on the second evening of our walking that, counting Their Excellencies as they came toward us, I said: "Where is the other one? Who is he?" For we had met them all except the Minister of the Interior, and suddenly I realized that he was unknown to us. And Rrok Perolli, who, strangely, was no longer with the government, nor talking much of politics, but living quietly upon an inherited income in Tirana, replied, "He is Ahmet Bey Mati."

The name awakened a thin, faint echo in my mind, an echo mixed with a remembered sound of rain. But, "Long may you live!" I said to Their Excellencies, and for a moment we stood talking in French.

"The disarming is going well in the mountains, Your Excellency?"

"Very well, very well. No trouble at all. *Tout est tranquil, madame.*"

I did not believe this, knowing that to a Gheg his rifle was his honor, and either dearer than life. But there is a convention which exempts the words of statesmen from measurement by the Decalogue.

"Then we can soon be starting for the mountains?"

"Certainly, certainly, madame. As soon as we can find proper guides and horses for you."

We thanked them and, refusing a coffee, walked slowly on in the summer evening. Nothing could have been more tranquil than the low white town, with its cobbled winding streets,

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ooo its stream murmuring beneath a stone bridge, its minarets, its plane trees. The crowds went slowly up and down, sauntering past the mosque's naïvely pictured walls, past the white-arcaded street of little shops whose owners sat crosslegged among their goods, past the cemetery of toppling turbaned gravestones, past the lighted windows of the cafés where men were singing the strange Albanian melodies. It is a town to be happy in, Tirana.

But the water rippling in the gutters stirred uneasiness in my mind, a vague uneasy effort, out of which came a name. "Ahmet Bey Mati! What have I heard about him, Rexh?"

"I don't know all you can have heard about him, Mrs. Lane. But you remember the *comitadj*, in the cave above the Lumi Shala on the trail from Thethis? The one that sang us the songs? He told you first about Ahmet Bey and how they went to Valona."

"Oh, Rexh, sure enough! Doesn't it seem a long time ago? And how you have grown, and how much you have learned, since then!"

For the little boy who trudged beside the donkey through that moonlit night on the plains of Scutari was gone. The red fez, the flannelette pajamas, were memories. It was a youth with a quick smile and earnest eyes who walked beside me in Tirana, a student in the Vocational School, learned in baseball and college yells and geometry, modest still, and thinking more than he spoke, but no longer a child. It was Frances—now in

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France—who had got Rexh into the American school, handicapped though he was with lack of schooling and with his Gheg tongue, and he had worked hard to justify her commendation.

"I do my best, Mrs. Lane. At first I was very stupid, for I could not understand the Toshk boys, and I could not understand the teachers when they asked me questions, and I was two years behind with the books. But now they speak English, and I have learned Toshk. So I am happy, and my report card is very good. I would like to show you my next one. Now that you have come, I have some one to show it to. It is a joke on me, because, though you said you would come back, I did not think you ever would. And aren't you happy to find the school really here?"

For we had talked a great deal about the school, a year before when it was only a plan and a hope. Of all the work done by American children in Europe, this school is most beautiful to me. It was not much the Junior Red Cross did in Albania—only a few months of Frances Hardy's house for refugee children in Scutari, only a little medical work that stopped too soon—but it did build the Vocational School, and Albania will never forget it. Half of the country's little income goes for the 1,100 schools started since 1912, but none of them can be equipped or staffed like the Vocational School. It opened in July, with sixty boys to learn English. For there are no technical books writ-

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871 ten in Albanian, and Albanian was the only language the boys knew. Three months later they were speaking, reading, and writing English, and 000 the first school year began. In March, when we came to Tirana, they were the finest upstanding lot of youngsters that ever made a teacher proud, and our arrival was celebrated by an evening's entertainment, for which the boys extemporized little plays in English, political parodies so witty that they brought tears of mirth to the eyes. I do not think the record of those boys is equaled anywhere, and to find Rexh among them was the happy ending to the story.

643 "And now Ahmet Bey is Minister of the Interior! Who is chief of the Mati, then?"

"His mother is chief when he is away, Mrs. Lane."

"Is he a good Minister of the Interior?"

"He works very hard. I think he did not have much schooling. He came from the court of Abdul Hamid when he was sixteen—you remember the *comitadj* told you—and he has been fighting ever since. He came to Tirana last December when there was the strike."

"No, Rexh! A strike? In Tirana?"

"It is a long story, Mrs. Lane. If you would have a coffee with me, I would tell it all."

We left the others wandering down the Durazzo road and back, and sat at a little table beneath a plane tree by the white arches of the café. A waiter brought us cups of Turkish coffee, and while the crowd went slowly past us

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and bursts of Albanian song came through the open windows and a great yellow moon rose behind the white minaret, Rexh told the tale of the first strike in Albanian history.

"It was at the time of the Merdite trouble. I do not know what you have heard of the Republic of the Merdite; it was a Serbian plan to get the Merdite country. The people were starving, and the Serbs promised them corn, and I think there was money for the Merdite chiefs, because some of them signed a paper that said there was a Republic of the Merdite and the Serbs sent that paper to Europe. Then other chiefs fought these chiefs that signed it, and the Serbs came in, and Ahmet Bey Mati was sent with our soldiers to fight the Serbs. It is five days to the Merdite, when the trails are good.

"You know, Mrs. Lane, Albania has no king. We have four regents, that we call quarter-kings. We laugh when we say it. 'There goes a quarter-king,' we say. There are the Ministers elected by Parliament, and their chief, the Prime Minister; they are the real kings. They do things, and then afterward the quarter-kings have to say, 'Yes, that is what we would have done.'

"While Ahmet Bey was gone to the Merdite with all our soldiers, there were only three quarter-kings in Tirana. One was gone to Geneva; he was a good one. One that was here was a good one. One was a friend of Castoldi, the Italian. No good Albanian, Mrs. Lane, is a friend of Italy. And the last

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ooo quarter-king, he was from Dibra, and wanted to fight the Serbs.

"And while there were no soldiers here, secretly at midnight thirty men with rifles came into Tirana, and went to the house of Pandeli Evangeli, the Prime Minister. They went in over the walls and through the windows. They pointed their rifles at Pandeli and said, 'Resign.' So he resigned. Then he called for a horse and went home to Valona.

"In the morning there was no Prime Minister. And Parliament was not in session. Do you understand, Mrs. Lane?"

I understood. Thus easily—if surmise could be believed—Italy had captured the Albanian government. Two of the three quarter-kings controlled the situation, and one of them was a Gheg. If he were given his head, Italy had only to await the outbreak of violence between the chiefs who wanted war on Serbia and those who were clamoring for peace, and then march in with her authority from the League of Nations to bring law and order into lawless Albania.

"What happened, Rexh?"

"But you have guessed it. The one good quarter-king could do nothing, and resigned. The other two made a government to fight Serbia. Hassan Prishtini of Kossova was the new Prime Minister. Then all Albania was like a nest of hornets stirred with a stick. The men of Parliament went riding from their villages to Elbassan, and Prishtini sent word to Elbassan

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to kill them. Then all the men of Korcha went with rifles to Elbassan to fight for Parliament. Troops with machine guns were coming from Scutari to fight Prishtini. And, Mrs. Lane, there was an Italian gunboat at Durazzo. Everywhere all men, Toshks and Ghegs, were saying, what could they do to save the Constitution? But no one knew how to do it.

"Hassan Prishtini said, 'The Constitution does not make Albania free; we will make Albania really free. Albanians are not cowards and will not be ruled by cowards,' Hassan Prishtini said. 'We have nothing to do with Leagues of Nations that have sold us. We will fight the Serbs and make Kossova free; we will take back our lands of Hoti and Gruda and Castrati. The Italians do not dare touch us. We drove them once from Valona; we can do it twice.' That was what Hassan Prishtini said.

"'I think this will be a good year for pears,' said the bear. 'Why?' said the other bear. And the first bear replied, 'Because I like them.'

"I forgot, Mrs. Lane, that people do not talk that way in English. I forgot I was not talking in Albanian. In English you would say it: Hassan Prishtini thought that he could do what he wanted to do because he wanted to do it. But that is not thinking.

"That very first morning, there was the strike. The two men that can make the telephone work, and the man that clicks the telegraph, and the chauffeur of the government automobile, and the

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cook and the coffee maker of Government House, and the guard at the door, and all the secretaries of all the Ministers—they all went to the Café International, and had a meeting. Then they walked from the café to Government House and back, singing the song of free Albania. After that they did nothing. They sat and drank coffee. I do not know if you have ever seen a strike, but that is what it is. They did not do anything, and there was no telephone, no telegraph, no messenger, no coffee, nothing at all, for the new government.

"And Hassan Prishtini could not do anything. The new government sat in Government House. Everybody else sat in the cafés. Elbassan did not fight Parliament, because it could not get Tirana on the telephone. Hassan Prishtini's men in the mountains did not march anywhere, because no orders came. All Albania thought something terrible was happening in Tirana, and wasn't it funny? Because nothing at all was happening.

"On the third day, Ahmet Bey came with twelve hundred fighting men of the Mati—Catholics, from northern Mati. They came in, and they did not do anything. But there were no other fighting men in Tirana. So Hassan Prishtini resigned, and when the Parliament came to Tirana it made a new government, and Ahmet Bey Mati was Minister of the Interior. And that was the end of the strike. There are songs about it, Mrs. Lane, if you want me to get them for you."

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It seemed to me the most remarkable tale of a political crisis that I had ever heard, and for some time I considered it in silence, getting the full delightful flavor of it. The moon and the minaret were a Japanese print against the turquoise sky, and somewhere a mandolin tinkled and a voice sang the "Mountain Song":

> "How beautiful is the month of May,
> When we go with the flocks to the mountains!"

Then a discrepancy in Rexh's story struck me. "If the Merdite is five days from Tirana, and Ahmet was fighting the Serbs there, how did he come to Tirana in three days? How did he know there was trouble in Tirana?"

"Ahmet is a Gheg, Mrs. Lane. A Gheg always expects trouble. When he went into the mountains he left behind him men he could trust, hidden in the woods by the telephone wires. There is a small round black thing that can hear on a telephone wire—I do not know what you call it. It is small, and has a wire that goes over the telephone wire; you put it to your ear. Ahmet had got some of those from Vienna, and some little mirrors, for the men he left behind him. In the morning after Pandeli resigned, word went over the telephone to Elbassan to kill the Parliament, and to some of Hassan Prishtini's men to stay on the trails to the Merdite and not let Ahmet get back to Tirana. Ahmet's men heard this, and with the little mirrors in the sunshine they telegraphed it to the

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[202] mountains, and other men telephoned it with
000 their voices to Ahmet. So he came secretly around Prishtini's men, and came walking day and night to Tirana. He left his men in the Merdite to hold the Serbs, and took the twelve hundred fresh men from the Catholic part of the Mati."

[643] "Ahmet is Mohammedan?"

"Yes, Mrs. Lane. His family has been Mohammedan since Scanderbeg died."

"In the morning I shall go to see Ahmet. He must be a remarkable man."

Rexh considered this statement. "He is a good man, yes. We have a saying in the mountains, Mrs. Lane. 'Ask a thousand men, then follow your own advice.' I think that is what Ahmet does."

I had interviewed, without exceptional enthusiasm, each member of the Albanian Cabinet save Ahmet, the Hawk, chief of the Mati. But I am not, in general, enthusiastic about the Ministers or members of Parliament that I have met in any country. In democratic countries their profession gives their minds a remarkable agility, like that of the elephant on the rolling ball. The muscular development of the elephant a-pilin' teak in the slushy mushy creek has more interest for me. This is a matter of personal taste. However, I am about to become so enthusiastic about Ahmet Bey Mati that it seems well to mention that my enthusiasms are few, and not

excited either by statesmen or soldiers. Perhaps ooo six scientists and business men are my heroes. Why, then, after three minutes of talk with Ahmet Bey Mati, did I add to that short list this mountain chief of semisavage tribes, who certainly knew nothing either of science or of modern business?

Government House in Tirana is an old resi- 344 dence, hurriedly converted into offices. It stands at the end of a street, in a courtyard surrounded by a high mud-brick wall rather badly broken at intervals. A mountain man with a rifle sits at the big gate. Another guard, even more gorgeous in white wool, scarlet jacket, and gold embroidery, stands on the wooden porch. Inside, the bare wooden floors, partitions, and stairways suggest a Middle Western American barn. Parliament Hall is furnished with school desks for the members, and a red-covered dais for the President, with the Scanderbeg flag above it, are bright colors against whitewashed walls. The offices are nondescript with overstuffed Italian furniture and fine Albanian rugs. Cigarettes are on the desks, coffee is served to callers, and my feminine experience of interviews was that facts must be fought for against a barrage of French compliments.

We had been in Tirana two days and could ooo not put a finger on any fact to account for the distinct uneasiness we felt. We were tormented by a wholly irrational feeling that, somehow, somewhere, something was wrong. Everything

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we could see appeared to be all right, everyone assured us that everything was all right. I went into Ahmet Bey's office prepared to exchange the elaborate forms of mountain courtesy and to look at Ahmet, no more.

The office was bare. No overstuffed furniture, no rugs. Bare floor, bare walls, an unpainted wooden table, and Ahmet. He was keen, self-controlled, hard willed. That was the first impression. The second was that he was the best-dressed man, in a European sense, that I had seen for a long time. He was dressed like the successful American business man who gives *carte blanche* to a very good tailor and forgets clothes. He rose, said, "*Tu njet jeta*" ("I am glad you have come"), and while he said it he looked at me as a scientist looks at a microscope slide. Then he offered me a chair, sat down, and added, "Can I be of service to you, madame?"

The shock was such that my mind blinked. Then I said that I wished to visit Mati and the Merdite, and had come to the Ministry of the Interior to arrange for the trip. Ahmet offered me a cigarette, and lighted it, and my mind waked to alertness, for I saw that he was making time in which to choose his reply. There *was* something wrong; our feeling was right! I would trip him into giving me a clew.

Our eyes met as I thanked him for the cigarette, and I saw that he saw that I knew he had been hesitating. Idiot that I was, to betray it, I thought. And he said, "This is a difficult time

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in Albania, madame. I cannot tell you whether you can go to the mountains or not. I cannot discuss our difficulties with you to-day. In ten days' time they will be ended. I must ask you to wait ten days, perhaps less, certainly no more. Then if you can come to see me again, I will tell you anything you want to know. If it is possible for you to go into the mountains, of course you will go as guest of the Albanian government." 643

Everything had been said. He accompanied me to the door, said: "Long may you live! Go on a smooth trail!" and held the door open, simultaneously for me to go out and for the next caller to come in. The door shut. And I said, "That is one of the few great men I have met."

All that day, at intervals, I recalled that interview and marveled. How had that man come from his background? From the leisurely, evasive, allusive talks of the mountains, from the intricate subtleties of Abdul Hamid's court, where had he got that incisiveness, that direct, driving force? It was genius, I said; nothing less. I went about asking, "Is Ahmet Bey a patriot?" For if he were not, certainly he was one of the most dangerous men in Albania.

I was told that he was a nephew of Essad Pasha, who sold Albania to Serbia for the title of its king, and was assassinated by Albanians in Paris. I was told that Ahmet had sold timber rights in the Mati to Italians, but had later revoked the sale. I was told that he was a very rich man, and that he held the forty thousand

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643 fighting men of the Mati in his hand. I was told that the Serbs, in one of their 1921 raids, had burned the Great House in the Mati, the house in which his family had lived for five centuries. 000 Nothing else, apparently, was known about him.

Walking that night, at sunset time with all Tirana, we were surprised to observe that the soldiers lounging around the fires in the courtyard of their barracks were not the same soldiers who had been there the night before. These were new men, recruits, and—by the pattern of their trousers—men from the plains of the south. Raw peasant youths, they looked. None of them carried rifles on their backs, and the few rifles we saw were held awkwardly, as by unpracticed hands. Of course there is a constant flow of recruits through Tirana, for as the government disarms the mountaineers it endeavors to build up a trained citizen army, on the Swiss plan. But we guessed, by the absence of the seasoned soldiers, that there was battle, or danger of battle, somewhere else in Albania.

Incredible, as we walked homeward under the white moon, that on this spring night men could be killing one another. Incredible, in this magic of moon and rippling water and a little owl calling love notes from the dark cypress, that anywhere there was anything but peace. The tall carved wooden gate of our courtyard was romantic in the shadow of Government House; our little house was picturesque with black shadows on white plaster; there was glamour everywhere.

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"What's that? Is that a mouse?" said Annette, through the darkness in which we lay awake, watching the moonlight on the walls and breathing the sweet spring air. We listened. Nothing. "I thought I heard something—a sort of little crackling sound."

"Listen," I said, half an hour later. "What is that throbbing?"

Curiosity's nagging at last got us from our beds. Kimono clad and in slippers we went out into our courtyard. The throbbing came from an engine; the engine that feeds the dynamo of Government House. Every window blazed electric light. We looked at them in amazement; we looked at our wrist watches under the moon. Ten o'clock. And we started when the shadow of the wall beside us moved and spoke. "Long may you live, *zonyas!* It will be very good if you go into your house."

"*Por hene asht shum i mire*" ("But the moonlight is very good, too"), I objected, and saw the moonlight glint on a rifle barrel. "Why is Government House lighted? And why are you in our courtyard?"

"There are orders," the man replied. "Ahmet Bey Mati has spoken. The American *zonyas* will go into their house."

He would say nothing more, and there seemed indeed nothing else to do, so we went. The sound that lifted us from our pillows once more was one that I shall not forget, nor willingly hear again. It came through the night like a

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supernatural thing of hate and fury and irresistible power. We did not know what it was; we had no power to wonder what it was; we heard it with an agony of fear, involuntary, uncontrollable as the pain of a stripped nerve. I remember now that instant and eternity of time, and cannot bear the memory. I had not known that even in nightmare one could drop into such abysses of the human spirit. Then Tirana seemed to explode like a bunch of giant firecrackers, and with such relief as I cannot describe I cried: "Rifles! They're taking Tirana!" And we tumbled out of our beds and grasped wildly in the darkness for our clothes.

Rifles are human possessions; rifles are solid things that at worst can only kill. The sound of the rifles, multiplied a thousand times by echoing courtyard walls, muffled and enabled us to bear that other sound, still faintly heard through the uproar. "It's only their war cry," we babbled to each other. "It's the mountain men fighting. That's all it is." Coherence came back to our minds. "It's the Dibra," I said. "Dibra and the refugee Kossova men, come to take the government away from the Toshks." And we ran out into the courtyard.

The rest of that night was anticlimax. Bafflement. Weary and chilly, we came back to our house at three o'clock. We had explored the courtyard, finding only that the shadows were full of silent, waiting men. They spoke little; they said, in reply to our questions, that they

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did not know what was happening. We had ventured out of the courtyard into Tirana, that low white town that, to the eye, seemed sleeping in the moonlight, and to the ear was bedlam. Bullets were whizzing, scattering white plaster, smashing tiles. But mosques and minarets, arcaded streets, arched stone bridge, rippling water, were peaceful in the moonlight. No human being seemed to be abroad, save us two, who wandered like forsaken ghosts through the incredible clamor.

The windows of the Vocational School were alight, the American flag was over the gate. We found the Americans making ready a midnight luncheon in the kitchen, whose windows were barricaded against bullets. Great Scott! they said, why hadn't we stayed in bed? Have some baked beans? We ate the beans and explained that we wanted to know what was happening. Who knew what was happening, in Albania? said they, yawning. Better go home to bed; time enough to find out in the morning what was happening. So, weary and chilly, we went home to bed. The rifles were still crackling like madly popping corn, tiles were still crashing from roofs and plaster from walls, but the war cries were still. We slept fitfully.

A tapping on our window sill roused us again. The moonlight was gone from our wall, the open window was a square of paler darkness in the darkness. "I beg your pardon, I sincerely beg your pardon," said a voice in French. "This is

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∞∞most unconventional, I know. But if you will pardon the lateness of the hour, may I ask you to permit us to call?" It was the voice of His Excellency Spiro Koleko, Minister of Public Works.

He came in, accompanied by the secretary of the Prime Minister. We sat up in our beds, coats around our shoulders, and told them where to find chairs and cigarettes. They said that if we did not mind they would not light the lamp. We asked what had occurred.

"*Rien, rien du tout, mesdames,*" said the Minister of Public Works. "*Tout est tranquil.*"

"The ancient Greeks had a saying," began the secretary, gave us that saying in Greek, and continued to speak for some time, not uninterestingly, of Greek and other philosophers. The social tone of that early morning call was impeccable. Good breeding required that we maintain it. We sat exasperated in the dark, saying to ourselves that we would gladly murder these two uncommunicative men. But we felt that to ask them to leave the shelter of our house would be murder, in cold fact. In the wan daylight of six o'clock they thanked us for our hospitality, and went.

Tirana was peaceful in the morning sunlight. Donkeys laden with cedar boughs picked their footing on the uneven cobbles; women with gayly painted cradles on their backs trudged behind the donkeys. Ducks were swimming in the brimming gutters. Rrok Perolli stood in the

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doorway of the Hotel Europa, enjoying the spring air.

Elez Jusuf, chief of the Dibra, with five hundred men, had fought his way into Tirana, he said. The Albanian government had—well, had gone to Elbassan. Elez Jusuf was intrenched in the quarter beyond the mosque, a maze of houses and walled yards entered by only two streets. For reasons unknown, he had not walked on into Government House.

"Ahmet has gone to Elbassan?" The dismay of my voice surprised me.

No, he was still in Tirana. He was legally, in fact, the government; by law, when a Minister was out of town his duties fell to one of the Ministers remaining. Ahmet was the only one left, except the necessarily idle Minister of Public Works. But what could he do? Elez Jusuf was in the capital, with five hundred fighting men of the Dibra. Ahmet had less than two hundred men, raw recruits from the peasant village of the south. And more information came now from the open door of reticence. Two days before, Byram Gjuri, an Albanian Gheg chief of tribes in Montenegro, who had been supplied with arms from D'Annunzio in Fiume, had marched on Scutari. Scutari had sent him word that it would fight, and had frantically appealed to Tirana for help. That was where the regular troops of Tirana had gone. The telephone line to Scutari was cut. There had been an attack from the Dibra on Elbassan; the fighting men

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ooo of Elbassan had beaten it off, but they were staying in Elbassan through this trouble.

On the face of it, the thing was organized—organized, and supplied with arms and money from outside Albania. Obviously, the capital was lost. The government had fled. The telephone lines were cut. Albania had been broken into its diverse tribes again, disintegrated into particles held together only by a common spirit which could no longer express itself coherently. After all the years of fighting and blockade, all the desperate triumphs of diplomacy in Versailles and Geneva, here was chaos again, and fresh invaders.

This tragedy was behind the curtain of silence that isolates Albania from the world. It went on in darkness, unknown. It meant another war in the Balkans, the kindler of wars in Europe. All along a thousand miles of new frontier and ancient hatred any outbreak in the Balkans would spread. Italy would cross the Adriatic again; what would Jugo-Slavia say to that? Serbia would come down in force from the north; would Croatia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Montenegro, not seize the opportunity to strike at Serbia, the hated new master? Could Jugo-Slavia turn her back on Hungary, in safety? All the Balkans and Central Europe are tinder to any spark, to-day. As they were in 1914.

But at that moment I was caring for Albania, for the Albanians who had sheltered me by their fires and divided with me their corn bread and

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goat's-milk cheese. It was insupportable to me that war was going again like a flame over those mountain villages, that the last of their men must fight again on the edge of precipices, and the last of their women and children die on the trails. There was desperation in the hope, the irrational faith, which I placed in Ahmet, the Hawk, chief of the Mati. "Ahmet will do something," I said.

"How can he? The Dibra men are in Tirana, and he has no soldiers."

"He will do something," I said, "because he must."

"'I think this will be a good year for pears,' said the bear. 'Why?' said the other bear. And the first bear replied, 'Because I like them.'"

"And who knows," said I with violence, "that it isn't a good year for pears?"

Thus we talked in the cafés, drinking coffee and looking out through white arches at the plane trees and the donkeys patiently trudging by. There was nothing else to do. Elez Jusuf was in Tirana, behind enigmatic walls. Why did he not come out? We did not know. Ahmet was alone in Government House. The sunshine was warm on white Tirana, the water rippled in the gutters, the plane trees unfolded their tiny leaves. The men of Tirana, that lukewarm, Mohammedan, un-Albanian city, did nothing. They waited to see what would happen. We all waited. The morning went by.

The morning went very slowly by, and at noon an automobile came roaring and shaking down

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the cobbled street. It brought Harry Charles Augustus Eyres, British minister to Albania. We lunched with him at the Red Cross house. Lean, dry, humorous eyed, gray haired, wholly the Englishman, he talked of the psychology of Eastern peoples. He had been forty years a diplomat in the Near East, and knew his subject. I was perhaps wrong in connecting his official presence in Albania with the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's negotiations for the Valona oil fields. He lived in Durazzo, and had that morning received a telephone message—not from Ahmet—advising him of the situation in Tirana.

"I must go and see my old friend Elez," he said. It was his only reference to the immediate situation. "Elez is a fine old chap, you know. Patriotic Albanian. He had five thousand Dibra men ready to go into Serbia last year. Bit of a job I had, too, persuading him that it wasn't done, really."

After luncheon he departed, to see his old friend Elez. Later he was seen riding to Government House. At dinner he said that negotiations were opened. One inferred that this little matter was practically settled.

"Queer thing, you know, this tale of Elez Jusuf's," he further remarked. Elez Jusuf, it appeared, said that he was astounded to find himself in the position of a rebel against the Albanian government. With the mildest intentions, he had been coming down to Tirana to speak with that government. Parliament had

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been elected when the Serbs were holding all of Dibra; the Dibra representatives had been elected by refugees, and Parliament had recently unseated them on the ground that they were not properly elected. This left Dibra without representation in the council of chiefs, said Elez. Surely it was proper that the chief of the Dibra should come to Tirana to speak for Dibra to the government. He traveled with an armed escort, of course, as a chief should. On the trail he met his friends Zija Dibra and Mustapha Kruja, with their escorts. They came on together. An hour from Tirana, on the previous evening, they had met a body of government soldiers, sixty in number. These soldiers had treacherously fired upon him. His men had naturally returned the fire. The captain of the soldiers was killed, the second in command, Sied Bey, fell down a cliff when his horse was shot beneath him, and Elez Jusuf, very much surprised and perturbed, came on to Tirana. He said he did not know what else to do. Just before reaching Tirana, he had met a machine gun or two, and had taken them along with him, after some incidental fighting. Why was the government attacking him with machine guns? he demanded. He was not moving against the government, with five hundred men. When the Dibra moved, it put five thousand fighting men on the trails.

"A queer tale," said Mr. Eyres. "I don't know what to make of it. On my life, I believe the old fellow's sincere."

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ooo The Albanians, he said, were a surprising people. Take Ahmet, now. That afternoon Ahmet had said to him, "You recall the words of Aristides?" Mr. Eyres, supposing the reference was to some Albanian unknown to him, had inquired, "Who is Aristides?" And, by Jove! the chap meant the Greek! Fancy an Albanian knowing about Aristides!

We slept upon these meager developments. Elez Jusuf was still in Tirana; Ahmet still in Government House. The dynamo ran all night.

Next morning, more news in the cafés. Ahmet was demanding that Elez Jusuf give up his arms and surrender himself, Mustapha Kruja, and Zija Dibra for trial. Elez Jusuf replied that it was an insult to suggest that any Dibra man gave up his rifle while he lived. If Mati thought it could bring that shame upon the Dibra, the rifles of Dibra would finish the talking. Mustapha Kruja had disappeared in the night; his men were left leaderless with Elez behind the barricades. Zija Dibra was still there. Mustapha Kruja and Zija Dibra were in the pay of Italy; Elez Jusuf had been misled, tricked, by them. This was the talk in the cafés.

Nearly noon, and talk stopping in the cafés. Shops closing, quietly, one by one. A tightening, an apprehension, in the air. New faces, new costumes, in the streets. Slowly, slowly, little by little, Tirana was filling with tall, keen-eyed, [291] weather-bitten men. Men in the tight white trousers and rawhide opangi of the northern Tirana mountains]

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THE FIGHTING MEN FROM THE MOUNTAINS WHO CAME INTO TIRANA TO DEFEND THE GOVERNMENT WHILE ELEZ JUSUF WAS IN TIRANA

In this group are men from seven tribes, distinguishable by the pattern of their trousers.

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Tirana mountains. Men in the fuller white trousers and embroidered socks of the central mountains. Men in the very full brown trousers and curve-toed moccasins of more southern tribes. Mountain men, all of them. They sat on the low walls around the mosques, talking. They lounged on the curbstones, they sauntered on the streets. More and more of them. Impossible to estimate how many. A thin little trickle going steadily in and out of Government House. And it was strange how a sense of Government House, a sense of the one man alone behind those broken walls, grew upon Tirana. It was as though Government House were a huge, mysterious, living thing. Men walking in the streets glanced at it furtively, as if it might be watching them. Groups stood and stared at it. There it was, quite still. Still, like a crouching animal. What would it do?

Three o'clock, and suddenly the answer. A gust of rifle shots, a growl of machine guns, and the storm was on us. The streets were swept clean of people in one quick scurry; windows barred, doors bolted. And we were running through a swarm of bullets that sang like mosquitoes. Running, we cried to each other, "Tricked the British Empire, by Jove!" For the very sound of the guns said that this was grim earnest, this was the end. Ahmet had gained time enough to bring in the mountain men. Now he was fighting.

At seven o'clock the next morning he was still

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fighting. Fifteen hours, without a break, and Elez Jusuf was still alive and still in Tirana. When the firing died in the bright morning we went picking our way through wreckage of mud-brick walls, around bloody cobbles, past plaster houses ripped to tatters by bullets. In the heart of the wreckage Elez Jusuf was still holding out.

At ten o'clock a drum beat in the street before the mosque where the dead men lay, and a crowd listened to the singsong of the government crier of news. He cried that at twelve o'clock Ahmet Bey would burn the quarter that sheltered Elez Jusuf. Citizens whose homes were there had two hours to take out their movable property. Passports to enter and leave the quarter, obtainable at the post office. Machine guns surround the quarter. Listen well! At twelve o'clock the machine guns will start and the quarter will burn. After twelve o'clock no man leaves it alive. By order of Ahmet Bey Mati.

It is impossible to describe the feeling that day in Tirana. It was as though a giant hand closed upon the heart, slowly, inexorably. Death. At twelve o'clock the machine guns will start and the quarter will burn. No man will leave it alive. Five hundred men. And this was true. It was not a dream nor a tale in a book. It was reality. We asked, "Will Ahmet do it?" as one struggles to awaken from nightmare. We were always answered, quietly, "Yes." Men were not speaking much, that day; they simply said, "Yes."

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The procession began. Women bowed under loads of things, blankets, rugs, chairs, a frying pan, a child's toy. Children going before them lugging the spinning-wheel, the hand loom. Smaller children stumbling and holding on to skirts. Veiled women, sobbing behind the veils, walking pigeon toed and pitifully on high heels, in hampering trousers, carrying boxes too heavy, so that they must stop to rest. One little donkey, going back and forth, back and forth, bringing out trunks and bedsteads and house doors. And for some time a frantic woman, veiled, hysterical, clung to us, clung to our skirts on hands and knees, talking a language we could not understand, pleading, begging as if for her life, holding up five fingers, measuring five distances from the ground. Maddening, our inability to understand her. Why the five fingers? Five what? How could we do what she wanted? A stranger who spoke French at last translated her words for us. She was a Turkish woman, her husband was in Constantinople; her five children—little, little children—were in the quarter. She had been visiting a friend when Elez Jusuf came in. For two days she had not been able to get back to the children, and now she saw that other people were bringing out things, and the soldiers would not let her in to get her children. We took her to the post office and got her the permit to pass the soldiers. That was that.

At eleven o'clock we met a teacher in the

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ooo Vocational School. He said: "I have come out for a minute, between classes. It —— I wanted to get away from the boys. We have three grandsons of Elez Jusuf, you know." We had not known, and, knowing, what could one say? The teacher seemed to feel that speaking about it would make it easier to go back to them. "We couldn't keep the news out. All these boys know Albanian politics so well. Damn it! the finest boys God ever made." There were tears in his eyes and his words were not profane. "Not one of them missed one recitation since this thing started. We moved the desks and barricaded the windows; classes going right on. Boys said to me this morning, they can't fight for Albania, but they can study for her. Breaks you all up, somehow," he said, apologetically, and blew his nose. "Damn it!" he said again. "I —— That young boy from the Dibra got up to answer a question just now, and forgot the question. I said, 'Never mind.' I was going to pass it over. He said: 'No, please ask it again, sir. I won't be much longer in class.' I thought he was going to break down, on that, but he answered the question. Answered it right. Goes straight on, with his head up. Their father's in that hell hole, too. The boy 'll have to go back and be chief of the Dibra."

It was impossible to say anything. We shook his hand and he went back to the class. Mr. Eyres and his secretary went back and forth, from Elez to Ahmet, from Ahmet to Elez, has-

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tening, followed by the eyes of us all. Their faces were not encouraging.

Ten minutes to twelve. The last machine gun chuckling over the cobbles. Six minutes to twelve. Files of men, with oil cans, going through the streets. Four minutes to twelve, and the streets emptied save for the last frantic stragglers coming with last armfuls of things. Three minutes to twelve—and the drum beating! The open space before the mosque was a mass of bodies, a suffocation of held breaths. Listen well, people of Tirana! Elez Jusuf asks for time. A council is talking. At two o'clock the machine guns will start, and the quarter will burn. At two o'clock. By order of Ahmet Bey Mati.

It would seem that the pressure of that giant hand would ease, but it continued to tighten slowly, minute by minute. It continued to tighten, even when at four minutes to two o'clock the crier called that the council was still talking. Four o'clock, the third, last order. At six minutes to four o'clock men were going with lighted torches; the oil had been spread and wooden sprayers had thrown it over the roofs. At five minutes to four o'clock the roar of an automobile in the streets, and Elez Jusuf appeared, riding to Government House in the English car, Mr. Eyres beside him. Tirana followed them to the gate in a wave of men, a wave that slowed, eddied before the gate, and stopped. It seemed that time stopped with it.

Out of the gate a rider, lashing a galloping

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ooo horse. Clatter of spark-scattering hoofs on the cobbles, swish of the whip, and a swirl of wind following. Four o'clock, and the ripping sound of one machine gun, stopped abruptly. No more.

Ten minutes after four o'clock, and Elez Jusuf and Mr. Eyres riding out of the gate. Elez Jusuf sat straight and proudly; a fine old mountaineer in his Scanderbeg jacket and silver chains, overlooking the crowd as though it were not there. Only a glimpse of black Scanderbeg jacket, silver chains, gray hair, profile of firm lines, and Elez Jusuf had made entrance and exit.

Immediately after the automobile, while the gate of Government House still fascinated, two riders came through it. They were Austrian engineers, in khaki riding clothes and puttees. They rode pack mules, and camping outfit complete with tent was roped to the wooden saddles. We knew them slightly, and stopped them as they came leisurely by, to ask what they knew.

Nothing, they said. Ahmet had sent for them that morning—they were engineers employed by the government—and had asked them to make ready to go out toward Dibra, to investigate and report on the possibility of lighting Tirana with electricity from a waterfall twenty miles away. They had been ready at one o'clock, and Ahmet had sent asking them to wait, ready, in the courtyard of Government House until he gave them the word to start. Word had that moment come, and they were starting.

They stirred the smallest of interest as they

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rode on through Tirana. Tirana was relaxing, as a tired man sighs. Men sat on the curbs, on the low walls, on the ground. There was a crowd in the cafés, but no singing, and little talking. The sunset hour was beginning, but no one walked.

In the whitewashed dining room of the Vocational School we sat drinking tea. Mr. Eyres disclaimed the tiredness of his eyes. It had been most interesting, he said. An interview he would not forget, that between old Elez and Ahmet. "A strong man, Ahmet. Perhaps a little young, just twenty-six, they tell me. Well, time will remedy that." Elez had been persuaded to go to Government House to meet and talk with Ahmet. "Really a remarkable man, old Elez. He'd never before seen an automobile, you know. Walked right up to it, sat in it, as though he had ridden in one all his life; never turned a hair, coming or going. Must have been a bit of a strain, after all he'd gone through." He said to Ahmet that he had talked with his men. They would not give up their rifles. If it were required that they give up their rifles, Elez would go back to his men and they would die fighting. Ahmet said, "Mustapha Kruja will be hanged when we find him. Zija Dibra must leave Albania forever. Give me a *besa* of peace and go back to the Dibra with your rifles."

Elez was silent a moment, and then gave the *besa*. The Dibra, he said, would be loyal to the Constitutional Government of Albania as long

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as he lived, and as long as his son's sons ruled the Dibra. He saluted, Ahmet saluted; the official interview was ended. And the messenger left to countermand the orders given. "Something rather dramatic about these chaps, really. Done just like that. No palavering, no signing of papers. Not necessary, and Ahmet knows it. Elez would be cut into bits before he'd break a *besa*. They're admirable, in their way, these men."

Elez, turning to go, had turned back to speak again to Ahmet. The Dibra and the Mati had long been enemies, he said. There had been no friendship between them since the days of Scanderbeg. Was this not a time to forget that old enmity? In their mountains, Dibra had not understood the Tirana government. During those three days in Tirana, Elez said, he had learned many new things. He believed now that Ahmet Mati was fighting for Albania. Would Ahmet join him in a *besa* of peace between Mati and Dibra?

This had been entirely unexpected, Mr. Eyres said. However, Ahmet did not turn a hair. He and Elez made the *besa* of peace, and then Elez added another thing. "I have heard," he said to Ahmet, "that you intend to disarm the men of Dibra. You have not expected to do that without fighting. Now I, Elez Jusuf, chief of the Dibra, say this: The Serbs hold our city of Dibra. The Serbs are on the lands of my people. Twice in this year the Serbs have come

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to kill our men and burn our villages. Only our rifles stand between us and the Serbs. But you are the chief of Albania and you are a wise chief. When you think it is time to come to the Dibra to take away the rifles of the Dibra, I will give you every rifle. There will be no trouble. I say this, on the honor of Dibra."

Even this, to Mr. Eyres's deeper astonishment, did not cause Ahmet to turn that hair. He said merely, "That is well." The interview was ended. On the way back to his men, Elez suggested to Mr. Eyres that he leave his son as hostage to insure that he had spoken the truth. If he broke the *besa*, he said, in a matter-of-fact manner, Mr. Eyres might kill his son. Misunderstanding Mr. Eyres's reaction to this offer, he added that his son would be glad to make his life a forfeit for the honor of Dibra. "But what on earth would I do with the chap?" said Mr. Eyres to us. "Bless my soul, I know old Elez will keep his word! Well, rather! I told the old man to jolly well take his son along with him. By the way, the young Elez has two lads of his own here in this school. Asked me to give them greeting from him, said he was sorry he couldn't stop to see them. Elez's riding out on the Dibra trail by this time, I expect."

The young secretary of the absent Prime Minister came at that moment to confirm this conjecture. The crisis was over. Albania, we said, was saved once more. If the uprising had been —who could say?—an Italian plot, Italy was

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ooo checkmated again. There would be no new outbreak in the Balkans this time, and that precarious balance in all European politics, the Balkan equilibrium, was unchanged. We were saying this, and I was thinking of the two Austrian engineers riding behind the retreating Dibra men on their quest for electric lights for Tirana, when the second blow fell upon us.

The Red Cross mail car, gone that morning to meet the Italian steamer at Durazzo, returned with the news that Hamid Bey Toptani, brother of Essad Pasha, had taken Durazzo. He was an hour from Tirana, coming on the Durazzo road, with at least six hundred armed men. How many more were hidden in the hills when the automobile passed, no one could guess. Under the American flag, the car had gone and come through the lines, and no secret had been made of the fact that Tirana would be attacked that night.

There is a point at which human nerves cease to report emotion. For three days and nights we had felt all that we are capable of feeling. We heard this news blankly, understanding it, thinking about it, and hardly caring. There was no resilience left in us with which to care. It was like beginning again a story we had once read.

"Where did Hamid Bey Toptani get his arms?" I asked. For the Toptani family are not mountaineers, nor chiefs of mountaineers. The peasants on the great estates of the plains do not carry rifles.

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"There is an Italian gunboat in the harbor of Durazzo, and another at San Giovanni," said the American who had gone with the mail.

"It does look like a well-organized plan," we said. Scutari attacked, Elbassan attacked, Durazzo taken, Tirana attacked from the west and from the east. A plot, in which only one small thing had gone wrong. Had old Elez Jusuf, tricked by his two friends into involving the Dibra, come too early to Tirana? Had Mustapha Kruja and Zija Dibra intended to bring the Dibra men from the east when Hamid Bey Toptani came from the west? Was it because the plan miscarried that they had urged Elez Jusuf to sit intrenched in Tirana, while they hoped that Toptani would come in time to help them take Government House? Or had the Dibra men come on time, and Toptani purposely delayed, to leave the hard fighting in Tirana to the Dibra men?

Futile questions, for we could not know the answers. And our thoughts settled upon Ahmet, three days and nights without sleep or rest, the one man who was the government, sitting alone in Government House with the checkerboard of this situation before him. How well he had moved the pieces! Bringing in the British minister, to give him time to bring in his fighting men. Settled, in his mind, that to-day must remove Elez Jusuf, though he burned half Tirana to do it. And sending out, ten minutes behind Elez, those two engineers to plan electric lights

POSTSCRIPT

ooo for the capital! To plan electric lights for the city that—surely he knew it—Hamid Bey Toptani would attack that night. Ahmet, the Hawk, chief of the Mati, come from the court of Abdul Hamid when sixteen years old, to fight the Serbs in the mountains. The chiefs of the Mati must lace his opangi before every battle, because he did not know how to lace opangi. But the chiefs of the Mati loved him.

Two horses went cantering past the windows of the Red Cross dining room, and because the clatter of horse's hoofs is rare in Tirana they must be bringing news. From the gateway of the courtyard we watched them—a rider in the Mati costume, leading a lean, eager bay horse. They went through the gate to Government House. In a moment they reappeared, Ahmet Bey Mati riding the bay. He still wore the clothes in which I had seen him; rumpled a little, they spoke of the sleepless nights, and his face was white with fatigue. On his head an astrakan fez; over his shoulder the strap that held a rifle; around his waist the cartridge belt, and a belt holding silver-hilted revolver and knives. A strange figure, in tailored business suit, riding the lean bay through the streets of Tirana. Behind him, coming with the long swinging walk of the mountaineers, perhaps sixty Mati men.

"Long may you live, *zonya!*" said he, touching the astrakan fez in salute.

"Long may you live, Ahmet Mati!"

They rode past the pictured mosque, down the

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

street of little shops and cafés, closed now, past the cemetery with its toppling turbaned gravestones. At the barracks they stopped. For a moment Ahmet spoke with the chiefs who gathered around his horse. Then he rode on, out on the road to Durazzo, and behind him went his hundreds upon hundreds of fighting men. It was the sunset hour; the mountains and the sky were beautiful, and the little owl was beginning to call from the Cypress of the Dead. The prayers of the *hodjis* rose to Allah from the tops of the white minarets.

The moon was late that night, and mountains and plains were covered with darkness when the rifles began to crackle on the hills. Little flames of rifle fire ran along the tops of the hills like flickering lightning. It was as though the hills were crackling with electricity.

We stood in the courtyard of our house, watching them. Government House was dark; the engine was no longer running. The little owl called from the Cypress of the Dead. Sied Bey came through the gate and said to us in French that he feared there would be trouble again in Tirana that night; might the women and children of his family stay in the Red Cross house? There was his old mother, who was ill; his sister, and many children of his brothers and his cousins, little children. They had come in that day from his estate, where the fighting was. Did we think the Red Cross would give them shelter till morning, under the American flag?

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

POSTSCRIPT

ooo They came behind him, through the darkness, and we said we would take them to the Vocational School. Sied Bey could not leave his post at Government House. There were the two veiled women, and nine women servants carrying rolls of bedding, and so many little girls in voluminous trousers, with chains of gold coins on foreheads and necks, and so many very small boys in Turkish trousers and Scanderbeg jackets, that we never counted them. We got them all into the Red Cross dining room, where there was space for them to sleep on the floor, and we offered them cigarettes and coffee. Within the dining room the sound of the rifle fire was no louder than the soft crackling of burning wood.

The older woman, worn and wrinkled and pale with illness, sat on the cushions arranged for her by a servant, accepted the cigarette which another servant had put in a long jeweled holder, and smoked silently. But the younger one, throwing back her veil with a violent movement, startled us by the revelation of a strong, beautiful face and eyes full of anger. She spurned the cushions, she walked up and down like a furious animal in a cage.

"Pardon me," she said, suddenly, in perfect English. "Forgive me. You are good to shelter my mother. But I—but I am not made to stay here, to stay here in a house, when there is fighting. Do you hear the rifles?" She struck her clenched hand against the edge of the table, and blood came on the knuckles. She walked up and down.

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"Do you think I cannot fight?" she said. "Ask my brother. Ask the Serbs if I can fight. There is not a man in Albania who knows a rifle better than I. They did not keep me in a house when the Serbs came! I was out on the hills with the men when the Serbs came. And now —now when traitors, when men who sell their honor for money, are murdering Albania, I must sit in a house! I must sit on a cushion!" She stamped on the cushion. "I, who have killed nineteen Serbs with these hands! I must stay with my mother, because she is ill. Let Sied stay with my mother. I have a rifle; I want to fight! Do you hear the rifles?"

We were appalled. We were speechless before that infuriated woman who had killed nineteen Serbs with her hands. We went away, leaving her walking up and down, while her mother silently smoked and the children watched from their heaps of rugs.

In the street by the gate of Government House Sied Bey was watching the sky to the northwest. Five red flares were there now, and the rifle fire was running like flickering lightning over the western hills.

"It is too bad my sister is not there," he said. He was proud of her. "My sister was a lion when the Serbs came in. There is no man better than my sister in a battle."

He had not taken his gaze from the red flares. "Five villages," he said as though to himself. "This morning I was *seigneur* of those five

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

villages, and to-night they are burning. *Eh bien,*" he said. "They were rebels, then, my peasants. They were sheltering Hamid Bey. Their villages must be burned."

The rifle fire went away over the hills. It wrote on the darkness as it went that Hamid Bey Toptani was retreating. Then the moon rose over the eastern mountains, and Tirana was white in the moonlight, and there was no sound except the flowing of water in the gutters and the calling of the little owl in the cypress.

In the morning, all Tirana gathered silently about the strangest sight ever known in that youngest city of Albania, which remembers only three hundred years. Workmen were in the cemeteries. Groups of ragged workmen walked upon the graves, loading the turbaned gravestones on wheelbarrows, wheeling them away and dumping them beside the Durazzo road. There were wooden plows, drawn by oxen, going over the Mohammedan graves, plowing down the weeds. Ahmet Bey had given orders, before he left Tirana, that all the old sacred cemeteries be made into public parks. The sensation was profound. All day long a mass of fezzes surrounded each cemetery. Their wearers said nothing, said not one word; they stood and watched, silently. The workmen worked silently. The only sound was the grating of levers on tombstones, the crunching sound of the plow on the graves.

There was no news from Durazzo.

In the afternoon, another surprise for the citi-

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

zens of Tirana. Three hundred men were working on the Durazzo road. They began where the road turns, beyond the barracks. With plows they went up and down the road, many times. Ahmet had said that the road must be plowed deeply. Ahmet had said that the road must be made slightly rounded, broad, with ditches on either side. Men were digging the ditches. And two by two, along the road, men were sitting facing each other, a hard rock between their knees and hammers in their hands. Rhythmically striking, they were breaking into little fragments the old turbaned gravestones from the cemeteries. Heaps of the broken rock grew around them. Farther down the Durazzo road more rocks were being piled ready for them to break. Donkeys were carrying these rocks from the river bed east of Tirana.

At sunset Tirana went out to walk, and there was that sight. No longer a road to walk upon, but havoc of plowed ground and broken stones. Ahmet Bey Mati had said that there must be a stone road from Tirana to Durazzo, forty miles. The road was following him on the way he had gone to fight Hamid Bey Toptani. There was still no news from that fight.

The people said, "Ahmet Bey Mati," in a strange tone. Partly amazed, partly awed, partly colorless shock. They said, "Ahmet Bey Mati," but the placards that men were tacking to the Cypress of the Dead were signed simply, Ahmet Zogu. He no longer called himself a bey;

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ooohe no longer used even the Turkish title given his family when Scanderbeg was dead and the family became Mohammedan, the title which changed the old name, Zogu, to Zogolli. The placards said that Tirana was under military law; all shops and cafés would be closed, and no one walk on the streets, after nine o'clock. Signed, Ahmet Zogu.

At nine o'clock not a light showed on the streets and no footsteps were heard on the cobbles. Ahmet Bey Mati had become an awful invisible figure, a sort of limitless and incomprehensible power, in the darkness over Tirana. There was still no news from Durazzo.

Next morning the telegraph wire from Durazzo began again to click the instrument in the room above the post office. Orders were coming from Ahmet Bey Mati. Among them, orders that we should have guides, horses, and interpreters for our trip to the mountains; a message to us that the chiefs of Mati and Merdite, and the prefect of Scutari, had been advised of our coming and would give us all facilities. On the wire the operators talked, and travel was again open on the Durazzo road. News poured upon us.

Hamid Bey's forces had been routed and scattered; Hamid Bey's family had escaped on an Italian gunboat; Hamid Bey had been pursued, turned back on the very shore where a boat waited for him, was being hunted northward through the mountains. Three men had been hanged at Shijak, and the *han* there. which had

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

been Hamid Bey's headquarters, was burned. Durazzo had made no resistance to Ahmet. Ahmet had fined Durazzo five thousand napoleons—twenty thousand dollars—to punish it for not resisting Hamid Bey. Tirana was fined five thousand napoleons for not helping the government when the Dibra men came in. Ahmet Bey had arrested twenty-nine men, who would be tried in court for treason. Five villages on Sied Bey's estate were ashes, the families homeless. Hamid Bey's property was confiscated; his country house would be burned. Byram Gjuri had fled to Belgrade. Scutari had not been attacked. Zija Dibra would be taken to-morrow to Durazzo, to be put on a steamer for Constantinople. All Albania was quiet.

That day I met on the street His Excellency Spiro Keleko, Minister of Public Works, who had called upon us in the night when the government was fleeing from Tirana. "*Vous voyez, madame,*" said he, triumphantly, "*Je vous ai dit la vérité. Tout est tranquil.*"

There is no more to this tale. This was the end of the March rebellion of 1922, which for a week was one of the lighted fuses to the powder magazine of Europe. It was lighted—I can only guess by whom—and was stamped out by a chief of the Mati mountaineers, in Albania. A little country, which no one knows. Albania—somewhere in the Balkans, isn't it? Or is it in the Caucasus? One of those places that are always having revolutions, people fighting among them-

POSTSCRIPT

ooo selves. Ought to have sense enough to settle down and go to work.

There is no more to this tale. Our trip to the mountains is not part of it. Only a few more pictures come into my mind, when I remember those days in Tirana.

Picture of Ahmet Zogu, riding back from Durazzo. Riding the tired bay horse, at the head of his Mati men. Riding through a silent crowd which silently parted to let him pass. Rifle and revolver, knives and cartridge belt, gone. The gray business suit cleaned and pressed. A white face, and darkness under the eyes, and eyes that see straight to the end of things. Soft tramping of feet in rawhide opangi behind him, and the Mati men in dingy black-braided trousers and colored sashes and Scanderbeg jackets, rifles all-angled above their kerchiefed heads, pouring down the narrow street. Then lumbering behind them, dust filmed and mud splashed, the empty automobile of the Albanian government, gone forty miles to Durazzo to fetch Ahmet and come back empty because he would ride at the head of his men. It goes last through the gates of Government House, and the crowd can gaze only at the gate and its solitary guard.

Picture of Ahmet in his house. He sits in a gilded Louis Seize chair, under a painted Turkish ceiling. Half a hundred rifles, museum pieces he has chosen from the long mule trains of rifles brought down to Tirana as the mountain tribes are disarmed, are stacked behind his chair. A

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

box telephone on the wall, an English grammar on the table, a Mati man lying on the threshold of the door. Ahmet saying: "Albania needs men, needs trained men. What am I, with power in my hands that I cannot use because I am ignorant? I do not know Europe, America. Tirana needs factories, Albania needs industries. The people are starving and ragged; they walk with bare feet over the earth that covers their fortunes. We need capitalistic development, not a hundred years from now, but to-day. I am no good for that. How can we handle this? You are from America. Can you tell us? Oil, mines, forests, water power, land—what can Albania do with them, without trained men?"

Another picture, a little one. Ahmet smiling. "Ah, but you wouldn't have been surprised if you had known, as I did, the men who were the rebels. They were rich men. I thought, 'Not all will be killed in the fighting; we will capture some, arrest others. Why try them and hang them? Their money will be more useful than their bodies. We will try them and fine them.' I thought how much money they had, and decided there was enough money there to pay for electric lights for Tirana, so naturally I sent for engineers to go out as soon as the Dibra trail was clear."

"You had no doubt that you'd clear the trail?"

"I had no time to doubt. I was busy clearing it."

And a last picture, always to be remembered

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000 by those who know Tirana. It is the sunset hour, and all Tirana goes walking in the colored evening air. Tirana goes walking down the smooth Durazzo road, the road that is white and firm beneath the feet, from the turn beyond the barracks all the way to the sea. The Cabinet Ministers of Albania go walking in a row, sedately, their hands behind their backs, and in the middle walks Ahmet Zogu, elected by Parliament Prime Minister of Albania. Six even paces behind them marches their escort, a single row of soldiers.

533 The eastern mountains are catching the last
539 light of the sun and making magic with it. Plum purple, orange gold, mauve and violet and blue, the colors shift and change, and the air is faintly golden over the green plains where the mountain men are gathering as they used to gather in the evenings long before Athens was built. Holding hands in long lines, moving in a stamping circle, they are singing songs improvised by their leader, who, with a handkerchief in his hand, acts in pantomime the verses he creates. The strange, wild song in which they have clothed and preserved the tales of all their heroes of two thousand years is heard far over the green plains, where flocks of sheep are coming home with little tinkling of bells.

"Ahmet Bey,* the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey! [they sing].
Ahmet, the Son of the Mountain Eagle!
His wings spread out and cover us,

*[Chief of the Mati. For role in 1922 rebellions see cat. 116-345 pp 306-34 -Analy

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The shadow of his wings is over us, 533
His claws are terrible to our foes. 539
Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey!
The men of Dibra came with their rifles,
Elez Jusuf, the chief of the Dibra,
Mustapha Kruja and Zija Dibra,
The Toptani family, curse of Albania,
Hamid Toptani, with nine hundred soldiers,
Nine hundred soldiers armed by Italians,
Came from Durazzo to murder Albania.
Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey!

"Elez Jusuf goes back to the Dibra,
Besa of peace he has given to Ahmet.
Hamid Toptani flees through the mountains,
Cursed be the trees that give him hiding.
Zija Dibra is sent to Stamboul,
Zija Dibra, exiled from Dibra.
Five thousand napoleons, fine of Durazzo,
Five thousand napoleons, fine of Tirana.
Five villages burned. Let the market place tell
Names of the men who were hanged there at dawn.

"Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey!
He set three hundred men to work on the roads,
He built a good road from Tirana to Durazzo,
He makes electric lights in the capital of Albania.
O! O! Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! Ahmet Bey!"

THE END

6: Lane, Rose Wilder

background of the rebellion, she presents a summary of Albanian history, of Albania's position among the European powers, and of the way in which this affects Albanian internal affairs. --Analyst/

Field date: none
Analyst: Masha Vorobiov

Evaluation: Traveler-3
Processed in 1956

6: Lane
669

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/For a description of the rebellion staged by the mountain Ghegs in Tirana and Durazzo in March 1922 against the newly formed Albanian Toshk Government, and of the main participants, see category 116, pp. 289, 301-349. For an account of the historical, economic, and political background of the rebellion, see pp. 289-301./

6: Lane
619

EG1 Albania EG1

/For an account of inter-tribal agreements following the March 1922 rebellion, staged by the mountain Ghegs in Tirana and Durazzo against the newly formed Albanian Toshk Government, see category 116, pp. 333-335./

6: Lane
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/For a description of the rebellion staged by the mountain Ghegs in Tirana and Durazzo in March 1922 against the newly formed Albanian Toshk Government, and of the main participants, see cat. 116, pp. 289, 301-349. For an account of the historical, economic, and political background of the rebellion, see pp. 289-301./

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THE AUTHOR

(From a drawing by Olive Snell)

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SONS OF THE EAGLE

A Study in Guerilla War

BY

JULIAN AMERY

LONDON
MACMILLAN & CO. LTD
1948

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ooo SONS OF THE EAGLE

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101 The Albanians, who claim descent from the ancient Illyrians and Epirots, call themselves "Shkipetare", which, being interpreted, means "Sons of the Eagle". According to their folk-lore, they derive this name from a remark attributed to Pyrrhus, the King of Epirus. Returning from his victories in Macedonia, Pyrrhus was hailed by his troops as "Eagle", because of the swiftness of his movements in war. "You call me Eagle", he is said to have answered, "and it is true; for you, my soldiers, are 'Sons of the Eagle', and your lances are the pinions on which I soar."—J. A.

"Wheresoever the carcase is, there will the eagles be gathered together."—ST. MATTHEW xxiv. 28.

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NOTE ON THE SPELLING OF ALBANIAN NAMES

194 In the spelling of names and place-names, I have sought to render the original Albanian as nearly as possible as it is pronounced. To this end I have employed a system of English consonants and Italian vowels. I have thus eschewed the conventions of modern Albanian spelling which, however logical in themselves, give to an Englishman an entirely false impression of the sounds which they are intended to transcribe.[1] Likewise, in the rendering of South Slav names, I have preferred what seems to me the more natural and phonetic spelling to the conventions of the official " Latinitza ". I have followed the same course in the rendering of the many Albanian names which are derived from Turkish or Arabic.

My sole object has been to convey to the reader the strange sounds of a strange land, in the hope that they may evoke for him — for such is the magic of sounds — something of the atmosphere in which we lived.

[1] Thus, in modern Albanian, the name of the present Albanian Prime Minister is written *Hoxha*, though pronounced *Hoja*.

[page v = blank]

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PREFACE

THE Resistance Movements of the second World War will not lack their memorials. The passions which they aroused, the causes which they served, and the deeds which they inspired assure them a lasting place in the annals of history. Their military worth has been acknowledged alike by victors and by vanquished; and their influence will long be felt in the affairs of the nations.

From 1940 to 1945 I was variously associated with the Resistance Movements of the Balkans, and more especially with those of the South Slavs and the Albanians. I have written here of the Albanian Revolt, but the implications of my theme inevitably transcend the narrow limits of Albania. The story of Abas Kupi and Enver Hoja is, in its essentials, the story of Mihailovitch and Tito, of Zervas and E.A.M. In a wider sense, indeed, it is also the story of de Gaulle and Thorez, of Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. The forms may change but the content is the same; for Resistance is a universal phenomenon—a compound of war and revolution.

To stir up strife behind an enemy's lines is a stratagem as old as war itself; but in this last war new techniques of wireless-transmission and airborne-supply made possible the long-range preparation and support of revolts in occupied territories on a scale unexampled in history. The organisation of Resistance has thus become a distinct branch of the art of war, of comparable importance as an instrument of national policy to the traditional arms and the new weapons of the atomic age.

The chronicle of events recorded in these pages has been composed with the help of contemporary diaries and reports. The mind, however, tends irresistibly to impose a pattern on its memories, and it has not always been easy to recapture the mental and moral climate of our experiences. Yet therein lay much of their personal significance.

In the seven months that our mission lasted we lived

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always at extremes: of frost-bite or of sunstroke; forced marches or cramped hide-outs; ravenous hunger or gluttonous feasting; the peace of nature or the toil of war. Yet in these violent circumstances, where only the normal seemed strange, we found freedom; for though our tasks were hard we were our own taskmasters, answerable only to ourselves: outlaws in the land where we worked, strangers among the guerillas, and cut off from our own kind by the mountains, the sea, and the ranks of the enemy.

Above all, we found a strange serenity, induced perhaps by our surroundings. In the man-made world of cities, men dominate the stage on which they strut: with us their sound and fury were dwarfed by the petrified violence of the mountains and awed by the silent witness of the stars. The danger of our work might lead us at times to exaggerate its importance, but we were ever reminded by the world about us of the insignificance of all human endeavour. Our thoughts and actions were thus continually refreshed by a sense of proportion born of the contemplation of a struggle of transitory mortals against the background of the "timeless hills"; an experience not far removed from worship.

We failed; and not the least of the causes of our failure was our seeming impotence as a nation to proclaim a new faith to which the stricken peoples of Europe might have turned. In the dark days when we had stood alone, England had fired the world by her example, and men had believed that we might fashion a new order out of the furnace of war. As victory drew on, their hopes receded, and others stepped in to claim the prize for which we had toiled. Much of our work, above all in the Balkans, was swept away in "the gale of the world". Yet I do not believe that we worked in vain. The weakness or the error of our policies will be forgotten or forgiven with the lapse of time, but the peoples will long remember the British officers and men who came to them out of the sea and down from the sky, to share their hardships in the hour of need. These only did their duty, but in so doing they sowed a seed; and one day there will be a harvest.

J. A.

112 Eaton Square, London,
November 4, 1947

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

MOST of the photographs with which this book is illustrated were taken by my colleagues, Maclean, Smiley, Kemp, and Hibberdine. To them, to Hare and Simcox, and to certain of my Albanian friends I am also indebted for much valuable information concerning those events in my story in which I did not myself take part.

Contemporary diaries and reports have been my chief sources of reference. I should also like to pay a tribute to Mr. J. C. Swire's *Albania: the Rise of a Kingdom*, which was of the greatest help, not merely in the writing of this book, but also in the practical preparation of my mission to Albania.

In accordance with the provisions of the Official Secrets Act, my manuscript was submitted to the competent authorities before publication. I am alone responsible, however, for the opinions which I have expressed, and for the accuracy of the statements which I have made.

J. A.

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I

INTRODUCTION

Land of Albania! where Iskander rose,
Theme of the young, and beacon of the wise,
And he his namesake, whose oft-baffled foes
Shrunk from his deeds of chivalrous emprize:
Land of Albania! let me bend mine eyes
On thee, thou rugged Nurse of savage men!

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage (Canto II, verse 38)

1

THE lands of the Levant have ever been the most glittering of the prizes for which the nations have contended; for they are the cross-roads of the world; the ground where Europe, Asia, and Africa come together. In the many revolutions of human affairs the region has been threatened and attacked and overrun from every point of the compass; but, with the decline of the Ottoman Empire, the Eastern Question has become the special concern of the Great Powers of Europe. The hope of Eastern dominion has aroused their ambitions and inflamed their jealousies; and they have striven for its conquest in trade, diplomacy, and war.

The Balkan Peninsula has been the natural arena of their struggle, for it is in the Balkans that their paths to the East converge. The high-road to the East is the Mediterranean; but those who would reach it from Eastern or Central Europe must first travel one of three ways: the Black Sea; the Danube, Morava and Vardar valleys; or the Adriatic sea. These ways are joined to the Mediterranean high-road at the Dardanelles, the port of Salonika, and the Straits of Otranto; and the strategic importance of these three positions has made them the storm centres of the Eastern Question.

The Straits of Otranto, where the waters of the Adriatic

The Straits of Otranto, where the waters of the Adriatic
131 merge into the main basin of the Mediterranean, divide the
133 Apulian heel of Italy from the land of Albania — the setting of my tale. The Italian shore is flat, featureless, and without a considerable harbour; but on the Albanian side the coastal range of the Dinaric Alps curves back from the sea, as if to protect the mainland approaches to the port of Valona, which lies where the straits are narrowest. Albania is thus a fortified enclave on the west coast of the Balkan Peninsula, and the Power that controls it commands the entrance to the Adriatic Sea. This enclave, moreover, forms a natural bridgehead for Italy in the Balkans: from Valona to Salonika is but two hundred miles; and, though the mountains of the interior present notable obstacles to communications, a Power established across this neck of the peninsula would command two of the three key positions on the roads that lead from Europe to the East.

175 The fate of a territory of such strategic importance could scarcely be a matter of indifference to the Powers; and the briefest review of Albania's past suggests that it has been an enduring cause of contention between them in their efforts to acquire or to preserve a dominant position in the Adriatic or the Eastern Mediterranean. The rising sea power of Rome clashed with the navies of Illyria and Epirus, and subjected those kingdoms to her rule, in order to confirm her supremacy in the Adriatic. Once the control of the straits was assured, the new provinces were converted into a base for imperial expansion; and Dyrrachium, the modern Durazzo, became the head of the Via Egnatia, the great artery of empire which ran through Thessalonika (Salonika) to the East. Rome's Byzantine successor held fast to the Albanian coasts to preserve the Eastern Mediterranean from Adriatic enemies, until Norman sea power supplanted her there, and gave the land its present name. In the wake of the Normans came armies of Crusaders, who crossed from Italy into Albania to follow the ancient Roman road to the East. The ephemeral empires of Bulgaria and Serbia spread, in their turn, to control the entrance to the Adriatic, while the more enduring mercantile power of Venice long strove, and with varying success, to establish itself on the

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Albanian coast. The freedom of the Straits of Otranto was, 175
indeed, the vital interest of the republic; and it was Venice which, in part, supplied the sinews of war and the liaison officers with which Skanderbeg defied the armies of the Sultan.

The Turkish occupation of Albania provided the Ottoman [177]
Empire with a useful shield against attacks out of the Adriatic; and for close on five centuries the country was preserved from other foreign influences. In the Napoleonic wars, however, while Britain and France wrestled for supremacy in the Mediterranean, their agents began to intrigue with Ali the Lion, Pasha of Yannina, to secure control of the Straits of Otranto. Thereafter the slow dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire gave rise to an Albanian Question; and, as the nineteenth century advanced, the nations of Europe addressed themselves with growing interest to the problem of the country's future. Great Britain, the dominant sea power in the Eastern Mediterranean, strove to exclude her potential rivals from this strategic area, and for long buttressed the crumbling authority of the Turk. Russia encouraged the designs of her Serbian and Montenegrin satellites on Albanian territory, to extend her influence to the warm waters and deny their access to the Dual Monarchy. Austria-Hungary and Italy, as rival Adriatic powers, each sought to establish its predominance in Albania, " the possession of which ", as Count Tittoni observed, " would mean for either Italy or Austria-Hungary the incontestable supremacy of the Adriatic Sea ".

The balance of contending forces long sustained the rule of the Turk in Albania and served the aims of British policy in the Eastern Mediterranean. The victory, however, of the Balkan Allies in the war of 1912 brought the Ottoman Empire in Europe to an end. A partition of Albania was threatened; but the jealousies of the Powers led, in the following year, to the creation, for the first time in centuries, of an independent Albanian state. At the time the new principality was characterised as " an illegitimate child of Austrian diplomacy with Italy figuring as the midwife "; but its emergence, none the less, conformed with alternative policies long advocated in the Foreign Office.

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175 The outbreak of the first World War shattered the precarious equilibrium on which the infant state of Albania had reposed. The armies of Serbia, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and France occupied parts of the country, sometimes in accordance with the dictates of military necessity, but not least with a view to staking out their claims against the day of settlement. The victory left Great Britain and France supreme in the Levant and in the Balkans, and Albania was accordingly restored to her independence within the frontiers of 1913.

648 The Empires of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey lay prostrate or dismembered, and Albania now became the object of fierce rivalry between Italy and the new Adriatic power of Yugoslavia. Both states naturally strove to control the Straits of Otranto; Italy prevailed, and, in 1926, by the Pact of Tirana, acquired a virtual protectorate over Albania. The Duce might for a time rest content with Italian supremacy in the Adriatic; but, as one step leads to another, so the mastery of this route to the Levant led him to turn his eyes to the Levant itself. He revolved ambitious plans for its conquest by sea and land, and designed that Albania should serve him, not only as the key to the Adriatic, but also as the bridgehead of a new Roman Empire in the Balkans. Accordingly, in April 1939, when diplomacy had failed to compel Albania's subservience, he occupied the country and began to build a network of roads along which Italian armies might march to the East in the footsteps of the Legions.

000 Each of these episodes from Albania's past is but a variation on the underlying theme of the struggle of the Powers to control, or at least deny to their rivals, the key to the Adriatic road to the East. The recent war, accompanied by the return of Germany and Russia to the ranks of the rivals for the dominion of the Levant, gave a new impetus to this struggle. At times it was submerged in the broader conflict which engulfed the world; yet ever and again it reasserted itself, developing a momentum of its own, regardless of alliances or enmities: for if war is an extension of politics, both are projections of geography.

In this struggle for the control of Albania the Albanian

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people, too, had their part, for they formed the permanent garrison of the key to the Adriatic. Once again, as so often in the past, the rival nations vied with one another to secure the friendship or compel the obedience of the Albanians; and they, owning no common allegiance, took sides and changed them in accordance with the dictates of interest and the counsels of opportunity. Thus the situation in Albania came to reflect, as in a mirror, the true relations between the Powers, obscured to the general view by the smoke of battle blown before the wind of words.

The policies of nations devolve in the last instance upon individuals; and in this, as in past struggles, lone men went out among the Albanian mountaineers to make their local feuds subserve the divergent and often inconsistent purposes of the strategists and statesmen who had sent them forth. Of these men I was one; and of a part of what I saw this is the tale.

2

THE Albanians are a distinct people, not perhaps a nation, but remarkable by the strength of their sense of nationality. Archaeologists believe the two main branches of their race — the Ghegs and Tosks, whom the river Shkumbi divides — to be descended from the ancient Illyrians and Pelasgians. These peoples, perhaps the earliest Aryan invaders of the Balkans, may once have inhabited the whole region between the Danube and the Aegean and Adriatic seas; but successive waves of invasion have worn them down by assimilation or massacre, and only a remnant survive in the land known as Albania.

This land, the exact boundaries of which have fluctuated with the fortunes of the Albanians and their conquerors, forms a wedge between the massif of Montenegro and the Pindus range. It consists of a rich but malarial coastal plain, in which lie the two harbours of Durazzo and Valona, and a mountainous interior; an extension of the Dinaric Alps. In contrast, however, to the bare and arid Karst of Dalmatia, the Albanian mountains are thickly wooded and convulsed out of their former

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133 symmetry into a tangle of high and broken ranges. The valleys they enclose are narrow but fertile, and from them powerful streams pursue their twisted courses down to the Adriatic.

361 Albania has many times been overrun in the strife of empires for the control of the Straits of Otranto; and it is in the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the interior rather than in the rich coastal plain that the remnant of the Illyrians have made their homes. There they have found freedom; for, so wild and rugged are the mountains, and so poor the prospect of wealth which they offer, that none of Albania's conquerors have attempted to rule them except in name.

To this day the majority of the Albanians live in the mountains; but at different times — when the growth of population in the highlands has pressed too hard upon the means of subsistence, or when political conditions have been favourable — families have moved down to the plains or to the towns. Thus, in the seventeenth century, under the protection of Islam, the tribesmen of the North flowed back into the Kossovo. But [181] the trend has been a slow one; for the Albanians prize freedom above all else, and many that have descended to the plains have returned again to the mountains. The plains are rich, but, as the malaria saps a man's strength, so work on the big estates destroys his independence, and submission to the laws of the conqueror corrupts his soul. Thus the lowlands have ever been the province of the foreign overlord, and it is in the mountains, beyond the reach of invaders and guarded by the armed might of the clans, that the moral and material strength of Albania resides.

642 The steep and rugged mountains, the deep and pathless forests, the drifts of snow in winter, and the spate of the rivers in spring and autumn have preserved the Albanians from foreign conquerors. But these obstacles to communications, which have so often turned back hostile armies, have operated powerfully against the growth of a centralised Albanian state. Geography has thus combined with contending foreign Powers to promote disunity among the Albanians. The ancient Illyrian and Pelasgian kingdoms were seldom even allied, and, under the Turkish Empire, the country was divided for political and

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administrative ends. Indeed, save for the short-lived rule of 642
Skanderbeg, there had never been an independent Albania until modern times. It is therefore small matter for surprise that the Albanians have hardly acquired a national or state consciousness; nor indeed, outside of the towns and the coastal plain, has nature encouraged, or their way of life given rise to, social organisation in any form.

At the time of which I write, the family, or clan, was the 621
basic, indeed the only unit of society among the Gheg mountaineers; and was held together by common ownership of the means of production and common interest in their defence. The head, or chief, of the clan still preserved patriarchal powers, sometimes even of life and death over its members. He arranged their marriages, allotted them their tasks, settled their disputes, and decided what courses they should follow in the burning issues of blood feuds and politics. In recent years, however, the [619]
spread of Western ideas had weakened the traditional respect for the patriarchal authority; nor was there any sufficient intermediate patriotism of the province or the village to take its place. Indeed, the village community as we know it did not exist, for the village of the Gheg highlands was but a group of houses, each often as much as a mile from its neighbour. There were no village councils or other corporate institutions, and the feuds between the inhabitants prevailed over their common interests. The ancient tribal system was thus dissolving into anarchy, for where there is no community there can be no law. Indeed, the cry of "stop thief!" would have 000
been almost inconceivable among the Albanians, "Because", as Wordsworth wrote of other highlanders:

> the good old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
> That they should take, who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

In such circumstances, each man had to be his own law-giver, and alone, or at best with the help of his family, defended his rights or punished those that trespassed against him.

Anarchy knows no prisons — the most fundamental of social

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628 Anarchy knows no prisons — the most fundamental of social institutions — so that the only punishment inflicted among the tribesmen was death. Here lay the origin of the blood feud; the scourge of life in the mountains and a practice of the deepest social significance. In a community, any crime is an offence against society as a whole, and the appropriate penalties are prescribed in accordance with the law. Under anarchy, however, as in international relations, the importance of a crime lies less in its intrinsic character than in the challenge which it represents to the victim's prestige. All crimes, therefore, be they murder, rape, theft, or merely insult, are of equal weight; and the consideration which a man will receive from his fellows depends upon the speed and violence with which he avenges a wrong. Prestige, however, can only suffer from a public slight; and it was said among the Albanians that though a rough word in company would often lead to a feud of years, a blow unseen by third parties might well be forgotten.

The same considerations of prestige which lay at the root of the blood feuds were the cause of their persistence. The rights and wrongs of a particular vendetta might arouse little interest, but the manner of its prosecution was the public test of the power of the clans concerned. On rare occasions the aggressors might confess their guilt and the aggrieved forgo their pound of flesh for an indemnity in cash or kind. Otherwise the blood feud would be waged, perhaps without passion and with many truces, but relentlessly, sometimes even for generations, until both sides to the dispute were agreed that enough blood had flowed for the account to be closed with honour. The blood feuds were thus both an effect of anarchy, and, by the divisions which they multiplied among the mountaineers, a cause of its perpetuation. To such an extent, indeed, did they dominate the daily life of the Albanians — and naturally, for few things occupy a man's mind so effectively as the fear of sudden death — that, in most issues which arose among them, they took sides according to their feuds rather than their opinions.

183 Travellers returning from Albania have been wont to dwell on the famous code of honour, the Law of Lek, which is said to prescribe the rules of the blood feud and the general manners

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of the mountaineers. This ancient code of conduct has undoubtedly exercised a restraining influence on the clansmen and helped to soften the grim realities of anarchy. None the less it was our experience that, like other codes of chivalry and laws of war, it was honoured as much in the breach as in the observance. This was perhaps a recent development, born of the crisis of the times or of the influence of Western ideas unaccompanied by Western conditions. Be this as it may, what most impressed us in the way of life of the Albanians was not the stray survivals of their ancient customs but the extent to which they lived without a law at all.

If anarchy was the way, poverty was the standard of their lives. They subsisted mainly from their flocks and upon maize, grown wherever the valleys offered soil for their wooden ploughs to scratch, or traded in the towns against hides and dairy produce. Their fare was simple; their clothing homespun; the forests gave them fuel, and, with the rocks of the mountain, their building materials. They lived, Turkish fashion, on the ground, and, beyond a few rugs, mattresses, and cooking utensils, required no other furniture or amenities. Tobacco, salt, sugar, and coffee, were their luxuries; weapons their chief expenditure and pride.

But besides this pastoral economy there was another source of wealth from which the mountaineers, and especially the chief men among them, drew their strength. Bad communications made coercion difficult, but the poverty of the clans made the power of money great. Elsewhere this might have been of no great moment, but in the Balkans the clashing interests of the Powers afforded frequent opportunities for holding the Central Government to ransom, or indulging in mercenary enterprise on behalf of the foreigner. Such enterprise had ever been a time-honoured means of livelihood among the Albanians; and, if the Eastern Question had caused the ruin of their merchants, it had also created boom conditions for their mercenaries. Such indeed had been the influx of gold and arms into the mountains in the past hundred years that it was perhaps not too much to say that the whole economy and strength of many of the clans had become dependent on subsidies received for "political

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662 services" from the Central Government or from foreign Powers. Nor were the chiefs the only ones to gain, for the profits of a mercenary leader depend on the strength of his following. The rival chieftains competed for the support of the smaller fry; and these passed in and out of the orbits of their betters according to their hopes of wealth or fears of defeat. Thus in time the foreign gold circulated down to the poorest shepherd.

Such practices were lucrative and naturally congenial to the Albanians; for they despised manual labour as a task for women, regarding only fighting and its preparations as man's work. Mercenary enterprise, moreover, was conducive to social stability, for the chief derived his wealth not from the exploitation of his clansmen but from the subsidies of the foreigner or the spoils of war. A common interest in his success induced a spirit of partnership among his followers, while the fierce competition of rivals encouraged his liberality or corrected his avarice. At the same time each accession of strength which he derived from his foreign paymasters was almost automatically balanced by the complementary reinforcement of his rivals by other foreign Powers. Mercenary enterprise thus proved to be an expanding economy; and, to guard against the dangers of a slump, the rival chiefs were not above stimulating the flow of subsidies by timely collusion.

The Albanians were of the Balkans; and so the natural insecurity of their lives, inherent in the anarchy and poverty of their circumstances, was aggravated, if at times enriched, by the struggle of the Powers to spread their influence along the road to the East. Life under such conditions could not but be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short"; yet from its very
181 grimness the Albanians drew their strength. Anarchy developed their independence, not only in their relations to other men, but in their thoughts; for they were free from all those prejudices, taboos, and inhibitions which limit the outlook of those who belong to an organised community. Poverty lent a severe pragmatism to their thought, so that they judged only by results, knowing that, if man cannot live by bread alone, he cannot even subsist without it. Insecurity sharpened their awareness and deepened their understanding of human nature, trying their values by the acid test of survival.

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trying their values by the acid test of survival. Nor were they[1] 177
isolated from the world around them; for the tides of invasion
that swept through their valleys, and the cross-currents of
foreign intrigue which penetrated into their mountains con-
tinually refreshed them with new ideas. Some of them, more-
over, travelled to the ends of the earth in the service of their
conquerors, to act, on their return, as a ferment among their
fellow countrymen. Likewise the three religions which they 795
honoured — the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox, and the
Moslem — were powerful vehicles for the spread of foreign
influences, whether from Pope or Patriarch or Sheikh-Ul-Islam.

These religions represented traditional loyalties rather than 771
living creeds to the Albanians. Indeed religious devotion and
ideological fervour were alike alien to them, being based on
social concepts inapplicable to the anarchy in which they lived.
In the past, when politics had been conducted under the sign
of religion, they had freely apostatised to secure material
advantage. Likewise, in our time, they variously proclaimed
themselves Fascists, Communists, or Democrats, in obedience
to the calculations of interest rather than to the dictates of con-
viction. The growth among them of the Bektashi sect suggested
that, left to themselves, their religious instinct might have
developed towards some form of Pantheism, perhaps in the
tradition of the Oracle of Dodona and the hierarchy of gods
which Hellas inherited from the ancient Illyrians. Instead, the 181
contemplation of the endless struggle for survival and power
which characterised every phase of their daily life induced in
them an all-pervading materialism. In ideas they discerned
but the banners under which forces are gathered; and they
mistrusted words as a cloak for intentions rather than as a
means for their expression.

Politics they understood instinctively, for the relations
between the Great Powers were daily made manifest to them
in terms of golden coin and leaden shot. Besides, where there
is no law, all human relationships are understood in terms of the
struggle for power which underlies them and which is the very
stuff of politics. The life of the clans was indeed a great school
of *realpolitik*; and though the Albanians are few the fertility

[1] [the Albanians -- Analyst]

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181 of their political genius is attested by the number of remarkable men of action which their race has given to the world. Alexander the Great, Pyrrhus of Epirus, the Köprülüs, Mehmet Ali of Egypt, Ali of Yannina, Condouriotis, Crispi, and Kemal Ataturk may justly be reckoned among them; not to speak of more than twenty Grand Viziers, and a host of Generals and politicians who served the empires of Macedon, Rome, and Turkey. Yet it is significant of the disunity and intractability of their nation that, although Albanians have often risen to rule empires, only twice in a thousand years — under Skanderbeg and under Zog; and then only with foreign support — has an Albanian ruled Albania.

The Albanians were thus remarkable as individuals rather than as a people, representative perhaps of the highest levels to which man can attain without submitting to the yoke and goad of a community. Their life was too harsh and their amenities too few to permit of any flowering of culture, but, though their circumstances were primitive beyond measure, yet they were [142] never barbarous. Their aquiline features and delicate hands were matched by a dignity of bearing and tolerance of outlook eloquent of the natural distinction of their race. Pyrrhus had called them *shkipetare*, or Sons of the Eagle, and their fierce and predatory natures well deserved the name. Keen of eye and cold of heart, they were bold in decision, but, like all mercenaries, unpredictable in battle. Freedom and vengeance were their ruling passions; and they lived without joy and died with reluctance rather than regret. Ungovernably proud, they were impatient of all restraint, utterly unteachable, deaf to appeals, suspicious of intentions, hard to lead, and impossible to drive; great gentlemen and great robbers, prizing honour above honesty, gold more than both and power beyond them all.

3

642 THE independence of Albania was not achieved by the exertions of the Albanians: the mountaineers among them had never been other than independent, while the townsmen had wel-

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comed Turkish protection against the Slavs and Greeks who 642
threatened them on every side. It resulted rather from the jealousies of the Powers; and it was their representatives who determined the territories of the new state with such singular disregard for economic and ethnological considerations that they left as many Albanians outside the boundaries of Albania as within them.

The total number of Albanians has been generally com- [162]
puted at some two millions. Of these, upwards of one million lived within the frontiers which were proposed by the Ambassadors' Conference in 1913, ratified in 1926, and once more restored in 1945. Of the remainder, more than six hundred thousand inhabited the Kossovo, while the others were scattered in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Epirus. The amputa- [243]
tion of the Kossovo was a heavy loss to the new state; for the region was the natural granary of the northern provinces, and the standard of living of the Ghegs rose or fell according as they were allowed or denied free access to it.

The economic and social structure of the Ghegs, or Northern 184
Albanians, was one of tribal anarchy, save in the coastal plain 621
and the Kossovo, where there were feudal estates. Islam and [162]
Roman Catholicism were the accepted religions: the Moslems inhabiting Central and North-eastern Albania with the Kossovo, the Catholics Mirdita and the inaccessible ranges of the north-west. A way of life near to the tribal system of the Ghegs still survived in the mountains of Southern Albania, but the Tosk tribes had never wholly recovered from the repressions of Ali the Lion and had increasingly disintegrated into communities of landowning peasants. The broad plains of the South, however, remained divided into feudal estates, owned by an Ottomanised ruling class and worked in part by an Orthodox Christian peasantry. Thus, while the distinction between Moslems and Catholics was one of geography and history, the Catholics being those Albanians whom the Turks had never subdued, that between Moslems and Orthodox was one rather of class and of cash.

It was scarcely to be expected that a conference of ambassa- 578
dors would quickly set up a strong state among a people divided 642

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578 by geography, dialect, religion, and tradition, as well as by the
612 new frontiers assigned to them. Nor indeed were the Powers conspicuous by their efforts to achieve Albanian unity. The German Prince of Wied, whom they chose as head of the new state, arrived in Durazzo in March 1914, with no previous experience of the Balkans and little enough of fallen human nature. He found his principality torn between three armed factions, each supported by foreign gold and inspired by the personal ambition of their leaders. These were Prenk Bib Doda Pasha, hereditary Captain of the Catholic Mirdita; Essad Pasha Toptani, a former general of the Turkish army and the most powerful chief in Central Albania; and Ismail Kemal Vlora, a cousin of the Grand Vizier Ferid Pasha and the chief man among the Tosks. On his arrival the Prince invited these warlike men to dinner, and, in the course of conversation, Prenk Bib Doda turned to him and remarked:

"If Albania is to be ruled peacefully, three persons ought to be hanged: Ismail Kemal, Essad Pasha, and myself! If all three of us were dead Albania would fare much better!"

Seldom in history has such disinterested advice been tendered by a subject to his sovereign. Prince William, however, failed to act upon it and within six months he was driven from his throne, never to return, by the bashi-bazouks of Essad Pasha and Ismail Kemal.

In the years of the first World War and of its aftermath, Prenk and Ismail Kemal intrigued and counter-intrigued with the agents of the Powers whose armies marched and countermarched across Albania. But they were not destined to see the final settlement: Ismail Kemal died in Italy in 1918, apparently of natural causes, while Prenk and Essad were both murdered in 1920 at the instigation of the Italian Government; the latter while attending the Peace Conference in Paris. In Albania strife and confusion persisted for a time; but, with the passing of the old leaders and in face of the determination of Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece to deny to each other the control of the Straits of Otranto, the internal political situation slowly crystallised into a recognisable form.

000 A new generation of political leaders now came forward,

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491
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ALBANIA
Scale of Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50
Roads (in red)
Railways
Albanian Frontier, pre-1941
Frontier assigned to Albania by the Axis Powers
ADRIATIC SEA
Strait of Otranto
MONTENEGRO
YUGOSLAVIA
MACEDONIA
(YUGOSLAVIA)
KOSSOVO
METOHIJA
ALBANIA
SCUTARI
SCUTARI
SHENGIN
TIRANA
DURAZZO
KRUYA
DIBRA
Kukes
Tropoye
JAKOVA
PEJA
PETCH
PRIZREN
Tetovo
SKOPLYE
Kumanovo
Katchanik
Uroshevatz
Gostivar
Korab
Lura
Sokodolli
Pashkoji
Pierre Topoye
Zerqan
Marzanesh
Librashd
Elbasan
Okhrida
L. Okhrida
BITOLYE
Prespa
L. Prespa
FLORINA
KORCHA
(Koritsa)
Kastoria
Kozani
Leskovo
Tepelenë
Kaninë
Vlorë
VALONA
Fier
Lushnje
Durres
Kavaye
Shkodër
Puka
Mt. Velyes
Orosh
Lezhë
Tuzi
Podgoritza
Berkos
Andrievitza
Vushtrri
Priepolje
Novi Pazar
Ibar
Ibarski
Sitnica
Lim
Drin
White Drin
Black Drin
Mati
Shkumbi
Vardar
Vistitsa
Vlad
Suha Reka
Katchanik
Kumanovo
Veles
Prilep
Bitolye
Florina
Kozani
Corfu
CORFU
Sakanda
Himarë
Gjirokastër
Argyrokastro
Melissópetra
Tepelenë
Kaninë
Vlorë
Fier

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665 A new generation of political leaders now came forward[1] many of whom were to play an important part in this story. In the South, the Orthodox Bishop Fan Noli, with a group of returned emigrants from the United States, formed a party professing Radical principles. He met with some support, especially among the landless Orthodox peasantry, but his movement suffered from the difficulties of applying advanced Western political theories to tribal or feudal communities where the Ottoman tradition of government still prevailed. The Moslems of the South also formed a party, to which most of the Tosk beys adhered. Prominent among its leaders were Ali Klissura, Midhat Frasheri, and Mehdi Frasheri, who represented perhaps the most enlightened element among the Albanians, combining a Western education with practical experience of administration in the Ottoman civil service. Mehdi Frasheri indeed had been Governor of Jerusalem under the Turks, and was later to surprise his colleagues in the League of Nations Assembly by a speech on the Palestine Mandate such as they had scarcely expected from the Albanian delegate. In the North there were tribal factions rather than political parties. The leader of the Catholics was Jon Marko Joni, who had become Captain of the Mirdita in succession to Prenk Bib Doda and was for a time the protagonist of a Serbian inspired plan for the creation of an autonomous Mirdite Republic. Bairam Bey Tsuri and Tsena Bey Kryeziu, two hot-tempered guerilla leaders, contended for supremacy among the Moslem clans of the north-east, while Mustafa Kruya and Sufi Elezi
643 were paramount in Kruya and in Dibra. But the strongest man in the country, drawing his power, like Essad Pasha before him, from the fighting men of Mati and the rich landowners of Central Albania, was Ahmet Bey Zog.

643 Ahmet Zog was born in 1895 of a family of Mati Beys with
159 a long tradition of distinguished service to the Ottoman Empire. When he was but a boy his grandfather, Jemal Pasha, conspired with Marshal Rejeb Pasha to carve out an independent Albanian kingdom from the ruin of Turkish power in Europe. The Marshal was at the time in command of the Turkish armies in Tripoli and planned to sail to Albania with his best troops as soon as Jemal Pasha should raise the standard of revolt. But

1 [After Paris Peace Conference, 1920 -- Analyst]

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Sultan Abdul Hamid, sitting in the Yildiz at the centre of his web of spies, got wind of the conspiracy. He dared not recall Rejeb Pasha or order his arrest; for he knew that the African army was loyal to the Marshal, and feared that such a move might provoke the very revolt which he wished to prevent. Instead he simulated a political crisis, and, dismissing his Divan, offered the Ministry of War to Rejeb. The Marshal accepted, confident that the secret of his conspiracy was well kept, and thinking perhaps that he could carry out his plans the more easily, once in control of the whole military machine of the Empire. He accordingly repaired to Stamboul, and, on his arrival, was summoned to an audience at the Yildiz. The Imperial Guard, an Albanian unit, was drawn up in his honour; and if he came with misgivings they must have been dispelled by the marks of confidence and affection with which the Sultan received him. From the Imperial presence Rejeb Pasha drove back to the capital and proceeded to the Ministry of War to take up his new functions. He was shown into his office, where obsequious secretaries lit his cigarette and brought him a cup of coffee. Of it he drank and died: the Sultan's agents had poisoned it.

The conspiracy was scotched, but it would have been no easy task for the Turkish authorities to have arrested Jemal Pasha Zog among the mountaineers of Mati. The Sultan, however, judged it politic to forget, and was content to have young Ahmed Zog brought to Stamboul as a hostage for his grandfather's loyalty. The old ruler took a liking to the boy and had him brought up in the palace and educated at the officers' school in the Galata Saray. He sent him for his holidays to Macedonia, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and Egypt — but never to his home — and even made him for a time one of his A.D.C.s. Thus at an early age Zog absorbed the principles of Oriental government, and learned from its greatest living exponent the art of playing off his enemies one against another.

When the Young Turks deposed the Sultan, Zog escaped through Macedonia to his home in Mati. He was still a mere boy, but he led his clansmen against the Serbs during the Balkan Wars, and on one occasion raided as far as the suburbs

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of Skoplje. In the first World War he made common cause with 643
the Austrians, and, thanks to his influence in Mati, was made a 159
colonel in the Albanian forces formed under their aegis. It was not long, however, before an incident, illustrative of the man's character, brought him into conflict with his allies. It had originally been agreed that the Albanian forces should march under their own national flag, but the Austrian authorities presently issued an order that they should fly instead the colours of the Dual Monarchy. Three Albanian officers resisted the change and were shot on the order of an over-zealous Austrian colonel. When Zog heard of their deaths, he arrested the first three Austrian officers he could lay hands on, and had them executed in reprisal. This action confronted the Austrian general commanding in Albania with a delicate problem: he could hardly overlook such a gesture of defiance, yet he feared to proceed against Zog lest by so doing he should alienate the men of Mati and other Albanians friendly to Austria. In the end the order concerning the colours was rescinded, and Zog was posted to the Imperial Headquarters: an appointment which amounted in practice to honourable confinement in Vienna. There he was kindly received by the old Emperor, and once again internment gave him the chance to learn something of the ways of another great Empire which had long played a leading part in the Balkans. Constantinople and Vienna were not, perhaps, bad schools for a future ruler of Albania.

As soon as the war was over, Zog returned to Albania and 643
set about reorganising his faction. Despite his youth — he was 669
only twenty-five in 1920 — he soon became the strongest single 159
influence in the land and was the real power either in, or behind, the many governments that followed one another up to 1924. His authority derived from the rifles of the Gheg tribesmen and the money-bags of the Gheg *beys*; and it would seem that, in return for their support, he assigned to them a lavish share in the fruits of power. The preference thus shown to the Ghegs was a natural cause of discontent among the Tosks and combined with personal jealousies to create a revolutionary situation. Bishop Fan Noli joined forces with Ali Klissura and the

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643 Tosk *beys*, and won the support of Mustafa Kruya, the cunning
669 Gheg chieftain who swayed Kruya province. With considerable
[159] skill they isolated Zog from his supporters, and in 1924 seized power by insurrection and drove him across the border into Yugoslavia.

The conflict between Zog and Fan Noli has sometimes been characterised as a struggle for power between "conservatives" and "progressives"; but in this, as in almost all Albanian revolts, the division between the contending parties was one of geography and faction rather than of opinion or class. Much was offered to the masses in the programmes of both sides, but the practice in either case redounded chiefly to the advantage of the men in power. It will perhaps be sufficient comment on the policies of the Fan Noli regime to record the Bishop's own verdict on the causes of his failure: "By insisting on the agrarian reforms", he afterwards wrote, "I aroused the wrath of the landed aristocracy: by failing to carry them out I lost the support of the peasant masses".[1]

Zog meanwhile had been joined in Belgrade by Tsena Bey Kryeziu, the head of a powerful Jakova clan which could boast of having given fourteen Pashas to the Ottoman Empire. Tsena had a numerous following among the Albanians on both sides of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, as well as friends in high places in Belgrade. He now made common cause with Zog, and together they plotted a counter-revolution. Zog rallied round him a group of Albanian *émigrés*, and with their help prepared the tribes inside Albania for a rising. Tsena meanwhile, with the approval of the Yugoslav authorities, raised and trained an army of Kossovars, who were to form the spearhead of the revolt. The Yugoslav Government abetted the conspiracy as a means of increasing their influence in Albania: they supplied Zog and Tsena with money and with arms, and stiffened their tribal levies with veterans from General Wrangel's White Russian army, which was then concentrated in Yugoslavia. The Powers closed their eyes to these unneighbourly proceedings, and, in December of 1924, Zog and Tsena marched into Albania at the head of their Kossovar and Russian troops.

[1] Quoted by J. Swire in *Albania: the Rise of a Kingdom*, p. 444.

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Their supporters rose in revolt; the government forces were 643
defeated; and a fortnight later Zog occupied Tirana. Fan 669
Noli escaped to Italy and later emigrated to the United States; Ali Klissura settled in Paris; and Mustafa Kruya went to Italy, where he became the goad with which in later years the Italians threatened Zog. These three were condemned to death *in contumaciam*; but most of the Tosk leaders were seemingly reconciled to the new regime.

It was widely expected that Zog would rule as the instru- 643
ment of the Yugoslavs to whom he owed the success of his 648
revolution;[1] and indeed the powerful influence of Tsena, who was his brother-in-law as well as his Minister of Interior, was exercised in favour of friendship with Belgrade. The policy of a country, however, is more often the effect of its circumstances than their cause. The Yugoslavs had brought the new regime to power, but they were in no position to supply it with the financial and technical assistance without which it could scarcely be maintained. Of necessity, therefore, Zog inclined increasingly towards the Italians, who were quick to seize any opportunity of re-establishing their influence in Albania. Tsena Kryeziu, however, resolutely opposed a pro-Italian policy. He was first and foremost a Kossovar; and his whole purpose in supporting the revolt had been to restore good relations with Belgrade and so reduce the effects of the frontier barrier which separated his people from their fellow Albanians. His efforts, however, were doomed to failure by the inability of the Yugoslavs to compete against the financial support which the Italians offered to Zog. His influence swiftly declined; and, after the signing of the Pact of Tirana, Zog appointed him Albanian Minister in Belgrade, to remove him from the centre of affairs. It is possible that Tsena there conspired with the Yugoslavs to repeat against Zog the same revolutionary tactics as he had carried out with him against Fan Noli. Be this as it may, in October 1927 he was shot dead in a café in Prague by an Albanian student. The responsibility for the crime was commonly ascribed to Zog; and, though his complicity was never established, Tsena's brothers, Gani, Hassan, and Said, judged it prudent to emigrate to Yugoslavia.

1 [Cf. category 669, pp. 17-19 for data on 1924 revolution — Analyst]

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643 Within a year of Tsena's murder Zog cemented his personal position by the assumption of the crown and style of King of the Albanians. The republican sympathies of the Tosk *beys* were disarmed by their mutual jealousies; and the new regime was established among the Ghegs by the efforts of a quadrumvirate of chiefs. These were Muharrem Bairaktar, Fikri Dine, Jemal Herri, and Prenk Previsi, who had all followed Zog into exile in Yugoslavia and had played an important part in the subsequent revolution. In the discharge of their duties they acquired considerable influence, but when they had served the royal purpose Zog broke their power, which might one day have challenged his own. In their place he installed new men, who proved more obedient to his wishes as they were more dependent upon his favour. Thus, in a period of five years, the royal dictatorship was made absolute.

648 Meanwhile Italian influence grew in Albania until the
315 country's foreign relations and economic development came to be largely under Italian direction. Such a trend was indeed almost as inevitable in the economic as in the diplomatic sphere, for Albania possesses few natural resources which might have attracted the attention of other Powers. At one time, however, it appeared that the Albanian oil deposits might become of international interest; and an instructive tale is told of their emergence on the diplomatic scene. At one of the many international conferences which followed the last war, Albania was represented by Faik Bey Konitza, a man of considerable wit and distinction. Faik Bey was anxious to secure British support for his country's claims, and, after several unsuccessful applications, was reluctantly granted an interview by Lord Curzon. Curzon received Faik standing, and coldly invited him to be brief. The Albanian delegate bowed and replied:

"Your Excellency, in Albania there is oil."

Curzon's eyes lit up: "Sit down, my dear fellow," he said, suddenly unbending; and to the astonishment of the impatient secretaries their discussion was prolonged beyond the hour. Nor will the reader be surprised to learn that at the plenary session, next morning, the rights of a small nation were generously vindicated by the majestic eloquence of the British Foreign

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Secretary. *Si non è vero è ben trovato*, for a concession was 648
in fact granted to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. For a 315
variety of reasons, however, by no means exclusively commercial, the development of the oil-field was left to the Italians.

Italian influence in Albania was strong, but the King brooked 643
little interference in the internal administration of the country. 648
He drove hard bargains for every concession, insisted on retaining a British mission to train the gendarmerie, and gained from the Italians far more than he ever gave them. So long as Italy's ambitions were limited to assuring her predominance in the Adriatic such a situation was not unsatisfactory, for then her chief concern was to prevent other Powers extending their influence to Albania rather than to control the country herself. But when Mussolini decided that Albania should become the bridgehead from which his forces would march to the East, he was forced to recognise that Zog was of too independent a temper to serve this grand design. In April 1939, therefore, he decreed the invasion and annexation of Albania. The Italian landing at Durazzo was gallantly contested by the commandant of Kruya, a certain Abas Kupi. Otherwise there was no resistance. The King declined the unequal encounter and crossed into Greece with Queen Geraldine and their newborn son. From Greece he came by devious routes to Paris, and, after the fall of France, settled in London. The most loyal, or anti-Italian, of his subjects followed him into exile, and, for the most part, found hospitality in Yugoslavia or Turkey. Meanwhile, under the general amnesty proclaimed by the Italians, his chief opponents, including Ali Klissura and Mustafa Kruya, returned to Albania. An Italian Viceroy was installed in Tirana, the friends of Italy were rewarded, and a puppet government was set up on the bayonets of the invaders.

Zog had found Albania in chaos; he left her with at least 643
the rudiments of a modern state. Roads had been built; the framework of an administration created; and order, if not law, enforced. The King governed, indeed, in the oriental tradition, but it was also the tradition of his people. He corrupted his enemies, or played them off one against the other, and adminis-

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643 tered justice less with regard for the law than with an understanding of when harshness or mercy would most impress the public mind. No doubt he favoured the Ghegs at the expense of the Tosks, and left unredeemed his repeated promises of agrarian reform. No ruler, however, can escape his special obligations to his supporters; and what is possible, rather than what is desirable, must always be the test by which a statesman is judged. It is no mean political achievement to have kept Albania united for fifteen years above the cross-currents of foreign intrigue and the shifting sands of her own domestic feuds. That is the real measure of Zog's capacity to rule; and the universal respect of his enemies is perhaps the surest title of his fame.

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II

PROLOGUE

> Leninism recognises the latent revolutionary capacities of the national liberation movement and the possibility of utilising these capacities for the purpose of overthrowing the common enemy, for the purpose of overthrowing imperialism.
>
> JOSEPH STALIN: *The Foundations of Leninism*

1

I SPENT the summer of 1939 on the Dalmatian coast, striving to complete in time for "schools" the work that I had left undone in my first two years at Oxford. I buried myself in the study of the causes of the first World War, and, oblivious of the greater catastrophe that was already impending, sought to unravel the tangled skein of the intrigues of Triple Alliance and Triple Entente. Suddenly, at the end of August, a telegram from the Air Ministry summoned me to report for duty; war seemed certain; and, as a member of the University Air Squadron, I was on the reserve of the R.A.F. I therefore laid aside Grant Robertson, Gooch, and Pribram — war would at least provide a dispensation from examinations — and, dismissing from my mind the machinations of Iswolski and the manœuvres of Berchtold, hurried off to Belgrade to report to the Air Attaché.

I had hoped at first to join our Military Mission in Poland, but this plan was frustrated by the delays of official correspondence and the early collapse of the Polish armies. Instead I accepted an invitation from Sir Ronald Campbell to join his staff, and was duly seconded as an attaché to our Legation in Belgrade, where my work was mainly concerned with matters of press and propaganda.

At the beginning of 1940 the staff of the Legation was

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000 strengthened by the arrival of an Assistant Naval Attaché, Lieut.-Commander Sandy Glen. We became friends at once and presently took a spacious flat together with a view to enlarging our circle of Yugoslav acquaintances by means of judicious entertaining. Sandy Glen was short, prematurely bald, with small eyes glinting behind powerful spectacles. Before the war he had been in turn a banker and an arctic explorer, and beneath a seeming omniscience was possessed of a considerable fund of varied knowledge. He spoke little of his professional activities, but it was soon clear to me that they were by no means as blamelessly " diplomatic " as my own. I was therefore not altogether surprised when one evening in March he told me that " the Chief " of his " show " was on his way to Belgrade and would put up at our flat to avoid having to register in a hotel. The master-spy duly arrived, self-enveloped in an aura of mystery and urgency, and held a number of conferences with Sandy and other members of the British community whom I had hitherto innocently regarded as mere business men.

I kept discreetly in the background, but next afternoon Sandy came into my office at the Legation, looking distinctly worried.

" The Chief," he said, " has asked me for a note on the situation in Albania. Of course it's got to be different from what the F.O. give him. I know nothing about the beastly place and wondered if you could help me."

Until that moment I had hardly given the country a thought, but I was bored with the routine of office life, and longed for bigger game than the Belgrade editors.

" Yes, of course," I answered. " I'll try and let you have a short memo. on the latest trends by dinner tonight."

For a moment, after the door had closed behind him, I was at a loss to know how to begin, and cursed my irresponsibility. Then, deciding to make the best of the situation, I rang up Ralph Parker, the correspondent of *The Times*, to see if he knew any Albanians.

" Yes," came his imperturbable reply, " I know two. If it's really urgent I'll try and get them round for a drink this evening."

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Accordingly, at six o'clock, I repaired to Parker's flat and there was introduced, as a fellow journalist, to Gani and Said Kryeziu. They were the first Albanians I had ever met. Our conversation lasted perhaps an hour; and when it was over I returned to the Legation and there concocted a short memorandum on the Albanian situation. At Sandy's request I handed this to "the Chief" at dinner, modestly expressing the hope that it might "throw some more light on the general picture". The great man glanced thoughtfully at the paper and announced that he would take it to study in Athens, where he was going next day. From the Greek capital he penned a despatch to London which, among other doubtless more profound observations, contained the following statement:

". . . Our staff in Belgrade would be greatly strengthened by the co-option of Julian Amery, whose expert knowledge of Albanian affairs would be an invaluable asset to the organisation."

"God moves in a mysterious way!"

The "D" Organisation, of which I thus became a member, was the creation of a resourceful major of the Sappers, gifted with unusual powers of arousing enthusiasm in his subordinates, but fated, like so many pioneers, to be spurned by an ungrateful government. His object, in the highest degree original, and wholly distinct from that of the secret Intelligence Service, was the "subversion", in enemy and neutral territories throughout the world, of the war effort of the Axis powers. By "subversion" was meant those operations against the enemy which lay outside the special province of the armed forces and the departments of state: the sabotage, for example, of his factories, rolling-stock, or purchases in neutral countries; the fomenting of discontent and insurrection among his people and their satellites; the exposing of his representatives abroad to ridicule or opprobrium; in short every measure, fair or foul, which might conduce to the embarrassment of his friends or the comfort of his foes. At the time of which I am writing, the "D" Organisation was still very limited in size and so secret that even our diplomatic representatives were kept in ignorance

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of its exact activities and personnel. Later, in connection with our support of the Resistance Movements, it was to grow to monstrous size, and to find establishment for half a dozen generals and a galaxy of civil advisers and staff officers of all three services.

Our chief and prophet in Belgrade was Julius Hanau, an arms dealer of wide and varied experience, steeped in the cultures of France and Germany, learned in history and endowed with all the power of his race to compel imagination. The Balkans held few secrets for him; and it was in his hands that the threads of our network throughout the peninsula came together. The word "impossible" was not in his dictionary, and once he had approved a plan he gave us a free hand in its execution. At the same time he had the prudence of the serpent and laid down as his often-repeated maxim: "I want live heroes, not dead ones, and if there must be dead ones then let them be Germans". "Caesar" was the pseudonym selected for him by the combination of his first name and appearance: there was also a spark of genius in him to justify the choice.

It was Caesar who now asked me to start a small Albanian section, designed in the first instance to study the situation in Albania and to prepare plans for "D" operations there should Italy join our enemies. My colleague in this task was John Bennett, a wild man, gaunt and loose-limbed, who combined understanding with enduring enthusiasms and was to play a significant part in the events leading up to the military *coup d'état* which ranged Yugoslavia on the side of the Allies. Without knowledge or experience of things Albanian, we started with no qualification save that of being unprejudiced. In response, however, to our requests, memoranda, statistics, and guide-books slowly trickled in from London; and the Yugoslav General Staff, at this time still pro-Allied, kept us informed of the Italian order of battle in Albania and showed us the latest staff maps which they had seduced from Mussolini's cartographers.

Geography showed us that Albania could be approached by land from Greece as well as Yugoslavia. An Albanian office,

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similar to our own, was therefore opened in Athens, with Mrs. Hazluck, Edith Durham's friend, as its adviser. Mrs. Hazluck was one of those remarkable Englishwomen who make their homes in strange lands and gain the affection and respect of their inhabitants. She had crossed the Albanian border in 1919 in the course of anthropological researches in Macedonia, and, attracted by the country and its people, had made her permanent home near Elbasan. Her chief interest was folk-lore, but the Italians suspected that she was a spy, and expelled her from Albania in 1939. By so doing they threw her, for the first time, into the arms of the Secret Service.

From Belgrade and Athens we extended our lines of physical approach to Albania by establishing representatives at Salonika and Skoplje. The latter still had a large Albanian population, and was to be an observation post of great importance. There we sent Ralph Parker, the Belgrade correspondent of *The Times*, who resigned from that newspaper to devote himself to our work. Parker was a trained observer and a resourceful man, and already had some experience of "underground" work in Prague, where he had helped to rescue a number of Czechs from the Gestapo in 1939. With him went Fred Lawrence, a rugged individualist who had once spent a holiday in Albania.

The Balkan Peninsula had been assigned to the operational theatre of the Allied armies in the Middle East, so that obvious considerations of strategy required the appointment to General Wavell's staff in Cairo of an officer conversant with our affairs. This task was allotted to Major Cripps, a former instructor of the Albanian gendarmerie, who loved the country and spoke its curious monosyllabic tongue. Finally we sought and obtained the appointment of Colonel Frank Stirling to co-ordinate and supervise our several activities and to keep in touch with the Albanian exiles in Constantinople. Stirling had been military adviser to Lawrence in the Arab Revolt, and, after the first World War, had raised a team of British instructors to train the Albanian gendarmerie. Later he had reorganised the Albanian administration and had remained as an adviser to King Zog until the crisis in Anglo-Italian relations caused by the Abyssinian War made his position in an Italian sphere of influence

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untenable. In his youth he had governed a district in the Sudan and been a famous horseman; later, on his return to England from Albania, he had worked successively as a shop-walker in a chain store at thirty shillings a week, and as military adviser to a film magnate for a prince's ransom. The wealth of his experience had not damped his zest for adventure, and an eminent Greek statesman once described him as "the ideal uncle for a boy king". He was to be our chief counsellor and support, for he knew the ways of the Balkans and was, besides, in Wavell's confidence.

Such was the British framework of our Albanian organisation, but, while it was still in the making, we also sought for ways and means of coming into touch with potential supporters in Albania. In this delicate operation we took counsel from Yovan Jonovitch, a Yugoslav political leader and a great friend of the Allies, who was to play a leading part in preparing the ground for the revolt against Prince Paul in which Yugoslavia "found her soul". Jonovitch had once been Yugoslav Minister in Tirana, where he had done much to counteract the growth of Italian influence in the years before the Italo-Yugoslav *rapprochement*. He was at this time in opposition, but had kept in contact with the chief Albanian exiles, among whom we were to find our most valuable allies. As a Montenegrin Jonovitch was well versed in the ways of the Albanians, and I spent many hours learning from him of the general conditions of the country and something of its factions and leading men.

Foremost among the Albanian exiles in Belgrade was Gani Bey Kryeziu, a brother of Tsena, who had made the revolution of 1924 with Zog and had later been murdered in Prague under mysterious circumstances. Gani had escaped to Yugoslavia after his brother's assassination and there had served an attachment with the Yugoslav army. We were told that when he first came to Belgrade he had been considered something of a playboy, but with years he had become "serious" — those who have lived in the Balkans will appreciate the full significance of the word — and, some said, ambitious too. I had first met Gani

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and his brother, Said, in Parker's flat, on the occasion of my first excursion into Albanian affairs, and had liked them both from the start. Gani was short and fair, with a frank expression and distinctly military bearing. He was a man of few words, and, when he chose to speak, clear and concise rather than eloquent. He impressed us at once by his accuracy, especially in military matters, and by his refusal to bargain in negotiations. This indeed was so unusual in a Balkan politician that I was at first concerned by it, as if an attitude so open must conceal a doubly tortuous design. Gani's younger brother, Said, was tall, dark, and altogether more oriental in appearance. He had studied at the École des Sciences Politiques, spoke excellent French and had read widely, especially of the Marxist writers. Seemingly a cynic, Said was at heart a passionate believer in social-democracy. He made no efforts to conceal his sympathy for the Left-Wing movements of the Balkans and showed a rare prescience of the part they would play before the war was out. Both brothers were moved by a common hatred of the Italians, and, if Gani was the soldier, Said was the diplomat of the family. There was besides a third brother, Hassan, older than Gani but well content to leave the leadership of the clan in his brother's more capable hands. Hassan was an old-fashioned highland chief, and, while his brother worked among the politicians in Belgrade, he remained on the family estates to preserve the local influence of the clan.

The Kryezius had a powerful following in the region of Jakova, on both sides of the Albanian-Yugoslav border; and among the Ghegs, where such is the criterion of importance, they were said to be worth two thousand rifles at short call. Despite the long years of their exile they had kept abreast of developments in their country by means of an elaborate courier system, operating between their estates in the Kossovo and their friends in Albania proper. They welcomed the prospect of British support in their struggle against the Italians; and, with the help of their couriers, we were soon receiving regular reports of the situation in North Albania.

To open communication with Southern (Tosk) Albania was the work of the Athens office; but it remained for us, from

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000 Belgrade, to make contact with the Catholic chiefs of the north-western districts, whose clansmen were reputed the fiercest warriors among the Ghegs. Our efforts to do so were for some time frustrated by Italian precautions and the strength of anti-Slav feeling among the Catholic highlanders; but, after weeks of careful enquiry, our good friend, Jonovitch, found a way round these seemingly insuperable obstacles. This was personified by Colonel Radonitch,[1] a Montenegrin of the hybrid tribe of Kutchi, whose clansmen, half Orthodox and half Catholic, live on both sides of the border that separates Albania from Montenegro. The Colonel arranged with certain practised smugglers among his clansmen to guide our agents across the border and bring them to the Catholic chiefs in the North and as far as Mirdita. Their reports, however, were discouraging; the Catholic tribes enjoyed a privileged position under the Italians; and we soon understood that their allegiance to the Duce would only be shaken by a closer prospect of Allied victory than the events of 1940 could afford.

The first stage of our work was completed by the opening of similar lines of communication with Albania from Skoplje, Salonika, and Athens; and within six weeks we were receiving regular reports from every part of the country. These showed that the people were impatient of foreign rule and friendly disposed to the Allies, though still uncertain of our victory. In the mountains the tribal chiefs encouraged our approaches, promising and asking much; in the towns men cursed the Italians sullenly, but were cowed.

The collation of such intelligence was useful in itself and as a trial of the quality of our organisation. It was, however, only a means to an end; and we now began to consider what targets in Albania might deserve our attention. We were thus engaged when Hitler's Panzer divisions rolled through the Ardennes and the long-awaited test of strength between the contending Powers began. The peoples of the Balkans watched the for-

[1] After the German occupation of Yugoslavia Radonitch joined Tito's Partisans. He served with them for a year, but, mistrusting Tito's political intentions, went over to Mihailovitch. He was killed in 1945 during the Chetnik retreat through Bosnia in the last stages of the Yugoslav civil war.

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tunes of the battle intently, but, with the fall of France — the protectress of the Little Entente and the ally of the Salonika Front — a great fear swept over them, and many forsook the common cause. It is to the everlasting credit of the Albanian leaders that in this darkest hour they scornfully rejected the fair proposals of the Italian Government. Others might turn back but they stood firm beside us, manfully resolved to free their country with our help or to die in the attempt.

Italy was now in the war; and, as the summer advanced, we could no longer doubt that our enemies intended to subjugate the Balkans. We were therefore instructed to prepare plans for neutralising Albania as a base for Italian attacks against Yugoslavia or Greece. Albania itself contained few technical installations or other nerve-centres whose sabotage would seriously hinder the enemy; but Italian armies advancing thence into the Balkans must depend for their communications on the Albanian roads. These ran through some of the most rugged country in Europe, and beside them lived a race of men who looked on guerilla warfare as their natural calling. We therefore decided to work upon the Albanians so that, when the time came, they would rise in revolt and close the mountain roads against the Italian armies.

A first step was to form an Albanian revolutionary movement which would include as many enemies of Italy as we might persuade to work together. It was still too early to launch such a movement inside Albania, for the Albanians were not yet ready to receive its leaders, nor able to protect their operations. Instead we thought it wiser, as Zog and Tsena had done in 1924, to build up the necessary organisation in Yugoslavia. There we might lay our plans undisturbed, equip a striking force of Kossovars, and accumulate war material while our agents prepared the ground across the border. The revolt might thus be securely mounted on neutral soil and carried into Albania when the Balkan campaign began.

The Kossovo seemed to be the natural starting-point for the revolt, being an extension of Albania within the political frontiers of Yugoslavia. Many of its inhabitants were united

[Cf. cat 116, pp. 25-28, for information on British intelligence organization to which author belonged -- Analyst]

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*669 648 by family ties to the tribesmen across the border and were thus exceptionally placed to smuggle arms, agents, or propaganda into Albania. Moreover, a force of Kossovars acting as the spearhead of the rising would not be resisted as an invasion but fraternally acclaimed as a liberating army. The support of the Kossovars were thus essential to our plans, but most of their leaders inclined towards the Axis Powers, who had promised to unite the region to Albania. Gani alone supported the Allies, so that the Kryeziu family became the natural rallying point for our movement. Indeed, long before we had come on to the scene, Gani had taken steps to organise those Albanians who had taken refuge in Yugoslavia in 1939 from the Italians. In response to Italian pressure, most of them had been confined to remote villages of Bosnia and Voivodina, but Gani provided for their needs and interceded in Belgrade on their behalf. The majority of these exiles were army officers and monarchists, and, although they were glad of Gani's help and money, they were naturally suspicious of the Kryezius as enemies of the King. Gani therefore suggested that, to make sure of their wholehearted support, we should send to Turkey for Abas Kupi, the defender of Durazzo and the most popular of the monarchist leaders.

186 159 Abas Agha Kupi, or Bazi Sani as the tribesmen called him, could neither read nor write: indeed only with difficulty could he sign his name. Born in the nineties, he was, like Skanderbeg, a native of Kruya, where his father had been a respected member of the Bektashi community. One of his uncles had been a passionate Albanian nationalist and had fired the boy's imagination by tales of Turkish prisons and guerilla war. One day, when young Abas was but fifteen years old, nationalist insurgents seized Kruya and hoisted Skanderbeg's flag — the black eagles on the red ground — upon the castle tower. The boy went out to join them, but they told him that he was too young to fight and sent him home in tears. A few days later the town was reoccupied by "loyalist" troops under Essad Pasha, who at once gave orders to pull down the offending flag and restore the Star and Crescent. A soldier climbed on to the tower to carry out the order, but young Abas snatched up his

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father's rifle and shot the man dead. Astonishment or sympathy covered his escape; and he fled to the mountains to hide from Essad's revenge. The Pasha, however, was impressed by the boy's daring, and still more by the success with which he evaded or repelled his pursuers. He resolved to make use of him; paid the blood money for the soldier's death; and admitted Abas to his following. The young man thus became one of the "Essadist" leaders, and during the first World War raised a guerilla band with which he harassed the communications of the Austrian army. In the troubled times which followed the war he took sides with Mustafa Kruya against Zog and was declared an outlaw by the Tirana Government. For two years he defied the Zogist forces in the mountains of Kruya, until in 1924 Fan Noli and Mustafa drove Zog into exile and themselves seized power. Abas Kupi had set great hopes on the new regime, but they were disappointed; and when Zog and Tsena in their turn attacked the Government he refused to come to its help. Instead he remained in Kruya, a spectator of the civil war.

Zog had learnt to respect this illiterate guerilla genius, and, in the hopes that the poacher might turn gamekeeper, offered him the command of the Kruya region. Abas Kupi accepted and from that time became Zog's devoted lieutenant; nor were their relations darkened by the jealousy which, in politics, so often destroys the friendships of able men. Abas Kupi recognised that his ignorance barred him from the highest offices; and the king felt safe to reward the subject without fear of raising the rival. In Kruya, however, Abas ruled as dictator, untrammelled by the control of the Central Government. His administration was popular; and he preserved an exceptional degree of law and order in the district, mainly thanks to a private intelligence service, so widespread in its ramifications that he was often able to restrain potential malefactors by disclosing foreknowledge of their designs. It is said that, during the celebrations which attended the King's marriage, two visiting dignitaries — tribal chiefs from the North — were robbed in a Tirana café. Abas Kupi was informed and at once summoned the chief pickpockets of the city to his office. Within half an

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186 hour he had extracted from them the identity of the criminals and the fruits of the crime. By a gentleman's agreement there were no prosecutions, but the victims were fully reimbursed, with ten per cent interest for their trouble.

On Good Friday of 1939 King Zog entrusted Abas Kupi with the defence of Durazzo. His forces only consisted of a battalion of Albanian gendarmes and some tribal levies but, although hopelessly outmatched in man-power and in guns, he kept two of the Duce's divisions at bay for more than thirty-six hours. This gallant action, the only effective resistance offered to the Italian invasion, covered the King's escape and made [538] Abas Kupi a national hero. Indeed, as we learned from our agents, the mountain bards had already added verses celebrating his defence of Durazzo to the long epic poem in which the great exploits of Albanian history are recorded.

*669 Gani's advice that we should seek the help of Abas Kupi seemed to us sound, and we therefore asked Stirling to approach him, for he had known him well in Albania. Accordingly, a few days after the capitulation of France, the two met in the dingy lodgings which Abas had taken in Constantinople. The Albanians are usually given to prolonged ceremonial greetings, but, although it was five years since he had last seen Stirling, Abas Kupi asked at once:

"Will you English fight on?"

"I give you my word we will," Stirling answered.

"Thank God," said Abas Kupi, "for now the Italians are at last fair game for both of us." Then, his mind at rest, he remembered his manners and, with a smile, produced the customary greetings and enquiries: "*Tungjatjeta! A je mirë? A je shendosh? A je burri fortë?*" ("May your life be prolonged! Are you well? Are you in good heart? Are you a strong man?")

After devious transactions the necessary passports were obtained and Abas Kupi was brought to Yugoslavia. At our first meeting I was struck, as others have been, by his pronounced likeness, especially in profile, to certain of the portraits of Napoleon; a likeness accentuated by a lock of hair brushed forward on his forehead to hide the deep scar of a bullet wound

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sustained in the days when he had fought against Zog. Although illiterate, the man was no peasant, but delicately made and with all the grace of movement of a mountaineer. He spoke little, but with a charm of expression and gesture and a warmth of tone which overcame the impersonality of interpreted conversation. From the start he agreed to work whole-heartedly with Gani; and, despite their different views on the subject of the monarchy, the two became fast friends. Abas Kupi made his home with the Kryezius; and, in the intervals of their conspiracies, Said spent much of his time translating the newspapers to him and the broadcasts from Allied stations.

We[1] had broadened our movement to the Right by including [665] Abas Kupi and the monarchist exiles; now, on Said's advice, we took in Mustafa Jinishi, a member of the Communist Party and a brilliant propagandist. Paris had been the main centre of the Albanian Communists, but, though we did not know it, the Germans had already deported most of their leaders back to Albania. There, the Fascist government let them remain at large, for at this time the Communist Parties throughout the world were still denouncing our struggle with Nazi Germany as an imperialist war. The influence of the Albanian Communists was reputed insignificant, but we were glad to have Mustafa Jinishi for his personal qualities and earnestly hoped that his willingness to work with us might be a sign of a change of heart in Moscow.

Our movement might now be justly termed a United Front of Albanian resistance to Italy. Indeed Abas Kupi, Gani Kryeziu, and Mustafa Jinishi represented, in so far as a people as profoundly anarchic as the Albanians could be said to have representatives at all, the chief factions among the *émigrés* and in Albania, which were prepared to fight for their country's freedom. These three men had been at daggers drawn until a few days before; now, thanks to British intervention and Said Kryeziu's patient diplomacy, they had come together to fight against their common enemy. The sole basis, however, of their alliance was the Italian occupation of their country, which barred them equally from all hope of power. They became great personal friends, but they would sometimes tell us that,

1 [British Intelligence. Cf. cat. 11b, pp. 25-28 — Analyst]

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*669 as soon as they had driven the Italians from Albania, they would turn and rend one another. We smiled indulgently at such prophecies; not only out of scepticism but because, in the summer of 1940, the headaches of victory still seemed very remote.

Our chief concern at the time was for the leadership of the movement. Gani Kryeziu, as he himself admitted, had been too long in exile to assume the role of leader inside Albania, while Abas Kupi seemed barred from it by his illiteracy. To [643] our surprise, however, Gani suggested that King Zog was the obvious choice, both by virtue of his personal ability and because, in a country as factious as Albania, the proud chiefs would more readily gather round the man whom they had once acknowledged as king than round some self-appointed leader. Abas Kupi somewhat naturally shared this view and so indeed did Mustafa Jinishi, who explained that his friends could wait for the defeat of Italy to settle their accounts with the King. This unexpected identity of views convinced us that Zog would make the best leader for the Albanian revolt; and we urged that arrangements be made to bring him in touch with the movement in Belgrade. The Foreign Office, however, hesitated to sanction any step which might commit us to the King's cause, so that the leadership of the United Front remained undefined.

*669 648 The United Front was the fruit of long hours spent in patient planning in the extra-territorial security of the Legation and in conspiratorial meetings in dark corners of Belgrade. We changed these meeting-places continually, but our favourite was a deserted flat on the top story of a tall, modern building in the Kralya Milana. It was unfurnished, except for a rickety table and two benches abandoned by the owner; but through its dusty windows we could look out over the city to the Sava valley and the plain beyond. The climate of conspiracy is naturally productive of suspicions, and we used to take infinite precautions to preserve the secrecy of our meetings with the Albanian leaders. We would approach the rendezvous by devious routes; change taxis on the way; or leave our cars

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outside some other door. The Italians were indeed on our trail, but it would seem that we overrated the efficiency of their agents. Some months later, when I had left Yugoslavia and was living in Constantinople, I was shown an intercepted Italian intelligence report: it stated that I had secretly returned to Belgrade, gave my spurious name and supposed address, and added that I was disguised by a beard! The weather was already turning cold and I could not help pitying the wretched O.V.R.A. agent who was detailed to watch my doubtless innocent double. But besides the O.V.R.A. we had also to dodge the Yugoslav political police; for, since the fall of France, Prince Paul's first object was to avoid anything which might provoke the anger of the Axis Powers. From time to time the Yugoslav Foreign Minister would protest against our activities among the Albanian exiles, but Sir Ronald Campbell was able to reassure him in all sincerity; for our relations with the diplomatic staff were governed by the ancient precept: "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth".

The Albanian leaders were of exemplary discretion, but the same could not always be said of their followers. One afternoon I returned with Sandy Glen from lunch to find two or three hundred Albanian wood-cutters, variously armed with axes and knives, grouped outside the Legation. A few of them were in earnest consultation with John Bennett, who presently discovered what was afoot. Someone, it seemed, had told them that the British would pay them a hundred dinars apiece to wreck the Italian Legation, and, like prudent men, they had come to collect their money in advance!

Nevertheless the work made progress. Our couriers passed from the Kossovo into Albania, preaching the aims of the United Front among the tribal chiefs, and gathering political and military information. Soon we were in communication with Muharrem Bairaktar, the lord of Liuma, who promised his support. Next, as propaganda, we began to send waggon-loads of corn across the border to distribute among our potential supporters. Later, rifles and ammunition were concealed beneath the corn. Thus, bit by bit, the United Front was extended to Albania and the ground was prepared for revolt.

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Indeed by July the enrolment of supporters had outstripped our capacity to supply them from the stock of weapons locally available; and we saw that it was only by drawing on the arsenals of the Middle East that we might hope to appease their insatiable hunger for arms.

The petty arms traffic we had thus far indulged in had been made possible by the help of friendly Yugoslav officials, acting on their own initiative. We could not hope, however, to run consignments of rifles from the Middle East into Albania without the knowledge and at least the tacit approval of the Yugoslav Government. We had, indeed, counted on some measure of Yugoslav support; for the Albanian revolt had always been considered as a part of the general scheme for the defence of the Balkans against an attack by the Axis Powers. It now appeared that the Belgrade Government were too demoralised by enemy pressure to countenance our plans; and we even began to doubt whether they intended to resist the Germans at all. Accordingly some of us, myself among them, turned increasingly to the task of building up the forces of resistance in Yugoslavia. Thus four years were to go by before I was once more concerned with things Albanian.

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[625] In August 1940 the direction of the Belgrade branch of the Albanian organisation was entrusted to Lieut.-Colonel Oakley-Hill, who had been for some years an officer in the Corps of Instructors to the Albanian gendarmerie. Hill's name, as we were to learn from personal experience, was a household word among the Ghegs, thanks to his rare command of the Albanian language and his genuine affection for the Albanians. He already knew many of the leading exiles in Belgrade and soon won their confidence by his sincerity and tireless industry on behalf of the Albanian cause. Thus, under his guidance, the work was advanced.

The Albanians had been demoralised by the fall of France, but the reports which reached Belgrade in September showed

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that they had rallied with the news of the Luftwaffe's defeat in the Battle of Britain; a trend that was maintained with the growing certainty that the British Government meant to fight to the end. Men's minds were therefore receptive to the idea of revolt, but without arms they could not pass from ideas to action. In default of arms, money was sent across the border to maintain the goodwill of the clans and also in the hope that, by the natural operation of the law of supply and demand, it might lead to the discovery of unknown arsenals. The return, however, was small in comparison with the outlay; and the absence of concealed supplies of weapons was presently attested by the rise in the price of rifles. Meanwhile Prince Paul's Government, strong only in its determination to appease the Axis Powers, began actively to disrupt the work of the United Front. To please the Italians they expelled Parker from Skoplje; confined Abas Kupi to Sarajevo; and forbade the Kryeziu brothers to visit their estates in the Kossovo. In the face of these restrictions Oakley-Hill had no choice but to beguile the impatience of the exiles as best he might and wait upon events. 669* 648

On 4th November 1940, to the dismay of the British, and, as it now appears, the displeasure of the Germans, the Italian armies in Albania invaded Greece. The Duce thus sought a military solution to the Balkan problem; but though Roman in its inspiration, his plan proved singularly Italian in its execution. The ragged Greek soldiery, for years the butt of journalists because of a supposed dislike of fighting in the rain, surprised and routed the vanguard of the Italians in the defiles of the Pindus. The vaunted Alpini and Bersaglieri were hurled back in disorder into Albania. The Italian *débâcle* assumed spectacular proportions; Korcha, Pogradets, Gjinocastro, Saranda, and Himara fell in turn; Valona was threatened; and for a moment it seemed that the Italians would be driven into the Adriatic. R.A.F. machines appeared in Greece; and, with rumours of a new British Expeditionary Force, British stocks rose once more throughout the Balkans. 721

The Albanians believed that their freedom was at hand. 000

*669 648 The Albanians believed that their freedom was at hand. On the front[1] the Greek troops were everywhere acclaimed as liberators, and whole Albanian units went over to them from the Italian armies. From London King Zog offered his sword to the King of the Hellenes. In Belgrade the United Front prepared to launch a general revolt which, in subjunction to a Greek offensive, might engulf the Italian armies in irretrievable disaster. The Albanians put forward no political conditions: all that they hoped was to free their country and preserve its independence; all that they asked was that some thousands of rifles with ammunition be sent from Salonika to the United Front in Belgrade. The rifles were available, and the Yugoslav Government, suddenly emboldened by the example of the Greeks, hinted that they would turn a blind eye to their passage. The plans for the revolt were approved in London and the British Military Mission in Athens were instructed to urge them upon the Greek General Staff. The Greeks, however, alternating between extremes of confidence at the prospects of their forthcoming offensive and of discouragement at the condition of their equipment, argued that Greek troops would use the rifles better than Albanian irregulars. Some of them, moreover, cherished ambitions of annexing the region variously known as Southern Albania or Northern Epirus, and were perhaps reluctant to take any step which might make them beholden to the Albanians. The plans for revolt were therefore shelved; and the natural distress of the Albanian leaders was deepened by the Hellenising policies which the Greek administration pursued in the occupied Albanian territories. The final Greek offensive was held by the Italians, though not without great difficulty, along a line of fortified positions originally built in the time of King Zog. The line had been considerably reinforced by the Italians, but there were British military observers who believed that it might well have been carried if guerillas could have impeded its supply in the critical moments of the battle.

The Italians thus stabilised their front in Albania; and, as the spring of 1941 wore on, the situation in the Balkans steadily
000 deteriorated. The infiltration of German troops into Roumania and Bulgaria assumed the proportions of occupation; and it

[1] [In the Winter of 1940--Analyst]

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soon appeared that the Germans intended to crush Greek resistance by an invasion from the north-east. Surrounded on all sides by hostile armies, the weak but discerning Regent of Yugoslavia prepared to yield to German demands; but he misjudged the generous temper of the Serbian nation; and before he could hand them over to their hereditary enemies a group of determined officers borne on the tide of a whole people's wrath swept him and his defeatist entourage from power. The new Yugoslav Government understood that war with Germany was certain, but they regarded the prospect with some confidence, for their army was considered the best in the Balkans. Men still remembered that little Serbia had resisted the might of the Austrian Empire for more than two years, and the news that a British army had landed at Salonika encouraged the hope that history would repeat itself. Moreover, the Greek victories in the Pindus supported the belief that the valour of a warlike people fighting in defence of their own soil was still a match for the superior equipment of invaders.

Unlike the Greeks, the new Yugoslav Government and their military advisers set great hopes on an Albanian revolt. Surrounded as they were to almost the full extent of their land frontiers by German and Italian armies, they were wholly dependent for their communications with the British on the railway which runs through Macedonia to Salonika. The enemy were concentrated on either side of it, in Bulgaria and Albania, and at any moment by a successful attack might cut this precious life-line and seal off Yugoslavia from the outside world. In this unenviable situation they naturally welcomed a project which might prevent an Italian eruption into Macedonia and would perhaps enable their own armies to take the offensive. To attack the Italians in Albania, indeed, appealed to the Yugoslavs especially; for, by joining hands with the Greeks and opening communications with the British through the Adriatic Sea, they might hope to prolong their resistance and would at least assure their retreat.

The Yugoslav General Staff thus gave its blessing to the aims of the United Front and, in the midst of the chaos which it had inherited, sought to give the Albanian leaders such

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*669 648 help as it could. But in Belgrade all was confusion; for, though the military revolt had stimulated the patriotism of the masses, it had finally distracted an administration already demoralised and never efficient. Precious time was lost before the Albanian exiles could be assembled from the remote villages to which they had been banished; no transport could at first be found to take them to the Kossovo; and when at last they reached Jakova they were arrested as fifth columnists by the local corps-commander. Thanks to Oakley-Hill they were speedily released, but it was only to find that Gani's tribesmen, who were to have formed the spearhead of the revolt, had been called up and drafted to the Northern front.

The Albanian leaders were still struggling to obtain facilities from a command floundering in a morass of conflicting instructions when the Germans bombed Belgrade and the invasion began. That same evening they were joined by Said Kryeziu, who had remained in the capital up to the outbreak of hostilities: with him came a special liaison officer from the General Staff who at last regularised their position with the Corps Commander, and made it possible for them to begin their work. Unprepared though they were, the Albanian leaders had seen enough of Corps Headquarters and decided not to wait for a problematical increase of strength. Accordingly, on the evening of 7th April, Gani, Said, and Hassan Kryeziu, Abas Kupi and Mustafa Jinishi crossed the border into Albania with a force of barely three hundred men. With them marched Oakley-Hill.

*669 They met with no initial resistance from the Italians and were well received by the local population. The enthusiasm of the tribesmen, however, was tempered by their doubts as to the outcome of the main struggle; and recruits were slow to come in. Nevertheless they soon mustered more than a thousand men and with these advanced westward through the mountains into the Catholic regions of Nikai and Mertur. They twice engaged and defeated strong Italian patrols, and with growing forces pushed on to a point fifteen miles north of Scutari. The Catholic tribes, however, refused to rally to them; and, since they could not attack Scutari alone, they decided to fall back

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into Moslem territory. There they planned to establish a base whence they might harass Italian traffic on the roads and resume communications with the Yugoslavs. It was during this withdrawal from Scutari that they heard first the rumours, and later the confirmation, of the catastrophe which had overwhelmed the Yugoslav armies. The enemy had broken through on every front; internal communications were disrupted; and whole armies had surrendered without fighting. The High Command had ceased to exist; King Peter and the Government had escaped to Athens; and the entire British Mission had been captured. There had been treachery, too, in high places: Croatia had declared for the Germans, a capitulation had been signed, and organised resistance was at an end. A week had sufficed to annihilate the Yugoslav army, and with it all the hopes that had been set on a Balkan Front. 669*

Overnight, Hill and the leaders of the United Front ceased to be the vanguard of a powerful army and were transformed into a band of fugitives, trapped in the mountains of North Albania. Nor did their prestige long survive the news of the *débâcle*. Their men deserted; the price of food rose steeply; and presently, the local chiefs, fearful of Italian reprisals, abandoned a lost cause and bade them withdraw from their territory. In time they saw the writing on the wall, and, while they still had sufficient strength to command respect, took steps for the orderly dissolution of their movement. At a last council of war the leaders decided to disperse, each to the area where his personal influence might afford him most protection; and Gani undertook to try and smuggle Hill to Turkey to tell the Allies of their fate.

Gani and Said therefore made their way back to the neighbourhood of Jakova and cast around for means of arranging Hill's escape. For a time they hid him in Skoplje in the house of a friend, and then had him brought to Belgrade, where it was hoped that he might procure Turkish papers. The plan, however, failed, and many like it; and each day the prospect of escape receded as the Gestapo extended their control over the conquered city. At length Hill abandoned hope, and deciding that his presence in Belgrade only endangered his

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*669 friends' lives without advancing the common cause, arranged an honourable surrender to the Germans through the good offices of the American Legation.

Italian armies had meanwhile occupied the Kossovo; and the Duce presently announced the reunion of the province with Albania. Kossovar opinion now became overwhelmingly pro-Italian and turned against the Kryeziu brothers, who were still in hiding near Jakova. Their names stood high on the Italian black-list; considerable rewards were offered for their capture; and it became known that the O.V.R.A. were on their trail. They decided, therefore, to take refuge in the German-occupied zone of Yugoslavia, where they might hope to avert suspicion by posing as Serb refugees from Croatia. They accordingly escaped from Jakova and passed the summer quietly, Said in hiding in Belgrade, and Gani and Hassan with Moslem friends in Bosnia. In the autumn Gani and Hassan rejoined Said; and, on their way to Belgrade, saw something of the Chetniks and Partisans who had just taken the field together against the Germans. Inspired by their example and believing that Kossovar enthusiasm for Italy was subsiding, the Kryeziu brothers now resolved to return to the Jakova mountains to organise an Albanian resistance movement.

There is a saying in the Balkans that behind every hero stands a traitor. The evening before the brothers left for Jakova, agents of the Gestapo came to their hide-out and took them away to the concentration camp at Zemun. Their identity was soon established and a few days later they were handed over to the Italian police. There followed a pilgrimage of Italian prisons, in each of which they were closely examined on the organisation of the United Front and their relations with the British. Several times they were subjected to third degree; twice they were told they would be shot; and once were even prepared for execution. They despaired of life; until one day the Italians tired of their interrogation and dismissed them to the notorious island concentration camp of Ventotteno. At Ventotteno, conditions were uncomfortable but the company was stimulating; some of the inmates had been there since the March on Rome; and every shade of anti-Fascist opinion

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was represented, often by its ablest exponents. The Russian revolutionaries used to say that prison was the greatest of universities; such was also to be the opinion of Gani and Said. 667*

Meanwhile Abas Kupi and Mustafa Jinishi had set out towards the south after leaving the Kryeziu brothers. Their road skirted the hostile territory of Mirdita and traversed the ranges above the river Drin, which were in parts still deep in snow. Only three bodyguards went with them; and they travelled always by night, resting during the day in the woods or in friendly houses. It was indeed a dangerous journey; for the tribes on their way were unreliable and even their friends were reserved, lest hospitality to outlaws should incur Italian reprisals. Near Dibra they separated; Mustafa Jinishi pressing on south towards his home town of Korcha, while Abas Kupi turned west, and, passing through the Mati valley, made his way back to his own stronghold of Kruya.

The return of their hero was not long kept secret from the people of Kruya; and, though Abas Kupi might not enter the city itself because of its Italian garrison, he wandered freely through the mountain villages, accompanied by a growing escort. Many came out to see him to learn of his intentions, but he prudently kept his own counsel until he had fully informed himself of the changes brought by the Italians. At the same time he exerted himself to rally old friends and win new supporters, though rather by playing on their private hopes and jealousies than by any general appeal to political passions. The news of his return soon spread to Tirana; and one day a messenger from Mustafa Kruya — his former friend and Zog's bitterest enemy — came to his hide-out with proposals for a meeting.

Mustafa Kruya had returned to Albania after the Italian invasion and was at this time engaged in negotiations with the Viceroy for the formation of an Albanian "collaborationist" government. His spies had told him of Abas Kupi's reserve on political issues, and he had wishfully concluded that the Agha despaired of an Allied victory. He therefore determined to seek his friendship in the hope of lending a more patriotic

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*669 colour to the government by including the defender of Durazzo among its members. The two men had once been great friends, but they had not seen each other since 1924, when Zog had driven Mustafa into exile. They now met at dead of night in a house on the outskirts of Kruya, each guarded by a powerful escort.

Mustafa was perhaps the cleverest Albanian of his time and spared no effort that evening to win the illiterate chieftain to his cause. He dangled before him all the temptations of power and office; played on the friendship which had united them in youth; and demonstrated, certainly beyond Abas's power of refutation, that the victory of the Axis Powers was certain. Finally, as if to build a bridge of words over which Abas Kupi might change sides with honour, he spoke of plans for winning back Albania's independence. He would yield to no one as a patriot and argued that his projected "collaboration" with the Italians was a necessary step to the fulfilment of their hopes of freedom. For nearly five hours Abas drew him out and craftily parried his questions, saying that he had come not to teach but to learn. At last he made to leave, pleading that he must be gone before the dawn. Mustafa held out his hand, and, still glowing from his own eloquence, said:

"Then I take it we shall work together."

With assumed gravity Abas Kupi replied: "I am ready to work even with you for the good of Albania, but not for the good of Italy!" Then spurning the proffered hand he called his bodyguard and was gone into the night.

The Agha had thrown off the mask, and now went out among the tribesmen openly preaching revolt against the Italians and the Tirana Government. Men came for miles to see him; and Mustafa, alarmed by his growing influence, declared him an outlaw and ordered the militia to destroy him. For weeks Abas Kupi derided their pursuit; but one evening, late in the autumn, he was surrounded in a lonely house in the Kruya mountains. Only six guards were with him, but Albanian houses are built for defence, and they managed to hold off their assailants until it was dark. Then, in a desperate sortie, they shot their way through the cordon of

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militiamen and escaped into the night, leaving two of their number dead. The Agha's popularity was only increased by his escape; and within a few weeks all Central Albania was taunting the Prime Minister with a mocking ditty which began: "*O! Mustafa! O! qeni zi!*" (O! Mustafa! O! thou black dog!) 669*

The black dog, however, only renewed his efforts to destroy Abas Kupi. He reinforced the troops sent against him, hired assassins to second their operations, and even burned down the houses of those who sheltered him. At first the mountaineers had openly favoured Abas Kupi, vying with one another to ensure his safety and provide for his followers. The threat of reprisals, however, damped their generous enthusiasm; they demanded payment for the supplies they had previously brought as gifts; and at last they barred their doors against an outlaw. From a hundred men his bodyguard was now reduced to seven; hunger and the enemy kept them continually on the move; and they eked out a precarious existence, hiding in the woods or in the sheepfolds of loyal friends. Then winter came, blocking the mountain paths with snow, and the militia gave up the hunt. In a revolution, to survive is already a victory. Time worked for Abas Kupi; through the long winter months the tribesmen brooded on their wrongs and discussed his exploits round the hearth; and by the spring he had become the rallying-point for every malcontent in Central Albania.

Meanwhile Mustafa Jinishi had made his way to the neighbourhood of Korcha. There he soon came in touch with the Albanian Communist leaders, who had prudently taken to the mountains on learning of the German invasion of Russia. Their links with Moscow had been disrupted by the Balkan campaign and their chief concern was to re-establish communications with the Communists in Yugoslavia. Meanwhile they studied the Albanian situation carefully and pondered on the stories coming from Macedonia of Tito's Partisans, whose badge was the Red Star.

Of the rest of the Albanians who had crossed the border with Abas Kupi and the Kryeziu brothers, some returned to their

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*669 homes and presently made their peace with the authorities, others were captured and interned; but the greater part remained discreetly in remote mountain villages, waiting upon events.

Thus the revolt of the United Front collapsed, its organisation was dissolved, and its leaders were dispersed and cut off from communication with their allies. To those of us who watched from outside, ignorant whether Abas Kupi or Gani Kryeziu even lived, it seemed that the whole of our work was destroyed. Yet, as the leaders were scattered, so the seed of revolt was sown, and in the fullness of time there was to be a harvest.

3

*669 648 In the summer of 1941, when the last hopes of a Balkan front had been dispelled by the German victories in Crete, Stirling was called away to more urgent duties in connection with the Arab World. His place in Constantinople was taken by Mrs. Hasluck, but otherwise the whole organisation which had grown up to promote an Albanian revolt was dissolved. For close on two years, therefore, the responsibilities of observing the Albanian situation, keeping touch with the exiles and seeking to re-establish communications with Albania devolved upon Mrs. Hasluck alone. The triple barrier of German, Bulgarian, and Italian counter-espionage proved a formidable obstacle to her efforts; and indeed informed opinion in the "D" Organisation long despaired of Albanian resistance. Mrs. Hasluck, however, remained convinced that a revolt was preparing in Albania, and worked tirelessly to glean information from the Albanian exiles and the rare Albanians who visited Constantinople. Also — and this was perhaps her greatest service — she despatched to Cairo a continuous series of reports, memoranda, and telegrams, which saved the increasingly bureaucratic headquarters of the "D" Organisation from altogether forgetting that Albania existed.

All attempts to establish a regular courier system between

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Turkey and Albania failed, but from such scraps of information as had filtered through by the end of 1942, it seemed probable that there were guerilla bands in the Albanian mountains. Rumours reaching General Mihailovitch's headquarters lent colour to this view; but, in spite of repeated enquiries, it was not found possible to ascertain the names of the guerilla leaders, their political allegiance, or even the approximate regions in which they operated.

Meanwhile, as the converging Allied armies closed in on the Axis forces in Tunisia, the British General Staff began revolving plans for military operations in Southern Italy and the Adriatic. It was therefore decided that the time had come to send a British Mission to Albania to find out what guerilla forces were there and to report upon their circumstances.

Such a Mission was fraught with difficulties and dangers, even when compared with such other missions as had already been sent to the resistance movements of Europe. As a rule, British liaison officers infiltrated into occupied territory were carefully briefed beforehand as to the general situation which would confront them, while their physical reception was usually prearranged with the local resistance forces. The "D" Organisation, however, were wholly in the dark as to the situation in Albania, and did not even know for certain whether an Albanian resistance movement existed at all. Thus, to the sufficient dangers of an incursion into enemy territory would be added the anxieties of a journey into the unknown.

Under such conditions the success of the Mission must in the main depend upon the choice of emissaries. Now there was no one available who combined the necessary youth with first-hand knowledge of Albania; and, by a process of selection as blind as it was fortunate, the lot fell upon Bill Maclean. Maclean was of Highland stock, tall and fair-haired, disguising a toughness of steel beneath an elegant and almost lackadaisical exterior. He was a natural guerilla leader, relying only on himself and gifted with a sure eye for ground and an instinctive insight into other men's intentions. Most at ease in extremes of violent action or dream-mastered sloth, he was spurred by love of adventure rather than by ambition and delighted in all

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000 that was extravagant and strange. He had joined the Scots Greys in 1939 and, as a subaltern in Palestine during the Arab rising, had first seen guerilla warfare from the " receiving end ". Later he had served with Wingate in the Abyssinian revolt, and there had proved his worth as a leader of irregulars. Alone with a body of Amhara he had besieged an Italian army in Gondar for four months, and in the final assault had been the first to enter the city.

With Maclean went David Smiley, an officer of the Household Cavalry who had served in Abyssinia, Syria, and the Western Desert. Of sturdier build than his companion, there was no velvet glove over Smiley's claw. He knew his own mind and spoke it on all occasions, not aggressively nor even bluntly, yet in a manner so direct that it left little room for argument and no doubt whatever as to his feelings, his views, or his intentions. Seldom given to speculation, he lived firmly in the present, enjoying the good things of life and all that was agreeable or beautiful, though as an occasional patron rather than a connoisseur or devotee. He liked his friends and disliked his enemies, but otherwise was more interested in things than in men and found a rare satisfaction in organising a camp or testing the accuracy of a new weapon. Maclean regarded action as only one of the ingredients of adventure; Smiley lived for action alone and was happiest on a dangerous reconnaissance, or on those expeditions which gratified his passion for " blowing things up ". A crack cavalry officer, a skilful saboteur, and a resourceful man, Smiley supplied the technical knowledge and the capacity for taking pains which accounted for no small part of the Mission's success.

*669 648 The two officers[1] were instructed in the art of parachuting and the use of the latest demolition devices; and, since no man could say with any accuracy what lay before them, Mrs. Hasluck gave them a short, but, it appears, intensive course in Albanian customs, psychology, and folk-lore. Then, in April 1943, they were duly fitted out with submachine-guns and bags of gold to protect their persons and promote their policies and were taken to Derna, in Cyrenaica, the operational base for the Balkans. With them also went Garry Duffy, a sabotage expert from the

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 49-50 --Analyst]

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Royal Engineers, and Corporal Williamson of the Black Watch, their wireless operator. 669* 648

From Derna they were flown to Epirus and there were dropped to one of the British Missions which were already working with the Greek resistance movement. Albania was only a few miles away, but the Greeks knew nothing of the Albanian guerillas; and Maclean and Smiley therefore walked across the border to find them for themselves. They were received in the villages with elaborate courtesy and hospitality, but met with none of the pro-Allied enthusiasm which had been the rule in Greece. Despite their strikingly Nordic appearance, they were presently detained as Greek spies and stood in danger of their lives until they had satisfied their captors that they were genuine British officers. Even then an atmosphere of suspicion surrounded them; they were conscious all the time of being watched; and yet their efforts to come into touch with the guerillas were baffled at every turn. At last one night they came face to face with a representative of the "Partisans"; he brought them to the guerilla camp; and gradually they discovered the true nature of the Albanian resistance movement. [609]

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Two seeds of revolt had been planted in Albania: the United Front, built up by British efforts and led by chiefs of proven valour; and a Communist cell, Russian instructed and composed of new men. The fortunes of war had cut them off in turn from their patrons, and for a long time they were no more than bands of wanted fugitives; a powerful ferment, but powerless of themselves. Revolutions are not made without leaders, but never by leaders alone. Some men indeed are always ready to risk their lives for their ideals, but the mass of a people will not defy their rulers unless the hopes of happiness which they set upon revolt are sharply stimulated by the goad of their present discontents. Now the Albanians experienced no violent crises of an economic or social nature such as nourished, and in large measure underlay, the resistance movements of Greece 669*

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*669 and Yugoslavia. The condition of their country was one of relative prosperity; for the Italian occupation had enriched the people, while the recovery of the Kossovo had made supplies of food plentiful and cheap. At the same time the endemic poverty of the Albanians was such that, having little to lose and small hope of acquiring wealth by lawful means, they welcomed [181] disorder whenever it was attended by opportunities of plunder. To this natural lawlessness occasioned by their poverty was added a proud people's impatience of foreign rule. If the Italians had been less in evidence, their occupation might have been more easily tolerated. As it was, the Albanians bitterly resented the intrusions into their daily lives of the ubiquitous *carabinieri*, whose efforts to enforce order among a people accustomed to anarchy were as unpopular as they were vain.

Besides these general causes of discontent, the one inherent in the circumstances of the Albanians, the other in the character of their conquerors, there were other influences making for unrest of a more local, if no less important, application. In [184] North Albania the mercenary factor in the economy of the tribes made revolt a constant possibility. So rugged indeed was their region, and so complete the absence of social or political inhibitions among them, that the Ghegs could always be provoked to insurrection whenever the expectations of victory or gain appeared commensurate to the risks involved. In South Albania the causes of discontent were of a more usual character and sprang from the naturally conflicting interests of the landless peasants and the *Beys* whose estates they worked. The wretched lot of the Moslem peasantry might be somewhat alleviated by the sense of belonging to the same community as their masters; but the religious distinction which separated the Orthodox *rayah* from the Islamised landowners only served to increase their class consciousness. These Orthodox peasants had long been ripe for revolt; and indeed Fan Noli had sought to exploit their discontent in the revolution of 1924. Now, however, for the first time they found effective leaders in the youth of the towns.

177 The spread of Italian influence during the reign of King
668 Zog had encouraged the growth of a new class of officials and

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GANI BEY KRYEZIU AS AN OFFICER IN THE ALBANIAN ARMY

(From a photograph taken in 1927)

ABAS KUPI

(Photographed in exile, 1940)

[-524-]

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BRITISH MISSION AND PARTISAN LEADERS, SUMMER 1943

(*Left to Right*) Behar Shtylla, Enver Hoja, Duffy, Smiley, Spiro Moisi (Military Chief of Staff), Maclean, Hands, Ramadan Bacha, Dali Ndreu

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PARTISANS OF THE FIRST BRIGADE ON THE MARCH, SUMMER 1943

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merchants whose children had received a European education, either in the foreign schools that were introduced into Albania, or in their studies abroad. These young men had no roots in landed property or among the tribes and could find no outlet for their energies within the narrow limits of independent Albania such as the Ottoman Empire had offered earlier generations. They were thus peculiarly susceptible to the influence of revolutionary ideas. In other countries such young men often inclined to Fascism, but in Albania Fascism was the creed of the foreign overlord and, in their search for faith and discipline, they therefore turned to the Communists. It is unlikely that there were ever more than two, or at the most three, thousand of these young men, but they were to be the backbone of the Communist organisation and the leaders under whom the landless peasants were organised. The combined discontent of these two classes — the youth of the towns and the landless peasants — produced a social revolutionary movement, which presently won the support of many of the richer peasants as well by its appeal to their patriotism or their land-hunger. This, in turn, provoked the more conservative elements to combine for the defence of their own interests; and so the general unrest among the Tosks was increased.

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The general poverty of the Albanians, their resentment of foreign rule, the anarchy and mercenary economy of the Ghegs, and the growth of a crisis in social relationships among the Tosks were thus the conditions out of which the Albanian resistance movement grew. Its several parts, though mainly nourished by domestic discontents, were soon invested with a pro-Allied and anti-Axis character by leaders who were variously animated by the desire to free their country, the hope of obtaining foreign support, and the opportunity of exploiting the popular hatred of the Italians. For long these different movements were but armed bands of outlaws, more concerned with maintaining themselves than with attacking the enemy. Nevertheless, as the prestige of the Italians declined with the succession of their defeats, so more and more people grew convinced that there was less to be feared from resistance than there was to be gained. Then, with the help of British and Communist agents,

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*669 the operations of the bands assumed the form of a general revolt.

At the end of 1941 there were several small groups of outlaws in the Albanian mountains, of which the most important were that of Abas Kupi in the Kruya region and that of the Communist leaders near Korcha. The winter was, as always among highlanders, a time of preparation; and, with the spring of 1942, there appeared among the Tosks a number of "Partisan" units which all belonged to the same organisation. Mystery still surrounds the beginnings of the Albanian Partisan movement. The original instructions, however, for its formation, and the detailed plans for its constitution, were apparently brought to the Albanian Communist leaders by two emissaries of Tito who went under the pseudonyms of Ali and Miladin. By the summer of 1943 close liaison had been established between the Albanian and Yugoslav Partisans, and it was observed that Yugoslav representatives often exerted a decisive influence on the counsels of the Albanians.

*669 665 The leaders of the Albanian Partisans did not admit that their movement was Communist, although their rank and file habitually styled themselves as such. They presented themselves instead as a coalition of men of goodwill, dedicated to freeing Albania from foreign domination, purging the country of Fascist elements, and creating conditions in which the people might freely elect a government of their own choosing. In practice, exclusive control of the movement was retained in the hands of a small committee, all of whom were Communists. This committee, besides directing policy, appointed the guerilla commanders, the political commissars, and the regional organisers. The former were most often, and the two latter invariably, Communists; while, in accordance with the best conspiratorial traditions, all three were kept under observation by Party members who held no official position at all. By these methods, seconded by the salutary liquidation of those who disobeyed or disagreed, the Partisan movement presently achieved a degree of discipline and cohesion of which few observers believed Albanians to be capable. At an early stage the Red Star badge

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and the clenched fist salute were introduced into their ceremonies; an ingenious propaganda disseminated the usual adulation of Russia and denigration of all non-Communist elements; and the political and military structure of the movement reproduced, even in certain minute details, the pattern common to all the Communist guerillas in the Balkans and apparently evolved by the Party from experience in China and Spain. 669* 665

The principal persons on the committee were Seifullah Maleshova, Enver Hoja, Ymer Dyshnitsa, and Mustafa Jinishi. Seifullah was of an older generation than the others and had been a member of the Party for more than twenty years. A brilliant propagandist and talented writer, he was popularly known as " the Red Poet ", and was in charge of the propaganda section of the movement. Years of exile and conspiracy, however, had sapped his energies and, despite his seniority, he was not to be the leader. This post was reserved for Enver Hoja, a schoolmaster from Korcha, still in his early thirties and possessed of rare organising ability. Ymer Dyshnitsa was a pliable young doctor of great personal charm and considerable culture: he had studied in France and Belgium and was the diplomat of the movement. Mustafa Jinishi had already played a part in the United Front in Belgrade and, despite occasional lapses from Stalinist orthodoxy, was the most popular leader with the rank and file by virtue of his ready wit and daring personal exploits.

The Partisans were essentially a Tosk movement, and at first recruited their forces mainly from the youth of the towns and the landless peasants. Later, they sought to extend their influence north of the Shkumbi, but there they looked in vain for similar elements from whom they might draw their strength. Instead they found a pastoral people, scarcely touched by Western, or indeed any, education, and loyal to their hereditary chieftains. Under these conditions the Communist leaders rightly decided that, unless they could win the support of some at least of these Gheg chiefs, they could not hope to make any progress in the North at all. 669*

The most important of the Gheg guerilla bands was that of Abas Kupi, but there were also two strong groups in the regions

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*669 of Peza and Martanesh. The first and stronger of these was led by Muslim Peza, the veteran Robin Hood of Albania, who had been ten years an outlaw, first against Zog and now against the Italians; the other by Baba Faya, a Bektashi abbot, whom the Italians had sought to arrest for his open denunciations of their rule. By appeals to their patriotism and promises of arms and gold, of which they stood in desperate need, Mustafa Jinishi persuaded these two veterans to join the Partisans. He then made his way north to confer with Abas Kupi, who readily agreed that they should make common cause against a common enemy.

*669 665 By gaining the support of these Gheg chiefs the Partisan movement acquired immense prestige throughout Albania, as well as a new respectability in the eyes of those who had hitherto been alarmed by the known Communist allegiance of its leaders. In September 1942, at a conference held at Peza, the several Partisan groups were for the first time formally embodied in a movement proclaimed under the name of *Levisiya Nacional Clirimtare* (National Liberation Movement), or L.N.C.,[1] as it will hereinafter be called. The leadership of the L.N.C. was vested in a Central Council of ten members, the most important of whom were the three Gheg chiefs, Abas Kupi, Muslim Peza, and Baba Faya, and the Communist leaders, Enver Hoja, Seifullah Maleshova, Mustafa Jinishi, and Ymer Dyshnitsa.

It seemed to many as if the Partisan movement had been broadened by the inclusion of non-Communists among its leaders. The real effect of the merger, however, was to enable the Communists to extend their influence among the Ghegs, without in any way limiting their full control over the Partisan movement among the Tosks. The three Gheg chiefs derived their strength from local influence; and had therefore to spend most of their time in their own districts, preserving the balance of power between the clans and holding together guerilla forces which, in their absence, would soon have dispersed. As a result they could seldom meet to confer and could not hope to attend

[1] The L.N.C. was later more often known as F.N.C. (National Liberation Front). For the sake of convenience, however, I have preferred to retain the earlier description throughout.

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the day-to-day deliberations of their fellow members of the Central Council. The real control of the movement was thus left in the hands of the Communists, whose authority sprang solely from their party and whose mobility was untrammelled by territorial responsibilities. The Communists, moreover, soon gained control of the forces of Muslim Peza and Baba Faya. These two were guerilla leaders of the old school, brave in battle and cunning enough in business, but ignorant, lazy, and hard-drinking. Baba Faya indeed was an adventurer of purely mercenary talent, and Muslim, though a man of parts, was blinded by a fatal devotion to Mustafa Jlnishi. They were thus easily persuaded to delegate more and more of their work, and with it of their power, to the political commissars attached to them by the Central Council. Abas Kupi alone preserved his independence. He refused to admit political commissars among his forces and treated those who were sent to him as no more than the Council's liaison officers. He attended personally to every detail of the organisation of his bands; and such was his distrust of human intentions in general, and those of the Communist Party in particular, that he deliberately sacrificed military efficiency rather than delegate his authority to men whose disloyalty or imprudence might permit the infiltration of Communist influence among his troops. He was careful, however, to avoid giving offence to his Communist colleagues; and they for their part were content to let him be a law unto himself so long as they could gain prestige for their movement and mask their own political affiliations by the use of his name.

Meanwhile the conservative elements among the Tosks had formed a resistance movement of their own, known as the Balli Kombetar, or National Union, which took the field against the Italians at the end of 1942. It was chiefly recruited from the landowners and their peasant following and from that part of the youth of the towns which had not joined the L.N.C. The policy of the Balli Kombetar was Republican, Liberal, and strongly Nationalist; and among its leaders were such men as Midhat Frasheri and Ali Klissura, who had been prominent opponents of King Zog. Until the end of 1942 the Ballist leaders had formed what might be described as the constitu-

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*669 tional opposition to the Italians, accepting the ~~accomplished~~
665 fact of Italian rule, but continuing to demand the return of Albanian independence. For ideological reasons they inclined towards the Western Democracies, but their enthusiasm for the Allied cause was severely restrained, both by hatred of Communism and by fears that an Allied victory might once again deprive them of the Kossovo, as well as of their southern provinces. In taking up arms, therefore, against the Italians, their generous resolve to liberate Albania was perhaps seconded by their desire to win the political support of the Allies and to prove to their own people that they were no less patriotic than the Communists.

Thus, by the end of 1942, there were two distinct resistance movements, the Communist-directed L.N.C., which comprised, without combining, Abas Kupi's group, and the conservative Balli Kombetar. It is doubtful whether at this time their total effectives exceeded six thousand men; and their operations still caused their enemies little more than spasmodic annoyance. Nevertheless, they formed a rallying point for discontented elements of every kind; and the Italians justly feared that, in a country where the carrying of arms was so general, their activities might suddenly assume alarming proportions. In the spring of 1943, therefore, the Italian High Command decided to bring the strength of their army of occupation up to five and a half divisions; a proportion of one Italian soldier to every three Albanians of military age.

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*669 It was at this stage in the growth of the resistance movement
648 that Maclean and Smiley had crossed the border into Albania. At first Partisans and Ballists had alike regarded them with undisguised suspicion; but each in turn soon recognised that a British Mission might bring them powerful moral and material support; and they began to compete with one another for the favour of the British officers.

Maclean found the Partisan forces predominantly composed

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of youths, and including a number of women's units. Poorly organised and ill-equipped, their morale was none the less remarkable; and there could be no doubt that they were actively, if not always effectively, fighting the Italians. After careful investigation, therefore, Maclean recommended that they should receive British support. Considerable quantities of arms, ammunition, and gold sovereigns were dropped to them by parachute; and with the help of these supplies a number of new bands were raised. Maclean and Smiley, moreover, personally undertook the training of two shock brigades of Partisans, which were later to form the backbone of the L.N.C. army.

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Both officers spent several weeks with the Central Council of the L.N.C. and came to know the leaders of the movement well. Mustafa Jinishi and Ymer Dyshnitsa seemed the most co-operative and agreeable; Enver Hoja, their leader, the best organiser, but more dogmatic and less friendly; Seifullah Maleshova, the cleverest, but of a sarcastic turn of mind and, so it seemed to the Englishmen, deeply imbued with the anti-British prejudices of the Comintern. A powerful but more sinister figure was Ali Dushanovitch, a Serb from the Kossovo, reputed to be Tito's delegate to the L.N.C. Ali seemed to exercise great influence over the Partisan leaders and would sometimes intervene most effectively in their discussions, striding up and down, biting his nails and delivering scathing criticisms of British policy in the Balkans. In the course of their journeys, Maclean and Smiley also met Muslim Peza and Baba Faya and, while admiring their personal qualities, soon discovered the extent of their political impotence.

In general, they found the leaders of the L.N.C. often slow to co-operate and always suspicious of British intentions. Indeed, every time Maclean gave support to the Balli Kombetar in their operations against the Italians he found himself accused by Enver Hoja of deliberately seeking to strengthen reactionary elements in Albania. Nor could he escape coming to the conclusion that the Communist leaders were more interested in eliminating their rivals and seizing political power after the war than in the immediate task of killing Italians. Despite

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these mutual suspicions, however, relations between them remained cordial, and their differences of political opinion were often the subject of good-natured chaff. On one occasion Enver Hoja treated Smiley to a considerable speech, advocating a new world order on Communist lines. They were standing in front of a map of the world; and when Enver had finished he pointed to the map and said:

"And how would you like to see the world?"

"I'd also like to see it painted red all over," Smiley answered, adding after a pause: "but not the red you're thinking of!"

The forces of the Balli Kombetar seemed to Maclean and Smiley weaker in numbers, organisation, and morale than those of the L.N.C. Some indeed of their leaders paid more heed to British advice than did the Communists, but their zeal for war was severely restrained by the enjoyment of their present riches. While, therefore, the British officers gave them some supplies of arms and money, and occasionally took part in their operations against the enemy, the greater part of their efforts was devoted to the training and supplying of the Partisans.

In the seven months that their mission lasted the two British officers gave proof of tireless energy and travelled through almost every district of South and Central Albania. Wherever they went they stirred up unrest among the Albanians and provided the sinews of revolt in the shape of arms and of gold. They soon found, however, that they could not personally supervise the activities of all the different guerilla groups; and accordingly, at their request, new teams of British officers, wireless operators, and saboteurs were dropped to the principal centres of Albanian resistance.

6

THE victories won by the Allies in the spring and summer of 1943 brought about a crisis in the affairs of Italy. Sicily was occupied by British and American armies; in Rome divided

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counsels prevailed; and it seemed to many that Italy would sue for peace before the summer was out. The western regions of the Balkans were mainly garrisoned by Italian armies; and it was therefore widely believed that an Allied invasion of Italy would be followed almost at once by landings on the east coast of the Adriatic, designed to receive, or if necessary to compel, the surrender of the Italian forces of occupation. Such speculation aroused hopes of early liberation among the Albanians; and men hastened to join the insurgent forces to take part in the final destruction of the enemy. 669* 648

The prospect of an Italian collapse, however, brought the insurgent leaders up against the problem of who was to succeed to the government of Albania; and, believing that power would lie with the strongest guerilla forces, they sharpened their daggers for internal strife. The Partisans were convinced that the British and Americans would do all in their power to oppose the setting up of a Communist state in Albania, and they therefore determined to eliminate all possible rivals before an Allied landing could take place. They knew that the Albanian Fascists and collaborationists were too discredited to be a danger to them once the Italians had surrendered, and they therefore directed their energies against the Balli Kombetar, who were their natural class enemies. The Ballists, for their part, were not slow to take up the challenge; and relations between the two parties soon deteriorated to a point where armed clashes occurred.

Alarmed by the danger of civil war, Abas Kupi decided to intervene in the dispute. His aim was to restore the monarchy and preserve the interests of the Ghegs; and, wishing to prevent the preponderance alike of Communist or of Republican influence, he sought to include both parties in a United Front in which he and his friends might hold the balance of power. He therefore took the initiative in proposing to his colleagues on the Central Council of the L.N.C., and to the Ballist leaders, that they should come to terms. The Ballists accepted the suggestion at once, for they knew that it was favoured by the British and were besides aware of their own military weakness; but among the Communist leaders opinion was divided. 669*

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*669 Mustafa Jinishi and Ymer Dyshnitsa believed that the Albanian conservatives would stubbornly resist, and the British effectively prevent, any attempt to set up a Communist dictatorship. They therefore recommended that the L.N.C. should work with other parties and seek to extend their influence by constitutional means until the time was ripe — as in accordance with the laws of historical determinism it soon would be — for the movement to take power. Enver Hoja regarded this attitude as Menshevism and Right deviation, but he feared to oppose it openly, lest he should alienate Abas Kupi and split the L.N.C. before the Italians were beaten. He therefore made a show of yielding and authorised the appointment of a Partisan delegation, including Abas Kupi, Mustafa Jinishi, and Ymer Dyshnitsa, to negotiate with the delegates of the Balli Kombetar, headed by Midhat Frasheri.

Preliminary discussions were conducted through the intermediary of Ihsan Bey Toptani, an Albanian of distinguished family and independent political views; and at the end of July 1943, the delegates of both movements met together at Mukai, a mountain village three hours' march from Tirana. The orchard of a rich peasant was the scene of their conversations; and they were still deep in dispute and almost despairing of agreement when a courier came from the capital with the news of Mussolini's arrest. The whole spirit of the meeting changed; differences of opinion were swept aside; and in a moment of generous enthusiasm the delegates embraced one another and pledged themselves to work together against the Italians until Albania was free. Next day their agreement was embodied in a formal protocol and, after receiving their several signatures, was forwarded for ratification to the Ballist and Partisan headquarters.

The fall of the Duce was the signal for a general revolt against the Italians, a spontaneous movement of the whole population inspired by every passion from the loftiest patriotism to the basest greed for loot. The Albanians rallied in thousands to the guerilla bands; and their insurrection spread like wildfire, nourished by British supplies, stimulated by success, and lashed into frenzy by reprisals. The Italians were taken by

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surprise and their initial losses in men, and still more in material, were heavy. They recovered themselves, however, and seemed to be on the point of mastering the revolt by sheer terrorism when Marshal Badoglio proclaimed the armistice with the Allies. In the face of this new situation the Commander-in-Chief, General Dalmazzo, showed fatal indecision; for several days he hesitated between Mussolini and Badoglio; then, appalled by the rising tide of revolt, left for Belgrade to seek German support.

Meanwhile two divisions, obeying instructions from Badoglio, had marched over to the L.N.C. They were at first received as allies, but the greater part was soon disarmed by the guerillas and dispersed. The remaining three and a half divisions seemed utterly demoralised; some shut themselves up in the towns to await relief; others disintegrated, whole battalions at a time, before the onslaught of an insurgent rabble. By the end of September the guerillas had captured the equipment of some three divisions; and more than twenty thousand Italian soldiers were scattered throughout the countryside. The Albanians had suffered much at the hands of the Italians, and in the last weeks of fighting before the armistice the latter had adopted an ugly policy of reprisals. Nevertheless, when the Italians were at their mercy, the Albanians did not deign to take their revenge. Their former conquerors might beg their bread in pitiful distress but they did so unharmed. Some made their way back to the towns; others were taken into peasant homes and set to work upon the land; and, in the poorer districts, there were to be slave markets, where the Duce's legionaries were sold as beasts of burden for a gold napoleon a head.

Meanwhile the forces of revolt passed from strength to strength. The Partisans occupied Korcha, Gjinocastro, Berat, Elbasan, and Pogradets; the Red Flag flew from the municipal buildings; and Communist-controlled committees were set up to administer the towns and villages. The Partisans were supreme in the Tosk mountains, but large areas in the south, especially around Valona, declared for the Balli Kombetar. Among the Ghegs, Abas Kupi captured Burrel and Kruya,

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*669 after some of the stiffest fighting in the whole rising; Muharrem Bairaktar occupied Kukes, while Fikri Dine seized Dibra. The hold of the Italians was reduced to the ports of Valona and Durazzo, and the cities of Scutari and Tirana. There the Italian garrisons remained in control; but already their commanders were negotiating with members of the British Military Missions, and it seemed for a moment as if Albania might pass altogether out of the enemy's power. The Germans, however, were as quick to react in the Balkans as in Italy itself. A parachute division was flown to Tirana, and quickly dispersed the guerillas hanging on the fringes of the city. The Germans then marched against Abas Kupi, took Kruya by storm after a three-day battle, and threw the Agha and his men back into Mati. Another division was rushed into South Albania from Macedonia and methodically drove the Partisans out of the towns and back into the mountains. Within a fortnight the insurgents were everywhere on the defensive.

727 The Germans, however, were faced[1] with an acute shortage of manpower; and their High Command decided that no more than two and a half divisions could be spared for the pacification and garrisoning of Albania. They therefore deployed these forces so as to defend the coast from invasion across the Adriatic and to guard the principal towns and the roads on which they would depend for the maintenance of their communications. The rest of the country they determined to neutralise by policy rather than force. As a first step they arranged the release of most of the Albanian leaders whom the Italians had imprisoned for political reasons, and announced their intention of withdrawing from Albania as soon as the war was ended. They then encouraged the Albanians to reconstitute their state and persuaded Mehdi Frasheri, Lef Nosi, and Pater Anton Arapi to form a Council of Regency.

These three were men of honourable repute, representative of the chief religious communities and generally respected as elder statesmen who had played their part in the creation of an independent Albania a generation before. Under their aegis there was presently formed a government whose members were

[1] [Following Italian capitulation in mid-1943--Analyst]

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for the most part untainted by collaboration with the Italians. 727
On taking office they at once proclaimed Albania's neutrality in the World War, citing the example of Egypt as a precedent for the presence of belligerent forces on the soil of a neutral Power. They next repealed the Fascist constitution, allowed some measure of freedom of the Press and of association, and announced a general amnesty for all who had taken up arms against the Italians. This regime compared favourably with that of the Italians; and, since it was now clear that Albania would remain in the Axis zone, at least until the end of the winter, all but the boldest spirits took advantage of the amnesty. The new government, however, lacked the arms or the money to enforce its authority over the country; and the Germans wisely declined to make good the deficiency; for they already feared that the Albanians might one day turn against them. The writ of Tirana might run in the towns and the coastal plain where German troops were stationed; but the rest of Albania relapsed into its traditional state of anarchy; and in each district power was abandoned to the rival chiefs and guerilla leaders. Such a situation, accompanied as it was by continued supplies of comparatively cheap food from the Kossovo, was not displeasing to the Albanians; and German policy, seconded by the approach of winter, was presently rewarded by a general relaxation of the political tension and a decline in the activities of the guerillas.

Now, when Enver Hoja saw that the Germans did not 669*
intend to impose their rule beyond the towns and the main network of communications, he determined henceforward to devote the greater part of the energies of the L.N.C. to the liquidation of their political rivals. He accordingly refused to ratify the Mukai agreement and, in October 1943, issued a directive to all Partisan units to attack and destroy the forces of the Balli Kombetar wherever they might find them, even if it should mean suspending operations against the Germans. Civil war broke out; the superior discipline and equipment of the Partisans prevailed; and in a few weeks the Ballist forces were driven back into those areas where the presence of German troops prevented the further prosecution of the struggle. In

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*669 the territories which they had thus brought under their control, the Partisans rewarded their supporters, punished their enemies, and laid down the rudiments of a Communist administration which soon began to organise the civilian population in support of the revolution. Meanwhile the Ballist leaders began, first surreptitiously and then more openly, to visit their friends in the Tirana Government and to seek their help to defend Albania [727] from Communism. The Germans were quick to seize this opportunity of diverting Albanian energies into internecine channels; they forgot the Ballist raids on their convoys; and accordingly made sufficient arms available through the Tirana Government to re-equip the Ballist bands and send them back into the mountains as counter-guerillas. The civil war in Southern Albania was thus indefinitely prolonged, to the exhaustion of the Albanians and the repose of the German army.

*669 665 By driving the Ballists into the arms of the Tirana Government, and so of the Germans, Enver Hoja succeeded in branding them as "collaborationists". At the same time, this deliberate political manœuvre revealed his social revolutionary intentions and alarmed Abas Kupi and the chief men among the Ghegs. Abas Kupi indeed had been the architect of the policy of alliance with the Balli Kombetar and, at Mukai, had entered into formal obligations towards them on behalf of the L.N.C. He therefore regarded Enver Hoja's change of front as a personal betrayal and came increasingly to suspect that his Communist colleagues meant to attack him, just as they had attacked the Ballists, unless he submitted to full Communist control. Accordingly, when his entreaties and rebukes had alike failed to persuade Enver Hoja to abandon the civil war, he determined to separate himself from a movement whose leaders he could not trust and already feared. He therefore set about consolidating his faction in Mati, Kruya, and Tirana, and took soundings among the leading Albanians who were known to favour a restoration of the monarchy. Then, in December 1943, at a congress held in the village of Herri in the mountains north of Tirana, he proclaimed the formation of the Zogist movement. True to his ideas of a United Front, he at once

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offered an alliance to the L.N.C.; but they refused to recognise the Zogists;[1] and from this time his relations with Enver Hoja steadily deteriorated. A clash was feared; but a few weeks later a German punitive expedition drove the main body of the Partisans back across the Shkumbi; and geographical separation imposed an uneasy truce on both sides. 669* 665

Meanwhile Gani, Said, and Hassan Kryeziu had returned to the Jakova mountains. With the other prisoners at Ventotteno they had been transferred to a camp on the mainland in the summer of 1943, following rumours of an Allied descent on the island, and had escaped to Rome in the confusion that followed the announcement of the armistice. There they had found Mehmet Bey Konitza, an Albanian of distinction, whose advice the Germans had sought in deciding which Albanian internees might safely be allowed to return to their homes. Mehmet Bey was an old friend of the Kryeziu family and had surreptitiously entered their names upon his list, thus procuring for them the necessary travel permits. With these they had returned to Jakova and, after spending one night in their family home, had taken to the mountains with a bodyguard of a hundred men. 669*

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By the autumn of 1943 the number of British Missions operating in Albania had become so considerable that it was decided to recall Maclean to report and to send in a more senior officer, Brigadier Davies, to take command. Accordingly, in November, Maclean and Smiley were evacuated by Motor Torpedo-Boat from the neighbourhood of Valona,[2] and, after preparing in Cairo the first detailed report to be received on the Albanian situation, were sent to London to acquaint the Foreign Secretary and other interested parties with their experiences and opinions. 669* 648

[1] Also known as the "Legality" movement, after the name which Zog had given to his party in the revolution of 1924.

[2] By a curious coincidence the boat which evacuated Maclean and Smiley brought in my former colleague, Sandy Glen, who was to spend some weeks reconnoitring the South Albanian coast for the Admiralty. 000

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Maclean and Smiley were naturally given to improvisation and had always travelled light. Brigadier Davies, however, felt the need of a more numerous staff, and, in accordance with accepted military standards of establishment, set up a headquarters composed of a full complement of staff officers G. and Q. This impressive but unwieldy organisation was served by a chief clerk and a signals officer commanding several wireless operators, and was furnished with the latest collapsible camp furniture, as well as several hundredweight of stationery. Its defence, however, was entrusted to unreliable tribal levies; and its mobility was doubtfully assured by a baggage-train of more than a hundred mules, hard to feed and impossible to hide. Maclean's more instinctive methods of work were now replaced by regular military schedules. Orders were given for the whole mission to stand to at sunrise and at sunset. As a precautionary measure action stations were assumed whenever a shot was heard — an unfortunate decision in view of the Albanian propensity for *feu de joie*; and the guerillas were astonished or amused by the precise but incomprehensible evolutions of their allies. Altogether it was magnificent but, to paraphrase Marshal Bosquet, it was not guerilla war.

The Brigadier had been in Albania little more than a month and was still feeling his way among its complex and unfamiliar problems when winter fastened on the mountains — the harshest winter of the war. Short of food and almost destitute of boots and warm clothing, the Central Council of the L.N.C. were hard put to it to keep their forces in being at all. Then, to make matters worse, the Germans began a series of determined punitive operations, designed to destroy the guerilla movement altogether. The leaders of the L.N.C. were in many ways inefficient from a military point of view. Their endurance, however, was boundless; and, relying on their superior mobility, made possible by living off the country and on short rations, they were prepared to take what often seemed to the British officers to be quite unnecessary risks. Brigadier Davies was an older man than Enver Hoja; and his staff was both bigger and more accustomed to heavy baggage and sustaining food than were the Communist leaders. He had meant

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BRIGADIER DAVIES AND HIS STAFF, AUTUMN 1943
(*Left to Right*) Smythe, Davies, Hare, Nicholls, Maclean, Smiley

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PARTISANS IN LIBERATED POGRADETZ, OCTOBER 1943
The Partisans slogan "Death to Fascism; Liberty to the People" is inscribed over the door

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THE PLATEAU AT BIZA, WHERE WE LANDED 1

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 78-82 for details -- Analyst]

ON THE WAY TO SHENGVERG 2

[-68b-] 2 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 82-83 for description. Analyst]

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at first to remain permanently with the Central Council, but already in the autumn he had found it difficult to keep pace with their forced marches. He decided, therefore, to limit his contact with them to messengers and occasional meetings and began to move southwards, planning to return to Italy to make a personal report on the Albanian situation. Then came the snow. The Brigadier's boots gave way at the end of a long march: they could not be replaced. His Chief-of-Staff, Colonel Nicholls, contracted frostbite in his feet and for ten days dared not take off his boots in case he could not get them on again. Meanwhile the German trap was closing round them; their baggage-train was ambushed; and their mules, wireless sets, and stores were captured. Food became desperately short; the Partisan forces disintegrated; and the Brigadier now lost touch altogether both with the Central Council and with his own submissions.

He planned to break through to a safer district to the south, but blizzard conditions impeded the march, and, on the 7th of January, the Mission took refuge in a sheepfold above the little village of Kostengje. There, next morning, they were ambushed by a band of Albanian quislings. The enemy surrounded them on three sides, and, keeping just out of range of the British submachine-guns, poured a steady rifle fire into the wattle structure where they sheltered. To have stayed there would have been certain death; the only hope of escape lay in climbing some hundreds of feet up a steep and bare snow slope behind the sheepfold. The attempt was made; the Brigadier was hit three times, twice in the stomach; and two other members of the party were wounded with him. These three were captured and brought back to Tirana, where they were handed over to the Germans. Nicholls reached the crest of the ridge with the survivors; among them Alan Hare, the Brigadier's ablest staff officer, who had refused to leave his wounded chief until ordered to escape. After a sixteen hours' march they shook off their pursuers and a few days later decided to disperse; Hare to the south to resume wireless contact with Headquarters and Nicholls to the north in search of help. Hare could still walk, though already very lame from frostbite; but when

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Nicholls tried to go on he found that he could no longer stand. Gangrene had set in in both his feet; and for several days he had to be dragged over the rough mountain paths, sitting on his overcoat. At length he was found a mule, but he was already too weak to ride unsupported and fell, dislocating his shoulder. Few men can have suffered more, but Nicholls refused to give in. Three weeks after the ambush he was at last rescued by Seymour, a survivor from one of the British sub-missions to the north, who brought him to the house of Ihsan Bey Toptani, near to Tirana. Ihsan sent for a doctor; an amputation was attempted; but it was too late. The limit of endurance had been passed and a few hours later Nicholls [1] was dead.

The remaining officers and men of the Headquarters and of the various sub-missions in North and Central Albania wandered for several weeks in the high mountains. Some were captured by the enemy, others were attacked by robbers for their gold and weapons, and yet others marched on through the snow in search of food and shelter. But the capture of the Brigadier had brought about a sharp fall in British prestige; and the mountaineers, fearful of German reprisals, turned hostile and barred their doors against the fugitives. In the end most of the survivors found their way to Abas Kupi's territory, where they were given hospitality and protection. There they were reorganised by Hare and Seymour, who were presently able to renew wireless communications with Cairo and to send out a report of the winter's disaster.

Meanwhile the main body of the L.N.C. had made their way back into South Albania by forced marches, twice narrowly escaping encirclement and annihilation. They regrouped in the mountains near Berat, and, thanks to British support, eventually recovered from their defeats. Abas Kupi for his part bowed before the storm and disbanded most of his forces to their homes, maintaining only a bodyguard of some two hundred men. He now devoted himself to organising a firm basis for his movement in Central Albania and to extending its influence to the principal towns and among the chiefs of the North. Meanwhile he suspended operations against the

[1] Nicholls was posthumously awarded the George Cross.

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Germans, waiting for campaigning weather to come again and for the clouds to lift from the political situation.

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To the observers in London and Cairo, intently watching the movements of the tiny flags on their staff maps, it seemed as if the backbone of the Albanian revolt had been broken. The forces of the L.N.C. were said to be reduced to seven thousand men and these were confined to the mountains of the South; in Central Albania the Zogist forces were virtually disbanded; and few believed that Gani Kryeziu would again raise an effective force. Yet the need for some reorganisation was urgent; for, with the summer, the Germans were expected to begin their withdrawal from the Balkans; and the High Command had counted on the guerillas to harass their retreat through Albania. Moreover, Albania possessed a Mediterranean coast-line; and His Majesty's Government could not be altogether indifferent to the country's political future. Following, therefore, on Maclean's report to the interested authorities in London, it was decided to work for a reconciliation between the Zogists and the L.N.C. and to encourage them to united action against the Germans. This was believed to be the course best calculated to inflict the maximum losses on the German army in its retreat, and most likely, by the broadening of the resistance movement which it would imply, to lead to the eventual establishment of a truly representative Albanian Government. To give effect to these decisions Maclean was invited to go back to Albania, this time to Abas Kupi's area.

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III

RECONNAISSANCE

He passed bleak Pindus, Acherusia's lake,
And left the primal city of the land,
And onwards did his further journey take
To greet Albania's Chief, whose dread command
Is lawless law; for with a bloody hand
He sways a nation, turbulent and bold:
Yet here and there some daring mountain-band
Disdain his power, and from their rocky hold
Hurl their defiance far, nor yield, unless to gold.

Childe Harold's Pilgrimage (Canto II, verse 47)

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I RETURNED to Cairo early in February 1944 from a journey in Saudi Arabia to find among my correspondence a small, but thick envelope, heavily sealed. After breaking the seals and opening three inner envelopes marked respectively "Personal", "Secret", and "for Amery only", I came to the following text: "Please call at my office as soon as you are back".

The signature was that of Philip Leake, the new chief of the Albanian section at Headquarters.

I was at some loss to understand why so anodyne a message should have occasioned such expenditure of stationery, but duly repaired to the imposing and somewhat prominent block of buildings where the "D" Organisation was now installed. The perennial reorganisation of the Secret Services, rather than any considerations of security, involved frequent changes in the office accommodation of their personnel. As a result, few officers knew where their colleagues were working, while the Cypriot porter who was supposed to guide visitors to their destinations had long given up trying to find out. I now brushed past this worthless individual, as he quietly contem-

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plated the throng of questing staff officers and agents, and made my way to the room which Leake had occupied a few weeks earlier. There I found a conference of Arabists in progress and was obligingly misdirected by one of them to a basement where a group of naval officers were planning a descent on the Dodecanese Islands. At length, after many wanderings, I located the Albanian section in a semi-detached outhouse, or garage, and was eventually admitted into Leake's presence by a blonde and incredulous secretary who kept assuring me that the Persian bureau had moved elsewhere. Leake greeted me rather tensely and, motioning me to a chair, said without further ado:

"Our set-up in North Albania has been badly knocked about by Davies' capture. There are only two chaps now at the Mission Headquarters and one of them has got bad frostbite. The other, between ourselves, seems a bit queer to judge from his telegrams, but that's hardly surprising seeing what they've been through. We wondered if you would care to join them."

He paused a moment as if to savour the full horror of his invitation and then added, almost as an afterthought:

"You know it isn't my idea, but Bill Maclean is going in again — this time to reorganise the North — and he's asked for you as a sort of political officer. Smiley is going too."

I had known Bill Maclean since school days; and, in the previous November, when he had emerged from his first mission to Albania, we had spent several hours together, discussing the report he was to make in London. Then I had been waiting for orders to join the headquarters of the Greek guerillas, a plan which had since been cancelled, for reasons not unconnected with the Cairo Conference. Now I was unemployed and accepted Leake's offer at once, glad to think that I might share in the liberation of the Balkans with the same Albanians whom I had first known in the dark days of 1940. Besides, there could be no better companions for such a tiger shoot than Maclean and Smiley.

The romance of modern adventures is somewhat diminished by the disagreeable routines which usually precede them. For

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000 several days I submitted to a series of blood tests, inoculations, and medical examinations, culminating in an interview with a psychiatrist. This gentleman asked me to arrange a number of wooden cubes in a required geometric pattern and then pronounced me " fit for duties involving mental strain ", though without disclosing the mysterious process of reasoning by which he had come to this conclusion. Then, since there was no other way of reaching Abas Kupi's territory, I was sent to train as a parachutist on and above the plain of Esdraelon, which has been held by some, and it then seemed to me appropriately, to be the site of Armageddon.

Parachuting is neither difficult nor very dangerous, indeed official statistics show no more than one fatal accident in ten thousand jumps and one limb injury in six hundred. Yet it is undeniably contrary to the most basic and tenacious human instincts. The would-be parachutist is taught from the start of his training that the natural reactions of falling man are the chief cause of broken bones. He is therefore required to learn an elaborate and highly artificial technique of rolling and tumbling which discovers irksome and unexpected muscles but enables him to defy the laws of gravity without discomfort and, in time, with confidence. Accordingly I rolled and tumbled for three days, and rose at dawn on the fourth morning stiff and muscle-bound by the so-called " limbering up " exercises. Too late to partake of breakfast, I clambered into a lorry with ten other trainees, and we drove out from our camp to the aerodrome for our first jump.

Later I was to treat parachutes without much respect, but that morning it seemed a matter of life and death that every strap should fit exactly. My confidence that the parachute would open was of the intellect only; and I felt that everyone who bumped into me was reducing my already slender chances of survival. Before emplaning each of us was allotted a number, thus discarding our personal identities. Then, laughing nervously, we clambered into the belly of the bomber and, as the roar of the engines drowned our conversations, were left each to his own thoughts and the contemplation of the tense features of his fellows. The engines sang furiously as we

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gained height, and when we came over the dropping-ground a circular trap door was opened in the floor of the 'plane. Through this numbers one and two disappeared with a sickening metallic crack as the automatic rip-cord of their parachutes whipped back against the bomber's underside. I was number three and it was now my turn. I sat facing the tail with my legs dangling through the hole and watched the ground race by beneath them but without any sensation of giddiness. With an effort I looked up and surrendered my powers of decision to the instructor. The bulb above my head flashed red in warning, then green, the signal to jump. The instructor brought down his hand like the starter in a race and I gently eased myself away from the edge of the hole. I passed through it and was caught at once in the slipstream of the 'plane and almost shaken apart; for a moment I was distinctly conscious of falling through space; then the 'chute opened and suddenly all was still. An extraordinary and elating sense of freedom came over me, and with it a mood of almost divine detachment from time and space. I felt myself drifting very slowly and looking about me gazed on the snow-covered summit of Mount Hermon and to the west on the sunlit blue of the sea. Then with a wrench I tore myself away from the sheer enjoyment of the descent and forced myself to concentrate on damping the oscillation of the parachute and bringing my feet together for the landing. I was only just in time; for suddenly the ground came up and hit me. I rolled over and standing up was earth-bound and awkward in my harness: like Baudelaire's albatross, whose "*ailes de géant l'empêchent de marcher*".

Maclean and Smiley were not yet back from London by the time my parachute course came to an end. I therefore returned to Cairo, to the hospitality of my friend Donald Mallet's flat, and passed much of the time discussing the "tangled knot of human fate" with the wise men of Egypt. I spent a happy afternoon in the Bektashi monastery, cut into the face of the Mukattam cliffs above Cairo's citadel. The sect was strong among the Albanians and many of the monks I met there were Tosks. I walked with them through their terraced

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gardens and along the cliff paths overhung with bougainvillia; and listened while they talked of their love for animals, their belief in the virtues of wine and music, and many other things expressive of their broad tolerance and humanism. Before I left them the Abbot gave me a stone from the martyr Hussein's tomb and a *tesbé* of olive wood; amulets from which I was never separated for the next eight months. Friends also took away my pistol; and when they brought it back there were engraved upon its butt two texts taken from the pre-Islamic poets. On the one side was written:

> But when you shoot it is not You but God who aims,

and on the other:

> For the ways are many but death is one:
> wherefore then should you be afraid?

Maclean and Smiley reached Cairo at the beginning of April; and we spent several days together, gleaning the latest information from Albania, studying the German military dispositions in the Balkans, and selecting the weapons, equipment, and clothes which we should need on our expedition. From Cairo we flew to Bari in Apulia, and there were lodged in the Albergo Imperiale — a great barrack of a hotel — which had been commandeered by the army, and at night presented a spectacle of drunken and licentious soldiery such as I had not seen since the days of the Spanish Civil War. On our first evening, indeed, I was sharply reminded of those days; for in the hotel we found Peter Kemp, a born soldier of fortune, and a veteran of the Spanish Foreign Legion.

Kemp had landed in Italy only a few days before, at the end of a ten months' journey through the whole length of Albania from the Greek frontier to Berane in Montenegro. Twice he had been surrounded by the Germans; once near Dibra, where he had shot his way out to the safety of the mountains, and a second time in the Jakova region, whence he escaped disguised as a woman. The most interesting feature, however, of his mission was the personal reconnaissance which he had made of the Kossovo — the first to be undertaken by a

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British officer since the German invasion. Kemp's presence in 000
that disputed region had given rise to violent protests from the Yugoslav Partisans, who had insisted on his recall. He brought us, however, most welcome news, for he had personally spoken with Gani and Said Kryeziu in their hide-out in the mountains, and reported that their morale was high and their will to fight unimpaired, in spite of illness and long months of imprisonment.

In quest of further information on Albania we[1] sought out 643
Ekrem Bey Libohovo, who had been King Zog's Minister of Court but had deserted him to become one of the chief instruments of the Italian regime. Ekrem Bey had been Prime Minister of Albania at the time of Mussolini's fall and, judging that the moment had come to change sides once more, flew over to Rome on the eve of the armistice and chose to remain in the Allied zone. We drove over to see him at Lecce, where he was virtually interned, and learnt from him many interesting details of the past history of some of the leading Albanians and of the relationships between them. Such information, though of little value alone, was well worth acquiring; for it is only by the continual comparison of opinions and anecdotes that it becomes possible to assess the accuracy of political reports. On this occasion a curious incident enlivened our conversation. Ekrem Bey was relating the circumstances of the Italian invasion of Albania and spoke of his conduct at the time as he must so often have done to Italian visitors during the Fascist regime:

"As you know," he said, "when the Italians landed, the King left the country, and with him I went to Greece. . . . I went to Greece. . . . I went to Greece. . . ." He repeated himself like a broken record, suddenly at a loss to know how to extricate himself from the embarrassing story on which he had embarked: the truth was that, within forty-eight hours of arriving in Greece, he had returned to Tirana and become Italy's Quisling in Albania. At last he gave it up and with a wan smile and self-deprecating gesture said:

"I really must see what has happened to the coffee."

Verily the way of the transgressor is hard.

1 [British Intelligence Agents, in April 1944 -- Analyst]

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000 On the way back to Bari we stopped near Brindisi to call on Count Carlo Frasso, who was held to be an Italian expert on Albania. Count Carlo was reputed a friend of the British, but as *Co-Belligerency* was still in its infancy, we had been instructed to present ourselves to him under false names. This was to be the cause of some merriment, for the Duke of Spoleto — once uncrowned king of Croatia — was staying with the Count, and at dinner, as is sometimes the way of royalty, bombarded us with questions about our families. This called for flights of fancy on our part appropriate to our fictitious names; and to each other's great amusement we spent much of the meal telling the Duke of the eccentricities of our imaginary relatives. Apart, however, from this diversion and our enjoyment of the Count's excellent hospitality, we also learnt something of the personality and influence of Nureddin Bey Vlora, a nephew of Ismail Kemal. Our host knew him well and described him as: " too great a patriot to accept foreign domination, but too great a gentleman to work with the Communists ".

*669 648 Bari was the operational base on which the British liaison officers with the Balkan guerilla movements depended for their supplies and day-to-day instructions. Accordingly, when all other preparations were completed, we attended a conference at the Headquarters of the " D " Organisation where the charter of our mission and our exact terms of reference were discussed. Our final instructions as then agreed were:

1. To reorganise and co-ordinate the activities of the British missions in Gheg Albania:
2. To raise the Ghegs in general, and the Zogist forces of Abas Kupi in particular, against the Germans:
3. To attempt to bring about co-operation between the Zogist movement and the L.N.C.

We were to be responsible to the H.Q. Balkan Air Force, under the command of Air-Marshal Elliot, and through him to General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson,[1] the Supreme Allied

[1] Now Field-Marshal Lord Wilson.

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*669 Commander in the Mediterranean theatre of operations.
648 Political matters were to be referred to the Foreign Office, through the diplomatic staff of the Resident Minister of State, Mr. Harold Macmillan; but Maclean was authorised to communicate direct with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in cases of overriding importance and urgency. Details of policy were to await our estimate of the situation. We were, however, authorised to promise arms to all who would fight the Germans, though we were given to understand that no supplies would be sent to any guerilla leader until he had first taken the field.

000 Once we had received our final instructions there was no more to be done until the experts in wind and weather should appoint a day for our departure. They wasted no time; and on 17th April, the anniversary of Maclean's first landing in Albania, we drove out along the road that follows the flat and dreary Apulian shore to Brindisi, where an aeroplane was waiting. We spent the morning supervising the packing of our gear into steel containers specially designed for parachuting, and watched them being loaded on to the 'plane. For the rest of the day we sought to kill time and subdue our own nervous impatience speculating on the problems that lay ahead of us, reading papers, playing cards, or walking the cold and windy streets of Brindisi.

Towards evening we drove out to the aerodrome, and, after taking leave of the staff officers who had accompanied us thus far, took off half an hour before sunset. The 'plane was a U.S. Dakota and through the big door in its flank, left open for our jump, we watched the Italian coast recede while sea and sky melted into one another as the darkness drew on. Our pilot had to locate two dropping-grounds: the first destined to receive our gear but judged too rocky for our own descent, the second where we were to jump ourselves. The flight across the Adriatic lasted perhaps three-quarters of an hour; and it was barely night when we made out the signal fires of the first of our targets. Here the American despatcher, assisted by Peter Kemp, who had come to see us off — " somewhat literally ", as Smiley remarked — heaved the containers out into space. In

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000 twenty minutes all our precious gear was scattered over the mountains of Albania, to the profit, as we later learned, of the rapacious mountaineers. Our pilot then altered course in the direction of the second target; for nearly two hours we circled over the appointed area, but no trace of the signal fires was to be seen. At length the drone of our engines seemed to awake the enemy; and, just north of Tirana, we ran into flak. The pilot therefore decided to give up the search, and at one o'clock in the morning we were back in Brindisi.

Two days later, on the 19th April, we determined to make another attempt, but drove over to Lecce in the morning to escape from the gloom of Brindisi. There, in a small black-market restaurant, we partook of a truly sybaritic meal, and afterwards wandered through the streets of the glorious baroque city, forgetting the sterner duties which lay ahead of us in the enjoyment of its gorgeous dwellings and worldly churches.

We were late in returning to Brindisi and it was already night when we took off. The aeroplane seemed cold and noisy; and I felt irritated and awkward, trussed in my parachute. I was tired, however, and at some stage must have fallen asleep, for it was past midnight when the despatcher woke me up to say that we were over the target. We each took a gulp of *grappa* — the fiery Italian grape spirit — and formed up by the open door for the jump. Through it I could see the signal fires, set out in the form of a cross at the bottom of a snow-rimmed trough in the mountains. The surrounding ranges made the approach to the target difficult; and we knew that the pilot had overshot his mark when the bulb by the door flashed green — the signal to jump. I went out last, shrinking inwardly from the plunge, and was caught up in the slipstream of the 'plane and violently shaken. Then the parachute opened; the smell and vibration of the aeroplane ceased; the tension went from me; and I felt suddenly warm. We must have jumped from near three thousand feet, for my arms soon grew tired of straining at the guiding ropes of the parachute to check its oscillation. I could see the mountains rising past me as I drifted down, but the ground was still hidden in the night.

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For a moment I was aware of something white, then without the slightest jar I found myself sprawling on my face in a deep patch of snow. Luck was with me for I had fallen in a forest and might well have been impaled on a jagged pine. Maclean had come down perhaps a mile away, also unhurt; but Smiley, landing less than a hundred yards from me, bruised his back badly against a tree. Nor was this our only near escape; for, as we saw next morning, Maclean and I had by some accident been issued with cotton parachutes. These were of a type designed for dropping stores and, unlike those made of silk for human use, frequently failed to open.

We were about half way up the side of the mountain trough and presently saw torches moving towards us through the trees below. In the distance wolves were howling; and for a moment I speculated idly on which would reach us first. The torches seemed a long time in coming and we guided them with our own electric flash-lamps. When they drew near, however, we rested these on suitable mounds and retired some twenty yards from them so as not to present a target should the torch-bearers prove unfriendly. The precaution was wise, for such accidents had happened before; but we had fallen among friends; and the torch-bearers turned out to be a Zogist cheta, sent to meet us by George Seymour and Alan Hare. There were a dozen of them, still shadowy figures in the night, save for their leader, Bairam, a Tosk with a mighty moustache, who spoke some Italian.

Bairam greeted us courteously, but without emotion, and guided us downhill through the trackless forest for an hour or so until we came to a half-open sheepfold on the mountainside. There we sat round an open log fire and were presently refreshed with hot tea. Then, seeing it was late, I lay down to sleep, warming one side of my body by the fire while the mountain wind chilled the other. All around the guerillas sat cross-legged, bristling with bandoliers, pistols, and hand-grenades, their unshaven faces sinister in the firelight. They showed no sign of sleeping and now and again spoke to one another in a whisper. For some time I watched them through the flames and smoke, seeking to measure the span, intangible and yet experienced, which separated this brigand encampment

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000 from the baroque splendours of Lecce and the bourgeois pleasures of its black-market restaurant.

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We rose at daybreak and emerged from the sheepfold to find ourselves on the edge of a broad grassland plateau set in an amphitheatre of rock peaks. This was broken only towards the east, where a wooded gorge led down towards the village of Shengyerg. The scene was impressive but desolate; for, although the thaw was far advanced, there was at this height but little sign of spring. Moreover, such snow as still remained, mostly on the higher slopes and in ravines seldom reached by the sun, was everywhere thickly powdered with grey dust. This phenomenon was widely observed that year in the Western Balkans and was attributed by scientists to a recent eruption of Vesuvius, four hundred miles away.

We breakfasted off hard-boiled eggs and presently set out towards the valley with an escort of a dozen of the guerillas. We went slowly, for we were not yet in training, and, after some four hours' walk across the plateau and down the gorge
[361] leading from it, came out on to a ridge overlooking Shengyerg. There we halted and through our glasses studied the white houses scattered over the hillside, each at least half a mile from
[795] its neighbour. Among them, distinguishable from the others only by its squat minaret, stood a mosque; for despite its name, which in Albanian means Saint George, Shengyerg was a Moslem village. We could detect no sign of anything untoward and so made our way quite openly down to the house which belonged to Seymour's interpreter, a schoolmaster named Shaqir. There we stopped for a midday rest and, after restoring our carbohydrates with a bottle of cherry brandy — a most welcome gift which the British Mission had sent us in greeting — attacked the lavish if starchy fare which our host presently set before us.

*669 Shengyerg was a place of some strategic importance for it was the terminus of a motor road, at this time[1] still blocked by

[1] [late April 1944 -- Analyst]

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snow. It was also remarkable as one of the very few Gheg 669* villages where Partisan influence had to some extent survived the disasters of the winter. There was a continual struggle for power between the Zogist and the Partisan families in the village, but our hosts, who were Zogists, seemed confident that they could maintain the ascendant. Nor, on the surface at least, were their personal relations with their political opponents unduly strained; and when we had eaten they gave a most friendly welcome to a group of Partisans, led by Frederick Nosi, who already knew Maclean and Smiley and had come to greet them on their return.

Frederick Nosi was a nephew of the "collaborationist" Regent, Lef Nosi, but was none the less already prominent among the younger Partisan leaders. He spoke English fluently, having studied at the American college, and in the previous year had served as interpreter to Maclean and later to Brigadier Davies. He had now been sent to Shengyerg by the Central Council to try and make sure of the support of Ali Stepani, the old *Bairaktar* of the district, in preparation for the northern drive which Enver Hoja planned to make that summer. Frederick had already won over Ali's eighteen-year-old son, Rames; and the boy proudly showed us Enver Hoja's signature engraved upon the butt of his pistol. The *Bairaktar*, however, had lived through many revolutions and was still waiting to see which faction would prevail before finally taking sides. With Frederick came half a dozen young Partisans, all under twenty, but better equipped and smarter in appearance than our own rather ragged Zogist bodyguard. There was no mistaking their keenness, nor their faith that in their new-found and still undigested doctrine they held the solution to all the problems of the world.

Frederick gave Maclean news of his friends among the Partisan leaders and told us of the defeats of the winter and the progress of their reorganisation. He answered guardedly when we spoke of Abas Kupi, and though his bearing towards his monarchist hosts was courteous, he left us in no doubt that the rift between Zogists and Partisans was far deeper than our Headquarters had believed.

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When our visitors were gone we ate a light evening meal and soon after dark set out for Derye, the village where Seymour and Hare had made their base. Bairam, who was in charge of our bodyguard, had somehow procured ponies for us to ride, but the journey was nevertheless a nightmare. It rained hard; and the night was black as pitch. Boulders and branches seemed to rush at me from the darkness, crushing my leg against the saddle or dragging me almost bodily out of it. The paths were stony, steep, and precipitous; blocked by snowdrifts on the heights, and in the valleys washed away by the thaw. A slip would often have meant a fall of fifty or a hundred feet; and I lacked confidence in the mountain ponies which, though better natured, were not as nimble or sure-footed as mules. Besides I had grown soft in a long sojourn by the fleshpots of Egypt; and my muscles were racked by the angular wooden saddle on which I rode. On mountain paths the measurements of space have but little meaning; and the Ghegs therefore calculate distance in terms of time. On this occasion our guides had assured us that the journey would only take four hours; but, as was often the way, their reckoning proved to be devised for our encouragement rather than for our exact instruction. We had indeed already marched nine hours when, shortly after daybreak, we crossed the ridge above Derye.

The house which sheltered the British Mission lay in a valley half a mile or so from the main road and was surrounded by a large and straggling orchard. We sent a messenger ahead to announce our arrival; the door was opened before we had even knocked; and a peasant conducted us through a cow-shed to the room where Seymour and Hare worked and slept. Seymour was already up, wrapped in a white duffle coat and wearing a white Albanian fez, adorned with his regimental badge. He seemed enormous in the half light; and a reddish moustache, curving upwards like that of "Kaiser Bill", betrayed his impulsive and cheerfully arrogant temper. Hare was still in bed, for it was early; and besides he was only beginning to recover from the effects of frostbite. We were old friends; and I had known that he would be in Derye. And yet it seemed astonishing in those primitive surroundings to

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ZOGIST GUERILLAS AT ZIBER

REPRISALS

A house burnt by the Italians during a punitive expedition through Mati, September 1943

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000 hear his familiar voice, inseparably associated in my mind with undergraduate dinners, visits to Nuits St. Georges, and political discussions in London night clubs. They plied us with food and drink; and when we had taken the edge off each other's curiosity Seymour led us to an upper room. There mattresses had been spread; and we slept off our journey until near midday.

We spent three days in Derye, picking up the threads of the Albanian situation from Seymour and Hare. Our quarters were cramped but warm; and our discussions were accompanied by a lavish hospitality such as I had never hoped to find in these wild regions. There was evidently no shortage of eggs or meat in Derye; and a varied array of bottles was convincing proof of the efficiency of the Mission's courier service with German-occupied Tirana.

By profession a regular officer and by instinct a country gentleman, Seymour had reverted to type in the enforced inactivity of the winter months. He showed us over the house, expatiated on the faults of his Italian cook and the merits of his cellar, and related the annals of the village almost as if he had been the squire of Derye. He had taken strong likes and dislikes to the different guerilla leaders; but for all that discussed their problems with the same rough impartiality with which he might have spoken of disputes between tenants at home. He judged each case on its merits rather than in relation to any overriding military or political design; but, despite his apparent insular prejudices, his instinct was often sound. He was besides, like many British representatives in strange lands, less impatient of the shortcomings of the " natives " than of the errors of Headquarters, from whom he rightly demanded, and perhaps naïvely expected, the highest standards of efficiency.

Hare was of cooler temper and gifted with a rare faculty of subjecting his own experiences, as well as the situations of others, to dispassionate analysis. His approach to problems was essentially intellectual and therefore easily communicated; and we learnt much from him of the social and economic structure of Central Albania, as well as of the psychology of the Ghegs. Frostbite had kept him tied to one place for several

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000 weeks, so that his appreciation of events was necessarily tentative. He saw little hope, however, of reconciling Zogists and Partisans, and believed that our Headquarters gravely underrated the difficulties of bringing Abas Kupi back into the fight. Hare's state of health, as well as his length of service in Albania, would fully have entitled him to seek evacuation; and indeed we had been ordered to relieve both him and Seymour. We judged, however, that his support would be a great strength to us and easily prevailed on him to remain. Seymour also volunteered to stay to help ensure continuity of policy.

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[622] THE evening after we had reached Derye we received the visit of Kiamil, the headman of the village, who had protected and provided for the British Mission during the anxious winter months. Kiamil was an Albanian of the old school, dressed in a handsome, dark-blue cloak and remarkable by the extraordinary whiteness of his hands. He was indeed afflicted with a curious complex, whereby he felt impelled to wash his hands and mouth every hour of the day, a proceeding which excited the wonder of the villagers, though without in any degree inducing their emulation. He spoke Turkish, Arabic, and a little French, having studied at Salonika; and was eager for news of the Near East where he had travelled as a young man. A pious Moslem he would touch no alcohol, and in any case refused to take food or drink outside his own house. He greeted us with the old-fashioned salaam, discussed general topics for half an hour, and then delivered a message from Abas Kupi to say that he had learned of our arrival, and was on his way to meet us.

* 669 648 Abas Kupi duly reached Derye on the following evening 1/1 with a force of about a hundred men. He put off meeting us that night, pleading fatigue from the march, but came next morning to the house where we were lodged, accompanied by a few armed bodyguards. He was dressed now in riding-

1/1 [late April, 1944 -- Analyst]

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breeches and a grey " redingote " which heightened his likeness to Napoleon ; but he looked older and leaner than when I had seen him in Belgrade. We sat cross-legged round the hearth in the upper room ; and when the exchange of formal greetings was done Maclean spoke of the aims of our Mission. He explained that we had been charged to help the Ghegs in their war against the Germans and to co-ordinate their operations with the overall strategy of the Allies. He then reviewed the military and political situation of the contending Powers, leading up to the conclusion that an Allied victory was at hand. The time had therefore come for all Albanians to lay aside their personal differences and to unite to wrest from the invaders the independence for which they had already sacrificed so much.

Abas Kupi replied at some length, but, it seemed to me, wearily, as if he had lost faith in the power of words. He welcomed us to his regions with warmth and courtesy, and expressed his deep indignation that Albanians should have been responsible for the capture of Brigadier Davies. A harsh winter and lack of arms had forced him on to the defensive ; but now that we had come he hoped that we would soon make it possible for him to lead a new and final rising against the Germans. From these preliminaries he turned to questions of policy. His people were at a loss to understand why Albania was not among the United Nations, or why the Allies did not recognise King Zog who, as he remarked, had been a victim of Fascist aggression when Mr. Neville Chamberlain still believed in peace. They were anxious, moreover, for the future of the Kossovo and of Southern Albania and hoped for some assurance that these provinces would not be ceded to Yugoslavia or Greece without first consulting the wishes of the local populations. Our support of the Albanian Communists was also a cause of deep concern ; and it was widely believed that, at the Teheran Conference, Albania had been assigned to the Soviet sphere of influence.

" We Albanians," he concluded, " are few and poor, but in proportion to our strength we have made great efforts and great sacrifices in the common cause. So far we have received

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*669 648 186 no encouragement nor recognition from the great Allies; but I still put my trust in Great Britain as I did in 1940. I have fought and I will continue to fight, but you must send me arms and make some gesture that you have our country's interest at heart, for we are Albanian patriots and not British agents."

Maclean turned a gentle answer, judging that it would be premature to try and thrash out these delicate problems at our first meeting. He proposed, however, that I should go to Abas Kupi's Headquarters to study his difficulties and explain our policy in greater detail. The Agha at once agreed, and, before leaving us, promised to send guides within a few days to bring me to him. Meanwhile we turned to the task of reorganising the British Missions.

4

SEYMOUR and Hare had established their base in Derye because it was near to the Tirana road and thus suitable as an observation post. The very conditions, however, which made the village easily accessible to visitors or couriers from the capital exposed it to the danger of sudden enemy raids. The British officers were thus obliged to lead a strictly conspiratorial existence, which severely restricted the scope of their activities. They seldom ventured out in daylight; most of their business was conducted through intermediaries; and fear of detection forced them to relegate their wireless set and operator to a rear base in the mountains. This rear base was a day's march away, so that all communictions with Headquarters in Italy suffered a delay of at least twenty-four hours. The drawbacks of this situation had hitherto been outweighed by its advantages; Seymour and Hare might indeed have enjoyed greater freedom and security in some remote mountain village, but, under winter conditions, they would then have been cut off from their chief sources of intelligence and supply. Now, however, that the snow was melting and that the mountain paths were practicable once more, Derye ceased to be convenient without becoming safe. There were already rumours that the Germans had wind of the Mission's whereabouts; and Maclean therefore

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decided that we should move at once and set up a new base in the mountains. There we might hope to operate our wireless sets undisturbed and even to receive "supply drops" from Italy. Accordingly three days later, on the 24th April, we took leave of the headman Kiamil and slipped out of Derye with some fifteen bodyguards and mulemen. Our destination was the village of Ziber, situated at a height of some 3500 feet on the north flank of the great range which divides the Mati from the Shupal valleys. Ziber was remote from the main lines of communication, but within an hour of Seymour's rear base, and reputed a Zogist stronghold.

We climbed for some four hours up steep and wooded paths. Hare was mounted, for he was still very lame; but the rest of us went on foot to train our wind and harden our muscles. Our kit, however, was loaded on to mules and our obliging bodyguards volunteered to carry the successive coats and sweaters which we peeled off on the march. We trudged for some four hours up steep paths through the forests, and soon after dark reached the village of Selit, nearly two thousand feet above sea-level, where we were hospitably entertained in the house of a small sheep farmer.

Soft mattresses were spread for us that night, but my hopes of sleep were intercepted by a formidable offensive of bed-bugs, nicknamed "tanks" by the guerillas. The ingenuity and persistence of these creatures were indeed remarkable; and we observed that when deterred from a direct advance against a mattress by a barrier of insect powder they were capable of ascending to the ceiling to drop like parachutists on to their sleeping victims. Our powers of adaptability, however, seem to be infinite; and in time I became inured to bed-bugs, as indeed to the lice which we insensibly picked up from our bodyguards and visitors.

We left Selit in the morning, and, passing through cold beech forests, toiled up the bare mountainside to the Qafa Murresit, or Pass of Mulberry Trees. A thunderstorm broke upon us in the early afternoon; but the clouds lifted just as we reached the head of the pass, and a watery sun lit up our first distant view of the northern slopes of Mati and the forbidden

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000 mountains of Mirdita beyond. Ziber lay an hour below. We waited, therefore, in the woods until it was dark, and then descended unobserved to the house of a certain Captain Kurti, who held the village for the Zogists.

Ziber was only a short march from Seymour's rear base and it was there that our gear had been dropped on the night of our first and unsuccessful attempt to jump into Albania. Some of it was now returned to us; but the light-fingered villagers who had volunteered to help bring it in had absconded with the greater part, including two thousand gold sovereigns. The good Captain Kurti eventually recovered the gold by the exercise of moral persuasion, seconded by threats of physical violence. Our effects, however, remained a dead loss, among them most of our carefully selected library and a magnificent black sheepskin coat, a gift to me from John Bennett, who had bought it off the back of a policeman on point-duty in Belgrade.

The theft of our library was a serious blow; for guerilla operations, like all forms of warfare, involve an unconscionable amount of waiting. For the rest, our losses were probably a blessing in disguise; in the mountains possessions are only an encumbrance; and when necessary we could always send in to Tirana for replacements. On principle, indeed, each of us aimed at having no more kit than we could carry on our riding mules. Theft and enemy action soon wore away any surplus, and for nearly eight months the sum of my worldly goods amounted to an overcoat, a sleeping-bag, two spare shirts, some underclothes, stockings, and washing material. The overcoat and sleeping-bags were rolled up fore and aft of the saddle and the rest was packed into two saddle-bags and a small haversack. This last contained the indispensable minimum which I might carry on my back without discomfort if forced to abandon my mount and run for it.

Our Headquarters had been studiously vague as to the position in international law of liaison officers with *franc-tireur* formations. The experience of others was hardly encouraging; but a superstition lingered that we should not be shot as spies if captured in uniform. Our clothes were therefore designed

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to preserve our military status while assuring our comfort; 000
but, despite our badges of rank and decorations, we seldom contrived to look anything but irregular. Maclean wore light Albanian sandals, jodhpurs, and a heavy, green regimental tunic. Smiley favoured corduroy trousers and a battledress blouse. My own clothes were a hard-wearing cord tunic and trousers, the latter tucked Russian fashion into soft knee-length field-boots. These were heavy, but a great protection against rocks and thorns, and invaluable in the uncertainties of the night march. Mindful of Napoleon's dictum on the importance of an army's stomach, each of us wore a broad sash wound about his waist. This was a most necessary, as well as colourful, garment, protecting our digestions from insidious changes of temperature and fortifying them against the successive feasts and fasts of an outlaw's life. For arms each of us carried a Merlin submachine-gun and a Colt ·45 automatic. The submachine-gun was accurate up to about two hundred yards and deadly in an ambush. Its moral effect, moreover, was as great as its killing power; and an irresolute enemy was often driven back merely by its noise and rate of fire. The ·45 Colt was intended for our personal protection in camp or in the house; it was very powerful at close range; and a single shot from it might knock down an assailant, even if it only hit him in the hand.

On arriving in Ziber our[1] attention had at once been 669*
engaged by the presence in a neighbouring village of nineteen 648
British officers and men: the remnant of the various Missions scattered in the disasters of the previous winter. Their chief concern, and indeed duty, had been first to survive, and then to recover their strength, of which frostbite and illness had taken a heavy toll. There was indeed little else that they could have done; for the winter and Abas Kupi's policy of expectant neutrality had made offensive operations impossible. For several months now Hare and Seymour had formed the only active part of the Mission. The others had accordingly been relegated to the safety of the mountains, where they had nothing to do but guard the wireless set and collect the occa-

[1] [i.e. Amery's liaison group -- Analyst]

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sional supplies that were dropped from Italy. There they had waited for the spring; herded into a single room, often short of food though not, apparently, of alcohol, and a prey to all the demoralising influences of boredom and inactivity.

Maclean was rightly determined that our Mission should carry as little ballast as possible, and at once decided to be rid of a concentration of men who had to be fed and protected but could not be usefully employed. The greater part were therefore sent south for evacuation by sea from the coastal area held by the Partisans. A few, however, were kept to strengthen the three other British Missions in Northern Albania, whose activities Maclean was to co-ordinate. The most northerly of these was in the region of Nikai and Mertur, beyond the Kukes–Scutari road: there Squadron-Leader Neel and Captain Hibberdine maintained intermittent contact with Gani Kryeziu and watched the situation among the Catholic tribes. The next consisted of Major Riddle, Captain Simcox, Captain Lis — a Polish officer — and Lieutenant Hibbert. The valley of the Black Drin was their area; and they worked with Muharrem Bairaktar and the chiefs of Dibra. Finally, Captain Smythe kept a lonely watch in the Peza region, south of Tirana, where Zogist and Partisan influences intermingled. By a fortunate coincidence Hibberdine was already at Seymour's rear base; and Maclean now sent for Riddle and Smythe to tell us of the situation in their districts.

000 Our presence in Ziber was a source of considerable profit to the villagers; they earned a subsidy by providing us with a guard, sold us food at exorbitant prices and improved every opportunity of pilfering our stores. We had little, therefore, to fear from their indiscretion; and indeed the bonds of interest which united them to our cause were fortified by the knowledge that they would suffer dire reprisals from the Germans if we were discovered, and from Abas Kupi if we were betrayed. Nevertheless their constant attentions were expensive and wearisome; and there was always the risk that some stranger passing through the village might see us and spread the news abroad. We decided, therefore, to abandon the haunts of men

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and to pitch a camp high on the range between the Mati and the Shupal valleys.

The selection of a site was entrusted to Smiley, and his choice fell upon a clearing some two hundred feet below the crest of the range on the wooded, north-western slopes of Mount Bastar. The ground was steep, but suitable as a "dropping ground" for supplies; and the surrounding woods offered cover from air observation and, to some extent, from the elements. In these woods, therefore, we rigged up the wireless stations, built kitchens, and presently pitched tents improvised out of parachutes. To assure our comfort and mobility we then acquired a score of mountain ponies and mules from neighbouring villages and pastured them on the grass of the clearing. Food we obtained daily from the villages of Ziber and Bastar, on opposite sides of the range. Once a week, moreover, our team of mules mingled with the many trains of pack-animals which wound their way into Tirana on market day and returned laden with green vegetables, Italian wines, and other luxuries. For news of the outside world we relied on a portable wireless, on the Albanian and German press, and on the news-letters and periodicals which we had dropped to us with our mail. Our war-chest amounted to some four thousand gold sovereigns, and was buried under Smiley's bed; but each of us carried besides a hundred sovereigns for emergency or current expenses. Gold was our most powerful weapon, but two-edged, and as we valued our lives we handled it with the utmost secrecy.

Besides the three of us, Hare and Seymour, our Mission included Lieutenants Bullock and Merret, Sergeants Jones and Jenkins, and two wireless operators, Corporals Otter and Collins. Bullock was a Rhodesian, friendly, but so quiet that we never learned what had made him volunteer for service in the Balkans. Merret for his part was a sensitive young man with literary pretensions, and had been drawn to Albania by the romantic appeal of a war of liberation. A grim winter in the Prokletia Alps, however, had shown him a side of human nature hitherto unknown and had robbed him of his last illusions about the Albanians. Bitter experience of their

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000 failings blinded him to their virtues; he pined for his native Cheshire, and sought an escape from the violence and cruelty of the Balkans in the gentler company of our Italian prisoners.

Sergeants Jenkins and Jones were by contrast free of illusions and tough of mind and body. Jones was a red-headed guardsman, cool and much enduring; Jenkins a dark, Celtic-looking fellow, slow spoken but quick witted and possessed of a keen sense of the ridiculous. I once heard him say of a certain senior officer that he looked like " an egg with teeth in it "; surely the perfect description of Colonel Blimp. Both were skilled and courageous saboteurs and, though they shared the ancient prejudice that the niggers begin at Calais, they were liked and trusted by the mountaineers.

Corporals Otter and Collins were the sheet anchors of the Mission, for they alone understood the mysteries of wireless; and we depended on them entirely for the maintenance of communications with Italy. The wireless sets were contained each in a medium-sized suitcase and were run off ordinary batteries which had to be charged at frequent intervals by a cumbersome petrol engine. The set by itself could be carried by hand when necessary, but to transport the whole equipment required two mules. The duties of the wireless operators were exacting; for, besides the upkeep of their apparatus and the work of transmission, they were also responsible for the enciphering or deciphering of every message.

There were also more than a dozen Italians attached to our Mission: some had been taken prisoner at the time of the Italian armistice; others had since sought our protection; and yet others we had bought from the Albanians. They were cheerful fellows, serving mostly as cooks or batmen, while one of them, who had been a medical orderly, acted as the Mission's doctor. There were two officers among them: Captain Franco, a stolid but cultured Florentine, and Lieutenant Mario, a gay young Neapolitan with a fine tenor. As helots in our camp their position was invidious; but both acted throughout with great discretion and were to prove staunch companions in a crisis.

Our Albanian staff consisted of three interpreters, Halit,

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Shaqir, and Veli. Halit was a young Mati chieftain and spoke French; a big-boned, blond fellow, he was brave as a lion, possessed of boundless energy, and, which was rare among Albanians, knew how to make others work. Shaqir was a schoolmaster from Shengyerg, rather euphemistically surnamed "the Bold", and spoke some English; he was the jester of the company and, through his brother, organised our courier system with Tirana. Veli was a Tosk and had for several years been orderly to General Percy, the Inspector-General of the Albanian gendarmerie. He spoke quite good English and in his well-kept battledress looked just like an English soldier. We employed besides a score of Albanians who served us as bodyguards and mulemen. Among them was one Arslan, who guarded Smiley, but was in normal times a village *hoja*.

The defence of our base was entrusted to the Zogist villagers of Ziber and Bastar, who undertook to mount a guard each night for our protection. In practice they often failed even to post sentries; but, since the only paths leading to our camp ran through their villages, we might reasonably hope to receive some warning of the approach of an enemy.

5

We were still busy with details of organisation when, as arranged at Derye, a young Zogist officer came with a small escort to conduct me to Abas Kupi. We rode all afternoon through forests of beech and pine, broken by broad stretches of barren scree. Darkness overtook us just as we crossed the range into the Shupal valley, but the moon rose early, and we pushed on until towards midnight we reached the straggling village of Bruz. There I was welcomed by Abas Kupi's eighteen-year-old son, Petrit, who held the place with a small force of Zogists. His father was still an hour's march away; and seeing that it was late, Petrit suggested that I should spend the night as his guest. I accepted gladly, for I had been eight hours in the saddle; and he led the way into a low, single-

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574 storied house, where a score of Zogist guerillas were gathered
[342] round the fire. The room was filled with smoke — for the house had no chimney, like many in Albania — and it was several minutes before I could see or breathe in comfort. I sat down, however, by the hearth, where a carpet had been spread, and while the evening meal was made ready had some talk with Petrit. He spoke quite good French, having studied in the French *lycée* at Korcha, where, by a strange irony, Enver Hoja had been his teacher. He was obviously eager for news of the outside world, and the flow of his questions was only restrained by his sense of courtesy as my host. In appearance he was not unlike his father, though of sturdier build and more slothful movements; and I was told that he had already distinguished himself in the previous autumn's fighting. He was possessed besides of a natural authority, and, despite his youth, seemed to command the respect of the wild mountaineers who accompanied him. Some of these spoke a little Italian or Serb, and their discussions that night gave me a first impression of
[521] Zogist public opinion. The Ghegs are not great talkers like the Greeks or Slavs, but I felt, from what they said, that they were rather suspicious of British intentions and far more concerned with preventing the spread of Communism in Albania than with fighting the Germans. Towards one o'clock
[262] our conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the evening meal of soup, boiled mutton and cheese. We ate in silence
[513] and as soon as we had finished I retired to rest on one of the mattresses which the master of the house had spread for us on the floor.

342 Next day, in the afternoon, Petrit accompanied me to the place where Abas Kupi had made his temporary headquarters. It was a grey stone keep, built on a jutting rib of the mountain range and approached by a path so narrow and precipitous that I had to send back my horse and make the last stage of the journey on foot. Abas Kupi came out to meet me, as I turned
[576] into the walled courtyard of the house, and welcomed me with the traditional greeting of "*Tungjatjeta*" — "May your life be prolonged". He led the way up a flight of wooden steps, resting like a ladder against the wall of the house, and took

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me by the hand into a dark and dusty room, hung with rifles 342
and submachine-guns. It was thronged with Zogist notables
and their bodyguards: wild and rugged men, corrugated with 714
cartridge-belts, and festooned with pistols, daggers, and hand-grenades. Most of them were dressed in black, baggy Turkish breeches, braided homespun jackets of black or brown, with multicoloured sashes wound about their waists, and white fezes or skull-caps on their heads. A few besides were in uniform retained from the time of their service in the Albanian army, or looted from the Italians; while others, especially the leaders, wore tweed or leather jackets, variously combined with local or military costume.

We sat down, Turkish fashion, by the fire; and, while we 574
drank coffee and exchanged greetings, the guerillas milled [521]
around, or sat together in small groups, whispering intently. To a stranger this whispering seemed sinister and blatantly conspiratorial, but the others took no offence at it. Necessity indeed imposed a communal way of life on the guerillas; each man was watched by his fellows in his every movement, and it was only by whispering that any privacy of discussion could be preserved.

I had been there perhaps half an hour when, at a sign from 669*
Abas Kupi, the guerillas filed out of the room, and we remained 648
alone with Shaqir, my interpreter, and Colonel Murad Basha. Basha had been a regular officer under King Zog and had joined Abas Kupi in Belgrade in 1940. He was now the Zogist Chief-of-Staff, but struck me from the first as pedantic and too quick to see the difficulties in any scheme. He was indeed to prove a defeatist influence at the Zogist Headquarters, for, though personally no coward, he was terrified of action, like so many senior officers who have won their spurs on the square rather than in the field.

I began our discussions by showing Abas Kupi my creden-
tials: these were a letter from Stirling, who had been his [576]
friend, and a *besa* given me by King Zog. This was a covenant enjoining upon all Albanians the duty of protecting my life and, should their zeal prove unavailing, of avenging my death. My *bona fides* thus established I recalled our meeting in Belgrade

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*669 648 in 1940 and asked the Agha to tell me of his experiences in the years between. I wanted to hear the story for its own sake, and thought besides that his interpretation of the past would afford the most natural explanation of his present outlook. He[1] smiled and began the detailed narrative of his adventures, enlivened by occasional flashes of sardonic humour, but unadorned except for matter-of-fact accounts of his own feelings at the time. He spoke in a low voice, prodding the glowing embers on the hearth as he talked, and looking up every now and then to see if the point of his sentence had reached me through the interpreter. It was near midnight before he had done; but it was a good story, and through it shone the consistency of the man and the skill with which he had preserved his independence from all those who had sought to use him for their own ends. Of these we were but the latest; and, next day, in a brief message to Maclean, I wrote: "Here is a fish whom many have hooked but none have ever landed".

[665] We continued our talks in the morning and discussed the structure and policy of the Zogist movement. Its main fighting strength was drawn from the regions of Mati, Kruya, and Tirana, each of which had some special connection with the royalist cause. Zog was a man of Mati, and in his reign the valley had grown rich above all other districts in Albania. Tirana had been his chosen capital, whose claims he had consistently defended against the rival cities of Scutari and Valona. As for Kruya, it was Abas Kupi's birthplace, and he had governed it for fifteen years under the King. The Agha claimed that the clans in these three districts might muster ten thousand men; but they were ill-equipped and desperately short of ammunition. The movement, however, was spreading beyond Central Albania and already commanded the support of a number of former army and gendarmerie officers, the bulk of the Tirana merchants as well as certain Gheg chieftains and prominent Tosks. I was given the list of the members of the Central Committee and recognised the names of several well-known men, mostly landowners or intellectuals, but with a good record of opposition against the Italians.

The Agha's immediate aim was to build up alliances with

[1] [i.e. Abas Kupi, leader of Zogist movement.—Analyst]

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the chiefs of Dibra and of the Catholic tribes beyond the Drin. 669* 648
He made no secret, however, of the advances that had been made to him by the Tirana Government and the Balli Kombetar, and told me frankly of his contacts with the "collaborationist" leaders. These men knew as well as he did that the Germans had lost the war, and were only too anxious to "work their passage home". He saw no reason, therefore, why he should not exploit such influence as they still possessed; for it was not in his nature to hate or to persecute those whom he no longer feared.

I now broached the subject of the Partisans, but saw at once that he regarded them as enemies. They were indeed the real danger to his cause, as contrasted with the "collaborationists" whose power to hurt him had long been on the wane. His natural inclination had been to destroy them before they grew too strong and he had only refrained from attacking them out of respect for the wishes of the British. I urged various arguments upon him in favour of reconciliation, but, though he agreed to its advantages, he doubted whether it was any longer possible.

"If you will impose friendship between us," he said, "I shall be glad. But I know these men and, *Wallahi!* they will not have it."

We now turned to the critical subject of military action. The Agha regarded himself as at war with the Germans and pointed to the presence of British military Missions on his territory as proof of this claim. He admitted, indeed, that he had not taken the offensive since the autumn; but the winter had been harsh, and all his energies had gone into building up a strong organisation with which he might lead a general rising when the time came. The people besides had been demoralised by the failure of their revolt the year before. The British Missions had incited them to action; there had been no British landing; instead their homes had been burnt, their relatives interned, and their flocks carried off. The Germans were not as pestilential as the Italians, but they were ruthless fellows, and the tribesmen would hesitate to attack them again, at least until we sent them arms and ammunition. The time

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648 [*669] had surely come, moreover, for the Allies to take the Albanian people into their confidence; they had made great sacrifices for a nation of only a million people; and, if they were now called upon to shed their blood once more, they deserved to be told what was to be their future. Meanwhile he could only repeat his demands for the recognition by the Allies of King Zog, the inclusion of Albania among the United Nations, and an assurance that the fate of the frontier provinces would not ~~be settled~~ without first consulting the wishes of their inhabitants.

We broke off our discussions for the midday meal and afterwards I prolonged the hour of siesta, reflecting on the Agha's words and preparing my answer. The substance of his remarks was that he saw no prospect of reaching agreement with the Partisans, and that the Zogists would require supplies of arms and certain political concessions before they could again attack the Germans. As I saw it the second of these two issues comprehended the first. The two parties would probably fail to come to terms of their own accord, but British intervention might still impose an uneasy alliance and so avert civil war. Such intervention, however, would scarcely be justified unless both parties were already engaged against the Germans. To bring the Zogists into action, therefore, was not only an end desirable in itself but also the only means whereby the rival resistance movements might still be reconciled.

Having thus simplified my problem, I had next to consider how to persuade Abas Kupi to take the field. I knew for certain that the Foreign Office would never grant such political concessions as he had requested; nor could I hope that our Headquarters would send him arms until he had first given proof of his good faith by renewing the attack. Words are seldom by themselves sufficient to alter the direction of a political movement. A first step, however, to bringing him back into the war was to answer his objections and show good cause why he should fight. I had therefore to make it plain that, in the British view, the onus was on him to win military and political support by his actions and not on us to induce him to engage the common enemy. To this end I now worked

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out a line of argument which in its essentials was to become our Mission's "party line". When we renewed our talks that afternoon I tried it out for the first time.

"I was in Belgrade," I began, "when you joined us there in the dark days of 1940; and no one knows better than I how much you have done in the common cause. If I speak frankly then it is because I know that you are our friend." It might be that in the past justice had not been done to Albania. But if mistakes had been made the task of correcting them was infinitely complicated by the intestine divisions of the Albanians. Abas Kupi had asked that we should recognise King Zog; but the Partisans were implacably opposed to his restoration; and the Partisans were fighting the Germans. He had proposed the formation of an Albanian Government in London; but there was no agreement among the Albanian political parties and we could not tell which of them most nearly represented the will of the Albanian people. He had also demanded Albania's inclusion among the United Nations, but there was as yet no Albanian sovereign body with which that organisation might treat. It was all most regrettable but it was not altogether our fault: for the time being, therefore, we could only pledge ourselves to restore Albania to independence. He had spoken, too, of self-determination for the Kossovo and Southern Albania. The Yugoslavs and Greeks, however, also had some claim to these regions and they were fighting the Germans. We only wanted to see justice done, but we were not alone among the Allies; and he must realise that Albania's claims might well be prejudiced by his continued inactivity.

He had asked that we should send him arms. This had been our chief purpose in coming to Albania, and we should do so on as large a scale as possible as soon as he took the field. We might wish to do so before, but there were strong reasons why we could not. Our arsenals were not inexhaustible, and from all over Europe and Asia came appeals for arms from men who were fighting the enemy with their bare hands. In Albania the Partisans were already at war and we should be very wrong to reduce their supplies in favour of a non-belligerent. The Agha had told us that the Zogists were our

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648 friends while the Partisans were only instruments of Russia. It might be true, but we could not for that divert arms from their men who were fighting to his who were not. The Russians were our allies and to do so would be to invite Russian accusations that we were thinking more about our post-war interests than about the prosecution of the war. No doubt the Russians also had an eye on the future, but at least the Communists justified the support they got by the number of Germans they killed. It was up to the Zogists to do the same; for we should certainly not weaken our alliance with Russia for their sake. Hitler's last hope was to divide us and we meant to disappoint him. The Agha might guess for himself where our sympathies lay; Great Britain was not a monarchy for nothing, but the Zogists must prove their worth if they wanted our support.

"If you fight," I concluded, "we will send you arms. If you fight we will do all in our power to resolve your differences with the Partisans. Play your part and we will play ours. The future of your King and country is in your own hands."

Abas Kupi was plainly disconcerted by these arguments, and for some moments after I had done there was a stony silence. It was indeed scarcely to be expected that we should reach agreement so early; and he may well have believed that, just as he had pitched his own demands high, so there might be an element of bargaining in my absolute rejection of all concessions. I was convinced, however, by the tone of an altercation which now arose between Abas Kupi and Murad Basha that Abas wanted to fight but was held back by unseen forces. These might be merely lack of arms, or perhaps the contrary opinions of his supporters, but in either case he would be unlikely to admit to them for fear of losing prestige in our eyes. If my instinct was right, we should make no further progress by direct negotiations until we had studied the Zogist movement for ourselves. I had heard that the Agha was soon to make a progress through Mati and Kruya and therefore asked if Maclean and I might accompany him. This would give us the chance of meeting the Zogist chiefs and members of the Central Committee, and of gauging the state of public opinion for ourselves. He welcomed the proposal; and the tension

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between us was insensibly eased by the prospect of a further exchange of views. 678

It was already dark when we made an end of our discussions, but Abas Kupi none the less decided that we should move that same evening to another village. I thought at first that this was a precaution against surprise attacks but, on enquiry, was told the simpler truth: in the two days that we had been there the bodyguard had devoured such food as the village could spare and no more could be obtained for the evening meal without straining the loyalty of the inhabitants. Hunger indeed was the sternest taskmaster of the guerillas, and the struggle to find food kept them continually on the move. We set out, therefore, into the night and, after an hour's march, came to a village where I was lodged with Abas Kupi and his staff in a large, two-storied house. [261]

A blizzard sprang up in the night and we woke to find the face of the mountains whitened with snow. I was impatient to join Maclean and discuss my impressions with him, but the fury of the elements kept us indoors all day. By next morning, however, the gale had dropped; I therefore took leave of Abas Kupi and, crossing the range, rode back into the camp at dusk.

6

TWELVE days had passed since we had landed in Albania[1], and we had by now reorganised the network of British Missions and assured our own mobility and communications with Headquarters. Our next task was to complete a reconnaissance of the situation which confronted us. According to our information there were some twenty-five thousand German troops in Albania, belonging, most of them, to the XXI Mountain Corps. The Corps Headquarters were in Tirana, and controlled the 297th Infantry Division, deployed in Central and Southern Albania, and the 181st Mountain Division, based on Scutari.[1] There were besides some units in the South belonging to the 727

[1] The 181st Mountain Division was also responsible for internal security in Southern Montenegro.

[1] [i.e. on the night of 18th April, 1944 -- Analyst]

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[727] XXII Mountain Corps, whose Headquarters were at Yannina. The Kossovo was independently garrisoned, mainly by the German-officered Albanian division, S.S. Skanderbeg. The *669 Partisans, who now formed the chief Albanian resistance movement, were reported to have nearly fifteen thousand men under arms. Except, however, for insignificant groups these were all among the Tosks, south of the river Shkumbi. The Ballist forces were also concentrated in the South and about Tirana, but were now reduced to little more than five thousand men. We were thus tolerably informed of the numbers and circumstances of our German enemies and Partisan allies, but knew almost nothing of the military potentialities of the Zogist movement in particular, or of the Ghegs in general. Maclean and I therefore set out on 3rd May to join Abas Kupi and study conditions in Mati and Kruya for ourselves. Meanwhile Smiley and Hare remained at base to reconnoitre the precise dispositions of the Germans and to take soundings of opinion in Tirana.

[342] Abas Kupi and his staff had assembled in the fortress home of Tsen Lezi,[1] set in a cleft in the mountains high above the Mati valley. We joined him there about nightfall and found [352] the Zogist leaders seated round the hearth at the end of a long and narrow hall, lit only by the flames of the fire. The skins of sheep and goats were spread out on the floor as carpets, and the walls and rude crossbeams which supported the roof were black and shiny with soot. So must have been the keep of Dunsinane. Tsen Lezi, the master of the house, was wild and woolly like an aged bear, and grunted as he ambled out to greet us. His eyes were small and bright; his bushy moustache sprouted in all directions; and his clothes were brown and furry, homespun from the shearings of his sheep. 596 He ruled sternly over his family, or clan, for there were more than sixty of them living in the house, and directed every detail of dynastic policy: what land or livestock should be bought or sold, which of the children should be sent to school, what marriages should be made, what blood feuds prosecuted

[1] A Mati chieftain, not to be confused with the Dibran leader, Tsen Elezi.

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or compounded and, above all, what sides the clan should take 596
in the strife of political factions. Tsen Lezi had long been a
supporter of Abas Kupi and he received us well.

It was already May, but in the mountains we had still lived /33
amid the gales and snow of winter. Next morning, however, as we descended from Tsen Lezi's house, we came out of the mists into the sunlight and saw the broad Mati valley spread out below us like a promised land. Fat sheep and cattle grazed in the undulating pastures; whitewashed houses, the tallest in Albania, were scattered over the low, wooded hills; and beyond the sparkling river the ground rose steeply to the wild glens of Mirdita. The guerillas had not left the mountains since autumn; and now, at the sight of the sunlit valley, the long line of men winding down the hillside broke into a strident song. Presently Abas Kupi called a halt and we sat down to refresh our eyes with the view. Hitherto I had always looked on mountains as holiday grounds; but the guerillas' song touched some atavistic chord in me and for the first time I experienced the weary highlander's longing for the plain.

Mati was rich and populated, the region where the tribal /101
system of the mountains mingled with the feudalism of the coastal plain. The land and flocks were still owned and worked in common by the different clans; but their chiefs were already known as *Beys*; and the wealthier among them employed hired labour and rented out some of their fields to poorer families. The men of Mati were reputed devout Moslems and, as is often the way of the pious, they lived well; renowned for their lavish hospitality and comfortably appointed houses. They had prospered especially under the monarchy;
for King Zog was a man of Mati and his first care had been 643
for the people of his valley. Many, though they could not [212]
read nor write, had been given appointments in the civil service; and, following the tradition of the Turks, Zog had conferred reserve commissions on most of the *Beys*. This was not indeed to compel them to military service, but to bind them more closely to his cause by the payment of an honourable and regular pension. The valley had benefited, moreover, 653
from an ambitious programme of public works; a road and

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[653] several bridges had been built; and Burrel had been made
643 the model provincial capital of Albania. The grateful memory of these past benefits and a just pride in their king's achievements in a broader field were fortified by the lapse in the payment of pensions which had followed his expulsion. The men of Mati were thus staunch for King Zog; we found his picture in almost every house we visited, and at night, sitting round the fire, listened to tales of his adventures and even epic poems celebrating his exploits. There were of course exceptions, as I learned one night when I asked a veteran chieftain why he had embraced the Zogist cause. The cunning old warrior eyed me closely and answered with a wealth of meaning: "I am a monarchist in case the King should come back."

*669 Our progress through the valley was leisurely and public, and indeed was intended by Abas Kupi as a demonstration to show the Zogist flag and to parade the new British Mission—the outward and visible sign of Allied support. We had brought horses with us, but the marches were short, and Abas Kupi always went on foot with his men. As a mark of respect, therefore, we left our bodyguards to lead our beasts and followed his example. We marched escorted by a bodyguard of a hundred picked guerillas, a force sufficient both to overawe any local opposition and to prevent the Germans from attacking us with anything less than a battalion. Of this indeed there was little risk; for the bridges over the Mati had been blown in the rising against the Italians, and an enemy would have had to leave his transports at the entrance to the valley. We should thus have had ample warning of his approach and would have ambushed him, or dispersed into the hills. The Germans, however, wisely preferred to let sleeping dogs lie. They knew that Abas Kupi's relations with the Partisans were strained, and, despite the presence of British officers in his camp, had no intention of diverting him from his domestic conflicts by an ill-timed and provocative attack.

000 We passed through rolling fields and leafy forests; and each day brought us to some new village where we were feasted by the clans. Their houses varied in size nd archi-

Their houses,[1] varied in size and architecture with the wealth of the owners; but all were essentially 342
built for defence. As a rule, they were so situated as to command a good field of fire over their chief approaches, and were often surrounded by walled courtyards entered through heavy, wooden gates studded with iron. For the most part they were of wood and stone, sometimes whitewashed, and consisted of two stories, joined by a narrow indoor staircase, or by a flight of wooden steps on the outside. The ground floor was the cattle and the women's quarters; above was the guest-room. This guest-room was the centre of the life of the house, and, except for a stout chest in which the valuables of the family were stored, was altogether empty of furniture. At one end of it was the open hearth from which the smoke escaped through chinks in the wall or, in statelier mansions, through a chimney. Narrow windows, usually without panes, served as a means of ventilation or, on occasion, as rifle slits; but so dim was the light which they diffused that it was often difficult to read indoors, even at midday. At night the room would be lit by the glow of the fire, or sometimes by oil lamps or pinewood torches.

On entering a house we[2] would take off our boots and give 574
up our rifles to the host, though retaining our side arms. As 576
foreigners, we would then be led to the place of honour, which is on the right-hand side of the hearth, next to the wall. Abas Kupi would sit with us, or take the left-hand side, and the rest of the company, including bodyguards and orderlies, assembled in a horse shoe round the fire. The youngest sat at the apex of the horse shoe, and, since there were often a score of us, the evening would begin with much show of "Friend go up higher". We sat on carpets or sheepskin rugs, cross-legged or reclining against our saddle-bags. When all [276]
were seated, the host rolled cigarettes, which only non-smokers might refuse, and tossed them with unfailing accuracy to each guest. Presently a warm drink would be served, usually coffee, though in the poorer houses sweetened or salted milk was often brought instead. As outlaws we sought to keep our movements secret and our arrival was, as a rule, the first warning of our visit which the host received. Custom demanded that he serve us

1 [i.e. in the Mati valley -- Analyst]

2 [British liaison officers in early 1944 -- Analyst]

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576 574 meat, and, since several hours might pass before the sheep or kid had been killed and made ready, it was often past midnight before we had eaten.

While the meal was cooking we variously slept or talked and let the bodyguards dry damp clothes by the fire or massage our weary limbs. Sometimes, to beguile the time, one of the [533] company would recite from the long epic poems in which the Albanians record the exploits of their heroes. They were weird, monotonous laments, sung in a high-pitched nasal voice to the accompaniment of a one-stringed mandolin. An hour [273] or so before the meal was served flasks of *raki* would be brought, accompanied by *mese* of onions, cheese, and sometimes hard-boiled eggs or lumps of grilled meat. *Raki* is a fiery, colourless spirit, made from the pulp of grapes, or sometimes, like *slivovitz*, from plums. Among the mountaineers it was usually home-brewed, and varied greatly in quality and strength. The principal guests would each receive a small flask, the shape of an old-fashioned burgundy flagon, and holding perhaps half a pint, while the rest of the company fared according to the resources of the host, sharing a flask between two or three. Toasts were drunk to the traditional greeting of " *Tungjatjeta* " — " May your life be prolonged " ; and, though the mountaineers habitually drank to excess, they seldom failed to comport themselves with grave, if sometimes mellowed, dignity.

When the cooking was done Maclean, as the chief guest, would be asked if the meal might be served ; there was never [521] conversation after meals, and so the greatest compliment which he could pay his host and fellows was to ask for a postponement. 264 As soon, however, as he had given his assent, a circular wooden table some five feet in diameter would be carried in, standing about six inches from the ground. Round this a dozen of us would assemble, sitting cross-legged, but in a crocodile, each sideways on to the table so as to make room for as many as possible. We would then each be given a spoon as our sole piece of cutlery and with this helped ourselves to the more liquid dishes at the centre of the table. There were no plates, so that each spoon plied steadily backwards and forwards

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between the individual mouth and the communal dish. More [244] solid foods, such as meat or rice, were eaten with the fingers, 262 and, since each dish was communal, those who ate slowly went hungry. The midday and evening meals were both known as "*buk*", or bread; for theoretically, and in the poorer houses practically, maize bread was the basic foodstuff, while the other dishes were regarded merely as sauces to make the bread more palatable.

In the course of our journeys we touched life at many angles and experienced extremes of poverty and plenty. Often we were lucky to get even a lump of cheese and maize bread, or a cup of unsweetened milk. At other times, especially in Mati, we were surfeited by a wealthy host on successive dishes of eggs, boiled mutton, roast mutton *pilaf*, and luscious *halvas* and *baklavas* in the Turkish style. As a general rule, however, Albanian fare was lacking in variety and the average meal might be a soup of beans, a dish of boiled mutton, and a bowl of milk or *yoghourt*. The guest of honour usually received [576] the sheep's head — the brain and eyes were considered the greatest delicacies — or sometimes the kidneys and the tail. Fatness was the quality most admired in sheep, though even with hard exercise all of us except Smiley found the enjoyment of lumps of hot boiled fat an acquired taste. Milk was the usual drink at meals, drunk like soup from a communal bowl and served as a last course. Water was also to be had, but only on request, for there was usually only one glass or mug in the house. Before and after meals the host came round 264 with a basin and ewer, and the guests washed their hands — [515] a most necessary proceeding seeing that these were used for eating. In the richer houses the washing water was warmed and home-made soap was also provided. Each man left the table when he had finished eating without waiting for his fellows; and when the chief guests had done there would be a "deuxième service" for the rest of the company, or sometimes two tables might be set at once. The guests had the right — and often used it — to criticise any meanness in their entertainment to their host's face; and he would never sit at table or taste food until the last of the guests had eaten.

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513 When all had done,[1] mattresses and eiderdowns would be brought and spread out on the floor for the half-dozen guests of honour, while the others made themselves as comfortable as they might with their overcoats and jackets. It was still considered rather indecent to undress, but before the lights were snuffed out the prudent ones would gather their arms and effects about them against the dangers and confusions of a night attack. In cold weather the fire was kept alight till morning; in summer the room would often become intolerably stuffy from the accumulated animal warmth of a score of snoring sleepers.

512 The Albanians were not given to early rising, for their evening hours were late, and in the mountains the mornings were cold. They would get up between eight and nine o'clock and, by a generous convention, the younger guests were left sleeping till last. The mountaineers knew not breakfast; but 264 in many houses the host would bring a cup of coffee or of hot, 515 sweetened milk when he saw us wake. Ablutions were per- 301 functory, each man, or the host, pouring cold water from a ewer over his fellow's hands, with which the latter seldom did more than dab his eyes. Moustaches were *de rigueur*, though by exception Abas Kupi was clean-shaven; but only priests or bandits grew beards. Shaving, however, was most often a weekly affair and considered a sufficient occasion to warrant the valedictory greeting of "*Meschnett*" — an equivalent of 000 "God bless you" — to the shaver. In these matters I conformed to the customs of the country, but Maclean and Smiley insisted on adhering to the standards of cleanliness of their distinguished cavalry regiments. Stripped to the waist and with razors flashing, they washed daily and thoroughly, to the great wonder of the mountaineers who crowded round to 514 watch. Albanian sanitary arrangements were primitive but ingenious. The closet, which adjoined the guest room, projected, sometimes precariously, from the house over the courtyard below. It consisted of a hole in the floor, often of impracticably narrow circumference; and, underneath it, the thrifty Albanians were wont to keep their poultry, which gobbled up a strange diet with evident relish.

1 [i.e. eating — Analyst]

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Women among the clans were but the slaves and chattels 562
of their men. In the mountains they went unveiled but almost all were prematurely aged by manual labour and child-bearing. Sometimes we saw one hurrying across a courtyard or peering up at us from the kitchen fire; otherwise they had no part in our lives.

Social distinctions among the guerillas were subtle and 554
changing; the chieftains and their sons were treated with respect but never with servility; and the bodyguards sometimes as poor relations but always as members of the same family. They ate and slept together, and, in so far as he could, the host provided alike for all. Luxuries in the mountains were inevitably scarce, but, if the choicest morsels went to the *Beys* and elders, the rest received their portion until the whole was finished. The Ghegs indeed regard hospitality as 574
a sacred duty enjoined upon the host, never as a favour conferred upon the guest. To give of his best was a point of honour, and a tribesman would kill his last ewe lamb, or even his milch goat, rather than fail to set meat before the meanest of his guests. In the days of slavery Albanians had been known to sell their wives or children to feast a stranger; and one story which I heard illustrates the extent of their honourable, if quixotic, liberality. In the repression which followed the rising of the Scutari clans early in the last century the bravest of the insurgent leaders, a Catholic chieftain, was captured and brought before the Turkish governor. The Pasha gave the order to cut off his head but, as the proud Albanian knelt to receive the fatal stroke, the Turk was moved by a dark and sudden curiosity:

"You are a brave man," he said. "Tell me, have you ever known a worse moment than this?"

The Albanian looked up and answered gravely: "Only once; when a stranger came to my house and I had not even bread to set before him."

For the sake of the answer, his life was spared.

We spent several days among the men of Mati, resting in 000
sunlit orchards, or cool, whitewashed rooms, or round their

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000 hearths at night. We watched their unfamiliar ways, studied
668 their starkly realist opinions, and by a hundred different
[662] arguments preached war against the Germans. Abas Kupi meanwhile worked hard to strengthen his faction, rewarding friends, corrupting enemies, and gently menacing the un-
628 decided. Above all he sought to impose a truce between the warring clans whose blood feuds threatened the unity of the Zogist cause. The *Hakmeria*, or blood feud, had its merits, for it was a great teacher of manners and of respect for the dignity of the individual. No Albanian indeed could strike
[683] another with impunity, and even schoolmasters had been known to pay with their lives for a hasty cuff in class. But the feuds took a heavy toll of life and suffering; and we met men from weak clans who had scarcely left their homes in twenty years for fear of neighbours with whom they were "in blood". Under the monarchy some attempt had been made to suppress the feuds; and they had begun to decline before the growing power of the Central Government. With the collapse, however, of Italian rule the mountaineers had returned to their ancient anarchy, and now blood feuds flourished on every side. As foreigners we stood in no danger from them, but they were none the less an important factor in our daily life. A guide would take us several hours out of our way to avoid crossing the territory of a clan with which he was "in blood"; chieftains would suddenly postpone a meeting, alarmed by rumours that their enemies were lying in wait; and sometimes at tribal gatherings we would see a man pass the coffee cup to his neighbour under his knee — the supreme mark of contempt for the man who had not even tried to avenge a wrong.

628 The persistence of the blood feuds presented Abas Kupi with a serious problem, for every time a clan was won to his cause their blood enemies would side automatically with his rivals. He therefore laboured patiently to reconcile the contending parties, and in accordance with the Law of Lek invited them to submit their feuds to his arbitration. There was, moreover, an ancient tradition that a general truce, or *besa*, might be proclaimed like the medieval "Truce of God" if a region was

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in danger of foreign attack. To secure such a *besa* and so restore 628
the unity of Mati was now the Agha's foremost aim.

We were joined every now and then by groups of notables 662
who would accompany us on the march for two or three days. Among them came one, Hafuz Effendi, a shrunken, bird-like creature, who had been deputy of Mati under the Italians. Like many of the older Albanians Hafuz still wrote for preference in the Arabic script and for our benefit recited the opening *surahs* of the Koran. He had been on Essad Pasha's staff in the last war and since then, in the time-serving tradition of the Ottoman bureaucracy, had worked in turn for Fan Noli, Zog, and the Italians. During the occupation, indeed, he had twice betrayed Abas Kupi's hide-out to the Italians, and was even held responsible for the arrest of some of the guerillas. Now, however, that the Italians were gone, he piously proclaimed himself a democrat and had come to offer his services to Abas Kupi, in whom he discerned the paramount influence of the day. Such time-serving exceeded, even among the Albanians; and, despite his great age, he was mocked unmercifully by young and old. He was a guest, however, albeit self-invited, and while he was with us no one would have thought of harming him. Abas Kupi let him stay with us two days and then dismissed him to his house, but kindly; for it was now his policy to forget the past and to stretch out a hand to all who would support him.

Germanic names, such as Allemani and Walter, were found [551]
among the Mati clans, derived, so it was said, from Crusaders
who had settled in Albania on their way to the East. The 628
Walter clan had declared for Abas Kupi, but they were still suspect to the Zogists; for they had long been blood enemies of the King. One of them indeed, named Bekir, had tried in 1924 to assassinate Zog in the Tirana Parliament. He had only succeeded in wounding him and, to escape capture, had then locked himself up in the Parliament lavatory. There he had reloaded and prepared to stand siege, singing patriotic songs to keep up his courage. None of the deputies had dared to break in the door, for they knew that Bekir was armed;

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628 but after some parley he had been persuaded to surrender to Kotsuli, his party chief. Thanks to Kotsuli's efforts his sentence had been commuted to one of exile; and he had lived abroad, in Paris. Fifteen years later, when the Italians had driven Zog from the throne, Bekir had decided to return to Albania. There, business took him to Valona, and, late one night, staying in the chief hotel, he heard someone calling for help and beating against the wall. He went to investigate and found that some unfortunate man had locked himself up in the lavatory and could not get out. Bekir began to unpick the lock and, as he did so, a voice said from within:

"I am Kotsuli! I will reward your kindness."

"There is no need," replied Bekir, as he set free his former party chief, "for I am Walter. The debt was mine!"

We did not see Bekir, for his friendship with Kotsuli had led him into collaboration with the Germans, but the Walter clan received us well.

*669 Our progress through Mati was crowned by a grand gathering of the *Beys* in the stronghold of Dule, the chief of the powerful Allemani clan. Dule was a dark, inbred-looking man with sensitive, aquiline features wasted by consumption. For years he had pitted himself against Zog, but hatred of foreign rule had led him to join Abas Kupi; and he had astonished the tribes by his valour in the rising against the Italians. He was indeed a true *Caballero de la Triste Figura*, hiding a brave and generous nature beneath a decadent and ragged frame. A score or so of notables had assembled to meet us, and their bodyguards, camped about the keep, must have numbered close on a thousand men. Among them were Sul Kurti, a favourite of the King, known as the Lion of Mati, but grown old and heavy; Doda, the Italianised young *Bairaktar* of Kthelle, who was the leading Catholic among the Zogists and a cousin of the redoubtable Captain of Mirdita; and Yussuf Chelai, the dignified and courteous chief of the neighbouring clan. Yussuf Bey's presence was a pleasant surprise, for Allemanis and Chelais had long been "in blood"; and their reconciliation was a great triumph for Abas Kupi.

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All of these men had taken part that autumn in the rising against the Italians, and many had seen their homes burnt and their livestock slaughtered in the accompanying reprisals. They had fought, however, with spirit, for they had been exasperated by Italian rule, and had believed that the hour of liberation, and of looting, was at hand. Now the situation was very different: they bore little hatred against the Germans; for the German yoke sat upon them lightly, and, in their remote regions, months might pass without their even seeing a German soldier. They knew indeed that an Allied victory was certain but, although they meant to play their part in the final destruction of the enemy, they had a wholesome respect for his ruthless ways. Only six months before they had risen in premature revolt; the price had been heavy; and they intended to make doubly sure of the fruits of victory before they again exposed their families and property to the risk of reprisals. 669* 727

They received us with every mark of friendship and respect, but we saw that they would not easily be moved to fight. The fear of reprisals had become an obsession with them; and, when we urged them to take the field, they only pointed to the ruins of Burrel and to the gutted houses which in almost every village recalled the passage of an Italian army. Burrel was the capital of Mati, built by King Zog as the model provincial city of Albania. It had once numbered some ten thousand inhabitants and had boasted solid public buildings, schools, a hospital, and modern houses such as had never been seen in these backward regions. In the rising of 1943 the clansmen of Mati had rushed the town and captured it, driving the Italian garrison back into their fortified barracks. The Italian command in Tirana had despatched reinforcements to the relief of the garrison; but Abas Kupi had lain in wait for them on the Qafa Stamm pass and for three days had disputed their crossing of the Skanderbeg range. Meanwhile the men of Mati had looted Burrel and decimated its defenders. In the end the Italians had reoccupied the city, and had set fire in revenge to every building in it. Nothing now remained but the gutted shell of its buildings, altogether deserted, with [361]

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*669 [72] the grass growing up between the paving-stones — a silent reminder to the people of the valley of the price of revolt.

We spent two days with the *Beys* of Mati ; and the results of their discussions with us and with Abas Kupi were embodied in a formal resolution. The chiefs reaffirmed their loyalty to the Zogist movement, and proclaimed a general *besa*, or truce of blood feuds to last until the end of the war. They declared that they would resist any attempts by the Partisans to enter their territories, but rejected an invitation from the Central Government to send forces to join in a drive against them. They offered to provide our Mission with guards, guides, hospitality, and information, and appointed Abas Kupi to negotiate with us on their behalf. Finally, they agreed in principle to fight against the Germans, but left it to the Agha to settle with us the exact terms on which they should take the field.

These decisions were the best that we could hope for at this stage, and we therefore took leave of the assembled *Beys*, after warning them in appropriate speeches of the dangers of continued neutrality. We now marched north-west towards Burrel and were received at dusk into the ruined house of one of Abas Kupi's bodyguards. In the night, soon after we had retired, we were woken by the sound of a car. We jumped up hurriedly, and, pulling on our boots, sprang to arms outside, fearing a surprise attack. Our visitor, however, proved to be an Albanian officer, a spy of Abas Kupi's, who had come out to give us information of recent changes in German troop dispositions. He brought besides grave political news which was confirmed next morning in a message from Smiley. The Partisans had held a congress at Permeti, where resolutions had been passed calling for the formation of an L.N.C. provisional government, and demanding that Abas Kupi be declared an Enemy of the People. The clouds of civil war were already gathering in the South.

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000 We had descended into the Mati valley from the Ziber mountains and for two days had followed the left bank of the river,

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KAPLAN BEY CHELAI

"WE" — SMILEY, THE AUTHOR, MACLEAN

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ABAS KUPI (SMELLING A ROSE) WITH TWO CHIEFS FROM THE TIRANA MOUNTAINS

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1/1 [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 121-122 -- Analyst]

THE ZOGIST HEADQUARTERS AT SHUPAL

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marching south-eastwards towards its source. Then, by the gaping ruins of Pazaari-Urs, a model market village burnt by the Italians, we had crossed over to the right bank and returned north-westward, marching towards the sea. Now, ten days after we had come down into the valley, we forded the river once more, and began the ascent of the great Skanderbeg range which divides Mati from Kruya. It was only ten days since we had sung for joy to escape from the rawness of the mountains; but the full heat of summer was already upon us, and we were glad to climb again into their clearer air and shake the dust of the sultry valley from our feet.

We toiled uphill all day in the burning glare of the sun, and in the late afternoon reached the head of the pass whence the way ran down to Kruya. There Abas Kupi called a halt, and, while the men sat down and rolled cigarettes, we climbed a hundred feet or so to the summit of a projecting and rocky knoll. Four thousand feet below us lay the plain, with its broad acres, turgid inland lagoons, and the wrinkled promontory of Rodonit crawling out into the glinting waters of the Adriatic. Tirana and Durazzo were wrapped in the evening haze while Kruya was masked by the massive Kruya Mountain. This was a flat-topped cliff, rising nearly four thousand feet above the plain, and honeycombed with caves — the legendary abode of Said Saltiq, the immortal wizard of Albanian folk-lore. We stayed there nearly two hours, watching the colours fade while Abas Kupi told us of his early struggles. Then we climbed down to a broad meadow, where the guerillas wrestled with each other and played games until darkness made it safe to enter Shkrete, the hamlet where we were to spend the night.

We[1] left Shkrete next morning and proceeded all day at a leisurely pace towards the foot of Mount Kruya. In Mati Abas Kupi had everywhere been received with the respect and honour due to a great guerilla leader; in Kruya he was welcomed with devotion and enthusiasm, for now he was among his own people. He seemed to know each mountaineer we met and for each had a special word of greeting or enquiry. There could be no mistaking his popularity; and even in the

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[1] [ie. the group of British liaison officers -- Analyst]

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186 poorest villages through which we passed the women would run out and kiss his hands or hold up their children to him.

000 Night overtook us in the trough between the range and Mount Kruya ; and an hour or so later we were received into a dilapidated house, built in a hollow some two hundred feet below the main Mati–Kruya road. There we were to meet representatives of the Zogist Central Committee next morning. Our position was exposed, and doubly so since our presence there was already known to the Committee in Tirana. Abas Kupi therefore posted sentries along the paths leading towards the house, and we slept that night with one eye open.

*669 648 The representatives of the Zogist Committee, Salih Hoja Vuchitern and Teke Zelenitsa, arrived in the small hours of the morning. Both were badly shaken, for, by a strange irony, the car in which they had travelled from Tirana had been "strafed" on the road by an R.A.F. fighter 'plane. The pilot could hardly have been expected to know that they were on the business of the British Mission, but it was an unfortunate prelude to our talks. Salih Hoja was a Balkan politician of the old school, a blend of peasant guile and Byzantine diplomacy. He had been a powerful influence under King Zog ; but now his close-cropped hair was grown white with years, his voice was querulous, and his hand shook. Zelenitza was a younger man and had been an official in the palace. He was of an acid disposition, and, though more westernised than old Salih, lacked his courtesy and understanding. The two men had come out to press for political concessions, and we saw from the start that they would not agree to fight until some at least of their demands had been granted. Such an attitude was not indeed unnatural, for they were primarily politicians and knew that, once fighting started, it would be too late for them to intervene. Questions of policy would then tend to become subordinated to the immediate needs of war, and the control of the Zogist movement would pass out of their hands.

They began accordingly by repeating the principal demands which Abas Kupi had already made : the inclusion of Albania among the United Nations, the recognition of King Zog, self-determination for the Kossovo, and military support for the

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Zogist movement. Then in great detail, supported by a wealth of documentary evidence, they spoke to us of the Communist danger in the Balkans, and of the close connection between Moscow, Tito, and the L.N.C. Much of this we knew already, but they laboured the point as if we had not fully understood their meaning. So steeped were they, indeed, in their studies of the Eastern Question that they could not believe that any British Government would allow, let alone encourage, the spread of Russian influence to the Adriatic sea.

We answered, as on previous occasions, that if we had never ceased to recognise King Zog no problem would arise. We could not, however, recognise him now without causing serious concern to the Partisans, who were actively fighting the Germans. It was perhaps true that the Partisans reflected Russian rather than British interests; but, in our eyes, the Zogists could only maintain their claim to be our friends if they resumed the fight against the common enemy. Our alliance with Russia was the foundation of our policy, and we should therefore take no step which we could not openly justify before our Soviet allies.

When we had done, old Salih Hoja shook his head and answered:

"We know your victory is certain, but do you really need our sacrifices to justify your policy? When I was young it was enough that Great Britain had an interest at stake for her representatives to be sure that they were justified in defending it. We have already suffered once from your policies of appeasement. Believe me, the outlook for small nations will remain dark until you assert yourselves again."

We were troubled by the old man's answer, but our instructions were clear and we could not concede his demands. After some discussion, therefore, the two Zogist representatives rose to leave, promising to refer our opinions to their colleagues on the Central Committee and to send us an answer in writing.

Soon after the two men had gone a stranger was brought in by the bodyguards, bearing a letter for Abas Kupi. It was

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from Mustafa Kruya, and invited us to meet him and Mark Joni Markai for an exchange of views. Both men were still openly collaborating with the Germans and we decided that we could not take part in the talks ourselves. We agreed, however, that Abas Kupi should do so, for Mark was the son of the Captain of Mirdita and his attitude might decide the fate of Gheg resistance. The Mirdite clansmen were great warriors, and their hereditary Captain reputed worth more than five thousand rifles. Their region, moreover, marched with Mati, and, if we could bind together the Mirdites and Zogists, we should have a powerful force with which to attack the enemy and a wide expanse of territory into which we could withdraw from his wrath. Jon Marko Joni had long sided with the Axis, but we were not without hopes of obtaining his support : the tide of war was flowing in our favour, and it was believed that he had his price.

Abas Kupi left us, therefore, and that night met the two " collaborationists " in the Bektashi convent on the summit of Mount Kruya. It must have been a strange reunion, for Abas had not seen Mustafa since 1941, and, in the intervening years, each had sought to encompass the other's downfall and assassination. Neither, however, showed any sign of embarrassment, for, like wise men, they were guided by the injunction of Bias to " love as if you should hereafter hate and hate as if you should hereafter love ".

Mustafa and Mark knew that the Germans would soon be powerless to help them ; they could expect no mercy from the Communists ; and it was only by coming to terms with the Zogists that they might hope to " work their passage home ". At the same time, before they broke with the Germans, who still represented a positive, if wasting, asset, they wanted to make sure that Albania had not already been assigned to the Russian sphere of influence and that the Zogists were really strong enough to help them. They had come, therefore, to seek terms from Abas Kupi, and to learn how far he could count on British support. He never told us what answer he had given them, and, under the circumstances, we thought it more politic not to enquire.

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While Abas Kupi had been thus engaged, we had crossed the Kruya road with the main body of Zogists, now commanded by Petrit, and had withdrawn into the mountains to the south-east. There the Agha joined us next day and told us of his meeting. Then, leaving the bodyguard to rest, he led us to an isolated farm-house, where he had hidden his family in the care of a trusted friend. His wife was a large, motherly lady, of curiously Welsh appearance, with sharp features protruding from under a white veil. With her was their daughter, a vivacious girl of twelve, and their youngest son, Rustum, a wide-eyed, graceful boy, who, at the age of fourteen, had already killed his first Italian.

A family is a heavy liability in time of revolution, but, although a devoted father and husband, Abas Kupi never allowed his domestic cares to influence his political decisions. He had, besides, the satisfaction of finding in his eldest son, Petrit, a brave and useful lieutenant, who now acted increasingly as interpreter between us when important business was discussed. Petrit had been interned for two years in Italy at the beginning of the war and had acquired the patience and discretion which prison often teaches. Back in Albania, he had at once taken to the mountains and had fought for a year in the South in the ranks of the Partisans. In the winter of 1943, when the Agha had broken with Enver Hoja, Petrit had followed suit and had brought over to the Zogists a "shock cheta" of some thirty young Partisans. He was deeply respectful of his father and would never smoke nor drink in his presence. At the same time he held very independent views, curiously compounded of Albanian traditional values and the Marxist teachings of the Partisan commissars. The former, however, seemed to predominate; and he once told me that *The Count of Monte Cristo* was his favourite book, adding by way of explanation: "Quelle superbe vengeance!"

Abas Kupi had not seen his family for three months, but he stayed with them only one night. Next day we pushed on to the village of Shupal, the seat of the permanent Zogist Headquarters. These were established in a cluster of houses on the summit of a steep-sided plateau, which rose out of the

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*669 [361] valley between Mount Daiti and Mount Bastar. The position was naturally strong and enjoyed a commanding view of the surrounding country. Despite the rain a guard of honour had been turned out to receive us; and we were welcomed by Colonel Yahya Chachi, the Commandant of the Zogist Headquarters, and his staff. This was composed of three former majors of gendarmerie and a former major and a captain of infantry, who all greeted us with the customary Zogist salute, swinging the right arm smartly across the chest. They entertained us royally, providing us with knives and forks which [273] we had almost forgotten how to use, and plying us in quick succession with potent *raki* and good Italian wine. We drank a health to the monarchs of England and Albania — the greatest and the smallest kingdoms in the world — and then toasted each other with appropriate speeches and excessive frequency. This drinking of toasts was to be the cause of some mirth; for Colonel Yahya Chachi suffered from a pronounced squint, and every time he raised his glass to propose a health at the crowded table, two persons invariably replied, each arrested alike by the gaze of his penetrating but divergent eyes. The Zogist staff were friendly disposed, but strangers to Central Albania, and, it seemed to us, demoralised by prolonged inactivity. Their real function indeed was to impress the tribes with Abas Kupi's power, and, if it came to fighting, to man the movement's mortars and heavy machine-guns.

When we had lunched we were taken out in a body to inspect the *cheta* responsible for the defence of the Headquarters.* It consisted of a hundred and fifty ragged men and boys, variously armed with rifles of German, Italian, Austrian, Serbian and Turkish pattern. They were drawn up in two ranks, each of which was dressed with as much precision as the undulations of the ground and the individualism of the guerillas would allow. We passed them rapidly in inspection and were then led to a low eminence where the staff officers assumed appropriately martial attitudes while Colonel Yahya harangued ooo the troops. Maclean was invited to reply; and when he had finished speaking the men placed their rifles between their knees and signified their approbation by loud and prolonged

* [i.e. at Shupal, seat of permanent Zogist Headquarters -- Analyst]

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clapping. It was, I recalled, under rather similar circumstances that the Duke of Wellington once exclaimed : " I hope these gallant fellows will frighten the enemy ; they certainly frighten me ! "

Afterwards we watched Zogist teams at their mortar and machine-gun training, and were then shown over the depleted stock of mortars and automatic weapons which the Zogists still retained from the revolt against the Italians.

Abas Kupi took no part in these unreal parades, but watched them from a distance, chatting with the local peasants and smelling a rose which one of them had given him. He joined us, however, when we began to inspect his stock of weapons and gently reminded us that his poverty in arms was in part the result of British policy. In the previous autumn an Italian division had surrendered to him and had volunteered to fight for the Allies. He had little use for them as soldiers and had planned to disarm them and distribute their weapons to his mountaineers. The British Mission, however, with its natural preference for regular soldiers as against guerillas, had insisted on letting the Italians keep their arms. All had gone well at first, but, with the approach of winter, the Italians had lost heart and had marched back into Tirana with all their equipment.

The written reply of the Central Committee reached us while we were still in Shupal. It proved to be a twenty-page memorandum, recapitulating in execrable French all the demands which Salih Hoja had made to us by the Kruya road, and which we had then flatly rejected. On the vital issues of fighting the Germans and of coming to terms with the L.N.C. there was no word. This seemed to us intolerable prevarication and we decided to demand an immediate explanation from Abas Kupi. We signified, therefore, through our interpreter, that we wished to speak with him ; and he led us out from the crowded headquarters into a field where carpets had been spread. Our irritation had by this time somewhat subsided, but Maclean made a good show of anger and protested vehemently against the useless repetition of inadmissible arguments.

[Cf. pp. 118-119.—Analyst]

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000 "We have risked our lives," he concluded, "to find out how we can help your movement; and now you bring us this nonsense as a reply."

There was a pause; and then with a deprecating smile Abas Kupi explained that the members of the Committee had really prepared the memorandum for their first meeting with us. The typist had failed to finish it in time, but now that the fair copy was ready they had felt that it would be a pity not to send it to us.

*669 648 The tension between us was dispelled by this ridiculous admission, and the conversation now took a more serious turn. Rather to our surprise, Abas Kupi invited us to arrange for him to meet the Partisan leaders as soon as possible. His declared object was to achieve a common front with them against the Germans, and he laid down as his only condition that a British officer should be present throughout their discussions. This he regarded as an essential safeguard so that we might judge for ourselves which party was responsible, should the negotiations break down. To bring Partisans and Zogists together round a table would be the first step towards a reconciliation; and we might then hope to bring pressure to bear on both sides to prevent them from flying apart. We therefore welcomed the proposal and promised to transmit it at once to our Headquarters, and, through them, to our colleagues with the L.N.C.

The Agha then briefly referred to his earlier demands for the recognition of the King, the inclusion of Albania among the United Nations, and the self-determination of the frontier provinces. These were issues of high policy to which his Central Committee attached the greatest importance; and, as a mere soldier, he would be very reluctant to go against their advice. He would, however, do so without hesitation on orders from King Zog. The King was in London, and Abas Kupi, therefore, proposed that we should refer our differences to him and ask for his private instructions.

"Let the King send a message through your Mission," he said, "and if he tells me to fight with my bare hands, I will."

This request seemed to us an inspired alternative to the

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impracticable demands for public assurances. We had indeed resolutely set ourselves against all political concessions, but to transmit a private message would involve no commitment. It seemed only natural that a monarchist leader should wish to consult his king before taking the field; and we could see no good reason why we should not help him to do so. We felt certain besides that the King's instructions would be favourable to our policy; and once armed with a mandate from him for war Abas Kupi would be free to disregard the objections of his Central Committee.

We undertook, therefore, to transmit this second proposal also to our Headquarters, and prepared to return to our base on Mount Bastar to despatch the necessary telegrams. Several days must pass before we could expect an answer and we planned meanwhile to visit Riddle's mission in the valley of the Black Drin. Abas Kupi for his part had work in Shiyak, the province beyond Durazzo, and it was agreed that we should meet again in the first days of June.

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WE rode into camp at dusk on the 21st of May, and, turning our riding ponies out to grass, joined Smiley and Hare where they reclined upon the hillside, meditating over a bottle of Marsala. The Italian orderlies presently set food before us, replaced the empty bottles with new, and wrapped blankets round our shoulders, for the mountain air was cool. Thus we prolonged the summer night exchanging news and discussing plans. In our absence Hare had been down into the plain to take soundings of opinion in Tirana and to find means of passing subversive propaganda to the enemy troops. He had picked up much interesting information and had made some useful contacts, but it would be some time before his propaganda campaign could produce results. Smiley meanwhile had reconnoitred the nearest German positions and had looked after half a dozen U.S. airmen who had baled out near Tirana and had been rescued by the Zogists. He had also received

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000 two " supply drops " from Italy, consisting of medical supplies, tinned rations, overcoats, sleeping-bags, and, most precious of all, our mail, with copies of the weekly newspapers and back numbers of *The Times*. No military stores had been dropped, since the Zogists were not yet fighting, but there were enough uniforms and rifles to equip our bodyguards, as well as a selection of pistols and submachine-guns which might serve as gifts to the guerilla leaders.

I slept late next morning and was aroused by Baptista, one of the Italian orderlies, lustily singing *Sole Mio* just outside my tent. The sun was indeed shining, and the cheerful fellow, seeing me wake, ran off towards the cookhouse and presently returned with a steaming plate of bacon and eggs — an unaccustomed luxury, for it was nearly three weeks since I had tasted breakfast. An hour or so later I climbed to the crest of the ridge above the camp and there sat down on a ledge in the shade of a clump of pines. It was now time to reflect on the lessons of our journey with Abas Kupi and to knit them together into a report for our Headquarters.

*669 665 Our progress through Mati and Kruya had lasted eighteen days ; in that time we had met Zogists of every condition, and had conferred at length with the local chieftains, officers, and politicians who were the leaders of the movement. Our first problem had been to assess the fighting strength of the Zogists : a baffling task, for guerilla armies are born of the changing moods of a people, and not even Abas Kupi knew for certain how many men would rally to his call. By dint, however, of reckoning up the rifle power of the separate clans which supported him, and by checking and cross-checking estimates of the forces engaged in the fighting of the previous autumn, we concluded that Abas Kupi could raise at least five thousand rifles at short call. Such a force might increase two- or three-fold if fortune and the Allies favoured the Monarchist cause ; but, though success would quickly swell the numbers of the Zogists, they would not long endure defeat, losses, or reprisals. Rifles there were enough, for every male over the age of fifteen went armed, but ammunition was short, and the supply of mortars and automatic weapons negligible.

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Starting from this estimate of their military potential we had next to decide whether the Zogists could again be made to fight. Abas Kupi, we believed, wanted war; for he needed British backing and was prepared to pay the price. Till now, however, he had been held back by the danger of a Partisan attack, the opposition of his political advisors, and the fear of reprisals and poverty of weapons which paralysed the clans. Arms we could supply once fighting had begun, and money enough to compensate for reprisals; but to reconcile Zogists and Partisans, and to convert the Zogist Committee to our way of thinking were thornier problems. Abas Kupi knew that to remain neutral as between Germans and Partisans was to court isolation and to risk falling between two stools. Originally, when the Axis Powers had been supreme, he had worked with the Communists against the Italians; later, as the Axis star declined, he had hoped to use the Germans to destroy the Communists. We had now convinced him that such a course would fatally compromise his relations with us; and, since in the last analysis the fate of the Monarchist cause would depend on our support, he was once more prepared to join hands with the Communists against the Germans. Whether they would prove equally amenable seemed uncertain, but we had at least brought the Agha to agree to negotiations; and it was now up to our Headquarters and to our colleagues with the L.N.C. to do their part. Their task would doubtless be easier if Abas Kupi attacked the Germans; but here we entered on a vicious circle, for it was to a large extent his fear of the Partisans which inhibited him from taking the field.

But the chief obstacle to action, and the root cause of the defeatism of Abas Kupi's political advisers, was their mistrust of British policy. They suspected that we had already assigned Albania to the Russian zone of influence, and regarded such a prospect not as liberation but as a change of masters. They had therefore demanded political assurances from us, as a test of our intentions; and, by refusing to commit ourselves, we had only seemed to confirm their worst suspicions. We had feared for a time that our negotiations must end in deadlock, but Abas Kupi's alternative request for private instructions from

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*669 648 King Zog now seemed to offer an escape from the impasse. Zog was in London, the heart of Allied councils, and thus surely in the best position to decide where his honour and interests lay. If he would order Abas Kupi to take the field, then there would be an end of political wrangling and we could look forward to fighting in like measure as we sent arms. Instructions from Zog thus appeared as the cure to all our ills, but it was vital that they should be sent quickly. The clouds of civil war were already gathering in the South, and unless the Zogists took the field before they broke, the whole situation would be lost. It was essential, moreover, that our request should not be refused; for, if we again met Abas Kupi with empty hands, he must conclude either that the King was opposed to war, or that, so far from extending recognition to him, the British Government was not even prepared to enlist his informal co-operation. A decision so fundamental to our policy and so urgently required seemed to justify a direct communication with the Foreign Secretary. This concluded with the words: "There is grave danger that without this measure of encouragement Abas Kupi will go the way of General Mihailovitch".

000 I spent the whole day on the ridge drafting my report, and towards evening returned to the camp with a sense, seldom before experienced, that I had understood what I had seen and expressed what I had understood. That night we discussed my draft among ourselves, and, when each had put forward his amendments, drew up the final text. Throughout the time of our mission we made a practice of thus debating among ourselves the messages which one of us had drafted. These discussions were often long and sometimes heated, but I can recall no single instance of a telegram which was despatched without first being unanimously agreed. In this way we gradually developed a common approach to our problems and a common doctrine of revolt. This was to prove a great strength; for it meant that, even when separated from one another we could still rely that all our actions would be informed by the same purpose and interpretation of events.

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Our work at base was finished with the preparation of our report to Headquarters. Riddle awaited us in Dibra; and, although it was past midnight when we had done with writing, it was settled that Maclean and I should leave next day on our reconnaissance of the Black Drin valley. The sky was clear when we retired to sleep, but just before dawn a gale blew up from the south, and with the day a deluge of rain and hail broke on our camp. In less than an hour our sleeping and eating quarters were turned into a sea of mud; mules and men slithered on the hillside; our makeshift tents collapsed; our kit was soaked; and for a time it even seemed impossible to light a fire and brew a hot drink. About midday the storm at last subsided into a steady downpour, and, leaving Smiley and Hare paddling disconsolately in the mud, we moved down through the clouds towards the Mati valley. With us went John Hibberdine, on his way to join Neel and our mission in the extreme north of Albania.

The march was irksome, for the wind blew cold and the paths were slippery. The day turned fine, however, as we crossed the valley, and we saw the sun set just before we reached the house of our friend Yussuf Bey Chelai, whose hospitality we sought for the night. Although nominally a Zogist, Yussuf Bey was known to be in touch with the Partisans, not indeed from ideological conviction, but because his former blood enemies, the Allemanis, were already deeply committed to Abas Kupi's cause. That evening he spoke of the growing danger of civil war and said that it would not long be possible for a man in his position to avoid taking sides. His concern was genuine; for, unlike most Albanians, Yussuf Bey preferred the arts and pleasures of peace to the stratagems of war, and spent his time in reading and in entertaining his friends. There was, indeed, an almost Persian delicacy about his hospitality; and he called me next morning with a glass of hot, sweetened milk and a rose!

We left Yussuf Bey's house early and climbed northwards over the shoulder of the great Mount Allemani, hoping to reach the neighbourhood of Peshkopi that night. The path led up a sheltered gully in the side of the mountain, and at

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574 the head of it we found an old man with his two sons tending a flock of sheep. It was midday, and so we broke our journey [609] to accept their profferred hospitality of sheep's milk and pancakes dipped in honey. The old shepherd was not the least surprised to learn that we were British officers, but became very excited when he discovered that we had just come from Cairo. It then appeared that he had fought in the Ottoman army in the Tripolitanian war and had escaped to Egypt after the defeat of the Turks. There he had become a bodyguard to King Fuad and had served that Prince for fifteen years, both before and after his accession to the throne. He was overjoyed at the chance of practising his few words of Arabic and of reminiscing about the Egyptian leaders of his time; and it was only with difficulty that we restrained him from killing a sheep in our honour. Presently we rose to leave, and the old man shouldered his rifle to speed us on our way. The Albanian code of hospitality requires that the host should accompany his guests for an hour on their road to protect them against attack. In practice the full formality is usually abridged, but our shepherd friend was so genuinely anxious to express his goodwill that he guided us for the next seven hours of the march down to the main road leading to Dibra. There he bade us farewell in Arabic, and with great dignity declined our tactful offers of remuneration. By good fortune, however, I still had with me a box of Egyptian cigarettes and a few Egyptian piastres, which he gladly accepted as a souvenir of our meeting.

000 We had seen two cars on the road in the early afternoon, but there was now no sign of traffic. We therefore marched boldly along it, rejoicing in its even surface and in its breadth, which allowed us to walk two or more abreast and so to talk in comfort. Just before the light failed we came to a place where the road curved sharply eastwards along the face of a cliff. There, for the first time, we caught sight of the Black Drin, winding through the plain of Dibra. Two hours later, after a march which had lasted altogether twelve hours, we reached the house of Aziz Dino Hoja, a granite keep four stories high, situated only a few yards from the river. There Riddle was waiting.

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The Dibrans, like the men of Mati, lived an existence half pastoral, half agricultural, in which the tribalism of the mountains merged with the feudalism of the plains. They were a grim and calculating breed of men, a border people waging a ceaseless war with their Slav neighbours from Macedonia. The town of Dibra had been a rich centre of trade under the Ottoman Empire, but now it was shrunk to little more than a quarter of its former size. The fall of the Turk had perhaps interrupted the peaceful progress of commerce, but the struggle of the Powers for the control of Macedonia afforded the Dibran chiefs splendid opportunities for mercenary enterprise. For close on a century the rival nations had provided their clients among them with arms and subsidies; and so practised had the chiefs become in the technique of power politics that at any time the balance of power between the leading Dibran families reflected the exact relation between their foreign patrons. The ends which the Dibrans served were purely mercenary, but nevertheless they had learnt from experience the fundamental truth that freedom can only be preserved and wealth attained by the exercise of power. Moreover they understood, and this was perhaps the surest proof of their political genius, that it is not given even to the keenest brains to know with certainty where their interests lie. Each clan accordingly sought to reinsure against the imponderable factors in a situation by systematically placing a relative in each of the different political camps.

Dibra was said to hold five thousand rifles; but so divided were the Dibrans by local blood feuds and foreign intrigues that it seemed doubtful whether any clan could command the direct allegiance of more than five hundred men. The most powerful man in the region was Fikri Dine, once a henchman of King Zog. Fikri had led the rising of the Dibran clans in 1943: then he had routed the Italians and driven them out of Dibra city; but now, for fear of the Communists, he supported the Tirana Government. He came from a small clan and drew his power, not from the number of his rifles, but from his personal ascendancy over the bigger chiefs who had control of man-power. Like the chiefs of Mati they were torn by blood

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*669 feuds; but Fikri had persuaded them to a general truce; and Dibra remained loyal to the Central Government, even supplying troops to fight against the Partisans. We did not then meet Fikri, for he was in Tirana, but wherever we went in Dibra we saw signs of his powerful influence.

Aziz Dino Hoja, our first Dibran host, belonged to a small clan settled on the west bank of the Drin. His father had played a leading part in the politics of the region and had been famed as an architect of alliances and conspiracies. Since his death, a few years earlier, the fortunes of the family had declined; for his brain had been their chief capital, and his two sons, Aziz and Reshad, had been too young at the time to carry on his work. Reshad, the elder, had gone to study in Italy and there had wasted the family substance. When all was spent he had returned to Dibra, but his roots in the clan had withered and he had resigned the chieftainship to his younger brother. We found Reshad an effete but friendly day-dreamer, for ever gazing at the relics of his Italian life; the photographs, ashtrays, and cocktail-shaker, with which he had incongruously decorated the guest-room of their medieval keep. He had lost all interest in local affairs, but out of politeness attended most of our discussions while we stayed in the house. He seldom spoke, however, and I doubt whether he even listened.

His brother, Aziz, was a dark, handsome youth of seventeen, ambitious to revive the prestige of the clan. He had already gathered around him the young men of some of the lesser families of Dibra and was in touch with both Zogists and Partisans. He could not have been worth more than a hundred rifles, but he told us at our first meeting that he would gladly fight the Germans as soon as some stronger leader, such as Abas Kupi, should give the lead.

Aziz inclined to the Allies, but his uncle, Ramadan, a big, bony fellow, smug and uncouth, recruited gendarmes for the Tirana Government from among his following. Uncle and nephew thus seemed to be rivals, and, in our ignorance of the subtleties of Dibran politics, we sought to strengthen Aziz's

[i.e. British liaison group in spring of 1944 -- Analyst]

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MORTAR TRAINING AT ZOGIST HEADQUARTERS

(*Left to Right*) Major Murad Basha (with cigarette), Abas Kupi, the author, Colonel Yahya Chachi

[-132a-]

ABAS KUPI (ON THE RIGHT) DICTATING TO A SECRETARY

(The author's pony appears in the background)

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MUHARREM BAIRAKTAR

(From a photograph taken in Exile in 1947)

SAID BEY KRYEZIU

[-132b-]

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*669 position by publicly rebuking Ramadan for his collaboration with the enemy. Our intervention, however, was resented; for, though there was no love lost between the two men, each regarded the other's policy as a reinsurance against his own miscalculations. Both indeed regarded the unity and prestige of the clan as their first interest, and one which was served, rather than threatened, by the simultaneous pursuit of their apparently contradictory policies.

We stayed only twenty-four hours with Aziz Dino Hoja; and next evening, as soon as it was dark, Maclean and Riddle set out across the Drin to keep a rendezvous with Ramadan Kalloshi, one of the strongest chiefs in Dibra. I stayed behind, however, to meet Aqif Llesh, who had sent word that he would come that night. Aqif was a stubborn old opponent of King Zog, and had spent fifteen years of exile in Yugoslavia, where I had once met him in 1940. After the German offensive in the Balkans, Aqif had taken to the mountains, where he had remained until the collapse of Italy. He had then sought to take advantage of the general amnesty, but his homecoming had been short-lived, for Fikri Dine was his blood enemy and had burnt down his house and carried off his flocks. Aqif's connections with Yugoslavia had naturally inclined him to the L.N.C., and his nephew, Haji, had already received an important command from Enver Hoja. To get even with Fikri Dine he had now openly declared for the Partisans, and was, besides, believed to be in touch with Tito's men in Macedonia.

The grizzled old warrior reached the house about ten o'clock with a bodyguard of thirty men, some of whom were left to stand sentry outside the gate. He was dressed in blue breeches and a leather coat and cap, and the stubble of his beard grew white on his kindly, weather-beaten face. He had marched all day and must have been tired, but refused both
[273] *raki* and coffee. In his time he had been a heavy drinker, but now he affected the puritanism of the Partisans. He talked in voluble and rapid Serb, and, after a detailed explanation of his experiences and opinions, spoke of the importance of persuading the Gheg chiefs to take up arms again against the

Germans. I had been waiting for this opening and asked :

" Do you hold a reconciliation between the Partisans and Nationalist leaders like Abas Kupi to be possible ? "

" Yes, if they will fight the Germans as we do."

" Can they be persuaded to fight again ? "

[643] " I[1] fear there is only one way. If Zog will come to the radio and tell them to fight, then they will. You know that I have worked against him all my life, but I tell you now that he is the only man who can raise the Ghegs and so prevent civil war."

We finished talking towards midnight, when I took leave of Aqif and of my hosts ; for, unless I crossed the Drin before daybreak, I should be delayed on the west bank until the following night. The crossing was guarded by a gendarmerie post ; and the river was in spate. My obol, however, won the favour of the aged ferryman, who punted us over on a raft right under the nose of the sleeping gendarmes. A guide from 579 Aziz Dino Hoja led the way beyond the river and I was followed by Kolaver, my personal bodyguard. This Kolaver was a lean and wolfish fellow, and a source of constant anxiety to my companions. He had started life as a brigand, but in the time of King Zog had turned gendarme, not indeed from any change of heart, but because he appreciated that, under a strong government, only the police can rob with impunity. When the Italians had invaded Albania he had returned to the mountains, judging that under their laxer rule it would be more profitable as well as more patriotic to pursue his calling after the manner of his youth. In those troubled times, however, brigandage proved a hard life ; and a solid if unusual interest in the King's restoration had led him to join Abas Kupi. He had attached himself to me during our progress through Mati, and at an early stage had been caught stealing in our camp. Abas Kupi had threatened him with death, but I had interceded on his behalf, because he was a gay rogue, and had saved him from his deserts by accepting responsibility for his future conduct. Thereafter he protected my belongings as if they had been the Holy Grail, and attended to my campaigning comforts with almost motherly devotion. Other people's

[1] [Aqif Ulesh, a life-time opponent of Zog, cf. cat. nb. p. 133 -- analyse.]

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property, however, he continued to regard as fair game; but, 579
though he sometimes boasted to me of his plundering expeditions, he was careful for my sake to honour the eleventh commandment.

Our guide seemed only casually acquainted with the 000
district, and was besides terrified by rumours that a German patrol had been seen by the river earlier that night. Kolaver, however, encouraged him to find the path by alternately promising glittering rewards and jabbing him in the ribs with my submachine-gun. At last, after wandering for nearly four hours through rolling woods and meadows, we reached the house of Ramadan Kalloshi, where Maclean and Riddle were asleep.

Murad, the head of the powerful Kalloshi clan, had followed 669*
Zog into exile and lay in Istanbul, stricken with epilepsy. In his absence the leadership of the family was divided between his son, Ramadan, and his half brother, Myftar. In accordance with Dibran practice these two had proceeded to a division of labour: Ramadan pursued a pro-Allied policy, keeping in touch with the British missions, the Zogists, and the L.N.C., while Myftar sided with the Axis and led the government forces against the Macedonian Partisans. Ramadan was a dark young man, with the smooth, round features, delicate eyebrows, and moustache of a Moghul miniature. His nature was sombre and brooding, but he spoke with breath-taking frankness. Next morning in the course of conversation Riddle enquired after the health of his relatives and asked: 669+ 761

"How is your cousin, Selim?"

"The dead one?" Ramadan queried.

"Forgive me," Riddle said, "I didn't know that he had died."

"Well, he's not dead yet," came the reply, "but the doctors say that there is little hope, so we call him 'the Dead One' and are dividing up his property!"

His words sounded blatantly cynical, but they were not meant to shock, and it struck me at the time that they were symbolic of the attitude of the Albanians towards the problems of the war. In their eyes the Germans, like Selim, were "dead", because past hope of recovery; and the approaching

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annihilation of both left no more room for hatred of the one than for love of the other. Like Ramadan, they were now solely concerned with staking out their claims to the succession, and saw no object in seeking to hasten or retard by a few days a process which was already moving swiftly to its appointed end. In such a mental climate all appeals to sentiment must fall on deaf ears; but Ramadan was quick to see the strength of our argument that the Gheg chiefs must attack the Germans if they wanted to receive Allied support. He pleaded indeed that his clan was too weak to begin such a struggle alone, but undertook to join in if Abas Kupi, or Muharrem Bairaktar, should give a lead. He also put forward the interesting suggestion that we should invite the Gheg leaders to a congress to discuss the terms on which they would agree to fight.

"They'll give each other courage," he said, "and with so many competing for Allied support you'll get them all cheaper!"

We marched northwards from our meeting with Ramadan Kalloshi, following the low range of hills above the Drin until we came to Sohodoll, the stronghold of the Elezis. Elezis and Kalloshis had long contended for supremacy in Dibra, and a blood feud had raged between them since the days of the Turkish occupation. The Kalloshis were supporters of King Zog; the Elezis, Republicans; but, for the time being, they observed a truce arranged by Fikri Dine. Tsen, the chief of the Elezis, had fought against the Italians in 1943, and had severely mauled a company of Germans who had sought to arrest Peter Kemp when a guest in his house. Fear of the Communists, however, had led him to make peace with Tirana; and he had gone there now to receive the salaried title of a Colonel in the government forces and a grant, it was said, of four thousand napoleons. His eldest son, Jelal, was with him, living at government expense in the *Daiti*, Tirana's one luxury hotel. His brother, Ersat, defended the Partisan interest in north Dibra; his nephew, Dali, commanded the first L.N.C. division; and two sons, Islam and Gani, were in touch, on their father's behalf, with Abas Kupi,

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Muharrem Bairaktar, and the British Missions. The clan thus had a foot in every camp, and, by a masterly display of "trimming", survived both the war and the revolution.

The fortress of the Elezis had been partly destroyed by the Germans, who had set fire to it to punish Tsen for harbouring a British officer. The fortunate intervention of a thunderstorm had saved much of the building from the flames; but there had been no time for repairs, and it was now altogether deserted. We dismounted there, none the less, and despatched messengers to Sohodoll, who presently returned with Tsen's two sons, Gani and Islam. Both spoke English well, having studied at the American college in Tirana, and reminded us irresistibly of Mr. Can and Mr. Can't in the famous Eno's advertisement. Islam was gay and debonair, clad in a new tweed suit of a pinkish colour. Gani was dour, glum, and down-at-heel.

"Make yourselves at home!" said Islam cheerfully, as we sat down among the ruins of their house. A light rain fell on us through the holes in the roof, and the wind whistled through the open doorways.

"What a summer!" grumbled Gani.

"It may be good for the crops," suggested Maclean.

"No, they will be very bad," Gani replied in sepulchral tones.

"As bad as last year?" I hazarded.

"Much worse," he answered, drawing down the corners of his mouth.

Abandoning agriculture, Maclean then enquired after the health of the Elezi family.

"Thank you," Gani answered, "none of them are dead yet."

After these depressing preliminaries Maclean delivered his set speech, explaining the purpose of our mission, urging the Ghegs to fight the Germans, and stressing the dangers of their continued neutrality. Both brothers declared that they were willing to fight but argued, like Ramadan Kalloshi, that they were not strong enough to give a lead. They showed us, however, that they were seriously concerned by our policy of supporting the Partisans.

"As you know," said Islam, "there are three parties in Albania: the agents of Germany, the agents of Russia, and

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the agents of England. That is quite natural, but what none of us can understand is why the agents of Russia are paid in English gold."

"Perhaps it's what they mean by lease-lend," Gani muttered.

ooo We ate our midday meal with Gani and Islam, and in the afternoon called on Tsen's brother, Ersat, to learn something of the Dibran Partisans. He treated us to a vigorous tirade against most of the Gheg leaders, including his own brother; but his words were not matched by his deeds, for his following was small. The Gheg Partisans were still too few to undertake any actions on their own, and were waiting for Enver Hoja to launch his northern expedition.

Towards evening we abandoned the Dibran lowlands and climbed into the rugged glens of Liuma, where the snow was not yet wholly melted. Our way led up a stony gully which ended abruptly in a long slope of shifting scree. It was steep, and the going treacherous; and we dismounted, leading our ponies for the last few hundred feet. Heavy thunderclouds were billowing up at the head of the gully, and on the crest stood a square, stone barrack, grim and windswept — the lair of Osman Lita, the Black Douglas of the Liuman march. Dark, cruel, and grasping, Osman was growing old, not with the dignity which years can bring, but with a thickening of the body and wandering of the mind. He received us indeed with traditional hospitality, but I slept little that night, for it was a house of fear.

Next day we conferred with his son, Sherif, who was now the effective leader of the tribe; a lean and hungry man with cold, light eyes, who had worked for the Italians in Montenegro, spying on Mihailovitch. He listened impassively while I explained our policy, but when he understood that he could hope for neither arms nor subsidies until he fought the Germans he shook his head and answered bitterly:

"Words without gold are to us like chaff without corn."

From Osman Lita's house we climbed for some two thousand feet to a broad, moorland plateau. To the west the

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ground ran down steeply to a tributary torrent of the Drin, 000
while to the east the snow-capped summit of Mount Korab rose near ten thousand feet into the sky. We pushed on for close on five hours, through woods and over moors, and soon after nightfall reached the lonely house which was Riddle's base. There we found Tony Neel, who had come south to meet us with three deserters from the enemy — a German corporal and two Turkoman soldiers in German uniform.

Maclean had served in Abyssinia with Wingate and had been greatly impressed by his doctrine of the " striking force ". Wingate had held that lone British liaison officers, armed only with the weapons of persuasion, were in a weak position to influence the strategy of foreign guerilla leaders. If, on the other hand, they disposed of a disciplined body of men, or " striking force ", under their own direct command, they might be able to impose their will upon their guerilla allies. The guerillas might be reluctant to fight, but the " striking force " could always attack the enemy alone ; and Wingate believed that by their example they would often draw the guerilla leaders into operations which they could never have persuaded them to undertake on their own. In applying his theory to the Abyssinian campaign Wingate had trained small " striking forces " of native troops in the Sudan, and had marched them into Abyssinia under the command of British officers. By virtue of their superior discipline, these forerunners of the Burma Chindits had soon become the nuclei around which the guerillas had gathered, and had thus served as the instruments through which British strategy was imposed on the plans of the Abyssinians.

The hesitations of the Zogist leaders made us long for such 669*
a force,* and, at an early stage, we had decided to try and recruit 648
one from the Central Asian troops which the Germans employed for garrison duties. These were for the most part deserters, or prisoners, from the Red Army, who had been reorganised under the command of German officers. There was reason to believe that they had only joined the Germans reluctantly, or for purely mercenary reasons ; and we thought it likely that they would welcome a chance to change sides again and

* [i.e. as described in paragraph above — Analyst]

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"work their passage home". We reckoned, moreover, that they would prove good soldiers for our purpose, for they were descended from the hordes of Tamerlane, and their warlike instincts had been fortified by a thorough training in the Russian and German armies. We had accordingly instructed all missions to seek contact with these Turkomans and stir them up to kill their officers and desert to the guerillas. Hare was already engaged on plans for their subversion in Central Albania, but the first successful approach had been made by Tony Neel.

Neel had paid a surprise call on the Bairaktar of Krasniqi, a Gheg chieftain who maintained independent relations with both British and Germans, and had found him in conference with a German corporal named Brandt. Brandt had been wearing a Turkoman flash on his uniform; and Neel had at once set to work to induce him to desert with his men. Brandt had shown interest, but they had found it difficult to come to an understanding, for, in the absence of a suitable interpreter, they could only communicate in broken Italian and sign language. Brandt had agreed, however, to come and talk matters over with us, and had brought with him two sample Turkomans — Tajiks [1] from the high Pamirs, and both fine-looking men.

I spent much of the night talking to Brandt and trying to decide whether the man was genuine in his wish to change sides and what might be his motives. He claimed to be a German Balt, whose family had lived in Russia before the revolution and had then retired to Esthonia. By profession he was an entomologist, and had travelled in Persia and Afghanistan before the war in search of butterflies. He had fled to Germany at the time of the Russian occupation of the Baltic States, and had been conscripted into the German army. There he had attracted attention by his knowledge of Turki and Persian, and had been employed as interpreter to the German Mission sent to Afghanistan to work with the Fakir of

[1] The Tajiks are, of course, of Iranian and not Turki stock. The German army, however, classified all Central Asian volunteers as "Turkoman", and, for the sake of convenience, I have held throughout to this classification.

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Ipi. The Mission had failed, and, in 1941, Brandt had returned to Germany, to be posted as an interpreter-N.C.O. to one of the Turkoman units. He now realised that the Germans had lost the war and offered to help us bring the Turkomans over to the guerillas, in the hopes that we would then help him to start a new life in the Middle East.

The profession of entomologist is notoriously linked with that of espionage; and I could not help thinking that Brandt was more than just an interpreter-corporal. At the same time, the frank avowal of his mission to the Fakir of Ipi was disarming; and there was something indefinable about the man which suggested the White Russian adventurer. He might well have worked for the German Secret Service, but it was none the less quite possible that he now wanted to leave the German ship before it sank. If Brandt was genuine he might bring over as many as two hundred Turkomans; and, since we needed them urgently, we decided to take the risk. Neel was therefore instructed to work out plans with Brandt, but to keep his eyes skinned for any hint of foul play.

The sequel surpassed our worst fears and brightest hopes. Far from being a corporal, Brandt was really a Lieut.-Colonel in the German Secret Service and had been sent to organise the capture of the British officers in Albania. He had heard of our efforts to subvert the Central Asian troops and had devised a stratagem for our undoing on the model of the Trojan horse. He would stage a desertion to the guerillas with a body of trusted Turkomans; he would then insinuate himself into our confidence, and at the first opportunity would call up his men and place us under arrest. His accidental meeting with Neel had been carefully prearranged; and his talk with me had left him sanguine of success. He therefore returned to Prizren from Riddle's base, and, after selecting his Turkoman accomplices, joined Neel in Nikai. At first Neel took careful precautions to guard against foul play, but he was soon convinced of Brandt's good faith, and even entrusted the Turkomans with the task of guarding his base. The stage was now set for the German coup; but meanwhile the Allies had landed in France, and Brandt began to think that it might be

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000 wiser to play a deserter's part to the end. Twice he went to Scutari, ostensibly to obtain information for Neel, but really to learn the latest news of the fighting in the west from his German colleagues. For several days he continued undecided, but meanwhile the Turkomans grew impatient of the primitive guerilla life which they shared with the British Mission. They saw no difficulty in capturing the British officers, and were hungry, besides, for the rewards they had been promised when they should bring them back as prisoners. Early one morning, therefore, they formed up to Brandt and pressed for permission to seize Neel and his staff at once. Brandt tried to put them off, but they demanded an immediate decision; and he now made up his mind to go over to the British. He therefore went and roused Neel, who was still sleeping, to explain the situation to him.

"It was very early, and a beastly morning," Neel afterwards told me, "and there was old Fred telling me that he was a Lieut.-Colonel in the Hun Secret Service. It was a bit of a shock, don't you know."

Neel recovered, however, from his surprise, and after drinking a cup of tea the two went out together to meet the Turkomans. A brief harangue, seconded by a liberal donative, secured their allegiance; and for the next four months they did stout service in the Allied cause.

9

*669 RIDDLE's reports and our talks with the Dibran chiefs had 622 convinced us that we must enlist the support of Muharrem Bairaktar, and we therefore decided to push on northwards to meet him. Muharrem was the lord of Liuma, the wild territory to the east of the Black Drin, and was reputed worth more than a thousand rifles. His influence, moreover, extended beyond the borders of his region, both into Dibra, as we had seen for ourselves, and into the lands north of the White Drin. The word *Bairaktar* means "standard bearer" in Albanian, but by a natural association of ideas it has become the usual title

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of a tribal chief among the Ghegs. Muharrem's whole clan, however, was surnamed *Bairaktari*, from an incident in the eleventh century, when the Liuman chief of the day had been elected general of a confederation of northern tribes. In more recent times the fortunes of the clan had declined, and it was only under Muharrem's chieftainship that it had returned to its ancient supremacy in the valley of the Black Drin. 669* 622

Muharrem had first come into prominence in the revolt of 1924, when he had raised Liuma for Zog and had outflanked the government forces concentrated in Dibra. As a reward he had been made one of the quadrumvirate, with Fikri Dine, Prenk Previsi, and Jemal Herri, to whom Zog had entrusted the pacification of North Albania. He had received the command of the Kukes military district, and had skilfully exploited this position to consolidate his personal influence in Liuma and extend it to the surrounding regions. But once the monarchy had been solidly established, the King had regarded the mission of the quadrumvirs as fulfilled and had determined to reduce the power which they already threatened to abuse. Accordingly, in 1933, he had appointed Muharrem as his A.D.C., an empty promotion which deprived him of his military command and kept him in Tirana, away from the seat of his influence. Muharrem was not the man to submit quietly to such gilded servitude, and, fired by jealousy and ambition, had plotted with the Captain of Mirdita and the Yugoslav Government to overthrow the King. The conspiracy, however, had been betrayed, and, warned of his impending arrest, Muharrem had fled to Liuma to raise the standard of revolt. He could scarcely have expected to defeat the government forces alone, but, with the support of the Captain of Mirdita and the intervention of the Yugoslavs, he still hoped to obtain honourable terms from Zog. Marko Joni, however, had lost heart, and, abandoned by his ally, Muharrem had crossed into Yugoslavia to begin the cycle of exile which was to lead him in turn to Belgrade, Vienna, and Paris.

Exile is perhaps the hardest test which a political leader can face; for it deprives him of those correctives of custom and 000

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000 public opinion which at home insensibly guide and restrain his actions. He becomes a general without an army, beholden to foreign governments, and, living in a mental climate where ideas tend naturally to the abstract and extreme because no longer rooted in the daily needs of political supporters. Men of wide interests and philosophic bent may, like Louis Napoleon or Lenin, improve the enforced leisure of exile ; but Muharrem Bairaktar was a primitive highland chief, and in the crowded capitals of Europe was deprived of his bearings. His natural wariness was turned into persecution mania by the petty café intrigues of political *émigrés* ; and the interest which he aroused by his picturesque ways swelled his ambition until he saw himself not merely as ruler of Albania but as the man predestined to unite the Balkan peoples.

*669 622 His exile had fortunately been short, and, in 1939, he had taken advantage of the general amnesty to return to Albania. He had declined, however, to take any part in public life and had retired to his stronghold in Liuma, refusing all contact with the occupation authorities. During the summer of 1940 he had corresponded with Gani Kryeziu in Belgrade, and, in April 1941, had mobilised to support the attempted revolt of the United Front. After its failure he had remained inactive, except for some communication with General Mihailovitch, but, with the collapse of Italy, he had suddenly raised his clan and captured Kukes. Kukes commands the junction of the Black with the White Drin and the vital bridges on the road from Prizren to Scutari. The Germans had therefore sent considerable forces to recover the town ; and Muharrem, realising that resistance was hopeless, had agreed to retire without fighting on condition that no German troops should enter Liuma. The region had thus never been occupied by the Germans; and Muharrem had afforded shelter through the winter to Riddle's Mission, as well as to isolated groups of Partisans. The Germans must have known of these things through their spies, but they kept to their agreement. They were well aware, indeed, of the difficulties of tracking down lone British officers in the tangled mountains of Liuma, and with the small forces at their disposal hesitated to provoke Muhar-

rem's open hostility. Their aim was to keep Muharrem neutral; ours was now to bring him back into the war. 669* 622

We left Riddle's base on the 29th of May, and, just before sunset, climbed on to the range that forms the eastern wall of the Drin gorges. The powerful river lay two thousand feet below us, narrowly compressed between smooth black cliffs, through which its deep and swirling waters ran a vivid blue, stained by the copper deposits in the rock. Beyond the jagged peaks of Liuma towered into the sky, and, with the approach of darkness, the scene became awe-inspiring, almost Wagnerian. We[1] followed a narrow path scratched in the face of the cliff above the river, and now and then passed little stone cairns beside it. Each marked a grave and guarded the bones of some traveller who had fallen to his blood enemy, lying in wait. The dead were buried where they had been killed; for the path was too steep and the way too long to bring their bodies home for funeral. 000 764

Night overtook us on the march, but we pressed on until we came to a cluster of buildings, surrounded by a high crenellated wall. This was Muharrem's[2] castle. Our guards called out and beat upon the gates, and, after an exchange of shouts with shadowy figures on the battlements, we were admitted to a wide courtyard. In front of us was a stone building, founded on a rock, and on the steps leading up to it stood the lord of Liuma, with a bodyguard beside him holding a torch of blazing pinewood. He bowed to us, introducing himself as Bairaktar, and led the way indoors to a room furnished with tables and upholstered chairs, the first I had seen in Albania. There we sat down for the customary exchange of greetings; and presently coffee was brought. 574 609

Muharrem was of stocky build, dressed in a plain grey uniform with a lumberjack's leather cap on his head. He looked not unlike Kaiser Wilhelm, with the same iron grey hair and moustache, loose mouth, and small piercing eyes. When at rest there was an almost abnormal concentration in his gaze, and sometimes a sly smile would cross his face, as if prompted by his inward thoughts. He was reserved of speech

1 [British liaison officers -- Analyst]

2 [Muharrem Bairaktar, chieftain of Liuma clan -- Analyst]

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and his delivery rapid and jerky. In his years of exile he had acquired a working knowledge of French and German; and, though the limitations of his vocabulary were only matched by his Olympian disregard of syntax, we were delighted to avoid the boredom of badly interpreted conversation. The evening meal was served towards midnight in a separate dining-room, and was distinguished by excellent Turkish dishes and a coarse red wine, pressed from the Liuman vineyards. At table we were waited on by Muharrem's two sons, who stood guard behind our chairs while we ate. Both were grown men, but treated their father with almost servile respect.

Next morning Muharrem laid before us an ambitious plan for raising the Gheg tribes against the Germans. This was set out in the form of a memorandum addressed to the British Government, and contained an interesting analysis of the Balkan situation, as well as detailed proposals for the organisation and strategy of a resistance movement. Appended to it was an estimate of the military supplies that would be needed to equip and maintain the tribes. Muharrem's general argument was that the useful military operations of the L.N.C. were becoming increasingly subordinated to their questionable political aims. The interests, therefore, of Albania and of Great Britain required the promotion of an Albanian Nationalist movement, which would attack the Germans with greater zeal than was shown by the L.N.C., and would seek to take over political power in the hour of victory. He, Muharrem, was prepared to undertake the leadership of such a movement if we would provide him with the necessary arms and sinews of war.

We insensibly eroded this bold and visionary scheme until, after two hours' discussion, Muharrem agreed to our more modest proposal. This was that he should organise and lead the resistance movement in the valley of the Black Drin. He declined, however, to accept our thesis that no supplies could be sent to him before he had attacked the enemy, and remarked with some plausibility:

"I have fought against the Italians, and I intend to fight against the Germans. If you will send me arms I will fight

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when and where you tell me ; if not, then I will choose my own time and place for action." 669*

Our differences thus reduced to the question of military supplies, we sounded Muharrem as to his relations with the other Gheg leaders. In this he showed himself accommodating and offered of his own accord to leave the issue of the monarchy in abeyance in the interest of co-operation with Abas Kupi. He then proposed that we should set out together next day to take counsel with Gani Kryeziu, whose influence was growing daily in the lands beyond the Drin. We fell in at once with this suggestion ; for we were already beginning to think in terms of a concerted revolt of the Ghegs under the leadership of Abas Kupi, Muharrem Bairaktar, and Gani Kryeziu. Muharrem therefore despatched messengers to Gani to advise him of our plans and to ask that he should appoint a suitable place for our meeting.

For the rest of the day we enjoyed the comforts of the house, or paced the courtyard, drawing out Muharrem on the subject of his past conspiracies and discussing the prospects of the revolt among ourselves. That evening we were joined by Riddle's deputy, Tony Simcox, a gunner who had served with one of the Chinese divisions in the retreat from Burma. Simcox was firm of purpose, blunt of speech, and deeply conscious of the responsibilities of a British representative in a strange land. He liked and understood the mountaineers, and, since these things are mutual, received their friendship and in time their trust. 000

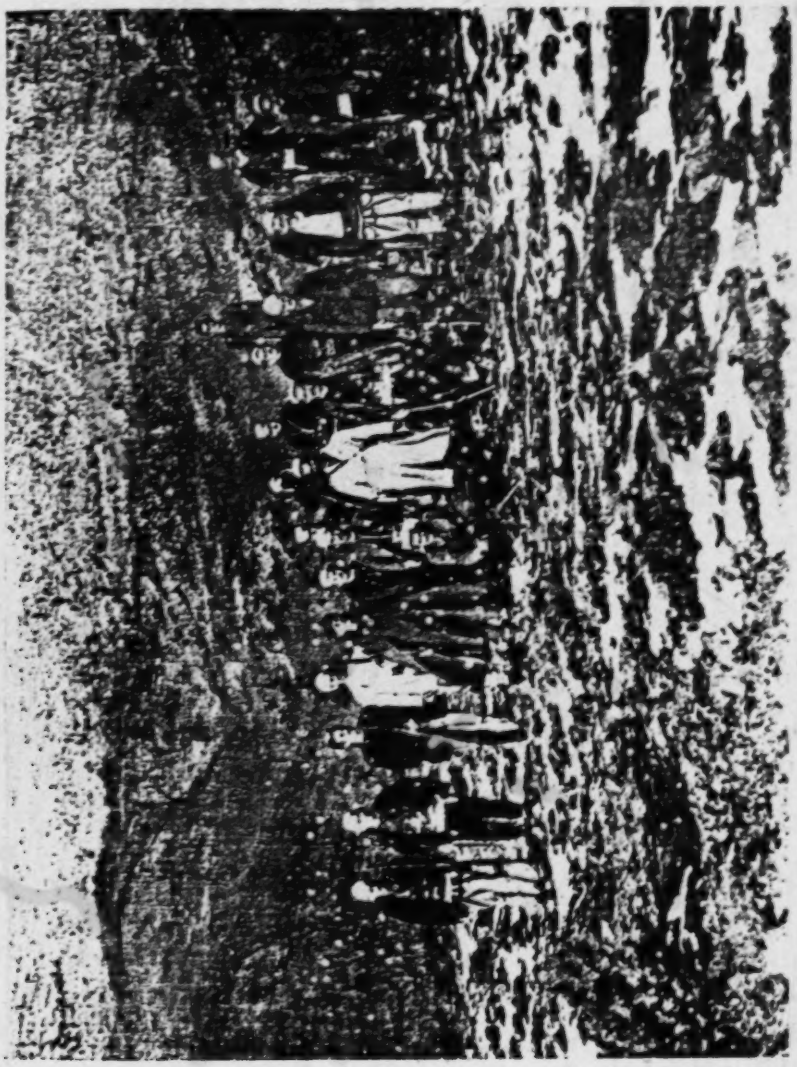
We were aroused next morning at first light, and soon after sunrise rode out through the castle gate, still deep in the shadow of the eastern mountains. Muharrem was wrapt in a dark-blue cloak and sat a milk-white but frisky mule, caparisoned with a *Kilim* carpet of red and green design. Some forty well-armed tribesmen marched in our train ; big, bony fellows, dressed in brown jackets and close-fitting white breeches, braided with black — the customary dress which had now altogether replaced the traditional fustanella still seen in Liuma when Muharrem was a boy. Our way led south along the cliff path for perhaps an hour and then turned sharply north-east, following the [291]

000 course of a torrent which broke through the eastern wall of the gorge. We went slowly, for the ascent was steep, and Muharrem inclined to frequent rests. "*Kadal, kadal*" — "Slowly, slowly" — was his oft-repeated maxim. Towards nine in the morning we at last emerged into the sunshine and followed a more gradual path to an isolated farmstead. There we stopped for the heat of the day and ate our midday meal of roast lamb and cheese in a shaded orchard, pink and white with blossom.

133 We pressed on in the afternoon, and, climbing up wooded slopes too steep to ride, came out on to the grassy uplands of Teya, in parts still deep in snow. Teya is a plateau over eight thousand feet high, with stretches so broad and smooth that they might almost have made a landing-ground for aircraft. The day was cloudless and we turned aside from the path to scale a pyramid-shaped knoll for the view. There all Albania was spread out at our feet, convulsed into a chaos of broken valleys and intersecting ranges. To the north the wavy, jagged chain of the Albanian Alps rose to its climax in the tooth-like, snow-covered peak of Shkelzen; westwards the rolling highlands of Mirdita stretched towards the sea; to the east Korab towered immediately above us, shutting out the prospect of the Vardar valley; and in the south the snowy summit of Tomori hung above the haze. It took us nearly two hours to cross the plateau, and, climbing down five thousand feet beyond, we came towards dusk to Topoyan, a straggling village on the banks of the river Liuma from which the region draws its name.

Next day, the 1st of June, we splashed across the Liuma and rode northwards along the crest of the range that rises from its eastern bank. The sun was scorching, and in the full noontide heat we reached the head of the gorge, whence the river broadens out across the plain of Kukes. From there we saw the junction of the Black with the White Drin, and, with the help of our glasses, studied the houses and bridges of Kukes with the white ribbon of road that runs through the town to
000 Scutari. A mountain village was perched precariously above the gorge, and there we ate our midday meal in the company

* [British liaison officers, Spring of 1944 -- Analyst]



MUHARREM BAIRAKTAR (IN CLOAK) WITH HIS BODYGUARD

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LIUMAN CHIEFTAINS

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MAIN GATEWAY OF MUHARREM BAIRAKTAR'S CASTLE, WITH SENTRY ON THE PARAPET

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000 of a Yugoslav doctor, a Bosnian. He had sought refuge in Albania from the many-sided civil war which perplexed his country, and, for two years now, had lived in this primitive community, earning his keep by caring for the health of the mountaineers. In the afternoon we made our way down gentle slopes towards the plain, and soon after dark reached the village of Jan, half an hour from the banks of the White Drin. Men and horses were tired, and, since there were no villages on the northern bank of the river, Muharrem decided that we should sleep in Jan and attempt the crossing on the following night.

*669 Next day, while we rested in the house, a courier came from Riddle's base, bringing us a sheaf of telegrams from Headquarters. These contained no reply to our own proposals but told us that Philip Leake, the head of the Albanian section, had " dropped " to the L.N.C. and hoped to meet us later in the neighbourhood of Tirana. Leake's first messages from Partisan Headquarters reported that Enver Hoja was adamant in his refusal to work with the Zogists, and presaged an early outbreak of civil war.

000 We left Jan at dusk and half an hour later reached the ferry moorings which were within forty yards of the Prizren–Scutari road. Muharrem posted two light machine-guns to protect the crossing against an attack ; and the men lay down in the long grass while waiting to embark. The ferry consisted of a broad punt attached to an iron hawser slung across the river. It could carry ten men at a time and took a quarter of an hour to cross and return. The first ferry load had just pushed off from the south bank when a German convoy thundered past, escorted by two armoured cars. Fortunately they failed to see us, for, with our backs to the river, it would have been an uncomfortable fight. Apart from this incident, however, the crossing went smoothly ; and in less than an hour the whole party was assembled on the northern bank. We climbed thence up a steep, wooded gully, little more than a cleft in the face of the mountains, and, after an hour's march, reached a miserable village where the headman and his clan turned out to meet us. There we stopped for the evening meal,

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000 and while it was made ready were entertained by two old men who sang to us the strident epics of the highlands, accompanied on the one-stringed *guzla*. We climbed on after we had eaten, but the path now wound ever steeper through the woods and we lost our way several times in the moonless night. Climbing was hot work, but we lit fires wherever we halted, for at that height the night air was still bitterly cold. At last, just before dawn, we crawled over the crest of the range and came out on to a broad and undulating stretch of moorland. We continued marching till the sun had warmed the morning and then dropped asleep in the bracken, where we lay till the afternoon.

622 We resumed our journey in the evening and an hour after dark reached the tall stone keep of Mehmet Ali, the *Bairaktar* of Hass. There our strength was revived with lashings of a [574] potent *raki*; and, while the meal was made ready, our hunger was stayed by *mese* of eggs and cheese. Mehmet Ali was an old-fashioned tribal chief, a cheery fellow, and an excellent host. He was reputed the most prudent man in all Albania and had persistently refused to disclose the name of the friend who had sheltered him in the Balkan wars thirty years before.

"You never know," he would say, "when I may need to hide with his family again!"

000 Towards midnight the sudden barking of the watch-dogs warned us that strangers were at the gate. Mehmet Ali went out to meet them and presently returned, ushering two men into the room. The first of these was Said Kryeziu, a sub-machine-gun slung across his shoulder and two hand-grenades dangling from his belt. Prison had left its mark on him, and his face was thin and drawn. He shook hands gravely with the assembled company and was just murmuring some formal greeting to me when a flash of recognition crossed his face and we fell into each other's arms. He had received no word that I was in Albania, and now this sudden reunion in the mountains seemed to both of us like a good omen. Perhaps we were at last to fulfil the work we had begun together in Belgrade.

*669 Said brought us the best news we had heard since landing in Albania. His brother, Gani, had just fought an engagement with the Germans, the third in recent weeks. At last we had

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found a Gheg leader who was at war with the enemy. Nor was this all; for, although he declined to join their movement, Gani was on excellent terms with the Partisans. 669*

The Kryeziu brothers had been living as outlaws in the Jakova mountains since their escape from Italy. They had mobilised a small force, and, some months before, had begun stirring up disaffection among the neighbouring tribes and in the Kossovo. Their activities had presently alarmed the Germans, who had sent out a punitive expedition to suppress them. Guided by a blood enemy of the Kryezius, the Germans had surrounded Gani in his hide-out, and, but for the providential approach of night, must have destroyed him. As it was, he had shot his way out into the darkness, killing seven of the enemy for the loss of two of his own men. Since then Gani had twice attacked German patrols sent into the region and had driven them off with losses.

Besides Gani's men there were also a few Partisans in the Jakova mountains belonging to the so-called "Kosmet" (Kossovo Metohia) group and in close touch with Marshal Tito. They had often pressed Gani to join their movement, but he had always refused, knowing that it was completely Communist controlled. At the same time he regarded them as allies in the common struggle against the Germans and had used his influence with the mountaineers to obtain protection and hospitality for them. This had been no easy task, for Kossovar opinion regarded the Partisans with unconcealed hostility as agents of Slavdom.

Said Kryeziu's companion was a certain Lazar Fundo, a Vlach from Korcha, who worked as Gani's chief propagandist and political adviser. Fundo was a man of fine and sensitive features, then in his forties, and combined great personal gentleness with an utterly ruthless intellect; a peculiar blend often to be observed among those who have received their early training in the ranks of the Communist Party or the militant orders of the Roman Church. Fundo had indeed been a Communist, and had served the Party for nearly fifteen years, both at the Comintern headquarters in Moscow and on missions in Europe and Asia. But the prestige which 665

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665 he enjoyed among the Party leaders had only served to excite the jealousy of Seifullah Maleshova, then the only other Albanian Communist. National character proved stronger than ideology ; and Maleshova had pursued his rival with all the implacable determination of a mountain blood feud. For years he had bided his time, but in 1938, during the Moscow trials, had denounced Fundo as a Right-Wing Deviationist and fellow conspirator of Bukharin. Fundo had been in Paris at the time, working among the Balkan exiles, and had obeyed the summons to return to Moscow with a clear conscience. There he had been tried before a Party Court, but the charges against him had been dismissed, thanks to the intervention of George Dimitroff, who was his personal friend. A few weeks later his passport had been returned to him and he had been ordered to go back to Paris to complete his mission. But meanwhile he had undergone an unpredictable change of heart. He had arrived in Moscow an orthodox Stalinist, prepared to justify the " purges " which were then at their height : he left the Soviet capital convinced that thousands of honest Communists were being done to death solely to make way for the unlimited dictatorship of Stalin and his faction. He had himself been spared, thanks to the favour he enjoyed in high places ; but the experience had converted him to those very deviationary tendencies of which he had falsely been accused. Back in Paris he openly advocated the reintroduction of democracy into the constitution of the Party and began to consort with the Trotskyist and Bukharinist exiles. His lapse from orthodoxy was soon known to Maleshova ; he was again denounced, and again invited to return to Moscow. This time, however, he prudently declined.

Disillusioned with Communism, Fundo had turned to Social-Democracy, and in 1938 had gone back to Albania, planning to found an Albanian Socialist Party. The Italians, however, had arrested him in the summer of 1939, and had sent him to the concentration camp at Ventotteno. There he had later been joined by the Kryeziu brothers, and the three had soon become fast friends. They had escaped together with the collapse of Italy, and Fundo had followed Gani

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back to Jakova as his political adviser. There he had prepared 665
some brilliant leaflets for distribution in the Kossovo and had been a great influence for good in the Kryeziu's camp. To us he seemed a valuable ally; for in a dark and confused world he looked to the British Commonwealth as the least defective of human institutions.

We had several talks with Fundo and he told us something of his experiences as an official of the Comintern. Among other duties he had once been responsible for briefing Tito, then one of the senior European agents of the Communist Party. He told us that in those days Tito was considered in ooo
Moscow as one of their bravest and most loyal workers, endowed with great strength of character and the gift of leadership. His intellectual qualities, however, were not rated so high, and whenever he was sent on a difficult mission the Comintern provided him with one or more companions to guide his energies and make sure that he followed the "party line". Unfortunately for our Missions in Yugoslavia Fundo was no longer in a position to tell us who were now the brains behind the Marshal.

Gani had appointed the 5th of June for our meeting, and 669*
we therefore set out from Vlahn, accompanied by Muharrem Bairaktar, Said, Fundo, and Mehmet Ali, our host. We travelled by night, for our bodyguard was now nearly a hundred strong and we wanted to keep our movements secret from the Germans, at least until our talks with Gani were over. Our way led through fields and woods across a broad plain, watered by tributary streams of the Drin. The level going seemed strange after long weeks of climbing in the mountains; and, in the night, the stunted trees wreathed in waves of ground mist gave me the impression of riding along the bed of the sea. Just before the dawn it grew very cold; then, as the sun rose, we left the plain and followed a path into the forest of Bitutch. There we presently came upon a small detachment of Gani's men, posted to guard the approaches to his camp. They recognised Said, and brought us to the clearing where Gani was encamped. We embraced each other, glad that our paths

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*669 should have crossed again. He led us to the shade of some trees where carpets from a neighbouring house had been spread for our conference. The hardships of internment had aged him, but they had also given him strength, and there was now a more determined look in his eyes than I had ever seen in Belgrade.

[622] With Gani were representatives of the Kosmet Partisans and a number of Moslem chiefs, including Salimani, the *Bairaktar* of Krasniqi. Salimani stood over six feet tall, a fierce old warrior with strong, regular features and thick, silver [291] hair and moustache. He was dressed in close-fitting, white breeches and a dark-blue jacket, with a white skull-cap on his head and a scarlet sash around his waist. His gun was silver-handled, a silver lanyard hung from his neck, and the tobacco pouch on his belt was of filigree worked by the Scutari silversmiths. He was over eighty years old, but bore himself erect, and his voice was still clear and strong. His clan had long been in blood with the Kryezius; for Gani's brother, Tsena, had pursued Bairam Tsuri, a rival northern chief, into Krasniqi and there had driven him to suicide. But now the two were reconciled, for that winter Salimani's only son had been killed fighting against the Germans in the ranks of the Partisans. The new feud obscured the old, and, in the face of a common foe, the two clans had laid aside their ancient enmity.

We sat down cross-legged under the trees, and, with Said acting as interpreter, began our conversations with Gani. Meanwhile the other chiefs rested around us in a semicircle, listening. Our first instinct had been to bid them withdraw, that we might talk in privacy, but Said had dissuaded us, arguing that nothing would impress the chiefs so much as to see us reach agreement in public. Gani therefore told us of his recent fights with the Germans and stressed that only lack of arms and ammunition had prevented him from taking the offensive on a wider scale. Then, with a gesture of invitation he said:

"I have come to receive your orders."

We answered along familiar lines that the time had now

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come for an all-out effort against the Germans; at the same time we stressed that we could only send him arms in proportion to the scale of the actions which he undertook. In reply he spoke of the advantages of building up a reserve of weapons before taking the offensive, but, seeing that our instructions on this point were binding, said: 669*

"Since first we worked together in 1940 I have regarded myself as a soldier of the Allies. You represent the Allied Commander-in-Chief, and I must obey your orders. I have told you my objections, now I will do my duty; in ten days from now we will attack the Germans wherever we can. Give me such help as you think right and send me a British officer, trained in sabotage. I promise you that he will have work enough!" [648]

Such complete and unconditional agreement surpassed our wildest hopes and we at once announced that we would attach a British officer to Gani's forces. Our choice fell naturally on Simcox, for he was trained in sabotage and already had experience of conditions north of the Drin. Maclean accordingly sent him that same afternoon to Riddle's base to collect such arms and explosives as he could, and then to join Gani with them. Gani welcomed our decision and in return invited us to take his brother, Said, with us to help in our negotiations with Abas Kupi.

"Let him be the pledge of my good faith," he said. He then addressed the assembled chiefs, explaining the terms of our agreement, and adding: "I put my trust in Great Britain, but my efforts alone will not be enough. If Albania is to be saved you must all play your part."

They shook their heads, a disconcerting gesture which, among the Albanians, signifies approval. We saw, however, that they would take no risks until they knew that our alliance with Gani had borne fruit. Each agreed in principle to fight, but, as old Salimani put it:

"First you must send us arms and then the other thing." And here he rubbed his thumb against his forefinger and rolled his eyes.

* [Gani Kryezin, famous Gheg chieftain -- Analyst]

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000 OUR meeting with Gani Kryeziu had taken us farther afield than we had at first intended ; it was already the 6th of June, and we were due back at base next day for talks with Abas Kupi. To return by the way we had come would take us more than a week ; but the only short cut — and this would take at least four days — lay through the wild highlands of Mirdita. This was the most primitive region in all Albania [622] and firmly in the grip of Jon Marko Joni, the Captain of the Mirdites and the ally of the Germans. Gani and Muharrem begged us not to attempt the journey, and, when they saw that our minds were made up, offered to put a force of a hundred men at our disposal, so that, if necessary, we might fight our way through any opposition. To feed such a force, however, might well prove impossible, especially if the clansmen were hostile. We therefore determined to put our trust in speed rather than strength, hoping to be in Mati before Marko Joni learned that we had crossed Mirdita.

We rested, therefore, through the morning and afternoon of the 6th June and, bidding Gani farewell, set out at sunset with Said and Muharrem Bairaktar. The nights are short at this season, but we planned to cross both the Great Drin and the [133] Scutari–Kukes road before dawn. The river was too deep and swift to ford, and there was no alternative but to cross by the ferry. This was guarded, however, by a gendarmerie post under a new commandant, whose attitude was still unknown to the local chieftains. We reached the crossing about midnight and Muharrem deployed his men so as to surround the gendarmes. He then sent for the commandant and exhorted him as a patriotic Albanian to help our forces over the Drin. Intimidated by our array, and encouraged by a handful of gold, that officer soon discovered a vehement sympathy for the Allied cause ; the necessary orders were issued to the ferryman, and within half an hour our forces were across the river.

An hour beyond the Drin our paths divided ; Muharrem turned eastwards on his way back to Liuma ; and the rest of

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us, now reduced to fifteen men, continued southwards, still hoping to reach the Kukes–Scutari road before it was light. The men were tired, however, for we had been marching seven hours; and the sun had already risen when we crossed the motor road into the great beech forests of Mirdita. As we learned only later, a German patrol caught sight of us just as we crossed the road. Had they pursued us we must have been overtaken; for once in Mirdita we dropped to a leisurely climbing pace and indulged ourselves in frequent halts. Instead they sought to head us off by taking a short cut; but the forests of Mirdita are dark and trackless, and we passed like ships in the night.

We soon lost our way in these forests, and were forced to climb some five thousand feet to the rocky summit of Mount Rones to take our bearings. We sat there for a time, but hunger discouraged us from resting, and we struck a south-westerly course downhill into the valley of the Lesser Fani. Our ponies were too lame and galled to ride; and we had been marching seventeen hours when, towards three o'clock, we reached the house of Gyok Bairaktar. Gyok was a Mirdite chieftain and many years before had been an ally of Muharrem. Since those days, however, he had fallen on evil times, and we found him living in the utmost poverty and squalor. His home was a wooden hut, divided into two rooms, one of which housed his goats and womenfolk, while the other was kept for his guests, himself, and his sons.

"That's a funny sort of *Bairaktar*," said Shaqir, our interpreter, "he hasn't even got any trousers."

Poor Gyok indeed was dressed in nothing but a dirty white shirt and long cotton drawers, having thriftily put away his one pair of breeches for the summer. He gave us a light meal of eggs and milk; for besides his milch goats he had no flocks or cattle, and offered us a pinkish *raki* which I could scarcely stomach, even after the fatigues of the march. But despite his miserable circumstances, which in Mirdita were the rule rather than the exception, Gyok was a loyal liege of Marko Joni. He was frankly disturbed to hear that we were British officers, and, when we sought to learn his political opinions, answered sharply:

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000 " Where the Captain leads, I will follow."

We stretched out on his mud floor and slept a couple of hours, but then pressed on, not wishing to stay there long enough for news of our presence to reach Marko Joni. Our short rest had stiffened rather than refreshed us, but that night, at about ten o'clock, after a march of altogether twenty-two hours, we crawled into a low stone fortress near the village of Konai. There we were hospitably entertained by a cousin of Marko Joni, who inclined, however, to the Zogist cause. The
622 company that evening included Res Lufi, a chieftain from the borders of Mati and Mirdita, who was renowned for the success
[628] with which he waged his blood feuds. Next day we were to pass a well where, some years earlier, he had drowned six of his blood enemies whom he had taken in their sleep.

000 From Konai the path to Mati led through Oroshi, the seat of the Abbot of Mirdita, and one of Marko Joni's strongholds. We judged it more prudent, therefore, to make a slight detour and set out in the morning to climb the Mali Shengjit, or Mount Saint John, a broad, wooded massif which separates the regions of Mirdita and Lura. The day was fine, but we made slow progress ; for the going was rough and the men nearing the limit of endurance. In the late afternoon, however, we descended into Lura and stopped by the side of the path to smoke and chat with a farmer returning from the market. He spoke for some time of local politics and then added as an afterthought :

" They said in the market that Rome has fallen and that the English have landed in France ! "

Our bodyguards greeted the news with wild shouts and fired their rifles into the air ; the old man was embraced by all and sundry ; and we left him still sitting by the roadside, bewildered that anyone should be excited by news of these distant events.

We pushed on next morning through the barren gorges of Matsukull and in the evening reached Sul Kurti's house on the fringes of the Mati valley. We found old Sul sitting on a carpet in his orchard enjoying the last hours of daylight with one of his sons. This young man had come from Tirana only the day before, and from him we learnt details of the battle in France. That night Sul gave us a banquet in honour of the landing and

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even produced a bottle of champagne, a treasured gift from King Zog. The assembled company rejoiced that British troops were once again in France, but they shuddered at the news of Russian victories; and fear of the Partisans darkened their celebrations, like a shadow.

Next day, the fourth since we had passed the Drin, we set out across the Mati valley. The grass was already scorched by the sun, and the paths were ankle-deep in dust. The white mulberry trees, however, were laden with fruit, and from these we ate our fill. By Albanian custom a traveller may pick as much fruit from any tree as he can eat beneath it, though to take more than a hatful away is accounted theft. Towards evening we stopped by the banks of the Mati to bathe and wash in its icy waters. Then, two hours after dark, we reached the village of Klos, where we had our first solid meal of the day.

In Klos a courier brought us a letter from Smiley with news that Abas Kupi was at our base with a group of Zogist leaders. Smiley also wrote that Philip Leake had been killed in a German air attack on the Partisan headquarters. Leake had been a friend, and had understood the Albanian problem; his death at this critical moment was a bitter blow.

Next morning, the 11th of June, we climbed slowly up the southern wall of the Mati valley on the last lap of our journey. We crossed the range and, following the stony course of the Ziber torrent, came in sight of our base an hour after midday. As we entered the clearing Smiley and Hare came out to meet us with Abas Kupi and a great following of chiefs and bodyguards. Abas and Said embraced several times; and we were brought back to our camp, pressed about by the welcoming throng of guerillas.

Thus, in less than five days, we had marched from the Jakova mountains to the borders of Tirana, climbing over ten hours each day and, on one occasion, twenty-two out of the twenty-four. The country we had covered was of the wildest and steepest in Europe, and we were tired and strained. The sun shone, however, and our spirits were buoyed up by the news of the British landing in France. All of us felt that the hour of decision was at hand.

IV

CROSS-ROADS

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It is an entertaining pursuit to speculate upon the subtleties of legal theory or to trace from age to age the transmission of the perennial maxims of political wisdom; it is more instructive to discover, in any time and under any system of government, the identity of the agents and ministers of power. That task has all too often been ignored or evaded.

RONALD SYME: *The Roman Revolution* (Chapter XXII)

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SIX weeks had passed since we had jumped into Albania; six weeks in which we had repaired the shattered network of British Missions and seen for ourselves how matters stood among the Ghegs. Meanwhile the war, the mighty complex of interlocking human struggles, of which ours was but one, had entered on a new phase. British and American troops had landed in France; Rome had fallen; and to the East, between the Black and Baltic seas, the Red armies rolled inexorably forward, now, for the first time, carrying the battle beyond the boundaries of Russia. The final assault on Hitler's "Fortress Europe" had begun; and, as the fate of the occupied countries was once more committed to the chances of battle, the Eastern Question returned to the fore. The telegrams waiting for us at base warned us that the German garrisons in the Balkans might soon be withdrawn to defend the Reich itself. They also informed us that Partisan troops were marching slowly northwards, breathing death and destruction to Abas Kupi and "the reactionary *Bairaktars*". The time had therefore come to make an end of reconnaissance and to draw up a final plan of action. Our talks with Abas Kupi were accordingly postponed till the following day, and we held a council of war

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among ourselves. There we took stock of what we had learned, 669* 648
and sought to impose a definite pattern on the many projects
we had so often revolved on the march, or discussed around
the hearth at night. Our[1] first aim from the beginning had been 725
to raise the Ghegs against the Germans, both with the laudable
object of killing our enemies wherever and whenever possible,
and, above all, so as to disrupt their overland communications:
the main road from Tirana to Scutari and its lateral links with [491]
Macedonia — the roads from Tirana to Dibra and from Scutari
to Kukes and Prizren. These roads were important targets;
for the German troops in Albania depended upon them for
their communications with the Reich, and they also afforded
the second of the two lines of retreat open to the enemy's
garrisons in Greece.

The thinkers who inspire, and the historians who record, 000
the course of revolutions tend naturally to dwell on those
ideological issues which lend them their distinctive character.
In the making, however, they more often appear to the revolutionary, as wars do to the strategist, in terms of power and
technique. The first object, therefore, of our reconnaissances
had been to discover what was the distribution of power in
North Albania.

The strongest force in the land was still the German army, [727]
but the roots of its strength were abroad, and our journeys 619
had shown us that its influence was on the wane. Among the
Ghegs power lay in the armed might and resources of the tribes,
and, to a much smaller extent, in the wealth of the merchants
and the landowners of the plain. The strength of the tribes
was sapped by their disunity and was never canalised into any
higher unit of organisation than the tribe itself. Nevertheless,
geographical barriers tended to separate the tribes into distinct
regional groups; and, within one or more such groups, they
were sometimes brought together by a man pre-eminent among
them by his personal ability, family tradition, or wealth. Such
a leader enjoyed influence rather than authority; for his
following was never more than a loose, voluntary, and shifting
confederacy of tribes and parts of tribes, intolerant of any form
of discipline. These confederacies were none the less the

[1] [British underground liaison officers — Analyst]

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619 strongest forces among the Ghegs, and their leaders might be identified as the principal " ministers of power ".

*669 619 Our reconnaissance had shown us that there were at this time five such confederacies among the Ghegs, led respectively by Abas Kupi, Jon Marko Joni, Gani Kryeziu, Muharrem Bairaktar, and Fikri Dine. Of these Abas Kupi was the most powerful ; he swayed the central provinces of Mati, Kruya, and Tirana ; and his influence extended to the tribes of Shiyak, Dibra, the southern *Bairaks* of Mirdita, and the Catholic regions north of the Drin. We reckoned his potential strength at between five thousand and ten thousand rifles ; and he might, besides, enjoy the financial backing of the Tirana merchants and of the landowning *Beys* of Central Albania. Second to him stood Jon Marko Joni, the hereditary Captain of Mirdita. He might command three thousand rifles among his clansmen alone, a further two thousand from the Catholics of the North, and the financial support of the guilds and churches of Scutari. Next in the hierarchy of power came Gani Kryeziu, whose influence was waxing among the Moslem chiefs beyond the Drin, and whose strength was computed at more than two thousand rifles. Almost as powerful was Muharrem Bairaktar, the Lord of Liuma, who might raise a thousand rifles from his own clansmen and as many again from among his confederates in Puka, Lura, and Dibra. Fikri Dine's power was harder to assess and it seemed doubtful whether he could raise even five hundred men alone. It was said, however, that there were six thousand rifles in Dibra ; and, though it was unlikely that more than three thousand could ever be brought into action, the bulk of these might follow Fikri if he fought in alliance with Abas Kupi or Muharrem Bairaktar.

These powerful men thus commanded between them more than fifteen thousand rifles, and, if the fortunes of war were favourable, they might hope to recruit a further ten thousand scattered among the smaller and more isolated clans. At this time, however, they were divided among themselves by ancient feuds, personal jealousies, and their varying attachment to the Allied or to the German cause. Hitherto these divisions had paralysed their strength, but many circumstances were now

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Map to illustrate the situation in Northern Albania, and the activities of the Maclean Mission, April–November 1944

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combining to bring them together against the Germans.

The Ghegs, indeed, were stirred by no deep economic or social discontents. The state of anarchy which had prevailed since the collapse of Italian rule was most welcome to the tribes, and they were sustained in their enjoyment of its licence by cheap and plentiful supplies of bread from the granaries of the Kossovo. Their leaders might variously incline towards the Allies or the Germans, but the ordinary tribesmen remained supremely indifferent to the invaders, whom he seldom saw. Hitherto the tribes had therefore favoured a policy of neutrality, but the growing weakness of the Germans of itself supplied a powerful incentive to revolt. The prospect of a German surrender or withdrawal sharply stimulated their predatory appetites; and their Chiefs, including the "collaborationists" among them, made ready for the day when they might fall upon the stricken Germans to strip them of their power, their weapons, and their wealth.

Left to themselves, the Ghegs would have bided their time until their leaders had discovered that the Germans could be attacked and plundered with impunity. The revolt would thus in all probability have been delayed until the eve of a German retreat, or until Allied forces had landed in Albania. The growth, however, of the L.N.C. introduced a new and disturbing factor into their calculations. The Partisan leaders had already proclaimed themselves the future rulers of Albania and made little secret that, as Communists and as Tosks, they had no room in their scheme of things for the tribal lairds of the North. The Gheg chieftains were thus still further united by the advance of a rival who threatened to deprive them equally of all share in the plunder of the enemy and in the future government of their country.

The Gheg leaders were not afraid of the growth of a Partisan movement in North Albania; for the conservatism of the tribes, Catholic influence, and the Slav associations of Communism made the mountaineers predominantly hostile to the L.N.C. Nor indeed were they alarmed by the warlike qualities of the Partisans, for they considered themselves a match for Tosk troops of any kind. They knew, however, that the L.N.C.

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*669 [619] had for some time been receiving military supplies from the British and would thus be well equipped with mortars and automatic weapons. They were convinced, moreover, that, if Enver Hoja should fail to conquer the North by his own efforts, he could always count on the help of Marshal Tito, and, in the last instance, of Soviet Russia itself.

*669 648 The knowledge that their rivals enjoyed foreign support admonished the Ghegs of their own isolation, and they rightly concluded that their only hope of escaping destruction lay in securing foreign backing for themselves. Seeing that the Partisans were inspired by the Russians and armed by the British, the first reaction of many among them had been to turn to the Germans for help. This, indeed, was the policy pursued by Jon Marko Joni and by Fikri Dine, who sought, though somewhat half-heartedly, to crush the L.N.C. with levies equipped and supported by the Germans. Neither of these leaders any longer believed in a German victory, but they hoped to use the German army to suppress the social revolution before the Allies came. Their policy, however, was openly condemned by Gani Kryeziu and later by Abas Kupi, who both recognised that its success was improbable and that its failure must be disastrous. They held instead that it was only by obtaining British support that the Ghegs might be saved and that they must therefore do all in their power to comply with British demands. These leaders understood, if they did not always approve, our motives in supporting the L.N.C., but they could not believe that a British government would ever allow a Communist, and therefore Russian-controlled, regime to be set up at the entrance to the Adriatic. There were thus two schools of thought among the Gheg leaders as to how best to meet the danger of Communism.

Anglophiles and " collaborationists " publicly accused each other of betraying their common interests, but the line of distinction between them was often blurred and fluctuating. The Anglophiles could scarcely regret the losses which the " collaborationists " inflicted on the L.N.C. ; and the " collaborationists ", for their part, regarded the Anglophiles as exponents of an alternative, rather than a contrary, policy to

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ON THE TRAIL BETWEEN LIUMA AND JAKOVA

ANOTHER VIEW BETWEEN LIUMA AND JAKOVA

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GANI KRYEZIU AND HIS STAFF

(*Front row, from Right to Left*) Said Kryeziu, Hassan Kryeziu, Lazar Fundo, Gani Kryeziu, Captain Hibbardine

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*669 148 which they too might rally if their own efforts should meet with failure. The gulf between them was further narrowed by the growing uncertainty with which they regarded their own policies. The "collaborationists" on the one hand doubted whether the Germans had ever intended to suppress a conflict which diverted Albanian energies into fratricidal channels. The Anglophiles on the other balanced uneasily between extremes of hope and fear: hope that the British would support them as they did General Zervas; fear that they would be abandoned like General Mihailovitch.

At the time of our landing in Albania, Gheg opinion had still been not unevenly divided between these two schools of thought; and we had been impressed by the number of people who expected or hoped for a separate peace between England and Germany. The growing weakness of the Germans, however, had inclined the chiefs increasingly towards us; and we had seen that even Jon Marko Joni thought of changing sides. This was our opportunity; for now that the Gheg leaders recognised that without our help their cause was doomed, they must be prepared to accept our terms. There was thus good reason to believe that they might soon be brought to battle.

000 Having thus analysed the rifle power of the Ghegs and the motives which might lead them to fight, we had next to consider what form of warfare they might be capable of waging. This called for some enquiry into the fundamental principles of revolt — a branch of the military art on which the text-books of the Staff College offered but little guidance. Our masters had been Lawrence and Wingate: from Wingate we had learned the theory of the "striking force"; from Lawrence much about example and the use of gold. Neither, however, had encountered the curious dichotomy of revolt which faced us in Albania and which was the cause of so much confusion at Headquarters. Lawrence, indeed, had written that "revolt was more like peace than like war", but this had only been to state the problem. War and revolt were both extensions of politics; but it seemed to us that revolt was really war in reverse — the process whereby the vertical relationship between

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000 conqueror and conquered was changed into the horizontal juxtaposition of rival belligerents.

In war the contending parties faced each other across a more or less clearly demarcated front line. Behind the front the writ of each government ran much as in time of peace ; the state continued to protect the essential interests of the public ; and the resources of society were harnessed to each nation's war effort. The fortunes of battle might lead to the loss of large tracts of territory, but the government concerned would continue to administer the remainder, where its subjects might safely retire with their families and at least their movable property. The development of total war had increased the dangers and responsibilities of the home front, but the heaviest burden still fell on the armed forces who were called on to defend, if necessary with their lives, the land, the property, and the non-combatants of the nation. War was thus a process in which a whole community was organised for offence or defence under its natural leaders ; in which those with the greatest stake in the community had most interest in the result ; and in which the combatants bore the heaviest burden. Victory was only complete when the front line had ceased to exist.

Revolt began where war ended ; for in revolt there was no front line ; and the insurgents and their enemies lived cheek by jowl in the same towns, and even in the same streets. Revolt was, by definition, irregular and became war, in fact if not in law, as soon as the insurgents could defend and administer wide, inhabited regions ; as soon, that is, as they passed from guerilla to positional warfare. Until then the state powers of protection and coercion remained the monopoly of their opponents, and the insurgents could do little to defend the relatives or the property of their supporters. This was their weakness and at the same time their strength : it prevented them from defending fixed positions, but it left them free to fight only on ground of their own choosing and to disperse rather than face unequal odds. Their conditions of life might be harsh, but they were less dangerous than a soldier's in battle ; a guerilla had only his own life to defend ; and to

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escape from foreign soldiers was no great problem for an able-bodied man fighting in his own country. This elusiveness of the guerillas drove their opponents to indirect retaliation ; they imprisoned their families and confiscated their property, and even proceeded against the harmless villagers who had failed to denounce or to prevent their operations. Thus, in revolt, the heaviest burden fell not on the combatants, as in war, but on the wives and children, the cattle and the homes which remained as hostages in the hands of the enemy. 000

It followed from this that the elements most naturally inclined to revolt were the young who had no family responsibilities and the " have-nots ", who had no property to lose. To them revolt offered faith, discipline, and a way of life ; and the strength which they acquired collectively in battle afforded hopes of wealth and power in the event of victory. They started from nothing ; their organisation was moulded in the forge of war ; its growth was slow. Prolonged guerilla warfare was thus their natural military expression. By the same token, those with a stake in the country were at a disadvantage in guerilla war ; for their families and possessions were so many hostages in the hands of the enemy. Heroes among them might sacrifice their all to fight for freedom ; the braver sort would run great risks for great gains ; but the majority would only take the field if they knew that their families and homes were safe from enemy reprisals. Without such protection, indeed, either they would withdraw their support from the revolt or else the social order itself would be transformed by the destruction through reprisals of the property relationships on which it was based. The leaders of an established society would therefore tend to postpone revolt until their hopes of victory outweighed their fears of reprisals. At the same time — and this was their great advantage over the other sort of revolutionaries — if they once decided to fight, they would not have to create a new organisation but would go into action with the full force of an organised community behind them. [1]

Applied to the situation in Albania, this theory explained the difference between the Partisans and the Gheg tribal confederacies, and showed that their military efforts must 669* 619 725

[1] [cf. cat. no. 44, pp. 165-167 -- Analyst]

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naturally develop along different lines. The Partisans had started as a small Communist cell, destitute of resources, and had slowly recruited their forces from among the landless peasants and the youth of the towns. By joining an avowedly social-revolutionary movement these recruits had become outlaws; there could be no turning back; and, since they lacked personal wealth or the backing of a tribe, they were easily subjected to the discipline of a movement on which they depended for their daily bread. With no resources of their own, the Partisans had to fight if they would eat, and thus were driven from one raid to another by sheer necessity. Nor was their zeal for war and plunder restrained by fear of reprisals against property; for they were, by definition, of the dispossessed. Indeed they might even welcome reprisals; for, by adding to the number of the dispossessed, reprisals added to the number of their potential supporters, while the destruction of property which they involved weakened the economic foundations of a hostile social order. The operations of the Partisans, therefore, took the form of sustained guerilla raids; and their movement fed on the devastation which it caused and grew, Phoenix-like, from the ashes of its own defeats. Sometimes they attacked the Germans; more often they plundered their richer compatriots; but whether they advanced the cause of national liberation or of social revolution, the bitterness of their enemies convinced them that they could never lay aside their arms with impunity, except as masters of Albania. Thus discipline was seconded by experience of battle, and morale was fortified by the knowledge that their only hope of safety lay in victory.

The conditions of a Gheg rising were altogether different, for the Gheg leaders were the representatives of the existing social order; and their strength was rooted in the tribal system. Gheg armies were nothing but the tribes on a war footing; and each contingent marched under the orders of its own tribal chief. In the simple conditions of highland life considerable forces might thus be mustered at little more than a day's notice; and each tribesman in them would be a natural guerilla and an accurate marksman. Discipline, however, was rare; the habit of team work unknown; and at every stage in a

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campaign protracted negotiations supplied the place of concise orders. But, besides being invertebrate, Gheg armies were also short-winded; for they depended for their food supplies on the bounty of the clans, and no region could long support the expense of a campaign. The tribesmen, moreover, were shepherds and farmers, and, as such, were continually distracted by domestic cares and especially sensitive to the threat of reprisals against property. To obtain their support, therefore, the revolt must be a paying proposition; and it was essential to show that the prospects of plunder or subsidies would exceed the probable costs of fighting and outweigh the expectation of losses through reprisals.

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This fundamental consideration lent certain distinctive features to the warfare of the Ghegs. They required a sufficient extent of territory as a "safe harbour" into which the non-combatants might withdraw with their flocks and movable property beyond the reach of enemy punitive expeditions. They sought to raise the strongest possible fighting force, not only for its weight in the attack, but also to deter the enemy from lightly sending out troops to devastate their homes. Above all, they aimed at achieving a decisive victory in the shortest possible time, so as to win the spoils of war without incurring expenses or reprisals. The Gheg tribes were thus wholly unsuited to sustained guerilla raids which involved living on the country and might lead to heavy reprisals. Instead, their natural form of offensive war was a general revolt, based on the full extent of their territory, supported by the strongest available forces and directed to attaining their objective in the shortest possible time.

We had seen for ourselves that no single Gheg leader swayed a broad enough region or a sufficient following to challenge the Germans alone. But if the five great chieftains, Abas Kupi, Gani Kryeziu, Muharrem Bairaktar, Jon Marko Joni, and Fikri Dine, were to rise up together they would encounter the German army on more equal terms. Their combined territories would provide an impenetrable "safe harbour" where the non-combatants could withdraw with their flocks and where the tribesmen might await military

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*669 supplies from Italy without fear of enemy interception. Their
619 combined forces, moreover, would amount to somewhere
725 between fifteen and twenty-five thousand rifles, which would be rapidly reinforced with mortars and machine-guns from the Allied arsenals. Such an army would be comparable in numbers, if not in equipment, and superior in valour, if inferior in discipline, to that of the L.N.C.; nor was it by any means certain that the Germans still possessed the energy or could spare the troops for its suppression. We concluded, therefore, that Gheg resistance against the Germans must take the form of a general revolt.

*669 This conception of a general revolt had for some weeks been shaping in our minds; and we had already prepared the ground for its fulfilment in our preliminary negotiations with the Gheg leaders. Gani Kryeziu was already fighting the Germans; agreement with Abas Kupi seemed to hang on instructions from King Zog; Muharrem Bairaktar had announced his readiness to take the field if armed; and Jon Marko Joni and Fikri Dine had sounded Abas Kupi to learn on what terms they might now change sides. Starting from this foundation the next step was to reach final agreement with Abas Kupi. Once this had been done we would summon a congress of all the Gheg leaders and their satellite chiefs and invite them to proclaim a general revolt of North Albania. At such a congress Abas Kupi and Gani Kryeziu would naturally exert all their influence to bring the other leaders into the war beside them; and we were confident that Muharrem Bairaktar and the Dibran chiefs would not be slow to follow their example. Jon Marko Joni might show more reluctance but, despite his close connections with the enemy, we doubted whether he would long resist the prospects of plunder, the hopes of power, and the promises of rifles and gold.

Our chances of success, however, were threatened by the danger of a conflict between the Zogists and the Partisans; and this it was our duty to prevent for weighty reasons, military and political: military, because civil war must consume the energies of both resistance movements at the expense of their operations against the Germans; political, because the

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probable event of a Partisan victory would lead to the establishment of a Russian dominated dictatorship; a result which would be in keeping neither with our advocacy of democratic government, nor indeed with our more permanent interests. We were soldiers and in our minds the importance of "War Aims" was naturally overshadowed by the purely military problem of how to beat the Germans. Nevertheless we could not altogether escape political responsibility; for we were the only British representatives in North Albania, and we knew that British policy in that country must in part at least be informed by our reports.

At this time the only Partisan forces in North Albania were the "Kosmet" group, about a hundred strong, and two small bands, each of some thirty men, which were tolerated in their regions by Abas Kupi and Muharrem Bairaktar to please our Mission. There was thus no Partisan problem among the Ghegs; but the main forces of the L.N.C. were moving northwards towards the Shkumbi; and it could not be long before they came up against the Zogist outposts. No one could say with certainty whether civil war might then be averted; but we knew that the Zogists would resist any attempt by the Partisans to enter their territories.

We realised that civil war must disappoint our hopes of a Gheg revolt; for it was too much to expect that Abas Kupi or any of the tribal leaders should fight against the Germans and the Partisans at the same time. We feared besides that the Zogists might be reduced to such straits by the Partisans that they would accept help from the "collaborationists", or even from the Germans. The natural right of self-defence might justify such action; but, if the Zogists once became involved with the Germans, from whatever motive, it might become impossible for us to continue to support them. Such a situation had just arisen in Yugoslavia and had led, for reasons not unconnected with the Conferences of Cairo and Teheran, to the withdrawal of the British Missions from General Mihailovitch. We had often reminded Abas Kupi of this example; and he had offered in return to meet the Partisan leaders and seek agreement with them. Enver Hoja, however, had con-

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*69 temptuously rejected these proposals and already stigmatised the passivity of the Zogists as " collaboration " with the enemy. It was difficult, indeed, to see how interests so diametrically opposed might yet be reconciled. Abas Kupi represented the ancient supremacy of the Ghegs, the oligarchy of the tribal chiefs and a Nationalist tradition which looked to Great Britain as the Power most interested in assuring Albanian independence. Enver Hoja represented the self-assertion of the Tosks, the Communist will to power, and an exclusively Russian orientation in foreign policy. The decline of German fortunes had dissolved their short-lived community of interests; and events had now come to a pass where each rightly discerned in the other's attitude towards the invaders nothing but a manœuvre in their domestic struggle for power. Now only Abas Kupi stood between Enver Hoja and his goal; for, if Central Albania was once reduced, the other Gheg chiefs would be in no position to offer effective resistance to the L.N.C. Our information indeed suggested that Enver was already planning to attack the Zogists with the deliberate intention of driving them into the arms of the Germans and so discrediting them before the Allies. To identify rivals with enemies was part of Communist stock-in-trade; and it was by similar tactics that the Balli Kombetar had been destroyed.

The prospects of settlement were bleak, but we knew that some of the Partisan leaders disagreed with Enver Hoja's policy. It still seemed possible, moreover, that, if Abas Kupi took the field with the chief men among the Ghegs, Albanian public opinion might cause the Partisans to hesitate before attacking so popular and strong a leader. Besides, once Abas Kupi was at war, our Headquarters would be justified in bringing the strongest pressure to bear on the Partisans in favour of a reconciliation with the Zogists.

000 These conclusions were duly embodied into telegrams with a strong recommendation in favour of relaxing our insistence on the policy of " No arms before action ". Our inability to give political assurances only seemed to increase the importance of providing the chiefs with some alternative encouragement. Besides, surprise was of the essence of a general revolt,

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and the success of the initial uprising would require some 000
previous accumulation of arms. Beyond this it only remained for us to consider how strongly we should urge our plan upon Headquarters. Many factors in the situation remained imponderable; many obstacles still stood in the way of its fulfilment. Nevertheless we expressed our conviction that a general revolt offered the best, perhaps the only, means of bringing the Ghegs to fight the Germans and of averting civil war.

2

THE day of our return to base had thus been devoted to the 669*
study of accumulated telegrams and to the discussion of plans. Abas Kupi had meanwhile withdrawn with his following to a near-by village, but returned to our camp next day to resume negotiations. Besides the Zogist chiefs of Central Albania he was now accompanied by Nik Sokol and Father Lek Luli. Nik Sokol was a tall, square-headed adventurer, who defended the Zogist interest in the lands beyond the Drin. His counsels swayed the *Bairaktars* of Nikai and Mertur, and he had for some time afforded hospitality in those regions to Neel and his Mission. Father Lek was a dark and turbulent young monk from Scutari, who preached the Gospel of Christ and the cause of King Zog with equal zeal to the Catholic tribes of the North. He wore the brown cowl and sandals of the Franciscan order; and the pistol and submachine-gun which he carried bore witness to his militant conception of the priesthood.

The sun shone and the numerous retinues of the Zogist chiefs milled around the camp, especially about the kitchens, or spread themselves on the broad, grassy slopes of the clearing. They were armed to the teeth and made a brave show in their ragged, but striking, costumes, whose varied style and colours proclaimed their several native districts. A few played cards with thumbed and grimy packs, but the greater part sat and smoked in silence, or gravely discussed the politics of their tribes. Sometimes one of them would seek to buy another's weapons, perhaps yielding his own in part exchange. Such

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*669 commerce involved prolonged bargaining; for arms were the chief interest of the mountaineers, and regarded by them as their most valuable possessions. The younger guerillas, however, exchanged their weapons freely in token of comradeship; and among Petrit Kupi's personal following submachine-guns and revolvers were continually changing hands.

Such gatherings were a severe drain on our resources, for the laws of hospitality and the prestige of our Mission required that we should entertain the guerillas on a lavish scale. They afforded, however, a most welcome opportunity for discussions with the minor chieftains and allowed us, in the performance of our duties as hosts, to sound the feelings of the rank and file. On this occasion we entertained the chiefs and provided liberally for their bodyguards. Then, when all had eaten, we led Abas Kupi and Said Kryeziu apart to a sheltered ledge just beyond the ridge which rose above our camp. There we might talk undisturbed, looking out over the Shupal valley and away to the Qaf Tuyanit, the gap in the mountain wall which guards the northern approaches to Tirana. Sentries were posted out of earshot to restrain the curiosity of the tribesmen, and now that Said was with us we had no need of the never-too-accurate, or too discreet, interpreters. In Said we had complete confidence, for his brother, Gani, was already fighting; and every consideration of personal honour, family interest, and political opinion engaged him to do his best to bring Abas Kupi back into the war.

000 Three weeks had passed since we had conferred with Abas Kupi at Shupal, but our Headquarters had not yet approved or rejected any of our proposals. The Foreign Office had not decided whether to seek private instructions for Abas Kupi from King Zog, and had advised us meanwhile to "keep the pot boiling"; an operation which — as I ruefully reflected — leads in politics, as in physics, to the eventual evaporation of the contents. Nor had our colleagues with the Partisans succeeded in persuading Enver Hoja to accept Abas Kupi's proposal for a meeting between delegates of their two parties. Meanwhile the telegrams from Bari suggested that opinion there remained unyielding in its attachment to the

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formula of "No arms before action" and might already be inclining to unilateral support of the Partisans. 000

With no word from Headquarters which might have strengthened our hand in negotiations, we could only draw on events for new arguments with which to urge Abas Kupi to take the field. Maclean accordingly gave an impressive exposition of the military situation in Europe, pointing out how closely developments were conforming to the forecast of events which we had made to the Agha at our first meeting. He spoke of the significance of the British landing in France, drew particular attention to the progress of our troops along the western shores of the Adriatic, and stressed ambiguously the importance of the Russian victories in Poland and Roumania. The Allies were now making the supreme bid for victory; and the time had come for all who were our friends, or who wished to share in our triumph, to play their part. Then, turning to the local situation, he dwelt on the northward advance of the Partisans, whose forces were already reported across the river Shkumbi. The danger of civil war was grave; if it broke out before Abas Kupi had attacked the Germans we should be in no position to restrain the Partisans; and then he would be left alone. The sands were running out: it was high time to take the field. Gani Kryeziu was already fighting and might even then be receiving supplies; the Zogists had only to follow his example and arms would be dropped to them at once. All North Albania was waiting on Abas Kupi, and if he gave the lead the Ghegs would rise together in revolt.

Abas Kupi listened without a word and remained deep in thought for some moments after Maclean had done. Then in a single sentence he registered his disappointment at our failure to obtain instructions from King Zog or to arrange a meeting with the Partisan leaders. These were points which he might well have laboured, but with great delicacy he forebore from dwelling on a weakness of which we were only too painfully aware. We saw, however, that he was reluctant to expose his whole organisation to the risks of war against a mere promise of supplies, backed by no assurances, or even signs, of political support. As a cornered chess player tests every 669*

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*669 possible move, so he probed each of our arguments in turn. To attack the L.N.C. was to break off relations with the British. To remain neutral was to expose himself to a Partisan offensive without hope of British support. To attack the Germans might seem to be the only course left open, but, if he chose it, would the tribesmen follow? And if they did, had they enough rifles and cartridges to hold the field until supplies were sent?

At length, after nearly five hours' discussion, Abas Kupi suggested that we should adjourn to allow him to return to his camp before dark. There he would consult with the Zogist chiefs and in the morning would bring us their reply. He left us, therefore, and that evening held a council of war with the chiefs; he told them the result of our talks; and each then spoke in turn for revolt or for neutrality. The younger men, hungry for adventure and untrammelled by the cares of property, were eager for a fight in which they might win their spurs. The older chiefs, however, declared that they could not make war without initial supplies of arms. The attempt would only lead to the destruction of their movement and to the absorption of its remnants by the Partisans. If the British really wanted their support they would send them arms; if not, then it were better to husband their forces against the dangers of civil war. The discussion was prolonged; and Said, with Father Lek, pleaded for immediate action. No formal vote was taken, but it was clear at the end that Abas Kupi must incline to the view of the older men; for, without their support, he could neither raise the clans nor keep them fed.

Next morning broke grey and cold; and, when we resumed our talks with Abas Kupi, we saw at once that the chiefs had pronounced against us. The Agha explained quietly that he was ready to attack the Germans as soon as we sent him supplies of arms, but that, without supplies, he could not and would not fight. He was ready to discuss the quantities of arms that would be required, but if we insisted on the formula of "No arms before action" he could only offer to escort us to the coast for evacuation. We racked our brains for some saving formula; but there was nothing more to be said: we stood at

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the parting of the ways. The deadlock seemed absolute when suddenly a messenger was passed through the guards with an urgent letter for Abas Kupi. The Agha broke the seals and, since he could not read, handed the letter to Said. It was from the Zogist commander in Shiyak, the region to the south-west of Tirana, and reported that his forces had just been attacked by a body of Partisans. The Zogists had held their own; and the Partisans appeared to have withdrawn. 669*

Abas Kupi turned grey and became suddenly very still, as men sometimes do when in great pain. There in his hand was the proof of all our argument. We sat without speaking for fully five minutes; and then Said suggested that we should adjourn for the midday meal. We ate together in silence; and as soon as he had finished Abas Kupi went off and sat down on the hillside, calling three of the principal chiefs to his side. Presently it came on to rain; and it was in a mood of deep despondency that we gathered in Smiley's hut to hear what the Agha might say. He began by suggesting that we should refer our problems to the proposed congress of Gheg chiefs. We answered firmly that we could not agree to calling such a congress until we had first come to terms with him. Then, seeing at last that there was no other way out, he said:

"Very well; you shall have action. Let Major Smiley come to me tomorrow and I will choose him a bridge. If he will bring the dynamite I will provide the men. Then you can tell your Headquarters that Abas Kupi is fighting again."

We embraced in token of agreement and Smiley produced a bottle of cherry brandy from under his bed. He had been bored and depressed by "all this politics", but now brightened suddenly and was anxious to celebrate the prospect of "blowing something up". ooo

The Zogist leaders stayed the night with us and, by a fortunate coincidence, witnessed an air sortie from Italy. The wireless operator had reported that the 'plane was due at 1 A.M.; and accordingly, soon after midnight, we had put out fires in a prearranged pattern on the hillside. Within a few minutes of the scheduled time we could hear the distant drone of the

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engines as the pilot circled above looking for our signals. Presently the drone grew louder and became a roar as the 'plane suddenly emerged from the night, topping the crest of the ridge by no more than five hundred feet. A rectangle of light marked the door in its flank; and there, as it passed over the fires, we could see small black figures heaving the containers out into space. A moment later we became aware of five or six parachutes floating down towards us. The 'plane circled and returned a dozen times to discharge its cargo. First came the breakable supplies, packed in containers attached to parachutes; then the "free drops" — bundles of blankets, boots, and clothing — which crashed around us like bombs and almost demolished the tent where Maclean had retired to bed. When all the stores had been dropped the 'plane circled once more and, dipping over the fires, flashed red and green lights in a farewell salute. Most of the parachutes fell near the fires; and, though the rapacious mountaineers robbed us of some of them, the greater part were safely collected at dawn. On examination their contents proved to be mainly clothes, tinned food, and medical supplies for the maintenance of our Mission. Nevertheless the "drop" was an impressive demonstration to the Zogist leaders of our power to support them when they should take the field.

*669 In the morning the chiefs dispersed to their homes; Abas Kupi returned to his headquarters at Shupal; and Nik Sokol with Father Lek Luli set out on the trek to the north. With them also went George Seymour, who planned to make his way to Berane in Montenegro. Berane was held by Marshal Tito's Partisans, who had built an air-strip there, from which Seymour hoped to fly back to Italy. Beyond the Drin he parted from Nik Sokol, but was accompanied as far as the Yugoslav border by Father Lek and by his Tosk batman, Rifaat, who had served with the British Mission for more than a year. Seymour reached Berane without incident, but, several weeks later, we learned that Father Lek and Rifaat had been arrested by the Kosmet Partisans on their way back through Krasniqi. They were brought before Mehmet Hoja,

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the commissar, who had them tortured to make them reveal 669
the details of Abas Kupi's negotiations with our Mission. They were whipped, their fingers were broken, and they were branded with hot irons; but the monk remained unyielding; and the servant could not disclose the secrets he had never known. At length, exasperated by their silence and to destroy the evidence of his own cruelty, Mehmet gave the order to cut their throats; and they were slaughtered like cattle.

3

WHEN the Zogist leaders had gone from the camp, Smiley[1] had set about sorting out his demolition devices, or "toys" as he called them, in preparation for the attack on the bridge. He was well versed in the qualities of the different explosives and knew exactly which required to be treated with respect and which might safely be handled with rougher intimacy. The rest of us, however, were imperfectly initiated in these mysteries; and Smiley took a malicious pleasure in filling us with alarm and despondency by dropping sacks of dynamite with seeming carelessness, or tossing them to his bodyguards to be loaded on to the mules. The sweet, plasticine-like smell of explosives pervaded the camp; and to our horror, and this time to Smiley's, one of the mules began rolling to free itself from the unwelcome burden. There were no accidents, however, and towards evening Smiley set out with Sergeant Jenkins and his interpreter, Veli, followed by a few bodyguards and a string of pack animals.

He found Abas Kupi in Vilze, two hours' march away, and there considered with him and Said the choice of a target. They studied maps of the Tirana–Scutari road, heard reports from peasants who knew the districts through which it passed, and eventually, at Abas Kupi's suggestion, decided on the bridge at Gyoles. This was one of the biggest bridges in Albania, situated to the south-west of Kruya, a few miles south of the point where the main road forks west to Durazzo and north to Scutari. Its destruction would therefore interrupt all main-

1 [British demolitions expert — Analyst]

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*669 road traffic between Tirana and these two cities.

Smiley accordingly set out next day, escorted by a *cheta* of a dozen Zogists, picked by Petrit Kupi[1] and commanded by one Ramiz, a gay and fearless youth who had followed the Agha since 1941. They crossed the Kruya mountains and, descending to the plain, slept the night in the village of Luz, near the main road. In the morning Smiley put on Albanian clothes and, leaving Jenkins in charge of the explosives, went out with Ramiz to reconnoitre the bridge. They walked boldly down the road, passing several German convoys, and presently came on their target. It was an imposing, concrete structure, consisting of three arches supported on thick pillars sunk in a broad river bed. No sentries were posted on the bridge itself, but fifty yards from its northern end was a fortified post, held by a company of German infantry. Near the post was a café, and there Smiley enjoyed a glass of beer while Ramiz learnt the local gossip from the publican. The two then walked back to the bridge, crossed it at the same time as a party of Germans, and, turning off into the fields, made their way down to the river bed as if to wash.

The river at this time of year was reduced to a narrow stream, not more than a few inches deep, and confined under a single span of the bridge. The two thus had no difficulty in walking right under the bridge itself; and Smiley was able to consider at leisure where he might best lay his charge. This is the most crucial operation in any demolition, and, in a concrete structure, often presents special difficulties. The methodical Germans, however, had already prepared the bridge for demolition in the event of an Allied landing, and, with typical thoroughness, had even inscribed above each demolition chamber the exact quantity of explosive required. The study of these figures admonished Smiley that his supply of " toys " was insufficient for the job. He therefore climbed back on to the road with Ramiz and, walking back to Luz, despatched a messenger to base for a further mule-load of explosives.

Two days must pass before these arrived; and Smiley therefore transferred his headquarters to the house of a well-disposed Catholic farmer who lived only a few hundred yards

[1] [Oldest son of Gheg chieftain Abas Kupi -- Analyst]

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THE CITY OF JAKOVA

BEYOND THE DRIN

[-180a-]

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SMILEY AND HIS CHETA, AFTER THE ACTION AT THE GYOLES BRIDGE

(Ramiz is seated on the extreme right)

GEORGE SEYMOUR AND PATER LEK LULI

[-1806-]

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*669 from the bridge. The night, as so often in Albania, was disturbed by sporadic shooting, enlivened on this occasion by green Very lights fired from the German post. The saboteur, like the murderer, feels that he is watched by a thousand eyes; and Smiley was relieved to learn that the shooting was nothing but a skirmish between blood enemies which had resulted in four fatal casualties. The Germans, fearing an attack by guerillas, had loosed off Very lights, a sure sign that they were growing jumpy.

Rumours of Smiley's presence, however, alarmed the peaceful farmers; and the local Zogist leader came next day and begged him to leave the district, saying that the Germans were already on his trail. Smiley rightly guessed that the good man was moved by fear of reprisals rather than by any certain knowledge and coolly refused to move. Instead he referred the whole matter to Abas Kupi, who wrote instructing his representative to give Smiley every assistance and to defend him if he should be attacked to the last man and the last round.

In the night Smiley's messenger at last returned with two mule-loads of explosives. These were sorted in the course of the following day and, after dark, were man-handled down to the river bed by the bodyguard. The guerillas then withdrew to cover the operation while Smiley, with Jenkins, Ramiz, and Veli, began packing their charges into the appropriate demolition chambers. While they worked in the darkness a constant stream of traffic passed overhead; and once a German troop-carrying lorry drew up on the bridge for half an hour to mend a puncture. At last, towards three o'clock in the morning, the charges were laid and the fuses set. Smiley then climbed on to the road and sowed the surface of the bridge with a few "tyre bursters". These were small mines, disguised as innocent stones or mule-shit, but powerful enough to blow the wheel off a big lorry. They would stop any convoy that might pass before the explosion and thus would engulf lorries and crews in the ruin of the bridge. His foresight was rewarded, and within ten minutes two German lorries drove on to the "tyre bursters" and were brought to a standstill. The drivers got down to investigate. A few minutes passed. Then came a

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*669 flash of yellow light, and with a deafening roar the three spans of the Gyoles bridge collapsed. The terrified German soldiers loosed off Very lights, tracer bullets, and mortar bombs in all directions while Smiley and his companions melted into the forests.

The bridge was utterly destroyed; and it was six weeks before the Germans could put up even a temporary wooden structure in its place. During these six weeks, all traffic from Tirana to the North and to Durazzo was diverted along a narrow dust track. This involved a detour of ten miles and became impassable every time there was heavy rain.

Smiley returned to base on the evening of the 21st of June with Ramiz and his companions. He was full of praise for their courage and discipline; and his own powers of leadership were attested by their affectionate devotion: "*'Smail shum burr i mir*" — "Ismail (Smiley), he very good man" — Ramiz would say, earnestly shaking his head. We gave them a feast to celebrate their action; for at last we had drawn blood. The Zogists were at war again and might now claim supplies from us with justice.

Abas Kupi joined us next morning to resume the talks we had interrupted a week earlier. We congratulated him on 'this of the bridge'; but he told us at once that the operation was only a token of his good faith. We must now agree what quantity of supplies we were to send him before he could undertake further attacks.

We had at first been inclined to regard his insistence on supplies as primarily a bargaining manœuvre, but we were by now convinced that he would not take the field without arms and subsidies. It was true that Gani Kryeziu had gone into action without receiving preliminary supplies, but Said himself explained to us why Abas Kupi would never follow Gani's example. Gani's potential force was estimated at two thousand rifles, but without supplies, as he had frankly told us, he could only raise some two hundred men. He had agreed to fight with so small a force in the hope that the arms which we had promised him would arrive soon enough and in sufficient

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quantities to outweigh the effects of any German reprisals. If this hope was fulfilled then the rest of his supporters would rally to his standard; if it was disappointed his influence must decline until he was left with no more than a personal bodyguard. Gani trusted the British and knew how desperate was the situation of the Ghegs; he had therefore complied with our instructions and staked his personal prestige and the very existence of his movement on immediate and unconditional revolt. Abas Kupi saw the problem in a very different light. He knew that as matters stood he could not raise the tribes without arms or subsidies. If, therefore, he fought without supplies it would be with small forces; and, if these were inadequately supported by the British, the whole structure of tribal alliances which he had built up would crash in ruins. His confidence in the British had been severely shaken by our failure to obtain instructions from King Zog, or to restrain the hostile propaganda of the L.N.C. He was therefore determined not to take the field until we should make it possible for him to do so in force.

Confidence can only be restored by deeds: we therefore decided to accept in principle his request for supplies and to regard the destruction of the Gyoles bridge as evidence that the Zogists were at war again. We turned, therefore, to the problem of deciding exactly what weapons and other sinews of war Abas Kupi would need before he could raise the standard of revolt. The Zogist staff in Shupal had already prepared detailed specifications for their demands which we accepted as a basis for negotiation. Our talks lasted two days; and, on the morning of 23rd June, agreement was reached at last. It was settled that Abas Kupi would fight as soon as we had supplied him with sufficient mortars, bren-guns, heavy machine-guns, and anti-tank rifles to equip on an agreed scale eight *chetas*, each of two hundred and fifty men. These were to form the shock troops of the revolt and the nuclei around which the tribes might gather.

The terms of this agreement had still to be ratified by our Headquarters, but we were convinced that they represented Abas Kupi's minimum demands. We telegraphed Bari

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*669 accordingly, and, trusting to their consent, pressed on at once with our plans for revolt. Merret was sent with Sergeants Jones and Jenkins to establish a rear base in the mountains of Matsukull, north of the river Mati, where supplies might be received in greater safety than at our camp on Mount Bastar. Meanwhile, with Abas Kupi's approval, we despatched messengers to the leading Gheg chiefs, inviting them to meet us on the 4th of July in the Plain of Lura.

The details of our agreement were kept a strict secret, but the news that we had agreed was soon widely known; and morale rose among the Zogists. The mountains, however, are a great whispering gallery; and it was not long before an account of our discussions was in Enver Hoja's hands.

4

[727] THE Germans, meanwhile,[1] had launched a political offensive which required our immediate attention. The "collaborationist" Prime Minister, Rejeb Bey Mitrovitsa, had been forced to resign on the suspicion that his failure to proceed actively against the Partisans had not been altogether involuntary. Since then Dr. Neubacher, the German Minister of State in the Balkans, had arrived by 'plane from Belgrade and had approached a number of Albanian political leaders, including some of known pro-Allied sympathies. To these he had represented that, whatever their sympathies in the war, it was now their duty as patriots to form a coalition government to stem the advance of the Communists. He had promised subsidies and military supplies, and had hinted darkly that he had good reason to believe that the British would no longer view such action with disfavour.

We saw at once that the formation of an anti-Communist front under German aegis must confuse the public mind and seriously prejudice our plans for a revolt of the Ghegs. A week would pass before our Headquarters could approve the terms of our agreement with Abas Kupi, or send the first consignment of supplies; and we therefore decided to go down

[1] [in mid-1944 -- Analyst]

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meanwhile to the plain to the house of Ihsan Toptani, to throw a spanner into the wheels of German diplomacy.

A son of Abdi Bey, one of the founders of modern Albania, and a nephew of the famous Essad Pasha, Ihsan was now the head of the powerful Toptani clan. Under the monarchy he had remained aloof from politics, but during the war had shown himself a staunch, if prudent, supporter of the Allied cause. Independent of party, he was yet in touch with all parties and, since he was politically and financially disinterested, his opinion was respected by all. The care of his estates, natural caution, and an instinctive aversion to violence and disorder had hitherto prevented him from taking an active part in the guerilla movement. Instead he had remained in the background, emerging now and then to act as intermediary between the different guerilla factions, or as their link with the political leaders in Tirana. Thus, in the autumn of 1943, he had undertaken the preliminary negotiations between the Partisan and the Ballist leaders, and had acted as host to their meeting at Mukai. Later, in the disasters of the winter, he had taken in Colonel Nicholls and sheltered him during his last agonies. Since that time he had maintained close relations with the British Missions; and it was from his house that Hare conducted his campaign to spread disaffection among the enemy's garrison in Tirana.

Maclean and I accordingly set out with Hare and, crossing the Shupal valley, reached the head of the Qaf Bechit in the late afternoon. This was a precipitous col between Mount Daiti and Mount Berar, over which ran the shorter but less frequented track to the capital. The light was clear and from a jutting crag just below the col I saw Tirana for the first time. The capital city of Albania lies in a broad and fertile plain, surrounded by a crescent of mountains, open towards the sea. Thirty years before it had been little more than a village; now it was a prosperous town, a blend of East and West, boasting a population of some thirty thousand souls. Through my field-glasses I made out slender minarets rising between tall modern buildings, a long rambling suq or bazaar, and several broad, leafy avenues, flanked by whitewashed and red-roofed villas, set in green and shady gardens. There lay the prize for the victors in this many-sided struggle.

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000 set in green and shady gardens. There lay the prize for the victors in this many-sided struggle.

Ihsan's house was situated in the plain to the north-west of Tirana and some five hours' march from the mountain village of Priske, where we stopped for our evening meal. The presence of German patrols made it dangerous to go down into the plain before dark and required us to reach our destination before dawn. Ihsan had sent an escort of his bodyguards to meet us, but we sat too long over our meal and scarcely left ourselves time for the journey. The darkness of the night concealed us from the enemy, but it equally obscured from us the many pitfalls by which our path was beset. The tracks leading down from the mountain were slippery, for it had been raining; and I fell over several times. Once in the plain the way led along a dry watercourse, filled with ankle-spraining stones and short, thorny scrub. Down at sea-level the night was hot and dank; and clouds of mosquitoes tormented our brief halts. But brief they were; for the guides kept an anxious watch on the eastern mountains, where the sky would first grow pale, and loped ahead, coaxing us on with false assurances that we should soon be there. At last the rumble of lorries warned us that we were approaching a road. This was the dust track along which traffic between Tirana and the North had been diverted since the destruction of the Gyoles bridge. We crossed the track between two convoys — a pleasing tribute to Smiley's work — and, passing through a stretch of woodland, emerged into a broad meadow just as day was breaking.

In the meadow stood Ihsan's house, one-storied and white-washed, like many of the smaller country houses in Hungary. A light was burning in one of the windows; and, as we crossed the lawn, Ihsan Bey came out to welcome us. He led the way
[164] indoors through mosquito curtains, for the plains are malarial; and we found ourselves for the first time in two months in a civilised room. There were armchairs and sofas; books and magazines lay on the table; pictures hung on the walls; and in a corner stood a luxurious radiogram. We stacked our submachine-guns and accoutrement of war beside it and sat

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down, feeling distinctly out of place amid these comfortable surroundings, with our unkempt hair, dirty uniforms, and heavy boots.

Ihsan Bey was still in his early thirties, a well-built and rather studious-looking man, dressed in a grey flannel suit with a white shirt open at the neck. He had studied in Vienna, and indeed might well have been an Austrian country gentleman from his small talk, the cut of his clothes, and the slightly German turn of his English sentences. An attentive host, he plied us in quick succession with tea, coffee, and a very potent *raki*, while we explained the purpose of our visit. Then, seeing that we were tired, he led us to our bedrooms, where clean pyjamas had been laid out. For the first time in months we slept between linen sheets and forgot the fatigues of the march in the delights of a spring mattress. It was after midday when we awoke to the comforts of modern lavatories and hot, scented baths; superfluous luxuries for a guerilla, but doubly welcome for their strangeness.

In the morning, while we still slept, Ihsan had driven into Tirana on our business. He returned about two o'clock, accompanied by Nureddin Bey Vlora, the friend of Count Carlo Frasso, our host at Brindisi, and by a younger man with a charming, French-speaking wife. Nureddin Bey was a son of the Ottoman Grand Vizier, Ferid Pasha, and a nephew of Ismail Kemal, the founder of the first Albanian Republic. A great landowner in the region of Valona, he had been condemned to death, though later pardoned, for his part in the Fieri revolution against King Zog, and had long been one of the most influential supporters of the Republican Party. He was too great a patriot and too proud to "collaborate" with either the Italians or the Germans, but his counsels weighed heavily with the political leaders in Tirana, and especially with the Republican chiefs of the Balli Kombetar.

Still in his forties, Nureddin was fit-looking, debonair, and very much a man of the world. He was dressed in a smart white suit and might just have stepped out of the casino at Mentone or the Mohammed Ali Club in Cairo. His English

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000 was faultless and, with a sure understanding of the British character, he brought us whisky, for which he had combed Tirana, and excellent cigarettes made of Albanian tobaccos specially blended to his taste. At lunch the talk skimmed lightly from anecdotes to mutual acquaintances in the capitals of Europe; and, with the added charms of feminine company, the barriers of nationality and politics were seemingly dissolved by the pleasures of social intercourse. Such a gathering of Albanian landowners and British officers must have appeared to a Partisan observer as proof positive of the sinister machinations of international reaction. The thought passed through my mind, but I cannot pretend that it seriously diminished my enjoyment of the occasion.

*669 186 [726] When we had eaten, Ihsan took the other guests apart, and we remained alone with Nureddin. He told us at once that he had just been invited by the Germans either to assume the Premiership or to enter the Council of Regency. His natural instinct had been to decline the thankless task, but he would accept the responsibility if he could thereby assist the Allied cause. The idea of having a friend as head of the "collaborationist" government was certainly tempting and might offer opportunities for attacking the Germans from within. Nevertheless, we strongly advised Nureddin to refuse an invitation which might lead other Albanian Nationalists to line up with the Germans in an anti-Communist front. We then expounded our general policy, condemning collaboration in any form and stressing that we could only support those Albanians who fought against the Germans. We spoke, too, of our concern that the Ballists should be fighting with the enemy against the Partisans and appealed to Nureddin to use his influence with their leaders to bring about a change of policy. He told us that the Ballists would not only cease fighting the Partisans but would gladly co-operate with them against the Germans if only Enver Hoja would abandon his attempt to impose a social revolution on Albania by force. If we could restrain the L.N.C. he was confident that the Ballists would prove amenable; if we could not, then they must fight as best they could, for their lives and property were at stake.

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Ihsan drove Nureddin back to Tirana in the afternoon and returned for dinner, bringing with him Midhat Bey Frasheri, the President of the Balli Kombetar. Midhat Bey had been in turn an official of the Sublime Porte, a member of the Committee of Union and Progress, and a powerful influence in the early struggles of the Albanian state. He had retired from public life under the monarchy, for he was a strong Republican, and since then had eked out his living from the proceeds of a bookshop. Steeped in the cultures of Europe and of the Near East, he was a man of austere ways, a romantic conservative, possessed of burning patriotism and a Catonian faith in the virtues of aristocracy. Now over seventy years old, he was a spare, straight figure, with determined yet sensitive features and a skin like parchment. On first acquaintance he seemed inordinately shy and was afflicted with a slight stutter. He was gifted, however, with a dry but sparkling wit, and his talk at dinner that night assured our entertainment and compelled our admiration.

When the meal was over we turned to grimmer topics. We bluntly accused the Balli Kombetar of "collaborating" with the Germans and threatened to denounce the movement and its leaders as enemies of the Allies unless they at once abandoned their fight against the Partisans. Midhat Bey was too honest to dissemble and answered that it was now too late. A revolution was in progress in South Albania in which the Communists, organised in the L.N.C., sought to overthrow the existing social order defended by the Balli Kombetar. Both movements had their origin in the resistance to the Italians, and at Mukai, in 1943, had concluded an alliance for joint operations against the Axis armies. The Ballists had been loyal to the alliance; but, after the Italian capitulation, Enver Hoja had attacked them, so that he should not have to share with rivals the prize of political power. This civil war had no connection with the struggle for National Liberation, which both parties had at first continued to prosecute. The Partisans, however, had shown themselves reckless of the cost of war to the civilian population and strong in the arms they received from the British. They had pressed hard upon the Ballists; and the

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*669 latter, unable to sustain a war on two fronts, had been forced to suspend their attacks on the Germans that they might defend themselves against the Partisans.

It was regrettable that the civil war should have taken precedence over the war of Liberation, but it was not unnatural. The Germans were already beaten, and the Albanians could do little to hasten or retard their destruction. The outcome of the civil war, however, was still in doubt, and affected every aspect of the daily life of each Albanian. Nor could he really blame those Ballist leaders who, for particular actions, had accepted help from the German army. They had done so neither out of love for the Germans nor from any calculation that Germany might still win, but simply because men will adopt almost any expedient whereby they may prolong, even if they cannot hope to preserve, the enjoyment of life and property. The Partisans might still be fighting the Germans, but they did so on a small scale and solely so as to obtain arms and subsidies from the Allies with which to prosecute their revolution. Out of every hundred rounds which we sent them ninety would be fired against Albanians. He begged us, therefore, to restrain the Partisans, adding that if Enver Hoja would abandon the attempt to carry out a social revolution under the guise of patriotic resistance, then the Ballists would gladly join once more in the struggle against the Germans. The Ballists, he argued, were our friends; the Partisans were only agents of Russia. He urged us, therefore, to consult our imperial interests and not to sign away our influence in Albania for the sake of killing a few more soldiers of an army that was already beaten.

000 We sternly rejected his arguments lest any sign of sympathy from us should encourage the formation of an anti-Communist front. Nevertheless, we had to admit to ourselves that there was much truth in what he said. Those who, from a distance, observe the course of revolutions too often forget that in them there can be no neutrality. When a battle is in progress in a particular village or district no able-bodied man, let alone any man of influence, who is physically present, can avoid taking sides. Those who would seek to remain passive inevitably

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arouse the suspicion or the greed of the combatants; and it is only a question of chance whether they are shot as spies, murdered for their property, or killed by a stray bullet. In time of revolution, " He that is not with me is against me ". 000

Next day we enjoyed the comforts of Ihsan's house and expounded our inflexible opposition to an anti-Communist front to various lesser politicians who came out from Tirana to meet us. The rest of the time we spent in discussions with Ihsan and his cousin, Liqa, who was renowned as a hunter. Ihsan disapproved of blood sports but, since the *chasse à l'homme* was a frequent feature of Albanian country life, he kept two machine-guns, a mortar, and a stock of hand-grenades in his gun-room as a matter of course. In the house he carried only a light automatic, but when he drove to Tirana, or went for a walk, he armed himself with a Mäuser parabellum. Such precautions seemed incongruous in so civilised a man; but, if blood feuds were less common in the plain than in the mountains, the preventive assassination of opponents was a time-honoured method of government. It was interesting, indeed, to see how centuries of despotic rule had engrained the habits of conspiracy in the life of an Albanian country gentleman. One evening at dinner I heard what I thought was an owl hooting in the garden.

" It must be my cousin Liqa," said Ihsan, going to the French windows, " it is his call."

Sure enough it was.

We left Ihsan[1] by night and set out towards our base, stopping in the mountains above Tirana to meet Jemal Herri. 665 625 Jemal had once been chief of Zog's secret police; and, along with Muharrem Bairaktar, Prenk Previsi, and Fikri Dine, had formed the quadrumvirate by whose efforts the royal regime had been established. Like his colleagues, he had fallen from favour, but had followed Zog into exile in 1939, returning to Albania in 1941 with Oakley-Hill and the forces of the United Front. Now he stood second to Abas Kupi in the Zogist movement and had built up a small but efficient force of his own,

[1] [i.e. Ihsan Toptani. Cf. cat. 116, p. 185 -- Analyst]

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665 stiffened by a handful of German deserters and fugitives from
[625] the labour gangs of the Todt Organisation. We had not previously met Jemal, for his relations with Abas Kupi were strained, and he had for some time been sulking in his tent. We knew, however, that he was in daily contact with Tirana and were anxious to enlist his support in disrupting the political manœuvres of the Germans.

[622] He[1] entertained us to lunch in the house of a village *hoja* and supplemented the usual hospitality of the mountains with highly spiced Yugoslav dishes specially prepared for us by his Bosnian mistress. In appearance he was a cross between Mussolini and Mephistopheles, with a powerful cast of face, ruthless yet somehow mask-like, malicious, and smooth. His violent temperament was curbed by iron self-control and disguised by an elaborate courtesy which might have seemed unctuous but for a hint of arrogance. In conversation he damned Abas Kupi with faint praise, seeking to drive a wedge between us and suggesting that we should send him supplies as an independent leader. We turned a guarded answer, but prevailed on him to send an urgent message to Fikri Dine, advising him to decline Neubacher's invitation to form a government.

000 In the afternoon Hare left for Shupal to persuade Abas Kupi to send a similar warning to Fikri. Meanwhile Maclean and I pressed across the valley and reached Bastar about midnight, only to find that Smiley had moved the camp. We therefore rode out along the range and, at 2 A.M., came on the new base, situated by the side of a gurgling stream on the edge of a broad, level clearing in the forest. We roused Smiley from his slumbers and when at last the flow of his curses had subsided he told us that he had good news: Headquarters had telegraphed approving the terms of our agreement with Abas Kupi. Now at last the revolt might begin.

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667 NEXT morning, the last of June, we reviewed our situation
648 and judged it satisfactory. Headquarters had already ratified

1 [i.e. Jemal Herri, former chief of Zogist secret police--Anohyst]

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our agreement with Abas Kupi; they now signalled that six 'plane-loads of war material had been earmarked for our Mission and were assembled in the hangars of the airfield at Brindisi. Meanwhile Merret had reported that the rear base had been set up in the mountains of Murait, to the east of Matsukull, and that he was standing by to receive air sorties. There was also a letter from Simcox confirming from personal experience that Gani Kryeziu's forces were in action against the Germans and requesting that we should reinforce him with another British officer and a wireless set. In five days' time we were due to meet the assembled Gheg leaders in the Plain of Lura, and now that Gani's example was seconded by our agreement with Abas Kupi we might look forward with confidence to the outcome of this meeting. Events seemed to be moving according to plan and we might hope that, within a few weeks, perhaps even a few days, the Ghegs would be up in arms.

Our immediate task was to decide the line we should adopt at the Lura meeting and we were thus engaged when Hare rode into camp from Shupal. We shouted to him the good news that our agreement with Abas Kupi had been approved, but he laughed ironically and called back:

"Too late! It looks as if he's had it."

He walked over to where we sat and explained that the First Partisan Division had driven the Zogists out of Shengyerg that night and had occupied the valley as far as Derye. Abas Kupi was concentrating his forces in Shupal and had sent warning to the Partisan commander that he would resist any attempt to penetrate further into his territory.

This news spelled the ruin of our hopes; civil war now seemed inevitable; nor was it any longer in our power to avert the tragedy. We had persuaded Abas Kupi to offer negotiation with the L.N.C.; we had brought him to attack the Gyoles bridge; we had agreed together the conditions on which he could take the field. Our part was done; and now only the Supreme Allied Command, or the hand of God, might still restrain Enver Hoja. These sombre reflections were still further darkened by forebodings of what lay ahead. Once

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civil war began Abas Kupi would be unable to attack the Germans, and, if it were allowed to run its course, he must either be destroyed or driven in self-defence to accept their help. Then, through no fault of his own, he would be branded a "collaborationist" and we should be driven to break off relations with him. We were thus reluctantly brought to the conclusion that unless our Headquarters were prepared to exert the necessary pressure to prevent the civil war we should have to abandon the Zogist cause. In Greece British intervention had affected a temporary reconciliation between General Zervas and the E.A.M. In Yugoslavia the "collaboration" imputed to General Mihailovitch had served as a pretext for withdrawing the British Missions with his forces. We could not tell which of these examples would be followed in Albania; but, while the strategic importance of the Straits of Otranto might seem to commend the former, we feared that the prevalent policy of appeasing our Allies made the latter more likely of adoption. It was in any event our duty to prepare for the worst.

To abandon a man because he is the victim of circumstances must always be dishonourable; and the honour of a nation is inseparable from its prestige. As soldiers we were bound to obey orders whether we liked them or not; and behind the enemies' lines there could be no question of resigning. Nevertheless, if our Headquarters were committed to a policy which we knew to be dishonourable, it was still our duty to see that as little harm as possible was done to England's good name in carrying it out. Now there are degrees of dishonour; and it is a melancholy truth that, in politics, mistakes are more easily forgiven than weakness. From the beginning, therefore, we had determined that, if we should ever have to abandon Abas Kupi, it should not appear to be under pressure from the L.N.C. but of our own free will and for reasons consistent with our declared policy. To this end we had always stressed that, if the Zogists were overtaken by civil war before they attacked the Germans, our Mission would no longer be able to support them and might well be withdrawn. They understood this policy; and, though they must have

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considered it tragically mistaken, we knew that they would not accuse us of weakness if we were now to break off relations with them. If, on the other hand, we stood by Abas Kupi in this crisis only to abandon him later, then it would be plain to all that the British Empire had yielded to the pressure of the Communist Party; a surrender which must destroy the confidence of our friends and excite the contempt of our enemies. We therefore advised our Headquarters that, unless they were prepared to take whatever steps might be necessary to stop the civil war, the time had come when our Mission might be withdrawn with the least loss of prestige.

We were still revolving these gloomy thoughts when, towards nightfall, Abas Kupi came into our camp with a force of some two hundred men. He was accompanied by Said Kryeziu and our Dibran friend Ramadan Kalloshi, who had come to accompany us to the meeting in Lura. The Agha greeted us calmly, but he looked tired and grim. He told us that the Partisans were still halted in Derye, but that they were only waiting for reserves to launch their main attack. He was convinced that they had learned of the agreement we had just concluded and that they had advanced against him with the deliberate intention of preventing its fulfilment. Now only the British could save the situation.

That night the moon shone bright as day; and, when the others had eaten and retired to sleep, I walked up and down for several hours between the groups of sleeping guerillas, discussing the future with Said and Maclean. Said was very distraught and criticised Abas Kupi for not trusting the British more whole-heartedly. He believed, however, that agreement could still be reached with the Partisans and was even prepared to go and parley with their leaders himself. The moon sank below the mountains while we talked and from behind the eastern ranges a new pallor crept into the sky. It would be dawn within an hour and, since the day would bring us much to do, we lay down to sleep where our blankets had been spread beneath the trees.

I was awakened by the sun shining on my face and saw from my watch that it was already past ten o'clock. Abas

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000 Kupi and the Albanian leaders were sitting a few yards away, talking in low tones. We breakfasted together and then, to escape from the scorching heat of the summer's day, walked a few hundred yards into the forest which was cool like a cathedral. There we sat down in a circle — Abas Kupi, Said Kryeziu, Murad Basha, Ramadan Kalloshi, Maclean, Smiley, Hare, and myself. Maclean began by telling Abas Kupi that the provisional agreement between us had been ratified by our Headquarters and that the first consignment of arms was standing by at Brindisi. He feared, however, that Abas Kupi's decision might have come too late; for we could not send him arms which might be used in civil war. The British Mission with the Partisans would do all in its power to prevent the clash, but we suggested that meanwhile Abas Kupi should either launch a spectacular offensive against the Germans, or, if this was impossible, allow the Partisans to enter his region unopposed. Neither of these alternatives offered of itself a solution to the crisis; but the former might strengthen the hands of our colleagues in their negotiations with Enver Hoja, while the latter would at least gain time. We agreed that these were counsels of despair, but the situation was desperate; for, if civil war broke out before the Agha had attacked the Germans, our Headquarters might feel bound to reconsider their relations with him.

*669 Abas Kupi listened impassively and, after a long pause, replied that he could accept neither of our suggestions. He had agreed with us the conditions upon which he would attack the Germans, and from these he could not and would not depart. To attack the Germans equipped as he was would be to expose his movement to certain defeat; and if he was defeated there would be no one either to protect the tribesmen from German reprisals, or to prevent the triumph of Communism in Central Albania. Nor was he prepared to fall back and let the Partisans continue their invasion. He drew his strength from the men of Mati, Kruya, and Tirana and, if he allowed another to occupy those territories, his influence would disappear and his movement wither away. Besides, even if he wanted to, he could not prevent his followers from defending their homes and

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MACLEAN AND ABAS KUPI IN CONFERENCE

While a bodyguard keeps a look-out through field-glasses

GLADE OF ZOGOLLI

The scene of our meeting with Abas Kupi and Muharrem Bairaktar

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ON THE WAY BACK FROM LURA

HOUSES BURNING DURING THE CIVIL WAR

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property against the Communists. Then, more in sorrow than in anger, he recalled the six years during which he had opposed the Axis Powers and spoke of all that we might still achieve together. But if, in spite of past friendship and future hopes, he was now to be abandoned as a Fascist, or a "collaborationist", simply because he was attacked by the Communists, there was nothing more that he could do.

"We are soldiers," he said, "and will do our duty to the end. If you have to leave me, then God speed. Only tell your government that, if Enver Hoja attacks me, it is not because he thinks I am a Fascist but because he knows that I am the friend of the British."

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There was no more to be said and we returned in silence to the camp. There, while the midday meal was made ready, we drafted telegrams to our Headquarters, reporting developments and asking for instructions. The afternoon was spent in desultory discussion and at length it was decided that Hare should leave at dawn for Shengyerg to interview the Partisan leaders and try to gain time. He asked that Said might go with him, since he had many friends among the Partisans, but Abas Kupi would not agree, lest the tribesmen should think that Said had changed sides. Said indeed had openly taken the part of the L.N.C. in discussions with Abas Kupi and there was now coldness between the two men. From this time forward, therefore, Said became the guest of our Headquarters, so that his presence in Zogist territory should not implicate his brother, Gani, in the approaching struggle.

That night the threat of civil war hung over our heads like the sword of Damocles; and all of us seemed as if paralysed by a danger which we could no longer avert. Action and thought now gave way to passion; and a flood of anger and shame surged up inside me. After weeks of arduous journeys and patient negotiation we had mounted a revolt in North Albania and now, just before the zero hour, we were to be stabbed in the back by our own allies. We had laboured for nothing and now we were condemned to watch the Albanian resistance movement prostituted to the political ambitions of the Partisan leaders. How the Germans would laugh when

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000 they knew what was afoot! I stopped and cursed myself for a fool: this resentment was puerile. No doubt the Partisans were the aggressors, but if their roles had been reversed Abas Kupi would have acted in much the same way as Enver Hoja. Appeals to justice and honour were notoriously the prerogative of the weaker side; and it was sheer sentimentalism to expect that the comradeship born in the hour of mortal danger should survive the approach of victory. The war had been a struggle for power and so would be the peace; and in Albania these things were settled by the sword. But if I could stifle my indignation I could not suppress my shame that the British Empire should be worsted in the game of power politics and its influence shot away with the very rifles and bullets we had ourselves provided.

*669 The night brought no news, and in the morning Hare set
648 out for Shengyerg to meet the Partisan leaders. We were due in Lura in three days, and it was time to decide what we should say to the Gheg chiefs. Our first instinct had been to cancel the meeting, lest the Partisans should consider it a provocation. On second thoughts, however, we decided that we should gain no credit from Enver Hoja for such a gesture of appeasement, while it was just possible that, if the Gheg leaders showed themselves united, he might hesitate to strike. Besides, we felt that it would be unworthy of us as British representatives to call off a meeting which we ourselves had summoned, in the faint hope of placating allies whom we could not control. If we had to break with Abas Kupi or any of the other Gheg leaders it were better that it should be done in public. We decided, therefore, to go ahead with the meeting and accordingly made arrangements to leave for Lura in the afternoon. In spite of the threat to his regions Abas Kupi agreed to come with us; and we were glad of the pretext for removing him from the scene of trouble.

That afternoon, when the mules had been saddled and the advance guard was already on the move, our wireless operator suddenly reported reception of a most urgent telegram. We called a halt and waited anxiously while it was

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deciphered. It was very short, stated categorically that no further supplies would be sent to the Partisans if they attacked the Zogists, and instructed us to find out what were now Abas Kupi's conditions for coming to terms with them. Our spirits rose at once; for this could only mean that our Headquarters had decided to intervene in Abas Kupi's favour, and that they were not prepared to lend themselves to a manœuvre which must subvert alike our military aims and our political interests in Albania.

We consulted briefly with the Agha and telegraphed back to Headquarters that he remained ready to meet the Partisan leaders on two conditions. The first was that a British officer should be present throughout the conversations, so that we might see for ourselves which of the two parties was responsible if the talks ended in deadlock. The second was that the Partisans should recognise the Zogists as an independent movement. No definite proposals for agreement could be advanced until preliminary discussions had taken place, but we were convinced that Abas Kupi was genuinely anxious to come to terms with the Partisans. We suggested, however, that, if our Headquarters seriously contemplated promoting negotiations between the two parties, it would be wise to obtain suitable instructions for Abas Kupi from King Zog.

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The business of deciphering the telegram from Headquarters and of enciphering and transmitting our reply had taken some considerable time. It was thus already late when Maclean, Smiley, and I set out with Said and a small bodyguard to catch up with Abas Kupi, who had gone ahead with the main body. Darkness overtook us as we crossed the range, but about midnight we found the Agha and his staff in the village of Gurre Madhe, on the south-western confines of Mati. There we stayed the night.

Next morning we set out to cross the Mati valley and in the full heat of the noon came to the river ford. The sun was scorching; the air still and laden with dust kicked up by the long line of marching men. Just above the ford was a deep pool, and with one accord the guerillas stripped and plunged into its ice-cool waters. We swam and sun-bathed for perhaps

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000 an hour, and for a brief spell forgot the sweat of the march and the cares of the revolt.

Beyond the river we climbed to a low, stone keep, where we stopped for the midday meal. There we were presently joined by the chief men of Mati, including Dule Bey Allemani and Kaplan Bey Chelai, a brother of our friend, Yussuf Bey. All were downcast at the prospect of civil war, but their talk showed a pathetic trust that the British would still save the situation. We continued northwards in the afternoon and climbed steeply into the tangled mountains of Matsukull until we came to the village of Viniall. There we rested beneath a chestnut tree and watched the sun sink behind the mountains and the colours fade from the sky. The night was stifling hot, and in the distance we could hear wolves baying at the harvest moon.

We pressed on next day into the mountains, following a path which was flanked for some distance with cherry trees. They were already heavy with fruit, and each guerilla cut down a branch or two and ate the cherries as he walked. About midday we crossed the motor road which runs from Kruya to Dibra and entered the wooded massif of Murait on the southern marches of Lura. The path now led through cool beech forests; and, after two hours' march, we emerged into a grassland bowl some three thousand yards across, set between five rocky tors. The forests lapped it round, and to the north, where they spilled into the bowl, Merret had pitched his camp. Horses and mules grazed in the sunshine while a hundred or more guerillas rested beneath the trees. These were the men of Sul Kurti and other Zogist chiefs who had reached the camp the night before.

I lost the afternoon in sleep and woke to see the camp fires of the guerillas burning in the night. The wind had turned fresh and a light rain was falling. I walked over to where the others sat, but the wireless was silent and no couriers had arrived. There was no work to do and, after eating what was left of dinner, I went back to bed, still greedy for sleep.

669 Riddle and Hibbert, his assistant, rode in next morning from Dibra. They reported that the L.N.C. had entered the

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region from the south, while Macedonian Partisans were raiding across the border from the east. Riddle had also heard from Simcox that Gani Kryeziu could not come to the meeting and had asked that Said should deputise for him. Simcox had written that Gani was heavily engaged in the region of Bitutch, where the Germans had launched a drive against his headquarters. The courier had left while the fighting was still in progress, but Riddle had since heard that the Germans had withdrawn after burning down two villages, and that their communiqué, issued in Jakova, admitted to seventy casualties. We rejoiced at this news of fighting, but we knew that without a wireless set Gani could not be supplied with arms and that without arms his movement could not long endure. Accordingly, that same day, we sent Simcox a wireless set in the care of Bullock and Sergeant Collins, our most expert operator.

We set out from the camp in the afternoon and, towards sunset, found Abas Kupi encamped with some of the Dibran chiefs at the appointed meeting-place. This was in the glade of Zogolli, or the Birds — a strip of grassland not more than a hundred yards broad, but running for some miles through the forests. Fires had been lit, and the men were roasting whole sheep over the glowing embers. We sat down with the Agha on a log near one of the fires; bottles of *raki* were produced; and, while the spits were turning, old Sul Kurti told stories.

We slept that night under the trees, but I was woken early by the sound of men's voices. It was only seven o'clock, but Abas Kupi was already up and was sitting among his chiefs dictating letters to a secretary. A few of the men still slept, but most of them milled around the Agha, or stood talking in little groups. I roused Maclean, for something was clearly afoot, and we walked over to where the chiefs were sitting. There we learned that a courier had arrived an hour before with news that the Partisans had attacked and overrun the Zogist headquarters at Shupal. The civil war had begun in earnest.

We heard the news without surprise and were still discussing the prospects of successful British intervention when Islam Elezi — Mr. Can — and Sherif Lita arrived with a group of

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chiefs from the north. They were followed an hour later by Muharrem Bairaktar, who rode in on his white mule with a strong bodyguard of well-armed Liuman tribesmen. Abas and Muharrem embraced; but Ramadan Kalloshi, who had mingled hitherto with the Zogist chiefs, now ostentatiously attached himself to the Lord of Liuma. This was a straw in the wind; and we saw that, though the chiefs sympathised with Abas Kupi, each of them still believed he could come to terms with the Partisans. Nor indeed were we interested in discouraging their lack of solidarity; for, though a common front against the Germans had been our aim, there was no place in our plans for a common front against the L.N.C.

000 The news of the Partisan attack had taken the life out of our meeting, but we sat down for a formal discussion beneath a tall and spreading oak: Abas Kupi, Muharrem Bairaktar, Said Kryeziu, Maclean, Smiley, and I. Meanwhile the lesser chiefs and their retainers stood around us in a ring. There could be no question now of calling for a general revolt of the Ghegs, but each of the leaders spoke in turn, deploring the outbreak of civil war and appealing to us to intervene and bring about a truce. Muharrem was holding forth with some eloquence on this theme when suddenly the heavens were darkened and a thunderstorm of apocalyptic violence transformed the glade of Zogolli into a blasted heath. The notables who stood around us scattered to seek shelter in the forests; and the six of us remained alone, clustered around the oak. Out of the storm there now appeared a haggard, wild-eyed figure, bearded and in rags. He stood amid the lightning and the rain, and shouted to us in shrill, staccato tones, foaming at the mouth and waving his arms like a windmill. We looked round, startled, and Muharrem paused in his speech and explained:

"He's shouting 'Long live England: let us fight the Germans.' Of course he's mad!"

"I wish he'd bite you all!" Smiley said in English.

Muharrem smiled, expecting a joke; but we forebore to translate.

The storm ceased as suddenly as it had begun and the

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wild man ran back into the woods. Presently a messenger arrived from Merret's camp and handed Maclean a telegram.[1] He read it and passed it to me. It was sent from Headquarters and told us that a Major Smith would be dropped to us that night with proposals for effecting a reconciliation between the L.N.C. and the Zogists.

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"The plot is just about ripe for a *deus ex machina*," Maclean remarked drily.

We told the leaders the news, and their spirits rose at once at the prospect of this dramatic, last-minute intervention. They had never quite believed that we would abandon them, and now they were convinced that the Smith Mission would soon put the Partisans in their place. All agreed to stay with us that night to hear what Smith might have to propose, and we therefore moved off in a body towards our base. There the thoughtful Merret had prepared an excellent dinner in honour of our guests, including trout dynamited in a near-by stream and four bottles of Italian champagne, procured in Dibra by his courier. The grim mood went from us, and the evening was enlivened by Abas Kupi's tales of his youthful exploits and Muharrem's more dubious reminiscences of the lighter side of exile in Paris. The most extravagant story of the evening was produced by Said Kryeziu. It concerned the disreputable activities of a great-uncle who, to escape from his creditors, his blood enemies, and the Turkish police, had solemnly committed suicide by drinking six bottles of brandy on end.

We lit the signal fires at midnight, and, by the light of the moon, saw the aeroplane almost as soon as we heard the drone of its engines. It circled once over the camp, then flew straight across the fires. Two parachutes opened and Smith and his operator swung down to earth. They landed safely, and, when they had extricated themselves from their harness and the embraces of the guerillas, we led them back to the camp fire for a hot drink.

Smith proved to be a solid young man with a shock of fair hair and a jutting chin. His manner was decidedly brisk and he looked very boyish, dressed in shorts and a thick pullover. He had been for some months a liaison officer with the L.N.C.

[1] [Following the Partisan seizure of Zogist Hqs. at Shupal -- Ainslie]

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and had only been evacuated from South Albania a few days before. From what he told us he was on excellent terms with most of the Partisan leaders, and he seemed to be well enough informed of the situation in the regions they controlled. His instructions were to propose an immediate armistice between the Zogists and the L.N.C., and to invite both sides to send delegates to Bari to confer with representatives of the Supreme Allied Commander.

"There," so he said, "we can knock their heads together and make them see sense."

He seemed uncertain exactly how the latter process was to be achieved, but brushed aside our suggestion that the Partisans were acting only too sensibly from their own point of view. At first sight it all seemed a trifle amateurish, but his instructions were confirmed in writing over the signature of Air-Marshal Elliot, and he told us that a reconciliation had just been achieved between General Zervas and the E.A.M. on similar lines. We concluded, therefore, that our Headquarters had decided to adopt a firmer attitude in dealing with the Partisans; and, since failure must be disastrous to British prestige in Albania, we presumed that they were prepared if necessary to enforce the solution which Smith was to propose.

In the morning Smith showed Abas Kupi his credentials in the form of a letter of recommendation from the Air-Marshal, and explained to him his proposals. The Agha at once agreed to the suggestion of an armistice and, after a moment's discussion with Said, accepted the invitation to a conference in Bari with the Partisan leaders. He offered to go there himself and asked that he might take with him two other delegates, one of whom would be Said. This choice was most welcome to us; for we knew that Said was a personal friend of many of the Partisan leaders and was genuinely anxious to come to terms with them. He was empowered, moreover, to represent his brother, Gani, and Muharrem Bairaktar, and so might also conclude agreements with the L.N.C. on their behalf.

Thus, in less than half an hour, Smith had secured Abas Kupi's assent to his proposals and had completed half of his mission. Our business was concluded; the Agha bade us

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farewell, and moved off with the leaders of Mati to organise the defence of his territories. The gathering now dispersed, and Muharrem with the other chiefs departed in turn to their several regions. The last to go was Islam Elezi, and we detained him to lunch for it was late. We discussed recent events together; and Maclean spoke reprovingly of the spirit of faction which rent the Albanians, saying that the Chiefs had only themselves to blame for their present plight. No doubt the English would still succeed in stopping the civil war but, as he roundly declared:

"None of this would have happened if you had only listened to me when I first told you to rise and attack the Germans."

Islam heard him in silence and answered:

"All that you say is true, Mr. Colonel, but you must remember that we Albanians are everything that is wicked: we are poor, we are ignorant, we are few."

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V

CIVIL WAR

000 Il a été permis de craindre que la Révolution comme Saturne dévorât successivement tous ses enfants.

PIERRE VERGNIAUD

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*669 SMITH had accomplished the first part of his mission by obtaining Abas Kupi's assent to a truce and a conference on Allied soil. It was now necessary to its fulfilment that he should join the Partisan leaders and lay his proposals before them. We agreed, however, that he should forearm himself for this encounter by first learning what Hare might have observed, or concluded, in the course of his visit to the L.N.C. headquarters at Shengyerg. We therefore set out together from Murait on the afternoon of 7th July, intending to join Hare next day at our base on Mount Bastar.

It was already late when we started and, soon after nightfall, we lost our way on the thickly wooded slopes that lead down to the Mati valley. Exasperated by the snares and pitfalls of the forest, we had almost decided to sleep out on the mountainside when the moon rose from behind Mount Allemani and lighted us down to Dule Bey's stronghold. Dule himself had marched off at the head of his clan to join Abas Kupi, and we found no one in the keep but his womenfolk and two aged cousins. They received us, however, with traditional hospitality and, despite the lateness of the hour, insisted on preparing a meal for us. From their nervous gestures and excited voices we saw that they were afraid; and presently they told us that the Partisan advance guards had halted at sunset no more than two hours' march to the east.

We continued on our way in the morning, and, after an

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hour's ride, came on a group of Zogists taking up position on a low hill commanding one of the main tracks along the valley. Their commander was our old friend, Yussuf Bey Chelai, once the protector of the Mati Partisans, but now turned against them by their unprovoked invasion of the valley. Maclean with some difficulty repressed his professional urge to correct the siting of their one machine-gun, but the Chelai clansmen showed little sign of enthusiasm; and Yussuf Bey was plainly grieved that we should meet under such circumstances. 669*

"This fighting between Albanians is bad," he told us, "but we must defend our homes, for these men come as robbers, not as guests."

Despite the approach of battle Yussuf Bey did not forget the laws of hospitality; and while we talked together one of his men brought a pitcher of water and a basket of mulberries for our refreshment. We were touched by his courtesy, but soon took leave of him; for we did not wish to become involved in a fight with the Partisans. [574]

We pressed on, passing several groups of armed Zogists on the way, until about noon we reached the ford across the Mati. We could now hear the sound of shooting from the direction of the Chelai territory but, judging that it was still some distance off, halted and enjoyed a second bathe. An hour's march beyond the river brought us to the village of Gurre Madhe, at the foot of the mountains. There we stopped for the midday meal and sent out spies to watch the course of the battle. Sporadic rifle and machine-gun fire continued throughout the afternoon, and at length our spies returned to report that the Partisans were not more than half an hour away. Their strength was generally put at between one and two thousand men, and we were told that the quantity and quality of their equipment had excited the wonder and envy of the men of Mati. As yet there had been no serious engagement; for the defenders were but a few hundred strong, and only sought to delay the invasion while the main Zogist forces concentrated around Burrel.

We now climbed into the mountains on the last stage of the journey to our base. The light was beginning to fail but,

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*669 looking back, we observed tall pillars of smoke, shot with flame, rising from the far side of the valley. We trained our glasses on them and saw that several houses were on fire in the villages of Patin and Kurdari. Among them were the homes of our good friends Yussuf Chelai and of Dule Allemani, whose hospitality we had enjoyed only the night before. The Partisans were burning down the strongholds of the Mati *Beys*.

[648] We had hitherto somewhat innocently assumed that, as Allied officers, we should be allowed, and might even be obliged, to move freely between the contending parties to the civil war. Smith, however, now casually remarked that our Headquarters had accepted Enver Hoja's proposal that the Partisans should take any British officers they might "meet" in Zogist territory under their "protection". No word of this invidious agreement had reached us in our telegrams; and we stopped in our tracks, cursing the staff officers in Bari for their neglect of duty and Smith for his unseasonable reticence. Our base was less than two hours' march away, and for all we knew might already be occupied by the Partisans. We saw at once that our first care must be to avoid falling into their hands, since our capture would deprive Headquarters of all contact with Abas Kupi and might thus prove fatal to the success of the Smith Mission. Our first instinct was to turn back towards the valley, but night was already falling, and we were uncertain where the Partisans had halted. We stopped, therefore, in a lonely house on the side of the mountain, and despatched a messenger to reconnoitre the situation at our base and summon Hare to join us if he were still free.

The night was undisturbed, but our scout returned early next morning with bad news. The Partisans had been in possession of our base for two days; Hare had ordered his guards not to resist, and had been marched off with his wireless operator to the L.N.C. headquarters. Our kit and stores had been looted, our wireless set and war-chest removed. The poor man wept with indignation as he told his tale and finally burst out:

"But you don't yet know the worst. The Zogist guards

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were disarmed and your officers led away by women! — By what they call anti-Fascist women!"

We now discovered that the L.N.C. offensive against the Zogists had taken the form of two parallel drives along the Shupal and the Mati valleys. The Partisans were thus divided by the range on which we stood; and their forces surged around its foothills like a rising tide about a rock. Our scout reported that they had already occupied the full extent of the Shupal valley; and we soon learned that their main body in Mati had passed through Gurre Madhe and was now engaged along the approaches to the Qaf Stamm pass. Our hopes of retreat were thus intercepted; and we were further admonished of the dangers of our situation by a report that the Partisans had sent out patrols to track us down. A panic fell upon the household, and our host came and begged us to be gone, protesting his loyalty but saying that he dared not hide us from the Partisans. We therefore bade Smith farewell; and, while he climbed on towards the Partisan lines, we moved off into the forests in search of a "hide-out" where we might set up our wireless and await the outcome of his negotiations or of the battle.

All day we marched and counter-marched along the mountainside, but wherever we halted we were soon disturbed by the curiosity of wandering shepherds whose natural kindliness might too easily have been corrupted by the promises of the invaders. We spent a cold and hungry night on a windswept ridge, but, in the morning, came on a deep depression in the forest, sunk like a crater behind a projecting rib of the range. It was sheltered, thickly wooded and carpeted with fallen leaves, under which we presently discovered a spring of clear water. The mountain tracks were deflected away from its steep banks; and there was no sign that man or beast ever passed that way. There, for six days, we hid from our allies.

Besides Maclean, Smiley, Said, and myself our party now included Corporal Davis, a wireless operator whom we had borrowed from Riddle; fortunately, for Collins had gone to join Simcox, and Otter had been captured by the Partisans

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000 with Hare. Davis was a quick-witted and amusing Hampshire lad, with the soft skin and delicate features of a girl. Desperately untidy and seemingly without method, he was yet a hard worker with a genius for improvisation. He would climb the most improbable trees to rig up his aerial and scattered his tools all over the camp; but, even in the most difficult moments, he never failed to "get through" to Headquarters: without him we could not have carried on. Abas Kupi once referred to him as "*Chuni*" — the youth — and to his intense annoyance the nickname stuck. Shaqir, our interpreter, was also with us, and a young Zogist liaison officer, as well as our bodyguards and mule-men. Altogether we were about a dozen strong.

Food was our first problem, for it is no easy task to keep a dozen men alive in a forest when every village is in hostile hands. Gold, however, like water, corrodes most obstacles in time; and, after a day's fast, we won to our cause a young shepherd who was to procure for us a daily sheep from his father's flocks and an occasional loaf of bread or lump of cheese. Prudence as well as scarcity, however, enjoined on us a form of Ramadan; and we ate only at night, lest the smoke of our fires be seen above the trees and betray our presence.

*669 Next in importance to food was news; and each day we sent a scout to spy out the land and pick up the gossip of the nearest villages. Mati was full of rumours, but all suggested that the Partisan offensive had been held by Sul Kurti between Matsukull and Qaf Stamm, and that Abas Kupi was preparing a counter-attack from Kruya. Meanwhile the men of Mati, who had at first been very reluctant to take up arms, discovered a fierce resentment against the Partisans. Their pride had been wounded by the burning of their chieftains' strongholds; and they were more directly injured by the efforts of the Partisans to introduce conscription and commandeer their rifles and their food. Communist propaganda, moreover, failed to "take" among them; and they came to regard the advance of the Partisans as an invasion of Tosk outsiders — rumour even had it that there were Serbs and Greeks among them — whose interests and way of life could not be reconciled with

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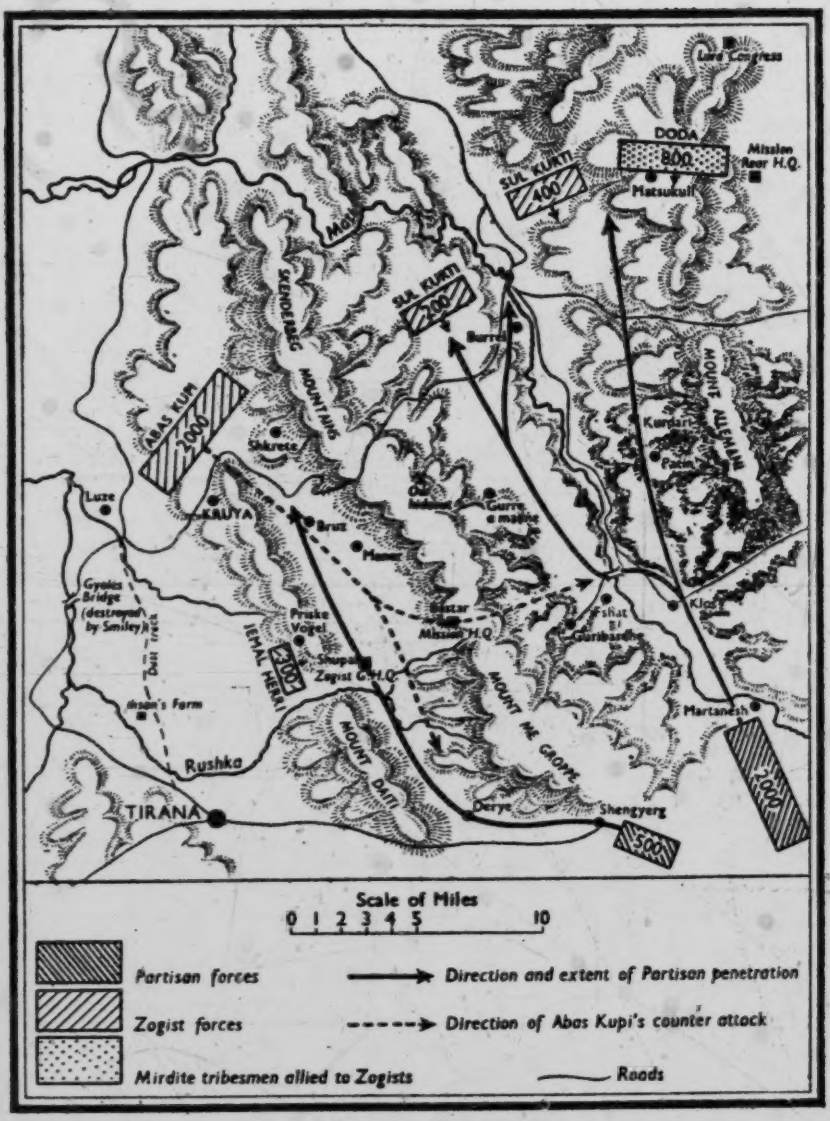

Sketch Map showing Operations during First Partisan Campaign against Abas Kupi, 29th June to 27th July 1944

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their own. As a result the Partisans met with singularly little co-operation from the local inhabitants; and every night a handful of men slipped through the lines to join Abas Kupi's forces.

Besides the daily search for food and news we spent the time listening to the distant sounds of the battle, and revolving the problems of our mission. Also, as men will in periods of prolonged tension, we discussed our most cherished ambitions and intimate beliefs, as if the presence of danger impelled us at least to express what we might never achieve. Our only books were a battered copy of *Manon Lescaut* and Laski's *Reflections on the Revolutions of Our Time*. The tribulations of the Chevalier des Grieux were touching by their contrast with our own: the Professor's theories were stimulating, but we could not help thinking that a closer acquaintance with "the Dibran mentality" might have informed them with a less hopeful spirit.

The sunless days passed slowly, enlivened only by the distant crackle of rifle fire, the stuttering of machine-guns and the histrionic bursts of mortar bombs. The nights which succeeded them were cold, especially in the hour before dawn; and we slept wrapped in our overcoats on heaps of bracken banked up beside the fire. To have hidden from the Germans would by comparison have been easy; for they were regular soldiers in a strange land and afraid, as the hunter is afraid when he senses that he is being stalked by his own quarry. The Partisans, however, were guerillas as we were, and knew our tactics by self-examination. Our "hide-out" could not by its very nature be guarded; and we were never sure when we might not wake to find that a silent enemy had crept through the pathless forest and surrounded us. We were, besides, under orders not to resist capture; and the morale of our escort was emasculated by the knowledge that, in the last resort, they might not even shoot their way out or sell their lives dearly. For us this was of small importance, since we assumed that we had nothing to fear from the Partisans. Our bodyguards, however, were less sanguine of their prospects and had lost faith in our power to protect them.

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Such a situation was as invidious as it was uncomfortable; for we were reduced to these straits not by our enemies the Germans, but by our allies the Partisans. In the course of our journeys through Mati we had often praised Enver Hoja's loyal co-operation with our Missions, and had held up the Partisans as an example to the Zogists. The mountaineers had thus come to believe that the L.N.C. was under British influence; but now they saw that these were men who knew us not. They set fire to the homes of the Zogist leaders who had befriended us; they denounced us in the villages as "agents of foreign reaction"; and they even threatened to bring us to trial before an L.N.C. court-martial. Once they even captured a young mule-man whom we had sent out to look for food and thrashed him unmercifully to make him disclose our whereabouts. The youth refused to betray us and, escaping from his guards. returned to us with a bloody back. We rewarded his injuries, but in the eyes of the men of Mati, and not least of our bodyguards, the prestige of his masters was measured by the treatment of their servant.

There are few contrasts so sharp as those produced by the loss of power. So long as Abas Kupi had swayed the valley we had everywhere been honoured in our persons and assisted in our needs; for we were accredited to his movement. Now power had passed into the hands of the L.N.C., and we experienced all the dissolving influences of adversity. Food prices rose, the surest indication of our distress; and the cost of a sheep increased from one to four gold napoleons. Fear overtook our escort and, skulking in the forest, their morale ebbed away. Couriers we sent out did not always return. One of our bodyguards deserted; another refused to cross the valley with Smiley in an attempt to reach our rear base at Murait. The wonder is only that we were not betrayed. But in this, as in all crises, the young were our best friends; for, having nothing to lose but their lives, they still identified their interests with their honour. Besides, Zogist sentiment was strong; the issue of the battle was uncertain; and the men of Mati were perhaps reluctant to kill the goose which laid the golden eggs.

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169 We had gone into hiding with the wishful hope that Smith might persuade the Partisans to a temporary truce and so enable us to rejoin Abas Kupi in safety. We therefore followed closely the progress of his negotiations as reported to us in telegrams from Headquarters. These informed us that Smith had come on a group of Partisans soon after leaving us and had been escorted by them to the village of Klos in the Mati valley. There he had found Mehmet Shehu, who was in charge of the operations against the Zogists, and my friend, Mustafa Jinishi, who accompanied the army as a special delegate of the Partisan provisional government. They had given him a friendly hearing, but had declined to take responsibility for so grave a decision, and had sent him on to the headquarters of the First L.N.C. Division in Dibra, two days' march away. Its commander, Dali Ndreu, a nephew of the Dibran chief, Tsen Elezi, had applied to Enver Hoja for instructions, and, after a further two days' waiting, Smith had been sent south to Berat, the seat of the provisional government. Our hopes of an early release sank with each delay and were finally dispelled by the news that Enver Hoja had rejected out of hand all proposals for a truce or for negotiations with the Zogists.

We knew now that there was no likelihood of an early end to the civil war and therefore made up our minds to escape from a dangerous and uncomfortable isolation. Every day that we remained in the forest increased the chances of our discovery, while, as fugitives behind the Partisan lines, we could neither influence events nor even accurately observe them. It was, besides, our duty to join Abas Kupi as soon as we could, to report on his circumstances, and to be ready to act on whatever instructions we might now receive from Headquarters. These, we felt, could not be long delayed; for we were convinced, despite the apparent failure of the Smith Mission, that our Headquarters would not give up their efforts to stop the civil war.

To escape out of the forest seemed no easy matter, for we

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were surrounded on all sides. One man might indeed creep through the L.N.C. lines at night without too great difficulty; but our wireless equipment could only be carried on mule-back, and this would hold us to the paths and make our progress conspicuous and slow. We therefore decided that Maclean should stay behind with the wireless for the time being and keep in touch with Headquarters. Meanwhile Said and I would try to join Abas Kupi and would then send back for Maclean when we knew where his mules could safely pass through the Partisan positions. Smiley, for his part, was to make his way to our rear base at Murait. There he would find another wireless set and might maintain our Mission in being if the rest of us should be captured by the Partisans.

Accordingly, on the afternoon of July 13th, Said, Smiley, and I slipped away from our hide-out, accompanied each by a single bodyguard. We rode silently through the forest and, an hour before sunset, approached the Qaf Stamm pass, over which runs the motor road to Kruya. The evening was warm and still; and, for the first time for many days, there was no sound of firing from the valley. The pass had several times changed hands in the recent fighting; and, judging that the front line must be near, we sent a scout ahead to reconnoitre the Partisan positions. Meanwhile we rested in a meadow and enjoyed the wild strawberries which grew there as thick as the grass.

Our scout returned at nightfall and reported that the Partisans still held the lower stretches of the road, but had withdrawn from the pass itself that afternoon. We pressed on, therefore; struggled a thousand feet up a slope so steep that our mules could scarcely manage the ascent, and at last came out on to the Qaf Stamm road. This road, a notable feat of Italian engineering, was cut along the face of the mountain above a boulder-strewn ravine. The night was black as pitch, and for a long time we could find no break in the cliff face where we might lead the mules off the road and on to the slopes above. Twice Smiley's mule was dragged successfully up narrow clefts; but both times my less agile beast and Said's horse became wedged between the rocks and, to Smiley's disgust,

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had to be pulled back on to the road. Had there still been guards on the pass we must have abandoned our mounts or been killed. As it was, after nearly two hours' search, we found a steep gully which men and beasts successfully negotiated. This brought us out into a tangle of brambles and shrub where, after a vain but exhausting effort to find the path, we lay down and slept.

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In the morning we looked out of the thicket and saw that we were scarcely two hundred feet above the road. No one was astir, and, climbing over the brow, we made our way down to a farm-house which stood by the banks of the Lysa, a tributary torrent of the Mati. There we learned that we were in no-man's-land; for, though the Partisans had withdrawn from the neighbouring village the day before, the Zogists had not yet returned. Smiley now left us to try and cross the Mati valley, while Said and I marched south-westwards in the direction of Kraya. We could obtain no certain intelligence of the dispositions of the L.N.C., and so, avoiding the main path, crossed the Skanderbeg range by a little-known track. This was so devious, rough, and overgrown, that we soon understood its unfrequentedness. We climbed all day, and towards evening made our way down to the village of Shkrete, just beyond the range. We halted outside the village and sent a scout ahead, who presently reported that we were once more in Zogist territory. We continued, therefore, to the house of Abas Kupi's local representative and at once despatched a courier to the Zogist headquarters to announce our arrival. We had eaten nothing but a little cheese since the previous afternoon, but our hunger was now appeased by a roasted sheep; and we celebrated our deliverance in copious draughts of a potent *raki*.

It was near noon when we woke to find that an escort had already arrived to conduct us to Abas Kupi. We set out, therefore, after the midday meal, and, marching southward along the western face of the Skanderbeg range, came on the Agha halted by the Qaf Stamm road. Upwards of a thousand guerillas lay smoking on the grass; and we were surprised to see that some of them were eating small loaves of wheaten

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bread. Five commercial lorries were drawn up beside them, 669*
but the leading one had blown up on a land-mine and its front wheels and radiator were shattered and twisted. Abas Kupi came to meet us and embraced us warmly, expressing his relief to see us safe and sound. Half a mile away, from the head of the pass, came the sound of rifle and machine-gun fire.

The Zogist counter-offensive had begun that morning: and the Agha now explained to us that he intended to re-occupy the Shupal valley and descend over the Qaf Murresit into Mati to outflank the Partisans. He parried most of my questions and presently we left the road to climb with the guerillas to the head of the Shupal valley. There we found Murad Basha and Dule Allemani with an advance guard of some five hundred men, grouped just below the crest of the watershed. From the crest itself a few snipers were harassing the retreat of the Partisans. The latter soon withdrew out of range; and an hour later, with forces which amounted to fifteen hundred men, Abas Kupi reoccupied the village of Bruz. There we were lodged for the night, in the same house where I had first met Petrit three months before.

The morale of the Zogists was high; and their chiefs had been much encouraged by a speech in the Albanian transmission of the B.B.C. made by General Percy, the former Inspector-General of the Albanian gendarmerie. The General had condemned the Partisan attack against Abas Kupi, and his words, taken in conjunction with the Smith Mission, had convinced the Zogist leaders that they could count on British support. The talk that evening was livelier than usual, and 522
Murad Basha indulged in sallies against the reactionary influence of the *Beys* and *Aghas* with pointed references to Abas Kupi and Said. They riposted with a joke typical of Albanian humour and which was kept up for several weeks. Among the chiefs was a kindly but simple young man whose brother had been killed some years before when a bomb with which he had gone out fishing had exploded in his hand. The bomb had apparently been given him by Murad Basha; and Abas Kupi now represented to the young man with the utmost gravity that he was in honour bound to avenge the injury. The

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522 youth at first took it all in earnest; Basha looked hotly embarrassed; and the assembled company laughed till their sides ached. Later in the evening a more pathetic note was struck by Dule Bey, when I condoled with him over the burning of his home.

"I had no right," he said, "to expect that my house would escape destruction when so many great cities all over the world are bombed every day. But I had hoped that it would be burnt by the Germans whom I intended to attack and not by fellow Albanians."

669 From Bruz I had sent couriers to Maclean, who joined us next afternoon with Davis and the wireless set. He made the journey without difficulty; for the Partisans were in full retreat and their rearguards had already lost touch with the Zogist van. We slept that night in Mener, a village two hours' march further down the valley, and in the morning received a disturbing report from Smiley that German troops had appeared on the Mati front near Burrel. We at once informed Abas Kupi and told him bluntly that any "collaboration" between his men and the Germans must prove fatal to our relations. He showed concern rather than surprise at the news, and, after some discussion, wrote to Sul Kurti, ordering him to avoid all contact with the Germans and to withdraw his men from any sector where they might appear.

The Agha now marched off to direct the reoccupation of Shupal, but we remained at Mener, preparing a report for Headquarters. Smiley joined us there next day, the 19th July, after finding it impossible to cross the Mati valley. That same afternoon a courier came from Tirana with the news that Fikri Dine had accepted the premiership and had persuaded a number of influential men hitherto unsuspected of "collaboration" to join his government.

The presence of lorries with the Zogist forces, the sudden abundance of white bread, the arrival of German troops in Mati, and now the news that Fikri Dine had taken office, all suggested that Neubacher had at last succeeded in creating the very anti-Communist Front which we had worked hard, and for a time successfully, to prevent. The situation of the Zogists

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grew each day more compromising; but before deciding on a course of action we set ourselves the task of finding out just what had happened in the time that we had been hiding in the forest. 669*

3

THE Partisans had launched their offensive against Shupal on the 5th July, when Abas Kupi, with many of his chiefs, had been two days' march away in Lura, at the congress of Gheg leaders called by our Mission. Murad Basha, who had been left in command at Shupal, had been present at our discussions when civil war had first threatened and had heard us urge the Agha to withdraw his forces rather than resist the L.N.C. The memory of our arguments had only increased his natural indecision; and, when the Partisans attacked, he had abandoned the headquarters without making more than a show of resistance. Verily, "if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?"

Abas Kupi had received the news of the attack on the morning of the 6th July, but had delayed in Lura until the next day to meet Smith. It was thus not until the evening of the 7th July that he had joined the main body of his forces near Burrel. By this time the Partisans had already occupied the whole of the Shupal valley and half of Mati, thus depriving him of much of his territory and manpower. The remaining Zogist forces in Mati amounted to less than a thousand men and were thus too weak to drive back the Partisans, who were nearly twice as numerous, besides being more disciplined and better armed. The Agha had therefore left Sul Kurti to bear the brunt of their attack as best he could, and had hastened across the Qaf Stamm pass to raise the men of Kruya for a counter-offensive.

He was thus engaged when, on the night of 11th July, Mustafa Kruya, Mark Joni Markai, and Fikri Dine came out from Tirana to meet him. For months they had failed to come to terms, but now the Partisan invasion of Central Albania had aroused in them a sense of common interest such as the Germans

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had laboured in vain to instil. In the face of a mortal danger their former differences were forgotten and they determined to combine in self-defence against a common enemy. What passed between them that night has never been disclosed, but the subsequent course of events indicated the broad lines of the division of labour on which they then agreed.

Mark Joni Markai raised his clansmen for the defence of Mirdita, while his cousin, Doda Bairaktar, with forces drawn from its three southern *Bairaks*, marched to the relief of Mati. Doda found old Sul Kurti hard pressed around Matsukull, and his timely arrival enabled the Zogists to deliver an unexpected counter-attack and thus to check the further advance of the Partisans.

Fikri Dine organised the defence of Dibra, where his influence was strong, and then assumed the premiership of the " collaborationist " government. His object was to mobilise all the resources of the Albanian state for the struggle against the Partisans and to enlist the active support of the Germans.

Abas Kupi raised some two thousand men in Kruya province, and a further thousand in Shiyak, and advanced with these to reoccupy the Shupal valley. Thanks no doubt to Mustafa Kruya's intervention, his men could now move safely in the plain; and the " collaborationist " authorities turned a blind eye on their visits to Tirana. The Zogist Committee therefore hired a number of lorries in the capital, in which Abas Kupi rushed his forces to the head of the Qaf Stamm pass. Likewise they organised a regular supply of wheat bread from the Tirana bakeries to supply the Zogist forces. Finally, while Fikri Dine sought German help to end the civil war by force, Abas Kupi sought British help to end it by negotiation.

Mustafa Kruya's part in this strange coalition was to persuade the Germans to back Fikri Dine with arms and money, and to see that they connived at such support as Abas Kupi might receive from his Committee in Tirana. It is possible that the German troops which appeared in Mati were sent there on his advice. It seems more likely, however, that this was an independent manœuvre of the Germans, designed to compromise Abas Kupi in the eyes of the British and so bind him more closely to his " collaborationist " associates.

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This compact between Abas Kupi and the "collaborationists" was a logical outcome of the civil war. The Zogists had been attacked by the Partisans; their military situation was critical; and, without some outside help, Abas Kupi could not hope to recover his lost territories or even to hold Kruya. Yet, unless he held his ground his cause was lost; and in the absence of British support he had no choice but to turn to more dangerous friends. It was a matter for concern that he should be working with "collaborationists", but to fight a private war with the help of the enemy's friends was not of itself intentional, or even objective "collaboration". The political morality of Albania made more allowance for expediency than that of Western Europe; nor in the nature of things could there be the same bitterness between the supporters and opponents of the Axis as in more developed countries. The ideologies of Liberalism, Fascism, or Communism could not be deeply felt among the Albanian tribes; for Albania was still a country where a man took sides in politics less to express a preference than to place a bet. Nevertheless, the Agha was sailing very close to the wind; and we feared for the future. Was he after all "to go the way of General Mihailovitch"?

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FROM Mener Abas Kupi pursued his advance with Fabian caution, and, knowing that the tribesmen would not long endure casualties, consistently refused to engage the main body of the Partisans. Instead he shepherded them out of the valley by a sequence of outflanking movements, made irresistible by his superior numbers and possession of the high ground. On the 18th July the Zogist forces re-entered Shupal, the former seat of their General Headquarters; and on the following day the Agha reached Bastar, the village which had guarded the southern approaches to our original base. That evening the last Partisan rearguards withdrew over the Qaf Murresit into Mati, thus abandoning the whole of the Maltsia Tirana as far as Shengyerg.

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*669 Maclean and I had remained two days in Mener, engaged in the drafting and despatch of telegrams to our Headquarters. It was therefore not until the evening of the 19th July that we reached Bastar, where we joined Abas Kupi and his staff in the house of the village *hoja*. There we learned that he planned to lead his men into Mati next day to threaten the left flank of the Partisans and so quicken their withdrawal before Sul Kurti, who was advancing against them from Burrel. Sul Kurti and his confederates now disposed of some two thousand men, while the Zogist forces under the Agha's immediate command numbered a further fifteen hundred. These were increased next day by the arrival from Shiyak of five hundred well-armed bashibazouks, commanded by Musa Pitsari, a wealthy but adventurous merchant whom Abas Kupi now entrusted with the defence of the Shupal valley. In addition to these forces there were smaller Zogist bands around Shengyerg and on the Qaf Stamm pass; and communications with Tirana were safeguarded by Jemal Herri, with some three hundred rifles. Thus, although many of his supporters were still in the territories under Partisan occupation, Abas Kupi had succeeded in raising some four thousand men; a force which outnumbered his assailants by nearly two to one, and, incidentally, confirmed our earlier estimate of his strength.

The wildest rumours were current in Bastar: one report had it that the Partisan General, Mehmet Shehu, had been killed; another that Billal Kola, the doughtiest of the Mati chieftains and a brother of our interpreter, Halit, had been fatally wounded. The most notable event, however, which marked the army's sojourn in the village, was the capture of two Partisans, the first prisoners of the campaign. They were both quite small boys, twelve and ten years old, and had fallen out during the retreat from Shupal, exhausted by hunger and lack of sleep. By the time we saw them they had both eaten and rested and, though still rather sheepish, were quite ready to make friends. Their talk was full of Communist jargon; and they told us that it was nearly a year since they had run away from their homes, near Valona, to join the Partisans. Both claimed to have seen action against the Ballists and the

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Germans; and the younger boy gave us a graphic description of a raid in which he had wounded a German corporal in the stomach and "finished him off" by shooting out his eyes at point-blank range. 669*

I was spellbound by the child's detailed and exultant account of how he had killed the grown man: an awful example of the Nemesis which by many and devious ways was everywhere overtaking the German conquerors of Europe. At the time I applauded the deed, in part perhaps *pour encourager les autres*; but the tribesmen, more human in that their values were solely individual, shook their heads and condemned the Partisans for dragging children into a struggle which they could not understand. Abas Kupi talked kindly to the two boys and, after keeping them for a day with his bodyguard, arranged to send them back to their homes. The recruiting of children for war or revolution will be variously admired or deplored; the fact remains that the enthusiasm and devotion of such boys — and there were many of them in the ranks of the Partisans — were of no small account in deciding the success of the Albanian revolution. 000

We had some talk with Abas Kupi before he began the advance into Mati, and referred to his recent understanding with Fikri Dine and Mustafa Kruya, brutally reminding him of the fatal results that would attend any similar accommodation with the Germans. He sullenly denied any act, or even thought, of "collaboration" with the enemy, and countered our charges with the accusation that we were again dropping supplies to the Partisans. This we rejected as impossible; for our Headquarters had informed us, and Smith had confirmed, that no arms would be dropped to either side so long as the civil war continued. The tone of the conversation became increasingly unfriendly; and the exchange of accusations only served to reveal the mistrust which had invaded our relations. We knew, however, that our Headquarters were gravely concerned by the news that German troops had appeared in Mati, and by the reports of Abas Kupi's "collaboration" which they were continually receiving from the Partisans. We 669* 648

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*669 648 believed, therefore, that it was only by speaking our minds with perhaps exaggerated bluntness that we could hope to offset the pressure from Tirana and so keep the Agha to the straight and narrow path. In the event our efforts were rewarded; and before he left for Mati Abas Kupi undertook not to pursue the Partisans beyond his regions.

Our immediate aim was still to bring Abas Kupi and Said Kryeziu to Bari to meet our staff officers and the newly appointed Partisan delegates. Enver Hoja indeed still refused to agree to negotiations, but it seemed just possible that he might prove more willing to come to terms if Abas Kupi now defeated the Partisans in Mati. Our task meanwhile was to overcome the physical obstacles which stood in the way of his journey to Italy. This must be made by air or sea; and, while our submissions were instructed to reconnoitre possible landing grounds for aircraft, Smiley went down to the coast in search of a suitable embarkation point.

000 Davis, our wireless operator, now reported the breakdown in a vital part of the engine with which the batteries of our transmitter were charged. Our communications with Italy were thus threatened with early interruption; and Maclean accordingly left with Said for a village near Tirana to try and arrange for the necessary repairs. Meanwhile I was to remain with Abas Kupi and observe the course of his offensive against the Partisans.

I spent the 21st July in Bastar, for I was feverish and my throat swollen. There, towards evening, I heard the news of the attempt on Hitler's life — an incident which was sure to impress the Albanians and which I at once reported to Abas Kupi as evidence that the end was near. Next day brought *669 little improvement in my condition and, learning that the Zogist troops were not even in contact with the Partisans, I determined to delay my departure till the following morning. That same afternoon, however, I was awakened from a troubled sleep to learn that the Partisans had launched a counter-attack from Shengyerg and were less than an hour's march away. Still weak with fever, and riding a very old, white horse, I made

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my way towards the Qaf Murresit, accompanied by Shaqir, Kolaver, and a mule-man. At the head of the pass I found a score of anxious-looking Zogist guerillas, and learnt from their leader that they were all that now remained of the garrison of the valley, Musa Pitsari having marched off that morning with his whole force to attend to some private feud in Shiyak. The young Zogist officer seemed to think that the Partisan attack was only a raid in strength, but admitted that his men were far too few to offer any effective resistance. Despite my repeated protests he insisted on escorting me down into Mati; but, though he chivalrously invoked his concern for my safety as his motive, I could not help suspecting that he and his men welcomed an honourable pretext for withdrawing from an exposed position.

My horse stumbled along so slowly that at last I dismounted and, leaving Kolaver to lead the beast, walked ahead with the guerillas. The exercise did me good, and I presently forgot my ailments in my efforts to cheer up Shaqir. That good fellow had some cause for gloom, for a cousin of his had been seriously wounded in the L.N.C. counter-attack; and he feared for his house in Shengyerg and for his family, who were once more in the power of the Partisans.

Two hours' march brought us to Guribardhe, an important village commanding the main road to Martanesh. There I found Hamsa Drini, seated on the steps of a fountain outside the mosque, arranging with the village elders for a distribution of bread to his troops. Hamsa was a large man with big red hands, a small head, and plain, honest features. A native of Dibra, he looked more a peasant than a mountaineer and was perhaps of partly Slav extraction. He had been a major of gendarmerie and had only recently joined Abas Kupi, who prized his courage and powers of organisation. He seemed untroubled by the news of the Partisan raid into Shupal, but was obviously depressed by the total lack of organisation and wretched equipment of his troops.

"The Agha," he told me, "may win the campaign by outmanœuvring Mehmet Shehu, but God help us if it ever comes to a stand-up fight."

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000 I asked Hamsa for guides to take me to Abas Kupi, and, learning that he was leaving himself for the Zogist headquarters, gladly fell in with his suggestion that we should make the journey there together. We waited until it was dark, for the paths leading from Guribardhe were still under fire from the Partisans, and then set out along a broken mountain track with a force of some three hundred men. An hour's trudge brought us down to the main road, cut, for a stretch, along the face of a cliff and offering neither cover nor escape. We marched, I thought rather imprudently, at the head of the column; and Hamsa was expatiating in voluble Serbian on the future of Anglo-Russian relations when suddenly a challenge rang out in the night. He seemed not to hear it and, evidently engrossed in his train of thought, continued to develop his argument. The sentry's voice sounded again. This time Hamsa stopped and, scratching his head, muttered:

" My God, I've forgotten the password! "

Almost at once there was a burst of submachine-gun fire, at perhaps forty yards' range. We flattened ourselves on the road, or scrabbled vainly for protection against the cliff, while a hail of bullets, some of them tracer, whined past our heads and ricochetted against the rocks. We knew that our assailants were only a Zogist patrol, but it was some time before our shouts prevailed above the shooting and we were released from a most uncomfortable situation. By a miracle only one man was wounded. The leader of the patrol now courteously reminded us of the password, and we were allowed to resume our march. A man's courage varies with the nature as much as the extent of a danger; and I observed that night that the same Albanians who had literally turned grey with fear when we had lain surrounded by the Partisans, remained apparently unconcerned in what, to me, seemed far more trying circumstances.

Our guides had assured us that the Zogist headquarters were only two hours distant from Guribardhe. They lost the way, however, several times; and we had been nearly five hours on the march when at last we reached the house where Abas Kupi and his staff were lodged. I found the Agha just

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going to bed in a room thickly strewn with the sleeping bodies of the Zogist chieftains, many of them lying half-naked in the stifling summer night. The master of the house had already retired; and, after drinking a bottle of beer which the resourceful Kolaver had unaccountably produced from a sleeping village, I gladly accepted Abas Kupi's offer of a share of his mattress.

I was woken next morning by the rattle of machine-gun fire, punctuated by the occasional slap of a bullet against the stone wall of the house. The guest-room was empty and, going downstairs to investigate, I found Hamsa Drini, who took me round the Zogist positions and explained the situation. The Zogist forces were concentrated in the groves and orchards of Fshat, a village separated only by the breadth of the River Mati from Klos, where the Partisans had made their headquarters. Upstream of the two villages the river was spanned by a bridge, over which ran the disused main road leading to the south-east. Abas Kupi feared that the Partisans might try to break back across this bridge in the direction of Guribardhe, where they would still be in his territory and might threaten his communications with Shupal. His immediate aim, therefore, was to deny them the crossing of the river and, at the same time, to harass their flank until Sul Kurti, advancing from Burrel, had forced them to withdraw eastwards beyond the boundaries of Mati. The presence of the Zogist troops in Fshat was by itself sufficient to accomplish the Agha's purpose; and each side was too strongly established on its own bank for either to contemplate an attack across the river. Instead, both were now engaged in demonstrating their mutual animosity in a long-range machine-gun duel. This was the origin of the shooting which had just aroused me and which, so far as I could observe, was as devoid of aim as it was expensive of ammunition. Yet it was not perhaps without moral value; for, where opposing armies are encamped within call of one another, their commanders must make them shoot if they would prevent them from fraternising.

I completed my inspection of the Zogists' positions and

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000 then retired to await developments in a near-by orchard. There I feasted on red mulberries until spent shots, one of which wounded a fellow fruit-picker — the only casualty of the day — drove me to look for a safer resting-place. I walked towards the river and, during a lull in the firing, came on Murad Basha, the Zogist Chief-of-Staff, seated on a low mound. He was nursing an upset stomach and treated me to a lucid and comprehensive description of his symptoms and to a rather less coherent explanation of the Zogist fire-plan. Our conversation was presently interrupted by the resumption of the machine-gun duel; and the sound of passing bullets made us suddenly aware that, though masked from the enemy by a clump of bushes, we were sitting in the direct line of fire. We moved away hurriedly and, seeing that it was midday, returned to the house where we joined Abas Kupi and his staff for lunch.

I slept through the afternoon, and, waking towards six o'clock, found the rival machine-gunners still busy wasting ammunition. I went out again and in the garden saw Abas Kupi, sitting cross-legged under a tree while a secretary read to him the letters and reports that had come in the afternoon from Tirana. He called me to join him and, bidding one of the guards prepare coffee, handed me a sheaf of German newspapers containing the official account of the attempt on Hitler's life.

"For me he has already been dead a long time," was his only comment.

*669 In the evening, despite the attentions of Partisan snipers, we made our way to another house about a mile from the river. There we were later joined by the Zogist chieftains, who all seemed convinced that the Partisans would withdraw from Mati during the night. Their optimism was presently confirmed by a courier from Sul Kurti, who wrote that he had already halted his troops for the night but that the Partisans were still falling back all along the line.

I woke early next morning to learn that the first Zogist patrols had already crossed the river and entered Klos. They

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CORPORAL DAVIS (CHUNI) SENDING A SIGNAL BY WIRELESS

DECIPHERING A SIGNAL

(*Left to Right*) Corporal Davis, Sergeant Jenkins, Sergeant Jones, Sergeant Corsentino (U.S. Air Force)

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SUPPER

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SKINNING A SHEEP

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*669 had met with no resistance, and had been told by the villagers that the Partisans had marched out before dawn in the direction of Shengyerg and Martanesh. The operations in Mati were over.

Abas Kupi now proposed that we should go to meet Sul Kurti; and we were on the point of setting out when a scout ran up with news that a German column was approaching from the west. Abas Kupi ordered his forces to disperse and, bidding me follow him, retired towards the mountains with a guard of some three hundred men. We climbed for some twenty minutes as fast as lungs and limbs would bear and then halted in a wide patch of scrub, less than a thousand feet above Fshat. From this vantage point we presently saw a column of some five hundred Germans marching slowly along the opposite bank of the river. They went in single file, many of them stripped to the waist, and led a long and varied train of pack-animals. Among these were big Italian mules to carry the mountain guns, Albanian ponies saddled with ammunition boxes and kit, and a number of unladen and diminutive donkeys. I enquired later to what use the donkeys might be put, and was told that the Germans had only commandeered them to sell them at a profit on the Tirana market.

The Germans halted in an orchard by the river and, after posting sentries, bathed and set about preparing a meal. They rested there during the heat of the day, but at about four in the afternoon resumed the advance, now dividing their forces into two. The first column marched east, as if following the Partisan line of retreat towards Martanesh, but the second inclined to the south and, crossing the bridge over the Mati, followed the road towards Guribardhe. I saw that this second column must pass within a thousand yards of where we lay and, on the spur of the moment, appealed to Abas Kupi to attack it, urging that such an action would give the lie to all the rumours of his "collaboration". His eyes lit up, and he leaned cautiously forward to examine the lie of the ground, as if calculating where best to strike. Then, with a shrug of the shoulders, he sank back and said:

"*Wallahi*! It would be good work; but before I take on

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*669 the Germans you must bring these Communists under control and send me the arms you promised."

It was useless to argue; and I turned away to watch through my glasses while the Germans tramped up the dusty road, ignorant that we lurked within range discussing their fate.

We returned that night to Fshat, where the guerillas lit beacons to announce the liberation of the valley and roasted whole sheep in honour of Abas Kupi's bloodless victory. The Partisan rearguards had now retired beyond Shengyerg, and the Zogists had thus recovered the full extent of their territory. Abas Kupi, however, had no illusions that he had won more than a breathing space; and, while the chiefs were still celebrating, took me aside to urge that we should now renew our efforts to stop the civil war. He repeated his assurance that he would not pursue the Partisans beyond his own boundaries, and declared that, in spite of their unprovoked attack, he was still willing to join hands with them to fight against the Germans.

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000 THE first campaign of the civil war was over; and Abas Kupi now prepared to reorganise his forces in Mati and, no doubt, to proceed against those who had actively supported the Partisans. Such reprisals are an inevitable feature of civil war; but I felt that my presence in the valley while they were in progress could serve no useful purpose and might prove impolitic. I decided, therefore, to join Maclean and Smiley to tell them what I had seen, and to discuss plans for the future. Accordingly, on the morning of the 27th July, I took leave of the Agha, and, accompanied by Shaqir, Kolaver, and a small Zogist escort, crossed over Mount Bastar and descended into the Shupal valley. There were rumours that Partisan stragglers still lurked in the woods, and my guards were jumpy, fearing an ambush. Our progress, however, was disturbed only by their fears, and, towards sunset, we toiled up to the head of the Qaf Bechit, following the precipitous path which leads from Shupal to Tirana. Two hours later, after a march which had

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lasted altogether twelve hours, we reached the little village of Priske Vogel, where I found Said and Davis. Maclean was down in the plain with Ihsan Toptani; Smiley had not yet come back from his reconnaissance.

They returned together two days later; and we discussed at length our various experiences. Maclean had found it impossible to arrange for the repair of the charging engine, but had instead procured two extra car batteries with which to work the wireless until a new engine could be dropped to us. Smiley for his part had so far failed to discover a beach where Abas Kupi might safely be embarked. He had spent two whole days walking along the coast, disguised as an Albanian, but had found no point where the approach of a boat might reasonably be expected to escape the notice of the Germans. He had, however, come across a friendly sergeant of the Albanian gendarmerie, who had driven him for two hours along the main Tirana–Scutari road. The sergeant had shown him the positions of the German command posts and depots, and had enabled him to mark them in exactly on his map. After these serious investigations Smiley had ridden back along the main road pulling down, or misdirecting, the German traffic signals. He had then decided to enjoy his own joke and had sat for hours at a cross-roads, splitting his sides with laughing as one enemy convoy after another took the wrong turning.

His strangest adventure, however, had occurred on the first evening that he reached the coast. He was walking along a lane with his guide when the two were overtaken by a German soldier on a bicycle. The German dismounted and, bidding them good-evening, started to stroll along beside them. Smiley was still in full battledress uniform, complete with decorations and badges of rank; but in the growing darkness the German only seems to have noticed his white Albanian hat. They chatted in broken Albanian and Italian; and Smiley picked up some useful information about the daily routine in the different German coastal defences. At last, after they had walked together for nearly half an hour, the German wished them good-night and, slipping Smiley and his guide a cigarette, rode off on his bicycle. In his diary Smiley briefly recounts

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the incident and adds : " Did not murder him as this is a recce. of coast and I do not want to attract attention ".

The village of Priske Vogel was attractively situated among vineyards on the mountainside above Tirana; but the room in which we were lodged was small and indescribably filthy. It had served for some months as the working and sleeping quarters of Captain " Corsair ", a secret Intelligence officer who had lived there alone with his Italian cook, observing enemy troop movements and the traffic on Tirana airfield. "Corsair" had been taken under Partisan "protection" after an ill-fated attempt to stop the civil war; and since his departure no attempt had been made to keep the room swept or clean. The floor was littered with empty bottles and tins; and clouds of fat, sticky flies fastened on every smear of sweat or grease. From dawn till dusk they were a ceaseless torment, drowning in our drinks, swarming over our plates, and making it impossible to sleep or even sit indoors. Most houses in Albania [352] offer sufficient, if primitive, comfort, with their carpets, mattresses, and cushions; but at Priske these had been replaced by two iron bedsteads and a few wooden chairs and benches, hard to the body and sordid to the eye. To these shortcomings was added lack of food; for the surrounding district was poor and offered neither meat, nor eggs, nor milk. Moreover, our courier service to Tirana had temporarily broken down; and we were reduced for several days to subsisting solely on maize bread and stale cheese.

In these disgustful circumstances I was presently stricken by a colic, which was soon contracted by my companions. An unequal diet aggravated our condition, but we dared not leave Priske until the new charging engine had been dropped to us. Bad weather delayed the aeroplane two days, but on the night of 29th July the sortie was carried out according to plan. The natural rapacity of the villagers was perhaps stimulated by the greed of their chieftain, Jemal Herri; thirteen packages and two hundred gold sovereigns were diverted to his use or their own; but the indispensable charging engine was safely recovered.

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We now abandoned Priske Vogel and, marching westward 000
for two hours, pitched our camp in a grove of olive trees. This stood on a broad ledge, some two thousand feet above the sea, near the northern horn of the crescent of mountains which lies about Tirana. The approaches to the grove were steep and guarded by friendly villages, while a cleft in the rocks above, tapering into a narrow "chimney", offered a strenuous but secure retreat across the range and down into Shupal. The local farmers proved generous of their produce; we soon recovered our health; and our comfort was presently assured by the restoration of our courier service. Tirana indeed was only three hours distant; and, from our camp, we commanded an uninterrupted view of the city and its airfield. There, on our first evening, we watched a German bomber crash in the take-off, to enrich the night with a glory of red and golden flame.

6

THE first clash between Zogists and Partisans was over; and 669*
the rival forces were back where they had started. Both were now feverishly preparing for the next round; but, while Abas Kupi could do little to increase the numbers and armament of his men, it was known that substantial reinforcements were marching to the support of the Partisans. The contending forces were thus less equally matched than might at first have appeared; nor was there any sign that the setback to his troops had moderated Enver Hoja's zeal for war. We remained convinced, therefore, that there was no hope of a peaceful settlement unless our Headquarters were prepared to resort to whatever measures might be necessary to force the Partisans to come to terms with the Zogists.

The Smith proposals for a truce and a conference had been seconded at the time by the decision to suspend all supplies of arms to all parties in Albania as long as the civil war continued. We had therefore expected that our Headquarters would meet Enver Hoja's rejection of these proposals by persevering in their decision to cut off his supplies of arms. In Bari, however,

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*669 opinions had always been divided as to the merits of the Smith Mission: Abas Kupi was suspected of "collaboration"; and it was argued that, although the Partisans were engaged in civil war, they none the less continued, if somewhat infrequently, to fight the Germans. This view was fortified by constant appeals for arms from the British liaison officers with the Partisans; each of whom was primarily concerned, and naturally so, with making a success of his particular mission. The policy of mediation was thus rapidly undermined; and, within a fortnight of Smith's arrival in Albania, the Partisans *669 were once more receiving regular supplies of arms. These 648 were dropped, among other units, to the Partisans in Mati, who were thus reinforced with British weapons at the height of their operations against the Zogists.

No word of this important decision had reached us at the time, and we had vigorously denied Abas Kupi's accusations that supplies were again being dropped to the Partisans. Now, more than a fortnight after the event, and in reply to our own pressing enquiries, our Headquarters admitted the facts. The Agha's charges were thus shown to have been well founded, and we reflected bitterly that our innocent denial of them might cause our own good faith to be called into question. Still more discouraging was the knowledge that Headquarters had gone back on their word without explanation and were abandoning the policy of mediation so dramatically initiated by Smith. It was not for us, as a Mission in the field, to complain of changes of policy; and we could only protest at the failure to keep us informed of a decision which touched us so closely. We saw, however, from their replies that, in departing from the terms of the Smith proposals, our Headquarters had not adopted a new policy, but were merely drifting before events which, in this context, meant the pressure of the Partisans. We decided, therefore, to make a last bid to save the situation by putting alternative but definite policies before them, in the hope that these might at least serve to clear their minds.

We urged them to stand by the Smith proposals, stressing that there was still time to stop the civil war if only they were prepared to bring the necessary pressure to bear on Enver

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Hoja. This would involve the cutting off of all supplies to the Partisans and of all propaganda in their favour, and at least the threat of an eventual British occupation. This, we were convinced, was the policy which would best promote our military, as well as our political, interests. At the same time, if such a policy was no longer practicable, then it would only remain for us to transfer our entire support to the Partisans. If we were to decide on such a course, then we must invite Abas Kupi to take refuge in Italy, since we could not, without loss of prestige, allow the destruction of a man with whom we had been so closely identified. We should also have to encourage such Nationalist leaders as Gani Kryeziu, or Muharrem Bairaktar, to join the L.N.C. while they might still hope to obtain favourable terms of admission. Such a policy was necessarily one of appeasement and would imply the relegation of Albania to the Soviet sphere of influence. It might, however, limit the extent of the civil war, and would enable us to cut our losses with the least dishonour. 669* 648

Rather to our surprise, Headquarters agreed that these alternative policies represented the only courses of action still open to us. They lacked authority, however, to decide which of the two should be adopted, and therefore signalled back that they were referring the whole question to London for settlement. We received this news with dismay, for prompt action was the essence of either policy. At any moment Enver Hoja might overpower the Zogists; and their defeat would rule out the adoption of the former course and deprive us of any credit we might have gained from the latter. As a Mission, however, we had exhausted the possibilities of intervention, and could now only wait for instructions and upon events.

Under the circumstances, we judged that our presence at Zogist headquarters could only be a source of mutual embarrassment, both to Abas Kupi and to ourselves. We could not explain away the fact that arms were again being dropped to the Partisans; nor could we any longer pretend that our Headquarters were working to end the civil war. There was little, therefore, that we could achieve by meeting, and, though we 000

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000 maintained a regular correspondence, we only once saw the Agha in the whole period between 26th July and 13th August. We continued, however, to work out plans for his journey to Italy but, in spite of several reconnaissances, were at last obliged to abandon hope of an evacuation by sea. Nor were we more successful in our attempts to arrange for him to be flown out; for the R.A.F. rejected the different landing-grounds we proposed, as well as a suggestion that a seaplane might pick us up on Lake Scutari.

622 Meanwhile we maintained close relations with Jemal Herri, who was the paramount influence in the region where we were encamped. Jemal had now embarked on the greatest conspiracy of a life devoted to intrigue. The seat of his influence was near to Tirana, and he had long nourished the design of attempting a *coup de main* on the capital in the moment when the Germans withdrew. Hitherto he had held his hand, for timing was of the essence of his plan; but now some substance was lent to the perennial rumours of a German withdrawal by the sudden evacuation of their wounded. Jemal therefore prepared to strike and, encouraged by the presence of a British Mission in his territory, strove to rally to his cause dissident Zogists and Ballists, disappointed "collaborationists", and renegade Partisans. These intrigues were conducted from Jemal's new and comfortable house at Zali Herrit, built, so it was said, with the gold which he had robbed from the British Missions.

We paid several visits to this house; for it had become a useful centre of information, and a meeting-place for men of all parties. Lunching there one day, I found Osman Taroku, a German spy whom we had unsuccessfully tried to liquidate some weeks before. Few secrets are kept for long in Albania; and I have no doubt that Osman knew of our intentions towards him. He showed no sign, however, of embarrassment and, after lunch, challenged me to a game of chess. I have never been much of a chess player, but found on this occasion that the contest derived a special savour from the knowledge that we were hunting each other in real life as well as on the board.

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At the beginning of the civil war our rear base at Murait had been overrun by the Germans. We knew that some of its personnel had found refuge with the Partisans, but had remained without news of Merret and Sergeants Jones and Jenkins. We had begun to fear that they must have perished, or been taken prisoner, when, at the beginning of August, Merret walked into our camp, followed next day by the two sergeants and a crowd of Italian camp-followers. Merret now told us that their base had been overrun by the Germans and Partisans in turn. Caught between these two fires they had withdrawn into the forests of Lura, where they had eked out a precarious and frugal existence until the retreat of the Partisans had enabled them to join the Zogist forces near Matsukull. Save for Sergeant Jones, who was suffering from a bad bout of malaria, they seemed none the worse for their experience; and Merret now set out to make a close reconnaissance of Tirana airfield. 000

We remained a fortnight encamped beneath the olive trees, waiting for instructions from Headquarters and revolving plans for our uncertain future. A few political leaders came out to see us from Tirana, all imploring British intervention to end the civil war. We heard them patiently, but turned guarded answers, for we were now as ignorant of British intentions as they. Among other visitors came Kiamil, the headman of Derye, who had sheltered Hare and Seymour through the winter. Kiamil had sought to remain neutral during the civil war, but the Partisans could not forgive his close association with the British and had burnt down his house and carried off his cattle — in all some two hundred sheep and eight cows. Robbed of all his substance, he was on his way to Tirana to seek the hospitality of a merchant whom he had once befriended. We could only hope that this earlier act of kindness would be better rewarded than had been his service to the Allied cause. 667* 648 [622]

Each day brought its visits, and much time was spent in the questioning of couriers and spies. Meanwhile kind sympathisers brought us French and Italian books from Tirana to 000

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amuse our leisure; and an old Turkish lady, an aunt of Said Kryeziu, sent us sweetmeats worthy of Haji Bekir, which she had made for us herself.

In these long hours of waiting Said won our respect by his coolness and sincerity, and our friendship by his sense of humour and understanding. His Western education brought us closer to him than to most of his compatriots; and the objective quality of his mind enabled him to discuss dispassionately the problems of his country. By conviction a Social Democrat, his sympathies had at first inclined towards the Partisans and he had publicly rebuked Abas Kupi for his reluctance to attack the Germans. But he could not condone Enver Hoja's unprovoked attack against the Zogists, and had been deeply shocked by the deliberate destruction of the homes of the Mati *Beys*. He saw now that the Partisans were bent on establishing a regime no less dictatorial than that of the Fascists, and began to fear that the last state of his country might be worse than the first. For us, as British officers, the civil war presented practical problems to be primarily considered in terms of the war with Germany and the protection of British interests. For Said, as an Albanian patriot, it raised moral issues of transcending importance, and brought him face to face with the great ideological division of Europe which the war against Fascism had masked but not healed. At times his disgust with both sides made him long to return to Jakova to escape from politics and serve as a soldier in his brother's forces. He was convinced, however, that only the British could safeguard his country's independence and so agreed, though reluctantly, to stay with us.

7

In the early hours of the 11th August I felt a hand on my shoulder and woke up to hear Maclean saying:

"Tell me what you make of this: it sounds like trouble for someone."

I propped myself up on my elbow and listened in silence, while the sound of firing broke in on the stillness of the night.

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It came from the mountainside below; and presently we saw a spray of tracer bullets flash across a ravine barely an hour's climb away. The rattle of machine-guns and the occasional burst of a mortar bomb proclaimed that this was no ordinary tribal feud; and we concluded that either Germans or Partisans must be attacking Jemal Herri's forces. As we sat straining into the darkness the noise of battle seemed to draw nearer; our capture might well be among the aims of the invaders; and Maclean judged it more prudent to withdraw. We roused our guards and mule-men therefore; and in a few minutes the wireless equipment was loaded up and our mounts were saddled. Most of our pack-animals, however, had been sent down to the plain to graze, and we were thus compelled to leave behind the bulk of our stores and the kitchen utensils we had slowly accumulated.

We rode away towards the west, leaving the battle behind us, and, crossing the range at daybreak, came out on the seaward-looking slopes of the mountains that rise from the plain of Kruya. Half an hour later we halted in a clump of trees, and, hoping that Jemal's assailants might have retired, sent back scouts to find out how the fighting had gone. They joined us again within the hour and reported that Jemal Herri's forces had been dispersed by Partisans who were now in possession of our camp. They seemed to be in some strength; and our scouts had observed one of their patrols following on our tracks. Maclean therefore gave the order to resume the march, and the men dejectedly shouldered their rifles and untethered the mules. They were sure that the Partisans were after us and were robbed of their spirit by the prospect of another lean time of hiding. One of my guards indeed now came up to ask for his wages, saying that he wanted to go home; the others watched narrowly to see how we would meet this first defection; and I answered that he was free to go if he chose but that we did not pay deserters. The man stood still for a moment, torn between greed and fear, and then, seeing that he got no support from his comrades, slunk away muttering that he would stay with us till the next pay day. Disaffected mercenaries, however, make dangerous bodyguards; and,

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000 now that honour was satisfied by his submission, we paid the man his wage and dismissed him.

We now continued northwards, traversing the rugged mountainside and descending gradually towards the plain. The day was broiling hot; and we moved slowly with frequent rests, for Smiley was weak from a heavy fever. Suddenly towards noon Said pointed out several small figures just visible against the sky-line on the crest of the range above. We guessed that they were Partisan scouts and, leaving the path, scrambled down out of sight to the shelter of a steep-sided ravine. We followed its course down towards the plain and soon came out into a stretch of woodland folded between the main range and its breastwork of foothills. A dense undergrowth of brambles made the wood almost impenetrable, but at length we discovered a path and presently halted in a small clearing by the side of a sluggish stream.

As a camping-site our choice left much to be desired; the ground was swampy, and men and beasts soon turned it into a morass of black mud. The stagnant waters, moreover, were evil smelling; and the moisture which they diffused made the heat of day oppressive and shrouded the night in a chilling ground mist. Clouds of mosquitoes tormented our sleep; and Maclean and I both found small scorpions in our clothes. But, if the clearing made an uncomfortable camp, we judged it none the less a safe "hide-out", alike from the Partisans on the mountains above and from the Germans in the plains below. Accordingly we remained there four days, waiting for the situation to crystallise.

8

*669 AFTER his initial victory in Mati, Abas Kupi had refrained at our instance from pursuing the Partisans beyond his boundaries. His forbearance, however, went unrewarded by the British, and was to deprive him both of the military initiative and of the goodwill of the "collaborationist" leaders. The latter, indeed, relying on Zogist support, had prepared ambitious plans to disrupt the northward march of the Partisans

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and to throw them back across the River Shkumbi. Their hopes of victory were now shattered by what they considered as Abas Kupi's defection; and their natural resentment was inflamed by the scorn of their German masters. The Germans indeed were quick to realise that their satellites had been outmanœuvred by Abas Kupi, who had exploited their help without embracing their cause. They therefore bluntly told Fikri Dine that he would not receive a single napoleon or cartridge from them until Abas Kupi had entered Tirana and formally adhered to an anti-Communist front. Faced with this ultimatum, which threatened their government's existence, the "collaborationists" sought to compel Abas Kupi to comply with its terms. His supplies of bread were interrupted; an offer of funds made by the Tirana Chamber of Commerce was withdrawn; and he was informed that he might no longer count on the support of the tribesmen of Mirdita. The Agha, however, refused to be intimidated by these reprisals; he had made use of the "collaborationists" for his own ends, but he was not prepared to be used by them. He therefore declined a temporary advantage which must have led to a rupture of relations with the British, in whom he discerned the last remaining hope of his cause. The British, however, proved unresponsive; and when Enver Hoja attacked the Zogists stood alone.

The Partisans launched their second offensive against Mati on the morning of 10th August. Klos fell without fighting; and by evening they were in occupation of Burrel. The tribesmen, however, rallied during the night and, under the command of Billal Kola, counter-attacked at dawn and recaptured Burrel. After this unexpected Zogist success both sides rested on their arms, and for two days the men of Mati expected succours from Abas Kupi or from Mirdita. They expected them in vain; and the interruption of their food supplies, coupled with a display of British 'planes dropping arms to their enemies, admonished them that they were fighting in a lost cause. The Agha alone might still have restored their morale, but he remained near Kruya, unaccountably inactive. The tribesmen therefore fell back when the

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*669 Partisans returned to the attack, and dispersed without fighting to their homes. The most loyal, or most compromised, of their chiefs made their way across the Qaf Stamm pass to the Zogist headquarters; the remainder hastened to make their submission to the victors.

Meanwhile a smaller force of Partisans had been sent against Shupal and, by the evening of the 10th August, had overrun the full extent of that valley. The same night their commander despatched a band of some three hundred men across the Qaf Bechit with orders to capture our Mission. They crossed the pass at midnight and, an hour or so later, stumbled on one of Jemal Herri's patrols which gave the alarm. Jemal, however, was wholly unprepared and in the confusion of the night could only muster his personal bodyguard, less than fifty strong. His men were thus many times outnumbered by their assailants, but they were well equipped; and their two mortars and machine-guns were manned by professional, foreign soldiers. They knew the ground, moreover, and were still stubbornly disputing the approaches to our camp when dawn revealed that we had made good our escape. Their first objective thus accomplished, they began to withdraw towards the valley to defend Zali Herrit. The Partisans, however, had anticipated such a move; a part of their forces delayed the return of Jemal's men, while another stormed the village, burnt his house, and carried off his mistress. Jemal was now left with no more than a dozen stalwarts, but such was his rage that he kept up the fight until near midday. Then, seeing that all was lost, he bade his bodyguard disperse and retired through Tirana to a farm-house in the plain beyond.

The Partisans thus finally broke Abas Kupi's hold on Mati and Shupal, and further sapped his military strength by the destruction and dispersal of Jemal Herri's forces. The network of the Zogist organisation might still extend throughout Albania, but the effective basis of the Agha's power was now reduced to the province of Kruya, his personal stronghold. There he still maintained an army of some two thousand men, precariously confined between the Partisans, who already held

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the reverse slopes of the Kruya mountains, and the Germans, who guarded the city and the main road. He was thus shorn of more than half of his fighting strength; and the prestige of his movement was undermined, on the one hand by his failure to obtain British support, and on the other by his refusal to come to terms with the Germans. He still remained the most powerful of the Nationalist leaders, and still had funds enough to keep his forces on a war footing for some weeks. All knew, however, that, unless he could win outside support, he was doomed; and now, for the first time, his authority was challenged by discontented elements within the Zogist movement. These blamed his hesitations as the cause of their disasters and looked to Jemal Herri for a lead. 669*

At the height of this crisis in his affairs[1] Abas Kupi came to our "hide-out" in the swamp to tell us how matters stood and to seek our help. He sat down on Smiley's sleeping-bag and, using Said as interpreter, told us of his defeat in quiet tones but with brutal frankness. He spoke with biting sarcasm of the defection of the men of Mati, and scornfully contrasted Jemal Herri's feverish intrigues with his military unpreparedness. For the first time, too, he commended the skill and persistence of his opponents and showed that he was under no illusion as to their strength. He then appealed for British help, recalling his past services to the Allied cause and representing that his defeat must also be ours. For a moment we were at a loss for a reply; and, seeing us hesitate, he exclaimed: [648]

"If you can't help me to reach an understanding with the Communists, then only the Fascists can help me to defend myself against them."

We urged the folly of committing himself to a defeated cause, especially when British policy was still undecided. His situation might be critical; it was not yet hopeless; and the continued presence of our Mission showed that we had not yet abandoned him. We were not in a position to give him official advice, for we were still in the dark as to our government's instructions. Our personal opinion, however, was that he should keep his hands clean of all stain of "collaboration"

1 [i.e. in mid-August, 1944. Cf. Cat. nb, pp. 242-243. - Analyst]

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and try somehow to hold his forces together. Then he would be ready to exploit to the full the first favourable turn of the wheel of fortune.

Abas Kupi heard us in silence, but his subsequent actions suggested that he had approved our advice. His first care was to repair his personal prestige and to establish himself solidly in the regions that remained to him. Next day, therefore, he fell upon the Partisans who had remained in occupation of Jemal Herri's district and drove them back in disorder over the Qaf Bechit. Having thus in part retrieved his reputation as a military commander, he expected Jemal's arrival, determined to reassert his own authority within the Zogist movement.

After his defeat by the Partisans, Jemal Herri had retired into the plain to lick his wounds and plan his next move. He needed time to repair his wasted strength, but once Abas Kupi had delivered his patrimony of Zali Herrit, he could no longer afford to remain in hiding. He therefore returned to the Zogist headquarters, accompanied by only two bodyguards and strangely overwrought, so we afterwards were told, for a man whose imperturbability had been a byword. It would seem, indeed, that he saw his last hope of power, and perhaps of safety, in a direct challenge to Abas Kupi's leadership; and he at once launched out into a bitter harangue against him before a group of chiefs and bodyguards assembled on the grass outside. He was still speaking when Abas Kupi emerged from the house to meet him; Jemal stopped in mid-sentence; and the two men concealed their mutual hatred in a formal embrace. Abas Kupi then led the way indoors; and they sat down cross-legged in a corner of the guest-room. The Zogist staff presently withdrew; and, as they left, Abas shouted to a henchman to bring coffee. Ten minutes later the henchman returned to say that their stock had run out; Abas hardly looked up, and called angrily:

"Get out. We shan't need coffee now."

There was no witness to their conversation, but the Zogists say that Abas Kupi reproached Jemal bitterly for his disloyalty and for his intrigues with the Ballists and the Germans. Harsh things were said on either side, and the Agha used the word

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GENERAL PRENK PREVISI,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ALBANIAN ARMY

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IHSAN BEY TOPTANI

[244a.]

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OUR HOSTESS AT SKURRAL

A MIRDITE GLANSMAN

[-2446-]

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*669 "traitor". Jemal saw red and reached for his gun; but the Agha was quicker on the draw. Only one shot was heard; and when the bodyguards rushed in they found Jemal sprawling on his back with a bullet through his brain. His hands were still twitching; and one of the guards discharged a submachine-gun into his heart.[1] The Agha had shown his teeth, and with one shot all opposition was silenced. "For the ways are many but death is one. . . ."

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000 We now abandoned our "hide-out" in the swamp and pitched a camp in an olive grove near Mukai, the scene of the Agha's ill-starred attempt to reconcile the Ballists and the L.N.C. Our mission had meanwhile been strengthened by the arrival of four Russian soldiers, who had served for some months in Jemal Herri's bodyguard. Pavle and Mishka I (so called by us to distinguish him from a comrade of the same name) were both Great Russians, and had been agricultural workers on a collective farm. Pavle was a stolid, rather bearish fellow, who turned out to be quite a good cook; Mishka was a gay, handsome peasant, with curly, golden hair and an impudent laugh. The other two were Ukrainians; Ivan, a robust, red-cheeked youth, who had worked in the accountant's office of a collective farm, and Mishka II, a tractor mechanic with a lean and hungry look. All four had been captured by the Germans in 1942, and had been drafted from their prison camp into the Todt Labour Organisation. For a time they had been employed on repairing bomb damage in the Ruhr and in Belgrade, but in the autumn of 1943 they had been sent to Albania to work on the roads. There they had decided to escape to the guerillas, and, after wandering for two days in the mountains, had at last found refuge with Jemal Herri.

All four were of good physique, and the energy which they

[1] On Jemal's body were found forty-seven gold sovereigns; a mere fraction of the total which he had robbed from our Mission. Abas Kupi offered to restore this sum to us, but we declined a payment which might have implicated us in Jemal's death.

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000 expended was only matched by the quantities of food which they consumed. They were scrupulously clean, shaved daily, and, in marked contrast to ourselves and to our N.C.O.s, cut each other's hair once a week. Their discipline was impressive, if somewhat artificial, and for a long time they would never think of addressing any of the officers of the Mission without first standing to attention. Later they copied the more democratic manners of the British soldiers, finding our freer ways agreeable, if at first rather puzzling. We employed them as personal bodyguards and to supervise the mule-men, and treated them exactly as we did our British Other Ranks.

To share the intimacies of guerilla life with four Russian peasants afforded us a most welcome opportunity of studying the outlook of the Common Man in the Soviet Union. They were simple folk, and, like peasants in every country, at first rather suspicious. Circumstances, however, made them completely dependent upon us; and, seeing that we treated them as if they were our own men, they soon came to look on us as if we had been their own officers. With their confidence we soon won their affection; and they would tell us naturally of their work and life at home, and even ask our advice on their most intimate problems. In the space of two months I came to know them well, and was especially impressed by their distinct, if crude, conception of the historical development and social purpose of the collective-farm system under which they worked. As land-workers they were conscious of filling a place in Soviet society and seemed imbued with a strong loyalty to their particular farms and to the agricultural industry as a whole. We found in them, too, a peculiar curiosity about machinery, wholly free from the "luddite" inhibitions which still linger in capitalist countries. They would often ask us to describe some British machine; and their interest in the subject seemed to be combined of the craftsman's love of his tools and of a more general, almost religious, belief in the limitless possibilities of technical progress. Their education indeed was chiefly technical, and, though Ivan had read some of the Russian classics, their standard of general knowledge, especially of events outside of their own country, was remark-

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ably low. All four were atheists; but Ivan's fund of comic stories at the expense of his village priest suggested that this individual was still a well-known local figure with considerable influence, at least over the older people.

The Young Communist League had instilled into them the rudiments of Marxist teaching, but their interest in politics was local rather than national. They regarded it as their right to elect the governing body of their collective farm, or to discuss the interpretation of some new law which affected their work; but it had never occurred to them, as ordinary land-workers, to criticise the conduct or the policies of their country's leaders. An immeasurable distance seemed to separate them from the world of affairs in Moscow; the distance, moral as well as physical, which separates the trooper from the General Staff. One evening we spoke of the political trials of the "deviationists"; and Ivan said to us in explanation:

"We were told that these men were conspiring with the Germans against Stalin. We never knew whether it was true, but things like that happen to the big commissars away in Moscow."

It was the language of the immemorial East; and I reflected that an Ottoman cultivator might well have used such words in describing the intrigues of the seraglio.

Another fugitive from the wreck of Jemal Herri's forces was Lieutenant Karl von Warnecke, a young German from a distinguished Hanoverian family. Von Warnecke had served in the brigade of paratroops which had been dropped to hold Tirana for the Germans at the time of the Italian armistice. His company had at once been sent into action against Abas Kupi; the Captain had been killed on the first day of the battle of Kruya; and the Lieutenant who had taken over command had lost his nerve. In the heat of the moment Von Warnecke had called him a coward, and, according to his own account, had only saved the situation by leading a charge in deliberate disobedience of orders. The credit for the action, however, had gone to the Lieutenant, who had been promoted Captain and had subjected Von Warnecke to every

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000 petty humiliation which he could devise. The young man's life in the regiment had been made unendurable, until one evening in the mess he had lost his temper and slapped the new Captain's face. He had been placed under open arrest for striking a superior officer, and had been warned by a friend that reduction to the ranks would be his punishment. He had therefore deserted and found employment in Jemal Herri's bodyguard as a machine-gun instructor. He came to us now, haggard and almost toothless, though still only twenty years old; a desperate fellow with his hand against every man's. He made no pretence of hating the Nazi regime but told us frankly that he only sought to work for us because he had cut himself off from his own kind.

In such men professional pride sometimes supplies the place of honour, so that they make good agents. We decided, therefore, to put him to the test, and sent him to Tirana to spy on his compatriots. We never heard what happened to him there; but some days later he arrived at the headquarters of a Partisan unit and asked to be sent to the nearest British liaison officer. He claimed to bring important information, but the Partisans were taking no chances and cut his throat.

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*669 727 We still[1] remained without instructions; but the march of events did not wait on the deliberations of our staff officers and diplomats. The days of German rule in the Balkans were numbered. The Red army was advancing into Roumania; Bucharest lay in the grip of a political crisis; and the leaders of Bulgaria prepared to abandon a lost cause. The Germans had already begun to withdraw their troops from Greece and no longer made any secret that they would soon be leaving Albania. The prospect of their withdrawal conjured up the spectre of a Communist victory; and the Nationalist leaders in Tirana were made desperate by their fears for the future. The bankruptcy of the policy of "collaboration" was plain to all; and we judged that, in their terror of Communism, the Nation-

[1] [i.e. in mid-August 1944 -- Analyst]

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alists would resort to any course of action which offered even the hope of British support.

We therefore decided that the time was ripe for a last attempt to raise a Nationalist revolt against the Germans. Abas Kupi seemed to be the natural leader for such a revolt, by virtue of his military power, his personal prestige, and his long connection with the British. The civil war, however, had made great inroads on his strength; and we knew that he could not fight alone. At the same time we surmised that the Ballist leaders, the Captain of Mirdita, and even the members of the Government might now be persuaded to seek their safety and the forgiveness of the Allies by rallying to the Agha's cause.

Accordingly, on the afternoon of 16th August, Maclean and I set out from Mukai and met Abas Kupi in the foothills of the range above the plain of Kruya. We sat with him for two hours, urging that the Germans were weak and that, if he attacked them now, he might still influence our Headquarters to decide their policy in his favour. We reminded him too that, though we could make no promise of political support, we were always ready to supply him with arms as soon as he should take the field. Our arguments were strengthened by his own despair, and, if he heard us without enthusiasm, it was also without objection.

We left him at sunset and pushed on across the plain to Ihsan Toptani's farm. There we had planned a meeting with Nureddin Vlora, through whose intermediary we hoped to convey our views to the leaders of the Government and of the Balli Kombetar. Nureddin was well qualified for such a task by his known pro-British sympathies, and his personal and political influence might make him a powerful advocate of our thesis. Ihsan told us, however, that the Germans had begun a reign of terror in the capital and had arrested a number of Albanians on the mere suspicion of favouring the Allies. At such a moment Nureddin did not wish to attract attention by leaving Tirana, and had therefore suggested that we postpone our meeting until the present "terror" had subsided. Such prudence was certainly justifiable, but it seemed to us that the German policy of repression must excite the indignation of the

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000 Albanians by its methods and their contempt by its motives. We were thus more than ever convinced that the time was ripe for our intervention, and therefore decided that, if Nureddin could not leave Tirana, one of us must go there to see him. Ihsan agreed to make the necessary arrangements for the visit; and Maclean being too tall and fair ever to pass as an Albanian, regretfully conceded my claim to undertake the mission.

In the morning, therefore, I laid aside my uniform, and with it such protection as my military status might have afforded, and dressed in a grey suit of Ihsan. I am dark enough to pass as an Albanian, and, apart from the danger that I might be recognised and denounced to the Germans, the chief risks which I ran arose from my lack of identity papers and from my slender knowledge of the Albanian tongue. Ihsan, however, told me that it was some weeks since he had been challenged for his identity card, so that we decided to leave this problem to chance. As to the difficulties of language, it was agreed that I should pose as a German if stopped by the gendarmes and as an Albanian if stopped by the Germans. In the former pose the pride of the Herrenvolk, and in the latter the vagueness of the Orient, might serve to explain the absence of my papers. Each of us, moreover, "packed" a gun and a bag of gold, and we might hope to buy or shoot our way out of any embarrassing encounter.

Thus equipped, we set out towards ten o'clock in a closed carriage, driven by an old and trusted coachman of the Toptanis. With the shortage of petrol, horse-drawn vehicles had again become common in Tirana; and Ihsan had decided that a carriage, although slower, would be less likely to attract attention than a car. We rumbled over dusty country lanes, stopping once for Ihsan to greet some neighbours, and to explain that I was a sick relation whom he was taking to the doctor. After an hour or so we joined the main road and drove along the edge of the airfield, observing its scrap heaps of twisted fuselage and the charred skeletons of its hangars, blitzed by the R.A.F. Beyond it stood the "check-post" which marked the entrance to Tirana. The barrier was raised, and a group of Albanian gendarmes lounged and smoked in

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the sun some ten yards back from the road. Behind them through the window of a little wooden hut, I could see two German military policemen writing at a desk. Our coachman shouted some greeting to the gendarmes, and one of them beckoned us on with a lordly gesture. The two Germans looked up for a moment and then went back to their work. The coachman cracked his whip and we rolled into the capital.

Tirana was to us what Damascus had once been to Lawrence; the goal towards which we strained. We had scanned it through our glasses, imagined it in our dreams, and made its capture the myth of our struggle. Now at last I had entered it, though in disguise and not in triumph. The streets down which we drove from the "check-post" were dirty, and presented the usual Balkan contrast of cheap, modern structures, interspersed with hovels. Towards the centre of the city, however, the hovels ceased, and the buildings assumed a more solid, as well as a more agreeable, appearance. Presently we emerged into a broad and pleasing square which was the heart of the city. At one end of it stood a painted mosque with broad dome and slender minaret; at the other an ornamental clock-tower rose above a small public garden, flanked by gay cafés and attractive shops. Beyond the city's heart was its head—a wide crescent of well-proportioned buildings of Italian design. These were the government offices; and, as we passed them, Ihsan pointed out the windows of the Council Chamber, whence Fikri Dine and his colleagues still issued their vain decrees. A few moments later the coachman pulled up in a narrow street at the entrance to Ihsan's Tirana home. Immediately opposite stood a German sentry, on duty outside the Hôtel Metropole, where the *Gestapo* had made their headquarters.

We went indoors and were presently joined first by a friend of Ihsan, who had known that I was coming, and then by an agent of Abas Kupi who had recognised me as we drove into the town. They told us of the latest arrests made by the *Gestapo*, and also brought us a summary of an important speech by the Bulgarian Premier, foreshadowing his government's rupture with Germany. We sat talking for perhaps

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half an hour, and then towards midday Ihsan summoned the carriage to take us to our meeting with Nureddin Vlora. We drove out past the ultra-modern Hôtel Daïti, the centre of "collaborationist" intrigue, and beyond King Zog's palace, a tall, yellow building set in an overgrown park, entered the smart, residential quarter of the town. For some minutes our coachman followed a broad, shady avenue and then, turning into a side road, pulled up outside a modern villa built in a small garden. I got down from the carriage and saw two German soldiers standing on the other side of the road. For a fraction of a second I feared that we had been betrayed, but Ihsan quickly explained that they were only guarding the German Minister's residence. We were to lunch in the villa opposite.

This villa belonged to a friend of Nureddin and might well have been in Paris from the taste and style of its decoration. Our charming, French-speaking hostess let us in herself, and I stayed talking with her while Ihsan and her husband went to fetch Nureddin. Suddenly there was a knock at the door, and I was dismissed to the dining-room while she went out to answer it. She was back in a few moments and told me with a smile that the visitor had been a young attaché from the German Legation opposite, who had come to ask permission to retrieve his dog from the garden. Our host and Ihsan presently returned with Nureddin; and we sat down to an excellent lunch with delicious Turkish dishes, good Italian wine, and genuine Benedictine. Our hostess served us herself, having given her maid the day off for greater safety.

727 Nureddin was resplendent in white ducks and a white silk bush-shirt, and seemed as fit and debonair as at our first meeting. He began by discussing the demoralisation of the Germans and the reign of terror which they had recently inaugurated. Their strength was ebbing away, their friends were already deserting, and in the rising tide of revolt they sought to preserve their authority by making themselves feared. Their first important victim had been the Ballist leader, Skender Mucho. They had shot him two days before without trial, but on the suspicion — so the *Gestapo* headquarters had

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let it be known — that he had been in touch with the British. Since then they had arrested some forty prominent Ballists believed to entertain pro-Allied sympathies, and had deported them to the notorious concentration camp at Zemun, in Yugoslavia. Nor were their relations with the Albanian Government of a more cordial nature: they had altogether lost confidence in Fikri Dine, and dared not supply him with the arms and funds which they had promised, lest he should turn against them. They knew themselves defeated; they were haunted by the fear of revolt, and started even at their own shadows. Bitter intrigues flourished among them; and the S.S. General Fistun, who had assumed supreme command in Albania after the attempt on Hitler's life, had arrested a number of his own officers on grounds of political unreliability.

Nureddin had described the despair of the Germans with satisfaction: he now discussed the prospects of the Albanians with dismay. The Partisans already hung on the fringes of Tirana, and there was scarcely a night when they did not raid into its suburbs. Unless preventive measures were taken they would break into the city when the Germans left, and, as he delicately put it:

"I dread to think what may happen, for life in the mountains has made some of these boys rather rough."

He went on to speak of his fears of violent revolution and of the destruction of the "cultured classes". The situation was desperate, and, unless the British were prepared to restrain the Partisans, the Albanian Nationalists were politically and personally doomed. He paused a moment and added:

"If there is anything we can still do to gain your help, tell me; and you may be sure that I will do everything in my power to see that the Nationalist leaders follow your advice."

I had been waiting for such an opening, and answered:

"It is already the eleventh hour and I can promise nothing. But if all of you will now turn on the Germans and attack them with all your forces, perhaps something can still be saved."

The news from Roumania and Bulgaria illustrated my argument and Nureddin only asked:

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000 "To whom should we rally?"

"You will find us with Abas Kupi," I answered, and he signified that he had understood.

We were still talking when a middle-aged man of heavy build with close-cropped grey hair and vinous countenance came into the room. He greeted me in fluent, rather clipped English; and indeed, but for the suspicion of a foreign accent, he might well have been a retired colonel from a British cavalry regiment. This was Nureddin's brother, Jemaleddin Vlora Pasha, the last Albanian to bear the title. Jemaleddin had been a dignitary at the court of Sultan Reshad and had married a daughter of the Khedive of Egypt. After the downfall of the Ottoman Empire he had lived for some years in Cairo, where he had known Lord Lloyd and other leading Englishmen connected with the Middle East. Unlike his brother, he played little part in politics, but he remembered the strong anti-Communist prejudices of his English friends and simply could not believe that we would ever abandon his country to the Partisans. Revolution was spreading over the Balkans like an irresistible flood; kings, statesmen, and generals were engulfed in a common ruin; and, while the Partisans hammered at the gates of Tirana, the last Pasha of Albania turned to me and said:

"You really must do something, my dear fellow, or we shall have a lot of trouble with these rotters up in the mountains."

"Whom the Gods would destroy . . ."

727 From these conversations we walked back through Tirana towards Ihsan's flat. The sun shone, and the crowd in the streets reproduced all the contrasts of Albanian life. Ragged peasants in white caps and baggy breeches rubbed shoulders with smart, Italianised young officials. There were old-fashioned Balkan merchants, some still wearing the red fez of Turkish times; down-at-heel soldiers of the regular army; and Ballist irregulars, armed to the teeth and swathed in bandoliers. Every now and then we also passed small groups of German officers and soldiers, hurrying to their offices with

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bulging brief-cases, or strolling towards the shops and cafés. 727
Boyish in their tropical kit, pestered by pedlars and jostled by the oriental throng, they reminded me irresistibly of British troops in the Middle East. I had served myself in Cairo and Jerusalem; and it was a new experience, and perhaps not uninstructive, to see an army of occupation from the point of view of the native.

Ihsan had arranged for me to meet two other political leaders and I spent the next hour or so in his house, answering their questions and urging them to take up arms against the Germans. Having thus diffused my arguments into the political world of Tirana, I went out again to reconnoitre the *Wehrmacht*, *Luftwaffe*, and *Gestapo* headquarters. My purpose was to check up on rumours that the Germans had begun to evacuate them, and also to find out how they were defended in case we should ever have a chance to attempt an insurrection. We were thus engaged when suddenly an open carriage pulled up beside us, and one of Abas Kupi's officers jumped out and shook me warmly by the hand. His mission seemed analagous to my own, and I trusted his discretion as well as his goodwill. It was the second time, however, that I had been recognised that day, and we were thus ominously reminded how small was the Albanian capital.

The day's work was done, and there was nothing to be 000
gained by further delay. We stopped to buy a filigree cigarette case as a souvenir of my visit, and then returned to Ihsan's house to pick up the carriage. We drove back along the same dirty streets by which we had entered the city and reached the "check-post" about half an hour before sunset. A convoy of some thirty trucks was waiting for the night to leave for Scutari; and a company or so of German soldiers sat smoking by the roadside. The gendarmes were checking the papers of two young Albanians driving a small car; and it seemed for a moment that they would ask for ours. One of them, however, recognised Ihsan's coachman and waved us on with a friendly smile.

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WAR ON TWO FRONTS

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> The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderberg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the Pope, the King of Naples and the Venetian Republic would join in the defence of a free and Christian people who guarded the sea coast of the Adriatic and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy.
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> GIBBON: *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (Chapter LXVII)

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THE affairs of the Albanian Nationalists drew swiftly on towards their crisis. On the 18th August Fikri Dine and General Prenk Previsi, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, drove out from Tirana and were conducted to Abas Kupi's headquarters. It was only a few days since Fikri had cut off the funds and food supplies of the Zogists in a last attempt to compel Abas Kupi's submission to his government. Now he and the General were come almost as suppliants to confess their failure to obtain arms or money from the Germans and their conviction that there was nothing more to be hoped for from a policy of "collaboration". They had played the German card against the Partisans and lost. Now they turned naturally to Abas Kupi to sound him as to his hopes of British support and to learn whether they might still save their skins by rallying to his cause.

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This was the moment for which Abas Kupi had been waiting through all the years of his struggle in the mountains. In his eyes the creation of a resistance movement and the search for an agreement with the Allied Mission had been but

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preparations for the day when he could call all Albanians to a general revolt against an enemy too weak ever to regain the initiative. Then, but only then, the military advantage would lie with the insurgents, and the ravages of war would be redeemed by the fruits of victory: power for the leaders and loot for the rank and file. Once before, at the time of the collapse of Italy, he had believed that the time had come and had thrown all his forces into a general revolt. Then, if events had favoured the guerillas, he might have been the arbiter of Albania's destinies, for he had been strong in his own following and had held the balance of power between the Ballists and the Partisans. In those days he had meant to give the "collaborationists" short shrift; but since then the civil war had taken a heavy toll of his strength, and he was now in no position to reject reinforcements from whatever quarter they might come. Fikri and his friends still represented a force to be reckoned with, and, in the eyes of many, their "collaboration" had been all but justified by the fear of Communism which had inspired it. Besides, once they had joined him in the mountains, they would be in his power, and he would be the master. With their support he would make good the losses of the civil war and might hope to do great execution among the retreating Germans. Thereafter the British could no longer refuse him their help, and he would thus be strong enough to compel Enver Hoja to come to terms.

Abas Kupi therefore proposed to his two visitors that the leaders of the Government and of the Balli Kombetar should leave Tirana with all their forces and join him in the mountains to attack the Germans. If they complied he would give them his protection and allocate to them a share of such supplies as he might receive from the British. If they refused he would still take the field alone, but would then regard them as his enemies. All afternoon the three debated this proposal and the Prime Minister and the Commander-in-Chief saw little alternative but to accept. Bitter experience, however, had taught them to distrust the friendship of Great Powers, and, before committing themselves to the precarious refuge of the mountains, they wanted to be sure that Abas Kupi's hopes of

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British support were more likely of fulfilment than those which they had once founded upon the Germans. They asked, therefore, for assurances that the British command would support their operations with military supplies, and would view their defection to the Allied cause with favour. If the Agha could obtain such assurances from the British Mission they would accept his proposal, and he might count on them as on his own men.

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As soon as Fikri and the General were gone, Abas Kupi despatched a messenger to summon us to an urgent meeting. Accordingly we set out in Ihsan's carriage on the following evening, and, driving through the night along dusty cart tracks, reached the lonely farm-house where the Agha slept. The hour was too late for discussions, but next morning we went out together to a cool and shaded apple orchard where the master of the house had spread bright-coloured rugs for our conference. There Abas Kupi told us of his meeting with the "collaborationist" leaders and declared himself ready, despite the civil war, to attack the Germans as soon as we should give the assurances which Fikri had required. His proposal corresponded closely to our own most sanguine expectations, but we heard him with affected reserve; for we could not tell what would be the reactions of the staff officers in Bari. We saw, however, that the Agha himself was excited by the prospect of action, and to allay his impatience at once drew up a report for our Headquarters which was enciphered and transmitted in his presence. In this we admitted that British encouragement for the projected concentration of Nationalists under Abas Kupi's command might feed fuel to the flames of civil war. At the same time we were sure that it would contribute to the discomfiture of the Germans, who might otherwise make good their retreat through North Albania with little loss. We also pointed out that the entry of the Nationalists into the war against Germany would provide us with a last opportunity for intervening to stop the civil war and to prevent the incorporation of Albania in the Soviet system.

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When our business was done and we had eaten we left the orchard and went our several ways: Abas Kupi to Kurbenesh to negotiate alliances with its chiefs; Ihsan to Tirana to keep

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in touch with the political leaders; and Maclean to Vorre to reconnoitre the German ammunition dumps. I prepared meanwhile to return with Davis to Mukai, but our departure was delayed by the discovery that our mules had been stolen. Towards evening, however, I managed to borrow substitutes, and, loading the wireless set and batteries on one of these, joined Smiley and Said in the small hours of 21st August. Maclean returned next day; but our hopes of rest were intercepted by the intelligence of a Partisan advance, and we moved, therefore, into the neighbourhood of Kruya. It was quite a short march but agonizing for Said, who was stricken by a sharp attack of malaria. The poor fellow, indeed, was so ill that he had to be supported in the saddle; and that evening, alarmed by his condition, we sent into Kruya for a doctor.

The city of Skanderbeg could boast of only two physicians, and the first of these declined our courier's invitation for fear of the Germans. The second, however, accepted without hesitation, saying that at his age he was afraid of no one. He was, indeed, a hundred and eight years old, but sat his horse like a young man and made light of a two hours' ride through the mountains. His drooping, tobacco-stained moustache suggested that abstinence was not the secret of his longevity; and at lunch, when he ate meat and drank wine with the rest of us, he told us that he had been married five times. The old mountaineer obviously enjoyed the adventure and told us that he was glad to be able to help the enemies of the Germans. Despite his years, the desire for revenge still smouldered in him, and he explained that the Austrians had shot two of his grandsons in the last war. He was delighted, moreover, to attend Said and recalled that, as a medical officer, he had served under one of his ancestors in the Turkish army. He had learnt his medicine in Istanbul in the seventies of the last century, and was ignorant of later developments in the art of healing. Nevertheless his potions revived Said, and he successfully relieved minor ailments in others of our party.

Meanwhile, throughout the Balkans, the revolution of events proceeded with ever-increasing momentum. On 24th

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August Roumania declared against the Germans; and on the following day Bulgaria sued for an armistice. In two days Hitler's empire had been stripped of two of its provinces; and, by a natural process, the news of these defections excited the emulation of the Albanian leaders. On the evening of 26th August Ihsan Toptani arrived in our camp with an urgent message from Nureddin Vlora. This was to tell us that a joint meeting of the leaders of the Government and of the Balli Kombetar had unanimously endorsed Fikri Dine's provisional agreement with Abas Kupi. We reported the news at once to our Headquarters, and late in the night of 27th August received their reply. It authorised us to inform Abas Kupi that, although the British authorities had little confidence in Fikri Dine and his associates, they would be prepared to reconsider their attitude towards these men if they now gave positive proofs of their intention to fight the Germans. The Agha's own good-will had already been acquired by a decision to supply him with arms in proportion to his actions; and we might now expect that this latest instruction would also satisfy the demands of the "collaborationists". That same night, therefore, we despatched a courier to Abas Kupi to arrange for a meeting.

Next day, anticipating his reply, we went down into the plain to another farm of Ihsan Toptani's in the region of Topise. There, in the evening, five men from Abas Kupi's bodyguard came for us and drove us by truck back across the plain in the direction of Kruya. We had covered perhaps ten miles when our driver pulled up beside two Zogist sentries standing by the road. We climbed down from the truck and were directed through the maize fields towards a farm-house. There we found the Agha seated on a log in the orchard, while a score of his guards rested beneath the trees.

We exchanged the customary greetings, and, after we had drunk coffee together, Maclean gave him assurances that we should send him supplies in proportion to his actions, and that we should be prepared to reconsider our attitude towards the "collaborationists" if they now declared against the Germans. Then, convinced that this was the Agha's last chance, he told

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him that unless the Zogists attacked the Germans at once, our Mission would be withdrawn. Stung by this ultimatum and the lack of confidence which it implied, the Agha reminded us sharply of the shortcomings of our own Headquarters. They had failed to secure instructions for him from King Zog; they had failed to take advantage of his offer to meet the Partisan leaders; and they had never fulfilled the agreement we had concluded with him in July for supplying his forces with arms. Worse still, they had refused to give him any assurances for the future of Albania's frontiers, and had deliberately abandoned the policy of mediation between the rival parties to the civil war initiated by the Smith Mission. His arguments were strong, but we declined to discuss what we could not defend, and the Agha grew silent, seeing that we were not to be drawn. For several moments he sat downcast, plucking at the grass, and then, looking up, said quietly:

"I will give your message to Fikri Dine and his friends: let them join me if they will. For my part I have decided to attack Durazzo within three days."

For fully a minute none of us spoke as we turned over in our minds the significance of his words. Durazzo was the chief port and second city of Albania; and it was there that Abas Kupi had first raised the standard of resistance against the Italian invaders. To capture Durazzo now, at the outset of the campaign, would revenge the glorious defeat of 1939 and bring fresh lustre to the Agha's tarnished laurels. It would, moreover, open sea communications with Italy, and might enable us to run in military supplies in bulk and even to obtain the support of a Commando. It still remained to be seen whether the Zogist forces were equal to the enterprise, but we decided to give the attempt every encouragement. Maclean therefore promised our support, and we shook hands with the Agha in token of agreement.

To give practical effect to his resolve, Abas Kupi now issued orders for all available Zogist forces to concentrate in the region of Preza. Then, that his main effort might be promoted by diversions elsewhere, he wrote to his confederates among the Catholic chiefs of the North, bidding them stand by

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*669 648 to attack the Germans. Meanwhile, leaving Maclean and myself at Topise, Smiley set out with Zogist guides to reconnoitre the approaches to Durazzo.

643 701 That night, when we had gone, Fikri Dine, General Prenk Previsi, and representatives of the Balli Kombetar drove out from Tirana to the Agha's headquarters to learn of our reply. Their discussions lasted through the night, but before dawn the die was cast. They returned to the capital, and, at noon on the 29th August, Fikri Dine announced the resignation of his government in a proclamation which declared that his efforts to save Albania from Communism had been frustrated by the total absence of German support.

The resignation of the government was the signal for the political leaders to disperse, and completed the isolation of the Germans. They sought to persuade, and at length to compel, the loyalty of their former associates, but when they struck the birds had already flown. Fikri Dine made his way to Dibra, hoping to raise the tribes to his support, but the Partisans were already masters of the region, and the chiefs who had been his friends had gone over to the winning side. For some days he wandered as an outlaw through the lands he had once swayed; but his utmost efforts only rallied to his cause some two hundred men, the remnants of the Dibran gendarmerie. With these he then retired through Mirdita to the Catholic region of Kurbenesh, which lies to the west of Mati. Kurbenesh was the seat of Prenk Previsi's influence, and there Fikri found the general with a body of picked officers and men of the Albanian army. Their combined following was less than five hundred strong — all that remained of the Albanian armed forces.

*669 665 The Ballist leaders meanwhile hesitated to entrust themselves to the Gheg chieftains and went into hiding near, or even in, Tirana, to wait until their forces should arrive from the South. Midhat Frasheri and Ali Klissura were variously reported held or shot by the Germans, but when the smoke of rumour cleared it was found that they were in Shiyak. There Abas Ermenye, the movement's energetic military commander, was concentrating the remnants of the Ballist forces, which presently amounted to some eight hundred men.

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which presently amounted to some eight hundred men. 000

In Tirana the Germans sought desperately for friends among the Albanians; at last, on 6th September, they succeeded in forming the shadow of a government under the presidency of Ibrahim Bey Bichaku. The new administration, however, could not rely on a hundred men; and Ibrahim was recommended for office solely by the affection of the German Minister, with whom he played ping-pong every day. As if to mock the impotence of this government Mustafa Kruya, the "arch-collaborationist", now left for Vienna, never to return. Only Jon Marko Joni still hesitated, but he too abandoned the capital and retired to Scutari to watch the fortunes of the Zogists. The days of "collaboration" were over, and Tirana was become nothing but a German redoubt. 727 643

Meanwhile the Moslem North was up in arms. The Partisans had overrun Dibra; and the Dibran chiefs, many of them former "collaborationists", had been won over to the L.N.C. by their own incomparable opportunism and the wise diplomacy of Mustafa Jinishi. Tsen Elezi and Dan Kalloshi abandoned the Double Eagle for the Red Star; and, under Partisan direction, their forces were variously engaged in the civil war or the war of liberation. Further north in Liuma Muharrem Bairaktar had already taken the field in the last days of August. He had prepared his attack for some weeks and was finally stung to action by an ultimatum from the German commander in Kukes, who demanded the surrender of two Austrian officers who had deserted from their regiment and had sought his protection. The Partisans had not yet entered Liuma, but Muharrem had already conferred with Mustafa Jinishi, and, though he declined to join the L.N.C., he had agreed to full military co-operation with their forces. 669*

But the fiercest struggle against the Germans in all Albania was led by Gani Kryeziu and his brother, Hassan, with the help of Simcox and his Mission. Since the end of July Gani had been receiving arms from our Headquarters; and the communiqués of his operations were broadcast in the Albanian transmissions of Radio Bari. His influence grew with his successes and the knowledge that he enjoyed British support; 186 669*

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*669 [186] and he soon rallied to his cause the chiefs of Krasniqi, Puka, and Hass. Meanwhile, stirred by the news of his exploits, volunteers from all over Albania, many of them former officers, or men disappointed with both Zogists and Partisans, made their way to Jakova to serve under his banner; and his forces were still further swollen by deserters from the "collaborationist" army and even from the "Kosmet" Partisans. Throughout the month of August Gani's men were continually engaged against the Germans, and, on the 19th of the month, he led them in person in a full-scale attack against the chrome mines of Kam and Kepenek. In this action the working of the mines was sabotaged, several prisoners were captured, and more than a hundred slave workers released; and Gani was only driven back by strong German units, equipped with armoured cars and artillery.

The North was still free from civil war, but, though Gani continued to treat the "Kosmet" Partisans as his allies, their relations grew increasingly strained. As Communists the "Kosmet" leaders had always been suspicious of Gani's pro-British leanings, nor could they reconcile his policy of winning back the Kossovo for Albania with their allegiance to Marshal Tito. While both had been fighting for their lives these had been matters of small moment, but now that victory was at hand the Partisans began to look on Gani more as a rival than as an ally. Gani, on his side, resented their repeated failure to join him against the Germans, and found his efforts to win over doubtful chiefs continually frustrated by their provocative attitude. Taught by experience, we had long since warned our Headquarters that the time might come when the Partisans would turn against Gani; and indeed they now began to press him to join their movement. Gani, however, declined their invitations as often as they were made, and in this he was supported by our Headquarters, who undertook to "take a strong line" with the L.N.C. should they seek to compel his adherence.

The scene was thus set for a general rising of all Albanians from the borders of Greece to those of Montenegro, and already the resistance movements had mustered powerful

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forces. The Partisans numbered by this time more than twenty thousand men, dispersed over South and Central Albania. In Kruya Abas Kupi still commanded some two thousand five hundred men, and, with his Catholic confederates, the Ballists, and the remnants of the government troops, this total was increased to as many as five thousand. North of the Drin, Gani's forces exceeded two thousand men; and in Liuma, Muharrem Bairaktar had raised perhaps half as many. The Nationalists, therefore, already numbered some eight thousand men, and, if Jon Marko Joni should finally decide to join them, this figure would be brought to eleven thousand. The total array of the guerillas thus surpassed thirty thousand men; and, if the Nationalists were inferior to the Partisans in numbers and equipment, they nevertheless commanded the German lines of retreat through North Albania. Had both sides now joined forces they might, with the help of British supplies and technicians, have closed all the roads leading out of the country. The Germans would then have had no choice but to surrender or else abandon their heavy war material and take to the mountains in the forlorn hope of fighting their way to safety.

Every military interest demanded at least the suspension of the civil war; but once again, just as Abas Kupi had decided to take the offensive, Enver Hoja moved to sabotage his plans. The victory of the Partisans had seemed assured, but, now that Abas Kupi prepared to attack the Germans, Enver Hoja rightly feared that British support might still save the Zogists from defeat. To guard against this danger he proposed to strike at the British Mission with the Zogists, judging that, if we were once removed, our Headquarters would be deprived of their only means of sending supplies to the Agha or of learning of his circumstances. Accordingly, as Commander-in-Chief and head of the self-appointed Provisional Government of Albania, Enver Hoja sent for the British liaison officer at his headquarters and delivered an ultimatum to him demanding the immediate withdrawal of our Mission. This stated that we were working with "Abas Kupi and other traitors" against the Partisans, and that he no longer regarded us as allied officers but as "agents of foreign reaction". Furthermore,

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*669 unless we were withdrawn from Albania within five days, patrols would be sent out to capture us and bring us to trial before a Partisan court-martial.

That Enver Hoja should thus have dared to impugn the good faith of British officers, let alone to threaten their arrest and trial, is eloquent of the hostility, or at least the contempt which he felt for the British authorities. He had rashly chosen, however, to deliver his ultimatum at a time when his delegates in Bari were negotiating an agreement with the British Command. The terms which they had obtained were unexpectedly favourable, but our outraged staff officers now broke off discussions, declaring that they would not ratify the agreement until Enver Hoja had withdrawn his allegations and his ultimatum. For some days relations between the Partisan Government and our Headquarters were strained, but our staff officers remained unyielding, and at last Enver Hoja climbed down and gave reluctant assurances for the honourable treatment of all British officers in Albania. The incident was thus closed to the satisfaction of our Headquarters, but, despite Enver Hoja's apparent submission, the real victory was to the Partisans. They had succeeded in creating the impression in Bari that support of the Zogists must involve further " unpleasantness " ; and once our Headquarters had ratified the agreement with them the fear of " unpleasantness " became a powerful cause of appeasement.

665 829 Politics is not yet an exact science, and many of our staff officers still clung to the hope that Enver Hoja's intransigence would be moderated by opposition from within the L.N.C. In the last week of August, however, Mustafa Jinishi, Enver Hoja's only serious rival, was killed in an ambush in Dibra. Mustafa had been a Communist, but had suffered from a peculiarly Albanian brand of deviation. He had subscribed to the doctrine that the ruling classes must be dispossessed of the ownership of the means of production, but had believed that this principle could hardly be applied to the tribal society of the Ghegs. There the means of production were already owned in common by the tribe, and the authority of the chiefs

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was derived not from ownership, but rather from personal qualities, tradition, or subsidies received from abroad. Mustafa had therefore considered that education, health, and administration were the chief requirements of a community whose economic structure was not of itself an obstacle to the Revolution. These theoretical conclusions had suggested a policy of gradualism, and in this he had been fortified by more practical considerations. The strength of Albania lay in the mountains; and Mustafa knew that, even if the Partisans occupied Tirana, they could only compel the submission of the tribes with the help of foreign troops. His patriotic instinct recoiled from such an expedient; and he considered, besides, that a population of only a million could ill afford the employment of violent means to attain an end which a Marxist interpretation of history showed to be in any case inevitable. He had therefore concluded that the Albanian Communist Party must persuade where it could not profitably compel, and had thus envisaged a period of prolonged co-operation with the Nationalist chiefs.

The study of the divergences of opinion within the Communist Party, as within the Early Church, is more amusing than instructive; and Mustafa Jinishi's position is perhaps best described by saying that, while he had regarded the United Front as a strategy, Enver Hoja thought of it only as tactics. In infinity the two are indistinguishable, but here below the difference is a fruitful source of controversy. Already in Belgrade Mustafa had advocated Communist collaboration with Abas Kupi and Gani Kryeziu. Later, as a member of the Central Council of the L.N.C., he had played a prominent part in winning non-Communist support for the Partisan cause. In the early days Enver Hoja had welcomed his efforts for tactical reasons, and it was not until the time of the Italian armistice that the breach between them had become open. Then, at Abas Kupi's instance, Mustafa had concluded the agreement at Mukai for a military alliance with the Ballists; but Enver Hoja had branded the agreement as Right Wing deviation, and had persuaded the Central Council to withhold its ratification. Thereafter Mustafa's influence in the movement had declined, and, alone of the members of the

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665 Central Council, he had not been given office when the Partisan Provisional Government had been formed at the end of May 1944. Instead, he had been sent as the Government's delegate to the Northern Army, where his efforts to reconcile the Nationalist leaders might still serve Enver Hoja's ends. It had indeed been largely as a result of Mustafa's patient diplomacy that Tsen Elezi, Dan Kalloshi, and other Dibran notables came over to the Partisans; and the cordial relations which he had established with Muharrem Bairaktar had encouraged the Nationalists to believe that he was still working for an understanding with them. It is probable that he was; and indeed almost his last action had been to prepare for a meeting with Gani Kryeziu, his friend and protector in Belgrade.

627 Mystery still surrounds Mustafa's[1] death. The fatal ambush occurred some distance from the front; and, though he had with him several guards, no one ever saw his assailants or heard of them thereafter. Dibra is the land of ambushes, but many still believe that Mustafa was done to death on Enver Hoja's orders. Certain, is only that his work perished with him, and that, after his death, the Partisans no longer sought to reach an understanding with any of the Gheg chiefs.

We were sitting with Abas Kupi and Said when a courier brought the news of Mustafa's fate. Said wept, and the Agha said to us sadly:

"He was my friend, and a great patriot."

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*669 AFTER Abas Kupi had told us of his decision to attack Durazzo, Maclean and I had returned with Ihsan to his farm at Topise. There we had tested and cleaned our weapons, destroyed superfluous documents, and sought to reduce the weight and bulk of our baggage. Whatever was left over was now confided to the Italian contingent of our Mission, who were constituted into a rear headquarters, despite the protest of their two officers who wanted to fight at our side. Having thus prepared ourselves for the battle, we drove with Ihsan to Luz, near the

1 [Mustafa Jinishi, rival of Enver Hoja -- Analyst]

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Zogist headquarters, and were lodged in the house of a Catholic notable who simultaneously enjoyed the friendship of his priest and the possession of three wives. There, on 30th August, we were visited by Abas Kupi, who attached his son, Petrit, to our Mission as a pledge of his friendship and sincerity.

The Agha was still engaged in concentrating his forces, and we therefore moved westward with Petrit into the region watered by the river Ishm. There we encamped by a broad meadow on the fringe of a wood of tall beech trees and awaited Smile[illegible] return and supplies from Italy.

Now that Abas Kupi had decided to fight, Said felt that his mission was accomplished and that the time had come for him to rejoin his brother. The main body of the L.N.C. might soon come into contact with Gani's forces; and Said still hoped that his personal friendship with the Partisan leaders might smooth the path of negotiations and help to promote understanding between them. The problem of the Kossovo, moreover, was his closest interest; and he knew that the fate of the region might be settled in the first days after the withdrawal of the Germans. He therefore asked Abas Kupi for guides, and set out north-eastwards into the mountains of Mirdita. We were sad to see him go, but his work with us was finished and we knew that his decision was right.

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Our days in the beechwood were tormented by a plague of wasps, but our nights were cheered by a store of Scotch whisky which Ihsan, ever attentive to our wants, had discovered in Tirana. Between these two extremes of physical annoyance and satisfaction I amused my leisure with reading d'Annunzio's *Il Fuoco*. The extravagance of language and emotion which had startled and delighted the solid world before 1914 was perhaps rather lost on me amid the harsh realities of guerilla life. Something in the book, however, touched me, and for the first time in six months awoke a faint nostalgia for civilisation. It was perhaps incongruous reading, but d'Annunzio had also been a guerilla, and I recalled, besides, that Bonaparte had read *Werther* beneath the Pyramids, and enjoyed it.

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727 In the panic frenzy of defeat the Germans lashed out in all directions, arresting harmless townsmen on the mere suspicion of being Partisans, Zogists, or Ballists. They were too demoralised, however, to hunt the guerillas any longer, and we could now move freely in the plain, except along the coast or in the towns. The defection of the " collaborationists " was followed by that of the Albanians in German employment, and we were visited one night by a young man of good family who was the chief interpreter to the *Gestapo*. A tall, dark fellow, with his uniform cap set at a rakish angle, his jack-boots highly polished and a cigarette hanging from his lips, he might have been the villain in a melodrama. He spoke English, indeed, with a peculiarly *villainous* accent, but drew for us a vivid picture of the confusion in Tirana, concealing his own fears behind a mask of irony. Now, when they most needed unity, the German commanders were torn by intrigues and recriminations. Their despair, moreover, had induced in them a mood of romanticism, and they vied with one another to win personal popularity by distributing autographed telescopes and pistols to their Albanian friends. The Albanian gendarmes and officials had disappeared, and the only remaining evidence of political activity was the German Minister's daily game of ping-pong with Ibrahim Bichaku. Meanwhile the *Luftwaffe* headquarters were besieged with staff officers demanding passages to Germany.

Yet, despite this apparent confusion, the Germans pressed on with their preparations for retreat; and Merret, who was watching the Tirana–Scutari road, reported as many as two hundred trucks moving northwards in a single night. The general withdrawal had not yet been ordered, but officers and men knew that it was at hand and looked anxiously over their shoulders. And well they might, for the way home lay through Montenegro and Bosnia, and many feared that they might only escape from Albania to be done to death by Tito's Partisans. Guessing their mood, we judged that the time had come to carry the work of subversion into the ranks of the German army itself, and, through a hundred different channels, we now spread the wildest rumours among them, alternately

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raising and shattering their hopes. More particularly we 727
renewed our efforts to recruit a striking force from their non-German troops, sending out two Turkish-speaking *hojas* to incite the Turkoman units on Cape Rodonit to revolt.

Meanwhile, with the help of Abas Kupi's organisation, we also penetrated the mind of the German Command. A young German officer who worked in the Operations Bureau of the Corps Headquarters in Tirana had confided in an Albanian friend that he did not mean to trust his life to the hazards of the retreat. He proposed instead to remain in Albania and had asked for advice as to where he might best hide himself. His friend was a Zogist, and, after devious negotiations, the German offered to supply us with exact details of the German Order of Battle and with advance copies of all Operational Orders. In return he asked us for a safe conduct, so that, when the Corps Headquarters were withdrawn, he might escape to our Mission, to be sent home as soon as the war was over and spared internment as a prisoner of war. We accepted his terms at once, and for the next two months were able to inform our Headquarters, and the R.A.F., of the intentions and daily movements of every company of German troops throughout Albania.

Smiley, meanwhile, had been reconnoitring the approaches 000
to Durazzo in the company of the Commandant of the Durazzo gendarmerie. He passed four German "check-posts" in the latter's car and then set out on foot with his interpreter, Halit Kola, to inspect the defences of the city. The two were thus busily engaged when they were stopped by a German patrol who asked for their identity cards. Halit produced a document of sorts which satisfied the Germans, but Smiley, having no papers, tried to bluff his way through by talking excitedly in Albanian. The corporal in charge of the patrol was stubborn, and, after a few moments' argument, Smiley turned his back on him and walked slowly away. The corporal drew his revolver and took aim; Smiley, unconscious of his danger, walked on. Halit waited breathless for the shot, but the German shook his head as if to say: "Why kill a poor Albanian peasant?" then with a shrug of his shoulders he put the weapon

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000 back into its holster and went on with his rounds. Smiley continued the reconnaissance, which was not completed until the following evening. Someone, however, must have betrayed his presence to the Germans, for they threw a cordon round the area and prepared to institute a search. Warned in good time, Smiley dressed up as an Albanian gendarme and drove through the cordon in a truck. His driver stopped several times to pick up German hitch-hikers, and, thanks to their presence, the truck was waved on at each of the four "check-posts" without enquiries.

*669 Smiley reached our camp on the 1st September, and strongly advised us to abandon the idea of an attack on Durazzo. He agreed that Abas Kupi might capture the city from its present garrison, but was convinced that he could never hold it against a determined German counter-attack. The Germans, he reckoned, were sure to react vigorously; and, with their backs to the sea, the Zogist forces would be cut off from all hope of retreat and must be utterly destroyed. Abas Kupi joined us that evening, but was not easily persuaded to abandon a project which would make him master of the second city in Albania and might bring to his cause the moral and material support of the British Navy. After prolonged discussion, however, he yielded to Smiley's arguments and reluctantly agreed to our proposal to attack the Tirana–Scutari road instead. He left, therefore, for Preza, where he had established his headquarters, to explain the change of plans to his staff and to check the further concentration of Zogist troops before Durazzo. That night, after he was gone, we received our first aeroplane-load of military supplies from Bari. It consisted of explosives for the sabotage of the road.

The Agha returned from Preza on the afternoon of the 3rd September, and we held a council of war to determine our plan of campaign. There it was agreed that Abas Kupi with the main body of the Zogists, assisted by Maclean, Smiley, and Sergeant Jenkins, should establish himself on the plateau of Mount Kruya and thence operate against the Tirana–Scutari road. Merret, with Sergeant Jones, was to remain at Vorre to await a suitable opportunity of attacking the German petrol

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and ammunition dumps in concert with Zogist forces from Preza. Meanwhile I was to take Petrit and a small bodyguard to try to win over the Turkoman garrisons in the region of Cape Rodonit.

A thunderstorm interposed between the making and the execution of these plans; and, while we still sheltered from the rain, a Zogist patrol brought in two Turkoman deserters. From them we learned that at least one company had already taken to the woods and that their whole battalion was on the verge of mutiny. We now reversed our plans once more and decided to march together towards the coast to organise the deserters and make ourselves masters of Cape Rodonit. The Agha readily agreed, for, with a strong Turkoman force, it might still be possible to take and hold Durazzo. That same night, therefore, we struck camp and, crossing the plain under cover of darkness, climbed into the low range of hills which follows the line of the coast southwards from Cape Rodonit.

The rain ceased as we marched, and the moon had already come out from behind the clouds when, towards midnight, we topped the escarpment that rises on the west of the plain of Kruya. There we divided our forces the better to round up the Turkoman deserters; Maclean and Smiley went with Abas Kupi to the village of Mazjhe; and Petrit and I made our way towards Ishm, where it was believed that we should find the ringleaders of the mutiny. We reached Ishm before dawn and took up our quarters in the house of a venerable *haji* — the only one I met in Albania — who had decorated his living-room with scrolls and crude lithographs brought back from the Pilgrimage. The Turkoman deserters were said to be hiding in the forest some distance away; and it was past six o'clock when our scouts returned with four of their spokesmen. They were still dressed in German uniform, but had torn off their regimental badges and now demonstrated their hatred of the Germans in a fearsome pantomime. One of them was a lance-corporal and was referred to as *Marechal* by the others, who were ordinary troopers. They were darker skinned than most Europeans, but there was little of the Mongolian about their features. One of them indeed, a boy called Achmet,

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*669 might have stepped out of a Persian oil-painting, with his ruddy cheeks and thick, arched brows meeting over black, almond-shaped eyes.

Language was our first difficulty, and their knowledge of Russian was almost as slender as my own. By dint, however, of patience, sign language, and the free interpolation of Albanian, Italian, Serbian, and German words, we succeeded in the end in making each other understood. The four were Tajiks from a Turkoman battalion consisting of one Tajik and three Kazak companies. They had been in touch with one of our Turkish-speaking agents, and the night before had killed their German officers and taken to the woods. As yet only the Tajik company had mutinied, but their spokesmen were convinced that the Kazaks were also ripe for revolt. That same morning, therefore, we dressed up Achmet in Albanian clothes and sent him to stir up the nearest Kazak company to kill their officers and join the Tajiks. Achmet fulfilled his mission with conspicuous success, and a few days later I was awakened by the arrival in our camp of a group of small Mongolian men in German uniform. Their leader knelt down before me and untied a big, green handkerchief which he spread out on the ground. In it were six ears.

"Germans," he said, and smiling, drew a finger across his throat.

After the mutiny of the Kazaks the Germans disarmed the remaining Turkoman companies and rounded up a number of the deserters. In the course of a week, however, we succeeded in organising a striking force about a hundred strong, of whom some thirty were Tajiks and the rest Kazaks. They came to us fully armed and equipped, and the Tajiks brought with them two light machine-guns. Like the Turkomans we had seen with Neel, our Tajiks and Kazaks had served in the Red army and had variously deserted to, or been captured by, the Germans. For a time they had endured the hardships of imprisonment, but then, seduced by the offer of military privileges, had volunteered for garrison duties in the German army. They had thus been formed into a Turkoman battalion and had already seen service in France and in Yugoslavia.

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Soon after the Tajiks had joined us two of their spokesmen formed up to us one morning and complained that their *Marechal*, or N.C.O., had used them badly when they were in the German army. We were just about to hold a council of war with Abas Kupi, and sent them away, saying that we would hear their complaint in the afternoon. They saluted and marched off, but an hour or so later, while we were still discussing plans, a shot rang out, and we heard the sound of rhythmic hand-clapping and of a song of triumph. An Albanian guard ran up shouting: "*Ka Vdek, Ka Vdek*" (literally "He has death"); and, hurrying to the camp, we found the Tajiks standing in a ring, singing and clapping their hands while the handsome Achmet danced a dance of victory round the corpse of the murdered *Marechal*. As a ballet it was splendid, but as discipline . . . and here I saw Sergeant Jones look meaningly at Sergeant Jenkins; for N.C.O.s are also an international fraternity.

We suspected that the Tajiks had murdered their Russian officers to desert to the Germans, and we knew that they had murdered their German officers to desert to us. It was now borne in upon us that we were become their officers; and, as we stood looking at the corpse of their *Marechal*, I ruefully reflected that from repetition to habit is but a step. The Tajiks were friendly and respectful, but so, no doubt, had been the Janissaries in their time. We therefore determined that, since the cheerful fellows must presently compare us with our Russian and German predecessors, the comparison should be favourable enough.

We ordered the burial of the *Marechal*, and, since we could not judge his guilt or innocence, thought his liquidation best forgotten. We declined, however, the invidious task of selecting his successor and left the choice to the chances of a democratic election. For a time all went well, but when the Kazaks began to murmur against the new *Marechal* we hastily deposed him while he yet lived. By this time we had brought the force under control, and the N.C.O. whom we then appointed retained our confidence and the obedience of the men until the end.

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669 We presently organised the Turkomans into three squadrons, one of Tajiks and two of Kazaks. Each squadron had its own leader, who was responsible to the *Marechal*, or N.C.O. The *Marechal*, in his turn, was supervised by Ivan and Mishka I. The two Russians were fair but rather rough with the Turkomans, whom they openly despised as "natives". We had indeed already seen traces of this Blimpish attitude in their relations with the Albanians, but we did not discourage it, for it ensured that their allegiance was to us rather than to their Asiatic compatriots. Meanwhile the experience of fighting against the Germans under our leadership brought us the personal loyalty of the Turkomans; and we soon won their affection by our natural interest in their ways.

000 Since schooldays I have felt the lure of Central Asia, pored over the exploits of Genghiz Khan and Tamerlane, and dreamed of the glories of Samarkand and Bokhara. Maclean shared this romanticism; and now, by a freak of war, the daydreams of boyhood came true and we rode at the head of a Turkoman horde. Our Tajiks were horsemen from the steppe and highlanders from the Pamir — a gay, fiery, and volatile people. They spoke a dialect of Persian, and, though their blood was mixed, the Indo-Aryan strain prevailed over the Mongolian. Tajikistan had never been wholly pacified by the Tsars and was the last of the Russian lands to submit to the Soviets. Collectivisation only came in the late thirties, and had been fiercely resisted. Our men told us that there were still guerillas in the Pamir, and some of them claimed to have relations who had fled from the Russians to settle in Persia or Afghanistan. Resentment against Russia still smouldered among them, and they had not forgotten the destruction of their great herds of horses which had followed the Kremlin's decision to check their nomad wanderings and force them to till the soil. Their physique was good, and most of them could read and write, but, though Soviet rule had brought them great benefits, they spoke with regret of the Emirates they had never known.

The Tajiks were friendly from the start; the Kazaks smiling, but more reserved. They were Turki-speaking and

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OUR TAJIK COOK

ACHMET

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SMILEY, THE AUTHOR, AND TURKOMAN DESERTERS

A KAZAK PATROL

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000 of Mongolian stock; a dour people, slow to action and slow to complaint. They had known both Tsarist and Soviet rule, and, unlike the Tajiks, sometimes spoke of themselves as Russians. Collectivisation had come to them early, and, while they enjoyed its fruit, they had already forgotten the hardships of its early days. They seemed to have accepted Russia and might be counted good Soviet citizens.

Sometimes at night, when they gathered round their fires to roast or boil their evening sheep, the Turkomans would sing and dance for us. At first they sang shyly and only Red army marching songs; later, when they came to trust us, they threw off the mask and sang their own songs and danced their own dances. The Kazaks made the best choir, with sad laments of the steppe which sounded both of Asia and of Europe. There was also an Uzbeg among them; an ugly fellow, but perhaps the best singer of them all. Uzbeg songs were like Turkish, but simpler, with the crystal purity of a mountain stream. Tajik songs had a wild gaiety; and the Tajik highlanders from the Pamir were the best dancers of all, with their whirling reels and triumphant sword-dances. It was Prince Igor with the Kruya mountains for a back-cloth, and lit only by the camp fires and the moon.

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*669 On the 4th September, while we were dispersed over the coastal range, rounding up the Turkoman deserters, the Partisans crossed the Kruya mountains, and, raiding down towards the plain, burnt the Zogist headquarters at Luz. The Agha would have marched off at once to engage them, but he had given us his word to attack the Germans; and Maclean could not release him from this promise. Our Headquarters were already growing impatient; and indeed the morning brought a message from Bari urging us to "do utmost get Kupi fight". Torn between the need to defend and the duty to attack, the Agha adopted a strategy of compromise: he sent Billal Kola with a small force to resist the Partisans, and

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*669 assigned some hundred men to Maclean for operations against the Germans. Meanwhile he remained himself at Mazjhe, holding the bulk of his troops in reserve.

I was at this time some five hours' march from Mazjhe, in the village of Kurat, with twenty-eight Tajiks and some forty Albanians under Petrit. There, on the afternoon of the 5th September, I was joined by Maclean and Smiley with a force of a hundred and fifty Zogists commanded by Ndue Palli, a Catholic chieftain and former Captain of Gendarmerie, who had fought with Abas Kupi at Durazzo. Ndue was tall and lean, with a sorrowful yet questing look, and a way of walking which reminded us irresistibly of a bloodhound on the scent. He proved, however, a pleasant and resourceful companion and a loyal ally.

725 Petrit[‡] and I had already planned to attack a German post that night,[*] but now that Maclean had come with reinforcements we decided to wait until the following day, when our combined forces might attempt a more serious operation. In the evening, therefore, we held a council of war and chose for our target a German Battery Headquarters which was commended by its lonely situation and the belief that it contained large supplies of ammunition.

We slept perhaps four hours, and then, with a small bodyguard set out into the night to reconnoitre the German positions. After an hour's march through the woods our guide turned aside from the path and led us uphill to a rounded summit tufted with a clump of trees. As the night faded out of the sky we saw that we were standing on a range of barren hills, running roughly north and south. Beyond us to the west, and perhaps two thousand yards away, ran another range parallel to our own, but lower and thickly wooded. The fold of ground between lay under a blanket of mist, through which gleamed a single light — the duty office of the enemy's camp. Taking advantage of the obscurity we now crawled some five hundred yards downhill to a projecting knoll, where we crouched in the bracken and waited, chilled and cramped, to watch the Germans awake.

After what seemed an age the sun rose behind us, and, as

‡ [i.e. Petrit Kupi, son of Zogist leader -- Analyst]
* [in mid-August 1944 -- Analyst]

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the mists parted, we saw that a road ran along the bottom 725
between the two ranges. Beside the road, and perhaps four hundred feet below us, stood a wooden hut, where the solitary light still burned. Beyond, in the side of the wooded range opposite, we presently made out three or four barracks or store-houses. As yet no one stirred, but towards six o'clock a German soldier emerged from the lighted hut and stamped up and down on the road, blowing on his hands. Presently he turned into the wood, and a few minutes later a bugle sounded the *réveillé*. This was the moment for which we had waited, for we hoped that the movements of the men would reveal the positions of the camp. We therefore searched the wood closely through our glasses, and, as the soldiers woke up and set about their several routines, we became aware of a number of camouflaged tents and dug-outs which had thus far escaped our notice.

At seven o'clock six lorries drove up from the south and were loaded up from what we guessed to be a store-house by a working party of Italians, supervised by a German N.C.O. The drivers manœuvred clumsily on the narrow road, and once one of them backed his lorry into the ditch. His angry shouts were wafted up to us on the hillside, but, with the help of the Italians, his machine was presently righted; and by eight o'clock the whole convoy had driven away. Each of us drew a rough sketch of all that he saw, and tried, besides, to count the number of the enemy. This proved a harder task, for the soldiers were continually disappearing and reappearing among the trees; but we finally computed the strength of the garrison at some thirty men. Towards nine o'clock the activity of the camp subsided; and, feeling that we had seen enough, we crawled back infinitely slowly to the shelter of the clump of trees on the ridge above. There, with the enemy positions still in full view, we sat down to concert our plan of attack.

We decided to assemble our forces behind the eastern range two hours before dark, and, dividing them into three parts, to develop a pincer movement against the Battery Headquarters. Maclean, with Petrit, Ndue Palli, and a hundred Zogists would cross the bottom to the right of the German positions and approach them from the north. At the same time I would

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725 take our twenty-eight Tajiks as the other arm of the pincer and carry out a similar manœuvre, but from the south. Maclean would launch the attack with the Albanians; and, once the Germans were fully engaged, I was to fall on them from behind with the Tajiks. Smiley, meanwhile, would remain on the eastern range with a reserve of some forty Albanians and three machine-guns. With these he would keep the road covered and might complete the discomfiture of the enemy should they try to escape eastwards. Finally, a small group of Albanians were to burn down a wooden bridge on the road, three kilometres from the camp, to prevent the enemy from receiving early reinforcements.

Back at Kurat the day passed slowly, though not without incident. This was the morning when the Tajiks murdered their N.C.O.; a deed which convinced us that, after the excitement of mutiny, their temper urgently required the discipline of battle and the cold douche of danger. Abas Kupi came also to discuss plans; and towards midday we received the first report from the young German officer in the Corps Headquarters in Tirana. This gave us, among a mass of other information, the identifications of the post we were going to attack. It was the headquarters of the Third Battery of the 297th Artillery Regiment. With so much business, there was no time to rest before the action; and, almost as soon as we had eaten, we set out to join our forces, already concentrating behind the eastern range. We reached the assembly point at five o'clock, and climbed to the crest of the range for a further brief reconnaissance. All was quiet in the German camp; we wished each other good luck, and departed each to his allotted task.

In the morning I had agreed with a light heart to take command of the Tajiks, but, as we marched off to the attack, I was oppressed by sombre reflections. I knew nothing of their training or their ways, and spoke besides so little of their language that I could not hope to make them understand my orders in the heat of battle. This ignorance might jeopardise the whole operation; but, as I anxiously considered how to impose my will on these wild Asiatics, there suddenly came

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back to me a fragment from a long-forgotten conversation with a friend who had once commanded an Indian brigade: 725

"It doesn't matter what you say to native troops," he had told me, "because they won't understand you. What matters is what you do. March in front of them and they'll do whatever you do; and, if you don't run away, they'll be as good as the Guards."

I had been in Cairo at the time, ill from jaundice, and had forgotten his words with the next glass of medicine. Now, by some strange freak of memory, the sick-bed talk was become a counsel of action; and I remembered that Ivan and Mishka at least considered the Tajiks as "native troops". I went, therefore, to the head of the column, though not without some apprehension; the danger from the Germans in front might be part of the day's work; but only that morning the Tajiks had murdered their N.C.O., and I had to steel myself not to look back too often over my shoulder.

We crossed the low ground, where a tongue of woodland stretched out from the western range, and, hurrying over the road, climbed on to the crest of the range itself. There we turned northwards, and, devoutly hoping that the Germans were off their guard, moved silently towards them through the trees. Presently we came to a low thorn fence, broken only by a stile, on the far side of which lay a clearing perhaps fifty yards wide. Beyond, the woods sloped steeply down to the enemy positions. I decided that we should cross the clearing and lie up in the fringes of the wood beyond, to wait until Maclean should begin the attack. I led the way, therefore, over the stile, and had gone perhaps ten yards when a machine-gun opened up savagely from a clump of trees some forty yards away. I looked round to see how many of the Tajiks were already across the fence, and, as I turned my head, somehow lost my balance and fell to the ground. I thought at first that I had only slipped, and it was some time before I realised that a bullet had caught me under the chin. The wound indeed was little worse than a deep shaving cut, and caused me neither pain nor serious loss of blood. The Tajiks, however, ran back, seeing me fall; and I lay in the clearing alone. The machine-gun

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725 was silent, the gunner taking me perhaps for dead. I waited for a moment, then sprang up and ran for the fence. The German opened up at once, and his bullets hissed round me like furious insects as I vaulted the stile and made for the shelter of the trees. The Tajiks rallied when they saw me safe, and, gathering round me, opened a blind and ragged fire in the direction of the machine-gun.

I checked them as soon as I had recovered my breath and my wits, and, more by instinct than by reasoning, worked my way round the flank of the machine-gun post. When I judged we were well past it I lay down, and, while the Tajiks got into position, tried to decide what to do next. It is sometimes a weakness to see things from the other man's point of view, but, as I imagined myself among the German defenders, I knew that they were beaten. After months of inactivity they had been startled from rest, perhaps from sleep, by our approach. Their machine-gunners had seen a few Turkoman deserters, but, in the darkness of the wood, they could not tell how many were their assailants, or where the attack would come from next. Their nerves must be strained by the uncertainty; and, while they would soon recover confidence, they might collapse altogether if I acted at once. The alarm had been given, and I therefore decided not to wait for Maclean's signal but to go in to the attack.

For a few seconds I vainly racked my brain for orders which the men would understand. Then on a sudden inspiration I stood up, and, hoisting my astrakhan cap on the muzzle of my submachine-gun, ran forward shouting "Hurrah". The Tajiks did not misunderstand, and, spreading out on either side, charged through the trees, shoulders hunched and eyes glinting. The machine-gunners fled; we dropped over the crest of the ridge, and saw the huts and dug-outs of the enemy less than fifty feet below. I shouted "Hurrah" again, and the Tajiks bounded down the hill like wolves, letting out blood-curdling yells and pouring a withering fire into the camp. As we carried the first buildings I saw a German standing twenty yards from me, stripped to the waist, with a *Schmeizer* pistol in his hand. For a moment we looked at each other without

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moving, then he crumpled to the ground, pressing his hands to his naked stomach. I had not heard the shot, but looked round to see Achmet grinning from ear to ear. We pressed forward, and, as I passed the dying German, I noticed that he was still a boy, with straight, fair hair and blue, staring eyes. His hands were clasped over his wound as if in prayer, and the blood was oozing quietly away through his fingers. Looking back a moment later I saw a Turkoman stripping him of his Wellington boots.

The enemy now returned a ragged fire, but we had taken them by surprise and they could not see us clearly for the trees. Several of them were shot down; and, as we came to close quarters, the rest broke and fled towards the road. There they ran into Smiley's machine-guns and were driven back, leaving one of their number dead. We were already masters of their camp; and they, too weak to counter-attack, fell back towards the south, sniping us from the cover of the wood.

Maclean and the Albanians had arrived on the scene just as we had gone in to the assault and had at once advanced to the attack. The first dead German, indeed, had fallen to Petrit Kupi's rifle; but, for some mysterious reason, the main body of the Albanians had failed to follow; and when we took the camp only Maclean, Petrit, and three of their bodyguards were there to join us. The rest of the Zogist forces now surrounded us, and, unaware that the Germans had fled, discharged volley after volley into the camp to our anger and alarm. Nothing could stop them; and the victorious Tajiks were forced to take cover from their Albanian allies in the German slit trenches and dug-outs. Unable to make ourselves heard, Maclean and I sat behind a clump of trees and despondently surveyed the battle-field. A few yards away a Tajik was dying in the arms of one of his comrades. Several dead Germans lay outside the tents and huts; and a group of Italian prisoners huddled behind a heap of rubble under Mishka I's watchful eye. Spent shots whined around us, and it was beginning to grow dark. I felt suddenly tired and intolerably thirsty.

More than half an hour must have passed before Petrit

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managed to persuade the Zogists to cease fire. Night had already fallen, and it was now too dark to plunder the camp systematically. We told the men, therefore, to carry off such supplies as were easily portable, and, retiring across the road, climbed towards the eastern range. There we found Smiley and Ndue Palli, who produced a most welcome flask of *raki*. We sat down to enjoy it, and were discussing the next move when suddenly a flare burst in the sky above us, casting a lurid, metallic light over the hillside. A moment later two mortar bombs fell quite close, followed by a burst of tracer bullets fired at long range. German reinforcements had arrived; and, withdrawing slowly beyond the range, we trekked back to Kurat.

We had at last drawn blood; and a Zogist officer with a Tajik lay among the dead to show the Germans who had been their enemies. At least ten Germans had been killed and twelve Italians from the labour corps captured. One Tajik and one Albanian had also been wounded. The honours of the day went to the Tajiks; and, now that we had seen them in action, we felt convinced of their military virtues and more confident of their loyalty. The Albanians had borne themselves less valiantly, but the fight had raised their spirits, and that evening both Petrit and Ndue Palli eagerly discussed plans for the next attack.

We went early to bed, but, while it was still night, I was startled from a fathomless sleep by the wail and burst of a mortar bomb. It was 3 A.M., and the room was already empty, save for Kolaver, who sat cross-legged in a corner watching over me.

"That was already the third bomb," he said with a smile. "It is good to sleep so soundly."

I dressed hurriedly, and, going out to where the Tajiks were encamped, found Maclean and Smiley walking up and down in the moonlight. They reckoned that the Germans were preparing a counter-attack, and were discussing whether to resist or to retire. Kurat stood on high ground and the Tajiks had already taken up defensive positions. The village elders,

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however, feared that a battle must invite reprisals from the 669* Germans and begged us to go. Petrit tried to restore their courage, but, seeing that it was in vain, we struck camp, and towards 4 A.M. marched away towards Mazjhe to join Abas Kupi. Our discretion, however, did not save the village; and, looking back an hour later, we saw that three houses had been set on fire. Ndue Palli pointed towards them and said quietly:

"That is the price of the ten Germans we killed yesterday. Was it worth it? For us, perhaps; but not for the poor farmers who are paying it."

4

WE reached Mazjhe towards midday to find that Abas Kupi had left the village early that morning. The Partisans, we were told, had attacked Billal Kola in strength; and the Agha had marched off with all his forces to the defence of Kruya. All next day a battle raged on the face of Mount Kruya; and, looking out across the plain from the heights above Mazjhe, we watched the little white puffs of smoke which flowered where the shells were falling. The mountainside was too far away for us to follow the fortunes of the battle, but towards evening Petrit showed us a large building burning on the outskirts of Kruya. It was his father's house. More than five years had passed since the Agha had crossed its threshold, and now, on the eve of the liberation for which he had fought so long, he saw his home on fire — a sad prospect and a symbol of his declining power. Darkness brought no peace to the combatants; and for a long time we watched the blaze of burning houses, the flash of the guns, and the sprays of tracer bullets. At last the noise of battle died away, and late in the night a courier came from Preze with a report that Partisans and Zogists had joined hands and taken Kruya from the Germans.

The news caused a great stir in our camp, and we saw, from the unfeigned joy of the tribesmen, how popular such united action would have been. No doubt the rank and file of the Partisans would have felt much the same; but, though unity

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might be the will of the people, the interests of the leaders worked irresistibly for civil war. That night hopes had been high, but in the morning they were shattered by a despatch from the Zogist headquarters. The Agha had indeed attacked and wiped out a German patrol, but this had been only an incident in the day's fighting. The real battle had been between Zogists and Partisans; and, while they had rent one another, the Germans had watched, and must have smiled, from the ramparts of the citadel. The struggle had been long and bitter, but in the end the Partisans had prevailed. Kruya was lost to the Zogists; and, under cover of night, the Agha had withdrawn his forces across the plain from the last of his strongholds.

While the battle still raged around Kruya we were joined in Mazjhe by Midhat Frasheri and Abas Ermenye, the military commander of the Balli Kombetar. Midhat came on a mule; Abas Ermenye rode a coal-black charger, and, in his blue-green uniform and flat, old-fashioned *képi*, looked like a hero from the Carlist wars. Nor was his romantic appearance belied by his conversation, for he quoted freely from the poems of André Chenier and the speeches of the French revolutionary heroes. He was tall and dark, with sensitive features, but there was something pedantic about his manner; and he seemed always to be worrying about himself. He was a young professor, fired with nationalist sentiment, and fascinated by the glamour of arms. Already, when a colleague of Enver Hoja's at the *Lycée* at Korcha, Abas Ermenye had sought to organise his students to resist the Italian invasion. He had fled to Greece rather than endure foreign rule, and there, in 1940, had vainly sought to raise a force of Albanian *émigrés* to fight alongside the Greek armies. With the fall of Athens he had been captured by the Italians, and had been sent to the concentration camp at Ventotteno, where he had remained nearly two years. In 1942, however, he had been allowed to return to Albania, and, a few months later, had taken to the mountains to organise the Ballist forces in the region of Korcha. Maclean had worked with him against the Italians in 1943,

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and thought him the ablest of the Ballist military leaders; and indeed of those warriors who, like Skender Mucho, Safet Butka, and Husni Lepenitsa, had once been household names among the Tosks, he was now the sole survivor. At heart a reformer, Abas Ermenye sought in the field an escape from the imbroglio of Ballist politics. He knew only that he fought against Communism, and, perhaps just because he doubted whether the Balli Kombetar any longer offered a real alternative, he spared neither himself nor his men.

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Midhat and Abas Ermenye had come as political and military delegates of the Balli Kombetar to inform us officially that their whole Central Committee was now in the mountains, and that they had decided to begin operations next day. Abas Ermenye planned to open the campaign with an ambush on the Tirana-Scutari road, and asked that we should send a British officer to watch the conduct of his men and to certify the results of the action. We agreed at once to this request, and Merret was chosen as our liaison officer with the forces of the Balli Kombetar. On the following evening Abas Ermenye duly laid his ambush, and, with a force of two hundred men, surprised a German convoy of forty trucks. Merret afterwards reported that three trucks were burnt, eighteen looted and damaged, eight motor cycles destroyed, and more than thirty Germans killed.

As further evidence of their good-will the Ballist leaders also sent us one Staff-Sergeant Schumacher of the U.S. Air Force, whose 'plane had been shot down to the south of Durazzo in the previous November. After wandering for two days among the coastal lagoons, Schumacher had been rescued by the Ballists, and for nearly a year had been cared for and hidden from the Germans on a farm belonging to Nureddin Vlora. We already had with us another U.S. airman, Sergeant Corsentino, rescued by the Zogists, and the two were to prove a most valuable addition to our Mission, helping in ambushes, road watching, and the drudgery of cipher traffic.

On the 10th September, after an abortive attempt against a bridge, we moved to Preza, where the Zogists and Ballists

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*669 had already set up their joint headquarters. Preza was a rich and scattered village, boasting two whitewashed mosques with stocky minarets and several solid houses attractively painted in pink, green, or brown. It was perched right on the edge of the escarpment, fifteen hundred feet sheer above the plain, and looked south-east towards Tirana, less than ten miles away. The accustomed calm of village life was broken by the presence of some three thousand guerillas, and the best houses had been commandeered by the chiefs and their bodyguards. The villagers, however, did not grumble; and the Agha preserved their natural Zogist sympathies by paying for the wants of his armies in hard cash. A wooden house, painted dark green, had been reserved for our Mission. Looking down from its windows on to the road below, we were encouraged by the sight of the charred and twisted skeletons of the German trucks which the Ballists had destroyed the night before.

Towards sunset Abas Kupi joined us in the garden of our house and spent the evening with us. He told us at once how precarious was his position now that he had lost Kruya, but showed no signs of despair and eagerly discussed his requirements of arms and ammunition and our plans for cutting the road. The Zogist forces were still resting from their defeat, but that night, after we had eaten, Jenkins went off with a few volunteers and sowed mines on the road, destroying three German trucks. On the next evening, Smiley, with a mixed force of Zogists and Turkomans, blew up a small but vital bridge on the road, turning back to Tirana a strong enemy convoy escorted by armoured cars.

The Germans knew that we were in Preza, but had so far hesitated to move against us. The village was impregnable from the road, and an attack from the rear would involve at least two battalions. Their communications with Scutari, however, had now been cut for three successive nights; and they could no longer afford to ignore an enemy whose operations already embarrassed their retreat. General Fistun accordingly gave orders for our expulsion from the escarpment; and, on the morning of 12th September, our spies reported that the Germans were preparing a punitive expedition.

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To resist the Germans was out of the question, and Abas Kupi therefore summoned a council of war to decide where we should retire. Mati, Shupal, and Kruya were lost; Shiyak was still loyal to the Zogist cause, but it was already enveloped by the Partisans and cut off from the Nationalist regions of the North. The Agha therefore proposed to divide his forces and to leave the main body with Hamsa Drini to watch Durazzo and preserve the allegiance of the coastal range. For himself, and those who cared to follow him, he embraced the generous resolve of marching north to Kurbenesh. There General Prenk Previsi's influence would assure him the support of the local population, and would enable him to keep up his attacks on the Tirana-Scutari road.

To abandon his regions was indeed a counsel of despair; and only three hundred Zogists and a hundred and fifty Ballists agreed to follow. Kurbenesh, however, marched with Mirdita, and the Agha hoped that, with British support, he might still rally the northern chiefs around him and make the region the new centre of Nationalist resistance. He gave orders, therefore, to evacuate Preza that afternoon, and decided to carry out three separate ambushes to confuse the Germans as to his whereabouts. One he would undertake himself on the march to Kurbenesh; the second he would leave to Musa Pitsari at Vorre; the third to Hamsa Drini in Shiyak. As a mission we too divided our forces to cover each of these actions. Maclean and I set out with Abas Kupi, Smiley joined Musa Pitsari, and Merret remained with Hamsa Drini.

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We marched northwards through the afternoon; a rabble army of Zogist tribesmen, Ballist irregulars, and Turkoman deserters. The Agha led the van at a good round pace, with Maclean and myself close behind him, while Abas Ermenye on his black charger caracoled up and down the column in a cloud of dust. Night overtook us near the village of Bushnesh; and, when it was quite dark, the Agha called a halt in a field

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*669 close to the road. There the leaders gathered round him to plan the ambush, while, contrary to the best military practice, the men puffed away contentedly at their cigarettes — five hundred glowing points of fire less than five hundred yards from the road. No reconnaissance had been made, and no one seemed to know the region, but, though the discussion began in low tones, the leaders soon warmed to their several themes. Each urged his plan in ever louder tones, and the council of war presently assumed the aspect of a public meeting, with the rank and file murmuring approval or dissent. At length, after half an hour of fruitless debate, it was decided to adjourn the meeting and postpone a decision until we had reached the road and could see how the land lay. Abas Kupi, therefore, set off towards the road, with Maclean and myself following. The path ran through a narrow stretch of woodland, and we somehow became separated from the main body, remaining with only ten men. Suddenly we heard the noise of vehicles just ahead; Maclean cursed our unpreparedness; but the Agha's blood was up. Regardless of the fact that we were almost alone, he ran nimbly forward as if intending to engage the convoy single-handed. I feared a tragedy, and was greatly relieved to see the last truck thunder past just as we broke out of the undergrowth.

A few minutes later the main body caught up with us, and for nearly half an hour the men milled around on the road while the leaders discussed where best to lay the ambush. At last a decision was reached, and the guerillas took up positions along a steep-banked S-bend in the road, with orders to attack the first strong convoy that should pass.

Half an hour must have gone by when we became aware of lights moving towards us from the direction of Tirana. There was a succession of metallic clicks as each man slipped a cartridge into the breach of his rifle; but we soon saw that only two vehicles were approaching, and Abas Kupi decided that so small a target was unworthy of our arms. The order not to attack was therefore passed down the line; and a few minutes later the Germans drove past, oblivious of the danger they so nearly shaved. I now lay down with my back to a tree,

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prepared for an indefinite wait, but it was not long before reflections on the northern horizon announced that something was moving along the road from Scutari. We strained into the darkness and suddenly caught a glimpse of the white glare of headlights, still several miles away. They disappeared almost at once, but presently came into sight again on a straight stretch of the road. We counted and recounted the lights anxiously. It was a convoy of nine trucks. This time the Agha gave the order to attack, and the men crawled into position, grinning nervously at one another. For a long time we saw only the headlights, but presently we began to distinguish the throb of the engines and the rumble of the wheels which grew to a roar as the convoy turned into the S-bend. The guerillas held their fire until all the vehicles were within our lines. Then, at a given signal, they discharged all their weapons into the leading truck. It swerved, skidded, and, as the bullets crunched up the windscreen, jolted to rest, blocking the road. With a screech of brakes each driver pulled up in turn, his truck floodlit in the headlights of the one behind. For a split second there was silence; and then all hell was let loose as machine-guns, rifles, and hand-grenades tore the life out of the convoy. Blinded by their own headlights and puzzled by the surrounding darkness, the Germans were doomed from the start. A few tried vainly to return our fire, but in less than a quarter of an hour the convoy was silent. For some minutes longer the guerillas worried only the dead; then the sound of shooting died away; and one by one they stepped on to the road. At first they moved cautiously, as if fearing a trap, but soon closed round the trucks, seeing that the massacre was complete.

There were only two survivors: one was a trooper whom we took prisoner; the other a young Austrian lieutenant. He was too badly wounded to move, and we left him by the roadside to tell the tale if he should live till morning. Meanwhile the guerillas fell upon the trucks to loot their contents and to rob the corpses. In twenty minutes the whole convoy was picked clean, and, to complete the work of destruction, each truck was set on fire.

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000 "It's just bloody murder," said Jenkins, as we turned into the hills.

By a rare piece of good fortune one of our victims had been a courier, and we captured intact the "bag" from Divisional Headquarters in Scutari to the Corps Commander in Tirana. This disclosed the identity of certain Albanians spying for the Germans on Gani Kryeziu and Muharrem Bairaktar. It also gave us details of troop dispositions which enabled us to confirm the reliability of our German agent in the Corps Headquarters. The documents, however, which interested us most were two appreciations of the guerilla problem. These dispelled our last suspicions that Abas Kupi had ever reached an accommodation with the Germans, and presented him, along with Gani Kryeziu and Muharrem Bairaktar, as one of their most inveterate enemies. The general trend of the appreciations showed that the Germans were beginning to lose their nerve; and we derived considerable amusement from the Machiavellian designs and almost Satanic influence which their author attributed to our Mission. At least we had been a bogy to the German staff officers!

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FROM the ambush at Mamuras we climbed into the mountains, and, late in the night, were sustained by the bounty of a village *hoja*, who distributed bread and cheese to the men, with bunches of grapes for the chiefs. When all had eaten we pressed on, and, just before dawn, halted on the hillside to snatch some sleep. With the day we resumed the march, and, crossing a projecting spur of the Skanderbeg range, entered the broken and wooded region of Kurbenesh. We were in Catholic country now, and might look forward to an occasional meal of pig. The villages, however, were very poor, and, by contrast with Kruya, received us sullenly.

Towards midday we halted at Zeye, and there were hospitably entertained by the priest, a gentle young Franciscan from Scutari. His house was rude and poor, like those of the

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TURKOMANS BAKING BREAD

A TURKOMAN MACHINE-GUN POST, PROTECTING OUR CAMP ABOVE THE CONFLUENCE OF THE MATI AND FANI RIVERS

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LEADERS OF THE BALLI KOMBETAR

(*Left to Right*) Ekrem Peshkopi, Vassil Andoni, Midhat Frasheri, Ali Klissura, Kocho Muko

SMILEY, BESIDE THE MATI IN FLOOD

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villagers; but he had made himself a desk and chairs, and there was a small library in his living-room. He had come to this parish five years earlier, filled, like so many of his colleagues, with the fervent intent to lead the tribesmen away from the evils of blood feuds and drunkenness. Experience had broadened his understanding but reduced his ardour; and he confessed with a sigh that all his endeavours had not yet reconciled a single vendetta.

In Zeye we found old Sul Kurti, Dule Allemani, and several of the Mati chiefs, with reinforcements perhaps a hundred strong. Among them there was also a handsome young man from Tirana, incongruously dressed in a grey Tyrolese costume, complete with green facings and bone buttons. This was Gaitcho Goga, a Vlach from Korcha, who was a member of the Zogist Central Committee and had been one of the editors of their newspaper, *Adtheu*. A professor of gymnastics, Gaitcho had represented Albania at the Olympic games, and, having won King Zog's favour by his prowess, had retained it by his pleasing personality. He was devoted to Abas Kupi, and henceforth went with him everywhere, serving by turns as secretary, interpreter, or delegate of the Zogist party.

We rested through the day in Zeye, and, towards evening, resumed the march northwards. Our path traversed the wooded mountainside two thousand feet above the plain, and on the road below us we observed a column of more than a hundred horse-drawn waggons moving slowly from the south. The German retreat had begun in earnest, and for a moment we were tempted to pursue this convoy. Night, however, was falling, and we knew that before we had caught up with the enemy the last waggon would be safe within the walls of Milot. We pressed on, therefore, and two hours after dark reached the village of Lester, which we had chosen as the base for our next attack. It was cold and wet when we arrived; and that night, for the first time since the spring, a fire burned on the hearth. Autumn was drawing on.

*669 At Mamuras the Albanians had indulged in argument on the battle-field with impunity: at Lester a similar indulgence nearly proved their undoing. We set out towards evening with

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*669 a mixed force of some two hundred Ballists and Zogists and some fifty Turkomans to lay an ambush at a point where the road curved sharply to avoid a wooded spur of the mountain. Maclean took up position on the spur itself with the main body of Albanians, while I advanced down it towards the road with the Turkomans and some thirty Zogists under Petrit. We were moving in single file along a narrow track when suddenly I saw a light fifty yards ahead and heard voices talking in German. They were just to the south of the bend; and we therefore left the path and moved towards them through the trees to see if they presented a target worth attacking. It was a dark night, and, slightly misjudging our direction, we came out on to the road just round the bend from where I had observed the light. We sent two Albanians to creep up to the corner and see what was afoot, and meanwhile imprudently remained on the road. A few moments later our two scouts ran back and reported that there were two armoured cars and a group of soldiers within seventy yards. I at once suggested that we should withdraw on to the spur and join up with Maclean so as to attack them. Some difference of opinion, however, arose among the Albanians and, standing full in the road, they argued with one another in ever louder tones. Suddenly I saw a dark shape nose round the corner; I leapt into the undergrowth; and in that second the armoured car opened fire. It pulled up where we had stood and raked the hillside with its gun while I lay in a hollow with the Turkomans and returned a ragged fire. The Albanians had scattered in all directions, but presently Petrit rallied them, and we fell back together under cover of the trees to rejoin the main body. Meanwhile from round the bend the Germans loosed off their mortars blindly into the night. They must have had warning of our intentions and had prepared a counter-ambush. Luckily we had sprung their trap, but in the process our own plans were foiled, and at dawn we withdrew to Lester. By a miracle we suffered no casualties, though Maclean had a narrow escape on the return march. His bodyguard dropped a loaded sub-machine-gun; it went off; and a bullet ricocheting from a rock grazed his cheek just below the eye.

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Smiley joined us at Lester on the 16th September, and told us of his experiences with Musa Pitsari. Three nights before, Musa had laid an ambush on the road only two kilometres outside Tirana, and had fallen on a German convoy of some twenty trucks. Two had already been destroyed, and the Zogists were disputing the control of the road with an armoured car when they were suddenly attacked in the rear by the Partisans. Unable to sustain a double engagement, Musa had broken off the action against the convoy and had afterwards frankly admitted that, while the Partisans were in the region, he would have to abandon the war against the Germans.

Smiley had therefore left him and had set out to join us across the plain which was now variously occupied by Germans and Partisans. His journey had been uncomfortable from the start, for a bodyguard had made off with his mule and all his kit, leaving him only the shirt and trousers in which he stood. In summer such a loss might only have been irritating, but the weather was turning cold, and he had been forced to sleep out for three successive nights. The villagers, indeed, had everywhere refused him hospitality and even guides, explaining that the Partisans had let it be known that they meant to shoot the "rebel English" with Abas Kupi and any Albanians who should shelter them.

That same evening we received warning that Partisan patrols had halted only an hour away. Judging of their intentions from Smiley's experience, we prudently abandoned Lester and marched for two hours through rain and sleet until we came to Selite. The villagers there received us well, but, as we learnt in the morning, their hospitality was indiscriminate; and, while they entertained our forces, they also sheltered a German patrol.

Next day I clumsily sprained an ankle on the march; an awkward injury for a guerilla, and one which, though gradually relieved by Gaitcho Goga's skilful massage, kept me tied to my mule for several days. Towards noon we halted in Malibardhe, a poor and straggling village set on a bluff above a sea of undulating, wooded hills. There we were received by the headman of the village, a fierce old mountaineer whose only

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000 son had been killed in the R.A.F. raid on Petch. The tradition of hospitality, however, proved stronger than a father's resentment; he feasted us on sucking pig and grapes, and placed his house at our disposal. There, in the evening, we were joined 643 by Abas Kupi, who came with Fikri Dine and the leaders of the Balli Kombetar.

Fikri was stocky and dark, with grey, rather lifeless eyes and a greedy mouth. He looked tough; his speech was blunt; his manner arrogant. He was not, however, without subtlety, and we found him possessed of a distinct sense of humour. The first encounter with British officers must have been embarrassing, for a former " collaborationist " premier, but, to our great relief, Fikri sought neither to explain nor to excuse his conduct. Instead he told us the history of his attempts to procure arms and money from the Germans, and, with disarming frankness and a touch of irony, described the causes of his failure. He had tried to exploit them for his own ends, and his only regret was that his intrigues had been foiled. There is an element of exploitation in all politics, and Fikri's rage at being made himself the dupe was so sincere that it could not but compel a certain professional sympathy. When he had done with the past he questioned me anxiously about British policy towards Albania, and his own verdict was not perhaps mistaken.

"I know," he said, " that you English have an interest in our country because we have a sea coast and you are a sea power. Many of us count on that, but I have learnt from bitter experience that in politics little interests are often sacrificed to greater ones."

701 With Fikri came General Prenk Previsi, the Commander-in-Chief of the Albanian army and the paramount influence in Kurbenesh. He was a dark, rather weak-faced man, and wore a blue-green field uniform with red facings and highly polished riding-boots. We thought him a light-opera general, but as yet he took little part in proceedings and remained in the background, surrounded by a group of down-at-heel staff officers.

665 In Malibardhe we also met for the first time Ali Bey Klissura, who stood second only to Midhat Frasheri in the Balli Kombetar. A powerful landowner from the south, Ali

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had served in Fan Noli's government and had been condemned to death *in absentia* during Zog's regime for participating in a "Communist" conspiracy. He had spent fourteen years of his exile in France, and there had acquired a style of eloquence and point of view which savoured strongly of the Third Republic. In appearance indeed, with his florid complexion, untidy, greying hair and thick horn-rimmed spectacles, he might well have been a protagonist of the Radical Socialist Party. 665

Ali had returned to Albania when the Italians had driven out King Zog and had resumed his place among the Republican leaders. Later he had become one of the founders of the Balli Kombetar, and had fought with some success in the revolt against the Italians. As an ardent Liberal and Nationalist, however, he cordially detested Communism and was generally supposed to have played a leading part in organising the Ballist effort against the Partisans. Zog had condemned him to death as a Communist; Enver Hoja as a Fascist. The wheel of political fortune has strange turns, but in both cases Ali was absent at the trial.

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THE Zogist forces had been in action for a fortnight,[1] and Abas Kupi waited with growing concern for the aeroplanes which should bring supplies from Italy. His war-chest was empty, his men were down to their last cartridge, but we knew now that the help which we had promised would never come. Now, just as we had brought the Agha and his confederates back into the struggle, our Headquarters ordered Maclean to return to Bari "to report". Smiley, with Sergeants Jenkins and Jones, our team of saboteurs, were to accompany him. I was to take over command of the Mission, but with express instructions not to urge Abas Kupi to attack the Germans, nor to hold out to him any hope of support if he should. My role was textually defined as that of "a neutral observer", although how a British officer attached to forces actively fighting the Germans could be "neutral" presented a 669* 648

1 [autumn, 1944 -- Analyst]

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problem which neither Maclean nor I could ever solve.

These orders sealed the fate of the Zogist movement; for, without supplies, the Agha could not wage war, and without British support he must go down before the Partisans. They also marked the failure of our Mission. With the knowledge and approval of our Headquarters we had promised arms to Abas Kupi if he should fight. He had fought, but now there were to be no arms. We were to go back on our word. The guilt of this betrayal was not ours, but it meant that we should be dishonoured in the eyes of the Albanians; and we felt as if we had been stabbed in the back.

Sober reflection, however, reminded us that a soldier has no right to complain because he feels himself dishonoured by a change of policy. Great issues cannot always be decided over night, and, by an inevitable process, the operations of a military staff are guided by old directives even while new ones are under discussion. So it had been with Albania. When Abas Kupi had announced his decision to fight, our staff officers had still been guided by the directive to send arms to all who attacked the Germans. Policy towards Albania had even then been under review; but an immediate decision had to be taken, and they had therefore given the Agha the assurances which he required. Thus encouraged he had taken the field; but before supplies could be sent there came a change in policy, and it was decided thenceforth to support the Partisans alone. Nor could the clock be put back just because the Agha had attacked the Germans; for, as our instructions showed, that was no longer the real issue in London, any more than in Albania. To explain, however, is not to excuse; and we knew that to support only the Partisans was to surrender Albania to the Russians. They were our allies; but this surrender was none the less a defeat for the British Empire, and the cause of it lay in some defect either of understanding on the part of our statesmen or of vital strength in the imperial body politic. Of this defect our dishonour was a symptom and it was natural that it should hurt us.

Our first reaction had been to contest these orders, but a brief exchange of telegrams with Headquarters convinced us

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that their decision was irrevocable. From shame and policy, however, we still hesitated to tell the Albanians the truth. To have done so indeed might altogether have destroyed Abas Kupi's authority; for, now that he had been driven from his strongholds, his influence rested solely on the presence of our Mission and the hopes of British support which it inspired. We feared, too, that the news of our betrayal might provoke fierce dissensions among the Nationalist leaders and so bring about the common ruin. Time would reveal the position soon enough; and when they pressed us for news of supplies we only answered that we were without instructions. 669* 648

The Nationalists, indeed, were still full of hope; and, at a council of war in Malibardhe, Midhat Frasheri expounded an ambitious plan for the creation of an anti-German bloc of all the northern chiefs. The mainstay of such a bloc was to be Jon Marko Joni, who might raise three thousand rifles and could open the vast region of Mirdita to the Nationalists. Midhat's plan was accepted; and that same day Abas Kupi and his confederates marched off to win the Captain of the Mirdites to their cause. They were playing their last card. 669*

Maclean and I stayed on in Malibardhe to wait till the Agha should return. Abas Ermenye meanwhile continued to harass the German retreat with a mixed force of Zogists and Ballists; and Smiley blew up another bridge. The weather remained fine, but the days were drawing in, and the nights were cold. The Turkomans grumbled, for they had only summer uniforms, and two men sold their rifles to buy warm clothes. The rank and file of the Albanians seemed to sense that the end was near, and they no longer even asked when the aeroplanes would come from Italy. Every night, however, they gathered round to hear the wireless, but their despondency only grew as every broadcast poured out propaganda for the Partisans and made no mention of their own struggle. Food supplies, too, began to fail; and every morning we woke to find that another contingent of tribesmen had deserted. The atmosphere was tense and without hope.

At nightfall on the 20th September Abas Kupi returned

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with the Zogist chiefs and officers, and the leaders of the Balli Kombetar. Neither Fikri Dine nor General Prenk Previsi were with him. The evening was still warm, and for some time we sat together in the courtyard of the house. Little was said, and before dinner the Agha retired, pleading fatigue from the march. The guerillas gathered round when they saw him going into the house, and he stopped and gave them a short speech. I could not understand what he said, but it made them laugh and seemed to raise their spirits.

In the morning we assembled in the small, bare guest-room which served as our headquarters. Two tattered rugs had been spread for us on the floor, and several bunches of black grapes were laid out on a faded red handkerchief. Through the narrow, barred window a pale ray of sunlight fell on a crude lithograph of the Virgin and Child. Maclean, Smiley, and I sat under the window, while the Nationalist leaders completed the circle. On our left was Abas Kupi, smiling wearily, with Gaitcho Goga beside him. Abas Ermenye plucked nervously at the rug; Midhat Frasheri sat erect and expressionless, like some eastern ascetic; Ali Klissura lounged against the wall and wiped his glasses on his sleeve.

Ali was their spokesman; and for sheer eloquence his speech surpassed any other which I heard during the Albanian revolt. He began by recalling that the Zogists and Ballists had been in action against the Germans for a fortnight, without even a sign of encouragement from the British. Neither the B.B.C. nor Radio Bari had mentioned their struggle; and they had waited in vain for the arms which we had promised them. They had perhaps enough ammunition for one more battle, but already their funds had sunk so low that they could not buy food or boots for their men. Their forces were still nearly a thousand strong, but the region of Kurbenesh was of no great extent and the Partisans pressed them from the south. With British backing they could win over Jon Marko Joni, and might yet do great things; but if it was any longer delayed they must confess their defeat.

There was nothing which we could say, and indeed I do not think that Ali expected an answer. The Ballist leaders now

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rose together and left us. We remained alone with Abas Kupi.

"Ali Bey speaks well," he said, "but it is too late for words."

Then in quiet, matter-of-fact tones, he told of their meeting with the Captain of Mirdita. Jon Marko Joni had at once asked him how many cartridges and how many pieces of gold he had received from the British. He had answered that as yet he had only promises; and the cynical old chieftain had replied:

"The Germans have been my friends. To betray friends is immoral and to betray them for nothing is foolish. Let us meet again when you have something more solid than British promises."

Mirdita was thus denied to us; Kurbenesh would soon become untenable. Our retreat to the north was closed. For a few minutes the Agha again talked of attacking Durazzo, then of a sudden he stopped, and asked quietly:

"Tell me, have you still any hope that arms will come for me?"

I exchanged a glance and a nod with Maclean; and we told Abas Kupi the truth. The Nationalist revolt was over.

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VII

DEFEAT IN VICTORY

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> I believed I was on the right road. . . . But fate was merciless to me when it threw me into this maelstrom. I wanted much, I started much, but the gale of the world carried away me and my work.
>
> GENERAL DRAJA MIHAILOVITCH: *Final speech at his trial in Belgrade, 11th July, 1946*

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Now when Abas Kupi saw that all was lost, he wasted no time in vain regrets or feeble reproaches but manfully resolved to bring his affairs to an honourable conclusion. Pride and resentment might still incline him to join with Muharrem Bairaktar and the Captain of Mirdita to wage a forlorn guerilla against the Partisans, but he had been four years the ally of the British, and loyalty, as well as judgment, forbade him to prolong a struggle which we had condemned. He decided, therefore, as a patriot to spare his countrymen from further useless bloodshed, and, like a prudent man, prepared to make good his own escape. That same afternoon he marched out towards Preza to bid his confederate chiefs farewell and to disband the Zogist forces to their homes. Thereafter he would only maintain a bodyguard, and, having discharged his last duties towards his followers, would return and seek our help to leave Albania and join his king.

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In the Agha's absence we were committed to the care of General Prenk Previsi, the former "collaborationist" Commander-in-Chief. We rode north-eastwards, therefore, from Malibardhe, and, after a two hours' journey through rolling, wooded country, came on his headquarters, a lonely, stone

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house deep in the forest of Skurrai. Sentries were posted along the paths leading to it, and, warned by them of our approach, the General came out to meet us surrounded by his staff. We exchanged formal salutes and, standing in the rain, endured a speech of welcome. The Albanian officers were then marshalled in a row for presentation, while the General explained with the ostentatious precision of an instructor on a tactical exercise the dispositions which he had taken for our defence. Such military proceedings astonished the guerillas, but, determined not to be outdone, we gratified the General's vanity and our own sense of humour by inviting him to inspect our Turkoman troops.

Prenk Previsi had until recently been our enemy, but, as is often the way of defeated generals in their dealings with the winning side, he now sought to establish a bond of professional sympathy between us as brother officers. As a first step to this end he proposed, in accordance with what he doubtless believed to be British military custom, that we divide our party into officers and men. It was hard to say, however, who were the officers among the guerillas; and we had grown accustomed, after the manner of the tribal chiefs, to a changing entourage of Zogist and Ballist delegates, favourites, interpreters, buffoons, and bodyguards, who followed us wherever we went. We declined, therefore, to attempt a distinction which must have been invidious, and, among proud men, might have been imprudent. For a moment we feared a social crisis, but on a sudden inspiration I suggested to the General that our motley retinue might be classified as our *État-major*. Maclean bit his lip not to laugh, but honour was satisfied by this ridiculous formula; for, despite his rank and military pretensions, Prenk Previsi was, as I had surmised, but a tribesman in uniform.

We now repaired together towards the house, a solid, two-storied building set on the edge of a low cliff and fronted with a trellis-work portico overgrown with vines. A round arch surmounted by an engraved cross marked the doorway and, passing under it, we were conducted up a steep flight of steps to the guest-room. A log fire blazed on the hearth, but,

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000 instead of the usual carpets and cushions, the floor on both sides of the room was piled three feet deep with banks of fresh bracken.

701 Our host and protector, General Prenk Previsi, had played an important part in the revolution of 1924, and, with Muharrem Bairaktar, Fikri Dine, and Jemal Herri, had formed the quadrumvirate by whose efforts Zog's regime had been established among the Ghegs. When he had served the royal purpose Zog had deprived him of his command and had promoted him to an appointment on the General Staff, where he had enjoyed honour without exercising influence. More pliable than his fellow quadrumvirs, Prenk Previsi had laid aside his political ambitions and had devoted an unusual talent for intrigue to his advancement in the military career. He had won the favour of General Pariani, the head of the Italian Military Mission, and had been chosen by him to accompany the Italian armies in the Abyssinian War as Albanian observer. On his return he had been appointed Albanian Military Attaché in Rome, and his subsequent submission to the Italian crown had been rewarded with the rank of General. The Italians had given him a command during the Greek campaign, but he had been suspected of correspondence with the enemy and had been transferred to Scutari as Albanian adviser to the Italian Commandant. He had employed the next two years in building up a faction among the Albanian officers, but had stood aside from the general revolt against the Italians, retiring with his chief supporters to his native district of Kurbenesh. There he had remained until, in November 1943, the Council of Regency set up under the Germans had summoned him to the Supreme Command.

701 His career as Commander-in-Chief had been stormy; for,
727 while it was German policy to divide and rule, Prenk Previsi was determined to keep all the Albanian armed forces under his own command. His struggle with the Germans was necessarily unequal, but he emerged triumphant from their first challenge to his authority. The Germans had decided to raise an Albanian S.S. Division for the German army, and had offered command of the first brigade to a certain Salami

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Chelai. This Chelai was a Captain on the Reserve, and as such came under the jurisdiction of Prenk Previsi. Now the General was naturally opposed to the formation of an Albanian unit which would not be subject to his authority, and had therefore ordered Chelai to decline the appointment. On German advice, however, Chelai disregarded this order; and one morning the General observed him entering the German Corps Headquarters, dressed in Colonel's uniform. Injured in his dignity, he resolved "to make an example" and ordered Chelai's immediate "execution". An hour later, as the wretched man emerged from his conference, the General's A.D.C.s and orderlies despatched him on the steps of the German Headquarters with two hand-grenades and a volley from their submachine-guns. The General himself enjoyed the proceedings from his office window; and a large crowd gathered to demonstrate their approval. The Germans were not unnaturally enraged by such high-handed defiance, and demanded Prenk Previsi's instant dismissal and punishment. The old Regent, Mehdi Bey, however, had learnt his politics under the Ottoman Empire, and, summoning the General in the presence of the German Commanding Officer, said to him:

"I must ask you to apologise to our German friend for the mess your men have made on his doorstep. Next time you have to shoot an officer, see that it is done in a barracks and not in the street."

The German took the hint; an S.S. division was later formed in the Kossovo, but the attempt was never repeated within the frontiers of the old kingdom.

Prenk Previsi survived the incident, but his relations with the Germans were permanently impaired. His requests for arms and ammunition for the Albanian army were thenceforth invariably rejected; and a letter which he had addressed to General Fistun on this subject was returned to him like a schoolboy's unsatisfactory exercise with "Nein" scrawled across the top of it in green ink. It was this slight which had finally decided him to turn against the Germans, and, now that he was with their enemies, he unburdened himself of all his pent-up resentment. The account of his "collaboration"

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701 was scarcely creditable to himself, but it was eloquent of the almost pathological incapacity of the Germans to win the sympathies of those who might so easily have been their friends.

We came to know Prenk Previsi well in the next few weeks, and, though experience only confirmed our first estimate of his vain and vacillating temper, we found him a good fellow and at times an interesting companion. In his cups he liked nothing better than to be called " Pasha " by his officers, but his observations on affairs were often shrewd, and once he inadvertently revealed to us the secret of oriental government. Our food had been falling off in quality, and, in the hope of improvement, we tried in turn an Italian, a Russian, and a Turkoman cook. The General shared our meals, and we accordingly asked his opinion as to which of these cooks we should keep.

" Use all three," he answered, " but stir up jealousy between them and let each one fear that you think to dismiss him. Then we shall eat well."

We tested his advice and were obliged to confess that it was sound.

*669 We remained a week in Skurrai, watching the summer fade out of the year. The leaves were already turning in the forest; and almost every day there were showers of rain. The evenings set in colder; and the General now had a fire lit in front of the house so that we might enjoy the last hours of daylight in its warmth. We passed the time in anecdote and speculation, and I began to take lessons in Italian from Mario and Franco. Sometimes Mario would sing for us, or we would call on the Turkomans to dance. Ihsan Toptani joined us on the 25th September with the news that one of his servants had been arrested by the Partisans while bringing back to us the spare charging-engine for our wireless. The Partisans had kept the engine, and had beaten the boy so hard to learn of our whereabouts that a week later he was still unfit for work. Merret also arrived from the south with Sergeant Jones, and reported that the Germans were retiring northward unhindered, while Zogists and Partisans still wasted their strength in civil war.

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Once Smiley raided down into the plain with a mixed force of Zogists and Ballists and blew up a bridge. This was our last attack; for, with the knowledge that our Mission had failed, the mainspring of our energies seemed broken, and we were glad to rest.

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MEANWHILE the tragedy of the Nationalist leaders moved swiftly to its appointed end. With the death of Mustafa Jinishi the Partisans had lost the last restraining influence in their leadership, and now they fell upon Muharrem Bairaktar. The Lord of Liuma had driven in the German outposts around Kukes and already threatened the town itself when he received news that the Partisans had entered his region. He hoped, and the Germans must have feared, that they marched to his support, and he at once accepted their invitation to a conference. He met their delegates in a lonely house on the southern marches of Liuma; but, while the Partisans had come in strength, Muharrem was accompanied by only five bodyguards. He told the meeting of his hopes of victory, and offered the Partisans a close alliance with a joint military command. Their delegates, however, demanded that he join the L.N.C. and threatened him with death when he declined. Seeing that he was outnumbered, the cunning chieftain made a show of yielding, and, feigning ignorance, asked the Partisans to explain the principles which they had bidden him embrace. This request sowed the seeds of discord among them, and the meeting degenerated into an ideological wrangle between the commissars. In the heat of debate they had almost forgotten Muharrem, when suddenly he drew his gun, and, calling to his guards, shot his way out of the room. Two of his men were killed in the attempt, but Muharrem made good his escape and rejoined his troops.

Unable to fight on two fronts, he raised the siege of Kukes, and, marching south, defeated the Partisans and drove them back into Dibra. They returned, however, with reinforcements, and, after a week of fighting, scattered the men of Liuma.

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Muharrem crossed the Drin by night and sought refuge with the Captain of Mirdita.

While the Lord of Liuma wrestled in the toils, Gani Kryeziu had descended from his fastnesses and prepared to storm Jakova. The city lies on the western fringe of the plain of Kossovo, and its approaches from the mountains have ever been guarded by the passes of Zogai and Prusit. Gani accordingly divided his army into two parts, and, while he drove the Germans from their positions at Zogai, Hassan Kryeziu carried the fortifications of Prusit. At dawn on the 12th September the two columns debouched into the plain, and the brothers, joining hands, slowly pressed the enemy back against Jakova. Simcox, who was wounded in the action, afterwards described Gani's advance as "very brave". By Albanian standards, indeed, it was a great battle, and Gani was able to return the fire of the German artillery with the guns which he had captured from them. By evening all the villages between the mountains and the city were in his hands, and at nightfall he gave orders for the final assault. His forward troops stormed the German barracks on the outskirts of Jakova and fired their petrol dumps; but the tribesmen had been fighting for two days and were too short of ammunition to press home their advantage. The Germans remained masters of the city; and with the dawn Gani was forced to withdraw before their counter-attack to defensive positions at Prusit.

Leaving Hassan to hold the pass, Gani and Said fell back into the mountains to rest their men and concert plans for a second attack. Meanwhile Simcox returned to his base at Dobreit to report by wireless to Headquarters and organise the reception of further supplies. With him went Gani's political adviser, Lazar Fundo, who also served as interpreter to the British Mission. Gani had already called on the Kosmet leaders to join him in the attack on Jakova, and Simcox was therefore not surprised when a strong force of Partisans halted in Dobreit. As on previous occasions, he gave them hospitality, and, thinking that they had come to fight the Germans, was pleased to see that the Kosmet group were reinforced by the 5th Brigade of the L.N.C.

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THE CHURCH AT VELYES, WHERE THE TURKOMANS BIVOUACKED

ABAS KUPI TAKING LEAVE OF THE PRIEST OF VELYES, BEFORE THE FINAL RETREAT TO THE SEA

[308a-]

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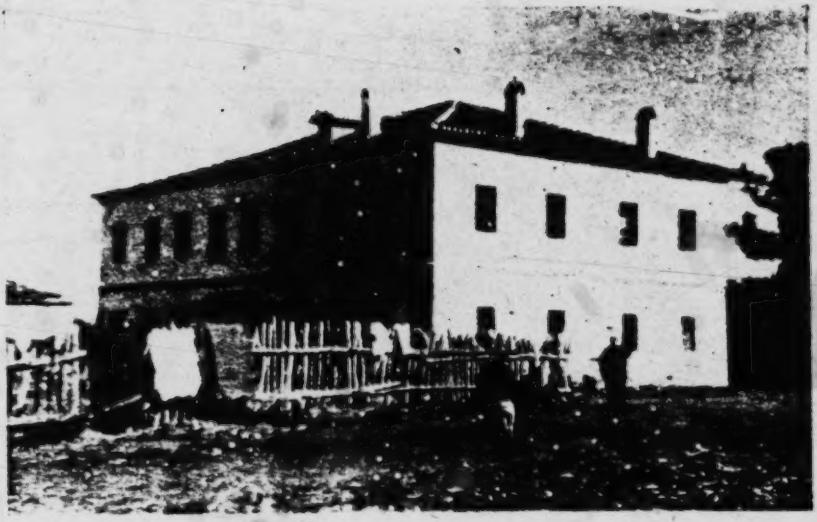

OUR LAST HEADQUARTERS A PROSPEROUS HOUSE)

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THE BEACH WHERE WE EMBARKED
(MOUNT VELYES IN THE BACKGROUND)

[-308b-]

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Next day, the 19th September, the "Kosmet" forces departed in the direction of Gani's headquarters, but the 5th Brigade remained in Dobreit and presently surrounded the British Mission's base. Their commissar then came and curtly informed Simcox that he must follow him to the L.N.C. headquarters at Berat. Simcox objected that as a British officer he could only take orders from Maclean, or from Bari; but the commissar explained that Enver Hoja was no longer prepared to countenance the activities of British missions not accredited to the L.N.C. To solve the deadlock Simcox offered to refer the matter to Bari by wireless, but the commissar put an armed guard round the transmitter and disclosed his real intentions by declining to allow its operation. Enraged at such treatment, Simcox refused to move; but the Partisans pulled down his tent while he still sat inside it and, after pillaging his camp, forcibly marched him off towards the south. On the journey he was kept a close prisoner and was submitted to every indignity. His kit was looted; his papers were searched; and the Partisans deprived a British officer of his arms. Thus he was brought to Berat, where he was handed over to the British Mission and evacuated by sea to Bari.

[665] At the first halt on this march, Lazar Fundo was called before the commissar, and, on identification, was stripped, laid out on the ground and beaten to death. Fundo had resigned from the Communist Party in 1938; and his murder was officially explained by Enver Hoja as "execution for treason to the movement".

While the 5th Brigade was thus engaged, the leaders of the Kosmet forces came into Gani's headquarters and summoned him to join the L.N.C. or bear the consequences of a refusal. Gani declined their summons and ignored their threats; and the array of his troops admonished the Partisans of the danger of seeking to force his hand. They resorted therefore to guile, and, pleading their incompetence to negotiate, invited Said to come with them to meet Dali Ndreou, the Commander of the 1st L.N.C. Division, who was, they said, in the neighbourhood. Said imprudently accepted, and was lured a day's journey to the south in search of the elusive commander. That night he

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*669 was informed that it was Enver Hoja, and not Dali Ndreou, who wished to see him; and, when he sought to excuse himself and return to Jakova, he found that he was the prisoner of the Partisans. They used him more honourably than Simcox, but he followed the same road and was brought to the L.N.C. headquarters at Berat.

Many of the Communist leaders had been Said's friends in Paris; and in those days he had helped Enver Hoja and Ymer Dyshnitsa with money. They now spared no effort to win him to their cause, offering him high posts in their government and even promising the vice-presidency to Gani. Said, however, rejected all their offers, and, outraged by the murder of his friend, Lazar Fundo, and by the treatment of Simcox, who had been his guest, refused to accept his freedom at their hands. From Skurrai we urged our Headquarters to intervene on his behalf; and Smith reported that his life was in danger. For several days we feared that he would meet with an " accident ", but, after devious negotiations, he outwitted his enemies; and a fortnight later Smith saw him safely on to a 'plane bound for Bari.

The liquidation of Simcox's Mission deprived Gani of all contact with the British, and, with the capture of Said, he lost a precious hostage to the Partisans. Nevertheless he continued for some days to hold his forces together, hoping that our Headquarters might still keep their promise to " take a strong line " in his defence. This hope was disappointed; and, rather than call the tribes to civil war, Gani disbanded his men to their homes and sought the refuge of the mountains with his brother, Hassan.

The news of these events brought British prestige in Albania to its nadir, for it was plain to all that the Partisans had turned on Gani because he was the friend of England. They might pretend that they had attacked the Ballists for their " collaboration ", Abas Kupi for his obstructive passivity, or Muharrem Bairaktar in self-defence. By no stretch, however, even of their fertile imaginations, or of the credulity of the people, could they trump up a similar charge against Gani. Here was a man who had fought consistently against the Italians and the Germans;

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who had befriended the Partisans themselves; and who, in all his actions, had sought and followed the advice of a British mission. Radio Bari had made much of his struggle; our Headquarters had sent him arms; and we had held him up to the other chiefs as a model of loyal co-operation with the Allies. Now all could see that we had failed to avert, and seemed powerless to avenge, the dispersal of his forces, the arrest of his brother, and the murder of his chief political adviser. Nor could the news that we had suffered a British officer to be paraded as a captive through the length of Albania do other than provoke the despair of the Nationalists and the contempt of the Partisans.

Thus, of the five chieftains who had swayed the Ghegs, Fikri Dine, Abas Kupi, Muharrem Bairaktar, and Gani Kryeziu were now gone down before the revolution. Only Jon Marko Joni still stood above the storm, and round him rallied the last ragged guard of Nationalist resistance. But the people knew now that the Partisans must win, and withdrew their support from a lost cause. From this time, therefore, the actions of the leaders began to lose all representative significance and became nothing but the manœuvres of generals without armies. Men did not turn against them, for they were popular and respected; but, though they might enjoy the general sympathy, their power was buried beneath the ruin of their hopes. They marched and counter-marched across the mountains; postured, orated, and intrigued; but escape was now their loftiest ambition and the instinct of self-preservation the driving force of their lives.

3

WHILE we still sought to piece together such rumours as reached us of Gani and Muharrem's fate, our spies reported that Partisan patrols had been seen within two hours of our "hide-out". In our mood of despondency we shrank from the sheer physical effort of a march, and, now that all hope was gone, only pride induced us to play our part to the end.

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*669 Maclean gave the order to strike camp; and, while the men formed up and the mules were laden, Smiley switched on the wireless to hear the news. It was the afternoon bulletin from Bari and opened with the announcement:

"British troops have landed in Albania. . . ."

The guerillas went wild with joy; and we had some difficulty in dissuading the General and his staff from revealing our position to the Partisans by discharging their revolvers in a *feu de joie*. The bulletin gave no details of the scene or the extent of the operation; and we had received no hint of a landing from our Headquarters. Our hopes soared, however, for, with a British army behind us, we might still save the situation. The Ghegs would now rise like one man to fall upon the Germans, and the presence of our troops must compel the Partisans at least to suspend the civil war.

We at once despatched a courier to bear the news to Abas Kupi. He heard it at Preza, where he had gathered some two thousand men: the remnant of the army which he had come to disband. His chiefs expected a speech of farewell; they were astonished by an eve-of-battle harangue; and the Agha wrote urging us to join him in an attack against Durazzo or Tirana. But meanwhile a telegram from Bari had revealed the truth and shattered our last hope. The landing had been but a commando raid at Saranda, near the Greek border. There had not been, and would not be, a British invasion of Albania. The twelfth hour was already passed.

We had abandoned Skurrai on the 27th September, and slept that night in the grim, stone fortress where Ihsan's father, Abdi Bey, had made his last stand in the revolt of 1906 against the Turks. It stood on the brow of a skull-shaped hill, and commanded the wide and stony valley where the swollen streams of Mati and Fani coiled together to their confluence. We were now on the extreme limits of Kurbenesh, and the range of mountains beyond the rivers was already in Mirdita. Skirting it ran a road, and straight opposite us was a concrete German block-house — the only building in sight.

It was not yet October, but that night there was a frost for

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the first time. The morning broke cold and grey; a steady downpour of rain fell from an angry sky. The waters of Mati and Fani rose before our eyes; and the old mountaineer who was our host warned us that the rivers would soon become impassable. The night again brought rumours of a Partisan advance, and next day we decided to cross the valley, hoping that the flood which might still allow our passage would rise behind us to bar the way to our pursuers. We set out from the fortress at dusk and successfully negotiated the two rivers, which already ran breast-high at the fords. Lights were burning in the enemy block-house, but, though their sudden extinction made us fear that we had been observed, no attempt was made to dispute our crossing of the road. Beyond it we entered a narrow ravine, and, after an hour's march, were received into the poor but hospitable village of Rasfik.

Next day we continued the march northwards, and, on the last evening of September, halted in a small village set on the southern shoulder of Mount Velyes, the broad, grey pyramid of rock which rises five thousand feet above the ancient city of Llesh. Llesh itself was hidden from us by a fold in the ground, but from a neighbouring height we could see the ruins of the castle where Skanderbeg expired, brooding over the defection of his Western Allies and the triumph of the Orient. Beyond, the broad belt of the coastal plain dissolved through stagnant lagoons into the living sea. Velyes was in Mirdita, but, with much courtesy and a few pieces of our gold, the General won the alliance of the local *Bairaktars*. Jon Marko Joni's friendship was more uncertain, but, in the common distress, he too gave his consent to our sojourn in his territory.

Our host in Velyes was the village priest, a kindly fellow who placed his rambling house at our disposal and tolerantly invited our Moslem Turkomans to sleep and shelter in his church. He too had once come out from Scutari burning with zeal to reform the manners of the mountaineers. But twenty years had passed since then; and now he contented himself with the little luxuries of tribal life, using his slender influence to help his friends, or foster the temporal interests of the Roman cause. Once I attended a service in his church: a low, stone

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793 barn, decorated only by a crude, wooden cross, erected on a bare altar of rough stones. At the door one of the congregation stood guard over the rifles of his fellows, but each of us retained his pistol or his knife.

[771] For the Mirdites, Christianity is, above all, an expression of nationalism; and the elevation of the Host that day appeared to me less as an act of faith than as a gesture of defiance against the foreign invader marching under the banner yesterday of Islam, now of Communism.

4

* 669 648 WHEN Maclean had seen that our Headquarters were inflexibly set on his recall, he had asked that a boat be sent to embark him from the coast between the estuaries of the Mati and the Drin. The staff officers in Bari, however, refused this request and ordered him instead to hand himself over to the Partisans for evacuation through Southern Albania. In explanation they alleged difficulties with the Navy; but, as we suspected at the time and later verified, their real and puerile design was to prove to Enver Hoja that Maclean and Smiley had really been withdrawn. We saw at once that in the eyes of the Albanians Maclean's departure to the camp of the L.N.C. must impose an intolerable humiliation on Abas Kupi. We also feared that Enver Hoja's attitude towards our Mission might make such a journey as dangerous as it would be dishonourable.

We therefore multiplied excuses for delay, making much of the difficulties of travel while the rivers were in spate, and discovering objections to each rendezvous which our Headquarters proposed. Such stratagems served for a time, but orders from Bari grew increasingly peremptory; and Maclean had just decided that he could procrastinate no longer when suddenly an urgent telegram from Headquarters countermanded all previous instructions. As we were later to learn, a commissar had spoken out of turn at the L.N.C. Divisional Headquarters, and the British liaison officers had thus discovered

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the real intentions of the Partisans. These were to march Maclean and Smiley south as prisoners to show the people Enver Hoja's power. Three days later our Headquarters signalled that the whole Mission would now be withdrawn by sea. 669* 648

The prospect of Italy was welcome, but we knew that we could not leave Albania with honour if we abandoned Abas Kupi to his fate. We could not forget that he had stood by us in the dark days after the fall of France, and, though necessity might now compel us to desert his cause, we resolved at least to save his life. In his hour of need, however, our Headquarters forgot the past, and, to appease the unappeasable, prepared to sacrifice a proven friend. To their eternal dishonour, they informed us that they would not evacuate Abas Kupi, lest such a move should impair their relations with the Partisans.

In the kaleidoscope of politics all alliances and relationships are subject to the eternal laws of change. Interests converge only to separate again; ideologies and principles serve their turn in the unending struggle for power. It is therefore often necessary and — since, in the anarchy of international affairs, necessity is law — legitimate to abandon causes long supported and to dissolve the pledged bonds of alliance; for it is not open to a whole people to be faithful unto death. But it is always wrong to abandon to their fate men who have served us well. We may have to jettison their interest and abjure our support of their movements, but, if we cannot fulfil their hopes, we should leave no stone unturned to save at least their lives. 000

Ashamed of our Headquarters' cowardice, we now resolved not to await a Motor-Torpedo-Boat from Bari but to advise Abas Kupi to charter an Albanian craft in which we might cross to Italy together. We therefore sent Petrit to Preza to warn his father of our situation. Three days later the Agha joined us at Velyes with two hundred men, the last remnant of the Zogist forces. He had marched for twenty-seven hours, fighting two actions against the Germans on the way, and wading through the flooded courses of Mati and Fani. His 669*

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*669 guards were worn out and in rags; and the Agha himself looked grey and old.

Next morning, when he had rested, we laid our plan for evacuation before him. The knowledge that the British Command had declined to send a ship for him must have been a bitter blow; but he felt the depths of our unspoken shame and said with typical generosity:

"It is better this way, for it is my duty as your host to escort you to safety."

That same afternoon, therefore, he despatched agents to Durazzo and to Scutari to find a boat. At our request Ihsan also left for Scutari to make independent enquiries.

We remained a fortnight on Mount Velyes, waiting for news of the boat. Meanwhile the Agha selected the companions of his exile, deciding on Petrit, his eldest, and Rustum, his youngest son, with Gaitcho Goga to act as secretary and Ramiz as bodyguard. There might not be room for more in the boat; and he therefore entrusted his wife, his daughters, and the remaining son to the care of friends near Scutari.

000 The weather had broken now, and the first snow fell on the high mountains. The days passed slowly, for it was too cold and damp to sit outside and too dark to read indoors. Instead we slept and talked, or spent the time among the Turkomans. October is the season when the *raki* is brewed; and sometimes we would wander out to watch the villagers stewing the grapes or plums in their primitive stills. Smiley meantime undertook a last reconnaissance of the coast, adventuring as far north as Shengjin, the ancient Venetian anchorage of San Giovani di Medua.

One day the Germans, sensitive of our presence so near to the road, sent a patrol to dislodge us from Mount Velyes. Warned of their approach the Agha seized his rifle and set out to meet them. We hurried after him with the Albanians and Turkomans, and took up defensive positions on the crest of a ridge below the church. The ground in front of us was wooded, but, though we could already see the Germans working their way through the trees, the Agha told the men to hold their fire. When they were quite close he gave a shout and a single

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volley crashed through the branches. The Germans hesitated; then, as the guerillas began firing in their own time, turned and fled back towards Llesh. They did not come again.

On the 4th October a telegram from Headquarters announced that a boat would be sent on the following evening to evacuate Neel and his Mission. It was suggested that we might be embarked at the same time, but Smiley's absence on reconnaissance provided us with a convenient excuse for declining the rendezvous. Neel was duly evacuated with a number of Turkoman deserters, some Italian camp-followers, and two Albanians. By a tragic accident, however, his wireless operator, Corporal Button, was drowned in the capsize of one of the collapsible canoes in which the party were rowed out to the waiting Motor-Torpedo-Boat. Hibberdine, Neel's second-in-command, remained in Scutari, too ill to move, but with instructions to join our Mission as soon as he recovered.

Meanwhile the Partisans had resumed their northward advance; our position at Velyes would soon become untenable; and we therefore decided to await the Agha's boat in the coastal plain beyond Llesh. Before descending to the coast, however, we climbed with Abas Kupi to the rocky summit of Mount Velyes to look for a last time on the hills and valleys where we had worked and fought. A clear day favoured the expedition; and the labour of the ascent was rewarded by the magnificence of a view which embraced the whole North Albanian scene. Looking south I recognised the rocky peaks and the plateau of Biza, where, seven months before, we had swung down out of the night. From there I followed the path which had led us to the Zogist strongholds of Mati, Kruya, and Tirana, whose rich valleys and barren ranges were of variously pleasant but equally familiar memory. The city of Tirana was concealed by its guardian crescent of mountains, but across the plain, beyond the minarets of Preza, I could just discern the outlines of Durazzo, where Abas Kupi had first raised the standard of Albanian resistance. To the east lay the rolling forests of Mirdita — "the land of happy days" — which we had crossed as outlaws but had never known as

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000 friends. Beyond them towered the jagged peaks of Liuma, over which we had toiled with Muharrem Bairaktar; and to the north the view was blocked by the dark massif of the Jakova Mountains, where the indomitable Kryezius had waged their lonely war. The course of the Drin was masked by the Liuman gorges, but beyond Kukes, where the Black and White streams mingle, I could see the noble river flowing northwards to sweep round the base of the Procletiya Alps and return south to join the sea five thousand feet below the summit where we stood. To the north, beyond the river, rose the red towers and minarets of fanatical Scutari; and between the grey waters of its lake and the glinting Adriatic the skyline was broken by the black mountain bastion of Montenegro. All around us lay the prize which we had lost; and, as we sat there gazing down upon it, I heard Abas Kupi say almost to himself:

"If only Mirdita had been with us. . . ."

Next evening, the 14th October, we abandoned Velyes and marched down rough and rocky paths towards the plain. By the ruins of Skanderbeg's castle we saluted General Prenk Previsi for the last time. He must have guessed that we planned to sail for Italy, but his sense of dignity forbade him to ask a favour which we might refuse, and he preferred instead to trust his safety to the loyalty of his tribesmen in Kurbenesh. Below the castle we came out on to the road within a few yards of the gendarmerie post which guarded the entrance to Llesh. A sentry stood outside, but he ran indoors as we approached; and the gendarmes literally turned a blind eye towards us, slamming the doors and shutters as we passed. Two hundred yards separated us from the turning into the plain, and we were still marching along the road when a German armoured car drove up behind us from the direction of Llesh. We must have presented an easy target, but the German crew, like the gendarmes, favoured the better part of valour, and, ducking down inside the turret, drove past at top speed.

We now turned off into the coastal fens, a tangle of swamp and forest with occasional water-logged pastures, intersected by canals and high thorn fences. By sunrise we had already

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marched fourteen hours, and soon afterwards halted in a wood to lie up and rest through the day. Towards evening we resumed the march, and came by devious ways through the fens to the lonely farm-house which was to be our last headquarters. It was a strong, square building, painted white, and stood two hours' march from the sea in a broad meadow surrounded by the forest. Its owners were two brothers who had migrated there forty years earlier from the barren and blood-stained Montenegrin frontier. Both were of imposing stature and still wore the white jodhpurs and embroidered waistcoats of the highlanders of the North. They were men of substance, and, in our honour, drew on their oldest *raki* and killed the fattest lamb. The Agha, indeed, had long been their friend; and, by a strange coincidence, they had sheltered him from the Austrians during the first World War.

Our forces now consisted of a hundred or so of Abas Kupi's stalwarts, nearly as many Turkomans, and some fifty Albanian, Italian, and other camp-followers of the Mission. Guarded by these faithful few, we were confined within an area of some five square miles, bounded to the north by the Drin, to the south by the Mati, to the east by the main road, and to the west by the Adriatic. Germans and Partisans surrounded us to landward; and, though the swamps and canals might afford us some hope of resistance, our only line of retreat lay westward across the sea. Our various enemies still hesitated to pursue us into the morasses, but we knew that this respite must be short-lived; for the Germans were nervous of our presence on their flank, and Enver Hoja was determined to prevent the Agha's escape.

The Agha's agents had not yet found a boat, but Ihsan now reported that he was in touch with a skipper who offered to attempt the journey for a hundred gold napoleons. Our own funds were exhausted, but Abas Kupi still had just enough money; and Ihsan accordingly returned to Scutari with Petrit to conclude the deal. Several days passed, and then Ihsan joined us again with the grim news that the venal skipper was holding out for a higher price. The Agha could not meet this

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*669 new demand, but our host, learning of his difficulty, offered to pledge his land to raise the sums required. Ihsan now returned to Scutari, and next day informed us through Petrit that he had found a more honourable sailor, a Montenegrin, who was prepared to make the crossing in an open launch. That night Smiley commented in his diary: "All is arranged except where to pick us up; the date and the signals!"

Meanwhile the news had spread that we were in the plain, and scattered remnants of the Nationalists began to filter into our camp through the German and Partisan lines. The more sanguine among them believed that we had only left the mountains to prepare for a British landing, and even the leaders still hoped that we might protect them from the Partisans. Midhat Frasheri, Ali Klissura, and the chief men of the Balli Kombetar joined us on the 16th October, and, with dignity and discretion, sounded our willingness to embark them for Italy. An earlier breach of faith only increased our obligations towards them, but we could not demand for them what had already been refused to Abas Kupi. Our evasive answers must have sounded in their ears like a death sentence, but they heard us calmly; and that night Ali Klissura was the best of company. In the early hours, however, we were aroused by groans and blood-curdling screams from the corner of the room in which he slept. Someone struck a match, and we saw that the wretched man was in the grip of a nightmare. Midhat woke him gently; and Ali, still trembling, told us of a horrible dream in which he had been tortured with a knife by Enver Hoja.

We had already seen how the bonds of alliance are dissolved by the certainty of victory; we now observed that a similar phenomenon accompanies the acceptance of defeat. The common danger had united Republicans with Monarchists, but their feud was revived by the common catastrophe. Abas Kupi accused the Ballists of discrediting the Nationalist cause in the eyes of the British by their association with the Germans: Midhat Frasheri maintained that the Communists might still have been suppressed if the Zogists had joined forces

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with him at the beginning of the civil war. Such recriminations might appear academic, but they disguised a natural and urgent conflict of interests. The two parties could no longer help each other in Albania; they might soon rend each other in exile; and, now that resistance had ceased, Zogists and Ballists appeared as rivals for British favour, rather than as allies against the Partisans. The Agha had resolved to dissociate himself from men who had "collaborated" with the Germans, but the Ballists still hoped to shelter behind his name. We never asked what passed between them that day; but, when their meeting was over, the Ballist leaders bade us farewell and returned towards the mountains looking like condemned men.

Midhat and Ali were followed by Fikri Dine, who came to discuss the advantages of resistance or flight, and to enquire what reception he might expect from the British if he should land in Italy. Despite his defection to our side we could offer little encouragement to a former "Quisling"; and the Agha advised him to win back in the mountains the reputation he had lost in Tirana. He left us to return to Dibra, but our camp remained a rallying-point for Nationalists of every kind who clung instinctively to Abas Kupi. Among them came a delegation from the Catholic mountaineers of the Maltsia i Madhe, inviting him to organise their resistance against the Partisans. Abas Kupi received them in our presence and declined their proposal, saying:

"It would be against the wishes of the British, and, though they may forsake me, yet I will never turn against them."

5

THE weather had been fine when we came down into the plain; but October is the malarial season, and our nights were plagued by innumerable mosquitoes. Our supplies of quinine were long since exhausted, but we were luckily spared the fever which ravaged the ranks of our Turkomans and Albanians. At first we spent the days out of doors, resting on the bright coloured rugs which our host would spread for us in the sun-

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000 shine. Then the rains came, turning the ground into marshland, while a cold north wind kept us to the house. The length of our visit strained the resources of the region; supplies of food declined; and, instead of the old *raki* with which we had been welcomed, we were now sold a more bitter brew. Sometimes, in search of news or a more varied diet, we visited neighbouring villages; and, when the evenings were fine, we would stroll through the camp to watch the Turkomans dance round the fires and listen to their wild, sad songs. It grew dark quite early now, and we took to playing chess, at which the Agha cheated as blatantly as Napoleon. Thus ten days passed; and still we waited for the boat.

727 669 Meanwhile the Germans had withdrawn from South Albania; they still held Tirana with a strong garrison; but the Corps Headquarters was already removed to Scutari. The Albanian Government disintegrated, some of the Ministers following the German generals, while others remained in the capital, or sought a precarious refuge in Durazzo. The Partisans surged forward in the wake of the German armies, and the Albanians submitted to a Communist government with very varying degrees of enthusiasm. A German defeat was good news under any circumstances; but the change of masters seemed a doubtful benefit to the Albanians; and we could but faintly rejoice at a victory which brought the Straits of Otranto under Russian influence. Our Headquarters, however, still seemed to believe that Enver Hoja was their friend, and summed up their policy towards the Partisans as follows:

"Gradual build-up of L.N.C. and its army will now take place. Our relations with the L.N.C. will be strengthened for post-war purposes."

Our own experience allowed us no such illusions, and we could only smile when the Director of all the Balkan Operations telegraphed us his congratulations and said:

"We are now reaping the benefit of eighteen months' hard work."

We had indeed worked hard, and there were some, though not enough, dead Germans to show for it: but the Russians had worked better, and theirs would be the reward.

[October, 1944 -- Analyst]

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Fear stalked through the camp in these last days, but Abas Kupi remained calm to the end. His kindness to us was unfailing; and never by word nor deed did he betray any sign of resentment against his treatment by the British Command. He understood that we were his friends, and always spoke of "our defeat" as if to show that he still identified us with his cause. We had come to know him well during these seven months in which we had so often broken bread together and slept under the same roof, and our respect for him had only grown with intimacy. No man can be great from morning until night, but there was in Abas Kupi a power of leadership, a natural wisdom, and a generous temper which endured the searching test of daily scrutiny. Courage, cunning, energy, and patience are necessary qualities in a guerilla leader, but Abas Kupi's peculiar genius lay in his skill in manipulating men, and in the natural pragmatism of his outlook. He seemed to know just how far each man could be used, and had reduced to a fine art the methods of making others serve his purposes. He would appeal with more than feminine intuition to whatever was strongest or weakest in each individual; and so personal was his technique in these matters that he would never speak with more than one man at a time. Trusting seldom, he could seldom be betrayed; but, if suspicion prevented him from delegating authority, his achievements were perhaps the more remarkable in that he was alone the indispensable heart and nerve-centre of an otherwise invertebrate movement.

He might understand by intuition; he judged only by results; and indeed it often seemed to us that he was deaf to argument and blind to a man's intentions. Such objectivity was proof alike against the sentimental appeal of a demagogue, the scrupulous hesitations of a moralist, or the fine-spun controversies of professional politicians. It was perhaps the real secret of his power, and may explain how an illiterate and primitive tribesman could command the support of intellectuals and could defeat, through four long years, the wiles of a Mustafa Kruya and the casuistry of the missionaries of the Comintern. The soundest calculation, however, proceeds in the last analysis from some act of faith; and trust in British

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power was the first article in the Agha's creed. His desperate situation might suggest that he had been mistaken, yet he still believed that his defeat was only a temporary reverse.

In the long hours of waiting we spoke together more freely than in the past, and our conversations ranged beyond the daily problems of war and politics. The Agha's philosophy was simple and earthbound, and he told me once: "We make our own heaven or hell here, in this world." He regarded power as the greatest driving force in men's lives; for experience had taught him that its possession was the necessary condition of personal freedom and of all good or evil action. In the bitterness of defeat he blamed the weakness of his allies more than the malice of his enemies, but showed the same objectivity in his opinion of people as in his judgment of affairs. A deep distrust of human nature led him to view opponents and supporters with the same detachment, and to judge them solely by their proven records, or their qualities of companionship. Enver Hoja he despised as "a fool", but he spoke with respect of Ymer Dyshnitsa and Seifullah Maleshova, and always referred to Mustafa Jinishi as "my friend". Likewise he spoke with sympathy of Mustafa Kruya, his would-be murderer, and we were once astonished to hear him call Mark Joni Markai "a good boy". As a leader he deplored the fatal suppleness of the Ballist chiefs, but as an ignorant man he bowed before their erudition. He smiled at Muharrem's vanity, and, if his affection for Gani might sometimes seem tinged with jealousy, he often told us of the "brotherly kindness" with which Gani had received him in Belgrade. Gratitude is rare in politics, but, if the Agha could not always reward kindness, at least he never forgot it. He loved the way of life of the tribal anarchy, and deplored the rise to power of new men who had never known, and would not respect, its personal freedom and ancient code of honour. Yet even his regrets were tempered by an instinctive sense of historical proportion; and once, in a more philosophical mood, he told us:

"You know we Ghegs have exploited Albania for generations. Perhaps it is only right that the Tosks should have their turn."

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THE AUTHOR, DURING THE RETREAT TO MIRDITA

" SONS OF THE EAGLE "

From the summit of Mount Velyes Abas Kupi looks out over Albania for the last time

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ABAS KUPI

(Photographed at our last Headquarters in the coastal plain, a few days before the end)

[-324b-]

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000 DESPITE Ihsan's message of encouragement there was still no sign of the boat, and it was in vain that our patrols lit fires each night by the sea. At length in despair we sent Ramiz to Scutari to discover the causes of the delay. For two days we had no word from him, but on the 23rd October he returned with news. The boat, a pilot launch, was lying up in the river Boyana and her skipper planned to slip down the estuary on the first dark night.

Meanwhile our Headquarters pressed us insistently to embark, and presently informed us that a boat would be sent for us on the 24th October. The wording of our orders allowed of various interpretations and thus afforded a pretext for a last delay. It was therefore decided that Smiley should keep the rendezvous with the rest of the Mission, but that Maclean and I should stay behind. Now that the fighting was over we were glad to be free of the responsibility for our N.C.O.s and for the American pilots; and we hoped, besides, that Smiley might persuade Headquarters to change their minds and arrange the Agha's evacuation.

Next night, while the camp slept, Smiley set out towards the beach, accompanied by Merret, Sergeants Jones and Jenkins, and the two Americans, Shumacher and Corsentino. With him also went Lieutenant Pittard of the South African Air Force, a young man with a shock of fair hair who had baled out over Tirana five days earlier and had been rescued by Zogist sympathisers. The party reached the shore towards midnight and were embarked without incident in one of two Motor-Torpedo-Boats.

The two M.T.B.s which evacuated Smiley and his party landed an L.R.D.G.[1] patrol, commanded by Captain Jackson, a young Rhodesian officer. Their task was to reconnoitre and harass the progress of the enemy's retreat; and next day, at our request, Abas Kupi provided them with food and guides.

[1] L.R.D.G. (Long Range Desert Group): units employed for reconnaissance and action behind the enemy lines. Originally developed in the Western Desert.

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000 With the patrol there also came two Albanians, officers of the Balli Kombetar, who had been evacuated to Italy with Neel. No suspicion of personal " collaboration " attached to either, but, despite their violent protests, they had been sent back to face almost certain death, lest their presence in Italy should embarrass our relations with Enver Hoja. The stories which they told spread consternation through the camp; and that night Abas Kupi talked of suicide.

There was still no news of the boat, but in the morning the wireless announced that Mr. Anthony Eden, the Foreign Secretary, had landed in Italy. His intervention might offer a last hope, and we therefore sent him an urgent appeal to order Abas Kupi's evacuation.

Towards noon that same day Hibberdine was brought in from Scutari, supported by the Italian doctor, in whose care Neel had left him. That night there was a brush between Zogist sentries and a Partisan patrol. The net was closing round us.

Next day, the 26th October, a bodyguard roused us with the news that two Montenegrins were in the camp and had asked to speak with us. Both belonged to the Chetnik movement; and the spokesman of the two was a certain Major Vukadinovitch, a dark and determined-looking, regular officer who had been recommended to me by friends among the Yugoslav exiles. They had come under safe conduct from the Captain of Mirdita, and laid before us a proposal from General Mihailovitch, who offered to attack the German army in Montenegro with all his forces in return for British protection against Tito. We agreed to transmit the proposal to the Allied Command, but could hold out no hope of its acceptance. Nor, perhaps, did the two Serbs expect that we should; and indeed I felt that they had only undertaken their mission to satisfy themselves and their followers that they had done all that was humanly possible to save their cause.

We set food and drink before them, and, as we discussed their country's fate, I reflected that these were the men who had made the *coup d'état* against Prince Paul when " Yugo-

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slavia had found her soul". They had been our allies then, when Tito and his Communists still denounced "an imperialist war"; and, when the Germans had occupied their country, they had been the first in all Europe to organise a movement of armed resistance. Civil war had diminished their ardour and worn away their strength until, in self-defence, they had sought accommodation with the common enemy. In the dark days we had admired them as heroes; now they were reviled as traitors; truly "treason is a matter of dates".

We were still revolving these problems when Davis came into the room with an urgent telegram. It announced that a boat would be sent for us that night, and ordered us to be at the rendezvous without fail. We now bade the two Serbs farewell and faced up to the issue we had so long sought to avoid. We had delayed our departure for nearly a month to give the Agha time to find a boat. There had been hopeful news from Scutari; but of the boat itself there was still no sign; and we began to despair that it would ever come. In Albania we were powerless to influence the situation: in Italy we might still persuade the Supreme Command that Abas Kupi must be saved. We decided, therefore, to go, resolved that, if the Agha did not follow on his own, we should somehow win authority to return and rescue him in a British ship. It was a hard decision; for we knew that, if we failed in our resolve, we must be for ever dishonoured by Abas Kupi's death.

When the Serbs had gone, the Agha came into the room, unconscious of our news, and challenged me to a game of chess. The three of us were alone, and it was between moves on the board that Maclean and I concerted our decision. Presently we were joined by Petrit and Gaitcho Goga, who sat down at the table to watch the game. At last the Agha checkmated my king; and, as I put away the pieces, we told him that we must leave that night. He heard us calmly and approved our reasons. Then, tapping the chess-board, said to me:

"Inshallah! We shall play the next round in Italy!"

When our Headquarters had first ordered our withdrawal we had sought and had been granted permission to evacuate

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our Turkoman and Italian troops. It had also been agreed that we should bring out the three faithful Albanian interpreters who, although humble men, might be fatally compromised before the Partisans by their association with us. These decisions were now reversed, on the grounds that the numbers of the Turkomans and Italians would dangerously prolong the time of embarkation, while the rescue of the interpreters might lead to complications with the L.N.C. We were ordered only to bring out British personnel, and, as a special concession, our four Russian camp-followers. It was hard enough to abandon troops who had served us loyally, but neither Turkomans nor Italians were apprised of our plans. We had told our interpreters, however, that if it ever came to an evacuation we should take them with us; now we had to perform the painful and invidious task of letting them know that they must stay behind. They understood and accepted our "advice" to remain, and with great dignity forbore to ask for any explanation. Meanwhile our intentions were kept a close secret from the rest of the camp, for we feared that the Turkomans might seek to prevent what they would certainly regard as our desertion.

We burnt our papers that afternoon and sought to put our affairs in order. It was several weeks since our Headquarters had been able to renew our funds; and our war-chest was now reduced to seven sovereigns. The bodyguard had not been paid for a month, and we owed considerable sums besides for the upkeep of our Mission and the feeding of our troops. To have left the farmers unpaid would have been to plumb new depths of dishonour; and we gladly accepted fifty gold pieces from the Agha to save our reputation.

Towards nightfall, while the Turkomans sang round their fires, we sat together with Abas Kupi for the last of many conferences. He seemed confident that his boat would come; and, with the help of Petrit and Gaitcho Goga, we helped him draft his farewell proclamation to the Albanian people. When all that there was to say had been said we drank the Albanian toast of "*Tungjatjeta*" and took our last meal together in silence. Outside the camp already slept, and, towards ten

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o'clock, we gave orders for the ponies to be saddled. The day had been grey and wet, but there had been a rainbow in the evening, and now the night was clear in the cold light of the moon. I embraced Abas Kupi, swung into the saddle, and without turning back rode away between the groups of sleeping men huddled round the dying camp fires.

Our way led from the forest through marshes and across a broad lagoon where the water was often up to my pony's girths. At first only the sound of splashing disturbed the night, but soon we began to distinguish the deeper murmur of the waves lapping the sandy shore. Beyond the lagoon we climbed on to a low ridge, and, threading our way through a German minefield, rode down on to the beach. The sea was calm as a lake, and a full moon hung just above the horizon. There was a German block-house a mile away to the north, but we judged, or hoped, that its garrison was too demoralised to disturb us.

When the moon was down we lit a fire of brushwood, and, wrapped in our overcoats, sat down to wait for the boat. Two hours must have passed, and I had given up straining into the darkness, when suddenly Maclean pointed to a dark shape out at sea. It seemed about a hundred yards away, and it surprised me that I should not have noticed it before. Presently a smaller shape was detached from it, and, as the waves washed it up on to the beach, I saw that it was a flat-bottomed landing-craft. It was paddled by two sailors with an officer who stepped out and saluted us. He belonged to "Security" and had been sent to see that we did not embark Abas Kupi.

I now bade farewell to Shaqir and Halit, and gave the faithful Kolaver my horse and saddle-bags with a handful of gold. That lean and hardened brigand kissed me on the face and hands and burst into tears like a child. I climbed into the landing-craft with Hibberdine and two of the Russians; and we pushed off to shouts of "*Tungjatjeta*" from the Albanians. In a few minutes we were alongside the motor-boat, a M.A.S., manned by an Italian crew. Ivan pulled me up over the side, and I sat down dejectedly on a coil of rope. The M.A.S. was

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comfortless and impersonal, like the aeroplane which had brought us seven months before. The sailors now rowed back towards the beach and presently returned with Maclean, Davis, and the remaining Russians. When all were safe on board the landing-craft was hoisted over the side; then, with her engines barely turning over, the M.A.S. slipped quietly out to sea. As we cleared Cape Rodonit the Captain ordered full speed ahead; and we shot forward in a cloud of spray. Looking back into the fading darkness I could just make out the low Albanian shore and the black mountains of Montenegro running down steeply to the sea.

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At dawn the Balkan coast was lost to sight, and we cruised alone between sea and sky. The autumn night had been cold, but the wind and the spray dropped with the morning; and the M.A.S. made good headway through an oily swell. Maclean joined me on deck towards eight o'clock; and presently we saw the fortifications of Brindisi rising above the low Apulian shore. We ran our course between the minefields which guard the harbour approaches, and an hour later were cutting the calm waters in the lee of the granite mole. The roar of the engines sank to a hum, and the M.A.S. nosed gently up against the quayside at the foot of the old castle.

Ashore, a squad of sailors were changing guard, while a few naval and army officers stood talking outside the Harbour Control. Their spotless uniforms and military bearing made a striking contrast to our own wild and Balkanised appearance; and Maclean justly observed that we could scarcely be mistaken for officers or gentlemen. Maclean himself was dressed in sandals and torn jodhpurs, a faded green tunic, swathed in bandoliers, and a white, Kruya skull-cap on his head. My own headgear was a black, sheepskin *shubara*; my field-boots were cracked and coming apart at the heels; and my once smart cord uniform was soiled and stained from seven months continual wear. I had let my beard grow, too, since

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the flesh wound under my chin; and it was several months since either of us had had a haircut.

The group of officers advanced to meet us as we came down the gangway and welcomed us as if we had been heroes. They could not tell how deep was our dishonour, but I was shamed by an admiration which they would have withheld from braver men. It was the tribute of the ignorant herd to the lone wolf, compelled not by the worth but by the glamour of our enterprise.

They escorted us to the Harbour Security Office, where we established our identity and telephoned to Headquarters to report our arrival. Then we said good-bye to our faithful Russians, who were to be sent to a Displaced Persons Camp. They begged us to take them to England, but, under the terms of an inter-Allied convention, they would have to be repatriated to Russia. I enquired what reception they might expect on their return, and the Security Officer replied:

"No one can say for certain, but I wouldn't give much for these fellows' chances. As far as we know, the Russians have been shooting any of their chaps who've been in close touch with foreigners—Enemy or Allied."

From the harbour we were driven into Brindisi to the flat where we had slept the night before our jump into Albania. It seemed as grim and comfortless as when we had last been there, and the same disgruntled orderly served us an army breakfast of fried spam and strong tea. We were back where we had started.

Smiley arrived from Bari towards midday, and we drove back together through the afternoon along the familiar coastal road. On the way we stopped at an army store where we were issued with a clean set of battledress. An hour later we reached Headquarters, where the staff officers we had so often, and doubtless so unjustly, cursed, received us with real, or feigned, enthusiasm. The evening was spent in reading two months' accumulation of mail; and that night we dined together in the Hôtel Impériale with a number of old friends, among them Neel, Simcox, and Peter Kemp.

Amid the hardships of an outlaw's life I had sometimes allowed my mind to dwell on those creature comforts which

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we might hope to find on our return to Bari. The Hôtel Impériale, however, was full to overflowing, and that night and the next we were lodged in a flat which our Headquarters had requisitioned. It was entirely unfurnished, save for a single wooden chair, and was equally devoid of hot water or electric light. We were, indeed, accustomed to sleeping on the floor, but in Albania our rest had usually been assured by a mattress or a heap of ferns. No such luxuries obtained in our flat, and the unyielding hardness of the parquet was only mitigated by an army blanket. Nevertheless I slept heavily, for it was forty-eight hours since I had been to bed.

I woke soon after eight next morning and put on my new battledress, which fitted well enough and only lacked badges of rank. Maclean was still asleep, but I felt hungry, and so made my way to the Hôtel Impériale in search of breakfast and of a barber who might shave off my beard. The dining-room was crowded with worthy officers munching their bacon and eggs, but a scruffy waiter barred the way in. He explained that no breakfasts could be served after nine o'clock and that I was already six minutes late. Baulked by this irksome regulation, I marched off to the hotel snack-bar, and, fighting my way through the crowd, secured a cup of coffee and a sardine sandwich. I had scarcely sat down to this unappetising repast when I was accosted by an unknown officer and curtly reminded that the wearing of beards was contrary to King's Regulations. At first I thought him drunk, despite the early hour, and offered him a chair, prepared to humour him. My courtesy, however, only aroused his wrath and he went red in the face, spluttering that he was the Provost Marshal. I rose to explain my situation, but, as I did so, his eagle eye observed that I wore no badges of rank. From red he turned purple, and hissed :

" What are you doing here anyway ? Don't you know that this hotel is out of bounds to Other Ranks ? "

My explanation drew from him a decent apology, but I was already beginning to regret the freer ways of the mountains.

The rhythm of our lives in Albania had been among the

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healthiest of our circumstances; for, in the mountains, events could move no faster than a man might walk. Allies, neutrals, or enemies approached alike on foot; and, since no man can run for long uphill, flight or attack proceeded at the same easy pace as the most simple errand. The tempo of the march encouraged meditation; the leisure of the camp afforded ample opportunity for the most detailed discussion. The conduct of negotiations was likewise seldom hurried, for a march of hours, or even days, would often precede a meeting. The business might be trivial, but the needs of the flesh and the customs of hospitality obliged the traveller to spend the night, or at least to take a meal, with those he had come to see. Each word might thus be weighed at leisure; and, since the necessary interludes for food or rest automatically divided each meeting into two or more sessions, there was always time to review conclusions or prepare new arguments. Nor was this even tenor of our work distracted by a multiplicity of routines or interviews. Our way of life tended inevitably to eliminate all that was superfluous, and the dangers of travel spared us from importunate visitors. Above all, we were masters of our own time, for we lived in a world where it was not unusual to be as much as a day late for an appointment. Each of our problems was thus revolved in frequent meditation and prolonged debate; and we had the rare satisfaction of knowing that our decisions or reports were the soundest of which we were capable.

In Bari this wholesome rhythm of life was rudely shattered by the bustle of a mechanised world. Cars rushed us from one office to another; harassed officials plied us with superficial questions; and memoranda on the most intricate problems were required at half an hour's notice. Interviews were continually disturbed by the ring of the telephone; and conversations were brought to an end, not by the exhaustion of the subject, but by the approach of the next appointment. At first I was bewildered; then repelled; and within a week the three of us had agreed to return to the mountains as soon as we could.

Life in Bari might seem disagreeable, but more alarming

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was the strange distortion of men's minds. Never before had there been so many British observers in the Balkans, and yet never can responsible Englishmen have cherished so many misconceptions and illusions about the problems of that blood-stained region. The military record of the Partisans had been brilliant; and it might well be that the needs of war justified, or made inevitable, exclusive British support of their cause. Such a policy, however, must involve the sacrifice of important British interests; and, though Englishmen might be obliged to contribute to its success, it seemed natural to expect that they should do so in a mood of sober reluctance. Instead, a genuine enthusiasm for Tito and his works pervaded the British Headquarters; and responsible staff officers revelled with indecent, almost masochistic, glee in the destruction of Chetniks and Zogists who were at least our friends. The Partisans, it seemed, could do no wrong; their claims and allegations were accepted at face value; and their opponents — Socialists and Agrarians included — were incongruously branded as "Fascists" or "reactionaries" by the most conservative of Englishmen.

For a long time I felt as if we had come to another world, where people used the same words as we did but with wholly different meanings. It was as if they had been colour-blind, or had sought to solve an algebraical problem without knowing what any of the symbols stood for. One night, soon after our return to Bari, I found myself at dinner next to the general officer then immediately responsible for the conduct of operations in the Balkans. In the course of conversation he asked my opinion of Tito, and I answered that as far as I knew he was a capable and loyal agent of the Comintern.

"But surely," he queried, "Stalin dissolved the Comintern two years ago."

"Nominally, perhaps," I ventured, "but all our experience in the Balkans seems to point the other way."

"Have another drink, my dear fellow," he replied. "Anyone would think you'd been listening to Goebbels."

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OUR discussions with the authorities in Bari lasted six days, and we already despaired that Abas Kupi would ever reach Italy in his own boat. The last hope of saving his life — if indeed he still lived — was to return ourselves and bring him out; but our Headquarters remained stubbornly opposed to a plan which might strain their relations with Enver Hoja. Our telegram to the Foreign Secretary, however, had not been without effect; and before leaving Italy Mr. Eden had recommended that Abas Kupi should be rescued. His opinion could scarcely be ignored, but our Headquarters nevertheless referred for instructions to the Supreme Command, alleging that, however desirable politically, the Agha's evacuation might have unfavourable military consequences. Maclean was accordingly summoned to Naples to put the case for Abas Kupi before the Supreme Allied Commander, General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson.

Maclean flew from Bari on the 3rd November, and I joined him on the following evening in the spacious palace of Caserta, the seat of the Supreme Command. General Wilson had made us his guests; and, as such, we were accommodated in comfortable booths in the precincts of a building where King Bomba had kept his hounds. "The Kennels", as this guest compound was irreverently known, had witnessed many Balkan dramas; and the previous occupants of our beds had been the rival Greek Generals, Zervas and Sarafis, who had just subscribed, and were soon to denounce, an insincere alliance.

That night we dined with Mr. Harold Macmillan, who was at this time Resident Minister-of-State in the Mediterranean area. His intervention might decide the outcome of our visit; and, when the meal was over, we sought to enlist his support for our plans. He heard us impassively, staring straight in front of him from the depths of his armchair, his attention apparently centred on his pipe. Then with the same disconcerting detachment he made himself devil's advocate and

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raised every possible objection to our arguments. Our answers, however, seemed to accord with his own inner thoughts; and at length he dismissed the subject, saying:

"Of course we must save Abas Kupi. Personally I'd be all for bringing Mihailovitch out as well."

This robust attitude was a welcome contrast to the appeasing climate of Bari, and it was with renewed confidence that we made our way next morning to the Supreme Commander's offices. An orderly directed us to the General's ante-room, where a young A.D.C. was busy on the telephone, arranging an air passage to Cairo for a lady friend's pekinese. He offered us a drink, and, while waiting, showed us the signed photographs of war-time celebrities with which the walls were covered. Presently a group of staff officers emerged from the adjoining room and announced that the General's morning meeting was over. It was now our turn.

The Supreme Allied Commander, or "Jumbo", as the British army knew him, stood in the middle of the room, his bulky person clad in corduroy trousers and a thick, khaki pullover. He welcomed us with fatherly kindness and led us to a corner of the room where half a dozen deep armchairs had been set in a semicircle after the manner of an Arab *majlis*. He sat us down on either side of him and asked us to point out on a map of Albania the dispositions of Germans, Zogists, and Partisans. He followed our explanations closely, peering over narrow, horn-rimmed spectacles, and then began to ply us with curiously disconnected questions, taking rough notes in pencil of points in our replies. Presently he put down his writing-pad and, after a moment's pause, announced:

"Yes, I agree with you, the fellow's been our friend and we must get him out. We'll do it quite openly; and we'll tell Hoja too; but," and here his beady eyes twinkled, "not until your man's safe in Italy."

He then heaved himself out of the armchair, and, walking over to his desk, called down the telephone for his Chief-of-Staff. A moment later we were joined by General Gammel, who was asked to prepare orders for Abas Kupi's rescue. Maclean was put in charge of the operation. We had won.

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It was too late to travel to Bari that day, and so we drove out together to spend the afternoon among the ruins of Pompeii. We had scarcely returned to Caserta from this expedition when the telephone rang. It was Smiley, who told us that Abas Kupi with five companions had landed at Brindisi that morning. Honour at least was saved; and yet I felt disappointed that we had not had time to return to Albania and rescue the Agha in a British ship.

It appeared that the night after our departure in the M.A.S., Ihsan and his Montenegrin skipper had put to sea from the Boyana estuary and successfully embarked the Agha and his companions. They had made good headway through the night, and had already come in sight of Brindisi next morning when the engine of the launch had broken down. They had striven to repair it; they had signalled for help; but all their efforts had been in vain and the waves had washed them back to sea. Seven nights and six days they had drifted southward, sustaining life with rain water and the meagre remnant of one night's provisions. They despaired of life, but on the seventh morning, as the current bore them into the Straits of Otranto, they were sighted by a minesweeper and were towed into Brindisi, exhausted but alive.

Their future was for some days the subject of anxious discussion; and Enver Hoja demanded that they be sent back to Albania for trial. The decisions of Caserta, however, had confirmed their status as our friends; and Abas and his sons were lodged with Said and Ihsan in a villa above the little town of Rutigliano.

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Our work was done now, but before leaving Italy we paid a last visit to the Agha and his companions. The day was cold and wet, and the armed sentries patrolling the grounds made the house look like a prison. Indoors the rooms were dark and cheerless, furnished with a few wooden chairs and army beds. It was a drab end to all our dreams; but despite the ruin of his hopes and the personal tragedy of exile — and exile is hard for an old man who can neither read, nor write, nor speak a

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186 foreign language — the Agha still displayed his old strength of heart and mind.

"I still put my trust in England," he told us. "The future is dark, but one day you will be strong again. As for me, I shall live for the time when we return together to the mountains to take up again the unending battle for freedom."

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Two days later we were back in London; our mission was ended; and we could only repeat what Bismarck had once observed to the German candidate for a Balkan throne: "It will always have been an experience." A month passed in holiday; and within six weeks I was flying out to China to try my luck again. Maclean and Smiley were soon to follow.

So ended our connection with the Albanian revolt; and I will now dismiss this melancholy tale with a brief account of the fate of its protagonists. The Agha, his two sons, Gaitcho Goga and Ramiz, have joined their king in Egypt. Said Kryeziu and Ihsan Toptani are in Rome. Of the Ballist leaders, Midhat Frasheri and Ali Klissura escaped from Scutari in a river barge and crossed the Adriatic with two hundred of their adherents. Nureddin Vlora and the Pasha, his brother, made good their escape through Vienna. Abas Ermenye, their gallant commander, hid for a time in the South, and later escaped to Greece. There he has since been joined by General Prenk Previsi and by Fikri Dine. The old Captain of Mirdita came by devious ways to Rome, and has found safety in the shadow of the Vatican. Of Mustafa Kruya there is no certain news, but rumour has it that his timely conversion to the Roman faith has been rewarded by the protection of a cloister.

Not all escaped. Gani Kryeziu returned to Jakova when the Germans had gone, and, believing that Said was still with Enver Hoja, requested a safe-conduct to Tirana from the Partisan authorities. He was at once arrested, and, since Jakova is within the frontiers of Yugoslavia, found himself Marshal Tito's prisoner. He was arraigned before a "people's court" and condemned to five years' hard labour on charges of "reactionary tendencies" and of "exposing the people to German reprisals". His brother, Hassan, was lured meanwhile into the Partisan headquarters at Jakova, on the pretence that Gani had sent for him. He was never seen alive again.

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The promise of a general amnesty enticed the Zogist chiefs into Tirana. All were arrested, and many have been shot, among them our friends: Sul Kurti, Murad Basha, Dule Allemani, and Yussuf Chelai. Nor has the persecution ceased with the murder of the chiefs; and the wretched Shaqir has been sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment, simply because he served as our interpreter.

In Mirdita the Captain's two sons, Mark and Skender, long sustained the resistance of their clans. Mark was at last betrayed by his brother-in-law, who broke the sacred laws of hospitality and shot him while he slept. Skender now bears the tribal standard alone, and has avenged his brother's death by the extermination of the murderer, his own sister, and their children to the last babe.

The man-hunt still goes on, and its attendant skirmishes, denunciations, and intrigues fan the flames of popular discontent. For close on two years Muharrem Bairaktar defied the Partisans from the fastnesses of Liuma before escaping to Greece. Since then, small bands of outlaws have appeared on the borders of Mati; and Halit Kola is said to be among their leaders. The Partisans themselves are torn by feuds; and old Tsen Elezi has deserted Enver Hoja with all his clan and taken the familiar road to the mountains. Once more, as in 1941, the guerillas are little more than groups of hunted men, but they have sown the seeds of a new resistance movement. It will ripen with the perennial struggle of the Powers and sooner or later the harvest of hate must be reaped. Blood calls for blood in the mountains, and one day the tribes will take their revenge.

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PAPERS
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THE MOUNTAINS OF GIANTS

A RACIAL AND CULTURAL STUDY OF THE NORTH ALBANIAN MOUNTAIN GHEGS

BY
CARLETON S. COON

[Title page]

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The Typical Mountain Gheg – Malsia e Madhe.

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PREFACE

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PREFACE

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THE data on which this study is based were gathered in northern Albania during the fall, winter, and spring of 1929–30. Funds were provided by the National Research Council of Washington, D. C., and Mr. Francis Drexel Smith of Colorado Springs, Colorado. After the field work was over the National Research Council, whose Fellow I was, paid my salary for one year, as well as the expenses of statistical analysis and typing. On April 7, 1932, the report was presented to the National Research Council, which approved it. It was also submitted to, and approved by, the then Albanian government. Owing to a number of reasons publication was postponed; with the generous help of a grant from the Milton Fund and J. H. Clark Bequest of Harvard University, and of another from the Viking Fund, I was able to employ an assistant in 1946–48 to help me with a complete revision. That revision is now finished.

The personnel of the 1929–30 expedition included, beside myself, Mrs. Stanley Salmen (then Mrs. Coon); Mr. Frederick E. Farnsworth, now a U. S. Foreign Service Officer; Mr. Anthony Stevens, a member of the U. S. Consulate staff at Tirana; and Mr. Stavre Frasheri. We were facilitated in our work by Brigadier General Julius C. Holmes, then chargé-d'affaires at the U. S. Legation in Tirana; the late Dr. J. Dineley Prince, then U. S. Minister to Yugoslavia; Mr. Paul deMille, then U. S. Consul at Tirana, and Mr. Joseph Shutack, a member of his staff. Messrs. Kota, Rauf Fico, and Xhelal Frasheri, of the erstwhile Albanian government, all rendered us aid, as did the British officers in charge of the

Cambridge, Mass.
June, 1948

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122 Albanian gendarmerie, including General Percy, and Colonels Stirling, Martin, and Glegg. Had it not been for their gendarmes we might not have succeeded.

000 During the many years which have elapsed since that journey I have received help from many quarters. The venerable Miss M. E. Durham wrote me valuable advice and information. Mrs. Margaret Hasluck, an authority on things Albanian, did the same, and during World War II, I had the pleasure of conferring with her several times in Cairo and drawing on her seemingly limitless fund of information.

The final period of revision was marked by the generous help of a number of Albanian friends in America. Bishop Fan Noli read the first and eighth sections and made many corrections; he also helped with new information. His loyal and able helper, Mr. Gerim Panarity, has always been ready to come to my assistance. In the task of measuring Tosks of two generations in the Boston neighborhood, Mr. Panarity was joined by my old friend Mr. Peter Peterson and his father, Mr. Dmitri Peterson, both of Somerville, Massachusetts, and by many others. Mr. Stavro Skendi of New York gave me information and advice on Albanian linguistics.

David de Harport and Dr. William Laughlin spent many evenings on the measuring program just mentioned. Mrs. Martha Dick did the calculating and typing during the later period, as Mrs. Constance Woodbury did nearly two decades earlier; my wife, Lisa D. Coon, drew the maps and figures. Dr. Stanley Garn helped me understand the mechanics of biting, and Dr. William J. Crozier, as always, gave me statistical advice.

CARLETON S. COON

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122 The Officers of the Excavator's Club – a private organization of students of anthropology in Harvard University and Radcliffe College – in order to show their appreciation and affection for Professor Coon, initiated a fund to help defray the publication expenses of this monograph.

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ooo THE DINARIC PROBLEM

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The Dinaric Problem

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DENIKER (1852–1918) was the first major taxonomist of man to recognize the difference between 2 types of European brachycephal, the curvoccipital Alpine with his round face, low-bridged blobby nose, and stocky build; and the taller, leaner, Adriatic or Dinaric with his planoccipital skull, his long, triangular face, and his long, narrow, and convex nose.[1] He correctly located the Dinaric concentration in the mountains which skirt the eastern Adriatic coast. A similar form, the Armenoid, he also found in the mountains of Armenia and the Caucasus. Series measured since Deniker's day have confirmed the existence of such people in these areas. Other evidence has shown that Dinaric features are not confined to the white race, but may be seen in parts of Asia and Oceania, and among some of the Indians from Mexico and Peru. These observations have led to the thesis that Dinaricization is a biological process which can happen to people anywhere under circumstances yet to be established.

In all of the early cranial material discovered so far in the world, Dinaric specimens are absent. Nothing could be more removed from the cranial and facial forms of Neanderthal, Cro-Magnon, Galley Hill, or any other known fossils. A short, high head, a long face with a narrow jaw, a flat occiput—all these features stand at the opposite evolutionary pole from the early specimens. None of the early skulls from America are Dinaric, nor are any to be found in the Far East. Neolithic men in Europe, the Near East, and Africa are almost uniformly Mediterranean, and what tendency toward brachycephaly occurs is curvoccipital, presumably a survival from earlier populations.

The earliest Dinarics known consist of a few skulls from Bronze Age sites in Mesopotamia, and late Copper Age burials in Cyprus, dated at about 3000 B.C. Even then, Dinarics were a minority. Fragments of three presumably Dinaric skulls have been unearthed in Spanish

[1] Deniker, 1890 and 1900.

[2] Coon, 1939.

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000 Bell Beaker tombs, while in Britain, Austria, Germany, and the Adriatic Alps a hundred or more may be attributed to the Bronze Age.[2] Tomb forms and grave furniture indicate without question that these people were immigrants from the eastern Mediterranean. During the whole racial history of Europe there is but one time when these migrations could have taken place—the beginning of the Bronze Age. Even then the immigrants could not have come in large numbers, nor as a racially homogeneous population.

[141] Today the Dinaric concentration lies in the Adriatic Alps, with a smaller nucleus in the Carpathians. Authors who published before 1929 felt that the very center would be found in northern Albania, because the country was wild and rugged, the local speech the most archaic in Europe, and because the small series of mountaineers already measured in Scutari so indicated. Ghegnia seemed the strategic place in which to study the Dinaric problem. This is really 2 problems: (a) to describe in detail the Dinaric type, and (b) to explain it. We shall attempt both.

Modern biology offers at least 2 theories which would explain Dinaricization.

1. *The Hybridization Theory*. A combination of dominants in a cross between 2 genetically different populations, one long headed and narrow faced, the other round headed and broad faced. If the short head, broad head, high head, broad forehead, narrow jaw, long face, long nose, narrow nose—all these were dominant over their opposite numbers, and brought together, a Dinaric form might result.[3]

2. *The Evolutionary Theory*. As Dobzhansky[4] points out, most geneticists now hold that mutations take place gene by gene. If Dinaricization is an evolutionary process, then only one gene is involved. To determine this we must study the mechanics of the Dinaric head and face form. Furthermore, if this is true,

[3] This theory was advanced by Hughes, 1938 (still unpublished), and Coon, 1939.

[4] Dobzhansky, 1944, p. 258.

000 Dinaric Europeans should not differ from other Europeans, or Dinaric American Indians from other American Indians, etc., in unaffected features, such as skin, hair, and eye color, hair form, hair distribution, etc.

In "The Races of Europe," I pointed out that all over central Europe different populations had been experiencing a steady rise in the cephalic index from about the 6th century A.D. onward. I attributed this to the re-emergence of genetic elements derived from pre-Neolithic populations. As farmers and herdsmen penetrated Europe, the hunters and gatherers withdrew to the forests and mountains. Eventually the latter were assimilated as a socially submerged element in the general population. The historic increase in brachycephaly was thus due to the selective value of that particular head form as their conquerors killed themselves off in war or were selectively reduced by emigration.

Weidenreich has recently taken the position that brachycephalization is a progressive evolutionary step. He claims that it produces a more efficient container for the brain than a long, narrow skull; that a round head is best suited for the requirements of the erect posture.[5] Whether or not this thesis is mechanically correct, Weidenreich has done a service in lending his support to the manifest conclusion that European brachycephaly is endemic and not of recent derivation from other continents. That in an isolated population it may be dominant is one of our present subjects of investigation.

131 161 The present material is suited for such a study. The land of the tribal Ghegs is a small country, little more than 3500 miles square. Its population probably runs to about 250,000, of whom 90,000 may be Catholics and 160,000 Moslems.* In 1930 we were told that the population of Mirdita was about 11,000—all Catholic; that of Puka 14,000, of whom 8000 were Moslems and 6000 Catholics. These figures are

[5] Weidenreich, 1945.

* Since this monograph was written it has become fashionable in America to employ the more correct form, *Muslim*. It would have been pleasant if this change could have been made here and throughout the text. However, so much time has been spent, and so many corrections have been made, that I beg the readers' indulgence for retaining the *o* and *e* in place

—4a—
4 [contin on p 4b -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Gheg

131 probably too low. The 1927 census reported
16 814,485 persons in Albania; the 1930 census raised the figure to 1,003,124, of whom 104,184 were Catholics. The 1930 census gives the population density for Albania as 36.5 per square kilometer, or 102 per square mile. The mountain Gheg country, newly divided into 3 provinces without regard to tribal boundaries, was said to have 100 inhabitants per square mile in Dibra province, 75 in Scutari province, and 64 in Kossovo province.

In 1930 the land area of Albania was 10,600 square miles. With a population of 1,003,124 the density was thus 94 per square mile, not 102. If we subtract 8 from each of the other figures, we obtain the following corrections: Dibra—92, Scutari—67, Kossovo—56. This can be checked by means of the Catholic figures. Of the 104,000 Catholics at least 14,000 live in cities, leaving no more than 90,000 on tribal lands. Tribal lands exclusively Catholic cover ca. 1225 square miles; those occupied by Catholics and Moslems together about 440 square miles. Thus 1450 square miles may be considered Catholic country, and with a population of 90,000 this yields 62 persons per square mile, which accords with the corrected census figure. Striking a point between the Dibra and Kossovo figures we obtain about 70 per square mile for Moslem lands, which cover about 2300 square miles. This yields a population of about 160,000. One hundred and sixty plus 90 equals 250. Hence our estimate of a total Gheg population of 250,000.[6]

124 Our series of nearly 1100 men may represent one per cent of the adult male total, a large sample, compared to other national surveys of equal detail. It was drawn from all tribes and from every part of each tribe. It includes chief elders, gendarmes, farmers, what artisans there are, *hodjas*, and in short a complete cross section of the population, both regionally in most tribes, and in regard to differentiations based on rank and occupation. We did not measure

of *u* and *i*. Actually, Arabic vowels are few, rudimentary, and unindicated in ordinary writing. Semantically, they are of less importance than in Turkish, whence the form *Moslem*, and it was the Turks who converted the seventy per cent of the Albanians who are Muslims. Few of them, I suspect, will object to the book on these grounds.

[6] Almagià, 1932; *Arbenia*, June 1, 1930, for census figures; *National Catholic Almanac*, 1946, p. 93.

Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Gheg

124 mountain men who had come down to the cities; we went into the mountains and measured them in their homes.

121 Beside the anthropometric data itself we have taken some trouble to describe and discuss the natural and social environments in which our subjects lived. This material is as essential for our study as the measurements and observations on the men themselves. It not only describes the physico-chemical influences that bear on the growing organisms, but also designates their systems of mating, which are of prime importance to anyone interested in genetic problems. Furthermore, and as we shall see this is also of primary importance, it reveals the culturally controlled mechanical influences which literally "shape our ends"; the techniques of cradling babies while their heads are still plastic, and which the Albanian mountaineers, like other peoples in southeastern Europe and western Asia, employ.

In the following chapters we shall not attempt to cover every detail of Gheg civilization. This is not a work of ethnography, but one of somatology. We are interested in the main outline of the culture as a whole and only in those details that bear specifically on our problem: who are the Ghegs and how did they acquire their present anatomical characteristics?

000 One further act of definition is necessary: to place our sample on the scale of time. In describing any culture, the ethnographer must

[1] Chapple and Coon, 1942, front end paper.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

000 set his scene at some specific point in time. All cultures change, either in complexity or merely in detail, and even those which move the most slowly vary enough in a few years to make this step necessary. Such a specific time locus is called the "ethnographic present."[7]

121 For the purposes of this study the ethnographic present should be the time between the date at which the majority of our anthropometric subjects were conceived and that at which they had reached adult physical form. Thus both heredity and environment will be [124] given due attention. The 1063 men in our series ranged from 18 years of age to senility, with the great majority between 25 and 49. The mean was 39.4 years. We did our measuring in 1929–30. The mean date of birth was thus 1890, with a range of from 1860 or earlier to 1911. If we add 20 years for the maturation process the range rises from about 1880 to the date of measuring, with its mean at 1910.

Our ethnographic present is therefore a time band 2 decades wide, concentrated in the period 1890–1910. At this time the mountain tribal areas of Ghegnia formed, like the rest of Albania, part of the Turkish Empire, and the heroic age of family feuds and intertribal warfare was in full swing. In the cultural descriptions given in chapter 3 on "Technology and Occupation" through 6, "Ritual Life,"[1] the reader must remember that unless otherwise specified we have reference only to this epic age.

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 1a – 38b – Analyst]

102
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FIG. 1. Northern Albania—the tribal area. (Stippled area symbolizes mountain and forest, unoccupied except as seasonal pasture and source of timber.) Scale, 1: 250,000.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

LAND OF THE HIGHLAND GHEGS

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

LAND OF THE HIGHLAND GHEGS

101 THE people who form the object of this study are the mountaineers who inhabit the Dinaric mountain chain on either side of the gorge cut by the river Drin on its way from the Serbian plain to the Adriatic. Most of their country lies inside the political boundaries of Albania, but parts of it have belonged to Yugoslavia for the past third of a century. [197] They speak the northern of the 2 Albanian languages, or dialects,[1] Gheg. They are not, however, the only Gheg speakers. There are [121] Lowland as well as Highland Ghegs. The present study concerns only the latter. The reason why they were specially chosen is that they still preserved, in 1929, a full tribal system of social organization, something very rare in Europe. This has one critical advantage: rules of preferential mating are definite, and are still observed. We know not only who marries whom, but we may also be sure that the same system has been going on for many generations. For a study of human genetics this material has obvious advantages.

The Highland Ghegs who form the object of our investigation belonged to 10 tribes, shown on figure 1.[1] These are Malsia e Madhe, Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Has, Luma, Puka, Mirdita, Zadrima, Mati, and Dibra. Before 1913 all of the tribes, except Dukagin, which now touch Yugoslavia extended a certain distance into the present territory of that country. On parts of the northern border the overlap is an old one. Many of the Montenegrin gentes admit descent from Albanian families, and one finds every stage of linguistic and cultural assimilation between the 2 ethnic 728 units. Just north of Scutari, however, several 101 fully Albanian villages were handed over to Serbia after the Balkan War, and this caused both economic and political distress. Farther east, from Peia to Dibra, the boundary commission which laid out the border between the 2 countries at that time gave the Yugoslavs all of the strategic positions, and all of the market

[1] Gheg and Tosk in extreme dialectic forms are mutually incomprehensible. It would be hard to state definitely whether they are closely related languages or dialects of one language. Each has numerous local

1 [See cat. 116, p.6 -- Analyst]

2 [cont. p. 7c -- Analyst]

[728] 101 towns along the Serbo-Albanian border which served as an economic outlet for both peoples.

This ethnic border is far from clear-cut. Several whole tribes of Ghegs live on the Kossovo plain, along with villages of Serbs. The ancestors of these Lowland Ghegs migrated there in the time of the Turks, after the defeat of the Tzar Dushan. These displaced Ghegs are probably descended from the highland tribes, but it would take much work to establish their exact relationships. We were unable to measure more than a few of them, and therefore shall not consider them in this study.

101 (10) The Lowland Ghegs of Albania, who equally eluded our calipers, occupy the country from the tribal regions eastward to the Adriatic and southward to the river Shkumbi, the traditional frontier between Ghegnia and Toskeria. Many of the Tosks are Greek Orthodox Christians. The Ghegs who are Christians are Roman Catholics. The majority of both divisions is Moslem. The most solidly Moslem part of Albania is the central region, in both Ghegnia and Toskeria, where the landscape is the least rugged. Both brands of Christianity lived through the Turkish regime most successfully in the mountains. In the south, beside the Tosks, are thousands of Vlachs—shepherds speaking Rumanian as their native tongue—and Bulgars. The Epirote borderland cuts through an area where Greek and Albanian villages overlap, causing trouble.

Throughout Albania one finds camps of nomadic gypsies, living by their traditional trades of metal-working, fortune-telling, horse-trading, etc. In the larger cities there is always a gypsy quarter, whose inhabitants also serve as musicians and prostitutes. In the Gheg country, however, there is no room for gypsy camps or quarters, and the only gypsies which I saw or heard of there were a single individual in Bicaj, and another in Kukës, both in the tribe of Luma.

[197] subdivisions. The official language of Albania is based on the southern Gheg dialect spoken in the city of Elbasan.

[Author must mean westward. - Analyst]

133 The country of the Highland Ghegs is entirely mountainous. Although on the map its length is 75 miles and its width 55, these dimensions fail to convey the vertical distance. The trails go up and down and all around, climbing, twisting, and turning. In 1929 it took as long to go the length of the Gheg highlands by available means of travel as it did to cross the United States by rail. To an Albanian, Shala is as far from Dibra as, to an American, San Francisco is from Boston.

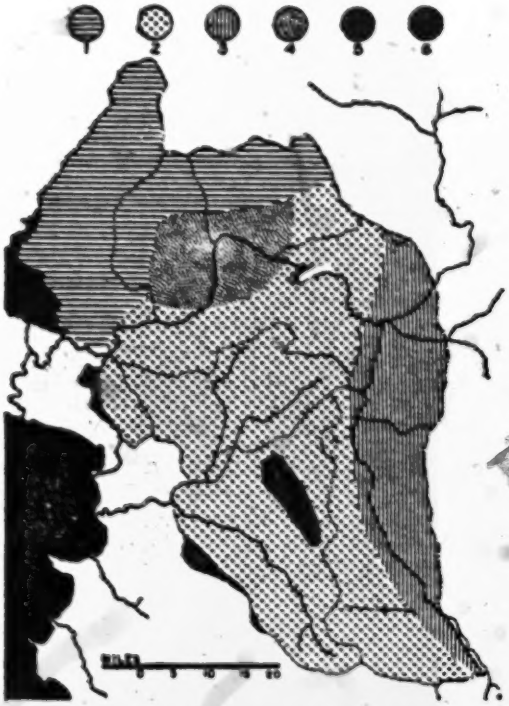

FIG. 2. Three main geological regions in Ghegnia. 1—*Mesozoic limestone;* 2—*Serpentine highland;* 3—*Metamorphosed Triassic and Upper Palaeozoic rocks;* 4—*Intense folding (Mesozoic-Eocene);* 5—*Tertiary basin;* 6—*Eocene flysch.* (Almagià, 1932, pp. 464–73, map on p. 467, "after Nowack.")

A concentrated jumble of snow-covered peaks, rising to 7000- and 8000-foot heights, the mountains of Ghegnia follow no simple system of parallel ranges and valleys, but instead form a knot through which the river Drin has cut a passage in its tumultuous journey from the plain of Kossovo to the Adriatic Sea. In the walls of the Drin gorge the travel-

133 er can see an impressive record of geological change—layer after layer of sedimentary rocks, twisted and upheaved like a slice of marble cake.

Although the systematic geology of this entire region remains to be studied, enough is known of it for our immediate purpose. Figure 2 shows 3 main geological regions in Ghegnia. The first is the Mesozoic limestone mountains of Malsia e Madhe and parts of Dukagin and Malsia e Jakovës. This is a continuation of the bare rocky landscape so characteristic of Montenegro, which, north of Lake Scutari, reaches the sea in a succession of drowned valleys, the greatest of which is the Gulf of Kotor. Here the topsoil is thin, while alluvium is almost lacking in the stream beds. No trees crown the slopes, white in summer and winter alike from the alternate exposure of lime and snow. In the bend of the Drin the smaller area of intense folding is likewise mostly limestone, covering part of Dukagin, the Nikaj-and Merturi sections of Malsia e Jakovës, and the Buxhon and Berisha *bairaks* (see p. 30) of Puka. In the country so far designated, most of which is north of the Drin, geological conditions resemble those found immediately north of the border.

The second zone is one of igneous rocks, composed mainly of serpentine and gabbro. This zone covers all of Mirdita, most of Zadrima, Mati, Puka, and Has, and parts of Dibra and Malsia e Jakovës. In this region limestone is so scarce that few people can afford to build stone houses, owing to the lack of mortar. From the dietary standpoint one must understand the importance of this contrast between the northern geological zone, where the water is permeated with lime, and the central, where it is lime-free. This takes on significance because all foods consumed are locally raised—the fodder, the grains, the milk, and the meat.

The third region is the eastern zone, including half of Has, all of Luma, and the greater part of Puka. This is composed of metamorphic Triassic and Upper Palaeozoic deposits, deeply eroded, with steep slopes and rich alluvial bottoms. From the dietary standpoint, it lies intermediate between the northern and the central regions.

1 [See Cat 116, pp 8a and 35 c -- Analyst]

Through these mountain masses, composed of different kinds of rocks laid down and up-

-8b-

133 heaved at different periods, flow its 2 rivers and their tributaries. These are the Drin and the Mati. By studying them one can arrive most readily at a knowledge of the tribal geography of Ghegnia.

East of Kukës there are 2 Drins, White and Black. The White Drin carries off the water from the eastward slope of the Peia or Pesh region in Montenegro, then flows southward to the Albanian border, where it turns west. A short but swift confluent flows westward under the bridges and flourmills of the city of Prizren. The Black Drin is the outlet for Lake Ochrida, south of Gheg territory. It flows northward in a nearly straight line through the Dibra valley, past the towns of Big Dibra and Little Dibra (Peshkopia). As it flows northward the valley grows narrow, and in places becomes a gorge, which opens out again before the river reaches Kukës.

At Kukës the 2 branches meet. From this point on, the slope of the river bed is great, and the water rushes down, foaming and leaping, through its canyon-like channel until it reaches the lowlands, where it divides into 2 channels. One flows into Lake Scutari, which in turn empties into the sea. The other goes directly into the Adriatic. Except for the last few miles of its passage, the Drin is too swift for navigation. Its possibilities for hydroelectric power are great.

The other river, the Mati, flows into the sea a short distance south of Lesh. It drains the tribal lands of Mati, and most of Mirdita. It too is swift and unnavigable, and in winter and spring often impossible to ford.

133 101 These rivers and their watersheds form the usual boundaries between tribes. Dibra and Mati form the drainages of the Black Drin and Mati rivers, respectively; and the watershed between these rivers is their boundary. The White Drin, in Yugoslavia, is the boundary between Has and the lowland tribe of Podrima; in both countries it divides Has from Luma; and in Albania alone, the combined Drin divides Has from Puka, Malsia e Jakovës from Puka, Dukagin from Puka, and Malsia e Madhe from Puka and Zadrima. The northern branch of the Mati, the Fan, which is in turn divided into the Little Fan and the Big Fan,

* Semple, 1931, chap. 5.

133 drains Mirdita, except for the *bairak* of Spaç,
101 the northwestern finger of which forms part of the Drin system. With this same exception, the watershed between the Drin and the 2 Fans is the boundary between Puka and Mirdita. The continuation of the watershed between Mati and Dibra again separates, farther north, Mirdita from Luma. Mati and Mirdita, and Dibra and Luma east of the Black Drin, are parted by deep valleys, running laterally, cut on opposite sides of the river.

133 These rivers serve more often as tribal boundaries than as routes of travel. Their banks are so steep that the roads usually follow the crests and shoulders of the mountains, only dipping down into the valleys where it is necessary to cross them. Their waters are so swift that only in rare spots can they be navigated. All in all, they are barriers to travel and communication.

132 It is a rule long known to geographers that in the Mediterranean basin, lands lying on the western slopes of peripheral land masses receive more rain than those on the east.[2] The higher the mountains flanking the coast, the more the rain. Ghegnia and Montenegro have the heaviest rainfall of any Mediterranean countries. The Adriatic coast, from Lesh up to Dubrovnik, receives well over 60 inches of rain a year; and all of Ghegnia, back from the coast, gets between 60 and 40 inches, with the total decreasing to the east.

This is not all winter rain. It may rain any month of the year, and the summer rainfall totals anywhere from 4 to 8 inches, enough to permit the cultivation of maize by dry farming. This fact alone takes the Gheg highlands out of the Mediterranean climate area. The winter rain, which begins to fall in September, becomes snow at the higher altitudes. Only in the highest valleys and on the peaks does it last out the winter. Elsewhere a succession of snowfalls and thaws renders this region as unpleasant as New England in early spring.

The temperature again prohibits the growth of many Mediterranean crops, such as the fig and olive, which soon disappear as one leaves the coast. All of the uplands receive severe winter frosts, and on the border of the Kossovo plain the climate becomes continental.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

137 The natural vegetation of the Gheg highlands has been preserved more completely than that of almost any other Mediterranean border country, thanks to the difficulty of travel and transportation. North of the Drin[1] in the limestone area, the landscape is mostly bare, since the soil is too thin to support a forest. The igneous zone, however, is heavily forested, with oak succeeded by groves of enormous beech trees, some reaching 10 feet in diameter. At one point on the road between Puka and Kukës the road passes through such a forest, where the traveler used to see woodsmen hewing monoxylic table tops, for sale in Scutari, out of these giant trunks. Up beyond the level of beeches one meets pine, and these trees too are of great size, comparable to the forest, on similar soil, in the middle of Corsica.

While the peaks of Shala are forever white, those of Mal i Zi, the Black Mountain, to the south are forever dark with the coniferous cover. Only in a few places south of the Drin do the peaks emerge above the tree line. Over in the metamorphosed zone to the east one finds more beech and pine, and other broadleaf species such as elms and plane trees, while cypresses have been planted in Moslem cemeteries and mosque areas.

1 [for map, see cat. 16, p. 6 -- Analyst]

136 As might be expected the mountains and forests of this little-developed country still harbor a number of dangerous wild animals. The lion of Homeric times is gone, but the bear, the wolf, and the wild boar remain. Deer graze on the high mountain slopes, and in the forests, but the Ghegs will not kill them. The only wild animals of any economic importance are the various members of the weasel family, particularly martens, which a number of mountaineers trap for fur. Otherwise the fauna is a nuisance, since bears and wolves will steal sheep and kill cattle, and flocks need constant guarding by one or more men with rifles and a number of ferocious dogs.

131 It is in this environment[1] which must have changed but little since Roman and even earlier times, that the tribal Ghegs have survived until the present day, retaining a language and customs which carry them back to the Iron Age. The land forms, the climate, the geographical position away from main routes of travel and migration, all combine to make the mountains and forests of Ghegnia one of the most marginal and isolated regions of Europe. It is a true refuge area, comparable to the Caucasus and the western Himalayan reaches, the Appalachians, and the Ozarks.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 8a - 10b --Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TECHNOLOGY AND OCCUPATION: THE ECONOMICS OF AN ISOLATED SOCIETY

121 HABERLANDT, Baron Nopcsa, and others have written learnedly and in detail about the material culture of the Gheg mountaineers.[1] It is not my intention to duplicate their work. What I have to say about technology in this place is written for one purpose only, to elucidate the problem of human genetics in northern Albania. First of all, we shall examine the anthropometric series itself, since that is the source of our information on the Gheg phenotype (fig. 12).[2] The measurement blanks contain, besides the anthropometric and observational constants, the following information for each subject: serial number, sex, date, place measured, age, tribe, *bairak*, father's group, mother's group, number of wives belonging to father, number of children of each sex per wife, occupation, office or rank, religion, kinship with other members of series, and photographic reel and frame number.

124

We measured 1102 persons. Of these, 1058 were tribesmen both of whose parents had come from the same tribe as the subject. Eleven resulted from intertribal marriages. Thirty-three others remain to be accounted for. Nine were sons of Has fathers and Podrima mothers, 4 were Podrima men. These 13 were living in Has tribal territory, on the Yugoslav side of the border. Podrima is one of the Albanian tribes situated on the plain of Kossovo, wholly in Yugoslav territory. No

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1 [see cat. 121, p. 11 d -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

101 intermarriages were recorded between Podrima people and Has tribesmen from the Albanian side of the border.

124 The 20 others were outsiders in Albanian-controlled Gheg tribal territory. Sixteen came from the large market town of Big Dibra (Dibra e Madhe to the Albanians, Debar to the Serbs) in Yugoslavia, which contains a mixed population of Albanians, Serbs, and a few Turks. One was a Serbian-speaking Moslem from the alien *bairak* of Gorë which forms part of the tribe of Luma; his home lay also beyond the border. Another was an Albanian from the town of Jakova. Two others came from inside Ghegnia but outside the tribal territory—from Krujë and Elbasan, respectively.

These 20 men were all first-generation immigrants. There was no older generation like them. I measured none of their sons, and thus this particular immigration had had no effect on our series. All of them were specialists in some kind of technology. Through the study of the data on occupations given in our tabulations we can discover the exact situation of these people.

124 In our series of 1102 men, 36 occupations
463 were listed. These may be grouped into 7 classes: extractive, processing, services, transport, trade, political, and religious. Their distribution among the 10 tribes and 44 "others" is as follows:

1/1 [See p. 11d. Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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463

	Total	Extr.	Proc.	Serv.	Trans.	Trade	Pol.	Rel.
MeM	105	101		1		2	1	
Duk	106	103					3	
MeJ	104	87		2	1	7	7	
Has	114	102	11					1
Lum	109	79		1		2	25	2
Puk	102	87		3		1	11	
Mir	101	89	4	1		1	6	
Zad	105	104					1	
Mat	104	80	2	2			20	
Dib	108	75	7		3	11	9	3
Others	44	23	7	2		7	4	1
	1102	930	31	12	4	31	87	7

[121] [1] Haberlandt, 1917; Nopcsa, 1925; Start, 1939; Traeger, 1904. 1

1 [pertains to text, cat. 116, p. 11 b -- 4 no lyst]

124
463

Extractive: Of the 930 men so listed, 926 were farmers, 3 shepherds, one a woodcutter. The woodcutter and one shepherd came from Luma, the other shepherd from Mirdita. Eighty-five per cent of all inhabitants of Ghegnia measured are farmers, 88 per cent of all tribesmen.

Processing: Twelve occupations are listed under processing: charcoal burner, blacksmith, tinsmith, carpenter, saddler, hatter, tailor, shoemaker, butcher, baker, cook, and pastry cook.

The 2 charcoal burners, the smith, and the carpenter were Mirdites. Their occupations are mutually dependent. As a rule iron goods are imported, and distributed by merchants in the towns. Axe heads, sickles, billhooks, and other tools of familiar Iron Age shapes are produced by craftsmen in the larger centers, such as Scutari, for the mountain trade. Minor metallurgy is usually carried on by gypsies.

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The other specialists fall into a different class. None were mountain men, except one cook and one baker, both natives of Mati, who worked in the new prefecture headquarters established at Bureli, within Mati territory, by King Zog. They were there because of the impact of the new central government on the mountain tribes. Neither of these men had long been professionals.

The tinsmith, the saddler, and the hatter were natives of Peshkopia, the principal town of Dibra. Of the 3 tailors in this town, one was a native, one had come from Big Dibra, and the third from Jakova. The butcher, one of the 2 bakers, and the cook measured in Peshkopia were Big Dibra men. The pastry cook worked in Kukës, in Luma. This leaves 11 bakers. These men all came from Gonaj and neighboring villages in Has; within walking distance of Prizren. Baking is their traditional hereditary occupation. They get their flour from the gristmills of Prizren and sell their bread in that city. Many of these Hasi bakers migrate to distant cities to work. Mr. Anthony Stevens, our guide, and an employee of the U. S. State Department, began life as one of these bakers; as a boy he went to Cincinnati to work in a bakery.

It can be seen that within Gheg tribal territory processing techniques are practised almost exclusively in the eastern borderlands.

-12a

361 Peshkopia has grown rapidly because the international boundary commission of 1913 cut off the Dibra mountaineers from their natural market town of Big Dibra. Hence many of the Big Dibra men moved to Peshkopia, which is just inside Albania. In the same way Prizren was cut off from the Luma people, who built up Kukës; Jakova from the Malsia e Jakovës men, who also go to Kukës. On the western side no such disturbance has taken place. Scutari, Lesh, and Kruja now, as for centuries past, serve as market towns for the mountain people.

124 463 *Services*: Only 12 men are listed under "services." Two of these are innkeepers. One is a Puka man, host at Rrap, his native place. The other is an outsider, a Kruja man, whose inn is at Gur i Bardh in Mati. Kruja men specialize in innkeeping, and in the heyday of Ottoman power might be found all over the Turkish Empire, including Asia Minor. These *hanjis* marry in Kruja, and do not mix with the populations in the regions in which they do their business.

Three men were restaurant-keepers: one Koplik man, whose shop was presumably in Scutari, a Luma man, and a Malsia e Jakovës man, with shops in Kukës. The barber was a Malsia e Jakovës man, working in Kukës. Of the 2 waiters, one was a local man serving the gendarmes in their post at Puka, the other a Big Dibra man working in the hotel in Peshkopia, a new institution. Of the 3 listed as servants, all were local. One served the prefect and another the teacher in the new government center in Bureli. The third worked for a priest in Mirdita.

Of the 12 "services" listings, 9 can be accounted for as a result of recent political events.

[494] *Transport*: Transportation in Ghegnia in 1929 meant but one thing—the services of *kiragis*, those incredibly tough horse-drivers who would take you and your goods anywhere, and try to raise the price on the road, once you were at their mercy. Three out of 4 came from Dibra, and one from Malsia e Jakovës. As far as I know, all *kiragis*, like all *hanjis*, are Moslems.

[441] *Trade*: All merchants in the mountain country are shopkeepers; there are no large or complex commercial institutions. Of the 31 shop-

124 keepers measured, 18 were in Peshkopia. Of
463 these, 11 were locals, and 7 Big Dibra immigrants. Six shopkeepers were measured in Kukës, all Malsia e Jakovës men; 2 in Bicaj, a Luma village, were local. One Malsia e Jakovës man was measured in his own shop in Kolgecs, a local town. Thus 25 out of the 31 shopkeepers came from the eastern borderlands, from big towns or their neighborhood. The situation is the same as with the craftsmen whose goods they sell.

Four shopkeepers remain: 2 are from Malsia e Madhe, one with his shop in Scutari, the other at home. Of the other 2, one is a local in Puka, the other a local in Mirdita. The Mirdita man, who has the only shop in that tribe, claimed that his father was an Austrian officer who begat him during World War I. This would give him a maximum possible age of 14 years at the time of measuring. He was at least 30.

TECHNOLOGY, A REVIEW

000 From the foregoing study of the non-somatological data collected in our series,[1] and from what is generally known of the material culture of the Ghegs, we can make a brief summary, keeping in mind always our main purpose, to define the economic elements in the cultural situation within which the Ghegs live.

326 Cutting tools are of iron. They are made by
391 blacksmiths in the market towns in which the Ghegs do their trading. In Scutari, for example, there is a whole quarter devoted to smiths, most if not all of whom are gypsies. With hammer and tongs, a small anvil, and a pair of foot-pump bellows they forge nearly all of the metal objects needed by the mountaineers in their farming, herding, transport, and household carpentry. They make small anvils, hammers, nails, axes, adzes, knives, ploughshares, shovels, hoes, toothed sickles, billhooks, beam ties, door hinges, horseshoes, horse hobbles, chains, bits, firetongs, andirons, tripods, lighting racks, and probably other articles which have escaped our attention.[2]

326 There is no smelting in the neighborhood of Ghegnia. The iron which the smiths use is all imported. Although city blacksmiths can

[2] Haberlandt's, Nopcsa's, and mine. The best account of this is to be found in Haberlandt, 1917, p. 90. -13a-

[1] [see cat. 116 pp. 11a - 13a -- Analysis]

326 make all of these implements out of trade iron, it is unlikely that the rural smiths, like the one measured in Mirdita, do much more than [439] horseshoeing. No one in Albania can make steel implements. Not only the material, but the finished implements themselves, must be imported, and hence they are expensive. That is why saws and augers are scarce in the mountains, where almost the only steel tools seen are files, useful for sharpening iron tools and for woodworking.

322 This explains the primitive nature of Gheg woodworking. Most wooden objects which require special tools or skills are bought in the market towns. Here 3 kinds of woodworking specialists carry on their crafts: the coopers, turners, and joiners. The coopers make tubs and buckets for kitchen use, including churns, butter firkins, and casks for storing grain. The material of which these are made is pear wood. The turner cuts out on his lathe various parts for looms, to be set up later; bobbins, spools, reelers, winders, and spool frames. The joiners provide the mountaineers with solid, ornately decorated chests of pine wood, as well as cradles in which to carry their babies, of which more later.

The Gheg at home in his mountains is a jack-of-all-trades. He may not be able to manufacture the special objects listed above, but he can adze out beams for his house, put together a new plough during the winter months when there is little work out of doors, or build one of his massive chairs. Professional carpenters are rare, although some men may show more skill in this than others.

372 In Ghegnia, as in most of the primitive world known to anthropologists, it is the custom not to let fires go out, for it is hard to start a new one. Sometimes a householder will walk several miles to borrow a glowing coal from a neighbor. In 1929 and 1930 most of the Ghegs were making fire with flint and steel or with old-fashioned dry-wick lighters. They did this slyly, and in my presence only when they could not borrow a match from me. King Zog had sold the match monopoly to the Swedish match trust, which had promptly set a price of 5 cents a box on penny matches. The king had at the same time prohibited the use of flint

372 and steel or lighters. This left the mountaineers in an unenviable position—they could not afford matches nor legally start fires by other means. Outside the market towns, however, their illegal actions passed unnoticed.

342 Several authorities, particularly Nopcsa, have concerned themselves with north Albanian house types. These are usually divided, on the basis of ground plan, room arrangement, and architecture into a number of classes: simple one-roomed huts, usually employed in the summer only by shepherds on high mountain pastures; 2-roomed, one-storied houses, with one room for animals and the other for the family; the so-called veranda houses, with a wooden front porch and columns, reminiscent of the Homeric hall; and finally the *kulla* or defensible stronghold (fig. 8, *a*). 1

The 2-roomed house seems to be basic in the mountains, although historically the more complicated structures have made these edifices rare. The veranda house, although old in the Mediterranean, was apparently late to reach this refuge area, being spread with Islam. The *kulla*, or stronghold, is said to have come at the same time as the veranda house. Both reached Kastrati and Shala about 1850, being introduced by one man who had lived in Istanbul, Liho Čuni.

For building materials the Ghegs are strictly limited to local supplies, since transportation
[135] is so difficult. In the region designated on figure 2 as "serpentine highland," 2 the stone is hard to cut, and unsuited for fine masonry except in the hands of experts. Furthermore, lime is found in few places only, and it is usually impossible to make mortar without many tedious trips with pack-horses or donkeys. In this region many of the houses are made of wood, with squared logs laid on each other and held in place by vertical or diagonal crosspieces. Others are made of wattle: vertical poles side by side, with flexible wands woven in and out between them. At times this wattling is bare, but usually it is covered with some sort of plaster or mud.

[333] Where there is plenty of suitable stone and lime, these materials are used. The simpler, poorer houses are of dry masonry, but the majority are built with mortar. Roofing material varies from thatch to shakes, slate, and tile. Years ago thatch was much more com-

-14a-

1 [see cat. 116, p. 108 -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, p. 8a -- Analyst]

342 monly used than at present. The shift from wheat to maize as staple cereal deprived the farmers in many parts of Albania of roofing material.

[353] The interiors of most houses are quite bare, with no carpets on the hewn plank floors, and [354] little decoration on the walls. In the older houses a fireplace covers about 10 square feet of floor area, and the smoke finds its way out through the thatch or roof tiles. In so doing, it cures meats hung in a rack above the fire, particularly in Catholic houses where pork is preserved for the winter.

The introduction of the *kulla* brought with it some drastic architectural innovations. The *kulla* is a 3-storied square tower, built with one purpose in mind—defense. Nopcsa finds a high correlation between the incidence of *kullas* in different villages and *bairaks*, and that of death by violence. The lower floor of the *kulla* is for the shelter of animals. The second and third are for habitation. One door opens into the stable below, a second, up a flight of bare steps, to the living quarters.

With a multi-storied structure something had to be done about smoke. Hence fireplaces were built one above the other, and a high [514] chimney ensured draft. One of the principal troubles with the old-fashioned house was its lack of a toilet. The feuding Gheg, attending the needs of nature in a corn field of a frosty morning, made an excellent target to his enemies hiding in ambush, and the feudal code contained no sporting rules to outlaw this easy shot. The *kulla*-builders therefore constructed an overhanging enclosed balcony of masonry, to serve as "W. C." In the conflict between sanitation and safety, safety won. The drain hole is made crooked to prevent pot shots from below. Since there are few windows, and these are built more for gunplay than for light or ventilation, a strong draft usually rushes up the drain hole. Down below in a heap against the wall the refuse accumulates, and were it not for the healthy mountain climate and the hardihood of the mountaineers, epidemics would be commoner than they are.

Gheg houses have both a social and an economic implication. They are usually large, and accommodate an extended family and its animals. Serving for defense, they reflect the

342 [562] local independence of the families within them. In the *kullas*, women are placed on the second floor, men on top; or else the women will live in a nearby unfortified house, while the men take refuge in the *kulla*. This reflects the inviolability of women in the local feuding law.

333 *Kulla*-building[1] requires the skill of professionals. All stones are squared, and carefully set in mortar. The fireplaces and chimneys must be properly aligned and made to draw. The great height of the walls requires scaffolding. Nopcsa[3] says that they are built by itinerant masons, and that in 1908 they cost between 440 and 660 crowns (110–165 dollars). I was told several times when I asked that the *kullas* were built by masons from Dibra,[4] who also build them in Montenegro, Bosnia, and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Exactly where in Dibra these masons come from I do not know. I have never seen one at work, nor did any appear in our series.

354 These houses, of whatever type, are heated by wood, which at the same time cooks the meals. In most of the region there is plenty of firewood, but in the northern limestone region it is scarce and must be sought afar. The mountaineers earn a little spare cash by carrying loads of firewood down to the market towns to sell.

In many houses in 1929 a primitive form of illumination was still employed. When it grew dark the host would lay a number of pine splinters in several iron racks, hanging from the roof, and light them. The oil in the wood would provide enough light to see by, but hardly enough for reading. In other houses, however, they used candles, and in still others oil lamps. Kerosene has been packed into this country in square 5-gallon tins for some time, and the tins themselves are as much sought after as their contents.

291 Gheg clothing has received even more attention than their housing. The costumes are picturesque, and make fine collections. They vary from tribe to tribe, *bairak* to *bairak*, and in some cases between villages. After six months of travel over the mountains I was able to tell where a man came from in many cases by the cut of his jacket, the color of his

1 [see cat. 116, p. 14 b-- Analyst]

[3] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 62.

291 trousers, the shape of his cap, and particularly by the design on his stockings. If after 6 months a foreigner had reached this threshold of discrimination, a native mountaineer with good eyesight could identify a stranger as far as he could see him, just as easily as a modern boy can tell the make of a car or airplane at a glance. This habit of wearing one's insignia so conspicuously has a very definite meaning. [181] The man is proud of his family and native place, and defiant. His desire to be identified is greater than his fear of death. He does not go far from home unless his mission is a serious one.

The man's costume starts with a brimless felt cap (*frontispiece*)[1] either conical or flat on top; often he wears a kerchief around it like a thin turban, or neckcloth. The upper part of his body is covered with a woolen jacket, with sleeves and some kind of collar, often sailor-fashion. As a rule he is shirtless. From waist to ankle he wears a pair of woolen breeches, usually skin-tight on the legs, and with a slight fullness in the seat in some regions which reflects the influence of the Turkish baggy pants. He goes without underdrawers. If wealthy, he may also wear an ornate sleeveless waistcoat. He usually sports some kind of wide cummerbund, or belt. His feet are shod in opingas, or rawhide buskins, the common primitive European footgear found not only in the Balkans but in Russia, Ireland, and other places where tradition is strong enough and shoes expensive enough to preserve this ancient homemade shoe type. In 1929 the poorer Ghegs were wearing pieces of automobile tire in place of opingas, and it gave one a start to see a fresh section of Goodyear or Michelin track on a mountain path 18 inches wide. At the same time the wealthier were wearing western manufactured shoes.

Both men and women wear stockings, knit by the women, which bear the family design as clearly as a Scottish tartan. I have seen many men, however, who had none. The women's dress varies from place to place, but is basically a combination of a full bell-like skirt, reminding one of a Cretan goddess's lower garment, surmounted by a full blouse or bodice. Add to that a headcloth or shawl, and much jewelry,

[1] [See cat. 116, facing title page --Analyst]

[1] This is confirmed by Bishop Fan Noli.

291 which is bought from silversmiths in the town, and the woman is clothed.

These costumes are undoubtedly ancient. Some of their elements may be traced back to the early Mediterranean, others to the central European Iron Age. However, the Ghegs themselves do not make all parts of them, but carry on the tradition by demand, like the Crow Indians for whom Stetson has, for decades, been manufacturing a special kind of hat.

283 The basic cloth is woven at home. The farmer gives his wife the necessary wool from his sheep, both white and black. She cards it with a homemade device, either a flick bow or a nail-studded card, and spins it. Her spinning kit consists of a distaff, a spindle, and a basket. Holding the distaff in one hand, she twists the wool with the other, and winds it onto the spindle in the basket. Whenever she has nothing else to do, or when she is walking along the trail, the Albanian housewife dutifully spins, and her spinning has soon become a reflex action, like knitting or bead-telling.

286 When she has enough wool, she begins weaving. The Albanian loom is an ordinary European 2-beam affair, similar to those used in the Hebrides and the Kentucky mountains. It has a wooden frame, 2 beams or rollers between which the warps are stretched, a wooden batten, and a foot-operated heddle. The bobbin, within its shuttle, is hand-thrown. The men buy all of the delicate parts of this loom in the town, from turners. The rest of it they make at home. The loom is kept mounted only while a length of cloth is being woven. When not in use the loom is taken apart and piled in a corner with other household impedimenta.

Once the cloth has been woven, it must, if intended for masculine use, be fulled. This involves keeping it wet, working it about, and
402 pounding it for several hours. The mountain-
286 eers employ an ingenious water-powered device for this purpose. Several writers have observed these mills; Nopcsa has drawn one.[5] I saw several. The fulling mill consists of an open-air wooden structure powered by an overshot water wheel. A smaller stream of water runs through a trough to wet the cloth. The wheelshaft is studded with four wooden

[5] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 134, fig. 99.

286 lugs or cogs, which lift up a heavy wooden
402 hammer and let it drop, 4 times for each revolution. Two staggered sets of cogs and 2 hammers give the cloth a constant pounding as long as it is left there.

No one seems to know who invented these mills or who makes them. When you encounter them along a stream, they are usually unattended. Apparently the wife, having woven her cloth, turns it over to her husband, who takes it to the mill to be fulled. There is no professional fuller, and each mill seems to belong to the group of kinsmen or neighbors who use it.

294 The women make their own clothing, for the most part of unfulled cloth. They also crochet the stockings, and stitch the opingas, worn by both sexes. The men, however, carry the fulled and heavily felted cloth to the market town, to a tailor who then cuts it in the traditional design of his client's native place, and sews up the pieces and embroiders the finished garment.

A number of other specialists are involved in the production of men's clothing and equipment. A special craftsman provides the quantities of braid with which jacket and trousers are adorned. Hatters, equipped with wooden molds to suit every variation of tribal taste, shape the felt caps, conical or truncated, white or black, which all mountaineers wear. Leather-workers, who are traditionally Turks, make ornate belts for the men, as well as saddles, bags, and straps. Special shoemakers make footgear for those who can afford it, although most wear the opingas which their wives produce from local hides. Most of the shoemakers are Kruja men, and this is a Kruja specialty. At Kukës we saw zebra hides on display outside several shops. These had been sent all the way from South Africa for the manufacture of opingas.

[322] As previously stated[1] wooden buckets are made by professional coopers in towns, and
285 purchased by the mountain people, who use them in dairying and for food storage. Baskets, however, are local products; the country people often bring them to town for sale. Several villages near Scutari specialize in basket-making, and the women, who weave

1 [see cat. 86, p. 136 -- Analyst]

285 them, bring them to market along with embroidery. These include not only spinning baskets and hand-carrying baskets, but also large osier panniers used in transport—a man can carry one on his back, a horse, two. I believe that the panniers are made by men.

326 Other containers include copperwork and pottery. The coppersmiths in each town hammer out sheets of metal into round trays, which can be used for baking cheese dishes, pastry, etc., or for tea and coffee service. They also make kettles, water jugs, and washbasins. All of these things are purchased by the mountaineers, who now and then acquire a European chamber-pot to use as soup tureen, and a set of glass tumblers.

323 Three kinds of pottery find their way into the mountaineer's household. In the Catholic tribes, if not elsewhere, the women still make an Iron Age vessel, of simple profile, with handles, without slip, and decorated by incisions. It is hand-modeled, and fired in such a way as to give it a black surface. In the towns, professional male potters make a porous ware on the wheel. This is used for carrying and storing water. Regular modern glazed pottery is imported from Italy, and subsequently sold in the bazaars.

251 Food preservation and storage techniques vary between Catholics and Moslems, owing to their differences in diet. The Catholics preserve much pork by salting and smoking. The men of each household will butcher as many fat pigs as the family needs or can spare, in the fall. They cut the belly fat into flitches and hang it over the fire. An especial delicacy is the *peshk*, or "fish," a long strip of lean back-bacon, smoke-cured, which they cut in slices and fry. Besides these whole pork pieces, they make sausages and cure them in the same
262] way. The Moslems as a rule eat only fresh meat and live on mutton, whereas Catholics eat both mutton and pork.

Both store their cereals and legumes in tubs and bags in the house, and keep maize in special outdoor corncribs, elevated to protect them from rats. Very often a fierce dog will be seen and heard, chained under the crib.
234 Both make butter from their cows' milk, and cheese from that of sheep and goats, although the use of the latter is much more common
000 among the Moslems. Catholics, in country fit

273 Catholics in country fit
for grape-growing, make a potent red wine, which they resinate in Homeric fashion.

The Moslems, prohibited by the Koran from wine drinking, content themselves with distilled liquors. In every neighborhood one or more Moslem families will own a copper still, complete with boiler and cooling screw, which someone once bought in Scutari or another town. Neighbors borrow these stills from time to time, as American families borrow each other's ice-cream freezers. Much of the *raki*, or raisin brandy, so produced, is home distilled, but a certain amount is carried up from the towns. Green *mastica*, a vicious local variety of absinthe, is imported only.
276 Both Catholics and Moslems smoke. While a few Moslems own *narghilehs*, most tobacco addicts smoke cigarettes. The economics of cigarette smoking is that as a rule each man grows his own tobacco, and sells what he does not consume. He has to buy cigarette paper, imported from France. He has to have some kind of a lighting device, which usually runs to expense, as previously explained (see p. 13). The social aspect of smoking is that it forms a ready means of polite interaction, for men give each other cigarettes, rolling and licking them for an honored guest.

[262] 252 Since the principal food of all the mountaineers, whatever their religion, is bread, usually a tough, unleavened cornbread which will keep for weeks and grow harder and harder instead of molding, one of their principal needs is some way to grind the grain. Most houses contain mortars and pestles, and many also contain hand querns, of Roman design, which the women operate. It is probable, but not certain, that all of the millstones come from the market, since suitable stone is found in few
402 252 areas. A large part of the grain-milling, however, is done in small, water-driven mills, of which there are many. These mills, homemade except for the stones, are operated by vertical-shaft paddle wheels which are in effect primitive turbines. They save the expenditure of human muscular energy, and much time. In one place in Malsia e Jakovës, I saw another kind of mill, a pounding device which consisted of a trough-shaped log set on a pivot, and equipped with a heavy hammer at one end. Water flowed into this trough until enough had entered the lower end to tip the whole, [See cut 116 p. 13b --Analyst] -17b-

252 and raise the hammer. Then when the water
402 spilled out the hammer fell, and the cycle began again. These mills have been observed by other authors as well.

Although they utilize water power so cleverly and save so much effort, these 2 kinds of mills involve no specific division of labor. Some men may be more skillful at setting them than others, but there are no professional mill-builders, and no millers. Like the fulling mills they belong to the families that use them, and
256 when not in use are unattended. In the cities, however, professional millers are to be found. Prizren, which has an ample supply of swift water running under the streets, is a milling town, and the traveler walking down the millers' street can hear the sharp ring of stone on stone for several hundred feet. These mills supply the needs of the bakers of Gonaj and Zum, and feed the citizens of Prizren. Bread from this region is of excellent quality and mountaineers coming to market often take a few loaves home.

264 The Ghegs eat one principal meal a day, late in the afternoon. In the morning a Moslem may take a small glass of *raki* for an eye-opener, and eat some bread and cheese; a Catholic will also break his fast. Both will munch a cold snack on the road or in the field for luncheon. But the time when the whole family gets together, when honored guests are entertained, comes when the day's work is over. Then the women cook the food, and the men squat around the communal table.
[352] In Moslem households the table is the only piece of furniture in evidence, aside from the omnipresent chests. Among the Catholics, each house usually contains one massive beechwood chair, made locally, which seats the head of the house or the guest of honor, and a number of low wooden stools.

Forks and other modern cutlery are usually absent. Mediaeval table manners are scrupulously observed, with all eating from the same dish, and with their fingers. Among the Moslems at least, the custom of passing a wash-bowl and jug of water with a towel before and after the meal is usual, as well as saying the Koranic grace, *bismillah*. At one meal which I attended at the house of Major Çen Eleze at Slatina, in Dibra, the table was at least 10 feet in diameter, the eaters numbered at

[See pp. 16a-16b-Analysis -18a-]

264 least 15, with as many more waiting patiently for second table, and the dishes included a whole roast sheep, which the Major picked apart with his hands and distributed.

463 Professional cooks are found only in the
252 towns and in new government stations. In
265 Prizren and Scutari, many of these cooks are Turks and their dishes consist mostly of mutton with various kinds of vegetables. Personally I found this cuisine very tasty. They also make a fine *yughurt*. Pastry cooks form another special group, and concentrate on *baklava* and *kadaif*, the two honey desserts familiar to eaters in Greek restaurants in all countries. Although their products may be carried into the mountains, the pastry cooks themselves stay at home.

262 The mountaineers obtain almost all of their own food by farming and herding. Hunting provides little or none for most families, and the same is true of fishing. Along the Black Drin, just above Kukës, a few fish are sometimes caught, and welcomed in the kitchen. In Prizren, fresh river fish are sold in the market. But fish is an insignificant element in the Mountain Gheg diet. The same is true of wild vegetable products, shoots, berries, and the
594 like, collected by women. Furthermore each
261 family produces practically all of its own food, except for a little coffee and tea, and a bit of sugar and salt. Most families are too poor to afford these imported luxuries often. The significance of the absolute self-sufficiency of the Ghegs in their food supply is linked with local differences in geology, and must have a profound effect upon differences in physique attendant on diet.

241 Farming is a family affair. The man buys
[594] the iron implements which he needs in town, and makes the rest of wood. He breaks the soil with a spade, and ploughs it with oxen. As he ploughs each furrow, his wife walks behind him with a basket of seed, sowing it. Later the women will do the weeding, and the whole family comes out to reap. If the crop is wheat, they cut off each head of grain with a sickle and put the heads in a bag; if maize, they pick the ears and braid the husks for drying. They thresh small grains and beans with flails. When the tobacco leaves are ripe, the men cut them carefully and hang them on their verandas or the sides of their houses to cure. -18b-

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples. 245

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*). The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture. [462] 221 233

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling. 231 262

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached. 261 628

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later, goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjës to Puka, then on to Kukës, and across 491

1 [See cut 116, p. 108 .. Analyst
2 [See cut 116 p 42a - Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

491 the border to Prizren. This was an old Roman road, and has probably not changed much in a thousand years. At Kukës another road meets it, running south along the Black Drin to Peshkopia and outside Gheg country to Lake Ochrida and Korça. Parts of this road had been widened for vehicular traffic in 1929, but the wide pieces had not been connected. It is said that both these roads have been opened for motor traffic since the Italian occupation.

Another trail goes from Tirana to Zall, thence to Gur i Bardh in Mati, through Klos, across the divide to Bulçiz in Dibra, and thence to Peshkopia. This is the principal route between the new capital and the important region to the northeast. Still another passes from Lesh to Bureli in Mati (fig. 9, *c*) following the banks of the Mati River. Bureli, now a prefect station, has grown important only with the Zog regime. From Bureli one can proceed to the northern Catholic country of Lura and Kthella, and thence down into Dibra, but the road is little traveled. North of the Drin a trail passes from Scutari to Shoshi over the Gur i Kutch, but in winter this is impassable. On the other side there is a road from Kukës across the Drin through the *bairaks* of Bituç, Gashi, and Krasniqi, past Merturi, into Shoshi (fig. 8, *d*). In winter this can be passed by men but not animals. Hence in wintertime no animal traffic can enter either Shoshi, or Shala which lies to its north. Before the boundary was drawn between Albania and Yugoslavia the road from Tropoya, in Gashi (Malsia e Jakovës), to Jakova was much traveled; but now this is forbidden and the people of this tribe must go to market in Kukës.

492 As far as any considerable traffic is con-
482 cerned, horseback and human back are the only methods of land transport available in Ghegnia. In a few of the flatter places, however, other means are used locally for short
493 distances. In the country around Scutari just below the mountains, the farmers use carts, particularly in Zadrima. In Luma, on the flat land at the confluence of the Drins, and in Has on the other side, carts are likewise used, as well as ox-drawn summer sleds.

491 Crossing streams is not a simple matter in Ghegnia. Most of the crossings are fjords, and very cold. I have seen men strip naked to swim across icy rivers in search of a place for

ANALYS--
1 [see cat 116, p 109
+19b -

491 animals to cross, and have waded up to my chin at night, with snow on either bank. When the streams are swollen, animals and men are not infrequently drowned. There is or was an old Turkish bridge across the White Drin, from Kukës to the northern bank (fig. 9, *b*). Several wooden bridges crossed the Black Drin in Dibra. On the road from Krasniqi to Shoshi, I have crossed a bridge which consisted of 2 poles, one to walk on, the other a little higher and to one side, to use as a rail.

501 In a few places, ferry boats are available, which operate by the principle of changing the mooring position of the cable after each crossing, so that the power of the stream will push the boat diagonally across to the other bank. There was one such at Kukës across the Black Drin, another at Bureli over the Mati. Other observers have witnessed Ghegs crossing these streams on inflated skins, but I have never seen it.

Navigation in Ghegnia is very limited. Although Nopcsa has a picture of a man in a boat at Merturi, I have seen it only on the lower course of the Drin, between Vau i Denjës and Scutari, where special boatmen ferry passengers to town in a few hours, to save the day's march over the road. These boats are long dugout canoes, usually double. The boatman propels them by sculling, like the gondoliers of Venice. The men who run the ferries, and these boatmen on the lower Drin, are without doubt specialists, as nearly fulltime as the traffic requires. Probably not more than a dozen
494 men ply these trades. Much more numerous
463 are the *kiragis*, the professional horse-drivers who may be seen on all of the roads in Moslem country, and in some Catholic tribes as well. The *kiragis* in our series were Dibra men, but others come from outside the tribal area, from such places as Elbasan and Tirana.

The *kiragi* is a hard-bitten man, disillusioned early in life by a close observation of human behavior under stress, since all travel in Ghegnia is difficult. He is a non-combatant, a man with no family ties in the regions in which he works, and not worth killing. Anyone who robs him too often will keep trade away and cut off the supply of needed imports. He will rent out anywhere from one to a half dozen horses, to go anywhere the road will take him, and the rate per day has to be argued over at length. He insists on taking grain for his

1/1 [See cat. 116, p. 109.-- Analyst]

494 463 horses at the customer's expense, and will refuse to go on if the grain is exhausted. All kinds of situations arise to produce arguments between *kiragi* and customer, such as the unexpectedly high price of grain in a certain place, inn charges, and the condition of the horses.

Besides carrying passengers and their goods, the *kiragi* will do errands; he will carry goods to market without their owners, sell them, and take his commission; then he will bring back a specified list of purchased objects. He must be reasonably honest or he will lose the traffic. At the same time the mountaineers who hire him are spared the risk of crossing hostile territory.

[473] *Kiragis* are either in business for themselves or in partnership, or working on shares with an investing capitalist. Since Islam prohibits interest, the share system is the one employed. It is not big business, for the maximum number of persons involved will not exceed a half dozen, including the boys whom the *kiragi* takes with him to help with the horses. It is, however, one of the few ways in which the otherwise closed country of the Gheg mountaineers is systematically and constantly penetrated. In 1929 there must have been at least a hundred such professionals on the roads every day.

485 In Moslem country the principal roads are equipped, at appropriate distances, with inns. As with tourist cabins in the United States, it is best to start at daybreak or earlier, and get in well before sunset, for the inns are often full well before night. The usual inn consists of 3 rooms; a large stable, which occupies about three-fourths of the whole; a chamber with a low ceiling built into one corner of the building, some 14 feet wide by 30 or 40 feet long, with a fireplace at the far end; and a cubicle which serves as the *hanji's* (innkeeper's) private quarters, office, and store.

When you enter the inn, the *hanji* sees that you unload your animals, and assigns them space in the stable. He has straw there, and sometimes grain if you have not brought your own. Then he gives each guest a section of the floor, which is divided into 3 strips, the 2 on the sides being about 6 feet wide, and the center one, 2 feet. Guests sleep side by side on the lateral strips, with the center reserved as a passageway. The guests feed themselves.

485 with cooking privileges at the fireplace, while the host brews coffee for sale, and also dispenses *raki*. After his guests are in for the night he locks the door, and cannot ordinarily be persuaded to unlock it before morning, no matter how urgent the needs of the guests to go outside. This precaution is necessary owing to the frequency of violence.

Some of the *hanjis* are local men. Others come from Kruja, the home of innkeepers. All of them live as bachelors. This system, like the *kiragi* business, brings a certain number of outsiders into the country. All in all there are probably 12 to 18 *hans* in Ghegnia, in addition to the one European-style hotel at
574 Peshkopia. The Catholics do not use this system; in their tribal areas guests are put up by important individuals through a system of re-
[628] ciprocal hospitality. Since local feuds are usually more prevalent in Catholic than in Moslem country, travel across the former is relatively light.

438 There remains only the question of trade, which has been partly covered.[1] On the whole it may be said of the mountain Ghegs that they live by a regional, or geographic, and perhaps also ethnic, division of labor. The ordinary man is a farmer, who produces firewood, cereals, legumes, tobacco, wool, milk products, and sometimes wooden spoons. His wife produces cloth, crocheted stockings, embroidered scarfs, baskets, eggs, and a few other local products. These mountain products find their way to the market towns. Usually men and women come together; sometimes only the women make the trip, and sometimes the whole family stays at home, sending the goods by a *kiragi*.[2]

The Ghegs are able to export these things because they produce a slight surplus of agricultural products. One reason for the surplus may be that they use a number of labor-saving devices, including fulling and mealing mills run by water power.[3] This gives them more time for other pursuits, but does not increase their complexity of relations at home, since the mills are small and serve individual groups of related families.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 20a-20b -- Analyst]
2 [See cat 116 pp 20a-20b -- Analyst]
3 [See cat 116 pp 17b-18a -- Analyst]

438 On the other side of the picture lie the craftsmen and shopkeepers in the towns, some Albanian, others Turkish, others Serbian. These craftsmen live off the exports from the mountains and from the other agricultural regions around them, and supply the mountaineers with their needs, including firearms and ammunition, as well as the objects previously listed.

So far the picture is simple, mountaineers on one side of the fence, townsmen on the other. A mountaineer may become a townsman, but never the reverse. At several points, however, the security of the mountains is penetrated: by the itinerant masons who build *kullas*,[1] by the *hanjis*[2] and *kiragis*[3] who handle traffic and care for travelers, and by the shopkeepers, who are themselves usually Ghegs, and who are found in the larger tribal villages, usually but one to a settlement. I can recall but one in Mirdita, none in Shoshi, while in the country villages of Dibra, Luma, and Puka, along the main roads, there were several. These men sold tea and sugar, needles and thread, cigarette papers, salt and pepper, a little candy, candles, kerosene, kerchiefs, and matches. They saved a trip to town for minor purchases.

511 With this balance of production and trade,[4] the Ghegs barely succeed in making a living. If their average income could be accurately assessed, it would be one of the lowest in Europe. The ordinary farmer has just enough clothing to cover his family. In some cases I have seen brothers with one suit between them; one had to stay indoors while the other went out. This was in Merturi. The ordinary household has just enough food to get through the year, saving the next year's seed and selling a little in the town. Many houses are the scenes of tightened belts and near starvation every spring. Since there is no knowledge of contraception, many children are born. As ideas of sanitation are also lacking, many people die, and the population is always a little greater than the threshold of tolerance. Feuds, sudden death, and emigration are necessary safety valves. Another very recent one is enlistment in the gendarmerie.

[842]
[165]

1 [See Cat. 116, pp. 14b - 15a -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, pp. 20b - 21a -- Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, pp. 20a - 20b - Analyst]
4 [See cat. 116, pp. 21a - b -- Analyst]

-21b-

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

THE FAMILY SYSTEM: WHO MARRIES WHOM AND WHY

000 TO THE anthropologist, selective marriage systems, such as cross-cousin and parallel-cousin, are run-of-the-mill phenomena. But the anthropologist is used to dealing primarily with non-European peoples, living far from centers of civilization. To the sociologist brought up on European and American subject matter it is an event to discover a "primitive" system in operation only 250 miles from Rome, in the 20th century.

592 As our study of material culture made clear, the Gheg family, like that of the early Israelites, or of the Chinese of any period, is an economic institution. One household, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, his sons, unmarried daughters, and son's children, lives in a single house or group of houses, and all ordinarily work together. The most complicated tasks which confront them require the co-operation of such a group, but no more, except in rare events when neighboring kinsmen may be called in. Isolation and political insecurity enhance the frequency and strength of the mutual relations of the family members. In some of the tribes, notably Dukagin, these households number up to 30 or 40 persons; the Arabic word *meballa* (military camp) is used to designate them.

[462] A sex division of labor clearly separates the work of the women from that of the men. Each needs the other. A houseful of widows and unmarried women would be unthinkable, as would a house occupied by men alone. The family must be a balanced unit. If a man dies his place must be filled if possible; if a woman fails to bear children another must be found [842] who can. The family must continue, and since so many men are killed before they reach maturity, it must produce boys. The birth of girls is less important because they are not killed, and because they leave the family to get married.

582 For a number of very good reasons, it is considered desirable to obtain wives for one's sons from a distance. In the first place, if a

[127] [1] The principal source of this chapter is my own records. However, I also made use of Miss M. E.

582 boy were to marry a local girl, he might get in trouble with other local boys. Young men form attachments for the girls whom they see every day, and any feeling of rivalry in youth which was followed by such a marriage might continue the tension into manhood. The young men who live in one place must get along together as well as possible. Owing to economic pressure, all tensions run high, and tensions result in violence. Violence with one's immediate neighbors would be suicidal. Therefore it is best for fathers to arrange these matters well in advance, and to bring in new girls who have no local ties.

Then again, let us suppose that the marriage did not work well; that the bride was shy, disliked her husband, was slow to adjust herself to living with him, or resented her mother-in-law's interference. If her parents lived close at hand, she could run home and complain to her mother. Soon her father and brothers would be making trouble for her husband and his family. Any wise person can see that it is much better to bring the bride from a distance, and then if any trouble arises between the two kins, they will be too far separated to cross each other's paths very often.

Once a family has formed the habit of getting its wives from another group in a distant area, that habit is likely to continue. A man will go to his wife's brother and say, "Haven't you a daughter for my son?" and the thing is easily arranged, providing that the earlier marriage has been successful. This requires less effort than breaking the ice with an entirely new group of people, but at the same time it preserves the necessary distance. Of course, if the man's wife's family has no daughters available for his son, he can try their neighboring kinfolk, or some other family with which some of his cousins have worked out a similar arrangement. In this way 2 things are evened up; one does not give a girl away without some assurance of getting in return a wife for one's own son.

[127] Durham's publication of 1928, as well as material contained in a letter which she most kindly wrote me.

582 This system satisfies the universal principle which applies in all human mating, that *the ideal or normal choice of spouses shall be that which creates the least disturbance in the systems of relations of both parties concerned.*[1a] That a form of cross-cousin mating should have survived in the Gheg country is a natural consequence of the equal survival of an archaic technology in a rugged environment. The system fits the circumstances, as one might expect.

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TABLE 1: NUMBERS OF WIVES MARRIED BY FATHERS OF SUBJECTS, AND NUMBERS OF OFFSPRING.

	MeM	Dux	MeJ	Has	Lum	Pux	Mir	Zad	Mat	Dib	Ist	Total
One Wife, Moslems	40		54	72	76	50		9	69	74	3	450
Catholics	47	89	10	10		24	82	83	9		2	356
Total	87	89	64	82	76	74	82	92	78	74	5	803
Two Wives, Moslems	12		27	19	23	13		3	20	32	1	150
Catholics	5	16	5	3		12	16	7	1		3	68
Orthodox											1	1
Total	17	16	32	22	23	25	16	10	21	33	4	219
Three Wives, Moslems			4	7	8	1		1	4			25
Catholics			2				1	1				4
Total			6	7	8	1	1	2	4			29
Four Wives, Moslems			1		2	1						4
Catholics		1					2					3
Total		1	1		2	1	2					7
Six Wives, Moslems			1						1			2
Total Fathers	104	106	104	111	109	101	101	104	104	107	9	1060
No. childless 1st wives		6	8	4	2	3	1	1	4	6		35
With daughters only	1	7	2			4	3	3	4	2	2	28
Total unsatisfactory 1st wives in plural marriages	1	13	10	4	2	7	4	4	8	8	2	63
No. boys born	400	317	332	366	394	325	300	298	271	365	31	3399
No. girls born	283	237	201	239	227	188	165	159	167	184	17	2067
Total children	683	554	533	605	621	513	465	457	438	549	48	5466
No. children per family	6.6	5.2	5.1	5.8	5.7	5.1	4.5	4.4	4.2	5.1	5.3	5.2
Sex ratio of children	141	134	165	154	174	173	182	187	162	198	182	163

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)185 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

582 However, the Gheg father, if asked, would
775 not give the answers detailed above as reasons for his choice of a bride for his son. He would voice a number of local rationalizations: that the son inherits body and soul from the father alone, the mother being merely a vehicle of

[1a] Coon, 1948, pp. 602-03.

582 775 reproduction; that it is dishonorable and unthinkable to marry any kin whatever. Since the mother's family is no relation, sons can continue to take their brides from it for generation after generation. The Law of Lek Dukagin, which the Gheg father would quote on such an occasion, has taken care of this subject once and forever.

553 The choice of a bride for his son is as much a political problem to a Gheg householder as it was to a 19th-century European king in the

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

583 heyday of royalty. No mistakes must be made, and the preferences of the parties concerned are not considered important. Hence the fathers make the arrangements. A man normally pays 15 to 20 napoleons (60–80 dollars) for his son's wife. This is half the price of a New Kulla[1].

[1] [see cat. 11b, pp. 14b-15a — Analyst]

000 582 new *kullā*[1] If the man has many sons, the youngest may not get a new wife, but have to content himself with a widow, who is cheaper. Also it may take some time to find a fiancée for each boy, and many young men wait until quite late in life for marriage.

[163] The principal reason for this delay, aside from the price, is the peculiar birth and death rate figures for Ghegnia. Many more boys than girls are born. In some regions the boys outnumber the girls almost two to one (see table I).[2] However, as soon as a boy is big enough to carry a gun he may begin feuding, and stands a good chance of being killed. Then his marriage arrangements may be transferred to his brother, or cousin, and hence the young lady may marry someone quite different from her expectation.

582 586 The alert and provident father, ever on the lookout for daughters-in-law, may place a substantial part of his bride price on a baby girl, as soon as she is born. Or he may gamble on the sex of an unborn child. The baby girl may find herself, at the age of 14, married to a man of 40. Once she has been handed over to her new husband and the folk-rites performed, she is still on trial, and may be sent home if she fails to produce offspring within a reasonable time. Among the Catholics the church wedding is often delayed until after the birth of the first child. In this way the bride can be returned if found wanting, and the rule of Christian monogamy will not have been technically violated. Among the Moslems, where both polygyny and divorce are officially permitted, these subterfuges are not needed.

593 While the Gheg system of selecting mates may be well attuned to the exigencies of the environment, the economics, and the political life of the mountaineers, it permits little opportunity for personal adjustment between the husband and wife. Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*)[3] summed this up when he said to me, gloomily, in the presence of his wife, "There is only one woman a man can trust—his mother." In the cases where cross-cousin marriage works out ideally, the boy and girl may have met before betrothal, or at least before marriage. The boy's mother, on a visit to her own kin, may take her youthful son with her, and he will have a chance to play with his

[1] [See footnote, cat 116, p. 23 e -- Analyst]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 23b -- Analyst]
[3] [see cat. 116, p 110 -- Analyst]

593 maternal uncle's children. Then when the bride joins her husband in his father's house, she will come directly under the supervision of her paternal aunt, a woman whom she has already seen, and who represents an extension of her own family in the strange household. Such an ideal arrangement still makes no provision for a selection of mates on the basis of personality adjustments. It merely makes the change from one household to the other a little easier than if the girl were a total stranger. Very often a girl's fiancé is killed and she has to marry one of his brothers, a cousin, or someone of an entirely different family, and there will be no familiar aunt to smooth things over, but instead a suspicious and exacting mother-in-law, with whom her only ties are through her husband.

583 It is no wonder that brides sometimes run away. If they come home their fathers usually return them. Not infrequently they elope and if they are lucky settle in some city, or distant countryside where the limb of Lek Dukagin's [538] law is not long enough to reach them. Gheg epic poetry, which the traveler hears sung night after night in private houses, hans, and gendarmeries, dwells frequently on the theme of elopement. One hears at length about couple after couple, hopelessly in love, who break all of the rules, run away, and meet a tragic but inexorable fate. In the epics they seldom if ever make good their escape. In real life I believe that they sometimes succeed, and their elopements, successful or otherwise, help reduce the population of the mountains.

589 If a young woman is faced with a marriage which she cannot bring herself to consummate, and if she has enough strength of character to take the following step, she can avoid matrimony by becoming a "sworn virgin" (fig. 10, *d*). She summons a meeting of the 12 elders of her community and in their presence swears perpetual chastity. By this means she not only gets out of her engagement, but also prevents a feud between her father's kin and those of [838] her fiancé. At this point she becomes technically a man. She may or may not don masculine clothing. She will carry a gun, and fight like other men. She will plough and reap, and do all of the tasks of a man. If she breaks her oath, the elders will, in theory, burn

[see cat. 16, p. 110--Analyst]

589 her alive. It is doubtful if this punishment has been exacted on any such person within the last few generations.

As the reader can readily see, this custom has its economic aspects. The number of hands available for men's work is increased by two, that for women's work decreased by the same number. There is a second and less dramatic reason for a girl to swear virginity: if her father has no sons to help him with his work, or if his sons are killed. Then a daughter may step into the position of a son, and the [428] situation is momentarily saved. However, since the pseudo-son will have no offspring, the line will become extinct with her death, and the property pass to the next of kin on the father's side. This custom is at variance with the usual one in comparable societies, in which the husband of the man's daughter comes to live with her parents, and is adopted as an [611] heir. So strong is the belief in the continuity of the male line that this could not be done in Ghegnia.

On my travels I encountered only 2 sworn virgins. One wore men's clothes, and appeared to be either mentally defective or at least "queer." That also was her reputation. The second wore women's clothes. She was in her early twenties, and quite attractive. Since she spent the night with a junior member of my group of horse-drivers, I formed a poor opinion of the burning-alive theory. It is quite apparent that the practice of swearing virginity is not only often economic in motivation, but also a part of the whole business of local population control, along with the entire configuration of pride, insult, and feuding.

587 Two other mechanisms help maintain the personnel of the family at the optimum numerical working level, and to prevent the isolation of separate individuals or small, uneconomic groups. One is the levirate. Classically this means that when a man dies, his widow will be married to a surviving brother [165] or next of kin if such a brother is lacking. In a country where the rate of death by violence reaches the level of 40 per cent of all male [582] deaths in some localities, and where girls are married at 14 or 15, many are widowed.

Such a widow must be cared for by the men of her husband's family, since they have paid

587 for her and she has joined their group. If there is a surviving brother who is single, obviously the expedient thing to do is to give her to him. She might even be given to a first cousin. However, the occasion sometimes arises in Ghegnia where the classical form of the levirate is indicated, and a brother, preferably an older brother, of the deceased, a man who is already married, takes the widow into his household. In Moslem communities this causes no ecclesiastical difficulty. In Catholic households it may bring about a conflict with the priest. In such a case the Law of Lek wins over the Law of Rome. Societal needs are stronger than religious taboos. The new husband may not be allowed a church marriage, and it is possible that he may not consummate the new union, but the woman enters his household, and he cares for her and her children.

595 The second mechanism is polygyny, in case the first wife fails to produce male offspring. This again is perfectly legal among Moslems and diametrically counter to Catholic rules. The priest will not allow the husband to divorce his wife who fails to give him sons. If she gives him daughters there is always hope that a son will follow, and the crisis may be delayed. But if after a suitable time there are no offspring whatever, he will need a new wife. He cannot divorce his old one, and he cannot legally marry his new one. Here again custom sometimes wins. I personally have visited only one household of Catholic Ghegs in which I knew that the master had 2 wives, and it was for this reason. It is little wonder, since Catholicism fits so imperfectly the economic needs of the Albanian family, that many of them went over to the much more satisfactory (in this respect) faith of Islam.

125 In making up the form of our measurement blanks before the expedition, Dr. Hooton and I allotted spaces for the notation of the following vital statistics: number of wives married by subject's father, and number of children of each sex born to each wife. We chose the subject's father rather than the man himself because we would thus be dealing with complete or nearly complete families. In every case we received specific answers; very few men, whose fathers had had 3 or 4 wives, could

125 not remember how many children the oldest wife had had.

128 595 These statistics do not constitute a record of pregnancies. Children who died in infancy are probably not included. Female infanticide has not been reported in Ghegnia. Presumably all or most of the children grew to such an age that either they were still living in 1929–30, or were old enough at the time of death to have made an impression on their full or half brothers who were our subjects. Our figures tell how many wives each father had, but not how many at a time. It would be hard to get that information from a casual questioning done in public at the time of measuring. In 1929 polygyny was legally forbidden in Albania for Catholics and Moslems alike, and the Catholics had in addition the position of the church to keep them from revealing the polygyny of their parents in the presence of several dozen other people. One other obvious defect of our data is that we have no record of marriages in which no son was born, and no second wife taken. This circumstance, although rare, must have occurred. The reader may think, in view of the unusual sex ratio, 163 male to 100 female offspring, that Moslems failed to reveal the true number of girls born, but I do not believe that this was the case. The Catholics had the same sex ratio as the Moslems. Furthermore, if many more children had been born than were recorded, the reproductive systems of Gheg mothers would have been taxed beyond their capacities.

As table 1 reveals,* 1060 Ghegs married 1375 women. Three-fourths of the men had but one wife each, the rest anywhere from 2 to 6. A third of all Moslems married more than once, compared to a sixth of Catholics. The [511] greater plurality on the part of the Moslems reflects the greater fertility of the soil in the eastern tribes, which are almost wholly Moslem, and where a man can afford more wives and feed more children. The wholly Catholic tribes, Mirdita and Dukagin, are the poorest in Ghegnia. Where the Catholics and Moslems live together in about equal numbers, the Catholics marry as many wives as the Moslems. In fact, in Puka the Catholics had more. Religion therefore has little to do with the total number of wives a man marries, although it

*[see p. 23b -- Analysis]

595 may have something to do with the number to
163 whom he is married at one time.
128 Our statistics give us a little help in finding out why 256 Ghegs married more than one wife. In 82 cases, or 32 per cent, the first wife failed to provide her husband with an heir, although in 28 of these cases, or 11 per cent, she did produce one or more daughters. Since we do not know the date of birth of each child, we cannot be sure that some of the first wives who bore sons did not do so after a second wife had been taken, and the ratio of plural marriages concluded for this reason may be higher than our figures indicate. Some of our records reveal marriage after marriage without issue, until finally, the fourth or even the sixth wife bears a son. One can almost hear the gunfire and rejoicing.

Our intertribal mixtures, in 5 cases out of 9, were men whose fathers had taken more than one wife each. Of the 4 Has men whose mothers had come from Podrima, 3 had been reared in polygynous families. These figures strongly indicate a political motivation. The custom of taking plural wives from alien tribes in order to strengthen alliances is a widespread one, and goes back to the days of Solomon. Our figures are not suited to reveal the exact instance of this kind of exogamy.

These 2 reasons probably account for nearly a half of all plural marriages. The other half can easily have been caused by accommodations to untimely deaths. Upon the death of a man, the levirate might give one of his kinsmen a second wife. Upon the death of a woman, her husband would remarry, were he able. What with difficult deliveries, puerperal fever, and general exhaustion from having borne too many children in rapid succession, death must have taken many of the women listed in our series at an early age.

163 The figures on children show that 1060
128 fathers, through the agency of 1375 wives, produced 5466 offspring who lived long enough for our subjects to remember them. This yields an average of 5.2 children per family, of whom 3399, or 62 per cent, were boys. Thus the average Gheg householder had 3.2 boys to help him work his farm. He had only 2.0 daughters to sell in marriage. This birth rate is so high that a considerable population

163 pressure is created. It varies from 4.2 in Mati
128 to 6.6 in Malsia e Madhe, with the largest families on either side of the mountains, the smallest in the middle. Even the smallest are too large for the landscape to feed without a change in methods of land utilization, a change which has not yet arrived.

166 In the country near Scutari, the city will take some of the excess. In the lands east of the Black Drin, migration onto the plain used to be possible, and habitual. Cvijič has shown[2] how, along the entire Dinaric chain, there has been for centuries a steady flow of population out of the mountains. In the center of the mountains, however, such emigration is not easy. Particularly in the old days when Catholics were not welcome in Moslem territory, the mountain people had to stay at home.
[628] There is only one universal, immemorial method of disposing of excess population under these circumstances. That is the method found in the Rif, in the Caucasus, in the Kafir country of Afghanistan, and in many other places—feuding. If enough males are killed off, the population remains constant.

165 Males only are killed. A few statistics on deaths by violence are available.[3] During the period 1901–05 the ratios in a number of northern communities were Toplana, 39 per cent; Dushman, 23 per cent; Spaç, 32 per cent; Shala, 26 per cent; Orosh, 21 per cent; Nikaj, Shoshi, and Kačinari, 25 per cent each. Double these figures and one finds between 42 per cent and 64 per cent of males dying in internecine
163 warfare. As if some natural mechanism were deliberately trying to compensate for this one-sided loss, we find a sex ratio of 163 male births to every 100 females born.

Sex ratios of this magnitude have been found before in feuding countries, and in fact the ratio of male births has been shown to rise in our own country in time of war. The biological explanation[4] is that people living under conditions of warfare marry and produce children at an earlier age than they would in time of peace. Some mechanism upon which all biologists do not agree selects the sperm cells, or the fertilized eggs, in the mother's

[2] Cvijič, 1918.

[3] Nopcsa, 1925. Data compiled by the Catholic clergy.

163 reproductive organs. That is why first-born children tend preponderantly to be boys. It is the age of the mother that counts. In northern Albania girls are married as soon as they come to sexual maturity and begin bearing children as soon as they are biologically able. There is no time of peace.

128 These statistics,[1] though not complete, help round out the picture drawn in the earlier chapters. All of these things fit together: the environment; the techniques of making a living on the specific kind of landscape; the division of labor between the sexes; the economic unity of the patriarchal household; its independence of similar households; the division of labor between mountain and town; the consequent absence of any need for a technological division of labor among the mountaineers; the difficulty and limitation of travel and transport; the struggle for life within an ever-increasing population; the consequent mechanisms of population control, consisting in some of the border tribes of a certain amount of emigration, but, by and large, taken care of by the time-honored technique of feuds and reciprocal murder, to which the whole system of marriage, and its biological compensations, [177] are adjusted. They show without question the truth of the main point of this paper so far, that the Mountains of Giants form a genetic area peculiarly closed to outside influence.

614 [582] We stated in our discourse on marriage that a boy might not marry a girl with whom he could trace any common patrilineal descent.[2] That statement needs elucidation. Actually the Ghegs are divided up into a number of mutually exclusive gentes, called *fis*, based on traditions of common ancestry, complete with origin myths. The extent to which the myths are historically accurate probably depends on how far back the particular *fis* goes. Each *fis* is said to have been derived from a single man, usually someone who came into the country at one time or another, although a few are believed to have been descended from aborigines.

The most numerous and best known *fis* in Ghegnia is that of Dukagin. This includes the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spac and Kushnen, which

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 25b-27b — Analyst]

[1] Gates, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 872-73; Little, 1919, pp. 127-30.

2 [see cat. 116, pp. 22b-23a, 23c-23d -- Analyst]

614 constitute three-fifths of Mirdita, as well as Shoshi and Shala in the tribe which bears the Dukagin name. There are 2 origin myths, one told in Dukagin, the other in Mirdita.

According to the first legend, 3 brothers came from a place called Marina near Jakova. One carried a winnowing sieve (*shosh*) and became the ancestor of Shoshi. The other carried a saddle (*shal*) and sired Shala. The third carried nothing, said, "*Mir dit*" (Good day) and walked away. His descendants are the people of Mirdita. The Mirdita people tell a more detailed story. They list 5 brothers, Shosh and Shal as before, named for the objects they carried, and 3 others who settled Mirdita—Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen. The meaning of these words is obscure.[5]

614 621 In Mirdita where these 3 brothers settled they found other people ahead of them, the ancestors of the inhabitants of the 2 remaining *bairaks* of Dibri and Fan. Dibri and Fan had several kinship lines each, hence each consists of a number of *fis*. Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen *bairaks* form a single exogamic unit today. They take their wives from Dibri and Fan, from the Christian *bairaks* of Selita and Kthella in Mati, and they did from Lura before they fell in blood with them. They also marry Christian women from the 7 *bairaks* of Puka. No man from Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen can marry any woman from these 3 *bairaks*, or from Shoshi or Shala.

Shoshi and Shala form an isolated geographical unit, with Shala at the high and Shoshi at the low end of an enclosed upland valley. It is not easy to enter or leave this area. Hence the marriage restrictions between the two, if they ever existed, have disappeared, and Shoshi men regularly marry Shala women, and vice versa. The local rationalization is that over a hundred generations have passed since the time of the 2 ancestral brothers, long enough to remove any trace of consanguinity. By the same token they could theoretically marry their fellow *fis* members from Mirdita, except that the Mirdites would not agree. In any case

[5] The Mirdites claim that *spaç* meant "sickle," *kushnen*, "pitchfork." I did not learn what *orosh* was supposed to mean, nor can my Albanian friends in Boston identify it. *Orosh* may, however, be the same as Urosh, a Slavic name borne by the son of the Tzar

[continued p. 286 --Analyst]

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the 2 tribes are so far apart, and so isolated, that the occasion would not arise. Shosh and Shala, like their brothers, found aborigines in their valley; with the descendants of these earlier residents they too can form convenient short-distance unions.

Merturi and Nikaj, the 2 Catholic *bairaks* of Malsia e Jakovës (the other Catholics, those of Krasniqi, migrated en masse some 30 or more years previously to Jakova) regularly intermarry, back and forth, like Shoshi and Shala. In general the larger exogamous units are found among Catholics, the smaller among Moslems. Most Moslems feel that 7 generations distance between kin is enough to permit marriage, which means that brides are usually taken from nearer home. North of the Drin, and in Mirdita, even when there are several intermarriageable *fis* in a single village, village exogamy is required. In the Moslem tribes to the south and east this is said to be unnecessary. In the town of Gur i Bardh, in Mati, we were told that village endogamy is usual. There can be little question that the Catholic system as practised in Mirdita, Dukagin, and Merturi-Nikaj is historically the older, and is the more closely associated with isolation and intense feuding.

In the next chapter we will go into detail on the number and locations of various *fis*.[1] Here it is enough to state the principle, amply demonstrated by the evidence, that where there has been little travel and a minimum of immigration, one finds single kinship groups occupying wide areas, as in the cases just mentioned. Where there has been more travel and moving around and changing of domicile, one finds many little kinship units in a relatively small area. Thus in Puka, where the main highway passes, there are dozens of *fis*, of a few households each, and the same is true in the more traveled parts of Luma and Dibra, and in the neighborhood of Scutari.

The *fis*, as we have seen, is the basic unit of exogamy. Like all human institutions and aggregations it is a mobile unit, never com-

Dushan, who despoiled the lower Drin country at the end of the 14th century (see page 432). It is obvious that these contemporary translations of the ancestral names are apocryphal.[2]

[p. 28(b)]

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 30a - 34b -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, pp. 43a - 43b -- Analyst]

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621 pletely static. It changes with local needs. We have seen how in Dukagin the local geographical requirements split a *fis*, and how in the relatively less warlike Moslem areas with a reduction in need for extended exogamy, the device of a 7-generation distance was innovated, while village exogamy disappeared. So far we are dealing with reductions in exogamy. However, there are instances in which the opposite occurs, and the incest group is ex-
608 tended. Two ritual mechanisms provide for this, blood brotherhood and godfatherhood.

When 2 men become close friends and allies, and find themselves in need of each other's assistance, particularly in feuds, their relationship becomes similar to that of brothers, which is an extremely close one. It is therefore considered necessary that they make this relationship legal, which they do by means of a simple ceremony. The 2 men prick their fingers with knives, and either lick each other's blood, or bleed mutually into a cup of *raki*, which both drink. Once this has been done they are one in blood, and their children cannot marry each other. The other rite, godfatherhood, has its

[p. 29 (a)]

The other rite, godfatherhood, has its
608 motivation in exactly the same circumstances;
852 but it is made to coincide with another rite of passage, that of the first haircut of a baby boy, the son of one of the participants. The father, child, and prospective godfather meet outdoors, in the presence of other kin. The godfather holds the boy in his lap, and snips off 4 locks of hair, if Christian, and 3, if Moslem. The difference lies in the refusal of the Moslem to make the sign of the cross. The godfather then burns the hair. A feast follows, during which the godfather gives the father a present of cash, the father reciprocating with a gift of fine clothing.

604 Both of these rites[1] place the descendants of
614 the 2 principals in an incest relationship. They do not, however, apply to collateral kin, for if *A* and *B* become blood brothers or godfathers, *A*'s brother's son can still wed *B*'s daughter, while *A*'s son cannot. This complicates the picture beyond this simple *fis* system and provides a number of special relationships to meet individual requirements. Needless to say, the local Catholic clergy frown on both these practices.

1 [blood brotherhood and godfatherhood see cat. 116, pp. 29a - 29b -- Analyst']

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

POLITICS AND FEUDING

POLITICS AND FEUDING

592 THE smallest political institution in tribal Gheg society is the household, the extended family living together, which is also an economic institution. The head of the household is the oldest male of the parental or grandparental generation, the patriarch. So strong is the feeling for age-grading in Albania that men will obey their fathers as faithfully at 40 and 50 as in their teens. Since all sons do not necessarily live with their fathers, but some may occupy separate houses, the institution of the household may thus be expanded spatially, although the relationships are maintained.

[672] The household is a unit of warfare; when a man commits murder within his own tribe, his [628] household suffers together. In seeking vengeance, a man can wipe out the blot on his family honor by killing the brother of his enemy; responsibility is held to be collective. If one member of a household kills another, which happens but very rarely,[1] nothing is done. The loss is that of the family.

621 The next unit is the village. It may be a compact group of houses, surrounded by its farmland and pasture; or it may consist of isolated homesteads, each in its own land. The latter is the more usual form. In either case, it has some central building, a mosque or a church; or it may merely have a flat place, usually shaded by an oak, where the elders 623 meet. Each village is supposed to have 12 elders, whose office is partly hereditary, partly elective. Various families habitually furnish one man each to fill this position. The word for elder is *plak*, which Miss Durham traces back to the time of Strabo.[2] One of these elders is the *kryeplak*, literally, head elder. In one village in Has, when I measured the *kryeplak*, he told the recorder that he was "mayor" of the village. He calls the elders together when events arise that need their

[1] Miss Durham gives one instance from Dukagin (Durham, 1928, pp. 69-70).
[2] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

623 attention. These include the use of tribal lands, decisions whether or not to burn forest to make pasture, etc., although such matters usually involve several villages. The elders also convene as witnesses in oath-taking.

634 Above the village is the *bairak* (Turkish for banner, standard), a geographical area with some kind of natural unity, so that the people living in it habitually see more of each other than of those without. All of the village councils meet together for the *bairak* council, under the *bairaktar* (standard-bearer), or head of the *bairak* (fig. 10, *e*). His office is hereditary in certain families. King Zog's father was *bairaktar* of Mat, the principal *bairak* of Mati; in Dibra Major Çen Eleze, who acted as host to our expedition, was one *bairaktar*, while Murat Kaloshi, his rival, was another. These men were great feudal leaders, maintaining large households of armed men, and dispensing [177] lavish hospitality to all comers. Çen Eleze had sent two of his sons to the American Technical School in Tirana, where they learned modern agricultural methods as well as perfect English. These boys, huge fellows over 6 feet 3, were of great help to us when we visited Slatina.

The *bairaktar* can become an independent sovereign if he has a strong enough personality and if the tribal authority is weak, and that of 619 the central government likewise. At other times he is under the authority of the head of the tribe, an official chosen from a ruling household, and bearing a different title in each tribe. In Mirdita he is called *Kapedan* (Captain); in Puka, *Shpij e Krye Ziut* (Black-Head House); in Malsia e Madhe, *Shpij e Madhe* (Big House), the exact equivalent of the ancient Egyptian *per āa*, or Pharaoh.

124 Fifty men, comprising 5 per cent of our
619 metrical series, were office-holders in the Gheg tribal system. Eleven[8] were elders, 26 chief

[8] Four from Dukagin, 2 Puka, 4 Mirdita, 1 Zadrima.

[see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

124 elders,[4] 8 *bairaktars*,[5] and 5 retainers of a tribal
619 prince, Jon Markajon of Mirdita (fig. 10, *a*). 1
[463] Except for the chief elder of Karashegeç in Has, who was a baker, all of the elders, chief elders, and *bairaktars* were farmers. The baker was "mayor" of a village of bakers, outside the mountain area. All of these men were locals, born of local fathers and mothers taken from within the father's tribe. Preferences are thus shown for (a) agriculture as against handicrafts or trade, and (b) local as against outside descent.

Jon Markajon, the only tribal chief whom we met, and who entertained us very well at his capital in Orosh, would not allow us to measure him, although he summoned all of his subjects from nearby villages. The 5 retainers whom we measured in his house constituted his princely staff. Three of them were part-time farmers, and 2, full-time political employees. What their exact duties and titles
619 were, we did not determine. The ancient
642 tribal government of Ghegnia, if we may judge by the example of Mirdita, the one tribe in which it survived more or less intact until 1929, consisted of a graded hierarchy with three steps—elders and their chief, *bairaktars*, and tribal prince. Attached to the prince was his staff of special messengers, chamberlains, and guards.

The tribal government was in the hands of the prince and his council, which consisted of all of the elders of the tribe, with their chief elders, and the *bairaktars*. The heads of large and powerful households, even if they held no
[623] formal office, would be included. The council met in cases of murder within the tribe, of intertribal warfare, invasion, or other crises involving violence. It also met to decide on its own composition, i.e., to hear the petitions of neighboring *bairaks* to join it.

619 The strength of the prince as compared to
643 that of the council depended on the former's personality. During the last 50 years, for example, Mirdita has been ruled by the following princes: Bib Doda, a great and powerful man who died about 1913; Preng Bib Doda, his son, who was killed shortly after in a blood

[4] Nine from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Has, 4 Mirdita, 4 Zadrima, 3 Mati, and 1 Dibra.

4 [see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

619 643 feud; his cousin, Marka Gjoni, a weak character; his son, Jon Markajon, the incumbent in 1929, a man powerful enough to maintain the tribal system in defiance of the central government, to have his men exempted from military service and taxation, and to exact from Ahmed Zog an annual stipend in return for which he would keep his men quiet.

634 619 Each tribe in Ghegnia is an aggregation of *bairaks*. In 1929 we found 13 *bairaks* in Malsia e Madhe, 6 in Dukagin, 7 in Malsia e Jakovës, 2 in Has, 5 in Luma, 7 in Puka, 5 in Mirdita, one in Zadrima, 4 in Mati, 4 in Dibra, making 54 in all. The names of these, as recorded on our measurement blanks, are:

Malsia e Madhe: Klementi, Gruda, Hoti, Kastrati, Koplik, Greisha, Shkrelli, Riola, Reçi, Loya, Postripa, Triepsh, and Kraja.
Dukagin: Shoshi, Shala, Kiri, Dushman, Pulati, Toplana.
Malsia e Jakovës: Krasniqi, Gashi, Bituç, Marina, Vunshaj, Merturi, Nakaj.
Has: Vlana, Ershan.
Luma: Biçani, Kalishi, Ujmisht, Dolovisht, Çaja (Gorë, a Serbian-speaking *bairak*, is sometimes also counted with Luma).
Puka: Kabash, Puka, Çerer, Mal i Zi, Berisha, Buxhon, Iballja.
Mirdita: Dibri, Fan, Orosh, Speç, Kushnen.
Zadrima: Zadrima.
Mati: Mat, Lura, Kthella, Selita.
Dibra: Reçi, Stashani, Sheheri Poshtar, Sheheri Epert.

This list cannot be wrong in the cases of Puka and Mirdita, for the members of these tribes use the names *shtat bairaket* and *pes bairaket*, meaning *seven bairaks* and *five bairaks*, to designate their tribes. In Luma, Malsia e Jakovës, and Malsia e Madhe the picture is complicated by the presence of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, which not only cuts through *bairaks*, but has caused wholesale migrations and flights within the lifetimes of the subjects measured. Dozens of *fis* of a few households each have shifted about, and it is hard to tell to which *bairak* each belonged at the time the series was measured.

619 634 114 Miss Durham, who made her observations between 1908–13, some 20 years ahead of

* Three from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Malsia e Jakovës, 1 Puka, 1 Mirdita, 2 Dibra. All of these except the Mirdita man bore reserve titles.

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me, found the tribal rosters different in some areas from those I later encountered.[5] She calls Malsia e Madhe not a tribe at all, but a confederation of tribes. Of these Klementi is given 4 *bairaks*, Seltzi, Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi, while the other 9, Gruda, Hoti, Skreli (Shkrelli), Klementi (Kilmeni), Lohe (Loya), Rechi (Reçi), Rioli (Riola), Kopliku, and Grizha (Greisha), are said to have consisted of a single *bairak* each. Triepsh and Kraja were not listed, doubtless because they lay over the Montenegrin border even before the imposition of the 1913 boundary. She did not include Postripa in the confederacy, but made it a separate group of tribes.

These were Mazreku, Drishti, Shlaku, Dushmani, and Summa. Only one of these, Dushmani, is given 2 *bairaks*, the others having one each. Dushman is the only one of these names which appears on my list, where it is given the status of a *bairak* of Dukagin. I measured in the village of Postripa itself, and am surprised that no subjects from these separate "tribes" appeared. What I was told was called Dukagin, she lists as "the Pulati group," dividing this into Upper and Lower Pulati. She grants Lower Pulati 4 small, one-*bairak* tribes: Plani, Ghoanni, Mgula, and Kiri. Upper Pulati is given Shala, with 4 *bairaks*, Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj; Shoshi, number of *bairaks* not stated; Toplana, same; Nikaj, same. Merturi, which intermarried with Nikaj and is now called part of Malsia e Jakovës, she listed with Puka as a part of Berisha. The reason for this was that "Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago."[6]

Mal i Zi, listed in my roster as a *bairak* of Puka, she assigns to Luma. She makes Gashi, a *bairak* of Malsia e Jakovës, a separate tribe. She also grants tribal independence to the *bairak* of Lura, which she places at the head of a confederation including Mati and Dibra, and to Kthella, which she divides into 3 *bairaks*, Kthella, Selita, and Perlati.

1/1 [See Cat. 116, p 31 b. Analyst]

It is my impression that some of these differences are due to a confusion on Miss Durham's part between *fis* and *bairak*, *bairak* and tribe. On page 68 she translates *bairaktar* as "head of the tribe." Had she not gone wrong somewhere it would have been remarkable.

[5] Durham, 1928, p. 27.

619 634 114 Travel in Ghegnia in the years 1908–13 would not have been easy, even for an experienced man. For a woman to have made these journeys is something of a miracle. Others may be the result of the process of amalgamation, for many of the "tribes" which she mentions were miserable fragments of former populations decimated by warfare, and massacred, in some cases, by the Serbs. By 1929 a considerable realignment must have taken place in the whole area north of the Drin, and especially in the regions which she designates as Postripa and Pulati. In any case the 10 groups of people whom I have designated as tribes were so considered by the people with whom I worked in 1929, and form more or less self-contained, intermarrying units, sufficient for our present purpose.

619 628 Under the tribal system warfare was almost continuous. The underlying cause was of course population pressure. The overt causes were seduction, theft of women, elopement, cattle-stealing, and general raiding. It did not take much to give offense, particularly in the late winter, when food was scarce. Even a man who had almost enough to eat himself would be under severe tension, because of the general nervous strain of his kinsmen and dependents, and consequent maladjustment within the household.

A chance blow, a harsh word, even a play on words which is very easy in Shqip, or above all a cruel joke—these seemingly minor conflicts often led to gunplay and murder, with 522 consequent feuding. I had several occasions to feel their Iron Age wit, so much like that of the Norse sagas. Once my host in Zadrima remarked, in front of many people, that I had the skinniest legs he had ever seen, and wondered how I could walk. The assembled company burst into Homeric roars. On another occasion, in a Puka *han*, I lifted my head suddenly and hit it a sound smack on a protruding nail, partially stunning myself in the process. This was the funniest thing in the world. Once again, when Farnsworth and I crawled into our sleeping bags for the night, the whole household laughed and laughed. When we asked what was the matter, they said, "Just think, if the house should catch on fire! You

521 wouldn't be able to get out of those sacks, Ha! Ha! Ha!"

628 What happens when a man kills another of
682 the same tribe can best be learned from the
619 following quotation from Miss Durham.[7]

Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. [Miss Durham is using "tribe" in the restricted sense, as before.] Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and order his house to be burnt. Among the Dukagini the council has power also to destroy his crops, cut down his fruit trees, slaughter his beasts, and condemn the land to lie unworked for a term of years. An incredible
[672] amount of food-stuff is thus wasted. In this group not only the man who has taken blood, but all the males of his "house," are liable for blood, so they, too, have to fly. The "house" is the home maybe of a whole family community—forty people. But the law is carried out to the last letter. Such desolated spots have I seen. But "It is the Canon, so must be obeyed," was the answer to any remonstrance I made. The women and children may scatter and find shelter in other houses if they can: they usually do. A man can save his house if he can return to it and defend it three days successfully, so that the men sent by the council cannot set fire to it. I saw "a very brave man" in Berisha who had three times saved his house thus. Or a man can save his house by inviting the head of another mehala [household] to act as house lord and defend it with his own men. This might cause severe fighting. The council, to prevent this, then as a rule agrees to burn the house only and spare the property. The amount of property to be destroyed was always decided by the council. . . . In addition to the burning of the house, in all tribes a fine has to be paid. . . . in sheep or cattle. . . . to the Turkish Government. In the case of Maltsia e Madhe this was paid . . . in Scutari. . . . punctually . . . . The Turkish Government had a certain hold on all the nearer tribes, for it could hold as hostage any member of a tribe which owed blood-gelt and came to market at Scutari. The outlying tribes of Dukagini by no means always either notified or paid for their murders.

Feuds being very weakening to a tribe, the headmen of the tribe or friends of the family would attempt to stop the feud. Blood-feuds of the Dukagini

[7] Durham, 1928, pp. 66-68.

[8] Miss Durham translated *bairaktar* as "head of the tribe." This explains her confusion between tribes and *bairaks* noted earlier.

and Pulati tribes are settled in the mountains; those of Maltsia e Madhe were settled in Scutari before the representatives of those tribes [to the Turkish Government] who lived there. 628 682 619

The peace-making is preceded by the "gjaksur" (he who owes blood) sending some friends to the "zoti i gjakut" (lord of blood) to ask for "besa" (promise of truce). This may be granted and further prolonged, and during the truce the gjaksur and his relatives are safe. To end the feud . . . twenty-four con-jurors are needed to swear the peace oath with the gjaksur. The plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be named by the "bairaktar"* . . . . They examine the facts and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. . . .

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the church (or mosque) before which the council has been held . . . and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood. [After the others have all sworn] . . . the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood. . . .

The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.*

Within the *bairak*, then, political mechanisms tended to reduce the frequency of murder by making it expensive. Murder between *bairaks* would likewise be discouraged if the central authority of the tribe were strong. Otherwise inter-*bairak* feuds could rage for decades before peacemaking. Whole tribes could likewise be in blood with each other, or with single *bairaks*, just as Mirdita was in blood with Lura during the period in which we are interested.

A central political authority tended to strengthen the ties between tribal members, and with the numerous council meetings that were called, members of the more prominent families got about frequently within their tribal boundaries. This would give them opportunity to arrange marriages some distance 619

* In this whole section I have used Miss Durham's spelling of local names, now obsolete. Also, I have left the definite article before *zoti i gjakut*, where it is grammatically superfluous.

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from home. The blood feud, on the other hand, scattered them even more widely, and while most of the exiles returned home, some settled outside the mountains. Miss Durham discovered around Jakova, about 1912, small villages made up of people from Fan and other

619
166 Mirdite *bairaks*, from Shala, Berisha, and other Gheg regions. Most of these exiles had probably left home involuntarily. The political framework of Gheg tribal society, particularly its warlike aspects, tends to promote emigration.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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RITUAL LIFE

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

RITUAL LIFE

[124] 162 FORTY-TWO per cent of our series was recorded as Catholic, and the rest, except for one man,[1] as Moslem. These figures reflect the approximate proportions of the 2 faiths in Ghegnia. Their territorial distribution is shown on figure 3. All of Mirdita, all of Dukagin, about half of Malsia e Madhe, most of Zadrima, and some *bairaks* of Mati, Puka, and Malsia e Jakovës are Catholic. Catholics occupy on the whole the least accessible areas, and those closest to Rome. Moslems occupy those nearest the direction of Istanbul, along the main roads, and in the vicinity of the larger towns.

795 While Islam is but 4 centuries old in Al-
793 bania, Catholicism has been there at least 4 times as long. During the last 12 centuries many changes have taken place in the number and location of bishoprics and parishes, and in the number of communicants. At the time of our study, there was a bishop in Zadrima, to whom the parish priests of Mirdita reported; another took care of the territory north of the Drin. Some of the priests, like Father Krasnichi whom we visited in Mirdita, were native Albanians trained in Rome, others Austrians, Germans, or Italians. All were men of physical stamina and courage, for theirs was a difficult and rigorous assignment. Some were [792] Franciscans. In Zadrima, near the bishop's residence, was a nunnery with about a dozen inhabitants.

795 Many of the Moslems of northern Albania belong to an extremely heterodox brotherhood, that of the Bektashi. The tomb of the founder of the order lies in the inner recess of a long cave, really an ancient sandstone quarry, in the cliff outside the city of Cairo. His successor lives in a house at the entrance to the cave. The head of the order and all of his henchmen in residence are Albanians. The reason for this curious circumstance is that the Khedivial family of Egypt was originally Albanian, and they brought their spiritual chief, with the coffins

[1] Both parents came from Dibra. He was Greek Orthodox, how or why I could not discover.

[See cat 116, p. 35c--Analyst]

795 of his predecessors, to Cairo with them. Although for two generations the royal family has abjured the Bektashi tenets and worshipped according to Hanafi rites, the shrine and its occupants remain. Young men who wish to become dervishes go, if they are able, to Cairo,

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FIG. 3. Territorial distribution of religions.

[191] and receive their instruction at the central shrine. That is why many of the dervishes in Ghegnia spoke Arabic, and had some knowl-
[792] edge of other Moslem countries. Besides the village dervishes, the Bektashis have a number of monasteries, located in Has and Malsia e Jakovës. We measured the abbot of one of them, who was a Has man.

795 Despite its centuries in Ghegnia, Catholicism
182 has failed to change many of the customs of the mountaineers, such as the *fis* system with cross-cousin marriage, trial marriage, the levirate, blood brotherhood, and the swearing of virginity. The reason is of course that the needs which these customs fill have not been eliminated. The Moslem faith permits them and thus has become more popular. Islam is deemed the more fashionable and more civilized religion. The people of the towns, rich men, army officers, and other sophisticates are usually Moslems. Most Catholics are poor. This attitude is of course a hold-over from the period of Turkish domination. Many Albanians admired the Turks. Many spoke Turkish [191] by preference. I recall once riding along a lane in Zadrima with my interpreter, Mr. Frasheri, who reprimanded 2 old harvesters whom we passed for talking Turkish together. Bishop Fan Noli suggests that they may have been Turkish-speaking refugees from the towns of Prizren, Peia, or Podgoritza.

795 There is a certain dietary difference between
262 Catholics and Moslems. The former eat pork,
273 especially in the wintertime. The Moslems curl up their nostrils and gag at the smell of pork, and will not enter a room where it is cooking. In its place they use much mutton fat in their cooking. Catholics drink wine when they can get it; Moslems care for their alcoholic needs with *raki*. These differences are probably of no biological importance, as far as the growth and development of the individual are concerned, but they do serve to intensify the mutual antipathy of the 2 religious groups and inhibit a genetic interchange.

582 In Lura, in a population not exceeding a few
178 hundred individuals, Catholics and Moslems
795 intermarry. In a single household the father may be Catholic, the mother Moslem, and the children will choose their own religions. This is the only place in Ghegnia where this happens. Lura is in process of change from Catholicism to Islam. As the latter gains ground, mixed households are found. The government of Ahmed Zog made much of this isolated situation, urging other Albanians to follow the example of the Lurans in the interests of national unity.

178 Various stages in this process of shifting are
795 found in different tribes and *bairaks*. In Mer-

In Mer –

178 turi and Nikaj, the men adopt 2 sets of names,
795 Moslem and Christian, and employ the former
[55] while traveling to avoid trouble. They get used to these names and in many cases use them at home. In Hoti, the *bairaktar* once led his men against the invading Serbs, with the help of the Turkish government. In gratitude for his brave and successful conduct the Turks granted him special privileges, and he went over, with his family, to Islam. The rest of the *bairak* is still mostly Catholic, but the tendency in such a case is for the others to follow the leader. In Lura, where mixed families are found, the Catholics have given up keeping pigs so as not to offend the Moslems, and celebrate Moslem festivals as well as Christian ones, to avoid trouble. Very rarely a Mirdite will marry a Moslem woman from Mati, but when he does she becomes Catholic.

797 When the Turks introduced Islam, all
144 Ghegs were Catholics. Almost exclusively, the change has been in the Moslem direction. Hence we may assume that almost none of the present-day Catholics bear genetic elements brought in from outside the region by the Turks or their followers, while the same is not necessarily true of the Moslem Ghegs. *Bairak* by *bairak* and tribe by tribe, as conversion progressed, the line between the 2 religions has remained, by and large, a marital barrier. During the whole period of the Turkish rule, Catholics have furthermore been able to travel much less widely than Moslems, with resultant genetic implications.

771 In Albania one frequently hears the remark that "the Albanians are not very religious." This is usually said with pride, for the presence of 3 religions in so small a country is deemed a dangerous impediment to political unity. In one sense, the remark is quite true. Few Albanians are religious fanatics; few of them worry about their spiritual salvation. Most of the Catholics go to church with some regularity, and most of the Moslems keep Ramadan. However, their ancient way of life provides most of the ritual which they need to tide them over emotional crises, so that church and
771 mosque are in many ways superfluous. A
596 man's first loyalty is to his "blood," that is, his extended family. He spends much of his time, effort, and material goods keeping the family together and avenging any deed which has up-

[596] set its internal stability. The very act of vengeance is a ritual, as is the constant repetition of the need for vengeance. The rites of blood brotherhood and godfatherhood are rituals performed by Catholic and Moslem alike.

776 Both Catholics and Moslems believe in a host of malevolent spirits which pay the mountains a seasonal visit in the springtime, and which can sometimes be kept at bay by the use of amulets. These evil spirits are of course the symbols of the general hunger, illness, and irritability which beset the mountaineers at 753 this critical season. Catholics and Moslems alike attribute non-traumatic illnesses to spells cast by magicians, through the agency of hair and nail clippings. Wasting illnesses, such as consumption and cancer, may be attributed to vampires, sucking their victim's blood.

754 A vampire is said to be a human being, usually but not always a woman, who can change herself into an insect and fly into a room in which her victim is sleeping. As she fills with the blood, she has to leave now and then to spit it out. A person who finds such a gobbet of blood on the path is lucky; he can wrap it up and keep it as an amulet to protect him against vampires—and incidentally probably expose himself and his family to tuberculosis.

When people are hungry and ill, it is easy to suspect others of evil magic. The person named as a witch or vampire will of course be someone whose actions are eccentric or mysterious, who is a cause of disturbance in the community, and whose loss will not be greatly felt. If a child is suffering from malnutrition its parents may accuse some old woman, and drag her from her house. They will accuse her of having sucked blood from the child, and force her to spit in the child's mouth. Under protest she may spit merely in order to get away. If the child recovers, then the parents are sure she is a vampire; if the child dies she was innocent for her spittle did not cure it. People do not like being accused of witchcraft, or of having their aged grandmothers hauled off for trial; such actions, like the very suspicion itself, may result in bloodshed.

782 The Ghegs are great oath-swearers. Between blood feuds rivals will swear to keep the peace, on a stone in the presence of the

782 elders. Even if they are persuaded to swear on the cross, they will not forego the stone, which is the symbol which gives their oath
787 validity. They are also great believers in omens, and in divination. Men versed in this skill read the future by observing the sternal bones of fowl and the scapulae of sheep. I have witnessed a performance of the latter. The bone has its special divisions, each of which has meaning. On the sheep's scapula the joint socket is the house, and its depth or shallowness indicates whether the house will be empty or full of wealth. This can be used to predict success or failure of crops. The ridge on the blade shows whether or not flocks will multiply. Small holes on the blade are cradles, and the diviner can tell how close to the family, i.e., the "house," the birth will be by the distance from the socket. When you hold the blade up to the firelight or lamp, the shape and position of the marrow will tell where and when there will be fighting. Opaque white spots mean death, and their position indicates whether they will be within or without the household of the enquirer.

182 All of these rituals are concerned with the
788 maintenance of equilibrium in Gheg society. Oaths give authority to agreements, and cannot be broken until a crisis arrives which is stronger than that which the oath-breaking will produce. By clever use of the divining bones, a knowledgeable man can evaluate the state of affairs in his neighborhood, and give warnings; he can also precipitate decisions from wavering allies, for if he is a diviner of reputation, his words will be believed. Very often what he predicts will come true.

Special ritual routines common to members of both official religions restore equilibrium after the crises of birth, marriage, and death. All of these rituals which reinforce their social habits are of much greater importance to the Ghegs than the rites of church or mosque, which are not as well adjusted to this partic-
671 ular form of society. Another such mechanism is traditional law, codified and memorized as the Law of Lek Dukagin, which expresses the mountain attitude toward marriage and the selection of wives, and toward the blood feud. It serves to crystallize forms of behavior and inhibit change in those who are trained from childhood to believe in its infallible authority.

[see cat. 116, pp. 37a-b - Analyst]

533 182 [534] Still another mechanism[1] is that of art, expressed chiefly in singing to the *oud*, or *gusle*, as it is more familiarly known to outsiders. Singing hour after hour to the accompaniment of this one-stringed instrument, and sometimes throughout the night, warriors recount the deeds of their ancestors, and even of their contemporaries. By using traditional verse forms and a stereotyped vocabulary they can compose new epics as they sing, and recite old ones verbatim. Like illiterate bards elsewhere, they have prodigious memories. *Gusle*-singing stirs the mountaineer to action as surely as bagpipe music fires the Highland Scot, thus rousing men to heroic deeds for which they may later pay dearly. It is a part of the whole com-

1 [for maintaining equilibrium in Ghegs society -- Analyst]

182
533

plex of feuding, like that other and minor art form, the embroidered and crocheted decorations on the mountaineer's clothing by which he announces defiantly from the limit of eyesight his exact familial and political affiliation.

All of these cultural mechanisms[1] belong to Moslems and Catholics without distinction. They make up by far the greater part of the emotional life of the people, and it is no wonder that Albanians say that they are not "religious." These customs are psychological means of reinforcing the habits of behavior by which the mountain people maintain their adjustment to their environment, and as such are pertinent to our present study.

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 37a-38b -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

200 THE HISTORY OF MALSIA E GHEGNISE

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

000 HISTORY is the lifeblood of ethnography, and historians the physiologists of societies. The ethnographer's task is to describe a culture, telling where a given people live, how numerous they are, what technological means they employ to make their adjustments to the landscape, how their families are organized, what other institutions have arisen among them, for trade, for government, for foreign relations, and for the satisfaction of their ritual needs. Although his work is selective, that of the historian must be more so, for the historian is concerned with the motion of societies through time. He must select only those facts which are pertinent to his problem.

121 In this case our problem is to find out all we can about the origin of the Gheg people, their genetic continuity within their mountain stronghold, and the times, places of origin, and physical characteristics of any outsiders who may have breached it. Since there is, as biologists well know, a selection in migration, we would like to know when and to what extent immigrants have left this country.

172 These plans can only be partly consummated. History is particularly silent about refuge areas. The geographical factors which have sealed tribal Ghegnia off from the main stream of human migrations and cultural evolution have also hidden it from the eyes of chroniclers, hampering as well the work of archaeologists. Actually we know nothing about its history before the Iron Age.

Only one man, the Freiherr von Richtofen,[1] claims to have found any evidence of Pleistocene occupancy in Albania. He discovered 2 fragments of worked flint directly under a modern road bed at Mali Dajti just outside Tirana. There is no reason to believe that they were not gunflints. Pittard, in a cave near

[1] Richtofen, 1939, pp. 151–52.
[2] Pittard, 1921, pp. 271–74.
[3] Vulpe, 1932, pp. 132–45.
[4] Menghin, 1919–20, pp. 197–202; Nopcsa, 1910, pp. [31]–[32]; Ugolini, 1927, pp. 181–88.
[5] Dr. Robert Ehrich, who has carefully examined

172 Korça in the south, located an equally dubious Neolithic deposit.[2] He based his claim of Neolithic age on the shape of one pot, which could just as well have belonged to the Iron Age. Bronze Age finds have actually been made, but not within our territory. A bronze axe, found near Scutari,[3] has been attributed to the late Bronze Age, and is of a type which the Phoenicians are said to have traded with the barbarous inhabitants of the Mediterranean littoral. It has a down-flaring bit and a ring-grooved haft hole, not unlike the iron axes used in the mountains today. Some of the expensive bronze tools such as that described by Vulpe may have reached the mountain tribesmen in trade, but it is unlikely that the Phoenicians themselves wandered far from the sides of their ships, or remained in this desolate region any longer than necessary.

Bronze Age sites have never been located in the highlands. This is not for lack of archaeological research, since a number of Iron Age locations have been discovered and excavated in that area.[4] These sites consist of tumuli. Such grave-mounds have been excavated in Hoti (Malsia e Madhe), Dushmani (Malsia e Jakovës), Mirdita, and Mati. The material removed from them is of regular Hallstatt type; in fact, Menghin says that the objects from north of the Drin are identical with the type specimens from Glasinac and Dolje Dolina, type sites of the Hallstatt civilization in Bosnia.[5]

[173] This evidence confirms that of tradition, that the Gheg country was a part of the Illyrian domain. Two other sets of facts support this conclusion still further, the facts of modern language and of modern culture.

197 The Gheg language as spoken today is basically Illyrian—in fact, the only survivor of

5. Dr. Robert Ehrich who has carefully examined the published reproductions of these objects and who is familiar with the Glasinac artifacts, states that the Albanian collections include Roman objects and others which are presumably Thracian. This evidence would set the date of the sites nearer to A.D. 1 than 500 B.C.

[For foot notes 2, 3 and 4 see p. 39 b
-- Analyst]

197 this once widely spoken group. G. S. Lowman[8] says of it,

> "The Albanian language constitutes a distinct branch in the Satem division of the Indo-European languages. It is the direct descendant of the ancient Illyrian of Roman times, together with some Thracian influences. . . . At the present time, two principal dialectal divisions exist, Geg or Northern, and Tosk or Southern, which are more or less mutually intelligible. . . .
>
> "In the course of Albanian history many foreign influences have come to play their part in making the language what it is today. Although the essential structure of the language, and a fair share of the words in common use are of native origin, the vocabulary has been borrowed from outside sources to a far greater extent even than is the case of English. In 1891 Gustav Meyer stated in his etymological dictionary that of 5,140 root-words only 400 were of the original Albanian stock, that 1,420 were Romance, 540 Slavonic, 1,180 Turkish, 840 Greek, and over 700 indeterminable. Later scholars, however, have proved that a considerably larger proportion of words are truly Albanian."

[177]

181 Such careful observers of material culture as Nopcsa and Haberlandt have concluded that *the Ghegs,* in their tools, agricultural implements, furniture, costumes, and most other technological details *are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age.*

174 A single conclusion is therefore as legitimate as it is obvious. *The mountains of Ghegnia were first effectively populated during the middle centuries of the first millennium before Christ.* The pioneers who took over this rugged landscape were Illyrians, whose central territory lay to the northwest. Since they had already lived in Bosnia and Montenegro, they were already adjusted to life in this environment.

172 Fortunately, the materials excavated at Glasinac,[7] the type site of the Illyrian Hallstatt culture, include skeletons as well as artifacts. The date of this cemetery is between 1000 and 500 B.C. The collection of 38 crania shows clearly that the Illyrians were not a homogeneous people in the racial sense. The majority of the skulls are long-headed, and represent at least 2 contemporary varieties of Nordic. This is not surprising since most of the Iron Age

[See cat. 116, p. 40 b--Analyst]

[8] Lowman, 1932, p. 271.

172 peoples of Europe were Nordic. However, 13 crania, or one-third of the total series, were brachycephalic. These skulls have flat occiputs, straight sidewalls, broad foreheads, and in the one example in which the nasal bones have been preserved, a long and aquiline nose. They are the skulls of Dinarics, and resemble both the Bronze Age Dinaric skulls from Cyprus, and the Bell Beaker Dinaric crania from early Bronze Age sites in Germany.

All of the evidence which we have indicates that close kinsmen of the Glasinac people were the very ones who settled Ghegnia, at just about the time the cemetery was in use. We have every reason to suppose that *the ancestors of the Ghegs*, in the last 500 years before the Christian era, their pioneer period, *were very much like the people whose remains were buried in the graveyard at Glasinac.* This means that among the Ghegs, characteristic Dinarics were present from the beginning, but probably as a minority in the population.

174 Let us return for a moment to the statement that the Ghegs are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age. This means that no important changes have taken place in their technological processes. If the Illyrians had just as good equipment for tilling the soil, processing foodstuffs, building houses, weaving cloth, etc., as the modern Mountain Ghegs, then they were able to exploit the landscape just as efficiently as their modern descendants. The valleys and upland pastures of Ghegnia could thus have held as large a population then as today.

This assumption cannot be made without a certain amount of correction. The modern Ghegs grind their flour and full their cloth in mills operated by water power. This releases a certain amount of human energy for other pursuits. These mills must have been introduced after the initial settlement. Warfare, which is a characteristic mechanism of population control in upland Ghegnia, has also undergone changes. The Turks introduced both firearms and the *kulla*, or stone castle (fig. 8, *a*).* weapons of offense and defense. This combination made murder easier than before, and must have helped reduce the population. On the whole, the forces for increased use of

[7] Weisbach, 1897a, pp. 80–85 and 1897b, pp. 562–76; Coon, 1939, pp. 184–85.

-40b-

*[See cat. 11b, p. 108 -- Analyst]

174 the land and decrease of manpower probably counterbalanced each other.

It must have taken several centuries for the pioneers to explore every valley, choose the most favorable sites, and put them into cultivation. In a few centuries more, less favorable lands which could support a thinner population would also have been cleared. But by the beginning of the Christian era, the time when the first outside influence, that of Rome, made itself felt on the fringes of the Gheg mountains, this region may well have been populated to its present capacity. This means that there was no room for Romans or anyone else to settle without armed invasion. Even with armed invasion, as many have discovered, the Gheg mountains are hard to take.

Biologically the significance of this is of course that while the original settlers of our area must have been a mixed lot, they were probably able to fill their country with progeny before any concerted attempts were made by outsiders to invade their territory. The [144] majority of them were undoubtedly Illyrians from Bosnia, while others may have been Thracians from the plains to the northeast. Racially they were probably a mixture of Nordics, Mediterraneans from the Adriatic littoral, brachycephals from the same region, and Pontic Mediterraneans from the Euxine borderlands. They were able to stew in their own genetic juice and produce their own variety of human beings.

175 Roman authors have much to say about the peoples all around Ghegnia, but very little about the mountaineers themselves. This silence is very significant. All of Ghegnia except for the southern portions of Mati and Dibra formed a part of the province of Dalmatia, while those 2 sections of tribes plus what is now central Albania went with Macedonia. The present Tosk country was part of Epirus, which was considered distinct from Greece. While the predecessors of the Tosks

[8] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

[9] Strabonis Geographia, Book 7, p. 457, lines 3–6: ". . . et Drilo fluvius, quo adverso navigatur orientem versus usque ad Dardanicam."

or

καὶ Δρίλων ποταμὸς ἀνάπλων ἔχων πρὸς ἕω, μέχρι τῆς Δαρδανικῆς.

1 [Cont. on p.41b --Analyst]

175 were Epirotes and those of the Ghegs Illyrians, the people in between were formed by a mixture of these 2 elements. Strabo, in Book Seven, enumerates the central Albanian tribes which were subdued by the Macedonians, and some of whom spoke 2 languages. He says that some of the tribes were constantly seeking to gain control over others, but that the Macedonians put an end to this rivalry. In 168 B.C. Macedonia became a Roman province. That the central Albanian tribes resembled the modern Ghegs in some respects is certified by their use of the word *peligo* (*plak*) for elder, the tribal name Emathia (*e Madhia*, the Great, nominative plural), and possibly the tribal name Molotti (*maltsor, mountaineer*).[8] 1

Strabo locates a people know as the Dardanians to the northeast of the Gheg country, on the Kossovo plain, beyond the upper reaches of the river Drin.[9] Strabo considered the Dardanians an utterly savage people, living in pits under dunghills and playing stringed instruments. Despite this cultural abasement, they furnished Rome with an emperor—Justinian. The country of the Dardanians, which the Romans conquered, was said to be heavily forested up to the neighborhood of Nissa, the modern Niš, an important crossroads town in Roman times as today. Peter the Hermit, who led a crusade through this country at the end of the 11th century (A.D. 1095–1121), walked 7 days through this forest, and finally reached Niš, which he found to be defended by stone walls, and to have 7 water-powered gristmills. In 1717 a British traveler (Lady Mary Wortley Montagu) found the forest still there, and infested with gangs of bandits.[10] In 1809 much of this forest was still left when the Serbian peasants revolted against the Turks, led by Karageorge. All of this means that as long as the plain of Old Serbia was forested, there was room in it for people to expand. It was not a center of population from which large migrations could be initiated.

I give this in both original tongues because it is a somewhat difficult passage to translate and because Miss Durham misunderstood it, placing the Dardanians in Albania.

1 [See p. 41a.. Analyst]

[10] Durham, 1928, pp. 232–34.

-41b-

175 The evidence is excellent that in Roman times the geographical division of labor, by means of which the mountaineers exchanged their raw materials for processed goods in bordering market towns, had already begun. Since the earliest archaeological material in Albanian sites is either of Bosnian, Thracian, or Roman manufacture, this system must have been in force from the beginning of the Illyrian settlement. On the Adriatic side of the mountains small Roman trading posts have been located archaeologically at Berzumno (Vuksanlekaj, north of Scutari), Cinna (Koplik), and Iminacum (Iballja, in Puka).[11] The Romans also occupied Scutari (Scodra), Lesh (Lissus), and Durazzo (Dyrachium), and connected these 3 market towns with a road.

175 491 At Durazzo this road turned eastward from the coast and went across country, following the lowest gap in the Dinaric chain north of the Gulf of Corinth, over to Lychnidus on Lake Ochrida. This highway skirted but did not traverse the Gheg mountains, crossing the Black Drin just south of the present tribal boundary of Dibra.

Another road, however, went straight across the mountains from Lissus (Lesh) south of the Drin.[12] It apparently followed the same course as the modern road which goes from Vau i Denjës in Zadrima to Puka, across the Mal i Zi and down to the bank of the Black Drin just a short distance south of its confluence with the White Drin. This road follows the south bank of the White Drin for about 18 miles, at which point the river makes a sharp bend to the north.

In Roman times the country beyond the confluence of the 2 Drins was part of the province of Upper Moesia. The road continued across this province to a place called Ulpiana in the Kossovo plain, probably near the modern town of Prishtina. From Ulpiana it went on to the Morava valley where it reached the river at Nissa, the modern city of Niš. This road was not the only Roman highway which crossed the Dinaric Alps from the Adriatic into the modern city of Niš. It was only one of 3 methods of getting from the Adriatic coast to the Danube valley over-

1 [see p. 42b -- Analyst]

[11] Nopcsa, 1910, p. [31].

175 491 land. Far to the north, a highway connected Senia (Zengg) just south of Fiume, with Siscia (Zagreb or nearby) and the route down the Save. From Spalatum (Split) too it was possible to cross the watershed on Roman pavement. The *Via Ignatia*, across central Albania, offered a longer route to Niš, for at Heraclium (Bitolj) it met at right angles a road going north and south, one branch of which passed, via Scupi (Skoplje), to Ulpiana.

175 The Drin road cannot have been the most comfortable of these various routes. Although the Romans must have kept it in repair, there is little evidence of it left today. It can never have been suitable for wheeled traffic, for it is narrow, twisting, and steep, consisting in places of steps, hewn in the rock or built of masonry. For 2 nights the travelers must have slept in Gheg mountain territory. This means that the Romans must have built fortified stations for this purpose. The first night would take them to Picaria (Çeret?), the second to Creveni, near either the present Spash or Parmchi, on the south bank of the Drin a few miles below the confluence. The third night would take them out on the plain, on the way to Ulpiana. A Roman settlement at Gabuleum, somewhere near Gonaj or Zum in present-day Has territory, may have been the spot.

The transport of goods over this road, with processed materials moving east and raw materials west, must have furnished a strong temptation to the mountaineers on either side. The Romans must have kept it guarded, for otherwise ambushes would have been easy. Garrisons mean troops, and troops mean fraternization between imported soldiery and the local population. Perhaps many of the soldiers were recruited from Gheg tribes a short distance from their posts. Even so, some must have been outsiders, and we may expect that the genetic capsule of Ghegnia became somewhat unsealed during Roman times along the highway. This would affect principally the tribe of Puka, across which much of the road passes, and also the tribes of Luma and Has, which it skirts.

After the decay of the Western Empire the

[19] Shepherd, 1921, map 39; Kiepert, 1894, map XVII, Illyricum et Thracia.

175 road must have been much less patronized, for there was no one either to keep it up or guard it. Furthermore, what goods would come out of Moesia and Dacia would go to Byzantium rather than to Rome. In the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., the Goths over-ran parts of eastern Ghegnia, and traditions about them remain in the tribe of Luma, where some of these northerners may have settled. In A.D. 535, Justinian defeated them and claimed Ghegnia for the Eastern Empire.

175 797 It was probably just at the period when the traffic over the Puka road was at its height, about the 4th century of the Christian era, that the tribesmen on either side of it may have been first converted to Christianity. Constantine himself, the first Christian emperor, may have passed through Ghegnia, for he was a Dardanian, a native of Niš. Our first record of Christian establishments in the mountains is dated A.D. 877[13] when there was already a bishop at Pulati, and by the 14th century we hear of 2 bishoprics, Pulatenses Majores and Pulatenses Minores, which were united in 1520. Another bishopric had its seat in the village of Drivasto (Drishti), in Postripa.[14]

175 Early in the 6th century the southern Slavs invaded the Balkans. A century later some of them moved westward from the Plain of Kossovo through the Drin Gates into Gheg territory, probably following the old Roman road. Their arrival at the Adriatic is still memorialized by the Slavic name of the tribe Zadrima, and a number of other place names. For 700 years the Serbian kings maintained a nominal rule over this mountain country. Now and then they disturbed the Catholic Albanian population, as in 1335, when the Tzar Dushan gave to the Orthodox monastery of Dechani[15] 1 the land of the village of Summa, on the right bank of the Kiri in the Pulati bishopric, along with neighboring Albanian districts, and a number of bondsmen whose names read very much like those on our measurement blanks. Between 1372 and 1427, "Helena, widow of Stefan Dushan, and her son, Urosh [sic], 'vexed most bitterly the Catholics, and spoiled

1 1 [see p. 43b. Analyst]

[13] Durham, 1928, pp. 24–25, 28.

[14] Farlati, 1817, pp. ix–xiv, tells the story of these Albanian Bishoprics; see also Šufflay, 1916, p. 188.

175 them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty.' "[16]

During the Slavic period it is likely that the invaders had some effect upon the genetic composition of the mountain people, for Slavic names, such as Orosh, are common enough in Ghegnia, the Slavs certainly had access to much of the country, and Slavic speech had a considerable effect on the Albanian vocabulary. This was not, however, as important an invasion from the standpoint of biological interest as others that followed.

During the brief period between the end of the Old Serbian Empire and the time of the Turks, the Ghegs were left alone. The Turks began their invasion of Albania at the end of the 14th century, after the battle of Kossovo, in 1389. They met in battle the formidable Scanderbeg[17] (George Castrioti), the most famous of all Ghegs. He and his successors held them off from his fortress at Kruja (or Croya) until after 1479, the date of the fall of Scutari. The Turks never won control of all the highlands. Indeed, all of Mirdita and Dukagin, and parts of other tribes, remained Catholic throughout the Turkish period. Remaining Catholic meant that they were able to keep their country free of Turks. It also
[553] meant that they usually stayed at home. However, many of the Christians adopted Moslem names which they used when they left their tribal territory to visit market towns, and this custom was still going on in 1929.

175 797 All of the Ghegs who were converted to Islam did not change their faith through necessity. Many of them saw solid advantages in making the shift. A Moslem could carry a gun openly anywhere, and could shoot Christians at will, for they were outlaws. He could travel in Turkish territory without having to worry about being caught, and he could obtain many economic advantages over his Christian relatives, whose marital arrangements, unlike his own, produced a religious conflict. He could join the Turkish army, and rise to high rank; many Turkish generals were Albanians. Other Albanians became high court officials. One of

[16] Durham, 1928, p. 29.
[17] Durham, 1928, pp. 24–25
[17] See Fan Noli, 1947.

175 797 them founded the royal house of present-day Egypt. The Turks appreciated their Albanian subjects and favored them over many others. That is one reason why three-fourths of Albanians are still Moslem, and why Albania remained so long a part of the Turkish Empire.

175 177 Although the Turks probably did not add much genetically to the Gheg population, they did introduce some economic changes which may have had some effect on it. It was through the Turks that New World plants reached the Balkans, although in some places not before 1850. They added maize, haricot beans, and tobacco to the list of plants which would grow in the valleys and on the mountain slopes. Maize and haricot beans gave them new foodstuffs, but it is questionable if they yield more calories per acre than the earlier crops—small grains and broad-beans. Tobacco gave the mountaineers a new habit and a new need, and also a cash crop. On the debit side of the ledger, with their religion the Turks produced a prohibition against pork, and deprived their converts of an important food source.

Besides these agricultural and dietary changes the Turks introduced *hans*, or inns, along the more traveled roads in Moslem territory. Some of these *hans* probably occupy the same locations as Roman hostels. The professions of *hanji* (innkeeper), and *kiraji* (renter of horses) seem to have been Turkish innovations. In Turkish times, many Albanians [166] migrated to other countries; tens of thousands went to the Plain of Kossovo, apparently from the Gheg country, and many others to Greece, where there are still Albanian-speaking districts in Attica and the Peloponnesus. Many thousands entered the Turkish army, and other government services. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Christian Albanians, fleeing the Turks, settled in Italy and Sicily, where their descendants still maintain their ethnic identity.

Probably the most important single introduction of the Turks, however, was firearms. Gunsmiths in the market towns found the mountaineers eager to obtain the new weapons with which they could not only defend their home valleys from invaders, but also work off

[see cat 116, pp 20b-21a -- Analyst]

[10] See Jireček, 1916, pp. 63–93.

175 their local grudges. Silversmiths did a heavy
177 business converting coin into ornaments for pistols and ball-boxes, ornate holster belts, and powder-horns. Feuding now became much easier and more lethal. After firearms, arrived the *kulla*, or stone castle.[1] Although this new house type offered some defense, it did not prevent the great loss of life that the new weapon had initiated.

175 Now that the Ghegs were divided into 2 religious groups, and had guns, the death rate must have increased. The Turks themselves accounted for some of the population loss. They destroyed all the towns of north Albania from Durazzo to Scutari,[18] [2] and others in the mountains as well. For example, they dragged the leading men of the town of Drishti in Postripa, the seat of an early bishopric, to Scutari, where they beheaded them.[19]

Massacre and emigration reduced the population of certain sections of Ghegnia below the economic maximum for the first time since its settlement in the Hallstatt Iron Age, thus opening the way to new immigrants. These were Christian tribesmen from Bosnia and Herzegovina, squeezed out by the Turkish expansion, and particularly by the struggles between Turks and Slavs. They were neither Turkish nor Slavic, but the remnants of the pre-Slavic population, still speaking a latinized form of Illyrian, and Catholic. In speech and religion, they found themselves at home in Ghegnia.

173 Most of them arrived during the 16th century. In the *bairak* of Gruda, Miss Durham found 500 houses, 80 of old indigenous stock, tracing their ancestry to Berisha (Puka), while the other 420 were inhabited by people who claimed descent in the male line from immigrants, called Djell, who came down from Herzegovina about A.D. 1530. A few years later, at least 4 brothers entered the Malsia e Madhe country from Bosnia; they were Geg Laz, ancestor of the Piperi tribe in Montenegro, which is now Slavic in speech and Orthodox in religion; Vaso Laz, the ancestor of the similar tribe of Vasojevitch; Krasni Laz, ancestor of the *bairak* of Krasniqi in Malsia e Jakovës—most of whom are now Moslem, although a few are Catholics. Nik, the ancestor

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 14 b - 15 a -- Analyst]
[2] [see p. 44 a - Analyst]

[19] Durham, 1928, p. 28.

173 of Nikaj, may have been either a fifth brother or a son of Krasni Laz.

The people of Shkrelli, comprising a whole *bairak*, are said to have come from Bosnia en masse about 1600, and taken over a valley whose inhabitants had been killed off and whose church, Shen Kerli (St. Charles, hence Shkrelli) destroyed. Three hundred out of 500 houses in Kastrati are said to be descended from a man called Delti, who came from the Kuchi region of Montenegro, with his 7 sons. He was, however, reputed to have been descended from Berisha, the oldest known *fis* in Albania. The 4 *bairaks* of Seitze, Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi in Klementi trace their descent from 4 sons of a man called Klimenti who fled from the neighborhood of Gusinje about A.D. 1600.

All of the inhabitants of Malsia e Madhe do not claim descent from these invading ancestors. Their traditions are so consistent, their genealogies so clear, that we cannot doubt that these invasions took place, or that earlier populations survived. In Gruda, 80 houses belonged to the Berisha *fis*, while in Hoti a small number of *anas*, or aborigines, remained. The newcomers intermarried with them. The descendants of these 2 population elements still intermarry regularly. Two hundred out of the 500 houses of Kastrati are pre-invasion, and are said to be of Slavic origin. Reçi includes a few houses of *anas*. The rest of the population, like Loya, claims as its ancestors refugees from Shlaku and Pulati. All in all, Malsia e Madhe seems to have borne the brunt of this Bosniak invasion, and to have derived from it a large part of its genetic composition (fig. 12, *c*).[1]

In other parts of Ghegnia we find less evidence of invasion. The Berisha *fis* has been traced back certainly to 1370, probably to A.D. 1270. If it is that old, it may well go back to the pre-Roman period. Merturi split off from Berisha about A.D. 1700. The 2 *bairaks* of Dushman, Temali and Dushmani, are known since 1402, when they appear in written records as allies of Venice. They are probably much older. The people of Drishti, whose predecessors were destroyed by the

[50] The Dukagins are centuries older. See Gegaj, 1937, cited in Fan Noli, 1947.

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

-45a-

173 Turks, came from different places. The people of Toplana were driven to their present mountain stronghold from Vasojevitch in Montenegro about 1450, being pushed out by immigrants from Herzegovina. The ancestors of Plani came from 3 sources: Klementi, Merturi, and indigenous *anas*. Those of Kiri were from Kuchi and Ipek, in Montenegro. One hundred houses of Nikaj people are said to be descended from a daughter of Nikol by a gypsy, and are called Tsura. This is the only instance known of female descent, and indicates the relative social status of the alleged spouses.

The famous invasion of the Dukagin brothers, Shosh, Shal, Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen, probably took place before the Bosniak migration.[20] Miss Durham derives them from the Pestriku mountains near Jakova, where they were part of the Ipek tribal confederacy. My informants named Marina *bairak* as their home. In Shala they are supposed to have found some small, dark people with whom they intermarried. A few of these *anas* stayed on, and there are said to be 8 houses of them at Abate in Lower Shala, while the rest immigrated to Dechani. The Mirdita brethren found the Dibri and Fan people ahead of them.

One tradition relates that the Dukagin *bairaks* of Mirdita did not stay long in their new home, but when the Turks had taken Scutari and were raiding the neighboring mountains, the settlers retreated to their ancient home, from which they did not return to Mirdita until around 1650. How true this is, and how many people, if any, it involved, cannot be determined.

We know finally that Jakova town was settled by people from various parts of the Gheg mountains, and the same is true of Ipek. These were cities of refuge, like earlier towns before them. More recent than any of these is the village of Vraka, a community of a thousand people lying between Koplik and Scutari. This is the residence of Serbian-speaking, Orthodox farmers, whose ancestors fled from blood vengeance in various parts of Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Bosnia. They have not yet become absorbed, and with modern

[see p.45a - Analyst]

173 politics what they are, probably will not be. They serve our purpose of illustrating a principle of population movement in a feuding society.

This ends our history up to the final date of the ethnographic present as defined in chapter 1, "The Dinaric Problem."*

175 Turkish rule lasted in Albania until 1912. After the Balkan wars an opera bouffe kingdom was set up with the Prince of Wied as king, and the capital in Durazzo. During his uninspired reign an international boundary commission laid out the borders of the new state, and at every point where there was any question, Albania came out the loser. Gruda was given to Montenegro. The Grudans who survived this political change fled to Scutari. Hoti lost part of its land, particularly its winter pasture. The tribesmen of Klementi were so cut off that they could not drive their flocks to their winter pasture near Scutari without crossing Montenegrin territory, which would have been equivalent to losing their animals. The Serbs closed the border to mountaineers bringing their goods to Jakova to trade, and expelled many of the Albanians from both
[114] that city and Ipek. They made it almost impossible to travel between Kukës and Prizren; in 1929 our party was held up a whole day while we were searched to the skin, ordered to read aloud all of our papers, accused of being renegade Croats, etc., and we finally got away only after a great deal of telephoning on the plea that one of us was dangerously ill. In Prizren we found the jail full of Albanians.

[361] Dibra as well was lost as a market town. Kukës sprang up as a makeshift metropolis, as did Peshkopia. Tradesmen and artisans, as we have seen, stole over the border from Jakova, Prizren, and Dibra, to set up shop in the new places. The boundary commission could have created no more international hatred if this had been its principal objective.

World War I followed immediately after these unwise decisions, and the powderpuff king ran away. An army of Serbs, fleeing for their lives, marched across Dibra and Mati, burning and looting as they passed, to seek refuge on Corfu. Austrian troops, at their heels, occupied Scutari and the Malsia e Madhe, as well as the region of Kukës. They built

*[See cat. 116, p. 56 -- Analyst]

175 a few roads and bridges, and found time to do some anthropometry.

642 After the war Albania became a republic, with a parliament. Feudal and tribal, illiterate and immobilized by the lack of roads, the people were not prepared for self-government.

643 After a number of violent episodes Ahmed Zog, son of the *bairaktar* of Mat in the tribe of Mati, became dictator, and in 1929 proclaimed himself king. Hated by the people of Elbasan because he had jilted the daughter of Verlatsi, their most prominent citizen, he was despised by his fellow mountaineers and by the Tosks as well, most of whom saw in his rule a threat to their freedom. On the rare occasions when he dared leave his palace, he had all roofs and windows searched and guarded, and even the cypress trees searched; and then he sent a double ahead of him.

He did, however, make a number of wise moves. One was to employ Colonel Stirling, famed as a companion of Lawrence in Arabia, as his personal adviser. Another was to employ General von Mirdach of the Austrian army to set up his military machine. A third was to give the British General Percy a free

625 hand in organizing a gendarmerie. General Percy brought with him a staff of British officers, which included Colonel Martin and Major Glegg. These experienced men selected an elite group of mountaineers to police the highroads, and to report and put down trouble. For the first time in history someone was taking intelligent steps to rid the mountains of feuding.

[124] We measured 62 of these gendarmes, all local men. Twenty-one came from Luma, 17 from Mati, 10 from Puka, 6 from Malsia e Jakovës, 4 from Dibra, 3 from Dukagin, and one from Malsia e Madhe. The British officers very wisely used Ghegs in Gheg country. To have introduced outsiders would have made trouble. Many of the men were serving within their own tribes and *bairaks*; too often they were in blood elsewhere. This new occupation for mountaineers gave them a chance to see more of the world than before, for they were required to train in Tirana or Scutari. Although the gendarme system made little or no direct change in the genetics of the mountaineers, for these men marry as their fathers

[World War I -- Analysis]

625 did, it let in new traders, craftsmen, and government officials, by the mere fact that the gendarmes secured the road and put down banditry.

631 643 In a vain attempt to deal the tribal system a deathblow, King Zog abolished all of the old divisions and boundaries, and all of the old system of government. He divided Albania into provinces, deliberately cutting across tribes and *bairaks* and ignoring natural geographical frontiers as completely as did the 1913 boundary commission.[1] Kukës and Peshkopia became centers of administration, as did a remote hamlet in Mati named Bureli. In these new places he set up prefects and secretaries and soldiers.

124 We measured one "secretary of commune" in Mirdita, whom the tribesmen ignored. He was a native of Elbasan. He employed a local man to guard the telephone line, his only link with the extra-feudal world. In Bureli we measured a secretary of court and a schoolteacher, both Mati natives. Others whom we did not measure were outsiders. In Kukës we measured a government clerk, a schoolteacher, and a turnkey in the jail. In Peshkopia our score was 3 government clerks, 2 Big Dibra men and one local; a secretary of court, from Big Dibra; and a local country schoolteacher.

These 7 civil service employees whom we included in our series were all the products of the imposition of Zog's government on the Mountain Ghegs. Of these only 4 came from outside the area. Three of these were part of the group that fled Big Dibra after 1913.

000 The history of the mountain people of northern Albania since 1930, while interesting, is beyond the scope of this report. Some later anthropologist may study it with profit to discover the changes, technological, institutional, and anatomical, which may have taken place since our series was measured. Before moving on, we offer the following summary of the

105 preceding chapters:[2]

1. As far as we know these mountains were uninhabited before 500 B.C. They were first effectively settled at this time or a little later by Illyrian-speaking Hallstatt Iron Age people moving southward and eastward from Bosnia.

2. The majority of the Hallstatt people in

[1] [See cat 116, p. 46a -- Analyst]

[2] [See cat 116, pp. 3b-46a -- Analyst] -47a

105 Bosnia were Nordic in cranial type. A minority consisted of planoccipital brachycephals.

3. The mountaineers have retained the core of their ancient language and the essential features of their original culture—in technology and social behavior—into the time period covered by our study.

4. From Roman times onward they have lived by a typically Iron Age regional and ethnic division of labor. The mountaineers farm and tend their herds, and exchange their raw and home-processed surplus materials with townsmen along their borders, receiving in exchange processed goods and skilled services.

5. The Romans introduced Christianity, which had little if any effect on their way of life. If anything it fortified their exogamic system of mating.

6. The mountains have been overpopulated since almost the first settlement. This has caused feuding and emigration. Many have left the mountains to settle elsewhere, few have entered.

7. At several periods outside peoples have seized control over the Drin highway and, to varying degrees of effectiveness, its more accessible side valleys. The Romans built the road, and Slavs and Turks followed them over it.

8. The Turks massacred many Ghegs in the Malsia e Madhe country. The wholly and partly empty villages were repopulated by immigrants from Bosnia. These were Catholic tribesmen, who spoke the parent language, Illyrian, in a semi-Romanized form. It differed little from the speech of the Ghegs themselves. These people were, in fact, a reinforcement from the earlier Gheg homeland, thrust out by the pressure of Slavs and Turks. They were a second wave of migration.

9. The Turks introduced firearms and fortified castles (*kullas*), thus increasing the tempo of feuding.

10. They also converted many of the mountaineers to Islam. This meant that Moslem Ghegs could circulate freely in other parts of the Ottoman Empire. In some of the Moslem areas the Gheg system of mating has become less strongly exogamic.

11. From the standpoint of theoretical genet-

105 ics, the Mountain Gheg population forms a (for Europeans) peculiarly closed breeding unit, within which mating proceeds along known rules. Except for the Bosnian invasion a dozen generations before the date of our sample, no new genetic elements of numerical importance can have been added since the first Iron Age settlement.

12. The Bosnians, who were derived from the same population as the earlier Gheg im-

105 migrants, settled north of the Drin, mostly in Malsia e Madhe. Their descendants have, by and large, remained there.

13. The tribal Ghegs grow their own food, village by village, and eat almost exclusively local products. Since their country varies greatly in geological base material, this series offers a splendid chance to study local growth differences in relation to differences in mineral soil content.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

ooo ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF OUR METRICAL SERIES

124 THE number of men whom we measured in Ghegnia depended on how widely we could travel, how much time we had, and how long it took to measure each man once we had persuaded the local people to submit to this nonsense. Before we had gone far we decided that 100 men per tribe was about our limit. This number is large enough to serve as a statistical sample, and it was about as many men as we could get to submit in each area without wearing out our welcome. Whenever we measured a man defective in some criterion, as, for example, with a bent back, or edentulous jaws, we counted him as one over the 100. Thus, in every criterion we could have a total of 100 or more. In Has, our series is larger, because on the last day more men appeared than we had expected and we could not stop measuring without giving offense.

We avoided measuring soldiers when we could, because they had been selected for stature. Only a few who were home on leave were included in our series. We also avoided measuring in cities, preferring to study our subjects in their native places. Thus we could be sure of what we were getting. One exception was made. In Scutari we measured the members of *bairaks* fugitive from Montenegro, particularly Gruda. Otherwise we would not have had them. Elsewhere measuring became somewhat of a ritual. The elders were usually present, and they would dictate the protocol. They would also hear what the younger men said about their family histories, and more than once corrections were made on the intervention of these elderly mentors. Only when they tried, once or twice, to have the tallest and strongest men measured first, was it necessary to interfere with their arrangements. In Kukës we measured in a restaurant. There our agents, soldiers and gendarmes, lured men in off the street, and our check on their provenience and relationships left something to be desired, as will shortly appear.

The composition of our tribal samples appears in detail in table 2.[1] As the reader can

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 51-54 -- Analysis]

 see, we tried to distribute our sample equably among the *bairaks*, with varying degrees of success. Klementi, which has 5 *fis*, produced 4 of our subjects by internal mating. The 3 apparently endogamous Gruda products reflect the mating of the 2 *fis*, Berisha and Djell, discovered by Miss Durham. The Hoti-Hoti man may have had a mother from the *anas*; the Kastrati-Kastrati man reflects the presence of 2 *fis*. Koplik and Greisha, being almost entirely Moslem, form what is virtually a unit. Shkrelli, Riola, Reçi, and Loya are mostly exogamous, while Postripa subjects were derived from local parents only. On the whole Malsia e Madhe forms an interbreeding population with little tendency for local marriages, except among the lacustrine *bairaks* of Koplik and Greisha, and in Postripa. Postripa should have been given separate treatment, as Miss Durham's evidence indicates, but it is now too late.

In Dukagin we measured at only one place, the hill of St. George on the boundary between Shoshi and Shala. Both Shoshi and Shala were partially endogamous, Shala predominantly so. This reflects the presence of *ana* households, and splits into 2 *fis* each. Toplana, Kiri, Dushman, and Pulati, all parts of the Lower Pulati group, are represented only on the maternal side. Since these people habitually marry across the river into the northern *bairaks* of Puka, we decided to concentrate on the Dukagin element in the tribe of that name. As in the case of Postripa, I feel that this was a mistake.

The sample for Malsia e Jakovës shows a more equable distribution. If Nikaj men were slighted, the mothers of all Merturi men may compensate. These 2 *bairaks*, being *fis*, intermarry habitually. In Has we did not discover that a second and very small *bairak*, Ershan, existed until our series was complete. In Luma we could not determine the *bairaks* of 8 men, all of whom said that their fathers and mothers came from a single place. Perhaps they were joking and making up silly names. That is one of the tribulations the physical anthropologist

124 has to face in the field. Half the Luma sample came from Biçani, which comprises over half the tribe. As one can readily see, these Moslems marry within their own *bairaks* most commonly.

614 634 In Puka it is manifest that Kabash and Çeret form each a single *fis*. Berisha, the oldest known *fis* in Ghegnia, has a companion *fis*, Thach, in its *bairak*, with which it sometimes marries. Buxhon and Iballja each have more than one *fis*, as do Puka and Mal i Zi. On the whole the *bairaks* of Puka, whether single or multiple as regards *fis*, are exogamous. Since marriage across the Drin is frequent, many of the men from Buxhon, Berisha, and Iballja may have had mothers from the Lower Pulati section of Dukagin.

We were able to get a complete list of the *fis* in the tribe of Puka, except for Mal i Zi, as follows:

1. *Kabash*, *bairak* and *fis*. Three hundred houses, located in Kabash, Puka, and Iballja.
2. *Marin*, a *fis* of 30 houses in Puka village of Puka *bairak*.
3. *Guian*, a *fis* of 3 or 4 houses only, in Puka village.
4. *Kashnet*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak* only.
5. *Shkrella*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak*, related to the Shkrelli people in Malsia e Madhe.
6. *Krasniq*, with obvious affiliations, 10 houses, Puka village.
7. *Shala*, with obvious affiliations, 60 houses, Puka *bairak*.
8. *Thach*, this is the only *fis* in Buxhon, and one of two in Kabash, the other being Kabash *fis*.
9. *Berisha*, *bairak* and *fis*, a single unit.
10. *Kcheira*, a *fis* in Çeret.
11. *Shosh*, with obvious affiliations, a *fis* in Çeret.
12. *Çereti*, also a *fis* in Çeret.

614 634 361 In Mal i Zi there are said to be many other *fis* besides these 12. The above list shows 7 different *fis* in the single bairak of Puka, with 3 of them limited to a single village. This situation reflects the location of Puka village

[1] Kashnet and Guian of Puka also appear here. Vik, Mesouli, seem to be others.

614 634 361 at a natural stopping point on the Roman road, where other trails come in. It is also a trading center, and one of administration. Its geographical position has brought in people from many places, and it stands in striking contrast to the more isolated *bairaks* of the same tribe, which in some cases have only one *fis* each. If Mal i Zi has many *fis* as well, that is because it too is conveniently located on the road.

In Mirdita exactly the opposite situation is found; the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen all belong to one *fis*, although one village in Orosh is eligible for marriage with these Dukagini. This village was once part of [124] Kthella. Two of our subjects were the sons of women from this village. Fan and Dibri marry both with Dukagini and within their own *fis*, of which there are several.[1] In our series Kushneni married only Dibri, which was nearest; Fan mostly Orosh, for the same reason. One blank bears the astounding information that its subject was the son of an Orosh father and a Kushnen mother. This is undoubtedly some kind of a mistake, possibly similar to the situation noted above.

614 634 Zadrima is only one *bairak*, all Catholic except a few small villages nearest Scutari. Despite its lowland habitat it retains its tribal organization, as well as its Gheg speech, and hence was included in this series. We did not obtain a record of its *fis*.

All 4 *bairaks* of Mati contain 2 or more *fis* each. The 3-part Catholic *bairaks* in the north form an intermarrying group and married with Mirdita extensively in the old days. In the time of our series, Lura was in blood with the Mirdites and the exchange of wives had been broken off. Very rarely do these northerners intermarry with the men of Mat. If this job were to be done again, the 3 northern *bairaks* should be given separate consideration for they are a genetic unit apart from Mat. The northerners are frequently tall, the Mat men almost uniformly short. In Dibra the 4 *bairaks* were almost wholly endogamous, and again separate treatment would be profitable. If we had measured 600 more men, the series would have been a better one.

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ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF OUR METRICAL SERIES

TABLE 2: COMPOSITION OF TRIBAL SAMPLES.

Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Malsia e Madhe				
Klementi	Klementi	4	Catholic	2 Vukli, 1 Nic Klemend
Klementi	Shkrelli	2	Catholic	
Gruda	Gruda	3	Catholic	
Gruda	Hoti	1	Catholic	
Gruda	Kuçi	2	Catholic	
Gruda	Triepsh	1	Catholic	
Hoti	Hoti	1	Moslem	
Hoti	Klementi	1	Catholic	
Hoti	Kastrati	3	Catholic	
Hoti	Gruda	3	Catholic	
Hoti	Triepsh	5	Catholic	
Kastrati	Kastrati	1	Moslem	
Kastrati	Hoti	6	Catholic	
Kastrati	Gruda	2	Catholic	
Koplik	Koplik	8	Moslem	
Koplik	Greisha	2	Moslem	
Koplik	Kraja (Yugo)	1	Moslem	
Koplik	Kastrati	1	Catholic	
Greisha	Greisha	1	Moslem	
Greisha	Riola	1	Moslem	
Greisha	Koplik	6	Moslem	
Shkrelli	Shkrelli	3	Catholic	
Shkrelli	Reçi	1	Catholic	
Shkrelli	Reçi	1	Moslem	
Shkrelli	Kastrati	3	Catholic	
Shkrelli	Klementi	3	Catholic	
Riola	Riola	1	Moslem	
Riola	Loya	1	Moslem	
Riola	Greisha	3	Moslem	
Riola	Koplik	2	Moslem	
Riola	Reçi	3	Moslem	
Riola	Shkrelli	1	Moslem	
Malsia e Madhe				
Reçi	Reçi	1	Moslem	
Reçi	Kastrati	1	Moslem	
Reçi	Kastrati	1	Catholic	
Reçi	Riola	2	Moslem	
Loya	Klementi	1	Catholic	
Loya	Kastrati	2	Catholic	
Loya	Hoti	2	Catholic	
Loya	Shkrelli	2	Catholic	
Loya	Riola	2	Catholic	
Loya	Reçi	3	Moslem	
Loya	Postripa	1	Moslem	
Postripa	Postripa	10	Moslem	
Total		105	53 Catholics, 52 Moslems	

Malsia e Madhe, summary

Bairak	Father Only	Mother Only	Both	Total, Both or Either
Klementi	2	5	4	11
Gruda	4	5	3	12
Hoti	12	9	1	22
Kastrati	8	11	1	20
Koplik	4	8	8	20
Greisha	7	5	1	13
Shkrelli	8	5	3	16
Riola	10	5	1	16
Reçi	4	8	1	13
Loya	13	1	0	14
Postripa		1	10	11
Triepsch	0	6	0	6
Kraja (Yugo)	0	1	0	1

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Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Dukagin				
Shoshi	Shoshi	4	Catholic	
Shoshi	Shala	16	Catholic	
Shoshi	Kiri	3	Catholic	
Shoshi	Dushman	1	Catholic	
Shoshi	Pulati (Kiri or Plani)	1	Catholic	
Shala	Shala	48	Catholic	
Shala	Shoshi	30	Catholic	
Shala	Kiri	1	Catholic	
Shala	Dushman	1	Catholic	
Shala	Toplana	1	Catholic	
Total		106	All Catholics	
Malsia e Jakovës				
Krasniqi	Krasniqi	3	Moslem	
Krasniqi	Gashi	16	Moslem	
Krasniqi	Bituç	2	Moslem	
Krasniqi	Vunshaj	4	Moslem	M. Yugoslavia
Krasniqi	Grasia	1	Moslem	M. Yugoslavia
Gashi	Gashi	20	Moslem	2 of Shala *fis*
Gashi	Krasniqi	16	Moslem	
Gashi	Bituç	7	Moslem	
Gashi	Kastrati	2	Moslem	Kastrati a *fis*
Gashi	Hoti	2	Moslem	Hoti *fis* in Yugo.
Gashi	Marina	1	Moslem	Marina *fis* in Yugo.
Gashi	Junik (sp.?)	1	Moslem	Junik *fis* in Yugo.
Bituç	Krasniqi	1	Moslem	
Bituç	Gashi	3	Moslem	
Kastrati	Gashi	1	Moslem	
Marina	Krasniqi	1	Moslem	
Marina	Gashi	1	Moslem	
Marina	Bituç	1	Moslem	
Vunshaj	Krasniqi	1	Moslem	
Vunshaj	Gashi	3	Moslem	
Merturi	Nikaj	16	Catholic	
Nikaj	Merturi	1	Catholic	
Total		104	17 Catholics, 87 Moslems	

Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Has				
Has	Has (Vlana)	101	Moslem	No *bahrak* data recorded. Probably no Ershan, all Vlana.
Has	Has (Vlana)	13	Catholic	
		114	13 Catholics, 101 Moslems	
Luma				
Biçani	Biçani	30	Moslem	
Biçani	Kalishi	6	Moslem	
Biçani	Ujmisht	4	Moslem	
Biçani	Dolovisht	3	Moslem	
Kalishi	Kalishi	5	Moslem	
Ujmisht	Ujmisht	23	Moslem	
Ujmisht	Biçani	2	Moslem	
Dolovisht	Dolovisht	6	Moslem	
Dolovisht	Biçani	1	Moslem	
Çaja	Çaja	1	Moslem	
Topojan	Topojan	2	Moslem	I do not know whether these places are *fis* or *bahraks*, nor where they are, except that they are all parc of Luma.
Borfa	Borfa	1	Moslem	
Dom	Dom	1	Moslem	
Pakç	Pakç	1	Moslem	
Lofme	Lofme	1	Moslem	
Bele	Bele	1	Moslem	
Probres	Probres	1	Moslem	
Total		109	109 Moslems	
Puka				
Kabash	Puka	6	Moslem	
Kabash	Çeret	7	Moslem	
Kabash	Mal i Zi	6	Moslem	
Kabash	Buxhon	1	Moslem	
Kabash	Buxhon	1	Catholic	
Kabash	Ballja	1	Catholic	
Puka	Puka	5	Moslem	
Puka	Kabash	5	Moslem	
Puka	Kabash	1	Catholic	
Puka	Çeret	1	Moslem	
Puka	Çeret	1	Catholic	
Puka	Mal i Zi	1	Moslem	
Puka	Buxhon	1	Catholic	

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Gheqs

Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Puka				
Çeret	Puka	11	Moslem	
Çeret	Kabash	5	Moslem	
Çeret	Mal i Zi	1	Moslem	
Mal i Zi	Mal i Zi	6	Moslem	
Mal i Zi	Kabash	3	Moslem	
Berisha	Berisha (Thach)	2	Catholic	1 parent Thach.
Berisha	Çeret	2	Catholic	
Berisha	Mal i Zi	1	Catholic	
Berisha	Buxhon	6	Catholic	
Buxhon	Buxhon	2	Catholic	
Buxhon	Berisha	1	Catholic	
Buxhon	Iballja	1	Catholic	
Iballja	Iballja	6	Catholic	
Iballja	Kabash	4	Moslem	
Iballja	Puka	1	Moslem	
Iballja	Puka	1	Catholic	
Iballja	Mal i Zi	2	Moslem	
Iballja	Berisha	5	Catholic	
Iballja	Buxhon	3	Catholic	
Total		102	65 Moslems 37 Catholics	
Mirdita				
Dibri	Dibri	28	Catholic	
Dibri	Orosh	3	Catholic	
Dibri	Spaç	6	Catholic	
Dibri	Kushnen	6	Catholic	
Fan	Fan	3	Catholic	
Fan	Orosh	4	Catholic	
Fan	Kushnen	3	Catholic	
Fan	Spaç	1	Catholic	
Orosh	Orosh	2	Catholic	Mother's village formerly with Kthella.
Orosh	Fan	8	Catholic	
Orosh	Kushnen	1	Catholic	
Orosh	Dibri	1	Catholic	

Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Mirdita				
Spaç	Fan	15	Catholic	
Spaç	Dibri	5	Catholic	
Kushnen	Dibri	15	Catholic	
Total		101	101 Catholics	
Zadrima				
Zadrima	Zadrima	92	Catholic	
Zadrima	Zadrima	13	Moslem	
Total		105	92 Catholics 13 Moslems	
Mati				
Mat	Mat	77	Moslem	
Mat	Lura	1	Moslem	
Lura	Lura	12	Moslem	
Lura	Lura	1	Catholic	
Lura	Selita	1	Catholic	
Lura	Kthella	1	Catholic	
Selita	Selita	3	Moslem	
Selita	Selita	3	Catholic	
Selita	Lura	1	Moslem	
Selita	Kthella	2	Catholic	
Kthella	Kthella	2	Catholic	
Total		104	10 Catholics 94 Moslems	
Dibra				
Stashani	Stashani	38	Moslem	
Sheheri Poshtar	Sheheri Poshtar	23	Moslem	
Sheheri Poshtar	Sheheri Poshtar	1	Orthodox	
Sheheri Epert	Sheheri Epert	5	Moslem	
Sheheri Epert	Sheheri Poshtar	1	Moslem	
Reçi	Reçi	40	Moslem	
Total		108	107 Moslems 1 Orthodox	

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Intertribal Mixtures

Shala (Dukagin)	Klementi (MeM)	1	Catholic	
Luma	Dibra	1	Moslem	
Berisha (Puka)	Mirdita	1	Catholic	
Buxhon (Puka)	Malsia e Jakovës	2	Catholic	M. prob. Merturi
Spaç (Mirdita)	Kthella (Mati)	1	Catholic	
Fan (Mirdita)	Dibra	1	Catholic	
Reçi (Dibra)	Lura (Mati)	1	Moslem	
Reçi (Dibra)	Luma	1	Moslem	
Total		9	6 Catholics 3 Moslems	

Totals by Tribes

Malsia e Madhe	105
Dukagin	106
Malsia e Jakovës	104
Has	114
Luma	109
Puka	102
Mirdita	101
Zadrima	105
Mati	104
Dibra	108
Intertribal	9
Total	1067

Totals by Religions

Catholics	434
Moslems	632
Greek Orthodox	1
Total	1067

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

TABLE 3: MEASUREMENTS AND INDICES

TABLE 4: OBSERVATIONS

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TABLE 3: MEASUREMENTS AND INDICES

A. NUMBER/RANGE MEAN ± P.E.

Measurements	Total Series	MEM	DUK	MEJ	HAS	LUM	PUK	MIR	ZAD	MAT	DIB
Stature	1065/143-193 169.71 ± .18	105/155-190 172.77 ± .41	106/155-190 173.52 ± .41	104/156-187 172.47 ± .39	113/143-193 170.93 ± .46	109/155-190 169.47 ± .38	102/152-184 169.17 ± .43	101/149-184 168.68 ± .39	104/149-181 169.68 ± .42	104/152-184 168.68 ± .41	105/152-187 168.42 ± .44
Span	1062/152-205 178.37 ± .17	105/161-199 180.03 ± .51	106/164-205 182.25 ± .45	102/161-198 178.74 ± .43	113/155-202 178.47 ± .51	109/158-193 173.97 ± .47	102/152-183 176.18 ± .47	101/158-190 173.64 ± .43	105/158-199 174.87 ± .47	104/158-190 171.87 ± .52	105/155-199 173.70 ± .54
Sitting height	1065/80-101 89.44 ± .08	105/81-101 90.82 ± .23	106/81-98 90.73 ± .21	103/84-101 91.00 ± .19	114/78-98 88.77 ± .24	109/89-101 89.39 ± .26	102/78-95 88.58 ± .28	100/78-95 87.43 ± .32	105/78-88 88.38 ± .23	104/78-98 88.81 ± .23	105/78-98 88.57 ± .22
Biacromial diameter	1067/31-48 38.59 ± .05	105/34-48 39.71 ± .14	106/31-48 40.37 ± .14	104/34-45 39.29 ± .13	114/31-45 38.30 ± .13	109/34-42 38.45 ± .10	102/34-42 37.81 ± .12	101/31-43 37.48 ± .13	105/31-45 37.84 ± .12	104/31-45 38.30 ± .14	105/31-45 37.84 ± .15
Bi-iliac	1067/22-39 30.44 ± .04	105/28-38 30.71 ± .11	106/28-38 31.19 ± .10	104/25-38 30.56 ± .12	114/25-38 31.19 ± .12	109/25-38 30.14 ± .11	102/25-39 30.38 ± .13	101/22-38 30.11 ± .12	105/22-38 29.78 ± .14	104/25-38 29.88 ± .12	105/25-38 30.88 ± .13
Chest breadth	1067/23-40 28.58 ± .04	105/23-34 29.40 ± .13	106/23-37 28.53 ± .12	104/23-34 28.71 ± .12	114/23-37 29.18 ± .12	109/23-34 28.56 ± .12	102/23-34 28.35 ± .12	101/23-34 28.05 ± .12	105/23-34 28.[illegible] ± .13	104/23-34 29.30 ± .11	105/23-40 28.23 ± .13
Chest depth	1066/18-35 24.28 ± .04	105/20-29 23.92 ± .11	106/20-35 25.34 ± .12	104/20-31 24.54 ± .11	114/18-29 24.43 ± .12	109/20-29 24.16 ± .09	102/20-33 23.86 ± .11	101/20-31 24.02 ± .12	104/20-31 24.52 ± .07	104/20-29 23.92 ± .12	105/20-29 23.82 ± .10
Head length	1067/154-211 188.18 ± .15	105/170-208 188.42 ± .48	106/170-205 189.90 ± .39	104/167-208 189.08 ± .49	114/167-211 194.38 ± .42	109/170-208 188.38 ± .42	102/167-208 188.42 ± .48	101/173-202 188.57 ± .45	105/170-199 183.15 ± .39	104/167-202 182.91 ± .45	105/164-202 184.86 ± .45
Head breadth	1067/138-179 157.78 ± .12	105/147-179 161.59 ± .37	106/147-178 160.08 ± .33	104/138-173 158.78 ± .39	114/138-178 157.37 ± .45	109/141-173 155.38 ± .36	102/141-170 156.19 ± .37	101/144-173 157.08 ± .39	105/144-173 158.74 ± .37	104/144-178 157.91 ± .38	105/138-178 156.43 ± .33
Head height	1067/110-145 128.34 ± .12	105/113-142 129.30 ± .17	106/113-145 137.58 ± .40	104/110-145 129.38 ± .38	114/110-145 129.46 ± .43	109/110-142 128.34 ± .38	102/113-145 128.48 ± .38	101/116-142 128.23 ± .38	105/113-145 130.47 ± .42	104/113-142 128.34 ± .38	105/113-145 128.51 ± .36
Min. frontal diameter	1067/89-128 108.58 ± .10	105/97-124 112.42 ± .31	106/97-120 109.88 ± .28	104/97-128 109.98 ± .30	114/89-124 107.28 ± .32	109/89-120 108.80 ± .31	102/97-124 108.78 ± .32	101/97-120 107.98 ± .30	105/93-128 107.70 ± .33	104/93-124 108.30 ± .36	105/87-124 108.83 ± .30
Bizygomatic diameter	1067/115-164 142.35 ± .12	105/120-164 144.50 ± .41	106/120-159 144.25 ± .38	104/125-158 143.80 ± .49	114/125-158 142.15 ± .35	109/130-154 142.18 ± .32	102/115-154 141.60 ± .38	101/130-159 142.85 ± .33	105/130-159 141.10 ± .40	104/122-153 141.40 ± .38	105/125-154 140.58 ± .31
Bigonial diameter	1067/88-133 107.70 ± .13	105/88-121 108.83 ± .41	106/90-125 109.10 ± .37	104/94-133 108.83 ± .40	114/90-125 108.14 ± .41	109/94-125 107.10 ± .35	102/90-125 107.30 ± .43	101/90-125 108.83 ± .38	105/90-125 107.[illegible] ± .41	104/94-123 107.48 ± .40	105/88-131 108.78 ± .38
Total face height*	831/95-144 123.90 ± .14	83/105-139 124.19 ± .52	101/110-144 123.85 ± .43	93/105-144 126.48 ± .48	93/110-144 126.30 ± .43	99/110-139 124.56 ± .37	92/95-134 121.15 ± .46	90/105-134 120.60 ± .43	94/105-139 123.90 ± .48	93/105-144 123.60 ± .48	93/105-139 124.05 ± .43
Upper face height*	831/55-89 73.55 ± .11	83/60-84 73.40 ± .37	101/60-84 73.40 ± .32	93/55-89 73.55 ± .35	93/65-89 74.70 ± .34	99/60-89 74.09 ± .32	92/60-84 72.50 ± .31	90/60-84 72.99 ± .35	94/55-84 72.95 ± .34	93/60-84 72.65 ± .37	93/60-89 72.55 ± .38
Nose height	1066/44-71 58.10 ± .08	105/48-71 58.58 ± .27	106/48-67 58.78 ± .25	104/44-71 57.88 ± .27	113/48-71 58.08 ± .28	108/48-71 58.48 ± .28	102/48-67 58.58 ± .25	101/44-67 58.28 ± .27	105/44-67 57.88 ± .27	104/48-71 58.14 ± .28	105/48-67 58.83 ± .25
Nose breadth	1066/32-48 33.77 ± .08	105/32-42 34.19 ± .20	106/28-42 34.07 ± .19	104/28-43 34.10 ± .18	113/28-48 34.78 ± .21	108/28-43 33.30 ± .18	102/28-43 33.39 ± .19	101/28-43 33.71 ± .20	105/28-43 33.39 ± .20	104/28-43 33.23 ± .19	105/28-43 33.83 ± .18
Indices											
Relative span	1066/98-115 103.94 ± .05	105/100-109 104.18 ± .14	106/98-111 105.02 ± .18	103/96-111 103.74 ± .17	112/98-111 104.40 ± .15	108/98-109 103.84 ± .16	102/98-111 104.12 ± .18	101/98-115 104.34 ± .19	104/98-113 104.74 ± .17	104/98-109 103.12 ± .16	105/98-109 103.06 ± .17
Relative sitting height	1063/42-59 52.78 ± .03	105/48-55 52.48 ± .09	106/48-55 53.38 ± .09	103/50-55 52.78 ± .08	113/48-55 52.58 ± .08	108/52-57 52.56 ± .11	102/48-57 52.80 ± .10	100/48-59 52.48 ± .10	104/48-59 52.30 ± .11	104/50-57 52.38 ± .10	105/48-57 52.80 ± .09
Relative shoulder height	1064/74-89 82.04 ± .03	105/80-85 82.12 ± .08	106/80-85 82.00 ± .08	104/80-87 82.28 ± .07	113/80-87 83.32 ± .07	108/80-85 81.88 ± .07	102/80-85 81.95 ± .08	101/74-89 81.82 ± .10	103/78-87 81.94 ± .09	104/80-87 81.98 ± .08	105/78-87 82.34 ± .09
Rel. shoulder breadth	1063/18-27 23.78 ± .02	105/20-27 23.84 ± .07	106/20-27 23.58 ± .07	104/20-27 23.84 ± .07	113/20-25 23.44 ± .07	108/20-25 23.02 ± .06	102/20-25 22.48 ± .06	101/18-25 23.40 ± .06	104/20-27 23.74 ± .06	104/20-27 23.80 ± .09	105/18-25 23.02 ± .06
Thoracic index	1065 84.94	105 81.38	106 88.47	104 88.33	114 83.71	108 84.58	102 84.58	101 83.83	104 83.80	104 84.83	105 84.38

*Corrected for face shortening.

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Indices (Continued)	Total Series	MEM	DUK	MEJ	HAS	LUM	PUK	MIR	ZAD	MAT	DER
Cephalic index	1067/70-99 84.84 ± .09	105/77-97 86.79 ± .25	106/74-97 84.54 ± .24	104/71-94 83.04 ± .28	114/71-97 85.59 ± .38	109/74-99 83.82 ± .27	102/74-97 83.78 ± .28	101/74-97 84.39 ± .37	105/77-97 86.67 ± .24	104/74-97 86.40 ± .27	106/74-97 84.90 ± .26
Length-height index	1067/58-81 69.02 ± .07	105/58-81 69.50 ± .22	106/61-78 67.38 ± .23	104/56-76 68.63 ± .22	114/56-78 69.77 ± .24	109/61-78 68.18 ± .21	102/64-81 69.08 ± .21	101/61-78 68.84 ± .22	103/64-81 71.45 ± .22	104/56-76 69.05 ± .25	106/61-78 68.86 ± .24
Breadth-height index	1067/87-99 81.47 ± .09	105/70-90 80.03 ± .24	106/70-93 79.73 ± .27	104/73-99 82.49 ± .28	114/67-93 81.30 ± .31	109/70-93 82.85 ± .26	102/73-93 83.43 ± .27	101/73-93 81.80 ± .24	105/73-93 82.31 ± .25	104/70-93 80.18 ± .26	106/70-93 81.08 ± .23
Fronto-parietal index	1067/57-88 69.07 ± .07	105/66-77 68.58 ± .18	104/60-86 69.19 ± .21	104/63-80 70.24 ± .21	114/60-80 68.08 ± .23	109/60-80 69.94 ± .22	102/66-77 69.58 ± .24	101/60-80 68.86 ± .23	105/60-77 68.08 ± .22	104/57-77 68.53 ± .22	106/60-77 69.70 ± .20
Cephalo-facial index	1067/73-105 90.28 ± .07	105/76-98 89.48 ± .21	106/73-99 90.11 ± .22	104/82-102 90.89 ± .22	114/76-99 90.38 ± .31	109/82-102 91.81 ± .22	102/76-99 90.53 ± .24	101/82-98 90.83 ± .20	105/76-96 88.88 ± .21	104/76-99 89.60 ± .23	106/76-105 90.02 ± .25
Zygo-frontal index	1067/64-95 76.74 ± .08	105/68-87 76.86 ± .23	106/68-95 76.08 ± .23	104/68-87 77.30 ± .23	114/64-83 76.54 ± .20	109/68-87 76.74 ± .23	102/68-91 76.94 ± .26	101/68-83 75.74 ± .22	105/64-91 76.90 ± .27	104/64-87 76.48 ± .25	106/68-91 77.48 ± .25
Fronto-gonial index	1067/70-124 98.90 ± .13	105/75-114 97.40 ± .42	106/80-114 98.50 ± .37	104/85-110 98.50 ± .37	114/70-124 100.55 ± .46	109/85-110 99.30 ± .37	102/80-109 99.00 ± .42	101/80-114 98.30 ± .46	105/85-110 99.35 ± .44	104/80-110 99.45 ± .48	106/80-110 98.80 ± .42
Zygo-gonial index	1067/57-85 75.73 ± .08	105/57-86 75.10 ± .29	106/63-84 75.05 ± .27	104/66-86 76.21 ± .23	114/66-86 76.13 ± .25	109/66-83 75.37 ± .24	102/60-85 75.94 ± .28	101/66-80 74.86 ± .26	105/66-80 76.12 ± .28	104/66-80 76.00 ± .25	106/[illegible]-86 75.88 ± .24
Facial index	921/74-109 87.06 ± .11	82/74-105 86.10 ± .42	101/74-101 85.73 ± .32	95/74-109 87.78 ± .37	93/78-105 88.35 ± .35	99/78-101 87.90 ± .28	92/74-101 85.93 ± .35	80/74-97 85.90 ± .30	98/78-101 87.33 ± .35	93/74-105 87.37 ± .36	85/78-97 87.78 ± .27
Upper facial index	921/37-69 51.41 ± .08	82/43-60 50.73 ± .27	101/43-69 50.86 ± .24	95/37-66 51.80 ± .26	93/46-66 54.35 ± .28	99/46-60 51.97 ± .22	92/43-63 51.21 ± .23	80/43-60 49.61 ± .22	98/43-60 51.75 ± .23	93/43-60 51.58 ± .27	85/43-63 53.25 ± .28
Nasal index	1068/40-83 58.38 ± .12	105/40-71 58.82 ± .41	106/44-79 60.06 ± .40	104/42-78 59.50 ± .36	113/44-75 57.80 ± .36	108/44-71 58.18 ± .33	102/44-78 59.22 ± .42	101/44-75 58.22 ± .37	105/40-75 57.82 ± .41	104/40-75 57.58 ± .45	108/44-83 57.82 ± .37

B. STANDARD DEVIATION ± P.E.

Measurements											
Stature	6.72 ± .19	6.24 ± .29	6.21 ± .29	6.52 ± .28	7.28 ± .33	5.91 ± .27	6.42 ± .30	5.82 ± .28	6.33 ± .30	6.21 ± .29	6.78 ± .31
Span	8.01 ± .12	7.68 ± .38	8.90 ± .32	8.51 ± .31	8.10 ± .36	7.29 ± .23	7.11 ± .34	6.27 ± .30	7.17 ± .33	7.92 ± .37	8.26 ± .38
Sitting height	3.89 ± .05	3.45 ± .16	3.24 ± .15	2.88 ± .14	3.84 ± .17	3.96 ± .18	3.93 ± .19	3.27 ± .16	3.48 ± .16	3.54 ± .17	3.42 ± .16
Biacromial diameter	2.19 ± .03	2.13 ± .10	2.07 ± .10	2.01 ± .09	2.13 ± .10	1.92 ± .07	1.86 ± .08	1.98 ± .09	1.89 ± .09	2.16 ± .10	2.21 ± .11
Bi-iliac	1.89 ± .03	1.71 ± .08	1.47 ± .07	1.77 ± .08	1.88 ± .08	1.71 ± .08	2.01 ± .09	1.83 ± .08	2.07 ± .10	1.86 ± .09	2.04 ± .09
Chest breadth	1.89 ± .03	1.86 ± .09	1.89 ± .09	1.77 ± .08	1.83 ± .08	1.88 ± .08	1.77 ± .08	1.77 ± .08	2.04 ± .09	1.73 ± .08	2.04 ± .09
Chest depth	1.78 ± .03	1.72 ± .08	1.68 ± .08	1.79 ± .08	1.92 ± .08	1.42 ± .06	1.70 ± .08	1.84 ± .09	1.94 ± .09	1.78 ± .08	1.80 ± .07
Head length	7.68 ± .10	8.09 ± .33	8.00 ± .26	7.32 ± .34	6.60 ± .29	6.91 ± .30	7.26 ± .34	6.89 ± .32	6.00 ± .28	6.84 ± .32	6.90 ± .32
Head breadth	6.00 ± .09	5.84 ± .26	5.07 ± .23	5.88 ± .28	7.05 ± .31	5.53 ± .25	5.52 ± .26	5.88 ± .28	5.55 ± .26	5.82 ± .27	5.13 ± .24
Head height	6.03 ± .09	5.61 ± .26	6.18 ± .29	5.73 ± .27	6.81 ± .30	5.58 ± .26	5.73 ± .27	5.34 ± .25	6.45 ± .30	5.89 ± .28	5.43 ± .25
Min. frontal diameter	4.92 ± .07	4.68 ± .22	4.20 ± .18	4.60 ± .22	5.08 ± .23	4.76 ± .22	4.80 ± .23	4.52 ± .21	4.96 ± .23	5.40 ± .25	4.96 ± .21
Bizygomatic diameter	5.65 ± .08	6.30 ± .29	5.85 ± .27	7.40 ± .35	5.50 ± .26	4.95 ± .23	5.70 ± .27	4.85 ± .23	6.15 ± .29	5.81 ± .27	5.40 ± .25
Bigonial diameter	6.12 ± .09	6.20 ± .29	5.80 ± .28	6.00 ± .28	6.48 ± .29	5.48 ± .25	6.44 ± .30	5.88 ± .28	6.20 ± .29	6.04 ± .28	5.92 ± .27
Total face height*	6.50 ± .10	6.95 ± .37	6.35 ± .30	7.00 ± .34	6.15 ± .30	5.50 ± .26	6.40 ± .32	5.70 ± .30	6.75 ± .33	6.60 ± .33	5.85 ± .30
Upper face height*	5.00 ± .08	5.00 ± .26	4.70 ± .22	5.10 ± .25	4.85 ± .24	4.72 ± .23	4.40 ± .22	4.60 ± .25	5.00 ± .24	5.35 ± .26	5.25 ± .27
Nose height	4.20 ± .06	4.10 ± .10	3.84 ± .18	4.04 ± .19	4.60 ± .20	4.28 ± .20	3.72 ± .18	4.03 ± .19	4.12 ± .19	4.28 ± .20	3.88 ± .18
Nose breadth	2.78 ± .04	3.08 ± .14	2.97 ± .14	2.37 ± .11	3.27 ± .15	2.76 ± .13	2.88 ± .14	2.94 ± .14	3.03 ± .14	2.96 ± .14	2.73 ± .13
Indices											
Relative span	2.56 ± .04	2.20 ± .10	2.48 ± .11	2.90 ± .13	2.34 ± .11	2.42 ± .11	2.28 ± .11	2.58 ± .13	2.90 ± .12	2.48 ± .12	2.84 ± .12
Relative sitting height	1.50 ± .02	1.44 ± .07	1.38 ± .06	1.24 ± .06	1.22 ± .06	1.76 ± .08	1.50 ± .07	1.48 ± .07	1.62 ± .08	1.46 ± .07	1.46 ± .07
Rel. shoulder height	1.24 ± .02	1.14 ± .05	.96 ± .05	1.12 ± .05	1.14 ± .05	1.08 ± .05	1.18 ± .06	1.54 ± .07	1.30 ± .06	1.24 ± .06	1.30 ± .06
Rel. shoulder breadth	1.30 ± .02	1.18 ± .05	1.12 ± .05	1.08 ± .05	1.12 ± .05	1.00 ± .05	1.14 ± .05	1.18 ± .06	1.20 ± .06	1.34 ± .06	1.32 ± .06
Thoracic index											
Cephalic index	4.29 ± .06	3.81 ± .18	3.80 ± .17	4.23 ± .20	4.50 ± .20	4.14 ± .19	3.95 ± .19	3.96 ± .19	3.63 ± .17	4.11 ± .19	3.96 ± .18
Length-height index	3.63 ± .05	3.33 ± .15	3.48 ± .16	3.38 ± .16	3.91 ± .17	3.30 ± .15	3.13 ± .15	3.27 ± .16	3.39 ± .16	3.84 ± .18	3.69 ± .17

*Corrected for face shortening.

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI Highland Ghegs

C: COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION ± P.E.

	Total Series	MEM	DUK	MEJ	HAS	LUM	PUK	MIR	ZAD	MAT	DIB
Indices (Continued)											
Breadth-height index	4.17 ± .08	3.72 ± .17	4.11 ± .19	3.90 ± .18	4.05 ± .19	4.05 ± .19	4.08 ± .19	3.57 ± .17	3.81 ± .18	3.93 ± .18	3.60 ± .17
Fronto-parietal index	3.39 ± .05	2.79 ± .13	3.27 ± .15	3.18 ± .15	3.72 ± .17	3.39 ± .15	3.57 ± .17	3.48 ± .17	3.30 ± .15	3.33 ± .16	3.03 ± .14
Cephalo-facial index	3.48 ± .05	3.12 ± .15	3.39 ± .16	3.42 ± .16	3.27 ± .15	3.33 ± .15	3.57 ± .17	2.97 ± .14	3.16 ± .15	3.48 ± .16	3.78 ± .17
Zygo-frontal index	3.72 ± .05	3.56 ± .17	3.52 ± .16	3.53 ± .16	3.16 ± .14	3.52 ± .16	3.88 ± .18	3.28 ± .16	4.12 ± .19	3.72 ± .17	3.84 ± .18
Fronto-gonial index	6.45 ± .09	6.40 ± .30	5.80 ± .26	5.60 ± .26	7.30 ± .33	5.70 ± .26	6.30 ± .30	6.90 ± .33	6.65 ± .31	6.90 ± .32	6.40 ± .31
Zygo-gonial index	3.99 ± .06	4.41 ± .21	4.11 ± .19	3.81 ± .16	4.02 ± .18	3.68 ± .17	4.20 ± .20	3.93 ± .19	4.32 ± .20	3.84 ± .18	3.73 ± .17
Facial index	5.04 ± .08	5.64 ± .30	4.80 ± .23	5.26 ± .26	5.00 ± .25	4.20 ± .20	5.04 ± .25	3.98 ± .21	5.10 ± .25	5.26 ± .26	4.16 ± .21
Upper facial index	3.63 ± .06	3.68 ± .27	3.54 ± .17	3.69 ± .18	3.98 ± .20	3.24 ± .16	3.24 ± .16	2.97 ± .15	3.33 ± .16	3.80 ± .19	3.86 ± .21
Nasal index	6.04 ± .09	6.28 ± .29	6.12 ± .28	5.40 ± .25	6.00 ± .27	5.08 ± .23	6.32 ± .30	5.58 ± .26	6.24 ± .29	6.70 ± .32	5.84 ± .28
Measurements											
Stature	3.98 ± .08	3.61 ± .17	3.58 ± .17	3.20 ± .15	4.25 ± .19	3.49 ± .16	3.79 ± .18	3.48 ± .17	3.79 ± .18	3.72 ± .17	4.03 ± .1
Span	4.54 ± .09	4.27 ± .20	3.79 ± .18	3.84 ± .17	4.54 ± .20	4.19 ± .19	4.04 ± .19	3.61 ± .17	4.10 ± .19	4.61 ± .22	4.17 ± .2
Sitting height	4.13 ± .09	3.80 ± .18	3.57 ± .17	3.16 ± .15	4.29 ± .19	4.43 ± .20	4.30 ± .21	3.74 ± .18	3.94 ± .18	3.99 ± .19	3.88 ± .1
Biacromial diameter	5.68 ± .09	5.36 ± .25	5.13 ± .24	5.12 ± .24	5.56 ± .25	4.21 ± .19	4.91 ± .23	5.28 ± .25	4.98 ± .23	5.94 ± .28	6.00 ± .3
Bi-iliac	6.21 ± .13	5.51 ± .26	4.71 ± .22	5.79 ± .27	5.97 ± .27	5.97 ± .28	6.62 ± .31	6.08 ± .29	6.95 ± .32	6.31 ± .29	6.65 ± .3
Chest breadth	6.62 ± .14	6.52 ± .29	6.62 ± .31	6.17 ± .29	6.28 ± .28	6.51 ± .30	6.24 ± .29	6.31 ± .30	7.11 ± .33	5.74 ± .27	7.33 ± .3
Chest depth	7.34 ± .15	7.19 ± .33	7.45 ± .35	6.03 ± .32	7.86 ± .35	5.88 ± .27	7.09 ± .33	7.68 ± .36	6.24 ± .30	7.44 ± .35	6.30 ± .3
Head length	3.80 ± .08	3.21 ± .15	3.16 ± .15	3.87 ± .18	3.58 ± .16	3.48 ± .16	3.89 ± .18	3.58 ± .17	3.28 ± .15	3.74 ± .17	3.74 ± .1
Head breadth	3.80 ± .08	3.49 ± .16	3.17 ± .15	3.75 ± .18	4.47 ± .20	3.55 ± .16	3.53 ± .17	3.74 ± .18	3.50 ± .16	3.69 ± .17	3.28 ± .1
Head height	4.70 ± .10	4.42 ± .21	4.84 ± .22	4.43 ± .21	5.30 ± .24	4.33 ± .20	4.48 ± .21	4.16 ± .20	4.94 ± .23	4.65 ± .22	4.28 ± .2
Min. frontal diameter	4.52 ± .09	4.18 ± .19	3.82 ± .18	4.19 ± .20	4.74 ± .21	4.37 ± .20	4.41 ± .21	4.19 ± .20	4.61 ± .21	4.90 ± .23	4.19 ± .1
Bizygomatic diameter	3.97 ± .08	4.37 ± .20	4.04 ± .19	3.18 ± .14	3.87 ± .17	3.48 ± .16	4.02 ± .19	3.40 ± .16	4.30 ± .20	4.11 ± .19	3.84 ± .1
Bigonial diameter	5.68 ± .11	5.71 ± .27	5.13 ± .24	5.81 ± .28	5.99 ± .27	5.12 ± .23	6.00 ± .28	5.91 ± .28	5.78 ± .27	5.62 ± .26	5.54 ± .2
Total face height*	5.25 ± .08	5.00 ± .29	5.13 ± .24	5.62 ± .27	4.87 ± .24	4.42 ± .21	5.28 ± .26	4.73 ± .25	5.49 ± .27	5.34 ± .26	4.73 ± .2
Upper face height*	6.80 ± .11	6.81 ± .36	6.40 ± .30	6.83 ± .34	6.32 ± .31	6.37 ± .31	6.07 ± .30	6.31 ± .34	6.88 ± .33	7.37 ± .36	7.14 ± .3
Nose height	7.23 ± .15	7.10 ± .33	6.78 ± .31	6.88 ± .33	7.34 ± .33	7.32 ± .33	6.58 ± .31	7.00 ± .33	7.12 ± .33	7.38 ± .34	6.62 ± .9
Nose breadth	8.17 ± .17	8.85 ± .42	8.72 ± .40	8.95 ± .33	9.40 ± .42	8.31 ± .38	8.85 ± .41	8.72 ± .41	9.11 ± .42	8.85 ± .41	8.07 ± .3
Indices											
Relative span	2.46 ± .05	2.11 ± .10	2.36 ± .11	2.81 ± .12	2.24 ± .10	2.35 ± .11	2.17 ± .10	2.57 ± .12	2.48 ± .12	2.39 ± .11	2.06 ± .1
Relative sitting height	2.84 ± .08	2.74 ± .13	2.63 ± .12	2.35 ± .11	2.51 ± .11	3.33 ± .15	2.84 ± .13	2.82 ± .13	3.05 ± .14	2.74 ± .13	2.77 ± .1
Relative shoulder height	1.51 ± .03	1.39 ± .08	1.20 ± .08	1.38 ± .06	1.39 ± .08	1.32 ± .06	1.44 ± .07	1.48 ± .08	1.58 ± .07	1.51 ± .07	1.65 ± .0
Rel. shoulder breadth	5.27 ± .11	5.08 ± .24	4.79 ± .22	4.64 ± .22	4.99 ± .22	4.36 ± .20	5.07 ± .24	5.27 ± .25	5.38 ± .25	5.85 ± .27	5.84 ± .2
Thoracic index											
Cephalic index	5.06 ± .10	4.39 ± .20	4.26 ± .19	5.09 ± .24	5.26 ± .23	5.01 ± .23	4.69 ± .22	4.69 ± .22	4.19 ± .20	4.75 ± .22	4.66 ± .2
Length-height index	5.26 ± .11	4.79 ± .22	5.17 ± .24	4.90 ± .23	5.46 ± .24	4.84 ± .22	4.52 ± .21	4.76 ± .23	4.74 ± .22	5.56 ± .26	5.37 ± .2
Breadth-height index	5.12 ± .11	4.85 ± .22	5.15 ± .24	4.73 ± .22	5.08 ± .24	4.69 ± .22	4.95 ± .23	4.38 ± .21	4.83 ± .22	4.90 ± .23	4.44 ± .2
Fronto-parietal index	4.91 ± .10	4.07 ± .19	4.73 ± .22	4.53 ± .21	5.46 ± .24	4.85 ± .22	5.13 ± .24	5.05 ± .24	4.85 ± .23	4.85 ± .23	4.35 ± .2
Cephalo-facial index	3.86 ± .08	3.49 ± .16	3.76 ± .17	3.76 ± .18	3.62 ± .16	3.83 ± .17	3.84 ± .18	3.27 ± .16	3.54 ± .17	3.88 ± .18	4.30 ± .1
Zygo-frontal index	4.85 ± .10	4.63 ± .22	4.87 ± .21	4.85 ± .21	4.13 ± .18	4.59 ± .21	5.04 ± .24	4.33 ± .21	5.38 ± .25	4.87 ± .23	4.86 ± .2
Fronto-gonial index	6.52 ± .13	6.57 ± .31	5.88 ± .27	5.66 ± .26	7.26 ± .33	5.74 ± .26	6.36 ± .30	7.02 ± .33	6.69 ± .31	6.94 ± .33	6.53 ± .3
Zygo-gonial index	5.27 ± .11	5.87 ± .27	5.42 ± .25	4.61 ± .22	5.28 ± .24	4.86 ± .22	5.53 ± .26	5.25 ± .25	5.68 ± .26	5.05 ± .24	4.90 ± .2
Facial index	5.73 ± .09	6.55 ± .34	5.60 ± .27	6.01 ± .29	5.60 ± .28	4.78 ± .23	5.86 ± .28	4.61 ± .26	5.84 ± .28	6.02 ± .30	4.77 ± .3
Upper facial index	7.06 ± .11	7.21 ± .38	6.98 ± .33	7.12 ± .35	7.34 ± .35	6.23 ± .30	6.33 ± .31	6.11 ± .33	6.43 ± .31	7.37 ± .36	7.25 ± .3
Nasal index	10.35 ± .21	10.68 ± .50	10.10 ± .47	9.08 ± .42	10.36 ± .48	8.88 ± .41	10.87 ± .50	9.55 ± .45	9.83 ± .46	8.74 ± .41	9.78 ± .4

*Corrected for face shortening.

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TABLE 4: OBSERVATIONS

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
I. BODY																						
Total	1068		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		104		104		108	
General musculature																						
ssm	2	.19											1	.98	1	.99						
sm	200	18.78	18	17.14	5	4.72	12	11.54	19	16.67	14	12.84	19	18.63	27	26.73	30	28.85	27	25.96	29	26.93
+	650	60.98	64	60.95	82	58.49	81	77.88	78	68.67	78	69.72	57	55.88	47	46.53	62	59.62	50	48.73	62	57.41
+ +	213	19.98	23	21.90	39	36.79	11	10.58	19	16.67	19	17.43	24	23.53	26	25.74	12	11.54	18	17.31	18	16.67
+ + +	1	.09											1	.98								
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Neck, length																						
ssm	4	.37	1	.95					3	1.75					1	.99						
sm	358	33.55	20	19.05	28	26.42	14	13.46	50	43.85	35	32.11	35	34.31	54	53.47	29	27.62	49	47.12	39	36.11
+	641	60.07	78	74.29	69	65.09	86	82.69	55	48.25	71	65.14	58	56.86	40	39.60	63	60.00	54	51.92	64	59.26
+ +	63	5.90	5	4.76	9	8.49	4	3.85	7	6.14	3	2.75	9	8.82	6	5.94	13	12.38	1	.96	5	4.63
+ + +	1	.09	1	.95																		
Neck, thickness																						
sm	229	21.46	13	12.38	10	9.43	18	17.31	32	28.07	21	19.27	20	19.61	27	26.73	36	34.29	26	25.00	24	22.22
+	793	73.38	82	78.10	82	88.80	84	80.77	77	67.54	83	76.15	71	69.61	69	68.32	65	61.90	74	71.13	79	73.15
+ +	55	5.15	10	9.52	4	3.77	2	1.92	5	4.39	5	4.59	11	10.78	5	4.95	4	3.81	4	3.85	5	4.63
Total	1068		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		107	
Shoulder slope																						
Abs	30	2.81			1	.94			8	7.02	4	3.67			5	4.95	2	1.90			10	9.35
ssm	2	.19							1	.88											1	.93
sm	347	32.55	19	18.10	17	16.04	25	24.04	39	34.21	32	29.36	40	39.22	49	48.51	30	28.57	40	38.46	52	48.60
+	589	55.25	88	84.76	78	73.58	72	69.23	60	52.63	66	60.55	50	49.02	34	33.66	59	56.19	61	58.65	36	33.64
+ +	98	9.19	18	17.14	10	9.43	7	6.73	6	5.26	7	6.42	12	11.76	13	12.87	14	13.33	3	2.88	8	7.48
Chest development																						
ssm	3	.28									1	.92	1	.98							1	.93
sm	118	11.07	19	18.10	7	6.60	9	8.65	11	9.65	12	11.01	15	14.71	14	13.86	10	9.52	8	7.69	12	11.21
+	759	71.20	89	85.71	85	80.19	89	85.58	69	60.53	80	73.39	71	69.61	64	63.37	80	76.19	88	85.38	78	72.90
+ +	184	17.26	17	16.19	14	13.21	5	4.81	34	29.82	16	14.68	14	13.73	23	22.77	15	14.29	28	26.92	16	14.95
+ + +	2	.19					1	.96					1	.98								
Scapulae, vertebral borders																						
Straight	487	45.68	41	39.05	62	58.49	45	43.27	52	45.61	41	37.61	52	50.98	54	53.47	71	67.62	32	30.77	36	33.64
Convex	239	22.33	19	18.10	23	21.70	28	26.00	24	21.05	33	30.28	20	19.61	16	15.84	11	10.48	24	23.08	40	37.38
Concave	341	31.99	45	42.86	21	19.81	33	31.73	38	33.33	35	32.11	30	29.41	31	30.69	23	21.90	48	46.15	31	28.97
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Back, lumbar curve																						
Abs	45	4.22	1	.95					12	10.53	5	4.59	4	3.92	17	16.83	3	2.85	1	.96	2	1.85
ssm	2	.19							1	.88	1	.92										
sm	526	49.30	49	46.67	28	26.42	37	35.58	51	44.74	49	44.95	44	43.14	64	63.37	74	70.48	67	64.42	57	52.78
+	463	43.39	52	49.52	70	66.04	63	60.58	46	40.35	54	49.54	48	47.06	20	19.80	28	26.76	34	32.69	47	43.52
+ +	31	2.91	3	2.86	8	7.55	4	3.85	4	3.51			6	5.88			3	1.90	2	1.92	2	1.85

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	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		109	
Abdomen																						
sm	218	20.34	16	15.24	19	17.92	25	24.04	25	21.93	24	22.02	27	26.47	18	17.82	14	13.33	23	22.12	23	21.10
+	767	71.88	80	76.19	84	79.25	79	75.96	80	70.18	74	67.89	88	84.71	70	69.31	78	74.29	73	69.23	78	72.22
+ +	84	7.87	9	8.57	3	2.83			9	7.89	11	10.09	9	8.82	13	12.87	13	12.38	9	8.65	7	6.48
Buttocks																						
sm	345	32.33	26	24.76	6	5.66	22	21.15	48	42.11	26	23.85	49	48.04	58	57.43	42	40.00	31	29.81	34	31.48
+	679	63.64	73	69.52	96	90.57	80	76.92	63	55.26	78	69.72	46	45.10	38	37.62	60	57.14	71	68.27	71	65.74
+ +	43	4.03	6	5.71	4	3.77	2	1.92	3	2.63	7	6.42	7	6.86	5	4.95	3	2.85	2	1.92	3	2.78
Calves																						
sm	169	15.84	7	6.67			8	8.65	21	18.42	15	13.76	11	10.78	20	19.80	24	22.86	30	28.85	31	28.70
+	629	58.95	68	64.76	85	81.32	71	68.27	65	57.02	73	66.97	60	58.82	48	47.52	62	59.05	58	55.73	54	50.00
+ +	259	24.18	28	26.67	39	36.79	24	23.08	28	24.56	21	19.27	27	26.47	31	30.69	18	17.14	15	14.42	23	21.30
+ + +	11	1.03	2	1.90	2	1.89							4	3.92	2	1.98	1	.95				
Heel projection																						
Abs.	5	.47											2	1.96	1	.99	1	.95	1	.96		
ssm	5	.47											2	1.96	2	1.98			1	.96		
sm	667	62.51	74	70.48	57	53.77	61	58.65	69	60.53	75	68.81	74	72.55	68	67.33	62	59.05	62	60.62	58	53.70
+	335	31.40	28	26.67	43	40.57	39	37.50	40	35.09	28	25.69	23	22.55	35	34.65	38	36.19	39	37.88	40	37.04
+ +	55	5.15	3	2.86	6	5.66	4	3.85	5	4.39	6	5.50	1	.98	5	4.95	4	3.81	11	10.68	10	9.26
Foot arch																						
Abs.	7	.66	3	2.86											2	1.98	2	1.90				
ssm	3	.28											2	1.96			1	.95				
sm	247	23.15	21	20.00	32	30.19	19	18.27	19	16.67	26	23.85	24	23.53	25	24.75	33	31.43	25	24.04	22	20.37
+	510	47.80	37	35.24	44	41.51	60	57.69	72	63.16	48	44.04	57	55.88	43	41.58	51	48.57	44	42.31	53	49.15
+ +	294	27.55	39	37.14	30	28.30	25	24.04	23	20.18	35	32.11	19	18.63	33	31.68	18	17.14	34	32.69	34	31.48
+ + +	6	.56	5	4.76															1	.96		
II. THE FACE																						
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		109	
Forehead, height																						
ssm	6	.56							1	.88	1	.92	1	.98	1	.99			1	.96		
sm	190	17.81	10	9.52	14	13.21	13	12.50	25	21.93	24	22.02	17	16.67	20	20.79	11	10.48	24	23.08	19	17.59
+	714	66.92	74	70.48	76	71.70	78	75.00	82	71.93	64	58.72	70	68.62	55	54.46	79	75.24	70	67.31	63	58.33
+ +	157	14.72	21	20.00	16	15.09	13	12.50	6	5.26	20	18.35	14	13.73	15	14.85	15	14.29	9	8.65	26	24.07
Forehead, breadth																						
sm	62	5.81	3	4.76	3	2.83	6	5.77	3	2.63	12	11.01	6	5.88	12	11.88	5	4.76	3	2.88	5	4.63
+	708	66.38	58	55.24	78	73.58	86	82.69	79	69.30	80	73.39	78	76.47	67	66.33	78	74.29	62	59.62	56	51.85
+ +	289	27.09	40	38.10	25	23.58	12	11.54	31	27.19	16	14.68	18	17.65	41	40.59	21	20.00	38	36.54	46	42.59
+ + +	8	.75	2	1.90					1	.88	1	.92			1	.99	1	.95	1	.96	1	.93

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 195° EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		NAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1067		105		108		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Forehead, slope																						
Forward	9	.84	2	1.90			1	.96	2	1.75							1	.95	1	.96	2	1.85
abs	33	3.09	7	6.67	1	.94	3	2.88	7	6.14	1	.92	3	2.94	2	1.98	2	1.90	3	2.88	4	3.70
ssm	8	.75									1	.92	2	1.96	1	.99			1	.96	3	2.78
sm	304	28.49	38	36.10	34	31.09	28	26.92	36	31.58	24	22.02	30	29.41	18	17.82	21	20.00	36	34.62	37	34.26
+	488	46.77	45	42.86	48	43.40	53	50.96	47	41.23	57	52.29	45	44.12	52	51.49	60	57.14	44	42.31	47	43.52
+ +	200	18.75	13	12.38	23	21.70	18	17.31	20	17.54	26	23.85	19	18.63	27	26.73	30	10.05	17	16.35	14	12.96
+ + +	14	1.31			2	1.89	1	.96	2	1.75			3	2.94	1	.99	1	.95	2	1.92	1	.93
Browridges, size																						
sm	128	13.00	14	13.33	5	4.72	9	8.65	24	21.05	7	6.42	20	19.61	14	13.86	9	8.57	11	10.58	14	12.96
+	586	55.30	65	61.90	53	50.00	56	53.85	54	47.37	64	58.72	56	54.90	55	54.46	72	68.57	50	48.08	63	58.33
+ +	312	29.24	24	22.86	43	40.57	32	30.77	30	26.32	37	33.94	24	23.53	26	27.72	24	22.86	40	38.46	26	24.07
+ + +	37	3.47	2	1.90	5	4.72	7	6.73	6	5.26	1	.92	2	1.96	4	3.96			3	2.88	5	4.63
Glabella																						
ssm	5	.47															1	.95	2	1.92	2	1.85
sm	140	13.12	14	13.33	5	4.72	10	9.62	24	21.05	10	9.17	22	21.57	17	16.83	9	8.57	11	10.58	16	14.81
+	590	55.30	68	64.76	54	50.94	56	53.85	57	50.00	63	57.80	53	51.96	55	54.46	72	68.57	50	48.08	61	56.48
+ +	298	28.02	21	20.00	42	39.62	31	29.81	28	24.56	35	32.11	26	25.49	26	25.74	23	21.90	38	36.54	25	23.15
+ + +	33	3.09	2	1.90	5	4.72	7	6.73	5	4.39	1	.92	1	.98	3	2.97			3	2.88	4	3.70
External eyefolds																						
Abs	677	63.45	56	53.33	58	55.66	80	76.92	63	55.26	82	75.23	64	62.75	60	59.41	51	48.57	81	77.88	75	69.44
sm	108	10.12	19	18.10	10	9.43	9	8.65	12	10.53	7	6.42	17	16.67	8	7.92	11	10.48	4	3.85	10	9.26
+	262	24.56	30	28.57	37	34.91	15	14.42	33	28.95	19	17.43	17	16.67	38	29.71	38	36.19	19	18.27	23	21.30
+ +	20	1.87							6	5.26	1	.92	4	3.92	4	3.96	5	4.76				
Eyefolds, epicanthus and median																						
Present	11	1.03	1	.95	1	.94	1	.96	3	2.63			2	1.96					2	1.92	1	.93
Absent	1054	98.98	104	99.05	105	99.06	103	99.04	111	97.37	108	100.00	100	98.04	101	100.00	105	100.00	102	98.08	107	99.07
Palpebral opening																						
ssm	14	1.31							5	4.39			2	1.96	5	4.95					2	1.85
sm	583	54.84	51	48.57	83	78.30	40	38.46	82	71.93	54	49.54	58	56.86	56	55.45	54	51.43	35	33.65	64	59.26
+	467	43.77	54	51.43	23	21.70	64	61.54	27	23.68	54	49.54	42	41.18	40	39.60	49	46.67	68	65.35	42	38.89
+ +	3	.28									1	.92					2	1.90				
Obliquity																						
Abs	854	80.04	81	77.14	73	68.87	82	78.85	105	92.11	94	86.24	82	80.39	72	71.29	81	77.14	90	86.54	87	80.56
ssm	6	.56							2	1.75					3	2.97					1	.93
sm	189	17.71	21	20.00	32	30.19	19	18.27	5	4.39	15	13.76	16	15.69	24	23.76	23	21.90	14	13.46	18	16.67
+	18	1.69	3	2.86	1	.94	3	2.88	2	1.75			4	3.92	2	1.98	1	.95			2	1.85
Malars, forwards																						
ssm	2	.19									1	.92	1	.98								
sm	483	45.27	48	45.71	37	34.91	34	32.69	54	47.37	43	39.45	51	50.00	49	48.51	43	42.86	36	33.65	62	57.41
+	534	50.05	55	52.38	60	56.60	64	61.54	56	49.12	55	50.46	45	44.12	47	46.53	59	56.19	44	42.31	44	40.74
+ +	48	4.50	2	1.90	9	8.49	6	5.77	4	3.51	10	9.17	5	4.90	5	4.95	1	.95	4	3.85	2	1.85

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		100	
Malars, sideways																						
ssm	6	.56							1	.88	2	1.83	1	.98	2	1.98						
sm	294	27.56	24	22.86	22	20.75	23	22.12	30	26.32	25	22.94	36	35.29	35	34.65	39	37.14	33	31.73	26	24.07
+	545	51.08	61	58.10	59	55.66	82	58.62	56	49.12	57	52.29	45	44.12	41	40.59	54	51.43	46	44.23	57	52.78
+ +	221	20.71	20	19.05	25	23.58	19	18.27	27	23.68	25	22.94	20	19.61	22	21.78	12	11.43	25	24.04	25	23.15
+ + +	1	.09									1	.99										
Cheeks																						
ssm	4	.37							1	.88	1	.92	1	.98	1	.99						
sm	455	42.65	37	35.24	43	40.57	29	27.88	64	56.14	44	40.37	53	51.96	50	49.50	41	39.05	44	42.31	47	43.52
+	533	49.96	58	55.24	54	50.94	70	67.31	41	35.96	57	52.29	40	39.22	44	43.56	58	55.24	53	50.96	52	48.15
+ +	75	7.03	10	9.52	9	8.49	5	4.81	8	7.02	7	6.42	8	7.84	6	5.94	6	5.71	7	6.73	9	8.33
Wrinkling																						
Abs.	236	22.12	19	18.10	17	16.04	26	25.00	22	19.30	31	28.44	33	32.35	26	25.74	16	15.24	16	15.38	26	24.07
ssm	4	.37							3	2.63									1	.96		
sm	366	34.30	41	39.05	55	51.89	36	34.62	27	23.68	38	35.78	25	24.51	31	30.69	32	30.48	43	41.35	33	30.56
+	385	36.08	40	38.10	28	26.42	39	37.50	52	45.61	30	27.52	35	34.31	31	30.69	49	46.67	38	36.54	43	39.81
+ +	73	6.84	5	4.76	6	5.66	3	2.88	10	8.77	9	8.26	8	7.84	11	10.89	8	7.62	6	5.77	6	5.56
+ + +	3	.28							1	.88	2	1.83										
Gonial angles																						
ssm	7	.66							1	.88	1	.92	1	.98	2	1.98			2	1.92		
sm	270	25.31	25	23.81	29	27.36	25	24.04	22	19.30	17	15.60	32	31.37	31	30.70	33	31.43	27	25.96	27	25.00
+	591	55.39	57	54.29	61	57.55	65	62.50	74	64.91	69	63.30	46	45.10	51	50.50	49	46.67	53	50.96	60	55.56
+ +	190	17.81	22	20.95	16	15.09	12	11.54	16	14.04	22	20.18	22	21.57	16	15.84	23	21.90	20	19.23	21	19.44
+ + +	9	.84	1	.95			2	1.92	1	.88			1	.98	2	1.98			2	1.92		
Ear lobes, type																						
Attached	345	32.33	38	36.19	38	35.85	45	43.27	27	23.68	38	34.86	36	35.29	28	27.72	29	27.62	34	32.69	30	27.78
Free	723	67.67	67	63.81	68	64.15	59	56.73	87	76.32	71	65.14	66	64.71	73	72.28	76	72.38	70	67.31	78	72.22
Ear lobes, development																						
ssm	8	.75									1	.92	2	1.96	1	.99			2	1.92	2	1.85
sm	427	40.02	53	50.48	45	42.45	41	39.42	36	31.58	42	38.53	34	33.33	46	45.54	35	33.33	40	38.46	50	46.30
+	570	53.42	51	48.57	57	53.77	61	58.65	64	56.14	57	52.29	59	57.84	44	43.56	65	61.90	59	56.73	49	45.37
+ +	61	5.72	1	.95	4	3.77	2	1.92	13	11.40	9	8.26	7	6.86	10	9.90	5	4.76			7	6.48
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												
Helix																						
Abs.	6	.56	1	.95					1	.88			2	1.96	1	.99					1	.93
ssm	6	.56	1	.95	1	.94	1	.96	1	.88					2	1.98						
sm	314	29.43	32	30.48	32	30.19	44	42.31	31	27.19	29	26.61	26	25.44	24	23.76	17	16.19	41	39.42	35	32.41
+	711	66.64	70	66.67	70	66.04	58	55.77	78	68.42	75	68.81	70	68.63	70	69.31	88	83.81	60	57.69	67	62.04
+ +	30	2.81	1	.95	3	2.83	1	.96	3	2.63	5	4.59	4	3.92	4	3.96			3	2.88	5	4.63
Antihelix																						
Abs.	13	1.22	1	.95					1	.88			1	.98			2	1.90	2	1.92	5	5.56
ssm	2	.19																			2	1.85
sm	123	11.53	6	5.71	9	8.49	6	5.77	15	13.16	14	12.84	12	11.76	7	6.93	14	13.33	21	20.19	17	15.74
+	849	79.57	86	81.90	95	89.62	94	90.38	88	77.19	88	80.73	85	83.33	75	74.26	84	80.00	75	72.12	72	66.67
+ +	77	7.22	11	10.48	2	1.89	4	3.85	10	8.77	6	5.50	4	3.92	18	17.82	5	4.76	6	5.76	11	10.19
+ + +	3	.28	1	.95							1	.92			1	.99						

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

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	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MKJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAU		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Darwin's Point, left																						
Abs.	646	60.54	70	66.67	72	67.92	60	57.69	64	56.14	71	65.14	57	55.88	49	48.51	63	60.00	69	66.35	67	62.04
sm	172	16.12	19	18.10	21	19.81	23	22.12	17	14.91	15	13.76	22	21.57	18	17.82	15	14.29	7	6.73	19	17.64
+	220	20.62	14	13.33	13	12.26	20	19.23	23	20.18	21	19.27	21	20.59	30	29.70	26	24.76	26	25.00	23	21.30
+ +	27	2.53	2	1.90			1	.96	9	7.89	2	1.83	2	1.96	3	2.97	1	.95	2	1.92		
+ + +	2	.19							1	.88					1	.99					1	.93
Darwin's Point, right																						
Abs.	628	58.86	68	64.76	70	66.04	57	54.81	59	51.75	65	59.63	58	57.84	59	58.42	62	59.05	63	60.58	61	56.48
sm	164	15.37	16	15.24	23	21.70	20	19.23	17	14.91	15	13.76	22	21.57	11	10.89	13	14.29	12	11.54	10	9.26
+	246	23.06	19	18.10	13	12.26	26	25.00	29	25.44	27	24.77	17	16.67	27	26.73	26	24.76	26	25.02	33	30.56
+ +	27	2.53	2	1.90			1	.96	8	7.02	2	1.83	4	3.92	4	3.96	2	1.90	1	.96	3	2.78
+ + +	2	.19							1	.88											1	.93
Lips, integumental thickness																						
sm	23	2.16	2	1.90			3	2.88	4	3.51	1	.92	1	.98	5	4.95	4	3.81	3	2.88		
+	918	85.29	92	87.62	104	98.11	94	90.38	85	74.56	98	89.91	95	93.14	70	69.31	81	77.14	87	83.65	96	88.89
+ +	133	12.47	11	10.48	2	1.89	7	6.73	25	21.93	10	9.17	6	5.88	26	25.74	20	19.05	13	12.50	12	11.11
+ + +	1	.09																	1	.96		
Lips, membranous thickness																						
Abs.	93	8.72	10	9.52	4	3.77	2	1.92	20	17.54	7	6.42	10	9.80	13	12.87	12	11.43	5	4.81	10	9.26
sam	19	1.78							7	6.14	3	2.75			1	.99			4	3.85	4	3.70
sm	454	42.55	34	32.38	47	44.34	43	41.35	41	35.96	38	34.86	49	48.04	51	50.50	42	40.00	58	55.77	46	42.59
+	460	43.96	60	57.14	51	48.11	57	54.81	41	35.96	59	54.13	41	40.20	39	38.71	50	47.62	34	32.69	44	40.74
+ +	31	2.91	1	.95	4	3.77	2	1.92	5	4.39	2	1.83	2	1.96	7	6.93	1	.95	3	2.88	3	2.78
+ + +	1	.09																			1	.93
Lips, eversion																						
Abs.	112	10.50	10	9.52	5	4.72	2	1.92	20	17.54	9	8.26	10	9.80	16	15.84	15	14.29	14	13.46	11	10.18
sam	14	1.31							7	6.14	1	.92			1	.99			2	1.92	3	2.78
sm	453	42.46	33	31.43	44	41.51	43	41.35	44	38.60	39	35.78	54	52.94	49	48.51	41	39.05	53	50.96	47	43.52
+	465	43.58	61	58.10	54	50.94	56	53.85	40	35.09	58	53.21	38	37.25	30	10.70	48	46.67	33	31.73	43	39.81
+ +	22	2.06	1	.95	3	2.83	3	2.88	3	2.63	2	1.83			5	4.95			2	1.92	1	2.78
+ + +	1	.09																				
Total	1066		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		104		104		108	
Chin, prominence																						
sm	241	22.61	24	22.86	5	4.72	22	21.15	27	23.68	20	18.35	32	31.37	19	18.81	27	25.96	29	27.88	36	33.33
+	745	69.89	76	72.38	90	84.91	79	75.96	75	65.79	80	73.39	60	58.82	70	69.31	73	70.19	67	64.43	67	62.04
+ +	79	7.41	4	3.81	11	10.38	3	2.88	12	10.53	9	8.26	10	9.80	12	11.88	4	3.85	8	7.69	5	4.63
+ + +	1	.09	1	.95																		
Chin, type																						
Median	813	76.27	86	81.90	41	38.68	70	67.31	82	80.70	83	76.15	91	89.22	86	85.15	87	83.65	87	83.65	82	75.93
Bilateral	253	23.73	19	18.10	65	61.32	34	32.69	22	19.30	26	23.85	11	10.78	15	14.85	17	16.35	17	16.35	26	24.07

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	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		RAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		106	
Nasion depression																						
Abs.	2	.19															1	.95			1	.93
sam	68	6.37	6	5.57	3	2.83	4	3.85	10	8.77	7	6.42	5	4.90	8	7.92	3	2.86	11	10.58	8	7.41
sm	320	29.99	36	34.76	30	28.30	29	27.88	38	33.33	34	31.19	30	29.41	29	28.71	35	33.33	36	34.62	42	39.62
+	552	51.74	59	56.19	50	47.17	57	54.81	58	50.88	64	58.72	66	64.71	49	48.51	54	51.43	45	43.27	48	42.50
+ +	123	11.53	11	10.48	23	21.70	14	13.46	8	7.02	4	3.67	11	10.78	14	13.86	12	11.43	11	10.58	11	10.19
+ + +	2	.19													1	.99			1	.96		
Nasal root, height																						
sm	114	10.68	10	9.52	8	7.55	11	10.58	3	2.63	6	5.50	14	13.73	22	21.78	18	17.14	13	12.50	8	7.41
+	728	68.05	72	68.57	75	70.75	74	71.15	86	75.44	78	71.56	81	79.41	80	79.21	70	66.67	83	80.58	80	59.56
+ +	209	19.59	21	20.00	21	19.81	18	17.31	23	20.18	23	21.10	6	5.88	18	17.82	15	14.29	38	39.00	37	34.26
+ + +	18	1.69	2	1.90	2	1.89	1	.96	2	1.75	2	1.83	1	.98	1	.99	2	1.90	2	1.92	3	2.78
Nasal root, breadth																						
sam	26	2.44	2	1.90					1	.88	6	5.50	4	3.92	2	2.07	2	1.90	1	.96	7	6.48
sm	504	47.24	34	32.38	50	47.17	42	40.38	56	49.25	53	48.62	50	49.02	52	51.50	43	40.95	47	45.19	66	61.11
+	494	46.30	59	56.19	52	49.06	58	55.77	56	49.12	48	43.90	41	40.20	38	35.64	55	52.38	55	52.88	30	27.78
+ +	43	4.03	10	9.52	4	3.77	4	3.85	2	1.75	4	3.67	7	6.86			5	4.76	1	.96	5	4.63
Nasal bridge, height																						
sam	1	.09			1	.94																
sm	46	4.31	4	3.81	5	4.72	6	5.77	2	1.75	4	3.67	5	4.90	4	3.96	8	7.62	5	4.81	3	2.78
+	552	51.74	60	57.14	56	52.83	63	60.62	57	50.00	53	47.71	57	55.88	53	51.48	53	50.48	47	45.19	39	36.11
+ +	370	34.68	35	33.33	37	34.91	31	29.81	40	35.09	44	40.37	38	37.25	34	33.66	38	36.20	38	36.54	47	43.52
+ + +	98	9.18	6	5.71	7	6.60	5	4.81	15	13.16	9	8.26	4	3.92	11	10.89	8	7.62	14	13.46	19	17.59
Nasal bridge, breadth																						
sam	31	2.91	3	2.86					2	1.75	5	4.59	4	3.92	3	2.97	3	2.86	1	.96	10	9.26
sm	482	45.30	32	30.48	49	46.23	41	39.42	47	41.23	46	42.20	48	47.06	52	51.49	34	32.38	55	52.88	54	51.85
+	510	48.64	58	55.24	51	48.11	57	54.81	62	54.39	56	51.38	42	41.18	45	44.55	63	60.00	47	45.19	32	29.63
+ +	54	5.06	12	11.43	5	4.72	6	5.77	3	2.63	2	1.83	8	7.84	1	.99	5	4.76	1	.96	10	9.26
+ + +	1	.09			1	.94																
Nasal Profile																						
cnc	69	6.47	7	6.67	11	10.38	10	9.62	3	2.63	5	4.59	11	10.78	3	2.97	5	4.76	3	2.88	11	10.19
str	416	38.99	40	38.10	47	44.34	47	45.19	45	39.47	44	40.37	42	41.18	40	39.60	38	36.20	39	37.50	33	30.56
cnv	571	53.52	55	52.38	48	45.28	47	45.19	66	57.89	60	55.05	49	48.06	58	57.43	64	60.95	58	55.77	62	57.41
cnc	11	1.03	3	2.86									1	.98					4	3.85	3	1.85
Nasal tip, thickness																						
sam	31	2.91			2	1.89	2	1.92	4	3.51	4	3.67	3	2.94	3	2.97	2	1.90	4	3.85	7	6.48
sm	372	34.87	24	22.86	38	35.85	32	30.77	46	40.35	33	30.28	43	42.16	40	39.60	29	27.62	39	37.50	46	42.59
+	548	51.36	57	54.29	52	49.06	62	59.62	57	50.00	64	58.72	46	45.10	53	52.48	62	59.05	46	44.23	43	39.89
+ +	115	10.78	24	22.86	14	13.21	8	7.69	7	6.14	8	7.34	10	9.80	5	4.95	12	11.43	15	14.42	12	11.11
+ + +	1	.09																			1	.93
Nasal tip, elevation and depression																						
Elevated	601	56.36	40	38.10	53	50.00	60	57.69	86	75.44	75	68.81	64	62.75	52	51.49	47	44.76	60	62.31	60	55.56
Depressed	466	43.64	65	61.90	53	50.00	44	42.31	28	24.56	34	31.19	38	37.25	49	48.51	58	55.24	44	37.90	48	44.44

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	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Nasal wings																						
Compressed	383	35.90	25	23.81	33	31.13	23	22.12	54	47.37	30	27.52	46	45.10	41	40.59	33	31.43	43	41.35	53	49.07
Medium	623	58.39	71	67.62	62	58.49	76	73.08	55	48.25	74	67.88	49	48.04	60	59.41	62	59.05	58	55.77	49	45.37
Flaring	61	5.72	9	8.57	11	10.38	5	4.81	5	4.39	5	4.59	7	6.86			10	9.52	3	2.88	6	5.56
Total	1066		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		103		108	
Nasal septum, shape																						
straight	728	68.29	74	70.48	77	72.64	67	64.42	78	68.42	72	66.06	71	69.61	74	73.27	90	85.71	61	59.22	60	55.56
convex	338	31.71	31	29.52	29	27.36	37	35.58	36	31.58	37	33.94	31	30.39	27	26.73	15	14.29	42	40.78	48	44.44
Total	1065		105		106		104		114		109		102		100		105		103		108	
Nasal septum, inclination																						
Up	596	55.96	43	40.95	57	57.77	64	61.54	82	71.93	72	66.06	59	57.84	53	52.00	49	46.67	57	55.34	58	53.70
Down	469	44.04	62	59.05	49	46.23	40	38.46	32	28.07	37	33.94	43	42.16	48	48.00	56	53.33	46	44.66	50	46.30
III. THE HEAD																						
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Temporal fulness																						
sxm	2	.19							1	.88	1	.92										
sm	131	12.29	3	2.86	5	4.72	12	11.54	27	23.68	15	13.76	19	18.63	22	21.78	10	9.52	7	6.73	9	8.33
+	789	73.95	85	80.95	91	85.85	87	83.65	67	58.77	81	74.31	71	69.61	57	56.44	82	78.10	79	75.96	83	76.85
+ +	142	13.31	16	15.24	10	9.43	5	4.81	19	16.67	12	11.01	13	11.76	22	21.78	13	12.38	18	15.38	16	14.81
+ + +	3	.28	1	.95															2	1.92		
Occipital protrusion																						
Abs	5	.47			2	1.89													3	2.88		
sxm	21	1.97	1	.95					5	4.39	4	3.67	2	1.96	3	2.97	3	1.90	2	1.92	2	1.85
sm	341	31.96	43	40.95	26	24.53	25	24.04	42	36.84	14	12.84	19	18.63	32	31.68	47	44.76	51	49.04	41	37.96
+	578	54.17	58	55.24	68	64.15	86	83.46	55	48.25	65	59.63	70	68.63	47	46.53	50	47.62	38	36.54	56	51.85
+ +	118	10.87	3	2.86	9	8.49	13	12.50	12	10.53	24	22.02	11	10.78	17	16.83	5	4.76	10	9.62	9	8.33
+ + +	6	.56			1	.94					2	1.83			2	1.98	1	.95				
Occipital flattening																						
Abs	737	69.07	53	49.52	84	79.25	83	79.81	83	72.81	85	77.98	82	80.39	70	69.31	55	52.38	60	57.69	75	69.44
sm	37	3.47	4	3.81	4	3.77			3	2.63	2	1.83	2	1.96	2	1.98	10	9.52	7	6.73	3	2.78
+	317	29.98	35	33.33	14	13.21	17	16.35	17	14.91	17	15.60	9	8.82	20	19.80	30	28.57	30	28.85	23	21.30
+ +	70	6.56	12	11.43	4	3.77	4	3.85	10	8.77	5	4.59	6	5.88	8	7.92	9	8.57	6	5.76	6	5.56
+ + +	10	.94	2	1.90					1	.88			3	2.94	1	.99	1	.95	1	.96	1	.93
Lambdoid flattening																						
Abs.	597	55.95	73	69.52	30	28.79	54	51.92	48	42.11	50	45.87	74	72.55	57	56.44	83	79.05	53	50.96	58	53.70
sm	110	10.31	8	7.62	11	10.38	9	8.65	16	14.04	10	9.17	8	7.84	10	9.90	8	7.62	12	11.54	18	16.67
+	327	30.65	21	20.00	54	50.94	40	38.46	39	34.21	47	43.12	18	17.65	26	25.71	13	12.38	35	33.65	30	27.78
+ +	31	2.91	3	2.86	2	1.89	1	.96	11	9.65	2	1.83	2	1.96	4	3.96	1	.95	4	3.85	1	.93
+ + +	2	.19													1	.99					1	.92

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 195? EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Bathrocephaly																						
Abs.	758	71.04	93	88.57	56	52.83	58	55.77	80	70.18	63	57.80	84	82.35	71	70.30	94	89.52	78	75.00	75	69.44
sm	5	.47							3	2.63	1	.92	1	.98								
+	291	27.27	12	11.43	48	45.28	44	42.31	28	24.56	44	40.37	16	15.69	29	28.71	11	10.48	26	25.00	31	28.70
+ +	7	.66			2	1.89	1	.96	1	.88	1	.92	1	.98							1	.93
+ + +	6	.56					1	.96	2	1.75					1	.99					1	.93
Cranial asymmetry, left																						
Abs.	955	89.50	89	84.76	102	96.23	98	94.23	98	85.96	95	87.16	94	92.16	89	88.12	95	90.48	93	89.42	94	87.04
sm	19	1.78	3	2.86	2	1.89	2	1.92	5	4.39	1	.92	1	.98	2	1.98	2	1.90	1	.96		
+	74	6.94	12	11.43	2	1.89	3	2.88	7	6.14	12	11.01	6	5.88	7	6.93	7	6.67	6	5.77	11	10.19
+ +	18	1.69	1	.95			1	.96	3	2.63	1	.92	1	.98	3	2.97	1	.95	4	3.85	3	2.78
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												
Cranial asymmetry, right																						
Abs.	792	74.23	67	63.81	84	79.25	77	74.04	91	79.82	85	77.98	87	85.29	79	78.23	94	89.95	86	82.69	83	76.93
sm	72	6.75	15	14.29	9	8.49	6	5.77	3	2.63	5	4.59	6	5.88	6	5.94	13	12.38	4	3.85	5	4.63
+	182	17.06	23	21.90	12	11.32	21	20.19	14	12.28	18	16.51	9	8.82	16	14.85	23	23.81	28	26.92	16	14.81
+ +	20	1.87			1	.94			5	4.39	1	.92			1	.99	3	2.85	4	3.85	5	4.63
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												
Facial asymmetry, left																						
Abs.	1020	96.44	102	97.14	106	100.00	103	99.04	108	94.74	102	93.58	101	99.02	100	99.01	96	91.43	101	97.12	101	93.52
sm	1	.09															1	.95				
+	29	2.72	3	2.86			1	.96	5	4.39	5	4.59	1	.98	1	.99	7	6.67	2	1.92	4	3.70
+ +	8	.75							1	.88	2	1.83					1	.95	1	.96	3	2.78
Facial asymmetry, right																						
Abs.	1042	97.66	102	97.14	105	99.06	104	100.00	109	95.61	109	100.00	97	95.10	99	98.02	102	97.14	101	97.12	105	97.22
+	18	1.69	2	1.90	1	.94			2	1.75			4	3.92	2	1.98	2	1.90	3	2.88	2	1.85
+ +	7	.66	1	.95					3	2.63			1	.98			1	.95			1	.93
Handedness																						
Left	74	6.94	11	10.48	3	2.83	5	4.81	6	5.26	8	7.34	7	6.86	8	7.92	6	5.71	12	11.54	7	6.48
Right	986	92.41	93	88.57	103	97.17	99	95.19	107	93.86	100	91.74	94	92.16	91	90.10	99	94.29	92	88.46	100	92.59
Ambi	7	.66	1	.95					1	.88	1	.92	1	.98	2	1.98					1	.93
IV. THE PILOUS SYSTEM																						
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Eyebrows, thickness																						
xxm	1	.09																	1	.96		
sm	52	4.87	5	4.76	9	8.49	6	5.77	4	3.51	5	4.59	1	.98	4	3.96	1	.95	6	5.77	10	9.26
+	890	83.69	93	88.57	86	81.13	90	86.54	91	79.82	88	80.73	93	91.18	86	85.15	96	91.43	85	81.73	81	75.00
+ +	116	10.87	7	6.67	11	10.38	8	7.69	17	14.91	16	14.68	8	7.84	11	10.89	8	7.62	12	11.54	16	14.81
+ + +	3	.28							2	1.75											1	.93

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		AS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Eyebrows, concurrency																						
Abs.	311	29.15	31	29.52	26	24.53	33	31.73	42	36.84	39	35.78	20	19.61	36	35.64	28	26.67	30	28.85	25	23.15
sam	4	.37							2	1.75	1	.92									1	.93
sm	398	37.30	43	40.95	34	32.08	31	29.81	40	35.09	38	34.86	41	40.20	37	36.63	36	34.29	41	39.42	54	50.00
+	299	28.02	28	26.67	40	37.74	37	35.58	25	21.93	23	21.10	39	38.24	21	20.79	35	33.33	24	23.08	22	20.37
+ +	53	4.97	3	2.86	6	5.66	3	2.88	4	3.51	8	7.34	1	.98	7	6.93	6	5.71	9	8.65	6	5.56
+ + +	2	.19							1	.88			1	.98								
Eyebrows, lateral extension																						
Abs.	36	3.37	4	3.81	1	.94	2	1.92	5	4.39	3	2.75			2	1.98	3	2.86	9	8.65	7	6.48
sam	2	.19													1	.99					1	.93
sm	320	29.99	31	29.52	8	7.55	18	17.31	61	53.51	39	35.78	19	18.63	38	37.62	20	19.05	41	39.42	44	40.74
+	648	60.74	88	84.76	91	85.85	74	71.15	45	39.47	55	50.46	76	74.51	55	54.46	74	70.48	51	49.04	51	47.22
+ +	61	5.72	2	1.90	6	5.66	10	9.62	3	2.63	12	11.01	7	6.86	5	4.95	8	7.62	3	2.88	5	4.63
Hair form																						
Straight	3	.28													2	1.98			1	.96		
Low waves	735	68.88	62	59.05	75	70.75	92	88.46	55	48.25	80	73.39	[illegible]	66.67	77	76.24	81	77.14	75	72.12	66	61.11
Deep waves	301	28.21	36	34.29	26	24.53	10	9.62	59	51.75	21	19.27	31	30.39	22	21.78	24	22.86	27	25.96	40	37.04
Curly	28	2.62	7	6.66	5	4.72	2	1.92			8	7.34	3	2.94					1	.96	2	1.85
Hair texture																						
Coarse	4	.37															1	.95	3	2.88		
Medium	854	80.04	78	74.29	84	79.25	93	89.42	83	72.81	100	91.74	78	76.47	76	75.25	75	71.43	91	87.50	88	81.48
Fine	209	19.59	27	25.71	22	20.75	11	10.58	31	27.19	9	8.26	24	23.53	25	24.75	29	27.62	10	9.62	20	18.52
Total	1046		105		104		98		111		106		98		101		104		102		108	
Baldness																						
Abs.	805	76.96	87	82.86	83	79.81	78	79.59	60	54.05	80	75.47	80	81.63	79	78.22	85	81.73	89	87.25	78	72.22
sam	22	2.10	1	.95					12	10.81	2	1.89	1	1.02	3	2.97					3	2.78
sm	128	12.24	11	10.48	13	12.50	10	10.20	25	22.52	13	12.26	12	12.24	10	9.90	9	8.65	4	3.92	20	18.52
+	72	6.88	4	3.81	8	7.70	8	8.16	11	9.91	8	7.55	3	3.06	8	7.92	8	7.69	6	5.88	6	5.56
+ +	18	1.53					2	2.04	2	1.80	3	2.83	2	2.04	1	.99	2	1.92	3	2.94	1	.93
+ + +	3	.29	2	1.90					1	.90												
Hair quantity, head																						
Abs.	1	.10																			1	.93
sam	7	.67	1	.95			1	1.12	1	.90			1	1.02					1	.98	2	1.85
sm	136	13.00	10	9.52	17	16.35	8	8.16	25	22.52	10	9.43	8	8.16	17	16.83	16	15.38	11	10.78	13	12.04
+	844	80.69	94	89.52	81	77.88	85	86.73	78	70.27	87	82.08	88	89.80	76	75.25	87	83.65	89	87.25	73	66.67
+ +	58	5.54			6	5.77	4	4.08	7	6.31	9	8.49	1	1.02	8	7.92	1	.96	1	.98	20	18.52
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Hair quantity, mustache																						
Abs.	1	.09									1	.92										
sam	15	1.41					3	2.88			2	1.83	3	2.94	2	1.98	2	1.90			2	1.85
sm	81	7.59	1	.95	8	7.55	6	5.77	9	7.89	12	11.01	11	10.78	6	5.94	7	6.67	14	13.46	7	6.48
+	729	68.32	80	76.19	80	75.47	83	79.81	77	67.54	65	59.63	70	68.63	68	67.33	70	66.67	71	68.27	62	57.41
+ +	240	22.49	24	22.86	18	16.98	12	11.54	27	23.68	29	26.61	18	17.65	25	24.75	26	24.76	19	18.27	37	34.26
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Gheg

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1087		105		108		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Hair quantity, cheeks																						
Abs.	50	4.60	2	1.90	2	1.85	6	5.77	5	4.39	6	5.50	6	5.88	4	3.96	2	1.90	5	4.81	11	10.19
ssm	52	4.87			2	1.85	4	3.85	7	6.14	5	4.59	10	9.80	11	10.89	7	6.67	4	3.85	2	1.85
sm	189	17.71	13	12.38	18	16.66	15	14.42	23	20.18	20	18.35	18	17.65	19	18.81	20	19.05	29	27.88	14	12.96
+	542	50.80	65	61.90	66	62.26	67	64.42	52	45.61	49	44.95	50	49.02	44	43.56	51	48.57	47	45.19	48	44.44
+ +	233	21.84	25	23.81	18	16.98	12	11.54	26	22.81	30	26.61	18	17.65	23	22.77	25	23.81	19	18.27	33	30.56
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												
Hair quantity, jaw																						
Abs.	21	1.97			2	1.89	4	3.85			5	4.59	3	2.94	2	1.98	1	.95			3	2.78
ssm	28	2.62	2	1.90			2	1.92	6	5.26	3	2.75	3	2.94	5	4.95	4	3.81	1	.96	2	1.85
sm	183	17.15	5	4.76	15	14.15	15	14.42	20	17.54	18	16.51	23	22.55	20	19.80	15	14.29	34	32.69	18	16.67
+	595	55.76	73	69.52	71	66.98	71	68.27	60	52.63	54	49.54	55	53.92	50	49.50	59	56.19	50	48.08	49	45.37
+ +	238	22.40	25	23.81	18	16.98	12	11.54	27	23.68	29	26.61	18	17.65	24	23.76	26	24.76	19	18.27	36	33.33
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												
Hair quantity, arms and legs																						
Abs.	6	.56									1	.92	1	.98	3	2.97			1	.96		
ssm	10	.94					1	.96			2	1.83			3	2.97	1	.95	2	1.92	1	.93
sm	286	26.34	12	11.43	18	16.98	24	23.08	26	22.81	31	28.44	36	35.29	33	32.67	24	22.86	41	39.42	34	31.48
+	838	58.79	87	82.86	76	71.70	69	66.35	63	55.26	53	48.62	54	52.94	52	51.49	70	66.67	55	52.88	52	48.15
+ +	132	12.37	6	5.71	12	11.32	10	9.62	25	21.93	23	20.18	11	10.78	10	9.90	10	9.52	5	4.81	20	18.52
+ + +	1	.09																			1	.93
Hair quantity, chest																						
Abs.	249	23.34	22	20.95	7	6.60	29	27.88	16	14.04	37	33.94	32	31.37	18	17.82	26	24.76	37	35.58	24	22.22
ssm	14	1.30							7	6.14			1	.98	3	2.97	1	.95			2	1.85
sm	245	22.96	14	13.33	28	26.42	20	19.23	26	22.81	25	22.94	27	26.47	23	22.77	28	26.67	29	27.88	25	23.15
+	378	25.43	48	45.71	55	51.89	46	44.23	41	35.96	26	23.85	33	32.35	39	38.61	31	29.52	25	24.04	30	27.78
+ +	170	15.93	21	20.00	15	14.15	9	8.65	19	16.67	21	19.27	8	7.84	16	15.84	19	18.10	12	11.54	26	24.07
+ + +	11	1.02			1	.94			5	4.39			1	.98	2	1.98			1	.96	1	.93
Whiteness, head																						
Present	10	.93							2	1.75	5	4.59							1	.96	2	1.85
Absent	1057	99.06	105	100.00	108	100.00	104	100.00	112	98.25	104	95.41	102	100.00	101	100.00	105	100.00	103	99.04	106	98.15
Whiteness, mustache																						
Present	7	.65							2	1.75	5	4.59										
Absent	1080	99.34	105	100.00	106	100.00	104	100.00	112	98.25	104	95.41	102	100.00	101	100.00	105	100.00	104	100.00	108	100.00
Grayness, head																						
Abs.	890	84.87	73	69.52	80	75.47	79	75.96	51	44.74	74	67.89	69	67.65	57	56.44	65	61.90	76	73.08	62	57.41
ssm	25	2.33	1	.95					6	5.26			4	3.92	8	7.92	1	.95	3	2.88	2	1.85
sm	117	10.87	12	11.43	13	12.26	12	11.54	16	14.04	13	11.93	7	6.86	10	9.90	11	10.48	7	6.73	15	13.89
+	140	13.12	11	10.48	7	6.60	8	7.69	18	15.79	14	12.84	17	16.67	16	15.84	17	16.19	11	10.58	17	15.74
+ +	78	7.31	6	5.71	5	4.72	5	4.81	19	16.67	6	5.50	4	3.92	8	7.92	8	7.62	6	5.77	11	10.19
+ + +	17	1.58	2	1.90	1	.94			4	3.51	2	1.83	1	.98	2	1.98	3	2.86	1	.96	1	.93
Grayness, mustache and beard																						
Abs.	775	72.63	78	74.29	87	82.08	88	84.62	73	64.04	83	76.15	76	74.51	65	64.36	65	61.90	84	80.77	70	64.81
ssm	4	.37	1	.95					1	.88	1	.92			1	.99						
sm	83	7.78	6	5.71	8	7.55	3	2.88	7	6.14	7	6.42	6	5.88	10	9.90	15	14.29	8	7.69	11	10.19
+	130	12.18	15	14.29	7	6.60	9	8.65	18	15.79	9	8.26	15	14.71	15	14.85	18	17.14	8	7.69	15	13.89
+ +	64	6.00	4	3.81	4	3.77	4	3.85	13	11.40	7	6.42	3	2.94	8	7.92	6	5.71	3	2.88	12	11.11
+ + +	11	1.03	1	.95					2	1.75	2	1.83	2	1.96	2	1.98	1	.95	1	.96		

[p. 54(o)]

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1956 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Chegs

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		RAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
V. PIGMENTATION																						
Skin Color																						
Total	1057		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Light	977	91.57	105	100.00	101	95.28	100	96.15	91	79.82	99	90.83	92	90.20	86	85.15	100	95.24	94	90.38	100	92.59
Medium	83	7.78	0	0.00	5	4.72	4	3.85	22	19.30	8	7.34	8	7.84	14	13.86	4	3.81	10	9.62	8	7.41
Dark	7	.66	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	.88	2	1.83	2	1.96		.99	1	.95	0	0.00	0	0.00
Vascularity																						
Total	1068		105		106		104		113		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Abs.	19	1.69			1	.94	2	1.92			1	.92	5	4.90	5	4.95	2	1.90	1	.96	1	.93
ssm	1	.09											1	.98								
sm	207	19.42	21	20.00	10	9.43	22	21.15	22	19.47	22	20.18	21	20.59	33	32.67	20	19.05	18	17.31	17	15.74
+	711	66.70	70	66.67	95	89.62	78	75.00	52	46.02	74	67.89	65	63.73	53	52.48	69	65.71	73	70.19	77	71.30
++	129	12.01	14	13.13			2	1.92	38	34.51	12	11.01	9	8.82	10	9.90	14	13.33	12	11.54	13	12.04
+++	1	.09											1	.98								
Hair color, head																						
Total	1030		105		106		103		98		102		103		101		105		102		99	
Black	423	41.07	40	38.10	22	20.75	42	40.78	59	61.46	46	45.10	40	38.82	53	52.48	43	40.95	32	31.37	41	41.41
Dark brown	476	46.21	47	44.76	70	66.04	54	52.43	22	22.92	47	46.08	54	52.94	35	34.65	49	46.67	53	51.96	42	42.42
Red brown	16	1.55	1	.95	4	3.77	1	.97	1	1.04			1	.98	1	.99			5	4.90	3	3.03
Light brown	90	8.74	14	13.33	7	6.60	4	3.88	7	7.29	6	5.88	6	5.88	11	10.89	13	12.38	11	10.78	10	10.10
Ash blond	2	.19					1	.97													1	1.01
Golden	21	2.04	2	1.90	3	2.83	1	.97	6	6.25	3	2.94	1	.98	1	.99			1	.98	3	3.03
Red	2	.19	1	.95					1	1.04												
Hair color, mustache																						
Total	1054		105		105		103		109		105		102		101		105		104		104	
Black	65	6.17	4	3.81	3	2.86	9	8.74	8	7.34	9	8.57	7	6.86	10	9.90	3	2.86	8	5.77	5	4.72
Dark brown	277	26.28	35	33.33	39	37.14	42	40.78	22	20.18	29	27.62	29	28.43	24	23.76	15	14.29	25	24.04	16	15.09
Red brown	376	35.67	36	34.29	41	39.05	23	22.33	30	27.52	34	32.38	25	24.51	42	41.58	40	46.67	41	39.42	49	46.23
Light brown	195	18.50	19	18.10	11	10.48	19	18.45	24	22.02	20	19.05	30	29.41	13	12.87	23	21.90	17	16.35	18	16.98
Ash blond	4	.38			1	.95	1	.97					1	.98					1	.96		
Golden	103	9.77	7	6.67	4	3.81	6	5.83	20	18.35	12	11.43	8	7.84	5	4.95	10	9.52	14	13.46	17	16.04
Red	34	1.23	4	3.81	6	5.71	3	2.91	5	4.59	1	.95	2	1.96	7	6.93	5	4.76	1	.96		
Eye color																						
Total	1063		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Black	1	.09			1	.94																
Dark brown	144	13.50	7	6.67	25	23.58	24	23.08	8	7.02	19	17.43	13	12.75	15	14.85	6	5.71	9	8.65	15	13.89
Light brown	32	2.98	2	1.90			1	.96	2	1.75	2	1.83	1	.98	2	1.98	2	1.90	5	4.81	15	13.89
Dark light brown	1	.09																	1	.96		
Gray brown	537	50.33	52	49.52	57	53.77	56	53.85	55	48.24	55	50.46	53	51.96	40	39.60	56	53.33	55	52.88	53	49.07
Gray brown	80	7.50	9	8.57	4	3.77	5	4.81	11	9.65	4	3.67	10	9.80	17	16.83	5	4.76	12	11.54	3	2.78
Black brown	204	19.12	27	25.71	14	13.21	11	10.58	26	22.81	20	18.35	20	19.61	23	22.77	30	32.97	13	12.50	18	16.67
Gray	1	.09																	1	.96		
Gray blue	2	.19													1	.99			1	.96		
Blue	64	6.00	8	7.62	5	4.72	6	5.77	11	9.65	9	8.26	5	4.90	3	2.97	6	5.71	7	6.73	4	3.70
Unlike	1	.09					1	.96	1	.88												

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1960 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Mixed eyes, degree of pigment																						
Total	824.5		88		75		72.5		93		79		83		81		91		83		74	
+ + + D	17	2.06	2	2.27	2	2.67	3	4.14	1	1.08	2	2.53	1	1.20	1	1.23	1	1.10	3	2.44	2	2.70
+ + D	217.5	26.38	23	26.14	30	40.00	15	20.69	22.5	24.19	18	22.78	18	21.69	29	35.80	16	17.58	29	35.37	16	21.62
Even	198	24.01	17	19.32	11	14.67	15	20.69	22	23.67	20	25.32	23	27.71	19	23.46	30	32.97	21	25.61	18	24.32
+ + L	287.5	34.87	37	42.05	22	29.33	29	40.00	35.5	38.17	33	41.77	31	37.35	23	28.40	28	30.77	21	25.61	26	35.14
+ + + L	104.5	12.67	9	10.23	10	13.33	10.5	14.49	12	12.90	6	7.59	10	12.05	9	11.11	16	17.58	9	10.98	12	16.22
Iris																						
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Homogenous	238	22.31	17	16.19	31	29.25	31	29.81	21	18.42	30	27.52	19	18.63	20	19.80	14	13.33	19	18.27	33	30.56
Rayed	412	38.62	54	51.43	48	45.28	42	39.38	56	49.12	36	33.03	45	44.12	28	27.72	35	33.33	30	28.85	35	32.41
Zoned	402	37.68	31	29.52	27	25.47	31	29.81	35	30.70	43	39.45	36	35.29	49	48.51	54	51.43	56	53.85	39	36.11
Spotted	14	1.31	3	2.86					2	1.75			2	1.96	4	3.96	2	1.90				
Unmatched	1	.09					1	.96													1	

[p. 54(8)]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

300 PHYSICAL ANTHROPOLOGY STUDIED BY PROBLEMS:
AGE, FUNCTION, ENVIRONMENT, AND HEREDITY

000 WHEN the earlier version of this report was written it followed the then usual scheme of dealing first with measurements of the body, then indices derived from the same, then with measurements and indices of the head and face, and finally with observations. It followed the order of the measurement blank, which had been made up for speed and convenience in measuring. Speed and convenience in measuring are important in the field, but in the statistical laboratory their utility ceases. The criteria measured and observed exist only to give us evidence by means of which problems may be solved. The order of subjects to be explored, therefore, should be patterned on problems, rather than on classes of criteria.

[121] The chief problem of the present study is: *What is the racial position of these Mountain Ghegs*, whose environment we have described and whose cultural history we have traced?

The study of race is a study of one department of *heredity*, or genetics, subject to certain controls. These controls are breeding habits, sex, age changes, function, and environment. We have already explored the breeding habits of the population exemplified by our statistical sample. We know in large measure whence came the ancestors of these people, and at what times, and how these mountaineers have regulated their matings from the time of their arrival to the present. As human populations go this material is well documented.

A gene is best described as a capacity for performance. The extent to which this capacity is reached in the organism is a function of a number of factors. One is *sex*. This means simply one should not include both males and females in the same series. Differences between males and females in anatomical and physical characters may be racial. In the present sample we had to forego the measurement of females for reasons of expediency. Another is *age*. The organism changes throughout life; the body grows from birth

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

600 to maturity, and then certain parts of it shrink again with senility. Different parts of the body grow at different rates. The long bones cease to grow after their epiphyses have fused, and the bones of the skull after the sutures have closed. However, the bones of the face keep on growing sagittally, at a reduced rate throughout life. Changes in the measurements of bony areas in the living are caused, in the adult, by changes in the thickness, elasticity, etc., of the soft parts which surround and fit between them.

In the male hair appears on the face after puberty, and in many cases disappears later from the top of the head. Graying sets in, and if one lives long enough the hair will ordinarily become white. The teeth erupt at different times and in a regular order. Age changes in man are not as drastic as in insects, which go through larval and adult stages, but they are quantitatively great enough to upset comparisons between samples if they are not controlled. They are genetic in the sense that *rates of change* in many characters seem to be inherited. These rates may, however, be altered by extreme conditions of function and environment, and hence the whole problem of ageing in man is not a simple one.

A third factor is *function*. Function is essentially the operation of the organism, or its motion. This motion may be defined as the sequence of regular and repetitive changes in the organism which result from the expenditure of energy on the scale of time within the limits of a state of equilibrium. When these limits are breached the regularity and repetitive character of the motions cease. The organism, no longer an autonomous entity, is dead. As with age, body functions are in part genetically operated, since each individual inherits capacities for their performance. As with age again, they are partly subject to the limitations of environment, which gives them the material to work with. And further, they are subject to changes with age.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30:46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

000 Washburn has shown[1] that the size and shape of some anatomical characters are dependent on use. By removing one jaw muscle of rats, he observed that the bony structure changes asymmetrically in response. Many of our anatomical characters which most physical anthropologists have long considered purely racial in the genetic sense are in fact subject to functional limitations. This may be seen mostly clearly in the jaws and teeth, since one of the most varied of human anatomical functions is *eating*. Variations in eating habits are environmental (in terms of available foodstuffs) and cultural (in terms of bringing exotic foods from other regions and of food preparation in general). Although one may separate environment from culture for other purposes, from the standpoint of what they do to the body, they are one.

The term *capacity for performance* implies function, primarily, and anatomy, in a derivative sense. Our present data are almost wholly anatomical. It would be far more satisfactory to have data on a balanced combination of both functional and anatomical characters—representing motion and the product of motion. More recently collected samples from other areas include extensive data on the different kinds of blood groups: the *O*, *A*, *B*, *AB* sequence (the only one known at the time of my investigation); the many subdivisions of *A*; the *m*, *n*, *mn* series, with subdivisions; the rhesus group, and others which are being studied momentarily. As these categories increase, blood grouping becomes increasingly useful. [121] Unfortunately this present study will have to [143] do without it. I did not take blood samples for the *O*, *A*, *B*, *AB* series because the Mountain Ghegs attach much ritual significance to blood-letting, even in small quantities. Had I tried to take a little of theirs, they might have drained off much of mine. The risk of losing the entire series, and my life as well, did not seem to justify such an attempt.

Although anatomical characters may be derivative, they are also selective, and this introduces our fourth factor, *the environment*. It is our anatomy which we expose to the rigors of the environment and which therefore

[1] Washburn, 1947.

000 qualifies our capacities to function. Since these functions are subject to selection, so is anatomy, and anatomy may be the deciding factor. For example, resistance to disease is functional and in large measure hereditary.[2] A specific disease, tuberculosis, has greater success in long narrow lungs than in more nearly globular ones. Long narrow lungs are found in long narrow bodies, and more globular lungs in more globular bodies. In regions where exposure to tuberculosis is critical, there will be a selection for stockier, deeper chested body types. Over the million years or more of man's existence as a two-legged, talking, fire-using primate, he has been exposed to enough selective forces to account for all the anatomical changes visible in human races as they exist today. Anatomy is an end product, resulting from the effect of outside forces on body functions; but the anatomy itself qualifies function, and hence it plays an active as well as a passive role. The current fashion of slighting anatomy in the study of race is shortsighted.

121 In our series there are 2 principal ways that environment can affect anatomy. One is through nutrition. As we have seen, the Gheg mountaineer lives on the produce of the soil in his immediate neighborhood, and these soils vary. Hence we have an excellent chance to study the effect of differential nutrition on anatomy in segments of a genetically related population. Another is through cultural habits, in particular the habit of cradling infants. This in turn may be qualified by differences of nutrition. Here we are at the heart of the Dinaric problem, the question to which this study is devoted.

Once we have taken into account and quantitatively evaluated the various results of age, function, and environment, we are left with a number of qualified anatomical characters, which until proven otherwise can be called hereditary. Then we can see whether or not the area is a racial unit, and how its population and those of its subareas, if any, fit into the general human and specifically European racial scheme.

We are faced, therefore, with the following problems:

[2] See Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.

121 a. What are the anatomical peculiarities of these Ghegs whom we have measured?

b. To what extent are the constants which we have determined dependent on age?

c. Has the function of the jaw, including manner and amount of chewing, any effect on the size and shape of the masticatory apparatus?

d. Have differences in soil and hence nutri-

121 tion anything to do with body size and proportions?

e. Has the Gheg practice of cradling infants produced any effect on head and face form?

f. What is the racial position of our sample, once these last 4 potentially qualifying factors have been controlled?

In each of the next 3 chapters, one of these problems will be considered. 1

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 58b - 98e -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1955 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

THE MOUNTAIN GHEG PHENOTYPE

8:Coon B-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

THE SERIES AS A WHOLE

I. The Body

141 OUR 1067 Gheg mountaineers range from the metric equivalent of 4 feet, 5 inches to 6 feet, 4 inches, with a mean at approximately 5 feet, 7 inches (169.7 cm.). This mean falls on the borderline between *medium* and *tall* in the standard classification of Martin.[1] For Europeans, they are tall. They are taller than most Tosks, although regional Tosk populations may turn out to be as tall. They are shorter than the Montenegrins and Bosnians immediately north and northwest of them, and about the same as the Dalmatians and the taller of the Tyrolese. Aside from their northern neighbors, only the Ukrainians, Scandinavians, and British are consistently taller among European populations. Native-born Americans are also taller.

The rather limited set of body measurements and indices available indicates a normal European position, but a little on the long-limbed and lanky side. In shoulder breadth, span, biiliac, sitting height, and derivative indices which relate to stature, these mountaineers resemble the Scandinavians and British more closely than the stockier central and eastern Europeans. Finding it impossible to persuade the majority of my subjects to maintain an "at rest" position while I was measuring their chest diameters, I measured them at full inspiration, and hence the figures are much higher than those of other series. I believe that most of these men had well-developed chests, as studied by any technique.

The 12 observations on body form give a more detailed if less objective picture (see table 4). The mean point is supposed to represent a hypothetical norm for Europeans. The general musculature is just about average; variation is not great. Necks are medium to short, and medium to thin; shoulders are on the square side of medium, chests a little larger than average. The back is unusually straight, with little lumbar curve; the abdomen rarely

[1] Martin, 1928, vol. 1, p. 255.

[see cat. 116, p. 54f-54q -- Analyst]

141 prominent, the buttocks medium to small, the calves well developed, the heels a little more projecting than expected, the foot arch about medium. This is a picture of an average man [142] who has led an active out-of-door life in a hard but healthy environment, on a minimum of food which is nevertheless well balanced; he is muscular, lean, and accustomed to walking long distances over rough terrain. From the neck down it would be hard to distinguish him from a shepherd in the Scottish Highlands, a Norwegian from the fjord country, or an Appalachian mountaineer.

[147] Only one physiological test was made: dynamometer squeeze. Despite the cold weather, despite the stiffening of fingers through years of ploughing, the mountaineers produced a mean of 112 pounds, ranging from 45 to 190 (see table 9).

II. The Face

141 From the neck up the resemblance to Scot
144 and Norwegian would continue in most respects, but would disappear in others. In the more noticeable dimensions of the face it would be quite close. The Albanian mountaineers have moderately long faces, both in the distance from nasion to alveon (the point on the gums between the 2 upper median incisors) and from nasion to menton. It is hard to make close comparisons because individual anthropometrists vary greatly in locating these points. Comparing them with series of which one can be moderately sure that the same techniques were used, we see that the Ghegs are about the same in face length as populations which are predominantly Nordic or which represent the larger varieties of Mediterranean —like the English, the Riffians, and the Basques, and shorter faced than populations with an excess of marginal pre-Neolithic genetic elements, like the Irish and Norwegians. They are longer-faced than the small Mediterranean peoples like Spaniards and southern Italians. The upper face is relatively long in proportion to the total face height; this is usually, in Euro-

141 pean populations, found among peoples who
144 are predominantly Mediterranean in type, but not very different from the situation in some populations usually considered Nordic.

The minimum frontal diameter, the only measurement usually taken of the forehead, is another troublesome criterion from the technical standpoint. Variations in technique between anthropometrists render most comparisons specious. Using only series which we know to be comparable, one can easily see that the Ghegs, with a mean of nearly 109 millimeters, are broader in this dimension than the long-faced Europeans to whom they are also similar in stature and body build; most of the Mediterranean and Nordic series run to 102–106 millimeters. In the bizygomatic, which is difficult to get wrong, they are again more comparable to the larger and broader-faced European populations. Here they fit in with the larger-faced local populations of Norway and Ireland, and exceed standard Nordics and Mediterraneans. In the bigonial, however, this excess is much smaller. As a result the typical Gheg face, like that of the traditional Basque, looks like an equilateral triangle set on its apex (*frontispiece*)[1]

141 The nose height of the Ghegs is exceeded by few in Europe, or in the world. Several factors contribute to this position, including the fact that the nasal septum and tip among the older men were so depressed that age changes of the soft parts must have played a conditioning role in my measuring. At the same time the nose breadth is among the narrowest in Europe and the world, and the nasal index is extremely leptorrhine.

The ratio between forehead and face breadths (zygo-frontal) is high in all Dinaric series, the Ghegs included; it reflects the unusual width of the forehead. The zygo-gonial is even higher, for the same reason, coupled with the fact that the bigonial diameter is relatively less than the bizygomatic. The facial index of the present series falls on the borderline between Martin's categories of mesoprosopic and leptoprosopic—although the Gheg faces are large, their length-breadth proportions are moderate. This is not true of the nose, which has one of the lowest nasal indices on record, placing it in the hyperleptorrhine category.

[1] [see cut 116, facing title page -- Analyst] -59a-

[146 [128] Thirty-eight observations piece out this picture. Impressions of the foreheads of 1067 men show them to be for the most part of medium height and a little more than medium breadth, with a little less than medium slope on the average.* The browridges run moderately 142 large, and glabella is usually prominent. Eyefolds are usually absent, but when they do occur are almost always external, the so-called "Nordic" fold which is common with all narrow-faced Europeans. The almost complete absence of median and internal folds differentiates these people sharply from the Mongoloid and east Baltic populations of northeastern Europe. The wide opening of the eyeslit further emphasizes this difference. Almost one individual out of five shows a little eye obliquity, reminding one of Near Eastern Mediterranean types.

The face itself is characteristically gaunt; the malars rarely protrude forward and their lateral extension is only medium. The cheeks are medium to thin, and usually wrinkled, with firm lines around the mouth. The gonial angles protrude only to a normal extent judging by ordinary western European standards. This lean, drawn, and weather-beaten appearance of the face heightens the resemblance of these people to the Scots, Norse, and Basques. The 5 observations on the ears show nothing uncommon for Europeans. The lips run a little above medium in integumental (muscular) thickness, and unusually thin in membrane, reflecting probably bite and eating habits as much as race; they are also less everted than in the normal run of familiar European whites. The lips of the Ghegs look more like those of family portraits of the Revolutionary period than like those of modern Americans. The observation on chin prominence is based on actual slope rather than on fidelity to an ideal mean; the presence of 23 per cent of *sm* chins is no greater than would be found in any other narrow-jawed European population. Most of the chins are median; the bilateral form (discovered through palpation) goes with the Alpine and other pre-Mediterranean types in Europe as well as with individuals of unusual robusticity.

[*See cat. 11b, pp. 54g-54h.. Analyst]

The most distinctive feature of the Mountain Gheg face, the nose, almost never springs from glabella without depression, according to

142 the Greek ideal. Although not unusually high, its root is exceptionally narrow. Its bridge is usually both high and narrow. This combination yields a high frequency, in fact a majority, of convex nasal profiles, giving the Gheg his traditional hawklike appearance. The tip of the nose is medium to thin, more often straight or elevated than depressed, with medium to compressed wings and usually a straight septum. This nose, as the forward segment of a gaunt, triangular face, gives the classical Dinaric his impressive facial appearance.

III. The Head

141 So far we have found only a few measurements and observations to differentiate the ordinary Gheg mountaineer from the shepherd of the Scottish Highlands, the Basque, and the inland Norwegian to whom we first compared him. When we remove his felt cap, however, and study his head, we find that the resemblance ceases. His head is 10 whole millimeters shorter than those of his Atlantic-bordering simulacres, resembling in this respect eastern and central European peoples, and the inhabitants of Armenia, Anatolia, parts of the Caucasus, and the Lebanon. At the same time it is much broader, in fact it is among the broadest heads in Europe. It is difficult to find its exact position regarding height, since head height is notoriously subject to the personal equation. Judging by only those series of which I am sure, I consider the Gheg heads moderately to more-than-average elevated. They do not, however, reach the extremes in this dimension that they do in length and breadth. In the indices of the head, these people are fully brachycephalic, although less extreme in this respect than some of their neighbors, notably the Tosks and some of the mountain-dwelling Yugoslavs, among whom mean indices of 87 and 88 have been recorded. In the length-height indices they rank as hypsicephalic, while in the breadth-height index they take a low position. This merely reflects the moderate head height in comparison with an extreme cranial breadth. The indices which serve to compare the parietal breadth with facial diameters—fronto-parietal and cephalo-facial—both emphasize the disproportion between a very broad hind-head and moderate facial breadths. The fronto-parietal and cephalo-facial indices, relating the forehead

141 and face breadths to that of the rear segment of the head are low, but not unusually so, because the forehead and zygomatic arches are also somewhat wider than the thin appearance of the face would lead one to suspect.

We have seen already that the forehead tends to be a little straighter, or less sloping, than with most of the hawk-visaged non-Dinaric European peoples; this fullness of the forehead is matched by a correspondingly well-developed temporal fullness. At the rear, however, the skull shows a tendency for less than the normal degree of occipital protrusion, and in 31 per cent of individuals the occiput is actually flattened. An even greater ratio, 44 per cent, show flattening in the lambdoid region, and in 29 per cent of cases we find the anomaly known as bathrocephaly, which is a failure of the parietal bones to unite smoothly with the occipital at lambda, with a shelf or depression at the critical point, reminding one of a softball that has been knocked lopsided and started to come unstitched. The back of the head is clearly the most unusual and hence interesting portion of the Gheg anatomy. The same would be true of course in the case of Dinarics and Armenoids from other countries.

A further fact that seems highly suggestive is that 36 per cent of our subjects (most of whom, as we shall see later, possess some kind of flattening) have noticeably asymmetrical skulls. Were this asymmetry a normal variant from the usual condition, one would expect more individuals in the *sm* than in the *plus* categories, but this is not the case; asymmetry itself seems to have a normal distribution wholly aside from the absent category. Furthermore, it is 2.4 times as frequent on the right as on the left side, which suggests a functional association. Facial asymmetry, on the other hand, is very rare, accounting for only 6 per cent of the whole, and without significant distinction between right and left. Handedness was determined by asking the men to pick up a stone, by tossing them a stick, etc. Most were illiterate, and the choice of hand for eating was dictated by custom. The 7.6 per cent of left handed and ambidextrous is undoubtedly far too low a number—conditioning probably affected catching, throwing, and picking things up to a certain extent too. The ratio shown by the cranial asymmetry is probably nearer the truth genetically.

IV. The Pilous System

142 The eyebrows of the Gheg mountaineers are close to the European norm, if such a position can be postulated; perhaps they are a little thicker and more concurrent than those of most northern and western populations, but if so the variation is slight. Thirteen more observations show that the Dinaric race as exemplified by these Ghegs is equally normal by European standards. It was not easy in each case to determine hair form. Some men wore scalplocks, and others let the back hair grow long, but others shaved their heads, and if they had done this recently and lacked long mustaches, my estimate was correspondingly less accurate. It is possible that more should for this reason be in the *straight* category, but not many more. Slightly wavy hair is characteristic, and it is of medium to fine texture. Straight coarse hair such as one finds among Mongoloids and many Eastern Europeans is virtually lacking, and curly hair rare. Baldness is rare, particularly considering the age of the sample (of which more later). The thickness of the head hair (in the case of bald men this is observed on the part of the scalp which still has hair) is about medium, while the face hair, including mustache, cheeks, and jaw, are probably a trifle heavier than with northern and eastern Europeans, although not equalling the development of the Alpine population of Bavaria and parts of France. Luckily most men wore luxuriant mustaches and shaved their beards infrequently. Despite their age these mountaineers seem to have had slightly less hair on their limbs and chests than expected in view of their beard growth. One is reminded of a normal Nordic and Mediterranean development rather than that of Alpines. The number of men with fully white hair or beards was negligible; grayness of the head was more prevalent than that of the mustache and beard. In most cases, however, it was possible to tell the color of the still pigmented hairs.

V. Pigmentation

Skin color was observed on supposedly unexposed surfaces of the under arm and chest. The vast majority were about the same as the examiners—a pinkish white approximating von Luschan #7. The others were brunet white, in no case darker than one expects to find

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

142 among Greeks or Italians. Almost all possessed the pink or red vascular flush that comes to light, thin skin with outdoor living. Since the measuring was done in the dead of winter, either out of doors or in chilly houses, and since many of the men were inadequately dressed, their rosiness is not surprising.

About one of 9 men had hair that could be called blond or red; of the rest little more than a half were brown haired, and the others black. *Dark brown* included many who might better have been labeled *brown* without further qualification. The mustaches were much lighter; dark and red browns are the rule, while light browns, extreme blonds, and reds come to nearly a third of the whole. Only one-sixth of the sample had pure dark iris pigment, but the number of pure blues and grays was only half as great as that. A three-fourths majority had eyes that were mixed in color, and of these the light mixtures predominate. The prevalence of mixed eye types is reflected in the ratios of rayed, zoned, and spotted irides.

In their pigment characteristics the Mountain Ghegs are about half way between blond and brunet pigment extremes as delimited by the European range; they run to light skins, dark head hair, and intermediate to light mustaches with much red, and a light mixed eye color. In pigmentation they are not very different from the Highland Scots, the Basques, and the Kentucky mountaineers—but considerably darker than the Norwegians. They are fairer than the Italians of the portions of Italy opposite them, and fairer than Tosks, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbs, while probably little different from Montenegrins, Bosnians, and Tyrolese.

The Gheg phenotype is thus represented by a moderately tall man, long limbed, strong boned, well muscled, spare and lean, with a thin, bony face of moderate dimensions, a long, narrow, aquiline nose, a short, broad head, often flattened behind, a well-developed mustache and beard, both of which vary in color, a light skin, and mixed eyes. His body hair is only moderately developed. In all characters except those concerned with the breadth and flattening of the head he resembles the Nordic and larger Mediterranean populations of the fringes of Europe more than the stockier, flatter-nosed, and hairier peoples in its east and center. If

142 one could compare a series of skeletons of such men with those from the Illyrian Iron Age cemetery at Glasinac, it is hard to see what differences between the means would appear except for the greater frequency of broad, and often occipitally flattened, heads in the living population.

VARIABILITY OF THE SERIES AS A WHOLE AND OF THE TRIBES

141 Any living population may be expected to
*128 show a normal frequency distribution in each metrical criterion. This distribution is expressed by the standard deviation (see table 3B).[1] Standard deviations themselves vary. If the standard deviation exceeds a certain nu-

1[see cat 116, pp. 54d - 54e -- Analyst]

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merical value, one is led to suspect that the series includes individuals from not one, but several populations, which differ from each other in the criteria concerned.

In order to provide an easy test for this, Howells[2] has compiled a table of means of standard deviations for a large number of series, each of which consists of over 50 individuals; he has likewise devised the "sigma ratio," to compare individual sigmas with the mean. Table 5 shows how this may be applied to our Albanian material. In most of the measurements and indices of the *face*, our Mountain Ghegs possess, as a whole, a normal

[2] Howells, 1936, pp. 592–600.

$\frac{1}{n}$ [See cat 116, p 62e - - Analyst]

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degree of variability. In one character, the nasal index, they possess a remarkable homogeneity. In stature, head length, head breadth, and the cephalic index, they show a greater variability than might be expected from a normal unit population. This is particularly marked with the cephalic index. Thus, using variability as our criterion, we find that *the Mountain Ghegs are a population as far as the diameters and proportions of the face are concerned, but not when stature and the dimensions and form of the cranial vault are considered.*

If they are not a population, then they are a compendium of populations, which may or may not be the tribes. In most criteria the tribes show a range of variation on either side

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of the 100 mark; in the nasal index all fall far below; in the cephalic index all fall far above. The nose height is always more variable than Howell's mean, and tribal variations in the cephalic index reach remarkable heights. From this we may deduce that *the variation in stature is due to the regional size differences which we have already seen*, that *the variation in cephalic index is due to some factor operating within tribes as well as between them*, while *the extraordinary homogeneity in nasal index is connected with a great variability in the nose height, which varies with the nose breadth instead of independently*.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1946 EG1 Albania EG1
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It is conceivable that the tribes themselves differ in amount of variability. In order to test this let us turn to table 3c.[1] If we average the values of V for 32 characters, from stature to nasal index, we obtained the following (see table 6).

TABLE 6: VALUES OF V FOR 32 CHARACTERS, BY TRIBES.

	Mean V
Total series	5.26
Mean of tribes	5.09
MeM	5.13
Duk	4.95
MeJ	4.95
Has	5.37
Lum	4.84
Puk	5.14
Mir	4.97
Zad	5.14
Mat	5.32
Dib	5.11

As a whole, the tribes are less variable than the total series. Only 2 tribes, Has and Mati, form exceptions to this rule. The Has sample was taken from a single locality, the Mati one from a widespread and religiously diverse population. But even with them only one coefficient of variation is *significantly* greater than its mate in the total series: Has is more variable in head height than the total series by 4.71 times p. e.

Four tribes are notably less variable than the whole; Luma, Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, and Mirdita. *Two of these are our only 100 per cent Catholic tribes, noted for their genetic isolation.* On this basis their relative homogeneity is understandable. But Luma and Malsia e Jakovës are mostly or wholly Moslem, and situated on the main traffic routes. How do they differ from the others? The answer, which forms part of the next section, is simple: *they are the least brachycephalic of all the tribes.* It is in the area of the cranial vault that much of our tribal differentiation lies.

[1] Elaborate tables have been prepared to show the significance ratios of the differences between means of all metrical characters of all tribes, and the same for all categories of percentages in the observations. The cost of publishing such tables is prohibitive. In the [cont. p. 63b--]

[see cat 116, p. 54e -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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PHENOTYPICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES; STATISTICAL VALIDATION

141 Let us examine the geographical distribution of anthropometric characters among the tribes. We must not forget that the total area is no larger than Connecticut, that the population of this miniscule region has seen no foreign invasions, no infiltrations or immigrations, for at least 400 years, and that it may be derived historically from a single known source. Under ordinary conditions one would not expect to find wide physical differences. But the conditions in Malsia e Ghegnisë are not ordinary. The people, as we have seen, live in narrow, mutually isolated valleys, marrying within restricted genetic channels, and eating the products of local and mutually differing soils.

141 #128 The result is what one might be led to expect. The samples from the 10 tribes differ more from each other than do the native-born white Americans of native parentage within the 48 states. And these differences are so great that each tribe forms a statistically separate population from all others. We are dealing with 10 different populations, phenotypically. Evidence for this can be presented briefly.[3]

In each measurement and index listed on table 3c 45 possible intertribal differences may be found. Each tribe also differs from the total series, making 55 differences for each criterion. The number of significant (3 or more times p.e.) differences out of a possible 10 and 45 are as shown in table 7.

The figures show that the 10 tribes of Mountain Ghegs differ from the total series significantly in nearly four-tenths of all criteria measured, and from each other in even more. Four per cent is the proportion in this category allowed by chance alone.[4] Differences are far greatest in the gross size dimensions of the body, not including the special measurements of the chest. Body proportions vary less than size itself. Above the neck, the 3 principal

[continued from 63a -- Analyst]

following pages of this chapter, parts of them will be summarized. The author will keep them on file on the chance that some one may wish to refer to them in the future.

[4] Goring, 1913.

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 54e -- Analyst]

[2] [See cat. 116, p. 66a -- Analyst]

S:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1956 EG1 Albania EG1
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TABLE 7: NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES.

	TOTAL	EACH OTHER
Maximum possible	10	45
Stature	6	30
Span	8	32
Sitting ht.	6	28
Biacromial	7	29
Bi-iliac	4	25
Chest br.	3	18
Chest depth	2	22
Rel. span	5	17
Rel. shoulder ht.	[illegible]	13
Rel. shoulder br.	[illegible]	22
Rel. sitting ht.	3	17
Head lgth.	7	28
Head br.	5	25
Head ht.	3	21
Minimum frontal	5	20
Bizygomatic	4	17
Bigonial	1	11
Total face ht.	3	21
Upper face ht.	2	11
Nose ht.	3	21
Nose br.	3	15
Cephalic index	6	30
Length ht. index	4	21
Breadth ht. index	7	26
Fronto-parietal index	4	21
Cephalo-facial index	3	19
Zygo-frontal index	2	7
Fronto-gonial index	2	6
Zygo-gonial index	2	5
Facial index	4	25
Upper facial index	3	25
Nasal index	2	13
Total	125	641
	(320)	(1760)

BY CLASSES OF CRITERIA: PERCENTAGE OF ALL POSSIBLE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES

	TOTAL	EACH OTHER
5 Stand. body meas.	62%	52%
4 Stand. body indices	35	38
2 Diam. of chest	25	44
3 Diam. of brain case	50	55
3 Indices of brain case	57	50
7 Face diam.	30	37
3 Indices of facial br.	20	13
3 Sagittal-br. indices of face	30	47
2 Head-face indices	35	44
32 Criteria, total	39%	45%

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diameters of the brain case and their indices are most divergent. The horizontal diameters of the face and their indices differ the least; if a decision rested on them alone it would be hard to demonstrate racial differentiation in the Gheg mountains. Sagittal diameters of the face, and the sagittal-horizontal indices, differ more.

From this we may say that in 3 respects the tribes vary metrically from the total and from one another: (1) in body diameters, greatly; (2) in brain case diameters and indices, nearly as greatly; (3) in the gross lengths of the face—particularly from nose to chin—and in indices dependent on these measurements, to a lesser extent. In one respect the tribes show a degree of relative homogeneity—in the constancy of the horizontal diameters of the face. Even here, however, they differ more than chance alone would warrant.

A similar test has been made of intertribal differences in 78 observations given on table 4;* here the differences between tribes and total were not calculated—the method used was to calculate the probable errors of percentages by the tables of Ritala,[5] and to test the significances of the differences between them.

Table 8* demonstrates that clear intertribal differences are harder to demonstrate in the observations than in the metrical characters, perhaps by virtue of the nature of the criteria themselves. Since 4 per cent of the differences over 3 p.e. can be ascribed to chance in any case, and since an equal allowance might well be made for technical inaccuracy, differences in cleanliness, in appearance at different temperatures, and light conditions, etc., I find it hard to claim valid regional differences in classes of criteria where fewer than 8 per cent of combinations are over 3 p.e. In face form, in nasal architecture, in hair development, form, and distribution, and in pigmentation, what regional differences occur seem to be of little consequence. These characters are precisely those which most anthropologists feel to be genetic. In these respects, therefore, our Gheg mountaineers are as homogeneous as their history would lead us to expect.

[42]

* [See cat. 11b, pp. 54F-54g - Analyst]

* [See cat. 11b, p. 656 - Analyst]

[5] Ritala, 1933.

141 *128 In the observations of the body and of the brain case, however, they differ more than chance and technical error would justify. In these easily influenced characters, regional phenotypes exist.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN BODY SIZE AND FORM

The main difference in body size lies in the north-south cleavage between the tribes living on either side of the Drin. Those to the north are a good 6 centimeters taller than those to the south. These differences are greater to the west than to the east, so that 3 areas may be postulated; a tall northwestern, an intermediate eastern, and a short southwestern. These areas differ also in body proportions, in that the northwestern tribes (Malsia e Madhe and Dukagin) are broad-shouldered and long-armed as well, while the eastern tribes, including Malsia e Jakovës, while tall, are slenderer and narrower in the shoulders, with the southwesterners in these criteria short and slender. The acme of robusticity is reached in Dukagin, whose athletic tribesmen exceed all others to a marked degree in these special criteria. Although we lack constants for weight, which would be most valuable here, we have the evidence for dynamometer squeeze, which reveals their superiority in muscular strength (see table 9).*

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Dukagin men are a little stronger than those of Malsia e Madhe, but this difference is not significant. However, both Dukagin and Malsia e Madhe are significantly stronger than all of the other tribes. Among the others, Has, Luma, and Puka are all 3 stronger than Mati and Mirdita; Puka is stronger than Zadrima as well, and Malsia e Jakovës is stronger than

* [See cat. 116, p. 65c --Analyst]

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TABLE 8: INTERTRIBAL COMPARISONS.

	No. of Criteria	No. of Categories	No. of Combinations	No. of Combinations 3 p. e.	No. of Combinations 3 p. e.
Body	12	39	1755	203	11.5%
Head	7	24	1080	131	12.1
Face	25	86	2870	206	5.3
Nose	11	35	1575	96	6.1
Pilosity	16	57	2565	177	6.9
Pigment	7	32	1440	107	7.4
Total	78	273	11,285	920	7.5%

147 *128 Mirdita alone. The same 3 areas stand out again in this test: the northwest, with greatest strength concentrated in Dukagin; the eastern border tribes, including Malsia e Jakovës, Has, Luma, and Dibra; and the southwest, including Mirdita, Mati, and Zadrima, with Mirdita at the lowest point. It should be observed that the 2 Catholic tribes, Dukagin and Mirdita, supposedly descended from a group of brothers, are the least alike in stature, body proportions, and muscular strength.

TABLE 9: DYNAMOMETER SQUEEZE.

	No.	MEAN	σ
Total	1058	112.09 ± .36	15.86
MeM	105	117.95 ± 1.05	15.90
Duk	106	121.20 ± 1.20	18.40
MeJ	104	108.30 ± 1.14	17.20
Has	114	110.05 ± 1.17	18.45
Lum	109	110.25 ± 1.11	17.15
Puk	102	112.80 ± 1.24	18.60
Mir	101	102.50 ± 1.39	20.65
Zad	105	105.75 ± 1.22	18.50
Mat	104	104.65 ± 1.32	19.90
Dib	108	108.25 ± 1.51	23.30

142 *128 In the observations of body form, Dukagin stands out as the most athletic of all the tribes, but in general a north-south division prevails. Mentioning only the significant differences, we see that Dukagin exceeds in general musculature, while the southern tribes are least well developed. The 4 southern tribes (Zadrima, Mirdita, Mati, and Dibra) exceed in percentages of short necks, while Zadrima, Mirdita, Mati, and Has exceed in thin necks. The 3 northern tribes exceed in + shoulder slope, the southern tribes in *sm*. To a certain extent chest development runs inversely to stature; Mirdita and Mati are the chestiest, and

142 Malsia e Jakovës the least so. Has stands out
*128 as moderately tall and very chesty. The vertebral borders of the scapulae, supposed to have much significance from the standpoint of general health and vigor, vary little. The lumbar curve is most pronounced in the tribes north of the Drin. None of the Gheg mountaineers had enough to eat to produce protuberant abdomens—in this criterion variation is nonexistent. In general, buttocks are plumpest north of the Drin, where lumbar curve is greatest and hence pelvic tilt most pronounced; these differences between tribes in lumbar curve and buttock protrusion are more marked than any others. Calves are most developed in Dukagin and Mirdita, among the tallest and shortest tribesmen, respectively. The feet show little variability.

142 To sum this data up, we find tall men north
147 of the Drin, with stature decreasing rapidly as
*128 one moves southward; to the east, the gradient of change is much less marked than in the west. In fact, 3 stature areas may be designated: the northwest, the east, and the southwest. In these 3 areas, in general, the most robust are the big men of the northwest, while the easterners tend to a lankier form. Dukagin stands out above all the others for strength and athletic development, followed closely by the *bairaks* of Malsia e Madhe. Mirdita, followed by Mati and Zadrima, lies at the other extreme. These regional differences are as great as those between Norway and France, or England and Greece.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE CRANIAL VAULT

141 The head length means vary nearly 7 milli-
*128 meters, the breadth means 6 millimeters, and the height 4 millimeters, tribally. These differences are significant in 28 out of 45 cases for head length, 25 out of 45 for head breadth, and 21 out of 45 for head height. Heads are longest in the northwest, intermediate in the east, and shortest in the southwest. They are broadest in the northwest and more or less the same elsewhere; in height they exceed in Zadrima and Malsia e Madhe, and are lowest in Mati and Dibra, following in general a NW/SE axis.

These regional variations come out even more markedly in the cephalic index, in which

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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31 out of 45 tribal differences (69%) are significant, and in which the westernmost tribes are 3 to 4 index points more brachycephalic than the eastern. In the length-height index only 21 (47%) are significant, the range of means is 4 points, and only Zadrima shows any notable peculiarity. In the breadth-height index the trend is a little more marked: 26 (58%) are significant, and the range again 4 points. In general, head length varies with stature, and head breadth goes east and west, as does the cephalic index, while height indices fail to show a clear geographical pattern.

The observations on the cranial vault elucidate these tendencies in detail: Luma and Puka exceed in occipital protrusion, in which Zadrima, Malsia e Madhe, Has, Mati, and Dibra are notably wanting; Malsia e Madhe, Zadrima, and Mati are high in occipital flattening, while Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Luma, and Puka are low in it. In lambdoid flattening, however, Dukagin is highest, followed by the tribes to the east. The frequencies of these 2 forms of flattening are high enough to account for much of the difference in head form shown by the measurements and indices. How much, will be explored later.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE FORM OF THE FACE

Malsia e Madhe has significantly broader foreheads than all of the other tribes, which vary little, growing slightly narrower to the east and south. Nine out of 20 of the significant differences between the tribes in this measurement are caused by the peculiarity of Malsia e Madhe. In the bizygomatic, Malsia e Madhe and Dukagin, both broad, account for 12 out of 17 of the significant differences; Dibra, the narrowest, is significantly different from all but 3. The bigonial is the most constant of all measurements, and Dukagin, the widest jawed, accounts for 6 out of 11 significant differences. Only one difference, Dukagin: Dibra, goes over 4 times p.e. One may summarize these differences in face breadth by saying that in general the broadest faces are in the northwest and the narrowest in the southeast; that the greatest differences are in the upper part of the face and the least in the lower.

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In the heights of the face, one tribe stands apart from the others: Has. It has the longest total and upper face heights, by far, of all. In the total face height it accounts for 8 out of 22 significant differences; in the upper face height, 9 out of 11. If we ignore Has, the others are much the same, with the shortest faces, in both dimensions, in the southwestern tribes. Here, then, the dichotomy is, Has versus all others.

The fronto-parietal index, showing the relationship between head breadth and forehead breadth, varies only 2 index points, and as might be expected the broadest-headed tribes have the lowest values, and the narrowest-headed the highest. No single tribe or group of tribes distinguishes itself in this character. The cephalo-facial index, relating head breadth to face breadth, runs much the same way, with equally little variation. The zygo-frontal index scarcely varies at all, and all 6 of its significant differences are due to the fact that Mirdita falls one index point below most of the others, on account of its face breadth, which is a little broader for its size than the others. The fronto-gonial and zygo-gonial indices are even more constant. Four out of 6 significant differences in the former are due to the broad foreheads of Malsia e Madhe, and all 4 in the latter to Mirdita's combination of a medium face breadth and the narrowest mandible of all. *We may consider the Mountain Gheg phenotype a unit in these horizontal proportions of the head and face*, with very slight deviations in the cases of Malsia e Madhe and Mirdita.

The observations of these characters help even more. In the height and slope of the forehead, almost no differences of statistical validity occur, while in the observed breadth of the forehead Luma, Puka, and Malsia e Jakovës come out low in the percentage of double and triple plus breadths. No differences of moment are seen in the size of the browridges or in glabella; the foreward jut of the malars, the fullness or wrinkling of the cheeks. In the sidewise thrust of the malars and in the prominence of the gonial angles, not one single significant difference can be found in the percentile values of any category. In the morphological observations which relate to the gross architecture of the face, exclusive of the eyes, nose, and mouth, the tribes are as one.

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If we move down to the chin, however, one tribe differs from all others: Dukagin has fewer *sm* values for chin prominence than any other tribe, and all these are significant; it also has more bilateral chins than all others, and its excess is significant in each case. The chin of Dukagin stands as a notable exception to the otherwise uniform position of the Mountain Ghegs in face structure. That prominent, bilateral chins should be associated with an excess of size and strength is not surprising.

The noses of the Ghegs vary about 3 millimeters in height, and 1½ millimeters in breadth; Has, as might be expected, has the longest noses, but it also has the broadest. Nine out of 21 significant differences in nose height are due to Has, and 6 out of 17 in breadth. The nasal index varies about 4 points, with the lowest values in the east and the highest in the west, but all approximate the lowest human extreme. Out of 13 significant differences, 6 are due to the fact that Dukagin is highest.

The observations of the nose, which carry our study into minute detail, confirm the remarkable regional constancy of form of this organ. In nasion depression there are no significant differences at all; and there are none in that most critical character, the form of the nasal profile. In root height and bridge height, Dibra shows a slight excess over a few others; Dibra is also a little narrower in the bridge breadths, accounting for 8 out of 10 significant differences in this character. Malsia e Madhe accounts for 7 out of 8 such differences in tip thickness, for it is slightly thicker than the others; the eastern tribes are a little thinner. Twelve out of 22 differences in tip position reflect the greater sag in the Has nose, a difference for which we shall presently account. In the form of the nasal wings, another highly significant character, not one tribe has more flaring forms, in a statistical sense, than any other; the few differences between the compressed and medium categories show an excess of the compressed form in Has and Dibra. The shape of the septum is constant, except for Zadrima, which is significantly straight compared to all of the eastern tribes; in the inclination of the septum, the western tribes, Malsia e Madhe, Zadrima, and Mirdita, show a significant tendency to turn down in comparison with those to the east.

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*128 A few features of the soft parts of the eyes show significant tribal variation. The western tribes, particularly Zadrima, Malsia e Madhe, and Dukagin, have large minorities with external eyefolds, rare in the east and in Mati. Men from Dukagin tend to narrow their eyelids to slits, and this accounts for 14 out of 28 significant differences in palpebral opening. The same tendency in Has accounts for 9 of the rest. In the case of Dukagin, at least, part of this may be due to the fact that I measured them in the snow, in bright sunlight. Most of the tribes had 20 to 30 per cent of slight eye obliquity, but Has with only 8 per cent was significantly below the others. This obliquity was not up, Mongol-wise, but down, as is usual in narrow-faced Europeans.

The lips show a few local differences only: Dukagin has thicker integumental lips than the others, in 18 out of 23 significant cases; Has runs low and Malsia e Madhe high in membranous thickness, to a very minor degree in each case; Malsia e Madhe and Malsia e Jakovës have a little more lip eversion than the others. Only a few of these differences reach 3 times p.e., and only one attains 4. Except for Dukagin's thick upper lip, we can ignore the rest.

Turning to the ears, we find no differences of consequence. We have 6 observations, in all of which only 20 differences of 3 times p.e. or over are found, out of a total of 810 computed. Of these only 4 are over 4 p.e., and one reaches 5 p.e. We may say with confidence that the Gheg tribes are alike in the frequency of the component factors in ear form.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN PILOSITY

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*128 In the observed form of the hair, the ratio of deep to low waves is virtually the same between all tribes, except for Has, which is recorded to have significantly more deep-waved individuals than all other tribes, except for Malsia e Madhe and Dukagin. Aside from
[302] Has the others are virtually the same. Owing to the prevalence of head shaving in some tribes, and the fact that my Has sample all lived near the city of Prizren, where modern haircuts are more in vogue than elsewhere, I have no confidence in this distinction. In hair texture, Zadrima shows a tendency in favor of fineness, and Luma of being medium, and both have some statistical validity. Again, I

142 *128 do not trust my power of observation enough to confirm these. In baldness, it is Has against the others, a distinction which can be explained on another basis. In the quantity of head hair (apart from bald areas) Dibra shows an excess over most others. Mustache hair quantity, eyebrow thickness, and eyebrow concurrency, show no regional variations, and these are prime racial criteria.

The lateral extension of the eyebrows, however, does vary. Here the split is essentially but not typically NW/SE again; the wide-browed tribal sample being particularly those of Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Puka, and Zadrima, the narrow-browed those of Has, Luma, Mirdita, Mati, and Dibra. In this single criterion 41 significant differences occur. In 10 characters dealing with hair quantity, 124 significant differences exist; one-third of these are therefore found in the single character of lateral extension of the eyebrows. Aside from the variations in cranial vault and for Dukagin's chin, this is the biggest difference in observations to appear so far. In the development of the various segments of the facial hair, aside from the eyebrows, no notable differences are found, and in body hair there is a tendency for Dukagin and Malsia e Madhe to fall low on absents, and for the eastern tribes to be high on the hairiest categories. These tendencies are of a minor nature.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN PIGMENTATION

In skin color, only Has shows any consistent difference from the others; the skins of these men were recorded as medium-white rather than light in about 20 per cent of cases; this minority of one-fifth of other-than-fair skins is not only significant statistically, but also probably accurate technically. The Has men were also the more frequently vascular.

In the head hair color, the only differences of importance lie between the black and dark brown categories; all tribes are equally endowed with reds and blonds. Has is outstanding for its predominance of black, and Dukagin of dark brown. This may possibly be explained by age and by haircuts, but it may also be valid. Between them these 2 account for every single statistically significant difference in this character; in all, 20. In mustache color a few differences appear, as for example,

142 *128 Malsia e Madhe, Dukagin, and Malsia e Jakovës tend to be a little stronger in dark browns, Zadrima and Dibra in red browns, and Has and Puka in blond shades, than the others. Of a paltry 14 differences, all but 2 are below 4 times p.e., and can be discounted.

In eye color, a few tendencies appear; Dukagin and Malsia e Jakovës with 23 per cent dark brown, exceed about half the others significantly; Dibra has a concentration of light brown eyes, exceeding all but 2 of the others significantly. Mati and Zadrima have a tendency to exceed in zoned iris forms. These pigment differences may denote very minor genetic variations, but are really of little consequence.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES SUMMARIZED

141 *128 Having been through all of the differences between tribes in all characters measured and observed, and having tested all for statistical significance, we can now list the particular differences which indicate regional variations in the Mountain Gheg phenotype (fig. 12, *a*). 1/A

1. The men north of the Drin are taller, more muscular and stronger than those south of it. They also have broader shoulders, longer arms, longer and thicker necks, more sloping shoulders, greater lumbar curves, and more protuberant buttocks. The 2 extremes in these characters are Dukagin and Mirdita. The tribes to the east, from Malsia e Jakovës to Dibra, show little variation in these features; the main drop between north and south falls to the west. These differences are as great as one might expect in a continent, and unusual in so small a territory.

2. Where bodies are largest, heads are largest too. Aside from this heads are shortest, broadest, and highest in the northwest, and the opposite in the east. Occipital flattening reaches its maximum in Malsia e Madhe and Zadrima, while lambdoid flattening and its companion, bathrocephaly, are highest in Dukagin. Tribal differences in head form are as great as those in body size and strength.

3. Faces are remarkably homogeneous in Malsia e Ghegnisë. Tribal variations are at a minimum. A few local peculiarities occur: broad foreheads in Malsia e Madhe; excessive face heights without eye obliquity in Has; Dukagin has a statistically noteworthy excess of bilateral chins, unusually few of which are receding; Zadrima has a tendency toward a straight, downturned nasal septum, and Dukagin to a thick integument in the region of the lips. 1/A [see Cat. 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

4. Has runs bald. The northwestern tribes have

*128 142 141 4. Has runs bald. The northwestern tribes have more widely extended eyebrows than those in the southeast.

5. Has shows a minor tendency to medium skin color, and to black head hair; Dukagin tends to dark brown hair. The northern tribes have an excess of dark brown, and Dibra of light brown, eyes.

While the differences in body size and head shape are great, the similarity in face form, pilosity, and pigmentation is also great, and Ghegs look alike. The tribes that diverge from the total picture the most are those around the edges; the big broad-heads of Malsia e Madhe, the muscular cleft-chinned giants of Dukagin, the medium-sized broad-heads of Zadrima, and the minority of light brown-eyed Dibrans, who with their tribal brethren have somewhat narrower faces and noses.

One of the most revealing results of this intertribal comparison is the discovery that the tribes vary most among themselves not in the conventional criteria of race, but in what are usually considered to be minor or inconsequential anatomical features. If we revert for a moment to the statistics of validation, we find that values of 7 times p.e., or over, are most noticeable in the biacromial diameter, in which Dukagin exceeds all comers; span, stature, and sitting height follow in importance. In the biacromial, Dukagin exceeds all but its 2 neighboring tribes, Malsia e Madhe and Malsia e Jakovës, by 10 or more times p.e. Thirty-seven out of 69 intertribal differences in 7 body observations which reached 4 or more times p.e. were concerned with buttocks and lumbar curve; 4 out of 5 that exceeded 6 p.e. were the same. Again Dukagin is the odd tribe.

141 *128 In the measurements and indices of the head, 42 differences of 7 or more times p.e. are found, reaching an extreme of 14 p.e. in the comparison between the cephalic index of Malsia e Madhe and Luma. Malsia e Madhe exceeds all other tribes in head breadth by 7 to 11 times p.e.; that is the outstanding result of this inquiry. In the observations of the head, bathrocephaly leads all in tribal differentiation, followed by lambdoid flattening. These 2 features are concentrated in Dukagin, but neither go over 6 p.e. Zadrima is noteworthy not so much for its occipital flattening, in which it shares honors with Malsia e Madhe, as for its lack of lambdoid flattening and bathrocephaly.

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In the face, only 2 features attain high ratios of significance: the wide-extending eyebrows of Dukagin, as compared to Has, which attain 9 times p.e.; and in a lesser degree to Dibra and Mati; and the bilateral chins of Dukagin, which approach 9 p.e. in comparison with Puka, its neighbor over the Drin, and 7 with Malsia e Madhe, Mirdita, Zadrima, and Mati.

What are the important intertribal variants, then, in Malsia e Ghegnisë? Not stature, not hairiness, not the shape of the head (although its breadth is important); not the form of the face—but the breadth of the shoulders, the failure of the occipital bone to join the pari-

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etals smoothly at lambda, the flare of the eyebrows, and the habit of the mandible to form a lump on either side of the chin, instead of a bar in the middle. When we are dealing with relatively homogeneous populations, such as that of a small, isolated segment of a European country, it is in factors like those just mentioned that one obtains the most valid regional differences. It is by the appearance of such differences and their spread in isolation that races are formed. In Malsia e Ghegnisë, the most peculiar tribe by far is Dukagin, which is also the most isolated.

AGE

121 THE dimension of time can never be neglected in studying the properties of bodies, including those of human beings. Time is the scale on which we grow to maturity and shrink into old age. In this particular study time sets us 3 problems: (1) what is the range of the series in terms of age groups, and how do the component tribal subseries vary in this respect; (2) in what way does its age distribution affect the comparability of this with other series; and (3) to what extent, if at all, do differences in age account for the intertribal differences in growth, form, pigment, and pilosity, discovered in the last chapter?

ACCURACY OF THE PRESENT DATA

561 *128 Probably not more than a dozen of the younger men whom I measured knew exactly how old they were. None of the older men did. The Gheg mountaineers work and play by families, and not by age grades. Nothing in their way of living makes a precise knowledge of age useful. Sometimes when I was measuring a group of 20 or 30 men, all from

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the same place, certain members of the elder generation might know who was the oldest, and the birth order of the others on down, but they would not know how old any one man might be. Sometimes they could date a birth roughly by some local historic event, and this would give a serviceable anchor. More often I had to use my own judgment on the basis of tooth eruption, loss, and wear; wrinkling, graying, and the like. When asked their ages the men would usually reply in round numbers, "About 50," "Perhaps 40," etc., and most senile individuals declared themselves to be 100.

Possessing no illusions as to my ability to judge age in mature, outdoor-living white males, I believe that the degree of accuracy of the age judgments so made must vary considerably. We are faced with a probable error, not only of sampling, but also of the accuracy of the material itself. The latter renders the use of refined statistical constants specious. Table 10 takes only the first source of error into consideration.[1]

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 71c -- Analyst]

[p. 71(b)]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TABLE 10: AGE

TRIBE	No.	RANGE	MEAN P.E.	σ P.E.	V P.E.
Total series	1063	18–65+	39.40 ± .26	12.50 ± .18	31.73 ± .66
Malsia e Madhe	105	20–65+	38.05 ± .71	10.80 ± .71	28.38 ± 1.32
Dukagin	106	25–65+	37.80 ± .61	9.25 ± .43	24.47 ± 1.13
Malsia e Jakovës	104	18–65+	35.85 ± .75	11.50 ± .54	32.08 ± 1.50
Has	113	18–65+	44.30 ± .82	12.95 ± .58	29.23 ± 1.31
Luma	108	18–65+	36.70 ± .87	13.50 ± .62	36.78 ± 1.69
Puka	101	18–65+	36.10 ± .92	13.70 ± .65	37.95 ± 1.80
Mirdita	101	21–65+	43.60 ± .85	12.60 ± .60	28.90 ± 1.37
Zadrima	105	21–65+	43.70 ± .78	11.80 ± .55	27.00 ± 1.26
Mati	103	18–65+	35.80 ± .67	10.10 ± .47	28.21 ± 1.33
Dibra	108	18–65+	42.00 ± .88	13.55 ± .50	32.26 ± 1.48

PERCENTILE DISTRIBUTION

	No.	PER CENT
18–20	12	1.1
21–24	99	9.3
25–29	155	14.6
30–34	166	15.6
35–39	162	15.3
40–44	129	12.1
45–49	103	9.7
50–54	88	8.3
55–59	52	4.9
60–64	56	5.3
65+	41	3.8
	1063	100.0

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AGE IN THE SAMPLE AS A WHOLE

From it we may see that the sample is a mature one, and that it includes a wide spread, from 18 to 65 years and over, with each age grade over 19 represented by a statistically adequate subsample. We must expect our criteria to show every condition from late adolescence to senility. However, being unable to obtain exact age figures even at the lowest age level, I threw out all obviously immature boys no matter how old they claimed to be, and hence the 18–20 group may have been selected. At the other end, I tried not to take bent-over, toothless old men, deformed by the diseases of senile decay. Hence my oldest age grade may also be selected, since senility does not strike all men equally at the same age.

The sample, insofar as it is accurate, gives an age spread suitable for racial study, since it includes the whole span of ages in which racial criteria find their full expression. It can also be used in a limited sense to study age changes. It is, however, no substitute for a study of changes, year by year, in the same individuals. Such a study is hard to make, for the observer himself lives on the same time scale as his subjects. Age changes studied in terms of different individuals have a much more limited application. If the sample is genetically constant in the generations covered (and, as far as we can tell, this one is), then the differences between age groups indicate changes that have been going on among the people concerned. By this means one can hope to track down progressive changes due to changing environmental influences acting on the organism either directly or through the agency of genetic selection.

TRIBAL VARIATIONS IN AGE

Table 10 also shows us that mean age varies regionally. The difference between the age of the youngest sample, Mati, and that of Has, the oldest, is 8.50 years, or 8.45 times p.e. This difference is probably great enough to be valid, even when my judgment in assigning ages to the subjects is taken into consideration.

[See cat. 1b, p. 71c -- Analysis]

From the sampling point of view only, most of the tribes differ significantly from each other in age means, although the age range of each is virtually the same. Six out of 10 vary

124 from the total mean more than 3 times the probable error. In the following statistical exercises, whenever we compare tribal samples with each other, we must remember that there is an 8-year probable span of age means, from 36 to 44 years, and that we must not consider regionally significant a difference in any criterion which varies less regionally than it varies in this 8-year age span in the series as a whole.

This question is further complicated by the fact that some tribal samples are more dispersed in age distribution than others. This can be measured by the values for the standard deviation. Dukagin has a σ of 9.25 years; Puka of 13.70 years. These are the extremes. This difference of 4.45 years=5.71 x p.e. and this is thus statistically significant. This difference in variability may also be expected to qualify the means in certain cases. In a character in which the highest values are found at, let us say, the 35–39-year-old age locus, and we have 2 samples each with a mean age of 38, then the sample with the lowest value for σ may be expected to show the higher mean. This is another reason why we must allow a little more than the conventional amount of leeway in interpreting the statistical significance of differences between tribal and other samples.

AGE AND STRENGTH

147 #128 No single criterion can be found which expresses the changing health, maturity, and vigor of a man more than his muscular strength. Table 11 shows values for hand squeeze in

TABLE 11: AGE AND STRENGTH, IN POUNDS.

AGE	#	RANGE	MEAN P.E.	σ	V
20–24...	107	60–160	112.80 ± 1.11	17.10	15.20
25–29...	154	75–170	115.00 ± .93	17.10	14.86
30–34...	164	50–180	114.60 ± 1.00	19.00	16.61
35–39...	163	70–185	115.30 ± 1.07	20.15	17.42
40–44...	125	45–170	112.10 ± 1.16	19.25	17.16
45–49...	106	50–150	103.65 ± 1.36	20.85	20.15
50–54...	88	65–140	103.90 ± 1.17	16.25	15.64
55–59...	51	50–140	103.35 ± 1.65	17.45	16.83
60–64...	58	50–130	96.05 ± 1.46	16.55	17.20
65–69...	15	50–115	91.00 ± 2.65	15.20	16.82
70–74...	14	70–130	95.70 ± 3.02	16.70	17.46
75–89...	11	75–110	90.00 ± 2.34	11.50	12.78
65–89...	40	50–130	92.40 ± 1.62	15.05	16.30

147 *128 pounds for all age grades from 20–24 to 75–89 years; and also for 65–89 years pooled. Out of 78 possible comparisons, when we ignore the pooling, 44 reach 3 or more times p.e., and when we count 65 onward as pooled, the score is 31 out of 55. Eleven of these differences exceed 9.00 times p.e. Our mountaineers reach their peak of squeeze-power in their late 30's, decline slowly for half a decade, and then weaken more rapidly after 45. The combination of physiological changes which this curve reflects may be traced in the metrical and morphological characters which follow.

AGE AND SELECTED METRICAL CHARACTERS

141 *128 Table 12[1] presents the means for 7 selected metrical characters. Having neither time nor space to compute and present age grade means in all criteria, I selected some which have a special bearing on the problems of this study as well as general interest. The 12 youths probably born after 1910 are not numerous enough for full statistical treatment. Although they deviate from the trends shown by the

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 73c -- Analyst]

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other age groups, this cannot be interpreted with any assurance. This is unfortunate, since many of the largest series in the European literature represent this age grade alone—measured on recruits.

Stature in our series changes very little with age (fig. 4).[1] Only 6 out of 55 differences between age grades reach 3.00 times p.e.; only one reaches 4.00 times p.e. This is barely significant. Judging by the trend of means alone, our mountaineers reach their peak of height at the same time that they are strongest, in their late 30's. The rises at both ends of the scale may represent selection, as discussed earlier. In any case there is no evidence that the mountain population was growing taller during the last third of the 19th and first fifth of the 20th centuries. From 1865 to 1929 most of the peoples of western Europe, and the Americans, were experiencing a steady growth increase. Whatever factors caused this in the west did not reach the mountains of northern Albania. This conclusion may be confirmed by a study of 17 pairs of brothers. The older was taller than the younger in 9 instances, the

1 [see cat. 116, p. 74a -- Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1960 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TABLE 12: AGE GRADE MEANS FOR SELECTED METRICAL CHARACTERS.

Age	Birth Year	No.	Stature	Head Length	Head Breadth	Head Height	Bizygomatic	Cephalic Index
18-19	1911 ca.	12	173.25	182.75	154.99	128.50	137.00	85.25
20-24	1908	99	169.73 ± .44	186.27 ± .50	156.24 ± .39	130.02 ± .42	140.60 ± .35	83.90 ± .32
25-29	1903	155	169.24 ± .34	185.63 ± .37	157.00 ± .35	128.57 ± .31	141.67 ± .28	84.71 ± .24
30-34	1898	166	169.79 ± .39	186.54 ± .36	157.86 ± .24	127.77 ± .24	142.33 ± .30	84.66 ± .20
35-39	1893	162	170.46 ± .35	186.22 ± .37	158.22 ± .29	128.19 ± .27	142.65 ± .27	85.02 ± .21
40-44	1888	129	170.14 ± .44	185.46 ± .47	159.03 ± .40	128.73 ± .36	142.85 ± .30	86.14 ± .28
45-49	1883	103	170.13 ± .48	186.90 ± .43	158.75 ± .40	128.74 ± .43	143.20 ± .37	84.87 ± .26
50-54	1878	88	169.01 ± .41	186.99 ± .53	157.99 ± .43	127.26 ± .27	143.09 ± .43	84.41 ± .31
55-59	1873	52	169.41 ± .55	185.54 ± .59	157.45 ± .61	126.64 ± .62	143.85 ± .52	85.04 ± .42
60-64	1868	56	167.34 ± .57	185.20 ± .51	157.38 ± .49	127.77 ± .48	142.70 ± .45	85.23 ± .33
65 +	1865	41	170.18 ± .62	187.61 ± .73	157.22 ± .56	128.78 ± .66	143.10 ± .36	83.28 ± .44

Age	Birth Year	No.	Total Face Height
18-19	1911 ca.	12	122.40
20-24	1908	98	121.90 ± .49
25-29	1903	153	121.87 ± .34
30-34	1898	163	123.93 ± .25
35-39	1893	151	124.05 ± .36
40-44	1888	111	123.99 ± .44
45-49	1883	85	124.45 ± .48
50-54	1878	61	124.85 ± .49
55-59	1873	30	125.16 ± .72
60-64	1868	37	125.92 ± .68
65 +	1865	16	126.69 ± 1.35

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younger taller than the older in 8. The mean stature of the older was 171.72 centimeters, of the younger 171.47 centimeters; the mean age of the older, 41 years, of the younger, 33 years. In America and elsewhere where growth increases are in process, the younger brothers are taller than the older ones.[1] This study of

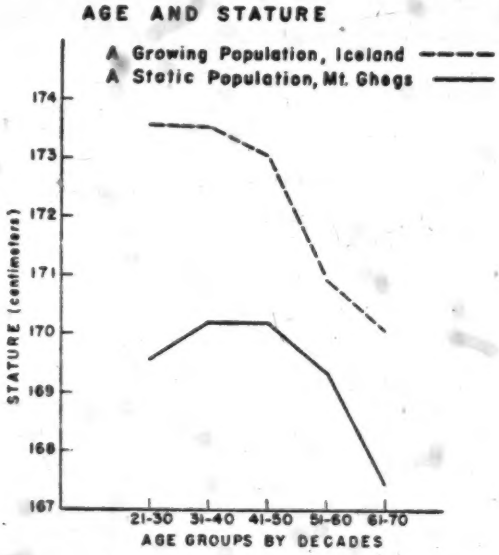

FIG. 4. Age and stature.[3]

stature means several things: differences between age groups are so slight that our intertribal stature comparisons need no age correction; we can compare our Ghegs with younger series, since the men over 50 will balance those in their 30's and 40's; since size changes comparable to those seen in certain other countries are not going on in the principal sagittal dimension of the organism, the same is probably true of the organism as a whole.

The head length shows even less variation with age than stature; in fact not a single difference betwen the means of the 11 age grades from 20 years old onward is statistically significant. Furthermore, no clear if minor trends are shown in the succession of means, except possibly for the dip between 55 and 64 years.

[1] Bowles, 1932.

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In head breadth, on the contrary, the means increase consistently and regularly to the 40-44-year age group, and then decline with the same regularity. This sequence in itself has meaning, enhanced by the fact that 6 of the differences between age group means are statistically significant. The cephalic index mirrors head breadth, with the same succession, and with 9 differences of 3.00 or more times p.e., of which 3 exceed 4.00 and one exceeds 5.00. This combination is unusual. One expects the head length to grow with age and then gradually decline as the soft parts thin out; here the burden of age change is borne by the breadth. The change of 2 index points in the cephalic index which accompanies this phenomenon cannot be responsible for the intertribal differences in that character, since the tribes which one would expect to be the most brachycephalic on a basis of age variation are the least, and vice versa.

In the head height, 6 differences are statistically significant, out of the usual 55. Two of these are over 4.00, one over 5.00. The table shows, however, no trend; higher and lower vaults alternate at random. If any factor other than chance is at play here, present evidence is not adequate to unearth it.

The face behaves differently with age (fig. 13) from the brain case. This is to be expected from what we already know of growth in man elsewhere. The bizygomatic diameter keeps on increasing to the late 40's, when it levels off; 11 out of 55 differences are significant; 6 are over 4.00, and 2 over 5.00 times p.e. The total face height grows continuously throughout life; the means never level off. Sixteen differences are significant, with 8 over 4.00, and one over 5.00 times p.e. This means that our Mountain Ghegs may owe part of their greater face length, and breadth, over other European series to their more advanced age. Without question this applies in even greater measure to the nose diameters and nasal index, which were not seriated here since they do not vary intertribally. The face dimensions do vary intertribally, and thus require further consideration.

[See cat. 116, p. 113 -- Analysis]

* Icelandic material from Hannesson, 1925.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1949 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

AGE AND CERTAIN SOFT PARTS OF THE FACE

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A number of regressions have been made between age and some of the soft parts of the face, not all of which need be given in detail. On table 13,[1] only those characters in which age changes play a part of interest to us here

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 75 c -- Analyst]

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have been plotted. Three different techniques of comparison are used, of which one, being new, is explained. The integument of the lips grows steadily although not greatly thicker with age until the 50's, after which its behavior is variable, which may be explained on the basis of tooth loss; when teeth are gone it is harder to observe this character than when they

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TABLE 13: MEAN AGES, IN YEARS.

	Abs. No.	Abs. Mean	sm No.	sm Mean	sm No.	sm Mean	+ No.	+ Mean	++, +++ No.	++, +++ Mean
Lips, integ. thick					22	(46.18)	908	38.69	133	43.54
Lips, membr. thick	91	51.29	19	(48.84)	455	42.00	467	35.52	31	36.04
Nasal tip thick			31	38.13	371	38.50	544	39.61	117	42.05
Ear lobe, develop					434	36.66	568	40.14	61	49.10

Nasal Wings:	No.	Mean	*Nasal Profile:*	No.	Mean
Compressed	383	38.75	Concave	69	36.67 ± .96
Medium	621	39.98	Straight	414	37.83 ± .35
Flaring	61	37.82	Convex	569	40.89 ± .36
			Concavo-convex	11	(38.82)

Nasal Tip, Elevation-Depression	No.	Mean
Elevation ++	36	36.45
" +	332	37.68
" sm	230	38.39
Depression sm	173	40.32
" +	256	40.46
" ++	36	42.97

MEAN VALUES OF FOUR OBSERVATIONS*

Age	Lips, Integ.	Lips, Membr.	Nasal Tip Thick.	Ear Lobe Dev.	*Nasal Profile, by Percentages* Concave #	Concave %	Straight #	Straight %	Convex #	Convex %	Concavo-Convex #	Concavo-Convex %
16-20	50.0	43.8	33.3	35.4	2	16.7	6	50.0	4	33.3		
21-24	50.2	42.2	44.1	37.4	9	9.1	51	51.5	38	38.4	1	9.1
25-29	51.4	40.7	41.1	37.9	13	8.4	59	38.1	81	52.3	2	18.2
30-34	52.3	40.1	40.5	37.4	9	5.4	68	41.0	86	51.8	3	27.3
35-39	51.8	36.0	41.8	40.1	10	6.2	66	40.7	85	52.5	1	9.1
40-44	54.8	33.0	44.0	42.6	6	4.6	50	38.8	72	55.8	1	9.1
45-49	54.4	32.1	46.2	43.2	9	8.7	36	35.0	57	55.3	1	9.1
50-54	55.1	31.2	44.9	43.5	5	5.7	39	44.3	44	50.0		
55-59	51.0	26.4	45.7	45.9	3	5.8	13	25.0	36	69.2		
60-64	54.5	24.3	44.5	50.0	3	5.4	15	26.8	37	66.1	1	9.1
65 +	50.6	18.0	42.4	49.7			11	26.8	29	70.7	1	9.1

* This table represents an attempt to render subjective observations mutually comparable. The means listed above have been computed as follows: Absent=0. ssm=12.5. sm=25. + =50. ++ =75.+++ =87.5. Multiply the absents x 0, the ssm's x 12.5, the sm's x 50, etc., and divide the sum by N. Result is the mean as given above. This method, although mathematically dubious, is nevertheless a convenience, for it is easier to compare single figures than galaxies of percentages: and in this way progressive trends may be discovered.

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are present. Conversely, the lip membrane, as far as could be observed, thins with age. The relationships between this feature and various dental characters, such as occlusion, will be discussed in the next chapter. For the present it is enough to state that part at least of the George Washington look of the Mountain Gheg lips is due to age. The ear lobe also grows steadily, slowly until the early 50's, then faster.

The nasal wings change little; the tip, however, thickens gradually to the late 40's, and then thins out slightly; these changes are very slight and significant only in their directional constancy. The position of the tip, however, changes steadily and significantly with age; the high frequency of depressed tips in our series is partly a reflection of it.

Aside from the shape of the back of the head, the most distinctive character of Dinarics is the nasal profile, the high frequency of hawk beaks being distinctive. In our percentile series a frequency of 50 per cent or over for convex

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profiles is reached only by the late 20's; it remains fairly constant until the late 50's, and then increases notably, probably as the soft parts of the nose thin out and the tip pulls downward. The age mean differences between concave and convex and straight and convex are significant; so are the percentile differences between the 20–24-year-old group and the 3 oldest categories. If one were to measure a series of 20-year-old Ghegs, one would probably find straight noses in the majority, with concave appearing perhaps as often as convex. The convex nose, so distinctively Dinaric, is in part a feature of age. So is the long face, so are the thin lips. The "typical" Dinaric is a man past middle age.

AGE AND PILOSITY

Table 14[1] and figure 5[2] show the changes in pilosity that occur in our series with advancing age. Some 13 per cent are bald to some degree. As table 14[3] shows, this rises steadily with age. None of the youngest age group was

1 [See cat.116, p.76c--Analyst]
2 [See cat.116, p.77a--Analyst]
3 [See cat.116, p.76c--Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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TABLE 14: AGE AND HAIR QUANTITY.

Means of Criteria*

AGE	No.	BALDNESS	HEAD	No.	MUSTACHE	CHEEKS	JAW	ARMS & LEGS	CHEST
18-20.....	12	0	54.17	12	41.67	18.75	22.50	27.50	8.33
21-24.....	99	1.77	50.51	99	39.90	28.66	30.93	34.47	17.05
25-29.....	153	3.03	49.68	155	42.55	37.66	40.41	40.73	27.10
30-34.....	162	4.27	50.62	166	48.27	45.63	47.97	44.58	34.86
35-39.....	159	5.82	48.59	162	56.32	50.39	53.24	47.53	36.65
40-44.....	129	9.42	48.05	129	57.75	53.49	54.55	49.71	41.96
45-49.....	99	12.55	47.19	103	58.50	52.31	55.34	49.51	43.08
50-54.....	83	13.56	46.48	88	57.95	52.41	56.25	51.99	45.00
55-59.....	51	17.15	41.67	52	58.65	55.39	56.73	48.56	40.62
60-64.....	56	17.62	40.85	56	58.48	55.80	57.14	49.55	48.21
65 + ...	41	18.62	42.07	41	60.06	57.32	58.23	46.34	61.89

Age Means

	ABS.		SEM		SM		+		++	
	No.	MEAN	No.	MEAN	No.	MEAN	No.	MEAN	No.	MEAN
Baldness	803	36.79	22	47.68	128	48.21	71	49.03	19	50.18
Head Hair Quant.....					143	48.70	842	37.88	58	37.43
Mustache ...			16	23.87	81	26.57	727	39.30	239	45.59
Cheek	50	28.10	52	32.38	189	39.12	540	39.95	232	45.71
Jaw	21	24.68	28	27.00	183	32.87	593	40.05	238	45.80
Arms and Legs			16	32.00	280	34.27	636	40.53	131	45.93
Chest	249	32.74	14	41.29	243	38.44	377	41.48	169	46.20

*See footnote to table 13.

(*Note:* Chest +++: 11 49.27)

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bald; 22 per cent of the oldest were. The thickness of the head hair, where any remained, became gradually reduced from the early 30's onward, but this change was a minor one.

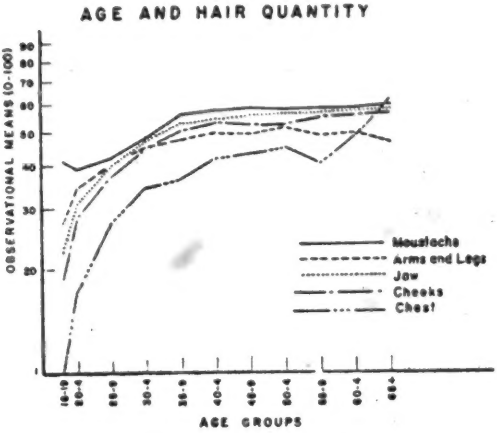

FIG. 5. Age and hair.

Of the face hair, the mustache grew out first, as expected, and changed relatively little; here age is a minor factor. The hairiness of the cheeks and jaw increased to the ratio of 3 to 1 and 2 to 1. Of the body hair, that of

142 *128 the arms and legs increases in the same fashion as cheeks and jaws until the mid-30's, and then remains constant. The chest hair increases most of all kinds of hair observed.

With such a population, and this applies for most if not all "white" peoples, it is useless to compare 20-year-olds, such as are commonly recorded in army statistics, with a mature sample like this. But samples with mean ages between 35 and 60 years old would be comparable. This means that our tribal samples, despite their significant age variations, can still be compared with each other in the 7 criteria of hairiness used in this study.

AGE AND GRAYING

Table 15 and figure 6 show other age changes in the hair—the progressive loss of pigment with age, known as graying. The head hair begins to gray at an earlier age than that of the mustache, which overtakes head hair in the late 50's. Whereas hair quantity reaches its adult stage in the 30's and then levels off, graying progresses in a different fashion. From the early 30's until the late 40's it follows one rate of progression which shows as a parabola on a straight graph and a straight

1 [See cat. 116, p. 77c-78a--Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, p. 78b--Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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TABLE 15: AGE AND GRAYING.

Age	Degree of Grayness by Age Groups: Head No.	Head Mean*	Mustache No.	Mustache Mean	Per cent Remaining Totally Ungrayed: Head	Mustache
18–20.....	12	0	12	0	100.00	100.00
21–24.....	99	.25	99	0	98.99	100.00
25–29.....	155	3.67	155	.48	89.03	98.71
30–34.....	166	2.95	166	.30	90.36	99.40
35–39.....	161	7.38	161	2.17	75.78	91.93
40–44.....	130	16.44	129	9.50	59.23	72.87
45–49.....	103	29.00	103	22.32	36.89	43.69
50–54.....	88	35.23	88	31.68	25.00	37.50
55–59.....	52	41.82	52	37.02	21.15	28.85
60–64.....	56	55.12	65	57.14	8.93	3.57
65 + ...	41	69.82	41	73.50	2.44	0

	Mean Ages of Degrees of Graying: Head #	Head Age	Mustache #	Mustache Age
Abs	674	33.49	766	33.98
sm	26	42.67	4	(47.00)
sm	119	44.22	83	46.52
+	140	47.89	127	53.38
++ ..	77	56.02	64	59.30
+++	17	60.82	11	(65.18)
White	9	63.67	7	(64.86)

	Degree of Grayness All Ages: #	Mean*	Mean Ages of Hair Color Groups: #	Mean	Age
Black	420	24.84	420	43.39	.40
Dark brown.....	473	8.53	473	35.45	.29
Reddish-brown ...	16	13.42	16	(40.12)	
Light brown.....	89	4.64	89	35.42	
Blond	24	6.25	24	(37.42)	

*By method explained in footnote to table 13.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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TABLE 15 (*continued*)
Hair Color and Age Grades

Age	Total	Black #	Black %	Dr. Br. #	Dr. Br. %	Red Br. #	Red Br. %	Lt. Br. #	Lt. Br. %	Blond #	Blond %	Lt. Br. & Blond %	Lt. Br. & Blond #	Unknown %
18–20.....	12	4	33.33	6	50.00	0		2	16.67	0		16.67	0	
21–24.....	99	19	19.19	64	64.64	1	1.01	9	9.09	6	6.06	15.15	0	
25–29.....	154	41	26.62	88	57.14	3	1.95	18	11.69	4	2.60	14.29	0	
30–34.....	166	48	28.91	96	57.83	0		19	11.44	3	1.81	13.25	0	
35–39.....	161	57	35.40	85	52.80	4	2.49	13	8.10	2	1.25	9.35	0	
40–44.....	129	56	43.41	47	36.43	3	2.33	16	12.40	5	3.88	16.28	2	1.55
45–49.....	103	56	54.37	34	33.01	2	1.94	5	4.85	1	.97	5.82	4	3.88
50–54.....	88	53	60.23	24	27.27	2	2.27	3	3.41	1	1.14	4.55	5	5.68
55–59.....	50	35	70.00	9	18.00	0		1	2.00	0		2.00	5	10.00
60–64.....	54	33	61.11	11	20.37	0		1	1.85	1	1.85	3.70	8	14.81
65 + ...	36	18	50.00	9	25.00	1	2.78	3	8.33	1	2.78	11.11	4	10.81

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line on a semi-log grid; from the late 40's onward the rate changes, and this again takes the form of a single logarithmic function. It would appear from this that at least 2 physiological factors are responsible for this phe-

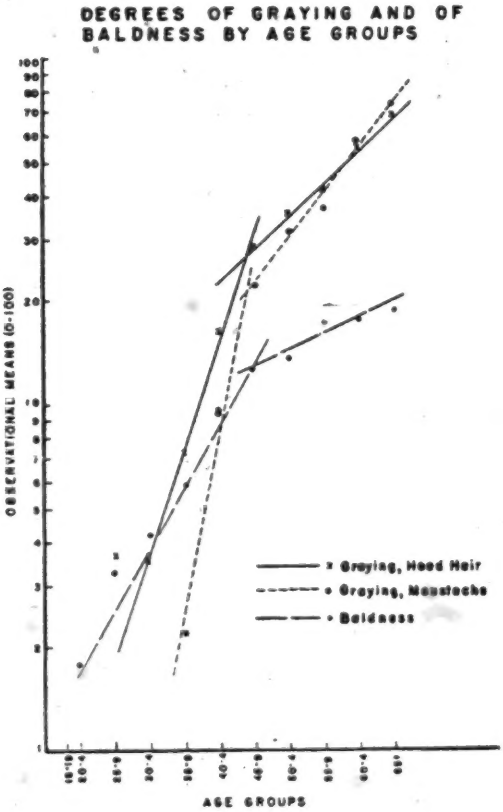

FIG. 6. Age and graying.

142 #128 nomenon, and one is set in motion later than the other. When baldness is taken over from the preceding section and plotted on the same chart, it breaks at exactly the same age as graying at the 2 anatomical loci studied. This is the same spot on the age chart at which strength, as shown by the dynamometer squeeze, falls off sharply. Old age, among the Mountain Ghegs, begins to raise its hoary head in the mid-40's.

AGE AND COLOR CHANGES

In all but 28 (2.6%) cases, it was possible to find enough pigmented hairs with the gray to make a notation for hair color. As table 15 also shows, black hair was more often tied to higher degrees of graying than any other kind. Black and reddish-brown hair showed much more grayness than the 3 other color categories, all lighter, which tend to form a group. Is this because the black-haired men gray younger than the brown and light-haired men, or because some of them get darker haired as they grow older? While we can never answer this with complete assurance until we have studied chronological changes in the same men, the present evidence favors the second conclusion. Dark brown-haired men are 8 years younger, on the mean, than black-haired men, and this difference reached over 16 times its probable error. Table 15 shows how the percentage of black-haired men increases in each age grade from the early 20's through the late 50's; at that time something happens to reduce the ratio. On the other hand, dark brown-haired men are 3 times as numerous as black-haired in youth; they grow

[See cat. 16, p. 77c-78a
- Analyst]

142 scarcer with age, until at about age 40 the 2
*128 color brackets are equal, and at age 60 the tables have turned; the black-haired men outnumber the dark brown-haired by over 3 to one. Light brown- and blond-haired men, in general, do not suffer so drastic a reduction. At age 60 both they and the dark brown-haired contingent become more numerous. By age 60, most of the men are already quite gray; it looks as if in some cases the darker hair colors began to bleach out at this time. If we were to describe our series on the basis of a sample of recruits at age 20, clearly then one would have to say that the Mountain Ghegs were predominantly brown haired, with blonds and black-haired individuals in equal-sized minor-

142 ities. At age 45, however, black-haired men
*128 would be in the majority. It is probably just as true of most other European populations that hair color depends on the age of the sample. Although eye color shows a number of differences in relation to age, none of these are comparable in magnitude to those which we have just discussed, and they do not affect the position of the sample; a description for any age over 20 will give a fair picture of this character for the adult male population as a whole.

128 *AGE AND INTERTRIBAL DIFFERENCES*
141 So far in this chapter most of the studies of age variations have served to show the position
142 of the series as a whole, and to render it comparable with other series. Some of the exercises have had a bearing on intertribal differences. For example, it is clear that the high stature of the people north of the Drin has nothing to do with age, in comparison with their neighbors to the south, and that the same is true of local variations in the dimensions of

142 the head. In several other characters which
141 were seen to be critical points of intertribal
+128 difference, age cannot be as easily eliminated. We have seen that baldness, hair color, and total face height vary considerably with age, and must explore the effect of these changes on our tribal samples.

Two tribes above all others set themselves apart: Dukagin and Has. Between them they monopolize the peculiarities which suggest that the Highland Ghegs are not a homogeneous group of people. These peculiarities, as tracked down in chapter 10,[1] "The Mountain Gheg Phenotype," are the biacromial diameter, the total face height, the form of the chin, the protrusion of the buttocks, the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 586-706 -- Analyst]

141 presence or absence of baldness, the lateral
142 extension of the eyebrows, and the color of
*128 the head hair. Table 16 shows constants for these characters in Dukagin and Has. In each tribe I have segregated the 30–39-year-olds and made separate computations. By equalizing the age distribution we may hope to find out whether the peculiarities are linked to age, or not.

They are not. The 30–39-year-olds of Dukagin are just as much broader shouldered than their age mates of Has, as the total sample. The Has men have longer faces than the Dukagin men, at any age. The Dukagin men have more bilateral chins, fewer lean buttocks, less baldness, more bilateral extension of the eyebrows, and more brown hair, than the Has men, age for age.

These differences are real ones. They are just as great in one representative age group as in the total sample. Has and Dukagin are local populations which differ in these respects from the total series and from each other.

1/1 [see cat. 116, p. 71c - Am[illegible]]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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TABLE 16: AGE CONTROLS IN CRITICAL CHARACTERS.

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	HAS		DURAGIN	
No.	(28)	(114)	(45)	(106)
AGE	30-39	TOTAL	30-39	TOTAL
Biacromial	38.39 cm.	38.30	40.49	40.37
Total face ht.	125.86 mm.	126.30	123.44	124.15
Chins, bilateral	17.86%	19.30%	35.51%	38.68%
Buttocks, sm	32.14%	42.11%	2.22%	5.66%
Baldness, present	28.57%	46.00%	15.55%	20.19%
Eyebrows, lat. ext. abs. & sm.	53.57%	57.90%	11.11%	8.49%
Hair color				
Black	60.71%	61.46%	17.78%	20.75%
Brown	32.14%	22.92%	68.89%	66.04%
Other	7.14%	15.62%	13.33%	13.21%

-71c-

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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BITE

THE MECHANICS OF DENTAL OCCLUSION

000 HAVING described the Gheg phenotype, and having witnessed some of the changes wrought in it by the passage of the individual from youth to old age, we move on to study the effect of *function* on one part of the human organism, the entire masticatory apparatus, including teeth, jaws, and the zygomatic arches. Most people believe that muscles can be developed through exercise; this belief supports gymnasia and athletic programs. Muscular development leaves its mark on the bones, which despite their hardness are relatively plastic. Among the most active muscles in the human body are those which operate the lower jaw—the temporals, masseters, and external and internal pterygoids above, and the platysma below. These muscles are exercised not only in chewing and swallowing, but also in talking. Their strength is surprisingly great; a device used by dentists to measure bite-force records 35 pounds pressure per bite as an ordinary chew, American style.[1] The effective strength which can be exerted depends on a number of factors, including the actual power of the several muscles, the details of the leverage, and the number, position, size, and condition of the teeth. These factors vary with race, sex, age, health, and use.

According to the prevailing theory, a normal human being, after cutting his baby teeth, starts out with a slight overbite. His upper incisors lap slightly over the business edge of his lower incisors. His canines and bicuspids more or less mesh. When he cuts his permanent teeth, this type of occlusion continues. As he grows older, any one of 3 things may happen: (a) the slight overbite continues as his normal adult form; (b) with heavy chewing he forms the habit of moving his lower jaw forward, so that the incisors meet edge-to-edge; (c) with very little chewing he slips his lower jaw backward, and his upper canines and incisors overlap the lower canines and incisors completely. This is what is called a

[1] Baker, 1922, vol. 8, pp. 3–24.

marked overbite, a condition which parents pay hundreds of dollars to have corrected in their children.

One important factor in this choice of bites is the nature of the articulation of the condyle of the lower jaw; the joint is a very complex one and permits a large amount of motion forward, backward, and sidewise. Thus whichever way you choose to bite, the versatile mandibular fossa makes accommodations, and the teeth take the required positions in the jaws. The act of masticating hundreds of pounds of meat, cereals, and vegetables throughout a person's life must affect not only the foods consumed, but also the teeth. Despite the glassy hardness of enamel, it wears down. The cusps, which serve as the blades of the teeth, or which correspond to the grooves in a millstone, wear flat, under certain conditions. One of these conditions is the consumption of bread stuffs ground in stone mills, and this varies with the kind of stone. If and when the cusps have worn flat, if the bite has become edge-to-edge, then the dental surfaces of the 2 jaws may both be smooth, and a rotary grinding becomes possible. Chewing is never simply up and down; it always includes some side-to-side and fore-and-aft movement, but until the point mentioned above is reached such movements are always limited by the cusps or by the overlap of the front teeth.

It is generally believed that in a mature adult the edge-to-edge bite reflects heavier chewing, all else equal, than the "normal" overbite. The marked overbite is supposed to represent the paucity of mastication associated with eating highly processed foods, and is as characteristic of imperial Roman jaws as of ours. In that it is a byproduct of a technically high civilization it is sometimes called a degeneration. Still another type of bite occurs, the underbite, in which the lower incisors protrude farther forward than the uppers. It is the so-called "bulldog" bite, an anomaly in any time, place, or population. In our Albanian series we recorded the four types of bite described above.

BITE AND AGE

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Table 17 shows the relation between bite type and age. The men whose bite was known to be edge-to-edge were nearly 5 years older than their slightly-over kinsmen, and this difference is significant by 9.63 times its own probable error. Disregarding the youngest age bracket as too small a sample, we see that at age 20–24 the percentage of overbites outnumbers that of edge-to-edge occlusions nearly 3 to 1, that the 2 become equal at about age 35, after which the earlier proportions are reversed in the early 50's. The changes in ratio which begin at that age and keep on to senility are a function of the rise in proportion of edentulous men, whose earlier type of bite could not be determined. They are recorded as "un-

[see cat.116, p.81c -- Amol, p.1]

142 *128 known." Incisors that have been worn enough to breach the pulp cavity are more likely to drop out than those that have not, and hence it is reasonable to suppose that most of the "unknowns" of the later age grades had had edge-to-edge bites, but we cannot be sure. It is also reasonable, but uncertain, to suppose that men who have retained overbites until age 52 will do so for the rest of their lives. By adding the "unknowns" to the edge-to-edge category on table 17,* we obtain an expression of this hypothetical progression.

* [see cat. 116, p. 81c--Analyst]

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TABLE 17: BITE AND AGE.

MEAN AGES IN YEARS

	No.	MEAN
Under	14	35.55 years
Edge-to-edge	521	41.53 ± .31
Slightly over	480	36.78 ± .35
Marked-over	10	38.00

PERCENTAGES OF BITE TYPES IN AGE GROUPS

AGE	UNDER		EDGE-EDGE		SLIGHTLY-OVER		MARKED-OVER		UNKNOWN		No.
18-19	0		6	50.00	5	41.67	1	8.33	0		12
20-24	3	3.03	26	26.26	69	69.69	1	1.01	0		99
25-29	0		63	40.65	91	58.71	1	.65	0		155
30-34	5	3.01	74	44.58	85	51.20	2	1.20	0		166
35-39	2	1.23	84	51.53	75	46.01	1	.61	1	.61	163
40-44	1	.78	66	51.16	57	44.19	1	.78	4	3.10	129
45-49	1	.97	65	63.11	35	33.98	0		2	1.94	103
50-54	1	1.14	59	67.05	23	26.14	2	2.27	3	3.41	88
55-59	1	1.96	29	56.86	14	27.45	0		7	13.73	51
60-64	0		32	57.14	14	25.00	1	1.79	9	16.07	56
65 +	0		17	41.46	12	29.27	0		12	29.27	41
?	0		3	75.00	0		0		1	25.00	4
Total	14	1.31	524	49.11	480	44.99	10	.94	39	3.66	1067

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

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Marked overbites are so infrequent that they are statistically almost negligible. They are scattered throughout the age grades in such a way that one cannot say that they are increasing or decreasing, and this accords with what we know of Mountain Gheg eating habits. Underbites are no more or less frequent than expected.

Any notion that types of occlusion are hereditary must be destroyed by this evidence. No genetic infiltration strong enough to affect half the population can have penetrated Ghegnia during the lifetime of our oldest subjects. Occlusion is functional, but is all of the change shown in this series a normal age shift from over to edge-to-edge, or can some of it be due to changes in foodstuffs and eating habits, such as the introduction of sugar, and possibly the

142 transportation of soft bread from town baker-
*1-8 ies to the villages? I leave the answer to this question to the experts in the dental field.

BITE AND GEOGRAPHY

162 Table 18* gives the tribal distribution of bite
142 types. In this feature the tribes vary greatly,
*128 and some of the differences are highly significant, as for example that between Mirdita and Luma in edge-to-edge, which runs to 6.48 times p.e. Mirdita is by far strongest in edge-to-edge, which seems in general to go with the

* [See Table 116, p.82a -- Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TABLE 18: BITE.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES

	Total	Under		Edge-to-Edge		Slightly over		Marked-Over		Unknown	
		#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total Series	1067	14		524		480		10		39	
MeM	105	2	1.90	56	53.33	43	40.95	0		4	3.81
Duk	106	0		60	56.60	46	43.40	0		0	
MeJ	104	2	1.92	35	33.65	67	64.42	0		0	
Has	114	3	2.63	73	64.04	30	26.32	1	.88	7	6.14
Lum	109	1	.92	31	28.44	68	62.39	4	3.67	5	4.59
Puk	102	4	3.92	37	36.27	59	57.84	1	.98	1	.98
Mir	101	2	1.98	70	69.31	19	18.81	2	1.98	8	7.92
Zad	105	0		49	46.67	51	48.57	0		5	4.76
Mat	104	0		51	49.04	51	49.04	0		2	1.92
Dib	108	0		58	53.70	42	38.89	2	1.85	6	5.56

BITE AND RELIGION

	Catholic		Moslem		Both Others		Proportions of E.-E.–S.-O.	
	E-E	Sl.-O.	E-E	Sl.-O.			Cath.	Moslem
MeM	27	23	29	20	6		54	59
Duk	60	46	0	0	0		56	—
MeJ	9	7	26	60	1		56	70
Has	8	3	65	27	11		67	71
Lum	0	0	31	68	10		—	31
Puk	11	24	26	25	6		44	52
Mir	70	19	0	0	12		79	—
Zad	45	42	4	9	5		52	31
Mat	4	6	47	45	2		40	51
Dib	0	0	58	42	8		—	58
Intertr.	2	2	7	7	2		50	50
Total	236	172	293	303	63	1067	58	49

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most remote geographical fastnesses, except for Has. With the same exception, the north-eastern tribes are highest in slight overbites. One might at first suppose that the Catholics were the edge-to-edge people, but in 5 out of the 6 tribes where both faiths are followed, the Moslems have a higher edge-to-edge ratio. In the sixth, Malsia e Jakovës, the Catholics

162 form a special regional population, that of
142 Nikaj and Merturi, just over the divide from
*128 Shoshi and Shala. Bite cannot be shown to have anything to do with ritual food taboos at all. Nor should one expect this, for the chief difference in diet lies in the species of animal eaten, while the food that takes the most chewing, bread, is the same for both in any given region.

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What this distribution seems to show more than anything else is that slight overbites tend to favor the big eastern market towns and the center of the Roman road. Puka lies at the middle of this road, and Puka has a commercial bakery. Luma has several at Kukës, and others do business at Prizren and Peshkopia. These commercial bakeries turn out a softer product

162 than home ovens, at least in my experience.
142 Why then, has Has one of the highest ratios
*128 of edge-to-edge bite, when the very men measured at Has were drawn from villages of hereditary commercial bakers? The answer to this lies in the age distribution. Twenty-eight men of the Has sample fell into age group 30–39. Of these, 13 had edge-to-edge bites, 14 slightly-over, and one marked-over. The

142 edge-to-edge ratio for this age grade is 48. In
167 Luma, which stands at the other end of the
128 scale in bite form, 25 men in the same age grade had 11 edge-to-edge, 13 slightly-over, and one under. This gives a ratio of 46. If one counts marked-over with slightly-over and under with edge-to-edge, the ratios are reversed. The bakers were simply older men.

Much more research needs to be done if we are to explain the incidences of kinds of occlusion among Mountain Ghegs. All this report can possibly accomplish is to serve as a reconnaisance for specialists.

BITE AND FACE HEIGHTS

OCD We have seen in chapter 11, "Age," page 74,[1] that unlike most other parts of the body, the face keeps on growing throughout life. In old age, however, this growth is often offset by the deterioration and loss of the teeth. As the teeth wear down and drop out, the dental borders of both maxillae and mandible shrink through absorption, and the chin and nose approach each other. These compensatory processes, face growth and dental attrition, do not necessarily move apace. Among some individuals the teeth remain sound until late in life; in others they deteriorate early. These differences thus affect not only means but also dispersions and measures of variability, including the probable error. In a series which includes a large percentage of men who have reached middle age, or in one in which poor teeth are common at any age, some method must be found to eliminate this source of error.
125 Being aware of this problem before leaving for Albania, I included in the measurement blank the observations *face shortening due to wear*, and *face shortening due to loss and absorption*. It was easier to observe dental condition with this problem in mind than to make general

1 [See cat. 116, p. 74 b -- Analyst]

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observations and then try to estimate the effect on face height later.

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Table 19 tells us the rest of the story. Shortening from wear went largely with the edge-to-edge type of bite, while loss and absorption were more characteristic of men who had had overbites, and whose teeth were less worn, in the instances where enough teeth were left to tell. In only 5 instances was it possible to attribute the shortening to both. Shortening due to wear set in 10 years earlier than that due to loss and absorption. The total face height means of the men who had suffered shortening from wear were significantly smaller than the total mean, in the + and ++ categories; the same was true of those subject to loss and absorption, in the ++ category only. In the case of the upper face height means, it was the men who had undergone loss and absorption who suffered the greater reduction, significant in both + and ++ categories. On the basis of these figures it seemed wiser to eliminate from the seriations of total face height, upper face height, and the dependent indices, the 164 men recorded as + or ++ in either loss category. With this correction the seriations given on table 4 were computed. The rejects came mostly from the older age grades, and no more than 22 per cent were removed from any one tribe.

One other question remains to be explored: whether, when wear, loss, and absorption are eliminated, the type of occlusion affects face heights. One might suppose that if 2 men had identical facial skeletons and identical teeth, and one man had an overbite while the other's teeth met edge-to-edge, the latter would have the longer face. As the last part of table 19 shows, this is not the case. Occlusion has no qualifying effect whatever on face lengths, except through wear, loss, and absorption.

1 [see cor. 116, pp. 83c-84. Analyst]

2 [see cor. 116, pp. 54f-54g. Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1960 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TABLE 19: BITE, AGE, AND FACE SHORTENING.

FACE SHORTENING, FREQUENCIES

Shortening, if any, due to:	abs.	sm	sm	+	++	+++	Total	Grand Total
Wear	808	4	162	66	21	1	(254)	1062
Loss	1006	1	4	25	23	3	(56)	1062
Both				1	3		(5)	5
				Loss 1 Wear				
(Neither) ..	(752)						(752)	
Total	923* kept				164 removed			1067

(*Of 923 left, 921 have face heights.)

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+128

TABLE 19 (*continued*)

AGE

	No.	MEAN (YRS.)	X.P.E. FROM ABS.-ABS.
No wear, no loss.....	750	36.26 ± .28	
Abs.-Abs.			
Wear: sm & sm.....	161	43.24 ± .60	10.58
+	67	48.08 ± 1.29	8.95
++, +++	25	53.50 ± 1.12	15.00
Loss: sm, sm, + ...	31	53.29 ± 1.16	12.00
++, +++	29	55.28 ± 1.00	18.33

FACE LENGTHS AND FACE SHORTENING ON THE BASES OF (A) WEAR, AND (B) LOSS AND ABSORPTION

TOTAL FACE HEIGHT

	WEAR					LOSS & ABSORPTION				
	No.	MEAN	σ	Δ	X.P.E.	No.	MEAN	σ	Δ	X.P.E.
Total	1065	123.25 ± .14	6.75	——	——	1065	123.25 ± .14	6.75	——	——
sm	163	122.95 ± .25	5.35	[illegible] ± .36	.84	4	128.00	——	——	——
+	67	121.55 ± .63	7.60	1.70 ± .55	3.09	27	122.35 ± .29	2.20	.90 ± .88	1.03
++	25	120.80 ± .76	5.65	4.15 ± .69	6.02	26	117.40 ± .81	6.00	5.85 ± .89	5.75

UPPER FACE HEIGHT

	WEAR					LOSS & ABSORPTION				
	No.	MEAN	σ	Δ	X.P.E.	No.	MEAN	σ	Δ	X.P.E.
Total	1065	73.25 ± .11	5.20	——	——	1065	73.25 ± .11	5.20	——	——
sm	162	73.35 ± .27	5.05	.10 ± .28	.36	4	77.00	——	——	——
+	67	72.05 ± .47	5.75	1.20 ± .43	2.79	27	70.70 ± .72	5.55	2.55 ± .67	3.81
++	25	72.60 ± .69	5.15	.65 ± .70	.93	26	69.10 ± .73	5.55	4.15 ± .69	6.02

DENTAL REJECTS

AGE	No.	% OF WHOLE	TEETH	No.	% OF WHOLE
18–19.....	0	0	MeM	23	21.9
20–24.....	1	1.1	Duk	5	4.7
25–29.....	2	1.3	MeJ	9	8.7
30–34.....	3	1.8	Has	23	20.2
35–39.....	11	6.8	Lum	10	9.2
40–44.....	18	14.0	Puk	11	10.8
45–49.....	18	17.5	Mir	22	21.8
50–54.....	27	30.7	Zad	8	7.5
55–59.....	22	42.3	Mar	11	10.6
60–64.....	19	33.9	Dib	23	21.3
65	25	61.0	Intertr.	3	2.8

FACE HEIGHTS AND BITE TYPE

Means of the Corrected Series

	EDGE-TO-EDGE		SLIGHTLY-OVER	
	No.	MEAN	No.	MEAN
Total face height.....	430	123.40 ± .21	461	123.95 ± .20
Upper face height	430	73.60 ± .16	461	73.50 ± .16

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

BITE AND FACE BREADTHS, WITH RELATED CHARACTERS

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It is possible, however, that factors in occlusion may be concerned with face breadths. A progressive development of the temporals, masseters, and pterygoids might well bring about an increase in the bowing and flare of the zygomatic arches, reflected in the bizygo-

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matic diameter. Table 20 contains relevant statistics. In general, men with edge-to-edge bites have slightly wider faces than men with overbites, but the difference is 2.83 times p.e. only, a little short of significance. The fact that the men with overbites were 5 years younger than the others links this to age. It is not to be expected that bite alone should be related to face breadth, but rather the amount of pressure used with different kinds of bite, and this pressure can best be measured by its effect on the teeth, i.e., wear. In the edge-to-edge category, the bizygomatic mean increases, although not regularly, with the amount of wear. Two out of 3 of these increases over the means of the absent wear category are significant. The men grouped by wear categories also differ, however, in age, and the bizygomatic mean for each wear category follows closely that of the corre-

[see cat 116, p. 85 c -- Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

TABLE 20: THE BIZYGOMATIC DIAMETER, BITE, AND TOOTH WEAR.

	No.	MEAN (MM.)	AGE (YRS.)	AGE MEAN (MM.)
142 Overbites	490	141.84 ± .24	36.78	142.65 ± .27
*728 Edge-to-edge	524	142.82 ± .24	41.53	142.85 ± .30
E-E abs. wear	275	141.32 ± .22	36.26	142.65 ± .27
E-E sm-sm wear	162	143.05 ± .31	43.24	142.85 ± .30
E-E + wear	64	142.39 ± .57	48.08	143.20 ± .37
E-E ++, +++ wear	23	144.18 ± .75	53.50	143.09 ± .43

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sponding age group. Face breadth increases 3 to 4 millimeters during adult life, up to the late 50's. This increase appears to be concentrated among the men with edge-to-edge bites; most of the men with overbites are younger. Although use and growth seem to go together, one cannot of course point definitely to a causal relationship. One can only suggest it as a likelihood worthy of experimental testing.

142 *128 Whatever the reason, our Ghegs are 3 or 4 millimeters wider in the bizygomatic diameter than a series of genetically similar younger men would be. This should be considered in interseries comparisons.

In order to test effect of bite further, seriations similar to those for the bizygomatic were made for the bigonial diameter. No differences were found; this dimension does not even increase with age. The observations on the forward and sidewise jut of the malars and in the fullness of the cheeks were further tested for bite properties, also without showing difference. In these respects the phenotype needs no qualification, except in one sense: the triangularity of the lower face suggested by the relative widths of the bizygomatic and bigonial diameters must increase with age. Again the typical Dinaric is an elderly individual.

SOIL AND GROWTH

000 THAT the content of the soil influences the growth of populations who live off its produce has been often claimed and nearly as often denied. Without reasonable doubt it is one factor in the development of body size in man, as in other animals. Boas showed this years ago in his work on the children of immigrants[1] and, in works on this subject, Matheny and Meredith have shown that Italian schoolboys brought up in Minnesota reach, at the age of 17, a mean stature of 171.1 centimeters, a figure far above any adult mean reported for Italy.[2]

141 In northern Albania we have found tribal stature means differing from each other a little less than 7 centimeters on comparable adult stature groups. This is not too much for genetically similar populations if they are reared under vastly different conditions of nutrition. If one reviews the earliest anthropometric surveys of Switzerland,[3] one finds equally great differences between isolated valleys in some of the cantons; surveys made a half century later, after modern methods of food distribution, and modern sanitation, had been introduced, showed a much more uniform stature map. In these respects Albania was certainly in no more favorable a position in 1929 than Switzerland in the 1880's.

000 We obtain our nutrition from the soil through the agency of vegetable matter, and from the meat as well as the milk of animals which are fed upon the same. One of the most obvious minerals to be considered is lime, needed for the growth of bone; but how much lime we need, and how much of that which is in the soil reaches us, is not known. In recent years much attention has been paid to the trace elements,[4] needed for various metabolic processes, but this subject too is little known. We are told that chemical fertilizers fail to put back the trace elements taken from the soil, and that manure is far better.[5]

[1] Boas, 1911; 1912, pp. 530–62.
[2] Matheny and Meredith, 1947, pp. 344-55.
[3] Schlaginhaufen, 1946, text and atlas; Coon, 1939, pp. 550-52, and Ripley, 1899, pp. 281–89, for discussion and sources.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1955 EG1 Albania EG1

133 Too little is known about the soils of northern Albania to permit a detailed study of their relationship to physique, but we can find to what extent pertinent anthropological features fit the geological picture. The latter has already been described in chapter 2, "Land of the Highland Ghegs,"[1] and the principal geological areas blocked out, after Almagià on figure 2.[6] [2]

The Mesozoic limestone of Malsia e Madhe, Shala, and Malsia e Jakovës is a southern continuation of the barren karst of Montenegro. Although it is a poor country for farming, and much of it is good only for grazing goats, the people on both sides of the border, though often hungry, are large and heavy boned. The serpentine highland zone, in contrast, which runs all the way from eastern Malsia e Madhe across most of Puka, all of Mirdita, and parts of Zadrima, Mati, and Dibra, is in places forested. The soil is reminiscent of that seen on certain worn-out farms of northern New England. The eastern zone of Metamorphosed Triassic and Upper Palaeozoic rocks supports open meadows and brown-soiled fields, with forests on the slopes and clumps of poplars around the villages.

These are the 3 principal geological areas. To them may be added the area of intense folding of Mesozoic-Eocene strata, along both sides of the Drin in Shoshi, Nikaj, and the northern villages of Puka. The traveler walking along the Roman road can see where the river has cut sections through the strata in several places, revealing contorted patterns, including one in the shape of a figure *S*. In north-central Mati a cap of tertiary limestone [231] breaks the continuity of the gabbro. No village is situated directly over it, but the goats and cattle from several villages are driven onto it for summer grazing, and the villagers drink their milk and eat their flesh. Finally, a small slice of the tillage land of Zadrima is included in the so-called Dalmato-Montenegrin num-

[6] Stiles, 1946.
[6] Howard, 1947.
[6] Almagià, 1932, map on p. 467.

1 [See text, 116, pp. 76-106 -- Analyst]
2 [See text 116, p. 8a -- Analyst]

[p. 86 (b)]

133 mulithic limestone and flysch, extending southward from the isthmus between Lake Scutari and the Adriatic.

These 6 areas correspond roughly to the tribal divisions, but some of the geological boundaries cut across tribes. From the tribal data alone a close relationship between geology and physique is suggested; if we reseriate by geological areas, ignoring tribal affiliations, we can test this more accurately.

SOIL AND PHYSIQUE IN MALSIA E GHEGNISE

+128 133 Samples for each of the 3 major areas and the area of folding range in size from 126 to 354 individuals. To the flysch section of Zadrima, 41 men can be assigned. Only in the small limestone region of Mati is the sample, 13, statistically inadequate. In table 21 the means for these 6 tribal samples in 12 pertinent measurements are given. In general, they repeat the picture shown by tribal distribution, and in certain respects accentuate it. When we compare the first 5, making 15 comparisons for 12 characters, we find 65 out of a possible 180 differences significant, or 36 per cent; 28, or 16 per cent, are more than 6.00 times p.e.; 14, or 8 per cent, over 8.00 times p.e.; and 6, or 3 per cent, over 10.00 times p.e. The means for the areas do not in themselves exceed tribal means, because the areas are spatially more inclusive than single tribes situated within them. They fall between the tribes and the total series in variability, as indicated on table 21 by values of σ. Each of the geological areas undoubtedly contains a number of small local enclaves, as Switzerland did during the last century. To find lower values for σ we would have to study these valleys, and the villages in them, one by one. Our sample is not large enough for such fragmentation.

128 141 The validity of the division of the total series into geological areas is most clearly shown by the figures on the third part of table 21, in which the stature means of the component segments of tribes falling in each geological area have been listed together. In every case but one, *the means of the segments of individual tribes diverge from each other in the directions of their areal means, and they resemble these areal means more closely than they do each other.*

*128 141 The one exception is Malsia e Jakovës, divided between limestone and folded. These 2 areas are nearly the same in stature, and the difference betwen tribal segments is inconsequential. The 4 other men from this tribe who lived in serpentine territory were much shorter, 168 centimeters. Not only were the men from serpentine territory short as a whole, but very few of the exceptionally tall men, the "giants" of 180 to 190 centimeters from whom the Ghegs get their name, are found among them. These striking figures are seen almost exclusively north of the Drin. A few turn up near the limestone area of northern Mati, where a small sample suggests that a tall enclave may be found.

*128 142 From a statistical standpoint, the most telling division within a tribe is that which splits Dibra into serpentine and eastern subsamples. The difference between the means, 3.07, is 3.49 times p.e. In order to test this for the possibility of a genetic difference I selected the one character in which Dibra is most distinctive, light brown eye color, and sorted the subsamples for it. Out of 15 men whose eyes were of this hue, 7, or 19 per cent, were from serpentine territory, and 8, or 11 per cent, from the eastern. Neither the rest of serpentine nor the rest of eastern approach these frequencies. In this character, which is certainly genetic, Dibra is still a unit, still separate from its neighbors.

141 582 *128 Although fragmentation of the series is unprofitable because of the smallness of the subsamples, one example may show what kind of thing to expect when the local enclaves can be investigated. In Dukagin, as stated earlier, mutual exogamy, with cross-cousin marriage, is the rule between the people of Shala and Shoshi. However, many of the Shala men marry Shala women, who come from the families of *anas*, unrelated in the male line to the *fis* of Dukagin. In Shoshi also local endogamy takes place, but more rarely. Shala is apparently in the limestone, Shoshi in the folded, area. Shala men whose mothers came from Shoshi are 4.04 centimeters taller (see table 21, last part) than Shala men whose mothers were local, and this difference is 5.53 times its p.e. At the same time Shala men with Shoshi mothers are 3.37 centimeters taller than their cousins, the Shoshi men with Shala mothers, and this comes to 2.88 times p.e.

1 [see cat. 116 p. 88c -- Analyst]

141
*128 The people living in the northern limestone area are not only taller than the others, but also wider spanned, broader shouldered, and stronger. They are, in general, bigger and more robust. The inhabitants of the folded region approach them in build, while the serpentine dwellers are small all over, but partic-

1.41
*128

ularly in their arms and legs, and the flyschfolk are the smallest of the lot. Whether or not it is of any consequence, the last-named live on the border of malarial country.

The inhabitants of the eastern area fall close to the mean of the total series in the measurements and dimensions of the body, but diverge

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TABLE 21: ANTHROPOMETRIC MEANS AND GEOLOGICAL AREAS.

	Total	Flysch	Limestone	Folded	Serpentine	Eastern	Mat. L.
Squeeze	112.09	102.95±1.94	116.55±.79	111.95±1.20	105.55±.73	110.70±.74	102.33
(No.)		(41)	(237)	(126)	(354)	(294)	(13)
Stature	169.71±.14	165.87± .80	173.04±.27	171.87± .34	167.22±.22	169.92±.26	167.55
Rel. span ...	103.94±.05	104.74± .30	104.58±.12	104.00± .14	103.22±.10	103.56±.11	101.88
Rel. sh. ht..	22.76±.02	22.55± .12	23.08±.05	22.76± .08	22.66±.05	22.68±.05	23.42
Rel. sit. ht...	52.76±.03	53.67± .19	52.55±.06	52.59± .09	52.91±.06	52.76±.07	53.12
Head lgth...	186.18±15	181.47± .57	188.12±.29	188.76± .44	184.32±.24	186.21±.26	187.88
Head br. ...	157.78±.12	157.44± .56	159.92±.26	157.38± .33	157.88±.21	156.57±.24	155.85
Head ht. ...	128.34±.12	128.63± .67	128.67±.26	129.08± .33	128.22±.17	127.95±.24	123.69
Ceph. index	84.84±.09	86.71± .40	85.17±.18	83.34± .25	85.59±.15	84.18±.17	83.07
(No.)	(921)	(39)	(204)	(115)	(298)	(252)	(7)
Tot. face ht.	123.90±.14	122.00± .72	124.80±.31	121.85± .44	122.60±.24	126.45±.33	126.40
(No.)	(921)	(39)	(204)	(115)	(298)	(252)	(7)
Up. face ht.	73.55±.11	71.25± .57	73.75±.23	72.20± .30	73.10±.19	74.95±.21	72.00
Bizygomatic	142.35±.12	140.90± .65	144.05±.22	142.50± .32	141.70±.19	141.80±.21	139.30

VALUES OF σ FOR AREAS; TOTAL SERIES, AND TRIBES

	Five Areas	Total	Tribes
Stature	6.44	6.72	6.38
Rel. span	2.67	2.56	2.48
Rel. shoulder ht.....	1.26	1.20	1.16
Rel. sitting ht.....	1.60	1.50	1.46
Head lgth.....	6.59	7.08	6.65
Head br.	5.72	6.00	5.67
Head ht.....	6.04	6.03	5.87
Cephalic index.....	4.12	4.29	4.03
Total face ht.....	6.83	6.50	6.29
Upper face ht.....	4.95	5.00	4.89
Bizygomatic	5.49	5.65	5.80

STATURE MEANS FOR GEOLOGICALLY SEPARATED SEGMENTS OF TRIBES

Limestone			Folded			Serpentine			Eastern			Flysch		
MeM	105	172.77	Duk	20	173.20	Puk	40	168.25 ± .72	Has	113	170.82	Zad	34	165.72
Duk	78	174.36	MeJ	48	172.87	Mir	101	166.68	Lum	109	169.47			
MeJ	52	172.48	Puk	57	170.23 ± .47	Zad	70	167.72	Dib	74	169.53 ± .52			
			Puk*	13	170.85	Mat	92	166.68						
Mat	12	168.25				Dib	35	166.46 ± .71						

* Thirteen men from the village of Puka, eating bread from a bakery which uses flour from all parts of the tribe.

STATURE MEANS INSIDE DUKAGIN

Father	Mother	No.	Mean
Shala	Shala	48	172.83
Shala	Shoshi	30	176.87 ± .46
Shoshi	Shala	16	173.50 ± 1.08
Shoshi	Shoshi	4	171.98

141 from all the others in the measurements of the
*128 head and face. These people are, compared to the others, notably narrow headed, narrow faced, and long faced.

Head form (figs. 14, 15) follows the same distribution shown by the tribes. The one measurement that does not vary at all significantly is head height. Head length, however, shows the greatest variation of any character recorded. Computing a cephalic module from the means,[7] we find the areas clustered into 2 groups, limestone and folded, with 158.90 and 158.41 centimeters respectively, and flysch, serpentine, and eastern with 155.65, 156.71, and 156.91; big heads and medium to small heads. The size of the head, within a major racial group of man, goes with the volume of the body.[8] In a series like ours where the dimensions of the head are subject to great variation of questionable origin, head size is a more useful criterion for the purpose of this chapter than its components. It clearly separates the Mountain Ghegs into 2 categories, one large, the other medium to small.

This, rather than the individual measurements and indices, is the most suggestive difference yet found between regional segments of the total series. The people in the limestone karst country are big people, and their kinsmen in the country where the soil is laid on a medley of folded outcrops are nearly as big. The people living in the land of serpentine and gabbro are much smaller, as is the small sample of flysch-dwellers. To the east, in the valley of the Black Drin and up into the Prizren region, the people are of intermediate stature, but with relatively long, narrow heads and faces.

142 In addition to the data presented, sortings
*128 were made for a number of observations which might have to do with general robusticity. This effort yielded nothing that the tribal sortings have not already revealed. No difference was found between areas in the proportion of concave scapulae, which seem to have more to do with age than with nutrition.
[164] Finally, the teeth of all areas were seen to be equally carious, equal in frequency of evulsion.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 114-115 --Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116 p. 89b --Analyst]

PRIVILEGE AND NUTRITION

565 In many countries food and other benefits
141 are unequally distributed, and in some of them
*128

[7] Cephalic module $= \frac{L+B+Ht.}{3}$

141 565 *128 members of the privileged classes are taller than their less-favored fellow citizens. In the mountains of the Ghegs no stereotyped class system exists. Nevertheless in each tribe a few men hold higher political rank than the others, and a little difference in wealth may be discovered. Wealth and power usually go together. Using the data discussed in chapter 5, on "Politics and Feuding," page 30,[1] I have segregated 66 office-holders, 23 from limestone territory, and 43 from serpentine. The latter group included the entourage of Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*),[2] the tribal chief of Mirdita. These men had eaten the best the land had to offer. As table 22 shows, this made no real

TABLE 22: GEOLOGY AND STATURE, OFFICE-HOLDERS.

	Limestone			Serpentine		
	No.	Mean		No.	Mean	
Total	237	173.04	.34	354	167.22	.22
Office-holders ..	23	174.09	.78	43	167.63	.57

[264] difference in stature. In the mountains a chief eats at a big table, surrounded by his retainers, but any visitor is free to join at the hospitable [262] board. The office-holders probably get more meat than the poorer people, but everyone consumes dairy products, bread, and legumes. Everyone also derives all his food from the same geographical source.

CONCLUSION

*128 Although the geological map on which this study is based was of a most general character, it seems to have been accurate enough for the present purpose. The minerals of this region which it shows can be correlated with the body size and robusticity of the inhabitants as populations, and with nothing else which this particular study reveals, other than a partly coincidental east-west trend in head and face form, which will be discussed later. What minerals, if any, are involved in these size variations, how they are assimilated, if they are, and how they affect growth, if they do, are problems beyond the scope of this paper and its author's competence. If this excursion into the nutritional field has any value it lies in the fact that other explanations of regional size differences have been eliminated.

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 30b-30c -- Analyst]

[2] [See cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

* Coon, 1939, p. 267.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1960 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

CRADLING

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THE EVIDENCE ACCUMULATES

I WROTE, in 1939, "There has been much discussion upon the subject of occipital flattening, both in Albania and in Asia Minor; there are two definite schools, one which believes that it is natural and racially determined, the other that it is a form of artificial deformation caused by cradling. My own position lies between these two extremes; occipital flattening is without doubt a phenomenon associated with the entire mechanical orientation of the cranium in the Dinaric race, and especially with the position of the foramen magnum to the rear of that usual in most races. As such, it is undeniably inherited.

"At the same time, the use of the Albanian cradle, in which the shoulders are bound but the head is not, may in some instances have caused an intensification of this flattening, since the heads of some living Albanians are unquestionably deformed. However, since cradling practices are regionally uniform in Albania, the geographical distribution of this character is wholly racial in pattern."[1]

I also promised in a footnote: "A detailed study of this question will be published in the author's "The Physical Anthropology of Northern Albania," the provisional title of the present monograph. Since then evidence has been accumulating that "some instances" should be changed to "most instances." Father Ewing found that Lebanese children born in Brooklyn show much less flattening than their parents, and 2 Harvard graduate students, Mr. David de Harport and Mr. William Laughlin, working under my direction, found the same thing among Tosks in Greater Boston.[2] [4]

141 In the course of the present monograph 6 pieces of evidence have appeared in other contexts. In chapter 10, on "The Mountain Gheg Phenotype," on page 62[2] and table 4,[3] we saw that the sigma ratios for head length, head breadth, and the cephalic index are abnormally high, both as a total and within tribes, and this applies especially to the ceph-

[4] [see cat. 116, p. 90b -- Analyst]

[1] Coon, 1939, p. 600.

[2] [see cat. 116, pp. 62a-62e -- Analyst]

[3] [see cat. 116, pp. 54f-54m -- Analyst]

141 alic index. In the same chapter, on page 63,[1] it appeared that the tribal means differ more from each other and from the total means in these 3 characters, and in the breadth-height index, than in any other criteria except for the gross body diameters, of which we have already tentatively disposed in chapter 13, on "Soil."[2]

In the same chapter, on page 66,[3] we found that the tribes differ from each other most notably and significantly in 7 observations of the cranial vault, especially in bathrocephaly, occipital flattening, and lambdoid flattening. We further saw that the frequencies of degrees of flattening assumed the form of a normal curve quite independent of the "absent" category. If flattening were natural one would expect *sm* to exceed +, + to exceed ++, etc., in frequency.

In chapter 11, on "Age," page 77,[4] it was revealed that the head length fails to follow the normal or expected age changes, but that the head breadth bellows out and in with age, doing double duty. In chapter 13, on "Soil," page 89,[5] head form was shown, in a general way, to follow its own geographical course without regard to the soil-area divisions which so firmly mark frontiers of physique in the sizes of the body as a whole and of the head.

Any one of these red lights flashing through the chapters would have been enough to warn us that something is peculiar about head form in this series. In fact, there are no green lights; in no segment of this study has the cranial vault behaved as one expects in a normal population. "Normal" in this sense refers to the large series studied in the past, and most of these have been from western Europe and modern America. It will probably be shown as time goes on that many of the peoples of the world have heads comparable to those of the Albanians. We know already that this is true of Armenians, Lebanese, and Montenegrins, and it can probably be demonstrated for other European populations.

[2] Ewing, 1947, pp. 235–36; Ehrich and Coon, 1948, pp. 181–86.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 63a - 63b -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, pp. 86a - 89b -- Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, pp. 66a - 66b -- Analyst]
4 [See cat. 116, pp. 77a - 77c -- Analyst]
5 [See cat. 116, pp. 89a - 89b -- Analyst]

304 854 The literature of the entire subject of cranial deformation has been ably covered by Dingwall,[3] who quotes some Albanian instances in which intentional molding was observed. Miss Hasluck confirms this for Macedonia, and has a paper on the subject for Albania in preparation.[4] It is hard to say how much of the cranial deformation in Albania is intentional, and how much the unconscious result of cradling.

THE TECHNIQUE OF CRADLING

854 Albanian mothers, like mothers in other countries, are often faced with a "baby-sitter" problem. A young woman wants to go out in the fields to work, or to the market for shopping, and she cannot leave her baby alone. Besides, if she is to be gone for any length of time she must have her baby with her to nurse it. When she is on the march she cannot afford to immobilize her hands by carrying it in her arms. Walking-time is spinning-time in Albania. These are some of the practical reasons for a cradle. Other reasons are emotional and historical. The cradle is a part of Albanian culture, like the hearth and the loom—one of the material symbols of the activities of men, women, and children in families. Our grandfathers were cradled, and our grandfathers were wise and generous men, and brave warriors.

After he has been washed, blessed, and swaddled, the baby is laid in the cradle, which is lined with soft blankets. A thin pillow protects his head from the wood. There may be some variation on this point, as to how thin and how soft the pillow is. Once on his back, the baby is bound to the cradle-board at the shoulders and also lower down. This keeps him from moving about, and his shoulders stay flat. He can move his head about as much as this position will allow. Although the head is not bound, its easiest position in rest is squarely on the occipital bone.

The child rides and nurses and sleeps in this cradle most of the time until he is taken out for good, which is said to vary between 6 months and a year, or even longer. During this period it is changed from swaddling

[3] Dingwall, 1931.
[4] Hasluck, 1947, pp. 130-31.

854 clothes to garments which permit freer movements. When the time for uncradling draws near, the mother takes the child out now and then to see if it can sit up; when it is able to sit by itself on a blanket while she works, she may remove it from the cradle altogether.

Armenian as well as Albanian informants tell me that 2 factors govern the age at which the child is uncradled: its "strength," or ability to "sit up without falling down," and the [304] preference of the parents. A "strong" baby, therefore, would be released earlier in life than a "weak" baby, and a difference between a year's cradling and 6 months' might make all the difference between no visible flattening and an extreme case. One is also tempted to postulate that a "strong" baby's bones would resist deformation more than those of a "weak" baby, particularly if weakness were a reflection of nutrition in a hungry land, as in many parts of the Gheg mountains. When parental choice is added, we find reasons enough to explain variations in the frequency of flattening.

Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Dmitri Peterson of Somerville, Massachusetts, we have a scale model of such a cradle to study first hand. Mr. Peterson was taught the trade of carpenter in Albania as a young man, and has made many such cradles. Although his home was in southern Albania, my photographs and memory of Gheg cradles showed them to be much the same. The cradle made by Mr. Peterson consists essentially of 2 boards, a backboard on which the baby lies, and a headboard shielding the top of his head. Other boards form the sides. A footboard, which is the same piece of wood as the front rocker, has been cut crescent-wise to let the baby's feet through. He could, however, brace against it with his feet if he tried.

The cradle depicted in figure 11, *a*,[1] on the other hand, has a sling of yarn for the head to rest on, and only a low headboard. The footboard is low, but straight. This cradle was photographed in Zadrima. Baron Nopcsa[5] illustrates another cradle from "Planti (Gebiet von Pulti)," which I presume is in Malsia e Madhe (fig. 11, *d*).[2] It had a headboard and a

1 [See p. [illegible] - Arm. [illegible]]
2 [See p. 111 - [illegible]]
[5] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 109.

854 curved footboard, like Mr. Peterson's. In Haberlandt's work[6] 2 are shown, both of the Peterson variety. One was from Scutari (fig. 11, *b*)[1] the other belonged to Vlachs in central Albania (fig. 11, *c*).[2]

854 304 Were one to make a detailed study of cradle types in the Gheg mountains, tribe by tribe and village by village, one would probably find variations both in form and in use which might further help explain local differences in head form. It may for example be no coincidence that the Zadrima cradle has no headboard, while the Zadrima sample is high in occipital and very low in lambdoid flattening. It is not inconceivable that a baby who had outgrown his cradle and who had learned to brace his feet on the footboard might push his head against the headboard if there were one, and give himself lambdoid flattening. On the other hand, a slanting pillow might have the same effect.

Sometimes one finds both kinds on the same head; presumably the child was occipitally flattened first, then, as he outgrew his cradle, lambdoid flattening appeared. If during the process of flattening the smooth union of the parietals and the occipital bone were impeded, and an irregular bone growth resulted, the anomaly called bathrocephaly would be added. It is possible that, in some cases, bathrocephaly might be the only discernible after-effect of cradling; that the bones would spring rather than flatten. What is badly needed is some experimental work on this subject; until that is done it must remain partly speculative, since these types of deformation also occur on heads which have not been cradled, in lower frequencies and in less extreme degree.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF DEFORMATION

304 *128 On figure 7[3] the frequencies and percentages of the various categories of occipital flattening, lambdoid flattening, and bathrocephaly have been given. Table 23[4] shows how these 3 phenomena are related. Less than a third (31.40%) of the men had unflattened heads, and 27 per cent also lacked bathrocephaly.

[6] Haberlandt, 1917, p. 11, table III, no. 12, and p. 95, fig. 29.

1 [See cat. 11b, p. 111 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 11b, p. 111 -- Analyst]
3 [See cat. 11b, p. 92b -- Analyst]
4 [See cat. 11b, p. 93d -- Analyst]

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These 27 per cent were undoubtedly cradled like the others; perhaps they were "strong" babies and released early; perhaps they had softer pillows than the others. What caused this difference in each case we do not know.

Of the two-thirds of the men who remain, those who have one kind of flattening seldom have the other. The fourfold table at the bottom of table 23 yields a coefficient of association of − .69, which is strongly negative.[7] The 68 men, or 6 per cent of the series, who

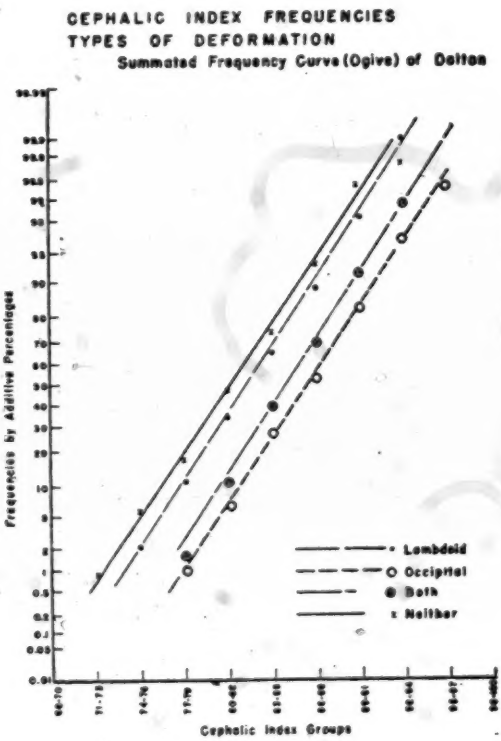

Fig. 7. Cephalic index frequencies.

have both, fail to reach the +++ category in either plane.

Bathrocephaly is closely linked to lambdoid flattening, to the extent of a + .84 coefficient of association, so closely that in the rest of this chapter we can, for practical purposes, ignore it. We can afford to do so, however, only

[7] Yule's formula. $Q = \frac{ad - bc}{ad + bc}$; Arkin and Colton, 1947, p. 100.

304 +128 after considering ~~the 49~~ men who had bathrocephaly without any flattening at all. These 49 men have a mean cephalic index of 82.41 ± .35, nearly the same as the total of 286 men who had no flattening, 82.97 ± .15. It seems fully justifiable to consider them in the latter category.

THE EVIDENCE OF BROTHERS

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In our series it was possible to identify 13 pairs of brothers and 4 sets of 3. Their positions in respect to presence or absence of the 2 kinds of cranial flattening are shown on table 24. 1/2

This table is difficult to interpret, largely because the numbers of individuals are so small. In the pairs of brothers, there seems to be a tendency for both or neither to have flattened skulls, regardless of the type of flattening. In the sets of 3, the numbers are too small to tell anything of consequence except that the same mother may bear sons who differ. In the upper right corner of the table the numbers in parentheses represent the numbers expected in each of the 4 classes if the group of 17 families were a random sample of the whole series. If we combine "lambdoid only" and "occipital only" we see that this is the

*P=present.
†A=absent.

1/2 [see cat, 116, p. 93e -- Analyst]

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case. The evidence of brothers is included here merely to show that neither genetics nor family cradling habits can be shown to govern the presence or absence of the 2 types of flattening. Unless we leave it entirely to chance, the theory of the "strong" child seems most likely.

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TABLE 23: TYPES OF FLATTENING.

OCCIPITAL FLATTENING

		ABS.	SM	+	++	+++	TOTAL
LAMBDOID FLATTENING	Abs.	335	22	164	66	10	597
	sm	98	8	4	—	—	110
	+	275	7	43	2	—	327
	++	27	—	2	2	—	31
	+++	2	—	—	—	—	2
	Total	737	37	213	70	10	1067

BATHROCEPHALY AND FLATTENING

	COMBINATIONS OF FLATTENING		BATHROCEPHALY ABSENT		BATHROCEPHALY PRESENT		TOTAL
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
No flattening	335	31.40	286	85.37	49	14.63	100.00
Occipital only	262	24.56	254	97.21	7	2.79	100.00
Lambdoid only	402	37.66	183	45.52	218	54.48	100.00
Both	68	6.38	34	50.00	34	50.00	100.00
Total	1067	100.00	757		308		

OCCIPITAL

LAMBDOID	ABS.	PRES.
ABS.	335	262
PRES.	402	68

Q = − .69

BATHROCEPHALY

LAMBDOID	ABS.	PRES.
ABS.	540	56
PRES.	217	252

Q = + .86

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)19~~5~~0 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TABLE 24: HEAD FLATTENING AMONG BROTHERS.

	Pairs of Brothers Occip.	Lamb.
Both brothers	4	2
Older only	1	3
Younger only	3	2
Neither	5	6
	13	13 pair

COMBINATIONS WITHIN FAMILIES
BOTH PAIRS & SETS OF THREE

Both types	5	(5)
Occipital only	7	(4)
Lambdoid only	3	(6)
Neither	2	(2)

FOUR SETS OF THREE BROTHERS

	Occipital			Lambdoid		
Birth Order	1	2	3	1	2	3
#1	P*	A†	P	A	A	A
#2	A	A	A	P	P	A
#3	P	A	P	A	P	A
#4	P	A	A	A	A	A

HANDEDNESS, ASYMMETRY, AND FLATTENING

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In table 4 we saw that over a third of our series had asymmetrical heads; that is a high ratio. Facial asymmetry, on the other hand, was negligible. With an abnormal amount of cranial asymmetry, and the indication that much if not all of the flattening might also be abnormal, it seems worth while to explore the possibility that these 2 features are associated. First, however, it must be explained how we judged which side the asymmetry was on. An asymmetrical skull bulges to one side or the other. When a skull bulged to the left, we called it left cranial asymmetry, and the converse. When the skull was both asymmetrical and flattened, the plane of flattening pointed to the opposite side from that designated.

TABLE 25: HANDEDNESS, ASYMMETRY, AND FLATTENING.

	Occipital	
Asymmetry	Abs.	Pres.
Abs.	549	188
Pres.	131	199

Q = + .63

	Lambdoid	
Asymmetry	Abs.	Pres.
Abs.	387	210
Pres.	293	177

Q = + .06

Occipital Flattening Absent

Cranial Asymmetry	Handedness L	Handedness R
L	7	47
R	5	127

Q = + .58

Occipital Flattening Present

	Handedness L	Handedness R
L	12	45
R	2	138

Q = + .89

Table 25 shows a definite tendency for men with occipital flattening to have cranial asymmetry as well; a little more than half the occipitally flattened heads are also asymmetrical. Men with lambdoid flattening may or may not have cranial asymmetry; in their case the association is a chance one. This seems

[See cat. 116, p. 54m --Analyst]
[See Cat 116, p. 94a --Analyst]

304 logical enough if flattening is caused by
145 cradling. A baby lying on his back might
*128 strain to turn to one side, and if he habitually chose the same side, that side might be expected to bear the bulk of the flattening. On the other hand if the top of his head were pressed against the headboard, which side he turned to would make little difference.

The way to test this second theory is to see whether or not occipital flattening and handedness are associated. The frequencies for handedness are given on table 4.[1] We tested for handedness by seeing which hand the man put out to take the dynamometer, and if he seemed to hesitate, by asking him to throw a stone. A total figure of 7 per cent for left handedness seems reasonable for a country where almost no one is literate, and where the only compunctions about which hand to use lie in the field of eating and its ultimate result.

Table 25[2] also shows that handedness is associated with cranial asymmetry in any case; in the men who were not occipitally flattened, it reached a Q of + .58, but in those who were so flattened, it attained the nearly complete association of + .89. What this seems to mean is that the babies who were right handed had a tendency to roll over on the left to free their right arms, and to look with their right eyes, etc., while the babies who were left handed had a tendency to do the opposite. It would be very strange if these movements would distort the skull, or be associated with such distortion, without benefit of cradle.

THE BOSTON EVIDENCE

167 The best kind of evidence, of course, is experimental. Although it was impossible to experiment with the Ghegs, a full-dress experiment of exactly the kind we need was conducted unwittingly for us by a group of several thousand Tosks. Shortly before World War I a whole village, Katundi, pulled up stakes and moved to America. Most of them settled in the neighborhood of Boston, where they were joined by others from neighboring villages. The anthropological problems presented by this migration have yet to be studied as a whole, and their investigation should yield much profit in years to come. For the moment a slight beginning may be made, which will serve the purposes of the present report.

1 [see cat. 116, p. 54m -- Analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, p. 94a -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)194 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs
Tosks

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During the winter of 1946–47, 2 graduate students in the Harvard Department of Anthropology, despite busy programs, undertook to measure and observe a sample of the colony, including both Albanian-born and American-born (fig. 16)[1] cradled and uncradled. They measured 37 adults of both sexes who had been born in Albania, and cradled, and 30 individuals, also of both sexes, born in America, of whom only 12 were 20 years old or over.

Table 26[2] gives the results in the categories of occipital and lambdoid flattening. Only one person born in Albania lacked any kind of flattening; he is Mr. Peter Peterson, whose picture may be seen on plate 14, fig. 3, of "The

1 [See cat. 116, p. 116 -- Analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, p. 95c -- Analyst]

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Races of Europe." With a cephalic index of 91.5, he is a living argument that cradling may in some cases raise the cephalic index without producing flattening; persons with this index who were not cradled are exceedingly rare.

Nearly three-fourths had occipital flattening, while two-thirds had lambdoid as well. Of the 46 per cent with both, many had pronounced flattening in 2 planes, separated by an angle. Three were flattened at such an angle that it was necessary to decide arbitrarily between the 2 categories. On the blank used no place had been assigned for +++, or it would have been used. Although no sex difference appears in presence or absence of flattening, in both occipital and lambdoid flatten-

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs
Task 5

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TABLE 26: TYPE OF FLATTENING.

BIRTHPLACE	ALBANIA #	ALBANIA %	AMERICA #	AMERICA %	AGES 5-14	AGES 15-19	AGES 20
No flattening.....	1	2.70	4	13.33	0	2	2
Occipital only.....	11	29.73	4	13.33	2	0	2
Lambdoid only.....	8	21.62	20	66.67	8	5	7
Both	17	45.95	2	6.67	1	0	1
Totals	37		30		11	7	12

DEGREE OF FLATTENING

	OCCIPITAL ALBANIA #	OCCIPITAL ALBANIA %	OCCIPITAL AMERICA #	OCCIPITAL AMERICA %	LAMBDOID ALBANIA #	LAMBDOID ALBANIA %	LAMBDOID AMERICA #	LAMBDOID AMERICA %
Abs.	9	24.32	24	80.00	12	32.43	8	26.67
sm	1	2.70	3	10.00	10	27.03	12	40.00
	17	45.95	1	3.33	7	18.92	8	26.67
	10	27.03	2	6.67	8	21.62	2	6.67
	37		30		37		30	

SEX DIFFERENCES

ALBANIAN-BORN FLATTENING	MALE	FEMALE	AMERICAN-BORN FLATTENING	MALE	FEMALE
ABS.	1	0	ABS.	2	2
PRES.	21	15	PRES.	14	12

SEX DIFFERENCES

	ALBANIAN-BORN OCCIPITAL ♂	OCCIPITAL ♀	LAMBDOID ♂	LAMBDOID ♀		AMERICAN-BORN OCCIPITAL ♂	OCCIPITAL ♀	LAMBDOID ♂	LAMBDOID ♀
Abs.	4	5	6	6	Abs.	12	12	3	5
sm	1	0	4	6	sm	3	0	6	6
	8	9	6	1		0	1	5	3
	9	1	6	2		1	1	2	0
Total	22	15	22	15	Total	16	14	15	14

TASKS

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ing, the men showed much more marked degrees than the women. It would be hard to find anywhere a more flattened group. These Tosks are much more flattened than the Ghegs of our series; only the tribesmen of Zadrima and Maksia e Madhe approach them. The Tosks, however, characteristically have both lambdoid and occipital types at once while among the Ghegs a combination of the two is rare. The Tosks are also stockier, heavier, hairier men than the Ghegs, and more frequently bald. Racially they appear to be typically Alpine, whereas the Ghegs are more typically Dinaric, in the classic sense.

The children of these people, born in America and treated in infancy in exactly the same fashion as other American children, differ from their parents, as might be expected. Four out of 5 had some lambdoid flattening, while only one out of 5 had the occipital variety. In the frequencies of degree of occipital flattening a regular descending progression is seen from absent to *sm* to + to ++, which is what one would expect for the incidence of a minority character were it acquired through the same agency as its absence. This is the opposite situation from that seen among the Ghegs and the Albanian-born Tosks. The degrees of lambdoid flattening also assume a normal distribution, with the peak at *sm*. Two uncradled males with lambdoid flattening also had bathrocephaly. Small as this series is, it is highly suggestive.

Flattening of both varieties appears in early childhood, and probably in infancy, among the American-born. It seems not to increase with age. Lambdoid flattening is just as frequent among the uncradled as among the cradled, but among the latter it is much more marked. From this evidence one can only conclude that when it appears as a small area of flattening only it is probably genetic, but that when cradling is added the area increases. Occipital flattening is found among only 6 out of 30 of the uncradled. Three of these 6 were traces to slight. Of the other 3, one with + was an 11-year-old girl; the other 2 had ++. Of these, one is a younger brother of Mr. Peter Peterson, aged 24. There can be no question whatever in his case. He was not cradled. The other is a 33-year-old woman born in Maine. In her case we are not as sure. Occip-

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs
Tosks

304 ital flattening is probably also genetic at times,
*128 or produced by other environmental influences of which we are not aware. When it occurs with the frequency and to the degree shown by the cradled Tosks, we may be reasonably sure that the cradling is responsible for most, but not necessarily all, of it. The Boston Tosk population urgently needs a thorough study, while the old people who led the colony across the ocean are still with us, and before the young people are dispersed.

THE ANTHROPOMETRY OF FLATTENING

141 Returning to our Gheg series, we may sur-
304 vey the effect of both kinds of flattening on
*128 the major dimensions of the head, and on the cephalic index, as shown in table 27 and figure 7.[1] Constants were also seriated for stature, minimum frontal, bizygomatic, bigonial, total face height, upper face height, nose height, nose breadth, and the nasal index. Since all of these drew complete blanks except bizygomatic, we may conclude with confidence that within present limits cranial vault form has nothing whatever to do with any of them except the width of the face, either genetically or mechanically. Furthermore, the failure of such sensitive criteria as face height and nose height to change with type of flattening confirms the independence of these latter from the influences of age, once the sutures have entirely closed.

The dimensions of the vault sort themselves out into 2 categories; those that are nearly identical with each other and those that approach or attain statistical significance. In head length, *lambdoid* and *both* are the same; in the breadth, *lambdoid* and *neither*. In the height, *occipital* and *both* are the same; in the cephalic index all are different.

It is interesting to observe that lambdoid flattening, despite its position, still causes a little shortening of the head, and that the men with both types of flattening follow those with lambdoid only in this dimension. In breadth, however, the lambdoidally flattened heads follow the unflattened, while the men with both take their breadth from their occipital flattening. As one would expect, lambdoid flattening carries with it the lowest values for

1 [see cat. 116, p. 97a -- Analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, p. 92b -- Analyst]

141 head height and occipital the highest. The men
304 with *both* follow the occipital line, while those
*128 with *neither* are between. Whatever else a man may have, lambdoid flattening prevents his head from being shortened beyond a certain degree; if he has occipital flattening he is sure to have a broad and high vault. As one

141 would expect, the values for the cephalic
304 index follow a progression from *neither* to
*128 *occipital*, and a range of 5 index points. Clearly, flattening is a vital factor in the makeup of Dinarics.

In the means for the bizygomatic diameter, significant differences are seen between *lambdoid* and *both*, *occipital* and *both*, and *neither* and *both*. Lambdoid flattening does not broaden the face but apparently occipital does. The reason why *both* exceeds *occipital* only is that *both* has higher values for degree of occipital flattening than *occipital only*.

141 This increase in face breadth, though sig-
30 4 nificant, is not great. Another element in this
*128 complex is the nasal profile, which seems to grow more convex as the occiput becomes more flattened. The significance of this, if any, may be seen more in the steady progression of percentages of convex in the column repre-

141 senting degree of occipital flattening than in
304 any statistical test. It may be added that many
*128 other attributes were tested for association with head form, and none of them were found to be related. Lambdoid flattening does nothing to the face. Occipital flattening may bring about a slight facial broadening in connection with the greater broadening of the parietals, for as it separates the areas of attachment of the temporal muscles, it may, in so doing, thus spread the hoops under which these muscles pass to the mandibular condyles, which remain constant. The increase in nasal

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Table 27: Anthropometry and Flattening.

Vault Dimensions

	Only Occipital	Only Lambdoid	Both	Neither
No.	262	402	68	335
Head lgth.	181.70 ± .27	186.73 ± .23	186.71 ± .95	188.36 ± .25
Head br.	161.50 ± .23	156.93 ± .19	160.10 ± .44	156.10 ± .21
Head ht.	129.44 ± .33	126.88 ± .26	129.76 ± .73	128.23 ± .23
Cephalic index	87.91 ± .16	84.08 ± .12	86.82 ± .47	82.96 ± .23
Bizygomatic	142.60 ± .25	141.79 ± .19	144.78 ± .46	142.06 ± .21

Degree of Flattening and Cephalic Index

		Occipital*		Lambdoid*
Abs.	737	83.56	597	85.18
sm	37	85.86	110	83.93
+	213	87.31	327	84.31
++	70	89.06	33	87.09
+++	10	92.10		
Total	1067		1067	

* Including both.

Nasal Profile and Flattening

	Concave #	Concave %	Straight #	Straight %	Convex #	Convex %	Conc.-Conv. #	Conc.-Conv. %	Total
Abs.	54	7.30	300	40.70	374	50.75	9	1.25	737
sm	3	8.11	15	40.54	18	48.65	1	2.70	37
+	7	3.37	80	37.47	125	58.69	1	.47	213
++	5	7.14	18	25.71	47	67.14	0	0	70
+++	0	0	3	30.00	7	70.00	0	0	10
Total	69		416		571		11		1067

	Convexity	
Occip. Flattening	Absence	Presence
Abs.	363	374
Pres.	133	197

Q = .45

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convexity would reflect a thrusting forward, in extreme cases, of the bony structures in the sagittal line of the cranium through the region of the nasal passages.

Before this section is concluded, it might be of interest to mention that the 22 adult male Tosks measured in Boston have a mean cephalic index of 89.91, with a mode of 8 individuals at 91. The distribution is not a curve at all.

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The 5 adult males born in America have cephalic indices of 76, 78, 78, 87, and 88, with a mean of 81; 3 out of 5 are as long headed as the rest of the American population, while the other 2 approximate the mean and mode of their cradled parents.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION OF HEAD FORM

Table 28[1] shows clearly that it is not merely

[1] [See cat. No, p. 98e-- Analyst]

141 304 #728 the relative frequency of occipital and lambdoid flattening that causes regional differences in head form (figs. 7, 14, 15).[1] When the unflattened individuals in each tribal series are sorted out and reseriated, we find that in each case a lower mean is obtained than before, varying from .74 points lower in the case of Dukagin, to 2.98 points lower in Has. The complete regularity of this column provides

1 [cat. 112, pp. 92 b, 114, 115--Analyst]

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for its validation. If flattening alone were responsible for the differences in cephalic index, then when all flattened persons were removed the tribal means should be identical. They are not, and we have uncovered a real, probably genetic, difference in head form ranging from a mean of 84 in the west to 81 in the east. This accords perfectly with the regional distribution of facial measurements which we have already seen.

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TABLE 28: TRIBAL CEPHALIC AND INDEX MEANS.

	Total and Unflattened			
	No.	Total	No.	Unflattened
MeM	105	86.79 ± .25	22	84.28 ± .46
Duk	106	84.54 ± .24	30	83.80 ± .33
MeJ	104	83.04 ± .28	41	81.22 ± .40
Has	114	85.59 ± .28	26	82.61 ± .59
Lum	109	82.62 ± .27	32	81.38 ± .40
Puk	102	83.76 ± .26	55	82.69 ± .27
Mir	101	84.39 ± .27	33	83.09 ± .42
Zad	105	86.67 ± .24	35	84.86 ± .38
Mat	104	86.49 ± .27	22	84.14 ± .54
Dib	108	84.96 ± .26	32	83.34 ± .49

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

300 THE RACIAL POSITION OF THE GHEG MOUNTAINEERS

000 THIS chapter need not be long. It will consist merely of a restatement of the problem, a review of the evidence, and a conclusion.

105 1. The problem is, what is a Dinaric, and how does he come to be one? The Gheg mountaineers were selected as subjects for this experiment because they seemed to be the most Dinaric people in the world, and because they are located in an area ideal for controls.

2. The mountains in which they live prove to be a true refuge, difficult of access, conservative in every sense.

3. The work of the Gheg keeps him and his family busy at home. It utilizes all of the available soil, and the limit of the number of people whom it can support has long since been reached in terms of the techniques employed. The few craftsmen who come into it to work, like the castle-builders, move on. The Mountains of Giants, like the Highlands of Scotland, export men. None are imported.

4. The mountaineer chooses his bride by a time-honored system which, while sociologically exogamous, biologically keeps the genes within very close lines.

5. His political system provides local autonomy and keeps people home. Feuding keeps men home, too, or, if they lose, sees that they are exiled completely out of the mountains.

6. Religious differences help block marriage with outsiders. Neither Catholics nor Moslems will marry Orthodox. Except in a few regions it segregates Catholics and Moslems as well, and has done so for 4 centuries.

7. The historical picture is reasonably clear. Except for the lowlands along the coast, the tribal area was probably uninhabited, or nearly so, until the second half of the first millennium B.C. Illyrians moved down from the northwest, following the mountains, and settled it. Some Thracians may have entered from the east, and a few Goths straggled into the country around the fork of the Drin. No real addition to the basic Illyrian population took place until the 16th century. At that time the Turks massacred whole villages all the way

105 from Durazzo to Scutari, and in the region of Malsia e Madhe and the lower reaches of Dukagin. To replace the nearly exterminated population, immigrants arrived from the land from which the first ancestors of the Ghegs had come—Bosnia.

000 8. The series which we have studied covers all of the tribes, most of the *bairaks*, and many of the villages. Except for a few tribes within which the regional distribution is uneven, it gives a true coverage of the anthropometry of the mountain people.

9. It defines the Mountain Gheg as a Dinaric of the classic type, as expected, but with wide variations. These are concentrated in gross body size and strength, the size and shape of the cranial vault, and in a few local peculiarities such as the incidence of bilateral chins, baldness, and deep lumbar curves. The greatest uniformity is found in the breadths and proportions of the face, the dimensions and morphology of the nose, hair form and distribution, and pigmentation. The characters which are most uniform are the ones most likely to be genetically controlled; most of those which are most variable are those which the environment can affect the most.

10. Many of these latter differences can be tentatively eliminated or equated by the use of certain controls: age, dental occlusion, nutrition, and the effects of cradling.

11. A few others cannot, as, in Dukagin, the high frequency of brown hair, lambdoid flattening, bilateral chins, and broad shoulders. This points to the presence of a genetic element much less evident in the other tribes, except, in lesser degree, in Malsia e Madhe. Similarly the men of Has, who marry often with their fellow Albanians on the Kossovo plain, have a few peculiarities of their own, particularly a tendency to more baldness, more black hair, and a slightly darker skin. These characters would relate them to the people farther east.

12. Despite all the controls, an east-west gradient remains in head and face form. The people to the northwest are broader headed,

broader faced, and shorter faced than the people to the northeast; those to the south are in between, perhaps transitional to the Lowland Ghegs. How to explain this is not clear. Perhaps the Bosnians brought in the breadth, perhaps some remnant of the pre-Illyrian populations of the coast is responsible. Wherever it came from, or however it grew, it forms a continuity with the Slavic-speaking peoples to the northwest and the Tosks to the south.

13. The regional differences which have been uncovered in spite of the controls are probably mostly genetic, although this cannot be fully tested until better material is at hand. Blood groups would help immensely.

14. The typical Dinaric has been shown to be partly the product of age and artifice. His gaunt face and hawklike nose come to him usually in middle age; his broad, occipitally flattened head is largely the result of cradling. His lean body is to a large extent that of a man who has worked hard and eaten little.

15. If one were to choose at random 1067 newly born Mountain Gheg boys from all tribes, all of the same age and at the same time, transport them to America, feed them on the fat of the land, and bring them up as the sons of wealthy and provident American parents are reared, and then measure them all at the age of 20, we would have an equated anthropometric series. It would be comparable to many others in the literature of physical anthropology. I venture to predict that the means of some of their measurements would be:

Stature	173 cm.
Relative span	103
Relative shoulder br.	22.5
Relative sitting ht.	52.5
Head length	190 mm.
Head breadth	156
Head height	128
Total face height	122
Minimum frontal	108
Bizygomatic	138
Bigonial	108
Cephalic index	82
Facial index	88
Nasal index	60

000 Sixty-five per cent of these young men would have dark-to-medium brown hair, 20 per cent black, and 15 per cent blond, including light brown. The skin would be fair; most of the eyes would be mixed, with the lighter shades predominant, and darks and pure lights would constitute about a fourth of the whole. Sixty per cent of the noses would have straight or slightly wavy profiles, 10 per cent would be concave, and only 30 per cent convex.

These boys would not be distinguishable from ordinary Americans, except to an expert on race, who might recognize them as different, not individually, but as a group, only by their possession of a mean cephalic index about 4 points higher than the average. Or perhaps the brachycephaly too would fade away upon transplanting; that we cannot tell.

144 16. If we equate the Mountain Ghegs in such a fashion with western Europeans and Americans, we find that they would be comparable to many local populations in western Germany and Austria. They are of the same basic genetic stock, disseminated widely in the Iron Age, from which most northern and western European peoples came.

17. Like most other European populations of essentially Nordic or Mediterranean (or Nordic and Mediterranean) character, they include telltale traces of pre-Nordic and pre-Mediterranean racial features, which make some of them broader of trunk, more heavily muscled, wider of head and face, blunter nosed, and heavier jawed than others. In the Mountains of Giants this element is concentrated in the northwest, in Dukagin, with a lesser incidence in Malsia e Madhe. Were the series from that confederation large enough, regional subseries would probably make this clear. It seems most likely that this element entered with the Bosnian immigration of the 16th century, although some of it may have been present in still earlier times.

000 18. Geography, technology, sociology, history, and physical anthropology all play their parts in the resolution of this problem. I only hope that the answer is really as simple as I have suggested.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1960 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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COLLOTYPE FIGURES 8–16

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 195 EGl Albania EGl
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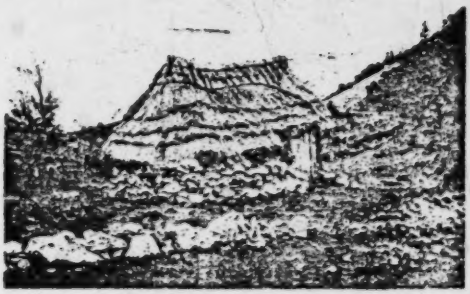
a

b



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a, An isolated *kulla*, Spaç *bairak*, Mirdita. *b*, A Puka *bar*. *c*, Herder's hut, summer pasture. *d*, House in Shoshi.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGl Albania EGl
Highland Ghegs

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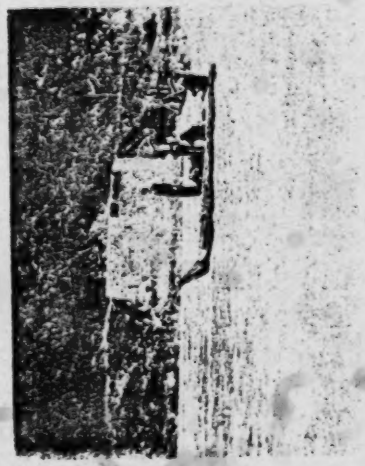
a



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a, Toska dancing at King Zog's birthday party, 1929. b, Turkish bridge over the White Drin, near Kiliss. c, Scene in Mati. d, Ferrying across the Black Drin between Lumi and Mal i Zi.

a, Prince Jon Markajon of Mirdita, with his wife, mother, and children. *b*, Tom Tushi, the expedition's host in Shoshi. *c*. Dukagin porters resting on the pass between Merturi and Shala. *d*, A sworn virgin of Mirdita (right) with her friend. *e*, A group of Gheg *bairaktars* singing their defiance at King Zog's 1929 birthday celebration—the man in the left center is the *bairaktar* of Hoti, in the right center, of Klementi. *f*, A Catholic Gheg woman, probably from Zadrima.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

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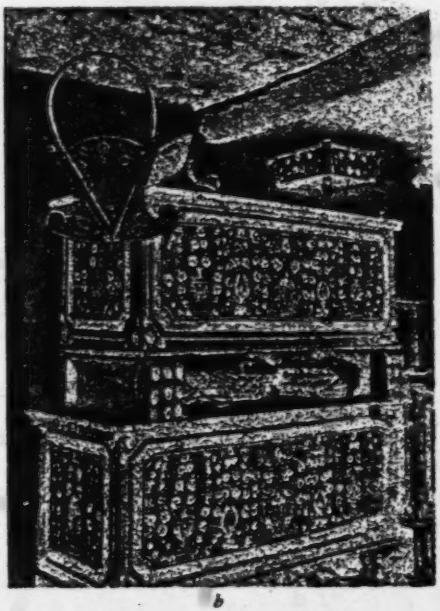
a



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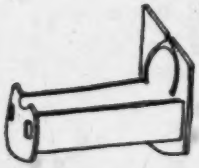

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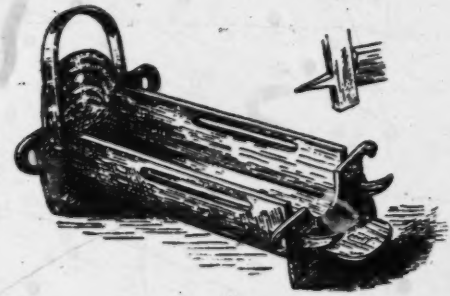

d

Cradles. *a*, Zadrima cradle. *b*, Cradle from Scutari (Haberlandt, 1917, fig. 29). *c*, Vlach cradle (Haberlandt, 1917, table 3, no. *12*). *d*, Cradle from Planti (Nopsca, 1925, fig. 78).

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THE GHEG PHENOTYPE. *Standard Dinaric Mountain Gheg: a*, Zadrima tribe; age, 35; eyes, blue-brown; hair, dark brown; beard, reddish brown; cephalic index, 88; facial index, 83; nasal index, 65; stature, 151.1. *b*, Dibra . be; age, 50; eyes, blue-brown; hair, black grayness; beard, red-brown grayness; cephalic index, 80; facial index, 94; nasal index, 58; stature, 178.8. *The hornish type of the northwest: c*, Maina e Madhe tribe; age, 40; eyes, blue; hair, golden; beard, golden; cephalic index, 86; facial index, 86; nasal index, 67; stature, 175.0. *d*, Dukagin tribe; age, 48; eyes, green-brown; hair, golden; beard, golden; cephalic index, 90; facial index, 78; nasal index, 67; stature, 190.

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 19: EGl Albania EGl
Highland Ghegs

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AGE CHANGES IN FACE FORM. *18–26-year-old group: a*, Malsia e Jakovës tribe; age, 22; eyes, green-brown; hair, dark brown; beard, dark brown; cephalic index, 84; facial index, 84; nasal index, 57; stature, 172.5. *b*, Puka tribe; age, 24; eyes, green-brown; hair, dark brown; beard, golden; cephalic index, 80; facial index, 91; nasal index, 58; stature, 174. *30–50-year-old group: c*, Zadrima tribe; age, 36; eyes, green-brown; hair, dark brown; beard, light brown; cephalic index, 87; facial index, 82; nasal index, 48; stature, 165. *d*, Mirdita tribe; age, 48; eyes, green-brown; hair, black grayness; beard, red-brown grayness; cephalic index, 84; facial index, 80; nasal index, 59; stature, 172.3. *60–75-year-old group: e*, Zadrima tribe; age, 60; eyes, green-brown; hair, dark brown-gray; beard, red-brown grayness; cephalic index, 89; facial index, 85; nasal index, 53; stature, 171.6. *f*, Luma tribe; age, 65; eyes, green-brown; hair, black grayness; beard, red-brown grayness; cephalic index, 80; facial index, 85; nasal index, 58; stature, 170.7.

Variations in Head Form. *The undeformed head: a*, Luma tribe; age, 25; eyes, dark brown; hair, dark brown; beard, dark brown; cephalic index, 76; facial index, 87; nasal index, 62; stature, 177. *b*, Luma tribe; age, 25; eyes, blue-brown; hair, medium brown; beard, light brown; cephalic index, 76; facial index, 86; nasal index, 55; stature, 168.8. *Lambdoid flattening: c*, Dukagin tribe; age, 50; eyes, green-brown; hair, black; beard, reddish brown; cephalic index, 85; facial index, 75; nasal index, 68; stature, 174.1. *d*, Malsia e Madhe tribe; age, 65; eyes, green-brown; hair, black grayness; beard, red-brown grayness; cephalic index, 88; facial index, 86; nasal index, 63; stature, 177.0.

VARIATIONS IN HEAD FORM (continued). *Occipital flattening: a*, Luma tribe; age, 24; eyes, green-brown; hair, golden; beard, golden; cephalic index, 96; facial index, 86; nasal index, 65; stature, 177.0. *b*, Puka tribe; age, 28; eyes, green-brown; hair, dark brown; beard, dark brown; cephalic index, 93; facial index, 81; nasal index, 65; stature, 170.2. *Both lambdoid and occipital flattening: c*, Malsia e Jakovës tribe; age, 20; eyes, green-brown; hair, black; beard, black; cephalic index, 90; facial index, 86; nasal index, 62; stature, 174.0. *Brachycephaly: d*, Mirdita tribe; age, 50; eyes, green-brown; hair, black grayness; beard, red-brown grayness; cephalic index, 80; facial index, 83; nasal index, 46; stature, 162.1.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

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THE BORDER TRIBE. 1, Albanian-born. 2, American-born. 3, Albanian-born. 4, American-born.

8: Coon

EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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[For the analysis, classification, quantification and organization of data on composition of tribal samples, measurements and indices, observations, variability of the series and of the tribes, phenotypical differences between tribes and statistical validation; regional variations in body size and form, cranial vault, form of face, pilosity, pigmentation; age and strength, related metrical characters, certain soft parts of the face, pilosity, graying, color changes; bite and age, geography, face heights, face breadths; soil and physique; privilege and nutrition; cranial deformation, handedness, asymetry and flattening, anthropometry of flattening; and tribal distribution of head form, see category 116, pp. 51-54a; 54c-54q; 62a-71c; 72b-79e; 81a-85e; 87a-89b; 92a-98e.]

8: Coon

EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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[For data on cranial deformations, see category 116, pp. 90a; 91a-98e.]

9: Albania (no date) 1946 EG1 Albania EG1

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

OF

- ALBANIA -

Published by the Committee
FOR THE DEFENSE OF ALBANIA
BISHOP F. S. NOLI, Chairman
REV. THIMI THEODOS, Secretary
26 Blagden Street, BOSTON 16, MASS.

[p. 1]

9: Albania (no date) 1946 EG1 Albania EG1

CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

PART ONE
FUNDAMENTAL LAWS

TITLE I
The People's Republic of Albania

ARTICLE 1

642 Albania is a People's Republic in which all powers are derived from and belong to the people.

ARTICLE 2

In the People's Republic of Albania the people rule by means of various representative organs of state, namely, the People's councils which came into existence during the struggle for national liberation against fascism and reaction and which represent the greatest victory of the large masses of the Albanian people.

These organs are freely elected by the people from the local councils to the People's Convention.

ARTICLE 3

[666] All the representative organs of the state are elected by the citizens by free elections, and by universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot.

In all organs of the state the representatives of the people are responsible to their constituents.

The constituents have the right to recall their representatives at any time. The exercise of this right is to be regulated by a special law.

ARTICLE 4

All the organs of the state exercise their functions according to this constitution, and according to laws and regulations passed by the high organs of state.

[Constitution]

642 All activities of the administrative organs of the state and courts must be based on law.

TITLE II

Social and Economic Measures

ARTICLE 5

471 In the People's Republic of Albania the means of production comprises all the wealth of the people owned by the state, the cooperative organizations of the people, and private individuals whether real or legal entities.

The wealth of the people includes mines and all other sub-surface resources, as well as waterways, natural wealth, forests, pasture land, airways, postal service, telegraph, telephone, radio stations, and banks.

[439] Foreign trade is under the control of the state.

ARTICLE 6

185 In order to protect the vital interests of the people and to improve the standard of living and in order to exploit all the economical forces the state undertakes to direct the economic life and development by an overall planned economy. The state, by controlling its economy and the cooperatives, exercises a general control over private economy as well.

[575] The state, in order to carry out the general economic plan, relies on the trade unions of the working men and civil servants, the cooperatives of the peasants, and other organizations of the laboring masses.

ARTICLE 7

471 The state regulates and directs by law the use of the collective wealth of the people. The collective wealth of the people is especially favored by the state.

ARTICLE 8

474 The state is especially interested in the cooperative movement of the people which it favors and assists.

ARTICLE 9

421 Private property and private initiative are guaranteed
[428] by the state. Private inheritance is guaranteed. Nobody may use private property to the detriment of the public.

[Constitution]

Private property may be limited, and when the general 421
welfare of the community calls for it, it may be expropriated [425]
by a law, which shall provide in each case what the amount of compensation shall be to the owner.

Likewise other branches of economy or enterprises may 471
also be nationalized whenever the interest of the people demands or requires it.

Monopolies, trusts, cartels, etc., created for the purpose of imposing prices and monopolizing markets to the detriment of national economy, are prohibited.

ARTICLE 10

The land belongs to those who till it. The conditions 423
under which an institution or a person can own land which they do not cultivate shall be established by law.

Large estates may under no circumstances be owned by private individuals.

The maximum amount of land that may be owned individually is determined by law.

The state especially favors and protects the small and 652
middle peasants by its economic policy, by means of credit, and by its taxation system.

ARTICLE 11

The state, by means of economic and other measures, 466
encourages the working classes to unite and organize themselves against economic exploitation.

The state protects the workers by guaranteeing them the right to organize, by limiting their hours of work, and by establishing minimum wages. The state supports the workers by means of social security laws and vacations with pay at the expense of the employers.

The state especially protects minors by regulating their 464
employment.

TITLE III

Rights and Duties of Citizens

ARTICLE 12

All citizens are equal before the law. They must obey 641
the Constitution and all laws of the land.

[Constitution]

641 No privilege because of family, position in life, wealth,
554 or cultural level is recognized.

ARTICLE 13

[563] All citizens are equal regardless of nationality, race, or
[659] religion. Any act which grants privileges or takes away rights from any citizen because of nationality, race, or religion is unconstitutional and carries with it punishments as provided by law. It is unconstitutional and punishable by law to stir up hatred and dissension among nationalities, races, or religions.

ARTICLE 14

666 All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen are
641 eligible to elect and be elected in all organs of state, regardless of sex, nationality, race, creed, cultural level, or residence.

Members of the armed forces also have these rights.

The right to vote is universal, equal, direct, and secret.

The right to vote is forfeited by those who have been disqualified by law.

ARTICLE 15

562 Women are equal to men in all walks of life, private, political, or social.

Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same work. And women have similar rights with regard to social security.

745 The government especially protects the interests of mothers and young children, by assuring vacations with pay before and after childbirth and also by building maternity hospitals and nurseries.

ARTICLE 16

659 Freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed to all citizens.

The church is separated from the state.

Religious communities are free to exercise and practice their creeds.

It is forbidden to use the church and religion for political purposes. 659

Likewise, political organizations based on religion are also forbidden.

The state may assist religious communities materially.

ARTICLE 17

Marriage and family are protected by the state. The legal conditions of marriage and family are fixed by law. 585

Legal marriages can be performed only by competent representatives of the government. After celebrating a civil marriage a citizen may celebrate a religious marriage according to the rules of his creed.

The courts of the state only are competent to determine all questions concerning marriage. [692]

Parents have the same obligations towards their illegitimate children as to those born in wedlock. Illegitimate children have the same rights as those born in wedlock. [848]

ARTICLE 18

Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of organization, freedom of assembly and of public demonstration. are guaranteed to all citizens. 641

ARTICLE 19

Personal inviolability is guaranteed to all citizens. Nobody can be arrested for more than three days without a court warrant or without the approval of the district attorney. 671 641 [694]

No person shall be punished for a crime without the decision of a competent judge in conformity with the law which defines the crime and the competence of the court

No punishment shall be determined and inflicted except as prescribed by law.

No person shall be punished without a hearing nor without being summoned to defend himself according to law, except in a case where his absence is legally established

The administrative organs of the state may give jail sentences for common law misdemeanors as prescribed by law.

[Constitution]

671 No citizens may be exiled or interned within the state
641 except as prescribed by law.

The People's Republic of Albania protects the rights of its citizens in foreign lands.

ARTICLE 20

694 A home cannot be violated.

No person can enter a house and search it against the wishes of the owner, except when he holds a court order in his hands.

No search can be made except in the presence of two witnesses. The owner of the house also has a right to be present.

ARTICLE 21

205 The secrecy of mail and other correspondence cannot be violated except in cases of criminal investigations, military mobilization, or state of war.

ARTICLE 22

461 In the People's Republic of Albania work is a privilege and a duty.

Every citizen has a right to be paid according to his work and to receive from society as much as he gives to it.

ARTICLE 23

641 All citizens have a right to be employed in government work according to specific regulations laid down by law.

Citizens appointed or elected to public office are bound to perform their duties conscientiously.

ARTICLE 24

[729] It is the duty of the state to adequately support disabled
657 soldiers at public expense and to enable them to resume their work. The state shall support the families of those who died in battle and of all war victims.

ARTICLE 25

The state takes care of the health of the people by organizing and controlling health service, hospitals, and sanatoriums.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 26

The state takes care of the physical education of the people, especially that of the youth, with a view to improving health and increasing the capacity of the people for work and the defense of the state. 657

ARTICLE 27

Freedom of scientific and artistic work is guaranteed. 517
The state promotes science and the arts in such a way as to further the culture and welfare of the public.

The rights of authors are protected by law.

ARTICLE 28

In order to raise the cultural level, the state gives to all 871
classes of people every chance to attend schools and other cultural institutions.

The state is particularly interested in the education of youth.

Minors are protected by law. [858]

The schools belong to the state. Private schools can be opened only by special permission. All their activities are supervised by the state. Elementary education is free and obligatory.

Schools are separated from the church.

ARTICLE 29

Citizens have the right to petition state organs for 641
redress of wrongs.

Citizens have the right to complain against any illegal or irregular decision of an administrative organ of the state.

ARTICLE 30

Every citizen can complain in competent courts against officials who have acted unjustly in the discharge of their duty.

ARTICLE 31

Citizens are entitled to seek from the state or from an 695
official compensation for damages incurred as a result of illegal or irregular punishment.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 32

641 Defense of the country is the highest duty and greatest privilege of any citizen.

[687] Treachery against the people is the greatest crime.

Military service is obligatory for all citizens.

ARTICLE 33

651 Every citizen must pay taxes according to his income.

The state fixes taxes, and exemption from the same is determined by law.

ARTICLE 34

687 Citizens cannot use the rights given them by this constitution in order to change the constitutional regime of the People's Republic of Albania in an undemocratic manner. Any act of this kind is illegal and carries with it punishment as prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 35

563 In the People's Republic of Albania national minorities enjoy all the rights enjoyed by other citizens as well as freedom to use their own language and develop their own culture.

ARTICLE 36

641 The People's Republic of Albania gives the right of refuge to citizens of other countries who are persecuted for their activities in behalf of democracy, national liberation, rights of the workers, or scientific and cultural freedom.

PART TWO
STATE ORGANIZATIONS

TITLE I
Highest Organs of the State

646 (a) People's Convention

ARTICLE 37

The People's Convention (Parliament) is the highest organ of the state of the People's Republic of Albania.

ARTICLE 38

The People's Convention maintains the sovereignty of the

[Constitution]

nation and state, and exercises all the sovereign rights under the constitution with the exception of those rights which the constitution itself has assigned to the Presidium of the People's Convention or to the government. 646

ARTICLE 39

Legislative powers are exercised only by the People's Convention.

ARTICLE 40

The People's Convention is elected by all the citizens, with one representative for every 20,000 people. [666]

ARTICLE 41

The People's Convention is elected for four years.

ARTICLE 42

At the beginning of each session the People's Convention elects a president, vice-president and secretary. The president presides over the meetings according to the rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 43

The People's Convention is called by a decree of the Presidium in ordinary and extraordinary sessions. [643]

Ordinary sessions meet twice annually, March 15 and October 15. If the People's Convention is not called on these two dates, it will meet on its own initiative and without a decree of the Presidium.

Extraordinary sessions of the People's Convention are called when the Presidium deems it necessary or when one-third of the members request its convocation.

ARTICLE 44

The People's Convention makes its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 45

No bill can become a law until it is passed by the relative majority in a session when the majority of its members take part.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 46

646 Laws become effective fifteen days after they are promulgated in the official Journal, except when it is designated otherwise in the law itself.

ARTICLE 47

The People's Convention appoints various committees for specific purposes.

The People's Convention appoints a committee to examine the credentials of the people's representatives in its first session.

Upon recommendation of this committee the People's convention approves or rejects the credentials of the people's representatives.

ARTICLE 48

The People's Convention may investigate matters of general interest through special committees.

All organs of the state must give facts and information when these committees demand it.

ARTICLE 49

All members of the People's Convention enjoy parliamentary immunity.

Members of the People's Convention and of the Presidium cannot be arrested or prosecuted without the approval of the People's Convention, except in case of *flagrante delicto*.

ARTICLE 50

In case of war or similar emergency the People's Convention may convene longer than its normal term so long as the emergency exists.

The People's Convention may also shorten its term.

ARTICLE 51

[666] The date for new parliamentary election must be fixed before the convention dissolves.

The interval between the day of dissolution of the People's Convention and the day of the new elections must not exceed three months nor be less than two months.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 52

The constitution can be changed or amended only by the 642
People's Convention.

Bills for changes or amendments in the constitutions may be proposed by the Presidium, the Government, or by two-fifths of the members of the People's Convention.

Changes or amendments to the constitution must be passed by an absolute majority of the members of the Convention.

(b) *The Presidium of the People's Convention*

643

ARTICLE 53

The People's Convention elects its own Presidium which shall consist of a president, two-vice-presidents, a secretary, and seven members.

ARTICLE 54

The Presidium of the People's Convention has the following duties:

1. It calls the People's Convention.
2. It designates the elections for the Popular Convention.
3. It makes authentic interpretations as to the constitutionality of the laws. These interpretations are then submitted to the People's Convention for approval.
4. It makes authentic interpretations of the laws and issues decrees.
5. It promulgates the laws passed by the Convention.
6. It exercises the right of pardon in accordance with the prescriptions of the law.
7. It awards decorations and honorary titles upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
8. It ratifies international treaties, except when it considers it necessary for ratification to be made by the People's Convention.

[Constitution]

643

9. It appoints and recalls envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to foreign countries upon recommendation of the Government.
10. It accepts credentials and letters of recall from foreign diplomats.
11. It proclaims general mobilization and declare war in case of armed aggression against the People's Republic of Albania between the two sessions of the People's Convention; in case of urgent necessity it fullfills international obligations of the Republic to the international peace organizations or allied nations.
12. It appoints and dismisses ministers between the two sessions of the People's Convention upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
13. It appoints assistant ministers upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
14. It creates commissions within the government and designates their chairmen upon recommendation of the Prime Misister.
15. It assigns duties to a ministry or to a government commission.
16. On the basis of decisions made by the People's Convention or upon recommendation of the government, it submits various questions to a popular referendum.

The decrees of the Presidium of the People's Convention are signed by the president and by the secretary.

ARTICLE 55

643 646 The Presidium of the People's Convention is responsible for its activities to the People's Convention. The Convention may revoke its Presidium and replace it by another; it may dismiss some members and replace them by others before their term expires.

ARTICLE 56

When the People's Convention is dissolved, the Presidium

[Constitution]

continues in power until another People's Convention elects a new Presidium. 646

The Presidium convokes the People's Convention within one month after its election. 643

TITLE II

Administrative Organs of the State

ARTICLE 57

The Government is the highest executive and administrative organ of the People's Republic of Albania. 645

The government is appointed and dismissed by the People's Convention.

The government is responsible to the People's Convention and must account to it for its activities. Between the two sessions of the People's Convention the government is responsible to the Presidium of the Convention before which it must render full account of its activities.

ARTICLE 58

The government performs its duties according to the constitution and the laws. The government issues the decrees necessary for carrying out laws on the basis of a special authorization; it gives binding instructions for the execution of laws.

Orders, decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government must be signed by the Prime Minister and the minister in charge of the department concerned.

ARTICLE 59

The government directs and coordinates the functioning of the ministries, committees, and all other institutions which come under its jurisdiction.

The government outlines the economic plan of the state, submits the annual budget to the People's Convention for its approval, and supervises its execution; directs the credit and monetary systems; takes all necessary measures to uphold the constitution and the rights of all citizens; directs all military forces; keeps in touch with foreign governments; carries out treaties with foreign countries and other international obliga-

[Constitution]

645 tions; submits bills prepared by the government and by various ministries to the People's Convention; decides on how ministries and other government institutions shall be organized; and creates committees to execute economic, cultural, and defensive measures on a national scale.

ARTICLE 60

The government is composed of the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Ministers, the Chairman of the Committee for Economic Planning, and the Chairman of the Commitee of Control.

The members of the government take the oath of office before the Presidium of the People's Convention.

ARTICLE 61

The Prime Minister represents the government, presides over all meetings, and directs all the activities of the government.

ARTICLE 62

The members of the government head the various administrative departments of the State.

The Cabinet may have also Ministers without portfolio.

ARTICLE 63

[687] Members of the government are held criminally responsible for the violation of the constitution or any other law in the performance of their duties.

They are also responsible for any damage they may cause the state for acting contrary to law.

The exact responsibilities of members of the government will be stated in a special law.

ARTICLE 64

Ministers and government committees are authorized to issue orders, regulations, and instructions relating to laws and decrees of the government.

Each minister supervises the execution of the governmental laws, decrees, and instructions in his own department and is held responsible for their execution in his particular administrative branch.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 65

The various ministries of the government are: 645

1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
2. Ministry of the Interior
3. Ministry of National Defense
4. Ministry of Justice
5. Ministry of Finance
6. Ministry of Education
7. Ministry of Economy
8. Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
9. Ministry of Public Works
10. Ministry of Health

ARTICLE 66

The government may appoint a special Council of Ministers to deal with questions of national economy and defense.

The decree by which this Council is appointed shall determine its organization and scope.

TITLE III

Organs of the Local Governmental Units

ARTICLE 67

The people's councils are the governmental units in rural 631
districts, communes, subprefectures, and prefectures.

The people's councils are elected directly by the people: [666]
those of the rural districts for two years and those of the communes, subprefectures and prefectures, for three years.

The people's councils of the communes, subprefectures, and prefectures hold regular meetings according to special regulations.

ARTICLE 68

The people's councils direct their own administrative 632
affairs, are responsible for economic and cultural matters 623
within their jurisdiction, maintain order, see that the laws

[Constitution]

632 623 are carried out, uphold the rights of citizens, and pass local budgets.

The people's councils make decisions within their own jurisdiction in conformity with the constitution and the laws, decrees, and ordinances of high departments of government.

ARTICLE 69

In the exercise of their local functions, the people's councils must cooperate with the people as well as the workers' organizations, and they should be inspired by their initiative.

ARTICLE 70

With the exception of the rural districts, the executive committees elected by the people's councils are the executive and administrative organs of these councils.

The executive committee is composed of a chairman, a secretary, and members.

ARTICLE 71

In the rural districts the executive body of the people's council is composed of one chairman and one secretary.

ARTICLE 72

The people's council of the rural district calls a convention to which it gives an account of its activities.

The rights and duties of the local convention are defined by law.

ARTICLE 73

The executive organs of the people's council depend on the people's council and also on the executive and administrative organs of the state.

ARTICLE 74

The people's councils may create special offices and sections to direct various administrative affairs.

The activities of these offices or subdivisions are directed by the executive committee and are under the jurisdiction of the people's council as well as the respective higher councils and ministries concerned.

[Constitution]

TITLE IV

Courts and Department of the Attorney General

(a) *Courts* 692

ARTICLE 75

The judicial organs of the People's Republic of Albania are: The Supreme Court, the People's Courts of the prefectures and subprefectures, and the Military Courts.

Special Courts may be created by law for specific questions. [698]

ARTICLE 76

The courts give their decisions in the name of the people.

The courts are independent in the exercise of their own functions. They are separated from all the administrative branches of government. Their decisions cannot be altered except by higher courts.

The higher courts are empowered within the law to control lower courts.

The Ministry of Justice directs and controls all matters of judicial administration and organization. [645]

ARTICLE 77

The courts try cases according to law. 695

ARTICLE 78

In principle, court sessions are open to the public.

ARTICLE 79

In principle, the decisions of the courts are given for the entire bench. The judicial personnel of the subprefectures and prefectures sitting as a court of original jurisdiction is composed of permanent judges and juries, both of whom have equal rights.

Penal verdicts of more than ten years cannot be given by a court of original jurisdiction but only by a court of the prefecture or by a higher court.

ARTICLE 80

The official language in all courts is Albanian. 191 695

[Constitution]

191 695 Any citizen who does not know Albanian may use his own language through an interpreter.

ARTICLE 81

692 The Supreme Court is elected for four years by the People's Convention of the Republic and by secret ballot.

The courts of the prefectures are elected for three years by the people's councils of the prefecture and by secret ballot.

[666] The judges of the subprefectures are also elected for three years by the people's councils of the subprefecture and by secret ballot.

A person may be elected judge many times.

The manner of election to all courts will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 82

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial body of the People's Republic of Albania.

[698] The Supreme Court can arbitrate any conflict of jurisdiction between the civil and military courts as well as between courts and any other bodies.

Cases in which the Supreme Court acts as a court of original or secondary jurisdiction will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 83

The Supreme Court passes on the legality of all court decisions of the Republic.

693 [692] Only the District Attorney may exercise an appeal against a summary decision of the courts. The decision given on such an appeal has no effect on the cause tried except when the law provides otherwise.

(b) *Department of the Attorney General*

ARTICLE 84

693 646 The Department of the Attorney General is the organ of the People's Convention which supervises the execution of the law by the ministries and other administrative bodies as well as by all public officials and citizens.

ARTICLE 85

The Attorney General of the People's Republic of Albania

and his assistants are appointed by the People's Convention. 693

District attorneys of the prefectures and subprefectures are appointed by the Attorney General. [646]

ARTICLE 86

All district attorneys are independent of the local governmental units and are responsible only to the Attorney General, from whom they receive orders and instructions.

ARTICLE 87

District attorneys are authorized to initiate penal actions and also to exercise the right of appeal as well as the right to intervene during a judicial or administrative trial. District attorneys can exercise the right of appeal against summary decisions of the courts and other administrative organs when such decisions are illegal. [692]

ARTICLE 88

The district attorney of the military courts of the national army of the People's Republic of Albania and other military attorneys are appointed by the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Republic. [701]

TITLE V

Relation Between the Executive and Administrative Departments

ARTICLE 89

The Presidium of the People's Convention may annul or suspend decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government when they are unconstitutional and illegal. 642

The government may annul or suspend decrees, ordinances, instructions and decisions of ministers when they are contrary to the laws, decrees, instructions and decisions of the government.

ARTICLE 90

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may suspend any illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils. 643 631

[Constitution]

643 The government or the ministers may annul or suspend
631 any illegal or irregular act of the executive committees. The higher executive committees have the same right over the lower executive committees.

The people's councils may annul or suspend any illegal or irregular act of their own executive committees.

The government and the executive committees of the higher people's councils may suspend the execution of every illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils or may propose the annulment of such acts.

ARTICLE 91

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may dissolve the lower people's councils and authorize new elections. Likewise they may suspend executive committees of the lower people's councils and order elections of new executive committees.

TITLE VI

The National Army

ARTICLE 92

701 The National Army is the armed force of the People's Republic of Albania. Its duty is to defend the independence of the state and the freedom of the people.

The army defends the frontiers of the state and guarantees internal peace and security.

ARTICLE 93

The Supreme Commander of the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania is appointed by the People's Convention.

The Supreme Commander directs all the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania.

PART THREE

186 *The Seal, Flag, and Capital City*

ARTICLE 94

The seal of the People's Republic of Albania depicts a field

[Constitution]

enclosed by two sheaves of wheat. The sheaves are tied at the bottom with a ribbon on which is written the date, May 24, 1944. 186

Between the tips of the ears of wheat there is a red pentagonic star. In the center of the field is a black double-headed eagle.

ARTICLE 95

The official flag of the People's Republic of Albania has a red field, in the center of which is a black double-headed eagle. Over the eagle is a pentagonic star, embroidered in gold. The length and breadth of the flag is one by one and forty.

ARTICLE 96

The capital city of the People's Republic of Albania is Tirana. 633

Tirana, March 14, 1946

The Secretary
Sali Mborja

The President of the Constituent Assembly 000
(signed) Tuk Jakova

Presidium of the Constituent Assembly

Decree No. 24

Tirana, March 15, 1946

Promulgation of the Constitution of The People's Republic of Albania

According to Law No. 195 of January 12, 1946, the Presidium of the Constituent Assembly decrees the promulgation of the constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, as approved by the Constituent Assembly of March 14, 1946. 643

Dr. Omer Nishani
General Lt. Kochi Xoxe
General Major Myslim Peza
Nako Spiru
Sami Baholli
General Col. Enver Hoxha
Dr. Medar Shtylla
Prof. S. Maleshova
Col. Ramadan Chitaku
Dr. Manol Konomi
Hasan Pulo
Qiriako Harito
Pandi Kristo

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642

[For the complete English translation of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania as approved by the Constituent Assembly of 14 March 1946, see category 116, entire source.]

116

116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

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THE UNWRITTEN LAW IN ALBANIA

BY THE LATE
MARGARET HASLUCK

EDITED BY
J. H. HUTTON

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1954

p. iii
(pp. i-ii are bra...)

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PREFACE

Margaret Hasluck was the daughter of a Scottish farmer, John Hardie. She was born in 1885 and spent her early years in Morayshire. From Elgin Academy she went to Aberdeen University, where she graduated in 1907 with first class Honours in Classics. Continuing her classical studies in Cambridge, she took a first class in both parts of the Tripos. She then went to the British School at Athens where her future husband, Mr F. W. Hasluck, was Assistant Director. They were married in 1912 and continued to work in Athens till the condition of Mr Hasluck's health compelled them to go to Switzerland in 1916. Mr Hasluck died in 1920, and his wife returned to England to prepare his book on *The Monasteries of Mount Athos*. When this work was completed, Mrs Hasluck, who had become greatly interested in the folklore of the Balkan countries, decided to devote herself to the study of this subject, and, with the help of a Wilson Travelling Fellowship, she returned to the Middle East. After extensive wanderings, she decided to settle in Albania. She remained in that country for thirteen years, building herself a house at Elbasan, and travelling constantly, especially in the mountainous region of the north where she lived with the people and got to know them intimately.

With the threat of the Italian invasion of Albania in 1939, she left that country for Athens, where she worked for some time in the British Embassy. When that city was being heavily bombed she was taken to Alexandria and thence to Cairo. In Cairo she was given the task of briefing the men who were to be infiltrated into Albania by air and sea, in the manners and ways of life of the Albanian people. She was, of course, well qualified for this work by her long and intimate knowledge of the country and of the language. Unfortunately, she became seriously ill in Cairo, and was found to be suffering from leucaemia. In the hope of some improvement she went to live in Cyprus, but, driven to realize that she had not long to live, she came back to England determined to finish the book which she had been planning for many years and for which she had collected a mass of material. After some indecision as to a suitable place to live she went to Dublin, and during the short time left to her she worked there with great courage and

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114 persistence on her book. She died in 1948 with her task far from completed.

Mrs Hasluck appointed the writer of this preface as her literary executor, not because of any knowledge of Albania or of folklore, but as an old friend who would do everything possible to get the book ready for publication. Had she completed it herself or entrusted it to some authority on her subject, the book would undoubtedly have been free of some of its faults. When the material came into my hands, only four of the chapters had been completed and much of the remaining material was in a chaotic condition. But Mrs Hasluck had sketched out the plan of the book with the proposed chapter headings, and the preliminary inquiries I made as to her standing as an authority and her knowledge of Albania and its language were very encouraging. Also the [122] Leverhulme Research Fellowships Trust, from which Mrs Hasluck had received grants for her work, undertook to give me a grant towards my personal expenses and to make it possible to employ a sub-editor at a later stage of the work.

I am indebted to a great many people, both English and Albanian, who helped me at the early stages of the work with information and ideas. I cannot mention all of these by name, but I heard from several of the officers who were briefed by Mrs Hasluck for their work in Albania. I discussed with Professor Jopson of St John's College, Cambridge, Mrs Hasluck's knowledge of the Albanian language, and was assured by him that it was good and that her *Albanian-English Reader*, published in 1932, was a reliable and useful book. But at the early stages of my task I owed a very special debt of gratitude to Lord Haden Guest, who was then Secretary of the Leverhulme Research Fellowships, and to Miss Branney, the present secretary. Without their interest and encouragement I do not think I could have found the necessary confidence to persevere in what has proved to be a difficult and prolonged task.

One source of great difficulty was the spelling of geographical names, and it was natural to turn to the Royal Geographical Society for help. I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing my very sincere gratitude to Mr Aurousseau, Secretary of the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names, who gave much time and thought to this matter and whose advice was invaluable.

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Brigadier Davies, who was head of the Military Mission with the partisans in Albania, and who had been briefed by Mrs Hasluck, read a great part of her book in manuscript, and was much interested in the chapters about the domestic life of the people in the mountains whom he had got to know well. He was busy at the time with his own book, *Illyrian Venture*, which, alas, did not appear until after his death.

My expressions of gratitude would be incomplete without a very warm tribute to the invaluable assistance given to me by my sub-editor, Miss Margot Holloway, M.B.E. She worked with me constantly for many months, and not only did she type the manuscript, prepare an index, and read the proofs, but I owe more than I can say to her constructive criticism and suggestions.

Finally, I must express my appreciation of Professor Hutton's help at the final stages of the work. It was a great relief to me to have the manuscript read by an anthropologist with his specialized knowledge, and Professor Hutton has also been good enough to read the proofs.

J. E. ALDERSON

June 1953

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INTRODUCTION

113 There is a singular absence of ethnographical material in English which deals with either the Balkan tribes in general or the Albanians in particular. In fact, apart from handbooks compiled during the Hitler war and still inaccessible to the general public, almost all that the student of Albanian life and custom can consult is the work, admirable indeed but of a single author, the late Miss Durham—*High Albania* (1909), and *Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans* (1928), and two other works more nearly concerned with politics. In languages other than English there are the valuable *Albanesische Studien* of J. G. von Hahn (Jena, 1854), the same author's *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* published in Leipzig ten years later, the *Contes Albanais* of Auguste Dozon (Paris, 1881), and possibly passages in Strabo and other ancient authors with regard to the Illyrians from whom the Albanians in the main derive. More recently the Reale Accademia d'Italia has published an Italian version of Gjeçov's *Code of Lek Dukagjini* (Rome, 1941) and a number of other studies on Albania have been published in Italian as a result of the Italian interest in and occupation of that country under Mussolini's régime.

114 This volume of Mrs Hasluck's therefore constitutes a very important contribution to ethnography in English. Principally, it is true, it is concerned with the customary law of the Albanian highlands. But, as a means of understanding the fundamental logical basis of that code and how it works in practice, the author has been under the necessity of explaining the manner of Albanian life in considerable detail, and of illustrating it from time to time by the details of specific cases which illustrate the working of the unwritten law. We are thus given a great deal of information as to the composition of the Albanian family, and its mode of life, the general set up of the village and tribal life, and the nature and working of tribal assemblies. We are shown the methods of dealing with crimes against property or person, the conventions that govern, for instance, trespass, travel, and the feeding of flocks, or the guarding of houses by watch-dogs. We have detailed accounts of the administration of oaths, and of the imposition of

(p. x is blank)

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114 penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud.
[826] For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no
[577] doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

171 It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that
721 of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss
[826] Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants,
[842] its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance
[583] is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance
[302] of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the head by Albanians (p. 230), as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but
[628] quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other
000 primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

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But Albanian customary law is of particular interest in that we now have it reported in detail when at a stage half way from the purely customary stage to that of enactment and a written law. 671

Sir Henry Maine in his *Ancient Law* traces the development of jurisprudence from a stage at which 'it is certain that...no sort of legislature, nor even a distinct author of law, is contemplated or conceived of. Law has scarcely reached the footing of custom; it is rather a habit....The only authoritative statement of right and wrong is a judicial sentence after the facts, not one presupposing a law which has been violated.' This is the stage of culture reflected in the Homeric poems, or seen in Iceland as described in the sagas, in which is found no sovereign ruler, nor any legislative command, nor any definite sanction, but justice is effected by the pronouncements—θέμιστες, or 'dooms'—of individual chieftains. Maine regarded this stage of law as changing with a decline in the kingly office to one in which an aristocracy, or at least an oligarchy, whether secular or religious, became the repository of all juridical knowledge. The 'accurate preservation of the customs of the race or tribe...was...insured by confiding them to the recollection of a limited portion of the community'. Except for such customary law, entrusted thus to a privileged order, 'there is' said Maine 'no such thing as unwritten law in the world'. English case law, of course, is as much written law as codified and enacted law, though the method of writing it down is different. Customary law may of course continue to exist as a body of unwritten law alongside a body of divergent enacted law, a condition familiar enough in India under British rule. Maine goes on to point out that 'when primitive law has once been embodied in a code, there is an end to what may be called its spontaneous development'. A new era begins with the codes, in which modifications are to be attributed to a conscious desire for alteration.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the precise extent to which Maine's theory of the nature and origin of primitive law can still be regarded as valid. At best it is incomplete for he takes little or no account of taboo on which early codes such as those of Hammurabi or of Moses were based, and the taboos which preceded early codes of law seem to have been in the main rather social or communal in origin than arising from the individual pronouncements of chieftains or deemsters. Maine however was no doubt right enough in pointing out that when primitive law has been

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embodied in a code there is an end to its spontaneous development. But to reach this stage the code must be an enacted code, written and recorded, and this the pronouncements of the Albanian law-givers failed to achieve. On the contrary their codes seem to have remained in the verbal custody of the village or tribal elders and subject to modification or reinterpretation from time to time by assemblies of clans or villages. It is at this stage that we have Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian customary law—law primitive enough in many ways to be compared with the customary law of tribes much less civilized than the Albanians; but it reached the point, and that some five hundred years ago, of becoming codified verbally by the efforts of individual law-givers, Skanderbeg in particular and the famous Lek Dukagjini, without having reached the stage of enactment. This was principally due to the fact that there was no one able to enforce sanctions over the Albanian community as a whole; individual Albanian chieftains had not the power, and Turkish rule interfered but little outside the towns. It was no doubt this absence of any such sanctions as those provided by an enacted law and enforced by a settled government, or merely even by the continuity in administration of a single ruling family, which was the primary cause of the firm establishment of the vendetta as the real sanction for all Albanian law and custom. At the same time, however, economic conditions have probably contributed to this result, for in a richer country the administration of justice might have been made profitable to any ruler strong enough to provide it. Thus Albanian customary law not only reflects an economic stage through which most nations have passed before the establishment of enacted codes, but also a condition, by no means unique but very far from universal, in which poor and isolated communities have resorted to the vendetta for the sanction of their law, and that in spite of any influence that Christianity or Islam might have had to prevent it. The etiquette of the vendetta itself is likewise a customary code not dissimilar to taboo in nature and origins; and without any more definite sanction, or naturally any sort of legislative enactment, regular and almost technical forms of procedure have come into existence in what virtually are regularly constituted courts. In this the Icelandic practices, as described in the sagas of Njal and Kormak, for instance, afford a near parallel to those of Albania, and Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian custom will prove of importance not

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merely to ethnologists and social anthropologists but also to those concerned with the early history of jurisprudence. 171 628

Apart from that the contents of this volume are likely to be of no little interest to the general reader as giving an account of the unfamiliar way of life of a people of very distinct and individual culture, who have throughout history taken pride and pleasure in their separateness. For the Albanians, direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians, still retain something of their ancient form of Aryan speech very distinct from that of other branches of the family; they still retain an ancient tribal system; and they still have that passionate love of independence which caused many of them to forsake their native mountains and form settlements in Greece, Calabria, and Sicily when their country was occupied by the Turks after the death of their leader Skanderbeg (George Castriota) in 1467. As a result of the Turkish conquest several of the Albanian tribes changed from Christianity to Islam, and there are now many Muslim Albanians as well as both Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. The Mirdite, who constitute the biggest tribe, were perhaps at one time Orthodox, and are now staunch Catholics. But their profession of faith seems to have affected but little the adherence of the Albanians to their ancient customs. 101

J. H. HUTTON

NEW RADNOR
June 1953

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CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK

000 A book on the Unwritten Law of the Albanian mountains must needs begin with a short survey of Albanian geography. Without some knowledge of the fantastic physical features which have moulded the way of life of the mountaineers, it is difficult to understand that way of life and the Unwritten Law by which it has for many centuries been regulated.

133 The material used in this book was gathered in the northern half of the kingdom over which King Zog ruled until the Italians invaded Albania in 1939 and sent him into exile. This area, which includes all the country north of the River Shkumbî, stretches from the Adriatic Sea on the west to the Yugoslav frontier on the east. It consists of a narrow plain along the Adriatic coast and, inland, a vast complex of mountains. The coastal plain, from 5 to 25 miles in breadth, rises so gradually from the water's edge that when it ends it is not much more than 100 feet above sea-level. Low hills cut across it, dividing it into four compartments as separate as rooms in a house. The Plain of Zadrimë (*Fushë e Zadrimës*) in the north, between the towns of Shkodër (Scutari) and Lesh (Alessio), is 15 miles long by 3–6 miles broad. The next section, measuring 18 by 5 miles, extends from Lesh to Cape Rodoni (*Kep i Rodonit*), and the third centres in Durrës (Durazzo). The Myzeqe plains (*Fusha të Myzeqes*), which constitute the fourth 'compartment' between the Rivers Shkumbî and Devoll, are 37 miles long, over 25 miles wide in parts, and less than 6 miles wide in others.

The mountains are less easy to describe. Between the latitudes of Lesh and Durrës three great ranges run parallel to each other from north to south. The most westerly rises perpendicularly from the coastal plain, the most easterly forms the boundary between Albania and Yugoslavia, and the middle one separates the plateau of Mat from the plateau of Dibër. North of this central region, in north Albania proper, and to the south, in the district of Martanesh, no pattern can be discerned. The whole is a jumble of lofty ranges that strike off from each other at every conceivable angle. Those in north Albania throw up a multitude of peaks from their jagged

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crests; numerous valleys lie between them, each surprisingly narrow and steep-sided, some 3000 feet deep, all watered by a winter, if not by a perennial, stream, and many branching off right and left into side-valleys. In the district of Martanesh the ranges are rounded in outline, the summits are spreading instead of steep and sharp, large tracts of ground are comparatively unbroken, and in place of the countless valleys and streamlets of the north there are only a few deep ravines, each with a river on its floor.

These geographical characteristics have influenced the tribal cleft which still survives in the population. The main valleys in the north, such as Shalë, Shkrel or Orosh, are each capable of supporting a small unit such as a tribe, but seldom more. Appropriately, then, each is inhabited by a single tribe, which jealously prevents strangers from settling in its territory. The broad spaces farther south, such as the plateaux of Mat and Dibër, or the heights of Martanesh and adjacent Çermenikë, can carry a much larger population, in which no one tribe could hope to maintain its racial integrity or its political supremacy. Consequently, they are non-tribal and peopled partly by indigenous families, partly, at least in the case of Mat and Dibër, by immigrants, all of whom came in small numbers and many within recent memory. To quote only one example of each type, the Kadije family of Lis in eastern Mat is indigenous, and its neighbours at Burgajet, the Zogolli family, are immigrants.

More than the forms of social grouping have been affected by the physical features of the country. The number and height of the mountains have made stock-raising as important as agriculture to Albanians. Both parts of the range that rises sheer as a wall and green with forests from the coastal plain are over 3000 feet high, that of Krujë to the north being 3280–3940 feet and that of Dajt, which forms so beautiful a feature of the scenery round Tirana (Tiranë), 5290 feet—nearly 900 feet more than Ben Nevis and 1720 feet more than Snowdon. The parallel range which bounds the plateau of Mat on the east runs southwards from Mt Nezhdë in Lurë to Mt Dêjë and on to Mt Allaman at a height that is in few places below 5000 feet and is often above 6000 feet. The frontier range is still higher, composed as it is of Mt Çjalicë (8150 feet) and Mt Korab (9070 feet), the former in Lumë, the latter in Dibër. The topmost summits of the Martanesh area, Mt Kaptinë and Mt Lopë, are respectively 6145 and 6630 feet in height; the surrounding ranges average 5000 feet. As seen from Shkodër, the welter of

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northern mountains begins modestly with ranges 2000–2600 feet above sea-level, surpasses 7000 feet in several peaks of Lower Shalë, and culminates in the Accursed Alps (*Bjeshkët ë Nemuna*), where the close-set summits of Radohinë (8690 feet), Jezercë (8790 feet), Rosh (8270 feet) and Kolatë (8370 feet) wall off Yugoslavia from Upper Shalë in spectacular fashion. East of Shalë, the monster Peak of the Irons (*Majë e Hekuravë*, 8530 feet) divides the tribe of Mertur from the open plateau of Krasniqë. The passes across the mountains are often lofty and arduous. To take an extreme example, the only way from Shalë to Bogë, its western neighbour, is by the Sheep Track Pass, to the northern frontier by the Pejë Pass, and to Nikaj on the east by the Ndermajnë Pass, which are respectively 5900, 5600 and again 5600 feet above sea-level and take a day to traverse. It is self-evident that the tribesmen of Shalë have never seen much of their neighbours. Elsewhere geographical conditions are less formidable, yet generally severe enough to limit intercourse between communities.

It is clear that agriculture and permanent habitations must stop far below the summits of many mountains, and that on the highest slopes there can be only summer grazing. Throughout the area as a whole, however, there is so much summer and winter grazing that many Albanians live entirely by pastoralism and many others combine it with their agriculture. In this connexion it is essential to remember the part played by the immense forests. These spread over the grim mountains as well as the plains, saving Albania from the desiccated look of Dalmatia and Greece, and making its scenery agreeable to the eye at all seasons. The forest trees are of many kinds, with a large proportion of evergreens. Since they grow at different levels according to their kinds, three zones, named the shrub, oak and beech, or pine zones after their predominating tree, have been distinguished.[1]

Shrubs grow all over the plains near the coast and up to a height of 600 feet in exposed regions like Shkodër and Durrës and 1600 feet in sheltered spots like the gullies on Mt Dajt. They include tree heather, hornbeam, arbutus, wild olives, broom and the terrible Christ's Thorn (*Spina Cristi*), which, withered or green, tears the flesh so savagely with its spikes that it is popularly said all over the Near East to have been used for the Crown of Thorns. There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs, especially for

[1] See Gashi, *Shqipnija*, pp. 51–60.

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There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs, especially for
137 goats and cattle, and some agriculture in clearings, but the zone
211 derives its chief riches from the many acres of fertile alluvial soil
that adjoin the rivers.

Oaks, tall or dwarf, begin sporadically among the shrubs and continue as thick forests up to a height of 2900 feet near Shkodër and 3300 feet in warmer districts. Among them grow ash, aspen, chestnut, cornel, elm, hawthorn, hazel, hornbeam and limes. The majority of the 1140 villages in north Albania are found in this zone, for it best provides for Albanian needs. Though the soil is dry on the whole, it contains a sufficiency of springs. On the plateaux and gentler slopes there is enough arable land for subsistence farming, all that is possible among these rugged mountains. The copses and woods furnish winter grazing for small flocks and herds; an adjoining mountain furnishes the requisite summer feed. The copses and woods also provide fuel for the log-fires that in Albanian phraseology are 'the poor man's wealth'. Leaves lopped from the oak trees in autumn supply winter fodder which livestock eat with almost as much relish as they do hay, a scarcer commodity. It is this supplement to the grazing in the copses and woods which makes mixed farming possible in this zone; without it many animals could not get through the winter, and their number would have to be reduced. If it is sometimes hot in the forest in summer, the heat is never unbearable, and in winter the cold is never excessive. In general the zone is healthy. A little wheat is grown, but—as everywhere in Albania, the Myzeqe plain excepted—the staple crop is maize. The grain provides food, and the livestock luxuries and government dues as well.

In the next zone beeches grow singly, in small clumps, or in mighty forests such as those between Çermenikë and Martanesh where one may walk for seven hours in the daytime and never catch a glimpse of the sun. Still without roads to carry modern woodcutters and their tools to them, such forests are in the virgin state, the trees self-sown, the strong killing the weak, and the survivors growing bigger and bigger until they succumb in extreme old age to some winter blast, when they lie and rot where they fall. When communications are developed, this waste will stop and these forests become a very valuable asset. No grass grows in them or under isolated beeches, of course, but there are usually grass meadows in the clearings, some of which are enormous. Well watered from the same sources as the beeches and fat with humus

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from decaying beech leaves, these meadows make magnificent grazing in summer.

Where the underlying rock is serpentine, the forests in this zone are of pitch pine, not beech. Following the rock formation the pines may continue above the beech limit as on Mt Munellë in Mirditë, Mt Nezhdë, and the Peak of the Irons in Shalë. Or they may grow as low as the oak zone, adding to its amenities with their timber and pastures. In certain districts they cover whole mountain sides, while beeches fill the intervening, moister valleys; for beeches like a damp soil, and pines a dryish. Whether among the trees or in the clearings, these forests are a paradise for animals. They have other values, too. Their lower reaches are accessible enough for the peasants to cut their timber, load it on ponies, or slide it down the mountain side to their villages, there to be used for building or other simple purposes. Pine slivers are the only form of lighting in many village houses, and they also bring in a little money, finding a ready sale in towns as kindling for fires.

The pine and beech zone is mostly too high for winter use. Near the coast its tree-limit is 5200–5600 feet above sea-level. Farther inland, where one range shelters another and the soil is damper, it may be 6000 feet, as on Mt Bukanik in Shpat or Mts Munellë and Nezhdë. On Mt Gjalicë it is 7000 feet. Between the tree-limit and the summits of higher mountains there is nothing but rock, scree and treeless pastures.

This pine zone is as necessary to Albanian economy as the oak zone. On much of the treeless ground above it the grass is so coarse that sheep will not eat it at all, and horses nibble it only at the beginning of the summer season and then with distaste. The grass of the pine and beech zone is sweet and palatable even to dainty sheep throughout the summer. On the agricultural side the zone serves as a great catchment area, not only for the huge, unharnessed rivers that traverse north Albania, but also for the myriads of invaluable little streams that flow down to the agricultural districts in the oak zone. Without these streams there could be little irrigation; without irrigation there could be little agriculture. Maize must have water, and there is never enough rain in summer to supply it.

In the two areas of summer pasturage, the beech and pine zone and the treeless slopes above it, many thousands of cattle, horses, goats, and especially sheep, graze from May to October. Their

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233 number is limited only by the amount of winter grazing available, which small owners find, and have always found, in the oak zone. In Turkish times, when Albania and Macedonia were both Turkish provinces and had no customs barriers between them as they have now, large owners sought it on the roomy plain of Salonica. Since Albanian emancipation in 1912 they have been confined to the more meagre pastures on the seaward side of the coastal plain at home, a restriction which has entailed a considerable cutting down of their flocks and herds. Nevertheless, in 1936–7 taxes were paid [135] on 1,424,965 sheep, 773,969 goats, 144,763 cattle and 44,318 horses in the whole of Albania;[1] there are no separate figures for its northern half. Many more animals ran about the houses, unregistered and free of tax. For Albanians the importance of sheep lies, it should be noted, not only in their wool and meat [234] as in England, but in their milk and the butter and cheese made from it.

133 If only the coastal plain were more spacious, it would be 233 a perfect complement to the mountains for pastoralism on the grand scale. In the portion south of Lesh the rivers Drin, Mat and Ishm, entering the sea at points less than 6 miles apart, have created what is virtually one vast delta of mud and swamp, lush undergrowth, and trees that have come too quickly to maturity. Farther south, swamps of the same type cover much of the Plain of Durrës, and a great lagoon extends to the very outskirts of the town. Two more lagoons and a series of swamps mark the estuaries of the rivers Shkumbî and Seman on the coast of Myzeqe. More marshes and the lagoon of Kakarriq outline the course of the River Buenë in the north.

132 On the coast the average yearly rainfall is 39–47 inches, against 57 at Shkodër, 67 at Krujë and 72 at Pukë, an inland place 39 miles east of Shkodër. Albania is one of the wettest countries in Europe because so many of its ranges run from north to south and are high enough to intercept the rain-laden clouds that drift in from the west. The first rains fall in October when it is still hot on the coastal plain. The moisture and the heat combine to produce a luxuriant crop of new grass by the time that the sheep come down from the mountains.

[137] This grass is found, not only in the hay meadows and swamps, but also, owing to the violence of the winter rains, on all the arable land,

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 117.

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land. A high proportion of the year's rainfall falls in November and March:[1]

NOVEMBER	MARCH
Durrës 215 mm. (8·46 in.)	100 mm. (3·94 in.)
Shkodër 209 mm. (8·23 in.)	162 mm. (6·38 in.)
Krujë 337 mm. (13·27 in.)	157 mm. (6·18 in.)
Pukë 260 mm. (10·24 in.)	202 mm. (7·95 in.)

When a storm breaks over the mountains, every river and rivulet in the storm-swept area rises rapidly because the surface soil is seldom deep enough to retain much of the falling rain. In furious spate the rivers rush steeply towards the sea and, as they near the coast, spread far beyond their banks, engulfing many acres of arable land, and enlarging the marshes and lagoons so that they engulf many more. Because of this flooding, wheat cannot be sown near the coast. If sown in autumn, the November floods would wash it away, and after the March floods the ground does not dry in time for a spring sowing. Maize is, consequently, the only crop that can be raised. While awaiting its planting in late May, the fields lie fallow and grass-grown. The March floods are also responsible for the striking size and number of the hay meadows; much land never dries enough to grow even maize and must be left permanently under grass.

Climatically, too, the coastal plain dovetails into the high pastures. Whereas the mountains are deep in snow all winter, the temperature at the coast never falls quite to freezing-point. In January, the coldest month, the average recorded for Durrës and Valona (Vlonë) is respectively 47 and 48 degrees, with 40 and 41½ degrees at inland Shkodër and Tirana (Tiranë). Rain falls frequently and heavily, but unless a sudden rise in a river catches sheep unawares and sweeps them out to sea, neither animals nor shepherds come to much harm. By the end of May, when the rains cease, everything changes, and life near the swamps becomes intolerable for man and beast. Day temperatures rise swiftly towards their summer maximum of 86 degrees and the nights are hot, so that every movement is a burden. The dense vegetation of the swamps exudes odours as foetid as those in a tropical forest. Swarms of malaria-carrying mosquitoes emerge from the stagnant pools to attack man; swarms of gadflies, more savage than any

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 49.

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136 known inland, attack beast; when thirst, a rarity in winter, drives an animal to forget its instinctive caution and to drink from a swamp, as likely as not a crop of leeches fastens on its tongue. [illegible] So, as soon as they have sown their maize, the shepherds and their families and flocks desert the hot coast for the healthful pastures of the mountains.

1 [by the end of May--Analyst]

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CHAPTER II

THE UNWRITTEN LAW IN OUTLINE

To ensure for all, irrespective of their individual material wealth, a fair share of the essential grazing, arable land and irrigation, there has grown up a corpus of Unwritten Law. This was evolved at ~~some~~ unknown date by the mountaineers, as part of the legal framework which they had devised for every aspect of their life. They evolved all their laws—social, administrative, or pastoral—unaided. For many centuries before the Turks arrived in the fifteenth century, the country was split up into a number of principalities, none of which was strong enough for long to subject a neighbour to its rule. Though the Turks remained for four and a half centuries, they could never exert more than a nominal authority outside the chief towns. If they sent a punitive column into the interior, the people living in the mountains took evasive action, retreating to some peak until the inevitable departure of the intruders; their wealth was so small that they could carry or drive off most of it to their refuge, and so lost little from the raid. If the Turks sent tax or police officials, they fired on them at the first defile as a warning to return to their offices in town. There were no roads along which forces strong enough to be effective could march, in order to reduce them to real submission. The Turkish government, unable to enforce its will, accepted the situation and left the mountaineers to govern themselves, as they had presumably done under their native princes and chiefs. The first all-weather road to be built in North Albania was constructed in 1916 by the Austro-Hungarian armies during their temporary occupation; it ran from Shkodër to Durrës, with a branch to Tirana.

Every type of unwritten law has been constantly recast, added to, and restated down the centuries by a body of experts drawn from the rank of rulers. This rank exists because the mountaineers came to realize that an entity which is divided against itself cannot stand. Consequently, in every social unit—in house and village as in tribe or group of villages—the principle of subordination to a supreme head was accepted. In a household the headship is hereditary, with an important qualification. As the mountaineers are aware that

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a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders. The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for

[1] See Chapter V.

[2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

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his case. Since 1912 most of this administrative and penal legislation has been superseded of set purpose by European methods and laws, whereas the social content of the old mountain code has been left comparatively undisturbed, free to come into line with the ways of the West in its own time.

The community sense was fostered by every art the mountaineers knew. Each member of a household was encouraged to regard everything in it and everything its other members said and did as his own. The humblest man was encouraged to regard his village or group of villages as his personal property. If home, village or group of villages prospered, he rejoiced as if he had himself been advanced. If they were insulted or injured, he burned to avenge a personal affront. If they were disgraced by misconduct on the part of another member, he felt his own honour to be smirched. The patriotism so bred was narrow, perhaps, but it was genuine, free from egregious self-seeking, and by its emphasis on the need to keep the community's honour untarnished, a good deterrent from crime.

This close relationship between individual and community was also a curb on dictatorship. The ruling rank had always to respect the individual's property in the community's laws. They could not make any change in an existing law unless they obtained the consent of a General Assembly of their village or tribe. They could impose, but (except in the tribes which maintained fine-collectors) they could not collect fines; social pressure was necessary for that. In a very common punishment, social ostracism, they might play no more than a subordinate part. They could not pass heavy sentences like banishment or death unless a General Assembly demanded them, and if it did, they could not resist its will. In short, the elders voiced, but did not dictate, popular sentiment.

They were no privileged oligarchy either. They might sit in the seat of honour or get the lamb's head and eye at a banquet, but they had no official residences, horses or guards of honour provided for them at public expense. They lived in houses that were often meaner than those of their subordinates; they ate the same food and toiled in the same way in their fields and among their flocks. In fact, the self-government of the Albanian mountaineers went far towards being true democracy in the Anglo-American sense of that much-abused word. In its primitive way it was really government of the People, by the People, for the People. It had

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692 It had its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and [671] left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their 261 diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geo- 221 graphy of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

623 Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As 484 a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, [619] country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. 671 More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

[693] The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each [621] community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such

[the legal system -- Analyst]

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eminence that what he said is still as sacred as Holy Writ to the mountaineers of Mirditë and all the tribes to the north, including those unjustly incorporated in Yugoslavia in 1912–13. According to tradition it was he who framed the laws by which the mountaineers still live. More probably, like Solon of Athens, he revised and codified existing laws, though apparently without setting them down on paper. Numerous items in his code resemble those known among the Romans and other ancient peoples, and in the versions we have there are many signs of evolution from earlier forms. The code is said to be best preserved in Mirditë, where its items were collected about 1913 by the eminent Franciscan scholar, Father Shtjefen Gjeçov, though his book was not published until 1933. A few years previously he had been murdered by Yugoslavs, as is related in a brother Franciscan's preface to the book.[1]

Little is known of Lek's personality. He must have been a man of standing as well as genius and fine character to have imposed his will on the rude mountaineers of his time, so he may well have belonged to the princely medieval family of north Albania which took its name from Dukagjin, a district lying between the Great Mountains (*Malësi e Madhe*) of the far north and the river Drin, and inhabited by twelve tribes of which Shalë is the chief. Tradition represents him as an older contemporary of Skanderbeg, the national hero of modern Albania, who, born in 1403, died in 1467 after resisting the Turkish invaders of his country as gallantly and as unavailingly as William Wallace of Scotland resisted the English. The Mirditë tribes are also reported to have been living near Mt. Bishtrik in north-east Albania when they learned Lek's code. As they moved to their present fastness under Turkish pressure in the fifteenth century,[2] we are fairly safe in maintaining that Lek's legislation has survived at least five centuries of oral transmission, a high tribute to its quality and to his personality.

Traditions gathered in areas as far apart in every sense as Moslem Lumë in east Albania and Catholic Shalë and Shkrel in the north say that Lek's main stronghold was the now ruined fort of Drisht near Shkodër. He had another in Has in east Albania which commanded the ford crossing the Drin at Spas, five hours below Kukës; it is perched above the water on the last of a line of

[1] An Italian translation of Lek Dukagjini's canon was published in Rome in 1941 by the Reale Accademia d'Italia.

[2] M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins*, etc., p. 30.

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173 denuded peaks linked by perilous natural bridges. The track, once paved in parts, which leads eastwards from Drisht to Shalë is still called 'Lek's road', and there is a 'Lek's rock' in several districts, notably Shalë, Berishë and Surroj. He fought on against the Turks for at the least twelve years after Skanderbeg died, and surrendered only when the Turks promised to respect the unwritten laws of the mountains. He then fled to Hungary, where he died.

These traditions are as persistent as they are widespread; those given here tally reasonably well with what Miss Durham heard among the Catholics thirty years earlier. The detail about Lek's conditional surrender is curious, recalling the similar terms given to the Greeks of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. But there can be no proving or disproving the traditions, unless evidence is eventually found in the Vatican archives; the records in Albanian churches have been burned again and again, together with the buildings. It seems likely, however, that popular memory has confused Lek the law-giver with a warrior of later date.[1]

To mountaineers everywhere Lek the law-giver's code is known as his *kanún*, for which reason Father Gjeçov's book is entitled *Kanuni i Lek Dukagjinit* ('The Code of Lek Dukagjini'). The editor rightly derives the word from the Greek κανών ('rule'), but does not give its interesting pedigree. It came, not directly from Greek, for north Albania has never been under Greek influence, but through Turkish and Arabic. In the words of Professor H. A. R. Gibb, 'the Greek word was very early incorporated into Arabic as qānūn, pl. qawānīn. The Islamic jurists adopted it to designate an administrative regulation, as distinct from the Revealed Law (*Sharī'a*), and many centuries later the Ottoman Sultans adopted it as the designation of their legislative rescripts. The point of retaining this term was that it suggested no interference with, or modification of, the Revealed Law.' To Turkish officials stationed in Albania after its conquest, Lek's code was naturally a *kanún*. Aloof though the Albanian mountaineers held themselves from these officials, they learned a number of their technical terms, as will appear from other examples in this book. They made *kanún* so much their own that they still say something is illegal in pure Albanian (*ligja nuk e ep*, lit. 'the law does not give it') or in mixed Turkish and Albanian (*kanuni nuk e ep*). But,

[1] Perhaps Lek Dukagjini III, 1459-79.

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curiously, they never call Lek's code anything but *kanún*, and so the Catholics amongst them are the only Christians in Europe who have a Canon Law that is not ecclesiastical.

Lek's power, says a tradition referred to in Father Gjeçov's book, extended as far south as the town of Lesh, which he made his capital. Overcoming every difficulty of geography and human obstructiveness, he used to convoke the mountain chiefs to parliament there and after discussion promulgated his laws. No less a personage than Skanderbeg was among the deputies. On p. 121 of Father Gjeçov's book there is a lively description of the argument between the two Alexanders—both Lek and Skander are Albanian forms of Alexander—which ended in their both proclaiming the important doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of the law.

Skanderbeg, if primarily a warrior, was also a law-giver, and it is his code which still guides the mountaineers of Dibër, Mat and Krujë, the three districts with which he was chiefly associated. His family took its patronymic Kastrioti from the hill-fort of Kastriot in Dibër; it was at Krujë that his stout resistance to the Turks made the Pope of the day hail him as the Champion of Christendom. His jurisdiction extended no farther, suggesting that without his military exploits his fame as a law-giver would have faded. In areas farther south where the mountaineers still obey unwritten laws, as in Martanesh and Shpat, no law-giver is remembered a generation or two after his death. The northern limit of Skanderbeg's jurisdiction was fixed by Lek with characteristic wisdom, according to a tradition prevalent in Milot. Once when Skanderbeg was at Dibër and Lek at Shkodër, the former suggested that they should come and meet each other, the point at which they met to be the boundary line between their spheres of influence. When Lek agreed, Skanderbeg set off at sunrise, the canonical time for beginning a journey. But Lek set off four hours earlier and so met his rival at the Kullë Pashaj ('Pasha's Tower') in Mat, which remains to this day the boundary between the two *kanúns*. In general Lek was too clever for Skanderbeg. Once, says another tradition from Milot, Lek, who had a he-goat while Skanderbeg had a steer, suggested that they should swop animals. When this had been done, Lek was heard to mutter: 'He-goat this year, he-goat next year; steer this year, ox next year.'

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CHAPTER III

THE ALBANIAN HOUSE

342 At its simplest an Albanian peasant's house was very simple indeed—no more than a small, square room with walls of undressed stones from the nearest stream; a man so poor had no money or time to spend on transporting better materials from a distance. The stones were bedded in mud and bound together every three feet or so by horizontal beams; in their turn the 'belts' were strengthened, particularly at the corners, by cross-timbers. The roof was a steep framework of timber covered with stone slabs but never with thatch or boards, for the house would stand no chance if an enemy flung a blazing firebrand on these. The doorway was low, but the wooden door, emblematic of the insecurity that lasted until Turkish rule ended, was strong enough not to be easily [354] broken down from outside. In most cases there was not even a hole in the wall for window, and there was never a chimney—a ring of stones in the middle kept the log-fire in its place, and the smoke found its own way out between the rafters unhampered by a ceiling. A kitchen-crook, a most important article, was suspended over the fire from a tie-beam. The floor was of beaten earth. In sum, the house was the most rudimentary type of stone and timber architecture.

352 415 The furnishings were in keeping. They consisted of a three-legged stool or two, a box or pile of bedding but no bedsteads, a rough shelf with a frying-pan and a few platters and pots, a big metal jug for boiling water, an earthenware pot for holding drinking water, a round dining-table on stumpy supports about ten inches high, a flour-bin, a pan for mixing bread, perhaps a pan for baking it, and nothing for washing—the nearest stream served for that. A metal tray with coffee cups inverted to keep them clean and a tiny pot with a long handle for making Turkish coffee rested by the hearth, a few satchels of home-dressed wool and a distaff hung on the wall, and a hen stared at the company from her nest under [353] the eaves. The only ornaments were yellow maize-cobs, rosy pomegranates, and strings of onions or garlic, all hanging from the 000 tie-beams. At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the

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At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the 331
dining-table, to filch what it could. It was never caressed or deliberately fed; the whole Balkans believed that either indulgence would stop it from catching mice.

A man and his wife, with one or two small children, might live 342 [574]
in this house. Of a kind hardly paralleled in the Balkans, except in the poorer parts of southern Greece, it was not common in Albania as a permanent dwelling. As soon as its master could scrape together the necessary money, he added a sitting-room. As he provided all the labour himself and needed to hire only one professional, a stone-mason who, like all his brethren in the Balkans, was also a carpenter, ten pounds sterling were enough. The sitting-room might be built on top of the kitchen (*shtēpi* or *shpi*, lit. 'house', from Lat. *hospitium*) or against one of its walls. It had a wooden floor, a chimney at one end, a window or two, a niche in the wall beside the hearth for the utensils for making coffee, and a few wooden pegs near the door on which to hang up rifles; it might also have a ceiling. It generally had a separate [502]
entrance, for sitting-rooms were men's apartments and Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox Albanians all segregated their young women. The Catholics and Orthodox attributed this custom to plain jealousy, and the Moslems, less convincingly, to a desire to obey their Prophet's order. In the evening and when not at work outside during the daytime, the master of the house with his men guests reclined, ate and smoked in the sitting-room, while his wife and children remained in the draughty kitchen. But the men were less comfortable than might have been expected. Since Albanian [358]
chimneys seldom drew, acrid fumes from the wood fire filled the room and almost made them weep unmanly tears. But not quite, for if they succumbed, they would be derided as 'poor sticks' who 'would never see to shoot'.

Guests, in the form of family friends or strangers 'sent by God', 574
often came for a night. Because there were no inns in the Albanian countryside except on the long-distance tracks used by pack-horses, it was the rule that a benighted stranger might claim supper and shelter till the morning from any house he saw. The hospitality was never refused or charged for, but travellers of standing were expected to give a sum proportionate not to the hospitality offered but to their supposed wealth.

As soon as the children in a two-roomed house grew up, its 342
master must build again. His daughters went forth to live in their 591

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husbands' homes, but his sons brought their brides to his house and each couple required a separate bedroom. If he were very poor, he might be unable to provide anything better than a lean-to in the farmyard, but the average man built a proper house round the nucleus of sitting-room and kitchen. In the first of the two types to which this house might conform, a number of rooms were grouped together sideways, sometimes on one floor only, usually on two, but rarely on more. In the second type one room was built on top of another, as in a tower, for two, three or even four storeys. This type was always known as a *kullë* (lit. 'tower'), a description also often given to a two- or three-storeyed cluster, although, more usually, any clustered house was called *shtëpí*, the name of the original kitchen. Access to the upper floor in the clustered type was usually by an inner, fixed staircase, and in a tower by an inner ladder that could be pulled up if an enemy penetrated to the ground floor; a trapdoor hung over both staircase and ladder, ready to be closed in an instant, if necessary. The two types of house were found side by side. The clustered one was preferred because its rooms were easier of access, but a family with many enemies or little land fell back on a tower as it was more defensible and took up less space. Whereas a clustered house stood in a farmyard surrounded by a fence of withered thorn or, more frequently, a stone and timber wall of the same construction as that of the house, a tower had generally no farmyard. All its appurtenances—livestock, farm implements, hay or other fodder—were gathered under its own roof, on the ground floor, as being more secure. In a one-storeyed cluster livestock, farm implements, and probably dairy and kitchen as well, were housed in sheds in the yard to save space in the house. In a two-storeyed cluster they were more often accommodated on the ground floor as in a tower, but for convenience rather than security, which was guaranteed by the farmyard wall. Since the sitting-room in such a house was often over the cow-house, it contained an ingenious labour-saving device for use after supper. As soon as the table had been removed, the host swept the crumbs towards a small, unobtrusive hole in the floor in front of the hearth, removed its lid, and with a last flick of his broom dropped the crumbs on the animals below. In a tower the kitchen was over the cow-shed and under the bedrooms, and these in turn were under the men's sitting-room.

In a tower or a two-storeyed cluster there might, for security

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reasons, be no openings in the ground-floor walls except the door-way, but square holes were left in those of the upper floor for windows. Except in rich houses these 'windows' were not glazed. At night they were closed in rich as in poor houses by propping stone slabs against them or sliding wooden panels across them. Those in a one-storeyed cluster were usually too high for the curious outside to peep through or the hostile to shoot through. Nikollë Gjetë Coka of Breg i Matit, putting his trust in the exemplary peace which King Zog's government had established throughout Albania, neglected this ancient precaution and was shot in 1938 by some Mirdites who thrust their rifles through the window of the room in which he sat at supper. At the top of a tower there were usually loop-holes, splayed to give a wider field of fire and low enough to let a man kneel as he shot. When these were found in a clustered house, as they often were, it was naturally on a vulnerable side, where they might also be reinforced by turrets in the wall of the farmyard. In the kitchen, where the women and children must spend the day and evening, the hearth continued in the middle because more people could sit round it in that position.

In planning his house the Albanian householder sought chiefly shelter from the elements and his enemies, and took no thought for beauty. When villages are picturesque, as many are, it is always for such extraneous reasons as their site, the line of their roofs against a lightly clouded sky, and the greenery surrounding them, rather than for the architecture of their individual houses. A tower, it is true, may have machicoulis over its door or under an upper window, and these give it distinction; its elevation and its usual situation on a knoll may also be attractive. The best examples, some of them over two hundred years old, may be seen in Lurë. But few clustered houses are more than an assemblage of featureless boxes.

In the bigger houses the furnishings altered little from those of the simplest type already described. Mattresses and pillows were probably added to the bedding, and the floor of the sitting-room, instead of being left bare, was covered with mats made from reeds grown in the swamps near the coast. In the cold north and north-east there was usually a layer of earth under the mats; it made an admirable shield against winter blasts. Chairs remained rarities and stools were still confined to the kitchen with its chilly earthen floor. Workers being more plentiful, enough animals to make butter could be kept; the churn was made by hollowing out a section of tree-trunk.

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tree-trunk. A similar section[1] split lengthways and hollowed out, made two wash-tubs for laundry work. Toilet appliances, a basin and ewer bought in the bazaar, and paraffin lamps from the same source, completed the list of additions.

The above outline omits many small variations in Albanian houses and furniture as irrelevant to the main subject of this book. Mention must be made, however, of certain houses which differed widely from the average type. The first were found among the Highlanders (Alb. *Malësorë*, 'mountaineers'), the semi-nomads who wintered on the soggy plains at the mouth of the river Mat. These houses had walls of planking or wattle and daub, with roofs of tiles or strips of wood. They rested on vertical sections of tree trunks about two feet high which had been laid at close intervals on the ground but had not been driven into it like piles. In this way they kept snug and dry even during the winter floods. All over Albania granaries were raised some distance from the ground in order to keep out the rats, but so far as is known, there were no houses on stilts except at the mouth of the Mat.

A number of Highland houses also contained a child's play-pen which might be as little as twenty-five inches long, wide and high. A shallow porringer projected from one of the top bars, chipped from the same piece of wood as the bar itself. In this pen Highland children spent all their winter days from the time they could crawl until they were three years old. They had no toys, but practised walking round the pen, sometimes stopping to eat a little bread and milk from the porringer with the diminutive home-made, wooden spoon which was tied to the bar, or merely gazing broodingly at the fire. The mothers meanwhile cooked, spun or gossiped, each secure in the knowledge that her child was on the dry floor of the kitchen and not sitting outside in the quagmire of mud that reached up to the very doorstep. The Highlanders said they invented both the houses and the play-pen themselves, but it is possible that they were at least advised by the Austro-Hungarian troops who were stationed in the neighbourhood for part of the war of 1914–18.

In Shpat, near Elbasan, huts were built for many bridegrooms. In the higher villages trunks of young trees about as tall as a man's waist were planted in a rectangle of the size desired, their boughs, while still green and flexible, were laced in and out of these uprights, and cross-pieces of timber were nailed to the uprights

[1] [i.e., of tree-trunk--Analys]

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to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

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342 A man's house, simple or elaborate, was his own, and he could
423 do what he would with it up to a point. But he held it on conditions
685 laid down by the Unwritten Law. This law defined a house as 'any hut or building of one, two, or more storeys that has a hearth and emits smoke', and insisted that poor house and rich house are alike inviolable. A stranger might not enter either without first hailing the master by name. If very discreet, he would call out from some distance; if bolder or on friendly terms with the family, he might lawfully enter the yard first. If no one answered his call, he must wait there or go away. On no account might he push the door open; that would make him a housebreaker. In the old days it would have cost him the usual penalties for theft, a fine of five hundred *grosh* ('piastres') for housebreaking, plus the obligation to send the family two of every article found missing after his visit, and even more recently it caused strife that might end in shooting. It was of no use for him to plead that he knew the master was from home; he knew also that somebody must have been left in the master's place.

The law allowed a man to erect a new house anywhere on his
[351] own ground, subject to the all-important provision that it did no harm to his neighbour's house and ground. In this connexion the term 'house' comprised, not only the dwelling, but also the farmyard wall or fence, and everything that this enclosed. It followed that a new house must be kept at least the width of its eaves from the neighbour's boundary to make sure that the rain dripping from them should not damage his property. The method most commonly adopted to ensure this was to leave space enough for a man to pass on foot between the new house and the neighbour's boundary. If a man wanted plenty of elbow-room, however, he might build his house as much as two *pashë* ('fathoms') from the boundary. As his visitors were as free as members of his family to use the empty
[497] space, a sizeable road was soon trodden out. Sometimes, too, a man who looked into the future left room for a road that was still non-existent but might one day be wanted by the community, in which contingency his house would otherwise have had to be pulled down and rebuilt elsewhere.

There were also a number of minor rules to be remembered in building. According to the law in Fulqet, if several men had contiguous land, they must build their houses as near as possible to the point at which their land met. Otherwise their several dogs

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would not recognize them and when A came to till his field, B's dog would treat him as an intruder and bite him, and he would have no legal claim to compensation for the injury. It is not known if this law obtained elsewhere, but the common sense on which it is based makes it probable that it did. Again, in the Moslem villages near enough to Elbasan to conform to the rigidity with which Moslem townsmen secluded their women, it was not permitted to make windows in a wall overlooking a neighbour's farmyard; the latter's womenfolk must be free to move about their yard unwatched. This ban on windows—which was Moslem, not Albanian—hardly extended to remoter Moslem villages, as women there enjoyed almost as much liberty as did their Christian ancestresses.

A man's ownership of his house and land was so absolute that he and his might emigrate temporarily or for good without losing their title to either house or land. Even if the family absented itself for a hundred years, no one might squat on its property. If the emigrant, before leaving, sold his land 'together with all that is on it', and one leaving for good usually did so, the piece constituting the site of the house remained his in spite of the terms of sale, and so long as one stone stood on another, no one might use the site. In Mirditë, however, a fixed term was set to this law; if the emigrant did not return within ten years, his house might be occupied by whosoever wanted it.

Every dwelling that emitted smoke might have one or more of the following accessories—yard, vegetable garden, field, road, boundary and, in suitable latitudes, vineyard. Of these the boundary and road were the most indispensable.[1] Every owner of a dwelling that emitted smoke had a right to graze his animals on the summer and winter pasturage owned by his village and to cut firewood and timber for his own use in the public coppices and forests. If he cared to build a bothy for his shepherds on a summer pasture or to break in ground for a field or vegetable garden on a common near his village, he was welcome to do so. He must first secure the consent of the elders of the village, who generally put the common weal before individual convenience. Their permission given, no one could stop his tilling the ground, nor turn him out. Theoretically every dwelling that emitted smoke should also have a portion of irrigation water, but the right to sell water often made this provision a dead letter.

[1] See Chapters VIII and IX.

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342 Obviously the crude and comfortless character of the Albanian
511 house indicated a low standard of living and dire poverty in the ordinary sense of the word. But the Albanian had his compensations. He was secure in what he had, and unless he lived in an
423 over-populated area like Dibër, he had the essentials. In alluvial areas like Myzeqe and in a few villages in the district of Mat there were big estates worked by share-croppers, but with these few exceptions the Albanian owned his house and land and need not think of rent or eviction. Since forests and commons belonged to his village or tribe and their products were free to him and his fellows, he need think only of the trouble involved in fetching his firewood and grazing his sheep. With luck he might have surplus animals to sell in a market town for money that would pay for his taxes, for clothing, for imported goods like coffee and sugar, and, costliest of all, for brides. With subsistence as his only possible aim, he need not work every day and so enjoyed a good deal of leisure. In short, although his comforts and amenities were few, so also were his worries.

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CHAPTER IV

THE ALBANIAN HOUSEHOLD

Society in the Albanian mountains was patrilineal, and took so 613 little account of women that whereas the names of ancestors in the [562] male line might be known for as many as twenty generations, those in the female line were forgotten after two or three. In the words of the Unwritten Law 'a man has blood, and a woman kin', i.e. a man has a pedigree, and a woman her own relatives, and 'a woman is anybody's daughter', i.e. comes from anywhere and has no pedigree.

As usual in patrilineal societies, all property and rights were 593 vested in the men. So when a man married, his house belonged to [42] him exclusively and not at all to his wife, neither priest nor law 562 having bound him to endow her with his worldly goods. The Unwritten Law states further that 'a wife is a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was in her husband's house to bear his children. It was also understood, however, that she must take an active part in the work of both the farm and the house. In consequence, the wife in a household containing only a married pair and their small children led a life of almost unrelieved hardship, all the relaxations and leisure going to the husband. Since the Unwritten Law forbade her to have any dealings with the outside world until she was old, she stayed at home to work while her husband went to market to shop and sell, visited government offices to discuss the payment—or non-payment—of his taxes, and arranged the future marriages of his children. Whether it was a kerchief, a daughter-in-law, or nothing at all that he bought for her, he never consulted her wishes and she might not murmur openly at his choice. Nor might she remonstrate with him if he idled when at home; any such criticism would only make him beat her. The Unwritten Law said that the husband was the head of the wife and might punish her for indiscipline as well as misconduct. There was plenty of secret grumbling of course. Thus a pretty young woman in Mat was heard to complain that her husband spent all the money he could find on coffee and cigarettes for himself and left her, after five years of marriage, 'without a rag to her back'. 'And it's for him I toil

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593 and moil the whole blessed day', she ended, sadly rather than
562 bitterly.

462 Toil and moil she did. The daily duties of every peasant woman
512 in her position included fetching firewood from the forest and water from the river or spring, besides cooking, washing and baking for the household. At certain seasons she must also do farm work, so long as she retained a measure of youth. Her husband did heavy work like ploughing, scything hay, or cutting oak leaves for winter fodder. But she must carry the manure from the stable to the fields in spring, help her husband to sow and earth up the maize and, while he stayed indoors, reap it. She must carry home the hay and fodder and feed them to the animals. If grain was trodden out by horses or oxen, her husband drove them; if threshed with flails, she wielded them. If there was no miller, she conveyed the grist to the mill, ground it, and brought back the flour. Only if there were a miller did these tasks devolve on her husband, and then it was only in order to keep her virtue above suspicion. In poor families she was herself the beast of burden, and when young was expected to carry up to seventy pounds. In richer families she had a horse or donkey to do the actual carrying, unless her home was under snow in winter. Then she must brave the snow that confined the animal to its stable and bring in supplies of firewood and water, fodder and flour. Paucity of workers prevented her husband from having more than a couple of milch-goats or ewes, and these were tethered; it was she who tethered, watered and milked them. It was she, too, who turned their milk into curds (*kos*) or butter and cheese, arduous tasks in summer when milk sours easily. She also saw to the poultry and in her spare time knitted or span.

857 Fortunately for the women, there was almost no peasant house-
576 hold in which a young husband and wife were the only workers.
512 The eldest child, boy or girl, began at seven or eight years of age to herd the goats as they roamed in search of food and saw to them morning and evening. This gave the mother some relief and provided the family with more food and, by the sale of the goats
576 themselves or the kids, more money. When very small, the girl
462 must spin or knit as she herded; when in her teens, she must sew
512 her trousseau; but no extra tasks were expected of boy herds. Since, too, a man's mother and sisters never lost their legal right to share his home, a family might include the husband's mother and even

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his unmarried sister or his widowed, childless sister. In that event, 516
while the younger women worked outside, his mother, if physically 462
fit, remained at home to cook, sweep and bake, besides attending 512
to the dairy and poultry. She also saw that any children who were big enough to walk but too small to follow their mother to the fields, did not fall into the fire or otherwise come to grief. She further entertained any men visitors who might come when her son was absent. She did not, however, wash her clothes or her husband's, should he be still alive, for even at the height of the busy season outside that was one of her daughter-in-law's duties. When she was no longer strong enough for her various tasks, she was sent out, complete with distaff, to herd the goats or plough-oxen and another woman succeeded her as housekeeper.

If the married pair had a separate bedroom, it was private 513
property, as inviolable as a separate house would be, and no one 512
other than the man and his wife and children might enter uninvited. 462
Unless she was his wife, even the housekeeper was under the ban. It followed that when a wife worked outside, she must care herself for her bedroom, sweeping it, spreading the bedding at night, and picking this up again in the morning. She must also tend her children, and wash and mend their clothes, her husband's and her own, besides those of her mother-in-law. If she had a tiny baby, she carried it in its cradle on her back to the fields, left it in a shady place while she worked, and carried it home again in the evening.

If the house was too small to have a sitting-room, the husband 264
ate in the kitchen. He never lingered over the meal, and in most 593
districts ate alone unless his mother, privileged by having brought him into the world, wished to join him. A man who ate with his wife or sat much in her company courted public ridicule as unmanly and 'no class'. If there was a sitting-room, the husband probably took his midday meal in the kitchen and his evening meal in the sitting-room. Before supper he might invite his sons or even his daughters, if these were small, to share the comfort of the sitting-room for a little.

Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since 592
for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of an age to marry. Then sheer pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units, each with a house of its own.[1]

[1] See Chapter VI.

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592 When the men in a household were numerous, three or more might be shepherds, one tending the sheep, another the goats, and a third the oxen; several might be farmers who ploughed and hoed and irrigated; yet others might be housemen, one keeping the house supplied with firewood, a second going to the bazaar, and a third grinding grain at the local mill for the household's bread. Each thus contributed his quota to the family wealth, and obviously the more numerous the quotas, the greater the general comfort. A well-to-do household which had only a few men might make up the number of hands available by engaging servants. 'Çota's tableful' is now proverbial in Çermenikë because eighteen men—ten relatives and eight hirelings—used to sit down nightly to supper in Sali Çota's house in the village of Fenars in that district. If, however, a household were poor as well as small, it could not risk having to pay servants in a bad year, and must restrict its activities—for example, by keeping only sheep or goats but not both. Since sheep eat grass and goats leaves, they must have separate herds.

462 512 Even in the richest of these multiple households the women lived much as they did in small, poor ones. A housekeeper, who was generally elderly, cooked and baked for the whole family, swept the kitchen, the men's sitting-room, and her own bedroom if she had one apart from the kitchen, but did not enter any room belonging to a married man, even if he was her son. The young wives worked out of doors when required and at all times looked after their children, husband and bedroom. They were often exempt from fetching firewood and water and were reasonably fed and dressed, but otherwise fared no better than their poorer sisters. By and large, even in these relatively more leisured homes, women worked much harder than men. The latter excused their comparative idleness by saying that in Turkish times, when blood feuds raged, it had been death for most men to show their faces outside in the daytime, and if the family was not to die of starvation the women had to work for its bread. They claimed that when blood feuds grew rarer, they became more industrious. But they could never produce any evidence that the women had gained by their new diligence.

264 562 Soon after sunset the men sat down to sup at the same table in the sitting-room, while the women and children ate at another table in the kitchen. The food was brought to the sitting-room by

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the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh', she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee. Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons, a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories. All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923, and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bedroom for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards. Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent, public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

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592 to its own safety disappeared, and with it the need for several generations to huddle together under one roof if they wished to survive. Consequently, immense households like that of Gjon Macaj disappeared.

In the families of the landed gentry of Dibër such as Cen Elezi, life followed rather different lines. Most of the young men went into government or army service and left their wives and children at home, visiting them when they obtained leave, and the farm work was done by hired servants with the help and under the supervision of any of the family who might have remained at home. The women were organized on the customary pattern, with some variation in detail. A housekeeper cooked, but only for the women and children, since a special chef was required to cope with the hospitable requirements of the *selamlik*.[1] Each young wife attended to her own room and children besides cleaning her husband's boots and helping him to dress when he was at home. No one was required to work outside, but each must in turn wash up after meals for a week at a time. The daughters of such families were often less fortunate in their lives than the daughters-in-law. For want of suitors of their father's standing they must often be given to men of lower rank and then they worked both in and out of doors as if born and bred in a poor family.

Every house containing two or more married men included a corresponding number of family units. Each of these looked on its own members as we should do—as father, mother, son, daughter, brother and sister—but in its attitude to the other units diverged [60] from our practice. To us the oldest men may be brothers or cousins; to Albanians they were all 'brothers', irrespective of whether one father had begotten them or not. In the next generation instead of first cousins and in the third, second cousins, Albanians saw only 'brothers' and 'sisters' in both. The middle generation of Albanians regarded all its elders as 'uncle' or 'aunt' (though in some, particularly in Moslem, cases distinguishing between the paternal and maternal lines) and all its juniors as 'nephew' or 'niece'. It was only when some need to particularize arose that they defined the relationship according to the blood tie as 'father's brother', 'father's brother's wife', 'brother's son', 'cousin' or the like.

593 Not only did a man who was seen much in his wife's company lose face, but in a communal household his brothers, in addition to

[1] See p. 21. 1

1 [i.e., the men's apartment]

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railing at him, threatened to make him set up a separate home, 593
which would reduce both him and her to a lower level of comfort.
Custom, it is true, under the stress of hard necessity, sanctioned
his working alongside her in the fields, but only on condition that
he did not indulge in unnecessary or frivolous conversation with
her. The only explanation which Albanians offered of these [83]
restrictions was that a husband and a wife felt 'ashamed' in each
other's presence. The same feeling existed all over the Balkans
until they came under strong western influences a generation ago.
Before that every decorous peasant bride, whatever her race or
religion, refrained for several years after her marriage from
speaking at all to her husband in public and spoke to him in
whispers only in private, meanwhile keeping her eyes modestly
downcast. This behaviour seems to originate in an idea which is
prevalent throughout the Near East. The Greeks say that since only [589]
the celibate life is really holy, the matrimonial state is one of sin
and therefore of shame. In I Cor. vii, 8, St Paul voiced it when he
wrote, 'I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for
them if they abide even as I'. Moslems, too, believe this, in spite
of many being polygamists. There is, for instance, a married as
well as a celibate branch of the Bektashi Order of dervishes, but it
has so few supporters that at the central monastery at Haci
Bektas in the heart of Asia Minor its headquarters are little more
than a poverty-stricken excrescence on the enormous, wealthy
headquarters of the celibates, and in Albania it has only the [792]
monastery at Qesarakë in the south-east, compared with the
seventy maintained for the celibates in different parts of the
country.

Now the Unwritten Law of Albania ordained that every married 574
woman had the right to visit her own relatives at least once a year. 593
Since these frequently lived in a different village, she could not
travel to or from them without an escort, which neither custom nor
the law allowed her husband to provide in person. Since brothers
were everywhere allowed to talk to each other's wives, no difficulty
arose in a communal household, where any man except the
husband could accompany a wife to her parents' home and fetch
her back. In a house with only one man matters were more
complicated. If his mother were alive and physically fit for the
journey, she might go with his wife, but who would then cook his
supper and prepare his bed for the night? If his mother were dead

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or incapacitated, one of his wife's relatives must come for her and bring her back, but that meant the extra trouble of letting them know that she was coming.

Each member of a household had a personal name. Though this was usually determined by the religion professed, Moslem first names were not uncommon among the Catholics. The usual cause seems to have been no more than a personal whim. Thus the junior bajraktar ('standard-bearer')[1] of Shalë, a Catholic, was called Avdi because his father was very friendly with a Moslem of that name at the time of his birth. Another interesting anomaly is found in the forty-three Orthodox villages of Shpat, near Elbasan, where the older men have two names, a Moslem one for public use and an Orthodox one for private. For some decades before Albania freed herself from Turkish rule these villages were pressed by the Moslems of Elbasan to abandon Christianity and, to save their faith and lives, camouflaged themselves as Moslems, giving themselves Moslem names, keeping the Ramazan fast, and so on, but evading circumcision. At intervals they fetched an Orthodox priest from Elbasan under cover of night so that in some dark stable he might marry the newly wed with Christian rites and baptize the newly born. So, to name only two examples, the apparently Moslem Tahir Baduri of Shelcan and Ymer Tullumi of Bujars are really the Christian Spiro Baduri and Vasil Tullumi. Religious persecution having ended when Albanian independence was attained, the Orthodox of Shpat shed their Moslem camouflage and gave only Christian names to their children. If Godolesh, the picturesque village north of Elbasan, had managed to hold out for only two years more against the pressure to 'turn Turk', it, too, might now still have been Christian. It failed to hold out, so that its middle-aged and young inhabitants are fanatical Moslems but the old still visit Orthodox churches in secrecy and grieve that they must lie in a Moslem grave. One sturdy old woman, who married soon after the conversion to Islam, boasted that she had had all her four sons baptized. One of them confirmed this to the author, saying he had often been told by Christian and Moslem alike that he smelt less than did other Moslems, an agreeable peculiarity which he attributed to his baptism. The Greeks too, who introduced Orthodox Christianity into Albania, subscribed to the belief that baptism takes away the smell from which all Moslems suffer.

[1] See Chapter XI.

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Women, too, had a personal name, but after they married their husbands were too shy to use it, and others knew them in early life as 'Mark's (or Asllan's or Vasil's) young wife' and in later life as his 'wife' or 'old woman', so that their own name fell into disuse. This contributed to their seclusion from the outside world and at the same time avoided the superfluous; since descent in the female line did not count, their names were not thought worth remembering.

Surnames in the sense of family names were general among the Orthodox, comparatively rare among the Moslems, and non-existent among the Catholics. Both Moslems and Catholics, however, tacked on the name of a man's father to his own and so distinguished him from his fellows. Thus a Moslem called Sadik Asllan was Asllan's Sadik and different from Sadik Arif, the son of Arif. A Catholic called Zef Nika was Nikë's Zef, i.e. Zef son of Nikë—Joseph Nicolson in English—and Zef Toma was Tom's Zef, i.e. Joseph Thomson, quite another person. Nika and Toma are in the indefinite genitive, to mark possession. As Moslem names might also be put in this genitive in Albania, Sadik Asllani, an Albanian form, was as frequently heard as Sadik Asllan, its Turkish counterpart. The endings of the Albanian indefinite genitive, it should be said, are tricky and vary according to the final letter of the root word and also according to the dialect used. They are further liable to be confused by foreigners with the definite article which Albanians must suffix to the name when making a statement about a person or a place. Thus Zef Nika signed himself so, without any suffixed article, but if another Albanian reported that 'Zef had gone', he must add the definite article to the name, saying *Zefi iku*. Turkish influence also made Moslems stop at the father's name, but the Catholics, who seem to have preserved the oldest Albanian method of nomenclature, often appended the grandfather's name as well.

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CHAPTER V

THE MASTER OF THE HOUSE

592 Some co-ordinating authority is obviously necessary when many workers, most of them occupied with different duties, live under the same roof. The Unwritten Law therefore requires that in each family there shall be a patriarchal system of government, with one man master of the house and everybody else subordinate to him.

When there was only one man in a house, he became automatically its unquestioned master. If he died while his children were small, his brother or, much less often, his wife's brother saw to the family until the eldest boy grew old enough to take charge as master. When there were two or more men in a household, the master was elected, not born, to his position. Most frequently he was chosen in early youth by his predecessor, but should the latter die prematurely, he was elected at a general meeting of the men of the household. The women were not invited to this meeting nor were their views ascertained. The former method was preferred because it enabled the future master to be trained by his predecessor with incessant talk about the matters that would fall within his competence—relations with the authorities, relations with neighbours, household management, laws on roads, field boundaries, pasturage rights and so on. If he had to be elected by the household, he must rely on his own good sense and experience, supplemented by consultations with his subordinates or neighbours. Since its publication in 1933 Father Gjeçov's book on Lek's Kanùn has become available for reference, but previously heads of households had only the unwritten laws for guidance.

When a new master was being chosen, primogeniture was one of [88] the factors taken into consideration. Albanians regarded their elders with deference and, consequently, obeyed them more willingly. A very young master, however, such as might emerge from exclusive reliance on the accident of birth, could be a misfortune for his family.

Primogeniture, however, counted for nothing compared to administrative qualities such as knowledge of the law, shrewd judgement, even temper and fair-mindedness. A reigning master

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would pass over any or all of his own sons in favour of his younger brother or nephew if the latter promised to be a better administrator. Ymer Tullumi of Bujars in Shpat was a case in point. His father made him heir over the heads of his two elder brothers, and in his own old age, being childless, he selected as his successor, not his oldest nephew or the eldest son of his eldest brother, but the most intelligent among his nephews. For the same reason a master whose powers had been dimmed by years or illness generally resigned his position to his successor, although he was legally entitled to remain master as long as he lived.

In his relations with the authorities and the neighbours, the master had to do his best for the family. He tried, for instance, to get the burden of taxation and unpaid labour on government roads lightened, or, better still, shelved altogether; here he might find some degree of literacy useful, though it was otherwise superfluous. To keep on good terms with the neighbours he restrained his subordinates from provocative acts such as stealing or trespassing, and if a quarrel broke out he tried to settle it before it reached the shooting stage, which was always a nuisance to everybody concerned. At home he tried to keep the domestic wheels well oiled, soothing the quarrelsome, reasoning with the disgruntled, never showing anger real or feigned, assigning to each worker, whether man or woman, a daily task. In practice the last point seldom required thinking out, since each man had early specialized as ploughman, shepherd, cow-herd or odd man. If 'hands' were few, the master must work himself; if they were numerous, he confined himself to general supervision and planning of the work of the others. His chief duty was then to see that the fields were properly tilled and the flocks well cared for. In some districts, when temporary labourers had been hired for a special job, the master of a household so big that he did not normally work with his own hands ceased to supervise the workers and joined them as one of themselves. This was regarded as gracious condescension on his part and stimulated the hired men to greater effort.

The master's rule over his household was absolute and extended to every aspect of its life. Unless he first consented, no other man might stay away from work, leave the farm for a day's outing, accept employment elsewhere, or even call in a doctor to attend to his sick child; no boy or girl might be betrothed; no child might be hired out, apprenticed, or sent to school; no woman except his

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592 mother and others in her position, such as his uncle's elderly widow, might go to spend the night in her father's house. This gave him complete control over the time of the workers of the household. Whatever task he assigned the other men and the women must be performed without cavil; they must not only work as he said but go where he bade them and even marry when and whom he pleased. He spoke of them as 'my people' in English or 'my folk' in American parlance. When obliged to speak of them to the authorities or neighbours, he called any young man 'my son', any girl 'my daughter', and any married woman 'my wife' or 'my [562] old woman'. No decent Albanian, it should be noted, ever mentions the women of his household to outsiders except under compulsion.

The master had also sole control of the family purse. Any money earned by the other men by the sweat of their brow or a windfall like a tip must be paid over to him and spent for the family's benefit. For, says the law, 'the earnings of a son are shared by his father and brothers'. Here the words 'father', 'son' and 'brothers' have not only the narrow application which we English give, but also the wider Albanian sense of relatives in the [403] older or younger generation.[1] The farm was registered in the Land Office and popularly spoken of under the master's name, but this was only for convenience. It was owned jointly by all the men on it, and the master did not own a blade of grass more than the others [432] did. Yet in virtue of his position he need not consult any of them if he wished to buy or sell a field, vineyard, wood or portion of irrigation water. The right to buy and sell was his alone. There were only two limitations on this right, both deriving from the simple good sense that underlies all the unwritten laws. He could not sell a sheep or goat without first securing the shepherd's permission, and if the latter preferred to give him another animal, he must accept it, for the shepherd knew the flock better than he did. Secondly, the farmer of the family, having sole charge of the plough-oxen, did not require to ask his leave if he wished to help a neighbour with his ploughing, to lend the oxen, or even to give them away outright.

As keeper of the purse the master generally went to market himself with whatever produce was for sale, and bought what he thought necessary with the proceeds. It was his duty to see that everybody in the house was as well shod and dressed as the

[1] See p. 30.

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family's means permitted, and that there was a sufficiency of 592
coffee, sugar and cigarettes to maintain its dignity with visitors. He must also pay government dues and instalments of the price of any bride who was marrying into the family. Until the newer ways of to-day came in, he had further to buy a rifle for every youth in the family who came of military age. If he sent another man to market in his stead, as he was entitled to do, he often put a reserve price on the produce and always instructed his deputy about what he was to buy. On his return the latter must give a full account of his stewardship, saying what he had received for the produce and what he had spent, proving that he had made no unauthorized purchases, and handing over the remaining money intact. If the master grew so physically incapacitated that he could no longer make the long, arduous journey over the mountains to market (*pazàr*), he usually appointed one of the others, preferably the future master, to the permanent post of 'bazaar-man'. The latter then kept the family purse, but in other respects remained subordinate to the master.

It resulted naturally from the master's hold on the family purse [426]
that only he could lend money or contract a debt recoverable in law. If any of his subordinates made a loan or pledged the family credit on behalf of a friend, the borrower might lawfully repudiate the debt on the plea that it was not lawfully contracted. Generally, however, the master first scolded the culprit well for transgressing the law and then told the borrower that the loan was made on his authority, so leaving him no option but to repay it. In the same way, when subordinates borrowed, both they and the master were within their rights if they said the loan was illegally contracted and refused to repay it. More often than not, for the honour of the family, the master paid up. Again, in such matters as going surety for a loan, a woman's chastity, or a man's life, which were great features of Albanian life, only the master might act, subject to one exception. Each man's rifle and revolver were his personal [422]
property—to keep, to barter, to sell or to pledge without any reference to the master. Consequently, each subordinate might go surety up to the value of his arms. He usually did so with circumspection, however, for if he lost them he must not ask the master to replace them. The master was also responsible for any material 592
damage done to a neighbour by his subordinates. If, for instance, 672
they had stolen or killed a cow, or had set fire to a haystack, it was

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592 he who must find the money for compensating the injured
672 neighbour. He sought it naturally in the common purse according to the law that 'the mishaps of a son are shared by his father and
[682] brothers'. If however, a subordinate killed a neighbour, it was just as likely that he himself or another subordinate would have to pay the penalty of a life for a life as that the master would have to do so. Presumably this anomalous division of responsibility arose because if the master alone were responsible for a murder, he would be so closely guarded that there would be no catching him and the murdered man's death would remain unavenged.[1]

592 Though the master's authority, resting as it did on his customary and traditional acceptance as his predecessor's choice or on his election by general consent of the household, was essentially moral, it was also backed by certain powers of enforcement. He had the right to beat a culprit, to leave him hungry, or to tie him up in a room or cellar until he came to a more proper frame of mind. This applied equally to the women; in fact, the commonest victim of tying up in a cellar was a girl who had jibbed at a proposed marriage. When a subordinate was grossly at fault and seemed incorrigible, the master might threaten to give him his portion and turn him out to fend for himself, and if the man did not reform, he would carry out the threat. In Krujë the author was present when a father expelled one of his sons for killing the other. In Turkish times the master had another salutary form of punishment at his disposal. This was taking away a culprit's arms for a week or two, so reducing him to the status of women and greybeards. 'Once shamed, twice shy' was almost invariably the result. But the best of masters might be helpless with a shiftless subordinate who had grown too old to beat. So long as the latter avoided gross misdemeanours like murder, he might idle with impunity. For physical reasons the master could not force him to work, and except in extreme cases the Unwritten Law disapproved of turning him out to sink or swim as an angry English parent might do.[2] The law said

[1] It is perhaps more likely that this vicarious responsibility of any member of the family instead of the master only is the survival of the more ancient practice unmodified by more civilized conventions. It is typical of the blood feud in more primitive societies than that of Albania. (Ed.)

[2] In Montenegrin tribal law the disobedient son might be fined the first time, confined and beaten the second and third time, and only expelled after that, expulsion involving disinheritance. *Vide* Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 84. (Ed.)

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it was the offender's birthright to remain in the house, to eat at the common table, and to have his wife and children maintained out of the family purse. A striking illustration of this weakness of the communal system was to be seen in Shalë in the 1930's, when Mirash Nue's family included his wife, his elder son Pal, Pal's wife and four children, and his younger son Gjon. Since he, Mirash, was too old to work and Pal was a wastrel, Gjon alone ploughed to feed the household and fetched firewood to keep it warm. To get money for government taxes and his father's coffee and cigarettes, he worked for the priest in his spare time. He had been unable to earn enough to pay for a bride and at thirty years of age was still unmarried, a calamity in primitive Albanian eyes. Pal, not criminal, just lazy and selfish, and saved from beating by his father's advanced years and his own age, paid no attention to either his father's upbraidings or the barely concealed contempt of the neighbours and turned up unfailingly for the meals he had done nothing to provide.

The master received no money payments for his services but enjoyed certain privileges. His clothes were often newer and of better cloth than those of his subordinates; more silver chains crossed his breast, and more silver rings glittered on his fingers. He was entitled to have his own bedding and coffee utensils and to keep them until he died. If he chose to buy himself a riding horse, a watch, or arms richly inlaid with silver and bright stones, he might do so. His subordinates, though left to walk while he rode, to learn the time from the sun by day and from the crowing of a cock at night, and to content themselves with the plainest of rifles and revolvers, did not seem to resent his magnificence. He represented the family, and the worthier he appeared in externals as well as in mind and character, the greater the glory reflected on each of them.

Indoors the master sat in the place of honour in the sitting-room, the right-hand chimney corner as one looked from the fireplace towards the door. Though marked deference was usually shown to old people, he never gave up this place to his aged father or elder brother except in the districts of Shpat, Çermenikë and Shalë, where age took precedence over social position. The other men grouped themselves cross-legged in front of the fire, the future master facing it squarely, older men flanking him, and younger men sitting behind him. The youngest of all, who had to do such work as shutting the door, bringing firewood, and carrying in supper, sat next to the door; he was described as the serving man. When

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the master entered, all rose to their feet and remained standing until he was seated. If he was armed, one of them relieved him of his rifle, hung it on a peg by the door, and turned to see if he wanted to keep his side-arms or to have them hung up beside the rifle. As soon as he settled down he made himself a cup of coffee, rolled and lit a cigarette, and perhaps pulled a small bottle of raw spirit (*raki*) from his pocket. If in a gracious mood, he might make a cup of coffee for the older men and the master designate and let them smoke or even suck at his raki bottle, but if he wished he might lawfully reserve these joys for himself. In any event the younger men might neither drink nor smoke in his presence, though they could do both elsewhere. If he chose to make conversation, the others must follow his lead; if he preferred to remain silent, they could not speak—like good children they must remain seen but not heard. When supper came, no one might put his spoon into the common dish until he had done so. When the time came to leave the room, he led the way as he did when walking through the fields. In the house this indicated his pre-eminence; in the fields it was also a security measure. The others strung out behind him at specified intervals, on the assumption that he could deal himself with a frontal attack but needed to have his back protected by friends.

Given his duties, rights and privileges, the master soon acquired an air of command, whereas his subordinates, condemned for ever to show no initiative, shrank progressively into complete nonentities as their youthful qualities atrophied for want of exercise. But the master must not be tyrannical or unjust, spendthrift or careless of the general weal, and above all he must show no favouritism. If he developed such faults, the other men might lawfully depose him and elect another in his stead. However, the care taken initially in selecting him made such action extremely rare. A good master preferred the spirit to the letter of the law. For example, he rarely sold or bought any family possessions without first consulting his subordinates. And he was always careful not to destroy his subordinates' feeling that the farm and everybody and everything on it belonged to each of them individually as well as collectively, that the welfare of each of them concerned the whole family, and that the general welfare concerned each individual.[1]

[1] Thus a youth who obviously had nothing of his own was yet perfectly in order when he stated that he had just bought a field or even a bride for his brother.

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The master designate, who might be appointed 'bazaar-man' in 592
the master's lifetime, sat in a place of some honour, and might be given coffee and cigarettes while other men went without. Often, too, he was deputed to make the coffee and to lead the conversation with a guest. This was training for him and practice in family manners for his future subordinates. When the master was not present, all the duties and privileges of headship were his. During wedding celebrations no one might join a ring dance, however much he wished to do so, unless commanded by the master or in his absence by the master designate.

There is little to add to what has already been said about the [593]
subordinate men in a communal household. Each was head of his own particular family, with full powers to chastise both wife and children, though not to direct their lives and work—that was the master's business. An older man was further regarded as a father by his juniors. This principle was carried so far in Mirditë, though not elsewhere, that he might lawfully reprimand and even beat a junior's wife and children. The junior could not retaliate in kind, for the law holds it criminal to strike a 'father's' wife. In other respects it was a subordinate's whole duty to obey the master.

As for the women in a communal household, the master governed them through the housekeeper: under her official style of mistress of the house she transmitted his orders to the other women or gave them her own and supervised their indoor work. When they were working outside, the master or a man deputizing for him must oversee them, for a mistress worked only in the house and farmyard. She was appointed by the master and was not necessarily his wife. Like him, she must rule justly, moderately, and impartially, taking special pains to avoid favouring her own children, and if his wife did not possess these qualities, he passed her over and chose another. In no case did a mistress have as much authority as the master; she had none at all outside her own departments, and in these must at all times work under his orders. Nor might she buy, sell or barter so much as an egg on her own responsibility. Her tenure of office was also much shorter. Since strong young women must do farm work, she was seldom appointed until nearing forty, and since her duties were manifold and heavy, especially in summer owing to the absence of the other women, she was superseded about fifty when her physical strength began to wane. Her only privilege, but one for which she was much envied by the other women, was

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592 to work indoors. Her clothes were no better than theirs; indeed, if she had dairy work to do, they were usually dirtier. If she was unjust and ill-tempered, pilfered or sold family property, or fomented rather than composed the quarrels that were endemic among the other women, the men assembled in general meeting and deposed her.[1]

562 593 It only remains to describe a small domain with which the master had nothing to do. In astonishing contrast to the penniless men, all the women had their own money and controlled it absolutely. Called *pekul*, from Lat. *peculium*, and essentially pin-money, they spent it on kerchiefs, gewgaws, and even clothes and shoes. Each received the first of it on the morning after her marriage, when her men relatives filed past her in farewell and dropped money into a plate for her. Afterwards her father or brother might slip a coin or two into her hand when he visited her. In the tribal districts of the north her father also gave her on her marriage as much as half of the money which her husband had paid him for her. Later on she might occasionally earn a few pence by knitting socks in her odd moments or making the rough home-spun trousers worn by peasants. Debarred by law and custom from taking the finished articles to market herself, she gave them to her father or brother to sell, but never to her husband or grown-up son, for they would not let her even see the money. If near a market-town, she might gather walnuts or hazel-nuts in the woods and send these to market. In tobacco-growing areas she normally got the coarse bottom leaves of the plants, to smoke or to [437] sell as she pleased. If she had none of these resources, she could only steal maize, eggs, wool or cheese from her husband's house and send a child to the shop to barter them for what she wished to have; she was bound to pay in kind or money, for the law forbade her to pledge either her husband's or her father's credit. On these occasions neither her father nor her brother would act as her agent, for if such connivance in her pilfering were discovered, they would be in serious trouble with her husband's family. If she chose to keep her *pekul* idle, she might safely lock it up in her dowry-chest in her room; her husband never seemed to make her give it up and 562 no others might enter their room. Generally, however, she made 593 the money fructify. In southern areas like Çermenikë she lent it 426 at the usual rate of interest, which was 30% (enough to compensate

[1] The author never heard, however, of this being done.

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lenders for the want of security), and in the less-developed north 562
she invested it in sheep, plough-oxen, or even horses which she 593
hired out on the 'half-and-half' system. Before a woman died, she 426
gave a little of her *pekul* to her daughters and the major part to her sons, but nothing to her husband, so making a last comment on the curiously detached relationship between them during their married life.

Except in the towns, no Albanian woman ever went into 357
domestic service. Each worked as a girl in her father's house and then in her husband's and, though never paid any money, was assured for life of whatever board, lodging and clothes these could provide. This applied even to families of the standing of Cen Elezi in Dibër. Consequently the Unwritten Law took no cognizance of female servants. On the other hand, men servants—mainly farm workers or herdsmen—were numerous enough to have been carefully legislated for.

Though such a servant ate out of the same dish as his master and slept in the sitting-room or elsewhere in the same conditions as the young unmarried men of the family, he had always to take a back seat—in the literal sense near the door and far from the fire; and, in the metaphorical sense, effacing himself. This befitted both his youth and his status. For his status was like that of a woman. 'It is for the master to command and for the servant to obey', said the Unwritten Law. If he were a shepherd, his views on the beasts under his care commanded his master's respect, but other servants were required to keep their opinions to themselves. In areas such 357
as Martanesh where women could not be killed in a blood feud, 628
a servant was as safe as they were from his master's enemies. 'Kill a servant? Faugh! As well kill a woman', was the sentiment.

There was, however, another aspect to his position: since he [574]
came from another family in his master's village or from another village altogether, he was not a member of his master's household but was its guest. As such he was entitled to protection by his master against all hurt from third parties. If he were hit, the offender must pay twice, compensating him for the personal injury of the blow and his master for the affront to his guest. If he were robbed, his master latterly complained to the police, but in the old days would have shot the robber out of hand in the north, but in Martanesh and farther south, not until he saw that the servant himself was too weak to resent the injury as honour demanded. If

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357 a servant were killed, a modern master again told the police, but
628 nevertheless both he and the servant's family considered themselves at feud with the murderer, the former to avenge the death of his guest and the latter to avenge the death of their relative; more often than not, the master made it 'tit for tat' by killing the murderer's servant. In former times a servant was most commonly killed because he was mixed up in a blood feud of his own. In that event his master went to see his enemy and warned him that the man was now in his service and, consequently, under his protection. If his enemy disregarded the warning, his master never rested until he had avenged the servant.

Again in the old days, vengeance took a fiercer turn when the servant was from a different community. He was then counted as a stranger, and the guest of his master's tribe or village, as well as of his master himself. If he were killed by one of this community, the others rose as one man, burned down the murderer's house and destroyed all his goods. The modern Albanian government has repressed this custom, but the servant's master and family still try to shoot the murderer.

The same public vengeance used to await the murderer of a local servant who was working for a stranger to the tribe or village. But in such a case it was the injury to its stranger guest which the community wished to avenge; in itself the death of the servant was a matter for private vengeance by his family. In aggravated cases, as when the murdered servant as well as his master was a stranger, the community might order the execution of the murderer by a firing squad. This was done in 1944 in the village of Dukat, in south-west Albania.

357 No Albanian ever stooped to become a servant except from dire necessity. Most commonly he wanted to marry, and having no spare cash, must earn enough to pay for his bride. He was usually engaged on St George's or St Demetrius's day in the Old Style calendar, and so on 6 May and 8 November in ours, dates which correspond roughly to the beginning and end of the dry season. His engagement was for six months or, more often, a year. His wages and his work depended on the bargain he made with his master before being hired. In the 1930's his wages, including food only, ranged according to his quality from one napoleon (16*s.* at par) to half a napoleon a month, payable monthly. In late Turkish times, when clothes as well as food were given, the rates were from

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500 to 50 *grosh* ('piastres') a year, payable in two instalments, the first after six months' service and the second at the end of his term. 357

According to a list from Shkrel where wages were still on an 'all-found' basis, a servant must be given a complete set of clothes —a shirt, drawers, cloth cap, scarf, cow-hide sandals, socks, trousers and sleeveless jacket. He got sandals as often as he needed a new pair, and a set of the other things three times a year: when first engaged, at the end of three months, and during his last month. On leaving he was given three okes of wool, which his female relatives could work up for him. [291]

Disputes hardly ever arose over the servant's food or clothes, but were common about his work. As an Albanian of Koplik said picturesquely, 'Before a man is hired he talks like an angel, and then turns out a devil', so that 'half the men who lie in cemeteries have died of worry over servants'. The same speaker told a lively folk-tale of a master who was delighted to get a servant cheap and then found him come very dear indeed. Every time he asked him to do something, the man said it had not been mentioned in their bargain and he could not do it unless he got a rise in wages. Little attempt to get 'references' seems to have been made, perhaps because in the old days a would-be servant would have shot the giver of an adverse 'character' for slandering him. There was also a feeling that a servant's engagement was too temporary to take seriously. Once when the author inquired uneasily about a servant she had been urged to hire, an old mountaineer replied, 'What does it matter? you're not going to marry him'.

'Any gains made or any damage done by a servant are his master's', said the law. If, for instance, a servant somehow gained a horse, he could not send it to his own family, but must give it to his master. On the loss side of the ledger, if a servant unintentionally damaged a neighbour's property, say, by killing his horse, it was not he but his master who must make restitution, and his master could not keep back any of his wages for that purpose. Fining a servant was absolutely forbidden. [672] [422]

The relations of master and man with each other and with the outside world were regulated in detail by the Unwritten Law, using the servant's wages as its chief instrument. Thus if the two parted prematurely, the master being to blame, he must pay the servant his full wages for the year. When the servant was to blame, he had no right to more than the money for which he had so far

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357 worked, and must forfeit the rest. To us the pound or two involved seems too insignificant to matter to either, but to most Albanians it was an important sum. In the event, for example, of the master's moving from one district to another, he might not dismiss the servant unless he gave him a full year's wages. If, however, he asked the servant to go with him and the servant refused, he must let him go but need give him no more than what he had so far earned. In the same spirit the law forbade the master to dismiss the servant for a frivolous reason, such as not liking him, and forbade the servant to run away for a frivolous reason, such as boredom. If the master disregarded this law, he must pay the servant a full year's wages, and if the servant disregarded it, he must be content with the wages he had earned to date. By exception, in Krasniqë, in north-east Albania, the master sought out his runaway servant, and after making him find a man to guarantee his future behaviour, brought him back to stay out his time.

[627] If the master had good grounds for dismissing the servant, he must warn and forgive him twice. If the warnings went unheeded, the master said the elders must now judge between them. The servant then went and told his story to the chief elder—the bajraktar in tribal areas—who next asked the master what he had to say. Thus in possession of both sides of the story, the elders sat on the case and pronounced judgement; this turned generally on what money was to be paid to the servant.

[466] If the servant were lazy, an all too common occurrence, or otherwise unsatisfactory, without being criminal, the Unwritten Law allowed his master to reprimand him reasonably and bade the servant swallow the reprimand. But the master must not use foul language or hit the man. For his motive might be to force him to leave before his time, apparently of his own volition, and so deprive himself of his full wages. If the master transgressed this law, the servant had leave to appeal to the elders, not only for payment of his wages in full, but also for compensation for the injury of being hit or violently abused.

357 The more serious crimes with which a servant might be charged [674] included theft, murder and seducing a girl or young wife in his 685 master's family. In the case of theft the issue depended largely on whether the servant stole from his master, in his master's village, or in another community. If he were caught red-handed robbing his master or subsequently admitted doing so, he was immediately

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dismissed with only the wages due until then. Since it was in a sense his own house and his own father that he had robbed, he could not be given a second chance; he was too obviously devoid of ordinary decency to be trusted again. And since the law forbade his master to strike him, he could not be beaten, as a thievish woman might be, till he reformed. 357 685

Dismissal did not end his story. He had to pay the statutory fine for housebreaking and to bring his late master two of everything he had stolen. If he had no money for the fine, he had to find a surety for the amount and then go and earn it elsewhere. After European legal codes were introduced at the end of the 1920's, these unwritten laws lost much of their force, and it was rather by threatening to get the thief sent to prison that an injured master obtained restitution. [671]

In less sophisticated days a servant who was only suspected of robbing his master could be tried by the ordeal of the oath. If this proved him innocent, his master had to pay him six *qese* ('purses') for unjustly accusing him, besides a full year's wages and clothes. If it was later found that he had perjured himself, the elders fined him twenty-four *qese*, of which half went to the church (or mosque) and half to the tribe; he had also to return to his master the six *qese* and the unearned wages and clothes which he had won from him by perjury. It sometimes transpired, however, that the informant who had disclosed his perjury had lied himself. Then the elders once more declared the servant innocent, ordered the church and tribe to return his twenty-four *qese*, and the informant to pay him a year's wages and clothes besides six *qese* for the false accusation. [695]

If a servant stole in his master's village or another community, punishment depended on who had instigated the crime. If his master had done so, he and not the servant was in fault, and it was for him to make reparation to the victim. He must also dismiss the servant forthwith as a public nuisance; but since the man was only his tool, he must pay him a full year's wages. If, on the other hand, a servant stole on his own initiative, the fault was his and it was for him alone to make restitution. In addition, he might be legally dismissed with no more than the wages he had earned. [672]

Much the same laws applied when a servant committed a murder. If he did so at his master's instigation, both were punished. He must be dismissed, but his master must pay him a full year's wages. The resultant blood feud was primarily his concern, but if he 357 682 672

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357 escaped from the district, his master might lawfully be shot in his
182 stead. When, however, a servant murdered on his own respon-
672 sibility, he alone should suffer for the crime. His master was entitled, in dismissing him, to keep back the portion of his wages for which he had not worked, and according to Lek's Kanùn ought not to be shot in his stead. Skanderbeg's law, however, held him as liable in this case as in the former.

357 The only available information about a servant's seducing a girl
684 or young wife in his master's family comes from Martanesh and Shkrel and dates from past times. In Martanesh the law con-
[608] demned the man to death for incest because his master was his 'father' and the young woman his 'sister'. In Shkrel he was killed
[836] at once if he had sinned with a young wife, but if with a girl he was dismissed with orders to hold his tongue, and only if he talked did the girl's father go and shoot him. As for the girl, she was married
[837] to her fiancé as quickly as possible. He was not told that she was pregnant by another man, and would not have cared if he had been. He wanted her as wife and worker and felt sure that he was man enough to keep her straight after marriage; beatings always worked
[848] wonders. The child was sent to the servant as soon as born; he never acknowledged it but either killed it or exposed it by the wayside. The father did not dare to beat the girl in case she ran away to the servant; at all costs he had to keep her for her fiancé, who had presumably paid a good proportion of her bride-price and would have killed him had he failed to deliver her. Presumably the fact that a servant was held to be of little or no account saved the wife or girl from the usual punishment for adultery.[1]

357 Sometimes, despite their being 'brother' and 'sister', a servant
[562] married his master's daughter. Thus an ancestor of Bicaj was a Catholic of Gjugjë in Mirditë who entered the service of Hysen Agë Shteki of Bicaj, turned Moslem, and married Hysen Agë's daughter. Even in modern times a servant may be given his master's daughter in marriage. This is particularly likely to happen if his master is Moslem and he a Christian who agrees to change his religion. His master then looks on his own consent to the marriage as an act of piety. Servants varied in importance according to the master they served. Thus the servant of a Moslem priest (*hoxhë*) had more power than an ordinary peasant's and less than a bajraktar's —at least in the days before most bajraktars were shorn of their

[1] See Chapter XXI.

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power by modern governments. The value of the difference to the 357
servant was that the more important his master, the better he himself was protected.

It is the rule in all denominations that priests may not carry [793]
arms. This is no drawback to anybody under a modern administra- 357
tion, but in Turkish times it meant that a priest's servant was more 688
exposed to danger than an armed layman's. The Catholic church tried to make up for the deficiency by special legislation of which Father Gjeçov gives a full account. Thus, though a priest's servant had a certain freedom to attend to his own business, any message he carried to a house was treated as coming from the priest. Whoever molested him molested the priest, and might be fined according to the gravity of the offence but not less than ten lambs, which went, not to the servant, but to the church and tribe. Whoever killed the servant started a feud with his family only, if the [574]
servant were local, but with the whole parish if he were a stranger—here can be recognized the principle of the community's guest—and if the murderer was local, the parish burned his house and took a hundred lambs and an ox from him as fine. If labourers hired by the church were molested, the offender had to pay a fine, divisible between them and the church; the more numerous they were, the heavier the fine; on an average this amounted to ten lambs. If an offender refused to pay, the parish went in a body and took what it wanted from his sheepfold. In short, the church treated any wrong to a defenceless priest's servant as a major crime.

The retainers of great men were essentially a bodyguard, and 592
were only maintained by men with blood feuds. Some lived at home and joined their patron for some special, and usually brief, occasion; others lived for long periods with him, constantly ready for whatever service he might ask. They occasionally received a gold piece as reward; more often they were paid in kind—by being lent money without interest for a funeral or a wedding feast, by being given grain in bad years, by having a useful word said in the ear of the authorities to extract them from some difficulty. While his own children were small, the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë had eight young relatives living permanently with him, brief holidays at home excepted. They waited at meals or carried messages to the servants with the lofty air of medieval pages of noble blood. Until exiled during the war of 1939–45, Shevqet Vërlaci, the formidable Bey of Elbasan, was guarded night and day by relays of peasants

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592 from his own farms, who spent weeks at a time with him. During the same period every notable from Dibër who visited Tirana called at least six peasant neighbours to come and escort him there and back. If his stay in the capital were short, they saw him safely home; if long, they were relieved by others at intervals. Needless to say, all retainers were crack shots.

Finally, the protected might also be the protector. In the 1930's Hamit Callaku, an influential notable of Fulqet, had a notorious murderer from Çermenikë living with him for nothing except the assurance that so long as he kept Hamit's enemies at a distance the former would prevent the authorities from arresting him.

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CHAPTER VI

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

In spite of the modernization which Albanian laws had undergone since 1912, brothers still separated according to the laws they had learned from their fathers. The only change introduced by the civil code adapted from the Swiss models was that economic provision must now be made for the daughters of the family, who had formerly been given only a nominal sum when their father's home was broken up. [67] 592 884

There were several reasons for breaking up an old home. When a communal household was already full of men, each with his wife and children, it could no longer spare a room for each boy as he grew up and married. Some of the men must hive off, although many disliked the idea of separating from their brothers. As the Albanian proverb says, 'When the hive is full the bees must swarm'.

Quarrelling was another cause of separation. Often the brothers themselves quarrelled, the younger resenting the elder's control of his person and of the family purse, or 'the devil entering both their hearts' they quarrelled about nothing. In the latter case climate might play a role. Theth, for example, lay so high that the peasants were confined to their houses for several months each winter. Then brother got on brother's nerves, high words were spoken and the younger demanded a separation or the elder threatened to expel him. When the milder weather came to release them from confinement, their tempers cooled, but each was too proud to retract the word he had spoken in haste. A financial cause operated in villages near towns, such as Godolesh and Shijan near Elbasan. With the bazaar at hand each brother wanted to control the purse, which he could not do unless he had a separate establishment. Often too brothers must separate because their wives quarrelled. The companionship enforced by communal life naturally bore harder on the women who lacked the blood tie and similarity of upbringing that might neutralize clashes of temperament among the men. Occasionally brothers separated while their father was still alive. If this was their own wish they lost face and 592

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592 were publicly mocked as 'low-class fellows'. Sometimes they had no choice, being so disobedient and unruly that their father compelled them to leave his house. Or they got on so badly with each other that he feared there would be murder done.

Three factors militated against separation. There was the sense of family which was so strong that four or five generations, numbering twenty souls or more, might live under one roof. Secondly, it was economically to the advantage of each man that the household should remain together. In a large household all branches of the pastoral and agricultural life were possible, but in a small one activities must be restricted; one and the same person could not tend cows and oxen, ewes and lambs. With good reason the proverb says 'Separation ruins a family'. In the bad old days too, it was strategically good for brothers to stick together; the more guns in a house the stronger it was.

592 428 When separation had been decided on, the family possessions were divided equally without any regard for primogeniture. Everything that could be eaten or drunk—dairy produce, grain, haricot beans, eggs, honey, raki—was considered food and divided equally among the mouths to be fed, and everything else—land, livestock, farm implements, house, household utensils—was considered property and divided equally between the brothers.

The law of food, as expanded, laid down that every living soul in the house on the day of separation, male and female, sick and well, greybeard and infant drawing its first breath, should receive the same share of food. Supposing one of the two brothers had besides his wife ten children, and the other two, the first received twelve portions of food and the second four. Then the age clause was variously interpreted. In Dibër even a child still in the womb was allotted a full portion, but elsewhere one born so little as an hour after the conclusion of the separation received nothing and the prospective father naturally tried to protect himself against this loss by delaying the separation, if possible, until the child had been [853] born. In Lumë and Mirditë a child less than a year old was not given food, the idea being that its mother's milk would suffice for it throughout the coming year—partly to avoid conception Albanian children were everywhere suckled until they were three years of age. In other areas a new-born child received its quota on the assumption that before a year was out it would 'eat a little, spill a little and let the cat eat a little'. Separation generally, though not

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invariably, took place immediately after harvest when bins were full and a year must pass before the fields again yielded a crop. 592 428

Although food supply was divided in most areas into equal portions irrespective of total quantity, in the Malësi e Madhe each person received three loads of maize, which was considered to be enough food for a year. Any surplus was sold and the proceeds divided among the brothers. In other areas a surplus rarely existed, so the specification of quantity had never been made.

For the purposes of separation the term 'grain' included not only maize and wheat but also everything that grew in a field or garden, such as fruit and vegetables. Exceptionally, in Godolesh both olives and butter were regarded as property and divided equally, not among the number of souls, but among the brothers. In Perlat raki and wine were divided equally among all who drank; some of the men did not drink and some of the women did. Sometimes a woman tried to secure a double share of drink for her husband by alleging falsely that she herself drank. The attempt was usually frustrated by the other women, who, not wishing to see their husbands go shorter than they should, exposed her fraud. In rare instances where drinking water was divided, it was treated like food.

Property, said the law, was to be divided equally among the brothers. This applied only to property inherited by the father; the number of children belonging to each brother was not considered. One of two might have seven children and the other three, but each received exactly half the property. The only exception recorded is in Martanesh, where a brother with many mouths to feed might be given a little extra food on condition of accepting a little less land. It followed that the brother with the large family was much worse off initially, though eventually, as his children grew old enough to work, he might catch up the other because he would have more hands at work. No doubt it was this balance of initial poverty against subsequent wealth that led the old law-givers to enact this law of equal division of property among brothers. It was also immaterial that one of the brothers had a grown son; the son counted in the division of food but not in that of property.

A dead brother was ignored when the food was divided, but if he had left a son, his rights to an equal share of the property remained intact. It descended to his son, who, irrespective of his age, ranked on separation day as his father's representative and the

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428 equal of each of his father's brothers. Supposing the dead man had
592 been one of four brothers, the three survivors and his orphan son each received one-quarter of the property. If he had left two sons, these became joint owners of his quarter share. Even if all the brothers in a communal household died before it split up, the principle of division was the same. Suppose they were three, and the eldest had ten male descendants, the second five and the third one, the property was divided into three equal parts, one for each of them, regardless of the disparity in the number of their descendants.

Division of food was relatively simple, a matter of arithmetic—so many souls, so many portions. The process of division of property was much more complicated, a thing of exact measurements and difficult calculations. As a first step the land was measured with a rope and divided into as many equal parts as there were brothers. Occasionally it was measured by pacing, the man who paced clasping his hands behind his back to steady himself and so to keep his paces equal.

When the quality of the land was uniform there was no difficulty about the actual partition by these methods. But it might happen that one field or one part of a field was better than another. Good and bad must nevertheless be shared alike by the brothers. To make this possible, what may be called the system of 'offset or compensation' came into play. Most commonly a smaller field or a smaller portion of the same field was given to the brother who got the better land, and a larger field or larger portion of the same field to the one who got the worse. The basis of calculation was the average yield of the land, this being common knowledge in the district. Size was thus offset against quality. Less often the portions were valued and the brother who got the better one paid compensation to the other; the latter was theoretically supposed to spend the money on buying himself a piece of land somewhere else.

423 The term 'land' included arable land, vineyards, vegetable
428 gardens, orchards, hay meadows and enclosed lowland pastures, all of which must be divided up when the brothers separated. It did not include mountain pastures or woods and forest for firewood, fodder and timber. These remained undivided, common property for the common use of the brothers. It was rare, however, to find a joint household owning mountain pastures and forests, for these were generally held in common by a whole ward or even a whole

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village. In Çermenikë all the brothers were allowed to graze their sheep after harvest on a divided arable field as they did when it was whole and they were together; it was immaterial that one had a bigger flock than the other. At least it was immaterial in theory, but in practice they sometimes quarrelled over the grazing. Then each must set a shepherd on his own boundary to watch over his interests. Presumably the impossibility of providing shepherds enough to guard the wide boundaries of forests and mountain pastures has prevented these pieces of property from being divided up.

Two curiosities of land division are to be noted: if an arable field was very narrow, it must be divided short-ways, for if divided long-ways, the plough-oxen might not have room to turn when ploughing; sometimes, too, three brothers who were separating amicably might wish to have each of their father's fields divided in three rather than each receive one field apiece. A day might come when one of them might wish to sell his land, then there would be more inducement to keep it in the family if it immediately adjoined another brother's holding. They also wished, they said, to perpetuate the memory of their joint ownership of all the fields, and when one field was some way from another and in different hands, it was less easy to realize that once the same family had owned them all. If possible they would like to keep up their brotherly ties for a hundred years or more.

The division of the joint home was generally much more complicated. Supposing there were two brothers in a house consisting of only a sitting-room and a kitchen. By the partition method one was given the sitting-room and the other the kitchen. Since the sitting-room was manifestly superior it was valued together with the kitchen. The values were added, then divided into two, and the difference between half the total and the value of the kitchen was paid to the less lucky brother. The payment made, it was held that the old home had been equally divided between the brothers. Sometimes instead of money the offset system was used, a better portion of land being given to the brother who had received the worse part of the house. For this purpose the land as well as the house was valued, and if the former's total value was 26 napoleons, 14 napoleons' worth would go to the brother with the kitchen worth 6 and 12 napoleons' worth to the brother with the sitting-room worth 8, so giving each 20 napoleons' worth of property.

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428 Alternatively, both sitting-room and kitchen were measured
592 with a rope and divided into two. A partition wall of lath and plaster or, more probably, of lath and mud was then run up in both. This left half of each with the old door and, where it existed, the old staircase, while the other two halves had neither door nor staircase; a new door and, if required, a new staircase, were built for these, generally on the opposite side of the house. Each brother then took possession of his new home, a small poor place but his own with its own egress to the outside world.

[594] In the Mohammedan villages near Elbasan there were regula-
[595] tions about windows which aimed, like the building laws, at protecting women from prying eyes. In Godolesh the brother getting the upper room in a two-storeyed house was told to blind the windows overlooking the yard if his brother's kitchen, as was probable, opened on to this; otherwise his brother's womenfolk would not have full freedom to move about the yard. The brother getting the middle storey in a three-storeyed house was given similar instructions, but the brother with the topmost floor might leave all his windows open as they were too high to overlook the yard. In Labinot all windows overlooking another's property must, irrespective of their height, be blinded. Such regulations were not enforced in Christian villages.

When the old house had two rooms as well as a kitchen the division was less complicated. To begin with, one room was assigned to each brother. If one was bigger than the other they were both valued and due compensation paid to the brother with the smaller one. As for the kitchen, either it was divided in two or it was given to one brother and its estimated value paid to the other so that he could build a new kitchen for himself on his own land.

Continuing to live under the same roof imposed certain mutual obligations on the brothers. If the flimsy partition wall or the roof needed repairs, both must share the expense in equal proportions. If one could not or would not pay his quota the other was entitled to repair only his own section of the roof, leaving his brother's to the ravages of the weather; or he might try to extract the money from his brother by force; until lately, he might even shoot him in truculent Lumë. As for the partition wall, he probably repaired it at his own expense for the sake of his personal privacy.

To avoid such quarrels and to secure more houseroom the buying out method of dividing the old home was preferred. The

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building itself was allotted to one of the brothers, almost everywhere the youngest, who became its sole owner and master. But he must pay each of his brothers a proportionate share of its value, half if he had only one brother, a third if he had two and so on. Sometimes two brothers who had decided to divide the old house with a partition wall, according to the first method of division, quarrelled irreconcilably about the position of this wall. Then they might switch over to the second method, one buying out the other. If they could not afford to do this, one might legally pull down his own section of the house, take away the timber and stones, and build himself a new house on his own land.

Sometimes four brothers separated two by two, one pair remaining in the old home and the other going out. In that case the former paid between them half the assessed value of the house to the outgoing pair. Sometimes the four separated one by one, two remaining in the old home as before and two going out. In this case the old home was divided by a partition into two portions, one for each of the two brothers remaining in it and one-quarter of its value was taken from each of them and given to each outgoing brother.

In Dibër and Perlat, possibly elsewhere, the outgoing brothers received an extra portion of land as a site for the house they must build. In Perlat a distinction was made between irrigable and non-irrigable land. The extra portion given in the case of the latter, which was nearly worthless, might amount to as much as 120 *pashë*.

Almost everywhere the old home was valued as it stood, but a system not recorded elsewhere prevailed in Perlat. This took no account of the timber, stones and mud (for mortar) which went to the building of the house because these cost nothing but labour, and the labour had been provided as a joint enterprise by the family when still united. (But the brothers, remembering what the mason who built the house had been paid, divided that sum equally between themselves; it was generally no more than 6 or 7 napoleons.) As usual, the brother allotted the house paid cash to his outgoing brothers. The drawback to this system was that it did not provide for fluctuations in the value of money.

The old house was generally given to the youngest because he was thought too young to be able to build one for himself. 'The man who has not built himself a house or celebrated his daughter's wedding does not know what trouble is', runs the proverb. The

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428 older brothers had had time to acquire friends and could make
428 their own way in the world, but the baby of the family knew nothing about anything except his father's house.

428 After the land and the house had been divided, the boundaries between the holdings were demarcated. The house, it should be said, included land round it and also any cattle or sheepfolds.
312 When the land was under water, irrigation channels were marked
428 out at the same time as the boundaries. Where the father had possessed one field with an irrigation channel running down its whole length, his sons tapped this channel without difficulty, each digging a small transverse channel from it on his own portion of the field. Where the stream was farther off the brothers jointly dug a channel to the point where their land met, after which each made a separate channel through his own ground; by preference each took this down his own side of the little path between his field and his brother's. When the water came from above a field so narrow that it must be divided short-ways, the brother getting the lower half was entitled to dig an irrigation channel down the side of his brother's land. But the area it occupied must be measured and an equivalent amount of land subtracted from his holding and added to his brother's. It was, of course, always stream irrigation that was in question.

The period for which each brother might irrigate was also settled when they separated. This was usually a matter of simple arithmetic. If, for example, the father had had the right to irrigate for two days, each of the two brothers was given the right for one day and each of three brothers for sixteen hours. In Mirditë, where few streams could be utilized, irrigation water was divided by the oke; unfortunately there is no information available as to how this was done.

Drinking water was seldom regulated; 'God has given it' and almost everywhere in excess. There was so little in some villages near Shkodër, however, that it was divided by the jugful, at least during the dry season. When brothers separated in these villages their portion of drinking water was decided. Division was as with food, by heads, so many jugfuls per person.

428 Milling rights varied from district to district. Where they were by hours or days each brother's quota was settled on the day of separation. It was again arithmetical, each of two brothers getting half the father's period and each of three getting one-third.

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Generally one took over the others' periods and compensated them 428 with an agreed quantity of maize per year.

In dividing the livestock the system of 'offset or compensation' was much used; four horses could not otherwise be divided equally between five brothers. By this system four of these brothers each took a horse and together subscribed the value of one for the fifth. Or this brother might be given another animal, such as a cow, plus the difference in money between its value and that of a horse. If there were five horses to be divided among four brothers, one received two horses and each of the others one horse and another animal or animals of the same value as a horse, plus any money compensation that might be necessary. In Çermenikë a house-dog was equated to a sheep and rules enunciated for its future service. If the old home was partitioned between the brothers, it must continue to guard this for their joint benefit. If they set up separate houses, it went with the one to whom it had been allotted and guarded only his house; the other must buy a dog for himself. As for the brandings or other marks on animals, the father's sign was assigned to one brother and new ones devised by the others. There were some exceptions to these rules. In Dibër livestock was divided equally among all the boys and men old enough to herd; this is said to be Skanderbeg's law. In Mirditë it was divided equally among the guns in the house. In Çermenikë if a brother had a very small family the sheep might be divided equally among the souls in the old home on the plea that a man with few hands could not tend many sheep. Everywhere sheep-folds and cattle-folds were divided, like the old home, equally among the brothers. Fodder, including wheat and maize straw, hay and leaves of trees, was divided on the same principles as the livestock, equally in Mirditë among the guns, in Dibër among the herds, and elsewhere among the brothers.

As for poultry, custom varied. In Lumë they were considered property, not food, and so divided equally among the brothers. In Çermenikë they were regarded, somewhat uncertainly, as food, and so divided according to the number of souls. In Mirditë the mistress of the joint household divided the poultry as directed by the person arranging the separation.

Farm implements included plough, sickles, saws, hatchets, hoes, etc. If possible one article of each kind was given to each brother. Otherwise an article was given to one and something else of equal

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value or money compensation to the other. In the cases, frequent enough, where each had had his own implements before the separation, he took these with him to his new home.

Beehives too were divided on the offset or compensation system; they were seldom enough to go round the brothers. Honey was divided on a food basis, equally among old and young.

Household utensils such as spoons, milk cogs, churns, wash-tubs, pots, saucepans and all wooden and earthenware vessels were also divided equally among the brothers. After being taken out of the house they were stacked in piles, one for each brother under the direction of whoever divided the property. It was almost never possible to find an article of the same type for each brother. So an article was laid on one pile and the offset on the others. Less often, an article of which there was only one was valued and a proportionate share of its value paid by its new owner to his brothers. There was never any furniture in the sense of tables, chairs and bedsteads to divide. At most, there were reed mats and straw-stuffed cushions in the sitting-room and some wooden stools in the kitchen. The stools might be divided equally among the brothers; the other things were generally treated as part of the house and left where they were.

Certain articles in the house were not subject to division. These included the portable oven, flour-bin, tongs, shovel and kitchen-crook, which were the symbols of family life; and the mill, caddy, pot and cups forming the coffee outfit, which was the symbol of guest-friendship. The former remained in the kitchen and the latter in the sitting-room, irrespective of whether these rooms had been separated or left to one brother. Above all, it was unlucky to move the kitchen-crook; it was almost as sacred as the fire on the hearth on whose continuance depended the continuance of the family. Very occasionally, however, it was allotted like the rest of the property. Other articles were considered individual property and excluded from division on that account. These included the jack-knife, gun and revolver carried by each man (at least in the not-so-distant past), the trousseaux brought by the married women or being made by the girls, and the married women's pocket-money, wedding presents, possessions and livestock, or money lent at interest. All these continued to be the sole property of their owners. Bedding too was individual property, each brother's having been brought by his wife as part of her trousseau. If the

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father was dead his bedding was divided in Mirditë equally among the brothers; presumably it was so elsewhere. There was divergence about his arms. In Mat and Mirditë, for instance, these were given to the oldest brother but in neighbouring Perlat and Dibër to the youngest. In Perlat the mother's jewellery also fell to the youngest.

With both the land and the house, it was only the father's property which was divided according to the number of brothers. Any land bought after his death was divided according to the number of adult men. All of these, it was considered, had shepherded the family flocks or worked in the family fields, so helping to amass the purchase price of the new land. Under this rule, when one brother had two grown-up sons and one small son, and the other brother had only two small sons, the small son of the former and his little cousins received no land at all, but the two grown-up sons received each one-quarter of the land bought since their grandfather died. In Perlat a son taking a share of bought land must be at least 20 years of age; in Mirditë he need not be more than 15, the age at which he began to bear arms. In Mat, if he herded sheep, he need be only ten.

So with the house: this went to the youngest brother only if built or inherited by the father. If built by the brothers after his death, it was retained by the eldest, who turned his juniors out, paying each of them their proportionate share of its assessed value or, in Perlat, the mason's charges for building it.

A difference of mothers never affected the division of the 'father's property'. If the mother of the eldest of three brothers had died or been divorced, he took his third just the same. If the mother of the third brother were a concubine, he too took his third. The inheritance came from the father, irrespective of the mother. It was otherwise with a wife's or a mother's property. This went to her son, to the exclusion of her step-son. A man who built a house with his wife's money might give his brothers house-room until they separated, but they had no legal share in it; as husband of the heiress, he was its sole owner, and when they separated, did not pay them any part of its value. If his wife died or was divorced and he married again, the house descended to the first wife's son, to the exclusion of the second wife's. If the former son separated from his half-brother, he paid him nothing for the house; built with his mother's money, not his step-mother's, it was his exclusive property. Such cases were rare, occurring only when

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

428 a woman was the sole survivor of her family and so inherited its property.

It was on the principle of father's property—or very much more rarely mother's—that big households containing several sets of cousins split up. They went back to their common ancestor, ascertained what property he had had, and divided that equally among his sons. The descendants of each son then took their portion and no more, regardless of their number. Supposing a man had had three sons who in their turn had respectively five, three and two sons. When these cousins separated the five sons of the eldest brother received only one-third of their grandfather's property, no more and no less than the amount received by the three sons of the second and the two sons of the third brother.

The question of the father's property came up again when a man died childless after separating from his brothers. For instance, if four brothers all separated they divided the dead man's property equally as having been originally their father's. If three were living together apart from the fourth who had died childless, they took his property back into the common fund, and when they separated divided it equally with their other possessions. If one of the three who lived together died childless, the two surviving took his property back into the common fund and when they separated divided it equally between themselves, but they did not give any to the fourth brother because he had separated from them before the death. Matters were usually complicated in Perlat and Mirditë when four brothers had separated into two pairs. If one died childless, any property which they had bought together was retained by the survivor of his pair, but what he had inherited went back into the stock of father's property and was divided into three portions, one for his survivor and two for the other pair. A rather better portion of land was given to his survivor in Perlat but apparently not in Mirditë.

[592] Money a man had earned away from home—as government official, gendarme, shopkeeper or servant—had to be sent home up to the date of separation. Then it was counted family earnings and put into the common purse on the plea that although he was away working his brothers were toiling at home. If he kept any back for some months before the expected separation, it was accounted stealing, and if he was only suspected of doing so, he might be put to the oath to clear himself. If livestock was bought with his money

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

that must be divided equally among all the brothers. If a house 428
was built with it, that again must be divided equally. The law laid down 'What is in the house on Separation day is part of it'.

On the same principle, any debts due by the family such as [426]
government taxes or arrears of taxes were divided equally among the brothers.[1] Each had to discharge his share independently, the others accepting and being given no responsibility for it. Any payments due to the family, such as repayment of money borrowed, were similarly divided between the brothers. Bride-price was in a class by itself, being paid to the bride's father, both while he still lived with his brothers and afterwards as well.

In a very few areas special charges on the family property were recognized. If, for instance, the youngest brother in Çermenikë did not yet have a gun, it was thought fair to give him money out of the common purse with which to buy one. In Perlat before the livestock was divided, two oxen and a few sheep were set aside for the wedding feast of an unmarried brother. In Mirditë the estimated cost of his wedding was paid to him, generally in kind, as in Perlat. Elsewhere, so far as is known, no such allowances were made.

Food and property of every description having been divided as described, accounts were balanced. Each brother paid up what money he had to pay and each received what money he had to receive. This concluded the division in most cases. It will be observed that no provision beyond 500 grosh was made for the daughters of the family. This was probably thought unnecessary by the old law-givers because a woman who had not reached extreme old age or been otherwise disabled was no burden to anybody. Her work, herding, spinning or even hoeing in the fields, was worth more to both brother and husband than the cost of her keep. An unmarried girl stayed with any of her brothers after their separation. She stood in the same relation to them all, it was thought, and was no nearer to the one than to the other. The modern civil code enacts, however, that a real and not a token provision shall be made for each daughter.

It sometimes happened that the father was alive when the 737
brothers separated. If so, his welfare was provided for by the law. If the separation took place with his blessing he went to live with the son he liked and got on with best. This was almost invariably the youngest, who was thought nearer to him than the others, and

1 [at the time of separation--Analyst]

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737 if the youngest died, he went to the next youngest. Only one per cent of fathers chose to live with another son, and then a woman was generally to blame. If the youngest was unmarried or had a disagreeable wife who did not give much promise of looking after a troublesome old father-in-law, he went to a son with a kinder wife.

Since it was understood that he would live with his youngest son and that this son would have his house, he continued to live in his old familiar quarters. One room was allotted for his special use, but it frequently served as the general sitting-room as well because he only required one corner to sit in by day and to sleep in at night. For his support he might either keep one-eighth of his land in his own hands or arrange to be fed by his sons, either jointly or in turn. In the former case the son he lived with worked his bit of land, fed him with its produce, and eventually buried him. In consideration of the latter expense this son was allowed to keep his land and his room, though it meant getting a larger portion than his brothers. Sometimes the others contributed a little towards the old man's keep and the expenses of his funeral. In that case they had a claim [428] at his death to an equal share of his fraction of land and his room, payable in money.

When all his sons contracted to feed him in turn, he probably continued to live with the son with whom he was happiest, and month by month asked each of the others in turn for money with which to buy food. If they contracted to feed him jointly, each sent him an agreed quantity of food and clothing per year. In Mirditë this was fixed at 6 loads of maize, 3 pairs of sandals, 25 okes of salt and 2 bushels of haricot beans. Under this arrangement there was no eighth of land to be divided on his death. His room was kept by the son with whom he had lived, but this son must pay a proportionate share of its value to his brothers.

428 On Separation day after a room and an eighth of land had been
737 set aside for the father, the division of his property, both inherited and bought, proceeded as if he no longer existed, but he retained any title-deeds to all his former land which he might hold. His eighth was never enough to feed him, and the youngest son might become too impoverished to make up the deficiency, in which case his only resource was to pay lengthy visits to his other sons. With the title-deeds in his hands he was sure of his welcome; without them he might not be. So, too, if his sons had contracted to feed

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him, possession of the title-deeds made it more certain that they would fulfil the contract. On his death the deeds passed to his sons. 428 737

These were the general rules for his maintenance, but there were a few variants. In Çermenikë a man who had managed to buy a large amount of land during his working years had the right to keep this back when his sons separated and to leave it all to the son with whom he lived, to the exclusion of the others. More often than not, he allowed it to be divided up with the land he inherited. Sometimes he was still able to earn a little. In Lumë his sons treated his earnings as family property, taking the cost of his funeral out of them and dividing up the rest. In Çermenikë the son he lived with paid the whole cost of his funeral and kept all his earnings. In Mat, a relatively fertile district, a yoke of land was set aside for him. On his death his richest son paid for his funeral and took his piece of land in exchange. In Perlat an ox was set aside on Separation day for the public meal at his funeral; it was kept and worked till required by the son with whom he lived; its work was supposed to compensate this son for the other expenses of the funeral. In all areas the father's portion of land was often given by richer families to the poor or, among the Catholics, to the church.

A father had in the last resort the right to banish a son from his house, or a son might insist on living off against his father's wish. 428 [593] In either case he need not give him a portion, but when he died the son would take his proportionate share of the food and property, exactly as if he had never been expelled. A son who separated from his father in these conditions must restrict himself to any land his father might have given him and must refrain from interfering with the rest of the land or other property. The consequences of a premature division of property may be seen in the following story from Perlat. Two men made such scenes about their father's remarriage that he bade them leave his house. Of a just, or simple, disposition, he divided his property into three, keeping one-third for himself and giving one apiece to his sons. Afterwards he had two more sons by his second wife, then found he could not leave them more than his own portion of property, for land once divided cannot be taken back, says the law. So each of the two sons he loved best received only one-sixth, and each of the two sons he had come to dislike one-third, of his original property. An interesting variation of the above law is found in Kurbin. If a father gave a rebellious son a portion, he gave it only out of the land and [423]

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428 livestock which he had bought since the son's birth; it was half or a third or a quarter according to the number of his sons. He kept the rest of his property, and this passed on his death to the son or sons with whom he continued to live, the expelled son getting nothing. If, however, he had built his house since this son's birth, it fell on his death to the son he lived with, but this son must pay the expelled son the usual proportionate share of its value.

737 When there was an old mother she, like the father, usually went to live with the son she loved best; in 99 cases out of 100 this was the youngest. The problem of her support was not so difficult as 573 that of an old father. The relationship between the sons and their mother was so close that few quarrelled with her and refused her food and shelter. If 'wicked' enough to do so, the whole of their world cried shame and the old lady herself might react. A native of Shelcan in Shpat took his wife away and settled in Elbasan, leaving his mother in the village. She wished openly that he were dead. More important still, a mother had economic value and was seldom the useless encumbrance that most old fathers were. At her weakest she had strength enough to rock the cradle and to mind the house while her son's wife was out working in the fields. Besides, she had worked hard for the general benefit in her time, and that must not be forgotten. For all these reasons, in most places the son she lived with was content to feed and dress her. The others might or might not contribute. If they did, their contribution was generally voluntary and at their discretion. It normally took the form of small presents, such as a kerchief or a pair of sandals. It was not advisable to give such presents regularly, for that might make the son she lived with take them for granted. By exception, in Malësi e Madhe the law bade the other sons combine to send her three loads of maize every year as a contribution towards her keep. In Mat, if she stayed with one son, he must support her unaided; the others gave her no food or clothes. In this district, however, she might opt for staying a month with each son in turn, so making them share the expense of keeping her. In Godolesh, and in Shijan near Elbasan, she had the right, like the father, to take one-eighth of the general property. The son worked this land, fed her with its produce and eventually took it into his own holding in consideration of paying for her funeral. In practice she seldom exercised this right, preferring to run in and out of all her sons' houses in turn and getting a meal in any of them. She

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

was expected to behave reasonably; in Mirditë if she were a trouble-maker her son might legally send her back to her brother, giving her three loads of grain for her support during the first year and nothing afterwards. On her death she might be buried by the son she lived with, as in Zerqan, or by all the sons in combination, as in Martanesh and the Malësi e Madhe. Here good feeling rather than the law dictated the usage. 737

Sometimes a minor—a small brother or the orphan of a dead brother—had to be arranged for. The essential was that he should receive his portion and not be left alone with his mother, as she might induce him to sell his land or might herself take a lover. If his grandfather were alive he remained with him. Otherwise he went to live with an older brother or an uncle. Exceptionally, in Shijan he lived by preference with his mother's brother, less probably with his father's brother, and still less probably with his own brother. His guardian worked his land or gave it to a third party to work for an agreed return and fed and clothed the minor with its produce until he came of age at fifteen. The guardian had also to feed and clothe his mother and any small brothers and sisters he might have. Sometimes a guardian brother remained in the father's house with the minor. He was its master, though not its owner, until the minor came of age. Then he must leave the house to the minor and himself move to new quarters. 428 736

Sometimes brothers who had separated joined up again. The 'remarriage' seldom lasted long; as the proverb puts it, 'a loaf once broken can't be put together again'. When they separated for the second time, their food and property were divided on the same principles as before. Due note was taken of any house they might have built or any land or livestock they might have bought during their temporary reunion; these were divided as usual, not according to the number of brothers, but according to the number of men. If one brother had died childless since the first separation, a completely new division of the property was necessary. 592

The division of food and property might be effected by elders, by the eldest brother, by a neighbour, or by a more distant relative, or by the father if alive. The factors governing the choice of one or other were, as usual, based on common sense. The division of property, as distinct from food, was often so complicated that only experienced men like elders could grapple with it. A father tended to favour his best loved son or daughter-in-law and was often ruled 428 592

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out for that reason. If the brothers were not on good terms, division by the eldest caused quarrelling, the others accusing him of robbing them and he retaliating in the usual manner. If they were on exceptionally bad terms, even distant relatives feared the unpleasantness that was bound to follow their best attempts at a fair division. For all these reasons the choice generally fell on elders. Their drawback was their need of a fee, but it was generally thought better to spend money on a fee than to quarrel with a brother. These principles were at the back of the various practices in different places. When the choice was between neighbours and relatives by marriage the latter were preferred because they were always more trusted. Each brother put in his own man.

In Perlat the father was never allowed to divide his property, elders or relatives on the male side must do so, and when they were at work, neither the father nor the sons might put in their word. In Martanesh the same fear of favouritism prevailed, and elders or the neighbours in bulk carried out the division. In south Dibër the local notables did so, their influence being thought to counteract any tendency to break the peace over the division. In Godolesh separation had always been on an official basis; it was arranged by the headman of the whole village and his two assistants, as it had been in Turkish times by the headman assisted by an elder from each of the six quarters of the village; it is to be noted that no fee was taken by these elders because separations had always been part of their official duties. In Shijan the separation might be entrusted to the husband's or wife's relatives since they were interested in preserving peace in the family, yet had no personal interest in the division. In any area, when brothers were on really bad terms, complete strangers from another village might be called in to arrange the separation.

When the brothers decided to engage elders, they engaged one between them if they were on good terms; if not, each put in his own man. In Mirditë they might engage two, four or more elders according to the amount of work to be done.

Portions were allocated to the brothers by their own choice or, more often, by lot. In the very few cases where the brothers were completely friendly, the eldest said to the youngest 'Which field will you have, this or that?' Then he took for himself what was left. If the second coveted the field chosen by the youngest, they drew

[i.e., to divide the food and property of a household at the time of separation--Analyst]

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lots for it or asked elders to divide it. When the brothers were a degree less friendly but the eldest nevertheless divided the property, the youngest was given first choice of the portions, the next youngest the second choice and the eldest what was left. The law ran: 'the eldest divides, the youngest chooses.' It is obvious that the risk of getting an inferior portion made the eldest divide carefully. In Mirditë by exception it was the middle brother who had first choice.

Lots varied: in Lumë they were drawn in the modern method with pieces of paper; one without holes, another with one hole, the third with two holes, and so on; and by the old-fashioned with a stone, a twig and a clod of earth. In the Malësi e Madhe grains of maize, coins and weeds as well as paper were used. Shijan preferred straw and grass, and Godolesh grains of maize and haricot beans. Maize was satisfactory when there were two brothers, as one variety has white grains and the other yellow, but when there were three brothers, haricot beans, which may be white, black or mottled, were preferred. Somewhat curiously, though stones and sticks were both plentiful, they were seldom used. In Shijan, for example, the lots were drawn with elaborate care. One of the relatives present at the division was sent some distance away and told to keep his eyes closed. Each brother selected his token and handed it to another relative. The first was recalled, given the tokens, and told to place each where he chose. Each brother was expected to accept the luck which his token had brought him, but if one objected, lots were drawn a second or even a third time, fresh tokens being chosen and a different relative asked to drop them each time. The brother who got the disputed land or other property two out of three times became its owner for good. The various positions of land and livestock, the piles of farm implements and household utensils and the rooms in the house (if this was partitioned) were drawn for in the same way. In Martanesh the procedure was shorter but there was again, for greater fairness, a man between the brothers and the person who made the decisive throw. Each brother gave his token to one of the bystanders, who carried it to the elder dividing the property. In ignorance of which token belonged to whom the elder cast them on the various portions. In Zerqan there was again an intermediary. Each brother had a secret, unpaid representative who gave a stone to a third person approved by all the brothers but ignorant of who represented each.

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592 This third person threw the token stones on this portion or that.
428 In Godolesh there was no intermediary. Each brother gave his
592 token to an elder in whom they all had confidence. As they were
777 selecting their tokens, he arranged tokens of his own on the ground, naming each aloud for the various portions of the land or house. He carefully refrained from looking at the brothers' tokens and threw them blindly one after another on his own. 'Here is the sitting-room, good luck to it. Here is the kitchen, good luck to it', he said of the house. Each brother then claimed his token and accepted his portion. With a similar phrase of good omen the elder divided the land. In Lumë there might or might not be an intermediary. The elder taking delivery of the tokens might place them himself or, if afraid he would be suspected of dishonesty, he might give them to another man to do so. Well-omened phrases were used, such as 'The luck of this stone lies there and of this twig here'. In the Malësi e Madhe the elder said which portion the bits of stick each represented, then drew them, as would be done in England. Here the procedure seems influenced by the European
[77] education of the priests.

623 The commonest fee for an elder dividing property between
428 brothers was two or three napoleons, but it might be as low as one or as high as ten. Everything depended on how much the brothers quarrelled over the division, and how hard they struggled against yielding one to the other. In Perlat the elder made a distinction between rich and poor, asking a sheep from a rich family but only a kilo of coffee from a poor one. In Mirditë he had the right to a sheep and a money fee as well; the latter was as agreed. In Lumë 'it does not do to have an elder without a sheep'. Wherever, as in Godolesh, officials arranged the separation, no fees were charged.

408 Everywhere one meal at least of meat and rice pilaff must be
574 given to whoever came from outside the family to separate the brothers. If these had no flocks, they must buy meat from someone who had. The expense of these meals, which was heavy for people so poor, was shared by all the brothers, the animals being taken out of the common stock before it was divided and the money for the rice, coffee and, if necessary, meat out of the common purse before the settling up of accounts. These meals were the first charge on the family property.

All stages of the division were watched by neighbours. Before the persons negotiating the separation sat down to the final meal,

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they reminded these onlookers how everything had been divided. 428
Then if disputes arose later between the brothers these could bear 574
witness to the division. No documents[1] were drawn up, the oral [423]
testimony of the witnesses in general, and in particular the mute
testimony of the boundary stones, was enough for the unwritten
law. Where a dead father had held title-deeds, these were distributed appropriately among the brothers, but such cases were few. 578

Too often, the division was followed there and then by disputes. 428
Most frequently they were about the land and due to greed, for each brother knew that on the portion allotted to him on that day he and perhaps unborn generations of his descendants must live, and he naturally tried to make it as large as possible. Sometimes a brother was rightly disgruntled. Dividers were human enough to make mistakes; an eldest brother sometimes tried to cheat when dividing; at times even an elder showed favouritism. In such cases the division was revised, an elder dividing instead of the eldest brother or a second elder instead of the first, on the usual 'elder after elder' basis. Or instead of having one elder between them the brothers might each put in one for himself; in this case they must all stand aside and leave the elders to fight things out.

Not infrequently one brother was simply cantankerous. Then 623
the easiest way for the elders to make him see reason was to exercise 574
their right to have all their meals at the family's expense [illegible] their 428
work was done. They might go away, leaving the division incomplete and refusing to return until he bent his stubborn neck and in person fetched them back with promises to be good. This meant an extra meal, an expense that even the trouble-maker deplored in his heart, if not openly. As it was, surely unfairly, shared by the reasonable brothers these were from the first careful to do nothing to excite the other further. There was no difficulty about extracting this meal, as the commonest source of trouble, the land, was always divided before the livestock.

A story of Turkish times from Godolesh shows the elders taking cruder but no less effective steps to settle matters. A family at the top of the village refused to accept the division they proposed. 'Where is your best ram?' asked the elders the first day, and ate the animal. 'Where is the pot of *bekmès* (boiled grape juice)?' they asked the second day, and emptied this. 'Where is the butter jar?' they asked the third day, and devoured that. The brothers then came to their senses and allowed the suggested division to proceed.

1 [concerning the division of land at the time of separation of brothers--Analyst]

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592 The separation completed, each new household had its own
596 master and mistress, and its members were no longer under the control of the master and mistress of the old home, who now controlled only their own establishment. It was remembered, however, that the master of this smaller home was master of the house in which they had all lived together. When he was succeeded by his son or another, his former position was still kept in mind. So when the brotherhood formed at the first separation expanded into a kin the master of this house became the 'elder of the kin'. If his kin was the most important in the ward, his name was given to the ward and so perpetuated. The names of most wards were the names of such elders.

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CHAPTER VII

THE LAW OF THE DOG

The Kanùn recognized four types of dog: (*a*) chained dogs, 231 (*b*) sheep dogs, (*c*) shooting dogs and (*d*) pet dogs. There were different rules for each.

Chained dogs were so called because they were chained up during the daytime and let loose only at night. Other dogs were, almost without exception, free day and night.

Chained dogs were house dogs with the function of guarding their master's house from thieves and enemies. The poorest man kept one and regarded it as a valuable article of property. A rich man had as many as he fancied he required. Cen Elezi of Sllovë in Dibër kept nearly thirty. They were confined during the daytime in a great pit that ran the length of his house, and at night they were released by their special attendant. This man fed them and was the only person who could safely approach them. If Cen himself or his sons had ventured out after nightfall, they would have been torn to pieces by the fierce brutes.

The natural fierceness of chained dogs was fostered by their training. As puppies they were never caressed or even addressed kindly by their master and his children. Indeed, they were often teased deliberately in order to make them lose their tempers. They were never admitted to the kitchen or other part of the house, but were restricted to the farmyard, where they had their kennel in a corner. The kennel was generally a rough structure of wattle and daub affording the dog imperfect shelter from the elements, and usually placed as far as possible from the outside gate in order to put the utmost possible distance between the dog and an incoming visitor.

Since thieves and enemies attack only by night the house dog must be free by night if it was to fulfil its function. Since honest men and friends travel during the daytime, the house dog must be chained up to keep it from doing them a mischief. So house dogs lived 'by the sun'. They must be chained an hour before sunrise and might not be loosed till an hour after sunset.

This law was rigorous, only two modifications being permitted.

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231 If a dog was unusually fierce, it might be tied up early and loosed late. If a locality was dangerous or if the dog's master was at feud with someone, the dog might be loosed precisely at sundown and left free till exactly sunrise. As a result of the latter proviso a stranger who reached a village about sunset must ask immediately in the interest of his own safety whether his intended host is at feud with anyone. If he were, he called to his host from a safe distance —the fiercest dog did not stir unprovoked beyond the outskirts of its own farmyard. There followed an exchange of conventional questions and answers, designed to convince the host that the stranger came as a friend and not as an enemy. When convinced, the host bade the stranger stay where he was and forbade him to speak—this in case the dog charged in the direction of the voice. He then tied up the dog while some of his womenfolk went to inspect the stranger, and if satisfied that he was harmless, to bring him to the house.

231 When a house dog attacked a stranger the law considered three 683 positions: (*a*) when the dog only threatened to bite, (*b*) when it 628 succeeded in biting and (*c*) when it killed. In all three positions there was discrimination between attack by day and attack by night.

If during the daytime a house dog threatened to bite a stranger, the latter might kill it without incurring a penalty. The day was his time not the dog's, and he was in the right and the dog in the wrong. To attack him it must have broken its chain or pulled up the stake to which it had been tied. Its master too was at fault for not having observed that its chain and stake were insecure. Exceptionally in Martanesh the stranger was fined 100 grosh.

If again during the daytime a house dog succeeded in biting a stranger its master must indemnify the stranger, and that irrespective of whether the dog had been killed or not. In Dibër he escaped by paying the blood money due for wounding a man. In the more picturesque north he must keep the wounded man in his house free of charge until he recovered, pay any doctor's bills that might be incurred and pay the wounded man what he would have earned if well. The northerners were so poor that they found such expenses a heavy burden. In consequence they tested a dog's chain and stake from time to time and sent their womenfolk to escort a stranger to and from the house; they could not perform this task themselves because they did not enjoy a woman's immunity from attack by a lurking enemy. A poor man, desperate

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as he saw his dog about to bite, might even shoot the animal, 231
regarding its loss as the lesser evil. Occasionally a man sought to 683
disclaim responsibility, shouting that he was not a chain-making 628
gypsy and only bought, and did not make, the faulty chain. The stranger would retort that he was not dog's meat. Then revolvers might be drawn and a blood feud begun. More probably the dog's owner sullenly invited the wounded man to partake of the hospitality demanded by the law.

If a house dog killed a stranger during the daytime, it was in most places as if its master had killed him and a blood feud sprang up between the two families. In Dibër, however, the payment of full blood money generally satisfied the bereaved family.

During the night the law was entirely on the side of the house dog 231
and its master. No matter how the animal might threaten a stranger 685
he might not kill it. If he did so, he must pay blood money or have 683
a feud with its master, exactly as if it was the latter he had killed. 628
The Kanùn says clearly that 'at night a dog is equivalent to a man'. 682
Indeed, in some places such as Çermenikë the animal was thought more important and its murder by night was more serious. If a house dog succeeded in biting a stranger at night, the latter got nothing from its master—neither hospitality and doctor's fees nor indemnity for wages lost. From his neighbours he got mockery—'Fancy letting yourself be bitten by a dog. You're a fine man.' Even if a house dog killed a stranger at night there was no compensation, the death went unavenged. Once upon a time, in Lurë, a daughter-in-law of Demir Lleshi went out at night into her own farmyard. A neighbour's dog sprang on her and killed her, but since it was night time, the dog's time, her blood was lost. It was immaterial that the dog was trespassing and that she was on her own ground.

There was only one exception to these rules. If a house stood 231
near a main road an aggressive dog might be killed during the night 685
without penalty. A higher law stated that 'it is not right to cut 628
a main road with a dog'. In the far north bajraktars and elders had been known to order fierce dogs near a main road to be kept chained at night as well as during the day.

The blood money which was payable on killing a house dog at night was generally the same as would be payable if a man had been killed. The blood money for a bitch was the same as for a dog; there was no discrimination between the sexes as there was in the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

231 case of murdered man and murdered woman. In some areas, such
685 as Kurbin, the blood money for a house dog was assessed by the
628 elders or government authorities.

A stranger who agreed in his simplicity to pay the owner what he demanded for his dead dog might find himself presented with a fine bill. The owner would say that the dog had saved his life on several occasions and was consequently worth six, ten or even twenty napoleons. Sometimes the owner asked the stranger, not for blood money, but for another dog of the same quality as the dead animal. The cost might exceed the conventional amount of blood money.

In the above cases a house dog had been killed in self-defence. When it was killed out of spite matters were much more serious. 'He who kills a house dog will steal your wife', says the Kanùn. Such killings usually took place at night because the aggressor would find it dangerous to approach the house in daylight. This aggravated the crime since the night was the dog's own time.

In Mirditë, Kurbin and Martanesh a man who killed a dog 'in its kennel', i.e. on its own ground and therefore spitefully, must pay its master 500 grosh, almost a fortune in these poverty-stricken areas. In north Albania his life was forfeit. When he had been killed by the dog's master, his relatives killed one of the latter's family, arguing that they could not permit their relative to be equated to a dog. In most cases the two parties being 'one for one' the dog's master then consented to make peace on condition of receiving blood money for the dead animal. He might stipulate, if he wished, that this should take the form of an ox or a horse and so cost more than the conventional blood money. Occasionally the feud was continued—it is on record that twelve men in the north once died for the sake of one dog. In any region a man who immediately pardoned the killer of his dog would be taunted as
[695] a weakling. In Lumë the man who was suspected of having killed a house dog found dead, a crime as costly as killing a man, could not clear himself unless he persuaded twenty-four elders to take oath with him.

231 The legal discrimination between defensive and spiteful killing
685 made it important for a man who killed a dog during the daytime
672 to establish his motive. He could do so simply and surely. If his bullet had struck the dog in the forehead or chest it was evident that the animal was charging him and he had fired in fear. If, on the

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other hand, he had shot the dog in the back he must have killed it out of spite. 231 687 672

Whereas house dogs remained at home and were chained up for half their lives, sheep dogs were normally free both day and night and divided their time between the mountain-side and the sheep-fold. Their function was to protect the flock from thieves and wolves. If these approached, they must bark a timely warning so as to bring the shepherds with their rifles and they must themselves attack the marauders. They must therefore be alert, courageous and fierce, true 'Molossian hounds'. In districts infested by wolves they wore iron collars set with iron spikes to prevent the wolf from tearing open their throat. In common with other sheep dogs in the Near and Middle East they did not handle the flock. That was led, or occasionally driven, by the shepherd unaided.

As fierceness was their most important asset, sheep dogs were given the same harsh upbringing as house dogs. Indeed, they were generally removed at a still earlier age from their mother so that they should not know even her caresses for long. But they were gentle enough with their flocks, from which they never parted. As puppies they were fed on ewe's or goat's milk—hence, said the peasants of Shpat, their later friendliness with the animals they guarded. In adult life they were fed on maize bread roughly baked in indigestible looking balls by the shepherds. Nevertheless, their strength and the sleekness of their coats showed that the diet was sufficient.

The law of the sheep dog varied from place to place according to the animal's position in the local economy. In the north, where men depended almost entirely on their flocks, the sheep dog was of paramount importance as the guardian of its master's whole livelihood and was protected by the law to the utmost. In areas such as Kurbin, where men combined agriculture with sheep-breeding, the sheep dog was of less importance to its master and some relaxation appears in the law. In fertile areas like Lumë or Krasniqë, where agriculture predominated, the sheep dog was still less important and the law less drastic. So in the north it was more serious to kill a sheep dog than a house dog and elsewhere the position was reversed. 231 685 628 683

Among the mountains of the north the law of the sheep dog was the same by day and by night. A passer-by might be bitten at any hour of the day or night, but if he killed the dog he would be killed

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231 by its master. No excuse for his crime could be tolerated. He
628 might have lost his way or be a stranger (and so a guest to be
683 protected). No matter! The mountain was the dog's ground day
685 and night. Why had he gone near the sheep? Was it to steal one? There was no road through the flock. He should have stuck to the highway which was inalienably his, day and night. If he were killed by the dog, his family had no right to claim blood money or to start a feud; his 'blood was lost'. In Dibër the same harsh laws prevailed. In the partly pastoral, partly agricultural area of Kurbin a man who killed a sheep dog generally escaped with the payment of blood money; his life was not necessarily forfeit. In Martanesh, where the economy was similar, a man who killed a sheep dog in terror of his life and proved his motive was fined 100 grosh, the amount payable for a house dog in the same circumstances.

In the adjacent Çermenikë he was not even fined. In fertile Lumë the law was that 'a man can't lose his life for a dog', and on that theory a traveller on the mountain might kill a sheep dog which had refused to let him pass. For penalty he needed only to go to the dog's master and beg his pardon. He was generally afraid to go alone—the dog's master might suspect that he had killed the dog from spite and might be in an evil temper as a result. So he generally asked others to accompany him. These confessed his crime and asked for pardon. It was never refused. If he had killed a house dog during the daytime in this district, he would have had to pay blood money as for a murdered man, or would have been killed. On the rich plateau of Krasniqë sheep-rearing is relatively so unimportant that sheep dogs come under the same rules as house dogs. If, for instance, one bites a stranger on the mountain its master must pay for the wound.

Even in the gentler areas the spiteful or senseless killing of a sheep dog may start a blood feud. An extreme case occurred 'long ago' in Lumë. The sheep belonging to the Onuzi sept were sleeping in a mountain fold near the fold of the Doçi sept. The dogs began to fight among themselves and the Doçi shepherd killed an Onuzi dog. The Onuzi shepherd drew his revolver and shot the Doçi man dead. A general fight then started among the shepherds and in a few minutes six Onuzi and twelve Doçi men lay dead for the sake of a dog. The feud raged on for years, not ceasing until it was at last composed by direct order of the reigning Sultan.

Successive generations of travellers evolved practical expedients

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for dealing with sheep dogs. The first was to 'let sleeping dogs lie'. 231
If a traveller were so unfortunate as to find one in his path and 628
there was no shepherd in sight to call it in, he swerved aside, 683
keeping well to leeward in the hope that neither sound nor scent 685
of his presence would reach the dog. If a dog charged, the traveller might follow the example of Ulysses on his return home and sit down. The dog would probably sit down too and immobilize him until the shepherd's arrival, but it was not likely to charge again. This expedient was more favoured in central than in northern Albania. There the traveller preferred to climb a tree in the hope that the flock would soon pass, so releasing him. The dog was not really interested in him and went on with the flock. It has happened when, a flock was large and grazing, that a man has had to stay half a day up a tree, with several dogs barking under his feet; for it was customary in north Albania to leave a grazing flock in sole charge of the sheep dog for many hours. For that reason, as soon as a traveller heard sheep bells—and in that country of long narrow valleys enclosed by lofty mountains he might hear them half an hour away—he called out. If no answering shout came, he knew that there was no shepherd with the flock and laid his plans accordingly. As far south as Shpat fear of a sheep dog might send a traveller up a tree, but there rescue came swiftly because shepherds were forbidden to leave their flocks for long. Tracks in Shpat were too many and travellers too numerous to allow of lengthy hold-ups by sheep dogs. With the same motive of protecting travellers, shepherds in the few treeless areas of north Albania were required to remain with their flocks.

If, however, a flock was grazing near a main road, the sheep dog came under the law already enunciated that 'it is not right to cut a main road with a dog'. Day and night, when near such a road, the sheep dog must be kept under control by means of the shepherd's voice or a chain, preferably the latter as being surer. A traveller who found a sheep dog loose on such a road and received no answer to his call from the shepherd was entitled to kill the dog and did not have to compensate its master.

Shooting dogs had the run of the house and kitchen as well as 231
the farmyard and were never tied up. Born gentle, they were well 683
enough treated by their masters to remain so throughout their lives. They were not found in every house but only with the leisured or the lazy.

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231 A stranger who was bitten by a shooting dog could neither kill it
683 nor claim compensation for his wound. Indeed, he became a public butt for being feckless enough to let himself be bitten by so tame an animal.

231 If a stranger killed a shooting dog by mischance, he must
685 compensate the master in money—two napoleons were thought adequate in most places. Alternatively, he must give him another dog as good as the one he had killed. The hour of the crime was immaterial.

224 If a shooting dog was killed from motives of spite, a feud
628 followed as in the case of house and sheep dogs.

If a shooting dog put up a hare, only its master had the right to take the hare. It might be that the chase was long and that the hare was shot by a stranger before the dog's master caught it up. In that case the latter demanded the hare and offered the stranger a fresh cartridge in return for the one he had just expended. If the offer was refused a blood feud started, the first shot being fired by the stranger.

If two men went shooting with only one dog, they skinned the hares at the end of the day and divided them equally.

231 Pet dogs, like shooting dogs, were free of the house as well as the farmyard and ran loose day and night. Of indeterminate pedigree, they were about the size of small Aberdeens. They were not common in northern Albania, where their only purpose was to divert their master—it was thought great fun to hang a lighted cigarette round their necks. In central Albania where the average flock was small and always had a shepherd, they were much prized as watchdogs. They never failed at either house or sheepfold to bark warningly when unwelcome visitors approached. They were so brave that at sheepfolds they could dash out and tackle a marauding wolf, invariably losing their life in the unequal combat. On account of their usefulness their value was high, as much as six or seven napoleons.

The law when they killed (a virtually impossible contingency) or were killed was the same as it was for shooting dogs.

231 A few isolated rules remain to be mentioned. Clerics such as
793 priests among Catholics or Orthodox or hoxhas and sheikhs among Mohammedans were forbidden to keep house dogs. Their houses must be open day and night to their parishioners or passing strangers and might not be closed by dogs. If they kept sheep dogs

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they must not bring them home, but must leave them at the more or less distant sheepfold. There was no ban on their keeping shooting and pet dogs. 231 793

If a house dog disappeared temporarily during the mating season so that its master could not find it at dawn to tie it up for the day, he remained responsible for its conduct. It was held that a house dog loose under such conditions during the daytime was like one that had been duly tied up but had broken loose. Happily for its master and for strangers, a dog was generally too much occupied at such seasons with its own affairs to trouble about strangers. 231 672

If any type of dog fell into a snare set by a neighbour near its master's house, the neighbour must pay its full value. He had no doubt obtained its master's consent before he set the snare, but that did not relieve him of his liability for ensuing casualties. 231 672

Damage done by dogs must be paid for in money or by the dog's death. Each case was handled with a good deal of ceremony. If a dog ate a neighbour's eggs or killed his fowls, the latter asked its master to tie it up. If he refused, the neighbour had the right to kill the dog, and its master could not exact compensation. The neighbour generally took an oath in public that the dog had developed a habit of eating his eggs or killing his fowls, and that he had asked its master to tie it up and had been told to kill it. If he killed the dog without warning, he must in most places pay its value as assessed by the local elders. But in that case its master must first take oath that it had never eaten eggs or killed fowls. If the dog was commonly considered valuable, the neighbour would probably warn its master twice before he killed it. In Çermenikë and Martanesh the law was sterner; a delinquent dog had always to be killed, but if this were done without its master's leave, a blood feud started. In such cases the culprit was generally a house dog. 231 685 [628]

In cases of sheep-worrying the culprit was invariably a sheep dog. The general verdict was that the animal must die, but there was some variation in local methods of reaching this verdict. In north Albania and in Yugoslav Kosovë the dog's master must indemnify the sheep owner for every sheep worried and must take oath that the dog acted of its own impulse and had not been specially trained to kill sheep; any proof that it had been so trained would immediately cause him to be killed by the sheep owner. He must also kill the dog or keep it chained up in perpetuity. If the

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231 sheep owner found it loose again he would kill it without more ado
685 or, less probably, he would start a feud with its master. A sheep owner of Koplik who complained about another's dog must be able to say that he could produce two witnesses. This might cause the dog's master to pay up at once for the dead sheep. On the other hand he might say that the witnesses, being friends of the sheep owner, were not to be believed, and that the only evidence he could accept was a public oath by the sheep owner. If the latter took the oath the dog's master must pay him the value of two sheep for every one killed. He was left to decide whether he would kill his dog or keep it chained up. In the latter event the evil soon worked its own cure. The dog would worry sheep whenever it could escape from its chain and he, tiring of paying for its ravages, would shoot it. The sheep owner does not seem to have had the right to kill it. In Mirditë a sheep dog might be shot by the sheep owner for worrying sheep, but not unless caught 'Flesh in mouth'. In Martanesh, too, this was the rule. In neither place was any compensation due to the dog's master.

If a dog harried a drove of pregnant animals, causing some to abort their young in their terror, it might be killed by the shepherd. Its blood was then equated to that of the aborted animals. If it evaded the shepherd, its master must pay in full for each abortion; he was 'keeping a tame wolf'. If a dog killed a foal or calf, whether playfully or not, its master must pay the accepted value of the dead animal.

With mad dogs the rule all over Albania was 'Kill if you can, and the sooner the better'. The owners neither expected nor received compensation. Many of them broadcast the news that their dog was mad and asked for it to be killed as speedily as possible.

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CHAPTER VIII

ROADS

Very strict rules were laid down for the construction and the maintenance of roads, 'the arteries of the land' as they were called by the tribesmen. 491

Two main types were recognized: the public highway, 'the big road', or 'the general road' and the footpath. The former led through a village or from one village to another, and consequently was often called the 'village road'. Yet another name was 'ward road' of a village which separated two wards. A footpath lay most often across fields, but it seemed only in Zerqan that it was described as a 'field-path', 'road wide enough for a foot', or plain 'road'. [487]

The law said that a public highway must be a horse-track, wide enough for a loaded packhorse or a pair of plough-oxen with their plough to pass along it, unimpeded by any hedges, walls or trees that might fringe it. The minimum width allowable was consequently eight spans, the equivalent of $5\frac{1}{3}$ feet or 1·62 metres. Where more space was available, whether on mountain wastes as in Martanesh or waterless downs as in Perlat, the road was often wider, so it was eight to twelve spans wide in Çermenikë, ten to twelve in Martanesh and Godolesh, sixteen in Zerqan and twenty-four in Perlat. In spacious Krasniqë a road for plough-oxen was usually a trifle wider than a horse-track, but there were no hard and fast rules for the width of either; the only criterion was traffic needs.

Provided that a man carrying a spade on his shoulder could pass, a footpath was wide enough; rules were not so rigid for these as for highways. Consequently some were only one, and many, especially in Mirditë, only two spans wide. In other places, however, footpaths from three to six spans in breadth were found. In general a path across irrigable, cultivated land tended to be narrow and one across, say, rough pasturage broad. [487]

These rules were for mountain roads, where there were usually so many stones that there was no mud, and the ground remained firm under the feet in all weathers. A highway across a plain,

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491 especially near the sea, where the soil is alluvial and stoneless, had to be thirty-two spans wide (7 yards or 6·48 metres) in order to give a pack-horse space to dodge the mud-holes in winter, when the road became a morass. Excellent examples of this type of road traverse the half-drained marshes of Ngurëzë at the mouth of the river Mat.

Mountain roads eight spans wide led to villages 'where carts had never gone'. Certain other roads led to the rare villages 'where carts had gone'. These crossed firm inland plains such as the floor of the valley of Shkrel or the plain of Nangë in Lumë; in Shkrel they had to be twelve spans wide (8 feet or 2·43 metres), and in Lumë wide enough to take a cart. A picturesque detail from [186] Mirditë is that a 'flag-road', that is to say, a road along which a flag was carried in tribal, wedding or other processions, had to be as wide as the flagstaff was long.

491 Roads always followed boundaries; as a general rule, when one 487 passed two wards or two neighbours, exactly half of it had to be in 423 the territory of each. In other words, their boundary had to run 312 down its exact middle. Few modifications of this law are to be noted. When fields were on a slope, the road between them was often made on the upper one. The elders laying it out had reasoned that it would gradually slip down the hill, increasing the area of the upper field and diminishing that of the lower one. When there was an irrigation channel by the road, rules varied. In Theth one neighbour left three spans of land for the channel, and the other the same amount for the adjacent footpath. Their agreement might be verbal, noted only by witnesses, or it might be written down by the priest as tribal clerk and placed in the church archives. Each neighbour had full access to path and channel alike. In Lumë, on the other hand, a path was left on both sides of an irrigation channel. These were not only for men to walk on but also for maintaining the sides of the channel, a necessary safeguard even on level ground. Each neighbour, having his own path, was less liable to quarrel with the other.

492 In Perlat a highway was twenty-four spans wide (16 feet or 499 4·86 metres), to enable a horse laden with firewood to pass another without the loads touching. Elsewhere there was no provision for two-way traffic. Road-making in our sense did not exist, and roads were merely trodden out by man or beast in the scanty space available between fields or across mountain slopes. On a typical

road two loaded donkeys might meet and pass, but two loaded 492
horses could not. When these met, one or the other had to step 499
aside from the road, turning back, if need be to find a suitable place in which to do so. This was almost invariably of nature's making; there were no artificial passing places as on narrow motor roads in England.

Load generally determined priority of passage. To use Albanian 494
phraseology, when a riding-saddle met a riding-saddle on a horse- 576
track the one with no saddle-bags or other load besides the rider had to turn back. The riding-saddle had to make way for the loaded pack-saddle, but had priority over an empty one. When two pack-saddles met, the one loaded and the other empty, the latter had to make way for the former. When they were both loaded or both empty, the one which was nearer a possible place at which to step off the road had to turn back. The same rules applied to carts. In the rare cases where there was plenty of room for two loaded horses or carts, there was no 'Keep right' or 'Keep left'; they could pass on whichever side they wished.

The rules about priority were apt to be honoured in the breach 494
rather than the observance. A man who was turned back on his road 628
felt, even if priority was not his, as much disgraced as if his gun had been taken from him. His honour was lost, and could not be redeemed unless he killed his rival. There have been many deaths for the sake of precedence. The men of Godolesh, who were satisfied when the offender was fined by the elders, were condemned by their neighbours as soft and citified. But even in Godolesh there was no more fertile cause of murder than disputes about who should have the right of way. The trouble arose because priority rules were often confused, especially on purpose by strong wilful men, with the general law of road ownership. As enunciated by Father [423]
Gjeçov, this law said that a village street or a public highway was nobody's individual perquisite, but belonged to one man as much as to another. Hence, the living and the dead—traveller and livestock, bride and corpse—had an absolute right to use either, and no man, even if the road passed close to the door of his house, could deny this right.

A road was free to all. It was for breaking this general law that [579]
highway robbery was punished so much more severely than other [685]
forms of theft, and that a traveller who killed a dangerous dog on a highway did not have to compensate its owner.

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685 A man could not, without the elders' consent, close an old road
491 that, having been used by his fellow-travellers, bridal parties and
494 funeral processions, was public property. If he did, it was reopened
423 by the elders, sometimes by force. He was often fined too. If he had ploughed it up, so that its line was uncertain, they sought out an old trustworthy man and made him show them under oath and in the presence of witnesses where it had been. Then the offender was ordered to open it again, removing any fence he had erected and, by way of penalty, to give a meal and small fee to the old man and the witnesses. If he shut it up once more he was liable to be shot.

491 As always, there were exceptions to the general rule. Owing to
494 the marshy nature of the land most of the fields near the mouth of
423 the river Mat were enclosed by hedges of living willow and
[487] communicated with each other by stiles, not gates. If the public, having formed a shorter route, no longer used a certain field-path, the owner of the field could close the path and the stiles at either end without any compulsion to reopen them; the public had the shorter road and one was enough. If a man bought a field which had a road round it and a right-of-way through it, he had the right to close the latter and to make the public go by the road; only if a long detour was involved could he be forced to leave the right-of-way open. On the other hand, if his new-bought field was bordered not by a road but by another field, he could not block the right-of-way unless he made a new road entirely within his own boundaries. This was substantially the law which governed changes of road all over north Albania. In Lumë a distinction was drawn between permanent roads which had to remain open all the year round and winter roads which could be closed in summer. The first were known as 'roads with a boundary'; the most important led to the high pastures on Mount Gjalicë. Winter roads generally went through fields and were closed to men and animals from seed-time to harvest; as soon as the crop was in, the roads were opened to traffic. If somebody had great need to use one during the season, he might take what he could carry and go along the very edge of the sown land, taking pains not to damage the growing crop. He could not make a habit of this or take his horse and must not forget to ask leave from the owner of the land. Again, a few roads to the Alpine pastures passed through wheat fields on their way. As a necessary link with the high pastures they could not be completely closed even when the fields were under crop. An ingenious

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compromise reconciled the public's need to use the road and the individual's wish to protect his crop without incurring the intolerable expense of making a fence or wall. One neighbour put two hurdles across his half of the road, one where it entered and the other where it left his land; both were low enough for men to jump over and high enough to keep back animals. Each had a hole at the bottom that was too small for animals to crawl through but big enough to let logs through when they were dragged down from the mountain for fuel; logs for fuel were such a necessity of life that they could not be denied a road. The other neighbour threw across his half of the road the Christ's Thorn which grows all over the plains of Albania, thus making a formidable barrier for men and beasts. Shutting up this half of the road did not matter; animals had no right in any case to go near a sown field, and the other man's hurdle was sufficient for human traffic. After harvest the thorns were removed, leaving that half of the road clear. The hurdle remained in place, as the clear half of the road was wide enough for the traffic.

In 1935 a man from Nangë in Lumë blocked the road along an irrigation channel for the summer, half of it with a low wall and half with thorns, so that men, but not animals, could still travel on it. He had wished to sow maize in his adjoining field and been too poor and short-handed to construct a fence to keep out animals. Since irrigation was so important, there was a special law that 'a road beside an irrigation channel can't be shut up'. Consequently, his act was highly illegal. But his poverty was thought to excuse it, and he had mitigated his offence by making a new road for animals at the top of his field, where there was no maize. In so doing he had confused the right to block a road for the summer only and the need, when closing one permanently, to provide a substitute. For the law forbidding a man to block an old road permanently was not rigid. If he had good reason for the change, secured the consent of the elders (a most important point), and provided a satisfactory substitute, he could even move a very old road. It was only if he failed to satisfy these conditions that he had to leave it where it was. The poor man just mentioned transgressed by not consulting the elders; their unusual clemency lay in refraining, out of consideration for his poverty, from reopening the road.

When a man applied for leave to close an old village road, he generally pleaded damage by passers-by or a need for more land to

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491 423 till. In the first case he might have his house or field adjoining the road and find his dog biting strangers and shot for its pains, his children killed by passing horses or cattle, and his crops, vegetables, vines or fruit damaged or plundered. Or the road might cross his field necessitating a fence on both sides, thus preventing his sheep from passing freely from one part of the field to another, besides involving him in expense for making and maintaining it. In the second case he might wish to plough up the road, a good plea since the law said 'Agriculture can move a highway', and more pithily, 'spades can shift roads'. If the elders on investigation considered his request justifiable, they gave him leave to close the old road. They required, however, that he should provide a satisfactory substitute, not by a stream where sheep might drown or across a precipice where they might break their necks; if the precipice could not be avoided, the rock had to be blasted away with dynamite. The new road could not be far from the old one, a distance of 200 metres being the maximum allowed. It had also to be made by the man's own unaided efforts, without any help from the community, and it had to be well made. If it was poorly made, the man suffered himself when he came to grief on it and had to pay damages when another did so; he was also laughed at by his neighbours as a foolish creature who did not know how to make a road; often they went and reopened the old road. In Fulqet it did not matter if the public was inconvenienced by the change; the law said 'land must not be spoiled'. In the Breg i Matit, on the other hand, the new road had to be shorter and so more convenient. A curious point in Krasniqë was that if a man ploughed up his field he could reduce the public road to the width of a footpath; this was little more than a gesture, since oxen and horses could not in any case use the road after the field was sown and a footpath was wide enough for other traffic. In Martanesh it was never lawful to plough up a public road, perhaps because the fields were few and very scattered, and the roads few, long and often dangerous.

491 [425] 623 423 In case of clear necessity an old public road might be moved on the initiative of the elders. If, for example, it was inconveniently crooked or became a morass in winter, they could divert it to better ground. The old road became the property of the man whose land adjoined it. The men whose land was taken for the diversion received no compensation. They often threatened to kill the elders, but for sole reply received an exposition of the law; they might

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shoot as much as they pleased but could not have their way; the village could not be shut up by mud, and the public good overrode private loss. The new road was a permanency and could not be closed or moved back to the old site except by the elders. According to Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar of Shkrel, it was easier to move the bad road than to try to mend it. If it was under water, all the owners of the land through which it ran had to unite to repair it, making a ditch, repairing bridges and so on. But they had to decide unanimously to repair it; if even one hung back nothing could be done. The ditch too could only be made where there had once been one before. And men whose land was some distance from the road would object to having the water diverted from the road towards their fields.

New roads were constantly being opened, if only because brothers were constantly dividing their father's property and setting up separate establishments. For the law said 'every field must have access to a public highway' and 'every house must have its road'. Consequently, the elders supervising the separation were careful to specify the exact direction and character of the old roads which the brothers might use and the new ones which they might make to and from their houses and fields. The laws were the same everywhere. If there were two brothers, each took half the father's field. When there was no cultivated land beyond this they might make no path at all or they might make a little path along the boundary between them, only two spans in width, as this was enough for their own needs. Naturally each set aside land for half its width; as this could not be worked, it was soon grass-grown. When there was someone else's field beyond their own and there was no other way of entering this, they were bound to leave a track wide enough for a horse laden with panniers of manure or for a pair of plough-oxen. As with a field-path the land for this track came from each.

A more complicated case occurred if three brothers inherited a field which had a public highway running along its length, and was divided into three longitudinal strips with the boundaries parallel to the highway. Let it be supposed that the family home remained in the central strip. A road to the highway from the inmost strip was a prime necessity. It was most economically made by constructing a path to the old road that connected the family home with the highway. But the new owner of the central strip might

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487 object to its coming so near his house. In that case the elders
596 directed him and the owner of the outermost strip to leave land
423 elsewhere for it. As for the houses which the brothers in the innermost and outermost strips had to build, the former had only to see that his stood the canonical distance, the width of the eaves from his neighbour's boundary. The most convenient and economical site for the outermost brother to build on was a corner by the highway. But remembering that his dog might bite strangers and his children be trampled on by passing animals, he generally built his house with its back to the road and its yard facing his field. Alternatively, in Krasniqë, by what seems undue licence, he could ask his neighbour to remove the public highway to his land. If the latter owned waste ground or a hill close by, he was compelled by the elders to accede to the request. He could only refuse it by convincing them that in its new position the road would spoil his land.

487 New roads were sometimes necessitated by sales of land, and
423 might cause trouble. Suppose a field surrounded by four others was offered for sale and the owners of the surrounding fields were unable to buy it. Someone farther away, always described as a 'stranger', then bought it and demanded a road. The natural line for this was through the field between his purchase and his house. If the owner of this field objected, the stranger bade him buy the enclosed plot. When he refused, as he inevitably did, the stranger referred the case to the elders. If these, he said, could cite any previous purchaser of a field which had no way in and out, he could not claim the road. If, on the other hand, and this was sure to be the case, they found it was good law that 'land is never sold without a road' he had to have it. There was, as usual, no need to compensate the man whose land it took up. Fear of such complications made some men, when selling a piece of land, retain the adjoining road in case they themselves or their descendants wished to use it later on.

[491] A man was undisputed and sole master of the path that led across his field from a public thoroughfare to his house and ended there. According to the letter of the law, whatever the condition of the public road—good or bad, a sea of mud or even washed away in a winter storm—animals and wayfarers had to keep to it or to find another. They could not bypass the bad stretch by taking the path to the man's house; that was his private property, reserved for

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his household and his visitors. Bridal parties or funeral processions 423
which tried to pass along his path[n] to evade the difficulties of the 487
highway were not so likely as habitual travellers to attempt to [585]
create a precedent, but he had the right to turn them back. If they [764]
tried to force their way past him he had the right to shoot them. Many a corpse, to quote Father Gjeçov, has found comrades in death before being buried, and many a bride has mourned the loss of a kinsman in her escort on the way to her bridegroom.

If, however, at a time when the highway was impassable, occasional travellers asked a man's leave to use his path he often granted their request. But he always made it clear that the right of passage was temporary and stipulated that his honour was not to be smirched or his property damaged. In Shkrel a man whose field adjoined a road liable to bogging in winter often left enough land in the field for a new road. This he did as alms. Any timber on either side of the new road remained his private property, and could not be cut down by anyone else though he was free to cut it as and when he pleased. He could also close the road at his pleasure; even if the public had used it for years, usage did not create a right and rob a man of his land. Sometimes a village, to suit its convenience rather than to meet its need, asked a man to allow the public to go through his land. He usually agreed, but always stipulated that if any damage was done or he needed to work the land, he should be entitled to close the right-of-way, informing his fellow-villagers that they must not come that way any more. If this became necessary, he was not required to provide an alternative, as a man who moved a public road must do. He had opened the road as a favour, and what was given as a favour could not be retained by force. The option of closing the road descended [428] to his heirs.

The private ownership of a road is seen at its most interesting in the case of a blind alley. This was seldom wide enough to take two persons abreast and had an entrance but no exit. The commonest type led across a man's field from a public thoroughfare to his house, where it came to a dead end. In this case it was his sole property, and if he liked he could plough it up without consulting anybody. Another type served several houses, and was held jointly and equally by these. The common ownership had its drawbacks. Two out of three owners, for instance, might wish to plough up the section passing through their fields. Though this

[n] [i.e. the private path of a man -- Analyst]

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423 might mean his going a long way round in future, the third owner
487 could not oppose their wish. Again the land on both sides of an alley which three families used might belong to a fourth man. If he persuaded or bribed two of the three to let him plough it up, the third man had to acquiesce. A third type of blind alley began and ended in a single field.

487 All types of alley were private property reserved for the sole use
686 of their owner, joint or single, and his family and lawful visitors. If
423 he found anyone else on it he could turn him back as an intruder, and if he refused to comply could shoot him. This was irrespective of whether he did damage or not. An honest man would not trespass. Consequently, a trespasser's intentions were felonious. In Labinot a 'foreigner' from another village was licensed to use the blind
609 alley once. He might be unaware that he was trespassing. In Zerqan, too, if he did not trespass more than once most owners said nothing to avoid disgracing themselves. A foreigner has his rights. In truculent Lumë no allowance was made for ignorance. About 1900 three men lost their lives because a stranger from the town of Prizren rode by pure mischance along a blind alley in a field in the village of Stiqan and resisted the owner's attempt to turn him back. In all districts a fellow-villager who trespassed could not plead ignorance as a stranger could; consequently his fault was graver. Even so he was not shot in Zerqan till other measures had been tried and failed. First the owner asked him not to use the blind alley again. If he persisted the owner complained to the village and the village forbade the man to go by the path. If he still persisted the village fined him. If he still persisted the owner shot him. Such was the theory, but in practice a strong man skipped the diplomatic stages and shot the offender at his first or second offence. Sometimes a fellow-villager who had a genuine need to use a private road, for instance, to regulate his irrigation water, might be given permission to do so. But he had to go on foot and could not take his horse.

In Godolesh, exceptionally, the question of damages affected the rules for blind alleys. Such paths traversed the market gardens on which the village still depended for most of its livelihood. Usually each belonged to several owners, any of whom might use it throughout its length, though they were forbidden to introduce animals as these might damage the fruit and vegetables. A trespasser was pardoned up to three times, then one or more owners

complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in 423
Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times 487
a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man [685]
cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of
private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended
even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit
as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one
ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and
to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or [574]
village had married into the privileged ward* her kinsmen had leave [607]
to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even
one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto
their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into
being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families [614]
in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact,
the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter- 486
tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of 619
sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and
their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed
its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all
their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks
on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory,
and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the
road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking
advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus,
a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed
limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the
contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep
within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign
tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and
not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but
must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his
providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger 574
obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded 628
as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection 486
and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the 672
event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the
knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for
any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

* [in the village of Godolesh --Anzalest]

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was 22 purses instead of the usual 12. If the murderer was slow to pay up, the tribe enforced payment. In addition, they burned down three of the *kulla* (houses of two or more storeys) in the murderer's compound. If he did not possess so many, they burned his own *kullë* and two belonging to his nearest relatives. If between them they did not have so many, the tribe searched among his more distant relatives until they found the required number, going back a hundred generations if need be. They also destroyed his property—crops, livestock and the rest—so thoroughly that nothing of it remained. The same penalties were inflicted on a thief who stole sheep travelling or grazing within the protected area. On the other hand, if a traveller, public messenger or shepherd broke the conditions of the truce, straying, for example, from the prescribed path, he was no longer counted a public guest and lost his right to public protection and vengeance. He was still a private guest however. The last man in whose house he stayed before his mishap was bound to kill his murderer or to punish the man who robbed him.

This truce of sheep and shepherd has now died out. At the end of Turkish times it was already confined to the Gjakovë group of tribes in the extreme north-east, such as Nikaj, Mertur, Gash and Krasniq. But Father Gjeçov found traditions of its existence in the Dukagjin tribes of Shalë, Shosh, Kir, Gjâj and Toplanë, and also in Puke, Mirditë, Kthellë, Kurbìn and the mountains of Lesh. Father Gjeçov considers the custom to be so old that it dates from days 'before thin-necks began to vomit flame', that is to say, before firearms were invented.

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CHAPTER IX

BOUNDARIES

According to the law, every tribe, village, house, field, meadow, 423
pasturage, vegetable garden, vineyard, forest and spinney required a fixed boundary. Some boundaries were centuries old, but, ancient or modern, they could in no circumstances be moved. The stones that most often indicated their line were, in the absence or rarity of title-deeds written on paper or engraved on copper, the chief tokens of ownership of property. Consequently they were as sacred and immovable in the eyes of the law as the bones in a dead man's grave. Brothers, cousins or villages might quarrel over a boundary and keep up the shooting until it had cost a hundred lives—nevertheless, the boundary remained where it had been when the first shot was fired.

In fields of average size the boundary was marked by three stones, one at either end and the third in the middle. Each had to be planted as deep in the earth as it projected above it, and to have its centre exactly over the boundary line so that half of it stood on one neighbour's property and half on the other's. When fields were very small, there might be only two stones, one belonging to each neighbour. Instances can be seen in Shijan. Little heaps of stones marked the division between fields and pastures in Shpat and Dumre. Big cairns of rocks and boulders, each 'as big as a house' and at varying intervals from the next one with no charcoal under them, divided off the vast alpine hayfields of Martanesh one from the other and also separated its territory from that of the neighbouring villages of Shëngjerg, Bulqizë and Okshtùn. Sometimes in the lonelier regions of the Martanesh highlands deep holes were dug in place of piling up the more usual cairns. In the spacious Alps of the north only an occasional stone was used to mark off one man's forest or grazing-ground from another's.

Each boundary stone 'had two friends with it'. These were small stones which were more or less buried in the ground on either side of the big one. They were almost invariably two in number, but in Mirditë six or twelve. In most places they were picturesquely said to be there as 'witnesses', but according to a more sophisticated

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[423] informant in Bytyç their business was to prop up the big stone. The association of the three, one big and two small, was so distinct that it could be seen at a glance that they were boundary stones.

In old days, in places as far apart as Kurvelesh in south-west Albania and Lumë in the north-east, some pieces of charcoal, generally three, were put under the big boundary stone; in Lumë a fragment of tile was added. Centuries might pass, but charcoal and tile remained as imperishable evidence of the true line of the [423] boundary. In case one neighbour charged the other with moving the stones the elders dug these up; if they found no charcoal under them they knew they had been moved and dug all round until they came on charcoal and with it the original boundary. A man who went to move boundary stones always went on a dark night when the buried charcoal was as invisible as himself, and so far as was known his ingenuity never ran to taking a handful with him from home.

Boundary stones were set up with all the ceremony befitting [423] a mark that was to last for ever. All the members of the families concerned, the village elders, as many children and youths of the village as possible, as many men from neighbouring villages as possible and all the tribal elders gathered to witness the event and [804] to preserve its memory for their lifetime. When the entity to be divided—field, farmyard, vineyard, etc.—had been measured with a rope or by pacing into the required number of portions, the elder chosen to delimit the boundary put any chance stone and a clod of earth on his right shoulder, and after swearing upon his soul to delimit justly, moved forward along the boundary line followed by all the witnesses. It was his duty to walk in a straight line in order to iron out every possibility of future conflict—'a boundary mustn't twist' said the law—but if he deviated slightly no one 789 could correct him; it was his responsibility. All the objector could 423 do was to say, 'Well, lead the way and if you don't act righteously may that weight lie heavy on you in the other life'. At the two ends and in the middle the elder—no one else—dug a hole in which he set up the big stone at one end, packing the smaller ones round it. When he finished, he laid his hand on the big stone and solemnly cursed anyone who should seek to move it, saying in Mirditë, 'Whoever moves this stone, shall be weighted down with it in the life beyond'. In Lumë the curse was vaguer, 'Here are your boundaries, men', said the elder. 'Don't move them because it's bad'—in this world where quarrelling results and in the other

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where damnation follows. When the last big stone was in place the 423 witnesses fired in the air to signify that the ceremony was over. [789]

When a geographical feature was available, it was often utilized as a boundary. For instance, an irrigation channel might be recognized as such. The dividing line between the neighbours then ran down the middle. It could not be diverted or otherwise interfered with by either neighbour, since it contained running water and had been made long years before—a point that gave it the permanence indispensable in a boundary. In Mirditë a very old tree sometimes marked the division between two pieces of land. In all areas growing trees of any age might outline forest and even village boundaries. Notches were cut in each; all the ground this side of a notch belonged to one neighbour and all on that to the other. Between big units such as villages or forests, though not small ones like fields or houses, a watershed or a torrent bed often formed the boundary. 'God has separated the two; nature has decided their boundaries', said the people of such cases. Sometimes a road was the boundary between the villages; a field-path was never important enough for this purpose. Finally, in some [609] groups of villages near Elbasan, such as Godolesh, Griqan and Labinot, there was so much buying of land in one village by natives of the others that no very definite line was drawn between their territories, though the boundaries of individual properties were as clearly marked and as fiercely defended as they were elsewhere. In the north, since no outsider could buy land in a village, there was no fluidity of boundary, whether village or private.

The delimiting elder was usually one of the recognized elders of 623 the village. Sometimes only one was employed, more often there 789 was one for each new neighbour, and in sprawling areas like Martanesh ten or even fifteen men might be asked to help. In Shijan elders often worked only 'for the good of their soul' and took no fee; elsewhere they charged one to two napoleons according to local rates. In Surroj they asked no less than four napoleons but seldom received them; to save this heavy fee, the older of the new neighbours set up the boundary stones, and only if he seemed to be cheating did a younger man think it necessary to call in an elder. That elder carried the earth and stone of the oath on his shoulder. In Çermenikë, however, he carried them in his hands and in Labinot he did not carry them at all, only spoke of doing so. Both these usages seem degenerations from the original. The

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623 expression 'to take on the shoulder', which is frequently heard in
789 speech all over the country in the sense of 'to destroy' or 'to ruin', seems to derive from this obviously very ancient method of making oath. 'If I don't act justly, may I carry this weight in this world and the next', the elder swore solemnly as, irrespective of whether he was Catholic, Orthodox or Moslem, he embarked on his delimitation. In most cases he believed that if he were unfair the earth and stone would punish him literally as he said. 'Earth will rot us all one day; we can't put it lightly on our shoulders like a stone. It's a very serious thing; we stake our soul by touching it', were some of the expressions used to explain the general fear. Some men were so frightened of the dread symbols that they would not undertake to delimit a boundary, saying, 'It's a serious business to undertake such a thing; it brings you up against God's justice'. A few others, it must be confessed, were sceptical enough in consideration of a bribe to defy the consequences of perjury and to delimit unfairly.

423 Boundary stones then were set up by elders in the presence of
527 witnesses as an abiding memorial to the ownership of the land they outlined. 'A fence may rot, a boundary does not', said the proverb. 'Let ever so many be killed: a field, or mountain, a vineyard cannot be seized by force; the boundary stones say who is the lawful owner', was another aphorism. In many places it was customary, generation after generation, to 'ride the marches' once a year so that the old could show the young where the stones were and so forge the next link in the endless chain of memory. Like its British counterpart, the custom gave occasion for a public holiday. Often performed, as in Nangë, at the spring festival of 'Summer Day', all men and boys in a village went round every known boundary in it. They saw that the boundary stones were still in place and not sunk out of sight, noted their position, and cleared away thorns and other concealing overgrowth. Often, as in Nangë, they were led by gypsies banging joyously on drums.

423 It was thought a sin to move boundary stones, since they had
685 been set up in such solemn circumstances by elders, the highest
783 tribal authorities. But land-hunger was so prevalent that the sin was all too common. With the lapse of time, too, boundary stones might sink out of sight in the ground and the boundary line be obliterated. Disputes over boundaries were consequently endless. To prevent them there were various deterrents. Men of weight—

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tribal, religious or personal—fostered the belief that moving 423
boundary stones made things specially hard for the sinner in the 685
next world. In this world the elders punished the misdeed with 783
a heavy fine—of varying amount in Mirditë, 30 rams and an ox in Bicaj of Lumë, 3000 grosh and 6 rams in Kastrat, and a Turkish pound and boycott in Godolesh. Everywhere the sinner was publicly disgraced even if he was not always boycotted as in Godolesh, and he had always to compensate his victim financially. He had in fact stolen land, a valuable article of property as representing a man's livelihood. Consequently his crime was punishable as a bad form of theft. In Mirditë a man who had not only moved the boundary stones but also killed his neighbour was fined 100 rams and an ox and publicly executed for his double crime.

Yet in Mirditë one very primitive method of moving a tribal 423
boundary was permissible. If a man had no forest or other source 425
of timber and he had desperate need of this, he might take his axe and go to a forest in a neighbouring tribe—naturally he did not penetrate very far from his own tribe's boundary. The noise his axe made as he felled and lopped a tree soon brought up the foresters. If he had presence of mind and strength of arm enough to drive his axe up to the shaft in the fallen tree, and if the foresters could not pull it out, the boundary of his tribe was advanced to the tree. This was the manner in which Gjokë Buca of Kaçinar won forest from Kushnen. The method may have been peculiar to Mirditë.

In the Malësi e Madhe a man who had a spinney might refuse to permit his neighbour who had none to cut timber to fence in his property. He might want to cut the timber himself next year. It was his own business whether he sold it or not. The other was getting food from his field; let him go and buy or beg wood elsewhere for his fence. Presumably what went for an individual tribesman went for his village or tribe.

When disputes arose, efforts were made to settle them before 628
they ended in bloodshed. Two types of dispute were distinguished, 423
public—as arising between tribe and tribe, village and village, ward of a village and ward of a village—and private, as arising between individual and individual.

Settlement in private disputes might be effected by the parties themselves, by elders or by the government. The first method was

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628 the quickest, the second tried when the first failed, and the third
423 when the second failed. In practice recourse to the authorities was rare and seldom as effective as action by elders.

[695] When settlement was made by the parties themselves, one of the two men quarrelling might exclaim, 'Well, take it on your shoulders' —there was no need to specify what—'and set up the stones'. 'All right', replied the other as he bent to pick up a stone or a clod of earth or both to put on his shoulders. 'May I carry it on my shoulder in this world and in that if this ground isn't mine', or 'May I carry this stone and this earth and the whole wide world', he proclaimed as he swaggered off along what he said was the boundary line. Provided four or five witnesses were present this ended the dispute. Either oath was too solemn to be gainsaid. The second in particular was convincing: who would do anything as grave as to take the world on his shoulder for the sake of an erring rope in a measurer's hand? Four or five friends of both parties attended as witnesses. Fear of being asked to take this solemn oath was a considerable deterrent against disturbing the stones. Sometimes the older disputant took an oath, with or without earth or stone, that the disputed land was his, and so proved his title to it.

When the boundary had been recently delimited the disputants might consult their other neighbours, especially if these were older than they were themselves. Or they might ask the opinion of one, two or three very old men from another village as likely to be impartial. If they consulted only one, they had both to consent formally to employing him. Sometimes, when a dispute was dragging on interminably, an old man cut in with an offer to show them where the boundary was, with earth and a stone on his shoulder.

When friends or neighbours were called in they might settle the dispute by arguing. When old men were asked, they had to point out the boundary afresh but not till after they had taken earth and a stone on their shoulders and made a solemn oath to carry these through all eternity if they delimited falsely. When the old men were from the same villages as the disputants, they were unpaid; when from another village they were each given a Turkish pound.

627 By the second method of settlement the elders in Munë took two
628 or three napoleons from each disputant as a pledge of his future
423 behaviour, and arranged for five or six elders as well as some

Lot boundary disputes --Analyst

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ordinary householders to meet at an early date at the boundary. In [423] presence of the assembled company the claimant swore with earth [627] and a stone on his shoulders that the boundary was where he said. [423] The elders then dug to see if they could find the stones. If they did they gave judgement in the claimant's favour and vice versa. If the losing disputant did not accept their ruling they kept his pledge. In Martanesh, according to Mr Lef Nosi, the case was entrusted to a single elder. First he tried to decide it by questioning the neighbours of the disputants. If he doubted what they said he put them to the ordeal of an oath on bread and the Koran. If he still [695] thought one or more of them was lying he bade them set up the boundary stones where they wished. If they dared to do so he could say no more, but sometimes they jibbed at this final perjury and then his judgement prevailed. If the loser objected to his allowing the neighbours to mark the boundary, he hushed him by bidding him let them perjure themselves and then offering to indemnify him out of his own pocket for his loss, but here the elder was on safe ground. Shame prevented the loser from accepting this offer.

When the elders failed to effect a settlement the injured party in Shijan complained to the government—not always unsuccessfully. Shijan was so near Elbasan that the government's writ ran there even in Turkish times. In many other places, in modern as in Turkish times, it was thought that if elders had failed it was useless to apply to the government, and a shooting match began. In Lumë the man who had taken the oath with earth and a stone took the initiative. In a fury at finding he had risked his soul with an oath for nothing he apostrophized his absent enemy, 'I put the stone on my shoulder. You could have done it, but you wouldn't. Now I'll kill you.' When he succeeded the bitterest of feuds started. Sometimes for greater ignominy they beat each other with sticks. This too started a bitter feud.

When bigger units disputed a boundary each party generally [628] engaged an elder, paying him a fee of 250–500 grosh in Martanesh [623] in Mr Lef Nosi's time, against 50 for a quarrel between individuals. [423] Elders, disputants and witnesses crowded to the boundary, where the elders questioned and argued interminably. If they failed to come to an agreement, murder soon followed. When both sides were sickened by the shuttlecock of the feud they called in famous elders from another unit who could not possibly have an interest in

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623 the matter and asked them to set up the boundary stones where they
628 thought right. But sometimes many lives had been lost in the
423 interval. Once the elders of Bytyç found, when summoned to intervene in a boundary dispute between Gash and Krasniqë, that in two days it had cost the lives of 124 men.

Characteristic processes often marked the arbitration. For example, when two village wards quarrelled in Çermenikë, the chief elders of the village summoned two of the oldest men in each and questioned them separately in the presence of witnesses. If their answers tallied, there could be no more question where the boundary lay. For ratification the old men were asked to walk along it, earth and stone on their shoulder, or to swear formally to its being the correct line. If there were discrepancies in their answers, the dispute was referred to the government authorities in Elbasan or, more probably, to elders from another village. If two villages of Kthellë quarrelled the three bajraktars went with the leading men and a sufficient number of hangers-on to the boundary. One village said where the line was, the other contradicted this. Finally, the most important of the bajraktars, lifting a stone set it on the shoulder of an old, wise, upright man and bade him set it down exactly on the boundary. When he had done so the line was established beyond controversy and no more murder could be done for it.[1]

423 To begin with the bloodshed method, if different villages or
628 tribes were involved, when men quarrelling over a boundary or
425 shepherds jostling over a grazing ground killed each other at the very time that the boundary was being delimited, there was no more need for elders. The tribal or village boundary was where heaps of stones marked the graves of the murdered men. If it was from a distance that they killed each other, the boundary of each village or tribe was by his grave and the ground in between became the common property of both. If one was only seriously wounded and was able to stagger or roll himself along into the foreign territory before he died, a cairn of stones was piled over him where he died, and though in foreign territory, became the boundary of his village or tribe. Boundaries so established were the most permanent; the

[1] In Mirditë boundary disputes between villages and tribes were sometimes decided with bloodshed or a rock, obviously very primitive methods. Indeed the latter, a glorification of physical strength, seems to antedate the discovery of gunpowder.

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greediest man would not venture to disturb the cairn or to steal land for which another had lost his life. 423 628 [425]

Near boundaries of villages and tribes might be won with a boulder and distant boundaries with a slab of rock. In the former event what was a contest in throwing the heavy weight took place; in so poor a country the weight could only be a stone. When the two tribes had quarrelled over a boundary each selected a champion athlete to throw the weight. Whichever threw it farthest won the land in dispute for the tribe. Father Gjeçov does not make it clear where the men stood for the throw. When more distant boundaries were in question, each champion carried a slab of stone or a rock on his back until he dropped under it. The one who held out longest won all the ground he had covered for his tribe.

The relations between a boundary and adjoining structures, such as a fence, wall or house, and natural features like hedges, trees and ditches, were as carefully regulated as the site of the boundary.

A fence or a wall generally enclosed a farmyard and sometimes a field, a vineyard or the like. Fences were made of hurdles or, much oftener, withered Christ's Thorn, depending on what grew in the locality. In the marshes at the mouth of the river Mat withies were interlaced between living willow trees planted like posts in the ditches surrounding the fields. In well-watered areas inland hedges of living Christ's Thorn were common. Walls were usually dry, like Scottish dykes; the more pretentious had their stones bedded in mud. Dry or mud, they were rare round fields, because fences were easier to make and less trouble to maintain. In upland pastures there were neither fences nor walls, presumably because the boundaries were too long. The rules for both fences and walls were pretty much the same. 417 351

When an old farmyard was divided between two brothers or cousins who were on friendly terms, their respective portions were separated only by boundary stones. When they were not on friendly terms what they did depended on the degree of their enmity. If not embittered, they built a wall three spans wide (60 cm.) or a fence, centred exactly over the boundary line and possibly broken by a door that led from one yard to the other. Each built half of the barrier and became the recognized proprietor of what he built. When it was a wall he made a square niche on his own side to mark his ownership. When it was a fence he had no such material way of safeguarding his rights but could always rely on 417 423 596

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417 public memory. If only one of the two wanted a barrier, he had to
423 build it unaided and entirely on his own ground, leaving the
596 boundary stones on his neighbour's side. In this case its position relative to these stones was enough to show whose it was, but he nevertheless constructed the usual niche on his own side. He could not, however, build the wall right against the boundary stones but had to leave its width free between them and its outer base. For the law said that any rain that fell on a man's house or wall must run off on his own ground and not damage his neighbour's property. It needed no legal compulsion, of course, to make him construct the various buildings in his own yard in such a position that their drips did not damage his fence. Incidentally the 60 cm. of free space served at need for a footpath. When two brothers were embittered, each built a partition wall, naturally without a communicating door.

685 If a man wilfully damaged a tree or other property on his neighbour's land he had to answer for his crime by paying damages. If a stranger who did not know he was trespassing on another's property and was not warned off by a shout from the owner did similar damage, he, too, had to appear before the elders.
[672] But if he could prove ignorance of trespass, he had no damage to
[351] pay. To keep animals under control so that they should not stray to another's property, a wall or at least a fence round the yard was an essential concomitant of a house. This too had to be its own thickness inside its owner's boundary to guarantee that rain drips
[1125] did not damage the ground next door. In the Malësi e Madhe the man building the wall could claim any timber that during building operations fell not more than half-way down on his neighbour's side. But whatever fell more than half-way or reached the ground—even the scrap of land he had left himself between the wall and the boundary—became his neighbour's. This discrimination applied to every form of wall.

351 Sometimes when one of two brothers was enclosing his yard he
596 was permitted to utilize his neighbour's wall for one side of his
417 enclosure. There was no risk of this confusing the ownership of the wall, for the neighbour, when building it, had not only put a proprietor's niche on his own side but had also left the boundary stones outside so that they fell within the new yard. A more distant relative could not utilize an existing wall, but had to build one of his own, parallel to the neighbour's and distant by the

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regulation width from the boundary. If this involved him in more 351
expense it also saved him and his descendants from ever quarrelling 596
about the wall. It also gave his dog room enough to run round his 417
house at night, a not unimportant point. But even a brother could not be allowed to erect a building against his neighbour's wall. The risk from the drips of rain from it was too serious.

If one neighbour wished to fence or wall in his field he did 518
no wrong, strictly speaking, by building the barrier along the 423
middle of the grass-grown footpath along the boundary between 417
fields, and so on the very boundary line. But this caused so many quarrels that in Mirditë and the Malësi e Madhe the law bade him leave the width of his barrier free between its outer base and the boundary, just as he must do when building a wall across his courtyard. In its wisdom the law was providing for the future.

Theoretically, a man could not only build his fence or wall 423
along a boundary line, but could also ask his neighbour to make 685
half of it. In practice, however, the neighbour might be too lazy 417
or might say he was too poor or too ill to do his bit. In Kastrat[1] he could be fined 250 grosh and three rams for his unneighbourliness, and this possibility sometimes drove him to action. In the ingenious Malësi e Madhe the first man might in malice run up a fence parallel to the boundary but with an opening sixteen spans (3·20 metres) wide at either end. This ensured that his animals strayed through the opening on to his bad neighbour's field and ate it up. To give the neighbour no chance to make him move his fence he ran it up four spans, half the width of the horse-track, from the boundary. Most men, however, preferred to make the whole fence themselves, constructing it at least half the width of a footpath from the boundary. If two neighbours made half the fence each, but one made his half badly, this man was at fault—whether his sheep strayed into the good fencer's field or the good fencer's into his. The loss always fell on him; in the first case he had to compensate his neighbour, and in the second he had no right to be compensated for the damage done by the animals. 417

Sometimes a man wished to fence in a field which was bounded by a road. In Krasniqë and some other hilly districts he had to leave a strip of his land as well to allow for the fence slipping down on to the road, an ever likely possibility.

Most hedges of dead thorn were directly over the boundary line, 417 685

[1] See Appendix, Document V, § 11, p. 264.

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417 and if properly placed to begin with, caused no trouble. The same
685 was true of living hedges inland. On the other hand, living hedges in the marshy areas near the mouth of the river Mat sometimes
[241] grew so tall that they damaged the neighbouring land with their shade. To prevent this, the owner had to lop overgrown trees once every three years. Failing this, his neighbour could complain to the headman; inevitably they gave him leave to cut the trees down to the root on the owner's ground, an intrusion that was in itself a punishment, and fined the owner 250–450 grosh for breaking the law about lopping.

423 Similar rules regulated the planting of fruit and other trees, olives
245 being included among the former. In Mirditë a fruit tree might be planted only 5 'feet' (1 metre) from the boundary; another kind had to be at least 10 feet away. In Godolesh, a great fruit-growing area, a fruit tree could be planted on the very boundary, but in adjacent Labinot it had to be a span away. In Shkrel it could be planted anywhere on one's own ground, as it never caused trouble
[685] by itself. As with living hedges, care had to be taken that a tree did not cast harmful shade over a neighbour's land. If one did so in Shkrel the owner agreed amicably to lop it, raising no objections unless he had already quarrelled with his neighbour over something else. In Mirditë he was bound to lop the offending branches; if he failed to do so his neighbour could lop them as high as he could reach with a hook, the handle of which did not exceed 3½ spans in length. In the mountains of Lesh the owner had to uproot the tree or to pay annual damages to his neighbour. In Godolesh the neighbour was entitled to stretch as far as he could and cut the too luxuriant branches with his short-handled axe. If a tree was doing no damage to neighbouring ground, it could not be lopped except by its owner. A man who transgressed this law in Mirditë had to pay its owner 500 grosh.

312 Sometimes an open drain adjoined a boundary. When it was
423 first cut, each of the two neighbours provided half the ground
476 required, did half the work and retained the earth excavated from his own side. Three stones, one big and two small, were left at the head to mark the boundary; the two other sets, normally placed in the middle and at the foot, were removed to make room for the water; as the drain discharged into a bigger channel, they could not possibly be left at the foot. The boundary naturally ran exactly down the middle. In most places the drain had to be cleared out

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annually. In Godolesh the two neighbours did it in alternate years, having exclusive right to the earth with its valuable fertilizing properties for the year when they did the clean up. In Lumë two neighbours cleared the drain together year after year and flung half the earth on one side and half on the other.

In other places one ditch seldom drained two neighbouring fields on the principle that 'you can't walk on my path or use my drain'. In Gurrëzë the man who wanted a drain had to cut it on his own ground with a 'footprint' (20 cm.) of land between the boundary and its edge for the protection of his neighbour's land. Without this buttress the drain might overflow or burst its bank to the detriment of his neighbour. In either contingency its owner had to pay compensation to his neighbour, but prevention of damage was always better for both parties. His neighbour might also accuse him of encroaching on his land, an insulting remark that provoked instant retaliation. If, later on, the neighbour wanted a drain he had to make one for himself, also a 'footprint' away from the boundary. In Lumë and Elbasan there was little risk that open drains would flood, but there too a space had to be left between their edge and the boundary. The avowed purpose of this space was to support the boundary stones. In all cases of single ownership the owner, on clearing the ditch, threw the earth on his own side, where it testified to his ownership if this was ever questioned.

Sometimes a man of Shkrel wanted both a drain and a fence. In that event the ditch was cut along the boundary and a strip of ground of the same width was set aside on the other side of the boundary. All the earth excavated from the ditch was thrown on this strip and so the neighbours became quits, one had a 'hole' on his land and the other a 'hill'. The fence was erected on the 'hill'.

We come now to one of the most important considerations in boundary making. North Albania is one of the wettest regions in Europe, and when the land was waterlogged it inevitably tended to slip downhill. The tropical intensity of many rainstorms increased the mischief. Terracing the fields would have helped to check it, but such manual labour is contrary to the habits and dignity of the north Albanian. His law, however, gave him every possible protection. When there were two fields on a slope, one above the other, they might be separated by a field-path, a road, an irrigation channel or a fence. (The term 'field-path' includes the

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423 little 'headland' which formed along the top of the lower field as
134 the plough-oxen turned in their ploughing.) It was vital to save
[241] the upper field from being undermined by the tillage of the lower one. So the field-path (or headland) was always assigned to the upper field, with the boundary and the fence, if any, along its lower edge. The upper man was strictly forbidden to work the path, generally grass-grown, and so fairly cohesive. The lower man was even more strictly forbidden to cultivate right up to the path for fear he brought it down; since his own land slipped a little lower every year as he tilled it, the field-path soared higher above it. Only if the lower field was in grass did the law revert to its usual form. If the upper field was planted with maize and the lower one a grass meadow, all the land under the boundary stones belonged to the lower field because grass is in itself binding enough to stop landslides.

If a road or an irrigation channel divided the two fields, the upper bank belonged in most places to the upper man, and the lower to the other, since there seemed no risk that cultivation of the lower field would undermine the upper one. In Greater
[312] Dibër, however, no risks were taken. Both banks of an irrigation channel were given to the upper man in case the lower one worked too close to it. In any area, the owner of a lower field who made a drain for it had to make it four finger-breadths from his own boundary to make sure it did not damage the upper field.

[342] If building a new house, the owner of the lower field had to keep it far enough away from the boundary to do no damage to the fence, as any such damage would make the upper field slip. On the other hand, the owner of the upper field had licence to build his house as close to the fence as if the site were flat, that is to say, with only half the width of a footpath intervening, but he was never foolhardy enough to do so.

Sometimes it was the lower man who received protection from the law. In Martanesh, for example, when the upper one built a fence or wall round his field, he had to leave the boundary stones as well clear of it as if the field were flat. This was in case it moved and encroached on the boundary.

423 Sometimes a fence was misplaced. Even if it was only one cm.
628 inside the neighbour's land, it had to be moved. In Bicaj the neighbour sent a mutual friend to say so to the owner; if the latter ignored the message the neighbour took down the fence and saw

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that when next it was erected it was correctly sited, otherwise shooting began. In the Martanesh area the village headman, with two official and two unofficial assistants, was usually called in to set the fence up on the exact boundary line. If the offender moved it forward again, the elders sent word to his relatives that if he touched it again, there would be shooting. So restrained, he usually settled down. 422 628

An opening was never to be made in a fence by force or without the owner's leave. Only a foolish and 'lawless' man would do such a thing; it could only be the preliminary to using the field as a road, or to stealing something. [685]

Fines were imposed as a deterrent. These amounted to 50 grosh in Turkish times and 100 koronë in the 1920's in the Malësi e Madhe, with 150 grosh and 3 rams in Kastrat in 1892; even if the offender closed the gap again, he had no right to make it in the first instance. If he destroyed a fence altogether in the marshes at the mouth of the Mat he was fined 250 grosh, five times the amount imposed for opening a way through it. If he did not pay the fine he was killed by the owner. As many as three lives have often been lost for one opening.

So with a wall in the marshland of the Mat. If it was holed, the owner asked the offender furiously if he was agreeable to having elders assess the damage. If the offender objected to assessment or refused payment, the owner shot him; at best he was sharply fined by the village. A breach in a fence or wall had always to be repaired by the owner.

Elsewhere manners were milder. In Martanesh there was no punishment at all for making a hole in a fence. In Perlat permission to make one was readily given either as a favour or in exchange for a passage through the other man's. In Fulqet a traveller could make one without leave if the highway was deep in mud and the only dry ground within reach was the field behind the fence. Often enough the owner of fence and field shot at him, but this was illegal; there was only one legitimate way of keeping the traveller to the muddy road. This was for the owner of field and fence to fill up the holes in the road with stones. If he took this trouble and the traveller still trespassed on his field he had full right to shoot him. [491]

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CHAPTER X

PASTURAGE

233 Mountainous northern Albania is largely a pastoral country with large flocks of sheep and goats and considerable numbers of plough-oxen, cows and horses.

To a great extent the nature of a village's pasturage depended on its position, whether it was in the shrub zone, the oak zone or higher up among the pine and beech forests of the alpine slopes. In the low-lying belt of shrublands the poorest type of grazing was found, and here the pastoral life was seen at its lowest level. A poor man might have only one to five sheep, a cow or, where foliage was more plentiful, a few goats. Most villages had little or no pasturage proper and the animals grazed on the verges of paths and fields, in small spinneys and in the waste spaces overgrown with shrubs. Each family would do its own herding, the animals being tended by the old people and by small boys and girls. For security against thieves and wolves the animals were brought home at night to the little farmyard with its low stone wall, or to a stable under the living rooms of the farmhouse. The low altitude of such holdings, where the climate was neither too hot in summer nor too inclement in winter, ensured fairly constant grazing all the year round. [246] During the winter, however, when the daylight hours were fewer, a meagre sheaf of maize and, less frequently, wheat straw or chaff, was fed by hand to each animal on its return from the open. When wheat chaff was fed to a horse it had to be well damped with water or the horse would not touch it. As for the goats, they would be given an armful of dried leaves which had been cut and stacked by the men in autumn and carried into the house by the women. No grain feed and no roots were fed to the animals; the former was needed for human consumption and no root crops are grown in Albania. Occasionally, however, when oats of a very poor quality were grown, the grain as well as the straw was fed to the animals. Albanians were astounded to learn that the British eat porridge. 'Food for animals' they would exclaim at the sight of a packet of porridge oats.

Poor and insignificant as they were, these small owners were

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so numerous that their livestock amounted to a considerable 233
percentage of the total in Albania. They were found mostly in the shrub areas, though a few very poor men lived also in the oak zone. But the vast majority of this leafy belt herded their flocks on a larger scale. Above each village there was always the overhanging mountain with its forests of beech and pine to hold the waters and keep the pastures green and sweet. Under the higher beech trees no grass grew, but in the sloping clearings the animals could graze at will. In winter, however, these clearings were too high to [244]
permit of habitation; besides, such tilling of the soil as did take place occurred at roughly the same level as the village, and it was there that the flocks found most of their feeding. In summer the [244]
fields and meadows, whether open or enclosed, provided hay for the animals; in the autumn the stubble served for a few weeks; while in winter they wandered over the grass. In spring the winter-sown wheat was improved by being eaten down a few inches by the sheep. Dried leaves from the numerous oak trees supplemented this winter feeding.

Sometimes the number of animals was such that all these sources 291
did not suffice during the lean months, or sometimes a village had no suitable winter pastures or had lost them for political reasons. Many animals would then be slaughtered at the commencement of [251]
winter and the meat smoked or salted down, while the remainder lived to fare as best they could. The many owners who could not afford meat, fresh or salted, had to try to maintain their livestock until the spring. By that time the poor creatures were no better than living skeletons hardly able to walk out to the pastures.

On the long coastal plains and marshy river banks the owners of 221
large flocks and herds were scorched out of their pastures in 233
summer or plagued by the mosquitoes from the marshy swamps. This necessitated a wholesale migration at the beginning of summer to the cooler alpine slopes, a feature of Albanian life as characteristic as picturesque.

A few of the purely winter pastures belonged to the State, a few 233
to private persons, and the immense majority to some community, 423
either a tribe, a village or a village ward. State-owned pastures dated from Turkish times and were consequently found only on the plains near big centres, as Turkish control had little reality elsewhere. Examples of these were the forested swamps of Mamuras and the Highland village of Gurrëzë on the left bank of the river

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233 Mat. They were extensive, if not numerous, and must be dis-
423 tinguished from the other state-owned pastures which, also
[425] in Turkish times, were added piecemeal to the community's possessions from the confiscated property of tribesmen who had transgressed an important law.

There were both alpine and winter pasturages in private hands in the 1930's, but the former were few and small; examples of these were some meadows on Mt Dragû between Bulqizë and Zerqan, and an upland plateau east of Sllovë in Dibër. The former, carrying 1500 sheep, was owned by Dervish Ali of Fulqet, and the latter, carrying not more than 1000 sheep, by Cen Elezi of Sllovë. Up till 1920, when Prenk Bib Doda Pasha bequeathed all his property to the tribe of Mirditë because he disliked his heir, the Mal i Shenjt (Holy Mountain) above Orosh was the private property of each Hereditary Captain. As for winter pasturages, much of the marshy land from Mamuras to below Durrës was in private hands. Thus the estate known as Cakalë belonged to Abas Kupi of Krujë, and several others near Shijak to members of the Toptan family. Some scandal was caused in the 1920's when three of these were leased for 99 years to Italians. A few meadows, some coppices and all the fields of stubble (for arable land was never owned by the community), complete the tale of winter pasturages which were private property.

Everything else, big and little, on the mountains and the plains, by the river bank and the wayside, belonged to some community. This was usually the nearest. For example, the plateau on the mountain overhanging Zerqan was owned by that village, the upland meadows round Okol in north Shalë by the various wards of Theth, one by each, and the swamps between Gurrëzë and Mamuras by the village of Laç near Milot. A major exception was the summer grazing which belonged to the village of Kuturman in Çermenikë. This pasturage lay twelve hours away on Mount Shebenik, more popularly known as the Mal i Kuq (the Red Mountain) on the eastern frontier between Albania and Yugoslavia. But its acquisition has been accidental. Most of it came as the dowry of a girl of Ricë who was her father's sole surviving heir and who married a man from Kuturman. The rest was subsequently purchased by the village; the copper plate on which its title to this portion was engraved in Turkish, a great curiosity in view of the rarity of title deeds, remained in the possession of Beqir Afi of

[the pastures of Mamuras and Gurrëzë -- Analyst]

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Kuturman until his family died out and the plate disappeared. The 423
summer grazing which belonged to the village of Bërshenj near 233
Fulqet was three days away on Mt Dragû. The Highlanders, living at the mouth of the river Mat, had their summer pasturages on Mt Vermosh five days away from their winter homes.

A clear distinction was drawn between the laws governing private and public pasturages. In broad outline what was private [428]
could be fenced or sold or built on at its owner's sole pleasure, and was divided up between his sons at his death. What was public was marked off by boundary stones from neighbouring properties but had neither outside fence nor internal boundaries. Though all the households in the tribe or village had equal rights in it and could each graze as many animals, cut as much firewood or timber, build as many huts or folds and shoot as much game on it as they pleased, these rights came to them only as members of the community and were not transferable to strangers. They could not sell their grazing rights to an outsider, share a hut with him or graze his animals along with their own; if they wanted to give an outsider friend pasturage, they must do so on their private ground. They could not sell part of the common or dispose of firewood, timber or game for their individual gain; only the community could negotiate such sales, and all the profit or loss from them was community profit or loss. They could not build a permanent house on the common. When the head of a family died, his rights were [428]
not divided among his sons like his private property but descended to them jointly. Gypsies, it may be added, were allowed to pitch [523]
their tents, graze their animals and gather firewood on the common. Being as resourceful in Albania as elsewhere, they needed no permission and snared what game they could; as they did not carry firearms they could not shoot it.

Those communities which did not possess their own private 427
summer pasturage, hired or rented it from near and far. Breg i Matit 233
rented theirs partly from Shkrel and partly from Theth, and the 437
latter was a full week's journey away. Modernity having come to Albania, they paid cash down. Fulqet rented a neighbour's mountain every summer and paid for it in the old-fashioned way with half an oke of butter, the same of sour-milk cheese and 2½ oke of sweet cheese for every forty sheep. Perlat again gave their own winter pasturage in return for leave to summer on the mountains of Lurë and Selitë. In Turkish times, Lurë asked neither money

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233 nor produce nor an exchange for summering the flocks brought to
437 the Crown (Kunora) by tribesmen living north of Shkodër, but
427 welcomed them because their sheep manured the fields. Com-
[241] paratively recently, Lurë gave a Selitë man leave to summer his flocks gratis on Mt Murije, which, lacking their manure, would hardly have been worth the labour of tilling. Dervish Ali of Fulqet too was glad to let hundreds of sheep graze free in his meadows on Mt Dragû. Surroj and Arrn pastured sheep belonging to the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë without payment, because they also had so little arable land.

609 Except where the soil was so poor that the manure was welcome,
685 as in Lurë, or where grazing was very plentiful, as in Theth, outsiders were rigidly excluded from alps which were owned or rented by a community. Nangë said it had not enough feed for its own flocks. Martenesh, Gurrëzë and Breg i Matit said they did not want their pastures disturbed by strangers. All infringements of the ban, both petty and grave, were punished by fines.

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CHAPTER XI

BAJRAKTARS

It is an Albanian tradition that when the Turks began to raise Albanian levies for their army they chose specially brave tribesmen to lead the levies and called them by the Turkish name of *deli*, meaning 'madman' or 'desperado'. At a later date they called them *spahis* (cavalrymen), and at a still later date *bajraktars* (standard-bearers), from the Turk *bajrak*, standard. So the word bajraktar conveys the business of the man so-called, and the origin of his title. He was the military leader of his tribe and owed his appointment to the Turks, not to his fellow-Albanians. 104 701

Neither delis nor spahis seem to have been blood ancestors of the bajraktars. Each tribe knows how its first bajraktar won his flag but never says that he was either a deli or a spahi. In the folk-tales which purport to recount their deeds, the spahis figure not as heroes but as ordinary cavalrymen of the type we still find in Algeria. Certain families, notably in Lumë and Yugoslav Losovë, are surnamed Spahi. These claim descent not from medieval bravos but from relatively modern cavalrymen, and they are not bajraktars. The memory of the delis and their deeds survives only in folk-tales and an occasional personal name. The bajraktar of Hot at the beginning of the century was Deli Metë Çuni. In the folk-tales the delis, more fortunate than the spahis, preserve their reputation as doughty fighters. [538] [551]

Tribal traditions agree that most *bajraks* were bestowed on the original holder like a Victoria Cross, for valour in battle. The combats were generally against the Serbs and Montenegrins, natural enemies of the Albanians as they were their nearest neighbours, and had not ceased ever since they appeared in the Balkans to steal ancient Albanian territory. Some bajraks are said to have been gained hundreds of years ago, and others only a few generations since. The historical details in the traditions are generally meagre and the chronology vague, but these defects make on the whole for greater credibility, assuring us that no lively imagination has been at work. To minds running as Albanian 703

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703 minds do on courage as the highest of virtues, the traditions are a great inspiration.[1]

721 The following traditions are samples. The bajrak of Hot was
703 won four hundred years ago by an ancestor of Deli Metë Çuni who distinguished himself by cutting off Montenegrin heads, a pastime in which the family has ever since indulged with gusto. Sul Alija, the great-grandfather of Adem Bajrami, who lived four generations ago, was made bajraktar of Krasniqe in reward for the bravery he displayed during a war between Turkey and Montenegro. Sefer Ahmeti was given his bajrak at Moraç near Belgrade after a battle against the Serbs. The first bajraktar of Nikaj also won his standard at Moraç, possibly in the same battle. Kolë Voci, who lived six generations ago, became the first bajraktar of Shalë-Gimaj in consequence of killing a Serbian bajraktar and carrying his head and standard to the officer commanding the Turkish forces. In the same battle the bajraktar of Plan was killed, but Voci caught up and saved his bajrak from capture by the enemy. Avdi Kola, a later bajraktar of Gimaj, was proud to boast that since Voçi won the flag no male of his house had died in his bed.

701 Certain tribes had more than one bajraktar, some as many as five. Where there were two or more bajraktars the senior took precedence over the junior. If a senior bajraktar was killed in battle it was the junior's duty to take his flag.

The office of the tribal bajraktar was hereditary, going from father to son. If a bajraktar died without leaving a son he was succeeded by his brother, his brother's son, or in default of these, a cousin in the male line. If he was too old or too ill before his death to act, these relatives deputised for him. If the natural heir was a minor at his father's death, his father's brother or nephew took office until he came of full age and powers when twenty, twenty-five, or even thirty years of age, the date varying according to his capabilities. In 1933 Kolë Ndue was senior bajraktar of

[the standard, the holder of which was the military leader of his tribe -- Analyst]

[1] The bajrak was not, however, always granted for military valour but was sometimes conferred for less martial reasons. For instance, Pec Peci of Pecnikaj, Shalë, was summoned to the presence of the head of the Begolli family to explain why he, a peasant, had seven wives, while the great Begolli contented himself with only three. Pec's explanation, that only one of the women was really his wife and the others servants who looked after his land and flocks as menservants might have done, though known to be untrue, so fascinated Begolli by its astuteness that he forthwith made Pec bajraktar not only of Shalë, but also of all Dukagjin.

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Shalë but only as trustee for the small son of Lush Prela, his 701
predecessor, killed some years before.

Succession from father to son depended on merit, and was determined in the lifetime of the reigning bajraktar. A son who was obviously unfit was passed over in favour of his younger brother. Both, if unfit, might be superseded by their paternal uncle or cousin in the male line.

If the natural precedence between brothers was once lost, the bajrak generally passed from the elder's heirs for good. Only when the son of a dispossessed elder brother turned out much more competent than the other heirs of his generation could he regain the glory which his father's weakness had lost. For example, Muharrem Bajraktar, the standard-bearer of Ujmishtë, Lumë, was the son of Nezir Bajraktar, a younger son. His cousin, Liman, son of the elder brother to whom Nezir was preferred, was almost as capable as he was but had no right to compete with him for the succession.

For grave cause the claims of heredity were sometimes disregarded. If a bajraktar's family produced no competent male for several generations, another family might wrest the standard from its feeble hands. The transfer had naturally to be approved by the tribe. Muharrem Bajraktar of Ujmishtë, Lumë, descended not from the original bajraktar who lived at Shkavec, Lumë, but from the family which superseded the feckless descendants of the original man some generations ago. The first bajraktar of Nikç was Gilë Prëntashi, but eventually the family degenerated to such an extent that the bajrak was taken over by Turk Vuksani, a very distant cousin who lived in the same quarter as the natural heir. A more remarkable transfer took place early in this century in Perlat. For three generations there had not been a good male in the family of its bajraktar. Then Prenk Pasha, consulted as the head of the Gjomarkaj family of Mirditë and therefore the source of all wisdom, advised Perlat to desert its inadequate leader for his sister's son, the bajraktar of the neighbouring tribe of Rrshen. Perlat took the advice and followed this man and after him his son Zef Bardhoku, thus going right outside the tribe in the quest for a better leader.

With the exception of the bajraktar* of Lumë, all bajraktars 701
hitherto discussed were military leaders of tribes which were wholly 745
or predominantly Catholic. Mirditë, Bogë, Vukël, Shalë, Nikaj,

*[the tribe military leader -- Analyst]

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701 Mertur and some others were wholly Catholic. Nikç, Selcë, Hot,
795 Kthellë and Lurë were more or less mixed Catholic and Mohammedan. Certain tribes such as Has, Bytyç and Krasniq are at the time of writing completely Mohammedan but were partly Catholic until three or four generations ago, as their genealogies testify. Lumë asserts that it has been completely Mohammedan since the
[618] coming of the Turks five centuries ago. It was also not fully tribal,
[619] since each bajraktar's[1] following consisted not of a single kin or agglomeration of kins with the same ancestors, but of a number of little kins of varying ancestry.

701 There were also bajraktars in certain non-tribal areas, such as
[619] Shpat and Martanesh in central Albania. Here the dignity was not hereditary and localized, but moved with successive holders from family to family, from quarter to quarter or even from village to village. Fitness for military leadership of the local levies was always demanded, and that quality did not necessarily remain from one generation to another, in the same family, quarter or village. Hysejn Zavolina of the village of Shelcan was a famous bajraktar in Shpat in the last years of Turkish rule, but it was at Fushë e Kuqe in the more central village of Gjinar that he set up his standard. Hysejn Ramaj became bajraktar of Martanesh because he was as popular as he was competent. After having carried his standard to
[192] victory in Montenegro he 'got religion' and turned dervish. As Baba Hysejn (Abbot Hysejn) he presided first over the Bektashi monastery (tege) at Krujë and then over that at Martanesh and was buried in the monastery of Zerqan. When he took to the cloister the bajrak passed to Murat Xhabolli, who was from the Gjoni quarter and quite a different family. The great lawgiver, Mus Ballgjini, of the village of Gurakuq was bajraktar of the district of Çermenikë when Turkish rule over Albania ended, but his son did not inherit the office. When Albania developed a conscript army of European type, there could be no more bajraktars in central Albania. Officers led the conscripts, and there was no hereditary principle to preserve the ancient title as there was among the tribes of the north.

701 In certain areas of the north there were no bajraktars.[1] Since
619 beys were feudal lords of the soil it fell to them to lead their henchmen in war. So wherever there were beys of any importance there were no bajraktars. Mat was the classic instance. There were bajraktars to the north of it in tribal Kthellë and Lurë; there were

[1] [the local military leader --Analyst]

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bajraktars to the south of it in non-tribal Martanesh; but there was none within its own boundaries. There factions, not tribes, were the social units, and all power, military and otherwise, was concentrated in the hands of four powerful bey families. 701 619

From first to last the primary function of a bajraktar was military. When one learned that war was imminent and troops were required, he had immediately to inform the tribe in the first instance by firing eight shots in quick succession into the air, and in the second by sending out the official runner called *kasnec* with news and a statement of how many men were wanted. One from each house was the usual number. The muster was soon complete, for it was thought shameful to hang back or to hide at home and no time was wasted hunting for deserters. When all had gathered, the march began. Two tribesmen in some cases, and in others four, led off singing. Next came a man closely connected with the bajraktar, preferably his eldest son, carrying the flag. The rank and file followed, firing constantly into the air to show their joy at the call to arms. Any sign of depression at leaving their homes would have been thought disgraceful and unmanly. The best warriors among them had the bajraktar in their midst and would guard him and the flag with their lives till they all came marching home again. No equipment was issued to bajraktars or 'soldiers'; each brought his own rifle and pistols and came in his ordinary clothes. Nor was any military training given them. Their value as soldiers depended upon the rifle practice which they had had at home. It was usually sufficient to make them all good shots. After a few months the war ended and they came home again, still in their peasant clothes and again firing into the air for joy. 701 703 [705] [102]

In time of peace the bajraktar performed civilian duties. One of the chief was caring for the poor. If they got into trouble or needed work he intervened with the authorities. If they were benighted he gave them free board and lodging. On high occasions he sent them a ram on which to feast. So that they could buy on credit what they needed for their weddings and funerals he went guarantee for them at the village shops; perhaps he even paid for the goods when the following harvest failed and left them unable themselves to clear the debt. At times he lent them money without interest. In return he asked only that if required they would put their rifles at his disposal, joining him in attacking an enemy, spending some weeks annually in his house as unpaid or poorly paid guards, [135] 701

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701 escorting him to town, guarding him during his stay there and escorting him home again. If they refused without justifiable cause to give him such service, he withdrew his support from them at least for a time.

622 The bajraktar was also much occupied with local administration.
634 Here he was assisted by one or more headmen, hereditary officials like himself. Independently or together, he and they checked quarrelling, judged and formulated new laws. He was admittedly their superior, and when their views diverged his prevailed. If pressure of work made him think an increase in their number desirable, he had power to make extra appointments provided only that he first submitted the names of his nominees to the Turkish government for approval. In short, he was the acknowledged head of the local administration.

[619] As supreme administrative head the bajraktar had power to summon a general meeting for administrative as well as military purposes. If the matter at issue was important and affected the whole tribe, he sent the *kasnec* (tribal messenger) to command the presence of one man per house. If narrower issues were involved he summoned only one or more headmen and the local *gjobtarë*
[693] (fine-collectors) or other elders. Plenary meetings dealt with anti-social acts grave enough to involve the death penalty or expulsion, judged cases of sacrilege against the church, tightened up tribal discipline by enacting new or re-enacting old laws, decided whether to revolt or not against the Turkish government, and heard important messages from the government. In 1908 a plenary
[642] meeting[1] was held by each tribe to decide whether or not it should accept the Young Turk Constitution. Smaller meetings handled business where fines were sufficient punishment for transgression. Notably they regulated grazing rights, fixing the day for a general move to summer pastures, stipulating how many animals each family might feed on a common. They also regulated wood-cutting rights and controlled the supply of water for irrigation. The bajraktar presided at all such meetings, took an active part in the deliberations, and signed or set his seal on any minutes that were
[965] kept. He and the elders, as being socially superior, sat apart from the commoners. In the Malësi e Madhe he sat on the ground while the tribesmen stood respectfully on their feet.

[1] See M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 74.

[the local military leader--Analyst]

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In certain cases the bajraktar and the local headman could act alone. For example, in case of sacrilege against the church they had power to pronounce even a death sentence. In practice, however, they preferred to consult the tribe and the ecclesiastical authorities. After the Young Turks introduced their constitution in 1908 they tried to make everything in Albania very legal and proper. If land was bought, for example, they required a deed of conveyance where the word of witnesses had formerly sufficed. The best lawyer in the land might write out the document and great men witness it, but it had no legal validity until the bajraktar and local headmen had affixed their seals.

As a legal figure the bajraktar had special weight. If called to serve on a jury of twenty-four men, his single person was counted equal to the twelve jurors left unnamed by the elders. A peace made in his presence was particularly binding. If at all distinguished he was often called in by another tribe to settle a dispute that had baffled its own elders. In his own tribe, besides acting as judge in many ordinary cases, he was ultimate referee in all difficult cases. Boundary disputes, the most fertile source of trouble among these land-starved tribes, were often referred straight to him for settlement. Disobedience to his ruling might entail the worst penalties. Particularly in the Malësi e Madhe, he and the local headman had power to appoint elders to settle a quarrel. If these failed to do so, or were found to have based their decision on a false oath by one of the litigants, it fell to the bajraktar and the local headman to reopen the case and to pronounce a final judgement. If a headman judged a case and gave a verdict the bajraktar disliked, he could upset this verdict and substitute one of his own. But neither headman nor elders could upset his judgements; these were always final and unalterable.

All the above applies to the non-tribal areas of central Albania as much as to the northern tribes. Mus Ballgjini of Çermenikë, for instance, was almost more famous as a law-giver than as a military leader. By a seeming exception the bajraktar of the Perlat tribe of Kthellë did not judge but left such matters to the elders. The explanation of the anomaly probably lies in his notorious incompetence. It was every bajraktar's province to judge in peace as well as to lead in war.

In all areas the jurisdiction of the bajraktar was subject to certain limitations. If the commoners did not like one of his decisions,

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If the commoners did not like one of his[1]
692 even if made in concert with the headmen and elders, they were
[622] not bound to abide by it and could compel him to re-examine the case. Neither he nor a headman could, singly or in combination, fine a tribesman without first securing authority from the tribe. After all, he and the headman might have a personal grudge against the man and might fine him for no other reason. To take an example
[619] from the non-tribal valley of Bulqizë, Miftar Meta the bajraktar and Lam Isaku his assistant were much respected and admired but they had no power, on their sole responsibility, to fine a man from Fushaj, their own village. Still less had they power to fine a man from another village in Bulqizë. They could not act in either case
[623] until they had secured the backing of the culprit's village at a general meeting. Nothing less, it was felt, guaranteed the impartiality of the sentence.

693 If a bajraktar misconducted himself, all the headmen and
623 commoners of his tribe, or possibly the commoners alone, sat in judgement on him. They could not ostracize, expel or burn him out like an ordinary criminal; he was too inherently a tribal institution for that. But they could, and did fine him. In 1907,[1] the Kryezi tribe assembled in plenary session, one man from each house, and fined its bajraktar and headmen 100 rams and an ox for some judgements they could prove to have been unjustifiable and prejudiced. The commoners could also ask an erring bajraktar to give a rifle or other valuable as security for his good behaviour in the future.

693 The misconduct for which a bajraktar was fined was seldom more heinous than sending his sheep to pasture on another's ground or pronouncing a biased judgement. On the whole, each was so carefully selected and trained by his predecessor in office that he rarely committed the graver crimes. When one did, he was sure to be so 'strong', i.e. influential, that the tribesmen thought it more prudent to close their eyes to his iniquity. There was much grumbling at the venality of bajraktars, but neither the tribal law nor the Turkish government took cognizance of this offence. If
693 a bajraktar,[1] serving as judge or arbitrator, took a bribe, the only
687 remedy lay in the individual tribesman's freedom to choose another law-giver next time. If a bajraktar accepted a 'present' for doing a favour, there was no remedy at all. His victim could only comfort himself by noting how God, or Allah, punished such greed. It was

[1] [the bajraktars--Analyst] = [the local milary, administrative and judicial head--Analyst]

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 371.

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popularly believed in Shkrel that the three sons of Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar, and the three daughters of the Voivode Preng Mirashi, had turned out badly because the deeds of Vatë and Preng had been evil.

In time of war a bajraktar from the north-west group received triple pay and triple rations. A bajraktar of Shalë received double pay and double rations, one portion as a person and the other as standard-bearer. He also received pay and rations for three servants, two of whom followed him to the war both to guard and to serve him, while the third, a specially trusted man, remained behind in his house in Shalë as guardian of his property, womenfolk and children. The allowances for these servants were only what ordinary soldiers received, food and *katik* (pocket-money: in Turkish, any relish eaten with bread) at the rate of one grosh per day, which was barely sufficient for their tobacco.

As an administrator a bajraktar was unpaid in so far as he had no fixed salary. He earned something, however, by his judgements, for which he was paid at the same rate as an elder. In the Malësi e Madhe, as often as he appointed elders, he too received a fee, although they did all the work and he did not stir from home. If they could not agree on a verdict, the litigants appealed to him. He then received a double fee, one the same as the elders' and the other in respect of his own journey to the scene of the quarrel. In other tribes or groups of tribes he did not get off so lightly; he had always to judge the case himself before he received any payment. The fees varied with the importance of the case and the rapacity of the bajraktar. In the tribal, but not in the non-tribal, areas any fines imposed were divided between the bajraktar and the headmen or 'good families' of his tribe. In the Malësi e Madhe a bajraktar who was summoned to Shkodër received ten grosh (50 koronë) per day from the Turkish government for his expenses. But everywhere a bajraktar's best source of income was bribes.

The bajraktar was both the military and administrative head of his tribe. His military and administrative precedence came 'from the staff in his hand', the flag stick of Turkish donation, but descent was the test for social precedence, and priority of descent was not always his. In many tribes there were 'good families' who descended from an older brother or a social superior of his ancestor, and on that account had, generation after generation, taken social precedence of his family.

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554 Modern civilization with its army and dense array of gendarmes [701] and officials swept away the military and administrative functions of the bajraktar, but his social position remained untouched. So in Krasniqë, Sali Mena, the bajraktar in 1939, had the precedence because he descended from the eldest son of Gjô Vata of the village of Bunjaj; but Hakik Meta, the bajraktar of Lurë, remained inferior to Doçi, Nezhë and Vlad families in that tribe because their ancestors were from better families than his.

576 554 Social precedence was marked in several characteristically Albanian ways. For instance, if the bajraktar of Perlat in Kthellë met a Simonaj and a Gjet-Kolaj at a feast, his seat would be third from the corner and his portion of meat only the leg. The Simonaj would sit in the corner and get the head and the Gjet-Kolaj would sit next to him and get the shoulder. Even in wartime a bajraktar was kept in his civilian place except during the actual fighting. On the way to and from the battlefield he sat in the seat and ate the portion of meat that appertained to him by descent. In 1935 Lurë was mustered to check a revolt at Fier in central Albania. The bajraktar's men carried the flag out of Lurë into Mat, and by arrangement met Zef Doçi's men at Burrel in Mat. There, though both were on a warlike errand, Zef Doçi sat in the chief seat and the bajraktar and his flag in the fourth. The revolt was suppressed before the tribesmen advanced beyond Burrel. If they had gone on, rifles would have cracked at Fier before Zef Doçi had to yield the first place to the bajraktar. If one of the bajraktars of Kthellë [619] found it necessary to discuss something with one of the six 'good families', he could not ask its head to come and see him as he would an ordinary tribesman. Instead, he must gird up his own loins and go and see the other. If they disagreed during the discussion, he could not persist in his own view but had to fall in with the other's. Trivial though this insistence on correct precedence and its manifestations may seem, it had its value in maintaining tribal discipline. Slackening of the social framework in communities so backward as these tribesmen would only have ended in anarchy.

The 'first families' excepted, the bajraktar was unquestioned first among the tribesmen, this being signified in the usual manner of corner seat and choicest portion of meat. Any male of his family old enough to walk enjoyed the same precedence and was, by the courteous and diplomatic, addressed as 'bajraktar'.

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A 'bajraktar' of tender years could evict a greybeard commoner 576
from the corner seat, and the greybeard would be distressed if 554
left in it. A worthless and ignorant 'bajraktar' got the head of the roast lamb while successful and learned commoners had no precedence by right—they belonged to their father's tribe and were counted aliens in the bajraktar's. Sometimes, however, the tribesmen gave them precedence as a courtesy.

When a bajraktar or any male in his family, infants excepted, 764
died in his bed, a black flag was stuck at the head of his grave to mark his rank during life. Otherwise he and his were treated in death like ordinary mortals. If he himself was murdered, the 628
ensuing blood feud was no worse than it would have been for a commoner—Lek had laid down that in death one man was as good as another. Besides, another bajraktar succeeded him and with the office continuing, the personality of the holder had no special significance. His family alone had to show a sense of his unusual importance; it could not stain its honour by accepting blood money instead of killing the assassin. If a bajraktar was killed by somebody in another tribe, his tribe undertook to hunt down the assassin, but this was no more than it would have done for any tribesman dead in comparable circumstances. Conversely, when a bajraktar killed anyone, his victim's family sought his blood precisely as they would have sought a commoner's.

As between bajraktars, seniority of the ancestor's appointment 576
determined precedence. Gjejaj of Dukaj, the first bajraktar in 554
Perlat, lived long before there was a bajraktar of Rrshen. His modern representative was, as already said above, so weak that Perlat had abandoned him to follow the Rrshen man's leadership. Yet in everything social, by virtue of his ancestor's seniority, he walked ahead of his supplanter. Once, however, a Kthellë tribesman entertained all three bajraktars of his tribe together. There is no record of how he seated them, but when the roast lamb appeared, he split the head in two, gave the two halves to two of the bajraktars and a shoulder to the third. Half a head being reasonably equated to a shoulder, he thus gave equal honour to all three men and did justice both to descent and to strength.

When a bajraktar encountered a beg, as a bey is called in north Albania, the latter sat in the corner because a beg is bigger than a bajraktar. When bajraktar and agha met, the bajraktar sat in the corner. Such a meeting was rare in the north owing to the paucity

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554 of aghas. The title of agha was a courtesy title bestowed by the
576 populace. By special provision of the Turkish Government there had been hereditary aghas since the Turkish conquest at Botush in Yugoslav Kosovë; these, says their representative in Albania, took precedence of all bajraktars in Albania and Kosovë.

578 Given the pride of a bajraktar in his standard and of a 'first
658 family' in its descent, a clash between the two was not uncommon. When this took the form of an ordinary isolated quarrel, elders were called in from another tribe to judge between the disputants. Their own tribe did not venture to try the issue, knowing that it might suffer, as outside elders could not do, for an unwelcome judgement. If the elders failed to effect a settlement, shooting began between the parties, both bajraktar and 'first family' being followed by his own kin. A man related to both followed the one to whom he was more nearly related; this at least in theory. In practice they often showed a naive sense of which side their bread was buttered and joined the disputant with the stronger following.

628 Sometimes a long struggle for precedence developed between
662a 'first family' tenacious of its ancient privileges and an ambitious
578 bajraktar. In Lurë, for instance, both the Catholic Zef Doçi of Lurë e Vjetër (Old Lurë) and the Mohammedan Ibrahim Gjoçi of Kreje had long been rivals of the Mohammedan bajraktar Hakik Aliu Meta. In 1926 Gjoçi had the largest following, because he maintained the tribe with surpassing generosity. Within a decade he ate himself out of house and home, and then lost nearly all his power, retaining only the tribesmen's affection and respect for his past benefits. He therefore ceased to hamper the ambitions of the bajraktar. Zef Doçi, the 'first family' in the whole tribe, was a more obstinate rival, as his power rested less on his lavish doles than on his descent and personal wisdom. Ancestor after ancestor had been 'captains' in Turkish times, whereas Gjoçi and Meta had never been 'captains' till created by King Zog. The bajraktar began by undermining Doçi's position with traditional doles. He sent sheep to the poor at every festival and went guarantee for them in the shops during crises such as weddings and burials. 'So they all follow me now', he told the visitor with disarming simplicity. He had resorted to direct action, seizing every chance to kill off the guns in Doçi's family. In 1933 some brigands, who had killed one of Llesh Doçi's men, were harboured in a mountain sheepfold by the bajraktar's shepherds. Together with Zef and other relatives,

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Llesh ambushed the brigands and wounded one. As one of his men was killed, the two sides were 'one and one', equalized, and could have made peace. But the opportunity was too good for the bajraktar to miss. By the law of the mountains Llesh should not have attacked the sheepfold until he had asked the bajraktar to withdraw his protection from the brigands and had met with a refusal. So the bajraktar vowed he would not make peace but would have Doçi's blood for the 'injury'. Soon he learned that Zef Doçi and all his male relatives were at a wedding in a poor man's house. Under cover of darkness his followers crept up to the house and shooting through the windows killed two and wounded four of the wedding guests. A year later the bajraktar managed to have a third man from Zef's family killed, leaving Zef almost alone.

In his charities this bajraktar of Lurë took no account of the recipient's religion, helping a Catholic as readily as one of his fellow Mohammedans. If he discriminated between the two he would gain nothing from the Albanian government, which ignored religious differences. In Turkish times discrimination in favour of Mohammedans would have furthered his designs by winning approval from the Turkish government. He found, however, that the proved loyalty of his family to King Zog's stood him in even better stead. A marriage had also proved a useful asset. Metë Hoti, the best shot in Lurë, would have been expected to join Zef Doçi, because his mortal enemy, Dalip Kaci, followed Zef's enemy, the bajraktar. Unfortunately for Zef, Metë had a sister married to one of the bajraktar's household. Since joining Zef meant shooting at the bajraktar's men, Metë feared to have the blood of his nephews on his hands and continued reluctantly, side by side with his mortal enemy, to follow the bajraktar.

The result of the struggle can be shown by the numbers of the levies raised by the three captains for the Albanian government in 1926, 1933 and 1935 respectively. They were as follows:

	1926	1933	1935
Zef Doçi	150	50	23
Ibrahim Gjoçi	300	40	32
Bajraktar	4	300	400

It would have been interesting to revisit Lurë to see the effect on the position established by the Italian occupation. The bajraktar,

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000 as King Zog's man and therefore anathema to the Italians, must have lost much ground. Zef Doçi as his enemy and as a good Catholic may have regained some.

622 According to Albanian tradition there were no bajraktars 1 before
634 the Turks came, and headmen were literally the head men of their tribe. This would seem to be confirmed by a document dated 1403 which cited Alexius Kastrati, as headman of the tribe of that name, in a list of Albanian chiefs who were rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Albanian tradition further alleges that the Turks aimed deliberately at weakening Albanian chieftains. So, on the one hand, Sultan Mahmut destroyed thirty-six kins, root and branch, and his son Mex[illegible] a further number. On the other hand, Sultan after Sultan appointed bajraktars, ostensibly as military leaders but really as pillars of Turkish rule. By recognizing their nominees as administrative heads as well as military leaders they reduced the old headmen to a subordinate position, and thereby lessened their chances of engineering a successful revolt. This policy would explain why some bajraktars were social as well as administrative and military leaders, and others were not. The former presumably descended from headmen who were complaisant enough to accept Turkish rule, and the latter from strong men of lower position in tribes where the headmen were recalcitrant. The Turks must have trusted that pleasure in their official rank, and the increased possibilities of money-making would keep the bajraktars quiet in their turn. Recognizing the hereditary character of the bajraktar was another shrewd step on their part. As the non-hereditary delis and spahis aged or died, a hiatus unfavourable to their rule might arise. When it was a case of 'the bajraktar is old or dead, long live the bajraktar', they never lacked an agent. When
662 King Zog, as Minister Ahmed Zogu, began to unify Albania he
701 saw the danger from the numerous bajraktars. Accustomed to lead
634 their tribes to war, unaccustomed to any restraint by a central authority, ignorant and untravelled for the most part and generally of autocratic temper, all of them might not have been willing to submit to the new government in Tirana. Methods of bringing them into line with or without their own wish had, therefore, to be devised. If one was willing to serve loyally, the government treated him as the Turks had long before treated a pliant headman. It made him an officer in the reserve, the modern equivalent of the ancient bajraktar, gave him the half-pay of his rank, and provided

1 Local military and administrative leaders--Analyst

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for his sons and nephews, granting them state scholarships on which to complete their education or military training abroad, and finding them employment as officials or officers when they came home. The most notable example of this 'pliant headman' type of bajraktar was Hakik Meta of Lurë, who was himself a captain and had several relatives who were officers in the Albanian army. If a bajraktar was likely to be recalcitrant, King Zog's government tried two methods. The first was a duplication of the system applied to the pliant headman type with reserve rank, half-pay and provision for relatives all included. Thus Gjon Markagjoni, the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë, who rebelled openly in 1921 against the central government, was rewarded for his subsequent submission by being made a lieutenant-colonel in the reserve. Cen Elezi of Dibër, whose father was killed in battle against King Zog's men in 1924, was later made a major. But fewer of the relatives of such men were educated at state expense, and the education given to those few was not so advanced—it seems to have been dangerous to put too much knowledge into their heads. And when they were ready for office they were kept in outlying unimportant districts, 'safe' areas.

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The second and far more important method employed by King Zog with possible recalcitrants was the Turks' very own. The usual favours of rank in the reserve, half-pay and the provision for dependants were bestowed on a number of tribesmen who had given proof in the past of their loyalty to the régime and were 'strong' enough in the military sense to combat the influence of the obstinate bajraktars. Captain Mark Miri of Gurrëzë, who was a counterpoise to the Gjetë Coku family of Breg i Matit as well as to the bajraktar, was one example of this type. So was Major Miftar Selmani of Lumë, who was supposed to balance his fellow-villager, Muharrem Bajraktar. The transfer of the administrative powers of the bajraktars to state officials completed their weakening. The unity and stability which characterized King Zog's Albania to an extent surprising in a Balkan country were the best commentary on the policy.

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CHAPTER XII

ELDERS

[671] It is impossible to understand the laws and customs of the Albanian
622 mountains without a knowledge of the varieties and responsibilities of the elders. A man could be an elder not only in the literal sense but as a legal personage. Seven types developed in sequence one from another among the southern tribes.

888 Everywhere the word for 'elder' is (sing.) *plak* (plur. *pleq*), which is pure Albanian and means literally 'old man'. There is a corresponding feminine (sing.) *plaka*, 'old woman'. In households of any size there might be several men and women who were really old in years and were 'elders' in the literal sense. These were the first type. The majority were ordinary people and had no legal importance.

592 The idea of age disappears with the second type, found in every household irrespective of its size. Here there were always one man and one woman who bore the special title of 'old man (or elder) of the house' and 'old woman (or elder) of the house'. These under their more usual Albanian titles of master of the household and mistress of the household were not necessarily elders in the sense of 'older people'. They might have attained their position when under forty and have found themselves in authority at that comparatively early age over older men and women.

613 The third category of elders appeared as soon as a household
596 split up and each brother or male cousin in it acquired his own house. Then, a 'brotherhood' (*vllazni*) was formed. In this community each new house was as much a separate entity as the parent one, and was no longer under the control of the master and mistress, the 'elders' of the old joint home. It had its own 'elders' of both sexes who managed all its affairs, external and internal. The 'old man' of the joint home, now administering a much smaller household, thus lost a proportionate share of his importance. But the new masters also lost some of theirs. So long as the family lived together any competent adult among them might deputise for the master in village or tribal affairs or in the administration of the communal home, but from the day they separated,

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

the old master reserved such business for himself and his sons, 613 leaving only their own concerns to the masters of the new houses 596 As he remained the eldest or the most capable of the brothers, his help and advice tended to be sought by the others, particularly in external business, and his opinion was more regarded by outsiders such as tribal or government authorities. So he developed into the 'old man (or elder) of the brotherhood'. As the generations passed and the houses of the original brotherhood split up in their turn, the dignity of brotherhood elder remained in his family, handed down inalienably from master to master. The term 'brotherhood elder' was little used, however; 'first (or head) of the brotherhood' was preferred. There was no woman elder of the brotherhood or any larger unit. The mistress of the household of a brotherhood elder had neither authority nor influence outside his house, as he had. She was a foreign importation into the brotherhood, a stranger to it in blood, her only duties being to bear her husband's children and to work in the house, her only rights proceeding from her fulfilment of those duties.

In course of time so many households split up that a number of new brotherhoods were formed. In some the sense of brotherhood or even cousinship with the others faded, and only a remoter feeling of kinship due to descent from a common ancestor persisted. The agglomeration of brotherhoods then constituted a 'kin' (*fis*). In this, the fourth type, each brotherhood retained its own elder, and at the same time looked up to the elder of the original brotherhood as leader, calling him 'elder of the kin' or 'head of the kin'.

In the next, fifth stage of development several kins united to form 621 a village. They might be distantly related to each other as in the 622 village of Vuksanaj in Shalë, or of quite different stock as in the village of Nangë in Lumë. If related, they remembered which kin descended from the eldest brother in the ancestral home and regarded the elder of that kin as the village elder. If not related, they selected one of the kin elders, preferably the head of the strongest kin, for that position. Alternative names for him were 'senior elder', 'senior headman' and 'head elder'. According to the usual pattern of development each kin and each brotherhood in the village retained its own elder. Already it is possible to understand such data as the following. In the tribe of Lurë there were twelve elders, two for each kin. In the village of Perlat there were two men called village elders or senior elders; in the last days

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

621 of Turkish rule these were the famous law-givers Dedë Lleshi and
622 Likë Gjegjaj. Again, when Per Dedë Ndoj was senior headman of the village of Gojan in Mirditë, he took the lead in publicly executing a man of his own kin, Buçaj, for murdering a guest who belonged to the Martinaj kin in the same village. The story is related by Father Gjeçov.

623 This fifth type[1] was the recognized superior of the sixth, the body of men who were unitedly called 'village elders'. These consisted of all the brotherhood and kin elders in the village as well as the [634] village elder himself. For instance, in the district of Kurbin there were sixteen villages, each of which had its 'head (or village) elder'. But according to a document published on p. 129 of Father Gjeçov's book[2] there were altogether forty-five elders in Kurbin. Besides the sixteen 'head elders' there were twenty-nine ordinary 'village elders', some of them kin elders and some brotherhood elders. In Mirditë these village elders were known as 'canon elders', because it was their business to see that the law was respected and applied. To avoid confusion between the single village elder and the body of village elders these will henceforth be alluded to as canon elders.

634 The document mentioned by Father Gjeçov introduces us to the seventh type, a personage styled 'chief elder'. In the document he was chief of the 'forty-five elders of the region of Krujë' (i.e. Kurbin). There is no explicit information of how his position came to this man or whether it was hereditary in his family. It can only be inferred that as he was a Përvizi of Skuraj, and this family led Kurbin, the position was hereditary and a tribute to the outstanding strength of his family. In so large an area as Kurbin there could not be any question of all the villages being related by blood and owning allegiance to Përvizi as the descendant, master after master, of the master of the ancestral household. In other districts where a chief elder existed, it may be assumed similarly that he owed his position to the personal qualities of his family rather than to its descent.

Some other kinds of elder were found, both among the southern tribes and elsewhere, but it will be easier to understand their position after the characteristics and functions which were common to the elders have been elucidated.

554 - Viewed as a human being, an elder was an ordinary man without privileges other than the corner seat, head of the roasted animal

[1] [of elder -- ie., the senior headman -- Analyst]
[2] [cf. cat. 116, pp. 12-15 - Analyst]

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and first cup of coffee, which were offered to any man of standing. 554
He lived in the same style as the rest of his social unit and was their equal in the eyes of the law. The latter point was clearer in the old days. If he were killed an ordinary blood feud ensued; if this was compounded, the price of his blood was no higher than an ordinary man's. If he killed someone, his life was forfeit in the usual manner to his victim's family. If he committed a crime against the community, he was liable to the usual punishments for such a crime and could be asked to give the community a rifle or other recognized article as security for his good behaviour in future. He had also the same social obligations as humbler tribesmen. These included serving in the tribal 'army', feeding the tribal 'youth', doing forced labour for the government, sharing communal labour for the village, and subscribing to public objects like buying an extra piece of communal pasturage or forest. He had also, like common men, to do military service and work annually without payment for a short period on the roads.

As a legal personage, however, an elder was on a higher footing 693
than ordinary tribesmen. If, for instance, a village elder were to 622
witness an oath in a case grave enough to require twenty-four 613
jurors, his single person counted as the twelve jurors who were left unspecified by the judging elder. Another elder did not count as high, for a village elder ranked higher than a kin elder, and the latter higher than a brotherhood elder. An elder's duties were twofold, administrative and legal. The former were an expansion of the master's, for he had to take the same fatherly care of his brotherhood, kin or village that a master took of his household and had to run it on much the same system. On the external side he had to present its case skilfully to higher authorities and defend it from oppression. Internally he must maintain law and order by checking the chief evils, assassination and damage to property. He had to try to nip quarrels in the bud by persuasive reasoning, arbitrate when they menaced and judge when they developed. He had to lend the weight of his presence not only to the giving of an oath but also to the bequeathing of a legacy to church or mosque, the planting of boundary stones, and (generally) the separation of brothers. The embodiment of the tribal law, he was at once advocate, judge and law-giver.

An elder's age and wealth did not matter to the ordinary 613
members of his social unit, who drew no invidious comparisons 554 622

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between him and themselves on those grounds. Provided he was correctly descended from the master of the ancestral household through a succession of what were conventionally called 'eldest' brothers, and were really the most competent, they accepted him as their elder as unquestioningly as the English nation accepts its king. Sometimes a new elder seemed unfit for his duties. Then the others took him with them when they went to work, and told him how his dead father judged or arbitrated: the most telling and least offensive method of training him.

When a dispute occurred it was the duty of the aggrieved party to inform his brotherhood elder first of all. When he did so and the matter was trifling and lay between two members of his brotherhood, this elder judged the case out of hand. If the disputants belonged to different brotherhoods, he consulted with the elder of the second brotherhood. When the case was graver he carried it to his kin elder, who might judge it straight away or carry it to the village elder. The village elder might in his turn pronounce judgement forthwith or call a General Assembly of the village in order to thrash the matter out in public and get a backing for any decision taken. Often the aggrieved party went straight to the village elder who was accessible to all tribesmen. In that event neither his kin nor his brotherhood had the right to resent the man's going over their heads. Moreover, the village elder's superiority was so well established that no resentment was likely to be felt. In no case was it lawful for an aggrieved man to seek advice from an elder in an outside village before he had consulted one of his own. If a kin elder or the brotherhood elders in the kin oppressed others in the village it was the duty of the village elder to repress them; and he had the right to summon the elders of the other kins in the village, if necessary, to his support. Article 10 in the Convention of Kurbin[1] betrays a strong feeling that there must be no shooting until the village elder has been informed of the dispute and given a chance to settle it by quieter means.

Elders could also act collectively. In the old days no new law could be passed, nor any judgement affecting their social unit be pronounced, unless they were present and gave their approval. When the bajraktar summoned a General Assembly for such important purposes as concluding a truce, trying a serious case or enacting new laws of tribal behaviour, their attendance was

[1] See Appendix, Document XI, p. 271.

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compulsory. Any who failed to attend and could not justify their 623
absence were fined. Together with the general public, they had to [695]
investigate complaints against a senior elder or a bajraktar, and if
they found him guilty, they had to fine or ostracize him. In their
attempts to prevent breaches of the peace they were entitled to try
any method from peaceful persuasion to forcible restraint by the
whole village. When, for instance, a tribesman refused to accept
a judgement that was demonstrably lawful and unbiased, they
could call a General Assembly to discuss the case. A public fine [681]
generally ended the man's obduracy. If not, the village elders could
ask all the headmen and 'soldiers' of the tribe to come and bring him
to his senses by threatening to destroy his house and property. They
continued to apply the old law, the public preferring these methods
to those of modern officials.

Canon elders were subordinate to the bajraktar and the voivodes 623
of their tribe, acting as their assistants at General Assemblies. 634

In non-tribal districts like Shpat and Martanesh the canon elders
of Mirditë were represented by a body of men called 'local elders'.
These were hereditary, found in every village and restricted in
their law-giving to their own village.

Another type were called 'specialist elders' in the southern 693
tribal areas, 'regional elders' or 'mountain elders' in Martanesh, 622
and plain 'elders' in Theth. The great majority owed nothing to 634
heredity and everything to themselves, being ordinary men who
had gradually built up a reputation for good sense, conciliatory
temper and especially knowledge of the mountain law. A few were
hereditary elders who had displayed the same qualities. Except in a
few unusual cases they did not hand on their gifts or their position.
As it required time to build up their reputation, the generality
were older than herditary elders when they attained this position.
They began by settling petty troubles within their brotherhood and
gradually as their reputation grew, they extended their sphere of
action to their kin, village and district in succession. A brotherhood
elder must not interfere in another brotherhood, a kin elder in
another kin or a 'local elder' of Martanesh in another village. But
the specialists might travel far and wide outside their own social
unit judging and arbitrating wherever required. Provided that they
judged according to the law, their judgements were binding and
overrode any delivered previously by a local man. As gifted men do
not arise at will, they were never common but were found only

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693 here and there. After the introduction of modern codes of justice
622 they had little chance to emerge.
634 Above all elders, in both Mirditë and the adjacent tribes, came the Gjomarkaj family. This family was regarded as the source of all knowledge of the mountain law and represented the final court of appeal. The villagers of Martanesh carried many of their graver troubles to its head, but at the same time had often a 'special elder' whom they consulted in such cases. Selim Peshku, who died about 1910, was the latest example. The tree under which he sat dispensing justice in Martanesh is still shown. In the north the bishop
[793] or a specially gifted priest was the ultimate referee. They were consulted not so much for their knowledge of the law but because of their reputation for probity.

623 Functionally the brotherhood elders of Mirditë were represented in the Malësi e Madhe by the 'ward elders', who ruled and judged in their own small community, the village ward in which they lived.
[651] They were more commonly called *gjobtarë* ('fine-collectors') from their primary function of collecting fines. As legal functionaries they resembled specialist elders rather than brotherhood elders because they were ordinary tribesmen and owed their position as elders, not to hereditary right, but to special appointment. They were selected, however, not by the public like the specialists, but by the local bajraktar or voivode. On taking up an appointment to judge or arbitrate they were known as 'soul elders', on account of the solemn phrases with which they were commissioned. The commissioning bajraktar or voivode first asked, 'Do you pledge your souls, elders, that it was so?' On receiving their assent he laid a stone on the ground before them, saying, 'With body and soul, with a stone in front of you and with God's justice set these two people straight in any way that you can see'. It goes without saying that only upright men were willing or were asked to accept a charge laden with such danger to their soul after death. These northern ward elders had no connexion with the ward elders of Godolesh near Elbasan, who were seven in number for the six wards (mëhallë), all subordinate to the paid non-hereditary headman and his two assistants.

695 Another functional type, which was most important for the repression of crime and was found everywhere, was constituted by 'juror elders'. When trying a case, the judging elders might decide to make one of the disputants take an oath that he was not guilty.

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Then, to guard against the man's forswearing himself they stipu- 695
lated that a certain number of men must swear at the same time to his innocence. These might or might not be more than men of standing and reputed probity. Whether or not, they were called 'juror elders' for the period covered by the oath.

A subsection of juror elders was known as 'murder elders'. Men [682]
of unusually high repute who never shot without cause or stole or burned a neighbour's property, but not necessarily drawn from the ranks of canon elders, these were qualified by their character for swearing to the innocence of a man accused of murder. This crime being the most serious of all, twenty-four of them had to be found on each occasion. As usual, half were nominated by the judging elders and half found by the accused. When the first half had given their oath the accused was virtually cleared and the oath he then gave was only a formality. In Lumë the more important 'murder elders' refused to waste time on giving their oath in cases of petty crime but always came forward in murder cases if they thought the accused innocent. The mere fact of their coming forward in a case sometimes ended it, the rest of the proceedings seeming farcical by comparison.

In the more organized north there were, besides the Gjomarkaj 619
family, recognized substitutes for elders. The Hereditary Captain of Mirditë represented the family which had ruled over the Alpine region of Orosh and its kindred of Dibër, Fan, Kushnen and Spaç for several hundred years and was said by some to be descended from the Albanian national hero, Skanderbeg. It had remained Catholic, and its long pedigree may be found in the church registers of Orosh. This family was the 'foundation of law'. Specially difficult cases in Mirditë were referred straight to its head for solution. Any case which three pairs of elders had failed to settle was taken to the chieftains of the subtribes and finally to the head of the Gjomarkaj family. Beyond this there was no appeal. Outsiders, even Mohammedan outsiders, were often glad to refer knotty problems to the family. In view of his exalted position the head had many legal rights. He took precedence in every assembly wherever and whenever met. He had the right to summon chieftains and populace to a General Assembly. Whenever necessary he could summon one man per family to a General Assembly in Shën Pal. At every trial or arbitration he could intervene. He had the right to uproot a family and expel it from Mirditë. He could

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619 even pass a sentence of death, for the 'quarters of the body are a matter for the tribes but the head belongs to Gjomarkaj', says the law. In virtue of these rights, if a village rebelled against the authorities of its tribe, word had to be sent to the Gjomarkaj family, which then summoned the other subtribes and led them against the insurgent villagers and reduced them to reason by fining some, banishing others and destroying others root and branch.

[671] But there were limitations to the head's power. Laws made in concert for themselves by the elders and commonalty of a village about such matters as instigation to crime, breaking one's pledged word, murder and robbery could not be upset by either the tribal authorities or the Gjomarkaj[1] family, provided that these new laws were not innovations contrary to the spirit of the ancient law of the mountains.

1 [the leading family in the region of Orosh, Dibër, Fan, Kushnen and Spaç for several hundred years--Analy

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CHAPTER XIII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

It was the law that every injustice done by Albanian to Albanian 692
must be righted by means of elders and pledges, not by killing. This was crystallized in the adage, 'Killing for a fault is not permissible'. If, for instance, a man caught his neighbour stealing his sheep he had no right to kill him. He should bring him before an elder who would set the proper legal machinery in motion against him, even sending him if necessary before a General Assembly.

Associated with the elders in the administration of justice were 693
the bajraktar and voivodes with, in Mirditë, the Gjomarkaj family. They were not judges in the Western European sense of public officers appointed to administer the law. They were men who judged by right of birth or weighty personality within their native area and they were permanent officers, irremovable so long as their physical powers lasted. They were always illiterate, trained only in the school of experience; practical men and not theorists. It was their special function to preserve the peace in their area by wise and just judging. They were in the literal sense of the words Justices of the Peace. But they could only interpret and apply the law. To make it was the prerogative of a General Assembly of the [634]
tribe.

As administrators elders received no fees, nor did they receive any when serving as juror or murder elders. But they were almost invariably paid for judging or arbitrating. In the Dibër area their fee was simply called 'pay', but it was camouflaged as 'sandals' in the north and Mirditë, and as 'coffee' in the south. In north Albania, where the formula was 'fee by the jobs', the fee was fixed and varied with the case. In Lumë, for instance, it was six Turkish pounds in a murder case and a watch worth one napoleon in a water dispute. In Mirditë it was five grosh for a case slight enough to finish in one morning and ten grosh for more serious cases in which the elder, stone on shoulder, had to give his oath. Ten grosh was the canonical fee in Kastrat after the Convention of 1892.[1] In Perlat the fee was adjusted to the client's means, an oke

[1] See Appendix, Document V, § 17, p. 264.

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693 of coffee if he were poor, a sheep if he were rich. Farther south, the fee varied with the elder's importance and the bargain he made beforehand. In Martanesh it was ordinarily one Turkish pound, but Selim Peshku accepted this only in easy cases; he asked, and was gladly given, three or even five in more complicated cases. Cen Elezi of Dibër asked in 1938 twelve napoleons from each of two cousins who were quarrelling about a boundary. Two elders employed in a dispute were usually paid alike, each disputant paying half the total. But when each disputant bargained separately with his elder, one elder might be paid more than the other. Even where fees were conventionally fixed as in Lumë, an elder often bargained for a larger one. An elder who came from a distance was naturally paid more, as he had to spend at least one night and two days away from home. An average fee in Shkrel for such cases was one napoleon, whereas for cases near at hand it was a silver Turkish dollar in Turkish times or 10–20 koronë in 1932. Almost always an elder was given a sheep in addition; 'an elder without a sheep doesn't do', it was said. Elders could not exact prepayment; it was evidently felt by the old law-givers that if prepaid they might be tempted to default on the work. At the same time they had to be protected from the litigant who tried to default on their fee. A litigant had, therefore, to deposit a rifle or a silver watch or a silver tobacco box or the like at the outset of the case as a pledge that he would pay the fee at the end of the case. Judgement pronounced, he paid the fee and was given back his pledge. Because of this arrangement elders were called 'pledge elders' when they undertook work involving a fee.

693 In addition to his fee and sheep an elder also expected at least [574] one meal for himself and his party. It had to be of the highest [262] class, with meat and rice pilaff, and the meat had to be goat, ewe or ram, more rarely beef and never that inferior thing, chicken. When the elder's party was small, the sheep-breeders of the north gave *mazë*, a delicious dish compounded of butter, cheese and maize flour. In Kosovë the meal was generally taken from the richer disputant so as to save the poorer litigant expense, or from the one who had insisted on calling in elders. In Martanesh it was taken from the one who had caused the trouble. In Shalë, on the contrary, each elder ate at his own client's expense except in road cases, where both elders and their suites ate at the expense of the litigant in fault. In Zerqan, if the case dragged on so long that the

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elders required two meals, each disputant had to provide one; if 693 the case was shorter and only one meal was required, the two disputants halved the expense and both sat down at the table with the elders, not always with too good a grace on the loser's part. If dinner-time found the party up on the mountain, far away from either disputant's house, the food had to be sent up to them there. If supper-time found the party still at work or only just finished, they all ate and slept in the house of one disputant. The expenses of feeding the elders and their party had, despite its burden, to be faced by the poorest man when wronged, for without an elder's intervention he would be trampled on by his fellows. The thought of its cost sometimes acted as a deterrent to the litigiously minded.

Litigants themselves chose the elder who was to judge between 694 them, much as Englishmen choose their lawyer. In non-tribal areas litigants were completely free to select whichever elder they trusted most, irrespective of where he lived. In tribal areas they were obliged to choose one from their own village, at least to begin with. It is obvious that such an elder was likely to have some independent knowledge of the case and its rights and wrongs. In Mirditë and Kthellë a litigant who insisted on going outside his own village had to engage the bajraktar or a voivode of his tribe, not a smaller man, and must not go outside his tribe. The higher fee required by the bajraktar and voivode was usually enough to make the man stick to his own village. If a quarrel was not bitter, the two parties often agreed to entrust the case to a single elder and to divide the cost of his fee and meals. They then said to each other, 'Whom shall we have?' and mentioned various names. After debating—usually at some length—the merits of the owners of the names they fixed on one. Each then asked the other ceremoniously, 'Have you confidence in this elder?' 'I have', the other replied. Great importance was attached to this unanimity; it made the elder's decision more binding on both disputants, procuring in fact judgement by consent.

The preliminaries over, the two litigants contacted the elder, generally by going to his house, and told him their trouble. 'Are you willing to leave it to me?' he would ask. On their consenting formally to do so he stated his fee. This depended in Mirditë on the importance of the case and elsewhere on the importance of the elder, the distance he had to travel, and the astuteness of the litigants. In Martanesh a gold Turkish pound was commonly

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694 paid, for which reason both elders and litigants thought bargaining about it superfluous.

The litigants having formally consented to pay his fee, the elder next asked each of them to bring him a pledge. This served a threefold purpose. Once given, it could not be taken back till the case was settled and the fee paid. The litigants might repent of going to law or of engaging this particular elder, but unless they forfeited their pledges, they could neither stop the case nor change the elder. The pledge was, secondly, the elder's security for payment of his fee. As soon as he had delivered judgement he was entitled to his fee, and until it was paid he was entitled to retain the litigant's pledge. Occasionally in Zerqan an elder trusted a client enough to dispense with a pledge, and some in Martanesh asked only a token one, such as a cigarette, thus paying the integrity of their clients a high compliment. The normal pledge was of greater value than the fee, or share of the fee, payable by each litigant. Since pledges had been instituted in days so distant that money was hardly—if at all—known, a material article such as a gun, a revolver, a watch or a silver tobacco-box was generally handed over. It was for the elder to choose which it should be.

696 In Mirditë the article deposited was known as the 'pledge of
626 acceptance or agreement', because its third purpose was to bind the litigants to accept the elder's decision. If one was refractory the elder had the right to retain his pledge. In a certain boundary case Cen Elezi of Dibër, having stipulated for a fee of twelve napoleons from each litigant, asked each to bring his tobacco-box as a pledge. As his son put it, this did not nearly cover his fee but was rather a preliminary 'symbol of acceptance' of his decision. Indiscipline in such matters naturally weakened the social fabric by destroying one of its most unifying factors, the authority of elders. Various steps were taken to reinforce decisions. Selim Peshku of Martanesh charged fees that ranged from five gold Turkish pounds to one, but he never took up a case until the larger sum had been deposited in pledge of submission to his judgement, and in case of recalcitrancy he showed no scruples about pocketing the pledge money. The disparity between his lowest fee and his unvarying pledge shows that he was trying, not so much to safeguard his own fee, as to maintain social discipline. Mirditë sought the same end by enacting that a judgement delivered without pledge being taken was invalid before the law and that a verbal

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pledge was valueless; something concrete and tangible must be given. 696 626

The pledges deposited, the elder set to work on the case in earnest, questioning any villager who had information, visiting the scene of trouble, interviewing any private informant who volunteered to give evidence, and so arriving at the rights and wrongs of the simpler cases. In more difficult cases he put one of the litigants to the oath, dictating his terms and stipulating the number of 'good men and true' who were to be persuaded by the litigant to take it with him. This rarely failed to show which litigant was in the wrong, and the elder came forthwith to his decision with confidence. 695

When the litigants were friendly, they might agree to engage two elders. In that case they selected them one after the other by the same method of mutual consent as they would have selected one. They also agreed to divide the cost in elders' fees and meals. That done, they laid the case before the elders, one after the other, and bargained with each about his fee and the number of meals he was to be given. These rewards were not necessarily the same for both elders. Sometimes they visited the elders together; more often each visited one only. In the usual way each was required to deposit a pledge with the elders. 694

When the litigants were not friendly, and this was the most common contingency, each found an elder for himself, without consulting the other or considering his views on the man. Each brought his own elder whatever pledge he desired; this meant that one litigant might have to deposit a gun and the other a tobacco-box. Each also bore the sole responsibility for his elder's fee and meals and made for himself the best bargain about them that he could.

A pair of elders worked on these same lines; singly perhaps during the period of investigation, certainly meeting at its conclusion to argue out the pros and cons of the case. If each represented a separate litigant, each tended to favour his own client, so introducing a new principle. The elder was no longer only a judge as he was when he was engaged by the two litigants; he was also the advocate of his own litigant, trying to do the best for him by arguing against the advocate of the other litigant. The loser was more likely to contest the decision under such circumstances. 695

When the two elders had hammered out an agreement they sent for the two disputants, said they had come to an agreement, and

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asked if they were willing to accept this. In the most fortunate event the disputants consented and the elders communicated their decision. Each then said to his own man, 'Now bring me my dues and I'll return your pledge'. As soon as his fee was paid he gave back his pledge to his client. If the disputant had no ready money for the fee, a common enough occurrence, he said he would wait a month or two, provided that the disputant could find someone to go bail for him. When the term he had fixed was up without bringing payment of his fee, he sold the pledge and so recouped himself. If he got rather more for the pledge than the amount of his fee the disputant had no right to claim the extra money. The elder never sold the pledge before the date he had fixed. If within the term he fixed the disputant found enough money for his fee, he was no longer allowed to pay it directly but had to transmit it through his guarantor, who in return brought back his pledge from the elder. Sometimes the guarantor saw that the disputant would never be able to redeem his pledge and paid the elder's fee for him. Unfortunately, elders had no power behind them with which to enforce their judgement. Their work was in fact arbitration rather than judging in the English sense. It was, therefore, common for elders in central Albania to communicate their findings to the disputants and then to add, 'Now settle the matter as you like. We have decided that this one of you is in the right.' Too often the loser shot his successful rival, so starting a bad blood feud. Pjetër Gjoni of Theth had his house burgled, and the thief bribed the elders into putting too low a value on the stolen property, assessing it at two napoleons. Pjetër, who had already spent one napoleon on finding out who had been the thief, declared immediately that he would not abide by this judgement and killed the thief. In revenge the thief's family burned down Pjetër's house and carried off all his cattle.

Naturally many attempts were made to prevent such sequels to judgements. In Martanesh, Selim Peshku kept the pledges of both disputants for a time. This was against the rules, but Peshku had the peace of the community at heart and made 'anything for peace' his motto. In Zerqan all the elders in the village would meet and would fine a recusant before he could shoot the successful litigant. Sometimes in the same village the two elders refused to deliver judgement until the disputants had promised to abide by it and had each found a guarantor who undertook to see that they kept their

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promise—if they did, there would be no shooting. Each had to give 696
this guarantor a pledge of the usual type—rifle, revolver, watch—
which was laid before the elders. The elders then delivered their
judgement, the two disputants accepted it and had their pledges
returned. If a disputant broke his promise and shot his rival, the
village Council of Elders would fine the guarantor, asking him why
he had let the man break his word. In this way, through the medium [620]
of the guarantor a good deal of pressure was brought to bear on the
loser to make him keep the peace. In the Elbasan area it was agreed [574]
that a disputant who gave a meal to the elders thereby accepted
their judgement, so that the strong instincts of hospitality came
into play. In Mirditë the elders whose decision was flouted 695
bade the disputants 'go to Shupal (St Paul's Church) or the
Grykë e Oroshit (Defile of Orosh)', i.e. bring the matter up before
the next General Assembly for the tribe at one or other of these
famous meeting-places. If the loser would not abide by the decision
of the General Assembly he could be fined by the tribe, ostracized
or even banished for a period. Occasionally a strong man sub-
jected to such sanctions killed the offending elder; by so doing he
involved himself in yet another blood feud. In Mirditë and adjacent
areas emphasis was laid on the fact that the recusant loser had
himself chosen and approved the offending elder, and had signified
the same by giving him a pledge. By these acts he had stripped
himself of the right to take back the pledge or to express active
disapproval of the judgement given. Only in the event of the
judgement's being demonstrably biased or unfair were the dis-
putants allowed to challenge it. 'A crooked judgement can be
annulled', the law stated. Often the crookedness was established
by the loser going secretly to ask another elder for his opinion. In
that event the disputant had everywhere the right to appeal against
the judgement and to call for a new examination of the case by
another elder or pair of elders. In some parts, the law ruled that
'the law does not admit of elder on elder, and trial on trial', and
that a man who had 'chosen and approved' elders had no right to
call in others.

Frivolous changing of elders was restrained by the extra expense 693
this entailed. In Lumë, for instance, if two brothers were dis-
pleased by the manner in which their chosen elders were dividing
their property, they could call in one more elder, a *staraplak*
(ancient), whose decision was final. But his regulation fee was five

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693 napoleons. In cases other than those of division of property he received only two napoleons. He took over the two pledges from the original elders, and as these were redeemed from him at a price by the two disputants, the first pair lost their time and trouble and received nothing. If a disputant in Martanesh was disgruntled he could call in a regional elder, but he had to pay, not only the fee of the elder whose judgement he questioned, but also that of the regional elder. One of Selim Peshku's devices for making a recalcitrant litigant keep the peace was to bid him bring another elder and he, Selim, would pay the fee as well as return the litigant's pledge. The man, knowing no elder would reverse a decision by Selim Peshku and somewhat stunned by the latter's generous offers, invariably submitted.

[694] Another check on frivolous lawsuits was the arrangement under which the litigants were not allowed to tell their stories to the second pair of elders. These were briefed by the first pair, apart from the litigants, who were also required to stay with their comrades among the general public while the new elders argued out the case. There was, in theory at least, no possibility of the new elders being 'got at'. In Mirditë, the head and fount of the law, rules were more stringent. The disputants were not allowed to choose the second pair of elders; this was done by the first pair. They had also to hand over to the second pair the pledges they had taken from the disputants. If the second pair found the first pair's judgements sound, the disputants had to pay a fee to both the first and the second pairs. If, however, they found the first pair's judgement unsound, they, by this time the holders of the pledges of the litigants, were paid their fees by the first pair, who in addition got no fee at all for their previous trouble. A third pair of elders might be chosen in Mirditë but no more. After that it was a matter for the expensive chieftains or the Gjomarkaj family to settle. In Kurbin, too, it was the rule that when elders failed to come to an agreement, it was they and not the litigants who chose the second pair. In disputes about water, land, boundaries and the like up to sixteen elders might be chosen, two by two. If any pair came to an agreement, their predecessors and the litigants had to accept their decision. Each of the successful pair received a napoleon as his fee; the unsuccessful elders received nothing. When the sixteen possibilities within the tribe had been exhausted without result, elders were called in from an outside tribe, naturally

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at an enhanced fee. These outside elders were generally taken from old, important tribes like Mirditë, Beshkash, Kthellë and Lesh, or from Krujë town. 693

Here then we have the working basis of their judgements. The elder or elders originally judging the case had an interest in settling the matter because they received a fee for their judgement. They had a further interest in settling it quickly because their fee was fixed at the outset, and by contrast with lawyers in a western law court they received no more if the case dragged on. Delay over one case also entailed a risk of being unable to undertake other cases that might arise. They had an interest in not splitting hairs with each other, for that might preclude their coming to an agreement and cause their supersession by others, with consequent loss of fees. They had an interest in not giving a crooked judgement because that might lawfully be upset, again causing them to lose their fees. They had, lastly, an interest in not taking bribes, for an elder who was detected in that was detected only once; he was never again asked to be an elder.

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CHAPTER XIV

GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

619 Turkish suzerainty affected the life of the remoter areas so little that each tribe, and in non-tribal areas each region, was virtually a self-governing unit. The governing bodies in tribal areas were the General Assemblies and the Partial Assemblies. In Turkish times these meetings were often called *mexhlis* (from Arabic '*majlis*' meaning council, assembly, parliament). *Kuvend* is the Latin '*conventio*' (gathering) in Albanian dress. In non-tribal areas regional or village assemblies corresponded to the general and partial assemblies of the tribes.

The General Assembly was usually a tribal gathering, but the word *Kuvend* was used by the Albanians to indicate the national parliament during the German occupation in 1943–4 when Albanian nationalism expressed itself in rejecting the use of words of foreign origin.

In the fifteenth century there was a *Kuvend* of great historical importance when the men of the region of north Albania met to hear Lek Dukagjini, the lord of the extreme north, debate points of law with Skanderbeg, the lord of north central Albania.

[L34] Tribal assemblies brought together one or more tribes. These were plenary, attended by the whole tribe (or region) on the basis of 'one man from each house'. They were convened and presided over by the highest authority available. This was the bajraktar in most tribes, but one of the Gjomarkaj family or a bajraktar in Mirditë. In Dibër, Mat and Kurbin it was the head of the leading family, and in Çermenikë the regional elder. Miss Durham found the president elected in Theth, and stated that this innovation was spreading. Where a General Assembly of two or more tribes took place the meeting resulted from a conference of the chief men of each tribe, convened by the highest dignitary in each tribe and presided over by the highest of these high dignitaries.

613 623 Partial Assemblies too were plenary and were convened and presided over by the head of the unit concerned. The more important were formed by a village or a kin. In a document preserved for

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us by Father Gjeçov,[1] the last clause announces that though the Pecnikaj kin of Shalë laid down the law enunciated in clause 2, it had the support of the Lotaj, Abati (Abat) and Bobi (Bob) kins in doing so. Its first and its fourth clauses consider the adhesion of the brotherhood of Theth as well. Occasionally there was a partial meeting of a brotherhood, and at the bottom of the scale there were household meetings at which the master set some common problem before all the men in the family.

Generally speaking, assemblies of all types took place at irregular intervals, to meet some special need, though the demand that they should be called regularly once a year was not unknown.[2]

When a kin or smaller meeting was in question, the convener sent anyone he could find to call it. Bigger meetings were summoned by word of mouth by the public messenger. In Mat a gipsy beat out the summons on his drum and in Shpat church bells were rung.

Attendance at a plenary meeting was compulsory, non-attendance punishable by a fine. For instance, an elder of Kurbin who failed to turn up and could not satisfy the other elders that his absence was justified was fined five rams. An ordinary tribesman in the same area was fined one ram and in Kastrat 250 piastres. The strength and solidarity of the tribes were closely connected with the plenary character of their assemblies.

Most public meetings took place in the open air, as church houses were usually too small and schoolrooms and village halls did not exist. Meeting places had to be central and free from cultivation, rock, scrub and forest so as to provide adequate seating space In Catholic areas the yard of the church was commonly used for General Assemblies and in Moslem areas that of the mosque. Assemblies of a village or kin could be held in the most central of the smaller clearings of the area, and a house was big enough for a brotherhood or household assembly.

Some meeting-places were specially famous. At Lesh, a thriving seaport at the mouth of the river Drin, and not the malarial inland townlet into which it has been converted by the advance of the Drin towards Italy, Lek Dukagjini and Skanderbeg met by preference, as it was centrally situated for both their domains. The place of meeting was probably the grassy sward near the ruined church on the right bank of the Drin, opposite the modern town.

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 272

[2] See Appendix, Document V, § 16, p. 264.

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623 In Lower Martanesh Selim Lashku dispensed justice to the village of Martanesh under a branching tree by the *Gur i Kuvendit* (Stone of Assembly). At the spring called Gurrë Gega, which is at the confluence of the Shëmil and Gurakuq torrents in Çermenikë, he used to meet his famous contemporary of Gurakuq village, Mus Ballgjini, at plenary meetings of the twelve villages of Çermenikë. A list of the usual meeting-places of his day is to be found in Father Gjeçov's book.

The convener fixed the time and place of meeting. The favourite time was the early morning, as this left the whole day free for arguing.

634 619 The bajraktar presided over the General Assembly and sat cross-legged on the ground in the most honourable place. Near him sat other dignitaries—voivodes, village elders, clan elders, village ancients and clan ancients in due order of social precedence. Facing them and well apart sat the rest of the tribe, the youth, the commoners, the public messengers and the fine-collectors (*gjobtarë*), in a half-circle in Mirditë, and elsewhere in a roughly shaped rectangle or circle. The essential thing was that each man present should see and be seen by everybody else, and should have room to advance, if required, to the dignitaries. Since neither youth nor voivodes and fine-collectors existed in southerly districts like Martanesh, General Assemblies there consisted only of the bajraktar, elders, commoners, and public messengers.

[695] Every effort was made to keep a meeting orderly. When a presiding dignitary, a judging elder or a witness was speaking no interruption was allowed. Insulting remarks and abuse were prohibited under pain of a fine that might amount to as many as five rams. Calling another a liar meant a fine of 500 piastres. For the better observance of these rules when a case was being tried, the disputants were not allowed to address the court. Each had to go some distance away with his elder in order to tell him his story quietly, and had to return to his place at the meeting to await judgement in silence. The elders drew apart from the meeting after their briefing, argued the case out with each other, and returned to the meeting to announce their decision in the hearing of all present. In this way only two or three men talked, the rest sat quiet and listened. In Mirditë a stranger might not take part in a general meeting, but in Lumë and Çermenikë, in the belief that a stranger could have 'nothing in his bosom or his pocket', that

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is to say, no interested motive for his opinion, he was actually 634 encouraged to express his views. Among the Catholics of the far 618 north the priest was permitted to speak, as though he were one of [793] the tribesmen, but his views did not necessarily prevail.

It was unthinkable, of course, that the tribesmen should come without their arms in view of possible dangers on the way. So the law said explicitly that they might bring them. But as soon as they took their places cross-legged on the ground they had to lay their guns on the grass in front of them or on their laps and had to keep them so until the meeting ended. The Catholics sometimes let the priest coax them into depositing their arms in the church house for the duration of the meeting. If anyone raised his gun in anger, [627] it was promptly taken from him by his neighbours. If anyone fired his gun the rest of the meeting immediately formed itself into a firing squad and killed him, and then went in a body to his house and burned it down. Even at the smallest meeting there were four [623] or five important men present who kept a sharp look-out ready to prevent trouble. The priests too kept good watch, and a Franciscan found in Theth by Miss Durham in 1908 told the following story: 'We nearly had a row at the *mexhlis*[1] a little while ago....I heard a fearful noise and as I ran out a lot of them got up into a bunch like bees and raised their rifles. They were just going to fire. They would not listen to me. I rushed into the church and rang the bell as hard as I could. It had a splendid effect. As soon as they heard the bell, from habit they all shoved their pistols into their belts and took their guns in their left hands and began to cross themselves. No one knew what had happened. They poured into the church to see. By the time we came out again...they were quieted.'

Proceedings usually began with a statement by the president that the tribe had assembled to consider certain matters in the manner required by God and the canon, that is to say, with justice [671] and without innovations or departures from the established law. Great importance was attached to the latter point. The decisions of specialist elders were accepted only on condition that they conformed to the accepted law and did not constitute innovations. This proviso was thought unnecessary in the case of elders who had been bred to the law as the specialists had not, and were therefore trusted to stick to it. This conservatism maintained the strength of the law, the main factor in keeping the tribe together.

[1] General Assembly.

[i.e., at General Assembly meetings -- Analyst]

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682 The following story told by Miss Durham[1] throws light upon
628 the mind of a tribe on this point: ½

In the spring of 1908 a tribesman of Gjan, quarrelling with a tribesman of neighbouring Shosh, snatched a firebrand from the hearth and flung it in his face. It would have been bad enough to kill the man of Shosh, but it was worse to insult him with such a blow. The Gjan man, fearing the wrath to come, fled with all speed. The Shosh man was so enraged that, unable to catch the actual culprit and clear his honour by shooting him, he went to Gjan and shot 'an unhappy little boy, unarmed and but eight years old'...'whose only crime was that he belonged to the same tribe as the offender'....'Gjan was filled with rage. That Shosh had the right to take blood of any man of the tribe they freely admitted, but to kill a child was dishonourable.' On the following Whit Sunday a General Assembly of Shosh met to debate the case. 'Shosh was violently indignant over the affair and public opinion ran so high that the murderer had not dared to remain in the tribe but had fled. The *Mexhlis* now was held to decide whether his house should be burnt as punishment. Many were in favour of this. The difficulty was that there was no law under which this could be done. The blood had been taken *outside* the tribe; it was therefore not a crime against the tribe and not punishable by it. The duty of vengeance lay with the dead boy's family. All agreed that if they liked to come and fire the house Shosh would not oppose it. But as the near relatives were a crippled father and a child they were incapable of executing justice in the face of the opposition which would certainly be put up by the murderer's family. The question caused great excitement. The burning of the house would entail passing a new law to punish a man for a crime against another tribe. This would mean an entire reconstruction of the code and nothing less than considering themselves as a nation, and not as detached tribes.' Miss Durham asked 'whether it were not possible at least to pass a law to punish any man killing a child not of age to bear arms'. It was pointed out that if Shosh did so and neighbour tribes did not, Shosh would be at a disadvantage....The question was discussed for two days, and was undecided when Miss Durham left.

793 Proceedings at a General Assembly terminated in Catholic areas
212 with the drawing up of minutes by the priest, the only man present

½ [i.e. ~~a ban~~ on introducing innovations in tribal law --Analyst]

[1] See *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 165.

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who could write. Though strictly speaking a stranger, he was 773
expected by every tribe, Mirditë included, to attend all its meetings 212
and to act as clerk. Sometimes each man present, sometimes only 634
the president, appended his mark, generally a Turkish seal, to the
document. The priest signed as witness, added the date and place, [217]
and placed it in the church archives for safe keeping and future
reference.

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CHAPTER XV

ASSEMBLIES AND THEIR WORK

623 634 619 Assemblies sometimes dealt with internal matters such as criminal trials, formulation of laws, local administration, and sometimes with the external relations of the community. Internal affairs were dealt with, according to their gravity, by the tribe, village or kin, but a plenary assembly had to be called to consider foreign affairs.

619 619 During the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century the northern tribes of Albania were singly or collectively in constant opposition to Turkish sovereignty, and plenary assemblies were summoned by tribes whenever they planned to break out into open revolt. Earlier in 1855 and 1862 there had been attacks on the Montenegrins by the Mirditë, which had followed on plenary assemblies of the Mirditë tribes.

In 1881 the Albanians of Kosovë formed the League of Prizren in order to struggle more effectively for independence of Turkey. [631] All over Kosovë and what afterwards became the kingdom of Albania plenary meetings were held by tribes, and, where these did not exist as in south Albania, by districts, to decide on whether to join this League or not. Again in 1908, as Miss Durham relates,[1] the northern tribes held plenary meetings about accepting the new [721] Turkish constitution. The Albanian attack on the Turkish garrisons in Skoplje and adjacent towns, that began the Balkan war of 1912, was prefaced by general assemblies of every tribe in Kosovë and north Albania. In the summer of 1914, when Esad Pashë Toptani revolted against Prince William of Wied, then *Mbret* (king) of Albania, his supporters raised central Albania in his favour by carrying the Koran in one hand and a crucifix in the other to plenary meetings of the villages and bidding the Assembly, generally consisting of Moslems only, choose between the Moslem Esad and the Christian 'Mbret'. In 1942 a plenary meeting of all Mat was convened by the subprefect of Mat in the hope of enforcing obedience to the Italian government of the day. The decisions reached at the meeting were embodied in a document

[1] *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 120, n. 1.

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published in the Albanian newspaper *Tomori* on 7 November 1942,[1] 619
a curious mixture of Fascist ideology and ancient mountain law. [669]
But the decisions were honoured only in the breach. A few months later, many hundreds of families represented at the meeting were homeless, victims of Italian reprisals for their persistent revolts.

Sometimes a tribe met in plenary session to deal with inter- 619
tribal matters. It might have quarrelled with a neighbour over 692
a grazing or forest boundary between their territories, or the neighbour might be harbouring one of its dangerous criminals. In either case the tribe had to meet in plenary session, first of all to discover by public argument the best way of enforcing its boundary rights or procuring the surrender of the criminal, and secondly to secure public sanction for the steps it decided on. These might even include war. Miss Durham describes a General Assembly of Shalë which she witnessed in 1908.[2] The Moslem tribes to the [721]
north and east, surreptitiously armed by the Turkish government, had threatened to massacre Shalë and its Catholic associates if they did not embrace Islam by the next Ramazan. Shalë met in General Assembly, and amid scenes of wild enthusiasm passed a resolution to warn its Moslem neighbours that within seven days of their receiving notice Shalë and its fellow-Catholics would be at war with them.

Sometimes a pair of tribes met in plenary assembly for mutual 619
aid. Several examples of contracts made on such occasions are given by Father Gjeçov; translations of three appear as Documents IV, VII and VIII.[3] In the first the tribes of Nikaj and Mertur pledge the safety of man and beast at certain times of the year. The second is between the tribes of Nikaj and Shalë in 1894, and the third, dated 1895, is between Nikaj and Curraj, a 'brotherhood' of Nikaj. In these latter, each contracting party guarantees [486]
the safety of the other's tribesmen when travelling along certain specified roads in its territory; in the first Shalë's guarantee is extended to tribesmen of Shosh, its western neighbour, and Nikaj's guarantee to tribesmen of Mertur, its eastern neighbour. In this way they facilitated a considerable amount of movement from tribe to tribe. Such documents were really an early form of passport, allowing the tribesmen of one tribe 'to pass freely without let or hindrance' in the territory of the other.

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, p. 272.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 71, 72. [3] See Appendix, pp. 263, 265, 267.

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721 Like tribes, villages sometimes met together to try to agree
623 about matters of common interest. Villages often quarrelled over
685 irrigation water, and a forest or pasture boundary. They quarrelled even oftener perhaps because the tracks of stolen animals led from one to the other; cattle-lifting and sheep-stealing were common. The most satisfactory way of dealing with troubles was for the two villages to meet in full assembly. After thrashing the matter out in public they generally reached a settlement, failing which they could only go to war. In the early years of the twentieth century cattle thieving was listed as one of the thirteen most important matters brought before General Assemblies in Martanesh. In 1942 it was still so active a disturber of the public peace that the pro-Fascist subprefect of Mat legislated for it among the questions which were the real occasion of his calling together the 5000 families of Mat.[1]

671 Law-giving was also an important function of General Assem-
619 blies. This activity came to an end with centralization and western
634 legal codes, and its nature can be studied in the documents quoted by Father Gjeçov and reproduced as an appendix to this book, pp. 261 sqq. These documents show the variety of matters with which the law-giving of the Assembly was concerned. For instance, Document I, coming from Malësi e Madhe and dated 1864, is wholly devoted to such subjects as betrothal, bride-price, divorce and abduction or elopement. Document XI, which comes from Kurbin in 1906, is much occupied with stealing and with tightening up the social fabric by making attendance at General Assemblies imperative and the authority of elders supreme. With the proclamation of Albanian independence of Turkey only six years ahead, it contains an interesting political note; no Kurbin man is to become a gendarme in Turkish service or to give one food and shelter; and no Moslem of Kurbin is to curry favour with the Turkish authorities by denouncing a Christian fellow-tribesman. Document XIII, which comes from Mat in 1942, is also dated by its politics enjoining support of the Italian régime in Albania.

671 In the midst of the variety of subjects in the documents, crimes
674 against life and property are continually appearing as the fundamental threats to the security of the community. A study of the documents shows them as reaffirming and modifying old and recognized laws, rather than formulating new ones. Assemblies

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, § 4, p. 273.

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were called together to deal with specific problems and their findings emphasize aspects of the law relevant to these problems. The agenda of the assemblies therefore, reveal a good deal of social history. For example, in Document III from Kastrat dated 1891, six of its eleven provisions deal with the use of mills, fountains and springs. Document V, also from Kastrat dated 1892, restates what must have been established law about the constant threat of murder and theft, but it also includes provision for dealing with the owner of a dog entering a field or vineyard without a wooden collar, and the person who washes clothes at the place where the district gets its water.

In 1894 again Kastrat decrees penalties against the man who takes a woman to live with him without marrying her; against anyone tearing his face in mourning for the dead; against persons obstructing chiefs and fine-collectors in carrying out the tribal law.

The documents from Nikaj and Shalë also throw light on the social order to which they refer and its special problems at the time of their formulation. Document VII, dated 1894, is concerned mainly with safety from attack on the roads and the 'pledge of safety' for certain classes of people—mowers and reapers, shooters, women, etc. It was found necessary to reiterate many of the same provisions with the penalties attached to their breach in the following year in Document VIII.

A letter from Shalë to Theth, dated 1907 (XII), asks that the latter shall subscribe to a number of rules about murder and the position of the murderer laid down by Shalë, and after discussing this important subject, states that the rules are under the authority of the Youth.

Document XI (1906) is particularly interesting from an historical point of view, as it combines concern with the usual domestic issue of stealing with anxiety about the machinery of government, and reflects the opposition of the tribe to the Turkish sovereign. There are clauses about non-attendance at General Assemblies and about the use of elders to settle disputes. Heavy penalties are laid down for men joining the Turkish government police, complaining to the government about a Christian, or for anyone giving food or entry to his house to any policeman whether Christian or Mohammedan.

The most recent of the documents (XIII) is the so-called Covenant of Mat which appeared in the Albanian newspaper

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671 *Tomori* on 7 November 1942. The greater part of this document deals with an entirely new situation and the methods by which the people of Mat undertake to adapt themselves to it. But even in this document there appears the familiar restatement of old laws against the familiar crimes of murder, theft and the abduction of women.

681 Differences in the penalties laid down for the same offence may possibly point to social and economic differences among the tribes. For example, in Nikaj, Shalë and Curraj (Documents VII and VIII) a defaulting debtor is to be deprived of civil rights and may be killed or robbed unless he meets his obligations. In Kastrat (V) he is fined twenty-three grosh as a defaulter, but much more heavily fined if his sureties have to pay his debt. Nikaj was a poorer area than Kastrat, and that fact may explain to some extent the difference in penalty. The treatment of stealing also differs as between Kastrat and Shalë which was the poorer of the two. In Kastrat the robber of another's house or sheepfold is to be fined 500 grosh and five rams, but in Shalë (X) the thief who steals a single animal—a ewe, a goat, a cow—is to have 'his harvest burnt, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed'.

628 Some stories related by Father Gjeçov illustrate the application
682 and development of the law. About 1860 a villager of Fregënë in the Mirditë tribe of Dibër told a neighbour to kill a certain man and promised that when the time came to pay the blood money he would see to it. On the faith of this promise, the neighbour ambushed the man on the high road and shot him dead. A little later, Captain Bibë Doda, the Gjomarkaj of the day, went on tour for the purpose of composing current blood feuds. The Fregënë feud came up, among others, and the murderer was ordered to rebuild his victim's house by way of paying blood money. He asked his evil counsellor for the money he had promised, but the latter declined to pay. Captain Bibë and the heads of the tribe summoned this man, and asked him if he had told his neighbour to commit the murder and promised to pay the blood money. The man dared not deny doing so. Then Captain Bibë, together with the bajraktar of Dibër and other heads, reasoning that 'lips can't land a man in a blood feud' and 'words don't make a funeral', made it law that 'Murder depends on the finger'; that is to say, the murderer who must pay with his life or money for the crime is the man whose finger pulled the trigger. They then sentenced the Fregënë murderer to pay blood money for his crime, saying that

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while he had gone to the ambush by another's instructions he had 628
walked there on his own legs. As the instigator of the crime had 682
broken his promise about paying the blood money, they sentenced
him to have his house burned down by the tribe.

On one occasion Lek Dukagjini had come at Skanderbeg's 649
invitation to discuss some blood feuds at a General Assembiy of all
the tribes in the land. Skanderbeg opposed the principle of 'a life 534
for a life' on the grounds that all men were *not* equal; the blood of
a physically fine man was different from that of a poor type. At
Lek's suggestion, however, he inquired of his mother, upon oath,
what sort of a man his father had been. On learning that he had
been a poor type, Skanderbeg at the next Assembly agreed to the
principle of equality!

About 1870, when Kolë Prenga the Great was Captain of 688
Mirditë, a jar of butter was stolen from the church house in Orosh 696
during the priest's absence. On his return his servant, who had
also been away at the time, informed him of the theft. The priest,
a Franciscan, informed the bajraktar of Orosh. The latter convened
the tribe (*bajrak*) but no one confessed to the theft. The bajraktar
then informed Captain Kola. The captain undertook to track down
the culprit, and one day ordered the tribe to assemble on the open
space in front of the church at Orosh. In spite of Captain Kola's
questions no one came forward to confess to the crime. Then
Captain Kola, together with the chiefs of the tribe, sentenced the
unknown thief to death and banishment from the tribe; his house,
too, was to be destroyed and his land left uncultivated. Not long
afterwards the thieves were discovered. They were two young men
of Orosh, Prengë Kolë Marku and another whose name has been
forgotten. Captain Kolë Prenga the Great again ordered the tribe
to assemble, one man from every house, at the church at Orosh.
The two young men also came by order to the meeting. Captain
Kola read out the sentence that had previously been pronounced.
The two thieves were stood in the middle of an open space,
unarmed and with their hands folded at the waist. The tribe stood
up awaiting the captain's order to fire. But the priest, filled with
pity for the culprits, begged the captain, the chiefs and the
commoners to grant them their lives. This was done, they paid
money to the church for their sacrilege, returned twice the quantity
of what they had stolen, paid the usual fine and were expelled from
the tribe.

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[688] It was not the theft but the sacrilege that on this occasion called
681 the tribe of Orosh to a General Assembly and made them pronounce even the death sentence; without the sacrilege the fine would have been penalty enough. Murder of a priest, again heinous sacrilege, raised the same issues, but without hope of any reprieve from death save what secret flight might provide. Murder of a guest or of a man with whom the murderer had previously sworn an oath of peace, that is to say, of persons who had a right to protection, also came before a General Assembly and was punished by the severest penalties, including death. Yet theft in the ordinary way was
[696] handled by elders and punished by a fine, and murder of the ordinary type was left to the victim's family and punished by blood vengeance. These were crimes against the individual and matter for individual handling. Sacrilege, however, and the murder of protected persons, were crimes against society, the former threatening the authority of the Church and the latter the tribal fabric.

689 When a man's general behaviour was a public menace or nuisance,
623 he usually found himself before a General Assembly. To begin with, the elders of his social unit took the matter up as was their duty, attempting first to reason him into a better frame of mind. If this failed, they had to call a plenary meeting of the village to try the culprit and to carry out whatever sentence was pronounced. This was usually burning down his house and leaving his land untilled for a specific number of years. If he still persisted in his evil-doing, and this was serious socially speaking, the elders could call the whole tribe to their assistance. For public pests incited public extermination, and this required the sanction and the whole force of the tribe. Miss Durham relates what she calls 'an amazing case of wholesale justice' which occurred in the Mirditë tribe, Fan, in February 1912. A certain family in this tribe had become notorious for evil-doing, robbing, shooting and general misconduct. A 'gathering of the whole tribe' condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lie in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off. And on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was only five and another only twelve years old. It was even proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant in case she should bear a male and so renew the evil.[1]

[1] Durham, op. cit. p. 75.

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Disobedience to accepted authority was not permitted to an 687
individual tribesman, a villager or even a tribe if that formed part, like the Mirditë tribes, of a group of tribes. Several of the Documents end by indicating the penalties that await tribesmen who defy the authority of the General Assembly that had laid down the preceding laws for the public good.

Examples of penalties prescribed are a fine of 3000 grosh, a choice between being burnt out or paying an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, and a sentence of having one's house burned down and oneself expelled. Number XIII, the Fascist document from Mat, simply declares that any delinquent will be called a traitor. In each case the whole tribe was to meet again in General Assembly and go in a body to carry out the sentence. According to Document XI the breaker of a pledge guaranteed by the General Assembly of the Elders and Commoners of Kurbin was warned that the said Elders and Commoners would be obliged to burn his house and expel him.'

Elders were seldom tried before a General Assembly. They were 693
kept in check by the fact that if their judgements were found unfair they lost not only face but also fees, for they were seldom asked to judge again. If there were complaints against one he was first asked, like an erring bajraktar or voivode, for a pledge; if he refused to give it he was haled before the General Assembly.

If a disputant flouted an elder's just and carefully considered judgement, he found himself before a General Assembly. For an elder represented a lawful authority. 'If you don't like the decision, 619
go to St Paul's church or the Defile of Orosh (*Grykë e Oroshit*)' 672
was the formula in Mirditë in such cases, church and defile being the favourite meeting-places for the General Assemblies of all its five tribes. If the Assembly upheld the elder's judgement, the penalty usually imposed was banishment for three years for the culprit and his family, the burning down of his house, the destruction of his crops and trees, and leaving his land untilled until he returned.

Sometimes a village was a public nuisance, harrying travellers, stealing its neighbours' beasts, cutting off their irrigation or mill water, trespassing on their forest or grazing, and so on. The bajraktar, voivodes, elders, and all the commoners in the rest of the tribe then gathered in General Assembly, one man from each house, and brought the village to its senses, fining the more harmless

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619 offenders, banishing others, and executing the ringleaders if these
672 had committed any crime entailing the death penalty.

619 Sometimes a village went to actual war with the rest of the tribe.
[72] As it never did so unless it knew itself to be very strong, the rest of the tribe was sometimes unable to reduce it. If the tribe was alone, the war went on until both sides were exhausted enough to cry halt. If the tribe was one of a group its heads could call in all the men of the other tribes to reduce the belligerent. In Mirditë a Gjomarkaj called the General Assembly which decided on this step, and led its members against the belligerent.

Sometimes, like a pestilent village, a tribe that formed part of a group made itself a nuisance to its neighbours. In that case the
[681] General Assembly of the other tribes in the group sentenced it wholesale to the usual penalties—fines for mild offenders, burning out for medium offenders and death for bad offenders. A whole tribe, however, could not be banished. It could only be ostracized, cut off from all intercourse with its neighbours; this penalty lasted until it consented to furnish the usual pledges for its future behaviour.

623 Village Assemblies dealt with matters of exclusively village interest. They regulated wood-cutting and irrigation rights, for example. They fixed the date at which beasts might be sent up to their summer pasturage on the high mountains. They stipulated the number of beasts that might be sent up by each family. They took steps to see that no one appropriated more than his fair share of forest, irrigation water or grazing. In so doing they made a valuable contribution to the public peace. Some aspects of
[682] murder also engaged their attention. The actual crime and revenge
[628] for it were the concern only of the families of the murderer and his victim. But it was the concern of the village that the range of revenge should not spread, increasing the number of avenging assassinations and so disturbing the village peace. So the law having laid down that the avenger must allow the murderer a day or two's grace to settle up his affairs before he was besieged in his house, the village had to extract a promise of this grace from the avenger. In cases where the grace lasted for thirty days, the village had to see that the murderer did not abuse his privilege and harry the victim's family. If he showed any such tendency, the village in General Assembly had to fine him and bring his period of grace to an untimely end.

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Assemblies of tribe or village watched above all over their honour. Sometimes their interpretation of honour took strange lines. Father Gjeçov gives the following story from the Mirditë tribe of Spaç. The sister of a villager of Gomsiqe was married to a villager of Dush in the same tribe. It happened that on one occasion when she came to pay a visit to her brother she took ill and died. He and his friends laid her on a bier and carried her, not to their own cemetery, but to her husband's house in Dush, presumably to avoid the expense of burying her. When the village heard what they had done, they met in General Assembly, and after carefully appraising the dishonour brought on Gomsiqe by such a public exhibition of meanness, fined the man a cow. This they divided into fifteen portions, which they distributed among the fifteen houses of the village. The fine was justice at its most precise. If the man had buried his sister as he should have done, the funeral feast would have cost him a cow. The event took place about 1903.

Another type of meanness had a similar end. About 1872 a villager of Urë e Shtrejtë in the tribe of Drisht happened to call on a neighbour about midday and was kept for dinner. As they finished, his host scraped his plate. The visitor afterwards complained to the village of the disgrace brought on his own dinner-table by the host. The village met in General Assembly and fined the host 500 grosh for his meanness. According to the law 'a dinner-table is disgraced in a guest's eyes when the host wipes or licks the porringer or scrapes his plate'.

The smallest General Assemblies—those of brotherhoods and households—dealt with what were essentially family matters. They met perhaps to decide on expelling or even killing any hopeless member if his misdeeds were serious enough to threaten the whole brotherhood or household with wholesale punishment by the tribe. They considered the pros and cons of buying an extra bit of land.

Tribal government was entirely democratic—of the people, by the people and for the people, but it differed from tribe to tribe and from time to time, enough to prevent unity. As the tribes in general would not have accepted the law of any one of them as supreme, it was ultimately necessary for Albanian unity that tribal government should be superseded by a modern system evolved in, and exercised from, a capital.

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CHAPTER XVI

THE OATH

I. OATH-TAKER AND COMPURGATORS

695 Elders faced with a knotty case concerning property might put one of the disputants to the oath. The victim of the crime, suspecting who had committed it, might test his suspicions by asking that the man should make oath in public that he was innocent. It was only by oath too that a suspect could clear himself; mere protestations of innocence were not enough. 'Denial means an oath', said the law. The oath (*be*, oath; *beja*, the oath) was in fact a most efficient instrument of tribal justice, cutting gordian knots for elders, settling the ownership of property, clearing the innocent and convicting the guilty. It was equally efficient as an instrument of social cohesion, binding the tribe when occasion arose to concerted action against crime within and danger without.

The subject is difficult to understand, because of its remoteness from English practice. The following example from life gives the general scheme of the ordeal, for such it was. The story comes from Labinot, a village well south of the tribal area; but with one or two small exceptions each item might have come from anywhere in the tribal north. It is a criminal case, but if the words 'claimant' and 'oath-taker' be substituted for 'accuser' and 'suspect' it can be read as a property dispute. The general procedure was the same in both cases.

A Moslem of Labinot called Qazim who had lost a plough-ox suspected Asllan, a fellow-villager, of having stolen it, and through the headman demanded an oath from the suspect. The latter, though [693] protesting his innocence, agreed. A few days later when the accusation was formally laid at the Village Assembly, Qazim, as was his right, immediately began to name half the number of twelve compurgators insisted on by the headman. These were chosen on account of their connexion with the accused—had this not existed he could have refused to accept them. Asllan was then told to find six other compurgators and attend the Assembly with them again a week later.

The week was spent by the compurgators in investigating the case, by the accuser and accused in visits to the compurgators,

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each seeking their support. Had four refused at this stage to take 695
the oath Asllan would at once have been publicly convicted—if less than four, two substitutes would have had to be produced for every one that refused; two for one, four for two, and six for three, and there would have been no extension of the time limit. In this case, however, all the compurgators agreed to swear to Asllan's innocence, and he himself, towards the end of the week, swore on the Koran that he had nothing to do with the theft. Later the compurgators, led by Qazim's nominees, took the oath of Asllan's innocence before the whole village. Actually, Qazim cut short the proceedings after six or seven had sworn, as by then the compurgators most likely to know the truth had sworn to the suspect's innocence.

Having celebrated his acquittal with a banquet to the compur- [696]
gators, Asllan two days later yoked the stolen ox, hidden during the case in a lonely sheepfold, to his plough. Now, although the mistake—either designed or accidental—of the compurgators was obvious, there was no legal machinery for annulling the verdict. In [777]
the opinion of the village, however, Asllan received his punishment when shortly afterwards his son was born lame.[1]

Qazim in Labinot put his case into the hands of the headman of [692]
his village. In the tribal north he would have entrusted it to the elder of his brotherhood, ward or village or perhaps to the bajraktar of his tribe.

Tribal officials, being hereditary, had more authority to act for 69
their community than had the temporary headman in non-tribal 622
districts such as Labinot. In Milot, the most northerly village of 694
Kurbin, the victim tackled the suspect himself, asking him first if he had committed the outrage and then if he would take oath that he had not. In view of the fieriness of Albanian tempers this information is surprising—one would expect shooting to put an abrupt end to such an interview—but it is confirmed by information from the neighbouring village of Laç. When one of its inhabitants denied having received a loan, the lender asked him directly to swear in the presence of two or three witnesses that he had never been lent the money.

Only men of military age and capacity had standing enough to 695

[1] A very similar system of compurgators exists among the Naga tribes of Assam. There, however, though in some tribes there is no means of modifying the verdict if an oath prove to be false, in others a compurgator who discovers that his principal is lying can 'withdraw his life', otherwise in danger from the false oath, and so reopen the case *ab initio*. (Ed.)

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be put to the oath; such an ordeal was not for boys under twenty, old men over sixty, women, gipsies or lunatics. All of these were considered so irresponsible that even their sworn word carried no weight. One exception comes from Zerqan, where a woman accused of a petty theft like stealing a dress might take an oath in the semi-privacy of her home that she was innocent. If her fault was more serious, her oath was not accepted. A man—her husband or son or, failing these, her brother—had to take one for her, as he would have done for his senile father or his infant son. Another exception occurred in family oaths, as described later. But this exception was apparent rather than real. The infant boys who were present did not themselves take the oath. The master alone repeated the words dictated; the boys and other males were present solely to be implicated to the maximum extent possible in the dread consequences of perjury.

In criminal cases it was the suspect, the man who denied an accusation, who had to take the oath. In such cases its sole purpose was to clear him of suspicion; if he could take it, he was acquitted, and if he could not, he was convicted. The accuser was never allowed to support his accusation by an oath; even if he insisted that with his own eyes he had seen the crime being committed, he could not swear upon oath that what he said was true. For motives of spite might have induced him first to accuse his neighbour falsely, and then to swear a false oath. So the law said firmly 'It's for the denier to take the oath'.

Occasionally a suspect refused to take the oath. Then his accuser was at least tempted to shoot him. If it was a case of stealing he had to think twice; shooting the suspect would start a blood feud because 'murder for a fault (like stealing) isn't allowed', and perhaps the lost property was not worth the nuisance which the blood feud would cause. If it was a murder case, it did not much matter if he did shoot the suspect; he was already at feud with the murderer. In property cases refusals to take the oath seem to have been unknown when the dispute was in the hands of elders; if they ordered a disputant to take an oath, he dared not disobey for he knew that the whole community would gather to enforce the order. If one disputant, before the case had reached the elders, asked the other to take an oath that the property was his, his request was refused as often as not, and then shooting became inevitable.

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More often a suspect volunteered unasked to take an oath. For 695 example, about 1931 a man in Zerqan shot his wife for some reason unknown and was then, very properly by local standards, hunted by her relatives. In desperation he offered to take an oath with twelve compurgators, the statutory number for a murdered woman, that he had not killed her. He managed to persuade all twelve to [696] take the oath, and so, though the public still believed him guilty, he secured a formal acquittal and escaped further molestation by her relatives.

Here is another example. In the early 1930's a villager of Nangë in Lumë killed a neighbour, in order to marry the widow. The victim's cousin, as required by ancient custom, shot the woman and tried to shoot the man.. He missed him again and again, but made his life such a misery that the man volunteered to take an oath with twenty-four compurgators, the statutory number for a man, that he had not killed his neighbour. Less lucky than the scamp of Zerqan, he was left to the cousin's vengeance. One compurgator failed to come to take the oath, so convicting him. It transpired later that the cousin had bribed this compurgator with two napoleons not to come, but the verdict of the oath could not be quashed and the case retried.

In property disputes the choice of the oath-taker depended 685 almost universally on the wishes of the elders. When they decided 695 that a dispute about land, or irrigation water was to be settled by an oath, they generally said that one of the disputants must swear that the property was his. Most often they preferred the man in possession, but sometimes they chose the one with the weaker claim in the hope that he would shrink from the ordeal, and so bring the dispute to a speedy end. In Çermenikë, and no doubt elsewhere, when there was some disparity of age they selected the older disputant, on the assumption that his greater age would mean greater knowledge of the facts. Very occasionally, before the dispute was laid before the elders one disputant bade the other take the very serious oath on the head of his son. Sometimes, particularly in boundary disputes, the elders put neither disputant to the oath. Instead, they chose an old man who had no direct interest in the dispute, but had learned the facts from his father and was trusted.

There were various names for the two principals. In all types of case and in all areas the oath-taker was called 'the master of the

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685 oath', but in theft cases he was often called the 'thief', and this
695 from the outset of the case until he was cleared. Father Gjeçov also calls the oath-taker in criminal cases 'the accused', but this seems a literary term chosen by himself rather than a popular usage in Mirditë. In theft cases, the accuser was most often described by a periphrasis—being called in Godolesh the 'plaintiff', in Mirditë 'the owner of the lost property', in Martanesh 'the owner of the stolen property', 'the injured party' or 'the man robbed', in Fulqet ~~'the injured~~ party', and in Zerqan 'the owner of the property'.

695 In murder cases, save for Father Gjeçov's occasional 'loader',
[682] the accuser was always called 'the man with the feud', the 'avenger' (lit. 'the owner of the blood'), and in disputes about property 'the plaintiff'.

When an oath has been sworn by a suspect or a claimant to property, the innocence of the one or the claim of the other had generally to be established by the oath of a predetermined number of compurgators.

[693] It was legally impossible for a suspect to clear himself by his unsupported oath. In the words of a proverb 'A wolf licks his own flesh and eats a stranger's'. An oath-taker might not flinch from perjury in order to establish his own innocence or his claim to a property, but as compurgator he was likely to be more scrupulous. So the law said there could be no complete oath without a jury. But as usual it made exceptions. When a suspect or claimant was ordered to swear one of the very solemn oaths in which perjury involved the extinction of his whole family, his personal stake was so great that a jury was dispensed with. The best example comes from Martanesh, where a jury was necessary in oaths sworn on the Koran or bread, but not in familiy oaths sworn at Balim Sulltan's grave.

[694] It was both the right and the duty of the members of the jury to gather all available evidence about the case and to make up their minds about its rights and wrongs before they came finally to court to record their verdict. An interval was therefore left between the nominations of jurors and the final oath-taking, in order to give them time to investigate the case. As a last step in their collection of evidence they then gathered to hear the oath-taker take the prescribed oath. They brought in their verdict by exercising their right to decide whether or not to take the oath. To

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return a verdict in the oath-taker's favour they turned up on the 695
appointed day to repeat his oath themselves in public. They returned one against him in either of two ways; either they refused during the period of investigation to take the oath, or they did not turn up to do so on the appointed day. In the case of early refusals some modifications were allowed, but at the final oath-taking the law was rigid. If even one compurgator failed to turn up the suspect or claimant lost his case; there was no question of majority vote. They took no oath until the end of the case. They were not sworn, as elders were, to investigate fairly and to bring in a true verdict.

The general rule for selections was that half the compurgators 693
in criminal cases were chosen by the oath-taker and half by the 695
accuser or by the elders: the latter in Mirditë, Godolesh and Fulqet, the former in the Malësi e Madhe, Lumë, Martanesh, Zerqan and Labinot. In disputes about property the elders almost everywhere named the jurors. Whether they did or not seems to have depended mainly on whether they were local or from a distance. When local, they knew the character of each potential juror and could safely make their selection. When from a distance they did not have enough knowledge to choose, and preferred to leave the choice in the hands of the claimant. In Kurbin when house quarrelled with house or village with village about irrigation water, the claimant named twelve of the twenty-four compurgators required.

It did not much matter who were chosen as compurgators by a suspect. The practical certainty that they were his partisans and would clear him made their oath comparatively unimportant. For that reason they were not allowed to take it until the accuser's nominees had done so. In Mirditë the suspect was expected to announce their names to the elders before the ceremony, but elsewhere, as in Zerqan and the Malësi e Madhe, he had only to bring them along to the oath-taking. The only person he was forbidden to include was himself; 'though 100 compurgators are needed the suspect can't be one', said the law. If he liked he could even include a gipsy. He seldom or never did so, of course; regard for his own prestige prevented him from choosing so low a creature. On the other hand, it mattered very much who were named by the accuser. His quota took the oath first and so gave the others their cue. Their oath was weighty for several reasons. As the accuser's

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695 nominees they were supposedly free from bias in the suspect's
693 favour. Then they were very carefully selected.

Since the truth or falsity of the result of the ordeal depended in the first place on their probity, and since it had to be certain that one or more of them would refuse to sell his soul by swearing falsely to a criminal's innocence, their personal honour had to be beyond question—they must never have been caught, for instance, swearing a false oath or taking bribes. They had further to be free from ill-will against either party—they must not be malicious. It was also important that they should have some knowledge of the case at either first or second hand. Hence the accuser liked to name the suspect's relatives and neighbours, as in the case of Qazim of Labinot, men who came from the suspect's village if not his brotherhood. In the case of a stolen animal, for example, the relatives in particular might have seen the meat being eaten by the suspect's family or the bones being gnawed by his dog. In all cases of theft a near relative would know that the suspect was not at home at the time. But if any of the suspect's relatives were unscrupulous the accuser naturally preferred to nominate others. Better an ignorant but upright compurgator.

[5.3] Certain members of a tribe could not be compurgators. A gipsy, we have said, might serve on a suspect's behalf, though he might not be put to the oath to discharge himself of an accusation or to make good his claim to a property. Old men, boys and lunatics were never allowed to take oath either as suspects or as compurgators; nor were women except in very rare cases.

A Moslem hoxha or sheikh counted as only one compurgator, but, being regarded as a man of weight, tended to come high on the accuser's list. A Catholic priest was theoretically exempted by his office from being put to the oath as either suspect or compurgator, but if named as compurgator, he counted in his single person as equal to twenty-four. If a bajraktar of Mirditë or one of the Gjomarkaj family was chosen as compurgator in a case involving twenty-four, the court named twelve others and declared the bajraktar or Gjomarkaj equivalent to the remainder.

The suspect had the right to object to the accuser's nominees if they were not in a position to know the truth of the case, or to risk taking an oath to clear him. If his objection was obviously well founded, the accuser had to change his nominees. The suspect was also protected from ill-will on the part of a compurgator. As

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soon as they were named, the presiding authorities were legally 695
bound to ask if he thought any of them would leave him in the 693
lurch out of jealousy or spite. If he could produce reasonable evidence that any of them would, those he mentioned had to be changed. But only up to a maximum of three where twenty-four had been prescribed, and of two where twelve or eight had been. In Zerqan, however, the suspect could not raise objections to the accuser's nominees; in compensation the replacement rules were somewhat relaxed.

Men sometimes declined nomination. Those proud of their high reputation for uprightness disdained to be mixed up in a case where the suspect was notorious for evil-doing, even if it was known that for once he was wrongfully accused. Others would not lend their weight to a petty case and consented to take the oath only in serious matters, such as murder.

In most of the tribal areas, a man whose wife was pregnant could [777]
ask to be excused. It was believed that it would be a crime for him to take the oath. If he swore falsely, through inadvertence or not, his sin would be visited on the unborn child, bringing it into the world lame or with such deformity as six fingers instead of five. Sometimes he agreed to take the oath if it were postponed until after the child was born, but more often his brother or cousin took it in his stead.

Refusals for such personal reasons as the above almost always took place as soon as the nominations were made. No difficulty was made about accepting them and before the Assembly dispersed another compurgator was named in each recusant's place. Later refusals were never prompted by anything but disbelief, real or feigned, in the suspect, and were treated differently. At the same time as the compurgators were named, the authorities informed the suspect of the precise terms of the oath which he and his compurgators must take to vindicate him, and of the time of the ceremony. It then became his duty, not only to find his own quota of compurgators, but also to inform the accuser's compurgators that they had been nominated. His own never caused much difficulty. One or more of the others might decline. A compurgator who could not believe the suspect's oath dared not repeat it himself. Possibly the suspect was likeable enough but 'an oath can't be taken out of favouritism'. Other nominees did not refuse out of hand but waited until they had made some inquiries into the case and

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695 cross-questioned the suspect. Anyone who discovered that the man
693 was guilty sent in his refusal to go on the jury. Sometimes, too, a nominee was bribed or persuaded by the accuser into refusing. Or one might have a grudge against the suspect, and, though knowing him to be innocent, might seek to gratify his grudge by declining to take the oath.

On every occasion when a named compurgator eventually declined to serve, the suspect had to find two substitutes for him, and these had to satisfy the accuser. If the first pair suggested did not please him, the suspect had to search until he found two who did. In Çermenikë he was allowed twenty-four hours in which to find them. But if more than three out of a total of twelve or eight, or one out of a smaller number, declined, this provision did not apply. It was concluded that the oath could not be taken, and without more ado the suspect was pronounced guilty; he had in criminal cases to pay the legal penalty for the crime, and in disputes to forfeit the property he claimed. Occasionally, as in Zerqan, when the recusants were strongly suspected of refusing from motives of spite, an accuser might overlook their refusal and inform the suspect that he need not even find one at all. More often, however, a Zerqan accuser followed the usual practice and exacted two compurgators for every one that drew back. In Fulqet it was the Village Assembly, not the suspect, who selected substitutes for recusants.

The number of compurgators depended on the nature of the case. For such trifling matters as the theft of a pig, sheep or goat a 'little jury' of one man sufficed. Otherwise a jury consisted of anything from two to twenty-four men, according to the importance of the case. In murder cases there was a universal rule that twenty-four compurgators were necessary when the victim was a man and only twelve when she was a woman. In most other cases the number required varied with the locality. Although it might have been expected that economic factors would explain these variations, that where horses, for instance, were scarce, the case would be thought more important and the number of compurgators increased in proportion, this does not appear to have been so.

If a dog was killed in the farmyard in Lumë, twenty-four compurgators, the customary number for a murdered man, were required. The murder of a dog was as serious in Lumë as the murder of a man, as is further indicated by the fact that the same

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blood money had to be paid. Possibly, too, there was a feeling here as in other areas that the dog's owner might have emerged into the farmyard and been killed by its assassin. In all cases of damage to property the number of compurgators depended, not only on the value of the property, but also on the risk to the owner's life which the crime entailed. This risk depended largely on the site of the crime. If, for example, a house was set on fire, it was reckoned that one of the men in it might have lost his life; if not burned to death he might have been shot by the incendiary when trying to escape from the burning building. The oath in such a case was on that account with twenty-four compurgators. But if a haystack was fired six were enough. The risk to life was infinitesimal, and the value of the haystack much inferior to that of a house. Similar considerations graded thefts. If a house was burgled by a thief who went upstairs and stole bedding or kitchen utensils there were again twenty-four compurgators. For a thief wicked and desperate enough to enter another's house was an obvious killer. A thief who bored a hole in the wall of the farmyard and stole something from the yard was certainly 'a big thief', but so much less of a menace to his victim's life that he was put to the oath in Kurbin, Fulqet and Zerqan with only twelve compurgators. A thief who stole at a distance from the farm buildings needed only six in Fulqet. In Zerqan, however, even this form of theft was considered heinous enough to demand twelve compurgators.

Some of the same principles operated in thefts of sheep and goats. In Martanesh, the Malësi e Madhe and Shalë only one compurgator was required when a single sheep or goat was stolen at a distance from the farm buildings. The animal's value was small and the risk to a man's life infinitesimal. The number of compurgators increased, up to a maximum of twenty-four in Martanesh and twelve in Shalë, with the number of animals stolen. In Fulqet the grading was more detailed. If a single sheep or goat was stolen at a distance, the suspect, most exceptionally, required no compurgators to back him up; it was enough if he swore himself that he was innocent. If, however, the stolen animal was a bell-wether, the most valuable animal in the flock because it led it, he had to take the oath with six compurgators.[1] If an ordinary sheep or goat was stolen from the farmyard he had to find four compurgators, and if several animals were so stolen, twelve. In Labinot the law was

[1] Vide infra, p. 208.

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695 more severe, three to six compurgators being needed when only
693 one goat had been stolen in the most innocuous circumstances, while grazing in the forest. In Kurbin the law was still more drastic. Whether the stolen animal was an ordinary sheep or a bell-wether, an ordinary goat or a bell-goat, and whether the theft took place in the lonely forest or in the fold at the farm, the suspect had to take the oath with all his family, the gravest oath of all.

In disputes about property the number of compurgators mainly depended on its value. In Kurbin as many as twenty-four might be prescribed in irrigation disputes, this number probably reflecting the frequency with which such quarrels ended in murder. In Fulqet there were twenty-four compurgators in land disputes but in neighbouring Dibër twelve were enough. In Fulqet all the land is under water, but in Dibër very little can be irrigated. A rod of land in Fulqet is consequently more valuable—better worth fighting for—than a rod in Dibër.

The number of compurgators was not absolutely fixed by law and so might vary with the case. In all areas it was settled by the elders in disputes about property, but in criminal cases the usage differed. In Mirditë, Labinot and Godolesh the elders again said how many there should be, but in Malësi e Madhe, Fulqet and Martanesh the accuser had this privilege. Too often the number then depended on the degree of ill-feeling between the parties. The angrier the accuser was, the more compurgators he demanded. For the more they were, the more trouble the suspect had in persuading them to take the oath that would acquit him.

The compurgators, it should be mentioned, received no payment for their trouble except for the meal given them in most places by the suspect.

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CHAPTER XVII

THE OATH

II. THE OATH-TAKING

When the elders first sat on the case in small or large Assembly 694 either they or the accuser issued full directions for taking the oath, prescribing the time, the place, the sacred formula, the sacred object and the terms in which it had to be taken.

In the case from Labinot the Assembly—or rather the presiding elders—decreed that the suspect should take the oath about a week later. The case being one of simple theft, they considered this interval long enough for the suspect to find the compurgators and for these to make the necessary inquiries. In Mirditë, the Malësi e Madhe and Dibër too, the elders fixed the date for taking the oath at their first Assembly; it was near or remote according to the clarity or obscurity of the case. A month was the average allowance in the Malësi e Madhe, but in graver cases a year might be allowed. In Zerqan the day was not fixed until after the suspect had found his compurgators. This done, he informed the accuser that whenever the latter chose, he was ready to take the oath. The accuser then appointed the day without consulting the elders.

After fixing the date, the elders warned the suspect that if the oath was not taken by that date, he would lose his case. At the same time they informed the accuser that he must have patience for the appointed term. If the oath was not taken when stated, he would gain his case by default. Sometimes, however, the final oath-taking was postponed. In Labinot and Zerqan postponements were not favoured; it was considered that legal business should not be allowed to drag on; obviously the longer the period of uncertainty the greater the danger of gun-work. In Mirditë, however, if the case was so complicated that the compurgators could not complete their investigations or make up their minds, they had the right to postpone taking the oath for as much as six months or even longer; it was only the named compurgators who sought to exercise this right. In the Malësi e Madhe the right of postponement lay with the accuser, not the compurgators. Any compurgator who was still dubious about the case could ask the accuser to extend the

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694 time limit. The request was always granted. But a second could not be made by the same compurgator. If the final day slipped by unnoticed, as sometimes happened when it was distant, an extension was generally arranged by mutual agreement.

In Catholic areas the incidence of Lent might delay matters, as Catholics did not take oaths during holy seasons.

In most districts it was the elders who said where the oath was to be taken, but in Kurbin and Lumë it was the accuser. A spiteful accuser of north Lumë, for instance, could send a suspect, with all his compurgators, to take the oath in south Dibër, a four days' journey there and back, with all expenses falling on the suspect. It was probably to prevent such displays of malice that the choice of place generally rested with the elders.

695 There was often a close connexion between the place at which,
778 and the sacred object on which, the oath had to be taken. The chief sacred objects on which Catholics were called to swear were the Gospel, the crucifix and the local church or its altar. Among Moslems, there were the Koran, the local mosque and a saint's grave. The Gospel in the one case and the Koran in the other was usually chosen. Dibër, a purely Sunni Moslem district, and somewhat fanatical, claimed to take the oath only on the Koran.

North Albanians went to church to swear on the Gospel or crucifix, but to their scandal the Catholics of Kurbin, Mirditë and Lurë had these sacred emblems carried to the suspect's house. Indeed, in Kurbin and Lurë an oath was never taken on the Gospel except outside the precincts of the church; the same was presumably true in Mirditë. No reason for the taboo is known; perhaps the combined sanctity of Gospel and church was thought to involve too much risk. When swearing on an altar, the oath-takers had naturally to enter the church, but when swearing on the church itself they remained outside, touching only a stone in the south door, possibly the threshold, perhaps a door-jamb. Sometimes they repeated the prescribed oath in the neighbourhood of the church. Oaths were most commonly taken on the church in cases of petty theft; graver cases demanded an oath on the Gospel or crucifix.

Moslem procedure was in general so similar to Catholic that it seems to have been inherited from the days when all the area under study was Catholic. To swear on a mosque, as the Moslems of Çermenikë sometimes did, it was enough to touch its door-jamb or threshold, precisely in the Catholic manner. To swear on the Koran,

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some preferred to go to the mosque, as the Catholics in the north 695 went to church. But more often the Moslems, like the Catholics of 778 Kurbin, went to the suspect's house. Since no possible sanctity could attach to a private house, it seems to have been the sacred book rather than the building which gave such oaths their value. In Zdrâjshë and Zerqan, indeed, it was openly said that provided an oath was taken on the Koran, the place where it was taken did not matter. It is probable that the same view was held in Krasniqë in the north-east, where oaths were taken in either the mosque or one of the shady spots called *ulicë*. It seems possible that these groves might be sacred because growing on the sites of former churches, but the local Moslems said that there had never been churches there and that no sanctity attached to the spots.[1] When taking oath by a sacred grave, Moslems usually entered the mausoleum; for such oaths there was no Catholic parallel.

In Zerqan a suspect must never be asked to take an oath in or [777] near his own house, for if he swore falsely the house might collapse or otherwise come to grief. This fear was not acknowledged in the many other areas where such oaths were common, but it may have been implicit. If a suspect staked his own house by taking the oath in it, he would naturally try harder than ever to avoid perjury.

In mixed districts the suspect and the accuser might be of different faiths. In that event when the decision lay with the elders, the suspect's religion decided whether it was in the church or mosque, on the Gospel or the Koran, that the oath should be taken. When the decision lay with the accuser his wishes prevailed. In such districts the jury too was often mixed. They had all to take the same oath as the suspect. So Catholics had to make oath in a mosque and on the Koran if the suspect was a Moslem; and in the opposite case Moslems had to make it in a church and on the Gospel. In Vinjollë, lying some six miles north of Krujë, after it became Moslem an oath could still be taken on the Gospel as well as on the Koran. In Lurë, when it was abandoning Catholicism, a man could swear, at least in conversation, by the mosque or church, according to which came into his head first, irrespective of his own or his hearer's religion.

Moslems but not Catholics might take oath at a sacred grave. This might stand in a single mausoleum or form part of a monastery. The most important of these graves were Sulejman Pasha's at

[1] But doubtless a pagan survival of the sacred grove (*lucus*). (Ed.)

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695 Tirana, Sheikh Hasan's at Nangë in Lumë, Sheikh Ibrahim's at
778 Surroj across the river Drin from Nangë, Sheikh Fejza's at Bulqizë, Balim Sulltan's at Martanesh, and those of two abbots at Krujë. Sulejman Pasha and Sheikh Ibrahim lie in an isolated mausoleum,
[795] Balim Sulltan in a cave, and the others in monasteries. These saints belonged to different sects; Sulejman Pasha, the soldier who founded Tirana in the seventeenth century, was a Sunni; Sheikh Hasan, founder of the monastery at Nangë, and his brother, Sheikh Ibrahim of Surroj, were Khalvetis; Balim Sulltan of Martanesh and the two abbots of Krujë were Bektashis; and Sheikh Fejza, founder of the monastery at Bulqizë, a dissident Bektashi. Sometimes it did not matter to what sect the buried saint belonged. Sheikh Hasan of Nangë was so renowned that the local population, even if not Khalvetis, took their oaths on his grave and never in the mosque, and Catholic as well as Moslem oath-takers came in serious cases to his grave from Shkodër, four days away. Sulejman Pasha's grave drew oath-takers from as far away as Martanesh; these had long since forgotten his history, and, though ardent Bektashis, did not care that he was a Sunni. Sunni Albanians are not so liberal however; taught to abhor the Bektashis as unorthodox Moslems, they left the graves of Balim Sulltan of Martanesh and the two abbots of Krujë to Bektashi oath-takers. Sheikh Fejza, abhorred by Sunnis as almost a Bektashi and by Bektashis as a backslider from their faith, commanded allegiance only among his own followers in Bulqizë. Oaths used to be taken in three mausolea in the Bektashi monastery at Krujë, but by 1930 the abbot refused to open one for such a purpose. Once, as an oath was being taken in this mausoleum, both disputants fell dead; there had been roguery on both sides as the buried saint was quick to detect. Ever afterwards the abbots restricted oath-takers to the two mausolea in which the saints seemed slower to wrath.

695 Among invocations of the Deity used in oaths, the following are
782 recorded: 'By the Lord' (Perlat and Shkrel); 'By this Lord Who gave me life' (Perlat); 'By this Lord Who is in Heaven' (Shalë); 'By Our Lady' (Shkrel); and 'By the Blood of Christ' (Shalë). In all these the influence of the Church is evident, but there are hints in the Albanian originals that some are older than the Church.

The Deity was invoked by Moslems as follows: 'By that Lord' (Godolesh); 'By God' (Dibër); 'By God, with God, from God'[1]

[1] *Vallahi, billahi, tallahi.*

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(Godolesh and Lumë). The first two phrases are evidently old 695
Albanian and have nothing exclusively Moslem about them; the 782
second (lit. 'May I see God') has even a Catholic ring. The third is widely known all over the Moslem world and in certain areas which were once under Moslem rule. But it is used in a magical rather than a religious sense. It is found in magical formulae among the Arabs of Egypt and the Christian Greeks of the island of Zea, next door neighbour to Euboea.[1]

The only invocation of the Deity which the author recorded among the Orthodox was in Shpat and ran as follows: 'By that Christ in Whom we believe.' It is evidently a Church formula.

There was no sign that any of these oaths was preferred to the 771
others; they seemed to have equal value. Readers who know the 776
Catholics and the Orthodox, the two religions which divided Albania before the Turks came in the fifteenth century, will be struck by the paucity of references to Christ and the Virgin Mary and by the emphasis on God; this may be a further indication that the oaths go back to pagan days when neither Christ nor the Virgin was known.

Formulae for invoking Catholic saints were such as 'By that 695
St Nicolas' in Kurbin and 'By the candle of St Nicolas' among 782
the Highlanders of Breg i Matit and Gurrëzë. Both were very grave oaths. The candle in the second is the wax taper lit before pictures of the saint by the devout; oath-takers seem to have feared that perjury would extinguish the flame of their life as easily as a candle could be put out. Of all their saints too, the Catholic Highlanders preferred St Nicolas. No Moslem saints were invoked as such; it was rather by their graves than themselves that oaths were taken. A strange oath, which comes from Surroj, was an exception. This ran 'By this patron saint of coffee'. Coffee, the peasants of Surroj explained, has a 'very important' patron saint. All over Albania coffee-house keepers make a libation to him every morning by pouring away the first cup of coffee that they make. They hope that after being placated in this way the saint will send them many customers. Some believe that he lies buried somewhere in the east of the Turkish empire, possibly in Arabia.

Catholic priests and Moslem clergymen—hoxhas and sheikhs 695
among the Sunnis, abbots (*baba*, sing.; *baballar*, plur.) among the 688
Bektashis—were respected as men of God, and Bektashi abbots 793

[1] See *Folklore*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 195 (June 1926).

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695 even became saints at their death, but an oath 'by the priest' or
698 'by that hoxha' was never taken; it would have been regarded as
793 sacrilege.

695 A most interesting oath was taken by both the Orthodox and the
792 Moslems of Berat town and district. Its commonest forms were
[776] 'By Him of Tomorr' and 'By the Holy One of Tomorr'. The deity that dwelt in pagan days on the summit of Tomorr, the lofty, beautiful mountain that dominates the town of Berat, is still a living force in the district. He was, indeed, so dreaded that even in conversation he could not be named, but only darkly alluded to. 'By that mountain top' is no less solemn an oath than the more definite pair already given. No man had been known to swear any of them falsely.

[821] By what was perhaps a survival of early nature worship, oath-takers sometimes invoked natural objects as in the oaths, 'By this bright light which is dawning', 'By this evening which is coming', 'By this night we have to-night'. These were all given by Catholics in Perlat. The first two were used for oaths taken in the morning and the third for those taken in the evening. Moslems in Godolesh and Labinot sometimes swore 'By this sun' and 'By this earth'. The latter was a very solemn oath, earth being weighty for two reasons: man was made of it and it lies heavy on a dead man who committed sins such as perjury during his lifetime. Apparently oaths were not taken 'by this fire' or 'by this moon'; perhaps both fire and moon lack the inevitability and stability that fitted dawn and darkness, the sun and the earth, for worship by primitive Albanians.

695 Among oaths by sacred buildings were such as 'By this church'
782 among Catholics and 'By this mosque' among Moslems. They were
778 chiefly employed conversationally, and meant little more than our own expression 'on my honour'. Indeed, a man of Lurë used them indifferently, irrespective of whether he or his hearer were Catholic or Moslem. But when a Moslem of Martanesh swore 'by this holy place' as he stood in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum, his oath was very solemn. So, too, were the oaths in Bulqizë 'by that shrine', the domed tomb of Sheikh Fejza; in Tirana by the grave of Sulejman Pasha, the seventeenth-century founder of the town; in Krujë by the tombs of two Bektashi abbots; in Nangë, Lumë, by the tomb of the Khalveti saint, Sheikh Hasan; and in Surroj, by the grave of Sheikh Hasan's brother, Sheikh Ibrahim. In the last case the formula was rather unusual; standing in the mausoleum (*teqe*) the

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oath-taker began by saying 'May Sheikh Ibrahim cut short my life'. 695 In the other cases he used some vague formula such as 'By this 782 holy place' or 'By this shrine'. 778

Oaths by smaller sacred objects were all very similar. The formula used in swearing on an altar was in Shalë 'By this altar'; on a church door in the Malësi e Madhe and Kurbin, 'By these things of the Lord'; on a crucifix or gospel in Mirditë, 'By this holy thing of God'; in Kurbin 'By this thing of God'. The more fanatical of the Moslems preferred to swear on the Koran under a Turkish, or rather Arabic, name. Thus 'By this holy book' was liked in Lumë, and 'By this sacred book' everywhere. Others, as in Vinjollë and Zerqan, swore 'By this thing of God', or if in Godolesh, 'By the holy thing of this our God'. The last oath is very close to the oath of Catholic Mirditë on the Gospel, and there is little doubt that this Moslem oath was once Catholic or Orthodox. Indeed, it may have been pagan. The vagueness of their phraseology made the transference from one religion to another easy. A similar vagueness characterizes most of the oaths in this paragraph. Its origin lay in the simple Albanian's idea of respect for a sacred object; he thought that naming a person or thing detracted from the majesty of that person or thing. Besides preserving the efficacy of ancient oaths through later changes of religion, this vagueness also reduced any repugnance which a Catholic or Moslem in a mixed jury might feel at being asked to swear on the holy book of the other's religion. It has even led Catholics of Lurë, when Islam was fast displacing Catholicism, to anticipate the future conversion by swearing the essentially Moslem oath 'By this *hajmali* (sacred book)' on the Christian Gospel.

A curious and most solemn oath among Catholics was 'by the stone'. This was not any ordinary stone that the oath-taker might pick up regardless of his religion, but was a special one found only among Catholics. Triangular in shape, it had a hole in each of its three corners for attaching the balance in which persons minded to offer votive candles to church weighed the wax of which each was to be made. It derived such sanctity from this association with the church that an oath on it was as serious as one on the Gospel or crucifix. Such an oath was in fact reserved for occasions of special gravity, as when a man suspected of a heinous crime was put to the ordeal, or a whole tribe swore to refrain from acts disturbing the public peace, or a community took oath to stick together through

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695 thick and thin. No memory of oath or stone survives in areas such
782 as Çermenikë and Lumë, which abandoned Catholicism some
778 centuries ago.

A number of very solemn oaths were taken on objects that had no obvious association with religion, and these seem to date from the oldest days of Albanian existence. Thus an oath in very common use all over the country was 'By bread'. Among the Catholics where the priests combated everything that they thought was pagan, this oath was more often heard in conversation than in ordeals, but among the Orthodox and Moslems it held a higher place. The most solemn oath of the Orthodox of Shpat was 'By that Christ in Whom we believe and by that bread we eat'. The Moslems generally used a loaf, treating it like a Koran.

Sometimes at least in Martanesh an uncooked maize-cob served instead of a loaf. Both in Martanesh and in Lumë salt was often added; the formula then was in Lumë 'By the bounties of the Lord'.

One advantage of swearing on bread was that the oath could be taken, and peace made as soon as trouble arose. If two men who had met in a house quarrelled, one accusing the other of letting his animals stray into his maize-field or of cutting firewood in his forest or the like, the accused could immediately clear himself, provided two or three other men were present as witnesses; no set jury was necessary. All he had to do was to lay his right hand on bread and say, 'May the bread kill me'. This oath was known in places as far apart as Labinot and Lumë. It has already been said that though a woman could not make oath on the Koran, she might, in Zerqan if accused of petty pilfering, make one on bread. Men in Godolesh, which was an Orthodox village till 1910, sometimes swore 'by this bread' but did not consider it one of their most serious oaths.

695 The reason for choosing bread for such a serious occasion as an
776 ordeal is not certain. The Orthodox oath from Shpat speaks of eating it so that the idea of its being the staff of life seems present. Its conjunction with salt in Lumë and Martanesh supports this idea. On the other hand, the influence of Holy Communion also seems at work. The Orthodox of Albania as of Greece speak of it as the Body of Christ, and on that account consider it sinful to cut rather than break it before beginning to eat. Moslems regard even crumbs of it as too sacred to tread on. Most probably the idea that

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it is the staff of life is the oldest, and religious conceptions come later. As essential to life, it was suited to oath-taking; as shown by the oath 'May the bread kill me', it had power to punish perjury with death. 695 778

Two more formulae remain to be mentioned. The first was 'By my head', and the second 'By the head of my son'. The former was thought justifiable; one might do as one pleased with one's own head. But a man who swore on his son's head was strongly disapproved of; only a low fellow, it was thought, would risk his child's life by such an oath. Nothing less was involved, as appears in the following full formula for a land dispute. 'By the head of the son that I have, this land is mine. If it is not mine, may I weep for the son that I have.'[1] 695 782 [826]

When the time came to take the oath, both Catholics and Moslems behaved as if about to perform an act of worship. Catholics removed their caps and made the oath bareheaded; they also crossed themselves as they began. Sunni Moslems performed the ceremonial ablutions incumbent on them before they pray. By their preliminaries the Catholics sought to indicate respect for the Deity; by theirs the Sunnis sought also to make their oath binding —without them, so they believed, it would be null and void. The Moslems of Martanesh, being Bektashis, did not perform the ceremonial ablutions, but suspect and compurgator when taking the oath in a house had to stand facing Mecca, with the witnesses behind them. As each man's turn came, he advanced towards the Koran or loaf of bread, knelt, and laying hand on the book or bread repeated the prescribed words. This reverence for the sacred emblem was shown by both religions, sometimes with quaint little ceremonies. Thus, when the Catholics of Lurë swore in the open on the Gospel, as was their common practice, they picked up some grass or other greenery and held it over the book while they recited the oath; the purpose of the grass is not clear.[2] After the conversion of Vinjollë to Islam from Catholicism oaths were sworn indifferently, as has already been said, on the Gospel or Koran. When at a house, the sacred book was laid on fresh grass near the house or on a clean place in the farmyard. Each oath-taker kissed it three times, before venturing to put his hand on it and repeat the oath. 695 788

[1] The oath on a son's head is common to the Moslem world and if perjured involves the son as well as his father in eternal damnation.

[2] Possibly it involved the false swearer in withering like the plucked grass.

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695 Ordinarily the Gospel might be open or closed and the Koran bare
788 or wrapped in a cloth. A most interesting survival from Christianity comes from Fulqet, where the men, who now are all good Sunni Moslems, tapped their breasts with their fingers when making an oath; the gesture had lost the definite form of making the sign of the cross, but its origin seemed unmistakable.

695 The oath was taken in two stages. First the suspect swore in the presence of all the compurgators that he was innocent of the crime, and then the compurgators swore in the presence of witnesses that the suspect was innocent. He and they swore in the same manner. Bareheaded and making the sign of the cross if Catholic, with hands and face ritually cleansed if Moslem, each in turn invoked the Deity or laid his hand on the sacred object prescribed and repeated the oath. The compurgators did not as a rule take the oath until the suspect had done so and thereby assumed all possible responsibility before God and man for its truth. But, exceptionally, in Lumë a suspected murderer—and probably a suspected thief too—did not take the oath at all unless the compurgators, fearing that he had committed the crime, and lacking convincing proof one way or the other, wished to secure such evidence as his oath provided. In Zerqan a suspect took the oath only when the compurgators doubted his innocence.

Of the compurgators the accuser's nominees came first, headed by the suspect's nearest relatives and neighbours, the most responsible because the most knowledgeable of them all. As soon as the first two or three had taken the oath the others shed their fears of perjuring themselves and took it in their turn. Lastly came the suspect's quota, free of qualms. When the jury was large, the accuser often interrupted the proceedings before all the suspect's quota had sworn. Since his own nominees, 'good men and true', and the first of the suspect's quota had taken the oath, there could be no doubt that the remainder would do so. In Dukagjin, the Gjakovë highlands (Malësi e Jakovës), and a few other areas in that neighbourhood, only half of the compurgators ever recited the oath; the others merely put their hand on the Gospel and passed by. The first man recited the oath in full, the second touched the Gospel and passed by, and so on. According to the Franciscan priest of Theth the even numbers were there to vindicate the odd numbers, the only complete oath-takers, but Father Gjeçov describes the custom somewhat differently. He says that half the

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compurgators took the oath and half stood listening with their 695
hands folded at the waist. As only the former touched the Gospel they were called 'oath-hands'. Possibly Father Gjeçov's information came from a different area of Dukagjin, or even since his time the details may have been modified.

The compurgators took the oath on the day officially appointed. The suspect took it a few minutes, a day or several days earlier, as best suited the general convenience, and generally in the presence of the compurgators only. The taking of the oath by the compurgators was a more public affair. The accuser's presence was in most places indispensable. If he would not, or could not, attend the ceremony, he had to give up trying to get his rights by an oath and had to find a private detective to take up the case. In Zerqan, apparently, the accuser did not need to be present, in theft cases at least. The number and quality of other witnesses varied in some places, such as Kurbin, with the gravity of the case, and in others with local custom. In Fulqet, Godolesh and Çermenikë it was obligatory for the village to turn out; otherwise the oath was not considered valid. In Mirditë the elders trying the case had to be present and so too in Theth, Dibër and Çermenikë; if, however, one of them found it inconvenient to attend, he could, in Dibër at least, send a deputy. In Lurë the Catholic priest had to be present when the suspect was Catholic, as had the Moslem sheikh of Ceren when he was a Moslem. In the Malësi e Madhe, Bytyç and Martanesh, an oath was valid if witnessed by the accuser and a few of his friends.

In grave cases a whole family might be asked to take the oath. In [672]
that event the master spoke in his usual capacity of household representative, for the rest of the family as well as himself, and it was forbidden to ask them to repeat his words. In Mirditë the women and children were not involved, but in Malësi e Madhe all the males of the family had to be present regardless of their age, and the master held an infant boy in his arms while he swore that he and they were innocent. In Martanesh, too, the accused had to bring all his sons, all his brothers and all his brothers' sons to the ceremony. The suspect had to swear to the whole family's ignorance as well as innocence of the crime.

In most districts this oath was taken at any of the usual places for 695
oath-taking, but in Martanesh it was taken in the most solemn 672
circumstances possible, at the grave of Balim Sulltan. It was a very 783

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695 serious oath, entailing the extinction of the whole family if the
672 oath-taker perjured himself. This was symbolized clearly in the
783 Malësi e Madhe ceremony. The master's perjury, if any, and its penalties would, it was believed, run through his body and the infant's like an electric current and destroy both. The wording of the oath seems to have been suitably strong as well as comprehensive. The only available example comes from the Malësi e Madhe, and runs, 'By this holy oath of the Lord, if I did it, may He reward me. As for the male of yours who has been killed, neither I nor my kinsmen, male or female, have killed him with our hands or our guns or with a guest's or agent's hands or gun.'

695 The family oath was reserved for men who were expected to deny
[685] a serious crime of which there was strong evidence that they were guilty. In the Malësi e Madhe, and apparently in Martanesh also, this was murder. So in these areas a family oath was tantamount to one with twenty-four compurgators. In Mirditë and Kurbin it was chiefly used in theft cases. If a sheep or goat in Kurbin was stolen, the thief had to return two sheep or goats to the owner, and pay a fine besides; if, however, he denied the theft, he must swear with his whole family that he was innocent. By contrast, a man who denied stealing an ox, a horse or a mule, was only ordered to take the oath with six compurgators. The theft of these animals was less serious than stealing a sheep or goat; for they only represented wealth, whereas the sheep and goats provided food for their owner.

[694] In Mirditë the accuser had the right to ask a family oath of any man whom he strongly suspected, and could also say that he must take it with a jury. In that event he had to specify the various families in the village who were to compose the jury. For the Malësi e Madhe there is no evidence, but in Martanesh a jury was seldom required in family oaths. Group oaths were used in cases where the suspect, told to take the oath with twenty-four compurgators, failed to find so many ready to swear to his innocence and volunteered to take the oath with all the males of his family in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum. If he did so, nothing more was required of him.

In Mirditë, as Father Gjeçov informs us, a truculent accuser might also ask the oath by the head of the suspect's son; in that case the accused could not refuse to take it, unfair and dangerous to the child though it was. If there were more than one boy in the

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family, the oath had to be taken on all their heads. On the appointed [695] day, the accuser went to the suspect's house, where the suspect gathered all the males in his family and drew their heads together. After laying his hands on their heads to establish the contact which would involve them in his perjury, if any, he took the oath, saying, 'By the heads of my sons, I have not done you the wrong of which you have accused me, and I do not know who has done it'. The gravity of this oath made it particularly useful in ending embittered disputes before they came to bloodshed, for only a man very sure of his position or one utterly unscrupulous would swear it.

Social oaths were designed to check lawlessness and breaches of [626] the peace within the tribe and were the commonest types. In Document II, Mnelë and Gomsiqe swear[1] to stick together whatever may betide for mutual defence against external danger. Sometimes the tribe, or at least the brotherhood in the Malësi e Madhe, swore that they would not enter a certain house. Though this oath was never taken except to make the law-breaker obey a tribal judgement, it was not considered a good oath, and breaking it soon after it was sworn was advocated. Sometimes, too, a village would assemble and take oath not to send their animals to the summer grazing grounds before a fixed date or to cut wood in each other's forests. In Lurë irrigation rights still depended on oaths taken by the various claimants several generations ago and still binding on their descendants. This example shows how the perpetuity of [694] oaths prevented renewals of litigation; a right once settled, remained settled.

When about to pronounce a decision or just after pronouncing it, elders frequently took oath that they had judged or would judge righteously. In all the tribal area they inevitably carried a stone on their shoulder to signify that they must carry it throughout eternity if their oath was false. In Shalë their formula was, 'With body and soul, with good luck and good fortune, so far as I can tell I have decided this matter without guile, without bribery and without prejudice'.

[1] See Appendix, Document II, p. 262.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE OATH

III. VERDICT AND PENALTIES

695 The only way of bringing in a verdict in the suspect's favour was, as has already been said, by his taking the prescribed oath himself and inducing the prescribed number of compurgators to repeat it. This done, he was acquitted (*u-la*, lit. 'he was washed').

By contrast, there were several ways of reaching an adverse verdict. The suspect might pronounce it himself. Sometimes superstitious fear made him refuse at the first asking to take the oath. This only occurred when he knew he was guilty of the crime, or had no lawful right to the disputed property. Sometimes a bolder suspect got as far as the door of the church or mosque, and then was stricken with sudden fear of the perjury he was about to commit, confessed to the crime and faced up to the consequences. A slyer suspect, hoping that the matter was forgotten, sometimes let the day for taking the oath pass. But the accuser was generally on the watch and frustrated his hope. First he informed his own elder that the appointed day had come and gone without the oath being taken. This elder having passed on the information to the suspect's elder the two dignitaries went together to the man's house, pointed out that the term was up and declared that since he had not taken the oath he had lost his case.

There were at least three ways by which the compurgators might bring in a verdict of guilty. The first was when three out of twenty-four compurgators, two out of twelve or eight, and one of a smaller number, informed the suspect soon after their nomination that they did not have enough confidence in his innocence to take the oath that would clear him.

Again, if the compurgators did not believe the suspect's oath, they could take one of two courses. They might tell him there and then to go and pay the penalty for his crime because they did not believe his oath and must refuse to acquit him with their own. Some of them were, of course, certain to know the truth from other sources and so could check his oath. Or they might wait till the day of taking the oath and then, without giving the suspect any warning,

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fail to turn up. If even one so failed, the suspect was declared 695
guilty. Indeed, the easiest and least obnoxious way of convicting the suspect was not to turn up for the oath. Such was the almost universal rule. In the Malësi e Madhe, however, a message was sent to a missing compurgator to make sure that he had not merely forgotten the date. If he replied that he had not come on purpose because he thought the suspect was guilty, the case ended, a verdict of guilty being returned. If he replied that he was absent for personal reasons, an attempt was made to find two others to take his place at once; if this succeeded, the oath was taken. If only one compurgator did not attend in Bytyç, the oath could be taken, particularly if the reason for the compurgator's default was the newly discovered pregnancy of his wife. These rules applied only to the accuser's quota. If one of the suspect's compurgators failed to turn up, any bystander who could be persuaded to join the jury might be substituted. As the suspect was not bound to disclose the names of his quota, the public was often unaware that the second man was a substitute and not the suspect's first choice.

In Mirditë the verdict was virtually known before the taking of [574]
the oath. When the suspect felt ready to take the oath he invited the compurgators to a meal in his house. If they declined his invitation it meant that they thought him guilty and would not take the oath. If they accepted his invitation he could sleep in peace, secure in the knowledge that whenever the time came for them to take the oath, they would do so. Once they had eaten his food, the oath was as good as taken. This custom may have developed because the suspect had to assemble the compurgators to hear him take the oath and was forbidden by his instincts of hospitality to leave them unfed. In Labinot, Çermenikë and Zerqan, the suspect also offered the compurgators a high-class meal, with meat and rice pilaff, but not till after they had taken the oath, and only if he had been cleared. The meal was thought to ratify the oath and to reward the compurgators in some measure for their trouble.

A loser who did not abide by the verdict of the oath lost 'face'. 696
Some years ago, a family in Fulqet died out. Two neighbours, more or less related to the family, claimed its land, one taking possession of it and the other gathering a stackful of hay from it. Even the women quarrelled so fiercely over it that they had to be separated by gendarmes and the elders intervened and said that the relative in possession must take an oath with twenty-four

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696 compurgators that the land was his. He took the oath, but the other refused to accept its verdict and the quarrel continued. The whole village denounced this as 'very shameful'.

Some losers were made to accept the verdict by the realization [558] that resistance would only plunge them into the difficulties of a blood feud, and others submitted in fear of losing 'face'. The [696] elders had normally little machinery for enforcing the verdict. In one difficult case observed by the author in Çermenikë however, they succeeded by the unusual device of putting both claimants to the oath. An old, forceful man had quarrelled about irrigation water with a young rascal who was his distant relative. The elders decided that if the young man could take the oath, he should have the water; if he could not, the old man must not think the water his but must take oath on another day that it was his by right. As the young man was a notorious liar, it was not expected that he would be able to muster the requisite number of compurgators. But to the general surprise he succeeded, and took the oath. The elders decreed that he should have water for six hours every five days. The old man seemed at first to acquiesce in this decree, but later held up the water and turned out his own compurgators to take oath along with himself that it was his. But the elders would not countenance such disobedience, particularly as he had originally submitted to the verdict of his relative's oath; and by refusing to come and witness his oath they prevented it from being taken. Eventually he gave in, and allowed the young man to have water according to the oath that he had sworn as prescribed by the elders.

693 Another interesting case occurred in Dibër about 1935. Cen 696 Elezi was asked to arbitrate between two cousins in Çajë, in south Lumë, who were quarrelling about a piece of land. He asked a fee of twelve napoleons from each, and accepted their tobacco boxes in pledge thereof. The boxes were silver, but not worth anything like his fee, so they were only a token pledge. Cen then went to see the land and discovered that neither cousin knew exactly where its boundaries lay. He pointed this out and said that this and their relationship made arbitration difficult. One of them, whom he named, must therefore take oath with six named and six unnamed compurgators that the land was his. First of all, however, he must set up the boundary stones in their proper places. On the day arranged Cen could not go himself to witness the oath. He

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sent the cousins word to that effect and said he was sending a deputy. 693
When the latter arrived, he found the named cousin ready to take 696
the oath but no boundary stones in place. He refused to witness the oath because Cen's condition had not been observed. The matter was referred back to Cen, who said that since the cousin put to the oath had been unable to take it as enjoined, the other must have the land. If they did not wish to accept this judgement, let them bring him four napoleons each as his fee for the incomplete oath, and let them find another elder and he would pay his expenses; he was no guarantor to make them accept his judgement. The cousins prepared to accept his decision, but when the winner began to plough the land, the loser shot one of his men dead and wounded another; the feud continued for many years.

The oath derived its efficiency as a legal instrument from super- 782
stitious fear of punishment for perjury. God, as the Almighty, was [695]
naturally the chief agent of this punishment. 'Don't let God catch a perjurer', said the aphorism. In invocations the connexion between oath and Deity was simple. The oath-taker called God or one of His saints to witness to the truth of what he was about to swear, and did so in the full knowledge that if he angered Him by perjury, he must expect a manifestation of Divine wrath. There was a very definite belief that God was watching. In oaths sworn on a sacred object or building, such as 'By this good thing of the Lord', there was an indirect invocation of the Deity, but also while the oath-taker swore, he had to keep his hand on the sacred object—Gospel, crucifix, altar, church door, Koran, saint's grave—just as a witness in an English law court must take the oath with his hand [778]
on the Bible. This act established physical contact between the oath-taker and the Deity or saint with which the sacred object or building was associated. To a simple tribesman this was a very solemn thought. On this account these contact oaths were preferred above all others. Probably the contact also made the tribesman think punishment more certain. All over the Near East the principle of direct contact with holy things plays an important role. This is most familiar in cases of sickness, as when people knot rags to sacred graves or trees; the holy influences with which they have thus linked their persons penetrate their whole being and cure their maladies. Many instances will be found in the author's book *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. But suppliants for such favours must placate the holy influences with prayers or

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782 other offerings. If they irritated them, as an oath-taker would do by perjuring himself, they could only expect punishment.

A most interesting example of the working of physical contact which is certainly of pagan origin was found in the Moslem district [778] of Sulovë, south-west of Elbasan. There the most hardened oath-taker dare not forswear himself in a serious case, for he must then take the oath with a coin in his mouth, and perjury would bring [768] him certain death. The coin was clearly Charon's obol, as was the coin slipped on to the chest of Albanian dead in many widely separated areas.

In the exclusively Catholic oath 'by the stone' the solemnity of the oath came from the contact with a holy thing, and punishment for perjury was inflicted in any form that the sacred object chose. When, however, elders swore their equally solemn oath with a stone, log of wood or other weight on their shoulder, or when a man, stone on shoulder, claimed repayment of a dead man's debt, no principle of contact was involved. There was rather a quite crude belief that a perjuring elder would be punished by having to carry the weight for ever and ever in the next world.

775 God punished the perjurer both in this world and in the next. When the man died, his soul was lost, for being 'heavy-laden before the Lord' it had nowhere to go. If he was an elder who had taken an oath with a stone on his shoulder, he was doomed to carry the stone through all eternity. The first of these terrors was evidently inspired by the Church. The second is an older fear. The elder, when taking the oath, often expressed his willingness to carry the stone in the next world if he perjured himself, but an accused man left his future condition to be inferred, except for the cryptic phrase 'If I did it, may He reward me', which he sometimes inserted in his oath. When he was thinking only of himself he meant, according to the Catholics of Kurbin, 'If I lie may God kill me. If I tell the truth, may He forgive me my sins.' When he contrasted himself with his accuser he meant, 'If I did it may I suffer for it. If I didn't, and you've made me run the risk of taking this oath without due cause, may *you* suffer for it.' This sentence seems to have died out among the Moslems.

[761] Death was the commonest, and most dreaded, form of punish-
783 ment in this world. In the most solemn oaths it was specified—a son's in the oath by the child's head, the oath-taker's own in the oaths by his own head, with Charon's coin in his mouth, and in

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such phrases as 'May Sheikh Ibrahim cut short my life' and 'May the bread kill me'. Sometimes the mechanism was crude and obvious, as in Jove's thunderbolts, the lightning that struck the perjurer dead, set his house on fire, or killed his livestock. Even if a perjurer escaped death, it was expected all over the country that he would fall ill or go from bad to worse till he came to ruin. Poverty and sickness must be his lot. His family might even die out, most dreadful of calamities. His son might be born with a physical defect, lame or blind or with a withered arm or too many fingers to his hands. A man of Tërnovë, near Martanesh, took a false oath, and as a result one of his eyes a year later was as large as his fist. 783

There were also social penalties to be faced. A man detected in a false oath became an outcast, despised and condemned by all his fellows, and was never again invited into any house in the tribe. In grosser cases in the Malësi e Madhe he might even be expelled by the tribe. In Mirditë his family was branded with shame for seven generations. All over the Catholic areas he was also fined. In Mirditë there were elaborate rules for these fines. If there had been a jury of twenty-four, the perjurer had to pay 100 rams and an ox to the Gjomarkaj family. If the jury had been smaller, the fine, which was presumably of the same amount, went to the tribe. In addition, the perjurer had to pay a fine to the Church and 500 grosh to each compurgator for leading him into perjury and outrage to the Church, and so exposing him to the usual punishments for perjury and sacrilege. For the Divine wrath fell on an unwitting no less than on a witting perjurer. It was no excuse for a compurgator in God's eyes that he had forsworn himself in reliance on the suspect's oath; he had had the responsibility of ascertaining the facts for himself. The compurgators and the perjurer had to go to church in order to obtain absolution for their sins. Just before leaving, the perjurer had to leave money on the altar to pay all the fines he had contracted to pay when he took the oath before the compurgators. In the Malësi e Madhe he had to give six purses to the Church as well as one to each compurgator. In Martanesh which is, of course, completely Moslem, the same compensation was payable to each compurgator in a perjury case, but in neighbouring Zerqan the practice was unknown. The fine was obviously a considerable deterrent to would-be perjurers, especially when the jury was large. 687 [672] [558] [783]

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687 As Father Gjeçov remarks, perjury harmed the soul, imposed a fine and disgraced the man in the eyes of his fellows. All three consequences worked powerfully in their different ways to keep oath-takers on the path of truth. A thief, for instance, might get [783] as far as the door of a church or mosque, but there his heart would fail him and he would exclaim, 'Forgive me, I did steal it'. Then he would proceed to make the usual reparation. Even innocent men dreaded the oath and took it with great reluctance. In poverty-stricken Theth many were so afraid of it that even when wrongfully accused, they preferred to pay whatever fine was due for the crime. 782 In Lurë people professed to fear nothing so much. 'You may rob [627] me of my life, but I will not break my oath', they used to say. As [423] for oaths taken to settle disputes, generations afterwards the descendants of the original disputants were afraid to break the oath of their ancestors. This fear kept boundaries that had been trodden out by an elder under an oath immovable for all time, and preserved water rights. In modern Lurë there is some maldistribution of irrigation water, but no attempt is made to remedy this by force of law. Many years ago, the people say, their ancestors took an oath about the irrigation rights of each family and they dare not violate this oath. One of the derisory stories told in sophisticated Tirana about the Highlanders relates that they were such poor stuff that one said, when brought to court, 'I have sworn a solemn oath not to tell, but press me a little and I will speak'.

There were occasions, however, on which perjury was thought permissible or even commendable. A man of Lumë, when asked to be compurgator in a murder case, would sometimes consider whether he might help to make peace between the parties if he forswore himself. If he decided that 'giving a living man for a dead one was no way of doing', he would swear a false oath. In the Malësi e Madhe, a village ward or a tribe had sometimes to swear not to enter a malefactor's house; when this punishment came to seem excessive it was thought advisable to break the oath.

695 In general, the modern mountaineers drew a distinction between 687 their own old jury system and the law court that was superseding it. Reluctant though they remained to forswear themselves by their old system, they would do so joyfully in the modern court, especially if this saved a friend or relative or concealed their possession of a rifle; this weapon being their chief treasure, they would deny '500 times' on oath that they had it. Instead of public censure

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they met with public commendation in such cases. The modernity 195
of the court-house was against the oath; there had been no time for 687
the growth of stories about punishment for perjury in it. For the same reason the new church in Nikaj was not thought so good a place for taking an oath as was the old one.

It happened inevitably that some men were sceptical or sacrilegious enough to take a false oath and plausible enough to persuade the requisite number of compurgators to swear to their innocence. A thief could send a stolen cow to graze with his own, yoke the stolen ox into the plough with one of his own and hang a bell on the neck of the stolen sheep or goat. The real owner might recognize the animal, but he could not claim it. The public too might recognize it, but they had to shut their eyes. The law said, 'what is won by an oath belongs to him who wins it'. The law disliked this principle but had to accept it because there was no way of bringing home a crime to a man who had been cleared by an oath. This legal defect made it essential that honourable and knowledgeable compurgators should be chosen. The same defect made every tribal authority, in the interests of justice, foster the general fear of perjury to the utmost.

In spite of the fear of punishment for perjury, some jesting [522]
stories, which are possibly apocryphal, were told of perjurers. Once there was a headman in the village of Peladhi, near Zerqan, who wrapped up a block of wood in a cloth as if it were a Koran and summoned the village to swear on it that they would no longer go and cut wood illicitly in each other's forest. They took the oath and, believing they had done so on the Koran, kept it. He too took the oath, but knowing it to be void because taken only on a profane bit of wood went afterwards to his neighbour's forest and cut all the wood he wanted.

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CHAPTER XIX

WITNESS (KËPUCAR)

695 While compurgators empanelled for an ordeal by oath were collecting evidence about the case, neither they nor their informants were on oath, and the verdict depended on whether they judged it right or wrong to swear to the suspect's innocence at the conclusion of their inquiries. Many cases, however, were decided on the evidence of a single informant known as a *këpucar*, who was generally sworn in before being allowed to speak. As he was also severely cross-examined by elders and the verdict depended on the impression made by his evidence, he approximated more closely to the English witness than did the compurgators to the English jury.

An informant was a man who gave information leading to the detection of a criminal, above all when a secret murder or a cunningly concealed theft had taken place. His information had to be based on personal observation.

It was believed that all criminal problems could be solved either by oath or a witness. In some of the most secret crimes, as when a haystack was burned or a dog killed in his own farmyard, there was practically no hope of discovering the criminal save by witness. There were other occasions on which trial by witness was chosen in preference to ordeal by oath. If a witness was known to exist, many elders; particularly in Mirditë, declared forthwith that an oath was superfluous. In Martanesh and Zerqan they often waited to see if a witness would come forward before they ordered the suspect to take an oath. In other cases the accuser was allowed to choose between the two methods. He might do so at the outset of the case, when everything was still vague. In Labinot, for example, as soon as the Village Assembly was notified of the crime, both accuser and suspect being present, the headman habitually asked the accuser which method he was using. Whatever his reply, the suspect himself, in a fury at being under suspicion, gave the accuser the choice of method. Or the choice might be offered when the preparations for the suspect's taking the oath were almost concluded. In Mirditë, for instance, as soon as the compurgators announced that they were ready to clear the suspect, the elders bade

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the accuser come and witness their oath or produce a *këpucar*. An accuser who had good reason to be dissatisfied with the suspect's acquittal was entitled to pursue his inquiries and, securing fresh evidence of the suspect's guilt from an eye-witness, to lay this before the elders with a demand that the case should be reconsidered. Indeed, many elders after delivering a verdict of 'not guilty' reminded the accuser that if he was dissatisfied he was at liberty to find a *këpucar*. He could not, of course, have the suspect put to the oath a second time; 'oath upon oath' was not allowed by the law.

An eye-witness had always to come forward of his own accord; the accuser could not go and look for him directly. In ordinary cases, the accuser let it be known through private channels that he would be glad to find one, but in the cases of arson and murder of a dog already mentioned, the Village Assembly might issue a public appeal for information. No time limit was ever set. Information given a year or more after the crime had been committed was treated as seriously as if it were only a day old.

In every type of case the witness first approached the accuser saying, that he had found the stolen property, the murderer, or the falsity of the oath as the case might be. The accuser then had to go to the suspect and demand restitution. In Mirditë, at least, he had to be accompanied by two friends who were sometimes asked afterwards to confirm that he had warned the suspect. If the latter refused to make atonement, the accuser had to warn him that he had a witness. If the suspect persisted in his refusal, saying, 'Produce your witness', the accuser then, but only then, settled the witness's fee and secured his information. The elders then formed a committee for the purpose of cross-examining the witness. In Zerqan this consisted of five or six men appointed by the suspect and two or three friends of the accuser. In Mirditë it was selected from the *pritëtarë* (sing. *pritëtar*), men fitted to be judges or compurgators by their honour, wisdom and experience in cross-examining witnesses. In the Malësi e Madhe the committee was formed by the bajraktar and one to four headmen; the qualities which such personages were believed to inherit along with their position were thought sufficient equipment for dealing with a witness. Elsewhere one elder was considered enough in simple cases; he was chosen by the suspect at the bidding of the accuser, by the two together, or by the other elders.

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695 With a few exceptions, the greatest precautions were taken to conceal the witness's identity, as the criminal would have killed him if he had discovered who he was. In Mirditë he was allowed to object to the nomination of men whom he thought too indiscreet to preserve his incognito, and those eventually selected had to take an oath that so long as they lived they would not without his permission divulge his identity. He was always interviewed in all secrecy; often the accuser alone knew who he was. He might be taken to an empty house where the elders awaited him, or led at night to the house of an elder who questioned him from a balcony while he stood unseen by all the inmates, the elder included, in the dark farmyard. In the Malësi e Madhe he was often given a rendezvous by night in another village altogether. In Zerqan he usually met the committee in some lonely spot at sunset, with them on one side of a thick hedge and him on the other so that they could not see him. However often he was interviewed, it was always in the same secrecy.

No doubt owing to the danger involved in trying to bring a criminal to justice, a witness was always given a fee. With the delicacy characteristic of Albanians the fee was cloaked under the name of *këpucë* (lit. 'shoe'), presumably in allusion to the shoe-leather which he wore out in finding or conveying his information. Consequently, *këpucar* means literally the 'man who gets shoe-money'.

In the case of theft the witness's fee was not allowed to exceed the value of the stolen property. It was generally determined by agreement between witness and accuser at their first meeting, often after lively bargaining, particularly if the witness was greedy enough to ask more than he should. When the accuser let it be known that he was looking for a witness, he often specified the fee he was willing to pay. When the theft took place in a house, the fee
[577] was doubled, because human life had been endangered and the house's honour tarnished; house-breaking always implied that the men in it were weak or the womenfolk light. In Kurbin and Lumë, for example, four napoleons were paid to an informant who found an ox that had been stolen from the farmyard or stable under the house, but only its value, which was always less than four napoleons, in those districts when it had been stolen while grazing outside.

684 A man who disclosed a woman's adultery to her husband
695 received no fee; and a friend was not allowed to take money for

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such a service. In this type of crime there was, of course, no trial in view; the husband's rifle was the only possible arbiter. 695 [684]

The examination which an eye-witness had to pass was very stiff. As a first step, he had to take oath before the elders that he would tell the truth without prejudice or spite; the man he accused was not to be troubled till his accusation was proved to be just. The only extant example of his oath, which comes from Çermenikë, runs, 'Look upon this earth, these mountains, these plains, this sky. You must carry them (through all eternity) if you lie', said the elders. 'Let me carry them. It is as I say,' the witness replied. Sometimes an elder recognized the witness and, knowing him to be of good character, did not ask him to risk his future by taking an oath. Even if he did not recognize him but only liked his manner and general appearance, he might excuse him.

When everything was set for cross-examination, the elders questioned the witness closely, noting any discrepancies in his statements, and looking out for any sign that the accusation was false. If it was a case of perjury, they had to be specially patient [687] and careful as the penalties involved were so much heavier. The witness was not a professional like our detectives. Often he was a man so trusted by the thief that he had constant access to his house and so was in a position to see the stolen goods as soon as produced.

The witness had to give a detailed description of the crime and stolen property to the elders. In most cases of theft he must have either seen the thief in the act of stealing or leaving the scene of the theft or observed the stolen goods in the house or hand of the thief. When an ox had been stolen, he had to say where he saw the animal, where the thief had killed it, sold its hide and so on. When several oxen had been stolen he had to report according to their colouring that one was black, another white and a third dappled, that the thief took first this road, then that, killed one ox at such and such a spot and sold another to so-and-so. Whatever he said was subject to confirmation. When he alleged a sale, the elders sent independent agents to inquire whether it had really taken place. When he said the ox had been eaten, he had to produce concrete evidence, a token such as a bit of the skin, a horn, or some other part. This was the most conclusive of all possible evidence.

If the witness stood up well to the cross-examination, the elders declared that the suspect was guilty and must make the statutory

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695 atonement. If the witness had come forward after the suspect had
[687] taken an oath and been acquitted, the elders declared the suspect's oath invalid, pronounced him guilty, and sentenced him, not only to the usual penalties for his crime, but also to punishment for perjury.

[685] Apart from what his perjury, if any, cost him, the convicted thief had to pay the value of the stolen property, the witness's fee and the elders' fee. He had to hand the witness's fee to the owner of the stolen goods, who had to pass it on to the witness, whose anonymity was thus preserved. In order to extract the witness's fee the elders commonly valued the stolen property at a good deal more than its real price; when the thief paid up, the owner retained the real price and handed the surplus to the witness. In Mirditë, says Father Gjeçov, the accuser who failed to warn the suspect at the outset that he had a witness, could not, even if the suspect was convicted, recover more than half the witness's fee. There does not seem to have been a similar law elsewhere.

If a thief continued to deny the theft and refused to pay his various fines after being declared guilty on a witness's evidence, the elders said he must take an oath that he was innocent, and then the compurgators stepped in, forbidding him to perjure himself and so confirming his conviction. This was in Mirditë and Lumë. In Martanesh, the law apparently went further. If a man convicted by a witness of having stolen from a house—the worst type of theft—denied the theft, was ordered to prove his innocence by an oath, and succeeded in doing so, and if the accuser still persisted in his accusation, the latter was asked to produce his witness before a new committee of elders. If a searching cross-examination convinced these that he was telling the truth, they ordered the thief to swear with forty-eight compurgators that he was innocent. This was double the number usual even in murder cases, and far more than he could ever hope to find.

695 The cross-examining elders sometimes concluded that the
687 witness was lying. In Dukagjin, when quite certain of this, they made him instead of the thief pay for the stolen property. In the Malësi e Madhe, attended by their followers, they went and burned down his house, killed him if they caught him, and confiscated his property, making it common land on which all were free to graze, although none could plant grapes or sow maize. If some time elapsed before they discovered he had lied and if in the meantime

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they had punished the man he denounced, they repaid any moneys 695
taken from this man out of the false witness's property, selling 687
a portion of it if necessary.

In some southern areas manners were softer. In Çermenikë and Zerqan a lying witness was dismissed with a contemptuous word, suffering only disgrace in the accuser's eyes. Since his identity had never transpired, the public thought neither more nor less of him than before.

Sometimes the witness convicted himself of being the thief. This 685
happened especially when he knew too many details, describing too 695
exactly, for instance, the colour of a stolen animal's hair, the number of its spots, or the shape and twirls of its horns. The elders then called him the thief outright and sentenced him to pay their fee as well as the value of the stolen property and the amount he had extracted from the accuser as his own fee. 'So you wanted to steal twice over from him, did you?' they would exclaim. In Martanesh [558]
they also disgraced him publicly. The elder in whose yard he was being secretly examined called out to the accuser to come and seize him like the thief he was; during his cross-examination the accuser had remained, as was everywhere customary, out of earshot. As the yard was bolted for the night, the thief could not escape. Next day he was led out in front of the assembled village, denounced by the elders, and publicly sentenced to pay the sums described above. It often happened that they saw him then for the first time.

In Mirditë, it sometimes happened that a witness, observing that he had failed to convince the elders, and certain of his evidence, came forward publicly, seized the thief (or murderer) by the arm and denounced him as the criminal. Such courage never failed to win credence for his story.

If the witness was dismissed as a liar or convicted as the thief, the accuser lost the money he had paid him as well as the value of his lost property. That explains why a suspect could not be put to the oath a second time, yet could be retried as it were on a witness's evidence. It cost the accuser nothing to make a suspect take an oath, so that if the law had allowed 'oath after oath', a litigiously minded man might have made himself an endless nuisance to suspect, elders, compurgators and general public. But there was no such risk with a witness. The accuser had to prepay him whatever fee they agreed on, and if he had been foolish enough to trust an unsatisfactory person, he lost his money.

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CHAPTER XV

THEFT AS A CRIME

685 Most of the material on theft comes from the history of Turkish times. The Turks, none too efficient in the towns, did not even try to control the mountaineers, and theft was, therefore, very common. During the twenty years between the Great Wars, the only period of independence that Albania had enjoyed for 500 years, theft was not one of the major crimes. This was often commented on by Major-General Sir Jocelyn Percy, who, as Organizer in Chief of the Albanian Gendarmerie, had cognizance for twelve years of every crime committed in the country. When the first British officers arrived in Albania in 1943, the machinery of modern government had already broken down. In view of that fact, and of the general effect of war conditions, it was not surprising that they should have found the mountaineers stealing frequently and on a large scale.

In the eyes of the law, thieves were divided into several categories according to the gravity of their crime. In Mirditë they were pilferers, robbers or highwaymen. The pilferer 'pinched' a small article from a house; the robber stole a beast with his own hands; and the highwayman robbed with violence. In Fulqet the categories were pilferer, timid thief and complete thief. The pilferer was a bad type because he came near enough to a house to steal clothes on its fence; the timid thief stole sheep in the forest; and the complete thief broke into houses and was ready to kill as well as to rob. In Dibër a thief with sandals was never so bad as a thief in shoes, stealing only a sheep or two, whereas the thief shod and dressed in European fashion was a serious menace. Here there was a sly reference to government officials and gendarmes, the only persons dressed in the 'French' manner whom the average Dibian knows.

Thieves were also classified according to their motives. A pilferer was usually prompted by innate wickedness and was consequently incorrigible. Others, especially the Highlanders of the north-west, stole for fun and were, therefore, worse than murderers who had some compelling motive for their crime. Many stole because

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everyone else did, and they would only have been laughed at if they 685
had refrained. As the proverb says, 'One bunch of grapes, seeing another ripening, then ripens itself'. Then there were incidental offenders: a man who could not recover a debt might distrain on his debtor by turning highwayman and seizing his pack-pony or sheep on the public road; or men might steal out of spite. The debt recovered or the spite vented, such thieves usually became law-abiding citizens again. Though poverty is, and always has been, extreme in this mountainous land, hunger rarely made a man steal. Few broke into a house to help themselves because of the risks involved. Many, however, would catch a lamb or kid on the mountain where the risks were less and, after killing it, make a cooking-vessel of its paunch and boil the meat over a gipsy fire. Sheep-stealing often took place on a grand scale between family [579]
and family, village and village or tribe and tribe. There are many popular tales of forays for fun or glory. 'Ragging' the other house, village or tribe and, more especially, the hated Serbs and Montenegrins, was a recognized sport, and the bigger the booty the greater the glory. There was a picnic atmosphere about such expeditions. A hundred men might go, half to drive the sheep and half to take pot-shots at pursuers. As soon as the first party found the flock they killed the bell-wether and cut off its head. One of them held this out, bell and all, to the other sheep and ran off at top speed. As the sheep galloped helter-skelter after the head, the rest of the party ran hither and thither shouting and cursing, laughing and beating the sheep with sticks to make them run faster. Being pressed for time, they left the leader's carcass on the ground. They usually disarmed the shepherd and carried him off to prevent his giving the alarm. On releasing him they gave him what they pleased.

On the whole there was little shame about individual and group thieving, although there were many expressions of disapproval. The men of Lumë had a saying, 'Better be a good-for-nothing than a thief', which was in direct contradiction to their reputation. The Malesors asserted that all other tribes were thieves, but that they themselves never stole. The Catholics of Kthellë used to say that it was better not to sleep too softly like the Moslems of Mat, whose oxen had often been driven away, killed and eaten before they got out of their beds. The man who stole because he had been stolen from evoked universal admiration. There were, however, two forms

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of theft which were no less universally regarded as shameful. A man who stole from another with whom he had broken bread as host or guest disgraced himself for ever. A woman must not steal for fun or spite. If she did, not only her husband's family, but the whole village felt ashamed and took steps to deal with her.

The accomplice who helped the thief, the host who fed him and the receiver who hid the booty were all considered as no less guilty than the thief himself. 'A thief and his host are the same', and 'Like thief, like receiver' were common sayings. All had to suffer punishment in proportion to their share in the crime and booty. The owner of stolen goods had the right to remove them from the premises of a receiver and to claim compensation, and the receiver had no legal claim for redress as against the thief. On the other hand, if a man bought stolen goods in good faith he had to give them back to the rightful owner, but he was entitled to recover what he had paid for them from the thief.

All possible means of protection against theft were adopted by the mountain peoples. Every man carried a gun by day, and slept with it beside him at night. Dogs were kept in every house and sheepfold. Domestic animals were branded with a mark that could not be destroyed, as when sheep had both their ears notched. Farmyards were surrounded by walls too high to scale and had stout wooden gates heavily bolted at night. Thieves, however, could make holes in the mud and stone walls, and frequently forced an entry that way. The walls of many village shops were lined with wood, so that a thief's chisel, striking it, would make sufficient noise to put the householder on the alert.

In Turkish times many villages sent out armed patrols every night, composed not of professionals like the night watchman of the towns, but of unpaid villagers who served in turn as directed by the village headman. When there was danger of sheep-stealing on a large scale, the threatened villages sometimes bought the protection of some strong man. For example, the villagers of Reç, now in Yugoslavia, hired protection from sheep-stealers of Dibër by paying the Kaloshi family of Dibër a thousand napoleons a year. Nor were the parties deterred from contracting together by the fact that the Kaloshis were Moslems and Albanians, and the villagers of Reç were Orthodox and Macedonian Bulgars.

In the extreme north and south of the mountains, guns could legitimately be used when a thief was caught in the act of breaking

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into a house or sheepfold, though in some districts the house- 627
holder or shepherd had to warn the thief three times before 685
shooting in order to avoid a blood feud. The local law said, 'A thief's blood is lost'. In Mirditë, however, there was a saying that 'A blood feud is not stopped by felony', and there it was forbidden to kill a housebreaker at sight. This prohibition had been introduced to prevent men killing their enemies and placing their dead bodies in the farmyard to give the impression that they had been caught in the act of theft.

A man who robbed a child or a woman, stole a loaded packhorse, or another man's gun, could be shot even when not caught in the act, though a blood feud might follow such action.

In Turkish times, the authorities had to be informed of the [687]
death of anyone in the act of theft, but they did not punish the man who had killed him. They required only that he should keep watch and ward over the body till some official arrived and send word to the relatives to make arrangements for burial. After the funeral, the relatives and the killer resumed ordinary relations. Strong men, of course, sometimes overrode the ordinary rules and decencies. Thus Deli Beg, the overlord of Preze, an old market centre, was so determined to stop all raids on his flocks that he not only killed all thieves, but shamed them when dead. He tied their bodies on horses, with the heads propped up with a muleteer's forked stick, and drove them through the village streets. He never troubled to inform the authorities of the deaths.

There were elaborate rules for the detection of the thief who 685
succeeded in escaping with his booty. In Lumë the village 694
authorities had the right to search one house after another for the stolen property. Everywhere the victim might try and find it for himself. He would follow the tracks of a stolen animal, generally in the direction of the home of someone known to have a grudge against him. When the tracks ended at a house or its immediate surroundings, the master was regarded as convicted of the theft. 'Track on the ground, animal found', and the owner had the right to take it away immediately if it was still alive. The thief might refuse to produce it and the owner could then ask leave to search the premises. If such permission was not given, the owner had to turn to the elders to enlist their help, as he also had to do if it were found that the animal was dead.

When the beast's tracks stopped between two houses, the

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685 formula then applied was 'The beast or an oath'. Each house had
694 to make oath separately that it did not harbour the stolen property. The same routine was followed when the tracks stopped between two villages, the villages as a whole having to take oath.

The tracks of an animal might be destroyed by the thief, or the property stolen might not be an animal at all. In such cases, the owner had to rely on information supplied by third parties, and this was seldom lacking in small communities where there were few secrets. If the whereabouts of the stolen property was discovered, the suspected thief might admit the crime, and if so, the owner and he might settle about repayment themselves, or leave it
685 to the elders to do so. If the suspect denied the theft, the owner
695 informed the village headman of his loss and of the identity of the suspected thief, and the latter called an Assembly to which he summoned owner and suspect. A suspect who did not appear was declared guilty and ordered to pay for the stolen goods. If the suspect came, the owner was given the choice between ordeal by oath and trial on the evidence of an eye-witness, and the proceedings then took the ordinary form.

The convicted thief had first of all to make restitution in accordance with the 'twofold' or 'two-for-one' rule, which exacted twice the value of the stolen goods in kind or money. In Mirditë, when animals were given in restitution, their selection was left to the thief, and, to quote from Father Gjeçov, 'it sufficed if they could walk on their feet'. In Martanesh a committee of two or three was appointed by the thief to make the choice, and this committee had to be accepted by the owner. In addition to restitution, a penalty might be imposed, either in the form of a fine or by ordering an extra number of compurgators if the oath was to be taken. The amount of the fine was largely fixed by tradition though the elders might vary it according to extenuating or aggravating circumstances.

There were various generally recognized kinds of aggravating circumstances. For instance, if a thief lost, spoiled, or ate what he had taken, the penalties were often heavy. In Martanesh and adjoining districts a loser could put any value he liked on a stolen
[683] article that had been destroyed. In Zerqan, it was regarded as a disgrace to the owner of a stolen sheep if it was eaten by the thief on the mountain. Punishment then was not only for the theft, but for the injury to the honour of the victim.

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Another aggravated form of theft was that which took place on the public highway. There was a rule that 'the public highway must not be cut'. If a robber stole a wayfarer's horse, mule, donkey or sheep, shooting inevitably took place; if the thief survived, he had to return the animal, and to pay whatever the Village Assembly decreed. A man very often turned highwayman because he thought his victim was in his debt. If this belief turned out to be mistaken, he had to pay a fine for cutting the highway, besides returning the stolen animal and compensating the owner for the loss of its services. When a sheep had been taken, and was not returned at once, the thief might even be expelled from the village with all his family. 685

Robbery of a Catholic church was sacrilege and a very serious view was taken of it. The thief was shot by the tribe and could not be avenged. His family was expelled and his nearest relatives bought his land, the price going to the church. Stealing from the priest's house or from church lands was still sacrilege, but not so severely punished. In addition to returning two-for-one, the thief had to pay a fine for violating the sanctuary of the house or lands and another to the community for the threat to it. In Mirditë the same penalties were imposed if the theft occurred elsewhere but the booty was hidden in the church. 685 688

Thefts from Orthodox churches and Moslem shrines were also regarded as sacrilege, but not thefts from the houses of Orthodox priests or Moslem clerics, as they were usually at some distance from the places of worship and no sanctity attached to them.

Breaking into any house in order to steal was regarded as a very serious crime, for it brought dishonour as well as material loss to the householder. Opening the farmyard gate or the house door, without giving due warning and being invited to enter, was regarded as housebreaking and punished as such. In Krasniqë, the fine for burgling a house was four times that for burgling a sheepfold. Stealing out on the lonely mountain was regarded as still less heinous, and only one article had to be given in restitution; nor was any fine imposed. 683 685

A man might be dishonoured by other forms of theft than that of housebreaking. In the Malësi e Madhe, a fine of 500 grosh was imposed on the man who helped himself to another's tobacco box or cigarette, and a mere touch on another's pocket might bring a fine. A story is told of a man who was shot at a General

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685 [683] Assembly by his neighbour from whose tobacco box he had inadvertently rolled a cigarette. In every tribe and village, a man's honour was so stained by the theft of his gun or his wife that he had to shoot the thief and take the consequences of the ensuing blood feud.

The penalties imposed depended also on the nature of the articles stolen. North Albania was predominantly pastoral and, as the safety of the flock of sheep depended on the bell-animal, penalties for stealing this animal were heavy.[1] In Lumë the owner could demand six or seven sheep for the thief: 'as well steal the whole flock as its leader.' In Perlat stealing a bell-wether was such a disgraceful act that in the blood feud against the thief's family, even a woman could be killed. The bell of the leading animal was even more precious than the animal itself, and in Perlat, if it were stolen, it had to be returned and a sheep with it. In Labinot, the bell was thought too unlucky to be hung round an animal's neck again, and instead of returning it, the thief had to pay twice its value or be shot. In Mirditë a fine of 500 grosh was imposed for the dishonour done to the owner.

The two-for-one rule was applied to thefts of all farm animals, with the exception of pigs and cocks. The man who stole a pig had to pay 500 grosh in hard cash. This sum was often ten times the value of the animal, but the pig was the mainstay of the poor man and required special protection. The same sum of 500 grosh had to be paid for a cock, as 'the cock is the poor man's watch'. It was said that in Krasniqë an actual watch had to be paid instead of the money penalty.

685 562 [1162] [672] Firewood was usually collected by women, and when they stole it their husbands were held responsible. It was common practice to seize the axe with which the thief cut the wood and the rope with which she slung it on her back. These articles were sometimes used as visible evidence of her guilt, sometimes retained as compensation, or as a guarantee for the payment of the penalty, or of the fee due to the elder who dealt with the case. Women might steal other things than firewood, and responsibility was always placed on the husband. It is recorded that, during the reign of King Zog, men might even be imprisoned for their wives' thefts. It was they who had to take the oath if an oath was required. The woman did not, however, get off scot free. In most areas she was

[1] Vide supra, p. 173.

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beaten by her husband, and no matter how severe the punishment, 562
her[1] brother, who was her natural protector, would be too ashamed 685
of her conduct to interfere. If a thieving woman did not mend her [593]
ways, her husband usually divorced her. The southern Catholics, [586]
anxious to reform erring wives and to avoid divorce, sometimes sent
wrongdoers to spend a night in the lonely church of Shen Ndue in
the forest above the village of Laç in Kurbin. This treatment is
said to have been effective in many cases!

By the laws of hospitality, a man never robbed his guest nor 574
a guest his host. If a third party robbed either, the other did his 685
best to find the thief and the stolen goods. But such laws were not
always respected, and penalties were prescribed for their breach.
In Mirditë a guest who stole was ostracized as well as having to
pay the usual penalty. In Kurbin he was expelled for ever from
the tribe. If a guest in Mirditë was robbed by a fellow-guest, their
host demanded double redress from the criminal—for the injury
to his guest and for housebreaking. If a guest was robbed after
leaving his host's house, it was still the host's duty to punish the
thief, as the latter would know where the victim had been.

1 [i.e. the Albanian wife, as recorded during the reign of King Zog --Analyst]

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CHAPTER XXI

MURDER WITHIN THE FAMILY

682 When a man murdered his son, father, brother, paternal uncle,
627 paternal uncle's son, or brother's son, the usual verdict was that
596 in killing so near a relative the murderer had 'killed himself'. The victim's blood was therefore lost, 'no one sought-to-avenge him', and it had only been his 'ill-luck' so to die.

From another point of view it might be argued that since the murderer was the victim's nearest relative, other relatives could not act over his head and avenge the dead man. For example, when a man murdered his paternal uncle, if the latter left neither son nor brother, his blood was lost, for the murderer was his nearest relative and by killing him had only killed himself. On the other hand, if the uncle left either a son or a brother, that son or brother was nearer to him than the murderer and avenged his death. In view of his relationship to the criminal his vengeance generally took the form of exacting blood money. In the same way when a man murdered his brother's son, the victim's blood was lost if he left neither father nor brother. But if he left either, the murderer had to pay blood money. The rule of the nearest relative failed only if one brother killed another while their father was alive. Though the father was the nearest relative of the victim, the fratricide being only a neighbour by comparison, the victim's blood was lost. The father could not avenge him except by killing his surviving son, and even from the best of motives no decent father would kill a son.

[672] The motive of the murderer seldom affected the situation. The murder of a son, an extremely rare occurrence, was oftenest due
[584] to his adultery with his young stepmother. His blood was lost, not because of his sin, but solely because the father who murdered him
[587] was his nearest relative. Again, one brother sometimes fell in love with the other's wife, and knowing, especially in north Albania,
[607] that if she became a widow he could by customary law marry her, could not always resist the temptation to make her a widow. The
[558] victim's blood was lost in spite of the murderer's motive, and the fratricide married the widow and suffered no disability except some loss of face.

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loss of face. At Krujë in 1930 when the authorities sought to 682
punish a man who had murdered his brother during a quarrel, the 627
widow swore that the pistol had gone off accidentally when her 596
brother-in-law was trying to wrest it from her husband, who had
threatened suicide. Having thus prevented the authorities from [641]
taking action, the widow made no effort to keep the true story of
the murder quiet, but repeated it every day during the month [765]
when the women met for the ceremonial 'keening'. She was also
openly commended by the public for preventing the government
from shaming her husband's family by arresting the murderer.

Exceptionally, if the murderer's motive was bad by tribal stan- [672]
dards, his relative was well avenged. For instance, if a man killed
his cousin or nephew to get his land, the crime was considered so
anti-social that the murderer was killed by the community, his blood
was lost, and his family expelled. Again, exceptionally, a motive
might be so good by tribal standards as to win the murderer public
admiration. Thus children in Shalë were taught with great pride
that once a tribesman killed his brother for killing a guest, for an [574]
Albanian's duty to his guest transcends the claims of blood
relationship.

Two modifications of the general rule are to be noted. In Mirditë in spite of the victim's blood being lost, the murderer had to pay the tribe the fine due in cases of ordinary murder, 100 rams and an ox. In the Malësi e Madhe if the two brothers had separated the fratricide had to pay blood money to his brother's dependants. If the widow had no children, she took all the money; if she had a daughter only, she again took it all, for when the time came for the girl to marry, she would as 'head of the family' have to pay the wedding expenses; if she had a son, he took all the money, for his father's death had made him head of the family. The blood money was therefore alimony payable to the widow and orphans who had been robbed of their breadwinner. If the two brothers had not separated, the fratricide as a matter of course supported the widow and orphans along with the other members of his household and the question of alimony did not arise.

Parricide was thought the most abhorrent of all murders within 682
the family. In a sense a father had the right to kill his son without 627
being asked by anybody what he had done, but a son unnatural 593
enough to kill his father could surely not have been got by that
father, but must be a bastard. Even where his crime was regarded

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682 as suicide so that he escaped with his life, and that was the com-
627 monest result, he was treated as 'a low-class fellow', visited by
593 none but bad characters, and, if a Mohammedan, never given the greeting 'Peace be with thee'. In Mirditë, always more rigorous than other districts, he was considered so anti-social that he was either killed or expelled in perpetuity by his kinsmen, or, according to another version, by the whole village along with his kinsmen.

606 The murder of certain relatives did not concern the family. Thus,
628 if a man murdered a relative by marriage, such as his son-in-law, father-in-law, wife's brother, or sister's husband, the crime ranked as an ordinary murder and was expiated with a life or with blood money. The marriage tie was disregarded; the important point was that, unlike two brothers living under separate roofs, murderer and
[58] victim belonged to different families. Such murders were very rare, for marriage relationships were always contracted to secure a valued friend, and no Albanian in his senses ever threw a friend lightly away. Again, if a man murdered his maternal uncle or his sister's son, murderer and victim belonged to different families, and blood money at least was payable for the crime. The contingency rarely arose, since a maternal uncle was regarded as a father and a sister's son as one's own child.

628 If a woman was taken in adultery, and her husband killed her and
837 her paramour together—'kerchief and cap together'—he incurred
684 no feud; their deaths went unavenged; it was a case of 'blood for
593 blood', one equal to the other. To prove them guilty he sent for his wife's brother and her lover's brother to see them both lying dead; his message would run, 'I killed her because I caught her sinning'. The wife's brother would hand him a cartridge, saying, 'Here is a cartridge for my sister. Bravo for doing this'. The paramour's nearest relatives came to the house, drank coffee, and took away the corpse; the murderer accompanied them to their house, drank coffee, and so peace was established between them. If the paramour's brother was 'a gentleman', 'a man', he would give a cartridge to the husband, saying, 'I pardon your crime because my brother has sinned'. Even the father of the paramour might say to the murderer, 'A blessing on your rifle', and give him coffee as a sign that there was peace between them. In modern times the government accepted the evidence of the two bodies lying together and punished the husband with no more than two or three weeks' imprisonment.

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This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother or her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an adulteress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband

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had killed her out of ill-will. After her brother had killed a male from his house, the husband would kill both her brother and her lover; then peace would be made between all three families. In Martanesh and Lumë if the husband did not kill the lover as well, the wife's brother, when threatening vengeance, would say, 'You killed the bitch; why didn't you kill the dog also?'

Sometimes a husband had not the courage or the heart to kill his wife; then perhaps his people killed her. Or perhaps he sent word to her father that he had found her sinning and asked him to kill her. But the father generally replied to such husbands, 'Kill her yourself, because I gave her to you to look after'. If the wife suspected this interchange of messages, she might run away to her father. In that case her husband sent him word saying, 'Either kill that bitch or see me destroy you root and branch'. The father then either killed her or sent her to her husband to kill. If the father protected the wife, a blood feud began between him and the husband, for the latter could not bear the world to think that he had swallowed such a disgrace.

In Martanesh, it should be noted, it was permissible, as it was not elsewhere, to kill the lover and the wife separately, if they could not be found together. This seems to have been the case in Dibër also. About 1916 a man in Vleshjë (Dibër) found his wife unfaithful and killed the lover. The wife ran away, but the husband caught her, poured paraffin on her, and burned her alive, yet seems to have escaped her brother's vengeance.

If the outraged husband killed only the lover, then he had to fear vengeance from the lover's family. In Lumë on the principle that 'vengeance is not abandoned because of guilt', vengeance was sometimes taken by a 'bad' brother for a man killed in adultery. He might kill the husband, forgive him, or demand blood money.

A gruesome story of collective punishment of a guilty pair comes from Martanesh. About 1912 a young man was caught with a young wife. The 'circle' of the young man took him and the 'circle' of the wife took her out to an appointed spot where they stood them up together. The youth's uncle shot him dead, and the girl's brother shot her, while the drums beat and the other men danced. The honour of the two families being thus cleared, they buried the two close together, but in separate graves, at cross-roads; no hoxha was present to commit them to the grave, nor were they washed and changed. In the neighbouring Zdrâjshë also a guilty

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couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the [582] inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 628 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

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682 father, his only means of doing so, was forbidden. Her son by
562 another husband, belonging as he did to another family, was free
628 to avenge her. If a woman's son killed her for any but the above
596 heinous crimes, her husband could not avenge her, since to do so
[607] he must kill his son. In Mirditë her brother could kill her son or other male in his family, but elsewhere it was held that her brother was as helpless as her husband because her son was a nearer relative and her nearest relative having killed her, her blood must be lost. If she was married for the second time and was killed by the son of her former marriage, her husband could kill his stepson, but as before, her brother's hands were tied, except in Mirditë, by the law of nearest relative.

When a man killed his brother's wife for any other reason than those stated above, her husband took no action if he and the murderer had not separated; the murder was a family affair. Her brother, however, killed one of them. If the two brothers had separated, the murderer had to pay blood money to her husband. If the husband did not exact it within a year, her brother killed either the murderer or her husband. Her husband never killed his brother: 'I'd never kill my brother for the sake of my wife', was a common saying.

When a woman was killed by her father or brother, her blood was always lost by the rule of nearest relative. If she was married, her husband did not, in most districts, continue friendly relations with the murderer, but in some, such as Krasniqë, he asked him for another girl and on receiving her forgot his annoyance at the other's [584] murder. The same was true if the murdered woman was only betrothed, for a betrothed girl 'is counted the man's wife'. When a woman was killed by some other man in her own family, by her uncle or her nephew for instance, by the rule of nearest relative her blood was lost if she was neither married nor betrothed. If she was [593] either and was not killed for a heinous crime, her husband felt he had been disgraced and avenged her by killing a male in her family.

When murders were committed by women, the situation was complicated by the fact that women belonged to two families, their husband's and their father's.

[672] If a woman murdered her husband, both his family and her father's were involved. The important factor was her motive, which was usually love for another man who had probably bought the necessary rat poison in the bazaar. If her lover was her

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husband's brother, she married him and her husband's blood was 682
lost exactly as if he had died by his brother's hand. If her lover 562
was an outsider, her husband's brother killed her. He had the 628
right to do so, woman though she was, for a question of honour 596
was involved, and for questions of honour women might lawfully be put to death. Her son by the dead man could not kill the murderess because matricide is not allowable. Her husband's son by another wife was under no such inhibition, for he was only her stepson and therefore no relative. If her father's family believed in her adulterous motive, they sent a cartridge to her husband's brother, thereby signifying that they gave him leave to kill her and would not avenge her death. If they did not believe in the alleged motive, they avenged her by killing a man in her husband's family and an unusually bitter feud resulted.

Sometimes her husband's brother was too high-spirited or too angry to rest content with killing the murderess and killed one of her male relatives as well; he would plead that a woman's blood could never equal a man's and that her male relatives were responsible for her misdeeds. Sometimes a murderess escaped alive to her [591] father's house. In that case she was held to have escaped from the suzerainty of her husband's family and became a stranger; as a stranger she must expiate her crime, but her sex shielded her personally and threw the onus of expiation on her male relatives—'Women don't have blood feuds'. Her husband's brother was therefore bound to kill one of her relatives. To avoid losing a male for his daughter's crime her father sometimes killed her himself, [628] a desperate act that always satisfied her husband's brother.

A woman rarely murdered any other man than her husband. If [593] she did murder her brother, it was assumed that it had happened by accident as he was her surest protector. There are no records of the murder of father or paternal uncle by a woman.

The last category of murders within the family includes the very rare cases in which a woman murdered a woman in her husband's or her father's family. If she murdered her mother or her daughter, both most unlikely contingencies if she were sane, the victim's blood was lost by law of nearest relative. In all other cases the result depended on whether her victim was single or married. Thus the murder of her unmarried sister, paternal aunt, brother's daughter, counted as a suicide and the victim's blood was lost. If she murdered her husband's sister, the victim's blood was again

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582 lost because the only possible avenger was the woman's husband,
562 who was not likely to kill the wife, who had cost him good money, for
628 the sake of his sister, though he was more likely to do so for the sake
596 of his father or brother. If she murdered a married woman of her
[607] own kin, her victim's husband exacted blood money from the males of her family or perhaps another girl. If she murdered a married woman in her husband's kin, his brother's wife, for example, or her own brother's wife, her victim's brother exacted blood money or even a life from the males in her family.

When a woman killed the wife of her husband's brother, her victim's husband had to suffer the loss of his chattel in silence. He could not kill the murderess because a man might not kill his brother's wife for any reason other than adultery or thieving. Nor could he kill her husband because a man might not kill his own brother. In his default his wife was avenged by her brother, who might kill either him or his brother if they were not separated, but only him if they were. Whatever the issue, her sex saved the murderess from expiating her crime.

[606] When a woman killed her mother-in-law or her daughter-in-law, her sex again saved her from expiating the crime. Her victim's brother was the only possible avenger, for no member of her husband's family could kill the murderess for anything except adultery and thieving. The avenger could kill any male in the family of the murderess; the marriage relationship did not count.

CHAPTER XXII

BLOOD FEUD

I. FAMILY VENGEANCE AND COLLECTIVE VENGEANCE

To understand the fabric of the Albanian blood feud it is essential 621 to remember several things. Till after the 1914–18 war communica- 628* tions in Albania were so bad, government centres so few and the 596 gendarmerie so ill-organized that communities were largely self- 619 governing. These communities consisted in the narrower sense of the family, and in the wider sense of the tribe. If a person was injured, the family in most cases, and the tribe in a few cases, by the law of self-government punished the wrongdoer. Since the individual was almost completely submerged in his family, an injury to him was an injury to the whole family and might be punished by any of its members. When the tribal community was involved, the injury might again be avenged by any of its members. When the injury took the form of murder, vengeance generally [681] took the Mosaic form of a life for a life, but sometimes was achieved by the exaction of blood money or the imposition of exile.

When the family of a murdered man, in default of government 628* action, took the punishment of the murderer into its own hands 596 and killed him or one of his male relatives, the head of his family might admit that both sides were equal and make peace. On the other hand, while still admitting that both sides were equal he might prefer to continue the feud by killing a second male from the avenging family; that done, a second life was forfeit on his side. In this way the feud might rage backwards and forwards for years or even generations, each family being in turn murderer and victim, hunter and hunted. 'To take vengeance' was 'to take the blood' (that is, of the man already killed, not of him who was to make atonement); the criminal was called 'the bloodstained', and avenger and criminal thought of each other as the 'enemy'. In north Albania the criminal was also called the 'agent' and the avenger the 'master of the blood of the victim', i.e. the master of the house in which the victim lived. 'To incur a feud' was 'to fall into blood' or 'enmity'.

This simple outline was filled in with all manner of elaborate

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*628 596 details; vengeance could not be taken indiscriminately, but was governed by a multiplicity of rules. Thus, a murdered man found his most natural avenger in his brother, especially if they had not separated. If his father was not too old, and his son too young, to bear arms, they shared the brother's obligation. In slightly less degree so did his father's brother and cousin in the male line, and their sons and grandsons, that is to say, all the other males who were in the collective sense his 'father', 'brother' and 'son', through being at the time, or having recently been, members of his household. If his son was in the cradle, the child's mother and the neighbours told him of the crime as he grew up and urged him, failing another avenger, not to rest till he had done his duty. No matter which of these relatives took revenge, his 'rifle could be hung up' and 'go to sleep', to quote the picturesque phrases of Dibër and the North. The lawful representative of his murdered kinsman because he belonged to the same household, he had only made the two sides equal, with one of two results; either peace could be made or the feud continued between the same two families.

A man might kill his enemy where and when he could—in a chance encounter, in a meeting deliberately sought or in a carefully laid ambush. If he was 'strong' with plenty of good shots in his house, he and his family went alone on set expeditions. If he was weak he was probably accompanied by friends, who included friends in the ordinary sense, relatives by marriage, dependants and servants. They came, not for pay, but on his invitation or of their own accord. Invitations, always verbal, requested the recipients to come with so many rifles to such-and-such a place by [577] such-and-such a day and hour. Those invited were bound to come; those who volunteered were praised by the public for their bravery and devotion, a much coveted distinction. The distance from which they came was immaterial; a feud had no geographical limits.

[672] If the enemy fell to the rifle of a friend, the shot was always credited to the 'master', who was expected to assume responsibility for it. The enemy accepted the kill as a bout in the feud and either made peace or continued the feud with his original antagonist. The friend who fired the fatal shot could 'hang up his rifle' and let it 'go to sleep'; he did not need its protection for he was quit of the affair. If he had been alone when he killed the man, he would have 'brought the feud home', i.e. involved himself in a separate feud with the victim's family while leaving his friend's feud unaffected.

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In a few cases vengeance was lawfully taken by men who were 608 not, strictly speaking, members of the victim's family. Theoretically, 628* the man who had 'drunk blood' with the victim[1] and so had become his foster-brother could not go alone to avenge him, for he had not been an actual member of his household. In Lumë and Labinot such a man was held to the letter of the law, and could take vengeance only when accompanied by the victim's 'brother'; taking it when alone involved him in a separate feud with the murderer, with no benefit to the victim's family. In many other districts it was recognized that great love must have existed between the two men before they swore blood-brotherhood, and in virtue of that love one could, even when alone, lawfully avenge the other. In Dibër, indeed, he had no choice but to do so, and often outstripped a brother by birth. In Shkrel such vengeance has been taken 'five hundred times'. On the other hand, a compromise was the rule in western Mat. Solitary vengeance by a foster-brother was theoretically as unlawful as in Lumë, but in practice it was generally legalized by the 'master' of the feud, who sent the foster-brother a cartridge and so recognized him after the event as his emissary. Wherever foster-brothers had the right to take solitary vengeance, they seem to have derived it from their community of blood with the victim. For only those united by the drinking of blood possessed the right; those united by any other ceremony, by hair-cutting, for instance, were denied it. And in districts where they had the right, one could not go alone to avenge any relative of the other's. During their lifetime each regarded the other's relatives as father, brother, etc., and was regarded by them as son and brother, but when one was killed, the other ranked as an alien by blood and household and could only avenge his foster-brother by joining an expedition led by their 'master'. And almost everywhere blood-brotherhood was recognized as a complete bar to [582] marriage between the two families.

Relations on the female side could always avenge a murdered 604* man by joining an expedition led by his 'master'. Opinions 628 differed about their right to avenge him when alone. Shkrel, the Malësi e Madhe generally, and Labinot held to the logical view. A sister's son, they said, although called 'nephew' like a brother's son, belonged to his father's family and was an outsider in his mother's. He had, therefore, no right, joint expeditions apart, to

[1] I.e. had sworn blood-brotherhood with him.

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604 avenge or to be avenged by his maternal 'uncle', that is to say, the
*628 males in his mother's family. The two men belonged to different households, and if one attempted independently to avenge the other, he meddled in business that was no concern of his and so could only involve himself in a separate feud. The men of Shkrel in the Malësi e Madhe who felt so little duty towards their maternal 'uncle' that they would entertain his murderer were therefore within their rights. On the other hand, in central and east Albania—in Çermenikë, Dibër, Kurbin, Lumë and Martanesh—it was held that a man could not avenge his maternal 'uncle' but could be avenged by him, a law said in Kurbin to have been of Skanderbeg's making. As a corollary, if a native of these districts did avenge his maternal 'uncle', he plumed himself on the deed more than a nephew in the male line could have done; the latter, as a member of the dead family, could not escape the obligation and would not have been involved in a new feud as he, the outsider, had been.

The confused practice is locally explained as follows: A man could not avenge his maternal 'uncle' because he was the son of his mother and she as a woman had no rifle, presumably to hand on to him with all its offensive and defensive possibilities; the rifle he carried came to him as a member of his father's family. On the other hand, he could be avenged by his maternal 'uncle' for the same reason that the latter was entitled, when his 'sister's' daughter was married, to receive a 'maternal uncle's fee' at the time of the wedding and, if she was afterwards killed, to avenge her. For the maternal 'uncle' regarded his 'sister's' children as his own and as part of his own household; in Kurbin, indeed, a man owned a quarter share in his 'sister's' son. Further, since a woman could not carry a rifle, a 'sister' could not defend herself, and therefore, retained the right for herself and her children to be protected by her 'brother'. In Dibër, where rich and powerful men were so few that girls must often be given in marriage to men who were neither, this feeling that 'sisters' and their issue might require protection was pronounced.

*628 In south Albania, on the other hand, a man would both avenge
184 and be avenged by his maternal 'uncle'. A classic instance of the
[604] former process at Melesinë near Leskovik is commemorated in the song beginning:

> Melesinë on a hill,
> For his uncle fights a sister's son.

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This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother. 628* 184 [611] [602]

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider. 628* [587] [768] [595]

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son 562 628*

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Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son
562 had been killed at a third person's instigation, took his revolver and
*628 killed the instigator. Unfortunately for her, the date was about
[682] 1923 when a modern government was already functioning; she was arrested and tried for murder, but in view of the circumstances she was condemned to no more than a year and a half's imprisonment. The public were astonished to find that the government had punished a woman on much the same terms as a man.

[593] Assuming that a woman could steel herself to murder anyone, it is natural to find her avenging her father, son or brother. Given primitive Albanian ideas about the proprieties between husband and wife, and the feeling that the wife remained a member of her father's household, it is somewhat surprising to find one avenging her husband. A woman of western Mat went one day to the bazaar and there saw the man who had murdered her husband. In spite of the press of people she drew a revolver and shot him dead; as she had come provided with the weapon, there is little doubt that she did not act on the spur of the moment. About 1883 Fatime Almetaj, a woman born in Kostejë near Martanesh and married in Përvall, was busy baking one day while her husband talked to a neighbour. On hearing a gunshot she rushed out to find her husband already dead and the neighbour running away. She ran inside, seized her husband's rifle and again rushed out. The neighbour had already reached his own doorstep when she fired. As soon as she saw him fall dead, she re-entered her house and resumed her baking; her husband had been avenged, there were others in the family to feed, and the dough was getting cold. In neither of these cases do records show whose life the enemy took in return for the one she had taken; by right it should have been one of the males in her husband's family.

593 In certain cases both the avenger and the expiator of a murder
*628 might be drawn from outside the household directly concerned.
[826] For instance, if a murderer and his brother were separated, the avenger might kill the latter while his blood was boiling, a period estimated in Dibër at one hour and in Mirditë and elsewhere at twenty-four hours. When his blood had cooled he must not molest the separated brother, and might be required to find a guarantor that he would not do so. Conversely, a man separated from his murdered brother might avenge him during the regulation period, but not afterwards.

613 Sometimes the rule of 'boiling blood' was extended to larger
*628

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

units. For twenty-four hours after a murder in Lumë, a district 613
peopled by little groups of kinsmen, any man of the victim's kin 628*
might avenge him on any man of the criminal's kin. So long as members of this group survived no other would move. If they were killed off, other groups, beginning with the nearest neighbours, might seek vengeance. Within living memory this licence found dreadful expression in Theth, the beautiful northern part of Shalë. About 1890 a man who lost a lamb promised to give a cartridge to a shepherd if he found it. When the shepherd succeeded, the man went back on his promise saying he would 'give him five' (*sc.* fingers on the trigger) instead. For the moment the shepherd let the matter drop, but later met the man and asked once more for his promised reward. Again the man refused it, not too courteously, and was immediately killed by the incensed shepherd. Unfortunately, it was Easter Sunday and the murder took place in a meadow where all the men of Theth were gathered for the festival. Immediately the dead man's *vllazni* (brotherhood), comprising all the males descended from the same ancestor, sought vengeance on the murderer's brotherhood. These were not backward in replying, and within an hour fourteen men lay dead for the sake of one cartridge.

Whole tribes might be affected by the rule of 'boiling blood'. 619
In the Malësi e Madhe if a Kastrati tribesman killed a Koplik man, 628*
any member of the latter tribe had licence for 24 hours to kill any man from Kastrati. The murderer was, therefore, bound to announce his crime at once so that his fellow-tribesmen might take cover. The time limit elapsed, vengeance lay as usual between the two households. In such cases of inter-tribal aggression each tribe became temporarily a single family in which each member represented the whole.

In Çermenikë, kinsfolk were sometimes fused into one family 612
not by boiling blood as described above, but by a particularly 574
atrocious murder such as that of a guest by his host, when 'circle 628*
after circle' was the rule. The guest's 'circle', consisting of his own household, his kinsmen in separate homes, his neighbours and the sons of the married daughters of his family, wherever these last might live, tried to kill the murderer, and failing to find him or other members of his household, they might kill one of his 'circle'. On succeeding, they held that they had avenged their relative's death, and their victim's family agreed. In other districts they

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612 would have found themselves involved in a new feud with the
574 household of the man they had killed, but by the local rule of
*628 'circle after circle' he died as proxy for the real criminal and no new feud entered into the question. There seems to have been no time limit to their extended vengeance.

*628 National solidarity was recognized in the debatable border lands
186 where Slav and Albanian lived side by side. If an Albanian was killed by a Slav, any Albanian would kill any Slav in revenge. The crime, it was felt, had pitted the Albanian family against the Slav family. This national sentiment was so strong that though there has never been any love lost between Gegs (north Albanians) and Tosks (south Albanians), no Geg would allow a Slav to kill a Tosk without seeking in return to kill any Slav he could find. The less warlike Tosks did not feel a similar impulse. If one of their number or a Geg were killed by their Bulgarian or Greek neighbours, they left vengeance to the victim's family.

621 The community also acted as a single family when certain public
688 servants were killed. If the victim were a Roman Catholic priest,
*628 he might lawfully be avenged by his parish, the tribe in which the parish lay, and his own family. If action were taken by the parish or tribe, the matter ended. The avenger's act closed the feud, and, fearing no retribution, he could hang up his rifle. If the priest's family afterwards killed another of the murderer's men, they began a new feud. Generally the family did not wait for the parish or the tribe to act. When a Mohammedan or an Orthodox priest was killed, it fell to his relatives to avenge the crime; the feeling that sacrilege had been committed was too slight to drive their parishioners into action.

621 If a field-guard of Lumë were killed, he was publicly avenged.
*628 If the murderer was from another village, any of the field-guard's fellow villagers could lawfully kill any man from the murderer's village during the first twenty-four hours, and afterwards he could kill the murderer or any other man in his household. In either case he could hang up his rifle. If the field-guard were killed by a fellow-villager, the village expelled the murderer. On the other hand, if a miller were killed, vengeance rested with his family; the village could not act. A field-guard was a public necessity; without his services the village economy would suffer, and he must be given public protection. A miller had taken up his work for the sake of private gain and was not a public necessity; if he were not at the

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mill, the villagers themselves could work it; the miller was therefore 621
not entitled to public protection. The village blacksmith, with few [563]
exceptions a gipsy, was in even worse case than the miller. He was [386]
a public necessity, since Albanian peasants will not make horse 628*
shoes or farm implements, but he was only a gipsy and no Albanian
community would trouble about so low-class a creature. If he was
murdered, only his family would avenge him, and they probably
lacked the spirit to do so.

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CHAPTER XXIII

BLOOD FEUD

II. COURSE OF THE FEUD

682 The fatal shot fired, a murderer's life was in such instant danger
*628 from the avenger that it behoved him to fly with all speed. But
[876] often his 'blood seized him' so that 'his legs gave way under him' and he was rooted to the spot from shock. Custom therefore prescribed in Shkodër, Lumë and Godolesh that he must drop on the ground a cartridge or an article of clothing such as his fez, sash, or handkerchief; in Elbasan, Shpat and Çermenikë that he must lick the muzzle of his rifle or pistol; alternatively, in Elbasan that he must inhale the smoke of the gunpowder or let his comrades slap his face; in Labinot that he must hold the cartridge case in his mouth and bite his little finger and suck the blood, and in Mat that he must eat a little gunpowder. That done successfully, 'his blood was set free', 'the seizure passed', and he was able to run away.

[577] When an article of clothing was left behind, it served to identify the murderer; where none was left, word had to be sent to the victim's family. It was everywhere 'held dishonourable' to kill and not to tell. It was also thought unfair for reasons that varied with the locality. In Mirditë the victim's relatives might go mad if they did not know the identity of the murderer; in north Albania the murderer's kinsmen would not know to hide while the avenger's blood was boiling; in south Albania the crime might be laid at the wrong door. Besides, the normal murder was matter for boasting; committed only to avenge some wrong or insult, it showed that the murderer was spirited enough to resent ill-treatment.

Latterly, when the government was attempting to repress murder, the murderer, certain of arrest, left no token and did not inform the relatives. The community, however, was always on the watch and from its members' observation of those who came from the direction of the shots and from their knowledge of the whereabouts of the victim's enemies at the time, the murderer's identity was established—at all events to the satisfaction of the community.

In the early days of a feud the father or brother of the victim might in his furious rage kill the murderer and shoot a second time

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at the lifeless corpse. When the feud was older, it was not permitted 682
to kill and shoot again. A murderer seldom looked at the corpse, [764]
a fact which gave men quick-witted enough to feign death a chance 628*
to escape. In some places, such as Mirditë, the murderer was expected to turn the dead man in the right direction for one of his religion—with his head towards the east if Christian, whether Catholic or Orthodox, towards Mecca if Mohammedan, and to rest his rifle against his head; if unable to touch him, he had to tell the first man he met to attend to those matters. In Shpat the murderer left the cartridge-case by his victim, allegedly not to [777]
'set his own blood free', as in Lumë, but to avoid carrying away a thing that was unlucky because stained with blood and sin. In Mat and the Malësi e Madhe, the murderer's own life being in grave danger from the avenger, it was thought 'brave' to tread in the victim's blood as a last insult.

A murderer must not rob his victim; he had killed him only to [685]
defend his honour and not to enrich himself. As was popularly said, 'low-class fellows' take a man's rifle, watch, money or clothes; 'good-class men' take only vengeance. In some places sanctions reinforced public disapproval of the robber-murderer. In Lumë he saddled himself with one and a half feuds, i.e. the need to pay for the murder with blood money as well as a life; in Mirditë, where he was expected to lay the dead man's rifle against his head, he incurred two feuds. Certain exceptions to the rule were admitted. A murderer could everywhere, except in Mirditë, take his victim's rifle to prove that he 'had really trodden in his blood', but he must afterwards send the weapon to the family. On similar terms he might take the dead man's watch also. When the murderer was a hired assassin, he commonly took a token from his victim, usually his cap, to prove to his paymaster that he had earned his money. When a man's enemy lived at a distance, he might again take his cap to prove to his own friends and neighbours that he had killed him. Robbery of the corpse by a third person was not to be feared; since everybody within range, the dead man's relatives included, [764]
rushed up at the sound of the shot, there was publicity enough to prevent such an outrage. As for the supernatural dangers thought to beset the bodies of persons dead in ordinary circumstances, it was well known that Satan feared a rifle too much to approach the body of the murdered man.

When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads

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302 When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads
*628 except for a tuft on the crown, as a few old men and young boys
862 still do, the Highlanders of north Albania asserted that a murderer had licence to cut off his victim's head. The tuft, they said, was left so that an enemy might conveniently carry the head when he cut it off; failing such a handle, he would thrust his finger into the dead man's mouth, an intolerable insult. The veracity of this story appears doubtful, since although the Highlanders, Slavs, and Turks all cut off heads, Albanians as far inland as Elbasan shaved their head save for the tuft on the crown, and it is unlikely that all anticipated murder by Slavs or Turks. Whatever the purpose, the tuft was not confined to Albanians, but was seen in 1926 worn by small boys in the Turkish villages in south Serbia where the population was of mixed Turkish and Bulgarian stock.

*628 A murderer usually announced his crime to the victim's family
766 by a crude message to fetch him from such-and-such a place and
682 bury him. He was always expected to surrender the body, but if a feud was unusually bitter, the murderer might forbid the body to be buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way. If he was backed by enough men to make his ban effective, the body was buried in the secrecy of night. Sometimes he forbade it to be taken even at night to the cemetery; in that event it had to be buried elsewhere. A story comes from Sopot in Dibër. About 1893 Abas Kamber's enemy killed one of his men and forbade him to carry the body to the cemetery. Abas, strong though he was, could do nothing but bury it in the courtyard of his house. Just before it was lowered into the grave, the enemy repented and sent him leave to bury it in the cemetery. To show that he was not always prepared to do the enemy's bidding, Abas sent back the message that he would not dig up the body again and concluded that burial as it had begun.

Hiding the body was universally deprecated. When men stole a grazing cow, it was said they killed it, roasted and ate what they could of the meat and hid the remainder. But it was not to eat a man's flesh that they killed him and they must not conceal his body like the cow's. If they did, the feud was doubly embittered.

*628 By rights a man was never buried where he was killed. Even if
764 the spot were two days distant, or if, like Kol Mali's victim, he had
682 lain three weeks undiscovered, he was carried home for burial. 'He had been theirs', his relatives said, and neither distance nor a natural repugnance could prevent them from doing their duty by him. In the northern mountains, in Mirditë and in Kurbin, a heap

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of stones was made where he was killed; on this every passer-by was expected to throw a green leaf, a blade of grass or a pebble while expressing a wish for the repose of his soul. In Shkrel, according to one informant, a stone was stuck at the head and another at the foot, as though the place was a real grave, but a *muranë* was not made. Any relatives who wished to mourn him went to his grave, not to the place where he had been killed. Exceptionally, what seem real graves may be seen near the meadows of Tërnovë above Zerqan; ten or twelve in number, each roughly outlined with stones, they are known as 'the murdered graves' and are said to contain the bodies of men who fell there in a long-past battle between the villages of Tërnovë and Sopot. Again exceptionally, when Muharrem Bajraktar of Lumë fled in 1934 to Yugoslavia, the Spahi family, his hereditary enemies, killed one of his servants. Muharrem said this man was not to be buried in Bicaj, his native village, but by the wayside where he fell, so that when he himself returned from exile he should see the grave and be reminded to take vengeance.

The ideal was to take vengeance as soon as possible. In Kurbin the piled stones served to make the dead man's kinsmen hasten to take vengeance, reminding them of his death and so 'heating their blood'. For the same purpose the Catholics of the north frequently buried the man in his blood-stained clothes; the Mohammedans, however, obedient to the dictum that all who profess their faith must go to the grave in a clean winding sheet, discarded this custom. A still stranger reminder of the need to take vengeance, a little bottle filled with the dead man's blood, was used all over north Albania and in Kosovë. This bottle the relatives looked at day and night. As soon as the blood 'boiled', i.e. fermented, they seized their rifles, cocked their skull-caps over one ear to show their determination, and rushed forth to kill the murderer. If the blood did not 'boil', they might accept a money indemnity instead of taking a life. In western Mat they dipped a rag in the dead man's blood; when it looked stained and brown, they knew the hour to avenge him had struck. None of these reminders was found as far south as Çermenikë and Shpat.

Public opinion also spurred the avenger on. A man slow to kill his enemy was thought 'disgraced' and was described as 'low-class' and 'bad'. Among the Highlanders he risked finding that other men had contemptuously come to sleep with his wife, his

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626 daughter could not marry into a 'good' family and his son must
*628 marry a 'bad' girl. As far south as Godolesh on the outskirts of
558 Elbasan, he paid visits at his peril; his coffee cup was only half-filled, and before being handed to him it was passed under the host's left arm, or even his left leg, to remind him of his disgrace. He was often mocked openly.

All over north Albania it was permissible for the victim's kin to burn down the murderer's house. The veteran Mirash Nue of
[574] Vuksan in Shalë boasted that once he saved his house from this fate by sending a message to the avenger which ran: 'Spare the ashes on my hearth for the sake of the open house I've kept.' The avenger, touched by the reminder of Mirash's noted hospitality, yielded to the plea. In 1935 a Dibran took to the mountains after wounding a fellow-villager with whom he was at feud; on recovering, his victim did not dare to sleep at home in case he returned under cover of darkness to repair his bad marksmanship by setting fire to the house and burning him to death. In hot blood an avenger might in some places do as much material damage as possible to the murderer, burning his hay as well as his house, scything his ripening grain and harrowing over his growing maize. For fear of reprisals in kind he could nowhere harm his children or animals.

685 Burning down a murderer's house is said in Martanesh to have
*628 been a recent innovation, and in Dibër and Lumë to have been formerly much more common than in recent times. Various considerations suggest that the latter view is correct. The reason given in Lumë for the waning of the custom is that it grew progressively more serious as people abandoned the straw huts in which they once lived and built themselves stone houses; the huts were cheap and easy to rebuild, but the houses were not so easily replaced. With poverty as general and murder as frequent as they used to be, it is obvious that if burning the murderer's stone house and destroying his crops had been freely permitted, the life of the tribe could not have gone on. To restrict the attacks on property, sanctions were introduced. In Dibër an avenger guilty of incendiarism was banished in perpetuity by the community. In Krujë the crime was deprecated as doubly unwise; it might cause further deaths, so involving the avenger in further feuds, and women and children might be among the victims, in which case the avenger would be covered with disgrace. In Shpat an avenger who burned his enemy's house found the whole community against him as

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a man willing to burn women and children to death and to harm 685 property; in Shpat property was so sacrosanct that one must not 628 touch even 'the leaf of the leek' belonging to one's enemy. [421]

When the community decided to burn out a man whom they 682 had sentenced to banishment for committing a heinous murder, 628 their numbers and their power to exclude him completely from the tribal life made it impossible for him to resist. It was otherwise with the victim's kin. For want of power to exclude the murderer from more than their own section of tribal life they could not make him submit tamely, and in their attempts to use force they were often baffled by the fire-resisting principles on which most mountain houses were built. With the walls of stone, only the roof and [342] the outer door were inflammable, and with no matches available these could only be set alight by blazing brands, probably of pitch pine, brought from another house. If the murderer was a rich man, he lived in a house surrounded by a courtyard wide enough to keep incendiaries at a safe distance from both roof and doorway; one or two towers in the walls of the courtyard sufficiently protected its gateway. If the murderer was poor, his house had no courtyard. But like the rich man's, it consisted of two or more storeys, the stable on the ground floor and the living-rooms above. The roof was, therefore, too high for the avenger to throw firebrands among the rafters. The door was surmounted by machicoulis through which the defenders could shoot or pour boiling water, and loopholes at the corners of the living-rooms commanded the approaches; in cases of bitter feud the door was sometimes covered outside with tin plates. Windows in a stable being thought unnecessary, the door was the only break in the solid walls of the ground floor. Sometimes avengers who were weak in guns hired men to fire the murderer's house. These hirelings came especially from Mirditë, for Mirdites were notoriously brave enough to face the risk entailed and poor enough to think only of the money offered; this amounted to some thirty napoleons (£40 in the 1930's) per man.

When an avenger burned down the murderer's house in hot blood, his motive was to do the murderer as much damage as possible. When he burned it down in cold blood, his motive was to drive the murderer into the open to be shot at. A murderer not infrequently shut himself up in his house during the daytime and stirred outside only at night, so remaining beyond the avenger's reach. When his house was set on fire, he knew that if he remained

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*628 inside the blazing building, his death was certain, and that if he
682 came out, he had a sporting chance of escaping the avenger's bullets. He had, therefore, no choice but to leave the burning house. In the same way when gendarmes surrounded a house in which a desperate criminal was hidden, he preferred to run the gauntlet of their fire rather than wait tamely to be seized and led off perhaps to death as a menace to society. This was particularly
[681] true of Turkish times, when dangerous criminals were generally shot out of hand when arrested.

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CHAPTER XXIV

BLOOD FEUD

III. EXPIATOR AND EXPIATION

In most cases of murder one life only was forfeit to the avenger; 554 'one for one' was the formula. This was irrespective of the social 682 standing or the character of the victim. Hence the murder of a standard-bearer (bajraktar) was neither better nor worse than the murder of the least of clansmen, and that of a priest was neither better nor worse than that of a layman.

The formula of 'one for one' was disregarded only in a few cases. 554 In Lumë, a district which prided itself on its 'spirit', 'two for one' 628* was the rule when a man killed his social superior; nothing less 682 would content his victim's injured pride. In most districts a man who suffered the more grievous forms of bereavement, losing his wife, guest or child at a murderer's hands, took double or even triple vengeance. In the Malësi e Madhe the victim's family, if 'strong' with all the pride that the epithet denotes, might kill two of the murderer's relatives if they found them together, though not otherwise. Spiro Toli of Shënjon, near Elbasan, a man as proud as any *Lumjan of his* 'spirit', felt so degraded when his brother was killed by a hireling at another's bidding, and that hireling a gipsy, that he killed both the instigator and the hireling. Pride, of course, was the ruling motive in every blood feud. By his successful crime the murderer had proved himself the better man, and the victim could not endure this inferiority and was bound to strike back in kind.

The person of the expiator seems to have undergone an historical 628* development. Long ago, 'blood feuds went by the finger', that is to 672 say, only the actual murderer, the man whose finger had pulled the trigger, was made to expiate his crime. Father Gjeçov aptly compares Deuteronomy xxiv, 16. In modern times the merging of the individual in his family was stressed as in the case of the avenger, and expiation might be made by any male who lived in the same house as the murderer and was in either the actual or classificatory sense his 'father', 'brother' or 'son'.

This rule was subject to several important reservations. The

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The man killed in the murderer's stead must not be too old, feeble-minded, or physically frail to carry arms, for such men were counted women, and women could not be killed in blood feuds. If the avenger killed such a man, he lost caste, was publicly branded as 'low-class' and made it certain that the feud would not be closed. It was also illegal to kill boys who were still too young to carry arms, that is to say, under fifteen or in some cases twenty. In the Malësi e Madhe, however, it was held that one must take vengeance where one could, and that in default of an adult enemy one might kill a boy. Even in that region such a crime was not committed except by a very bad man or one who was frenzied with rage at the recent murder of a relative or otherwise. For instance, in 1933 a subaltern of the Alije family, whose wife had been carried off by another Dibran, refrained for some years from avenging the insult in the way demanded by mountain law. Taunted with this restraint at a chance meeting in a café, he put aside the civilization acquired during his military education in Albania and in Italy and rushed for his revolver. As he was unable to find the man who had taunted him, he lay in wait for the latter's schoolboy son, aged fourteen, and shot him dead.

The men of Shalë said that vengeance on a boy was commoner in Pult than in their own tribe; the men of Pult, they added contemptuously, were in every way their inferiors. Much the same was said by the tribesmen of Lurë of their neighbours in Mirditë and Kthellë, who returned the compliment in kind. In Lumë a man who took such vengeance was never again given the greeting 'Peace be with thee', which is every good Mohammedan's due from his fellows. The manner of such vengeance was inevitably very brutal. Thus two men from Shlak, when working in Bardhanjol, found the small son of their enemy and tore him in two; they are said not to have troubled to kill him first. More often the enemy wrenched the cradle off a woman's back and in her presence cut the infant's throat. A particularly nasty case was reported about 1932 from Shalë, one of the most backward regions of Albania. While two families were quarrelling about a piece of land, the wife of Grimës one day voiced her opinions so volubly in Gjelosh's house that he lost his temper and pushed her out. She fell down some steps by the door and bruised her hip. She showed the bruise to the gendarmerie, who were sympathetic enough to arrest Gjelosh and to imprison him for three months. The woman, who cared more

for the violation of her honour by the push than for the bruise, was not satisfied and instigated her son, a boy of twelve or thirteen, to vindicate her honour by killing Gjelosh's son, who was of the same age. Since the boys habitually herded their goats together, her son found an opportunity of pushing the other boy over a rock and as he lay there helpless he stoned him till he died. Then Gjelosh, still in prison, paid a man to kill the little murderer. Grimës retorted by killing Gjelosh's remaining son and dooming Gjelosh's family to extinction. 628* 672

Two instances, both from Beshkash in western Mat, in which a child was killed by a woman in revenge for the death of a relative, are recorded. In the first (about 1918) the only son of Pushko Zefi of Beshkash had been killed, and the cousins, who were his natural avengers, did not seem inclined to do their duty. Maddened by their inaction, the victim's sister, who was married in Perlat, took the opportunity provided by a visit to her old home and called at the enemy's house. On being left alone for a moment with a small boy in the kitchen, she cut his throat. Another woman in Beshkash, crazed by the murder of her grown-up son by Pal Dede Hajo, went to Pal's house and cut off the head of a little boy she found asleep in his cradle.

Since women do not have rifles or blood feuds according to the Kanùn, a woman could not possibly be killed to avenge a murder. It follows that when a woman avenged a murdered relative, she could not be killed in return, and indeed this did not happen very often. The tabu on killing a woman in any circumstances was reinforced by all the forces of public opinion and superstition. Killing a woman save when taken in adultery or incorrigible pilfering was the most disgraceful thing that an Albanian could do. Only one who came from 'a low-class family' would do it, he never again had any luck with his rifle and he could not hope to have his crime pardoned, but must wash away his crime with his blood. He need pay with only one life, but if his victim was a married woman, he could hardly hope to save it, for two or even three families sought to take it. The dead woman's husband wished to avenge his wife, her father his daughter, and, in Martanesh, her maternal uncle his niece. At Shënjon, near Elbasan, the father asked the husband if he meant to kill the enemy; if from cowardice or weakness he said no, the father at once set about tracking down the enemy. Since 'rifles can't weigh'—that is, discriminate—a 562* 628* 672 784

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562 *628 672 784 woman was sometimes shot accidentally in a man's stead in spite of the tabu. In that unhappy event in Kurbin a woman in the murderer's family might be killed in return. If, too, a feud was unusually bitter, as was, for instance, the Kaloshi family one in Dibër, all barriers of law and disgrace were thrown down; 'kill at all costs' was the order of the day, and in its execution women and children were as likely as men to suffer.

This tabu on killing women had several sources. In the first place, a woman was 'a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was the vehicle by which a family was carried on, and killing her might mean the loss of more than one man to her husband's family. Then she carried no arms, and therefore was classed with old men, children, and lunatics as safe from an avenger. Again, she was [421] always regarded as an article of property, belonging in her maiden days to her father and afterwards to her husband; her father had the right to her work till she married, and her husband afterwards; in token of this work her father sold her dear, and her husband bought her dear. Articles of property could not be damaged in the course of blood feuds. There was also the feeling that it was a disgrace for a 'strong' man to kill anything so inferior as a woman.

The tabu on killing women was so strong that when one committed a murder, not she but one of the males in the family expiated the crime, if expiation were possible. Murders by women fell into two categories, the first outside and the second inside the family. In both cases the murderess might commit the crime on her own account or butt into a men's quarrel to avenge a murdered relative.

*628 672 One more class of expiator remains to be considered. It sometimes happened that a man hired an outsider to kill his enemy. In [754] the Breg i Matit some held that such a man was a 'witch', and 676 since witches could not have blood feuds, he must go scot-free and his hireling suffer, like any other murderer. In most places, if the instigator could not be discovered, or if time was passing without vengeance being taken on him, the hireling was killed. These practices were exceptional, and in general the feud was credited to the principal rather than to the subordinate who fired the fatal shot.

[554] Vanity as well as justice came into the question, for the instigator was usually a more important person than his instrument, and killing him brought the avenger more glory.

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If expiation took the form of blood money, no distinction was made for age; the payment for a worn-out man of eighty or an able-bodied man of thirty was the same as for a boy of five or an infant of a few weeks. As when a life was taken for a life, no distinction was made for social standing or moral character; the payment for a bajraktar was the same as for a labourer. A female's 'blood', however, cost only half a male's. In the early days when these payments were determined, money was so distributed that the rich had a great deal, while the poor, who formed the bulk of the population, were all but penniless. The fear of having to pay a large sum in blood money was therefore a considerable deterrent against murder.

Blood money was accepted only in Mirditë and north Albania. Elsewhere it was scorned. 'Blood money and bride-price do you no good', said Lumë. 'We don't sell blood for money; that is a low thing to do', said Çermenikë, a boast repeated in Dibër in even stronger terms. In Labinot and Godolesh blood could not be washed away with money on the north Albanian system. In all these districts the formula after a murder was 'either pardon or kill'.

It must be admitted that neither lived up to its pretensions, the north being more truculent and the other districts less truculent than they claimed. In the Malësi e Madhe, for instance, only weak, low-class families would accept blood money; if other families did so, they were held to have 'disgraced themselves'. Indeed, a bajraktar's household, a voivode's or a 'leading family' should seek for fifty years, if need be, to kill the murderer of one of their men. On the other hand, a Çermenikë man sometimes accepted blood money, but if he so demeaned himself, his aim was to ruin his enemy and he fixed the price accordingly. In Dibër no man would accept blood money for a male relative unless it was accompanied by the present of a rifle as a conventional sign that he was still free to kill the murderer if he could. In Lumë a subtle use was sometimes made of blood money. Normally, when a life had been paid for a life, peace was made. But when an inferior killed his superior, the latter's relative would not make peace till he had killed two of the other's men. At the peace-making the first was paired with the original victim and for the second the superior's relative paid blood money.

Given the stigma attached to blood money, it was seldom paid except in lighter cases. After an accidental murder, for instance,

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672 honour was in most places satisfied by a money payment. For
682 example, two men of Krujë were examining a revolver together,
*628 not knowing it was loaded, when it went off suddenly and killed one of them. The other was held guilty of murder, but in view of the circumstances escaped with a payment of twenty-five napoleons, the conventional six purses. If an animal killed somebody, the death was considered accidental and the payment of blood money sufficed. In Breg i Matit the grazing was good enough to carry a considerable head of cattle which wandered freely through the swamps, with consequent risk to the public from the bulls. If a man was killed by a bull which its owner knew to be dangerous, the latter had to pay blood money, failing which he was liable to be shot. If he did not know the animal's character, he was excused the payment of blood money but had to surrender the bull to its victim's relatives as a minor atonement.

Accidental though a murder might be, the murderer could not rely on saving his life with blood money. Especially while the crime was fresh, he was well advised to lie low until responsible men had weighed the case and confirmed its accidental character. After paying the money he was not absolutely safe unless he found a guarantor.

In Mirditë when blood money was accepted the murderer had also to pay fines of 100 rams and one ox to the tribe and of 500 grosh (piastres, i.e. one purse) to the family of the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë; the animals were eaten at a public banquet by the tribe. These fines were imposed on the murderer for disturbing the public peace. In cases of accidental murder, however, no fine was payable; the formula ran: 'The rifle which kills accidentally entails blood (really blood money) for blood, but not a fine or pursuit.'

627 The payment of blood money also solved the difficulties in
682 certain cases of murder within the family where atonement had to
*628 be made, yet could not properly be exacted in the form of a life for a life. For instance, if two brothers in Shkrel had separate households, when one killed the other's wife for any but a question of honour, the victim's husband could not kill his own brother for
[583] her sake but had the right to exact blood money; after all, he had been unjustly deprived of his wife's services and must buy another wife. If a married woman in Shkrel were killed, again unreservedly, by some member of her husband's family, her son, if fifteen years

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of age or more, could not kill the murderer, his own relative, but exacted blood money. In Shalë another principle came into play. If the dead man's relatives did not succeed in killing the murderer within seven years, they accepted blood money. In places like Mirditë where a fine was exacted when blood money was accepted for a murder, no fine was payable in cases of wounding.

In Mirditë 'wounding went by the part'. If the wound was inflicted at the waist or upwards, even if the bullet only grazed the man's head, the aggressor had to pay three purses; if the wound was below the waist, he need pay no more than 750 grosh, i.e. 1½ purses. In Lumë if a wound left a man lame for life, the wound-money was assessed at seventeen napoleons, roughly four purses, or two-thirds of a man's value; if not, five napoleons were enough. In Krasniqë if a man was so wounded in the private parts that he could no longer be a husband, his assailant had to pay him twelve purses, double the price of a dead man. The doctor's expenses had always to be paid by the aggressor; in Martanesh these were customarily reckoned at 200–300 grosh (piastres), and if they were paid, wound money was sometimes not asked. In Mirditë the doctor's expenses were not fixed by custom but were due only when the victim's relatives regulated the matter, not when the headmen did so. In Çermenikë if a man wounded his enemy, that is to say, the man with whom he had a feud, he did not pay the doctor's expenses; if he accidentally wounded a friend or a neutral, he did. This rule was maintained by King Zog's government. Once an American missionary of Korchë had taken a class of boys for a walk in the country when one fell down a precipice and was gravely injured; the government refused to allow the American to leave Albania until the boy, months afterwards, was restored to health and the American had paid the doctor's bills.

As with a death, accident was no excuse. For example, in 1932 two men from Zdrâjshë in Çermenikë were cutting down a tree by the wayside, when a man from Neshtë, on his way to fetch maize, rode by. The woodcutters called to him to stop, but he paid no heed. As he passed, the tree fell, pinning him to the ground. He was carried home, where he lingered for three months and then died. After his death the woodcutters had to pay his family three purses for wounding him. Wounds inflicted by animals, though considered accidental, had also to be paid for. Those inflicted by dogs fell into a special category. In Shkrel the elders were summoned to

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672 assess the doctor's expenses, which were then paid by the animal's
682 owner.

*628 A murderer might also expiate his crime, voluntarily or involun-
682 tarily, by exile. If voluntarily, he ran away fearing for his life, but only a weak man who was personally a coward, or had few adult males in his family to keep the enemy at bay, consented to show the white feather.

Voluntary exile might be temporary or permanent. In the former case the murderer did not give up the idea of eventually making his peace with the victim's family and securing their permission to return home.

A normal exile's hope of ending his feud lay in several directions. The victim's family might become so weakened by other blood feuds that they knew themselves to be no longer formidable and sank their pride enough to accept blood money in full payment. They might even become poor enough to be tempted by the offer of money. Or they might consider an absence of ten or twenty years' duration as part atonement and for the rest content themselves with blood money. They might even, on the intervention of friends, forgive the crime outright. In Çermenikë, in the days when 'murder went by the finger' and a murderer's relatives could not make vicarious atonement for his crime, he commonly retired to another district for four or five years, after which the victim's family probably gave a conditional assent to his return. If he risked returning, he kept discreetly out of the way while mutual friends interceded for him. Occasionally they secured his pardon; more often he had to withdraw for a further period of four or five years. During this second absence the enemy's heart almost certainly softened enough to make his next return definite.

Voluntary exile might become permanent for several reasons. It might, for instance, be so protracted that the murderer grew used to his new surroundings and, ceasing to hanker for his old home, settled down where he was. Hysen Agë Jella, of Tirana, having killed Ramiz Bey Toptan, also of Tirana, fled to Bulqizë and took refuge with the noted brigand, Sul Hupi. Under the latter's protection and by reason of his own wealth and prestige, he acquired such a position in Bulqizë that when eventually the feud with the Toptans was closed, he did not return to Tirana, preferring to remain in Bulqizë.

Again, an exiled murderer sometimes prospered so much that

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he found it to his interest to stay away permanently. If he found the climate or the soil of his new home kindlier, he might sell his paternal holding through an intermediary and with the proceeds buy land in his new home. Before he ran away, he had probably sent his wife to her parents, who no doubt lived in another village. There he visited her at intervals until he was installed in his new property, when he sent for her and their children, if any. A voluntary exile, it may be added, was content to leave his wife in his brother's charge; a compulsory exile took her with him. Good examples of voluntary exiles turned permanent from motives of advantage are provided by the many Bojdan families from Bicaj in Lumë, who in recent centuries involved themselves in blood feuds and fled to Kosovë. Their feuds were compounded in every instance, but the greater fertility in Kosovë was not to be resisted. To-day their descendants live scattered as far apart as Kaçanik and Blacë, near Skopljë. They still preserve memories of their kinship one with another and with Bicaj; in fact, till the break-up of the Turkish empire in Europe after the Balkan wars interposed new frontiers between the Albanian lands, they made occasional pilgrimages to the homes of their ancestors in Bicaj.

Sometimes an exiled murderer set up a small business, selling cigarettes and cleaning shoes, and made money as he could never have done in his mountain village. Sometimes, too, he entered the service of a rich man and in return for his devotion was given a grant of land.

The emergence of a central government which punished murder tended to increase the number of permanent exiles and to make the strong as well as the weak run away. An Albanian would face boldly enough the vengeance of his victim's relatives, but he detested being imprisoned by the government. A man of Bashabun, near Elbasan, killed a neighbour years ago. Blood money was paid, and so far as his victim's family was concerned, he was free to return home. Unwilling, however, to serve the short term of imprisonment to which the government would condemn him, he remained in exile in Bosnia. A Milot murderer remained in exile after the payment of blood money had closed the feud, because he feared imprisonment by the government. In an accidental meeting with his victim's brother, both forgot the closing of the feud and shot at each other, the brother killing the murderer. Then only the taking of the oath with twenty-four men cleared him from the

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682 accusation of taking government money to kill the murderer after
641 he had taken blood money from the family.

[167] The same fear of government action was at work in Kosovë, a province largely populated by Albanians but assigned to Yugoslavia after the Turkish empire broke up in 1912. A steady drift towards Albania proper went on among the Kosovars. Some were impelled by land hunger to go and take up the free land which the Albanian government had offered them; others came to evade Yugoslav justice. By contrast with the Albanian government, which did not yet punish severely homicide that was justifiable by tribal law, the Yugoslav government hanged most murderers. To avoid this ignominy, a Kosovar murderer preferred to emigrate, lock, stock and barrel, to Albania. Most interestingly, this emigration was the ebb of the tide that within recent centuries peopled Kosovë with Albanians.

[621] Sometimes a murderer did not run away of his own accord, but was forcibly expelled by the community. Although when murder was not punished by government, only the weak ran away voluntarily, the community expelled a strong man as readily as a weak
[619] one. In tribal districts like Mirditë which contained several villages, the murderer's village could not expel him without the other villages' consent and help. If the village resisted the expulsion, the tribe as a whole had the right to 'proclaim' the village or to call in other tribes to bring it to reason. In small tribes like Nikaj the murderer's kinsmen could expel him independently of the tribe. In non-tribal districts like Shpat, where each village was a self-contained unit, it needed to ask no one before expelling a murderer.

682 A man sentenced to communal expulsion was always one whose
*628 crime struck at the roots of society as understood in the mountains.
674 Perhaps he had violated the acknowledged sanctity of the 'pledged word' by killing his enemy during a public truce or even after making peace with him. Perhaps he had infringed the sacred laws of hospitality by killing his host or guest. Perhaps he threatened family solidarity by killing a cousin to get his land. Perhaps he had killed a man to steal his rifle and thereby as good as robbed him of his manhood, for a man without a rifle is as nothing, no better than a woman. Perhaps he had committed sacrilege by killing someone, possibly the priest himself, inside the territory of church or mosque, or by breaking into the church to steal.

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For any such anti-social murder no ordinary vengeance, no 682 pardon was possible. The community assembled and passed 628* judgement in the time-honoured formula that so-and-so 'is burned, roasted, cut down and expelled from the tribe'. Without loss of time—probably immediately after passing sentence—they burned the man's house, killed, roasted and ate his sheep, goats and cows, cut down his trees, and drove him into exile. They further required him to make public confession of his guilt by himself applying the burning brand to his house. In Mirditë and elsewhere he had at the same time to make himself a public scapegoat, saying as he lit the fire, 'On my head be the ill-luck of the village and the tribe'. If he and the other men in the house who were qualified to represent him refused to set the house alight, the head of his clan bade his next nearest relative do so. The fire once started, the whole village or tribe kept it going until its work was done, for it was essential that the whole community should take part in executing the communal sentence. But they could not touch the fire until the criminal had lighted it. In the same way, the murderer had to be the first to apply the axe to his trees and vines; if he jibbed, his nearest relative took his place and the work was completed by the whole community. If he had a vegetable garden it was destroyed in the same fashion. On the same day all his edible livestock was roasted and consumed by the community at a public banquet. This was by way of a fine. He himself, with his wife and children, was escorted to the tribal frontier to make sure that he was not killed on the way. At the frontier he was ordered never to return again. In Shpat he was literally drummed out of the village; the community hired gipsies to lead the way beating drums, and all the men sang to mark their joy at getting rid of a bad character.

The community destroyed the murderer's house, fruit trees and livestock not to punish him directly for his crime, but to make it impossible for him to defy the sentence of exile by remaining in his home. For the essential feature of their sentence was the condemnation to exile, the expulsion of an undesirable, of one whose act had dishonoured the whole tribe and must be repudiated by the whole tribe. Since robbery was not their motive, the murderer was free to take his money with him; in any case, it could not be seen, securely hidden as it was in a purse in his armpit.

Sometimes the expulsion was for ever, sometimes for three, five,

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682 ten or twenty years, according to the crime. In Mirditë, pre-
*628 sumably under church influence, the murderer of a priest was expelled for ever, and other anti-social criminals for five to fifteen years. In Martanesh the injured man might after an interval intercede with the local elders and secure a remission of part of the sentence; otherwise the murderer and his descendants must remain in exile. Several local traditions maintain that sentences of perpetual banishment were formerly much commoner. In Martanesh no such sentence has been pronounced for 200 years, and in Shpat none for 100 years. In Lurë any murderer used to be banished in perpetuity; witness the numerous families of Lurë origin who now live in Prizren, Tetovo, Reka and other places in Yugoslavia.

428 In Lurë when a man was sentenced to perpetual banishment, his
682 nearest kinsmen, those who would have been his heirs in the event of his dying childless, divided up his land. His family was in fact reckoned as extinct so far as the tribe was concerned. In Mirditë also he was considered as dead to the tribe. Father Gjeçov gives two accounts of what happened there to his land. For ordinary expulsions it was left uncultivated and used for public grazing.
[686] When a man was expelled for breaking into a church or for killing a priest, his land was bought by his nearest kinsmen and the money given to the church. In Shpat again the murderer's nearest kinsmen divided up his land; but there the elders valued it and the kinsmen paid the murderer the estimated sum before he was drummed out; if they could not raise the money, the village found
[453] it, subject to recovering it later from the kinsmen. On the other hand, when a murderer was banished only for a term of years, his land everywhere remained uncultivated until his return, when he built a house and resumed cultivation. During his absence, his ownership of the land was uncontested, but he was not allowed to derive any profit from it. A voluntary exile was in a different position; he could empower a kinsman to work his land and throughout his absence to remit to him in his place of exile an agreed proportion of the profits.

682 When a man was expelled for good, the community signalled the
*628 same by tearing up the four corner-stones of the foundations of his
584 house after they had burned it down. When his banishment was temporary, the corner-stones were left in place to await his return. Again when his banishment was perpetual, there could be no more giving or taking in marriage for him in the village; any engagements

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subsisting at the time of his expulsion were voided by that fact. 682 When his banishment was temporary, his marriage engagements 628* remained binding. [584]

Even in cases of temporary banishment the murderer's separation from his tribe was thoroughgoing. For the specified period 'he could not light a cigarette in a single house of the tribe', as the men of Lurë put it. Nor could he, or his, return to borrow honey, that most important commodity where sugar is scarce. In Mirditë a tribesman who admitted him to his house for any of the above purposes was publicly 'burned, roasted and expelled' for breaking tribal discipline.

The banished murderer's obligation to take root whether he 682 wished it or not in some alien spot is another of the factors which produced the many colonies of diverse origin in Albanian lands. The exiles, home-sick like exiles the world over, often gave the name of their ancestral village to their new settlement.

If the murderer did not choose to go into exile of his own accord, [697] he was condemned by the avenger to virtual imprisonment in his house. Sometimes he shut himself up voluntarily; more often, especially in north Albania, he was peremptorily ordered to do so by the avenger. For the period of his 'imprisonment' fear that the avenger was lurking near prevented him from stirring outside during the daytime and restricted his movements to the night hours. If he left home, he had by dawn to find shelter under a friend's roof and he could not continue his travels until the next night fell. These disabilities were his so long as he eluded the avenger, and he might do so for years, as in the case of a native of Sheshaj who had been shut up by his enemy for twenty-five years. At Belsh in Dumre, as a result of this confinement, two men who had been shut up for twelve years were 'waxen and yellow as the dead'. They longed to walk in the sunlight and were bored indoors where they could do nothing to pass the time except strip maize [286] and knit (most curiously, knitting is one of the staple occupations [462] of the men, but not the women, in Dumre). But they could not help themselves, since it was certain death to step outside during the daytime.

Just as the murderer's house could not be burned down in case 172 women and children perished in the conflagration, so his 'imprison- 682 ment' could not be allowed to stop the work of the family in case 628* women and children died of starvation. There were several

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*628 672 provisions for carrying on the work. The first was the law that 682 women, children, servants and domestic animals must not be shut [462] up. So in comparative security the able-bodied women, on whom [692] fell the heaviest burden, tilled the fields, went to market, ground corn at the mill and fetched water from the spring and firewood from the forest. The boys and aged women herded the cows, sheep and goats. The servants took part in any or all of these tasks, but few households could afford the luxury of servants.

[462] A social phenomenon alleged to be a by-product of this immunity of women and children is interesting. To-day a good proportion of the agricultural work of Albania is done by women, while the men idle; a generation ago the bulk of it was so done. The men of to-day excuse their idling by saying it is a habit formed when they or their fathers were shut up by blood feuds; whatever their natural inclination to work, they were then driven perforce into allowing their women to toil alone to feed the family. This plea may or may not be valid; as the frequency of blood feuds decreased, the men's industry increased.

*628 672 In bad feuds the immunity of women and children was sometimes denied. Even to-day the women of Murat Kaloshi's household cannot stir outside his compound except under heavy escort; failing that, they would be shot without pity by his enemies. The numerous children in his household are growing up illiterate four minutes' walk from an excellent school; if they attended this school, a battalion of gendarmes or men-at-arms could hardly ensure their safety. Another bad case is to be found at Milot, where even the boys in the cradle in Gjin Bardhoku's house have to share the men's imprisonment. In Çermenikë the immunity of women was never absolute; there was always a danger that the avenger might lose his temper and kill them. Within living memory two women in Fenars, one of the more accessible villages in Çermenikë, once tried to plough and were discovered by the avenger. On their declining to desist as he bade them, he fired at them with unexpectedly fortunate results. He wounded both but only severely enough to make them fall to the ground while letting go the oxen. They made a speedy recovery and, each wound counting as half a 'blood', the avenger was considered to have taken vengeance. The two parties were then 'measure for measure' and made peace.

*628 697 Again with a view to feeding the murderer's family an avenger

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sometimes yielded to a friend's pleadings and allowed one or more 628*
men in the 'imprisoned' man's household to come out and work. 697
The same friend went security to the murderer for the lives of the
man or men released. In Shpat, if one of the men imprisoned [672]
died, the avenger sent word that one of those hitherto free must shut himself up in his stead. It is not known whether this was the rule in other districts or not.

In earlier times, according to vague traditions still current in Çermenikë and Martanesh, only the actual murderer was shut up and the other men in his household were free to work and to travel. This tradition is supported by the history of the Balli family in the village of Fenars. Seven generations ago, i.e. about 175 years ago, Sali Balli of Martanesh killed a friend and was shut up by the avenger, while his four brothers went free. He grew so bored in his 'prison' that he ran away from Martanesh and settled in Fënars, where he founded a family now headed by Isuf Balli. The descendants of his brothers still live in the old home in Martanesh.

When an avenger felt too bitter to release indefinitely one or [462]
more men in the imprisoned murderer's household, he was sometimes induced to make a minor concession. When all the men were shut up, women were able to hoe, to carry manure, to sow seed, to reap wheat and to harvest maize successfully, but they could not plough—so it was believed in north, though not in south, Albania, where the wives of many emigrants must to this day plough if they and their children are to eat. There was therefore danger in north Albania that if all the men were shut up during the ploughing season, the family would, in spite of the women's efforts, starve. This led to a ticket-of-leave system, called *besë*, literally 'pledged word', 'truce', or *kuvend*, 'agreement'. At the instance of a mutual friend the avenger granted the murderer leave for one or more men in his household to come out and work his land for a stipulated period, varying from three to twelve months. As so often, the forces [626]
of public opinion reinforced the friend's urgings; indeed, it was said of an avenger who refused his enemy leave to plough that he 'was not to be entered in the register', i.e. could not be classed as a man, and of one who did not that he was both brave and honourable.

In Dukagjin the kanùn of murder was so stern that neither the 682
murderer nor his womenfolk were allowed to work his land if the 628*
avenger was strong. Indeed, the avenger often worked it and carried home the produce, leaving the murderer's household

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682 dependent on charity. At best the elders fixed a sum to be paid by
*628 the murderer for leave to work his own land: the money paid, the avenger gave his word not to molest him; or a 'strong' friend guaranteed his safety as he tilled his fields. This arrangement continued until he was killed elsewhere or the avenger consented to make peace.

*628 Various devices were tried to outwit an avenger too venomous
[562 to make the smallest concession to his 'imprisoned' enemy. The
[627] commonest was for the murderer to let his land to a neutral on the usual Albanian terms of 'halves'. Once some men of Lurë, trusting to the prevailing immunity of women from attack, dressed in their wives' clothes and went out to work. They were soon discovered and compelled to return home. Frequently a woman was made to work alongside the men, the assumption being that from fear of accidentally hitting the women and so disgracing himself the avenger would not fire on the party. The man who murdered the brother of Kodhel Dede of Nezhar in Shpat belonged to a large family, the members of which went to work with a woman between every two men. Kodhel thus found it impossible to kill one of them and after a long period of years made peace. Sometimes a man's wife kept watch while he worked; if she signalled the enemy's approach, he seized his rifle and prepared to defend himself. During Kodhel Dede's feud with the Trepsanishti family he found himself long baulked by the vigilance of his enemy's wife.
[796 At last his chance came on the eve of 15 August. The wife had her
[782] mind set on making *melata* (sacrificial foods) for distribution on the festival, and, forgetting her husband who was at work on the threshing floor, she went home to make them. Kodhel, who had crept up through a maize field, shot her husband as soon as her back was turned. In the hilly landscape of Fulqet in west Mat a different sort of watch was kept. The 'imprisoned' men, aided by friends, dug a hole on top of a hill commanding a wide view. One of their best shots, rifle in hand, settled down in this hole ready to snipe the avenger if he tried to kill any of the men at work.

*628 Work in the fields apart, an 'imprisoned' murderer might for
572 short periods leave his house under escort of a friend. This friend
682 had to be 'strong', otherwise the murderer might be killed by his enemy, a lasting disgrace to the man whose protégé he was for the time being. Sometimes murderer and avenger had a common friend who took the former out; in that case the friend ran less risk

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of losing his protégé, but even so he had to be fairly 'strong'. In 628*
Mat such a friend might take the murderer out three times with [572]
impunity. Afterwards he was sure to receive a message from the 682
avenger which ran, 'Don't stir out again. Stay indoors. It was for your sake that I didn't fire.'

In the majority of cases the murderer neither ran away nor was shut up, but went about his normal business, taking certain precautions. An Albanian never despised his enemy; the strongest man will say, 'I am stronger than he is, but a rifle doesn't care for bravery, a rifle kills'. He remembers also that an enemy is ever on the watch: 'A wooden stake rots, but an enemy doesn't.' Yet another saying—this from west Mat—'Wood rots, a wrong doesn't'. 'A feud can't be forgotten.' 'A man with an enemy is like a hare sitting on its form, he must watch all the time.'

The first precaution a hunted man had to take at home was never to answer the door himself.

Since the laws of hospitality were rigid and seldom transgressed, 574
a guest seldom killed, or was killed by, his host. Frok Gjeta of 628*
Kthellë, however, had lost his father at a guest's hands; three men had called and been unsuspectingly admitted; the old man was hospitably making coffee when they suddenly opened fire and killed him.

About 1910 some men called at a house in Orenjë, in Çermenikë, and were admitted by its widowed mistress as guests. They seized the only adult male in the house, her stripling son and, hanging him head downwards by a rope slung across a rafter, demanded money and avowed that they were avenging the murder of one of their kin by the family. The son said he had no money; the mother screamed that she had a little, but they hanged her son.

Another precaution commonly taken by a 'wanted' man was to 628*
live in a house of more than one storey. Such a house never had 351
more than slits for windows in the ground floor and those in the [342]
upper room were square holes without glass, across which stone shutters were drawn at night. In Çermenikë the outside staircase that led down to the stables on the ground floor was always fenced in carefully with wood. For greater security the women lived on the ground floor protecting the men who lived above. If a man were rich enough, he built a high wall round the house; this gave him the freedom of his courtyard. In this case all the windows looked inwards on the court; the outer walls were blank save for

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*351 628 the loopholes. A still richer man, or one with many enemies, had several doors in his courtyard wall and watch-towers at strategic points. (The turrets at each corner and in the middle of the long walls effectually commanded these entrances, and many loopholes in the walls provided space for many defenders to shoot from.) Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan had several posterns in his garden wall, each commanded by a watch-tower and each providing him in case of need with a possible means of escape.

*628 574 Incidentally, back entrances in the mountains were useful for guests with enemies. These could enter unseen by other guests, among whom there might be one or more who would inform the enemy of his whereabouts, and so endanger his life. They were also useful if the master had sent a group of his followers to shoot his enemy; if they failed, they could creep in unseen by the guests; in case of failure on such an errand, they did not wish the attempt to be known.

*628 A wanted man who wished to work in his fields might station a child herding goats or a woman minding a cow at a vantage point where an enemy could be detected and the watcher give him warning, so that he might seize his rifle and defend himself. As the enemy's trump card was surprise, he was likely to retreat when detected. Before the wanted man left the house the women and children would look through the windows to make sure no enemy was near. A man with blood on his hands might wish to go to the forest to cut firewood, a place too distant for his women to keep watch. In that case he might send a scout ahead to reconnoitre the [476] road, and himself follow rifle in hand. In Zdrâjshë, Çermenikë, the [423] communal hay-field was so far away that a wanted man made no attempt to go and cut his hay; the others, however, gave him his due share, though he had done nothing to earn it. A man who, in spite of risks, kept moving about might never stir outside, especially at night, without his rifle. He never told where he was going and travelled by an unlikely route and at unwonted times.

*628 484 In the summer of 1935, to return from Tirana, whither he had been officially summoned, Murat Kaloshi of Dibër sent out an attendant to find a car willing to drive at once to Dibër, and within five minutes of its drawing up at the door of his lodging started. This was at 2 p.m., an hour when Tirana is plunged in sleep on a summer afternoon. He supped at the wayside inn of Lunik, an insignificant village without telegraphic communication, four or

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five hours from Tirana, travelled on through the night, and in the 484
early morning as the car neared Peshkopi, he got out and walked 628*
home across country. (With him were a number of attendants armed to the teeth.)

Needless to say, such a man never announced beforehand the time of his departure, if his intention to depart could not be concealed.

An obvious precaution was never to stir outside the house. When a Dibër notable went to Tirana, he took at least six armed attendants along with him, who might or might not live with him permanently. The armed attendants of the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë were mainly young relatives of his who spent years with him, at once his clansmen and his relatives; their loyalty was beyond doubt. The bodyguard of Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan were generally peasants from his farms who had been long in his service. Less rich men who needed numerous attendants on their walks abroad drew them from their neighbours. Selman Nus Cohu, for instance, an attendant of the bajraktar of Lurë, lived at home and only joined the bajraktar when he or another member of his family needed him for a journey or some other cause. When Miftar Selmani of Lumë came to Tirana he brought a posse of armed neighbours who constantly changed as their services were required at home; some came with him for the outing, others out of bounden duty to requite the help he had given them in earlier times.

Men still poorer contented themselves with reinforcing the men [357]
of the household with a single permanent retainer. Such a man was the peasant from Shëngjerg who fled to Namid Çallaku of Fulqet after committing three murders, and in return for his board and an occasional tip protected his protector. In Mat it was also customary to go and stay for a month at a time with a friend who had need of an extra gun.

Failing armed attendants, a hunted man was not without 628*
protectors on his journey. In districts where women were immune 574
a woman's company, on a journey as at work, was sufficient. When Shalë as a tribe was in blood with its neighbour, Mertur, a man from Shalë could safely go to Mertur with a woman born in Shalë or another tribe who was married in Mertur, for she counted as belonging to Mertur and the man was therefore her guest. On the other hand, a daughter of Mertur who was married in another tribe

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* 628 was no protection, for she had lost her Mertur nationality as it were
574 by her marriage, and so her company did not in itself make the traveller a guest of that tribe. In Mat it was a protection to have a foreigner in front of you, for a foreigner was as sacred as a woman. This held for most districts of Albania.

The principle of the guest's sacrosanctity was often invoked. If a guest of an important man in Dibër had an enemy and was travelling alone, his host would give him an attendant when he left. This attendant must see him safely to his next destination; should any harm befall him on the way his powerful host would avenge him. The protection, and with it the obligation, of his host ended by nightfall, for he would by then have either reached home or become the guest of another man. His journey being thus limited to a day's duration, the mere fact of his being accompanied by the attendant would generally suffice to keep him safe, for within the radius of a day's journey, on foot, everybody knew everybody else, and on his being seen in the company of the attendant, it was at once recognized whose guest he had been and who his avenger would be.

There were interesting extensions of the principle. It was not necessary to have been actually a guest of the strong man for him to avenge the traveller's murder; it was sufficient to say one was about to be his guest. In the time of Lan Kaloshi, one of the Alijes on his discharge from detention as a hostage by the Turks was on his way to stay with the Lleshaj of Kander when he was killed by the powerful Ali Doçi. Although he had not actually become the guest of the Lleshaj, it fell to that family to avenge him. They, however, realizing that they were no match for Ali Doçi, told the family that the only way in which the murder could be avenged would be to declare that the victim had been on his way to visit Lan Kaloshi. They did this. Lan accepted the responsibility, and avenged the murder.

In Shalë a traveller, no matter whether native or stranger, could travel safely provided he called out some native's name in a loud voice. Scattered though the population of that mountainous valley might be, there was always some goatherd or cowherd within hail to report on whom the traveller had called; in case of need, that involuntary protector recognized that the man was travelling under his protection and took whatever steps were necessary.

It sometimes happened that a hunted man, when paying a visit

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to a friend, found his enemy was his fellow-guest. This was natural enough, for especially where both belonged to the same village, hunter and hunted always had a number of mutual friends. All over Albania the two enemies, being fellow-guests, did not molest each other, but rather, out of courtesy to their host, talked together as if nothing divided them. In the old days they would in Çermenikë even shoot at a target together without turning their rifles on each other. In Çermenikë the hunted man's immunity was not quite complete, varying according to his behaviour. If he cocked his fez to one side and held his head high, his enemy might kill him even at their common host's in his exasperation at his effrontery. If, on the other hand, the murderer pushed his fez straight to the back of his head and kept his head down, his enemy would almost certainly not touch him till both had left the house. Sometimes hunter and hunted were invited to the same wedding or funeral feast. Then the same rules of courtesy came into play. The enemies sat at one table, ate out of the common dish, passed each other their tobacco boxes and drank coffee side by side. If toasts were drunk among the Highlanders, they would not drink to each other's health nor would they willingly address each other, but otherwise they gave little sign of their enmity.

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CHAPTER XXV

BLOOD FEUD

IV. PEACE-MAKING

*628 Peace was seldom made until the same number had been killed on both sides. If the first man was only wounded, and in revenge killed his enemy, the elders made the first pay wound money, half a blood, so as to make it 'one for one'. In the same way if three, say, were killed on one side and two killed and one wounded on the other, peace was made on condition that the latter side should pay one wound money; then two killed, one wounded, and one wound money paid made the equivalent of the three killed on the enemy's side. The killings and the woundings might be done in one engagement or might be distributed over a number of years, taking place in the swing backwards and forwards of the feud. Killing or being killed by a woman was sometimes not accepted in the reckoning. The virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë killed the man who had killed her father, and so made it technically 'one for one'. But her enemy refused to make peace, saying that a kill by a woman did not count and they were not yet therefore 'one for one'. In Shpat peace was never made until shots had been fired at least once by the relatives of the man first murdered; that done, it did not matter much whether the victims were 'one for one' or not.

Peace was always made through an intermediary. If it were directly solicited by the hunted, the enemy's triumph would know no bounds, and he would arrogantly refuse to grant the other's request. But he could not indefinitely turn a deaf ear to the pleadings of friends; to do so risked quarrelling with them. 'You've shot enough', they said, as though to convince him that he had vindicated his honour. 'Forgive him, we beg you', they added. At length he replied, 'All right, I've forgiven him'. Then both enemies were safe from gossiping tongues, that bogey of primitive communities, for no one could say that one or the other man was either brave or cowardly. Sometimes not private friends, but a whole tribe, through their spokesman, intervened.

The ceremony of ratifying the promise of forgiveness varied

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from place to place. In Shpat the original criminal must take the [28*] initiative and go to his enemy's house, escorted for safety's sake by at least one friend. The enemy came to meet him in the open air, but did not offer him his hand, for a man reserves his hand for his friends. Then both went into the house, the coffee, the all-essential [574] to a peace-making, was soon served, followed perhaps by a meal with meat. Both coffee and meal were 'like a funeral', enlivened by next to no conversation and with little cordiality of mien. A day or two later the enemy must go to the original criminal's house, and the same ceremonies were gone through. Alternate visits had to be paid for some time, until at last the original enemy declared that he had forgiven the other. A marriage very often cemented the peace- [581] making. Occasionally the attempt to make peace broke down—one's gorge rose at the idea of making friends with the murderer. Then the whole evil story began again, murder alternating with murder.

The ceremonies in Çermenikë and Martanesh followed much the same lines. New elements were introduced farther north, for example, in Krasniqë. Accompanied by six to eight men, the man originally at fault, with his hands tied behind his back, went unexpectedly on a festive evening to his enemy's house. The host, as in duty bound, said, 'Come in!' and invited them to sit down. They refused to do so until in sign of forgiveness he untied his enemy's hands. He never refused, for he said, 'Better forgive, and forget one dead man than quarrel with ten living ones'. If he had not granted their request, the murderer's escort would never have visited his house again. That night the uninvited guest ate a meal at the involuntary host's house, and the next day the man forgiven carried them all off to his house, where he provided a meal with meat pasty and sweets. Forgiveness in Krasniqë was more easily obtained [572] for a murder done in hot blood, and the ensuing friendship was more genuine; if the murderer had ambushed his enemy, peace was more difficult to establish and the resultant friendship less real. In Lumë the murderer was thrust into his enemy's house before dawn so that his enemy might not see him coming; no notice of his coming was given beforehand. If the host did not untie his hands, the friends who accompanied him refused to drink coffee; the host always yielded to the threat of this disgrace.

In Kurbin peace was made by the same methods as in Lumë and Krasniqë. The murderer, who had the sailor collar of his jacket

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*628 thrown over his head, a sign of mourning and penitence, as well as his hands tied behind his back, a sign of helplessness, remained standing near the door, while his friends sat down round the hearth. The host gave coffee to them, but not to him; his forgiveness was not yet assured, and without such assurance he could not drink his coffee. The friends pleaded with the host to untie his hands; they threatened as well as pleaded saying, 'If you like, forgive him—otherwise kill us along with him'. At length one of two things happened. The host consented to pardon the murderer, got up to throw down his collar and to untie his hands, and bade him sit down and drink coffee, saying, 'You are pardoned, friend'. More frequently, he said he could not at once pardon the man, but would give him a truce of six months, a year, or more; in sign of his mollification he probably gave him coffee, though he sent him away with his hands still tied behind his back and his collar over his head.

*628 788 If the murderer were pardoned, a meal with meat was given in all but the poorest houses—these must content themselves with coffee. On the departure of the guests a further ceremony took place. The host saw the party off as he would on any other occasion. On leaving the house he took a hammer and chipped out a little cross on the door. Each of the others in turn took the hammer and chipped out a little more, first the host's party and then the visitors. The host said, 'God send us no more grief' and 'May he be forgiven'. Each guest said, 'Honour to you for pardoning him!' After chipping out his portion each dropped the hammer on the ground for the next man to pick up; this was to make sure of not handing on the feud to him. The last man on the murderer's side threw the hammer away, repeating, 'Honour to you for pardoning him!' The cross signified that the family had had an enemy, had fired shots; the more crosses on a door, the more valiant the family. In Kurbin there are houses with ten or twelve. Since the district is now predominantly Mohammedan, the chipping of the cross is an interesting survival from the time when they were all Roman Catholic. The following day or the next the enemy paid a visit with his friends to the murderer's, and was regaled with coffee and a meal with meat; in every case the chief intermediary was an honoured guest. It may be added that modernization has attacked the ceremonies; as early as 1930 a murderer from the Saseri family of Krujë refused to have his hands tied when he went to his enemy's

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to be pardoned; he said it was 'disgraceful', and the plea was allowed. 628* 788

The Highlanders had still another method. They called a 'St John' an infant which had not yet been sent to have its hair [776] cut by its godfather, it being believed that St John the Baptist was Christ's godfather. When the time for peace-making seemed due, the friends brought pressure to bear to secure forgiveness. This promised, they arranged to take the murderer on a certain day to his enemy's house, his hands again tied behind his back, and take a 'St John' in its cradle with them. Probably they did not bring [854] the murderer into view; at most they kept him in the background. One of the visitors turned the cradle with the infant, who was, as always, well strapped in, upside down, saying to the host, 'Put it straight; Turn it right side up!' If he were willing, and few were not, for leaving the infant upside down might kill it and leave him with innocent blood on his hands, he turned the cradle right side up, saying, 'All right, I pardon him for the sake of God and the Saint'. Then he went and without another word untied the murderer's hands. Next he said, 'A pardon for my murder; a pardon for my father's (or brother's) murder; be it forgiven', and turned to embrace the murderer. Coffee was then served and drunk by all amid general conversation—the Highlanders are unusually lively. Having fixed a day when they would all go to eat a meal with meat at the murderer's house they took their leave. This meal at the murderer's concluded the proceedings; afterwards all went about their business; no cross was made on the enemy's door as in Kurbin.

Friends were not the only interveners. Occasionally the Turkish 628* government took a hand, declaring on penalty of imprisonment, 682 internment and burning out that all feuds more than seven years old were to be compounded by a money payment and not reopened. When during the 1914–18 war Austria-Hungary was in occupation of all north Albania, she also ordered blood feuds to be ended with a money payment; the resentment of Çermenikë at this attempt to force them to make peace on northern terms is still hot. Sometimes a whole community itself interfered. The procedure of west Mat was typical. When a man had been killed on either side and the feud was 'one for one', the neighbours took effective steps to prevent its continuance. They each forbade the avenger to come on his land to kill his enemy; if he did so, he would be considered a trespasser

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*628 682 and would have a feud with the owner. If, after this warning, the neighbour saw the avenger trying to kill his enemy on his land, he shot at him, and if he killed him, he had no feud, for he had forbidden him to raise his rifle on his land.

*628 793 Religious influences also were brought to bear on the two enemies. The Bojdani sheikh of Bicaj in Lumë often intervened when there was shooting, both before and after the murder was committed; telling both parties they were in the wrong, he induced them to make peace. There is no record known to the author of an Orthodox priest acquiring influence enough to end a feud, and a Roman Catholic parish priest, though not ridiculed by his flock as his Orthodox brother too often was, had no power to curse people who kept up blood feuds, and without such power he could not compose a feud. Even a bishop was powerless in such cases. Jesuits, on the other hand, had the power and on occasion exercised it; it is commonly believed to this day that they are sent by the Pope and they are correspondingly feared. Every ten years or so, summoned by the archbishop or the priest in charge, at the instance of the village, they toured the Roman Catholic districts, their main object being to compose blood feuds. In 1932 three priests went to Shkrel for the best part of a week. Due warning of their advent had been given, and all devout Roman Catholics were [793] bidden to attend church every day. Banners depicting the flames of hell and the crimes which earned them were hung round the church and the sermons were in the same strain. On the second day these placed emphasis on the privileged position of Roman Catholics; in return for this good Catholics should settle their blood feuds rather than risk losing the blessing of the church for themselves and their families during their lifetime and after it burial in consecrated ground. On the third day the priests inveighed against keeping up grudges; those who cherished their blood feuds risked the curse of God. This meant that nothing would go right for them. They would be shunned by everyone—an engaged girl could not marry with the blessing of the Church, but only by civil marriage—if indeed her betrothed did not prefer to give her up, although this meant losing her bride-price. On this occasion in Shkrel the vehemence of the priests' exhortations and the fear of the consequences of the curse resulted in the termination of several outstanding feuds.

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APPENDIX

LAWS PASSED AT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

(TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ALBANIAN)

I. Some Laws Ratified by the Prefecture of Shkodër. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 128–9.)

1. Bride-price is not to be altered. The amount fixed seven years ago remains in force. It is, therefore, 600 grosh, a sum which includes everything. Whoever acts contrary to this order will be fined 1000 grosh. [583]

2. Girls will be betrothed by their father, or if they have no father by their brother and, failing him, by their nearest male cousin. Women are not to interfere in betrothals. [584]

3. Every betrothal will be arranged openly not secretly, and there will be a go-between as witness. When the betrothal has been completed and rifles have been fired off in front of the betrothed girl's house, the men who have the right to betroth her will go to the parish priest in order to register the names of the betrothed pair, the registrar and the witnesses, together with all the circumstances. Whosoever does not abide by this decree will be fined 1000 grosh.

4. Whoever refuses to go through the marriage ceremony when the priest comes for that purpose will be fined 1000 grosh. [585]

5. Whoever incites a married woman to run away will be fined eight purses.

6. Whoever gives a bride to a man who has divorced his lawfully wedded wife will be fined 1000 grosh. [587]

7. Whoever shall dare to send away his lawfully wedded wife in order to take another woman in unlawful wedlock will be fined 1000 grosh.

8. Whoever sells his daughter or sister or other female of his blood relations will be fined, like the buyer, 1000 grosh.

9. On the basis of the ancient customs, which are still observed among the Christians of the mountains of Shkodër concerning betrothals, marriages, enticing of other men's wives, running away of wives and other similar causes of trouble, some laws have been enacted for the repression of the aforesaid evil acts and have been approved by His Lordship the Archbishop of Shkodër, Mgr Luigi Çurçi, and by the mountain chiefs. These laws after being weighed by the Government Council have been approved and ordered to be put into execution.

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[681] 10. The government authorities therefore by this Decree order that the nine points above-mentioned shall be observed and put into execution without fail or opposition.

Issued by the Government Authorities of Shkodër
Shkodër, Albania
May 9th, 1864

L.S. Mareshali
Civil and Military Representative of the
Government with the Prefecture of Shkodër

ISMAIL PASHA

[619] II. Solemn Pledge between Mnelë and Gomsiqe, February 13th, 1873.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 118.)

At the meeting we are holding to-day we have decided to write out the following document in order to have it for reference.

We, the tribesmen of Mnelë and Gomsiqe, comprising 150 houses, have solemnly promised each other to hold ourselves ready and of one mind for every need that may eventuate.

The witnesses of this pledge are:

[Here follow the names of 15 tribesmen, headed by the bajraktar.]

Written this day of February 13th, 1873.

III. Laws Enacted by the Twenty-four Elders and Agreed by the Chiefs, etc. Written in the Village of Kastrat on November 2nd, 1891.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 125.)

1. From Krue i Ri, which belongs to all Kastrat, up to She i Gurit; from Vorr Gjolaj to Breg i Gurrës, marching with Gjelosh Luce; from Shkamb Gropë Mollë to Brigje; from Gjekë Petroviqi to Çukë e Gurrës...whoever quarrels or fires a weapon within these limits will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[312] 2. Whoever refuses to allow a woman to fill her water-pitchers at fountains and springs saying she has no right to a share of the water, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

3. Whoever calls another names in the above-mentioned places or calls another's mother and father names, will be fined, if he is full 15 years old, 250 grosh and 3 rams.

4. Whoever goes to do a mischief in a mill must, if he is full 12 years old, pay a fine of 250 grosh to the miller and 500 grosh and 3 rams to the chiefs.

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[Laws enacted in the village of Kastrat on Nov. 2, 1891]

5. Whoever moves the stones of an old boundary and puts them in a new place will be fined 3000 grosh and 6 rams. 681 [423]

6. No one is to frighten a flock sheltering from the heat in a place it was in first.[1] Whoever does this will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams. [233]

7. The mill question remains inviolate as always and neither the Vukpalaj nor the Gjolaj may start a *degamë*,[2] and any miller who takes more than 5 per cent of the flour will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams. [256]

8. Any man who cuts down a tree under which animals take shelter from the heat or cuts off a mill or an irrigation stream will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.

9. Other fountains and springs are left under the old law, that is to say, whoever destroys a fountain or spring or prevents another from filling water-pots will be fined 500 grosh. [312]

10. Milling is by order of arrival. Any miller who mills for a man who comes later than another and breaks the order either out of favouritism or because corrupted by bribes will be fined 150 grosh and 3 rams. [256]

11. Whoever admits a stranger to huts on a mountain pasturage will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.[3]

IV. Truce Sworn between Nikaj and Mertur on August 10th, 1892. 628 619

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 121.)

The two tribes have sworn a truce with each other:

(1) As from August 14th up to the day of Our Lady of Mertur.

(2) As from December 26th up to the day of St Sebastian.

The guarantors of Flock and Shepherd, i.e. Nikaj and Mertur and the Bajraktars of Krasniqë and Gash.

V. Laws Enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on November 1st, 1892 A.D. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 126.)

At a general meeting held under the presidency of Brahim Beg the serxherde, Kasem Beg the bylikbash and the four and twenty chiefs (elders) of Kastrat, the following laws were enacted.

1. Whoever murders a man of Kastrat or of any of the other mountains will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[1] This must be a mistranslation. The Italian version of the sentence runs: *che nessuno ardisa impaurire il bastiame gravido.*

[2] The Italian version of this very obscure clause is as follows: *Le disposizioni riguardanti i mulini rimangono inaltarate per sempre e non possono causare litigi nè fra il povero nè fra il ricco*, clearly referring to the principle, enunciated again in § 10, which compels the miller to treat all his clients on the principle of 'first come, first served'. It is possible that the Albanian version has been misunderstood.

[3] This refers to the letting of some of the tribe's scanty pasturage to strangers.

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[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

681 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Breg i Shpellës, Viri, and Krue i Ri—will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a patch for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[233] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[423] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[487] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one [623] week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 500 grosh.

[693] 17. 'Pledge elders' are not to take more than 10 grosh as their fee for a judgement, and commoners not more than 5 grosh.

[628] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after their feud has been compounded by order of the government will be fined 12 purses and expelled from the village and turned into a ghost.

681 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck
231 may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

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[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296] 225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837] runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765] shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696] out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628] been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585] whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554] collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894. 681 491 574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

681 solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj
[491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed
[574] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[695] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[204] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prendës Day, 1894]

If any man meddles with one by force he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety. [681]

If any man dishonours a woman or ravishes her he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety.

The Gjklika family is not under a pledge of safety.

Ndue Lika's family is under a pledge of safety for its flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever touches sheep belonging to Nikaj or Shalë must pay 500 grosh or give a Martini rifle, the value of which is 500 grosh. He must also return two animals for every one stolen and pay 500 grosh to the owner of the stolen animals.

10. A detective is to receive 100 grosh for tracking down a sheep and twenty for tracking down a cow or an ox.

11. If a Nikaj or a Shalë man goes to a house to kill someone, he has leave to do whatever the fingers of his hand or the muzzle of his rifle can do. But chisels, wood and any form of iron are not to be used.

Whoever breaks this law, unless he is killed and buried, must pay 20 purses and until he pays them he must look out for his life. If he is killed, the matter must be left at a head for a head.

12. Whoever plays false to this pledge treating it with contempt or ignoring it must give an oath with 24 persons who must say they know nothing, as arranged by the other tribes. If he cannot give such an oath he must pay 20 purses like a man who kills another. [695]

13. A borrower who owes money to someone must go to the head of his ward. If he does not give this head satisfaction, he must go to the Bajraktar. If he does not give the Bajraktar satisfaction he is without protection. He may be robbed and killed until he enters the way of the Bajraktar.

14. The roads from Shalë and Nikaj to Shosh and Mertur are guaranteed by Shalë and Nikaj and if they are cut, 20 purses must be paid. [491]

15. The chapels (*koniqet*) of Nikaj and Shalë in which no candle is lit to St John, St Nicolas and St Bastian (Sebastian), are under a pledge of safety. [718]

16. Complaints in Shkodër and Gjakovë are annulled. [694]

VIII. Pledge for Flocks and Shepherds in Nikaj and Curraj, St John's Day, 1895.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 120.)

1. Any man who kills a shepherd will have his house burned down and his land kept untilled for three years.

2. His neighbours will not have their houses burned down but must pay five purses, 1000 grosh of it for the master of the feud and three purses for the guarantors.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Pledge for Flocks + Shepherds in Nikaj + Curraj, St. John's Day, 1895]

68 [766] 3. Nobody may help to bury a murderer till three years have passed unless the master of the feud wishes. When somebody does help to bury him five purses must be paid to the master of the feud, either in money or in beasts, as may be arranged among themselves.

[628] 4. A murderer is never under a flock-and-shepherd guarantee until the murder has been avenged or the feud composed.

5. A cutter of pine slivers and a reaper with sickle are under a pledge of safety from the eve of St Anthony to the eve of Our Lady of Alshiqe.

6. A mower with scythe is under a pledge of safety.

7. A shooter is under a pledge of safety from the eve of St Anthony to the eve of Our Lady of Alshiqe.

8. The Ndermajë—Livath i Math (Great Meadow)—Shalë road and the Kodër Plak—Shalë road are under a pledge of safety for flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever steals small animals must pay 250 grosh and return two for every one stolen.

Whoever steals a cow or ox must pay 500 grosh and return two for every one stolen.

10. Whoever removes the tiles of a house must pay 500 grosh.

11. If a debtor does not meet his obligations he is to be accused before the head of his ward. If he still does not meet his obligations, he has no pledge of safety and may be robbed and killed until he enters the right path.

Guarantors: 3 tribes.

IX. Resolutions Made at Kashnjet, Mirditë, on August 17th, 1904.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 128.)

We, the tribe of Dibër, met for some business in General Assembly at Kashnjet and we have examined the business legally as required by God and the Canon of Mirditë.

1. Whoever murders one of his kin shall be expelled for fifteen years from the tribe, his land shall be left untilled and he shall pay a fine of 100 rams and an ox and have his house burned.

2. Whoever allows a man who has murdered one of his own kin to enter his house becomes as guilty as the murderer.

3. The kindred which does not take the lead against such culprits commits a fault against the whole tribe.

[Here follow the names of the leaders, headed by the bajraktar.]

In whatever business the tribe may have these people will take the lead of the whole tribe.

Witness:

Dom Ndue Melguzhi, Pepaj, parish priest of Kashnjet.

10. Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

X. Decisions Taken on April 30th, 1905, by the Youth of Shalë. [681]

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 126–7.)

1. As from to-day up to Ash Wednesday the percentage on loans at [426] interest is to be paid with 25 okes of grain. If this is not paid by Ash Wednesday, a percentage of 30 okes is to be taken by force from the debtor.

As interest 100 grosh or 100 okes of grain as the creditor wishes are to be paid. Let him take 100 grosh if it suits him, or if he says, 'I'll have grain', let them give him 100 okes of grain.

2. Grain is never to be given to anybody by a man of Shalë unless it [431] is wanted for a funeral meal or it is desired to make a present of not more [765] than 20 okes.

3. Raki is never to be produced by a man of Shalë at a funeral meal [273] except during the seven weeks of Lent.

4. No man of Shalë is ever to give away more than 100 grosh either [431] outside or inside the tribe.

A godmother is not to present a red *xhamadam* (sleeveless jacket). [608]

No woman is to go to a wedding in a party of five or more and they [585] are not to seek a woman outside the same house.[1]

5. Whoever fires the first shot in the yard of a church or inside its boundaries is to have his house burned and must pay 20 purses under the guarantee of flock-cum-shepherd and the youth of Shalë.

6. If a man disturbs a mass that is being said and if the priest, crucifix in hand, says, 'So-and-so has troubled me', the offender will have his house burned and must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

7. Whoever touches Church property must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

8. Whoever molests the Church servant must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

9. If anyone borrows coffee and sugar from the priest for a funeral [765] meal and does not return them to him within four weeks, and if the priest [426] complains, he must pay a fine of one ox to the tribe.

10. Whoever steals an ewe, goat and cow from a man of Shalë and whoever does anything to his neighbour that disgraces him, shall have his harvest burned, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed. He will pay fines of one ox to the youth and 2 rams to the government representative.

11. These laws, enacted by the youth of Shalë together with the

[1] The last clause of § 4 is given as in Mrs Hasluck's MS., but there seems to be some mistake, as the corresponding passage in the Italian version of Father Gjeçov's *Kanùn* runs:

Lo shalano non può fare il compare più di 5 volte, e non può chiedere che si leghino in comparto più di 5 famiglie.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[681] bajraktar, are perpetual like the law about fire[1] and other laws. Whoever breaks this law must pay an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, otherwise he will have his house burned.

The Youth of Shalë
April 30th, 1905

XI. Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin on August 5–7, 1906.
(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 129.)

[625] 1. Whoever joins the government police shall have his house burned and be excluded from funeral gatherings and hospitality.

[798] 2. A man who goes to complain to the Turkish government about a Christian shall pay a fine of 1000 grosh.

[695] 3. A man who steals from his neighbour or breaks into his house must, if he denies doing so, give his oath with 12 compurgators. If he proves to be a robber, he must pay a fine of 1000 grosh, and return to the owner of the house two for every article stolen.

4. If an ox is stolen and the accused denies the theft he must give his oath with 6 compurgators. If on enquiry he proves a thief, he must pay a fine of 500 grosh and return to the animal's owner two oxen for the one stolen.

This judgement holds also for a horse and a mule.

If a cow is stolen and the theft denied, the accused's oath needs three compurgators. If he proves a thief the penalty is returning two for one to the owner and a fine of 250 grosh. So too for a donkey.

If a bell-goat or a bell-wether is stolen two for one to the owner and a fine of three rams. If the theft is denied the oath must be given by the accused and all the males in his house.

For every small animal two for one to the owner and a fine of two rams. If the theft is denied the oath is with all the males in the accused's house.

5. Setting fire to a house[2] means a fine of 2500 grosh; to an animals' fold, a haystack and a hedge, a fine of 1500 grosh and returning two for one to the owner.

[623] 6. A man who does not come to a General Assembly when summoned by the village elder will be fined one ram.

[672] 7. If word is sent to the elders to come to a General Assembly anyone who does not come must pay a fine of five rams. If he has an excuse this will be weighed by the other elders.

[1] The Italian version already alluded to (Gjeçov's *Codice di Lek Dukagjini ossia Diritto Consuetudinario delle Montagne d'Albania*, Tradotto dal P. Paolo Dodaj, Roma, 1941) here reads *il mugnaio*, 'the miller' (cf. supra p. 263).

[2] The Italian version reads *La violazione* (*per furto*) *del focolare domestico*, and taking fire from a neighbour's hearth without permission is frequently taboo among primitive peoples.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin, Aug. 5-7, 1906]

8. As for jurors, in every crime committed in Kurbin, a murder excepted, the jurors must give their oath, saying, 'That it has been stolen from you, I don't know'.[1] 681 [695]

9. What an informant says is said with an oath of how it was in mind.[2]

10. If a man quarrels deliberately with another and without informing the village elder, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If he informs the village elder and the latter asks for a pledge of good behaviour from the one who is oppressing the other and this man refuses to give it, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If the village elder cannot put things right he gives both men a month's grace and informs the other elders who shall settle the quarrel in accordance with the local law.

11. Anyone who gives food or admittance to his house to a Christian or a Mohammedan who is a policeman in the service of the Sultan shall be fined 1500 grosh. [625] [574]

12. If a man breaks a pledge of security given and taken in the presence of elders and commoners in Kurbin, the elders and commoners are under an obligation to burn his house and to expel him from the tribe. [696]

Written in Delbinisht, Kurbin, at the spring of water under the mulberry tree near the Archbishop's palace on August 5th, 6th and 7th, 1906.

Gjin Pjetër Mark Pervizi of Skuraj, Kurbin, senior elder among the 45 elders of the environs of Krue, in the name of the elders and commoners.

Also present at this General Assembly and registrars of the aforesaid laws:

Mgr. Nikollë Kaçorri, witness.

Father Shtjefën K. Gjeçov, Franciscan, witness.

XII. Letter from Shalë dated May 12th, 1907.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 127.)

1. Greetings from the bajraktar of Shalë, the notables and youth to you, chiefs and youth of Theth. We beg to inform you that the undermentioned laws have been enacted by the tribe of Lower Shalë. We let you know, asking if you too will abide by these laws. We laid down the

[1] The Italian version of clause 8 runs: *Il dovere del giurato per tutto ciò che accada nel territorio di Kurbini, salvo che nelle cause di uccisione, consiste nel giuramento di non cognoscere il colpevole.*

[2] The Italian translator has *La deposizione del delatore deve essere accompagnata dal giuramento.*

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[Laws of Shalë, May 12, 1907]

681 laws and gave our oath to abide by them and not to break them. The laws are as follows:

[628] 2. Pecnikaj enacted a law that when a man is murdered the murderer's heir shall find the guarantors and has three days of guaranteed safety. He has to go with the head of his ward to the victim's representative who shall give him a pledge of security for a week[1] and the murderer's 'brethren' shall bring forward two guarantors. If the victim's representative objects, he shall be left to nominate one and the murderer's 'brethren' shall nominate the other.

Whoever murders someone after the enacting of this law and the swearing of this oath has his safety guaranteed for three days.

Whoever commits a murder murders on his own responsibility and his own risk a person under the protection of Pecnikaj and will have a feud and will never be forgiven for that murder and if anyone kills him he does so by order of the whole tribe of Shalë.

3. Although this law was laid down by Pecnikaj, Lotaj, Abat and Bobi concur.

4. As representative for witnessing Theth's oath all Shalë has chosen Tahir Deli, who was at this meeting of the General Assembly.

5. Whoever murders someone in Shalë—apart from the actual murderer—must not burn his house.[2]

6. In case he burns his house[2] he must pay for a fine of four Martini rifles to the Youth of Shalë and must pay twice the value of the house and the damage done to the owner of the house.

7. If, after the 'brethren' of the murderer have gone to their homes, anyone goes to break into one of their houses either to burn it or to kill its men, he must pay to its owner and the Youth 20 purses and a life for a life.

8. Mules are under the protection of the Youth and anyone who takes them takes them subject to the appropriate penalty.

9. What is written in this letter is guaranteed by the bajraktar and the Youth of Shalë and the government's representative.

10. From Prekë Ndue Mashi to Ndue Ulë Bobi whoever pilfers a neighbour's unmilled grain must pay a fine of one ox to the Youth of the tribe and a ram to the government's representative.

XIII. Covenant of Mat.

(From the Albanian Newspaper *Tomori*, November 7th, 1942.)

681 1. The people of Mat, comprising 5000 families, hereby pledges itself either to denounce to the competent authorities or itself to arrest

[1] The Italian version above referred to seems to omit this provision for a week's security from revenge.

[2] According to the Italian translation the house of the murderer only shall be burned, and if anyone else's house is set on fire the murderer shall pay the specified fines.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

[Covenant of Mat, 1942]

any political intriguers against the present régime who may be found 681
within its territory.

2. If, after the conclusion of this covenant, one man kills another [672]
with or without just cause, his family shall be punished by the people of Mat with banishment from Mat for three years and his property, both movable and immovable, shall be confiscated and become state property.

3. The same penalties shall be imposed on any man who runs off with a betrothed girl or a married woman.

4. When a domestic animal has been stolen and the thief cannot be found, the village to which the tracks lead must either pay the animal's value or prove that the tracks lead away from its land.

5. Whoever aids criminals and gives them food and shelter renders himself liable to the penalties detailed in clause 2.[1]

6. Whoever carries arms of any description without declaring them renders himself liable to the death penalty.

7. Whoever spreads false rumours about the policy of the State, public security or public finances to the detriment of the present régime and its policy shall be punished as laid down by the Lieutenant-General's decree No. 185.[2]

8. The people's representatives are to regulate and to examine all [692]
complaints which may be made concerning land, irrigation, water, roads and forests and if a commission succeeds in settling a dispute between two persons, the decision of the commission shall be inviolable. If it is contested, the contestants shall take the matter to the proper court.

9. Land in Mat is generally held without regular title-deeds and [423]
ownership is proved by nothing but a written receipt (*senet*) and a meal according to the local custom. It appears that lately the ownership of properties bought 5, 10, 20 or 30 years ago with a receipt and a meal, as witnesses also confirm, is often disregarded or if regarded, is a constant source of disorders and murder. To put an end to such quarrelling the local Commission must not meddle with exchange of land so made until the Government has registered all the land according to the laws concerned.

10. The chairman of the Commission shall be the local sub-prefect, [624]
and its members the political secretary of the sub-prefecture, the gendarmerie commander, the Fascist Albanian militia's commander, and the representatives of the people who assist in drawing up the present covenant.

11. It is learned that Communists or, as some call them, Bolshevists, 681
have made their appearance among us. We must get rid of these persons 665

[1] (Author's note. At this time the term 'criminals' included not only transgressors of the law but also patriots resisting Italian rule.)

[2] (Author's note. No copy of this decree can be found.)

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[Covenant of Mat, 1942]

(651) whether they be young or old, and must not let them exist within the [665] boundaries of the district of Mat. If there are any such persons, the people of Mat, together with the local authorities, must destroy them, not only with the rifle, but also with the fist. For no one can endure a person who is a traitor and has neither character nor morals. The entire people must disown such men and attack them with all its strength until it destroys them root and branch.

[642] 12. By statutory law the Albanian and the Italian peoples are brothers with the same mother and the same father. That is to say, the two peoples have the same father who is the King Emperor and the King of both Albania and Italy. So we shall destroy anyone who insults the King by talking against him and we shall punish the fellow as specified in clause 2.

13. This Covenant which we have made at a plenary meeting of the people of Mat is to remain valid until the end of the General War, and anyone who breaks it is to be considered a traitor to his country and to the régime, that is to say, a betrayer of his fatherland and the régime.

Sgd. Beqir Sitki Hasa
Chairman of Commission
Sub-Prefect of Mat.

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[End map(A) - Upper Left]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

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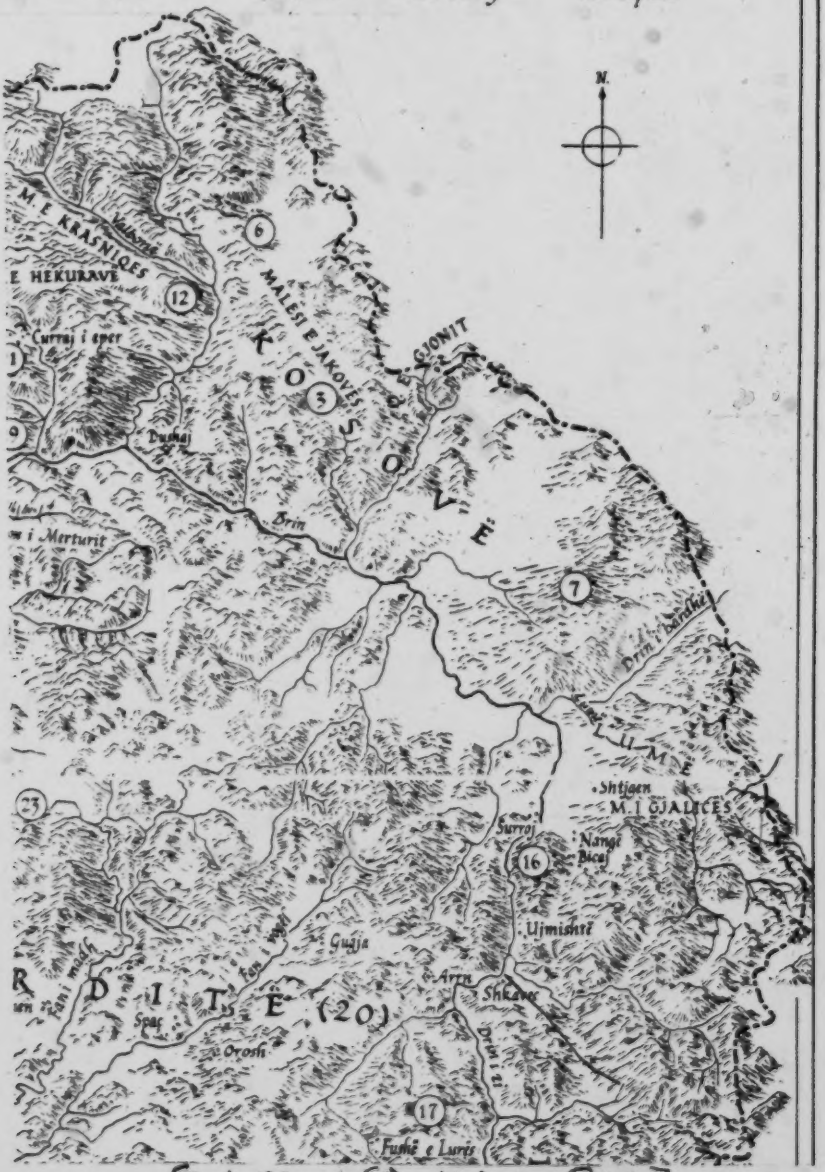
Key to tribes

1. Berishë	8. Hot	15. Kurbin	22. Nikç
2. Beshkash	9. Kastrat	16. Lumë	23. Pukë
3. Bytyç	10. Kastriot	17. Lurë	24. Selcë
4. Dibër	11. Kir	18. Matië	25. Shalë
5. Drisht	12. Krasniq	19. Merturi	26. Shkrel
6. Gash	13. Kryezez	20. Mirditë	27. Theth
7. Has	14. Kthellë	21. Nikaj	28. Toplanë



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10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

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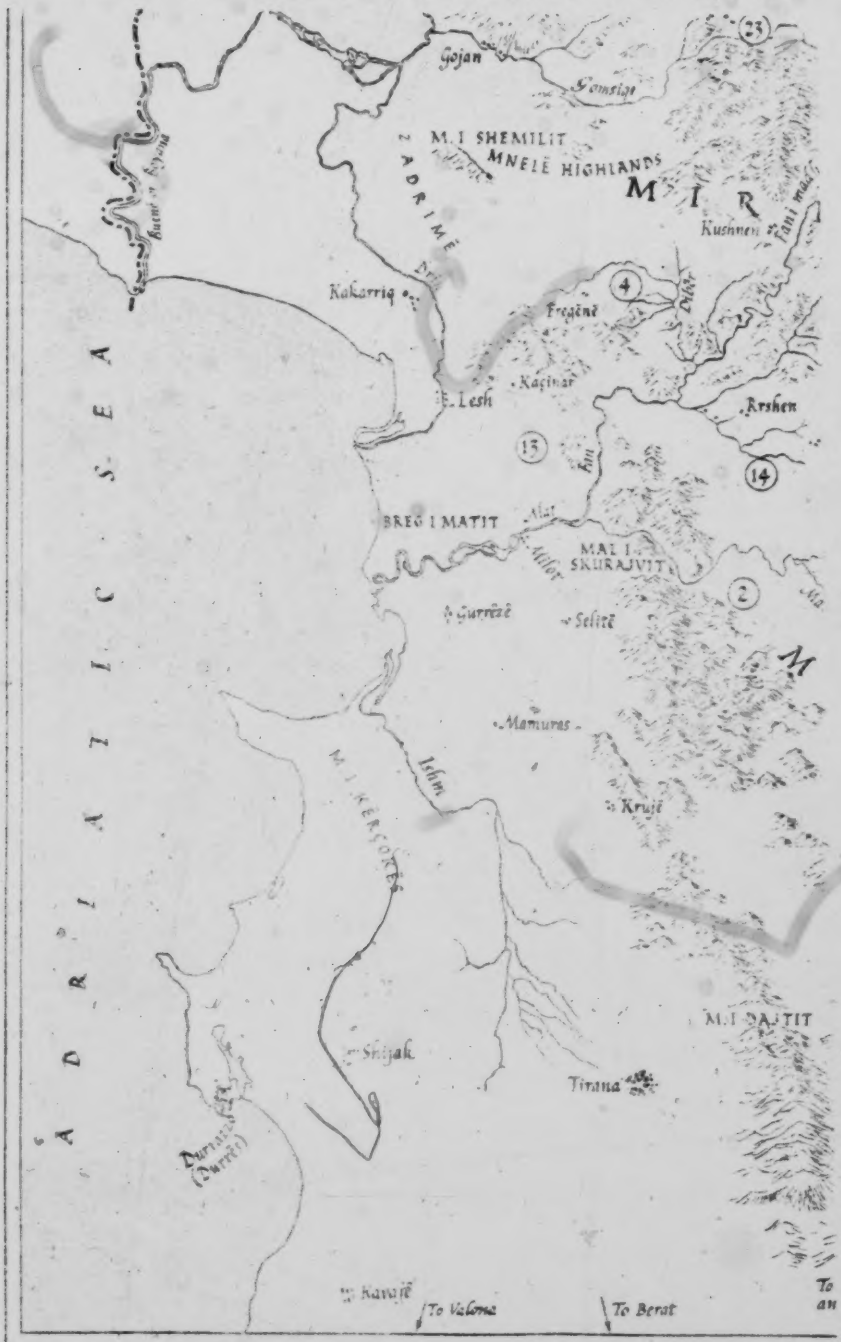

THE NORTH ALBANIAN MOUN

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10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

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N MOUNTAINS AND TRIBES

[End Map (D)-Lower Right]

10: Hasluck EGl Albania EGl
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[For the translated texts of a number of laws passed at General Assemblies see category 116, pp. 261-274.]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of Intelligence Research

Intelligence Report

No. 6628 Date: July 16, 1954

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF ALBANIA

Abstract

631 New local administrative divisions, details on which have just been made available though the receipt of the Albanian Official Gazette, were set up in Albania in July 1953 in conjunction with a general reorganization of the national government. This move followed the pattern set in the USSR and some other European satellites after Stalin's death. The administrative reorganization, the third since the Albanian Communists assumed control in 1944, was intended to give the central government more direct control over the local units. Elections for the new local bodies were held in March and April of this year.

I. REORGANIZATION OF JULY 1953

A Party-government decree of July 1953 called for reorganization of the administrative divisions of the country in order "to create the possibilities for a more operational direction" of the local authorities by the central government through decentralization of some functions of the latter.

To implement this decision, the People's Assembly on August 1, 1953 approved Law No. 1707 amending Article 71 of the Constitution and designating the People's Councils (Keshilla Popullore) as the organs of state power in villages, localities, cities, districts, and regions. These Councils were to be elected by popular vote for a term of three years. The law also authorized the Presidium of the Assembly to disband the People's Councils of localities, cities, and districts existing under the old administrative set-up and to appoint provisional executive committees for the newly created regions. These committees were to exercise the functions of the People's Councils until new elections were held.

[redacted]

631 On the basis of the amended Article 71 of the Constitution the Presidium of the Assembly on August 20 issued Decree No. 1716 stating that the People's Republic of Albania is divided into regions (qarqe), districts (rrethe), cities (qyteti), localities (lokalitete), and villages (fshatra). The decree listed 10 regions, 33 districts, 4 cities with the rank of districts, 47 localities, 9 cities with the rank of locality, 2,809 villages, 11 cities with the rank of village, and 48 city wards with the rank of village; (See summary table listing various categories.)

The 4 cities with the rank of districts are Durres, Korce, Shkoder, and Tirana; the 9 cities with the rank of locality are Berat, Lushnje, Stalin Town, Kavaje, Elbasan, Gjirokaster, Pogradec, Vlore, and Fier; the 11 cities with the rank of village are Bushkopi, Shijak, Pogin, Permet, Delvine, Sarande, Tepelene, Bilish, Kukes, Lesho (Lezh), and Kruje.[1]

II. BACKGROUND ON ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATIONS

The reorganization of the administrative divisions of 1953 was the third such measure taken by the Tirana Communist regime since the end of the war. The first measure was taken on November 6, 1947, when Law No. 546 was adopted, providing for the formation of administrative divisions of the country on the Soviet pattern. On the basis of that law, there were created 20 city, 573 locality, and 2,601 village People's Councils (Soviets).

The second reorganization occurred on March 11, 1949, when the People's Assembly passed Law No. 684 on the basis of which 25 districts, one city (Tirana), 185 localities, and 2,587 villages were created.[2]

The latest reorganization was taken in conjunction with the contraction and centralization of the national government, which in turn followed similar steps taken after Stalin's death in the USSR and in some of the other European satellites. Although the official announcement in Albania claimed that the reorganization of the local

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1. Law No. 1707 and Decree No. 1716 were published in Gazeta Zyrtare (Official Gazette), No. 14 of September 17, 1953. The decree contains a complete list of regions, districts, cities, localities, villages and city wards with the rank of village.
2. For further details, cf. DRB-IR-EER-42, New Administrative Divisions in Albania, June 8, 1949, OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

631 governmental units was intended to decentralize some of the functions of the national government and grant more competences to the local authorities, in reality the aim wasfor more direct ("operational") control of the local government by Tirana. This was indicated by the reduction in the number of highest local government bodies from 26 districts and one city to 10 regions. Local elections for the new administrative divisions were held in March and April 1954.

State—FD, Wash.,D.C.

631

SUMMARY TABLE OF ALBANIAN REGIONS, DISTRICTS, LOCALITIES, AND VILLAGES

(Based on 1953 Administrative Reorganization)

Regions (Qarqe)	Districts (Krethe)	Cities with rank of districts	Localities (Lokalitete)	Cities with rank of locality	Villages (Fshatra)	Cities with rank of village	City wards with rank of village
Berat	5	—	3	3	370	—	5 + 2 = 7[a]
Diber	5	—	3	—	228	1	
Durres	3	1	2	1	135	1	6 + 3 = 9[b]
Elbasan	5	—	3	1	296	1	4
Gjirokaster	6	—	6	1	397	4	5
Korye	8	1	6	1	348	1	5
Kukes	3	—	5	—	154	1	
Shkoder	8	1	6	—	313	1	7
Tirane	5	1	11	—	210	1	
Vlore	5	—	2	2	218	—	7 + 4 = 11[c]
	53	4	47	9	2609	11	48

a. 5 wards for the city of Berat and 2 for the city of Lushnje.
b. 6 wards for the city of Durres and 3 for the city of Kavaje.
3. 7 wards for the city of Vlore and 4 for the city of Fier.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

PREFACE

THE Resistance Movements of the second World War will not lack their memorials. The passions which they aroused, the causes which they served, and the deeds which they inspired assure them a lasting place in the annals of history. Their military worth has been acknowledged alike by victors and by vanquished; and their influence will long be felt in the affairs of the nations.

From 1940 to 1945 I was variously associated with the Resistance Movements of the Balkans, and more especially with those of the South Slavs and the Albanians. I have written here of the Albanian Revolt, but the implications of my theme inevitably transcend the narrow limits of Albania. The story of Abas Kupi and Enver Hoja is, in its essentials, the story of Mihailovitch and Tito, of Zervas and E.A.M. In a wider sense, indeed, it is also the story of de Gaulle and Thorez, of Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-tung. The forms may change but the content is the same; for Resistance is a universal phenomenon—a compound of war and revolution.

To stir up strife behind an enemy's lines is a stratagem as old as war itself; but in this last war new techniques of wireless-transmission and airborne-supply made possible the long-range preparation and support of revolts in occupied territories on a scale unexampled in history. The organisation of Resistance has thus become a distinct branch of the art of war, of comparable importance as an instrument of national policy to the traditional arms and the new weapons of the atomic age.

The chronicle of events recorded in these pages has been composed with the help of contemporary diaries and reports. The mind, however, tends irresistibly to impose a pattern on its memories, and it has not always been easy to recapture the mental and moral climate of our experiences. Yet therein lay much of their personal significance.

In the seven months that our mission lasted we lived

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

1844-54, tells the tale and says the entire bratstvo was extinct. The fishermen on the lake had to pay the vladika yearly a barrel of fish for fishing rights. No barrel arrived. They were asked why, and wickedly replied that they had not been able to catch any fish. The vladika was patient. Still no fish arrived. The fishermen then explained: "There are now no fish in the lake." "No," said the vladika firmly, "*there are none and there will be none.*" M 754 681 M 226 577

To everyone's horror the lake was fishless. The fishermen hurried to the vladika and prayed him to withdraw his curse. He kindly did so—and the fish reappeared.

This mighty prelate was canonized by the Montenegrin Church shortly after his death, and is the revered St. Petar Cetinski.

His curses, however, pale before that laid on the Greek statesman Venizelos in 1916. I give it to show what the Orthodox Church is capable of when roused, and the present belief in the curse in the Near East. Venizelos was denounced for having "betrayed the nation to the Anglo-French." "Therefore against the traitor Venizelos we have invoked the following injuries: the ulcers of Job, the whale of Jonah, the leprosy of Naaman, the bite of Death, the shuddering of the dying, the thunderbolt of Hell, and the malediction of God and man. We shall call for the same injuries upon those who, at the forthcoming elections, shall vote for the traitor Venizelos, and further pray for their hands to wither and for them to become deaf and blind. Amen." G 754 664

Curse-pits were dug, and crowds, filing by, put their curses upon stones and hurled them into the pits.

True, the ecclesiastics who laid the curse got into trouble. But they had, in fact, but expressed—flamboyantly—the feelings of the people. Venizelos, having once fallen, has never returned to power. The peasant has little faith in elections—he has every reason to doubt their efficacy; but of the efficacy of a real good curse he has ample evidence.

In Albania a curse may lie for generations on a family and end it. I visited the house of a family group at Plani in Pulati. The curse was that the family should not multiply, and I was assured it was dying out. No one knew who had laid the curse and all attempts to remove it had failed. Eighteen persons were living crowded in its one room. In cases of this kind it is obvious that unwholesome surroundings, bad water, or inherited disease is the origin of the "curse." To those so "cursed," however, the thing is a mystery, and mysterious means are the only ones used to combat it. A 754

All medicine begins as magic. The invention of the microscope has at last revealed many of the real "demons." But even in England there are still people who prefer quack remedies to scientific "demon"-slaying ones. A 121

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

began and I was propitiated on all sides. It was the thing to ask me into the nearest house and stuff me with food, and for days my hotel bills were almost nil. But that was in the days of the Obrenovitch, when the Karageorgevitches had been exiled for ever and ever for having murdered Prince Michael. They now reign over wide lands for having murdered the Archduke Ferdinand.

We, too, have a stranger craze. We still hedge the stranger with difficulties until or unless, we think fit to feast him at the Guildhall, hoping earnestly that by thus feeding the beast we may induce him to work magic in our favour with tariffs or arm his compatriots on our behalf.

2. The Name Taboo

Among many primitive races all the world over a man's name is part of himself. Just as spells to hurt a man may be wrought by means of bits of his hair or nails, so, too, can evil be worked by using his name. The name is, therefore, a thing to be carefully guarded. Thus is the name taboo explained by authorities on the subject.

The taboo is common in the Balkans. In 1904, among the Bulgars of Macedonia, I had to classify long lists of refugees. Woman after woman would give her name as "Maria," and refuse, with tears running down her cheeks, to give her husband's name, or any clue to her identity, save perhaps the name of her father in a distant village. "They are ashamed. You must not ask such a thing," I was told. I had asked an indecent question and hurt their feelings. "Ask another woman." The Maria in question would hurry from the room, while I learnt from a woman of the same village that the husband's name was Dmitri, son of George. This constantly happened when I have dealt with Bulgar and Albanian refugees. The explanation always is that they are "modest."

In Montenegro the custom was nearly dead—but not quite. Old folk still thought it improper for man and wife to name each other. The schoolmaster at Tzrmnitza told me that there were still many who had never done so. Savo Vuletitch, himself a Montenegrin, in one of his admirable tales of Montenegro, tells how "Petar Radisitch, though he had lived on the best of terms with his wife for full twenty years, had never called her by her name, nor even spoken to her as a human being, on any subject, if it were possible for a stranger to overhear. Had he to speak to her in public he muttered through his teeth, and she did the same by him. To have done otherwise would have been shameful."

A plan I found adopted was that the man gave his order in the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous A [186] than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

Y A 292 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

562 561 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, Y too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

A Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the cover- [12] ing of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their A Y teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

M Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the 754 soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose 776 all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from 774 danger.

A "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when V my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief M over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable 777 precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and A 585 hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Turkey MB1
Serbs EF6

A 764 the body was laid in it, in order to prevent any devil lurking there to seize the dead.

I remember waiting by the tiny grave dug for a child at Thethi Shala in the graveyard. Someone tripped over the long protruding handle of the shovel and dislodged it. The old gravedigger dashed forward and replaced it at once, and drew it out only as the little corpse was lowered. The Franciscan, an Albanian, who stood by the graveside, acquiesced. "It is the custom," he said when questioned. Possibly, like the rest of us, he could not keep demons at bay unaided.

M A 776 777 778 Iron keeps off all spirits, good and bad, it appears; for no knife must touch the fowl's breast-bone or sheep's blade-bone in which the Albanian and Montenegrin soothsayers read the future. No one can tell you why; but everyone knows it would be the height of folly to try to read a bone that has been cleaned with a knife—it would not tell the truth.

A 726 Colonel Aubrey Herbert, that friend of the Turks and Albanians, whose untimely death has left an unfillable gap, gave me a curious instance of the belief in the magic of iron. During the Balkan war of 1913 the Turkish general, Djavid Pasha, retreated with what was left of his army into South Albania, where "he occupied the house of a friend of mine. The tide of war was running fiercely against the Turks and the general wanted to consult the spirits. The family carpenter was ordered to make a three-legged table without any nails in it—T 778 'for the spirits hate metal,' said Djavid. The young Turks invoked the spirit of Nazim Pasha, who had been shot by Enver and his friends. 775 . . . When no answer came, the absent ghost of Nazim was cursed for refusing to give information."

Even the absence of iron could not induce the spirit of the murdered man to advise his murderers.

6. Hair. Some Beliefs and Customs connected with it

A 121 In many lands much mystery surrounds hair, that strange substance that grows continually from youth to age; which is part of the person, but can be cut off without pain and is, therefore, the most convenient substitute or symbol for the whole person.

S 754 By means of hair spells can be wrought even in an electric-lighted European capital. Draga Mashin, the mistress of the luckless young King Alexander Obrenovitch, forced him to marry her and make her queen by clipping some of her hair in little bits and mixing it with appropriate spells in his food. Having thus eaten a portion of her, he was hopelessly in her power. At least, so we were assured by one of

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Byzantine Civilization EH3
Hellenic Greece EH5
Serbs EF6

the Serbian *intelligentsia*, formerly Minister at the Court of St. James's. Possibly the belief that Draga dabbled in witchcraft was one reason why the populace cheerfully acquiesced in her murder. Near-Eastern politics are more often swayed by old-world beliefs than some folk are aware of.

By chance one night in Krsto's hut I learnt that the ancient rite of dedication by hair is part of the Orthodox baptismal ceremony. I was showing my folding pair of nail-scissors when Pope Gjuro exclaimed in admiration that they were just the thing for clipping hair at baptisms. Old Gjuro himself, of course, wore a beard, and his unclipped locks flowed on his shoulders. Hair, as we have seen, can be used to work grievous harm. "The simplest way of avoiding this peril," says Sir James George Frazer, "is not to cut the hair at all." Samson's strength lay in his hair. Kings, medicine-men, and others who were very holy, have gone unshorn, and so to this day do the priests of the Orthodox Church, the direct descendants of the priests of pre-Christian cults. Firmicus (Julius Maternus) wrote the *Errors of Religion* about A.D. 350, and described "men who stay in temples in an unkempt state, and walk abroad thus and never cut their hair, and who would announce something to men as if said by gods." Firmicus was a Sicilian and had, doubtless, been taught by Rome, for he did not connect holiness with hairiness as did Byzantium.

One of the many bitter complaints brought against the Church of Rome by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Byzantium (1043–58), was that Latin clerks shave the beard. So abhorrent did this practice seem to the Byzantine that he refused the Communion to shaven clerks. Thus a deep-rooted belief in the magic power of hair was one of the several odd reasons which helped to split the Church and ultimately affect the fate of Europe.

Rome, not given to haggling over unimportant details, did not and does not object to moustachioed and bearded priests should local custom prefer them. The Orthodox Church makes no exceptions. In the more civilized lands the Orthodox pope now likes to twist his locks into a "bun" pinned up under his high hat when he is not officiating. But up-country I have seen strange popes whose tangled black locks streamed in the wind, and whose faces were muffled to the eyes in beard that had never been profaned by steel: wild men of the mountains with knife and revolver in belt.

Hair-cutting as a dedication of the person is an old Balkan rite. Daremburg and Saglio, in the *Dictionnaire d'Antiquités*, figure a marble slab found in Thessaly, on which are carven two neat pigtails, "offered to Poseidon by the sons of Dumachos," says the inscription. In a storm hair would thus be cut off and thrown overboard with the hope that

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Great Russians RF2
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

G 852 is shorn of four locks, but after becoming a holy man he goes unshorn. The most wonderful I met was a young monk at Zdrebanik Monastery, M Montenegro, whose well-combed flaxen hair fell to below his waist. His 792 beard was equally fine. I remember, too, two "kalugers" whom we met on the Nikshitch road. They carried begging bowls and offered holy pictures for sale. They spoke no tongue anyone could understand, but their immense coal-black manes and beards showed them, as Krsto remarked, to be undoubtedly exceptionally holy.

S Hair is also offered, as we have seen in the chapter on funerals, 782 on graves. In Bosnia and the Herzegovina I saw tresses of hair hung 764 along with rags, oranges, bread, etc., on the young tree or branch stuck at the head of most graves. In a lonely graveyard between Gorazhda and Chajnitza (1906) I saw what must have been some

PRAYING BOSNIAN CATHOLIC, JAITZA, 1907

SKETCH SHOWING THE PIGTAIL (PERCHIN)

FIG. 21

mourning woman's whole head of hair, waving and bleaching in the sun and wind from the head-post of a grave. Here the hair seems part of a purificatory rite.

A The Eastern belief in the magic of hair is shown in the book of 121 Numbers vi. *et seq.*: "When a man or woman shall make a special vow to separate himself unto the Lord . . . all the days of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head . . . he shall be holy, he shall let the locks of his hair grow long. . . . All the days that he separateth himself unto the Lord he shall not come near to a dead body. . . . And if any man die very suddenly beside him and he defile the head of his separation, then he shall shave his head in the S day of his cleansing. On the seventh day shall he shave it." St. Paul M (Acts xxi. 26) observed this ceremony.

302 In Bosnia, Serbia, and Montenegro, till very recently, most men

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Preface

121 There are some people today who contend that a detailed history of a country is too lengthy, too tedious and too statistical to hold the interest of the reader whose object is to gain a broad and not-too-complicated outline of a nation's history. Therefore, within these pages it has been the author's sincere endeavour to write the history of the Kingdom of Albania in such a manner as to include not only the major events but also the steps which were influential in their making. In this way the highlights in Albania's history have been chronicled in a brief, but not minimized aspect. Thus it is to be hoped that the reader will gain a clear and and coherent view into a unique nation which is of great interest as well as importance to the world, not only because of its strategic position but also on account of all that Albania has to offer of worldly goods, as there are few who know the intimate details of its making. While this book is full of

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania

precise historical data, condensed as much as possible, the author, prompted by a desire to present a clear and true picture, has also written of the country and the people and their distinctive customs.

In addition to the historical information herein contained, the author has given personal impressions of the country: the originality of the people, the vivid and wild beauty of the mountainous regions, the peacefulness of the countryside emphasized by waving fields of green, the memorially historical spots, marked with ruins, where history has been made in the ceaseless flow of time, the progressive spirit of the towns, the advantages of location and many such intimate bits of information that will add interest and charm for the reader who finds great advantage in striding through strange and fascinating lands in seven-league boots!

THE AUTHOR

October 1, 1936.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

000 author will attempt to set forth.

It is a strange paradox, therefore, that this nation should have been the veritable greed of other nations of Europe. It is most unfortunate, indeed, that their history, their customs, and their traditions should have been lost to the world in the din of battle and the spilling of blood. Even now, when a unified Albania—under a most able leader, His Majesty Zog I, King of the Albanians—strives for their well-deserved glorious future, the forces of viciousness are going about and maintaining veritable propaganda of malicious untruths concerning the Kingdom of Albania.

121 The purpose of the present work is to give a clear, complete and truthful outline of Albania's ancient and modern history, present-day conditions, climatic facts, roads, mountains, thermal and health springs, educational work, cities, industry, tourism and allied subjects. In a word, all information that could possibly be of interest to the historian, the archaeologist, the tourist, the businessman and those who read for the purpose of learning more about all corners of the earth.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER VIII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

121 As the character of a people is generally so much influenced by the nature of the country they inhabit, a brief description of the division of Turkey occupied by the Albanians may give greater interest to my
101 remarks on this race. Albania, as its native name of *Skiperi*, "The Land of Rocks," signifies, is one of the most mountainous divisions of Turkey. The principal
133 chain runs north and south, parallel with the Adriatic, and from it jut many spurs, composed of mountains as lofty as the main range, which ramify in every direction, so that almost the whole surface of the country is covered with rugged hills and deep valleys, save near the mouth of the river Ergenth. Even the coast is grandly mountainous, the spurs there often terminating in abrupt precipices, the sides of which are eternally beaten by the lashing waves.

132 Almost every variety of climate is found within the limits of Albania. In the south, and near the coast, the temperature is as mild as at Naples, and oranges, citrons, grapes, pomegranates, figs, and other fruits grow in abundance. But the cold increases with the distance from the sea, and only twenty miles from the Adriatic the snowfalls are heavy, and
[137] the frosts severe. The higher and more northern

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

She then takes hold of the flower with both hands 539
and lays her head upon it.

Almost every Albanian tribe has a more or less 173
mythical tradition of its origin, which is generally traced to some single ancestor. Of these I have already mentioned two, the legends of the Miridite clans of the Clementi and the Castrati. Another tradition, however, traces the descent of the entire tribe of the Miridites from one man, who, like the favourite hero of fairy tales generally, was the youngest of three sons. His father, according to the story, lived on Mount Pastrik, near Diakova, and at his death the three brothers divided their poor inheritance, the eldest taking the saddle (*Shalla*), the second the sieve (*Shosh*), the third receiving only the salutation of "Good-day" (*Mir dia*). As is, however, always the case in such stories, the prosperity of the portionless one greatly excelled that of his brothers. For while they became the founders of the clans called Shialla and Shoshi, in remembrance of the saddle and sieve they had respectively inherited, he who had been dismissed with an ironical salutation bequeathed it as a name to a far more numerous and powerful tribe, the *Miridites*.

Out of so many charming folk-tales it is a difficult 114
matter to choose the best or most characteristically 538
Albanian. I have, however, limited myself to those [121]
of which the originals are available, in order to obtain the precise names of the Supernals described in them, many of whom are disguised by their French translator under the name of *Lamie*, and by Von Hahn under the Teutonic *Elfe* or *Kobold*. As mentioned in

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

INTRODUCTION

121 I WOULD not have this book considered too seriously. It is not an attempt to untangle one thread in the Balkan snarl; it is not a study of primitive peoples; it is not a contribution to the world's knowledge, and I hope no one will read it to improve the mind. It should be read as the adventures in it were lived, with a gayly inquiring mind, a taste for strange peoples and unknown trails, and a delight in the unexpected.

Here I give you only what I saw, felt, and most casually learned while adventuring among the tribes in the interior northern Albanian mountains. It is not even all of Albania, that little country too small to be found on every map. It is simply a fragment of this large, various, and romantic world, sent back by a traveler to those who stay at home.

R. W. L.

S.Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

124 mountain men who had come down to the cities; we went into the mountains and measured them in their homes.

●121 Beside the anthropometric data itself we have taken some trouble to describe and discuss the natural and social environments in which our subjects lived. This material is as essential for our study as the measurements and observations on the men themselves. It not only describes the physico-chemical influences that bear on the growing organisms, but also designates their systems of mating, which are of prime importance to anyone interested in genetic problems. Furthermore, and as we shall see this is also of primary importance, it reveals the culturally controlled mechanical influences which literally "shape our ends"; the techniques of cradling babies while their heads are still plastic, and which the Albanian mountaineers, like other peoples in southeastern Europe and western Asia, employ.

In the following chapters we shall not attempt to cover every detail of Gheg civilization. This is not a work of ethnography, but one of somatology. We are interested in the main outline of the culture as a whole and only in those details that bear specifically on our problem: who are the Ghegs and how did they acquire their present anatomical characteristics?

000 One further act of definition is necessary: to place our sample on the scale of time. In describing any culture, the ethnographer must

[7] Chapple and Coon, 1942, front end paper.

000 set his scene at some specific point in time. All cultures change, either in complexity or merely in detail, and even those which move the most slowly vary enough in a few years to make this step necessary. Such a specific time locus is called the "ethnographic present."[7]

121 For the purposes of this study the ethnographic present should be the time between the date at which the majority of our anthropometric subjects were conceived and that at which they had reached adult physical form. Thus both heredity and environment will be [124] given due attention. The 1063 men in our series ranged from 18 years of age to senility, with the great majority between 25 and 49. The mean was 39.4 years. We did our measuring in 1929–30. The mean date of birth was thus 1890, with a range of from 1860 or earlier to 1911. If we add 20 years for the maturation process the range rises from about 1880 to the date of measuring, with its mean at 1910.

Our ethnographic present is therefore a time band 2 decades wide, concentrated in the period 1890–1910. At this time the mountain tribal areas of Ghegnia formed, like the rest of Albania, part of the Turkish Empire, and the heroic age of family feuds and intertribal warfare was in full swing. In the cultural descriptions given in chapter 3 on "Technology and Occupation" through 6, "Ritual Life,"[1] the reader must remember that unless otherwise specified we have reference only to this epic age.

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 1a – 38b --Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

LAND OF THE HIGHLAND GHEGS

101 THE people who form the object of this study are the mountaineers who inhabit the Dinaric mountain chain on either side of the gorge cut by the river Drin on its way from the Serbian plain to the Adriatic. Most of their country lies inside the political boundaries of Albania, but parts of it have belonged to Yugoslavia for the past third of a century. [197] They speak the northern of the 2 Albanian languages, or dialects,[1] Gheg. They are not, however, the only Gheg speakers. There are [121] Lowland as well as Highland Ghegs. The present study concerns only the latter. The reason why they were specially chosen is that they still preserved, in 1929, a full tribal system of social organization, something very rare in Europe. This has one critical advantage: rules of preferential mating are definite, and are still observed. We know not only who marries whom, but we may also be sure that the same system has been going on for many generations. For a study of human genetics this material has obvious advantages.

The Highland Ghegs who form the object of our investigation belonged to 10 tribes, shown on figure 1.[1] These are Malsia e Madhe, Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Has, Luma, Puka, Mirdita, Zadrima, Mati, and Dibra. Before 1913 all of the tribes, except Dukagin, which now touch Yugoslavia extended a certain distance into the present territory of that country. On parts of the northern border the overlap is an old one. Many of the Montenegrin gentes admit descent from Albanian families, and one finds every stage of linguistic and cultural assimilation between the 2 ethnic 728 units. Just north of Scutari, however, several 101 fully Albanian villages were handed over to Serbia after the Balkan War, and this caused both economic and political distress. Farther east, from Peia to Dibra, the boundary commission which laid out the border between the 2 countries at that time gave the Yugoslavs all of the strategic positions, and all of the market

[1] Gheg and Tosk in extreme dialectic forms are mutually incomprehensible. It would be hard to state definitely whether they are closely related languages or dialects of one language. Each has numerous local[2]

1 [See cat. 116, p.6 -- Analyst]

2 [cont. p. 7c -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

●121 HABERLANDT, Baron Nopcsa, and others have written learnedly and in detail about the material culture of the Gheg mountaineers.[1] It is not my intention to duplicate their work. What I have to say about technology in this place is written for one purpose only, to elucidate the problem of human genetics in northern Albania. First of all, we shall examine the anthropometric series itself, since that is the source of our information on the Gheg phenotype (fig. 12).[2] The measurement blanks contain, besides the anthropometric and observational constants, the following information for each subject: serial number, sex, date, place measured, age, tribe, *bairak*, father's group, mother's group, number of wives belonging to father, number of children of each sex per wife, occupation, office or rank, religion, kinship with other members of series, and photographic reel and frame number.

124

We measured 1102 persons. Of these, 1058 were tribesmen both of whose parents had come from the same tribe as the subject. Eleven resulted from intertribal marriages. Thirty-three others remain to be accounted for. Nine were sons of Has fathers and Podrima mothers, 4 were Podrima men. These 13 were living in Has tribal territory, on the Yugoslav side of the border. Podrima is one of the Albanian tribes situated on the plain of Kossovo, wholly in Yugoslav territory. No

101

1 [see cat. 121, p. 11 d -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

124
463

	Total	Extr.	Proc.	Serv.	Trans.	Trade	Pol.	Rel.
MeM	105	101		1		2	1	
Duk	106	103					3	
MeJ	104	87		2	1	7	7	
Has	114	102	11					1
Lum	109	79		1		2	25	2
Puk	102	87		3		1	11	
Mir	101	89	4	1		1	6	
Zad	105	104					1	
Mat	104	80	2	2			20	
Dib	108	75	7		3	11	9	3
Others	44	23	7	2		7	4	1
	1102	930	31	12	4	31	87	7

[121] [1] Haberlandt, 1917; Nopcsa, 1925; Start, 1939; Traeger, 1904.

[pertains to text, cat. 11b, p. 11 b --Analyst]

000 HISTORY is the lifeblood of ethnography, and historians the physiologists of societies. The ethnographer's task is to describe a culture, telling where a given people live, how numerous they are, what technological means they employ to make their adjustments to the landscape, how their families are organized, what other institutions have arisen among them, for trade, for government, for foreign relations, and for the satisfaction of their ritual needs. Although his work is selective, that of the historian must be more so, for the historian is concerned with the motion of societies through time. He must select only those facts which are pertinent to his problem.

121 In this case our problem is to find out all we can about the origin of the Gheg people, their genetic continuity within their mountain stronghold, and the times, places of origin, and physical characteristics of any outsiders who may have breached it. Since there is, as biologists well know, a selection in migration, we would like to know when and to what extent immigrants have left this country.

172 These plans can only be partly consummated. History is particularly silent about refuge areas. The geographical factors which have sealed tribal Ghegnia off from the main stream of human migrations and cultural evolution have also hidden it from the eyes of chroniclers, hampering as well the work of archaeologists. Actually we know nothing about its history before the Iron Age.

Only one man, the Freiherr von Richtofen,[1] claims to have found any evidence of Pleistocene occupancy in Albania. He discovered 2 fragments of worked flint directly under a modern road bed at Mali Dajti just outside Tirana. There is no reason to believe that they were not gunflints. Pittard, in a cave near

[1] Richtofen, 1939, pp. 151–52.
[2] Pittard, 1921, pp. 271–74.
[3] Vulpe, 1932, pp. 132–45.
[4] Menghin, 1919–20, pp. 197–202; Nopcsa, 1910, pp. [31]–[32]; Ugolini, 1927, pp. 181–88.
[5] Dr. Robert Ehrich, who has carefully examined

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30:46-48)1955 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

000 WHEN the earlier version of this report was written it followed the then usual scheme of dealing first with measurements of the body, then indices derived from the same, then with measurements and indices of the head and face, and finally with observations. It followed the order of the measurement blank, which had been made up for speed and convenience in measuring. Speed and convenience in measuring are important in the field, but in the statistical laboratory their utility ceases. The criteria measured and observed exist only to give us evidence by means of which problems may be solved. The order of subjects to be explored, therefore, should be patterned on problems, rather than on classes of criteria.

[121] The chief problem of the present study is: *What is the racial position of these Mountain Ghegs*, whose environment we have described and whose cultural history we have traced?

The study of race is a study of one department of *heredity*, or genetics, subject to certain controls. These controls are breeding habits, sex, age changes, function, and environment. We have already explored the breeding habits of the population exemplified by our statistical sample. We know in large measure whence came the ancestors of these people, and at what times, and how these mountaineers have regulated their matings from the time of their arrival to the present. As human populations go this material is well documented.

A gene is best described as a capacity for performance. The extent to which this capacity is reached in the organism is a function of a number of factors. One is *sex*. This means simply one should not include both males and females in the same series. Differences between males and females in anatomical and physical characters may be racial. In the present sample we had to forego the measurement of females for reasons of expediency. Another is *age*. The organism changes throughout life; the body grows from birth

Washburn has shown[1] that the size and shape of some anatomical characters are dependent on use. By removing one jaw muscle of rats, he observed that the bony structure changes asymmetrically in response. Many of our anatomical characters which most physical anthropologists have long considered purely racial in the genetic sense are in fact subject to functional limitations. This may be seen mostly clearly in the jaws and teeth, since one of the most varied of human anatomical functions is *eating*. Variations in eating habits are environmental (in terms of available foodstuffs) and cultural (in terms of bringing exotic foods from other regions and of food preparation in general). Although one may separate environment from culture for other purposes, from the standpoint of what they do to the body, they are one.

The term *capacity for performance* implies function, primarily, and anatomy, in a derivative sense. Our present data are almost wholly anatomical. It would be far more satisfactory to have data on a balanced combination of both functional and anatomical characters—representing motion and the product of motion. More recently collected samples from other areas include extensive data on the different kinds of blood groups: the *O*, *A*, *B*, *AB* sequence (the only one known at the time of my investigation); the many subdivisions of *A*: the *m*, *n*, *mn* series, with subdivisions; the rhesus group, and others which are being studied momentarily. As these categories increase, blood grouping becomes increasingly useful. [121] [143] Unfortunately this present study will have to do without it. I did not take blood samples for the *O*, *A*, *B*, *AB* series because the Mountain Ghegs attach much ritual significance to bloodletting, even in small quantities. Had I tried to take a little of theirs, they might have drained off much of mine. The risk of losing the entire series, and my life as well, did not seem to justify such an attempt.

Although anatomical characters may be derivative, they are also selective, and this introduces our fourth factor, *the environment*. It is our anatomy which we expose to the rigors of the environment and which therefore

[1] Washburn, 1947.

000 qualifies our capacities to function. Since these functions are subject to selection, so is anatomy, and anatomy may be the deciding factor. For example, resistance to disease is functional and in large measure hereditary.[2] A specific disease, tuberculosis, has greater success in long narrow lungs than in more nearly globular ones. Long narrow lungs are found in long narrow bodies, and more globular lungs in more globular bodies. In regions where exposure to tuberculosis is critical, there will be a selection for stockier, deeper chested body types. Over the million years or more of man's existence as a two-legged, talking, fire-using primate, he has been exposed to enough selective forces to account for all the anatomical changes visible in human races as they exist today. Anatomy is an end product, resulting from the effect of outside forces on body functions; but the anatomy itself qualifies function, and hence it plays an active as well as a passive role. The current fashion of slighting anatomy in the study of race is shortsighted.

● 121 In our series there are 2 principal ways that environment can affect anatomy. One is through nutrition. As we have seen, the Gheg mountaineer lives on the produce of the soil in his immediate neighborhood, and these soils vary. Hence we have an excellent chance to study the effect of differential nutrition on anatomy in segments of a genetically related population. Another is through cultural habits, in particular the habit of cradling infants. This in turn may be qualified by differences of nutrition. Here we are at the heart of the Dinaric problem, the question to which this study is devoted.

Once we have taken into account and quantitatively evaluated the various results of age, function, and environment, we are left with a number of qualified anatomical characters, which until proven otherwise can be called hereditary. Then we can see whether or not the area is a racial unit, and how its population and those of its subareas, if any, fit into the general human and specifically European racial scheme.

We are faced, therefore, with the following problems:

[2] See Coon, Garn, and Birdsell, 1950.

121 a. What are the anatomical peculiarities of these Ghegs whom we have measured?

b. To what extent are the constants which we have determined dependent on age?

c. Has the function of the jaw, including manner and amount of chewing, any effect on the size and shape of the masticatory apparatus?

d. Have differences in soil and hence nutri-

121 tion anything to do with body size and proportions?

e. Has the Gheg practice of cradling infants produced any effect on head and face form?

f. What is the racial position of our sample, once these last 4 potentially qualifying factors have been controlled?

In each of the next 5 chapters, one of these problems will be considered. 1

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 58b - 98e -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1956 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

AGE

•121 THE dimension of time can never be neglected in studying the properties of bodies, including those of human beings. Time is the scale on which we grow to maturity and shrink into old age. In this particular study time sets us 3 problems: (1) what is the range of the series in terms of age groups, and how do the component tribal subseries vary in this respect; (2) in what way does its age distribution affect the comparability of this with other series; and (3) to what extent, if at all, do differences in age account for the intertribal differences in growth, form, pigment, and pilosity, discovered in the last chapter?

ACCURACY OF THE PRESENT DATA

561 *128 Probably not more than a dozen of the younger men whom I measured knew exactly how old they were. None of the older men did. The Gheg mountaineers work and play by families, and not by age grades. Nothing in their way of living makes a precise knowledge of age useful. Sometimes when I was measuring a group of 20 or 30 men, all from

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania E61
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

A 175 Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

A 175 779 The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

B 175 Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

Y A 121 However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

Y A 286 439 The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

A Y [462] **Cloths.**

Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen (" platno ") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshawls or kerchiefs; and "sukno", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. " The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap ' zubun ', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts."* " The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material " (M.E.D.).

A S [291 286 287 402] That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. " Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.

* Milan Karanovic. " Costume of the Women of Zmiyagne " Sarajevo, 1926.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

PREFACE

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122

THE data on which this study is based were gathered in northern Albania during the fall, winter, and spring of 1929–30. Funds were provided by the National Research Council of Washington, D. C., and Mr. Francis Drexel Smith of Colorado Springs, Colorado. After the field work was over the National Research Council, whose Fellow I was, paid my salary for one year, as well as the expenses of statistical analysis and typing. On April 7, 1932, the report was presented to the National Research Council, which approved it. It was also submitted to, and approved by, the then Albanian government. Owing to a number of reasons publication was postponed; with the generous help of a grant from the Milton Fund and J. H. Clark Bequest of Harvard University, and of another from the Viking Fund, I was able to employ an assistant in 1946–48 to help me with a complete revision. That revision is now finished.

The personnel of the 1929–30 expedition included, beside myself, Mrs. Stanley Salmen (then Mrs. Coon); Mr. Frederick E. Farnsworth, now a U. S. Foreign Service Officer; Mr. Anthony Stevens, a member of the U. S. Consulate staff at Tirana; and Mr. Stavre Frasheri. We were facilitated in our work by Brigadier General Julius C. Holmes, then chargé-d'affaires at the U. S. Legation in Tirana; the late Dr. J. Dineley Prince, then U. S. Minister to Yugoslavia; Mr. Paul deMille, then U. S. Consul at Tirana, and Mr. Joseph Shutack, a member of his staff. Messrs. Kota, Rauf Fico, and Xhelal Frasheri, of the erstwhile Albanian government, all rendered us aid, as did the British officers in charge of the

Cambridge, Mass.
June, 1948

[p. -v b-]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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122 Albanian gendarmerie, including General Percy, and Colonels Stirling, Martin, and Glegg. Had it not been for their gendarmes we might not have succeeded.

During the many years which have elapsed since that journey I have received help from many quarters. The venerable Miss M. E. Durham wrote me valuable advice and information. Mrs. Margaret Hasluck, an authority on things Albanian, did the same, and during World War II, I had the pleasure of conferring with her several times in Cairo and drawing on her seemingly limitless fund of information.

The final period of revision was marked by the generous help of a number of Albanian friends in America. Bishop Fan Noli read the first and eighth sections and made many corrections; he also helped with new information. His loyal and able helper, Mr. Gerim Panarity, has always been ready to come to my assistance. In the task of measuring Tosks of two generations in the Boston neighborhood, Mr. Panarity was joined by my old friend Mr. Peter Peterson and his father, Mr. Dmitri Peterson, both of Somerville, Massachusetts, and by many others. Mr. Stavro Skendi of New York gave me information and advice on Albanian linguistics.

David de Harport and Dr. William Laughlin spent many evenings on the measuring program just mentioned. Mrs. Martha Dick did the calculating and typing during the later period, as Mrs. Constance Woodbury did nearly two decades earlier; my wife, Lisa D. Coon, drew the maps and figures. Dr. Stanley Garn helped me understand the mechanics of biting, and Dr. William J. Crozier, as always, gave me statistical advice.

CARLETON S. COON

[p. V c -]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

122 The Officers of the Excavator's Club – a private organization of students of anthropology in Harvard University and Radcliffe College – in order to show their appreciation and affection for Professor Coon, initiated a fund to help defray the publication expenses of this monograph.

[p.vi a -]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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•122 The following people contributed:

James M. Andrews
J. Lawrence Angel
Conrad M. Arensberg
John K. Bodel
John Otis Brew
L. Cabot Briggs
Kirk Bryan*
Ripley P. Bullen
Chester S. Chard
Harold J. Coolidge
Charlene Craft
Robert W. Ehrich
Paul H. Gebhard
Mary Ellen Goodman
Emil W. Haury
Hugh Hencken
John D. Hoag
Henry Hornblower, II
Bruce Howe
Frederick Johnson
Alfred Kidder, II
Alfred V. Kidder
Solon T. Kimball

*Deceased, August 22, 1950.

[p. vi b-]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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122 Clyde Kluckhohn
Ralph Linton
Derwood W. Lockard
Samuel K. Lothrop
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Henry I. Myers
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John Pelzel
Philip Phillips
H. E. D. Pollock
F. L. W. Richardson
John H. Rowe
H. Medill Sarkisian
J. F. Paul Schumacher
Charles I. Shade
Charles E. Snow
Marshall Stone
Walter W. Taylor, Jr.
Mischa Titiev
Alfred M. Tozzer
Robert Wauchope
Harold P. Winchester
Frederick R. Wulsin

[p.vi -]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

114 persistence on her book. She died in 1948 with her task far from completed.

Mrs Hasluck appointed the writer of this preface as her literary executor, not because of any knowledge of Albania or of folklore, but as an old friend who would do everything possible to get the book ready for publication. Had she completed it herself or entrusted it to some authority on her subject, the book would undoubtedly have been free of some of its faults. When the material came into my hands, only four of the chapters had been completed and much of the remaining material was in a chaotic condition. But Mrs Hasluck had sketched out the plan of the book with the proposed chapter headings, and the preliminary inquiries I made as to her standing as an authority and her knowledge of Albania and its language were very encouraging. Also the [122] Leverhulme Research Fellowships Trust, from which Mrs Hasluck had received grants for her work, undertook to give me a grant towards my personal expenses and to make it possible to employ a sub-editor at a later stage of the work.

I am indebted to a great many people, both English and Albanian, who helped me at the early stages of the work with information and ideas. I cannot mention all of these by name, but I heard from several of the officers who were briefed by Mrs Hasluck for their work in Albania. I discussed with Professor Jopson of St John's College, Cambridge, Mrs Hasluck's knowledge of the Albanian language, and was assured by him that it was good and that her *Albanian-English Reader*, published in 1932, was a reliable and useful book. But at the early stages of my task I owed a very special debt of gratitude to Lord Haden Guest, who was then Secretary of the Leverhulme Research Fellowships, and to Miss Branney, the present secretary. Without their interest and encouragement I do not think I could have found the necessary confidence to persevere in what has proved to be a difficult and prolonged task.

One source of great difficulty was the spelling of geographical names, and it was natural to turn to the Royal Geographical Society for help. I am glad to have the opportunity of expressing my very sincere gratitude to Mr Aurousseau, Secretary of the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names, who gave much time and thought to this matter and whose advice was invaluable.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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131
161 probably too low. The 1927 census reported 814,485 persons in Albania; the 1930 census raised the figure to 1,003,124, of whom 104,184 were Catholics. The 1930 census gives the population density for Albania as 36.5 per square kilometer, or 102 per square mile. The mountain Gheg country, newly divided into 3 provinces without regard to tribal boundaries, was said to have 100 inhabitants per square mile in Dibra province, 75 in Scutari province, and 64 in Kossovo province.

In 1930 the land area of Albania was 10,600 square miles. With a population of 1,003.124 the density was thus 94 per square mile, not 102. If we subtract 8 from each of the other figures, we obtain the following corrections: Dibra—92, Scutari—67, Kossovo—56. This can be checked by means of the Catholic figures. Of the 104,000 Catholics at least 14,000 live in cities, leaving no more than 90,000 on tribal lands. Tribal lands exclusively Catholic cover ca. 1225 square miles; those occupied by Catholics and Moslems together about 440 square miles. Thus 1450 square miles may be considered Catholic country, and with a population of 90,000 this yields 62 persons per square mile, which accords with the corrected census figure. Striking a point between the Dibra and Kossovo figures we obtain about 70 per square mile for Moslem lands, which cover about 2300 square miles. This yields a population of about 160,000. One hundred and sixty plus 90 equals 250. Hence our estimate of a total Gheg population of 250,000.[6]

●124 Our series of nearly 1100 men may represent one per cent of the adult male total, a large sample, compared to other national surveys of equal detail. It was drawn from all tribes and from every part of each tribe. It includes chief elders, gendarmes, farmers, what artisans there are, *hodjas*, and in short a complete cross section of the population, both regionally in most tribes, and in regard to differentiations based on rank and occupation. We did not measure

of *u* and *i*. Actually, Arabic vowels are few, rudimentary, and unindicated in ordinary writing. Semantically, they are of less importance than in Turkish, whence the form *Moslem*, and it was the Turks who converted the seventy per cent of the Albanians who are Muslims. Few of them, I suspect, will object to the book on these grounds.

[6] Almagià, 1932; *Arbenia*, June 1, 1930, for census figures; *National Catholic Almanac*, 1946, p. 93.

-46-

S.Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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124 mountain men who had come down to the cities; we went into the mountains and measured them in their homes.

121 Beside the anthropometric data itself we have taken some trouble to describe and discuss the natural and social environments in which our subjects lived. This material is as essential for our study as the measurements and observations on the men themselves. It not only describes the physico-chemical influences that bear on the growing organisms, but also designates their systems of mating, which are of prime importance to anyone interested in genetic problems. Furthermore, and as we shall see this is also of primary importance, it reveals the culturally controlled mechanical influences which literally "shape our ends"; the techniques of cradling babies while their heads are still plastic, and which the Albanian mountaineers, like other peoples in southeastern Europe and western Asia, employ.

In the following chapters we shall not attempt to cover every detail of Gheg civilization. This is not a work of ethnography, but one of somatology. We are interested in the main outline of the culture as a whole and only in those details that bear specifically on our problem: who are the Ghegs and how did they acquire their present anatomical characteristics?

000 One further act of definition is necessary: to place our sample on the scale of time. In describing any culture, the ethnographer must

[7] Chapple and Coon, 1942, front end paper.

000 set his scene at some specific point in time. All cultures change, either in complexity or merely in detail, and even those which move the most slowly vary enough in a few years to make this step necessary. Such a specific time locus is called the "ethnographic present."[7]

121 For the purposes of this study the ethnographic present should be the time between the date at which the majority of our anthropometric subjects were conceived and that at which they had reached adult physical form. Thus both heredity and environment will be [124] given due attention. The 1063 men in our series ranged from 18 years of age to senility, with the great majority between 25 and 49. The mean was 39.4 years. We did our measuring in 1929–30. The mean date of birth was thus 1890, with a range of from 1860 or earlier to 1911. If we add 20 years for the maturation process the range rises from about 1880 to the date of measuring, with its mean at 1910.

Our ethnographic present is therefore a time band 2 decades wide, concentrated in the period 1890–1910. At this time the mountain tribal areas of Ghegnia formed, like the rest of Albania, part of the Turkish Empire, and the heroic age of family feuds and intertribal warfare was in full swing. In the cultural descriptions given in chapter 3 on "Technology and Occupation" through 6, "Ritual Life,"[1] the reader must remember that unless otherwise specified we have reference only to this epic age.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 1a – 38b --Analyst]

121 HABERLANDT, Baron Nopcsa, and others have written learnedly and in detail about the material culture of the Gheg mountaineers.[1] It is not my intention to duplicate their work. What I have to say about technology in this place is written for one purpose only, to elucidate the problem of human genetics in northern Albania. First of all, we shall examine the anthropometric series itself, since that is the source of our information on the Gheg phenotype (fig. 12).[2] The measurement blanks contain, besides the anthropometric and observational constants, the following information for each subject: serial number, sex, date, place measured, age, tribe, *bairak*, father's group, mother's group, number of wives belonging to father, number of children of each sex per wife, occupation, office or rank, religion, kinship with other members of series, and photographic reel and frame number.

124

We measured 1102 persons. Of these, 1058 were tribesmen both of whose parents had come from the same tribe as the subject. Eleven resulted from intertribal marriages. Thirty-three others remain to be accounted for. Nine were sons of Has fathers and Podrima mothers, 4 were Podrima men. These 13 were living in Has tribal territory, on the Yugoslav side of the border. Podrima is one of the Albanian tribes situated on the plain of Kossovo, wholly in Yugoslav territory. No

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1 [see cat. 121, p. 11 d -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

101 intermarriages were recorded between Podrima people and Has tribesmen from the Albanian side of the border.

●124 The 20 others were outsiders in Albanian-controlled Gheg tribal territory. Sixteen came from the large market town of Big Dibra (Dibra e Madhe to the Albanians, Debar to the Serbs) in Yugoslavia, which contains a mixed population of Albanians, Serbs, and a few Turks. One was a Serbian-speaking Moslem from the alien *bairak* of Gorë which forms part of the tribe of Łuma; his home lay also beyond the border. Another was an Albanian from the town of Jakova. Two others came from inside Ghegnia but outside the tribal territory—from Krujë and Elbasan, respectively.

These 20 men were all first-generation immigrants. There was no older generation like them. I measured none of their sons, and thus this particular immigration had had no effect on our series. All of them were specialists in some kind of technology. Through the study of the data on occupations given in our tabulations we can discover the exact situation of these people.

124 463 In our series of 1102 men, 36 occupations were listed. These may be grouped into 7 classes: extractive, processing, services, transport, trade, political, and religious. Their distribution among the 10 tribes and 44 "others" is as follows:

1/1 [See p. 11d. Analyst]

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	Total	Extr.	Proc.	Serv.	Trans.	Trade	Pol.	Rel.
MeM	105	101		1		2	1	
Duk	106	103					3	
MeJ	104	87		2	1	7	7	
Has	114	102	11					1
Lum	109	79		1		2	25	2
Puk	102	87		3		1	11	
Mir	101	89	4	1		1	6	
Zad	105	104					1	
Mat	104	80	2	2			20	
Dib	108	75	7		3	11	9	3
Others	44	23	7	2		7	4	1
	1102	930	31	12	4	31	87	7

[121] [1] Haberlandt, 1917; Nopcsa, 1925; Start, 1939; Traeger, 1904. ⁂

⁂ [pertains to text, cat. 116, p. 11 b --Analyst]

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Extractive: Of the 930 men so listed, 926 were farmers, 3 shepherds, one a woodcutter. The woodcutter and one shepherd came from Luma, the other shepherd from Mirdita. Eighty-five per cent of all inhabitants of Ghegnia measured are farmers, 88 per cent of all tribesmen.

Processing: Twelve occupations are listed under processing: charcoal burner, blacksmith, tinsmith, carpenter, saddler, hatter, tailor, shoemaker, butcher, baker, cook, and pastry cook.

The 2 charcoal burners, the smith, and the carpenter were Mirdites. Their occupations are mutually dependent. As a rule iron goods are imported, and distributed by merchants in the towns. Axe heads, sickles, billhooks, and other tools of familiar Iron Age shapes are produced by craftsmen in the larger centers, such as Scutari, for the mountain trade. Minor metallurgy is usually carried on by gypsies.

[391]

The other specialists fall into a different class. None were mountain men, except one cook and one baker, both natives of Mati, who worked in the new prefecture headquarters established at Bureli, within Mati territory, by King Zog. They were there because of the impact of the new central government on the mountain tribes. Neither of these men had long been professionals.

The tinsmith, the saddler, and the hatter were natives of Peshkopia, the principal town of Dibra. Of the 3 tailors in this town, one was a native, one had come from Big Dibra, and the third from Jakova. The butcher, one of the 2 bakers, and the cook measured in Peshkopia were Big Dibra men. The pastry cook worked in Kukës, in Luma. This leaves 11 bakers. These men all came from Gonaj and neighboring villages in Has, within walking distance of Prizren. Baking is their traditional hereditary occupation. They get their flour from the gristmills of Prizren and sell their bread in that city. Many of these Hasi bakers migrate to distant cities to work. Mr. Anthony Stevens, our guide, and an employee of the U. S. State Department, began life as one of these bakers; as a boy he went to Cincinnati to work in a bakery.

It can be seen that within Gheg tribal territory processing techniques are practised almost exclusively in the eastern borderlands.

-12a

361 Peshkopia has grown rapidly because the international boundary commission of 1913 cut off the Dibra mountaineers from their natural market town of Big Dibra. Hence many of the Big Dibra men moved to Peshkopia, which is just inside Albania. In the same way Prizren was cut off from the Luma people, who built up Kukës; Jakova from the Malsia e Jakovës men, who also go to Kukës. On the western side no such disturbance has taken place. Scutari, Lesh, and Kruja now, as for centuries past, serve as market towns for the mountain people.

124 463 *Services*: Only 12 men are listed under "services." Two of these are innkeepers. One is a Puka man, host at Rrap, his native place. The other is an outsider, a Kruja man, whose inn is at Gur i Bardh in Matë. Kruja men specialize in innkeeping, and in the heyday of Ottoman power might be found all over the Turkish Empire, including Asia Minor. These *hanjis* marry in Kruja, and do not mix with the populations in the regions in which they do their business.

Three men were restaurant-keepers: one Koplik man, whose shop was presumably in Scutari, a Luma man, and a Malsia e Jakovës man, with shops in Kukës. The barber was a Malsia e Jakovës man, working in Kukës. Of the 2 waiters, one was a local man serving the gendarmes in their post at Puka, the other a Big Dibra man working in the hotel in Peshkopia, a new institution. Of the 3 listed as servants, all were local. One served the prefect and another the teacher in the new government center in Bureli. The third worked for a priest in Mirdita.

Of the 12 "services" listings, 9 can be accounted for as a result of recent political events.

[494] *Transport*: Transportation in Ghegnia in 1929 meant but one thing—the services of *kiragis*, those incredibly tough horse-drivers who would take you and your goods anywhere, and try to raise the price on the road, once you were at their mercy. Three out of 4 came from Dibra, and one from Malsia e Jakovës. As far as I know, all *kiragis*, like all *hanjis*, are Moslems.

[441] *Trade*: All merchants in the mountain country are shopkeepers; there are no large or complex commercial institutions. Of the 31 shop-

●124 keepers measured, 18 were in Peshkopia. Of
463 these, 11 were locals, and 7 Big Dibra immigrants. Six shopkeepers were measured in Kukës, all Malsia e Jakovës men; 2 in Bicaj, a Luma village, were local. One Malsia e Jakovës man was measured in his own shop in Kolgecs, a local town. Thus 25 out of the 31 shopkeepers came from the eastern borderlands, from big towns or their neighborhood. The situation is the same as with the craftsmen whose goods they sell.

Four shopkeepers remain: 2 are from Malsia e Madhe, one with his shop in Scutari, the other at home. Of the other 2, one is a local in Puka, the other a local in Mirdita. The Mirdita man, who has the only shop in that tribe, claimed that his father was an Austrian officer who begat him during World War I. This would give him a maximum possible age of 14 years at the time of measuring. He was at least 30.

TECHNOLOGY, A REVIEW

000 From the foregoing study of the non-somatological data collected in our series[1] and from what is generally known of the material culture of the Ghegs, we can make a brief summary, keeping in mind always our main purpose, to define the economic elements in the cultural situation within which the Ghegs live.

326 Cutting tools are of iron. They are made by
391 blacksmiths in the market towns in which the Ghegs do their trading. In Scutari, for example, there is a whole quarter devoted to smiths, most if not all of whom are gypsies. With hammer and tongs, a small anvil, and a pair of foot-pump bellows they forge nearly all of the metal objects needed by the mountaineers in their farming, herding, transport, and household carpentry. They make small anvils, hammers, nails, axes, adzes, knives, ploughshares, shovels, hoes, toothed sickles, billhooks, beam ties, door hinges, horseshoes, horse hobbles, chains, bits, firetongs, andirons, tripods, lighting racks, and probably other articles which have escaped our attention.[2]

326 There is no smelting in the neighborhood of Ghegnia. The iron which the smiths use is all imported. Although city blacksmiths can

[2] Haberlandt's, Nopcsa's, and mine. The best account of this is to be found in Haberlandt, 1917, p. 90. --13a -

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 11a--13a --Analyst]

623 attention. These include the use of tribal lands, decisions whether or not to burn forest to make pasture, etc., although such matters usually involve several villages. The elders also convene as witnesses in oath-taking.

634 Above the village is the *bairak* (Turkish for banner, standard), a geographical area with some kind of natural unity, so that the people living in it habitually see more of each other than of those without. All of the village councils meet together for the *bairak* council, under the *bairaktar* (standard-bearer), or head of the *bairak* (fig. 10, *e*). His office is hereditary in certain families. King Zog's father was *bairaktar* of Mat, the principal *bairak* of Mati; in Dibra Major Çen Eleze, who acted as host to our expedition, was one *bairaktar*, while Murat Kaloshi, his rival, was another. These men were great feudal leaders, maintaining large households of armed men, and dispensing [177] lavish hospitality to all comers. Çen Eleze had sent two of his sons to the American Technical School in Tirana, where they learned modern agricultural methods as well as perfect English. These boys, huge fellows over 6 feet 3, were of great help to us when we visited Slatina.

The *bairaktar* can become an independent sovereign if he has a strong enough personality and if the tribal authority is weak, and that of 619 the central government likewise. At other times he is under the authority of the head of the tribe, an official chosen from a ruling household, and bearing a different title in each tribe. In Mirdita he is called *Kapedan* (Captain); in Puka, *Shpij e Krye Ziut* (Black-Head House); in Malsia e Madhe, *Shpij e Madhe* (Big House), the exact equivalent of the ancient Egyptian *per āa*, or Pharaoh.

124 Fifty men, comprising 5 per cent of our 619 metrical series, were office-holders in the Gheg tribal system. Eleven[8] were elders, 26 chief

[8] Four from Dukagin, 2 Puka, 4 Mirdita, 1 Zadrima.

[see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

124 elders,[4] 8 *bairaktars*,[5] and 5 retainers of a tribal
619 prince, Jon Markajon of Mirdita (fig. 10, *a*)1
[463] Except for the chief elder of Karashegeç in
Has, who was a baker, all of the elders, chief elders, and *bairaktars* were farmers. The baker was "mayor" of a village of bakers, outside the mountain area. All of these men were locals, born of local fathers and mothers taken from within the father's tribe. Preferences are thus shown for (a) agriculture as against handicrafts or trade, and (b) local as against outside descent.

Jon Markajon, the only tribal chief whom we met, and who entertained us very well at his capital in Orosh, would not allow us to measure him, although he summoned all of his subjects from nearby villages. The 5 retainers whom we measured in his house constituted his princely staff. Three of them were part-time farmers, and 2, full-time political employees. What their exact duties and titles
619 were, we did not determine. The ancient
642 tribal government of Ghegnia, if we may judge by the example of Mirdita, the one tribe in which it survived more or less intact until 1929, consisted of a graded hierarchy with three steps—elders and their chief, *bairaktars*, and tribal prince. Attached to the prince was his staff of special messengers, chamberlains, and guards.

The tribal government was in the hands of the prince and his council, which consisted of all of the elders of the tribe, with their chief elders, and the *bairaktars*. The heads of large and powerful households, even if they held no
[623] formal office, would be included. The council met in cases of murder within the tribe, of intertribal warfare, invasion, or other crises involving violence. It also met to decide on its own composition, i.e., to hear the petitions of neighboring *bairaks* to join it.

619 The strength of the prince as compared to
643 that of the council depended on the former's personality. During the last 50 years, for example, Mirdita has been ruled by the following princes: Bib Doda, a great and powerful man who died about 1913; Preng Bib Doda, his son, who was killed shortly after in a blood

[4] Nine from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Has, 4 Mirdita, 4 Zadrima, 3 Mati, and 1 Dibra.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

-31a-

RITUAL LIFE

[124] 162 FORTY-TWO per cent of our series was recorded as Catholic, and the rest, except for one man,[1] as Moslem. These figures reflect the approximate proportions of the 2 faiths in Ghegnia. Their territorial distribution is shown on figure 3. All of Mirdita, all of Dukagin, about half of Malsia e Madhe, most of Zadrima, and some *bairaks* of Mati, Puka, and Malsia e Jakovës are Catholic. Catholics occupy on the whole the least accessible areas, and those closest to Rome. Moslems occupy those nearest the direction of Istanbul, along the main roads, and in the vicinity of the larger towns.

795 While Islam is but 4 centuries old in Al-
793 bania, Catholicism has been there at least 4 times as long. During the last 12 centuries many changes have taken place in the number and location of bishoprics and parishes, and in the number of communicants. At the time of our study, there was a bishop in Zadrima, to whom the parish priests of Mirdita reported; another took care of the territory north of the Drin. Some of the priests, like Father Krasnichi whom we visited in Mirdita, were native Albanians trained in Rome, others Austrians, Germans, or Italians. All were men of physical stamina and courage, for theirs was a difficult and rigorous assignment. Some were
[792] Franciscans. In Zadrima, near the bishop's residence, was a nunnery with about a dozen inhabitants.

795 Many of the Moslems of northern Albania belong to an extremely heterodox brotherhood, that of the Bektashi. The tomb of the founder of the order lies in the inner recess of a long cave, really an ancient sandstone quarry, in the cliff outside the city of Cairo. His successor lives in a house at the entrance to the cave. The head of the order and all of his henchmen in residence are Albanians. The reason for this curious circumstance is that the Khedivial family of Egypt was originally Albanian, and they brought their spiritual chief, with the coffins

[1] Both parents came from Dibra. He was Greek Orthodox, how or why I could not discover.

[See cat 116, p. 35c -- Analyst]

175 a few roads and bridges, and found time to do some anthropometry.

642 After the war Albania became a republic, with a parliament. Feudal and tribal, illiterate and immobilized by the lack of roads, the people were not prepared for self-government.

643 After a number of violent episodes Ahmed Zog, son of the *bairaktar* of Mat in the tribe of Mati, became dictator, and in 1929 proclaimed himself king. Hated by the people of Elbasan because he had jilted the daughter of Verlatsi, their most prominent citizen, he was despised by his fellow mountaineers and by the Tosks as well, most of whom saw in his rule a threat to their freedom. On the rare occasions when he dared leave his palace, he had all roofs and windows searched and guarded, and even the cypress trees searched; and then he sent a double ahead of him.

He did, however, make a number of wise moves. One was to employ Colonel Stirling, famed as a companion of Lawrence in Arabia, as his personal adviser. Another was to employ General von Mirdach of the Austrian army to set up his military machine. A third was to give the British General Percy a free

625 hand in organizing a gendarmerie. General Percy brought with him a staff of British officers, which included Colonel Martin and Major Glegg. These experienced men selected an elite group of mountaineers to police the highroads, and to report and put down trouble. For the first time in history someone was taking intelligent steps to rid the mountains of feuding.

[124] We measured 62 of these gendarmes, all local men. Twenty-one came from Luma, 17 from Mati, 10 from Puka, 6 from Malsia e Jakovës, 4 from Dibra, 3 from Dukagin, and one from Malsia e Madhe. The British officers very wisely used Ghegs in Gheg country. To have introduced outsiders would have made trouble. Many of the men were serving within their own tribes and *bairaks*; too often they were in blood elsewhere. This new occupation for mountaineers gave them a chance to see more of the world than before, for they were required to train in Tirana or Scutari. Although the gendarme system made little or no direct change in the genetics of the mountaineers, for these men marry as their fathers

[World War I -- Analyst]

625 did, it let in new traders, craftsmen, and government officials, by the mere fact that the gendarmes secured the road and put down banditry.

631 643 In a vain attempt to deal the tribal system a deathblow, King Zog abolished all of the old divisions and boundaries, and all of the old system of government. He divided Albania into provinces, deliberately cutting across tribes and *bairaks* and ignoring natural geographical frontiers as completely as did the 1913 boundary commission.[1] Kukës and Peshkopia became centers of administration, as did a remote hamlet in Mati named Bureli. In these new places he set up prefects and secretaries and soldiers.

124 We measured one "secretary of commune" in Mirdita, whom the tribesmen ignored. He was a native of Elbasan. He employed a local man to guard the telephone line, his only link with the extra-feudal world. In Bureli we measured a secretary of court and a schoolteacher, both Mati natives. Others whom we did not measure were outsiders. In Kukës we measured a government clerk, a schoolteacher, and a turnkey in the jail. In Peshkopia our score was 3 government clerks, 2 Big Dibra men and one local; a secretary of court, from Big Dibra; and a local country schoolteacher.

These 7 civil service employees whom we included in our series were all the products of the imposition of Zog's government on the Mountain Ghegs. Of these only 4 came from outside the area. Three of these were part of the group that fled Big Dibra after 1913.

000 The history of the mountain people of northern Albania since 1930, while interesting, is beyond the scope of this report. Some later anthropologist may study it with profit to discover the changes, technological, institutional, and anatomical, which may have taken place since our series was measured. Before moving on, we offer the following summary of the preceding chapters:[2]

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1. As far as we know these mountains were uninhabited before 500 B.C. They were first effectively settled at this time or a little later by Illyrian-speaking Hallstatt Iron Age people moving southward and eastward from Bosnia.

2. The majority of the Hallstatt people in

[1] [See cat 116, p. 46a -- Analyst]

[2] [See cat. 116, pp. 3b-46a -- Analyst] -47a

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30 46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

124 THE number of men whom we measured in Ghegnia depended on how widely we could travel, how much time we had, and how long it took to measure each man once we had persuaded the local people to submit to this nonsense. Before we had gone far we decided that 100 men per tribe was about our limit. This number is large enough to serve as a statistical sample, and it was about as many men as we could get to submit in each area without wearing out our welcome. Whenever we measured a man defective in some criterion, as, for example, with a bent back, or edentulous jaws, we counted him as one over the 100. Thus, in every criterion we could have a total of 100 or more. In Has, our series is larger, because on the last day more men appeared than we had expected and we could not stop measuring without giving offense.

We avoided measuring soldiers when we could, because they had been selected for stature. Only a few who were home on leave were included in our series. We also avoided measuring in cities, preferring to study our subjects in their native places. Thus we could be sure of what we were getting. One exception was made. In Scutari we measured the members of *bairaks* fugitive from Montenegro, particularly Gruda. Otherwise we would not have had them. Elsewhere measuring became somewhat of a ritual. The elders were usually present, and they would dictate the protocol. They would also hear what the younger men said about their family histories, and more than once corrections were made on the intervention of these elderly mentors. Only when they tried, once or twice, to have the tallest and strongest men measured first, was it necessary to interfere with their arrangements. In Kukës we measured in a restaurant. There our agents, soldiers and gendarmes, lured men in off the street, and our check on their provenience and relationships left something to be desired, as will shortly appear.

The composition of our tribal samples appears in detail in table 2.[1] As the reader can

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 51-54--Analysis]

124 see, we tried to distribute our sample equably among the *bairaks*, with varying degrees of success. Klementi, which has 5 *fis*, produced 4 of our subjects by internal mating. The 3 apparently endogamous Gruda products reflect the mating of the 2 *fis*, Berisha and Djell, discovered by Miss Durham. The Hoti-Hoti man may have had a mother from the *anas*; the Kastrati-Kastrati man reflects the presence of 2 *fis*. Koplik and Greisha, being almost entirely Moslem, form what is virtually a unit. Shkrelli, Riola, Reçi, and Loya are mostly exogamous, while Postripa subjects were derived from local parents only. On the whole Malsia e Madhe forms an interbreeding population with little tendency for local marriages, except among the lacustrine *bairaks* of Koplik and Greisha, and in Postripa. Postripa should have been given separate treatment, as Miss Durham's evidence indicates, but it is now too late.

In Dukagin we measured at only one place, the hill of St. George on the boundary between Shoshi and Shala. Both Shoshi and Shala were partially endogamous, Shala predominantly so. This reflects the presence of *ana* households, and splits into 2 *fis* each. Toplana, Kiri, Dushman, and Pulati, all parts of the Lower Pulati group, are represented only on the maternal side. Since these people habitually marry across the river into the northern *bairaks* of Puka, we decided to concentrate on the Dukagin element in the tribe of that name. As in the case of Postripa, I feel that this was a mistake.

The sample for Malsia e Jakovës shows a more equable distribution. If Nikaj men were slighted, the mothers of all Merturi men may compensate. These 2 *bairaks*, being *fis*, intermarry habitually. In Has we did not discover that a second and very small *bairak*, Ershan, existed until our series was complete. In Luma we could not determine the *bairaks* of 8 men, all of whom said that their fathers and mothers came from a single place. Perhaps they were joking and making up silly names. That is one of the tribulations the physical anthropologist

124 has to face in the field. Half the Luma sample came from Biçani, which comprises over half the tribe. As one can readily see, these Moslems marry within their own *bairaks* most commonly.

614 634 In Puka it is manifest that Kabash and Çeret form each a single *fis*. Berisha, the oldest known *fis* in Ghegnia, has a companion *fis*, Thach, in its *bairak*, with which it sometimes marries. Buxhon and Iballja each have more than one *fis*, as do Puka and Mal i Zi. On the whole the *bairaks* of Puka, whether single or multiple as regards *fis*, are exogamous. Since marriage across the Drin is frequent, many of the men from Buxhon, Berisha, and Iballja may have had mothers from the Lower Pulati section of Dukagin.

We were able to get a complete list of the *fis* in the tribe of Puka, except for Mal i Zi, as follows:

1. *Kabash*, *bairak* and *fis*. Three hundred houses, located in Kabash, Puka, and Iballja.
2. *Marin*, a *fis* of 30 houses in Puka village of Puka *bairak*.
3. *Guian*, a *fis* of 3 or 4 houses only, in Puka village.
4. *Kashnet*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak* only.
5. *Shkrella*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak*, related to the Shkrelli people in Malsia e Madhe.
6. *Krasniq*, with obvious affiliations, 10 houses, Puka village.
7. *Shala*, with obvious affiliations, 60 houses, Puka *bairak*.
8. *Thach*, this is the only *fis* in Buxhon, and one of two in Kabash, the other being Kabash *fis*.
9. *Berisha*, *bairak* and *fis*, a single unit.
10. *Kcheira*, a *fis* in Çeret.
11. *Shosh*, with obvious affiliations, a *fis* in Çeret.
12. *Çereti*, also a *fis* in Çeret.

614 634 361 In Mal i Zi there are said to be many other *fis* besides these 12. The above list shows 7 different *fis* in the single bairak of Puka, with 3 of them limited to a single village. This situation reflects the location of Puka village

[1] Kashnet and Guian of Puka also appear here. Vik, Mesouli, seem to be others.

614 634 361 at a natural stopping point on the Roman road, where other trails come in. It is also a trading center, and one of administration. Its geographical position has brought in people from many places, and it stands in striking contrast to the more isolated *bairaks* of the same tribe, which in some cases have only one *fis* each. If Mal i Zi has many *fis* as well, that is because it too is conveniently located on the road.

In Mirdita exactly the opposite situation is found; the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen all belong to one *fis*, although one village in Orosh is eligible for marriage with these Dukagini. This village was once part of [124] Kthella. Two of our subjects were the sons of women from this village. Fan and Dibri marry both with Dukagini and within their own *fis*, of which there are several.[1] In our series Kushneni married only Dibri, which was nearest; Fan mostly Orosh, for the same reason. One blank bears the astounding information that its subject was the son of an Orosh father and a Kushnen mother. This is undoubtedly some kind of a mistake, possibly similar to the situation noted above.

614 634 Zadrima is only one *bairak*, all Catholic except a few small villages nearest Scutari. Despite its lowland habitat it retains its tribal organization, as well as its Gheg speech, and hence was included in this series. We did not obtain a record of its *fis*.

All 4 *bairaks* of Mati contain 2 or more *fis* each. The 3-part Catholic *bairaks* in the north form an intermarrying group and married with Mirdita extensively in the old days. In the time of our series, Lura was in blood with the Mirdites and the exchange of wives had been broken off. Very rarely do these northerners intermarry with the men of Mat. If this job were to be done again, the 3 northern *bairaks* should be given separate consideration for they are a genetic unit apart from Mat. The northerners are frequently tall, the Mat men almost uniformly short. In Dibra the 4 *bairaks* were almost wholly endogamous, and again separate treatment would be profitable. If we had measured 600 more men, the series would have been a better one.

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ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF OUR METRICAL SERIES

TABLE 2: COMPOSITION OF TRIBAL SAMPLES.

Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Malsia e Madhe				
Klementi	Klementi	4	Catholic	2 Vulli, 1 Nic Klemend
Klementi	Shkrelli	2	Catholic	
Gruda	Gruda	3	Catholic	
Gruda	Hoti	1	Catholic	
Gruda	Kuçi	2	Catholic	
Gruda	Triepsh	1	Catholic	
Hoti	Hoti	1	Moslem	
Hoti	Klementi	1	Catholic	
Hoti	Kastrati	3	Catholic	
Hoti	Gruda	3	Catholic	
Hoti	Triepsh	5	Catholic	
Kastrati	Kastrati	1	Moslem	
Kastrati	Hoti	6	Catholic	
Kastrati	Gruda	2	Catholic	
Koplik	Koplik	8	Moslem	
Koplik	Greisha	2	Moslem	
Koplik	Kreja (Yugo)	1	Moslem	
Koplik	Kastrati	1	Catholic	
Greisha	Greisha	1	Moslem	
Greisha	Rioia	1	Moslem	
Greisha	Koplik	6	Moslem	
Shkrelli	Shkrelli	3	Catholic	
Shkrelli	Reçi	1	Catholic	
Shkrelli	Reçi	1	Moslem	
Shkrelli	Kastrati	3	Catholic	
Shkrelli	Klementi	3	Catholic	
Rioia	Rioia	1	Moslem	
Rioia	Loya	1	Moslem	
Rioia	Greisha	3	Moslem	
Rioia	Koplik	2	Moslem	
Rioia	Reçi	3	Moslem	
Rioia	Shkrelli	1	Moslem	
Reçi	Reçi	1	Moslem	
Reçi	Kastrati	1	Moslem	
Reçi	Kastrati	1	Catholic	
Reçi	Rioia	2	Moslem	
Loya	Klementi	1	Catholic	
Loya	Kastrati	2	Catholic	
Loya	Hoti	2	Catholic	
Loya	Shkrelli	2	Catholic	
Loya	Rioia	2	Catholic	
Loya	Reçi	3	Moslem	
Loya	Postripa	1	Moslem	
Postripa	Postripa	10	Moslem	
Total		105	53 Catholics, 52 Moslems	

Malsia e Madhe, summary

Rabrit	Father Only	Mother Only	Both	Total, Both or Either
Klementi	2	5	4	11
Gruda	4	5	3	12
Hoti	12	9	1	22
Kastrati	8	11	1	20
Koplik	4	8	8	20
Greisha	7	5	1	13
Shkrelli	8	5	3	16
Rioia	10	5	1	16
Reçi	4	8	1	13
Loya	13	1	0	14
Postripa		1	10	11
Triepsch	0	6	0	6
Kreja (Yugo)	0	1	0	1

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Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Dukagin				
Shoshi	Shoshi	4	Catholic	
Shoshi	Shala	16	Catholic	
Shoshi	Kiri	3	Catholic	
Shoshi	Dushman	1	Catholic	
Shoshi	Pulati (Kiri or Plani)	1	Catholic	
Shala	Shala	48	Catholic	
Shala	Shoshi	30	Catholic	
Shala	Kiri	1	Catholic	
Shala	Dushman	1	Catholic	
Shala	Toplana	1	Catholic	
Total		106	All Catholics	
Malzia e Jakovës				
Krasniqi	Krasniqi	3	Moslem	
Krasniqi	Gashi	16	Moslem	
Krasniqi	Biruç	2	Moslem	
Krasniqi	Vunshaj	4	Moslem	M. Yugoslavia
Krasniqi	Grasa	1	Moslem	M. Yugoslavia
Gashi	Gashi	20	Moslem	2 of Shala *fis*
Gashi	Krasniqi	16	Moslem	
Gashi	Biruç	7	Moslem	
Gashi	Kastrati	2	Moslem	Kastrati a *fis*
Gashi	Hoti	2	Moslem	Hoti *fis* in Yugo.
Gashi	Marina	1	Moslem	Marina *fis* in Yugo.
Gashi	Junik (sp. ?)	1	Moslem	Junik *fis* in Yugo.
Biruç	Krasniqi	1	Moslem	
Biruç	Gashi	3	Moslem	
Kastrati	Gashi	1	Moslem	
Marina	Krasniqi	1	Moslem	
Marina	Gashi	1	Moslem	
Marina	Biruç	1	Moslem	
Vunshaj	Krasniqi	1	Moslem	
Vunshaj	Gashi	3	Moslem	
Merturi	Nikaj	16	Catholic	
Nikaj	Merturi	1	Catholic	
Total		104	17 Catholics, 87 Moslems	

Father	Mother	No.	Religion	Notes
Has				
Has	Has (Vlana)	101	Moslem	No *bakrak* data recorded. Probably no Ershen, all Vlana.
Has	Has (Vlana)	13	Catholic	
		114	13 Catholics, 101 Moslems	
Luma				
Biçani	Biçani	30	Moslem	
Biçani	Kalishi	6	Moslem	
Biçani	Ujmishe	4	Moslem	
Biçani	Dolovishe	3	Moslem	
Kalishi	Kalishi	5	Moslem	
Ujmishe	Ujmishe	23	Moslem	
Ujmishe	Biçani	2	Moslem	
Dolovishe	Dolovishe	6	Moslem	
Dolovishe	Biçani	1	Moslem	
Çeja	Çeja	1	Moslem	
Topojan	Topojan	2	Moslem	I do not know whether these places are *fis* or *bakraks*, nor where they are, except that they are all part of Luma.
Borfa	Borfa	1	Moslem	
Dom	Dom	1	Moslem	
Palç	Palç	1	Moslem	
Lofme	Lofme	1	Moslem	
Bele	Bele	1	Moslem	
Prroberz	Prroberz	1	Moslem	
Total		109	109 Moslems	
Puka				
Kabash	Puka	6	Moslem	
Kabash	Çeret	7	Moslem	
Kabash	Mal i Zi	6	Moslem	
Kabash	Buzhon	1	Moslem	
Kabash	Buzhon	1	Catholic	
Kabash	Ibaltja	1	Catholic	
Puka	Puka	5	Moslem	
Puka	Kabash	3	Moslem	
Puka	Kabash	1	Catholic	
Puka	Çeret	1	Moslem	
Puka	Çeret	1	Catholic	
Puka	Mal i Zi	1	Moslem	
Puka	Buzhon	1	Catholic	

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1960 E61 Albania E61 Highland Ghegs

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ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF OUR METRICAL SERIES

Fatherr	Motherr	No.	Religion	Notes
Puka				
Çeret	Puka	11	Moslem	
Çeret	Kabash	1	Moslem	
Çeret	Mal i Zi	1	Moslem	
Mal i Zi	Mal i Zi	6	Moslem	
Mal i Zi	Kabash	3	Moslem	
Berisha	Berisha (Thach)	2	Catholic	1 parent Thach.
Berisha	Çeret	2	Catholic	
Berisha	Mal i Zi	1	Catholic	
Berisha	Buxhon	6	Catholic	
Buxhon	Buxhon	2	Catholic	
Buxhon	Berisha	1	Catholic	
Buxhon	Iballja	1	Catholic	
Iballja	Iballja	6	Catholic	
Iballja	Kabash	4	Moslem	
Iballja	Puka	1	Moslem	
Iballja	Puka	1	Catholic	
Iballja	Mal i Zi	2	Moslem	
Iballja	Berisha	5	Catholic	
Iballja	Buxhon	3	Catholic	
Total		102	65 Moslems 37 Catholics	
Mirdita				
Dibri	Dibri	28	Catholic	
Dibri	Orosh	3	Catholic	
Dibri	Spaç	6	Catholic	
Dibri	Kushnen	6	Catholic	
Fan	Fan	3	Catholic	
Fan	Orosh	4	Catholic	
Fan	Kushnen	3	Catholic	
Fan	Spaç	1	Catholic	
Orosh	Orosh	2	Catholic	Mother's village formerly with Kthella.
Orosh	Fan	8	Catholic	
Orosh	Kushnen	1	Catholic	
Orosh	Dibri	1	Catholic	

Fatherr	Motherr	No.	Religion	Notes
Mirdita				
Spaç	Fan	15	Catholic	
Spaç	Dibri	5	Catholic	
Kushnen	Dibri	15	Catholic	
Total		101	101 Catholics	
Zadrima				
Zadrima	Zadrima	92	Catholic	
Zadrima	Zadrima	13	Moslem	
Total		105	92 Catholics 13 Moslems	
Mati				
Mat	Mat	77	Moslem	
Mat	Lura	1	Moslem	
Lura	Lura	12	Moslem	
Lura	Lura	1	Catholic	
Lura	Selita	1	Catholic	
Lura	Kthella	1	Catholic	
Selita	Selita	3	Moslem	
Selita	Selita	3	Catholic	
Selita	Lura	1	Moslem	
Selita	Kthella	2	Catholic	
Kthella	Kthella	2	Catholic	
Total		104	10 Catholics 94 Moslems	
Dibra				
Stushani	Stushani	38	Moslem	
Sheheri Peshtar	Sheheri Peshtar	23	Moslem	
Sheheri Peshtar	Sheheri Peshtar	1	Orthodox	
Sheheri Epert	Sheheri Epert	5	Moslem	
Sheheri Epert	Sheheri Peshtar	1	Moslem	
Reçi	Reçi	40	Moslem	
Total		108	107 Moslems 1 Orthodox	

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Intertribal Mixtures

Shala (Dukagin)	Klementi (MeM)	1	Catholic	
Luma	Dibra	1	Moslem	
Berisha (Puka)	Mirdita	1	Catholic	
Buxhon (Puka)	Mahia e Jakovës	2	Catholic	M. prob. Merturi
Spoç (Mirdita)	Kthella (Mati)	1	Catholic	
Fan (Mirdita)	Dibra	1	Catholic	
Reçi (Dibra)	Lura (Mati)	1	Moslem	
Reçi (Dibra)	Luma	1	Moslem	
Total		9	6 Catholics 3 Moslems	

Totals by Tribes

Mahia e Madhe	105
Dukagin	105
Mahia e Jakovës	104
Has	114
Luma	109
Puka	102
Mirdita	101
Zadrima	105
Mati	104
Dibra	108
Intertribal	9
Total	1067

Totals by Religions

Catholics	434
Moslems	632
Greek Orthodox	1
Total	1067

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AGE IN THE SAMPLE AS A WHOLE

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From it we may see that the sample is a mature one, and that it includes a wide spread, from 18 to 65 years and over, with each age grade over 19 represented by a statistically adequate subsample. We must expect our criteria to show every condition from late adolescence to senility. However, being unable to obtain exact age figures even at the lowest age level, I threw out all obviously immature boys no matter how old they claimed to be, and hence the 18–20 group may have been selected. At the other end, I tried not to take bent-over, toothless old men, deformed by the diseases of senile decay. Hence my oldest age grade may also be selected, since senility does not strike all men equally at the same age.

The sample, insofar as it is accurate, gives an age spread suitable for racial study, since it includes the whole span of ages in which racial criteria find their full expression. It can also be used in a limited sense to study age changes. It is, however, no substitute for a study of changes, year by year, in the same individuals. Such a study is hard to make, for the observer himself lives on the same time scale as his subjects. Age changes studied in terms of different individuals have a much more limited application. If the sample is genetically constant in the generations covered (and, as far as we can tell, this one is), then the differences between age groups indicate changes that have been going on among the people concerned. By this means one can hope to track down progressive changes due to changing environmental influences acting on the organism either directly or through the agency of genetic selection.

TRIBAL VARIATIONS IN AGE

Table 10 also shows us that mean age varies regionally. The difference between the age of the youngest sample, Mati, and that of Has, the oldest, is 8.50 years, or 8.45 times p.e. This difference is probably great enough to be valid, even when my judgment in assigning ages to the subjects is taken into consideration.

From the sampling point of view only, most of the tribes differ significantly from each other in age means, although the age range of each is virtually the same. Six out of 10 vary

[See cat. 1b, p. 71c -- Analysis]

124 from the total mean more than 3 times the probable error. In the following statistical exercises, whenever we compare tribal samples with each other, we must remember that there is an 8-year probable span of age means, from 36 to 44 years, and that we must not consider regionally significant a difference in any criterion which varies less regionally than it varies in this 8-year age span in the series as a whole.

This question is further complicated by the fact that some tribal samples are more dispersed in age distribution than others. This can be measured by the values for the standard deviation. Dukagin has a σ of 9.25 years; Puka of 13.70 years. These are the extremes. This difference of 4.45 years=5.71 x p.e. and this is thus statistically significant. This difference in variability may also be expected to qualify the means in certain cases. In a character in which the highest values are found at, let us say, the 35–39-year-old age locus, and we have 2 samples each with a mean age of 38, then the sample with the lowest value for σ may be expected to show the higher mean. This is another reason why we must allow a little more than the conventional amount of leeway in interpreting the statistical significance of differences between tribal and other samples.

AGE AND STRENGTH

147 *128 No single criterion can be found which expresses the changing health, maturity, and vigor of a man more than his muscular strength. Table 11 shows values for hand squeeze in

TABLE 11: AGE AND STRENGTH, IN POUNDS.

AGE	#	RANGE	MEAN P.E.	σ	V
20–24...	107	60–160	112.80 ± 1.11	17.10	15.20
25–29...	154	75–170	115.00 ± .93	17.10	14.86
30–34...	164	50–180	114.60 ± 1.00	19.00	16.61
35–39...	163	70–185	115.30 ± 1.07	20.15	17.42
40–44...	125	45–170	112.10 ± 1.16	19.25	17.16
45–49...	106	50–150	103.65 ± 1.36	20.85	20.15
50–54...	88	65–140	103.90 ± 1.17	16.25	15.64
55–59...	51	50–140	103.35 ± 1.65	17.45	16.83
60–64...	58	50–130	96.05 ± 1.46	16.55	17.20
65–69...	15	50–115	91.00 ± 2.65	15.20	16.82
70–74...	14	70–130	95.70 ± 3.02	16.70	17.46
75–89...	11	75–110	90.00 ± 2.34	11.50	12.78
65–89...	40	50–130	92.40 ± 1.62	15.05	16.30

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG10

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race, but they also part with information for *sevap* (charity), out of gratitude for another service, or as a courtesy due to the sacred character of a guest. With many practising village seers and doctresses, it is impossible to learn anything, or at best a carefully edited version. All sorts of excuses are made; the priest has forbidden them to spread their superstitions, they have ceased from practice, or forgotten their art; they fear ill-luck, or most discouraging of all, 'You gentry don't believe in our peasant cures. They will do you no good.' Or: 'What can a poor old woman tell you? The doctors know better than we do.' Then, if the investigator really wants to get at the bottom of things, he must either apply for help as a patient himself, or, if his appearance might be against him, especially in the case of a man, he should send someone else whom he can trust. Spells are sometimes refused, too, because of the use of obscene words and gestures.

A
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Once an old operator was dying, and sent for me to see him. Not long before I had visited his house and questioned him. He held my hands while he told me about the plants which he used for salves; and when it came to telling of his manipulations he desired to show me, as well as he could for his extreme weakness, on my own limbs. Perhaps he had some idea that in this way he passed on his power, for when I feared that he might weary under the enormous effort which he was making, and someone standing by, misunderstanding, suggested that he bothered the visitor, he insisted upon doing it in his own way. I would gladly have had him leave all until he felt better, for the women of three generations of his family were already crouching on the floor and weeping, but apparently it was very much on his mind, and he half hoped that this very action might hasten recovery, or as one of his daughters whispered to me, set free his soul. (This particular was a little surprising, for these people were Albanian Moslems and I did not know that they held these views regarding death-bed confession.) The old man said: 'If I live, I will teach you all I know, and show you everything. But now I must do as much as I can in case I die.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

Swear that you will make only good use of what I tell you, that it be not a sin for me before God. Perhaps you will be able to tell me how to cure my disease and so more than repay me. Then I shall be able to tell you in a better way. But in any case I give you my secret now.'

A different case was my friend Ram Smail, another Albanian, and an unexpectedly patient collaborator. While I used to wander with him in the mountains near Peć, he picked the various herbs he knew, and explained their uses. He said one day: 'I am going to Asia. If you need me I will come back, or I will come to your country or I will send you herbs from Asia. I do this in friendship, because you are a stranger. I also shall be a stranger in Asia. I would not tell anyone from these parts. You go about unarmed, but what I tell you is a weapon.... I am leaving, besides, so it does not matter what you do afterwards.' In other words, I could inherit his practice, and, as he had more enemies than friends there owing to old feuds, he did not care if I killed off the whole population, once he was clear.

Many a man has learned the art of bone-setting or massage by watching others at work. The hospital servant and *feltscher* type of popular doctor are just as much respected as the self-taught or the inheritor of a tradition. A Serbian official document of 1836 mentions a certain Gavril Savić and his wife 'who, having suffered for a long time from wounds, have learned these remedies through treating themselves'. As a matter of fact anyone who knows a certain medicine or incantation can freely apply it, but on the principle that in this, as in all other things, some are 'lucky' and some are not, and a charm which may work with one may fail if recited by another. Hence the extreme care in guarding the monopoly of such secrets has a materialistic ground as well as a superstitious one. It is noteworthy that in many respects the same attitude is felt towards the priest. He owes his importance to his knowledge of prayers, to his reading and writing, and less to any belief in the gift of the Holy Spirit through the laying-on of hands. In the absence of a

• 125 not remember how many children the oldest wife had had.

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[1] [see p. 236 -- Analysis]

587 for her and she has joined their group. If there is a surviving brother who is single, obviously the expedient thing to do is to give her to him. She might even be given to a first cousin. However, the occasion sometimes arises in Ghegnia where the classical form of the levirate is indicated, and a brother, preferably an older brother, of the deceased, a man who is already married, takes the widow into his household. In Moslem communities this causes no ecclesiastical difficulty. In Catholic households it may bring about a conflict with the priest. In such a case the Law of Lek wins over the Law of Rome. Societal needs are stronger than religious taboos. The new husband may not be allowed a church marriage, and it is possible that he may not consummate the new union, but the woman enters his household, and he cares for her and her children.

595 The second mechanism is polygyny, in case the first wife fails to produce male offspring. This again is perfectly legal among Moslems and diametrically counter to Catholic rules. The priest will not allow the husband to divorce his wife who fails to give him sons. If she gives him daughters there is always hope that a son will follow, and the crisis may be delayed. But if after a suitable time there are no offspring whatever, he will need a new wife. He cannot divorce his old one, and he cannot legally marry his new one. Here again custom sometimes wins. I personally have visited only one household of Catholic Ghegs in which I knew that the master had 2 wives, and it was for this reason. It is little wonder, since Catholicism fits so imperfectly the economic needs of the Albanian family, that many of them went over to the much more satisfactory (in this respect) faith of Islam.

125 In making up the form of our measurement blanks before the expedition, Dr. Hooton and I allotted spaces for the notation of the following vital statistics: number of wives married by subject's father, and number of children of each sex born to each wife. We chose the subject's father rather than the man himself because we would thus be dealing with complete or nearly complete families. In every case we received specific answers; very few men, whose fathers had had 3 or 4 wives, could

142 edge-to-edge ratio for this age grade is 48. In
162 Luma, which stands at the other end of the
128 scale in bite form, 25 men in the same age grade had 11 edge-to-edge, 13 slightly-over, and one under. This gives a ratio of 46. If one counts marked-over with slightly-over and under with edge-to-edge, the ratios are reversed. The bakers were simply older men.

Much more research needs to be done if we are to explain the incidences of kinds of occlusion among Mountain Ghegs. All this report can possibly accomplish is to serve as a reconnaisance for specialists.

BITE AND FACE HEIGHTS

000 We have seen in chapter 11, "Age," page 74,[1] that unlike most other parts of the body, the face keeps on growing throughout life. In old age, however, this growth is often offset by the deterioration and loss of the teeth. As the teeth wear down and drop out, the dental borders of both maxillae and mandible shrink through absorption, and the chin and nose approach each other. These compensatory processes, face growth and dental attrition, do not necessarily move apace. Among some individuals the teeth remain sound until late in life; in others they deteriorate early. These differences thus affect not only means but also dispersions and measures of variability, including the probable error. In a series which includes a large percentage of men who have reached middle age, or in one in which poor teeth are common at any age, some method must be found to eliminate this source of error.
125 Being aware of this problem before leaving for Albania, I included in the measurement blank the observations *face shortening due to wear*, and *face shortening due to loss and absorption*. It was easier to observe dental condition with this problem in mind than to make general

1 [See cat. 116, p. 746 -- Analyst]

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observations and then try to estimate the effect on face height later.

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Table 19 tells us the rest of the story. Shortening from wear went largely with the edge-to-edge type of bite, while loss and absorption were more characteristic of men who had had overbites, and whose teeth were less worn, in the instances where enough teeth were left to tell. In only 5 instances was it possible to attribute the shortening to both. Shortening due to wear set in 10 years earlier than that due to loss and absorption. The total face height means of the men who had suffered shortening from wear were significantly smaller than the total mean, in the + and ++ categories; the same was true of those subject to loss and absorption, in the ++ category only. In the case of the upper face height means, it was the men who had undergone loss and absorption who suffered the greater reduction, significant in both + and ++ categories. On the basis of these figures it seemed wiser to eliminate from the seriations of total face height, upper face height, and the dependent indices, the 164 men recorded as + or ++ in either loss category. With this correction the seriations given on table 4 were computed. The rejects came mostly from the older age grades, and no more than 22 per cent were removed from any one tribe.

One other question remains to be explored: whether, when wear, loss, and absorption are eliminated, the type of occlusion affects face heights. One might suppose that if 2 men had identical facial skeletons and identical teeth, and one man had an overbite while the other's teeth met edge-to-edge, the latter would have the longer face. As the last part of table 19 shows, this is not the case. Occlusion has no qualifying effect whatever on face lengths, except through wear, loss, and absorption.

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 83c-84.. Analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, pp. 54f-54g.. Analyst]

000 TO THE anthropologist, selective marriage systems, such as cross-cousin and parallel-cousin, are run-of-the-mill phenomena. But the anthropologist is used to dealing primarily with non-European peoples, living far from centers of civilization. To the sociologist brought up on European and American subject matter it is an event to discover a "primitive" system in operation only 250 miles from Rome, in the 20th century.

592 As our study of material culture made clear, the Gheg family, like that of the early Israelites, or of the Chinese of any period, is an economic institution. One household, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, his sons, unmarried daughters, and son's children, lives in a single house or group of houses, and all ordinarily work together. The most complicated tasks which confront them require the co-operation of such a group, but no more, except in rare events when neighboring kinsmen may be called in. Isolation and political insecurity enhance the frequency and strength of the mutual relations of the family members. In some of the tribes, notably Dukagin, these households number up to 30 or 40 persons; the Arabic word *meballa* (military camp) is used to designate them.

[462] A sex division of labor clearly separates the work of the women from that of the men. Each needs the other. A houseful of widows and unmarried women would be unthinkable, as would a house occupied by men alone. The family must be a balanced unit. If a man dies his place must be filled if possible; if a woman fails to bear children another must be found [842] who can. The family must continue, and since so many men are killed before they reach maturity, it must produce boys. The birth of girls is less important because they are not killed, and because they leave the family to get married.

582 For a number of very good reasons, it is considered desirable to obtain wives for one's sons from a distance. In the first place, if a

[127] [1] The principal source of this chapter is my own records. However, I also made use of Miss M. E.

582 boy were to marry a local girl, he might get in trouble with other local boys. Young men form attachments for the girls whom they see every day, and any feeling of rivalry in youth which was followed by such a marriage might continue the tension into manhood. The young men who live in one place must get along together as well as possible. Owing to economic pressure, all tensions run high, and tensions result in violence. Violence with one's immediate neighbors would be suicidal. Therefore it is best for fathers to arrange these matters well in advance, and to bring in new girls who have no local ties.

Then again, let us suppose that the marriage did not work well; that the bride was shy, disliked her husband, was slow to adjust herself to living with him, or resented her mother-in-law's interference. If her parents lived close at hand, she could run home and complain to her mother. Soon her father and brothers would be making trouble for her husband and his family. Any wise person can see that it is much better to bring the bride from a distance, and then if any trouble arises between the two kins, they will be too far separated to cross each other's paths very often.

Once a family has formed the habit of getting its wives from another group in a distant area, that habit is likely to continue. A man will go to his wife's brother and say, "Haven't you a daughter for my son?" and the thing is easily arranged, providing that the earlier marriage has been successful. This requires less effort than breaking the ice with an entirely new group of people, but at the same time it preserves the necessary distance. Of course, if the man's wife's family has no daughters available for his son, he can try their neighboring kinfolk, or some other family with which some of his cousins have worked out a similar arrangement. In this way 2 things are evened up; one does not give a girl away without some assurance of getting in return a wife for one's own son.

[127] Durham's publication of 1928, as well as material contained in a letter which she most kindly wrote me.

A 342 [114] consideration the remarks of all other previous investigators, especially those of J. Von Hahn (1) and A. Haberlandt (2).

According to Nopcsa, the social status existing in Albania which, as Haberlandt remarked, has not changed since the medieval years, the lack of security, frequent revolutions and the systematic burning by the Turkish army of the houses of the fugitives from justice, contributed, before 1900, in bringing the housing situation to a very low level. Inhabitants of some mountainous regions of Albania (Sala, Kastrati), have stated that any relatively high buildings were considered as a novelty introduced into the country only before sixty years. According to Nopcsa, before the introduction of the two-storey A [133] house with a prostoon and of the Kula, the Albanians, who live in mountainous regions, the two-thirds of the country being at an altitude of over 1.000 meters, must have inhabited low huts, comprising one or two rooms at most and covered with hay or branches. Generally speaking, the evolution from the simpler forms of housing to the more composite ones has been very slow and toilsome in Albania, comparable to the slow process of Albanian civilisation.

A [127] Here below I shall try to consider the house of Northern Albania, studied by Nopcsa, and, as regards Middle Albania (3), I shall only refer to the little but verified information we have from von Hahn and Ekrem bei Vlora (4).

According to Nopcsa, we distinguish in Albania a) houses of temporary or semi-temporary and permanent character, and b) houses built of timber, of other organic material and of stone.

In Northern Albania we first see the most primitive forms of housing, such as the cave dwellings of the Cem valley with the Y Cruda tribe, which entirely correspond to the prehistoric shelters. [342] Caves formed at the ends of the valley, were enclosed by stone

1) **J. G. von Hahn,** Albanische Studien. Jena 1853/54.

2) **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien. Zeitschrift für Oesterreichische Volkskunde, Ergänzungsband 23, Wien 1918 — Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1919.

A [171] 3) The area to the South of the Avlon gulf, as far as the Greek border is not examined in this book. This area is very wrongly referred to as Southern Albania in foreign surveys The houses of this region are those of North Epirus and their building style is purely Greek.

4) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** Aus Berat und vom Tomor. Tagebuchblätter (Zur Kunde d. Balkanh 13) Sarajevo 1911.

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TABLE 1: NUMBERS OF WIVES MARRIED BY FATHERS OF SUBJECTS, AND NUMBERS OF OFFSPRING.

	MeM	Duk	MaJ	Has	Lum	Puk	Min	Zad	Mat	Dib	Ibt	Total
One Wife, Moslems	40		54	72	76	50		9	69	74	3	450
Catholics	47	89	10	10		24	82	83	9		2	356
Total	87	89	64	82	76	74	82	92	78	74	5	805
Two Wives, Moslems	12		27	19	23	13		3	20	32	1	150
Catholics	5	16	5	3		12	16	7	1		3	68
Orthodox											1	1
Total	17	16	32	22	23	25	16	10	21	33	4	219
Three Wives, Moslems			4	7	8	1		1	4			25
Catholics			2				1	1				4
Total			6	7	8	1	1	2	4			29
Four Wives, Moslems			1		2	1						4
Catholics		1					2					3
Total		1	1		2	1	2					7
Six Wives, Moslems			1						1			2
Total Fathers	104	106	104	111	109	101	101	104	104	107	9	1060
No. childless 1st wives		6	8	4	2	3	1	1	4	6		35
With daughters only	1	7	2			4	3	3	4	2	2	28
Total unsatisfactory 1st wives in plural marriages	1	13	10	4	2	7	4	4	8	8	2	63
No. boys born	400	317	332	366	394	325	300	298	271	365	31	3399
No. girls born	283	237	201	239	227	188	165	159	167	184	17	2067
Total children	683	554	533	605	621	513	465	457	438	549	48	5466
No. children per family	6.6	5.2	5.1	5.8	5.7	5.1	4.5	4.4	4.2	5.1	5.3	5.2
Sex ratio of children	141	134	165	154	174	173	182	187	162	198	182	163

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*[see p. 236 -- Analysis]

595 may have something to do with the number to
163 whom he is married at one time.
128 Our statistics give us a little help in finding out why 256 Ghegs married more than one wife. In 82 cases, or 32 per cent, the first wife failed to provide her husband with an heir, although in 28 of these cases, or 11 per cent, she did produce one or more daughters. Since we do not know the date of birth of each child, we cannot be sure that some of the first wives who bore sons did not do so after a second wife had been taken, and the ratio of plural marriages concluded for this reason may be higher than our figures indicate. Some of our records reveal marriage after marriage without issue, until finally, the fourth or even the sixth wife bears a son. One can almost hear the gunfire and rejoicing.

Our intertribal mixtures, in 5 cases out of 9, were men whose fathers had taken more than one wife each. Of the 4 Has men whose mothers had come from Podrima, 3 had been reared in polygynous families. These figures strongly indicate a political motivation. The custom of taking plural wives from alien tribes in order to strengthen alliances is a widespread one, and goes back to the days of Solomon. Our figures are not suited to reveal the exact instance of this kind of exogamy.

These 2 reasons probably account for nearly a half of all plural marriages. The other half can easily have been caused by accommodations to untimely deaths. Upon the death of a man, the levirate might give one of his kinsmen a second wife. Upon the death of a woman, her husband would remarry, were he able. What with difficult deliveries, puerperal fever, and general exhaustion from having borne too many children in rapid succession, death must have taken many of the women listed in our series at an early age.

163 The figures on children show that 1060
128 fathers, through the agency of 1375 wives, produced 5466 offspring who lived long enough for our subjects to remember them. This yields an average of 5.2 children per family, of whom 3399, or 62 per cent, were boys. Thus the average Gheg householder had 3.2 boys to help him work his farm. He had only 2.0 daughters to sell in marriage. This birth rate is so high that a considerable population

163 pressure is created. It varies from 4.2 in Mati
128 to 6.6 in Malsia e Madhe, with the largest families on either side of the mountains, the smallest in the middle. Even the smallest are too large for the landscape to feed without a change in methods of land utilization, a change which has not yet arrived.

166 In the country near Scutari, the city will take some of the excess. In the lands east of the Black Drin, migration onto the plain used to be possible, and habitual. Cvijič has shown[2] how, along the entire Dinaric chain, there has been for centuries a steady flow of population out of the mountains. In the center of the mountains, however, such emigration is not easy. Particularly in the old days when Catholics were not welcome in Moslem territory, the mountain people had to stay at home.
[628] There is only one universal, immemorial method of disposing of excess population under these circumstances. That is the method found in the Rif, in the Caucasus, in the Kafir country of Afghanistan, and in many other places—feuding. If enough males are killed off, the population remains constant.

165 Males only are killed. A few statistics on deaths by violence are available.[3] During the period 1901–05 the ratios in a number of northern communities were Toplana, 39 per cent; Dushman, 23 per cent; Spaç, 32 per cent; Shala, 26 per cent; Orosh, 21 per cent; Nikaj, Shoshi, and Kačinari, 25 per cent each. Double these figures and one finds between 42 per cent and 64 per cent of males dying in internecine
163 warfare. As if some natural mechanism were deliberately trying to compensate for this one-sided loss, we find a sex ratio of 163 male births to every 100 females born.

Sex ratios of this magnitude have been found before in feuding countries, and in fact the ratio of male births has been shown to rise in our own country in time of war. The biological explanation[4] is that people living under conditions of warfare marry and produce children at an earlier age than they would in time of peace. Some mechanism upon which all biologists do not agree selects the sperm cells, or the fertilized eggs, in the mother's

[2] Cvijič, 1918.

[3] Nopcsa, 1925. Data compiled by the Catholic clergy.

163 reproductive organs. That is why first-born children tend preponderantly to be boys. It is the age of the mother that counts. In northern Albania girls are married as soon as they come to sexual maturity and begin bearing children as soon as they are biologically able. There is no time of peace.

128 These statistics, though not complete, help round out the picture drawn in the earlier chapters. All of these things fit together: the environment; the techniques of making a living on the specific kind of landscape; the division of labor between the sexes; the economic unity of the patriarchal household; its independence of similar households; the division of labor between mountain and town; the consequent absence of any need for a technological division of labor among the mountaineers; the difficulty and limitation of travel and transport; the struggle for life within an ever-increasing population; the consequent mechanisms of population control, consisting in some of the border tribes of a certain amount of emigration, but, by and large, taken care of by the time-honored technique of feuds and reciprocal murder, to which the whole system of marriage, and its biological compensations, [177] are adjusted. They show without question the truth of the main point of this paper so far, that the Mountains of Giants form a genetic area peculiarly closed to outside influence.

614 [582] We stated in our discourse on marriage that a boy might not marry a girl with whom he could trace any common patrilineal descent.[2] That statement needs elucidation. Actually the Ghegs are divided up into a number of mutually exclusive gentes, called *fis*, based on traditions of common ancestry, complete with origin myths. The extent to which the myths are historically accurate probably depends on how far back the particular *fis* goes. Each *fis* is said to have been derived from a single man, usually someone who came into the country at one time or another, although a few are believed to have been descended from aborigines.

The most numerous and best known *fis* in Ghegnia is that of Dukagin. This includes the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spac and Kushnen, which

[See cat. 116, pp. 25b-27b — Analyst]

[1] Gates, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 872-73; Little, 1919, pp. 127-30.

[2] [see cat. 116, pp. 22b-23a, 23c-23d -- Analyst]

146 [128] Thirty-eight observations piece out this picture. Impressions of the foreheads of 1067 men show them to be for the most part of medium height and a little more than medium breadth, with a little less than medium slope on the average.* The browridges run moderately large, and glabella is usually prominent. Eyefolds are usually absent, but when they do occur are almost always external, the so-called "Nordic" fold which is common with all narrow-faced Europeans. The almost complete absence of median and internal folds differentiates these people sharply from the Mongoloid and east Baltic populations of northeastern Europe. The wide opening of the eyeslit further emphasizes this difference. Almost one individual out of five shows a little eye obliquity, reminding one of Near Eastern Mediterranean types.

142

The face itself is characteristically gaunt; the malars rarely protrude forward and their lateral extension is only medium. The cheeks are medium to thin, and usually wrinkled, with firm lines around the mouth. The gonial angles protrude only to a normal extent judging by ordinary western European standards. This lean, drawn, and weather-beaten appearance of the face heightens the resemblance of these people to the Scots, Norse, and Basques. The 5 observations on the ears show nothing uncommon for Europeans. The lips run a little above medium in integumental (muscular) thickness, and unusually thin in membrane, reflecting probably bite and eating habits as much as race; they are also less everted than in the normal run of familiar European whites. The lips of the Ghegs look more like those of family portraits of the Revolutionary period than like those of modern Americans. The observation on chin prominence is based on actual slope rather than on fidelity to an ideal mean; the presence of 23 per cent of *sm* chins is no greater than would be found in any other narrow-jawed European population. Most of the chins are median; the bilateral form (discovered through palpation) goes with the Alpine and other pre-Mediterranean types in Europe as well as with individuals of unusual robusticity.

*[See cat. 11b, pp. 54g-54h.. Analyst]

The most distinctive feature of the Mountain Gheg face, the nose, almost never springs from glabella without depression, according to

8: Coon

EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

128

[For the analysis, classification, quantification and organization of data on composition of tribal samples, measurements and indices, observations, variability of the series and of the tribes, phenotypical differences between tribes and statistical validation; regional variations in body size and form, cranial vault, form of face, pilosity, pigmentation; age and strength, related metrical characters, certain soft parts of the face, pilosity, graying, color changes; bite and age, geography, face heights, face breadths; soil and physique; privilege and nutrition; cranial deformation, handedness, asymetry and flattening, anthropometry of flattening; and tribal distribution of head form, see category 116, pp. 51-54a; 54c-54q; 62a-71c; 72b-79e; 81a-85e; 87a-89b; 92a-98e.]

Ancient Albania

101 131 THE Albanians, or *Shqipëtars*[1], as they rightfully call themselves, inhabit the territory covered by ancient Epirus and the country of the Illyrians, a country extending from the old Montenegro on the north to the Gulf of Arta, or Ambracia, on the south, and from the coast of the Adriatic on the west to the central chain of the Pindus Mountains on the east, or, in other words, Albania is situated on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, southwest of Yugoslavia and north of Greece. Therefore, Albania is a Balkan country, not only because of her position, but principally by reason of her geographical characteristics, for the greater part of her area consists of the Balkan mountain ranges and her rivers belong to the same river system of the Balkan peninsula. Epirus is wild, mountainous and scenic; in fact, is the veritable Switzerland of the Balkans abounding in valleys of exceptional beauty and fertility.

000 The ancient Epirots were as distinct from

1 [i.e., Sons of Eagle; See category 116, p. xv -- Analyst]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Illyria

IN its beginning, the Kingdom of Illyria comprised the actual territories of Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and northern and central Albania with a large part of modern Serbia. But in the course of its development, it extended all along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea. Scutari was its capital just as it is now the capital of central and northern Albania. These boundaries were never clearly defined, and the name "Illyria" was ethnological rather than a geographical term. The older Greek historians wrote of "the Illyrians" not so much as a solid people but in reference to those Illyrian tribes inhabiting the regions extending eastward from the Adriatic between Liburnia and Epirus. (The Latin name, "Illyricum," was not synonymous with Illyria, for it was a name applied to divisions of the Roman Empire, the boundaries of which were frequently changed and often included an area much greater than Illyria proper.)

Epirus

THE southern part of the Kingdom of Albania of today was the ancient Epirus. This territory was bounded on the north by the Ionian Sea and on the south by the Ambracian Gulf. Its landward sides were next to Illyria, Macedonia and Thessaly. The terrain is essentially mountainous. About the fourth century before Christ these Epirots were divided in fourteen tribes. Epirus at this time exerted no small influence on Thessaly through the oracle of Dodona. Historically, the part of Epirus was passive. Epirus was divided into the smaller kingdoms of Molossia, Thesprotia, Chaonia, etc., which were formed into an Epirotic League.

The chieftains of Molossia, who dominated all Epirus, claimed to be descended from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who settled in the country after the fall of Troy. (Plutarch also relates that Achilles was known in this country under the name of "Aspetos" which in Albanian means "swift.") Upon Pyrrhus' death his kingdom was transmitted to Molossus, his son by Andromache.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG/

Physical Features

ALBANIA, situated on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea, southwest of Yugoslavia and north of Greece, two and a half hours distance from Rome by aeroplane, has an area of about 11,000 square miles (approximately the size of Belgium). The larger part of the country is mountainous; amongst the geographical and geological divisions of the country the most familiar are roughly as follows: Northern Albania consisting principally of mountains; Central Albania, between the Mati and the Viosa rivers, is comprised of littoral plains; Southern Albania is mountainous to the greater extent.

From this simple picture we see that Albania consists of a marginal lowland, crossed by powerful perennial streams, and a mountainous hinterland which encloses small fertile basins. The Albanian Alps in the north consist mostly of massive limestones rising to a height of 6,500 to 8,500 feet. Scattered among these ranges are the rich summer pas-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000 mellowing into ripeness on the mountains
137 surrounding Elbasan. These same mountains
are well-timbered, giving rich promise of
136 future wealth. However, these mountainous
forests are so dense and wild that they are
veritably thick with bears, wild boars, wolves
and other savage animals, an excellent but
dangerous opportunity for the game-hunter.
131 Being the center from which all the roads
radiate; to Korcha (Korça) in one direction, and to Durazzo (Durrës) in the other, Elbasan may be rightly called the "naval" of Albania. This old center of Turkish strife is also the natural boundary between the Ghegs and the Tosks: northern and southern
197 Albanians. It also marks the difference in the pronunciation of the native dialects. North of the River Shkumbi many words have an "n" where on the southern side these same words have an "r." The dialect spoken by the inhabitants of Elbasan is intelligible to the natives in either of the extremes of the country, being proverbially as beautiful as the Greek of Athens and the Turkish of Constantinople. For this reason the native tongue, as spoken by an Elbasanian, has been adopted as the basis of the language of the whole country.

[of Librazhd--Analysis] 124

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

7 ALBANIAN INTERLUDE AND BALTIC VISTA

I

131
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LITTLE ALBANIA, where mountains rise in serried ranks behind a marshy, malaria-infested coast, was perhaps the first satellite to reveal the nature of Communist rule fully and unreservedly. Living uneasily under Turkish domination well past the nineteenth century in a country not unlike the Great Smokies, the Albanians have been the least known and the most handicapped nation in Europe. Like many a mountain folk in the United States—whether in Tennessee or in Vermont—they have been influenced culturally by the inaccessibility of their villages, the primitive state of their agriculture, and the dearth of modern means of transportation. Even proximity to the sea has been of limited value because delta silt has impeded navigation throughout history. Outside the cities, family and tribal solidarity remains stronger than national sentiment. But, while the Albanians have been dependent on foreign powers for security and prosperity, they are a patriotic folk and a martial one.

The Straits of Otranto, where the waters of the Adriatic
131 merge into the main basin of the Mediterranean, divide the
133 Apulian heel of Italy from the land of Albania — the setting of my tale. The Italian shore is flat, featureless, and without a considerable harbour; but on the Albanian side the coastal range of the Dinaric Alps curves back from the sea, as if to protect the mainland approaches to the port of Valona, which lies where the straits are narrowest. Albania is thus a fortified enclave on the west coast of the Balkan Peninsula, and the Power that controls it commands the entrance to the Adriatic Sea. This enclave, moreover, forms a natural bridgehead for Italy in the Balkans: from Valona to Salonika is but two hundred miles; and, though the mountains of the interior present notable obstacles to communications, a Power established across this neck of the peninsula would command two of the three key positions on the roads that lead from Europe to the East.

175 The fate of a territory of such strategic importance could scarcely be a matter of indifference to the Powers; and the briefest review of Albania's past suggests that it has been an enduring cause of contention between them in their efforts to acquire or to preserve a dominant position in the Adriatic or the Eastern Mediterranean. The rising sea power of Rome clashed with the navies of Illyria and Epirus, and subjected those kingdoms to her rule, in order to confirm her supremacy in the Adriatic. Once the control of the straits was assured, the new provinces were converted into a base for imperial expansion; and Dyrrachium, the modern Durazzo, became the head of the Via Egnatia, the great artery of empire which ran through Thessalonika (Salonika) to the East. Rome's Byzantine successor held fast to the Albanian coasts to preserve the Eastern Mediterranean from Adriatic enemies, until Norman sea power supplanted her there, and gave the land its present name. In the wake of the Normans came armies of Crusaders, who crossed from Italy into Albania to follow the ancient Roman road to the East. The ephemeral empires of Bulgaria and Serbia spread, in their turn, to control the entrance to the Adriatic, while the more enduring mercantile power of Venice long strove, and with varying success, to establish itself on the

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

000 Dinaric Europeans should not differ from other Europeans, or Dinaric American Indians from other American Indians, etc., in unaffected features, such as skin, hair, and eye color, hair form, hair distribution, etc.

In "The Races of Europe," I pointed out that all over central Europe different populations had been experiencing a steady rise in the cephalic index from about the 6th century A.D. onward. I attributed this to the re-emergence of genetic elements derived from pre-Neolithic populations. As farmers and herdsmen penetrated Europe, the hunters and gatherers withdrew to the forests and mountains. Eventually the latter were assimilated as a socially submerged element in the general population. The historic increase in brachycephaly was thus due to the selective value of that particular head form as their conquerors killed themselves off in war or were selectively reduced by emigration.

Weidenreich has recently taken the position that brachycephalization is a progressive evolutionary step. He claims that it produces a more efficient container for the brain than a long, narrow skull; that a round head is best suited for the requirements of the erect posture.[5] Whether or not this thesis is mechanically correct, Weidenreich has done a service in lending his support to the manifest conclusion that European brachycephaly is endemic and not of recent derivation from other continents. That in an isolated population it may be dominant is one of our present subjects of investigation.

•131 161 The present material is suited for such a study. The land of the tribal Ghegs is a small country, little more than 3500 miles square. Its population probably runs to about 250,000, of whom 90,000 may be Catholics and 160,000 Moslems.* In 1930 we were told that the population of Mirdita was about 11,000—all Catholic; that of Puka 14,000, of whom 8000 were Moslems and 6000 Catholics. These figures are

[5] Weidenreich, 1945.

* Since this monograph was written it has become fashionable in America to employ the more correct form, *Muslim*. It would have been pleasant if this change could have been made here and throughout the text. However, so much time has been spent, and so many corrections have been made, that I beg the readers' indulgence for retaining the *o* and *e* in place

—4a—
[contin. on p.4b-- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

931
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probably too low. The 1927 census reported 814,485 persons in Albania; the 1930 census raised the figure to 1,003,124, of whom 104,184 were Catholics. The 1930 census gives the population density for Albania as 36.5 per square kilometer, or 102 per square mile. The mountain Gheg country, newly divided into 3 provinces without regard to tribal boundaries, was said to have 100 inhabitants per square mile in Dibra province, 75 in Scutari province, and 64 in Kossovo province.

In 1930 the land area of Albania was 10,600 square miles. With a population of 1,003,124 the density was thus 94 per square mile, not 102. If we subtract 8 from each of the other figures, we obtain the following corrections: Dibra—92, Scutari—67, Kossovo—56. This can be checked by means of the Catholic figures. Of the 104,000 Catholics at least 14,000 live in cities, leaving no more than 90,000 on tribal lands. Tribal lands exclusively Catholic cover ca. 1225 square miles; those occupied by Catholics and Moslems together about 440 square miles. Thus 1450 square miles may be considered Catholic country, and with a population of 90,000 this yields 62 persons per square mile, which accords with the corrected census figure. Striking a point between the Dibra and Kossovo figures we obtain about 70 per square mile for Moslem lands, which cover about 2300 square miles. This yields a population of about 160,000. One hundred and sixty plus 90 equals 250. Hence our estimate of a total Gheg population of 250,000.[6]

124

Our series of nearly 1100 men may represent one per cent of the adult male total, a large sample, compared to other national surveys of equal detail. It was drawn from all tribes and from every part of each tribe. It includes chief elders, gendarmes, farmers, what artisans there are, *hodjas*, and in short a complete cross section of the population, both regionally in most tribes, and in regard to differentiations based on rank and occupation. We did not measure

of *u* and *i*. Actually, Arabic vowels are few, rudimentary, and unindicated in ordinary writing. Semantically, they are of less importance than in Turkish, whence the form *Moslem*, and it was the Turks who converted the seventy per cent of the Albanians who are Muslims. Few of them, I suspect, will object to the book on these grounds.

[6] Almagià, 1932; *Arbenia*, June 1, 1930, for census figures; *National Catholic Almanac*, 1946, p. 93.

-46-

136 As might be expected the mountains and forests of this little-developed country still harbor a number of dangerous wild animals. The lion of Homeric times is gone, but the bear, the wolf, and the wild boar remain. Deer graze on the high mountain slopes, and in the forests, but the Ghegs will not kill them. The only wild animals of any economic importance are the various members of the weasel family, particularly martens, which a number of mountaineers trap for fur. Otherwise the fauna is a nuisance, since bears and wolves will steal sheep and kill cattle, and flocks need constant guarding by one or more men with rifles and a number of ferocious dogs.

131 It is in this environment,[1] which must have changed but little since Roman and even earlier times, that the tribal Ghegs have survived until the present day, retaining a language and customs which carry them back to the Iron Age. The land forms, the climate, the geographical position away from main routes of travel and migration, all combine to make the mountains and forests of Ghegnia one of the most marginal and isolated regions of Europe. It is a true refuge area, comparable to the Caucasus and the western Himalayan reaches, the Appalachians, and the Ozarks.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 8a - 10b --Analysis]

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

000 with their dusky green leaves and snarled old roots and trunks, to the grey, white and sun-baked shades of the dreamy little town, and all this set like a tiny little drop on the vast, fertile plain.

132 Elbasan is well-known for its great variety of products, made possible by the rich soil of the plain. The town, sheltered by the immense old wall, enjoys a somewhat hot-house atmosphere, for which it should indeed be grateful, for it becomes terrifically cold during the winter months when the east winds sweep over it from the mountains of
133 Librazhd. These great monarchs, snow-crowned ten months of the year, which surround the plain are very cool even in August, making them delightful resorts from the heat of the plain.

241 This district is versatile in that it can produce, in this dual atmosphere, both the products of the north and the south. There is an abundance of cotton, rice and tobacco, as
245 well as maize, barley and wheat. And unlike many of its neighbors, it has its own figs, grapes, melons, oranges, lemons and olives growing on the plain, and apples, pears, raspberries and various other northern fruits mellowing into ripeness on the mountains surrounding Elbasan.

p. 123

Climate

• 132 ALBANIA lies in the north temperate zone. It is mid-way between the north pole and the equator. This position gives the climate its characteristics—moderate heat, sufficient moisture and a suitable distribution of atmospheric pressure throughout the year.

Albania has three climates: the Mediterranean, the continental and the temperate continental, due to the alignment of the mountain ranges which leaves the country open towards Central Europe and the Pannonian plain.

The Mediterranean climate exists only in the narrow strip of coastline between the mountains and the sea and to a height of 1,300 metres at most.

During the summer there are large patches of snow on the higher peaks, and, were the temperature a little different, these patches would become a ridge of snow-caps.

The winters are not too cold, often broken by warmer days. There is a moderate rain-

CLIMATE

132 fall during this season. The summer days are very warm between eleven and five o'clock, at which hour the temperature drops to a delightful coolness which makes even the indoors very comfortable and a coat becomes necessary outdoors. The heat is not as intense as the thermometers would have us believe for the summer climate is very dry and not of the humid variety that makes one so uncomfortable in some climates.

The coastal cities are rapidly becoming fashionable summer resorts for foreigners on account of the mild, summer temperature.

The continental weather predominates in the central portion of Albania causing coolness to last throughout the summer. This climate is also general in the southern sections. Also in these sections the winters are damp with the heavy rains starting in November. While the coastal cities of Durrazzo (Durrës) and Valona (Vlona) have a milder winter of not lower than 8° or 9° Centigrade. There is little of the intense freezing that one finds in North America.

Here in Albania the artistic beauties are wedded to the beauties of nature and climate. This health-giving atmosphere makes a visit

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

132 to Albania, whether for rest or recreation, a most delightful one. In the summer, one is not troubled by climatic changes — the weather is consistent with its season. There are no sudden heat waves, cold waves or storms as are to be found in many climates. Nor does the temperature take quick leaps up and down.

This invigorating climate, combined with the natural beauty and historic lore of this enchanting country, causes this "Gem of the Adriatic Sea" to be the most ideal and delightful place to spend a vacation.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER VIII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

121 As the character of a people is generally so much influenced by the nature of the country they inhabit, a brief description of the division of Turkey occupied by the Albanians may give greater interest to my
101 remarks on this race. Albania, as its native name of *Skiperi*, "The Land of Rocks," signifies, is one of the most mountainous divisions of Turkey. The principal
133 chain runs north and south, parallel with the Adriatic, and from it jut many spurs, composed of mountains as lofty as the main range, which ramify in every direction, so that almost the whole surface of the country is covered with rugged hills and deep valleys, save near the mouth of the river Ergenth. Even the coast is grandly mountainous, the spurs there often terminating in abrupt precipices, the sides of which are eternally beaten by the lashing waves.

●132 Almost every variety of climate is found within the limits of Albania. In the south, and near the coast, the temperature is as mild as at Naples, and oranges, citrons, grapes, pomegranates, figs, and other fruits grow in abundance. But the cold increases with the distance from the sea, and only twenty miles from the Adriatic the snowfalls are heavy, and
[137] the frosts severe. The higher and more northern

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

tained their independence for six centuries within 184
the Turkish Empire look with distrust and con- 578
tempt on the Toshks whose valleys have been flooded by every wave of invaders. The Toshks, who are the educated men of Albania, and the travelers, are equally contemptuous of the Ghegs, ignorant men unable to read or write. Nor do the Toshks admit that they cannot fight as well as the Ghegs. It was the Toshks in Sicily who fought with Garibaldi, the Toshks of Egypt who fought with Mehmet Ali; the Albanian soldiers in Russia and Rumania and Turkey are Toshk; the 50,000 Albanians in the United States are Toshk, and fought well with the Americans in France. Hundreds of them have returned to spread American ideas through the south; there are Toshk villages in which American English is spoken by nearly every child. Men from these villagers led the forces that drove the Italians from Valona in 1920. Indeed, say the Toshks, they can fight as well as Ghegs. But it is not fighting that Albania needs.

One of the errors about Albania, to which I 133
fear my descriptions may contribute is the belief that the country is entirely mountainous. This is true of the northern part, adjoining Montenegro. Farther south the ranges are like the partitions in a house; steep, high, almost impassable, they surround valleys and plateaus of rich level land, much of it irrigated. The 132
climate of the valleys is semitropical; rice, cot- 241
ton, tobacco, citrus fruits, figs, and pomegranates

133 drains Mirdita, except for the *bairak* of Spaç,
101 the northwestern finger of which forms part of the Drin system. With this same exception, the watershed between the Drin and the 2 Fans is the boundary between Puka and Mirdita. The continuation of the watershed between Mati and Dibra again separates, farther north, Mirdita from Luma. Mati and Mirdita, and Dibra and Luma east of the Black Drin, are parted by deep valleys, running laterally, cut on opposite sides of the river.

133 These rivers serve more often as tribal boundaries than as routes of travel. Their banks are so steep that the roads usually follow the crests and shoulders of the mountains, only dipping down into the valleys where it is necessary to cross them. Their waters are so swift that only in rare spots can they be navigated. All in all, they are barriers to travel and communication.

●132 It is a rule long known to geographers that in the Mediterranean basin, lands lying on the western slopes of peripheral land masses receive more rain than those on the east.[2] The higher the mountains flanking the coast, the more the rain. Ghegnia and Montenegro have the heaviest rainfall of any Mediterranean countries. The Adriatic coast, from Lesh up to Dubrovnik, receives well over 60 inches of rain a year; and all of Ghegnia, back from the coast, gets between 60 and 40 inches, with the total decreasing to the east.

This is not all winter rain. It may rain any month of the year, and the summer rainfall totals anywhere from 4 to 8 inches, enough to permit the cultivation of maize by dry farming. This fact alone takes the Gheg highlands out of the Mediterranean climate area. The winter rain, which begins to fall in September, becomes snow at the higher altitudes. Only in the highest valleys and on the peaks does it last out the winter. Elsewhere a succession of snowfalls and thaws renders this region as unpleasant as New England in early spring.

The temperature again prohibits the growth of many Mediterranean crops, such as the fig and olive, which soon disappear as one leaves the coast. All of the uplands receive severe winter frosts, and on the border of the Kossovo plain the climate becomes continental.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs, especially for
137 goats and cattle, and some agriculture in clearings, but the zone
[illegible] derives its chief riches from the many acres of fertile alluvial soil
[134] that adjoin the rivers.

Oaks, tall or dwarf, begin sporadically among the shrubs and continue as thick forests up to a height of 2900 feet near Shkodër and 3300 feet in warmer districts. Among them grow ash, aspen,
[36] chestnut, cornel, elm, hawthorn, hazel, hornbeam and limes. The majority of the 1140 villages in north Albania are found in this zone, for it best provides for Albanian needs. Though the soil is dry on the whole, it contains a sufficiency of springs. On the plateaux and gentler slopes there is enough arable land for subsistence farming, all that is possible among these rugged mountains. The copses and woods furnish winter grazing for small flocks and herds; an adjoining mountain furnishes the requisite summer feed. The
[374] copses and woods also provide fuel for the log-fires that in Albanian phraseology are 'the poor man's wealth'. Leaves lopped from the
[231] oak trees in autumn supply winter fodder which livestock eat with almost as much relish as they do hay, a scarcer commodity. It is this supplement to the grazing in the copses and woods which makes mixed farming possible in this zone; without it many animals could not get through the winter, and their number would
[132] have to be reduced. If it is sometimes hot in the forest in summer, the heat is never unbearable, and in winter the cold is never excessive. In general the zone is healthy. A little wheat is grown, but—as everywhere in Albania, the Myzeqe plain excepted—the staple crop is maize. The grain provides food, and the livestock luxuries and government dues as well.

In the next zone beeches grow singly, in small clumps, or in mighty forests such as those between Çermenikë and Martanesh where one may walk for seven hours in the daytime and never catch a glimpse of the sun. Still without roads to carry modern woodcutters and their tools to them, such forests are in the virgin state, the trees self-sown, the strong killing the weak, and the survivors growing bigger and bigger until they succumb in extreme old age to some winter blast, when they lie and rot where they fall. When communications are developed, this waste will stop and these forests become a very valuable asset. No grass grows in them or under isolated beeches, of course, but there are usually grass meadows in the clearings, some of which are enormous. Well watered from the same sources as the beeches and fat with humus

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

233 number is limited only by the amount of winter grazing available, which small owners find, and have always found, in the oak zone. In Turkish times, when Albania and Macedonia were both Turkish provinces and had no customs barriers between them as they have now, large owners sought it on the roomy plain of Salonica. Since Albanian emancipation in 1912 they have been confined to the more meagre pastures on the seaward side of the coastal plain at home, a restriction which has entailed a considerable cutting down of their flocks and herds. Nevertheless, in 1936–7 taxes were paid [45] on 1,424,965 sheep, 773,969 goats, 144,763 cattle and 44,318 horses in the whole of Albania;[1] there are no separate figures for its northern half. Many more animals ran about the houses, unregistered and free of tax. For Albanians the importance of sheep lies, it should be noted, not only in their wool and meat [234] as in England, but in their milk and the butter and cheese made from it.

133 If only the coastal plain were more spacious, it would be 233 a perfect complement to the mountains for pastoralism on the grand scale. In the portion south of Lesh the rivers Drin, Mat and Ishm, entering the sea at points less than 6 miles apart, have created what is virtually one vast delta of mud and swamp, lush undergrowth, and trees that have come too quickly to maturity. Farther south, swamps of the same type cover much of the Plain of Durrës, and a great lagoon extends to the very outskirts of the town. Two more lagoons and a series of swamps mark the estuaries of the rivers Shkumbî and Seman on the coast of Myzeqe. More marshes and the lagoon of Kakarriq outline the course of the River Buenë in the north.

132 On the coast the average yearly rainfall is 39–47 inches, against 57 at Shkodër, 67 at Krujë and 72 at Pukë, an inland place 39 miles east of Shkodër. Albania is one of the wettest countries in Europe because so many of its ranges run from north to south and are high enough to intercept the rain-laden clouds that drift in from the west. The first rains fall in October when it is still hot on the coastal plain. The moisture and the heat combine to produce a luxuriant crop of new grass by the time that the sheep come down from the mountains.

[137] This grass is found, not only in the hay meadows and swamps, but also, owing to the violence of the winter rains, on all the arable land

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 117.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

land. A high proportion of the year's rainfall falls in November and March:[1]

NOVEMBER	MARCH
Durrës 215 mm. (8·46 in.)	100 mm. (3·94 in.)
Shkodër 209 mm. (8·23 in.)	162 mm. (6·38 in.)
Krujë 337 mm. (13·27 in.)	157 mm. (6·18 in.)
Pukë 260 mm. (10·24 in.)	202 mm. (7·95 in.)

When a storm breaks over the mountains, every river and rivulet in the storm-swept area rises rapidly because the surface soil is seldom deep enough to retain much of the falling rain. In furious spate the rivers rush steeply towards the sea and, as they near the coast, spread far beyond their banks, engulfing many acres of arable land, and enlarging the marshes and lagoons so that they engulf many more. Because of this flooding, wheat cannot be sown near the coast. If sown in autumn, the November floods would wash it away, and after the March floods the ground does not dry in time for a spring sowing. Maize is, consequently, the only crop that can be raised. While awaiting its planting in late May, the fields lie fallow and grass-grown. The March floods are also responsible for the striking size and number of the hay meadows; much land never dries enough to grow even maize and must be left permanently under grass.

Climatically, too, the coastal plain dovetails into the high pastures. Whereas the mountains are deep in snow all winter, the temperature at the coast never falls quite to freezing-point. In January, the coldest month, the average recorded for Durrës and Valona (Vlonë) is respectively 47 and 48 degrees, with 40 and 41½ degrees at inland Shkodër and Tirana (Tiranë). Rain falls frequently and heavily, but unless a sudden rise in a river catches sheep unawares and sweeps them out to sea, neither animals nor shepherds come to much harm. By the end of May, when the rains cease, everything changes, and life near the swamps becomes intolerable for man and beast. Day temperatures rise swiftly towards their summer maximum of 86 degrees and the nights are hot, so that every movement is a burden. The dense vegetation of the swamps exudes odours as foetid as those in a tropical forest. Swarms of malaria-carrying mosquitoes emerge from the stagnant pools to attack man; swarms of gadflies, more savage than any

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 49.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

annually. In Godolesh the two neighbours did it in alternate years, 312
having exclusive right to the earth with its valuable fertilizing 423
properties for the year when they did the clean up. In Lumë two 716
neighbours cleared the drain together year after year and flung half the earth on one side and half on the other.

In other places one ditch seldom drained two neighbouring fields on the principle that 'you can't walk on my path or use my drain'. In Gurrëzë the man who wanted a drain had to cut it on his own ground with a 'footprint' (20 cm.) of land between the boundary and its edge for the protection of his neighbour's land. Without this buttress the drain might overflow or burst its bank to the detriment of his neighbour. In either contingency its owner had to pay compensation to his neighbour, but prevention of damage was always better for both parties. His neighbour might also accuse him of encroaching on his land, an insulting remark that provoked instant retaliation. If, later on, the neighbour wanted a drain he had to make one for himself, also a 'footprint' away from the boundary. In Lumë and Elbasan there was little risk that open drains would flood, but there too a space had to be left between their edge and the boundary. The avowed purpose of this space was to support the boundary stones. In all cases of single ownership the owner, on clearing the ditch, threw the earth on his own side, where it testified to his ownership if this was ever questioned.

Sometimes a man of Shkrel wanted both a drain and a fence. In that event the ditch was cut along the boundary and a strip of ground of the same width was set aside on the other side of the boundary. All the earth excavated from the ditch was thrown on this strip and so the neighbours became quits, one had a 'hole' on his land and the other a 'hill'. The fence was erected on the 'hill'.

We come now to one of the most important considerations in [132]
boundary making. North Albania is one of the wettest regions in 134
Europe, and when the land was waterlogged it inevitably tended 241
to slip downhill. The tropical intensity of many rainstorms 423
increased the mischief. Terracing the fields would have helped to
check it, but such manual labour is contrary to the habits and [461]
dignity of the north Albanian. His law, however, gave him every possible protection. When there were two fields on a slope, one above the other, they might be separated by a field-path, a road, an irrigation channel or a fence. (The term 'field-path' includes the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

Epirus

THE southern part of the Kingdom of /31 Albania of today was the ancient Epirus. This territory was bounded on the north by the Ionian Sea and on the south by the Ambracian Gulf. Its landward sides were next to Illyria, Macedonia and Thessaly. The terrain is essentially moun- /33 tainous. About the fourth century before /19 Christ these Epirots were divided in fourteen tribes. Epirus at this time exerted no small /79 influence on Thessaly through the oracle of Dodona. Historically, the part of Epirus was passive. Epirus was divided into the smaller /31 kingdoms of Molossia, Thesprotia, Chaonia, etc., which were formed into an Epirotic League.

The chieftains of Molossia, who dominated /73 all Epirus, claimed to be descended from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who settled in the country after the fall of Troy. (Plutarch also relates that Achilles was known in this country under the name of "Aspetos" which in Albanian means "swift.") Upon Pyrrhus' death his kingdom was transmitted to Molossus, his son by Andromache.

Physical Features

ALBANIA, situated on the east coast of 131
the Adriatic Sea, southwest of Yugoslavia and north of Greece, two and a half hours distance from Rome by aeroplane, has an area of about 11,000 square miles (approximately the size of Belgium). The 133
larger part of the country is mountainous; amongst the geographical and geological divisions of the country the most familiar are roughly as follows: Northern Albania consisting principally of mountains; Central Albania, between the Mati and the Viosa rivers, is comprised of littoral plains; Southern Albania is mountainous to the greater extent.

From this simple picture we see that Albania consists of a marginal lowland, crossed by powerful perennial streams, and a mountainous hinterland which encloses small fertile basins. The Albanian Alps in the north consist mostly of massive limestones rising to a height of 6,500 to 8,500 feet. Scattered among these ranges are the rich summer pas-

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

133 tures, especially around Lake Scutari, also the lower slopes are used by the herdsmen.

The sea-shore is almost entirely flat and sandy; only in its southern regions limestone rocks, approaching the sea and combining their picturesque contours with the lavish beauty of the vegetation, create scenery of the highest charm and attraction. These mountains cease abruptly at about thirty miles from the sea-shore and become undulating hills which are used for farm lands. A large plain in a more south-westerly direction is called the "Plains of Myzeqeja." To the southward again appear the higher ranges and limestone is mingled with sandstone. These belts are heavily wooded and above the timberline are the usual high pastures. In the extreme east are three parallel mountain belts divided by the Black Drin river.

The main rivers in Albania are the Lower Drin flowing west to east, the Black Drin flowing northwards, the White Drin enters Albania from Yugoslavia and flows southwards to the Adriatic, gradually increased by the tributaries from the Albanian Alps. Other rivers are the Semeni, Viosa,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

133 Bojana, Shkumbi, Osumi and Devolli. Of the mamy lakes in Albania the Scutari with a surface of 137 square miles and Ochrida, with 104 square miles, are the largest with that of Presba, 131 square miles, and Malik, covering 20,000 acres, next in size. The more important ranges are the Pindus mountains and the Gramos range in the southeast. In the Shara range is Mount Lyuboten with an altitude of 8,230 feet. East of Berat and south of the Semeni river is the famous Mount Tomor, 7,861 feet in height. After passing Petrela, which is about ten miles from Tirana, one begins the long pull up to the summit of the Krraba Pass, which is one of the highest in Albania. From this point the Tomori and Krrab peaks, 7,861 feet and 7,933 feet respectively, stand out clearly. Krrab mountain is in the direction of Dibra (Dibër). From Cape Linguetta at the Bay of Valona to the south, there rises a range of peaks whose summits reach over 6,500 feet. Naturally this territory as far as the Gulf of Arta belongs to Albania by right.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

133 The extensive basin-shaped plains of eastern Albania—especially the plain of Metova in the upper region of the White Drin Valley, and the plains of Kosova and Tetova—are important to Albania. There are many lakes in these regions.

463 Agriculture and cattle raising are the principal occupations, with olives, the making of 241 olive oil, grains and tobacco being the prin- 135 cipal products of the country. But there is great mineral wealth (asphalt, arsenic, copper, iron, lead, lignite, naphtha, oil, and other mineral resources), which is largely yet undeveloped, and with time, possibly a very short time, through the development of the great abundance of these natural resources, including the fisheries, they will become the principal resources of the country.

cries of the street vendors. The nights, even 000
during the summer, are delightfully cool and enjoyable; sitting in one of the comfortable café gardens of Tirana with a cup of delicious 275
coffee! The old saying of "being killed with kindness" is literally true in this unique kingdom.

Upon leaving Tirana, the capital of Alba- 153
nia, and journeying further into the heart of 311
the country, one comes more in contact with the native aspect of this country in all of its charm. The land, in the vicinity of Tirana, is smooth and devoted to wide, rich fields of maize and wheat. A few miles further on the landscape loses its cultivated appearance and the scenery becomes more wild and desolate, and at the same time extraordinarily beautiful. From plains the country rapidly rises into rolling hills and rugged rocky mountains, and becomes a country from Wonderland.

The first point of interest along this route 712
are the ruins of the Petrela Castle, which dominated this district until the rise of Tirana about 1600. However, fragments of tile proclaim the fact that it was built for fortifying purposes in ancient times, but the more evident pro-Turkish brick and stone mortar de-

712 cisively date its construction in the early fifteenth century, as well as being frequently mentioned in the old histories of Scanderbeg the Great. Even to-day this point has not lost its strategic value as is proven by the trenches dug during the world war. Directly beneath these magnificent old ruins, a half-deserted village still holds its weekly bazaars—a strange contrast of the unceasing incongruity between the old and the new.

346 At this point are also four monasteries of dervishes: two Khalveti, one Rifai and one Hajati. The surrounding slopes are ablaze with irises during April, making a colorful and dainty setting for such severe buildings.

• 133 As the solidly-built road twists and turns up the majestic sides of the Krraba Pass, magnificent gorges, which form the head of the valley and which were cut in the course of the ages by winter torrents, come into view. At the summit of this mighty pass, eight hundred metres above sea-level and eighteen miles from Tirana, it is possible to gain a glimpse, on a clear day, of Durazzo (Durrës) and the Adriatic Sea. After having reached the top, the road, a result of much blasting, travels along the ridge of the mountains for some dis-

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

133 tance. On one side the rocks rise sheer and uncovered and on the other a deep precipice drops directly downward into seemingly bottomless depths. Only here and there a few farms dot the landscape. The trees at this 137 231 altitude are small oaks, with very grotesque appearance because of the absence of many branches, but this is explained by the fact that the poorer peasants cut them off and store them as winter fodder for their animals.

133 Gradually, glimpses can be caught of the immense fertile plain of Elbasan, with the River Shkumbi dividing it like a sharp, silver knife, and on one side of this magnificent range of mountains, rich in the shades of green and brown, roll away to the west. Just before beginning the descent from this ridge one should note that to the southward in this mighty range are to be found the two highest peaks of Albania: Krrab and Tomori. Krrab, 2,418 meters (7,933 feet), is really the higher, but it is the popular belief that "Father Tomori," 2,396 meters (7,861 feet), is the more lofty due to surrounding low hills. These twin peaks are accessible about five or six months out of the year, being entirely inaccessible on account of snow during the winter months.

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

000 with their dusky green leaves and snarled old roots and trunks, to the grey, white and sun-baked shades of the dreamy little town, and all this set like a tiny little drop on the vast, fertile plain.

132 Elbasan is well-known for its great variety of products, made possible by the rich soil of the plain. The town, sheltered by the immense old wall, enjoys a somewhat hot-house atmosphere, for which it should indeed be grateful, for it becomes terrifically cold during the winter months when the east winds sweep over it from the mountains of
133 Librazhd. These great monarchs, snow-crowned ten months of the year, which surround the plain are very cool even in August, making them delightful resorts from the heat of the plain.

241 This district is versatile in that it can produce, in this dual atmosphere, both the products of the north and the south. There is an abundance of cotton, rice and tobacco, as
245 well as maize, barley and wheat. And unlike many of its neighbors, it has its own figs, grapes, melons, oranges, lemons and olives growing on the plain, and apples, pears, raspberries and various other northern fruits mellowing into ripeness on the mountains surrounding Elbasan.

p. 123

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000 found Albania to give them their hearts' desire.

What other country, besides Albania, can offer to the pleasure-seeker a combination of the warm waters of the Adriatic lazily lapping away the hours on dazzling white sand, and the tall, majestic, cloud-tipped mountains, an extremity of the Alps, just in the background? But of more interest to the traveller are the natural and picturesque little towns, now perched loftily on a mountain shoulder, now snuggled dreamily in a cozy green valley, all abounding in a wealth of native folklore and tradition that is as original and unique as the little towns themselves. To seek out their quaint old houses, to visit the shrines of past glories, to explore the massive fortifications and monuments will give the sensation of having stepped into a hidden treasure house.

●133 In Albania a range of the Alps raise their proud heads as high as 8,500 feet to the sun, towering over their surroundings like veritable monarchs of the earth, which would easily lead one to imagine that the natives of these lofty regions are either sun-worshippers or imitators of that lonely bird which frequents

135 their heights—the Eagle; and the latter guess would be the true index to the character of the inhabitants—courageous, strong and en-
[137] during. These mountains, covered with stately pinewoods and beautiful forests of beeches and olives many hundreds of years old, are often cut into deep, mysterious gorges and lovely green valleys which lend their soft, rich and dark colors to make a picture worthy of the talents of a master.

The natural geography of Central Albania is that of littoral plains, imperceptibly changing into smooth hills with dense oakwoods, which encircle and hold as precious secrets many wide and fertile basins. These rolling hills further to the south, heighten into mountains of unusual grandeur, intersected with wooded ravines and sheer precipices. For those who are irresistibly attracted by the invading charms of the solitary plains, the typical character of the Karst of these higher regions holds a peculiar fascination; also the lonely splendor of the bare, rocky, limestone cliffs and summits, haunted by the mountain eagle.

489 Transportation in Albania is of the pleasantest sort—by air, by automobile or by

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER VIII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

121 As the character of a people is generally so much influenced by the nature of the country they inhabit, a brief description of the division of Turkey occupied by the Albanians may give greater interest to my
101 remarks on this race. Albania, as its native name of *Skiperi*, "The Land of Rocks," signifies, is one of the most mountainous divisions of Turkey. The principal
133 chain runs north and south, parallel with the Adriatic, and from it jut many spurs, composed of mountains as lofty as the main range, which ramify in every direction, so that almost the whole surface of the country is covered with rugged hills and deep valleys, save near the mouth of the river Ergenth. Even the coast is grandly mountainous, the spurs there often terminating in abrupt precipices, the sides of which are eternally beaten by the lashing waves.

132 Almost every variety of climate is found within the limits of Albania. In the south, and near the coast, the temperature is as mild as at Naples, and oranges, citrons, grapes, pomegranates, figs, and other fruits grow in abundance. But the cold increases with the distance from the sea, and only twenty miles from the Adriatic the snowfalls are heavy, and
[137] the frosts severe. The higher and more northern

shrill, high notes, like nothing human I had ever 000
heard. Frances Hardy, lying almost perpendicular along her pony's back, her chin on what would have been the saddle pommel had there been one, looked downward at me, similarly extended.

"They're making a song to the Chafa Bishkasit, the Road of the Mountaineers," she said. "That's the Chafa up there. We're going over it to-day, and then we'll be in the mountains. Aren't you happy?"

I could find no word emphatic enough for reply as I gazed up at the tiny notch in a wave of snow-crest that curled against the sky five thousand feet above us.

The sun swung to its highest and sank again while we climbed. It was low in the sky—it 133
seemed on a level with us—when we made the last interminable hundred yards up into the Chafa Bishkasit. We were in the sky; there is no other way to say it, and no way in which to describe that sensation of infinite airiness. Forty miles behind and below us Lake Scutari lay flat, like a pool of mercury on a gray-brown floor. At each side of our little gay-colored cavalcade a gray cliff rose perhaps two hundred feet, too sheer to hold the snow that thickly crusted its top. These cliffs were the posts of a gateway through which we looked into the country of the hidden tribes.

I had never seen or dreamed such mountains. Like thin, sharp rocks stood on edge, they cov-

PEAKS OF SHALA

133 ered hundreds of miles with every variation of light and shadow, and we looked across their tops to a far-away wave of snow that broke high against the sky. The depths between the mountains were hazy blue; out of the blueness sharp cliffs and huge flat slopes of rock thrust upward, streaked with the rose and purple and Chinese green of decomposing shale, and from their tops a thousand streams poured downward, threading them with silver white. A low, continuous murmur rose to us—the sound of innumerable waterfalls, softened by immeasurable distances.

202 Suddenly, clear and very far and thin, a call came out of the spaces.[1] It was like a fife, and yet not like it. Instantly our guides were still, attentive. A moment of silence, and farther and thinner, hardly to be heard above the beating of blood in our ears, there was an answer. Then the first note began again and went on and on; there seemed to be a pattern to it, not a tune—words? I looked at the others.

Rrok Perolli was motionless, a cigarette between his lips, his hand arrested in the act of striking a match. Little Rexh, his round face intent beneath the red fez, his mouth slightly open, his eyes wide and blank, was an image of concentrated listening. The two gendarmes stood alert, like dogs straining at a leash, scent-
[291] ing something. Our four guides, in their long white trousers, black jackets, colored turbans and sashes, were like men frozen in attitudes of interrupted talk.

[1] [In Chapter Bishkasit Mountains [8] of Albania -- Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGI Albania EGI

THE CHAFA BISHKASIT
The "Road of the Mountaineer"—the gateway to the northern lands.

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6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGI Albania EGI

THE PLATEAU OF THETHIS

In the foreground the church, etc. The hills in the background are held by the Serbs.

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(120a)

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

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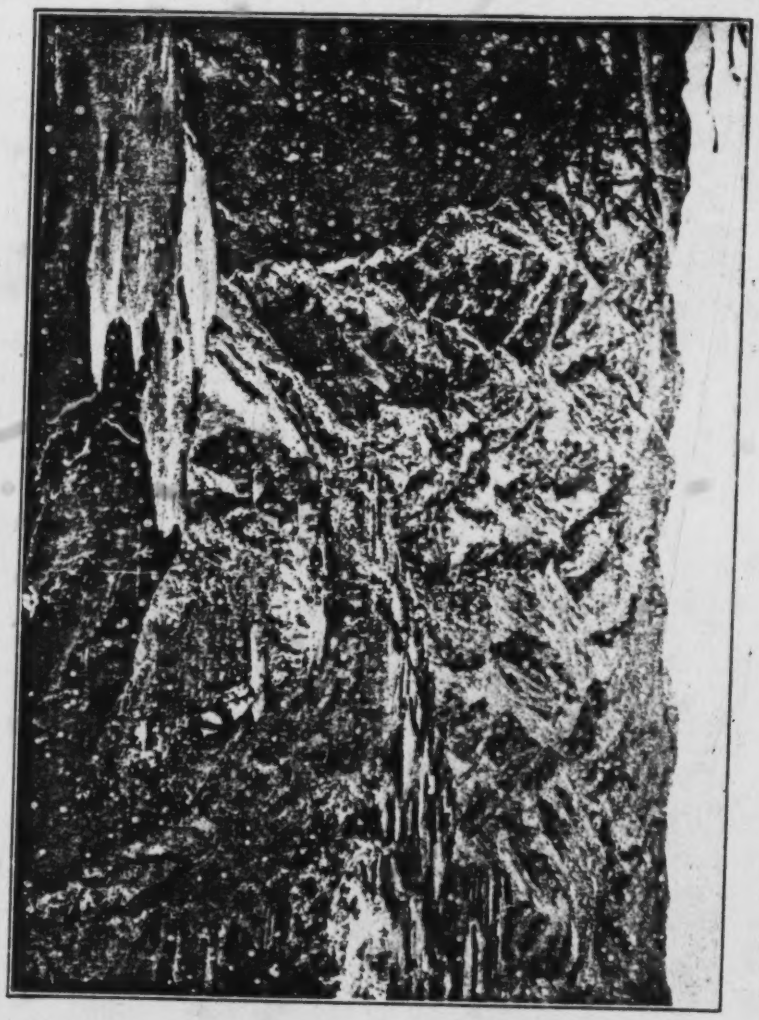

THE SHAMA VALLEYS

[134a]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

133
491

THE KIRI BRIDGE

278a

POSTSCRIPT

[492] winding road to Shijak, the village by the river
491 where the bridge begins and ends in willow groves.

Beyond Shijak the road goes over the last low
[133] hill, and twenty miles of plain lie before it, most sparsely dotted with the great white houses of the beys of central Albania. Against the eastern sky the towering mountains, with their eternal smoke of clouds, catch the last rays of the sun and make magic with it. For an hour the colors shift and change, plum purple, orange gold, mauve and violet and sea green, until at last only a pale gold moon and a silvery star shine in a lemon-yellow sky. And the seven white minarets of Tirana lift above the green of trees.

342 Dusk was on the plain, and lights were glimmering through little houses here and there, when we came to Tirana. No, the lights do not glimmer through windows; these houses of peasants on the great estates have no windows, as they have no chimneys. The light of the evening fire, built on the earthen floor, shines through walls woven of willow withes, and the smoke seeps through thatched roofs.

373 Before us twinkled the street lamps of Tirana. These are literally lamps, filled every day with kerosene and set on their poles, to be lighted with a match after the evening call to prayer from the minarets. Our little car passed between low, ghostly white walls, and stopped before the gendarmerie. An officer came out, lifted one of the street lamps from its pole and held it over the car door, the better to see us.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

tained their independence for six centuries within 184
the Turkish Empire look with distrust and con- 578
tempt on the Toshks whose valleys have been flooded by every wave of invaders. The Toshks, who are the educated men of Albania, and the travelers, are equally contemptuous of the Ghegs, ignorant men unable to read or write. Nor do the Toshks admit that they cannot fight as well as the Ghegs. It was the Toshks in Sicily who fought with Garibaldi, the Toshks of Egypt who fought with Mehmet Ali; the Albanian soldiers in Russia and Rumania and Turkey are Toshk; the 50,000 Albanians in the United States are Toshk, and fought well with the Americans in France. Hundreds of them have returned to spread American ideas through the south; there are Toshk villages in which American English is spoken by nearly every child. Men from these villagers led the forces that drove the Italians from Valona in 1920. Indeed, say the Toshks, they can fight as well as Ghegs. But it is not fighting that Albania needs.

One of the errors about Albania, to which I 133
fear my descriptions may contribute is the belief that the country is entirely mountainous. This is true of the northern part, adjoining Montenegro. Farther south the ranges are like the partitions in a house; steep, high, almost impassable, they surround valleys and plateaus of rich level land, much of it irrigated. The 132
climate of the valleys is semitropical; rice, cot- 241
ton, tobacco, citrus fruits, figs, and pomegranates

The Straits of Otranto, where the waters of the Adriatic
131 merge into the main basin of the Mediterranean, divide the
133 Apulian heel of Italy from the land of Albania — the setting of my tale. The Italian shore is flat, featureless, and without a considerable harbour; but on the Albanian side the coastal range of the Dinaric Alps curves back from the sea, as if to protect the mainland approaches to the port of Valona, which lies where the straits are narrowest. Albania is thus a fortified enclave on the west coast of the Balkan Peninsula, and the Power that controls it commands the entrance to the Adriatic Sea. This enclave, moreover, forms a natural bridgehead for Italy in the Balkans: from Valona to Salonika is but two hundred miles; and, though the mountains of the interior present notable obstacles to communications, a Power established across this neck of the peninsula would command two of the three key positions on the roads that lead from Europe to the East.

175 The fate of a territory of such strategic importance could scarcely be a matter of indifference to the Powers; and the briefest review of Albania's past suggests that it has been an enduring cause of contention between them in their efforts to acquire or to preserve a dominant position in the Adriatic or the Eastern Mediterranean. The rising sea power of Rome clashed with the navies of Illyria and Epirus, and subjected those kingdoms to her rule, in order to confirm her supremacy in the Adriatic. Once the control of the straits was assured, the new provinces were converted into a base for imperial expansion; and Dyrrachium, the modern Durazzo, became the head of the Via Egnatia, the great artery of empire which ran through Thessalonika (Salonika) to the East. Rome's Byzantine successor held fast to the Albanian coasts to preserve the Eastern Mediterranean from Adriatic enemies, until Norman sea power supplanted her there, and gave the land its present name. In the wake of the Normans came armies of Crusaders, who crossed from Italy into Albania to follow the ancient Roman road to the East. The ephemeral empires of Bulgaria and Serbia spread, in their turn, to control the entrance to the Adriatic, while the more enduring mercantile power of Venice long strove, and with varying success, to establish itself on the

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

people, too, had their part, for they formed the permanent garrison of the key to the Adriatic. Once again, as so often in the past, the rival nations vied with one another to secure the friendship or compel the obedience of the Albanians; and they, owning no common allegiance, took sides and changed them in accordance with the dictates of interest and the counsels of opportunity. Thus the situation in Albania came to reflect, as in a mirror, the true relations between the Powers, obscured to the general view by the smoke of battle blown before the wind of words.

The policies of nations devolve in the last instance upon individuals; and in this, as in past struggles, lone men went out among the Albanian mountaineers to make their local feuds subserve the divergent and often inconsistent purposes of the strategists and statesmen who had sent them forth. Of these men I was one; and of a part of what I saw this is the tale.

2

THE Albanians are a distinct people, not perhaps a nation, but remarkable by the strength of their sense of nationality. Archaeologists believe the two main branches of their race — the Ghegs and Tosks, whom the river Shkumbi divides — to be descended from the ancient Illyrians and Pelasgians. These peoples, perhaps the earliest Aryan invaders of the Balkans, may once have inhabited the whole region between the Danube and the Aegean and Adriatic seas; but successive waves of invasion have worn them down by assimilation or massacre, and only a remnant survive in the land known as Albania.

This land, the exact boundaries of which have fluctuated with the fortunes of the Albanians and their conquerors, forms a wedge between the massif of Montenegro and the Pindus range. It consists of a rich but malarial coastal plain, in which lie the two harbours of Durazzo and Valona, and a mountainous interior; an extension of the Dinaric Alps. In contrast, however, to the bare and arid Karst of Dalmatia, the Albanian mountains are thickly wooded and convulsed out of their former

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

133 symmetry into a tangle of high and broken ranges. The valleys they enclose are narrow but fertile, and from them powerful streams pursue their twisted courses down to the Adriatic.

361 Albania has many times been overrun in the strife of empires for the control of the Straits of Otranto; and it is in the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the interior rather than in the rich coastal plain that the remnant of the Illyrians have made their homes. There they have found freedom; for, so wild and rugged are the mountains, and so poor the prospect of wealth which they offer, that none of Albania's conquerors have attempted to rule them except in name.

To this day the majority of the Albanians live in the mountains; but at different times — when the growth of population in the highlands has pressed too hard upon the means of subsistence, or when political conditions have been favourable — families have moved down to the plains or to the towns. Thus, in the seventeenth century, under the protection of Islam, the tribesmen of the North flowed back into the Kossovo. But [181] the trend has been a slow one; for the Albanians prize freedom above all else, and many that have descended to the plains have returned again to the mountains. The plains are rich, but, as the malaria saps a man's strength, so work on the big estates destroys his independence, and submission to the laws of the conqueror corrupts his soul. Thus the lowlands have ever been the province of the foreign overlord, and it is in the mountains, beyond the reach of invaders and guarded by the armed might of the clans, that the moral and material strength of Albania resides.

642 The steep and rugged mountains, the deep and pathless forests, the drifts of snow in winter, and the spate of the rivers in spring and autumn have preserved the Albanians from foreign conquerors. But these obstacles to communications, which have so often turned back hostile armies, have operated powerfully against the growth of a centralised Albanian state. Geography has thus combined with contending foreign Powers to promote disunity among the Albanians. The ancient Illyrian and Pelasgian kingdoms were seldom even allied, and, under the Turkish Empire, the country was divided for political and

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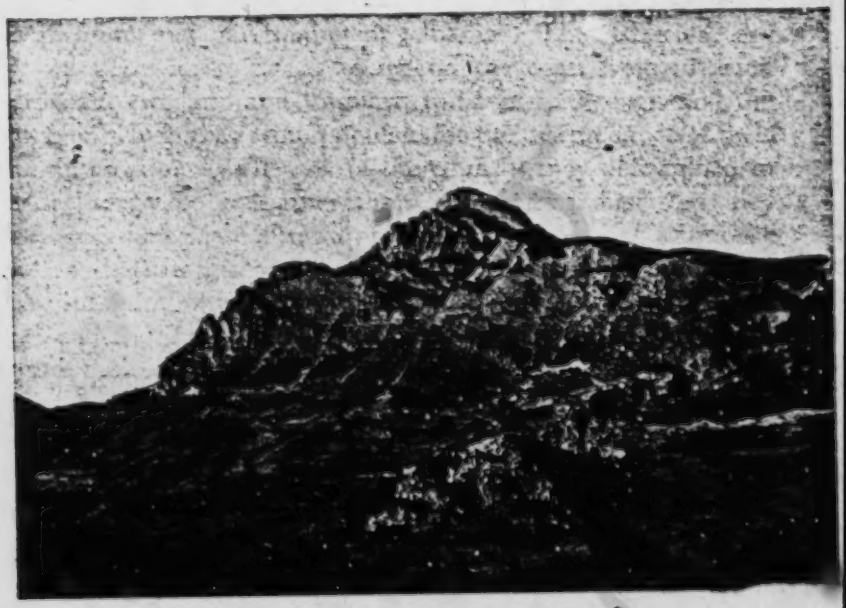
THE PLATEAU AT BIZA, WHERE WE LANDED 1

1 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 78-82 for details -- Analyst]



ON THE WAY TO SHENGYERG 2

[-68b-] 2 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 82-83 for description. Anal.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

or compounded and, above all, what sides the clan should take 596
in the strife of political factions. Tsen Lezi had long been a supporter of Abas Kupi and he received us well.

It was already May, but in the mountains we had still lived /33●
amid the gales and snow of winter. Next morning, however, as we descended from Tsen Lezi's house, we came out of the mists into the sunlight and saw the broad Mati valley spread out below us like a promised land. Fat sheep and cattle grazed in the undulating pastures; whitewashed houses, the tallest in Albania, were scattered over the low, wooded hills; and beyond the sparkling river the ground rose steeply to the wild glens of Mirdita. The guerillas had not left the mountains since autumn; and now, at the sight of the sunlit valley, the long line of men winding down the hillside broke into a strident song. Presently Abas Kupi called a halt and we sat down to refresh our eyes with the view. Hitherto I had always looked on mountains as holiday grounds; but the guerillas' song touched some atavistic chord in me and for the first time I experienced the weary highlander's longing for the plain.

Mati was rich and populated, the region where the tribal /101
system of the mountains mingled with the feudalism of the coastal plain. The land and flocks were still owned and worked in common by the different clans; but their chiefs were already known as *Beys*; and the wealthier among them employed hired labour and rented out some of their fields to poorer families. The men of Mati were reputed devout Moslems and, as is often the way of the pious, they lived well; renowned for their lavish hospitality and comfortably appointed houses. They had prospered especially under the monarchy; 643
for King Zog was a man of Mati and his first care had been for the people of his valley. Many, though they could not [212]
read nor write, had been given appointments in the civil service; and, following the tradition of the Turks, Zog had conferred reserve commissions on most of the *Beys*. This was not indeed to compel them to military service, but to bind them more closely to his cause by the payment of an honourable and regular pension. The valley had benefited, moreover, 653
from an ambitious programme of public works; a road and

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

000 course of a torrent which broke through the eastern wall of the gorge. We went slowly, for the ascent was steep, and Muharrem inclined to frequent rests. "*Kadal, kadal*" — "Slowly, slowly" — was his oft-repeated maxim. Towards nine in the morning we at last emerged into the sunshine and followed a more gradual path to an isolated farmstead. There we stopped for the heat of the day and ate our midday meal of roast lamb and cheese in a shaded orchard, pink and white with blossom.

• 133 We pressed on in the afternoon, and, climbing up wooded slopes too steep to ride, came out on to the grassy uplands of Teya, in parts still deep in snow. Teya is a plateau over eight thousand feet high, with stretches so broad and smooth that they might almost have made a landing-ground for aircraft. The day was cloudless and we turned aside from the path to scale a pyramid-shaped knoll for the view. There all Albania was spread out at our feet, convulsed into a chaos of broken valleys and intersecting ranges. To the north the wavy, jagged chain of the Albanian Alps rose to its climax in the tooth-like, snow-covered peak of Shkelzen; westwards the rolling highlands of Mirdita stretched towards the sea; to the east Korab towered immediately above us, shutting out the prospect of the Vardar valley; and in the south the snowy summit of Tomori hung above the haze. It took us nearly two hours to cross the plateau, and, climbing down five thousand feet beyond, we came towards dusk to Topoyan, a straggling village on the banks of the river Liuma from which the region draws its name.

Next day, the 1st of June, we splashed across the Liuma and rode northwards along the crest of the range that rises from its eastern bank. The sun was scorching, and in the full noontide heat we reached the head of the gorge, whence the river broadens out across the plain of Kukes. From there we saw the junction of the Black with the White Drin, and, with the help of our glasses, studied the houses and bridges of Kukes with the white ribbon of road that runs through the town to
000 Scutari. A mountain village was perched precariously above the gorge, and there we ate our midday meal in the company

* [British liaison officers, Spring of 1944 -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

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OUR meeting with Gani Kryeziu had taken us farther afield than we had at first intended; it was already the 6th of June, and we were due back at base next day for talks with Abas Kupi. To return by the way we had come would take us more than a week; but the only short cut — and this would take at least four days — lay through the wild highlands of Mirdita. This was the most primitive region in all Albania and firmly in the grip of Jon Marko Joni, the Captain of the Mirdites and the ally of the Germans. Gani and Muharrem begged us not to attempt the journey, and, when they saw that our minds were made up, offered to put a force of a hundred men at our disposal, so that, if necessary, we might fight our way through any opposition. To feed such a force, however, might well prove impossible, especially if the clansmen were hostile. We therefore determined to put our trust in speed rather than strength, hoping to be in Mati before Marko Joni learned that we had crossed Mirdita.

We rested, therefore, through the morning and afternoon of the 6th June and, bidding Gani farewell, set out at sunset with Said and Muharrem Bairaktar. The nights are short at this season, but we planned to cross both the Great Drin and the Scutari–Kukes road before dawn. The river was too deep and swift to ford, and there was no alternative but to cross by the ferry. This was guarded, however, by a gendarmerie post under a new commandant, whose attitude was still unknown to the local chieftains. We reached the crossing about midnight and Muharrem deployed his men so as to surround the gendarmes. He then sent for the commandant and exhorted him as a patriotic Albanian to help our forces over the Drin. Intimidated by our array, and encouraged by a handful of gold, that officer soon discovered a vehement sympathy for the Allied cause; the necessary orders were issued to the ferryman, and within half an hour our forces were across the river.

An hour beyond the Drin our paths divided; Muharrem turned eastwards on his way back to Liuma; and the rest of

133

ON THE TRAIL BETWEEN LIUMA AND JAKOVA

ANOTHER VIEW BETWEEN LIUMA AND JAKOVA

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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●133

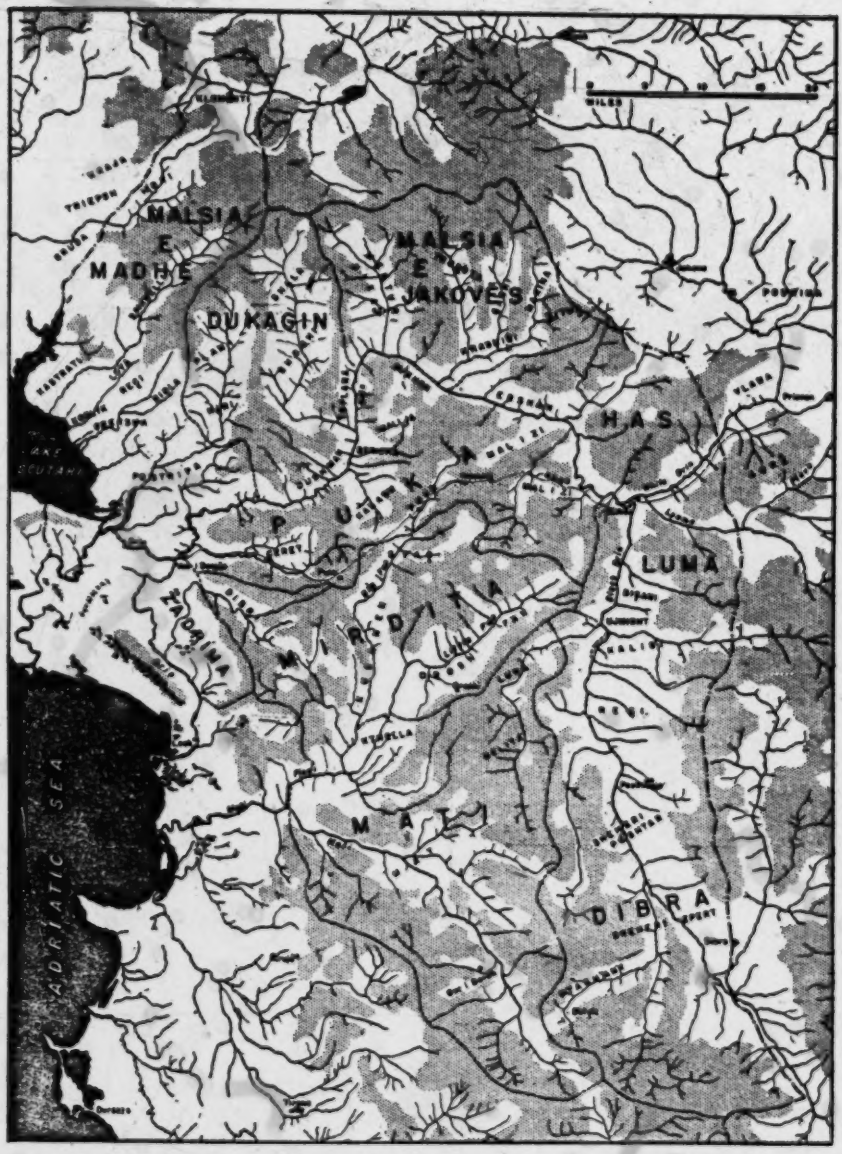

FIG. 1. Northern Albania—the tribal area. (Stippled area symbolizes mountain and forest, unoccupied except as seasonal pasture and source of timber.) Scale, 1: 250,000.

133 The country of the Highland Ghegs is entirely mountainous. Although on the map its length is 75 miles and its width 55, these dimensions fail to convey the vertical distance. The trails go up and down and all around, climbing, twisting, and turning. In 1929 it took as long to go the length of the Gheg highlands by available means of travel as it did to cross the United States by rail. To an Albanian, Shala is as far from Dibra as, to an American, San Francisco is from Boston.

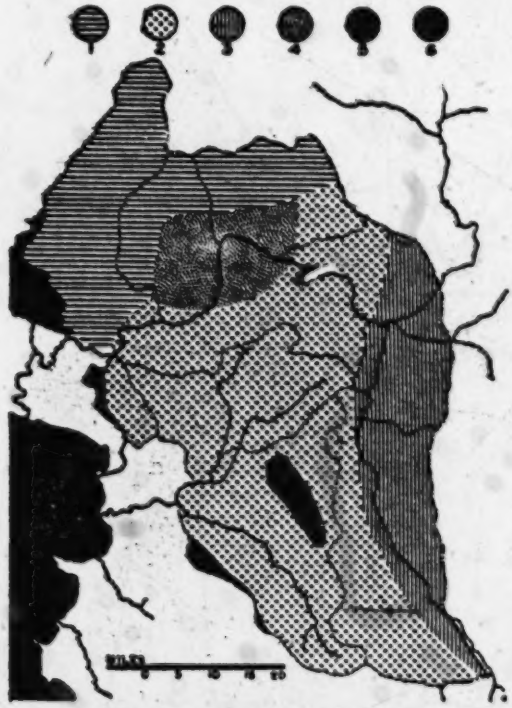

FIG. 2. Three main geological regions in Ghegnia. 1—*Mesozoic limestone;* 2—*Serpentine highland;* 3—*Metamorphosed Triassic and Upper Palaeozoic rocks;* 4—*Intense folding (Mesozoic-Eocene);* 5—*Tertiary basin;* 6—*Eocene flysch.* (Almagià, 1932, pp. 464–73, map on p. 467, "after Nowack.")

A concentrated jumble of snow-covered peaks, rising to 7000- and 8000-foot heights, the mountains of Ghegnia follow no simple system of parallel ranges and valleys, but instead form a knot through which the river Drin has cut a passage in its tumultuous journey from the plain of Kossovo to the Adriatic Sea. In the walls of the Drin gorge the travel-

133 er can see an impressive record of geological change—layer after layer of sedimentary rocks, twisted and upheaved like a slice of marble cake.

Although the systematic geology of this entire region remains to be studied, enough is known of it for our immediate purpose. Figure 2 shows 3 main geological regions in Ghegnia. The first is the Mesozoic limestone mountains of Malsia e Madhe and parts of Dukagin and Malsia e Jakovës. This is a continuation of the bare rocky landscape so characteristic of Montenegro, which, north of Lake Scutari, reaches the sea in a succession of drowned valleys, the greatest of which is the Gulf of Kotor. Here the topsoil is thin, while alluvium is almost lacking in the stream beds. No trees crown the slopes, white in summer and winter alike from the alternate exposure of lime and snow. In the bend of the Drin the smaller area of intense folding is likewise mostly limestone, covering part of Dukagin, the Nikaj-and Merturi sections of Malsia e Jakovës, and the Buxhon and Berisha *bairaks* (see p. 30) of Puka. In the country so far designated, most of which is north of the Drin, geological conditions resemble those found immediately north of the border.

The second zone is one of igneous rocks, composed mainly of serpentine and gabbro. This zone covers all of Mirdita, most of Zadrima, Mati, Puka, and Has, and parts of Dibra and Malsia e Jakovës. In this region limestone is so scarce that few people can afford to build stone houses, owing to the lack of mortar. From the dietary standpoint one must understand the importance of this contrast between the northern geological zone, where the water is permeated with lime, and the central, where it is lime-free. This takes on significance because all foods consumed are locally raised—the fodder, the grains, the milk, and the meat.

The third region is the eastern zone, including half of Has, all of Luma, and the greater part of Puka. This is composed of metamorphic Triassic and Upper Palaeozoic deposits, deeply eroded, with steep slopes and rich alluvial bottoms. From the dietary standpoint, it lies intermediate between the northern and the central regions.

Through these mountain masses, composed of different kinds of rocks laid down and up-

1 [See Cat 116, pp 8a and 35 c -- Analyst]

•133 heaved at different periods, flow its 2 rivers and their tributaries. These are the Drin and the Mati. By studying them one can arrive most readily at a knowledge of the tribal geography of Ghegnia.

East of Kukës there are 2 Drins, White and Black. The White Drin carries off the water from the eastward slope of the Peia or Pesh region in Montenegro, then flows southward to the Albanian border, where it turns west. A short but swift confluent flows westward under the bridges and flourmills of the city of Prizren. The Black Drin is the outlet for Lake Ochrida, south of Gheg territory. It flows northward in a nearly straight line through the Dibra valley, past the towns of Big Dibra and Little Dibra (Peshkopia). As it flows northward the valley grows narrow, and in places becomes a gorge, which opens out again before the river reaches Kukës.

At Kukës the 2 branches meet. From this point on, the slope of the river bed is great, and the water rushes down, foaming and leaping, through its canyon-like channel until it reaches the lowlands, where it divides into 2 channels. One flows into Lake Scutari, which in turn empties into the sea. The other goes directly into the Adriatic. Except for the last few miles of its passage, the Drin is too swift for navigation. Its possibilities for hydroelectric power are great.

The other river, the Mati, flows into the sea a short distance south of Lesh. It drains the tribal lands of Mati, and most of Mirdita. It too is swift and unnavigable, and in winter and spring often impossible to ford.

133 These rivers and their watersheds form the
101 usual boundaries between tribes. Dibra and Mati form the drainages of the Black Drin and Mati rivers, respectively; and the watershed between these rivers is their boundary. The White Drin, in Yugoslavia, is the boundary between Has and the lowland tribe of Podrima; in both countries it divides Has from Luma; and in Albania alone, the combined Drin divides Has from Puka, Malsia e Jakovës from Puka, Dukagin from Puka, and Malsia e Madhe from Puka and Zadrima. The northern branch of the Mati, the Fan, which is in turn divided into the Little Fan and the Big Fan,

[9] Semple, 1931, chap. 5.

133 drains Mirdita, except for the *bairak* of Spaç,
101 the northwestern finger of which forms part of the Drin system. With this same exception, the watershed between the Drin and the 2 Fans is the boundary between Puka and Mirdita. The continuation of the watershed between Mati and Dibra again separates, farther north, Mirdita from Luma. Mati and Mirdita, and Dibra and Luma east of the Black Drin, are parted by deep valleys, running laterally, cut on opposite sides of the river.

133 These rivers serve more often as tribal boundaries than as routes of travel. Their banks are so steep that the roads usually follow the crests and shoulders of the mountains, only dipping down into the valleys where it is necessary to cross them. Their waters are so swift that only in rare spots can they be navigated. All in all, they are barriers to travel and communication.

132 It is a rule long known to geographers that in the Mediterranean basin, lands lying on the western slopes of peripheral land masses receive more rain than those on the east.[2] The higher the mountains flanking the coast, the more the rain. Ghegnia and Montenegro have the heaviest rainfall of any Mediterranean countries. The Adriatic coast, from Lesh up to Dubrovnik, receives well over 60 inches of rain a year; and all of Ghegnia, back from the coast, gets between 60 and 40 inches, with the total decreasing to the east.

This is not all winter rain. It may rain any month of the year, and the summer rainfall totals anywhere from 4 to 8 inches, enough to permit the cultivation of maize by dry farming. This fact alone takes the Gheg highlands out of the Mediterranean climate area. The winter rain, which begins to fall in September, becomes snow at the higher altitudes. Only in the highest valleys and on the peaks does it last out the winter. Elsewhere a succession of snowfalls and thaws renders this region as unpleasant as New England in early spring.

The temperature again prohibits the growth of many Mediterranean crops, such as the fig and olive, which soon disappear as one leaves the coast. All of the uplands receive severe winter frosts, and on the border of the Kossovo plain the climate becomes continental.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

133 Too little is known about the soils of northern Albania to permit a detailed study of their relationship to physique, but we can find to what extent pertinent anthropological features fit the geological picture. The latter has already been described in chapter 2, "Land of the Highland Ghegs,"[1] and the principal geological areas blocked out, after Almagià on figure 2.[6] [2]

The Mesozoic limestone of Malsia e Madhe, Shala, and Malsia e Jakovës is a southern continuation of the barren karst of Montenegro. Although it is a poor country for farming, and much of it is good only for grazing goats, the people on both sides of the border, though often hungry, are large and heavy boned. The serpentine highland zone, in contrast, which runs all the way from eastern Malsia e Madhe across most of Puka, all of Mirdita, and parts of Zadrima, Mati, and Dibra, is in places forested. The soil is reminiscent of that seen on certain worn-out farms of northern New England. The eastern zone of Metamorphosed Triassic and Upper Palaeozoic rocks supports open meadows and brown-soiled fields, with forests on the slopes and clumps of poplars around the villages.

These are the 3 principal geological areas. To them may be added the area of intense folding of Mesozoic-Eocene strata, along both sides of the Drin in Shoshi, Nikaj, and the northern villages of Puka. The traveler walking along the Roman road can see where the river has cut sections through the strata in several places, revealing contorted patterns, including one in the shape of a figure *S*. In north-central Mati a cap of tertiary limestone [231] breaks the continuity of the gabbro. No village is situated directly over it, but the goats and cattle from several villages are driven onto it for summer grazing, and the villagers drink their milk and eat their flesh. Finally, a small slice of the tillage land of Zadrima is included in the so-called Dalmato-Montenegrin num-

[6] Stiles, 1946.
[6] Howard, 1947.
[6] Almagià, 1932, map on p. 467.

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 76-106 -- Analyst]
[2] [See cat 116, p. 8a -- Analyst]

[p. 86 (b)]

133 mulithic limestone and flysch, extending southward from the isthmus between Lake Scutari and the Adriatic.

These 6 areas correspond roughly to the tribal divisions, but some of the geological boundaries cut across tribes. From the tribal data alone a close relationship between geology and physique is suggested; if we reseriate by geological areas, ignoring tribal affiliations, we can test this more accurately.

SOIL AND PHYSIQUE IN MALSIA E GHEGNISE

*128 133 Samples for each of the 3 major areas and the area of folding range in size from 126 to 354 individuals. To the flysch section of Zadrima, 41 men can be assigned. Only in the small limestone region of Mati is the sample, 13, statistically inadequate. In table 21 the means for these 6 tribal samples in 12 pertinent measurements are given. In general, they repeat the picture shown by tribal distribution, and in certain respects accentuate it. When we compare the first 5, making 15 comparisons for 12 characters, we find 65 out of a possible 180 differences significant, or 36 per cent; 28, or 16 per cent, are more than 6.00 times p.e.; 14, or 8 per cent, over 8.00 times p.e.; and 6, or 3 per cent, over 10.00 times p.e. The means for the areas do not in themselves exceed tribal means, because the areas are spatially more inclusive than single tribes situated within them. They fall between the tribes and the total series in variability, as indicated on table 21 by values of σ. Each of the geological areas undoubtedly contains a number of small local enclaves, as Switzerland did during the last century. To find lower values for σ we would have to study these valleys, and the villages in them, one by one. Our sample is not large enough for such fragmentation.

140 141 The validity of the division of the total series into geological areas is most clearly shown by the figures on the third part of table 21, in which the stature means of the component segments of tribes falling in each geological area have been listed together. In every case but one, *the means of the segments of individual tribes diverge from each other in the directions of their areal means, and they resemble these areal means more closely than they do each other.*

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 195 EGl Albania EGl
Highland Ghegs

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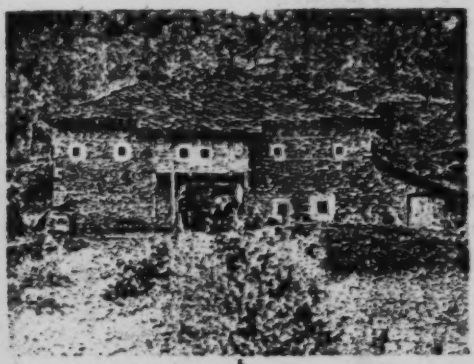

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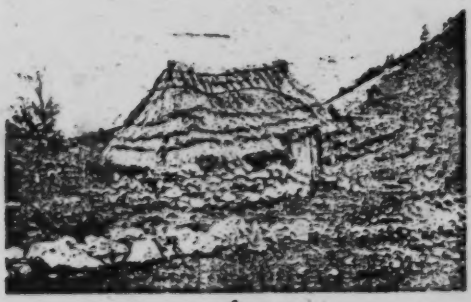

c

d

a, An isolated *kulla*, Spaç *kairaß*, Mirdita. *b*, A Puka *kaa*. *c*, Herder's hut, summer pasture. *d*, House in Shoshi.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER I

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK

000 A book on the Unwritten Law of the Albanian mountains must needs begin with a short survey of Albanian geography. Without some knowledge of the fantastic physical features which have moulded the way of life of the mountaineers, it is difficult to understand that way of life and the Unwritten Law by which it has for many centuries been regulated.

133 The material used in this book was gathered in the northern half of the kingdom over which King Zog ruled until the Italians invaded Albania in 1939 and sent him into exile. This area, which includes all the country north of the River Shkumbî, stretches from the Adriatic Sea on the west to the Yugoslav frontier on the east. It consists of a narrow plain along the Adriatic coast and, inland, a vast complex of mountains. The coastal plain, from 5 to 25 miles in breadth, rises so gradually from the water's edge that when it ends it is not much more than 100 feet above sea-level. Low hills cut across it, dividing it into four compartments as separate as rooms in a house. The Plain of Zadrimë (*Fushë e Zadrimës*) in the north, between the towns of Shkodër (Scutari) and Lesh (Alessio), is 15 miles long by 3–6 miles broad. The next section, measuring 18 by 5 miles, extends from Lesh to Cape Rodoni (*Kep i Rodonit*), and the third centres in Durrës (Durazzo). The Myzeqe plains (*Fusha të Myzeqes*), which constitute the fourth 'compartment' between the Rivers Shkumbî and Devoll, are 37 miles long, over 25 miles wide in parts, and less than 6 miles wide in others.

The mountains are less easy to describe. Between the latitudes of Lesh and Durrës three great ranges run parallel to each other from north to south. The most westerly rises perpendicularly from the coastal plain, the most easterly forms the boundary between Albania and Yugoslavia, and the middle one separates the plateau of Mat from the plateau of Dibër. North of this central region, in north Albania proper, and to the south, in the district of Martanesh, no pattern can be discerned. The whole is a jumble of lofty ranges that strike off from each other at every conceivable angle. Those in north Albania throw up a multitude of peaks from their jagged

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

133 crests; numerous valleys lie between them, each surprisingly narrow and steep-sided, some 3000 feet deep, all watered by a winter, if not by a perennial, stream, and many branching off right and left into side-valleys. In the district of Martanesh the ranges are rounded in outline, the summits are spreading instead of steep and sharp, large tracts of ground are comparatively unbroken, and in place of the countless valleys and streamlets of the north there are only a few deep ravines, each with a river on its floor.

361 These geographical characteristics have influenced the tribal [361] cleft which still survives in the population. The main valleys in the north, such as Shalë, Shkrel or Orosh, are each capable of supporting a small unit such as a tribe, but seldom more. Appropriately, then, each is inhabited by a single tribe, which jealously prevents strangers from settling in its territory. The broad spaces farther south, such as the plateaux of Mat and Dibër, or the heights of Martanesh and adjacent Çermenikë, can carry a much larger population, in which no one tribe could hope to maintain its racial integrity or its political supremacy. Consequently, they are non-tribal and peopled partly by indigenous families, partly, at least in the case of Mat and Dibër, by immigrants, all of whom came in small numbers and many within recent memory. To quote only one example of each type, the Kadije family of Lis in eastern Mat is indigenous, and its neighbours at Burgajet, the Zogolli family, are immigrants.

133 More than the forms of social grouping have been affected by the [133] physical features of the country. The number and height of the mountains have made stock-raising as important as agriculture to Albanians. Both parts of the range that rises sheer as a wall and green with forests from the coastal plain are over 3000 feet high, that of Krujë to the north being 3280–3940 feet and that of Dajt, which forms so beautiful a feature of the scenery round Tirana (Tiranë), 5290 feet—nearly 900 feet more than Ben Nevis and 1720 feet more than Snowdon. The parallel range which bounds the plateau of Mat on the east runs southwards from Mt Nezhdë in Lurë to Mt Dëjë and on to Mt Allaman at a height that is in few places below 5000 feet and is often above 6000 feet. The frontier range is still higher, composed as it is of Mt Çjalicë (8150 feet) and Mt Korab (9070 feet), the former in Lumë, the latter in Dibër. The topmost summits of the Martanesh area, Mt Kaptinë and Mt Lopë, are respectively 6145 and 6630 feet in height; the surrounding ranges average 5000 feet. As seen from Shkodër, the welter of

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

northern mountains begins modestly with ranges 2000–2600 feet above sea-level, surpasses 7000 feet in several peaks of Lower Shalë, and culminates in the Accursed Alps (*Bjeshkët ë Nemuna*), where the close-set summits of Radohinë (8690 feet), Jezercë (8790 feet), Rosh (8270 feet) and Kolatë (8370 feet) wall off Yugoslavia from Upper Shalë in spectacular fashion. East of Shalë, the monster Peak of the Irons (*Majë e Hekuravë*, 8530 feet) divides the tribe of Mertur from the open plateau of Krasniqë. The passes across the mountains are often lofty and arduous. To take an extreme example, the only way from Shalë to Bogë, its western neighbour, is by the Sheep Track Pass, to the northern frontier by the Pejë Pass, and to Nikaj on the east by the Ndermajnë Pass, which are respectively 5900, 5600 and again 5600 feet above sea-level and take a day to traverse. It is self-evident that the tribesmen of Shalë have never seen much of their neighbours. Elsewhere geographical conditions are less formidable, yet generally severe enough to limit intercourse between communities.

It is clear that agriculture and permanent habitations must stop far below the summits of many mountains, and that on the highest slopes there can be only summer grazing. Throughout the area as a whole, however, there is so much summer and winter grazing that many Albanians live entirely by pastoralism and many others combine it with their agriculture. In this connexion it is essential to remember the part played by the immense forests. These spread over the grim mountains as well as the plains, saving Albania from the desiccated look of Dalmatia and Greece, and making its scenery agreeable to the eye at all seasons. The forest trees are of many kinds, with a large proportion of evergreens. Since they grow at different levels according to their kinds, three zones, named the shrub, oak and beech, or pine zones after their predominating tree, have been distinguished.[1]

Shrubs grow all over the plains near the coast and up to a height of 600 feet in exposed regions like Shkodër and Durrës and 1600 feet in sheltered spots like the gullies on Mt Dajt. They include tree heather, hornbeam, arbutus, wild olives, broom and the terrible Christ's Thorn (*Spina Cristi*), which, withered or green, tears the flesh so savagely with its spikes that it is popularly said all over the Near East to have been used for the Crown of Thorns. There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs, especially for

[1] See Gashi, *Shqipnija*, pp. 51–60.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

233 number is limited only by the amount of winter grazing available, which small owners find, and have always found, in the oak zone. In Turkish times, when Albania and Macedonia were both Turkish provinces and had no customs barriers between them as they have now, large owners sought it on the roomy plain of Salonica. Since Albanian emancipation in 1912 they have been confined to the more meagre pastures on the seaward side of the coastal plain at home, a restriction which has entailed a considerable cutting down of their flocks and herds. Nevertheless, in 1936–7 taxes were paid [151] on 1,424,965 sheep, 773,969 goats, 144,763 cattle and 44,318 horses in the whole of Albania;[1] there are no separate figures for its northern half. Many more animals ran about the houses, unregistered and free of tax. For Albanians the importance of sheep lies, it should be noted, not only in their wool and meat [229] as in England, but in their milk and the butter and cheese made from it.

133 If only the coastal plain were more spacious, it would be 233 a perfect complement to the mountains for pastoralism on the grand scale. In the portion south of Lesh the rivers Drin, Mat and Ishm, entering the sea at points less than 6 miles apart, have created what is virtually one vast delta of mud and swamp, lush undergrowth, and trees that have come too quickly to maturity. Farther south, swamps of the same type cover much of the Plain of Durrës, and a great lagoon extends to the very outskirts of the town. Two more lagoons and a series of swamps mark the estuaries of the rivers Shkumbî and Seman on the coast of Myzeqe. More marshes and the lagoon of Kakarriq outline the course of the River Buenë in the north.

132 On the coast the average yearly rainfall is 39–47 inches, against 57 at Shkodër, 67 at Krujë and 72 at Pukë, an inland place 39 miles east of Shkodër. Albania is one of the wettest countries in Europe because so many of its ranges run from north to south and are high enough to intercept the rain-laden clouds that drift in from the west. The first rains fall in October when it is still hot on the coastal plain. The moisture and the heat combine to produce a luxuriant crop of new grass by the time that the sheep come down from the mountains.

[137] This grass is found, not only in the hay meadows and swamps, but also, owing to the violence of the winter rains, on all the arable land

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 117.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

land. A high proportion of the year's rainfall falls in November and March:[1]

NOVEMBER	MARCH
Durrës 215 mm. (8·46 in.)	100 mm. (3·94 in.)
Shkodër 209 mm. (8·23 in.)	162 mm. (6·38 in.)
Krujë 337 mm. (13·27 in.)	157 mm. (6·18 in.)
Pukë 260 mm. (10·24 in.)	202 mm. (7·95 in.)

When a storm breaks over the mountains, every river and rivulet in the storm-swept area rises rapidly because the surface soil is seldom deep enough to retain much of the falling rain. In furious spate the rivers rush steeply towards the sea and, as they near the coast, spread far beyond their banks, engulfing many acres of arable land, and enlarging the marshes and lagoons so that they engulf many more. Because of this flooding, wheat cannot be sown near the coast. If sown in autumn, the November floods would wash it away, and after the March floods the ground does not dry in time for a spring sowing. Maize is, consequently, the only crop that can be raised. While awaiting its planting in late May, the fields lie fallow and grass-grown. The March floods are also responsible for the striking size and number of the hay meadows; much land never dries enough to grow even maize and must be left permanently under grass.

Climatically, too, the coastal plain dovetails into the high pastures. Whereas the mountains are deep in snow all winter, the temperature at the coast never falls quite to freezing-point. In January, the coldest month, the average recorded for Durrës and Valona (Vlonë) is respectively 47 and 48 degrees, with 40 and 41½ degrees at inland Shkodër and Tirana (Tiranë). Rain falls frequently and heavily, but unless a sudden rise in a river catches sheep unawares and sweeps them out to sea, neither animals nor shepherds come to much harm. By the end of May, when the rains cease, everything changes, and life near the swamps becomes intolerable for man and beast. Day temperatures rise swiftly towards their summer maximum of 86 degrees and the nights are hot, so that every movement is a burden. The dense vegetation of the swamps exudes odours as foetid as those in a tropical forest. Swarms of malaria-carrying mosquitoes emerge from the stagnant pools to attack man; swarms of gadflies, more savage than any

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 49.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania Eg 1

133 The opposite side of the valley - which appeared to be two or three miles in width—was bounded by a formidable chain of mountains still covered with snow in places unreached by the sun.

361 It was evening before we came in sight of Argyrocastron itself. Rounding a bend of the road we suddenly had a fine view of the town, which occupies three parallel ridges of hill at right angles to the main range, the highest of the three topped by an immense old Turkish fortress, black, rugged, and forbidding. On a fourth, and smaller, ridge is a monastery with cypresses. I have seldom seen a town so finely situated or so impressive at first sight.

The lorry climbed the winding road on low gear and drew up in an open space or square among cafés crowded with people. Work was over for the day and the Argyrocastrians 485 were taking their ease. In a steep cobbled street beneath the fortress ramparts I found an inn. It was merely a pothouse and the accommodation was of the roughest. I secured a bedroom to myself, however—an unusual luxury in Albania, as I have already indicated. The ground floor, with a door opening on to the street, served as restaurant, bar, kitchen, larder, and general living-room. It was furnished with deal tables and benches. On the left of the door was a desk whereat the proprietor kept his accounts. 265 On the right was an enclosed counter with a long metal 485 tray containing lime, on which stood pots full of meat and vegetables slowly stewing. The tray was, in fact, a kind of fireless cooker. On a shelf below the tray were clean knives, forks and spoons, clean plates, and an enormous bowl of

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

453 Italian Government to finance such a bank with a loan, and
457 the question of the acceptance or refusal of this offer was then being discussed by the Chamber. The offer was hedged in by conditions of which one I understood, was a requirement that in case of any default in repayment the Italian Government should be entitled to seize the Albanian customs. But it was difficult to get information upon the accuracy of which one could depend. In the end the Chamber did, I believe, accept the Italian offer, so that Albania now, presumably, has a bank, and Italy another large finger in the Albanian pie.

000 As I had been saved from the necessity of sleeping at the Hotel Metropole—thanks to the kind hospitality of my American friends—I was able to stay for some days in Koritza before moving on to the Lake of Ochrida. I wanted, if possible, to cross the lake by steamer and visit the town of
[505] Ochrida and its celebrated monastery, and I was told that a steamer service ran there from Podgradetz, a lakeside village distant an hour and a half from Koritza by post lorry. So I booked a seat and departed.

● 133 On the afternoon of my arrival the lake was looking extremely beautiful—sky, water, and mountains mingling in a haze of turquoise and opal. But I found that it was always changing. The next day there were thunderstorms about and the surface of the lake was vivid green against a background of violet mountains half hidden in inky clouds. On the day after that the water was a deep blue, and the mountains were veiled in a soft grey mist. And so on, through infinite variations.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

CHAPTER XIV

I leave Albania—Montenegro Once More—Pelim Tea—A Hold-up—More Politics—Cettinje to Ragusa—Local Beauties—Barber's Shops—The Austrian Riviera—The Mystery in the Church—Its Explanation—Money's Worth.

SCUTARI is situated, according to the map, at the head of Scutari Lake, and I had therefore expected to find an esplanade or riva with houses facing the water. Actually the lake cannot be seen from the town, and there is no waterfront except at Old Scutari, where a narrow inlet accommodates a few fishing-boats and where there is a small wharf. The reason for this became apparent when I left by the lake steamer on my way home. The shore is merely swamp, and the open water is approached by a tortuous channel which winds for a considerable distance amongst waterweeds, alder scrub and tall rushes. The lake at the Scutari end is, in fact, very shallow, and for a mile or so out looks much more like grass than water.

The morning of my departure was cloudy and wet, and owing to frequent rainstorms which obscured the view I did not see the lake at its best. I was the only passenger and had the little cabin to myself. Here I settled down, and for lack of other occupation wrote up my journal which was, as usual, several days in arrear. Some three hours after our departure we anchored off the north-east shore of

Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1

Y 342 [36] Settlements of the Vlahs are located in steep hillsides far away from the highways. The houses are large, have a number of rooms, and are two-story structures. They are rectangular and of stone; the higher the altitude the thicker the walls become. Windows are not very large, but all two-story buildings have a balcony on the second floor. When they consist of only one story the veranda is lacking (Capidan, 1941: 29-30). The floor plan of both stories consists of a central hall with side rooms. In winter the ground floor is used for habitation, in summer the upper story, although in large families both floors are occupied in summer and winter. Most daily activities take place in the hall of the ground floor. The side rooms there are generally for storage, and most of the sleeping rooms are on the top floor. One or two guest rooms may be present. (Capidan, 1941: 29-30).

Y 343 Farm Buildings. In the yard one finds the košara, a long rectangular building made of wicker with a straw roof, used for sheep in winter. The circular chicken coop is likewise of wicker (fig. 38). The most important structure is the plemnja, which is located close to the threshing floor and serves for the storage of straw and fodder. Poorer ones are made of wattle and daub and covered with straw; however, they are generally of the same construction as the house. They are one-story buildings and are found in all villages of southern Macedonia. While they may be located in the yard they usually form a group away from the houses (Milojević, 1921: 87-88).

Y [184]

Y 342 [233] Buildings Outside the Village. In the mountains one finds groups of up to twenty shepherds' huts that form a hamlet, looking like beehives from afar. They have a diameter of 5-6 meters and are not higher than 3 meters. They are constructed of woven twigs or straw and plastered with mud. The walls are about 10-15 centimeters thick. The upper part of the "bee-hive" has a roof consisting of about 5-7 rows of straw which merge with the walls. In the interior one finds a fireplace with a cauldron hanging over it, and a loom (Capidan, 1941: 31-32).

Y [354] [286]

In addition to these huts the Vlah shepherds have portable tents. The tent is made by spreading a cloth of woven goat hair, 4-5 meters long and 2-3 meters wide, over a wooden frame. One of the triangular entrances remains open while the other is closed by woven cloth (Capidan, 1941: 32-33).

Y [286]

ALBANIA

A 133 Albania consists largely of rugged, barren mountains, bordered by a fairly wide coastal plain. Most of the available data deal with the mountain regions of northern Albania. This is an area of intensive feuding, where, as among the Spaši clan, up to 32% of mortalities are the result of feuds (Nopcsa, 1925: 52). This internecine warfare is clearly reflected in the preference for stone

A 341 578

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1
Yugoslavia
EF1

A 342 [114] consideration the remarks of all other previous investigators, especially those of J. Von Hahn (1) and A. Haberlandt (2).

According to Nopcsa, the social status existing in Albania which, as Haberlandt remarked, has not changed since the medieval years, the lack of security, frequent revolutions and the systematic burning by the Turkish army of the houses of the fugitives from justice, contributed, before 1909, in bringing the housing situation to a very low level. Inhabitants of some mountainous regions of Albania (Sala, Kastrati), have stated that any relatively high buildings were considered as a novelty introduced into the country only before sixty years. According to Nopcsa, before the introduction of the two-storey A [133] house with a prostoon and of the Kula, the Albanians, who live in mountainous regions, the two-thirds of the country being at an altitude of over 1.000 meters, must have inhabited low huts, comprising one or two rooms at most and covered with hay or branches. Generally speaking, the evolution from the simpler forms of housing to the more composite ones has been very slow and toilsome in Albania, comparable to the slow process of Albanian civilisation.

A [127] Here below I shall try to consider the house of Northern Albania, studied by Nopcsa, and, as regards Middle Albania (3), I shall only refer to the little but verified information we have from von Hahn and Ekrem bei Vlora (4).

According to Nopcsa, we distinguish in Albania a) houses of temporary or semi-temporary and permanent character, and b) houses built of timber, of other organic material and of stone.

In Northern Albania we first see the most primitive forms of housing, such as the cave dwellings of the Cem valley with the Y Cruda tribe, which entirely correspond to the prehistoric shelters. [342] Caves formed at the ends of the valley, were enclosed by stone

1) **J. G. von Hahn,** Albanische Studien. Jena 1853/54.

2) **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien. Zeitschrift für Oesterreichische Volkskunde, Ergänzungsband 23, Wien 1918 — Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1919.

A [171] 3) The area to the South of the Avlon gulf, as far as the Greek border is not examined in this book. This area is very wrongly referred to as Southern Albania in foreign surveys The houses of this region are those of North Epirus and their building style is purely Greek.

4) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** Aus Berat und vom Tomor. Tagebuchblätter (Zur Kunde d. Balkanh 13) Sarajevo 1911.

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

There is rough winter grazing among the [illegible] especially for goats and cattle, and some agriculture in clearings, but the zone derives its chief riches from the many acres of fertile alluvial soil that adjoin the rivers.

Oaks, tall or dwarf, begin sporadically among the shrubs and continue as thick forests up to a height of 2900 feet near Shkodër and 3300 feet in warmer districts. Among them grow ash, aspen, chestnut, cornel, elm, hawthorn, hazel, hornbeam and limes. The majority of the 1140 villages in north Albania are found in this zone, for it best provides for Albanian needs. Though the soil is dry on the whole, it contains a sufficiency of springs. On the plateaux and gentler slopes there is enough arable land for subsistence farming, all that is possible among these rugged mountains. The copses and woods furnish winter grazing for small flocks and herds; an adjoining mountain furnishes the requisite summer feed. The copses and woods also provide fuel for the log-fires that in Albanian phraseology are 'the poor man's wealth'. Leaves lopped from the oak trees in autumn supply winter fodder which livestock eat with almost as much relish as they do hay, a scarcer commodity. It is this supplement to the grazing in the copses and woods which makes mixed farming possible in this zone; without it many animals could not get through the winter, and their number would have to be reduced. If it is sometimes hot in the forest in summer, the heat is never unbearable, and in winter the cold is never excessive. In general the zone is healthy. A little wheat is grown, but—as everywhere in Albania, the Myzeqe plain excepted—the staple crop is maize. The grain provides food, and the livestock luxuries and government dues as well.

In the next zone beeches grow singly, in small clumps, or in mighty forests such as those between Çermenikë and Martanesh where one may walk for seven hours in the daytime and never catch a glimpse of the sun. Still without roads to carry modern woodcutters and their tools to them, such forests are in the virgin state, the trees self-sown, the strong killing the weak, and the survivors growing bigger and bigger until they succumb in extreme old age to some winter blast, when they lie and rot where they fall. When communications are developed, this waste will stop and these forests become a very valuable asset. No grass grows in them or under isolated beeches, of course, but there are usually grass meadows in the clearings, some of which are enormous. Well watered from the same sources as the beeches and fat with humus

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

annually. In Godolesh the two neighbours did it in alternate years, 312
having exclusive right to the earth with its valuable fertilizing 423
properties for the year when they did the clean up. In Lumë two 476
neighbours cleared the drain together year after year and flung half the earth on one side and half on the other.

In other places one ditch seldom drained two neighbouring fields on the principle that 'you can't walk on my path or use my drain'. In Gurrëzë the man who wanted a drain had to cut it on his own ground with a 'footprint' (20 cm.) of land between the boundary and its edge for the protection of his neighbour's land. Without this buttress the drain might overflow or burst its bank to the detriment of his neighbour. In either contingency its owner had to pay compensation to his neighbour, but prevention of damage was always better for both parties. His neighbour might also accuse him of encroaching on his land, an insulting remark that provoked instant retaliation. If, later on, the neighbour wanted a drain he had to make one for himself, also a 'footprint' away from the boundary. In Lumë and Elbasan there was little risk that open drains would flood, but there too a space had to be left between their edge and the boundary. The avowed purpose of this space was to support the boundary stones. In all cases of single ownership the owner, on clearing the ditch, threw the earth on his own side, where it testified to his ownership if this was ever questioned.

Sometimes a man of Shkrel wanted both a drain and a fence. In that event the ditch was cut along the boundary and a strip of ground of the same width was set aside on the other side of the boundary. All the earth excavated from the ditch was thrown on this strip and so the neighbours became quits, one had a 'hole' on his land and the other a 'hill'. The fence was erected on the 'hill'.

We come now to one of the most important considerations in [132]
boundary making. North Albania is one of the wettest regions in 134
Europe, and when the land was waterlogged it inevitably tended 291
to slip downhill. The tropical intensity of many rainstorms 423
increased the mischief. Terracing the fields would have helped to
check it, but such manual labour is contrary to the habits and [461]
dignity of the north Albanian. His law, however, gave him every possible protection. When there were two fields on a slope, one above the other, they might be separated by a field-path, a road, an irrigation channel or a fence. (The term 'field-path' includes the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

423 little 'headland' which formed along the top of the lower field as
134 the plough-oxen turned in their ploughing.) It was vital to save
[241] the upper field from being undermined by the tillage of the lower one. So the field-path (or headland) was always assigned to the upper field, with the boundary and the fence, if any, along its lower edge. The upper man was strictly forbidden to work the path, generally grass-grown, and so fairly cohesive. The lower man was even more strictly forbidden to cultivate right up to the path for fear he brought it down; since his own land slipped a little lower every year as he tilled it, the field-path soared higher above it. Only if the lower field was in grass did the law revert to its usual form. If the upper field was planted with maize and the lower one a grass meadow, all the land under the boundary stones belonged to the lower field because grass is in itself binding enough to stop landslides.

If a road or an irrigation channel divided the two fields, the upper bank belonged in most places to the upper man, and the lower to the other, since there seemed no risk that cultivation of the lower field would undermine the upper one. In Greater
[312] Dibër, however, no risks were taken. Both banks of an irrigation channel were given to the upper man in case the lower one worked too close to it. In any area, the owner of a lower field who made a drain for it had to make it four finger-breadths from his own boundary to make sure it did not damage the upper field.

[342] If building a new house, the owner of the lower field had to keep it far enough away from the boundary to do no damage to the fence, as any such damage would make the upper field slip. On the other hand, the owner of the upper field had licence to build his house as close to the fence as if the site were flat, that is to say, with only half the width of a footpath intervening, but he was never foolhardy enough to do so.

Sometimes it was the lower man who received protection from the law. In Martanesh, for example, when the upper one built a fence or wall round his field, he had to leave the boundary stones as well clear of it as if the field were flat. This was in case it moved and encroached on the boundary.

42? Sometimes a fence was misplaced. Even if it was only one cm.
62 inside the neighbour's land, it had to be moved. In Bicaj the neighbour sent a mutual friend to say so to the owner; if the latter ignored the message the neighbour took down the fence and saw

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

133 The extensive basin-shaped plains of eastern Albania—especially the plain of Metova in the upper region of the White Drin Valley, and the plains of Kosova and Tetova—are important to Albania. There are many lakes in these regions.

463 Agriculture and cattle raising are the principal occupations, with olives, the making of 241 olive oil, grains and tobacco being the prin- 135 cipal products of the country. But there is great mineral wealth (asphalt, arsenic, copper, iron, lead, lignite, naphtha, oil, and other mineral resources), which is largely yet undeveloped, and with time, possibly a very short time, through the development of the great abundance of these natural resources, including the fisheries, they will become the principal resources of the country.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Minerals and Mining

316 MINING is rapidly becoming an important and profitable item in the economic life of Albania.

The soil of the country is extremely rich in ores of various kinds but unfortunately it has not been developed to the extent justified by the natural conditions and the riches of the sub-soil. Speaking generally, it has scarcely been developed beyond the phase of exploration and that of actual exploitation is just now actually beginning.

• 135 The Romans were aware of the deposits of asphalt near Valona, but in mediaeval times the continuous wars and later the Turkish domination did not favor the development of the mining industry.

Induced by the appalling scarcity of all raw materials during the world war and the numerous foreign occupations of Albania, a more intensive search for mineral products had been undertaken, and thus, the Italians found naphtha near Valona and lignite in the vicinity of Tepelene and elsewhere. The Aus-

MINERALS AND MINING

135 trians discovered lignite near Tirana and along the side road to Elbasan and also an abundance of copper near Pukë. The French unearthed lignite at Pogradec and copper in several places near Korça.

654 The Albanian Government, since 1925, has given greater and more systematic assistance to the mining industry and to the research and study of geological conditions and possibilities.

There were eighteen mining concessions granted between the years 1922 and 1928 and twenty-one more concessions given out in 1929, thus giving these industries a strong impetus.

There are numerous concessions for oil, copper, iron, lead, asbestos, talcum, plaster and marls of cement, lignite, asphalt, chrome, et cetera, still available to responsible companies and individuals.

315 Some of the large international mining
316 enterprises have begun a continually increasing activity in Albania—the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Standard Oil Company, the Franco-Albanian Syndicate, Azienda Italiana Petroli Albania (AIPA), Societa Italiana Miniere di Selenizza, and others.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG

316 A company has most successfully exploited the bitumen mines near Valona. The bitumen is found in solid form, both dull and shining, in liquid form and also as asphalt. The shining bitumen, called *romsi*, after the name of the village where it is principally found, is a remarkable product which does not exist in many countries. Albania exported in 1934 and 1935 bitumen in kilos 6,490,012 and 6,178,783 respectively.

135 Copper has been found near Pukë, Rehova, Kamenica and in the Mirdite district; iron in the Drin valley, near Kolonja, and in the Griba mountains; stratas of asbestos and talcum near Kruja, Deshnica, Voskopoja, Valona, Alessio and generally throughout the country; chrome near Pogradec; lead in the north; arsenic in several places; plaster and marls of cement appearing in large quantities near Valona, Alessio and many other places; lignite in numerous parts of Albania, especially in the vicinity of Tirana, Korça, etc. The asphalt and petroleum fields in some parts of Albania are the more advanced in development.

Few countries have a greater variety of mineral wealth, from precious metals down to

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG 1

lignite. The greater number of the deposits possess all the natural conditions for exploitation.

There are lignite, asbestos, talcum and asphalt fields throughout the entire country. The greater number of these seams have not yet been touched.

Were the chrome deposits fully exploited Albania would rank among the first in world production of this ore.

Gold, silver, antimony, cinnabar, chromium, coal and petroleum have been discovered by experts in several parts of Albania.

There are also ample indications in many parts of Albania of oil and natural gas, especially in the Viosa valley.

Some experts stated authoritatively that quicksilver has been discovered.

Salt in large quantities is obtained by evaporation, either from the seawater as at Durazzo, near Valona and at the mouth of the Semeni, or from the salt springs.

This great and varied mineral wealth suggests untold possibilities for the economic development and cultural progress of Albania.

A most profitable future is open to the

POSTSCRIPT

241 flourish. The southern plains, before the war,
439 exported fine horses in considerable numbers. Properly developed, Albania would be a rich agricultural country, even without the fertile valleys of Kossova and Epirus.

135 The mineral resources of Albania are unknown. During the Austrian occupation, a survey was made, looking toward the development of copper mines during the war; the results of the survey have vanished into the archives of the Austrian War Department. However, even the untrained eye perceives that there are copper and lead in the mountains. English mining engineers have told me that there are probably also silver and gold. I have seen veins of coal projecting on mountain sides; the mountaineers chip it off with hatchets or pry it loose with levers, and use it as fuel to a
[137] small extent. There are millions of feet of pine, oak, birch, and beech timber; unlimited water
[315] power. There are oil fields near Valona; producing oil wells were sunk, and later destroyed, by the Italians. Valona's military importance is not the only reason that Albanians are not left in peace.

175 There is also the political background. For twenty centuries the Albanians have been a beleaguered remnant of the first Aryan race in Europe. By character, temperament, and choice they belong with the peoples of the west, not with their Slav neighbors in the Balkans. But they have had no friends, either in west or east; their whole history has been a struggle for existence.

372 and steel or lighters. This left the mountaineers in an unenviable position—they could not afford matches nor legally start fires by other means. Outside the market towns, however, their illegal actions passed unnoticed.

342 Several authorities, particularly Nopcsa, have concerned themselves with north Albanian house types. These are usually divided, on the basis of ground plan, room arrangement, and architecture into a number of classes: simple one-roomed huts, usually employed in the summer only by shepherds on high mountain pastures; 2-roomed, one-storied houses, with one room for animals and the other for the family; the so-called veranda houses, with a wooden front porch and columns, reminiscent of the Homeric hall; and finally the *kulla* or defensible stronghold (fig. 8, *a*). 1

The 2-roomed house seems to be basic in the mountains, although historically the more complicated structures have made these edifices rare. The veranda house, although old in the Mediterranean, was apparently late to reach this refuge area, being spread with Islam. The *kulla*, or stronghold, is said to have come at the same time as the veranda house. Both reached Kastrati and Shala about 1850, being introduced by one man who had lived in Istanbul, Liho Čuni.

For building materials the Ghegs are strictly limited to local supplies, since transportation
● [135] is so difficult. In the region designated on figure 2 as "serpentine highland," the stone is hard to cut, and unsuited for fine masonry except in the hands of experts. Furthermore, lime is found in few places only, and it is usually impossible to make mortar without many tedious trips with pack-horses or donkeys. In this region many of the houses are made of wood, with squared logs laid on each other and held in place by vertical or diagonal crosspieces. Others are made of wattle: vertical poles side by side, with flexible wands woven in and out between them. At times this wattling is bare, but usually it is covered with some sort of plaster or mud.

[353] Where there is plenty of suitable stone and lime, these materials are used. The simpler, poorer houses are of dry masonry, but the majority are built with mortar. Roofing material varies from thatch to shakes, slate, and tile. Years ago thatch was much more com-

-14a-

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116 p. 8a -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

CHAPTER IX

Coal at Koritza—An Economic Problem—A Night at the Metropole—The American School—I Go a-Missionising—In the Middle Ages—A Painful Incident—Converting the Imaum—The Dervish and Omar—"Blessed are the Weak-Minded!"—The Education Question—Women and the Moral Standard—Vengeance! A True Story—Silver and Gold—Italy Again—A Beautiful Lake—At Podgradetz—The Bull-Frogs.

DERVISH PRIEST

KORITZA is a town of some 20,000 361 inhabitants, with several fine new churches, an old Turkish mosque, and a prospect of electric light in the near future. It owes its importance to its situation in the centre of a large plain, one of the chief agricultural districts of Albania. The surrounding [135] mountains contain coal, and during 316 the French occupation coal was exported in considerable quantities to Salonika. Since the war, however, there has been only a little surface mining—just enough to supply the local demand—and though the presence of coal may ultimately make Koritza an industrial centre there are as yet no signs of any such development. Albania is, in fact, in much the same position as Montenegro in regard to mineral exploitation and mining. Not only 000

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

witch in Albania; and though there can be no doubt that one has now and then been done away with, the general idea was that it was best not to interfere lest worse should follow. 754 [681]

Marko strongly believed this. A woman a few doors away from us was a shtriga, and he ascribed much ill-luck to her. He avoided her as much as possible, and did not speak with her. When the autumn began to turn cold, numbers of mice that had summered in the cornfields came into the house. My room swarmed, and they ran over me at night. I told Marko to buy a trap. He seldom forgot things, and when I asked for the trap in the evening, I was surprised that he had not bought one. Again next day I asked him not to forget the mouse-trap; and again there was no trap. Then Teresi, his wife, came to me and said: "Please do not ask Marko to buy a trap; he does not want to." "But why?" She hesitated. "Marko thinks the mice are sent." "Sent?" I asked. "But who can send them?" "Marko thinks that woman—the shtriga—has sent them." I was delighted and asked: "How do people send mice?" "Marko says that with Beelzebub all things are possible." "But why should we not kill the mice?" "Because she would be angry and send something worse. Perhaps rats! Who knows?" [136]

It was clearly impossible to trap the mice. I considered the situation, and next day asked if we might have a cat. Marko thought deeply. He then said it was natural for a cat to kill mice; we, in fact, should be powerless to prevent it, and should not be responsible. The cat was obtained—a splendid mouser; and so we defeated the shtriga. It is clearly better not to incense them. [136 825]

Men also are magicians, but I think not so often. A magician appeared at Nikaj when I was there. He was believed by the priest, whose guest I was, and by Marko to be so diabolical that the former ordered him to leave the parish, and neither of them would let me go out without a strong bodyguard; so I never got near him. He was famed for being able to raise many devils by dancing and wagging one leg behind him, and was believed to have come to Nikaj because most of the women were shtrigas.

A magician in Albanian is "maghistar" or "menghistar." Magic is "maghi" or "menghi"; "menghi" is also a remedy. In early days medicine and magic were one and the same. The words appear to be derived from, or connected with, "magus." The wise man of old used spells just as did the "wise woman" of the English village.

A strange tale which all believed was told of such a man who had worked much harm with magic in the Djakova district. One of the local beys, therefore, arrested him and locked him up. When he had been some time imprisoned the bey was one day entertaining guests on a feast day. The party was dull, and someone asked where that magician

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

757 enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for con-
278 sumptive patients.

A The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value
[262] for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong
A and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided
●[136] my meal.

A So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says:
164 "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."
136 *Diseases.*—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common.
A A preparation of buckthorn is given.

165 Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If
353 a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies;
A and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye
854 causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest
754 survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and
M Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not
CM suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.
A
151 *Wounds.*—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds
A than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which
757 was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the
752 art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old
A man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some
757 probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.
826 From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge
752 of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000 mellowing into ripeness on the mountains
137 surrounding Elbasan. These same mountains
are well-timbered, giving rich promise of
136 future wealth. However, these mountainous
forests are so dense and wild that they are
veritably thick with bears, wild boars, wolves
and other savage animals, an excellent but
dangerous opportunity for the game-hunter.
131 Being the center from which all the roads
radiate; to Korcha (Korça) in one direction, and to Durazzo (Durrës) in the other, Elbasan may be rightly called the "naval" of Albania. This old center of Turkish strife is also the natural boundary between the Ghegs and the Tosks: northern and southern
197 Albanians. It also marks the difference in the pronunciation of the native dialects. North of the River Shkumbi many words have an "n" where on the southern side these same words have an "r." The dialect spoken by the inhabitants of Elbasan is intelligible to the natives in either of the extremes of the country, being proverbially as beautiful as the Greek of Athens and the Turkish of Constantinople. For this reason the native tongue, as spoken by an Elbasanian, has been adopted as the basis of the language of the whole country.

[of Librazhd--Analysis] 124

Hunting with the Gun and Camera

224 GAME throughout Albania is plentiful both in the hills and in the sea and the lakes. Especially in the northern Alps, where in many places man has never set foot, ●[136] there is a great quantity of big game. Bear, deer, cats of almost every species, fox, wolves, etc., have all at some time or other made their presence known. Many of the natives of these regions are expert huntsmen and have learned the habits of these beasts as well as any man ever will. They have acted as guides for many parties and the members of such groups have returned enthusiastic with ample proof of their prowess and bigger stories about "the one that got away." These men always come back for another adventurous holiday having left their wives to sight-see throughout the country and at the end it is hard to tell which one has more enjoyed his or her holiday.

136 All of the lakes of Albania possess a limit-
22 less amount of fish of all varieties. Lake Scutari is considered the wealthiest in this respect, especially in eels. There are some

p. 139

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136 interesting hours to be enjoyed by those who
226 derive keen satisfaction from this sport. The elusive trout can make a difficult goal when pursuited to his familiar haunts in the mountain streams. Or if more adventurously inclined to test one's ability over the broad bays and lagoons or cruising the deep seas and matching the lightning skill of the tarpon or sail fish which is ticklish work for the best of the "Isaak Waltons." To the man who has felt inwardly proud of his mess of perch, just let him realize his dreams of great fishing in Albania.

136 For camera studies in Albania, bird life presents itself as the best subject. The most ordinary bird in this country is the common jay, but also in the Acroceraunian mountains is found the elusive, great black woodpecker, whose presence was authenticated for the first time in 1935. In this region the magpie is not very common.

In the forests near Durazzo there is a variety of feathered life, such as six species of woodpecker, jay, hawfinch, nuthatch and short-toed tree-creeper. Nests of the black woodpecker were discovered in the forests in the Drin valley along with the hazel grouse

p. 140

and the capercaillie, Europe's biggest game bird. 136

In the more travelled forests the common nesters are the nightingale, Cetti's warbler, sub-alpine warbler and cirl bunting. The lakes and bogs of Bojana have a number of purple herons, great egrets, and bitterns. Among the lake nests at Durazzo are the yellow-legged herring gull and the pelican, and also the Dalmatian pelican at the Kravasat Lagoon.

Small birds found in the highest mountains are the alpine accentor and alpine chough, and in the lower ranges are the skylark, linnet, partridge, rock-trush and wheatear, which bird is the traditional "sign of spring;" dippers haunt the mountain streams.

The Imperial Eagle is fairly common in Albania, and is smaller than the golden eagle and has a white patch on its shoulders. This eagle is a bird of prey and was found nesting in a huge plane tree in open country below Delvina. The booted Hawk-Eagle, about two feet long with white shoulder patch and long legs, nests in the Logra Forest. Hobbies and small, beetle-hunting falcons infest the swamps of Fier and Lushnja. The sea-eagle

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

136 is to be seen fishing at Butrinto Bay, while there is an old established eyrie at Durazzo Lake which sells the young annually.

Other birds of prey are the harrier-eagle, a long-tailed, dark brown bird with small chest, and the Egyptian vulture, a bird a little larger than the buzzard and uglier by reason of its color of dirty white, black-tipped wings and bare, yellow skin. These birds live principally around Durazzo, Logra Pass, Saranda and Valona.

Valona and Saranda, with vast numbers of storks, have been mentioned elsewhere in this book, but it is amusing to see these great birds, mostly white, following the ploughs with ambling ungainly strides in search of worms.

The common heron, as found in Great Britain and most of Europe, is to be seen in many districts of Albania.

There is an abundance of wild duck in Albania of the black and white tufted variety along with the diving duck, the pintail and the gargeney, all to be found mainly on Durazzo Lake. On a little island near Corfu is the common wild duck or mallard of Europe

•136 nesting with a large colony of yellow-legged herring-gulls.

For a delicious meal, one should try the wood-pigeon or ring-dove, so common in England, that stays mostly in the Logra Forest, where also nests the Robin as high as 2,500 feet.

The hooded crow, jackdaw, the raven, golden oriole and chaffinch are common birds of Albania. The nesting chaffinches examined were found to be the subspecies *Fringilla coelebs balearica.*

Spanish sparrows and common blackbirds are widespread, and in the nesting season, the white wagtail is confined to the shoreland cliffs and boulders.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

coast of the Adriatic from Himara to the 443
frontier of Greece;

(8) The lakes of Pogradec, Ochrida and Prespa.

There are all kinds of fish to be found in /36
these waters, mainly: bass, trout, eel, carp, whitebait, red mullet, sole, sea-fish, etc.

The proceeds from these sales are generally 228
between 350,000 and 400,000 gold Francs annually, although there are some years when the amounts are remarkably higher.

There is no element of risk in this industry.

This industry promises to become an immense source of revenue when fully developed on a modern basis and for this purpose foreign capital is urgently needed and would be welcomed in Albania.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

bathing the affected member three times in warm water, rubbing it with salt, and finally passing over it the blade of a knife with the words, "As this salt melts, so may the evil melt!" The house is then swept with a new broom, the sweeper saying as the dust is swept out, "So may all evil be swept away!" 755

If ringworm (οὔθι) appears with the new, it may be made to disappear with the waning moon, by covering the place with wood ashes, and repeating at the same time the charm:

> Came the spot and made him foul,
> Came the ash and made him whole.[1]

The remedy for the bite of a tarantula is to place the sufferer on a heap of dung, while nine women bearing the name of Maro[2] sit round him in a circle and chant the following incantation:— [136 164]

> Nine Maros here are we,
> And but one art thou.
> Thou hast worked, thy work succeeds;
> We have worked without success.
> Evil hast thou wrought,
> Good do thou now work,
> O mistress spider![3]

When an Albanian wife has no children, or is the mother of girls only, she, like her Greek sister, attributes her misfortune to some enemy of her family having tied together a number of nettles with this object, and has recourse to counter-spells in order to 842

[1] Ἐπὶ σίφι ἐ τεφτόθι
Ἐπὶ χίνι ἐ τεφτίνι (lit. "drank it up").

[2] Perhaps, like the similar Greek name, a form of Maria or Mary.

[3] Tarantulas are called by the Albanians by the generic name for spider φερίμτα. Comp. Von Hahn's *Albanesische Studien*, p. 157.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 hearth, in order that he may take away with him all
788 danger from fire for the coming year.

St. John's Eve is observed in Albania with the
789 customary bonfire, to leap over which is considered so
372 salutary that even the old people venture to do so at least once. A curious ceremony, performed about this season, when the spring sowing is concluded, may also be here mentioned. Standing with his back to the plough, the farmer rubs part of the
[136] handle with earth in the belief that the wild swine will thus be prevented from damaging his crops.

789 On the day on which the new moon is first seen, all possible work is avoided, and no important task of any kind, such as ploughing, sowing, or harvesting, is commenced, for it would be sure to be unsuccessful. The girls and children look at the moon through a sieve, and rub their faces with a piece of silver, while they sing:

[539]

Young moon!
Young maid!
Health to me;
Ill to thee!
Head as soft as dough be thine!
Head as hard as stone be mine!

777 The 9th, 19th, and 29th days of every month are considered unlucky, as is also the Tuesday of every week, for setting out on a journey, or commencing any kind of work. Friday is also an inauspicious day
[241] for sowing, and Saturday for beginning to plough or dig.

●136 As might be expected the mountains and forests of this little-developed country still harbor a number of dangerous wild animals. The lion of Homeric times is gone, but the bear, the wolf, and the wild boar remain. Deer graze on the high mountain slopes, and in the forests, but the Ghegs will not kill them. The only wild animals of any economic importance are the various members of the weasel family, particularly martens, which a number of mountaineers trap for fur. Otherwise the fauna is a nuisance, since bears and wolves will steal sheep and kill cattle, and flocks need constant guarding by one or more men with rifles and a number of ferocious dogs.

131 It is in this environment[1] which must have changed but little since Roman and even earlier times, that the tribal Ghegs have survived until the present day, retaining a language and customs which carry them back to the Iron Age. The land forms, the climate, the geographical position away from main routes of travel and migration, all combine to make the mountains and forests of Ghegnia one of the most marginal and isolated regions of Europe. It is a true refuge area, comparable to the Caucasus and the western Himalayan reaches, the Appalachians, and the Ozarks.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 8a - 10b --Analysis]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

land. A high proportion of the year's rainfall falls in November and March:[1]

NOVEMBER	MARCH
Durrës 215 mm. (8·46 in.)	100 mm. (3·94 in.)
Shkodër 209 mm. (8·23 in.)	162 mm. (6·38 in.)
Krujë 337 mm. (13·27 in.)	157 mm. (6·18 in.)
Pukë 260 mm. (10·24 in.)	202 mm. (7·95 in.)

When a storm breaks over the mountains, every river and rivulet in the storm-swept area rises rapidly because the surface soil is seldom deep enough to retain much of the falling rain. In furious spate the rivers rush steeply towards the sea and, as they near the coast, spread far beyond their banks, engulfing many acres of arable land, and enlarging the marshes and lagoons so that they engulf many more. Because of this flooding, wheat cannot be sown near the coast. If sown in autumn, the November floods would wash it away, and after the March floods the ground does not dry in time for a spring sowing. Maize is, consequently, the only crop that can be raised. While awaiting its planting in late May, the fields lie fallow and grass-grown. The March floods are also responsible for the striking size and number of the hay meadows; much land never dries enough to grow even maize and must be left permanently under grass.

Climatically, too, the coastal plain dovetails into the high pastures. Whereas the mountains are deep in snow all winter, the temperature at the coast never falls quite to freezing-point. In January, the coldest month, the average recorded for Durrës and Valona (Vlonë) is respectively 47 and 48 degrees, with 40 and 41½ degrees at inland Shkodër and Tirana (Tiranë). Rain falls frequently and heavily, but unless a sudden rise in a river catches sheep unawares and sweeps them out to sea, neither animals nor shepherds come to much harm. By the end of May, when the rains cease, everything changes, and life near the swamps becomes intolerable for man and beast. Day temperatures rise swiftly towards their summer maximum of 86 degrees and the nights are hot, so that every movement is a burden. The dense vegetation of the swamps exudes odours as foetid as those in a tropical forest. Swarms of malaria-carrying mosquitoes emerge from the stagnant pools to attack man; swarms of gadflies, more savage than any

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 49.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

136 known inland, attack beast; when thirst, a rarity in winter, drives an animal to forget its instinctive caution and to drink from a swamp, as likely as not a crop of leeches fastens on its tongue.
[22] So, as soon as they have sown their maize,[1] the shepherds and their families and flocks desert the hot coast for the healthful pastures of the mountains.

[1] [by the end of May--Analyst]

133 tance. On one side the rocks rise sheer and uncovered and on the other a deep precipice drops directly downward into seemingly bottomless depths. Only here and there a few farms dot the landscape. The trees at this 137 231 altitude are small oaks, with very grotesque appearance because of the absence of many branches, but this is explained by the fact that the poorer peasants cut them off and store them as winter fodder for their animals.

133 Gradually, glimpses can be caught of the immense fertile plain of Elbasan, with the River Shkumbi dividing it like a sharp, silver knife, and on one side of this magnificent range of mountains, rich in the shades of green and brown, roll away to the west. Just before beginning the descent from this ridge one should note that to the southward in this mighty range are to be found the two highest peaks of Albania: Krrab and Tomori. Krrab, 2,418 meters (7,933 feet), is really the higher, but it is the popular belief that "Father Tomori," 2,396 meters (7,861 feet), is the more lofty due to surrounding low hills. These twin peaks are accessible about five or six months out of the year, being entirely inaccessible on account of snow during the winter months.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000 mellowing into ripeness on the mountains
137 surrounding Elbasan. These same mountains are well-timbered, giving rich promise of
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197 Albanians. It also marks the difference in the pronunciation of the native dialects. North of the River Shkumbi many words have an "n" where on the southern side these same words have an "r." The dialect spoken by the inhabitants of Elbasan is intelligible to the natives in either of the extremes of the country, being proverbially as beautiful as the Greek of Athens and the Turkish of Constantinople. For this reason the native tongue, as spoken by an Elbasanian, has been adopted as the basis of the language of the whole country.

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135 their heights—the Eagle; and the latter guess would be the true index to the character of the inhabitants—courageous, strong and enduring. These mountains, covered with stately [137] pinewoods and beautiful forests of beeches and olives many hundreds of years old, are often cut into deep, mysterious gorges and lovely green valleys which lend their soft, rich and dark colors to make a picture worthy of the talents of a master.

The natural geography of Central Albania is that of littoral plains, imperceptibly changing into smooth hills with dense oakwoods, which encircle and hold as precious secrets many wide and fertile basins. These rolling hills further to the south, heighten into mountains of unusual grandeur, intersected with wooded ravines and sheer precipices. For those who are irresistibly attracted by the invading charms of the solitary plains, the typical character of the Karst of these higher regions holds a peculiar fascination; also the lonely splendor of the bare, rocky, limestone cliffs and summits, haunted by the mountain eagle.

499 Transportation in Albania is of the pleasantest sort—by air, by automobile or by

3: Reitich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

000 quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably.

137 There are in Albania oak forests, coniferous trees, chestnut trees, beech trees, the latter being mingled with pine and firs. Juniper, maple and box grow on the higher slopes of the mountains. The elm, chestnut, walnut and plane trees are more prevalent on the plains.

313 There are steam sawmills near Valona and elsewhere which work continually.

433 Albania being so centrally located for the Balkan States and with one of their main outlets to the Adriatic Sea, is an ideal place for the establishment of factories, branch-factories and wholesale supply houses covering all trades, from canneries to automobile manufactures to supply the needs for the Balkan States and other nearby countries, this being [401] especially desirable and ideal when we con- [403] sider that there is ample labor to be had and the wages are the lowest in Europe.

[425] Land and building materials are extremely low in price, making it possible for the men of moderate means to live luxuriously.

000 Taxation on new properties does not exist,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER VIII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR STATUS AND OCCUPATIONS.

121 As the character of a people is generally so much influenced by the nature of the country they inhabit, a brief description of the division of Turkey occupied by the Albanians may give greater interest to my
101 remarks on this race. Albania, as its native name of *Skiperi*, "The Land of Rocks," signifies, is one of the most mountainous divisions of Turkey. The principal
133 chain runs north and south, parallel with the Adriatic, and from it jut many spurs, composed of mountains as lofty as the main range, which ramify in every direction, so that almost the whole surface of the country is covered with rugged hills and deep valleys, save near the mouth of the river Ergenth. Even the coast is grandly mountainous, the spurs there often terminating in abrupt precipices, the sides of which are eternally beaten by the lashing waves.

132 Almost every variety of climate is found within the limits of Albania. In the south, and near the coast, the temperature is as mild as at Naples, and oranges, citrons, grapes, pomegranates, figs, and other fruits grow in abundance. But the cold increases with the distance from the sea, and only twenty miles from the Adriatic the snowfalls are heavy, and
[137] the frosts severe. The higher and more northern

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg,[1] the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

[1] "*Iskender Bey*, the Lord Alexander."

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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755 in which he remains seated three days, at the end of which time he is washed with "unspoken-over" water.[1] This, which is also called by an Albanian word signifying "stolen," is water drawn from the well or fountain in silence and carried home without the bearer having spoken, or been spoken to, on the way, and it is believed to possess highly salutary virtues. Into the water some "sweet" or "heavy" leaves are thrown, the number and also the kind being determined by fixed rules according to the nature of [137 245] the malady. Among the "sweet" leaves are those of the pomegranate, apple, and rose trees, and also, strange to say, of nettles; among the "heavy," those of the laurel, cypress, ivy, and other evergreens. Three days after such an ablution the patient is expected [782] either to recover or to die. Should he be able to indicate the spot on which he received the blow, the earth is there sprinkled with rose-water in order to appease the offended beings, who are said to be extremely fond of this scent; or he there throws down something, the nature of which is known only to himself, in the belief that the malady from which he suffers will be transferred to the being who may chance to tread upon it.

755 754 The effects of the evil eye are also removed by sprinkling the patient with "unspoken-over" water, three nettle stalks being dipped into it for that purpose, and giving him to eat three mulberry buds, the mulberry tree being one of the sovereign antidotes for that much dreaded influence.

755 Rheumatism in the hands or feet is cured by

[1] Such water is also used by the Greeks, who call it νερὸ ἀκράτευ.

PEAKS OF SHALA

the distance, frozen waves of a sea of purple and gray and green and bronze brown, with foam of smoke-colored clouds floating on them. It was all very peaceful and beautiful, and we sang as we took the trail again, but for a long time, whenever the sharp bark of a rifle was answered by a hundred cliffs, I wondered. It was nothing, probably; some one firing his gun at the sky in sheer exuberance of spirit. It happens all the time, in these mountains.

[137] It was on this day that we passed the Wood of the Ora[1] and, even though I had not heard the stories of them, I should have felt an uncanny sensation while going through that narrow, dark defile between gray cliffs. The trees stood thickly there, climbing the bowlder-strewn slope; they were cut, like all the trees of the mountains, to mere limbless stumps, and they were very old. They seemed for centuries to have writhed under the blows of the shepherds' axes; they were contorted as if in pain; their few half-amputated branches were like mutilated arms. Beyond them rose rocks, perhaps five hundred feet high, evil-looking cliffs contorted like the trees, and these faced, above our heads, a smooth, sheer wall of tilted gray limestone that overhung the trail.

Our men stopped singing and Cheremi's mirth-wrinkled face became solemn; his eyes were awed and listening. "The Wood of the Ora," he said, in a hushed voice.

"Of course," said Alex, cheerfully, in an every-

[1] [Forest spirits, see cat. 776, [94] pp. 45-6, 66-76 -- Analyst]

POSTSCRIPT

241 flourish. The southern plains, before the war,
439 exported fine horses in considerable numbers. Properly developed, Albania would be a rich agricultural country, even without the fertile valleys of Kossova and Epirus.

135 The mineral resources of Albania are unknown. During ~~the Austrian~~ occupation, a survey was made, looking toward the development of copper mines during the war; the results of the survey have vanished into the archives of the Austrian War Department. However, even the untrained eye perceives that there are copper and lead in the mountains. English mining engineers have told me that there are probably also silver and gold. I have seen veins of coal projecting on mountain sides; the mountaineers chip it off with hatchets or pry it loose with levers, and use it as fuel to a
[137] small extent. There are millions of feet of pine, oak, birch, and beech timber; unlimited water
[315] power. There are oil fields near Valona; producing oil wells were sunk, and later destroyed, by the Italians. Valona's military importance is not the only reason that Albanians are not left in peace.

175 There is also the political background. For twenty centuries the Albanians have been a beleaguered remnant of the first Aryan race in Europe. By character, temperament, and choice they belong with the peoples of the west, not with their Slav neighbors in the Balkans. But they have had no friends, either in west or east; their whole history has been a struggle for existence.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

us, now reduced to fifteen men, continued southwards, still hoping to reach the Kukes–Scutari road before it was light. The men were tired, however, for we had been marching seven hours; and the sun had already risen when we crossed the motor road into the great beech forests of Mirdita. As we learned only later, a German patrol caught sight of us just as we crossed the road. Had they pursued us we must have been overtaken; for once in Mirdita we dropped to a leisurely climbing pace and indulged ourselves in frequent halts. Instead they sought to head us off by taking a short cut; but the forests of Mirdita are dark and trackless, and we passed like ships in the night.

We soon lost our way in these forests, and were forced to climb some five thousand feet to the rocky summit of Mount Rones to take our bearings. We sat there for a time, but hunger discouraged us from resting, and we struck a south-westerly course downhill into the valley of the Lesser Fani. Our ponies were too lame and galled to ride; and we had been marching seventeen hours when, towards three o'clock, we reached the house of Gyok Bairaktar. Gyok was a Mirdite chieftain and many years before had been an ally of Muharrem. Since those days, however, he had fallen on evil times, and we found him living in the utmost poverty and squalor. His home was a wooden hut, divided into two rooms, one of which housed his goats and womenfolk, while the other was kept for his guests, himself, and his sons.

"That's a funny sort of *Bairaktar*," said Shaqir, our interpreter, "he hasn't even got any trousers."

Poor Gyok indeed was dressed in nothing but a dirty white shirt and long cotton drawers, having thriftily put away his one pair of breeches for the summer. He gave us a light meal of eggs and milk; for besides his milch goats he had no flocks or cattle, and offered us a pinkish *raki* which I could scarcely stomach, even after the fatigues of the march. But despite his miserable circumstances, which in Mirdita were the rule rather than the exception, Gyok was a loyal liege of Marko Joni. He was frankly disturbed to hear that we were British officers, and, when we sought to learn his political opinions, answered sharply:

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

even produced a bottle of champagne, a treasured gift from King Zog. The assembled company rejoiced that British troops were once again in France, but they shuddered at the news of Russian victories ; and fear of the Partisans darkened their celebrations, like a shadow.

Next day, the fourth since we had passed the Drin, we set out across the Mati valley. The grass was already scorched by the sun, and the paths were ankle-deep in dust. The white mulberry trees, however, were laden with fruit, and from these we ate our fill. By Albanian custom a traveller may pick as much fruit from any tree as he can eat beneath it, though to take more than a hatful away is accounted theft. Towards evening we stopped by the banks of the Mati to bathe and wash in its icy waters. Then, two hours after dark, we reached the village of Klos, where we had our first solid meal of the day.

In Klos a courier brought us a letter from Smiley with news that Abas Kupi was at our base with a group of Zogist leaders. Smiley also wrote that Philip Leake had been killed in a German air attack on the Partisan headquarters. Leake had been a friend, and had understood the Albanian problem ; his death at this critical moment was a bitter blow.

Next morning, the 11th of June, we climbed slowly up the southern wall of the Mati valley on the last lap of our journey. We crossed the range and, following the stony course of the Ziber torrent, came in sight of our base an hour after midday. As we entered the clearing Smiley and Hare came out to meet us with Abas Kupi and a great following of chiefs and bodyguards. Abas and Said embraced several times ; and we were brought back to our camp, pressed about by the welcoming throng of guerillas.

Thus, in less than five days, we had marched from the Jakova mountains to the borders of Tirana, climbing over ten hours each day and, on one occasion, twenty-two out of the twenty-four. The country we had covered was of the wildest and steepest in Europe, and we were tired and strained. The sun shone, however, and our spirits were buoyed up by the news of the British landing in France. All of us felt that the hour of decision was at hand.

●137 The natural vegetation of the Gheg highlands has been preserved more completely than that of almost any other Mediterranean border country, thanks to the difficulty of travel and transportation. North of the Drin in the limestone area, the landscape is mostly bare, since the soil is too thin to support a forest. The igneous zone, however, is heavily forested, with oak succeeded by groves of enormous beech trees, some reaching 10 feet in diameter. At one point on the road between Puka and Kukës the road passes through such a forest, where the traveler used to see woodsmen hewing monoxylic table tops, for sale in Scutari, out of these giant trunks. Up beyond the level of beeches one meets pine, and these trees too are of great size, comparable to the forest, on similar soil, in the middle of Corsica.

While the peaks of Shala are forever white, those of Mal i Zi, the Black Mountain, to the south are forever dark with the coniferous cover. Only in a few places south of the Drin do the peaks emerge above the tree line. Over in the metamorphosed zone to the east one finds more beech and pine, and other broadleaf species such as elms and plane trees, while cypresses have been planted in Moslem cemeteries and mosque areas.

[for map, see cat. 16, p. 6 -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

northern mountains begins modestly with ranges 2000–2600 feet above sea-level, surpasses 7000 feet in several peaks of Lower Shalë, and culminates in the Accursed Alps (*Bjeshkët ë Nemuna*), where the close-set summits of Radohinë (8690 feet), Jezercë (8790 feet), Rosh (8270 feet) and Kolatë (8370 feet) wall off Yugoslavia from Upper Shalë in spectacular fashion. East of Shalë, the monster Peak of the Irons (*Majë e Hekuravë*, 8530 feet) divides the tribe of Mertur from the open plateau of Krasniqë. The passes across the mountains are often lofty and arduous. To take an extreme example, the only way from Shalë to Bogë, its western neighbour, is by the Sheep Track Pass, to the northern frontier by the Pejë Pass, and to Nikaj on the east by the Ndermajnë Pass, which are respectively 5900, 5600 and again 5600 feet above sea-level and take a day to traverse. It is self-evident that the tribesmen of Shalë have never seen much of their neighbours. Elsewhere geographical conditions are less formidable, yet generally severe enough to limit intercourse between communities.

It is clear that agriculture and permanent habitations must stop far below the summits of many mountains, and that on the highest slopes there can be only summer grazing. Throughout the area as a whole, however, there is so much summer and winter grazing that many Albanians live entirely by pastoralism and many others combine it with their agriculture. In this connexion it is essential to remember the part played by the immense forests. These spread over the grim mountains as well as the plains, saving Albania from the desiccated look of Dalmatia and Greece, and making its scenery agreeable to the eye at all seasons. The forest trees are of many kinds, with a large proportion of evergreens. Since they grow at different levels according to their kinds, three zones, named the shrub, oak and beech, or pine zones after their predominating tree, have been distinguished.[1]

Shrubs grow all over the plains near the coast and up to a height of 600 feet in exposed regions like Shkodër and Durrës and 1600 feet in sheltered spots like the gullies on Mt Dajt. They include tree heather, hornbeam, arbutus, wild olives, broom and the terrible Christ's Thorn (*Spina Cristi*), which, withered or green, tears the flesh so savagely with its spikes that it is popularly said all over the Near East to have been used for the Crown of Thorns. There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs, especially for

[1] See Gashi, *Shqipnija*, pp. 51–60.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs especially for
137 goats and cattle, and some agriculture in clearings, but the zone
[34] derives its chief riches from the many acres of fertile alluvial soil that adjoin the rivers.

Oaks, tall or dwarf, begin sporadically among the shrubs and continue as thick forests up to a height of 2900 feet near Shkodër and 3300 feet in warmer districts. Among them grow ash, aspen, [36] chestnut, cornel, elm, hawthorn, hazel, hornbeam and limes. The majority of the 1140 villages in north Albania are found in this zone, for it best provides for Albanian needs. Though the soil is dry on the whole, it contains a sufficiency of springs. On the plateaux and gentler slopes there is enough arable land for subsistence farming, all that is possible among these rugged mountains. The copses and woods furnish winter grazing for small flocks and herds; an adjoining mountain furnishes the requisite summer feed. The [37] copses and woods also provide fuel for the log-fires that in Albanian phraseology are 'the poor man's wealth'. Leaves lopped from the [23] oak trees in autumn supply winter fodder which livestock eat with almost as much relish as they do hay, a scarcer commodity. It is this supplement to the grazing in the copses and woods which makes mixed farming possible in this zone; without it many animals could not get through the winter, and their number would [39] have to be reduced. If it is sometimes hot in the forest in summer, the heat is never unbearable, and in winter the cold is never excessive. In general the zone is healthy. A little wheat is grown, but—as everywhere in Albania, the Myzeqe plain excepted—the staple crop is maize. The grain provides food, and the livestock luxuries and government dues as well.

In the next zone beeches grow singly, in small clumps, or in mighty forests such as those between Çermenikë and Martanesh where one may walk for seven hours in the daytime and never catch a glimpse of the sun. Still without roads to carry modern woodcutters and their tools to them, such forests are in the virgin state, the trees self-sown, the strong killing the weak, and the survivors growing bigger and bigger until they succumb in extreme old age to some winter blast, when they lie and rot where they fall. When communications are developed, this waste will stop and these forests become a very valuable asset. No grass grows in them or under isolated beeches, of course, but there are usually grass meadows in the clearings, some of which are enormous. Well watered from the same sources as the beeches and fat with humus

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

from decaying beech leaves, these meadows make magnificent grazing in summer. 137 811

Where the underlying rock is serpentine, the forests in this zone are of pitch pine, not beech. Following the rock formation the pines may continue above the beech limit as on Mt Munellë in Mirditë, Mt Nezhdë, and the Peak of the Irons in Shalë. Or they may grow as low as the oak zone, adding to its amenities with their timber and pastures. In certain districts they cover whole mountain sides, while beeches fill the intervening, moister valleys; for beeches like a damp soil, and pines a dryish. Whether among the trees or in the clearings, these forests are a paradise for animals. They have other values, too. Their lower reaches are accessible enough for the peasants to cut their timber, load it on ponies, or slide it down the mountain side to their villages, there to be used for building or other simple purposes. Pine slivers are the only form of lighting in many village houses, and they also bring in a little money, finding a ready sale in towns as kindling for fires. 373

The pine and beech zone is mostly too high for winter use. Near the coast its tree-limit is 5200–5600 feet above sea-level. Farther inland, where one range shelters another and the soil is damper, it may be 6000 feet, as on Mt Bukanik in Shpat or Mts Munellë and Nezhdë. On Mt Gjalicë it is 7000 feet. Between the tree-limit and the summits of higher mountains there is nothing but rock, scree and treeless pastures.

This pine zone is as necessary to Albanian economy as the oak zone. On much of the treeless ground above it the grass is so coarse that sheep will not eat it at all, and horses nibble it only at the beginning of the summer season and then with distaste. The grass of the pine and beech zone is sweet and palatable even to dainty sheep throughout the summer. On the agricultural side the zone serves as a great catchment area, not only for the huge, unharnessed rivers that traverse north Albania, but also for the myriads of invaluable little streams that flow down to the agricultural districts in the oak zone. Without these streams there could be little irrigation; without irrigation there could be little agriculture. Maize must have water, and there is never enough rain in summer to supply it. 312

In the two areas of summer pasturage, the beech and pine zone and the treeless slopes above it, many thousands of cattle, horses, goats, and especially sheep, graze from May to October. Their 233

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

233 number is limited only by the amount of winter grazing available, which small owners find, and have always found, in the oak zone. In Turkish times, when Albania and Macedonia were both Turkish provinces and had no customs barriers between them as they have now, large owners sought it on the roomy plain of Salonica. Since Albanian emancipation in 1912 they have been confined to the more meagre pastures on the seaward side of the coastal plain at home, a restriction which has entailed a considerable cutting down of their flocks and herds. Nevertheless, in 1936–7 taxes were paid [165] on 1,424,965 sheep, 773,969 goats, 144,763 cattle and 44,318 horses in the whole of Albania;[1] there are no separate figures for its northern half. Many more animals ran about the houses, unregistered and free of tax. For Albanians the importance of sheep lies, it should be noted, not only in their wool and meat [239] as in England, but in their milk and the butter and cheese made from it.

133 If only the coastal plain were more spacious, it would be 233 a perfect complement to the mountains for pastoralism on the grand scale. In the portion south of Lesh the rivers Drin, Mat and Ishm, entering the sea at points less than 6 miles apart, have created what is virtually one vast delta of mud and swamp, lush undergrowth, and trees that have come too quickly to maturity. Farther south, swamps of the same type cover much of the Plain of Durrës, and a great lagoon extends to the very outskirts of the town. Two more lagoons and a series of swamps mark the estuaries of the rivers Shkumbî and Seman on the coast of Myzeqe. More marshes and the lagoon of Kakarriq outline the course of the River Buenë in the north.

132 On the coast the average yearly rainfall is 39–47 inches, against 57 at Shkodër, 67 at Krujë and 72 at Pukë, an inland place 39 miles east of Shkodër. Albania is one of the wettest countries in Europe because so many of its ranges run from north to south and are high enough to intercept the rain-laden clouds that drift in from the west. The first rains fall in October when it is still hot on the coastal plain. The moisture and the heat combine to produce a luxuriant crop of new grass by the time that the sheep come down from the mountains.

[137] This grass is found, not only in the hay meadows and swamps, but also, owing to the violence of the winter rains, on all the arable land,

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 117.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

A Railway Line

As no-one but myself wanted to go on to Tirana I was put with the mails into an ordinary four-seater Ford car and continued the journey alone save for the driver. The country was well wooded with oak, ash, poplar, willow and alder. The fields were enclosed with hedges of bramble and, but for the big wild fig-trees, I might almost have been in England. I had been told that I should find in Albania no bank, no water-closet, and no railway, but as regards the railway I found this statement incorrect, for a narrow gauge track ran at the side of the road most of the way from Scutari to Tirana. It did not, however, appear to have been used for a considerable time as it was in bad repair and much broken. At one place, half-a-dozen little locomotives, dismantled and red with rust, stood idle on a siding, while in a ditch a short distance away lay a seventh—a pathetic corpse in a winding-sheet of bramble and convolvulus. Presumably the line was wrecked by the Austrians when they were in retreat at the end of the war. I should not imagine that it would be a very costly matter to put it into working order again.

The impression I received in the course of this drive was that the surrounding country was exceedingly fertile, and that much which is at present uncultivated could be made productive if modern agricultural methods were adopted. In all countries the farmer and tiller of the soil—conservative to the backbone—is slow to admit that his way of doing things can be bettered, and to this general rule the Albanian agriculturist is no exception. He knows nothing, and wants

The Inn

[361] 137 cypresses. These cypresses[1] are the biggest I have ever seen. I never imagined that such cypresses existed or could exist. Even the tall Douglas firs of British Columbia, which attain a height of 400 feet, did not impress me as much as did these giants with their masses of solid foliage and their gnarled and knotted trunks thirty feet in circumference. It is worth while making a special journey to Elbasan to see them. This row of towering trees, almost black, walling in the little square and flooding it with their dense shadow, made a deep impression upon me. I saw no finer sight in all Albania.

485 The hotel accommodation in Elbasan is about what one would expect. The little place at which I stayed consisted of a nondescript shop below, where rope, lemons, corn, sugar, maize, nails, crockery, and all sorts of odds and ends were on sale, and a floor above with a landing, a lavatory, and three rooms all crammed with beds. It was tolerably clean, and the folk who ran it—an old Mohammedan named Osman Arapi, a youth, and a small boy—did everything possible to supply the, to them, rather remarkable demands of an English guest. The room in which I lived was pleasant and well lit, and I always had it to myself during the daytime. At night the other beds were usually occupied, and I never knew whom my companions might be. They were always accommodating and agreeable, however, and I soon became used to the lack of privacy. The washing arrangements were crude, and consisted of a basin on a soap-box in the corridor, but elsewhere, if you were

1 [in Elbasan -- Analyst]

000 Bell Beaker tombs, while in Britain, Austria, Germany, and the Adriatic Alps a hundred or more may be attributed to the Bronze Age.[2] Tomb forms and grave furniture indicate without question that these people were immigrants from the eastern Mediterranean. During the whole racial history of Europe there is but one time when these migrations could have taken place—the beginning of the Bronze Age. Even then the immigrants could not have come in large numbers, nor as a racially homogeneous population.

[141] Today the Dinaric concentration lies in the Adriatic Alps, with a smaller nucleus in the Carpathians. Authors who published before 1929 felt that the very center would be found in northern Albania, because the country was wild and rugged, the local speech the most archaic in Europe, and because the small series of mountaineers already measured in Scutari so indicated. Ghegnia seemed the strategic place in which to study the Dinaric problem. This is really 2 problems: (a) to describe in detail the Dinaric type, and (b) to explain it. We shall attempt both.

Modern biology offers at least 2 theories which would explain Dinaricization.

1. *The Hybridization Theory*. A combination of dominants in a cross between 2 genetically different populations, one long headed and narrow faced, the other round headed and broad faced. If the short head, broad head, high head, broad forehead, narrow jaw, long face, long nose, narrow nose—all these were dominant over their opposite numbers, and brought together, a Dinaric form might result.[3]

2. *The Evolutionary Theory*. As Dobzhansky[4] points out, most geneticists now hold that mutations take place gene by gene. If Dinaricization is an evolutionary process, then only one gene is involved. To determine this we must study the mechanics of the Dinaric head and face form. Furthermore, if this is true,

[3] This theory was advanced by Hughes, 1938 (still unpublished), and Coon, 1939.

[4] Dobzhansky, 1944, p. 258.

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#28

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

TABLE 3: MEASUREMENTS AND INDICES

A. NUMBER/RANGE MEAN ± P.E.

Measurements	Total Series	MEM	DUK	MEJ	HAS	LUM	PUK	MIR	ZAD	MAT	DIB
Stature	1045/143-193 169.71 ± .14	105/155-190 172.77 ± .41	104/155-190 173.53 ± .41	104/156-187 172.67 ± .38	112/143-183 170.83 ± .46	109/155-190 169.47 ± .38	103/153-184 169.17 ± .43	101/149-184 168.68 ± .39	104/160-181 168.98 ± .43	104/153-184 168.84 ± .41	108/153-187 168.42 ± .44
Span	1042/153-205 176.37 ± .17	105/161-[illegible] 180.03 ± .51	104/164-205 182.25 ± .45	103/161-196 178.74 ± .43	112/158-202 178.47 ± .51	109/158-193 173.97 ± .47	103/153-193 176.18 ± .47	101/158-190 173.84 ± .43	103/158-189 174.87 ± .42	104/158-190 171.87 ± .53	108/155-188 172.70 ± .54
Sitting height	1049/80-101 89.44 ± .08	105/81-101 90.83 ± .23	104/81-98 90.73 ± .21	103/84-101 91.00 ± .19	114/75-98 88.77 ± .24	109/80-101 89.39 ± .26	103/78-101 89.58 ± .26	100/78-98 87.43 ± .22	104/78-98 88.34 ± .23	104/78-96 88.81 ± .23	108/78-98 88.37 ± .22
Biacromial diameter	1047/31-48 38.58 ± .05	105/34-46 38.71 ± .14	104/31-48 40.37 ± .14	104/34-45 38.39 ± .13	114/31-45 38.30 ± .13	109/34-42 38.45 ± .10	103/34-43 37.81 ± .13	101/31-43 37.48 ± .13	103/31-45 37.84 ± .13	104/31-45 38.30 ± .14	108/31-45 37.84 ± .16
Bi-iliac	1047/23-39 30.44 ± .04	105/28-36 30.71 ± .11	104/28-38 31.18 ± .10	104/28-38 30.98 ± .12	114/25-36 31.18 ± .12	109/25-35 30.14 ± .11	103/25-38 30.38 ± .12	101/25-35 30.11 ± .12	103/25-36 30.18 ± .14	104/25-36 30.98 ± .12	108/25-38 30.88 ± .12
Chest breadth	1047/23-40 30.58 ± .04	105/23-34 30.40 ± .12	104/23-37 30.53 ± .12	104/23-34 30.71 ± .12	114/23-37 30.18 ± .12	109/23-34 30.58 ± .12	103/23-34 30.38 ± .12	101/23-34 30.88 ± .12	103/23-34 30.88 ± .11	104/23-34 30.38 ± .11	108/23-40 30.33 ± .12
Chest depth	1048/18-35 24.39 ± .04	105/20-28 23.02 ± .11	104/20-28 23.34 ± .12	104/20-31 24.34 ± .11	114/18-28 24.43 ± .12	109/20-29 24.18 ± .08	103/20-32 22.88 ± .11	101/20-31 24.83 ± .12	104/20-31 24.33 ± .07	104/20-29 23.83 ± .12	108/20-29 23.83 ± .10
Head length	1047/154-211 188.19 ± .15	105/170-208 188.43 ± .48	104/176-205 188.88 ± .39	104/167-208 188.09 ± .48	114/167-211 184.38 ± .42	109/170-206 188.28 ± .42	103/167-208 188.43 ± .48	101/173-203 188.87 ± .45	103/170-199 183.18 ± .39	104/167-202 182.81 ± .45	108/164-202 184.88 ± .45
Head breadth	1047/138-179 157.78 ± .12	105/147-179 161.38 ± .37	104/147-176 160.08 ± .33	104/139-172 158.78 ± .38	114/139-179 157.87 ± .48	109/141-172 155.38 ± .38	103/141-170 158.18 ± .37	101/144-172 157.88 ± .38	105/144-172 158.74 ± .37	104/144-178 157.81 ± .38	108/138-178 158.43 ± .33
Head height	1047/110-145 128.34 ± .12	105/113-142 128.28 ± .37	104/113-143 127.88 ± .48	104/110-143 128.28 ± .38	114/110-143 128.48 ± .43	108/110-142 128.34 ± .38	103/113-143 128.48 ± .38	101/110-142 128.33 ± .38	103/113-143 130.47 ± .42	104/113-142 128.38 ± .39	108/113-143 128.51 ± .38
Min. frontal diameter	1047/88-126 108.88 ± .10	105/97-124 112.43 ± .31	104/97-120 109.88 ± .28	104/97-126 109.88 ± .30	114/98-134 107.38 ± .33	108/88-120 108.08 ± .31	103/97-124 108.78 ± .32	101/97-125 107.88 ± .30	103/93-128 107.78 ± .33	104/93-124 108.38 ± .34	108/97-124 108.83 ± .38
Bizygomatic diameter	1047/113-164 142.38 ± .13	105/120-164 144.38 ± .41	104/120-159 142.28 ± .38	104/123-159 142.88 ± .48	114/128-158 142.18 ± .35	108/120-154 142.18 ± .33	103/118-154 141.88 ± .38	101/120-158 142.88 ± .33	103/120-158 141.18 ± .40	104/123-153 141.68 ± .38	108/123-154 140.88 ± .31
Bigonial diameter	1047/88-132 107.78 ± .13	105/88-121 108.83 ± .41	104/90-125 108.18 ± .37	104/94-133 108.83 ± .40	114/90-128 108.14 ± .41	109/94-128 107.18 ± .38	103/90-125 107.38 ± .43	101/90-125 106.83 ± .38	103/90-125 107.23 ± .41	104/94-125 107.48 ± .40	108/88-121 106.78 ± .38
Total face height*	831/95-144 123.88 ± .14	83/105-139 124.18 ± .32	101/110-144 122.88 ± .43	98/108-144 124.48 ± .48	83/110-144 128.38 ± .42	99/110-139 124.88 ± .37	82/95-134 121.18 ± .45	99/105-134 120.88 ± .43	98/108-138 122.88 ± .48	93/105-144 123.88 ± .48	88/108-138 124.88 ± .43
Upper face height*	831/55-89 73.88 ± .11	83/60-84 73.48 ± .37	101/60-84 73.48 ± .32	98/55-89 73.88 ± .35	83/55-89 76.78 ± .34	99/60-89 74.88 ± .32	82/60-84 72.38 ± .31	99/60-84 72.88 ± .35	98/60-84 72.88 ± .34	93/60-84 72.88 ± .37	88/60-89 72.88 ± .38
Nose height	1048/44-71 58.18 ± .08	105/48-71 58.38 ± .37	104/48-67 58.78 ± .35	104/44-71 57.88 ± .37	113/48-71 58.38 ± .38	109/48-71 58.48 ± .38	103/48-67 58.38 ± .35	101/44-67 58.38 ± .37	103/44-67 57.88 ± .37	104/48-71 58.14 ± .38	108/48-67 58.83 ± .35
Nose breadth	1048/32-48 33.77 ± .08	105/32-42 34.18 ± .30	104/28-42 34.07 ± .19	104/28-42 34.18 ± .18	113/28-48 34.78 ± .21	109/28-42 33.38 ± .18	103/28-42 33.38 ± .18	101/28-42 33.71 ± .20	103/28-42 33.38 ± .20	104/28-42 33.33 ± .19	108/28-42 33.83 ± .18
Indices											
Relative span	1040/94-115 103.94 ± .05	105/100-108 104.18 ± .14	104/98-111 105.03 ± .18	103/98-111 103.74 ± .17	112/98-111 104.40 ± .15	109/98-108 103.04 ± .16	103/98-111 104.13 ± .15	101/98-113 104.34 ± .18	104/98-113 104.74 ± .17	104/98-108 103.13 ± .16	108/98-108 103.08 ± .17
Relative sitting height	1043/42-59 52.78 ± .03	105/48-55 52.48 ± .09	104/48-55 52.38 ± .09	103/50-55 52.78 ± .08	113/48-55 52.58 ± .08	109/48-57 52.84 ± .11	103/48-57 52.98 ± .10	100/48-56 52.48 ± .10	104/48-56 52.38 ± .11	104/50-57 52.38 ± .10	108/48-57 52.58 ± .08
Relative shoulder height	1054/74-89 82.04 ± .03	105/80-85 82.13 ± .08	104/80-85 82.08 ± .08	104/80-87 82.38 ± .07	113/80-87 82.33 ± .07	109/80-85 81.88 ± .07	103/80-85 81.38 ± .08	101/74-85 81.83 ± .10	103/78-87 81.34 ± .08	104/80-87 81.38 ± .08	108/78-87 82.34 ± .08
Rel. shoulder breadth	1053/16-27 22.78 ± .03	105/20-27 22.34 ± .07	104/20-27 22.38 ± .07	104/20-27 22.34 ± .07	113/20-25 22.44 ± .07	109/20-25 22.83 ± .06	103/20-25 22.48 ± .06	101/18-25 22.48 ± .06	104/20-27 22.74 ± .06	104/20-27 22.38 ± .06	108/18-25 22.83 ± .06
Thoracic index	1088 84.94	105 81.38	104 82.47	104 83.33	114 83.71	108 84.88	103 84.88	101 83.83	104 83.38	104 84.83	108 84.38

*Corrected for face shortening.

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Indices (Continued)	Total Series	MEM	DUK	MEJ	NAS	LUM	PUK	MIR	ZAD	MAT	DIB
Cephalic index	1067/70-99 84.84 ± .09	105/77-97 88.79 ± .25	106/76-97 84.54 ± .34	104/71-94 83.04 ± .28	114/71-97 88.59 ± .28	109/74-99 83.83 ± .27	102/74-97 83.70 ± .28	101/74-97 84.30 ± .27	105/77-97 88.07 ± .24	104/74-97 86.49 ± .27	106/74-97 84.96 ± .28
Length-height index	1067/58-81 69.03 ± .07	105/58-81 69.30 ± .22	104/61-78 67.26 ± .23	104/58-78 68.83 ± .22	114/58-78 69.77 ± .24	109/61-78 68.18 ± .21	102/64-81 69.04 ± .21	101/61-78 68.04 ± .22	105/64-81 71.45 ± .23	104/58-78 69.05 ± .25	106/61-78 68.96 ± .24
Breadth-height index	1067/67-99 81.47 ± .09	105/70-90 80.03 ± .24	106/70-93 79.73 ± .27	104/73-99 82.49 ± .28	114/67-93 81.50 ± .31	109/72-93 82.85 ± .26	102/73-93 82.43 ± .27	101/73-93 81.90 ± .24	105/73-93 82.31 ± .26	104/70-93 80.18 ± .26	106/70-93 81.08 ± .23
Fronto-parietal index	1067/57-86 69.07 ± .07	105/60-77 68.56 ± .18	104/60-86 69.19 ± .21	104/63-80 70.14 ± .21	114/60-80 68.09 ± .23	109/60-80 69.04 ± .22	102/60-77 68.86 ± .24	101/60-80 68.68 ± .23	105/60-77 68.68 ± .22	104/57-77 68.53 ± .22	106/60-77 68.70 ± .20
Cephalo-facial index	1067/72-105 90.26 ± .07	105/76-96 89.48 ± .21	104/73-99 90.11 ± .23	104/82-102 90.80 ± .22	114/79-99 90.[illegible] ± .21	109/82-102 91.61 ± .21	102/76-99 90.53 ± .24	101/82-99 90.83 ± .20	105/76-96 88.80 ± .21	104/79-99 89.80 ± .23	106/76-105 90.02 ± .25
Zygo-frontal index	1067/64-95 78.74 ± .08	105/68-87 78.86 ± .23	106/68-95 76.80 ± .23	104/[illegible]-87 77.30 ± .23	114/64-83 76.54 ± .20	109/68-87 78.74 ± .23	102/68-91 78.84 ± .26	101/68-83 75.74 ± .23	105/64-91 76.90 ± .27	104/64-87 76.46 ± .25	106/68-91 77.46 ± .25
Fronto-gonial index	1067/70-124 98.90 ± .13	105/75-114 97.60 ± .42	105/80-114 98.80 ± .37	104/83-110 99.80 ± .37	114/70-124 100.05 ± .46	109/85-119 99.50 ± .37	102/80-109 99.00 ± .42	101/80-114 98.30 ± .46	105/85-119 99.35 ± .44	104/80-119 98.45 ± .46	106/80-119 99.50 ± .42
Zygo-gonial index	1067/57-85 75.73 ± .06	105/57-86 75.10 ± .29	106/63-88 75.89 ± .27	104/65-86 79.31 ± .23	114/68-86 76.13 ± .25	109/66-83 75.37 ± .24	102/60-85 75.94 ± .28	101/66-88 74.84 ± .26	105/66-89 76.12 ± .28	104/66-89 76.00 ± .25	106/64-86 75.80 ± .24
Facial index	921/74-109 87.04 ± .11	82/74-105 88.10 ± .42	101/74-101 85.72 ± .32	89/74-109 87.78 ± .37	82/78-105 89.35 ± .35	99/78-101 87.60 ± .28	82/74-101 88.93 ± .35	90/74-97 88.80 ± .30	99/78-101 87.33 ± .35	93/74-105 87.37 ± .36	85/78-97 87.78 ± .27
Upper facial index	921/37-89 51.41 ± .08	82/43-80 50.73 ± .27	101/43-89 50.89 ± .24	89/37-86 51.80 ± .28	82/46-86 54.35 ± .28	99/46-80 51.97 ± .22	82/43-83 51.21 ± .23	90/43-80 48.61 ± .22	99/43-80 51.75 ± .23	93/43-80 51.88 ± .27	85/43-83 53.26 ± .28
Nasal index	1068/40-83 58.38 ± .13	106/40-71 58.83 ± .41	106/44-79 [illegible] ± .40	104/48-79 58.50 ± .36	113/44-79 57.90 ± .36	109/44-71 58.18 ± .35	101/[illegible]-79 58.32 ± .42	101/[illegible]-75 58.32 ± .37	104/40-75 57.82 ± .41	104/40-75 57.58 ± .45	106/44-83 57.83 ± .31

B. STANDARD DEVIATION ± P.E.

Measurements	Total Series	MEM	DUK	MEJ	NAS	LUM	PUK	MIR	ZAD	MAT	DIB
Stature	6.72 ± .10	6.24 ± .29	6.21 ± .29	5.53 ± .26	7.26 ± .33	5.81 ± .27	6.43 ± .30	5.83 ± .28	6.33 ± .30	6.31 ± .29	6.70 ± .31
Span	8.01 ± .12	7.68 ± .36	8.00 ± .33	6.81 ± .31	8.19 ± .36	7.39 ± .33	7.11 ± .34	6.27 ± .30	7.17 ± .33	7.92 ± .37	8.28 ± .38
Sitting height	3.69 ± .06	3.48 ± .16	3.34 ± .15	3.08 ± .14	3.84 ± .17	3.06 ± .16	3.03 ± .19	3.27 ± .16	3.48 ± .16	3.54 ± .17	3.43 ± .16
Biacromial diameter	2.19 ± .03	2.13 ± .10	2.07 ± .10	2.01 ± .09	2.12 ± .10	1.83 ± .07	1.86 ± .09	1.98 ± .09	1.98 ± .09	2.16 ± .10	2.31 ± .11
Bi-iliac	1.69 ± .03	1.71 ± .08	1.47 ± .07	1.77 ± .08	1.86 ± .08	1.71 ± .08	2.01 ± .09	1.83 ± .08	2.07 ± .10	1.98 ± .09	2.04 ± .09
Chest breadth	1.89 ± .03	1.86 ± .09	1.89 ± .09	1.77 ± .08	1.83 ± .08	1.89 ± .08	1.77 ± .08	1.77 ± .08	2.04 ± .09	1.72 ± .08	2.04 ± .09
Chest depth	1.78 ± .03	1.72 ± .08	1.88 ± .08	1.70 ± .08	1.93 ± .08	1.42 ± .06	1.70 ± .08	1.84 ± .09	1.84 ± .09	1.78 ± .08	1.80 ± .07
Head length	7.08 ± .10	6.98 ± .33	6.00 ± .28	7.32 ± .34	6.90 ± .29	6.51 ± .30	7.26 ± .34	6.60 ± .32	6.00 ± .28	6.84 ± .32	6.90 ± .32
Head breadth	6.00 ± .09	5.84 ± .26	5.07 ± .23	5.88 ± .26	7.05 ± .31	5.53 ± .25	5.52 ± .26	5.88 ± .26	5.55 ± .26	5.82 ± .27	5.13 ± .24
Head height	6.03 ± .09	5.81 ± .26	6.18 ± .29	5.73 ± .27	6.01 ± .30	5.55 ± .25	5.73 ± .27	5.34 ± .25	6.45 ± .30	5.88 ± .28	5.43 ± .25
Min. frontal diameter	4.02 ± .07	4.08 ± .22	4.30 ± .19	4.00 ± .22	5.08 ± .23	4.76 ± .22	4.90 ± .23	4.52 ± .21	4.98 ± .23	5.00 ± .25	4.56 ± .21
Bizygomatic diameter	5.65 ± .08	5.30 ± .25	5.85 ± .27	7.00 ± .33	5.50 ± .25	4.95 ± .23	5.70 ± .27	5.80 ± .25	6.15 ± .29	5.81 ± .27	5.40 ± .26
Biogonial diameter	6.12 ± .09	6.20 ± .29	5.60 ± .26	6.00 ± .28	6.48 ± .29	5.48 ± .25	6.44 ± .30	5.88 ± .28	6.20 ± .29	6.04 ± .28	5.93 ± .27
Total face height*	6.50 ± .10	6.95 ± .37	6.35 ± .30	7.00 ± .34	6.15 ± .30	5.50 ± .26	6.40 ± .32	5.70 ± .26	6.75 ± .33	6.60 ± .33	5.85 ± .30
Upper face height*	5.00 ± .08	5.00 ± .26	4.70 ± .22	5.10 ± .25	4.85 ± .24	4.72 ± .23	4.40 ± .23	4.60 ± .25	5.00 ± .24	5.35 ± .26	5.25 ± .27
Nose height	4.20 ± .09	4.15 ± .19	3.84 ± .18	4.04 ± .19	4.40 ± .20	4.28 ± .20	3.73 ± .18	4.03 ± .19	4.13 ± .19	4.28 ± .20	3.88 ± .18
Nose breadth	2.78 ± .04	3.04 ± .14	2.87 ± .14	2.37 ± .11	2.27 ± .10	2.76 ± .13	2.88 ± .14	2.94 ± .14	3.03 ± .14	2.94 ± .14	2.73 ± .13
Indices											
Relative span	2.56 ± .04	2.20 ± .10	2.48 ± .11	2.60 ± .12	2.34 ± .11	2.42 ± .11	2.26 ± .11	2.08 ± .10	2.60 ± .12	2.68 ± .12	2.64 ± .12
Relative sitting height	1.50 ± .02	1.44 ± .07	1.38 ± .06	1.24 ± .06	1.32 ± .06	1.76 ± .08	1.50 ± .07	1.60 ± .07	1.62 ± .08	1.46 ± .07	1.48 ± .07
Rel. shoulder height	1.24 ± .02	1.14 ± .05	.96 ± .05	1.12 ± .05	1.14 ± .05	1.08 ± .05	1.18 ± .06	1.54 ± .07	1.30 ± .06	1.24 ± .06	1.20 ± .06
Rel. shoulder breadth	1.30 ± .02	1.16 ± .05	1.12 ± .05	1.08 ± .05	1.12 ± .05	1.00 ± .05	1.14 ± .06	1.18 ± .06	1.30 ± .06	1.24 ± .06	1.32 ± .06
Thoracic index											
Cephalic index	4.20 ± .06	3.81 ± .18	3.80 ± .17	4.23 ± .20	4.50 ± .20	4.14 ± .19	3.92 ± .18	3.98 ± .18	3.63 ± .17	4.11 ± .19	3.96 ± .18
Length-height index	3.63 ± .05	3.33 ± .15	3.48 ± .16	3.28 ± .16	3.81 ± .17	3.30 ± .15	3.13 ± .15	3.27 ± .15	3.30 ± .16	3.84 ± .18	3.80 ± .17

*Corrected for face shortening.

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Indices (Continued)	Total Series	MEM	DUK	MEJ	HAS	LUM	PUK	MIR	ZAD	MAT	DIB
Breadth-height index	4.17 ± .08	3.72 ± .17	4.11 ± .19	3.90 ± .18	4.05 ± .19	4.85 ± .19	4.09 ± .19	3.37 ± .17	3.81 ± .18	3.93 ± .18	3.90 ± .19
Fronto-parietal index	3.39 ± .05	2.79 ± .13	3.27 ± .15	3.18 ± .15	3.72 ± .17	3.39 ± .15	3.57 ± .17	3.48 ± .17	3.30 ± .15	3.33 ± .16	3.63 ± .14
Cephalo-facial index	3.48 ± .05	3.12 ± .15	3.39 ± .16	3.42 ± .16	3.27 ± .15	3.33 ± .15	3.57 ± .17	2.97 ± .14	3.18 ± .15	3.46 ± .16	3.78 ± .17
Zygo-frontal index	3.72 ± .05	3.54 ± .17	3.52 ± .16	3.53 ± .16	3.16 ± .14	3.52 ± .16	3.88 ± .18	3.39 ± .16	4.12 ± .19	3.72 ± .17	3.84 ± .18
Fronto-gonial index	6.45 ± .09	6.40 ± .30	5.96 ± .28	5.66 ± .26	7.30 ± .33	5.70 ± .26	6.30 ± .30	6.90 ± .33	6.85 ± .31	6.90 ± .32	6.40 ± .28
Zygo-gonial index	3.89 ± .06	4.41 ± .21	4.11 ± .19	3.81 ± .16	4.02 ± .18	3.68 ± .17	4.20 ± .20	3.93 ± .19	4.33 ± .20	3.84 ± .18	3.73 ± .17
Facial index	5.04 ± .08	5.04 ± .30	4.80 ± .23	5.28 ± .26	5.00 ± .25	4.20 ± .20	5.04 ± .25	5.04 ± .21	5.10 ± .25	5.25 ± .26	4.16 ± .21
Upper facial index	3.63 ± .06	3.66 ± .27	3.54 ± .17	3.69 ± .18	3.99 ± .20	3.24 ± .16	3.24 ± .16	2.97 ± .16	3.33 ± .16	3.90 ± .19	3.69 ± .18
Nasal index	6.04 ± .09	6.28 ± .29	6.12 ± .28	5.40 ± .25	6.00 ± .27	5.04 ± .23	6.32 ± .30	5.58 ± .28	6.24 ± .29	6.78 ± .32	5.84 ± .28

C: COEFFICIENT OF VARIATION ± P.E.

Measurements											
Stature	3.96 ± .08	3.61 ± .17	3.98 ± .17	3.20 ± .15	4.25 ± .19	3.49 ± .16	3.79 ± .18	3.49 ± .17	3.79 ± .18	3.72 ± .17	4.03 ± .1
Span	4.54 ± .09	4.37 ± .20	3.79 ± .18	3.64 ± .17	4.54 ± .20	4.10 ± .19	4.04 ± .19	3.61 ± .17	4.10 ± .19	4.61 ± .22	4.77 ± .2
Sitting height	4.13 ± .09	3.90 ± .18	3.87 ± .17	3.16 ± .15	4.28 ± .19	4.43 ± .20	4.39 ± .21	3.74 ± .18	3.94 ± .18	3.99 ± .19	3.88 ± .1
Biacromial diameter	5.98 ± .08	5.36 ± .26	5.13 ± .24	5.12 ± .24	5.54 ± .25	4.21 ± .19	4.91 ± .22	5.29 ± .25	4.99 ± .23	5.64 ± .26	6.00 ± .2
Bi-iliac	6.21 ± .13	5.57 ± .26	4.71 ± .22	5.79 ± .27	5.97 ± .27	5.67 ± .26	6.82 ± .31	6.08 ± .29	6.05 ± .32	6.21 ± .29	6.05 ± .2
Chest breadth	6.62 ± .14	6.32 ± .29	6.63 ± .31	6.17 ± .29	6.28 ± .28	6.51 ± .30	6.24 ± .29	6.21 ± .30	7.11 ± .32	6.74 ± .27	6.33 ± .2
Chest depth	7.34 ± .15	7.19 ± .33	7.45 ± .35	6.93 ± .32	7.86 ± .35	5.86 ± .27	7.09 ± .33	7.06 ± .36	6.34 ± .30	7.44 ± .35	6.38 ± .2
Head length	3.80 ± .08	3.21 ± .15	3.16 ± .15	3.87 ± .18	3.56 ± .16	3.46 ± .16	3.89 ± .18	3.90 ± .17	3.35 ± .15	3.74 ± .17	3.74 ± .1
Head breadth	3.80 ± .08	3.49 ± .16	3.17 ± .15	3.75 ± .18	4.47 ± .20	3.68 ± .16	3.93 ± .17	3.74 ± .18	3.80 ± .16	3.80 ± .17	3.35 ± .1
Head height	4.70 ± .10	4.42 ± .21	4.84 ± .22	4.43 ± .21	5.30 ± .24	4.22 ± .20	4.46 ± .21	4.16 ± .20	4.04 ± .23	4.85 ± .22	4.30 ± .2
Min. frontal diameter	4.52 ± .09	4.16 ± .19	3.82 ± .18	4.18 ± .20	4.74 ± .21	4.27 ± .20	4.41 ± .21	4.18 ± .20	4.01 ± .21	4.90 ± .23	4.19 ± .1
Bizygomatic diameter	3.97 ± .08	4.37 ± .20	4.04 ± .19	5.19 ± .24	3.87 ± .17	3.48 ± .16	4.02 ± .18	3.40 ± .16	4.38 ± .20	4.11 ± .19	3.84 ± .1
Bigonial diameter	5.68 ± .11	5.71 ± .27	5.13 ± .24	5.51 ± .26	5.90 ± .27	5.13 ± .23	6.06 ± .28	5.51 ± .26	5.78 ± .27	6.62 ± .30	5.84 ± .2
Total face height*	5.25 ± .08	5.60 ± .30	5.13 ± .24	5.62 ± .27	6.07 ± .24	4.42 ± .21	5.38 ± .26	4.73 ± .25	5.69 ± .27	5.34 ± .26	4.72 ± .2
Upper face height*	6.80 ± .11	6.91 ± .36	6.40 ± .30	6.92 ± .34	6.32 ± .31	6.37 ± .31	6.07 ± .30	6.31 ± .34	6.88 ± .33	7.37 ± .38	7.14 ± .3
Nose height	7.33 ± .16	7.10 ± .33	6.76 ± .31	6.98 ± .33	7.34 ± .33	7.33 ± .33	6.58 ± .31	7.00 ± .35	7.12 ± .33	7.38 ± .34	6.82 ± .3
Nose breadth	8.17 ± .17	8.68 ± .42	8.72 ± .40	8.05 ± .35	9.60 ± .43	8.31 ± .36	8.68 ± .41	8.72 ± .41	8.11 ± .42	8.85 ± .41	8.07 ± .3
Indices											
Relative span	3.49 ± .05	3.11 ± .10	3.38 ± .11	3.81 ± .13	3.34 ± .10	3.35 ± .11	3.17 ± .10	3.57 ± .13	3.68 ± .12	3.39 ± .11	3.86 ± .1
Relative sitting height	3.84 ± .06	3.74 ± .13	3.63 ± .12	3.39 ± .11	3.81 ± .11	3.33 ± .10	3.84 ± .13	3.82 ± .13	3.06 ± .14	3.74 ± .13	3.77 ± .1
Relative shoulder height	1.51 ± .03	1.39 ± .06	1.20 ± .06	1.38 ± .06	1.39 ± .06	1.33 ± .06	1.44 ± .07	1.88 ± .09	1.50 ± .07	1.81 ± .07	1.65 ± .0
Rel. shoulder breadth	5.27 ± .11	5.08 ± .24	4.79 ± .22	4.84 ± .22	4.90 ± .22	4.38 ± .20	5.07 ± .24	5.27 ± .25	5.38 ± .26	5.85 ± .27	5.84 ± .2
Thoracic index											
Cephalic index	5.06 ± .10	4.39 ± .20	4.36 ± .19	5.08 ± .24	5.39 ± .25	5.01 ± .23	4.89 ± .22	4.88 ± .23	4.18 ± .20	4.75 ± .23	4.90 ± .2
Length-height index	5.26 ± .11	4.79 ± .22	5.17 ± .24	4.90 ± .23	5.46 ± .24	4.84 ± .22	4.83 ± .21	4.78 ± .22	4.74 ± .22	5.50 ± .26	5.27 ± .2
Breadth-height index	5.12 ± .11	4.65 ± .22	5.15 ± .24	4.73 ± .22	6.08 ± .24	4.89 ± .22	4.95 ± .23	4.38 ± .21	4.63 ± .22	4.90 ± .23	4.44 ± .2
Fronto-parietal index	4.91 ± .10	4.07 ± .19	4.72 ± .22	4.83 ± .21	5.46 ± .24	4.85 ± .22	5.13 ± .24	5.05 ± .24	4.86 ± .22	4.88 ± .22	4.35 ± .2
Cephalo-facial index	3.88 ± .08	3.49 ± .16	3.76 ± .17	3.76 ± .18	3.62 ± .16	3.63 ± .17	3.94 ± .19	3.27 ± .16	3.56 ± .17	3.88 ± .18	4.20 ± .1
Zygo-frontal index	4.85 ± .10	4.63 ± .22	4.57 ± .21	4.55 ± .21	4.13 ± .18	4.59 ± .21	5.04 ± .24	4.33 ± .21	5.36 ± .25	4.87 ± .22	4.98 ± .2
Fronto-gonial index	6.52 ± .13	6.57 ± .31	5.88 ± .27	5.68 ± .26	7.38 ± .32	5.74 ± .26	6.36 ± .30	7.02 ± .33	6.89 ± .31	6.94 ± .32	6.52 ± .3
Zygo-gonial index	5.27 ± .11	5.87 ± .27	5.43 ± .25	4.81 ± .22	5.28 ± .24	4.88 ± .22	5.53 ± .25	5.28 ± .25	5.68 ± .26	5.05 ± .24	4.90 ± .2
Facial index	5.73 ± .09	6.85 ± .34	6.80 ± .37	6.01 ± .29	5.90 ± .28	4.78 ± .23	5.88 ± .28	6.41 ± .33	5.84 ± .28	6.02 ± .30	4.77 ± .2
Upper facial index	7.06 ± .11	7.21 ± .36	6.99 ± .33	7.12 ± .35	7.34 ± .36	6.23 ± .30	6.33 ± .31	6.11 ± .33	6.43 ± .31	7.57 ± .38	7.35 ± .3
Nasal index	10.35 ± .21	10.88 ± .50	10.18 ± .47	9.06 ± .43	10.36 ± .49	8.88 ± .41	10.07 ± .50	9.98 ± .48	9.83 ± .46	8.74 ± .41	9.79 ± .4

*Corrected for face shortening.

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TABLE 4: OBSERVATIONS

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MRJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
I. BODY	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1066		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		104		104		108	
General musculature.																						
sem	2	.19											1	.98	1	.99						
sm	200	18.76	18	17.14	5	4.72	12	11.54	19	16.67	14	12.84	19	18.63	27	26.73	30	28.85	27	25.96	28	25.93
+	830	80.92	84	80.95	82	88.49	81	77.88	78	68.47	78	69.72	67	65.68	47	46.53	62	59.62	60	58.73	62	57.41
+ +	213	19.98	23	21.90	39	36.79	11	10.58	15	16.67	19	17.43	34	33.33	28	27.74	12	11.54	16	17.31	18	16.67
+ + +	1	.09											1	.98								
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		104		104		108	
Neck, length																						
sem	4	.37	1	.95					2	1.75					1	.98						
sm	356	33.35	36	34.35	36	39.40	14	13.46	50	43.86	39	35.11	35	34.31	34	33.67	28	27.02	49	47.12	39	36.11
+	641	60.07	78	74.29	62	65.06	86	82.69	55	48.25	71	65.14	58	56.86	60	59.40	63	60.60	54	51.92	64	59.26
+ +	63	5.90	5	4.76	9	8.49	4	3.85	7	6.14	3	2.75	9	8.82	6	5.94	13	12.50	1	.96	5	4.63
+ + +	1	.09	1	.95																		
Neck, thickness																						
sm	229	21.46	13	12.38	10	9.43	18	17.31	32	28.07	21	19.27	20	19.61	27	26.73	38	34.39	38	35.00	24	22.22
+	783	73.38	82	78.10	92	86.80	84	80.77	77	67.54	83	76.15	71	69.61	69	68.32	65	61.96	74	71.13	79	73.15
+ +	55	5.15	10	9.52	4	3.77	2	1.92	5	4.38	5	4.59	11	10.78	5	4.95	4	3.81	4	3.85	5	4.63
Total	1068		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		107	
Shoulder slope																						
Abs.	30	2.81			1	.94			8	7.02	4	3.67			5	4.95	2	1.90			10	9.35
sem	2	.19							1	.88											1	.93
sm	347	32.55	19	18.10	17	16.04	25	24.04	39	34.21	33	29.36	40	39.22	49	48.51	30	28.57	40	38.46	52	48.60
+	580	55.25	66	64.76	78	73.58	72	69.23	66	52.63	66	60.55	56	48.03	34	33.66	59	56.19	61	58.65	36	33.64
+ +	96	9.19	18	17.14	10	9.43	7	6.73	6	5.26	7	6.42	12	11.76	13	12.87	14	13.33	3	2.88	8	7.48
Chest development																						
sem	3	.28									1	.93	1	.98							1	.93
sm	118	11.07	19	18.10	7	6.60	9	8.65	11	9.65	13	11.91	15	14.71	14	13.86	10	9.52	8	7.69	12	11.21
+	759	71.20	66	62.71	85	80.19	69	66.36	69	60.53	80	73.39	71	69.61	64	63.37	80	76.19	66	63.46	78	72.90
+ +	184	17.26	17	16.19	14	13.21	5	4.81	34	29.83	16	14.68	14	13.73	23	22.77	15	14.29	32	30.82	16	14.95
+ + +	2	.19					1	.96					1	.98								
Scapulae, vertebral borders																						
Straight	487	45.98	41	39.05	62	58.49	45	43.27	53	46.61	41	37.61	52	50.98	54	53.47	71	67.62	32	30.77	36	33.64
Convex	239	22.33	19	18.10	23	21.70	28	26.92	24	21.05	33	30.28	30	29.41	16	15.84	11	10.48	34	32.69	40	37.38
Concave	341	31.89	45	42.86	21	19.81	33	31.73	38	33.33	35	32.11	30	29.41	31	30.69	22	21.90	48	46.15	31	28.97
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Back, lumber curve																						
Abs.	45	4.22	1	.95					12	10.53	5	4.59	4	3.92	17	16.83	3	2.85	1	.96	2	1.85
sem	2	.19							1	.88	1	.92										
sm	528	49.30	49	46.67	38	35.42	37	35.58	51	44.74	49	44.95	44	43.14	44	43.37	74	70.48	67	64.42	57	52.78
+	463	43.39	52	49.52	70	65.94	63	60.58	48	42.35	54	49.54	48	47.06	30	29.70	28	26.76	34	32.69	47	43.52
+ +	31	2.91	3	2.86	8	7.55	4	3.85	4	3.51			6	5.88			2	1.90	2	1.92	2	1.85

#28
#41

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MRJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DER	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1087		105		108		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Abdomen																						
sm	318	29.24	16	15.24	19	17.59	35	34.04	35	31.58	24	22.02	27	26.47	18	17.82	14	13.33	23	22.12	33	31.30
+	767	71.88	80	76.19	84	79.25	79	75.96	80	70.18	74	67.89	66	64.71	76	69.31	78	74.29	75	69.23	78	72.22
++	84	7.87	9	8.57	3	2.83			9	7.89	11	10.09	9	8.82	13	12.87	13	12.38	9	8.65	7	6.48
Buttocks																						
sm	343	32.23	26	24.76	6	5.66	33	31.13	48	42.11	36	33.03	40	40.04	36	37.62	42	40.00	31	29.81	34	31.48
+	679	63.64	73	69.52	96	90.57	60	76.92	63	55.26	78	69.72	49	48.10	38	37.62	60	57.14	71	68.27	71	65.74
++	43	4.03	6	5.71	4	3.77	3	1.92	3	2.63	7	6.42	7	6.86	5	4.95	3	2.85	2	1.92	3	2.78
Calves																						
sm	159	15.04	7	6.67			9	8.65	21	18.42	15	13.76	11	10.78	30	29.68	24	22.86	30	28.85	31	28.70
+	839	78.65	88	84.76	98	91.32	71	68.27	65	57.03	73	66.97	60	58.83	48	47.52	62	59.05	65	62.73	54	50.00
++	258	24.18	28	26.67	38	35.72	24	23.08	28	24.56	21	19.27	27	26.47	21	20.80	18	17.14	19	18.43	23	21.30
+++	11	1.03	2	1.90	2	1.88							4	3.92	2	1.98	1	.95				
Heel projection																						
Abs.	5	.47											2	1.96	1	.99	1	.95	1	.96		
sem	5	.47											2	1.96	2	1.98			1	.96		
sm	687	63.51	74	70.48	57	53.77	61	58.65	69	60.53	75	68.81	74	72.55	68	67.33	62	59.05	63	60.58	58	53.70
+	335	31.46	28	26.67	43	40.57	38	37.50	40	35.09	28	25.69	23	22.56	25	24.75	36	34.19	39	37.50	40	37.04
++	55	5.15	3	2.86	6	5.66	4	3.85	5	4.39	6	5.50	1	.98	5	4.95	4	3.81	11	10.58	10	9.26
Foot arch																						
Abs.	7	.66	3	2.86											2	1.98	3	1.86				
sem	3	.28											2	1.96			1	.95				
sm	247	23.15	21	20.00	32	30.19	19	18.27	19	16.67	26	23.85	24	23.53	35	34.65	33	31.43	25	24.04	32	30.37
+	510	47.80	37	35.24	44	41.51	60	57.69	72	63.16	48	44.04	57	55.88	42	41.58	51	48.57	44	42.31	52	49.15
++	294	27.55	39	37.14	30	28.30	25	24.04	23	20.18	35	32.11	19	18.63	22	21.88	18	17.14	34	32.69	34	31.48
+++	6	.56	5	4.76															1	.96		
II. THE FACE																						
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Forehead, height																						
sem	6	.56							1	.88	1	.92	1	.98	1	.99			1	.96		
sm	196	17.81	10	9.52	14	13.21	13	12.50	25	21.93	24	22.02	17	16.67	30	29.70	11	10.48	24	23.08	19	17.59
+	714	66.02	74	70.48	76	71.70	76	73.08	82	71.93	64	58.72	70	68.63	66	65.40	79	75.24	70	67.31	63	58.33
++	159	14.73	21	20.00	16	15.09	13	12.50	6	5.26	30	18.35	14	13.73	15	14.85	15	14.29	9	8.65	26	24.07
Forehead, breadth																						
sm	62	5.81	5	4.76	2	2.83	6	5.77	3	2.63	12	11.01	6	5.88	12	11.88	5	4.76	3	2.88	5	4.63
+	798	68.38	98	93.24	78	73.58	85	82.69	79	69.30	80	73.39	78	76.47	67	66.33	73	74.29	62	59.62	56	51.85
++	288	27.00	42	39.10	25	23.58	13	11.54	31	27.19	16	14.68	18	17.65	41	40.59	31	30.00	38	36.54	46	42.59
+++	8	.75	2	1.90					1	.88	1	.92			1	.99	1	.95	1	.96	1	.93

#28
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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Forehead, slope																						
Forward	9	.84	2	1.90			1	.96	2	1.75							1	.95	1	.96	2	1.85
abs.	33	3.09	7	6.67	1	.94	3	2.88	7	6.14	1	.92	3	2.94	3	1.98	3	1.90	3	2.88	4	3.70
asm	8	.75									1	.92	2	1.96	1	.99			1	.96	3	2.78
sm	304	28.49	38	36.19	34	32.06	28	26.92	36	31.58	24	22.02	30	29.41	18	17.82	21	20.00	36	34.62	37	34.26
+	489	46.77	45	42.86	46	43.40	53	50.96	47	41.23	57	52.29	45	44.12	52	51.49	60	57.14	44	42.31	47	43.52
+ +	200	18.75	13	12.38	33	31.70	18	17.31	30	17.54	28	25.65	19	18.63	27	26.73	30	10.65	17	16.35	14	12.96
+ + +	14	1.31			2	1.88	1	.96	2	1.75			3	2.94	1	.99	1	.95	2	1.92	1	.93
Browridges, size																						
sm	128	12.00	14	13.33	5	4.72	9	8.65	24	21.05	7	6.42	20	19.61	14	13.86	9	8.57	11	10.58	14	12.96
+	590	55.30	65	61.90	53	50.00	58	55.85	54	47.37	64	58.72	56	54.90	55	54.46	72	68.57	50	48.08	63	58.33
+ +	312	29.24	24	22.86	43	40.57	32	30.77	30	26.32	37	33.94	24	23.53	36	27.72	24	22.86	40	38.46	28	24.07
+ + +	37	3.47	2	1.90	5	4.72	7	6.73	6	5.26	1	.92	2	1.96	4	3.96			3	2.88	5	4.63
Glabella																						
asm	5	.47															1	.95	2	1.92	2	1.85
sm	140	13.12	14	13.33	5	4.72	10	9.62	24	21.05	10	9.17	22	21.57	17	16.83	9	8.57	11	10.58	16	14.81
+	590	55.30	68	64.76	54	50.94	56	53.85	57	50.00	63	57.80	53	51.96	55	54.46	72	68.57	50	48.08	61	56.48
+ +	299	28.02	21	20.00	42	39.62	31	29.81	28	24.56	35	32.11	26	25.49	26	25.74	23	21.90	38	36.54	25	23.15
+ + +	33	3.09	2	1.90	5	4.72	7	6.73	5	4.39	1	.92	1	.98	3	2.97			3	2.88	4	3.70
External eyefolds																						
Abs.	677	63.45	56	53.33	59	55.66	80	76.92	63	55.26	82	75.23	64	62.75	60	59.41	81	68.57	81	77.88	75	69.44
sm	106	10.12	19	18.10	10	9.43	9	8.65	12	10.53	7	6.42	17	16.67	8	7.92	11	10.48	4	3.85	10	9.26
+	263	24.54	30	28.57	37	34.91	15	14.42	33	28.95	19	17.43	17	16.67	28	26.71	38	36.19	18	16.27	23	21.30
+ +	20	1.87							6	5.26	1	.92	4	3.92	4	3.96	5	4.76				
Eyefolds, epicanthus and median																						
Present	11	1.03	1	.95	1	.94	1	.96	3	2.63			2	1.96					2	1.92	1	.93
Absent	1056	98.98	104	99.05	105	99.06	103	99.04	111	97.37	109	100.00	100	98.04	101	100.00	105	100.00	102	98.08	107	99.07
Palpebral opening																						
asm	14	1.31							5	4.39			2	1.96	5	4.95					2	1.85
sm	583	54.64	51	48.57	83	78.30	40	38.46	82	71.93	54	49.54	58	56.86	56	55.45	54	51.43	35	33.65	64	59.26
+	467	43.77	54	51.43	23	21.70	64	61.54	27	23.68	54	49.54	42	41.18	40	39.60	49	46.67	69	66.35	42	38.89
+ +	3	.28									1	.92					2	1.90				
Obliquity																						
Abs.	854	80.04	81	77.14	73	68.87	83	79.85	105	92.11	84	76.24	82	80.39	72	71.29	81	77.14	90	86.54	87	80.56
asm	6	.56							2	1.75					3	2.97					1	.93
sm	189	17.71	21	20.00	32	30.19	19	18.27	5	4.39	15	13.76	16	15.69	24	23.76	23	21.90	14	13.46	18	16.67
+	18	1.69	3	2.86	1	.94	3	2.88	2	1.75			4	3.92	2	1.98	1	.95			2	1.85
Malars, forwards																						
asm	2	.19									1	.92	1	.98								
sm	483	45.27	48	45.71	37	34.91	34	32.69	54	47.37	43	39.45	51	50.00	49	48.51	45	42.86	56	53.85	62	57.41
+	534	50.05	55	52.38	60	56.60	64	61.54	56	49.12	55	50.46	45	44.12	47	46.53	59	56.19	44	42.31	44	40.74
+ +	48	4.50	2	1.90	9	8.49	6	5.77	4	3.51	10	9.17	5	4.90	5	4.95	1	.95	4	3.85	2	1.85

#28
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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1960 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DER	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		100		102		101		105		104		106	
Malars, sideways																						
sam	6	.56							1	.88	2	1.83	1	.98	2	1.98						
sm	294	27.56	34	32.38	32	30.18	23	22.12	36	31.58	23	23.04	38	35.29	35	34.65	38	37.14	33	31.73	26	24.07
+	545	51.08	61	58.10	58	55.68	62	59.62	56	49.12	57	52.29	45	44.12	41	40.59	54	51.43	48	46.23	57	52.78
+ +	221	20.71	20	19.05	36	33.96	19	18.27	27	23.68	25	22.94	20	19.61	22	21.78	12	11.43	25	24.04	25	23.15
+ + +	1	.09									1	.92										
Cheeks																						
sam	4	.37							1	.88	1	.92	1	.98	1	.99						
sm	455	42.65	37	35.24	43	40.57	28	27.08	64	56.14	44	40.37	53	51.96	50	49.50	41	39.05	44	42.31	47	43.52
+	523	49.06	58	55.24	54	50.94	70	67.31	41	35.96	57	52.29	46	39.22	44	43.56	58	55.24	53	50.96	53	49.15
+ +	75	7.03	10	9.52	9	8.49	5	4.81	8	7.02	7	6.42	8	7.84	6	5.94	6	5.71	7	6.73	8	8.33
Wrinkling																						
Abs.	238	22.12	19	18.10	17	16.04	28	26.90	22	19.30	31	28.44	33	32.35	26	25.74	18	18.34	18	18.26	26	24.07
sam	4	.37							3	2.63					1	.99			1	.96		
sm	366	34.30	41	39.05	55	51.89	38	36.53	27	23.68	39	35.78	35	34.31	31	30.69	32	30.48	42	41.38	33	30.56
+	395	36.98	40	38.10	38	35.82	39	37.50	52	45.61	36	27.52	35	34.31	31	30.69	40	38.07	38	36.54	43	39.81
+ +	73	6.84	5	4.76	6	5.66	3	2.88	10	8.77	9	6.88	8	7.84	11	10.89	8	7.62	6	5.77	6	5.56
+ + +	3	.28							1	.88	3	1.98										
Gonial angles																						
sam	7	.66							1	.88	1	.92	1	.98	2	1.98			2	1.92		
sm	270	25.31	25	23.81	29	27.36	25	24.04	22	19.30	17	16.98	32	31.37	27	26.70	33	31.43	27	25.96	27	25.96
+	591	55.39	57	54.29	61	57.55	65	62.50	74	64.91	69	68.30	48	47.10	51	50.50	49	46.67	53	50.96	60	57.69
+ +	190	17.81	22	20.95	16	15.09	13	11.54	16	14.04	22	20.18	22	21.57	16	15.84	23	21.90	20	19.23	21	19.46
+ + +	9	.84	1	.95			2	1.92	1	.88			1	.98	2	1.98			2	1.92		
Ear lobes, type																						
Attached	345	32.32	38	36.19	38	35.85	45	43.27	27	23.68	38	34.86	38	38.39	28	27.72	39	37.62	34	32.69	30	27.78
Free	722	67.67	67	63.81	68	64.15	59	56.73	87	76.32	71	65.14	64	64.71	73	72.28	76	72.38	70	67.31	78	72.22
Ear lobes, development																						
sam	8	.75									1	.92	2	1.96	1	.99			2	1.92	2	1.85
sm	427	40.03	53	50.48	45	42.45	41	39.42	36	31.58	42	38.53	34	33.33	45	45.54	35	33.33	46	38.46	36	44.30
+	570	53.42	51	48.57	57	53.77	61	58.65	64	56.14	57	52.29	59	57.84	44	43.56	65	61.90	56	53.73	45	41.27
+ +	61	5.72	1	.95	4	3.77	3	2.88	13	11.40	9	8.26	7	6.86	10	9.90	5	4.76			7	6.48
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												
Helix																						
Abs.	6	.56	1	.95					1	.88			2	1.96	1	.99					1	.93
sam	6	.56	1	.95	1	.94	1	.96	1	.88					2	1.98						
sm	314	29.43	32	30.48	33	30.19	44	42.31	31	27.19	29	28.61	28	28.44	24	23.76	17	16.19	41	39.42	35	32.41
+	711	66.64	70	66.67	70	66.04	56	53.77	78	68.42	72	68.81	70	68.63	70	69.31	88	83.81	60	57.69	67	62.04
+ +	30	2.81	1	.95	2	1.89	1	.96	3	2.63	5	4.96	4	3.92	4	3.96			3	2.88	5	4.63
Antihelix																						
Abs.	13	1.22	1	.95					1	.88			1	.98			2	1.90	2	1.92	6	5.56
sam	2	.19																			2	1.85
sm	123	11.53	6	5.71	6	5.66	6	5.77	15	13.16	14	12.84	12	11.76	7	6.93	14	13.33	21	20.19	17	15.74
+	849	79.57	88	83.80	95	89.62	96	92.38	88	77.19	88	80.73	85	83.33	75	74.26	84	80.00	78	75.12	72	66.67
+ +	77	7.22	11	10.48	3	1.89	4	3.85	10	8.77	6	5.50	4	3.92	18	17.82	5	4.76	6	5.76	11	10.19
+ + +	3	.28	1	.95							1	.92			1	.99						

#28
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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZED		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Darwin's Point, left																						
Abs.	646	60.54	70	66.67	72	67.92	60	57.69	64	56.14	71	65.14	57	55.88	49	48.51	63	60.00	69	66.35	67	62.04
sm	172	16.12	19	18.10	21	19.81	23	22.12	17	14.91	15	13.76	22	21.57	18	17.82	15	14.29	7	6.73	13	12.04
+	220	20.62	14	13.33	13	12.26	20	19.23	23	20.18	21	19.27	21	20.59	30	29.70	26	24.76	26	25.00	23	21.30
+ +	27	2.53	2	1.90			1	.96	8	7.02	2	1.83	2	1.96	3	2.97	1	.95	2	1.92		
+ + +	2	.19							1	.88					1	.99					1	.93
Darwin's Point, right																						
Abs.	628	58.88	68	64.76	70	66.04	57	54.81	59	51.75	65	59.63	59	57.84	59	58.42	62	59.05	63	60.58	61	56.48
sm	164	15.37	16	15.24	23	21.70	20	19.23	17	14.91	15	13.76	22	21.57	11	10.89	15	14.29	12	11.54	10	9.26
+	248	23.24	19	18.10	13	12.26	26	25.00	29	25.44	27	24.77	17	16.67	27	26.73	28	26.76	26	25.00	33	30.56
+ +	27	2.53	2	1.90			1	.96	8	7.02	2	1.83	4	3.92	4	3.96	2	1.90	1	.96	3	2.78
+ + +	2	.19							1	.88											1	.93
Lips: integumental thickness																						
sm	23	2.16	2	1.90			3	2.88	4	3.51	1	.92	1	.98	5	4.95	4	3.81	3	2.88		
+	910	85.29	92	87.62	104	98.11	94	90.38	85	74.56	98	89.91	95	93.14	70	69.31	81	77.14	87	83.65	96	88.89
+ +	133	12.47	11	10.48	2	1.89	7	6.73	25	21.93	10	9.17	6	5.88	26	25.74	20	19.05	13	12.50	12	11.11
+ + +	1	.09																	1	.96		
Lips, membranous thickness																						
Abs.	93	8.72	10	9.52	4	3.77	2	1.92	20	17.54	7	6.42	10	9.80	13	12.87	12	11.43	5	4.81	10	9.26
sm	19	1.78							7	6.14	3	2.75			1	.99			4	3.85	4	3.70
sm	434	42.55	34	32.38	47	44.34	43	41.35	41	35.96	38	34.86	49	48.04	51	50.50	42	40.00	58	55.77	46	42.59
+	469	43.98	60	57.14	51	48.11	57	54.81	41	35.96	59	54.13	41	40.20	29	28.71	50	47.62	34	32.69	44	40.74
+ +	31	2.91	1	.95	4	3.77	2	1.92	5	4.39	2	1.83	2	1.96	7	6.93	1	.95	3	2.88	3	2.78
+ + +	1	.09																			1	.93
Lips, eversion																						
Abs.	113	10.50	10	9.52	5	4.72	2	1.92	20	17.54	9	8.26	10	9.80	18	15.84	15	14.29	14	13.46	11	10.18
sm	14	1.31							7	6.14	1	.92			1	.99			2	1.92	3	2.78
sm	453	42.46	33	31.43	44	41.51	43	41.35	44	38.60	39	35.78	54	52.94	42	41.61	41	39.05	53	50.96	47	43.52
+	465	43.58	54	51.10	54	50.94	54	51.92	40	35.09	58	53.21	38	37.25	30	29.70	49	46.67	33	31.73	43	39.81
+ +	22	2.06	1	.95	3	2.83	3	2.88	3	2.63	2	1.83			5	4.95			2	1.92	1	2.78
+ + +	1	.09																				
Total	1066		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		104		104		108	
Chin, prominence																						
sm	241	22.61	24	22.86	5	4.72	22	21.15	27	23.68	20	18.35	33	31.37	19	18.81	27	25.96	29	27.88	36	33.33
+	745	69.89	76	72.38	96	94.91	79	75.96	75	65.79	80	73.39	60	58.82	70	69.31	72	70.19	67	64.42	67	62.04
+ +	78	7.31	4	3.81	11	10.38	3	2.88	12	10.53	9	8.26	10	9.80	12	11.88	4	3.85	8	7.69	5	4.63
+ + +	1	.09	1	.95																		
Chin, type																						
Median	813	76.27	86	81.90	41	38.68	70	67.31	92	80.70	83	76.15	91	89.22	86	85.15	87	83.65	87	83.65	82	75.93
Bilateral	253	23.73	19	18.10	65	61.32	34	32.69	22	19.30	26	23.85	11	10.78	15	14.85	17	16.35	17	16.35	26	24.07

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#28
141

B. Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Gheg

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		RAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		100		103		101		105		104		106	
Nasion depression																						
Abs.	2	.19																				
sam	68	6.27	8	8.57	3	2.83	4	3.85	10	8.77	7	6.42	5	4.90	8	7.92	1	.95			1	.93
sm	320	29.99	26	24.76	30	28.30	29	27.88	38	33.33	34	31.19	20	19.61	29	28.71	3	2.86	11	10.58	8	7.61
+	552	51.74	59	56.19	50	47.17	57	54.81	58	50.88	64	58.72	66	64.71	49	48.51	54	51.43	45	43.27	49	46.26
++	123	11.52	11	10.48	23	21.70	14	13.46	9	7.89	4	3.67	11	10.78	14	13.86	12	11.43	11	10.58	11	10.19
+++	2	.19													1	.99			1	.96		
Nasal root, height																						
sm	114	10.68	10	9.52	8	7.55	11	10.58	3	2.63	6	5.90	14	13.73	22	21.78	18	17.14	13	12.50	8	7.61
+	728	68.05	72	68.57	73	70.75	74	71.15	86	75.44	78	77.86	81	79.41	80	79.21	78	74.07	83	80.58	86	81.94
++	206	19.26	21	20.00	21	19.81	18	17.31	23	20.18	23	21.10	6	5.88	19	17.82	15	14.29	36	35.00	37	34.95
+++	19	1.80	2	1.90	2	1.89	1	.96	2	1.75	2	1.83	1	.98	1	.99	2	1.90	2	1.92	3	2.78
Nasal root, breadth																						
sam	26	2.44	2	1.90					1	.88	6	5.50	4	3.92	3	2.97	2	1.90	1	.96	7	6.48
sm	504	47.24	34	32.38	50	47.17	42	40.38	55	48.25	53	48.62	50	49.02	52	51.29	43	40.95	47	45.19	55	51.11
+	484	45.36	59	56.19	53	49.06	58	55.77	56	49.12	48	44.04	41	40.20	38	38.64	55	52.38	55	52.88	30	27.78
++	43	4.03	10	9.52	4	3.77	4	3.85	2	1.75	4	3.67	7	6.86			5	4.76	1	.96	6	5.56
Nasal bridge, height																						
sam	1	.09			1	.94																
sm	46	4.31	4	3.81	5	4.72	6	5.77	2	1.75	4	3.67	5	4.90	4	3.96	8	7.62	5	4.81	3	2.78
+	553	51.74	60	57.14	59	55.63	62	59.62	57	50.00	53	48.71	67	65.68	52	51.48	53	50.48	47	45.19	39	36.11
++	370	34.68	35	33.33	37	34.91	31	29.81	46	40.35	44	40.37	30	29.41	34	33.66	34	34.29	36	34.64	47	43.52
+++	99	9.19	6	5.71	7	6.60	5	4.81	15	13.16	9	8.26	4	3.92	11	10.89	9	7.62	14	13.46	19	17.59
Nasal bridge, breadth																						
sam	31	2.91	3	2.86					2	1.75	5	4.58	4	3.92	3	2.97	3	2.86	1	.96	10	9.26
sm	462	43.30	32	30.48	48	45.33	41	39.42	47	41.23	48	43.96	48	47.06	52	51.48	34	32.38	55	52.88	54	51.85
+	512	48.04	58	55.24	51	48.11	57	54.81	62	54.39	56	51.38	42	41.18	45	44.55	63	60.00	47	45.19	39	37.96
++	54	5.06	12	11.43	5	4.72	5	4.77	3	2.63	2	1.83	8	7.84	1	.99	5	4.76	1	.96	10	9.26
+++	1	.09			1	.94																
Nasal Profile																						
cnc	69	6.47	7	6.67	11	10.38	10	9.62	3	2.63	5	4.59	11	10.78	3	2.97	3	4.76	3	2.88	11	10.19
str	416	38.99	40	38.10	47	44.34	47	45.19	43	38.47	44	40.37	42	41.18	46	39.60	38	34.29	39	37.50	33	30.56
cnv	571	53.52	55	52.38	48	45.28	47	45.19	66	57.89	56	56.05	48	47.06	38	37.43	64	60.95	58	55.77	62	57.41
c-c	11	1.03	3	2.86									1	.98					4	3.85	2	1.85
Nasal tip, thickness																						
sam	31	2.91			2	1.89	2	1.92	4	3.51	4	3.67	3	2.94	3	2.97	2	1.90	4	3.85	7	6.48
sm	372	34.87	24	22.86	38	35.85	32	30.77	46	40.35	33	30.28	43	42.16	46	39.60	39	37.14	39	37.50	46	42.59
+	548	51.36	57	54.29	53	49.06	62	59.62	57	50.00	64	58.72	46	45.10	53	52.48	62	59.05	58	55.77	43	39.80
++	115	10.78	24	22.86	14	13.21	8	7.69	7	6.14	8	7.34	10	9.80	5	4.95	12	11.43	15	14.42	12	11.11
+++	1	.09																			1	.93
Nasal tip, elevation and depression																						
Elevated	601	56.36	40	38.10	53	50.00	60	57.69	86	75.44	75	69.01	64	62.75	52	51.49	47	44.76	60	62.31	60	55.56
Depressed	466	43.64	65	61.90	53	50.00	44	42.31	28	24.56	34	31.19	38	37.25	49	48.51	58	55.24	44	37.69	48	44.44

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1959 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Gheqs

*128
●141

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		NAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		109	
Nasal wings																						
Compressed	383	35.90	25	23.81	33	31.13	23	22.12	54	47.37	30	27.53	46	45.10	41	40.59	33	31.43	43	41.35	53	49.07
Medium	623	58.39	71	67.62	62	58.49	78	75.00	55	48.25	74	67.88	49	48.04	59	58.41	63	59.05	58	55.77	49	45.37
Flaring	61	5.72	9	8.57	11	10.38	5	4.81	5	4.39	5	4.59	7	6.86			10	9.52	3	2.88	6	5.56
Total	1068		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		103		108	
Nasal septum, shape																						
straight	728	68.29	74	70.48	77	72.64	67	64.42	73	68.42	72	66.06	71	69.61	74	73.27	90	85.71	61	59.22	60	55.56
convex	338	31.71	31	29.52	29	27.36	37	35.58	39	31.58	37	33.94	31	30.39	27	26.73	15	14.29	42	40.78	48	44.44
Total	1066		105		106		104		114		109		102		100		105		103		108	
Nasal septum, inclination																						
Up	598	55.86	43	40.95	57	57.77	64	61.54	82	71.93	72	66.06	59	57.84	52	52.00	49	46.67	57	55.34	58	53.70
Down	468	44.04	62	59.05	49	48.23	40	38.46	32	28.07	37	33.94	43	42.16	48	48.00	56	53.33	46	44.66	50	46.30
III. THE HEAD																						
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		109	
Temporal fulness																						
ssm	2	.19							1	.88	1	.92										
sm	131	12.28	3	2.86	5	4.72	12	11.54	27	23.68	15	13.76	19	18.63	22	21.78	10	9.52	7	6.73	9	8.33
+	789	73.95	85	80.95	91	85.85	87	83.65	87	76.32	81	74.31	71	69.61	55	54.46	82	78.10	79	75.96	83	76.85
++	142	13.31	16	15.24	10	9.43	5	4.81	18	15.87	12	11.01	13	11.76	22	21.78	13	12.38	16	15.38	16	14.81
+++	3	.28	1	.95															2	1.92		
Occipital protrusion																						
Abs.	5	.47			2	1.89													3	2.88		
ssm	21	1.97	1	.95					5	4.39	4	3.67	2	1.96	3	2.97	2	1.90	2	1.92	2	1.85
sm	341	31.98	43	40.95	26	24.53	25	24.04	42	36.84	14	12.84	19	18.63	32	31.68	47	44.76	51	49.04	41	37.96
+	578	54.17	58	55.24	68	64.15	66	63.46	56	49.25	65	59.63	70	68.63	47	46.53	50	47.62	38	36.54	56	51.85
++	116	10.87	3	2.86	9	8.49	13	12.50	12	10.53	24	22.02	11	10.78	17	16.83	5	4.76	10	9.62	9	8.33
+++	6	.56			1	.94					3	1.83			2	1.98	1	.95				
Occipital flattening																						
Abs.	737	69.07	52	49.52	84	79.25	83	79.81	83	72.81	85	77.98	82	80.39	70	69.31	55	52.38	60	57.69	75	69.44
sm	37	3.47	4	3.81	4	3.77			3	2.63	2	1.83	2	1.96	3	2.97	10	9.52	7	6.73	3	2.78
+	213	19.96	35	33.33	14	13.21	17	16.35	17	14.91	17	15.60	9	8.82	20	19.80	30	28.57	30	28.85	23	21.30
++	70	6.56	12	11.43	4	3.77	4	3.85	10	8.77	5	4.59	6	5.88	6	5.94	9	8.57	6	5.76	6	5.56
+++	10	.94	2	1.90					1	.88			3	2.94	1	.99	1	.95	1	.96	1	.93
Lambdoid flattening																						
Abs.	897	85.95	73	69.52	39	36.79	54	51.92	48	42.11	80	43.87	74	72.55	57	56.44	83	79.05	53	50.96	58	53.70
sm	110	10.31	8	7.62	11	10.38	9	8.65	16	14.04	10	9.17	8	7.84	10	9.90	8	7.62	12	11.54	18	16.67
+	327	30.65	21	20.00	54	50.94	40	38.46	39	34.21	47	43.12	18	17.65	29	28.71	13	12.38	35	33.65	30	27.78
++	31	2.91	3	2.86	2	1.89	1	.96	11	9.65	2	1.83	2	1.96	4	3.96	1	.95	4	3.85	1	.93
+++	2	.19													1	.99					1	.93

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0141
M2

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MRJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DUB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		106	
Bathrocephaly																						
Abs.	758	71.04	93	88.57	58	53.83	58	55.77	80	70.18	63	57.80	84	82.35	71	70.30	94	89.52	75	72.00	75	69.44
sm	5	.47							3	2.63	1	.92	1	.98								
+	291	27.27	12	11.43	48	45.28	46	43.31	28	24.56	44	40.37	16	15.69	30	29.71	11	10.48	26	25.00	31	28.70
+ +	7	.66			2	1.89	1	.96	1	.88	1	.92	1	.98							1	.93
+ + +	6	.56					1	.96	2	1.75					1	.99					1	.93
Cranial asymmetry, left																						
Abs.	985	89.90	99	94.76	102	96.23	98	94.23	98	85.96	95	87.15	94	92.16	89	88.12	95	90.48	93	89.42	94	87.04
sm	19	1.78	3	2.86	2	1.89	2	1.92	5	4.39	1	.92	1	.98	3	1.98	3	1.90	1	.96		
+	74	6.94	12	11.43	2	1.89	3	2.88	7	6.14	13	11.91	6	5.88	7	6.93	7	6.67	6	5.77	11	10.19
+ +	19	1.80	1	.95			1	.96	3	2.63	1	.92	1	.98	3	2.97	1	.95	4	3.85	3	2.78
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												
Cranial asymmetry, right																						
Abs.	792	74.23	87	82.81	84	79.25	77	74.04	91	79.82	85	77.98	87	85.29	79	78.22	84	80.00	86	82.69	82	75.93
sm	72	6.75	15	14.29	9	8.49	6	5.77	3	2.63	5	4.59	6	5.88	6	5.94	13	12.38	4	3.85	5	4.63
+	182	17.06	23	21.90	13	11.32	21	20.19	14	12.28	18	16.51	9	8.82	15	14.85	25	23.81	26	24.92	16	14.81
+ +	20	1.87			1	.94			5	4.39	1	.92			1	.99	3	2.85	4	3.85	5	4.63
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												
Facial asymmetry, left																						
Abs.	1039	98.44	102	97.14	106	100.00	103	99.04	108	94.74	102	93.58	101	99.02	100	99.01	96	91.43	101	97.12	101	93.52
sm	1	.09															1	.95				
+	29	2.72	3	2.86			1	.96	5	4.39	5	4.59	1	.98	1	.99	7	6.67	3	1.92	4	3.70
+ +	8	.75							1	.88	2	1.83					1	.95	1	.96	3	2.78
Facial asymmetry, right																						
Abs.	1042	97.88	102	97.14	105	99.06	104	100.00	109	95.61	109	100.00	97	95.10	99	98.02	102	97.14	101	97.12	105	97.22
+	18	1.69	2	1.90	1	.94			2	1.75			4	3.92	2	1.98	3	1.86	3	2.88	2	1.85
+ +	7	.66	1	.95					3	2.63			1	.98			1	.95			1	.93
Handedness																						
Left	74	6.94	11	10.48	3	2.83	5	4.81	6	5.26	8	7.34	7	6.86	6	7.03	6	5.71	12	11.54	7	6.48
Right	986	92.41	93	88.57	103	97.17	99	95.19	107	93.86	100	91.74	94	92.16	91	90.10	99	94.29	93	88.46	100	92.59
Ambi	7	.66	1	.95					1	.88	1	.92	1	.98	2	1.98					1	.93
IV. THE PILOUS SYSTEM																						
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		106	
Eyebrows, thickness																						
sxm	1	.09																	1	.96		
sm	52	4.87	5	4.76	9	8.49	6	5.77	4	3.51	5	4.59	1	.98	4	3.96	1	.95	6	5.77	10	9.26
+	995	93.25	93	88.57	96	91.13	96	92.34	91	79.83	98	89.73	93	91.18	88	85.15	99	94.43	85	81.73	81	75.00
+ +	116	10.87	7	6.67	11	10.38	6	7.69	17	14.91	16	14.68	8	7.84	11	10.89	5	7.62	12	11.54	15	14.81
+ + +	3	.28							3	1.75											1	.93

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1956 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

THE SERIES AS A WHOLE

I. The Body

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OUR 1067 Gheg mountaineers range from the metric equivalent of 4 feet, 5 inches to 6 feet, 4 inches, with a mean at approximately 5 feet, 7 inches (169.7 cm.). This mean falls on the borderline between *medium* and *tall* in the standard classification of Martin.[1] For Europeans, they are tall. They are taller than most Tosks, although regional Tosk populations may turn out to be as tall. They are shorter than the Montenegrins and Bosnians immediately north and northwest of them, and about the same as the Dalmatians and the taller of the Tyrolese. Aside from their northern neighbors, only the Ukrainians, Scandinavians, and British are consistently taller among European populations. Native-born Americans are also taller.

The rather limited set of body measurements and indices available indicates a normal European position, but a little on the long-limbed and lanky side. In shoulder breadth, span, biiliac, sitting height, and derivative indices which relate to stature, these mountaineers resemble the Scandinavians and British more closely than the stockier central and eastern Europeans. Finding it impossible to persuade the majority of my subjects to maintain an "at rest" position while I was measuring their chest diameters, I measured them at full inspiration, and hence the figures are much higher than those of other series. I believe that most of these men had well-developed chests, as studied by any technique.

The 12 observations on body form give a more detailed if less objective picture (see table 4). The mean point is supposed to represent a hypothetical norm for Europeans. The general musculature is just about average; variation is not great. Necks are medium to short, and medium to thin; shoulders are on the square side of medium, chests a little larger than average. The back is unusually straight, with little lumbar curve; the abdomen rarely

[1] Martin, 1928, vol. 1, p. 255.

[see cat. 86, p. 54f-54q -- Analyst]

141 prominent, the buttocks medium to small, the calves well developed, the heels a little more projecting than expected, the foot arch about medium. This is a picture of an average man [142] who has led an active out-of-door life in a hard but healthy environment, on a minimum of food which is nevertheless well balanced; he is muscular, lean, and accustomed to walking long distances over rough terrain. From the neck down it would be hard to distinguish him from a shepherd in the Scottish Highlands, a Norwegian from the fjord country, or an Appalachian mountaineer.

[147] Only one physiological test was made: dynamometer squeeze. Despite the cold weather, despite the stiffening of fingers through years of ploughing, the mountaineers produced a mean of 112 pounds, ranging from 45 to 190 (see table 9).

II. The Face

141 144 From the neck up the resemblance to Scot and Norwegian would continue in most respects, but would disappear in others. In the more noticeable dimensions of the face it would be quite close. The Albanian mountaineers have moderately long faces, both in the distance from nasion to alveon (the point on the gums between the 2 upper median incisors) and from nasion to menton. It is hard to make close comparisons because individual anthropometrists vary greatly in locating these points. Comparing them with series of which one can be moderately sure that the same techniques were used, we see that the Ghegs are about the same in face length as populations which are predominantly Nordic or which represent the larger varieties of Mediterranean —like the English, the Riffians, and the Basques, and shorter faced than populations with an excess of marginal pre-Neolithic genetic elements, like the Irish and Norwegians. They are longer-faced than the small Mediterranean peoples like Spaniards and southern Italians. The upper face is relatively long in proportion to the total face height; this is usually, in Euro-

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pean populations, found among peoples who are predominantly Mediterranean in type, but not very different from the situation in some populations usually considered Nordic.

The minimum frontal diameter, the only measurement usually taken of the forehead, is another troublesome criterion from the technical standpoint. Variations in technique between anthropometrists render most comparisons specious. Using only series which we know to be comparable, one can easily see that the Ghegs, with a mean of nearly 109 millimeters, are broader in this dimension than the long-faced Europeans to whom they are also similar in stature and body build; most of the Mediterranean and Nordic series run to 102–106 millimeters. In the bizygomatic, which is difficult to get wrong, they are again more comparable to the larger and broader-faced European populations. Here they fit in with the larger-faced local populations of Norway and Ireland, and exceed standard Nordics and Mediterraneans. In the bigonial, however, this excess is much smaller. As a result the typical Gheg face, like that of the traditional Basque, looks like an equilateral triangle set on its apex (*frontispiece*)[1]

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The nose height of the Ghegs is exceeded by few in Europe, or in the world. Several factors contribute to this position, including the fact that the nasal septum and tip among the older men were so depressed that age changes of the soft parts must have played a conditioning role in my measuring. At the same time the nose breadth is among the narrowest in Europe and the world, and the nasal index is extremely leptorrhine.

The ratio between forehead and face breadths (zygo-frontal) is high in all Dinaric series, the Ghegs included; it reflects the unusual width of the forehead. The zygo-gonial is even higher, for the same reason, coupled with the fact that the bigonial diameter is relatively less than the bizygomatic. The facial index of the present series falls on the borderline between Martin's categories of mesoprosopic and leptoprosopic—although the Gheg faces are large, their length-breadth proportions are moderate. This is not true of the nose, which has one of the lowest nasal indices on record, placing it in the hyperleptorrhine category.

[1] [see cut 116, facing title page -- Analyst] -59a-

141 [128] Thirty-eight observations piece out this picture. Impressions of the foreheads of 1067 men show them to be for the most part of medium height and a little more than medium breadth, with a little less than medium slope on the average. The browridges run moderately large, and glabella is usually prominent. Eyefolds are usually absent, but when they do occur are almost always external, the so-called "Nordic" fold which is common with all narrow-faced Europeans. The almost complete absence of median and internal folds differentiates these people sharply from the Mongoloid and east Baltic populations of northeastern Europe. The wide opening of the eyeslit further emphasizes this difference. Almost one individual out of five shows a little eye obliquity, reminding one of Near Eastern Mediterranean types.

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The face itself is characteristically gaunt; the malars rarely protrude forward and their lateral extension is only medium. The cheeks are medium to thin, and usually wrinkled, with firm lines around the mouth. The gonial angles protrude only to a normal extent judging by ordinary western European standards. This lean, drawn, and weather-beaten appearance of the face heightens the resemblance of these people to the Scots, Norse, and Basques. The 5 observations on the ears show nothing uncommon for Europeans. The lips run a little above medium in integumental (muscular) thickness, and unusually thin in membrane, reflecting probably bite and eating habits as much as race; they are also less everted than in the normal run of familiar European whites. The lips of the Ghegs look more like those of family portraits of the Revolutionary period than like those of modern Americans. The observation on chin prominence is based on actual slope rather than on fidelity to an ideal mean; the presence of 23 per cent of *sm* chins is no greater than would be found in any other narrow-jawed European population. Most of the chins are median; the bilateral form (discovered through palpation) goes with the Alpine and other pre-Mediterranean types in Europe as well as with individuals of unusual robusticity.

[See cat. 11b pp. 54g-54h -- Analpt]

The most distinctive feature of the Mountain Gheg face, the nose, almost never springs from glabella without depression, according to

142 the Greek ideal. Although not unusually high, its root is exceptionally narrow. Its bridge is usually both high and narrow. This combination yields a high frequency, in fact a majority, of convex nasal profiles, giving the Gheg his traditional hawklike appearance. The tip of the nose is medium to thin, more often straight or elevated than depressed, with medium to compressed wings and usually a straight septum. This nose, as the forward segment of a gaunt, triangular face, gives the classical Dinaric his impressive facial appearance.

III. The Head

141 So far we have found only a few measurements and observations to differentiate the ordinary Gheg mountaineer from the shepherd of the Scottish Highlands, the Basque, and the inland Norwegian to whom we first compared him. When we remove his felt cap, however, and study his head, we find that the resemblance ceases. His head is 10 whole millimeters shorter than those of his Atlantic-bordering simulacres, resembling in this respect eastern and central European peoples, and the inhabitants of Armenia, Anatolia, parts of the Caucasus, and the Lebanon. At the same time it is much broader, in fact it is among the broadest heads in Europe. It is difficult to find its exact position regarding height, since head height is notoriously subject to the personal equation. Judging by only those series of which I am sure, I consider the Gheg heads moderately to more-than-average elevated. They do not, however, reach the extremes in this dimension that they do in length and breadth. In the indices of the head, these people are fully brachycephalic, although less extreme in this respect than some of their neighbors, notably the Tosks and some of the mountain-dwelling Yugoslavs, among whom mean indices of 87 and 88 have been recorded. In the length-height indices they rank as hypsicephalic, while in the breadth-height index they take a low position. This merely reflects the moderate head height in comparison with an extreme cranial breadth. The indices which serve to compare the parietal breadth with facial diameters—fronto-parietal and cephalo-facial—both emphasize the disproportion between a very broad hind-head and moderate facial breadths. The fronto-parietal and cephalo-facial indices, relating the forehead

141 and face breadths to that of the rear segment of the head are low, but not unusually so, because the forehead and zygomatic arches are also somewhat wider than the thin appearance of the face would lead one to suspect.

We have seen already that the forehead tends to be a little straighter, or less sloping, than with most of the hawk-visaged non-Dinaric European peoples; this fullness of the forehead is matched by a correspondingly well-developed temporal fullness. At the rear, however, the skull shows a tendency for less than the normal degree of occipital protrusion, and in 31 per cent of individuals the occiput is actually flattened. An even greater ratio, 44 per cent, show flattening in the lambdoid region, and in 29 per cent of cases we find the anomaly known as bathrocephaly, which is a failure of the parietal bones to unite smoothly with the occipital at lambda, with a shelf or depression at the critical point, reminding one of a softball that has been knocked lopsided and started to come unstitched. The back of the head is clearly the most unusual and hence interesting portion of the Gheg anatomy. The same would be true of course in the case of Dinarics and Armenoids from other countries.

A further fact that seems highly suggestive is that 36 per cent of our subjects (most of whom, as we shall see later, possess some kind of flattening) have noticeably asymmetrical skulls. Were this asymmetry a normal variant from the usual condition, one would expect more individuals in the *sm* than in the *plus* categories, but this is not the case; asymmetry itself seems to have a normal distribution wholly aside from the absent category. Furthermore, it is 2.4 times as frequent on the right as on the left side, which suggests a functional association. Facial asymmetry, on the other hand, is very rare, accounting for only 6 per cent of the whole, and without significant distinction between right and left. Handedness was determined by asking the men to pick up a stone, by tossing them a stick, etc. Most were illiterate, and the choice of hand for eating was dictated by custom. The 7.6 per cent of left handed and ambidextrous is undoubtedly far too low a number—conditioning probably affected catching, throwing, and picking things up to a certain extent too. The ratio shown by the cranial asymmetry is probably nearer the truth genetically.

142 one could compare a series of skeletons of such men with those from the Illyrian Iron Age cemetery at Glasinac, it is hard to see what differences between the means would appear except for the greater frequency of broad, and often occipitally flattened, heads in the living population.

VARIABILITY OF THE SERIES AS A WHOLE AND OF THE TRIBES

● 141 Any living population may be expected to
#128 show a normal frequency distribution in each metrical criterion. This distribution is expressed by the standard deviation (see table 3B).[1] Standard deviations themselves vary. If the standard deviation exceeds a certain nu-

[1] [see cont 116, pp. 54d - 54e -- Analyst]

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merical value, one is led to suspect that the series includes individuals from not one, but several populations, which differ from each other in the criteria concerned.

In order to provide an easy test for this, Howells[2] has compiled a table of means of standard deviations for a large number of series, each of which consists of over 50 individuals; he has likewise devised the "sigma ratio," to compare individual sigmas with the mean. Table 5 shows how this may be applied to our Albanian material. In most of the measurements and indices of the *face*, our Mountain Ghegs possess, as a whole, a normal

[2] Howells, 1936, pp. 592–600.

1 [See cat. 116, p 62e--Anthpt]

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degree of variability. In one character, the nasal index, they possess a remarkable homogeneity. In stature, head length, head breadth, and the cephalic index, they show a greater variability than might be expected from a normal unit population. This is particularly marked with the cephalic index. Thus, using variability as our criterion, we find that *the Mountain Ghegs are a population as far as the diameters and proportions of the face are concerned, but not when stature and the dimensions and form of the cranial vault are considered.*

If they are not a population, then they are a compendium of populations, which may or may not be the tribes. In most criteria the tribes show a range of variation on either side

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of the 100 mark; in the nasal index all fall far below; in the cephalic index all fall far above. The nose height is always more variable than Howell's mean, and tribal variations in the cephalic index reach remarkable heights. From this we may deduce that *the variation in stature is due to the regional size differences which we have already seen*, that *the variation in cephalic index is due to some factor operating within tribes as well as between them*, while *the extraordinary homogeneity in nasal index is connected with a great variability in the nose height, which varies with the nose breadth instead of independently.*

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It is conceivable that the tribes themselves differ in amount of variability. In order to test this let us turn to table 3c. If we average the values of V for 32 characters, from stature to nasal index, we obtained the following (see table 6).

TABLE 6: VALUES OF V FOR 32 CHARACTERS, BY TRIBES.

	Mean V
Total series	5.26
Mean of tribes	5.09
MeM	5.13
Duk	4.95
MeJ	4.95
Has	5.37
Lum	4.84
Puk	5.14
Mir	4.97
Zad	5.14
Mat	5.32
Dib	5.11

As a whole, the tribes are less variable than the total series. Only 2 tribes, Has and Mati, form exceptions to this rule. The Has sample was taken from a single locality, the Mati one from a widespread and religiously diverse population. But even with them only one coefficient of variation is *significantly* greater than its mate in the total series: Has is more variable in head height than the total series by 4.71 times p. e.

Four tribes are notably less variable than the whole; Luma, Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, and Mirdita. *Two of these are our only 100 per cent Catholic tribes, noted for their genetic isolation.* On this basis their relative homogeneity is understandable. But Luma and Malsia e Jakovës are mostly or wholly Moslem, and situated on the main traffic routes. How do they differ from the others? The answer, which forms part of the next section, is simple: *they are the least brachycephalic of all the tribes.* It is in the area of the cranial vault that much of our tribal differentiation lies.

* Elaborate tables have been prepared to show the significance ratios of the differences between means of all metrical characters of all tribes, and the same for all categories of percentages in the observations. The cost of publishing such tables is prohibitive. In the [see cat. 116, p. 54e -- Analyst] [cont'd p. 63b -- Analyst]

PHENOTYPICAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES; STATISTICAL VALIDATION

141 Let us examine the geographical distribution of anthropometric characters among the tribes. We must not forget that the total area is no larger than Connecticut, that the population of this miniscule region has seen no foreign invasions, no infiltrations or immigrations, for at least 400 years, and that it may be derived historically from a single known source. Under ordinary conditions one would not expect to find wide physical differences. But the conditions in Malsia e Ghegnisë are not ordinary. The people, as we have seen, live in narrow, mutually isolated valleys, marrying within restricted genetic channels, and eating the products of local and mutually differing soils.

141 #128 The result is what one might be led to expect. The samples from the 10 tribes differ more from each other than do the native-born white Americans of native parentage within the 48 states. And these differences are so great that each tribe forms a statistically separate population from all others. We are dealing with 10 different populations, phenotypically. Evidence for this can be presented briefly.[3]

In each measurement and index listed on table 3c, 45 possible intertribal differences may be found. Each tribe also differs from the total series, making 55 differences for each criterion. The number of significant (3 or more times p.e.) differences out of a possible 10 and 45 are as shown in table 7.

The figures show that the 10 tribes of Mountain Ghegs differ from the total series significantly in nearly four-tenths of all criteria measured, and from each other in even more. Four per cent is the proportion in this category allowed by chance alone.[4] Differences are far greatest in the gross size dimensions of the body, not including the special measurements of the chest. Body proportions vary less than size itself. Above the neck, the 3 principal

[continued from 63a -- Analyst]

following pages of this chapter, parts of them will be summarized. The author will keep them on file on the chance that some one may wish to refer to them in the future.

[4] Goring, 1913.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 54e -- Analyst]

[2] [see cat. 116, p. 64a -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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TABLE 7: NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES.

	TOTAL	EACH OTHER
Maximum possible	10	45
Stature	6	30
Span	8	32
Sitting ht.	6	28
Biacromial	7	29
Bi-iliac	4	25
Chest br.	3	18
Chest depth	2	22
Rel. span	5	17
Rel. shoulder ht.	2	13
Rel. shoulder br.	4	22
Rel. sitting ht.	3	17
Head lgth.	7	28
Head br.	5	25
Head ht.	3	21
Minimum frontal	5	20
Bizygomatic	4	17
Bigonial	1	11
Total face ht.	3	21
Upper face ht.	2	11
Nose ht.	3	21
Nose br.	3	15
Cephalic index	6	30
Length ht. index	4	21
Breadth ht. index	7	26
Fronto-parietal index	4	21
Cephalo-facial index	3	19
Zygo-frontal index	2	7
Fronto-gonial index	2	6
Zygo-gonial index	2	5
Facial index	4	25
Upper facial index	3	25
Nasal index	2	13
Total	125	641
	(320)	(1760)

BY CLASSES OF CRITERIA: PERCENTAGE OF ALL POSSIBLE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES

	TOTAL	EACH OTHER
5 Stand. body meas.	62%	52%
4 Stand. body indices	35	38
2 Diam. of chest	25	44
3 Diam. of brain case	50	55
3 Indices of brain case	57	50
7 Face diam.	30	37
3 Indices of facial br.	20	13
3 Sagittal-br. indices of face	30	47
2 Head-face indices	35	44
32 Criteria, total	39%	45%

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diameters of the brain case and their indices are most divergent. The horizontal diameters of the face and their indices differ the least; if a decision rested on them alone it would be hard to demonstrate racial differentiation in the Gheg mountains. Sagittal diameters of the face, and the sagittal-horizontal indices, differ more.

From this we may say that in 3 respects the tribes vary metrically from the total and from one another: (1) in body diameters, greatly; (2) in brain case diameters and indices, nearly as greatly; (3) in the gross lengths of the face—particularly from nose to chin—and in indices dependent on these measurements, to a lesser extent. In one respect the tribes show a degree of relative homogeneity—in the constancy of the horizontal diameters of the face. Even here, however, they differ more than chance alone would warrant.

A similar test has been made of intertribal differences in 78 observations given on table 4;[1] here the differences between tribes and total were not calculated—the method used was to calculate the probable errors of percentages by the tables of Ritala,[5] and to test the significances of the differences between them.

Table 8[2] demonstrates that clear intertribal differences are harder to demonstrate in the observations than in the metrical characters, perhaps by virtue of the nature of the criteria themselves. Since 4 per cent of the differences over 3 p.e. can be ascribed to chance in any case, and since an equal allowance might well be made for technical inaccuracy, differences in cleanliness, in appearance at different temperatures, and light conditions, etc., I find it hard to claim valid regional differences in classes of criteria where fewer than 8 per cent of combinations are over 3 p.e. In face form, [142] in nasal architecture, in hair development, form, and distribution, and in pigmentation, what regional differences occur seem to be of little consequence. These characters are precisely those which most anthropologists feel to be genetic. In these respects, therefore, our Gheg mountaineers are as homogeneous as their history would lead us to expect.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 54f-54g -- Analyst]

2 [See cat. 116, p. 65b -- Analyst]

[5] Ritala. 1933.

141 *128 In the observations of the body and of the brain case, however, they differ more than chance and technical error would justify. In these easily influenced characters, regional phenotypes exist.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN BODY SIZE AND FORM

The main difference in body size lies in the north-south cleavage between the tribes living on either side of the Drin. Those to the north are a good 6 centimeters taller than those to the south. These differences are greater to the west than to the east, so that 3 areas may be postulated; a tall northwestern, an intermediate eastern, and a short southwestern. These areas differ also in body proportions, in that the northwestern tribes (Malsia e Madhe and Dukagin) are broad-shouldered and long-armed as well, while the eastern tribes, including Malsia e Jakovës, while tall, are slenderer and narrower in the shoulders, with the southwesterners in these criteria short and slender. The acme of robusticity is reached in Dukagin, whose athletic tribesmen exceed all others to a marked degree in these special criteria. Although we lack constants for weight, which would be most valuable here, we have the evidence for dynamometer squeeze, which reveals their superiority in muscular strength (see table 9).*

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Dukagin men are a little stronger than those of Malsia e Madhe, but this difference is not significant. However, both Dukagin and Malsia e Madhe are significantly stronger than all of the other tribes. Among the others, Has, Luma, and Puka are all 3 stronger than Mati and Mirdita; Puka is stronger than Zadrima as well, and Malsia e Jakovës is stronger than

* [See cat. 116, p. 65c --Analyst]

142 Malsia e Jakovës the least so. Has stands out
*128 as moderately tall and very chesty. The vertebral borders of the scapulae, supposed to have much significance from the standpoint of general health and vigor, vary little. The lumbar curve is most pronounced in the tribes north of the Drin. None of the Gheg mountaineers had enough to eat to produce protuberant abdomens—in this criterion variation is nonexistent. In general, buttocks are plumpest north of the Drin, where lumbar curve is greatest and hence pelvic tilt most pronounced; these differences between tribes in lumbar curve and buttock protrusion are more marked than any others. Calves are most developed in Dukagin and Mirdita, among the tallest and shortest tribesmen, respectively. The feet show little variability.

142 To sum this data up, we find tall men north
147 of the Drin, with stature decreasing rapidly as
*128 one moves southward; to the east, the gradient of change is much less marked than in the west. In fact, 3 stature areas may be designated: the northwest, the east, and the southwest. In these 3 areas, in general, the most robust are the big men of the northwest, while the easterners tend to a lankier form. Dukagin stands out above all the others for strength and athletic development, followed closely by the *bairaks* of Malsia e Madhe. Mirdita, followed by Mati and Zadrima, lies at the other extreme. These regional differences are as great as those between Norway and France, or England and Greece.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE CRANIAL VAULT

141 The head length means vary nearly 7 milli-
*128 meters, the breadth means 6 millimeters, and the height 4 millimeters, tribally. These differences are significant in 28 out of 45 cases for head length, 25 out of 45 for head breadth, and 21 out of 45 for head height. Heads are longest in the northwest, intermediate in the east, and shortest in the southwest. They are broadest in the northwest and more or less the same elsewhere; in height they exceed in Zadrima and Malsia e Madhe, and are lowest in Mati and Dibra, following in general a NW/SE axis.

These regional variations come out even more markedly in the cephalic index, in which

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31 out of 45 tribal differences (69%) are significant, and in which the westernmost tribes are 3 to 4 index points more brachycephalic than the eastern. In the length-height index only 21 (47%) are significant, the range of means is 4 points, and only Zadrima shows any notable peculiarity. In the breadth-height index the trend is a little more marked: 26 (58%) are significant, and the range again 4 points. In general, head length varies with stature, and head breadth goes east and west, as does the cephalic index, while height indices fail to show a clear geographical pattern.

The observations on the cranial vault elucidate these tendencies in detail: Luma and Puka exceed in occipital protrusion, in which Zadrima, Malsia e Madhe, Has, Mati, and Dibra are notably wanting; Malsia e Madhe, Zadrima, and Mati are high in occipital flattening, while Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Luma, and Puka are low in it. In lambdoid flattening, however, Dukagin is highest, followed by the tribes to the east. The frequencies of these 2 forms of flattening are high enough to account for much of the difference in head form shown by the measurements and indices. How much, will be explored later.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE FORM OF THE FACE

Malsia e Madhe has significantly broader foreheads than all of the other tribes, which vary little, growing slightly narrower to the east and south. Nine out of 20 of the significant differences between the tribes in this measurement are caused by the peculiarity of Malsia e Madhe. In the bizygomatic, Malsia e Madhe and Dukagin, both broad, account for 12 out of 17 of the significant differences; Dibra, the narrowest, is significantly different from all but 3. The bigonial is the most constant of all measurements, and Dukagin, the widest jawed, accounts for 6 out of 11 significant differences. Only one difference, Dukagin: Dibra, goes over 4 times p.e. One may summarize these differences in face breadth by saying that in general the broadest faces are in the northwest and the narrowest in the southeast; that the greatest differences are in the upper part of the face and the least in the lower.

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In the heights of the face, one tribe stands apart from the others: Has. It has the longest total and upper face heights, by far, of all. In the total face height it accounts for 8 out of 22 significant differences; in the upper face height, 9 out of 11. If we ignore Has, the others are much the same, with the shortest faces, in both dimensions, in the southwestern tribes. Here, then, the dichotomy is, Has versus all others.

The fronto-parietal index, showing the relationship between head breadth and forehead breadth, varies only 2 index points, and as might be expected the broadest-headed tribes have the lowest values, and the narrowest-headed the highest. No single tribe or group of tribes distinguishes itself in this character. The cephalo-facial index, relating head breadth to face breadth, runs much the same way, with equally little variation. The zygo-frontal index scarcely varies at all, and all 6 of its significant differences are due to the fact that Mirdita falls one index point below most of the others, on account of its face breadth, which is a little broader for its size than the others. The fronto-gonial and zygo-gonial indices are even more constant. Four out of 6 significant differences in the former are due to the broad foreheads of Malsia e Madhe, and all 4 in the latter to Mirdita's combination of a medium face breadth and the narrowest mandible of all. *We may consider the Mountain Gheg phenotype a unit in these horizontal proportions of the head and face*, with very slight deviations in the cases of Malsia e Madhe and Mirdita.

The observations of these characters help even more. In the height and slope of the forehead, almost no differences of statistical validity occur, while in the observed breadth of the forehead Luma, Puka, and Malsia e Jakovës come out low in the percentage of double and triple plus breadths. No differences of moment are seen in the size of the browridges or in glabella; the foreward jut of the malars, the fullness or wrinkling of the cheeks. In the sidewise thrust of the malars and in the prominence of the gonial angles, not one single significant difference can be found in the percentile values of any category. In the morphological observations which relate to the gross architecture of the face, exclusive of the eyes, nose, and mouth, the tribes are as one.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1956 EG1 Albania EG1
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If we move down to the chin, however, one tribe differs from all others: Dukagin has fewer *sm* values for chin prominence than any other tribe, and all these are significant; it also has more bilateral chins than all others, and its excess is significant in each case. The chin of Dukagin stands as a notable exception to the otherwise uniform position of the Mountain Ghegs in face structure. That prominent, bilateral chins should be associated with an excess of size and strength is not surprising.

The noses of the Ghegs vary about 3 millimeters in height, and 1½ millimeters in breadth; Has, as might be expected, has the longest noses, but it also has the broadest. Nine out of 21 significant differences in nose height are due to Has, and 6 out of 17 in breadth. The nasal index varies about 4 points, with the lowest values in the east and the highest in the west, but all approximate the lowest human extreme. Out of 13 significant differences, 6 are due to the fact that Dukagin is highest.

The observations of the nose, which carry our study into minute detail, confirm the remarkable regional constancy of form of this organ. In nasion depression there are no significant differences at all; and there are none in that most critical character, the form of the nasal profile. In root height and bridge height, Dibra shows a slight excess over a few others; Dibra is also a little narrower in the bridge breadths, accounting for 8 out of 10 significant differences in this character. Malsia e Madhe accounts for 7 out of 8 such differences in tip thickness, for it is slightly thicker than the others; the eastern tribes are a little thinner. Twelve out of 22 differences in tip position reflect the greater sag in the Has nose, a difference for which we shall presently account. In the form of the nasal wings, another highly significant character, not one tribe has more flaring forms, in a statistical sense, than any other; the few differences between the compressed and medium categories show an excess of the compressed form in Has and Dibra. The shape of the septum is constant, except for Zadrima, which is significantly straight compared to all of the eastern tribes; in the inclination of the septum, the western tribes, Malsia e Madhe, Zadrima, and Mirdita, show a significant tendency to turn down in comparison with those to the east.

141 *128 A few features of the soft parts of the eyes show significant tribal variation. The western tribes, particularly Zadrima, Malsia e Madhe, and Dukagin, have large minorities with external eyefolds, rare in the east and in Mati. Men from Dukagin tend to narrow their eyelids to slits, and this accounts for 14 out of 28 significant differences in palpebral opening. The same tendency in Has accounts for 9 of the rest. In the case of Dukagin, at least, part of this may be due to the fact that I measured them in the snow, in bright sunlight. Most of the tribes had 20 to 30 per cent of slight eye obliquity, but Has with only 8 per cent was significantly below the others. This obliquity was not up, Mongol-wise, but down, as is usual in narrow-faced Europeans.

The lips show a few local differences only: Dukagin has thicker integumental lips than the others, in 18 out of 23 significant cases; Has runs low and Malsia e Madhe high in membranous thickness, to a very minor degree in each case; Malsia e Madhe and Malsia e Jakovës have a little more lip eversion than the others. Only a few of these differences reach 3 times p.e., and only one attains 4. Except for Dukagin's thick upper lip, we can ignore the rest.

Turning to the ears, we find no differences of consequence. We have 6 observations, in all of which only 20 differences of 3 times p.e. or over are found, out of a total of 810 computed. Of these only 4 are over 4 p.e., and one reaches 5 p.e. We may say with confidence that the Gheg tribes are alike in the frequency of the component factors in ear form.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN PILOSITY

142 *128 In the observed form of the hair, the ratio of deep to low waves is virtually the same between all tribes, except for Has, which is recorded to have significantly more deep-waved individuals than all other tribes, except for Malsia e Madhe and Dukagin. Aside from [302] Has the others are virtually the same. Owing to the prevalence of head shaving in some tribes, and the fact that my Has sample all lived near the city of Prizren, where modern haircuts are more in vogue than elsewhere, I have no confidence in this distinction. In hair texture, Zadrima shows a tendency in favor of fineness, and Luma of being medium, and both have some statistical validity. Again, I

142 *128 Malsia e Madhe, Dukagin, and Malsia e Jakovës tend to be a little stronger in dark browns, Zadrima and Dibra in red browns, and Has and Puka in blond shades, than the others. Of a paltry 14 differences, all but 2 are below 4 times p.e., and can be discounted.

In eye color, a few tendencies appear; Dukagin and Malsia e Jakovës with 23 per cent dark brown, exceed about half the others significantly; Dibra has a concentration of light brown eyes, exceeding all but 2 of the others significantly. Mati and Zadrima have a tendency to exceed in zoned iris forms. These pigment differences may denote very minor genetic variations, but are really of little consequence.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES SUMMARIZED

141 *128 Having been through all of the differences between tribes in all characters measured and observed, and having tested all for statistical significance, we can now list the particular differences which indicate regional variations in the Mountain Gheg phenotype (fig. 12, *a*). 1

1. The men north of the Drin are taller, more muscular and stronger than those south of it. They also have broader shoulders, longer arms, longer and thicker necks, more sloping shoulders, greater lumbar curves, and more protuberant buttocks. The 2 extremes in these characters are Dukagin and Mirdita. The tribes to the east, from Malsia e Jakovës to Dibra, show little variation in these features; the main drop between north and south falls to the west. These differences are as great as one might expect in a continent, and unusual in so small a territory.

2. Where bodies are largest, heads are largest too. Aside from this heads are shortest, broadest, and highest in the northwest, and the opposite in the east. Occipital flattening reaches its maximum in Malsia e Madhe and Zadrima, while lambdoid flattening and its companion, bathrocephaly, are highest in Dukagin. Tribal differences in head form are as great as those in body size and strength.

3. Faces are remarkably homogeneous in Malsia e Ghegnisë. Tribal variations are at a minimum. A few local peculiarities occur: broad foreheads in Malsia e Madhe; excessive face heights without eye obliquity in Has; Dukagin has a statistically noteworthy excess of bilateral chins, unusually few of which are receding; Zadrima has a tendency toward a straight, downturned nasal septum, and Dukagin to a thick integument in the region of the lips. 1 a [see Cat. 116, p.112 -- Analyst]

4. Has runs bald. The northwestern tribes have

*128 4. Has rung bald. The northwesterners have
142 more widely extended eyebrows than those in the
141 southeast.

5. Has shows a minor tendency to medium skin color, and to black head hair; Dukagin tends to dark brown hair. The northern tribes have an excess of dark brown, and Dibra of light brown, eyes.

While the differences in body size and head shape are great, the similarity in face form, pilosity, and pigmentation is also great, and Ghegs look alike. The tribes that diverge from the total picture the most are those around the edges; the big broad-heads of Malsia e Madhe, the muscular cleft-chinned giants of Dukagin, the medium-sized broad-heads of Zadrima, and the minority of light brown-eyed Dibrans, who with their tribal brethren have somewhat narrower faces and noses.

One of the most revealing results of this intertribal comparison is the discovery that the tribes vary most among themselves not in the conventional criteria of race, but in what are usually considered to be minor or inconsequential anatomical features. If we revert for a moment to the statistics of validation, we find that values of 7 times p.e., or over, are most noticeable in the biacromial diameter, in which Dukagin exceeds all comers; span, stature, and sitting height follow in importance. In the biacromial, Dukagin exceeds all but its 2 neighboring tribes, Malsia e Madhe and Malsia e Jakovës, by 10 or more times p.e. Thirty-seven out of 69 intertribal differences in 7 body observations which reached 4 or more times p.e. were concerned with buttocks and lumbar curve; 4 out of 5 that exceeded 6 p.e. were the same. Again Dukagin is the odd tribe.

141 In the measurements and indices of the head,
*128 42 differences of 7 or more times p.e. are found, reaching an extreme of 14 p.e. in the comparison between the cephalic index of Malsia e Madhe and Luma. Malsia e Madhe exceeds all other tribes in head breadth by 7 to 11 times p.e.; that is the outstanding result of this inquiry. In the observations of the head, bathrocephaly leads all in tribal differentiation, followed by lambdoid flattening. These 2 features are concentrated in Dukagin, but neither go over 6 p.e. Zadrima is noteworthy not so much for its occipital flattening, in which it shares honors with Malsia e Madhe, as for its lack of lambdoid flattening and bathrocephaly.

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In the face, only 2 features attain high ratios of significance: the wide-extending eyebrows of Dukagin, as compared to Has, which attain 9 times p.e.; and in a lesser degree to Dibra and Mati; and the bilateral chins of Dukagin, which approach 9 p.e. in comparison with Puka, its neighbor over the Drin, and 7 with Malsia e Madhe, Mirdita, Zadrima, and Mati.

What are the important intertribal variants, then, in Malsia e Ghegnisë? Not stature, not hairiness, not the shape of the head (although its breadth is important); not the form of the face—but the breadth of the shoulders, the failure of the occipital bone to join the pari-

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etals smoothly at lambda, the flare of the eyebrows, and the habit of the mandible to form a lump on either side of the chin, instead of a bar in the middle. When we are dealing with relatively homogeneous populations, such as that of a small, isolated segment of a European country, it is in factors like those just mentioned that one obtains the most valid regional differences. It is by the appearance of such differences and their spread in isolation that races are formed. In Malsia e Ghegnisë, the most peculiar tribe by far is Dukagin, which is also the most isolated.

147 *128 pounds for all age grades from 20–24 to 75–89 years; and also for 65–89 years pooled. Out of 78 possible comparisons, when we ignore the pooling, 44 reach 3 or more times p.e., and when we count 65 onward as pooled, the score is 31 out of 55. Eleven of these differences exceed 9.00 times p.e. Our mountaineers reach their peak of squeeze-power in their late 30's, decline slowly for half a decade, and then weaken more rapidly after 45. The combination of physiological changes which this curve reflects may be traced in the metrical and morphological characters which follow.

AGE AND SELECTED METRICAL CHARACTERS

141 *128 Table 12[1] presents the means for 7 selected metrical characters. Having neither time nor space to compute and present age grade means in all criteria, I selected some which have a special bearing on the problems of this study as well as general interest. The 12 youths probably born after 1910 are not numerous enough for full statistical treatment. Although they deviate from the trends shown by the

1 [see cat. 116, p. 73c -- Analyst]

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other age groups, this cannot be interpreted with any assurance. This is unfortunate, since many of the largest series in the European literature represent this age grade alone—measured on recruits.

Stature in our series changes very little with age (fig. 4).[1] Only 6 out of 55 differences between age grades reach 3.00 times p.e.; only one reaches 4.00 times p.e. This is barely significant. Judging by the trend of means alone, our mountaineers reach their peak of height at the same time that they are strongest, in their late 30's. The rises at both ends of the scale may represent selection, as discussed earlier. In any case there is no evidence that the mountain population was growing taller during the last third of the 19th and first fifth of the 20th centuries. From 1865 to 1929 most of the peoples of western Europe, and the Americans, were experiencing a steady growth increase. Whatever factors caused this in the west did not reach the mountains of northern Albania. This conclusion may be confirmed by a study of 17 pairs of brothers. The older was taller than the younger in 9 instances, the

1 [see cat. 116, p. 74a -- Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1960 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TABLE 12: AGE GRADE MEANS FOR SELECTED METRICAL CHARACTERS.

Age	Birth Year	No.	Stature	Head Length	Head Breadth	Head Height	Bizygomatic	Cephalic Index
18-19....	1911 ca.	12	173.25	182.75	154.99	128.50	137.08	85.25
20-24....	1908	99	169.73 ± .44	186.37 ± .30	156.24 ± .39	130.02 ± .42	140.60 ± .35	83.90 ± .32
25-29....	1903	133	169.24 ± .34	185.63 ± .37	157.00 ± .35	128.57 ± .31	141.67 ± .28	84.71 ± .24
30-34....	1898	166	169.79 ± .39	186.54 ± .36	157.86 ± .24	127.77 ± .24	142.31 ± .30	84.66 ± .20
35-39....	1893	162	170.46 ± .35	186.22 ± .37	158.22 ± .29	128.19 ± .27	142.65 ± .27	85.02 ± .21
40-44....	1888	129	170.14 ± .44	185.46 ± .47	159.03 ± .40	128.73 ± .36	142.85 ± .30	86.34 ± .28
45-49....	1883	101	170.13 ± .48	186.90 ± .41	158.75 ± .40	128.74 ± .43	143.20 ± .37	84.87 ± .36
50-54....	1878	88	169.01 ± .41	186.99 ± .53	157.99 ± .43	127.36 ± .27	143.09 ± .41	84.41 ± .31
55-59....	1873	52	169.41 ± .55	185.54 ± .59	157.45 ± .61	126.64 ± .62	143.85 ± .52	85.04 ± .42
60-64....	1868	56	167.34 ± .57	185.20 ± .51	157.38 ± .49	127.77 ± .48	142.70 ± .41	85.23 ± .33
65 + ...	1863	41	170.18 ± .62	187.61 ± .73	157.22 ± .56	128.78 ± .66	143.10 ± .36	83.78 ± .44

Age	Birth Year	No.	Total Face Height
18-19....	1911 ca.	12	122.40
20-24....	1908	98	121.90 ± .49
25-29....	1903	133	121.87 ± .34
30-34....	1898	163	123.93 ± .25
35-39....	1893	151	124.05 ± .36
40-44....	1888	111	123.99 ± .44
45-49....	1883	85	124.45 ± .48
50-54....	1878	61	124.85 ± .49
55-59....	1873	30	125.16 ± .72
60-64....	1868	37	125.92 ± .68
65 + ...	1863	16	126.69 ± 1.35

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younger taller than the older in 8. The mean stature of the older was 171.72 centimeters, of the younger 171.47 centimeters; the mean age of the older, 41 years, of the younger, 33 years. In America and elsewhere where growth increases are in process, the younger brothers are taller than the older ones.[1] This study of

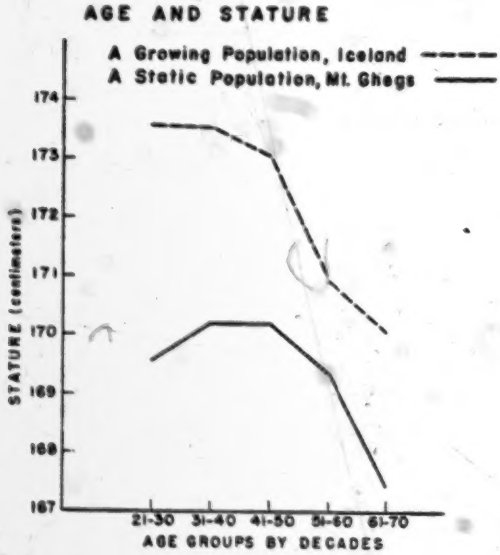

FIG. 4. Age and stature.[2]

stature means several things: differences between age groups are so slight that our intertribal stature comparisons need no age correction; we can compare our Ghegs with younger series, since the men over 50 will balance those in their 30's and 40's; since size changes comparable to those seen in certain other countries are not going on in the principal sagittal dimension of the organism, the same is probably true of the organism as a whole.

The head length shows even less variation with age than stature; in fact not a single difference betwen the means of the 11 age grades from 20 years old onward is statistically significant. Furthermore, no clear if minor trends are shown in the succession of means, except possibly for the dip between 55 and 64 years.

[1] Bowles, 1932.

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In head breadth, on the contrary, the means increase consistently and regularly to the 40–44-year age group, and then decline with the same regularity. This sequence in itself has meaning, enhanced by the fact that 6 of the differences between age group means are statistically significant. The cephalic index mirrors head breadth, with the same succession, and with 9 differences of 3.00 or more times p.e., of which 3 exceed 4.00 and one exceeds 5.00. This combination is unusual. One expects the head length to grow with age and then gradually decline as the soft parts thin out; here the burden of age change is borne by the breadth. The change of 2 index points in the cephalic index which accompanies this phenomenon cannot be responsible for the intertribal differences in that character, since the tribes which one would expect to be the most brachycephalic on a basis of age variation are the least, and vice versa.

In the head height, 6 differences are statistically significant, out of the usual 55. Two of these are over 4.00, one over 5.00. The table shows, however, no trend; higher and lower vaults alternate at random. If any factor other than chance is at play here, present evidence is not adequate to unearth it.

The face behaves differently with age (fig. 13) from the brain case. This is to be expected from what we already know of growth in man elsewhere. The bizygomatic diameter keeps on increasing to the late 40's, when it levels off; 11 out of 55 differences are significant; 6 are over 4.00, and 2 over 5.00 times p.e. The total face height grows continuously throughout life; the means never level off. Sixteen differences are significant, with 8 over 4.00, and one over 5.00 times p.e. This means that our Mountain Ghegs may owe part of their greater face length, and breadth, over other European series to their more advanced age. Without question this applies in even greater measure to the nose diameters and nasal index, which were not seriated here since they do not vary intertribally. The face dimensions do vary intertribally, and thus require further consideration.

[See cat. 116, p. 113 -- Analyst]

[a] Icelandic material from Hannesson, 1925.

142 ities. At age 45, however, black-haired men
*128 would be in the majority. It is probably just as true of most other European populations that hair color depends on the age of the sample. Although eye color shows a number of differences in relation to age, none of these are comparable in magnitude to those which we have just discussed, and they do not affect the position of the sample; a description for any age over 20 will give a fair picture of this character for the adult male population as a whole.

*128 *AGE AND INTERTRIBAL DIFFERENCES*

141 So far in this chapter most of the studies of
142 age variations have served to show the position of the series as a whole, and to render it comparable with other series. Some of the exercises have had a bearing on intertribal differences. For example, it is clear that the high stature of the people north of the Drin has nothing to do with age, in comparison with their neighbors to the south, and that the same is true of local variations in the dimensions of

142 the head. In several other characters which
● 141 were seen to be critical points of intertribal
#128 difference, age cannot be as easily eliminated. We have seen that baldness, hair color, and total face height vary considerably with age, and must explore the effect of these changes on our tribal samples.

Two tribes above all others set themselves apart: Dukagin and Has. Between them they monopolize the peculiarities which suggest that the Highland Ghegs are not a homogeneous group of people. These peculiarities, as tracked down in chapter 10,[1] "The Mountain Gheg Phenotype," are the biacromial diameter, the total face height, the form of the chin, the protrusion of the buttocks, the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 586-706 -- Analyst]

141 142 *128 presence or absence of baldness, the lateral extension of the eyebrows, and the color of the head hair. Table 16 shows constants for these characters in Dukagin and Has. In each tribe I have segregated the 30-39-year-olds and made separate computations. By equalizing the age distribution we may hope to find out whether the peculiarities are linked to age, or not.

They are not. The 30-39-year-olds of Dukagin are just as much broader shouldered than their age mates of Has, as the total sample. The Has men have longer faces than the Dukagin men, at any age. The Dukagin men have more bilateral chins, fewer lean buttocks, less baldness, more bilateral extension of the eyebrows, and more brown hair, than the Has men, age for age.

These differences are real ones. They are just as great in one representative age group as in the total sample. Has and Dukagin are local populations which differ in these respects from the total series and from each other.

1/1 [see cat. 116, p. 71c - Analysis]

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TABLE 16: AGE CONTROLS IN CRITICAL CHARACTERS.

	HAS		DUKAGIN	
No.	(28)	(114)	(45)	(106)
AGE	30-39	TOTAL	30-39	TOTAL
Biacromial	38.39 cm.	38.30	40.49	40.37
Total face ht.	125.86 mm.	126.30	123.44	124.15
Chins, bilateral	17.86%	19.30%	35.51%	38.68%
Buttocks, sm	32.14%	42.11%	2.22%	5.66%
Baldness, present	28.57%	46.00%	15.55%	20.19%
Eyebrows, lat. ext. abs. & sm.	53.57%	57.90%	11.11%	8.49%
Hair color				
Black	60.71%	61.46%	17.78%	20.75%
Brown	32.14%	22.92%	68.89%	66.04%
Other	7.14%	15.62%	13.33%	13.21%

SOIL AND GROWTH

THAT the content of the soil influences the growth of populations who live off its produce has been often claimed and nearly as often denied. Without reasonable doubt it is one factor in the development of body size in man, as in other animals. Boas showed this years ago in his work on the children of immigrants[1] and, in works on this subject, Matheny and Meredith have shown that Italian schoolboys brought up in Minnesota reach, at the age of 17, a mean stature of 171.1 centimeters, a figure far above any adult mean reported for Italy.[2]

141 In northern Albania we have found tribal stature means differing from each other a little less than 7 centimeters on comparable adult stature groups. This is not too much for genetically similar populations if they are reared under vastly different conditions of nutrition. If one reviews the earliest anthropometric surveys of Switzerland,[3] one finds equally great differences between isolated valleys in some of the cantons; surveys made a half century later, after modern methods of food distribution, and modern sanitation, had been introduced, showed a much more uniform stature map. In these respects Albania was certainly in no more favorable a position in 1929 than Switzerland in the 1880's.

We obtain our nutrition from the soil through the agency of vegetable matter, and from the meat as well as the milk of animals which are fed upon the same. One of the most obvious minerals to be considered is lime, needed for the growth of bone; but how much lime we need, and how much of that which is in the soil reaches us, is not known. In recent years much attention has been paid to the trace elements,[4] needed for various metabolic processes, but this subject too is little known. We are told that chemical fertilizers fail to put back the trace elements taken from the soil, and that manure is far better.[5]

[1] Boas, 1911; 1912, pp. 530–62.
[2] Matheny and Meredith, 1947, pp. 344–55.
[3] Schlaginhaufen, 1946, text and atlas; Coon, 1939, pp. 550–52, and Ripley, 1899, pp. 281–89, for discussion and sources.

133 mulithic limestone and flysch, extending southward from the isthmus between Lake Scutari and the Adriatic.

These 6 areas correspond roughly to the tribal divisions, but some of the geological boundaries cut across tribes. From the tribal data alone a close relationship between geology and physique is suggested; if we reseriate by geological areas, ignoring tribal affiliations, we can test this more accurately.

SOIL AND PHYSIQUE IN MALSIA E GHEGNISE

*128 133 Samples for each of the 3 major areas and the area of folding range in size from 126 to 354 individuals. To the flysch section of Zadrima, 41 men can be assigned. Only in the small limestone region of Mati is the sample, 13, statistically inadequate. In table 21 the means for these 6 tribal samples in 12 pertinent measurements are given. In general, they repeat the picture shown by tribal distribution, and in certain respects accentuate it. When we compare the first 5, making 15 comparisons for 12 characters, we find 65 out of a possible 180 differences significant, or 36 per cent; 28, or 16 per cent, are more than 6.00 times p.e.; 14, or 8 per cent, over 8.00 times p.e.; and 6, or 3 per cent, over 10.00 times p.e. The means for the areas do not in themselves exceed tribal means, because the areas are spatially more inclusive than single tribes situated within them. They fall between the tribes and the total series in variability, as indicated on table 21 by values of σ. Each of the geological areas undoubtedly contains a number of small local enclaves, as Switzerland did during the last century. To find lower values for σ we would have to study these valleys, and the villages in them, one by one. Our sample is not large enough for such fragmentation.

141 The validity of the division of the total series into geological areas is most clearly shown by the figures on the third part of table 21, in which the stature means of the component segments of tribes falling in each geological area have been listed together. In every case but one, *the means of the segments of individual tribes diverge from each other in the directions of their areal means, and they resemble these areal means more closely than they do each other.*

*128 141 The one exception is Malsia e Jakovës, divided between limestone and folded. These 2 areas are nearly the same in stature, and the difference betwen tribal segments is inconsequential. The 4 other men from this tribe who lived in serpentine territory were much shorter, 168 centimeters. Not only were the men from serpentine territory short as a whole, but very few of the exceptionally tall men, the "giants" of 180 to 190 centimeters from whom the Ghegs get their name, are found among them. These striking figures are seen almost exclusively north of the Drin. A few turn up near the limestone area of northern Mati, where a small sample suggests that a tall enclave may be found.

*128 142 From a statistical standpoint, the most telling division within a tribe is that which splits Dibra into serpentine and eastern subsamples. The difference between the means, 3.07, is 3.49 times p.e. In order to test this for the possibility of a genetic difference I selected the one character in which Dibra is most distinctive, light brown eye color, and sorted the subsamples for it. Out of 15 men whose eyes were of this hue, 7, or 19 per cent, were from serpentine territory, and 8, or 11 per cent, from the eastern. Neither the rest of serpentine nor the rest of eastern approach these frequencies. In this character, which is certainly genetic, Dibra is still a unit, still separate from its neighbors.

141 582 *128 Although fragmentation of the series is unprofitable because of the smallness of the subsamples, one example may show what kind of thing to expect when the local enclaves can be investigated. In Dukagin, as stated earlier, mutual exogamy, with cross-cousin marriage, is the rule between the people of Shala and Shoshi. However, many of the Shala men marry Shala women, who come from the families of *anas*, unrelated in the male line to the *fis* of Dukagin. In Shoshi also local endogamy takes place, but more rarely. Shala is apparently in the limestone, Shoshi in the folded, area. Shala men whose mothers came from Shoshi are 4.04 centimeters taller (see table 21, last part) than Shala men whose mothers were local, and this difference is 5.53 times its p.e. At the same time Shala men with Shoshi mothers are 3.37 centimeters taller than their cousins, the Shoshi men with Shala mothers, and this comes to 2.88 times p.e.

1 [See cat. 116 p. 88c -- Analyst]

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*128 The people living in the northern limestone area are not only taller than the others, but also wider spanned, broader shouldered, and stronger. They are, in general, bigger and more robust. The inhabitants of the folded region approach them in build, while the serpentine dwellers are small all over, but partic-

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*128 ularly in their arms and legs, and the flysch-folk are the smallest of the lot. Whether or not it is of any consequence, the last-named live on the border of malarial country.

The inhabitants of the eastern area fall close to the mean of the total series in the measurements and dimensions of the body, but diverge

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TABLE 21: ANTHROPOMETRIC MEANS AND GEOLOGICAL AREAS.

	Total	Flysch	Limestone	Folded	Serpentine	Eastern	Mat. L.
Squeeze	112.09	102.95±1.94	116.55±.79	111.95±1.20	105.55±.73	110.70±.74	102.33
(No.)		(41)	(237)	(126)	(354)	(294)	(13)
Stature	169.71±.14	165.87± .80	173.04±.27	171.87± .34	167.22±.22	169.92±.26	167.55
Rel. span ...	103.94±.05	104.74± .30	104.58±.12	104.00± .14	103.22±.10	103.56±.11	101.88
Rel. sh. br..	22.76±.02	22.55± .12	23.08±.05	22.76± .08	22.66±.05	22.68±.05	23.42
Rel. sit. ht...	52.76±.03	53.67± .19	52.55±.06	52.59± .09	52.91±.06	52.76±.07	53.12
Head lgth...	186.18±15	181.47± .57	188.12±.29	188.76± .44	184.32±.24	186.21±.26	187.88
Head br. ...	157.78±.12	157.44± .56	159.92±.26	157.38± .33	157.88±.21	156.57±.24	155.85
Head ht. ...	128.34±.12	128.63± .67	128.67±.26	129.08± .33	128.22±.17	127.95±.24	123.69
Ceph. index	84.84±.09	86.71± .40	85.17±.18	83.34± .25	85.59±.15	84.18±.17	83.07
(No.)	(921)	(39)	(204)	(115)	(298)	(252)	(7)
Tot. face ht.	123.90±.14	122.00± .72	124.80±.31	121.85± .44	122.60±.24	126.45±.33	126.40
(No.)	(921)	(39)	(204)	(115)	(298)	(252)	(7)
Up. face ht..	73.55±.11	71.25± .57	73.75±.23	72.20± .30	73.10±.19	74.95±.21	72.00
Bizygomatic	142.35±.12	140.90± .65	144.05±.22	142.50± .32	141.70±.19	141.80±.21	139.30

VALUES OF σ FOR AREAS, TOTAL SERIES, AND TRIBES

	Five Areas	Total	Tribes
Stature	6.44	6.72	6.38
Rel. span	2.67	2.56	2.48
Rel. shoulder br.....	1.26	1.20	1.16
Rel. sitting ht.....	1.60	1.50	1.46
Head lgth.....	6.59	7.08	6.65
Head br.	5.72	6.00	5.67
Head ht.....	6.04	6.03	5.87
Cephalic index.....	4.12	4.29	4.03
Total face ht.....	6.83	6.50	6.29
Upper face ht.....	4.95	5.00	4.89
Bizygomatic	5.49	5.65	5.80

STATURE MEANS FOR GEOLOGICALLY SEPARATED SEGMENTS OF TRIBES

Limestone			Folded			Serpentine			Eastern			Flysch		
MeM	105	172.77	Duk	20	173.20	Puk	40	168.25 ± .72	Has	113	170.82	Zad	34	165.72
Duk	78	174.36	MeJ	48	172.87	Mir	101	166.68	Lum	109	169.47			
MeJ	52	172.48	Puk	57	170.23 ± .47	Zad	70	167.72	Dib	74	169.53 ± .52			
			Puk*	13	170.85	Mat	92	166.68						
Mat	12	168.25				Dib	35	166.46 ± .71						

* Thirteen men from the village of Puka, eating bread from a bakery which uses flour from all parts of the tribe.

STATURE MEANS INSIDE DUKAGIN

Father	Mother	No.	Mean
Shala	Shala	48	172.83
Shala	Shoshi	30	176.87 ± .46
Shoshi	Shala	16	173.50 ± 1.08
Shoshi	Shoshi	4	171.98

141 from all the others in the measurements of the
*128 head and face. These people are, compared to the others, notably narrow headed, narrow faced, and long faced.

Head form (figs. 14, 15) follows the same distribution shown by the tribes. The one measurement that does not vary at all significantly is head height. Head length, however, shows the greatest variation of any character recorded. Computing a cephalic module from the means,[7] we find the areas clustered into 2 groups, limestone and folded, with 158.90 and 158.41 centimeters respectively, and flysch, serpentine, and eastern with 155.65, 156.71, and 156.91; big heads and medium to small heads. The size of the head, within a major racial group of man, goes with the volume of the body.[8] In a series like ours where the dimensions of the head are subject to great variation of questionable origin, head size is a more useful criterion for the purpose of this chapter than its components. It clearly separates the Mountain Ghegs into 2 categories, one large, the other medium to small.

This, rather than the individual measurements and indices, is the most suggestive difference yet found between regional segments of the total series. The people in the limestone karst country are big people, and their kinsmen in the country where the soil is laid on a medley of folded outcrops are nearly as big. The people living in the land of serpentine and gabbro are much smaller, as is the small sample of flysch-dwellers. To the east, in the valley of the Black Drin and up into the Prizren region, the people are of intermediate stature, but with relatively long, narrow heads and faces.

142 In addition to the data presented, sortings
*128 were made for a number of observations which might have to do with general robusticity. This effort yielded nothing that the tribal sortings have not already revealed. No difference was found between areas in the proportion of concave scapulae, which seem to have more to do with age than with nutrition.
[164] Finally, the teeth of all areas were seen to be equally carious, equal in frequency of evulsion.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 114-115 --Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116 p. 89b --Analyst]

PRIVILEGE AND NUTRITION

565 In many countries food and other benefits
141 are unequally distributed, and in some of them
*128

[7] Cephalic module $= \frac{L+B+Ht.}{3}$

141 565 *128 members of the privileged classes are taller than their less-favored fellow citizens. In the mountains of the Ghegs no stereotyped class system exists. Nevertheless in each tribe a few men hold higher political rank than the others, and a little difference in wealth may be discovered. Wealth and power usually go together. Using the data discussed in chapter 5, on "Politics and Feuding," page 30[1] I have segregated 66 office-holders, 23 from limestone territory, and 43 from serpentine. The latter group included the entourage of Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*), the tribal chief of Mirdita. These men had eaten the best the land had to offer. As table 22 shows, this made no real

TABLE 22: GEOLOGY AND STATURE, OFFICE-HOLDERS.

	Limestone			Serpentine		
	No.	Mean		No.	Mean	
Total	237	173.04	.34	354	167.22	.22
Office-holders ..	23	174.09	.78	43	167.63	.57

[264] difference in stature. In the mountains a chief eats at a big table, surrounded by his retainers, but any visitor is free to join at the hospitable [262] board. The office-holders probably get more meat than the poorer people, but everyone consumes dairy products, bread, and legumes. Everyone also derives all his food from the same geographical source.

CONCLUSION

*128 Although the geological map on which this study is based was of a most general character, it seems to have been accurate enough for the present purpose. The minerals of this region which it shows can be correlated with the body size and robusticity of the inhabitants as populations, and with nothing else which this particular study reveals, other than a partly coincidental east-west trend in head and face form, which will be discussed later. What minerals, if any, are involved in these size variations, how they are assimilated, if they are, and how they affect growth, if they do, are problems beyond the scope of this paper and its author's competence. If this excursion into the nutritional field has any value it lies in the fact that other explanations of regional size differences have been eliminated.

[1] Coon, 1939, p. 267.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 30b-30c -- Analyst]

2 [See cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

CRADLING

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THE EVIDENCE ACCUMULATES

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I WROTE, in 1939, "There has been much discussion upon the subject of occipital flattening, both in Albania and in Asia Minor; there are two definite schools, one which believes that it is natural and racially determined, the other that it is a form of artificial deformation caused by cradling. My own position lies between these two extremes; occipital flattening is without doubt a phenomenon associated with the entire mechanical orientation of the cranium in the Dinaric race, and especially with the position of the foramen magnum to the rear of that usual in most races. As such, it is undeniably inherited.

"At the same time, the use of the Albanian cradle, in which the shoulders are bound but the head is not, may in some instances have caused an intensification of this flattening, since the heads of some living Albanians are unquestionably deformed. However, since cradling practices are regionally uniform in Albania, the geographical distribution of this character is wholly racial in pattern."[1]

I also promised in a footnote: "A detailed study of this question will be published in the author's "The Physical Anthropology of Northern Albania," the provisional title of the present monograph. Since then evidence has been accumulating that "some instances" should be changed to "most instances." Father Ewing found that Lebanese children born in Brooklyn show much less flattening than their parents, and 2 Harvard graduate students, Mr. David de Harport and Mr. William Laughlin, working under my direction, found the same thing among Tosks in Greater Boston.[2] 4

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In the course of the present monograph 6 pieces of evidence have appeared in other contexts. In chapter 10, on "The Mountain Gheg Phenotype," on page 62,[2] and table 4,[3] we saw that the sigma ratios for head length, head breadth, and the cephalic index are abnormally high, both as a total and within tribes, and this applies especially to the ceph-

4 [see cat. 116, p. 90b -- Analyst]

[1] Coon, 1939, p. 600.

2 [see cat. 116, pp. 62a-62e -- Analyst]

3 [see cat. 116, pp. 54f-54m -- Analyst]

● 141 alic index. In the same chapter, on page 63,[1] it appeared that the tribal means differ more from each other and from the total means in these 3 characters, and in the breadth-height index, than in any other criteria except for the gross body diameters, of which we have already tentatively disposed in chapter 13, on "Soil."[2]

In the same chapter, on page 66,[3] we found that the tribes differ from each other most notably and significantly in 7 observations of the cranial vault, especially in bathrocephaly, occipital flattening, and lambdoid flattening. We further saw that the frequencies of degrees of flattening assumed the form of a normal curve quite independent of the "absent" category. If flattening were natural one would expect *sm* to exceed +, + to exceed ++, etc., in frequency.

In chapter 11, on "Age," page 77,[4] it was revealed that the head length fails to follow the normal or expected age changes, but that the head breadth bellows out and in with age, doing double duty. In chapter 13, on "Soil," page 89,[5] head form was shown, in a general way, to follow its own geographical course without regard to the soil-area divisions which so firmly mark frontiers of physique in the sizes of the body as a whole and of the head.

Any one of these red lights flashing through the chapters would have been enough to warn us that something is peculiar about head form in this series. In fact, there are no green lights; in no segment of this study has the cranial vault behaved as one expects in a normal population. "Normal" in this sense refers to the large series studied in the past, and most of these have been from western Europe and modern America. It will probably be shown as time goes on that many of the peoples of the world have heads comparable to those of the Albanians. We know already that this is true of Armenians, Lebanese, and Montenegrins, and it can probably be demonstrated for other European populations.

[1] [See cat. 11b, pp. 63a - 63b -- Analyst]
[2] [See cat. 11b, pp. 86a - 89b -- Analyst]
[3] [See cat. 11b, pp. 66a - 66b -- Analyst]
[4] [See cat. 11b, pp. 77a - 77c -- Analyst]
[5] [See cat. 11b, pp. 89a - 89b -- Analyst]

[a] Ewing, 1947, pp. 235–36; Ehrich and Coon, 1948, pp. 181–86.

304 ital flattening is probably also genetic at times,
*128 or produced by other environmental influences of which we are not aware. When it occurs with the frequency and to the degree shown by the cradled Tosks, we may be reasonably sure that the cradling is responsible for most, but not necessarily all, of it. The Boston Tosk population urgently needs a thorough study, while the old people who led the colony across the ocean are still with us, and before the young people are dispersed.

THE ANTHROPOMETRY OF FLATTENING

141 Returning to our Gheg series, we may sur-
304 vey the effect of both kinds of flattening on
*128 the major dimensions of the head, and on the cephalic index, as shown in table 27[1] and figure 7.[2] Constants were also seriated for stature, minimum frontal, bizygomatic, bigonial, total face height, upper face height, nose height, nose breadth, and the nasal index. Since all of these drew complete blanks except bizygomatic, we may conclude with confidence that within present limits cranial vault form has nothing whatever to do with any of them except the width of the face, either genetically or mechanically. Furthermore, the failure of such sensitive criteria as face height and nose height to change with type of flattening confirms the independence of these latter from the influences of age, once the sutures have entirely closed.

The dimensions of the vault sort themselves out into 2 categories; those that are nearly identical with each other and those that approach or attain statistical significance. In head length, *lambdoid* and *both* are the same; in the breadth, *lambdoid* and *neither*. In the height, *occipital* and *both* are the same; in the cephalic index all are different.

It is interesting to observe that lambdoid flattening, despite its position, still causes a little shortening of the head, and that the men with both types of flattening follow those with lambdoid only in this dimension. In breadth, however, the lambdoidally flattened heads follow the unflattened, while the men with both take their breadth from their occipital flattening. As one would expect, lambdoid flattening carries with it the lowest values for

1 [see cat. 116, p. 97e -- Analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, p. 92b -- Analyst]

141 head height and occipital the highest. The men
304 with *both* follow the occipital line, while those
*128 with *neither* are between. Whatever else a man may have, lambdoid flattening prevents his head from being shortened beyond a certain degree; if he has occipital flattening he is sure to have a broad and high vault. As one

●141 would expect, the values for the cephalic
304 index follow a progression from *neither* to
*128 *occipital*, and a range of 5 index points. Clearly, flattening is a vital factor in the makeup of Dinarics.

In the means for the bizygomatic diameter, significant differences are seen between *lambdoid* and *both*, *occipital* and *both*, and *neither* and *both*. Lambdoid flattening does not broaden the face but apparently occipital does. The reason why *both* exceeds *occipital* only is that *both* has higher values for degree of occipital flattening than *occipital only*.

141 This increase in face breadth, though sig-
304 nificant, is not great. Another element in this
*128 complex is the nasal profile, which seems to grow more convex as the occiput becomes more flattened. The significance of this, if any, may be seen more in the steady progression of percentages of convex in the column repre-

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senting degree of occipital flattening than in any statistical test. It may be added that many other attributes were tested for association with head form, and none of them were found to be related. Lambdoid flattening does nothing to the face. Occipital flattening may bring about a slight facial broadening in connection with the greater broadening of the parietals, for as it separates the areas of attachment of the temporal muscles, it may, in so doing, thus spread the hoops under which these muscles pass to the mandibular condyles, which remain constant. The increase in nasal

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TABLE 27: ANTHROPOMETRY AND FLATTENING.

VAULT DIMENSIONS

	Only Occipital	Only Lambdoid	Both	Neither
No.	262	402	68	335
Head lgth.	181.70 ± .27	186.73 ± .23	186.71 ± .95	188.36 ± .25
Head br.	161.50 ± .23	156.93 ± .19	160.10 ± .44	156.10 ± .21
Head ht.	129.44 ± .33	126.88 ± .26	129.76 ± .73	128.23 ± .23
Cephalic index	87.91 ± .16	84.08 ± .12	86.82 ± .67	82.96 ± .23
Bizygomatic	142.60 ± .25	141.79 ± .19	144.78 ± .46	142.06 ± .21

DEGREE OF FLATTENING AND CEPHALIC INDEX

		Occipital*		Lambdoid*
Abs.	737	83.56	597	85.18
sm	37	85.86	110	83.95
+	213	87.31	327	84.31
++	70	89.06	33	87.09
+++	10	92.10		
Total	1067		1067	

* Including both.

NASAL PROFILE AND FLATTENING

	Concave		Straight		Convex		Conc.-Conv.		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Abs.	54	7.30	300	40.70	374	50.75	9	1.25	737
sm	3	8.11	15	40.54	18	48.65	1	2.70	37
+	7	3.37	80	37.47	125	58.69	1	.47	213
++	5	7.14	18	25.71	47	67.14	0	0	70
+++	0	0	3	30.00	7	70.00	0	0	10
Total	69		416		571		11		1067

CONVEXITY

Occip. Flattening	Absence	Presence
Abs.	363	374
Pres.	133	197

Q = .45

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convexity would reflect a thrusting forward, in extreme cases, of the bony structures in the sagittal line of the cranium through the region of the nasal passages.

Before this section is concluded, it might be of interest to mention that the 22 adult male Tosks measured in Boston have a mean cephalic index of 89.91, with a mode of 8 individuals at 91. The distribution is not a curve at all.

TASKS

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The 5 adult males born in America have cephalic indices of 76, 78, 78, 87, and 88, with a mean of 81; 3 out of 5 are as long headed as the rest of the American population, while the other 2 approximate the mean and mode of their cradled parents.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION OF HEAD FORM

Table 28[1] shows clearly that it is not merely

1 [see cat. No, p. 98e-- Analyst]

141 the relative frequency of occipital and lamb-
304 doid flattening that causes regional differences
#128 in head form (figs. 7, 14, 15).[1] When the unflattened individuals in each tribal series are sorted out and reseriated, we find that in each case a lower mean is obtained than before, varying from .74 points lower in the case of Dukagin, to 2.98 points lower in Has. The complete regularity of this column provides

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 92 b, 114, 115--Analyst]

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for its validation. If flattening alone were responsible for the differences in cephalic index, then when all flattened persons were removed the tribal means should be identical. They are not, and we have uncovered a real, probably genetic, difference in head form ranging from a mean of 84 in the west to 81 in the east. This accords perfectly with the regional distribution of facial measurements which we have already seen.

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TABLE 28: TRIBAL CEPHALIC AND INDEX MEANS.

	TOTAL AND UNFLATTENED			
	No.	TOTAL	No.	UNFLATTENED
MeM	105	86.79 ± .25	22	84.28 ± .46
Duk	106	84.54 ± .24	30	83.80 ± .33
MeJ	104	83.04 ± .28	41	81.22 ± .40
Has	114	85.59 ± .28	26	82.61 ± .59
Lum	109	82.62 ± .27	32	81.38 ± .40
Puk	102	83.76 ± .26	55	82.69 ± .27
Mir	101	84.39 ± .27	33	83.09 ± .42
Zad	105	86.67 ± .24	35	84.86 ± .38
Mat	104	86.49 ± .27	22	84.14 ± .54
Dib	108	84.96 ± .26	32	83.34 ± .49

8: Coon

EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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[For data on cranial deformations, see category 116, pp. 90a; 91a-98e.]

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142 DESCRIPTIVE SOMATOLOGY--color of skin, hair, and eyes; form, length, and distribution of hair; musculature; secondary sexual characteristics; somatotype data; etc.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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PLATE 1.—MEN OF SHALA

(*Photo by Marubbi*)

[Frontispiece)

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 dark people inhabiting the land, with whom they intermarried. Eight houses near Abate, in lower Shala, trace descent from these old inhabi-
142 tants. The rest of them migrated to Dechani. The Albanians I saw at Dechani in 1903 were certainly all of the small dark type.

614 Shala consists of four bairaks: Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj. The three latter are said to have separated into three groups 376 years
[613 ago (told me in 1908). Lothaj and Lekaj recently decided they were far
582] enough removed to be intermarriageable. But Shoshi and Mirdita still would not marry with them.

The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

619 2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate
[611] child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood is possible.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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PLATE VIII.—AN ALBANIAN VIRGIN

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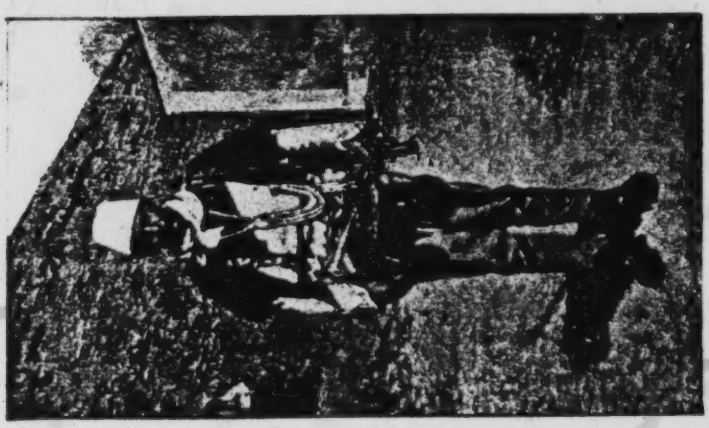

PLATE VII.—BOGA BOY IN FULL DRESS
(See p. 23)

[Facing p. 193]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

Glass "turquoises" made the head-band yet more protective. Small cocks are still made as heads of pins to fasten the head-dress to the hair in the Herzegovina.

172 In the prehistoric graves at Glasinatz in Bosnia, tiny bronze amulets, shaped like doves, have been found. In North Albania three wooden

A 764 777 301 M [301]

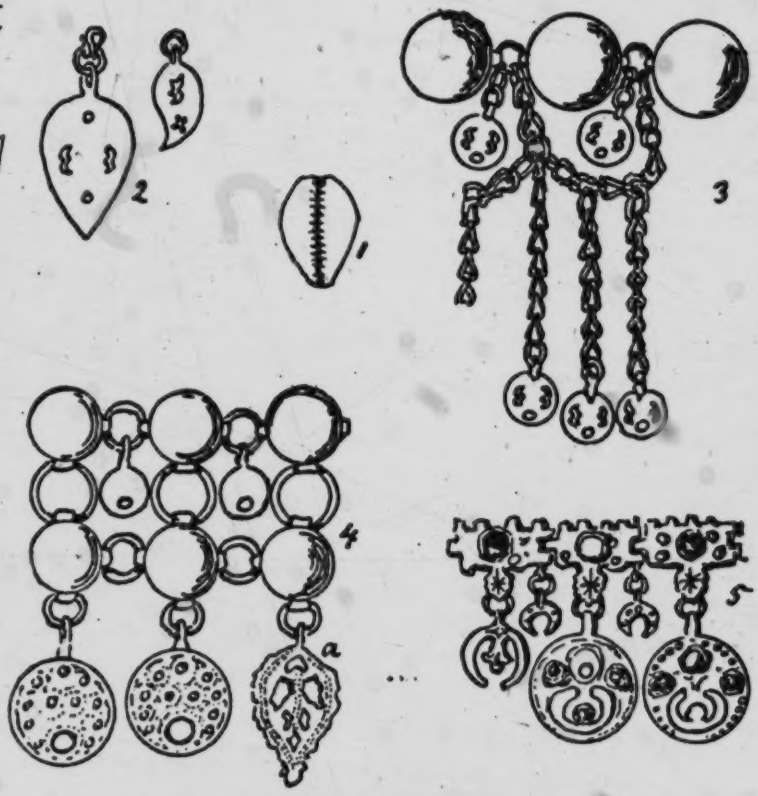

FIG. 19—SPECIMENS SHOWING EVOLUTION OF ORNAMENT FROM COWRY

1. Natural cowry. 2, Pendant common in North Albania. 3. Necklace from Kolashin, Montenegro (old specimen). 4. Breast ornament from Nikaj, North Albania (modern). 5. Old necklace, Scutari.

A [531] doves perch on many a wooden grave-cross. Especially good examples are at Boga. A dove forms part of the decorative design worked on the scarlet cloak worn by the Catholic married women of Scutari, as A does also the serpent. My repeated inquiries failed to find any explana- 142 tion of this dove. "It must be some old tale which we have forgotten," 171 was the reply of the embroiderers. The Glasinatz amulets from ancient

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1

pre-Christian and pre-Slav days show the tale to have been, indeed, so old as to justify its being forgotten. The dove appears, too, on a pair of silver earrings I have from Mirdita. A 142 171

Many of the Hallstadt period bronze ornaments, notably a number of tiny pendants in the form of buckets, cups, jugs, crosses, and animals, found at Prozor in Croatia (Kunst Histor. Museum, Vienna, Room XIII, 31), are extraordinarily like the strings of little household and other articles which dangle from a silver chain hooked to either side of the head-dress of the women of Nish in Serbia. Shoes, scissors, ploughs, plates, hammers, hatchets, hoes, pistols, the war-club ("buzdovan"), and sword are mixed with frogs, hares, and cocks. The cross, the ladder, and the paten usually hang in the middle, thus bringing the ornament into Christian times as the pistol does into "civilized ones." This curious chain hangs under the chin. It was still being made by the local silversmiths in 1902 and much worn. I had seen nothing like it anywhere else till I found, in the Kunst Hist. Museum in Vienna, a sumptuous gold chain a yard long, found in 1797 at Szilagy Somlyo in Hungary, along with fifteen big gold medals of Roman emperors set in gold frames—three of Maximianus, seven of Valens, one of Valentinianus, one of Constantine the Great, two of Constantius, and one of Gratianus. Thus from A.D. 284 to A.D.383. The official catalogue describes it: "The principal object is the chain (No. 290), with models of implements of all sorts." I found ox-yoke, ladder, adze, several hammers, trident, straight sword, shield, war-club, pincers, tongs, scissors, ploughshare, axe, curved sword, reaping-hook, spear-heads, and an outstretched hand. In the centre hangs a ball of topaz, on which stands a golden vase on which two lions set their paws. Above the ball and attached to the chain is a curious dugout canoe in which a man with an oar sits. The whole is beautifully worked in solid gold and is very magnificent—the lordly ancestor of the peasant ornament still made in inferior silver at Nish. S [301]

The twisted chain-link is the same; so are the bulk of the implements—and nothing resembling this chain of implements have I found elsewhere. Did the Hallstadt folk of Prozor wear those little bronze pots and vases on a chain? For whom and when was the golden chain of Somlyo wrought? And why do the smiths of Nish still imitate it? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In Bosnia very elaborate head-dresses were, till recently, worn by women with plumes of coloured grasses, peacock's feathers, beads, coins, and dingle-dangles, all designed to attract the Evil Eye away from the wearer. Perhaps the subtlest way is to wear a small looking-glass, for the Evil Eye then throws its evil glance upon itself. Best of all was to wear the glass at the back of the head on the headkerchief, Y 777 754

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Albanian Women

562 THE Albanian women are an intriguing combination of charm and grace with the addition of more serious virile qualities; the results of this association make them delightful and quite unique. They have rapidly risen from any form of servitude which they may have endured in the long past and now walk hand in hand with the men of their country.

142 In appearance she is tall and slender and of the brunette type, with large, black eyes smouldering between long, curling, black lashes—the warm, emotional type. Her carriage is pleasing, moving as she does with a suppleness that denotes the women who are accustomed to living in the open air and not spoiled by those instruments of torture which, for the sake of coquetry, support the elegant Parisian woman. It is perhaps easier to imagine Diana the Huntress and her retinue under the natural aspects of the Albanian woman.

155 The marshes, the great forests or the mighty mountains do not frighten her at all.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

352 fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in,
[415 a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper
373 *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two
412] rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes,
251 which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to
353 preserve them. The other serves as general living and
372 sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof.
241 Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit
249 and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green,
361 in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor,
243 where the grain is trodden out by horses.

●142 The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

[539]

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

183 They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly courageous.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

courageous. The Tosks are blue-eyed, and also have 142
frequently blonde or chestnut hair. Their features are refined, and they are extremely elegant in figure and deportment. The Khams resemble the Greeks somewhat in feature. They have black eyes and hair, and darker skins than the Ghegs. The Liaps are the [462]
least handsome of all the Albanian women, and the laborious out-of-door life they lead, surrounded by privations of all kinds, soon destroys any degree of beauty they may have possessed in youth. They 481
are, however, expert swimmers and divers, this pastime affording almost their only distraction.

The national costumes of the Albanians are ex- 291
tremely varied and picturesque, and are still rigidly adhered to by all classes. The dress of a Skipetar lady is extremely rich and costly. It consists of a sleeved gown of striped white gauze; a pair of very full Turkish trousers drawn in at the ankle, where they are finished off with a revers of thick embroidery; a long sash, also of gauze; a sleeveless vest, and a coat reaching to the knees, both of crimson velvet, handsomely trimmed round the borders with elaborate
gold embroidery. The hair is separated into three [302]
tresses, one of which floats on the shoulders, the other two being twisted round the little red fez which is worn on the head, and kept in place by a kerchief of silk. The dark-blue fez-tassel, which is very full and long, is ornamented with tiny plates of gold or with seed-pearls, and droops on the left shoulder. Formerly the Moslem women went barefoot, but they now wear embroidered slippers in the house and yellow *babouches* out of doors. The Miridite women

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

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The Typical Mountain Gheg – Malsia e Madhe.

[– facing title page –]

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	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1047		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Bathrocephaly																						
Abs.	758	71.04	93	88.57	56	52.83	58	55.77	80	70.18	63	57.80	84	82.35	71	70.30	94	89.52	78	75.00	75	69.44
sm	5	.47							3	2.63	1	.92	1	.98								
+	291	27.27	12	11.43	48	45.28	44	42.31	28	24.56	44	40.37	16	15.69	29	28.71	11	10.48	26	25.00	31	28.70
++	7	.66			2	1.89	1	.96	1	.88	1	.92	1	.98							1	.93
+++	6	.56					1	.96	2	1.75					1	.99					1	.93
Cranial asymmetry, left																						
Abs.	955	89.90	89	84.76	102	96.23	98	94.23	98	85.96	95	87.16	94	92.16	99	98.12	95	90.48	93	89.42	94	87.04
sm	19	1.79	3	2.86	2	1.89	2	1.92	5	4.39	1	.92	1	.98	2	1.98	3	1.90	1	.96		
+	74	6.96	12	11.43	2	1.89	3	2.88	7	6.14	12	11.01	6	5.88	7	6.93	7	6.67	6	5.77	11	10.19
++	18	1.69	1	.95			1	.96	3	2.63	1	.92	1	.98	3	2.97	1	.95	4	3.85	3	2.78
+++	1	.09							1	.88												
Cranial asymmetry, right																						
Abs.	782	74.23	67	63.81	84	79.25	77	74.04	91	79.82	85	77.98	87	85.29	79	78.22	84	80.95	88	85.38	82	75.93
sm	72	6.79	15	14.29	9	8.49	6	5.77	3	2.63	5	4.59	6	5.88	6	5.94	13	12.38	4	3.85	5	4.63
+	182	17.08	23	21.90	12	11.32	21	20.19	14	12.28	18	16.51	9	8.82	16	14.85	25	23.81	38	36.92	16	14.81
++	20	1.87			1	.94			5	4.39	1	.92			1	.99	3	2.85	4	3.85	5	4.63
+++	1	.09							1	.88												
Facial asymmetry, left																						
Abs.	1020	96.44	102	97.14	106	100.00	103	99.04	108	94.74	102	93.58	101	99.02	100	99.01	96	91.43	101	97.12	101	93.52
sm	1	.09															1	.95				
+	29	2.72	3	2.86			1	.96	5	4.39	5	4.59	1	.98	1	.99	7	6.67	3	1.92	4	3.70
++	8	.75							1	.88	2	1.83					1	.95	1	.96	3	2.78
Facial asymmetry, right																						
Abs.	1042	97.66	102	97.14	105	99.06	104	100.00	108	95.61	109	100.00	97	95.10	99	98.02	102	97.14	101	97.12	105	97.22
+	19	1.69	2	1.90	1	.94			2	1.75			4	3.92	2	1.98	2	1.90	3	2.88	2	1.85
++	7	.66	1	.95					3	2.63			1	.98			1	.95			1	.93
Handedness																						
Left	74	6.94	11	10.48	3	2.83	5	4.81	8	3.26	8	7.34	7	6.86	8	7.92	6	5.71	12	11.54	7	6.48
Right	966	92.41	93	88.57	103	97.17	99	95.19	107	93.86	100	91.74	94	92.16	91	90.10	99	94.29	92	88.46	100	92.59
Amb.	7	.66	1	.95					1	.88	1	.92	1	.98	2	1.98					1	.93
IV. THE PILOUS SYSTEM																						
Total	1047		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Eyebrows, thickness																						
ssm	1	.09																				
sm	52	4.97	5	4.76	9	8.49	6	5.77	4	3.51	5	4.59	1	.98	4	3.96	1	.95	1	.96		
+	895	85.59	95	90.57	86	81.13	90	86.54	91	79.82	98	90.73	93	91.18	86	85.15	96	91.43	85	81.73	10	9.26
++	116	10.87	7	6.67	11	10.38	8	7.69	17	14.91	16	14.68	8	7.84	11	10.89	8	7.62	12	11.54	81	75.00
+++	3	.28							2	1.75											16	14.81
																					1	.93

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		AS		LUM		FUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Eyebrows, concurrency																						
Abs.	311	29.15	31	29.52	26	24.53	33	31.73	42	36.84	39	35.78	20	19.61	36	35.64	35	36.67	30	28.85	25	23.15
asm	4	.37							2	1.75	1	.92									1	.93
sm	398	37.30	43	40.95	34	32.08	31	29.81	40	35.09	38	34.86	41	40.20	37	36.63	36	34.29	41	39.42	54	50.00
+	299	28.02	38	36.67	40	37.74	37	35.58	35	31.03	33	31.10	39	38.24	21	20.79	35	33.33	34	32.69	32	29.37
+ +	53	4.97	3	2.86	6	5.66	3	2.88	4	3.51	8	7.34	1	.98	7	6.93	6	5.71	9	8.65	6	5.56
+ + +	2	.19							1	.88			1	.98								
Eyebrows, lateral extension																						
Abs.	38	3.37	4	3.81	1	.94	2	1.92	5	4.39	3	2.75			2	1.98	3	2.96	9	8.65	7	6.48
asm	2	.19													1	.99					1	.93
sm	320	29.99	31	29.52	8	7.55	18	17.31	61	53.51	39	35.78	19	18.63	38	37.62	20	19.05	41	39.42	44	40.74
+	648	60.74	68	64.76	91	85.85	74	71.15	45	39.47	55	50.46	76	74.51	55	54.46	74	70.48	51	49.04	51	47.22
+ +	61	5.72	3	1.00	6	5.66	10	9.62	3	2.63	12	11.01	7	6.86	5	4.95	8	7.62	3	2.88	5	4.63
Hair form																						
Straight	3	.28													2	1.98			1	.96		
Low waves	735	68.88	62	59.05	75	70.75	92	88.46	55	48.25	80	73.39	88	86.27	77	76.24	81	77.14	75	72.12	66	61.11
Deep waves	301	28.21	36	34.29	26	24.53	10	9.62	59	51.75	31	28.27	31	30.39	22	21.78	34	32.38	27	25.96	40	37.04
Curly	28	2.63	7	6.66	5	4.72	2	1.92			8	7.34	3	2.94					1	.96	2	1.85
Hair texture																						
Coarse	4	.37															1	.95	3	2.88		
Medium	854	80.04	78	74.29	84	79.25	93	89.42	83	72.81	100	91.74	78	76.47	76	75.25	75	71.43	91	87.50	88	81.48
Fine	209	19.59	27	25.71	22	20.75	11	10.58	31	27.19	9	8.26	24	23.53	25	24.75	29	27.62	10	9.62	20	18.52
Total	1048		105		104		98		111		106		88		101		104		102		108	
Baldness																						
Abs.	805	76.96	87	82.86	83	79.81	78	79.59	60	54.05	80	73.47	80	81.63	79	78.22	85	81.73	89	87.25	78	72.22
asm	22	2.10	1	.95					12	10.81	2	1.83	1	1.02	3	2.97					3	2.78
sm	128	12.24	11	10.48	13	12.50	10	10.20	25	22.52	13	12.26	12	12.24	10	9.90	9	8.65	4	3.92	20	18.52
+	72	6.88	4	3.81	8	7.70	8	8.16	11	9.91	8	7.55	3	3.06	9	7.92	8	7.69	6	5.88	6	5.56
+ +	16	1.53					2	2.04	2	1.80	3	2.83	2	2.04	1	.99	2	1.92	3	2.94	1	.93
+ + +	3	.29	2	1.90					1	.90												
Hair quantity, head																						
Abs.	1	.10																			1	.93
asm	7	.67	1	.95			1	1.12	1	.90			1	1.02					1	.98	2	1.85
sm	138	13.00	10	9.52	17	16.35	8	8.16	25	22.52	10	9.43	8	8.16	17	16.83	16	15.38	11	10.78	13	12.04
+	844	80.69	94	89.52	81	77.88	85	86.73	78	70.27	87	82.08	88	89.80	76	75.25	87	83.65	88	87.25	72	66.67
+ +	58	5.54			6	5.77	4	4.08	7	6.31	9	8.49	1	1.02	8	7.92	1	.96	1	.98	20	18.52
Total	1067		105		104		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Hair quantity, mustache																						
Abs.	1	.09									1	.92										
asm	15	1.41					3	2.88			2	1.83	3	2.94	2	1.98	2	1.90			2	1.85
sm	81	7.59	1	.95	8	7.55	6	5.77	8	7.09	12	11.01	11	10.78	6	5.94	7	6.67	14	13.46	7	6.48
+	729	68.32	80	76.19	80	75.47	83	79.81	77	67.54	65	59.63	70	68.63	68	67.33	70	66.67	71	68.27	62	57.41
+ +	240	22.49	24	22.85	18	16.98	12	11.54	27	23.68	29	26.61	18	17.65	25	24.75	26	24.76	19	18.27	37	34.26
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1957b EGI Albania EGI
Highland Gheg

[p. 54(o)]

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Total	1087		105		108		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Hair quantity, cheeks																						
Abs.	50	4.60	2	1.90	2	1.89	6	5.77	5	4.39	6	5.50	6	5.88	4	3.96	2	1.90	5	4.81	11	10.19
sam	53	4.87			2	1.89	4	3.85	7	6.14	5	4.59	10	9.80	11	10.89	7	6.67	4	3.85	2	1.85
sm	189	17.71	13	12.38	18	16.98	15	14.42	23	20.18	20	18.35	18	17.65	18	18.81	20	19.05	29	27.88	14	13.86
+	542	50.80	65	61.90	88	82.26	87	84.42	52	45.61	49	44.95	50	49.02	44	43.56	51	48.57	47	45.19	48	46.44
+ +	233	21.84	25	23.81	18	16.98	12	11.54	26	22.81	29	26.61	18	17.65	23	22.77	25	23.81	19	18.27	33	30.58
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												
Hair quantity, jaw																						
Abs	21	1.97			2	1.89	4	3.85			5	4.59	3	2.94	2	1.98	1	.95			3	2.78
sam	28	2.63	2	1.90			2	1.92	6	5.26	3	2.75	3	2.94	5	4.95	4	3.81	1	.96	2	1.85
sm	183	17.15	5	4.76	15	14.15	15	14.42	20	17.54	18	16.51	23	22.55	20	19.80	15	14.29	34	32.69	18	16.67
+	595	55.76	73	69.52	71	66.98	71	68.27	60	52.63	54	49.54	55	53.92	50	49.50	58	55.19	50	48.08	49	45.37
+ +	239	22.40	25	23.81	18	16.98	12	11.54	27	23.68	29	26.61	18	17.65	24	23.76	26	24.76	19	18.27	36	33.33
+ + +	1	.09							1	.88												
Hair quantity, arms and legs																						
Abs	6	.56									1	.92	1	.98	3	2.97			1	.96		
sam	10	.94					1	.96			2	1.83			3	2.97	1	.95	2	1.92	1	.93
sm	280	26.24	12	11.43	18	16.98	24	23.08	26	22.81	31	28.44	36	35.29	33	32.67	24	23.86	41	39.42	34	31.48
+	638	59.79	87	82.86	76	71.70	69	66.35	63	55.26	53	48.62	54	52.94	52	51.49	70	66.67	55	52.88	52	48.15
+ +	132	12.37	6	5.71	12	11.32	10	9.62	25	21.93	22	20.18	11	10.78	10	9.90	10	9.52	5	4.81	20	18.52
+ + +	1	.09																			1	.93
Hair quantity, chest																						
Abs.	249	23.34	22	20.95	7	6.60	29	27.89	16	14.04	37	33.94	32	31.37	18	17.82	28	26.78	37	35.58	24	22.22
sam	14	1.30							7	6.14			1	.98	3	2.97	1	.95			2	1.85
sm	245	22.96	14	13.33	28	26.42	20	19.23	26	22.81	25	22.94	27	26.47	23	22.77	29	26.67	29	27.88	25	23.15
+	378	35.43	48	45.71	55	51.89	46	44.23	41	35.96	26	23.85	33	32.35	39	38.61	31	28.53	23	24.04	30	27.78
+ +	170	15.93	21	20.00	15	14.15	9	8.65	19	16.67	21	19.27	8	7.84	16	15.84	19	18.10	12	11.54	28	24.07
+ + +	11	1.02			1	.94			5	4.39			1	.98	2	1.98			1	.96	1	.93
Whiteness, head																						
Present	10	.93							2	1.75	5	4.59							1	.96	2	1.85
Absent	1057	99.08	105	100.00	108	100.00	104	100.00	112	98.25	104	95.41	102	100.00	101	100.00	105	100.00	103	99.04	106	98.15
Whiteness, mustache																						
Present	7	.65							2	1.75	5	4.59										
Absent	1060	99.34	105	100.00	106	100.00	104	100.00	112	98.25	104	95.41	102	100.00	101	100.00	105	100.00	104	100.00	108	100.00
Grayness, head																						
Abs.	880	84.87	73	69.52	80	75.47	79	75.96	51	44.74	74	67.89	69	67.65	57	56.44	45	61.90	76	73.08	62	57.41
sam	25	2.33	1	.95					6	5.26			4	3.92	8	7.92	1	.95	3	2.89	2	1.85
sm	117	10.97	12	11.43	13	12.26	12	11.54	16	14.04	13	11.93	7	6.86	10	9.90	11	10.48	7	6.73	15	13.89
+	140	13.12	11	10.48	7	6.60	8	7.69	18	15.79	14	12.84	17	16.67	16	15.84	17	16.19	11	10.58	17	15.74
+ +	78	7.31	6	5.71	5	4.72	5	4.81	19	16.67	9	8.26	4	3.92	8	7.92	8	7.62	6	5.77	11	10.19
+ + +	17	1.58	2	1.90	1	.94			4	3.51	2	1.83	1	.98	2	1.98	3	2.86	1	.96	1	.93
Grayness, mustache and beard																						
Abs.	775	72.62	78	74.29	87	82.08	88	84.62	73	64.04	83	76.15	76	74.51	65	64.36	65	61.90	84	80.77	70	64.81
sam	4	.37	1	.95					1	.88	1	.92			1	.99						
sm	83	7.78	6	5.71	8	7.55	3	2.88	7	6.14	7	6.42	6	5.88	10	9.90	15	14.29	8	7.69	11	10.19
+	130	12.18	15	14.29	7	6.60	9	8.65	18	15.79	9	8.26	15	14.71	15	14.85	18	17.14	8	7.69	15	13.89
+ +	64	6.00	4	3.81	4	3.77	4	3.85	13	11.40	7	6.42	3	2.94	8	7.92	6	5.71	3	2.88	12	11.11
+ + +	11	1.03	1	.95					2	1.75	2	1.83	2	1.96	2	1.98	1	.95	1	.96		

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1956 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DEB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
V. PIGMENTATION																						
Skin Color																						
Total	1087		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Light	977	91.57	105	100.00	101	95.28	100	96.15	91	79.82	99	90.83	92	90.20	86	85.15	100	95.24	94	90.38	100	92.59
Medium	83	7.78	0	0.00	5	4.72	4	3.85	22	19.30	8	7.34	8	7.84	14	13.86	4	3.81	10	9.62	8	7.41
Dark	7	.66	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	.88	2	1.83	2	1.96		.99	1	.95	0	0.00	0	0.00
Vascularity																						
Total	1068		105		106		104		113		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Abs.	18	1.69			1	.94	2	1.92			1	.92	5	4.90	5	4.95	2	1.90	1	.96	1	.93
ssm	1	.09											1	.98								
sm	207	19.42	21	20.00	10	9.43	22	21.15	22	19.47	22	20.18	21	20.59	33	32.67	20	19.05	18	17.31	17	15.74
+	711	66.70	70	66.67	85	80.02	78	75.00	52	46.02	74	67.89	65	63.73	53	52.48	69	65.71	73	70.19	77	71.30
++	128	12.01	14	13.33			2	1.92	39	34.51	12	11.01	9	8.82	10	9.90	14	13.33	12	11.54	13	12.04
+++	1	.09											1	.98								
Hair color, head																						
Total	1030		105		106		103		96		102		102		101		105		102		98	
Black	423	41.07	40	38.10	22	20.75	42	40.78	59	61.46	46	45.10	40	39.22	53	52.48	43	40.95	32	31.37	41	41.41
Dark brown	476	46.21	47	44.76	70	66.04	54	52.43	32	33.33	47	46.08	54	52.94	35	34.65	49	46.67	53	51.96	42	42.42
Red brown	16	1.55	1	.95	4	3.77	1	.97	1	1.04			1	.98	1	.99			5	4.90	3	3.03
Light brown	90	8.74	14	13.33	7	6.60	4	3.88	7	7.29	6	5.88	6	5.88	11	10.89	13	12.38	11	10.78	10	10.10
Ash-blond	2	.19					1	.97													1	1.01
Golden	21	2.04	2	1.90	3	2.83	1	.97	6	6.25	3	2.94	1	.98	1	.99			1	.98	3	3.03
Red	2	.19	1	.95					1	1.04												
Hair color, mustache																						
Total	1054		105		105		103		109		105		102		101		105		104		106	
Black	65	6.17	4	3.81	3	2.86	9	8.74	8	7.34	9	8.57	7	6.86	10	9.90	3	2.86	6	5.77	5	4.72
Dark brown	277	26.28	35	33.33	39	37.14	42	40.78	22	20.18	29	27.62	28	28.43	34	33.76	15	14.29	25	24.04	16	15.09
Red brown	376	35.67	38	36.29	41	39.05	23	22.33	30	27.52	34	32.38	25	24.51	42	41.58	49	46.67	41	39.42	48	45.33
Light brown	195	18.50	19	18.10	11	10.48	19	18.45	24	22.02	20	19.05	30	29.41	13	12.87	23	21.90	17	16.35	18	16.98
Ash-blond	4	.38			1	.95	1	.97					1	.98					1	.96		
Golden	103	9.77	7	6.67	4	3.81	6	5.83	20	18.35	12	11.43	8	7.84	5	4.95	10	9.52	14	13.46	17	16.04
Red	34	3.23	4	3.81	6	5.71	3	2.91	5	4.59	1	.95	2	1.96	7	6.93	5	4.76	1	.96		
Eye color																						
Total	1067		105		106		104		114		109		102		101		105		104		108	
Black	1	.09			1	.94																
Dark brown	144	13.50	7	6.67	25	23.58	24	23.08	8	7.02	19	17.43	13	12.75	15	14.85	6	5.71	9	8.65	15	13.89
Light brown	32	2.98	2	1.90			1	.96	2	1.75	2	1.83	1	.98	2	1.98	2	1.90	5	4.81	15	13.89
Dark light brown	1	.09																	1	.96		
Gray brown	537	50.33	52	49.52	57	53.77	56	53.85	55	48.24	55	50.46	53	51.98	40	39.60	56	53.33	55	52.88	53	49.07
Gray brown	80	7.50	9	8.57	4	3.77	5	4.81	11	9.65	4	3.67	10	9.80	17	16.83	5	4.76	12	11.54	3	2.78
Black brown	204	19.12	27	25.71	14	13.21	11	10.58	24	22.81	20	18.35	20	19.61	23	22.77	30	28.57	13	12.50	18	16.67
Gray	1	.09																	1	.96		
Gray blue	2	.19													1	.99			1	.96		
Blue	64	6.00	8	7.62	5	4.72	6	5.77	11	9.65	9	8.26	5	4.90	3	2.97	6	5.71	7	6.73	4	3.70
Unlike	1	.09					1	.96	1	.88												

- 54 p -

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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	Total Series		MEM		DUK		MEJ		HAS		LUM		PUK		MIR		ZAD		MAT		DIB	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Mixed eyes, degree of pigment																						
Total	924.5		88		75		72.5		93		79		83		81		91		83		74	
+ + + D	17	2.06	2	2.27	2	2.67	3	4.14	1	1.08	2	2.53	1	1.20	1	1.23	1	1.10	2	2.44	2	2.70
+ + D	317.5	34.38	33	38.14	30	40.00	15	20.69	22.5	24.19	18	22.78	18	21.69	29	35.80	16	17.58	29	35.37	16	21.62
Even	198	24.01	17	19.32	11	14.67	15	20.69	22	23.67	20	25.32	23	27.71	19	23.46	30	32.97	21	25.61	18	24.32
+ + L	287.5	34.67	37	42.05	22	29.33	29	40.00	38.5	38.17	32	41.77	31	37.35	23	28.40	28	30.77	21	25.61	26	35.14
+ + + L	104.5	12.67	9	10.23	10	13.33	10.5	14.48	12	12.90	6	7.59	10	13.05	9	11.11	16	17.58	9	10.98	12	16.22
Iris																						
Total	1087		105		104		104		114		100		102		101		105		104		108	
Homogeneous	238	23.31	17	16.19	31	29.25	31	29.81	21	18.42	30	27.52	19	18.63	30	19.80	14	13.33	19	18.27	33	30.56
Rayed	413	38.62	54	51.43	48	45.38	42	39.38	56	49.12	36	33.03	45	44.12	28	27.72	35	33.33	30	28.85	35	32.41
Zoned	402	37.66	31	29.52	27	25.47	31	29.81	35	30.70	43	39.45	36	35.29	49	48.51	54	51.43	55	52.88	39	36.11
Spotted	14	1.31	3	2.86					2	1.75			2	1.96	4	3.96	2	1.90			1	[illegible]
Unmatched	1	.09					1	.08														

[p. 54(8)]

141 prominent, the buttocks medium to small, the calves well developed, the heels a little more projecting than expected, the foot arch about medium. This is a picture of an average man [142] who has led an active out-of-door life in a hard but healthy environment, on a minimum of food which is nevertheless well balanced; he is muscular, lean, and accustomed to walking long distances over rough terrain. From the neck down it would be hard to distinguish him from a shepherd in the Scottish Highlands, a Norwegian from the fjord country, or an Appalachian mountaineer.

[147] Only one physiological test was made: dynamometer squeeze. Despite the cold weather, despite the stiffening of fingers through years of ploughing, the mountaineers produced a mean of 112 pounds, ranging from 45 to 190 (see table 9).

II. The Face

141 144 From the neck up the resemblance to Scot and Norwegian would continue in most respects, but would disappear in others. In the more noticeable dimensions of the face it would be quite close. The Albanian mountaineers have moderately long faces, both in the distance from nasion to alveon (the point on the gums between the 2 upper median incisors) and from nasion to menton. It is hard to make close comparisons because individual anthropometrists vary greatly in locating these points. Comparing them with series of which one can be moderately sure that the same techniques were used, we see that the Ghegs are about the same in face length as populations which are predominantly Nordic or which represent the larger varieties of Mediterranean —like the English, the Riffians, and the Basques, and shorter faced than populations with an excess of marginal pre-Neolithic genetic elements, like the Irish and Norwegians. They are longer-faced than the small Mediterranean peoples like Spaniards and southern Italians. The upper face is relatively long in proportion to the total face height; this is usually in Euro-

141 [128] Thirty-eight observations piece out this picture. Impressions of the foreheads of 1067 men show them to be for the most part of medium height and a little more than medium breadth, with a little less than medium slope on the average. The browridges run moderately large, and glabella is usually prominent. Eyefolds are usually absent, but when they do occur are almost always external, the so-called "Nordic" fold which is common with all narrow-faced Europeans. The almost complete absence of median and internal folds differentiates these people sharply from the Mongoloid and east Baltic populations of northeastern Europe. The wide opening of the eyeslit further emphasizes this difference. Almost one individual out of five shows a little eye obliquity, reminding one of Near Eastern Mediterranean types. 142

The face itself is characteristically gaunt; the malars rarely protrude forward and their lateral extension is only medium. The cheeks are medium to thin, and usually wrinkled, with firm lines around the mouth. The gonial angles protrude only to a normal extent judging by ordinary western European standards. This lean, drawn, and weather-beaten appearance of the face heightens the resemblance of these people to the Scots, Norse, and Basques. The 5 observations on the ears show nothing uncommon for Europeans. The lips run a little above medium in integumental (muscular) thickness, and unusually thin in membrane, reflecting probably bite and eating habits as much as race; they are also less everted than in the normal run of familiar European whites. The lips of the Ghegs look more like those of family portraits of the Revolutionary period than like those of modern Americans. The observation on chin prominence is based on actual slope rather than on fidelity to an ideal mean; the presence of 23 per cent of *sm* chins is no greater than would be found in any other narrow-jawed European population. Most of the chins are median; the bilateral form (discovered through palpation) goes with the Alpine and other pre-Mediterranean types in Europe as well as with individuals of unusual robusticity.

The most distinctive feature of the Mountain Gheg face, the nose, almost never springs from glabella without depression, according to

[See cat. 116, pp. 54g-54h.. Analyst]

142 the Greek ideal. Although not unusually high, its root is exceptionally narrow. Its bridge is usually both high and narrow. This combination yields a high frequency, in fact a majority, of convex nasal profiles, giving the Gheg his traditional hawklike appearance. The tip of the nose is medium to thin, more often straight or elevated than depressed, with medium to compressed wings and usually a straight septum. This nose, as the forward segment of a gaunt, triangular face, gives the classical Dinaric his impressive facial appearance.

III. The Head

141 So far we have found only a few measurements and observations to differentiate the ordinary Gheg mountaineer from the shepherd of the Scottish Highlands, the Basque, and the inland Norwegian to whom we first compared him. When we remove his felt cap, however, and study his head, we find that the resemblance ceases. His head is 10 whole millimeters shorter than those of his Atlantic-bordering simulacres, resembling in this respect eastern and central European peoples, and the inhabitants of Armenia, Anatolia, parts of the Caucasus, and the Lebanon. At the same time it is much broader, in fact it is among the broadest heads in Europe. It is difficult to find its exact position regarding height, since head height is notoriously subject to the personal equation. Judging by only those series of which I am sure, I consider the Gheg heads moderately to more-than-average elevated. They do not, however, reach the extremes in this dimension that they do in length and breadth. In the indices of the head, these people are fully brachycephalic, although less extreme in this respect than some of their neighbors, notably the Tosks and some of the mountain-dwelling Yugoslavs, among whom mean indices of 87 and 88 have been recorded. In the length-height indices they rank as hypsicephalic, while in the breadth-height index they take a low position. This merely reflects the moderate head height in comparison with an extreme cranial breadth. The indices which serve to compare the parietal breadth with facial diameters—fronto-parietal and cephalo-facial—both emphasize the disproportion between a very broad hind-head and moderate facial breadths. The fronto-parietal and cephalo-facial indices, relating the forehead

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

IV. The Pilous System

● 142 The eyebrows of the Gheg mountaineers are close to the European norm, if such a position can be postulated; perhaps they are a little thicker and more concurrent than those of most northern and western populations, but if so the variation is slight. Thirteen more observations show that the Dinaric race as exemplified by these Ghegs is equally normal by European standards. It was not easy in each case to determine hair form. Some men wore scalplocks, and others let the back hair grow long, but others shaved their heads, and if they had done this recently and lacked long mustaches, my estimate was correspondingly less accurate. It is possible that more should for this reason be in the *straight* category, but not many more. Slightly wavy hair is characteristic, and it is of medium to fine texture. Straight coarse hair such as one finds among Mongoloids and many Eastern Europeans is virtually lacking, and curly hair rare. Baldness is rare, particularly considering the age of the sample (of which more later). The thickness of the head hair (in the case of bald men this is observed on the part of the scalp which still has hair) is about medium, while the face hair, including mustache, cheeks, and jaw, are probably a trifle heavier than with northern and eastern Europeans, although not equalling the development of the Alpine population of Bavaria and parts of France. Luckily most men wore luxuriant mustaches and shaved their beards infrequently. Despite their age these mountaineers seem to have had slightly less hair on their limbs and chests than expected in view of their beard growth. One is reminded of a normal Nordic and Mediterranean development rather than that of Alpines. The number of men with fully white hair or beards was negligible; grayness of the head was more prevalent than that of the mustache and beard. In most cases, however, it was possible to tell the color of the still pigmented hairs.

V. Pigmentation

Skin color was observed on supposedly unexposed surfaces of the under arm and chest. The vast majority were about the same as the examiners—a pinkish white approximating von Luschan #7. The others were brunet white, in no case darker than one expects to find

142 among Greeks or Italians. Almost all possessed the pink or red vascular flush that comes to light, thin skin with outdoor living. Since the measuring was done in the dead of winter, either out of doors or in chilly houses, and since many of the men were inadequately dressed, their rosiness is not surprising.

About one of 9 men had hair that could be called blond or red; of the rest little more than a half were brown haired, and the others black. *Dark brown* included many who might better have been labeled *brown* without further qualification. The mustaches were much lighter; dark and red browns are the rule, while light browns, extreme blonds, and reds come to nearly a third of the whole. Only one-sixth of the sample had pure dark iris pigment, but the number of pure blues and grays was only half as great as that. A three-fourths majority had eyes that were mixed in color, and of these the light mixtures predominate. The prevalence of mixed eye types is reflected in the ratios of rayed, zoned, and spotted irides.

In their pigment characteristics the Mountain Ghegs are about half way between blond and brunet pigment extremes as delimited by the European range; they run to light skins, dark head hair, and intermediate to light mustaches with much red, and a light mixed eye color. In pigmentation they are not very different from the Highland Scots, the Basques, and the Kentucky mountaineers—but considerably darker than the Norwegians. They are fairer than the Italians of the portions of Italy opposite them, and fairer than Tosks, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Serbs, while probably little different from Montenegrins, Bosnians, and Tyrolese.

The Gheg phenotype is thus represented by a moderately tall man, long limbed, strong boned, well muscled, spare and lean, with a thin, bony face of moderate dimensions, a long, narrow, aquiline nose, a short, broad head, often flattened behind, a well-developed mustache and beard, both of which vary in color, a light skin, and mixed eyes. His body hair is only moderately developed. In all characters except those concerned with the breadth and flattening of the head he resembles the Nordic and larger Mediterranean populations of the fringes of Europe more than the stockier, flatter-nosed, and hairier peoples in its east and center. If

142 one could compare a series of skeletons of such men with those from the Illyrian Iron Age cemetery at Glasinac, it is hard to see what differences between the means would appear except for the greater frequency of broad, and often occipitally flattened, heads in the living population.

VARIABILITY OF THE SERIES AS A WHOLE AND OF THE TRIBES

141 Any living population may be expected to show a normal frequency distribution in each
*128 metrical criterion. This distribution is expressed by the standard deviation (see table 3B)[1] Standard deviations themselves vary. If the standard deviation exceeds a certain nu-

[1] [see cat 116, pp. 54d - 54e -- Analyst]

141 *28 diameters of the brain case and their indices are most divergent. The horizontal diameters of the face and their indices differ the least; if a decision rested on them alone it would be hard to demonstrate racial differentiation in the Gheg mountains. Sagittal diameters of the face, and the sagittal-horizontal indices, differ more.

From this we may say that in 3 respects the tribes vary metrically from the total and from one another: (1) in body diameters, greatly; (2) in brain case diameters and indices, nearly as greatly; (3) in the gross lengths of the face—particularly from nose to chin—and in indices dependent on these measurements, to a lesser extent. In one respect the tribes show a degree of relative homogeneity—in the constancy of the horizontal diameters of the face. Even here, however, they differ more than chance alone would warrant.

A similar test has been made of intertribal differences in 78 observations given on table 4;[1] here the differences between tribes and total were not calculated—the method used was to calculate the probable errors of percentages by the tables of Ritala,[5] and to test the significances of the differences between them.

Table 8[2] demonstrates that clear intertribal differences are harder to demonstrate in the observations than in the metrical characters, perhaps by virtue of the nature of the criteria themselves. Since 4 per cent of the differences over 3 p.e. can be ascribed to chance in any case, and since an equal allowance might well be made for technical inaccuracy, differences in cleanliness, in appearance at different temperatures, and light conditions, etc., I find it hard to claim valid regional differences in classes of criteria where fewer than 8 per cent [[42] of combinations are over 3 p.e. In face form, in nasal architecture, in hair development, form, and distribution, and in pigmentation, what regional differences occur seem to be of little consequence. These characters are precisely those which most anthropologists feel to be genetic. In these respects, therefore, our Gheg mountaineers are as homogeneous as their history would lead us to expect.

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 54F-54g - Analyst]

[2] [See cat. 116, p. 656 - Analyst]

[5] Ritala, 1933.

141 *128 In the observations of the body and of the brain case, however, they differ more than chance and technical error would justify. In these easily influenced characters, regional phenotypes exist.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN BODY SIZE AND FORM

The main difference in body size lies in the north-south cleavage between the tribes living on either side of the Drin. Those to the north are a good 6 centimeters taller than those to the south. These differences are greater to the west than to the east, so that 3 areas may be postulated; a tall northwestern, an intermediate eastern, and a short southwestern. These areas differ also in body proportions, in that the northwestern tribes (Malsia e Madhe and Dukagin) are broad-shouldered and long-armed as well, while the eastern tribes, including Malsia e Jakovës, while tall, are slenderer and narrower in the shoulders, with the southwesterners in these criteria short and slender. The acme of robusticity is reached in Dukagin, whose athletic tribesmen exceed all others to a marked degree in these special criteria. Although we lack constants for weight, which would be most valuable here, we have the evidence for dynamometer squeeze, which reveals their superiority in muscular strength (see table 9).*

142 *128

147 *128

Dukagin men are a little stronger than those of Malsia e Madhe, but this difference is not significant. However, both Dukagin and Malsia e Madhe are significantly stronger than all of the other tribes. Among the others, Has, Luma, and Puka are all 3 stronger than Mati and Mirdita; Puka is stronger than Zadrima as well, and Malsia e Jakovës is stronger than

* [see cat. 116, p. 65c --Analyst]

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TABLE 8: INTERTRIBAL COMPARISONS.

	No. of Criteria	No. of Categories	No. of Combinations	No. of Combinations 3 p. e.	No. of Combinations 3 p. e.
Body	12	39	1755	203	11.5%
Head	7	24	1080	131	12.1
Face	25	86	2870	206	5.3
Nose	11	35	1575	96	6.1
Pilosity	16	57	2565	177	6.9
Pigment	7	32	1440	107	7.4
Total	78	273	11,285	920	7.5%

147 *128 Mirdita alone. The same 3 areas stand out again in this test: the northwest, with greatest strength concentrated in Dukagin; the eastern border tribes, including Malsia e Jakovës, Has, Luma, and Dibra; and the southwest, including Mirdita, Mati, and Zadrima, with Mirdita at the lowest point. It should be observed that the 2 Catholic tribes, Dukagin and Mirdita, supposedly descended from a group of brothers, are the least alike in stature, body proportions, and muscular strength.

TABLE 9: DYNAMOMETER SQUEEZE.

	No.	MEAN	σ
Total	1058	112.09 ± .36	15.86
MeM	105	117.95 ± 1.05	15.90
Duk	106	121.20 ± 1.20	18.40
MeJ	104	108.30 ± 1.14	17.20
Has	114	110.05 ± 1.17	18.45
Lum	109	110.25 ± 1.11	17.15
Puk	102	112.80 ± 1.24	18.60
Mir	101	102.50 ± 1.39	20.65
Zad	105	105.75 ± 1.22	18.50
Mat	104	104.65 ± 1.32	19.90
Dib	108	108.25 ± 1.51	23.30

142 *128 In the observations of body form, Dukagin stands out as the most athletic of all the tribes, but in general a north-south division prevails. Mentioning only the significant differences, we see that Dukagin exceeds in general musculature, while the southern tribes are least well developed. The 4 southern tribes (Zadrima, Mirdita, Mati, and Dibra) exceed in percentages of short necks, while Zadrima, Mirdita, Mati, and Has exceed in thin necks. The 3 northern tribes exceed in + shoulder slope, the southern tribes in *sm*. To a certain extent chest development runs inversely to stature; Mirdita and Mati are the chestiest, and

• 142 *128 Malsia e Jakovës the least so. Has stands out as moderately tall and very chesty. The vertebral borders of the scapulae, supposed to have much significance from the standpoint of general health and vigor, vary little. The lumbar curve is most pronounced in the tribes north of the Drin. None of the Gheg mountaineers had enough to eat to produce protuberant abdomens—in this criterion variation is nonexistent. In general, buttocks are plumpest north of the Drin, where lumbar curve is greatest and hence pelvic tilt most pronounced; these differences between tribes in lumbar curve and buttock protrusion are more marked than any others. Calves are most developed in Dukagin and Mirdita, among the tallest and shortest tribesmen, respectively. The feet show little variability.

142 147 *128 To sum this data up, we find tall men north of the Drin, with stature decreasing rapidly as one moves southward; to the east, the gradient of change is much less marked than in the west. In fact, 3 stature areas may be designated: the northwest, the east, and the southwest. In these 3 areas, in general, the most robust are the big men of the northwest, while the easterners tend to a lankier form. Dukagin stands out above all the others for strength and athletic development, followed closely by the *bairaks* of Malsia e Madhe. Mirdita, followed by Mati and Zadrima, lies at the other extreme. These regional differences are as great as those between Norway and France, or England and Greece.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE CRANIAL VAULT

141 *128 The head length means vary nearly 7 millimeters, the breadth means 6 millimeters, and the height 4 millimeters, tribally. These differences are significant in 28 out of 45 cases for head length, 25 out of 45 for head breadth, and 21 out of 45 for head height. Heads are longest in the northwest, intermediate in the east, and shortest in the southwest. They are broadest in the northwest and more or less the same elsewhere; in height they exceed in Zadrima and Malsia e Madhe, and are lowest in Mati and Dibra, following in general a NW/SE axis.

These regional variations come out even more markedly in the cephalic index, in which

141 *128 A few features of the soft parts of the eyes show significant tribal variation. The western tribes, particularly Zadrima, Malsia e Madhe, and Dukagin, have large minorities with external eyefolds, rare in the east and in Mati. Men from Dukagin tend to narrow their eyelids to slits, and this accounts for 14 out of 28 significant differences in palpebral opening. The same tendency in Has accounts for 9 of the rest. In the case of Dukagin, at least, part of this may be due to the fact that I measured them in the snow, in bright sunlight. Most of the tribes had 20 to 30 per cent of slight eye obliquity, but Has with only 8 per cent was significantly below the others. This obliquity was not up, Mongol-wise, but down, as is usual in narrow-faced Europeans.

The lips show a few local differences only: Dukagin has thicker integumental lips than the others, in 18 out of 23 significant cases; Has runs low and Malsia e Madhe high in membranous thickness, to a very minor degree in each case; Malsia e Madhe and Malsia e Jakovës have a little more lip eversion than the others. Only a few of these differences reach 3 times p.e., and only one attains 4. Except for Dukagin's thick upper lip, we can ignore the rest.

Turning to the ears, we find no differences of consequence. We have 6 observations, in all of which only 20 differences of 3 times p.e. or over are found, out of a total of 810 computed. Of these only 4 are over 4 p.e., and one reaches 5 p.e. We may say with confidence that the Gheg tribes are alike in the frequency of the component factors in ear form.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN PILOSITY

142 *128 In the observed form of the hair, the ratio of deep to low waves is virtually the same between all tribes, except for Has, which is recorded to have significantly more deep-waved individuals than all other tribes, except for Malsia e Madhe and Dukagin. Aside from [302] Has the others are virtually the same. Owing to the prevalence of head shaving in some tribes, and the fact that my Has sample all lived near the city of Prizren, where modern haircuts are more in vogue than elsewhere, I have no confidence in this distinction. In hair texture, Zadrima shows a tendency in favor of fineness, and Luma of being medium, and both have some statistical validity. Again, I

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*128

do not trust my power of observation enough to confirm these. In baldness, it is Has against the others, a distinction which can be explained on another basis. In the quantity of head hair (apart from bald areas) Dibra shows an excess over most others. Mustache hair quantity, eyebrow thickness, and eyebrow concurrency, show no regional variations, and these are prime racial criteria.

The lateral extension of the eyebrows, however, does vary. Here the split is essentially but not typically NW/SE again; the wide-browed tribal sample being particularly those of Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Puka, and Zadrima, the narrow-browed those of Has, Luma, Mirdita, Mati, and Dibra. In this single criterion 41 significant differences occur. In 10 characters dealing with hair quantity, 124 significant differences exist; one-third of these are therefore found in the single character of lateral extension of the eyebrows. Aside from the variations in cranial vault and for Dukagin's chin, this is the biggest difference in observations to appear so far. In the development of the various segments of the facial hair, aside from the eyebrows, no notable differences are found, and in body hair there is a tendency for Dukagin and Malsia e Madhe to fall low on absents, and for the eastern tribes to be high on the hairiest categories. These tendencies are of a minor nature.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN PIGMENTATION

In skin color, only Has shows any consistent difference from the others; the skins of these men were recorded as medium-white rather than light in about 20 per cent of cases; this minority of one-fifth of other-than-fair skins is not only significant statistically, but also probably accurate technically. The Has men were also the more frequently vascular.

In the head hair color, the only differences of importance lie between the black and dark brown categories; all tribes are equally endowed with reds and blonds. Has is outstanding for its predominance of black, and Dukagin of dark brown. This may possibly be explained by age and by haircuts, but it may also be valid. Between them these 2 account for every single statistically significant difference in this character; in all, 20. In mustache color a few differences appear, as for example,

142 Malsia e Madhe, Dukagin, and Malsia e Jakovës
*128 tend to be a little stronger in dark browns, Zadrima and Dibra in red browns, and Has and Puka in blond shades, than the others. Of a paltry 14 differences, all but 2 are below 4 times p.e., and can be discounted.

In eye color, a few tendencies appear; Dukagin and Malsia e Jakovës with 23 per cent dark brown, exceed about half the others significantly; Dibra has a concentration of light brown eyes, exceeding all but 2 of the others significantly. Mati and Zadrima have a tendency to exceed in zoned iris forms. These pigment differences may denote very minor genetic variations, but are really of little consequence.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRIBES SUMMARIZED

141 Having been through all of the differences
*128 between tribes in all characters measured and observed, and having tested all for statistical significance, we can now list the particular differences which indicate regional variations in the Mountain Gheg phenotype (fig. 12, *a*). 1

1. The men north of the Drin are taller, more muscular and stronger than those south of it. They also have broader shoulders, longer arms, longer and thicker necks, more sloping shoulders, greater lumbar curves, and more protuberant buttocks. The 2 extremes in these characters are Dukagin and Mirdita. The tribes to the east, from Malsia e Jakovës to Dibra, show little variation in these features; the main drop between north and south falls to the west. These differences are as great as one might expect in a continent, and unusual in so small a territory.

2. Where bodies are largest, heads are largest too. Aside from this heads are shortest, broadest, and highest in the northwest, and the opposite in the east. Occipital flattening reaches its maximum in Malsia e Madhe and Zadrima, while lambdoid flattening and its companion, bathrocephaly, are highest in Dukagin. Tribal differences in head form are as great as those in body size and strength.

3. Faces are remarkably homogeneous in Malsia e Ghegnisë. Tribal variations are at a minimum. A few local peculiarities occur: broad foreheads in Malsia e Madhe; excessive face heights without eye obliquity in Has; Dukagin has a statistically noteworthy excess of bilateral chins, unusually few of which are receding; Zadrima has a tendency toward a straight, downturned nasal septum, and Dukagin to a thick integument in the region of the lips. 1 a [see cat. 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

4. Has runs bald. The northwestern tribes have

*128 4. Has rung bald. The northwestern tribes have
● 142 more widely extended eyebrows than those in the
141 southeast.

5. Has shows a minor tendency to medium skin color, and to black head hair; Dukagin tends to dark brown hair. The northern tribes have an excess of dark brown, and Dibra of light brown, eyes.

While the differences in body size and head shape are great, the similarity in face form, pilosity, and pigmentation is also great, and Ghegs look alike. The tribes that diverge from the total picture the most are those around the edges; the big broad-heads of Malsia e Madhe, the muscular cleft-chinned giants of Dukagin, the medium-sized broad-heads of Zadrima, and the minority of light brown-eyed Dibrans, who with their tribal brethren have somewhat narrower faces and noses.

One of the most revealing results of this intertribal comparison is the discovery that the tribes vary most among themselves not in the conventional criteria of race, but in what are usually considered to be minor or inconsequential anatomical features. If we revert for a moment to the statistics of validation, we find that values of 7 times p.e., or over, are most noticeable in the biacromial diameter, in which Dukagin exceeds all comers; span, stature, and sitting height follow in importance. In the biacromial, Dukagin exceeds all but its 2 neighboring tribes, Malsia e Madhe and Malsia e Jakovës, by 10 or more times p.e. Thirty-seven out of 69 intertribal differences in 7 body observations which reached 4 or more times p.e. were concerned with buttocks and lumbar curve; 4 out of 5 that exceeded 6 p.e. were the same. Again Dukagin is the odd tribe.

141 In the measurements and indices of the head,
*128 42 differences of 7 or more times p.e. are found, reaching an extreme of 14 p.e. in the comparison between the cephalic index of Malsia e Madhe and Luma. Malsia e Madhe exceeds all other tribes in head breadth by 7 to 11 times p.e.; that is the outstanding result of this inquiry. In the observations of the head, bathrocephaly leads all in tribal differentiation, followed by lambdoid flattening. These 2 features are concentrated in Dukagin, but neither go over 6 p.e. Zadrima is noteworthy not so much for its occipital flattening, in which it shares honors with Malsia e Madhe, as for its lack of lambdoid flattening and bathrocephaly.

AGE AND CERTAIN SOFT PARTS OF THE FACE

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A number of regressions have been made between age and some of the soft parts of the face, not all of which need be given in detail. On table 13,[1] only those characters in which age changes play a part of interest to us here

[1] [See cat.116, p. 75 c -- Analyst]

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have been plotted. Three different techniques of comparison are used, of which one, being new, is explained. The integument of the lips grows steadily although not greatly thicker with age until the 50's, after which its behavior is variable, which may be explained on the basis of tooth loss; when teeth are gone it is harder to observe this character than when they

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 194. EG1 Albania EG1
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TABLE 13: MEAN AGES, IN YEARS.

	Abs. No.	Abs. Mean	ssm No.	ssm Mean	sm No.	sm Mean	+ No.	+ Mean	++, +++ No.	++, +++ Mean
Lips, integ. thick					22	(46.18)	908	38.69	133	43.54
Lips, membr. thick	91	51.29	19	(48.84)	455	42.00	467	35.52	31	36.04
Nasal tip thick			31	38.13	371	38.50	544	39.61	117	42.05
Ear lobe, develop					434	36.66	568	40.14	61	49.10

Nasal Wings:	No.	Mean	*Nasal Profile:*	No.	Mean
Compressed	383	38.75	Concave	69	36.67 ± .96
Medium	621	39.98	Straight	414	37.83 ± .35
Flaring	61	37.82	Convex	569	40.89 ± .36
			Concavo-convex	11	(38.82)

Nasal Tip, Elevation-Depression	No.	Mean
Elevation ++	36	36.45
" +	332	37.68
" sm	230	38.39
Depression sm	173	40.32
" +	256	40.46
" ++	36	42.97

MEAN VALUES OF FOUR OBSERVATIONS*

Age	Lips, Integ.	Lips, Membr.	Nasal Tip Thick.	Ear Lobe Dev.	*Nasal Profile, by Percentages:* Concave #	Concave %	Straight #	Straight %	Convex #	Convex %	Concavo-Convex #	Concavo-Convex %
18–20	50.0	43.8	33.3	35.4	2	16.7	6	50.0	4	33.3		
21–24	50.2	42.2	44.1	37.4	9	9.1	51	51.5	38	38.4	1	9.1
25–29	51.4	40.7	41.1	37.9	13	8.4	59	38.1	81	52.3	2	18.2
30–34	52.3	40.1	40.5	37.4	9	5.4	68	41.0	86	51.8	3	27.3
35–39	51.8	36.0	41.8	40.1	10	6.2	66	40.7	85	52.5	1	9.1
40–44	54.8	33.0	44.0	42.6	6	4.6	50	38.8	72	55.8	1	9.1
45–49	54.4	32.1	46.2	43.2	9	8.7	36	35.0	57	55.3	1	9.1
50–54	55.1	31.2	44.0	43.5	5	5.7	39	44.3	44	50.0		
55–59	51.0	26.4	45.7	45.9	3	5.8	13	25.0	36	69.2		
60–64	54.5	24.3	44.5	50.0	3	5.4	15	26.8	37	66.1	1	9.1
65 +	50.6	18.0	42.4	49.7			11	26.8	29	70.7	1	9.1

* This table represents an attempt to render subjective observations mutually comparable. The means listed above have been computed as follows: Absent=0. ssm=12.5. sm=25. + =50. ++ =75.+++ =87.5. Multiply the absents x 0, the ssm's x 12.5, the sm's x 50, etc., and divide the sum by N. Result is the mean as given above. This method, although mathematically dubious, is nevertheless a convenience, for it is easier to compare single figures than galaxies of percentages; and in this way progressive trends may be discovered.

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are present. Conversely, the lip membrane, as far as could be observed, thins with age. The relationships between this feature and various dental characters, such as occlusion, will be discussed in the next chapter. For the present it is enough to state that part at least of the George Washington look of the Mountain Gheg lips is due to age. The ear lobe also grows steadily, slowly until the early 50's, then faster.

The nasal wings change little; the tip, however, thickens gradually to the late 40's, and then thins out slightly; these changes are very slight and significant only in their directional constancy. The position of the tip, however, changes steadily and significantly with age; the high frequency of depressed tips in our series is partly a reflection of it.

Aside from the shape of the back of the head, the most distinctive character of Dinarics is the nasal profile, the high frequency of hawk beaks being distinctive. In our percentile series a frequency of 50 per cent or over for convex

142 *128 profiles is reached only by the late 20's; it remains fairly constant until the late 50's, and then increases notably, probably as the soft parts of the nose thin out and the tip pulls downward. The age mean differences between concave and convex and straight and convex are significant; so are the percentile differences between the 20–24–year–old group and the 3 oldest categories. If one were to measure a series of 20-year-old Ghegs, one would probably find straight noses in the majority, with concave appearing perhaps as often as convex. The convex nose, so distinctively Dinaric, is in part a feature of age. So is the long face, so are the thin lips. The "typical" Dinaric is a man past middle age.

AGE AND PILOSITY

Table 14[1] and figure 5[2] show the changes in pilosity that occur in our series with advancing age. Some 13 per cent are bald to some degree. As table 14[3] shows, this rises steadily with age. None of the youngest age group was

1 [see cat. 116, p. 76c -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, p. 77a -- Analyst]
3 [see cat. 116, p. 76c -- Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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TABLE 14: AGE AND HAIR QUANTITY.

Means of Criteria*

AGE	No.	BALDNESS	HEAD	No.	MUSTACHE	CHEEKS	JAW	ARMS & LEGS	CHEST
18–20.....	12	0	54.17	12	41.67	18.75	22.50	27.50	8.33
21–24.....	99	1.77	50.51	99	39.90	28.66	30.93	34.47	17.05
25–29.....	153	3.03	49.68	155	42.55	37.66	40.41	40.73	27.10
30–34.....	162	4.27	50.62	166	48.27	45.63	47.97	44.58	34.86
35–39.....	159	5.82	48.59	162	56.32	50.39	53.24	47.53	36.65
40–44.....	129	9.42	48.05	129	57.75	53.49	54.55	49.71	41.96
45–49.....	99	12.55	47.19	103	58.50	52.31	55.34	49.51	43.08
50–54.....	83	13.56	46.48	88	57.95	52.41	56.25	51.99	45.00
55–59.....	51	17.15	41.67	52	58.65	55.39	56.73	48.56	40.62
60–64.....	56	17.62	40.85	56	58.48	55.80	57.14	49.55	48.21
65 + ...	41	18.62	42.07	41	60.06	57.32	58.23	46.34	61.89

Age Means

	ABS.		SEM		SM		+		++	
	No.	MEAN	No.	MEAN	No.	MEAN	No.	MEAN	No.	MEAN
Baldness	803	36.79	22	47.68	128	48.21	71	49.03	19	50.18
Head Hair Quant.....					143	48.70	842	37.88	58	37.43
Mustache ...			16	23.87	81	26.57	727	39.10	239	45.59
Cheek	50	28.10	52	32.38	189	39.12	54[illegible]	39.95	232	45.71
Jaw	21	24.68	28	27.00	183	32.87	593	40.05	238	45.80
Arms and Legs			16	32.00	280	34.27	636	40.53	131	45.93
Chest	249	32.74	14	41.29	243	38.44	377	41.48	169	46.20

*See footnote to table 13.

(*Note:* Chest +++: 11 49.27)

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bald; 22 per cent of the oldest were. The thickness of the head hair, where any remained, became gradually reduced from the early 30's onward, but this change was a minor one.

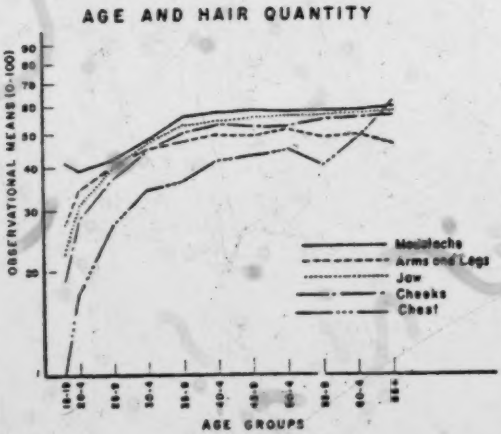

Fig. 5. Age and hair.

Of the face hair, the mustache grew out first, as expected, and changed relatively little; here age is a minor factor. The hairiness of the cheeks and jaw increased to the ratio of 3 to 1 and 2 to 1. Of the body hair, that of

142 *178 the arms and legs increases in the same fashion as cheeks and jaws until the mid-30's, and then remains constant. The chest hair increases most of all kinds of hair observed.

With such a population, and this applies for most if not all "white" peoples, it is useless to compare 20-year-olds, such as are commonly recorded in army statistics, with a mature sample like this. But samples with mean ages between 35 and 60 years old would be comparable. This means that our tribal samples, despite their significant age variations, can still be compared with each other in the 7 criteria of hairiness used in this study.

AGE AND GRAYING

Table 15[1] and figure 6[2] show other age changes in the hair—the progressive loss of pigment with age, known as graying. The head hair begins to gray at an earlier age than that of the mustache, which overtakes head hair in the late 50's. Whereas hair quantity reaches its adult stage in the 30's and then levels off, graying progresses in a different fashion. From the early 30's until the late 40's it follows one rate of progression which shows as a parabola on a straight graph and a straight

1 [See cat. 116, p. 77c-78a -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, p. 78b -- Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 195 EG1 Albania EG1
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TABLE 15: AGE AND GRAYING.

Age	Degree of Grayness by Age Groups: Head No.	Head Mean*	Mustache No.	Mustache Mean	Per cent Remaining Totally Ungrayed: Head	Mustache
18–20.....	12	0	12	0	100.00	100.00
21–24.....	99	.25	99	0	98.99	100.00
25–29.....	155	3.67	155	.48	89.03	98.71
30–34.....	166	2.95	166	.30	90.36	99.40
35–39.....	161	7.38	161	2.17	75.78	91.93
40–44.....	130	16.44	129	9.50	59.23	72.87
45–49.....	103	29.00	103	22.32	36.89	43.69
50–54.....	88	35.23	88	31.68	25.00	37.50
55–59.....	52	41.82	52	37.02	21.15	28.85
60–64.....	56	55.12	65	57.14	8.93	3.57
65 + ...	41	69.82	41	73.50	2.44	0

Mean Ages of Degrees of Graying	Head #	Head Age	Mustache #	Mustache Age
Abs	674	33.49	766	33.98
ssm	26	42.67	4	(47.00)
sm	119	44.22	83	46.52
+	140	47.89	127	53.38
++ ..	77	56.02	64	59.30
+++	17	60.82	11	(65.18)
White .	9	63.67	7	(64.86)

	Degree of Grayness All Ages #	Mean*	Mean Ages of Hair Color Groups #	Mean	Age
Black	420	24.84	420	43.39	.40
Dark brown.....	473	8.53	473	35.45	.29
Reddish-brown ...	16	13.42	16	(40.12)	
Light brown.....	89	4.64	89	35.42	
Blond	24	6.25	24	(37.42)	

*By method explained in footnote to table 13.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TABLE 15 (*continued*)
Hair Color and Age Grades

Age	Total	Black #	Black %	Dk. Br. #	Dk. Br. %	Red Br. #	Red Br. %	Lt. Br. #	Lt. Br. %	Blond #	Blond %	Lt. Br. & Blond %	Unknown #	Unknown %
18–20.....	12	4	33.33	6	50.00	0		2	16.67	0		16.67	0	
21–24.....	99	19	19.19	64	64.64	1	1.01	9	9.09	6	6.06	15.15	0	
25–29.....	154	41	26.62	88	57.14	3	1.95	18	11.69	4	2.60	14.29	0	
30–34.....	166	48	28.91	96	57.83	0		19	11.44	3	1.81	13.25	0	
35–39.....	161	57	35.40	85	52.80	4	2.49	13	8.10	2	1.25	9.35	0	
40–44.....	129	56	43.41	47	36.43	3	2.33	16	12.40	5	3.88	16.28	2	1.55
45–49.....	103	56	54.37	34	33.01	2	1.94	5	4.85	1	.97	5.82	4	3.88
50–54.....	88	53	60.23	24	27.27	2	2.27	3	3.41	1	1.14	4.55	5	5.68
55–59.....	50	35	70.00	9	18.00	0		1	2.00	0		2.00	5	10.00
60–64.....	54	33	61.11	11	20.37	0		1	1.85	1	1.85	3.70	8	14.81
65 + ...	36	18	50.00	9	25.00	1	2.78	3	8.33	1	2.78	11.11	4	10.81

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line on a semi-log grid; from the late 40's onward the rate changes, and this again takes the form of a single logarithmic function. It would appear from this that at least 2 physiological factors are responsible for this phe-

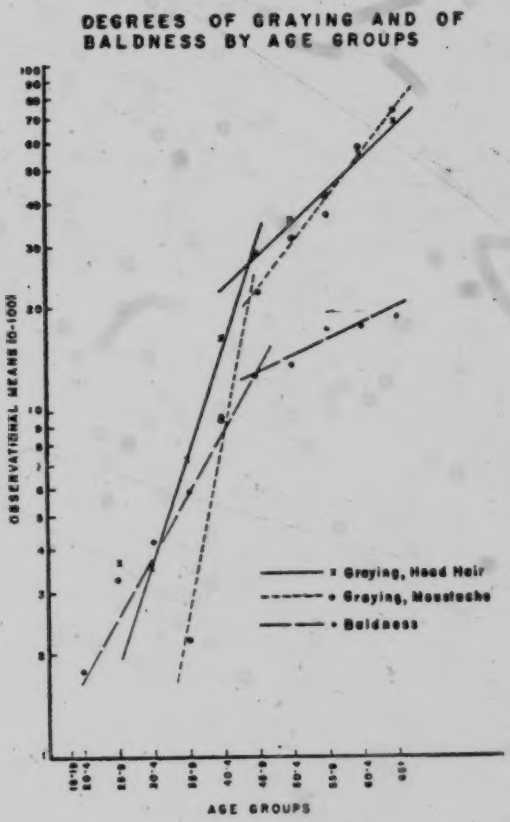

FIG. 6. Age and graying.

142 #128 nomenon, and one is set in motion later than the other. When baldness is taken over from the preceding section and plotted on the same chart, it breaks at exactly the same age as graying at the 2 anatomical loci studied. This is the same spot on the age chart at which strength, as shown by the dynamometer squeeze, falls off sharply. Old age, among the Mountain Ghegs, begins to raise its hoary head in the mid-40's.

AGE AND COLOR CHANGES

In all but 28 (2.6%) cases, it was possible to find enough pigmented hairs with the gray to make a notation for hair color. As table 15 also shows, black hair was more often tied to the higher degrees of graying than any other kind. Black and reddish-brown hair showed much more grayness than the 3 other color categories, all lighter, which tend to form a group. Is this because the black-haired men gray younger than the brown and light-haired men, or because some of them get darker haired as they grow older? While we can never answer this with complete assurance until we have studied chronological changes in the same men, the present evidence favors the second conclusion. Dark brown-haired men are 8 years younger, on the mean, than black-haired men, and this difference reached over 16 times its probable error. Table 15 shows how the percentage of black-haired men increases in each age grade from the early 20's through the late 50's; at that time something happens to reduce the ratio. On the other hand, dark brown-haired men are 3 times as numerous as black-haired in youth; they grow

[See cat #6, p. 77c-78a
Analysis]

142 *128 scarcer with age, until at about age 40 the 2 color brackets are equal, and at age 60 the tables have turned; the black-haired men outnumber the dark brown-haired by over 3 to one. Light brown- and blond-haired men, in general, do not suffer so drastic a reduction. At age 60 both they and the dark brown-haired contingent become more numerous. By age 60, most of the men are already quite gray; it looks as if in some cases the darker hair colors began to bleach out at this time. If we were to describe our series on the basis of a sample of recruits at age 20, clearly then one would have to say that the Mountain Ghegs were predominantly brown haired, with blonds and black-haired individuals in equal-sized minor-

142 ities. At age 45, however, black-haired men
*128 would be in the majority. It is probably just as true of most other European populations that hair color depends on the age of the sample. Although eye color shows a number of differences in relation to age, none of these are comparable in magnitude to those which we have just discussed, and they do not affect the position of the sample; a description for any age over 20 will give a fair picture of this character for the adult male population as a whole.

*129 *AGE AND INTERTRIBAL DIFFERENCES*

141 So far in this chapter most of the studies of
142 age variations have served to show the position of the series as a whole, and to render it comparable with other series. Some of the exercises have had a bearing on intertribal differences. For example, it is clear that the high stature of the people north of the Drin has nothing to do with age, in comparison with their neighbors to the south, and that the same is true of local variations in the dimensions of

142 the head. In several other characters which
141 were seen to be critical points of intertribal
*128 difference, age cannot be as easily eliminated. We have seen that baldness, hair color, and total face height vary considerably with age, and must explore the effect of these changes on our tribal samples.

Two tribes above all others set themselves apart: Dukagin and Has. Between them they monopolize the peculiarities which suggest that the Highland Ghegs are not a homogeneous group of people. These peculiarities, as tracked down in chapter 10,[1] "The Mountain Gheg Phenotype," are the biacromial diameter, the total face height, the form of the chin, the protrusion of the buttocks, the

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 586-706 -- Analyst]

141 presence or absence of baldness, the lateral
142 extension of the eyebrows, and the color of
#128 the head hair. Table 16 shows constants for these characters in Dukagin and Has. In each tribe I have segregated the 30-39-year-olds and made separate computations. By equalizing the age distribution we may hope to find out whether the peculiarities are linked to age, or not.

They are not. The 30-39-year-olds of Dukagin are just as much broader shouldered than their age mates of Has, as the total sample. The Has men have longer faces than the Dukagin men, at any age. The Dukagin men have more bilateral chins, fewer lean buttocks, less baldness, more bilateral extension of the eyebrows, and more brown hair, than the Has men, age for age.

These differences are real ones. They are just as great in one representative age group as in the total sample. Has and Dukagin are local populations which differ in these respects from the total series and from each other.

1/1 [see cat. 116, p. 71c - Am. ed.]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
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TABLE 16: AGE CONTROLS IN CRITICAL CHARACTERS.

	HAS		DUKAGIN	
No.	(28)	(114)	(45)	(106)
AGE	30-39	TOTAL	30-39	TOTAL
Biacromial	38.39 cm.	38.30	40.49	40.37
Total face ht.	125.86 mm.	126.30	123.44	124.15
Chins, bilateral	17.86%	19.30%	35.51%	38.68%
Buttocks, sm	32.14%	42.11%	2.22%	5.66%
Baldness, present	28.57%	46.00%	15.55%	20.19%
Eyebrows, lat. ext. abs. & sm.	53.57%	57.90%	11.11%	8.49%
Hair color				
Black	60.71%	61.46%	17.78%	20.75%
Brown	32.14%	22.92%	68.89%	66.04%
Other	7.14%	15.62%	13.33%	13.21%

BITE AND AGE

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Table 17 shows the relation between bite type and age. The men whose bite was known to be edge-to-edge were nearly 5 years older than their slightly-over kinsmen, and this difference is significant by 9.63 times its own probable error. Disregarding the youngest age bracket as too small a sample, we see that at age 20–24 the percentage of overbites outnumbers that of edge-to-edge occlusions nearly 3 to 1, that the 2 become equal at about age 35, after which the earlier proportions are reversed in the early 50's. The changes in ratio which begin at that age and keep on to senility are a function of the rise in proportion of edentulous men, whose earlier type of bite could not be determined. They are recorded as "un-

[see cat.116, p.81c -- Amol, p.4]

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known." Incisors that have been worn enough to breach the pulp cavity are more likely to drop out than those that have not, and hence it is reasonable to suppose that most of the "unknowns" of the later age grades had had edge-to-edge bites, but we cannot be sure. It is also reasonable, but uncertain, to suppose that men who have retained overbites until age 52 will do so for the rest of their lives. By adding the "unknowns" to the edge-to-edge category on table 17* we obtain an expression of this hypothetical progression.

* [see cat. 116, p. 81c--Analyst]

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Table 17: Bite and Age.

Mean Ages in Years

	No.	Mean
Under	14	35.55 years
Edge-to-edge	521	41.53 ± .31
Slightly over	480	36.78 ± .35
Marked-over	10	38.00

Percentages of Bite Types in Age Groups

Age	Under		Edge-Edge		Slightly-over		Marked-Over		Unknown		No.
18–19	0		6	50.00	5	41.67	1	8.33	0		12
20–24	3	3.03	26	26.26	69	69.69	1	1.01	0		99
25–29	0		63	40.65	91	58.71	1	.65	0		155
30–34	5	3.01	74	44.58	85	51.20	2	1.20	0		166
35–39	2	1.23	84	51.53	75	46.01	1	.61	1	.61	163
40–44	1	.78	66	51.16	57	44.19	1	.78	4	3.10	129
45–49	1	.97	65	63.11	35	33.98	0		2	1.94	103
50–54	1	1.14	59	67.05	23	26.14	2	2.27	3	3.41	88
55–59	1	1.96	29	56.86	14	27.45	0		7	13.73	51
60–64	0		32	57.14	14	25.00	1	1.79	9	16.07	56
65 +	0		17	41.46	12	29.27	0		12	29.27	41
?	0		3	75.00	0		0		1	25.00	4
Total	14	1.31	524	49.11	480	44.99	10	.94	39	3.66	1067

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

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Marked overbites are so infrequent that they are statistically almost negligible. They are scattered throughout the age grades in such a way that one cannot say that they are increasing or decreasing, and this accords with what we know of Mountain Gheg eating habits. Underbites are no more or less frequent than expected.

Any notion that types of occlusion are hereditary must be destroyed by this evidence. No genetic infiltration strong enough to affect half the population can have penetrated Ghegnia during the lifetime of our oldest subjects. Occlusion is functional, but is all of the change shown in this series a normal age shift from over to edge-to-edge, or can some of it be due to changes in foodstuffs and eating habits, such as the introduction of sugar, and possibly the

142 transportation of soft bread from town bakeries to the villages? I leave the answer to this question to the experts in the dental field.

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BITE AND GEOGRAPHY

162 Table 18* gives the tribal distribution of bite
142 types. In this feature the tribes vary greatly,
*128 and some of the differences are highly significant, as for example that between Mirdita and Luma in edge-to-edge, which runs to 6.48 times p.e. Mirdita is by far strongest in edge-to-edge, which seems in general to go with the

* [See Table 116, p.82a -- Analyst]

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Table 18: Bite.

Tribal Distribution of Types

	Total	Under #	Under %	Edge-to-Edge #	Edge-to-Edge %	Slightly Over #	Slightly Over %	Marked-Over #	Marked-Over %	Unknown #	Unknown %
Total Series	1067	14		524		480		10		39	
MeM	105	2	1.90	56	53.33	43	40.95	0		4	3.81
Duk	106	0		60	56.60	46	43.40	0		0	
MeJ	104	2	1.92	35	33.65	67	64.42	0		0	
Has	114	3	2.63	73	64.04	30	26.32	1	.88	7	6.14
Lum	109	1	.92	31	28.44	68	62.39	4	3.67	5	4.59
Puk	102	4	3.92	37	36.27	59	57.84	1	.98	1	.98
Mir	101	2	1.98	70	69.31	19	18.81	2	1.98	8	7.92
Zad	105	0		49	46.67	51	48.57	0		5	4.76
Mat	104	0		51	49.04	51	49.04	0		2	1.92
Dib	108	0		58	53.70	42	38.89	2	1.85	6	5.56

Bite and Religion

	Catholic E-E	Catholic Sl.-O.	Moslem E-E	Moslem Sl.-O.	Both Others		Proportions of E.-E.–S.-O. Cath.	Proportions of E.-E.–S.-O. Moslem
MeM	27	23	29	20	6		54	59
Duk	60	46	0	0	0		56	—
MeJ	9	7	26	60	1		56	70
Has	8	3	65	27	11		67	71
Lum	0	0	31	68	10		—	31
Puk	11	24	26	25	6		44	52
Mir	70	19	0	0	12		79	—
Zad	45	42	4	9	5		52	31
Mat	4	6	47	45	2		40	51
Dib	0	0	58	42	8		—	58
Intertr.	2	2	7	7	2		50	50
Total	236	172	293	301	63	1067	58	49

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most remote geographical fastnesses, except for Has. With the same exception, the northeastern tribes are highest in slight overbites. One might at first suppose that the Catholics were the edge-to-edge people, but in 5 out of the 6 tribes where both faiths are followed, the Moslems have a higher edge-to-edge ratio. In the sixth, Malsia e Jakovës, the Catholics

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form a special regional population, that of Nikaj and Merturi, just over the divide from Shoshi and Shala. Bite cannot be shown to have anything to do with ritual food taboos at all. Nor should one expect this, for the chief difference in diet lies in the species of animal eaten, while the food that takes the most chewing, bread, is the same for both in any given region.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1960 EG1 Albania EG1

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• 142
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[256]

What this distribution seems to show more than anything else is that slight overbites tend to favor the big eastern market towns and the center of the Roman road. Puka lies at the middle of this road, and Puka has a commercial bakery. Luma has several at Kukës, and others do business at Prizren and Peshkopia. These commercial bakeries turn out a softer product

162 than home ovens, at least in my experience.

● 142 Why then, has Has one of the highest ratios
#128 of edge-to-edge bite, when the very men measured at Has were drawn from villages of hereditary commercial bakers? The answer to this lies in the age distribution. Twenty-eight men of the Has sample fell into age group 30–39. Of these, 13 had edge-to-edge bites, 14 slightly-over, and one marked-over. The

142 edge-to-edge ratio for this age grade is 48. In Luma, which stands at the other end of the scale in bite form, 25 men in the same age grade had 11 edge-to-edge, 13 slightly-over, and one under. This gives a ratio of 46. If one counts marked-over with slightly-over and under with edge-to-edge, the ratios are reversed. The bakers were simply older men.

Much more research needs to be done if we are to explain the incidences of kinds of occlusion among Mountain Ghegs. All this report can possibly accomplish is to serve as a reconnaisance for specialists.

BITE AND FACE HEIGHTS

We have seen in chapter 11, "Age," page 74,[1] that unlike most other parts of the body, the face keeps on growing throughout life. In old age, however, this growth is often offset by the deterioration and loss of the teeth. As the teeth wear down and drop out, the dental borders of both maxillae and mandible shrink through absorption, and the chin and nose approach each other. These compensatory processes, face growth and dental attrition, do not necessarily move apace. Among some individuals the teeth remain sound until late in life; in others they deteriorate early. These differences thus affect not only means but also dispersions and measures of variability, including the probable error. In a series which includes a large percentage of men who have reached middle age, or in one in which poor teeth are common at any age, some method must be found to eliminate this source of error. Being aware of this problem before leaving for Albania, I included in the measurement blank the observations *face shortening due to wear*, and *face shortening due to loss and absorption*. It was easier to observe dental condition with this problem in mind than to make general

1 [See cat. 116, p. 746 -- Analyst]

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observations and then try to estimate the effect on face height later.

#125 142

Table 19 tells us the rest of the story. Shortening from wear went largely with the edge-to-edge type of bite, while loss and absorption were more characteristic of men who had had overbites, and whose teeth were less worn, in the instances where enough teeth were left to tell. In only 5 instances was it possible to attribute the shortening to both. Shortening due to wear set in 10 years earlier than that due to loss and absorption. The total face height means of the men who had suffered shortening from wear were significantly smaller than the total mean, in the + and ++ categories; the same was true of those subject to loss and absorption, in the ++ category only. In the case of the upper face height means, it was the men who had undergone loss and absorption who suffered the greater reduction, significant in both + and ++ categories. On the basis of these figures it seemed wiser to eliminate from the seriations of total face height, upper face height, and the dependent indices, the 164 men recorded as + or ++ in either loss category. With this correction the seriations given on table 4 were computed. The rejects came mostly from the older age grades, and no more than 22 per cent were removed from any one tribe.

One other question remains to be explored: whether, when wear, loss, and absorption are eliminated, the type of occlusion affects face heights. One might suppose that if 2 men had identical facial skeletons and identical teeth, and one man had an overbite while the other's teeth met edge-to-edge, the latter would have the longer face. As the last part of table 19 shows, this is not the case. Occlusion has no qualifying effect whatever on face lengths, except through wear, loss, and absorption.

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 83c-84.. Analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, pp. 54f-54g.. Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1960 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TABLE 19: BITE, AGE, AND FACE SHORTENING.

FACE SHORTENING, FREQUENCIES

Shortening, if any, due to:	abs.	ssm	sm	+	++	+++	Total	Grand Total
Wear	808	4	162	66	21	1	(254)	1062
Loss	1006	1	4	25	23	3	(56)	1062
Both				1	3		(5)	5
				Loss 1 Wear				
(Neither) ..	(752)						(752)	
Total	923*				164			1067
	kept				removed			

(*Of 923 left, 921 have face heights.)

_ 83c -

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 19[illegible]0 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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+123

TABLE 19 (*continued*)

AGE

	No.	MEAN (YRS.)	X.P.E. FROM ABS.-ABS.
No wear, no loss.....	750	36.26 ± .28	
Abs.-Abs.			
Wear: sm & sm.....	161	43.24 ± .60	10.58
+	67	48.08 ± 1.29	8.95
++, +++	25	53.50 ± 1.12	15.00
Loss: sm, sm, + ...	31	53.29 ± 1.16	12.00
++, +++	29	55.28 ± 1.00	18.33

FACE LENGTHS AND FACE SHORTENING ON THE BASIS OF
(a) WEAR, AND (b) LOSS AND ABSORPTION

TOTAL FACE HEIGHT

	WEAR					LOSS & ABSORPTION				
	No.	MEAN	σ	Δ	X.P.E.	No.	MEAN	σ	Δ	X.P.E.
Total	1065	123.25 ± .14	6.75	——	——	1065	123.25 ± .14	6.75	——	——
sm	163	122.95 ± .25	5.35	.30 ± .36	.84	4	128.00	——	——	——
+	67	121.55 ± .63	7.60	1.70 ± .55	3.09	27	122.35 ± .29	2.20	.90 ± .88	1.03
++	25	120.80 ± .76	5.65	4.15 ± .69	6.02	26	117.40 ± .81	6.00	5.85 ± .89	5.75

UPPER FACE HEIGHT

	WEAR					LOSS & ABSORPTION				
	No.	MEAN	σ	Δ	X.P.E.	No.	MEAN	σ	Δ	X.P.E.
Total	1065	73.25 ± .11	5.20	——	——	1065	73.25 ± .11	5.20	——	——
sm	162	73.35 ± .27	5.05	.10 ± .28	.36	4	77.00	——	——	——
+	67	72.05 ± .47	5.75	1.20 ± .43	2.79	27	70.70 ± .72	5.55	2.55 ± .67	3.81
++	25	72.60 ± .69	5.15	.65 ± .70	.93	26	69.10 ± .73	5.55	4.15 ± .69	6.02

DENTAL REJECTS

AGE	No.	% OF WHOLE	TEEH	No.	% OF WHOLE
18–19.....	0	0	MeM	23	21.9
20–24.....	1	1.1	Duk	5	4.7
25–29.....	2	1.3	MeJ	9	8.7
30–34.....	3	1.8	Has	23	20.2
35–39.....	11	6.8	Lum	10	9.2
40–44.....	18	14.0	Puk	11	10.8
45–49.....	18	17.5	Mir	22	21.8
50–54.....	27	30.7	Zad	8	7.5
55–59.....	22	42.3	Mar	11	10.6
60–64.....	19	33.9	Dib	23	21.3
65	25	61.0	Interr.	3	2.8

FACE HEIGHTS AND BITE TYPE
Means of the Corrected Series

	EDGE-TO-EDGE		SLIGHTLY-OVER	
	No.	MEAN	No.	MEAN
Total face height.....	430	123.40 ± .21	461	123.95 ± .20
Upper face height	430	73.60 ± .16	461	73.50 ± .16

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1960 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

BITE AND FACE BREADTHS, WITH RELATED CHARACTERS

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It is possible, however, that factors in occlusion may be concerned with face breadths. A progressive development of the temporals, masseters, and pterygoids might well bring about an increase in the bowing and flare of the zygomatic arches, reflected in the bizygo-

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matic diameter. Table 20 contains relevant statistics. In general, men with edge-to-edge bites have slightly wider faces than men with overbites, but the difference is 2.83 times p.e. only, a little short of significance. The fact that the men with overbites were 5 years younger than the others links this to age. It is not to be expected that bite alone should be related to face breadth, but rather the amount of pressure used with different kinds of bite, and this pressure can best be measured by its effect on the teeth, i.e., wear. In the edge-to-edge category, the bizygomatic mean increases, although not regularly, with the amount of wear. Two out of 3 of these increases over the means of the absent wear category are significant. The men grouped by wear categories also differ, however, in age, and the bizygomatic mean for each wear category follows closely that of the corre-

[See Table 20, p. 5c -- Anal. 4]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

TABLE 20: THE BIZYGOMATIC DIAMETER, BITE, AND TOOTH WEAR.

	No.	MEAN (MM.)	AGE (YRS.)	AGE MEAN (MM.)
142 Overbites	490	141.94 ± .24	36.78	142.65 ± .27
*728 Edge-to-edge	524	142.82 ± .24	41.53	142.85 ± .30
E-E abs. wear	275	141.32 ± .22	36.26	142.65 ± .27
E-E sm-sm wear	162	143.05 ± .31	43.24	142.85 ± .30
E-E + wear	64	142.39 ± .57	48.08	143.20 ± .37
E-E ++, +++ wear	23	144.18 ± .75	53.50	143.09 ± .43

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#128

sponding age group. Face breadth increases 3 to 4 millimeters during adult life, up to the late 50's. This increase appears to be concentrated among the men with edge-to-edge bites; most of the men with overbites are younger. Although use and growth seem to go together, one cannot of course point definitely to a causal relationship. One can only suggest it as a likelihood worthy of experimental testing.

142 Whatever the reason, our Ghegs are 3 or 4
*128 millimeters wider in the bizygomatic diameter than a series of genetically similar younger men would be. This should be considered in interseries comparisons.

In order to test effect of bite further, seriations similar to those for the bizygomatic were made for the bigonial diameter. No differences were found; this dimension does not even increase with age. The observations on the forward and sidewise jut of the malars and in the fullness of the cheeks were further tested for bite properties, also without showing difference. In these respects the phenotype needs no qualification, except in one sense: the triangularity of the lower face suggested by the relative widths of the bizygomatic and bigonial diameters must increase with age. Again the typical Dinaric is an elderly individual.

*128 141 The one exception is Malsia e Jakovës, divided between limestone and folded. These 2 areas are nearly the same in stature, and the difference betwen tribal segments is inconsequential. The 4 other men from this tribe who lived in serpentine territory were much shorter, 168 centimeters. Not only were the men from serpentine territory short as a whole, but very few of the exceptionally tall men, the "giants" of 180 to 190 centimeters from whom the Ghegs get their name, are found among them. These striking figures are seen almost exclusively north of the Drin. A few turn up near the limestone area of northern Mati, where a small sample suggests that a tall enclave may be found.

*128 142 From a statistical standpoint, the most telling division within a tribe is that which splits Dibra into serpentine and eastern subsamples. The difference between the means, 3.07, is 3.49 times p.e. In order to test this for the possibility of a genetic difference I selected the one character in which Dibra is most distinctive, light brown eye color, and sorted the subsamples for it. Out of 15 men whose eyes were of this hue, 7, or 19 per cent, were from serpentine territory, and 8, or 11 per cent, from the eastern. Neither the rest of serpentine nor the rest of eastern approach these frequencies. In this character, which is certainly genetic, Dibra is still a unit, still separate from its neighbors.

141 582 *128 Although fragmentation of the series is unprofitable because of the smallness of the subsamples, one example may show what kind of thing to expect when the local enclaves can be investigated. In Dukagin, as stated earlier, mutual exogamy, with cross-cousin marriage, is the rule between the people of Shala and Shoshi. However, many of the Shala men marry Shala women, who come from the families of *anas*, unrelated in the male line to the *fis* of Dukagin. In Shoshi also local endogamy takes place, but more rarely. Shala is apparently in the limestone, Shoshi in the folded, area. Shala men whose mothers came from Shoshi are 4.04 centimeters taller (see table 21, last part)[1] than Shala men whose mothers were local, and this difference is 5.53 times its p.e. At the same time Shala men with Shoshi mothers are 3.37 centimeters taller than their cousins, the Shoshi men with Shala mothers, and this comes to 2.88 times p.e.

1 [See cat. 116 p. 88c -- Analyst]

141 from all the others in the measurements of the
*128 head and face. These people are, compared to the others, notably narrow headed, narrow faced, and long faced.

Head form (figs. 14, 15)[1] follows the same distribution shown by the tribes. The one measurement that does not vary at all significantly is head height. Head length, however, shows the greatest variation of any character recorded. Computing a cephalic module from the means,[7] we find the areas clustered into 2 groups, limestone and folded, with 158.90 and 158.41 centimeters respectively, and flysch, serpentine, and eastern with 155.65, 156.71, and 156.91; big heads and medium to small heads. The size of the head, within a major racial group of man, goes with the volume of the body.[8][2] In a series like ours where the dimensions of the head are subject to great variation of questionable origin, head size is a more useful criterion for the purpose of this chapter than its components. It clearly separates the Mountain Ghegs into 2 categories, one large, the other medium to small.

This, rather than the individual measurements and indices, is the most suggestive difference yet found between regional segments of the total series. The people in the limestone karst country are big people, and their kinsmen in the country where the soil is laid on a medley of folded outcrops are nearly as big. The people living in the land of serpentine and gabbro are much smaller, as is the small sample of flysch-dwellers. To the east, in the valley of the Black Drin and up into the Prizren region, the people are of intermediate stature, but with relatively long, narrow heads and faces.

142 In addition to the data presented, sortings
*128 were made for a number of observations which might have to do with general robusticity. This effort yielded nothing that the tribal sortings have not already revealed. No difference was found between areas in the proportion of concave scapulae, which seem to have more to do with age than with nutrition.
[164] Finally, the teeth of all areas were seen to be equally carious, equal in frequency of evulsion.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 114-115 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116 p. 89b -- Analyst]

PRIVILEGE AND NUTRITION

565 In many countries food and other benefits
141 are unequally distributed, and in some of them
*128

[7] Cephalic module $= \frac{L+B+Ht.}{3}$

THE GUMA PHENOTYPE. *Standard Dinaric Mountain Clergy: a*, Zadrima tribe; age, 31; eyes, blue-brown; hair, dark brown; beard, reddish brown; cephalic index, 88; facial index, 81; nasal index, 65; stature, 171.1. *b*, Dibra . . be; age, 50; eyes, blue-brown; hair, black greyness; beard, red-brown greyness; cephalic index, 85; facial index, 94; nasal index, 58; stature, 178.8. *The Bosniak type of the northwest: c*, Malsia e Madhe tribe; age, 40; eyes, blue; hair, golden; beard, golden; cephalic index, 86; facial index, 86; nasal index, 67; stature, 171.5. *d*, Dukagin tribe; age, 48; eyes, green-brown; hair, golden; beard, golden; cephalic index, 90; facial index, 78; nasal index, 67; stature, 190.

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8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 19; EGl Albania EGl
Highland Ghegs

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Age Changes in Face Form. *13-24-year-old group: a*, Malsia e Jakovës tribe; age, 22; eyes, green-brown; hair, dark brown; beard, dark brown; cephalic index, 84; facial index, 84; nasal index, 57; stature, 172.5. *b*, Puka tribe; age, 24; eyes, green-brown; hair, dark brown; beard, golden; cephalic index, 80; facial index, 91; nasal index, 58; stature, 174. *30-50-year-old group: c*, Zadrima tribe; age, 30; eyes, green-brown; hair, dark brown; beard, light brown; cephalic index, 87; facial index, 82; nasal index, 48; stature, 165. *d*, Mirdita tribe; age, 48; eyes, green-brown; hair, black grayness; beard, red-brown grayness; cephalic index, 84; facial index, 80; nasal index, 59; stature, 172.3. *60-75-year-old group: e*, Zadrima tribe; age, 60; eyes, green-brown; hair, dark brown-gray; beard, red-brown grayness; cephalic index, 89; facial index, 85; nasal index, 53; stature, 171.6. *f*, Luma tribe; age, 65; eyes, green-brown; hair, black grayness; beard, red-brown grayness; cephalic index, 80; facial index, 85; nasal index, 58; stature, 170.7.

VARIATIONS IN HEAD FORM. *The undeformed head:* *a*, Luma tribe; age, 25; eyes, dark brown; hair, dark brown; beard, dark brown; cephalic index, 76; facial index, 87; nasal index, 62; stature, 177. *b*, Luma tribe; age, 23; eyes, blue-brown; hair, medium brown; beard, light brown; cephalic index, 76; facial index, 86; nasal index, 55; stature, 168.8. *Lambdoid flattening:* *c*, Dukagin tribe; age, 50; eyes, green-brown; hair, black; beard, reddish brown; cephalic index, 85; facial index, 75; nasal index, 68; stature, 174.1. *d*, Malsia e Madhe tribe; age, 61; eyes, green-brown; hair, black grayness; beard, red-brown grayness; cephalic index, 88; facial index, 86; nasal index, 63; stature, 177.0.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1956 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

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VARIETIES OF HIGH TYPES (continued). *Occipital foramina*: 4, Luma tribe; age, 24; eyes, green-brown; hair, golden; beard, golden; cephalic index, 96; facial index, 86; nasal index, 65; stature, 177.8. 5, Puka tribe; age, 28; eyes, green-brown; hair, dark brown; beard, dark brown; cephalic index, 95; facial index, 81; nasal index, 65; stature, 170.2. *Bald knobbed and occipital foramina*: 6, Malsia e Jakovës tribe; age, 20; eyes, green-brown; hair, black; beard, black; cephalic index, 96; facial index, 86; nasal index, 63; stature, 174.6. *Endocephaly*: 7, Mirdita tribe; age, 50; eyes, green-brown; hair, black; beard, red-brown; gnathic index, 99; facial index, 83; nasal index, 49; stature, 162.1.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGl Albania EGl
Highland Ghegs

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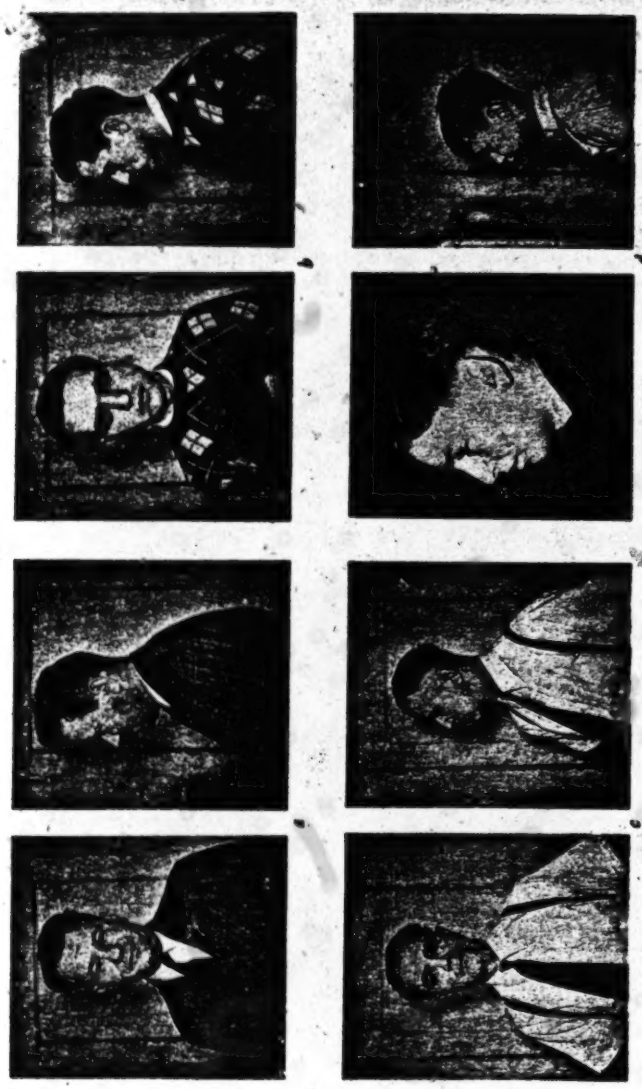

The Berisha Tribe. a, Albanian-born. b, American-born. c, Albanian-born. d, American-born.

352 two transverse ledges nailed to them and serving as feet (Figure 11);[2] low, three-legged stools and semicircular arm chairs; bedsteads of posts rammed into the ground, floors made of boards or intertwined switches,[2] and heaped up hay or ferns (Figure 11);[2] cradles which are
415 carried like a rucksack on the back. Among the kitchen utensil the baking bowl is important; it is made red hot and then the dough is placed in it and the baking bell is placed over it, on top of which embers are again heaped. Large wooden tubs with hoops of hazelnut are used to keep the wine, and smaller ones for water, butter, and brine for the cheese; sacks of sheep's or goat's hide are used to keep
354 milk. The open hearth fire, at the same time heating and cooking place, is situated in the center of the living room in a depression filled with loam; above it is suspended the kettle by a bent branch in its natural state, or by an iron chain; to the side of the fireplace a recess has been made into the wall to form a niche for the stove bench. Originally any kind of outlet for the smoke was lacking, then a hole for the smoke was left open, a flue was added; but it was not till later that proper fireplaces with a chimney were constructed.

/99: Illustrations./

/100/ The Albanians

II.

000 1. Woman from the Arbrie on the highland pastures of Kalmak. 2. Mohammedan Albanian. 3. Women from Scutari with wide breeches. 4. North Albanian shepherdess. 5. North Albanian woman with a wide apron. 6. Swimming bag and a raft of intertwined willow twigs floating on swimming bags; on the raft the swimmer's bundle of clothing. 7. Ferry made of a double canoe with planks raising the edge. 8. Canoe with booms on both sides. 9. Wooden plow. 10. Cross-section of a turbine mill. 11. Husking of corn by means of threshing flails. 12. Two-wheeled ox-cart. 13. Albanian from the region near Dibro. 14. Hand mill. 15. A pouch made of beech tree bark used for picking berries. 16. Peg with markings for water line use.[1]

142 The Albanians are amply medium-sized, powerfully built, mostly with short heads, with a narrow, long face. Blue eyes and
000 light hair occur not infrequently. In many cases the men shave their

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a--Analyst]
[2] [See 1: Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 67a--Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

142 Everybody carried something. Many of the older men were noticeable for their height and the vigour with which they strode along. Their features were strongly marked, their noses aquiline, and the custom of close-cropping the head made it difficult to realise at first glance how old they really were. Some of the women, too, had good features, though they were seldom upright or tall, years of labour in the fields 000 having stunted their growth and bent their backs. The life of the Albanian peasant is, undeniably, a hard life; but is it not, when all is said, healthier, happier, and more to be desired, than the sordid existence of thousands of workers in the dreary manufacturing towns of Great Britain and Western Europe? I thought of the conversation in the fez-maker's shop, and saw Albania, in imagination, under the thrall of industrialism. Instead of white minarets pointing skywards—black chimneys belching smoke. Instead of the voice of the muezzin calling the faithful to prayer—the screech of the steam siren calling them to work. In place of sturdy peasants striding home to their villages in plain and mountain—factory hands, pale and anæmic, pouring out of the factory gate. Instead of the distaff and the hand-loom—the spinning-mule and the power-loom, and women working all day in a heated atmosphere and a racket of machinery for the benefit of . . . . whom? And again I wondered at the folly of people who could deliberately choose such a life, or grumble because of the lack of it.

The doctor at Podgradetz had given me an introduction

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

181 of their political genius is attested by the number of remarkable men of action which their race has given to the world. Alexander the Great, Pyrrhus of Epirus, the Köprülüs, Mehmet Ali of Egypt, Ali of Yannina, Condouriotis, Crispi, and Kemal Ataturk may justly be reckoned among them; not to speak of more than twenty Grand Viziers, and a host of Generals and politicians who served the empires of Macedon, Rome, and Turkey. Yet it is significant of the disunity and intractability of their nation that, although Albanians have often risen to rule empires, only twice in a thousand years — under Skanderbeg and under Zog; and then only with foreign support — has an Albanian ruled Albania.

The Albanians were thus remarkable as individuals rather than as a people, representative perhaps of the highest levels to which man can attain without submitting to the yoke and goad of a community. Their life was too harsh and their amenities too few to permit of any flowering of culture, but, though their circumstances were primitive beyond measure, yet they were [142] never barbarous. Their aquiline features and delicate hands were matched by a dignity of bearing and tolerance of outlook eloquent of the natural distinction of their race. Pyrrhus had called them *shkipetare*, or Sons of the Eagle, and their fierce and predatory natures well deserved the name. Keen of eye and cold of heart, they were bold in decision, but, like all mercenaries, unpredictable in battle. Freedom and vengeance were their ruling passions; and they lived without joy and died with reluctance rather than regret. Ungovernably proud, they were impatient of all restraint, utterly unteachable, deaf to appeals, suspicious of intentions, hard to lead, and impossible to drive; great gentlemen and great robbers, prizing honour above honesty, gold more than both and power beyond them all.

3

6/2 THE independence of Albania was not achieved by the exertions of the Albanians: the mountaineers among them had never been other than independent, while the townsmen had wel-

000 Washburn has shown[1] that the size and shape of some anatomical characters are dependent on use. By removing one jaw muscle of rats, he observed that the bony structure changes asymmetrically in response. Many of our anatomical characters which most physical anthropologists have long considered purely racial in the genetic sense are in fact subject to functional limitations. This may be seen mostly clearly in the jaws and teeth, since one of the most varied of human anatomical functions is *eating*. Variations in eating habits are environmental (in terms of available foodstuffs) and cultural (in terms of bringing exotic foods from other regions and of food preparation in general). Although one may separate environment from culture for other purposes, from the standpoint of what they do to the body, they are one.

The term *capacity for performance* implies function, primarily, and anatomy, in a derivative sense. Our present data are almost wholly anatomical. It would be far more satisfactory to have data on a balanced combination of both functional and anatomical characters—representing motion and the product of motion. More recently collected samples from other areas include extensive data on the different kinds of blood groups: the *O*, *A*, *B*, *AB* sequence (the only one known at the time of my investigation); the many subdivisions of *A*; the *m*, *n*, *mn* series, with subdivisions; the rhesus group, and others which are being studied momentarily. As these categories increase, blood grouping becomes increasingly useful. [121] Unfortunately this present study will have to [143] do without it. I did not take blood samples for the *O*, *A*, *B*, *AB* series because the Mountain Ghegs attach much ritual significance to blood-letting, even in small quantities. Had I tried to take a little of theirs, they might have drained off much of mine. The risk of losing the entire series, and my life as well, did not seem to justify such an attempt.

Although anatomical characters may be derivative, they are also selective, and this introduces our fourth factor, *the environment*. It is our anatomy which we expose to the rigors of the environment and which therefore

[1] Washburn, 1947.

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[587] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

Ancient Albania

144 The ancient Epirots were as distinct from the Hellenes as the Albanians are from the modern Greeks. The Greek writers of ancient times referred to them as a Pelasgic race, or, in other words, the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country.

The Pelasgian Zeus has his memory, even today, in their language, for we find the Albanian word for God is "Zoti." A minute's examination of the term "Gheg" and "Tosk" reveals that they are identical with "Truscus" or "Etruscus," while the form "Tyrrhenus" perhaps survives in Tirana, the capital of the Kingdom of Albania, as no other explanation for the derivation of the name of the city can be found.

618 These Pelasgians formed a cluster of rude,
619 rough, highland clans, very similar to those of the Highlanders of Scotland a hundred and fifty years ago,brave,illiterate and essentially barbarian in character. Oftimes these clans and tribes were banded together in an independent government of a tribal sort. They even went farther and coalesced into little
175 kingdoms of greater or lesser extent. In the times of the successor of Alexander the Great, Epirus made considerable progress in civilization, and its kings exerted no small degree

ANCIENT ALBANIA

of influence in the affairs of state of Eastern /175
Europe. Pyrrhus, one of the last of these kings, was a man of the greatest ability and made an illustrious name for himself because of his learning and his statescraft, and, moreover, augmented the glory of his nation by reason of his executive ability. Among the bravest of brave, Pyrrhus did not hesitate to cross the Adriatic to aid in the defense of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, Magna Craecia; neither did he hesitate to grapple with the rising power of Rome, and as a result, winning a prominent place for himself among the great commanders of the world.

In the year 168 before Christ, the Romans wreaked a terrible vengeance on Epirus, destroying seven towns and reducing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants to slavery. This was the only time in the history of the race that the Epirots were ever thoroughly sudbued. But even the Roman conquest /177
wrought little change in their social customs. They still retained their own language, national customs and usages, and withal, remained a distinct and peculiar people.

The question as to whether the Albanians /144
are genuine Epirots and Illyrians or a new /197
people formed by large and repeated infusions

144 of barbarians from the north has been very
197 much discussed. It was finally decided, upon evidence furnished by their language, which has been definitely determined a true representative of the ancient Illyrian, that the Albanians are the direct descendants of these ancient people, the Epirots and the Illyrians, who were neighbors and kindred tribes speaking different dialects of the same language; though, perhaps through the course of the ages, the Albanians may have become mingled, especially in the north, with other foreign elements.

144 Some ethnologists and students of the race and language declare with certainty that the Illyrian is one of the aboriginal races of Europe and that, if the term "Pelasgi" was ever used to designate a particular people, this must have been the race to which it referred. There is definite proof that their numerous tribes extended far into the north, even beyond the Danube, and this leads us to surmise rightfully that the Illyrians were the first branch of the Indo-European race to settle in Europe and were there long before the time of the Celts.

The old division between the Epirots and

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

the Illyrians has its modern counterpart in the marked distinction between the Northern and Southern Albanians. For, as is brought to the attention of the traveller through Albania, there is a most evident dissimilarity between these two peoples. Yannina, or, more correctly speaking, Ioannina, was the capital of Epirus, while Scutari—in Albanian language Shkodra—was the seat of the Northern Province.

In the course of her long history, Albania has been invaded by countless civilized, half-civilized and barbaric peoples. The Greeks colonized a part of the Illyrian seaboard probably in the latter half of the seventh century. The most important of these settlements were Epidamnus (Durazzo or Durrës in Albanian language) and Salona (near Spalato). Greek inscriptions and pottery have been excavated by archaeologists. However, Greek influence never penetrated into the interior. These colonies were superceded by the Latins about three hundred years before Christ. The Spartans and Athenians were the next to come into conflict with the Illyrians. In the beginning of the fourth century the Celts invaded Albania. The Gauls, the Goths, the Romans, the Slavs, the Venetians, and, finally, the Turks

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XI.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-BELIEFS.

144 114 MR. STUART GLENNIE's suggestion[1] that the Albanians are probably a mixed Pelasgo-Aryan race, and that the Pelasgians, whose Larissas extend from Italy and Greece through Asia Minor to Northern Syria and Chaldea, were related to the Archaian White Race, the founders of civilisation in the Euphrates Valley, gives special interest to all their folk-lore.

771 Survivals of ancient Nature-worship, which neither Christianity nor Islam has succeeded in eliminating, may be found in the form of the oaths still in 788 use in the Albanian highlands. Contact with the [177] outer world has taught the dwellers in towns to call upon the Virgin and Saints, or Allah and Mohammed, as witnesses to their word; but the oaths of the pastoral Skipetar are still "By sky and earth" (*Per kielh e per dhé*), "By mountain and plain" (*Per ket ziarm e per ket uï*), and "By sun and moon" (*Per ket dielh e per ket hân*). The curious ceremony of taking the "Oath of the Stone," which is said by Wassa Effendi[2] to have been a Pelasgian custom, is

[1] First made in Europe and Asia (1879), and more fully in papers on the Archaian White Races, read in 1887 at meetings of the Royal Historical Society and of the British Association.

[2] *Etudes sur l'Albanie et les Albanais.*

In Mer -

178 turi and Nikaj, the men adopt 2 sets of names,
795 Moslem and Christian, and employ the former
[55] while traveling to avoid trouble. They get used to these names and in many cases use them at home. In Hoti, the *bairaktar* once led his men against the invading Serbs, with the help of the Turkish government. In gratitude for his brave and successful conduct the Turks granted him special privileges, and he went over, with his family, to Islam. The rest of the *bairak* is still mostly Catholic, but the tendency in such a case is for the others to follow the leader. In Lura, where mixed families are found, the Catholics have given up keeping pigs so as not to offend the Moslems, and celebrate Moslem festivals as well as Christian ones, to avoid trouble. Very rarely a Mirdite will marry a Moslem woman from Mati, but when he does she becomes Catholic.

797 When the Turks introduced Islam, all
144 Ghegs were Catholics. Almost exclusively, the change has been in the Moslem direction. Hence we may assume that almost none of the present-day Catholics bear genetic elements brought in from outside the region by the Turks or their followers, while the same is not necessarily true of the Moslem Ghegs. *Bairak* by *bairak* and tribe by tribe, as conversion progressed, the line between the 2 religions has remained, by and large, a marital barrier. During the whole period of the Turkish rule, Catholics have furthermore been able to travel much less widely than Moslems, with resultant genetic implications.

771 In Albania one frequently hears the remark that "the Albanians are not very religious." This is usually said with pride, for the presence of 3 religions in so small a country is deemed a dangerous impediment to political unity. In one sense, the remark is quite true. Few Albanians are religious fanatics; few of them worry about their spiritual salvation. Most of the Catholics go to church with some regularity, and most of the Moslems keep Ramadan. However, their ancient way of life provides most of the ritual which they need to tide them over emotional crises, so that church and mosque are in many ways superfluous. A
771 man's first loyalty is to his "blood," that is, his
596 extended family. He spends much of his time, effort, and material goods keeping the family together and avenging any deed which has up-

174 the land and decrease of manpower probably counterbalanced each other.

It must have taken several centuries for the pioneers to explore every valley, choose the most favorable sites, and put them into cultivation. In a few centuries more, less favorable lands which could support a thinner population would also have been cleared. But by the beginning of the Christian era, the time when the first outside influence, that of Rome, made itself felt on the fringes of the Gheg mountains, this region may well have been populated to its present capacity. This means that there was no room for Romans or anyone else to settle without armed invasion. Even with armed invasion, as many have discovered, the Gheg mountains are hard to take.

Biologically the significance of this is of course that while the original settlers of our area must have been a mixed lot, they were probably able to fill their country with progeny before any concerted attempts were made by outsiders to invade their territory. The [144] majority of them were undoubtedly Illyrians from Bosnia, while others may have been Thracians from the plains to the northeast. Racially they were probably a mixture of Nordics, Mediterraneans from the Adriatic littoral, brachycephals from the same region, and Pontic Mediterraneans from the Euxine borderlands. They were able to stew in their own genetic juice and produce their own variety of human beings.

175 Roman authors have much to say about the peoples all around Ghegnia, but very little about the mountaineers themselves. This silence is very significant. All of Ghegnia except for the southern portions of Mati and Dibra formed a part of the province of Dalmatia, while those 2 sections of tribes plus what is now central Albania went with Macedonia. The present Tosk country was part of Epirus, which was considered distinct from Greece. While the predecessors of the Tosks

[8] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

[9] Strabonis Geographia, Book 7, p. 457, lines 3–6: ". . . et Drilo fluvius, quo adverso navigatur orientem versus usque ad Dardanicam."

or

καὶ Δρίλων ποταμὸς ἀνάπλων ἔχων πῶς ἕω, μέχρι τῆς Δαρδανικῆς.

1 [Cont. on p.41b --Analyst]

141 prominent, the buttocks medium to small, the calves well developed, the heels a little more projecting than expected, the foot arch about medium. This is a picture of an average man [142] who has led an active out-of-door life in a hard but healthy environment, on a minimum of food which is nevertheless well balanced; he is muscular, lean, and accustomed to walking long distances over rough terrain. From the neck down it would be hard to distinguish him from a shepherd in the Scottish Highlands, a Norwegian from the fjord country, or an Appalachian mountaineer.

[147] Only one physiological test was made: dynamometer squeeze. Despite the cold weather, despite the stiffening of fingers through years of ploughing, the mountaineers produced a mean of 112 pounds, ranging from 45 to 190 (see table 9).

II. The Face

141 144 From the neck up the resemblance to Scot and Norwegian would continue in most respects, but would disappear in others. In the more noticeable dimensions of the face it would be quite close. The Albanian mountaineers have moderately long faces, both in the distance from nasion to alveon (the point on the gums between the 2 upper median incisors) and from nasion to menton. It is hard to make close comparisons because individual anthropometrists vary greatly in locating these points. Comparing them with series of which one can be moderately sure that the same techniques were used, we see that the Ghegs are about the same in face length as populations which are predominantly Nordic or which represent the larger varieties of Mediterranean —like the English, the Riffians, and the Basques, and shorter faced than populations with an excess of marginal pre-Neolithic genetic elements, like the Irish and Norwegians. They are longer-faced than the small Mediterranean peoples like Spaniards and southern Italians. The upper face is relatively long in proportion to the total face height; this is usually, in Euro-

141
144

pean populations, found among peoples who are predominantly Mediterranean in type, but not very different from the situation in some populations usually considered Nordic.

The minimum frontal diameter, the only measurement usually taken of the forehead, is another troublesome criterion from the technical standpoint. Variations in technique between anthropometrists render most comparisons specious. Using only series which we know to be comparable, one can easily see that the Ghegs, with a mean of nearly 109 millimeters, are broader in this dimension than the long-faced Europeans to whom they are also similar in stature and body build; most of the Mediterranean and Nordic series run to 102–106 millimeters. In the bizygomatic, which is difficult to get wrong, they are again more comparable to the larger and broader-faced European populations. Here they fit in with the larger-faced local populations of Norway and Ireland, and exceed standard Nordics and Mediterraneans. In the bigonial, however, this excess is much smaller. As a result the typical Gheg face, like that of the traditional Basque, looks like an equilateral triangle set on its apex (*frontispiece*).[1]

141

The nose height of the Ghegs is exceeded by few in Europe, or in the world. Several factors contribute to this position, including the fact that the nasal septum and tip among the older men were so depressed that age changes of the soft parts must have played a conditioning role in my measuring. At the same time the nose breadth is among the narrowest in Europe and the world, and the nasal index is extremely leptorrhine.

The ratio between forehead and face breadths (zygo-frontal) is high in all Dinaric series, the Ghegs included; it reflects the unusual width of the forehead. The zygo-gonial is even higher, for the same reason, coupled with the fact that the bigonial diameter is relatively less than the bizygomatic. The facial index of the present series falls on the borderline between Martin's categories of mesoprosopic and leptoprosopic—although the Gheg faces are large, their length-breadth proportions are moderate. This is not true of the nose, which has one of the lowest nasal indices on record, placing it in the hyperleptorrhine category.

[1] [see cut 110, facing title page -- Analysis] -59a-

000 Sixty-five per cent of these young men would have dark-to-medium brown hair, 20 per cent black, and 15 per cent blond, including light brown. The skin would be fair; most of the eyes would be mixed, with the lighter shades predominant, and darks and pure lights would constitute about a fourth of the whole. Sixty per cent of the noses would have straight or slightly wavy profiles, 10 per cent would be concave, and only 30 per cent convex.

These boys would not be distinguishable from ordinary Americans, except to an expert on race, who might recognize them as different, not individually, but as a group, only by their possession of a mean cephalic index about 4 points higher than the average. Or perhaps the brachycephaly too would fade away upon transplanting; that we cannot tell.

144 16. If we equate the Mountain Ghegs in such a fashion with western Europeans and Americans, we find that they would be comparable to many local populations in western Germany and Austria. They are of the same basic genetic stock, disseminated widely in the Iron Age, from which most northern and western European peoples came.

17. Like most other European populations of essentially Nordic or Mediterranean (or Nordic and Mediterranean) character, they include telltale traces of pre-Nordic and pre-Mediterranean racial features, which make some of them broader of trunk, more heavily muscled, wider of head and face, blunter nosed, and heavier jawed than others. In the Mountains of Giants this element is concentrated in the northwest, in Dukagin, with a lesser incidence in Malsia e Madhe. Were the series from that confederation large enough, regional subseries would probably make this clear. It seems most likely that this element entered with the Bosnian immigration of the 16th century, although some of it may have been present in still earlier times.

000 18. Geography, technology, sociology, history, and physical anthropology all play their parts in the resolution of this problem. I only hope that the answer is really as simple as I have suggested.

4. 291 consists of caps that have been sewn on, as well as a bush of peacock's feathers and colored cock's feathers. (Compare Globus, volume 78, page 387). The carpet aprons that are illustrated in Figure 5[2] likewise 4. 326 have their original provenience from the northeast. As is the rule throughout the Balkans, the silver ornamentation among the Bosnian South Slavs is rich and variegated. Especially filigree is forged with the greatest of artistic skill.

/97: Illustrations./

/98/ The Albanians

I.

000 1. Type of fortified building. 2. Hut in Durazzo. 3. Mountain hut near Gusinje. 4. and 5. Chairs. 6. Cradle from Planti. 7. Fireplace in Nikaj. 8. Interior of a hut in Pula with intertwined reed walls, and a roof consisting of rafters, reed, and bulrush bundles. 9. Fireplace and hearth bench in a niche of the wall, in Hotin. 10. House door in Brebula, with an ornament arched like a wedge, and hook-like stone projections used for hanging up the guns. 11. Interior of a fortified house (kula). 12. Fireplace with hearth bench and smoke outlet in the niche of the wall. 13. Carving on a chest from Scutari[1]

A. 101 Between Montenegro and Epirus the strongly mountainous coastal area of the Balkan Peninsula has preserved primitive European racial elements and maintained ancient cultural forms. Here the Albanian people is settled, the people of the Skyptars, the troglodytes or inhabitants of the land of the eagles or of the descendants of eagles, according to the various explanations. By the Turks they are called A. 144 Arnauts. From pre-Aryan Illyrians, who belong to the oldest inhabitants of the European-Asiatic land mass, and from Aryan Thracians there was formed a basic stock. To this were added Goths, Slavs, Greeks, and, since 1450, Turks, as well as sporadic Roman elements and later A. [197] Italian influxes along the coast. All these combined to form the Albanians who today are divided into two groups according to the dialects of their Indo-European language, that is, into the northern Gegen and A. 144 the southern Tuscans. These two groups are in turn divided into a great 181 number of sub-stocks. The former, with predominantly Slavic, Serbian blood, are tougher, more war-like, more conservative; the Tuscans,

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 67g--Analyst]
2 [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 66a--Analyst]

181 on the other hand, are strongly mixed with Greeks and softer, more
●/44 accessible to civilizing influences, and more desirous of innovations.
The consciousness of their racial coherence determines their life in
tradition--they know their genealogical trees, and hundreds of names
in them--, their boundless hospitality on the one hand, and their
boundless desire for feuding and the implacability of their revenge
342 for murder, on the other hand. Of archaic methods of living there
are to be found, as temporary living quarters, caves in naturally formed
erosions of river banks, closed off in front by plaited mats of switches.
Furthermore, there are conical huts made from unhewn stems and
rushes left long in cutting, in the coastal swamps; also, half under-
ground, walled up pits with a thatched saddle-roof and a mound of
earth thrown against it, used by herders and herds. Then there are
loam-covered huts of intertwined beech twigs and with a reed or leaf
roofing (Figure 2); one-room houses with walls filled out with grass or
pieces of turf with a flat roof frame-work consisting of three transverse
beams and boards loosely laid over them and weighted down with
rocks (Figure 3, which, furthermore, shows, next to the hut, a frame
for storing meat, and so forth, with a notched tree stump serving as
steps and a spruce tree serving as a natural hook for hanging things).
The permanent dwellings, always fenced in, are log cabins in the
forested region of the north; for the rest they are stone houses bound
with mortar, in central and southern Albania with walled-in supporting
beams, covered with straw, shingles, slate, planks, or furrowed tiles.
Originally it was level with the ground, with one or two rooms, then
it turned into a building with two or more stories, with or without a
verandah. The perpetual insecurity of the country as a consequence of the
of the blood revenge feuds developed tower-like fortified buildings
(kulen), with embrasures and a solid roof difficult of access (Figure 1),
out of bulletproof interior structures. The division into rooms in the
interior of these buildings is rarely made by means of walls, more
frequently just through boards or intertwined twigs, or sometimes even
[177] just through larger objects like chests. Into the urban building and
[531] decorative arts Italian-Venetian, Byzantine-Near Eastern, and Turkish
influences have penetrated; the Scutari chest wall in Figure 13 shows
a well-known pattern of Persian ornamentation with a tree of motif
in the final state of degeneration. The interior of the houses has loam
352 floors or timber floors; wall boards for putting away things (Figure 8);
wall pegs for hanging up dishes; tables in the shape of plates made of
two half-moon-shaped boards joined together to form a circle, with

[See: Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 67a --- Analyst]

HANDEDNESS, ASYMMETRY, AND FLATTENING

304
145
#128

In table 4 we saw that over a third of our series had asymmetrical heads; that is a high ratio. Facial asymmetry, on the other hand, was negligible. With an abnormal amount of cranial asymmetry, and the indication that much if not all of the flattening might also be abnormal, it seems worth while to explore the possibility that these 2 features are associated. First, however, it must be explained how we judged which side the asymmetry was on. An asymmetrical skull bulges to one side or the other. When a skull bulged to the left, we called it left cranial asymmetry, and the converse. When the skull was both asymmetrical and flattened, the plane of flattening pointed to the opposite side from that designated.

TABLE 25: HANDEDNESS, ASYMMETRY, AND FLATTENING.

OCCIPITAL

ASYMMETRY	ABS.	PRES.
ABS.	549	188
PRES.	131	199

Q = + .63

LAMBDOID

ASYMMETRY	ABS.	PRES.
ABS.	387	210
PRES.	293	177

Q = + .06

OCCIPITAL FLATTENING ABSENT

CRANIAL ASYMMETRY	HANDEDNESS L	HANDEDNESS R
L	7	47
R	5	127

Q = + .58

OCCIPITAL FLATTENING PRESENT

	HANDEDNESS L	HANDEDNESS R
L	12	45
R	2	138

Q = + .89

Table 25 shows a definite tendency for men with occipital flattening to have cranial asymmetry as well; a little more than half the occipitally flattened heads are also asymmetrical. Men with lambdoid flattening may or may not have cranial asymmetry; in their case the association is a chance one. This seems

2 [See cat. 116, p. 64m -- Analysis]
2 [See Cat 116, p. 94a -- Analysis]

304 logical enough if flattening is caused by
145 cradling. A baby lying on his back might
*128 strain to turn to one side, and if he habitually chose the same side, that side might be expected to bear the bulk of the flattening. On the other hand if the top of his head were pressed against the headboard, which side he turned to would make little difference.

The way to test this second theory is to see whether or not occipital flattening and handedness are associated. The frequencies for handedness are given on table 4.[1] We tested for handedness by seeing which hand the man put out to take the dynamometer, and if he seemed to hesitate, by asking him to throw a stone. A total figure of 7 per cent for left handedness seems reasonable for a country where almost no one is literate, and where the only compunctions about which hand to use lie in the field of eating and its ultimate result.

Table 25[2] also shows that handedness is associated with cranial asymmetry in any case; in the men who were not occipitally flattened, it reached a Q of + .58, but in those who were so flattened, it attained the nearly complete association of + .89. What this seems to mean is that the babies who were right handed had a tendency to roll over on the left to free their right arms, and to look with their right eyes, etc., while the babies who were left handed had a tendency to do the opposite. It would be very strange if these movements would distort the skull, or be associated with such distortion, without benefit of cradle.

THE BOSTON EVIDENCE

167 The best kind of evidence, of course, is experimental. Although it was impossible to experiment with the Ghegs, a full-dress experiment of exactly the kind we need was conducted unwittingly for us by a group of several thousand Tosks. Shortly before World War I a whole village, Katundi, pulled up stakes and moved to America. Most of them settled in the neighborhood of Boston, where they were joined by others from neighboring villages. The anthropological problems presented by this migration have yet to be studied as a whole, and their investigation should yield much profit in years to come. For the moment a slight beginning may be made, which will serve the purposes of the present report.

1 [see cat. 116, p. 54m -- analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, p. 94a -- analyst]

141 prominent, the buttocks medium to small, the calves well developed, the heels a little more projecting than expected, the foot arch about medium. This is a picture of an average man [142] who has led an active out-of-door life in a hard but healthy environment, on a minimum of food which is nevertheless well balanced; he is muscular, lean, and accustomed to walking long distances over rough terrain. From the neck down it would be hard to distinguish him from a shepherd in the Scottish Highlands, a Norwegian from the fjord country, or an Appalachian mountaineer.

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141 *128 In the observations of the body and of the brain case, however, they differ more than chance and technical error would justify. In these easily influenced characters, regional phenotypes exist.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN BODY SIZE AND FORM

The main difference in body size lies in the north-south cleavage between the tribes living on either side of the Drin. Those to the north are a good 6 centimeters taller than those to the south. These differences are greater to the west than to the east, so that 3 areas may be postulated; a tall northwestern, an intermediate eastern, and a short southwestern. These areas differ also in body proportions, in that the northwestern tribes (Malsia e Madhe and Dukagin) are broad-shouldered and long-armed as well, while the eastern tribes, including Malsia e Jakovës, while tall, are slenderer and narrower in the shoulders, with the southwesterners in these criteria short and slender. The acme of robusticity is reached in Dukagin, whose athletic tribesmen exceed all others to a marked degree in these special criteria. Although we lack constants for weight, which would be most valuable here, we have the evidence for dynamometer squeeze, which reveals their superiority in muscular strength (see table 9).*

142 *128

147 *128

Dukagin men are a little stronger than those of Malsia e Madhe, but this difference is not significant. However, both Dukagin and Malsia e Madhe are significantly stronger than all of the other tribes. Among the others, Has, Luma, and Puka are all 3 stronger than Mati and Mirdita; Puka is stronger than Zadrima as well, and Malsia e Jakovës is stronger than

* [See cat. 116, p. 65c --Analyst]

147 Mirdita alone. The same 3 areas stand out
*128 again in this test: the northwest, with greatest strength concentrated in Dukagin; the eastern border tribes, including Malsia e Jakovës, Has, Luma, and Dibra; and the southwest, including Mirdita, Mati, and Zadrima, with Mirdita at the lowest point. It should be observed that the 2 Catholic tribes, Dukagin and Mirdita, supposedly descended from a group of brothers, are the least alike in stature, body proportions, and muscular strength.

TABLE 9: DYNAMOMETER SQUEEZE.

	No.	MEAN	σ
Total	1058	112.09 ± .36	15.86
MeM	105	117.95 ± 1.05	15.90
Duk	106	121.20 ± 1.20	18.40
MeJ	104	108.30 ± 1.14	17.20
Has	114	110.05 ± 1.17	18.45
Lum	109	110.25 ± 1.11	17.15
Puk	102	112.80 ± 1.24	18.60
Mir	101	102.50 ± 1.39	20.65
Zad	105	105.75 ± 1.22	18.50
Mat	104	104.65 ± 1.32	19.90
Dib	108	108.25 ± 1.51	23.30

142 In the observations of body form, Dukagin
*128 stands out as the most athletic of all the tribes, but in general a north-south division prevails. Mentioning only the significant differences, we see that Dukagin exceeds in general musculature, while the southern tribes are least well developed. The 4 southern tribes (Zadrima, Mirdita, Mati, and Dibra) exceed in percentages of short necks, while Zadrima, Mirdita, Mati, and Has exceed in thin necks. The 3 northern tribes exceed in + shoulder slope, the southern tribes in *sm*. To a certain extent chest development runs inversely to stature; Mirdita and Mati are the chestiest, and

142 *128 Malsia e Jakovës the least so. Has stands out as moderately tall and very chesty. The vertebral borders of the scapulae, supposed to have much significance from the standpoint of general health and vigor, vary little. The lumbar curve is most pronounced in the tribes north of the Drin. None of the Gheg mountaineers had enough to eat to produce protuberant abdomens—in this criterion variation is nonexistent. In general, buttocks are plumpest north of the Drin, where lumbar curve is greatest and hence pelvic tilt most pronounced; these differences between tribes in lumbar curve and buttock protrusion are more marked than any others. Calves are most developed in Dukagin and Mirdita, among the tallest and shortest tribesmen, respectively. The feet show little variability.

142 147 *128 To sum this data up, we find tall men north of the Drin, with stature decreasing rapidly as one moves southward; to the east, the gradient of change is much less marked than in the west. In fact, 3 stature areas may be designated: the northwest, the east, and the southwest. In these 3 areas, in general, the most robust are the big men of the northwest, while the easterners tend to a lankier form. Dukagin stands out above all the others for strength and athletic development, followed closely by the *bairaks* of Malsia e Madhe. Mirdita, followed by Mati and Zadrima, lies at the other extreme. These regional differences are as great as those between Norway and France, or England and Greece.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN THE CRANIAL VAULT

141 *128 The head length means vary nearly 7 millimeters, the breadth means 6 millimeters, and the height 4 millimeters, tribally. These differences are significant in 28 out of 45 cases for head length, 25 out of 45 for head breadth, and 21 out of 45 for head height. Heads are longest in the northwest, intermediate in the east, and shortest in the southwest. They are broadest in the northwest and more or less the same elsewhere; in height they exceed in Zadrima and Malsia e Madhe, and are lowest in Mati and Dibra, following in general a NW/SE axis.

These regional variations come out even more markedly in the cephalic index, in which

124 from the total mean more than 3 times the probable error. In the following statistical exercises, whenever we compare tribal samples with each other, we must remember that there is an 8-year probable span of age means, from 36 to 44 years, and that we must not consider regionally significant a difference in any criterion which varies less regionally than it varies in this 8-year age span in the series as a whole.

This question is further complicated by the fact that some tribal samples are more dispersed in age distribution than others. This can be measured by the values for the standard deviation. Dukagin has a σ of 9.25 years; Puka of 13.70 years. These are the extremes. This difference of 4.45 years=5.71 x p.e. and this is thus statistically significant. This difference in variability may also be expected to qualify the means in certain cases. In a character in which the highest values are found at, let us say, the 35–39-year-old age locus, and we have 2 samples each with a mean age of 38, then the sample with the lowest value for σ may be expected to show the higher mean. This is another reason why we must allow a little more than the conventional amount of leeway in interpreting the statistical significance of differences between tribal and other samples.

AGE AND STRENGTH

147 #128 No single criterion can be found which expresses the changing health, maturity, and vigor of a man more than his muscular strength. Table 11 shows values for hand squeeze in

TABLE 11: AGE AND STRENGTH, IN POUNDS.

AGE	#	RANGE	MEAN P.E.	σ	V
20–24...	107	60–160	112.80 ± 1.11	17.10	15.20
25–29...	154	75–170	115.00 ± .93	17.10	14.86
30–34...	164	50–180	114.60 ± 1.00	19.00	16.61
35–39...	163	70–185	115.30 ± 1.07	20.15	17.42
40–44...	125	45–170	112.10 ± 1.16	19.25	17.16
45–49...	106	50–150	103.65 ± 1.36	20.85	20.15
50–54...	88	65–140	103.90 ± 1.17	16.25	15.64
55–59...	51	50–140	103.35 ± 1.65	17.45	16.83
60–64...	58	50–130	96.05 ± 1.46	16.55	17.20
65–69...	15	50–115	91.00 ± 2.65	15.20	16.82
70–74...	14	70–130	95.70 ± 3.02	16.70	17.46
75–89...	11	75–110	90.00 ± 2.34	11.50	12.78
65–89...	40	50–130	92.40 ± 1.62	15.05	16.30

147 *128 pounds for all age grades from 20–24 to 75–89 years; and also for 65–89 years pooled. Out of 78 possible comparisons, when we ignore the pooling, 44 reach 3 or more times p.e., and when we count 65 onward as pooled, the score is 31 out of 55. Eleven of these differences exceed 9.00 times p.e. Our mountaineers reach their peak of squeeze-power in their late 30's, decline slowly for half a decade, and then weaken more rapidly after 45. The combination of physiological changes which this curve reflects may be traced in the metrical and morphological characters which follow.

AGE AND SELECTED METRICAL CHARACTERS

141 *128 Table 12[1] presents the means for 7 selected metrical characters. Having neither time nor space to compute and present age grade means in all criteria, I selected some which have a special bearing on the problems of this study as well as general interest. The 12 youths probably born after 1910 are not numerous enough for full statistical treatment. Although they deviate from the trends shown by the

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 73c -- Analyst]

757 enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for con-
278 sumptive patients.

A The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value
[262] for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong
A and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided
[136] my meal.

So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says:
A "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."
164 *Diseases.*—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans,
136 owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common.
A A preparation of buckthorn is given.

165 Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If
853 a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies;
A and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye
854 causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest
754 survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and
M Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not
CM suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.
A
151 *Wounds.*—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds
A than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which
757 was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the
752 art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old
A man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some
757 probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.
826 From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge
752 of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

757 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by
278 homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.
757 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or
753 boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many
151 I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought
[563 a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and
326] pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him
759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can
752 survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house
757 in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound
[278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen,
757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He
278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of laths—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. Marriage

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

ALBANIA

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

583
577 and ask the girl. The usual answer was that they were too modest. The suggestion seemed to be thought indecent.

581
152 The fact that both in Montenegro and Albania a word of Turkish origin is used commonly for "to make love" (Montenegrin and Bosnian, "ashikovati"; Albanian, "ashik," lover—"ashari," love) suggests that love-making played little or no part in the marriages of both lands. I heard that the son of an Austrian mother and an Albanian father was betrothed and asked his mother if he was much in love. "O dear, no!" she cried. "Not in the least; he is quite Albanian!"

183
583 One case only I met in which—perhaps for the first time—a betrothal was broken and the girl left free to marry. She was the niece of Mgr. Premi Dochi, mitred abbot of the Mirdites, a very remarkable man, whose death during the war was an immense loss to Albania.

I passed the night at her father's house. The girl sat sullen and glowering in a corner like a wild cat at bay. No one spoke to her. I asked what was the matter. She had refused to be sent to her betrothed. Her father was furious. Only the abbot's intervention had saved her. He talked the young man into admitting that it was useless to marry a girl who hated him and would probably run away, when another more amenable could be found, and got him to swear that no blood-
581 vengeance should be taken if the girl married another. But the father, enraged, declared often and loudly, "A girl marries to please her house and not for herself"; and rated her till I was sorry I had asked. Awe of the abbot alone had made him yield.

585 *Marriage Ceremonies.*—When the wedding-day is fixed the male relatives of the bridegroom go to fetch the bride. The bridegroom usually does not go. As the tribes are exogamous the distance may be considerable. Sometimes the men of the bride's family take her to a spot half-way and hand her over there. Sometimes she is fetched from her father's house. Moslem girls are always accompanied by one or two female relatives. Christian girls usually are, if the journey is a long one; but not always. In no case does the mother go.

Marriage among the Christians is according to the rites of the Catholic Church.

I was never at a mountain wedding, but was told some local ceremonies. In Klementi the bride, on coming to her husband's home, must throw an apple over the roof, and is given some corn. This recalls the confarreatio of the Romans. She is then led three times round the hearth. All through the mountains I gathered that a bride must enter the house with her right foot first and carry in a male child with her. On marriage the hair of the woman is dyed black and dressed differently from that of a virgin. There are various modes, according to district. In the Maltsia e Madhe the head is shaved in front and over the temples,

enable her to bear male children. The ladies again sang songs of greeting. Then the two bride-leaders manipulated the bride as though she were a lay figure. She was absolutely passive. They raised her to her feet, set her feet one after the other, shod in the wedding-boots, on to the steps of the carriage, and then on the ground. They then draped her with the red silk handkerchief sent her yesterday, and pinned it to the top of her head. Supported under the armpits she was slowly shuffled across the yard. It was but a few yards long, but her passage took full ten minutes. She was pelted with sweets, which a crowd of children gathered, and sprinkled with holy water, and led into the women's room. The bridegroom then arrived on foot and went to the men's room. I followed the bride. She was led backwards, and seated, still blinded by the veils, upon the chair in the corner. Her hands were laid on her sash and nervously grasped a folded handkerchief. Her immobility as her attendants handled her was so inhuman as to be almost horrible. One of her leaders carefully lifted a corner of her head-coverings and gave her lemonade to drink under it. The attendants themselves were then ceremoniously served with refreshments. They then removed her wedding-boots and put on the slippers, raised her to her feet, lifted a corner of her veil, said good-bye under it, and withdrew. The poor bride still stirred never a finger, but the violent heaving of her breast showed her on the verge of hysterics. She pulled herself together and the ordeal continued. One of the bridegroom's female relatives unpinned the red handkerchief from the bride's head and held it as a screen before her. Behind it her headdress was changed. Her white veil was removed, and a yellow beflowered silk one substituted.

The great moment had now come. We were to see her face. A lady on each side of her threw back the veil and showed her off. She was exposed to a crowd of staring females. Her head dropped modestly. Her attendants each placed a finger under her chin and raised it again. The sweat streamed down her face. They wiped it. They straightened her wide coat, settled her sash, and waved the flies off her. Such was her Spartan heroism that when a fly, unobserved by the attendants, crawled up her face, she did not even by a twitch show that she was alive. Then a front row of chairs was arranged and all the men came in. The bridegroom, witnesses, and father took their seats. The background was crowded with miscellaneous youths. They stared with all their eyes at the luckless girl, who in vain dropped or turned her head, only to have it put straight again.

Only the bridegroom held his head down and would not look. His witnesses grasped his chin and made him look, and he faltered, "But I've seen her already."

The wedding song then began:—

533 How beautiful is the bride, Mashallah, Mashallah.
585 She has a forehead for a "perishan" (gold ornament of coins, etc.).
Her eyebrows are like braid, Mashallah, etc.
Her eyes large as coffee cups, Mashallah, etc.
Her nose is like a gold coin ("muskala").
Her cheeks like sweet cake ("gurabi," given at night by the bride to the bridegroom).
Her mouth is like a casket, Mashallah, etc.
Her teeth like pearls.
Her neck like a lily. Her figure is like a standard

585 sang the ladies, the men roaring: "She is, she is!" in a high falsetto, pressing their hands on their ears, and the small boys yelling "Mashallah," a strange cry at a Catholic wedding. All the time her two attendants [152] patted, straightened, and wiped the bride. My neighbour whispered to me: "They often faint." I anxiously watched her panting and swaying, and was relieved when the bridegroom left the room and the men followed. The ladies then bent the bride's knees and she plopped on to the chair. By now she was almost hypnotized, and mechanically at intervals tried to rise, but was at once replaced unless a child came in, when it was correct for her to rise for a moment. Then came midday and the wedding dinner, to which I did not stay. The bride is allowed to withdraw for a time. She does not eat with the guests. Her attendants [264] put little bits of food into her mouth. If very modest she does not take it, but when left alone secretly consumes some food she has hidden in her marriage coffer. On my return she was again enthroned. I was given three tumblers of wine and a dish of sweets and told to consume them, and did my best. I was then given a special view of all the bride's ornaments, and invited to return at night for the final ceremony. This I did not do. It was described as follows: The two attendants prepare the bed at midnight. They undress the bride and put a long silk shirt on her; lay her forcibly on the bed, and withdraw. The two male [833 witnesses then lead or drag in the bridegroom and prepare him. The 533] wedding guests all stand outside the door when the couple are left alone, and sing epithalamia of an encouraging nature and shout advice through the keyhole. The bride has to feed the bridegroom with the "gurabi" (cake) she has brought in her wedding coffer.

The company sings continually till told the marriage has been consummated. In a short time the bride and bridegroom emerge completely redressed. She wears a married woman's dress. They are greeted as man and wife and at last left in peace.

585 The whole of the next week the bride may be visited at any hour
574 of the day and must not speak a word, but sit rigid as before.

At the end of the week she has a holiday and goes back to her own people on the Sunday. On the Wednesday her husband is invited to

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

the younger from looking at the bones because we were all happy, so "why pry into unknown evils?" A 787

It is not easy to say how the bones are read. Bone-readers will not tell their lore. I have pieced together the facts I gathered. The bone must be the breast-bone of a fowl (Fig. 20), or the blade-bone of a sheep or goat —no others serve. In Albania I found the fowl's bone most generally used, and in Montenegro the sheep's blade-bone. In both lands the fowl or sheep must have been bred by the house of the reader; otherwise, though it can tell of foreign affairs, it knows nothing of the fate of the house. The best fowl is a cock which is black without a white feather. It must be decapitated. If the neck were wrung the blood would all go wrong and the marks be useless. M A 787

This is the Albanian reading of the breast-bone: A good seer can tell at once if the fowl has been bought or bred. The keel is the part used. In the thickness of the neck-end (A) runs a line of marrow which tells the fortune of the house. A hole in it means the house-lord's death, and a break means an illness or accident. Breaks and branches from this main line show illness, accident, or death to members of the family. Red spots and patterns in the bone mean blood. Some holes mean graves, others cradles, according to where they are placed. I failed to learn where. The sides (B) of the bone tell public events. When a line belonging to the family forks it means a quarrel in the family. A 787

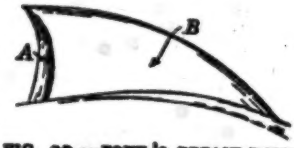

FIG. 20.—FOWL'S BREAST-BONE FOR SOOTHSAYING

The late Mgr. Cozzy, Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, told me that he had tried hard to learn how to read the bones, and a man who refused to tell him said: "You make black marks on paper and know what they mean; but I do not. God makes marks on bones and you do not know what they mean; but I do."

Such is the belief in bones in Albania that I believe men have died from sheer terror when their death has been read. Thus, an only son—well known to a friend of mine from Djakova—was at a family feast. He picked up a fowl's bone, looked at it, and threw it down with a cry. His father asked what was the matter and the youth said: "In three days you will bury me." His horrified father picked up the bone and saw the reading was only too true. He cried out in grief: "In three days we shall bury thee." His kith and kin wailed on all sides: "In three days we shall bury thee." The poor lad blenched and sickened. He could not eat, gave up hope, and died. A [152 761]

"When he saw in the bones he must die," said the Djakovan, "he died." And with more truth than he was aware of he added: "You

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

unpardonable indignities, and over her dead body the brother and sister swore to utterly exterminate her enemies.

Some years later Shainitza was grieving for the death of her favourite son, Aden Bey. So wild was her sorrow that she smashed with a hammer all his and her own diamond ornaments, burnt all her cashmeres and valuable furs, and forced his young widow to lie on straw mats spread on the ground instead of on a bed. The mirrors and ornaments of her serail were also destroyed, its windows were by her order painted black,[1] and everything which in any way recalled joy or happiness was banished from the palace. Roused from this abandonment of grief by the news of the fall of Gardiki,[2] she wrote to Ali reminding him of the oath they had sworn together over their mother's corpse, and of her wrongs and theirs, and urged him to have no mercy on the inhabitants of that town. "As for me," she added in conclusion, "it is only on cushions stuffed with the hair of the women of Gardiki that Shainitza will henceforward repose!"

Faithfully was the terrible oath, sworn to the dead, kept both by brother and sister. The chief men of Gardiki, to the number of some three hundred, induced by fair promises to meet Ali at the Khan of Valieré, were there ruthlessly massacred by the Christian troops under his Greek lieutenant, Thanasé

[1] See p. 265; and compare similar custom in folk-tale, p. 315.

[2] In 1802. A Greek folk-song graphically describes the gallant defence made by this town, which was taken by one of Ali's lieutenants, "Yousóuf the Arab" (*Greek Folk-songs*, p. 234).

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

175 Vaghia,[1] not one escaping. Shainitza caused the town
159 to be razed to the ground, and, after cutting off the
[669] hair of the women with every insult which she could heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove them forth with their children to the mountains, menacing any with a like doom who should venture to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath. The traveller passing through the valley of Drynopolis may to this day see in the wall of the khan the tablet which records, in letters of gold, the number of the dead and the date of their sacrifice to the *manes* of the mother and the fury of the sister of the Vizier of Ioannina.

[428] In a codicil to her will, Khamko directed that a *hadji*, or pilgrim, should be despatched on her part to lay offerings on the tomb of the Prophet, and pray
788 there for the repose of her soul. Such pilgrimages and offerings may, however, only be made when the expenses are defrayed with money lawfully and honestly acquired. And as it was found on inquiry into the estate of the late Veli Bey, Ali's ancestor, that the property to be sold for this purpose had been taken by force or fraud from a Christian, the pilgrim-
175 age was disallowed by the religious authorities.
159
562 Such extreme ferocity of disposition as that mani-
[152] fested by Khamko and Shainitza is, however, exceptional among Albanian women, and even in Ali Pasha's

[1] The Greek poet, Aristotle Valaorites, has made Thanasé Vaghia the subject of one of his most striking poems, Ὁ βρυκόλακας, "The Vampire," a translation of which may be found in my *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 121. The tragedy of Ἡ κυρὰ φροσύνη, "The Lady Phrosyne," by the same writer, part of which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica, gives a vivid picture of Ali Pasha and his Court.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband [484]
leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
with which they console themselves testify. Un- [789]
known to their partners, they sew in their clothes

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

The men on their side are not free from home-sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
  Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
  So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
  Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
  From Fatherland as outlaws lorn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
  Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
  Poisoned by my blood would pine!

The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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585 same way on the Friday. On this day, too, the women assemble to help in the preparations for the ceremony. While some busy themselves with putting finishing touches to the trousseau, or helping in the kitchen, the others take the bride in hand and commence to "busk" her for the occasion. Compelled by custom [302] to submit silently to whatever operation they may, in their zeal to make her as beautiful as possible, subject her, the poor bride is bathed, scrubbed, "massaged," and *dépilée*, her hair and eyebrows are dyed black, and her feet and hands stained red with henna.

On Sunday evening the bride, dressed in her bridal array, and decked in all her ornaments, is presented to the women of the family. If she is of humble station, jewels are borrowed for her to wear for the occasion, so that, on this day at least, she may lack nothing. The work of the women who have dressed her is then freely and openly criticised, no word, however, being uttered which could possibly hurt the feelings of the bride; for, according to the good ladies of Scutari, a bride can never be otherwise than beautiful. Later on the father and brothers enter, and the maiden, throwing herself at their feet, asks their pardon with tears for all the faults she has since her childhood com- [152] mitted. Hardly has the father raised her than a chorus of sobs and cries is heard from all the company, who thus testify their sorrow at the approaching separation of the maiden from her family. When their grief has exhausted itself, they dry their tears and break into a song, which, translated, is as follows:—

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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[539]

Remorseless, Death, I know thou art,
Yet, from a mother lone,
How couldst thou take her only son,
Her boy, her dearest one?

Why didst thou not, my treasured child,
My only darling son—
Why didst thou not resist his blow?
My boy, my dearest one!

Ah! knew'st thou not, within my heart,
Should'st thou from me be gone,
Thou ope'st a wound must ever bleed?
My boy, my dearest one!

[152] Sometimes, too, as among the Greek women, a mourner finds no adequate outlet for her grief in the conventional dirges, and, inspired by sorrow, bursts into an improvised lament for the lost son, brother, or husband, extolling his virtues and bewailing his fate.

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It is said that when an Albanian of the mountains is led to execution by the authorities for any crime but that of theft, which is by these people alone considered disgraceful, he walks to his doom with head erect and bearing dignified, improvising as he goes his own dirge, in which he relates the circumstances that have led to his premature departure from the world. His mother and sisters follow him to the place of execution, their hearts devoured with grief, but wearing smiles on their lips, in order that their relative may, on his side, show no sign of weakness. Intently they listen to his death-song, the words of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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which they treasure in their memories, and hand down to their posterity.[1]

The funeral, in conformity with the usual Eastern custom, takes place within four-and-twenty hours after death. Before the corpse leaves the house, it is measured with a string, which is then thrown up into the rafters. If the deceased has not a silver ring on his finger, a coin is placed, as among the Greeks, on the mouth; and one of the relatives seats himself three times on that part of the floor on which he breathed his last. On the way to the burial ground, the men surround the bier, the women follow behind, and resume their wailings as the procession leaves the house. Arrived at the mosque, or church, the men enter, but the women remain without, weeping, shrieking, and lamenting continually. Before leaving the church, the men give the dead a last kiss, the women doing the same at the grave. The body is laid in the bare earth, and a stone slab is placed over it, on which the earth is cast. At this stage of the proceedings, the cries of the women become quite heartrending; they crowd round the grave, and can with difficulty be prevented from throwing themselves

[1] This calls to mind Burns' spirited song, "MacPherson's Lament," the words of which might fittingly be used by an Albanian *pallikar*:

"I've lived a life of sturt and strife;
I die by treacherie;
It burns my heart, I must depart,
And not avenged be.
Sae rantingly, sae wantonly,
Sae dauntingly gaed he;
He played a spring, and danced it round,
Beneath the gallows tree."

Albanian Women

562 THE Albanian women are an intriguing combination of charm and grace with the addition of more serious virile qualities; the results of this association make them delightful and quite unique. They have rapidly risen from any form of servitude which they may have endured in the long past and now walk hand in hand with the men of their country.

142 In appearance she is tall and slender and of the brunette type, with large, black eyes smouldering between long, curling, black lashes—the warm, emotional type. Her carriage is pleasing, moving as she does with a suppleness that denotes the women who are accustomed to living in the open air and not spoiled by those instruments of torture which, for the sake of coquetry, support the elegant Parisian woman. It is perhaps easier to imagine Diana the Huntress and her retinue under the natural aspects of the Albanian woman.

155 The marshes, the great forests or the mighty mountains do not frighten her at all.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

155 They will go into these places without fear. They will, under any conditions, willingly take the place of their husbands or brothers should the necessity arise, for the national sentiment, so dominant in the Albanian race, inspires the woman as well as the man. In the history of Albania there are numerous examples of the heroism of women as well as men which recall the admirable anecdotes of Spartan history.

The Albanian women acquire the right of coquetry, but they have the art as surely as their Parisian sisters. This is readily realized when they are seen arrayed in their beautiful gold-embroidered dresses with their magnificent tresses becomingly adjusted under their head-dress.

562 As a rule the women of Albania are generally domesticated. They derive great pleasure from their homes and live out of it very little. It is in the home that she works and makes everything she needs—outside of her 289 household duties, she finds time to embroider, to spin and much of the lovely silk handwork that one finds in Tirana, Elbasan and other Albanian cities, which is so skillfully done in lovely, harmonizing colors on the finest of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER IX.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

562 184 THE domestic usages of the Albanians vary slightly, according to locality and religion, but are, in their main features, identical. And though the customs surrounding such family ceremonies as births, marriages, and deaths belong naturally more to the domain of women than of men, the latter are not less scrupulous in the fulfilment of the part in these observances which fall to their share.

156 181 Tribal and family pride being, as has been already seen, the leading feature of Albanian character, the desire of offspring, and especially male offspring, is naturally very strong with them. A childless man [554] is designated by an expression which signifies "without a root," and is looked upon as a most unfortunate [754] being. The wish, "May you be childless!" is also considered the most weighty curse that can be launched against a man by his enemy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the dearest wish of every woman's heart is consequently to be the mother of a numerous family of boys, both for the sake of the future prosperity of the tribe and for the present social consideration which their birth ensures to her. 843 When the fact that an Albanian woman is about to

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 devise another way of getting at the subject. For I did want to know what Albanian women felt about being married to men they had never seen, in strange tribes, and I knew they would never tell me through masculine interpreters. Lulash would know.

[156] "But most of the sources of happiness that you mentioned are in the lives of men," I said. "Are the women happy?"

"No," said Lulash. "I do not think our women are happy." He seemed deeply troubled; there were perplexity and anxiety in his dark eyes, and he moved restlessly—which Albanians almost never do—as he sat on the floor by the heap of coals in the baking dish. They had sunk quite into gray ashes, the bleak room was very cold, filled with the ceaseless swishing sound of the rain and of the innumerable waterfalls that poured from the mountains overhead.

"Perhaps I shouldn't be asking him this? Perhaps he is married to an unhappy woman?" I asked.

"No," said Perolli. "He is not married; he is the only man in Shala who is not married."

[593] "Our women have their children; they love their children," said Lulash. "And they do not quarrel with their husbands. It almost never happens that there are ugly words in a family. 581 But I do not think the women are happy. I do not know whether they would be happier if they chose their own husbands. Girls of the marrying age are not very wise. But I often think,

*[Tribal chief in [146] Thethis -- Analysis]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

his case. Since 1912 most of this administrative and penal legislation has been superseded of set purpose by European methods and laws, whereas the social content of the old mountain code has been left comparatively undisturbed, free to come into line with the ways of the West in its own time.

The community sense was fostered by every art the mountaineers knew. Each member of a household was encouraged to regard everything in it and everything its other members said and did as his own. The humblest man was encouraged to regard his village or group of villages as his personal property. If home, village or group of villages prospered, he rejoiced as if he had himself been advanced. If they were insulted or injured, he burned to avenge a personal affront. If they were disgraced by misconduct on the part of another member, he felt his own honour to be smirched. The patriotism so bred was narrow, perhaps, but it was genuine, free from egregious self-seeking, and by its emphasis on the need to keep the community's honour untarnished, a good deterrent from crime.

This close relationship between individual and community was also a curb on dictatorship. The ruling rank had always to respect the individual's property in the community's laws. They could not make any change in an existing law unless they obtained the consent of a General Assembly of their village or tribe. They could impose, but (except in the tribes which maintained fine-collectors) they could not collect fines; social pressure was necessary for that. In a very common punishment, social ostracism, they might play no more than a subordinate part. They could not pass heavy sentences like banishment or death unless a General Assembly demanded them, and if it did, they could not resist its will. In short, the elders voiced, but did not dictate, popular sentiment.

They were no privileged oligarchy either. They might sit in the seat of honour or get the lamb's head and eye at a banquet, but they had no official residences, horses or guards of honour provided for them at public expense. They lived in houses that were often meaner than those of their subordinates; they ate the same food and toiled in the same way in their fields and among their flocks. In fact, the self-government of the Albanian mountaineers went far towards being true democracy in the Anglo-American sense of that much-abused word. In its primitive way it was really government of the People, by the People, for the People. It had

nationalistic tendencies. One of the most extreme women who possessed these qualities was that renowned national heroine, Queen Teuta of Illyria.

The same proud and patriotic attitude exists throughout Albanian history in her women. They have been known to make supreme sacrifices willingly for the cause of Albania's liberty and independence. When the Sultan's armies marched upon Scutari, it was the women who gave the alarm and urged their husbands and brothers into battle. When men fell mortally wounded the women filled the gaps and fought courageously. They carried the mutilated bodies of their loved ones and tenderly cared for them, while others urged the warriors on into the fray. It is also related that should a husband, son or brother turn their backs upon the enemy, they are refused entrance into their homes. Albanian women do not tolerate cowardice.

This selfsame indomitable will power and courageous spirit was portrayed in the mother of Ali Pasha Tepelene of Janina. It was to her that he owed the success of his early youth, paving the way for his illustrious career in later years. His mother, the noble

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

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Fear stalked through the camp in these last days, but Abas Kupi remained calm to the end. His kindness to us was unfailing; and never by word nor deed did he betray any sign of resentment against his treatment by the British Command. He understood that we were his friends, and always spoke of "our defeat" as if to show that he still identified us with his cause. We had come to know him well during these seven months in which we had so often broken bread together and slept under the same roof, and our respect for him had only grown with intimacy. No man can be great from morning until night, but there was in Abas Kupi a power of leadership, a natural wisdom, and a generous temper which endured the searching test of daily scrutiny. Courage, cunning, energy, and patience are necessary qualities in a guerilla leader, but Abas Kupi's peculiar genius lay in his skill in manipulating men, and in the natural pragmatism of his outlook. He seemed to know just how far each man could be used, and had reduced to a fine art the methods of making others serve his purposes. He would appeal with more than feminine intuition to whatever was strongest or weakest in each individual; and so personal was his technique in these matters that he would never speak with more than one man at a time. Trusting seldom, he could seldom be betrayed; but, if suspicion prevented him from delegating authority, his achievements were perhaps the more remarkable in that he was alone the indispensable heart and nerve-centre of an otherwise invertebrate movement.

He might understand by intuition; he judged only by results; and indeed it often seemed to us that he was deaf to argument and blind to a man's intentions. Such objectivity was proof alike against the sentimental appeal of a demagogue, the scrupulous hesitations of a moralist, or the fine-spun controversies of professional politicians. It was perhaps the real secret of his power, and may explain how an illiterate and primitive tribesman could command the support of intellectuals and could defeat, through four long years, the wiles of a Mustafa Kruya and the casuistry of the missionaries of the Comintern. The soundest calculation, however, proceeds in the last analysis from some act of faith; and trust in British

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

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power was the first article in the Agha's creed. His desperate situation might suggest that he had been mistaken, yet he still believed that his defeat was only a temporary reverse.

In the long hours of waiting we spoke together more freely than in the past, and our conversations ranged beyond the daily problems of war and politics. The Agha's philosophy was simple and earthbound, and he told me once: "We make our own heaven or hell here, in this world." He regarded power as the greatest driving force in men's lives; for experience had taught him that its possession was the necessary condition of personal freedom and of all good or evil action. In the bitterness of defeat he blamed the weakness of his allies more than the malice of his enemies, but showed the same objectivity in his opinion of people as in his judgment of affairs. A deep distrust of human nature led him to view opponents and supporters with the same detachment, and to judge them solely by their proven records, or their qualities of companionship. Enver Hoja he despised as "a fool", but he spoke with respect of Ymer Dyshnitsa and Seifullah Maleshova, and always referred to Mustafa Jinishi as "my friend". Likewise he spoke with sympathy of Mustafa Kruya, his would-be murderer, and we were once astonished to hear him call Mark Joni Markai "a good boy". As a leader he deplored the fatal suppleness of the Ballist chiefs, but as an ignorant man he bowed before their erudition. He smiled at Muharrem's vanity, and, if his affection for Gani might sometimes seem tinged with jealousy, he often told us of the "brotherly kindness" with which Gani had received him in Belgrade. Gratitude is rare in politics, but, if the Agha could not always reward kindness, at least he never forgot it. He loved the way of life of the tribal anarchy, and deplored the rise to power of new men who had never known, and would not respect, its personal freedom and ancient code of honour. Yet even his regrets were tempered by an instinctive sense of historical proportion; and once, in a more philosophical mood, he told us:

"You know we Ghegs have exploited Albania for generations. Perhaps it is only right that the Tosks should have their turn."

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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562 may traverse the camps of belligerents with greater
628 safety than men. The terms of treaties of peace, too,
728 are often discussed by the women belonging to the hostile parties in the privacy of the harems of the chieftains. More ready, however, as a rule, are they to espouse and take part in the quarrels of their male relatives than to act as peacemakers, and, owing to their practice of carrying arms, they are always ready for a fray. Miss Mackenzie relates that, when traversing the Pass of Katchanik, her attention was directed by her escort to two Albanian women whom they chanced to meet. "Look at them," he cried, "they are women worth looking at, for well do they know how to handle a gun!"

"Are they Moslems?" asked the traveller.

"Assuredly."

"But they do not wear the yashmak."

"Not they, indeed," was the reply. "They have never worn it, and why should they? for they are fiercer and more unapproachable than men."[1]

159 Such being the character of the Albanian women,
175 it is not surprising that they have played a con-
562 siderable part in the history of their country. It was, indeed, to the indomitable energy and courageous spirit of his mother, Khamko, that Ali Pasha, the "Lion of Ioannina," owed the earlier successes that paved the way for his subsequent brilliant career. Ali, who had during his father's lifetime been a wild and intractable boy, appears at his death to have submitted with the utmost docility to the authority of his mother. This lady, who was the daughter of a

[1] *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Bey of Konitza, and connected with some of the best Tosk families, had not, until the death of her husband placed the responsibility for the well-being of the family in her hands, given any signs of the extraordinary strength of character and readiness of resource which afterwards distinguished her, qualities which were, however, sullied by an implacability of soul which only too nearly resembled that displayed by Olympias, the mother of Alexander, herself a native of Epirus.

"To my mother," said the tyrant of Ioannina on one occasion to the French Consul-General—"to my mother I owe everything, for my father left me but a mere hole (τρίνα) and a few fields. My imagination, fired by the counsels of her who had twice given me birth—for she has made me both a *man* and a *vizier*—revealed to me the secret of my destiny."[1] The hereditary enemies of the family having at once taken advantage of its head being a minor, by seizing upon some of his lands, Khamko suddenly exchanged the distaff for the sword, and gathering round her the partisans of her house, and those among her late husband's vassals who still remained faithful, tried in various skirmishes her strength against that of the enemies of her family. In these raids she was accompanied by her young son, to whom she pointed out the lands of which he had been despoiled, and the estates of the despoilers. Braving every danger, the *Aghadina*, as Khamko was called by her followers, continued to harass her enemies by open hostility or secret intrigue until she was finally taken in an

[1] See pp. 245 and 319, *Fate*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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159 175 562 628 ambuscade by the men of Gardiki and Tchormovo, together with Ali and her only daughter, Shainitza. After having been subjected to every indignity and outrage by their captors, Khamko and her children had the good fortune to be ransomed by the generosity of a Greek merchant for the sum of 22,800 piastres (£3700).

Hatred of those who had thus humiliated her took entire possession of the Aghadina's soul, and her one idea thenceforward was to train up her son as the avenger of her wrongs. With this object she commenced to instil into his mind those pernicious principles which he was only too well disposed to receive, and which may be summed up in the words [577] *Might is right*, an adage sufficiently popular among the turbulent Albanian clans. Ali's first attempt to vindicate his rights in the field was a complete failure. Having met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected, he fled from the fight, and was one of the first to re-enter Tepeleni. Khamko, furious at finding all her hopes blasted by what she deemed his cowardice, loaded him with reproaches, and thrusting her distaff into his hand, added, "Go, coward, and spin with the women in the harem; thou art fitter for that than for the career of arms!" Ali's fortunes indeed fluctuated for some time between success and failure. While he was absent on a campaign, Khamko found herself on her death-bed, and, though repeated and urgent messages were despatched to him, she died before he could arrive. The Aghadina in her will bequeathed to her son and daughter the task of immo- [789] lating to her *manes* the inhabitants of Gardiki and Tchormovo, at whose hands they had suffered such

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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unpardonable indignities, and over her dead body the brother and sister swore to utterly exterminate her enemies.

Some years later Shainitza was grieving for the death of her favourite son, Aden Bey. So wild was her sorrow that she smashed with a hammer all his and her own diamond ornaments, burnt all her cashmeres and valuable furs, and forced his young widow to lie on straw mats spread on the ground instead of on a bed. The mirrors and ornaments of her serail were also destroyed, its windows were by her order painted black,[1] and everything which in any way recalled joy or happiness was banished from the palace. Roused from this abandonment of grief by the news of the fall of Gardiki,[2] she wrote to Ali reminding him of the oath they had sworn together over their mother's corpse, and of her wrongs and theirs, and urged him to have no mercy on the inhabitants of that town. "As for me," she added in conclusion, "it is only on cushions stuffed with the hair of the women of Gardiki that Shainitza will henceforward repose!"

Faithfully was the terrible oath, sworn to the dead, kept both by brother and sister. The chief men of Gardiki, to the number of some three hundred, induced by fair promises to meet Ali at the Khan of Valieré, were there ruthlessly massacred by the Christian troops under his Greek lieutenant, Thanasé

[1] See p. 265; and compare similar custom in folk-tale, p. 315.

[2] In 1802. A Greek folk-song graphically describes the gallant defence made by this town, which was taken by one of Ali's lieutenants, "Yousóuf the Arab" (*Greek Folk-songs*, p. 234).

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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175 Vaghia,[1] not one escaping. Shainitza caused the town
159 to be razed to the ground, and, after cutting off the
[669] hair of the women with every insult which she could heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove them forth with their children to the mountains, menacing any with a like doom who should venture to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath. The traveller passing through the valley of Drynopolis may to this day see in the wall of the khan the tablet which records, in letters of gold, the number of the dead and the date of their sacrifice to the *manes* of the mother and the fury of the sister of the Vizier of Ioannina.

[428] In a codicil to her will, Khamko directed that a *hadji*, or pilgrim, should be despatched on her part to lay offerings on the tomb of the Prophet, and pray there for the repose of her soul. Such pilgrimages
788 and offerings may, however, only be made when the expenses are defrayed with money lawfully and honestly acquired. And as it was found on inquiry into the estate of the late Veli Bey, Ali's ancestor, that the property to be sold for this purpose had been taken by force or fraud from a Christian, the pilgrim-
175 age was disallowed by the religious authorities.
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562 Such extreme ferocity of disposition as that mani-
[152] fested by Khamko and Shainitza is, however, exceptional among Albanian women, and even in Ali Pasha's

[1] The Greek poet, Aristotle Valaorites, has made Thanasé Vaghia the subject of one of his most striking poems, Ὁ βρυκόλακας, "The Vampire," a translation of which may be found in my *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 121. The tragedy of Ἡ κυρὰ φροσύνη, "The Lady Phrosyne," by the same writer, part of which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica, gives a vivid picture of Ali Pasha and his Court.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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own household was one whose character stands out in striking contrast to theirs. This was the Vizier's favourite wife, Emineh, the daughter of the Pasha of Delvino, a chieftain whose ruthless cruelty had gained for him the surname of the Tiger, but who had fallen a victim to Ali's ambition. In the dirges sung by the Liaps on the death of her husband, Emineh is described as "the gentle hind of Mount Pelagos," and her sympathy for the victims of the Vizier's rancour brought about her untimely and tragical end.

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When the news arrived at Ioannina of the fall of Souli, Emineh, touched with the story of their heroism, fell at the Vizier's feet and implored his clemency on their behalf. "O Effendi!" she cried, clasping his knees, "deign to listen to thy most devoted slave, and be not insensible to her tears! Your Fate has warned me in a dream that it will be well for you if you spare the Souliotes!"

"The *Souliotes!*" exclaimed the Vizier, in a voice of thunder—"the *Souliotes!* Darest thou intercede for my worst enemies and not tremble for thyself?"

"Effendi," replied the brave woman, rising with dignified firmness—"Effendi, remember that I am the daughter of a Pasha. Yes, I dare intercede for them, and, moreover, dare to tell thee that their blood, and the blood of my unhappy father, which thou hast shed whilst I was yet a child, will be upon thy head!"

"And upon thine also," replied the Vizier, beside himself with fury. Drawing from his girdle a pistol, he discharged it at his wife, who, falling in a swoon, was carried by her slaves into the haremlik. Ali, think-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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159 ing he had killed her, and overcome with grief and
175 remorse, shut himself up in his most private apart-
562 ments until he was informed by his physician that Emineh was not even wounded, but had merely fainted from emotion. His mind thus relieved, Ali shed tears, and, with all his tenderness for his favourite wife revived, proceeded to her apartment. Admittance being from fear refused him, he entered the chamber by force. The noise, however, and the sight of the tyrant, gave to the tender Emineh a shock which proved fatal, and she expired during the night in a state of delirium.

The death of Emineh was a terrible shock also to her murderer. Her memory perpetually haunted him, whether at the festal board or in the council chamber, and, above all, in the silent watches of the night. He feared to be left alone, and was frequently heard by his pages to start up, and exclaim: "Emineh! it is she!—it is she! Save me from her vengeance!" Years later, when the Dervish Sheikh, Youssouf, while boldly reproving the Vizier for his crimes and cruelties, pointed out from the window the tomb of the murdered Emineh, he was interrupted by Ali, who exclaimed with tears: "Stop, stop, my father! Thou hast named the name of Emineh; overwhelm me not with the weight of thy maledictions!"

628 An account of the Albanian women would hardly
578 be complete without some mention of the terrible blood-feuds (*Ram de Ghiak*), which, though often originating in the most trifling causes, result in great loss of life, and are frequently handed down from generation to generation. Sometimes these feuds

665 A new generation of political leaders now came forward[1] many of whom were to play an important part in this story. In the South, the Orthodox Bishop Fan Noli, with a group of returned emigrants from the United States, formed a party professing Radical principles. He met with some support, especially among the landless Orthodox peasantry, but his movement suffered from the difficulties of applying advanced Western political theories to tribal or feudal communities where the Ottoman tradition of government still prevailed. The Moslems of the South also formed a party, to which most of the Tosk beys adhered. Prominent among its leaders were Ali Klissura, Midhat Frasheri, and Mehdi Frasheri, who represented perhaps the most enlightened element among the Albanians, combining a Western education with practical experience of administration in the Ottoman civil service. Mehdi Frasheri indeed had been Governor of Jerusalem under the Turks, and was later to surprise his colleagues in the League of Nations Assembly by a speech on the Palestine Mandate such as they had scarcely expected from the Albanian delegate. In the North there were tribal factions rather than political parties. The leader of the Catholics was Jon Marko Joni, who had become Captain of the Mirdita in succession to Prenk Bib Doda and was for a time the protagonist of a Serbian inspired plan for the creation of an autonomous Mirdite Republic. Bairam Bey Tsuri and Tsena Bey Kryeziu, two hot-tempered guerilla leaders, contended for supremacy among the Moslem clans of the north-east, while Mustafa Kruya and Sufi Elezi
643 were paramount in Kruya and in Dibra. But the strongest man in the country, drawing his power, like Essad Pasha before him, from the fighting men of Mati and the rich landowners of Central Albania, was Ahmet Bey Zog.

643 Ahmet Zog was born in 1895 of a family of Mati Beys with
● 159 a long tradition of distinguished service to the Ottoman Empire. When he was but a boy his grandfather, Jemal Pasha, conspired with Marshal Rejeb Pasha to carve out an independent Albanian kingdom from the ruin of Turkish power in Europe. The Marshal was at the time in command of the Turkish armies in Tripoli and planned to sail to Albania with his best troops as soon as Jemal Pasha should raise the standard of revolt. But

1 [After Paris Peace Conference, 1920 -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

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Sultan Abdul Hamid, sitting in the Yildiz at the centre of his web of spies, got wind of the conspiracy. He dared not recall Rejeb Pasha or order his arrest; for he knew that the African army was loyal to the Marshal, and feared that such a move might provoke the very revolt which he wished to prevent. Instead he simulated a political crisis, and, dismissing his Divan, offered the Ministry of War to Rejeb. The Marshal accepted, confident that the secret of his conspiracy was well kept, and thinking perhaps that he could carry out his plans the more easily, once in control of the whole military machine of the Empire. He accordingly repaired to Stamboul, and, on his arrival, was summoned to an audience at the Yildiz. The Imperial Guard, an Albanian unit, was drawn up in his honour; and if he came with misgivings they must have been dispelled by the marks of confidence and affection with which the Sultan received him. From the Imperial presence Rejeb Pasha drove back to the capital and proceeded to the Ministry of War to take up his new functions. He was shown into his office, where obsequious secretaries lit his cigarette and brought him a cup of coffee. Of it he drank and died: the Sultan's agents had poisoned it.

The conspiracy was scotched, but it would have been no easy task for the Turkish authorities to have arrested Jemal Pasha Zog among the mountaineers of Mati. The Sultan, however, judged it politic to forget, and was content to have young Ahmed Zog brought to Stamboul as a hostage for his grandfather's loyalty. The old ruler took a liking to the boy and had him brought up in the palace and educated at the officers' school in the Galata Saray. He sent him for his holidays to Macedonia, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and Egypt — but never to his home — and even made him for a time one of his A.D.C.s. Thus at an early age Zog absorbed the principles of Oriental government, and learned from its greatest living exponent the art of playing off his enemies one against another.

When the Young Turks deposed the Sultan, Zog escaped through Macedonia to his home in Mati. He was still a mere boy, but he led his clansmen against the Serbs during the Balkan Wars, and on one occasion raided as far as the suburbs

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of Skoplje. In the first World War he made common cause with the Austrians, and, thanks to his influence in Mati, was made a colonel in the Albanian forces formed under their aegis. It was not long, however, before an incident, illustrative of the man's character, brought him into conflict with his allies. It had originally been agreed that the Albanian forces should march under their own national flag, but the Austrian authorities presently issued an order that they should fly instead the colours of the Dual Monarchy. Three Albanian officers resisted the change and were shot on the order of an over-zealous Austrian colonel. When Zog heard of their deaths, he arrested the first three Austrian officers he could lay hands on, and had them executed in reprisal. This action confronted the Austrian general commanding in Albania with a delicate problem: he could hardly overlook such a gesture of defiance, yet he feared to proceed against Zog lest by so doing he should alienate the men of Mati and other Albanians friendly to Austria. In the end the order concerning the colours was rescinded, and Zog was posted to the Imperial Headquarters: an appointment which amounted in practice to honourable confinement in Vienna. There he was kindly received by the old Emperor, and once again internment gave him the chance to learn something of the ways of another great Empire which had long played a leading part in the Balkans. Constantinople and Vienna were not, perhaps, bad schools for a future ruler of Albania.

As soon as the war was over, Zog returned to Albania and set about reorganising his faction. Despite his youth — he was only twenty-five in 1920 — he soon became the strongest single influence in the land and was the real power either in, or behind, the many governments that followed one another up to 1924. His authority derived from the rifles of the Gheg tribesmen and the money-bags of the Gheg *beys*; and it would seem that, in return for their support, he assigned to them a lavish share in the fruits of power. The preference thus shown to the Ghegs was a natural cause of discontent among the Tosks and combined with personal jealousies to create a revolutionary situation. Bishop Fan Noli joined forces with Ali Klissura and the

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643 Tosk *beys*, and won the support of Mustafa Kruya, the cunning
669 Gheg chieftain who swayed Kruya province. With considerable
[159] skill they isolated Zog from his supporters, and in 1924 seized power by insurrection and drove him across the border into Yugoslavia.

The conflict between Zog and Fan Noli has sometimes been characterised as a struggle for power between "conservatives" and "progressives"; but in this, as in almost all Albanian revolts, the division between the contending parties was one of geography and faction rather than of opinion or class. Much was offered to the masses in the programmes of both sides, but the practice in either case redounded chiefly to the advantage of the men in power. It will perhaps be sufficient comment on the policies of the Fan Noli regime to record the Bishop's own verdict on the causes of his failure: "By insisting on the agrarian reforms", he afterwards wrote, "I aroused the wrath of the landed aristocracy: by failing to carry them out I lost the support of the peasant masses".[1]

Zog meanwhile had been joined in Belgrade by Tsena Bey Kryeziu, the head of a powerful Jakova clan which could boast of having given fourteen Pashas to the Ottoman Empire. Tsena had a numerous following among the Albanians on both sides of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, as well as friends in high places in Belgrade. He now made common cause with Zog, and together they plotted a counter-revolution. Zog rallied round him a group of Albanian *émigrés*, and with their help prepared the tribes inside Albania for a rising. Tsena meanwhile, with the approval of the Yugoslav authorities, raised and trained an army of Kossovars, who were to form the spearhead of the revolt. The Yugoslav Government abetted the conspiracy as a means of increasing their influence in Albania: they supplied Zog and Tsena with money and with arms, and stiffened their tribal levies with veterans from General Wrangel's White Russian army, which was then concentrated in Yugoslavia. The Powers closed their eyes to these unneighbourly proceedings, and, in December of 1924, Zog and Tsena marched into Albania at the head of their Kossovar and Russian troops.

[1] Quoted by J. Swire in *Albania: the Rise of a Kingdom*, p. 444.

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*669 648 by family ties to the tribesmen across the border and were thus exceptionally placed to smuggle arms, agents, or propaganda into Albania. Moreover, a force of Kossovars acting as the spearhead of the rising would not be resisted as an invasion but fraternally acclaimed as a liberating army. The support of the Kossovars were thus essential to our plans, but most of their leaders inclined towards the Axis Powers, who had promised to unite the region to Albania. Gani alone supported the Allies, so that the Kryeziu family became the natural rallying point for our movement. Indeed, long before we had come on to the scene, Gani had taken steps to organise those Albanians who had taken refuge in Yugoslavia in 1939 from the Italians. In response to Italian pressure, most of them had been confined to remote villages of Bosnia and Voivodina, but Gani provided for their needs and interceded in Belgrade on their behalf. The majority of these exiles were army officers and monarchists, and, although they were glad of Gani's help and money, they were naturally suspicious of the Kryezius as enemies of the King. Gani therefore suggested that, to make sure of their wholehearted support, we should send to Turkey for Abas Kupi, the defender of Durazzo and the most popular of the monarchist leaders.

186 159 Abas Agha Kupi, or Bazi Sani as the tribesmen called him, could neither read nor write: indeed only with difficulty could he sign his name. Born in the nineties, he was, like Skanderbeg, a native of Kruya, where his father had been a respected member of the Bektashi community. One of his uncles had been a passionate Albanian nationalist and had fired the boy's imagination by tales of Turkish prisons and guerilla war. One day, when young Abas was but fifteen years old, nationalist insurgents seized Kruya and hoisted Skanderbeg's flag — the black eagles on the red ground — upon the castle tower. The boy went out to join them, but they told him that he was too young to fight and sent him home in tears. A few days later the town was reoccupied by "loyalist" troops under Essad Pasha, who at once gave orders to pull down the offending flag and restore the Star and Crescent. A soldier climbed on to the tower to carry out the order, but young Abas snatched up his

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father's rifle and shot the man dead. Astonishment or sympathy covered his escape; and he fled to the mountains to hide from Essad's revenge. The Pasha, however, was impressed by the boy's daring, and still more by the success with which he evaded or repelled his pursuers. He resolved to make use of him; paid the blood money for the soldier's death; and admitted Abas to his following. The young man thus became one of the "Essadist" leaders, and during the first World War raised a guerilla band with which he harassed the communications of the Austrian army. In the troubled times which followed the war he took sides with Mustafa Kruya against Zog and was declared an outlaw by the Tirana Government. For two years he defied the Zogist forces in the mountains of Kruya, until in 1924 Fan Noli and Mustafa drove Zog into exile and themselves seized power. Abas Kupi had set great hopes on the new regime, but they were disappointed; and when Zog and Tsena in their turn attacked the Government he refused to come to its help. Instead he remained in Kruya, a spectator of the civil war.

Zog had learnt to respect this illiterate guerilla genius, and, in the hopes that the poacher might turn gamekeeper, offered him the command of the Kruya region. Abas Kupi accepted and from that time became Zog's devoted lieutenant; nor were their relations darkened by the jealousy which, in politics, so often destroys the friendships of able men. Abas Kupi recognised that his ignorance barred him from the highest offices; and the king felt safe to reward the subject without fear of raising the rival. In Kruya, however, Abas ruled as dictator, untrammelled by the control of the Central Government. His administration was popular; and he preserved an exceptional degree of law and order in the district, mainly thanks to a private intelligence service, so widespread in its ramifications that he was often able to restrain potential malefactors by disclosing foreknowledge of their designs. It is said that, during the celebrations which attended the King's marriage, two visiting dignitaries — tribal chiefs from the North — were robbed in a Tirana café. Abas Kupi was informed and at once summoned the chief pickpockets of the city to his office. Within half an

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Fear stalked through the camp in these last days, but Abas Kupi remained calm to the end. His kindness to us was unfailing; and never by word nor deed did he betray any sign of resentment against his treatment by the British Command. He understood that we were his friends, and always spoke of "our defeat" as if to show that he still identified us with his cause. We had come to know him well during these seven months in which we had so often broken bread together and slept under the same roof, and our respect for him had only grown with intimacy. No man can be great from morning until night, but there was in Abas Kupi a power of leadership, a natural wisdom, and a generous temper which endured the searching test of daily scrutiny. Courage, cunning, energy, and patience are necessary qualities in a guerilla leader, but Abas Kupi's peculiar genius lay in his skill in manipulating men, and in the natural pragmatism of his outlook. He seemed to know just how far each man could be used, and had reduced to a fine art the methods of making others serve his purposes. He would appeal with more than feminine intuition to whatever was strongest or weakest in each individual; and so personal was his technique in these matters that he would never speak with more than one man at a time. Trusting seldom, he could seldom be betrayed; but, if suspicion prevented him from delegating authority, his achievements were perhaps the more remarkable in that he was alone the indispensable heart and nerve-centre of an otherwise invertebrate movement.

He might understand by intuition; he judged only by results; and indeed it often seemed to us that he was deaf to argument and blind to a man's intentions. Such objectivity was proof alike against the sentimental appeal of a demagogue, the scrupulous hesitations of a moralist, or the fine-spun controversies of professional politicians. It was perhaps the real secret of his power, and may explain how an illiterate and primitive tribesman could command the support of intellectuals and could defeat, through four long years, the wiles of a Mustafa Kruya and the casuistry of the missionaries of the Comintern. The soundest calculation, however, proceeds in the last analysis from some act of faith; and trust in British

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power was the first article in the Agha's creed. His desperate situation might suggest that he had been mistaken, yet he still believed that his defeat was only a temporary reverse.

In the long hours of waiting we spoke together more freely than in the past, and our conversations ranged beyond the daily problems of war and politics. The Agha's philosophy was simple and earthbound, and he told me once: "We make our own heaven or hell here, in this world." He regarded power as the greatest driving force in men's lives; for experience had taught him that its possession was the necessary condition of personal freedom and of all good or evil action. In the bitterness of defeat he blamed the weakness of his allies more than the malice of his enemies, but showed the same objectivity in his opinion of people as in his judgment of affairs. A deep distrust of human nature led him to view opponents and supporters with the same detachment, and to judge them solely by their proven records, or their qualities of companionship. Enver Hoja he despised as "a fool", but he spoke with respect of Ymer Dyshnitsa and Seifullah Maleshova, and always referred to Mustafa Jinishi as "my friend". Likewise he spoke with sympathy of Mustafa Kruya, his would-be murderer, and we were once astonished to hear him call Mark Joni Markai "a good boy". As a leader he deplored the fatal suppleness of the Ballist chiefs, but as an ignorant man he bowed before their erudition. He smiled at Muharrem's vanity, and, if his affection for Gani might sometimes seem tinged with jealousy, he often told us of the "brotherly kindness" with which Gani had received him in Belgrade. Gratitude is rare in politics, but, if the Agha could not always reward kindness, at least he never forgot it. He loved the way of life of the tribal anarchy, and deplored the rise to power of new men who had never known, and would not respect, its personal freedom and ancient code of honour. Yet even his regrets were tempered by an instinctive sense of historical proportion; and once, in a more philosophical mood, he told us:

"You know we Ghegs have exploited Albania for generations. Perhaps it is only right that the Tosks should have their turn."

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

nation, which is the greatest, could put into the field more than 15,000 men on horseback, well fitted to wage war in the manner of their country, valiant and good fighters. And the said nations, both Latins and Abbanois, are harshly oppressed under the intolerable and very hard servitude of the most hateful and abominable lordship of the Slavs. Indeed, they are a downtrodden people; their clergy is lowered and humbled; their bishops and abbots often imprisoned; their nobles disinherited and imprisoned; their churches, both cathedrals and collegiate, are dispersed and deprived of power; their monasteries and priories lost and destroyed. They, one and all, would think to consecrate their hands in the blood of the said Slavs if they saw coming a Prince of France who would be their leader and chief against the said Slavs, the enemies of truth and of our faith. One thousand French horse and five or six infantry, along with the said Abbanois and Latins, could conquer at their ease the whole of this Kingdom of Rassie, such as it is."

This passage, written almost at the height of Serb power, shows clearly that the Serb conqueror had failed to destroy the Albanian sense of nationality, and failed to force the Serbian Orthodox Church upon the people; and that there was a very large Albanophone population with a Catholic clergy of its own. The bishoprics of Antivari, Scutari, Sappa, and Pulati still exist, and have survived both Serb and Turk. Into this reserve of Albanian nationality the refugees from the surrounding districts fled when the Turks advanced. The mountain population, then as now, was no doubt scattered in isolated houses or family groups of several houses on the mountain pastures, and not gathered into towns or villages. They formed "katuns." That the population was numerous is shown by the many ecclesiastical and political documents, correspondence with the Vatican, Venice, and Ragusa, and old Serbian archives. Thus in 1348 Tsar Stefan Dushan gives to the monastery he is founding at Prizren nine Albanian "katuns" near Prizren, the said Albanians to give serf labour to the monastery. He gives also some land in Upper Pulati, together with its inhabitants. Several still existing place-names are mentioned: Shikje, Krue e Madhe (the great spring of water), and Sakati. "The existing Catholic clergy at Shikje who have vineyards" are to pay a tribute of wine to the monastery (an Orthodox one), and so are certain other districts. The people of Lower Pulati are to pay tribute of 100,000 silk cocoons. Several mills are handed to the monastery and in one case the miller, Zan, and his brethren are mentioned. No one may erect a mill on Church land, under penalty of a fine and loss of the mill. (The Church alone has the right to grind corn. This would give it immense power.) Large districts of Lower Pulati are given to the Serb Church, including the

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Population and Religion

ALBANIA, according to the official census of May 15, 1930, has a population of 1,003,097, of whom 92 % are of Albanian race. Those living north of the Shkumbi line are Ghegs and those to the south are Tosks. The rest of 8% being Vlachs, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, Gypsies, etc. About 1,250,000 Albanians are living in foreign countries, principally in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Turkey, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Some 69% of the total population are Moslems; about 10% chiefly in the north, are Roman Catholics; another 20% (approximately) particularly in the south, belong to the Albanian Orthodox Church. There are about one hundred Hebrews living in Albania.

The Moslems are in the majority in all prefectures except in that of Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra), where the Orthodox are predominant, and that of Scutari (Shkodra), where the Catholics are in the majority. In

000 Dinaric Europeans should not differ from other Europeans, or Dinaric American Indians from other American Indians, etc., in unaffected features, such as skin, hair, and eye color, hair form, hair distribution, etc.

In "The Races of Europe," I pointed out that all over central Europe different populations had been experiencing a steady rise in the cephalic index from about the 6th century A.D. onward. I attributed this to the re-emergence of genetic elements derived from pre-Neolithic populations. As farmers and herdsmen penetrated Europe, the hunters and gatherers withdrew to the forests and mountains. Eventually the latter were assimilated as a socially submerged element in the general population. The historic increase in brachycephaly was thus due to the selective value of that particular head form as their conquerors killed themselves off in war or were selectively reduced by emigration.

Weidenreich has recently taken the position that brachycephalization is a progressive evolutionary step. He claims that it produces a more efficient container for the brain than a long, narrow skull; that a round head is best suited for the requirements of the erect posture.[5] Whether or not this thesis is mechanically correct, Weidenreich has done a service in lending his support to the manifest conclusion that European brachycephaly is endemic and not of recent derivation from other continents. That in an isolated population it may be dominant is one of our present subjects of investigation.

131 161 The present material is suited for such a study. The land of the tribal Ghegs is a small country, little more than 3500 miles square. Its population probably runs to about 250,000, of whom 90,000 may be Catholics and 160,000 Moslems.* In 1930 we were told that the population of Mirdita was about 11,000—all Catholic; that of Puka 14,000, of whom 8000 were Moslems and 6000 Catholics. These figures are

[5] Weidenreich, 1945.

* Since this monograph was written it has become fashionable in America to employ the more correct form, *Muslim*. It would have been pleasant if this change could have been made here and throughout the text. However, so much time has been spent, and so many corrections have been made, that I beg the readers' indulgence for retaining the *o* and *e* in place

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4 [contin. on p 4b-- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

131 probably too low. The 1927 census reported
161 814,485 persons in Albania; the 1930 census raised the figure to 1,003,124, of whom 104,184 were Catholics. The 1930 census gives the population density for Albania as 36.5 per square kilometer, or 102 per square mile. The mountain Gheg country, newly divided into 3 provinces without regard to tribal boundaries, was said to have 100 inhabitants per square mile in Dibra province, 75 in Scutari province, and 64 in Kossovo province.

In 1930 the land area of Albania was 10,600 square miles. With a population of 1,003,124 the density was thus 94 per square mile, not 102. If we subtract 8 from each of the other figures, we obtain the following corrections: Dibra—92, Scutari—67, Kossovo—56. This can be checked by means of the Catholic figures. Of the 104,000 Catholics at least 14,000 live in cities, leaving no more than 90,000 on tribal lands. Tribal lands exclusively Catholic cover ca. 1225 square miles; those occupied by Catholics and Moslems together about 440 square miles. Thus 1450 square miles may be considered Catholic country, and with a population of 90,000 this yields 62 persons per square mile, which accords with the corrected census figure. Striking a point between the Dibra and Kossovo figures we obtain about 70 per square mile for Moslem lands, which cover about 2300 square miles. This yields a population of about 160,000. One hundred and sixty plus 90 equals 250. Hence our estimate of a total Gheg population of 250,000.[6]

124 Our series of nearly 1100 men may represent one per cent of the adult male total, a large sample, compared to other national surveys of equal detail. It was drawn from all tribes and from every part of each tribe. It includes chief elders, gendarmes, farmers, what artisans there are, *hodjas*, and in short a complete cross section of the population, both regionally in most tribes, and in regard to differentiations based on rank and occupation. We did not measure

of *u* and *i*. Actually, Arabic vowels are few, rudimentary, and unindicated in ordinary writing. Semantically, they are of less importance than in Turkish, whence the form *Moslem*, and it was the Turks who converted the seventy per cent of the Albanians who are Muslims. Few of them, I suspect, will object to the book on these grounds.

[6] Almagià, 1932; *Arbenia*, June 1, 1930, for census figures; *National Catholic Almanac*, 1946, p. 93.

854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of latha—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. Marriage

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

Albania

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583
rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162
women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585
bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834
important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581
one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609
days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should
cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585
born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842
it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman
bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589
married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562
has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to
do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right
to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt
twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836
ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842
priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585
betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal,
and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage."
"They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586
miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away.
In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great
trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31,
1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage."
And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584
and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577
and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each
other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the
relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted,
and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626
the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585
it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be
forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the
Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or
immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states
that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Population and Religion

ALBANIA, according to the official census of May 15, 1930, has a population of 1,003,097, of whom 92 % are of Albanian race. Those living north of the Shkumbi line are Ghegs and those to the south are Tosks. The rest of 8% being Vlachs, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, Gypsies, etc. About 1,250,000 Albanians are living in foreign countries, principally in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Turkey, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Some 69% of the total population are Moslems; about 10% chiefly in the north, are Roman Catholics; another 20% (approximately) particularly in the south, belong to the Albanian Orthodox Church. There are about one hundred Hebrews living in Albania.

The Moslems are in the majority in all prefectures except in that of Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra), where the Orthodox are predominant, and that of Scutari (Shkodra), where the Catholics are in the majority. In

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

162 Korça, Berat and Vlona, the Orthodox are also numerous.

795 The Albanian Orthodox Church came into existence in 1922, after the Congress of Berat, with the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople. This Church has four metropolitans: Durazzo, Berat, Argyrocastro and Korça. The Roman Catholic Apostolic Delegate and Archbishop are at Scutari, and there are five Catholic bishoprics scattered throughout the country.

It is known that Christianity came early to Albania for St. Paul says, "Round about Illyria have I fully preached the Gospel of Christ." The Albanians claim him as the first missionary among them.

771 Although religion is a strong force with the Albanians, it does not interfere with their patriotism and powerful nationalism. In the face of a demand on their loyalty Moslem, Roman Catholic and Albanian Orthodox become brothers in one cause.

It can be said that Albania is the only country in Europe where there is no religious dissension; they have always remained united at every period of their national history.

POPULATION AND RELIGION

771 Mixed marriages are common in spite of the vast differences between Moslems and Christians.

162 361 504 Tirana, the capital, has about 35,000 inhabitants, Durazzo (Durrës), the main port of Albania, has 9,739, Valona (Vlona), second important port of Albania, 9,110, Elbasan 13,800, Scutari (Shkodra) 29,209, Argyrocastro (Gjinokastra) 12,500, Korça 25,000, Berat 10,500, Pogradec 3,400, Leskovik 2,500, Permet 3,000, Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the third port of Albania, 2,000, Delvina 4,000, Fier 3,700, Kruja, Kukës, Prizren Peshkopi, Dibër, Libohova, Kavaja, Lesh, Butrinto, Lushnja, Llixha, etc., are also well populated. San Giovanni di Medua is the fourth port of Albania. Butrinto Bay is also a harbour, measuring about a mile by 1,300 yards and has very good anchorage in 14 and 16 fathoms.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Their wives and mothers, like women generally, are 581
well up in all the degrees of kinship and descent, and
the preliminaries of betrothals are usually settled by
them in the harem before they are submitted to the
head of the family and communicated to the parties
most nearly interested. Children are frequently 582
betrothed before they are ten years of age, and 584
occasionally while still in the cradle. In such cases, [583]
however, the arrangement is kept secret from the
couple until the young man is in a position to marry.
This usage is intended to prevent the Albanian
youths marrying in the towns to which they resort
for employment. A refusal on the part of a young 626
man to fulfil an engagement made for him by his 584
parents, would inevitably result not only in a vendetta
with the relatives of the rejected bride, but in social
ostracism. Such cases are, however, extremely rare,
for, as the bridegroom elect has, as a rule, never beheld
the bride chosen for him, he can have no reason for
refusing to marry her. In such an eventuality 582
national usage decrees that the younger brothers and
sisters of the maiden may not marry until her matri-
monial affairs are satisfactorily settled.

Women in Albania being less numerous than men, 583
it is not customary to require a portion with the [162]
bride, who is, on the contrary, as among the Vlachs
and Bulgarians, practically purchased from her father
or brothers for a sum of money which varies accord-
ing to the wealth and standing of the respective
families. The parents of the maiden, however, be-
sides providing the materials for her trousseau,
supply her with various articles of jewellery and a

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

comed Turkish protection against the Slavs and Greeks who 642
threatened them on every side. It resulted rather from the jealousies of the Powers; and it was their representatives who determined the territories of the new state with such singular disregard for economic and ethnological considerations that they left as many Albanians outside the boundaries of Albania as within them.

The total number of Albanians has been generally com- [162]
puted at some two millions. Of these, upwards of one million lived within the frontiers which were proposed by the Ambassadors' Conference in 1913, ratified in 1926, and once more restored in 1945. Of the remainder, more than six hundred thousand inhabited the Kossovo, while the others were scattered in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Epirus. The amputa- [243]
tion of the Kossovo was a heavy loss to the new state; for the region was the natural granary of the northern provinces, and the standard of living of the Ghegs rose or fell according as they were allowed or denied free access to it.

The economic and social structure of the Ghegs, or Northern 184
Albanians, was one of tribal anarchy, save in the coastal plain 621
and the Kossovo, where there were feudal estates. Islam and [162]
Roman Catholicism were the accepted religions: the Moslems inhabiting Central and North-eastern Albania with the Kossovo, the Catholics Mirdita and the inaccessible ranges of the north-west. A way of life near to the tribal system of the Ghegs still survived in the mountains of Southern Albania, but the Tosk tribes had never wholly recovered from the repressions of Ali the Lion and had increasingly disintegrated into communities of landowning peasants. The broad plains of the South, however, remained divided into feudal estates, owned by an Ottomanised ruling class and worked in part by an Orthodox Christian peasantry. Thus, while the distinction between Moslems and Catholics was one of geography and history, the Catholics being those Albanians whom the Turks had never subdued, that between Moslems and Orthodox was one rather of class and of cash.

It was scarcely to be expected that a conference of ambassa- 578
dors would quickly set up a strong state among a people divided 642

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[128] 101 towns along the Serbo-Albanian border which served as an economic outlet for both peoples.

This ethnic border is far from clear-cut. Several whole tribes of Ghegs live on the Kossovo plain, along with villages of Serbs. The ancestors of these Lowland Ghegs migrated there in the time of the Turks, after the defeat of the Tzar Dushan. These displaced Ghegs are probably descended from the highland tribes, but it would take much work to establish their exact relationships. We were unable to measure more than a few of them, and therefore shall not consider them in this study.

101 ● 162 The Lowland Ghegs of Albania, who equally eluded our calipers, occupy the country from the tribal regions eastward to the Adriatic and southward to the river Shkumbi, the traditional frontier between Ghegnia and Toskeria. Many of the Tosks are Greek Orthodox Christians. The Ghegs who are Christians are Roman Catholics. The majority of both divisions is Moslem. The most solidly Moslem part of Albania is the central region, in both Ghegnia and Toskeria, where the landscape is the least rugged. Both brands of Christianity lived through the Turkish regime most successfully in the mountains. In the south, beside the Tosks, are thousands of Vlachs—shepherds speaking Rumanian as their native tongue—and Bulgars. The Epirote borderland cuts through an area where Greek and Albanian villages overlap, causing trouble.

Throughout Albania one finds camps of nomadic gypsies, living by their traditional trades of metal-working, fortune-telling, horse-trading, etc. In the larger cities there is always a gypsy quarter, whose inhabitants also serve as musicians and prostitutes. In the Gheg country, however, there is no room for gypsy camps or quarters, and the only gypsies which I saw or heard of there were a single individual in Bicaj, and another in Kukës, both in the tribe of Luma.

[197] subdivisions. The official language of Albania is based on the southern Gheg dialect spoken in the city of Elbasan.

[author must mean westward. - Analyst]

RITUAL LIFE

[124] FORTY-TWO per cent of our series was recorded as Catholic, and the rest, except
•162 for one man,[1] as Moslem. These figures reflect the approximate proportions of the 2 faiths in Ghegnia. Their territorial distribution is shown on figure 3. All of Mirdita, all of Dukagin, about half of Malsia e Madhe, most of Zadrima, and some *bairaks* of Mati, Puka, and Malsia e Jakovës are Catholic. Catholics occupy on the whole the least accessible areas, and those closest to Rome. Moslems occupy those nearest the direction of Istanbul, along the main roads, and in the vicinity of the larger towns.

795 While Islam is but 4 centuries old in Al-
793 bania, Catholicism has been there at least 4 times as long. During the last 12 centuries many changes have taken place in the number and location of bishoprics and parishes, and in the number of communicants. At the time of our study, there was a bishop in Zadrima, to whom the parish priests of Mirdita reported; another took care of the territory north of the Drin. Some of the priests, like Father Krasnichi whom we visited in Mirdita, were native Albanians trained in Rome, others Austrians, Germans, or Italians. All were men of physical stamina and courage, for theirs was a difficult and rigorous assignment. Some were
[792] Franciscans. In Zadrima, near the bishop's residence, was a nunnery with about a dozen inhabitants.

795 Many of the Moslems of northern Albania belong to an extremely heterodox brotherhood, that of the Bektashi. The tomb of the founder of the order lies in the inner recess of a long cave, really an ancient sandstone quarry, in the cliff outside the city of Cairo. His successor lives in a house at the entrance to the cave. The head of the order and all of his henchmen in residence are Albanians. The reason for this curious circumstance is that the Khedivial family of Egypt was originally Albanian, and they brought their spiritual chief, with the coffins

[1] Both parents came from Dibra. He was Greek Orthodox, how or why I could not discover.

[See cat 116, p. 35c--Analyst]

795 of his predecessors, to Cairo with them. Although for two generations the royal family has abjured the Bektashi tenets and worshipped according to Hanafi rites, the shrine and its occupants remain. Young men who wish to become dervishes go, if they are able, to Cairo,

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FIG. 3. Territorial distribution of religions.

[191] and receive their instruction at the central shrine. That is why many of the dervishes in Ghegnia spoke Arabic, and had some knowl-
[192] edge of other Moslem countries. Besides the village dervishes, the Bektashis have a number of monasteries, located in Has and Malsia e Jakovës. We measured the abbot of one of them, who was a Has man.

142 transportation of soft bread from town baker-
*128 ies to the villages? I leave the answer to this question to the experts in the dental field.

BITE AND GEOGRAPHY

162 Table 18* gives the tribal distribution of bite
142 types. In this feature the tribes vary greatly,
*128 and some of the differences are highly significant, as for example that between Mirdita and Luma in edge-to-edge, which runs to 6.48 times p.e. Mirdita is by far strongest in edge-to-edge, which seems in general to go with the

* [See cat 116, p.82a -- Analyst]

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Table 18: Bite.

Tribal Distribution of Types

	Total	Under #	Under %	Edge-to-Edge #	Edge-to-Edge %	Slightly Over #	Slightly Over %	Marked-Over #	Marked-Over %	Unknown #	Unknown %
Total Series	1067	14		524		480		10		39	
MeM	105	2	1.90	56	53.33	43	40.95	0		4	3.81
Duk	106	0		60	56.60	46	43.40	0		0	
MeJ	104	2	1.92	35	33.65	67	64.42	0		0	
Has	114	3	2.63	73	64.04	30	26.32	1	.88	7	6.14
Lum	109	1	.92	31	28.44	68	62.39	4	3.67	5	4.59
Puk	102	4	3.92	37	36.27	59	57.84	1	.98	1	.98
Mir	101	2	1.98	70	69.31	19	18.81	2	1.98	8	7.92
Zad	105	0		49	46.67	51	48.57	0		5	4.76
Mat	104	0		51	49.04	51	49.04	0		2	1.92
Dib	108	0		58	53.70	42	38.89	2	1.85	6	5.56

Bite and Religion

	Catholic E-E	Catholic Sl.-O.	Moslem E-E	Moslem Sl.-O.	Both Others		Proportions of E.-E.-S.-O. Cath.	Proportions of E.-E.-S.-O. Moslem
MeM	27	23	29	20	6		54	59
Duk	60	46	0	0	0		56	—
MeJ	9	7	26	60	1		56	70
Has	8	3	65	27	11		67	71
Lum	0	0	31	68	10		—	31
Puk	11	24	26	25	6		44	52
Mir	70	19	0	0	22		79	—
Zad	45	42	4	9	5		52	31
Mat	4	6	47	45	2		40	51
Dib	0	0	58	42	8		—	58
Intertr.	2	2	7	7	2		50	50
Total	236	172	293	303	63	1067	58	49

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most remote geographical fastnesses, except for Has. With the same exception, the northeastern tribes are highest in slight overbites. One might at first suppose that the Catholics were the edge-to-edge people, but in 5 out of the 6 tribes where both faiths are followed, the Moslems have a higher edge-to-edge ratio. In the sixth, Malsia e Jakovës, the Catholics

● 162 142 *128 form a special regional population, that of Nikaj and Merturi, just over the divide from Shoshi and Shala. Bite cannot be shown to have anything to do with ritual food taboos at all. Nor should one expect this, for the chief difference in diet lies in the species of animal eaten, while the food that takes the most chewing, bread, is the same for both in any given region.

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What this distribution seems to show more than anything else is that slight overbites tend to favor the big eastern market towns and the center of the Roman road. Puka lies at the middle of this road, and Puka has a commercial bakery. Luma has several at Kukës, and others do business at Prizren and Peshkopia. These commercial bakeries turn out a softer product

162 than home ovens, at least in my experience.
142 Why then, has Has one of the highest ratios
*128 of edge-to-edge bite, when the very men measured at Has were drawn from villages of hereditary commercial bakers? The answer to this lies in the age distribution. Twenty-eight men of the Has sample fell into age group 30–39. Of these, 13 had edge-to-edge bites, 14 slightly-over, and one marked-over. The

142 edge-to-edge ratio for this age grade is 48. In
162 Luma, which stands at the other end of the
#28 scale in bite form, 25 men in the same age grade had 11 edge-to-edge, 13 slightly-over, and one under. This gives a ratio of 46. If one counts marked-over with slightly-over and under with edge-to-edge, the ratios are reversed. The bakers were simply older men.

Much more research needs to be done if we are to explain the incidences of kinds of occlusion among Mountain Ghegs. All this report can possibly accomplish is to serve as a reconnaisance for specialists.

BITE AND FACE HEIGHTS

000 We have seen in chapter 11, "Age," page 74,[1] that unlike most other parts of the body, the face keeps on growing throughout life. In old age, however, this growth is often offset by the deterioration and loss of the teeth. As the teeth wear down and drop out, the dental borders of both maxillae and mandible shrink through absorption, and the chin and nose approach each other. These compensatory processes, face growth and dental attrition, do not necessarily move apace. Among some individuals the teeth remain sound until late in life; in others they deteriorate early. These differences thus affect not only means but also dispersions and measures of variability, including the probable error. In a series which includes a large percentage of men who have reached middle age, or in one in which poor teeth are common at any age, some method must be found to eliminate this source of error.
125 Being aware of this problem before leaving for Albania, I included in the measurement blank the observations *face shortening due to wear*, and *face shortening due to loss and absorption.* It was easier to observe dental condition with this problem in mind than to make general

1 [See cat. 116, p. 746 -- Analyst]

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9); the swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6).
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8); plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
000 forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

sia in 1945. A republic was established during the following year. General Hoxha and his followers meanwhile made no secret of their devotion to the Communist cause, although their utterances took on the usual protective coloring. At a Congress in the little town of Permeti, on May 24, 1944, the Front had "guaranteed freedom of religion and of conscience, and equality of rights for all religions." Hoxha's partisans, like Tito's, were frequently seen at religious services. Albania, a turbulent and weapon-toting country addicted to blood feuds and similar practices, was one of the most tolerant of nations from the religious point of view. In 1930 nearly three-fifths of the total population of 1,003,000 were Mohammedans, while the members of the Greek Orthodox Church constituted another fifth. Catholics in union with Rome were noticeably in the minority, scarcely more than one-tenth of the professedly religious reported in the census, and were concentrated in the extreme north of the country. Their major religious, charitable, and educational institutions were in Scutari, an ancient town on a beautiful mountain-surrounded lake, afflicted with mosquitoes and malarial fever. Ancient ties with Italy, which Mussolini so wantonly divested of moral and diplomatic import, had led to the existence of a considerable number of religious of Italian origin in Albania, and also to the settlement of many Albanians in Italy. This fact would no doubt have given rise to some antipathy even under normal conditions. Yet on the whole few in Albania were apprehensive when the war ended. The age-old tradition of religious peace seemed to preclude violent change.

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Albania had a rude awakening. General Hoxha was interested in nothing less than freedom of religion. Information concerning the fate of the Moslem majority is meager and difficult to come by. But laborious piecing together of news items from Albanian radio broadcasts and newspapers makes

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A 754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A [163 761] Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So A [751] terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh A [853 777] air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The M 754 853 same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the A 755 child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air and sunlight.

A 754 755 Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away. It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead. The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He A [681] rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying, 'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

A 754 776 777 In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special precaution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors, the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

000 582 new *kulla*[1] If the man has many sons, the youngest may not get a new wife, but have to content himself with a widow, who is cheaper. Also it may take some time to find a fiancée for each boy, and many young men wait until quite late in life for marriage.

[163] The principal reason for this delay, aside from the price, is the peculiar birth and death rate figures for Ghegnia. Many more boys than girls are born. In some regions the boys outnumber the girls almost two to one (see table 1).[2] However, as soon as a boy is big enough to carry a gun he may begin feuding, and stands a good chance of being killed. Then his marriage arrangements may be transferred to his brother, or cousin, and hence the young lady may marry someone quite different from her expectation.

582 586 The alert and provident father, ever on the lookout for daughters-in-law, may place a substantial part of his bride price on a baby girl, as soon as she is born. Or he may gamble on the sex of an unborn child. The baby girl may find herself, at the age of 14, married to a man of 40. Once she has been handed over to her new husband and the folk-rites performed, she is still on trial, and may be sent home if she fails to produce offspring within a reasonable time. Among the Catholics the church wedding is often delayed until after the birth of the first child. In this way the bride can be returned if found wanting, and the rule of Christian monogamy will not have been technically violated. Among the Moslems, where both polygyny and divorce are officially permitted, these subterfuges are not needed.

593 While the Gheg system of selecting mates may be well attuned to the exigencies of the environment, the economics, and the political life of the mountaineers, it permits little opportunity for personal adjustment between the husband and wife. Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*)[3] summed this up when he said to me, gloomily, in the presence of his wife, "There is only one woman a man can trust—his mother." In the cases where cross-cousin marriage works out ideally, the boy and girl may have met before betrothal, or at least before marriage. The boy's mother, on a visit to her own kin, may take her youthful son with her, and he will have a chance to play with his

1 [see footnote, cat 116, p. 23 e -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, p. 23b -- Analyst]
3 [see cat. 116, p 110 -- Analyst]

595 may have something to do with the number to
● 163 whom he is married at one time.
128 Our statistics give us a little help in finding out why 256 Ghegs married more than one wife. In 82 cases, or 32 per cent, the first wife failed to provide her husband with an heir, although in 28 of these cases, or 11 per cent, she did produce one or more daughters. Since we do not know the date of birth of each child, we cannot be sure that some of the first wives who bore sons did not do so after a second wife had been taken, and the ratio of plural marriages concluded for this reason may be higher than our figures indicate. Some of our records reveal marriage after marriage without issue, until finally, the fourth or even the sixth wife bears a son. One can almost hear the gunfire and rejoicing.

Our intertribal mixtures, in 5 cases out of 9, were men whose fathers had taken more than one wife each. Of the 4 Has men whose mothers had come from Podrima, 3 had been reared in polygynous families. These figures strongly indicate a political motivation. The custom of taking plural wives from alien tribes in order to strengthen alliances is a widespread one, and goes back to the days of Solomon. Our figures are not suited to reveal the exact instance of this kind of exogamy.

These 2 reasons probably account for nearly a half of all plural marriages. The other half can easily have been caused by accommodations to untimely deaths. Upon the death of a man, the levirate might give one of his kinsmen a second wife. Upon the death of a woman, her husband would remarry, were he able. What with difficult deliveries, puerperal fever, and general exhaustion from having borne too many children in rapid succession, death must have taken many of the women listed in our series at an early age.

163 The figures on children show that 1060
128 fathers, through the agency of 1375 wives, produced 5466 offspring who lived long enough for our subjects to remember them. This yields an average of 5.2 children per family, of whom 3399, or 62 per cent, were boys. Thus the average Gheg householder had 3.2 boys to help him work his farm. He had only 2.0 daughters to sell in marriage. This birth rate is so high that a considerable population

163 pressure is created. It varies from 4.2 in Mati
128 to 6.6 in Malsia e Madhe, with the largest families on either side of the mountains, the smallest in the middle. Even the smallest are too large for the landscape to feed without a change in methods of land utilization, a change which has not yet arrived.

166 In the country near Scutari, the city will take some of the excess. In the lands east of the Black Drin, migration onto the plain used to be possible, and habitual. Cvijič has shown[2] how, along the entire Dinaric chain, there has been for centuries a steady flow of population out of the mountains. In the center of the mountains, however, such emigration is not easy. Particularly in the old days when Catholics were not welcome in Moslem territory, the mountain people had to stay at home.
[628] There is only one universal, immemorial method of disposing of excess population under these circumstances. That is the method found in the Rif, in the Caucasus, in the Kafir country of Afghanistan, and in many other places—feuding. If enough males are killed off, the population remains constant.

165 Males only are killed. A few statistics on deaths by violence are available.[3] During the period 1901–05 the ratios in a number of northern communities were Toplana, 39 per cent; Dushman, 23 per cent; Spaç, 32 per cent; Shala, 26 per cent; Orosh, 21 per cent; Nikaj, Shoshi, and Kačinari, 25 per cent each. Double these figures and one finds between 42 per cent and 64 per cent of males dying in internecine
163 warfare. As if some natural mechanism were deliberately trying to compensate for this one-sided loss, we find a sex ratio of 163 male births to every 100 females born.

Sex ratios of this magnitude have been found before in feuding countries, and in fact the ratio of male births has been shown to rise in our own country in time of war. The biological explanation[4] is that people living under conditions of warfare marry and produce children at an earlier age than they would in time of peace. Some mechanism upon which all biologists do not agree selects the sperm cells, or the fertilized eggs, in the mother's

[2] Cvijič, 1918.

[3] Nopcsa, 1925. Data compiled by the Catholic clergy.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1960 EG1 Albania EG1

● 163 reproductive organs. That is why first-born children tend preponderantly to be boys. It is the age of the mother that counts. In northern Albania girls are married as soon as they come to sexual maturity and begin bearing children as soon as they are biologically able. There is no time of peace.

128 These statistics,[1] though not complete, help round out the picture drawn in the earlier chapters. All of these things fit together: the environment; the techniques of making a living on the specific kind of landscape; the division of labor between the sexes; the economic unity of the patriarchal household; its independence of similar households; the division of labor between mountain and town; the consequent absence of any need for a technological division of labor among the mountaineers; the difficulty and limitation of travel and transport; the struggle for life within an ever-increasing population; the consequent mechanisms of population control, consisting in some of the border tribes of a certain amount of emigration, but, by and large, taken care of by the time-honored technique of feuds and reciprocal murder, to which the whole system of marriage, and its biological compensations, [177] are adjusted. They show without question the truth of the main point of this paper so far, that the Mountains of Giants form a genetic area peculiarly closed to outside influence.

614 [582] We stated in our discourse on marriage that a boy might not marry a girl with whom he could trace any common patrilineal descent.[2] That statement needs elucidation. Actually the Ghegs are divided up into a number of mutually exclusive gentes, called *fis*, based on traditions of common ancestry, complete with origin myths. The extent to which the myths are historically accurate probably depends on how far back the particular *fis* goes. Each *fis* is said to have been derived from a single man, usually someone who came into the country at one time or another, although a few are believed to have been descended from aborigines.

The most numerous and best known *fis* in Ghegnia is that of Dukagin. This includes the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spac and Kushnen, which

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 25b-27b — Analyst]

[1] Gates, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 872-73; Little, 1919, pp. 127-30.

2 [see cat. 116, pp. 22b-23a, 23c-23d -- Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1

777 754 and catch it there, thus literally "saving your face," as did the women of Konjitza in Bosnia.

A 753 754 777 Illness being very largely ascribed to Evil Eye or magic, amulets in Albania are usually called "derman" or "ilatch," both of which words also mean remedy.

A 755 *Sympathetic Magic.*—In this the disease is supposed to act in accord with some object or other and disappears as it does.

A cure for jaundice was thus performed by a Moslem wise man on the child of a Scutari Christian. He tied some red wool round the child and some yellow wool round a red rose in the garden. He ordered the red to go out of the rose into the child, and the yellow to go out of the child into the rose. In a few days the rose wilted and yellowed and the child recovered its rosy cheeks. The efficacy of the cure was undoubted.

Marko had another he thought better, because it could be carried out at any time of year. You put a small fish in a bucket of water. The patient had to stare at it as it swam round and round. If he stared at it long and steadily enough, the disease went out of the patient into the fish, which died.

A [722 164] In 1912–13, owing to the Albanian Revolution and the Balkan wars, large numbers of the mountain tribesmen who pasture their beasts on the Bojana plains in winter were unable to return to the mountains, and were blocked in the malaria swamps all the summer, with terrible consequences. Almost all were struck down with a virulent form of the disease. I went through the worst districts with a load of quinine, and found the people trying to cure their greatly enlarged spleens by slowly roasting the spleen of a sheep at a fire, and muttering spells which ordered their own spleens to diminish as that of the sheep shrivelled at the fire.

A 164 776 753 A [755] Epilepsy was not uncommon in the mountains. It was looked upon as a possession by evil spirits. I once saw a woman fall down suddenly in a fit. Some men at once rushed up and, telling me to get out of the way, fired their revolvers alongside of her head. This was to scare away the evil spirit. As she soon recovered, they believed they had done so. I once saved a woman under similar circumstances from being flogged. Luckily she recovered quickly. But it is not so very long ago that lunatics were flogged in England.

A 777 755 Marko knew of a certain cure for epilepsy, but difficult to obtain. If you see a snake swallowing a frog, you must throw a black handkerchief over it. This scares the snake and it disgorges the frog. Keep the handkerchief, and when someone falls in a fit, throw it over him. He will then disgorge the disease as the snake did the frog. We kept a careful look-out, on our travels, for a snake eating a frog, but we never found one.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

Diseases.—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

Wounds.—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

H 744 278 In Bosnia a remedy for coughs was to burn oak-galls and inhale the smoke.

A 752 844 In all districts that I visited in the Balkans I found mud used to dress wounds by the common people; but never heard of a case of tetanus, though I have had hundreds of wounded through my hands. The land is very poorly, or not at all manured, which may explain this fact. The Austrian doctor in Scutari told me that in seven years he had had but two cases—both came up the river on ships, so were not local infections; also, though "Albanian women are not so well cared for at childbirth as an Austrian cow," he had never seen a case of puerperal fever, and believed neither the tetanus nor the puerperal-fever germs had reached these districts.

But with these two exceptions the Balkans are decimated with disease. It is a mistake to imagine that a rough, simple life produces health.

M A 751 164 The apparent sturdiness of the survivors blinds the outsider to the intensity of the struggle for existence and its mass of victims. Compulsory vaccination has immensely reduced small-pox in many districts. It is interesting to see how an epidemic will sweep up to the vaccination line—and there stop short. But exposure, hunger, and toil wear out many a peasant in early middle age; and disease takes a heavy toll as well. The two worst Balkan scourges are tuberculosis and syphilis. In Montenegro and in Albania there are districts where every individual is reputed to be infected with the latter. So, too, in Bosnia, and there alone it was being scientifically combated by the Austrian medical staff.

H 164 Of tuberculosis the Bosnian doctor—a Vienna-trained man—with whom I worked in Montenegro said: "We South Slavs are the most tuberculous people in Europe. Thirty per cent. of us are badly infected. I do not count an 'apex,' for I have one myself."

Leprosy is sometimes seen, but not often, and much skin disease is carried probably by dirt and vermin.

H 164 165 Finally, those individuals who succumb to neither disease nor hardship are unbelievably tough, and live on to a green old age, often active to the last. That there are as many centenarians as is popularly believed I doubt. No registers of birth have been kept and dates are fixed haphazard. A gay old boy at Rioli was said to be 102. Five years afterwards I met him again and he was 120. To prove this his family earnestly declared he must be very old, because his father lived at the time when the ancient Romans—those people who made the bits of money you dig up out of the ground—were living at Podgoritza. Others were grandfathers at the time of the Russo-Turkish War; of one it was said no one could remember him without white hair, and so

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

forth. Seventy to eighty years was nearer their age than a hundred; and many who looked sixty were younger. H 164-165

Women are early worn out. Especially in Montenegro, there is a very great difference in height between men and women. Women I found usually shorter than I am (5 ft. 3 ins.); whereas men well over six foot are not uncommon. The Montenegrins seemed proud of this difference, and when I said that of course, if a girl was married at fifteen and had four children before she was twenty she never grew to her full height, they were very angry indeed. M 142 165 583

Lunacy and Mental Diseases.—Lunacy is very generally believed to be possession by evil spirits, if the lunatic is a violent and dangerous one. Exorcisms are much used both by the Catholic and Orthodox priests. In Orthodox monasteries lunatics are often treated with great cruelty, and beaten and otherwise maltreated in order to drive out the spirits. I once saw an unfortunate man, almost naked, chained like a dog to a sort of kennel in the yard of a monastery. He was very quiet and half-dazed. The monks admitted that they beat him whenever he resisted or tried to escape. H A 164 753 776

The women of the Balkans, completely exhausted as they only too often are by severe toil and perpetual child-bearing and lactation, often suffer from neurasthenia and "hysteria." A curious form is not uncommon among the women of Macedonia and Montenegro. I am told it occurs also in Russia. It begins as a hiccough, and becomes more and more intense until it is a violent and fast-recurring spasm of the diaphragm. The hiccoughs become louder and louder till they are an uninterrupted crowing like that of a hoarse rooster. So quick are they that the patient cannot breathe. Just as she appears to be in danger of choking, she suddenly pulls herself together, draws a long breath, gives a gasp or two, and recovers in a few minutes. At intervals the attacks may go on all day; nor, when the habit is acquired, is it easy to cure. To a certain extent it is under the patient's control; but not entirely. When I did relief work among the Bulgar peasants in Macedonia after the revolt in 1903, I met a case which had been reported as "a Turkish atrocity" by relief workers unacquainted with the complaint. I visited the village where she was. She was quite quiet. So soon as she heard I was an English relief agent she began to "crow" loudly and had one spasm after another. By way of a test I said: "Tell her if she makes that noise I will do nothing for her." And after some gasping she recovered and made no more noise while I was there. But she was not cured. H A 164 562

The Balkan remedy is one of suggestion. On a saint's day the patient is taken to the Orthodox church. On St. Petar's Day, at Moratchka H 755

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

bathing the affected member three times in warm water, rubbing it with salt, and finally passing over it the blade of a knife with the words, "As this salt melts, so may the evil melt!" The house is then swept with a new broom, the sweeper saying as the dust is swept out, "So may all evil be swept away!" 755

If ringworm (οὐθι) appears with the new, it may be made to disappear with the waning moon, by covering the place with wood ashes, and repeating at the same time the charm:

> Came the spot and made him foul,
> Came the ash and made him whole.[1]

The remedy for the bite of a tarantula is to place the sufferer on a heap of dung, while nine women bearing the name of Maro[2] sit round him in a circle and chant the following incantation:— [136 164]

> Nine Maros here are we,
> And but one art thou.
> Thou hast worked, thy work succeeds;
> We have worked without success.
> Evil hast thou wrought,
> Good do thou now work,
> O mistress spider![3]

When an Albanian wife has no children, or is the mother of girls only, she, like her Greek sister, attributes her misfortune to some enemy of her family having tied together a number of nettles with this object, and has recourse to counter-spells in order to 842

[1] Ἐρθ σόρδι ε περεσθί
Ἐρθ χίνι ε περείνι (lit. "drank it up").

[2] Perhaps, like the similar Greek name, a form of Maria or Mary.

[3] Tarantulas are called by the Albanians by the generic name for spider μαρμαγα. Comp. Von Hahn's *Albanesische Studien*, p. 157.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

set in green and shady gardens. There lay the prize for the victors in this many-sided struggle.

Ihsan's house was situated in the plain to the north-west of Tirana and some five hours' march from the mountain village of Priske, where we stopped for our evening meal. The presence of German patrols made it dangerous to go down into the plain before dark and required us to reach our destination before dawn. Ihsan had sent an escort of his bodyguards to meet us, but we sat too long over our meal and scarcely left ourselves time for the journey. The darkness of the night concealed us from the enemy, but it equally obscured from us the many pitfalls by which our path was beset. The tracks leading down from the mountain were slippery, for it had been raining; and I fell over several times. Once in the plain the way led along a dry watercourse, filled with ankle-spraining stones and short, thorny scrub. Down at sea-level the night was hot and dank; and clouds of mosquitoes tormented our brief halts. But brief they were; for the guides kept an anxious watch on the eastern mountains, where the sky would first grow pale, and loped ahead, coaxing us on with false assurances that we should soon be there. At last the rumble of lorries warned us that we were approaching a road. This was the dust track along which traffic between Tirana and the North had been diverted since the destruction of the Gyoles bridge. We crossed the track between two convoys — a pleasing tribute to Smiley's work — and, passing through a stretch of woodland, emerged into a broad meadow just as day was breaking.

In the meadow stood Ihsan's house, one-storied and white-washed, like many of the smaller country houses in Hungary. A light was burning in one of the windows; and, as we crossed the lawn, Ihsan Bey came out to welcome us. He led the way indoors through mosquito curtains, for the plains are malarial; and we found ourselves for the first time in two months in a civilised room. There were armchairs and sofas; books and magazines lay on the table; pictures hung on the walls; and in a corner stood a luxurious radiogram. We stacked our submachine-guns and accoutrement of war beside it and sat

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1943 EG1 Albania EG1

with him at the beginning of the civil war. Such recriminations might appear academic, but they disguised a natural and urgent conflict of interests. The two parties could no longer help each other in Albania; they might soon rend each other in exile; and, now that resistance had ceased, Zogists and Ballists appeared as rivals for British favour, rather than as allies against the Partisans. The Agha had resolved to dissociate himself from men who had "collaborated" with the Germans, but the Ballists still hoped to shelter behind his name. We never asked what passed between them that day; but, when their meeting was over, the Ballist leaders bade us farewell and returned towards the mountains looking like condemned men.

Midhat and Ali were followed by Fikri Dine, who came to discuss the advantages of resistance or flight, and to enquire what reception he might expect from the British if he should land in Italy. Despite his defection to our side we could offer little encouragement to a former "Quisling"; and the Agha advised him to win back in the mountains the reputation he had lost in Tirana. He left us to return to Dibra, but our camp remained a rallying-point for Nationalists of every kind who clung instinctively to Abas Kupi. Among them came a delegation from the Catholic mountaineers of the Maltsia i Madhe, inviting him to organise their resistance against the Partisans. Abas Kupi received them in our presence and declined their proposal, saying:

"It would be against the wishes of the British, and, though they may forsake me, yet I will never turn against them."

5

THE weather had been fine when we came down into the plain; but October is the malarial season, and our nights were plagued by innumerable mosquitoes. Our supplies of quinine were long since exhausted, but we were luckily spared the fever which ravaged the ranks of our Turkomans and Albanians. At first we spent the days out of doors, resting on the bright coloured rugs which our host would spread for us in the sun-

141 from all the others in the measurements of the
*128 head and face. These people are, compared to the others, notably narrow headed, narrow faced, and long faced.

Head form (figs. 14, 15)[1] follows the same distribution shown by the tribes. The one measurement that does not vary at all significantly is head height. Head length, however, shows the greatest variation of any character recorded. Computing a cephalic module from the means,[7] we find the areas clustered into 2 groups, limestone and folded, with 158.90 and 158.41 centimeters respectively, and flysch, serpentine, and eastern with 155.65, 156.71, and 156.91; big heads and medium to small heads. The size of the head, within a major racial group of man, goes with the volume of the body.[8][2] In a series like ours where the dimensions of the head are subject to great variation of questionable origin, head size is a more useful criterion for the purpose of this chapter than its components. It clearly separates the Mountain Ghegs into 2 categories, one large, the other medium to small.

This, rather than the individual measurements and indices, is the most suggestive difference yet found between regional segments of the total series. The people in the limestone karst country are big people, and their kinsmen in the country where the soil is laid on a medley of folded outcrops are nearly as big. The people living in the land of serpentine and gabbro are much smaller, as is the small sample of flysch-dwellers. To the east, in the valley of the Black Drin and up into the Prizren region, the people are of intermediate stature, but with relatively long, narrow heads and faces.

142 In addition to the data presented, sortings
*128 were made for a number of observations which might have to do with general robusticity. This effort yielded nothing that the tribal sortings have not already revealed. No difference was found between areas in the proportion of concave scapulae, which seem to have more to do with age than with nutrition.
[164] Finally, the teeth of all areas were seen to be equally carious, equal in frequency of evulsion.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 114-115 -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116 p. 89b -- Analyst]

PRIVILEGE AND NUTRITION

565 In many countries food and other benefits
141 are unequally distributed, and in some of them
*128

[7] Cephalic module $= \frac{L+B+Ht.}{3}$

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EGi

Kossovari Refugees

places of the mosquitoes. The mayor of Valona, whom I 744
met several times, is a progressive man, and has given much assistance by providing labour for cleaning out and filling ditches and so forth. He was also, I believe, successful in persuading the Government to pay some portion, at all events, of the nurses' salaries. Apart from this, however, the financial responsibility is borne by contributors to "The Albanian Fund," which, in addition to providing help 167
for the sufferers from malaria, attempts also to aid the Albanian refugees who are constantly arriving in a state of destitution from that portion of Serbia which at one time belonged, and, in the opinion of many, should still belong, to Albania. These unfortunate people are called Kossovari. The following extract from a copy of a report that was given 167
to me by Lady Carnarvon is typical :— 164

"On arriving at Durazzo I visited a group of Kossovari who were scattered in villages one or two hours away. Their condition was most pitiable. Many had died of malaria, numbers of the survivors were sick—I found in one house six, in another nine out of a family of eleven, prostrate on the ground. Some were able to work, but there was no work to be had, for the summer work was over. If it had not been for the maize given by the American Red Cross, they would have died—and the maize was coming to an end."

The story of the Kossovari refugees as set out in the ooo
report throws a painful light on the pitiable position of

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

ooo this Albanian "minority"—unfortunately not the only "minority" in the Balkans. The League of Nations does, I understand, attempt to protect these unhappy victims of the arbitrary re-arrangement of boundaries, but whether with success or otherwise I cannot say.

● 164 A curious thing was told me at Tirana with relation to the prevalence of malaria there at the present time. According to the inhabitants, the disease was entirely unknown before the Italian occupation during the war, and they consequently declare that it was introduced by Italians who were malarial subjects.

ooo I had intended to leave Valona for Corfu by a boat of the Puglia Line which was due to arrive on a certain Tuesday and to sail at 4 p.m. After packing my suitcases I discovered that she was twenty-four hours late and would not be in until the following day. The young Italian with whom I had shared a *carozza* upon arrival, and who was sailing by the same boat, merely gave his shoulders an amused shrug and resumed his game of cards with the landlord and his son. Other intending passengers, to whom, perhaps, such an incident seemed nothing unusual, accepted the enforced delay with calm, and I had to do the same. It, however, gave me the opportunity of a more thorough exploration of the town, and also enabled me to lunch with three of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company's men, two of whom had just arrived in Valona. The third, whom I already knew, had been in the country for some time and was now living in camp out at the port. From them I learned that

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

361 The village,[1] which is the birthplace of the wife of the national hero, Skanderbeg,—its only claim to notice, picturesqueness apart—possesses no inn or wine-shop, and I looked for refreshment in vain. It was a hot day and the walk up the hill had made me thirsty. Some men who met me in what I suppose was the market place, or centre of the village, gave me Turkish delight, good of its kind but hardly what I wanted after my climb in the hot sun, and with that I had to be satisfied. The village gave every sign of being an extremely poor one and many of the houses were in ruins. [291] There was a school in which sat a row of small boys all wearing their white fezzes, for the Moslem headcovering is worn both indoors and out. The castle I did not inspect. It looked more interesting from a distance, a remark which applies to Kanina as a whole.

164 The bane of Valona, as at Durazzo and elsewhere on the coast, is the mosquito, and the inhabitants of the district are great sufferers from the malaria it carries, as well as from 744 other diseases connected with or due to malaria. Certain philanthropic English people—of whom one of the most active is the Dowager Countess of Carnarvon, who has a small house at Valona—are doing what they can, with the limited funds and limited opportunities available, to help the local Albanians to fight the trouble. They have imported two nurses and three V.A.D. girls. The nurses work at the local hospital. The V.A.D. girls—voluntary helpers—superintend the measures which are being taken to treat, with petroleum and otherwise, the breeding and hibernating

1 [Valona -- Analyst]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats
Montenegrins EF5
Albania EG 1

no cure is possible. 'Black boil' (*crni prišt*, etc.) generally seems to refer to anthrax, but the principle of cure for all similar abscesses and boils throughout the territory consists in the application of heat or of poultices to hasten suppuration, followed by cauterisation sometimes, and rarely by opening with an instrument. At Duvno in Bosnia the boil is cauterised with gunpowder in the same way, and the wound is then sprinkled with alum and a sparrow bound over it; as a precaution honey and garlic are eaten before this operation. These remedies are practised by shepherds, who suffer considerably from the complaint, and believe that unless the boil is immediately cauterised no one can survive. Honey is said to prevent the disease turning to the 'heart'. Fresh blood of a cat; the gall bladder of a bear; the head of a hare, and a hare's fat; a black cock or frog cut open alive; goose dung; pine tar on blue paper, are used.

S M C 75 278 164

The plant remedies appear somewhat limited. Slav and Albanian doctors in the south-eastern area recommend the leaves or decoction of the leaves of *Sambucus ebulus* (*zova*) for both internal and external use. Root of *Lappa communis* cooked in milk. Ivy leaves applied with vinegar. For boils and furuncles, in general, a decoction of the seeds or the inner bark of *vrgova* (*Boletus agaricus*?). The whole plant including the root of *Podagraria* (?) is pounded and applied to the boil for 24 hours, after which *Betonica officinalis* is used. The local name for *Aegopodium* is *Poganica trava*, corresponding to the English 'gout weed'. Elsewhere it is a remedy for rheumatism, etc., commonly known as *poganica*, which here means a black boil. If this case is accurately quoted—and there is no reason to suppose otherwise—it seems that it is a remarkable example of the working of popular etiology.

A [278 164 757]

Gunpowder is the favourite agent. Another method on the lines of that given above is to cut a hole in a slice of dry bread and to lay it over the abscess, so that the surrounding flesh is protected. The gunpowder is poured into the circle and ignited. A piece of cloth, or better a twist of unspun wool is used, but when the boil is not on the face it is sur-

S C 278 755 757

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A
151 *Wounds.*—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds
A than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which
757 was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the
752 art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old
A man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some
757 probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.
826 From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge
752 of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

in touch with the political leaders; and Maclean to Vorre to reconnoitre the German ammunition dumps. I prepared meanwhile to return with Davis to Mukai, but our departure was delayed by the discovery that our mules had been stolen. Towards evening, however, I managed to borrow substitutes, and, loading the wireless set and batteries on one of these, joined Smiley and Said in the small hours of 21st August. Maclean returned next day; but our hopes of rest were intercepted by the intelligence of a Partisan advance, and we moved, therefore, into the neighbourhood of Kruya. It was quite a short march but agonizing for Said, who was stricken by a sharp attack of malaria. The poor fellow, indeed, was so ill that he had to be supported in the saddle; and that evening, alarmed by his condition, we sent into Kruya for a doctor.

The city of Skanderbeg could boast of only two physicians, and the first of these declined our courier's invitation for fear of the Germans. The second, however, accepted without hesitation, saying that at his age he was afraid of no one. He was, indeed, a hundred and eight years old, but sat his horse like a young man and made light of a two hours' ride through the mountains. His drooping, tobacco-stained moustache suggested that abstinence was not the secret of his longevity; and at lunch, when he ate meat and drank wine with the rest of us, he told us that he had been married five times. The old mountaineer obviously enjoyed the adventure and told us that he was glad to be able to help the enemies of the Germans. Despite his years, the desire for revenge still smouldered in him, and he explained that the Austrians had shot two of his grandsons in the last war. He was delighted, moreover, to attend Said and recalled that, as a medical officer, he had served under one of his ancestors in the Turkish army. He had learnt his medicine in Istanbul in the seventies of the last century, and was ignorant of later developments in the art of healing. Nevertheless his potions revived Said, and he successfully relieved minor ailments in others of our party.

Meanwhile, throughout the Balkans, the revolution of events proceeded with ever-increasing momentum. On 24th

438 On the other side of the picture lie the craftsmen and shopkeepers in the towns, some Albanian, others Turkish, others Serbian. These craftsmen live off the exports from the mountains and from the other agricultural regions around them, and supply the mountaineers with their needs, including firearms and ammunition, as well as the objects previously listed.

So far the picture is simple, mountaineers on one side of the fence, townsmen on the other. A mountaineer may become a townsman, but never the reverse. At several points, however, the security of the mountains is penetrated: by the itinerant masons who build *kullas*,[1] by the *hanjis*[2] and *kiragis*[3] who handle traffic and care for travelers, and by the shopkeepers, who are themselves usually Ghegs, and who are found in the larger tribal villages, usually but one to a settlement. I can recall but one in Mirdita, none in Shoshi, while in the country villages of Dibra, Luma, and Puka, along the main roads, there were several. These men sold tea and sugar, needles and thread, cigarette papers, salt and pepper, a little candy, candles, kerosene, kerchiefs, and matches. They saved a trip to town for minor purchases.

511 With this balance of production and trade,[4] the Ghegs barely succeed in making a living. If their average income could be accurately assessed, it would be one of the lowest in Europe. The ordinary farmer has just enough clothing to cover his family. In some cases I have seen brothers with one suit between them; one had to stay indoors while the other went out. This was in Merturi. The ordinary household has just enough food to get through the year, saving the next year's seed and selling a little in the town. Many houses are the scenes of tightened belts and near starvation
[842] every spring. Since there is no knowledge of
[165] contraception, many children are born. As ideas of sanitation are also lacking, many people die, and the population is always a little greater than the threshold of tolerance. Feuds, sudden death, and emigration are necessary safety valves. Another very recent one is enlistment in the gendarmerie.

1 [See Cat. 116, pp. 14b - 15a -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, pp. 20b - 21a -- Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, pp. 20a - 20b - Analyst]
4 [See cat. 116, pp. 21a - b -- Analyst]

589 her alive. It is doubtful if this punishment has been exacted on any such person within the last few generations.

As the reader can readily see, this custom has its economic aspects. The number of hands available for men's work is increased by two, that for women's work decreased by the same number. There is a second and less dramatic reason for a girl to swear virginity: if her father has no sons to help him with his work, or if his sons are killed. Then a daughter may step into the position of a son, and the [428] situation is momentarily saved. However, since the pseudo-son will have no offspring, the line will become extinct with her death, and the property pass to the next of kin on the father's side. This custom is at variance with the usual one in comparable societies, in which the husband of the man's daughter comes to live with her parents, and is adopted as an [611] heir. So strong is the belief in the continuity of the male line that this could not be done in Ghegnia.

On my travels I encountered only 2 sworn virgins. One wore men's clothes, and appeared to be either mentally defective or at least "queer." That also was her reputation. The second wore women's clothes. She was in her early twenties, and quite attractive. Since she spent the night with a junior member of my group of horse-drivers, I formed a poor opinion of the burning-alive theory. It is quite apparent that the practice of swearing virginity is not only often economic in motivation, but also a part of the whole business of local population control, along with the entire configuration of pride, insult, and feuding.

587 Two other mechanisms help maintain the personnel of the family at the optimum numerical working level, and to prevent the isolation of separate individuals or small, uneconomic groups. One is the levirate. Classically this means that when a man dies, his widow will be married to a surviving brother [165] or next of kin if such a brother is lacking. In a country where the rate of death by violence reaches the level of 40 per cent of all male [582] deaths in some localities, and where girls are married at 14 or 15, many are widowed.

Such a widow must be cared for by the men of her husband's family, since they have paid

163 pressure is created. It varies from 4.2 in Mati
128 to 6.6 in Malsia e Madhe, with the largest families on either side of the mountains, the smallest in the middle. Even the smallest are too large for the landscape to feed without a change in methods of land utilization, a change which has not yet arrived.

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[628] There is only one universal, immemorial method of disposing of excess population under these circumstances. That is the method found in the Rif, in the Caucasus, in the Kafir country of Afghanistan, and in many other places—feuding. If enough males are killed off, the population remains constant.

●165 Males only are killed. A few statistics on deaths by violence are available.[3] During the period 1901–05 the ratios in a number of northern communities were Toplana, 39 per cent; Dushman, 23 per cent; Spaç, 32 per cent; Shala, 26 per cent; Orosh, 21 per cent; Nikaj, Shoshi, and Kačinari, 25 per cent each. Double these figures and one finds between 42 per cent and 64 per cent of males dying in internecine
163 warfare. As if some natural mechanism were deliberately trying to compensate for this one-sided loss, we find a sex ratio of 163 male births to every 100 females born.

Sex ratios of this magnitude have been found before in feuding countries, and in fact the ratio of male births has been shown to rise in our own country in time of war. The biological explanation[4] is that people living under conditions of warfare marry and produce children at an earlier age than they would in time of peace. Some mechanism upon which all biologists do not agree selects the sperm cells, or the fertilized eggs, in the mother's

[2] Cvijič, 1918.

[3] Nopcsa, 1925. Data compiled by the Catholic clergy.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is [103] probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the 174 road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the [197] tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are 779 said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat, 174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo, 776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and 614 widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti, [166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli. [582] They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the 174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza). 103 779 596 614

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it. [582] [221 648]

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church. 619 614 779 [174 794]

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas." 619 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group. [779 294] 648

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 619 779 103 [776] [628 166] 648 779

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173
582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi
166 came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared
765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally
582 with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to
614 lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North.
619 Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more
779 fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners
186 and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak
614 of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some
779 Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress.
582 When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania.

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether

342 dwellings immediately enables one to make the distinction between the natives of this district. The comfortable handsome stone houses, with large galleries on the upper stories before the living rooms and the stables below, denote the typical Albanian peasant homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

563 There are two kinds of gypsies in this in-
197 teresting country: one is the same as the
140 English variety, speaking the quaint old
191 Romany, although knowing at the same time the language of the country. This branch of gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly moving from one district to another, pitching their temporary tents wheresoever they will.
[143] Their keenest interest is in horses and they live by their tradings and quite often entirely by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is those, who, having forgotten almost all of their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a little Turkish where they are old enough to have experienced the Turkish occupation of Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up
533 tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their
535 daily bread in the simplest and most conven-
563 ient way possible for them: singing and danc-

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooothe Albanians were gloomy, occupied with the task of keeping the slipping horses on the trail. In a few moments we had left their struggles behind us.

We climbed doggedly, in silence. Only the swishing of the relentless rain and the clicking of our staffs on the rocks made little noises against the distant roaring of waterfalls. By some trick of light reflected from peak or cloud, the trail and the valley below it were visible in a green-gray ghost of daylight, which made us seem unreal even to ourselves. And we climbed, interminably, forever, putting one foot before the other with the patient deep attentiveness of trudging animals, while rain dripped unheeded from forehead to cheek to chin. We climbed, absorbed in detail of slippery shale and stubborn bowlder, till Perolli's exclamation shocked us as though a rock had spoken.

We must wait for our men, he said, and we dropped where we stood and sat soddenly. To light a cigarette was as impossible to us in that rain as to a swimmer under water. We sat and looked at one another, and laughed aloud, and were silent again. The horses came past us at last, each held by halter and by tail, and slowly they struggled over the crest of the mountain and disappeared. We should go on, Perolli said,
166 and we murmured assent, but still we sat. When a stranger appeared on the trail against the gray sky we moved only our eyes to look at him.

He was a young man, dark eyed and hand-

1 [on Chafa Bishkasit Moun- [18] tain trail --Analysis]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

some, but haggard. Besides the rifle on his back was strapped a small baby. The little head, uncovered, streaming with water, appeared above the thick woolen-fringed collar of the man's black jacket. The baby's mouth was open, drawn into a square of misery, but no sound came from it. The man's jacket had been darned and darned again, till no thread of the original weaving was visible; his white homespun woolen trousers, hung low on the hips, were worn so thin that the darns no longer held together, and tatters fell around his bare ankles, above feet wrapped in rags. The remnants of black braiding on his trousers were of a pattern I had not seen before; I could not guess his tribe. Behind him a shapeless bundle of household goods moved slowly on the tiny hoofs of a donkey, and the little beast's drooping ears and nose almost touched the trail.

"Long may you live!" And when he had returned the greeting we continued the courteous formula. "How could you get here?"

"Slowly, slowly, little by little."

"Are you a man?"

"I am a man of Kossova, of the district of Ipek," he answered, and it was not necessary to say more, for the Serbs hold Ipek. The memory of their taking it moved like a darkening shadow over his face, and it is best to ignore such memories.

Yet there was a little hope in his vague voice. He was going, he said, in search of a farm on

which he could live. He had tried to live in the Shala country, but it was impossible there. There was too little land for the tribe of Shala, and the making of land is slow among mountains where stone walls must be built to catch the little earth that remains when rain melts limestone. He had heard that in the valley of Scutari there was soil, as there had been in Kossova, and his voice sank into silence as though it were a burden too heavy to lift.

But he tried to make the baby smile for the American *zonyas*. The baby, too exhausted to cry any longer, was equally unable to smile, and this last baffled effort suddenly became rage. It was only a twist of the haggard face, an explosion in the depths of the man's spirit, and, like an explosion, it was over before we saw it, leaving on our eyeballs a picture of something that no longer existed.

"He has a beautiful smile," the father said, apologetically, "very beautiful," and he took up his rifle.

"Long may you live," we said. "Go on a smooth trail."

In a moment the rain had blurred the figures of the man and the tiny donkey, moving slowly down the mountain side.

We wiped the streaming wet from our faces with water-withered hands, picked up our staffs, and drove our bodies again to their task of climbing. The burden of the world's helplessness in misery was heavier on our spirits than the weight

163 pressure is created. It varies from 4.2 in Mati
128 to 6.6 in Malsia e Madhe, with the largest families on either side of the mountains, the smallest in the middle. Even the smallest are too large for the landscape to feed without a change in methods of land utilization, a change which has not yet arrived.

166 In the country near Scutari, the city will take some of the excess. In the lands east of the Black Drin, migration onto the plain used to be possible, and habitual. Cvijič has shown[2] how, along the entire Dinaric chain, there has been for centuries a steady flow of population out of the mountains. In the center of the mountains, however, such emigration is not easy. Particularly in the old days when Catholics were not welcome in Moslem territory, the mountain people had to stay at home.
[628] There is only one universal, immemorial method of disposing of excess population under these circumstances. That is the method found in the Rif, in the Caucasus, in the Kafir country of Afghanistan, and in many other places—feuding. If enough males are killed off, the population remains constant.

165 Males only are killed. A few statistics on deaths by violence are available.[3] During the period 1901–05 the ratios in a number of northern communities were Toplana, 39 per cent; Dushman, 23 per cent; Spaç, 32 per cent; Shala, 26 per cent; Orosh, 21 per cent; Nikaj, Shoshi, and Kačinari, 25 per cent each. Double these figures and one finds between 42 per cent and 64 per cent of males dying in internecine
163 warfare. As if some natural mechanism were deliberately trying to compensate for this one-sided loss, we find a sex ratio of 163 male births to every 100 females born.

Sex ratios of this magnitude have been found before in feuding countries, and in fact the ratio of male births has been shown to rise in our own country in time of war. The biological explanation[4] is that people living under conditions of warfare marry and produce children at an earlier age than they would in time of peace. Some mechanism upon which all biologists do not agree selects the sperm cells, or the fertilized eggs, in the mother's

[2] Cvijič, 1918.

[3] Nopcsa, 1925. Data compiled by the Catholic clergy.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)195 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

619
166

from home. The blood feud, on the other hand, scattered them even more widely, and while most of the exiles returned home, some settled outside the mountains. Miss Durham discovered around Jakova, about 1912, small villages made up of people from Fan and other

619
166

Mirdite *bairaks*, from Shala, Berisha, and other Gheg regions. Most of these exiles had probably left home involuntarily. The political framework of Gheg tribal society, particularly its warlike aspects, tends to promote emigration.

175 797 them founded the royal house of present-day Egypt. The Turks appreciated their Albanian subjects and favored them over many others. That is one reason why three-fourths of Albanians are still Moslem, and why Albania remained so long a part of the Turkish Empire.

175 177 Although the Turks probably did not add much genetically to the Gheg population, they did introduce some economic changes which may have had some effect on it. It was through the Turks that New World plants reached the Balkans, although in some places not before 1850. They added maize, haricot beans, and tobacco to the list of plants which would grow in the valleys and on the mountain slopes. Maize and haricot beans gave them new foodstuffs, but it is questionable if they yield more calories per acre than the earlier crops—small grains and broad-beans. Tobacco gave the mountaineers a new habit and a new need, and also a cash crop. On the debit side of the ledger, with their religion the Turks produced a prohibition against pork, and deprived their converts of an important food source.

Besides these agricultural and dietary changes the Turks introduced *hans*, or inns, along the more traveled roads in Moslem territory. Some of these *hans* probably occupy the same locations as Roman hostels. The professions of *hanji* (innkeeper), and *kiraji* (renter of horses) seem to have been Turkish innovations. In Turkish times, many Albanians •[166] migrated to other countries; tens of thousands went to the Plain of Kossovo, apparently from the Gheg country, and many others to Greece, where there are still Albanian-speaking districts in Attica and the Peloponnesus. Many thousands entered the Turkish army, and other government services. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Christian Albanians, fleeing the Turks, settled in Italy and Sicily, where their descendants still maintain their ethnic identity.

Probably the most important single introduction of the Turks, however, was firearms. Gunsmiths in the market towns found the mountaineers eager to obtain the new weapons with which they could not only defend their home valleys from invaders, but also work off

[see cat 116, pp 20b-21a -- Analyst]

[10] See Jireček, 1916, pp. 63–93.

113, 167, 177 Albania EG1

[For a brief statement regarding the status and organization of the 3,000 Albanians in the Soviet Union said to have survived World War II, see 21:Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, p. 147. A bibliographic note citing a Soviet ethnographic study of this group appears on p. 161.]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

H 794 present Kopliku; Albanian districts on the Drin are also given or ordered to pay tribute. All of which confirms Father Brocardus's statements.

H 792 651 Stefan Urosh III, when founding the monastery at Dechani, gives it in 1330 many "villages and katuns of Vlahs and Albanians between the Lim and White Drin," and gives a list of persons who are to pay tribute, the last of which are Zaharia and Mihal of Nikita in Pulati, who are to pay the former 4,000 and the latter 2,000 cocoons annually to the Church. All Vlahs and Albanians are to carry salt for the monastery. Thus numbers of peasants were put into the power of the Orthodox Church, but though severe laws were enacted against Catholicism, North Albania in large part remains Catholic.

H 175 779 So soon as the Serb Empire fell, references to Albanian chiefs become frequent, and the Catholic Church speedily took the ascendancy. Many of these chiefs took service with their men under Venice. Others were subsidized by Venice as allies. All documents show that at the time of the Turkish invasion there was a large Albanian population both in the mountains and on the plains, which then, as now, were largely used as winter pasture.

The swoop of the conquering Turk, the capture of Scutari and Alessio, the complete destruction of Drivasto, caused a great dislocation of population. As the Turk settled on the fat plains, numbers of refugees took to the mountains. The tradition now told in the mountains of the north is often that of these immigrant refugees, who tell of having found other inhabitants in the land, but the families who H 582 now trace direct male descent from these are few. The strict law of exogamy must, however, have forced the immigrant to intermarry largely with the old inhabitant, and the race continuity is, therefore, unbroken.

2. The Maltsia e Madhe Group

A 619 614 The tribes fall into several main groups.

The Maltsia e Madhe (the Great Mountains) group consisted, when I visited it, of five large tribes and some smaller ones.

1. *Gruda.*—A tribe of one bairak, situated between the river Tsem and the old Montenegrin frontier. To the north of it is Triepshi and south is Hoti. Triepshi was part of this group till given to Montenegro in 1878. Gruda in 1908 consisted of about five hundred "houses." A [592] A "house" was roughly reckoned at from eight to ten souls.

Of these five hundred "houses," eighty traced descent from Berisha (see below), and thus are of old indigenous stock. The remainder, A [167] called Djell, said they were immigrants from the Herzegovina, and that

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[79 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming
614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
● [167] the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[669 died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania

Early Invasions

THE closing days of the fourth century were the beginning of a dark period, for in those days the barbarian forces poured over the Balkan peninsula. The first to descend upon Albania were the Goths, who remained masters for a century or more. In the year 535, Albania was redeemed by Emperor Justinian, who was a native of Central Albania.

After Emperor Justinian had driven the Goths from Albania, the Huns ravaged the country, but this was only in the nature of raids. During this warlike period, in 481, Dalmatia was annexed to the Kingdom of the Ostrogoths. National life became even more disintegrated and it was in the nature of a climax that the third series of invasions began, this time by the Slavonic people who formed permanent settlements. Between 600 and 650 the main body of these immigrants—Croats and Serbs—settled in Illyria proper: Croats in the western part and Serbs in the east. It was through this division that the

175 death, in 1478, the Turks should have seized his tomb and made of his burial place a superstitious veneration. They disturbed the bones of his mortal body, fashioning them into rings and amulets in superstitious hope that, through some unearthly spiritual alchemy, Scanderbeg's fortune might become theirs.

The bereaved Albanians have never ceased to mourn their leader and king. Even today the memory of this medieval hero-king, who added so many glorious pages to Albania's history, lives in the heart of the Albanian, even though many have since embraced Islamism, which Scanderbeg abjured.

767 Upon the death of Scanderbeg the Great, his sons, accompanied by a large following, emigrated to Italy, where they retained their own language and social customs and remained Roman Catholics. The whole surface of Bogotia, Attica, Magaris, Corinthia and Argolis, a considerable part of Laconia, several districts in Messina, and a portion of Arcadia, Elis and Achaia were colonized by Albanians. Albanians also live on the islands of Aegina, Hydra, Psara and Spetzae.

291 Scanderbeg's death caused the Albanians to dye their jackets black, and black they remained through the ages in never ending mourning.

Population and Religion

ALBANIA, according to the official cen- 161
sus of May 15, 1930, has a population
of 1,003,097, of whom 92 % are of 162
Albanian race. Those living north of the Shkumbi line are Ghegs and those to the south are Tosks. The rest of 8% being Vlachs, Greeks, Yugoslavs, Bulgarians, Gypsies, etc. About 1,250,000 Albanians are living in for- 167
eign countries, principally in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Turkey, United States of America and Yugoslavia.

Some 69% of the total population are Mos- 162
lems; about 10% chiefly in the north, are Roman Catholics; another 20% (approximately) particularly in the south, belong to the Albanian Orthodox Church. There are about one hundred Hebrews living in Albania.

The Moslems are in the majority in all prefectures except in that of Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra), where the Orthodox are predominant, and that of Scutari (Shkodra), where the Catholics are in the majority. In

KORÇA

000 colored stones, giving the residences an appearance of wealth.

775 Korça is now[1] the residence of the head of the Albanian Orthodox Church.

769 The local hero of Korça is one Themistokli Gërmeni.

167 About 70% of the Albanian immigrants to other countries come from Korça.

361 Korça is two and a half hours by automobile from Florina, Greece, where the railroad comes from Salonica northward. Thus making Korça the point nearest to railway connection.

[1] [Errata: should be was until recently. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

PASSPORT AND VISA REGULATIONS

Albanian birth or origin, who intend taking up permanent residence in Albania, are required to comply with certain regulations prior to the obtaining of the visa.

Tourists and visitors going to Albania in groups of over five persons can receive specially one visa for all, paying the fee of only one visa for the whole group.

Persons intending to become temporary or permanent residents in Albania will find that there are no difficulties or restrictions whatsoever for prospective residents.

For further information about passports and visas apply to any Albanian diplomatic or consular representative.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

not been unfrequent even in the present century, and 797
the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders 175
to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian
agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, [167]
makes it probable that in course of time the country
may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians 771
have among the Turks the reputation of being but 184
indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same
opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of
the Albanians who call themselves members of the
Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem [582]
women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the [869]
faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ;
Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian
saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Chris-
tians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints [755]
for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while [778]
Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-
beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which
both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The [779]
Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast
adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of
the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some
Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administra-
tion of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of 796
Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary 771
of the departure of her image from the Latin church
in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems par-
ticipate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief
of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years 173

304 logical enough if flattening is caused by
145 cradling. A baby lying on his back might
*128 strain to turn to one side, and if he habitually chose the same side, that side might be expected to bear the bulk of the flattening. On the other hand if the top of his head were pressed against the headboard, which side he turned to would make little difference.

The way to test this second theory is to see whether or not occipital flattening and handedness are associated. The frequencies for handedness are given on table 4.[1] We tested for handedness by seeing which hand the man put out to take the dynamometer, and if he seemed to hesitate, by asking him to throw a stone. A total figure of 7 per cent for left handedness seems reasonable for a country where almost no one is literate, and where the only compunctions about which hand to use lie in the field of eating and its ultimate result.

Table 25[2] also shows that handedness is associated with cranial asymmetry in any case; in the men who were not occipitally flattened, it reached a Q of + .58, but in those who were so flattened, it attained the nearly complete association of + .89. What this seems to mean is that the babies who were right handed had a tendency to roll over on the left to free their right arms, and to look with their right eyes, etc., while the babies who were left handed had a tendency to do the opposite. It would be very strange if these movements would distort the skull, or be associated with such distortion, without benefit of cradle.

THE BOSTON EVIDENCE

• 167 The best kind of evidence, of course, is experimental. Although it was impossible to experiment with the Ghegs, a full-dress experiment of exactly the kind we need was conducted unwittingly for us by a group of several thousand Tosks. Shortly before World War I a whole village, Katundi, pulled up stakes and moved to America. Most of them settled in the neighborhood of Boston, where they were joined by others from neighboring villages. The anthropological problems presented by this migration have yet to be studied as a whole, and their investigation should yield much profit in years to come. For the moment a slight beginning may be made, which will serve the purposes of the present report.

1 [see cat. 11b, p. 54m -- analyst]

2 [see cat. 11b, p. 94a -- analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

682 accusation of taking government money to kill the murderer after
641 he had taken blood money from the family.

[167] The same fear of government action was at work in Kosovë, a province largely populated by Albanians but assigned to Yugoslavia after the Turkish empire broke up in 1912. A steady drift towards Albania proper went on among the Kosovars. Some were impelled by land hunger to go and take up the free land which the Albanian government had offered them; others came to evade Yugoslav justice. By contrast with the Albanian government, which did not yet punish severely homicide that was justifiable by tribal law, the Yugoslav government hanged most murderers. To avoid this ignominy, a Kosovar murderer preferred to emigrate, lock, stock and barrel, to Albania. Most interestingly, this emigration was the ebb of the tide that within recent centuries peopled Kosovë with Albanians.

[621] Sometimes a murderer did not run away of his own accord, but was forcibly expelled by the community. Although when murder was not punished by government, only the weak ran away voluntarily, the community expelled a strong man as readily as a weak
[619] one. In tribal districts like Mirditë which contained several villages, the murderer's village could not expel him without the other villages' consent and help. If the village resisted the expulsion, the tribe as a whole had the right to 'proclaim' the village or to call in other tribes to bring it to reason. In small tribes like Nikaj the murderer's kinsmen could expel him independently of the tribe. In non-tribal districts like Shpat, where each village was a self-contained unit, it needed to ask no one before expelling a murderer.

682 A man sentenced to communal expulsion was always one whose
*628 crime struck at the roots of society as understood in the mountains.
674 Perhaps he had violated the acknowledged sanctity of the 'pledged word' by killing his enemy during a public truce or even after making peace with him. Perhaps he had infringed the sacred laws of hospitality by killing his host or guest. Perhaps he threatened family solidarity by killing a cousin to get his land. Perhaps he had killed a man to steal his rifle and thereby as good as robbed him of his manhood, for a man without a rifle is as nothing, no better than a woman. Perhaps he had committed sacrilege by killing someone, possibly the priest himself, inside the territory of church or mosque, or by breaking into the church to steal.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Kossovari Refugees

places of the mosquitoes. The mayor of Valona, whom I 744
met several times, is a progressive man, and has given much assistance by providing labour for cleaning out and filling ditches and so forth. He was also, I believe, successful in persuading the Government to pay some portion, at all events, of the nurses' salaries. Apart from this, however, the financial responsibility is borne by contributors to "The Albanian Fund," which, in addition to providing help 167
for the sufferers from malaria, attempts also to aid the Albanian refugees who are constantly arriving in a state of destitution from that portion of Serbia which at one time belonged, and, in the opinion of many, should still belong, to Albania. These unfortunate people are called Kossovari. The following extract from a copy of a report that was given 167
to me by Lady Carnarvon is typical :— 164

"On arriving at Durazzo I visited a group of Kossovari who were scattered in villages one or two hours away. Their condition was most pitiable. Many had died of malaria, numbers of the survivors were sick—I found in one house six, in another nine out of a family of eleven, prostrate on the ground. Some were able to work, but there was no work to be had, for the summer work was over. If it had not been for the maize given by the American Red Cross, they would have died—and the maize was coming to an end."

The story of the Kossovari refugees as set out in the ooo
report throws a painful light on the pitiable position of

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

496 has it no railways, but the country is so Not only mountainous and the population so small and so scattered that without a considerable subsidy from the State a railway could not be made to pay and is therefore a remote possibility. For this reason it seems likely that Albania will miss the blessings—or escape the degradation (whichever way you prefer to put it)—of industrialism, and remain an agricultural nation.

362 The town has a few smart-looking European shops, as well as one large semi-wholesale store, but for the rest it resembles other Albanian and Turkish towns with streets of cobblers, streets of blacksmiths, streets devoted to saddle-making, harness-making, rope-making, and so forth—all the various trades being segregated, and carried on in the conditions of confusion, dirt, and squalor which are a legacy 524 from the middle ages. In addition there are many cafés, full from early morning to late at night with men who appear to have nothing better to do than sit there playing cards and 458 backgammon. I commented on this fact and was told that it was a sign of bad times and the very serious economic situation of the moment. For this—as for the similar situation in Montenegro—the practical closure of the United States to immigrants is to a large extent responsible. [167] In the past the States have supported a floating population of 40,000 Albanians to whom their own country offered no prospect of remunerative employment; to-day most of these men are at home with nothing to do.

000 I was often asked about Australia, and whether some scheme might not be arranged by which entry would be

Glass "turquoises" made the head-band yet more protective. Small cocks are still made as heads of pins to fasten the head-dress to the hair in the Herzegovina.

In the prehistoric graves at Glasinatz in Bosnia, tiny bronze amulets, shaped like doves, have been found. In North Albania three wooden

A 764 777 301 M [301]

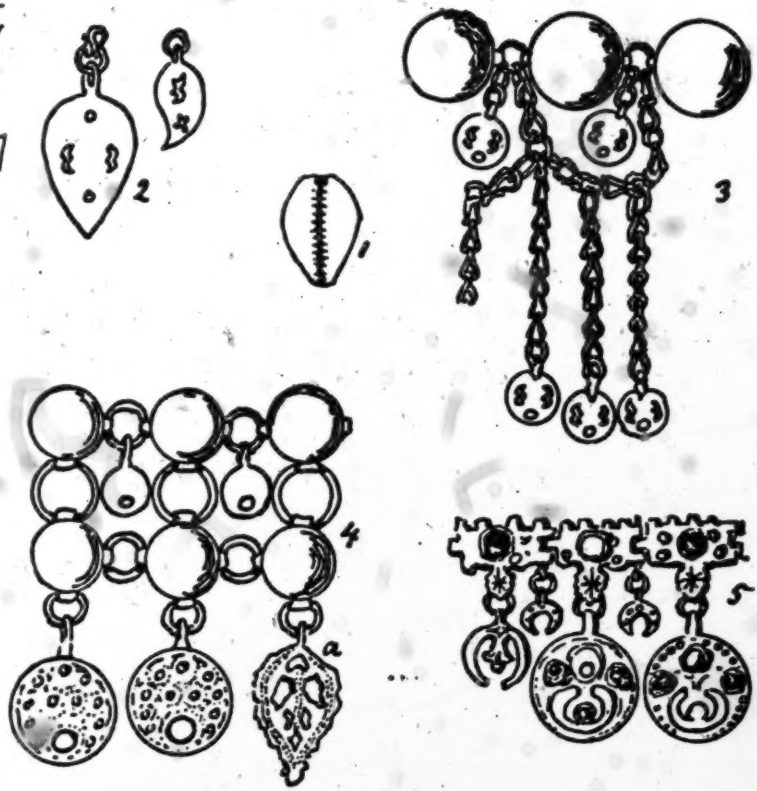

FIG. 19—SPECIMENS SHOWING EVOLUTION OF ORNAMENT FROM COWRY

1. Natural cowry. 2. Pendant common in North Albania. 3. Necklace from Kolashin, Montenegro (old specimen). 4. Breast ornament from Nikaj, North Albania (modern). 5. Old necklace, Scutari.

A [531] doves perch on many a wooden grave-cross. Especially good examples are at Boga. A dove forms part of the decorative design worked on the scarlet cloak worn by the Catholic married women of Scutari, as A 142 does also the serpent. My repeated inquiries failed to find any explanation of this dove. "It must be some old tale which we have forgotten," 171 was the reply of the embroiderers. The Glasinatz amulets from ancient

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1

pre-Christian and pre-Slav days show the tale to have been, indeed, so old as to justify its being forgotten. The dove appears, too, on a pair of silver earrings I have from Mirdita. A 142 171

Many of the Hallstadt period bronze ornaments, notably a number of tiny pendants in the form of buckets, cups, jugs, crosses, and animals, found at Prozor in Croatia (Kunst Histor. Museum, Vienna, Room XIII, 31), are extraordinarily like the strings of little household and other articles which dangle from a silver chain hooked to either side of the head-dress of the ~~women of Nish~~ in Serbia. Shoes, scissors, ploughs, plates, hammers, hatchets, hoes, pistols, the war-club ("buzdovan"), and sword are mixed with frogs, hares, and cocks. The cross, the ladder, and the paten usually hang in the middle, thus bringing the ornament into Christian times as the pistol does into "civilized ones." This curious chain hangs under the chin. It was still being made by the local silversmiths in 1902 and much worn. I had seen nothing like it anywhere else till I found, in the Kunst Hist. Museum in Vienna, a sumptuous gold chain a yard long, found in 1797 at Szilagy Somlyo in Hungary, along with fifteen big gold medals of Roman emperors set in gold frames—three of Maximianus, seven of Valens, one of Valentinianus, one of Constantine the Great, two of Constantius, and one of Gratianus. Thus from A.D. 284 to A.D.383. The official catalogue describes it: "The principal object is the chain (No. 290), with models of implements of all sorts." I found ox-yoke, ladder, adze, several hammers, trident, straight sword, shield, war-club, pincers, tongs, scissors, ploughshare, axe, curved sword, reaping-hook, spear-heads, and an outstretched hand. In the centre hangs a ball of topaz, on which stands a golden vase on which two lions set their paws. Above the ball and attached to the chain is a curious dugout canoe in which a man with an oar sits. The whole is beautifully worked in solid gold and is very magnificent—the lordly ancestor of the peasant ornament still made in inferior silver at Nish. S [301]

The twisted chain-link is the same; so are the bulk of the implements—and nothing resembling this chain of implements have I found elsewhere. Did the Hallstadt folk of Prozor wear those little bronze pots and vases on a chain? For whom and when was the golden chain of Somlyo wrought? And why do the smiths of Nish still imitate it? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In Bosnia very elaborate head-dresses were, till recently, worn by women with plumes of coloured grasses, peacock's feathers, beads, coins, and dingle-dangles, all designed to attract the Evil Eye away from the wearer. Perhaps the subtlest way is to wear a small looking-glass, for the Evil Eye then throws its evil glance upon itself. Best of all was to wear the glass at the back of the head on the headkerchief, Y 777 754

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

Both the name and the food taboos being even to-day so common in the Balkans, it is strange to find Herodotus, so many centuries ago, mentioning both as peculiar customs of the Ionians and explaining them thus: "Even those who esteemed themselves the most noble of the Ionians on first settling in the country brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women whose husbands they put to death. In consequence of this violence the women made a compact which they delivered to their daughters never to sit at meals with their husbands nor to call them by their appropriate names" (Bk. I, c. xlvi). He, however, expressly states that these Ionians were of very mixed origin, saying that: "Molossians, Pelasgians of Arcadia, and Dorians of Epidaurus were mingled with them." These are some of the oldest known Balkan tribes. The Molossians especially were in South Albania. The food and name taboos were thus possibly brought from the Balkans to Asia by the men. Judging by the present Balkan peoples, it is far more likely that the customs should have been enforced by them on their captured wives than that Herodotus's explanation should be correct.

B 262 175 171 562

4. Taboo on Showing the Face

The amount of veiling done by the women varies very considerably among the Balkan peoples, I know. The most closely veiled and hooded of all were the Moslem Slavs of Mostar and Serajevo. The Moslem Slav, whether called Serb or Croat, is a very strict Mohammedan.

A H 784 562

This may be because the Bosnians and Herzegovinians—the Bosnians more especially—adopted Islam in many cases as early as the fifteenth century, whereas the Albanians, upon whom it sits far more lightly, and a very large number of whom belong to the heretical Bektashi sect, became Mohammedan mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some in the nineteenth. The women of the Moslem Albanian mountain tribes are never veiled, and will come to market and bargain freely with any man, their faces more exposed than those of many Christians.

A 794 562 292 171

In the towns, which were under the rule of Turkish officials whose womenfolk possibly set the fashions, the Albanian Moslem women were all more or less closely veiled. In Dulcigno they almost exceeded the hooding of Mostar, and have preserved the custom under the rule of the Montenegrin, which was forced upon them by the pious efforts of Mr. Gladstone.

A 292 171

The veiling of women was, however, not unknown in Ancient Greece, and the veiling or partial veiling of both men and women was practised in various primitive and non-Moslem lands. The usual explanation of

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

A [186]

Y A 292 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

562 561 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

Y

A [12] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

A Y

M 754 776 774 Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

A Y M 777 "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

A 585 777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

291 wear a coat of thick white woollen stuff, red trousers, an embroidered apron with fringe half a yard long, and on the head a blue kerchief. The dress of the Christians is similar in form but usually of a violet colour. The *yashmak* and *feridgé* (veil and cloak) of [563] the Turkish women is worn out of doors by the [562] Moslem women in the towns, and also, if they live in close proximity to Moslems, by the Christian women. The cloak of the latter is, however, of a different shape and of a light red colour, with a cross embroidered in front. This distinctive dress is said to have been imposed by a native pasha, who, being attracted by a Christian girl, not knowing her to be such, asked her in marriage and was refused.

The country women, however, both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about unveiled. Their costumes vary extremely in detail, but are generally of stout homespun and felt, and in [171] form resemble those of the Greek and Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia, the leading features of which are two aprons worn under a coat. In the villages of the plains, however, a blue petticoat, trimmed [531] with red bands, is worn over an embroidered linen gown, with a bodice of white cloth embroidered in black.

302 Albanian ladies appear to be even more addicted than Osmanlis to the use of cosmetics. No sooner are they married than they begin to dye their hair [303] with a decoction made from gall-nuts and palm oil, paint their eyelashes, and extend their eyebrows till they meet over the nose. For their skins they use a "wash" in which various deleterious ingredients

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

If, however, she returns home and marries into another 587
family, her father pays to her first husband's heirs, or to her son if she have one, half the dowry promised at her second betrothal. With the exception of her deceased husband's brother, a woman may not re-marry in the same village without the consent of his relatives. In the mountains of Pulati this is [628]
never given, and a vendetta follows if it is dispensed with. If the betrothed man die, his brother has also the right to marry the betrothed maiden, but must pay to her parents, in addition to the dowry already promised, a hundred and fifty piastres.

An Albanian has the right to beat his wife if she 593
misconducts herself, but this right is little exercised except among the Liaps, who are the rudest and most brutal of all Albanians. He must, however, be careful not to draw blood even in the most trifling degree, for, if a wife receives a mere scratch in the course of a castigation, she complains to her parents, who cite the husband before the authorities. The penalty [681]
consists chiefly in the payment of a considerable fine, which becomes the private property of the woman abused.

Divorce is not uncommon among the Moslem Al- 586
banians, who follow in this respect the customs of the [171]
Ottomans, the husband paying to the discarded wife the sum specified in the marriage contract in view of such a contingency. The divorce generally takes place at the instance of the husband, but the wife may also claim it for a limited number of reasons. If, for instance, a man has left his native town or village, and does not return within the period fixed by the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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553 belong. With the Moslems no religious character is
852 attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male
[779] relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father
[608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his godchild;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a
[302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 Although the Albanian beys have neither written
554 charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these
[779 177] ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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585 are fired incessantly, and the strains of wild music
184 echoing from the surrounding hills add to the animation of the scene.

The wedding ceremonies observed in Southern Albania, in so far as they differ from those of the Northern Albanians, resemble very closely the Greek country customs described in the preceding volume.[1]

764 The funeral observances of the Albanians also re-
171 semble in some degree those of the Greeks. Family ties are equally strong in both races, and the death of a relative is always a source of poignant grief to the
763 survivors. The demonstrations of sorrow are loudest and most heartrending when a man or woman dies in the prime of life. When he is believed to be at the point of death, the women watching round him give utterance to frightfully piercing cries and shrieks, upon hearing which the friends hasten to the house of mourning in order to take part in the death chorus. When the last breath is drawn, all the near female relatives of the deceased who are not past middle age —wife, sisters, sisters-in-law, and daughters—testify their grief by beating their breasts, scratching their faces until the blood flows, and tearing out or cutting off their hair. In their utter abandonment of sorrow they also beat their heads against the walls of the room, calling wildly upon the deceased by his or her name, often exhausting themselves to such a degree as to lose for the time the use of their voices. With the weaker among them these frenzies of sorrow gene-

[1] Chapter iii. An account of these ceremonies may be found in Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, and Dozon, *Contes Albanais*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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also made use of by the Albanian highlanders generally, when settling matters of importance. According to this writer, quoting from M. Ampère,[1] a similar custom also existed among the ancient Romans. Sylla, on leaving Rome to fight against Mithridates, required Cinna to swear, not by the national divinities, but on the Sacred Stone, and according to an ancient rite of the Etruscans, to make no innovations during his absence. Cinna, when pronouncing this oath, placed the stone on his shoulder, and then threw it backwards, while he pronounced, in a loud voice, the curses which should fall upon him were he false to his promise. The taking of this oath in Albania is attended with the same ceremonies. It is sworn by the elders of the *phars*, or clans, on the occasion of settling serious disputes, such as those concerning the boundaries of village lands, or other communal matters. The elders of the two tribes, Christian or Moslem, after taking the Oath of the Stone, assemble in council and settle the question at issue.

This oath, in another form, also enters into everyday speech. In course of conversation, when a Gheg wishes to emphasise what he is saying, he takes up in his hand, or points to, the nearest stone, saying, "By this weight" (*Per ket pésh*), and a Tosk makes use of the phrase, "By the heaviness of this stone" (*Per te rond te keti gúr*).[2]

The Supernals, with which the Albanian women terrify themselves and their children, appear to be, for the most part, like those of the Bulgarians,

[1] *Histoire des Romains à Rome.* [2] Wassa Effendi, *Op. cit.*

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776 personifications of the powers of Nature. Of these imaginary beings, some belong exclusively to Albania, while others may also be found among the super- [171] stitions of Slavs, Greeks, and Turks. The Vilas seem to approach most nearly to our own fairies; though, like the Nereids of the Greeks, they are of the full stature of mortals. Like our fairies, too, it is unlucky to mention them by name, and they are generally referred to as "Those outside," "The Happy Ones," the "Brides of May," or "The Brides of the Mountain." As a rule they are harmless, if not offended, and amuse themselves with elfish tricks, such as taking little children up to the roof of the house to play with and bringing them back safely. 776 They, however, take it very ill when mortals disturb 753 them in their haunts, and interrupt their banquets; and 761 so capricious are they, that they will place themselves invisibly in spots where they are likely to be disturbed, in order to have a little vent for their pent-up malice. The unlucky wight who sets an irreverent foot within their elfin rings receives a stroke from an invisible hand, and ere long sickens and dies. In consequence of this belief, it is said of one for whose death no adequate cause can be assigned, "He has received a blow."

776 The favourite haunts of the Vilas are retired and shady spots, but they also have a partiality for the gutters on the eaves of houses, which it is a rather risky matter to clean out, especially at night. The Vilas are said, in North Albania, to be of two kinds—well-disposed and beautiful beings, who ride about on fleet horses; and ill-disposed and hideous creatures,

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When our hero returned, they repeated to him the 539
words of his wife. Without losing a moment, he bought three pairs of iron shoes, and set out in search of her. On the spot at which he had arrived when the last pair was worn out he built a khan, where travellers might eat and drink without paying, and he questioned them as to what they had seen on their journeys. One said, "Not far from here I had let my water-cask fall, and it rolled to the bottom of a ravine. When I went down to find it, I saw twelve maidens bathing in a fountain."

At these words our hero rushed out of doors, and the traveller having described to him the spot, he approached the bathers unperceived, seized the dress of his wife, and threw it into the fire which they had kindled in order to wash their clothes. Her dress burnt, the Beauty had no means of escaping him again, for in it was contained all her magic power, and she returned with her husband to the king.

The story of the "Maiden promised to the Sun" is [538 171] made up of two separate episodes, both of which have their variants in the folk-lore of the Greeks and Bulgarians. In the Greek variant[1] of the first part of the story, the maiden is stolen by a ray of sunshine which enters through the key-hole, and carries her to his master. Two hares are commissioned to take her back to her mother, who silvers the tail of the surviving one as a reward for its services. A Bul-

[1] Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, No. 41.

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539 garian ballad[1] also describes the stealing of a maiden by the Sun. Prayers addressed to Nature-powers, as to the Sun in this story, are not uncommon in Greek and Albanian folk-tales, though the name of God is occasionally substituted for or added to them.[2] The following is, however, the only instance of the Sun or other power voluntarily relinquishing his captive. In [538 171] a Greek parallel to the second part of the story, Τὸ μαχαίρι της σφαγῆς, &c., "The Knife of Slaughter,"[3] a Gipsy woman is substituted for the slave. The incident of the man transformed to stone by a spell is of frequent occurrence, as, for instance, in the story from the island of Astypaleá, Τὸ χρουσὸ ἄλογο, "The Golden Horse,"[4] and in the Gipsy story of "The King's Son and the Daughter of the Dervish."[5]

The Maiden who was Promised to the Sun.[6]

There was, and there was not.[7] There was once a queen who had no child, and she prayed continually the Sun to give her one, were it only a girl; when [582] she should be twelve years old,[8] she added, the Sun could have her back again.

Finally the queen had a daughter, and she went

[1] Dozon, *Chants Bulgares*, No. xii.

[2] See, for instance, Von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, Nos. iv. v. liv. and cxii.

[3] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 49, translated by Geldart in the little volume somewhat too ambitiously entitled *The Folk-lore of Modern Greece*.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 80. [5] See below, p. 370.

[6] Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, No. vii.

[7] The usual preface to an Albanian folk-tale. The Magyar formula, *Volt, nem volt*, has the same meaning.

[8] The marriageable age.

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539 wards the Pasha's son-in-law arrived to fetch the article ordered. The blacksmith gave him the handkerchief, which he carried to his father-in-law.

When the Pasha saw him alive before his eyes, he trembled in every limb; but what was his grief when, on opening the handkerchief, he found the head of his son! However, he made no sign, but gave this order to his groom—"To-night, if the horses fight, leave them alone, so that my son-in-law may go down and quiet them. Do thou, however, be behind the door, with a bludgeon in thy hand, and the moment he appears, smash his skull."

"Very well," was the reply.

During the night, the horses having begun to fight, the Pasha called to his son-in-law to go and quiet them, but his wife persuaded him not to get up, saying that they would soon stop. The Pasha, who thought that this time he was really dead, went out of his room and crept softly towards the stable. The groom thought it was the son-in-law coming, and with one blow struck him dead.

Then the youth took the power into his own hands, and became Pasha in place of the other. And so it all fell out as the Third Woman had foretold, at the time of his birth, that he should supplant the Pasha.

Our story is done. The youth was lucky, and may we be luckier still!

538 The following story of The Three Brothers and the
●171 Three Sisters has many parallels in Greek folk-tale. In an Epirote variant the sisters are married respect-

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ively to a lion, a tiger, and an eagle,[1] and in the others we have besides the "Mother of Night," the Mother of the Sun, of the Moon, and of the Wind, who protect the princess against their own sons.[2] 538 171

The Three Brothers and the Three Sisters.[3]

There were, and there were not. There were once three brothers who had three sisters, and they married them, and gave the first to the Sun, the second to the Moon, and the third to the South Wind.[4] 539

Some time afterwards, I don't know how long, the brothers said to each other, "Let us go to our sisters and see how they fare." So without wasting time they made ready for the journey, took their provisions, and set off. As they were going the night overtook them when they were on a plain near a mountain. So they stopped there, took out their provisions, and made a fire. Supper finished, the eldest of the brothers said to the others:

"Lie down and sleep, and I will watch and keep guard for fear that some one might come to rob or kill us."

So the two younger ones slept, and he mounted guard. Presently a Koutchédra, seeing the light, came up, and, her mouth watering at the sight of the men, she threw herself upon the one who was watching, to eat him. But he with a shot from

[1] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια; No. 12, *Gr. und Alb. Märchen*, No. 25.
[2] *Ibid.* No. 10.
[3] Dozon, *Langue Chkipe*, No. xxiv., *Contes Albanais*, No. xv.
[4] *Youga.* In Albanian, as in Servian and Bulgarian, the moon and the south are masculine, and from this circumstance M. Dozon was of opinion that this story is of Slav origin.

[821]

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114 penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud.
[608] For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no
[577] doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

171 It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that
721 of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss
[826] Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants,
[842] its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance
[583] is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the
[302] head by Albanians (p. 230), as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but
[628] quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other
000 primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

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embodied in a code there is an end to its spontaneous development. But to reach this stage the code must be an enacted code, written and recorded, and this the pronouncements of the Albanian law-givers failed to achieve. On the contrary their codes seem to have remained in the verbal custody of the village or tribal elders and subject to modification or reinterpretation from time to time by assemblies of clans or villages. It is at this stage that we have Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian customary law—law primitive enough in many ways to be compared with the customary law of tribes much less civilized than the Albanians; but it reached the point, and that some five hundred years ago, of becoming codified verbally by the efforts of individual law-givers, Skanderbeg in particular and the famous Lek Dukagjini, without having reached the stage of enactment. This was principally due to the fact that there was no one able to enforce sanctions over the Albanian community as a whole; individual Albanian chieftains had not the power, and Turkish rule interfered but little outside the towns. It was no doubt this absence of any such sanctions as those provided by an enacted law and enforced by a settled government, or merely even by the continuity in administration of a single ruling family, which was the primary cause of the firm establishment of the vendetta as the real sanction for all Albanian law and custom. At the same time, however, economic conditions have probably contributed to this result, for in a richer country the administration of justice might have been made profitable to any ruler strong enough to provide it. Thus Albanian customary law not only reflects an economic stage through which most nations have passed before the establishment of enacted codes, but also a condition, by no means unique but very far from universal, in which poor and isolated communities have resorted to the vendetta for the sanction of their law, and that in spite of any influence that Christianity or Islam might have had to prevent it. The etiquette of the vendetta itself is likewise a customary code not dissimilar to taboo in nature and origins; and without any more definite sanction, or naturally any sort of legislative enactment, regular and almost technical forms of procedure have come into existence in what virtually are regularly constituted courts. In this the Icelandic practices, as described in the sagas of Njal and Kormak, for instance, afford a near parallel to those of Albania, and Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian custom will prove of importance not

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merely to ethnologists and social anthropologists but also to those concerned with the early history of jurisprudence.

Apart from that the contents of this volume are likely to be of no little interest to the general reader as giving an account of the unfamiliar way of life of a people of very distinct and individual culture, who have throughout history taken pride and pleasure in their separateness. For the Albanians, direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians, still retain something of their ancient form of Aryan speech very distinct from that of other branches of the family; they still retain an ancient tribal system; and they still have that passionate love of independence which caused many of them to forsake their native mountains and form settlements in Greece, Calabria, and Sicily when their country was occupied by the Turks after the death of their leader Skanderbeg (George Castriota) in 1467. As a result of the Turkish conquest several of the Albanian tribes changed from Christianity to Islam, and there are now many Muslim Albanians as well as both Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. The Mirdite, who constitute the biggest tribe, were perhaps at one time Orthodox, and are now staunch Catholics. But their profession of faith seems to have affected but little the adherence of the Albanians to their ancient customs.

J. H. HUTTON

NEW RADNOR
June 1953

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No. 1935-76. This is a very fine cotton net veil measuring 4 feet (1·3 m.) square, handsomely embroidered in floss silk. The design consists of a border 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide, of which a small portion near a corner is illustrated in Fig. 8; large corner motives of a bouquet form, about 14 inches (35·6 cm.) square, reach almost to the centre and little floral sprays spot the remaining space.

FIG. 8.—Part of the silk outlined and darned border on a silk lace veil.

The style of the lace, as can be seen from Fig. 8, is a fairly free treatment of floral forms. It is executed in an outline of double running with darning stitches and satin stitch as the chief filling-in stitches, although there are some ornamental filling stitches and overcast eyelets.

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The method of working this embroidered lace is similar in style and execution to the darned laces worked in England in the early 19th Century, and to some of those of Austria and Hungary of the same period and of somewhat earlier date*.

* "Peasant Art in Austria and Hungary." The Studio, Special Number, Autumn 1911.

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The two head scarves also depicted on Plate XV are good specimens of embroidery in metal thread, and have a strong affinity with Turkish work.

No. 1936-46. The scarf shown at "E" is from northern Albania, and is of cream coloured, gauze-like muslin, worked entirely in gold thread and gold plate. One of the motives has been enlarged at "g" in order to show how the two working materials have been used. The edge near the decorated ends is closely buttonholed with cream silk.

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No. 1935-92. The other example, drawn at "F" on Plate XIV, is of much more skilled workmanship. The material is hand-woven silk with broad stripes of heavier silk weft, and the embroidered ends are worked in a pale gold thread with touches of vivid colours here and there. The two motives have a likeness to the familiar pine pattern of India and Persia, and are filled in solidly with gold basket-stitch separated by double lines of slanting stitches giving the effect of a plait. The two ends are beautifully finished off by a scalloped edge of needle-point worked in fine cream silk with the tiny scallops filled in with black.

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The remaining five scarf head-dresses, which are worn with the worked ends hanging down the back, are all from Zadrima, a district near Scutari, on the banks of the river Drin. Two of them are for festival wear, and these both have their patterns worked mainly in gold thread, with outlines and some smaller motives in crimson, emerald and purple silk.

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No. 1935-34. The handsomer of the two has a foundation of fine yellow cotton gauze, with weft stripes of different widths of white silk. It is hand-woven, and there are 36 warp ends and 60 weft picks to the inch in the plain parts of the cloth, which is 19 inches (48·2 cm.) wide and, including the scanty weft fringe at the ends, 4 feet 8 inches (1·4 m.) long.

The handsome border at either end is 11¾ inches (29·8 cm.) wide, including three, quarter-inch, gold thread weft stripes filling a space of 2 inches (5·1 cm.) on either side of the main pattern. The latter is divided by four narrow, multiple weft stripes of white, gold, red and green into a wide central border and two narrower ones.

The wider border consists of paired and single lozenges used alternately, their longer diagonals being horizontal, and in between them vertical zig-zag lines. All these are brocaded in by means of small free spools carrying three gold threads wound tape-wise. The gold lozenges are outlined with scarlet, purple and green floss silk, also worked in by means of free spools.

The narrower borders consist of single lozenges in gold, also outlined in colours, and with small, coloured silk devices between.

The effect of brocading each small motive by its individual spool produces a similar result to a darned-in pattern.

No. 1937-7. The other "festal" head-dress is similar in material although the cotton gauze ground is of a more greenish yellow, and its weft stripes are of cotton instead of silk. It is 20 inches (50·8 cm.) wide and 4 feet 4 inches (1·3 m.) in length, but the decorative borders at the ends are only 5 inches (12·7 cm.) wide, consisting of a wide central pattern and two narrower ones divided by multiple weft stripes.

[Text continues on p. 65]

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"As a rule these embroidered towels are from wedding outfits, the bride's coffer." (M.E.D.).

No. 1937·11. Perhaps the most interesting of the embroidered group is an old marama bought at Prizren in 1908, which is probably Moslem Albanian work. It is of fine hand-spun and loosely woven cotton rather like a muslin, with groups of wide, double weft stripes in cotton and finer weft stripes in silk.

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In its length of four feet there are five plainly woven bands, three inches wide, decorated with free spool-woven "ibriks" or water vessels, and the plainly woven ends are embroidered. (Plate XVIIA).

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"The ibrik is a spouted vessel used to pour water on guests' hands before and after a meal. As no forks are used fingers needed washing, and it is probable that the native was taught hand-washing at meals by the Turk, who was not such a bad fellow as some people make out. 'Marama' and 'ibrik' are both Turkish words." (M.E.D.).

The two tethered beasts are worked in a violet-red silk in pulled stitch ("c" Plate XV), with outlines in pale blue and cream of the Turkish stitch shown at vi. in "d" on the same plate. This stitch, in apricot pink and pale yellow with a pale blue outline, is also used for filling in the animals' legs.

The "tree of life", to which the beasts are tethered by chains made of squares of gold thread, has a stem of gold plate worked diagonally bearing green leaves. The spots are worked in gold plate and the whole design has affinities with Persian pattern.

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No. 1937·12. Another "marama" of a similar weave, also with stripes weft of cotton and silk, has its ends embroidered with a procession of boldly stylised cocks, gaily worked in aniline dyed silks and gold thread (Plate XVIIB). Although the use of aniline dyes indicates that this towel is not very old, the pattern is probably a traditional one.

The body of each cock is outlined and the feet are worked in black, the head and most of the body is filled in with a flat or satin stitch in gold thread, as indicated by the slanting lines in the enlarged drawing, with a band of pulled stitch across the middle worked in violet. At the extreme edge there is a narrow border worked in coral pink, a colour which is also introduced as a small patch on the cock's neck.

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No. 1937·13. A motive representing "the dove returning to the ark" is repeated at the ends of a guest towel made of machine woven muslin (Plate XVIIC).

"This marama was obtained from Prizren and might be either Christian, Serb or Albanian work. The Ark seems to be based on the state galleys of the Middle Ages when Venice held the Adriatic coast, and is probably a traditional design. The curious running pattern below looks as though it might be symbolic, possibly a conventionalised dove, just the head and legs." (M.E.D.).*

The dark lines in the drawing are all worked in green in Turkish stitch, the bank of oars in the same stitch in red, and the dove in violet. The slanting lines represent flat or satin stitch worked in gold thread. Turkish stitch in violet, with a gold thread line down the centre, is used for the little border below the ark design. The whole of the plain part of the towel has a rolled edge very neatly oversewn, but where

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*, Vol. XXIII, No. 5, 1923.

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the patterned section comes this is replaced by a very fine picot edge worked in orange silk.

No. 1937·5. One half of an end of a gaily embroidered "marama" is drawn at "E" on Plate XVI. The material is hand-woven cotton of a muslin-like texture, which again has both silk and cotton weft stripes. The pattern shows a strong Turkish influence, the towel being bought in Prizren in 1908. Prizren was then in Turkish ter!

Gold thread and black silk help to tone down the gay, but rather hard, aniline greens, red, pink and violet, and the final result is bright but pleasing. Gold thread is used for the running border, lining the stems, filling in the white berries of the drawing and the square spots. The large and the fern-like leaves are solidly filled in with a variant of the Turkish stitch, in which the stitches are sloped both going and returning so that it is like two rows of a slanted running stitch. A rough fringe of the warp ends finishes off the lower edges. The selvedges at the sides have not been finished off in any way, and the carry over of the spools of silk and doubled cotton which were used for the stripes leave it rather untidy.

No. 1936·49. Another towel of similar material to the last, but with a whipped selvedge, has a design of crimson roses with green, gold and black leaves. With the exception of a little pulled stitch in gold, the stitches used are also similar, but there is in addition a charming little border near the lower edge. The towel is another example from Prizren and the design is of Persian origin.

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No. 1936·58. A muslin marama from Scutari has whipped selvedges and a border at the ends of highly conventionalised flower sprays worked in pale blue, dull violet and pale blue silk in Turkish stitch, with flowers formed of three squares filled in with gold plate.

A border below the main pattern consists of double buds or flowers in gold plate which somewhat resemble crosses.

No. 1937·14. The last specimen of an embroidered towel is of machine-woven material and has a flower design without special interest.

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No. 1935·32. A very fine old "marama" from the Kolašin district of hand-woven cotton with wide weft stripes of a coarser cotton has six rows of the "ibrik" motive and four rows of a triangular motive woven on the plain material between the stripes.

Both these designs are woven in by means of small free spools, or possibly needles, and the same thick cotton weft is used as that for the stripes. The handsome border at the ends (Plate XVIID) is also woven in by a number of free spools, producing a result like fine darning in which the needle would go over one thread and under one thread of the fabric alternately.

The only materials used are Turkey red and black cotton, and a very fine gold thread.

The flowers are centred with gold and have red petals with gold spots, the whole being outlined with a band of black. Leaves and other details are chiefly outlined in red and filled in with gold. A weft stripe of red near the end has inserts of little triangles on the gold, and an amusing fringe made of the twisted warp ends is decorated with red and black beads, probably Venetian, small Turkey red tassels and an imitation coin.

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

342 The simplest stone buildings are made of dry masonry. Windows are lacking. The roof may be made of two rows of boards, 30-40 centimeters wide and rather thick, which are weighted down with stones or with a beam at the eaves. Occasionally they may have a hipped roof covered with stone slabs (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). More common are buildings of mortar and stone. When the interior is partitioned, interior walls are of lighter material, wickerwork or [171] wooden boards. Whereas in Rumania and most of the southern Slav area the entrance leads to the central kitchen, on each side of which are symmetrical rooms, in Albania the hearths are located on either side of the building and there is only a passage between the two side rooms (figs. 50, 51) (Nopcsa, 1925: 39).

More often than one-story houses, one finds two-story ones (only the kulas may have more than two stories). The ground floor has storage rooms and stables, while the second story has two rooms. The stairway to the second story is located on the outside. Often one finds a two-story house that has a veranda along the whole front and a massive masonry stairway leading up to it (fig. 49). When the veranda is encompassed by the side walls of the house it is called a shamashin, when not enclosed, čardak (Nopcsa, 1925: 43). In the veranda house, the basement space under the veranda and the rooms may be partitioned off with dry masonry or wooden boards into small rooms for storage and animals (Nopcsa, 1925: 44).

The stairs leading up to the second story may have wooden banisters. The roof may project over the stairs, or a separate canopy roof may be built over them. Sometimes a small stairway house is built over it (fig. 53) which makes for greater security when stepping out of the house. (The position of the door is always an important factor in Albania). Nopcsa (1925: 53) believes that this staircase is an independent development. One part of the veranda may be walled in to form a small room (fig. 50). The pattern of building separate houses for family members when the family gets too large is not known in Albania. However, in northern Albania this is given consideration when building additions to the house or making changes. If one needs more room, the building is enlarged or a room may be subdivided. Fig. 51 represents modification of a building into two separate units each with its own stairway.

342 Kulas are high tower-like structures of massive masonry that [112] can be defended by a few men. Instead of windows they have loop- [347] holes and sometimes have a bastion-like defense structure on their upper story (fig. 54). Special construction for defense is found even in some of the simple one-room dairy houses. Thus, in one inside corner may be erected a structure, 2.5 meters long and 1.5 meters high, of solid walls covered with a slab roof. It looks very much like an oven, especially as the opening is only 75 centimeters high and 75 centimeters wide (Nopcsa, 1925: 52).

The door of the kula is generally to one side. Stairs to the second story are on the inside and may be merely ladders that lean

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view. 342 712

Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects are placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwork and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81). 342 342 354 [417] [352]

Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 39, 41). 351 [712]

The kukor is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The koš for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure. 343 [251] [171]

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A 342 [114] consideration the remarks of all other previous investigators, especially those of J. Von Hahn (1) and A. Haberlandt (2).

According to Nopcsa, the social status existing in Albania which, as Haberlandt remarked, has not changed since the medieval years, the lack of security, frequent revolutions and the systematic burning by the Turkish army of the houses of the fugitives from justice, contributed, before 1900, in bringing the housing situation to a very low level. Inhabitants of some mountainous regions of Albania (Sala, Kastrati), have stated that any relatively high buildings were considered as a novelty introduced into the country only before sixty years. According to Nopcsa, before the introduction of the two-storey house with a prostoon and of the Kula, the Albanians, who live in mountainous regions, the two-thirds of the country being at an altitude of over 1.000 meters, must have inhabited low huts, comprising one or two rooms at most and covered with hay or branches. Generally speaking, the evolution from the simpler forms of housing to the more composite ones has been very slow and toilsome in Albania, comparable to the slow process of Albanian civilisation.

A [133]

A [127]

Here below I shall try to consider the house of Northern Albania, studied by Nopcsa, and, as regards Middle Albania (3), I shall only refer to the little but verified information we have from von Hahn and Ekrem bei Vlora (4).

According to Nopcsa, we distinguish in Albania a) houses of temporary or semi-temporary and permanent character, and b) houses built of timber, of other organic material and of stone.

In Northern Albania we first see the most primitive forms of housing, such as the cave dwellings of the Cem valley with the Cruda tribe, which entirely correspond to the prehistoric shelters. Caves formed at the ends of the valley, were enclosed by stone

Y [342]

1) **J. G. von Hahn,** Albanische Studien. Jena 1853/54.

2) **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien. Zeitschrift für Oesterreichische Volkskunde, Ergänzungsband 23, Wien 1918 — Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1919.

A [171]

3) The area to the South of the Avlon gulf, as far as the Greek border is not examined in this book. This area is very wrongly referred to as Southern Albania in foreign surveys The houses of this region are those of North Epirus and their building style is purely Greek.

4) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** Aus Berat und vom Tomor. Tagebuchblätter (Zur Kunde d. Balkanh. 13) Sarajevo 1911.

342 the above single-room house; thus there are now two doors in the house, corresponding to the internal, in fact only theorical, division of the room (1) (fig. 64). The floor consists of well beaten earth.

In later years, this internal division of the room was materielised by the erection of a real wall dividing the room into two serarate [354] spaces. In some areas, this dividing wall runs parallel to the long side of the house; two dwellings are thus formed, each having a separate fireplace (Plate XVIII 5). But the most common division of space is that done by a transversal wall, i.e. running at right angles

Fig. 63. Houses near Dinoshi, in the area of tribe Grnda
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 34)

to the main pole. This wall is always built of lighter material (woven branches or planks) than the outer walls.

[354] Of the above two rooms one contains the fireplace and it is the [574] dwelling of men and the guest-room for visitors. The other, with no fireplace, is a sort of ante-room and it is used as cellar and dwelling for women. (Plate XVIII 3).

● 171 The entrance is always in the ante-room, through which one 342 enters the main room where the fireplace is. This is, according to 354 Nopcsa, a difference to be noted when comparing the above house to the corresponding Serbian and Croatian, which has the fireplace in the ante-room, as we have seen. This difference is also to be noted in the tripartite Albanian house. In Jugoslav and Rumanian regions,

1) The two separate doors can also be seen as a rule in houses of the villages in Attica. See **St. Kyriakidis**, Σπίτια καὶ καλύβια τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐν Ἠρεφελ. Ὁδοιπ. Συνδέσμου, 1926, p. 67.

342 the central-room, which has the entrance and the fireplace, is used
354 as a kitchen, and the two rooms on each side are living rooms. On
[171] the contary, in Albania and in Herzegovina—had Nopcsa known the Greek house he would have added Greece(¹)—there are rooms with fireplaces on each end of the house; a simple entrance between them is, according to Nopcsa, (and others before him), a proof that this room was previousley used as a stable (p. 39) (Plate XVIII 13). It must be noted that the fireplace has been moved from the party wall and is now always against the external wall of a short side, because this one is, as we have already said, more stoutly built than the middle one. This is the reason why in Middle Albania where, as

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Fig. 64. Winter dwelling of the Nikshi baïraktar in Bregumatja
(Nopcsa. Albanien, fig. 18)

354 noted by Hahn, the entire hut is usually built of timber, the wall of one narrow side, where the fireplace is built, is always made of stone or bricks.

Nopcsa attributes the construction of two-storey buildings in Albania not to a need to increase living space in hight, as it would be probable in a country where a horizontal increase is not always possible, because of the mountainous nature of the ground, but to the same reason why the floor of a wheat-store is built high over the ground, namely to the need for protection from dampness(²).

An example of a simple two-storey house is given by the plan

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1) Nopcsa knows the Greek dwellings only from the book of **De la Guilletière** Lacédémoine ancienne et nouvelle, Paris 1676, noting here and there some happy comparisons in building and other habits of Albanians and Maniates (pp. 39-54).

2) See **Fr. Oelmann,** p. 73, On the Composition of Multi-floored Buildings.

342 reason for building another house would be the dissolution of family
[592] bonds.

[171] Consequently, the system which exists in the Slav countries, to build separate, additional, small dwellings for young or married members of the family, is foreign to the housing customs of the Albanians.

As Nopcsa remarks (p. 49), a more developed and organically disposed house, like that pictured in Fig. 72, cannot easily be expanded, because of the serious difficulties created by a corridor running along it, as well as for the position of fireplaces and staircase. That these difficulties may be overcome, is shown by the house of Trushi (in Zadrima) Fig. 73.

[354] In this house, fireplaces have been moved to the front long wall and placed between two windows. Two staircases have been built

Fig. 73. Big house in Trushi, in the plain of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

in addition, with two prostoa opening at the centre. A twin house has thus been formed, each of which it is completely separate from the other. By the wooden extensions of both prostoa, some of which
[251] project and are supported dy wooden beams, there are formed some washing places known from our own villages; or cupboards, for victuals, that are protected against mice on the one hand, and are in a cool air draft on the other.

Similar constructions are seen in the veranda of an old two-storey house of Scodra (Fig. 74). This house is more than 125 years old and it is built at right angles, because of the smallness of the building plot. The ground floor includes a weaving room, an oil press, a stable, a wood store, etc.; living rooms are all in the upper floor.

In the front its centre is taken by a large open room, also disposed 342
at right angles, whose roof is supported by wooden poles. Both ends of the front part of the house are occupied by brick-walled rooms. The construction of a stone-built staircase, leading to the upper floor, is characteristic of the construction mode. The staircase consists of two branches, it is internal and pierces through the floor of the veranda. Its steps are supported by two quarter-circle arches, and the landing by a semi-circular arch. If Scodra were not mentioned in [171]
the picture, we would imagine this house to be in Yannena or Arta (1). It is well known, that steps placed on arches are widely used at

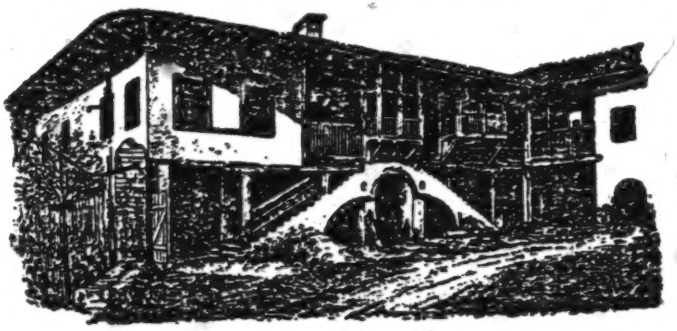

Fig. 74. Old house of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 36)

the houses of Mystras; they remained in use at the popular houses [171]
of Greece until the beginning of 19th century, a characteristic element of Byzantine architecture which, according to An. Orlandos, «not only resulted in economy of space and building materials, but also gave lightness and grace to the staircase» (2).

The house of Middle Albania presents a similar evolution as [184]
that of Northern Albania despite the great difference in habits and customs displayed by the population on either side of the Genouses (3).

1) **A. Zachos**, Ἠπειρ. Χρονικὰ vol. 3 (1928) Table 5, 6 and 8 **An. Orlandos**, Ἀρχ. Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος vol. B. pp. 186, 189, 191 **Ang. Hadjimihali**, L'Art Populaire Grec, Athènes. 1937 p. 59 Fig. 24. Comp. **Ang. Hadjimihali**, Ἑλλ. Λαϊκὴ Τέχνη, Athens 1931 p. 175 Fig. 179 Ρουμλούκι, Τρίκερι, Ἰκαρία.

2) See **An. Orlandos**, Ἀρχεῖον Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος. Volume C. 1937 p. 60 and foll.

3) See **A. Keramopoullos**, Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι γείτονες, p. 200.

A 342 We conclude this from the description of J. von Hahn who visited Albania during the middle of the 19th century. «Albanians», says [171] Hahn, «just like Greeks, seem to prefer the two-storey house. This takes the form of an elongated rectangle, divided into two parts both in the ground and in the upper floor. In the ground-floor one of them is a stable and the other a store-room.

» The two rooms of the upper floor have a long veranda in front of them, supported by wooden poles and opening on the yard. A staircase, covered by an extension of the roof, leads up to the veranda; two doors lead to rooms that do not communicate with each other. The women of the household sit and work in this veranda during almost the whole year.

A [369] » A considerable increase of space is effected at the veranda (as far as I know, only in urban houses) by the fact that the house itself does not comprise two, but three spaces, of which the third, a central one, does not regularly constitute a closed room, for there is no party wall between the two corner rooms and the veranda. The floor of this room is about one foot higher than that of the veranda, and it is used by the family for their meals, when the season of the year permits it. Now, if an increase of space is necessary, part of the veranda is separated and converted into a room, which is sometimes extended on this side of the veranda towards the courtyard; or the veranda is left intact and two corner rooms are built on either side of the staircase; these rooms are also facing the conrtyard, so that the veranda takes now the shape of a cross.

A [171] » This is the form which is taken as a besis in the final shape of the Turkish house (1), because even in the case when this or that or all the sections of the crossform building were converted into rooms, some indications in the consistence of the walls, the cornice and the

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1) **J. von Hahn** abuses here the word «Turkish» when he means the completed form of house which has developed after a long process of evolution during the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine years in Greek countries. The truth is that the Turks adopted the closed form of house, which opens into an internal courtyard, because of the secluded life their women live. The covered verandas and open rooms of Byzantine houses were especially pleasant to them, as they had a comfortable and protected view. The presence of this architectural element in the popular urban architecture of Greece, as remarks Prof. G [342] **A. Keramopoullos,** Αἱ δρύφρακτοι τῶν οἰκιῶν in rev. Archimidis 21 (1920) 61. is continuously witnessed from the 6th century B.C. up to this day. Turks have never been known as good house builders. Comp. **Gl. Markopoulos:** Ἡ λαϊκή μας ἀρχιτεκτονική, Athens 1945 p. 94.

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decorations allow us to discern that these rooms were[1] separated later on. When he was considering Hahn's descriptions, that prove of a most acute observation power this investigator of Greek and Albanian folklore was endowed with, Nopcsa already found some elements that bring the house of Middle Albania near that of Kastrati described above (p. 71), in what the development of the prostóon is concerned. Judging from the plans of houses in Dyrrachion and Rethi given by the Italian G. Rosati[2] in his survey, Nopcsa arrives at the conclusion that «the shape of such a house constitutes the regular type in Middle Albania»[3]. If seen more closely, the shapes of houses taken as a basis by Hahn show, however, a much more advanced stage of development than that of the best houses of Northern Albania; and the plans of these houses, I have drawn on Plate XVIII No. 16-19, are basically the same as the types of Greek house on Plates V 5[b] and IV 3[b-f]. It must also be noted that the completed shape of the Bosnian house (see above p. 91, Plate XVII 9) entirely corresponds to the type of house characterised by Hahn as Turkish (Plate XVIII 19).

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When examining the expansion of the prostyle wide-fronted house, Nopcsa finds that this house may be spread all over the Balkan peninsula, from the Peloponese to the area North of Skopje, but thinks that houses with a veranda are much more numerous in the Italian peninsula than in the Balkan[4]. This is perhaps the reason why he accepts the opinion of Haberlandt, who recognises a «Roman and an Italian medieval element» in Albanian housing architecture.

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As I have not been able to see the survey of A. Haberlandt,

1) **J. von Hahn,** Albanesishe Studien. Jena 1853 pp. 73 and 169 and foll.

2) I could not find the survey of Rosati, Condizioni agronomiche dell' Albania, 1915.

3) **Nopcsa,** op. cit. p. 46.

4) According to **Fr. Oelmann**, Haus and Hof im Altertum, p. 71, the portico which extends along the side of the rain-water drain (Längslaube) is the natural prolongation of the eagle-type wide-fronted house, especially if this house still comprises a single room, or if this room has been sub divided only internally. This may be seen in High Germany, High Italy, especially with Yugoslavs (Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria), and Rumanians, as well as with the inhabitans of New Caucasus (The Tcherkg); more rarely with the Tcechs and the Poles, and not at all in Russia and Northern Germany. But while Oelmann mentions Southern Soudan, Beast Africa, India and even China, he never mentions Greece, and completely ignores everything connected with modern Greek architecture.

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰωνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan seraja, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

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as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, « many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace » (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos. (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghia and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (3). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (4). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

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A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors aud is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

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1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ παλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc.).

2) **G. Megas,** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1E

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1921 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Staries on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 233), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania. A G 342 712 171

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1). A G [333]

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2). A 342 177 171

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate G [177]

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐκετ. Βυζ. Σπ. IB 85. See also **D Loukopoulos** Ἀιτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof, (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

A 342 171 177 G 177 G [331]

living space for men and women (haremlik for the women and selamlik for the men)(¹).

It may be said as a conclusion to the whole survey that, if we except simple primitive forms of the Albanian house, that belong probably to very ancient housing and building habits bequeathed to Albanians by the ancient Illyrians and Thracians, all the composite types of houses and especially the two-floor prostyle ones, as developed by the various modifications of the prostoon (προστῶον), as well as all forms of towers (kulas) have been imported into Albania from outside. Not only technique and evolution, but also geographical and historical relationship persuade that this progress of Albanian architecture is due to the activity of Epirot and Macedonian builders who, with their traditional technical skill, introduced better and more composite forms of housing into Albania. These builders, who travelled all over the country, have built many houses and have tought the art of building both to Albanians and to the other Balkan peoples.

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1) See the plan of an Albanian urban house of Berat by Ekrem bei Vlorë p. 57 and Plate VI.

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

It is also to be noted, with interest to the archaeologist, that there have been many traces found in the neighborhood of ancient Roman baths, but the secret of their architecture has been lost during the Turkish occupation, if not before. 172

Further into the north and central part of the country is to be found the old Monastery of St. John Vladimir, the most important Orthodox monastery in Albania. Here abounds the richest folklore and tradition of the natives of Central Albania. St. John Vladimir is quite unknown to the rest of the Orthodox world, but great faith is placed in him by thousands of the people in that part of the country. History has it that John Vladimir was a Serbian prince, murdered in 1016 on the Island of Presba in Macedonia, by his brother-in-law, John Vladislav, the last of the mediaeval Bulgar Tsars of Ochrida. His body, buried in the Church of Our Lady at his birth place, soon became the object of a pious religious cult; and due to the gentleness of his personality, the horrible method of his death, and the strange lights said to be seen on his grave, the followers of his day proclaimed him a saint, and his last resting place became renowned for its miraculous powers. 176 [178]

Butrinto

103 THE city of delight for the archaeologist is Butrinto—or the old Buthrotum, a classical city of the ancient world. In the third book of Virgil's *Aeneid*, it is written that Aeneas, after the sack of Troy and during his long travels of adventure, finds Andromache, the widow of Hector, in the fortress of Buthrotum. The next mention of this city is found in Julius Caesar's "De bello civili" which deals with the civil war against Pompeius. The final mentions of this city in classical literature are in Racine's "Andromaque" and in the tragedy "Buthrote, ville d'Epire."

• 172 The Italian archaeologist, Dr. Luigi M. Ugolini, worked in Albania, first at Fenike then at Butrinto. Among the most perfect of his excavations is an ancient Greco-Roman Theater formed in an amphitheatre with many of the sculptured columns still standing. Other discoveries are from the Roman colonization. In addition, these excavations have brought to light many magnificent pieces of sculpture, among which are a head of a

3: Redlich S-S (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

• 172 bearded man with extremely life-like eyes, a maiden with a headband set over natural-looking curly hair, and a statue of a warrior with the inscription Sosicles.

One of the most valuable finds in this collection is a marble head designated as the "Goddess of Butrinto" or "Venus of Butrinto," which King Zog I presented to the Prime Minister of Italy, Benito Mussolini, in 1929. This excellent work has been wrought with great character and a masterly technique with the materials of the time, so much so that it is believed to be from the hand of Praexiteles or one of his co-workers.

The excavation work is being successfully continued.

Of course, the position of Butrinto explains, to a great extent, the finding of these museum pieces, for this city lies in the extreme south of Albania on the coast opposite the island of Corfu.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

charred corpses, howling like wolves, donkeys, 775
pigs, black cats, crows, oil-jars, brooms, &c. The Karkantsoli is the reanimated corpse of a Gipsy, which is believed to wander about, more especially during [761]
January nights, ridden by cats, and slaying men with its poisonous breath.

In Albania, as in all the remoter parts of Turkey, 172
there is no Pelasgian ruin to which is not attached 776
some legend of a treasure hidden, and either "guarded 789
by word and by spell," or placed in the safe keeping of a gigantic Negro, Djin, or other Supernal. Those who have concealed treasure in such places have also, it is believed, fixed the time at which it may be brought to light, and have left to their heirs a document containing a description of the hiding-place, the formula of the magic spell pronounced over it at the moment of burial, with the year, day, and hour, on which alone it can be recovered.[1] At the appointed time the heir goes to the spot indicated, pronounces the mysterious words, and the treasure immediately rises to the surface. Sometimes, however, the treasure is buried in such a way that, at the appointed time, it rises spontaneously to the surface, and any one finding it may appropriate it. The lucky person must, however, be careful to keep his own counsel in the matter, or he will be punished by finding the gold turned to charcoal, and will not long survive the incident. When the treasure is in the keeping of a Negro, he 776
occasionally spreads it out in the sunshine in order that it may not be damaged by the damp, and, at the

[1] Compare the Kürdish story of "The Armenian and the Dervish," p. 169.

valley of Bulqis, where there are springs of 173
strange waters, and that as they passed through the forest—there was in those days a great forest in the Bulqis, where now there are fields of grain —they rested by one of the springs, in the place where the great rocks are standing in rows. There they heard a sound of singing in a strange tongue, but the end of the song they understood, and the end of the song was, 'Long live Lec, the son of Filip i dyte, Lec i Madhe, the king of the world!'[1]

[1]This story was told me in upper Thethis in the spring of 1921. In 114
the summer of 1922 I visited the Mati, accompanied by Annette Marquis 101
and Rrok Perolli. The Mati is a fertile high plateau defended by an unbroken ring of almost impassable mountains. It has never been conquered by foreign armies, though assailed by Romans, Turks, and Serbs; through 1920 and 1921 the men of Mati successfully defended their lands with their rifles against Serbian artillery. The present Prime Minister of the Albanian republic, Ahmet Bey Mati (or Ahmet Zogu, as he endeavors to persuade the people to call him, since the abolition of titles in Albania) is chief of the family which has ruled the Mati since Albania's quarter century of freedom under Scanderbeg, in the fifteenth century.

We were the first foreigners who had ever entered the Mati. We found the country, the people, and the customs quite different from those of the Dukaghini tribes described in this book, excepting only the unvarying Albanian hospitality. We visited the Bulqis, very terribly devastated by the invading Serbs in 1920 and 1921, and partly circled the city of Dibra, taken from Albania by the 1913 frontier line as a knife takes out the eye of a potato. The Albanian frontier commission of the League of Nations was at that time sitting in Scutari, and I regret that commissions do not sometimes travel along the frontiers they have made.

As to the story of Lec i Madhe, we drank the delicious waters of the many strangely flavored springs of Bulqis, and we lunched in the "place where the great rocks are standing in rows." These stones resemble those 172
of Carnac and Stonehenge, though on a much smaller scale, and they may be relics of peoples who lived here prior to the arrival of the Albanians, or they may be a curious accident of geological formation.

On the site of the city Emadhija we found traces which seemed to us undeniably left by the work of human hands. They lie at the head of a valley in a flat triangular space formed by meeting mountain chains,

7 [See cat. 173, pp. 176-187 [185] -- Analyst]

173 "Filip the Second was very proud of his son, and his pride led him to the one great foolishness of a good and wise king. He said that he would make Lec i Madhe king of the world, and that was well enough, but he thought that to be king of the world a man must be more learned than he himself. Whereas all old men who have watched the ways of the world know that to be strong and ruthless will make a man powerful, but to be learned makes a man full of dreams and hesitations. In his pride and blindness, Filip the Second sent to Greece for an Albanian who had learned the ways of the Greeks, and to that man he gave the boy, to be taught books."

"Really, this is too much!" said Alex. "Aristotle an Albanian?"

"Yes," continued the old man, taking the

172 [continued from footnote, pp. 185--Analyst]

one day's journey from Kruja, the magnificent fifteenth-century fortress built by Scanderbeg. One side of this triangular space is the bed of a small stream, flowing against the base of the mountains; on the opposite side, a stone conduit brings water from a spring several miles distant to a fountain from which the village people still draw their drinking water. The present village is on the mountain side above the site of the city. The villagers say that the conduit was built by Filip the Second.

Of Emadhija itself nothing remains but a city pattern drawn on the sterile level land by lines of stones. These lines are fairly regular, four to six feet in width and two to three feet high; they form squares and oblongs, arranged in curving rows, like plans of houses and courtyards following winding streets. The stones, though much weathered and broken, are in general rough cubes, and they are black, while the stones of the river bed are white and gray limestone. Unfortunately, none of our party had any archæological knowledge, but our untrained observations convinced us that a city had undoubtedly existed there at some time long past, and we believed that we saw the tops of walls which had been buried by centuries of erosion from the adjacent mountains. The villagers of that part of the Mati speak of the place indifferently as "the ancient city Emadhija," and "the birthplace of Lec i Madhe."

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

000 HISTORY is the lifeblood of ethnography, and historians the physiologists of societies. The ethnographer's task is to describe a culture, telling where a given people live, how numerous they are, what technological means they employ to make their adjustments to the landscape, how their families are organized, what other institutions have arisen among them, for trade, for government, for foreign relations, and for the satisfaction of their ritual needs. Although his work is selective, that of the historian must be more so, for the historian is concerned with the motion of societies through time. He must select only those facts which are pertinent to his problem.

121 In this case our problem is to find out all we can about the origin of the Gheg people, their genetic continuity within their mountain stronghold, and the times, places of origin, and physical characteristics of any outsiders who may have breached it. Since there is, as biologists well know, a selection in migration, we would like to know when and to what extent immigrants have left this country.

172 These plans can only be partly consummated. History is particularly silent about refuge areas. The geographical factors which have sealed tribal Ghegnia off from the main stream of human migrations and cultural evolution have also hidden it from the eyes of chroniclers, hampering as well the work of archaeologists. Actually we know nothing about its history before the Iron Age.

Only one man, the Freiherr von Richtofen,[1] claims to have found any evidence of Pleistocene occupancy in Albania. He discovered 2 fragments of worked flint directly under a modern road bed at Mali Dajti just outside Tirana. There is no reason to believe that they were not gunflints. Pittard, in a cave near

[1] Richtofen, 1939, pp. 151–52.
[2] Pittard, 1921, pp. 271–74.
[3] Vulpe, 1932, pp. 132–45.
[4] Menghin, 1919–20, pp. 197–202; Nopcsa, 1910, pp. [31]–[32]; Ugolini, 1927, pp. 181–88.
[5] Dr. Robert Ehrich, who has carefully examined

172 Korça in the south, located an equally dubious Neolithic deposit.[2] He based his claim of Neolithic age on the shape of one pot, which could just as well have belonged to the Iron Age. Bronze Age finds have actually been made, but not within our territory. A bronze axe, found near Scutari,[3] has been attributed to the late Bronze Age, and is of a type which the Phoenicians are said to have traded with the barbarous inhabitants of the Mediterranean littoral. It has a down-flaring bit and a ring-grooved haft hole, not unlike the iron axes used in the mountains today. Some of the expensive bronze tools such as that described by Vulpe may have reached the mountain tribesmen in trade, but it is unlikely that the Phoenicians themselves wandered far from the sides of their ships, or remained in this desolate region any longer than necessary.

Bronze Age sites have never been located in the highlands. This is not for lack of archaeological research, since a number of Iron Age locations have been discovered and excavated in that area.[4] These sites consist of tumuli. Such grave-mounds have been excavated in Hoti (Malsia e Madhe), Dushmani (Malsia e Jakovës), Mirdita, and Mati. The material removed from them is of regular Hallstatt type; in fact, Menghin says that the objects from north of the Drin are identical with the type specimens from Glasinac and Dolje Dolina, type sites of the Hallstatt civilization in Bosnia.[5]

[173] This evidence confirms that of tradition, that the Gheg country was a part of the Illyrian domain. Two other sets of facts support this conclusion still further, the facts of modern language and of modern culture.

197 The Gheg language as spoken today is basically Illyrian—in fact, the only survivor of

5. Dr. Robert Ehrich who has carefully examined the published reproductions of these objects and who is familiar with the Glasinac artifacts, states that the Albanian collections include Roman objects and others which are presumably Thracian. This evidence would set the date of the sites nearer to A.D. 1 than 500 B.C.

[For foot notes 2, 3 and 4 see p. 39 b
— Analyst]

197 this once widely spoken group. G. S. Lowman* says of it,

> "The Albanian language constitutes a distinct branch in the Satem division of the Indo-European languages. It is the direct descendant of the ancient Illyrian of Roman times, together with some Thracian influences. . . . At the present time, two principal dialectal divisions exist, Geg or Northern, and Tosk or Southern, which are more or less mutually intelligible. . . .
>
> "In the course of Albanian history many foreign influences have come to play their part in making the language what it is today. Although the essential structure of the language, and a fair share of the words in common use are of native origin, the vocabulary has been borrowed from outside sources to a far greater extent even than is the case of English. In 1891 Gustav Meyer stated in his etymological dictionary that of 5,140 root-words only 400 were of the original Albanian stock, that 1,420 were Romance, 340 Slavonic, 1,180 Turkish, 840 Greek, and over 700 indeterminable. Later scholars, however, have proved that a considerably larger proportion of words are truly Albanian."

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181 Such careful observers of material culture as Nopcsa and Haberlandt have concluded that *the Ghegs*, in their tools, agricultural implements, furniture, costumes, and most other technological details *are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age.*

174 A single conclusion is therefore as legitimate as it is obvious. *The mountains of Ghegnia were first effectively populated during the middle centuries of the first millennium before Christ.* The pioneers who took over this rugged landscape were Illyrians, whose central territory lay to the northwest. Since they had already lived in Bosnia and Montenegro, they were already adjusted to life in this environment.

172 Fortunately, the materials excavated at Glasinac,[7] the type site of the Illyrian Hallstatt culture, include skeletons as well as artifacts. The date of this cemetery is between 1000 and 500 B.C. The collection of 38 crania shows clearly that the Illyrians were not a homogeneous people in the racial sense. The majority of the skulls are long headed, and represent at least 2 contemporary varieties of Nordic. This is not surprising since most of the Iron Age

[see cat. 116, p. 40 b--Analyst]

* Lowman, 1932, p. 271.

172 peoples of Europe were Nordic. However, 13 crania, or one-third of the total series, were brachycephalic. These skulls have flat occiputs, straight sidewalls, broad foreheads, and in the one example in which the nasal bones have been preserved, a long and aquiline nose. They are the skulls of Dinarics, and resemble both the Bronze Age Dinaric skulls from Cyprus, and the Bell Beaker Dinaric crania from early Bronze Age sites in Germany.

All of the evidence which we have indicates that close kinsmen of the Glasinac people were the very ones who settled Ghegnia, at just about the time the cemetery was in use. We have every reason to suppose that *the ancestors of the Ghegs*, in the last 500 years before the Christian era, their pioneer period, *were very much like the people whose remains were buried in the graveyard at Glasinac.* This means that among the Ghegs, characteristic Dinarics were present from the beginning, but probably as a minority in the population.

174 Let us return for a moment to the statement that the Ghegs are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age. This means that no important changes have taken place in their technological processes. If the Illyrians had just as good equipment for tilling the soil, processing foodstuffs, building houses, weaving cloth, etc., as the modern Mountain Ghegs, then they were able to exploit the landscape just as efficiently as their modern descendants. The valleys and upland pastures of Ghegnia could thus have held as large a population then as today.

This assumption cannot be made without a certain amount of correction. The modern Ghegs grind their flour and full their cloth in mills operated by water power. This releases a certain amount of human energy for other pursuits. These mills must have been introduced after the initial settlement. Warfare, which is a characteristic mechanism of population control in upland Ghegnia, has also undergone changes. The Turks introduced both firearms and the *kulla*, or stone castle (fig. 8, *a*)[7] weapons of offense and defense. This combination made murder easier than before, and must have helped reduce the population. On the whole, the forces for increased use of

[7] Weisbach, 1897a, pp. 80–85 and 1897b, pp. 562–76; Coon, 1939, pp. 184–85.

-40b-

[See cat. 11b, p. 108 -- Analyst]

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648 the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[79 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614 of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming
614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167 the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[669 died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

me not to give him more than his share. One of the Franciscans gave him shelter, for he was generally beloved, but he did not survive the winter. I mourned him at the time, but was later glad that he had died before his beloved tribe was handed to the enemy. The name "Hoti" is older than the arrival of Geg Laz. Jirecek, quoting the Venetian archives, states that the Hoti ("montanea Ottanorum") allied itself in 1474 with Ivan Tzrnojevitch and fought the Turks. The "Anas" must then have been numerous.

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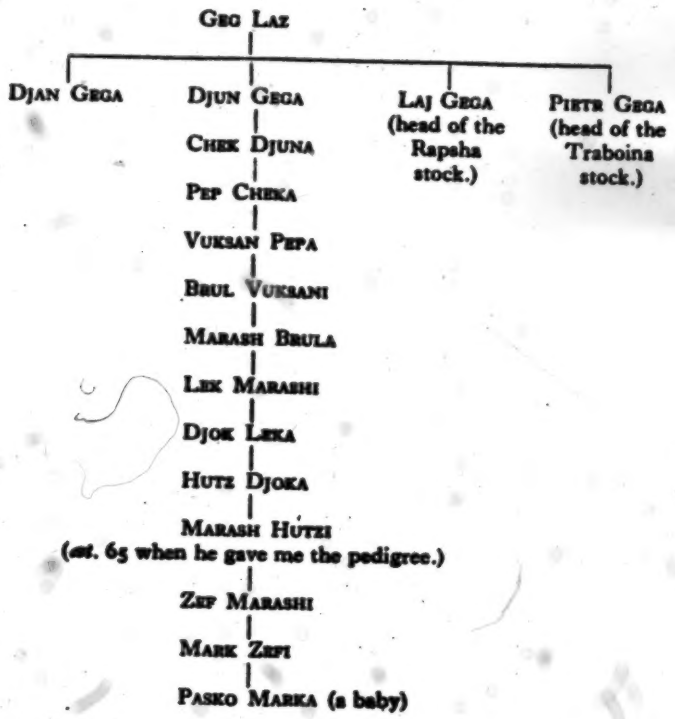

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The tribe of Nikaj (see below) is also related to Hoti. Marash Hutzi said that Nikaj descends from a son of Krasnich. Baron Nopcsa learnt from another quarter that Nik was another brother of Geg Laz. That they are related is clear, for they are not intermarriageable.

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Hoti usually marries the neighbour tribe Kastrati. As Kastrati mainly marries Hoti, after so many generations the two must be very closely related. But old Marash was extremely proud of the strict exogamy of the tribe. To marry "one's own blood" he looked on with unspeakable horror. I asked how many generations must pass before the descendants

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, 175
that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the 794
vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, 619
and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," 779
not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the [651]
mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati 794
extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani.*—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three 614
stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, 619
Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population). 779

2. *Ghoanni.*—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula.*—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala.*—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which
all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of 173
Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and [582]
three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

173 dark people inhabiting the land, with whom they intermarried. Eight houses near Abate, in lower Shala, trace descent from these old inhabi-
142 tants. The rest of them migrated to Dechani. The Albanians I saw at Dechani in 1903 were certainly all of the small dark type.

614 Shala consists of four bairaks: Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj. The three latter are said to have separated into three groups 376 years
[613 ago (told me in 1908). Lothaj and Lekaj recently decided they were far
582] enough removed to be intermarriageable. But Shoshi and Mirdita still would not marry with them.

The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

619 2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate
[611] child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood is possible.

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The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

619
173

Baron Nopcsa considers the ancestor Nikol to have been brother and not son to Krasan.

THE PUKA GROUP

This is sometimes reckoned a large tribe of seven bairaks. Sometimes as a group of tribes. 614 619

It is an important group, as here are the oldest of all the population. Much is probably of indigenous origin with little immigration.

1. *Berisha-Merturi.*—The Berisha people state that they have always been in their present homeland. They formerly, says Nopcsa, occupied more, but were driven from Ibalja by the Thachi. With great patience the Baron traced some very extensive pedigrees with certainty back to 1370, and with probability to 1270, an extraordinarily detailed piece of oral tradition. Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago. Even in the days when the district was included in the Serb Empire we find no Slav names in these pedigrees, and only two, Sokol (falcon) and Uk (wolf), occur later. As above mentioned, both Gruda and Kuchi also trace descent in part from Berisha. I would particularly direct ethnologists to this region before it is penetrated and broken up by roads.

Merturi, I was told, was an ancient Roman name "Merituri," but I have not traced it. That the Romans had a route through the district is shown by the place-names "Valbona" and "Apripa." Berisha-Merturi is all Catholic.

2. *Cheriti.*—Part Catholic, part Moslem. These people also stated that they were "very old," but I have no particulars. [779]

3. *Komani.*—Catholic. In this tribe land are the ruins and the ancient graveyard known as Kalja Dalmaches, or tower of the Dalmatians, which is generally considered to be the remains of the Illyrian tribe of the Delmates or Dalmates, driven from the coast by the Romans. The present inhabitants seem to have no tradition of descent from these people, and no tradition, in fact, about them at all, so are clearly later immigrants.

The name Komani occurs also for a district in Montenegro, not far from Podgoritza. One is tempted to connect it with the Cumans or Komans, who were used as hired troops by various Balkan rulers, especially the Bulgars, in the Middle Ages. But we have no definite tale of their movements.

4. *Chiri.*—All Catholic.

5. *Dushaj.*—Catholic.

6. *Kabashi.*—Moslem. Nopcsa reports they came about 250 years ago to their present site.

7. *Puka.*—All Moslem.

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of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured 619
of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of 614
their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, 175
was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states [173] that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When 619
I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses 779
with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from [793] a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was 643
one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence 614
of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, 173
Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the 582
Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

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173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared
765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 582 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 614 619 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North. Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 779 186 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 614 779 582 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress. When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

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614 Along with Ljuma were grouped Bruti, Mal i zi (the Black Mountain, not to be confounded with Montenegro), Rechi, Vlas, and some other small groups—all offshoots of older tribes, especially of Shala and the Fandi bairak of Mirdita.

DJAKOVA GROUP

614 1. *Gashi.*—All Moslem. About eight hundred houses. I did not
619 visit it.
779 2. *Hashi.*—A very large tribe of, it was said, about a thousand houses, almost all Moslem. They had never seen a woman in European dress, and were greatly amused at my arrival armed only with an umbrella. They occupy the Pestriku mountains, traditionally a former [186] home of the Mirdites. They were hospitable and allowed me to pass through their land, but were so unused to foreigners and so afraid that their admission might bring about foreign annexation that I asked no questions about origin or anything personal.

[103 3. *Tropopoja.*—Three hundred Moslem houses—I did not visit.
173] The town of Djakova was founded by an offshoot of the Merturi-Berisha, and I was told derives its name from St. Jak (St. Giacomo), and that its founders were Christians. But when I visited it almost the whole of its large population was Moslem. There was a small Catholic church and school. Except for one hundred Serb families the town was solid Albanian. Two stocks claimed descent from the original founders: the Merturi and the Vula. The Vula was a large and powerful family, and I was told I could travel anywhere safely with a Vula as guide. I did so. He carried no weapon.

A large number of villages surround Djakova. These I found to be all Albanian, tracing descent from Berisha, Shala, Fandi, and other bairaks of Mirdita, as do many inhabitants of the town. None intermarry with their tribe of origin. The villages were mixed Catholic and Moslem. There were no Serb villages. The district is now part of Jugoslavia, and the population doubtless much changed by immigration and emigration.

IPEK GROUP

614 1. *Ipek* (now called Petch) and its villages.—A large Albanian
619 population of many stocks flowed down from the mountains when the
173 Serbs evacuated it in 1640 and reoccupied the lands formerly taken from their ancestors.

Some villages traced origin from Berisha and Shala. Dechani was populated by descendants of the ancient Shala stock (*q.v.*). This

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district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania.

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether

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H the trees and, as for arms, did not know what they were, except for two
167 or three kinds of javelins and darts."
721 Thus he describes them as a savage horde, but gives no information
727 as to tribes or chiefs.

It was fully another century before the Serbs were finally established and settled. Presbyter Diocleas, though hopelessly confused in his details about dates and persons, probably records a true tradition in his *Chronicles* when he describes the invasion of the pagan Slavs thus: "The Christians, seeing themselves placed in great tribulation and persecution, began gathering themselves together on mountain-tops, and strove to construct strongholds and castles and edifices, that they might escape from the hands of the Slavs till God should visit them
H and set them free."

A The mountain dwellings of the Vlahs and the Albanians still bear
342 witness to the flight of the old inhabitant before the invader. To what extent the partly Romanized Illyrian populations became intermixed with the Serb it is impossible to say, but the Serb differs so much from the Northern Slav-speaking peoples (Poles, Czechs, Russians) that a considerable admixture of other blood is suggested. That this differed
A in various regions is shown by the place-names. Slavonic names are
103 thickest in Serbia (pre-war), in Macedonia, and in Bosnia—that is, in
197 the most fertile districts. They are rarest of all in North Albania, and are scanty in South Albania and in Thrace. In Montenegro and the Herzegovina there is a sprinkling of non-Slavonic names. Antique Greek and Roman names appear mainly on the coasts. Inland, "Nish" preserves the Roman (? pre-Roman) name of "Naissus"; and "Uskub" (Turkish) and "Shkupi" (Albanian) preserve the old "Scupi," now completely distorted by the Serbs into "Skoplje."

A How much of what survives of tribe and tribe law is a remnant
● 173 of the Illyrians and the "peligones," and how much is Slavonic, can hardly now be determined; but it is of interest to note that tribe and tribe law have survived longest in those districts which were least under Serb rule—Albania, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina.

2. Tribe Law in North Albania

THE CANON OF LEK DUKAGIN

A Whenever in the mountains I asked why anything was done, I was
671 told, "Because Lek ordered it." Law, custom, usage, were all attributed
173 to Lek. That he must have been a man of strong personality to have thus set a mark on a people is obvious; but very little is known about

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

him. His Canon was handed down orally to the elders and in their hands has been somewhat modified in different districts, but was in force through all the North Albanian mountains, both Moslem and Christian. Truly "in force," for "Lek said so" obtained more obedience than the Ten Commandments, and the teaching of the hodjas and the priests was often vain if it ran counter to that of Lek.

Who was Lek Dukagin? The Dukagini were chieftains in North Albania, and the few references to them show they ruled wide lands. In 1309 King Urosh II signed himself "King of Serbia, Chelmie, Dioclie, and Albania," and his successors styled themselves "King of Albania" till Stefan Dushan's death in 1356; but the Serbs, though they exacted tribute and labour from certain districts, do not seem to have penetrated and influenced the mountains. Only thus can we account for the fact that, except near Scutari, the place-names are Albanian, and that so soon as the Serb Empire began crumbling on Dushan's death the names of Albanian chieftains appear. The oldest reference to the Dukagini I can find is a letter, *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia* (No. 133), from Pope Innocent III to the "noble man Demetrius, Prince of Albania," replying to one asking for religious instruction, and a document of 1216, explaining that "Demetrius is son of Progon and brother of Gini, Count of Albania."

Hopf (*Chroniques inédits Greco-Romanes*, Berlin, 1873) gives, as a result of much search, a pedigree of the Dukagini. The earliest is "Tanusius I, Dux Ginus, Lord of Zadrima, the Black Mountain (Mal i zi on the Drin?), Pulati, and Shati." He is probably the "Dux Ginius Tanuschus Albanensis" who is taken prisoner by Johannis Scotus, Charles of Sicily's Captain, at Durazzo in 1281 (*v. Acta et Dip.*, No. 455). "Gini" is Albanian for John. "Dukagini" is Duke John; "dux," in the sense of leader or chief. The title "duca" hails from Venice, just as do "gubernador" and "kapetan" in Montenegro.

From Tanusius Dux Ginus descends Lek (Alexander) I. He was a chieftain who aided the Venetians against the Turks. A dispatch from Alessio, December 1387 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 413), states that the brothers Lek and Paul Dukagin permit free passage through their lands to the Ragusans. In 1393 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 501), the "noble lords, Progon and Tanus, brothers, sons of the late lord Lek Dukagin, lords of the castle of Alessio," in their own names and on behalf of their relatives, hand over Alessio to the Venetians, being unable to hold it against the Turks. This Tanus is described by Hopf as lord of Fandi (now part of Mirdita). As he was lord also of Alessio this shows his lands to have been wide. He had a son, Paul, lord of Gurikuchi, Salita, etc., whose son, Lek II, is probably the Lek of the Canon. Hopf describes him as lord of Dagno and Zadrima between 1444 and 1459. These were the

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173 days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice,
643 and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.

[688] Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

671 Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law
681 of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth
174 century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

682 Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who
[574] has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He
[609] at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

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they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in con- 304
flict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. 771
So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. 531
Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died 114
in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to 771
Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle 174
I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is 776
the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and 174
floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern 776
and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his [787]
armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is [821]
driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda 531
tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear 304
tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from 173
the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

304 the influence of the Roman missionaries. Tattooing is not confined to [173] tribes tracing northern origin, but is more marked among them.

Among the Pulati and Dukagini, who trace a different origin, tattooing is common but not universal, and takes the form often of

[764]

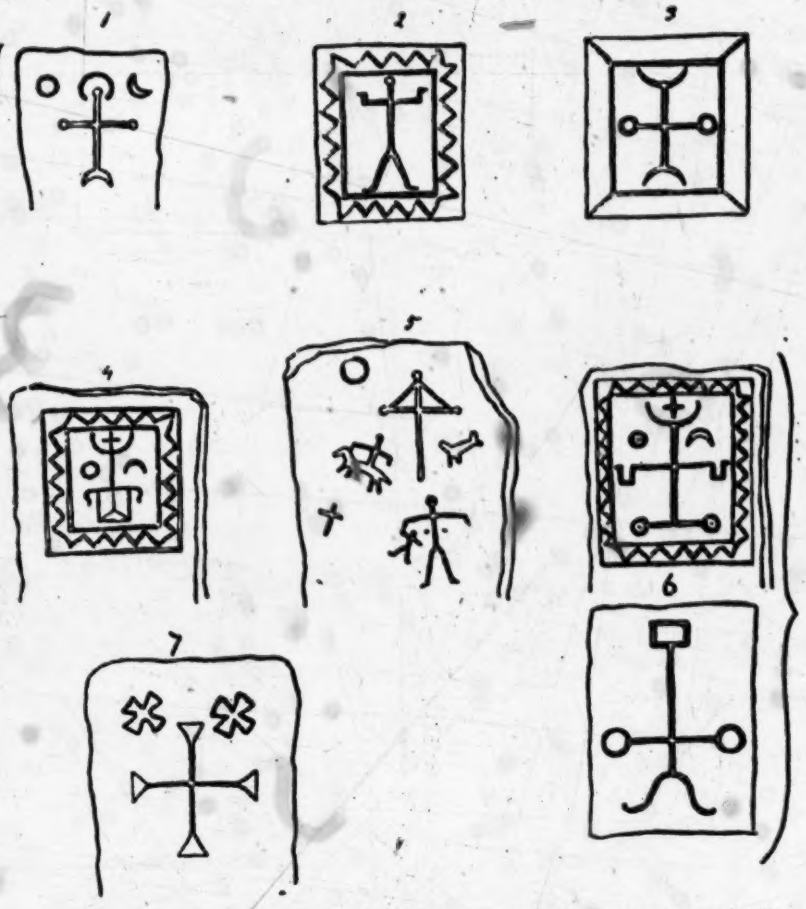

FIG. 8.—MODERN GRAVESTONES IN ROMAN CATHOLIC GRAVEYARD, DUSHMANI, NORTHERN ALBANIA

(Showing variants of Cross, Crescent, and Sun. All recent)

one tiny cross. I did not see a sun or moon tattoo, but found the sun and moon extremely common carved on graves, furniture, over doors, etc. Here the moon is carved as a semicircle with rays, just as shown in the Bosnian tattoos.

Epirus

THE southern part of the Kingdom of /31 Albania of today was the ancient Epirus. This territory was bounded on the north by the Ionian Sea and on the south by the Ambracian Gulf. Its landward sides were next to Illyria, Macedonia and Thessaly. The terrain is essentially moun- /33 tainous. About the fourth century before 619 Christ these Epirots were divided in fourteen tribes. Epirus at this time exerted no small 791 influence on Thessaly through the oracle of Dodona. Historically, the part of Epirus was passive. Epirus was divided into the smaller 631 kingdoms of Molossia, Thesprotia, Chaonia, etc., which were formed into an Epirotic League.

The chieftains of Molossia, who dominated /73 all Epirus, claimed to be descended from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who settled in the country after the fall of Troy. (Plutarch also relates that Achilles was known in this country under the name of "Aspetos" which in Albanian means "swift.") Upon Pyrrhus' death his kingdom was transmitted to Molossus, his son by Andromache.

The Zogu Family

BURGAYETI, encircled by four towering mountains that form natural barriers commanding an uninterrupted view of the surrounding country, is a small village in the Mati district. In the very heart of this picturesque little town rises a sheer, steep rock as if purposely so placed by nature as a watchful sentinel and guardian-angel of the vicinity. On the pinnacle of this mighty rock are the historic ruins of the grand old castle which was destroyed in the world war. As far as history can ascertain, this great, ancient castle dates from the fifteenth century, when legend narrates that Princess Mamica of Kruja, sister of the mighty warrior, Scanderbeg the Great, was given in solemn marriage to Zogu, Lord of Burgayeti Castle. 173

According to history, this ancient Albanian ruling family has its origin in the northern provinces of Albania, and gradually moving southward, made permanent settlement in the fifteenth century in the district of Mati. Hav-

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania

ing firmly established themselves in Burgayeti, Zogu with a loyal following of his Mati people rose in revolt against Gazi Bey, then the Turkish Governor of this district, who lost his life in the ensuing battle, and Zogu seized the existing government, exchanged the Catholic faith for the more popular Islam religion, was accorded the hereditary title of Pasha by the Turkish Sultan, who later recognized Zogu Pasha as the hereditary prince ruler of Mati.

The next of this dominating family to enter the annals of history was Abdullah Bey Zogu, grandson of the victorious Zogu Pasha, who was killed in a valiant but fruitless battle for Albanian independence in 1621, according to the inscription of his tombstone. He was followed by his son Ahmed, who gallantly defended his country against invading enemies. Mahmud Pasha Zogu, son of Ahmed, upon his succession after his father's death, ruled Mati with an able display of his exceptional abilities. It fell to the lot of Djelal Pasha Zogu, son of Mahmud, to rekindle the ever-smouldering fires of rebellion against the foreign masters of Albania, and upon his return from Russia, whither he had been led by political

173 plans, he immediately assumed command of a renewed effort to acquire Albanian independence. This courageous leader was seized by the Turks and sent into exile at Constantinople, and he was succeeded in command by his son, Xhemal Pasha Zogu, who succeeded in clearing Mati of the invaders. It was to this ruler of Mati that a son was born on October 8, 1895—a son that was to prove a redeemer of the people for whom his ancestors had so bravely laid down their lives, and whose name is Ahmed Bey Zogu, the present King of the Albanians.

This powerful ruling dynasty, uninterrupted through the generations, had continued as the hereditary princes of Mati since the fifteenth century, and under whose untiring vigilance the Turks were never able to set foot into this part of the country. A council of elders, presided over by the head of the house of Zogu, shaped the destinies of the warrior-natives according to the *Kanun i Lek Dukagjinit*, the old law of the Albanian mountaineers collaborated in the course of the centuries.

175 Ahmed Bey Zogu's father died in 1908, in Ahmed's thirteenth year, during which time

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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then literally buried under a heap of stones, which are piled upon and around her; and her husband has a right to slay the partner of her guilt wherever he may find him. Such cases are, however, of extremely rare occurrence. 684

Considering this rigidity of morals it is a rather curious fact that two clans, or tribes—the Clementi and the Castrati—ascribe their origin to irregular connections between the daughters of shepherds and strangers, exiles from other countries. The stories are almost identical. That of the Clementi is as follows:— 173

A young man named Clement, clerk to a priest of Moratcha, a district of Montenegro, weary of the tyranny of his superior, ran away, and, not knowing which way to go, made for the road leading from Selze to Scutari. Arriving at a place called Tamara, he came upon a flockmaster of Triepsei, who, astonished to see a youth dressed as he was in such a place, inquired his business there. Without disclosing whence he came, Clement related his misfortunes, and declared his intention of going to Scutari in order to seek service with some family of position. Touched with pity, and fearing for him the dangers of the way, the shepherd invited the stranger to stay with him and help him to keep his flocks. Clement accepted the offer; and when the number of sheep he was to receive as wages was settled, he followed his new master home. 173 539

The shepherd was rich in flocks and lands, possessed of a second wife with a young family, and also of a grown-up daughter, Bubce, who was both ugly

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and lame. Clement, being young and active, and also attentive to his new duties, soon gained the affection of his master, and, at the same time, that of his daughter, who, seeing no chance of ever being asked in marriage by her equal, took it into her head to make the shepherd lad fall in love with her. Clement long resisted the allurements of the uncomely Bubce, and pointed out to her the danger they would both run should any understanding between them come to her father's ears, and also the misery that would follow for her a union with a penniless man. "It is not our danger, but my deformity that thou fearest," the shrewd Bubce would reply, and, her devotion finally touching the heart of Clement, the lovers met frequently in secret.

Finding herself compelled to take her stepmother into her confidence, the latter, fearing that her husband's pride would impel him to some act of violence were the state of affairs to come suddenly to his knowledge, tried to prepare him for the news, and made him swear by St. Nicholas not to do harm to any one. The angry father, in spite of his oath, at first threatened to kill both his daughter and her lover, and reproached them bitterly for the dishonour they had brought upon his house. Bubce, however, took all the blame upon herself, and her tears and prayers, joined to those of his wife, who reminded him of the oath he had sworn "by St. Nicholas," and which is of all oaths the most binding on an Albanian, finally prevailed with him. Clement might marry his daughter, but on condition that neither of them ever again should appear before him. So the couple

[788]

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173 ●
retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd 539
gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep
which constituted Clement's wages. Here they [465]
settled down and prospered, leaving behind them
great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the 162
Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by 562
the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women 577
enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sun- 796
day, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, 788
who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after 762
partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucha- 577
rist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the 627
tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, 583
which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the 184
extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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not been unfrequent even in the present century, and 797
the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders 175
to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian
agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, [167]
makes it probable that in course of time the country
may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians 771
have among the Turks the reputation of being but 184
indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same
opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of
the Albanians who call themselves members of the
Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem [582]
women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the [869]
faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ;
Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian
saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints [755]
for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while [778]
Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-
beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which
both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The [779]
Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast
adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of
the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some
Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of 796
Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary 771
of the departure of her image from the Latin church
in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief
of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years 173

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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173 since, when all the country was Christian, there stood in the city of Scutari a beautiful image of the Virgin Mary, to whose shrine thousands flocked every year from all parts of the country to offer their gifts, perform their devotions, and be healed of their infirmities. Such, indeed, was the healing power of [755] this Madonna that no sick person was ever known to kiss in faith her white feet and not depart completely cured.

For some cause or other, however, it fell out that there was dissension between the priest and the people, and one day the latter came to the church in great crowds, declaring that unless the priest yielded to them they would then and there abjure the faith of Christ and embrace in its stead that of Mohammed. The priest, whether right or wrong, still remaining firm, his congregation tore the rosaries and crosses from their necks, trampled them under their feet, and, going to the nearest mosque, were received by the Mollah into the fold of the True Believers. Grieved and displeased at this wholesale desertion of those who had received nothing but benefits at her hands, Our Lady of Skodra disappeared during the night from that ungrateful land. What new shrine the beautiful image had hallowed with its presence was, for a time, unknown. Some months later, however, tidings were brought that, on the night of her departure from Scutari, an image of the Madonna had miraculously entered the church of a remote village in Italy, and had there taken up its abode. A voice was also, it is said, heard crying out over Scutari that not till the last *Türki* (Moslem) had left the land of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Skiperi would Our Lady of Scutari forgive her 173
children, and return to her ancient shrine.

The scene on this day in the great square building, 796
which, with its bare walls and absence of ornament, [346]
bears little resemblance to a Romish church, is most
striking and strange. The mass performed on the
occasion is listened to by a congregation whose
waists are perfect arsenals, bristling with pistols and
yataghans of every shape and pattern. There are [291 411]
wild-looking, fierce-moustachioed highlanders, white-
kilted Mussulmans, chieftains blazing with gold em-
broidery, and milder citizens in more homely garb, all
assembled in honour of the Madonna, before whose
shrine their ancestors had worshipped. Yet, notwith-
standing their participation in the religious rites of 577
their neighbours, the Albanians are not less tenacious 579
of their own honour than of that of the creed they
profess, any insult offered to a Christian church being
promptly retaliated upon a Moslem mosque, and *vice
versâ*. Of this the following incident, which occurred
about the middle of the century, offers a striking
illustration.

A certain Tahir Mala, of Bugna, belonging to the 585
Moslem tribe of the Gascii, having married his son to
a maiden of the Christian Schialla, set out to bring
the bride home, accompanied, according to national
custom, by a numerous train, and preceded by the
tribal banners. On the return journey, they stopped,
as usual, every now and then to fire volleys into the air.
Their way, however, lying past a Christian cemetery,
the cross, standing in the midst, offered a mark for
their pistols too tempting to be resisted, and was soon 798

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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She then takes hold of the flower with both hands 539
and lays her head upon it.

Almost every Albanian tribe has a more or less 173
mythical tradition of its origin, which is generally traced to some single ancestor. Of these I have already mentioned two, the legends of the Miridite clans of the Clementi and the Castrati. Another tradition, however, traces the descent of the entire tribe of the Miridites from one man, who, like the favourite hero of fairy tales generally, was the youngest of three sons. His father, according to the story, lived on Mount Pastrik, near Diakova, and at his death the three brothers divided their poor inheritance, the eldest taking the saddle (*Shalla*), the second the sieve (*Shosh*), the third receiving only the salutation of "Good-day" (*Mir dia*). As is, however, always the case in such stories, the prosperity of the portionless one greatly excelled that of his brothers. For while they became the founders of the clans called Shialla and Shoshi, in remembrance of the saddle and sieve they had respectively inherited, he who had been dismissed with an ironical salutation bequeathed it as a name to a far more numerous and powerful tribe, the *Miridites*.

Out of so many charming folk-tales it is a difficult 114
matter to choose the best or most characteristically 538
Albanian. I have, however, limited myself to those [121]
of which the originals are available, in order to obtain the precise names of the Supernals described in them, many of whom are disguised by their French translator under the name of *Lamie*, and by Von Hahn under the Teutonic *Elfe* or *Kobold*. As mentioned in

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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returned home. Said he to his wife, "Go and invite your brothers to dinner." 539

Arrived at their house, she said, "We beg you to come and dine with us," and they followed her home. They began to eat the *pastourma*, but tried in vain to chew it, for it was not cooked.

"How is this," they asked, "that you give us raw meat?"

"It is the same meat you had on the spit the other evening," replied the husband. "I have served it to you precisely as you roasted it yourselves."

"What! Was it thou who gave us such a horrible fright?"

"I myself. But let us be comrades all the same."

And comrades they were.

Though the Albanians cannot be called a musical people, singing is the favourite pastime of both men and women. Their airs have little variety, being for the most part monotonous recitatives, and the singer's merit depends upon his success in rivalling the violin, mandolin, or flute, by which his song is accompanied, in prolonging the last note. The songs are generally long ballads, which recount the victories of the tribe, the doughty deeds of ancestors, of the family, or the exploits of some national hero. For in the songs of the Skipetars the later history of the country is preserved, and in those of the Ghegs more particularly may be found the record of how they obstinately resisted, yard by yard, the Turkish advance into their mountains, and were only subdued at last by the

533 [517] [534] 533 173

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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533 overwhelming numbers and equal pertinacity of the
173 foe. The record, too, of every insurrection, and they have been many, has thus from 1572 downwards been orally transmitted from generation to generation, keeping alive in the memory of the Albanians the heroism of their ancestors, and inciting them in their turn to similar deeds of daring.

533 The songs vary greatly in literary merit. Poetical
538 talent seems now to have died out in the country, though formerly Albania had her national poets, the last of them (so far as I can ascertain), Hussein Mollah, having lived in the eighteenth century. The old ballads are consequently far superior to those of more recent date, which consist chiefly of detached couplets, and are very episodic, though they describe with sufficient accuracy the events they profess to record. In the more remote highlands some very ancient historical ballads are preserved, but unfortunately none of these have yet been collected.

One of the most striking songs of the Skipetars commemorates the revolution of 1572 under Ibrahim Pasha of Scutari. The result of this insurrection was the recognition by the Porte of its leader as Pasha of Scutari, he being the first Albanian since the conquest who had been allowed to assume that title. The song is, unfortunately, too long to give in full, but the following opening and concluding lines may give some idea of its spirit:—

539 No! no! our country only must we mother call,
For on her breast she us has nourished all.
She is the wife we to our bosoms press,
Who wakes within our hearts love's tenderness.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Where is the man, love of such mother, wife, 539
Who holds within his heart, counts not his life
As naught, as naught whatever he
May sacrifice, to keep his loved one free.

* * * * *

Come! Oh, ye generous sons, brave children, come!
And you, ye cherished husbands, hasten home.
Come to the arms of those who, with your fall,
Would have lost loved ones, country, home, and all!
Come back and rest from war's dread strife and din,
And teach your sons a hero's name to win!

The following ballad graphically describes a struggle which took place in 1795 between the Ghegs under Mahmoud Pasha of Scutari and the Tosks under Kourd Pasha of Berat. 533 173

Beat, beat, O valiant hearts of Ghegs, with noble pride! 539
The hosts of Tosks we've scattered far and wide; 173
For warrior Scutari has now at length,
With Roumeli's famed hero tried her strength.

To Hussein Mollah hear them call with glee,
"Now onward march, Tabácchi and Terzi,
Tosk has met Gheg. Come thou, our Laureate,
And make a song this fight to celebrate."

Kourd Pasha's at Berat, there let him bide;
Mean is his rank to stand Mahmoud beside;
What's he before Mahmoud Pasha, our lord?
How dares he 'gainst his master draw the sword?

Rebel is Kourd Pasha and *verlazi*,[1]
To his liege lord a traitor foul is he;
With fear he trembles when afar the drum,
Three hours[2] away, proclains Mahmoud doth come. [805 822]

[1] One who takes arms against his suzerain.
[2] Distance in the East is always calculated by time

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Scared at the sound, he in the tekkéh[1] hides,
His standards leaves, nor heeds what them betides;
Beard and moustache he tears with flowing tear,
And in a swoon at length he falls from fear.

Mahmoud his charger mounts, and riding out
His men before, now "Forward!" hear him shout;
"Forward with me! to-day, if Allah will,
I Kourd Pasha with my own hand will kill."

Now, like a roaring lion, where'er he goes,
With Allah's aid, in terror flee his foes;
The tekkéh of Baba Hussein before,
See how they rend from Tosks the spoils of war!

Veli escapes. Poor Tahir, from the rout
Into the mill thou fleest; there dost hold out.
It is in vain that bravely still thou fight;
How couldst thou stand against this vulture's might?

Death thee awaits, this day will be thy last,
Riddled with balls, thy troops are fleeing fast;
Long will it be before the Tosks forget
The valour of the Ghegs when last they met.

Now to his men hear Agha Rouka cry,
"Are ye then women, that from foe ye fly?
Of what avail the manly arms ye bear?
Of what avail the sabres bright ye wear?

Rally yourselves, as skirmishers in bands,
Fall on the Ghegs, and, with your curvéd brands,
Strike off their heads! Who falls the field upon
Wept is, but scorned who lives with honour gone!"

Naught heed they him, but in confusion fly.
Tosks of Berat! your sandals[2] go and tie!
Measure no more yourselves with Scutarine,
Who flees not, wields true gun, and sabre keen!

[346]

[1] A Dervish chapel.

[291]
[281]

[2] The hide shoes, with the hairy side turned inwards, worn generally in the mountains.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The following little Tosk song refers to an unsuccessful rising in South Albania about 1835:— 538

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From Corfu they tidings bear,
Tafilbouz is landing here;
On Avlona's shore he lands,
Three detachments he commands.

To the mosque they crowd and shout,
"Hodo, from thy house come out!"
Now may Allah be his shield,
If to them should Hodo yield!

O Hodo, O Sadik, Bekir, and Karafili!
Simon the Liap's brave sons!
'Mid the rattle of the guns,
They have fall'n, unhappy ones!
May the rest be lucky!

The national songs, as well as the folk-tales, of the land of their forefathers are also sacredly cherished by those Albanians who, as before mentioned, for centuries past have been settled in Southern Italy and Sicily. There the exploits of the heroic Scanderbeg are still celebrated, and at their feasts they sing how the hero of Croia [538]

Of hares and capons ate the flesh,
Of partridges the heads ate;

[262
264]

and how

His cups and forks were all of gold,
And of fine silk his napkins.

The women, too, in their Easter dances, relate how, as he went forth to battle, Death met him on the road, and revealed to him the secrets of the Book of Destiny; how he called to him his young son, and bade him tie his horse to a cypress on the seashore, plant his 538
776

PEAKS OF SHALA

He filled our glasses with red wine. "You must not mistake my people," he said. "The blood feud is bad, very bad, but it is their only way of enforcing laws, which are, in general, admirable. 628 619

"The blood feud is not a lawless thing, as strangers sometimes think. Nor has it anything to do with personal strife or hate. It is a form of capital punishment, such as all nations have, and it is governed by most strict laws.

"You must remember that in these mountains we have never been conquered by foreign governments. The Roman Empire claimed to have overpowered Albania, it is true, as later the Turks did, but neither Rome nor Constantinople was able to send its government into these mountains. The people live as they did before the days of Greece, except for the influence of the Church. It is a simple, communistic society, [181] without private property or any organized government. The only law is the moral law, enforced by tradition, by custom, and by common consent. The father of the family becomes the chief of the tribe, but he has no power that conflicts with the moral law, the ancient Law of Lec. There is a tradition that all this group of tribes [173] was once, long ago, given this moral law by a man named Lec, but that is doubtless a myth added to through the ages.

"This Law of Lec is based on personal honor, which is also the honor of the tribe. A man or a tribe must punish an insult to honor by killing

PEAKS OF SHALA

see that the sun circle was carved. Everything 361
else has been eaten by the great flocks of years.
But there is still treasure buried there." 173

"How do you know?"

"I know because I have seen men who have seen it. There is a man of Pultit whom I know. He went to the old city of Pog one day with his goats. There had been a great storm and part of the wall had fallen. Before that day the wall had had a corner, where now you see nothing. Where the wall had fallen there was a golden image of a man, as large as himself, shining in the sun. The man of Pultit forgot his goats in looking at it. It was too heavy for him to carry, so he took a stone and broke off four of its fingers, and with them in his sash he went to get his brothers to help him carry away the image.

"But it was night before he reached their house, and they said it was better not to go to that city until morning. In the morning they went, and where the image had been there was nothing but stones. Afterward, in thinking of nothing but that image, the man went mad, and he now lives alone and naked in the mountains, talking to the ora and begging them to take him again to that image. But before that he sold the fingers to the gold beaters in Scutari, and they said those fingers were of the purest gold and not alloyed, as gold is now. I did not see the fingers, but many did before they were beaten into ornaments."

"What do you think became of the image?"

PEAKS OF SHALA

[173]

"Doubtless it had a bird or snake for guardian, and that spirit came and took it away again," said Cheremi, and Perolli explained that when one buries a treasure one calls to some creature of the woods and intrusts the hoard to its care. "O spirit of the small gray serpent with poison in thy tooth, guard for me this treasure. Let no man see it for ten times ten years, and then deliver it only to those of my family," would be a simple formula, but usually more imagination is used. For instance, Perolli knew of a man who called the large magpie to watch him bury his treasure, and he said to the bird, "Let no one uncover this gold until two black mice have dragged three times around this tree a carriage made of an acorn cup, with a small mouse in it." But his incantation was overheard, and the crafty neighbor caught and dyed and trained the mice and made the carriage, and had them drag it three times around the tree, after which the magpie gave up the treasure. Otherwise it would have disappeared when a hand was laid upon it.

"But does Cheremi really believe these things?" I asked myself, and, looking at his serious face and Perolli's, I was struck with the startling idea that Perolli believed them, too, in spite of his English suit and European education, and I felt in my own mind something like a soft landslide, uncovering possibilities of wild beliefs in myself. "Anything can happen in the mountains of Albania," I said, picking up my staff and rising, for the shadows of the western mountains were

[Image of gold, see cat. 116, p. 47.. [48] Analyst]

539 In my disappointment I spoke too quickly, forgetting the excellence of Rexh as an interpreter. "It isn't Albanian, after all; it's Greek," I said. "I remember now that I read it years ago."

"Yes, so do I," said Alex, and her words crossed those of Rexh, who had picked up mine and was turning them into Albanian.

"*Po*," said the old man, with irony. "It is a Greek song—it is as Greek as Lec i Madhe."

[186] I had thanked the old man with an insult, for even the Ghegs keep smoldering in their hearts the knowledge that the Greeks hold Janina, and the memory of the burned villages and slaughtered Albanians of Epirus is only six years old. In an unguarded instant I had made for myself one of those recollections that burn in sleepless night hours. I called myself a fool, while I heard my voice trying to bury the irremediable mistake by 173 hurried words. "What is Lec i Madhe?"

186 Frances and Alex were busy in a scrap bag of mythology, and Rexh replied. "I don't know what you call him in English, Mrs. Lane. Lec i Madhe was our king of very long years ago, who went down from the mountains and took all the cities of the world. He was the son of our twentieth king, and he was a very great fighter. I think surely you must know him by some name in English. We call him Lec i Madhe; it means, the Great Lec. Because we had other kings before him called Lec."

"Lec i Madhe?" cried Frances, headlong at

173 the word. "Alexander the Great! What are
186 they saying about him?"

The young man in the American army shirt had listened not at all to the story of the ora, but he heard Frances's words and misunderstood them. "Alexander the Greek?" he repeated. "Alexander was not Greek; he was Albanian."

"You mean his mother was an Albanian," said Frances.

The young man smiled scornfully. "And you think his father was not? When has a king of Albania married a foreign wife? Albanians marry Albanians. When Filip the Second married, he married a woman of his own people, but of another tribe, as the custom has always been. Do the Greeks dare to say that Filip was a Greek? If he had been Greek, no Albanian chief would have given him a daughter for wife. Even then we Malisori[1] despised the Greeks."

"But Philip of Macedonia—was a Macedonian," I said, feebly. "Wasn't he a Macedonian? The Macedonians weren't Albanians, were they?"

"Ask the old man what he knows about Lec i Madhe, Rexh," said Frances. But the old man, drawing solace from the amber mouthpiece with his toothless lips, still brooded upon the song of the man of Mali Sharit.

"The things which I have told happened to an Albanian of the tribe of the Mali Sharit," he said. "The song of them has been sung by the

[1] Mountaineers.

PEAKS OF SHALA

173 Malisori from the days when they happened till
186 the days of my own father's manhood. The Greeks are a little, inquisitive people who have played with paper and with writing since they first came to our shores in boats, long ago—a hundred hundred years before the Romans came. We gave them shelter then, we let them come to our shores, we let them come from the cold seas and stay on our land, and they are guests who steal from their hosts. They have killed our people; they have taken Janina. Let them leave our songs and our kings alone. Greek!" said he, muttering. "They will be claiming the Mali Shoshit, next!"

ooo Excitement so shook my fingers that the writing wavers on the page. The blotted and rain-smeared notebook before me now evokes like a crystal before the gazer the picture of that old man in the warm duskiness of the house of Sadiri Luka, the streaming of rain on the roof, the smell of coffee and cigarette smoke, the soft sound of moccasined feet going down the corridor to confession at the knee of Padre Marjan.

173 "The Greeks came to your shores?" I said, goading the old man on. "But it is written in the books that they came from the lands watered by the Danube, by the river that flows through Belgrade to the Black Sea. It is written that they came down through the Balkans to build their great and beautiful cities on the shores of the Ægean. And no one writes about the Albanians. Where did the Albanians come from?"

[Author -- Analyst]

These words created a perceptible sensation. 173 Hazel eyes and blue eyes turned upon me in amazement. A middle-aged man who had come from the room of confession to stack his rifle with others beside the fireplace and to roll a cigarette stopped with the tobacco half poured and stared at me. "It is not written where the Shqiptars came from?" said he, in a tone of stupefaction. "But surely all the world knows where the Shqiptars came from."

I assured him that it was written only that the Greeks, when they came, found some savage tribes whose origin was unknown. But it was thought that these tribes were old peoples of Europe who died out when the peoples of to-day came—I stopped, to give them no clew to the migrations of Aryans from India—who died out, I said, when the great civilizations of to-day came into the world. And the first of these civilizations was the Greek.

The newcomer finished his cigarette thoughtfully, put it in its holder, lighted it from a coal, and summed up his conclusions in an Albanian proverb. "It is very true," said he, "that only the spoon knows what is in the dish."

"And when we speak of the Greeks," said [186] another chief, "let us remember the saying of our fathers: The tree said to the wood cutter, 'Why do you kill me, for I have done nothing to you.' And the wood cutter replied, 'You gave me the handle for the ax.'"

The old man's irritation had died. He looked

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

173 upon us now with pity, as ones who had offended because of ignorance. "If the American *zonyas* wish to know what we have learned from our fathers, who learned it from their fathers and their fathers' fathers, I will speak," he said. "All these things are very old, and none of them are written in books, therefore they are true. I am an old man, and I have seen that when men go down to the cities to learn what is in the books they come back scorning the wisdom of their fathers and remembering nothing of it, and they speak foolishly, words which do not agree with one another. But the things that a man knows because he has seen them, the things he considers while he walks on the trails and while he sits by the fires, these things are not many, but they are sound. Then when a man is lonely he puts words to these things and the words become a song, and the song stays as it was said, in the memories of those who hear it. Like the song of the man of Mali Sharit. These things in our songs are therefore true, for I know many songs about many things, but no song shows that another song is a liar.

"Now it has always been said in our songs that the Shqiptars came long ago from the east, from a crowded country beyond the eastern mountains. There was no water in the Black Sea then. The people came across mountain and valley, in many tribes. It was a land of great animals, good to eat when they were killed. These peoples—we were not then called Shqip-

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

tars, but each tribe had its own name, the name of its chief—these peoples who were our fathers' fathers took all the land from the river in the north, that flows to-day through Belgrade, to the plains in the south that are now a sea.

"I do not know how long they lived here before the valleys became seas. There was a rain that was like the rain that is falling now, and there was a water that came up from the earth to meet it. And then there were the seas, on the east and the west and the south, and many tribes, many large tribes, were drowned in them. My grandfather told me this, and he said that his grandfather said there had been a song with the names of all these lost tribes, a song of mourning for the tribes that were eaten by the seas. But the grandfather of my grandfather had not heard that song. New songs come all the time and old songs are forgotten, and we have had much to mourn since the forgotten tribes ceased to be living men.

"But this you must understand. It was after the seas came that the Greeks came. They came in boats across the seas, and they were strange peoples that we had never seen before, speaking a strange tongue. Their boats came to the shores in the south, and our fathers had never seen boats. That was the coming of the Greeks. They came, and came again, and stayed, and built cities. The fathers of the Shqiptars stayed on the mountains and watched them, and went down and gave them gifts. We did not kill them,

173 as we might have done when they were few and weak and there were no Five Powers.

"The Greeks were always a soft people—except one tribe of them, whose name I do not remember. There was one tribe of good fighting men. But most of the Greeks were plainsmen. From the first, they loved to sit and think, to talk, and to write, and to read to one another what they had written. That was their pleasure.

"For this reason, all mountain men who liked to take their pleasure in that way went down to their cities and learned from the Greeks how to write, and having learned, they stayed there and wrote, and read what they had written, and in this way their days passed and no songs were sung about them. But the Greeks did not come to the mountains. When at last the mountain men went down to Greece behind their king, then there was no more Greece. And for these many years of years there would be no Greece if the Five Powers would take their hands from the Balkans."

The old man did not speak without interruption. There were promptings and contributions from his listeners, and now and then a question from us. And he had to be brought back to Lec i Madhe, for the politics of his own lifetime were fresher in his mind and more stirring to his emotions.

"Lec i Madhe was not a wise man like his father, but he was a chief and a fighter, and a leader of great fighters," said he. "There were

twenty-one kings before his father, who were 173
kings of all the tribes from the Black Sea to the Adriatic, north of the tribes of Greeks. The kingdom was made by Karanna, who was a foreign chief from the eastern shores of the Black Sea. He came over the sea and made the united kingdom, and its capital was the city Emadhija.[1] After him came these kings: Cenua, Trimi, Perdika, Argua, Filip, Ajeropi, and Ajeropi was the first king whose family was of the pure blood of our fathers who came first from the east. After him there were these kings: Alqeti the son of Ajeropi; Aminti the son of Alqeti, who was the ally of Darius the king of Persia. Then Lec the son of Aminti; Perdika i dyte, the son's son of Perdika, Arqelloja the son of Lec; Oresti the son of Perdika i dyte; Arqelloja i dyte the son of Arqelloja; Armint' i dyte the son of Arqelloja i dyte; Pafsania who was a foreigner; Armint' i trete, the son of Armint' i dyte; Lec i dyte, the son of Armint' i trete; Ptolemeoja, who was a foreigner; Perdika i trete, of the family of Perdika; Armint' i katerte, the son of Lec i dyte; Filip i dyte, the son of Lec i dyte, and Lec i Madhe, the son of Filip i dyte. After Lec i Madhe was Filip i trete——"

But here the genealogy breaks off, for we wished to hear more of Lec i Madhe, and we never came back to the story of his successors.

"Lec i Madhe was born at Emadhija in the

[1] The great city.

173 Mati," began the old man, and was interrupted by three small shrieks of excitement.

"Alexander the Great born in Albania!" we exclaimed. "But—but it is written that he was born in Macedonia!"

"There were at that time two capitals of the united kingdom," said the old man. "There was Pela, between Salonika and Monastir, and there was Emadhija, the old capital, lying in the valley which is now the Mati. In Pela and in Emadhija Filip the Second had great houses, and sometimes he was in Pela and sometimes in Emadhija. There was a trouble between Filip the Second and his wife, because she loved Emadhija and would not go with him to Pela. She went, it is true, but she did not want to. And there was trouble between them because of a Greek woman of Pela. I do not know the song, but I think that it was fancy and foolishness, for Filip the Second was a good man and a wise king. But this is true, that before Lec i Madhe was born his mother left Pela and came back to the city Emadhija, and it was in Emadhija that Lec i Madhe was born, and there he lived until he was out of the cradle. He rode on a horse when he first went down to Pela, and Filip the Second came out from Pela to meet him, and it was from the back of a horse that Lec i Madhe first saw his father.

"And it is said that when Lec i Madhe rode down from Emadhija with his mother and many chiefs of the Malisori they passed through the

valley of Bulqis, where there are springs of 173
strange waters, and that as they passed through the forest—there was in those days a great forest in the Bulqis, where now there are fields of grain —they rested by one of the springs, in the place where the great rocks are standing in rows. There they heard a sound of singing in a strange tongue, but the end of the song they understood, and the end of the song was, 'Long live Lec, the son of Filip i dyte, Lec i Madhe, the king of the world!'[1]

[1]This story was told me in upper Thethis in the spring of 1921. In 114
the summer of 1922 I visited the Mati, accompanied by Annette Marquis 101
and Rrok Perolli. The Mati is a fertile high plateau defended by an unbroken ring of almost impassable mountains. It has never been conquered by foreign armies, though assailed by Romans, Turks, and Serbs; through 1920 and 1921 the men of Mati successfully defended their lands with their rifles against Serbian artillery. The present Prime Minister of the Albanian republic, Ahmet Bey Mati (or Ahmet Zogu, as he endeavors to persuade the people to call him, since the abolition of titles in Albania) is chief of the family which has ruled the Mati since Albania's quarter century of freedom under Scanderbeg, in the fifteenth century.

We were the first foreigners who had ever entered the Mati. We found the country, the people, and the customs quite different from those of the Dukaghini tribes described in this book, excepting only the unvarying Albanian hospitality. We visited the Bulqis, very terribly devastated by the invading Serbs in 1920 and 1921, and partly circled the city of Dibra, taken from Albania by the 1913 frontier line as a knife takes out the eye of a potato. The Albanian frontier commission of the League of Nations was at that time sitting in Scutari, and I regret that commissions do not sometimes travel along the frontiers they have made.

As to the story of Lec i Madhe, we drank the delicious waters of the many strangely flavored springs of Bulqis, and we lunched in the "place where the great rocks are standing in rows." These stones resemble those 172
of Carnac and Stonehenge, though on a much smaller scale, and they may be relics of peoples who lived here prior to the arrival of the Albanians, or they may be a curious accident of geological formation.

On the site of the city Emadhija we found traces which seemed to us undeniably left by the work of human hands. They lie at the head of a valley in a flat triangular space formed by meeting mountain chains,

[See cut 133, pp. 176-187 [185] -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

173 "Filip the Second was very proud of his son, and his pride led him to the one great foolishness of a good and wise king. He said that he would make Lec i Madhe king of the world, and that was well enough, but he thought that to be king of the world a man must be more learned than he himself. Whereas all old men who have watched the ways of the world know that to be strong and ruthless will make a man powerful, but to be learned makes a man full of dreams and hesitations. In his pride and blindness, Filip the Second sent to Greece for an Albanian who had learned the ways of the Greeks, and to that man he gave the boy, to be taught books."

"Really, this is too much!" said Alex. "Aristotle an Albanian?"

"Yes," continued the old man, taking the

172 [continued from footnote, pp. 185--Analyst]

one day's journey from Kruja, the magnificent fifteenth-century fortress built by Scanderbeg. One side of this triangular space is the bed of a small stream, flowing against the base of the mountains; on the opposite side, a stone conduit brings water from a spring several miles distant to a fountain from which the village people still draw their drinking water. The present village is on the mountain side above the site of the city. The villagers say that the conduit was built by Filip the Second.

Of Emadhija itself nothing remains but a city pattern drawn on the sterile level land by lines of stones. These lines are fairly regular, four to six feet in width and two to three feet high; they form squares and oblongs, arranged in curving rows, like plans of houses and courtyards following winding streets. The stones, though much weathered and broken, are in general rough cubes, and they are black, while the stones of the river bed are white and gray limestone. Unfortunately, none of our party had any archæological knowledge, but our untrained observations convinced us that a city had undoubtedly existed there at some time long past, and we believed that we saw the tops of walls which had been buried by centuries of erosion from the adjacent mountains. The villagers of that part of the Mati speak of the place indifferently as "the ancient city Emadhija," and "the birthplace of Lec i Madhe."

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

amber mouthpiece from his lips and tranquilly 173 answering the sound of the name, "his name was Aristotle, and he was from a family of the tribe of Ajeropi, his father having gone to a village in Macedonia and become a merchant there. Being rich, he sent his son, who was fond of thought rather than of action, to learn the Greek ways of thinking. And it was this man who was brought back by Filip the Second to teach his son, though there were many chiefs of the Malisori who could have shown him how to be a man and a leader of men.

"The end of it was that Lec i Madhe became the king of the world. Is that written in the books? *Po?* Is it also written that he was made king of the world by the chiefs of the Malisori who had loved his father, and that Lec i Madhe himself was no man, nor ruler of men? Is it written that when the Malisori came back to their mountains after following Lec i Madhe to the ends of the earth they sang a song saying it was good that the eyes of Filip the Second were closed forever, that they might not shed tears of shame for his son? Is it written that this harm was done to the Shqiptars by a man who had gone down to the cities to learn from the Greeks to despise his own people?"

"No," I said, "it is not exactly written so."

But there were expostulations from some who, as Albanians, were proud of Lec i Madhe and would cry down this attack on their most renowned king, and objections from others who

•173 contended that the old man was right, and all these were silenced by the entrance of Padre Marjan, whose pale, fervent face and gentle voice brought us back to the present.

He was given the place of honor among these of his flock whom he had shriven, and Sadiri Luka hastened from the withdrawn corner where he had been talking with Perolli to make with his own hands a cup of coffee for the padre. When the readjusted group was settled again, and we had replied to Padre Marjan's questions about our morning and our journey, I asked him whether Aristotle was an Albanian. He said, yes. I asked him then about the migration of the first Albanians and the coming of the Greeks in boats, and he said he believed these stories to be true. It was strange, I said, that the historians of the west, the Greek scholars of the universities, could be so misled. Padre Marjan smiled.

"All these old things are debatable, of course," he said, "and it must be remembered that Greeks and Hellenized Albanians wrote all the records. We Albanians have given no material to scholars. Besides, is it strange that they should be mistaken about the lives of men who died thirty centuries ago, when they are mistaken even about their own times? In the same books which say that the Greeks were shepherds from the Danube you will read that the Albanians of to-day are Mohammedans, or brigands, or both."

○○○ This was so true that I was silent, and, loung-

172 Korça in the south, located an equally dubious Neolithic deposit.[2] He based his claim of Neolithic age on the shape of one pot, which could just as well have belonged to the Iron Age. Bronze Age finds have actually been made, but not within our territory. A bronze axe, found near Scutari,[3] has been attributed to the late Bronze Age, and is of a type which the Phoenicians are said to have traded with the barbarous inhabitants of the Mediterranean littoral. It has a down-flaring bit and a ring-grooved haft hole, not unlike the iron axes used in the mountains today. Some of the expensive bronze tools such as that described by Vulpe may have reached the mountain tribesmen in trade, but it is unlikely that the Phoenicians themselves wandered far from the sides of their ships, or remained in this desolate region any longer than necessary.

Bronze Age sites have never been located in the highlands. This is not for lack of archaeological research, since a number of Iron Age locations have been discovered and excavated in that area.[4] These sites consist of tumuli. Such grave-mounds have been excavated in Hoti (Malsia e Madhe), Dushmani (Malsia e Jakovës), Mirdita, and Mati. The material removed from them is of regular Hallstatt type; in fact, Menghin says that the objects from north of the Drin are identical with the type specimens from Glasinac and Dolje Dolina, type sites of the Hallstatt civilization in Bosnia.[5]

[173] This evidence confirms that of tradition, that the Gheg country was a part of the Illyrian domain. Two other sets of facts support this conclusion still further, the facts of modern language and of modern culture.

197 The Gheg language as spoken today is basically Illyrian—in fact, the only survivor of

5. Dr. Robert Ehrich who has carefully examined the published reproductions of these objects and who is familiar with the Glasinac artifacts, states that the Albanian collections include Roman objects and others which are presumably Thracian. This evidence would set the date of the sites nearer to A.D. 1 than 500 B.C.

[For foot notes 2, 3 and 4 see p. 39 b
-- Analyst]

175 their local grudges. Silversmiths did a heavy
177 business converting coin into ornaments for pistols and ball-boxes, ornate holster belts, and powder-horns. Feuding now became much easier and more lethal. After firearms, arrived the *kulla*, or stone castle.[1] Although this new house type offered some defense, it did not prevent the great loss of life that the new weapon had initiated.

175 Now that the Ghegs were divided into 2 religious groups, and had guns, the death rate must have increased. The Turks themselves accounted for some of the population loss. They destroyed all the towns of north Albania from Durazzo to Scutari,[18] [2] and others in the mountains as well. For example, they dragged the leading men of the town of Drishti in Postripa, the seat of an early bishopric, to Scutari, where they beheaded them.[19]

Massacre and emigration reduced the population of certain sections of Ghegnia below the economic maximum for the first time since its settlement in the Hallstatt Iron Age, thus opening the way to new immigrants. These were Christian tribesmen from Bosnia and Herzegovina, squeezed out by the Turkish expansion, and particularly by the struggles between Turks and Slavs. They were neither Turkish nor Slavic, but the remnants of the pre-Slavic population, still speaking a latinized form of Illyrian, and Catholic. In speech and religion, they found themselves at home in Ghegnia.

173 Most of them arrived during the 16th century. In the *bairak* of Gruda, Miss Durham found 500 houses, 80 of old indigenous stock, tracing their ancestry to Berisha (Puka), while the other 420 were inhabited by people who claimed descent in the male line from immigrants, called Djell, who came down from Herzegovina about A.D. 1530. A few years later, at least 4 brothers entered the Malsia e Madhe country from Bosnia; they were Geg Laz, ancestor of the Piperi tribe in Montenegro, which is now Slavic in speech and Orthodox in religion; Vaso Laz, the ancestor of the similar tribe of Vasojevitch; Krasni Laz, ancestor of the *bairak* of Krasniqi in Malsia e Jakovës—most of whom are now Moslem, although a few are Catholics. Nik, the ancestor

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 14 b - 15 a -- Analyst]
[2] [see p. 44 a -- Analyst]

[19] Durham, 1928, p. 28.

173 of Nikaj, may have been either a fifth brother or a son of Krasni Laz.

The people of Shkrelli, comprising a whole *bairak*, are said to have come from Bosnia en masse about 1600, and taken over a valley whose inhabitants had been killed off and whose church, Shen Kerli (St. Charles, hence Shkrelli) destroyed. Three hundred out of 500 houses in Kastrati are said to be descended from a man called Delti, who came from the Kuchi region of Montenegro, with his 7 sons. He was, however, reputed to have been descended from Berisha, the oldest known *fis* in Albania. The 4 *bairaks* Seitze, Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi in Klementi trace their descent from 4 sons of a man called Klimenti who fled from the neighborhood of Gusinje about A.D. 1600.

All of the inhabitants of Malsia e Madhe do not claim descent from these invading ancestors. Their traditions are so consistent, their genealogies so clear, that we cannot doubt that these invasions took place, or that earlier populations survived. In Gruda, 80 houses belonged to the Berisha *fis*, while in Hoti a small number of *anas*, or aborigines, remained. The newcomers intermarried with them. The descendants of these 2 population elements still intermarry regularly. Two hundred out of the 500 houses of Kastrati are pre-invasion, and are said to be of Slavic origin. Reçi includes a few houses of *anas*. The rest of the population, like Loya, claims as its ancestors refugees from Shlaku and Pulati. All in all, Malsia e Madhe seems to have borne the brunt of this Bosniak invasion, and to have derived from it a large part of its genetic composition (fig. 12, *c*).[1]

In other parts of Ghegnia we find less evidence of invasion. The Berisha *fis* has been traced back certainly to 1370, probably to A.D. 1270. If it is that old, it may well go back to the pre-Roman period. Merturi split off from Berisha about A.D. 1700. The 2 *bairaks* of Dushman, Temali and Dushmani, are known since 1402, when they appear in written records as allies of Venice. They are probably much older. The people of Drishti, whose predecessors were destroyed by the

[20] The Dukagins are centuries older. See Gegaj, 1937, cited in Fan Noli, 1947.

[1] [See cont. 116, p. 112 -- Analyst]

-45a-

173 Turks, came from different places. The people of Toplana were driven to their present mountain stronghold from Vasojevitch in Montenegro about 1450, being pushed out by immigrants from Herzegovina. The ancestors of Plani came from 3 sources: Klementi, Merturi, and indigenous *anas*. Those of Kiri were from Kuchi and Ipek, in Montenegro. One hundred houses of Nikaj people are said to be descended from a daughter of Nikol by a gypsy, and are called Tsura. This is the only instance known of female descent, and indicates the relative social status of the alleged spouses.

The famous invasion of the Dukagin brothers, Shosh, Shal, Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen, probably took place before the Bosniak migration.[201] Miss Durham derives them from the Pestriku mountains near Jakova, where they were part of the Ipek tribal confederacy. My informants named Marina *bairak* as their home. In Shala they are supposed to have found some small, dark people with whom they intermarried. A few of these *anas* stayed on, and there are said to be 8 houses of them at Abate in Lower Shala, while the rest immigrated to Dechani. The Mirdita brethren found the Dibri and Fan people ahead of them.

One tradition relates that the Dukagin *bairaks* of Mirdita did not stay long in their new home, but when the Turks had taken Scutari and were raiding the neighboring mountains, the settlers retreated to their ancient home, from which they did not return to Mirdita until around 1650. How true this is, and how many people, if any, it involved, cannot be determined.

We know finally that Jakova town was settled by people from various parts of the Gheg mountains, and the same is true of Ipek. These were cities of refuge, like earlier towns before them. More recent than any of these is the village of Vraka, a community of a thousand people lying between Koplik and Scutari. This is the residence of Serbian-speaking, Orthodox farmers, whose ancestors fled from blood vengeance in various parts of Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Bosnia. They have not yet become absorbed, and with modern

[see p.45a -- Analyst]

173 politics what they are, probably will not be. They serve our purpose of illustrating a principle of population movement in a feuding society.

This ends our history up to the final date of the ethnographic present as defined in chapter 1, "The Dinaric Problem."*

175 Turkish rule lasted in Albania until 1912. After the Balkan wars an opera bouffe kingdom was set up with the Prince of Wied as king, and the capital in Durazzo. During his uninspired reign an international boundary commission laid out the borders of the new state, and at every point where there was any question, Albania came out the loser. Gruda was given to Montenegro. The Grudans who survived this political change fled to Scutari. Hoti lost part of its land, particularly its winter pasture. The tribesmen of Klementi were so cut off that they could not drive their flocks to their winter pasture near Scutari without crossing Montenegrin territory, which would have been equivalent to losing their animals. The Serbs closed the border to mountaineers bringing their goods to Jakova to trade, and expelled many of the Albanians from both [114] that city and Ipek. They made it almost impossible to travel between Kukës and Prizren; in 1929 our party was held up a whole day while we were searched to the skin, ordered to read aloud all of our papers, accused of being renegade Croats, etc., and we finally got away only after a great deal of telephoning on the plea that one of us was dangerously ill. In Prizren we found the jail full of Albanians.

[361] Dibra as well was lost as a market town. Kukës sprang up as a makeshift metropolis, as did Peshkopia. Tradesmen and artisans, as we have seen, stole over the border from Jakova, Prizren, and Dibra, to set up shop in the new places. The boundary commission could have created no more international hatred if this had been its principal objective.

World War I followed immediately after these unwise decisions, and the powderpuff king ran away. An army of Serbs, fleeing for their lives, marched across Dibra and Mati, burning and looting as they passed, to seek refuge on Corfu. Austrian troops, at their heels, occupied Scutari and the Malsia e Madhe, as well as the region of Kukës. They built

*[See cat. 116, p. 56 -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

eminence that what he said is still as sacred as Holy Writ to the 671
mountaineers of Mirditë and all the tribes to the north, including those unjustly incorporated in Yugoslavia in 1912–13. According to tradition it was he who framed the laws by which the mountaineers still live. More probably, like Solon of Athens, he revised and codified existing laws, though apparently without setting them down on paper. Numerous items in his code resemble those known among the Romans and other ancient peoples, and in the versions we have there are many signs of evolution from earlier forms. The code is said to be best preserved in Mirditë, where its items were collected about 1913 by the eminent Franciscan scholar, Father Shtjefen Gjeçov, though his book was not published until 1933. A few years previously he had been murdered by Yugoslavs, as is related in a brother Franciscan's preface to the book.[1]

Little is known of Lek's[1] personality. He must have been a man 673
of standing as well as genius and fine character to have imposed his will on the rude mountaineers of his time, so he may well have belonged to the princely medieval family of north Albania which took its name from Dukagjin, a district lying between the Great Mountains (*Malësi e Madhe*) of the far north and the river Drin, and inhabited by twelve tribes of which Shalë is the chief. Tradition represents him as an older contemporary of Skanderbeg, the national hero of modern Albania, who, born in 1403, died in 1467 after resisting the Turkish invaders of his country as gallantly and as unavailingly as William Wallace of Scotland resisted the English. The Mirditë tribes are also reported to have been living near 671
Mt. Bishtrik in north-east Albania when they learned Lek's code. As they moved to their present fastness under Turkish pressure in the fifteenth century,[2] we are fairly safe in maintaining that Lek's legislation has survived at least five centuries of oral transmission, a high tribute to its quality and to his personality.

Traditions gathered in areas as far apart in every sense as Moslem Lumë in east Albania and Catholic Shalë and Shkrel in the north say that Lek's main stronghold was the now ruined fort of Drisht near Shkodër. He had another in Has in east Albania which commanded the ford crossing the Drin at Spas, five hours below Kukës; it is perched above the water on the last of a line of

[1] An Italian translation of Lek Dukagjini's canon was published in Rome in 1941 by the Reale Accademia d'Italia.

[2] M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins*, etc., p. 30.

1 [i.e. Lek Dukagjini, an ancient lawgiver --- Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

173 denuded peaks linked by perilous natural bridges. The track, once paved in parts, which leads eastwards from Drisht to Shalë is still called 'Lek's road', and there is a 'Lek's rock' in several districts, notably Shalë, Berishë and Surroj. He fought on against the Turks for at the least twelve years after Skanderbeg died, and surrendered only when the Turks promised to respect the unwritten laws of the mountains. He then fled to Hungary, where he died.

These traditions are as persistent as they are widespread; those given here tally reasonably well with what Miss Durham heard among the Catholics thirty years earlier. The detail about Lek's conditional surrender is curious, recalling the similar terms given to the Greeks of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. But there can be no proving or disproving the traditions, unless evidence is eventually found in the Vatican archives; the records in Albanian churches have been burned again and again, together with the buildings. It seems likely, however, that popular memory has confused Lek the law-giver with a warrior of later date.[1]

171 To mountaineers everywhere Lek the law-giver's code is known as his *kanún*, for which reason Father Gjeçov's book is entitled *Kanuni i Lek Dukagjinit* ('The Code of Lek Dukagjini'). The editor rightly derives the word from the Greek κανών ('rule'), but does not give its interesting pedigree. It came, not directly from Greek, for north Albania has never been under Greek influence, but through Turkish and Arabic. In the words of Professor H. A. R. Gibb, 'the Greek word was very early incorporated into Arabic as qānūn, pl. qawānīn. The Islamic jurists adopted it to designate an administrative regulation, as distinct from the Revealed Law (*Shari'a*), and many centuries later the Ottoman Sultans adopted it as the designation of their legislative rescripts. The point of retaining this term was that it suggested no interference with, or modification of, the Revealed Law.' To Turkish officials stationed in Albania after its conquest, Lek's code was naturally a *kanún*. Aloof though the Albanian mountaineers held themselves from these officials, they learned a number of their technical terms, as will appear from other examples in this book. They made *kanún* so much their own that they still say something is illegal in pure Albanian (*ligja nuk e ep*, lit. 'the law does not give it') or in mixed Turkish and Albanian (*kanuni nuk e ep*). But,

[1] Perhaps Lek Dukagjini III, 1459–79.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

curiously, they never call Lek's code anything but *kanün*, and so the Catholics amongst them are the only Christians in Europe who have a Canon Law that is not ecclesiastical. 671

Lek's power, says a tradition referred to in Father Gjeçov's book, extended as far south as the town of Lesh, which he made his capital. Overcoming every difficulty of geography and human obstructiveness, he used to convoke the mountain chiefs to parliament there and after discussion promulgated his laws. No less a personage than Skanderbeg was among the deputies. On p. 121 of Father Gjeçov's book there is a lively description of the argument between the two Alexanders—both Lek and Skander are Albanian forms of Alexander—which ended in their both proclaiming the important doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of the law. 173 671

Skanderbeg, if primarily a warrior, was also a law-giver, and it is his code which still guides the mountaineers of Dibër, Mat and Krujë, the three districts with which he was chiefly associated. His family took its patronymic Kastrioti from the hill-fort of Kastriot in Dibër; it was at Krujë that his stout resistance to the Turks made the Pope of the day hail him as the Champion of Christendom. His jurisdiction extended no farther, suggesting that without his military exploits his fame as a law-giver would have faded. In areas farther south where the mountaineers still obey unwritten laws, as in Martanesh and Shpat, no law-giver is remembered a generation or two after his death. The northern limit of Skanderbeg's jurisdiction was fixed by Lek with characteristic wisdom, according to a tradition prevalent in Milot. Once when Skanderbeg was at Dibër and Lek at Shkodër, the former suggested that they should come and meet each other, the point at which they met to be the boundary line between their spheres of influence. When Lek agreed, Skanderbeg set off at sunrise, the canonical time for beginning a journey. But Lek set off four hours earlier and so met his rival at the Kullë Pashaj ('Pasha's Tower') in Mat, which remains to this day the boundary between the two *kanuns*. In general Lek was too clever for Skanderbeg. Once, says another tradition from Milot, Lek, who had a he-goat while Skanderbeg had a steer, suggested that they should swop animals. When this had been done, Lek was heard to mutter: 'He-goat this year, he-goat next year; steer this year, ox next year.'

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SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

1. The Tribal System in North Albania

The tribal system seems to be a social stage through which mankind normally passes. Within historic times Europe was a welter of tribes, from which in the course of years have been evolved the present "Powers"—Powers which themselves are compounded each of several racial elements and whose frontiers are in a constant state of flux. 174

In Europe it is only in the Balkan peninsula that the tribal system survived intact into the twentieth century. The Great War has broken up the last tribe lands of Europe—Montenegro and North Albania; and as I lived for some time in each previous to the catastrophe, it seems worth while to record all the details I managed to collect about these interesting relics of a distant past.

The Balkans were tribal in Herodotus's day. Strabo (*ob.* A.D. 25) gives a clear account of the Illyrian and Epirotic tribes who is his time dwelt on the east coast of the Adriatic and had recently been subdued by Rome. "The Istri," says he, "are the first people on the Illyrian coast contiguous to Italy and the Carni. The present government has advanced the limits of Italy to Pola, a city of Istria." Now again, 1,900 years later, Italy has "advanced her limits"—and included Pola, and hankers after other districts which Strabo describes as under Roman rule. "Next come the Japodes, who are a warlike people, but were completely subdued by Augustus . . . the country is poor and the people live mainly on spelt and millet. Their armour is of the Celtic fashion. Their bodies are punctured like those of the other Illyrian and Thracian people." Next come the Liburnians with a city Scardona and a navigable river (the Kerka), and then the "coast of the Dalmatæ and their naval arsenal Salona. They were long at war with the Romans and had fifty considerable settlements, some of which had the rank of cities. Augustus burnt them down . . . then follows the river Narenta, and the peoples of the neighbourhood are the Duorizi, Ardæi, and Pleraii. . . . The Romans drove the Ardæi into the interior because the coast was infested by their piracies, and forced them to cultivate the land. But, as the country was barren, the nation was entirely ruined and nearly extinguished. The same happened to neighbouring nations. People once very powerful are now extinct or 175 105 101

175 reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani
105 among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

101 "Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived. Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Peligones*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

174 This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still
622 found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe
623 still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

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(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 174
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of [628]
great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated
by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 582
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 602
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence 611
it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

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619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is [103 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the 174] road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the [197 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are 779] said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat, 174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo, 776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. 614 They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti, [166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli. [582] They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the 174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem 103
valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms 779
the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, 596
and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say 614
is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza).

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five [582]
families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, [221
which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road 648]
and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it.

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty 619
Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku 614
and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district 779
not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its [174
mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts 794]
which are given to the Church.

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; 619
and has also a few houses of "Anas." 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, [779
another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling 294]
mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as 648
some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group.

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, 619
Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places 779
mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the 103
only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name [776]
from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, [628
who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in 166]
Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping- 648
off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 779

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173 days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice,
643 and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.
[688] Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

671 Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law
681 of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth
174 century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

682 Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who
[574] has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He
[609] at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

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visible mark has a strong effect on primitive and childish minds—000 witness national flags and school and college colours. The missionizing "popes" of the Orthodox Church had every reason to denounce a practice which thus "sealed" part of the population and made it turn a deaf ear to the attractions of Byzantium.

To this day the object of the Orthodox is to wipe all that belongs to Rome from the peninsula. I found the bitterest dislike, even among the educated classes; and among the peasants neither side would admit that the other was Christian. In early days the struggle must have been even cruder than to-day.

3. Tattooing in Albania

We will trace these symbols farther south. In North Albania I 301
noticed that every Catholic woman among the five large tribes (Kastrati, 531
Shkreli, Hoti, Gruda, and Klementi) wore, if not too poor, a large silver filigree crescent and star stitched to the crown of her flat cap; or a similar design was embroidered and the "star" then larger. Asked why they wore a Turkish symbol, they crossed themselves and denied the charge indignantly, saying: "We wear it because we always do. It is not Turkish. We are good Catholics." They declared also it was 174
"very old"; and were quite correct. For the sun and moon symbol, as we have seen, was long pre-Turkish in the Balkans. I next found that 304
the bulk of these tribes-folk, both men and women, are tattooed on 531
the back of the hand, the forearm, or the breast (seldom on all) with a cross; but never a plain cross. It has a crescent above and below it; or the arms terminate in small circles, as do those on Byzantine coins; or some in circles and some in crescents; or the cross is in the "sun-wheel" form. None of these people at all objected to showing the tattoos. I at once recognized in a simplified form the elements of the Bosnian designs. Most people said they did it because they were Catholics. Anxious to give a reason, one man said it was to ensure you Christian burial if you died abroad.

When I asked the Albanian tribesmen what was the meaning of the circle and crescent on the cross-arms, they said at once it was "Dielli" —the sun; and "Hana"—the moon. The cross was to show you were a Christian. What were the sun and moon for? The only reply was "per bukur" (for beauty). Often they laughed and gave none. Mgr. Ernesto Cozzy, then priest of Rechi and later Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, a Tyrolese whose knowledge of the mountain people was the result of years of sympathetic study, told me: "They have a number of 304
curious pagan beliefs which they will not tell me. I have found that 771

[Text continues on p. 123]

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in con- 304
flict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. 771
So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. 531
Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died 114
in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to 771
Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle 174
I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is 776
the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and 174
floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern 776
and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his [787]
armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is [821]
driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda 531
tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear 304
tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from 173
the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The large uncarved wooden crosses in most of the graveyards of 531
Dukagini and Pulati (Fig. 9) show at the ends of the arms either (1) a sun 764
and crescent, (2) a sun alone, or (3) a sun with two notches below it—a transition form in which the carpenter has forgotten what the crescent is and merely chopped notches. The sun-wheel forms the back and the crescent and sun the ends of the arms of the typical wooden arm-chair in which the house-lord sits. Such chairs were used by all the tribes, but are now chiefly found in the further Dukagini tribes. The chip-carved distaffs of the women show the cross frequently; but chip-carving does not lend itself to curves, and the moon appears as an angle on which the cross stands. Some distaffs, however, suggest that their complicated designs are based on rayed curves, though they are now angular.

The cross and rayed sun are also traceable on many of the elaborately 291
knitted socks. Here, owing to the exigencies of the material, the sun 531
is square, but the rays are duly shown.

A rayed sun is part of the elaborate design embroidered on the scarlet cloak of the married Catholic women of Scutari. Of this design, which with variations consists always of similar elements, I have failed to find an explanation. "It must be some old story which we have forgotten," say the embroiderers, who are always men. The sun, an ear of wheat (? feather), a flowering plant, the dove and the serpent always appear. It is given to the bride by the bridegroom on her wedding- [585]
day. The sun, the wheat, and the flowers suggest fertility. And the facts that the serpent and dove were symbols of the mother goddess worshipped at Knossos, and that bird and serpent played an important part in Egyptian mythology, show that the origin of this Albanian pattern is, indeed, so old that it is no wonder the embroiderers have forgotten it (Figs. 10 and 11).

The sun and moon were firmly established as symbols in the Balkans 174
long before the Turk arrived. I think that probably the Turkish crescent 531
and star is really the rayed sun and moon, the sun being diminished so as to fit decoratively within the crescent.

On the wall of a house at Vuthaj, when the district was wholly 531
Moslem and almost closed to outsiders, I saw, in 1908, a large rayed 342
sun painted with a slim crescent beside it (Fig. 12, No. 10). More striking yet was the emblem at that time placed over the gate of the Turkish Konak at Prizren. It was a large wooden sun with long rays of unequal length. At the tip of each ray was a small wooden crescent. At this time there was huge excitement over the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, and I was warned neither to draw nor photograph anything in public. I made, therefore, only a memory sketch (Fig. 12, No. 9), but it gives a correct idea of this curious sign, which, as the

[Text continues on p. 129]

Relationships and Blood Customs

Uncle (father's brother)—Adzh: this is a Turkish word, but is in common use. There is another word, which is Albanian: "Mighe," also "unghe," but "adzh" is commonly used. 601

Aunt (father's sister)—Hallé.

Nephew (brother's or sister's son)—Nipi, collectively Nipnii.

Niece (brother's or sister's daughter)—Mesé.

Son—I biri.

Brother-in-law—Konati.

Son-in-law—Dhaner. Also used for bridegroom and fiancé.

Sister-in-law—Kunata.

Cousin—Kushrin.

Female cousin—Kushrina.

Husband—Shok, i.e. companion; or Bur, i.e. man.

Father-in-law—Vjeher.

Godfather, sponsor—Kumar. Godfather of baptism—Kumar i pakzimit. [608]

Godfather of haircutting—Kumar i floksh.

Tribe—Fis.

Relations collectively—Dzinije.

Vlaznija, lit. brethren. A large family group within the tribe like the Montenegrin bratstvo.

Mehala—a Turkish word used for a group of related houses, i.e. a Vlaznija.

Shpi—House and house community.

Krue—Head of a Vlaznija or Mehala.

Plak—Old man. Hence an elder—member, that is, of a tribal council. [623]

Zoti i shpis—Lord of the house.

Bairaktar—Standard-bearer. Head of Fis (Turkish word).

2. Blood-brotherhood

"But the flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof shall ye not eat" (Gen. ix. 4). 608

"For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof" (Lev. xvii. 14). 174

He who ate the blood would take within him the life of the beast—would become, in fact, partly beast. It follows naturally that he who eats the blood of man establishes kinship with him whose life he thus shares. Blood-brotherhood is a very old and widespread custom. "Whenever the Scythians," says Herodotus (Bk. IV, lxx), "form alliances a large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties . . . in this cup they dip some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After some solemn praying the parties who form the contract . . . finally drink the contents of the bowl."

From the lands lying north-east of the Balkans came down neighbours of the Scythians, the Pechinegs and the Comans, and the Bulgars. The Comans, says B. H. Minns (*v. Scythians and Greeks*), were a

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Mongol people. Both Pechinegs and Comans, we hear in contemporary accounts of the Crusades, were used as soldiery by the Balkan princes.

B 101 175 726 A vivid account of Balkan armies in the Middle Ages is given by Nicephor Gregory and by Villehardouin (v. Dufresne Ducange, *History of Constantinople*, 1729), telling of the Latin capture of Constantinople when Count Baldwin of Flanders and the other princes established a Latin empire there, though on their way to a crusade in Palestine.

In 1204 Baldwin was crowned Emperor of Byzantium in St. Sofia with great magnificence, and was about to lead an army eastward when, "on a sudden, like the crash of a great thunderstorm, the terror of a Bulgarian rising stayed them. John, the brother of the first Asan and his successor, with troops levied through all Bulgaria, and not a few of the Scythians who dwell north of the Ister (Danube), fell upon Thrace with violence and greatly endangered the Latin State." Baldwin fought the Bulgars, with terrible slaughter on both sides. But the heavily armoured Crusaders could not cope with the swift Scythians; "some forty thousand Comans, who are a pagan people," ambushed them and overwhelmed them with lances and arrows. The ground was covered with corpses. Many Latins were taken prisoner, among them Baldwin himself, who was never seen again. "And the Scythians, in their fashion, laid waste Macedonia."

The whole of Villehardouin's account of the Fourth Crusade in the Balkans is of high interest for the light it throws on the conditions then prevailing. We see the Balkans reinforced by hordes from the north-east. Russia has always pressed Balkan-ward, and will again. The Turk had not yet arrived on the scene, but the Balkan already was the East, with aims and aspirations different from those of the West—a thing apart from West Europe, with its civilization built upon Rome. The Fourth Crusade was but one of the many vain attempts of the West to establish a permanent footing in the East.

Vain it was. Baldwin II, the last Latin emperor, poverty-stricken, was reduced to obtaining funds by selling the much-treasured relic, the Crown of Thorns, to the King of France, and buying the support of those very Comans who had formerly broken the Latin forces. He did this by swearing an alliance "with these barbarous people. In order to make the treaty more solemn they drew blood from their veins—one giving it to be drunk by the other, believing that from this mixture of blood they contracted a kind of brotherhood . . . which our people, driven by the necessity in which they found themselves, had also to do."

B 608 643 Thus in 1240 did the knights of France swear blood-brotherhood with pagans—a grotesque result of a Crusade which was to free the East of Unbelievers. A French noble, Nariot de Toucy, further cemented the bond by marrying the daughter of Jonas, Prince of the Comans. Vain

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, 777
search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone 787
wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs 771
and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part 174
of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine 278 755
are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal 759
lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all 755
Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he 757
was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some 278
and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse.

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the 761
Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is 753
said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad earache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose.

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could [842
conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives 174]
as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it.

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Hellenic Greece EH5
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

H 302 782 Poseidon would kindly accept it as substitute for the body. In this case evidently he did so.

G 302 852 The Orthodox Church, too, dedicates the child, after immersion and unction, by "clipping off four locks of hair as sign of the Cross, the pope saying: 'The servant of God is shorn in the name of God.' The pieces of hair are mixed with some wax from the candle and dropped into the font by the child's father" (Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Roman Church*). The hair, no doubt, is dropped into the holy water to save it from being used for spells by some wicked person.

My friend Mr. Stroud Read, who has lived much in Greece, tells me that there is a tendency there now to omit the hair-cutting from baptism, the pope sometimes refusing to have it done in church, but that it is done, nevertheless, by the laity at home after returning from the church. Someone is invited to be hair-cutter, and the clippings are dropped into a pan of hot charcoal.

M 852 582 608 The two ceremonies were formerly separate ones in Montenegro. Pope Gjuro told me there used to be two kumstvos (sponsorships): Shishano Kumstvo (shearing kumstvo), and Mokro (wet) or Krsteno Kumstvo (baptism). The former, as a separate kumstvo, is now extinct. It used to carry with it spiritual relationship and prevent the intermarriage of the direct descendants of the sponsor and those of the child's father for several generations. The marriage circle was thus further restricted and drove folk farther afield in search of a wife. Medakovitch, describing the ceremony as done by the laity between 1840 and 1850, says it was done some time after baptism. Three locks were cut in the name of the Trinity and thrown on the dunghill. At that time the ceremony did not form an obstacle to marriage.

A 852 [174] About three years after my nail-scissors had become an ecclesiastical implement I learnt in the Albanian mountains what is probably the most complete form in which the ceremony now survives. It is performed habitually by both Moslems and Christians. The Catholic priests try to suppress this pagan practice, which, nevertheless, their flock considers quite as important as baptism and even more so. A careful study of those pagan practices adopted by one Church and abhorred by the other might throw light on the centres or origin of such practices.

A 852 608 In North Albania the "kumpare i floksh" (sponsor of hair) is chosen when the child is about two years old. He is a man with whom the head of the house wishes to be related. The family being assembled out of doors, the kumpare (conpatrem, compère) sits down on the ground, and first takes another child on his knees to ensure that his "hair child" shall not be the last his parents have. He then takes his "hair child," whose hair as yet has never been cut, and snips off four locks of hair

197 this once widely spoken group. G. S. Lowman[6] says of it,

> "The Albanian language constitutes a distinct branch in the Satem division of the Indo-European languages. It is the direct descendant of the ancient Illyrian of Roman times, together with some Thracian influences. . . . At the present time, two principal dialectal divisions exist, Geg or Northern, and Tosk or Southern, which are more or less mutually intelligible. . . .
>
> "In the course of Albanian history many foreign influences have come to play their part in making the language what it is today. Although the essential structure of the language, and a fair share of the words in common use are of native origin, the vocabulary has been borrowed from outside sources to a far greater extent even than is the case of English. In 1891 Gustav Meyer stated in his etymological dictionary that of 5,140 root-words only 400 were of the original Albanian stock, that 1,420 were Romance, 540 Slavonic, 1,180 Turkish, 840 Greek, and over 700 indeterminable. Later scholars, however, have proved that a considerably larger proportion of words are truly Albanian."

[177]

181 Such careful observers of material culture as Nopcsa and Haberlandt have concluded that *the Ghegs*, in their tools, agricultural implements, furniture, costumes, and most other technological details *are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age.*

174 A single conclusion is therefore as legitimate as it is obvious. *The mountains of Ghegnia were first effectively populated during the middle centuries of the first millennium before Christ.* The pioneers who took over this rugged landscape were Illyrians, whose central territory lay to the northwest. Since they had already lived in Bosnia and Montenegro, they were already adjusted to life in this environment.

172 Fortunately, the materials excavated at Glasinac,[7] the type site of the Illyrian Hallstatt culture, include skeletons as well as artifacts. The date of this cemetery is between 1000 and 500 B.C. The collection of 38 crania shows clearly that the Illyrians were not a homogeneous people in the racial sense. The majority of the skulls are long headed, and represent at least 2 contemporary varieties of Nordic. This is not surprising since most of the Iron Age

[see cat. 116, p. 40 b--Analyst]

[6] Lowman, 1932, p. 271.

172 peoples of Europe were Nordic. However, 13 crania, or one-third of the total series, were brachycephalic. These skulls have flat occiputs, straight sidewalls, broad foreheads, and in the one example in which the nasal bones have been preserved, a long and aquiline nose. They are the skulls of Dinarics, and resemble both the Bronze Age Dinaric skulls from Cyprus, and the Bell Beaker Dinaric crania from early Bronze Age sites in Germany.

All of the evidence which we have indicates that close kinsmen of the Glasinac people were the very ones who settled Ghegnia, at just about the time the cemetery was in use. We have every reason to suppose that *the ancestors of the Ghegs*, in the last 500 years before the Christian era, their pioneer period, *were very much like the people whose remains were buried in the graveyard at Glasinac.* This means that among the Ghegs, characteristic Dinarics were present from the beginning, but probably as a minority in the population.

● 174 Let us return for a moment to the statement that the Ghegs are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age. This means that no important changes have taken place in their technological processes. If the Illyrians had just as good equipment for tilling the soil, processing foodstuffs, building houses, weaving cloth, etc., as the modern Mountain Ghegs, then they were able to exploit the landscape just as efficiently as their modern descendants. The valleys and upland pastures of Ghegnia could thus have held as large a population then as today.

This assumption cannot be made without a certain amount of correction. The modern Ghegs grind their flour and full their cloth in mills operated by water power. This releases a certain amount of human energy for other pursuits. These mills must have been introduced after the initial settlement. Warfare, which is a characteristic mechanism of population control in upland Ghegnia, has also undergone changes. The Turks introduced both firearms and the *kulla*, or stone castle (fig. 8, *a*)[1] weapons of offense and defense. This combination made murder easier than before, and must have helped reduce the population. On the whole, the forces for increased use of

[1] Weisbach, 1897a, pp. 80–85 and 1897b, pp. 562–76; Coon, 1939, pp. 184–85.

-40b-

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 108 -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

174 the land and decrease of manpower probably counterbalanced each other.

It must have taken several centuries for the pioneers to explore every valley, choose the most favorable sites, and put them into cultivation. In a few centuries more, less favorable lands which could support a thinner population would also have been cleared. But by the beginning of the Christian era, the time when the first outside influence, that of Rome, made itself felt on the fringes of the Gheg mountains, this region may well have been populated to its present capacity. This means that there was no room for Romans or anyone else to settle without armed invasion. Even with armed invasion, as many have discovered, the Gheg mountains are hard to take.

Biologically the significance of this is of course that while the original settlers of our area must have been a mixed lot, they were probably able to fill their country with progeny before any concerted attempts were made by outsiders to invade their territory. The [144] majority of them were undoubtedly Illyrians from Bosnia, while others may have been Thracians from the plains to the northeast. Racially they were probably a mixture of Nordics, Mediterraneans from the Adriatic littoral, brachycephals from the same region, and Pontic Mediterraneans from the Euxine borderlands. They were able to stew in their own genetic juice and produce their own variety of human beings.

175 Roman authors have much to say about the peoples all around Ghegnia, but very little about the mountaineers themselves. This silence is very significant. All of Ghegnia except for the southern portions of Mati and Dibra formed a part of the province of Dalmatia, while those 2 sections of tribes plus what is now central Albania went with Macedonia. The present Tosk country was part of Epirus, which was considered distinct from Greece. While the predecessors of the Tosks

[8] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

[9] Strabonis Geographia, Book 7, p. 457, lines 3–6: ". . . et Drilo fluvius, quo adverso navigatur orientem versus usque ad Dardanicam."

or

καὶ Δρίλων ποταμὸς ἀνάπλων ἔχων πρὸς ἕω, μέχρι τῆς Δαρδανικῆς.

1 A [Cont. on p.41b --Analyst]

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

can be distinguished although exigencies of space prevent a large drawing of the design being available. The enlarged specimens on the plate are from the embroidery on the japangi shown at " b " and " c ". 291 294 531

No. 1937-6. The third example of embroidery for a japangi has a design worked in vivid orange, violet, emerald green and cerise outlined in white. The dyes are aniline and the result garish. The pattern, too, is not so good, the small four-petalled flowers dominating the design. The striped scarlet and black ground is made of a fine felt.

Those specially interested in the design itself will find a section of each of these patterns sketched by Miss Durham in her article on " Some Balkan Embroideries," in *Man.*, May, 19.3., Vol. XXIII, No. 5 ; and she also states in her letters that she has seen the dove and serpent design on the corner of the sleeveless coat which formed part of the wedding dress of the Crown Princess Militza, wife of the Crown Prince Danilo, of Montenegro, which is now in the possession of her friend who was the English lady-in-waiting to the Princess.

C. The Giubba.

No. 1935-62. One of the most elegantly cut of all the garments in the collection is the giubba, a sleeveless coat, figured on Plate XIII. It is part of the indoor dress of the women and girls of Scutari, whether of the Christian or Moslem faith, and is worn over the shirt and full trousers or trousered skirt. The skirt-like enlargement of the lower part can be traced back to Persian and Tartaric garments, and adds considerably to its graceful effect in wear (Plate XIII a). The giubba is made of a rich reddish brown face cloth of fine quality, and consists of five pieces, two fronts of fairly straight cut (Plate XIII b), a back which includes a long narrow gore tapering to the bottom of the skirt as shown in " c " on Plate XIII, and two circular shaped pieces which fit the gore and the side edges of the fronts. On the seam thus formed there is a long pocket-like decoration in which, at the bottom, there is a tiny two-inch slot, from which one or more patterned silk handkerchiefs may hang. [174]

As will be seen from the measurements given on the plate, the garment is such as would fit a small and slender woman.

The coat is handsomely braided in black, three kinds of material being used, a thin and a thick twisted silk cord, the latter being usually applied on top of a closely laid fine cord, as indicated at " d " and " f " on Plate XIII, and a plaited silk braid which is used in rows to make the waved border all round the front and circular skirt part. Above this waved band a version of the popular continuous scroll, like an Ionic wave, forms two rows of trimming and for its working two operations are needed, a single line of cord, the darker in the drawing at " e " on Plate XIII, is sewn down first, and then a second row with little twirls at the top of the curve fills in the spaces of the first.

Some indication of the style of the patterns and their layout has been attempted at " b " and " c ", limitation of space preventing enlargements on a more adequate scale.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

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V
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"As a rule these embroidered towels are from wedding outfits, the bride's coffer." (M.E.D.).

No. 1937·11. Perhaps the most interesting of the embroidered group is an old marama bought at Prizren in 1908, which is probably Moslem Albanian work. It is of fine hand-spun and loosely woven cotton rather like a muslin, with groups of wide, double weft stripes in cotton and finer weft stripes in silk.

A
286
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531

In its length of four feet there are five plainly woven bands, three inches wide, decorated with free spool-woven "ibriks" or water vessels, and the plainly woven ends are embroidered. (Plate XVIIA).

A
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174
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"The ibrik is a spouted vessel used to pour water on guests' hands before and after a meal. As no forks are used fingers needed washing, and it is probable that the native was taught hand-washing at meals by the Turk, who was not such a bad fellow as some people make out. 'Marama' and 'ibrik' are both Turkish words." (M.E.D.).

The two tethered beasts are worked in a violet-red silk in pulled stitch ("c" Plate XV), with outlines in pale blue and cream of the Turkish stitch shown at vi. in "d" on the same plate. This stitch, in apricot pink and pale yellow with a pale blue outline, is also used for filling in the animals' legs.

The "tree of life", to which the beasts are tethered by chains made of squares of gold thread, has a stem of gold plate worked diagonally bearing green leaves. The spots are worked in gold plate and the whole design has affinities with Persian pattern.

S
286
515
531

No. 1937·12. Another "marama" of a similar weave, also with stripes weft of cotton and silk, has its ends embroidered with a procession of boldly stylised cocks, gaily worked in aniline dyed silks and gold thread (Plate XVIIB). Although the use of aniline dyes indicates that this towel is not very old, the pattern is probably a traditional one.

The body of each cock is outlined and the feet are worked in black, the head and most of the body is filled in with a flat or satin stitch in gold thread, as indicated by the slanting lines in the enlarged drawing, with a band of pulled stitch across the middle worked in violet. At the extreme edge there is a narrow border worked in coral pink, a colour which is also introduced as a small patch on the cock's neck.

S
A
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No. 1937·13. A motive representing "the dove returning to the ark" is repeated at the ends of a guest towel made of machine woven muslin (Plate XVIIC).

"This marama was obtained from Prizren and might be either Christian, Serb or Albanian work. The Ark seems to be based on the state galleys of the Middle Ages when Venice held the Adriatic coast, and is probably a traditional design. The curious running pattern below looks as though it might be symbolic, possibly a conventionalised dove, just the head and legs." (M.E.D.).*

The dark lines in the drawing are all worked in green in Turkish stitch, the bank of oars in the same stitch in red, and the dove in violet. The slanting lines represent flat or satin stitch worked in gold thread. Turkish stitch in violet, with a gold thread line down the centre, is used for the little border below the ark design. The whole of the plain part of the towel has a rolled edge very neatly oversewn, but where

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man.* Vol. XXIII, No. 8, 1923.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

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It requires seven spools to work each flower, and an attempt to show how much is worked by each is made in Figure 10, where lines enclose the work done by the individual spools.

Some warp stripes in white form a border down the selvedges, and white weft stripes enclose a small square repeat in white and blue which divides the main pattern from the ends.

Twisted and knotted warp ends form a fringe which finishes off the whole.

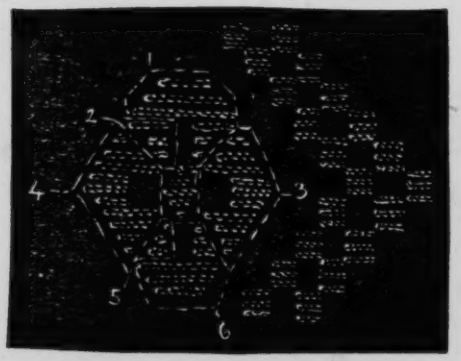

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FIG. 10.—A motive from the Kolasin cloth, showing portion of pattern worked by each spool.

The study of such a collection of work as this impresses one with the artistic achievement of the peasant peoples of these two mountainous countries where the conditions of life are hard, and where the arts of weaving and embroidery have grown out of the daily needs of the people and that inborn desire to make homely things beautiful.

Much naive charm, as well as expert manipulation, is expressed in the variations of the patterns in embroidery and tapestry weaving that have descended for generations from mother to daughter, and the technical skill displayed in the workmanship can be the more appreciated when one realizes the limitations imposed by the use of home grown, spun and dyed materials, and primitive tools. The tribal groups or social communities which form the nucleus of most villages have played a large part in perpetuating traditional patterns and craftsmanship, and have therefore some responsibility for many of the beautiful pieces of work.

The more sophisticated garments worn in the towns, particularly in Albania, owe something of their attractiveness to Byzantine art, which has come through Turkish influence, and is traceable in the fine braided patterns worked by the Albanian tailors, which both in beauty of design and workmanship are unsurpassed elsewhere.

In conclusion, I should like to express the personal pleasure I have had in working through this interesting and valuable collection so generously given to Bankfield Museum by Miss Durham, and my indebtedness to Dr. Hodge, the Keeper, for affording me the opportunity of doing so.

Manchester University,
May 1939.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

III. THE HOUSES OF THE ALBANIANS

The Albanians, as descendants of the ancient Illyrians (1), belong, as well as the Greeks, to the most ancient inhabitants of the Haimos Peninsula, but they have not developed their own civilization either in ancient times nor in medieval years. Living almost isolated on a mountainous and inaccessible country, the Albanians have retained for many centuries their ancient customs, and even to-day they represent the patriarchal level in the evolution of civilization (2). This is the reason why everything connected with the life and the dwellings of the Albanians presents a particular interest to the numerous foreign tourists and ethnographers who, from time to time, have made relative surveys. 101

The most complete survey on the dwellings of the Albanians is, as far as I know, the book on Albania by Franz Baron Nopcsa (3). In this book, the author has summed up his previous impressions on housing in Northern Albania (4), and, at the same time, took into 342 114

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1) The question of the origin of Albanians has not yet been clarified. Some recent linguistic surveys question the origin of the Albanian language from the Illyrian and accept a rather close relation between the Albanian and Thracian languages. C. Patsch (see **Herbert Louis**, Albanien, Stuttgart, 1927, p. 41) has found traces of Thracians near the Adriatic sea. [174]

2) See **K. Amantos**, Οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1923, pp. 129-189. **A. Keramopoulos**, Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες. Athens, 1915, p. 198. Compare the journeys of **K. Steinmetz**, **E. Liebest**, and **Fr. Nopcsa** in «Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von C. Patsch, vol. 1 3. 6 10. 11. **Baschmakoff**, A travers le Montenegro et le pays de Geuges, St. Petrsb. 1911 and **H. Louis**, pp. 36-40.

3) **Frans Baron Nopcsa**, Albanien, Bauten, Trachten, Geräte, Nordalbaniens, Berlin und Leipzig, 1925. Nopcsa is followed by **H. Louis**, on the subject of Albanian houses (p. 53-59).

4) **Fr. Baron Nopcsa**, Aus Sala und Klementi (Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von Patsh, vol. II) Sarajevo 1910. Haus und Hausrath im Katholischen Nordalbanien (volume 16) Sarajevo 1912.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

1. The Tribal System in North Albania

The tribal system seems to be a social stage through which mankind normally passes. Within historic times Europe was a welter of tribes, from which in the course of years have been evolved the present "Powers"—Powers which themselves are compounded each of several racial elements and whose frontiers are in a constant state of flux. 174

In Europe it is only in the Balkan peninsula that the tribal system survived intact into the twentieth century. The Great War has broken up the last tribe lands of Europe—Montenegro and North Albania; and as I lived for some time in each previous to the catastrophe, it seems worth while to record all the details I managed to collect about these interesting relics of a distant past.

The Balkans were tribal in Herodotus's day. Strabo (*ob.* A.D. 25) gives a clear account of the Illyrian and Epirotic tribes who is his time dwelt on the east coast of the Adriatic and had recently been subdued by Rome. "The Istri," says he, "are the first people on the Illyrian coast contiguous to Italy and the Carni. The present government has advanced the limits of Italy to Pola, a city of Istria." Now again, 1,900 years later, Italy has "advanced her limits"—and included Pola, and hankers after other districts which Strabo describes as under Roman rule. "Next come the Japodes, who are a warlike people, but were completely subdued by Augustus . . . the country is poor and the people live mainly on spelt and millet. Their armour is of the Celtic fashion. Their bodies are punctured like those of the other Illyrian and Thracian people." Next come the Liburnians with a city Scardona and a navigable river (the Kerka), and then the "coast of the Dalmatæ and their naval arsenal Salona. They were long at war with the Romans and had fifty considerable settlements, some of which had the rank of cities. Augustus burnt them down . . . then follows the river Narenta, and the peoples of the neighbourhood are the Duorizi, Ardæi, and Pleraii. . . . The Romans drove the Ardæi into the interior because the coast was infested by their piracies, and forced them to cultivate the land. But, as the country was barren, the nation was entirely ruined and nearly extinguished. The same happened to neighbouring nations. People once very powerful are now extinct or 175 105 101

175 reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani
105 among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

101 "Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived. Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Peligones*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

174 This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still
622 found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe
623 still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 174
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of [628]
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 582
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 602
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence 611
it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

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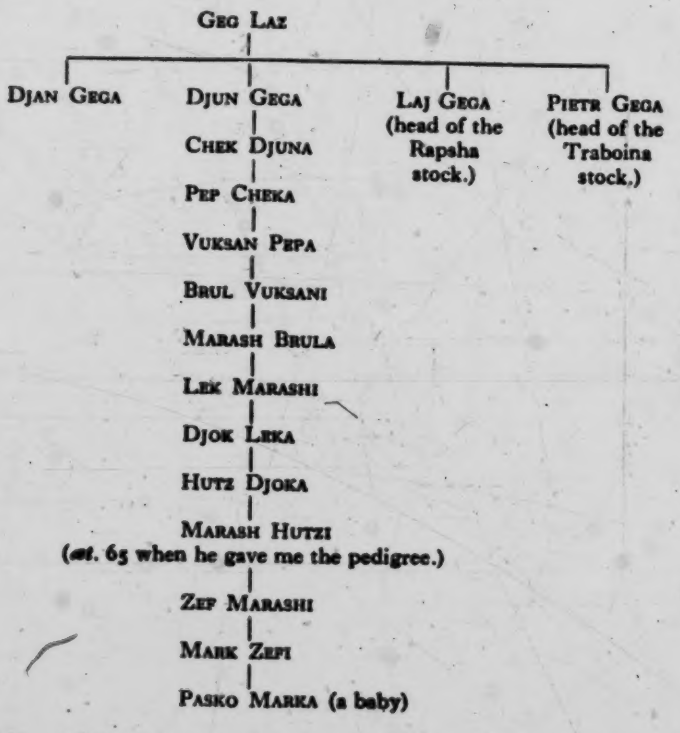
me not to give him more than his share. One of the Franciscans gave him shelter, for he was generally beloved, but he did not survive the winter. I mourned him at the time, but was later glad that he had died before his beloved tribe was handed to the enemy. The name "Hoti" is older than the arrival of Geg Laz. Jirecek, quoting the Venetian archives, states that the Hoti ("montanea Ottanorum") allied itself in 1474 with Ivan Tzrnojevitch and fought the Turks. The "Anas" must then have been numerous.



The tribe of Nikaj (see below) is also related to Hoti. Marash Hutzi said that Nikaj descends from a son of Krasnich. Baron Nopcsa learnt from another quarter that Nik was another brother of Geg Laz. That they are related is clear, for they are not intermarriageable.

Hoti usually marries the neighbour tribe Kastrati. As Kastrati mainly marries Hoti, after so many generations the two must be very closely related. But old Marash was extremely proud of the strict exogamy of the tribe. To marry "one's own blood" he looked on with unspeakable horror. I asked how many generations must pass before the descendants

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648 and priests, which have not been interfered with, the Jugoslav Govern-
779 ment has tried to plant a Serb bishop in Scutari on their behalf. They should be exchanged for some Albanians in Serb territory. The whole of the Maltsia e Madhe district is included in the diocese of Scutari.

There is a sprinkling of Serb place-names in the district, but most of them are Albanized, showing how, on the retreat of Serb rule, the older race reasserted itself.

3. The Pulati Group

175 Polati, Pilot, Pulati occurs as the name of a large mountain district
794 and as a bishopric at an early date.[1] In 877 a bishop of Polati is mentioned by the Council of Delmitano. Then Pope Alexander II, in a letter written to the Archbishop of Antivari in 1062, puts Pulati and its bishop under his care. Towards the end of that century Antivari, owing doubtless to the growing power of the Serbs, ceased to be an archbishopric, though it was still a bishopric, and Pulati is mentioned by Callixtus II in 1121 as under the Archbishop of Ragusa. In 1251 the Archbishopric of Antivari was restored, and Pulati again mentioned as under Antivari. Between 1372 and 1421 is a gap in which Farlati tells us that Helena, widow of Stefan Dushan, and her son, Urosh, "vexed most bitterly the Catholics, and spoiled them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty." No bishop is then mentioned. The Church was kept alive by the Franciscans, who faced danger and hardship in the mountains. Again, under the Turks, extreme misery is mentioned, and bishops are intermittent. It was reported that here were then still some twenty thousand Catholics. But, in spite of missionary effort, the Church almost lapsed. In 1653 Marcus Crisius traversed Pulati and reported: "It is incredible how ignorant the people now are of religion." Up till 1520 there were two bishoprics, Pulatenses Majores, and Pulatenses Minores. To Pulati Minor bishops were appointed from 1345 to 1520; then the two dioceses were united. It appears that it was hard to find men to accept the post, and some of those who did, broke down under the difficulties. Thus Bishop Serafinus, who learnt Albanian and worked very hard, had to retire through illness. Even though the Church of St. Nikola, at Ghoanni, "was rebuilt in 1703 more elegantly and larger and is called a cathedral," it was a humble enough edifice.

In *Illyricum Sacrum* (1817) a contemporary account mentions that Pulati is in the deepest recesses of the roughest mountains; that it

[1] *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia*, and Farlati.

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includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, 175 that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the 794 vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, 619 and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," 779 not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the [651] mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati 794 extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani*.—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three 614 stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, 619 Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population). 779

2. *Ghoanni*.—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula*.—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala*.—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of 173 Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and [582] three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

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Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

THE POSTRIPA GROUP

619 175 Postripa is obviously a name bequeathed by the Romans. It consists of five tribes, all included in the Diocese of Pulati. Much of Postripa is Moslem, for it was quarrelled about by several bishops. In 1702 Pope Clement XI, who was of Albanian blood on his mother's side, sent Vicentius Zmajevitch as Visitator Apostolicus, who reported among other lamentable things that three bishops were all claiming Postripa, and that meanwhile the people are left "without leader or shepherd, like a scattered flock subject to oppression and persecution."

In Postripa are included five tribes:—

619 175 614 1. *Mazreku.*—A small Catholic tribe. That the place was in ancient days a centre of civilization is shown by the considerable ruins of an abbey, Shenkol Shati, believed to have belonged to the Benedictines and to be the one mentioned by several ancient writers as not far from Scutari. It is now lost in a tangle of trees and brushwood. There is [784] a strong feeling throughout Albania against felling trees on the spot where a church once existed—a feeling that probably goes back to the very ancient days of sacred groves. The abbey presumably fell into ruin when the Serbs seized the district in the Middle Ages. The hatred [798] of the Serb Orthodox for the Catholics was shown in 1913 in the Balkan War, when the Montenegrin troops, whose object was said to be "to liberate Christians," fell upon the little church of Mazreku, trampled the Host under foot, dressed up in the priestly vestments, danced about, and amused themselves by cutting off the noses from images of the saints and firing bullets into the crucifix.

2. *Drishti.*—A small Moslem tribe that was almost annihilated in 1913 by the Montenegrins. Drishti is the site of the ancient city of Drivasto, in ancient days a bishopric, mentioned as early as 877. The town was entirely destroyed by the Turks, who beheaded the leaders before the walls of Scutari—then too besieged—in order to terrify the Scutarines into submission. The wasted spot was afterwards settled by incomers from the neighbourhood of mixed origin. And in the period when three bishops were quarrelling for Postripa the Drishti folk all turned Moslem.

3. *Shlaku.*—A tribe of one bairak on the right bank of the Drin, in a [779] very poor district. It is all Catholic and traces origin from Toplana (*q.v.*).

4. *Dushmani.*—A Catholic tribe of two bairaks—Temali and Dushmani. Dushmani takes its name from a chieftain family which ruled here. In 1403 "Goranimus, Damianus, and Nenada, brothers Dusmani, Lords of Polati Minor," offer themselves as subjects to Venice and swear fidelity on condition that Venice will guarantee them in possession

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of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

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SECTION II

GOVERNMENT AND LAW

1. Strabo and the Ancient Tribes. The Coming of the Slav

As we have seen, Strabo (*ob. c.* A.D. 20), in his detailed account of the Balkan tribes of his day, tells us in the fragmentary account of Dodona that "Among the Thesprotæ and the Molotti the persons who hold office are called Peligones, as among the Macedonians." Also that "most of the tribes were governed by native princes." A 175

In most parts of the world the tribe, with a chieftain and a council of headmen, has existed or exists. The North Albanian tribes, when I visited them, were the last tribes in Europe to preserve autonomy.

The governing councils consisted of elders—"plaki," an old man ("pleknit," plural). The idea of administration of law is so closely connected with old age that "to arbitrate" is "me plechnue," and "plechni" means both "seniority" and "arbitration." A 623 175

The resemblance between Strabo's word "peligones" and the modern Albanian terms is so striking as to suggest that the Albanian "plak, plaku, pelaku" (all variations of the same word) are in fact Strabo's "pelig," that "ones" is merely an added termination, and that both custom and name have survived uninterruptedly. We need not doubt that under Roman rule the tribal system continued just as it does to-day in Africa under the British Empire.

The Serbs, we are told, were also tribal, but of this there is little information. One of the earliest contemporary accounts of their irruption into the Balkan peninsula is that of John of Ephesus, who says: "This same year, the third after the death of Justin (A.D. 574), was famous for the invasion of the accursed people called Slavonians. . . . And four years have now elapsed and still, because the Emperor is engaged in war with the Persians, they live at their ease in the land, and spread far and wide, and ravage and burn, and take captives. . . . They have ridden even to the walls of the town (Byzantium) and driven away the Emperor's horses—many thousand—and even to this day they still dwell free of care or fear and lead captive, slay, and burn, and have now grown rich in gold and silver and herds of horses, and have learned to fight better than the Romans, though at first they were rude savages and did not dare show themselves outside the forests and coverts of H 167 721 727

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EGl Albania EGl

[For history of Albania from the time of Illyria to the abortive revolution of 1924, see category 116, pp. 8-11, 14-15, 17-27, 29-67.]

Ancient Albania

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

144 The ancient Epirots were as distinct from the Hellenes as the Albanians are from the modern Greeks. The Greek writers of ancient times referred to them as a Pelasgic race, or, in other words, the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country.

The Pelasgian Zeus has his memory, even today, in their language, for we find the Albanian word for God is "Zoti." A minute's examination of the term "Gheg" and "Tosk" reveals that they are identical with "Truscus" or "Etruscus," while the form "Tyrrhenus" perhaps survives in Tirana, the capital of the Kingdom of Albania, as no other explanation for the derivation of the name of the city can be found.

618 These Pelasgians formed a cluster of rude,
619 rough, highland clans, very similar to those of the Highlanders of Scotland a hundred and fifty years ago, brave, illiterate and essentially barbarian in character. Oftimes these clans and tribes were banded together in an independent government of a tribal sort. They even went farther and coalesced into little
175 kingdoms of greater or lesser extent. In the times of the successor of Alexander the Great, Epirus made considerable progress in civilization, and its kings exerted no small degree

ANCIENT ALBANIA

of influence in the affairs of state of Eastern 175
Europe. Pyrrhus, one of the last of these kings, was a man of the greatest ability and made an illustrious name for himself because of his learning and his statescraft, and, moreover, augmented the glory of his nation by reason of his executive ability. Among the bravest of brave, Pyrrhus did not hesitate to cross the Adriatic to aid in the defense of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, Magna Craecia; neither did he hesitate to grapple with the rising power of Rome, and as a result, winning a prominent place for himself among the great commanders of the world.

In the year 168 before Christ, the Romans wreaked a terrible vengeance on Epirus, destroying seven towns and reducing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants to slavery. This was the only time in the history of the race that the Epirots were ever thoroughly sudbued. But even the Roman conquest 177
wrought little change in their social customs. They still retained their own language, national customs and usages, and withal, remained a distinct and peculiar people.

The question as to whether the Albanians 144
are genuine Epirots and Illyrians or a new 197
people formed by large and repeated infusions

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the Illyrians has its modern counterpart in the 144
marked distinction between the Northern and Southern Albanians. For, as is brought to the attention of the traveller through Albania, there is a most evident dissimilarity between these two peoples. Yannina, or, more correctly speaking, Ioannina, was the capital of Epirus, while Scutari—in Albanian language Shkodra—was the seat of the Northern Province.

In the course of her long history, Albania 177
has been invaded by countless civilized, half- 175
civilized and barbaric peoples. The Greeks colonized a part of the Illyrian seaboard probably in the latter half of the seventh century. The most important of these settlements were Epidamnus (Durazzo or Durrës in Albanian language) and Salona (near Spalato). Greek inscriptions and pottery have been excavated by archaeologists. However, Greek influence never penetrated into the interior. These colonies were superceded by the Latins about three hundred years before Christ. The Spartans and Athenians were the next to come into conflict with the Illyrians. In the beginning of the fourth century the Celts invaded Albania. The Gauls, the Goths, the Romans, the Slavs, the Venetians, and, finally, the Turks

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Ancient Albania

177 successively invaded and obtained, for a time
175 at least, a mastery over Albanian territory. But, watching the parade of the centuries down the corridors of time, we note with admiration that always Albania drove out or assimilated her invaders; perhaps conquered but invincible in her national individuality. So powerful the characteristics, so indelible the traditions, so adamant the customs, so appreciated the language of the Albanians that no remnant, not even the slightest trace of the numerous invasions can be found in Albanian life today.

000 The Albanian people, then, present the unique and impressive phenomenon of a continuous national existence, which had its beginning many centuries before the coming of Christ and which has its integral life even at the present time.

173 plans, he immediately assumed command of a renewed effort to acquire Albanian independence. This courageous leader was seized by the Turks and sent into exile at Constantinople, and he was succeeded in command by his son, Xhemal Pasha Zogu, who succeeded in clearing Mati of the invaders. It was to this ruler of Mati that a son was born on October 8, 1895—a son that was to prove a redeemer of the people for whom his ancestors had so bravely laid down their lives, and whose name is Ahmed Bey Zogu, the present King of the Albanians.

This powerful ruling dynasty, uninterrupted through the generations, had continued as the hereditary princes of Mati since the fifteenth century, and under whose untiring vigilance the Turks were never able to set foot into this part of the country. A council of elders, presided over by the head of the house of Zogu, shaped the destinies of the warrior-natives according to the *Kanun i Lek Dukagjinit*, the old law of the Albanian mountaineers collaborated in the course of the centuries.

• 175 Ahmed Bey Zogu's father died in 1908, in Ahmed's thirteenth year, during which time

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175 the youth had remained in his native mountains, learning the invaluable lessons of wisdom taught by Mother Earth. At the death of his father, Ahmed being too young to assume the guidance of his people, his mother, Sadié, mentioned in a later chapter, with her amazing character and unfaltering judgment, with which her son is endowered, continued, as the rulers of Mati had done heretofore, to retain her people's independence and closely-knit union while her young son was studying and developing his clear-sightedness and exceptional will-power, first as a student of the Page Institute of Galata Serail and later at the Officer's Academy in Constantinople. Young Zogu remained in Constantinople until rumours of the impending Balkan war caused him to return in haste to his native land. War clouds were indeed darkening the horizon, filling Albania with great anxiety as to her future. The blow fell in 1912, when the Balkan war broke out.

Impelled by the fiery enthusiasm and optimism of his seventeen years, the young ruler of Mati marshaled his people and rushed to Scutari which was besieged by the Serbs. It was only after losing 200 of his ablest men in

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the ensuing battle that Ahmed Bey Zogu returned to Mati. At this time, a stirring call to all Albanian patriots was issued by Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora to convene at Valona, where on November 28, 1912, Albanian independence was proclaimed. As voting delegate of Mati, Ahmed Bey Zogu went to Valona, but as soon as the Valona Congress was adjourned, he hastened back to his district to defend it against the menace of advancing Serbs. For fourteen long, dreary months, Ahmed Bey Zogu, with a handful of men, fought the Serbs, and until their retreat, no Serbian soldier ever set foot on the soil of Mati.

The Great Powers began to realize, at the close of 1912, that an independent Albania was a political necessity if European peace was to be restored and maintained. So the Conference of Ambassadors at London, on December 20, 1912, recognized Albanian independence, and later nominated as Prince of Albania the Prince Wilhelm of Wied, who, on March 7, 1914, arrived in Durazzo. Buffeted by every kind of political intrigue between the rivalling interests of the Great Powers, having no knowledge of internal conditions in

175 Albania and antagonizing the local influences, the Prince of Wied could gain no foothold in the country. Thorough discontent and rising indignation was stirred up by ambitious politicians within and by the enemies without. Essad Pasha Toptani, who first professed loyal devotion to the Prince of Wied only to conceal his own ambitious aims, was the Prince of Wied's most dangerous opponent, and who, under the pretext of friendship, undermined Prince of Wied's position until revolution again broke out. During these turbulent times, Ahmed Bey Zogu was ever loyal to the Prince of Albania, looking upon his person as the embodiment of the State. However, recognizing the great danger the nation was risking by these selfish rivalries, Ahmed Bey Zogu did everything in his power to aid the Prince of Wied, but the intrigues proved too strong for him, and loathing to see Albania writhing again in civil strife, he returned to his home at Mati. The regime of the Prince of Wied was terminated before the outbreak of the world war, and upon his departure, the warring factions again attempted to run the country for their own ends, which only served to defeat themselves and

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

did no good for Albania as a whole which was besieged from the exterior. 175

Finally, in 1916, Ahmed Bey Zogu recognized his opportunity to help his country, and as the Serbs retreated before the victorious Austrians, he began negotiations with the victors, clearing the country of stragglers of the fleeing armies, he hoisted the Albanian national flag on the Palace of Durazzo.

When the Austro-Hungarian High Command, in 1916, was looking for a commander of the Albanian volunteer troops the selection fell on Ahmed Bey Zogu. He was named the commander of the Albanian military forces and was commissioned by the Austrian High Command with the full rank of a colonel. He distinguished himself on the field of battle in a series of astonishing feats of daring. Once, single-handed, he captured a whole company of the enemy. Fortune had given Colonel Ahmed Bey Zogu all the great qualities of a leader. It was always Colonel Zogu who led his Albanian warriors into battle. Upon his resignation as commander of the Albanian troops he was invited to an audience with Emperor Karl of Austria, who bestowed on him the insignia of a commander of the Impe-

175 rial Austrian Order of Francis-Joseph. But when Austria discovered that he had intentions to re-establish Albanian administrative independence, he was invited to Vienna for a council of war and then treacherously interned. With the conclusion of the Armistice he returned to Albania, where he was entrusted by Turkhan Pasha, head of the Albanian Provisional Government, with the command of the Albanian troops. He saved Scutari from invasion by Serbian troops and he occupied Scutari, where he remained as governor until March 27, 1920, when the Congress of Lushnja was assembled.

From this point onward the life of Ahmed Bey Zogu is synonymous with the history of Albania. Suffice it to say that from 1918 he was the guiding and liberating spirit of Albania until he became, by unanimous acclamation of the Albanian people, on September 1, 1928, the King of Albanians.

"Scanderbeg II," as His Majesty King Zog I is often called by his subjects, is a fitting title for this great man who has led his country and people through war and strife to ultimate peace, just as the famous old national hero, Scanderbeg the Great, did centuries ago.

Scutari

103 OF all the cities in Albania there are very few that can lay claim to as much romance as can Scutari (Shkodra). In the past it has seen the foreign invaders swarm all around in the neighboring districts 712 only to be repulsed at the walls of the Rozafat Citadel which surrounds Scutari.

36 This ancient city in northern Albania is encircled by the lofty peaks of the north Albanian Alps and is situated on the southern extremity of the lake of Scutari at the conflux of the Bojana, Drin and Kiri rivers.

• 175 The Labeatans, a branch tribe of the Illyrians, resided in this district about two centuries before Christ, when for a time Scutari was the capital of Illyria. King Gentius ruled over this strongly fortified city until 168 before Christ, at which time the Romans occupied the city under Praetor Ancicius. It was left to the Emperor Diocletian to unite the city into the Roman Empire and he named Scutari as the capital of the province of Praevalis; in this capacity it remained until

175 395 A.D., when this district passed from the East Roman Empire into the increasing power of Byzantium. From this period on into the Middle Ages, Scutari fought one invader after another in an effort to retain its integrity. First the Serbs were repulsed and then the Turks. In the early fifteenth century, the Venetians gained possession of Scutari and the surrounding territory, but it was not long until the Turks were again at the citadel of Scutari, and for ten long, dreary months, 1478-79, Scutari withstood the armies of Sultan Mohammed II, and finally was brought under Turkish rule but remained unconquered.

During the Balkan war, Scutari was the last city to withstand the Turks. Until January 29, 1912, Vali (Governor) Hassan Riza was able to hold and protect Scutari against the Serbs and Montenegrins, and afterwards Essad Pasha Toptani took over the command with his avaricious and ambitious schemes for personal glorification. The attacks of the Montenegrins and Serbs continued until April 22, 1913.

175 A Roman Catholic Archbishopric is established in Scutari.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg,[1] the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

[1] "*Iskender Bey*, the Lord Alexander."

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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●175 famous of these chieftains were Kara Mohammed of Scutari, and Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The former, at the end of the last century, aimed at an independent sovereignty, which his son, Mustapha Pasha, asserted 175 in open rebellion in 1831; and the latter, notwith- 669 standing the frightful cruelties of which he was guilty, still lives in tale and song as the mighty upholder of Albanian independence against Ottoman tyranny. Subsequent risings have, however, resulted only in the death or banishment of the most influential members of leading families, the last *coup d'état* of this description having been carried out at Prisrend and [423] Uskup in 1881. The great landholders are now all Moslems, the property of which the Christian proprietors were despoiled at the end of last century by Ali Pasha having, on his death, been appropriated by the Sultan.

671 But, whether Christian or Moslem, each section of the Albanian nation has its own traditional laws and usages by which their social life is alone regulated. The Miridites claim to have received theirs from the Dukadjini princes, who, according to them, were the ancestors of their own chieftains. Their internal 642 government is a species of aristocratic republic, all 623 matters affecting the community being decided in council by the chiefs, the elders, and other hereditary functionaries.

342 The dwellings of the Albanians are quite in keeping with the character and mode of life of their occupants. Even at Ioannina, where the customs more closely approximate to those of the Greeks, the houses have a gloomy appearance from without, being shut in by

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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562 may traverse the camps of belligerents with greater
628 safety than men. The terms of treaties of peace, too,
728 are often discussed by the women belonging to the hostile parties in the privacy of the harems of the chieftains. More ready, however, as a rule, are they to espouse and take part in the quarrels of their male relatives than to act as peacemakers, and, owing to their practice of carrying arms, they are always ready for a fray. Miss Mackenzie relates that, when traversing the Pass of Katchanik, her attention was directed by her escort to two Albanian women whom they chanced to meet. "Look at them," he cried, "they are women worth looking at, for well do they know how to handle a gun!"

"Are they Moslems?" asked the traveller.

"Assuredly."

"But they do not wear the yashmak."

"Not they, indeed," was the reply. "They have never worn it, and why should they? for they are fiercer and more unapproachable than men."[1]

159 Such being the character of the Albanian women,
●175 it is not surprising that they have played a con-
562 siderable part in the history of their country. It was, indeed, to the indomitable energy and courageous spirit of his mother, Khamko, that Ali Pasha, the "Lion of Ioannina," owed the earlier successes that paved the way for his subsequent brilliant career. Ali, who had during his father's lifetime been a wild and intractable boy, appears at his death to have submitted with the utmost docility to the authority of his mother. This lady, who was the daughter of a

[1] *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Bey of Konitza, and connected with some of the best Tosk families, had not, until the death of her husband placed the responsibility for the well-being of the family in her hands, given any signs of the extraordinary strength of character and readiness of resource which afterwards distinguished her, qualities which were, however, sullied by an implacability of soul which only too nearly resembled that displayed by Olympias, the mother of Alexander, herself a native of Epirus.

"To my mother," said the tyrant of Ioannina on one occasion to the French Consul-General—"to my mother I owe everything, for my father left me but a mere hole (τρίνα) and a few fields. My imagination, fired by the counsels of her who had twice given me birth—for she has made me both a *man* and a *vizier*—revealed to me the secret of my destiny."[1] The hereditary enemies of the family having at once taken advantage of its head being a minor, by seizing upon some of his lands, Khamko suddenly exchanged the distaff for the sword, and gathering round her the partisans of her house, and those among her late husband's vassals who still remained faithful, tried in various skirmishes her strength against that of the enemies of her family. In these raids she was accompanied by her young son, to whom she pointed out the lands of which he had been despoiled, and the estates of the despoilers. Braving every danger, the *Aghadina*, as Khamko was called by her followers, continued to harass her enemies by open hostility or secret intrigue until she was finally taken in an

[1] See pp. 245 and 319, *Fate*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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159 ambuscade by the men of Gardiki and Tchormovo,
175 together with Ali and her only daughter, Shainitza.
562 After having been subjected to every indignity and
628 outrage by their captors, Khamko and her children had the good fortune to be ransomed by the generosity of a Greek merchant for the sum of 22,800 piastres (£3700).

Hatred of those who had thus humiliated her took entire possession of the Aghadina's soul, and her one idea thenceforward was to train up her son as the avenger of her wrongs. With this object she commenced to instil into his mind those pernicious principles which he was only too well disposed to receive, and which may be summed up in the words [577] *Might is right*, an adage sufficiently popular among the turbulent Albanian clans. Ali's first attempt to vindicate his rights in the field was a complete failure. Having met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected, he fled from the fight, and was one of the first to re-enter Tepeleni. Khamko, furious at finding all her hopes blasted by what she deemed his cowardice, loaded him with reproaches, and thrusting her distaff into his hand, added, "Go, coward, and spin with the women in the harem; thou art fitter for that than for the career of arms!" Ali's fortunes indeed fluctuated for some time between success and failure. While he was absent on a campaign, Khamko found herself on her death-bed, and, though repeated and urgent messages were despatched to him, she died before he could arrive. The Aghadina in her will bequeathed to her son and daughter the task of immo- [789] lating to her *manes* the inhabitants of Gardiki and Tchormovo, at whose hands they had suffered such

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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unpardonable indignities, and over her dead body the brother and sister swore to utterly exterminate her enemies.

Some years later Shainitza was grieving for the death of her favourite son, Aden Bey. So wild was her sorrow that she smashed with a hammer all his and her own diamond ornaments, burnt all her cashmeres and valuable furs, and forced his young widow to lie on straw mats spread on the ground instead of on a bed. The mirrors and ornaments of her serail were also destroyed, its windows were by her order painted black,[1] and everything which in any way recalled joy or happiness was banished from the palace. Roused from this abandonment of grief by the news of the fall of Gardiki,[2] she wrote to Ali reminding him of the oath they had sworn together over their mother's corpse, and of her wrongs and theirs, and urged him to have no mercy on the inhabitants of that town. "As for me," she added in conclusion, "it is only on cushions stuffed with the hair of the women of Gardiki that Shainitza will henceforward repose!"

Faithfully was the terrible oath, sworn to the dead, kept both by brother and sister. The chief men of Gardiki, to the number of some three hundred, induced by fair promises to meet Ali at the Khan of Valieré, were there ruthlessly massacred by the Christian troops under his Greek lieutenant, Thanasé

[1] See p. 265; and compare similar custom in folk-tale, p. 315.

[2] In 1802. A Greek folk-song graphically describes the gallant defence made by this town, which was taken by one of Ali's lieutenants, "Yousóuf the Arab" (*Greek Folk-songs*, p. 234).

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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175 Vaghia,[1] not one escaping. Shainitza caused the town
159 to be razed to the ground, and, after cutting off the
[669] hair of the women with every insult which she could heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove them forth with their children to the mountains, menacing any with a like doom who should venture to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath. The traveller passing through the valley of Drynopolis may to this day see in the wall of the khan the tablet which records, in letters of gold, the number of the dead and the date of their sacrifice to the *manes* of the mother and the fury of the sister of the Vizier of Ioannina.

[428] In a codicil to her will, Khamko directed that a *hadji*, or pilgrim, should be despatched on her part to lay offerings on the tomb of the Prophet, and pray
788 there for the repose of her soul. Such pilgrimages and offerings may, however, only be made when the expenses are defrayed with money lawfully and honestly acquired. And as it was found on inquiry into the estate of the late Veli Bey, Ali's ancestor, that the property to be sold for this purpose had been taken by force or fraud from a Christian, the pilgrim-
175 age was disallowed by the religious authorities.
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562 Such extreme ferocity of disposition as that mani-
[152] fested by Khamko and Shainitza is, however, exceptional among Albanian women, and even in Ali Pasha's

[1] The Greek poet, Aristotle Valaorites, has made Thanasé Vaghia the subject of one of his most striking poems, Ὁ βρυκόλακας, "The Vampire," a translation of which may be found in my *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 121. The tragedy of Ἡ κυρὰ φροσύνη, "The Lady Phrosyne," by the same writer, part of which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica, gives a vivid picture of Ali Pasha and his Court.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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own household was one whose character stands out in striking contrast to theirs. This was the Vizier's favourite wife, Emineh, the daughter of the Pasha of Delvino, a chieftain whose ruthless cruelty had gained for him the surname of the Tiger, but who had fallen a victim to Ali's ambition. In the dirges sung by the Liaps on the death of her husband, Emineh is described as "the gentle hind of Mount Pelagos," and her sympathy for the victims of the Vizier's rancour brought about her untimely and tragical end.

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When the news arrived at Ioannina of the fall of Souli, Emineh, touched with the story of their heroism, fell at the Vizier's feet and implored his clemency on their behalf. "O Effendi!" she cried, clasping his knees, "deign to listen to thy most devoted slave, and be not insensible to her tears! Your Fate has warned me in a dream that it will be well for you if you spare the Souliotes!"

"The *Souliotes!*" exclaimed the Vizier, in a voice of thunder—"the *Souliotes!* Darest thou intercede for my worst enemies and not tremble for thyself?"

"Effendi," replied the brave woman, rising with dignified firmness—"Effendi, remember that I am the daughter of a Pasha. Yes, I dare intercede for them, and, moreover, dare to tell thee that their blood, and the blood of my unhappy father, which thou hast shed whilst I was yet a child, will be upon thy head!"

"And upon thine also," replied the Vizier, beside himself with fury. Drawing from his girdle a pistol, he discharged it at his wife, who, falling in a swoon, was carried by her slaves into the haremlik. Ali, think-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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159 ing he had killed her, and overcome with grief and
175 remorse, shut himself up in his most private apart-
562 ments until he was informed by his physician that Emineh was not even wounded, but had merely fainted from emotion. His mind thus relieved, Ali shed tears, and, with all his tenderness for his favourite wife revived, proceeded to her apartment. Admittance being from fear refused him, he entered the chamber by force. The noise, however, and the sight of the tyrant, gave to the tender Emineh a shock which proved fatal, and she expired during the night in a state of delirium.

The death of Emineh was a terrible shock also to her murderer. Her memory perpetually haunted him, whether at the festal board or in the council chamber, and, above all, in the silent watches of the night. He feared to be left alone, and was frequently heard by his pages to start up, and exclaim: "Emineh! it is she!—it is she! Save me from her vengeance!" Years later, when the Dervish Sheikh, Youssouf, while boldly reproving the Vizier for his crimes and cruelties, pointed out from the window the tomb of the murdered Emineh, he was interrupted by Ali, who exclaimed with tears: "Stop, stop, my father! Thou hast named the name of Emineh; overwhelm me not with the weight of thy maledictions!"

628 An account of the Albanian women would hardly
578 be complete without some mention of the terrible blood-feuds (*Ram de Ghiak*), which, though often originating in the most trifling causes, result in great loss of life, and are frequently handed down from generation to generation. Sometimes these feuds

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER X.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR CULTURE-BELIEFS.

779 THOUGH speaking the same language, observing the same customs, and cherishing the same traditions and aspirations, the Albanians, as may have been seen from the foregoing chapter, are, in matters of religious belief, divided by three Creeds, the Moslem, Orthodox Greek, and Roman Catholic. The Moslems constitute about one-half of the population, and of the remaining half the majority follow the rites of the Eastern Church.

797 175 After the loss of their independence the Albanians began by degrees to abandon the faith of their forefathers for that of their conquerors. Islam, however, made but slow progress among them until towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the Porte promulgated a law assuring the possession of their property to those Albanian families who would bring up one of their sons in the Moslem faith. A Tosk proverb [538] says, "Where the sword is, there is the faith;" and the advantages which a nation of mercenary soldiers could not fail to find in belonging to the religion of the dominant race, soon made conversion so general that the populations of whole villages, towns, and even districts would simultaneously apostatise to Islam. Wholesale perversions, such as these, have

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

not been unfrequent even in the present century, and the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, makes it probable that in course of time the country may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kûrds, however, the Moslem Albanians have among the Turks the reputation of being but indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of the Albanians who call themselves members of the Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ; Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary of the departure of her image from the Latin church in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years

6: Lane
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/For a description of the rebellion staged by the mountain Ghegs in Tirana and Durazzo in March 1922 against the newly formed Albanian Toshk Government, and of the main participants, see cat. 116, pp. 289, 301-349. For an account of the historical, economic, and political background of the rebellion, see pp. 289-301./

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244 flourish. The southern plains, before the war,
43 exported fine horses in considerable numbers. Properly developed, Albania would be a rich agricultural country, even without the fertile valleys of Kossova and Epirus.

135 The mineral resources of Albania are unknown. During the Austrian occupation, a survey was made, looking toward the development of copper mines during the war; the results of the survey have vanished into the archives of the Austrian War Department. However, even the untrained eye perceives that there are copper and lead in the mountains. English mining engineers have told me that there are probably also silver and gold. I have seen veins of coal projecting on mountain sides; the mountaineers chip it off with hatchets or pry it loose with levers, and use it as fuel to a
[137] small extent. There are millions of feet of pine, oak, birch, and beech timber; unlimited water
[315] power. There are oil fields near Valona; producing oil wells were sunk, and later destroyed, by the Italians. Valona's military importance is not the only reason that Albanians are not left in peace.

175 There is also the political background. For twenty centuries the Albanians have been a beleaguered remnant of the first Aryan race in Europe. By character, temperament, and choice they belong with the peoples of the west, not with their Slav neighbors in the Balkans. But they have had no friends, either in west or east; their whole history has been a struggle for existence.

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175 They were never entirely subjugated by Rome; they were not destroyed or assimilated by the Slavs who have been pushing them southward for sixteen hundred years; they never ceased their resistance to Turkey. Since 169 B.C., when the Romans drove them into the mountains, they have been fighting for a free Albania, and giving the Balkans no peace.

They fight with rifles and with diplomacy. They have had no friends, but they profit by the quarrels of their enemies. Wherever there was a weak place in Asia Minor or Central Europe, there the Albanians have tried to strike a blow for Albania. The opportunity of their hero, Scanderbeg, came in the fifteenth century, when the Sultan of Turkey was killed on the battlefield he had won in Kossova. Scanderbeg, whose childhood and youth had been spent in the Sultan's court, was left second in command of the Sultan's victorious forces. He profited by the confusion attending the Sultan's death to get an order giving him command of the fortress of Kruja, built by his father on a mountain overlooking Tirana. The song says that he killed seven horses in reaching Kruja, leaving his escort far behind in the Mati mountains. When he reached the fortress, he at once proclaimed Albanian freedom, and maintained it for twenty-five years of warfare, during which he built citadels and roads and established laws which still exist. After his death, his people waited four hundred years for another chance to strike.

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175 Then the Young Turk movement rose. Albanians seized upon it, precipitated the revolution at Uskub in Kossova, and were the deciding factor in terrifying the Sultan and winning the Constitution which promised to respect the languages and laws of subject peoples in Turkey. When these promises were broken, when Montenegro and Serbia invaded Albania, the chiefs raised the flag of Scanderbeg and wrote their own Constitution of Lushnija. The Six Powers, in an effort to maintain the Balkan equilibrium, gave Albania a German king. As soon as the Powers were engaged in the Great War, Albania drove him out. During the war she impartially fought both sides whenever they invaded Albanian territory. When the war ended, when Jugo-Slavia replaced Austria as Italy's rival on the Adriatic, and England and France quarreled, Albania played a shrewd game at Versailles and Geneva and became officially an independent republic.

175 727 Still blockaded after ten years of war and blockade, still fighting invaders in the Mati and the Dibra, she became an independent republic. Her people, from Hoti and Gruda to Corfu, from the Merdite to the Adriatic, were refugees. Her flocks had been killed, her villages burned, her orchards hacked down, her irrigation systems destroyed. She had a provisional government, hardly strong enough to hold itself together. She could not have a permanent government until her boundaries were fixed by the League of Nations.

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She had great natural wealth and no debts, but she had no currency of her own, no banks, no credit system. She had hides, wool, and olive oil to export, but all her frontiers were closed by enemies. She had minerals, forests, water power, oil, harbors, but no machines of any kind, no trained men, no commercial organization. She had the strongest men, the bravest fighters, the most indomitable national spirit in Europe, but few of her people could read or write. Certainly more than half the population was ill from malnutrition and malaria, and she had probably the highest infantile mortality rate in Europe.

This was the new Albania which must somehow maintain itself. And if the curtain of silence behind which this Balkan drama is played were a stone wall shutting out her neighbors, the situation would not be so difficult. But Italy—promised southern Albania by the secret Treaty of London in 1915 which induced her to join the Allies against Germany, and cheated of her payment—has authority from the League of Nations to occupy Albania again if the Albanians fail to maintain a stable government. Serbia is still intriguing to push farther south and west the boundary lines not yet entirely fixed by the League of Nations.

There were other difficulties. Because the Toshks are the Albanians who can read and write, the weak provisional government was Toshk. Around the fires in their mountain houses, the Ghegs were saying that only cow-

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

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175 ardly Toshks would allow free Albania to bow
727 to a League of Nations—a League of the very
578 Powers who were her enemies. The Ghegs, they said, were no such shameful trucklers. And every fire had its refugee guests who had fled from burning villages, leaving terror and death behind them. These refugees cried to their brother Ghegs for vengeance. Did the Ghegs call themselves men and Albanians? they demanded. "Our teeth in the throats of the Serbs!" the Ghegs replied.

Meanwhile in Tirana the Toshks were talking softly of patience, and of more patience, of waiting month after month for a commission and yet another commission from the League of Nations. The Toshks—with that threat of Italian invasion over them—were demanding peace, peace at any cost. Albania must wait for the League of Nations to fix the boundaries, must acquiesce in any boundaries fixed, must be quiet, must wait.

While they waited, the people starved. Prices in Albania are higher than in the United States—higher in dollars. The homespun garments have worn out; there is nothing to replace them. Fields have been devastated, and no men left alive to till them. Flocks have disappeared, horses and mules are gone. And as the boundaries have been fixed, mile by mile upon a map, Dibra and Mati have lost their market cities, Dukaghini and Merdite have lost their grazing lands, the tribes of Hoti and Gruda and Castrati have been cut in two. Still, the Albanian gov-

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ernment spoke of peace, demanded peace, and— 175
determined to have peace—set about disarming 727
the Ghegs in the very face of their enemies. 578

This was the Albania into whose capital I 000
blithely rode, in the rattling little Ford, on that spring night of 1922. I pass over all the minor political disputes, the ambitions of selfish men, the mistakes of foolish ones, the bitter rivalry between Elbassan, to the south, Scutari, to the north, and Tirana, in the center, for the honor and profit of being Albania's capital. Tirana 361
was, tentatively, the capital; made so because it was everywhere conceded to be the least progressive, the most hopelessly Mohammedan, the most dangerously un-Albanian city in the country. The government had made Tirana the capital for the same reason that the teacher puts the worst boy of the class in the front seat. But this was no solace to Scutari or Elbassan.

Tirana, the white, low town, drowsed in the sun; *water rippled in the gutters of the winding, walled streets; donkeys laden with cedar boughs, the brooms of Tirana, carefully picked their footing on the uneven cobbles; women with gayly painted cradles on their backs trudged behind the donkeys. Men in rags of their homespun white garments and Scanderbeg jackets and colored sashes sat all day on the low walls around the mosques. The fez makers, amid their piles of raw wool and mixing bowls and heating irons, were talking politics, and so were the men in the street of the coppersmiths, which is musical from

*[In spring 1922 -- Analyst]

The Straits of Otranto, where the waters of the Adriatic
131 merge into the main basin of the Mediterranean, divide the
133 Apulian heel of Italy from the land of Albania — the setting of my tale. The Italian shore is flat, featureless, and without a considerable harbour; but on the Albanian side the coastal range of the Dinaric Alps curves back from the sea, as if to protect the mainland approaches to the port of Valona, which lies where the straits are narrowest. Albania is thus a fortified enclave on the west coast of the Balkan Peninsula, and the Power that controls it commands the entrance to the Adriatic Sea. This enclave, moreover, forms a natural bridgehead for Italy in the Balkans: from Valona to Salonika is but two hundred miles; and, though the mountains of the interior present notable obstacles to communications, a Power established across this neck of the peninsula would command two of the three key positions on the roads that lead from Europe to the East.

175 The fate of a territory of such strategic importance could scarcely be a matter of indifference to the Powers; and the briefest review of Albania's past suggests that it has been an enduring cause of contention between them in their efforts to acquire or to preserve a dominant position in the Adriatic or the Eastern Mediterranean. The rising sea power of Rome clashed with the navies of Illyria and Epirus, and subjected those kingdoms to her rule, in order to confirm her supremacy in the Adriatic. Once the control of the straits was assured, the new provinces were converted into a base for imperial expansion; and Dyrrachium, the modern Durazzo, became the head of the Via Egnatia, the great artery of empire which ran through Thessalonika (Salonika) to the East. Rome's Byzantine successor held fast to the Albanian coasts to preserve the Eastern Mediterranean from Adriatic enemies, until Norman sea power supplanted her there, and gave the land its present name. In the wake of the Normans came armies of Crusaders, who crossed from Italy into Albania to follow the ancient Roman road to the East. The ephemeral empires of Bulgaria and Serbia spread, in their turn, to control the entrance to the Adriatic, while the more enduring mercantile power of Venice long strove, and with varying success, to establish itself on the

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Albanian coast. The freedom of the Straits of Otranto was, 175
indeed, the vital interest of the republic; and it was Venice which, in part, supplied the sinews of war and the liaison officers with which Skanderbeg defied the armies of the Sultan.

The Turkish occupation of Albania provided the Ottoman [177]
Empire with a useful shield against attacks out of the Adriatic; and for close on five centuries the country was preserved from other foreign influences. In the Napoleonic wars, however, while Britain and France wrestled for supremacy in the Mediterranean, their agents began to intrigue with Ali the Lion, Pasha of Yannina, to secure control of the Straits of Otranto. Thereafter the slow dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire gave rise to an Albanian Question; and, as the nineteenth century advanced, the nations of Europe addressed themselves with growing interest to the problem of the country's future. Great Britain, the dominant sea power in the Eastern Mediterranean, strove to exclude her potential rivals from this strategic area, and for long buttressed the crumbling authority of the Turk. Russia encouraged the designs of her Serbian and Montenegrin satellites on Albanian territory, to extend her influence to the warm waters and deny their access to the Dual Monarchy. Austria-Hungary and Italy, as rival Adriatic powers, each sought to establish its predominance in Albania, " the possession of which ", as Count Tittoni observed, " would mean for either Italy or Austria-Hungary the incontestable supremacy of the Adriatic Sea ".

The balance of contending forces long sustained the rule of the Turk in Albania and served the aims of British policy in the Eastern Mediterranean. The victory, however, of the Balkan Allies in the war of 1912 brought the Ottoman Empire in Europe to an end. A partition of Albania was threatened; but the jealousies of the Powers led, in the following year, to the creation, for the first time in centuries, of an independent Albanian state. At the time the new principality was characterised as " an illegitimate child of Austrian diplomacy with Italy figuring as the midwife "; but its emergence, none the less, conformed with alternative policies long advocated in the Foreign Office.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

175 The outbreak of the first World War shattered the precarious equilibrium on which the infant state of Albania had reposed. The armies of Serbia, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and France occupied parts of the country, sometimes in accordance with the dictates of military necessity, but not least with a view to staking out their claims against the day of settlement. The victory left Great Britain and France supreme in the Levant and in the Balkans, and Albania was accordingly restored to her independence within the frontiers of 1913.

648 The Empires of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey lay prostrate or dismembered, and Albania now became the object of fierce rivalry between Italy and the new Adriatic power of Yugoslavia. Both states naturally strove to control the Straits of Otranto; Italy prevailed, and, in 1926, by the Pact of Tirana, acquired a virtual protectorate over Albania. The Duce might for a time rest content with Italian supremacy in the Adriatic; but, as one step leads to another, so the mastery of this route to the Levant led him to turn his eyes to the Levant itself. He revolved ambitious plans for its conquest by sea and land, and designed that Albania should serve him, not only as the key to the Adriatic, but also as the bridgehead of a new Roman Empire in the Balkans. Accordingly, in April 1939, when diplomacy had failed to compel Albania's subservience, he occupied the country and began to build a network of roads along which Italian armies might march to the East in the footsteps of the Legions.

000 Each of these episodes from Albania's past is but a variation on the underlying theme of the struggle of the Powers to control, or at least deny to their rivals, the key to the Adriatic road to the East. The recent war, accompanied by the return of Germany and Russia to the ranks of the rivals for the dominion of the Levant, gave a new impetus to this struggle. At times it was submerged in the broader conflict which engulfed the world; yet ever and again it reasserted itself, developing a momentum of its own, regardless of alliances or enmities: for if war is an extension of politics, both are projections of geography.

In this struggle for the control of Albania the Albanian

174 the land and decrease of manpower probably counterbalanced each other.

It must have taken several centuries for the pioneers to explore every valley, choose the most favorable sites, and put them into cultivation. In a few centuries more, less favorable lands which could support a thinner population would also have been cleared. But by the beginning of the Christian era, the time when the first outside influence, that of Rome, made itself felt on the fringes of the Gheg mountains, this region may well have been populated to its present capacity. This means that there was no room for Romans or anyone else to settle without armed invasion. Even with armed invasion, as many have discovered, the Gheg mountains are hard to take.

Biologically the significance of this is of course that while the original settlers of our area must have been a mixed lot, they were probably able to fill their country with progeny before any concerted attempts were made by outsiders to invade their territory. The [144] majority of them were undoubtedly Illyrians from Bosnia, while others may have been Thracians from the plains to the northeast. Racially they were probably a mixture of Nordics, Mediterraneans from the Adriatic littoral, brachycephals from the same region, and Pontic Mediterraneans from the Euxine borderlands. They were able to stew in their own genetic juice and produce their own variety of human beings.

175 Roman authors have much to say about the peoples all around Ghegnia, but very little about the mountaineers themselves. This silence is very significant. All of Ghegnia except for the southern portions of Mati and Dibra formed a part of the province of Dalmatia, while those 2 sections of tribes plus what is now central Albania went with Macedonia. The present Tosk country was part of Epirus, which was considered distinct from Greece. While the predecessors of the Tosks

[a] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

[b] Strabonis Geographia, Book 7, p. 457, lines 3–6: ". . . et Drilo fluvius, quo adverso navigatur orientem versus usque ad Dardanicam."

or

καὶ Δρίλων ποταμὸς ἀνάπλων ἔχων πρὸς ἕω, μέχρι τῆς Δαρδανικῆς.

1 [Cont. on p.41b --Analyst]

175 were Epirotes and those of the Ghegs Illyrians, the people in between were formed by a mixture of these 2 elements. Strabo, in Book Seven, enumerates the central Albanian tribes which were subdued by the Macedonians, and some of whom spoke 2 languages. He says that some of the tribes were constantly seeking to gain control over others, but that the Macedonians put an end to this rivalry. In 168 B.C. Macedonia became a Roman province. That the central Albanian tribes resembled the modern Ghegs in some respects is certified by their use of the word *peligo* (*plak*) for elder, the tribal name Emathia (*e Madhia*, the Great, nominative plural), and possibly the tribal name Molotti (*maltsor, mountaineer*).[8] 1

Strabo locates a people know as the Dardanians to the northeast of the Gheg country, on the Kossovo plain, beyond the upper reaches of the river Drin.[9] Strabo considered the Dardanians an utterly savage people, living in pits under dunghills and playing stringed instruments. Despite this cultural abasement, they furnished Rome with an emperor—Justinian. The country of the Dardanians, which the Romans conquered, was said to be heavily forested up to the neighborhood of Nissa, the modern Niš, an important crossroads town in Roman times as today. Peter the Hermit, who led a crusade through this country at the end of the 11th century (A.D. 1095–1121), walked 7 days through this forest, and finally reached Niš, which he found to be defended by stone walls, and to have 7 water-powered gristmills. In 1717 a British traveler (Lady Mary Wortley Montagu) found the forest still there, and infested with gangs of bandits.[10] In 1809 much of this forest was still left when the Serbian peasants revolted against the Turks, led by Karageorge. All of this means that as long as the plain of Old Serbia was forested, there was room in it for people to expand. It was not a center of population from which large migrations could be initiated.

I give this in both original tongues because it is a somewhat difficult passage to translate and because Miss Durham misunderstood it, placing the Dardanians in Albania.

[10] Durham, 1928, pp. 232–34.

1 [see p. 41a.. Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1965 EG1 Albania EG1

175 The evidence is excellent that in Roman times the geographical division of labor, by means of which the mountaineers exchanged their raw materials for processed goods in bordering market towns, had already begun. Since the earliest archaeological material in Albanian sites is either of Bosnian, Thracian, or Roman manufacture, this system must have been in force from the beginning of the Illyrian settlement. On the Adriatic side of the mountains small Roman trading posts have been located archaeologically at Berzumno (Vuksanlekaj, north of Scutari), Cinna (Koplik), and Iminacum (Iballja, in Puka).[11] The Romans also occupied Scutari (Scodra), Lesh (Lissus), and Durazzo (Dyrachium), and connected these 3 market towns with a road.

175 491 At Durazzo this road turned eastward from the coast and went across country, following the lowest gap in the Dinaric chain north of the Gulf of Corinth, over to Lychnidus on Lake Ochrida. This highway skirted but did not traverse the Gheg mountains, crossing the Black Drin just south of the present tribal boundary of Dibra.

Another road, however, went straight across the mountains from Lissus (Lesh) south of the Drin.[12] It apparently followed the same course as the modern road which goes from Vau i Denjës in Zadrima to Puka, across the Mal i Zi and down to the bank of the Black Drin just a short distance south of its confluence with the White Drin. This road follows the south bank of the White Drin for about 18 miles, at which point the river makes a sharp bend to the north.

In Roman times the country beyond the confluence of the 2 Drins was part of the province of Upper Moesia. The road continued across this province to a place called Ulpiana in the Kossovo plain, probably near the modern town of Prishtina. From Ulpiana it went on to the Morava valley where it reached the river at Nissa, the modern city of Niš. This road was not the only Roman highway which crossed the Dinaric Alps from the Adriatic into the modern city of Niš. It was only one of 3 methods of getting from the Adriatic coast to the Danube valley over-

1 [see p. 42b -- Analyst]

[11] Nopcsa, 1910, p. [31].

175
491

land. Far to the north, a highway connected Senia (Zengg) just south of Fiume, with Siscia (Zagreb or nearby) and the route down the Save. From Spalatum (Split) too it was possible to cross the watershed on Roman pavement. The *Via Ignatia*, across central Albania, offered a longer route to Niš, for at Heraclium (Bitolj) it met at right angles a road going north and south, one branch of which passed, via Scupi (Skoplje), to Ulpiana.

175

The Drin road cannot have been the most comfortable of these various routes. Although the Romans must have kept it in repair, there is little evidence of it left today. It can never have been suitable for wheeled traffic, for it is narrow, twisting, and steep, consisting in places of steps, hewn in the rock or built of masonry. For 2 nights the travelers must have slept in Gheg mountain territory. This means that the Romans must have built fortified stations for this purpose. The first night would take them to Picaria (Çeret?), the second to Creveni, near either the present Spash or Parmchi, on the south bank of the Drin a few miles below the confluence. The third night would take them out on the plain, on the way to Ulpiana. A Roman settlement at Gabuleum, somewhere near Gonaj or Zum in present-day Has territory, may have been the spot.

The transport of goods over this road, with processed materials moving east and raw materials west, must have furnished a strong temptation to the mountaineers on either side. The Romans must have kept it guarded, for otherwise ambushes would have been easy. Garrisons mean troops, and troops mean fraternization between imported soldiery and the local population. Perhaps many of the soldiers were recruited from Gheg tribes a short distance from their posts. Even so, some must have been outsiders, and we may expect that the genetic capsule of Ghegnia became somewhat unsealed during Roman times along the highway. This would affect principally the tribe of Puka, across which much of the road passes, and also the tribes of Luma and Has, which it skirts.

After the decay of the Western Empire the

[18] Shepherd, 1921, map 39; Kiepert, 1894, map XVII, Illyricum et Thracia.

175 road must have been much less patronized, for there was no one either to keep it up or guard it. Furthermore, what goods would come out of Moesia and Dacia would go to Byzantium rather than to Rome. In the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., the Goths over-ran parts of eastern Ghegnia, and traditions about them remain in the tribe of Luma, where some of these northerners may have settled. In A.D. 535, Justinian defeated them and claimed Ghegnia for the Eastern Empire.

175 797 It was probably just at the period when the traffic over the Puka road was at its height, about the 4th century of the Christian era, that the tribesmen on either side of it may have been first converted to Christianity. Constantine himself, the first Christian emperor, may have passed through Ghegnia, for he was a Dardanian, a native of Niš. Our first record of Christian establishments in the mountains is dated A.D. 877[13] when there was already a bishop at Pulati, and by the 14th century we hear of 2 bishoprics, Pulatenses Majores and Pulatenses Minores, which were united in 1520. Another bishopric had its seat in the village of Drivasto (Drishti), in Postripa.[14]

175 Early in the 6th century the southern Slavs invaded the Balkans. A century later some of them moved westward from the Plain of Kossovo through the Drin Gates into Gheg territory, probably following the old Roman road. Their arrival at the Adriatic is still memorialized by the Slavic name of the tribe Zadrima, and a number of other place names. For 700 years the Serbian kings maintained a nominal rule over this mountain country. Now and then they disturbed the Catholic Albanian population, as in 1335, when the Tzar Dushan gave to the Orthodox monastery of Dechani[15] 1 the land of the village of Summa, on the right bank of the Kiri in the Pulati bishopric, along with neighboring Albanian districts, and a number of bondsmen whose names read very much like those on our measurement blanks. Between 1372 and 1427, "Helena, widow of Stefan Dushan, and her son, Urosh [sic], 'vexed most bitterly the Catholics, and spoiled

1 [see p. 43b.. Analyst]

[13] Durham, 1928, pp. 24–25, 28.

[14] Farlati, 1817, pp. ix–xiv, tells the story of these Albanian Bishoprics; see also Šufflay, 1916, p. 188.

175 them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty.' "[16]

During the Slavic period it is likely that the invaders had some effect upon the genetic composition of the mountain people, for Slavic names, such as Orosh, are common enough in Ghegnia, the Slavs certainly had access to much of the country, and Slavic speech had a considerable effect on the Albanian vocabulary. This was not, however, as important an invasion from the standpoint of biological interest as others that followed.

During the brief period between the end of the Old Serbian Empire and the time of the Turks, the Ghegs were left alone. The Turks began their invasion of Albania at the end of the 14th century, after the battle of Kossovo, in 1389. They met in battle the formidable Scanderbeg[17] (George Castrioti), the most famous of all Ghegs. He and his successors held them off from his fortress at Kruja (or Croya) until after 1479, the date of the fall of Scutari. The Turks never won control of all the highlands. Indeed, all of Mirdita and Dukagin, and parts of other tribes, remained Catholic throughout the Turkish period. Remaining Catholic meant that they were able to keep their country free of Turks. It also
[553] meant that they usually stayed at home. However, many of the Christians adopted Moslem names which they used when they left their tribal territory to visit market towns, and this custom was still going on in 1929.

175 All of the Ghegs who were converted to
797 Islam did not change their faith through necessity. Many of them saw solid advantages in making the shift. A Moslem could carry a gun openly anywhere, and could shoot Christians at will, for they were outlaws. He could travel in Turkish territory without having to worry about being caught, and he could obtain many economic advantages over his Christian relatives, whose marital arrangements, unlike his own, produced a religious conflict. He could join the Turkish army, and rise to high rank; many Turkish generals were Albanians. Other Albanians became high court officials. One of

[16] Durham, 1928, p. 29.
[16] Durham, 1928, pp. 24–25
[17] See Fan Noli, 1947.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

175 797 them founded the royal house of present-day Egypt. The Turks appreciated their Albanian subjects and favored them over many others. That is one reason why three-fourths of Albanians are still Moslem, and why Albania remained so long a part of the Turkish Empire.

175 177 Although the Turks probably did not add much genetically to the Gheg population, they did introduce some economic changes which may have had some effect on it. It was through the Turks that New World plants reached the Balkans, although in some places not before 1850. They added maize, haricot beans, and tobacco to the list of plants which would grow in the valleys and on the mountain slopes. Maize and haricot beans gave them new foodstuffs, but it is questionable if they yield more calories per acre than the earlier crops—small grains and broad-beans. Tobacco gave the mountaineers a new habit and a new need, and also a cash crop. On the debit side of the ledger, with their religion the Turks produced a prohibition against pork, and deprived their converts of an important food source.

Besides these agricultural and dietary changes the Turks introduced *hans*, or inns, 1 along the more traveled roads in Moslem territory. Some of these *hans* probably occupy the same locations as Roman hostels. The professions of *hanji* (innkeeper), and *kiraji* (renter of horses) seem to have been Turkish innovations. In Turkish times, many Albanians [166] migrated to other countries; tens of thousands went to the Plain of Kossovo, apparently from the Gheg country, and many others to Greece, where there are still Albanian-speaking districts in Attica and the Peloponnesus. Many thousands entered the Turkish army, and other government services. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Christian Albanians, fleeing the Turks, settled in Italy and Sicily, where their descendants still maintain their ethnic identity.

Probably the most important single introduction of the Turks, however, was firearms. Gunsmiths in the market towns found the mountaineers eager to obtain the new weapons with which they could not only defend their home valleys from invaders, but also work off

1 [see cat 116, pp 20b-21a.. Analyst]

[16] See Jireček, 1916, pp. 63–93.

175 their local grudges. Silversmiths did a heavy
177 business converting coin into ornaments for pistols and ball-boxes, ornate holster belts, and powder-horns. Feuding now became much easier and more lethal. After firearms, arrived the *kulla*, or stone castle.[1] Although this new house type offered some[2] defense, it did not prevent the great loss of life that the new weapon had initiated.

175 Now that the Ghegs were divided into 2 religious groups, and had guns, the death rate must have increased. The Turks themselves accounted for some of the population loss. They destroyed all the towns of north Albania from Durazzo to Scutari,[18] and[3] others in the mountains as well. For example, they dragged the leading men of the town of Drishti in Postripa, the seat of an early bishopric, to Scutari, where they beheaded them.[19]

Massacre and emigration reduced the population of certain sections of Ghegnia below the economic maximum for the first time since its settlement in the Hallstatt Iron Age, thus opening the way to new immigrants. These were Christian tribesmen from Bosnia and Herzegovina, squeezed out by the Turkish expansion, and particularly by the struggles between Turks and Slavs. They were neither Turkish nor Slavic, but the remnants of the pre-Slavic population, still speaking a latinized form of Illyrian, and Catholic. In speech and religion, they found themselves at home in Ghegnia.

173 Most of them arrived during the 16th century. In the *bairak* of Gruda, Miss Durham found 500 houses, 80 of old indigenous stock, tracing their ancestry to Berisha (Puka), while the other 420 were inhabited by people who claimed descent in the male line from immigrants, called Djell, who came down from Herzegovina about A.D. 1530. A few years later, at least 4 brothers entered the Malsia e Madhe country from Bosnia; they were Geg Laz, ancestor of the Piperi tribe in Montenegro, which is now Slavic in speech and Orthodox in religion; Vaso Laz, the ancestor of the similar tribe of Vasojevitch; Krasni Laz, ancestor of the *bairak* of Krasniqi in Malsia e Jakovës—most of whom are now Moslem, although a few are Catholics. Nik, the ancestor

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 14 b - 15 a -- Analyst]
2 [see p. 44 a -- Analyst]

19 Durham, 1928, p. 28.

173 politics what they are, probably will not be. They serve our purpose of illustrating a principle of population movement in a feuding society.

This ends our history up to the final date of the ethnographic present as defined in chapter 1, "The Dinaric Problem."*

175 Turkish rule lasted in Albania until 1912. After the Balkan wars an opera bouffe kingdom was set up with the Prince of Wied as king, and the capital in Durazzo. During his uninspired reign an international boundary commission laid out the borders of the new state, and at every point where there was any question, Albania came out the loser. Gruda was given to Montenegro. The Grudans who survived this political change fled to Scutari. Hoti lost part of its land, particularly its winter pasture. The tribesmen of Klementi were so cut off that they could not drive their flocks to their winter pasture near Scutari without crossing Montenegrin territory, which would have been equivalent to losing their animals. The Serbs closed the border to mountaineers bringing their goods to Jakova to trade, and expelled many of the Albanians from both [114] that city and Ipek. They made it almost impossible to travel between Kukës and Prizren; in 1929 our party was held up a whole day while we were searched to the skin, ordered to read aloud all of our papers, accused of being renegade Croats, etc., and we finally got away only after a great deal of telephoning on the plea that one of us was dangerously ill. In Prizren we found the jail full of Albanians.

[361] Dibra as well was lost as a market town. Kukës sprang up as a makeshift metropolis, as did Peshkopia. Tradesmen and artisans, as we have seen, stole over the border from Jakova, Prizren, and Dibra, to set up shop in the new places. The boundary commission could have created no more international hatred if this had been its principal objective.

World War I followed immediately after these unwise decisions, and the powderpuff king ran away. An army of Serbs, fleeing for their lives, marched across Dibra and Mati, burning and looting as they passed, to seek refuge on Corfu. Austrian troops, at their heels, occupied Scutari and the Malsia e Madhe, as well as the region of Kukës. They built

*[See cat. 116, p. 56 -- Analyst]

175 a few roads and bridges, and found time to do some anthropometry.

642 After the war Albania became a republic, with a parliament. Feudal and tribal, illiterate and immobilized by the lack of roads, the people were not prepared for self-government.

643 After a number of violent episodes Ahmed Zog, son of the *bairaktar* of Mat in the tribe of Mati, became dictator, and in 1929 proclaimed himself king. Hated by the people of Elbasan because he had jilted the daughter of Verlatsi, their most prominent citizen, he was despised by his fellow mountaineers and by the Tosks as well, most of whom saw in his rule a threat to their freedom. On the rare occasions when he dared leave his palace, he had all roofs and windows searched and guarded, and even the cypress trees searched; and then he sent a double ahead of him.

He did, however, make a number of wise moves. One was to employ Colonel Stirling, famed as a companion of Lawrence in Arabia, as his personal adviser. Another was to employ General von Mirdach of the Austrian army to set up his military machine. A third was to give the British General Percy a free

625 hand in organizing a gendarmerie. General Percy brought with him a staff of British officers, which included Colonel Martin and Major Glegg. These experienced men selected an elite group of mountaineers to police the highroads, and to report and put down trouble. For the first time in history someone was taking intelligent steps to rid the mountains of feuding.

[124] We measured 62 of these gendarmes, all local men. Twenty-one came from Luma, 17 from Mati, 10 from Puka, 6 from Malsia e Jakovës, 4 from Dibra, 3 from Dukagin, and one from Malsia e Madhe. The British officers very wisely used Ghegs in Gheg country. To have introduced outsiders would have made trouble. Many of the men were serving within their own tribes and *bairaks*; too often they were in blood elsewhere. This new occupation for mountaineers gave them a chance to see more of the world than before, for they were required to train in Tirana or Scutari. Although the gendarme system made little or no direct change in the genetics of the mountaineers, for these men marry as their fathers

[World War I -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER II

THE UNWRITTEN LAW IN OUTLINE

To ensure for all, irrespective of their individual material wealth, a fair share of the essential grazing, arable land and irrigation, there has grown up a corpus of Unwritten Law. This was evolved at some unknown date by the mountaineers, as part of the legal framework which they had devised for every aspect of their life. They evolved all their laws—social, administrative, or pastoral—unaided. For many centuries before the Turks arrived in the fifteenth century, the country was split up into a number of principalities, none of which was strong enough for long to subject a neighbour to its rule. Though the Turks remained for four and a half centuries, they could never exert more than a nominal authority outside the chief towns. If they sent a punitive column into the interior, the people living in the mountains took evasive action, retreating to some peak until the inevitable departure of the intruders; their wealth was so small that they could carry or drive off most of it to their refuge, and so lost little from the raid. If the Turks sent tax or police officials, they fired on them at the first defile as a warning to return to their offices in town. There were no roads along which forces strong enough to be effective could march, in order to reduce them to real submission. The Turkish government, unable to enforce its will, accepted the situation and left the mountaineers to govern themselves, as they had presumably done under their native princes and chiefs. The first all-weather road to be built in North Albania was constructed in 1916 by the Austro-Hungarian armies during their temporary occupation; it ran from Shkodër to Durrës, with a branch to Tirana.

Every type of unwritten law has been constantly recast, added to, and restated down the centuries by a body of experts drawn from the rank of rulers. This rank exists because the mountaineers came to realize that an entity which is divided against itself cannot stand. Consequently, in every social unit—in house and village as in tribe or group of villages—the principle of subordination to a supreme head was accepted. In a household the headship is hereditary, with an important qualification. As the mountaineers are aware that

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

Communism came to this land not because of the abuses of capitalism or because of a yearning of workers to unite, but through a political movement which developed against the background of the World War. The independence of the country and the inviolability of its boundaries were guaranteed by the peace treaties after the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. At the same time the Great Powers held that Italy had a special diplomatic and strategic stake in the welfare of her neighbor across the Adriatic Sea. As a result Italian interests in Albania expanded greatly after 1920, and to every intent and purpose the foreign trade of the two countries was pooled. But Yugoslavia naturally sought to challenge the primacy of Italy in the Adriatic area, and its support is held to have largely made it possible for Ahmed Zogu, Prime Minister in a government constituted as a Regency, to take over the rule of the country during 1924. Shortly thereafter, a Republic was proclaimed, and Zogu was elected President for a term of seven years. A skillful diplomat and political leader, he improved relations with both Greece and Yugoslavia, and signed the Treaty of Tirana in 1926 with Italy. This, accompanied by a sizable grant of financial assistance from Italian banks, gave recognition to the common interest of both countries in maintaining the independence of Albania. A year later they entered a defensive alliance. When it was alleged that these developments conceded to Mussolini rights which he exploited unduly, Zogu curbed the opposition with dramatic swiftness. He proclaimed himself King, on September 1, 1928, and was responsible for a constitution which recognized no political liberties but insured freedom of religion. Zogu, a benevolent dictator, made an honest effort to improve the cultural and economic life of the country, building roads, fostering health and hygiene, erecting schools, fighting a vigorous battle against illiteracy,

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EGI

648 and modernizing the banking system. Albania even acquired
643 a radio station, and air travel became a reality. The King
●175 brought in foreign experts, particularly Austrians. Some of them I have known; and while they had the usual reservations about the political institutions of Albania, they respected his energy and sincerity of social purpose.

648 At this point Mussolini was unfortunately smitten with
175 irrational imperialist ambition: if Hitler could have his empire of the master race, he himself was called upon to reconstruct the dominions of ancient Rome. Italian troops landed in Albania on April 7, 1939, shortly after the fall of France. They quickly overpowered the small defense army, and Zogu had to seek refuge abroad. The crown was thereupon offered to King Victor Emmanuel III, of Italy, who docilely accepted it. It is worth noting that the reception accorded the Italians was not too unfriendly, because some sections of the population expected to profit from the political change. Using Albania as an advance base, the Duce attacked Greece on October 28, 1940; but the valiant Greeks put his armies to rout and occupied nearly half of Albania. The Germans, defeating Yugoslavia, took over the rest of Albania, but confined themselves to routine control. Two resistance movements were formed, the one pro-Zogu and primarily against Italy, and the other Communist with the Germans as its principal target. The second, the National Liberation Front, was the stronger, primarily because it boldly drafted men into its partisan forces and because it maintained ruthless discipline. British commandos in the Adriatic therefore quite naturally aided it. As a result, the Front was able to assume control of
175 the country as soon as the Germans retreated.

648 The provisional government formed by General Enver
642 Hoxha, commander in chief of the National Liberation Front, was recognized by the United States, Great Britain, and Rus-

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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sia in 1945. A republic was established during the following year. General Hoxha and his followers meanwhile made no secret of their devotion to the Communist cause, although their utterances took on the usual protective coloring. At a Congress in the little town of Permeti, on May 24, 1944, the Front had "guaranteed freedom of religion and of conscience, and equality of rights for all religions." Hoxha's partisans, like Tito's, were frequently seen at religious services. Albania, a turbulent and weapon-toting country addicted to blood feuds and similar practices, was one of the most tolerant of nations from the religious point of view. In 1930 nearly three-fifths of the total population of 1,003,000 were Mohammedans, while the members of the Greek Orthodox Church constituted another fifth. Catholics in union with Rome were noticeably in the minority, scarcely more than one-tenth of the professedly religious reported in the census, and were concentrated in the extreme north of the country. Their major religious, charitable, and educational institutions were in Scutari, an ancient town on a beautiful mountain-surrounded lake, afflicted with mosquitoes and malarial fever. Ancient ties with Italy, which Mussolini so wantonly divested of moral and diplomatic import, had led to the existence of a considerable number of religious of Italian origin in Albania, and also to the settlement of many Albanians in Italy. This fact would no doubt have given rise to some antipathy even under normal conditions. Yet on the whole few in Albania were apprehensive when the war ended. The age-old tradition of religious peace seemed to preclude violent change.

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Albania had a rude awakening. General Hoxha was interested in nothing less than freedom of religion. Information concerning the fate of the Moslem majority is meager and difficult to come by. But laborious piecing together of news items from Albanian radio broadcasts and newspapers makes

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11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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SECTION I.

CHAPTER I.

The Source of the Collection, with a Short Account of the Origin of Yugoslavia and Albania.

Source of the Garments.

The garments, mostly those of women from Yugoslavia and Albania, which form the theme for this handbook were collected by Miss Durham between 1900 and 1914, and presented by her to Bankfield Museum, Halifax, in 1935, together with very detailed notes concerning their source, methods and occasions of wearing. In the succeeding pages information that has been obtained directly from Miss Durham or her letters and notes is placed in quotation marks with her initials in parenthesis at the end of the quotation. Y 114

The garments and specimens described as Yugoslavian and Albanian were collected from parts of Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, Dalmatia and Albania. These old divisions have been merged into two states since the European War, but their boundaries before 1913 are indicated by dotted lines on the map (Fig. 1).

It has been thought desirable to retain, for the purpose of this handbook, the old place names as they existed when Miss Durham made her collection, but for the sake of easy reference to a modern atlas the new names are placed in parenthesis after the old ones. The spelling adopted for the new names is that recommended by the Permanent Committee on Geographical Names for British Official Use, and published by the Royal Geographical Society.

Origin of Yugoslavia and Albania.

Regarding the early history of these countries Miss Durham writes: "The Albanians are undoubtedly the remains of the early inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula which, as Strabo and others relate, was populated by numerous tribes—Macedonians, Illyrians, etc. The whole peninsula was conquered by the Romans and formed part of the Roman Empire. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian Era, Slav invaders began to drift in. By about A.D. 650 they had subdued the native population and, with the exception of the Vallachs and Albanians, Slavized it." A 175

"As Rome lost power the Slavs extended, and both the Bulgars (who are only partly Slav) and the Serbs established large empires and started the rivalry which exists to-day. Both were overthrown and dominated by the Turks for five centuries." (M.E.D.) Y 175

Yugoslavia originated at the end of 1918 through the desire for union of the Southern Slavs, although the actual frontier represents a series of compromises. It covers an area three times larger than post-war Austria, with a population twice as great, one-third of whom are Serbs. The next largest group are the Catholic Croats of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, who surpass the Serbs in culture and economic development.

[Text continues on p. 9]

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The present state is made up of Serbia, autonomous since 1815; Montenegro, a small portion of which retained a precarious existence against the Turks for some 500 years and was declared independent by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878; Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a result of the war of 1914-18; Dalmatia, without Zara, after the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920; Croatia and Slavonia, without Fiume, decided by plebiscite under Inter-Allied Commission in 1920; and Voyvodina, a swampy part of the Hungarian Plain, by the Treaty of Trianon. Y 101 175

Bosnia and Herzegovina were Turkish provinces until 1878, when they were made dependencies of Austria by the Treaty of Berlin. The district was originally peopled by Slavs in the 6th and 7th Centuries and was for 800 years subject to Serbia, but was subjugated by the Turks in 1463, and supplied the famous Jannisary Corps to the Turkish Army. There were rebellions in 1850 and again in 1875 of the people of these states against their masters, the Slavs who had retained their estates by turning Mohammedan, and against the Turkish rulers.

As already mentioned above, Serbia was originally peopled by native tribes, and was part of the Roman Empire until its decline when invading Serbs and Croats from the country adjoining the Carpathians conquered and Slavized the native population and formed a large kingdom. In 1389 their Czar was killed at the Battle of Kossovo and the country became a Turkish province, remaining so until the beginning of the 19th Century when, whilst still under Turkish suzerainty, they were allowed to have their own ruler, Milosh Obrenovitch. S 101 175 648

After the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 Serbia was recognised as independent and given a large area of territory and her prince, Milan Obrenovitch, was made king. Bosnia and Herzegovina were given to Austria to be administered for an indefinite term of years.

In 1885 Serbia attacked Bulgaria and was defeated. In 1901 King Milan died, and in 1903, his son King Alexander and Queen Draga were assassinated by army officers, Peter of the rival house of Karageorgevitch being recalled. There had been continued rivalry between the two families from 1809 to 1902.

Racial feeling ran high when Austria annexed these countries, and Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and other places where Serbs were numerous desired amalgamation. This was not secured at that time, but when peace was made with Austria and Hungary by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 in effect this amalgamation did take place, with the addition of some Austrian and some Hungarian territory. "Montenegro fiercely resisted annexation to the new state, but was conquered by superior force and included unwillingly in Yugoslavia." (M.E.D.)

The population of Yugoslavia according to religion comprises 47% belonging to the Eastern Orthodox Church, 39% Roman Catholic and 11% Mohammedan (descendants of Slavs who went over to Islam during the centuries of Turkish rule). Y 162 779

Albania was a Roman province in the 2nd Century A.D., was invaded by Slav tribes in the Middle Ages, and when the Turks invaded Europe in the 14th Century fought stubbornly for independence. In 1478, after first Serbia, then Bosnia and Herzegovina had fallen, it also became a Turkish province but retained much local autonomy. From 1807 till 1822 South Albania was practically independent under the rule of Ali Pasha. Albania was declared independent in 1913 after the Balkan Wars, and remained so until its invasion by Italy in April, 1939, when it again came under the suzerainty of another state. A 175

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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A 175

Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

A 175 779

The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

B 175

Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

Y A 121

However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

Y A 286 439

The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

A Y [462]

Cloths.

Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen (" platno ") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshawls or kerchiefs ; and " sukno ", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. " The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap ' zubun ', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts."* " The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material " (M.E.D.).

A S [291 286 287 402]

That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. " Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.

* Milan Karanovic. " Costume of the Women of Zmiyagne " Sarajevo, 1926.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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SECTION II.

CHAPTER VIII.

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Albania and Southern Yugoslavia. The Costumes worn by Men and Women.

After experiencing nearly five hundred years of Turkish rule it is not surprising to find that much of the costume in Albania and in southern Yugoslavia, which as far north as Pljevlja and Priboj was part of Turkey in Europe until 1913, if not actually Turkish in character shows very strong Turkish influence.

There is also much greater variety in the garments worn by the hill tribes and the peasants and the townsfolk, therefore in the description of those in the collection it has been found advisable to group specimens on some of the Plates so as to give an indication of a complete costume such, for example, as that of the Bulgarian woman from Monastir (Bitolj) (Plate IX), the Catholic woman from Scutari (Plate V) and the essential parts of a woman's dress from Zadrima (Plate X).

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Franz, Baron Nopcsa says that as early as 1912 international European dress had begun to be adopted, more particularly by the men, the young Catholics of Scutari deprecating the older styles, and wearing a combination of European garments with the older head-dress, the fez, and shoes. The younger women also have to some extent discarded the wide trousered skirt and the veil; therefore as all the specimens in this collection belong to the period previous to 1914 they represent native dress when it had its own individuality and, as such, will become increasingly valuable as records.

The following short lists of garments worn by women and men in some of the different districts have been compiled from the collection, and from the works of Baron Nopcsa* and Max Tilke†.

A Catholic woman from Scutari would wear:

(a) A shirt ("kmis") with sleeves, sometimes gathered at the wrist, either short in the body or of three-quarter length.

(b) A full-trousered skirt, often of striped silk, similar to the Moslem example on Plate VIe or "enormous baggy trousers formed of a very wide and much gathered skirt of imported, glazed, purple-black calico, the lower edge of which was sewn together leaving a hole at each corner for the feet. This was not really a trouser, as the legs were not divided, and was very cumbrous" (M.E.D.).

(c) Some form of girdle, either striped silk or a long strip of material with embroidered ends (Plate XVIF).

(d) A sleeveless coat ("giubba") with full skirt reaching to the knees (Plate XIII).

(e) A square of dark or light cloth as a head-dress, or a large net or gauze, embroidered veil, the latter being worn by married women only.

* Franz, Baron Nopcsa: "Albanien, Bauten und Geräte." Berlin, 1935.
† Max Tilke: "The Costume of Eastern Europe." London, 1926.

[Text continues on p. 36]

of influence in the affairs of state of Eastern /75
Europe. Pyrrhus, one of the last of these kings, was a man of the greatest ability and made an illustrious name for himself because of his learning and his statescraft, and, moreover, augmented the glory of his nation by reason of his executive ability. Among the bravest of brave, Pyrrhus did not hesitate to cross the Adriatic to aid in the defense of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, Magna Craecia; neither did he hesitate to grapple with the rising power of Rome, and as a result, winning a prominent place for himself among the great commanders of the world.

In the year 168 before Christ, the Romans wreaked a terrible vengeance on Epirus, destroying seven towns and reducing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants to slavery. This was the only time in the history of the race that the Epirots were ever thoroughly sudbued. But even the Roman conquest /177
wrought little change in their social customs. They still retained their own language, national customs and usages, and withal, remained a distinct and peculiar people.

The question as to whether the Albanians /144
are genuine Epirots and Illyrians or a new /197
people formed by large and repeated infusions

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

the Illyrians has its modern counterpart in the 144
marked distinction between the Northern and Southern Albanians. For, as is brought to the attention of the traveller through Albania, there is a most evident dissimilarity between these two peoples. Yannina, or, more correctly speaking, Ioannina, was the capital of Epirus, while Scutari—in Albanian language Shkodra—was the seat of the Northern Province.

In the course of her long history, Albania 177
has been invaded by countless civilized, half- 175
civilized and barbaric peoples. The Greeks colonized a part of the Illyrian seaboard probably in the latter half of the seventh century. The most important of these settlements were Epidamnus (Durazzo or Durrës in Albanian language) and Salona (near Spalato). Greek inscriptions and pottery have been excavated by archaeologists. However, Greek influence never penetrated into the interior. These colonies were superceded by the Latins about three hundred years before Christ. The Spartans and Athenians were the next to come into conflict with the Illyrians. In the beginning of the fourth century the Celts invaded Albania. The Gauls, the Goths, the Romans, the Slavs, the Venetians, and, finally, the Turks

Ancient Albania

177 successively invaded and obtained, for a time
175 at least, a mastery over Albanian territory. But, watching the parade of the centuries down the corridors of time, we note with admiration that always Albania drove out or assimilated her invaders; perhaps conquered but invincible in her national individuality. So powerful the characteristics, so indelible the traditions, so adamant the customs, so appreciated the language of the Albanians that no remnant, not even the slightest trace of the numerous invasions can be found in Albanian life today.

000 The Albanian people, then, present the unique and impressive phenomenon of a continuous national existence, which had its beginning many centuries before the coming of Christ and which has its integral life even at the present time.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

"Shqipetar"[1] originated with Pyrrhus of Epirus. It is related that when the swiftness of his troops was praised, Pyrrhus proudly answered that this was natural, inasmuch as his soldiers were the sons of the eagle, their movement as the flight of the king of birds.

Subjection to Rome, however, did not mean that the Shqipetars[1] were to give up all hope for independence.

Eventually Albania became the passageway for the Roman legions on their way to the East. Embarking at Brindisi, the terminus of the Appian Way, they were transported to Dyrrachium (Durazzo—Durrës in Albanian language), continuing their journey on the Via Aegitana or Egnatia, the road bed of which is well preserved to the present day.

On the whole, Roman influence in Albania had been of little importance. Remains of Roman architecture and civilization may be seen throughout the country even today, but the influence of Rome in shaping the course of Albanian domestic culture or national life has been slight or was completely absorbed by later invasions.

1 [Errata: should be Shqipëtar(s). Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116--Analyst]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 belong. With the Moslems no religious character is
852 attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male
[779] relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father
[608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his godchild;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a
[302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 Although the Albanian beys have neither written
554 charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these
[779 177] ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XI.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-BELIEFS.

144 114 MR. STUART GLENNIE'S suggestion[1] that the Albanians are probably a mixed Pelasgo-Aryan race, and that the Pelasgians, whose Larissas extend from Italy and Greece through Asia Minor to Northern Syria and Chaldea, were related to the Archaian White Race, the founders of civilisation in the Euphrates Valley, gives special interest to all their folk-lore.

771 Survivals of ancient Nature-worship, which neither Christianity nor Islam has succeeded in eliminating, may be found in the form of the oaths still in 788 use in the Albanian highlands. Contact with the [177] outer world has taught the dwellers in towns to call upon the Virgin and Saints, or Allah and Mohammed, as witnesses to their word; but the oaths of the pastoral Skipetar are still "By sky and earth" (*Per kielh e per dhé*), "By mountain and plain" (*Per ket ziarm e per ket uï*), and "By sun and moon" (*Per ket dielh e per ket hán*). The curious ceremony of taking the "Oath of the Stone," which is said by Wassa Effendi[2] to have been a Pelasgian custom, is

[1] First made in Europe and Asia (1879), and more fully in papers on the Archaian White Races, read in 1887 at meetings of the Royal Historical Society and of the British Association.

[2] *Etudes sur l'Albanie et les Albanais.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 needle, a warning evidently to other fleas of the fate awaiting them.

The women in South Albania twist together a [751] number of coloured threads and tie them round the children's wrists and necks, in order to preserve them from sunburn or sunstroke, and draw a similar thread along the threshold of the house. They also roll up tightly little balls of rag, at which they stitch assiduously with a needle and thread; and when asked what they are doing, they reply, "We are sewing up the plague, snakes, and sickness." On this day no vegetables are eaten, the sweet cakes and dishes, in which the Ritza alone indulge, being believed to ensure a good [777] summer. The whole of this month is a close time for the ravens, as to kill one would bring bad luck to the vintage.

527 The North Albanians begin their year on the 1st
789 of March. On this day the cattle are decked with gar-
777 lands of flowers, and the Ghegs not only tie threads of
[805] many colours on the wrists and necks of their children, but themselves also wear one of red silk on the little finger of the right hand and the great toe of the right foot. When the first swallow has been seen, they take off these threads, and hang them on the rose-bushes, in order that the swallows may take them to their nests. [177] Von Hahn is of opinion that this graceful little custom is not indigenous, and it may indeed have been partly borrowed, either from the Bulgarians, or, through the neighbouring Vlachs, from the Roumanians, with whom, as I have already mentioned,[1] a similar usage exists. While I was at Salonica, one

[1] Vol. i. p. 335.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-POESY—FOLK-TALES.

THE subject of Albanian folk-lore attracted many years ago the attention of Von Hahn, whose *Albanesische Studien* and *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen* are well known to folk-lorists throughout Europe. Other collections have since been made by French and Italian students of the language and lore of the Skipetars, not only in their native land, but also in their colonies in Italy, Sicily, and the Greek Islands, where, though long settled, they still remain a distinct race.[1] 114

Long contact with the neighbouring Greeks has, in South Albania, naturally resulted in much interborrowing of folk-tales, and it is often difficult to determine to which nationality a story originally belonged. M. Dozon finds also traces of a Slav origin in several tales contained in his collection, which may have been introduced either by the Bulgarians of Upper Macedonia, or by the Montenegrin settlers in Northern Albania. The pious Pagano-Christian element, as M. Dozon calls the legends of Saints which are found both in Greek and Armenian 538 177 [773]

[1] See, for instance, Jubany, *Raccolta, &c.*; and Dozon, *Contes Albanais* and *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*. A small collection, untranslated, referred to by M. Dozon as *L'Abeille Chkipe*, but of which I have not been able to learn the exact title, has also been published at Cairo.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

538 folk-tales, is, however, almost entirely absent from
●177 those of the Albanians. Of the so-called religious
773 legends current among the Skipetars, some are of Christian and others of Moslem origin. The following explanation, given by the highlanders, of the
[262] reason for the Moslem's distaste for pork, savours, however, rather of Bektashí scepticism. One day, they say, Mohammed went out in company with a Christian on a thieving expedition. Finding nothing else to lay their hands upon, the pair took possession of a sow, which, having killed, they proceeded to divide by drawing lots. As luck would have it, the head, shoulders, and best parts of the carcase fell to the Christian, while the Prophet received as his portion only the tail and the hams. Discontented with his share of the spoil, Mohammed proclaimed the pig unclean, and forbade his followers to eat thenceforward of its flesh.[1]

538 Some of the sayings proverbially current among
773 the Albanians have their origin in myths, which are for the most part of a religious character. The phrase, "The drop has fallen," used with reference to any one who has died suddenly, with the connected imprecation, "May the drop fall on thee!" are thus explained. While the rebellious angels were falling
[776] from heaven into the abyss, the angel Gabriel called a halt, and every one stopped exactly where he happened to be at that moment. Some had already reached the regions below the earth, others were on the earth itself, while a third section were still in mid-air, where they have remained suspended ever

[1] Compare Hecquard, *La Haute Albanie*, p. 510.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Albanian coast. The freedom of the Straits of Otranto was, 175
indeed, the vital interest of the republic; and it was Venice which, in part, supplied the sinews of war and the liaison officers with which Skanderbeg defied the armies of the Sultan.

The Turkish occupation of Albania provided the Ottoman [177]
Empire with a useful shield against attacks out of the Adriatic; and for close on five centuries the country was preserved from other foreign influences. In the Napoleonic wars, however, while Britain and France wrestled for supremacy in the Mediterranean, their agents began to intrigue with Ali the Lion, Pasha of Yannina, to secure control of the Straits of Otranto. Thereafter the slow dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire gave rise to an Albanian Question; and, as the nineteenth century advanced, the nations of Europe addressed themselves with growing interest to the problem of the country's future. Great Britain, the dominant sea power in the Eastern Mediterranean, strove to exclude her potential rivals from this strategic area, and for long buttressed the crumbling authority of the Turk. Russia encouraged the designs of her Serbian and Montenegrin satellites on Albanian territory, to extend her influence to the warm waters and deny their access to the Dual Monarchy. Austria-Hungary and Italy, as rival Adriatic powers, each sought to establish its predominance in Albania, " the possession of which ", as Count Tittoni observed, " would mean for either Italy or Austria-Hungary the incontestable supremacy of the Adriatic Sea ".

The balance of contending forces long sustained the rule of the Turk in Albania and served the aims of British policy in the Eastern Mediterranean. The victory, however, of the Balkan Allies in the war of 1912 brought the Ottoman Empire in Europe to an end. A partition of Albania was threatened; but the jealousies of the Powers led, in the following year, to the creation, for the first time in centuries, of an independent Albanian state. At the time the new principality was characterised as " an illegitimate child of Austrian diplomacy with Italy figuring as the midwife "; but its emergence, none the less, conformed with alternative policies long advocated in the Foreign Office.

?: Amery G-6 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

trying their values by the acid test of survival. Nor were they isolated from the world around them; for the tides of invasion that swept through their valleys, and the cross-currents of foreign intrigue which penetrated into their mountains continually refreshed them with new ideas. Some of them, moreover, travelled to the ends of the earth in the service of their conquerors, to act, on their return, as a ferment among their fellow countrymen. Likewise the three religions which they honoured — the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox, and the Moslem — were powerful vehicles for the spread of foreign influences, whether from Pope or Patriarch or Sheikh-Ul-Islam.

These religions represented traditional loyalties rather than living creeds to the Albanians. Indeed religious devotion and ideological fervour were alike alien to them, being based on social concepts inapplicable to the anarchy in which they lived. In the past, when politics had been conducted under the sign of religion, they had freely apostatised to secure material advantage. Likewise, in our time, they variously proclaimed themselves Fascists, Communists, or Democrats, in obedience to the calculations of interest rather than to the dictates of conviction. The growth among them of the Bektashi sect suggested that, left to themselves, their religious instinct might have developed towards some form of Pantheism, perhaps in the tradition of the Oracle of Dodona and the hierarchy of gods which Hellas inherited from the ancient Illyrians. Instead, the contemplation of the endless struggle for survival and power which characterised every phase of their daily life induced in them an all-pervading materialism. In ideas they discerned but the banners under which forces are gathered; and they mistrusted words as a cloak for intentions rather than as a means for their expression.

Politics they understood instinctively, for the relations between the Great Powers were daily made manifest to them in terms of golden coin and leaden shot. Besides, where there is no law, all human relationships are understood in terms of the struggle for power which underlies them and which is the very stuff of politics. The life of the clans was indeed a great school of *realpolitik*; and though the Albanians are few the fertility

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 and Yugoslavia. The condition of their country was one of relative prosperity; for the Italian occupation had enriched the people, while the recovery of the Kossovo had made supplies of food plentiful and cheap. At the same time the endemic poverty of the Albanians was such that, having little to lose and small hope of acquiring wealth by lawful means, they welcomed [181] disorder whenever it was attended by opportunities of plunder. To this natural lawlessness occasioned by their poverty was added a proud people's impatience of foreign rule. If the Italians had been less in evidence, their occupation might have been more easily tolerated. As it was, the Albanians bitterly resented the intrusions into their daily lives of the ubiquitous *carabinieri*, whose efforts to enforce order among a people accustomed to anarchy were as unpopular as they were vain.

Besides these general causes of discontent, the one inherent in the circumstances of the Albanians, the other in the character of their conquerors, there were other influences making for unrest of a more local, if no less important, application. In [184] North Albania the mercenary factor in the economy of the tribes made revolt a constant possibility. So rugged indeed was their region, and so complete the absence of social or political inhibitions among them, that the Ghegs could always be provoked to insurrection whenever the expectations of victory or gain appeared commensurate to the risks involved. In South Albania the causes of discontent were of a more usual character and sprang from the naturally conflicting interests of the landless peasants and the *Beys* whose estates they worked. The wretched lot of the Moslem peasantry might be somewhat alleviated by the sense of belonging to the same community as their masters; but the religious distinction which separated the Orthodox *rayah* from the Islamised landowners only served to increase their class consciousness. These Orthodox peasants had long been ripe for revolt; and indeed Fan Noli had sought to exploit their discontent in the revolution of 1924. Now, however, for the first time they found effective leaders in the youth of the towns.

•177 The spread of Italian influence during the reign of King 668 Zog had encouraged the growth of a new class of officials and

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

177 668 merchants whose children had received a European education, either in the foreign schools that were introduced into Albania, or in their studies abroad. These young men had no roots in landed property or among the tribes and could find no outlet for their energies within the narrow limits of independent Albania such as the Ottoman Empire had offered earlier generations. They were thus peculiarly susceptible to the influence of revolutionary ideas. In other countries such young men often inclined to Fascism, but in Albania Fascism was the creed of the foreign overlord and, in their search for faith and discipline, they therefore turned to the Communists. It is unlikely that there were ever more than two, or at the most three, thousand of these young men, but they were to be the backbone of the Communist organisation and the leaders under whom the landless peasants were organised. The combined discontent of these two classes — the youth of the towns and the landless peasants — produced a social revolutionary movement, which presently won the support of many of the richer peasants as well by its appeal to their patriotism or their land-hunger. This, in turn, provoked the more conservative elements to combine for the defence of their own interests; and so the general unrest among the Tosks was increased.

*669 The general poverty of the Albanians, their resentment of foreign rule, the anarchy and mercenary economy of the Ghegs, and the growth of a crisis in social relationships among the Tosks were thus the conditions out of which the Albanian resistance movement grew. Its several parts, though mainly nourished by domestic discontents, were soon invested with a pro-Allied and anti-Axis character by leaders who were variously animated by the desire to free their country, the hope of obtaining foreign support, and the opportunity of exploiting the popular hatred of the Italians. For long these different movements were but armed bands of outlaws, more concerned with maintaining themselves than with attacking the enemy. Nevertheless, as the prestige of the Italians declined with the succession of their defeats, so more and more people grew convinced that there was less to be feared from resistance than there was to be gained. Then, with the help of British and Communist agents,

163 reproductive organs. That is why first-born children tend preponderantly to be boys. It is the age of the mother that counts. In northern Albania girls are married as soon as they come to sexual maturity and begin bearing children as soon as they are biologically able. There is no time of peace.

128 These statistics,[1] though not complete, help round out the picture drawn in the earlier chapters. All of these things fit together: the environment; the techniques of making a living on the specific kind of landscape; the division of labor between the sexes; the economic unity of the patriarchal household; its independence of similar households; the division of labor between mountain and town; the consequent absence of any need for a technological division of labor among the mountaineers; the difficulty and limitation of travel and transport; the struggle for life within an ever-increasing population; the consequent mechanisms of population control, consisting in some of the border tribes of a certain amount of emigration, but, by and large, taken care of by the time-honored technique of feuds and reciprocal murder, to which the whole system of marriage, and its biological compensations, are adjusted. They show without question the truth of the main point of this paper so far, that the Mountains of Giants form a genetic area peculiarly closed to outside influence.

[177]

614 [582] We stated in our discourse on marriage that a boy might not marry a girl with whom he could trace any common patrilineal descent.[2] That statement needs elucidation. Actually the Ghegs are divided up into a number of mutually exclusive gentes, called *fis*, based on traditions of common ancestry, complete with origin myths. The extent to which the myths are historically accurate probably depends on how far back the particular *fis* goes. Each *fis* is said to have been derived from a single man, usually someone who came into the country at one time or another, although a few are believed to have been descended from aborigines.

The most numerous and best known *fis* in Ghegnia is that of Dukagin. This includes the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç and Kushnen, which

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 25b-27b — Analyst]

[1] Gates, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 872-73; Little, 1919, pp. 127-30.

2 [See cat. 116, pp. 22b-23a, 23c-23d -- Analyst]

623 attention. These include the use of tribal lands, decisions whether or not to burn forest to make pasture, etc., although such matters usually involve several villages. The elders also convene as witnesses in oath-taking.

634 Above the village is the *bairak* (Turkish for banner, standard), a geographical area with some kind of natural unity, so that the people living in it habitually see more of each other than of those without. All of the village councils meet together for the *bairak* council, under the *bairaktar* (standard-bearer), or head of the *bairak* (fig. 10, *e*). His office is hereditary in certain families. King Zog's father was *bairaktar* of Mat, the principal *bairak* of Mati; in Dibra Major Çen Eleze, who acted as host to our expedition, was one *bairaktar*, while Murat Kaloshi, his rival, was another. These men were great feudal leaders, maintaining large households of armed men, and dispensing [77] lavish hospitality to all comers. Çen Eleze had sent two of his sons to the American Technical School in Tirana, where they learned modern agricultural methods as well as perfect English. These boys, huge fellows over 6 feet 3, were of great help to us when we visited Slatina.

The *bairaktar* can become an independent sovereign if he has a strong enough personality and if the tribal authority is weak, and that of 619 the central government likewise. At other times he is under the authority of the head of the tribe, an official chosen from a ruling household, and bearing a different title in each tribe. In Mirdita he is called *Kapedan* (Captain); in Puka, *Shpij e Krye Ziut* (Black-Head House); in Malsia e Madhe, *Shpij e Madhe* (Big House), the exact equivalent of the ancient Egyptian *per āa*, or Pharaoh.

124 Fifty men, comprising 5 per cent of our 619 metrical series, were office-holders in the Gheg tribal system. Eleven[8] were elders, 26 chief

[8] Four from Dukagin, 2 Puka, 4 Mirdita, 1 Zadrima.

[see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

197 this once widely spoken group. G. S. Lowman* says of it,

> "The Albanian language constitutes a distinct branch in the Satem division of the Indo-European languages. It is the direct descendant of the ancient Illyrian of Roman times, together with some Thracian influences. . . . At the present time, two principal dialectal divisions exist, Geg or Northern, and Tosk or Southern, which are more or less mutually intelligible. . . .
>
> "In the course of Albanian history many foreign influences have come to play their part in making the language what it is today. Although the essential structure of the language, and a fair share of the words in common use are of native origin, the vocabulary has been borrowed from outside sources to a far greater extent even than is the case of English. In 1891 Gustav Meyer stated in his etymological dictionary that of 5,140 root-words only 400 were of the original Albanian stock, that 1,420 were Romance, 540 Slavonic, 1,180 Turkish, 840 Greek, and over 700 indeterminable. Later scholars, however, have proved that a considerably larger proportion of words are truly Albanian."

[177]

181 Such careful observers of material culture as Nopcsa and Haberlandt have concluded that *the Ghegs*, in their tools, agricultural implements, furniture, costumes, and most other technological details *are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age.*

174 A single conclusion is therefore as legitimate as it is obvious. *The mountains of Ghegnia were first effectively populated during the middle centuries of the first millennium before Christ.* The pioneers who took over this rugged landscape were Illyrians, whose central territory lay to the northwest. Since they had already lived in Bosnia and Montenegro, they were already adjusted to life in this environment.

172 Fortunately, the materials excavated at Glasinac,* the type site of the Illyrian Hallstatt culture, include skeletons as well as artifacts. The date of this cemetery is between 1000 and 500 B.C. The collection of 38 crania shows clearly that the Illyrians were not a homogeneous people in the racial sense. The majority of the skulls are long headed, and represent at least 2 contemporary varieties of Nordic. This is not surprising since most of the Iron Age

*[see Cat. 116, p. 40 b--Analyst]

* Lowman, 1932, p. 271.

175 797 them founded the royal house of present-day Egypt. The Turks appreciated their Albanian subjects and favored them over many others. That is one reason why three-fourths of Albanians are still Moslem, and why Albania remained so long a part of the Turkish Empire.

175 177 Although the Turks probably did not add much genetically to the Gheg population, they did introduce some economic changes which may have had some effect on it. It was through the Turks that New World plants reached the Balkans, although in some places not before 1850. They added maize, haricot beans, and tobacco to the list of plants which would grow in the valleys and on the mountain slopes. Maize and haricot beans gave them new foodstuffs, but it is questionable if they yield more calories per acre than the earlier crops—small grains and broad-beans. Tobacco gave the mountaineers a new habit and a new need, and also a cash crop. On the debit side of the ledger, with their religion the Turks produced a prohibition against pork, and deprived their converts of an important food source.

Besides these agricultural and dietary changes the Turks introduced *hans*, or inns, along the more traveled roads in Moslem territory. Some of these *hans* probably occupy the same locations as Roman hostels. The professions of *hanji* (innkeeper), and *kiraji* (renter of horses) seem to have been Turkish innovations. In Turkish times, many Albanians [166] migrated to other countries; tens of thousands went to the Plain of Kossovo, apparently from the Gheg country, and many others to Greece, where there are still Albanian-speaking districts in Attica and the Peloponnesus. Many thousands entered the Turkish army, and other government services. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Christian Albanians, fleeing the Turks, settled in Italy and Sicily, where their descendants still maintain their ethnic identity.

Probably the most important single introduction of the Turks, however, was firearms. Gunsmiths in the market towns found the mountaineers eager to obtain the new weapons with which they could not only defend their home valleys from invaders, but also work off

[see cat 116, pp 20b-21a. - Analyst]

[10] See Jireček, 1916, pp. 63–93.

175 their local grudges. Silversmiths did a heavy
177 business converting coin into ornaments for pistols and ball-boxes, ornate holster belts, and powder-horns. Feuding now became much easier and more lethal. After firearms, arrived the *kulla*, or stone castle.[1] Although this new house type offered some[2] defense, it did not prevent the great loss of life that the new weapon had initiated.

175 Now that the Ghegs were divided into 2 religious groups, and had guns, the death rate must have increased. The Turks themselves accounted for some of the population loss. They destroyed all the towns of north Albania from Durazzo to Scutari,[18] and[2] others in the mountains as well. For example, they dragged the leading men of the town of Drishti in Postripa, the seat of an early bishopric, to Scutari, where they beheaded them.[19]

Massacre and emigration reduced the population of certain sections of Ghegnia below the economic maximum for the first time since its settlement in the Hallstatt Iron Age, thus opening the way to new immigrants. These were Christian tribesmen from Bosnia and Herzegovina, squeezed out by the Turkish expansion, and particularly by the struggles between Turks and Slavs. They were neither Turkish nor Slavic, but the remnants of the pre-Slavic population, still speaking a latinized form of Illyrian, and Catholic. In speech and religion, they found themselves at home in Ghegnia.

173 Most of them arrived during the 16th century. In the *bairak* of Gruda, Miss Durham found 500 houses, 80 of old indigenous stock, tracing their ancestry to Berisha (Puka), while the other 420 were inhabited by people who claimed descent in the male line from immigrants, called Djell, who came down from Herzegovina about A.D. 1530. A few years later, at least 4 brothers entered the Malsia e Madhe country from Bosnia; they were Geg Laz, ancestor of the Piperi tribe in Montenegro, which is now Slavic in speech and Orthodox in religion; Vlao Laz, the ancestor of the similar tribe of Vasojevitch; Krasni Laz, ancestor of the *bairak* of Krasniqi in Malsia e Jakovës—most of whom are now Moslem, although a few are Catholics. Nik, the ancestor

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 14 b - 15 a -- Analyst]
[2] [see p. 44 a -- Analyst]

[19] Durham, 1928, p. 28.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

tree-trunk. A similar section[1] split lengthways and hollowed out, made two wash-tubs for laundry work. Toilet appliances, a basin and ewer bought in the bazaar, and paraffin lamps from the same source, completed the list of additions.

The above outline omits many small variations in Albanian houses and furniture as irrelevant to the main subject of this book. Mention must be made, however, of certain houses which differed widely from the average type. The first were found among the Highlanders (Alb. *Malësorë*, 'mountaineers'), the semi-nomads who wintered on the soggy plains at the mouth of the river Mat. These houses had walls of planking or wattle and daub, with roofs of tiles or strips of wood. They rested on vertical sections of tree trunks about two feet high which had been laid at close intervals on the ground but had not been driven into it like piles. In this way they kept snug and dry even during the winter floods. All over Albania granaries were raised some distance from the ground in order to keep out the rats, but so far as is known, there were no houses on stilts except at the mouth of the Mat.

A number of Highland houses also contained a child's play-pen which might be as little as twenty-five inches long, wide and high. A shallow porringer projected from one of the top bars, chipped from the same piece of wood as the bar itself. In this pen Highland children spent all their winter days from the time they could crawl until they were three years old. They had no toys, but practised walking round the pen, sometimes stopping to eat a little bread and milk from the porringer with the diminutive home-made, wooden spoon which was tied to the bar, or merely gazing broodingly at the fire. The mothers meanwhile cooked, spun or gossiped, each secure in the knowledge that her child was on the dry floor of the kitchen and not sitting outside in the quagmire of mud that reached up to the very doorstep. The Highlanders said they invented both the houses and the play-pen themselves, but it is possible that they were at least advised by the Austro-Hungarian troops who were stationed in the neighbourhood for part of the war of 1914–18.

In Shpat, near Elbasan, huts were built for many bridegrooms. In the higher villages trunks of young trees about as tall as a man's waist were planted in a rectangle of the size desired, their boughs, while still green and flexible, were laced in and out of these uprights, and cross-pieces of timber were nailed to the uprights

[1] [i.e., of tree-trunk--Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

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592 This third person threw the token stones on this portion or that.
428 In Godolesh there was no intermediary. Each brother gave his
592 token to an elder in whom they all had confidence. As they were
777 selecting their tokens, he arranged tokens of his own on the ground, naming each aloud for the various portions of the land or house. He carefully refrained from looking at the brothers' tokens and threw them blindly one after another on his own. 'Here is the sitting-room, good luck to it. Here is the kitchen, good luck to it', he said of the house. Each brother then claimed his token and accepted his portion. With a similar phrase of good omen the elder divided the land. In Lumë there might or might not be an intermediary. The elder taking delivery of the tokens might place them himself or, if afraid he would be suspected of dishonesty, he might give them to another man to do so. Well-omened phrases were used, such as 'The luck of this stone lies there and of this twig here'. In the Malësi e Madhe the elder said which portion the bits of stick each represented, then drew them, as would be done in England. Here the procedure seems influenced by the European
[77] education of the priests.

623 The commonest fee for an elder dividing property between
428 brothers was two or three napoleons, but it might be as low as one or as high as ten. Everything depended on how much the brothers quarrelled over the division, and how hard they struggled against yielding one to the other. In Perlat the elder made a distinction between rich and poor, asking a sheep from a rich family but only a kilo of coffee from a poor one. In Mirditë he had the right to a sheep and a money fee as well; the latter was as agreed. In Lumë 'it does not do to have an elder without a sheep'. Wherever, as in Godolesh, officials arranged the separation, no fees were charged.

408 Everywhere one meal at least of meat and rice pilaff must be
514 given to whoever came from outside the family to separate the brothers. If these had no flocks, they must buy meat from someone who had. The expense of these meals, which was heavy for people so poor, was shared by all the brothers, the animals being taken out of the common stock before it was divided and the money for the rice, coffee and, if necessary, meat out of the common purse before the settling up of accounts. These meals were the first charge on the family property.

All stages of the division were watched by neighbours. Before the persons negotiating the separation sat down to the final meal,

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[For a brief statement regarding the status and organization of the 3,000 Albanians in the Soviet Union said to have survived World War II, see 21:Kolarz, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, p. 147. A bibliographic note citing a Soviet ethnographic study of this group appears on p. 161.]

181 on the other hand, are strongly mixed with Greeks and softer, more
144 accessible to civilizing influences, and more desirous of innovations.
The consciousness of their racial coherence determines their life in
tradition--they know their genealogical trees, and hundreds of names
in them--, their boundless hospitality on the one hand, and their
boundless desire for feuding and the implacability of their revenge
342 for murder, on the other hand. Of archaic methods of living there
are to be found, as temporary living quarters, caves in naturally formed
erosions of river banks, closed off in front by plaited mats of switches.
Furthermore, there are conical huts made from unhewn stems and
rushes left long in cutting, in the coastal swamps; also, half under-
ground, walled up pits with a thatched saddle-roof and a mound of
earth thrown against it, used by herders and herds. Then there are
loam-covered huts of intertwined beech twigs and with a reed or leaf
roofing (Figure 2); one-room houses with walls filled out with grass or
pieces of turf with a flat roof frame-work consisting of three transverse
beams and boards loosely laid over them and weighted down with
rocks (Figure 3, which, furthermore, shows, next to the hut, a frame
for storing meat, and so forth, with a notched tree stump serving as
steps and a spruce tree serving as a natural hook for hanging things).
The permanent dwellings, always fenced in, are log cabins in the
forested region of the north; for the rest they are stone houses bound
with mortar, in central and southern Albania with walled-in supporting
beams, covered with straw, shingles, slate, planks, or furrowed tiles.
Originally it was level with the ground, with one or two rooms, then
it turned into a building with two or more stories, with or without a
verandah. The perpetual insecurity of the country as a consequence of the
of the blood revenge feuds developed tower-like fortified buildings
(kulen), with embrasures and a solid roof difficult of access (Figure 1),
out of bulletproof interior structures. The division into rooms in the
interior of these buildings is rarely made by means of walls, more
frequently just through boards or intertwined twigs, or sometimes even
[177] just through larger objects like chests. Into the urban building and
[531] decorative arts Italian-Venetian, Byzantine-Near Eastern, and Turkish
influences have penetrated; the Scutari chest wall in Figure 13 shows
a well-known pattern of Persian ornamentation with a tree of motif
in the final state of degeneration. The interior of the houses has loam
352 floors or timber floors; wall boards for putting away things (Figure 8);
wall pegs for hanging up dishes; tables in the shape of plates made of
two half-moon-shaped boards joined together to form a circle, with

[See: Karutz, E1 Europe, Catillo, p. 67a --- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

OOO night owing to the prodigious snoring of my room-mate. I have never heard such an organ-pipe of a snore, or such an alarming accompaniment of grunts, wheezes, and explosive noises of every imaginable kind. To make matters worse—if anything could have been worse—there was a stork's nest on the corner of the roof immediately above us, and the storks replied to the sounds beneath by clashing their beaks like a watchman's rattle.

A TOSC

The snorer, I afterwards discovered, was an Italian visiting Valona in connection with war-graves—or that at least was the ostensible reason of his presence. Personally I think he was a political agent.

Valona, which is a town of considerable size, has an Italian look, and owes, indeed, much both to Italian and to Austrian influence. The Austrians occupied it for some time during the war. It possesses a light railway which is still in partial use, though to what extent and for what distance from the town I was not able to ascertain

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SECTION II.

CHAPTER VIII.

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Albania and Southern Yugoslavia. The Costumes worn by Men and Women.

After experiencing nearly five hundred years of Turkish rule it is not surprising to find that much of the costume in Albania and in southern Yugoslavia, which as far north as Pljevlja and Priboj was part of Turkey in Europe until 1913, if not actually Turkish in character shows very strong Turkish influence.

There is also much greater variety in the garments worn by the hill tribes and the peasants and the townsfolk, therefore in the description of those in the collection it has been found advisable to group specimens on some of the Plates so as to give an indication of a complete costume such, for example, as that of the Bulgarian woman from Monastir (Bitolj) (Plate IX), the Catholic woman from Scutari (Plate V) and the essential parts of a woman's dress from Zadrima (Plate X).

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Franz, Baron Nopcsa says that as early as 1912 international European dress had begun to be adopted, more particularly by the men, the young Catholics of Scutari deprecating the older styles, and wearing a combination of European garments with the older head-dress, the fez, and shoes. The younger women also have to some extent discarded the wide trousered skirt and the veil; therefore as all the specimens in this collection belong to the period previous to 1914 they represent native dress when it had its own individuality and, as such, will become increasingly valuable as records.

The following short lists of garments worn by women and men in some of the different districts have been compiled from the collection, and from the works of Baron Nopcsa* and Max Tilke†.

A Catholic woman from Scutari would wear:

(a) A shirt ("kmis") with sleeves, sometimes gathered at the wrist, either short in the body or of three-quarter length.

(b) A full-trousered skirt, often of striped silk, similar to the Moslem example on Plate VIe or "enormous baggy trousers formed of a very wide and much gathered skirt of imported, glazed, purple-black calico, the lower edge of which was sewn together leaving a hole at each corner for the feet. This was not really a trouser, as the legs were not divided, and was very cumbrous" (M.E.D.).

(c) Some form of girdle, either striped silk or a long strip of material with embroidered ends (Plate XVIF).

(d) A sleeveless coat ("giubba") with full skirt reaching to the knees (Plate XIII).

(e) A square of dark or light cloth as a head-dress, or a large net or gauze, embroidered veil, the latter being worn by married women only.

* Franz, Baron Nopcsa: "Albanien, Bauten und Geräte." Berlin, 1935.
† Max Tilke: "The Costume of Eastern Europe." London, 1928.

[Text continues on p. 36]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291 (f) Turkish shoes.
177 (g) " Bunches of coloured handkerchiefs hanging from the pocket hole of the giubba or coat under the japangi " (M.E.D.).

[292] Married Catholic women for outdoor wear add a " japangi ", that is, a large scarlet cape with brilliant embroideries, having a flap down the back to be used instead of the square head-dress or the veil (Plate XII).

291 The men wear a shirt and folded girdle, often of striped silk, through which weapons are thrust, short Turkish trousers (Plate VIf), a sleeveless jelek (Plate VIa),
531 or a jacket with open sleeves (Plate VIc and d) and a small round hat with a tassel, like an old-fashioned smoking cap (cf. Plate XVID).

The Moslem women of Scutari wear :—

(a) A similar shirt, but with wide open sleeves, often elaborately embroidered and usually of fine muslin.
(b) Full Turkish trousers of striped or embroidered silk or gauze (Plate VIe).
(c) A short-waisted jelek, or a long-skirted coat without sleeves or, for older women, with bell-shaped sleeves.
(d) As head-dress, a cap decorated with coins or a thick yashmak.

The women of Zadrima, a town on the River Drin, wear :—

(a) A shirt of similar style to those of Scutari, but sometimes with a cross-over front like a Chinese jacket fastening on the wrong side.
(b) Full skirts of heavy material, accordion pleated.
(c) A jelek, usually ornamented in scarlet and yellow.
(d) An apron which may be of the heavy tapestry type or of muslin, embroidered.
(e) Long scarves with decorated ends for head-dresses.
(f) Knitted and embroidered leggings and sandals (" opanga ").

The men of Zadrima wear a jelek, either sleeveless or of the half-sleeve type (Plate VIc) over their shirt, Turkish trousers with elaborately hand-braided designs on the hips and outside of legs (Plate VIf), a leather belt for weapons and a round cap-like hat.

Another type of costume which is worn in many parts of old Macedonia is that of the Bulgar woman from Monastir (Bitolj), where the long shirt of heavy linen or calico (Plate IXA), heavily embroidered at the sleeves and hem, acts also as a skirt, and is girdled at the waist with rows of cord forming a sort of corset, which is decorated with silver ornaments. A handsome heavy tapestry apron worked in scarlet (Plate IXc), and a wide scarf (Plate IXB) with heavily embroidered ends complete the costume.

This type of garment, with its long front opening, is a very ancient form, and is similar to some of the early Egyptian garments*.

The women of the mountain tribes wear :—

(a) A shirt, sometimes with cloth sleeves decorated with coloured strips of felt, similar to the trimming on the skirt.
(b) A full skirt of heavy cloth with appliquéd patterns.
(c) A jelek or a jacket (" mitan ") (Plate VId) in which case the shirt does not have sleeves of cloth.

* L. E. Start : " Coptic Cloths." Bankfield Museum Notes, Ser. II. No. 4.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291 286 531 **No. 1935-68.** One of a pair of leggings for a Zadrima woman is illustrated at "E" on Plate X. The foundation is of knitting done in coarse wool, the foot portion striped in yellow and green, two stitches of each colour alternately, and the top portion in the design indicated at "E", in red and black.

The part below the latter is covered as far down as the ankle with red felt upon which braided patterns in scarlet, yellow and white are sewn down, and five rows of fine stitchery taken right through the knitting divide each set of motives.

The outer side of the legging is the part that has been drawn. On the inner side is a plainer panel, divided for the whole length of the felt, finished off with a felt flap, and both sides of the division hooked together with strong brass hooks and eyes. This arrangement ensures a well-fitted legging which is warm, comfortable and decorative. Over the knitted foot part a leather "opanga" would be worn.

[177] "Similar leggings, with local differences of pattern and colour, were formerly worn in many districts. This was the only pair I was able to obtain." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER XIII.

Women's Jeleks.

In addition to the jelek on Plate X worn by a Zadrima woman, there are five others from Albania in the collection.

These little sleeveless jackets or zouaves are worn by both women and men in many districts and are usually beautifully decorated, chiefly by braiding, which is done by Albanian tailors. Amongst those not yet described is one of outstanding workmanship and design, that presented to Miss Durham by the Beys forming the provisional government of Berat in July, 1913, in token of gratitude. She says, "Korcha was occupied by Greek troops in the Balkan war of 1912-13, and the Greeks claimed it. Along with Mr. H. W. Nevinson (the famous war correspondent), I rode three days over the mountains, arriving at Berat early in the morning, and drafted a telegram to the Council of Ambassadors in London as a petition from the inhabitants of Korcha saying they wished to remain Albanian, and Korcha remains Albanian to this day as a result of that desperate ride."

[72] 648

No. 1937-19. This jelek, which has a foundation of black face cloth, either Austrian or Italian in origin, is entirely covered with gold embroidery, both raised and flat, in which expert use is made of gold thread or passing, gold cord, purl and sequins.

The design on the front, of conventional eight and four-petalled flowers connected by graceful curves and mingled with raised geometrical forms, is so elaborate that a reduced drawing of it would be unsatisfactory, but a small portion of one corner of actual size is reproduced in Fig. 7b, which also shows the four rows of plaited gold passing divided by three rows of gold cord which border the whole garment.

The back has a large bi-symmetrical motive which fills most of the space, and is bordered by the same design that almost encircles the armhole. A part of this border from near the lower edge at the back is given on Fig. 7a. The little added flaps at the front, usually found on jeleks, are absent from this specimen, being re-

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

prevent enemies from climbing it and from piercing a hole in it to fire on the defenders from above, something that has often happened. Finally, the lavatory is built inside the house. 342 712 [514]

Just as the house of Scodra is the highest point in the evolution of Albanian housig architecture, so is the Kula, according to Nopcsa, the most complete form of defensive houses.

The word Kula is of Arabic origin, and has already been met in Byzantine writers since the 11th eentury (1). Morever it is also known by the Serbs as early as 1350. Consequently, no Turkish intervention for the construction of the Kula, it is said by Nopcsa, was ever required.

The particular scope determines the building material, plan, dimensions and other construction details of such houses. These buildings are high, towerlike, built of solid stone, providing the greatest possible cover. Narrow loopholes are opened instead of windows, and small towers are built in well selected defensive places.

A veranda and a Kula mutually exclude each other, because if conditions of security allow the building of a house with an open prostoon, same conditions would render the construction of a kula useless. And vice-versa, nobody would ever think of constructing such a type of dwelling, where there is a danger that a veranda might be burned down at night time. This is confirmed by the geographical expansion of the «shpi» (house) and the «kula» (fortified house). Thus, there is a complete absence of typical, towerlike «kulas» in Melcija Madhe, Zadrima, which is situated in a plain, as well as in Bregubuns and Bregumatja, areas that enjoy greater security. On the contrary, in areas where statistics of crime show that a 21-32% of all deaths are caused by murder, we find the kula, while houses with a prostoon are absent. Because of the custom of vengence male members of many families are bound inside their kula for years. [682] [627]

As for the origin of these tower-form houses which, according to Nopcsa, were multiplied in Middle Albania between the years 890 and 1274, Haberlandt believes that from a house-building point of view, they must be derived from the towers and donjons propagated [177] [463]

1) **Anna Komnini**, 2, 124 Bonn: Τὴν μέντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλὰ τὸν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴωθεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον... (The acropolis, which is now by habit called kula, was occupied by Celts...) **G. Kedrinos**, 2, 366: Ὁ Βούρτζης ἰσχυσε λαβεῖν τὸ μέτρον ἑνὸς τῶν πρὸς δύσιν Ἀντιοχείας πύργων, Κάλα τοῦνομα... (Vourtzes had power enough as to take possession of a tower, called Kala, at the West of Antiocheia...)

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their «naturalisation» as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called «mastori» in Albania.

A 342 712 177 [463]

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word «maistor» has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of «Protomaistor». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words «maistor» and «protomaistor» that originate in the Latin word «magister» (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of

A [192]

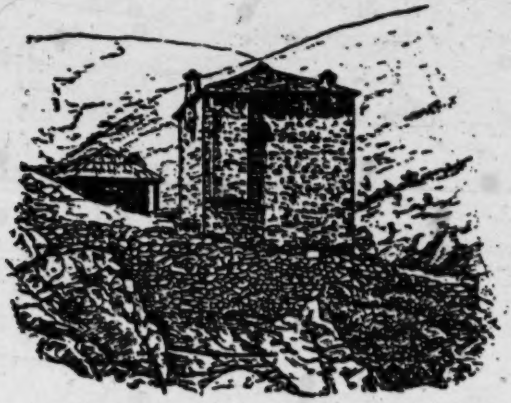

Fig. 75. A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe
(Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as «Μαστοροχώρια» (builders' villages[1]), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession centuries ago. For months on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership

A [192]
G [331] [467] [484]
A [463]

1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

2 [i.e. Haberlandt - ANALYST.]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

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Albania EG1

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G
342
712
171

as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, « many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace » (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos. (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghia and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (3). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (4). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

A
[177]

A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors aud is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

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1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ πυλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc.).

2) **G. Megas.** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1B

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1921 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Staries on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 231), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania. A G 342 712 171

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1). A G [333]

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2). A 342 177 171

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate G [177]

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. IB 85. See also **D Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof, (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

A 342 living space for men and women (haremlik for the women and selamlik for the men)(1).

171 177 G 177 It may be said as a conclusion to the whole survey that, if we except simple primitive forms of the Albanian house, that belong probably to very ancient housing and building habits bequeathed to Albanians by the ancient Illyrians and Thracians, all the composite types of houses and especially the two-floor prostyle ones, as developed by the various modifications of the prostoon (προστῶον), as well as all forms of towers (kulas) have been imported into Albania from outside. Not only technique and evolution, but also geographical and historical relationship persuade that this progress of Albanian architecture is due to the activity of Epirot and Macedonian builders who, with their traditional technical skill, introduced better and more composite forms of housing into Albania. These builders, who travelled all over the country, have built many houses and have tought the art of building both to Albanians and to the other Balkan peoples.

G [331]

1) See the plan of an Albanian urban house of Berat by Ekrem bei Vlorë p. 57 and Plate VI.

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 above them, and here and there snow drifts flung up among smoky-gray clouds. Thirty-two waterfalls I counted from that window, veining the mountains with wandering streaks of silver.
871 But our gaze came back and fastened upon the school.

"I didn't know they had one in the mountains!" exclaimed Alex, thinking of her Mountain School Fund. "I thought our school at Thethis would be the first one!"

"Padre Marjan certainly said so when he walked down to ask us for it," said Frances.

"Perhaps this isn't a school," said I. Though it looked like one, the little square stone house through whose open doorway we saw rows of
[291] benches, and boys sitting on them, barefooted, wearing the long, tight, white trousers braided with black that hang low on the hip bones, the gorgeous sashes, and the short black jackets thick with fringe, that were white centuries ago, but were changed to mourning when Scanderbeg died for Albanian liberty.

It was a school. The pale, meek priest[1] in black, who is the bishop's ecclesiastical household, showed it to us with pride; he is the teacher.
178 The Turks and the Austrians had blocked all
871 attempts to bring schools into the mountains, he said, and the people, not knowing that schools existed, were naturally not eager to have them. But now the Land of the Eagle was said to be free, after so many centuries of Turkish rule in the valleys, and refugee children who had fled

[1] [bishop of Pultit --Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

before the Serbs were coming back to their tribes 178
and telling about the American school in Scutari, 871
so that all the people wanted their children to
learn to read and write. The chiefs themselves, [212]
hearing that there was a Tirana government, and
not being able to write or read letters about it,
or to learn from newspapers (oh, simple-minded,
mediæval people!) the truth about European
politics, saw what education meant.

The people had taken rocks from the moun- 871
tains and made the schoolhouse. They had cut
precious trees and made the benches and the
desks. They had made a slate of a slab of the
native rock, set in a rough wooden frame; they
wrote upon it with softer rocks. From Italy,
across the Adriatic to Durazzo, up to Tirana, to
Scutari, and into the mountains—a two weeks'
journey by donkey and river ferry—the bishop
had got three copy books and a bottle of ink.
Pens had been made from twigs. The priest had
one book printed in Albanian.

Since the boys must herd the flocks in the [857]
mountains, they could not spend the day in 233
school. There is so little land that the goats and
sheep are fed from trees. The shepherd climbs
a tree, carefully cuts the tender branches, and
throws them down to the nibbling beasts that
eat the young buds and strip off the juicy bark.
There is no tree in all the mountains that the
shepherds have not climbed; not a tree that is
not a branchless, gnarled trunk.

So the school was open from six to nine in the 871

795 Despite its centuries in Ghegnia, Catholicism
182 has failed to change many of the customs of the mountaineers, such as the *fis* system with cross-cousin marriage, trial marriage, the levirate, blood brotherhood, and the swearing of virginity. The reason is of course that the needs which these customs fill have not been eliminated. The Moslem faith permits them and thus has become more popular. Islam is deemed the more fashionable and more civilized religion. The people of the towns, rich men, army officers, and other sophisticates are usually Moslems. Most Catholics are poor. This attitude is of course a hold-over from the period of Turkish domination. Many Albanians admired the Turks. Many spoke Turkish
[191] by preference. I recall once riding along a lane in Zadrima with my interpreter, Mr. Frasheri, who reprimanded 2 old harvesters whom we passed for talking Turkish together. Bishop Fan Noli suggests that they may have been Turkish-speaking refugees from the towns of Prizren, Peia, or Podgoritza.

795 There is a certain dietary difference between
262 Catholics and Moslems. The former eat pork,
273 especially in the wintertime. The Moslems curl up their nostrils and gag at the smell of pork, and will not enter a room where it is cooking. In its place they use much mutton fat in their cooking. Catholics drink wine when they can get it; Moslems care for their alcoholic needs with *raki*. These differences are probably of no biological importance, as far as the growth and development of the individual are concerned, but they do serve to intensify the mutual antipathy of the 2 religious groups and inhibit a genetic interchange.

582 In Lura, in a population not exceeding a few
178 hundred individuals, Catholics and Moslems
795 intermarry. In a single household the father may be Catholic, the mother Moslem, and the children will choose their own religions. This is the only place in Ghegnia where this happens. Lura is in process of change from Catholicism to Islam. As the latter gains ground, mixed households are found. The government of Ahmed Zog made much of this isolated situation, urging other Albanians to follow the example of the Lurans in the interests of national unity.

178 Various stages in this process of shifting are
795 found in different tribes and *bairaks*. In Mer-

In Mer -

178 turi and Nikaj, the men adopt 2 sets of names,
795 Moslem and Christian, and employ the former
[55] while traveling to avoid trouble. They get used to these names and in many cases use them at home. In Hoti, the *bairaktar* once led his men against the invading Serbs, with the help of the Turkish government. In gratitude for his brave and successful conduct the Turks granted him special privileges, and he went over, with his family, to Islam. The rest of the *bairak* is still mostly Catholic, but the tendency in such a case is for the others to follow the leader. In Lura, where mixed families are found, the Catholics have given up keeping pigs so as not to offend the Moslems, and celebrate Moslem festivals as well as Christian ones, to avoid trouble. Very rarely a Mirdite will marry a Moslem woman from Mati, but when he does she becomes Catholic.

797 When the Turks introduced Islam, all
144 Ghegs were Catholics. Almost exclusively, the change has been in the Moslem direction. Hence we may assume that almost none of the present-day Catholics bear genetic elements brought in from outside the region by the Turks or their followers, while the same is not necessarily true of the Moslem Ghegs. *Bairak* by *bairak* and tribe by tribe, as conversion progressed, the line between the 2 religions has remained, by and large, a marital barrier. During the whole period of the Turkish rule, Catholics have furthermore been able to travel much less widely than Moslems, with resultant genetic implications.

771 In Albania one frequently hears the remark that "the Albanians are not very religious." This is usually said with pride, for the presence of 3 religions in so small a country is deemed a dangerous impediment to political unity. In one sense, the remark is quite true. Few Albanians are religious fanatics; few of them worry about their spiritual salvation. Most of the Catholics go to church with some regularity, and most of the Moslems keep Ramadan. However, their ancient way of life provides most of the ritual which they need to tide them over emotional crises, so that church and
771 mosque are in many ways superfluous. A
596 man's first loyalty is to his "blood," that is, his extended family. He spends much of his time, effort, and material goods keeping the family together and avenging any deed which has up-

PEAKS OF SHALA

He filled our glasses with red wine. "You must not mistake my people," he said. "The blood feud is bad, very bad, but it is their only way of enforcing laws, which are, in general, admirable. 628 619

"The blood feud is not a lawless thing, as strangers sometimes think. Nor has it anything to do with personal strife or hate. It is a form of capital punishment, such as all nations have, and it is governed by most strict laws.

"You must remember that in these mountains we have never been conquered by foreign governments. The Roman Empire claimed to have overpowered Albania, it is true, as later the Turks did, but neither Rome nor Constantinople was able to send its government into these mountains. The people live as they did before the days of Greece, except for the influence of the Church. It is a simple, communistic society, [181] without private property or any organized government. The only law is the moral law, enforced by tradition, by custom, and by common consent. The father of the family becomes the chief of the tribe, but he has no power that conflicts with the moral law, the ancient Law of Lec. There is a tradition that all this group of tribes [173] was once, long ago, given this moral law by a man named Lec, but that is doubtless a myth added to through the ages.

"This Law of Lec is based on personal honor, which is also the honor of the tribe. A man or a tribe must punish an insult to honor by killing

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

people, too, had their part, for they formed the permanent garrison of the key to the Adriatic. Once again, as so often in the past, the rival nations vied with one another to secure the friendship or compel the obedience of the Albanians; and they, owning no common allegiance, took sides and changed them in accordance with the dictates of interest and the counsels of opportunity. Thus the situation in Albania came to reflect, as in a mirror, the true relations between the Powers, obscured to the general view by the smoke of battle blown before the wind of words.

The policies of nations devolve in the last instance upon individuals; and in this, as in past struggles, lone men went out among the Albanian mountaineers to make their local feuds subserve the divergent and often inconsistent purposes of the strategists and statesmen who had sent them forth. Of these men I was one; and of a part of what I saw this is the tale.

2

THE Albanians are a distinct people, not perhaps a nation, but remarkable by the strength of their sense of nationality. Archaeologists believe the two main branches of their race — the Ghegs and Tosks, whom the river Shkumbi divides — to be descended from the ancient Illyrians and Pelasgians. These peoples, perhaps the earliest Aryan invaders of the Balkans, may once have inhabited the whole region between the Danube and the Aegean and Adriatic seas; but successive waves of invasion have worn them down by assimilation or massacre, and only a remnant survive in the land known as Albania.

This land, the exact boundaries of which have fluctuated with the fortunes of the Albanians and their conquerors, forms a wedge between the massif of Montenegro and the Pindus range. It consists of a rich but malarial coastal plain, in which lie the two harbours of Durazzo and Valona, and a mountainous interior; an extension of the Dinaric Alps. In contrast, however, to the bare and arid Karst of Dalmatia, the Albanian mountains are thickly wooded and convulsed out of their former

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

133 symmetry into a tangle of high and broken ranges. The valleys they enclose are narrow but fertile, and from them powerful streams pursue their twisted courses down to the Adriatic.

361 Albania has many times been overrun in the strife of empires for the control of the Straits of Otranto; and it is in the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the interior rather than in the rich coastal plain that the remnant of the Illyrians have made their homes. There they have found freedom; for, so wild and rugged are the mountains, and so poor the prospect of wealth which they offer, that none of Albania's conquerors have attempted to rule them except in name.

To this day the majority of the Albanians live in the mountains; but at different times — when the growth of population in the highlands has pressed too hard upon the means of subsistence, or when political conditions have been favourable — families have moved down to the plains or to the towns. Thus, in the seventeenth century, under the protection of Islam, the tribesmen of the North flowed back into the Kossovo. But [181] the trend has been a slow one; for the Albanians prize freedom above all else, and many that have descended to the plains have returned again to the mountains. The plains are rich, but, as the malaria saps a man's strength, so work on the big estates destroys his independence, and submission to the laws of the conqueror corrupts his soul. Thus the lowlands have ever been the province of the foreign overlord, and it is in the mountains, beyond the reach of invaders and guarded by the armed might of the clans, that the moral and material strength of Albania resides.

642 The steep and rugged mountains, the deep and pathless forests, the drifts of snow in winter, and the spate of the rivers in spring and autumn have preserved the Albanians from foreign conquerors. But these obstacles to communications, which have so often turned back hostile armies, have operated powerfully against the growth of a centralised Albanian state. Geography has thus combined with contending foreign Powers to promote disunity among the Albanians. The ancient Illyrian and Pelasgian kingdoms were seldom even allied, and, under the Turkish Empire, the country was divided for political and

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

662 services" from the Central Government or from foreign Powers. Nor were the chiefs the only ones to gain, for the profits of a mercenary leader depend on the strength of his following. The rival chieftains competed for the support of the smaller fry; and these passed in and out of the orbits of their betters according to their hopes of wealth or fears of defeat. Thus in time the foreign gold circulated down to the poorest shepherd.

Such practices were lucrative and naturally congenial to the Albanians; for they despised manual labour as a task for women, regarding only fighting and its preparations as man's work. Mercenary enterprise, moreover, was conducive to social stability, for the chief derived his wealth not from the exploitation of his clansmen but from the subsidies of the foreigner or the spoils of war. A common interest in his success induced a spirit of partnership among his followers, while the fierce competition of rivals encouraged his liberality or corrected his avarice. At the same time each accession of strength which he derived from his foreign paymasters was almost automatically balanced by the complementary reinforcement of his rivals by other foreign Powers. Mercenary enterprise thus proved to be an expanding economy; and, to guard against the dangers of a slump, the rival chiefs were not above stimulating the flow of subsidies by timely collusion.

The Albanians were of the Balkans; and so the natural insecurity of their lives, inherent in the anarchy and poverty of their circumstances, was aggravated, if at times enriched, by the struggle of the Powers to spread their influence along the road to the East. Life under such conditions could not but be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short"; yet from its very
• 181 grimness the Albanians drew their strength. Anarchy developed their independence, not only in their relations to other men, but in their thoughts; for they were free from all those prejudices, taboos, and inhibitions which limit the outlook of those who belong to an organised community. Poverty lent a severe pragmatism to their thought, so that they judged only by results, knowing that, if man cannot live by bread alone, he cannot even subsist without it. Insecurity sharpened their awareness and deepened their understanding of human nature, trying their values by the acid test of survival.

7: Amery G-6 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

trying their values by the acid test of survival. Nor were they[1] 177
isolated from the world around them; for the tides of invasion that swept through their valleys, and the cross-currents of foreign intrigue which penetrated into their mountains continually refreshed them with new ideas. Some of them, moreover, travelled to the ends of the earth in the service of their conquerors, to act, on their return, as a ferment among their fellow countrymen. Likewise the three religions which they 795
honoured — the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox, and the Moslem — were powerful vehicles for the spread of foreign influences, whether from Pope or Patriarch or Sheikh-Ul-Islam.

These religions represented traditional loyalties rather than 771
living creeds to the Albanians. Indeed religious devotion and ideological fervour were alike alien to them, being based on social concepts inapplicable to the anarchy in which they lived. In the past, when politics had been conducted under the sign of religion, they had freely apostatised to secure material advantage. Likewise, in our time, they variously proclaimed themselves Fascists, Communists, or Democrats, in obedience to the calculations of interest rather than to the dictates of conviction. The growth among them of the Bektashi sect suggested that, left to themselves, their religious instinct might have developed towards some form of Pantheism, perhaps in the tradition of the Oracle of Dodona and the hierarchy of gods which Hellas inherited from the ancient Illyrians. Instead, the 181
contemplation of the endless struggle for survival and power which characterised every phase of their daily life induced in them an all-pervading materialism. In ideas they discerned but the banners under which forces are gathered; and they mistrusted words as a cloak for intentions rather than as a means for their expression.

Politics they understood instinctively, for the relations between the Great Powers were daily made manifest to them in terms of golden coin and leaden shot. Besides, where there is no law, all human relationships are understood in terms of the struggle for power which underlies them and which is the very stuff of politics. The life of the clans was indeed a great school of *realpolitik*; and though the Albanians are few the fertility

[1] [the Albanians -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

181 of their political genius is attested by the number of remarkable men of action which their race has given to the world. Alexander the Great, Pyrrhus of Epirus, the Köprülüs, Mehmet Ali of Egypt, Ali of Yannina, Condouriotis, Crispi, and Kemal Ataturk may justly be reckoned among them; not to speak of more than twenty Grand Viziers, and a host of Generals and politicians who served the empires of Macedon, Rome, and Turkey. Yet it is significant of the disunity and intractability of their nation that, although Albanians have often risen to rule empires, only twice in a thousand years — under Skanderbeg and under Zog; and then only with foreign support — has an Albanian ruled Albania.

The Albanians were thus remarkable as individuals rather than as a people, representative perhaps of the highest levels to which man can attain without submitting to the yoke and goad of a community. Their life was too harsh and their amenities too few to permit of any flowering of culture, but, though their circumstances were primitive beyond measure, yet they were [142] never barbarous. Their aquiline features and delicate hands were matched by a dignity of bearing and tolerance of outlook eloquent of the natural distinction of their race. Pyrrhus had called them *shkipetare*, or Sons of the Eagle, and their fierce and predatory natures well deserved the name. Keen of eye and cold of heart, they were bold in decision, but, like all mercenaries, unpredictable in battle. Freedom and vengeance were their ruling passions; and they lived without joy and died with reluctance rather than regret. Ungovernably proud, they were impatient of all restraint, utterly unteachable, deaf to appeals, suspicious of intentions, hard to lead, and impossible to drive; great gentlemen and great robbers, prizing honour above honesty, gold more than both and power beyond them all.

3

142 THE independence of Albania was not achieved by the exertions of the Albanians: the mountaineers among them had never been other than independent, while the townsmen had wel-

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 and Yugoslavia. The condition of their country was one of relative prosperity; for the Italian occupation had enriched the people, while the recovery of the Kossovo had made supplies of food plentiful and cheap. At the same time the endemic poverty of the Albanians was such that, having little to lose and small hope of acquiring wealth by lawful means, they welcomed [181] disorder whenever it was attended by opportunities of plunder. To this natural lawlessness occasioned by their poverty was added a proud people's impatience of foreign rule. If the Italians had been less in evidence, their occupation might have been more easily tolerated. As it was, the Albanians bitterly resented the intrusions into their daily lives of the ubiquitous *carabinieri*, whose efforts to enforce order among a people accustomed to anarchy were as unpopular as they were vain.

Besides these general causes of discontent, the one inherent in the circumstances of the Albanians, the other in the character of their conquerors, there were other influences making for unrest of a more local, if no less important, application. In [184] North Albania the mercenary factor in the economy of the tribes made revolt a constant possibility. So rugged indeed was their region, and so complete the absence of social or political inhibitions among them, that the Ghegs could always be provoked to insurrection whenever the expectations of victory or gain appeared commensurate to the risks involved. In South Albania the causes of discontent were of a more usual character and sprang from the naturally conflicting interests of the landless peasants and the *Beys* whose estates they worked. The wretched lot of the Moslem peasantry might be somewhat alleviated by the sense of belonging to the same community as their masters; but the religious distinction which separated the Orthodox *rayah* from the Islamised landowners only served to increase their class consciousness. These Orthodox peasants had long been ripe for revolt; and indeed Fan Noli had sought to exploit their discontent in the revolution of 1924. Now, however, for the first time they found effective leaders in the youth of the towns.

177 668 The spread of Italian influence during the reign of King Zog had encouraged the growth of a new class of officials and

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

The Dibrans, like the men of Mati, lived an existence half pastoral, half agricultural, in which the tribalism of the mountains merged with the feudalism of the plains. They were a grim and calculating breed of men, a border people waging a ceaseless war with their Slav neighbours from Macedonia. The town of Dibra had been a rich centre of trade under the Ottoman Empire, but now it was shrunk to little more than a quarter of its former size. The fall of the Turk had perhaps interrupted the peaceful progress of commerce, but the struggle of the Powers for the control of Macedonia afforded the Dibran chiefs splendid opportunities for mercenary enterprise. For close on a century the rival nations had provided their clients among them with arms and subsidies; and so practised had the chiefs become in the technique of power politics that at any time the balance of power between the leading Dibran families reflected the exact relation between their foreign patrons. The ends which the Dibrans served were purely mercenary, but nevertheless they had learnt from experience the fundamental truth that freedom can only be preserved and wealth attained by the exercise of power. Moreover they understood, and this was perhaps the surest proof of their political genius, that it is not given even to the keenest brains to know with certainty where their interests lie. Each clan accordingly sought to reinsure against the imponderable factors in a situation by systematically placing a relative in each of the different political camps.

Dibra was said to hold five thousand rifles; but so divided were the Dibrans by local blood feuds and foreign intrigues that it seemed doubtful whether any clan could command the direct allegiance of more than five hundred men. The most powerful man in the region was Fikri Dine, once a henchman of King Zog. Fikri had led the rising of the Dibran clans in 1943: then he had routed the Italians and driven them out of Dibra city; but now, for fear of the Communists, he supported the Tirana Government. He came from a small clan and drew his power, not from the number of his rifles, but from his personal ascendancy over the bigger chiefs who had control of man-power. Like the chiefs of Mati they were torn by blood

4. 291 consists of caps that have been sewn on, as well as a bush of peacock's feathers and colored cock's feathers. (Compare Globus, volume 78, page 387). The carpet aprons that are illustrated in Figure 5[2] likewise 4. 326 have their original provenience from the northeast. As is the rule throughout the Balkans, the silver ornamentation among the Bosnian South Slavs is rich and variegated. Especially filigree is forged with the greatest of artistic skill.

/97: Illustrations./

/98/ The Albanians

I.

000 1. Type of fortified building. 2. Hut in Durazzo. 3. Mountain hut near Gusinje. 4. and 5. Chairs. 6. Cradle from Planti. 7. Fireplace in Nikaj. 8. Interior of a hut in Pula with intertwined reed walls, and a roof consisting of rafters, reed, and bulrush bundles. 9. Fireplace and hearth bench in a niche of the wall, in Hotin. 10. House door in Brebula, with an ornament arched like a wedge, and hook-like stone projections used for hanging up the guns. 11. Interior of a fortified house (kula). 12. Fireplace with hearth bench and smoke outlet in the niche of the wall. 13. Carving on a chest from Scutari[1]

A. 101 Between Montenegro and Epirus the strongly mountainous coastal area of the Balkan Peninsula has preserved primitive European racial elements and maintained ancient cultural forms. Here the Albanian people is settled, the people of the Skyptars, the troglodytes or inhabitants of the land of the eagles or of the descendants of eagles, A. 144 according to the various explanations. By the Turks they are called Arnauts. From pre-Aryan Illyrians, who belong to the oldest inhabitants of the European-Asiatic land mass, and from Aryan Thracians there was formed a basic stock. To this were added Goths, Slavs, Greeks, and, since 1450, Turks, as well as sporadic Roman elements and later A. [197] Italian influxes along the coast. All these combined to form the Albanians who today are divided into two groups according to the dialects of their Indo-European language, that is, into the northern Gegen and A. 144 the southern Tuscans. These two groups are in turn divided into a great number of sub-stocks. The former, with predominantly Slavic, Serbian 191 blood, are tougher, more war-like, more conservative; the Tuscans,

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 67a--Analyst]
2 [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 66a--Analyst]

181 on the other hand, are strongly mixed with Greeks and softer, more
144 accessible to civilizing influences, and more desirous of innovations.
The consciousness of their racial coherence determines their life in
tradition--they know their genealogical trees, and hundreds of names
in them--, their boundless hospitality on the one hand, and their
boundless desire for feuding and the implacability of their revenge
342 for murder, on the other hand. Of archaic methods of living there
are to be found, as temporary living quarters, caves in naturally formed
erosions of river banks, closed off in front by plaited mats of switches.
Furthermore, there are conical huts made from unhewn stems and
rushes left long in cutting, in the coastal swamps; also, half under-
ground, walled up pits with a thatched saddle-roof and a mound of
earth thrown against it, used by herders and herds. Then there are
loam-covered huts of intertwined beech twigs and with a reed or leaf
roofing (Figure 2); one-room houses with walls filled out with grass or
pieces of turf with a flat roof frame-work consisting of three transverse
beams and boards loosely laid over them and weighted down with
rocks (Figure 3, which, furthermore, shows, next to the hut, a frame
for storing meat, and so forth, with a notched tree stump serving as
steps and a spruce tree serving as a natural hook for hanging things).
The permanent dwellings, always fenced in, are log cabins in the
forested region of the north; for the rest they are stone houses bound
with mortar, in central and southern Albania with walled-in supporting
beams, covered with straw, shingles, slate, planks, or furrowed tiles.
Originally it was level with the ground, with one or two rooms, then
it turned into a building with two or more stories, with or without a
verandah. The perpetual insecurity of the country as a consequence of the
of the blood revenge feuds developed tower-like fortified buildings
(kulen), with embrasures and a solid roof difficult of access (Figure 1),
out of bulletproof interior structures. The division into rooms in the
interior of these buildings is rarely made by means of walls, more
frequently just through boards or intertwined twigs, or sometimes even
[177] just through larger objects like chests. Into the urban building and
[531] decorative arts Italian-Venetian, Byzantine-Near Eastern, and Turkish
influences have penetrated; the Scutari chest wall in Figure 13 shows
a well-known pattern of Persian ornamentation with a tree of motif
in the final state of degeneration. The interior of the houses has loam
352 floors or timber floors; wall boards for putting away things (Figure 8);
wall pegs for hanging up dishes; tables in the shape of plates made of
two half-moon-shaped boards joined together to form a circle, with

[See: Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 67a --- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

A Railway Line

As no-one but myself wanted to go on to Tirana I was put with the mails into an ordinary four-seater Ford car and continued the journey alone save for the driver. The country was well wooded with oak, ash, poplar, willow and alder. The fields were enclosed with hedges of bramble and, but for the big wild fig-trees, I might almost have been in England. I had been told that I should find in Albania no bank, no water-closet, and no railway, but as regards the railway I found this statement incorrect, for a narrow gauge track ran at the side of the road most of the way from Scutari to Tirana. It did not, however, appear to have been used for a considerable time as it was in bad repair and much broken. At one place, half-a-dozen little locomotives, dismantled and red with rust, stood idle on a siding, while in a ditch a short distance away lay a seventh—a pathetic corpse in a winding-sheet of bramble and convolvulus. Presumably the line was wrecked by the Austrians when they were in retreat at the end of the war. I should not imagine that it would be a very costly matter to put it into working order again.

The impression I received in the course of this drive was that the surrounding country was exceedingly fertile, and that much which is at present uncultivated could be made productive if modern agricultural methods were adopted. In all countries the farmer and tiller of the soil—conservative to the backbone—is slow to admit that his way of doing things can be bettered, and to this general rule the Albanian agriculturist is no exception. He knows nothing, and wants

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples!
Albania E61

241 to know nothing, of new methods. I heard of one instance
181 in which a young and progressive Albanian of the wealthy classes (landowners who lease their land to the peasant in

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return for one-third of the crop) brought back with him from Western Europe some of the latest agricultural machinery, intending to start scientific farming. He at once found himself up against not only the conservatism of the peasant but the conventions of his class—no *gentleman*

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

soils his hands with work!—and in the end his project had to be abandoned. Since the wealth of every country comes in the first instance from the soil, this attitude of mind is to be deeply deplored. All possible means of making the soil more productive should be welcomed. 241 181

Tirana, the Albanian capital and seat of government, is not a particularly impressive place. Its chief claim to notice, politics apart, lies in its mosques, which are all very beautiful examples of old Byzantine architecture and decoration. The streets are of rough cobbles—very uncomfortable to the feet—and the houses are, for the most part, of one storey only. The shops are the rickety wooden boxes one expects to find in this part of the world, and their proprietors sit, in Turkish fashion, at the receipt of custom. 361 [346]

I lunched soon after my arrival at the Hotel Internationale, which is the centre of the political life of the place. It is frequented by the deputies and their friends, and discussion and argument go on all day long over the coffee-cup and the raki glass. While I was struggling with the menu, which was Greek to me, a lady, seeing my difficulty, spoke to me in English and offered her assistance. She was an American and we got into conversation. One of the first things she said was, " You will find plenty of English here ". I was astonished. That there was a British Legation at Durazzo I knew, but that Tirana contained "plenty of English " was news to me. Nor did it seem a place to attract the tourist. The meeting with the American did not surprise me so much, as I knew that there were American [485] 000

To the Land of the Eagle

000 inn. We sat outside at a table under the vines like a family party, and were joined in true democratic fashion by the driver and the mechanic of the lorry. I thought with regret of the snobbish class-distinctions of my native land. How much happier we should be if only we could abolish them!

361 The Albanian countryside at this spot was but sparsely inhabited, and houses were few and far apart. The occasional villages were tumble-down and poverty-stricken. At one place the mosque had fallen into ruins—perhaps the result of an earthquake—and no one had troubled to build it up again.

● 181 The Albanian, like the Turk, is something of a fatalist. He is also lazy. Doubtless it was the will of Allah that the mosque should collapse—why, then, trouble to rebuild it?

825 The broken minaret was crowned with an enormous stork's-nest on which stood the owner clapping its long beak. The stork, being a sacred bird, was in no danger, having once established itself, of being disturbed or turned out of its home.

000 Our way lay amongst mountains—soft green mountains with rounded outlines, very different in type from the jagged rocks of Montenegro. Their sides were splashed with the gold of broom and the yellow of sage, and with the purple of some wild-flower which grew in regular stripes in the crevices of out-cropping rock-strata. The air was scented and soft.

We travelled on for some hours without any incident beyond an occasional stoppage to tighten a bolt, to retrieve
241 a loose nut, or to do some minor repairs to the engine. At length the plain of Argyrocastron came into view—a wide, well-cultivated valley many miles in extent, where green

1 [near Argyrocastron-- 166 Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

294 taking advantage of the felting properties of natural wool, to make anything so solid as the substance which resulted, nor had I realised before, that our own felt hats are made in a similar way, though I now presume that they are. Bit by bit the fez began to take shape. By holding it up to the light weak places were exposed. A little loose wool was added where needful and felted on with soap and "elbow grease" until the cap was of uniform thickness. Heavy pummelling with a wooden instrument completed this part of the manufacture, and the fez was placed on a wooden block and put in the sunshine to dry. Later on it would go to the man who wielded the razor and be trimmed to a smooth finish.

While I was in the shop a customer handed in his fez, which was no longer as clean as it had once been, and received a nice white one in exchange. This is the local custom and is analogous to the custom of the smart Londoner of Edwardian and Victorian times who always had two silk hats, one in wear, the other at the ironer's.

181 As we were unable to find any common means of communication, conversation languished until a young fellow came across the street from a shop opposite. He spoke English. After asking my business or profession—the customary first question—he put the equally familiar query, "What do you think of Albania?" To which I replied that I thought Albania a fine country, rich in natural resources and with great possibilities of development. The youth shook his head sadly. "Aye, yes", said he, "but it is so

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples . . .
Albania E61

poor. We have no money, no work. We want factories. We want the English to help us to build factories." It was the same complaint, though couched in slightly different terms, as that of the peasant at Koritza—" This country no goddamned good! No money, no work, no nothin'!" I was getting used to it.

" But ", I exclaimed, " what on earth do you want factories for? These hats, for example—suppose a company started a factory here to make fezzes, they would turn out in a week as many fezzes as these people make in a year. The fez-makers would be thrown out of work and the market would be flooded."

The young man waved a deprecating hand. " Yes, yes ", he said. " But we should export the hats to other countries and the foreign trade would make us rich."

The same old story—getting rich! getting rich! getting rich! I laughed, and asked him to put the case to the fez-maker. The man made some short answer and went on with his work.

" What does he say? " I demanded.

" He says ", was the reply, " ' We want no factories here '."

That evening—a Saturday and a market day—I stood on the long bridge which spans the river to the south of the town watching the stream of men, women, and children, returning to their homes in the distant villages. One strapping girl carried on her head a wooden cradle within which a baby was firmly bound with long strips of webbing.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the 342
street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, 363
the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly 347
mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a 352
low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold 353
the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are 415
hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride 411
of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys 342
are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high 711
walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to 181
slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his 577
feud with him. The villages of these districts are 361
generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the 352
cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband [484]
leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
with which they console themselves testify. Unknown to their partners, they sew in their clothes [789]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER IX.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

562 184 The domestic usages of the Albanians vary slightly, according to locality and religion, but are, in their main features, identical. And though the customs surrounding such family ceremonies as births, marriages, and deaths belong naturally more to the domain of women than of men, the latter are not less scrupulous in the fulfilment of the part in these observances which fall to their share.

156 181 Tribal and family pride being, as has been already seen, the leading feature of Albanian character, the desire of offspring, and especially male offspring, is naturally very strong with them. A childless man [554] is designated by an expression which signifies "without a root," and is looked upon as a most unfortunate [754] being. The wish, "May you be childless!" is also considered the most weighty curse that can be launched against a man by his enemy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the dearest wish of every woman's heart is consequently to be the mother of a numerous family of boys, both for the sake of the future prosperity of the tribe and for the present social consideration which their birth ensures to her. 843 When the fact that an Albanian woman is about to

[p. 242]

6: Shutter S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

7 ALBANIAN INTERLUDE AND BALTIC VISTA

I

131
●181 LITTLE ALBANIA, where mountains rise in serried ranks behind a marshy, malaria-infested coast, was perhaps the first satellite to reveal the nature of Communist rule fully and unreservedly. Living uneasily under Turkish domination well past the nineteenth century in a country not unlike the Great Smokies, the Albanians have been the least known and the most handicapped nation in Europe. Like many a mountain folk in the United States—whether in Tennessee or in Vermont—they have been influenced culturally by the inaccessibility of their villages, the primitive state of their agriculture, and the dearth of modern means of transportation. Even proximity to the sea has been of limited value because delta silt has impeded navigation throughout history. Outside the cities, family and tribal solidarity remains stronger than national sentiment. But, while the Albanians have been dependent on foreign powers for security and prosperity, they are a patriotic folk and a martial one.

291 trousers, the shape of his cap, and particularly by the design on his stockings. If after 6 months a foreigner had reached this threshold of discrimination, a native mountaineer with good eyesight could identify a stranger as far as he could see him, just as easily as a modern boy can tell the make of a car or airplane at a glance. This habit of wearing one's insignia so conspicuously has a very definite meaning. [181] The man is proud of his family and native place, and defiant. His desire to be identified is greater than his fear of death. He does not go far from home unless his mission is a serious one.

The man's costume starts with a brimless felt cap (*frontispiece*)[4] either conical or flat on top; often he wears a kerchief around it like a thin turban, or neckcloth. The upper part of his body is covered with a woolen jacket, with sleeves and some kind of collar, often sailor-fashion. As a rule he is shirtless. From waist to ankle he wears a pair of woolen breeches, usually skin-tight on the legs, and with a slight fullness in the seat in some regions which reflects the influence of the Turkish baggy pants. He goes without underdrawers. If wealthy, he may also wear an ornate sleeveless waistcoat. He usually sports some kind of wide cummerbund, or belt. His feet are shod in opingas, or rawhide buskins, the common primitive European footgear found not only in the Balkans but in Russia, Ireland, and other places where tradition is strong enough and shoes expensive enough to preserve this ancient homemade shoe type. In 1929 the poorer Ghegs were wearing pieces of automobile tire in place of opingas, and it gave one a start to see a fresh section of Goodyear or Michelin track on a mountain path 18 inches wide. At the same time the wealthier were wearing western manufactured shoes.

Both men and women wear stockings, knit by the women, which bear the family design as clearly as a Scottish tartan. I have seen many men, however, who had none. The women's dress varies from place to place, but is basically a combination of a full bell-like skirt, reminding one of a Cretan goddess's lower garment, surmounted by a full blouse or bodice. Add to that a headcloth or shawl, and much jewelry,

[See cat. 16, facing title page --Analyst]

[4] This is confirmed by Bishop Fan Noli.

197 this once widely spoken group. G. S. Lowman[6] says of it,

> "The Albanian language constitutes a distinct branch in the Satem division of the Indo-European languages. It is the direct descendant of the ancient Illyrian of Roman times, together with some Thracian influences. . . . At the present time, two principal dialectal divisions exist, Geg or Northern, and Tosk or Southern, which are more or less mutually intelligible. . . .
>
> "In the course of Albanian history many foreign influences have come to play their part in making the language what it is today. Although the essential structure of the language, and a fair share of the words in common use are of native origin, the vocabulary has been borrowed from outside sources to a far greater extent even than is the case of English. In 1891 Gustav Meyer stated in his etymological dictionary that of 5,140 root-words only 400 were of the original Albanian stock, that 1,420 were Romance, 540 Slavonic, 1,180 Turkish, 840 Greek, and over 700 indeterminable. Later scholars, however, have proved that a considerably larger proportion of words are truly Albanian."

[177]

181 Such careful observers of material culture as Nopcsa and Haberlandt have concluded that *the Ghegs*, in their tools, agricultural implements, furniture, costumes, and most other technological details *are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age.*

174 A single conclusion is therefore as legitimate as it is obvious. *The mountains of Ghegnia were first effectively populated during the middle centuries of the first millennium before Christ.* The pioneers who took over this rugged landscape were Illyrians, whose central territory lay to the northwest. Since they had already lived in Bosnia and Montenegro, they were already adjusted to life in this environment.

172 Fortunately, the materials excavated at Glasinac,[7] the type site of the Illyrian Hallstatt culture, include skeletons as well as artifacts. The date of this cemetery is between 1000 and 500 B.C. The collection of 38 crania shows clearly that the Illyrians were not a homogeneous people in the racial sense. The majority of the skulls are long headed, and represent at least 2 contemporary varieties of Nordic. This is not surprising since most of the Iron Age

[See Cat. 116, p. 40 b--Analyst]

[6] Lowman, 1932, p. 271.

795 Despite its centuries in Ghegnia, Catholicism
182 has failed to change many of the customs of the mountaineers, such as the *fis* system with cross-cousin marriage, trial marriage, the levirate, blood brotherhood, and the swearing of virginity. The reason is of course that the needs which these customs fill have not been eliminated. The Moslem faith permits them and thus has become more popular. Islam is deemed the more fashionable and more civilized religion. The people of the towns, rich men, army officers, and other sophisticates are usually Moslems. Most Catholics are poor. This attitude is of course a hold-over from the period of Turkish domination. Many Albanians admired the Turks. Many spoke Turkish by preference. I recall once riding along a lane in Zadrima with my interpreter, Mr. Frasheri, who reprimanded 2 old harvesters whom we passed for talking Turkish together. Bishop Fan Noli suggests that they may have been Turkish-speaking refugees from the towns of Prizren, Peia, or Podgoritza.

[191]

795 There is a certain dietary difference between
262 Catholics and Moslems. The former eat pork,
273 especially in the wintertime. The Moslems curl up their nostrils and gag at the smell of pork, and will not enter a room where it is cooking. In its place they use much mutton fat in their cooking. Catholics drink wine when they can get it; Moslems care for their alcoholic needs with *raki*. These differences are probably of no biological importance, as far as the growth and development of the individual are concerned, but they do serve to intensify the mutual antipathy of the 2 religious groups and inhibit a genetic interchange.

582 In Lura, in a population not exceeding a few
178 hundred individuals, Catholics and Moslems
795 intermarry. In a single household the father may be Catholic, the mother Moslem, and the children will choose their own religions. This is the only place in Ghegnia where this happens. Lura is in process of change from Catholicism to Islam. As the latter gains ground, mixed households are found. The government of Ahmed Zog made much of this isolated situation, urging other Albanians to follow the example of the Lurans in the interests of national unity.

178 Various stages in this process of shifting are
795 found in different tribes and *bairaks*. In Mer-

782 elders. Even if they are persuaded to swear on the cross, they will not forego the stone, which is the symbol which gives their oath
787 validity. They are also great believers in omens, and in divination. Men versed in this skill read the future by observing the sternal bones of fowl and the scapulae of sheep. I have witnessed a performance of the latter. The bone has its special divisions, each of which has meaning. On the sheep's scapula the joint socket is the house, and its depth or shallowness indicates whether the house will be empty or full of wealth. This can be used to predict success or failure of crops. The ridge on the blade shows whether or not flocks will multiply. Small holes on the blade are cradles, and the diviner can tell how close to the family, i.e., the "house," the birth will be by the distance from the socket. When you hold the blade up to the firelight or lamp, the shape and position of the marrow will tell where and when there will be fighting. Opaque white spots mean death, and their position indicates whether they will be within or without the household of the enquirer.

182 All of these rituals are concerned with the
788 maintenance of equilibrium in Gheg society. Oaths give authority to agreements, and cannot be broken until a crisis arrives which is stronger than that which the oath-breaking will produce. By clever use of the divining bones, a knowledgeable man can evaluate the state of affairs in his neighborhood, and give warnings; he can also precipitate decisions from wavering allies, for if he is a diviner of reputation, his words will be believed. Very often what he predicts will come true.

Special ritual routines common to members of both official religions restore equilibrium after the crises of birth, marriage, and death. All of these rituals which reinforce their social habits are of much greater importance to the Ghegs than the rites of church or mosque, which are not as well adjusted to this partic-
671 ular form of society. Another such mechanism is traditional law, codified and memorized as the Law of Lek Dukagin, which expresses the mountain attitude toward marriage and the selection of wives, and toward the blood feud. It serves to crystallize forms of behavior and inhibit change in those who are trained from childhood to believe in its infallible authority.

[See cat 116, pp. 37a-b - Anal yst]

-37b

533 Still another mechanism[1] is that of art, ex-
182 pressed chiefly in singing to the *oud*, or *gusle*,
[534] as it is more familiarly known to outsiders. Singing hour after hour to the accompaniment of this one-stringed instrument, and sometimes throughout the night, warriors recount the deeds of their ancestors, and even of their contemporaries. By using traditional verse forms and a stereotyped vocabulary they can compose new epics as they sing, and recite old ones verbatim. Like illiterate bards elsewhere, they have prodigious memories. *Gusle*-singing stirs the mountaineer to action as surely as bagpipe music fires the Highland Scot, thus rousing men to heroic deeds for which they may later pay dearly. It is a part of the whole com-

1 [for maintaining equilibrium in Gheg society -- Analyst]

182 533 plex of feuding, like that other and minor art form, the embroidered and crocheted decorations on the mountaineer's clothing by which he announces defiantly from the limit of eyesight his exact familial and political affiliation.

All of these cultural mechanisms[1] belong to Moslems and Catholics without distinction. They make up by far the greater part of the emotional life of the people, and it is no wonder that Albanians say that they are not "religious." These customs are psychological means of reinforcing the habits of behavior by which the mountain people maintain their adjustment to their environment, and as such are pertinent to our present study.

[1] [see cat. 11b, pp. 37a-38b -- Analyst]

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9). The swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6).
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8). Plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
● 183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
000 forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,

[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

should strike the next man and the blow would entail a fight and 671
blood. Women should walk the length of a distaff apart—they usually spin as they go—lest a blow given should draw their men into a fight.

Neither man nor woman must pass between two persons who have 671
just been speaking together, for (? in some occult manner) this will 576
cause them to quarrel. So strong is this belief that once in a small hut a woman gripped me by the shoulder, dragged me out, and squeezed herself between me and the wall in order to avoid passing between me and Marko, where there was plenty of room. Lek, I was told, had so ordained. I like to think that he did his best by means of house-burning and fines to diminish the very ancient custom of "blood," and that he did not deserve the Pope's excommunication.

As we have seen, house-burning and fine are the only punishments 681
under the Canon. Nevertheless, by decree of the council of the whole 627
tribe the death penalty can be inflicted. In February 1912 an amazing case of wholesale justice was reported to me which had recently taken place in Mirdita. A certain family of the Fandi bairak had long been notorious for evil-doing—robbing, shooting, and being a pest to the tribe. A gathering of all the heads condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lay in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off; and on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was but five and another but twelve years old. I protested against thus killing children who must be innocent and was told: [827]
"It was bad blood and must not be further propagated." Such was the belief in heredity that it was proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant, lest she should bear a male and so renew the evil. Three shots which missed were fired at her; she rushed to a man and [671]
called on him to protect her. He took her under his besa and she was spared.

A case of private "justice," though it took place in South Albania 681
at Postenani, a small isolated village, and so is not connected with the 183
Canon of Lek, is so singular that it should be recorded. I stayed some days at the village and, when leaving, a crowd gathered to see me start. When we were on the way my guide asked if I had noticed a woman who had stood near the door; I had not. He said it was a pity, as she was a very brave woman and had saved her husband. They owned a house and some land; a child was born to them, and all went well till her husband's brother arrived. He was a bad man, and demoralized the village, not only by starting gambling with card games, but by [525]
drinking and teaching very vicious practices to the youth. The woman with dismay saw her husband taken with the gambling craze, playing away his goods, and nearing ruin. Then the child was ill. She prayed her husband to send for a doctor; but the nearest was a whole day's

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

681 ride distant, and he replied it would cost too much. The child died.
183 The woman then became desperate, and to save her husband she killed her brother-in-law. I asked, "Did she shoot him herself?" "No, she
627 paid a Turk to waylay him on his way to market." The whole village was glad to be rid of him. Everyone knew she had done it. "But what did her husband say?" "At first he was angry, but he soon saw it was for the best. Now they live happily, but God has not given them another child." "Could he not have been handed over to justice instead of being shot?" "No, he was rich and would have bribed the Turkish authorities, and have been let off and been worse than ever." "Did not the Turkish authorities interfere about the murder?" "No, why should they? It was within the family, and all agreed it was right. She saved not only her husband but the whole village, and was a very brave woman."

3. Montenegro

The first written Code of Laws was drawn up for Montenegro by Vladika Petar I in 1796.

An examination of this Code shows that it is meant to deal with a state of affairs resembling that with which the Canon of Lek Dukagin deals, and is a step in advance. All early accounts of Montenegro show the tribes ceaselessly "in blood" with each other, and the rules and customs identical in most respects with those of the Dukagini. Nor is this surprising, for our examination of the Montenegrin tribes has shown that many are of Vlah and Albanian origin, and that the Montenegrin is not so much a Serb as a Serbized descendant of the older inhabitants.

Vladan Georgevitch, in *Europa i Crnagora* (Belgrade, 1912), gives many documents which show this resemblance of the customs of Montenegro to those of the Dukagini. From that of the Russian, Putchkov, dated March 21, 1760, we learn that the then Vladika Vasili was afraid of his own people and kept near Putchkov as a protection. This shows that in Montenegro, as in Albania, a man could not be shot if with a guest. "The people," he said, "are wild, and without great trouble no order could be made among them, for they recognized no right and knew no law. If any does harm to another, blood is at once taken, and the murderer flies to another district, where he is safe from punishment. Thus a Popovitch of Tzrmnitza Nahia killed a neighbour and, leaving wife and children, fled to Cetinje. They 'destroyed' his house—that is, they pulled off the thatch and pulled out a few stones." He reports that he saw many such houses. "If the murderer is of a powerful house he stays at home, and 'the house' wages war with that of the murdered man till peace is arranged by the headmen or the

[P77-120 blank]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

583
577 and ask the girl. The usual answer was that they were too modest. The suggestion seemed to be thought indecent.

581 The fact that both in Montenegro and Albania a word of Turkish
152 origin is used commonly for "to make love" (Montenegrin and Bosnian, "ashikovati"; Albanian, "ashik," lover—"ashari," love) suggests that love-making played little or no part in the marriages of both lands. I heard that the son of an Austrian mother and an Albanian father was betrothed and asked his mother if he was much in love. "O dear, no!" she cried. "Not in the least; he is quite Albanian!"

183 One case only I met in which—perhaps for the first time—a betrothal
583 was broken and the girl left free to marry. She was the niece of Mgr. Premi Dochi, mitred abbot of the Mirdites, a very remarkable man, whose death during the war was an immense loss to Albania.

I passed the night at her father's house. The girl sat sullen and glowering in a corner like a wild cat at bay. No one spoke to her. I asked what was the matter. She had refused to be sent to her betrothed. Her father was furious. Only the abbot's intervention had saved her. He talked the young man into admitting that it was useless to marry a girl who hated him and would probably run away, when another more amenable could be found, and got him to swear that no blood-
581 vengeance should be taken if the girl married another. But the father, enraged, declared often and loudly, "A girl marries to please her house and not for herself"; and rated her till I was sorry I had asked. Awe of the abbot alone had made him yield.

585 *Marriage Ceremonies.*—When the wedding-day is fixed the male relatives of the bridegroom go to fetch the bride. The bridegroom usually does not go. As the tribes are exogamous the distance may be considerable. Sometimes the men of the bride's family take her to a spot half-way and hand her over there. Sometimes she is fetched from her father's house. Moslem girls are always accompanied by one or two female relatives. Christian girls usually are, if the journey is a long one; but not always. In no case does the mother go.

Marriage among the Christians is according to the rites of the Catholic Church.

I was never at a mountain wedding, but was told some local ceremonies. In Klementi the bride, on coming to her husband's home, must throw an apple over the roof, and is given some corn. This recalls the confarreatio of the Romans. She is then led three times round the hearth. All through the mountains I gathered that a bride must enter the house with her right foot first and carry in a male child with her. On marriage the hair of the woman is dyed black and dressed differently from that of a virgin. There are various modes, according to district. In the Maltsia e Madhe the head is shaved in front and over the temples,

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

583 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian
684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he
183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. The Levirate

587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the
688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Maltsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose
[628] between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

[577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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352 fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in,
[415 a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper
373 *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two
412] rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes,
251 which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to
353 preserve them. The other serves as general living and
372 sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the
floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof.
241 Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit
249 and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a
high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green,
361 in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor,
243 where the grain is trodden out by horses.

142 The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

[539]

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

183 They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly courageous.

628 Anarchy Knows no prisons—the most fundamental of social institutions — so that the only punishment inflicted among the tribesmen was death. Here lay the origin of the blood feud; the scourge of life in the mountains and a practice of the deepest social significance. In a community, any crime is an offence against society as a whole, and the appropriate penalties are prescribed in accordance with the law. Under anarchy, however, as in international relations, the importance of a crime lies less in its intrinsic character than in the challenge which it represents to the victim's prestige. All crimes, therefore, be they murder, rape, theft, or merely insult, are of equal weight; and the consideration which a man will receive from his fellows depends upon the speed and violence with which he avenges a wrong. Prestige, however, can only suffer from a public slight; and it was said among the Albanians that though a rough word in company would often lead to a feud of years, a blow unseen by third parties might well be forgotten.

The same considerations of prestige which lay at the root of the blood feuds were the cause of their persistence. The rights and wrongs of a particular vendetta might arouse little interest, but the manner of its prosecution was the public test of the power of the clans concerned. On rare occasions the aggressors might confess their guilt and the aggrieved forgo their pound of flesh for an indemnity in cash or kind. Otherwise the blood feud would be waged, perhaps without passion and with many truces, but relentlessly, sometimes even for generations, until both sides to the dispute were agreed that enough blood had flowed for the account to be closed with honour. The blood feuds were thus both an effect of anarchy, and, by the divisions which they multiplied among the mountaineers, a cause of its perpetuation. To such an extent, indeed, did they dominate the daily life of the Albanians — and naturally, for few things occupy a man's mind so effectively as the fear of sudden death — that, in most issues which arose among them, they took sides according to their feuds rather than their opinions.

183 Travellers returning from Albania have been wont to dwell on the famous code of honour, the Law of Lek, which is said to prescribe the rules of the blood feud and the general manners

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

of the mountaineers. This ancient code of conduct has undoubtedly exercised a restraining influence on the clansmen and helped to soften the grim realities of anarchy. None the less it was our experience that, like other codes of chivalry and laws of war, it was honoured as much in the breach as in the observance. This was perhaps a recent development, born of the crisis of the times or of the influence of Western ideas unaccompanied by Western conditions. Be this as it may, what most impressed us in the way of life of the Albanians was not the stray survivals of their ancient customs but the extent to which they lived without a law at all.

If anarchy was the way, poverty was the standard of their lives. They subsisted mainly from their flocks and upon maize, grown wherever the valleys offered soil for their wooden ploughs to scratch, or traded in the towns against hides and dairy produce. Their fare was simple; their clothing homespun; the forests gave them fuel, and, with the rocks of the mountain, their building materials. They lived, Turkish fashion, on the ground, and, beyond a few rugs, mattresses, and cooking utensils, required no other furniture or amenities. Tobacco, salt, sugar, and coffee, were their luxuries; weapons their chief expenditure and pride.

But besides this pastoral economy there was another source of wealth from which the mountaineers, and especially the chief men among them, drew their strength. Bad communications made coercion difficult, but the poverty of the clans made the power of money great. Elsewhere this might have been of no great moment, but in the Balkans the clashing interests of the Powers afforded frequent opportunities for holding the Central Government to ransom, or indulging in mercenary enterprise on behalf of the foreigner. Such enterprise had ever been a time-honoured means of livelihood among the Albanians; and, if the Eastern Question had caused the ruin of their merchants, it had also created boom conditions for their mercenaries. Such indeed had been the influx of gold and arms into the mountains in the past hundred years that it was perhaps not too much to say that the whole economy and strength of many of the clans had become dependent on subsidies received for "political

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

angry and said: 'Do you dead dogs dare threaten the Roman realm? I will shave off those locks of yours and then cut off your heads.' H 302 171 175

"He then imprisoned them for six months and released them terrified, and for some time the Avars submitted to Rome and gave no trouble."

The Nemanja kings, as seen on the frescoes at Dechani, all wore the moustache. Their beards are very small. The hair of the head is completely hidden by the crown.

To-day in the Balkans the beard is worn almost solely by the Orthodox priesthood and the Moslem dervishes and hodjas. Thus the holy men of both faiths observe the hair taboo. B 302

Laymen in all parts where the modern fashion of clean-shaving has not penetrated always wear the moustache. Perhaps vague memories of the days when the hair was burnt as ultimate disgrace haunt the mind, for the clean-shaven man, I found, was a creature condemned and despised. M A 302 186

In Krsto's hut I mentioned that my brother was clean-shaven, and the company, abashed, stared at their toes and were speechless. Then someone, deeply shocked, said: "No noble family will give him a wife." And kind old Pope Gjuro, wishing to be polite, said that such things might be done in London, but in Montenegro it was better not to speak of them. Whereupon the repulsive subject was dropped.

In both Albania and Montenegro a hairless man is called by the Turkish word "Chosé." Bald heads in both lands are very rare. I never saw more than a slight thinning on the top. A really bald, shining head is thought an awful thing. We were once discussing the American regulations for emigrants. A Montenegrin who had been to America angrily denounced the injustice of the health inspectors at the landing-place. "I myself," he cried, "saw them allow a man with no hair on the top of his head—a most horrible sight—to pass. And they stopped a poor boy who had only a few little bare spots on his head and said he was diseased!" M A 183 554 186 ●

In old Serbian ballads the hero's moustache is his glory. Mighty fine were these warriors. H 538 554 302

And there came five horsemen clad in black;
At their head rode a hero upon a raven steed.
His black moustachios reached below his shoulders
And hung to the pistols in his sash.
His breastplate ("toké") glittered through his moustachios
As doth the moon when fifteen days old
Shine through the branches of a fir-tree.
Lo and behold, O my brother Mujo!
Next to them come three horsemen
Clad in white cloth and riding upon greys.
At their head is a warrior on a grey steed,
And his fair moustachios reach to his shoulders, etc.

113, 183, 563 Albania EG1

[For data on beliefs and customs relative to baptism of Moslems in Albania, see 9: Filipovich, EF1 Yugoslavia, category 116, pp. 4-5.]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

173 retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd 539 gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they [465] settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the 162 Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by 562 the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women 577 enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sun- 796 day, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, 788 who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after 762 partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucha- 577 rist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the 627 tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, 583 which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the 184 extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

583 principal inhabitants of Orosh have all been acquired
184 in this way, and far from resenting or being ashamed of the circumstance, they are, on the contrary, proud of it, and their relatives accept the situation on payment of the usual dowry. And although they may not embrace with enthusiasm the faith into which they are generally baptised as a preliminary to marriage, they scrupulously observe its external forms, are much devoted to their husbands, proud of their reputation, and jealous of their honour, which, should occasion require, they are ready either to defend or avenge.

428 Among these exogamous tribes, succession is, as a
611 rule, in the male line. If, however, there are no surviving sons, and a daughter chooses to remain single, she may enjoy the usufruct of her father's property, which on her death reverts to her nearest male relatives. If a man die childless his property is divided among his male relatives, who pay to his widow a pension, she remaining in his house or returning to her friends as she pleases, and retaining all that she has received from her parents either before or after her marriage.

567 As with the Osmanlis, the children by slaves of
428 Moslem Albanians have an equal right with those of free mothers to succeed to the estate of their father.[1]

587 If the deceased husband has an unmarried brother, the latter has a right to marry the widow with or without her consent. On the wedding-day she receives from him the present of an ox, or its equivalent, four goats.

[1] The father of Ali Pasha, of Ioannina, was the son of a slave.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
.EG1 Albania EG1

the mountains and of the plains, enjoy, as has been seen, much greater liberty than their sisters of the towns. With the exception of the Miridites, social intercourse with members of the other sex is not denied to them, and, like the Greek and Vlach maidens, they tend the flocks on the hills, fetch water from the fountain, and lead a life generally of healthy industry.

369
562
[184]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER IX.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

562 The domestic usages of the Albanians vary slightly,
● 184 according to locality and religion, but are, in their main features, identical. And though the customs surrounding such family ceremonies as births, marriages, and deaths belong naturally more to the domain of women than of men, the latter are not less scrupulous in the fulfilment of the part in these observances which fall to their share.

156 Tribal and family pride being, as has been already
181 seen, the leading feature of Albanian character, the desire of offspring, and especially male offspring, is naturally very strong with them. A childless man
[554] is designated by an expression which signifies "without a root," and is looked upon as a most unfortunate
[754] being. The wish, "May you be childless!" is also considered the most weighty curse that can be launched against a man by his enemy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the dearest wish of every woman's heart is consequently to be the mother of a numerous family of boys, both for the sake of the future prosperity of the tribe and for the present social consideration which their birth ensures to her.
843 When the fact that an Albanian woman is about to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

583 certain amount of plenishing, the bridegroom supplying the rest.

585 184 With the exception of the nuptial benediction, the marriage customs of the Christian and Moslem-Albanians are similar, and there is very little difference in the songs by which they are accom-
[584] panied. Among the Moslems the betrothal takes place in the presence of the Kadi. This functionary receives the declaration of mutual consent, made on the part of the maiden by her natural guardians, who undertake to prove it by the mouth of two Moslem witnesses. After a prayer for the benediction of Allah on the union, a contract is drawn up enumerating the articles to be given to the bride by her parents, and stipulating the sum to be paid to her by the husband in the event of his divorcing her. To this document the Kadi and the witnesses affix their seals, and this ceremony constitutes the legal marriage.

As with the Osmanlis, the bride does not, however, go to her husband's house until the wedding festivities have taken place, the interval ranging in duration from a few weeks to a year, according to the convenience of the bridegroom's family. As the ceremonies observed in Epirus present so many points of similarity with those of the Greeks,[1] I will here describe only those belonging to Upper Albania which present features peculiar to themselves.

The festivities invariably begin on a Thursday with the sending of the *dunti* by the bridegroom. This is the decorated box containing the presents to the bride of various articles of dress and ornament,

[1] Vol. i. chap. iii.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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including boots and shoes of yellow leather em- 585
broidered with gold, together with a loaf of sugar, [184]
some coffee, and other customary trifles. The *dunti* is carried by two boys belonging to the bridegroom's family, both of whose parents must be living. As they arrive at the house the women and girls sing a song beginning :

[539]

> O flaxen one, far whiter
> Than foam on Drin's wave-crest,
> —— sends to thee the *dunti*,
> All in a golden chest.

All the members of the family receive the boys at the foot of the staircase with every mark of respect, and conduct them to the reception-room. As the *dunti* is placed on a coffer, all present cry, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!) The envoys are seated in the place of honour, while all the family of the bride remain standing; refreshments, consisting of liqueurs and bonbons, are served twice, complimentary speeches are exchanged, and after about an hour of polite attentions, the boys depart. On the same day a youth is despatched by the bridegroom's parents to invite the guests for the following Monday. The formula he makes use of [574] is—"So-and-so is to be married, and begs you to come next Monday to the wedding with all your family, or, if you prefer it, let the head of the family come alone." At each house he receives in return for his invitation a present of a few piastres. The number of persons invited by each family is fixed according to the degree of kinship or friendship existing between them and the bridegroom's family.

The bride's family send out their invitations in the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

hear him. He offers her sweets which have been left 585
there purposely, but still she heeds him not. This comedy may, if the bridegroom be timid and the bride reserved, be prolonged until the third evening after the marriage, in which case the courage and virtue of the bride are extolled by the women in song. On the third evening, however, custom requires the bride to respond to her husband's advances. On the three days following the wedding the bride, dressed as before, stands like a statue in the reception-room to receive the women visitors who flock to the house in order to inspect her.

The ceremonies attending the nuptials of the [369]
mountain people are almost precisely similar to those customary in the towns, with the exception that the bride is not veiled when conducted to her husband's home. A romantic reserve, however, surrounds the 593
interviews between the young couple, who, especially 831
if the husband be one of a numerous family and have no private apartments, can only meet in secret until they have children of their own. The mountaineers cherish this custom, which, they contend, by surrounding with a halo of romance and mystery the relations of the young couple, tends to keep their love for each 585
other fresh and warm. The wedding processions of the 184
Moslems and Christians are only to be distinguished by the more picturesque effect of those of the former. Many of the company, dressed in rich apparel glitter- [291]
ing with gold embroidery, accompany the bride on [531]
horseback, indulging as they go, whenever they arrive at a spot sufficiently spacious, in the manly old Os- [524]
manli game of throwing the *djerid*, or spear. Pistols

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 are fired incessantly, and the strains of wild music
184 echoing from the surrounding hills add to the animation of the scene.

The wedding ceremonies observed in Southern Albania, in so far as they differ from those of the Northern Albanians, resemble very closely the Greek country customs described in the preceding volume.[1]

764 The funeral observances of the Albanians also re-
171 semble in some degree those of the Greeks. Family ties are equally strong in both races, and the death of a relative is always a source of poignant grief to the
763 survivors. The demonstrations of sorrow are loudest and most heartrending when a man or woman dies in the prime of life. When he is believed to be at the point of death, the women watching round him give utterance to frightfully piercing cries and shrieks, upon hearing which the friends hasten to the house of mourning in order to take part in the death chorus. When the last breath is drawn, all the near female relatives of the deceased who are not past middle age —wife, sisters, sisters-in-law, and daughters—testify their grief by beating their breasts, scratching their faces until the blood flows, and tearing out or cutting off their hair. In their utter abandonment of sorrow they also beat their heads against the walls of the room, calling wildly upon the deceased by his or her name, often exhausting themselves to such a degree as to lose for the time the use of their voices. With the weaker among them these frenzies of sorrow gene-

[1] Chapter iii. An account of these ceremonies may be found in Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, and Dozon, *Contes Albanais*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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764 into it, and even the men are frequently heard to sob aloud. As soon as it is filled up, however, a sudden silence prevails, for now the *Kokiete*, the Greek [262] Kólyva (Κόλυβα)[1] is handed round, and it is accounted sinful to mourn whilst eating it. As each person takes a handful of this funeral dish, he says, "May he (or she) be forgiven."

765 On this and the two following days, the house of mourning is filled with a succession of condoling friends, who bring with them all the food necessary [252] for the family, for no cooking is done in it during this period. Others send presents of wine or spirits, the bearer of which delivers them with the words: "May I have come for your good." On the third day, the wailing at the grave is repeated, and continued in the house of mourning for forty days, being performed either early on the morning of each day, or on Sundays and feast days only, by the women of the house and those who visit them for this purpose.

[184] With members of the Orthodox Church it is customary, as among the Greeks, to exhume the bones at the end of three years. Moslems, however, have a great dislike to disturbing a dead body in any way.

765 761 The grief of relatives is, as a rule, less demonstrative for the death of a woman; and for a man well stricken in years, no wailing takes place. In the latter case, the deceased has usually set aside one or more sheep to be sacrificed on his death as an atonement for his sins, the flesh of which serves for the funeral feast. At this feast, the guests drink "to

[1] See description of this funeral dish, vol. i. p. 99.

[Analyst's note: Kólyva is made of flour, boiled wheat, pomegranates, raisins, nuts, and spices.]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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not been unfrequent even in the present century, and the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, makes it probable that in course of time the country may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians have among the Turks the reputation of being but indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of the Albanians who call themselves members of the Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ; Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary of the departure of her image from the Latin church in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

known in European history by his Turkish name 795
of Iskander Bey Scanderbeg—who successfully revolted against Turkey and maintained Albanian independence for twenty-five years, defeating the Turks in thirteen great battles and innumerable small ones. After his death in 1467 [197]
some of the chiefs of the central mountain tribes, exhausted by a quarter century of war and confronting fresh Turkish armies, purchased their actual independence by a verbal submission and became nominally Mohammedan. When the Bechtaski sect—which may roughly be said to bear the relation to Islam that the Methodist bears to the Church of Rome—rose in Turkey, it found its most fertile ground among these Mohammedan Albanians. The northern mountain tribes have always remained Roman Catholic, and southern Albania Greek Catholic.

None of these creeds, however, have affected 771
national unity—Albania is the only Balkan 184
country in which religion and nationality are not synonymous—and all of them are rooted shallowly above the old religion of Albanians, which is the formless belief in a Great Unknown from which sprang the gods and mythology of ancient Greece. In southern Albania you will still hear the people taking oath *per kete djelle eghe per kete hene* (by the power of the sun and the moon). You will still hear them calling upon Zeus—Zaa or Zee, the Voice—and upon Athena—E Thana, The Intelligence. In the north, the Catholic mountaineer greets the rising sun with the sign

[See cat. 795, pp. [293] 292-293 --Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

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of the cross, and hears in his forests the voices of the ora. This vague religion is unconscious. The Albanian himself does not recognize it, but it is the resisting subsoil which has prevented acknowledged religions from taking deep root. Families of all religions freely intermarry; Mohammedan women are unveiled, or Catholic women veiled, according to the fashion of their town; in the mountains neither are veiled. In Guri-Bardhe, a village of the Mati known as being fanatically Mohammedan, the women were quite willing to pose for photographs, and Limoni, the chief, was defying the local *hodji* by demanding a modern school; the *hodji* taught the children nothing worth while, he said. In the spring religious festivals—the two Easters and the fast of Ramazan—all Albanians in Tirana took part, and Mohammedan fezzes were thick in the midnight processions carrying Easter candles.

There has never been friction along the frontiers of the three religions. All Albanians united to resist the Romanizing and Germanizing influence of Catholicism, the attempt of Shiek ul Islam to cripple the Albanian language by a Turkish alphabet (a revolution was fought, and won, for the Latin alphabet in 1910), and the Hellenizing propaganda of certain Orthodox Churchmen.

But there is a real division in Albania. It lies between the Toshks, or southerners, and the Ghegs, who are the mountaineers. Men who have held their mountain fastnesses and main-

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

tained their independence for six centuries within 184
the Turkish Empire look with distrust and con- 578
tempt on the Toshks whose valleys have been flooded by every wave of invaders. The Toshks, who are the educated men of Albania, and the travelers, are equally contemptuous of the Ghegs, ignorant men unable to read or write. Nor do the Toshks admit that they cannot fight as well as the Ghegs. It was the Toshks in Sicily who fought with Garibaldi, the Toshks of Egypt who fought with Mehmet Ali; the Albanian soldiers in Russia and Rumania and Turkey are Toshk; the 50,000 Albanians in the United States are Toshk, and fought well with the Americans in France. Hundreds of them have returned to spread American ideas through the south; there are Toshk villages in which American English is spoken by nearly every child. Men from these villagers led the forces that drove the Italians from Valona in 1920. Indeed, say the Toshks, they can fight as well as Ghegs. But it is not fighting that Albania needs.

One of the errors about Albania, to which I 133
fear my descriptions may contribute is the belief that the country is entirely mountainous. This is true of the northern part, adjoining Montenegro. Farther south the ranges are like the partitions in a house; steep, high, almost impassable, they surround valleys and plateaus of rich level land, much of it irrigated. The 132
climate of the valleys is semitropical; rice, cot- 241
ton, tobacco, citrus fruits, figs, and pomegranates

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

comed Turkish protection against the Slavs and Greeks who 642
threatened them on every side. It resulted rather from the jealousies of the Powers; and it was their representatives who determined the territories of the new state with such singular disregard for economic and ethnological considerations that they left as many Albanians outside the boundaries of Albania as within them.

The total number of Albanians has been generally com- [162]
puted at some two millions. Of these, upwards of one million lived within the frontiers which were proposed by the Ambassadors' Conference in 1913, ratified in 1926, and once more restored in 1945. Of the remainder, more than six hundred thousand inhabited the Kossovo, while the others were scattered in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Epirus. The amputa- [243]
tion of the Kossovo was a heavy loss to the new state; for the region was the natural granary of the northern provinces, and the standard of living of the Ghegs rose or fell according as they were allowed or denied free access to it.

The economic and social structure of the Ghegs, or Northern 184
Albanians, was one of tribal anarchy, save in the coastal plain 621
and the Kossovo, where there were feudal estates. Islam and [162]
Roman Catholicism were the accepted religions: the Moslems inhabiting Central and North-eastern Albania with the Kossovo, the Catholics Mirdita and the inaccessible ranges of the north-west. A way of life near to the tribal system of the Ghegs still survived in the mountains of Southern Albania, but the Tosk tribes had never wholly recovered from the repressions of Ali the Lion and had increasingly disintegrated into communities of landowning peasants. The broad plains of the South, however, remained divided into feudal estates, owned by an Ottomanised ruling class and worked in part by an Orthodox Christian peasantry. Thus, while the distinction between Moslems and Catholics was one of geography and history, the Catholics being those Albanians whom the Turks had never subdued, that between Moslems and Orthodox was one rather of class and of cash.

It was scarcely to be expected that a conference of ambassa- 578
dors would quickly set up a strong state among a people divided 642

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 and Yugoslavia. The condition of their country was one of relative prosperity; for the Italian occupation had enriched the people, while the recovery of the Kossovo had made supplies of food plentiful and cheap. At the same time the endemic poverty of the Albanians was such that, having little to lose and small hope of acquiring wealth by lawful means, they welcomed [181] disorder whenever it was attended by opportunities of plunder. To this natural lawlessness occasioned by their poverty was added a proud people's impatience of foreign rule. If the Italians had been less in evidence, their occupation might have been more easily tolerated. As it was, the Albanians bitterly resented the intrusions into their daily lives of the ubiquitous *carabinieri*, whose efforts to enforce order among a people accustomed to anarchy were as unpopular as they were vain.

Besides these general causes of discontent, the one inherent in the circumstances of the Albanians, the other in the character of their conquerors, there were other influences making for unrest of a more local, if no less important, application. In [184] North Albania the mercenary factor in the economy of the tribes made revolt a constant possibility. So rugged indeed was their region, and so complete the absence of social or political inhibitions among them, that the Ghegs could always be provoked to insurrection whenever the expectations of victory or gain appeared commensurate to the risks involved. In South Albania the causes of discontent were of a more usual character and sprang from the naturally conflicting interests of the landless peasants and the *Beys* whose estates they worked. The wretched lot of the Moslem peasantry might be somewhat alleviated by the sense of belonging to the same community as their masters; but the religious distinction which separated the Orthodox *rayah* from the Islamised landowners only served to increase their class consciousness. These Orthodox peasants had long been ripe for revolt; and indeed Fan Noli had sought to exploit their discontent in the revolution of 1924. Now, however, for the first time they found effective leaders in the youth of the towns.

177 668 The spread of Italian influence during the reign of King Zog had encouraged the growth of a new class of officials and

10; Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Assemblies of tribe or village watched above all over their honour. Sometimes their interpretation of honour took strange lines. Father Gjeçov gives the following story from the Mirditë tribe of Spaç. The sister of a villager of Gomsiqe was married to a villager of Dush in the same tribe. It happened that on one occasion when she came to pay a visit to her brother she took ill and died. He and his friends laid her on a bier and carried her, not to their own cemetery, but to her husband's house in Dush, presumably to avoid the expense of burying her. When the village heard what they had done, they met in General Assembly, and after carefully appraising the dishonour brought on Gomsiqe by such a public exhibition of meanness, fined the man a cow. This they divided into fifteen portions, which they distributed among the fifteen houses of the village. The fine was justice at its most precise. If the man had buried his sister as he should have done, the funeral feast would have cost him a cow. The event took place about 1903.

Another type of meanness had a similar end. About 1872 a villager of Urë e Shtrejtë in the tribe of Drisht happened to call on a neighbour about midday and was kept for dinner. As they finished, his host scraped his plate. The visitor afterwards complained to the village of the disgrace brought on his own dinner-table by the host. The village met in General Assembly and fined the host 500 grosh for his meanness. According to the law 'a dinner-table is disgraced in a guest's eyes when the host wipes or licks the porringer or scrapes his plate'.

The smallest General Assemblies—those of brotherhoods and households—dealt with what were essentially family matters. They met perhaps to decide on expelling or even killing any hopeless member if his misdeeds were serious enough to threaten the whole brotherhood or household with wholesale punishment by the tribe. They considered the pros and cons of buying an extra bit of land.

Tribal government was entirely democratic—of the people, by the people and for the people, but it differed from tribe to tribe and from time to time, enough to prevent unity. As the tribes in general would not have accepted the law of any one of them as supreme, it was ultimately necessary for Albanian unity that tribal government should be superseded by a modern system evolved in, and exercised from, a capital.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was [582] too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 628 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

604 avenge or to be avenged by his maternal 'uncle', that is to say, the
*628 males in his mother's family. The two men belonged to different households, and if one attempted independently to avenge the other, he meddled in business that was no concern of his and so could only involve himself in a separate feud. The men of Shkrel in the Malësi e Madhe who felt so little duty towards their maternal 'uncle' that they would entertain his murderer were therefore within their rights. On the other hand, in central and east Albania—in Çermenikë, Dibër, Kurbin, Lumë and Martanesh—it was held that a man could not avenge his maternal 'uncle' but could be avenged by him, a law said in Kurbin to have been of Skanderbeg's making. As a corollary, if a native of these districts did avenge his maternal 'uncle', he plumed himself on the deed more than a nephew in the male line could have done; the latter, as a member of the dead family, could not escape the obligation and would not have been involved in a new feud as he, the outsider, had been.

The confused practice is locally explained as follows: A man could not avenge his maternal 'uncle' because he was the son of his mother and she as a woman had no rifle, presumably to hand on to him with all its offensive and defensive possibilities; the rifle he carried came to him as a member of his father's family. On the other hand, he could be avenged by his maternal 'uncle' for the same reason that the latter was entitled, when his 'sister's' daughter was married, to receive a 'maternal uncle's fee' at the time of the wedding and, if she was afterwards killed, to avenge her. For the maternal 'uncle' regarded his 'sister's' children as his own and as part of his own household; in Kurbin, indeed, a man owned a quarter share in his 'sister's' son. Further, since a woman could not carry a rifle, a 'sister' could not defend herself, and therefore, retained the right for herself and her children to be protected by her 'brother'. In Dibër, where rich and powerful men were so few that girls must often be given in marriage to men who were neither, this feeling that 'sisters' and their issue might require protection was pronounced.

*628 In south Albania, on the other hand, a man would both avenge
● 184 and be avenged by his maternal 'uncle'. A classic instance of the
[604] former process at Melesinë near Leskovik is commemorated in the song beginning:

> Melesinë on a hill,
> For his uncle fights a sister's son.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother. 628* 184 [611] [602]

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider. 628* [587] [768] [595]

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son 562 628*

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SECTION II.

CHAPTER VIII.

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Albania and Southern Yugoslavia. The Costumes worn by Men and Women.

After experiencing nearly five hundred years of Turkish rule it is not surprising to find that much of the costume in Albania and in southern Yugoslavia, which as far north as Pljevlja and Priboj was part of Turkey in Europe until 1913, if not actually Turkish in character shows very strong Turkish influence.

There is also much greater variety in the garments worn by the hill tribes and the peasants and the townsfolk, therefore in the description of those in the collection it has been found advisable to group specimens on some of the Plates so as to give an indication of a complete costume such, for example, as that of the Bulgarian woman from Monastir (Bitolj) (Plate IX), the Catholic woman from Scutari (Plate V) and the essential parts of a woman's dress from Zadrima (Plate X).

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Franz, Baron Nopcsa says that as early as 1912 international European dress had begun to be adopted, more particularly by the men, the young Catholics of Scutari deprecating the older styles, and wearing a combination of European garments with the older head-dress, the fez, and shoes. The younger women also have to some extent discarded the wide trousered skirt and the veil; therefore as all the specimens in this collection belong to the period previous to 1914 they represent native dress when it had its own individuality and, as such, will become increasingly valuable as records.

The following short lists of garments worn by women and men in some of the different districts have been compiled from the collection, and from the works of Baron Nopcsa* and Max Tilke†.

A Catholic woman from Scutari would wear:

(a) A shirt ("kmis") with sleeves, sometimes gathered at the wrist, either short in the body or of three-quarter length.

(b) A full-trousered skirt, often of striped silk, similar to the Moslem example on Plate VIe or "enormous baggy trousers formed of a very wide and much gathered skirt of imported, glazed, purple-black calico, the lower edge of which was sewn together leaving a hole at each corner for the feet. This was not really a trouser, as the legs were not divided, and was very cumbrous" (M.E.D.).

(c) Some form of girdle, either striped silk or a long strip of material with embroidered ends (Plate XVIF).

(d) A sleeveless coat ("giubba") with full skirt reaching to the knees (Plate XIII).

(e) A square of dark or light cloth as a head-dress, or a large net or gauze, embroidered veil, the latter being worn by married women only.

* Franz, Baron Nopcsa: "Albanien, Bauten und Geräte." Berlin, 1935.
† Max Tilke: "The Costume of Eastern Europe." London, 1938.

[Text continues on p. 36]

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG

XI

S A 184 586 563 Customs among the Moslems vary in different districts, and with different races; as for example, the Bosnians and the Albanians of Metohija. In villages near Peć a man can divorce his wife; but the wife may only run away. If she does she cannot remarry. In Turkish days the man could kill an offending wife; this extreme measure is now forbidden to him. In some parts of Bosnia, however, wives and husbands have equal rights of divorce, though in the Travnik villages only the man can divorce, especially if there is no child. In case of death, a husband can remarry [587] the day after if he likes; a woman must wait at least three months.

A 586 When a Bosnian couple decide on divorce, both must go before the *šerijakski sud*, in which court they had deposited a signed document at their marriage. As soon as the marriage papers have been discovered, the divorce is granted. The process may take two hours, eight days, or an indefinite period. Divorce costs nothing if the wife comes before the court of her own free will.

A 58 563 Albanian girls in Metohija are sometimes betrothed at birth, or at the end of their first year; and are usually married at fourteen or fifteen. The bridegroom is usually at least seventeen. But sometimes a betrothal lasts for years, until the bride-price has been collected. In Streoc, a village near Peć, a bride cost anything up to 10,000 dinars: after the crisis in 1931 her price fell to 5000 dinars.

S 595 563 S 587 563 Most of the Moslems I met had one wife. None but the rich, they said, could afford more than one, in Jugoslavia as elsewhere. Only in Bosnia did I find husbands with two wives, though one Moslem peasant, Šaban Lepi, living in a Travnik village, had considerably excelled Henry VIII in the number of his wives; he had nine—in succession. This experienced husband was a poor man in patched clothes, about fifty, with a ragged grey beard, who, when I saw him, was living with his ninth wife, Rasija, in a cottage of one room, with a wooden floor, and a kitchen with a mud floor. His first wife, Zuleha, during thirteen

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

ALBANIA EG1
BULGARIA EE1

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kačor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [84] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A [233]

A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 B [133] Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

In the front its centre is taken by a large open room, also disposed at right angles, whose roof is supported by wooden poles. Both ends of the front part of the house are occupied by brick-walled rooms. The construction of a stone-built staircase, leading to the upper floor, is characteristic of the construction mode. The staircase consists of two branches, it is internal and pierces through the floor of the veranda. Its steps are supported by two quarter-circle arches, and the landing by a semi-circular arch. If Scodra were not mentioned in the picture, we would imagine this house to be in Yannena or Arta (1). It is well known, that steps placed on arches are widely used at

Fig. 74. Old house of Scodra
(Nopresa, fig. 36)

the houses of Mystras; they remained in use at the popular houses of Greece until the beginning of 19th century, a characteristic element of Byzantine architecture which, according to An. Orlandos, «not only resulted in economy of space and building materials, but also gave lightness and grace to the staircase» (2).

The house of Middle Albania presents a similar evolution as that of Northern Albania despite the great difference in habits and customs displayed by the population on either side of the Genouses (3).

1) **A. Zachos,** Ἠπειρ. Χρονικά vol. 3 (1928) Table 5, 6 and 8 **An. Orlandos,** Ἀρχ. Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος vol. B. pp. 186, 189, 191 **Ang. Hadjimihali,** L'Art Populaire Grec, Athènes. 1937 p. 59 Fig. 24. Comp. **Ang. Hadjimihali,** Ἑλλ. Λαϊκή Τέχνη, Athens 1931 p. 175 Fig. 179 Ρουμλούκι, Τρίκερι, Ἰκαρία.

2) See **An. Orlandos,** Ἀρχεῖον Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος. Volume C. 1937 p. 60 and foll.

3) See **A. Keramopoullos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι γείτονες, p. 200.

641 829 ing; they had, indeed, no conception of what we mean by "government." When they say "government" they mean what we mean when we say, in a group, "Well, now we're all agreed, let's go on and do it."

185 Perolli spent that morning—and indeed most of his time in the few succeeding days that we were together—trying to explain the idea of a representative government to these simple communist people. And he told us that within six weeks the Albanian government would really come up into the mountains. The plan was to begin by sending into the tribes men from Tirana who could read and write; they would be connecting links between Tirana and the tribes, sitting in all the tribal councils, making reports to Tirana and explaining the wishes of the Tirana parliament to the mountaineers.

These men would bring in with them, of course, the private-property ideas of southern Albania (which is just changing from the feudal system to modern capitalism), and I felt a regret, purely romantic, perhaps, at the inevitable disappearance of this last surviving remnant of the Aryan primitive communism in which our own forefathers lived, and at the replacing of Lulash by men like our politicians. I am a conservative, even a reactionary; I should like to keep the Albanian mountains what they are. But no one can stop the changes in human affairs; the eternal swing of the pendulum goes on; we have shop stewards in England and a Plumb plan in

[Constitution]

642 All activities of the administrative organs of the state and courts must be based on law.

TITLE II
Social and Economic Measures

ARTICLE 5

471 In the People's Republic of Albania the means of production comprises all the wealth of the people owned by the state, the cooperative organizations of the people, and private individuals whether real or legal entities.

The wealth of the people includes mines and all other sub-surface resources, as well as waterways, natural wealth, forests, pasture land, airways, postal service, telegraph, telephone, radio stations, and banks.

[439] Foreign trade is under the control of the state.

ARTICLE 6

185 In order to protect the vital interests of the people and to improve the standard of living and in order to exploit all the economical forces the state undertakes to direct the economic life and development by an overall planned economy. The state, by controlling its economy and the cooperatives, exercises a general control over private economy as well.

[575] The state, in order to carry out the general economic plan, relies on the trade unions of the working men and civil servants, the cooperatives of the peasants, and other organizations of the laboring masses.

ARTICLE 7

471 The state regulates and directs by law the use of the collective wealth of the people. The collective wealth of the people is especially favored by the state.

ARTICLE 8

474 The state is especially interested in the cooperative movement of the people which it favors and assists.

ARTICLE 9

421 Private property and private initiative are guaranteed
[428] by the state. Private inheritance is guaranteed. Nobody may use private property to the detriment of the public.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared
765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally
582 with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to
614 lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North.
619 Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more
779 fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners
186 and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak
614 of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some
779 Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress.
582 When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra.*—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji.*—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma.*—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

614 Along with Ljuma were grouped Bruti, Mal i zi (the Black Mountain, not to be confounded with Montenegro), Rechi, Vlas, and some other small groups—all offshoots of older tribes, especially of Shala and the Fandi bairak of Mirdita.

DJAKOVA GROUP

614 1. *Gashi.*—All Moslem. About eight hundred houses. I did not
619 visit it.

779 2. *Hashi.*—A very large tribe of, it was said, about a thousand houses, almost all Moslem. They had never seen a woman in European dress, and were greatly amused at my arrival armed only with an umbrella. They occupy the Pestriku mountains, traditionally a former
186 home of the Mirdites. They were hospitable and allowed me to pass through their land, but were so unused to foreigners and so afraid that their admission might bring about foreign annexation that I asked no questions about origin or anything personal.

103 3. *Tropopoja.*—Three hundred Moslem houses—I did not visit.
173 The town of Djakova was founded by an offshoot of the Merturi-Berisha, and I was told derives its name from St. Jak (St. Giacomo), and that its founders were Christians. But when I visited it almost the whole of its large population was Moslem. There was a small Catholic church and school. Except for one hundred Serb families the town was solid Albanian. Two stocks claimed descent from the original founders: the Merturi and the Vula. The Vula was a large and powerful family, and I was told I could travel anywhere safely with a Vula as guide. I did so. He carried no weapon.

A large number of villages surround Djakova. These I found to be all Albanian, tracing descent from Berisha, Shala, Fandi, and other bairaks of Mirdita, as do many inhabitants of the town. None intermarry with their tribe of origin. The villages were mixed Catholic and Moslem. There were no Serb villages. The district is now part of Jugoslavia, and the population doubtless much changed by immigration and emigration.

IPEK GROUP

614 1. *Ipek* (now called Petch) and its villages.—A large Albanian
619 population of many stocks flowed down from the mountains when the
173 Serbs evacuated it in 1640 and reoccupied the lands formerly taken from their ancestors.

Some villages traced origin from Berisha and Shala. Dechani was populated by descendants of the ancient Shala stock (*q.v.*). This

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania.

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

SECTION VIII

SOME BALKAN TABOOS. IRON. HAIR

1. Propitiating the Stranger

In a land where magic is still practised it is not surprising to find some ancient taboos still alive.

Of the many things that mankind fears, the unknown is perhaps the most dreaded. Therefore in old days, when travellers were scarce, save on well-marked trade routes, the stranger was an object of great suspicion. Who could tell what evil spells he might work? Magic was then the great danger; to-day it is "politik," the mysterious power of secret diplomacy. The stranger is still suspect in lands much nearer home.

In those parts of the Balkans where the tribal system was still in force, the reluctance of the tribe to admit a stranger was still marked. Off the beaten track a guide was a necessity, not merely to show the way but to act as a passport and explain one. In many places the peasant believed firmly in hidden treasure, and every stranger was suspected of knowing the spell by which to acquire and run off with it. A reason for the stranger's presence is required.

Krsto Pejovitch, when I first went up-country with him, began to explain me so soon as we got off the highroad. He was showman, so to speak, and I was the monkey to his organ-grinding. On arrival at a han he would begin loudly: "She can read and write several languages. She can make pictures without a machine [i.e. draw]. She can sing. She can," etc. According to Krsto there were few things I could not do. Moreover, the Montenegrin proverb says: "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head," and as I wore my hair short, an uncommon thing in those days, the simple folk accepted the fact that my wits were necessarily long. Krsto would point this out, and add, in an aside, to bachelors: "She is not married, and God knows how rich."

When I protested, he declared this was the right way to conduct a tour, and he knew all about it. I had come to see real Montenegrin life—and I saw it. But so long as I live I shall feel for the luckless dancing bear who is prodded up to perform once more when dead tired, and remember the days when I could not make a note or a sketch except before a changing crowd as curious as monkeys, which flocked to see a woman who could not only write but write English. As often

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

M 186 114 as not the schoolmaster picked up each sheet to examine as I finished it. How many times, when hoarse and exhausted, I have howled the "British Grenadiers," or some such ditty, only to have it rapturously encored!

M 574 In return I was crammed with food and drink.

One should never look a gift-horse in the mouth; but the suspicion with which a stranger is received, the endless questions that must be answered, and finally the lavish hospitality when it is decided to admit him, recall the fact that among primitive people it is necessary to A propitiate the stranger, lest, offended, he should work evil to the house. 186 574 By eating under the roof he acquires a temporary membership of the family. In the Albanian mountains, and, indeed, in the towns, I have been given hospitality with the words, "Buk i kryp i zemer i em" ("Bread and salt and my heart").

M 574 In Montenegro, rakia was the universal symbol of hospitality. When, after weeks of showing off my "parlour tricks," we returned to Krsto's house at Njegushi, he was triumphant. He confessed he had had grave doubts as to the propriety of a warrior going round the country as servant to a woman. But, managed in his manner, the tour had been a great success. I had, he said, made an excellent impression, and on one point only had offended. If he might say so, it was thought improper for an unmarried woman to imitate the manners of the officers. Greatly surprised, I asked what military action I had performed. He explained M that in Montenegro all modest women blew their noses "like this"— 576 here he performed loudly upon his own, with his fingers—whereas 515 the officers who had been trained abroad used a handkerchief, and so my doing so was thought decidedly "fast." I conformed carefully to many a local custom, but in spite of Krsto's request I drew the line at "the finger trick."

M Upon the journey he repeatedly affirmed that I had not come to 777 search for treasure. At Pirlitor upon Durmitor, the legendary site of 787 the castle of Voyvoda Momchilo, the belief in treasure was very strong. The local headmen followed me about the alleged ruins, though by nothing short of magic could I have moved the great stones. I purposely dropped my heavy pocket-knife, and the clank of metal on stone brought them up swiftly with the cry: "Has she found it?"

S In Serbia, where I travelled without a guide, for I was raw to the 186 Balkans at that time, I found the stranger taboo very strong. As I was 114 ignorant of their politics, I merely thought they were crazy when they dogged me perpetually and went my way. When the powers in Belgrade ascertained, by means of countless cipher telegrams, that I was really a British subject and not a Karageorgevitch in disguise, as they had been foolish enough to suppose, then suddenly the hospitality phase

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 262 264 562 576 to them. Any women sitting by the roadside when a man passed at once arose and gave humble greeting. Krsto always was very lordly on these occasions. He always ate with me—partly, I think, to convince himself he was not my servant but my equal. Poor Iké fed apart afterwards. Once when he was absent a week I begged her to feed with me, for it was ridiculous to make two meals of it. But the mere idea of doing anything so unseemly distressed her so that she burst into tears and prayed me to excuse her. She said it was a thing that could not be done; it would "shame" me.

H 576 562 554 For a man to wait on a woman was very humiliating. A mounted gendarme, a Bosnian Moslem, was once ordered to escort me in Turkish territory. He had conscientious scruples about obeying a woman. After a midday halt at a "kavana," he hurried down to get the horses ready, leaving his rifle on the balcony. Presently he shouted up to no one in particular, "Give me my rifle." As it was alongside of me I handed it down. His ruse had succeeded, and he cried with childish glee, "She has waited on me! she has waited on me!" Honour was satisfied.

A 554 264 Among the Albanian tribesmen it was considered very degrading to eat with a woman. I remember how a Kastrati man jeered at the Austrian Consul. A poor creature, indeed. He drank coffee and ate meat and bread, and let his wife eat at the same time. A shameless woman! A despicable man. The Kastrati man would not let his wife so misbehave. He would never eat with a woman, not he.

A [186] It is amusing how often ambassadors, generals, admirals, ministers, and other exalted beings are looked down on with contempt by the native whose respect and admiration they fondly imagine they are arousing.

When I arrived at Vuthaj, a Moslem Albanian village, where they had never before entertained a strange female, there was a very long powwow as to the correct course to pursue. I had gone there on the invitation of a headman. It was decided that I was too important a guest to feed with the harem. I was to rank as a man and feed with the chiefs. But in order to comply with their sense of fitness I was helped last of all, even after my horse-boy. And so honour was satisfied. The women waited at table—unveiled—but I did not enter their apartment and had no communication with them.

A [576] Among the Christian Mirdites at the house of the Kapetan, where I was treated with great honour, the younger men of the family waited at table, as did Chaucer's Squire, and no woman was allowed to come near me at all. I heard a giggling crowd trying to get a peep at me through the crack of the door, but they were chivied away by a male, and my suggestion that I should see them was met by the statement that they were too modest.

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the A [186] lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

Y A 292 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

562 561 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, Y too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

A [12] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their A Y teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

M 754 776 774 Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

A Y M 777 "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and A 585 hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13
Montenegrins EF5

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

angry and said: 'Do you dead dogs dare threaten the Roman realm? I will shave off those locks of yours and then cut off your heads.' H 302 171 175

"He then imprisoned them for six months and released them terrified, and for some time the Avars submitted to Rome and gave no trouble."

The Nemanja kings, as seen on the frescoes at Dechani, all wore the moustache. Their beards are very small. The hair of the head is completely hidden by the crown.

To-day in the Balkans the beard is worn almost solely by the Orthodox priesthood and the Moslem dervishes and hodjas. Thus the holy men of both faiths observe the hair taboo. B 302

Laymen in all parts where the modern fashion of clean-shaving has not penetrated always wear the moustache. Perhaps vague memories of the days when the hair was burnt as ultimate disgrace haunt the mind, for the clean-shaven man, I found, was a creature condemned and despised. M A 302 186 ●

In Krsto's hut I mentioned that my brother was clean-shaven, and the company, abashed, stared at their toes and were speechless. Then someone, deeply shocked, said: "No noble family will give him a wife." And kind old Pope Gjuro, wishing to be polite, said that such things might be done in London, but in Montenegro it was better not to speak of them. Whereupon the repulsive subject was dropped.

In both Albania and Montenegro a hairless man is called by the Turkish word "Chosé." Bald heads in both lands are very rare. I never saw more than a slight thinning on the top. A really bald, shining head is thought an awful thing. We were once discussing the American regulations for emigrants. A Montenegrin who had been to America angrily denounced the injustice of the health inspectors at the landing-place. "I myself," he cried, "saw them allow a man with no hair on the top of his head—a most horrible sight—to pass. And they stopped a poor boy who had only a few little bare spots on his head and said he was diseased!" M A 183 554 186

In old Serbian ballads the hero's moustache is his glory. Mighty fine were these warriors. H 538 554 302

And there came five horsemen clad in black;
At their head rode a hero upon a raven steed.
His black moustachios reached below his shoulders
And hung to the pistols in his sash.
His breastplate ("toké") glittered through his moustachios
As doth the moon when fifteen days old
Shine through the branches of a fir-tree.
Lo and behold, O my brother Mujo!
Next to them come three horsemen
Clad in white cloth and riding upon greys.
At their head is a warrior on a grey steed,
And his fair moustachios reach to his shoulders, etc.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

ALBANIAN FLAG

186

The Albanian national flag is blood-red in color with the double-headed black eagle in the center and the Scanderbeg Golden Helmet above the double-headed black eagle.

The Albanian ships and merchant marine carry the flag of commerce, which is red-black-red in color.

502

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

562 tissues, is made by the women who are so [846] occupied with other duties! The Albanian wife in the cities is also acquainted with domestic industry—she knows not laziness. Many of them, being good housewives, try to flatter the tastes of their husbands. Culinary arts are by no means alien to her: her cakes and tarts may easily cause the best patissiers of Paris to cast an envious eye into her kitchen. She is her husband's companion, his daily associate, and he keeps the lady of his hearth informed of all his affairs and often asks her advice and seeks her suggestions.

Womanhood is universally respected in Albania. They are held in the highest regard in all places to the extent that she may go any place unmolested and even in a man's company he is the one who derives protection through her.

[728] Negotiations for a truce of peace have formerly been intrusted many times to women, for they were allowed protection and safety in an enemy's camp where a man would never have survived.

• 166 Even in Albanian history women have played many important roles; as above-mentioned she has been endowed with strong

nationalistic tendencies. One of the most extreme women who possessed these qualities was that renowned national heroine, Queen Teuta of Illyria.

The same proud and patriotic attitude exists throughout Albanian history in her women. They have been known to make supreme sacrifices willingly for the cause of Albania's liberty and independence. When the Sultan's armies marched upon Scutari, it was the women who gave the alarm and urged their husbands and brothers into battle. When men fell mortally wounded the women filled the gaps and fought courageously. They carried the mutilated bodies of their loved ones and tenderly cared for them, while others urged the warriors on into the fray. It is also related that should a husband, son or brother turn their backs upon the enemy, they are refused entrance into their homes. Albanian women do not tolerate cowardice.

This selfsame indomitable will power and courageous spirit was portrayed in the mother of Ali Pasha Tepelene of Janina. It was to her that he owed the success of his early youth, paving the way for his illustrious career in later years. His mother, the noble

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

stood that the killing was an accident and it 628
caused no blood feud. Accidents, he remarked, will happen anywhere, and he spoke of the death toll of automobiles, which at that moment seemed as far from my knowledge as the twenty centuries that separated us from them.

"Through the Land of the Eagle the news is 533
sung," the second gendarme began a new song, 186
thumbs against his ears and sixty-pound pack on his back, as he ascended the rocks above us. Cheremi took it up, repeating each line as the other improvised it, and under his breath Rexh translated them for me, storing them away in his memory, from which I later transferred them to my notebook. As I listened I glanced at Rrok Perolli, disguised servant of the new government about which they were making the song, but his face wore a cheerful and unconcerned expression, like a mask so perfect that it seems real.

"Through the Land of the Eagle the news is sung —— (It has a double rhyme as they sing it, Mrs. Lane, but I do not know the English to make it rhyme in your language)," said Rexh, apologetically.

"What have the men of Tirana been doing?
I am a son of the mountain eagles;
I do not give up my nest while there is life in my claws;
I do not yield to the gendarmes!
I will drown them in their own blood.
Rise, rise, and go to the door.
There is a sergeant with twenty soldiers.

PEAKS OF SHALA

[533] Ho! Ho! Sergeant, I am not the man you think!
186 I will not bow and be led to the slaughter.
I will not be killed like a lamb for the men of Tirana,
I am a goat and will fight!"

"What do they mean about sergeants and soldiers?" I asked Perolli, and he said, "These tribes do not understand that the new government in Tirana is an all-Albanian government. They don't think as a nation; they think as tribes. They think the government is a Tirana government, trying to destroy their liberty as the Romans and the Turks and the Austrians and Italians and the Serbs and the Greeks and the Peace Council tried to do. They know that the Peace Conference in Paris arranged to divide Albania into three parts, giving one to Greece, one to Italy, and one to Jugo-Slavia (and would have done it if Greece and Serbia had been strong enough at the moment to grab a third of a hornets' nest and if we hadn't driven out Italy). They know there is a connection between the Peace Conference and the League of Nations, so, now that the Albanian government is a member of the League, they think that the men of Tirana have joined their enemies. They were so dangerous that we had to send soldiers up here to burn the houses of the Shala chiefs. But everything will be all right as soon as we can get the government going and begin building schools and roads up here. They just don't understand yet."

000 Political discussion was cut short by one of the men who had run ahead a few miles to inform the

539 In my disappointment I spoke too quickly, forgetting the excellence of Rexh as an interpreter. "It isn't Albanian, after all; it's Greek," I said. "I remember now that I read it years ago."

"Yes, so do I," said Alex, and her words crossed those of Rexh, who had picked up mine and was turning them into Albanian.

"*Po*," said the old man, with irony. "It is a Greek song—it is as Greek as Lec i Madhe."

[186] I had thanked the old man with an insult, for even the Ghegs keep smoldering in their hearts the knowledge that the Greeks hold Janina, and the memory of the burned villages and slaughtered Albanians of Epirus is only six years old. In an unguarded instant I had made for myself one of those recollections that burn in sleepless night hours. I called myself a fool, while I heard my voice trying to bury the irremediable mistake by
173 hurried words. "What is Lec i Madhe?"

186 Frances and Alex were busy in a scrap bag of mythology, and Rexh replied. "I don't know what you call him in English, Mrs. Lane. Lec i Madhe was our king of very long years ago, who went down from the mountains and took all the cities of the world. He was the son of our twentieth king, and he was a very great fighter. I think surely you must know him by some name in English. We call him Lec i Madhe; it means, the Great Lec. Because we had other kings before him called Lec."

"Lec i Madhe?" cried Frances, headlong at

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

173 the word. "Alexander the Great! What are
186 they saying about him?"

The young man in the American army shirt had listened not at all to the story of the ora, but he heard Frances's words and misunderstood them. "Alexander the Greek?" he repeated. "Alexander was not Greek; he was Albanian."

"You mean his mother was an Albanian," said Frances.

The young man smiled scornfully. "And you think his father was not? When has a king of Albania married a foreign wife? Albanians marry Albanians. When Filip the Second married, he married a woman of his own people, but of another tribe, as the custom has always been. Do the Greeks dare to say that Filip was a Greek? If he had been Greek, no Albanian chief would have given him a daughter for wife. Even then we Malisori[1] despised the Greeks."

"But Philip of Macedonia—was a Macedonian," I said, feebly. "Wasn't he a Macedonian? The Macedonians weren't Albanians, were they?"

"Ask the old man what he knows about Lec i Madhe, Rexh," said Frances. But the old man, drawing solace from the amber mouthpiece with his toothless lips, still brooded upon the song of the man of Mali Sharit.

"The things which I have told happened to an Albanian of the tribe of the Mali Sharit," he said. "The song of them has been sung by the

[1] Mountaineers.

173 Malisori from the days when they happened till
186 the days of my own father's manhood. The Greeks are a little, inquisitive people who have played with paper and with writing since they first came to our shores in boats, long ago—a hundred hundred years before the Romans came. We gave them shelter then, we let them come to our shores, we let them come from the cold seas and stay on our land, and they are guests who steal from their hosts. They have killed our people; they have taken Janina. Let them leave our songs and our kings alone. Greek!" said he, muttering. "They will be claiming the Mali Shoshit, next!"

ooo Excitement so shook my fingers that the writing wavers on the page. The blotted and rain-smeared notebook before me now evokes like a crystal before the gazer the picture of that old man in the warm duskiness of the house of Sadiri Luka, the streaming of rain on the roof, the smell of coffee and cigarette smoke, the soft sound of moccasined feet going down the corridor to confession at the knee of Padre Marjan.

173 "The Greeks came to your shores?" I said, goading the old man on. "But it is written in the books that they came from the lands watered by the Danube, by the river that flows through Belgrade to the Black Sea. It is written that they came down through the Balkans to build their great and beautiful cities on the shores of the Egean. And no one writes about the Albanians. Where did the Albanians come from?"

[Author - - Analyst]

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These words created a perceptible sensation. 173 Hazel eyes and blue eyes turned upon me in amazement. A middle-aged man who had come from the room of confession to stack his rifle with others beside the fireplace and to roll a cigarette stopped with the tobacco half poured and stared at me. "It is not written where the Shqiptars came from?" said he, in a tone of stupefaction. "But surely all the world knows where the Shqiptars came from."

I assured him that it was written only that the Greeks, when they came, found some savage tribes whose origin was unknown. But it was thought that these tribes were old peoples of Europe who died out when the peoples of to-day came—I stopped, to give them no clew to the migrations of Aryans from India—who died out, I said, when the great civilizations of to-day came into the world. And the first of these civilizations was the Greek.

The newcomer finished his cigarette thoughtfully, put it in its holder, lighted it from a coal, and summed up his conclusions in an Albanian proverb. "It is very true," said he, "that only the spoon knows what is in the dish."

"And when we speak of the Greeks," said [186] another chief, "let us remember the saying of our fathers: The tree said to the wood cutter, 'Why do you kill me, for I have done nothing to you.' And the wood cutter replied, 'You gave me the handle for the ax.'"

The old man's irritation had died. He looked

POSTSCRIPT

771 of the cross, and hears in his forests the voices
184 of the ora. This vague religion is unconscious. The Albanian himself does not recognize it, but it is the resisting subsoil which has prevented
[582] acknowledged religions from taking deep root. Families of all religions freely intermarry;
[292] Mohammedan women are unveiled, or Catholic women veiled, according to the fashion of their town; in the mountains neither are veiled. In Guri-Bardhe, a village of the Mati known as being fanatically Mohammedan, the women were quite willing to pose for photographs, and Limoni, the chief, was defying the local *hodji* by demanding a modern school; the *hodji* taught the children nothing worth while, he said. In the spring
[798] religious festivals—the two Easters and the fast of Ramazan—all Albanians in Tirana took part, and Mohammedan fezzes were thick in the midnight processions carrying Easter candles.

[186] There has never been friction along the frontiers of the three religions. All Albanians united to resist the Romanizing and Germanizing influence of Catholicism, the attempt of Shiek ul Islam to cripple the Albanian language by a Turkish alphabet (a revolution was fought, and won, for the Latin alphabet in 1910), and the Hellenizing propaganda of certain Orthodox Churchmen.

184 But there is a real division in Albania. It lies
578 between the Toshks, or southerners, and the Ghegs, who are the mountaineers. Men who have held their mountain fastnesses and main-

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*669 648 by family ties to the tribesmen across the border and were thus exceptionally placed to smuggle arms, agents, or propaganda into Albania. Moreover, a force of Kossovars acting as the spearhead of the rising would not be resisted as an invasion but fraternally acclaimed as a liberating army. The support of the Kossovars were thus essential to our plans, but most of their leaders inclined towards the Axis Powers, who had promised to unite the region to Albania. Gani alone supported the Allies, so that the Kryeziu family became the natural rallying point for our movement. Indeed, long before we had come on to the scene, Gani had taken steps to organise those Albanians who had taken refuge in Yugoslavia in 1939 from the Italians. In response to Italian pressure, most of them had been confined to remote villages of Bosnia and Voivodina, but Gani provided for their needs and interceded in Belgrade on their behalf. The majority of these exiles were army officers and monarchists, and, although they were glad of Gani's help and money, they were naturally suspicious of the Kryezius as enemies of the King. Gani therefore suggested that, to make sure of their wholehearted support, we should send to Turkey for Abas Kupi, the defender of Durazzo and the most popular of the monarchist leaders.

986 159 Abas Agha Kupi, or Bazi Sani as the tribesmen called him, could neither read nor write: indeed only with difficulty could he sign his name. Born in the nineties, he was, like Skanderbeg, a native of Kruya, where his father had been a respected member of the Bektashi community. One of his uncles had been a passionate Albanian nationalist and had fired the boy's imagination by tales of Turkish prisons and guerilla war. One day, when young Abas was but fifteen years old, nationalist insurgents seized Kruya and hoisted Skanderbeg's flag — the black eagles on the red ground — upon the castle tower. The boy went out to join them, but they told him that he was too young to fight and sent him home in tears. A few days later the town was reoccupied by "loyalist" troops under Essad Pasha, who at once gave orders to pull down the offending flag and restore the Star and Crescent. A soldier climbed on to the tower to carry out the order, but young Abas snatched up his

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father's rifle and shot the man dead. Astonishment or sympathy covered his escape; and he fled to the mountains to hide from Essad's revenge. The Pasha, however, was impressed by the boy's daring, and still more by the success with which he evaded or repelled his pursuers. He resolved to make use of him; paid the blood money for the soldier's death; and admitted Abas to his following. The young man thus became one of the "Essadist" leaders, and during the first World War raised a guerilla band with which he harassed the communications of the Austrian army. In the troubled times which followed the war he took sides with Mustafa Kruya against Zog and was declared an outlaw by the Tirana Government. For two years he defied the Zogist forces in the mountains of Kruya, until in 1924 Fan Noli and Mustafa drove Zog into exile and themselves seized power. Abas Kupi had set great hopes on the new regime, but they were disappointed; and when Zog and Tsena in their turn attacked the Government he refused to come to its help. Instead he remained in Kruya, a spectator of the civil war.

Zog had learnt to respect this illiterate guerilla genius, and, in the hopes that the poacher might turn gamekeeper, offered him the command of the Kruya region. Abas Kupi accepted and from that time became Zog's devoted lieutenant; nor were their relations darkened by the jealousy which, in politics, so often destroys the friendships of able men. Abas Kupi recognised that his ignorance barred him from the highest offices; and the king felt safe to reward the subject without fear of raising the rival. In Kruya, however, Abas ruled as dictator, untrammelled by the control of the Central Government. His administration was popular; and he preserved an exceptional degree of law and order in the district, mainly thanks to a private intelligence service, so widespread in its ramifications that he was often able to restrain potential malefactors by disclosing foreknowledge of their designs. It is said that, during the celebrations which attended the King's marriage, two visiting dignitaries — tribal chiefs from the North — were robbed in a Tirana café. Abas Kupi was informed and at once summoned the chief pickpockets of the city to his office. Within half an

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186 hour he had extracted from them the identity of the criminals and the fruits of the crime. By a gentleman's agreement there were no prosecutions, but the victims were fully reimbursed, with ten per cent interest for their trouble.

On Good Friday of 1939 King Zog entrusted Abas Kupi with the defence of Durazzo. His forces only consisted of a battalion of Albanian gendarmes and some tribal levies but, although hopelessly outmatched in man-power and in guns, he kept two of the Duce's divisions at bay for more than thirty-six hours. This gallant action, the only effective resistance offered to the Italian invasion, covered the King's escape and made [538] Abas Kupi a national hero. Indeed, as we learned from our agents, the mountain bards had already added verses celebrating his defence of Durazzo to the long epic poem in which the great exploits of Albanian history are recorded.

*669 Gani's advice that we should seek the help of Abas Kupi seemed to us sound, and we therefore asked Stirling to approach him, for he had known him well in Albania. Accordingly, a few days after the capitulation of France, the two met in the dingy lodgings which Abas had taken in Constantinople. The Albanians are usually given to prolonged ceremonial greetings, but, although it was five years since he had last seen Stirling, Abas Kupi asked at once:

"Will you English fight on?"

"I give you my word we will," Stirling answered.

"Thank God," said Abas Kupi, "for now the Italians are at last fair game for both of us." Then, his mind at rest, he remembered his manners and, with a smile, produced the customary greetings and enquiries: "*Tungjatjeta! A je mirë? A je shendosh? A je burri fortë?*" ("May your life be prolonged! Are you well? Are you in good heart? Are you a strong man?")

After devious transactions the necessary passports were obtained and Abas Kupi was brought to Yugoslavia. At our first meeting I was struck, as others have been, by his pronounced likeness, especially in profile, to certain of the portraits of Napoleon; a likeness accentuated by a lock of hair brushed forward on his forehead to hide the deep scar of a bullet wound

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GANI BEY KRYEZIU AS AN OFFICER IN THE ALBANIAN ARMY

(From a photograph taken in 1927)

ABAS KUPI

(Photographed in exile, 1940)

[-52a-]

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breeches and a grey " redingote " which heightened his likeness to Napoleon ; but he looked older and leaner than when I had seen him in Belgrade. We sat cross-legged round the hearth in the upper room ; and when the exchange of formal greetings was done Maclean spoke of the aims of our Mission. He explained that we had been charged to help the Ghegs in their war against the Germans and to co-ordinate their operations with the overall strategy of the Allies. He then reviewed the military and political situation of the contending Powers, leading up to the conclusion that an Allied victory was at hand. The time had therefore come for all Albanians to lay aside their personal differences and to unite to wrest from the invaders the independence for which they had already sacrificed so much.

Abas Kupi replied at some length, but, it seemed to me, wearily, as if he had lost faith in the power of words. He welcomed us to his regions with warmth and courtesy, and expressed his deep indignation that Albanians should have been responsible for the capture of Brigadier Davies. A harsh winter and lack of arms had forced him on to the defensive ; but now that we had come he hoped that we would soon make it possible for him to lead a new and final rising against the Germans. From these preliminaries he turned to questions of policy. His people were at a loss to understand why Albania was not among the United Nations, or why the Allies did not recognise King Zog who, as he remarked, had been a victim of Fascist aggression when Mr. Neville Chamberlain still believed in peace. They were anxious, moreover, for the future of the Kossovo and of Southern Albania and hoped for some assurance that these provinces would not be ceded to Yugoslavia or Greece without first consulting the wishes of the local populations. Our support of the Albanian Communists was also a cause of deep concern ; and it was widely believed that, at the Teheran Conference, Albania had been assigned to the Soviet sphere of influence.

" We Albanians," he concluded, " are few and poor, but in proportion to our strength we have made great efforts and great sacrifices in the common cause. So far we have received

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*669 648 186 no encouragement nor recognition from the great Allies; but I still put my trust in Great Britain as I did in 1940. I have fought and I will continue to fight, but you must send me arms and make some gesture that you have our country's interest at heart, for we are Albanian patriots and not British agents."

Maclean turned a gentle answer, judging that it would be premature to try and thrash out these delicate problems at our first meeting. He proposed, however, that I should go to Abas Kupi's Headquarters to study his difficulties and explain our policy in greater detail. The Agha at once agreed, and, before leaving us, promised to send guides within a few days to bring me to him. Meanwhile we turned to the task of reorganising the British Missions.

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000 SEYMOUR and Hare had established their base in Derye because it was near to the Tirana road and thus suitable as an observation post. The very conditions, however, which made the village easily accessible to visitors or couriers from the capital exposed it to the danger of sudden enemy raids. The British officers were thus obliged to lead a strictly conspiratorial existence, which severely restricted the scope of their activities. They seldom ventured out in daylight; most of their business was conducted through intermediaries; and fear of detection forced them to relegate their wireless set and operator to a rear base in the mountains. This rear base was a day's march away, so that all communictions with Headquarters in Italy suffered a delay of at least twenty-four hours. The drawbacks of this situation had hitherto been outweighed by its advantages; Seymour and Hare might indeed have enjoyed greater freedom and security in some remote mountain village, but, under winter conditions, they would then have been cut off from their chief sources of intelligence and supply. Now, however, that the snow was melting and that the mountain paths were practicable once more, Derye ceased to be convenient without becoming safe. There were already rumours that the Germans had wind of the Mission's whereabouts; and Maclean therefore

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000 marching south-eastwards towards its source. Then, by the gaping ruins of Pazaari-Urs, a model market village burnt by the Italians, we had crossed over to the right bank and returned north-westward, marching towards the sea. Now, ten days after we had come down into the valley, we forded the river once more, and began the ascent of the great Skanderbeg range which divides Mati from Kruya. It was only ten days since we had sung for joy to escape from the rawness of the mountains; but the full heat of summer was already upon us, and we were glad to climb again into their clearer air and shake the dust of the sultry valley from our feet.

We toiled uphill all day in the burning glare of the sun, and in the late afternoon reached the head of the pass whence the way ran down to Kruya. There Abas Kupi called a halt, and, while the men sat down and rolled cigarettes, we climbed a hundred feet or so to the summit of a projecting and rocky knoll. Four thousand feet below us lay the plain, with its broad acres, turgid inland lagoons, and the wrinkled promontory of Rodonit crawling out into the glinting waters of the Adriatic. Tirana and Durazzo were wrapped in the evening haze while Kruya was masked by the massive Kruya Mountain. This was a flat-topped cliff, rising nearly four thousand feet above the plain, and honeycombed with caves — the legendary abode of Said Saltiq, the immortal wizard of Albanian folk-lore. We stayed there nearly two hours, watching the colours fade while Abas Kupi told us of his early struggles. Then we climbed down to a broad meadow, where the guerillas wrestled with each other and played games until darkness made it safe to enter Shkrete, the hamlet where we were to spend the night.

186 We[1] left Shkrete next morning and proceeded all day at a leisurely pace towards the foot of Mount Kruya. In Mati Abas Kupi had everywhere been received with the respect and honour due to a great guerilla leader; in Kruya he was welcomed with devotion and enthusiasm, for now he was among his own people. He seemed to know each mountaineer we met and for each had a special word of greeting or enquiry. There could be no mistaking his popularity; and even in the

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[1] [i.e. the group of British liaison officers.— Analyst]

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186 poorest villages through which we passed the women would run out and kiss his hands or hold up their children to him.

000 Night overtook us in the trough between the range and Mount Kruya ; and an hour or so later we were received into a dilapidated house, built in a hollow some two hundred feet below the main Mati–Kruya road. There we were to meet representatives of the Zogist Central Committee next morning. Our position was exposed, and doubly so since our presence there was already known to the Committee in Tirana. Abas Kupi therefore posted sentries along the paths leading towards the house, and we slept that night with one eye open.

*669 648 The representatives of the Zogist Committee, Salih Hoja Vuchitern and Teke Zelenitsa, arrived in the small hours of the morning. Both were badly shaken, for, by a strange irony, the car in which they had travelled from Tirana had been "strafed" on the road by an R.A.F. fighter 'plane. The pilot could hardly have been expected to know that they were on the business of the British Mission, but it was an unfortunate prelude to our talks. Salih Hoja was a Balkan politician of the old school, a blend of peasant guile and Byzantine diplomacy. He had been a powerful influence under King Zog ; but now his close-cropped hair was grown white with years, his voice was querulous, and his hand shook. Zelenitza was a younger man and had been an official in the palace. He was of an acid disposition, and, though more westernised than old Salih, lacked his courtesy and understanding. The two men had come out to press for political concessions, and we saw from the start that they would not agree to fight until some at least of their demands had been granted. Such an attitude was not indeed unnatural, for they were primarily politicians and knew that, once fighting started, it would be too late for them to intervene. Questions of policy would then tend to become subordinated to the immediate needs of war, and the control of the Zogist movement would pass out of their hands.

They began accordingly by repeating the principal demands which Abas Kupi had already made : the inclusion of Albania among the United Nations, the recognition of King Zog, self-determination for the Kossovo, and military support for the

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down, feeling distinctly out of place amid these comfortable surroundings, with our unkempt hair, dirty uniforms, and heavy boots.

Ihsan Bey was still in his early thirties, a well-built and rather studious-looking man, dressed in a grey flannel suit with a white shirt open at the neck. He had studied in Vienna, and indeed might well have been an Austrian country gentleman from his small talk, the cut of his clothes, and the slightly German turn of his English sentences. An attentive host, he plied us in quick succession with tea, coffee, and a very potent *raki*, while we explained the purpose of our visit. Then, seeing that we were tired, he led us to our bedrooms, where clean pyjamas had been laid out. For the first time in months we slept between linen sheets and forgot the fatigues of the march in the delights of a spring mattress. It was after midday when we awoke to the comforts of modern lavatories and hot, scented baths; superfluous luxuries for a guerilla, but doubly welcome for their strangeness.

In the morning, while we still slept, Ihsan had driven into Tirana on our business. He returned about two o'clock, accompanied by Nureddin Bey Vlora, the friend of Count Carlo Frasso, our host at Brindisi, and by a younger man with a charming, French-speaking wife. Nureddin Bey was a son of the Ottoman Grand Vizier, Ferid Pasha, and a nephew of Ismail Kemal, the founder of the first Albanian Republic. A great landowner in the region of Valona, he had been condemned to death, though later pardoned, for his part in the Fieri revolution against King Zog, and had long been one of the most influential supporters of the Republican Party. He was too great a patriot and too proud to "collaborate" with either the Italians or the Germans, but his counsels weighed heavily with the political leaders in Tirana, and especially with the Republican chiefs of the Balli Kombetar.

Still in his forties, Nureddin was fit-looking, debonair, and very much a man of the world. He was dressed in a smart white suit and might just have stepped out of the casino at Mentone or the Mohammed Ali Club in Cairo. His English

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000 was faultless and, with a sure understanding of the British character, he brought us whisky, for which he had combed Tirana, and excellent cigarettes made of Albanian tobaccos specially blended to his taste. At lunch the talk skimmed lightly from anecdotes to mutual acquaintances in the capitals of Europe; and, with the added charms of feminine company, the barriers of nationality and politics were seemingly dissolved by the pleasures of social intercourse. Such a gathering of Albanian landowners and British officers must have appeared to a Partisan observer as proof positive of the sinister machinations of international reaction. The thought passed through my mind, but I cannot pretend that it seriously diminished my enjoyment of the occasion.

*669 ●186 [726] When we had eaten, Ihsan took the other guests apart, and we remained alone with Nureddin. He told us at once that he had just been invited by the Germans either to assume the Premiership or to enter the Council of Regency. His natural instinct had been to decline the thankless task, but he would accept the responsibility if he could thereby assist the Allied cause. The idea of having a friend as head of the "collaborationist" government was certainly tempting and might offer opportunities for attacking the Germans from within. Nevertheless, we strongly advised Nureddin to refuse an invitation which might lead other Albanian Nationalists to line up with the Germans in an anti-Communist front. We then expounded our general policy, condemning collaboration in any form and stressing that we could only support those Albanians who fought against the Germans. We spoke, too, of our concern that the Ballists should be fighting with the enemy against the Partisans and appealed to Nureddin to use his influence with their leaders to bring about a change of policy. He told us that the Ballists would not only cease fighting the Partisans but would gladly co-operate with them against the Germans if only Enver Hoja would abandon his attempt to impose a social revolution on Albania by force. If we could restrain the L.N.C. he was confident that the Ballists would prove amenable; if we could not, then they must fight as best they could, for their lives and property were at stake.

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amuse our leisure; and an old Turkish lady, an aunt of Said Kryeziu, sent us sweetmeats worthy of Haji Bekir, which she had made for us herself.

In these long hours of waiting Said won our respect by his coolness and sincerity, and our friendship by his sense of humour and understanding. His Western education brought us closer to him than to most of his compatriots; and the objective quality of his mind enabled him to discuss dispassionately the problems of his country. By conviction a Social Democrat, his sympathies had at first inclined towards the Partisans and he had publicly rebuked Abas Kupi for his reluctance to attack the Germans. But he could not condone Enver Hoja's unprovoked attack against the Zogists, and had been deeply shocked by the deliberate destruction of the homes of the Mati *Beys*. He saw now that the Partisans were bent on establishing a regime no less dictatorial than that of the Fascists, and began to fear that the last state of his country might be worse than the first. For us, as British officers, the civil war presented practical problems to be primarily considered in terms of the war with Germany and the protection of British interests. For Said, as an Albanian patriot, it raised moral issues of transcending importance, and brought him face to face with the great ideological division of Europe which the war against Fascism had masked but not healed. At times his disgust with both sides made him long to return to Jakova to escape from politics and serve as a soldier in his brother's forces. He was convinced, however, that only the British could safeguard his country's independence and so agreed, though reluctantly, to stay with us.

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In the early hours of the 11th August I felt a hand on my shoulder and woke up to hear Maclean saying:

"Tell me what you make of this: it sounds like trouble for someone."

I propped myself up on my elbow and listened in silence, while the sound of firing broke in on the stillness of the night.

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VI

WAR ON TWO FRONTS

> The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderberg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the Pope, the King of Naples and the Venetian Republic would join in the defence of a free and Christian people who guarded the sea coast of the Adriatic and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy.
>
> GIBBON: *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (Chapter LXVII)

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669 643 701 THE affairs of the Albanian Nationalists drew swiftly on towards their crisis. On the 18th August Fikri Dine and General Prenk Previsi, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, drove out from Tirana and were conducted to Abas Kupi's headquarters. It was only a few days since Fikri had cut off the funds and food supplies of the Zogists in a last attempt to compel Abas Kupi's submission to his government. Now he and the General were come almost as suppliants to confess their failure to obtain arms or money from the Germans and their conviction that there was nothing more to be hoped for from a policy of "collaboration". They had played the German card against the Partisans and lost. Now they turned naturally to Abas Kupi to sound him as to his hopes of British support and to learn whether they might still save their skins by rallying to his cause.

669 186 This was the moment for which Abas Kupi had been waiting through all the years of his struggle in the mountains. In his eyes the creation of a resistance movement and the search for an agreement with the Allied Mission had been but

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preparations for the day when he could call all Albanians to a general revolt against an enemy too weak ever to regain the initiative. Then, but only then, the military advantage would lie with the insurgents, and the ravages of war would be redeemed by the fruits of victory: power for the leaders and loot for the rank and file. Once before, at the time of the collapse of Italy, he had believed that the time had come and had thrown all his forces into a general revolt. Then, if events had favoured the guerillas, he might have been the arbiter of Albania's destinies, for he had been strong in his own following and had held the balance of power between the Ballists and the Partisans. In those days he had meant to give the "collaborationists" short shrift; but since then the civil war had taken a heavy toll of his strength, and he was now in no position to reject reinforcements from whatever quarter they might come. Fikri and his friends still represented a force to be reckoned with, and, in the eyes of many, their "collaboration" had been all but justified by the fear of Communism which had inspired it. Besides, once they had joined him in the mountains, they would be in his power, and he would be the master. With their support he would make good the losses of the civil war and might hope to do great execution among the retreating Germans. Thereafter the British could no longer refuse him their help, and he would thus be strong enough to compel Enver Hoja to come to terms.

Abas Kupi therefore proposed to his two visitors that the leaders of the Government and of the Balli Kombetar should leave Tirana with all their forces and join him in the mountains to attack the Germans. If they complied he would give them his protection and allocate to them a share of such supplies as he might receive from the British. If they refused he would still take the field alone, but would then regard them as his enemies. All afternoon the three debated this proposal and the Prime Minister and the Commander-in-Chief saw little alternative but to accept. Bitter experience, however, had taught them to distrust the friendship of Great Powers, and, before committing themselves to the precarious refuge of the mountains, they wanted to be sure that Abas Kupi's hopes of

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which presently amounted to some eight hundred men.

In Tirana the Germans sought desperately for friends among the Albanians; at last, on 6th September, they succeeded in forming the shadow of a government under the presidency of Ibrahim Bey Bichaku. The new administration, however, could not rely on a hundred men; and Ibrahim was recommended for office solely by the affection of the German Minister, with whom he played ping-pong every day. As if to mock the impotence of this government Mustafa Kruya, the "arch-collaborationist", now left for Vienna, never to return. Only Jon Marko Joni still hesitated, but he too abandoned the capital and retired to Scutari to watch the fortunes of the Zogists. The days of "collaboration" were over, and Tirana was become nothing but a German redoubt.

Meanwhile the Moslem North was up in arms. The Partisans had overrun Dibra; and the Dibran chiefs, many of them former "collaborationists", had been won over to the L.N.C. by their own incomparable opportunism and the wise diplomacy of Mustafa Jinishi. Tsen Elezi and Dan Kalloshi abandoned the Double Eagle for the Red Star; and, under Partisan direction, their forces were variously engaged in the civil war or the war of liberation. Further north in Liuma Muharrem Bairaktar had already taken the field in the last days of August. He had prepared his attack for some weeks and was finally stung to action by an ltimatum from the German commander in Kukes, who demanded the surrender of two Austrian officers who had deserted from their regiment and had sought his protection. The Partisans had not yet entered Liuma, but Muharrem had already conferred with Mustafa Jinishi, and, though he declined to join the L.N.C., he had agreed to full military co-operation with their forces.

But the fiercest struggle against the Germans in all Albania was led by Gani Kryeziu and his brother, Hassan, with the help of Simcox and his Mission. Since the end of July Gani had been receiving arms from our Headquarters; and the communiqués of his operations were broadcast in the Albanian transmissions of Radio Bari. His influence grew with his successes and the knowledge that he enjoyed British support;

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*669 [186] and he soon rallied to his cause the chiefs of Krasniqi, Puka, and Hass. Meanwhile, stirred by the news of his exploits, volunteers from all over Albania, many of them former officers, or men disappointed with both Zogists and Partisans, made their way to Jakova to serve under his banner; and his forces were still further swollen by deserters from the "collaborationist" army and even from the "Kosmet" Partisans. Throughout the month of August Gani's men were continually engaged against the Germans, and, on the 19th of the month, he led them in person in a full-scale attack against the chrome mines of Kam and Kepenek. In this action the working of the mines was sabotaged, several prisoners were captured, and more than a hundred slave workers released; and Gani was only driven back by strong German units, equipped with armoured cars and artillery.

The North was still free from civil war, but, though Gani continued to treat the "Kosmet" Partisans as his allies, their relations grew increasingly strained. As Communists the "Kosmet" leaders had always been suspicious of Gani's pro-British leanings, nor could they reconcile his policy of winning back the Kossovo for Albania with their allegiance to Marshal Tito. While both had been fighting for their lives these had been matters of small moment, but now that victory was at hand the Partisans began to look on Gani more as a rival than as an ally. Gani, on his side, resented their repeated failure to join him against the Germans, and found his efforts to win over doubtful chiefs continually frustrated by their provocative attitude. Taught by experience, we had long since warned our Headquarters that the time might come when the Partisans would turn against Gani; and indeed they now began to press him to join their movement. Gani, however, declined their invitations as often as they were made, and in this he was supported by our Headquarters, who undertook to "take a strong line" with the L.N.C. should they seek to compel his adherence.

The scene was thus set for a general rising of all Albanians from the borders of Greece to those of Montenegro, and already the resistance movements had mustered powerful

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*669 might be the will of the people, the interests of the leaders worked irresistibly for civil war. That night hopes had been high, but in the morning they were shattered by a despatch from the Zogist headquarters. The Agha had indeed attacked and wiped out a German patrol, but this had been only an incident in the day's fighting. The real battle had been between Zogists and Partisans; and, while they had rent one another, the Germans had watched, and must have smiled, from the ramparts of the citadel. The struggle had been long and bitter, but in the end the Partisans had prevailed. Kruya was lost to the Zogists; and, under cover of night, the Agha had withdrawn his forces across the plain from the last of his strongholds.

665 186 While the battle still raged around Kruya we were joined in Mazjhe by Midhat Frasheri and Abas Ermenye, the military commander of the Balli Kombetar. Midhat came on a mule; Abas Ermenye rode a coal-black charger, and, in his blue-green uniform and flat, old-fashioned *képi*, looked like a hero from the Carlist wars. Nor was his romantic appearance belied by his conversation, for he quoted freely from the poems of André Chenier and the speeches of the French revolutionary heroes. He was tall and dark, with sensitive features, but there was something pedantic about his manner; and he seemed always to be worrying about himself. He was a young professor, fired with nationalist sentiment, and fascinated by the glamour of arms. Already, when a colleague of Enver Hoja's at the *Lycée* at Korcha, Abas Ermenye had sought to organise his students to resist the Italian invasion. He had fled to Greece rather than endure foreign rule, and there, in 1940, had vainly sought to raise a force of Albanian *émigrés* to fight alongside the Greek armies. With the fall of Athens he had been captured by the Italians, and had been sent to the concentration camp at Ventotteno, where he had remained nearly two years. In 1942, however, he had been allowed to return to Albania, and, a few months later, had taken to the mountains to organise the Ballist forces in the region of Korcha. Maclean had worked with him against the Italians in 1943,

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and thought him the ablest of the Ballist military leaders; and indeed of those warriors who, like Skender Mucho, Safet Butka, and Husni Lepenitsa, had once been household names among the Tosks, he was now the sole survivor. At heart a reformer, Abas Ermenye sought in the field an escape from the imbroglio of Ballist politics. He knew only that he fought against Communism, and, perhaps just because he doubted whether the Balli Kombetar any longer offered a real alternative, he spared neither himself nor his men.

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Midhat and Abas Ermenye had come as political and military delegates of the Balli Kombetar to inform us officially that their whole Central Committee was now in the mountains, and that they had decided to begin operations next day. Abas Ermenye planned to open the campaign with an ambush on the Tirana-Scutari road, and asked that we should send a British officer to watch the conduct of his men and to certify the results of the action. We agreed at once to this request, and Merret was chosen as our liaison officer with the forces of the Balli Kombetar. On the following evening Abas Ermenye duly laid his ambush, and, with a force of two hundred men, surprised a German convoy of forty trucks. Merret afterwards reported that three trucks were burnt, eighteen looted and damaged, eight motor cycles destroyed, and more than thirty Germans killed.

As further evidence of their good-will the Ballist leaders also sent us one Staff-Sergeant Schumacher of the U.S. Air Force, whose 'plane had been shot down to the south of Durazzo in the previous November. After wandering for two days among the coastal lagoons, Schumacher had been rescued by the Ballists, and for nearly a year had been cared for and hidden from the Germans on a farm belonging to Nureddin Vlora. We already had with us another U.S. airman, Sergeant Corsentino, rescued by the Zogists, and the two were to prove a most valuable addition to our Mission, helping in ambushes, road watching, and the drudgery of cipher traffic.

On the 10th September, after an abortive attempt against a bridge, we moved to Preza, where the Zogists and Ballists

VII

DEFEAT IN VICTORY

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> I believed I was on the right road. . . . But fate was merciless to me when it threw me into this maelstrom. I wanted much, I started much, but the gale of the world carried away me and my work.
>
> GENERAL DRAJA MIHAILOVITCH: *Final speech at his trial in Belgrade, 11th July, 1946*

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669 186 Now when Abas Kupi saw that all was lost, he wasted no time in vain regrets or feeble reproaches but manfully resolved to bring his affairs to an honourable conclusion. Pride and resentment might still incline him to join with Muharrem Bairaktar and the Captain of Mirdita to wage a forlorn guerilla against the Partisans, but he had been four years the ally of the British, and loyalty, as well as judgment, forbade him to prolong a struggle which we had condemned. He decided, therefore, as a patriot to spare his countrymen from further useless bloodshed, and, like a prudent man, prepared to make good his own escape. That same afternoon he marched out towards Preza to bid his confederate chiefs farewell and to disband the Zogist forces to their homes. Thereafter he would only maintain a bodyguard, and, having discharged his last duties towards his followers, would return and seek our help to leave Albania and join his king.

701 In the Agha's absence we were committed to the care of General Prenk Previsi, the former "collaborationist" Commander-in-Chief. We rode north-eastwards, therefore, from Malibardhe, and, after a two hours' journey through rolling, wooded country, came on his headquarters, a lonely, stone

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Fear stalked through the camp in these last days, but Abas Kupi remained calm to the end. His kindness to us was unfailing; and never by word nor deed did he betray any sign of resentment against his treatment by the British Command. He understood that we were his friends, and always spoke of "our defeat" as if to show that he still identified us with his cause. We had come to know him well during these seven months in which we had so often broken bread together and slept under the same roof, and our respect for him had only grown with intimacy. No man can be great from morning until night, but there was in Abas Kupi a power of leadership, a natural wisdom, and a generous temper which endured the searching test of daily scrutiny. Courage, cunning, energy, and patience are necessary qualities in a guerilla leader, but Abas Kupi's peculiar genius lay in his skill in manipulating men, and in the natural pragmatism of his outlook. He seemed to know just how far each man could be used, and had reduced to a fine art the methods of making others serve his purposes. He would appeal with more than feminine intuition to whatever was strongest or weakest in each individual; and so personal was his technique in these matters that he would never speak with more than one man at a time. Trusting seldom, he could seldom be betrayed; but, if suspicion prevented him from delegating authority, his achievements were perhaps the more remarkable in that he was alone the indispensable heart and nerve-centre of an otherwise invertebrate movement.

He might understand by intuition; he judged only by results; and indeed it often seemed to us that he was deaf to argument and blind to a man's intentions. Such objectivity was proof alike against the sentimental appeal of a demagogue, the scrupulous hesitations of a moralist, or the fine-spun controversies of professional politicians. It was perhaps the real secret of his power, and may explain how an illiterate and primitive tribesman could command the support of intellectuals and could defeat, through four long years, the wiles of a Mustafa Kruya and the casuistry of the missionaries of the Comintern. The soundest calculation, however, proceeds in the last analysis from some act of faith; and trust in British

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power was the first article in the Agha's creed. His desperate situation might suggest that he had been mistaken, yet he still believed that his defeat was only a temporary reverse.

In the long hours of waiting we spoke together more freely than in the past, and our conversations ranged beyond the daily problems of war and politics. The Agha's philosophy was simple and earthbound, and he told me once: "We make our own heaven or hell here, in this world." He regarded power as the greatest driving force in men's lives; for experience had taught him that its possession was the necessary condition of personal freedom and of all good or evil action. In the bitterness of defeat he blamed the weakness of his allies more than the malice of his enemies, but showed the same objectivity in his opinion of people as in his judgment of affairs. A deep distrust of human nature led him to view opponents and supporters with the same detachment, and to judge them solely by their proven records, or their qualities of companionship. Enver Hoja he despised as "a fool", but he spoke with respect of Ymer Dyshnitsa and Seifullah Maleshova, and always referred to Mustafa Jinishi as "my friend". Likewise he spoke with sympathy of Mustafa Kruya, his would-be murderer, and we were once astonished to hear him call Mark Joni Markai "a good boy". As a leader he deplored the fatal suppleness of the Ballist chiefs, but as an ignorant man he bowed before their erudition. He smiled at Muharrem's vanity, and, if his affection for Gani might sometimes seem tinged with jealousy, he often told us of the "brotherly kindness" with which Gani had received him in Belgrade. Gratitude is rare in politics, but, if the Agha could not always reward kindness, at least he never forgot it. He loved the way of life of the tribal anarchy, and deplored the rise to power of new men who had never known, and would not respect, its personal freedom and ancient code of honour. Yet even his regrets were tempered by an instinctive sense of historical proportion; and once, in a more philosophical mood, he told us:

"You know we Ghegs have exploited Albania for generations. Perhaps it is only right that the Tosks should have their turn."

186

ABAS KUPI

(Photographed at our last Headquarters in the coastal plain, a few days before the end)

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It was too late to travel to Bari that day, and so we drove out together to spend the afternoon among the ruins of Pompeii. We had scarcely returned to Caserta from this expedition when the telephone rang. It was Smiley, who told us that Abas Kupi with five companions had landed at Brindisi that morning. Honour at least was saved; and yet I felt disappointed that we had not had time to return to Albania and rescue the Agha in a British ship.

It appeared that the night after our departure in the M.A.S., Ihsan and his Montenegrin skipper had put to sea from the Boyana estuary and successfully embarked the Agha and his companions. They had made good headway through the night, and had already come in sight of Brindisi next morning when the engine of the launch had broken down. They had striven to repair it; they had signalled for help; but all their efforts had been in vain and the waves had washed them back to sea. Seven nights and six days they had drifted southward, sustaining life with rain water and the meagre remnant of one night's provisions. They despaired of life, but on the seventh morning, as the current bore them into the Straits of Otranto, they were sighted by a minesweeper and were towed into Brindisi, exhausted but alive.

Their future was for some days the subject of anxious discussion; and Enver Hoja demanded that they be sent back to Albania for trial. The decisions of Caserta, however, had confirmed their status as our friends; and Abas and his sons were lodged with Said and Ihsan in a villa above the little town of Rutigliano.

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Our work was done now, but before leaving Italy we paid a last visit to the Agha and his companions. The day was cold and wet, and the armed sentries patrolling the grounds made the house look like a prison. Indoors the rooms were dark and cheerless, furnished with a few wooden chairs and army beds. It was a drab end to all our dreams; but despite the ruin of his hopes and the personal tragedy of exile — and exile is hard for an old man who can neither read, nor write, nor speak a

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186 foreign language — the Agha still displayed his old strength of heart and mind.

" I still put my trust in England," he told us. " The future is dark, but one day you will be strong again. As for me, I shall live for the time when we return together to the mountains to take up again the unending battle for freedom."

[Constitution]

643 The government or the ministers may annul or suspend
631 any illegal or irregular act of the executive committees. The higher executive committees have the same right over the lower executive committees.

The people's councils may annul or suspend any illegal or irregular act of their own executive committees.

The government and the executive committees of the higher people's councils may suspend the execution of every illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils or may propose the annulment of such acts.

ARTICLE 91

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may dissolve the lower people's councils and authorize new elections. Likewise they may suspend executive committees of the lower people's councils and order elections of new executive committees.

TITLE VI

The National Army

ARTICLE 92

701 The National Army is the armed force of the People's Republic of Albania. Its duty is to defend the independence of the state and the freedom of the people.

The army defends the frontiers of the state and guarantees internal peace and security.

ARTICLE 93

The Supreme Commander of the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania is appointed by the People's Convention.

The Supreme Commander directs all the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania.

PART THREE

186 *The Seal, Flag, and Capital City*

ARTICLE 94

The seal of the People's Republic of Albania depicts a field

[Constitution]

enclosed by two sheaves of wheat. The sheaves are tied at the bottom with a ribbon on which is written the date, May 24, 1944. 186

Between the tips of the ears of wheat there is a red pentagonic star. In the center of the field is a black double-headed eagle.

ARTICLE 95

The official flag of the People's Republic of Albania has a red field, in the center of which is a black double-headed eagle. Over the eagle is a pentagonic star, embroidered in gold. The length and breadth of the flag is one by one and forty.

ARTICLE 96

The capital city of the People's Republic of Albania is Tirana. 633

Tirana, March 14, 1946

The Secretary
Sali Mborja

The President of the Constituent Assembly 000
(signed) Tuk Jakova

Presidium of the Constituent Assembly

Decree No. 24

Tirana, March 15, 1946

Promulgation of the Constitution of The People's Republic of Albania

According to Law No. 195 of January 12, 1946, the Presidium of the Constituent Assembly decrees the promulgation of the constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, as approved by the Constituent Assembly of March 14, 1946. 643

Dr. Omer Nishani
General Lt. Kochi Xoxe
General Major Myslim Peza
Nako Spiru
Sami Baholli
General Col. Enver Hoxha
Dr. Medar Shtylla
Prof. S. Maleshova
Col. Ramadan Chitaku
Dr. Manol Konomi
Hasan Pulo
Qiriako Harito
Pandi Kristo

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

his case. Since 1912 most of this administrative and penal legislation has been superseded of set purpose by European methods and laws, whereas the social content of the old mountain code has been left comparatively undisturbed, free to come into line with the ways of the West in its own time.

The community sense was fostered by every art the mountaineers knew. Each member of a household was encouraged to regard everything in it and everything its other members said and did as his own. The humblest man was encouraged to regard his village or group of villages as his personal property. If home, village or group of villages prospered, he rejoiced as if he had himself been advanced. If they were insulted or injured, he burned to avenge a personal affront. If they were disgraced by misconduct on the part of another member, he felt his own honour to be smirched. The patriotism so bred was narrow, perhaps, but it was genuine, free from egregious self-seeking, and by its emphasis on the need to keep the community's honour untarnished, a good deterrent from crime.

This close relationship between individual and community was also a curb on dictatorship. The ruling rank had always to respect the individual's property in the community's laws. They could not make any change in an existing law unless they obtained the consent of a General Assembly of their village or tribe. They could impose, but (except in the tribes which maintained fine-collectors) they could not collect fines; social pressure was necessary for that. In a very common punishment, social ostracism, they might play no more than a subordinate part. They could not pass heavy sentences like banishment or death unless a General Assembly demanded them, and if it did, they could not resist its will. In short, the elders voiced, but did not dictate, popular sentiment.

They were no privileged oligarchy either. They might sit in the seat of honour or get the lamb's head and eye at a banquet, but they had no official residences, horses or guards of honour provided for them at public expense. They lived in houses that were often meaner than those of their subordinates; they ate the same food and toiled in the same way in their fields and among their flocks. In fact, the self-government of the Albanian mountaineers went far towards being true democracy in the Anglo-American sense of that much-abused word. In its primitive way it was really government of the People, by the People, for the People. It had

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

especially near the sea, where the soil is alluvial and stoneless, had to be thirty-two spans wide (7 yards or 6·48 metres) in order to give a pack-horse space to dodge the mud-holes in winter, when the road became a morass. Excellent examples of this type of road traverse the half-drained marshes of Ngurëzë at the mouth of the river Mat.

Mountain roads eight spans wide led to villages 'where carts had never gone'. Certain other roads led to the rare villages 'where carts had gone'. These crossed firm inland plains such as the floor of the valley of Shkrel or the plain of Nangë in Lumë; in Shkrel they had to be twelve spans wide (8 feet or 2·43 metres), and in Lumë wide enough to take a cart. A picturesque detail from Mirditë is that a 'flag-road', that is to say, a road along which a flag was carried in tribal, wedding or other processions, had to be as wide as the flagstaff was long.

Roads always followed boundaries; as a general rule, when one passed two wards or two neighbours, exactly half of it had to be in the territory of each. In other words, their boundary had to run down its exact middle. Few modifications of this law are to be noted. When fields were on a slope, the road between them was often made on the upper one. The elders laying it out had reasoned that it would gradually slip down the hill, increasing the area of the upper field and diminishing that of the lower one. When there was an irrigation channel by the road, rules varied. In Theth one neighbour left three spans of land for the channel, and the other the same amount for the adjacent footpath. Their agreement might be verbal, noted only by witnesses, or it might be written down by the priest as tribal clerk and placed in the church archives. Each neighbour had full access to path and channel alike. In Lumë, on the other hand, a path was left on both sides of an irrigation channel. These were not only for men to walk on but also for maintaining the sides of the channel, a necessary safeguard even on level ground. Each neighbour, having his own path, was less liable to quarrel with the other.

In Perlat a highway was twenty-four spans wide (16 feet or 4·86 metres), to enable a horse laden with firewood to pass another without the loads touching. Elsewhere there was no provision for two-way traffic. Road-making in our sense did not exist, and roads were merely trodden out by man or beast in the scanty space available between fields or across mountain slopes. On a typical

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

612 would have found themselves involved in a new feud with the
574 household of the man they had killed, but by the local rule of
*628 'circle after circle' he died as proxy for the real criminal and no new feud entered into the question. There seems to have been no time limit to their extended vengeance.

*628 National solidarity was recognized in the debatable border lands
● 186 where Slav and Albanian lived side by side. If an Albanian was killed by a Slav, any Albanian would kill any Slav in revenge. The crime, it was felt, had pitted the Albanian family against the Slav family. This national sentiment was so strong that though there has never been any love lost between Gegs (north Albanians) and Tosks (south Albanians), no Geg would allow a Slav to kill a Tosk without seeking in return to kill any Slav he could find. The less warlike Tosks did not feel a similar impulse. If one of their number or a Geg were killed by their Bulgarian or Greek neighbours, they left vengeance to the victim's family.

621 The community also acted as a single family when certain public
688 servants were killed. If the victim were a Roman Catholic priest,
*628 he might lawfully be avenged by his parish, the tribe in which the parish lay, and his own family. If action were taken by the parish or tribe, the matter ended. The avenger's act closed the feud, and, fearing no retribution, he could hang up his rifle. If the priest's family afterwards killed another of the murderer's men, they began a new feud. Generally the family did not wait for the parish or the tribe to act. When a Mohammedan or an Orthodox priest was killed, it fell to his relatives to avenge the crime; the feeling that sacrilege had been committed was too slight to drive their parishioners into action.

621 If a field-guard of Lumë were killed, he was publicly avenged.
*628 If the murderer was from another village, any of the field-guard's fellow villagers could lawfully kill any man from the murderer's village during the first twenty-four hours, and afterwards he could kill the murderer or any other man in his household. In either case he could hang up his rifle. If the field-guard were killed by a fellow-villager, the village expelled the murderer. On the other hand, if a miller were killed, vengeance rested with his family; the village could not act. A field-guard was a public necessity; without his services the village economy would suffer, and he must be given public protection. A miller had taken up his work for the sake of private gain and was not a public necessity; if he were not at the

Italian shipping centers, also Foggia, reputed to be a prospective bombing base for long-range American operations against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the eastern and central Mediterranean basin and much of North Africa, more important than ever in the latest British and American strategy, would be within bombing radius of Jugoslav and Albanian airfields. Tito's withdrawal from the Soviet camp made it necessary to rely solely on Albanian bases for carrying these plans into execution. Without Saseno and the Albanian airfields (of which there were about ten by latest report, half of them developed to the point where they could serve heavy planes), Soviet submarines would be barred from the Mediterranean and Soviet bombers would be pushed back to the Danube valley. We of course have no direct information about the extent of recent Soviet activity on Saseno. However, foreign intelligence services in contact with underground elements inside Albania believe that although newspaper stories about elaborate concrete submarine pens are exaggerated the scale of fortifications makes Saseno a formidable threat to naval movements in the Mediterranean in time of war as well as to military installations in Italy and North Africa. 648

With such valuable eggs in its little Albanian basket,[1] the Kremlin naturally ordered Prime Minister Hoxha to show the utmost diligence in rooting out any dangerous nationalist sentiments that might appear in the Albanian Communist Party. There had been a nationalist movement of some promise in Albania during the war, but its leaders had lost standing for various reasons—some because they collaborated with the Communists, some because they collaborated with the Nazis when the latter replaced the Italians after the Italian capitulation, some because American and British propaganda tended to favor the Albanian Communists as a way of helping the Jugoslav Partisans, especially after the Allied landing in Italy made it seem possible that Churchill might succeed in having an Allied expedition sent into the Balkans. When Hoxha set up his government in Tirana in November 1944 he maintained the appearance of collaboration with such non-Communist resistance elements as still existed and were willing to join the new "Democratic Front," the organization which now replaced the openly Communist "National Liberation Front" of the war years. But the need for concessions to patriotic 665 186 665 642

1 [i.e. Russian political and strategic interests; see cat. 116, pp. 228-229.—Analyst]

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
A76an13E61

665 nationalist and democratic forces in the country diminished as the Communist Party tightened its hold; and following the one-ticket 642 elections of December 2, 1945, it came to an end. The monarchy was abolished in fact as well as in name, the People's Democratic Republic of Albania was proclaimed and the non-Communists who had been collaborating with Hoxha fled abroad or were shot. There followed the agrarian "reforms," the nationalization (confiscation) of such small industry as existed in the country, the elimination of independent shopkeepers and the other measures which so much pleased the Soviet commentator quoted earlier.

186 Among the strongest incentives to Albanian nationalistic feeling 648 are Albania's claim to the Kossovo area in Jugoslavia, where there is an Albanian minority, and Greece's claim to the Northern Epirus district in southern Albania, where there is a Greek minority. Propaganda in favor of one annexation and counter-propaganda against the other are the habitual stock-in-trade of Albanian patriots.

648 Italy annexed Kossovo to Albania in 1941—one of Mussolini's cheap rewards for the Nazi victory in Jugoslavia. The action strengthened the Jugoslav resistance, notably on the part of the Serb Chetniks, for the Kossovo plain holds a special place in Serb history and in the hearts of Serb patriots. In the end the district went back to Jugoslavia, after the Italians and later the Germans had been expelled. One of the returns which Hoxha had to make for Tito's material and moral support was to put an end to the former annexationist propaganda in that direction.

Developments on the other front were more favorable to Hoxha. Britain always had been a friend and protector of Greece, from imperial interest as well as Byronic sentiment, and the United States had taken over a share in that rôle under the Truman Doctrine. Hoxha could point to the fact that the two Western Powers were hostile to the Greek Communists as well as to his own Communist régime, whereas the Soviet Union was friendly to both; and on this basis he could argue that if the Greek Royal Government won it would have British and perhaps American support in claiming Northern Epirus, whereas if the Greek Communists won they would be instructed by the Soviet Government to withdraw any claim on another Communist country's territory. On balance, Communism

342 dwellings immediately enables one to make the distinction between the natives of this district. The comfortable handsome stone houses, with large galleries on the upper stories before the living rooms and the stables below, denote the typical Albanian peasant homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

543 There are two kinds of gypsies in this in-
197 teresting country: one is the same as the
140 English variety, speaking the quaint old
191 Romany, although knowing at the same time the language of the country. This branch of gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly moving from one district to another, pitching their temporary tents wheresoever they will.
143 Their keenest interest is in horses and they live by their tradings and quite often entirely by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is those, who, having forgotten almost all of their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a little Turkish where they are old enough to have experienced the Turkish occupation of Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up
533 tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their
535 daily bread in the simplest and most conven-
563 ient way possible for them: singing and danc-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

holding each other with one hand while they execute a step composed of shuffles and leaps, and not particularly graceful, waving at the same time over their heads a kerchief, or scarf, with their disengaged hand. Another dance of a pantomimic character is sometimes performed at weddings for the amusement of the company. Three masked men, in the characters of a man, his wife, and his servant, perform a burlesque representing the weakness of man and the unfaithfulness of woman. The husband expresses by gesture his despair at seeing his wife make eyes at the wedding guests, while her servant, armed with a broom in lieu of a gun, threatens to shoot her mistress's lovers.

The Albanians are, as M. Dozon remarks,[1] "without literature, without art, and almost without a history." Their language, which is difficult to learn and difficult to pronounce, is a complete mosaic of fragments borrowed from many sources, though a native element naturally predominates. Greek and Turkish words abound, and many of Slav and Latin origin have become part of the vernacular. The language of the Skipetars is also divided between the two dialects spoken respectively by the Tosks and the Ghegs, though there is no well-defined line of demarcation between them. The purest Albanian is said to be spoken at Elbassan, the inhabitants of which according to the native saying:

> "Turk of Stambolhit [Constantinople],
> Skipe of Elbasanit,"

are looked upon as representative Skipetars. The total neglect of the mother tongue has been due in

[1] *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*, pp. 1 and 163.

795 of his predecessors, to Cairo with them. Although for two generations the royal family has abjured the Bektashi tenets and worshipped according to Hanafi rites, the shrine and its occupants remain. Young men who wish to become dervishes go, if they are able, to Cairo,

[162]

FIG. 3. Territorial distribution of religions.

[191] and receive their instruction at the central shrine. That is why many of the dervishes in Ghegnia spoke Arabic, and had some knowledge of other Moslem countries. Besides the [792] village dervishes, the Bektashis have a number of monasteries, located in Has and Malsia e Jakovës. We measured the abbot of one of them, who was a Has man.

795 Despite its centuries in Ghegnia, Catholicism
182 has failed to change many of the customs of the mountaineers, such as the *fis* system with cross-cousin marriage, trial marriage, the levirate, blood brotherhood, and the swearing of virginity. The reason is of course that the needs which these customs fill have not been eliminated. The Moslem faith permits them and thus has become more popular. Islam is deemed the more fashionable and more civilized religion. The people of the towns, rich men, army officers, and other sophisticates are usually Moslems. Most Catholics are poor. This attitude is of course a hold-over from the period of Turkish domination. Many Albanians admired the Turks. Many spoke Turkish by preference. I recall once riding along a lane in Zadrima with my interpreter, Mr. Frasheri, who reprimanded 2 old harvesters whom we passed for talking Turkish together. Bishop Fan Noli suggests that they may have been Turkish-speaking refugees from the towns of Prizren, Peia, or Podgoritza.

[191]

795 There is a certain dietary difference between
262 Catholics and Moslems. The former eat pork,
273 especially in the wintertime. The Moslems curl up their nostrils and gag at the smell of pork, and will not enter a room where it is cooking. In its place they use much mutton fat in their cooking. Catholics drink wine when they can get it; Moslems care for their alcoholic needs with *raki*. These differences are probably of no biological importance, as far as the growth and development of the individual are concerned, but they do serve to intensify the mutual antipathy of the 2 religious groups and inhibit a genetic interchange.

582 In Lura, in a population not exceeding a few
178 hundred individuals, Catholics and Moslems
795 intermarry. In a single household the father may be Catholic, the mother Moslem, and the children will choose their own religions. This is the only place in Ghegnia where this happens. Lura is in process of change from Catholicism to Islam. As the latter gains ground, mixed households are found. The government of Ahmed Zog made much of this isolated situation, urging other Albanians to follow the example of the Lurans in the interests of national unity.

178 Various stages in this process of shifting are
795 found in different tribes and *bairaks*. In Mer-

[Constitution]

TITLE IV

Courts and Department of the Attorney General

(a) *Courts* 692

ARTICLE 75

The judicial organs of the People's Republic of Albania are: The Supreme Court, the People's Courts of the prefectures and subprefectures, and the Military Courts.

Special Courts may be created by law for specific questions. [698]

ARTICLE 76

The courts give their decisions in the name of the people.

The courts are independent in the exercise of their own functions. They are separated from all the administrative branches of government. Their decisions cannot be altered except by higher courts.

The higher courts are empowered within the law to control lower courts.

The Ministry of Justice directs and controls all matters of judicial administration and organization. [645]

ARTICLE 77

The courts try cases according to law. 695

ARTICLE 78

In principle, court sessions are open to the public.

ARTICLE 79

In principle, the decisions of the courts are given for the entire bench. The judicial personnel of the subprefectures and prefectures sitting as a court of original jurisdiction is composed of permanent judges and juries, both of whom have equal rights.

Penal verdicts of more than ten years cannot be given by a court of original jurisdiction but only by a court of the prefecture or by a higher court.

ARTICLE 80

The official language in all courts is Albanian. 191 695

[Constitution]

191 695 Any citizen who does not know Albanian may use his own language through an interpreter.

ARTICLE 81

692 The Supreme Court is elected for four years by the People's Convention of the Republic and by secret ballot.

The courts of the prefectures are elected for three years by the people's councils of the prefecture and by secret ballot.

[666] The judges of the subprefectures are also elected for three years by the people's councils of the subprefecture and by secret ballot.

A person may be elected judge many times.

The manner of election to all courts will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 82

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial body of the People's Republic of Albania.

[698] The Supreme Court can arbitrate any conflict of jurisdiction between the civil and military courts as well as between courts and any other bodies.

Cases in which the Supreme Court acts as a court of original or secondary jurisdiction will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 83

The Supreme Court passes on the legality of all court decisions of the Republic.

693 [692] Only the District Attorney may exercise an appeal against a summary decision of the courts. The decision given on such an appeal has no effect on the cause tried except when the law provides otherwise.

(b) *Department of the Attorney General*

ARTICLE 84

693 646 The Department of the Attorney General is the organ of the People's Convention which supervises the execution of the law by the ministries and other administrative bodies as well as by all public officials and citizens.

ARTICLE 85

The Attorney General of the People's Republic of Albania

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

he assured me, was as good as the best vintage champagne. And as for the climate—consumptives in the last stages of the disease began to put on weight on the third day after their arrival, and what greater proof of its value could one have? The inhabitants, although poor, were strong and healthy, and had many children (I did not need the doctor to tell me this, for children swarmed there), and altogether Podgradetz was a paradise but for one thing—the lack of money. For the moment the worthy man overlooked the fact that this made the analogy all the closer.

These panegyrics were delivered in French, a language which is spoken by all persons who have been students at the Continental universities and hospitals. The Podgradetz schoolmaster spoke it also. One sometimes hears the opinion expressed that English will eventually become the universal extra language. It is much more likely to be French than English. [191]

I remained in Podgradetz for several days, waiting for the boat and amusing myself as best I could by writing and sketching and going for walks in the surrounding hills. One day, as I was strolling by the shore of the lake close to the town, a curious quacking noise arrested my attention. It sounded like an angry goose, or a duck of exceptionally powerful vocal attainments. But there was no duck or goose in the vicinity and I could not imagine what caused it until I noticed that the sound coincided with the appearance of certain black dots on the surface of the water. Then I discovered that the authors of the noise were frogs which had

113
192

Slovenes EF7
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For the use of special terms associated with the parts of a dwelling or of a non-residential structure, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

197 spoken by Alexander the Great and King Pyrrhus of Epirus.

•192 It stands to reason that, in the course of time, the Albanian language, as it is to-day, has become impregnated with numerous words of foreign extraction, which are necessarily much younger than the language itself, although there are positive indications that the Illyrian tongue exerted considerable influence upon the subsequent development of the grammar as it is used to-day. In spite of these fragments borrowed from innumerable sources, the native element predominates. Scarcely any words can be traced to the ancient Greek, whose influence barely reached Albania in classical days. Many words of Latin origin have become an integral part of the vernacular. Some of the Latin loan-words are obvious, for instance we have *katër*—four, and *qind* meaning hundred. The Albanian word *këndoj*, I sing or I read, comes from canto, also *qen*, meaning dog, is decidedly the Latin canis. And last, but far from least, there is *kujtoj* meaning I recall or I remind from the Latin cogito.

Albanian is a language of interest to the student, for this language, feeling Roman

192 civilization as it did, still absorbed it into its own speech, for the vocabulary has many Latin words, while the grammar and pronunciation have remained constant to indigenous forms.

197 Albanian is difficult to learn and more difficult to pronounce. It is divided into two dialects, that of the Tosks, which has more borrowed words, and that of the Ghegs spoken in the north and being the more primitive of the two. There is to be found only a very slight line of demarcation between these two dialects. A few indigenous words come directly from the Indo-European stock as shown in the dialect of the Ghegs, such as: *Dimën* meaning winter with its plural as *dimna* and *emën* meaning name and the plural form *emna*. In the south the Tosks have these same nouns only varying in form as the *n* between vowels becomes *r*—thus, *dimër*, *dimëra* and *emër*, *emëra*.

212 The alphabet employed in the Ghegian dialects is generally Roman.

197 Not only is the Albanian language spoken in Albania proper but also in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Turkey,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

holding each other with one hand while they execute a step composed of shuffles and leaps, and not particularly graceful, waving at the same time over their heads a kerchief, or scarf, with their disengaged hand. Another dance of a pantomimic character is sometimes performed at weddings for the amusement of the company. Three masked men, in the characters of a man, his wife, and his servant, perform a burlesque representing the weakness of man and the unfaithfulness of woman. The husband expresses by gesture his despair at seeing his wife make eyes at the wedding guests, while her servant, armed with a broom in lieu of a gun, threatens to shoot her mistress's lovers.

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are looked upon as representative Skipetars. The total neglect of the mother tongue has been due in

[1] *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*, pp. 1 and 163.

342 I am not in a position to conclude as to the correctness of his results. In any case, the arguments put forward (p. 51) by Nopcsa in its support, cannot be considered as strong in my opinion. In the first [192] place, the word plas, which in Albanian means palace, may have originated from ancient Dalmatian. But the Latin word «palatium» has been naturalised in the Greek countries already since the Augustan days, and this does not prove that there was any Latin influance upon their building modes, as neither the word «δοκίτιον» (alb. shpit) originating from the Latin word hospitium, has any relation to Roman architecture.

Housing types impressed on medieval coins of some Albanian towns can be but little proof since, according to his own remark, houses such as the one represented on a coin of Scodra (end of 14th century) can be found even to-day in the area of Delvinon in Epirus; namely, they are connected with Greek monumental architecture.

342 712 This question will be better clarified, in my opinion, by the examination of another housing type, the Kula, which is widely spread in Albania.

The house in Albania does not serve as a protection against weather only, but it should also provide security against enemies. This double purpose obliges the Albanians to build even less comfortable houses, if these are to enable their inhabitants to enjoy a peaceful night and, if needed, to defend themselves in case of emergency from them. In Nothern Albania the most primitive system of defence at home consists in a mere hiding place, built with solid materials within the very house. This shelter is usually of 2.5 m. long and 1.5 m. high and it is covered with slabs of stone. The place is entered through an opening of 0.75 m. square, so that the entire [513] shelter does not differ in appearance from an oven. The head as well as male members of the family spend their nights in this shelter.

It is evident that the use of such a kind of quarters cannot continue over a long time. For this reason, even when they were to build a most primitive single-room house of stone, Albanians have tried to [361] obtain security by other means, i.e. by keeping the enemy as far from their houses as possible. The means to this aim are: building of the house in a secluded spot on a highest possible site, but not too far away from the fields, so that inhabitans may be able to reach their house in the shortest possible time in case of emergency; small windows, arranged in such a way as to afford covering fire on all approaches; a strong roof, difficult to reach, in order to

in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their «naturalisation» as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called «mastori» in Albania. A 342 712 177 [463]

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word «maistor» has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of «Protomaistor». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words «maistor» and «protomaistor» that originate in the Latin word «magister» (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of A [192]

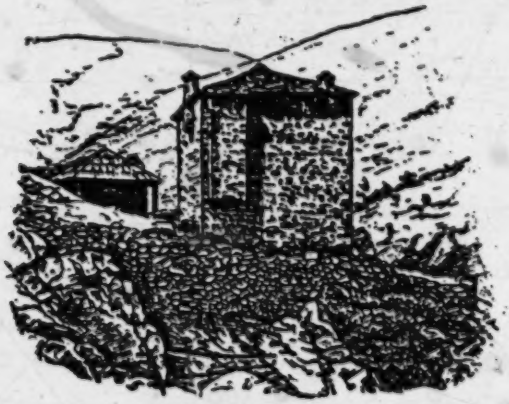

Fig. 75. A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe
(Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as «Μαστοροχώρια» (builders' villages), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession centuries ago. For months on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership A [192] G [331] [467] [484] A [463]

1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

2 [ie. Haberlandt - ANALYST.]

197 United States of America, Yugoslavia, and in such other countries where the Albanian emigrants have established themselves.

193 Upon examining the grammar, one finds that its most striking characteristic is its abundance of auxiliaries. The verbs have eight conjugations, distinguished by their infinitives.

197 To the scholar who investigates the language another striking feature presents itself, namely, that the Albanian language alone offers a satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the names of the ancient Greek gods and other Greek mythological creations. The facts in the case are so very convincing as to confirm the opinion that Greek mythology has been borrowed at one time in its entirety from the Illyrian-Pelasgians. For example, we see that Zeus survives even to this day in the *Zoti* (God) of the Albanian language which word is an ordinary, native oath used by the modern Albanians; Athena, the Latin Minerva, goddess of wisdom, has her derivation in the Albanian *e thëna*, which simply means speech. Thetis, goddess of water and the sea, would be but the Albanian *det*, meaning sea. Another example of great interest is the word

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Women, too, had a personal name, but after they married their husbands were too shy to use it, and others knew them in early life as 'Mark's (or Asllan's or Vasil's) young wife' and in later life as his 'wife' or 'old woman', so that their own name fell into disuse. This contributed to their seclusion from the outside world and at the same time avoided the superfluous; since descent in the female line did not count, their names were not thought worth remembering.

Surnames in the sense of family names were general among the Orthodox, comparatively rare among the Moslems, and non-existent among the Catholics. Both Moslems and Catholics, however, tacked on the name of a man's father to his own and so distinguished him from his fellows. Thus a Moslem called Sadik Asllan was Asllan's Sadik and different from Sadik Arif, the son of Arif. A Catholic called Zef Nika was Nikë's Zef, i.e. Zef son of Nikë—Joseph Nicolson in English—and Zef Toma was Tom's Zef, i.e. Joseph Thomson, quite another person. Nika and Toma are in the indefinite genitive, to mark possession. As Moslem names might also be put in this genitive in Albania, Sadik Asllani, an Albanian form, was as frequently heard as Sadik Asllan, its Turkish counterpart. The endings of the Albanian indefinite genitive, it should be said, are tricky and vary according to the final letter of the root word and also according to the dialect used. They are further liable to be confused by foreigners with the definite article which Albanians must suffix to the name when making a statement about a person or a place. Thus Zef Nika signed himself so, without any suffixed article, but if another Albanian reported that 'Zef had gone', he must add the definite article to the name, saying *Zefi iku*. Turkish influence also made Moslems stop at the father's name, but the Catholics, who seem to have preserved the oldest Albanian method of nomenclature, often appended the grandfather's name as well.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

nation, which is the greatest, could put into the field more than 15,000 men on horseback, well fitted to wage war in the manner of their country, valiant and good fighters. And the said nations, both Latins and Abbanois, are harshly oppressed under the intolerable and very hard servitude of the most hateful and abominable lordship of the Slavs. Indeed, they are a downtrodden people; their clergy is lowered and humbled; their bishops and abbots often imprisoned; their nobles disinherited and imprisoned; their churches, both cathedrals and collegiate, are dispersed and deprived of power; their monasteries and priories lost and destroyed. They, one and all, would think to consecrate their hands in the blood of the said Slavs if they saw coming a Prince of France who would be their leader and chief against the said Slavs, the enemies of truth and of our faith. One thousand French horse and five or six infantry, along with the said Abbanois and Latins, could conquer at their ease the whole of this Kingdom of Rassie, such as it is."

This passage, written almost at the height of Serb power, shows clearly that the Serb conqueror had failed to destroy the Albanian sense of nationality, and failed to force the Serbian Orthodox Church upon the people; and that there was a very large Albanophone population with a Catholic clergy of its own. The bishoprics of Antivari, Scutari, Sappa, and Pulati still exist, and have survived both Serb and Turk. Into this reserve of Albanian nationality the refugees from the surrounding districts fled when the Turks advanced. The mountain population, then as now, was no doubt scattered in isolated houses or family groups of several houses on the mountain pastures, and not gathered into towns or villages. They formed "katuns." That the population was numerous is shown by the many ecclesiastical and political documents, correspondence with the Vatican, Venice, and Ragusa, and old Serbian archives. Thus in 1348 Tsar Stefan Dushan gives to the monastery he is founding at Prizren nine Albanian "katuns" near Prizren, the said Albanians to give serf labour to the monastery. He gives also some land in Upper Pulati, together with its inhabitants. Several still existing place-names are mentioned: Shikje, Krue e Madhe (the great spring of water), and Sakati. "The existing Catholic clergy at Shikje who have vineyards" are to pay a tribute of wine to the monastery (an Orthodox one), and so are certain other districts. The people of Lower Pulati are to pay tribute of 100,000 silk cocoons. Several mills are handed to the monastery and in one case the miller, Zan, and his brethren are mentioned. No one may erect a mill on Church land, under penalty of a fine and loss of the mill. (The Church alone has the right to grind corn. This would give it immense power.) Large districts of Lower Pulati are given to the Serb Church, including the

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

NOTE ON THE SPELLING OF ALBANIAN NAMES

194 In the spelling of names and place-names, I have sought to render the original Albanian as nearly as possible as it is pronounced. To this end I have employed a system of English consonants and Italian vowels. I have thus eschewed the conventions of modern Albanian spelling which, however logical in themselves, give to an Englishman an entirely false impression of the sounds which they are intended to transcribe.[1] Likewise, in the rendering of South Slav names, I have preferred what seems to me the more natural and phonetic spelling to the conventions of the official " Latinitza ". I have followed the same course in the rendering of the many Albanian names which are derived from Turkish or Arabic.

My sole object has been to convey to the reader the strange sounds of a strange land, in the hope that they may evoke for him — for such is the magic of sounds — something of the atmosphere in which we lived.

[1] Thus, in modern Albanian, the name of the present Albanian Prime Minister is written *Hexha*, though pronounced *Hoja*.

[page v = blank]

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[779 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming
614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167 the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
● 197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[668 died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is
[103 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the
174] road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the
[197 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are
779] said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat,
174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo,
776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and
614 widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti,
[166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli.
[582] They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the
174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 167 721 727 the trees and, as for arms, did not know what they were, except for two or three kinds of javelins and darts."

Thus he describes them as a savage horde, but gives no information as to tribes or chiefs.

It was fully another century before the Serbs were finally established and settled. Presbyter Diocleas, though hopelessly confused in his details about dates and persons, probably records a true tradition in his *Chronicles* when he describes the invasion of the pagan Slavs thus: "The Christians, seeing themselves placed in great tribulation and persecution, began gathering themselves together on mountain-tops, and strove to construct strongholds and castles and edifices, that they might escape from the hands of the Slavs till God should visit them and set them free."

H A 342 The mountain dwellings of the Vlahs and the Albanians still bear witness to the flight of the old inhabitant before the invader. To what extent the partly Romanized Illyrian populations became intermixed with the Serb it is impossible to say, but the Serb differs so much from the Northern Slav-speaking peoples (Poles, Czechs, Russians) that a considerable admixture of other blood is suggested. That this differed in various regions is shown by the place-names. Slavonic names are thickest in Serbia (pre-war), in Macedonia, and in Bosnia—that is, in the most fertile districts. They are rarest of all in North Albania, and are scanty in South Albania and in Thrace. In Montenegro and the Herzegovina there is a sprinkling of non-Slavonic names. Antique Greek and Roman names appear mainly on the coasts. Inland, "Nish" preserves the Roman (? pre-Roman) name of "Naissus"; and "Uskub" (Turkish) and "Shkupi" (Albanian) preserve the old "Scupi," now completely distorted by the Serbs into "Skoplje."

A 103 197 A 173 How much of what survives of tribe and tribe law is a remnant of the Illyrians and the "peligones," and how much is Slavonic, can hardly now be determined; but it is of interest to note that tribe and tribe law have survived longest in those districts which were least under Serb rule—Albania, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina.

2. Tribe Law in North Albania

THE CANON OF LEK DUKAGIN

A 671 173 Whenever in the mountains I asked why anything was done, I was told, "Because Lek ordered it." Law, custom, usage, were all attributed to Lek. That he must have been a man of strong personality to have thus set a mark on a people is obvious; but very little is known about

of influence in the affairs of state of Eastern 175
Europe. Pyrrhus, one of the last of these kings, was a man of the greatest ability and made an illustrious name for himself because of his learning and his statescraft, and, moreover, augmented the glory of his nation by reason of his executive ability. Among the bravest of brave, Pyrrhus did not hesitate to cross the Adriatic to aid in the defense of the Greek colonies of Southern Italy, Magna Craecia; neither did he hesitate to grapple with the rising power of Rome, and as a result, winning a prominent place for himself among the great commanders of the world.

In the year 168 before Christ, the Romans wreaked a terrible vengeance on Epirus, destroying seven towns and reducing one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants to slavery. This was the only time in the history of the race that the Epirots were ever thoroughly sudbued. But even the Roman conquest 177
wrought little change in their social customs. They still retained their own language, national customs and usages, and withal, remained a distinct and peculiar people.

The question as to whether the Albanians 144
are genuine Epirots and Illyrians or a new 197
people formed by large and repeated infusions

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1
Ancient Albania

144 of barbarians from the north has been very
197 much discussed. It was finally decided, upon evidence furnished by their language, which has been definitely determined a true representative of the ancient Illyrian, that the Albanians are the direct descendants of these ancient people, the Epirots and the Illyrians, who were neighbors and kindred tribes speaking different dialects of the same language; though, perhaps through the course of the ages, the Albanians may have become mingled, especially in the north, with other foreign elements.

144 Some ethnologists and students of the race and language declare with certainty that the Illyrian is one of the aboriginal races of Europe and that, if the term "Pelasgi" was ever used to designate a particular people, this must have been the race to which it referred. There is definite proof that their numerous tribes extended far into the north, even beyond the Danube, and this leads us to surmise rightfully that the Illyrians were the first branch of the Indo-European race to settle in Europe and were there long before the time of the Celts.

The old division between the Epirots and

643 lowed by several uprisings, and, when we realize that, following the world war, Albania was pillaged by her neighbors, and, lastly, when we comprehend in some measure the tremendous task that confronted the king as the ruler of a torn and sadly mutilated country endeavoring, in the role of a new and independent nation, to struggle to its feet, and against terrific economic, social, and political odds to take its place in the family of nations, when he was called upon to face innumerable problems in organizing a government without money and to create a peaceful nation out of chaos, only then can we appreciate the great achievements of King Zog. He has met and beneficially solved the numerous post-war problems, social, political, cultural and economic, which confronted Albania, creating the necessary administration of government and freeing the country of invaders.

• 197 The promotion of national consciousness was pushed ahead by the use of a common language in which school-books, newspapers and literary works have to be printed, substituting for the local dialects. The law of agra-
423 rian reform of 1930 laid the foundation for
[565] the creation of a nationalistically-inclined class of small peasant proprietors.

The Albanian Language

THE Albanian language, as is spoken to-day, is the only surviving representative of the Thraco-Illyrian group of languages, which formed the primitive speech of the Balkan peninsula. Its ground work and grammar are distinctly Indo-European, but the language is entirely different from the neighboring tongues. The proofs of its Indo-European origin are to be found in many of the personal pronouns as, *ty* meaning thee, *na* signifying we, *ju* as you; and the verbal forms as illustrated by *thom* meaning I say; *thotë*, he says; *thomi*, we say, and *thonë*, they say.

Professor Max Muller, speaking about the Albanian language, says: "This language... has been traced back to...the Illyrian,..."

And also Strabo, in his writings, gives specimen of the language in his day, and also place names, and the strong resemblance of these to the modern Albanian fully justifies the Albanians in believing that the Albanian language is the direct descendant of that

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

spoken by Alexander the Great and King Pyrrhus of Epirus.

It stands to reason that, in the course of time, the Albanian language, as it is to-day, has become impregnated with numerous words of foreign extraction, which are necessarily much younger than the language itself, although there are positive indications that the Illyrian tongue exerted considerable influence upon the subsequent development of the grammar as it is used to-day. In spite of these fragments borrowed from innumerable sources, the native element predominates. Scarcely any words can be traced to the ancient Greek, whose influence barely reached Albania in classical days. Many words of Latin origin have become an integral part of the vernacular. Some of the Latin loan-words are obvious, for instance we have *katër*—four, and *qind* meaning hundred. The Albanian word *këndoj*, I sing or I read, comes from canto, also *qen*, meaning dog, is decidedly the Latin canis. And last, but far from least, there is *kujtoj* meaning I recall or I remind from the Latin cogito.

Albanian is a language of interest to the student, for this language, feeling Roman

192 civilization as it did, still absorbed it into its own speech, for the vocabulary has many Latin words, while the grammar and pronunciation have remained constant to indigenous forms.

• 197 Albanian is difficult to learn and more difficult to pronounce. It is divided into two dialects, that of the Tosks, which has more borrowed words, and that of the Ghegs spoken in the north and being the more primitive of the two. There is to be found only a very slight line of demarcation between these two dialects. A few indigenous words come directly from the Indo-European stock as shown in the dialect of the Ghegs, such as: *Dimën* meaning winter with its plural as *dimna* and *emën* meaning name and the plural form *emna*. In the south the Tosks have these same nouns only varying in form as the *n* between vowels becomes *r*—thus, *dimër*, *dimëra* and *emër*, *emëra*.

212 The alphabet employed in the Ghegian dialects is generally Roman.

197 Not only is the Albanian language spoken in Albania proper but also in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Turkey,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

197 United States of America, Yugoslavia, and in such other countries where the Albanian emigrants have established themselves.

193 Upon examining the grammar, one finds that its most striking characteristic is its abundance of auxiliaries. The verbs have eight conjugations, distinguished by their infinitives.

197 To the scholar who investigates the language another striking feature presents itself, namely, that the Albanian language alone offers a satisfactory explanation of the meaning of the names of the ancient Greek gods and other Greek mythological creations. The facts in the case are so very convincing as to confirm the opinion that Greek mythology has been borrowed at one time in its entirety from the Illyrian-Pelasgians. For example, we see that Zeus survives even to this day in the *Zoti* (God) of the Albanian language which word is an ordinary, native oath used by the modern Albanians; Athena, the Latin Minerva, goddess of wisdom, has her derivation in the Albanian *e thëna*, which simply means speech. Thetis, goddess of water and the sea, would be but the Albanian *det*, meaning sea. Another example of great interest is the word

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

197 Ulysses, or the Greek form *Odysseus*, means traveller, in the Albanian tongue; *udhë* is interpreted as both travel and road.

The works of the great poet Homer abound with words that not only survive in the Albanian language but are also in constant use. Not only words but even phrases may be taken from Homer that possess all the earmarks of a typical Albanian expression. Were someone to interpret Homer from the standpoint of the Albanian language, a great deal of light would be shed on that renowned poet's works. Between the Homeric and Albanian sentences there is a striking resemblance of expression, phraseology and sentence structure. A study of this nature would aid in the interpretation of Homer, as the Albanian tongue is older than that of Greece, a great deal might be learned as to the influence of the former on the Homeric and subsequent Greek language.

To-day the historic name of Macedonia, formerly known as "Emathia" probably is derived from the Albanian word *E Madhia* meaning the great. Also we find for Illyria the word *liria* in Albanian meaning the freedom or liberty.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

• 197 The Albanian language, as nationally spoken to-day, is a beneficial consolidation of the aformentioned two dialects—Gheg and Tosk—formed into a unified vocabulary without changing the essential meanings of the words. And in this manner all magazines, newspapers, school books, etc., are published throughout the nation.

342 dwellings immediately enables one to make the distinction between the natives of this district. The comfortable handsome stone houses, with large galleries on the upper stories before the living rooms and the stables below, denote the typical Albanian peasant homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

543 There are two kinds of gypsies in this in-
197 teresting country: one is the same as the
166 English variety, speaking the quaint old
191 Romany, although knowing at the same time the language of the country. This branch of gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly moving from one district to another, pitching their temporary tents wheresoever they will.
[43] Their keenest interest is in horses and they live by their tradings and quite often entirely by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is those, who, having forgotten almost all of their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a little Turkish where they are old enough to have experienced the Turkish occupation of Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up
533 tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their
535 daily bread in the simplest and most conven-
563 ient way possible for them: singing and danc-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000 mellowing into ripeness on the mountains
137 surrounding Elbasan. These same mountains are well-timbered, giving rich promise of
136 future wealth. However, these mountainous forests are so dense and wild that they are veritably thick with bears, wild boars, wolves and other savage animals, an excellent but dangerous opportunity for the game-hunter.
131 Being the center from which all the roads radiate; to Korcha (Korça) in one direction, and to Durazzo (Durrës) in the other, Elbasan may be rightly called the "naval" of Albania. This old center of Turkish strife is also the natural boundary between the Ghegs and the Tosks: northern and southern
• 197 Albanians. It also marks the difference in the pronunciation of the native dialects. North of the River Shkumbi many words have an "n" where on the southern side these same words have an "r." The dialect spoken by the inhabitants of Elbasan is intelligible to the natives in either of the extremes of the country, being proverbially as beautiful as the Greek of Athens and the Turkish of Constantinople. For this reason the native tongue, as spoken by an Elbasanian, has been adopted as the basis of the language of the whole country.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

holding each other with one hand while they execute a step composed of shuffles and leaps, and not particularly graceful, waving at the same time over their heads a kerchief, or scarf, with their disengaged hand. Another dance of a pantomimic character is sometimes performed at weddings for the amusement of the company. Three masked men, in the characters of a man, his wife, and his servant, perform a burlesque representing the weakness of man and the unfaithfulness of woman. The husband expresses by gesture his despair at seeing his wife make eyes at the wedding guests, while her servant, armed with a broom in lieu of a gun, threatens to shoot her mistress's lovers.

The Albanians are, as M. Dozon remarks,[1] "without literature, without art, and almost without a history." Their language, which is difficult to learn and difficult to pronounce, is a complete mosaic of fragments borrowed from many sources, though a native element naturally predominates. Greek and Turkish words abound, and many of Slav and Latin origin have become part of the vernacular. The language of the Skipetars is also divided between the two dialects spoken respectively by the Tosks and the Ghegs, though there is no well-defined line of demarcation between them. The purest Albanian is said to be spoken at Elbassan, the inhabitants of which according to the native saying:

> "Turk of Stambolhit [Constantinople],
> Skipe of Elbasanit,"

are looked upon as representative Skipetars. The total neglect of the mother tongue has been due in

[1] *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*, pp. 1 and 163.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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197 great measure to the profession of three creeds by the Albanian people, Turkish only being taught in the Moslem schools; in the Roman Catholic, Italian; and in the Orthodox Christian, Greek. The only section of the Albanians who can boast of any degree of culture are the Khams, and even this is not indigenous, but is borrowed entirely from the Epirote Greeks of Ioannina and its neighbourhood.

871 The education of the vast majority of Albanian
565 girls, whether Moslem or Christian, is of a purely
562 domestic character, and, with the exception of a small number of Gheg and Tosk maidens of the better class, who are taught a little reading and writing and a great deal of etiquette by old lady *hodjas*, they are entirely unlettered. From the age of twelve to the
562 time of their marriage, which generally takes place
571 before they are sixteen, both Moslem and Christian
868 girls are condemned to complete seclusion from the outer world. The customs of the Christians in this respect are, indeed, more rigid than those of the Moslems, for their daughters are not, during this interval, allowed to present themselves before visitors even of their own sex. Time is not, however, allowed to hang heavily upon the hands of these maidens, whatever their position and prospects. Besides taking an active part in all household duties, there is the important task to accomplish of getting ready her trousseau, and this involves the spinning, weaving, sewing, and embroidering of the various stuffs, cotton, linen, woollen, and silken, of which it is to be composed.

369
562 The peasant and country girls generally, both of

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

LAND OF THE HIGHLAND GHEGS

101 THE people who form the object of this study are the mountaineers who inhabit the Dinaric mountain chain on either side of the gorge cut by the river Drin on its way from the Serbian plain to the Adriatic. Most of their country lies inside the political boundaries of Albania, but parts of it have belonged to Yugoslavia for the past third of a century. [197] They speak the northern of the 2 Albanian languages, or dialects,[1] Gheg. They are not, however, the only Gheg speakers. There are [121] Lowland as well as Highland Ghegs. The present study concerns only the latter. The reason why they were specially chosen is that they still preserved, in 1929, a full tribal system of social organization, something very rare in Europe. This has one critical advantage: rules of preferential mating are definite, and are still observed. We know not only who marries whom, but we may also be sure that the same system has been going on for many generations. For a study of human genetics this material has obvious advantages.

The Highland Ghegs who form the object of our investigation belonged to 10 tribes, shown on figure 1.[1] These are Malsia e Madhe, Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Has, Luma, Puka, Mirdita, Zadrima, Mati, and Dibra. Before 1913 all of the tribes, except Dukagin, which now touch Yugoslavia extended a certain distance into the present territory of that country. On parts of the northern border the overlap is an old one. Many of the Montenegrin gentes admit descent from Albanian families, and one finds every stage of linguistic and cultural assimilation between the 2 ethnic 728 units. Just north of Scutari, however, several 101 fully Albanian villages were handed over to Serbia after the Balkan War, and this caused both economic and political distress. Farther east, from Peia to Dibra, the boundary commission which laid out the border between the 2 countries at that time gave the Yugoslavs all of the strategic positions, and all of the market

[1] Gheg and Tosk in extreme dialectic forms are mutually incomprehensible. It would be hard to state definitely whether they are closely related languages or dialects of one language. Each has numerous local[2]

[1] [See cat. 116, p.6 -- Analyst]

[2] [cont. p. 7c -- Analyst]

[128] 101 towns along the Serbo-Albanian border which served as an economic outlet for both peoples.

This ethnic border is far from clear-cut. Several whole tribes of Ghegs live on the Kossovo plain, along with villages of Serbs. The ancestors of these Lowland Ghegs migrated there in the time of the Turks, after the defeat of the Tzar Dushan. These displaced Ghegs are probably descended from the highland tribes, but it would take much work to establish their exact relationships. We were unable to measure more than a few of them, and therefore shall not consider them in this study.

101 162 The Lowland Ghegs of Albania, who equally eluded our calipers, occupy the country from the tribal regions eastward[1] to the Adriatic and southward to the river Shkumbi, the traditional frontier between Ghegnia and Toskeria. Many of the Tosks are Greek Orthodox Christians. The Ghegs who are Christians are Roman Catholics. The majority of both divisions is Moslem. The most solidly Moslem part of Albania is the central region, in both Ghegnia and Toskeria, where the landscape is the least rugged. Both brands of Christianity lived through the Turkish regime most successfully in the mountains. In the south, beside the Tosks, are thousands of Vlachs—shepherds speaking Rumanian as their native tongue—and Bulgars. The Epirote borderland cuts through an area where Greek and Albanian villages overlap, causing trouble.

Throughout Albania one finds camps of nomadic gypsies, living by their traditional trades of metal-working, fortune-telling, horse-trading, etc. In the larger cities there is always a gypsy quarter, whose inhabitants also serve as musicians and prostitutes. In the Gheg country, however, there is no room for gypsy camps or quarters, and the only gypsies which I saw or heard of there were a single individual in Bicaj, and another in Kukës, both in the tribe of Luma.

[197] subdivisions. The official language of Albania is based on the southern Gheg dialect spoken in the city of Elbasan.

[1] [author must mean westward. - Analyst]

172 Korça in the south, located an equally curious Neolithic deposit.[2] He based his claim of Neolithic age on the shape of one pot, which could just as well have belonged to the Iron Age. Bronze Age finds have actually been made, but not within our territory. A bronze axe, found near Scutari,[3] has been attributed to the late Bronze Age, and is of a type which the Phoenicians are said to have traded with the barbarous inhabitants of the Mediterranean littoral. It has a down-flaring bit and a ring-grooved haft hole, not unlike the iron axes used in the mountains today. Some of the expensive bronze tools such as that described by Vulpe may have reached the mountain tribesmen in trade, but it is unlikely that the Phoenicians themselves wandered far from the sides of their ships, or remained in this desolate region any longer than necessary.

Bronze Age sites have never been located in the highlands. This is not for lack of archaeological research, since a number of Iron Age locations have been discovered and excavated in that area.[4] These sites consist of tumuli. Such grave-mounds have been excavated in Hoti (Malsia e Madhe), Dushmani (Malsia e Jakovës), Mirdita, and Mati. The material removed from them is of regular Hallstatt type; in fact, Menghin says that the objects from north of the Drin are identical with the type specimens from Glasinac and Dolje Dolina, type sites of the Hallstatt civilization in Bosnia.[5]

[173] This evidence confirms ~~that of~~ tradition, that the Gheg country was a part of the Illyrian domain. Two other sets of facts support this conclusion still further, the facts of modern language and of modern culture.

● 197 The Gheg language as spoken today is basically Illyrian—in fact, the only survivor of

5. Dr. Robert Ehrich who has carefully examined the published reproductions of these objects and who is familiar with the Glasinac artifacts, states that the Albanian collections include Roman objects and others which are presumably Thracian. This evidence would set the date of the sites nearer to A.D. 1 than 500 B.C.

1 [For foot notes 2, 3 and 4 see p. 39 b
-- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

197 this once widely spoken group. G. S. Lowman[8] says of it,

> "The Albanian language constitutes a distinct branch in the Satem division of the Indo-European languages. It is the direct descendant of the ancient Illyrian of Roman times, together with some Thracian influences. . . . At the present time, two principal dialectal divisions exist, Geg or Northern, and Tosk or Southern, which are more or less mutually intelligible. . . .
>
> "In the course of Albanian history many foreign influences have come to play their part in making the language what it is today. Although the essential structure of the language, and a fair share of the words in common use are of native origin, the vocabulary has been borrowed from outside sources to a far greater extent even than is the case of English. In 1891 Gustav Meyer stated in his etymological dictionary that of 5,140 root-words only 400 were of the original Albanian stock, that 1,420 were Romance, 540 Slavonic, 1,180 Turkish, 840 Greek, and over 700 indeterminable. Later scholars, however, have proved that a considerably larger proportion of words are truly Albanian."

[177]

181 Such careful observers of material culture as Nopcsa and Haberlandt have concluded that *the Ghegs*, in their tools, agricultural implements, furniture, costumes, and most other technological details *are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age.*

174 A single conclusion is therefore as legitimate as it is obvious. *The mountains of Ghegnia were first effectively populated during the middle centuries of the first millennium before Christ.* The pioneers who took over this rugged landscape were Illyrians, whose central territory lay to the northwest. Since they had already lived in Bosnia and Montenegro, they were already adjusted to life in this environment.

172 Fortunately, the materials excavated at Glasinac,[7] the type site of the Illyrian Hallstatt culture, include skeletons as well as artifacts. The date of this cemetery is between 1000 and 500 B.C. The collection of 38 crania shows clearly that the Illyrians were not a homogeneous people in the racial sense. The majority of the skulls are long headed, and represent at least 2 contemporary varieties of Nordic. This is not surprising since most of the Iron Age

[see cat. 116, p. 40 b--Analyst]

[8] Lowman, 1932, p. 271.

4. 291 consists of caps that have been sewn on, as well as a bush of peacock's feathers and colored cock's feathers. (Compare Globus, volume 78, page 387). The carpet aprons that are illustrated in Figure 5[1] likewise 4. 326 have their original provenience from the northeast. As is the rule throughout the Balkans, the silver ornamentation among the Bosnian South Slavs is rich and variegated. Especially filigree is forged with the greatest of artistic skill.

/97: Illustrations./

/98/ The Albanians

I.

000 1. Type of fortified building. 2. Hut in Durazzo. 3. Mountain hut near Gusinje. 4. and 5. Chairs. 6. Cradle from Planti. 7. Fireplace in Nikaj. 8. Interior of a hut in Pula with intertwined reed walls, and a roof consisting of rafters, reed, and bulrush bundles. 9. Fireplace and hearth bench in a niche of the wall, in Hotin. 10. House door in Brebula, with an ornament arched like a wedge, and hook-like stone projections used for hanging up the guns. 11. Interior of a fortified house (kula). 12. Fireplace with hearth bench and smoke outlet in the niche of the wall. 13. Carving on a chest from Scutari[1]

A. 101 Between Montenegro and Epirus the strongly mountainous coastal area of the Balkan Peninsula has preserved primitive European racial elements and maintained ancient cultural forms. Here the Albanian people is settled, the people of the Skyptars, the troglodytes or inhabitants of the land of the eagles or of the descendants of eagles, A. 144 according to the various explanations. By the Turks they are called Arnauts. From pre-Aryan Illyrians, who belong to the oldest inhabitants of the European-Asiatic land mass, and from Aryan Thracians there was formed a basic stock. To this were added Goths, Slavs, Greeks, and, since 1450, Turks, as well as sporadic Roman elements and later A. [197] Italian influxes along the coast. All these combined to form the Albanians who today are divided into two groups according to the dialects of their Indo-European language, that is, into the northern Gegen and A. 144 the southern Tuscans. These two groups are in turn divided into a great 181 number of sub-stocks. The former, with predominantly Slavic, Serbian blood, are tougher, more war-like, more conservative; the Tuscans,

1 [For illustrations see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 679 -- Analyst]
2 [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 664 -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

133 ered hundreds of miles with every variation of light and shadow, and we looked across their tops to a far-away wave of snow that broke high against the sky. The depths between the mountains were hazy blue; out of the blueness sharp cliffs and huge flat slopes of rock thrust upward, streaked with the rose and purple and Chinese green of decomposing shale, and from their tops a thousand streams poured downward, threading them with silver white. A low, continuous murmur rose to us—the sound of innumerable waterfalls, softened by immeasurable distances.

202 Suddenly, clear and very far and thin, a call came out of the spaces.[1] It was like a fife, and yet not like it. Instantly our guides were still, attentive. A moment of silence, and farther and thinner, hardly to be heard above the beating of blood in our ears, there was an answer. Then the first note began again and went on and on; there seemed to be a pattern to it, not a tune—words? I looked at the others.

Rrok Perolli was motionless, a cigarette between his lips, his hand arrested in the act of striking a match. Little Rexh, his round face intent beneath the red fez, his mouth slightly open, his eyes wide and blank, was an image of concentrated listening. The two gendarmes stood alert, like dogs straining at a leash, scent-
[291] ing something. Our four guides, in their long white trousers, black jackets, colored turbans and sashes, were like men frozen in attitudes of interrupted talk.

[1] In Chafa Bishkasit Mountains [8] of Albania -- Analysis

PEAKS OF SHALA

202 The voice ceased. The other one came back like an echo, so faint I thought I imagined it. Then—Bang! Bang! Bang! The very mountains lifted up their voices and roared. It was like the cataclysm at the end of the world; mountain striking against mountain, the air smashed like glass and falling, clattering. Rrok Perolli lighted his cigarette. The others shifted their rifles, tightened their sashes, said "Hite!" to the horses, and we started on. All around us the echoes were still contending, striking and breaking against one another like ore in a mill.

"What was it?" I cried to Perolli, whose horse was slipping down the trail ahead, kept from going headlong by its owner, who held it by the tail, bracing his bare feet on every foothold.

"Telephoning," said Perolli. "It's the way they send news through the mountains. A man on one of the peaks calls, and another one somewhere hears him and answers. You've seen 'em hold their ears and throw their voices. That's it. And three shots to show that the talk's ended."

"What was he saying?"

"Something about Shala. Shala and Shoshi are in blood, evidently."

000 "Do we go through those tribes?"

My horse slipped just then and a man snatched me from the saddle. The horse, held by the tail, floundered on the trail, striking sparks from his hoofs, shod with solid thin plates of steel; the packs went over his head. My man set me on a

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "He is a good man, and brave," said the bishop, "and little Sokoi will be a great one."

At noon the rain was still pouring from apparently inexhaustible skies, but Cheremi, Rexh, and Perolli assumed, as a matter of course, that we would go on; the difficulty was that there [36] were no mules. There should have been a mule in the village, whose houses were scattered, miles apart, all the way down the deep-walled gorge to the banks of the River Shala, twenty-five miles away, but when Cheremi hastened lightly up a twelve-hundred-foot peak and cried to the farthest house that we wanted mules, the answer came back that there were none since the war.

So he found an aged man—seventy-five years old, he was, but still agile and bright eyed—and put our packs on his back, and at noon we started out on foot, with fresh-peeled staffs provided by Rexh, and new-baked corn bread in the saddlebags.

576 After an hour of desperate climbing we stood
● 202 on the peak from which Cheremi had telephoned. The bishop's house and the school lay dwarfed beneath our feet, and Perolli, standing on a rock and holding his ears, sent down to them a shrill hail. "Ooeeoo! Monseignor!"

The bishop appeared in his woolen gown, a rifle in his hand, and all the guns in our party went off at once, and again, and again, while fifty miles of sheer rock cliffs barked back at them. My hands were over my ears, but I saw the three answering white puffs from the bishop's

[Pultit, in Albanian [38] Mountains --Analyst]

574 rifle, and while the echoes were dying, still
202 repeating themselves down the valley, we saw him hand it to his servant and protect his ear-drums with his thumbs. His call came up to us, "Go on a smooth trail!"

"Now," said Perolli, thrusting his revolver back into its holster, "we have said good-by to the bishop. *Allons!*"

"And to-night," I said, joyously, "we'll sleep in a native house."

Frances and Perolli did not seem enthusiastic about that hope, and as we toiled up trails that were stairways of giant bowlders, or slid down slopes of pale-green shale, above valleys where the clouds swirled beneath us, the discussion continued fragmentarily.

Frances's reluctance I could ascribe to the shrieking of her muscles, which, if tortured as mine had been by the previous day's travel, must be screaming with agony at her every step. But Perolli, true Albanian in spite of his years of living in foreign capitals, was as fresh as the crisp air that blew upon us between the gusts of driving rain. He leaped up bowlders, he joined in the singing of the others, who, with sixty-pound sacks on their backs, walked easily up the incredible steeps, their thumbs at their ears, chanting songs of ancient battles with the Turks.

"Don't you think it safe to stay in a native house?" said I, remembering that he was an officer of the government traveling incognito among unfriendly tribes, and that within sight

POSTSCRIPT

It seemed to me the most remarkable tale of a political crisis that I had ever heard, and for some time I considered it in silence, getting the full delightful flavor of it. The moon and the minaret were a Japanese print against the turquoise sky, and somewhere a mandolin tinkled and a voice sang the "Mountain Song":

> "How beautiful is the month of May,
> When we go with the flocks to the mountains!"

Then a discrepancy in Rexh's story struck me. "If the Merdite is five days from Tirana, and Ahmet was fighting the Serbs there, how did he come to Tirana in three days? How did he know there was trouble in Tirana?"

"Ahmet is a Gheg, Mrs. Lane. A Gheg always expects trouble. When he went into the mountains he left behind him men he could trust, hidden in the woods by the telephone wires. There is a small round black thing that can hear on a telephone wire—I do not know what you call it. It is small, and has a wire that goes over the telephone wire; you put it to your ear. Ahmet had got some of those from Vienna, and some little mirrors, for the men he left behind him. In the morning after Pandeli resigned, word went over the telephone to Elbassan to kill the Parliament, and to some of Hassan Prishtini's men to stay on the trails to the Merdite and not let Ahmet get back to Tirana. Ahmet's men heard this, and with the little mirrors in the sunshine they telegraphed it to the

POSTSCRIPT

[202] mountains, and other men telephoned it with their voices to Ahmet. So he came secretly around Prishtini's men, and came walking day and night to Tirana. He left his men in the Merdite to hold the Serbs, and took the twelve hundred fresh men from the Catholic part of the Mati."

[603] "Ahmet is Mohammedan?"

"Yes, Mrs. Lane. His family has been Mohammedan since Scanderbeg died."

"In the morning I shall go to see Ahmet. He must be a remarkable man."

Rexh considered this statement. "He is a good man, yes. We have a saying in the mountains, Mrs. Lane. 'Ask a thousand men, then follow your own advice.' I think that is what Ahmet does."

I had interviewed, without exceptional enthusiasm, each member of the Albanian Cabinet save Ahmet, the Hawk, chief of the Mati. But I am not, in general, enthusiastic about the Ministers or members of Parliament that I have met in any country. In democratic countries their profession gives their minds a remarkable agility, like that of the elephant on the rolling ball. The muscular development of the elephant a-pilin' teak in the slushy mushy creek has more interest for me. This is a matter of personal taste. However, I am about to become so enthusiastic about Ahmet Bey Mati that it seems well to mention that my enthusiasms are few, and not

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

us by Father Gjeçov,[1] the last clause announces that though the Pecnikaj kin of Shalë laid down the law enunciated in clause 2, it had the support of the Lotaj, Abati (Abat) and Bobi (Bob) kins in doing so. Its first and its fourth clauses consider the adhesion of the brotherhood of Theth as well. Occasionally there was a partial meeting of a brotherhood, and at the bottom of the scale there were household meetings at which the master set some common problem before all the men in the family.

Generally speaking, assemblies of all types took place at irregular intervals, to meet some special need, though the demand that they should be called regularly once a year was not unknown.[2]

When a kin or smaller meeting was in question, the convener sent anyone he could find to call it. Bigger meetings were summoned by word of mouth by the public messenger. In Mat a gipsy beat out the summons on his drum and in Shpat church bells were rung.

Attendance at a plenary meeting was compulsory, non-attendance punishable by a fine. For instance, an elder of Kurbin who failed to turn up and could not satisfy the other elders that his absence was justified was fined five rams. An ordinary tribesman in the same area was fined one ram and in Kastrat 250 piastres. The strength and solidarity of the tribes were closely connected with the plenary character of their assemblies.

Most public meetings took place in the open air, as church houses were usually too small and schoolrooms and village halls did not exist. Meeting places had to be central and free from cultivation, rock, scrub and forest so as to provide adequate seating space In Catholic areas the yard of the church was commonly used for General Assemblies and in Moslem areas that of the mosque. Assemblies of a village or kin could be held in the most central of the smaller clearings of the area, and a house was big enough for a brotherhood or household assembly.

Some meeting-places were specially famous. At Lesh, a thriving seaport at the mouth of the river Drin, and not the malarial inland townlet into which it has been converted by the advance of the Drin towards Italy, Lek Dukagjini and Skanderbeg met by preference, as it was centrally situated for both their domains. The place of meeting was probably the grassy sward near the ruined church on the right bank of the Drin, opposite the modern town.

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 272

[2] See Appendix, Document V, § 16, p. 264.

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9); the swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6).
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8); plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
● [202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
000 forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]

Postal and Telegraph Service

205
206

IF historical tradition is to be believed, then it can scarcely be said that any country has prospered under the temporary domination of a foreign power. Intentions may be for the benefit of the invaded country or of a more nefarious character, but seldom has such an occupation of a country ended with bettered conditions. Such was the result of the Turkish domination of Albania. This nation's postal and telegraphic service was left in such a miserable condition that it could not satisfy even the most primitive needs. The regular telephone system did not exist, and there was practically nothing that could be called a regular postal organization, for all that remained were ten poor post offices that were too disorganized to be of any assistance to the country.

Within the last decade the Albanian postal and telegraph system has been developed to a surprising efficiency. There are over fifty-seven of such offices with one general post office in Tirana and nine district offices scattered throughout the country in the larger and more important towns.

3 Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

206 is being done to further the advancement of this necessity to the business men.

[205] Since her rapid strides in development have begun, Albania, since 1922, is a member of the Union Postal Universelle, of the Union Télégraphique Universelle, and later, in 1925, has become a member of the Union Radiolé-télégraphique Universelle.

[Constitution]

671 No citizens may be exiled or interned within the state
641 except as prescribed by law.

The People's Republic of Albania protects the rights of its citizens in foreign lands.

ARTICLE 20

694 A home cannot be violated.

No person can enter a house and search it against the wishes of the owner, except when he holds a court order in his hands.

No search can be made except in the presence of two witnesses. The owner of the house also has a right to be present.

ARTICLE 21

205 The secrecy of mail and other correspondence cannot be violated except in cases of criminal investigations, military mobilization, or state of war.

ARTICLE 22

461 In the People's Republic of Albania work is a privilege and a duty.

Every citizen has a right to be paid according to his work and to receive from society as much as he gives to it.

ARTICLE 23

641 All citizens have a right to be employed in government work according to specific regulations laid down by law.

Citizens appointed or elected to public office are bound to perform their duties conscientiously.

ARTICLE 24

[729] It is the duty of the state to adequately support disabled
657 soldiers at public expense and to enable them to resume their work. The state shall support the families of those who died in battle and of all war victims.

ARTICLE 25

The state takes care of the health of the people by organizing and controlling health service, hospitals, and sanatoriums.

Postal and Telegraph Service

205
206

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Within the last decade the Albanian postal and telegraph system has been developed to a surprising efficiency. There are over fifty-seven of such offices with one general post office in Tirana and nine district offices scattered throughout the country in the larger and more important towns. 206

tered throughout the country in the larger 206 and more important towns.

The telegraph system is more highly developed than the telephone system. The former service has at its disposal a net of about two thousand miles of wire for the inland service —this is almost the same in proportion to its size as any other European country. This same organization also has three submarine cables for foreign service, namely: Durazzo-Brindisi, Valona-Otranto and Valona-Brindisi; and to Yugoslavia on the north are two more long-distance connections: One via Cetinje and one via Dibra (Dibër). The other country directly connected with Albania through this system is Greece which is reached by one line via Salonica and another via Janina.

In further cooperation with the telegraph system is the three kilowatt wireless station of Tirana, which is in regular connection with Brindisi, Vienna and Zagreb.

The telephone service is rapidly being more fully developed. The local lines are in excellent condition in the larger towns and many of these are connected with each other. Much

3 Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

206 is being done to further the advancement of this necessity to the business men.

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10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

of stones was made where he was killed; on this every passer-by was expected to throw a green leaf, a blade of grass or a pebble while expressing a wish for the repose of his soul. In Shkrel, according to one informant, a stone was stuck at the head and another at the foot, as though the place was a real grave, but a *muranë* was not made. Any relatives who wished to mourn him went to his grave, not to the place where he had been killed. Exceptionally, what seem real graves may be seen near the meadows of Tërnovë above Zerqan; ten or twelve in number, each roughly outlined with stones, they are known as 'the murdered graves' and are said to contain the bodies of men who fell there in a long-past battle between the villages of Tërnovë and Sopot. Again exceptionally, when Muharrem Bajraktar of Lumë fled in 1934 to Yugoslavia, the Spahi family, his hereditary enemies, killed one of his servants. Muharrem said this man was not to be buried in Bicaj, his native village, but by the wayside where he fell, so that when he himself returned from exile he should see the grave and be reminded to take vengeance.

The ideal was to take vengeance as soon as possible. In Kurbin the piled stones served to make the dead man's kinsmen hasten to take vengeance, reminding them of his death and so 'heating their blood'. For the same purpose the Catholics of the north frequently buried the man in his blood-stained clothes; the Mohammedans, however, obedient to the dictum that all who profess their faith must go to the grave in a clean winding sheet, discarded this custom. A still stranger reminder of the need to take vengeance, a little bottle filled with the dead man's blood, was used all over north Albania and in Kosovë. This bottle the relatives looked at day and night. As soon as the blood 'boiled', i.e. fermented, they seized their rifles, cocked their skull-caps over one ear to show their determination, and rushed forth to kill the murderer. If the blood did not 'boil', they might accept a money indemnity instead of taking a life. In western Mat they dipped a rag in the dead man's blood; when it looked stained and brown, they knew the hour to avenge him had struck. None of these reminders was found as far south as Çermenikë and Shpat.

Public opinion also spurred the avenger on. A man slow to kill his enemy was thought 'disgraced' and was described as 'low-class' and 'bad'. Among the Highlanders he risked finding that other men had contemptuously come to sleep with his wife, his

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

192 civilization as it did, still absorbed it into its own speech, for the vocabulary has many Latin words, while the grammar and pronunciation have remained constant to indigenous forms.

197 Albanian is difficult to learn and more difficult to pronounce. It is divided into two dialects, that of the Tosks, which has more borrowed words, and that of the Ghegs spoken in the north and being the more primitive of the two. There is to be found only a very slight line of demarcation between these two dialects. A few indigenous words come directly from the Indo-European stock as shown in the dialect of the Ghegs, such as: *Dimën* meaning winter with its plural as *dimna* and *emën* meaning name and the plural form *emna*. In the south the Tosks have these same nouns only varying in form as the *n* between vowels becomes *r*—thus, *dimër*, *dimëra* and *emër*, *emëra*.

212 The alphabet employed in the Ghegian dialects is generally Roman.

197 Not only is the Albanian language spoken in Albania proper but also in the Argentine Republic, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Egypt, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Turkey,

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

before the Serbs were coming back to their tribes 178
and telling about the American school in Scutari, 871
so that all the people wanted their children to
learn to read and write. The chiefs themselves, [212]
hearing that there was a Tirana government, and
not being able to write or read letters about it,
or to learn from newspapers (oh, simple-minded,
mediæval people!) the truth about European
politics, saw what education meant.

The people had taken rocks from the moun- 871
tains and made the schoolhouse. They had cut
precious trees and made the benches and the
desks. They had made a slate of a slab of the
native rock, set in a rough wooden frame; they
wrote upon it with softer rocks. From Italy,
across the Adriatic to Durazzo, up to Tirana, to
Scutari, and into the mountains—a two weeks'
journey by donkey and river ferry—the bishop
had got three copy books and a bottle of ink.
Pens had been made from twigs. The priest had
one book printed in Albanian.

Since the boys must herd the flocks in the [857]
mountains, they could not spend the day in 233
school. There is so little land that the goats and
sheep are fed from trees. The shepherd climbs
a tree, carefully cuts the tender branches, and
throws them down to the nibbling beasts that
eat the young buds and strip off the juicy bark.
There is no tree in all the mountains that the
shepherds have not climbed; not a tree that is
not a branchless, gnarled trunk.

So the school was open from six to nine in the 871

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

would pass over any or all of his own sons in favour of his younger brother or nephew if the latter promised to be a better administrator. Ymer Tullumi of Bujars in Shpat was a case in point. His father made him heir over the heads of his two elder brothers, and in his own old age, being childless, he selected as his successor, not his oldest nephew or the eldest son of his eldest brother, but the most intelligent among his nephews. For the same reason a master whose powers had been dimmed by years or illness generally resigned his position to his successor, although he was legally entitled to remain master as long as he lived.

In his relations with the authorities and the neighbours, the master had to do his best for the family. He tried, for instance, to get the burden of taxation and unpaid labour on government roads lightened, or, better still, shelved altogether; here he might find some degree of literacy useful, though it was otherwise superfluous. To keep on good terms with the neighbours he restrained his subordinates from provocative acts such as stealing or trespassing, and if a quarrel broke out he tried to settle it before it reached the shooting stage, which was always a nuisance to everybody concerned. At home he tried to keep the domestic wheels well oiled, soothing the quarrelsome, reasoning with the disgruntled, never showing anger real or feigned, assigning to each worker, whether man or woman, a daily task. In practice the last point seldom required thinking out, since each man had early specialized as ploughman, shepherd, cow-herd or odd man. If 'hands' were few, the master must work himself; if they were numerous, he confined himself to general supervision and planning of the work of the others. His chief duty was then to see that the fields were properly tilled and the flocks well cared for. In some districts, when temporary labourers had been hired for a special job, the master of a household so big that he did not normally work with his own hands ceased to supervise the workers and joined them as one of themselves. This was regarded as gracious condescension on his part and stimulated the hired men to greater effort.

The master's rule over his household was absolute and extended to every aspect of its life. Unless he first consented, no other man might stay away from work, leave the farm for a day's outing, accept employment elsewhere, or even call in a doctor to attend to his sick child; no boy or girl might be betrothed; no child might be hired out, apprenticed, or sent to school; no woman except his

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

682 The following story told by Miss Durham[1] throws light upon
628 the mind of a tribe on this point:

In the spring of 1908 a tribesman of Gjan, quarrelling with a tribesman of neighbouring Shosh, snatched a firebrand from the hearth and flung it in his face. It would have been bad enough to kill the man of Shosh, but it was worse to insult him with such a blow. The Gjan man, fearing the wrath to come, fled with all speed. The Shosh man was so enraged that, unable to catch the actual culprit and clear his honour by shooting him, he went to Gjan and shot 'an unhappy little boy, unarmed and but eight years old'...'whose only crime was that he belonged to the same tribe as the offender'....'Gjan was filled with rage. That Shosh had the right to take blood of any man of the tribe they freely admitted, but to kill a child was dishonourable.' On the following Whit Sunday a General Assembly of Shosh met to debate the case. 'Shosh was violently indignant over the affair and public opinion ran so high that the murderer had not dared to remain in the tribe but had fled. The *Mexhlis* now was held to decide whether his house should be burnt as punishment. Many were in favour of this. The difficulty was that there was no law under which this could be done. The blood had been taken *outside* the tribe; it was therefore not a crime against the tribe and not punishable by it. The duty of vengeance lay with the dead boy's family. All agreed that if they liked to come and fire the house Shosh would not oppose it. But as the near relatives were a crippled father and a child they were incapable of executing justice in the face of the opposition which would certainly be put up by the murderer's family. The question caused great excitement. The burning of the house would entail passing a new law to punish a man for a crime against another tribe. This would mean an entire reconstruction of the code and nothing less than considering themselves as a nation, and not as detached tribes.' Miss Durham asked 'whether it were not possible at least to pass a law to punish any man killing a child not of age to bear arms'. It was pointed out that if Shosh did so and neighbour tribes did not, Shosh would be at a disadvantage.... The question was discussed for two days, and was undecided when Miss Durham left.

793 Proceedings at a General Assembly terminated in Catholic areas
212 with the drawing up of minutes by the priest, the only man present

[1] See *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 165.

[i.e. a ban on introducing innovations in tribal law --Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

who could write. Though strictly speaking a stranger, he was 713 expected by every tribe, Mirditë included, to attend all its meetings 212 and to act as clerk. Sometimes each man present, sometimes only 634 the president, appended his mark, generally a Turkish seal, to the document. The priest signed as witness, added the date and place, [217] and placed it in the church archives for safe keeping and future reference.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

or compounded and, above all, what sides the clan should take 596
in the strife of political factions. Tsen Lezi had long been a supporter of Abas Kupi and he received us well.

It was already May, but in the mountains we had still lived /33
amid the gales and snow of winter. Next morning, however, as we descended from Tsen Lezi's house, we came out of the mists into the sunlight and saw the broad Mati valley spread out below us like a promised land. Fat sheep and cattle grazed in the undulating pastures; whitewashed houses, the tallest in Albania, were scattered over the low, wooded hills; and beyond the sparkling river the ground rose steeply to the wild glens of Mirdita. The guerillas had not left the mountains since autumn; and now, at the sight of the sunlit valley, the long line of men winding down the hillside broke into a strident song. Presently Abas Kupi called a halt and we sat down to refresh our eyes with the view. Hitherto I had always looked on mountains as holiday grounds; but the guerillas' song touched some atavistic chord in me and for the first time I experienced the weary highlander's longing for the plain.

Mati was rich and populated, the region where the tribal /01
system of the mountains mingled with the feudalism of the coastal plain. The land and flocks were still owned and worked in common by the different clans; but their chiefs were already known as *Beys*; and the wealthier among them employed hired labour and rented out some of their fields to poorer families. The men of Mati were reputed devout Moslems and, as is often the way of the pious, they lived well; renowned for their lavish hospitality and comfortably appointed houses. They had prospered especially under the monarchy;
for King Zog was a man of Mati and his first care had been 143
for the people of his valley. Many, though they could not [212]
read nor write, had been given appointments in the civil service; and, following the tradition of the Turks, Zog had conferred reserve commissions on most of the *Beys*. This was not indeed to compel them to military service, but to bind them more closely to his cause by the payment of an honourable and regular pension. The valley had benefited, moreover, 653
from an ambitious programme of public works; a road and

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

who could write. Though strictly speaking a stranger, he was 773 expected by every tribe, Mirditë included, to attend all its meetings 212 and to act as clerk. Sometimes each man present, sometimes only 634 the president, appended his mark, generally a Turkish seal, to the document. The priest signed as witness, added the date and place, [217] and placed it in the church archives for safe keeping and future reference.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza). 103 779 596 614

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it. [582] [221 648]

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church. 619 614 779 [174 794]

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas." 619 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group. [779 294] 648

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 619 779 103 [776] [628 166] 648 779

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples. 245

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*).[1] The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture. [462] 221 233

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling. 231 262

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached. 261 628

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later,[2] goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjes to Puka, then on to Kukes, and across 491

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108.. Analyst
2. [See c5. 116 p 42a. Analyst,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

136 known inland, attack beast; when thirst, a rarity in winter, drives an animal to forget its instinctive caution and to drink from a swamp, as likely as not a crop of leeches fastens on its tongue. [22] So, as soon as they have sown their maize,[1] the shepherds and their families and flocks desert the hot coast for the healthful pastures of the mountains.

[1] [by the end of May--Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

692 It had its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and [671] left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their 361 diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geo- 221 graphy of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

623 Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As 484 a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, [619] country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. 671 More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

[693] The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each 321 community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such

1/n [the legal system -- fr. 2 lyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

so numerous that their livestock amounted to a considerable 233
percentage of the total in Albania. They were found mostly in the shrub areas, though a few very poor men lived also in the oak zone. But the vast majority of this leafy belt herded their flocks on a larger scale. Above each village there was always the overhanging mountain with its forests of beech and pine to hold the waters and keep the pastures green and sweet. Under the higher beech trees no grass grew, but in the sloping clearings the animals could graze at will. In winter, however, these clearings were too high to [244]
permit of habitation; besides, such tilling of the soil as did take place occurred at roughly the same level as the village, and it was there that the flocks found most of their feeding. In summer the [244]
fields and meadows, whether open or enclosed, provided hay for the animals; in the autumn the stubble served for a few weeks; while in winter they wandered over the grass. In spring the winter-sown wheat was improved by being eaten down a few inches by the sheep. Dried leaves from the numerous oak trees supplemented this winter feeding.

Sometimes the number of animals was such that all these sources 231
did not suffice during the lean months, or sometimes a village had no suitable winter pastures or had lost them for political reasons. Many animals would then be slaughtered at the commencement of [251]
winter and the meat smoked or salted down, while the remainder lived to fare as best they could. The many owners who could not afford meat, fresh or salted, had to try to maintain their livestock until the spring. By that time the poor creatures were no better than living skeletons hardly able to walk out to the pastures.

On the long coastal plains and marshy river banks the owners of 221
large flocks and herds were scorched out of their pastures in 233
summer or plagued by the mosquitoes from the marshy swamps. This necessitated a wholesale migration at the beginning of summer to the cooler alpine slopes, a feature of Albanian life as characteristic as picturesque.

A few of the purely winter pastures belonged to the State, a few 233
to private persons, and the immense majority to some community, 423
either a tribe, a village or a village ward. State-owned pastures dated from Turkish times and were consequently found only on the plains near big centres, as Turkish control had little reality elsewhere. Examples of these were the forested swamps of Mamuras and the Highland village of Gurrëzë on the left bank of the river

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9). The swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6).
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8). plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
000 forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,

[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]

Hunting with the Gun and Camera

224 GAME throughout Albania is plentiful both in the hills and in the sea and the lakes. Especially in the northern Alps, where in many places man has never set foot, [134] there is a great quantity of big game. Bear, deer, cats of almost every species, fox, wolves, etc., have all at some time or other made their presence known. Many of the natives of these regions are expert huntsmen and have learned the habits of these beasts as well as any man ever will. They have acted as guides for many parties and the members of such groups have returned enthusiastic with ample proof of their prowess and bigger stories about "the one that got away." These men always come back for another adventurous holiday having left their wives to sight-see throughout the country and at the end it is hard to tell which one has more enjoyed his or her holiday.

136 All of the lakes of Albania possess a limit-
226 less amount of fish of all varieties. Lake Scutari is considered the wealthiest in this respect, especially in eels. There are some

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10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

231 A stranger who was bitten by a shooting dog could neither kill it
683 nor claim compensation for his wound. Indeed, he became a public butt for being feckless enough to let himself be bitten by so tame an animal.

231 If a stranger killed a shooting dog by mischance, he must
685 compensate the master in money—two napoleons were thought adequate in most places. Alternatively, he must give him another dog as good as the one he had killed. The hour of the crime was immaterial.

224 If a shooting dog was killed from motives of spite, a feud
628 followed as in the case of house and sheep dogs.

If a shooting dog put up a hare, only its master had the right to take the hare. It might be that the chase was long and that the hare was shot by a stranger before the dog's master caught it up. In that case the latter demanded the hare and offered the stranger a fresh cartridge in return for the one he had just expended. If the offer was refused a blood feud started, the first shot being fired by the stranger.

If two men went shooting with only one dog, they skinned the hares at the end of the day and divided them equally.

231 Pet dogs, like shooting dogs, were free of the house as well as the farmyard and ran loose day and night. Of indeterminate pedigree, they were about the size of small Aberdeens. They were not common in northern Albania, where their only purpose was to divert their master—it was thought great fun to hang a lighted cigarette round their necks. In central Albania where the average flock was small and always had a shepherd, they were much prized as watchdogs. They never failed at either house or sheepfold to bark warningly when unwelcome visitors approached. They were so brave that at sheepfolds they could dash out and tackle a marauding wolf, invariably losing their life in the unequal combat. On account of their usefulness their value was high, as much as six or seven napoleons.

The law when they killed (a virtually impossible contingency) or were killed was the same as it was for shooting dogs.

231 A few isolated rules remain to be mentioned. Clerics such as
793 priests among Catholics or Orthodox or hoxhas and sheikhs among Mohammedans were forbidden to keep house dogs. Their houses must be open day and night to their parishioners or passing strangers and might not be closed by dogs. If they kept sheep dogs

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

they must not bring them home, but must leave them at the more or less distant sheepfold. There was no ban on their keeping shooting and pet dogs. 231 793

If a house dog disappeared temporarily during the mating season so that its master could not find it at dawn to tie it up for the day, he remained responsible for its conduct. It was held that a house dog loose under such conditions during the daytime was like one that had been duly tied up but had broken loose. Happily for its master and for strangers, a dog was generally too much occupied at such seasons with its own affairs to trouble about strangers. 231 672

If any type of dog fell into a snare set by a neighbour near its master's house, the neighbour must pay its full value. He had no doubt obtained its master's consent before he set the snare, but that did not relieve him of his liability for ensuing casualties. 224 672

Damage done by dogs must be paid for in money or by the dog's death. Each case was handled with a good deal of ceremony. If a dog ate a neighbour's eggs or killed his fowls, the latter asked its master to tie it up. If he refused, the neighbour had the right to kill the dog, and its master could not exact compensation. The neighbour generally took an oath in public that the dog had developed a habit of eating his eggs or killing his fowls, and that he had asked its master to tie it up and had been told to kill it. If he killed the dog without warning, he must in most places pay its value as assessed by the local elders. But in that case its master must first take oath that it had never eaten eggs or killed fowls. If the dog was commonly considered valuable, the neighbour would probably warn its master twice before he killed it. In Çermenikë and Martanesh the law was sterner; a delinquent dog had always to be killed, but if this were done without its master's leave, a blood feud started. In such cases the culprit was generally a house dog. 231 685 [628]

In cases of sheep-worrying the culprit was invariably a sheep dog. The general verdict was that the animal must die, but there was some variation in local methods of reaching this verdict. In north Albania and in Yugoslav Kosovë the dog's master must indemnify the sheep owner for every sheep worried and must take oath that the dog acted of its own impulse and had not been specially trained to kill sheep; any proof that it had been so trained would immediately cause him to be killed by the sheep owner. He must also kill the dog or keep it chained up in perpetuity. If the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

681 solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj
[491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed
[574] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[695] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[224] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

Hunting with the Gun and Camera

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136 interesting hours to be enjoyed by those who
226 derive keen satisfaction from this sport. The elusive trout can make a difficult goal when pursuited to his familiar haunts in the mountain streams. Or if more adventurously inclined to test one's ability over the broad bays and lagoons or cruising the deep seas and matching the lightning skill of the tarpon or sail fish which is ticklish work for the best of the "Isaak Waltons." To the man who has felt inwardly proud of his mess of perch, just let him realize his dreams of great fishing in Albania.

136 For camera studies in Albania, bird life presents itself as the best subject. The most ordinary bird in this country is the common jay, but also in the Acroceraunian mountains is found the elusive, great black woodpecker, whose presence was authenticated for the first time in 1935. In this region the magpie is not very common.

In the forests near Durazzo there is a variety of feathered life, such as six species of woodpecker, jay, hawfinch, nuthatch and short-toed tree-creeper. Nests of the black woodpecker were discovered in the forests in the Drin valley along with the hazel grouse

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Fisheries

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In the large lakes of Scutari, Ochrida, Malik and Presba there is a supply of fish which has remained abundant through the centuries. The method of catching these fish is still the primitive use of fences on the banks of the rivers and lakes. From these fisheries the State claims 70%, the remaining 30% being kept by the fisherman. If fish are caught

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

[226] 443 outside of these enclosures, the government claims only 20%. The percentage of fish which comes to the government is sold by auction to private enterprises.

The centers of these auction markets are as follows:

(1) Scutari: The lakes of Scutari, Murtepe, Kakarriqi and Lundra, with the rivers of Bojana and Drin;

(2) Leshnja: The Old-Drin river and the Adriatic coast from the mouth of the Bojana to that of the Mati;

(3) Durazzo: The mouth of the Mati, the lake of Durazzo, Shlliza, the mouth of the Erzen and the Adriatic coast from the mouth of the Mati to lake Karavasta;

(4) Lushnja: The lakes of Karavasta, Divjaku, Terbuffi, the river Shkumbi, and the Adriatic coast from Karavasta to the mouth of the Semeni;

(5) The Semeni and Devolli rivers;

(6) Valona: The lakes of Narta, Sverneci; the Shushica and Viosa rivers, and the coast of the Adriatic from the mouth of the Semeni to Himara;

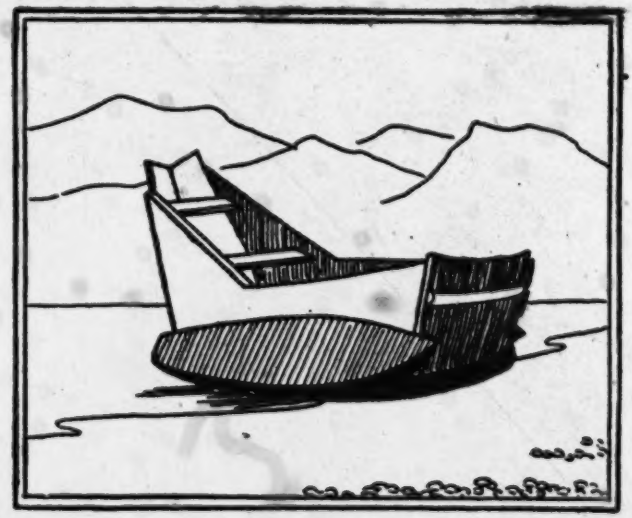
(7) Saranda-Delvina: The lakes of Butrinto and Ristica; the Argyrocastro river and the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

At Podgradetz

361 [226] Podgradetz is a pretty little town situated at the water's edge. Fishing is its main industry, the boats used being of a curious and cumbersome build unlike any craft I have seen elsewhere. It is also the distributing centre for local produce, and on market days is a lively little place, packed to the limit with peasants, donkeys, horses, mules, sheep,

[501]



A PODGRADETZ FISHING-BOAT

cattle, goats, sellers of this, buyers of that, sacks of wheat, maize, rye, rolls of home-made cloth, eggs, chickens, dairy produce, and all the various commodities necessary for the life of the district. On days other than market days it is, however, quiet enough, and there are few people about save some café loungers, half-a-dozen idle gendarmes, a few

ALBANIA EG1
BULGARIA EE1

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kafor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [84] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A [233]

A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

B [133]

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3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

coast of the Adriatic from Himara to the 443
frontier of Greece;

(8) The lakes of Pogradec, Ochrida and Prespa.

There are all kinds of fish to be found in /36
these waters, mainly: bass, trout, eel, carp, whitebait, red mullet, sole, sea-fish, etc.

The proceeds from these sales are generally 228
between 350,000 and 400,000 gold Francs annually, although there are some years when the amounts are remarkably higher.

There is no element of risk in this industry.

This industry promises to become an immense source of revenue when fully developed on a modern basis and for this purpose foreign capital is urgently needed and would be welcomed in Albania.

113	Yugoslavia EF1
231	Albania EG1
233	Rumania ED1
235	Bulgaria EE1
	Slovenes EF7

/For information on the types of shelter provided for domesticated animals (including cattle), see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

133 tance. On one side the rocks rise sheer and uncovered and on the other a deep precipice drops directly downward into seemingly bottomless depths. Only here and there a few farms dot the landscape. The trees at this 137 231 altitude are small oaks, with very grotesque appearance because of the absence of many branches, but this is explained by the fact that the poorer peasants cut them off and store them as winter fodder for their animals.

133 Gradually, glimpses can be caught of the immense fertile plain of Elbasan, with the River Shkumbi dividing it like a sharp, silver knife, and on one side of this magnificent range of mountains, rich in the shades of green and brown, roll away to the west. Just before beginning the descent from this ridge one should note that to the southward in this mighty range are to be found the two highest peaks of Albania: Krrab and Tomori. Krrab, 2,418 meters (7,933 feet), is really the higher, but it is the popular belief that "Father Tomori," 2,396 meters (7,861 feet), is the more lofty due to surrounding low hills. These twin peaks are accessible about five or six months out of the year, being entirely inaccessible on account of snow during the winter months.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

times happens, are ravaging the country, a number of women assemble, and, having captured some of the insects, form a mock funeral procession, and, with hair dishevelled, proceed to drown them in the nearest well or stream, singing in turn as they go the following dirge, which is repeated by the others in chorus: 789 731

> O locusts! O cockchafers! parents kind,
> Orphaned you have left us all behind!

This ceremony is believed to cause the death of the rest of the destructive swarm.

If one of a herd of cattle dies, its head is buried in the farmyard in order that a similar fate may not befall the rest of the herd. When an ox or cow is ill, "unspoken-over" water is brought and sprinkled over it. If several of the cattle are ailing, and in other cases of a serious nature, the water used is brought from three different wells or springs, and mixed together, its efficacy being believed to be thus increased to a threefold degree. 782 231

Very numerous are the ceremonies observed with the object of ensuring good, or averting bad, luck. In Northern Albania, when a youth, or man, is about to leave his home for a distant town a curious ceremony is performed, which is believed to ensure him a safe and successful journey. In front of the house-door the women place a jar filled with "unspoken-over" water, decorated with foliage and hung with earrings of gold and silver. The traveller touches the jar with his foot, takes in his hand the earrings and some of the foliage, and sets out, accompanied for a mile or two by his relatives, to whom, when they finally take 789 484

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

through which the animal is led. If the cow steps over the object with the right hoof, it is considered a good augury; if with the left, the omen is unfavourable. If a hen shakes her feathers in the house, or if one of her feathers hangs askew without falling, it foretells the arrival of a friend, or the receipt of news from an absent relative. Should the hen crow like a cock without turning its head to the East, it signifies a death or other serious misfortune. If, during the night, a cock crows at an unusual hour, it is either a sign of a change in the weather, or that important news will arrive in the morning. To an expectant mother, however, it announces that her child will be a boy. Should the dog howl while looking away from the dwelling, it is a sign of death; and if the cat mews repeatedly, that a member of the family will shortly fall ill. If, however, she licks herself frequently, it is merely a sign of rain.

Cats, I may here remark, are treated with great kindness by the Albanians, who, it is said, are not in the habit of laying to their charge the smashing of crockery, or the disappearance of provisions. According to a myth current among the Albanian highlanders, the cat was created by Jesus, who produced one from the sleeve of His mantle when dining in a house infested with mice. To kill a cat is consequently considered a most reprehensible action. When such a family pet dies, the children of the house call in their friends to assist in pussy's obsequies, and, after she has been carried in solemn procession to the grave, the little party sit down to a funeral feast, for which the mother willingly furnishes the necessary viands.

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "Try them on the 'Merry Widow,'" I said, knowing that tnat music had come to us from the Balkans, and they laughed aloud at the [534] strains of that famous waltz. "Albanian gypsy music," said they, and from somewhere in the shadows they produced a sort of musical instrument, cunningly carved from pine, in shape like a long, thin mandolin, strung with horse hair, and on this with a hair-strung bow they played us the real "Merry Widow" waltz. "You have gypsies in your country, too," said they, and we thought how the centuries have transformed the wandering bands of ragged entertainers into our press-agented musical-comedy companies; how the commercial age had divided fortune telling, thieving, and music into complex and separate activities.

At eleven o'clock Cheremi broke reluctantly from the merry group and, approaching us stealthily, whispered his request to be permitted to go home for the night. His house lay only four hours away, perhaps forty miles by our measurements; he had not seen his family for two years, and he wished to visit them. He would be back before dawn. We gave him permission, and one of the villagers went with him, to guard him from the village dogs.

231 Then we learned that when darkness came the dogs were let loose, and after their loosening only the boldest ventured outside stone walls. And the long wolf howl that rose and quavered and sank and rose again along the trail that Cheremi

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

followed made the dangers of the night vocal for us. We had seen the dogs, tied by the houses, curled into sullen gray-white balls; they are wolves, they are the first dogs, torn from the forests and made half-tame savage companions of these primitive men. Here in the Albanian mountains the long process of molding life, by which men have created the breeds of dogs we know, the great Dane, the collie, the monstrous, fantastic bulldog, and the wispy Pekingese is still in its beginning.

For us, safe in the shelter of solid walls, the night wore away as the previous one had done. Talk and music and the desperate struggle with weariness; the leisurely dinner in the small hours of the morning; the brief lapse into unconsciousness, lying on the floor, which we shared with twenty others—our host and his wife and their smallest child, the last quite naked, had ascended the notched log to the nest of woven willow branches that hung above us on the wall—and the awakening at dawn to the smell of new-made coffee.

"Perolli," said Frances, desperately, "I simply can't walk another twenty miles on one little cup of coffee. Isn't there something left over from dinner? Can't I have just one little bite of corn bread? Oh, Perolli, please!"

"If we stay for that, it means we'll never start," said I. "Slowly, slowly, little by little, breakfast will be ready at six this afternoon."

"But I'm starving!" she wailed.

PEAKS OF SHALA

They smoked over this for some time. The 823
byraktor rescued his coffee pot, in deep abstraction. I did not expect them to believe what I had said. How could they? It must have appeared to them the wildest of fairy tales (although in all Albania there are no fairies, and therefore —I suppose that is the reason—there are no Albanian fairy tales). Men suffered much at the hands of our ancestors for telling them the monstrous idea that the flat earth is round. I wished I knew what thoughts were taking shape behind those dark Albanian eyes.

Then the byraktor looked up. "If the solid earth is round," he said, "and if the water lies upon it in a curve, then this earth is moving very rapidly. For if the earth were standing still the water would fall off."

My astonishment was profound. I felt myself 000
a child beside that mind, and I thought that a man who could so wrestle with a new fact and evolve from it an even more amazing conclusion was no man for me to contend with in a little matter of hiring a mule and getting, somehow, to Scutari.

Presently large flocks of sheep and goats were 231
driven through the room[1], past the fire, and into 562
the darkness beyond the arched doorway. Rain-drenched shepherdesses, half clad in rags, followed them, and having, with much noise of tearing branches, given them their dried oak boughs to eat during the night, the shepherdesses returned and sat by the fire, addressing the byraktor in tones of accustomed equality.

1 [In house of Shoshi warchief [255] -- Analyst]

264

SUPPER

231

SKINNING A SHEEP

[-228b-]

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples. 245

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*).[1] The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture. [462] 221 233

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling. 231 262

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached. 261 628

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later,[2] goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjës to Puka, then on to Kukes, and across 491

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108 .. Analyst
2 [See c.5.116 p 42a - Analyst]

133 Too little is known about the soils of northern Albania to permit a detailed study of their relationship to physique, but we can find to what extent pertinent anthropological features fit the geological picture. The latter has already been described in chapter 2, "Land of the Highland Ghegs,"[1] and the principal geological areas blocked out, after Almagià on figure 2.[6][2]

The Mesozoic limestone of Malsia e Madhe, Shala, and Malsia e Jakovës is a southern continuation of the barren karst of Montenegro. Although it is a poor country for farming, and much of it is good only for grazing goats, the people on both sides of the border, though often hungry, are large and heavy boned. The serpentine highland zone, in contrast, which runs all the way from eastern Malsia e Madhe across most of Puka, all of Mirdita, and parts of Zadrima, Mati, and Dibra, is in places forested. The soil is reminiscent of that seen on certain worn-out farms of northern New England. The eastern zone of Metamorphosed Triassic and Upper Palaeozoic rocks supports open meadows and brown-soiled fields, with forests on the slopes and clumps of poplars around the villages.

These are the 3 principal geological areas. To them may be added the area of intense folding of Mesozoic-Eocene strata, along both sides of the Drin in Shoshi, Nikaj, and the northern villages of Puka. The traveler walking along the Roman road can see where the river has cut sections through the strata in several places, revealing contorted patterns, including one in the shape of a figure *S*. In north-central Mati a cap of tertiary limestone [231] breaks the continuity of the gabbro. No village is situated directly over it, but the goats and cattle from several villages are driven onto it for summer grazing, and the villagers drink their milk and eat their flesh. Finally, a small slice of the tillage land of Zadrima is included in the so-called Dalmato-Montenegrin num-

[6] Stiles, 1946.
[8] Howard, 1947.
[9] Almagià, 1932, map on p. 467.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 76-106 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat 116, p. 8a -- Analyst]

[p. 86 (b)]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs, especially for
137 goats and cattle, and some agriculture in clearings, but the zone
[134] derives its chief riches from the many acres of fertile alluvial soil that adjoin the rivers.

Oaks, tall or dwarf, begin sporadically among the shrubs and continue as thick forests up to a height of 2900 feet near Shkodër and 3300 feet in warmer districts. Among them grow ash, aspen, [36] chestnut, cornel, elm, hawthorn, hazel, hornbeam and limes. The majority of the 1140 villages in north Albania are found in this zone, for it best provides for Albanian needs. Though the soil is dry on the whole, it contains a sufficiency of springs. On the plateaux and gentler slopes there is enough arable land for subsistence farming, all that is possible among these rugged mountains. The copses and woods furnish winter grazing for small flocks and herds; an adjoining mountain furnishes the requisite summer feed. The [374] copses and woods also provide fuel for the log-fires that in Albanian phraseology are 'the poor man's wealth'. Leaves lopped from the [231] oak trees in autumn supply winter fodder which livestock eat with almost as much relish as they do hay, a scarcer commodity. It is this supplement to the grazing in the copses and woods which makes mixed farming possible in this zone; without it many animals could not get through the winter, and their number would [139] have to be reduced. If it is sometimes hot in the forest in summer, the heat is never unbearable, and in winter the cold is never excessive. In general the zone is healthy. A little wheat is grown, but—as everywhere in Albania, the Myzeqe plain excepted—the staple crop is maize. The grain provides food, and the livestock luxuries and government dues as well.

In the next zone beeches grow singly, in small clumps, or in mighty forests such as those between Çermenikë and Martanesh where one may walk for seven hours in the daytime and never catch a glimpse of the sun. Still without roads to carry modern woodcutters and their tools to them, such forests are in the virgin state, the trees self-sown, the strong killing the weak, and the survivors growing bigger and bigger until they succumb in extreme old age to some winter blast, when they lie and rot where they fall. When communications are developed, this waste will stop and these forests become a very valuable asset. No grass grows in them or under isolated beeches, of course, but there are usually grass meadows in the clearings, some of which are enormous. Well watered from the same sources as the beeches and fat with humus

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the 231
dining-table, to filch what it could. It was never caressed or deliberately fed; the whole Balkans believed that either indulgence would stop it from catching mice.

A man and his wife, with one or two small children, might live 342 [574]
in this house. Of a kind hardly paralleled in the Balkans, except in the poorer parts of southern Greece, it was not common in Albania as a permanent dwelling. As soon as its master could scrape together the necessary money, he added a sitting-room. As he provided all the labour himself and needed to hire only one professional, a stone-mason who, like all his brethren in the Balkans, was also a carpenter, ten pounds sterling were enough. The sitting-room might be built on top of the kitchen (*shtëpi* or *shpi*, lit. 'house', from Lat. *hospitium*) or against one of its walls. It had a wooden floor, a chimney at one end, a window or two, a niche in the wall beside the hearth for the utensils for making coffee, and a few wooden pegs near the door on which to hang up rifles; it might also have a ceiling. It generally had a separate [562]
entrance, for sitting-rooms were men's apartments and Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox Albanians all segregated their young women. The Catholics and Orthodox attributed this custom to plain jealousy, and the Moslems, less convincingly, to a desire to obey their Prophet's order. In the evening and when not at work outside during the daytime, the master of the house with his men guests reclined, ate and smoked in the sitting-room, while his wife and children remained in the draughty kitchen. But the men were less comfortable than might have been expected. Since Albanian [358]
chimneys seldom drew, acrid fumes from the wood fire filled the room and almost made them weep unmanly tears. But not quite, for if they succumbed, they would be derided as 'poor sticks' who 'would never see to shoot'.

Guests, in the form of family friends or strangers 'sent by God', 574
often came for a night. Because there were no inns in the Albanian countryside except on the long-distance tracks used by pack-horses, it was the rule that a benighted stranger might claim supper and shelter till the morning from any house he saw. The hospitality was never refused or charged for, but travellers of standing were expected to give a sum proportionate not to the hospitality offered but to their supposed wealth.

As soon as the children in a two-roomed house grew up, its 342
master must build again. His daughters went forth to live in their 591

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER VII

THE LAW OF THE DOG

The Kanùn recognized four types of dog: (*a*) chained dogs, (*b*) sheep dogs, (*c*) shooting dogs and (*d*) pet dogs. There were different rules for each.

Chained dogs were so called because they were chained up during the daytime and let loose only at night. Other dogs were, almost without exception, free day and night.

Chained dogs were house dogs with the function of guarding their master's house from thieves and enemies. The poorest man kept one and regarded it as a valuable article of property. A rich man had as many as he fancied he required. Cen Eleri of Sllovë in Dibër kept nearly thirty. They were confined during the daytime in a great pit that ran the length of his house, and at night they were released by their special attendant. This man fed them and was the only person who could safely approach them. If Cen himself or his sons had ventured out after nightfall, they would have been torn to pieces by the fierce brutes.

The natural fierceness of chained dogs was fostered by their training. As puppies they were never caressed or even addressed kindly by their master and his children. Indeed, they were often teased deliberately in order to make them lose their tempers. They were never admitted to the kitchen or other part of the house, but were restricted to the farmyard, where they had their kennel in a corner. The kennel was generally a rough structure of wattle and daub affording the dog imperfect shelter from the elements, and usually placed as far as possible from the outside gate in order to put the utmost possible distance between the dog and an incoming visitor.

Since thieves and enemies attack only by night the house dog must be free by night if it was to fulfil its function. Since honest men and friends travel during the daytime, the house dog must be chained up to keep it from doing them a mischief. So house dogs lived 'by the sun'. They must be chained an hour before sunrise and might not be loosed till an hour after sunset.

This law was rigorous, only two modifications being permitted.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

231 If a dog was unusually fierce, it might be tied up early and loosed late. If a locality was dangerous or if the dog's master was at feud with someone, the dog might be loosed precisely at sundown and left free till exactly sunrise. As a result of the latter proviso a stranger who reached a village about sunset must ask immediately in the interest of his own safety whether his intended host is at feud with anyone. If he were, he called to his host from a safe distance —the fiercest dog did not stir unprovoked beyond the outskirts of its own farmyard. There followed an exchange of conventional questions and answers, designed to convince the host that the stranger came as a friend and not as an enemy. When convinced, the host bade the stranger stay where he was and forbade him to speak—this in case the dog charged in the direction of the voice. He then tied up the dog while some of his womenfolk went to inspect the stranger, and if satisfied that he was harmless, to bring him to the house.

231 683 628 When a house dog attacked a stranger the law considered three positions: (*a*) when the dog only threatened to bite, (*b*) when it succeeded in biting and (*c*) when it killed. In all three positions there was discrimination between attack by day and attack by night.

If during the daytime a house dog threatened to bite a stranger, the latter might kill it without incurring a penalty. The day was his time not the dog's, and he was in the right and the dog in the wrong. To attack him it must have broken its chain or pulled up the stake to which it had been tied. Its master too was at fault for not having observed that its chain and stake were insecure. Exceptionally in Martanesh the stranger was fined 100 grosh.

If again during the daytime a house dog succeeded in biting a stranger its master must indemnify the stranger, and that irrespective of whether the dog had been killed or not. In Dibër he escaped by paying the blood money due for wounding a man. In the more picturesque north he must keep the wounded man in his house free of charge until he recovered, pay any doctor's bills that might be incurred and pay the wounded man what he would have earned if well. The northerners were so poor that they found such expenses a heavy burden. In consequence they tested a dog's chain and stake from time to time and sent their womenfolk to escort a stranger to and from the house; they could not perform this task themselves because they did not enjoy a woman's immunity from attack by a lurking enemy. A poor man, desperate

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

as he saw his dog about to bite, might even shoot the animal, regarding its loss as the lesser evil. Occasionally a man sought to disclaim responsibility, shouting that he was not a chain-making gypsy and only bought, and did not make, the faulty chain. The stranger would retort that he was not dog's meat. Then revolvers might be drawn and a blood feud begun. More probably the dog's owner sullenly invited the wounded man to partake of the hospitality demanded by the law.

If a house dog killed a stranger during the daytime, it was in most places as if its master had killed him and a blood feud sprang up between the two families. In Dibër, however, the payment of full blood money generally satisfied the bereaved family.

During the night the law was entirely on the side of the house dog and its master. No matter how the animal might threaten a stranger he might not kill it. If he did so, he must pay blood money or have a feud with its master, exactly as if it was the latter he had killed. The Kanùn says clearly that 'at night a dog is equivalent to a man'. Indeed, in some places such as Çermenikë the animal was thought more important and its murder by night was more serious. If a house dog succeeded in biting a stranger at night, the latter got nothing from its master—neither hospitality and doctor's fees nor indemnity for wages lost. From his neighbours he got mockery—'Fancy letting yourself be bitten by a dog. You're a fine man.' Even if a house dog killed a stranger at night there was no compensation, the death went unavenged. Once upon a time, in Lurë, a daughter-in-law of Demir Lleshi went out at night into her own farmyard. A neighbour's dog sprang on her and killed her, but since it was night time, the dog's time, her blood was lost. It was immaterial that the dog was trespassing and that she was on her own ground.

There was only one exception to these rules. If a house stood near a main road an aggressive dog might be killed during the night without penalty. A higher law stated that 'it is not right to cut a main road with a dog'. In the far north bajraktars and elders had been known to order fierce dogs near a main road to be kept chained at night as well as during the day.

The blood money which was payable on killing a house dog at night was generally the same as would be payable if a man had been killed. The blood money for a bitch was the same as for a dog; there was no discrimination between the sexes as there was in the

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231 case of murdered man and murdered woman. In some areas, such
685 as Kurbin, the blood money for a house dog was assessed by the
628 elders or government authorities.

A stranger who agreed in his simplicity to pay the owner what he demanded for his dead dog might find himself presented with a fine bill. The owner would say that the dog had saved his life on several occasions and was consequently worth six, ten or even twenty napoleons. Sometimes the owner asked the stranger, not for blood money, but for another dog of the same quality as the dead animal. The cost might exceed the conventional amount of blood money.

In the above cases a house dog had been killed in self-defence. When it was killed out of spite matters were much more serious. 'He who kills a house dog will steal your wife', says the Kanùn. Such killings usually took place at night because the aggressor would find it dangerous to approach the house in daylight. This aggravated the crime since the night was the dog's own time.

In Mirditë, Kurbin and Martanesh a man who killed a dog 'in its kennel', i.e. on its own ground and therefore spitefully, must pay its master 500 grosh, almost a fortune in these poverty-stricken areas. In north Albania his life was forfeit. When he had been killed by the dog's master, his relatives killed one of the latter's family, arguing that they could not permit their relative to be equated to a dog. In most cases the two parties being 'one for one' the dog's master then consented to make peace on condition of receiving blood money for the dead animal. He might stipulate, if he wished, that this should take the form of an ox or a horse and so cost more than the conventional blood money. Occasionally the feud was continued—it is on record that twelve men in the north once died for the sake of one dog. In any region a man who immediately pardoned the killer of his dog would be taunted as
695 a weakling. In Lumë the man who was suspected of having killed a house dog found dead, a crime as costly as killing a man, could not clear himself unless he persuaded twenty-four elders to take oath with him.

231 The legal discrimination between defensive and spiteful killing
685 made it important for a man who killed a dog during the daytime
672 to establish his motive. He could do so simply and surely. If his bullet had struck the dog in the forehead or chest it was evident that the animal was charging him and he had fired in fear. If, on the

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other hand, he had shot the dog in the back he must have killed it out of spite.

Whereas house dogs remained at home and were chained up for half their lives, sheep dogs were normally free both day and night and divided their time between the mountain-side and the sheep-fold. Their function was to protect the flock from thieves and wolves. If these approached, they must bark a timely warning so as to bring the shepherds with their rifles and they must themselves attack the marauders. They must therefore be alert, courageous and fierce, true 'Molossian hounds'. In districts infested by wolves they wore iron collars set with iron spikes to prevent the wolf from tearing open their throat. In common with other sheep dogs in the Near and Middle East they did not handle the flock. That was led, or occasionally driven, by the shepherd unaided.

As fierceness was their most important asset, sheep dogs were given the same harsh upbringing as house dogs. Indeed, they were generally removed at a still earlier age from their mother so that they should not know even her caresses for long. But they were gentle enough with their flocks, from which they never parted. As puppies they were fed on ewe's or goat's milk—hence, said the peasants of Shpat, their later friendliness with the animals they guarded. In adult life they were fed on maize bread roughly baked in indigestible looking balls by the shepherds. Nevertheless, their strength and the sleekness of their coats showed that the diet was sufficient.

The law of the sheep dog varied from place to place according to the animal's position in the local economy. In the north, where men depended almost entirely on their flocks, the sheep dog was of paramount importance as the guardian of its master's whole livelihood and was protected by the law to the utmost. In areas such as Kurbin, where men combined agriculture with sheep-breeding, the sheep dog was of less importance to its master and some relaxation appears in the law. In fertile areas like Lumë or Krasniqë, where agriculture predominated, the sheep dog was still less important and the law less drastic. So in the north it was more serious to kill a sheep dog than a house dog and elsewhere the position was reversed.

Among the mountains of the north the law of the sheep dog was the same by day and by night. A passer-by might be bitten at any hour of the day or night, but if he killed the dog he would be killed

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231 628 683 685 by its master. No excuse for his crime could be tolerated. He might have lost his way or be a stranger (and so a guest to be protected). No matter! The mountain was the dog's ground day and night. Why had he gone near the sheep? Was it to steal one? There was no road through the flock. He should have stuck to the highway which was inalienably his, day and night. If he were killed by the dog, his family had no right to claim blood money or to start a feud; his 'blood was lost'. In Dibër the same harsh laws prevailed. In the partly pastoral, partly agricultural area of Kurbin a man who killed a sheep dog generally escaped with the payment of blood money; his life was not necessarily forfeit. In Martanesh, where the economy was similar, a man who killed a sheep dog in terror of his life and proved his motive was fined 100 grosh, the amount payable for a house dog in the same circumstances.

In the adjacent Çermenikë he was not even fined. In fertile Lumë the law was that 'a man can't lose his life for a dog', and on that theory a traveller on the mountain might kill a sheep dog which had refused to let him pass. For penalty he needed only to go to the dog's master and beg his pardon. He was generally afraid to go alone—the dog's master might suspect that he had killed the dog from spite and might be in an evil temper as a result. So he generally asked others to accompany him. These confessed his crime and asked for pardon. It was never refused. If he had killed a house dog during the daytime in this district, he would have had to pay blood money as for a murdered man, or would have been killed. On the rich plateau of Krasniqë sheep-rearing is relatively so unimportant that sheep dogs come under the same rules as house dogs. If, for instance, one bites a stranger on the mountain its master must pay for the wound.

Even in the gentler areas the spiteful or senseless killing of a sheep dog may start a blood feud. An extreme case occurred 'long ago' in Lumë. The sheep belonging to the Onuzi sept were sleeping in a mountain fold near the fold of the Doçi sept. The dogs began to fight among themselves and the Doçi shepherd killed an Onuzi dog. The Onuzi shepherd drew his revolver and shot the Doçi man dead. A general fight then started among the shepherds and in a few minutes six Onuzi and twelve Doçi men lay dead for the sake of a dog. The feud raged on for years, not ceasing until it was at last composed by direct order of the reigning Sultan.

Successive generations of travellers evolved practical expedients

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for dealing with sheep dogs. The first was to 'let sleeping dogs lie'. 231
If a traveller were so unfortunate as to find one in his path and 628
there was no shepherd in sight to call it in, he swerved aside, 683
keeping well to leeward in the hope that neither sound nor scent 685
of his presence would reach the dog. If a dog charged, the traveller might follow the example of Ulysses on his return home and sit down. The dog would probably sit down too and immobilize him until the shepherd's arrival, but it was not likely to charge again. This expedient was more favoured in central than in northern Albania. There the traveller preferred to climb a tree in the hope that the flock would soon pass, so releasing him. The dog was not really interested in him and went on with the flock. It has happened when, a flock was large and grazing, that a man has had to stay half a day up a tree, with several dogs barking under his feet; for it was customary in north Albania to leave a grazing flock in sole charge of the sheep dog for many hours. For that reason, as soon as a traveller heard sheep bells—and in that country of long narrow valleys enclosed by lofty mountains he might hear them half an hour away—he called out. If no answering shout came, he knew that there was no shepherd with the flock and laid his plans accordingly. As far south as Shpat fear of a sheep dog might send a traveller up a tree, but there rescue came swiftly because shepherds were forbidden to leave their flocks for long. Tracks in Shpat were too many and travellers too numerous to allow of lengthy hold-ups by sheep dogs. With the same motive of protecting travellers, shepherds in the few treeless areas of north Albania were required to remain with their flocks.

If, however, a flock was grazing near a main road, the sheep dog came under the law already enunciated that 'it is not right to cut a main road with a dog'. Day and night, when near such a road, the sheep dog must be kept under control by means of the shepherd's voice or a chain, preferably the latter as being surer. A traveller who found a sheep dog loose on such a road and received no answer to his call from the shepherd was entitled to kill the dog and did not have to compensate its master.

Shooting dogs had the run of the house and kitchen as well as 231
the farmyard and were never tied up. Born gentle, they were well 683
enough treated by their masters to remain so throughout their lives. They were not found in every house but only with the leisured or the lazy.

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231 A stranger who was bitten by a shooting dog could neither kill it
683 nor claim compensation for his wound. Indeed, he became a public butt for being feckless enough to let himself be bitten by so tame an animal.

231 If a stranger killed a shooting dog by mischance, he must
685 compensate the master in money—two napoleons were thought adequate in most places. Alternatively, he must give him another dog as good as the one he had killed. The hour of the crime was immaterial.

224 If a shooting dog was killed from motives of spite, a feud
626 followed as in the case of house and sheep dogs.

If a shooting dog put up a hare, only its master had the right to take the hare. It might be that the chase was long and that the hare was shot by a stranger before the dog's master caught it up. In that case the latter demanded the hare and offered the stranger a fresh cartridge in return for the one he had just expended. If the offer was refused a blood feud started, the first shot being fired by the stranger.

If two men went shooting with only one dog, they skinned the hares at the end of the day and divided them equally.

231 Pet dogs, like shooting dogs, were free of the house as well as the farmyard and ran loose day and night. Of indeterminate pedigree, they were about the size of small Aberdeens. They were not common in northern Albania, where their only purpose was to divert their master—it was thought great fun to hang a lighted cigarette round their necks. In central Albania where the average flock was small and always had a shepherd, they were much prized as watchdogs. They never failed at either house or sheepfold to bark warningly when unwelcome visitors approached. They were so brave that at sheepfolds they could dash out and tackle a marauding wolf, invariably losing their life in the unequal combat. On account of their usefulness their value was high, as much as six or seven napoleons.

The law when they killed (a virtually impossible contingency) or were killed was the same as it was for shooting dogs.

231 A few isolated rules remain to be mentioned. Clerics such as
793 priests among Catholics or Orthodox or hoxhas and sheikhs among Mohammedans were forbidden to keep house dogs. Their houses must be open day and night to their parishioners or passing strangers and might not be closed by dogs. If they kept sheep dogs

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they must not bring them home, but must leave them at the more or less distant sheepfold. There was no ban on their keeping shooting and pet dogs. 231 793

If a house dog disappeared temporarily during the mating season so that its master could not find it at dawn to tie it up for the day, he remained responsible for its conduct. It was held that a house dog loose under such conditions during the daytime was like one that had been duly tied up but had broken loose. Happily for its master and for strangers, a dog was generally too much occupied at such seasons with its own affairs to trouble about strangers. 231 672

If any type of dog fell into a snare set by a neighbour near its master's house, the neighbour must pay its full value. He had no doubt obtained its master's consent before he set the snare, but that did not relieve him of his liability for ensuing casualties. 224 672

Damage done by dogs must be paid for in money or by the dog's death. Each case was handled with a good deal of ceremony. If a dog ate a neighbour's eggs or killed his fowls, the latter asked its master to tie it up. If he refused, the neighbour had the right to kill the dog, and its master could not exact compensation. The neighbour generally took an oath in public that the dog had developed a habit of eating his eggs or killing his fowls, and that he had asked its master to tie it up and had been told to kill it. If he killed the dog without warning, he must in most places pay its value as assessed by the local elders. But in that case its master must first take oath that it had never eaten eggs or killed fowls. If the dog was commonly considered valuable, the neighbour would probably warn its master twice before he killed it. In Çermenikë and Martanesh the law was sterner; a delinquent dog had always to be killed, but if this were done without its master's leave, a blood feud started. In such cases the culprit was generally a house dog. 231 685 [228]

In cases of sheep-worrying the culprit was invariably a sheep dog. The general verdict was that the animal must die, but there was some variation in local methods of reaching this verdict. In north Albania and in Yugoslav Kosovë the dog's master must indemnify the sheep owner for every sheep worried and must take oath that the dog acted of its own impulse and had not been specially trained to kill sheep; any proof that it had been so trained would immediately cause him to be killed by the sheep owner. He must also kill the dog or keep it chained up in perpetuity. If the

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231 sheep owner found it loose again he would kill it without more ado
685 or, less probably, he would start a feud with its master. A sheep owner of Koplik who complained about another's dog must be able to say that he could produce two witnesses. This might cause the dog's master to pay up at once for the dead sheep. On the other hand, he might say that the witnesses, being friends of the sheep owner, were not to be believed, and that the only evidence he could accept was a public oath by the sheep owner. If the latter took the oath the dog's master must pay him the value of two sheep for every one killed. He was left to decide whether he would kill his dog or keep it chained up. In the latter event the evil soon worked its own cure. The dog would worry sheep whenever it could escape from its chain and he, tiring of paying for its ravages, would shoot it. The sheep owner does not seem to have had the right to kill it. In Mirditë a sheep dog might be shot by the sheep owner for worrying sheep, but not unless caught 'Flesh in mouth'. In Martanesh, too, this was the rule. In neither place was any compensation due to the dog's master.

If a dog harried a drove of pregnant animals, causing some to abort their young in their terror, it might be killed by the shepherd. Its blood was then equated to that of the aborted animals. If it evaded the shepherd, its master must pay in full for each abortion; he was 'keeping a tame wolf'. If a dog killed a foal or calf, whether playfully or not, its master must pay the accepted value of the dead animal.

With mad dogs the rule all over Albania was 'Kill if you can, and the sooner the better'. The owners neither expected nor received compensation. Many of them broadcast the news that their dog was mad and asked for it to be killed as speedily as possible.

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so numerous that their livestock amounted to a considerable 233
percentage of the total in Albania. They were found mostly in the shrub areas, though a few very poor men lived also in the oak zone. But the vast majority of this leafy belt herded their flocks on a larger scale. Above each village there was always the overhanging mountain with its forests of beech and pine to hold the waters and keep the pastures green and sweet. Under the higher beech trees no grass grew, but in the sloping clearings the animals could graze at will. In winter, however, these clearings were too high to [244]
permit of habitation; besides, such tilling of the soil as did take place occurred at roughly the same level as the village, and it was there that the flocks found most of their feeding. In summer the [244]
fields and meadows, whether open or enclosed, provided hay for the animals; in the autumn the stubble served for a few weeks; while in winter they wandered over the grass. In spring the winter-sown wheat was improved by being eaten down a few inches by the sheep. Dried leaves from the numerous oak trees supplemented this winter feeding.

Sometimes the number of animals was such that all these sources 231
did not suffice during the lean months, or sometimes a village had no suitable winter pastures, or had lost them for political reasons. Many animals would then be slaughtered at the commencement of [251]
winter and the meat smoked or salted down, while the remainder lived to fare as best they could. The many owners who could not afford meat, fresh or salted, had to try to maintain their livestock until the spring. By that time the poor creatures were no better than living skeletons hardly able to walk out to the pastures.

On the long coastal plains and marshy river banks the owners of 221
large flocks and herds were scorched out of their pastures in 233
summer or plagued by the mosquitoes from the marshy swamps. This necessitated a wholesale migration at the beginning of summer to the cooler alpine slopes, a feature of Albanian life as characteristic as picturesque.

A few of the purely winter pastures belonged to the State, a few 233
to private persons, and the immense majority to some community, 423
either a tribe, a village or a village ward. State-owned pastures dated from Turkish times and were consequently found only on the plains near big centres, as Turkish control had little reality elsewhere. Examples of these were the forested swamps of Mamuras and the Highland village of Gurrëzë on the left bank of the river

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685 of theft which were no less universally regarded as shameful. A man who stole from another with whom he had broken bread as host or guest disgraced himself for ever. A woman must not steal for fun or spite. If she did, not only her husband's family, but the whole village felt ashamed and took steps to deal with her.

[672] The accomplice who helped the thief, the host who fed him and the receiver who hid the booty were all considered as no less guilty than the thief himself. 'A thief and his host are the same', and 'Like thief, like receiver' were common sayings. All had to suffer punishment in proportion to their share in the crime and booty. The owner of stolen goods had the right to remove them from the premises of a receiver and to claim compensation, and the receiver had no legal claim for redress as against the thief. On the other hand, if a man bought stolen goods in good faith he had to give them back to the rightful owner, but he was entitled to recover what he had paid for them from the thief.

All possible means of protection against theft were adopted by the mountain peoples. Every man carried a gun by day, and slept with it beside him at night. Dogs were kept in every house and 231 sheepfold. Domestic animals were branded with a mark that could not be destroyed, as when sheep had both their ears notched. [351] Farmyards were surrounded by walls too high to scale and had stout wooden gates heavily bolted at night. Thieves, however, could [417] make holes in the mud and stone walls, and frequently forced an entry that way. The walls of many village shops were lined with wood, so that a thief's chisel, striking it, would make sufficient noise to put the householder on the alert.

[625] In Turkish times many villages sent out armed patrols every night, composed not of professionals like the night watchman of the towns, but of unpaid villagers who served in turn as directed by the village headman. When there was danger of sheep-stealing on a large scale, the threatened villages sometimes bought the protection of some strong man. For example, the villagers of Reç, now in Yugoslavia, hired protection from sheep-stealers of Dibër by paying the Kaloshi family of Dibër a thousand napoleons a year. Nor were the parties deterred from contracting together by the fact that the Kaloshis were Moslems and Albanians, and the villagers of Reç were Orthodox and Macedonian Bulgars.

627 In the extreme north and south of the mountains, guns could 695 legitimately be used when a thief was caught in the act of breaking

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[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

681 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Breg i Shpellës, Viri, and Krue i Ri—will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a patch for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[233] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[423] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[487] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

[623] 16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 500 grosh.

[693] 17. 'Pledge elders' are not to take more than 10 grosh as their fee for a judgement, and commoners not more than 5 grosh.

[628] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after their feud has been compounded by order of the government will be fined 12 purses and expelled from the village and turned into a ghost.

681 231 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

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[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296] 225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837] runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765] shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696] out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628] been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585] whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554] collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894. 681 491 574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:

From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

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[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

681 solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj
[491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed
[594] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[695] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[224] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1
Yugoslavia
EF1
A
342
Y
[342]

walls or woven branches and were thus converted into a cave dwelling, which is also met in many places of the Herzegovina (1).

But also the trogle, that other form of semi-underground dwelling which, as already said, was from time immemorial used by the Thracians in Scythia Minor and Dardania, is also to be found in the plain between the Scodra lake and Tuzi, which is near the frontier in the area of the Hoti tribe, and it constitutes to-day a form of temporary housing.

Nopcsa describes the construction of this hut as follows: «A trench is first dug in the ground, having 6 m. length, 3 m. width and 0.30 m. depth, in a parallelopiped (see fig. 62). A stone wall is then built on all sides of the trench, it excels the ground by 0.30 m. on the long sides and on the short sides by almost 2 m., and is continually reduced in its width. The main wooden beam is then fixed on the short side walls, and a saddle type roof is erected, covered with hay. Earth is then accumulated on the outside of the walls, so that the ends of the roof come into contact with it. The earth is soon covered with wild plants, and its artificial character is covered with green in a very short time; only roofs project then from the ground, and nothing else is seen in the inhabited areas. The hight of the hut in the inside is from 1.3 m. to 2 m. The entrance is constructed on one of the short sides, not higher than 1.2 m. It looks like an opening which is not closed by a door, but simply with thorny bushes during the night. On the wall that faces the door a fireplace is built. In winter time shepherds and flocks live together in those huts, whose little space is thus sufficiently warm and protected from the glacial North winds sweeping the Hoti valley.

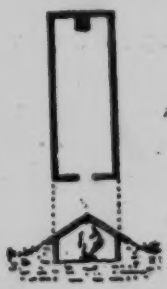

Fig. 62. Plan and section of a semi underground hut near Tuzi (Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 1)

A
[354]
[231]

The last type of temporary houses of Northern Albania is that of huts built over the surface of the ground. The form of these huts is a parallelopiped; they are constructed of wood and their walls are of reeds or woven branches covered with a clay layer. These huts are widely used in summer pastures and lowlands near the sea.

1) R. Meringer, Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina, 275 and foll. Fig. 69.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

342 Whenever the building material available on the spot is stone, the shepherds build their huts with simple stone walls covered with roughly cut wooden plants.

It is at first sight very difficult, according to Nopcsa, to find any basic difference between a stone-built shepherd's hut and a primitive one-room, stone-wall, permanent house of the Albanians. For the only difference it is that the permanent house is larger, higher and the frame-work of its roof is more strongly built. Its construction has also an immediate relation with the nature of the ground. Namely, the building material locally available will determine whether the house (called «shpi») will be out of stone, or out of wood and of reeds. Thus, in the plain district of the seaside (Mati), where there is no [556] stone at all, even richer inhabitants have to content themselves with houses made of wood, although, for lack of security, stone-built houses are everywhere considered as ideal, since they offer protection both against stray shots and fire.

The Albanian house is then in its simplest form an one-room dwelling, with its entrance either on the side of the roof gable or on the side where the rain water is drained off. But while half-underground shepherd huts have always their entrance on the side of the roof gable, even simpler clay and lime built Albanian houses have it always on the side of rain-water drainage..

Such one-room dwellings of stone and clay constitute the house of poorer classes of the population in the mountainous region NW of Scodra round the river Drilon, the Cem valley and many other regions of Northern Albania. The roof is sloping on two sides and the main pole corresponds to the length of the house, so that its two ends rest upon the short side walls. The roof is usually covered with branches.

In such mountains, where there is a complete lack of forests and therefore difficulty in obtaining timber in order to construct a frame for a large roof, inhabitants are obliged to construct a small stone-built house of a special type, whose geographical spreading out corresponds, according to Cvijic', to the area of the Karst Mountain. According to Haberlandt, this type of house was the characteristic dwelling of ancient Illyrians.

Both men and animals live in the above single room, although [231] the stable is often separated from the human habitation by a thin, not very high wall made of woven reeds.

In some areas, a special entrance is opened for the animals in

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

The Becktashi Monastery

241 grew wheat, oats, and other cereals, as well as maize, the staple food of the poorer classes. The slopes of the hills were covered with olives, and altogether the country round Elbasan seemed "a land flowing with milk and honey". [231] Honey in the literal sense, however, is a neglected product, and is only gathered wild, though in a country like Albania, which is exceedingly rich in flowers, scientific bee-keeping ought to be a profitable adjunct to vegetable and fruit growing.

792 Excursions farther afield were made possible by the kindness of the prefect of Elbasan, Mr. Izet Dibra, who placed a Ford car at my disposal. One such excursion took me to a Becktashi, or dervish, monastery, and another to a Greek monastery, both visits proving of considerable interest. At the first we (for Mr. Nossi was with me) were received by a dignified old priest who was wearing the same kind of flowing white robes and tall white hat as the dervish I had met at Koritza. While we sat in a vine-covered arbour outside the entrance smoking cigarettes and drinking coffee he told us how the monastery had been attacked during the revolution of 1914 by adherents of the Suni sect. The revolution was that in which Prince William of Wied, the [795] regent, was deposed; and the Sunis are a sect of Mohammedans who hate their fellow religionists the Becktashis with a hatred only possible to religious fanatics. Under cover of the revolution they not only burned down the monastery chapel, but also arrested the old "baba" (priest) who was entertaining us, and kept him in prison

113	Yugoslavia EF1
231	Albania EG1
233	Rumania ED1
235	Bulgaria EE1
	Slovenes EF7

/For information on the types of shelter provided for domesticated animals (including cattle), see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg,[1] the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

[1] "*Iskender Bey*, the Lord Alexander."

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

before the Serbs were coming back to their tribes 178
and telling about the American school in Scutari, 871
so that all the people wanted their children to
learn to read and write. The chiefs themselves, [212]
hearing that there was a Tirana government, and
not being able to write or read letters about it,
or to learn from newspapers (oh, simple-minded,
mediæval people!) the truth about European
politics, saw what education meant.

The people had taken rocks from the moun- 871
tains and made the schoolhouse. They had cut
precious trees and made the benches and the
desks. They had made a slate of a slab of the
native rock, set in a rough wooden frame; they
wrote upon it with softer rocks. From Italy,
across the Adriatic to Durazzo, up to Tirana, to
Scutari, and into the mountains—a two weeks'
journey by donkey and river ferry—the bishop
had got three copy books and a bottle of ink.
Pens had been made from twigs. The priest had
one book printed in Albanian.

Since the boys must herd the flocks in the [857]
mountains, they could not spend the day in 233
school. There is so little land that the goats and
sheep are fed from trees. The shepherd climbs
a tree, carefully cuts the tender branches, and
throws them down to the nibbling beasts that
eat the young buds and strip off the juicy bark.
There is no tree in all the mountains that the
shepherds have not climbed; not a tree that is
not a branchless, gnarled trunk.

So the school was open from six to nine in the 871

cliffs or passed the ends of smaller mountain ranges that ran down to the opposite banks of the Lumi Shala. There were villages over there; we saw them built against the mountains like clumps of gray swallows' nest—the villages of [376] Shoshi, with whom Shala was in blood. At the foot of the waterfall streams that dashed down their cliffs we saw now and then a little mill, flooded with water, its roof of slate hardly showing above the flood, where in drier season Shoshi ground its grain or put the loosely woven white woolen cloth to be soaked in the running water and pounded by paddle wheels until it shrank into the feltlike fabric that makes their garments. [233] 246 Here and there a red-brown or gray-white moving patch at the foot of a clump of mangled trees announced that a little shepherd was there, clinging to a tall stump and cutting twigs to throw down to the goats and sheep; we were too far away to see him. And there were other clumps of trees green with uncut leaves; always near these we saw, bronze brown among the gray rocks, structures taller than a man and shaped like a beehive. These were trees that the axes spare until the leaves are fully grown and filled with sap. Then the branches are cut and piled in a circle, the cut ends outward and the leaves to the center, layer upon layer, until the beehive shape is completed, when they are weighted down with rocks. The leaves dry, remaining green and nutritious, and slowly through the winter the curious silos are demolished armful

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1960 EG1 Albania EG1

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples. 245

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*).[1] The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture. [462] 221 233

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling. 231 262

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached. 261 628

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later,[2] goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjes to Puka, then on to Kukes, and across 491

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108. Analyst
2 [See cat. 116 p 42a. Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

crests; numerous valleys lie between them, each surprisingly narrow and steep-sided, some 3000 feet deep, all watered by a winter, if not by a perennial, stream, and many branching off right and left into side-valleys. In the district of Martanesh the ranges are rounded in outline, the summits are spreading instead of steep and sharp, large tracts of ground are comparatively unbroken, and in place of the countless valleys and streamlets of the north there are only a few deep ravines, each with a river on its floor.

These geographical characteristics have influenced the tribal cleft which still survives in the population. The main valleys in the north, such as Shalë, Shkrel or Orosh, are each capable of supporting a small unit such as a tribe, but seldom more. Appropriately, then, each is inhabited by a single tribe, which jealously prevents strangers from settling in its territory. The broad spaces farther south, such as the plateaux of Mat and Dibër, or the heights of Martanesh and adjacent Çermenikë, can carry a much larger population, in which no one tribe could hope to maintain its racial integrity or its political supremacy. Consequently, they are non-tribal and peopled partly by indigenous families, partly, at least in the case of Mat and Dibër, by immigrants, all of whom came in small numbers and many within recent memory. To quote only one example of each type, the Kadije family of Lis in eastern Mat is indigenous, and its neighbours at Burgajet, the Zogolli family, are immigrants.

More than the forms of social grouping have been affected by the physical features of the country. The number and height of the mountains have made stock-raising as important as agriculture to Albanians. Both parts of the range that rises sheer as a wall and green with forests from the coastal plain are over 3000 feet high, that of Krujë to the north being 3280–3940 feet and that of Dajt, which forms so beautiful a feature of the scenery round Tirana (Tiranë), 5290 feet—nearly 900 feet more than Ben Nevis and 1720 feet more than Snowdon. The parallel range which bounds the plateau of Mat on the east runs southwards from Mt Nezhdë in Lurë to Mt Dêjë and on to Mt Allaman at a height that is in few places below 5000 feet and is often above 6000 feet. The frontier range is still higher, composed as it is of Mt Çjalicë (8150 feet) and Mt Korab (9070 feet), the former in Lumë, the latter in Dibër. The topmost summits of the Martanesh area, Mt Kaptinë and Mt Lopë, are respectively 6145 and 6630 feet in height; the surrounding ranges average 5000 feet. As seen from Shkodër, the welter of

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

northern mountains begins modestly with ranges 2000–2600 feet above sea-level, surpasses 7000 feet in several peaks of Lower Shalë, and culminates in the Accursed Alps (*Bjeshkët ë Nemuna*), where the close-set summits of Radohinë (8690 feet), Jezercë (8790 feet), Rosh (8270 feet) and Kolatë (8370 feet) wall off Yugoslavia from Upper Shalë in spectacular fashion. East of Shalë, the monster Peak of the Irons (*Majë e Hekuravë*, 8530 feet) divides the tribe of Mertur from the open plateau of Krasniqë. The passes across the mountains are often lofty and arduous. To take an extreme example, the only way from Shalë to Bogë, its western neighbour, is by the Sheep Track Pass, to the northern frontier by the Pejë Pass, and to Nikaj on the east by the Ndermajnë Pass, which are respectively 5900, 5600 and again 5600 feet above sea-level and take a day to traverse. It is self-evident that the tribesmen of Shalë have never seen much of their neighbours. Elsewhere geographical conditions are less formidable, yet generally severe enough to limit intercourse between communities.

It is clear that agriculture and permanent habitations must stop far below the summits of many mountains, and that on the highest slopes there can be only summer grazing. Throughout the area as a whole, however, there is so much summer and winter grazing that many Albanians live entirely by pastoralism and many others combine it with their agriculture. In this connexion it is essential to remember the part played by the immense forests. These spread over the grim mountains as well as the plains, saving Albania from the desiccated look of Dalmatia and Greece, and making its scenery agreeable to the eye at all seasons. The forest trees are of many kinds, with a large proportion of evergreens. Since they grow at different levels according to their kinds, three zones, named the shrub, oak and beech, or pine zones after their predominating tree, have been distinguished.[1]

Shrubs grow all over the plains near the coast and up to a height of 600 feet in exposed regions like Shkodër and Durrës and 1600 feet in sheltered spots like the gullies on Mt Dajt. They include tree heather, hornbeam, arbutus, wild olives, broom and the terrible Christ's Thorn (*Spina Cristi*), which, withered or green, tears the flesh so savagely with its spikes that it is popularly said all over the Near East to have been used for the Crown of Thorns. There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs, especially for

[1] See Gashi, *Shqipnija*, pp. 51–60.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

from decaying beech leaves, these meadows make magnificent grazing in summer.

Where the underlying rock is serpentine, the forests in this zone are of pitch pine, not beech. Following the rock formation the pines may continue above the beech limit as on Mt Munellë in Mirditë, Mt Nezhdë, and the Peak of the Irons in Shalë. Or they may grow as low as the oak zone, adding to its amenities with their timber and pastures. In certain districts they cover whole mountain sides, while beeches fill the intervening, moister valleys; for beeches like a damp soil, and pines a dryish. Whether among the trees or in the clearings, these forests are a paradise for animals. They have other values, too. Their lower reaches are accessible enough for the peasants to cut their timber, load it on ponies, or slide it down the mountain side to their villages, there to be used for building or other simple purposes. Pine slivers are the only form of lighting in many village houses, and they also bring in a little money, finding a ready sale in towns as kindling for fires.

The pine and beech zone is mostly too high for winter use. Near the coast its tree-limit is 5200–5600 feet above sea-level. Farther inland, where one range shelters another and the soil is damper, it may be 6000 feet, as on Mt Bukanik in Shpat or Mts Munellë and Nezhdë. On Mt Gjalicë it is 7000 feet. Between the tree-limit and the summits of higher mountains there is nothing but rock, scree and treeless pastures.

This pine zone is as necessary to Albanian economy as the oak zone. On much of the treeless ground above it the grass is so coarse that sheep will not eat it at all, and horses nibble it only at the beginning of the summer season and then with distaste. The grass of the pine and beech zone is sweet and palatable even to dainty sheep throughout the summer. On the agricultural side the zone serves as a great catchment area, not only for the huge, unharnessed rivers that traverse north Albania, but also for the myriads of invaluable little streams that flow down to the agricultural districts in the oak zone. Without these streams there could be little irrigation; without irrigation there could be little agriculture. Maize must have water, and there is never enough rain in summer to supply it.

In the two areas of summer pasturage, the beech and pine zone and the treeless slopes above it, many thousands of cattle, horses, goats, and especially sheep, graze from May to October. Their

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

233 number is limited only by the amount of winter grazing available, which small owners find, and have always found, in the oak zone. In Turkish times, when Albania and Macedonia were both Turkish provinces and had no customs barriers between them as they have now, large owners sought it on the roomy plain of Salonica. Since Albanian emancipation in 1912 they have been confined to the more meagre pastures on the seaward side of the coastal plain at home, a restriction which has entailed a considerable cutting down of their flocks and herds. Nevertheless, in 1936–7 taxes were paid [151] on 1,424,965 sheep, 773,969 goats, 144,763 cattle and 44,318 horses in the whole of Albania;[1] there are no separate figures for its northern half. Many more animals ran about the houses, unregistered and free of tax. For Albanians the importance of sheep lies, it should be noted, not only in their wool and meat [234] as in England, but in their milk and the butter and cheese made from it.

133 If only the coastal plain were more spacious, it would be 233 a perfect complement to the mountains for pastoralism on the grand scale. In the portion south of Lesh the rivers Drin, Mat and Ishm, entering the sea at points less than 6 miles apart, have created what is virtually one vast delta of mud and swamp, lush undergrowth, and trees that have come too quickly to maturity. Farther south, swamps of the same type cover much of the Plain of Durrës, and a great lagoon extends to the very outskirts of the town. Two more lagoons and a series of swamps mark the estuaries of the rivers Shkumbî and Seman on the coast of Myzeqe. More marshes and the lagoon of Kakarriq outline the course of the River Buenë in the north.

132 On the coast the average yearly rainfall is 39–47 inches, against 57 at Shkodër, 67 at Krujë and 72 at Pukë, an inland place 39 miles east of Shkodër. Albania is one of the wettest countries in Europe because so many of its ranges run from north to south and are high enough to intercept the rain-laden clouds that drift in from the west. The first rains fall in October when it is still hot on the coastal plain. The moisture and the heat combine to produce a luxuriant crop of new grass by the time that the sheep come down from the mountains.

[137] This grass is found, not only in the hay meadows and swamps, but also, owing to the violence of the winter rains, on all the arable land

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 117.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER X

PASTURAGE

233 Mountainous northern Albania is largely a pastoral country with large flocks of sheep and goats and considerable numbers of plough-oxen, cows and horses.

To a great extent the nature of a village's pasturage depended on its position, whether it was in the shrub zone, the oak zone or higher up among the pine and beech forests of the alpine slopes. In the low-lying belt of shrublands the poorest type of grazing was found, and here the pastoral life was seen at its lowest level. A poor man might have only one to five sheep, a cow or, where foliage was more plentiful, a few goats. Most villages had little or no pasturage proper and the animals grazed on the verges of paths and fields, in small spinneys and in the waste spaces overgrown with shrubs. Each family would do its own herding, the animals being tended by the old people and by small boys and girls. For security against thieves and wolves the animals were brought home at night to the little farmyard with its low stone wall, or to a stable under the living rooms of the farmhouse. The low altitude of such holdings, where the climate was neither too hot in summer nor too inclement in winter, ensured fairly constant grazing all the year round. [246] During the winter, however, when the daylight hours were fewer, a meagre sheaf of maize and, less frequently, wheat straw or chaff, was fed by hand to each animal on its return from the open. When wheat chaff was fed to a horse it had to be well damped with water or the horse would not touch it. As for the goats, they would be given an armful of dried leaves which had been cut and stacked by the men in autumn and carried into the house by the women. No grain feed and no roots were fed to the animals; the former was needed for human consumption and no root crops are grown in Albania. Occasionally, however, when oats of a very poor quality were grown, the grain as well as the straw was fed to the animals. Albanians were astounded to learn that the British eat porridge. 'Food for animals' they would exclaim at the sight of a packet of porridge oats.

Poor and insignificant as they were, these small owners were

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

so numerous that their livestock amounted to a considerable 233
percentage of the total in Albania. They were found mostly in the shrub areas, though a few very poor men lived also in the oak zone. But the vast majority of this leafy belt herded their flocks on a larger scale. Above each village there was always the overhanging mountain with its forests of beech and pine to hold the waters and keep the pastures green and sweet. Under the higher beech trees no grass grew, but in the sloping clearings the animals could graze at will. In winter, however, these clearings were too high to [24]
permit of habitation; besides, such tilling of the soil as did take place occurred at roughly the same level as the village, and it was there that the flocks found most of their feeding. In summer the [24]
fields and meadows, whether open or enclosed, provided hay for the animals; in the autumn the stubble served for a few weeks; while in winter they wandered over the grass. In spring the winter-sown wheat was improved by being eaten down a few inches by the sheep. Dried leaves from the numerous oak trees supplemented this winter feeding.

Sometimes the number of animals was such that all these sources 291
did not suffice during the lean months, or sometimes a village had no suitable winter pastures or had lost them for political reasons. Many animals would then be slaughtered at the commencement of [25]
winter and the meat smoked or salted down, while the remainder lived to fare as best they could. The many owners who could not afford meat, fresh or salted, had to try to maintain their livestock until the spring. By that time the poor creatures were no better than living skeletons hardly able to walk out to the pastures.

On the long coastal plains and marshy river banks the owners of 221
large flocks and herds were scorched out of their pastures in 233
summer or plagued by the mosquitoes from the marshy swamps. This necessitated a wholesale migration at the beginning of summer to the cooler alpine slopes, a feature of Albanian life as characteristic as picturesque.

A few of the purely winter pastures belonged to the State, a few 233
to private persons, and the immense majority to some community, 423
either a tribe, a village or a village ward. State-owned pastures dated from Turkish times and were consequently found only on the plains near big centres, as Turkish control had little reality elsewhere. Examples of these were the forested swamps of Mamuras and the Highland village of Gurrëzë on the left bank of the river

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

Mat. They were extensive, if not numerous, and must be distinguished from the other state-owned pastures which, also in Turkish times, were added piecemeal to the community's possessions from the confiscated property of tribesmen who had transgressed an important law.

There were both alpine and winter pasturages in private hands in the 1930's, but the former were few and small; examples of these were some meadows on Mt Dragû between Bulqizë and Zerqan, and an upland plateau east of Sllovë in Dibër. The former, carrying 1500 sheep, was owned by Dervish Ali of Fulqet, and the latter, carrying not more than 1000 sheep, by Cen Elezi of Sllovë. Up till 1920, when Prenk Bib Doda Pasha bequeathed all his property to the tribe of Mirditë because he disliked his heir, the Mal i Shenjt (Holy Mountain) above Orosh was the private property of each Hereditary Captain. As for winter pasturages, much of the marshy land from Mamuras to below Durrës was in private hands. Thus the estate known as Cakalë belonged to Abas Kupi of Krujë, and several others near Shijak to members of the Toptan family. Some scandal was caused in the 1920's when three of these were leased for 99 years to Italians. A few meadows, some coppices and all the fields of stubble (for arable land was never owned by the community), complete the tale of winter pasturages which were private property.

Everything else, big and little, on the mountains and the plains, by the river bank and the wayside, belonged to some community. This was usually the nearest. For example, the plateau on the mountain overhanging Zerqan was owned by that village, the upland meadows round Okol in north Shalë by the various wards of Theth, one by each, and the swamps between Gurrëzë and Mamuras by the village of Laç near Milot. A major exception was the summer grazing which belonged to the village of Kuturman in Çermenikë. This pasturage lay twelve hours away on Mount Shebenik, more popularly known as the Mal i Kuq (the Red Mountain) on the eastern frontier between Albania and Yugoslavia. But its acquisition has been accidental. Most of it came as the dowry of a girl of Ricë who was her father's sole surviving heir and who married a man from Kuturman. The rest was subsequently purchased by the village; the copper plate on which its title to this portion was engraved in Turkish, a great curiosity in view of the rarity of title deeds, remained in the possession of Beqir Ali of

[the pastures of Mamuras and Gurrëzë -- Analyst]

PASTURAGE

Kuturman until his family died out and the place disappeared. The summer grazing which belonged to the village of [illegible] was Fulqet was three days away on Mt [illegible]. The [illegible], living at the mouth of the river Mat, had their summer pasturage on Mt Vermosh five days away from their winter houses.

A clear distinction was drawn between the two principal private and public pasturages. In broad outline what was private could be fenced or sold or built on at its owner's sole pleasure, and was divided up between his sons at his death. What was public was marked off by boundary stones from neighbouring properties but had neither outside fence nor internal boundaries. Though all the households in the tribe or village had equal rights in it and could each graze as many animals, cut as much firewood or cultivate, build as many huts or folds and shoot as much game on it as they chosen, these rights came to them only as members of the community and were not transferable to strangers. They could not sell their grazing rights to an outsider, share a hut with him, or graze his animals along with their own. If they wanted to give an outside friend pasturage, they must do so on their private ground. They could not sell part of the common or dispose of firewood, cultivation or game for their individual gain: only the community could negotiate such sales, and all the profit or loss from them was community profit or loss. They could not build a permanent house on the common. When the head of a family died, his rights were not divided among his sons like his private property but conveyed to them jointly. Gypsies, it may be added, were allowed to pitch their tents, graze their animals and gather firewood on the common. Being as resourceful in Albania as elsewhere, they needed no permission and snared what game they could. As there did not carry firearms they could not shoot it.

Those communities which did not possess their own principal summer pasturage, hired or rented it from some and lot. Bring. Thus rented theirs partly from Shkoel and partly from Tuzi, and the latter was a full week's journey away. Shortly having come to Albania, they paid cash down. Fulqet rented a neighbour's mountain every summer and paid for it in the old fashioned way with half an oke of butter, the same of some milk cheese and [illegible] of sweet cheese for every forty sheep. Pulke again [illegible] winter pasturage in return for labour to maintain on the mountains of Luré and Selité. In Turkish times, Luré added another [illegible]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

233 nor produce nor an exchange for summering the flocks brought to
437 the Crown (Kunora) by tribesmen living north of Shkodër, but
427 welcomed them because their sheep manured the fields. Com-
[241] paratively recently, Lurë gave a Selitë man leave to summer his flocks gratis on Mt Murije, which, lacking their manure, would hardly have been worth the labour of tilling. Dervish Ali of Fulqet too was glad to let hundreds of sheep graze free in his meadows on Mt Dragû. Surroj and Arrn pastured sheep belonging to the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë without payment, because they also had so little arable land.

609 Except where the soil was so poor that the manure was welcome,
685 as in Lurë, or where grazing was very plentiful, as in Theth, outsiders were rigidly excluded from alps which were owned or rented by a community. Nangë said it had not enough feed for its own flocks. Martenesh, Gurrëzë and Breg i Matit said they did not want their pastures disturbed by strangers. All infringements of the ban, both petty and grave, were punished by fines.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws enacted in the village of Kastrat on Nov. 2, 1891]

5. Whoever moves the stones of an old boundary and puts them in a new place will be fined 3000 grosh and 6 rams. 681 [423]

6. No one is to frighten a flock sheltering from the heat in a place it was in first.[1] Whoever does this will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams. [233]

7. The mill question remains inviolate as always and neither the Vukpalaj nor the Gjolaj may start a *degamë*,[2] and any miller who takes more than 5 per cent of the flour will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams. [256]

8. Any man who cuts down a tree under which animals take shelter from the heat or cuts off a mill or an irrigation stream will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.

9. Other fountains and springs are left under the old law, that is to say, whoever destroys a fountain or spring or prevents another from filling water-pots will be fined 500 grosh. [312]

10. Milling is by order of arrival. Any miller who mills for a man who comes later than another and breaks the order either out of favouritism or because corrupted by bribes will be fined 150 grosh and 3 rams. [256]

11. Whoever admits a stranger to huts on a mountain pasturage will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.[3]

IV. Truce Sworn between Nikaj and Mertur on August 10th, 1892. 628 619

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 121.)

The two tribes have sworn a truce with each other:

(1) As from August 14th up to the day of Our Lady of Mertur.

(2) As from December 26th up to the day of St Sebastian.

The guarantors of Flock and Shepherd, i.e. Nikaj and Mertur and the Bajraktars of Krasniqë and Gash.

V. Laws Enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on November 1st, 1892 A.D. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 126.)

At a general meeting held under the presidency of Brahim Beg the serxherde, Kasem Beg the bylikbash and the four and twenty chiefs (elders) of Kastrat, the following laws were enacted.

1. Whoever murders a man of Kastrat or of any of the other mountains will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[1] This must be a mistranslation. The Italian version of the sentence runs: *che nessuno ardisa impaurire il bastiame gravido.*

[2] The Italian version of this very obscure clause is as follows: *Le disposizioni riguardanti i mulini rimangono inaltarate per sempre e non possono causare litigi nè fra il povero nè fra il ricco*, clearly referring to the principle, enunciated again in § 10, which compels the miller to treat all his clients on the principle of 'first come, first served'. It is possible that the Albanian version has been misunderstood.

[3] This refers to the letting of some of the tribe's scanty pasturage to strangers.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

681 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Breg i Shpellës, Viri, and Krue i Ri —will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a patch for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[233] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[403] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[487] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

[623] 16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 500 grosh.

[693] 17. 'Pledge elders' are not to take more than 10 grosh as their fee for a judgement, and commoners not more than 5 grosh.

[628] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after their feud has been compounded by order of the government will be fined 12 purses and expelled from the village and turned into a ghost.

681 231 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

681 solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj
[491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed
[574] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of ~~Mertur kills~~ a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[695] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[224] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

country, if I am rightly informed, two crops a year are possible, though whether the land would stand two crops without impoverishment I have not enough knowledge of such matters to say. There is room, too, for many more sheep and cattle than at present. If the gipsies can raise the large flocks they do, presumably the Albanian can raise them also. I saw gipsy encampments with flocks which appeared to run to a thousand head of sheep or more. As to cattle, the local breed is small; this is attributed by the natives to the poor pasturage, but the importation of pedigree stock might bring about an improvement. In fact, as I see it, there is wealth in Albania—the best kind of wealth, that which comes from honest work on the soil—and I cannot help wondering whether the Albanian who is yearning after the United States, Canada, or Australia, as the case may be, is not shutting his eyes to opportunities which lie ready to his hand in his own country. It is a truism that people are often blind to their own immediate surroundings.

The accommodation offered by the Hotel Metropole fell so far short of my fanciful anticipations that as soon as I had supped I made my way through the ill-lit streets to the American School, hoping that my friends Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy —whom I had met at Tirana—might be able to tell me of better quarters. They assured me, however, that the Hotel Metropole was the only place at which it was at all possible to stay, and very kindly offered to make me up a bed in their sitting-room. This offer—foolishly, as it turned out—I declined. I was back early the next morning begging that

ALBANIA EG1
BULGARIA EE1

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kačor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [84] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A [233]

A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

B [133]

285 them, bring them to market along with embroidery. These include not only spinning baskets and hand-carrying baskets, but also large osier panniers used in transport—a man can carry one on his back, a horse, two. I believe that the panniers are made by men.

326 Other containers include copperwork and pottery. The coppersmiths in each town hammer out sheets of metal into round trays, which can be used for baking cheese dishes, pastry, etc., or for tea and coffee service. They also make kettles, water jugs, and wash-basins. All of these things are purchased by the mountaineers, who now and then acquire a European chamber-pot to use as soup tureen, and a set of glass tumblers.

323 Three kinds of pottery find their way into the mountaineer's household. In the Catholic tribes, if not elsewhere, the women still make an Iron Age vessel, of simple profile, with handles, without slip, and decorated by incisions. It is hand-modeled, and fired in such a way as to give it a black surface. In the towns, professional male potters make a porous ware on the wheel. This is used for carrying and storing water. Regular modern glazed pottery is imported from Italy, and subsequently sold in the bazaars.

251 Food preservation and storage techniques vary between Catholics and Moslems, owing to their differences in diet. The Catholics preserve much pork by salting and smoking. The men of each household will butcher as many fat pigs as the family needs or can spare, in the fall. They cut the belly fat into flitches and hang it over the fire. An especial delicacy is the *peshk*, or "fish," a long strip of lean back-bacon, smoke-cured, which they cut in slices and fry. Besides these whole pork pieces, they make sausages and cure them in the same
[262] way. The Moslems as a rule eat only fresh meat and live on mutton, whereas Catholics eat both mutton and pork.

Both store their cereals and legumes in tubs and bags in the house, and keep maize in special outdoor corncribs, elevated to protect them from rats. Very often a fierce dog will be seen and heard, chained under the crib.
234 Both make butter from their cows' milk, and cheese from that of sheep and goats, although the use of the latter is much more common
000 among the Moslems. Catholics, in country fit

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

233 number is limited only by the amount of winter grazing available, which small owners find, and have always found, in the oak zone. In Turkish times, when Albania and Macedonia were both Turkish provinces and had no customs barriers between them as they have now, large owners sought it on the roomy plain of Salonica. Since Albanian emancipation in 1912 they have been confined to the more meagre pastures on the seaward side of the coastal plain at home, a restriction which has entailed a considerable cutting down of their flocks and herds. Nevertheless, in 1936–7 taxes were paid [135] on 1,424,965 sheep, 773,969 goats, 144,763 cattle and 44,318 horses in the whole of Albania;[1] there are no separate figures for its northern half. Many more animals ran about the houses, unregistered and free of tax. For Albanians the importance of sheep lies, it should be noted, not only in their wool and meat [234] as in England, but in their milk and the butter and cheese made from it.

133 If only the coastal plain were more spacious, it would be 233 a perfect complement to the mountains for pastoralism on the grand scale. In the portion south of Lesh the rivers Drin, Mat and Ishm, entering the sea at points less than 6 miles apart, have created what is virtually one vast delta of mud and swamp, lush undergrowth, and trees that have come too quickly to maturity. Farther south, swamps of the same type cover much of the Plain of Durrës, and a great lagoon extends to the very outskirts of the town. Two more lagoons and a series of swamps mark the estuaries of the rivers Shkumbî and Seman on the coast of Myzeqe. More marshes and the lagoon of Kakarriq outline the course of the River Buenë in the north.

132 On the coast the average yearly rainfall is 39–47 inches, against 57 at Shkodër, 67 at Krujë and 72 at Pukë, an inland place 39 miles east of Shkodër. Albania is one of the wettest countries in Europe because so many of its ranges run from north to south and are high enough to intercept the rain-laden clouds that drift in from the west. The first rains fall in October when it is still hot on the coastal plain. The moisture and the heat combine to produce a luxuriant crop of new grass by the time that the sheep come down from the mountains.

[137] This grass is found, not only in the hay meadows and swamps, but also, owing to the violence of the winter rains, on all the arable land,

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 117.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

reasons, be no openings in the ground-floor walls except the door-way, but square holes were left in those of the upper floor for windows. Except in rich houses these 'windows' were not glazed. At night they were closed in rich as in poor houses by propping stone slabs against them or sliding wooden panels across them. Those in a one-storeyed cluster were usually too high for the curious outside to peep through or the hostile to shoot through. Nikollë Gjetë Coka of Breg i Matit, putting his trust in the exemplary peace which King Zog's government had established throughout Albania, neglected this ancient precaution and was shot in 1938 by some Mirdites who thrust their rifles through the window of the room in which he sat at supper. At the top of a tower there were usually loop-holes, splayed to give a wider field of fire and low enough to let a man kneel as he shot. When these were found in a clustered house, as they often were, it was naturally on a vulnerable side, where they might also be reinforced by turrets in the wall of the farmyard. In the kitchen, where the women and children must spend the day and evening, the hearth continued in the middle because more people could sit round it in that position.

In planning his house the Albanian householder sought chiefly shelter from the elements and his enemies, and took no thought for beauty. When villages are picturesque, as many are, it is always for such extraneous reasons as their site, the line of their roofs against a lightly clouded sky, and the greenery surrounding them, rather than for the architecture of their individual houses. A tower, it is true, may have machicoulis over its door or under an upper window, and these give it distinction; its elevation and its usual situation on a knoll may also be attractive. The best examples, some of them over two hundred years old, may be seen in Lurë. But few clustered houses are more than an assemblage of featureless boxes.

In the bigger houses the furnishings altered little from those of the simplest type already described. Mattresses and pillows were probably added to the bedding, and the floor of the sitting-room, instead of being left bare, was covered with mats made from reeds grown in the swamps near the coast. In the cold north and north-east there was usually a layer of earth under the mats; it made an admirable shield against winter blasts. Chairs remained rarities and stools were still confined to the kitchen with its chilly earthen floor. Workers being more plentiful, enough animals to make butter could be kept; the churn was made by hollowing out a section of tree-trunk.

113	Yugoslavia EF1
231	Albania EG1
233	Rumania ED1
235	Bulgaria EE1
	Slovenes EF7

/For information on the types of shelter provided for domesticated animals (including cattle), see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

S 233 If two flocks become entangled, the voices of the two shepherds soon gather their own around them again. Lambs and kids are carried round their necks, after the manner of the Good Shepherd. Generally all the sheep of a village have but one shepherd, though on the large plateaux, especially on Ovce Polje (the Plain of Sheep), one man may own an entire flock. Sheep and lambs are very tame and fearless of strangers. I have stepped over them, and patted them, without disturbing them, when walking through a "field." Cows are equally unruffled.

S 234 Sheep's milk is much used by Christian and Moslem peasants. In Peć, when flocks were drifting homeward in the evening, I have seen the people meet them with pots and pans, and they were milked then and there. This milk, in some districts, costs more than that of goats, and goats' milk more than cows'. The best sour milk is made from sheep's milk. This is also curdled into soft white cheese, and, especially in the mountain villages around Pirot, into large round hard cheeses (*kaškavala*). In this region one man may collect enough milk through the summer to make a truck-load of cheese to sell in late autumn. Special wooden sheds are filled in readiness for the cheese-merchant's inspection when he comes to buy.

A 236 The sheep-shearing is sometimes a casual affair, I have seen an Albanian peasant squat on his heels under a tree on a vast plain of grazing flocks, clipping his one sheep with his wife's scissors. Round Tetovo the unwashed sheep are shorn with special shears on the threshing floor of the farmyard, in spring, about St George's Day. The fleece is washed, carded, spun, and woven by the women.

S 233 In hilly districts goats set their fore-feet on young oak or birch scrub and nibble daintily, or leap from rock to rock seeking sparse mosses and green plants. One or two goatherds take care of all those that belong to the village. Theirs is a peaceful life. One may walk in summer through the uneven oak scrub on a mountain-side, in perfect solitude it seems, when suddenly, almost at one's feet, goatherd-boys appear, clad in rough brown or white. Or one may hear them call on long notes to their friends on the

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

133 The extensive basin-shaped plains of eastern Albania—especially the plain of Metova in the upper region of the White Drin Valley, and the plains of Kosova and Tetova—are important to Albania. There are many lakes in these regions.

463 Agriculture and cattle raising are the principal occupations, with olives, the making of 241 olive oil, grains and tobacco being the prin- 135 cipal products of the country. But there is great mineral wealth (asphalt, arsenic, copper, iron, lead, lignite, naphtha, oil, and other mineral resources), which is largely yet undeveloped, and with time, possibly a very short time, through the development of the great abundance of these natural resources, including the fisheries, they will become the principal resources of the country.

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

000 with their dusky green leaves and snarled old roots and trunks, to the grey, white and sun-baked shades of the dreamy little town, and all this set like a tiny little drop on the vast, fertile plain.

132 Elbasan is well-known for its great variety of products, made possible by the rich soil of the plain. The town, sheltered by the immense old wall, enjoys a somewhat hot-house atmosphere, for which it should indeed be grateful, for it becomes terrifically cold during the winter months when the east winds sweep over it from the mountains of
133 Librazhd. These great monarchs, snow-crowned ten months of the year, which surround the plain are very cool even in August, making them delightful resorts from the heat of the plain.

• 241 This district is versatile in that it can produce, in this dual atmosphere, both the products of the north and the south. There is an abundance of cotton, rice and tobacco, as
245 well as maize, barley and wheat. And unlike many of its neighbors, it has its own figs, grapes, melons, oranges, lemons and olives growing on the plain, and apples, pears, raspberries and various other northern fruits mellowing into ripeness on the mountains surrounding Elbasan.

p. 123

Industry

HAVING immense natural wealth and possessing an abundance of raw materials and considerable reserves of power, Albania is well placed for the development of industry and may therefore be considered a country of the future. Already one can observe great progress made since the world war.

Albania being essentially an agricultural [241] country, it is logical that agriculture and the food industries are so far most developed. The possibilities of future development are also great, there also being large surplus stocks of agricultural products not required for home consumption.

Another industry yet to be developed on a [313] larger scale is timber. Albania is exceptionally rich in forests. Many of the forests are still untouched as domestic needs are filled easily from so dense a growth. Taking into consideration the large number of fully grown forests suitable for felling, and the excellent 433
quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably. 209

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

352 fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in,
[415 a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper
373 *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two
412] rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes,
251 which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to
353 preserve them. The other serves as general living and
372 sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the
floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof.
241 Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit
249 and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a
high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green,
361 in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor,
243 where the grain is trodden out by horses.

142 The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

[539]

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

183 They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly courageous.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 hearth, in order that he may take away with him all
788 danger from fire for the coming year.

St. John's Eve is observed in Albania with the
789 customary bonfire, to leap over which is considered so
372 salutary that even the old people venture to do so at least once. A curious ceremony, performed about this season, when the spring sowing is concluded, may also be here mentioned. Standing with his back to the plough, the farmer rubs part of the
[136] handle with earth in the belief that the wild swine will thus be prevented from damaging his crops.

789 On the day on which the new moon is first seen, all possible work is avoided, and no important task of any kind, such as ploughing, sowing, or harvesting, is commenced, for it would be sure to be unsuccessful. The girls and children look at the moon through a sieve, and rub their faces with a piece of silver, while they sing:

[539]

Young moon!
Young maid!
Health to me;
Ill to thee!
Head as soft as dough be thine!
Head as hard as stone be mine!

777 The 9th, 19th, and 29th days of every month are considered unlucky, as is also the Tuesday of every week, for setting out on a journey, or commencing any kind of work. Friday is also an inauspicious day
[241] for sowing, and Saturday for beginning to plough or dig.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

tained their independence for six centuries within 184
the Turkish Empire look with distrust and con- 578
tempt on the Toshks whose valleys have been flooded by every wave of invaders. The Toshks, who are the educated men of Albania, and the travelers, are equally contemptuous of the Ghegs, ignorant men unable to read or write. Nor do the Toshks admit that they cannot fight as well as the Ghegs. It was the Toshks in Sicily who fought with Garibaldi, the Toshks of Egypt who fought with Mehmet Ali; the Albanian soldiers in Russia and Rumania and Turkey are Toshk; the 50,000 Albanians in the United States are Toshk, and fought well with the Americans in France. Hundreds of them have returned to spread American ideas through the south; there are Toshk villages in which American English is spoken by nearly every child. Men from these villagers led the forces that drove the Italians from Valona in 1920. Indeed, say the Toshks, they can fight as well as Ghegs. But it is not fighting that Albania needs.

One of the errors about Albania, to which I 133
fear my descriptions may contribute is the belief that the country is entirely mountainous. This is true of the northern part, adjoining Montenegro. Farther south the ranges are like the partitions in a house; steep, high, almost impassable, they surround valleys and plateaus of rich level land, much of it irrigated. The 132
climate of the valleys is semitropical; rice, cot- 241
ton, tobacco, citrus fruits, figs, and pomegranates

POSTSCRIPT

241 flourish. The southern plains, before the war,
439 exported fine horses in considerable numbers. Properly developed, Albania would be a rich agricultural country, even without the fertile valleys of Kossova and Epirus.

135 The mineral resources of Albania are unknown. During the Austrian occupation, a survey was made, looking toward the development of copper mines during the war; the results of the survey have vanished into the archives of the Austrian War Department. However, even the untrained eye perceives that there are copper and lead in the mountains. English mining engineers have told me that there are probably also silver and gold. I have seen veins of coal projecting on mountain sides; the mountaineers chip it off with hatchets or pry it loose with levers, and use it as fuel to a
[137] small extent. There are millions of feet of pine, oak, birch, and beech timber; unlimited water
[315] power. There are oil fields near Valona; producing oil wells were sunk, and later destroyed, by the Italians. Valona's military importance is not the only reason that Albanians are not left in peace.

175 There is also the political background. For twenty centuries the Albanians have been a beleaguered remnant of the first Aryan race in Europe. By character, temperament, and choice they belong with the peoples of the west, not with their Slav neighbors in the Balkans. But they have had no friends, either in west or east; their whole history has been a struggle for existence.

264 least 15, with as many more waiting patiently for second table, and the dishes included a whole roast sheep, which the Major picked apart with his hands and distributed.

463 252 265 Professional cooks are found only in the towns and in new government stations. In Prizren and Scutari, many of these cooks are Turks and their dishes consist mostly of mutton with various kinds of vegetables. Personally I found this cuisine very tasty. They also make a fine *yughurt*. Pastry cooks form another special group, and concentrate on *baklava* and *kadaif*, the two honey desserts familiar to eaters in Greek restaurants in all countries. Although their products may be carried into the mountains, the pastry cooks themselves stay at home.

262 The mountaineers obtain almost all of their own food by farming and herding. Hunting provides little or none for most families, and the same is true of fishing. Along the Black Drin, just above Kukës, a few fish are sometimes caught, and welcomed in the kitchen. In Prizren, fresh river fish are sold in the market. But fish is an insignificant element in the Mountain Gheg diet. The same is true of wild vegetable products, shoots, berries, and the 594 261 like, collected by women. Furthermore each family produces practically all of its own food, except for a little coffee and tea, and a bit of sugar and salt. Most families are too poor to afford these imported luxuries often. The significance of the absolute self-sufficiency of the Ghegs in their food supply is linked with local differences in geology, and must have a profound effect upon differences in physique attendant on diet.

241 [594] Farming is a family affair. The man buys the iron implements which he needs in town, and makes the rest of wood. He breaks the soil with a spade, and ploughs it with oxen. As he ploughs each furrow, his wife walks behind him with a basket of seed, sowing it. Later the women will do the weeding, and the whole family comes out to reap. If the crop is wheat, they cut off each head of grain with a sickle and put the heads in a bag; if maize, they pick the ears and braid the husks for drying. They thresh small grains and beans with flails. When the tobacco leaves are ripe, the men cut them carefully and hang them on their verandas or the sides of their houses to cure. -18b-

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

land. A high proportion of the year's rainfall falls in November and March:[1] 132

NOVEMBER	MARCH
Durrës 215 mm. (8·46 in.)	100 mm. (3·94 in.)
Shkodër 209 mm. (8·23 in.)	162 mm. (6·38 in.)
Krujë 337 mm. (13·27 in.)	157 mm. (6·18 in.)
Pukë 260 mm. (10·24 in.)	202 mm. (7·95 in.)

When a storm breaks over the mountains, every river and rivulet in the storm-swept area rises rapidly because the surface soil is seldom deep enough to retain much of the falling rain. In furious [133] spate the rivers rush steeply towards the sea and, as they near the coast, spread far beyond their banks, engulfing many acres of arable land, and enlarging the marshes and lagoons so that they engulf many more. Because of this flooding, wheat cannot be sown near the coast. If sown in autumn, the November floods would [241] wash it away, and after the March floods the ground does not dry in time for a spring sowing. Maize is, consequently, the only crop that can be raised. While awaiting its planting in late May, the fields lie fallow and grass-grown. The March floods are also responsible for the striking size and number of the hay meadows; much land never dries enough to grow even maize and must be left permanently under grass.

Climatically, too, the coastal plain dovetails into the high pastures. Whereas the mountains are deep in snow all winter, the temperature at the coast never falls quite to freezing-point. In January, the coldest month, the average recorded for Durrës and Valona (Vlonë) is respectively 47 and 48 degrees, with 40 and 41½ degrees at inland Shkodër and Tirana (Tiranë). Rain falls frequently and heavily, but unless a sudden rise in a river catches sheep unawares and sweeps them out to sea, neither animals nor shepherds come to much harm. By the end of May, when the rains cease, everything changes, and life near the swamps becomes intolerable for man and beast. Day temperatures rise swiftly towards their summer maximum of 86 degrees and the nights are hot, so that every movement is a burden. The dense vegetation of the swamps exudes odours as foetid as those in a tropical forest. Swarms of malaria-carrying mosquitoes emerge from the stagnant 136 pools to attack man; swarms of gadflies, more savage than any

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 49.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

and if properly placed to begin with, caused no trouble. The same was true of living hedges inland. On the other hand, living hedges in the marshy areas near the mouth of the river Mat sometimes grew so tall that they damaged the neighbouring land with their shade. To prevent this, the owner had to lop overgrown trees once every three years. Failing this, his neighbour could complain to the headman; inevitably they gave him leave to cut the trees down to the root on the owner's ground, an intrusion that was in itself a punishment, and fined the owner 250–450 grosh for breaking the law about lopping.

Similar rules regulated the planting of fruit and other trees, olives being included among the former. In Mirditë a fruit tree might be planted only 5 'feet' (1 metre) from the boundary; another kind had to be at least 10 feet away. In Godolesh, a great fruit-growing area, a fruit tree could be planted on the very boundary, but in adjacent Labinot it had to be a span away. In Shkrel it could be planted anywhere on one's own ground, as it never caused trouble by itself. As with living hedges, care had to be taken that a tree did not cast harmful shade over a neighbour's land. If one did so in Shkrel the owner agreed amicably to lop it, raising no objections unless he had already quarrelled with his neighbour over something else. In Mirditë he was bound to lop the offending branches; if he failed to do so his neighbour could lop them as high as he could reach with a hook, the handle of which did not exceed 3½ spans in length. In the mountains of Lesh the owner had to uproot the tree or to pay annual damages to his neighbour. In Godolesh the neighbour was entitled to stretch as far as he could and cut the too luxuriant branches with his short-handled axe. If a tree was doing no damage to neighbouring ground, it could not be lopped except by its owner. A man who transgressed this law in Mirditë had to pay its owner 500 grosh.

Sometimes an open drain adjoined a boundary. When it was first cut, each of the two neighbours provided half the ground required, did half the work and retained the earth excavated from his own side. Three stones, one big and two small, were left at the head to mark the boundary; the two other sets, normally placed in the middle and at the foot, were removed to make room for the water; as the drain discharged into a bigger channel, they could not possibly be left at the foot. The boundary naturally ran exactly down the middle. In most places the drain had to be cleared out

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

annually. In Godolesh the two neighbours did it in alternate years, 312
having exclusive right to the earth with its valuable fertilizing 423
properties for the year when they did the clean up. In Lumë two 776
neighbours cleared the drain together year after year and flung half the earth on one side and half on the other.

In other places one ditch seldom drained two neighbouring fields on the principle that 'you can't walk on my path or use my drain'. In Gurrëzë the man who wanted a drain had to cut it on his own ground with a 'footprint' (20 cm.) of land between the boundary and its edge for the protection of his neighbour's land. Without this buttress the drain might overflow or burst its bank to the detriment of his neighbour. In either contingency its owner had to pay compensation to his neighbour, but prevention of damage was always better for both parties. His neighbour might also accuse him of encroaching on his land, an insulting remark that provoked instant retaliation. If, later on, the neighbour wanted a drain he had to make one for himself, also a 'footprint' away from the boundary. In Lumë and Elbasan there was little risk that open drains would flood, but there too a space had to be left between their edge and the boundary. The avowed purpose of this space was to support the boundary stones. In all cases of single ownership the owner, on clearing the ditch, threw the earth on his own side, where it testified to his ownership if this was ever questioned.

Sometimes a man of Shkrel wanted both a drain and a fence. In that event the ditch was cut along the boundary and a strip of ground of the same width was set aside on the other side of the boundary. All the earth excavated from the ditch was thrown on this strip and so the neighbours became quits, one had a 'hole' on his land and the other a 'hill'. The fence was erected on the 'hill'.

We come now to one of the most important considerations in [132]
boundary making. North Albania is one of the wettest regions in 134
Europe, and when the land was waterlogged it inevitably tended 241
to slip downhill. The tropical intensity of many rainstorms 423
increased the mischief. Terracing the fields would have helped to
check it, but such manual labour is contrary to the habits and [461]
dignity of the north Albanian. His law, however, gave him every possible protection. When there were two fields on a slope, one above the other, they might be separated by a field-path, a road, an irrigation channel or a fence. (The term 'field-path' includes the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

423 little 'headland' which formed along the top of the lower field as
134 the plough-oxen turned in their ploughing.) It was vital to save
[241] the upper field from being undermined by the tillage of the lower one. So the field-path (or headland) was always assigned to the upper field, with the boundary and the fence, if any, along its lower edge. The upper man was strictly forbidden to work the path, generally grass-grown, and so fairly cohesive. The lower man was even more strictly forbidden to cultivate right up to the path for fear he brought it down; since his own land slipped a little lower every year as he tilled it, the field-path soared higher above it. Only if the lower field was in grass did the law revert to its usual form. If the upper field was planted with maize and the lower one a grass meadow, all the land under the boundary stones belonged to the lower field because grass is in itself binding enough to stop landslides.

If a road or an irrigation channel divided the two fields, the upper bank belonged in most places to the upper man, and the lower to the other, since there seemed no risk that cultivation of the lower field would undermine the upper one. In Greater
[312] Dibër, however, no risks were taken. Both banks of an irrigation channel were given to the upper man in case the lower one worked too close to it. In any area, the owner of a lower field who made a drain for it had to make it four finger-breadths from his own boundary to make sure it did not damage the upper field.

[342] If building a new house, the owner of the lower field had to keep it far enough away from the boundary to do no damage to the fence, as any such damage would make the upper field slip. On the other hand, the owner of the upper field had licence to build his house as close to the fence as if the site were flat, that is to say, with only half the width of a footpath intervening, but he was never foolhardy enough to do so.

Sometimes it was the lower man who received protection from the law. In Martanesh, for example, when the upper one built a fence or wall round his field, he had to leave the boundary stones as well clear of it as if the field were flat. This was in case it moved and encroached on the boundary.

423 Sometimes a fence was misplaced. Even if it was only one cm.
628 inside the neighbour's land, it had to be moved. In Bicaj the neighbour sent a mutual friend to say so to the owner; if the latter ignored the message the neighbour took down the fence and saw

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

so numerous that their livestock amounted to a considerable 233
percentage of the total in Albania. They were found mostly in the shrub areas, though a few very poor men lived also in the oak zone. But the vast majority of this leafy belt herded their flocks on a larger scale. Above each village there was always the overhanging mountain with its forests of beech and pine to hold the waters and keep the pastures green and sweet. Under the higher beech trees no grass grew, but in the sloping clearings the animals could graze at will. In winter, however, these clearings were too high to [244]
permit of habitation; besides, such tilling of the soil as did take place occurred at roughly the same level as the village, and it was there that the flocks found most of their feeding. In summer the [244]
fields and meadows, whether open or enclosed, provided hay for the animals; in the autumn the stubble served for a few weeks; while in winter they wandered over the grass. In spring the winter-sown wheat was improved by being eaten down a few inches by the sheep. Dried leaves from the numerous oak trees supplemented this winter feeding.

Sometimes the number of animals was such that all these sources 231
did not suffice during the lean months, or sometimes a village had no suitable winter pastures or had lost them for political reasons. Many animals would then be slaughtered at the commencement of [251]
winter and the meat smoked or salted down, while the remainder lived to fare as best they could. The many owners who could not afford meat, fresh or salted, had to try to maintain their livestock until the spring. By that time the poor creatures were no better than living skeletons hardly able to walk out to the pastures.

On the long coastal plains and marshy river banks the owners of 221
large flocks and herds were scorched out of their pastures in 233
summer or plagued by the mosquitoes from the marshy swamps. This necessitated a wholesale migration at the beginning of summer to the cooler alpine slopes, a feature of Albanian life as characteristic as picturesque.

A few of the purely winter pastures belonged to the State, a few 233
to private persons, and the immense majority to some community, 423
either a tribe, a village or a village ward. State-owned pastures dated from Turkish times and were consequently found only on the plains near big centres, as Turkish control had little reality elsewhere. Examples of these were the forested swamps of Mamuras and the Highland village of Gurrëzë on the left bank of the river

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

233 nor produce nor an exchange for summering the flocks brought to
437 the Crown (Kunorà) by tribesmen living north of Shkodër, but
427 welcomed them because their sheep manured the fields. Com-
[241] paratively recently, Lurë gave a Selitë man leave to summer his flocks gratis on Mt Murije, which, lacking their manure, would hardly have been worth the labour of tilling. Dervish Ali of Fulqet too was glad to let hundreds of sheep graze free in his meadows on Mt Dragû. Surroj and Arrn pastured sheep belonging to the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë without payment, because they also had so little arable land.

609 Except where the soil was so poor that the manure was welcome,
685 as in Lurë, or where grazing was very plentiful, as in Theth, outsiders were rigidly excluded from alps which were owned or rented by a community. Nangë said it had not enough feed for its own flocks. Martenesh, Gurrëzë and Breg i Matit said they did not want their pastures disturbed by strangers. All infringements of the ban, both petty and grave, were punished by fines.

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9); the swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6).
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8); plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
000 forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,

[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

000 and future. From him I got some illuminating sidelights on Albanian history and a good deal of information on the political situation. He lived in a delightful old Turkish house full of antique woodwork and panelling and carved doorways, and showed me many curiosities and objects of interest which he had collected there. Among these were a cinerary urn, axe-heads and swords of the bronze age, as well as numerous arrow-heads of the same period and later. A cigar-box contained a large number of ancient Greek, Roman, and other coins, thrown in anyhow and as yet unclassified. Old chain armour and medieval weapons hung upon the wall. But in the whole collection I saw no flint implements whatever—not even an arrow-head. This struck me as curious. In a shed in the town he had assembled the larger antiques, such as pieces of stonework and carving, broken statuary, and other relics of Greek, Roman, and Illyrian origin, and it looked as though Elbasan would repay research by the excavator and the antiquary.

241 Under Mr. Lef Nossi's guidance I took a walk one day through the gardens and fields to the north of the city.[1] Here was every indication of a fruitful soil. Vegetables of all sorts flourished, including potatoes, greens, onions, cucumbers, beans, and a vegetable previously unknown to me called the *bamie*. Fruit grew in profusion—plums, mulberries, apricots, medlars, cherries, apples, pears and peaches; also figs, of which there are no fewer than thirty varieties, and pomegranates whose beautiful scarlet flowers and fruit I now saw for the first time. In the fields

1 [Elbasan--Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

The Becktashi Monastery

241 grew wheat, oats, and other cereals, as well as maize, the staple food of the poorer classes. The slopes of the hills were covered with olives, and altogether the country round Elbasan seemed "a land flowing with milk and honey". [231] Honey in the literal sense, however, is a neglected product, and is only gathered wild, though in a country like Albania, which is exceedingly rich in flowers, scientific bee-keeping ought to be a profitable adjunct to vegetable and fruit growing.

792 Excursions farther afield were made possible by the kindness of the prefect of Elbasan, Mr. Izet Dibra, who placed a Ford car at my disposal. One such excursion took me to a Becktashi, or dervish, monastery, and another to a Greek monastery, both visits proving of considerable interest. At the first we (for Mr. Nossi was with me) were received by a dignified old priest who was wearing the same kind of flowing white robes and tall white hat as the dervish I had met at Koritza. While we sat in a vine-covered arbour outside the entrance smoking cigarettes and drinking coffee he told us how the monastery had been attacked during the revolution of 1914 by adherents of the Suni sect. The revolution was that in which Prince William of Wied, the [795] regent, was deposed; and the Sunis are a sect of Mohammedans who hate their fellow religionists the Becktashis with a hatred only possible to religious fanatics. Under cover of the revolution they not only burned down the monastery chapel, but also arrested the old "baba" (priest) who was entertaining us, and kept him in prison

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A Railway Line

As no-one but myself wanted to go on to Tirana I was put with the mails into an ordinary four-seater Ford car and continued the journey alone save for the driver. The country was well wooded with oak, ash, poplar, willow and alder. The fields were enclosed with hedges of bramble and, but for the big wild fig-trees, I might almost have been in England. I had been told that I should find in Albania no bank, no water-closet, and no railway, but as regards the railway I found this statement incorrect, for a narrow gauge track ran at the side of the road most of the way from Scutari to Tirana. It did not, however, appear to have been used for a considerable time as it was in bad repair and much broken. At one place, half-a-dozen little locomotives, dismantled and red with rust, stood idle on a siding, while in a ditch a short distance away lay a seventh—a pathetic corpse in a winding-sheet of bramble and convolvulus. Presumably the line was wrecked by the Austrians when they were in retreat at the end of the war. I should not imagine that it would be a very costly matter to put it into working order again.

The impression I received in the course of this drive was that the surrounding country was exceedingly fertile, and that much which is at present uncultivated could be made productive if modern agricultural methods were adopted. In all countries the farmer and tiller of the soil—conservative to the backbone—is slow to admit that his way of doing things can be bettered, and to this general rule the Albanian agriculturist is no exception. He knows nothing, and wants

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples!
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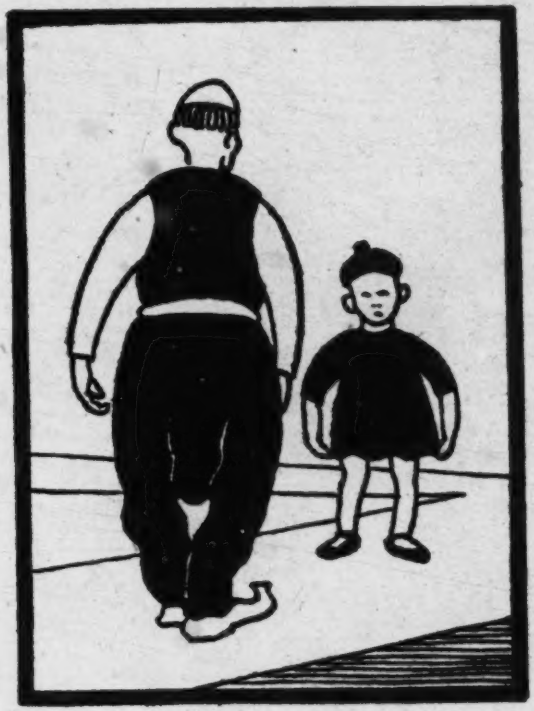
To the Land of the Eagle

241 to know nothing, of new methods. I heard of one instance
181 in which a young and progressive Albanian of the wealthy classes (landowners who lease their land to the peasant in



ANCIENT AND MODERN

return for one-third of the crop) brought back with him from Western Europe some of the latest agricultural machinery, intending to start scientific farming. He at once found himself up against not only the conservatism of the peasant but the conventions of his class—no *gentleman*

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EGL

soils his hands with work!—and in the end his project had 241
to be abandoned. Since the wealth of every country comes 181
in the first instance from the soil, this attitude of mind is to be deeply deplored. All possible means of making the soil more productive should be welcomed.

Tirana, the Albanian capital and seat of government, is 361
not a particularly impressive place. Its chief claim to notice, [346]
politics apart, lies in its mosques, which are all very beautiful examples of old Byzantine architecture and decoration. The streets are of rough cobbles—very uncomfortable to the feet—and the houses are, for the most part, of one storey only. The shops are the rickety wooden boxes one expects to find in this part of the world, and their proprietors sit, in Turkish fashion, at the receipt of custom.

I lunched soon after my arrival at the Hotel Inter- [485]
nationale, which is the centre of the political life of the 000
place. It is frequented by the deputies and their friends, and discussion and argument go on all day long over the coffee-cup and the raki glass. While I was struggling with the menu, which was Greek to me, a lady, seeing my difficulty, spoke to me in English and offered her assistance. She was an American and we got into conversation. One of the first things she said was, " You will find plenty of English here ". I was astonished. That there was a British Legation at Durazzo I knew, but that Tirana contained "plenty of English " was news to me. Nor did it seem a place to attract the tourist. The meeting with the American did not surprise me so much, as I knew that there were American

To the Land of the Eagle

000 inn. We sat outside at a table under the vines like a family party, and were joined in true democratic fashion by the driver and the mechanic of the lorry. I thought with regret of the snobbish class-distinctions of my native land. How much happier we should be if only we could abolish them!

361 The Albanian countryside at this spot was but sparsely inhabited, and houses were few and far apart. The occasional villages were tumble-down and poverty-stricken. At one place the mosque had fallen into ruins—perhaps the result of an earthquake—and no one had troubled to build it up again.

181 The Albanian, like the Turk, is something of a fatalist. He is also lazy. Doubtless it was the will of Allah that the mosque should collapse—why, then, trouble to rebuild it?

825 The broken minaret was crowned with an enormous stork's-nest on which stood the owner clapping its long beak. The stork, being a sacred bird, was in no danger, having once established itself, of being disturbed or turned out of its home.

000 Our way lay amongst mountains—soft green mountains with rounded outlines, very different in type from the jagged rocks of Montenegro. Their sides were splashed with the gold of broom and the yellow of sage, and with the purple of some wild-flower which grew in regular stripes in the crevices of out-cropping rock-strata. The air was scented and soft.

We travelled on for some hours without any incident beyond an occasional stoppage to tighten a bolt, to retrieve
● 241 a loose nut, or to do some minor repairs to the engine. At length the plain of Argyrocastron came into view—a wide, well-cultivated valley many miles in extent, where green

1 [near Argyrocastron-- 166 Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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crops alternated with fields of ploughed earth as red as the soil of South Devon. It was the first considerable stretch of land I had so far seen which gave the impression of being well tilled and worked. We descended by a serpentine, and then, turning sharply to the northwards, followed a road which ran along the western side of the plain at the foot of

ALBANIANS AT ARGYROCASTRON

a range of slaty hills. Hay-making was in progress. Mowers —big, strapping fellows, white-fezzed and ragged—swung their scythes with a rhythmical motion, filling the air with the delicious scent of newly-cut grass. Elsewhere men were ploughing laboriously, in the manner which has survived from biblical times, with bullocks and wooden ploughs.

The opposite side of the valley—which appeared to be

Agriculture

000 UNTIL the last two decades Albania has had little time to devote herself to agricultural pursuits. She was too busy defending her land from the foreign invaders. The Turks had a saying: "To the Armenians, the pen, to the Albanians, the sword." This is not true any longer. With the people completely happy and content under the beneficial rule of King Zog I, they have turned their backs upon the sword or beaten it into the plough. They have settled down to developing their homeland.

654 243 The fertile plains and hillsides of Albania are devoted solely to farming, thus making the country almost essentially agricultural. Since the land is the main source of livelihood for the majority of the people, it is one of the chief aims of the government to care for the prosperity of the farmers. For this purpose the government has undertaken a project of model farms to demonstrate methods which may be of assistance and instruction to the natives. The best example of this is maize,

AGRICULTURE

Almost three-fourths of the cultivated soil of Albania is devoted to raising maize of the white and yellow variety, very much similar to the German maize grown in the vicinity of Baden. As there are such tremendously large quantities of this food material, the model farms are doing their best to accustom the farmer to the use of maize as feed for cattle to substitute it for grain for direct consumption. This is efficiently demonstrated by trial efforts to fatten different types of cattle and the experiment has met with success. The government is also conducting considerable propaganda work in various agricultural fields through these model farms. A considerable portion of this crop is exported. 654 243

The next in importance to maize is wheat, the growth of which has been bettered and greatly increased under governmental direction. This grain is grown largely in the south where the dry soil and intermittent rains are more suitable for its growth. The government imported several thousands of pounds of wheat of the Montana variety and distributed it to be used for sowing purposes; this has brought about excellent results. This importation was necessary because of the de-

654 sirability to improve the quality and the
243 quantity of the domestic crop in order to be able to export wheat into the eastern neighboring country, Greece, and elsewhere.

243 Besides maize and wheat, there are numerous other grainfruits grown in rather equally large proportions. Rye is to be found in the mountainous regions of the east and northeast; oats and barley are grown in almost all sections of the country.

It is also to be noted with interest the rapid growth in the production of rice in Albania. This particular industry thrives in the districts of Elbasan and Berat. Here are many
[312] rice plantations and improvements in the irrigation system which has been rather antiquated to a certain extent, and since such a great supply of water is necessary, there have been great strides made in bettering the method of agriculture which will, without doubt, greatly enhance the production of rice.

248 Hemp is also raised successfully.

Flax and cotton are also cultivated and the crops show a steady increase.

245 Following in importance to the stabilizing grainfruits, the growth of olives holds a position of note. Albania possesses about 1,500,-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

352 fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in,
[415 a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper
373 *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two
412] rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes,
251 which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to
353 preserve them. The other serves as general living and
372 sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof.
241 Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit
249 and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green,
361 in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor,
243 where the grain is trodden out by horses.

142 The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

[539]

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

183 They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly courageous.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

comed Turkish protection against the Slavs and Greeks who 642
threatened them on every side. It resulted rather from the jealousies of the Powers; and it was their representatives who determined the territories of the new state with such singular disregard for economic and ethnological considerations that they left as many Albanians outside the boundaries of Albania as within them.

The total number of Albanians has been generally com- [162]
puted at some two millions. Of these, upwards of one million lived within the frontiers which were proposed by the Ambassadors' Conference in 1913, ratified in 1926, and once more restored in 1945. Of the remainder, more than six hundred thousand inhabited the Kossovo, while the others were scattered in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Epirus. The amputa- [243]
tion of the Kossovo was a heavy loss to the new state; for the region was the natural granary of the northern provinces, and the standard of living of the Ghegs rose or fell according as they were allowed or denied free access to it.

The economic and social structure of the Ghegs, or Northern 184
Albanians, was one of tribal anarchy, save in the coastal plain 621
and the Kossovo, where there were feudal estates. Islam and [162]
Roman Catholicism were the accepted religions: the Moslems inhabiting Central and North-eastern Albania with the Kossovo, the Catholics Mirdita and the inaccessible ranges of the north-west. A way of life near to the tribal system of the Ghegs still survived in the mountains of Southern Albania, but the Tosk tribes had never wholly recovered from the repressions of Ali the Lion and had increasingly disintegrated into communities of landowning peasants. The broad plains of the South, however, remained divided into feudal estates, owned by an Ottomanised ruling class and worked in part by an Orthodox Christian peasantry. Thus, while the distinction between Moslems and Catholics was one of geography and history, the Catholics being those Albanians whom the Turks had never subdued, that between Moslems and Orthodox was one rather of class and of cash.

It was scarcely to be expected that a conference of ambassa- 578
dors would quickly set up a strong state among a people divided 642

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

amount of export trade in the wood and 000
leaves.

The cultivation of vegetables has not been 244
neglected, and in recent years special care has been taken to spread and increase the growth of all kinds of vegetables. The most favored districts for the growth of vegetables, especially peas, beans and all the other leguminous products, are around Durazzo, Elbasan and Korça. In the neighborhood of these towns the increase of vegetable cultivation is steadily progressing, and has become a rather important source of income for the suburban population.

The growing of cotton was started during 248
war time; most of its cultivation was centered first in the valley of the Viosa River, and later spread into the districts of Tirana and Elbasan where it met with such success that it was later tried at Durazzo and elsewhere where it bore very good results. The government has zealously favored the cotton plantations and helping in numerous ways to increase production.

Among the almost all-embracing produc- 245
tions of Albania is to be added the grape. The wild vine grows on the calcereous mountains

lowed in 11 and 16 B. C. and in 6 and 9 A. D., 175 joined by the rebel Pannonians. Finally, Tiberius completely subjugated them in 9 A. D. along with Dalmatia, Iapidia and Liburnia, forming them into the Province of Illyricum.

For the next two or three centuries Latin civilization flourished in Illyria. Industrially, [316] gold was mined in Bosnia and commercial cities sprang into being along the coast. Agri- [345] culturally, the cultivation of the vine was introduced with more than satisfactory results. Almost the whole of Illyria became a recruiting ground for the Roman legions, and in turbulent times, from the East, many of the Illyrian soldiers fought their way up to the imperial purple. Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian and Maximian were all sons of Illyrian peasants. Through the growth in importance of Illyricum, many districts were added and thus in the second century A. D. the *Illyricum Times* included Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia and Thrace.

The Via Egnatia which extended from 491 Dyrrachium, across Illyricum to Constantinople, was built during this period, in this manner forming a definite link between Rome and Constantinople.

[Errata: should be Maximinus. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

ing, accompanied by the women on tambour-
533 ines and they by the men on violins and
535 cornets. Their dances are picturesque in
their native costumes with their hair either
flowing or bound up, according to the partic-
ular dance. For those who may interpret
their dances, there is a rich abundance of
narrative in store for the reader. The har-
mony of tambourine, violin and cornet is not
at all unpleasant when played by skilled musi-
cians. The singing, however, is not harmon-
563 ized, the performers using only one voice.
[461] Regardless of where these gypsies may live
they earn their living in the same way, and
being too lazy to cultivate even a small truck-
garden, they lead easy, happy-go-lucky exist-
[497] ences, and they have their huts free of rent,
provided they work a few days out of the year
for their ground landlord, Shevket Bey.
Strange as it may seem, these wandering,
[526] anchorless people are about the only local
blacksmiths found in this country, for the
Albanians proper have a curious aversion to
this occupation.

245 After leaving this quaint little town of
Bradshesh, and penetrating into the heart of
Albania towards Elbasan, large, beautiful

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

245 olive groves cover the surrounding hills turning them into lofty, dark mounds of rich olive-green. Amid all of this rolling naturalness
258 of Mother Nature, the new factory for refining the local[1] oil gives it a startling note of modernity. There is oil in plenty in these rich regions.

361 Rounding the corner of a hill, a sheer wall rises in the near vicinity, with a few, ancient spires soaring above it. Upon approaching the wall, its height becomes more apparent and which proves to be the historic old town of Elbasan, over which there hangs an aura of historic romance. This high wall gives the small city a most oriental appearance which is in truth, a reality, for Elbasan was founded by Sultan Mohammed II for the purpose of suppressing the natives of this district, because, in 1566, at the time of his conquest, there were few settlements in this region. The Sultan therefore built the town which
[103] is now known and called Elbasan, a word of uncertain derivation, but most probably being the Turkish *el basan*, meaning "*land subduing*," and which in all likelihood, was a copy of Alexander the Great's foundation of
000 Smyrna. Here also Mohammed II left several

1 In the heart of Albania towards Elbasan --Analyst

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

000 with their dusky green leaves and snarled old roots and trunks, to the grey, white and sun-baked shades of the dreamy little town, and all this set like a tiny little drop on the vast, fertile plain.

132 Elbasan is well-known for its great variety of products, made possible by the rich soil of the plain. The town, sheltered by the immense old wall, enjoys a somewhat hot-house atmosphere, for which it should indeed be grateful, for it becomes terrifically cold during the winter months when the east winds sweep over it from the mountains of
133 Librazhd. These great monarchs, snow-crowned ten months of the year, which surround the plain are very cool even in August, making them delightful resorts from the heat of the plain.

241 This district is versatile in that it can produce, in this dual atmosphere, both the products of the north and the south. There is an abundance of cotton, rice and tobacco, as
245 well as maize, barley and wheat. And unlike many of its neighbors, it has its own figs, grapes, melons, oranges, lemons and olives growing on the plain, and apples, pears, raspberries and various other northern fruits mellowing into ripeness on the mountains surrounding Elbasan.

p. 123

Berat

361 THOSE who have seen Berat have been justly profuse in praising it. With its stately old Cathedral and many inter-
[346] esting and unique churches and mosques, and above all its splendid castles, gems of archi-
[712] tecture, it is worthy of its high reputation and the admiration of all peoples. The ruins of the fortresses and once handsome loggias only enhance the beauty of this city.

The town itself lies on an unsurpassingly picturesque defile of the Osum River, and resembles the exquisite pictures by the old masters of quaint cathedral cities.

In this city stand many palaces of those old noble families, as the Vloras' and the Vrionis', who centuries ago held the power of princes in their own districts.

Here to-day all is fraternal harmony with Moslem and Christian living side by side.

• 245 The principal means of livelihood of the inhabitants of Berat is the olive trade, which is supported by all the vicinity as the chief crop.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

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243 quantity of the domestic crop in order to be able to export wheat into the eastern neighboring country, Greece, and elsewhere.

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AGRICULTURE

000 trees which are scattered over an area of 245 about 5,000 acres; to increase the supply, about 40,000 young olive trees have been planted in the last few years. The more favorable localities are in Elbasan and Durazzo, although there has been great success in raising trees at Alessio (Lesh), Kavaja and Delvina (Delvinë). However, the fruit alone was exported in former years and the fine oil 258 had to be imported, but since 1930, two large oil refineries have been erected in Elbasan, and others elsewhere later on, and it is interesting to relate that, for the first time in 1931, about 110,000 pounds of refined oil could be exported.

Almost throughout the entire country, vast 249 tobacco fields are to be found, which represent another great source of potential wealth for Albania. The more important fields are in the neighborhoods of Berat, Durazzo, Elbasan, Kavaja, Tepelena and Tirana where an excellent tobacco is grown in great quantities. The tobacco crop of 1932 amounted to about 3,500,000 pounds, and has been vastly increased year by year since. In order to draw every possible benefit for this branch of production, a far-reaching program has been

[Errata: should be Tepelene, Scutari and Tirana; Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, CRT. 116 -- Analyst]

249 started which will, in all probability, help not only to increase the production of tobacco, but also to improve the quality and preparation of the leaf, so that it will find a better and more ready market the world over. This program has already been set in motion and it is believed that it will be of considerable importance toward increasing national wealth.

• 245 In the fertile orchards and gardens of Albania there is hardly any kind of fruit missing; the cultivation of these is carried on on a vast scale, and offers a more prosperous future. There are figs, lemons, oranges, cherries, apples, pears, pomegranates, pistachios, mulberries, apricots, peaches, melons, tomatoes, almonds and nuts grown in a large number of sections of Albania and an ample quantity exists for export. Within the last three [654] years, the government has distributed about 200,000 fruit trees, gratis, to the fruit growers with the view of increasing production.

The Citrus fruit is preeminently Albanian and more than 300,000 pieces are exported annually.

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245 to the north-east of Scutari and on the mountains of southern Albania. These vineyards are rather extensive. The best vineyards to be found are in the sections of Berat, Elbasan, 274 Korça, Scutari and Tirana. A wine, which in color and fire resembles that of the south of Spain, is produced on the slopes of Podrina, north of the Drin.

253 Due to the large supplies of game and stock-bred cattle in this rich country, meat is plentiful—meat of all varieties. Since the native market is more than cared for a considerable quantity is prepared for exportation.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

755 in which he remains seated three days, at the end of which time he is washed with "unspoken-over" water.[1] This, which is also called by an Albanian word signifying "stolen," is water drawn from the well or fountain in silence and carried home without the bearer having spoken, or been spoken to, on the way, and it is believed to possess highly salutary virtues. Into the water some "sweet" or "heavy" leaves are thrown, the number and also the kind being determined by fixed rules according to the nature of the malady. Among the "sweet" leaves are those [137 245] of the pomegranate, apple, and rose trees, and also, strange to say, of nettles; among the "heavy," those of the laurel, cypress, ivy, and other evergreens. Three days after such an ablution the patient is expected either to recover or to die. Should he be able to [782] indicate the spot on which he received the blow, the earth is there sprinkled with rose-water in order to appease the offended beings, who are said to be extremely fond of this scent; or he there throws down something, the nature of which is known only to himself, in the belief that the malady from which he suffers will be transferred to the being who may chance to tread upon it.

755 754 The effects of the evil eye are also removed by sprinkling the patient with "unspoken-over" water, three nettle stalks being dipped into it for that purpose, and giving him to eat three mulberry buds, the mulberry tree being one of the sovereign antidotes for that much dreaded influence.

755 Rheumatism in the hands or feet is cured by

[1] Such water is also used by the Greeks, who call it περὶ ἀφέτου.

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples. 245

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, c).[1] The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture. [462] 221 233

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling. 231 262

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached. 261 628

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later,[2] goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjes to Puka, then on to Kukes, and across 491

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108 .. Analyst
2 [See cat. 116 p 42a - Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

417 and if properly placed to begin with, caused no trouble. The same
685 was true of living hedges inland. On the other hand, living hedges in the marshy areas near the mouth of the river Mat sometimes
[241] grew so tall that they damaged the neighbouring land with their shade. To prevent this, the owner had to lop overgrown trees once every three years. Failing this, his neighbour could complain to the headman; inevitably they gave him leave to cut the trees down to the root on the owner's ground, an intrusion that was in itself a punishment, and fined the owner 250–450 grosh for breaking the law about lopping.

423 Similar rules regulated the planting of fruit and other trees, olives
245 being included among the former. In Mirditë a fruit tree might be planted only 5 'feet' (1 metre) from the boundary; another kind had to be at least 10 feet away. In Godolesh, a great fruit-growing area, a fruit tree could be planted on the very boundary, but in adjacent Labinot it had to be a span away. In Shkrel it could be planted anywhere on one's own ground, as it never caused trouble
[685] by itself. As with living hedges, care had to be taken that a tree did not cast harmful shade over a neighbour's land. If one did so in Shkrel the owner agreed amicably to lop it, raising no objections unless he had already quarrelled with his neighbour over something else. In Mirditë he was bound to lop the offending branches; if he failed to do so his neighbour could lop them as high as he could reach with a hook, the handle of which did not exceed 3½ spans in length. In the mountains of Lesh the owner had to uproot the tree or to pay annual damages to his neighbour. In Godolesh the neighbour was entitled to stretch as far as he could and cut the too luxuriant branches with his short-handled axe. If a tree was doing no damage to neighbouring ground, it could not be lopped except by its owner. A man who transgressed this law in Mirditë had to pay its owner 500 grosh.

312 Sometimes an open drain adjoined a boundary. When it was
423 first cut, each of the two neighbours provided half the ground
476 required, did half the work and retained the earth excavated from his own side. Three stones, one big and two small, were left at the head to mark the boundary; the two other sets, normally placed in the middle and at the foot, were removed to make room for the water; as the drain discharged into a bigger channel, they could not possibly be left at the foot. The boundary naturally ran exactly down the middle. In most places the drain had to be cleared out

cliffs or passed the ends of smaller mountain ranges that ran down to the opposite banks of the Lumi Shala. There were villages over there; we saw them built against the mountains like clumps of gray swallows' nest—the villages of [376] Shoshi, with whom Shala was in blood. At the foot of the waterfall streams that dashed down their cliffs we saw now and then a little mill, flooded with water, its roof of slate hardly showing above the flood, where in drier season Shoshi ground its grain or put the loosely woven white woolen cloth to be soaked in the running water and pounded by paddle wheels until it shrank into the feltlike fabric that makes their garments.

[233] 246 Here and there a red-brown or gray-white moving patch at the foot of a clump of mangled trees announced that a little shepherd was there, clinging to a tall stump and cutting twigs to throw down to the goats and sheep; we were too far away to see him. And there were other clumps of trees green with uncut leaves; always near these we saw, bronze brown among the gray rocks, structures taller than a man and shaped like a beehive. These were trees that the axes spare until the leaves are fully grown and filled with sap. Then the branches are cut and piled in a circle, the cut ends outward and the leaves to the center, layer upon layer, until the beehive shape is completed, when they are weighted down with rocks. The leaves dry, remaining green and nutritious, and slowly through the winter the curious silos are demolished armful

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

by armful and carried into the houses to be fed 246
to the sheep and goats.

The sky was still a leaden gray, with darker ooo
clouds moving sluggishly among the mountains, and the air still seemed more than half full of falling water. The soaked rawhide opangi were like soft rags on my feet; at every step my woolen stockings emptied and filled with water like sponges, and all our fingers were shrunk in ridges from the long wetting. But we were gay, 522
we sang along the way, the weak little songs that so amused the steel-lunged mountaineers, and when a low growl of thunder and a flicker of fire among the clouds announced a stronger onslaught of the rain, Perolli waved his hand toward the mountain tops and joyously shouted something—we thought, to the effect that we were not flowers.

"*Dranit?*" said I. "Great Scott! do you need announce that we aren't flowers? Shout that we are not drowned puppies, if you want to startle onlookers."

"Not *dranit—drangojt,*" Perolli corrected. "I said to the dragon he may growl as he likes; we're not drangojt."

"No," I said. "No, we aren't. But what aren't we?"

"Drangojt," replied Perolli, and broke into careless song. There were times when I could have boxed that young man's ears, for nothing is more irritating than a sense of humor which is not yours. And the Albanians have a sense

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER X

PASTURAGE

233 Mountainous northern Albania is largely a pastoral country with large flocks of sheep and goats and considerable numbers of plough-oxen, cows and horses.

To a great extent the nature of a village's pasturage depended on its position, whether it was in the shrub zone, the oak zone or higher up among the pine and beech forests of the alpine slopes. In the low-lying belt of shrublands the poorest type of grazing was found, and here the pastoral life was seen at its lowest level. A poor man might have only one to five sheep, a cow or, where foliage was more plentiful, a few goats. Most villages had little or no pasturage proper and the animals grazed on the verges of paths and fields, in small spinneys and in the waste spaces overgrown with shrubs. Each family would do its own herding, the animals being tended by the old people and by small boys and girls. For security against thieves and wolves the animals were brought home at night to the little farmyard with its low stone wall, or to a stable under the living rooms of the farmhouse. The low altitude of such holdings, where the climate was neither too hot in summer nor too inclement in winter, ensured fairly constant grazing all the year round. [246] During the winter, however, when the daylight hours were fewer, a meagre sheaf of maize and, less frequently, wheat straw or chaff, was fed by hand to each animal on its return from the open. When wheat chaff was fed to a horse it had to be well damped with water or the horse would not touch it. As for the goats, they would be given an armful of dried leaves which had been cut and stacked by the men in autumn and carried into the house by the women. No grain feed and no roots were fed to the animals; the former was needed for human consumption and no root crops are grown in Albania. Occasionally, however, when oats of a very poor quality were grown, the grain as well as the straw was fed to the animals. Albanians were astounded to learn that the British eat porridge. 'Food for animals' they would exclaim at the sight of a packet of porridge oats.

Poor and insignificant as they were, these small owners were

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

so numerous that their livestock amounted to a considerable 233
percentage of the total in Albania. They were found mostly in the shrub areas, though a few very poor men lived also in the oak zone. But the vast majority of this leafy belt herded their flocks on a larger scale. Above each village there was always the overhanging mountain with its forests of beech and pine to hold the waters and keep the pastures green and sweet. Under the higher beech trees no grass grew, but in the sloping clearings the animals could graze at will. In winter, however, these clearings were too high to [24]
permit of habitation; besides, such tilling of the soil as did take place occurred at roughly the same level as the village, and it was there that the flocks found most of their feeding. In summer the [24]
fields and meadows, whether open or enclosed, provided hay for the animals; in the autumn the stubble served for a few weeks; while in winter they wandered over the grass. In spring the winter-sown wheat was improved by being eaten down a few inches by the sheep. Dried leaves from the numerous oak trees supplemented this winter feeding.

Sometimes the number of animals was such that all these sources 231
did not suffice during the lean months, or sometimes a village had no suitable winter pastures or had lost them for political reasons. Many animals would then be slaughtered at the commencement of [25]
winter and the meat smoked or salted down, while the remainder lived to fare as best they could. The many owners who could not afford meat, fresh or salted, had to try to maintain their livestock until the spring. By that time the poor creatures were no better than living skeletons hardly able to walk out to the pastures.

On the long coastal plains and marshy river banks the owners of 221
large flocks and herds were scorched out of their pastures in 233
summer or plagued by the mosquitoes from the marshy swamps. This necessitated a wholesale migration at the beginning of summer to the cooler alpine slopes, a feature of Albanian life as characteristic as picturesque.

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to private persons, and the immense majority to some community, 423
either a tribe, a village or a village ward. State-owned pastures dated from Turkish times and were consequently found only on the plains near big centres, as Turkish control had little reality elsewhere. Examples of these were the forested swamps of Mamuras and the Highland village of Gurrëzë on the left bank of the river

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

654 sirability to improve the quality and the
243 quantity of the domestic crop in order to be able to export wheat into the eastern neighboring country, Greece, and elsewhere.

243 Besides maize and wheat, there are numerous other grainfruits grown in rather equally large proportions. Rye is to be found in the mountainous regions of the east and northeast; oats and barley are grown in almost all sections of the country.

It is also to be noted with interest the rapid growth in the production of rice in Albania. This particular industry thrives in the districts of Elbasan and Berat. Here are many rice plantations and improvements in the irri-
[312] gation system which has been rather antiquated to a certain extent, and since such a great supply of water is necessary, there have been great strides made in bettering the method of agriculture which will, without doubt, greatly enhance the production of rice.

• 248 Hemp is also raised successfully.

Flax and cotton are also cultivated and the crops show a steady increase.

245 Following in importance to the stabilizing grainfruits, the growth of olives holds a position of note. Albania possesses about 1,500,-

amount of export trade in the wood and 000
leaves.

The cultivation of vegetables has not been 244
neglected, and in recent years special care has been taken to spread and increase the growth of all kinds of vegetables. The most favored districts for the growth of vegetables, especially peas, beans and all the other leguminous products, are around Durazzo, Elbasan and Korça. In the neighborhood of these towns the increase of vegetable cultivation is steadily progressing, and has become a rather important source of income for the suburban population.

The growing of cotton was started during 248
war time; most of its cultivation was centered first in the valley of the Viosa River, and later spread into the districts of Tirana and Elbasan where it met with such success that it was later tried at Durazzo and elsewhere where it bore very good results. The government has zealously favored the cotton plantations and helping in numerous ways to increase production.

Among the almost all-embracing produc- 245
tions of Albania is to be added the grape. The wild vine grows on the calcereous mountains

361 seasoned traveller. The climate in this small town is delightful due to its position at 930 feet above sea level.

Kavaja, an agricultural center, is also the seat of many excellent schools. Tobacco is the [249] main crop in this vicinity and the tobacco leaves are marketed at Kavaja. There are also large fruit groves intercepted by vegetable gardens.

[346] Fier, a rich and prosperous town, is the market place of cereals. As these crops are among the largest in Albania, the wealth of the town is understood. As Fier is only forty minutes from Pojani, the majority of the valuable excavations from Apollonia soon [543] found their way into the artistic museum of Fier. This collection from Apollonia in Pojani is as rich as that from Butrinto.

Lushnja is important in Albanian history as the city wherein that memorable congress convened which confirmed Albania's independence in 1920.

504 Santa Quaranta (Saranda), a port of 361 southern Albania, lies in that strip of coastline which, by reason of its beauty of scenery and vegetation, merits the name of Riviera of Albania. It is the third port of Albania with

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000 trees which are scattered over an area of 245
about 5,000 acres; to increase the supply, about 40,000 young olive trees have been planted in the last few years. The more favorable localities are in Elbasan and Durazzo, although there has been great success in raising trees at Alessio (Lesh), Kavaja and Delvina (Delvinë). However, the fruit alone was exported in former years and the fine oil 258
had to be imported, but since 1930, two large oil refineries have been erected in Elbasan, and others elsewhere later on, and it is interesting to relate that, for the first time in 1931, about 110,000 pounds of refined oil could be exported.

Almost throughout the entire country, vast 249
tobacco fields are to be found, which represent another great source of potential wealth for Albania. The more important fields are in the neighborhoods of Berat, Durazzo, Elbasan, Kavaja, Tepelena and Tirana where an excellent tobacco is grown in great quantities. The tobacco crop of 1932 amounted to about 3,500,000 pounds, and has been vastly increased year by year since. In order to draw every possible benefit for this branch of production, a far-reaching program has been

[Errata: should be Tepelene, Scutari and Tirana. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, CAT. 116 -- Analyst]

249 started which will, in all probability, help not only to increase the production of tobacco, but also to improve the quality and preparation of the leaf, so that it will find a better and more ready market the world over. This program has already been set in motion and it is believed that it will be of considerable importance toward increasing national wealth.

245 In the fertile orchards and gardens of Albania there is hardly any kind of fruit missing; the cultivation of these is carried on on a vast scale, and offers a more prosperous future. There are figs, lemons, oranges, cherries, apples, pears, pomegranates, pistachios, mulberries, apricots, peaches, melons, tomatoes, almonds and nuts grown in a large number of sections of Albania and an ample quantity exists for export. Within the last three [654] years, the government has distributed about 200,000 fruit trees, gratis, to the fruit growers with the view of increasing production.

The Citrus fruit is preeminently Albanian and more than 300,000 pieces are exported annually.

249 The sumac, used by dyers, is the principal cultivation of the Mirdites and in the district of Scutari and Durazzo. There is a certain amount of export trade in the wood and leaves.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

352 fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in,
[415] a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper
373 *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two
[412] rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes,
251 which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to
353 preserve them. The other serves as general living and
372 sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the
floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof.
241 Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit
249 and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a
high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green,
361 in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor,
243 where the grain is trodden out by horses.

142 The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

[539]

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

183 They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly courageous.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in, a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes, which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to preserve them. The other serves as general living and sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green, in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor, where the grain is trodden out by horses.

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4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

539 returned to the king, who, on seeing them, was quite overjoyed, and gave a splendid feast in their honour.

This is the end of the story.

[538] The following comic story is a good illustration of the adage, "Set a thief to catch a thief."

Mosko and Tosko.

There were once two brothers, who were robbers by trade, and they had a sister for whom they had long sought a husband of their own quality. Years passed, and one fine day they met on the road a man whom they asked, "Where goest thou? Wilt thou join us, and have our sister for thy wife? We will give her to thee, for we have long wanted a husband for her."

"Done," said the other, "and that shall not prevent our being comrades." So they gave him their sister.

One day, as they had not seen their sister for some time, Mosko and Tosko went to pay her a visit. The husband happened to be absent, having gone to the mill. You must know, however, that there was some [251] *pastourma*[1] hanging in the loft.[2] Arrived in the house, Mosko said to his sister: "My dear sister, give me some water." She went to fetch the water-barrel, and gave it to him. After having drunk, Mosko asked Tosko if he were not likewise thirsty. "Yes," he replied, and his brother passed him the barrel. Then Mosko said to Tosko:

[1] Smoke-dried meat.

[342] [2] *Taras*, the space between the uncelled rafters of a cottage and the roof.

285 them, bring them to market along with embroidery. These include not only spinning baskets and hand-carrying baskets, but also large osier panniers used in transport—a man can carry one on his back, a horse, two. I believe that the panniers are made by men.

326 Other containers include copperwork and pottery. The coppersmiths in each town hammer out sheets of metal into round trays, which can be used for baking cheese dishes, pastry, etc., or for tea and coffee service. They also make kettles, water jugs, and wash-basins. All of these things are purchased by the mountaineers, who now and then acquire a European chamber-pot to use as soup tureen, and a set of glass tumblers.

323 Three kinds of pottery find their way into the mountaineer's household. In the Catholic tribes, if not elsewhere, the women still make an Iron Age vessel, of simple profile, with handles, without slip, and decorated by incisions. It is hand-modeled, and fired in such a way as to give it a black surface. In the towns, professional male potters make a porous ware on the wheel. This is used for carrying and storing water. Regular modern glazed pottery is imported from Italy, and subsequently sold in the bazaars.

251 Food preservation and storage techniques vary between Catholics and Moslems, owing to their differences in diet. The Catholics preserve much pork by salting and smoking. The men of each household will butcher as many fat pigs as the family needs or can spare, in the fall. They cut the belly fat into flitches and hang it over the fire. An especial delicacy is the *peshk*, or "fish," a long strip of lean back-bacon, smoke-cured, which they cut in slices and fry. Besides these whole pork pieces, they make sausages and cure them in the same
[262] way. The Moslems as a rule eat only fresh meat and live on mutton, whereas Catholics eat both mutton and pork.

Both store their cereals and legumes in tubs and bags in the house, and keep maize in special outdoor corncribs, elevated to protect them from rats. Very often a fierce dog will be seen and heard, chained under the crib.
234 Both make butter from their cows' milk, and cheese from that of sheep and goats, although the use of the latter is much more common
000 among the Moslems. Catholics, in country fit

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

tree-trunk. A similar section, split lengthways and hollowed out, made two wash-tubs for laundry work. Toilet appliances, a basin and ewer bought in the bazaar, and paraffin lamps from the same source, completed the list of additions.

The above outline omits many small variations in Albanian houses and furniture as irrelevant to the main subject of this book. Mention must be made, however, of certain houses which differed widely from the average type. The first were found among the Highlanders (Alb. *Malësorë*, 'mountaineers'), the semi-nomads who wintered on the soggy plains at the mouth of the river Mat. These houses had walls of planking or wattle and daub, with roofs of tiles or strips of wood. They rested on vertical sections of tree trunks about two feet high which had been laid at close intervals on the ground but had not been driven into it like piles. In this way they kept snug and dry even during the winter floods. All over Albania granaries were raised some distance from the ground in order to keep out the rats, but so far as is known, there were no houses on stilts except at the mouth of the Mat.

A number of Highland houses also contained a child's play-pen which might be as little as twenty-five inches long, wide and high. A shallow porringer projected from one of the top bars, chipped from the same piece of wood as the bar itself. In this pen Highland children spent all their winter days from the time they could crawl until they were three years old. They had no toys, but practised walking round the pen, sometimes stopping to eat a little bread and milk from the porringer with the diminutive home-made, wooden spoon which was tied to the bar, or merely gazing broodingly at the fire. The mothers meanwhile cooked, spun or gossiped, each secure in the knowledge that her child was on the dry floor of the kitchen and not sitting outside in the quagmire of mud that reached up to the very doorstep. The Highlanders said they invented both the houses and the play-pen themselves, but it is possible that they were at least advised by the Austro-Hungarian troops who were stationed in the neighbourhood for part of the war of 1914–18.

In Shpat, near Elbasan, huts were built for many bridegrooms. In the higher villages trunks of young trees about as tall as a man's waist were planted in a rectangle of the size desired, their boughs, while still green and flexible, were laced in and out of these uprights, and cross-pieces of timber were nailed to the uprights

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

so numerous that their livestock amounted to a considerable 233
percentage of the total in Albania. They were found mostly in the shrub areas, though a few very poor men lived also in the oak zone. But the vast majority of this leafy belt herded their flocks on a larger scale. Above each village there was always the overhanging mountain with its forests of beech and pine to hold the waters and keep the pastures green and sweet. Under the higher beech trees no grass grew, but in the sloping clearings the animals could graze at will. In winter, however, these clearings were too high to [24]
permit of habitation; besides, such tilling of the soil as did take place occurred at roughly the same level as the village, and it was there that the flocks found most of their feeding. In summer the [24]
fields and meadows, whether open or enclosed, provided hay for the animals; in the autumn the stubble served for a few weeks; while in winter they wandered over the grass. In spring the winter-sown wheat was improved by being eaten down a few inches by the sheep. Dried leaves from the numerous oak trees supplemented this winter feeding.

Sometimes the number of animals was such that all these sources 231
did not suffice during the lean months, or sometimes a village had no suitable winter pastures or had lost them for political reasons. Many animals would then be slaughtered at the commencement of [25]
winter and the meat smoked or salted down, while the remainder lived to fare as best they could. The many owners who could not afford meat, fresh or salted, had to try to maintain their livestock until the spring. By that time the poor creatures were no better than living skeletons hardly able to walk out to the pastures.

On the long coastal plains and marshy river banks the owners of 221
large flocks and herds were scorched out of their pastures in 233
summer or plagued by the mosquitoes from the marshy swamps. This necessitated a wholesale migration at the beginning of summer to the cooler alpine slopes, a feature of Albanian life as characteristic as picturesque.

A few of the purely winter pastures belonged to the State, a few 233
to private persons, and the immense majority to some community, 423
either a tribe, a village or a village ward. State-owned pastures dated from Turkish times and were consequently found only on the plains near big centres, as Turkish control had little reality elsewhere. Examples of these were the forested swamps of Mamuras and the Highland village of Gurrëzë on the left bank of the river

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view. 342 712

Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects are placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwork and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81). 342 342 354 [417] [352]

Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 39, 41). 351 [712]

The kuker is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The koš for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure. 343 [251] [171]

9:Megas 1,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

342 reason for building another house would be the dissolution of family
[592] bonds.

[171] Consequently, the system which exists in the Slav countries, to build separate, additional, small dwellings for young or married members of the family, is foreign to the housing customs of the Albanians.

As Nopcsa remarks (p. 49), a more developed and organically disposed house, like that pictured in Fig. 72, cannot easily be expanded, because of the serious difficulties created by a corridor running along it, as well as for the position of fireplaces and staircase. That these difficulties may be overcome, is shown by the house of Trushi (in Zadrima) Fig. 73.

[354] In this house, fireplaces have been moved to the front long wall and placed between two windows. Two staircases have been built

Fig. 73. Big house in Trushi, in the plain of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

in addition, with two prostoa opening at the centre. A twin house has thus been formed, each of which it is completely separate from the other. By the wooden extensions of both prostoa, some of which
[251] project and are supported dy wooden beams, there are formed some washing places known from our own villages; or cupboards, for victuals, that are protected against mice on the one hand, and are in a cool air draft on the other.

Similar constructions are seen in the veranda of an old two-storey house of Scodra (Fig. 74). This house is more than 125 years old and it is built at right angles, because of the smallness of the building plot. The ground floor includes a weaving room, an oil press, a stable, a wood store, etc.; living rooms are all in the upper floor.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1

M 852 628 of ending a blood-feud, it was usual to delay baptism for two or three years so as to have children ready in case of need. The child meanwhile M [553] was known by a nickname which often stuck to him for life and became a recognized name. Such, it was said, was the origin of such names as Predrag (very dear); Mrko, or Mirko (dark); Mrgud (sulky); Plavo (fair), etc. Some names derive from personal habits: Krivokapitch (son of a crooked cap), an heroic bratstvo of the Tzutzi tribe; Pletikos (plaited hair), indicating an ancestor with a fine pigtail; Delibashovitch and Haydukovitch (son of a brigand leader), etc.

But how far such names were adopted with a view to concealing another name it is at this date impossible to say.

3. The Food Taboo

M A 262 252 The pig is, of course, taboo among the Moslems. I never saw an instance of this being broken. On the contrary, careful inquiry was always made about unknown dishes. The Montenegrins, therefore, regard the pig as peculiarly Christian. Roast pig is a special dish both at Easter and Christmas.

Very good it was, too, when stuck with sweet herbs and roasted under an iron cover on the hearth. I remember eating hot sucking-pig, smothered in cream, at one o'clock in the morning to celebrate the dawn of Easter Day at Sophia Petrovna's school at Cetinje, with all M [796] the girls and many of the members of the Russian Legation. We had just come from the chapel after crying triumphantly "Christ is risen." All save myself had abstained from flesh and fat many days. And they C S fell on that pig!

That pre-eminently Orthodox country, Serbia, is pre-eminent 262 also for pigs. In Macedonia, too, a drove of pigs showed a village to be Christian, though my poor guide, a Macedonian Bulgar, did not quite express what he meant when he said sadly: "Ici seulement les cochons sont Chrétiens."

Y A 262 Among the Catholics of Albania and Dalmatia the land tortoise is thought very good eating. It does, in fact, make a very palatable stew and is more meaty than one would think. But the Orthodox regard it with horror. Krsto repeatedly told me that none but a "Latinski" would eat anything so filthy.

Neither Serb nor Albanian will eat frogs, though the ponds swarm with fat ones and the people are hungry.

A 262 Catholics, Orthodox, and Moslems all regarded the eating of horse-flesh as most unclean. The report that it was sold as an article of food in Italy caused that country to be called an accursed and unclean place.

[For information pertaining to Albanian recipes and food preparation see 70: Rowland, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 15-23.]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

764 into it, and even the men are frequently heard to sob aloud. As soon as it is filled up, however, a sudden silence prevails, for now the *Kokiete*, the Greek [262] Kólyva (Κόλυβα)[1] is handed round, and it is accounted sinful to mourn whilst eating it. As each person takes a handful of this funeral dish, he says, "May he (or she) be forgiven."

765 On this and the two following days, the house of mourning is filled with a succession of condoling friends, who bring with them all the food necessary [252] for the family, for no cooking is done in it during this period. Others send presents of wine or spirits, the bearer of which delivers them with the words: "May I have come for your good." On the third day, the wailing at the grave is repeated, and continued in the house of mourning for forty days, being performed either early on the morning of each day, or on Sundays and feast days only, by the women of the house and those who visit them for this purpose.

[184] With members of the Orthodox Church it is customary, as among the Greeks, to exhume the bones at the end of three years. Moslems, however, have a great dislike to disturbing a dead body in any way.

765 761 The grief of relatives is, as a rule, less demonstrative for the death of a woman; and for a man well stricken in years, no wailing takes place. In the latter case, the deceased has usually set aside one or more sheep to be sacrificed on his death as an atonement for his sins, the flesh of which serves for the funeral feast. At this feast, the guests drink "to

[1] See description of this funeral dish, vol. i. p. 99.

[Analyst's note: Kólyva is made of flour, boiled wheat, pomegranates, raisins, nuts, and spices.]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

II.

Oloria! Boloria!
Come and listen to my story!

A sieve my master bade me bring,
To sift the flour some cakes to make;
A faggot in the oven fling,
When they were made the cakes to bake;
That he a lady bride might take.

Said he, "I'll do to her no ill,
Nor will I my dear wifie kill;
My sheep and goats shall be her care,
And bread and nuts shall be her fare."

539
854
[252]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

earthly sound—hardly a wail, though that is the 514
dearest word I have for it—was abroad in the night that surrounded the stone house. Even the shadows seemed to crouch a little nearer the fire, hearing it, and when it ceased the splashing of the waterfall was louder in the stillness. Then the man with the coffee pot pushed it farther among the coals, and with the little grating noise the movement of the household recovered and went on.

"Are you a man?" said our host, courteously, turning his clear dark eyes on Perolli, and Perolli, silencing me with a glance, folded his arms more comfortably around his drawn-up knees and began the proper conversation of a guest.

By degrees the house of Marke Gjonni grew clearer to our eyes; they became accustomed to the firelight and the shadows and saw the guns hanging on the wall, the browsing goats that, with a little tinkling of bells, worried and tore at the dried green leaves on the oak branches heaped for them, the outlines of a painted wooden 252
chest filled with corn meal, at which a woman worked making a loaf of bread on a flat board. One of the men raked out some coals and set in them a round flat iron pan on legs—the cross and the sun circle were wrought on its bottom. In the midst of the flames he laid its cover to heat. Soon the woman came with the bread, a loaf two feet across and two inches thick, and deftly slid it from the board into the pan, which it exactly fitted; one of the children put the cover over it and buried all in hot ashes.

Catholics in country fit

273 for grape-growing, make a potent red wine, which they resinate in Homeric fashion.

The Moslems, prohibited by the Koran from wine drinking, content themselves with distilled liquors. In every neighborhood one or more Moslem families will own a copper still, complete with boiler and cooling screw, which someone once bought in Scutari or another town. Neighbors borrow these stills from time to time, as American families borrow each other's ice-cream freezers. Much of the *raki*, or raisin brandy, so produced, is home distilled, but a certain amount is carried up from the towns. Green *mastica*, a vicious local variety of absinthe, is imported only.

276 Both Catholics and Moslems smoke. While a few Moslems own *narghilehs*, most tobacco addicts smoke cigarettes. The economics of cigarette smoking is that as a rule each man grows his own tobacco, and sells what he does not consume. He has to buy cigarette paper, imported from France. He has to have some kind of a lighting device, which usually runs to expense, as previously explained (see p. 13). The social aspect of smoking is that it forms a ready means of polite interaction, for men give each other cigarettes, rolling and licking them for an honored guest.

[262] Since the principal food of all the mountain-
252 eers, whatever their religion, is bread, usually a tough, unleavened cornbread which will keep for weeks and grow harder and harder instead of molding, one of their principal needs is some way to grind the grain. Most houses contain mortars and pestles, and many also contain hand querns, of Roman design, which the women operate. It is probable, but not certain, that all of the millstones come from the market, since suitable stone is found in few
402 areas. A large part of the grain-milling, how-
252 ever, is done in small, water-driven mills, of which there are many. These mills, homemade except for the stones, are operated by vertical-shaft paddle wheels which are in effect primitive turbines. They save the expenditure of human muscular energy, and much time. In one place in Malsia e Jakovës, I saw another kind of mill, a pounding device which consisted of a trough-shaped log set on a pivot, and equipped with a heavy hammer at one end. Water flowed into this trough until enough had entered the lower end to tip the whole,

[See cut 116 p.13b --Analyst]
- 17b -

252 402 and raise the hammer. Then when the water spilled out the hammer fell, and the cycle began again. These mills have been observed by other authors as well.

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[See pp. 16a-16b-Analysis -18a-]

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1: Karutz--70 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Albania E 61

In many cases the men shave their
302 their head completely except for a tuft of hair on top of the head.
291 This tuft is left by them to grow into a long lock. In the south their dress resembles that of the Greeks. In the north it varies from the town to the country, and in the countryside it varies again according to the different regions. In Scutari the Catholics wear wide, pleated black breeches which among the men reach down below the knees, and among the women down to the ankles. Further they wear white stockings, a short lower jacket with attached long sleeves and a sleeveless top jacket. In addition the women wear an embroidered sleeveless coat. The Mohammedans wear the pleated coat (fustan) that weighs several kilograms and remains short in central and southern Albania. It consists of several hundreds of long, narrow strips of linen cloth sewn together. A cotton or silk belt holds the coat, and the weapons are clamped inside a leather belt. To this are added a lower and a top jacket. The Mohammedan women wear very wide breeches and richly embroidered mantles with long sleeves that have slits in them. The fustan is regarded as being ancient Illyrian and is believed to have been developed from the kilt; it has been attested in the surviving artistic monuments in Mycenae and on ancient Crete, as well as in the Palaeolithic caves of northern Spain. The rural population wears, likewise as an ancient Illyrian inheritance, a small, tightly-fitting, semi-spherical felt cap which does not cover much more than the top of the head, and is found represented among the "Barbarians" of the victory monument of Adam-Klissi. Tightly fitting sheep's wool trousers with two transverse slits in the region of the groin, which by some are considered Slavic, by others Thracian, an under jacket with sleeves, and a sleeveless vest, a mantle and a fur coat are also worn by the rural people. For these types of clothing evidences have again been
[462] discovered from antiquity. In the mode of life, the working of the
252 fields by the woman is regarded as an ancient cultural tradition; in the same category are placed the baking of flat cakes under the baking bell, the cooking of blood, fat, meat, and spices in a goat's stomach which is turned to and fro over the red hot coal embers, the cooking of wheat grains without prviously grinding them, the hand mill (Figure
412 14), and the turbine mill (Figure 10). The latter's grindstones lie five to six feet above the water wheel into whose spoon-like spokes the water
312 is poured from a steeply inclined conduit. Still belonging to the ancient cultural heritage are the watering of the field by means of canals and wooden conduits, something which is regulated by the family because of the dearth of water--Figure 16 shows a marking post, one and one-half meters high.

[see Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a--Analyst]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

245 to the north-east of Scutari and on the mountains of southern Albania. These vineyards are rather extensive. The best vineyards to be found are in the sections of Berat, Elbasan,
274 Korça, Scutari and Tirana. A wine, which in color and fire resembles that of the south of Spain, is produced on the slopes of Podrina, north of the Drin.

253 Due to the large supplies of game and stock-bred cattle in this rich country, meat is plentiful—meat of all varieties. Since the native market is more than cared for a considerable quantity is prepared for exportation.

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[See pp. 16a-16b - Analysis -18a-]

162
142
*128
[256]

What this distribution seems to show more than anything else is that slight overbites tend to favor the big eastern market towns and the center of the Roman road. Puka lies at the middle of this road, and Puka has a commercial bakery. Luma has several at Kukës, and others do business at Prizren and Peshkopia. These commercial bakeries turn out a softer product

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in the village of Kastrat on Nov. 2, 1891]

5. Whoever moves the stones of an old boundary and puts them in a new place will be fined 3000 grosh and 6 rams. 681 [423]

6. No one is to frighten a flock sheltering from the heat in a place it was in first.[1] Whoever does this will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams. [233]

7. The mill question remains inviolate as always and neither the Vukpalaj nor the Gjolaj may start a *degamë*,[2] and any miller who takes more than 5 per cent of the flour will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams. [256]

8. Any man who cuts down a tree under which animals take shelter from the heat or cuts off a mill or an irrigation stream will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.

9. Other fountains and springs are left under the old law, that is to say, whoever destroys a fountain or spring or prevents another from filling water-pots will be fined 500 grosh. [312]

10. Milling is by order of arrival. Any miller who mills for a man who comes later than another and breaks the order either out of favouritism or because corrupted by bribes will be fined 150 grosh and 3 rams. [256]

11. Whoever admits a stranger to huts on a mountain pasturage will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.[3]

IV. Truce Sworn between Nikaj and Mertur on August 10th, 1892. 628 619

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 121.)

The two tribes have sworn a truce with each other:

(1) As from August 14th up to the day of Our Lady of Mertur.

(2) As from December 26th up to the day of St Sebastian.

The guarantors of Flock and Shepherd, i.e. Nikaj and Mertur and the Bajraktars of Krasniqë and Gash.

V. Laws Enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on November 1st, 1892 A.D. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 126.)

At a general meeting held under the presidency of Brahim Beg the serxherde, Kasem Beg the bylikbash and the four and twenty chiefs (elders) of Kastrat, the following laws were enacted.

1. Whoever murders a man of Kastrat or of any of the other mountains will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[1] This must be a mistranslation. The Italian version of the sentence runs: *che nessuno ardisa impaurire il bastiame gravido.*

[2] The Italian version of this very obscure clause is as follows: *Le disposizioni riguardanti i mulini rimangono inaltarate per sempre e non possono causare litigi nè fra il povero nè fra il ricco*, clearly referring to the principle, enunciated again in § 10, which compels the miller to treat all his clients on the principle of 'first come, first served'. It is possible that the Albanian version has been misunderstood.

[3] This refers to the letting of some of the tribe's scanty pasturage to strangers.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

245 olive groves cover the surrounding hills turning them into lofty, dark mounds of rich olive-green. Amid all of this rolling naturalness
•258 of Mother Nature, the new factory for refining the local[1] oil gives it a startling note of modernity. There is oil in plenty in these rich regions.

361 Rounding the corner of a hill, a sheer wall rises in the near vicinity, with a few, ancient spires soaring above it. Upon approaching the wall, its height becomes more apparent and which proves to be the historic old town of Elbasan, over which there hangs an aura of historic romance. This high wall gives the small city a most oriental appearance which is in truth, a reality, for Elbasan was founded by Sultan Mohammed II for the purpose of suppressing the natives of this district, because, in 1566, at the time of his conquest, there were few settlements in this region. The Sultan therefore built the town which
[103] is now known and called Elbasan, a word of uncertain derivation, but most probably being the Turkish *el basan*, meaning "*land subduing*," and which in all likelihood, was a copy of Alexander the Great's foundation of
000 Smyrna. Here also Mohammed II left several

1 [in the heart of Albania towards Elbasan --Analyst]

AGRICULTURE

000 trees which are scattered over an area of 245
about 5,000 acres; to increase the supply, about 40,000 young olive trees have been planted in the last few years. The more favorable localities are in Elbasan and Durazzo, although there has been great success in raising trees at Alessio (Lesh), Kavaja and Delvina (Delvinë). However, the fruit alone was exported in former years and the fine oil 258
had to be imported, but since 1930, two large oil refineries have been erected in Elbasan, and others elsewhere later on, and it is interesting to relate that, for the first time in 1931, about 110,000 pounds of refined oil could be exported.

Almost throughout the entire country, vast 249
tobacco fields are to be found, which represent another great source of potential wealth for Albania. The more important fields are in the neighborhoods of Berat, Durazzo, Elbasan, Kavaja, Tepelena and Tirana where an excellent tobacco is grown in great quantities. The tobacco crop of 1932 amounted to about 3,500,000 pounds, and has been vastly increased year by year since. In order to draw every possible benefit for this branch of production, a far-reaching program has been

[Genera should be Tepelena, Scutari and Tirana. Cf. Grada sheet, p 28 [illegible] Albania]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

between us was insensibly eased by the prospect of a further exchange of views. 648

It was already dark when we made an end of our discussions, but Abas Kupi none the less decided that we should move that same evening to another village. I thought at first that this was a precaution against surprise attacks but, on enquiry, was told the simpler truth: in the two days that we had been there the bodyguard had devoured such food as the village could spare and no more could be obtained for the evening meal without straining the loyalty of the inhabitants. Hunger indeed was the sternest taskmaster of the guerillas, and the struggle to find food kept them continually on the move. We set out, therefore, into the night and, after an hour's march, came to a village where I was lodged with Abas Kupi and his staff in a large, two-storied house. [261]

A blizzard sprang up in the night and we woke to find the face of the mountains whitened with snow. I was impatient to join Maclean and discuss my impressions with him, but the fury of the elements kept us indoors all day. By next morning, however, the gale had dropped; I therefore took leave of Abas Kupi and, crossing the range, rode back into the camp at dusk.

6

TWELVE days had passed since we had landed in Albania[1] and we had by now reorganised the network of British Missions and assured our own mobility and communications with Headquarters. Our next task was to complete a reconnaissance of the situation which confronted us. According to our information there were some twenty-five thousand German troops in Albania, belonging, most of them, to the XXI Mountain Corps. The Corps Headquarters were in Tirana, and controlled the 297th Infantry Division, deployed in Central and Southern Albania, and the 181st Mountain Division, based on Scutari.[1] There were besides some units in the South belonging to the 727

[1] The 181st Mountain Division was also responsible for internal security in Southern Montenegro.

[1] [i.e. on the night of 18th April, 1944 -- Analyst]

264 least 15, with as many more waiting patiently for second table, and the dishes included a whole roast sheep, which the Major picked apart with his hands and distributed.

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cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples. 245

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*). The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture. [462] 221 233

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling. 231 262

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached. 261 628

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later, goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjes to Puka, then on to Kukes, and across 491

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108.. Analyst
2 [See cat. 116 p 42a. Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and [533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house. [534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The [292 301] display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped; the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern [262] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker- [291] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell. [777] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait, punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take [777 842] the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

A 757 278 enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

A [262] The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

A [136]

So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

A 164 136 *Diseases.*—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

A 165 853 Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

A 854 754 M CM A 151 *Wounds.*—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

A 757 826 752 From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

A 757 752

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF6
Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1

M 852 628 of ending a blood-feud, it was usual to delay baptism for two or three years so as to have children ready in case of need. The child meanwhile M [553] was known by a nickname which often stuck to him for life and became a recognized name. Such, it was said, was the origin of such names as Predrag (very dear); Mrko, or Mirko (dark); Mrgud (sulky); Plavo (fair), etc. Some names derive from personal habits: Krivokapitch (son of a crooked cap), an heroic bratstvo of the Tzutzi tribe; Pletikos (plaited hair), indicating an ancestor with a fine pigtail; Delibashovitch and Haydukovitch (son of a brigand leader), etc.

But how far such names were adopted with a view to concealing another name it is at this date impossible to say.

3. The Food Taboo

M A 262 252 The pig is, of course, taboo among the Moslems. I never saw an instance of this being broken. On the contrary, careful inquiry was always made about unknown dishes. The Montenegrins, therefore, regard the pig as peculiarly Christian. Roast pig is a special dish both at Easter and Christmas.

Very good it was, too, when stuck with sweet herbs and roasted under an iron cover on the hearth. I remember eating hot sucking-pig, smothered in cream, at one o'clock in the morning to celebrate the dawn of Easter Day at Sophia Petrovna's school at Cetinje, with all M [796] the girls and many of the members of the Russian Legation. We had just come from the chapel after crying triumphantly "Christ is risen." All save myself had abstained from flesh and fat many days. And they C S 262 fell on that pig!

That pre-eminently Orthodox country, Serbia, is pre-eminent also for pigs. In Macedonia, too, a drove of pigs showed a village to be Christian, though my poor guide, a Macedonian Bulgar, did not quite express what he meant when he said sadly: "Ici seulement les cochons sont Chrétiens."

Y A 262 Among the Catholics of Albania and Dalmatia the land tortoise is thought very good eating. It does, in fact, make a very palatable stew and is more meaty than one would think. But the Orthodox regard it with horror. Krsto repeatedly told me that none but a "Latinski" would eat anything so filthy.

Neither Serb nor Albanian will eat frogs, though the ponds swarm with fat ones and the people are hungry.

A 262 Catholics, Orthodox, and Moslems all regarded the eating of horse-flesh as most unclean. The report that it was sold as an article of food in Italy caused that country to be called an accursed and unclean place.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 if compelled to do so, in order to show how great is her regret at leaving the paternal roof.[1] In fact, her behaviour throughout is intended to typify her reluctance to exchange the single for the married state. Meantime the guests divert themselves with liqueurs, [262 463] coffee, and sweets, and the performances of the professional musicians hired for the occasion.

About ten o'clock a cart arrives from the bridegroom's abode to fetch the bride's baggage, which is [415 531] packed in a large wooden box ornamented with designs of flowers rudely executed. When it starts every one shouts, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!), and among the Christians, several women accompany the cart [788] outside the gate, sprinkling both it and its contents with holy water. A few minutes afterwards, all the male guests invited by the bridegroom's friends set out, preceded by his father, who leads a richly caparisoned horse on which the bride will ride home. As they leave the house the women sing:

[539]

Happy may thy journey be,
Eldest of our family.
Holy sign of cross now make,
To the right thy way then take.
If to us thou bring fair bride,
May the sugar-plums taste sweet,
If a foul one by thy side
That they bitter taste were meet.

585 Arrived at their destination, the party range them-
262 selves around the courtyard, where glasses of cognac and water, and sweets and sugar-plums of various kinds

[1] The Mongols of Tibet observe a similar custom. See *Journal of Sarat Chandra Das*, published by the Royal Geographical Society.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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are handed round by men-servants. During this ceremony, which every one endeavours to prolong, the bride, enveloped in a long cloak and covered with a veil, is led downstairs. She walks as slowly as possible, supported on either hand by an attendant as if infirm, and is hidden from all eyes by silken draperies held on either side of her path until she has been seated on her horse. 585 [262]

The procession then starts. The husband's guests walk first, then comes the bride, her horse led by a servant, supported on either side by her brothers, behind her follow the musicians and singers, the rear being brought up by her relatives and friends. Various songs are sung *en route*, of which the following may serve as a specimen:— [539]

Our fair bride is on the way,
Like a pink, so fresh and gay.
At the door's our brideling fair,
Like the pink's her perfume rare.
In the courtyard is the bride,
She's a rose that's open'd wide.
On the stair the bride see now,
White as jasmine is her brow.
Now she comes within the room,
Her neck is like the lily's bloom.
"Bride of mine, now cease to grieve,
Let not sobs thy bosom heave."
"Bridegroom mine, can I be gay?
I've my father left to-day.
From my home for ever torn,
It is meet that I should mourn."

The bride, on leaving the door of her childhood's home, and at every street corner she passes, inclines 585

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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764 into it, and even the men are frequently heard to sob aloud. As soon as it is filled up, however, a sudden silence prevails, for now the *Kokiete*, the Greek [262] Kólyva (Κόλυβα)[1] is handed round, and it is accounted sinful to mourn whilst eating it. As each person takes a handful of this funeral dish, he says, "May he (or she) be forgiven."

765 On this and the two following days, the house of mourning is filled with a succession of condoling friends, who bring with them all the food necessary [252] for the family, for no cooking is done in it during this period. Others send presents of wine or spirits, the bearer of which delivers them with the words: "May I have come for your good." On the third day, the wailing at the grave is repeated, and continued in the house of mourning for forty days, being performed either early on the morning of each day, or on Sundays and feast days only, by the women of the house and those who visit them for this purpose.

[184] With members of the Orthodox Church it is customary, as among the Greeks, to exhume the bones at the end of three years. Moslems, however, have a great dislike to disturbing a dead body in any way.

765 761 The grief of relatives is, as a rule, less demonstrative for the death of a woman; and for a man well stricken in years, no wailing takes place. In the latter case, the deceased has usually set aside one or more sheep to be sacrificed on his death as an atonement for his sins, the flesh of which serves for the funeral feast. At this feast, the guests drink "to

[1] See description of this funeral dish, vol. I. p. 99.

[Analyst's note: Kólyva is made of flour, boiled wheat, pomegranates, raisins, nuts, and spices.]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

538 folk-tales, is, however, almost entirely absent from
177 those of the Albanians. Of the so-called religious
773 legends current among the Skipetars, some are of Christian and others of Moslem origin. The following explanation, given by the highlanders, of the reason for the Moslem's distaste for pork, savours, [262] however, rather of Bektashí scepticism. One day, they say, Mohammed went out in company with a Christian on a thieving expedition. Finding nothing else to lay their hands upon, the pair took possession of a sow, which, having killed, they proceeded to divide by drawing lots. As luck would have it, the head, shoulders, and best parts of the carcase fell to the Christian, while the Prophet received as his portion only the tail and the hams. Discontented with his share of the spoil, Mohammed proclaimed the pig unclean, and forbade his followers to eat thenceforward of its flesh.[1]

538 Some of the sayings proverbially current among
773 the Albanians have their origin in myths, which are for the most part of a religious character. The phrase, "The drop has fallen," used with reference to any one who has died suddenly, with the connected imprecation, "May the drop fall on thee!" are thus explained. While the rebellious angels were falling [776] from heaven into the abyss, the angel Gabriel called a halt, and every one stopped exactly where he happened to be at that moment. Some had already reached the regions below the earth, others were on the earth itself, while a third section were still in mid-air, where they have remained suspended ever

[1] Compare Hecquard, *La Haute Albanie*, p. 510.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The following little Tosk song refers to an unsuccessful rising in South Albania about 1835:— 538

539
173

From Corfu they tidings bear,
Tafilbouz is landing here;
On Avlona's shore he lands,
Three detachments he commands.

To the mosque they crowd and shout,
"Hodo, from thy house come out!"
Now may Allah be his shield,
If to them should Hodo yield!

O Hodo, O Sadik, Bekir, and Karafili!
Simon the Liap's brave sons!
'Mid the rattle of the guns,
They have fall'n, unhappy ones!
May the rest be lucky!

The national songs, as well as the folk-tales, of the land of their forefathers are also sacredly cherished by those Albanians who, as before mentioned, for centuries past have been settled in Southern Italy and Sicily. There the exploits of the heroic Scanderbég are still celebrated, and at their feasts they sing how the hero of Croia [538]

Of hares and capons ate the flesh,
Of partridges the heads ate;

[262] [264]

and how

His cups and forks were all of gold,
And of fine silk his napkins.

The women, too, in their Easter dances, relate how, as he went forth to battle, Death met him on the road, and revealed to him the secrets of the Book of Destiny; how he called to him his young son, and bade him tie his horse to a cypress on the seashore, plant his 538 776

future. Twenty-five centuries had vanished, for me, as though they had never been.

"That lady ora was no doubt betrothed to one of her own people," said a man who had not previously spoken. "Now in my lost country of Ipek—may the Serbs who are murdering her feel our teeth in their throats!—I know a man who was married to an ora."

A woman, barefooted, wearing a skirt of heavy black and white wool, a wide, silver-studded leather belt and a blouse of sheer white, her two thick black braids of hair falling from beneath a crimson headkerchief almost to her knees, came out of the shadows beyond the fire and lowered from her shoulder a beautifully shaped wooden jar of water. She held it braced against her hip, and, stooping, poured a thin stream over our outstretched hands. We laved them, the water sinking into the ashes around the fire, and another woman handed us each a towel of hand-woven red-and-white-plaided linen. Then we sat expectantly, but only a wooden bowl of cheese was set on the floor before us.

It was goat's-milk cheese, rather like the cottage cheese of home, except that it was hard, cut in cubes, and of an acrid, sourish flavor. We each took a piece, nibbled it.

"Oh, Perolli, can't you tell them we're starving? It's almost one o'clock in the morning!" cried Frances, pathetically.

"Be patient," said Perolli. "How many times

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 Mohammedan can eat?" I asked. "They're Roman Catholics, aren't they? Shouldn't we have brought a Mohammedan into their house?"

"Oh, that makes no difference," said Perolli.

798 "One religion or another—all religions are the same in the sight of God. Mohammedan or Catholic, we are all human, we all respect one another. No, our hosts don't mind the trouble; they're only sorry that they have nothing but pork in the house."

"What would happen, Rexh, if you ate pork without knowing it?" said I.

[262] "Nothing, Mrs. Lane. Nothing would happen even if I ate it, knowing I was doing it. But for me it is wrong to eat pork, so I would never do that. For these others," he explained, carefully, looking very serious and very twelve-year-old, "it is not wrong to eat pork. It is not the pork itself that matters, Mrs. Lane. It is doing what is wrong that matters. See"—he sat up, making his points gravely with straight forefinger—"some things are wrong for the Catholics to do; they are right for me. I can have nine wives, but the Catholics can have only one. They can eat pork, but that is wrong for me. There are many things like that. Each must do what he thinks is right. It does not matter what it is. Men think differently. But God knows whether they do what seems right to them. And in the end we all go to the same heaven, if we have been good."

"Good*ness*, Rexh!" I murmured, feebly. I

[Rexh = Mohammedan -- Analyst]

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829 When this occurred, of course both Serbia and Italy would fall on Albania; any trouble in the Balkans was a signal for that.

[262] The chicken being taken away, we were given a bowl of little cakes, light as whipped cream, cooked in brown butter and served with honey. Sadiri Luka said that the only hope of peace in the Balkans was a Balkan federation; nothing less, he said, would persuade the European Powers and Turkey to leave the Balkans alone. It was true that for fifteen centuries the Slavs had been attacking Albania and tearing territory from her; it was true that more than a million Albanians were suffering under Serbian and Greek rule to-day; it was true that Albanians had won the Greek war of independence, and the Young Turk revolution, and their own revolution, only to see their country mutilated by their neighbors and by European diplomacy. But if it were possible for free Albania to live, he believed she would be the leader in a movement for a Balkan federation, and he pointed out that, with frontiers free and military expenses pooled, all the Balkan peoples could develop lands and mines, water power and industries, and in time readjust their boundaries by purchase, which would be cheaper than war.

000 This solution was so logical that I suspected it to be in the realm of pure fantasy, for I have long observed that human affairs and logic have little in common. But we listened with great interest to these opinions of Sadiri Luka, which

[At house of Sadiri Luka of Thethis --Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

came strangely from an Albanian mountaineer whose trousers proclaimed in black braiding his descent from a tribe older than history.

The feast continued for a long time; there were bowls of kos, which is sweet milk made solid in texture, but not sour, a joy on the tongue, and there were platters of fluffy rice with gravy and giblets, and many kinds of cheese, and little individual spits of broiled lamb, onions and potatoes, and a cream made of powdered rice, milk, and honey, and breast of chicken baked in sour cream, and crisp cakes of whipped white of egg browned in butter and smothered in beaten raw eggs and sugar—which is strange in words, but unexpectedly good to eat—and many other things which we tasted absent-mindedly. For the setting sun had briefly conquered the clouds, the rain had stopped, and we thought of the trail to Thethis.

It was good to be out in the rain-sweet air, and the waterfalls were music in the evening quiet. Sunshine gleamed on the peaks of snow, blue and purple shadows filled the valleys, and bells of flocks came tinkling down the trails. When we had said farewell to Sadiri Luka and the chiefs of upper Thethis, by the arching glass-clear torrent to which they had accompanied us, we went on light-heartedly, humming to ourselves. And Perolli sang a song of the mountaineers which is more sound than words, being a song of evening with rippling water in it, and sleepy birds, and the bells of the flocks answer-

[At house of Sadiri Luka [193] of Thethis -- Analyst]

574 storied house, where a score of Zogist guerillas were gathered
[342] round the fire. The room was filled with smoke — for the house had no chimney, like many in Albania — and it was several minutes before I could see or breathe in comfort. I sat down, however, by the hearth, where a carpet had been spread, and while the evening meal was made ready had some talk with Petrit. He spoke quite good French, having studied in the French *lycée* at Korcha, where, by a strange irony, Enver Hoja had been his teacher. He was obviously eager for news of the outside world, and the flow of his questions was only restrained by his sense of courtesy as my host. In appearance he was not unlike his father, though of sturdier build and more slothful movements; and I was told that he had already distinguished himself in the previous autumn's fighting. He was possessed besides of a natural authority, and, despite his youth, seemed to command the respect of the wild mountaineers who accompanied him. Some of these spoke a little Italian or Serb, and their discussions that night gave me a first impression of
[521] Zogist public opinion. The Ghegs are not great talkers like the Greeks or Slavs, but I felt, from what they said, that they were rather suspicious of British intentions and far more concerned with preventing the spread of Communism in Albania than with fighting the Germans. Towards one o'clock
● [262] our conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the evening meal of soup, boiled mutton and cheese. We ate in silence
[513] and as soon as we had finished I retired to rest on one of the mattresses which the master of the house had spread for us on the floor.

342 Next day, in the afternoon, Petrit accompanied me to the place where Abas Kupi had made his temporary headquarters. It was a grey stone keep, built on a jutting rib of the mountain range and approached by a path so narrow and precipitous that I had to send back my horse and make the last stage of the journey on foot. Abas Kupi came out to meet me, as I turned
[576] into the walled courtyard of the house, and welcomed me with the traditional greeting of "*Tungjatjeta*" — "May your life be prolonged". He led the way up a flight of wooden steps, resting like a ladder against the wall of the house, and took

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

between the individual mouth and the communal dish. More [244] solid foods, such as meat or rice, were eaten with the fingers, 262 and, since each dish was communal, those who ate slowly went hungry. The midday and evening meals were both known as "*buk*", or bread; for theoretically, and in the poorer houses practically, maize bread was the basic foodstuff, while the other dishes were regarded merely as sauces to make the bread more palatable.

In the course of our journeys we touched life at many angles and experienced extremes of poverty and plenty. Often we were lucky to get even a lump of cheese and maize bread, or a cup of unsweetened milk. At other times, especially in Mati, we were surfeited by a wealthy host on successive dishes of eggs, boiled mutton, roast mutton *pilaf*, and luscious *halvas* and *baklavas* in the Turkish style. As a general rule, however, Albanian fare was lacking in variety and the average meal might be a soup of beans, a dish of boiled mutton, and a bowl of milk or *yoghourt*. The guest of honour usually received [576] the sheep's head — the brain and eyes were considered the greatest delicacies — or sometimes the kidneys and the tail. Fatness was the quality most admired in sheep, though even with hard exercise all of us except Smiley found the enjoyment of lumps of hot boiled fat an acquired taste. Milk was the usual drink at meals, drunk like soup from a communal bowl and served as a last course. Water was also to be had, but only on request, for there was usually only one glass or mug in the house. Before and after meals the host came round 264 with a basin and ewer, and the guests washed their hands — [515] a most necessary proceeding seeing that these were used for eating. In the richer houses the washing water was warmed and home-made soap was also provided. Each man left the table when he had finished eating without waiting for his fellows; and when the chief guests had done there would be a "deuxième service" for the rest of the company, or sometimes two tables might be set at once. The guests had the right — and often used it — to criticise any meanness in their entertainment to their host's face; and he would never sit at table or taste food until the last of the guests had eaten.

285 them, bring them to market along with embroidery. These include not only spinning baskets and hand-carrying baskets, but also large osier panniers used in transport—a man can carry one on his back, a horse, two. I believe that the panniers are made by men.

326 Other containers include copperwork and pottery. The coppersmiths in each town hammer out sheets of metal into round trays, which can be used for baking cheese dishes, pastry, etc., or for tea and coffee service. They also make kettles, water jugs, and washbasins. All of these things are purchased by the mountaineers, who now and then acquire a European chamber-pot to use as soup tureen, and a set of glass tumblers.

323 Three kinds of pottery find their way into the mountaineer's household. In the Catholic tribes, if not elsewhere, the women still make an Iron Age vessel, of simple profile, with handles, without slip, and decorated by incisions. It is hand-modeled, and fired in such a way as to give it a black surface. In the towns, professional male potters make a porous ware on the wheel. This is used for carrying and storing water. Regular modern glazed pottery is imported from Italy, and subsequently sold in the bazaars.

251 Food preservation and storage techniques vary between Catholics and Moslems, owing to their differences in diet. The Catholics preserve much pork by salting and smoking. The men of each household will butcher as many fat pigs as the family needs or can spare, in the fall. They cut the belly fat into flitches and hang it over the fire. An especial delicacy is the *peshk*, or "fish," a long strip of lean back-bacon, smoke-cured, which they cut in slices and fry. Besides these whole pork pieces, they make sausages and cure them in the same
[262] way. The Moslems as a rule eat only fresh meat and live on mutton, whereas Catholics eat both mutton and pork.

Both store their cereals and legumes in tubs and bags in the house, and keep maize in special outdoor corncribs, elevated to protect them from rats. Very often a fierce dog will be seen and heard, chained under the crib.
234 Both make butter from their cows' milk, and cheese from that of sheep and goats, although the use of the latter is much more common
000 among the Moslems. Catholics, in country fit

-17a-

Catholics in country fit

273 for grape-growing, make a potent red wine, which they resinate in Homeric fashion.

The Moslems, prohibited by the Koran from wine drinking, content themselves with distilled liquors. In every neighborhood one or more Moslem families will own a copper still, complete with boiler and cooling screw, which someone once bought in Scutari or another town. Neighbors borrow these stills from time to time, as American families borrow each other's ice-cream freezers. Much of the *raki*, or raisin brandy, so produced, is home distilled, but a certain amount is carried up from the towns. Green *mastica*, a vicious local variety of absinthe, is imported only.

276 Both Catholics and Moslems smoke. While a few Moslems own *narghilehs*, most tobacco addicts smoke cigarettes. The economics of cigarette smoking is that as a rule each man grows his own tobacco, and sells what he does not consume. He has to buy cigarette paper, imported from France. He has to have some kind of a lighting device, which usually runs to expense, as previously explained (see p. 13). The social aspect of smoking is that it forms a ready means of polite interaction, for men give each other cigarettes, rolling and licking them for an honored guest.

[262] 252 Since the principal food of all the mountaineers, whatever their religion, is bread, usually a tough, unleavened cornbread which will keep for weeks and grow harder and harder instead of molding, one of their principal needs is some way to grind the grain. Most houses contain mortars and pestles, and many also contain hand querns, of Roman design, which the women operate. It is probable, but not certain, that all of the millstones come from the market, since suitable stone is found in few

402 252 areas. A large part of the grain-milling, however, is done in small, water-driven mills, of which there are many. These mills, homemade except for the stones, are operated by vertical-shaft paddle wheels which are in effect primitive turbines. They save the expenditure of human muscular energy, and much time. In one place in Malsia e Jakovës, I saw another kind of mill, a pounding device which consisted of a trough-shaped log set on a pivot, and equipped with a heavy hammer at one end. Water flowed into this trough until enough had entered the lower end to tip the whole.

[See cut 116 p. 13b --Analyst]
-17b

264 least 15, with as many more waiting patiently for second table, and the dishes included a whole roast sheep, which the Major picked apart with his hands and distributed.

463 Professional cooks are found only in the
252 towns and in new government stations. In
265 Prizren and Scutari, many of these cooks are Turks and their dishes consist mostly of mutton with various kinds of vegetables. Personally I found this cuisine very tasty. They also make a fine *yughurt*. Pastry cooks form another special group, and concentrate on *baklava* and *kadaif*, the two honey desserts familiar to eaters in Greek restaurants in all countries. Although their products may be carried into the mountains, the pastry cooks themselves stay at home.

● 262 The mountaineers obtain almost all of their own food by farming and herding. Hunting provides little or none for most families, and the same is true of fishing. Along the Black Drin, just above Kukës, a few fish are sometimes caught, and welcomed in the kitchen. In Prizren, fresh river fish are sold in the market. But fish is an insignificant element in the Mountain Gheg diet. The same is true of wild vegetable products, shoots, berries, and the
594 like, collected by women. Furthermore each
261 family produces practically all of its own food, except for a little coffee and tea, and a bit of sugar and salt. Most families are too poor to afford these imported luxuries often. The significance of the absolute self-sufficiency of the Ghegs in their food supply is linked with local differences in geology, and must have a profound effect upon differences in physique attendant on diet.

241 Farming is a family affair. The man buys
[594] the iron implements which he needs in town, and makes the rest of wood. He breaks the soil with a spade, and ploughs it with oxen. As he ploughs each furrow, his wife walks behind him with a basket of seed, sowing it. Later the women will do the weeding, and the whole family comes out to reap. If the crop is wheat, they cut off each head of grain with a sickle and put the heads in a bag; if maize, they pick the ears and braid the husks for drying. They thresh small grains and beans with flails. When the tobacco leaves are ripe, the men cut them carefully and hang them on their verandas or the sides of their houses to cure. -18b

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples. 245

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*).[1] The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture. [462] 221 233

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling. 231 262

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached. 261 628

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later,[2] goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjës to Puka, then on to Kukes, and across 491

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108.. Analyst
2 [See cat. 116 p 42a.. Analyst]

795 Despite its centuries in Ghegnia, Catholicism
182 has failed to change many of the customs of the mountaineers, such as the *fis* system with cross-cousin marriage, trial marriage, the levirate, blood brotherhood, and the swearing of virginity. The reason is of course that the needs which these customs fill have not been eliminated. The Moslem faith permits them and thus has become more popular. Islam is deemed the more fashionable and more civilized religion. The people of the towns, rich men, army officers, and other sophisticates are usually Moslems. Most Catholics are poor. This attitude is of course a hold-over from the period of Turkish domination. Many Albanians admired the Turks. Many spoke Turkish by preference. I recall once riding along a lane in Zadrima with my interpreter, Mr. Frasheri, who reprimanded 2 old harvesters whom we passed for talking Turkish together. Bishop Fan Noli suggests that they may have been Turkish-speaking refugees from the towns of Prizren, Peia, or Podgoritza.

[191]

795 There is a certain dietary difference between
● 262 Catholics and Moslems. The former eat pork,
273 especially in the wintertime. The Moslems curl up their nostrils and gag at the smell of pork, and will not enter a room where it is cooking. In its place they use much mutton fat in their cooking. Catholics drink wine when they can get it; Moslems care for their alcoholic needs with *raki*. These differences are probably of no biological importance, as far as the growth and development of the individual are concerned, but they do serve to intensify the mutual antipathy of the 2 religious groups and inhibit a genetic interchange.

582 In Lura, in a population not exceeding a few
178 hundred individuals, Catholics and Moslems
795 intermarry. In a single household the father may be Catholic, the mother Moslem, and the children will choose their own religions. This is the only place in Ghegnia where this happens. Lura is in process of change from Catholicism to Islam. As the latter gains ground, mixed households are found. The government of Ahmed Zog made much of this isolated situation, urging other Albanians to follow the example of the Lurans in the interests of national unity.

178 Various stages in this process of shifting are
795 found in different tribes and *bairaks*. In Mer-

141 565 *128 members of the privileged classes are taller than their less-favored fellow citizens. In the mountains of the Ghegs no stereotyped class system exists. Nevertheless in each tribe a few men hold higher political rank than the others, and a little difference in wealth may be discovered. Wealth and power usually go together. Using the data discussed in chapter 5, on "Politics and Feuding," page 30,[1] I have segregated 66 office-holders, 23 from limestone territory, and 43 from serpentine. The latter group included the entourage of Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*),[2] the tribal chief of Mirdita. These men had eaten the best the land had to offer. As table 22 shows, this made no real

TABLE 22: GEOLOGY AND STATURE, OFFICE-HOLDERS.

	Limestone			Serpentine		
	No.	Mean		No.	Mean	
Total	237	173.04	.34	354	167.22	.22
Office-holders ..	23	174.09	.78	43	167.63	.57

[264] difference in stature. In the mountains a chief eats at a big table, surrounded by his retainers, but any visitor is free to join at the hospitable [262] board. The office-holders probably get more meat than the poorer people, but everyone consumes dairy products, bread, and legumes. Everyone also derives all his food from the same geographical source.

CONCLUSION

*128 Although the geological map on which this study is based was of a most general character, it seems to have been accurate enough for the present purpose. The minerals of this region which it shows can be correlated with the body size and robusticity of the inhabitants as populations, and with nothing else which this particular study reveals, other than a partly coincidental east-west trend in head and face form, which will be discussed later. What minerals, if any, are involved in these size variations, how they are assimilated, if they are, and how they affect growth, if they do, are problems beyond the scope of this paper and its author's competence. If this excursion into the nutritional field has any value it lies in the fact that other explanations of regional size differences have been eliminated.

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 30b-30c -- Analyst]

[2] [see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

[1] Coon, 1939, p. 267.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

693 of coffee if he were poor, a sheep if he were rich. Farther south, the fee varied with the elder's importance and the bargain he made beforehand. In Martanesh it was ordinarily one Turkish pound, but Selim Peshku accepted this only in easy cases; he asked, and was gladly given, three or even five in more complicated cases. Cen Elezi of Dibër asked in 1938 twelve napoleons from each of two cousins who were quarrelling about a boundary. Two elders employed in a dispute were usually paid alike, each disputant paying half the total. But when each disputant bargained separately with his elder, one elder might be paid more than the other. Even where fees were conventionally fixed as in Lumë, an elder often bargained for a larger one. An elder who came from a distance was naturally paid more, as he had to spend at least one night and two days away from home. An average fee in Shkrel for such cases was one napoleon, whereas for cases near at hand it was a silver Turkish dollar in Turkish times or 10–20 koronë in 1932. Almost always an elder was given a sheep in addition; 'an elder without a sheep doesn't do', it was said. Elders could not exact prepayment; it was evidently felt by the old law-givers that if prepaid they might be tempted to default on the work. At the same time they had to be protected from the litigant who tried to default on their fee. A litigant had, therefore, to deposit a rifle or a silver watch or a silver tobacco box or the like at the outset of the case as a pledge that he would pay the fee at the end of the case. Judgement pronounced, he paid the fee and was given back his pledge. Because of this arrangement elders were called 'pledge elders' when they undertook work involving a fee.

693 In addition to his fee and sheep an elder also expected at least [574] one meal for himself and his party. It had to be of the highest [262] class, with meat and rice pilaff, and the meat had to be goat, ewe or ram, more rarely beef and never that inferior thing, chicken. When the elder's party was small, the sheep-breeders of the north gave *mazë*, a delicious dish compounded of butter, cheese and maize flour. In Kosovë the meal was generally taken from the richer disputant so as to save the poorer litigant expense, or from the one who had insisted on calling in elders. In Martanesh it was taken from the one who had caused the trouble. In Shalë, on the contrary, each elder ate at his own client's expense except in road cases, where both elders and their suites ate at the expense of the litigant in fault. In Zerqan, if the case dragged on so long that the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Lorries

494 my calculations, and the fare, for a journey of nearly two days' duration, was after all by no means unreasonable.

The Albanian post lorries are of the familiar military type, and I came across no ambulance waggons like those in which I had suffered such discomfort in Montenegro. There is a good deal of traffic on these roads, not only by post lorries but by other lorries, which also belong to the State. A more or less regular service plies between Santi Quaranta and Koritza, the most important town in Northern Albania, with freight, passengers, and live-stock. I often noticed passengers sitting amongst sheep, lambs, and goats with every appearance of contentment. They did not seem at all incommoded. But in the post lorries, fortunately for me, livestock were not carried.

361 Tepeleni, our first stopping place, was destroyed by an earthquake some years ago and it has never yet been properly rebuilt. At the present time it consists of an irregular 265 street of shanties made of lath and tarred paper. As soon as we arrived the lorry-conductor took me to a restaurant—a [262] lop-sided wooden shack with an earthen floor—where two yokels sat eating maize-bread and yaghourt, and a third man, more opulent, was devouring fried fish with his fingers. [524] Coffee was called for and, despite my protests, paid for by the conductor—little courtesies such as this being the commonplaces of travel in benighted and uncivilised Albania.

505 Beyond Tepeleni a river barred our way. There was a bridge, but it was in ruins like the rest of the village, and the crossing had to be made by a ferry. The roadway on

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

In the Restaurant

"Good! Good! Dobro! Good!" Then he patted me kindly on the back. I could sometimes wish that all critics were as easily pleased.

With the exception of breakfast, which in mid-Albania is either a non-existent meal, or consists of a cup of Turkish coffee and nothing else, I got my food at a little restaurant[1] in the bazaar. Here, as at the inn, my demands were wont to cause astonishment. They could never understand my liking for maize bread, which is despised by them as the food of the poor, and, unless I made a fuss, always provided me with the stodgy imitation of French bread which they considered more suitable for a person of my exalted status. And when I asked for yaghourt, as I frequently did, the cook felt, I think, much as the head waiter of the Carlton would if one of the diners were to send him out for a penn'orth of fish and chips. Otherwise the food was what one usually finds in such places—all kinds of curious odds and ends of meat, partly roasted and partly stewed, oily beans, stuffed cucumbers, pilaf of rice, and sometimes macaroni. Now and then there would be caramel pudding, smothered in honey and much too sweet. The restaurant was open to the street, and, as it consisted of one room only, both cooking and washing-up went on in full view of the diners. The various dishes simmered all day over a slow charcoal fire, and there was no difference between dinner at midday and supper at night. The best drink was bottled beer from Trieste at three krone (1s. 3d.) the bottle, the wine, like all Albanian wine, being poor stuff. I usually found it necessary

1 [in Elbasan -- Analyst]

533 How beautiful is the bride, Mashallah, Mashallah.
585 She has a forehead for a "perishan" (gold ornament of coins, etc.).
Her eyebrows are like braid, Mashallah, etc.
Her eyes large as coffee cups, Mashallah, etc.
Her nose is like a gold coin ("muskala").
Her cheeks like sweet cake ("gurabi," given at night by the bride to the bridegroom).
Her mouth is like a casket, Mashallah, etc.
Her teeth like pearls.
Her neck like a lily. Her figure is like a standard

585 sang the ladies, the men roaring: "She is, she is!" in a high falsetto, pressing their hands on their ears, and the small boys yelling "Mashallah," a strange cry at a Catholic wedding. All the time her two attendants [152] patted, straightened, and wiped the bride. My neighbour whispered to me: "They often faint." I anxiously watched her panting and swaying, and was relieved when the bridegroom left the room and the men followed. The ladies then bent the bride's knees and she plopped on to the chair. By now she was almost hypnotized, and mechanically at intervals tried to rise, but was at once replaced unless a child came in, when it was correct for her to rise for a moment. Then came midday and the wedding dinner, to which I did not stay. The bride is allowed to withdraw for a time. She does not eat with the guests. Her attendants [264] put little bits of food into her mouth. If very modest she does not take it, but when left alone secretly consumes some food she has hidden in her marriage coffer. On my return she was again enthroned. I was given three tumblers of wine and a dish of sweets and told to consume them, and did my best. I was then given a special view of all the bride's ornaments, and invited to return at night for the final ceremony. This I did not do. It was described as follows: The two attendants prepare the bed at midnight. They undress the bride and put a long silk shirt on her; lay her forcibly on the bed, and withdraw. The two male [833 533] witnesses then lead or drag in the bridegroom and prepare him. The wedding guests all stand outside the door when the couple are left alone, and sing epithalamia of an encouraging nature and shout advice through the keyhole. The bride has to feed the bridegroom with the "gurabi" (cake) she has brought in her wedding coffer.

The company sings continually till told the marriage has been consummated. In a short time the bride and bridegroom emerge completely redressed. She wears a married woman's dress. They are greeted as man and wife and at last left in peace.

585 The whole of the next week the bride may be visited at any hour
574 of the day and must not speak a word, but sit rigid as before.

At the end of the week she has a holiday and goes back to her own people on the Sunday. On the Wednesday her husband is invited to

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 262 264 562 576 to them. Any women sitting by the roadside when a man passed at once arose and gave humble greeting. Krsto always was very lordly on these occasions. He always ate with me—partly, I think, to convince himself he was not my servant but my equal. Poor Iké fed apart afterwards. Once when he was absent a week I begged her to feed with me, for it was ridiculous to make two meals of it. But the mere idea of doing anything so unseemly distressed her so that she burst into tears and prayed me to excuse her. She said it was a thing that could not be done; it would "shame" me.

H 576 562 554 For a man to wait on a woman was very humiliating. A mounted gendarme, a Bosnian Moslem, was once ordered to escort me in Turkish territory. He had conscientious scruples about obeying a woman. After a midday halt at a "kavana," he hurried down to get the horses ready, leaving his rifle on the balcony. Presently he shouted up to no one in particular, "Give me my rifle." As it was alongside of me I handed it down. His ruse had succeeded, and he cried with childish glee, "She has waited on me! she has waited on me!" Honour was satisfied.

A 554 264 Among the Albanian tribesmen it was considered very degrading to eat with a woman. I remember how a Kastrati man jeered at the Austrian Consul. A poor creature, indeed. He drank coffee and ate meat and bread, and let his wife eat at the same time. A shameless woman! A despicable man. The Kastrati man would not let his wife so misbehave. He would never eat with a woman, not he.

A [186] It is amusing how often ambassadors, generals, admirals, ministers, and other exalted beings are looked down on with contempt by the native whose respect and admiration they fondly imagine they are arousing.

When I arrived at Vuthaj, a Moslem Albanian village, where they had never before entertained a strange female, there was a very long powwow as to the correct course to pursue. I had gone there on the invitation of a headman. It was decided that I was too important a guest to feed with the harem. I was to rank as a man and feed with the chiefs. But in order to comply with their sense of fitness I was helped last of all, even after my horse-boy. And so honour was satisfied. The women waited at table—unveiled—but I did not enter their apartment and had no communication with them.

Among the Christian Mirdites at the house of the Kapetan, where I was treated with great honour, the younger men of the family waited A [576] at table, as did Chaucer's Squire, and no woman was allowed to come near me at all. I heard a giggling crowd trying to get a peep at me through the crack of the door, but they were chivied away by a male, and my suggestion that I should see them was met by the statement that they were too modest.

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The Catholic thus goes safely to church and there the veil is raised. Evil spirits are powerless there; and as we have seen, when she leaves the sacred building she is carefully veiled and conveyed safely to her future home. Food and drink are given her by her attendants behind the veil; all possible precautions are taken, in fact, to prevent her soul escaping and harmful glances falling on her. A 585 777 A 264 777 774

In early days in Montenegro the brides were so closely veiled when fetched from home by the svatovi that in the Martinovitch family, of Baitza near Cetinje, there is a tradition of a bride being accidentally exchanged for the bride of another wedding-party. M 585 293 578

Two parties of svatovi started from Baitza to fetch brides from afar, and had to pass the night on the mountain-side. They met at the same wayside spring and encamped. The two girls begged to be allowed to sleep together. Next morning each party rode off with the wrong girl. The weddings were celebrated at once on arrival, and as no one had previously seen the girls and they, as was customary, knew nothing about their future bridegrooms, the mistake was not detected till a week after, when the girls' relatives came to pay the first visit to them. They were then infuriated to find that the carefully planned alliances had gone wrong and they had not acquired the "in-laws" they had intended. The respective bridegrooms expressed themselves quite satisfied. Not so the parents of brides. A violent quarrel took place. Blows were exchanged and a blood-feud was imminent. The annulment of the weddings was demanded, and peace was only restored by the metropolitan, who declared the marriages legal and the whole complication evidently the will of God, Who must be obeyed. M [627] M A B

All Balkan people, so far as my experience goes, sleep with the head covered, no matter how hot it may be. 513

I remember a suffocating night in a wretched cottage at Bratonozhitch, Montenegro. I lay on a bench on one side of the hut, and the floor was covered by some sixteen persons of both sexes. So hot was it that the men stripped their shirts and slept in their breeches; but all buried their heads under thick, felt-like blankets.

Often have I been awakened from a much-needed midday sleep under a tree by a choking, horrible smell, and have found that some kindly creature while I slept had covered my head with a filthy towel or coat. Poor old Marko perpetually told me it was most unhealthy to sleep with an uncovered head. By way of warning he told me the horrible end of a neighbour of ours. He not only left his head uncovered, but he slept near an open window. The wind blew into his head and went round and round inside it, and the unhappy man, driven distracted, hanged himself in the vineyard. M [762 753] B

A possible further reason for shrouding the head is the strange 761 518

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 an altar is specially prepared. The nearest relatives of the bridegroom only are present, and he, like the bride, simulates great unwillingness to enter the apartment. The mass performed, the priest asks the bride three times if she accepts the man kneeling at her side for her husband. Custom, however, forbids her to [577] reply, and at the third interrogation the women in attendance force her to bow her head in token of assent. The bridegroom, on the contrary, pronounces his consent in a loud voice. However plain the bride may prove to be, custom forbids that any sign of disgust or annoyance should be manifested. If, however, she be afflicted with any physical deformity, such as lameness, blindness, or a humped back, the husband may claim an indemnity from her parents, or, if he is prepared to abide the consequences of such an insult, may send her back to them.

The ceremony terminated, the bridegroom leaves the room, and the female guests re-enter, extolling in song the graces and virtues with which, according to [562] them, every bride is endowed. The feast is then [264] served, the men sitting down by themselves in one room, and the women in another, and the two parties amuse themselves separately for the rest of the evening. An hour before midnight, the women conduct the bride to the nuptial chamber, and, having taken off her bridal finery, cover her face with a veil, and leave her. When the bridegroom enters, he simulates astonishment at finding a maiden there. Lifting the veil from her head, he declares himself to be enraptured with her beauty, and asks her a hundred questions. The bride feigns sleep and pretends not to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

The following little Tosk song refers to an unsuccessful rising in South Albania about 1835:— 538

From Corfu they tidings bear, 539
Tafilbouz is landing here; 173
On Avlona's shore he lands,
Three detachments he commands.

To the mosque they crowd and shout,
"Hodo, from thy house come out!"
Now may Allah be his shield,
If to them should Hodo yield!

O Hodo, O Sadik, Bekir, and Karafili!
Simon the Liap's brave sons!
'Mid the rattle of the guns,
They have fall'n, unhappy ones!
May the rest be lucky!

The national songs, as well as the folk-tales, of the land of their forefathers are also sacredly cherished by those Albanians who, as before mentioned, for centuries past have been settled in Southern Italy and Sicily. There the exploits of the heroic Scanderbeg are still celebrated, and at their feasts they sing how the hero of Croia [538]

Of hares and capons ate the flesh, [262 264]
Of partridges the heads ate;

and how

His cups and forks were all of gold,
And of fine silk his napkins.

The women, too, in their Easter dances, relate how, as he went forth to battle, Death met him on the road, and revealed to him the secrets of the Book of Destiny; how he called to him his young son, and bade him tie his horse to a cypress on the seashore, plant his 538 776

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "We'd be saying: 'Run away and play, dear. This isn't for children,'" I commented.

"We wouldn't," said Frances. "They'd have been in bed six hours ago. How on earth do they live to grow up?"

"Heaven knows. But aren't they strong and beautiful when they do!"

"It's all right," said Perolli, aside. "They're talking about the French—whether France will become enough afraid of Jugo-Slavia to side with Italy down here. They aren't for or against the Tirana government; they don't exactly understand it, but they're waiting to find out. They don't know who I am. Don't be worried."

And at last dinner appeared. It was exactly half past two in the morning.

Most of the children—they had had no supper at all, so far as we could determine—were going to sleep, collapsing in soft little heaps where they sat beside the fire. Various women of the household lifted them tenderly, carried them to the farther corner of the house, near the goats, and laid them in a row on the floor. There, covered head and foot with heavy, tucked-in blankets, they continued to sleep.

264 574 Meantime the table was brought for us.* It was a large round piece of wood, raised on little legs perhaps five inches from the floor. We sat about it, comfortably cross-legged on our blankets, and before each of us was laid a large chunk of corn bread broken from the flat loaf. In the

*[At Marke Gjoni's house. For detailed account of visit, see cat. 116, pp. 54-86 -- Ana Lyst]

center of the table was set a wooden bowl filled with pieces of pork. 264 574

"Don't!" said Perolli, quickly, restraining our famished gestures. "In Albania it is not good manners to be eager to eat." So we sat wretched for some moments, savoring the delicious odor of food that we must not touch, and politely making conversation with our hosts, who still sprawled in graceful attitudes about the fire. Then, with slow and indifferent movements, we fished out bits of the meat with our fingers, and ate.

It was delicious, the lean meat, stripped of every scrap of fat and broiled on sticks over a wood fire. We ate eagerly, biting first the meat, then a morsel of corn bread, coarse, made without leavening, but sweet and nutty. The smallest crumb of it must not be scattered on table or floor; when one fell, Perolli instructed us to pick it up and kiss it. We should also have made the sign of the cross, for bread is sacred in these mountains. Since we were not Catholics, that omission might be overlooked. But we must pick up the crumb and kiss it; to have ignored it would have been scandal.

"In Albania," said Perolli, "it is etiquette to leave a great deal of the food." And while we were still starving, after fourteen hours of hunger, he ordered the dish away.

After that, another wooden bowl filled with cubes of the fat pork, fried crisp. Rexh[1], sitting a little apart, soberly ate his piece of corn bread,

[1] [A Mohammedan boy -- Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

264 for not even in the next village had the mes-
579 senger been able to find eggs or goat's meat.

When this second course was removed, fresh water was again brought to wash our hands, while the table was removed to a little distance. Then I saw why it was courteous to leave food, for all the villagers who had come in to see us gathered around this second table. And when they had finished and all had washed their hands —it was now past three in the morning—the table was again moved, and the family ate, men and women together, chatting and daintily dipping into the common dish.

000 "Do you think, Perolli," said Frances, "that we could go to bed now?" And she looked enviously at Alex, who sat stony eyed, upright, and fast asleep.

"Oh, surely!" said Perolli. "They'll understand that you're tired." And he explained this to our hosts, who nodded, smiling. So Cheremi and Rexh spread our blankets more smoothly on the floor, and we lay down in a row, our heads on our saddlebags, and pulled another blanket over us.

For a time the others sat by the fire and talked; one roasted coffee over the coals in a long-handled pan, and then ground it in a cylinder of brass. The warm brown smell of it and the sound of grinding kept coming through my daze of fatigue. Then one by one they lay down, covering their heads with blankets; the fire died to a fading glow of coals; there was no sound

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooo empty coffee cup to Sadiri Luka, saying, "*Per te mire* (All good to you)," and rose. He would not stay to share the food which the women were even then bringing, for there was a sick man in upper Thethis, too ill to come to confession, who had sent, begging the padre to come to him. The sick man's son waited for him at the door, and two chiefs laced his opangi, gave him his staff, and went with him a little way on the trail.

574 It was midafternoon, and since early morning
264 the women had been preparing the feast they offered us.[1] A special dispensation had been asked, and granted by Padre Marjan, for that feast, for though this was Lent, we were not Catholics, and never before had Americans been guests in upper Thethis. Far and wide the rumor had gone that in our own tribe we were daughters of chiefs, and it was with apologies that the village offered us its best.

When we had washed our hands in water poured from a silver pitcher, and dried them on a towel of white silk, a large brass tray was set on four midget legs in the midst of our cushions, and the other guests withdrew to places near the walls. Much urging persuaded Sadiri Luka to sit with us and share such parts of the feast as did not break the Lenten fast. Newly made wooden spoons were given us, and a silver bowl of hot chicken broth was set in the center of the tray.

829 Sadiri Luka spoke little, but his remarks were sound and well considered. While our spoons

1 [At house of Sadiri Luka, [190] wealthy man of upper Thethis -- Analy.]

Austrians and Italians, and always, always the Serbs! And it may be that the Serbs will be too strong for us and that we shall all die fighting them."

After that he went to the other side of the fire, beside his grandmother, and he sat for a long time talking to her. "Shkodra," I heard, which is the Albanian name of Scutari, and "*mooshk*," and I knew he was talking of me and the mule I wanted to hire, but why it should be such a long and grave discussion I did not understand.

264 Then we had dinner served on several little tables, that all might eat at the same time, and the men and women ate together, but only the youngest and most beautiful woman ate at the byraktor's table, silent and respectful, dipping her long, aristocratic fingers diffidently in the dish. I thought she was his wife, but Rexh said no, she was his son's bride, still in those six months when she must not speak until spoken to, nor sit unless asked, and the byraktor liked her very much and wished to make her feel at home, because she was lonely for her own tribe.

After we had all washed our hands for the second time, and the men had had an after-dinner smoke—I still turned my head from the proffered cigarettes—the byraktor said that he would himself escort me to-morrow on the road to Scutari. I should ride his mule, and it was arranged that we should start at four o'clock.

[At house of Shoshi warchief -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

576 574 meat, and, since several hours might pass before the sheep or kid had been killed and made ready, it was often past midnight before we had eaten.

While the meal was cooking we variously slept or talked and let the bodyguards dry damp clothes by the fire or massage our weary limbs. Sometimes, to beguile the time, one of the [533] company would recite from the long epic poems in which the Albanians record the exploits of their heroes. They were weird, monotonous laments, sung in a high-pitched nasal voice to the accompaniment of a one-stringed mandolin. An hour [273] or so before the meal was served flasks of *raki* would be brought, accompanied by *mese* of onions, cheese, and sometimes hard-boiled eggs or lumps of grilled meat. *Raki* is a fiery, colourless spirit, made from the pulp of grapes, or sometimes, like *slivovitz*, from plums. Among the mountaineers it was usually home-brewed, and varied greatly in quality and strength. The principal guests would each receive a small flask, the shape of an old-fashioned burgundy flagon, and holding perhaps half a pint, while the rest of the company fared according to the resources of the host, sharing a flask between two or three. Toasts were drunk to the traditional greeting of " *Tungjatjeta* " — " May your life be prolonged " ; and, though the mountaineers habitually drank to excess, they seldom failed to comport themselves with grave, if sometimes mellowed, dignity.

When the cooking was done Maclean, as the chief guest, would be asked if the meal might be served ; there was never [521] conversation after meals, and so the greatest compliment which he could pay his host and fellows was to ask for a postponement. • 264 As soon, however, as he had given his assent, a circular wooden table some five feet in diameter would be carried in, standing about six inches from the ground. Round this a dozen of us would assemble, sitting cross-legged, but in a crocodile, each sideways on to the table so as to make room for as many as possible. We would then each be given a spoon as our sole piece of cutlery and with this helped ourselves to the more liquid dishes at the centre of the table. There were no plates, so that each spoon plied steadily backwards and forwards

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

between the individual mouth and the communal dish. More [244] solid foods, such as meat or rice, were eaten with the fingers, 262 and, since each dish was communal, those who ate slowly went hungry. The midday and evening meals were both known as "*buk*", or bread; for theoretically, and in the poorer houses practically, maize bread was the basic foodstuff, while the other dishes were regarded merely as sauces to make the bread more palatable.

In the course of our journeys we touched life at many angles and experienced extremes of poverty and plenty. Often we were lucky to get even a lump of cheese and maize bread, or a cup of unsweetened milk. At other times, especially in Mati, we were surfeited by a wealthy host on successive dishes of eggs, boiled mutton, roast mutton *pilaf*, and luscious *halvas* and *baklavas* in the Turkish style. As a general rule, however, Albanian fare was lacking in variety and the average meal might be a soup of beans, a dish of boiled mutton, and a bowl of milk or *yoghourt*. The guest of honour usually received [576] the sheep's head — the brain and eyes were considered the greatest delicacies — or sometimes the kidneys and the tail. Fatness was the quality most admired in sheep, though even with hard exercise all of us except Smiley found the enjoyment of lumps of hot boiled fat an acquired taste. Milk was the usual drink at meals, drunk like soup from a communal bowl and served as a last course. Water was also to be had, but only on request, for there was usually only one glass or mug in the house. Before and after meals the host came round 264 with a basin and ewer, and the guests washed their hands — [515] a most necessary proceeding seeing that these were used for eating. In the richer houses the washing water was warmed and home-made soap was also provided. Each man left the table when he had finished eating without waiting for his fellows; and when the chief guests had done there would be a "deuxième service" for the rest of the company, or sometimes two tables might be set at once. The guests had the right — and often used it — to criticise any meanness in their entertainment to their host's face; and he would never sit at table or taste food until the last of the guests had eaten.

513 When all had done,[1] mattresses and eiderdowns would be brought and spread out on the floor for the half-dozen guests of honour, while the others made themselves as comfortable as they might with their overcoats and jackets. It was still considered rather indecent to undress, but before the lights were snuffed out the prudent ones would gather their arms and effects about them against the dangers and confusions of a night attack. In cold weather the fire was kept alight till morning; in summer the room would often become intolerably stuffy from the accumulated animal warmth of a score of snoring sleepers.

512 The Albanians were not given to early rising, for their evening hours were late, and in the mountains the mornings were cold. They would get up between eight and nine o'clock and, by a generous convention, the younger guests were left sleeping till last. The mountaineers knew not breakfast; but 364 in many houses the host would bring a cup of coffee or of hot, 315 sweetened milk when he saw us wake. Ablutions were per- 301 functory, each man, or the host, pouring cold water from a ewer over his fellow's hands, with which the latter seldom did more than dab his eyes. Moustaches were *de rigueur*, though by exception Abas Kupi was clean-shaven; but only priests or bandits grew beards. Shaving, however, was most often a weekly affair and considered a sufficient occasion to warrant the valedictory greeting of "*Meschnett*" — an equivalent of 000 "God bless you" — to the shaver. In these matters I conformed to the customs of the country, but Maclean and Smiley insisted on adhering to the standards of cleanliness of their distinguished cavalry regiments. Stripped to the waist and with razors flashing, they washed daily and thoroughly, to the great wonder of the mountaineers who crowded round to 514 watch. Albanian sanitary arrangements were primitive but ingenious. The closet, which adjoined the guest room, projected, sometimes precariously, from the house over the courtyard below. It consisted of a hole in the floor, often of impracticably narrow circumference; and, underneath it, the thrifty Albanians were wont to keep their poultry, which gobbled up a strange diet with evident relish.

[1] [i.e. eating — Analyst]

• 264

SUPPER

231

SKINNING A SHEEP

[-228b-]

252 402 and raise the hammer. Then when the water spilled out the hammer fell, and the cycle began again. These mills have been observed by other authors as well.

Although they utilize water power so cleverly and save so much effort, these 2 kinds of mills involve no specific division of labor. Some men may be more skillful at setting them than others, but there are no professional mill-builders, and no millers. Like the fulling mills they belong to the families that use them, and 256 when not in use are unattended. In the cities, however, professional millers are to be found. Prizren, which has an ample supply of swift water running under the streets, is a milling town, and the traveler walking down the millers' street can hear the sharp ring of stone on stone for several hundred feet. These mills supply the needs of the bakers of Gonaj and Zum, and feed the citizens of Prizren. Bread from this region is of excellent quality and mountaineers coming to market often take a few loaves home.

264 The Ghegs eat one principal meal a day, late in the afternoon. In the morning a Moslem may take a small glass of *raki* for an eye-opener, and eat some bread and cheese; a Catholic will also break his fast. Both will munch a cold snack on the road or in the field for luncheon. But the time when the whole family gets together, when honored guests are entertained, comes when the day's work is over. Then the women cook the food, and the men squat around the communal table. [352] In Moslem households the table is the only piece of furniture in evidence, aside from the omnipresent chests. Among the Catholics, each house usually contains one massive beechwood chair, made locally, which seats the head of the house or the guest of honor, and a number of low wooden stools.

Forks and other modern cutlery are usually absent. Mediaeval table manners are scrupulously observed, with all eating from the same dish, and with their fingers. Among the Moslems at least, the custom of passing a wash-bowl and jug of water with a towel before and after the meal is usual, as well as saying the Koranic grace, *bismillah*. At one meal which I attended at the house of Major Çen Eleze at Slatina, in Dibra, the table was at least 10 feet in diameter, the eaters numbered at

[See pp. 16a-16b-Analysis -18a-]

264 least 15, with as many more waiting patiently for second table, and the dishes included a whole roast sheep, which the Major picked apart with his hands and distributed.

463 Professional cooks are found only in the
252 towns and in new government stations. In
265 Prizren and Scutari, many of these cooks are Turks and their dishes consist mostly of mutton with various kinds of vegetables. Personally I found this cuisine very tasty. They also make a fine *yughurt*. Pastry cooks form another special group, and concentrate on *baklava* and *kadaif*, the two honey desserts familiar to eaters in Greek restaurants in all countries. Although their products may be carried into the mountains, the pastry cooks themselves stay at home.

262 The mountaineers obtain almost all of their own food by farming and herding. Hunting provides little or none for most families, and the same is true of fishing. Along the Black Drin, just above Kukës, a few fish are sometimes caught, and welcomed in the kitchen. In Prizren, fresh river fish are sold in the market. But fish is an insignificant element in the Mountain Gheg diet. The same is true of wild vegetable products, shoots, berries, and the
594 like, collected by women. Furthermore each
261 family produces practically all of its own food, except for a little coffee and tea, and a bit of sugar and salt. Most families are too poor to afford these imported luxuries often. The significance of the absolute self-sufficiency of the Ghegs in their food supply is linked with local differences in geology, and must have a profound effect upon differences in physique attendant on diet.

241 Farming is a family affair. The man buys
[594] the iron implements which he needs in town, and makes the rest of wood. He breaks the soil with a spade, and ploughs it with oxen. As he ploughs each furrow, his wife walks behind him with a basket of seed, sowing it. Later the women will do the weeding, and the whole family comes out to reap. If the crop is wheat, they cut off each head of grain with a sickle and put the heads in a bag; if maize, they pick the ears and braid the husks for drying. They thresh small grains and beans with flails. When the tobacco leaves are ripe, the men cut them carefully and hang them on their verandas or the sides of their houses to cure. -18b

141 members of the privileged classes are taller
565 than their less-favored fellow citizens. In the
*128 mountains of the Ghegs no stereotyped class system exists. Nevertheless in each tribe a few men hold higher political rank than the others, and a little difference in wealth may be discovered. Wealth and power usually go together. Using the data discussed in chapter 5, on "Politics and Feuding," page 30,[1] I have segregated 66 office-holders, 23 from limestone territory, and 43 from serpentine. The latter group included the entourage of Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*),[2] the tribal chief of Mirdita. These men had eaten the best the land had to offer. As table 22 shows, this made no real

TABLE 22: GEOLOGY AND STATURE, OFFICE-HOLDERS.

	Limestone			Serpentine		
	No.	Mean		No.	Mean	
Total	237	173.04	.34	354	167.22	.22
Office-holders ..	23	174.09	.78	43	167.63	.57

[264] difference in stature. In the mountains a chief eats at a big table, surrounded by his retainers, but any visitor is free to join at the hospitable
[262] board. The office-holders probably get more meat than the poorer people, but everyone consumes dairy products, bread, and legumes. Everyone also derives all his food from the same geographical source.

CONCLUSION

*128 Although the geological map on which this study is based was of a most general character, it seems to have been accurate enough for the present purpose. The minerals of this region which it shows can be correlated with the body size and robusticity of the inhabitants as populations, and with nothing else which this particular study reveals, other than a partly coincidental east-west trend in head and face form, which will be discussed later. What minerals, if any, are involved in these size variations, how they are assimilated, if they are, and how they affect growth, if they do, are problems beyond the scope of this paper and its author's competence. If this excursion into the nutritional field has any value it lies in the fact that other explanations of regional size differences have been eliminated.

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 30b-30c -- Analyst]

[2] [See cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

* Coon, 1939, p. 267.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

husbands' homes, but his sons brought their brides to his house and each couple required a separate bedroom. If he were very poor, he might be unable to provide anything better than a lean-to in the farmyard, but the average man built a proper house round the nucleus of sitting-room and kitchen. In the first of the two types to which this house might conform, a number of rooms were grouped together sideways, sometimes on one floor only, usually on two, but rarely on more. In the second type one room was built on top of another, as in a tower, for two, three or even four storeys. This type was always known as a *kullë* (lit. 'tower'), a description also often given to a two- or three-storeyed cluster, although, more usually, any clustered house was called *shtëpi*, the name of the original kitchen. Access to the upper floor in the clustered type was usually by an inner, fixed staircase, and in a tower by an inner ladder that could be pulled up if an enemy penetrated to the ground floor; a trapdoor hung over both staircase and ladder, ready to be closed in an instant, if necessary. The two types of house were found side by side. The clustered one was preferred because its rooms were easier of access, but a family with many enemies or little land fell back on a tower as it was more defensible and took up less space. Whereas a clustered house stood in a farmyard surrounded by a fence of withered thorn or, more frequently, a stone and timber wall of the same construction as that of the house, a tower had generally no farmyard. All its appurtenances—livestock, farm implements, hay or other fodder—were gathered under its own roof, on the ground floor, as being more secure. In a one-storeyed cluster livestock, farm implements, and probably dairy and kitchen as well, were housed in sheds in the yard to save space in the house. In a two-storeyed cluster they were more often accommodated on the ground floor as in a tower, but for convenience rather than security, which was guaranteed by the farmyard wall. Since the sitting-room in such a house was often over the cow-house, it contained an ingenious labour-saving device for use after supper. As soon as the table had been removed, the host swept the crumbs towards a small, unobtrusive hole in the floor in front of the hearth, removed its lid, and with a last flick of his broom dropped the crumbs on the animals below. In a tower the kitchen was over the cow-shed and under the bedrooms, and these in turn were under the men's sitting-room.

In a tower or a two-storeyed cluster there might, for security

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

his unmarried sister or his widowed, childless sister. In that event, 516
while the younger women worked outside, his mother, if physically 462
fit, remained at home to cook, sweep and bake, besides attending 512
to the dairy and poultry. She also saw that any children who were big enough to walk but too small to follow their mother to the fields, did not fall into the fire or otherwise come to grief. She further entertained any men visitors who might come when her son was absent. She did not, however, wash her clothes or her husband's, should he be still alive, for even at the height of the busy season outside that was one of her daughter-in-law's duties. When she was no longer strong enough for her various tasks, she was sent out, complete with distaff, to herd the goats or plough-oxen and another woman succeeded her as housekeeper.

If the married pair had a separate bedroom, it was private 513
property, as inviolable as a separate house would be, and no one 512
other than the man and his wife and children might enter uninvited. 462
Unless she was his wife, even the housekeeper was under the ban. It followed that when a wife worked outside, she must care herself for her bedroom, sweeping it, spreading the bedding at night, and picking this up again in the morning. She must also tend her children, and wash and mend their clothes, her husband's and her own, besides those of her mother-in-law. If she had a tiny baby, she carried it in its cradle on her back to the fields, left it in a shady place while she worked, and carried it home again in the evening.

If the house was too small to have a sitting-room, the husband 764
ate in the kitchen. He never lingered over the meal, and in most 593
districts ate alone unless his mother, privileged by having brought him into the world, wished to join him. A man who ate with his wife or sat much in her company courted public ridicule as unmanly and 'no class'. If there was a sitting-room, the husband probably took his midday meal in the kitchen and his evening meal in the sitting-room. Before supper he might invite his sons or even his daughters, if these were small, to share the comfort of the sitting-room for a little.

Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since 592
for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of an age to marry. Then sheer pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units, each with a house of its own.[1]

[1] See Chapter VI.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

592 When the men in a household were numerous, three or more might be shepherds, one tending the sheep, another the goats, and a third the oxen; several might be farmers who ploughed and hoed and irrigated; yet others might be housemen, one keeping the house supplied with firewood, a second going to the bazaar, and a third grinding grain at the local mill for the household's bread. Each thus contributed his quota to the family wealth, and obviously the more numerous the quotas, the greater the general comfort. A well-to-do household which had only a few men might make up the number of hands available by engaging servants. 'Çota's tableful' is now proverbial in Çermenikë because eighteen men—ten relatives and eight hirelings—used to sit down nightly to supper in Sali Çota's house in the village of Fenars in that district. If, however, a household were poor as well as small, it could not risk having to pay servants in a bad year, and must restrict its activities—for example, by keeping only sheep or goats but not both. Since sheep eat grass and goats leaves, they must have separate herds.

462 512 Even in the richest of these multiple households the women lived much as they did in small poor ones. A housekeeper, who was generally elderly, cooked and baked for the whole family, swept the kitchen, the men's sitting-room, and her own bedroom if she had one apart from the kitchen, but did not enter any room belonging to a married man, even if he was her son. The young wives worked out of doors when required and at all times looked after their children, husband and bedroom. They were often exempt from fetching firewood and water and were reasonably fed and dressed, but otherwise fared no better than their poorer sisters. By and large, even in these relatively more leisured homes, women worked much harder than men. The latter excused their comparative idleness by saying that in Turkish times, when blood feuds raged, it had been death for most men to show their faces outside in the daytime, and if the family was not to die of starvation the women had to work for its bread. They claimed that when blood feuds grew rarer, they became more industrious. But they could never produce any evidence that the women had gained by their new diligence.

264 562 Soon after sunset the men sat down to sup at the same table in the sitting-room, while the women and children ate at another table in the kitchen. The food was brought to the sitting-room by

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the 264
door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but [562]
warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight
because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh',
she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable
than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table
everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat
course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and
any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their [515]
own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed
them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and
tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or
at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his [272]
deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never
leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee.
Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee [415]
without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes
and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons 592
a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories.
All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first
and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and
probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under
the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For
instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in
Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923,
and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The 342
houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern 513
of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bed-
room for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards.
Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all
sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often
served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried
or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and
the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was 592
the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits
could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect
one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest
possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent,
public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

In the Restaurant

"Good! Good! Dobro! Good!" Then he patted me kindly on the back. I could sometimes wish that all critics were as easily pleased.

With the exception of breakfast, which in mid-Albania is either a non-existent meal, or consists of a cup of Turkish coffee and nothing else, I got my food at a little restaurant[1] in the bazaar. Here, as at the inn, my demands were wont to cause astonishment. They could never understand my liking for maize bread, which is despised by them as the food of the poor, and, unless I made a fuss, always provided me with the stodgy imitation of French bread which they considered more suitable for a person of my exalted status. And when I asked for yaghourt, as I frequently did, the cook felt, I think, much as the head waiter of the Carlton would if one of the diners were to send him out for a penn'orth of fish and chips. Otherwise the food was what one usually finds in such places—all kinds of curious odds and ends of meat, partly roasted and partly stewed, oily beans, stuffed cucumbers, pilaf of rice, and sometimes macaroni. Now and then there would be caramel pudding, smothered in honey and much too sweet. The restaurant was open to the street, and, as it consisted of one room only, both cooking and washing-up went on in full view of the diners. The various dishes simmered all day over a slow charcoal fire, and there was no difference between dinner at midday and supper at night. The best drink was bottled beer from Trieste at three krone (1s. 3d.) the bottle, the wine, like all Albanian wine, being poor stuff. I usually found it necessary

1 [in Elbasan -- Analyst]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

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Y
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A
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515
531
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171
174
264

"As a rule these embroidered towels are from wedding outfits, the bride's coffer." (M.E.D.).

No. 1937·11. Perhaps the most interesting of the embroidered group is an old marama bought at Prizren in 1908, which is probably Moslem Albanian work. It is of fine hand-spun and loosely woven cotton rather like a muslin, with groups of wide, double weft stripes in cotton and finer weft stripes in silk.

In its length of four feet there are five plainly woven bands, three inches wide, decorated with free spool-woven "ibriks" or water vessels, and the plainly woven ends are embroidered. (Plate XVIIA).

"The ibrik is a spouted vessel used to pour water on guests' hands before and after a meal. As no forks are used fingers needed washing, and it is probable that the native was taught hand-washing at meals by the Turk, who was not such a bad fellow as some people make out. 'Marama' and 'ibrik' are both Turkish words." (M.E.D.).

The two tethered beasts are worked in a violet-red silk in pulled stitch ("c" Plate XV), with outlines in pale blue and cream of the Turkish stitch shown at vi, in "d" on the same plate. This stitch, in apricot pink and pale yellow with a pale blue outline, is also used for filling in the animals' legs.

The "tree of life", to which the beasts are tethered by chains made of squares of gold thread, has a stem of gold plate worked diagonally bearing green leaves. The spots are worked in gold plate and the whole design has affinities with Persian pattern.

S
286
515
531

No. 1937·12. Another "marama" of a similar weave, also with stripes weft of cotton and silk, has its ends embroidered with a procession of boldly stylised cocks, gaily worked in aniline dyed silks and gold thread (Plate XVIIB). Although the use of aniline dyes indicates that this towel is not very old, the pattern is probably a traditional one.

The body of each cock is outlined and the feet are worked in black, the head and most of the body is filled in with a flat or satin stitch in gold thread, as indicated by the slanting lines in the enlarged drawing, with a band of pulled stitch across the middle worked in violet. At the extreme edge there is a narrow border worked in coral pink, a colour which is also introduced as a small patch on the cock's neck.

S
A
286
515
531

No. 1937·13. A motive representing "the dove returning to the ark" is repeated at the ends of a guest towel made of machine woven muslin (Plate XVIIC).

"This marama was obtained from Prizren and might be either Christian, Serb or Albanian work. The Ark seems to be based on the state galleys of the Middle Ages when Venice held the Adriatic coast, and is probably a traditional design. The curious running pattern below looks as though it might be symbolic, possibly a conventionalised dove, just the head and legs." (M.E.D.).*

The dark lines in the drawing are all worked in green in Turkish stitch, the bank of oars in the same stitch in red, and the dove in violet. The slanting lines represent flat or satin stitch worked in gold thread. Turkish stitch in violet, with a gold thread line down the centre, is used for the little border below the ark design. The whole of the plain part of the towel has a rolled edge very neatly oversewn, but where

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*, Vol. XXIII, No. 5, 1923.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad, made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece. 352 [417]

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder. [342]

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets, and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples, in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching up to the low roof. [531] [354]

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the 264 516 562

EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

A 562 women, and set on the table by a young man. The best
[264] places and softest cushions are taken by the old men as a
[516] matter of course, when they recline or sit on the floor to
smoke, talk, and drink coffee. At night this room[1] is given
A [574] up to the guests, who, of course, are almost always men.
S Albanians are very jealous, and keep their women carefully
M secluded in their own part of the house.

A Montenegrins and Serbs living in this region (some of
342 them claim that their families have dwelt there since pre-Kosovo days) build their houses in the thatched one-storeyed manner, with mud-brick walls as in Montenegro itself, copying nothing from the later Albanian fortress-houses.

XIV

C (7) *Houses in Dalmatia* are marked by Venetian influence,
342 [177] though not so strongly in the villages as in the towns, which are extremely Italianized in their building. In coast villages one generally finds quite ordinary little stone or brick cottages with thick walls and tiled roofs. Inland village houses are more distinctive. They are built of stone, with or without mortar. The roofs are tiled, and a
C stone-flagged verandah and path run between the cool dark
[351] house and the flower-garden, surrounded by a low stone wall. Windows are fairly large and kept open. In some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Dubrovnik a room shaped above the eaves like a huge extinguisher is used as a kitchen. Its sloping sides, twice the height of the upright walls, end above the roof in a small square chimney with a pointed cap, and are slit by one or more vent-holes. The narrow eaves almost meet the lintels of the doors and windows. In the Karst districts, farther inland, the cottages are of the barren mountain type.

XV

S (8) *Shepherds' huts* are extremely simple, often like
342 wigwams. In Serbia they are mostly made of sticks piled into the shape of a tent, with a door, the spaces between them sometimes filled with clay or sods. In the heights of

[1] [i.e., the guest-chamber.– Analyst]

HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

495 hotels in Elbasan are the Grand Hotel and Adriatik Hotel. From Elbasan to Llixha is fourteen kilometers where there is a special hotel in connection with the thermal baths. The Hotel Colombo is the largest in Berat. The most convenient hotels of Valona (Vlona) are the Adriatik and the Gambino. The Palace Hotel of Korça is very nice and the restaurant in connection will satisfy the pallet of the most fastidious. In Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra) the largest hotels are the Savoja and the Royal. At Santa Quaranta (Saranda) the Piro Palas is the best. This latter city is the most convenient stop to visit Butrinto, Delvina and Himara for these three towns are all within a very short distance.

●265 There are countless large and small restaurants throughout the country—spotlessly clean—serving the most delicious, tasty food —American, European or Oriental.

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252 towns and in new government stations. In
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262 The mountaineers obtain almost all of their own food by farming and herding. Hunting provides little or none for most families, and the same is true of fishing. Along the Black Drin, just above Kukës, a few fish are sometimes caught, and welcomed in the kitchen. In Prizren, fresh river fish are sold in the market. But fish is an insignificant element in the Mountain Gheg diet. The same is true of wild vegetable products, shoots, berries, and the
594 like, collected by women. Furthermore each
261 family produces practically all of its own food, except for a little coffee and tea, and a bit of sugar and salt. Most families are too poor to afford these imported luxuries often. The significance of the absolute self-sufficiency of the Ghegs in their food supply is linked with local differences in geology, and must have a profound effect upon differences in physique attendant on diet.

241 Farming is a family affair. The man buys
[594] the iron implements which he needs in town, and makes the rest of wood. He breaks the soil with a spade, and ploughs it with oxen. As he ploughs each furrow, his wife walks behind him with a basket of seed, sowing it. Later the women will do the weeding, and the whole family comes out to reap. If the crop is wheat, they cut off each head of grain with a sickle and put the heads in a bag; if maize, they pick the ears and braid the husks for drying. They thresh small grains and beans with flails. When the tobacco leaves are ripe, the men cut them carefully and hang them on their verandas or the sides of their houses to cure. -18b

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E6 1

133 The opposite side of the valley - which appeared to be two or three miles in width—was bounded by a formidable chain of mountains still covered with snow in places unreached by the sun.

361 It was evening before we came in sight of Argyrocastron itself. Rounding a bend of the road we suddenly had a fine view of the town, which occupies three parallel ridges of hill at right angles to the main range, the highest of the three topped by an immense old Turkish fortress, black, rugged, and forbidding. On a fourth, and smaller, ridge is a monastery with cypresses. I have seldom seen a town so finely situated or so impressive at first sight.

The lorry climbed the winding road on low gear and drew up in an open space or square among cafés crowded with people. Work was over for the day and the Argyrocastrians 485 were taking their ease. In a steep cobbled street beneath the fortress ramparts I found an inn. It was merely a pothouse and the accommodation was of the roughest. I secured a bedroom to myself, however—an unusual luxury in Albania, as I have already indicated. The ground floor, with a door opening on to the street, served as restaurant, bar, kitchen, larder, and general living-room. It was furnished with deal tables and benches. On the left of the door was a desk whereat the proprietor kept his accounts. 265 On the right was an enclosed counter with a long metal 485 tray containing lime, on which stood pots full of meat and vegetables slowly stewing. The tray was, in fact, a kind of fireless cooker. On a shelf below the tray were clean knives, forks and spoons, clean plates, and an enormous bowl of

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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yaghourt. The publicity of the cooking arrangements, 265
which is common to all Albanian eating-houses, has its 485
advantages. It makes a menu unnecessary. The foreigner, just as easily as the native, can see for himself what food is available and can indicate the dish of his choice by pointing to it. In the inn at Argyrocastron, however, the publicity went unpleasantly far, for hanging from a rail of the staircase was to-morrow's dinner in the raw state—a defunct sheep all ready for roasting whole, with a long wooden spit struck through it lengthwise. This revolting sight brought me to the verge of vegetarianism, but since Albania, like Montenegro, is essentially a meat-eating country, I realised that it was not a suitable place to begin experiments in a vegetable diet, and I was therefore obliged to stifle my better instincts and carry on for the nonce in the old carnivorous way.

One feature of the Albanian inns that the traveller will [462]
remark is the absence of womenfolk. All the household work is done—and usually done very badly—by men or boys. At Argyrocastron the "chambermaid" was an Italian-speaking Albanian, dressed in a very old and shabby khaki uniform, who spared no pains to make me as comfortable as circumstances permitted, and was exceedingly grateful for the few liras I gave him on leaving. In fact, neither in Albania nor in Montenegro did I find that distressing greed for tips which is so characteristic of countries which claim to be much more civilised. Before I left Cettinje, being 609
anxious to show my appreciation of services rendered by the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Lorries

494 my calculations, and the fare, for a journey of nearly two days' duration, was after all by no means unreasonable.

The Albanian post lorries are of the familiar military type, and I came across no ambulance waggons like those in which I had suffered such discomfort in Montenegro. There is a good deal of traffic on these roads, not only by post lorries but by other lorries, which also belong to the State. A more or less regular service plies between Santi Quaranta and Koritza, the most important town in Northern Albania, with freight, passengers, and live-stock. I often noticed passengers sitting amongst sheep, lambs, and goats with every appearance of contentment. They did not seem at all incommoded. But in the post lorries, fortunately for me, livestock were not carried.

361 Tepeleni, our first stopping place, was destroyed by an earthquake some years ago and it has never yet been properly rebuilt. At the present time it consists of an irregular 265 street of shanties made of lath and tarred paper. As soon as we arrived the lorry-conductor took me to a restaurant—a [262] lop-sided wooden shack with an earthen floor—where two yokels sat eating maize-bread and yaghourt, and a third man, more opulent, was devouring fried fish with his fingers. [524] Coffee was called for and, despite my protests, paid for by the conductor—little courtesies such as this being the commonplaces of travel in benighted and uncivilised Albania.

505 Beyond Tepeleni a river barred our way. There was a bridge, but it was in ruins like the rest of the village, and the crossing had to be made by a ferry. The roadway on

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

In the Restaurant

"Good! Good! Dobro! Good!" Then he patted me kindly on the back. I could sometimes wish that all critics were as easily pleased.

With the exception of breakfast, which in mid-Albania is either a non-existent meal, or consists of a cup of Turkish coffee and nothing else, I got my food at a little restaurant[1] in the bazaar. Here, as at the inn, my demands were wont to cause astonishment. They could never understand my liking for maize bread, which is despised by them as the food of the poor, and, unless I made a fuss, always provided me with the stodgy imitation of French bread which they considered more suitable for a person of my exalted status. And when I asked for yaghourt, as I frequently did, the cook felt, I think, much as the head waiter of the Carlton would if one of the diners were to send him out for a penn'orth of fish and chips. Otherwise the food was what one usually finds in such places—all kinds of curious odds and ends of meat, partly roasted and partly stewed, oily beans, stuffed cucumbers, pilaf of rice, and sometimes macaroni. Now and then there would be caramel pudding, smothered in honey and much too sweet. The restaurant was open to the street, and, as it consisted of one room only, both cooking and washing-up went on in full view of the diners. The various dishes simmered all day over a slow charcoal fire, and there was no difference between dinner at midday and supper at night. The best drink was bottled beer from Trieste at three krone (1s. 3d.) the bottle, the wine, like all Albanian wine, being poor stuff. I usually found it necessary

1 [in Elbasan -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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265 to insist upon my tumbler being specially washed, and the table cloths were stained and crumpled and looked as though they had been used as bedclothes during the night; but for all that it was possible to get quite a satisfactory meal.

000 I was dining here one day when a young Albanian came in and sat down opposite me and began to talk. He had been in America, he told me, and thought it a wonderful country—such a contrast to Albania. Here what could one do? No money, no work, and—I knew it was coming—no factories! He cast a disparaging eye round the little restaurant and out into the narrow street. Then with a gesture of disgust he took up his parable again.

"A poor country . . . a miserable country . . . a wretched country . . . *but the States*—"

I could stand it no longer. "Look here!" I said, "I have been all over America and probably know it a good deal better than you do. If I had to choose between the States and Albania it would be Albania for me every time."

The fellow looked at me for a moment with intense astonishment; then, thinking, no doubt, that I was raving mad—or as he would have expressed it in the idiom of the country he so much admired "gone bughouse"—he got up and left the restaurant.

What I said may not have been quite literally true, but I was tired of hearing young Albanians running down their country—a country which only needs work and organisation

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

enable her to bear male children. The ladies again sang songs of greeting. 585 Then the two bride-leaders manipulated the bride as though she were [777 a lay figure. She was absolutely passive. They raised her to her feet, 842] set her feet one after the other, shod in the wedding-boots, on to the steps of the carriage, and then on the ground. They then draped her with the red silk handkerchief sent her yesterday, and pinned it to the top of her head. Supported under the armpits she was slowly shuffled across the yard. It was but a few yards long, but her passage took full ten minutes. She was pelted with sweets, which a crowd of children gathered, and sprinkled with holy water, and led into the women's room. The bridegroom then arrived on foot and went to the men's room. I followed the bride. She was led backwards, and seated, still blinded by the veils, upon the chair in the corner. Her hands were laid on her sash and nervously grasped a folded handkerchief. Her immobility as her attendants handled her was so inhuman as to be almost horrible. One of her leaders carefully lifted a corner of her head-coverings and gave her lemonade to drink under it. The attendants [272] themselves were then ceremoniously served with refreshments. They then removed her wedding-boots and put on the slippers, raised her to her feet, lifted a corner of her veil, said good-bye under it, and withdrew. The poor bride still stirred never a finger, but the violent [152] heaving of her breast showed her on the verge of hysterics. She pulled herself together and the ordeal continued. One of the bridegroom's female relatives unpinned the red handkerchief from the bride's head and held it as a screen before her. Behind it her headdress was changed. Her white veil was removed, and a yellow beflowered silk one substituted.

The great moment had now come. We were to see her face. A lady on each side of her threw back the veil and showed her off. She was exposed to a crowd of staring females. Her head dropped modestly. Her attendants each placed a finger under her chin and raised it again. The sweat streamed down her face. They wiped it. They straightened her wide coat, settled her sash, and waved the flies off her. Such was her Spartan heroism that when a fly, unobserved by the attendants, crawled up her face, she did not even by a twitch show that she was alive. Then a front row of chairs was arranged and all the men came in. The bridegroom, witnesses, and father took their seats. The background was crowded with miscellaneous youths. They stared with all their eyes at the luckless girl, who in vain dropped or turned her head, only to have it put straight again.

Only the bridegroom held his head down and would not look. His 533 witnesses grasped his chin and made him look, and he faltered, "But 585 I've seen her already."

The wedding song then began:—

PEAKS OF SHALA

291 There were ten or twelve children—little girls half naked, with serious, beautiful faces and long-lashed brown eyes; small boys dignified in little long tight trousers of white wool beautifully braided in black, short fringed black jackets, and colored sashes and turbans like those of their [854] fathers. Two cradles stood near the fire, covered tightly over high footboards and headboards with heavy blankets; presently a woman partly uncovered one and, kneeling, offered her breast to the tiny baby tied down in it. Only the baby's puckered little face showed; arms and legs tightly bound, it lay motionless and uncomplaining, and when it was fed the mother kissed it tenderly and covered it again, carefully smoothing the many folds of thick wool and tucking the ends tightly beneath the cradle.

576 Meantime Cheremi was taking off our shoes and stockings and bathing our feet in cold water brought by one of the women. This was proper, since when guests arrive the member of the family nearest to them by ties of blood or affection acts as their servant, and Cheremi, being an Albanian who knew us, was judged to stand in that position. By the time we had drawn on dry woolen stockings from our packs the first 576 cup of coffee was ready. To the boiling water in 272 the tiny pot the coffee maker added two spoonfuls of the powdered coffee, two of sugar, stirred the mixture till it foamed, and poured it into a handleless little cup which he offered Perolli. But Perolli indicated me, and without the

[In home of Marka [58] Gjonni of Pulhi—Analyst]

576 slightest revelation of his surprise the host
272 changed his gesture.

"Beauty and good to you," said I, in Albanian, prompted by Perolli, and when I had drunk the thimbleful, "Good trails!" said I, handing back the cup. For this is the manner in which one
273 drinks coffee. Do not make the mistake, when
576 next you are in the Albanian mountains, of saying the same things when you are offered rakejia. For rakejia there is a quite different form of courtesies. And as soon as the coffee cup, rinsed and refilled with freshly made coffee, has been given to each guest in turn, you will be offered rakejia.

Alex and Frances and I looked at one another, but we drained the large goblet of colorless liquid fire in turn, without a word of protest. It might have been the water that it looked like, so far as it affected our minds or tongues, for I continue to ascribe to the fire warmth and the blessed sensation of resting after those trails the sense of contentment that filled us all.

OOO "Strange," I said, for I still dimly remembered another way of life, as though, perhaps, I had sometime dreamed it, "chimneys that don't draw make so much smoke in a room, yet here there is no chimney and a large fire, and we don't notice the smoke." And, leaning back on the piled blankets, I gazed up at the pale-blue clouds of it, rising beyond the firelight into a velvety darkness overhead. But I really felt that I had always lived thus, shut off by stone walls from the mountains and the night, ringed around by

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh', she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee. Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons, a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories. All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923, and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bedroom for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards. Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent, public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 The hooded priest lighted us with his torch up a flight of worn stone stairs and into a low, beamed room on the second floor of the bishop's house. There the bishop, rising from a wooden bench, welcomed us in Albanian and Latin. He wore a rough, homespun woolen robe; his bare feet were in wooden sandals; a rosary of wooden beads hung on his chest. He was perhaps fifty, rotund, jovial, dignified. Perolli bent one knee and kissed the episcopal hand; little Mohammedan Rexh, in his red fez, gravely saluted; Cheremi, the ragged gendarme, put his rifle in a corner and knelt for the bishop's blessing.

We sat, Alex, Frances, and I, in a row on a wooden bench in the chilly bare room. A servant came in, barearmed, barelegged, clad in one piece of brown cloth that reached his knees, and the bishop gave orders; the servant returned with a hammered copper tray holding an earthen [273] cup and a wooden bottle of rakejia. Now rakejia is a cousin to vodka and one of the strongest drinks that ever turned the imbiber's blood to liquid fire. We girls had debated about it; what should we do when courtesy required us to drink it? We had decided that Perolli should explain that we came from America and that in our tribe it was forbidden to drink intoxicants. But after sixteen hours of travel in the Albanian mountains we did not hesitate. One by one we took the cup that the servant filled, and drained it dry. From that time onward we drank the stuff like water, and it had no visible effect upon us,

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7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

576 574 meat, and, since several hours might pass before the sheep or kid had been killed and made ready, it was often past midnight before we had eaten.

While the meal was cooking we variously slept or talked and let the bodyguards dry damp clothes by the fire or massage our weary limbs. Sometimes, to beguile the time, one of the [533] company would recite from the long epic poems in which the Albanians record the exploits of their heroes. They were weird, monotonous laments, sung in a high-pitched nasal voice to the accompaniment of a one-stringed mandolin. An hour [273] or so before the meal was served flasks of *raki* would be brought, accompanied by *mese* of onions, cheese, and sometimes hard-boiled eggs or lumps of grilled meat. *Raki* is a fiery, colourless spirit, made from the pulp of grapes, or sometimes, like *slivovitz*, from plums. Among the mountaineers it was usually home-brewed, and varied greatly in quality and strength. The principal guests would each receive a small flask, the shape of an old-fashioned burgundy flagon, and holding perhaps half a pint, while the rest of the company fared according to the resources of the host, sharing a flask between two or three. Toasts were drunk to the traditional greeting of " *Tungjatjeta* " — " May your life be prolonged " ; and, though the mountaineers habitually drank to excess, they seldom failed to comport themselves with grave, if sometimes mellowed, dignity.

When the cooking was done Maclean, as the chief guest, would be asked if the meal might be served ; there was never [521] conversation after meals, and so the greatest compliment which he could pay his host and fellows was to ask for a postponement. 264 As soon, however, as he had given his assent, a circular wooden table some five feet in diameter would be carried in, standing about six inches from the ground. Round this a dozen of us would assemble, sitting cross-legged, but in a crocodile, each sideways on to the table so as to make room for as many as possible. We would then each be given a spoon as our sole piece of cutlery and with this helped ourselves to the more liquid dishes at the centre of the table. There were no plates, so that each spoon plied steadily backwards and forwards

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 [361] valley between Mount Daiti and Mount Bastar. The position was naturally strong and enjoyed a commanding view of the surrounding country. Despite the rain a guard of honour had been turned out to receive us; and we were welcomed by Colonel Yahya Chachi, the Commandant of the Zogist Headquarters, and his staff. This was composed of three former majors of gendarmerie and a former major and a captain of infantry, who all greeted us with the customary Zogist salute, swinging the right arm smartly across the chest. They entertained us royally, providing us with knives and forks which [273] we had almost forgotten how to use, and plying us in quick succession with potent *raki* and good Italian wine. We drank a health to the monarchs of England and Albania — the greatest and the smallest kingdoms in the world — and then toasted each other with appropriate speeches and excessive frequency. This drinking of toasts was to be the cause of some mirth; for Colonel Yahya Chachi suffered from a pronounced squint, and every time he raised his glass to propose a health at the crowded table, two persons invariably replied, each arrested alike by the gaze of his penetrating but divergent eyes. The Zogist staff were friendly disposed, but strangers to Central Albania, and, it seemed to us, demoralised by prolonged inactivity. Their real function indeed was to impress the tribes with Abas Kupi's power, and, if it came to fighting, to man the movement's mortars and heavy machine-guns.

When we had lunched we were taken out in a body to inspect the *cheta* responsible for the defence of the Headquarters.[1] It consisted of a hundred and fifty ragged men and boys, variously armed with rifles of German, Italian, Austrian, Serbian and Turkish pattern. They were drawn up in two ranks, each of which was dressed with as much precision as the undulations of the ground and the individualism of the guerillas would allow. We passed them rapidly in inspection and were then led to a low eminence where the staff officers assumed appropriately martial attitudes while Colonel Yahya harangued ooo the troops. Maclean was invited to reply; and when he had finished speaking the men placed their rifles between their knees and signified their approbation by loud and prolonged

[1] [i.e. at Shupal, seat of permanent Zogist Headquarters -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*169 position by publicly rebuking Ramadan for his collaboration with the enemy. Our intervention, however, was resented; for, though there was no love lost between the two men, each regarded the other's policy as a reinsurance against his own miscalculations. Both indeed regarded the unity and prestige of the clan as their first interest, and one which was served, rather than threatened, by the simultaneous pursuit of their apparently contradictory policies.

We stayed only twenty-four hours with Aziz Dino Hoja; and next evening, as soon as it was dark, Maclean and Riddle set out across the Drin to keep a rendezvous with Ramadan Kalloshi, one of the strongest chiefs in Dibra. I stayed behind, however, to meet Aqif Llesh, who had sent word that he would come that night. Aqif was a stubborn old opponent of King Zog, and had spent fifteen years of exile in Yugoslavia, where I had once met him in 1940. After the German offensive in the Balkans, Aqif had taken to the mountains, where he had remained until the collapse of Italy. He had then sought to take advantage of the general amnesty, but his homecoming had been short-lived, for Fikri Dine was his blood enemy and had burnt down his house and carried off his flocks. Aqif's connections with Yugoslavia had naturally inclined him to the L.N.C., and his nephew, Haji, had already received an important command from Enver Hoja. To get even with Fikri Dine he had now openly declared for the Partisans, and was, besides, believed to be in touch with Tito's men in Macedonia.

The grizzled old warrior reached the house about ten o'clock with a bodyguard of thirty men, some of whom were left to stand sentry outside the gate. He was dressed in blue breeches and a leather coat and cap, and the stubble of his beard grew white on his kindly, weather-beaten face. He had marched all day and must have been tired, but refused both [273] *raki* and coffee. In his time he had been a heavy drinker, but now he affected the puritanism of the Partisans. He talked in voluble and rapid Serb, and, after a detailed explanation of his experiences and opinions, spoke of the importance of persuading the Gheg chiefs to take up arms again against the

273 Catholics in country fit
for grape-growing, make a potent red wine, which they resinate in Homeric fashion.

The Moslems, prohibited by the Koran from wine drinking, content themselves with distilled liquors. In every neighborhood one or more Moslem families will own a copper still, complete with boiler and cooling screw, which someone once bought in Scutari or another town. Neighbors borrow these stills from time to time, as American families borrow each other's ice-cream freezers. Much of the *raki*, or raisin brandy, so produced, is home distilled, but a certain amount is carried up from the towns. Green *mastica*, a vicious local variety of absinthe, is imported only.
276 Both Catholics and Moslems smoke. While a few Moslems own *narghilehs*, most tobacco addicts smoke cigarettes. The economics of cigarette smoking is that as a rule each man grows his own tobacco, and sells what he does not consume. He has to buy cigarette paper, imported from France. He has to have some kind of a lighting device, which usually runs to expense, as previously explained (see p. 13). The social aspect of smoking is that it forms a ready means of polite interaction, for men give each other cigarettes, rolling and licking them for an honored guest.

[262] 252 Since the principal food of all the mountaineers, whatever their religion, is bread, usually a tough, unleavened cornbread which will keep for weeks and grow harder and harder instead of molding, one of their principal needs is some way to grind the grain. Most houses contain mortars and pestles, and many also contain hand querns, of Roman design, which the women operate. It is probable, but not certain, that all of the millstones come from the market, since suitable stone is found in few
402 252 areas. A large part of the grain-milling, however, is done in small, water-driven mills, of which there are many. These mills, homemade except for the stones, are operated by vertical-shaft paddle wheels which are in effect primitive turbines. They save the expenditure of human muscular energy, and much time. In one place in Malsia e Jakovës, I saw another kind of mill, a pounding device which consisted of a trough-shaped log set on a pivot, and equipped with a heavy hammer at one end. Water flowed into this trough until enough had entered the lower end to tip the whole, [See cut 116 p. 13b --Analyst] -17b

795 Despite its centuries in Ghegnia, Catholicism
182 has failed to change many of the customs of the mountaineers, such as the *fis* system with cross-cousin marriage, trial marriage, the levirate, blood brotherhood, and the swearing of virginity. The reason is of course that the needs which these customs fill have not been eliminated. The Moslem faith permits them and thus has become more popular. Islam is deemed the more fashionable and more civilized religion. The people of the towns, rich men, army officers, and other sophisticates are usually Moslems. Most Catholics are poor. This attitude is of course a hold-over from the period of Turkish domination. Many Alban-
[191] ians admired the Turks. Many spoke Turkish by preference. I recall once riding along a lane in Zadrima with my interpreter, Mr. Frasheri, who reprimanded 2 old harvesters whom we passed for talking Turkish together. Bishop Fan Noli suggests that they may have been Turkish-speaking refugees from the towns of Prizren, Peia, or Podgoritza.

795 There is a certain dietary difference between
262 Catholics and Moslems. The former eat pork,
273 especially in the wintertime. The Moslems curl up their nostrils and gag at the smell of pork, and will not enter a room where it is cooking. In its place they use much mutton fat in their cooking. Catholics drink wine when they can get it; Moslems care for their alcoholic needs with *raki*. These differences are probably of no biological importance, as far as the growth and development of the individual are concerned, but they do serve to intensify the mutual antipathy of the 2 religious groups and inhibit a genetic interchange.

582 In Lura, in a population not exceeding a few
178 hundred individuals, Catholics and Moslems
795 intermarry. In a single household the father may be Catholic, the mother Moslem, and the children will choose their own religions. This is the only place in Ghegnia where this happens. Lura is in process of change from Catholicism to Islam. As the latter gains ground, mixed households are found. The government of Ahmed Zog made much of this isolated situation, urging other Albanians to follow the example of the Lurans in the interests of national unity.

178 Various stages in this process of shifting are
795 found in different tribes and *bairaks*. In Mer-

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

the master entered, all rose to their feet and remained standing until he was seated. If he was armed, one of them relieved him of his rifle, hung it on a peg by the door, and turned to see if he wanted to keep his side-arms or to have them hung up beside the rifle. As soon as he settled down he made himself a cup of coffee, rolled and lit a cigarette, and perhaps pulled a small bottle of raw spirit (*raki*) from his pocket. If in a gracious mood, he might make a cup of coffee for the older men and the master designate and let them smoke or even suck at his raki bottle, but if he wished he might lawfully reserve these joys for himself. In any event the younger men might neither drink nor smoke in his presence, though they could do both elsewhere. If he chose to make conversation, the others must follow his lead; if he preferred to remain silent, they could not speak—like good children they must remain seen but not heard. When supper came, no one might put his spoon into the common dish until he had done so. When the time came to leave the room, he led the way as he did when walking through the fields. In the house this indicated his pre-eminence; in the fields it was also a security measure. The others strung out behind him at specified intervals, on the assumption that he could deal himself with a frontal attack but needed to have his back protected by friends.

Given his duties, rights and privileges, the master soon acquired an air of command, whereas his subordinates, condemned for ever to show no initiative, shrank progressively into complete nonentities as their youthful qualities atrophied for want of exercise. But the master must not be tyrannical or unjust, spendthrift or careless of the general weal, and above all he must show no favouritism. If he developed such faults, the other men might lawfully depose him and elect another in his stead. However, the care taken initially in selecting him made such action extremely rare. A good master preferred the spirit to the letter of the law. For example, he rarely sold or bought any family possessions without first consulting his subordinates. And he was always careful not to destroy his subordinates' feeling that the farm and everybody and everything on it belonged to each of them individually as well as collectively, that the welfare of each of them concerned the whole family, and that the general welfare concerned each individual.[1]

[1] Thus a youth who obviously had nothing of his own was yet perfectly in order when he stated that he had just bought a field or even a bride for his brother.

10. Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

X. Decisions Taken on April 30th, 1905, by the Youth of Shalë. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 126–7.)

1. As from to-day up to Ash Wednesday the percentage on loans at interest is to be paid with 25 okes of grain. If this is not paid by Ash Wednesday, a percentage of 30 okes is to be taken by force from the debtor. [426]

As interest 100 grosh or 100 okes of grain as the creditor wishes are to be paid. Let him take 100 grosh if it suits him, or if he says, 'I'll have grain', let them give him 100 okes of grain.

2. Grain is never to be given to anybody by a man of Shalë unless it is wanted for a funeral meal or it is desired to make a present of not more than 20 okes. [431] [765]

3. Raki is never to be produced by a man of Shalë at a funeral meal except during the seven weeks of Lent. [273]

4. No man of Shalë is ever to give away more than 100 grosh either outside or inside the tribe. [431]

A godmother is not to present a red *xhamadam* (sleeveless jacket). [608]

No woman is to go to a wedding in a party of five or more and they are not to seek a woman outside the same house.[1] [585]

5. Whoever fires the first shot in the yard of a church or inside its boundaries is to have his house burned and must pay 20 purses under the guarantee of flock-cum-shepherd and the youth of Shalë.

6. If a man disturbs a mass that is being said and if the priest, crucifix in hand, says, 'So-and-so has troubled me', the offender will have his house burned and must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

7. Whoever touches Church property must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

8. Whoever molests the Church servant must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

9. If anyone borrows coffee and sugar from the priest for a funeral meal and does not return them to him within four weeks, and if the priest complains, he must pay a fine of one ox to the tribe. [765] [426]

10. Whoever steals an ewe, goat and cow from a man of Shalë and whoever does anything to his neighbour that disgraces him, shall have his harvest burned, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed. He will pay fines of one ox to the youth and 2 rams to the government representative.

11. These laws, enacted by the youth of Shalë together with the

[1] The last clause of § 4 is given as in Mrs Hasluck's MS., but there seems to be some mistake, as the corresponding passage in the Italian version of Father Gjeçov's *Kanùn* runs:

Lo shalano non può fare il compare più di 5 volte, e non può chiedere che si leghino in comparto più di 5 famiglie.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

In the Restaurant

"Good! Good! Dobro! Good!" Then he patted me 000
kindly on the back. I could sometimes wish that all critics
were as easily pleased.

With the exception of breakfast, which in mid-Albania is [264]
either a non-existent meal, or consists of a cup of Turkish coffee 265
and nothing else, I got my food at a little restaurant[1] in the 262
bazaar. Here, as at the inn, my demands were wont to cause
astonishment. They could never understand my liking for
maize bread, which is despised by them as the food of the
poor, and, unless I made a fuss, always provided me with the
stodgy imitation of French bread which they considered
more suitable for a person of my exalted status. And when
I asked for yaghourt, as I frequently did, the cook felt,
I think, much as the head waiter of the Carlton would if one
of the diners were to send him out for a penn'orth of fish and
chips. Otherwise the food was what one usually finds in
such places—all kinds of curious odds and ends of meat,
partly roasted and partly stewed, oily beans, stuffed
cucumbers, pilaf of rice, and sometimes macaroni. Now
and then there would be caramel pudding, smothered in
honey and much too sweet. The restaurant was open to 265
the street, and, as it consisted of one room only, both cooking
and washing-up went on in full view of the diners. The
various dishes simmered all day over a slow charcoal fire,
and there was no difference between dinner at midday and
supper at night. The best drink was bottled beer from [273]
Trieste at three krone (1s. 3d.) the bottle, the wine, like all
Albanian wine, being poor stuff. I usually found it necessary

1 [in Elbasan -- Analyst] 245

There is no material evidence to
513 the tradition that there was once a Jewish colony in Elbasan.

443 The picturesque brown bazaar is held once a week just outside the south wall, and nowhere in all Albania is there to be found such a grand confusion of color as among the native costumes on market-day, which is generally Saturday.

346 There are several fine old mosques which are gems of Turkish architecture, especially that of Nazireshe located near the Vlach quarter, and it is one of the oldest and most beautiful in the country.

Among the newer buildings are the archaeological museum, the Baholi library, the normal school, erected at the foot of the dense olive groves just north of the town, and the
• 274 new Alcohol factory a very few miles along the road leading to Korcha (Korça). The
485 Grand Hotel and the Hotel Adriatik, with excellent European and native cuisines, add much to the desirability of visiting this Albanian center.

000 A strange, weird beauty is found among the olive groves at Elbasan, and the many walks through these young forests are indeed delightful. They add a strong note of contrast,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

245 to the north-east of Scutari and on the mountains of southern Albania. These vineyards are rather extensive. The best vineyards to be found are in the sections of Berat, Elbasan, 274 Korça, Scutari and Tirana. A wine, which in color and fire resembles that of the south of Spain, is produced on the slopes of Podrina, north of the Drin.

253 Due to the large supplies of game and stock-bred cattle in this rich country, meat is plentiful—meat of all varieties. Since the native market is more than cared for a considerable quantity is prepared for exportation.

cries of the street vendors. The nights, even 000
during the summer, are delightfully cool and
enjoyable; sitting in one of the comfortable
café gardens of Tirana with a cup of delicious 275
coffee! The old saying of "being killed with
kindness" is literally true in this unique
kingdom.

Upon leaving Tirana, the capital of Alba- 153
nia, and journeying further into the heart of 311
the country, one comes more in contact with
the native aspect of this country in all of its
charm. The land, in the vicinity of Tirana,
is smooth and devoted to wide, rich fields of
maize and wheat. A few miles further on the
landscape loses its cultivated appearance and
the scenery becomes more wild and desolate,
and at the same time extraordinarily beauti-
ful. From plains the country rapidly rises
into rolling hills and rugged rocky mountains,
and becomes a country from Wonderland.

The first point of interest along this route 712
are the ruins of the Petrela Castle, which
dominated this district until the rise of Tirana
about 1600. However, fragments of tile pro-
claim the fact that it was built for fortifying
purposes in ancient times, but the more evi-
dent pro-Turkish brick and stone mortar de-

PEAKS OF SHALA

'Was she a gypsy ora?' For, as you know, there 776
are two kinds of ora, and if she were a gypsy ora I would have been troubled for my friend. He said, 'No, she was a lady ora.' We spoke no more about it.

"Three years went by, to a day, and again it happened that my friend was sitting alone in his house, making a cup of coffee in the ashes of the fire, when again the door opened."

The man of Ipek stopped speaking, opened his [276] •
silver tobacco box, and put a pinch of the long, fine, golden tobacco on a cigarette paper. He spread it carefully, twisted it into the cone shape of the Albanian cigarette, glanced at us to see that none of our cigarette holders were empty, and placed the white slender cone between his lips. He lighted it and drew several deliberate puffs. No one spoke. There was the red circle of firelight, the graceful black and white and colored figures huddled close to it, around us the shadows of the house, and beyond them the vast, murmurous blackness of the night and the mountains; the chill and mystery of them seemed to be pressing against the stone walls that kept them out, and the sound of the waterfall was like the sighing breaths of strange, wild things.

"My friend was sitting by his fire, like this, but he was alone. It was the third coming of that day of the year on which the ora had come out of the darkness, and when again the door opened he knew, without turning to see, who it was.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Their houses,[1] varied in size and architecture with the wealth of the owners; but all were essentially built for defence. As a rule, they were so situated as to command a good field of fire over their chief approaches, and were often surrounded by walled courtyards entered through heavy, wooden gates studded with iron. For the most part they were of wood and stone, sometimes whitewashed, and consisted of two stories, joined by a narrow indoor staircase, or by a flight of wooden steps on the outside. The ground floor was the cattle and the women's quarters; above was the guest-room. This guest-room was the centre of the life of the house, and, except for a stout chest in which the valuables of the family were stored, was altogether empty of furniture. At one end of it was the open hearth from which the smoke escaped through chinks in the wall or, in statelier mansions, through a chimney. Narrow windows, usually without panes, served as a means of ventilation or, on occasion, as rifle slits; but so dim was the light which they diffused that it was often difficult to read indoors, even at midday. At night the room would be lit by the glow of the fire, or sometimes by oil lamps or pinewood torches. 342

On entering a house we,[2] would take off our boots and give up our rifles to the host, though retaining our side arms. As foreigners, we would then be led to the place of honour, which is on the right-hand side of the hearth, next to the wall. Abas Kupi would sit with us, or take the left-hand side, and the rest of the company, including bodyguards and orderlies, assembled in a horse shoe round the fire. The youngest sat at the apex of the horse shoe, and, since there were often a score of us, the evening would begin with much show of "Friend go up higher". We sat on carpets or sheepskin rugs, cross-legged or reclining against our saddle-bags. When all were seated, the host rolled cigarettes, which only non-smokers might refuse, and tossed them with unfailing accuracy to each guest. Presently a warm drink would be served, usually coffee, though in the poorer houses sweetened or salted milk was often brought instead. As outlaws we sought to keep our movements secret and our arrival was, as a rule, the first warning of our visit which the host received. Custom demanded that he serve us 574 576 [276]

1 [i.e. in the Mati valley -- Analyst]

2 [British liaison officers in early 1944 -- Analyst]

273 Catholics in country fit
for grape-growing, make a potent red wine, which they resinate in Homeric fashion.

The Moslems, prohibited by the Koran from wine drinking, content themselves with distilled liquors. In every neighborhood one or more Moslem families will own a copper still, complete with boiler and cooling screw, which someone once bought in Scutari or another town. Neighbors borrow these stills from time to time, as American families borrow each other's ice-cream freezers. Much of the *raki*, or raisin brandy, so produced, is home distilled, but a certain amount is carried up from the towns. Green *mastica*, a vicious local variety of absinthe, is imported only.
•276 Both Catholics and Moslems smoke. While a few Moslems own *narghilehs*, most tobacco addicts smoke cigarettes. The economics of cigarette smoking is that as a rule each man grows his own tobacco, and sells what he does not consume. He has to buy cigarette paper, imported from France. He has to have some kind of a lighting device, which usually runs to expense, as previously explained (see p. 13). The social aspect of smoking is that it forms a ready means of polite interaction, for men give each other cigarettes, rolling and licking them for an honored guest.

[262] 252 Since the principal food of all the mountaineers, whatever their religion, is bread, usually a tough, unleavened cornbread which will keep for weeks and grow harder and harder instead of molding, one of their principal needs is some way to grind the grain. Most houses contain mortars and pestles, and many also contain hand querns, of Roman design, which the women operate. It is probable, but not certain, that all of the millstones come from the market, since suitable stone is found in few
402 252 areas. A large part of the grain-milling, however, is done in small, water-driven mills, of which there are many. These mills, homemade except for the stones, are operated by vertical-shaft paddle wheels which are in effect primitive turbines. They save the expenditure of human muscular energy, and much time. In one place in Malsia e Jakovës, I saw another kind of mill, a pounding device which consisted of a trough-shaped log set on a pivot, and equipped with a heavy hammer at one end. Water flowed into this trough until enough had entered the lower end to tip the whole,

[See cut 116 p. 13b --Analyst]
- 17b -

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

the master entered, all rose to their feet and remained standing until he was seated. If he was armed, one of them relieved him of his rifle, hung it on a peg by the door, and turned to see if he wanted to keep his side-arms or to have them hung up beside the rifle. As soon as he settled down he made himself a cup of coffee, rolled and lit a cigarette, and perhaps pulled a small bottle of raw spirit (*raki*) from his pocket. If in a gracious mood, he might make a cup of coffee for the older men and the master designate and let them smoke or even suck at his raki bottle, but if he wished he might lawfully reserve these joys for himself. In any event the younger men might neither drink nor smoke in his presence, though they could do both elsewhere. If he chose to make conversation, the others must follow his lead; if he preferred to remain silent, they could not speak—like good children they must remain seen but not heard. When supper came, no one might put his spoon into the common dish until he had done so. When the time came to leave the room, he led the way as he did when walking through the fields. In the house this indicated his pre-eminence; in the fields it was also a security measure. The others strung out behind him at specified intervals, on the assumption that he could deal himself with a frontal attack but needed to have his back protected by friends.

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ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

103 and this influence also had left its mark on the town. Then came the Anjous of the Neapolitan line who were the first to assume for themselves the title of King of Albania. However, during the four hundred years of Turkish domination, some of the Byzantine and Venetian architecture was altered or destroyed by the invaders. To-day, picturesque Durazzo lies peacefully on the Adriatic converted into a thriving modern city, amid all
504 of its interesting ruins, with an ideal port that has become a growing center for both sea-going and general trade, and the largest
•277 cigarette factory in Albania is located here.

2Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

from a ram's horn. It was fastened together with beeswax 534
into which tiny coloured beads had been driven to form a pattern. At the mouthpiece end were inserted two short lengths of straw cut in a peculiar manner, and it was the vibration of these straws which produced the pleasant, oboe-like sound; though when I got back to the hotel and tried the instrument, much to my disappointment no sound whatever came. There is evidently a knack in playing it which I do not possess. Similar little pipes have been known in the Balkans for many centuries. They are, without doubt, the early ancestors of the reed instruments—clarinets, oboes, English horns and bassoons—of the modern orchestra.

The principal tobacco-growing districts of Albania are 277
Elbasan and Scutari. The tobacco of Elbasan is usually considered the better, though the cigarettes of Scutari suited my personal taste and I preferred them to the Elbasan cigarettes. I think that the leaf was chosen with more care and that the blending was superior. At both places they are cheap, the price of a packet of twenty being half a krone (2½d.). Many of the local people, however, prefer to carry loose tobacco and roll their own. Pipe-smoking is rare, and the pipe-smoker has to have tobacco specially cut for him. Cigars are not available, the reason being that, although they could be made, nobody could afford to buy them. The crop at present grown is only sufficient to supply the home demand, and, with the exception of a small quantity to Zara on the Dalmatian coast, no tobacco is

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To the Land of the Eagle

277 exported. I was surprised to hear this, as the tobacco is of good quality and ought to command a sale abroad.

One morning I was invited into his shop by a Scutari tobacconist to see the process of manufacture. Near the door sat two men and a boy rolling tobacco and filling paper cigarette tubes at an astonishing rate. At the back of the shop a third man was cutting the tobacco with the aid of a heavy knife and a U-shaped receptacle. This receptacle was lined with polished tin, and the knife was fastened so that it worked on a fulcrum across the opening. Having slightly oiled the tin lining the man put in tobacco leaves one on top of another until he had a wedge of tobacco some six inches through. Then he knelt upon it so that the pressure was sufficient to force the mass forward to the slight extent necessary for each stroke, and began to work the knife. It will be readily understood that the one essential to the success of the process was to keep the blade at razor sharpness, and this necessitated constant removal and much work with oilstones and hones and a considerable amount of hammering and adjustment. I stayed for a quarter of an hour drinking the coffee and smoking the cigarettes that my hospitable host provided, and then escaped with relief. Although the weather was hot the little shop was hermetically closed; not a particle of air could get in anywhere and I marvelled how it was possible for five persons to exist—let alone work—in such an atmosphere.

000 At the Hotel Europa there were three British guests besides myself—a colonel, and a major and his wife. I

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

754 776 777

working harm to the world in general. It is interesting to find in Herrick's *Hesperides* a charm for stables:—

> Hang up hooks and shears to scare
> Hence the hag that rides the mare.

The scissors, too, are among the amulets worn on a silver chain by the women around Nish in Serbia. 777 754

Tony was proof against the Evil Eye, for he wore a powerful amulet. A similar one is used in other Balkan lands and in Hungary. A snake is caught by pinning down its head with a forked stick. The head is then cut off with silver—the sharpened edge of a large coin will do. It is then dried and enclosed between two silver St. Georges, and finally blessed by the priest. This protects against all spells. It is evidently a piece of sympathetic magic. Evil is to die as did the dragon—represented by the snake's head—slain by St. George.

Tony's wife was once bewitched and had sharp pains all over, but could not be sure who caused this. The same evil person attempted to bewitch Tony, but, protected by the snake's head, he only felt a few twinges. His wife, who suffered much, was cured by a dervish, who 755 took some hair from the top of her head and from her armpits, tied it up, and burnt it while muttering some unknown charm. The pain went as the hair burnt and never came back. This and the case of the child both occurred at Djakova, at that time a wholly Albanian town.

Marko, too, was cured of similar pains. A Moslem gathered some herbs, but kept their species a secret. He fumigated them over a brazier, muttering a charm. He then tied them up, and Marko had to stand upright with his arms fully extended on either side. The Moslem put the bunch of herbs on Marko's head, drew them down the side of the face, along the arm, back to the body, and down the side of the body to the foot. He then repeated the operation on the other side, and cried: "Pain, pain, fly away from this man to the top of the highest mountain, where there is neither man, woman, nor child, bird nor beast, and stay there!" He burnt the herbs. The pain flew away and apparently remained on the mountain-top, for it never returned.

When I was in the Scutari hospital, very ill with acute sciatica, 278 poor old Marko sought in vain for the right herbs and was grieved at his failure.

Shtrigas were said to be very numerous all through North Albania. 754 At Zumi, near Djakova, I was told that perhaps one-third of the women 776 were blood-suckers; and in Nikaj was assured by the Franciscan in charge that most of the women were shtrigas, and he strove continually against the vile deeds, in which they were assisted by the Devil.

That the whole cult is the remains of ancient, long pre-Christian

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, 777
search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone 787
wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs 771
and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part 174
of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

278
Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine 755
are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal 759
lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all 755
Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

A 755 759 indicates that the first professional doctors inland were Turkish. Previous to the Turkish conquest, when the Serbian Empire was at its height, it is clear that there were no Serbian doctors of repute, for S 759 192 the archives of Ragusa and Venice contain letters asking that the medical man of one or other of the coast towns may be allowed to leave his post temporarily in order to visit an ailing Serbian magnate, and the ballads sometimes say of a sorely wounded hero: "Shall we send for a doctor from the coast?"

S A 755 The Serbian for doctor is "ljechnik," from "ljechiti" (to heal). This derives from Teutonic, and is akin to our old word "leech." The word "doktor" also is used. The professional doctor was evidently a foreigner. Magic was probably the oldest Balkan remedy for disease. Disease is an inexplicable mystery which demands a mystery to combat it. Wounds, on the contrary, are shrouded in no mystery and demand different treatment.

HERBAL REMEDIES IN ALBANIA

A 757 278 *For Sciatica.*—(1) The limb is beaten with stinging-nettles till blistered —a counter-irritant. I refused to allow this to be tried on me, though a neighbour vowed it had cured her. (2) The limb is rubbed with a paste of roasted onions boiled in oil. This in the form of gentle massage gave M CM A [757] some relief.

Pounded onions are commonly used for dressing contusions where the skin is broken in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and appear to have a soothing effect. Such a dressing at least prevents dirty clothing from rubbing the wound and, by keeping it clean, assists healing.

A great variety of herbs and leaves are valued as "cures" when parboiled, and applied hot to sprains, contusions, abscesses, boils, etc. In most, if not all, cases it is the hot fomentation, frequently renewed, which does the cure, rather than the particular herb. Thus at Berisha they fomented Marko's sprained ankle with ferns (*Ceterach* and *Trichomanes nigra*) boiled with wild peppermint, taking much trouble to search for and find the right kinds. Boiled walnut leaves are also believed in.

For Weak Eyes.—Pound up wall pellitory, squeeze out the juice and mix with salt. To be dropped twice a day into the eye. Maximum dose, three drops.

For a Cough.—Oil in which some tortoise flesh has been boiled; or a decoction of wild-sage leaves boiled with honey.

The leaves of the wild sage dried and made into "tea" make a very pleasant drink used in Montenegro and Albania.

Tuberculosis.—This disease, in all its forms, ravages the Balkans.

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

The favourite remedy in Scutari for the pulmonary form was a drink made of the root of "bader" (*Iris Dalmatica*), which grows wild plentifully. It soothed the throat and allayed coughing somewhat. 757 278

Diarrhœa.—A decoction of oak bark—a strong astringent—was efficacious.

Constipation.—There was no local remedy. It was a very common trouble and I was constantly asked for "English salts."

Opium "tea," made by boiling haphazard a handful of poppy-seed, was given recklessly to stop pain. It was common to give a small dose nightly to infants to keep them quiet. In a communal house, where some twenty people sleep together, a crying child is not tolerated. Children suffering from opium poisoning were often brought to the Austrian hospital, the mother being quite unaware of the cause of the child's state.

Animal Remedies.—When I was suffering from acute sciatica, was paralysed with pain, and quite helpless, Marko wanted to slaughter a sheep in the yard and wrap me in the raw hide. As is customary when people are ill, all the neighbours crowded into my room to cheer me. When I was on the point of collapse with pain and heat, the cat jumped on to my bad leg, hurting me horribly. The neighbours chorused: "Thank God! The cat has jumped on her. Now she will not die. The cat always knows." [755 758] [787]

Then the Austrian doctor carried me off to his hospital.

The reason given for the raw hide is that the sheep eats many herbs and their virtue will soak into the patient. But in fact the raw hide is a hot fomentation. Other beasts are used.

This same Austrian doctor told me he was called to a moribund man. The hut was crowded, it was midsummer, and the heat and stench indescribable. Ten days before, a black cat had been split and applied to the patient's abdomen and was still there.

Enteric Fever.—This is endemic all through the Balkans. In Albania a horrid remedy was believed in. The dung of a dog which had been dropped on a stone and dried in the sun was pounded and given in water. I vainly tried to prevent this on one occasion; but the dose had been prepared by the local priest, who had the greatest faith in it. This repulsive remedy was included in the official pharmacopœia of Vienna till 1795, to be used internally for dysentery and griping pains. In Albania, at any rate, patients survived the treatment. Did the dog's dung supply an intestinal bacillus which combated that of enteric?

Emetic.—Human excrement mixed with water was given. Mixed with rakia it was given to an habitual drunkard with the idea of curing him. The experiment failed.

The boiled flesh of the glass snake (*Pseudopus pallasi*), a common

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

Diseases.—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

Wounds.—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

it was not." As "first aid" for a wound he prescribed the yolk of an 757
egg and a lot of salt, well mixed and applied on a pad of wool; after- 826
wards dress as above. It was very necessary, he said, to leave no 752
splinters of bone in a wound. He described how he had spent two hours removing seventeen splinters from a fractured tibia with some little forceps he had made himself. You must work slowly and very carefully. You must watch your patient and compare his symptoms with those of others. So you learn. He had lately mended the leg of a horse by slinging it to the branch of a tree and putting the limb in a splint.

A shot through the knee, he declared, was usually fatal, and one [761]
through the ankle was difficult to make a good job of. But three fingers' breadth below the knee-cap and three above the ankle he could always be sure of curing.

For inflammation he used leeches freely. Had just treated a woman successfully for apoplexy. She was "dead" on one side and speechless. He bled her from the temple on the "dead" side and seven times from the arm on the other side. She was better next day, and he bled her five times. She completely recovered. Marash expounded head-surgery. The head, he said, is like an egg. There is a shell, then a skin, and then the meat. If this skin is broken through you can do nothing; if it is not and the fractured skull is only pressing on the brain it is curable. He demonstrated how a flap should be cut and turned back. The broken pieces of bone must be carefully removed and replaced by a piece of hard-dried bottle-gourd chosen to fit the shape. The ointment must be added and the flap replaced and dressed. Some men were very clever at cutting away bone. He had never cut away skull-bone himself. A man in Mirdita had lately cut away a large piece of the skull of an injured man successfully. He indicated the upper part of the left parietal. The "kirijee" boy from whom I had hired horses then told us that he had a piece of bottle-gourd in his head. Had been knocked on the head and stunned in a quarrel, and been unconscious till a "hekim" had taken out the broken bone. Now he said he never felt any trouble except that his head itched a good deal. I felt his head carefully, and there certainly was a hard edge to be found.

Marash Hutzi had a great reputation for curing wounds and certainly deserved it. It is of interest to find that a strictly antiseptic method was being used so long ago as his grandfather's time in the Albanian mountains when in England we still washed our wounds with any pump-water. Marash was over sixty. Trephining, I was told, was still practised to cure pains in the head, but I did not meet a case.

A dressing much used for slight wounds was olive oil in which a 757
quantity of pounded leaves of the common St. John's wort (*Hypericum* 278
perforatum) had been macerated in the sun. This seemed to have some

757 278 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.

757 753 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 151 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought [563 326] a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him 759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can 752 survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house 757 in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound [278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen, 757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He 278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse.

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad ear-ache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose.

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it.

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania EG1

the peasant surgeon, at any rate, though few have as much to say to the credit of the other popular doctors and charmmongers. Matavulj, who in the second half of the last century was a faithful observer of peasant life, has a different story. 'There would not be so many cripples, blind men, lamed and deformed, in Dalmatia, were it not for the "empirics", who aggravate diseases, especially wounds, with their miraculous ointments, so that those who become incapable of work take to the beggar's staff....Thousands of priests, land-owners, merchants, and other better and worse people (in smaller places) would flare up in defence of the village Aesculapians. They would enumerate in proof thousands of examples of how this and that village Aesculapius had cured Paul or Peter, when the "doctors had given him up".' Dr Preindlberger, of Sarajevo, examined sufferers treated by village surgeons for diseases of the eye, and his grim survey was published in 1913.[1] At the present time the self-taught operator at any rate is seldom able to practise at all.

It ought to appear that rational therapy is more characteristic in dealing with accidents or hurts whose immediate cause and symptoms are apparent, such as wounds and fractures; but again accidents can be ascribed to supernatural influences, and refusal to heal quickly to various mysterious causes. Long custom can become a superstition and mystical means be called in to assist the practical. Cauterisation of boils is not at all uncommon, but in Dalmatia there is a spell in which red-hot fire tongs are held close to the boil, so that the heat can be felt, while a conjuration is said. An Albanian doctor who employs exclusively empirical means gave me a prescription for a wound ointment containing ewe's fat. As I knew of several similar preparations which do not specify ewe's fat, I ventured to ask whether a male sheep would do as well, supposing that the gender was a mere habit of speech. He said quite plainly, no, an ewe's fat was certainly most efficacious, and failing that a she-goat's; he himself never used a sheep, but it might do if there was nothing else. This is a

[1] Preindlberger, *Prilaci narodnoj medicini*, Gl.Z.M. xxv, pp. 65, etc.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Croats EF4

A 757 278 clear case of handing on a tradition in the form in which it was probably first accidentally learned, with the selection of one particular association, in this case, the sex of an animal. The accumulation of such analogies and the substitution of drugs on an arbitrary principle of similarity are the whole growth of folk-medicine, or at any rate account for most of its inconsistencies.

S 752 Folk-surgery more than any other branch reveals the importance of imitative practical methods, the influence of indirect contact with learned medicine, which accounts for pulse diagnosis, and the examination of urine, which can enter into the diagnosis for the evil eye, as well as for better authenticated complaints. Surgery also shows the workings of local ingenuity, and individual skill, of which the rupture belt illustrated by Hovorka is a remarkable example.[1]

C 752 It is in Southern Dalmatia that some of the most interesting accounts of folk-surgery have been collected; and it is here that it still mainly flourishes. For while the peasants have lived in the neighbourhood of the oldest centres of Adriatic culture, the villages themselves are remote and poor. Here in Dalmatia, older methods of Italian schools are still employed; terminology shows distinct learned influence; and purely local inventions evidently follow these suggestions. Here we have a recent tradition of lithotomy.

A description of folk-surgery given by Dr Lilek is still, after thirty years, up to date; and the skill of the surgeons whom he mentions by name is now sometimes transmitted to a younger generation, while their names are recorded in local memory, when the surgeons themselves are no longer alive.[2] Indeed, while Dr Lilek stated that certain practices were no longer in use (e.g. operation for conjunctivitis, hernia), I heard of their more recent existence in the immediate neighbourhood of Ston.

C [759] Amongst these folk-surgeons there is on the whole a startling absence of mystical outlook. Such a typical example is Pero

[1] O. Hovorka, *Narodna Medicina na poluostrvu Pelješcu*, Gl.Z.M. XII, p. 119.
[2] *Vide* Lilek: Gl.Z.M. V.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats
Montenegrins EF5
Albania EG 1

no cure is possible. 'Black boil' (*crni prišt*, etc.) generally seems to refer to anthrax, but the principle of cure for all similar abscesses and boils throughout the territory consists in the application of heat or of poultices to hasten suppuration, followed by cauterisation sometimes, and rarely by opening with an instrument. At Duvno in Bosnia the boil is cauterised with gunpowder in the same way, and the wound is then sprinkled with alum and a sparrow bound over it; as a precaution honey and garlic are eaten before this operation. These remedies are practised by shepherds, who suffer considerably from the complaint, and believe that unless the boil is immediately cauterised no one can survive. Honey is said to prevent the disease turning to the 'heart'. Fresh blood of a cat; the gall bladder of a bear; the head of a hare, and a hare's fat; a black cock or frog cut open alive; goose dung; pine tar on blue paper, are used. S M C 75 278 164

The plant remedies appear somewhat limited. Slav and Albanian doctors in the south-eastern area recommend the leaves or decoction of the leaves of *Sambucus ebulus* (*zova*) for both internal and external use. Root of *Lappa communis* cooked in milk. Ivy leaves applied with vinegar. For boils and furuncles, in general, a decoction of the seeds or the inner bark of *vrgova* (*Boletus agaricus*?). The whole plant including the root of *Podagraria* (?) is pounded and applied to the boil for 24 hours, after which *Betonica officinalis* is used. The local name for *Aegopodium* is *Poganica trava*, corresponding to the English 'gout weed'. Elsewhere it is a remedy for rheumatism, etc., commonly known as *poganica*, which here means a black boil. If this case is accurately quoted—and there is no reason to suppose otherwise—it seems that it is a remarkable example of the working of popular etiology. A [278 164 757]

Gunpowder is the favourite agent. Another method on the lines of that given above is to cut a hole in a slice of dry bread and to lay it over the abscess, so that the surrounding flesh is protected. The gunpowder is poured into the circle and ignited. A piece of cloth, or better a twist of unspun wool is used, but when the boil is not on the face it is sur- S C 278 755 757

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF1
Albania EG1

C S 278 757 sublimate of arsenic. Amongst the internal remedies of this class I found a mixture of gall nuts, flour and water, made into pellets about the size of peas, one of which is taken daily for a period of forty days. Half a kilogram of barley, a handful of lime and the fibre of a ripe maize cob are cooked slowly in a litre of water until the barley is soft, and drunk frequently as soon as the first symptoms of gonorrhoea have been recognised. In Hercegovina the treatment of syphilis C 278 757 in the early stages is to take a small quantity of two parts of sugar with one part of sulphur, to which some copper sulphate may be added, for seven mornings or until pustules appear on the skin. Sores are treated with sulphate of copper and sour milk or sour cabbage brine, or sprinkled with the salt and bound up with a sour cabbage leaf, or sprinkled with the ashes of a hedgehog roasted alive or a small viper. Pills of sulphur, copper sulphate, carnation, barley flour and lemon juice are eaten once to three times daily, while pills of mercury, arsenic, carnation, barley flour and lemon juice, or of mercury, dog's hair, arsenic, barley flour and lemon juice are used for fumigation. A little carnation, sulphate of copper, dry, white, dog's excrement are powdered and a small quantity blown through a tube into the back of the patient's throat, and a glass of cold water drunk immediately afterwards. This is done daily until the disease makes its appearance on the surface of the body, and then the same powder, which has been mixed with sour milk and left to stand for twenty-four hours in a copper dish, is rubbed on the skin. Dog's excrement is used for fumigation, and dog's C [751] blood and meat as a prophylactic. Fumigation with mercury alone is known in most provinces, and fumigation with gall S [278] [563] nuts, mercury and flour occurs. The Bosnian Mohammedans make pills for fumigation. An old man at Dečani does a trade with cakes for fumigation; they weigh about three ounces A and are about two inches in diameter and flat, oval in shape. 278 756 Boots, fire-arms, coats, generally the characteristic property of Albanian highlanders, may be seen hanging in the wretched house of this patriarch, now nearly ninety, which have been

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Turkey MB1
Montenegrins EF5

left as pledges during treatment. The pills are a mixture of mercury and hen or goose dung, sometimes with fir resin, which has been baked in the sun or over a very slow fire on a flat brick or piece of iron. These are inhaled by the sufferer under a cloth, ten days running, while the patient keeps a strict diet, avoiding salt and strong meat. The following drug is taken three times a day for nine days in all venereal complaints: half a litre of *rakia*, some chalk, alum, camphor, and a spoonful of olive oil mixed and left to go sour; or nine insects found on an elm tree (*striži buba*) are roasted on a fire shovel and powdered and drunk in *rakia*. Some years ago a charlatan in the Smederevo district used to sell a mixture of these insects and powdered glass in brandy to the villagers. A 273 756 S 278 756

Stern mentions that, in Turkey, in which he included the territory now under discussion, henna entered into the composition of antiluetic medicines. For this there is no evidence that I could discover in recent traditional medicine in the places he mentions, nor as far as I know is henna used in fumigation at all. T S 278 755 757

Herbs are also used for fumigation, e.g. *Sedum telephium*, and others known as *Frenga trava*. The common coltsfoot has been pointed out to me as a specific.

ULCERS, GANGRENE

Cancer, ulcers, gangrene, lupus, festering wounds, etc., are mainly treated as special cases of wounds. Beliefs about animal parasites, etc., have already been discussed in an earlier part. S 164 757

A folk-doctor is reported to have cut out a cancerous growth on the upper lip and cauterised the wound with a red-hot iron. He then applied an ointment and, when the ulcer reappeared later in the same place, he inserted a piece of arsenic and bound up the wound. At the present time a doctor has become famous in Montenegro, and as far as Berane, for curing cancer (*rak*) by cutting away the growth and binding on green figs 'with other herbs'. This method he M S 752 278 757

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933) 1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania EG 1
Montenegrins EF5

S 752 278 M [278] [752] *centaurum*, *Symphytum*, black willow, or bacon fat, or tar in some form. *Hajdučka trava* (*Betonica officinalis*?) cooked in butter, water and pine resin. Honey smeared on a plantain or a tobacco leaf (Montenegro). Alum is calcined, powdered and scattered on the wound, or dried, powdered centaury leaves, or charred deer's horn. At a later stage the wound is treated with white of egg mixed with salt and applied on cotton; or with the excrement of a pig. Clay mixed with brandy; potter's glaze well mixed with olive oil; rice cooked in vinegar; camphor and brandy applied on raw wool; mustard (the plant, *slačica*) with white of egg. Oil on a sour cabbage leaf; juice of ivy leaves fried with bacon fat; dry stinging nettle closes a wound. Ten drams of yellow wax, ten drams of incense, ten drams of white soap, three ivy berries pounded, are mixed and cooked slowly until the mixture thickens, when it should be put into cold water, taken out and squeezed until all the water is extracted. Olive oil, pine tar and the shredded inner bark of elder are cooked as a wound salve. The following prescription was given by an old surgeon near Dečani, who said that he used it for over forty years, and that during the troubled times of Turkish days he might, after a local raid, have as many as a dozen wounded men in his kitchen. Yellow beeswax is heated over a slow fire until soft, with sufficient olive oil to produce a creamy consistency, the inner bark of *Sambucus* is shredded and added together with a pinch or so of incense, and, if liked, some pine tar; all this should be very well stirred and allowed to simmer for some time. The wound should first be washed with brandy, the stronger the better. As a note on the subject of specialisation, this surgeon remarked that a bullet could be best extracted by a barber surgeon. An Albanian of the same district said that, in the old days, and now for the matter of that, he never used anything for a wound but stale goat's cheese, which was the best and handiest remedy, and drew out the bullet. An Albanian, practising folk-surgeon and veterinary surgeon at Vrelo, who made extensive journeys in and out of Albania and Montenegro, gave me

A 752 278

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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the following: Heat about half a litre of olive oil and add a small piece of pine tar, the size of a walnut, a similar quantity of incense and of sheep fat, and a rather smaller lump of beeswax (he used more incense in his mixture than any other prescription known to me) and after mixing and adding these things gradually over the fire, add three herbs, which he called *stog*, *pësmëtin* and *bar i hajl* ('dog's weed'). When the mixture seems firm and comes away in a ball from the edge of the pan in which it is cooked, it should be strained through a clean white cloth, pressing it out hard as we do in cheese-making, and then put into another vessel and beaten up with a spoon or a stick until it froths. This was an example to me of how much trouble is taken to prepare these apparently simple remedies. The cooking, straining and beating took at least a couple of hours, sometimes the cooking took most of the day, and the process was finished the next day. This particular surgeon knew where the herbs that he needed grew, and kept a supply of them, but they had to be fresh picked, and for some reason he preferred to gather them at a high altitude, perhaps because as a mountain man he did not know their habitat in the plains. For incense and olive oil one had to find a shop or a villager who used these things. Although for the treatment of cattle there was a fixed tariff, he seldom took anything unless a voluntary present or his expenses for curing a wound. A story which reflected both to his moral credit and professional code tells that he had even cured where he was owed blood.

A 752 278
A [759]

Other remedies for wounds include: leaves of centaury and *Melissa officinalis* and the dust of a live coal pounded; for a more serious or larger wound, the marrow of pig's bones and the horns of cattle mixed with the yolk of an egg and a little pounded root of *Symphytum* (*gavez*); *Arum*, which is also used for tumours; *Helleborus*—a piece of the root is sometimes pushed into a wound; darnel; *Veronica* which is also used for skin diseases.

A S 278 752

In Albania, Montenegro and Hercegovina I found that both wounds and severe bruises, etc., were frequently treated

M A C 278 752

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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MAC 278 752 MACS 278 752

by the application of a fresh-flayed sheep skin. This is, of course, a widespread method. In Montenegro and Metohija I saw the skin first steeped in brandy, for cases when a man had fallen or seriously injured himself or been kicked by a horse, etc. The word *maskalić*, used in Dalmatia in the sense of plaster, has locally the meaning of a fleece and nothing more in some of the island dialects (It. *mascalcia*). Blood-letting for bruises was generally practised by means of leeches, and is still recommended in parts of Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, etc. For *sijevalica, poganica*—the result of a blow or bruise, when the blood does not flow away and is supposed to become infected, or the result of witchcraft—leeches were first tried, and if this was not successful ointments or pounded horseradish root. For sores or boils of this origin on the legs and arms, a suitable incantation was said over leaves of ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) and plum tree, and these were either eaten by the sufferer or bound over the part of the body affected. Further remedies for bruises, etc., are these: oil of hartshorn collected from a horn heated over the embers, mixed with brandy and incense and applied on blue paper; pounded leaves of *Clematis vitalba*, which if used in sufficient quantity, produces a wound. This is quoted by S. Banović from the Adriatic coast. The same plant is known to the peasantry of many districts as of assistance in evading conscription, so I have been told by recruits. Equal parts of incense, sea salt, pine tar, melted together with heat and applied on blue paper; honey and incense, or honey mixed with yolk of egg; roots of stinging nettle pounded with salt; a fish (*Rhodeus amarus*) with salt; the warm contents of the stomach of a newly killed sheep or goat, under a bandage made of the fresh skin of the animal, are applied for serious injuries, while honey and butter are eaten together for forty days in order to turn the blood away from the bruised part. Human excrement in urine or water is drunk for the same purpose. In Montenegro, for a severe bruise, a sheep is cut open and the injured member placed in the warm entrails. A decoction of pounded stinging nettles and *roska* is applied.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

The fresh-flayed skin of a black cat; hot oak-wood ashes in water; pine tar. Fir resin and pine resin, beeswax, half a glass of vinegar are cooked slowly, and a little incense added; the mixture is stirred regularly until it boils, when it is applied to a bruise on blue paper. Burns are first cooled with wine vinegar, and a yolk of egg beaten up with brandy is applied; or water is poured over chalk, and when it clears, two parts of water are mixed with one part of olive oil and applied. Steaming is known for serious bruises in the South and West, and is mentioned for the East also, where the use of salt and onion is also given and *ubojni kamen*—a pigment used for sheep marking—also *lapis haematitis*, oxide of manganese, which as the common name implies, is practically a universal remedy.[1] Generally it is scraped or powdered and drunk in brandy, milk or water, but it can also be applied externally, dry or mixed with liquid. In the Sandjak and the Lim valley, for instance, both methods are used for bruises, but, taken in milk or brandy, it is also supposed to check haemaphthisis and is recommended for 'women's complaints', for excessive menstruation and for haematuria. I recorded that a midwife near Berane suggested this stone in a case of insufficient milk.

M A C S 278 752 S [231] S 278 752 757

BITES

Although in reality poisonous snakes are not in the majority, the bite of many harmless species, sometimes said to jump into the air in order to attack a man, is greatly feared, and no community is without a number of snake-bite prescriptions. The commonest first-aid measures are sucking, piercing, tight bandaging either above or on both sides of the wound, rubbing in of gunpowder, etc. Occasionally the amputation of a finger or toe is carried out on the spot. Emetics are taken; and it is often thought unwise to sleep for some time afterwards. A diet may be observed. After the flesh has been cut away as deeply as possible round the wound, vomiting is

M S 752

[1] *Ubojni kamen*, however, is sometimes a magical stone which an initiate to healing finds after dreaming of it. Both the magical stone and the ordinary stone give a drug when water is poured over them.

S M [755] [787] [779]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5
Albania EG1

CMS 755 825

The reference to the devil recalls a common belief that the snake carries poison, some say 'a devil' (*vrag*) in its tail, or that it passes to the tail when a snake dies (cf. Gl.Z.M. 12). A great number of snake-bite exorcisms found in mediaeval writings are preserved in more or in less corrupt forms, those which commemorate St Paul, for example, and refer to the legend of cure on Patmos.

S 752 755

Dog bites and other animal bites are also counteracted with bandages, cauterisation and vomiting, but the characteristic treatment employs two methods non-popular in origin, blood-letting and the use of the cantharides fly. The universal first-aid remedy is to apply the halves of a bean or white pea, with saliva or chewed up, to the wound, but the fear of madness (*bijes*) has introduced many more complicated methods. It is held that not every person is susceptible to the disease, while in some even the bite of a healthy animal may prove fatal. Immunity is sometimes ensured by being born on the same day as the beast in question, and so on. A brief sketch of the beliefs concerning infection has been given above, and these hold good at the present time for many people. The effect of a bite of an animal is clearly very different from the action of snake or insect venom (*jad, otrov*), an expression seldom heard in connection with the former. Blood is extracted from the veins under the tip of the tongue, less usually from an incision made over the vertebral processes in the neck or on the temples. Another way of getting rid of the little mad dogs which cause the infection (*skotići*) is to take off one's clothes and leave them under a stone in the open for forty days, during which time the embryos incubate and can then be killed and wiped off the clothes.

S A 752 278 757

The Spanish fly is widely known as a remedy for dog bite and for gonorrhoea. The fly is drunk whole in brandy or eaten in a piece of bread; or, cut up or pounded, serves as an ingredient for other drugs. This remedy has long since passed into folk-medicine proper, and the collection and distribution of the insects—not always the true cantharides—are generally a personal monopoly. A certain Nikola Simonović,

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG 1

for instance, living in a hamlet about five miles off the Peć-Berane route, collects certain 'green flies' on the trees where they swarm, on St John's Eve, and generally gives them where they are needed without payment. He catches them alone at sundown, and implies that the business has to be undertaken in a certain way, but I do not think that any particular ritual form is observed here. With the fly a warning is given that, should the dog who has inflicted the bite not be genuinely mad, the medicine will cause severe pains and vomiting and bring on a sickness. For madness the flies are taken in brandy; for gonorrhoea they are pounded with nutmeg and mixed with water. In other places these flies are caught by old women, and from some accounts it would seem not unlikely that charms or some form of minor ritual are used. The seeds of burdock, either raw and pounded or cooked in water, are taken internally. Onions and garlic, of course, are universal remedies. Garlic, with *Ruta graveolens* and salt give a variant, while onions with honey and vinegar make a suitable salve for the wound. White maggots found in rose hips are eaten in bread. The tubercles on the root of *Verbascum thapsus* pounded are given as a remedy, and if this identification of a popular name is correct it is interesting that one of the folk-doctors whom I met in the Lim region quoted it to me as a general antitoxic specific. It is also used for scrofula. The bite of a human being is treated with garlic, bacon fat and pine tar washed three times. A wolf bite was fumigated with resinous fir (*lučevina*), but this remedy was supposed to be ineffectual for the bite of any other creature, or for any other kind of wound.

A5 278 752 757

BLOOD-LETTING

Blood-letting was, and in remoter districts still is, chiefly the monopoly of the barber class. These operators generally have special instruments—a small cutting instrument with a short blade controlled by a spring, or a cylindrical multi-bladed *neštar* manipulated with a screw—which are used throughout the Near East by doctors of the old school. The peasant

S 752

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EF6

S 121

Again, in some of my examples the symbolism is an accretion, perhaps indicating a phase of decay. On these grounds alone, until the history of each case is better known, we could not unreservedly accept any symbolist or psycho-analytical theory which has so far been advanced to explain the growth of ritual and magic. At any rate, we would have to start from the complicated hypothesis that even symbols and associations derive their forms and stability from the historical process as much as from the tenor of individual mental life.

Terminology

The evidence of language has to be used with extreme caution. Medical terms are remarkably irregular, and vary from place to place—from person to person—more, perhaps, than the technical vocabulary of any other common activity. Sometimes the term in use is vague and the concept clear and particular; sometimes the words used have a definite concrete sense, but are generalised in meaning and usage. The names of plants and animals vary also: sometimes the vocabulary is rich and precise, sometimes it is rudimentary. Among many Albanians for instance, from North Albania or present-day South Yugoslavia, I remarked that plant names were very vague, and that they were mostly given in the form 'plant for cows', 'plant for bees', 'herb for fish', etc., yet a great variety of useful plants were known and played an important part in normal economy and medicine. There are Serbian peasant herbalists who may know up to a hundred medicinal species, which they describe minutely, but they have not got names for them all. The fact that many common plant names are of foreign origin is no more a proof of their recent introduction or recent medicinal use than that houses as such were unknown in Bosnia before the word *han* became a common term. Centaury is known by at least half a dozen names, some of Romance and Greek origin, but *Betonica officinalis* and *Hyoscyamus* are also called *kičica*, elsewhere a name for centaury, and are also used for wounds, etc. *Prase* in the meaning of 'scrofula' looks like a *calque*, but there is no evidence to show

A [824] [278]
S 824 278

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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173

Scared at the sound, he in the tekkéh[1] hides,
His standards leaves, nor heeds what them betides;
Beard and moustache he tears with flowing tear,
And in a swoon at length he falls from fear.

Mahmoud his charger mounts, and riding out
His men before, now "Forward!" hear him shout;
"Forward with me! to-day, if Allah will,
I Kourd Pasha with my own hand will kill."

Now, like a roaring lion, where'er he goes,
With Allah's aid, in terror flee his foes;
The tekkéh of Baba Hussein before,
See how they rend from Tosks the spoils of war!

Veli escapes. Poor Tahir, from the rout
Into the mill thou fleest; there dost hold out.
It is in vain that bravely still thou fight;
How couldst thou stand against this vulture's might?

Death thee awaits, this day will be thy last,
Riddled with balls, thy troops are fleeing fast;
Long will it be before the Tosks forget
The valour of the Ghegs when last they met.

Now to his men hear Agha Rouka cry,
"Are ye then women, that from foe ye fly?
Of what avail the manly arms ye bear?
Of what avail the sabres bright ye wear?

Rally yourselves, as skirmishers in bands,
Fall on the Ghegs, and, with your curvéd brands,
Strike off their heads! Who falls the field upon
Wept is, but scorned who lives with honour gone!"

Naught heed they him, but in confusion fly.
Tosks of Berat! your sandals[2] go and tie!
Measure no more yourselves with Scutarine,
Who flees not, wields true gun, and sabre keen!

[346]

[1] A Dervish chapel.

[291]
[281]

[2] The hide shoes, with the hairy side turned inwards, worn generally in the mountains.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1

Croats EF4

Balkan Peoples E13

Serbs EF6

Albania EG1

C

By using different colours of silk a pattern of greater effect is produced, in this case larger squares of orange and black, consisting of nine small ones, are arranged alternately to form diagonal rows, divided by rows of single small squares in self colour. Each large square has the central small one worked in gold thread, and the edges of the girdle are whipped with self-coloured silk. 291 286 531

Footwear.

S A B Y

All over the Balkans and in Albania both men and women of the peasant tribes and of the hill tribes wear two pairs of thick, knitted woollen socks, the outer pair being elaborately decorated with appliqué and embroidery on top of the knitting, and forming a sort of slipper when the outdoor sandal is discarded on entering the house. " In Yugoslavia these over-socks are called ' opanke ', in Albania ' opangi ' and in Rumania ' opinstsi '. The sandals are made of roughly dried hide, and when newly made the soles are soaked in oil till pliable. This helps to mould them to the foot, and the pliability of the leather gives the toes a good grip, especially on rocks or when climbing." (M.E.D.). 291 531 286 281

With the exception of a pair of leather opanke from Nish (Niš) in Serbia, made to fit a child (No. 1936-62), the opanke and socks in this collection are all of Albanian origin. They are illustrated and described in Section II.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

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No. 1835-32. This is another head scarf of hand woven cotton of a muslin-like quality, with heavier weft stripes of a coarser cotton thread used double. It has three narrow brocaded borders in red and yellow at the ends measuring 3¼ inches over all, in which the motive at " b " on Plate X forms the two outer borders, and the double lozenge and hour-glass motives fill the central one.

This is the least interesting of the examples of head-dresses.

CHAPTER XVI.

Footwear.

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Throughout Albania and Yugoslavia both men and women peasants and people of the mountain tribes wear two pairs of socks and a sandal, " opanga " or " opanke," of roughly dried hide over them when out-of-doors. Both their pairs of socks are knitted from rather coarse strong wool, the inner ones are usually white and the outer ones of gay colours handsomely embroidered or braided.

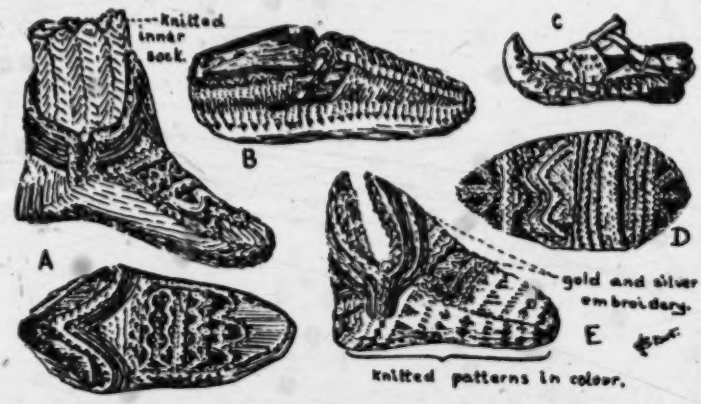

FIG. 9.—A, Silver braided knitted outer with inner sock. Grouda, W. Albania. B, String opanke with leather sole from Montenegro. C, Child's opanke of leather from Nish. D, Knitted outer sock with needle worked decoration. E, Outer sock from Kastrati tribe.

" The two layers of sock are needed to protect the sole of the foot as the hide used in the sandals or ' opanke ' is thin and pliant. On entering the house the opanke are removed and the decorative over-sock forms a slipper." (M.E.D.).

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There are six pairs of over-socks in the collection, and two pairs have their inner socks still inside them.

No. 1935-73. Three of the styles are shown in Fig. 9. The drawing at " A " is of a particularly handsome example from Grouda, in Western Albania. The over-sock is knitted from violet wool with the back of the heel and the front of the foot decorated by plaited silver braid and cord, outlined by a plait of black and silver.

PEAKS OF SHALA

[628] woman he would at that moment have been
576 dead. Our Shala men, with perfect courtesy, went through the formalities of greeting on the trail, and this is the form, translated to me by Rexh:

"Long life to you!"

"And to you, long life!"

"How could you?" meaning, "How could you get here?"

"Slowly, slowly, little by little."

No one who has ever seen those trails can doubt it.

291. The Shoshi man sat down, our men offered him cigarettes, and up the trail came a woman of Shoshi[1]. She wore a tight, bell-shaped skirt of horizontal black and white stripes, made of cloth heavier and thicker than felt, the twelve-inch-wide marriage belt of heavy leather studded with pounds of nails, and a jacket covered with three-inch-thick fringe. Two heavy braids of black hair hung forward on her breasts, a colored handkerchief was bound around her head, and her face, smoothly weather browned, large eyed, delicately shaped, was the most beautiful that I
[854] had ever seen. On her back, held by woven woolen straps that crossed between her breasts, was a cradle tightly covered by a thick blanket;
[283] in one hand she held a bunch of raw wool, and from the other dangled a whirling spindle. Her feet were bare, and as she came up that trail which had exhausted me she sang softly to herself, dexterously spinning thread from the bunch of wool.

[1] [Albanian mountain tribe -- [12] Analyst]

291 which is bought from silversmiths in the town, and the woman is clothed.

These costumes are undoubtedly ancient. Some of their elements may be traced back to the early Mediterranean, others to the central European Iron Age. However, the Ghegs themselves do not make all parts of them, but carry on the tradition by demand, like the Crow Indians for whom Stetson has, for decades, been manufacturing a special kind of hat.

●283 The basic cloth is woven at home. The farmer gives his wife the necessary wool from his sheep, both white and black. She cards it with a homemade device, either a flick bow or a nail-studded card, and spins it. Her spinning kit consists of a distaff, a spindle, and a basket. Holding the distaff in one hand, she twists the wool with the other, and winds it onto the spindle in the basket. Whenever she has nothing else to do, or when she is walking along the trail, the Albanian housewife dutifully spins, and her spinning has soon become a reflex action, like knitting or bead-telling.

286 When she has enough wool, she begins weaving. The Albanian loom is an ordinary European 2-beam affair, similar to those used in the Hebrides and the Kentucky mountains. It has a wooden frame, 2 beams or rollers between which the warps are stretched, a wooden batten, and a foot-operated heddle. The bobbin, within its shuttle, is hand-thrown. The men buy all of the delicate parts of this loom in the town, from turners. The rest of it they make at home. The loom is kept mounted only while a length of cloth is being woven. When not in use the loom is taken apart and piled in a corner with other household impedimenta.

Once the cloth has been woven, it must, if intended for masculine use, be fulled. This involves keeping it wet, working it about, and
402 pounding it for several hours. The mountain-
286 eers employ an ingenious water-powered device for this purpose. Several writers have observed these mills; Nopcsa has drawn one.[5] I saw several. The fulling mill consists of an open-air wooden structure powered by an overshot water wheel. A smaller stream of water runs through a trough to wet the cloth. The wheelshaft is studded with four wooden

[5] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 134, fig. 99.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 462 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593] [591] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their families they return to their employment, leaving

286 402 lugs or cogs, which lift up a heavy wooden hammer and let it drop, 4 times for each revolution. Two staggered sets of cogs and 2 hammers give the cloth a constant pounding as long as it is left there.

No one seems to know who invented these mills or who makes them. When you encounter them along a stream, they are usually unattended. Apparently the wife, having woven her cloth, turns it over to her husband, who takes it to the mill to be fulled. There is no professional fuller, and each mill seems to belong to the group of kinsmen or neighbors who use it.

294 The women make their own clothing, for the most part of unfulled cloth. They also crochet the stockings, and stitch the opingas, worn by both sexes. The men, however, carry the fulled and heavily felted cloth to the market town, to a tailor who then cuts it in the traditional design of his client's native place, and sews up the pieces and embroiders the finished garment.

A number of other specialists are involved in the production of men's clothing and equipment. A special craftsman provides the quantities of braid with which jacket and trousers are adorned. Hatters, equipped with wooden molds to suit every variation of tribal taste, shape the felt caps, conical or truncated, white or black, which all mountaineers wear. Leather-workers, who are traditionally Turks, make ornate belts for the men, as well as saddles, bags, and straps. Special shoemakers make footgear for those who can afford it, although most wear the opingas which their wives produce from local hides. Most of the shoemakers are Kruja men, and this is a Kruja specialty. At Kukës we saw zebra hides on display outside several shops. These had been sent all the way from South Africa for the manufacture of opingas.

[322] As previously stated[1] wooden buckets are made by professional coopers in towns, and purchased by the mountain people, who use
285 them in dairying and for food storage. Baskets, however, are local products; the country people often bring them to town for sale. Several villages near Scutari specialize in basket-making, and the women, who weave

[1] [See cat. 16, p. 136 -- Analyst]

285 them, bring them to market along with embroidery. These include not only spinning baskets and hand-carrying baskets, but also large osier panniers used in transport—a man can carry one on his back, a horse, two. I believe that the panniers are made by men.

326 Other containers include copperwork and pottery. The coppersmiths in each town hammer out sheets of metal into round trays, which can be used for baking cheese dishes, pastry, etc., or for tea and coffee service. They also make kettles, water jugs, and washbasins. All of these things are purchased by the mountaineers, who now and then acquire a European chamber-pot to use as soup tureen, and a set of glass tumblers.

323 Three kinds of pottery find their way into the mountaineer's household. In the Catholic tribes, if not elsewhere, the women still make an Iron Age vessel, of simple profile, with handles, without slip, and decorated by incisions. It is hand-modeled, and fired in such a way as to give it a black surface. In the towns, professional male potters make a porous ware on the wheel. This is used for carrying and storing water. Regular modern glazed pottery is imported from Italy, and subsequently sold in the bazaars.

251 Food preservation and storage techniques vary between Catholics and Moslems, owing to their differences in diet. The Catholics preserve much pork by salting and smoking. The men of each household will butcher as many fat pigs as the family needs or can spare, in the fall. They cut the belly fat into flitches and hang it over the fire. An especial delicacy is the *peshk*, or "fish," a long strip of lean back-bacon, smoke-cured, which they cut in slices and fry. Besides these whole pork pieces, they make sausages and cure them in the same
[262] way. The Moslems as a rule eat only fresh meat and live on mutton, whereas Catholics eat both mutton and pork.

Both store their cereals and legumes in tubs and bags in the house, and keep maize in special outdoor corncribs, elevated to protect them from rats. Very often a fierce dog will be seen and heard, chained under the crib.
234 Both make butter from their cows' milk, and cheese from that of sheep and goats, although the use of the latter is much more common
000 among the Moslems. Catholics, in country fit

BERAT

286 Also many of the loveliest tapestries of Albania come from Berat and the bright and skillful work of the patterns testify to the natural beauties that surrounds their makers.

155 They will go into these places without fear. They will, under any conditions, willingly take the place of their husbands or brothers should the necessity arise, for the national sentiment, so dominant in the Albanian race, inspires the woman as well as the man. In the history of Albania there are numerous examples of the heroism of women as well as men which recall the admirable anecdotes of Spartan history.

The Albanian women acquire the right of coquetry, but they have the art as surely as their Parisian sisters. This is readily realized when they are seen arrayed in their beautiful gold-embroidered dresses with their magnificent tresses becomingly adjusted under their head-dress.

562 As a rule the women of Albania are generally domesticated. They derive great pleasure from their homes and live out of it very little. It is in the home that she works and makes everything she needs—outside of her 289 household duties, she finds time to embroider, to spin and much of the lovely silk handwork that one finds in Tirana, Elbasan and other Albanian cities, which is so skillfully done in lovely, harmonizing colors on the finest of

3: Redlich 5-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

562 tissues, is made by the women who are so [846] occupied with other duties! The Albanian wife in the cities is also acquainted with domestic industry—she knows not laziness. Many of them, being good housewives, try to flatter the tastes of their husbands. Culinary arts are by no means alien to her: her cakes and tarts may easily cause the best patissiers of Paris to cast an envious eye into her kitchen. She is her husband's companion, his daily associate, and he keeps the lady of his hearth informed of all his affairs and often asks her advice and seeks her suggestions.

Womanhood is universally respected in Albania. They are held in the highest regard in all places to the extent that she may go any place unmolested and even in a man's company he is the one who derives protection through her.

[728] Negotiations for a truce of peace have formerly been intrusted many times to women, for they were allowed protection and safety in an enemy's camp where a man would never have survived.

186 Even in Albanian history women have played many important roles; as above-mentioned she has been endowed with strong

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch 852
the cradle while they sing:

> *Poganik*, When the boy grows a man,
> A weaver we'll make him,
> And money he'll bring us.[1]

[539 562]

And for a girl:

> *Poganik*, When our girl grows up tall,
> She shall go to the valley
> And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother 846
nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by 553
the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal 852
rite of the churches to which they respectively 779

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on. [463 286]

291 which is bought from silversmiths in the town, and the woman is clothed.

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[5] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 134, fig. 99.

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No one seems to know who invented these mills or who makes them. When you encounter them along a stream, they are usually unattended. Apparently the wife, having woven her cloth, turns it over to her husband, who takes it to the mill to be fulled. There is no professional fuller, and each mill seems to belong to the group of kinsmen or neighbors who use it.

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1 [See cat. 116, p. 136 -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

subsisting at the time of his expulsion were voided by that fact. 682 When his banishment was temporary, his marriage engagements 628* remained binding. [584]

Even in cases of temporary banishment the murderer's separation from his tribe was thoroughgoing. For the specified period 'he could not light a cigarette in a single house of the tribe', as the men of Lurë put it. Nor could he, or his, return to borrow honey, that most important commodity where sugar is scarce. In Mirditë a tribesman who admitted him to his house for any of the above purposes was publicly 'burned, roasted and expelled' for breaking tribal discipline.

The banished murderer's obligation to take root whether he 682 wished it or not in some alien spot is another of the factors which produced the many colonies of diverse origin in Albanian lands. The exiles, home-sick like exiles the world over, often gave the name of their ancestral village to their new settlement.

If the murderer did not choose to go into exile of his own accord, [697] he was condemned by the avenger to virtual imprisonment in his house. Sometimes he shut himself up voluntarily; more often, especially in north Albania, he was peremptorily ordered to do so by the avenger. For the period of his 'imprisonment' fear that the avenger was lurking near prevented him from stirring outside during the daytime and restricted his movements to the night hours. If he left home, he had by dawn to find shelter under a friend's roof and he could not continue his travels until the next night fell. These disabilities were his so long as he eluded the avenger, and he might do so for years, as in the case of a native of Sheshaj who had been shut up by his enemy for twenty-five years. At Belsh in Dumre, as a result of this confinement, two men who had been shut up for twelve years were 'waxen and yellow as the dead'. They longed to walk in the sunlight and were bored indoors where they could do nothing to pass the time except strip maize [226] and knit (most curiously, knitting is one of the staple occupations [462] of the men, but not the women, in Dumre). But they could not help themselves, since it was certain death to step outside during the daytime.

Just as the murderer's house could not be burned down in case 172 women and children perished in the conflagration, so his 'imprison- 682 ment' could not be allowed to stop the work of the family in case 628* women and children died of starvation. There were several

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania E61
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

A 175 Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

A 175 779 The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

B 175 Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

Y A 121 However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

Y A 286 439 The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

A Y [462] **Cloths.**

Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen (" platno ") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshawls or kerchiefs; and "sukno", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. " The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap ' zubun ', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts."* " The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material " (M.E.D.).

A S [291 286 287 402] That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. " Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.

* Milan Karanovic. " Costume of the Women of Zmiyagne " Sarajevo, 1928.

Other alien materials are small pieces of dyed cloth, silk ribbons, silver and gold braids and manufactured lace, often used on the sleeve edges of shirts. These materials were bought in the village shops and markets, and appear to be largely of Austrian and Italian origin; under Turkish rule they were sold in the villages by pedlars. A Y 286 291 294

In the South and Albania, where Turkish influence is greater, there is a tendency, especially amongst the women of the towns, to wear garments made from more sumptuous materials so that, in addition to the hand-woven linens, extremely fine muslins of native make are used for shirts and aprons, and silken materials of beautiful quality for girdles, sleeves and the Moslem type of women's trousers. Fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy is also imported for the making of jeleks, giubbas and japangi, and some of the nets used for the large embroidered veils worn by many women, both Catholic and Moslem, are of foreign origin. A Y 291 439

Materials used for Embroidery and other Decorative Purposes.

These also fall into two classes, home-made and purchased. M S

The fine wools, used largely in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia, for the decorative embroidery of oshvitza, sleeves, woollen coats, aprons and the making of fringes are spun and dyed by the women themselves. Dark brown and black goat's hair is also used in the apron fringes. "Goat's hair was extensively used in the Balkans for weaving market bags, saddle-bags and floor mats in stripes. The goats, clipped in uneven ridges, looked very ridiculous." (M.E.D.). 291 294 531

Ribbons, gold and silver braid and strips of coloured cloth were purchased and used as appliqué on skirts, head dresses, aprons and caps. In older and finer examples of embroidery, silk was used, and was locally produced and dyed.

In Albania and the south silk is the usual medium for embroidery, which decorates shirts, muslin aprons and japangi, although on some head scarves from Zadrima and the Bulgarian woman's costume from Monastir, which are decorated in the well-known Turkey red, the material used is cotton or very tightly twisted wool almost like a fine cord. Both silk, woollen and cotton threads are of home production. Amongst the photographs given by Miss Durham is one of a Moslem man spinning silk on a roadside on the outskirts of Scutari (Skodar). Gold thread is much used, and strips of beaten silver and brass are worked into the headings of braids. B A 291 531

Braiding and cording are amongst the other important forms of decoration, narrow braids and ends of wool, silk and gold thread being hand plaited and twisted. Coats of the sleeveless type, both for men and women, the short jelek, the three-quarter length giubba, and the men's full trousers (Plate V. "*I*") are often decorated with cords and braids sewn down in beautiful curved designs. The "elaborate embroideries on the japangi and the handsome braided designs are usually the work of men Albanian tailors". (M.E.D.). A 291 531 294 463

Until in recent years foreign dyes, imported in small packets, were sold in the shops the women themselves dyed their materials. Most of the examples in this collection have been so coloured with vegetable dyes; black being obtained from ash bark (*Fraxinus excelsia*); green from flowering rush with the addition of copper sulphate which was got from the shops; yellow from sumach (*Rhus cotinus*); red A Y 294 386

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Croats EF4
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

By using different colours of silk a pattern of greater effect is produced, in this case larger squares of orange and black, consisting of nine small ones, are arranged alternately to form diagonal rows, divided by rows of single small squares in self colour. Each large square has the central small one worked in gold thread, and the edges of the girdle are whipped with self-coloured silk.

C 291 286 531

Footwear.

All over the Balkans and in Albania both men and women of the peasant tribes and of the hill tribes wear two pairs of thick, knitted woollen socks, the outer pair being elaborately decorated with appliqué and embroidery on top of the knitting, and forming a sort of slipper when the outdoor sandal is discarded on entering the house. "In Yugoslavia these over-socks are called 'opanke', in Albania 'opangi' and in Rumania 'opinstsi'. The sandals are made of roughly dried hide, and when newly made the soles are soaked in oil till pliable. This helps to mould them to the foot, and the pliability of the leather gives the toes a good grip, especially on rocks or when climbing." (M.E.D.).

S A B Y 291 531 286 281

With the exception of a pair of leather opanke from Nish (Niš) in Serbia, made to fit a child (No. 1936-62), the opanke and socks in this collection are all of Albanian origin. They are illustrated and described in Section II.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

A 291 531

(d) A heavy tapestry worked apron, or possibly two, one at the back and one at the front.
(e) A woollen sash round the waist and over it a leather belt, sometimes with metal ornaments or chains.
(f) Long scarves or square kerchiefs as head-dresses.
(g) Thick knitted socks with embroidered ornament, and leather sandals or opanga.

CHAPTER IX.

Materials and their Decoration.

S A 291 286

It is interesting to note that other materials besides those described in Section I. are used in making the garments worn in the south. The shirts, instead of being either of handmade linen or heavy calico, are more often made of fine muslin with silk stripes, or of an open crepe-like cotton fabric, both home spun and woven. Sometimes they are of striped silken fabric. Muslin with silk stripes is used for the daintier types of aprons which often have silk embroidered borders.

The trouser type of skirt is either of hard wearing, dark, cotton cloth, imported material, or of striped silk or even gauze of local manufacture, and may be handsomely embroidered, often with the addition of gold thread (Plate VIe).

Head-dresses in the form of scarves or kerchiefs for gala occasions may be of silk or cotton gauze, or of silk striped muslin, with silk stitchery and gold and silver embroidery (Plate XV). Fine handmade silk and cotton nets, as well as imported material, are handsomely embroidered to form the large lace veil (Fig. 8).

The sleeveless jelek and giubba are usually of fine woollen cloth, and are elaborately braided with plaited silk and cords.

M [291 531]

When heavier material such as linen or thick cotton cloth is used in garments like those from Monastir (Bitolj) and some of the odd sleeves, the embroidery is nearly always in Turkey red with touches of gold and black.

All the colourings tend to be gayer, and yet are often very refined in their choice, and the use of gold in the form of thread and plate is widespread.

In the embroidery, cross-stitch gives place to petit-point; pulled stitches (which produce an open work effect); satin stitch; double running for outlines; and fancy filling stitches, which provide great variety. Needlepoint decorates the edges of shirt sleeves, scarves and bedspreads, which are often of exquisite workmanship.

Some of the patterns and the method of working the stitchery are included in the following chapters which deal with the various parts of the costume from these areas.

CHAPTER X.

A. Women's Shirts.

Y A 291

The women's shirts from Albania and the south of Yugoslavia are of two forms, the shorter type worn with either a full cloth skirt, or the wide-trousered variety, and the long form, which is shirt and skirt combined.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

Y A 291

The former type are of fine hand-woven linen, thin imported calico (Plate I), plain muslin, muslin with cotton or silk stripes, or of striped silk.

The collars and front-openings ("oshvitza"), even of the finer muslin examples, are worked on hand-made linen and applied to the garments, but some sleeve decorations, such as those on the unfinished example No. 1936-69, are worked in silk on the sleeve itself.

Many of the shorter type of shirts are of three-quarters length, and have shaped gores or gathered pieces let in at the sides.

The longer type, of shirt and skirt combined, is always made of a strong cotton or linen cloth, and is heavily embroidered at the neck, sleeves and hem where the heaviest wear may be expected.

M 291

No. 1936-43. This large size shirt ("kosulja") from Montenegro has a striped, hand-woven, muslin top and sleeves mounted on to a wider and larger body of imported calico. The cut is the same as that of the shirt from Kolašin (Plate I) except that the side pieces are gored. The garment measures 31 inches (78·8 cm.) in length, 19 inches (48·2 cm.) across the shoulders and 29 inches (73·7 cm.) across the bottom hem. The sleeves, including a poor quality of imported lace edging, are 22 inches (55·9 cm.) long and 9½ inches (24·1 cm.) wide when made up.

M [531]

The decoration is limited to the collar and front-opening, which have variations of the Herb Paris motive (Plate VIIc) (described in the following chapter) worked in black, dark green and red in rotation, with touches of gold thread, with which the edge of the opening is also neatly buttonholed. The work is done on fine linen which is applied to the muslin shirt and attached by closed herring-boning in gold thread, a happy addition to its generally attractive appearance.

No. 1936-48. A shirt of normal size from Montenegro, measuring 20 inches (50·8 cm.) in length, 17 inches (43·2 cm.) across the shoulders with sleeves 20 inches (50·8 cm.) long, including a narrow edging of imported lace, and 8 inches (20·3 cm.) wide when made up.

M 291 531

The garment is of hand-woven muslin with broad and narrow self warp stripes. The collar and front opening have borders of what appears to be a variant of the pear pattern (see Ch. XB) worked in rotation in red, gold, dark blue and gold. The border is finished off with two rows of Slav stitch in gold and close buttonholing at the extreme edge, and the oshvitza is attached to the garment by a row of closed herring-boning in gold thread. The whole effect is rich.

A 291 286

No. 1936-69. An unfinished shirt of fine hand-woven muslin of an open weave having a broad silk warp stripe at the edge of the cloth. The shirt comes from Durazzo in Albania, and is of the rather long type and a large size. The width across the shoulders to the ends of the sleeves is two yards (182·9 cm.) and the width of the body part at the hem one yard (91·5 cm.). The muslin itself is only 17 inches (43·2 cm.) wide and has 60 warp ends and 50 weft picks to the inch, and is an open weave of very tightly spun, natural coloured cotton which produces a pleasant crepe-like surface. The satin warp stripes at the side are 1¼ inch (3·2 cm.) wide. The narrowness of the cloth necessitates two widths being used for the sleeves and four for the body part, the one at either side being gathered in at the waist where a triangular gusset of fine imported cloth has been inserted.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

Albania EG1

Montenegrins EF5

A 291 286 531

The neck of the garment is uncut, but the ends of the sleeves are beautifully embroidered in natural coloured floss-silk in a conventional flower design worked in satin-stitch and pulled-stitch to which the open weave lends itself. Below this border is a chevron design in pulled-stitch with the triangles filled by a little chequered square in satin-stitch. At the extreme edge is a beautiful needlepoint lace of unusual design worked in natural coloured cotton. The whole border is an example of delicate workmanship.

B. Oshvitza.

M 291 286 531 [462 435]

The little worked borders, called oshvitza, which form the collars and outline the front-openings of the shirts are always worked separately from the garment and applied to it by plain or fancy stitching. The specimens in the collection are nearly all from Montenegro. As has already been stated, the young girls work them in their leisure moments and whilst tending sheep, and are often quite willing to sell what is a bit of exquisite stitchery for about a shilling.

The material used is generally a fine hand-woven linen, and two strips are needed, one for the collar band and one for the front-opening. As the length of the collar embroidery varies from 14 to 16 inches (35·6 to 40·6 cm.), and that for the front from 13 to 15 inches (33 to 38 cm.), strips of linen 3 inches (7·6 cm.) wide for the collar and 4 inches (10·2 cm.) for the front, and about one inch longer than the required length are used.

The two little borders for the front-opening are worked parallel to one another about an inch apart as shown at a, a¹ (Plate VIIA), and then just at the inner edge of the work the cloth is doubled back and the folded edge buttonholed over. This process is indicated in the lower part of " A ". When the front is applied to the garment, the strip is cut between the two " a's ", and helps to neaten both the right and the wrong sides of the opening.

The worked strip tacked on to the left hand side of " A " is the collar piece.

Nos. 1936·24—41. There are eleven complete sets, three front-openings and two collar pieces in the collection. All are Montenegrin in origin, and they include a variety of patterns, many of which are traditional " . . . and are copied from one another without any marking out. The wife of the German Minister at Cetinje at the time of the Balkan wars had collected two hundred different patterns." (M.E.D.).

A few of the more interesting patterns in the collection are illustrated on Plate VII where, at " A " (No. 1936·24), there is a very popular and neat little motive known as " . . . ' mala krushka ' or little pear. The wild crab-pear is common in these lands, hard and astringent, but with a pear flavour." (M.E.D.).*

The pattern at " B " (No. 1936·26) is called " . . . ' kukatcha ', the scorpion fly. It appears to represent a fly with bent tail and sting, the group of three alternating stitches at the top being wings. ' Krstatz ' figured at ' C ' (No. 1936·25) is a stylised form of the four-leaved Herb Paris, which has four leaves with a berry in the middle." (M.E.D.).†

Combinations of motives are often made, and there are many varieties of the motives themselves, whilst another example at " d " on Plate I is similar to one named

* M. E. Durham: " Balkan Peninsula. Place Names." *Man.* March 1923.
† M. E. Durham: " Some Balkan Embroidery Patterns." *Man.* May 1923.

[Text continues on p. 41]

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Bulgaria EE8
Albania EG1

B 292 286 531

An elaborate border surrounds the apron which is edged all round with a row of fringe, about an inch in width, in red and browns, but at the lower edge by two additional rows of short fringe in scarlet and crimson, and then a four inch fringe of scarlet backed with brown, having a handsome wrapped heading three-quarters of an inch deep.

The heading of the first narrow fringe is of strip brass made into flattened tubes round bunches of the threads, next to this comes a row of black and white beads, then three rows of brass tubes used like long beads, a three-quarter inch band of gold braid with an open lace edging of gold measuring another half inch. The whole border is finished off by another row of alternate black and white beads (Fig. 6 " c ").

At the lower edge of the apron as shown at " C " on Plate IX two more rows of the gold braid are added as well as the deeper fringe. All this heavy work at the lower edge of the apron is strengthened at the back by pieces of felt at the corners and a broad woven black and white braid above the top row of the fringe.

In addition to these garments the woman might wear a jelek and, for out-of-doors, a fairly long white woollen coat with more embroidery or braiding.

CHAPTER XII.

Some Garments from Zadrima.

A 291 286 531

The group of specimens illustrated on Plate X are the more decorative parts of the attire of a peasant woman from Zadrima, a town near Scutari, on the River Drin. The colouring is predominantly Turkey red with touches of yellow, white (either as background or ornament), a little green and a little dark blue.

In addition to those articles shown there would be a shirt with decorated oshvitza, perhaps with the opening as a cross-over, and a full skirt of heavy material.

No. 1935-28. The jelek (Plate XA and B), which was worn over the shirt, has a foundation of a diagonally woven cotton cloth, like a twill, which from the irregularity of the weaving appears to be of home production. This is stiffened with parchment or some similar substance and lined with a fine imported, slightly glazed calico.

The garment is 12 inches (30·5 cm.) deep and 17 inches (43·2 cm.) wide, and has two added flaps of scarlet felt in the front which are decorated with half buttons of gilded brass.

It is bordered, and the back divided into panels by an inch wide band of plaited braids made up alternately of three square plaited red braids each having eight strands, and four variegated braids in red, yellow, white and black consisting of four red, two black, two red and two yellow strands. Eight of the threads in the latter are used as two groups of four for cores over which the other two are plaited, a new colour pair being taken from the core as required. Inside the plaited border round the neck and down the front a bright strip of gold and scarlet ribbon is applied, this is represented by the dotted band in Plate XA and B.

The two shaped panels in the front are ornamented by lines and an Ionic wave pattern made by sewing down side by side a scarlet and a yellow cord.

[Text continues on page 49]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

The principal panel on the back has a white ground outlined by border lines and a similar wave worked in the same way, but the conventional flower pattern which fills the rest of the space is braided solidly in red cord, with eight radiating wavy motives in yellow. The two side panels are very simply braided with yellow on a background of scarlet felt. "The braiding is done entirely by men." (M.E.D.). 291 286 531

No. 1936-60. The Zadrima woman's head scarf is nearly five feet long without its little corner tassels, and eighteen inches wide. One half is shown on Plate X at "C". It is made of a fine, but rather open, tabby weave of cotton, dyed pale yellow, and in the unworked part there are some thicker weft stripes in natural coloured cotton. It is heavily and handsomely decorated for most of its length, and the lay-out and design of the patterns is indicated at "C", where the dotted lines which separate the geometrical patterns represent a series of weft stripes, mainly red but with touches of dark blue. These stripes are woven over groups of warp threads, each spool carrying a bundle of weft threads, as many as six or eight very fine ones being used. The patterns themselves are also worked in with similar bundles of weft threads, and have been woven into the cloth by means of a number of free spools, one for each colour in each motive. The result is a very much raised design of great richness.

A similar result could be obtained by embroidery, but the pull of the multiple threads used would be greater and the raised effect, both on the back as well as the front, much less.

It will be noticed that alternate rows in the pattern are the same, the device at "b" on Plate X being the motive. Although these patterns are the same they are not worked exactly under one another, which suggests that the woven pattern is not dependent upon an elaborate arrangement of heddles but rather that there were the usual two heddles necessary for the tabby ground and a third, or a shed stick, which lifted two and kept down three warps to form a shed for use in picking up the patterns by hand with the free spools.

"It is of some interest to note that recently the French Customs House refused flatly to believe that similar work was woven, and declared the border to be hand-embroidered, and wanted to charge it as such. Such handsome head-dresses are no longer made." (M.E.D.).

A festival head-dress from the same district is described in Chapter XV, where other head-dresses are discussed.

No. 1935-77. A bag, measuring 17 inches (43·2 cm.) wide and 12 inches (30·5 cm.) deep, which goes with the jelek, head-scarf and leggings, is worked with free spools on a rather open hand-woven cloth, exactly in the same way as the scarf, but is a coarser piece of work and less interesting in colour, which is again mainly red with touches of dull yellow and black (Plate XD). There is one interesting difference, however; in this example the patterns are carried out in coarse wool whilst in the head-scarf the work is done by very fine cotton thread used in bundles.

A thick, three-stranded plaited cord in red, black and yellow, just over six feet long, is attached along the sides of the bag and forms loops for carrying. The bag is worn over one shoulder and leaves the hands free. The sides of the bag are seamed to the cord, and three thick woollen tassels decorate each side.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291 286 531

No. 1935-68. One of a pair of leggings for a Zadrima woman is illustrated at "E" on Plate X. The foundation is of knitting done in coarse wool, the foot portion striped in yellow and green, two stitches of each colour alternately, and the top portion in the design indicated at "E", in red and black.

The part below the latter is covered as far down as the ankle with red felt upon which braided patterns in scarlet, yellow and white are sewn down, and five rows of fine stitchery taken right through the knitting divide each set of motives.

The outer side of the legging is the part that has been drawn. On the inner side is a plainer panel, divided for the whole length of the felt, finished off with a felt flap, and both sides of the division hooked together with strong brass hooks and eyes. This arrangement ensures a well-fitted legging which is warm, comfortable and decorative. Over the knitted foot part a leather "opanga" would be worn.

[177] "Similar leggings, with local differences of pattern and colour, were formerly worn in many districts. This was the only pair I was able to obtain." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER XIII.

Women's Jeleks.

In addition to the jelek on Plate X worn by a Zadrima woman, there are five others from Albania in the collection.

These little sleeveless jackets or zouaves are worn by both women and men in many districts and are usually beautifully decorated, chiefly by braiding, which is done by Albanian tailors. Amongst those not yet described is one of outstanding workmanship and design, that presented to Miss Durham by the Beys forming the provisional government of Berat in July, 1913, in token of gratitude. She says, "Korcha was occupied by Greek troops in the Balkan war of 1912-13, and the Greeks claimed it. Along with Mr. H. W. Nevinson (the famous war correspondent), I rode three days over the mountains, arriving at Berat early in the morning, and drafted a telegram to the Council of Ambassadors in London as a petition from the inhabitants of Korcha saying they wished to remain Albanian, and Korcha remains Albanian to this day as a result of that desperate ride."

[721 648]

No. 1937-19. This jelek, which has a foundation of black face cloth, either Austrian or Italian in origin, is entirely covered with gold embroidery, both raised and flat, in which expert use is made of gold thread or passing, gold cord, purl and sequins.

The design on the front, of conventional eight and four-petalled flowers connected by graceful curves and mingled with raised geometrical forms, is so elaborate that a reduced drawing of it would be unsatisfactory, but a small portion of one corner of actual size is reproduced in Fig. 7b, which also shows the four rows of plaited gold passing divided by three rows of gold cord which border the whole garment.

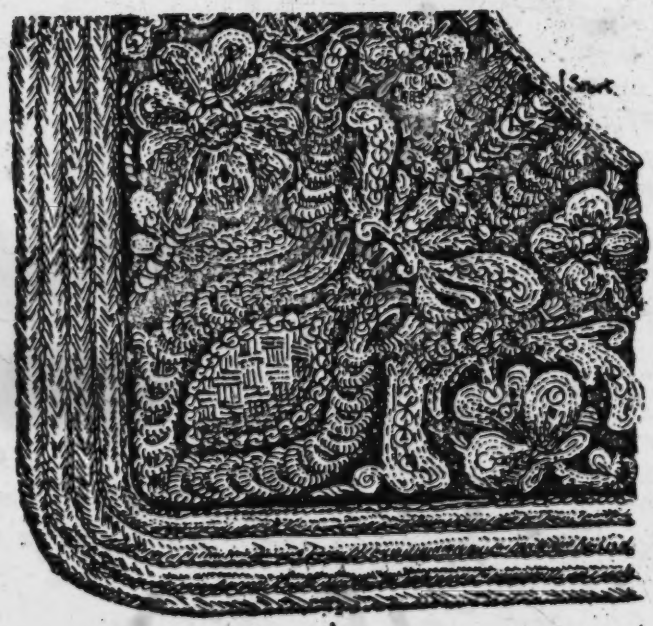
The back has a large bi-symmetrical motive which fills most of the space, and is bordered by the same design that almost encircles the armhole. A part of this border from near the lower edge at the back is given on Fig. 7a. The little added flaps at the front, usually found on jeleks, are absent from this specimen, being re-

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

placed by gold lace of a continuous wave pattern similar to the Ionic wave. Two buttons are wrapped with gold thread in a manner like those enlarged at "d" on Plate XI, and plain loops complete the fastening. 291 286 531

The garment is lined with yellow cotton material, nicely printed with red, daisy-like flowers, which appears to be English in origin.

a



b

FIG. 7.—Gold embroidery on presentation jelek. a, Portion of border surrounding back panel. b, Small portion of decoration on the front.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291
286
531

Great richness of effect is produced by such close work in gold, which can only be compared to expert church embroideries, or those decorating some diplomatic uniforms, although the technique is much finer than is usual on these latter garments.

No. 1935-75. A very elegant jelek of violet velvet, almost entirely covered with gold cord and matching violet silk braids and cords, which comes from Ipek (Pec) and belonged to a Moslem woman, has a rather pathetic history. "In the Balkan war of 1912-13 the Montenegrins took Ipek and treated the Moslem inhabitants with hideous brutality. Numbers fled with little but what they stood up in, and sold their garments to buy bread. This was sold by one of these poor victims who had been well-to-do." (M.E.D.). The front and back of the little jacket are illustrated in Plate XI at "A" and "B"; but the refined richness of the purple braiding round the edge and outlining the panels, and the rows of patterned cord work surrounding the gold motive in the centre of the back, cannot be successfully given, as if these parts were made dark as they are in the garment details could not be effectively shown. Gold cord braiding decorates the long narrow front panel (a part is shown at "b"), and there is a little running border on the collar (Plate XI "a"). The inside band, which appears light in the drawing (Plate XIA) consists of eight rows of plaited gold passing sewn down with purple silk. The two side panels in the front (Plate XI "c") have the gold ornament worked in twisted gold thread with the background filled in by rows of purple silk cord. The side panel at the back is similarly worked. Finally the front-opening has sixteen very handsome gold buttons, each made by covering a wooden mould with gold thread, a little purple cord as contrast to emphasize the arrangement of the wrapping, and seven coral beads (Plate XI "d").

[27]

The jacket is lined with a printed cotton lining of mid-Victorian design.

No. 1936-42. Fine black cloth is the foundation of the third jelek, which is bordered by five, plaited, black silk cords, which along the lower edge of the jacket form a large Ionic wave design, each spiral being centred by a rather poor variety of gilt ribbon.

The same ribbon is placed as a stripe down the front, and between it and the braided edge there is a neat little pattern of leaves with a wavy stem worked in gold cord.

The back of the jelek has a centre and two side panels handsomely braided in white silk cord. The design, with its four-petalled flower, has a great similarity to the one on the back of the Zadrima jelek on Plate X, but is much more finely planned and worked. Raised centres of cord enhance the effect of the flowers and form the mid-rib of the conventional leaves.

The white cord design has a fine black cord outline but the black background renders this almost invisible. A black and white braid sewn in close loops finishes off the curves at the lower edge, and on each of the little added flaps in the front there are ten half-buttons in gilt brass.

No. 1939-1. The fourth of the jeleks in this group is an example of one covered entirely with work in gold braid.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

At the lower edge it has the waved border, so usual in the south, consisting of four parallel rows of plaited gold braid, which are carried up the front and round the neck also. The small panels on the front have a leaf design with a raised midrib

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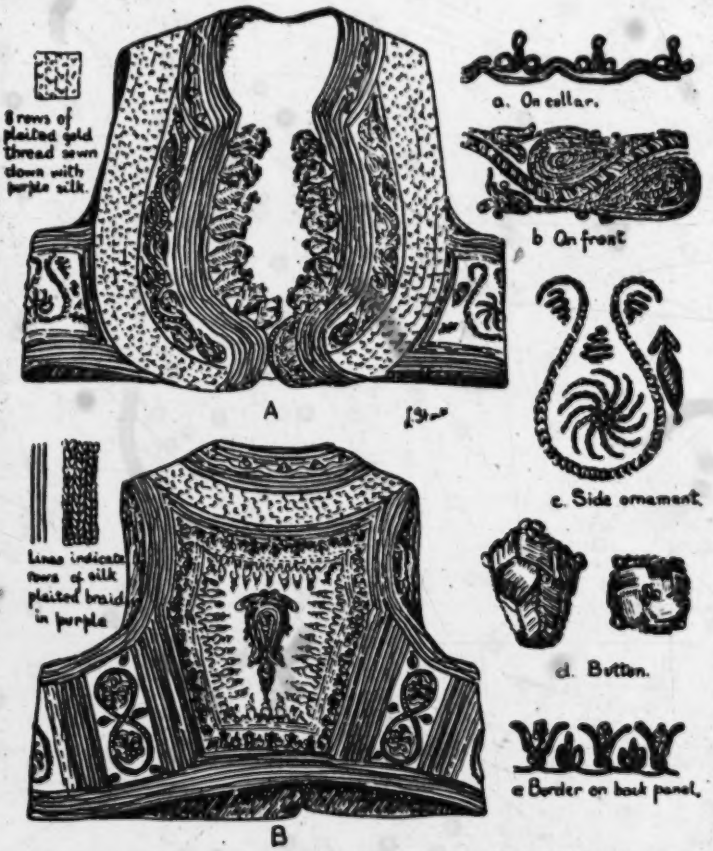

PLATE XI.—A, B, Front and back of "jelek" of reddish-purple velvet, elaborately decorated with braided patterns worked in fine cords and plaits made of purple silk and of gold passing. (From Ipek, Albania). a, b, c, e, Details of patterns worked in gold. d, Side and top of button covered by gold cord with red coral beads.

similar to "d" on Plate XIII. The back is divided into three panels, like the Zadrima example on Plate X, and these panels are entirely filled with the popular four-petalled flower motive, having a raised ring in the centre.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
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291 The whole of this pattern work is braided in fine gold cord, and the usual half-
286 buttons of gilt brass decorate the little added flaps on the front, just like the Zadrima
531 example.

No. 1936-119. The last of the jelek in this group is another beautifully gold embroidered one given by Mrs. E. W. Hickson, which belongs to the magnificent gold braided giubba (No. 1936-118), described later.

It is made of an extremely fine black face cloth. The fronts are entirely covered by braiding in fine gold cord, four, six and many-petalled flowers growing out of sweeping curves fill most of the space, with leaves and smaller flowers in between. Most of the flower petals are slightly raised as in the presentation jelek (No. 1937-19).

The neck and front edges have broad bands formed of a series of gold plaited braids laid closely in rows in a similar manner to the other examples, and the plain back of the garment is also outlined and the seams emphasised by similar plaited braid and gold cord. This garment is particularly interesting as the worn-out
[296] lining has been removed and the method of strengthening the cloth with parchment before working the braiding can be plainly seen.

When this garment is compared with its companion giubba it will be noted that a plain back was necessary as that of the giubba itself is heavily gold braided (Plate XIV).

CHAPTER XIV.

A. The Costume of a Roman Catholic Woman of Scutari.

291 In Albania, as elsewhere, native costume is rapidly disappearing, but when these
292 specimens were collected between 1908 and 1914 it was almost universally worn, a
531 different dress in different districts and for different religions; and the charming drawing by Miss Durham which forms the introduction to Section II (Plate V) illustrates the costume of a married Roman Catholic Scutarene. The scarlet outer cloak or "japangi" is worn over a sleeveless coat or "giubba", of which only the edge shows in the picture, and from whose pocket slot depends a large fancy silk handkerchief.

Under the flap of the japangi, which can be seen being held in position on the head by a cord, a lace veil is draped, partly concealing the face, and a fancy muslin, embroidered apron hangs down in front of the baggy trousered skirt (Plate VI e) with its stiff ankle bands, which in this Catholic woman's costume would be red, although otherwise similar to the gold braided ones belonging to a Moslem woman of Scutari which are figured on Plate XVIc.

An embroidered muslin shirt is worn under the trousered skirt, and girdled with a striped silk scarf, or a needleworked girdle with long ends (Plate XVIF). White knitted socks and Turkish shoes complete this out-of-door costume.

The details of the various items in the costume are discussed in the notes which follow, with the exception of the veil which is described in the chapter dealing with head-dresses.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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All the designs are filled in solidly with the fine cord, and detail, such as veining, emphasised with the coarser cord, the final effect of their flowing curvilinear designs in black silk on a dark background being very handsome, yet subdued.

No. 1936-118. The most magnificent garment in the whole collection as well as the most beautiful from an artistic standpoint is this Albanian lady's giubba or coat (Plate XIV), presented by Mrs. E. L. Hickson, a sister of Miss Durham.

It is of fine black face cloth decorated on the front, back and hem by handsome braided designs in fine gold cord.

The cut of the coat is very elegant and varies somewhat from that just described and illustrated. The garment is built to fit a slender woman and the same small back appears, outlined by solid bands of gold one and a half inches wide, made up of seven rows of plaited gold passing, with gold cord between, but the skirt part is much fuller.

A complete circle of 40-42 inches (about 1 m.) radius was used to make the skirt with an overlap of about one foot in the front, where the cloth is cleverly cut so as to continue upwards for the front of the bodice part. For the waist a concentric circle of 9 inches to 11 inches was cut away so that the depth of the skirt became 31 inches (78·8 cm.) and all the extra fulness was skilfully gathered into the waist at the back, forming folds which add great dignity and elegance to the garment, and which give balance to the coat in wear. The lining, which is a printed cotton, with patterned stripes having alternate backgrounds of red and green, is of Mid-Victorian date so the giubba is probably at least eighty years old, yet its gold work and the cloth are in as perfect condition as if it had been made today.

No verbal description can give adequate expression to the beauty of this specimen, but the refinement of the border which edges the curved hem must be specially mentioned, and at "c", "d" and "e" on Plate XIV some idea of the braided designs is given, these must be translated in the reader's mind into fine gold cord braiding on a velvety black surface.

The last of the jeleks just described was worn with this giubba, and the gold braided front has similar designs. When the heavily decorated back of the coat is noted, the reason for leaving the cloth in the back of the jelek plain is quite obvious, and worn together, probably with a silk trousered skirt or Turkish trousers, the effect would be very handsome.

CHAPTER XV.

Head-dresses.

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As was mentioned in the introduction to Section II, there is a great deal of variation in the types of head-dresses worn in Albania and Southern Yugoslavia, but they fall into three main categories, the large lace or embroidered net or muslin veil worn by Moslem and many Roman Catholic women, the square head kerchief and the long scarf.

There are two examples of the large lace veil in the collection, one being the example worn by the Roman Catholic woman from Scutari (Skodar) whose costume is illustrated on Plate V.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
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No. 1935-76. This is a very fine cotton net veil measuring 4 feet (1·3 m.) square, handsomely embroidered in floss silk. The design consists of a border 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide, of which a small portion near a corner is illustrated in Fig. 8; large corner motives of a bouquet form, about 14 inches (35·6 cm.) square, reach almost to the centre and little floral sprays spot the remaining space.

FIG. 8.—Part of the silk outlined and darned border on a silk lace veil.

The style of the lace, as can be seen from Fig. 8, is a fairly free treatment of floral forms. It is executed in an outline of double running with darning stitches and satin stitch as the chief filling-in stitches, although there are some ornamental filling stitches and overcast eyelets.

[171]

The method of working this embroidered lace is similar in style and execution to the darned laces worked in England in the early 19th Century, and to some of those of Austria and Hungary of the same period and of somewhat earlier date*.

* "Peasant Art in Austria and Hungary." The Studio, Special Number, Autumn 1911.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
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No. 1936-116. The second example of the large semi-transparent veil also comes from Scutari, and is beautifully embroidered on fine sheer muslin. It is 4 feet (1·3 m.) square and the scheme of decoration is somewhat similar to the previous specimen, consisting of a border and large floral motives reaching from the corners almost to the centre.

The technique is interesting as a variation in surface texture and is obtained by the use of a soft white cotton as well as white floss silk for the stitching, thus in a spray of leaves some will be worked in satin-stitch in silk with a fine chain-stitch outline worked in soft white cotton, whilst others will be filled with satin stitch in soft white cotton and have no special outline. Sometimes a flower will be partly worked on the wrong side and the rest solidly on the right, thus producing a contrasting softness such as is seen in modern shadow embroidery. Many fancy fillings are used, and the centres of the larger flowers consist of very fine drawn thread work whipped over to form an openwork of small squares. For the needlewoman this veil is full of suggestions as regards stitchery as well as the decorative treatment of floral motives, and there are also some rather amusing birds with sprigs of leaves in their mouths, possibly symbolic of the return of the dove to the ark, hovering over the big corner motives.

A. 9

The two examples of head kerchiefs are both illustrated on Plate XV and are from Prizren in the Kossovo Villayet.

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The one at " A " is of fine hand-woven cotton cloth of a natural creamy colour, and is embroidered in silk with touches of gold thread. The design at the corner is reminiscent of the Persian pink, and the little triangular-shaped motives round the edge are a variant of the tree of life, which is so prevalent as a motive in embroideries from the Near East.

The corner spray is worked mainly in pink and green, the flowers being executed in an open stitch whose working is drawn at " c " on Plate XV, and the leaves and stems being variations of (v.) and (vi.) at " d " on the same plate. The combination of (v.) and (vi.) is sometimes known as triangular Turkish stitch. Both these stitches are used by other peoples in the south-eastern parts of Europe where both sides of the embroidery are made to look alike*.

The tree of life is in pink, green and gold, and its alternate motive, like a fruit tree on a mound, is in brown and pink with the mound in deep blue outlined in gold.

Little multi-coloured silk tassels adorn the corners, and the edge is rolled and closely whipped with cream silk.

No. 1935-30. The other head kerchief is worked in silk and gold on a rather openly woven muslin of gauze-like effect. One corner is shown at " B " on Plate XV, and is worked in very bright aniline colours somewhat toned down by black stems and pale pink and gold thread outlines. The flower border is carried out in vivid green with black outlines and little gold thread squares, the stitch used for filling the pattern being that sketched at " d ". The stems and lines consist of two rows of (v) d with (vi) d between them. The raw edge is rolled and whipped, but not so neatly as in the previous example which is probably older, and certainly more skilfully worked.

* Laura E. Start: " Armenian Embroideries." The Needlewoman, No. 4, 1930.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

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The two head scarves also depicted on Plate XV are good specimens of embroidery in metal thread, and have a strong affinity with Turkish work.

No. 1936-46. The scarf shown at "E" is from northern Albania, and is of cream coloured, gauze-like muslin, worked entirely in gold thread and gold plate. One of the motives has been enlarged at "g" in order to show how the two working materials have been used. The edge near the decorated ends is closely buttonholed with cream silk.

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No. 1935-92. The other example, drawn at "F" on Plate XIV, is of much more skilled workmanship. The material is hand-woven silk with broad stripes of heavier silk weft, and the embroidered ends are worked in a pale gold thread with touches of vivid colours here and there. The two motives have a likeness to the familiar pine pattern of India and Persia, and are filled in solidly with gold basket-stitch separated by double lines of slanting stitches giving the effect of a plait. The two ends are beautifully finished off by a scalloped edge of needle-point worked in fine cream silk with the tiny scallops filled in with black.

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The remaining five scarf head-dresses, which are worn with the worked ends hanging down the back, are all from Zadrima, a district near Scutari, on the banks of the river Drin. Two of them are for festival wear, and these both have their patterns worked mainly in gold thread, with outlines and some smaller motives in crimson, emerald and purple silk.

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No. 1935-[illegible]. The handsomer of the two has a foundation of fine yellow cotton gauze, with wide stripes of different widths of white silk. It is hand-woven, and there are 36 warp ends and 60 weft picks to the inch in the plain parts of the cloth, which is 19 inches (48·2 cm.) wide and, including the scanty weft fringe at the ends, 4 feet 8 inches (1·4 m.) long.

The handsome border at either end is 11¾ inches (29·8 cm.) wide, including three, quarter-inch, gold thread weft stripes filling a space of 2 inches (5·1 cm.) on either side of the main pattern. The latter is divided by four narrow, multiple weft stripes of white, gold, red and green into a wide central border and two narrower ones.

The wider border consists of paired and single lozenges used alternately, their longer diagonals being horizontal, and in between them vertical zig-zag lines. All these are brocaded in by means of small free spools carrying three gold threads wound tape-wise. The gold lozenges are outlined with scarlet, purple and green floss silk, also worked in by means of free spools.

The narrower borders consist of single lozenges in gold, also outlined in colours, and with small, coloured silk devices between.

The effect of brocading each small motive by its individual spool produces a similar result to a darned-in pattern.

No. 1937-7. The other "festal" head-dress is similar in material although the cotton gauze ground is of a more greenish yellow, and its weft stripes are of cotton instead of silk. It is 20 inches (50·8 cm.) wide and 4 feet 4 inches (1·3 m.) in length, but the decorative borders at the ends are only 5 inches (12·7 cm.) wide, consisting of a wide central pattern and two narrower ones divided by multiple weft stripes.

[Text continues on p. 65]

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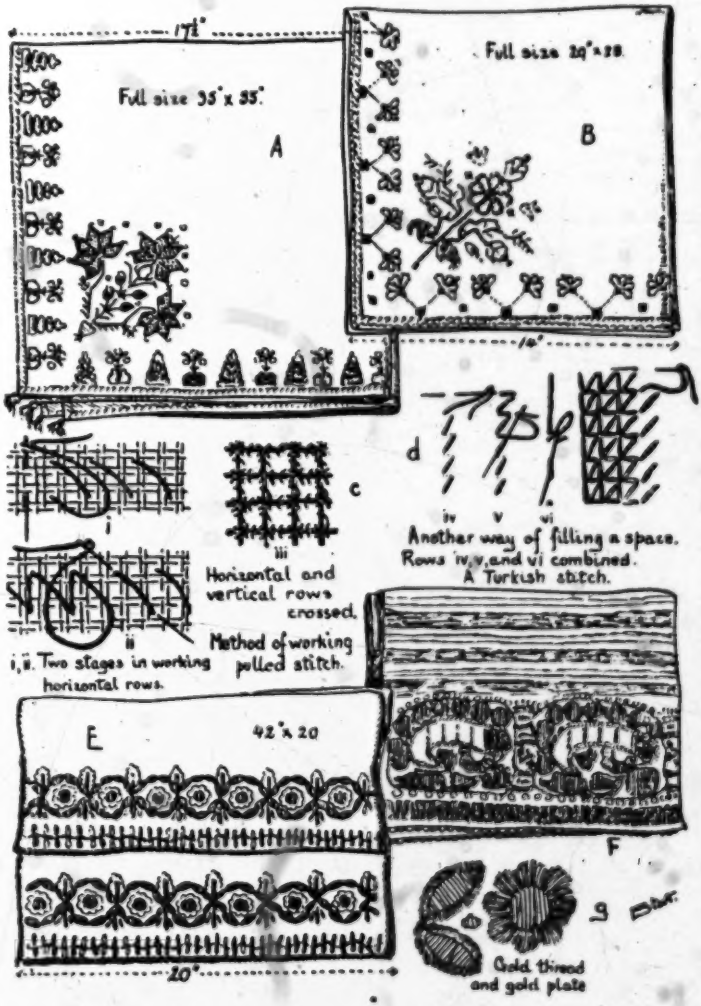

PLATE XV.—A, B, Two head squares from Prizren. c, d, Details of stitches used on them. E, F, Two head scarves from Scutari and N. Albania. g, Detail of E.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
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The narrow borders are brocaded with the six-armed cross or star which can be seen at " C " on Plate X. These are worked in series in yellow and red silk and gold thread.

The main central band has an hour-glass shaped motive consisting of one complete and two half lozenges, worked in gold thread, alternating with a single lozenge in coloured silk having a gold centre, and above and below it lines with right-angled triangles at each end worked in gold and red. The whole pattern is brocaded in with free spools just as in the previous example and, " . . . the woman who wove it and several other head-dresses had a husband, born crippled, who begged in the streets of Scutari. They lived in a miserable one-roomed hovel, a large part of which was occupied by her loom, by means of which she supported herself, her husband and as many of her children as survived. (An addition came every year). The family slept in a heap on the ground by the loom on which she worked these gorgeous patterns. You bargained for the price, paid for so much gold thread and silk, and left choice of design and colour to her. She had no patterns and did it all out of her head. The gold thread came from Austria but the silk was locally spun ". (M.E.D.).

No. 1937-9. This head scarf is one of the handsome old ones with weft stripes and brocaded borders worked in red, yellow and green wool. It is very similar in design and lay-out to the one figured at " C " on Plate X, except that in addition to the decorated ends there is also a band of decoration in the middle, and in place of the cross-like motive at " b " there is a conventional four-petalled flower.

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The material is a native-woven cotton cloth 18 inches wide, in natural colour, with brown weft stripes of varying width in the plain section on either side of the middle. The widest of these brown stripes has a simple spot motive worked mainly in red.

The scarf which is just over four feet long has a fringe of red and yellow tassels at either end, and its general effect is very handsome.

No. 1936-61. The eighteen inch wide cotton cloth used for this head-dress has a central portion of plain tabby weave of a rather muslin-like texture, and five ornamental borders totalling 11 inches wide at either end of its length of 5 feet 3 inches (1·6 m.). Their ends are unusual in that the four borders of brocaded pattern, on which the motives are mostly similar to those of the other Zadrima head scarves, are worked on a weft stripe of yellow as background.

The central border of the five, which with these intervening coloured weft stripes forms the ornamental end, is differently produced. The motives are the usual double lozenge and hour-glass arrangement, worked respectively in white cotton and green wool on a background of red, with smaller lozenges of gold thread and yellow wool to fill in the spaces, but the whole pattern had been tapestry-woven and not brocaded.

This method is also employed in the decoration of some of the hand towels and, although the process is exactly the same as that employed for the heavy aprons described in Section I, when carried out in very much finer threads the effect is very different.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
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Montenegrins EF5

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No. 1935-32. This is another head scarf of hand woven cotton of a muslin-like quality, with heavier weft stripes of a coarser cotton thread used double. It has three narrow brocaded borders in red and yellow at the ends measuring 3¼ inches over all, in which the motive at "b" on Plate X forms the two outer borders, and the double lozenge and hour-glass motives fill the central one.

This is the least interesting of the examples of head-dresses.

CHAPTER XVI.

Footwear.

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Throughout Albania and Yugoslavia both men and women peasants and people of the mountain tribes wear two pairs of socks and a sandal, "opanga" or "opanke," of roughly dried hide over them when out-of-doors. Both their pairs of socks are knitted from rather coarse strong wool, the inner ones are usually white and the outer ones of gay colours handsomely embroidered or braided.

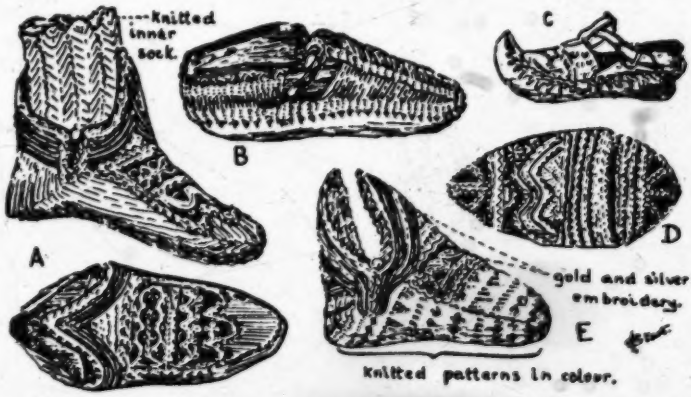

FIG. 9.—A, Silver braided knitted outer with inner sock. Grouda, W. Albania. B, String opanke with leather sole from Montenegro. C, Child's opanke of leather from Nish. D, Knitted outer sock with needle worked decoration. E, Outer sock from Kastrati tribe.

"The two layers of sock are needed to protect the sole of the foot as the hide used in the sandals or 'opanke' is thin and pliant. On entering the house the opanke are removed and the decorative over-sock forms a slipper." (M.E.D.).

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There are six pairs of over-socks in the collection, and two pairs have their inner socks still inside them.

No. 1935-73. Three of the styles are shown in Fig. 9. The drawing at "A" is of a particularly handsome example from Grouda, in Western Albania. The over-sock is knitted from violet wool with the back of the heel and the front of the foot decorated by plaited silver braid and cord, outlined by a plait of black and silver.

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Half a dozen rows of black silk braid strengthen the top, and a button and loop fasten the short side-opening. An indication of the braid pattern appears in "A", where both a side and top view of the over-sock are given and the feather patterned welt of the inner sock is also shewn.

Another set of two pairs of socks, also from Grouda, have a knitted foundation of reddish-violet wool and are braided in silver and black in a similar design to those just described. The pair of white inner socks have a fancy welt.

No. 1937-18. An example from Northern Albania is figured at "E". In this pair of over-socks the black knitted portion has a number of simple geometrical patterns worked into it as shown in the drawing, these are in cerise, red, orange, emerald and gold thread, and produce a gay result. The top edge is strengthened as in the previous cases with many rows of black braid and some silver braid and cord, and a small rectangular panel of silver braiding decorates the top of the foot.

No. 1935-74. The specimen drawn at "D" in Fig. 9 is ornamented quite differently, being entirely embroidered not braided. The foundation is of knitted black wool, and on the top of the foot there are rows of chain-stitch in fine gold thread alternating with a white vandyke pattern worked like needle-point. The heel and toe are decorated with lines of white chain-stitch flanked by herringboning on either side, and in the centre there are two scallops outlined with white and gold thread chain-stitch and vandykes. Between these scallops and the toe are some small conventional flowers in scarlet and white. The under part or sole of the sock is also decorated with rows of white herringboning and scattered red and white spots.

No. 1936-52. Another gay pair was made for Miss Durham by a Moslem refugee from Gashi. The knitted portion has a lemon yellow sole, and the upper part at the toe has some concentric lozenges in emerald, violet, lemon, white and crimson.

The open edge is heavily braided with rows of plaited black wool, and filling in a rectangular space below (such as "E" in Fig. 9) is a patch of violet felt ornamented with rows and triangles of silver braid.

No. 1937-17. This pair of over-socks is knitted from red wool, and was made and embroidered for the Krasnichi tribe of Moslem Albanians. The scheme of decoration is very like that of 1935-74, the white vandyke border is used on toe and heel in exactly the same way as the herringboning in "D" (Fig. 9) and the main pattern on the top of the foot is similar, though more carefully planned; it consists of two big vandykes outlined with many rows of gold and black chain-stitch divided into three sections by rows of little white needlepoint vandykes. Rows of gold chain-stitch worked at right angles fill in the spaces.

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No. 1936-62. The pair of Montenegrin "opanke" illustrated at "B" in Fig. 9, have hide soles and neatly worked tops of white twine. "When newly made the soles are soaked in oil till pliable. They then mould themselves to the feet, and give the toes and sole a good grip on rocks. The soles of this pair are worn through as I tramped many miles in them." (M.E.D.).

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No. 1936-64. A child's "opanke" from Ni is drawn at "C" in Fig. 9. It is of orange and red leather with a little appliqué of cloth and some silver thread embroidery on the toe.

[Erratum, read "Niš" — Analyst]

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
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Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

CHAPTER XVII.

Accessories from the Southern Area.

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Amongst the odds and ends of the collection are some interesting accessories to costume of which the most important are sketched on Plate XV.

No. 1937-8. Perhaps the daintiest of them all is a hand-woven, natural coloured muslin apron from Prizren ("A" on Plate XVI). It has silk weft stripes arranged alternately in groups of five narrow and one broad, with seven narrow stripes.

As the apron is made of two pieces of the 18 inch wide material with the selvedges going across, the silk stripes appear lengthwise in the garment. The two selvedges are joined by a silk lacing stitch.

Down either side there is a plain muslin stripe about 2 inches wide, which is charmingly embroidered in silk. The flowers are worked in pairs, first two in pale pink with a deep pink border, then two in blue with a gold thread border. The leaves at the back of the flower are outlined in green and sometimes filled in with a pink pulled-stitch, similar to "c" on Plate XV, sometimes with satin-stitch in gold thread. The leaves sprouting from the main stem are outlined in pinkish brown and filled with satin-stitch in gold, and the green main stem has a line of gold thread down the centre. A portion of the pattern, giving some idea of the stitches used is enlarged at "b" on Plate XVI.

No. 1935-89. A gold galon and gold braided trouser end for a Moslem woman's full trousers or trousered skirt (Plate VI e) is shown at "C" on Plate XVI. The gold work and braid are mounted on a stiff foundation and lined with white cotton material and, being very stiff, help to keep the lower edges of the garment from the ground.

"Similar bands were used by the Christian women of the district, but they were usually red." (M.E.D.).

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No. 1936-50. A man's cap from Montenegro, drawn at "D" on Plate XVI, has symbolic colouring. The crown is of red felt and is "in memory of the blood shed at the battle of Kossovo, and the black silk border which is finely gathered on to the crown represents mourning for the defeat." (M.E.D.).

In this battle, in 1389, the Serbian empire was destroyed by Sultan Murad I and their king killed. The letters "H I", worked in raised gold thread inside a space outlined by five rows of gold braid, are cyrillic letters representing the Roman ones 'N I', for King Nikola I who, during his reign 1860-1918, obtained recognition of the independence of Montenegro in the Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

No. 1935-84. At "E" on the same plate the front and back of a knitted and beaded glove from Montenegro is drawn. It is one "such as were worn by old men in the winter, although such elaborate ones were already becoming uncommon in 1907". (M.E.D.).

The glove has the finger part knitted in blue and red stripes, with three rows of spots of yellow on the blue, but the wrist portion has a pattern of elongated hexagons and a cross-like motive in blue on a red ground. The diagram with the thumb part

[Text continues on p. 70]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

M 291 531 286 in it shows a portion of this pattern, which has not been covered like all the rest with white beads, and a yellow chain-stitched outline. Little tassels of brown, blue and green with white beads at the ends also form part of the decoration.

A S 291 294 286 531 **No. 1935-72.** A delightful girdle for a Moslem woman's trousers of hand-woven muslin has very handsome decorated ends worked in Turkey red, with tiny spots of blue, yellow and white.

The pattern is clearly shown at "F" on Plate XV, the upper part has been woven in by means of a number of small spools, as many as twenty-five might be in use on the loom, as each perpendicular bit of the pattern needs its own spool. A similar effect could be got by darning, but such long strips of vertical pattern would not be as evenly worked.

The border at the end is either needle-woven or again fine spools used, but this time on the bare warp thread whilst in the loom, and it is therefore more akin to the tapestry method of working a pattern, with the warp thread pulled more tightly so as to leave holes. This method and style of pattern is sometimes called Persian open-work. The edge of the girdle is rolled and carefully whipped over with a cotton thread.

No. 1935-24. One half of a man's festival collar, worked in needlepoint in cream silk, is shown at "G" on Plate XV, and is a charming example of this method of producing lace.

Picots, solid buttonholing to form squares and triangles, and wrapped bars are the chief stitches used in making the patterns. The two narrow strips of fine linen probably formed a foundation for working upon.

"This is a similar type of collar to the one made fashionable by Byron." (M.E.D.).

No. 1935-23. An everyday collar for a man's wear is also included in the collection. It again has two strips of a coarser linen as foundation, and is decorated mainly by several rows of overcast scallops and picots worked in coarse cotton.

A 291 531 294 **No. 1937-15.** This specimen is a pair of crimson silk brocade sleeves, joined by a printed cotton back, for a Moslem Albanian woman's dress. "They were bought in Scutari in 1903 and could be attached to the shirt or blouse for wear under a jelek or a giubba" (M.E.D.). The pointed cuff is trimmed with gold braid and a motive worked in gold cord.

C 291 301 531 **No. 1939-2.** The remaining sketch on Plate XVI is of a silvered copper buckle such as would be worn over her corded waistband by the woman from Monastir (Bitolj), whose costume is illustrated on Plate IX.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Household Linen.

A Y 286 515 531 583 A. **"Marama" or Towels.**

There are thirteen towels in the collection, two of these "marama" for every day use have coloured weft stripes at the ends, the rest are guest or ceremonial towels and have ornamented ends, seven are embroidered and four are decorated with borders worked in by fine spools of small size, the appearance of the designs being like fine darning.

[Text continues on p. 72]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

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Montenegrins EF5

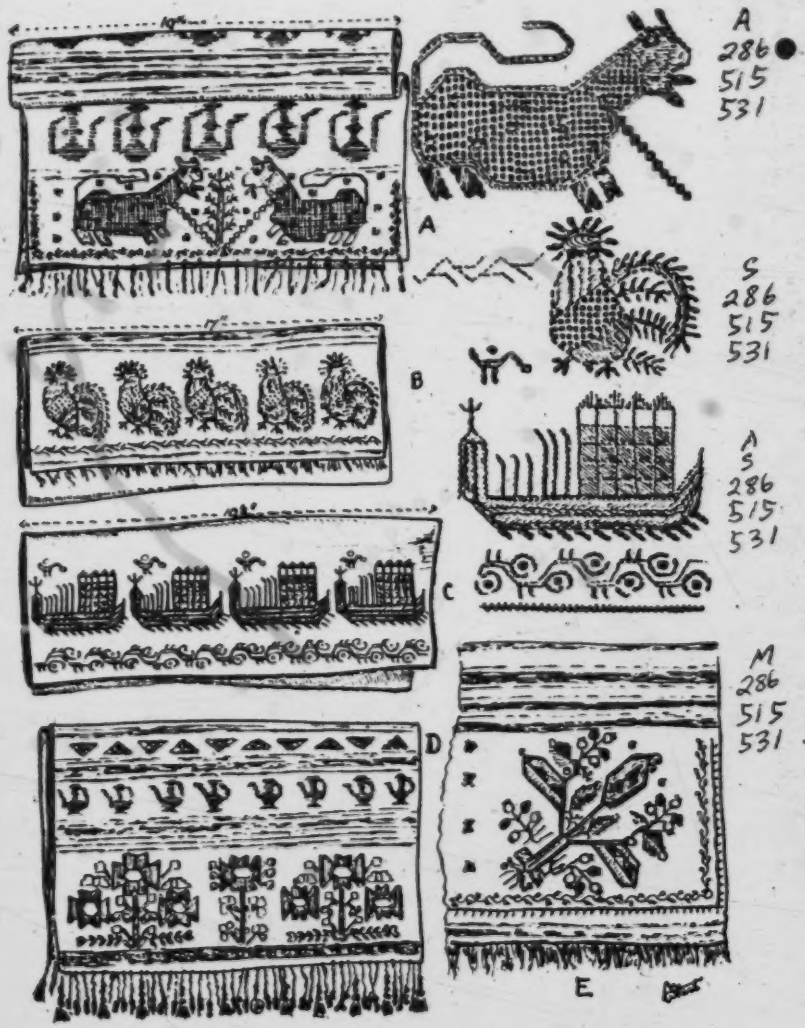

PLATE XVII.—" Marama " or towels. A, With " ibrik " or spouted water vessel, from Prizren. B, Cock design, from Kossova villayet. C, Ark and dove pattern, from Prizren. D From Kolanin. E, Design showing Turkish influence, from Prizren.

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"As a rule these embroidered towels are from wedding outfits, the bride's coffer." (M.E.D.).

No. 1937·11. Perhaps the most interesting of the embroidered group is an old marama bought at Prizren in 1908, which is probably Moslem Albanian work. It is of fine hand-spun and loosely woven cotton rather like a muslin, with groups of wide, double weft stripes in cotton and finer weft stripes in silk.

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In its length of four feet there are five plainly woven bands, three inches wide, decorated with free spool-woven "ibriks" or water vessels, and the plainly woven ends are embroidered. (Plate XVIIA).

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"The ibrik is a spouted vessel used to pour water on guests' hands before and after a meal. As no forks are used fingers needed washing, and it is probable that the native was taught hand-washing at meals by the Turk, who was not such a bad fellow as some people make out. 'Marama' and 'ibrik' are both Turkish words." (M.E.D.).

The two tethered beasts are worked in a violet-red silk in pulled stitch ("c" Plate XV), with outlines in pale blue and cream of the Turkish stitch shown at vi. in "d" on the same plate. This stitch, in apricot pink and pale yellow with a pale blue outline, is also used for filling in the animals' legs.

The "tree of life", to which the beasts are tethered by chains made of squares of gold thread, has a stem of gold plate worked diagonally bearing green leaves. The spots are worked in gold plate and the whole design has affinities with Persian pattern.

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No. 1937·12. Another "marama" of a similar weave, also with stripes weft of cotton and silk, has its ends embroidered with a procession of boldly stylised cocks, gaily worked in aniline dyed silks and gold thread (Plate XVIIB). Although the use of aniline dyes indicates that this towel is not very old, the pattern is probably a traditional one.

The body of each cock is outlined and the feet are worked in black, the head and most of the body is filled in with a flat or satin stitch in gold thread, as indicated by the slanting lines in the enlarged drawing, with a band of pulled stitch across the middle worked in violet. At the extreme edge there is a narrow border worked in coral pink, a colour which is also introduced as a small patch on the cock's neck.

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No. 1937·13. A motive representing "the dove returning to the ark" is repeated at the ends of a guest towel made of machine woven muslin (Plate XVIIc).

"This marama was obtained from Prizren and might be either Christian, Serb or Albanian work. The Ark seems to be based on the state galleys of the Middle Ages when Venice held the Adriatic coast, and is probably a traditional design. The curious rupling pattern below looks as though it might be symbolic, possibly a conventionalised dove, just the head and legs." (M.E.D.).*

The dark lines in the drawing are all worked in green in Turkish stitch, the bank of oars in the same stitch in red, and the dove in violet. The slanting lines represent flat or satin stitch worked in gold thread. Turkish stitch in violet, with a gold thread line down the centre, is used for the little border below the ark design. The whole of the plain part of the towel has a rolled edge very neatly oversewn, but where

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man.* Vol. XXIII, No. 8, 1923.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

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the patterned section comes this is replaced by a very fine picot edge worked in orange silk.

No. 1937·5. One half of an end of a gaily embroidered "marama" is drawn at "E" on Plate XVI. The material is hand-woven cotton of a muslin-like texture, which again has both silk and cotton weft stripes. The pattern shows a strong Turkish influence, the towel being bought in Prizren in 1908. Prizren was then in Turkish terr.

Gold thread and black silk help to tone down the gay, but rather hard, aniline greens, red, pink and violet, and the final result is bright but pleasing. Gold thread is used for the running border, lining the stems, filling in the white berries of the drawing and the square spots. The large and the fern-like leaves are solidly filled in with a variant of the Turkish stitch, in which the stitches are sloped both going and returning so that it is like two rows of a slanted running stitch. A rough fringe of the warp ends finishes off the lower edges. The selvedges at the sides have not been finished off in any way, and the carry over of the spools of silk and doubled cotton which were used for the stripes leave it rather untidy.

No. 1936·49. Another towel of similar material to the last, but with a whipped selvedge, has a design of crimson roses with green, gold and black leaves. With the exception of a little pulled stitch in gold, the stitches used are also similar, but there is in addition a charming little border near the lower edge. The towel is another example from Prizren and the design is of Persian origin.

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No. 1936·58. A muslin marama from Scutari has whipped selvedges and a border at the ends of highly conventionalised flower sprays worked in pale blue, dull violet and pale blue silk in Turkish stitch, with flowers formed of three squares filled in with gold plate.

A border below the main pattern consists of double buds or flowers in gold plate which somewhat resemble crosses.

No. 1937·14. The last specimen of an embroidered towel is of machine-woven material and has a flower design without special interest.

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No. 1935·33. A very fine old "marama" from the Kolalin district of hand-woven cotton with wide weft stripes of a coarser cotton has six rows of the "ibrik" motive and four rows of a triangular motive woven on the plain material between the stripes.

Both these designs are woven in by means of small free spools, or possibly needles, and the same thick cotton weft is used as that for the stripes. The handsome border at the ends (Plate XVIID) is also woven in by a number of free spools, producing a result like fine darning in which the needle would go over one thread and under one thread of the fabric alternately.

The only materials used are Turkey red and black cotton, and a very fine gold thread.

The flowers are centred with gold and have red petals with gold spots, the whole being outlined with a band of black. Leaves and other details are chiefly outlined in red and filled in with gold. A weft stripe of red near the end has inserts of little triangles on the gold, and an amusing fringe made of the twisted warp ends is decorated with red and black beads, probably Venetian, small Turkey red tassels and an imitation coin.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

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No. 1937-10. A guest towel given to Miss Durham by Dom Simeone, a Catholic priest of Djakova, in Albania, was woven by his sister. It is of fine cotton with wide weft stripes of coarser thread and has a few narrow silk stripes bordering the plain cloth of the ends, which are decorated with a spool-woven pattern worked in wool, dyed with aniline dyes. The colours used are a hard pink, violet, blue, dark red and emerald, and the result is somewhat harsh compared with the other examples. The design of a stiff stem with three very conventional flowers is vaguely Turkish but the little borders on either side of the main pattern, consisting of two rows of circular spots, are rather charming.

Dom Simeone's initials D.S.C. are worked in red cross-stitch.

No. 1935-35. The two last " marama " with decorated ends have some of their motives brocaded in by free spools, but also have borders worked in the tapestry manner on the warp threads, whilst the cloth is still in the loom, in the style often called Persian openwork*, which is akin to needleweaving but much finer.

The example whose number is quoted above, is of hand woven cotton material 17 inches (43·18 cm.) wide and 4 feet (1·2 m.) long, and has five Persian open-work borders in Turkey red and white at the end, divided by coarse cotton weft stripes. Above this group of narrow border patterns there are two rows of " ibriks " in red filling the angles of a chevron pattern in white which has yellow four-petalled flowers at its angles. These designs are worked in with free spools.

The five open-work borders consist of two outer ones with tiny red rectangles on a white ground and three wider ones composed of chevrons in white filled in with red triangles; the whole border measures 6½ inches (16·51 cm.) in width, and has a rich appearance.

No. 1936-57. This " marama " from Scutari is unusual on account of its size, being made of two widths of material each 13 inches (33·0 cm.) wide and measuring 7 feet (2·1 m.) in length.

It is of hand-woven cotton almost covered with broad and narrow weft stripes of a thicker thread, and the decorated borders at the ends are 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide. The whole border consists of six narrow ones with a broader one in the centre, worked in pink, red and white, all divided from one another by groups of narrow weft stripes. The patterns are all geometrical, and based on arrangements of squares and triangles, and the six narrower ones are of Persian openwork, whilst the broader central one is brocaded with free spools.

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A twisted fringe of the warp ends finishes off the whole.

No. 1936-53. One of the two " maramas " for everyday use is of coarse, hand-woven cotton and has a group of Turkey red weft stripes at each end. It was bought in Prizren and used personally by Miss Durham.

No. 1936-47. The other, also of coarse, hand-woven material, has an arrangement of broad and narrow stripes of gold plate at the ends.

B. **Bedspreads.**

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No. 1935-29. A gauze bed-cover from Scutari (Skodar) with warp and weft stripes in red and white, the wider red ones having a line of yellow or green down their centres, is an example from the latter end of the 19th Century, and formed part of a bride's outfit. The crossing of the pairs of red stripes with pairs of white stripes produces a gay, tartan-like effect.

* T. de Dillmont: " Encyclopædia of Needlework."

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

Albania EG1

Montenegrins EF5

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The cover measures 8 feet (2·4 m.) by 5 feet 6 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of material which are joined by needlepoint insertion. Picots with three knots are worked closely along the two edges, and then these are joined by bars of knotted stitchery.

The ends and a little way up each side are also ornamented by similar picots into which a row of wrapped scallops, with smaller picots in bullion stitch, is worked.

These needlepoint trimmings are carried out in red, yellow and green silk, the foundation picots in red, and the scallops in three-inch lengths of each colour in series. Tassels of the mixed colours are added at the corners.

No. 1935-25. A delightful white silk gauze bedcover from Scutari which also formed part of a bridal outfit came from a Catholic family.

A [731 727]

"After the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 there was much distress and things from old family chests were offered for sale. This was one." (M.E.D.).

The spread measures 7 feet 8 inches (2·3 m.) by 5 feet 9 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of gauze seamed together. Each width of material has groups of stripes near the selvedges consisting of one wide and three narrow stripes of white, five narrow red and three pale green ones; measuring altogether 4¼ inches (11·4 cm.) across.

As two groups of these stripes are joined at the seams three wider groups appear to divide the cover into thirds with narrower bands down the sides. The ends are hemstitched and the hems ornamented by two rows of wrapped buttonholing, into which at distances of two inches little triangles of buttonhole stitch are worked, finished off by a floral motive done in an arrangement of picoted scallops and decorated with three gold sequins.

These little needlepoint motives are worked in sequence in red, green and a soft pink and the bedcover as a whole is charming.

No. 1936-57a. The strips of needlepoint insertion 4 feet 9 inches (1·4 m.) long and 2 inches (5 cm.) wide, and the 9 feet of inch-wide edging are intended for trimming another bedspread. Aniline dyes have been used for the silk thread, and purple, orange, yellow, maroon, emerald and pink are used in sequence for the circular motive in the centre of the insertion and for a few inches along the edge. The final effect is somewhat garish.

C. **A Cloth, possibly for a table.**

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No. 1936-44. "A black and dark blue cloth from Kolashin, bought off a dealer in Montenegro, is a curious piece of weaving and I never saw another like it. It is evidently hand-made, native work." (M.E.D.).

This cloth which measures 40 inches (1 m.) by 29 inches (73·7 cm.) is made of two stripes of narrow material, which is tabby-woven in fine black wool, there being 32 warp and 32 weft picks to the inch.

It is entirely covered with a large lozenge design, almost filling the width of the material, bordered by five diagonal lines of small squares and each lozenge enclosing twenty-five repeats of a four-petalled flower in white with a dark blue spot in the centre (Fig. 10).

The whole of the pattern is produced by the use of a large number of free spools, for instance, in the diagonal lines of squares forming the divisions between the big lozenges a new spool is added for every alternate eight warp ends forming a small square, working over and under the next eight warps, and then passes on to the next groups of eight lower down.

In using the spools of white thread each line of pattern is worked backwards and forwards before the next two throws of weft are made.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
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Montenegrins EF5

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It requires seven spools to work each flower, and an attempt to show how much is worked by each is made in Figure 10, where lines enclose the work done by the individual spools.

Some warp stripes in white form a border down the selvedges, and white weft stripes enclose a small square repeat in white and blue which divides the main pattern from the ends.

Twisted and knotted warp ends form a fringe which finishes off the whole.

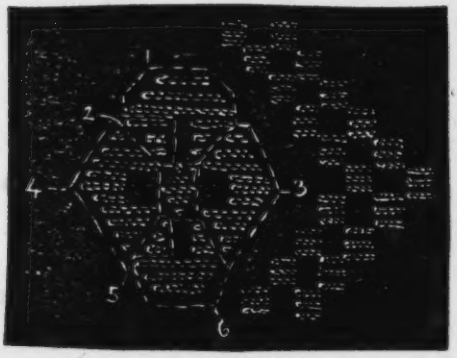

FIG. 10.—A motive from the Kolašin cloth, showing portion of pattern worked by each spool.

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The study of such a collection of work as this impresses one with the artistic achievement of the peasant peoples of these two mountainous countries where the conditions of life are hard, and where the arts of weaving and embroidery have grown out of the daily needs of the people and that inborn desire to make homely things beautiful.

Much naive charm, as well as expert manipulation, is expressed in the variations of the patterns in embroidery and tapestry weaving that have descended for generations from mother to daughter, and the technical skill displayed in the workmanship can be the more appreciated when one realizes the limitations imposed by the use of home grown, spun and dyed materials, and primitive tools. The tribal groups or social communities which form the nucleus of most villages have played a large part in perpetuating traditional patterns and craftsmanship, and have therefore some responsibility for many of the beautiful pieces of work.

The more sophisticated garments worn in the towns, particularly in Albania, owe something of their attractiveness to Byzantine art, which has come through Turkish influence, and is traceable in the fine braided patterns worked by the Albanian tailors, which both in beauty of design and workmanship are unsurpassed elsewhere.

In conclusion, I should like to express the personal pleasure I have had in working through this interesting and valuable collection so generously given to Bankfield Museum by Miss Durham, and my indebtedness to Dr. Hodge, the Keeper, for affording me the opportunity of doing so.

Manchester University,
May 1939.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania E6
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

A 175 Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

A 175 779 The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

B 175 Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

Y A 121 However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

Y A 286 439 The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

A Y **Cloths.**

[462] Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen (" platno ") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshawls or kerchiefs ; and "sukno ", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. " The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap ' zubun ', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts."* " The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material " (M.E.D.).

A S [291 286 287 402] That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. " Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.

* Milan Karanovic. " Costume of the Women of Zmiyagne " Sarajevo, 1928.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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PLATE 1.—MEN OF SHALA

(Photo by Marubbi)

[Frontispiece)

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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PLATE II.—WOMEN OF SHALA

[Facing p. 25]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra.*—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji.*—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma.*—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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FIG. 10.—BIRD AND SERPENT DESIGN ON SCUTARI WOMAN'S CLOAK

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The large uncarved wooden crosses in most of the graveyards of 531
Dukagini and Pulati (Fig. 9) show at the ends of the arms either (1) a sun 764
and crescent, (2) a sun alone, or (3) a sun with two notches below it—a transition form in which the carpenter has forgotten what the crescent is and merely chopped notches. The sun-wheel forms the back and the crescent and sun the ends of the arms of the typical wooden arm-chair in which the house-lord sits. Such chairs were used by all the tribes, but are now chiefly found in the further Dukagini tribes. The chip-carved distaffs of the women show the cross frequently; but chip-carving does not lend itself to curves, and the moon appears as an angle on which the cross stands. Some distaffs, however, suggest that their complicated designs are based on rayed curves, though they are now angular.

The cross and rayed sun are also traceable on many of the elaborately 291
knitted socks. Here, owing to the exigencies of the material, the sun 531
is square, but the rays are duly shown.

A rayed sun is part of the elaborate design embroidered on the scarlet cloak of the married Catholic women of Scutari. Of this design, which with variations consists always of similar elements, I have failed to find an explanation. "It must be some old story which we have forgotten," say the embroiderers, who are always men. The sun, an ear of wheat (? feather), a flowering plant, the dove and the serpent always appear. It is given to the bride by the bridegroom on her wedding- [585]
day. The sun, the wheat, and the flowers suggest fertility. And the facts that the serpent and dove were symbols of the mother goddess worshipped at Knossos, and that bird and serpent played an important part in Egyptian mythology, show that the origin of this Albanian pattern is, indeed, so old that it is no wonder the embroiderers have forgotten it (Figs. 10 and 11).

The sun and moon were firmly established as symbols in the Balkans 174
long before the Turk arrived. I think that probably the Turkish crescent 531
and star is really the rayed sun and moon, the sun being diminished so as to fit decoratively within the crescent.

On the wall of a house at Vuthaj, when the district was wholly 531
Moslem and almost closed to outsiders, I saw, in 1908, a large rayed 342
sun painted with a slim crescent beside it (Fig. 12, No. 10). More striking yet was the emblem at that time placed over the gate of the Turkish Konak at Prizren. It was a large wooden sun with long rays of unequal length. At the tip of each ray was a small wooden crescent. At this time there was huge excitement over the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, and I was warned neither to draw nor photograph anything in public. I made, therefore, only a memory sketch (Fig. 12, No. 9), but it gives a correct idea of this curious sign, which, as the

[Text continues on p. 129]

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FIG. 11.—BIRD AND SERPENT DESIGN

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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PLATE VIII.—AN ALBANIAN VIRGIN

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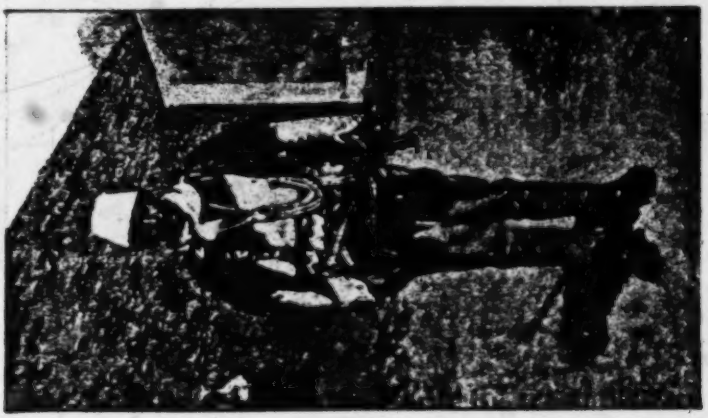

PLATE VII.—BOGA BOY IN FULL DRESS
(See p. 23)

[Facing p. 193]

and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585
The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842]
uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592]
take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584
relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583
price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585
at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291]
kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301]
necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291]
and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom, who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576]
have to assume a superhuman modesty.

585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and [533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house. [534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The [292 301] display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped; the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern [262] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker- [291] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell. [777] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait, punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take [777 842] the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

SCANDERBEG

175 death, in 1478, the Turks should have seized his tomb and made of his burial place a superstitious veneration. They disturbed the bones of his mortal body, fashioning them into rings and amulets in superstitious hope that, through some unearthly spiritual alchemy, Scanderbeg's fortune might become theirs.

The bereaved Albanians have never ceased to mourn their leader and king. Even today the memory of this medieval hero-king, who added so many glorious pages to Albania's history, lives in the heart of the Albanian, even though many have since embraced Islamism, which Scanderbeg abjured.

187 Upon the death of Scanderbeg the Great, his sons, accompanied by a large following, emigrated to Italy, where they retained their own language and social customs and remained Roman Catholics. The whole surface of Bogotia, Attica, Magaris, Corinthia and Argolis, a considerable part of Laconia, several districts in Messina, and a portion of Arcadia, Elis and Achaia were colonized by Albanians. Albanians also live on the islands of Aegina, Hydra, Psara and Spetzae.

291 Scanderbeg's death caused the Albanians to dye their jackets black, and black they remained through the ages in never ending mourning.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

ALBANIANS IN NATIVE DRESS

(facing p. 82)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E41

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A LADY OF SCUTARI IN NATIVE DRESS

(facing p. 182)

ALBANIAN WOMEN

291 The native dress for women in Albania is as interesting as it is varied and picturesque. The dress of the Albanian ladies is rich and costly. The ladies of rank dress extravagantly with very full trousers of some bright silk—generally red—and are drawn tight at the ankles where they are further ornamented with a deep flounce of rich, handmade lace. Over this is worn the sleeveless vest and coat reaching to the knees, both, probably, of crimson velvet, gorgeously trimmed with gold lace and embroidered around the hem. The 302 Albanian lady of the higher class generally divides her hair into three strands, two of which are plaited around a red fez and the other allowed to hang free. From this fez 301 hangs a long, dark blue tassel which is full and decorated with small discs of pure gold or seed pearls.

291 The women of the Mirdite district wear a coat of thick, white woolen material, red trousers like those just mentioned, and a richly embroidered apron with fringe a half yard in length, but her headdress is simply a dark blue kerchief.

The poor peasant women dress in coarse

homespun which is similar to that worn by other peasants in the Balkan peninsula.

Of course, the dress of Albanian ladies may vary somewhat as to detail in certain districts, but generally the essential parts are the same.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

COSTUMES OF SCUTARI

(facing p. 202)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

291

AN ALBANIAN GYPSY DANCER

(facing p. 250)

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

courageous. The Tosks are blue-eyed, and also have 142
frequently blonde or chestnut hair. Their features are refined, and they are extremely elegant in figure and deportment. The Khams resemble the Greeks somewhat in feature. They have black eyes and hair, and darker skins than the Ghegs. The Liaps are the [462]
least handsome of all the Albanian women, and the laborious out-of-door life they lead, surrounded by privations of all kinds, soon destroys any degree of beauty they may have possessed in youth. They 481
are, however, expert swimmers and divers, this pastime affording almost their only distraction.

The national costumes of the Albanians are ex- 291
tremely varied and picturesque, and are still rigidly adhered to by all classes. The dress of a Skipetar lady is extremely rich and costly. It consists of a sleeved gown of striped white gauze; a pair of very full Turkish trousers drawn in at the ankle, where they are finished off with a revers of thick embroidery; a long sash, also of gauze; a sleeveless vest, and a coat reaching to the knees, both of crimson velvet, handsomely trimmed round the borders with elaborate
gold embroidery. The hair is separated into three [302]
tresses, one of which floats on the shoulders, the other two being twisted round the little red fez which is worn on the head, and kept in place by a kerchief of silk. The dark-blue fez-tassel, which is very full and long, is ornamented with tiny plates of gold or with seed-pearls, and droops on the left shoulder. Formerly the Moslem women went barefoot, but they now wear embroidered slippers in the house and yellow *babouches* out of doors. The Miridite women

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

291 wear a coat of thick white woollen stuff, red trousers, an embroidered apron with fringe half a yard long, and on the head a blue kerchief. The dress of the Christians is similar in form but usually of a violet colour. The *yashmak* and *feridgé* (veil and cloak) of [563] the Turkish women is worn out of doors by the [562] Moslem women in the towns, and also, if they live in close proximity to Moslems, by the Christian women. The cloak of the latter is, however, of a different shape and of a light red colour, with a cross embroidered in front. This distinctive dress is said to have been imposed by a native pasha, who, being attracted by a Christian girl, not knowing her to be such, asked her in marriage and was refused.

The country women, however, both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about unveiled. Their costumes vary extremely in detail, but are generally of stout homespun and felt, and in [171] form resemble those of the Greek and Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia, the leading features of which are two aprons worn under a coat. In the villages of the plains, however, a blue petticoat, trimmed [531] with red bands, is worn over an embroidered linen gown, with a bodice of white cloth embroidered in black.

302 Albanian ladies appear to be even more addicted than Osmanlis to the use of cosmetics. No sooner are they married than they begin to dye their hair [303] with a decoction made from gall-nuts and palm oil, paint their eyelashes, and extend their eyebrows till they meet over the nose. For their skins they use a "wash" in which various deleterious ingredients

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

hear him. He offers her sweets which have been left 585
there purposely, but still she heeds him not. This comedy may, if the bridegroom be timid and the bride reserved, be prolonged until the third evening after the marriage, in which case the courage and virtue of the bride are extolled by the women in song. On the third evening, however, custom requires the bride to respond to her husband's advances. On the three days following the wedding the bride, dressed as before, stands like a statue in the reception-room to receive the women visitors who flock to the house in order to inspect her.

The ceremonies attending the nuptials of the [369]
mountain people are almost precisely similar to those customary in the towns, with the exception that the bride is not veiled when conducted to her husband's home. A romantic reserve, however, surrounds the 593
interviews between the young couple, who, especially 831
if the husband be one of a numerous family and have no private apartments, can only meet in secret until they have children of their own. The mountaineers cherish this custom, which, they contend, by surrounding with a halo of romance and mystery the relations of the young couple, tends to keep their love for each 585
other fresh and warm. The wedding processions of the 184
Moslems and Christians are only to be distinguished by the more picturesque effect of those of the former. Many of the company, dressed in rich apparel glitter- [291]
ing with gold embroidery, accompany the bride on [531]
horseback, indulging as they go, whenever they arrive at a spot sufficiently spacious, in the manly old Os- [524]
manli game of throwing the *djerid*, or spear. Pistols

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Skiperi would Our Lady of Scutari forgive her 173
children, and return to her ancient shrine.

The scene on this day in the great square building, 796
which, with its bare walls and absence of ornament, [346]
bears little resemblance to a Romish church, is most
striking and strange. The mass performed on the
occasion is listened to by a congregation whose
waists are perfect arsenals, bristling with pistols and [291]
yataghans of every shape and pattern. There are [411]
wild-looking, fierce-moustachioed highlanders, white-
kilted Mussulmans, chieftains blazing with gold em-
broidery, and milder citizens in more homely garb, all
assembled in honour of the Madonna, before whose
shrine their ancestors had worshipped. Yet, notwith-
standing their participation in the religious rites of 577
their neighbours, the Albanians are not less tenacious 579
of their own honour than of that of the creed they
profess, any insult offered to a Christian church being
promptly retaliated upon a Moslem mosque, and *vice versâ*. Of this the following incident, which occurred about the middle of the century, offers a striking illustration.

A certain Tahir Mala, of Bugna, belonging to the 585
Moslem tribe of the Gascii, having married his son to
a maiden of the Christian Schialla, set out to bring
the bride home, accompanied, according to national
custom, by a numerous train, and preceded by the
tribal banners. On the return journey, they stopped,
as usual, every now and then to fire volleys into the air.
Their way, however, lying past a Christian cemetery,
the cross, standing in the midst, offered a mark for 798
their pistols too tempting to be resisted, and was soon

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

bours. One of their chief offences, in the eyes of the strictly orthodox, is the scant attention paid by the wives of these sectarians to the law of *namekhram*, or wearing the veil, it being their practice to appear unveiled before their husband's friends when he gives them permission to do so.

Cloistered life is not more popular with the women of Albania than with those of the rest of Turkey. In Islam there is, of course, no such resource for disappointed maidens, and marriage being as much the rule among Christians, whether orthodox Greek or Roman Catholic, as among Moslems, nunneries are not numerous, and their inmates are but few. Those which exist, however, offer a welcome asylum to the small section of women whom circumstances have doomed to a life of celibacy, and who the more willingly enter them as they, by so doing, acquire a degree of liberty which could never be theirs while living as unmarried women in the house of their father or brother. For in the East, as I have before remarked, convent rule is remarkably lax, and, beyond attending the prescribed church services, no very strict account is required of the way in which the good sisters spend their time. If report speaks true, they do not always refrain from making use of the opportunities for flirtation afforded them by their emancipation from conventional restraint.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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Scared at the sound, he in the tekkéh[1] hides,
His standards leaves, nor heeds what them betides;
Beard and moustache he tears with flowing tear,
And in a swoon at length he falls from fear.

Mahmoud his charger mounts, and riding out
His men before, now "Forward!" hear him shout;
"Forward with me! to-day, if Allah will,
I Kourd Pasha with my own hand will kill."

Now, like a roaring lion, where'er he goes,
With Allah's aid, in terror flee his foes;
The tekkéh of Baba Hussein before,
See how they rend from Tosks the spoils of war!

Veli escapes. Poor Tahir, from the rout
Into the mill thou fleest; there dost hold out.
It is in vain that bravely still thou fight;
How couldst thou stand against this vulture's might?

Death thee awaits, this day will be thy last,
Riddled with balls, thy troops are fleeing fast;
Long will it be before the Tosks forget
The valour of the Ghegs when last they met.

Now to his men hear Agha Rouka cry,
"Are ye then women, that from foe ye fly?
Of what avail the manly arms ye bear?
Of what avail the sabres bright ye wear?

Rally yourselves, as skirmishers in bands,
Fall on the Ghegs, and, with your curvéd brands,
Strike off their heads! Who falls the field upon
Wept is, but scorned who lives with honour gone!"

Naught heed they him, but in confusion fly.
Tosks of Berat! your sandals[2] go and tie!
Measure no more yourselves with Scutarine,
Who flees not, wields true gun, and sabre keen!

[346]

[1] A Dervish chapel.

[291]
[281]

[2] The hide shoes, with the hairy side turned inwards, worn generally in the mountains.

PEAKS OF SHALA

133 ered hundreds of miles with every variation of light and shadow, and we looked across their tops to a far-away wave of snow that broke high against the sky. The depths between the mountains were hazy blue; out of the blueness sharp cliffs and huge flat slopes of rock thrust upward, streaked with the rose and purple and Chinese green of decomposing shale, and from their tops a thousand streams poured downward, threading them with silver white. A low, continuous murmur rose to us—the sound of innumerable waterfalls, softened by immeasurable distances.

202 Suddenly, clear and very far and thin, a call came out of the spaces.[1] It was like a fife, and yet not like it. Instantly our guides were still, attentive. A moment of silence, and farther and thinner, hardly to be heard above the beating of blood in our ears, there was an answer. Then the first note began again and went on and on; there seemed to be a pattern to it, not a tune—words? I looked at the others.

Rrok Perolli was motionless, a cigarette between his lips, his hand arrested in the act of striking a match. Little Rexh, his round face intent beneath the red fez, his mouth slightly open, his eyes wide and blank, was an image of concentrated listening. The two gendarmes stood alert, like dogs straining at a leash, scenting something. Our four guides, in their long [291] white trousers, black jackets, colored turbans and sashes, were like men frozen in attitudes of interrupted talk.

[1] [In Chafa Bishkasit Mountains [8] of Albania -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

[628] woman he would at that moment have been
576 dead. Our Shala men, with perfect courtesy, went through the formalities of greeting on the trail, and this is the form, translated to me by Rexh:

"Long life to you!"

"And to you, long life!"

"How could you?" meaning, "How could you get here?"

"Slowly, slowly, little by little."

No one who has ever seen those trails can doubt it.

291. The Shoshi man sat down, our men offered him cigarettes, and up the trail came a woman of Shoshi[1]. She wore a tight, bell-shaped skirt of horizontal black and white stripes, made of cloth heavier and thicker than felt, the twelve-inch-wide marriage belt of heavy leather studded with pounds of nails, and a jacket covered with three-inch-thick fringe. Two heavy braids of black hair hung forward on her breasts, a colored handkerchief was bound around her head, and her face, smoothly weather browned, large eyed, delicately shaped, was the most beautiful that I
[854] had ever seen. On her back, held by woven woolen straps that crossed between her breasts, was a cradle tightly covered by a thick blanket;
[283] in one hand she held a bunch of raw wool, and from the other dangled a whirling spindle. Her feet were bare, and as she came up that trail which had exhausted me she sang softly to herself, dexterously spinning thread from the bunch of wool.

[1] [Albanian mountain tribe -- [12] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 above them, and here and there snow drifts flung up among smoky-gray clouds. Thirty-two waterfalls I counted from that window, veining the mountains with wandering streaks of silver.
871 But our gaze came back and fastened upon the school.

"I didn't know they had one in the mountains!" exclaimed Alex, thinking of her Mountain School Fund. "I thought our school at Thethis would be the first one!"

"Padre Marjan certainly said so when he walked down to ask us for it," said Frances.

"Perhaps this isn't a school," said I. Though it looked like one, the little square stone house through whose open doorway we saw rows of
[291] benches, and boys sitting on them, barefooted, wearing the long, tight, white trousers braided with black that hang low on the hip bones, the gorgeous sashes, and the short black jackets thick with fringe, that were white centuries ago, but were changed to mourning when Scanderbeg died for Albanian liberty.

It was a school. The pale, meek priest[1] in black, who is the bishop's ecclesiastical household, showed it to us with pride; he is the teacher.
178 The Turks and the Austrians had blocked all
871 attempts to bring schools into the mountains, he said, and the people, not knowing that schools existed, were naturally not eager to have them. But now the Land of the Eagle was said to be free, after so many centuries of Turkish rule in the valleys, and refugee children who had fled

[1] [bishop of Pulti't --Analyst]

871 mornings, and the boys came to it, some from ten, twelve, fifteen miles away, and after school they walked back again and took out the flocks. The school had been open six weeks; already the copy books were half filled with beautiful, neat writing, and the boys not only read easily from their one book, but had no difficulty with sentences that Perolli wrote on the slate.

I asked the priest what I could send him from Paris, and his eyes filled with tears as he asked, hesitating a little for fear it was too much, if I could send just a little white paper and half a dozen pencils. The ink was almost gone; they could make more from berries, but he would like the boys to see pencils and learn how to use them. And, of course, when the two copy books were filled, there would be no more paper.

•000 Returning from the dusky schoolroom through the gray slant of the rain, we found in the bishop's house the most handsome man we had [291] yet seen. Tall and lithe, wearing the tight black jacket, scarlet sash, and snowy woolen trousers braided in black, he amazed us by his animal beauty and grace. His silver chain was of the finest pattern, a ring was on a hand that might have been perfectly gloved on Fifth Avenue, and his quiet air of the aristocrat would have made him remarkable in any company. Beside him was a manly little boy perhaps seven years old. He wore with the same grace a miniature copy of the mountain costume. His manners were perfection of grave courtesy, his eyes were

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AN OLD SHEPHERD

Wearing goatskin opangi on his feet, and trousers braided in his tribal pattern.

(380)

PEAKS OF SHALA

291 There were ten or twelve children—little girls half naked, with serious, beautiful faces and long-lashed brown eyes; small boys dignified in little long tight trousers of white wool beautifully braided in black, short fringed black jackets, and colored sashes and turbans like those of their [854] fathers. Two cradles stood near the fire, covered tightly over high footboards and headboards with heavy blankets; presently a woman partly uncovered one and, kneeling, offered her breast to the tiny baby tied down in it. Only the baby's puckered little face showed; arms and legs tightly bound, it lay motionless and uncomplaining, and when it was fed the mother kissed it tenderly and covered it again, carefully smoothing the many folds of thick wool and tucking the ends tightly beneath the cradle.

576 Meantime Cheremi was taking off our shoes and stockings and bathing our feet in cold water brought by one of the women. This was proper, since when guests arrive the member of the family nearest to them by ties of blood or affection acts as their servant, and Cheremi, being an Albanian who knew us, was judged to stand in that position. By the time we had drawn on dry woolen stockings from our packs the first 576 cup of coffee was ready. To the boiling water in 272 the tiny pot the coffee maker added two spoonfuls of the powdered coffee, two of sugar, stirred the mixture till it foamed, and poured it into a handleless little cup which he offered Perolli. But Perolli indicated me, and without the

[In home of Marka [58] Gjonni of Pulhit—Andyst]

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future. Twenty-five centuries had vanished, for me, as though they had never been.

"That lady ora was no doubt betrothed to one of her own people," said a man who had not previously spoken. "Now in my lost country of Ipek—may the Serbs who are murdering her feel our teeth in their throats!—I know a man who was married to an ora."

A woman, barefooted, wearing a skirt of heavy black and white wool, a wide, silver-studded leather belt and a blouse of sheer white, her two thick black braids of hair falling from beneath a crimson headkerchief almost to her knees, came out of the shadows beyond the fire and lowered from her shoulder a beautifully shaped wooden jar of water. She held it braced against her hip, and, stooping, poured a thin stream over our outstretched hands. We laved them, the water sinking into the ashes around the fire, and another woman handed us each a towel of hand-woven red-and-white-plaided linen. Then we sat expectantly, but only a wooden bowl of cheese was set on the floor before us.

It was goat's-milk cheese, rather like the cottage cheese of home, except that it was hard, cut in cubes, and of an acrid, sourish flavor. We each took a piece, nibbled it.

"Oh, Perolli, can't you tell them we're starving? It's almost one o'clock in the morning!" cried Frances, pathetically.

"Be patient," said Perolli. "How many times

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AN ALBANIAN HODJI OF THE MATI

(76a)

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A GROUP OF MOUNTAIN FOLK
The woman of Pultit in the center.

(105a)

428 794 Tirana the school will be under my care. I am the servant of the Church in Thethis, and this land must belong to the Church."

"We will think about it," said the chiefs.

"Shall it be said," demanded the padre, "that the Americans have come from far across strange seas to bring money to build a school for the children of Thethis, and that the people of Thethis will not give even one small piece of land?"

"But," said I to Frances, "why do you want to take land from the tribe and give it to the Church?"

"The Church is the only light they have up here; the only center of inspiration and learning," said Frances. "See how the people come to the padre's kitchen; see what he means to them. I'm not a Catholic, but can't you see that if the school is to be a community center the Church must have it? They don't know how to make it what we want it to be, themselves."

"Very well," said the chiefs. "You may have the land, Padre Marjan."

291 My opangi[1] had arrived. The edges of the leather had been turned upward and joined across the toes by an intricately woven network of rawhide thongs. Another network made a heel piece, and there were thongs to go around the ankles. With the opangi came a pair of short, knitted purple socks reaching just to the ankle, where they ended in points bound with black braid and stiff with gold and silver

1 [Albanian handmade shoes] Analysis

embroidery. These were really separate linings 291
to the stiff and hard opangi, which had to be soaked a long time in water and put on wet, in order to get them on at all.

Very conscious of my feet, which seemed large 342
and unwieldy flopping objects at the ends of my legs, I went across the flat, wet fields with Perolli to drink coffee in the house of Lulash. 1

The house of Lulash was different from any of the others we had seen. It stood on a castlelike rock; we went up to it by a stairway cut in the side of a cliff that rose almost sheer for so far that the waterfall pouring down it looked like a motionless streak of snow near the top. A natural bridge of rock crossed the little space between the cliff and the rock on which the house of Lulash was built; a furious little stream roared beneath us as we crossed the bridge, and then there was another stairway leading up to the house.

Lulash and a dozen men and women of his [574]
household stood outside his door to receive us. No rifles were fired. We passed through a double line of salutes and greetings and into a high-arched stone doorway. There was a little hall, floored and walled with stone, and a massive stone stair leading upward. This we climbed, [352]
and were in a large whitewashed room, lighted by a window and furnished with beautifully painted chests and a few hand-woven rugs. But this was not the only room; there were others, 00U
and, leading us through several arched stone

1 [tribal chief in Theth is -- Analys F]

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 river. From time to time we struggled through a waterfall, and there was one huge torrent that, leaping from a cliff above the trail, arched over it in a curve that seemed solid as glass, and we
361 passed beneath it. Then, descending, we came to the little valley of upper Thethis. Perhaps six or ten houses were scattered there, among broken-off fragments of cliff as large as they, and between them all the level land was glistening with water at the grass roots.

[342] The house of Sadiri Luka was notable for its stone-walled courtyard and its broad balcony. The heavy arch of the gateway was mediæval in its grim solidity; we escaped from the rain to the peace of its shelter, and there were welcomed
[291] by Sadiri Luka. He was middle-aged, sturdy, even a little stodgy of figure, among the lithe mountaineers, and this appearance suggested the successful business man—a suggestion incongruous with his picturesque clothes. His trousers were the purest white that new wool can be, his fringed jacket the densest black, the colors of his sash were clear and gay, and his silver chains were massive. There was even a heavy silver ring on his finger. And there was no rifle on his back.

313 The courtyard was a litter of cornstalks, almost entirely covered with a roof of woven branches; evidently it was the home of flocks now out in the rain attended by a shepherd cutting leaves for them. An arched doorway opened into the first floor of the house, where we saw a pensive donk, gazing profound[168]ly upon the liquid gray weather -- Analyst]

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THE SHALA GUIDE
Who took the author through Shoshi for a joke

PEAKS OF SHALA

622 What did it mean? Rexh did not know, and I sat impatiently on the mule, which began nosing through the snow for some bite to eat.

Then overhead the high, keen telephone call rang out, answered by far, thin voices that sounded as though the crystal air itself had been tapped, far away, by a giant finger. Even while the voices called and answered in the sky, silent men began to appear, suddenly, without my having noticed their approach. It was startling to see a strange, turbaned head beside my elbow, to find that between two glances a dignified, half-naked man was sitting on the rock beside the byraktor.

Rexh came and led the mule to a little distance. The figure of the gendarme, against the sky, raised its rifle, and I put my hands over my ears just in time to dull the echo crash. "It is polite to go away for a little distance, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh. "The byraktor has called a council of all chiefs of Shoshi."

[291] In half an hour twenty men surrounded the byraktor. They were all, like the byraktor and his gendarme, in cotton underdrawers, barefooted, and naked above the waist, many of them wearing on their heads only the tiny round white cap that covered their scalplocks. Each of them carried his rifle on a woven strap slung over his shoulder, and all had an arsenal in their sashes. They sat on small rocks, on the snow-filmed ground, in a group about the byraktor's bowlder.

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A TOSHK
In his native costume of southern Albania.

296 a

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

POSTSCRIPT

ooo The Albanians, he said, were a surprising people. Take Ahmet, now. That afternoon Ahmet had said to him, "You recall the words of Aristides?" Mr. Eyres, supposing the reference was to some Albanian unknown to him, had inquired, "Who is Aristides?" And, by Jove! the chap meant the Greek! Fancy an Albanian knowing about Aristides!

We slept upon these meager developments. Elez Jusuf was still in Tirana; Ahmet still in Government House. The dynamo ran all night.

Next morning, more news in the cafés. Ahmet was demanding that Elez Jusuf give up his arms and surrender himself, Mustapha Kruja, and Zija Dibra for trial. Elez Jusuf replied that it was an insult to suggest that any Dibra man gave up his rifle while he lived. If Mati thought it could bring that shame upon the Dibra, the rifles of Dibra would finish the talking. Mustapha Kruja had disappeared in the night; his men were left leaderless with Elez behind the barricades. Zija Dibra was still there. Mustapha Kruja and Zija Dibra were in the pay of Italy; Elez Jusuf had been misled, tricked, by them. This was the talk in the cafés.

Nearly noon, and talk stopping in the cafés. Shops closing, quietly, one by one. A tightening, an apprehension, in the air. New faces, new costumes, in the streets. Slowly, slowly, little by little, Tirana was filling with tall, keen-eyed, [291] weather-bitten men. Men in the tight white trousers and rawhide opangi of the northern Tirana mountains]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

when and where you tell me ; if not, then I will choose my own time and place for action." 669*

Our differences thus reduced to the question of military supplies, we sounded Muharrem as to his relations with the other Gheg leaders. In this he showed himself accommodating and offered of his own accord to leave the issue of the monarchy in abeyance in the interest of co-operation with Abas Kupi. He then proposed that we should set out together next day to take counsel with Gani Kryeziu, whose influence was growing daily in the lands beyond the Drin. We fell in at once with this suggestion ; for we were already beginning to think in terms of a concerted revolt of the Ghegs under the leadership of Abas Kupi, Muharrem Bairaktar, and Gani Kryeziu. Muharrem therefore despatched messengers to Gani to advise him of our plans and to ask that he should appoint a suitable place for our meeting.

For the rest of the day we enjoyed the comforts of the house, or paced the courtyard, drawing out Muharrem on the subject of his past conspiracies and discussing the prospects of the revolt among ourselves. That evening we were joined by Riddle's deputy, Tony Simcox, a gunner who had served with one of the Chinese divisions in the retreat from Burma. Simcox was firm of purpose, blunt of speech, and deeply conscious of the responsibilities of a British representative in a strange land. He liked and understood the mountaineers, and, since these things are mutual, received their friendship and in time their trust. ooo

We were aroused next morning at first light, and soon after sunrise rode out through the castle gate, still deep in the shadow of the eastern mountains. Muharrem was wrapt in a dark-blue cloak and sat a milk-white but frisky mule, caparisoned with a *Kilim* carpet of red and green design. Some forty well-armed tribesmen marched in our train ; big, bony fellows, dressed in brown jackets and close-fitting white breeches, braided with black — the customary dress which had now altogether replaced the traditional fustanella still seen in Liuma when Muharrem was a boy. Our way led south along the cliff path for perhaps an hour and then turned sharply north-east, following the [291]

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LIUMAN CHIEFTAINS

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MAIN GATEWAY OF MUHARREM BAIRAKTAR'S CASTLE, WITH SENTRY ON THE PARAPET

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 should have crossed again. He led us to the shade of some trees where carpets from a neighbouring house had been spread for our conference. The hardships of internment had aged him, but they had also given him strength, and there was now a more determined look in his eyes than I had ever seen in Belgrade.

[622] With Gani were representatives of the Kosmet Partisans and a number of Moslem chiefs, including Salimani, the *Bairaktar* of Krasniqi. Salimani stood over six feet tall, a fierce old warrior with strong, regular features and thick, silver [291] hair and moustache. He was dressed in close-fitting, white breeches and a dark-blue jacket, with a white skull-cap on his head and a scarlet sash around his waist. His gun was silver-handled, a silver lanyard hung from his neck, and the tobacco pouch on his belt was of filigree worked by the Scutari silversmiths. He was over eighty years old, but bore himself erect, and his voice was still clear and strong. His clan had long been in blood with the Kryezius; for Gani's brother, Tsena, had pursued Bairam Tsuri, a rival northern chief, into Krasniqi and there had driven him to suicide. But now the two were reconciled, for that winter Salimani's only son had been killed fighting against the Germans in the ranks of the Partisans. The new feud obscured the old, and, in the face of a common foe, the two clans had laid aside their ancient enmity.

We sat down cross-legged under the trees, and, with Said acting as interpreter, began our conversations with Gani. Meanwhile the other chiefs rested around us in a semicircle, listening. Our first instinct had been to bid them withdraw, that we might talk in privacy, but Said had dissuaded us, arguing that nothing would impress the chiefs so much as to see us reach agreement in public. Gani therefore told us of his recent fights with the Germans and stressed that only lack of arms and ammunition had prevented him from taking the offensive on a wider scale. Then, with a gesture of invitation he said:

"I have come to receive your orders."

We answered along familiar lines that the time had now

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGl Albania EGl
Highland Ghegs

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The Typical Mountain Gheg – Malsia e Madhe.

[– facing title page –]

342 [562] local independence of the families within them. In the *kullas*, women are placed on the second floor, men on top; or else the women will live in a nearby unfortified house, while the men take refuge in the *kulla*. This reflects the inviolability of women in the local feuding law.

333 *Kulla*-building requires the skill of professionals. All stones are squared, and carefully set in mortar. The fireplaces and chimneys must be properly aligned and made to draw. The great height of the walls requires scaffolding. Nopcsa[3] says that they are built by itinerant masons, and that in 1908 they cost between 440 and 660 crowns (110–165 dollars). I was told several times when I asked that the *kullas* were built by masons from Dibra,[4] who also build them in Montenegro, Bosnia, and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Exactly where in Dibra these masons come from I do not know. I have never seen one at work, nor did any appear in our series.

354 These houses, of whatever type, are heated by wood, which at the same time cooks the meals. In most of the region there is plenty of firewood, but in the northern limestone region it is scarce and must be sought afar. The mountaineers earn a little spare cash by carrying loads of firewood down to the market towns to sell.

In many houses in 1929 a primitive form of illumination was still employed. When it grew dark the host would lay a number of pine splinters in several iron racks, hanging from the roof, and light them. The oil in the wood would provide enough light to see by, but hardly enough for reading. In other houses, however, they used candles, and in still others oil lamps. Kerosene has been packed into this country in square 5-gallon tins for some time, and the tins themselves are as much sought after as their contents.

291 Gheg clothing has received even more attention than their housing. The costumes are picturesque, and make fine collections. They vary from tribe to tribe, *bairak* to *bairak*, and in some cases between villages. After six months of travel over the mountains I was able to tell where a man came from in many cases by the cut of his jacket, the color of his

[see cat. 116, p. 14 b-- Analyst]

[3] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 62.

● 291 trousers, the shape of his cap, and particularly by the design on his stockings. If after 6 months a foreigner had reached this threshold of discrimination, a native mountaineer with good eyesight could identify a stranger as far as he could see him, just as easily as a modern boy can tell the make of a car or airplane at a glance. This habit of wearing one's insignia so conspicuously has a very definite meaning. [181] The man is proud of his family and native place, and defiant. His desire to be identified is greater than his fear of death. He does not go far from home unless his mission is a serious one.

The man's costume starts with a brimless felt cap (*frontispiece*)[4] either conical or flat on top; often he wears a kerchief around it like a thin turban, or neckcloth. The upper part of his body is covered with a woolen jacket, with sleeves and some kind of collar, often sailor-fashion. As a rule he is shirtless. From waist to ankle he wears a pair of woolen breeches, usually skin-tight on the legs, and with a slight fullness in the seat in some regions which reflects the influence of the Turkish baggy pants. He goes without underdrawers. If wealthy, he may also wear an ornate sleeveless waistcoat. He usually sports some kind of wide cummerbund, or belt. His feet are shod in opingas, or rawhide buskins, the common primitive European footgear found not only in the Balkans but in Russia, Ireland, and other places where tradition is strong enough and shoes expensive enough to preserve this ancient homemade shoe type. In 1929 the poorer Ghegs were wearing pieces of automobile tire in place of opingas, and it gave one a start to see a fresh section of Goodyear or Michelin track on a mountain path 18 inches wide. At the same time the wealthier were wearing western manufactured shoes.

Both men and women wear stockings, knit by the women, which bear the family design as clearly as a Scottish tartan. I have seen many men, however, who had none. The women's dress varies from place to place, but is basically a combination of a full bell-like skirt, reminding one of a Cretan goddess's lower garment, surmounted by a full blouse or bodice. Add to that a headcloth or shawl, and much jewelry,

[See cat 116, facing this page --Analyst]

[4] This is confirmed by Bishop Fan Noli.

291 which is bought from silversmiths in the town, and the woman is clothed.

These costumes are undoubtedly ancient. Some of their elements may be traced back to the early Mediterranean, others to the central European Iron Age. However, the Ghegs themselves do not make all parts of them, but carry on the tradition by demand, like the Crow Indians for whom Stetson has, for decades, been manufacturing a special kind of hat.

283 The basic cloth is woven at home. The farmer gives his wife the necessary wool from his sheep, both white and black. She cards it with a homemade device, either a flick bow or a nail-studded card, and spins it. Her spinning kit consists of a distaff, a spindle, and a basket. Holding the distaff in one hand, she twists the wool with the other, and winds it onto the spindle in the basket. Whenever she has nothing else to do, or when she is walking along the trail, the Albanian housewife dutifully spins, and her spinning has soon become a reflex action, like knitting or bead-telling.

286 When she has enough wool, she begins weaving. The Albanian loom is an ordinary European 2-beam affair, similar to those used in the Hebrides and the Kentucky mountains. It has a wooden frame, 2 beams or rollers between which the warps are stretched, a wooden batten, and a foot-operated heddle. The bobbin, within its shuttle, is hand-thrown. The men buy all of the delicate parts of this loom in the town, from turners. The rest of it they make at home. The loom is kept mounted only while a length of cloth is being woven. When not in use the loom is taken apart and piled in a corner with other household impedimenta.

Once the cloth has been woven, it must, if intended for masculine use, be fulled. This involves keeping it wet, working it about, and
402 pounding it for several hours. The mountain-
286 eers employ an ingenious water-powered device for this purpose. Several writers have observed these mills; Nopcsa has drawn one.[5] I saw several. The fulling mill consists of an open-air wooden structure powered by an overshot water wheel. A smaller stream of water runs through a trough to wet the cloth. The wheelshaft is studded with four wooden

[5] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 134, fig. 99.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1959. EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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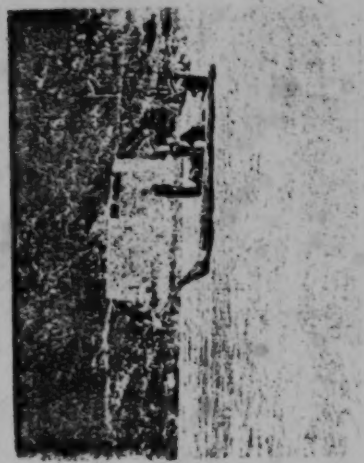

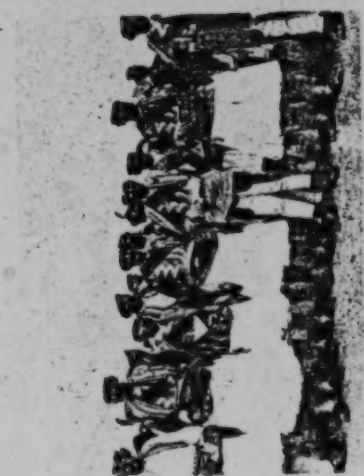

a, Tosks dancing at King Zog's birthday party, 1929. b, Turkish bridge over the White Drin, near Kiliss. c, Scene in Mati. d, Ferrying across the Black Drin between Lama and Mal i Zi.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 195 EGl Albania EGl
Highland Ghegs

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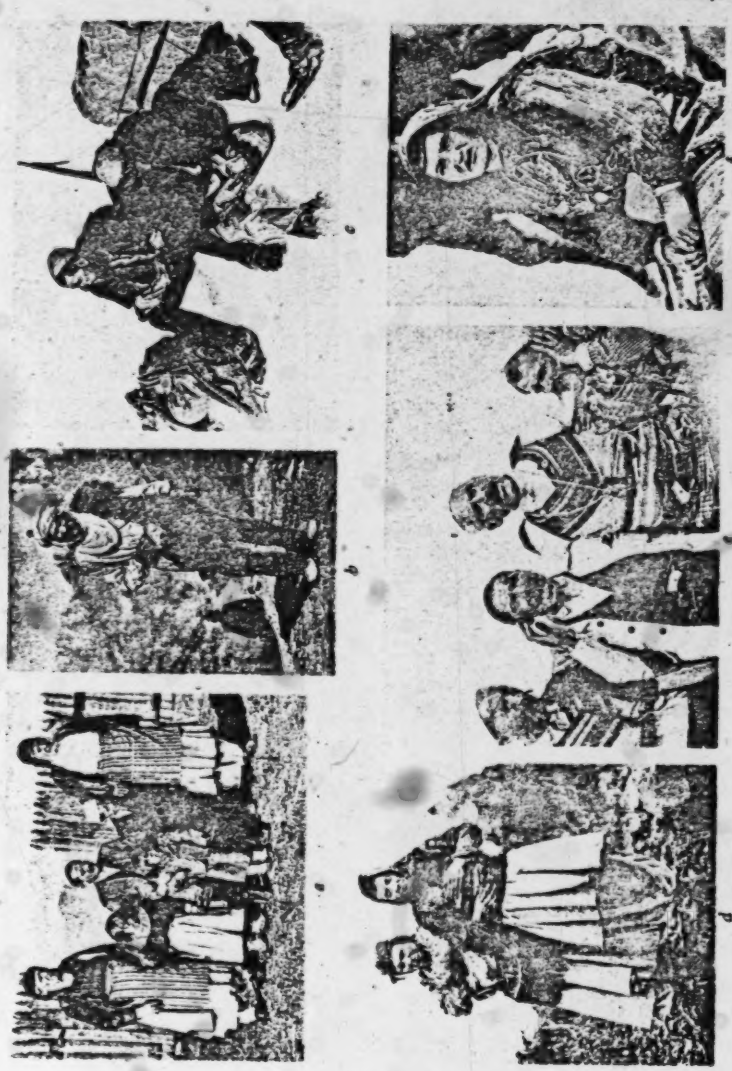

a, Prince Jon Markajon of Mirdita, with his wife, mother, and children. *b*, Tom Tushi, the expedition's host in Shoshi. *c*, Dukagjin porters resting on the pass between Merturi and Shala. *d*, A sworn virgin of Mirdita (right) with her friend. *e*, A group of Gheg *bairaktars* singing their defiance at King Zog's 1929 birthday celebration—the man in the left center is the *bairaktar* of Hoti; in the right center, of Klmenti. *f*, A Catholic Gheg woman, probably from Zadrima.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

500 to 50 *grosh* ('piastres') a year, payable in two instalments, the first after six months' service and the second at the end of his term. 357

According to a list from Shkrel where wages were still on an 'all-found' basis, a servant must be given a complete set of clothes —a shirt, drawers, cloth cap, scarf, cow-hide sandals, socks, trousers and sleeveless jacket. He got sandals as often as he needed a new pair, and a set of the other things three times a year: when first engaged, at the end of three months, and during his last month. On leaving he was given three okes of wool, which his female relatives could work up for him. [891]

Disputes hardly ever arose over the servant's food or clothes, but were common about his work. As an Albanian of Koplik said picturesquely, 'Before a man is hired he talks like an angel, and then turns out a devil', so that 'half the men who lie in cemeteries have died of worry over servants'. The same speaker told a lively folk-tale of a master who was delighted to get a servant cheap and then found him come very dear indeed. Every time he asked him to do something, the man said it had not been mentioned in their bargain and he could not do it unless he got a rise in wages. Little attempt to get 'references' seems to have been made, perhaps because in the old days a would-be servant would have shot the giver of an adverse 'character' for slandering him. There was also a feeling that a servant's engagement was too temporary to take seriously. Once when the author inquired uneasily about a servant she had been urged to hire, an old mountaineer replied, 'What does it matter? you're not going to marry him'.

'Any gains made or any damage done by a servant are his master's', said the law. If, for instance, a servant somehow gained a horse, he could not send it to his own family, but must give it to his master. On the loss side of the ledger, if a servant unintentionally damaged a neighbour's property, say, by killing his horse, it was not he but his master who must make restitution, and his master could not keep back any of his wages for that purpose. Fining a servant was absolutely forbidden. [672] [422]

The relations of master and man with each other and with the outside world were regulated in detail by the Unwritten Law, using the servant's wages as its chief instrument. Thus if the two parted prematurely, the master being to blame, he must pay the servant his full wages for the year. When the servant was to blame, he had no right to more than the money for which he had so far

In many cases the men shave their
302 their head completely except for a tuft of hair on top of the head.
291 This tuft is left by them to grow into a long lock. In the south their dress resembles that of the Greeks. In the north it varies from the town to the country, and in the countryside it varies again according to the different regions. In Scutari the Catholics wear wide, pleated black breeches which among the men reach down below the knees, and among the women down to the ankles. Further they wear white stockings, a short lower jacket with attached long sleeves and a sleeveless top jacket. In addition the women wear an embroidered sleeveless coat. The Mohammedans wear the pleated coat (fustan) that weighs several kilograms and remains short in central and southern Albania. It consists of several hundreds of long, narrow strips of linen cloth sewn together. A cotton or silk belt holds the coat, and the weapons are clamped inside a leather belt. To this are added a lower and a top jacket. The Mohammedan women wear very wide breeches and richly embroidered mantles with long sleeves that have slits in them. The fustan is regarded as being ancient Illyrian and is believed to have been developed from the kilt; it has been attested in the surviving artistic monuments in Mycenae and on ancient Crete, as well as in the Palaeolithic caves of northern Spain. The rural population wears, likewise as an ancient Illyrian inheritance, a small, tightly-fitting, semi-spherical felt cap which does not cover much more than the top of the head, and is found represented among the "Barbarians" of the victory monument of Adam-Klissi. Tightly fitting sheep's wool trousers with two transverse slits in the region of the groin, which by some are considered Slavic, by others Thracian, an under jacket with sleeves, and a sleeveless vest, a mantle and a fur coat are also worn by the rural people. For these types of clothing evidences have again been
[462] discovered from antiquity. In the mode of life, the working of the
252 fields by the woman is regarded as an ancient cultural tradition; in the same category are placed the baking of flat cakes under the baking bell, the cooking of blood, fat, meat, and spices in a goat's stomach which is turned to and fro over the red hot coal embers, the cooking of wheat grains without prviously grinding them, the hand mill (Figure
412 14). and the turbine mill (Figure 10). The latter's grindstones lie five to six feet above the water wheel into whose spoon-like spokes the water
312 is poured from a steeply inclined conduit. Still belonging to the ancient cultural heritage are the watering of the field by means of canals and wooden conduits, something which is regulated by the family because of the dearth of water--Figure 16 shows a marking post, one and one-half meters high.

[see, 1:Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a--Analyst]

To the Land of the Eagle

361 The village,[1] which is the birthplace of the wife of the national hero, Skanderbeg,—its only claim to notice, picturesqueness apart—possesses no inn or wine-shop, and I looked for refreshment in vain. It was a hot day and the walk up the hill had made me thirsty. Some men who met me in what I suppose was the market place, or centre of the village, gave me Turkish delight, good of its kind but hardly what I wanted after my climb in the hot sun, and with that I had to be satisfied. The village gave every sign of being an extremely poor one and many of the houses were in ruins. [291] There was a school in which sat a row of small boys all wearing their white fezzes, for the Moslem headcovering is worn both indoors and out. The castle I did not inspect. It looked more interesting from a distance, a remark which applies to Kanina as a whole.

164 The bane of Valona, as at Durazzo and elsewhere on the coast, is the mosquito, and the inhabitants of the district are great sufferers from the malaria it carries, as well as from 744 other diseases connected with or due to malaria. Certain philanthropic English people—of whom one of the most active is the Dowager Countess of Carnarvon, who has a small house at Valona—are doing what they can, with the limited funds and limited opportunities available, to help the local Albanians to fight the trouble. They have imported two nurses and three V.A.D. girls. The nurses work at the local hospital. The V.A.D. girls—voluntary helpers—superintend the measures which are being taken to treat, with petroleum and otherwise, the breeding and hibernating

1 [Valona -- Analyst]

To the Land of the Eagle

485 not over-particular, a shower bath, with the aid of a bucket, was possible.

As usual, the boy was the power behind the machine. He it was who made the beds, swept out the rooms, and supplied the milk, the coffee, the yaghourt, or whatever you might happen to want. He never took his clothes off (some day, I imagine, when he has grown to a certain size, he will burst out like a butterfly from its chrysalis and a new suit will become an imperative necessity), nor did the youth who sometimes shared his labours. The two of them slept together on the landing not only fully clad but beneath a pile of rugs and blankets, while I, in the bedroom next door, though wearing only pyjamas, could hardly bear the weight [29] of the single rezai. But the Albanian is insensible to heat, and even in the height of summer continues to wear his heavy homespun clothing and a vast waistband wound many times around his stomach.

Osman, my host, took a fatherly interest in my proceedings. He often came into my room and stood watching me while I wrote on the typewriter or made a drawing. On [574] these occasions he would roll a cigarette and present it to me wet from his tongue—a customary offering in this part of 000 the world which, of course, you must not refuse. As an art critic he was more well-meaning than discriminating. One day, I remember, I happened to finish a picture when he was in the room and gave it to him to look at. He turned it upside down, held it at arm's length, and, with his head on one side in the manner of the real connoisseur, exclaimed,

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG-1

made it necessary for me to alight and push—getting thoroughly splashed by the whizzing wheels while doing so—and when at last, after almost superhuman exertions, we gained the main road, the radiator was steaming like a house on fire, and so was I. Further on a river barred our way, but a crude ferry worked by a wire rope was plying across the deepest part. Albanians, wearing the jackets with black fringes and black woollen bosses, by which I afterwards learned to distinguish the Ghegs from the Toscs (the two main divisions of the population) waded waist-high in the stream and manœuvred us to a spot whence we were able to drive through the flood in two or three feet of water and reach the roadway on the other side.

We travelled on through level country where the fields were green with crops and gay with scarlet poppies. Here and there I saw men, in the white clothing of the Albanian peasant, carrying rifles, and I remembered the tales I had heard of Albanians working in the fields with rifles slung at their backs. The custom still survives, but only in the mountainous country north of Scutari where lawlessness is rife and weapons have to be carried for protection. Elsewhere the law forbidding the carrying of firearms is strictly enforced, and armed peasants working in the fields are no longer seen. In fact, I was told that those I saw near Scutari were probably civilian police who assist the regular police in keeping order and are only on this account permitted to carry arms.

The rain had stopped and the setting sun was shining

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

But alas for my pleasurable anticipations! When, long after dark, we arrived at our journey's end I soon discovered that my hopes were vain. Only in name—Hotel Metropole—did the much-lauded inn approach even approximately the ideals of the West. Putting off the tourist and putting on the traveller, I went in and made the best of it.

291

FEZZES

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EGL

police should have had to be first approached I am not quite 533
clear, but at all events a gendarme brought the girls and stayed in the room until the conclusion of their performance. Probably they were members of a certain profession, but as to that I did not enquire.

There were four of them[1] in all—two girls of eighteen 291
or so, and two older women. The girls wore the traditional 533
dress of the dancer—a short dark-coloured bodice of velvet, and Turkish trousers of an amplitude that would make the widest Victorian crinoline look meagre. Yards and yards of material must have gone to the making of them, and yards more to the numberless frilly petticoats which showed through the thin stuff of which the trousers were made. Brightly-coloured handkerchiefs were bound round their heads, and long braids of black hair hung loose. Neat shoes, pointed and high-heeled, peeped out beneath the vast trousers. Gathering the ample folds of their garments around them they seated themselves on chairs, while the older women squatted on the floor. All had big tambourines. Then, according to the usual custom, cigarettes were handed round and tiny cups of black coffee, of which we all partook —the gipsies, the gendarme, Mr. Lef Nossi, my host Osman Arapi, and myself. These ceremonies concluded, the concert 533
started. Swaying gently from side to side and beating a rhythm with their fingers on the tambourines, the girls began to sing. I got out paper and pencil and tried to write down the tune, and after a good many repetitions evolved the following approximate transcription :

1 [i.e. gipsy dancing girls -- Analyst]

To the Land of the Eagle

ooo —and its rapidity enabled me to accomplish in forty minutes a journey which had previously taken me six hours by car.

A remote Balkan country like Albania was the last place in which I expected to make my first flight, and I could not help thinking it remarkable that within a few days I should thus experience the two extremes of travel—the pack-horse and the aeroplane.

485 On this, my second visit to Scutari, I stayed at the Hotel Europa. From without it did not look attractive, as the larger part of it appeared to be either under repair or in course of demolition. But within I found it clean, and even —for an Albanian hotel—luxurious. I had a bedroom to myself, with a washstand, a wardrobe, and other articles of furniture to which I had for some time been a stranger. And, finally, I actually dared to sleep without socks on and to forego the elaborate barrage of insect powder without which I had found sleep impossible in the up-country inns.

361 Until recently, when the government migrated to Tirana for safety, Scutari was the Albanian capital and an important diplomatic centre. All the foreign legations were here, and there was a good deal of gaiety. Now, however, it is a dead-alive place with no social amenities such as there were in the old days. Personally I found the old town, which, with the ancient citadel, is about a mile away from Scutari proper, 291 by far the most interesting part. It has a bazaar thronged 361 with peasants in the picturesque costumes of the district, among whom are always to be found some of the gipsy or

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Belts and Cloaks

Rumanian women, with heavy black-striped and white-291
edged skirts and enormous silver-studded belts, whom I 136
have previously described. I saw these belts being made. [294]
The foundation is leather, and into it are driven nails in so

THE FUSTANELLA (KILT) AS I EXPECTED TO SEE IT—

—AND AS I SAW IT

close a pattern that little of the leather remains visible. The belts are eight or nine inches wide and have a big lock. Their weight may be imagined, and yet the women were wearing them, in addition to the heaviest possible clothing, in a temperature which had driven me to take refuge in a suit of tropical linen.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

291 531 I stopped one morning at a shop where an old man was busily embroidering a cloak. It was one of the great cloaks which are worn by the Scutari ladies, and the work was very intricate and fine. One of the completed cloaks—a voluminous garment of terrific weight—hung at the front of the shop. I asked the price. The embroidery was black on a scarlet ground and covered the whole cloak in a pattern of spirals. It must have taken him months to complete, yet all he asked for it was two napoleons (32s.), and I daresay, had I made him an offer, he would have accepted less. In order to show it off the better he put the cloak on and strutted up and down outside—an impromptu mannequin parade which much amused the onlookers. I fear he was disappointed when I went away without making a purchase, but if one bought all the beautiful and cheap things one saw when travelling one would have to charter a ship to bring them home.

534 One little purchase I did make, however, when wandering one day in the country outside Scutari. This was a small pipe on which a shepherd lad was playing a most fascinating modal tune. At first he refused to part with it, but his father, who came out from an adjacent cottage, settled the question by taking it away from him and thrusting it into my hand. The boy looked glum at this summary disposal of his property, but a handful of small coins consoled him, and before I left he was happily engaged in making another. The pipe had five double fingerholes—its two reed stems being side by side—and terminated in a bell-mouth made

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania E61
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

A 175 Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

A 175 779 The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

B 175 Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

Y A 121 However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

Y A 286 439 The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

A Y [462] **Cloths.**

Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen (" platno ") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshawls or kerchiefs ; and " sukno ", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. " The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap ' zubun ', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts."* " The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material " (M.E.D.).

A S [291 286 287 402] That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. " Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.

* Milan Karanovic. " Costume of the Women of Zmiyagse " Sarajevo, 1926.

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Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF

A Y 286 291 294

Other alien materials are small pieces of dyed cloth, silk ribbons, silver and gold braids and manufactured lace, often used on the sleeve edges of shirts. These materials were bought in the village shops and markets, and appear to be largely of Austrian and Italian origin; under Turkish rule they were sold in the villages by pedlars.

A Y 291 439

In the South and Albania, where Turkish influence is greater, there is a tendency, especially amongst the women of the towns, to wear garments made from more sumptuous materials so that, in addition to the hand-woven linens, extremely fine muslins of native make are used for shirts and aprons, and silken materials of beautiful quality for girdles, sleeves and the Moslem type of women's trousers. Fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy is also imported for the making of jeleks, giubbas and japangi, and some of the nets used for the large embroidered veils worn by many women, both Catholic and Moslem, are of foreign origin.

Materials used for Embroidery and other Decorative Purposes.

M S 291 294 531

These also fall into two classes, home-made and purchased.

The fine wools, used largely in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia, for the decorative embroidery of oshvitza, sleeves, woollen coats, aprons and the making of fringes are spun and dyed by the women themselves. Dark brown and black goat's hair is also used in the apron fringes. "Goat's hair was extensively used in the Balkans for weaving market bags, saddle-bags and floor mats in stripes. The goats, clipped in uneven ridges, looked very ridiculous." (M.E.D.).

Ribbons, gold and silver braid and strips of coloured cloth were purchased and used as appliqué on skirts, head dresses, aprons and caps. In older and finer examples of embroidery, silk was used, and was locally produced and dyed.

B A 291 531

In Albania and the south silk is the usual medium for embroidery, which decorates shirts, muslin aprons and japangi, although on some head scarves from Zadrima and the Bulgarian woman's costume from Monastir, which are decorated in the well-known Turkey red, the material used is cotton or very tightly twisted wool almost like a fine cord. Both silk, woollen and cotton threads are of home production. Amongst the photographs given by Miss Durham is one of a Moslem man spinning silk on a roadside on the outskirts of Scutari (Skodar). Gold thread is much used, and strips of beaten silver and brass are worked into the headings of braids.

A 291 531 294 463

Braiding and cording are amongst the other important forms of decoration, narrow braids and ends of wool, silk and gold thread being hand plaited and twisted. Coats of the sleeveless type, both for men and women, the short jelek, the three-quarter length giubba, and the men's full trousers (Plate V. "*I*") are often decorated with cords and braids sewn down in beautiful curved designs. The "elaborate embroideries on the japangi and the handsome braided designs are usually the work of men Albanian tailors". (M.E.D.).

A Y 294 386

Until in recent years foreign dyes, imported in small packets, were sold in the shops the women themselves dyed their materials. Most of the examples in this collection have been so coloured with vegetable dyes; black being obtained from ash bark (*Fraxinus excelsia*); green from flowering rush with the addition of copper sulphate which was got from the shops; yellow from sumach (*Rhus cotinus*); red

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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Croats EF4

from madder; reddish brown from green walnuts (*Juglans regia*) and blue from copper sulphate.

Metallic decorations are also worn, and are almost always hand made by the men; large ornaments and belt clasps of silver or silvered brass are worn at the waist, silver coins and imitation coins are worn as a trimming to caps, and as necklaces and pendants to girdles. Ear-rings are also worn by some Slav peasants, especially Moslems. "The little ornament made of a small brass thimble and coloured beads was worn as a dangle at the end of the long pigtail. The pair of long plaits on either side of the face of the Bosnian woman in the frontispiece are ornamented with coins, tassels of beads and this thimble."

"Many of the objects worn on head-dresses are amulets to keep off the "evil eye" and include also such things as cowries and, in Bosnia, small mirrors." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER III.

Women's Costume in the Central and Coastal Areas of Yugoslavia.

The main features of the costume worn (by all but the Moslem women) in the central and coastal areas of Yugoslavia are shown by the illustration of the Orthodox Bosnian woman (see Frontispiece).

In this area three cultures have influenced costume and its decoration, Central European culture which has travelled along the river valleys from the north, Mediterranean culture through Italian influence on the Dalmatian coast, and Balkan culture with its own Oriental tendencies. The married woman's costume consists of a long or medium length *shirt*, embroidered at the neck, front-opening and on the sleeves. The shorter type is similar in style to that shown on Plate IA, and the longer to that on Plate IXA, but without the embroidery at the bottom edge. A full, fairly long *skirt* of woollen or felted cloth is worn in the winter, and in summer may be exchanged for a linen skirt, sometimes closely pleated, with wide horizontal bands of cross-stitch or embroidery. A *girdle* of either folded linen with embroidery, or a tablet-woven belt such as is shown (Plate IVe) with its end hanging down in front, is worn around the waist and helps to keep up the heavy *apron* of tapestry weaving with its deep fringe (Plate III). A *short coat* of woollen cloth with embroidered decoration, often sleeveless, is added for outdoor wear, and in winter a longer coat with side gores replaces it. This is also often sleeveless.

In the coastal area and some other parts of old Bosnia and Herzegovina a *jelek*, or zouave, is worn, similar in shape but differing in colour from those in Plates X and XI, which are from the southern area.

Married women in many districts of Bosnia wear their hair in two plaits hanging down over either shoulder in front, and as a *head-dress* have a diagonally folded kerchief, generally cream or white in colour, with the back corner embroidered and a red ribbon along the edge. In the coastal district a fringe is also added to the head-dress (Plate IVa).

On the feet thick *woollen stockings* ("sharapa") are worn, and over these, handsomely decorated short socks, which act as slippers in the house and are replaced by leather "opanke" for out-of-doors (Figure 9).

[Text continues on p. 14]

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Serbs EF6
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the women of Zagreb always have a band of clipped wool, resembling fur, along the lower edges of their jackets, and those of Dubrovnik have particularly narrow fronts, probably to display the wide type of oshvitza which is popular there.

As the most important of the jeleks in this collection are from the southern area of Yugoslavia or Albania, detailed descriptions and drawings appear in Section II, but there is one example from Bosnia, of which Mrs. E. L. Hickson was the donor though the specimen was collected by Miss Durham. A description of this follows :—

No. 1936-117. It is an excellent specimen of fine silk cord braiding in black and white, with two braided straps which meet to form a fastening in front, with hooks underneath and three beautifully braided buttons on the top.

The material used for the garment is a black woollen face cloth of very good quality, probably of Austrian origin. Rows of white silk cord and plaited black silk braid alternate to form a border round the sleeve opening and around the neck and front, and a waved design at the lower edge of the jacket. This waved style is common to many Macedonian and Albanian examples so that, although bought in Bosnia, this can hardly be considered a typical Bosnian specimen.

The back and under-arm portions of the garment have a conventional four-petalled flower design in white silk braid, with another white motive which appears to be the leaves of a plant like an arum growing in a basket or pot. The ground is filled in with black silk cord work.

The front opening has the usual added flaps at each side decorated with fourteen half-buttons in moulded brass, and the whole garment is both elegant and handsome.

CHAPTER VI.

Aprons (Pregaca).

The aprons which form such a distinctive feature of the women's dress are heavy, and should be very hard wearing. They are mostly woven in the tapestry manner, that is, each motive is darned in on the warp threads whilst these are stretched on a frame or in a loom, by means of a needle or a spool like a small netting needle. Tapestry weaving is generally worked on the wrong side, and its modern equivalent in embroidery is needle-weaving. The warp in these aprons is made of hemp, and the weft is usually a harsh, rather coarse wool, dyed either dark blue, dark red tending towards maroon, dark brown, yellow or green. When white is needed a bleached hempen yarn similar to the warp is used.

One example from Banjaluka (No. 1935-80) is worked in a different manner and, with the exception of a few strands of coarse wool, a fine hempen yarn is used for both warp and weft, the latter being dyed several colours. The patterns in the apron appear to have been woven on a four-heddle loom, and are variations of the well-known "monk's belt" design.

All the aprons are heavily fringed down the sides and along the bottom edge; these fringes, which vary in depth from four to eight inches are generally made of coarse, dark wool, but some are intermingled with black goat's hair. They have been made with the aid of tablets as all have headings of a simple tablet weave.

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By using different colours of silk a pattern of greater effect is produced, in this case larger squares of orange and black, consisting of nine small ones, are arranged alternately to form diagonal rows, divided by rows of single small squares in self colour. Each large square has the central small one worked in gold thread, and the edges of the girdle are whipped with self-coloured silk. 291 286 531

Footwear.

All over the Balkans and in Albania both men and women of the peasant tribes and of the hill tribes wear two pairs of thick, knitted woollen socks, the outer pair being elaborately decorated with appliqué and embroidery on top of the knitting, and forming a sort of slipper when the outdoor sandal is discarded on entering the house. "In Yugoslavia these over-socks are called 'opanke', in Albania 'opangi' and in Rumania 'opinstsi'. The sandals are made of roughly dried hide, and when newly made the soles are soaked in oil till pliable. This helps to mould them to the foot, and the pliability of the leather gives the toes a good grip, especially on rocks or when climbing." (M.E.D.). S A B Y 291 531 286 281

With the exception of a pair of leather opanke from Nish (Niš) in Serbia, made to fit a child (No. 1936-62), the opanke and socks in this collection are all of Albanian origin. They are illustrated and described in Section II.

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PLATE V.—Roman Catholic Married Woman of Scutari. Sketch by M. E. Durham. (1935-26).

[Facing page 34]

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Bulgaria EE1

SECTION II.

CHAPTER VIII.

Y A 175 636 B A 184 291

Albania and Southern Yugoslavia. The Costumes worn by Men and Women.

After experiencing nearly five hundred years of Turkish rule it is not surprising to find that much of the costume in Albania and in southern Yugoslavia, which as far north as Pljevlja and Priboj was part of Turkey in Europe until 1913, if not actually Turkish in character shows very strong Turkish influence.

There is also much greater variety in the garments worn by the hill tribes and the peasants and the townsfolk, therefore in the description of those in the collection it has been found advisable to group specimens on some of the Plates so as to give an indication of a complete costume such, for example, as that of the Bulgarian woman from Monastir (Bitolj) (Plate IX), the Catholic woman from Scutari (Plate V) and the essential parts of a woman's dress from Zadrima (Plate X).

A 291 177

Franz, Baron Nopcsa says that as early as 1912 international European dress had begun to be adopted, more particularly by the men, the young Catholics of Scutari deprecating the older styles, and wearing a combination of European garments with the older head-dress, the fez, and shoes. The younger women also have to some extent discarded the wide trousered skirt and the veil; therefore as all the specimens in this collection belong to the period previous to 1914 they represent native dress when it had its own individuality and, as such, will become increasingly valuable as records.

The following short lists of garments worn by women and men in some of the different districts have been compiled from the collection, and from the works of Baron Nopcsa* and Max Tilke†.

A Catholic woman from Scutari would wear:

(a) A shirt ("kmis") with sleeves, sometimes gathered at the wrist, either short in the body or of three-quarter length.

(b) A full-trousered skirt, often of striped silk, similar to the Moslem example on Plate VIe or "enormous baggy trousers formed of a very wide and much gathered skirt of imported, glazed, purple-black calico, the lower edge of which was sewn together leaving a hole at each corner for the feet. This was not really a trouser, as the legs were not divided, and was very cumbrous" (M.E.D.).

(c) Some form of girdle, either striped silk or a long strip of material with embroidered ends (Plate XVIF).

(d) A sleeveless coat ("giubba") with full skirt reaching to the knees (Plate XIII).

(e) A square of dark or light cloth as a head-dress, or a large net or gauze, embroidered veil, the latter being worn by married women only.

* Franz, Baron Nopcsa: "Albanien, Bauten und Geräte." Berlin, 1935.
† Max Tilke: "The Costume of Eastern Europe." London, 1928.

[Text continues on p. 36]

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Albania EG1

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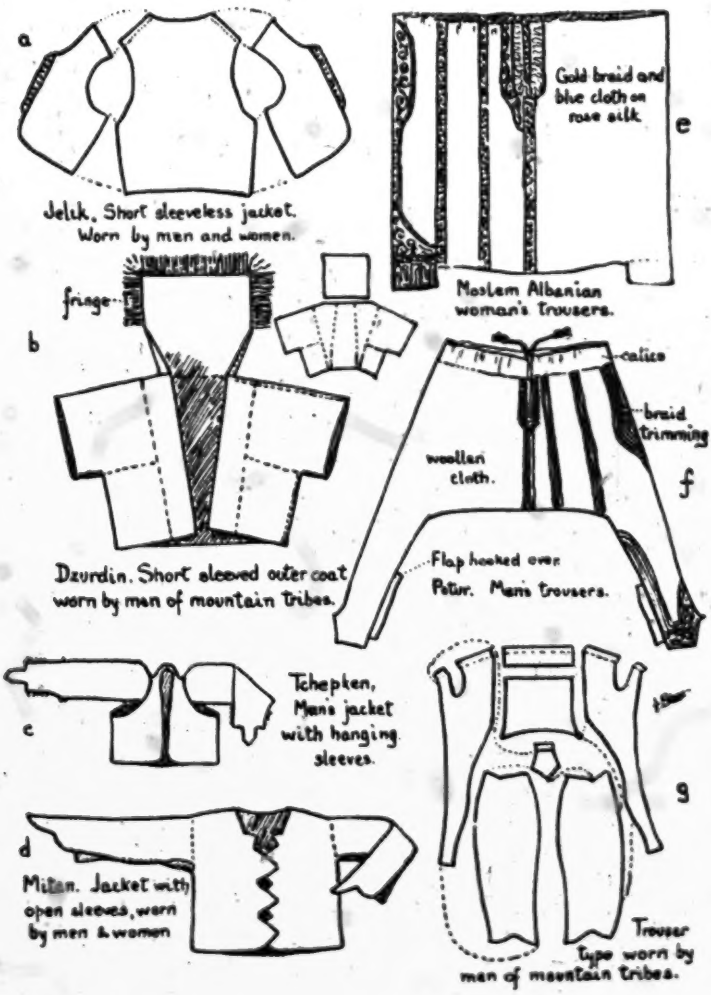

PLATE VI.—Patterns of some Albanian garments. a, b, d, g, From "Albanien," by Franz Baron Nopsca. c, e, f, Adapted from "Costumes of Eastern Europe," by Max Tilke.

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Albania EG1

291 (f) Turkish shoes.
177 (g) "Bunches of coloured handkerchiefs hanging from the pocket hole of the giubba or coat under the japangi" (M.E.D.).

[292] Married Catholic women for outdoor wear add a "japangi", that is, a large scarlet cape with brilliant embroideries, having a flap down the back to be used instead of the square head-dress or the veil (Plate XII).

291 The men wear a shirt and folded girdle, often of striped silk, through which weapons are thrust, short Turkish trousers (Plate VIf), a sleeveless jelek (Plate VIa),
531 or a jacket with open sleeves (Plate VIc and d) and a small round hat with a tassel, like an old-fashioned smoking cap (cf. Plate XVID).

The Moslem women of Scutari wear :—

(a) A similar shirt, but with wide open sleeves, often elaborately embroidered and usually of fine muslin.
(b) Full Turkish trousers of striped or embroidered silk or gauze (Plate VIe).
(c) A short-waisted jelek, or a long-skirted coat without sleeves or, for older women, with bell-shaped sleeves.
(d) As head-dress, a cap decorated with coins or a thick yashmak.

The women of Zadrima, a town on the River Drin, wear :—

(a) A shirt of similar style to those of Scutari, but sometimes with a cross-over front like a Chinese jacket fastening on the wrong side.
(b) Full skirts of heavy material, accordion pleated.
(c) A jelek, usually ornamented in scarlet and yellow.
(d) An apron which may be of the heavy tapestry type or of muslin, embroidered.
(e) Long scarves with decorated ends for head-dresses.
(f) Knitted and embroidered leggings and sandals ("opanga").

The men of Zadrima wear a jelek, either sleeveless or of the half-sleeve type (Plate VIc) over their shirt, Turkish trousers with elaborately hand-braided designs on the hips and outside of legs (Plate VIf), a leather belt for weapons and a round cap-like hat.

Another type of costume which is worn in many parts of old Macedonia is that of the Bulgar woman from Monastir (Bitolj), where the long shirt of heavy linen or calico (Plate IXA), heavily embroidered at the sleeves and hem, acts also as a skirt, and is girdled at the waist with rows of cord forming a sort of corset, which is decorated with silver ornaments. A handsome heavy tapestry apron worked in scarlet (Plate IXc), and a wide scarf (Plate IXB) with heavily embroidered ends complete the costume.

This type of garment, with its long front opening, is a very ancient form, and is similar to some of the early Egyptian garments*.

The women of the mountain tribes wear :—

(a) A shirt, sometimes with cloth sleeves decorated with coloured strips of felt, similar to the trimming on the skirt.
(b) A full skirt of heavy cloth with appliquéd patterns.
(c) A jelek or a jacket ("mitan") (Plate VId) in which case the shirt does not have sleeves of cloth.

* L. E. Start: "Coptic Cloths." Bankfield Museum Notes, Ser. II. No. 4.

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Albania EG1

A 291 531

(d) A heavy tapestry worked apron, or possibly two, one at the back and one at the front.
(e) A woollen sash round the waist and over it a leather belt, sometimes with metal ornaments or chains.
(f) Long scarves or square kerchiefs as head-dresses.
(g) Thick knitted socks with embroidered ornament, and leather sandals or opanga.

CHAPTER IX.

Materials and their Decoration.

S A 291 286

It is interesting to note that other materials besides those described in Section I. are used in making the garments worn in the south. The shirts, instead of being either of handmade linen or heavy calico, are more often made of fine muslin with silk stripes, or of an open crepe-like cotton fabric, both home spun and woven. Sometimes they are of striped silken fabric. Muslin with silk stripes is used for the daintier types of aprons which often have silk embroidered borders.

The trouser type of skirt is either of hard wearing, dark, cotton cloth, imported material, or of striped silk or even gauze of local manufacture, and may be handsomely embroidered, often with the addition of gold thread (Plate VIe).

Head-dresses in the form of scarves or kerchiefs for gala occasions may be of silk or cotton gauze, or of silk striped muslin, with silk stitchery and gold and silver embroidery (Plate XV). Fine handmade silk and cotton nets, as well as imported material, are handsomely embroidered to form the large lace veil (Fig. 8).

The sleeveless jelek and giubba are usually of fine woollen cloth, and are elaborately braided with plaited silk and cords.

M [291 531]

When heavier material such as linen or thick cotton cloth is used in garments like those from Monastir (Bitolj) and some of the odd sleeves, the embroidery is nearly always in Turkey red with touches of gold and black.

All the colourings tend to be gayer, and yet are often very refined in their choice, and the use of gold in the form of thread and plate is widespread.

In the embroidery, cross-stitch gives place to petit-point; pulled stitches (which produce an open work effect); satin stitch; double running for outlines; and fancy filling stitches, which provide great variety. Needlepoint decorates the edges of shirt sleeves, scarves and bedspreads, which are often of exquisite workmanship.

Some of the patterns and the method of working the stitchery are included in the following chapters which deal with the various parts of the costume from these areas.

CHAPTER X.

A. Women's Shirts.

Y A 291

The women's shirts from Albania and the south of Yugoslavia are of two forms, the shorter type worn with either a full cloth skirt, or the wide-trousered variety, and the long form, which is shirt and skirt combined.

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Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

Y A 291

The former type are of fine hand-woven linen, thin imported calico (Plate I), plain muslin, muslin with cotton or silk stripes, or of striped silk.

The collars and front-openings (" oshvitza "), even of the finer muslin examples, are worked on hand-made linen and applied to the garments, but some sleeve decorations, such as those on the unfinished example No. 1936-69, are worked in silk on the sleeve itself.

Many of the shorter type of shirts are of three-quarters length, and have shaped gores or gathered pieces let in at the sides.

The longer type, of shirt and skirt combined, is always made of a strong cotton or linen cloth, and is heavily embroidered at the neck, sleeves and hem where the heaviest wear may be expected.

M 291

No. 1936-43. This large size shirt (" kosulja ") from Montenegro has a striped, hand-woven, muslin top and sleeves mounted on to a wider and larger body of imported calico. The cut is the same as that of the shirt from Kolašin (Plate I) except that the side pieces are gored. The garment measures 31 inches (78·8 cm.) in length, 19 inches (48·2 cm.) across the shoulders and 29 inches (73·7 cm.) across the bottom hem. The sleeves, including a poor quality of imported lace edging, are 22 inches (55·9 cm.) long and 9½ inches (24·1 cm.) wide when made up.

M [53]

The decoration is limited to the collar and front-opening, which have variations of the Herb Paris motive (Plate VIIc) (described in the following chapter) worked in black, dark green and red in rotation, with touches of gold thread, with which the edge of the opening is also neatly buttonholed. The work is done on fine linen which is applied to the muslin shirt and attached by closed herring-boning in gold thread, a happy addition to its generally attractive appearance.

No. 1936-48. A shirt of normal size from Montenegro, measuring 20 inches (50·8 cm.) in length, 17 inches (43·2 cm.) across the shoulders with sleeves 20 inches (50·8 cm.) long, including a narrow edging of imported lace, and 8 inches (20·3 cm.) wide when made up.

M 291 531

The garment is of hand-woven muslin with broad and narrow self warp stripes. The collar and front opening have borders of what appears to be a variant of the pear pattern (see Ch. XB) worked in rotation in red, gold, dark blue and gold. The border is finished off with two rows of Slav stitch in gold and close buttonholing at the extreme edge, and the oshvitza is attached to the garment by a row of closed herring-boning in gold thread. The whole effect is rich.

A 291 286

No. 1936-69. An unfinished shirt of fine hand-woven muslin of an open weave having a broad silk warp stripe at the edge of the cloth. The shirt comes from Durazzo in Albania, and is of the rather long type and a large size. The width across the shoulders to the ends of the sleeves is two yards (182·9 cm.) and the width of the body part at the hem one yard (91·5 cm.). The muslin itself is only 17 inches (43·2 cm.) wide and has 60 warp ends and 50 weft picks to the inch, and is an open weave of very tightly spun, natural coloured cotton which produces a pleasant crepe-like surface. The satin warp stripes at the side are 1¼ inch (3·2 cm.) wide. The narrowness of the cloth necessitates two widths being used for the sleeves and four for the body part, the one at either side being gathered in at the waist where a triangular gusset of fine imported cloth has been inserted.

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Albania EG1

Montenegrins EF5

A 291 286 531

The neck of the garment is uncut, but the ends of the sleeves are beautifully embroidered in natural coloured floss-silk in a conventional flower design worked in satin-stitch and pulled-stitch to which the open weave lends itself. Below this border is a chevron design in pulled-stitch with the triangles filled by a little chequered square in satin-stitch. At the extreme edge is a beautiful needlepoint lace of unusual design worked in natural coloured cotton. The whole border is an example of delicate workmanship.

B. Oshvitza.

M 291 286 531 [462 435]

The little worked borders, called oshvitza, which form the collars and outline the front-openings of the shirts are always worked separately from the garment and applied to it by plain or fancy stitching. The specimens in the collection are nearly all from Montenegro. As has already been stated, the young girls work them in their leisure moments and whilst tending sheep, and are often quite willing to sell what is a bit of exquisite stitchery for about a shilling.

The material used is generally a fine hand-woven linen, and two strips are needed, one for the collar band and one for the front-opening. As the length of the collar embroidery varies from 14 to 16 inches (35·6 to 40·6 cm.), and that for the front from 13 to 15 inches (33 to 38 cm.), strips of linen 3 inches (7·6 cm.) wide for the collar and 4 inches (10·2 cm.) for the front, and about one inch longer than the required length are used.

The two little borders for the front-opening are worked parallel to one another about an inch apart as shown at a, a^1 (Plate VIIA), and then just at the inner edge of the work the cloth is doubled back and the folded edge buttonholed over. This process is indicated in the lower part of "A". When the front is applied to the garment, the strip is cut between the two "a's", and helps to neaten both the right and the wrong sides of the opening.

The worked strip tacked on to the left hand side of "A" is the collar piece.

Nos. 1936·24—41. There are eleven complete sets, three front-openings and two collar pieces in the collection. All are Montenegrin in origin, and they include a variety of patterns, many of which are traditional ". . . and are copied from one another without any marking out. The wife of the German Minister at Cetinje at the time of the Balkan wars had collected two hundred different patterns." (M.E.D.).

A few of the more interesting patterns in the collection are illustrated on Plate VII where, at "A" (No. 1936·24), there is a very popular and neat little motive known as ". . . 'mala krushka' or little pear. The wild crab-pear is common in these lands, hard and astringent, but with a pear flavour." (M.E.D.).*

The pattern at "B" (No. 1936·26) is called ". . . 'kukatcha', the scorpion fly. It appears to represent a fly with bent tail and sting, the group of three alternating stitches at the top being wings. 'Krstatz' figured at 'C' (No. 1936·25) is a stylised form of the four-leaved Herb Paris, which has four leaves with a berry in the middle." (M.E.D.).†

Combinations of motives are often made, and there are many varieties of the motives themselves, whilst another example at "d" on Plate I is similar to one named

* M. E. Durham: "Balkan Peninsula. Place Names." *Man.* March 1923.
† M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroidery Patterns." *Man.* May 1923.

[Text continues on p. 41]

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Bulgaria EE8
Albania EG1

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An elaborate border surrounds the apron which is edged all round with a row of fringe, about an inch in width, in red and browns, but at the lower edge by two additional rows of short fringe in scarlet and crimson, and then a four inch fringe of scarlet backed with brown, having a handsome wrapped heading three-quarters of an inch deep.

The heading of the first narrow fringe is of strip brass made into flattened tubes round bunches of the threads, next to this comes a row of black and white beads, then three rows of brass tubes used like long beads, a three-quarter inch band of gold braid with an open lace edging of gold measuring another half inch. The whole border is finished off by another row of alternate black and white beads (Fig. 6 " c ").

At the lower edge of the apron as shown at " C " on Plate IX two more rows of the gold braid are added as well as the deeper fringe. All this heavy work at the lower edge of the apron is strengthened at the back by pieces of felt at the corners and a broad woven black and white braid above the top row of the fringe.

In addition to these garments the woman might wear a jelek and, for out-of-doors, a fairly long white woollen coat with more embroidery or braiding.

CHAPTER XII.

Some Garments from Zadrima.

A
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The group of specimens illustrated on Plate X are the more decorative parts of the attire of a peasant woman from Zadrima, a town near Scutari, on the River Drin. The colouring is predominantly Turkey red with touches of yellow, white (either as background or ornament), a little green and a little dark blue.

In addition to those articles shown there would be a shirt with decorated oshvitza, perhaps with the opening as a cross-over, and a full skirt of heavy material.

No. 1935-28. The jelek (Plate XA and B), which was worn over the shirt, has a foundation of a diagonally woven cotton cloth, like a twill, which from the irregularity of the weaving appears to be of home production. This is stiffened with parchment or some similar substance and lined with a fine imported, slightly glazed calico.

The garment is 12 inches (30·5 cm.) deep and 17 inches (43·2 cm.) wide, and has two added flaps of scarlet felt in the front which are decorated with half buttons of gilded brass.

It is bordered, and the back divided into panels by an inch wide band of plaited braids made up alternately of three square plaited red braids each having eight strands, and four variegated braids in red, yellow, white and black consisting of four red, two black, two red and two yellow strands. Eight of the threads in the latter are used as two groups of four for cores over which the other two are plaited, a new colour pair being taken from the core as required. Inside the plaited border round the neck and down the front a bright strip of gold and scarlet ribbon is applied, this is represented by the dotted band in Plate XA and B.

The two shaped panels in the front are ornamented by lines and an Ionic wave pattern made by sewing down side by side a scarlet and a yellow cord.

[Text continues on page 49]

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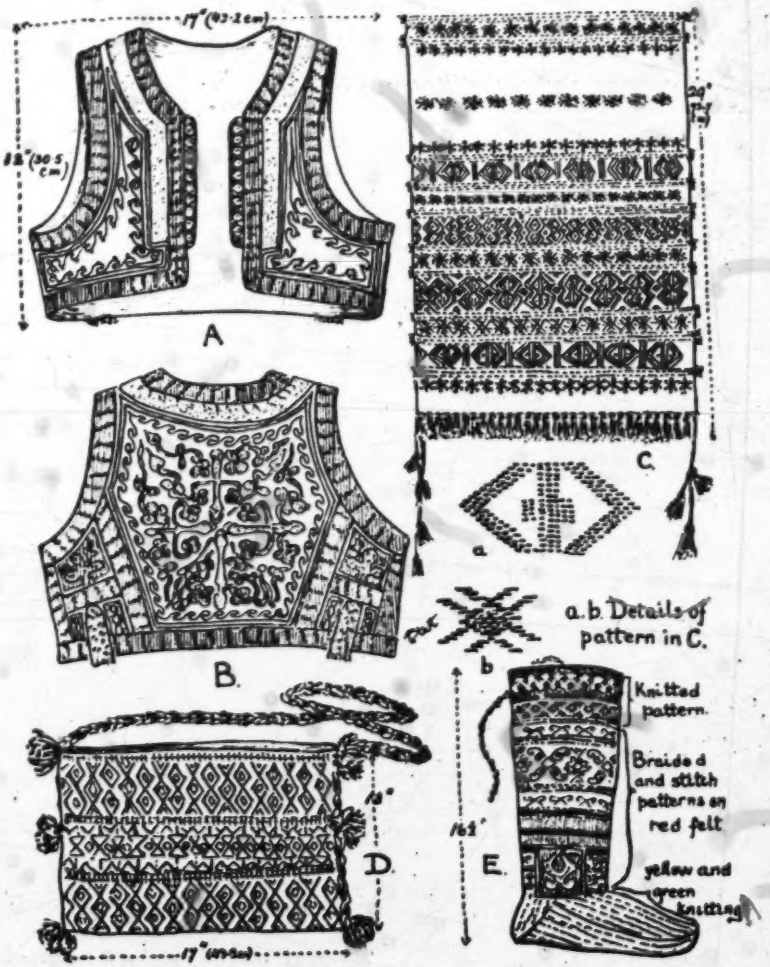

PLATE X.—A Zadrima woman's garments. A, B, Front and back of jelek. C, Half of head scarf. D, Knapsack market bag. E, Legging.

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The principal panel on the back has a white ground outlined by border lines and a similar wave worked in the same way, but the conventional flower pattern which fills the rest of the space is braided solidly in red cord, with eight radiating wavy motives in yellow. The two side panels are very simply braided with yellow on a background of scarlet felt. "The braiding is done entirely by men." (M.E.D.). 291 286 531

No. 1936-60. The Zadrima woman's head scarf is nearly five feet long without its little corner tassels, and eighteen inches wide. One half is shown on Plate X at "C". It is made of a fine, but rather open, tabby weave of cotton, dyed pale yellow, and in the unworked part there are some thicker weft stripes in natural coloured cotton. It is heavily and handsomely decorated for most of its length, and the lay-out and design of the patterns is indicated at "C", where the dotted lines which separate the geometrical patterns represent a series of weft stripes, mainly red but with touches of dark blue. These stripes are woven over groups of warp threads, each spool carrying a bundle of weft threads, as many as six or eight very fine ones being used. The patterns themselves are also worked in with similar bundles of weft threads, and have been woven into the cloth by means of a number of free spools, one for each colour in each motive. The result is a very much raised design of great richness.

A similar result could be obtained by embroidery, but the pull of the multiple threads used would be greater and the raised effect, both on the back as well as the front, much less.

It will be noticed that alternate rows in the pattern are the same, the device at "b" on Plate X being the motive. Although these patterns are the same they are not worked exactly under one another, which suggests that the woven pattern is not dependent upon an elaborate arrangement of heddles but rather that there were the usual two heddles necessary for the tabby ground and a third, or a shed stick, which lifted two and kept down three warps to form a shed for use in picking up the patterns by hand with the free spools.

"It is of some interest to note that recently the French Customs House refused flatly to believe that similar work was woven, and declared the border to be hand-embroidered, and wanted to charge it as such. Such handsome head-dresses are no longer made." (M.E.D.).

A festival head-dress from the same district is described in Chapter XV, where other head-dresses are discussed.

No. 1935-77. A bag, measuring 17 inches (43·2 cm.) wide and 12 inches (30·5 cm.) deep, which goes with the jelek, head-scarf and leggings, is worked with free spools on a rather open hand-woven cloth, exactly in the same way as the scarf, but is a coarser piece of work and less interesting in colour, which is again mainly red with touches of dull yellow and black (Plate XD). There is one interesting difference, however; in this example the patterns are carried out in coarse wool whilst in the head-scarf the work is done by very fine cotton thread used in bundles.

A thick, three-stranded plaited cord in red, black and yellow, just over six feet long, is attached along the sides of the bag and forms loops for carrying. The bag is worn over one shoulder and leaves the hands free. The sides of the bag are seamed to the cord, and three thick woollen tassels decorate each side.

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291 286 531 **No. 1935-68.** One of a pair of leggings for a Zadrima woman is illustrated at "E" on Plate X. The foundation is of knitting done in coarse wool, the foot portion striped in yellow and green, two stitches of each colour alternately, and the top portion in the design indicated at "E", in red and black.

The part below the latter is covered as far down as the ankle with red felt upon which braided patterns in scarlet, yellow and white are sewn down, and five rows of fine stitchery taken right through the knitting divide each set of motives.

The outer side of the legging is the part that has been drawn. On the inner side is a plainer panel, divided for the whole length of the felt, finished off with a felt flap, and both sides of the division hooked together with strong brass hooks and eyes. This arrangement ensures a well-fitted legging which is warm, comfortable and decorative. Over the knitted foot part a leather "opanga" would be worn.

[177] "Similar leggings, with local differences of pattern and colour, were formerly worn in many districts. This was the only pair I was able to obtain." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER XIII.

Women's Jeleks.

In addition to the jelek on Plate X worn by a Zadrima woman, there are five others from Albania in the collection.

These little sleeveless jackets or zouaves are worn by both women and men in many districts and are usually beautifully decorated, chiefly by braiding, which is done by Albanian tailors. Amongst those not yet described is one of outstanding workmanship and design, that presented to Miss Durham by the Beys forming the provisional government of Berat in July, 1913, in token of gratitude. She says, "Korcha was occupied by Greek troops in the Balkan war of 1912-13, and the Greeks claimed it. Along with Mr. H. W. Nevinson (the famous war correspondent), I rode three days over the mountains, arriving at Berat early in the morning, and drafted a telegram to the Council of Ambassadors in London as a petition from the inhabitants of Korcha saying they wished to remain Albanian, and Korcha remains Albanian to this day as a result of that desperate ride."

[721] 648

No. 1937-19. This jelek, which has a foundation of black face cloth, either Austrian or Italian in origin, is entirely covered with gold embroidery, both raised and flat, in which expert use is made of gold thread or passing, gold cord, purl and sequins.

The design on the front, of conventional eight and four-petalled flowers connected by graceful curves and mingled with raised geometrical forms, is so elaborate that a reduced drawing of it would be unsatisfactory, but a small portion of one corner of actual size is reproduced in Fig. 7b, which also shows the four rows of plaited gold passing divided by three rows of gold cord which border the whole garment.

The back has a large bi-symmetrical motive which fills most of the space, and is bordered by the same design that almost encircles the armhole. A part of this border from near the lower edge at the back is given on Fig. 7a. The little added flaps at the front, usually found on jeleks, are absent from this specimen, being re-

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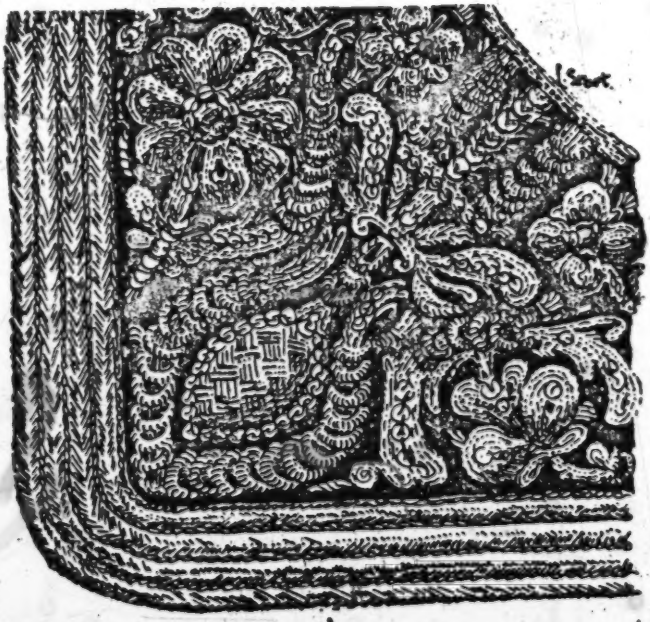
placed by gold lace of a continuous wave pattern similar to the Ionic wave. Two buttons are wrapped with gold thread in a manner like those enlarged at "d" on Plate XI, and plain loops complete the fastening. 291 286 531

The garment is lined with yellow cotton material, nicely printed with red, daisy-like flowers, which appears to be English in origin.

a



b

FIG. 7.—Gold embroidery on presentation jelek. a, Portion of border surrounding back panel. b, Small portion of decoration on the front.

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Great richness of effect is produced by such close work in gold, which can only be compared to expert church embroideries, or those decorating some diplomatic uniforms, although the technique is much finer than is usual on these latter garments.

No. 1935-75. A very elegant jelek of violet velvet, almost entirely covered with gold cord and matching violet silk braids and cords, which comes from Ipek (Pec) and belonged to a Moslem woman, has a rather pathetic history. "In the Balkan war of 1912-13 the Montenegrins took Ipek and treated the Moslem inhabitants with hideous brutality. Numbers fled with little but what they stood up in, and sold their garments to buy bread. This was sold by one of these poor victims who had been well-to-do." (M.E.D.). The front and back of the little jacket are illustrated in Plate XI at "A" and "B"; but the refined richness of the purple braiding round the edge and outlining the panels, and the rows of patterned cord work surrounding the gold motive in the centre of the back, cannot be successfully given, as if these parts were made dark as they are in the garment details could not be effectively shown. Gold cord braiding decorates the long narrow front panel (a part is shown at "b"), and there is a little running border on the collar (Plate XI "a"). The inside band, which appears light in the drawing (Plate XIA) consists of eight rows of plaited gold passing sewn down with purple silk. The two side panels in the front (Plate XI "c") have the gold ornament worked in twisted gold thread with the background filled in by rows of purple silk cord. The side panel at the back is similarly worked. Finally the front-opening has sixteen very handsome gold buttons, each made by covering a wooden mould with gold thread, a little purple cord as contrast to emphasize the arrangement of the wrapping, and seven coral beads (Plate XI "d").

[27]

The jacket is lined with a printed cotton lining of mid-Victorian design.

No. 1936-42. Fine black cloth is the foundation of the third jelek, which is bordered by five, plaited, black silk cords, which along the lower edge of the jacket form a large Ionic wave design, each spiral being centred by a rather poor variety of gilt ribbon.

The same ribbon is placed as a stripe down the front, and between it and the braided edge there is a neat little pattern of leaves with a wavy stem worked in gold cord.

The back of the jelek has a centre and two side panels handsomely braided in white silk cord. The design, with its four-petalled flower, has a great similarity to the one on the back of the Zadrima jelek on Plate X, but is much more finely planned and worked. Raised centres of cord enhance the effect of the flowers and form the mid-rib of the conventional leaves.

The white cord design has a fine black cord outline but the black background renders this almost invisible. A black and white braid sewn in close loops finishes off the curves at the lower edge, and on each of the little added flaps in the front there are ten half-buttons in gilt brass.

No. 1939-1. The fourth of the jeleks in this group is an example of one covered entirely with work in gold braid.

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At the lower edge it has the waved border, so usual in the south, consisting of four parallel rows of plaited gold braid, which are carried up the front and round the neck also. The small panels on the front have a leaf design with a raised midrib

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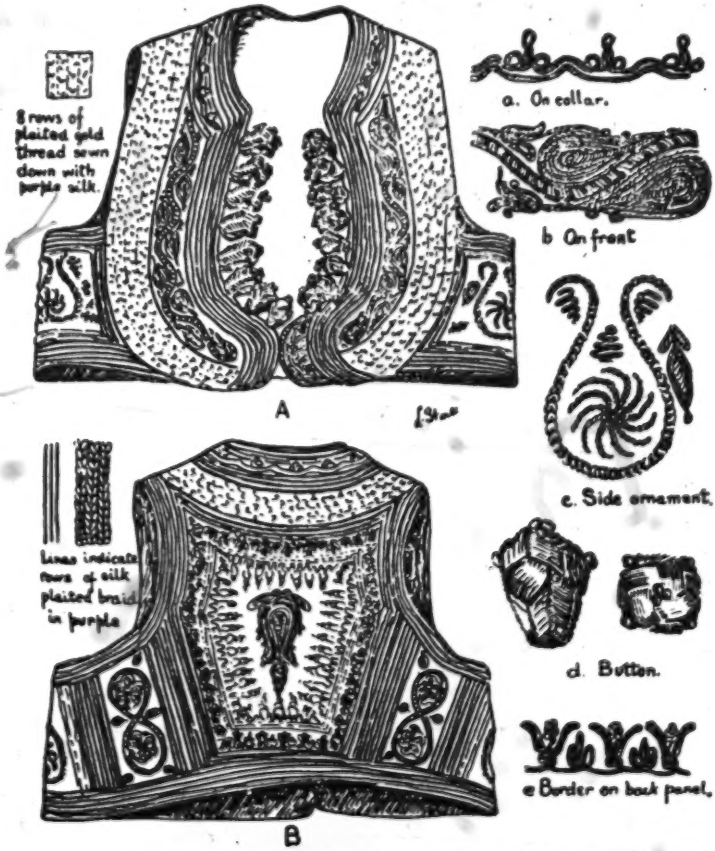

PLATE XI.—A, B, Front and back of "jelek" of reddish-purple velvet, elaborately decorated with braided patterns worked in fine cords and plaits made of purple silk and of gold passing. (From Ipek, Albania). a, b, c, e, Details of patterns worked in gold. d, Side and top of button covered by gold cord with red coral beads.

similar to "d" on Plate XIII. The back is divided into three panels, like the Zadrima example on Plate X, and these panels are entirely filled with the popular four-petalled flower motive, having a raised ring in the centre.

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291 286 531 The whole of this pattern work is braided in fine gold cord, and the usual half-buttons of gilt brass decorate the little added flaps on the front, just like the Zadrima example.

No. 1936-119. The last of the jelek in this group is another beautifully gold embroidered one given by Mrs. E. W. Hickson, which belongs to the magnificent gold braided giubba (No. 1936-118), described later.

It is made of an extremely fine black face cloth. The fronts are entirely covered by braiding in fine gold cord, four, six and many-petalled flowers growing out of sweeping curves fill most of the space, with leaves and smaller flowers in between. Most of the flower petals are slightly raised as in the presentation jelek (No. 1937-19).

The neck and front edges have broad bands formed of a series of gold plaited braids laid closely in rows in a similar manner to the other examples, and the plain back of the garment is also outlined and the seams emphasised by similar plaited braid and gold cord. This garment is particularly interesting as the worn-out [296] lining has been removed and the method of strengthening the cloth with parchment before working the braiding can be plainly seen.

When this garment is compared with its companion giubba it will be noted that a plain back was necessary as that of the giubba itself is heavily gold braided (Plate XIV).

CHAPTER XIV.

A. The Costume of a Roman Catholic Woman of Scutari.

291 292 531 In Albania, as elsewhere, native costume is rapidly disappearing, but when these specimens were collected between 1908 and 1914 it was almost universally worn, a different dress in different districts and for different religions; and the charming drawing by Miss Durham which forms the introduction to Section II (Plate V) illustrates the costume of a married Roman Catholic Scutarene. The scarlet outer cloak or "japangi" is worn over a sleeveless coat or "giubba", of which only the edge shows in the picture, and from whose pocket slot depends a large fancy silk handkerchief.

Under the flap of the japangi, which can be seen being held in position on the head by a cord, a lace veil is draped, partly concealing the face, and a fancy muslin, embroidered apron hangs down in front of the baggy trousered skirt (Plate VI e) with its stiff ankle bands, which in this Catholic woman's costume would be red, although otherwise similar to the gold braided ones belonging to a Moslem woman of Scutari which are figured on Plate XVIc.

An embroidered muslin shirt is worn under the trousered skirt, and girdled with a striped silk scarf, or a needleworked girdle with long ends (Plate XVIr). White knitted socks and Turkish shoes complete this out-of-door costume.

The details of the various items in the costume are discussed in the notes which follow, with the exception of the veil which is described in the chapter dealing with head-dresses.

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B. The Japangi.

The japangi is the out-of-door cloak of a married woman, and is presented as a wedding gift from the bridegroom to his bride.* It is made of scarlet cloth or felt, often imported from Austria, and the handsome silk embroidery which decorates it is the work of Albanian men tailors. It is interesting to note that according to old archives "Scarlet cloth was one of the items the Venetians used to bestow on local Albanian chieftains in the days of Venetian domination in the Adriatic."† 291 294 531 [431]

The garment consists of two parts, the large circular cape and a rectangular flap for a hood which is attached to it (Plate XII a). Although the material is very wide there are some joinings, and a curved gore or a long dart is cut and joined together again to make the cloak fit well on the shoulders.

It is handsomely trimmed by three panels of embroidery, one on either side of the front, like the one at the left only in "b" on Plate XII, and one across the shoulders at the back (Plate XII c). These panels consist of strips, about an inch wide, of scarlet and dark red or maroon or black cloth seamed together to form a background of stripes upon which an elaborate pattern is solidly worked in chain-stitch in yellow, white, green and violet silk, the silk being home grown, spun and dyed in most cases. The joining of the front and back panels is disguised by a number of rows of plaited braids, plain yellow ones being used alternately with mixed red, black and white ones (Plate XII h). The silk strands of which the braids are made form a long fringe at either end (Plate XII g). "The embroidery is very noteworthy. It is done entirely by men, and the patterns are traditional and vary very little, a bird, possibly a dove (Plate XII f), a serpent (Plate XII e), flowers and an ear of corn (Plate XII d) are always included, and it was impossible to get any explanation from the embroiderers as to why these items were always to be found. After much discussion by one excellent worker with his fellows they decided that it must be some old tale, long forgotten. The flowers and corn may be fertility emblems as this is a marriage garment." (M.E.D.). [462]

When a woman becomes a widow she removes the embroidered panels and substitutes some black stripes instead, whose arrangement is shown at the right hand side of the front view of the japangi at "b" on Plate XII. A sketch (No.1935-27) by Miss Durham of a Scutarene widow wearing a japangi with black stripes can be seen in the museum collection. [765]

No. 1935-22. In addition to the japangi with the embroidery just described there are two other examples of the sets of embroidered panels, both from Scutari (Skodar), and one of which is drawn at "g" on Plate XII.

The fine felt stripes of which this ground is made are scarlet and very dark maroon, and the design and the technique of the embroideried work far outshines that of the other two specimens. Ivory silk chain-stitch, generally outlined in yellow, fills most of the important motives, but touches of pale blue, reseda green and violet appear here and there. The changes in the background colour enhance the richness of the general effect and part of the illustration at "g" on Plate XII has been filled in to give some idea of this variation in tone. The serpent, dove and corn

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*, Vol. XXIII. No. 5, 1923.
† loc. cit.

[Text continues on p. 57]

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PLATE XII.—Japangi. a, Pattern. b, Front. c, Back. d, e, f, Serpent, birds and corn or feathers from trimming on b, c. g, Half of embroidery on another japangi. h, Detail of shoulder braid.

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can be distinguished although exigencies of space prevent a large drawing of the design being available. The enlarged specimens on the plate are from the embroidery on the japangi shown at " b " and " c ". 291 294 531

No. 1937-6. The third example of embroidery for a japangi has a design worked in vivid orange, violet, emerald green and cerise outlined in white. The dyes are aniline and the result garish. The pattern, too, is not so good, the small four-petalled flowers dominating the design. The striped scarlet and black ground is made of a fine felt.

Those specially interested in the design itself will find a section of each of these patterns sketched by Miss Durham in her article on " Some Balkan Embroideries," in *Man*., May, 19[illegible]3., Vol. XXIII, No. 5 ; and she also states in her letters that she has seen the dove and serpent design on the corner of the sleeveless coat which formed part of the wedding dress of the Crown Princess Militza, wife of the Crown Prince Danilo, of Montenegro, which is now in the possession of her friend who was the English lady-in-waiting to the Princess.

C. The Giubba.

No. 1935-32. One of the most elegantly cut of all the garments in the collection is the giubba, a sleeveless coat, figured on Plate XIII. It is part of the indoor dress of the women and girls of Scutari, whether of the Christian or Moslem faith, and is worn over the shirt and full trousers or trousered skirt. The skirt-like enlargement of the lower part can be traced back to Persian and Tartaric garments, and adds considerably to its graceful effect in wear (Plate XIII a). The giubba is made of a rich reddish brown face cloth of fine quality, and consists of five pieces, two fronts of fairly straight cut (Plate XIII b), a back which includes a long narrow gore tapering to the bottom of the skirt as shown in " c " on Plate XIII, and two circular shaped pieces which fit the gore and the side edges of the fronts. On the seam thus formed there is a long pocket-like decoration in which, at the bottom, there is a tiny two-inch slot, from which one or more patterned silk handkerchiefs may hang. [174]

As will be seen from the measurements given on the plate, the garment is such as would fit a small and slender woman.

The coat is handsomely braided in black, three kinds of material being used, a thin and a thick twisted silk cord, the latter being usually applied on top of a closely laid fine cord, as indicated at " d " and " f " on Plate XIII, and a plaited silk braid which is used in rows to make the waved border all round the front and circular skirt part. Above this waved band a version of the popular continuous scroll, like an Ionic wave, forms two rows of trimming and for its working two operations are needed, a single line of cord, the darker in the drawing at " e " on Plate XIII, is sewn down first, and then a second row with little twirls at the top of the curve fills in the spaces of the first.

Some indication of the style of the patterns and their layout has been attempted at " b " and " c ", limitation of space preventing enlargements on a more adequate scale.

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The narrow back of the garment, which is outlined by several rows of plaited braid is also completely filled with a design which in its use of four-petalled flowers has some affinity with the patterns on the back of the jelek figured on Plate X.

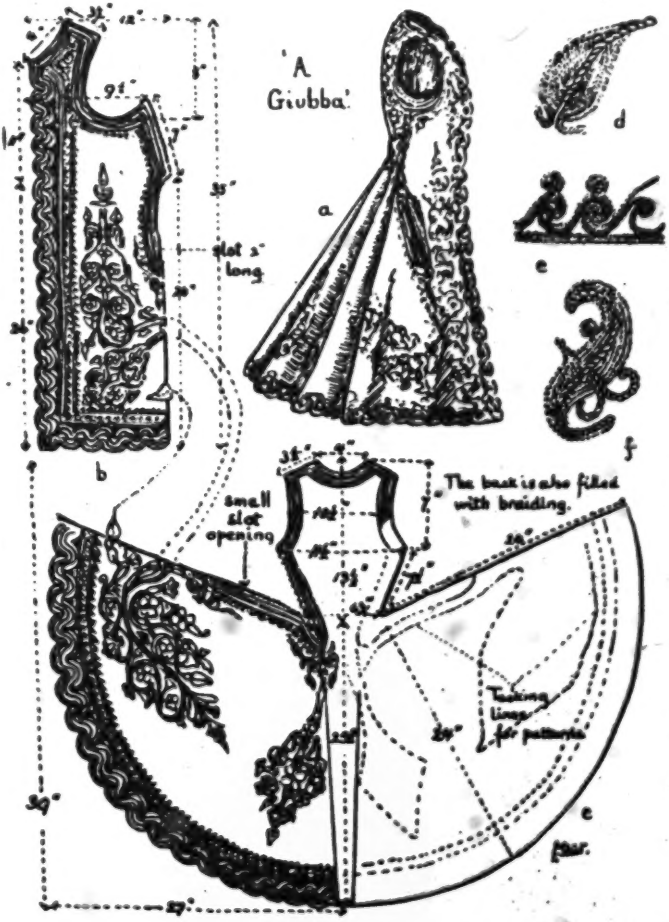

PLATE XIII.—A giubba from Scutari (now Shodar). b, Proof section. c, Back. d, e, f, Details of braiding.

[Text continues on p. 60]

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PLATE XIV.—A black giubba worked in gold.

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All the designs are filled in solidly with the fine cord, and detail, such as veining, emphasised with the coarser cord, the final effect of their flowing curvilinear designs in black silk on a dark background being very handsome, yet subdued.

No. 1936-118. The most magnificent garment in the whole collection as well as the most beautiful from an artistic standpoint is this Albanian lady's giubba or coat (Plate XIV), presented by Mrs. E. L. Hickson, a sister of Miss Durham.

It is of fine black face cloth decorated on the front, back and hem by handsome braided designs in fine gold cord.

The cut of the coat is very elegant and varies somewhat from that just described and illustrated. The garment is built to fit a slender woman and the same small back appears, outlined by solid bands of gold one and a half inches wide, made up of seven rows of plaited gold passing, with gold cord between, but the skirt part is much fuller.

A complete circle of 40-42 inches (about 1 m.) radius was used to make the skirt with an overlap of about one foot in the front, where the cloth is cleverly cut so as to continue upwards for the front of the bodice part. For the waist a concentric circle of 9 inches to 11 inches was cut away so that the depth of the skirt became 31 inches (78·8 cm.) and all the extra fulness was skilfully gathered into the waist at the back, forming folds which add great dignity and elegance to the garment, and which give balance to the coat in wear. The lining, which is a printed cotton, with patterned stripes having alternate backgrounds of red and green, is of Mid-Victorian date so the giubba is probably at least eighty years old, yet its gold work and the cloth are in as perfect condition as if it had been made today.

No verbal description can give adequate expression to the beauty of this specimen, but the refinement of the border which edges the curved hem must be specially mentioned, and at "c", "d" and "e" on Plate XIV some idea of the braided designs is given, these must be translated in the reader's mind into fine gold cord braiding on a velvety black surface.

The last of the jeleks just described was worn with this giubba, and the gold braided front has similar designs. When the heavily decorated back of the coat is noted, the reason for leaving the cloth in the back of the jelek plain is quite obvious, and worn together, probably with a silk trousered skirt or Turkish trousers, the effect would be very handsome.

CHAPTER XV.

Head-dresses.

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As was mentioned in the introduction to Section II, there is a great deal of variation in the types of head-dresses worn in Albania and Southern Yugoslavia, but they fall into three main categories, the large lace or embroidered net or muslin veil worn by Moslem and many Roman Catholic women, the square head kerchief and the long scarf.

There are two examples of the large lace veil in the collection, one being the example worn by the Roman Catholic woman from Scutari (Skodar) whose costume is illustrated on Plate V.

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No. 1935-76. This is a very fine cotton net veil measuring 4 feet (1·3 m.) square, handsomely embroidered in floss silk. The design consists of a border 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide, of which a small portion near a corner is illustrated in Fig. 8; large corner motives of a bouquet form, about 14 inches (35·6 cm.) square, reach almost to the centre and little floral sprays spot the remaining space.

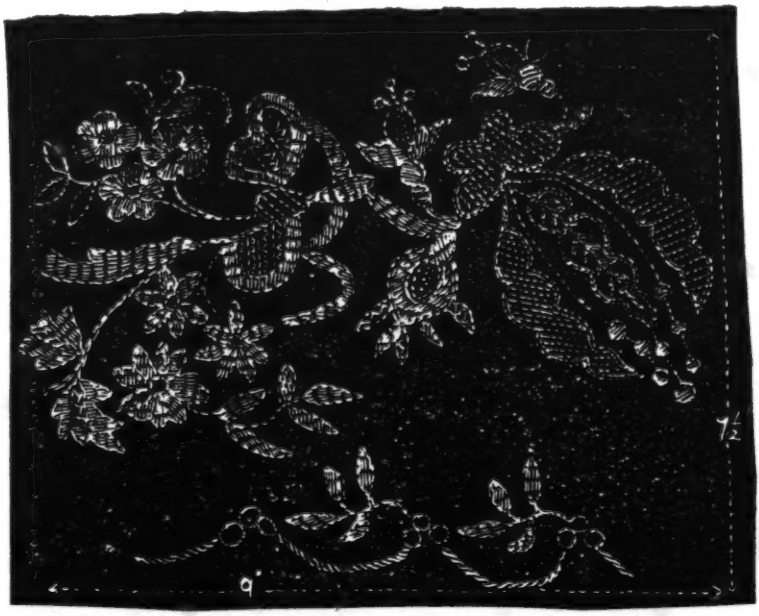

FIG. 8.—Part of the silk outlined and darned border on a silk lace veil.

The style of the lace, as can be seen from Fig. 8, is a fairly free treatment of floral forms. It is executed in an outline of double running with darning stitches and satin stitch as the chief filling-in stitches, although there are some ornamental filling stitches and overcast eyelets.

[171]

The method of working this embroidered lace is similar in style and execution to the darned laces worked in England in the early 19th Century, and to some of those of Austria and Hungary of the same period and of somewhat earlier date*.

* "Peasant Art in Austria and Hungary." The Studio, Special Number, Autumn 1911.

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No. 1936-11e. The second example of the large semi-transparent veil also comes from Scutari, and is beautifully embroidered on fine sheer muslin. It is 4 feet (1·3 m.) square and the scheme of decoration is somewhat similar to the previous specimen, consisting of a border and large floral motives reaching from the corners almost to the centre.

The technique is interesting as a variation in surface texture and is obtained by the use of a soft white cotton as well as white floss silk for the stitching, thus in a spray of leaves some will be worked in satin-stitch in silk with a fine chain-stitch outline worked in soft white cotton, whilst others will be filled with satin-stitch in soft white cotton and have no special outline. Sometimes a flower will be partly worked on the wrong side and the rest solidly on the right, thus producing a contrasting softness such as is seen in modern shadow embroidery. Many fancy fillings are used, and the centres of the larger flowers consist of very fine drawn thread work whipped over to form an openwork of small squares. For the needlewoman this veil is full of suggestions as regards stitchery as well as the decorative treatment of floral motives, and there are also some rather amusing birds with sprigs of leaves in their mouths, possibly symbolic of the return of the dove to the ark, hovering over the big corner motives.

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The two examples of head kerchiefs are both illustrated on Plate XV and are from Prizren in the Kossovo Villayet.

The one at " A " is of fine hand-woven cotton cloth of a natural creamy colour, and is embroidered in silk with touches of gold thread. The design at the corner is reminiscent of the Persian pink, and the little triangular-shaped motives round the edge are a variant of the tree of life, which is so prevalent as a motive in embroideries from the Near East.

The corner spray is worked mainly in pink and green, the flowers being executed in an open stitch whose working is drawn at " c " on Plate XV, and the leaves and stems being variations of (v.) and (vi.) at " d " on the same plate. The combination of (v.) and (vi.) is sometimes known as triangular Turkish stitch. Both these stitches are used by other peoples in the south-eastern parts of Europe where both sides of the embroidery are made to look alike*.

The tree of life is in pink, green and gold, and its alternate motive, like a fruit tree on a mound, is in brown and pink with the mound in deep blue outlined in gold.

Little multi-coloured silk tassels adorn the corners, and the edge is rolled and closely whipped with cream silk.

No. 1935-30. The other head kerchief is worked in silk and gold on a rather openly woven muslin of gauze-like effect. One corner is shown at " B " on Plate XV, and is worked in very bright aniline colours somewhat toned down by black stems and pale pink and gold thread outlines. The flower border is carried out in vivid green with black outlines and little gold thread squares, the stitch used for filling the pattern being that sketched at " d ". The stems and lines consist of two rows of (v) d with (vi) d between them. The raw edge is rolled and whipped, but not so neatly as in the previous example which is probably older, and certainly more skilfully worked.

* Laura E. Start: " Armenian Embroideries." The Needlewoman, No. 4, 1920.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

Albanie EG1
Serbs EF6

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The two head scarves also depicted on Plate XV are good specimens of embroidery in metal thread, and have a strong affinity with Turkish work.

No. 1936·46. The scarf shown at "E" is from northern Albania, and is of cream coloured, gauze-like muslin, worked entirely in gold thread and gold plate. One of the motives has been enlarged at "g" in order to show how the two working materials have been used. The edge near the decorated ends is closely buttonholed with cream silk.

A 291 294 531 286

No. 1935·92. The other example, drawn at "F" on Plate XIV, is of much more skilled workmanship. The material is hand-woven silk with broad stripes of heavier silk weft, and the embroidered ends are worked in a pale gold thread with touches of vivid colours here and there. The two motives have a likeness to the familiar pine pattern of India and Persia, and are filled in solidly with gold basket-stitch separated by double lines of slanting stitches giving the effect of a plait. The two ends are beautifully finished off by a scalloped edge of needle-point worked in fine cream silk with the tiny scallops filled in with black.

A [171]

The remaining five scarf head-dresses, which are worn with the worked ends hanging down the back, are all from Zadrima, a district near Scutari, on the banks of the river Drin. Two of them are for festival wear, and these both have their patterns worked mainly in gold thread, with outlines and some smaller motives in crimson, emerald and purple silk.

A 292 294 531 286

No. 1935·34. The handsomer of the two has a foundation of fine yellow cotton gauze, with weft stripes of different widths of white silk. It is hand-woven, and there are 36 warp ends and 60 weft picks to the inch in the plain parts of the cloth, which is 19 inches (48·2 cm.) wide and, including the scanty weft fringe at the ends, 4 feet 8 inches (1·4 m.) long.

The handsome border at either end is 11¾ inches (29·8 cm.) wide, including three, quarter-inch, gold thread weft stripes filling a space of 2 inches (5·1 cm.) on either side of the main pattern. The latter is divided by four narrow, multiple weft stripes of white, gold, red and green into a wide central border and two narrower ones.

The wider border consists of paired and single lozenges used alternately, their longer diagonals being horizontal, and in between them vertical zig-zag lines. All these are brocaded in by means of small free spools carrying three gold threads wound tape-wise. The gold lozenges are outlined with scarlet, purple and green floss silk, also worked in by means of free spools.

The narrower borders consist of single lozenges in gold, also outlined in colours, and with small, coloured silk devices between.

The effect of brocading each small motive by its individual spool produces a similar result to a darned-in pattern.

No. 1937·7. The other "festal" head-dress is similar in material although the cotton gauze ground is of a more greenish yellow, and its weft stripes are of cotton instead of silk. It is 20 inches (50·8 cm.) wide and 4 feet 4 inches (1·3 m.) in length, but the decorative borders at the ends are only 5 inches (12·7 cm.) wide, consisting of a wide central pattern and two narrower ones divided by multiple weft stripes.

[Text continues on p. 65]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

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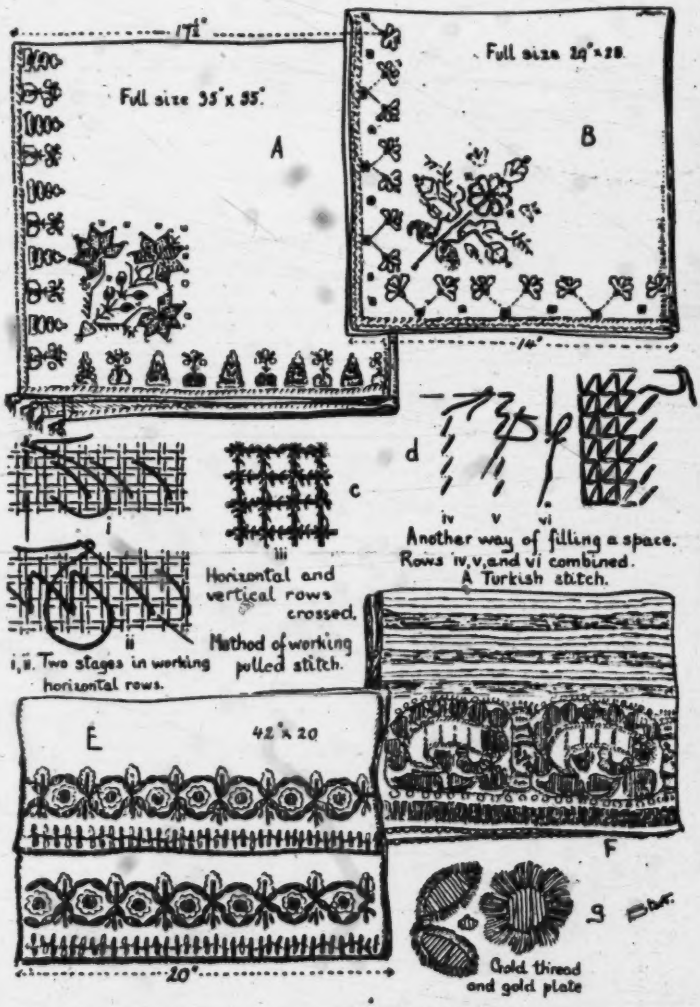

PLATE XV.—A, B, Two head squares from Prizren. c, d, Details of stitches used on them. E, F, Two head scarves from Scutari and N. Albania. g, Detail of E.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

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The narrow borders are brocaded with the six-armed cross or star which can be seen at " C " on Plate X. These are worked in series in yellow and red silk and gold thread.

The main central band has an hour-glass shaped motive consisting of one complete and two half lozenges, worked in gold thread, alternating with a single lozenge in coloured silk having a gold centre, and above and below it lines with right-angled triangles at each end worked in gold and red. The whole pattern is brocaded in with free spools just as in the previous example and, " . . . the woman who wove it and several other head-dresses had a husband, born crippled, who begged in the streets of Scutari. They lived in a miserable one-roomed hovel, a large part of which was occupied by her loom, by means of which she supported herself, her husband and as many of her children as survived. (An addition came every year). The family slept in a heap on the ground by the loom on which she worked these gorgeous patterns. You bargained for the price, paid for so much gold thread and silk, and left choice of design and colour to her. She had no patterns and did it all out of her head. The gold thread came from Austria but the silk was locally spun ". (M.E.D.).

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No. 1937-9. This head scarf is one of the handsome old ones with weft stripes and brocaded borders worked in red, yellow and green wool. It is very similar in design and lay-out to the one figured at " C " on Plate X, except that in addition to the decorated ends there is also a band of decoration in the middle, and in place of the cross-like motive at " b " there is a conventional four-petalled flower.

The material is a native-woven cotton cloth 18 inches wide, in natural colour, with brown weft stripes of varying width in the plain section on either side of the middle. The widest of these brown stripes has a simple spot motive worked mainly in red.

The scarf which is just over four feet long has a fringe of red and yellow tassels at either end, and its general effect is very handsome.

No. 1936-61. The eighteen inch wide cotton cloth used for this head-dress has a central portion of plain tabby weave of a rather muslin-like texture, and five ornamental borders totalling 11 inches wide at either end of its length of 5 feet 3 inches (1·6 m.). Their ends are unusual in that the four borders of brocaded pattern, on which the motives are mostly similar to those of the other Zadrima head scarves, are worked on a weft stripe of yellow as background.

The central border of the five, which with these intervening coloured weft stripes forms the ornamental end, is differently produced. The motives are the usual double lozenge and hour-glass arrangement, worked respectively in white cotton and green wool on a background of red, with smaller lozenges of gold thread and yellow wool to fill in the spaces, but the whole pattern had been tapestry-woven and not brocaded.

This method is also employed in the decoration of some of the hand towels and, although the process is exactly the same as that employed for the heavy aprons described in Section I, when carried out in very much finer threads the effect is very different.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

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No. 1935-32. This is another head scarf of hand woven cotton of a muslin-like quality, with heavier weft stripes of a coarser cotton thread used double. It has three narrow brocaded borders in red and yellow at the ends measuring 3¼ inches over all, in which the motive at "b" on Plate X forms the two outer borders, and the double lozenge and hour-glass motives fill the central one.

This is the least interesting of the examples of head-dresses.

CHAPTER XVI.

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Footwear.

Throughout Albania and Yugoslavia both men and women peasants and people of the mountain tribes wear two pairs of socks and a sandal, "opanga" or "opanke," of roughly dried hide over them when out-of-doors. Both their pairs of socks are knitted from rather coarse strong wool, the inner ones are usually white and the outer ones of gay colours handsomely embroidered or braided.

FIG. 9.—A, Silver braided knitted outer with inner sock. Grouda, W. Albania. B, String opanke with leather sole from Montenegro. C, Child's opanke of leather from Nish. D, Knitted outer sock with needle worked decoration. E, Outer sock from Kastrati tribe.

"The two layers of sock are needed to protect the sole of the foot as the hide used in the sandals or 'opanke' is thin and pliant. On entering the house the opanke are removed and the decorative over-sock forms a slipper." (M.E.D.).

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There are six pairs of over-socks in the collection, and two pairs have their inner socks still inside them.

No. 1935-73. Three of the styles are shown in Fig. 9. The drawing at "A" is of a particularly handsome example from Grouda, in Western Albania. The over-sock is knitted from violet wool with the back of the heel and the front of the foot decorated by plaited silver braid and cord, outlined by a plait of black and silver.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

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Half a dozen rows of black silk braid strengthen the top, and a button and loop fasten the short side-opening. An indication of the braid pattern appears in "A", where both a side and top view of the over-sock are given and the feather patterned welt of the inner sock is also shewn.

Another set of two pairs of socks, also from Grouda, have a knitted foundation of reddish-violet wool and are braided in silver and black in a similar design to those just described. The pair of white inner socks have a fancy welt.

No. 1937-18. An example from Northern Albania is figured at "E". In this pair of over-socks the black knitted portion has a number of simple geometrical patterns worked into it as shown in the drawing, these are in cerise, red, orange, emerald and gold thread, and produce a gay result. The top edge is strengthened as in the previous cases with many rows of black braid and some silver braid and cord, and a small rectangular panel of silver braiding decorates the top of the foot.

No. 1935-74. The specimen drawn at "D" in Fig. 9 is ornamented quite differently, being entirely embroidered not braided. The foundation is of knitted black wool, and on the top of the foot there are rows of chain-stitch in fine gold thread alternating with a white vandyke pattern worked like needle-point. The heel and toe are decorated with lines of white chain-stitch flanked by herringboning on either side, and in the centre there are two scallops outlined with white and gold thread chain-stitch and vandykes. Between these scallops and the toe are some small conventional flowers in scarlet and white. The under part or sole of the sock is also decorated with rows of white herringboning and scattered red and white spots.

No. 1936-52. Another gay pair was made for Miss Durham by a Moslem refugee from Gashi. The knitted portion has a lemon yellow sole, and the upper part at the toe has some concentric lozenges in emerald, violet, lemon, white and crimson.

The open edge is heavily braided with rows of plaited black wool, and filling in a rectangular space below (such as "E" in Fig. 9) is a patch of violet felt ornamented with rows and triangles of silver braid.

No. 1937-17. This pair of over-socks is knitted from red wool, and was made and embroidered for the Krasnichi tribe of Moslem Albanians. The scheme of decoration is very like that of 1935-74, the white vandyke border is used on toe and heel in exactly the same way as the herringboning in "D" (Fig. 9) and the main pattern on the top of the foot is similar, though more carefully planned; it consists of two big vandykes outlined with many rows of gold and black chain-stitch divided into three sections by rows of little white needlepoint vandykes. Rows of gold chain-stitch worked at right angles fill in the spaces.

M 291 281 294

No. 1936-62. The pair of Montenegrin "opanke" illustrated at "B" in Fig. 9, have hide soles and neatly worked tops of white twine. "When newly made the soles are soaked in oil till pliable. They then mould themselves to the feet, and give the toes and sole a good grip on rocks. The soles of this pair are worn through as I tramped many miles in them." (M.E.D.).

S 291 294 531

No. 1936-64. A child's "opanke" from Niš drawn at "C" in Fig. 9. It is of orange and red leather with a little appliqué of cloth and some silver thread embroidery on the toe.

[Erratum, read "Niš", — Analyst]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

CHAPTER XVII.

Accessories from the Southern Area.

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Amongst the odds and ends of the collection are some interesting accessories to costume of which the most important are sketched on Plate XV.

No. 1937-8. Perhaps the daintiest of them all is a hand-woven, natural coloured muslin apron from Prizren ("A" on Plate XVI). It has silk weft stripes arranged alternately in groups of five narrow and one broad, with seven narrow stripes.

As the apron is made of two pieces of the 18 inch wide material with the selvedges going across, the silk stripes appear lengthwise in the garment. The two selvedges are joined by a silk lacing stitch.

Down either side there is a plain muslin stripe about 2 inches wide, which is charmingly embroidered in silk. The flowers are worked in pairs, first two in pale pink with a deep pink border, then two in blue with a gold thread border. The leaves at the back of the flower are outlined in green and sometimes filled in with a pink pulled-stitch, similar to "c" on Plate XV, sometimes with satin-stitch in gold thread. The leaves sprouting from the main stem are outlined in pinkish brown and filled with satin-stitch in gold, and the green main stem has a line of gold thread down the centre. A portion of the pattern, giving some idea of the stitches used is enlarged at "b" on Plate XVI.

No. 1935-89. A gold galon and gold braided trouser end for a Moslem woman's full trousers or trousered skirt (Plate VI e) is shown at "C" on Plate XVI. The gold work and braid are mounted on a stiff foundation and lined with white cotton material and, being very stiff, help to keep the lower edges of the garment from the ground.

"Similar bands were used by the Christian women of the district, but they were usually red." (M.E.D.).

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No. 1936-50. A man's cap from Montenegro, drawn at "D" on Plate XVI, has symbolic colouring. The crown is of red felt and is "in memory of the blood shed at the battle of Kossovo, and the black silk border which is finely gathered on to the crown represents mourning for the defeat." (M.E.D.).

In this battle, in 1389, the Serbian empire was destroyed by Sultan Murad I and their king killed. The letters "H I", worked in raised gold thread inside a space outlined by five rows of gold braid, are cyrillic letters representing the Roman ones 'N I', for King Nikola I who, during his reign 1860-1918, obtained recognition of the independence of Montenegro in the Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

No. 1935-94. At "E" on the same plate the front and back of a knitted and beaded glove from Montenegro is drawn. It is one "such as were worn by old men in the winter, although such elaborate ones were already becoming uncommon in 1907". (M.E.D.).

The glove has the finger part knitted in blue and red stripes, with three rows of spots of yellow on the blue, but the wrist portion has a pattern of elongated hexagons and a cross-like motive in blue on a red ground. The diagram with the thumb part

[Text continues on p. 70]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

Albania EG1

Serbs EF6

Montenegrins EF5

Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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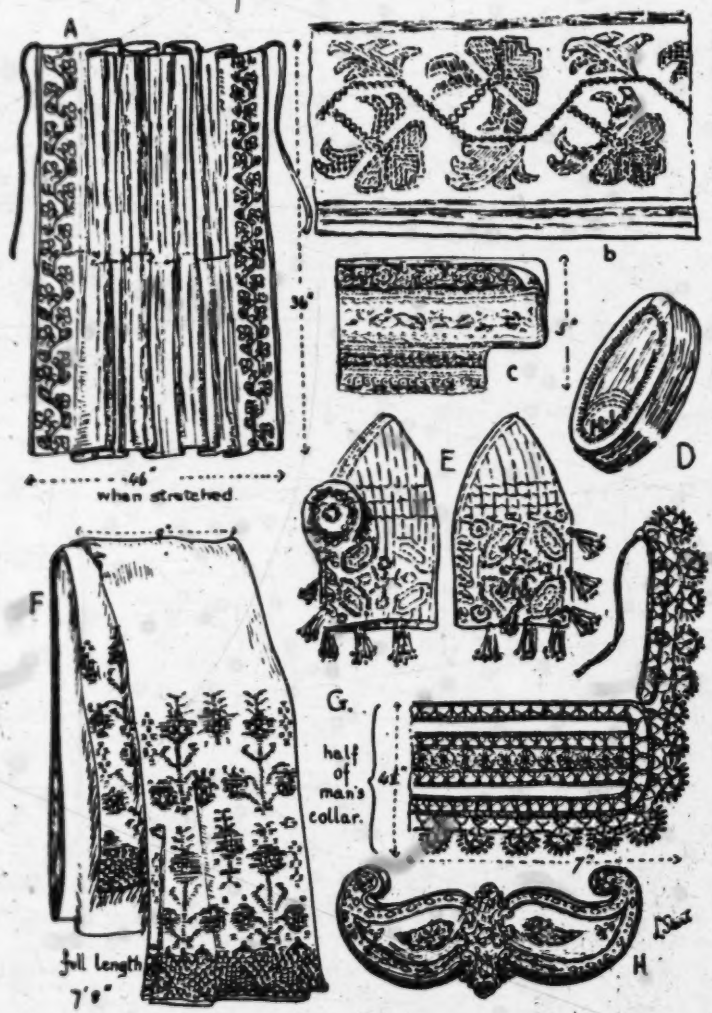

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PLATE XVI.—A, Silk striped apron (Prizren). b, Section of embroidered border. C, Gold braided ankle band for woman's full trousers. D, Man's cap from Kosovo. E, Man's glove. F, Girdle for woman's trousers. G, Man's collar. H, Silvered copper buckle.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1

Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

M 291 531 286 in it shows a portion of this pattern, which has not been covered like all the rest with white beads, and a yellow chain-stitched outline. Little tassels of brown, blue and green with white beads at the ends also form part of the decoration.

A 5 **No. 1935-72.** A delightful girdle for a Moslem woman's trousers of hand-woven muslin has very handsome decorated ends worked in Turkey red, with tiny spots of blue, yellow and white.

291 294 286 531 The pattern is clearly shown at "F" on Plate XV, the upper part has been woven in by means of a number of small spools, as many as twenty-five might be in use on the loom, as each perpendicular bit of the pattern needs its own spool. A similar effect could be got by darning, but such long strips of vertical pattern would not be as evenly worked.

The border at the end is either needle-woven or again fine spools used, but this time on the bare warp thread whilst in the loom, and it is therefore more akin to the tapestry method of working a pattern, with the warp thread pulled more tightly so as to leave holes. This method and style of pattern is sometimes called Persian open-work. The edge of the girdle is rolled and carefully whipped over with a cotton thread.

No. 1935-24. One half of a man's festival collar, worked in needlepoint in cream silk, is shown at "G" on Plate XV, and is a charming example of this method of producing lace.

Picots, solid buttonholing to form squares and triangles, and wrapped bars are the chief stitches used in making the patterns. The two narrow strips of fine linen probably formed a foundation for working upon.

"This is a similar type of collar to the one made fashionable by Byron." (M.E.D.).

No. 1935-23. An everyday collar for a man's wear is also included in the collection. It again has two strips of a coarser linen as foundation, and is decorated mainly by several rows of overcast scallops and picots worked in coarse cotton.

A 291 531 294 **No. 1937-15.** This specimen is a pair of crimson silk brocade sleeves, joined by a printed cotton back, for a Moslem Albanian woman's dress. "They were bought in Scutari in 1903 and could be attached to the shirt or blouse for wear under a jelek or a giubba" (M.E.D.). The pointed cuff is trimmed with gold braid and a motive worked in gold cord.

C 291 301 531 **No. 1939-2.** The remaining sketch on Plate XVI is of a silvered copper buckle such as would be worn over her corded waistband by the woman from Monastir (Bitolj), whose costume is illustrated on Plate IX.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Household Linen.

A Y 286 515 531 583 **A. "Marama" or Towels.**

There are thirteen towels in the collection, two of these "marama" for every day use have coloured weft stripes at the ends, the rest are guest or ceremonial towels and have ornamented ends, seven are embroidered and four are decorated with borders worked in by fine spools of small size, the appearance of the designs being like fine darning.

[Text continues on p. 72]

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941

EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

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The Albanian men of Metohija are accustomed to white garments—white cotton or woollen trousers, fitting the leg, and embroidered about the ankle, a full white shirt sometimes worn like a tunic, and a white woollen coat of the same length, with elbow-sleeves, lightly outlined and panelled with narrow black braid. A turban-scarf is wound over the little white felt cap. They wear soft knitted shoes, but theirs are pointed and very carefully worked with typical Albanian patterns.

XII

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One or two special points may be noted in concluding. Caps are particularly expressive of district and religion. In villages only an Orthodox Serb wears the *šubara*, or the Serbian national cap,[1] the Orthodox Montenegrin and Hercegovinian and the Roman Catholic Dalmatian wear their national flat round caps, the Roman Catholic Croat usually has a hat of one kind or another, the Moslem headgear is a fez with or without a turban-scarf, or a white felt skull-cap, or the high Dervish fez. In some villages peasants have said they would kill anybody who used a cap to which he was not born.

And still in Sarajevo to-day (1939) postmen, tram conductors and drivers proclaim their faith by their headgear, the Orthodox wearing the Serbian national cap, the Moslem Slav the fez, while the Roman Catholic Croat or Bosnian uses the ordinary peaked official cap.

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The older Spanish Jewesses of the town also still perch their curious high, brimless hats, made of dull golden brocade or some other patterned material, on their smooth hair tightly drawn into a bun behind. This high, stiff, narrow crown is flattened at the sides, concave back and front, with a row of small overlapping "gold" ducats round the top.

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For mourning men leave off shaving, and don black shirts: the women cut their hair and put on a black head scarf.

[1] I am, of course, excluding soldiers, or possibly some officials.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared
765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 582 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 614 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North.

619 Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 779 186 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 614 779 582 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress. When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and [533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house. [534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The [292 301] display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped; the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern [262] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker- [291] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell. [777] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait, punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take [777 842] the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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PLATE XI.—MOSLEM ALBANIAN WOMAN, DULCIGNO (1907)

[Facing p. 297]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

CHILDREN'S FESTIVAL IN TIRANA

(facing p.70)

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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the forgiveness" of the departed, and sing funeral songs in his honour.

When, as often happens, a man dies at a distance from his home, on the arrival of the tidings of his death, the funeral ceremonies are, with the exception of the actual interment, performed as above described. The women lament, friends hasten to comfort them, and the procession goes to church, the place of the bier being occupied by a youth, who carries the dish of *Kólyva*, on which is placed a cake for the priest.

765

Only slight changes are generally made in their dress by the Albanian women on the death of a relative. The chief mourners cut their hair short, turn their coats inside out, so that the fur lining alone is seen, and lay aside all ornaments. The nieces of the deceased allow their hair to hang loose for some months, or cut off a lock, and wear on their heads a black kerchief. A similar head-dress is assumed by the widow, who, if she has arrived at middle age, wears it for the rest of her life. If, however, she is still young, and intends to return to her father's house with the expectation of finding another husband, she wears at the same time her bridal apparel, and does not manifest such an exaggerated degree of grief.

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[292 587]

Sometimes, as illustrated in the history of Shainitza[1] and in folk-tale,[2] the grief of the women finds expression in giving to their dwelling the most dismal and funereal appearance, by painting black either the whole of the outside of the house, or the shutters only, and covering up or removing from their usual places the mirrors and other ornaments.

[1] See p. 225. [2] P. 315.

POSTSCRIPT

of the cross, and hears in his forests the voices of the ora. This vague religion is unconscious. The Albanian himself does not recognize it, but it is the resisting subsoil which has prevented acknowledged religions from taking deep root. Families of all religions freely intermarry; Mohammedan women are unveiled, or Catholic women veiled, according to the fashion of their town; in the mountains neither are veiled. In Guri-Bardhe, a village of the Mati known as being fanatically Mohammedan, the women were quite willing to pose for photographs, and Limoni, the chief, was defying the local *hodji* by demanding a modern school; the *hodji* taught the children nothing worth while, he said. In the spring religious festivals—the two Easters and the fast of Ramazan—all Albanians in Tirana took part, and Mohammedan fezzes were thick in the midnight processions carrying Easter candles.

There has never been friction along the frontiers of the three religions. All Albanians united to resist the Romanizing and Germanizing influence of Catholicism, the attempt of Shiek ul Islam to cripple the Albanian language by a Turkish alphabet (a revolution was fought, and won, for the Latin alphabet in 1910), and the Hellenizing propaganda of certain Orthodox Churchmen.

But there is a real division in Albania. It lies between the Toshks, or southerners, and the Ghegs, who are the mountaineers. Men who have held their mountain fastnesses and main-

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania L61

Ghouls in the Cemetery

533 a character and charm impossible to describe. Many Western listeners would doubtless class it vaguely as "Oriental", and dismiss it as of no further significance, but there is a great deal more in it than such people may think.

The gipsy girls, as soon as they saw me, smiled broadly, and on the conclusion of the item in which they were engaged came across to my table for bakshish. One of them I sketched, to the intense amusement of the others. Then they returned to their places on the bench and the music [535] began again. Presently one rose and began to dance—a slow, swaying dance with body movements but with little [292] foot work. She was soon joined by another. Both were wearing the short bodices and vast trousers I have already described. From a Mohammedan cemetery which adjoined the park a party of Moslem women in ghoul-like black draperies and veils watched the proceedings. I wondered what their thoughts were. Did they envy the gipsies? Or 000 did they find compensation for the dullness of their own lives in a sense of virtue and moral superiority?

The cemetery was entirely overgrown with bracken, and only the occasional appearance above the greenery of a tombstone higher than its fellows indicated what the place really was. I thought of certain cemeteries of England and Western Europe with their serried rows of staring white headstones, their glass-covered imitation flowers, their monuments—so ugly and so pretentious—and I wished that they too, could be overgrown with bracken.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

Both the name and the food taboos being even to-day so common in the Balkans, it is strange to find Herodotus, so many centuries ago, mentioning both as peculiar customs of the Ionians and explaining them thus: "Even those who esteemed themselves the most noble of the Ionians on first settling in the country brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women whose husbands they put to death. In consequence of this violence the women made a compact which they delivered to their daughters never to sit at meals with their husbands nor to call them by their appropriate names" (Bk. I, c. xlvi). He, however, expressly states that these Ionians were of very mixed origin, saying that: "Molossians, Pelasgians of Arcadia, and Dorians of Epidaurus were mingled with them." These are some of the oldest known Balkan tribes. The Molossians especially were in South Albania. The food and name taboos were thus possibly brought from the Balkans to Asia by the men. Judging by the present Balkan peoples, it is far more likely that the customs should have been enforced by them on their captured wives than that Herodotus's explanation should be correct.

B 262 175 171 562

4. Taboo on Showing the Face

The amount of veiling done by the women varies very considerably among the Balkan peoples, I know. The most closely veiled and hooded of all were the Moslem Slavs of Mostar and Serajevo. The Moslem Slav, whether called Serb or Croat, is a very strict Mohammedan.

A H 784 562

This may be because the Bosnians and Herzegovinians—the Bosnians more especially—adopted Islam in many cases as early as the fifteenth century, whereas the Albanians, upon whom it sits far more lightly, and a very large number of whom belong to the heretical Bektashi sect, became Mohammedan mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some in the nineteenth. The women of the Moslem Albanian mountain tribes are never veiled, and will come to market and bargain freely with any man, their faces more exposed than those of many Christians.

A 784 562 292 171

In the towns which were under the rule of Turkish officials whose womenfolk possibly set the fashions, the Albanian Moslem women were all more or less closely veiled. In Dulcigno they almost exceeded the hooding of Mostar, and have preserved the custom under the rule of the Montenegrin, which was forced upon them by the pious efforts of Mr. Gladstone.

A 292 171

The veiling of women was, however, not unknown in Ancient Greece, and the veiling or partial veiling of both men and women was practised in various primitive and non-Moslem lands. The usual explanation of

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous A [186] than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

Y A 292 562 561 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, Y too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

A [12] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their A Y teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

M 754 776 774 Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

A Y M 777 292 "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and A 585 hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Balkan Peoples E13

B R1 513 belief described in the section on Balkan Remedies that life depends on a worm that lives in the ear. The ear in this case would be a great danger-spot.

A ●292 A very large proportion of the Albanian mountain men, especially in the Maltsia e Madhe, completely shroud the head in a long strip of cotton and wear it even in the hottest weather. That it is not needed as protection from the sun is shown by the townsmen wearing only a small fez.

B 171 174 777 Blunt, in his *Voyage into the Levant* (1650), gives a quaint tale about the origin of head-wrapping: "At last we came to an high and large mountain of a daye's journey over. The Jew held it to be Thermopylæ. . . . Herewith he told me that the Easterne custome of wearing Turbantes came from thence and that how once the Barbarous people having the Grecian Army at a great advantage there was no other remedy but that some few should make good that narrow passage. . . . There were some brave Spirits who undertooke it, and knowing they went to an inevitable death they took care of nothing but sepulture, which of old was much regarded; wherefore each carreyed his winding sheet wrapped around his head and then with the loss of their own lives saved their fellowes: whereupon for an honourable memorial of that exploit the Levantines used to wrap white Linnen about their heads and the fashion so derived upon the Turke." Thus in 1650 there was a tradition of pre-Turkish head-wraps.

Head-wraps are commonly worn by many men of the East and of the Mediterranean coast of Africa. Some—the Tuaregs—cover the whole face. It is not unlikely that in the past head-wraps and veils were to protect the ear as well as the mouth and nose. That the ear is a danger-spot is shown by the numerous earrings worn to protect it from the Evil Eye, and the dingle-dangles hanging over the ear from the cap.

5. Iron

B 176 178 The Balkans within historic times have not been the centre of production or invention. Neither the Slav, who destroyed the civilization Rome had begun to implant, nor the Turk, who in turn conquered him, added anything of value to the world's store of resources. Both inherited a good deal from Byzantium, but originated nothing.

B 172 But in prehistoric times Bosnia was one of the great centres of the iron trade, and probably one of the very early ones. Iron ore in an easily smelted form, and great forests side by side, together with their own brains and energy, enabled these unknown people, some six or eight centuries before our era, to develop and spread the use of the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 538 554 302 And so they follow on, each matching his horse to his immense moustache. As Krsto used to say with a sigh, "One does not see such sights nowadays."

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So great is the respect for the moustache that the Catholic Church humours her Albanian flock, and bishops, abbots, and secular priests all wear the finest moustaches they can grow.

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11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291 (f) Turkish shoes.
177 (g) " Bunches of coloured handkerchiefs hanging from the pocket hole of the giubba or coat under the japangi " (M.E.D.).

[292] Married Catholic women for outdoor wear add a " japangi ", that is, a large scarlet cape with brilliant embroideries, having a flap down the back to be used instead of the square head-dress or the veil (Plate XII).

291 The men wear a shirt and folded girdle, often of striped silk, through which weapons are thrust, short Turkish trousers (Plate VIf), a sleeveless jelek (Plate VIa),
531 or a jacket with open sleeves (Plate VIc and d) and a small round hat with a tassel, like an old-fashioned smoking cap (cf. Plate XVID).

The Moslem women of Scutari wear :—

(a) A similar shirt, but with wide open sleeves, often elaborately embroidered and usually of fine muslin.
(b) Full Turkish trousers of striped or embroidered silk or gauze (Plate VIe).
(c) A short-waisted jelek, or a long-skirted coat without sleeves or, for older women, with bell-shaped sleeves.
(d) As head-dress, a cap decorated with coins or a thick yashmak.

The women of Zadrima, a town on the River Drin, wear :—

(a) A shirt of similar style to those of Scutari, but sometimes with a cross-over front like a Chinese jacket fastening on the wrong side.
(b) Full skirts of heavy material, accordion pleated.
(c) A jelek, usually ornamented in scarlet and yellow.
(d) An apron which may be of the heavy tapestry type or of muslin, embroidered.
(e) Long scarves with decorated ends for head-dresses.
(f) Knitted and embroidered leggings and sandals (" opanga ").

The men of Zadrima wear a jelek, either sleeveless or of the half-sleeve type (Plate VIc) over their shirt, Turkish trousers with elaborately hand-braided designs on the hips and outside of legs (Plate VIf), a leather belt for weapons and a round cap-like hat.

Another type of costume which is worn in many parts of old Macedonia is that of the Bulgar woman from Monastir (Bitolj), where the long shirt of heavy linen or calico (Plate IXA), heavily embroidered at the sleeves and hem, acts also as a skirt, and is girdled at the waist with rows of cord forming a sort of corset, which is decorated with silver ornaments. A handsome heavy tapestry apron worked in scarlet (Plate IXc), and a wide scarf (Plate IXB) with heavily embroidered ends complete the costume.

This type of garment, with its long front opening, is a very ancient form, and is similar to some of the early Egyptian garments*.

The women of the mountain tribes wear :—

(a) A shirt, sometimes with cloth sleeves decorated with coloured strips of felt, similar to the trimming on the skirt.
(b) A full skirt of heavy cloth with appliquéd patterns.
(c) A jelek or a jacket (" mitan ") (Plate VId) in which case the shirt does not have sleeves of cloth.

* L. E. Start : " Coptic Cloths." Bankfield Museum Notes, Ser. II. No. 4.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291 286 531 The whole of this pattern work is braided in fine gold cord, and the usual half-buttons of gilt brass decorate the little added flaps on the front, just like the Zadrima example.

No. 1936-119. The last of the jelek in this group is another beautifully gold embroidered one given by Mrs. E. W. Hickson, which belongs to the magnificent gold braided giubba (No. 1936-118), described later.

It is made of an extremely fine black face cloth. The fronts are entirely covered by braiding in fine gold cord, four, six and many-petalled flowers growing out of sweeping curves fill most of the space, with leaves and smaller flowers in between. Most of the flower petals are slightly raised as in the presentation jelek (No. 1937-19).

The neck and front edges have broad bands formed of a series of gold plaited braids laid closely in rows in a similar manner to the other examples, and the plain back of the garment is also outlined and the seams emphasised by similar plaited braid and gold cord. This garment is particularly interesting as the worn-out lining has been removed and the method of strengthening the cloth with parchment before working the braiding can be plainly seen. [296]

When this garment is compared with its companion giubba it will be noted that a plain back was necessary as that of the giubba itself is heavily gold braided (Plate XIV).

CHAPTER XIV.

A. The Costume of a Roman Catholic Woman of Scutari.

291 292 531 In Albania, as elsewhere, native costume is rapidly disappearing, but when these specimens were collected between 1908 and 1914 it was almost universally worn, a different dress in different districts and for different religions; and the charming drawing by Miss Durham which forms the introduction to Section II (Plate V) illustrates the costume of a married Roman Catholic Scutarene. The scarlet outer cloak or "japangi" is worn over a sleeveless coat or "giubba", of which only the edge shows in the picture, and from whose pocket slot depends a large fancy silk handkerchief.

Under the flap of the japangi, which can be seen being held in position on the head by a cord, a lace veil is draped, partly concealing the face, and a fancy muslin, embroidered apron hangs down in front of the baggy trousered skirt (Plate VI e) with its stiff ankle bands, which in this Catholic woman's costume would be red, although otherwise similar to the gold braided ones belonging to a Moslem woman of Scutari which are figured on Plate XVIc.

An embroidered muslin shirt is worn under the trousered skirt, and girdled with a striped silk scarf, or a needleworked girdle with long ends (Plate XVIf). White knitted socks and Turkish shoes complete this out-of-door costume.

The details of the various items in the costume are discussed in the notes which follow, with the exception of the veil which is described in the chapter dealing with head-dresses.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

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The two head scarves also depicted on Plate XV are good specimens of embroidery in metal thread, and have a strong affinity with Turkish work.

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No. 1936-46. The scarf shown at "E" is from northern Albania, and is of cream coloured, gauze-like muslin, worked entirely in gold thread and gold plate. One of the motives has been enlarged at "g" in order to show how the two working materials have been used. The edge near the decorated ends is closely buttonholed with cream silk.

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No. 1935-92. The other example, drawn at "F" on Plate XIV, is of much more skilled workmanship. The material is hand-woven silk with broad stripes of heavier silk weft, and the embroidered ends are worked in a pale gold thread with touches of vivid colours here and there. The two motives have a likeness to the familiar pine pattern of India and Persia, and are filled in solidly with gold basket-stitch separated by double lines of slanting stitches giving the effect of a plait. The two ends are beautifully finished off by a scalloped edge of needle-point worked in fine cream silk with the tiny scallops filled in with black.

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The remaining five scarf head-dresses, which are worn with the worked ends hanging down the back, are all from Zadrima, a district near Scutari, on the banks of the river Drin. Two of them are for festival wear, and these both have their patterns worked mainly in gold thread, with outlines and some smaller motives in crimson, emerald and purple silk.

No. 1935-34. The handsomer of the two has a foundation of fine yellow cotton gauze, with weft stripes of different widths of white silk. It is hand-woven, and there are 36 warp ends and 60 weft picks to the inch in the plain parts of the cloth, which is 19 inches (48·2 cm.) wide and, including the scanty weft fringe at the ends, 4 feet 8 inches (1·4 m.) long.

The handsome border at either end is 11¾ inches (29·8 cm.) wide, including three, quarter-inch, gold thread weft stripes filling a space of 2 inches (5·1 cm.) on either side of the main pattern. The latter is divided by four narrow, multiple weft stripes of white, gold, red and green into a wide central border and two narrower ones.

The wider border consists of paired and single lozenges used alternately, their longer diagonals being horizontal, and in between them vertical zig-zag lines. All these are brocaded in by means of small free spools carrying three gold threads wound tape-wise. The gold lozenges are outlined with scarlet, purple and green floss silk, also worked in by means of free spools.

The narrower borders consist of single lozenges in gold, also outlined in colours, and with small, coloured silk devices between.

The effect of brocading each small motive by its individual spool produces a similar result to a darned-in pattern.

No. 1937-7. The other "festal" head-dress is similar in material although the cotton gauze ground is of a more greenish yellow, and its weft stripes are of cotton instead of silk. It is 20 inches (50·8 cm.) wide and 4 feet 4 inches (1·3 m.) in length, but the decorative borders at the ends are only 5 inches (12·7 cm.) wide, consisting of a wide central pattern and two narrower ones divided by multiple weft stripes.

[Text continues on p. 65]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

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The narrow borders are brocaded with the six-armed cross or star which can be seen at " C " on Plate X. These are worked in series in yellow and red silk and gold thread.

The main central band has an hour-glass shaped motive consisting of one complete and two half lozenges, worked in gold thread, alternating with a single lozenge in coloured silk having a gold centre, and above and below it lines with right-angled triangles at each end worked in gold and red. The whole pattern is brocaded in with free spools just as in the previous example and, " . . . the woman who wove it and several other head-dresses had a husband, born crippled, who begged in the streets of Scutari. They lived in a miserable one-roomed hovel, a large part of which was occupied by her loom, by means of which she supported herself, her husband and as many of her children as survived. (An addition came every year). The family slept in a heap on the ground by the loom on which she worked these gorgeous patterns. You bargained for the price, paid for so much gold thread and silk, and left choice of design and colour to her. She had no patterns and did it all out of her head. The gold thread came from Austria but the silk was locally spun ". (M.E.D.).

No. 1937-9. This head scarf is one of the handsome old ones with weft stripes and brocaded borders worked in red, yellow and green wool. It is very similar in design and lay-out to the one figured at " C " on Plate X, except that in addition to the decorated ends there is also a band of decoration in the middle, and in place of the cross-like motive at " b " there is a conventional four-petalled flower.

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The material is a native-woven cotton cloth 18 inches wide, in natural colour, with brown weft stripes of varying width in the plain section on either side of the middle. The widest of these brown stripes has a simple spot motive worked mainly in red.

The scarf which is just over four feet long has a fringe of red and yellow tassels at either end, and its general effect is very handsome.

No. 1936-61. The eighteen inch wide cotton cloth used for this head-dress has a central portion of plain tabby weave of a rather muslin-like texture, and five ornamental borders totalling 11 inches wide at either end of its length of 5 feet 3 inches (1·6 m.). Their ends are unusual in that the four borders of brocaded pattern, on which the motives are mostly similar to those of the other Zadrima head scarves, are worked on a weft stripe of yellow as background.

The central border of the five, which with these intervening coloured weft stripes forms the ornamental end, is differently produced. The motives are the usual double lozenge and hour-glass arrangement, worked respectively in white cotton and green wool on a background of red, with smaller lozenges of gold thread and yellow wool to fill in the spaces, but the whole pattern had been tapestry-woven and not brocaded.

This method is also employed in the decoration of some of the hand towels and, although the process is exactly the same as that employed for the heavy aprons described in Section I, when carried out in very much finer threads the effect is very different.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

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A 292

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza). 103 779 596 614

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it. [582] [221 648]

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church. 619 614 779 [174 794]

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas." 619 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group. [779 294] 648

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 619 779 103 [776] [628 166] 648 779

286 402 lugs or cogs, which lift up a heavy wooden hammer and let it drop, 4 times for each revolution. Two staggered sets of cogs and 2 hammers give the cloth a constant pounding as long as it is left there.

No one seems to know who invented these mills or who makes them. When you encounter them along a stream, they are usually unattended. Apparently the wife, having woven her cloth, turns it over to her husband, who takes it to the mill to be fulled. There is no professional fuller, and each mill seems to belong to the group of kinsmen or neighbors who use it.

294 The women make their own clothing, for the most part of unfulled cloth. They also crochet the stockings, and stitch the opingas, worn by both sexes. The men, however, carry the fulled and heavily felted cloth to the market town, to a tailor who then cuts it in the traditional design of his client's native place, and sews up the pieces and embroiders the finished garment.

A number of other specialists are involved in the production of men's clothing and equipment. A special craftsman provides the quantities of braid with which jacket and trousers are adorned. Hatters, equipped with wooden molds to suit every variation of tribal taste, shape the felt caps, conical or truncated, white or black, which all mountaineers wear. Leather-workers, who are traditionally Turks, make ornate belts for the men, as well as saddles, bags, and straps. Special shoemakers make footgear for those who can afford it, although most wear the opingas which their wives produce from local hides. Most of the shoemakers are Kruja men, and this is a Kruja specialty. At Kukës we saw zebra hides on display outside several shops. These had been sent all the way from South Africa for the manufacture of opingas.

[322] As previously stated[1] wooden buckets are made by professional coopers in towns, and purchased by the mountain people, who use 285 them in dairying and for food storage. Baskets, however, are local products; the country people often bring them to town for sale. Several villages near Scutari specialize in basket-making, and the women, who weave

1 [See cat. 16, p. 136 -- Analyst]
-16b-

2: Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

CHAPTER VI

A Useful Shoe Sole—A Grand Hotel—A Railway Line—The Conservative Peasant—Tirana—"Plenty of English"—Ahmed Zogou—To Durazzo—The Bigamist—Diplomatic Worries—"Look for the Oil!"—Baghdadis—To Valona—The Snorer—Kanina—Fighting Malaria—Kossovari Refugees—Boring for Oil.

A HODJA

THE question "What becomes of old motor-tyres?" would probably be as difficult for the average person to answer as the Sunday-school child's query to the bishop "How many legs has a caterpillar got?". The average person, however, has not been to Scutari. If he had, he would answer without hesitation "They are sent to Albania and made into shoe-soles."

The cobblers' shops in the Scutari bazaar are piled high with used tyres—knobbed, grooved and studded—either whole or cut into convenient lengths. And the shoes themselves, thus soled, are strong and serviceable—if not particularly elegant—and are at the same time almost as pliable as the native upanka. It seems an excellent way of using up old rubber.

The Grand Hotel, Scutari, is grand only in name. My bedroom was next door to a malodorous lavatory, but I insisted on clean sheets and got them—and that was something.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

thousands to one pattern in a factory, nor that the making of them employs a much larger number of persons in proportion to the number of articles turned out, nor—most important of all—that the hand-worker enjoys a pleasure which the factory worker can seldom, if ever, enjoy—the pleasure of creation.

I was wandering one morning through the narrow streets of the Elbasan bazaar when I noticed a shop where fezzes were being made. The proprietors, seeing that I was interested, invited me in, gave me a stool to sit on, and sent out for the inevitable coffee. One man was kneading a hat into shape on a wooden block. Another was finishing off the surface of a fez with a razor. A boy was picking out wool into small fleeces (I do not know how otherwise to describe them) of the correct size and thickness to become fezzes later on. Evidently a regular routine was being followed. For my benefit a complete fez was made from the beginning while I watched the process. The boy first took two of the already prepared fleeces and spread them on a board in front of him. He then sprinkled water all over them from his mouth—a serviceable, if primitive, fountain—and pressed them under a frame. The fez-maker then took the two fleeces, further wetted the edges, and doubled them over. He was sitting behind a low bench, with water, soap, and the necessary tools within reach. With his hands he then worked on the fleeces, adding soap as required, until the wool began to felt and the fleeces to assume a conical form. I had no idea until that time that it was possible, merely by

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

294 taking advantage of the felting properties of natural wool, to make anything so solid as the substance which resulted, nor had I realised before, that our own felt hats are made in a similar way, though I now presume that they are. Bit by bit the fez began to take shape. By holding it up to the light weak places were exposed. A little loose wool was added where needful and felted on with soap and "elbow grease" until the cap was of uniform thickness. Heavy pummelling with a wooden instrument completed this part of the manufacture, and the fez was placed on a wooden block and put in the sunshine to dry. Later on it would go to the man who wielded the razor and be trimmed to a smooth finish.

While I was in the shop a customer handed in his fez, which was no longer as clean as it had once been, and received a nice white one in exchange. This is the local *custom and is* analogous to the custom of the smart Londoner of Edwardian and Victorian times who always had two silk hats, one in wear, the other at the ironer's.

181 As we were unable to find any common means of communication, conversation languished until a young fellow came across the street from a shop opposite. He spoke English. After asking my business or profession—the customary first question—he put the equally familiar query, "What do you think of Albania?" To which I replied that I thought Albania a fine country, rich in natural resources and with great possibilities of development. The youth shook his head sadly. "Aye, yes", said he, "but it is so

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Belts and Cloaks

Rumanian women, with heavy black-striped and white-291
edged skirts and enormous silver-studded belts, whom 136
have previously described. I saw these belts being made. [294]
The foundation is leather, and into it are driven nails in so

THE FUSTANELLA (KILT) AS I EXPECTED TO SEE IT—

—AND AS I SAW IT

close a pattern that little of the leather remains visible. The belts are eight or nine inches wide and have a big lock. Their weight may be imagined, and yet the women were wearing them, in addition to the heaviest possible clothing, in a temperature which had driven me to take refuge in a suit of tropical linen.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

A Y 286 291 294

Other alien materials are small pieces of dyed cloth, silk ribbons, silver and gold braids and manufactured lace, often used on the sleeve edges of shirts. These materials were bought in the village shops and markets, and appear to be largely of Austrian and Italian origin; under Turkish rule they were sold in the villages by pedlars.

A Y 291 439

In the South and Albania, where Turkish influence is greater, there is a tendency, especially amongst the women of the towns, to wear garments made from more sumptuous materials so that, in addition to the hand-woven linens, extremely fine muslins of native make are used for shirts and aprons, and silken materials of beautiful quality for girdles, sleeves and the Moslem type of women's trousers. Fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy is also imported for the making of jeleks, giubbas and japangi, and some of the nets used for the large embroidered veils worn by many women, both Catholic and Moslem, are of foreign origin.

Materials used for Embroidery and other Decorative Purposes.

These also fall into two classes, home-made and purchased.

M S 291 294 531

The fine wools, used largely in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia, for the decorative embroidery of oshvitza, sleeves, woollen coats, aprons and the making of fringes are spun and dyed by the women themselves. Dark brown and black goat's hair is also used in the apron fringes. "Goat's hair was extensively used in the Balkans for weaving market bags, saddle-bags and floor mats in stripes. The goats, clipped in uneven ridges, looked very ridiculous." (M.E.D.).

Ribbons, gold and silver braid and strips of coloured cloth were purchased and used as appliqué on skirts, head dresses, aprons and caps. In older and finer examples of embroidery, silk was used, and was locally produced and dyed.

B A 291 531

In Albania and the south silk is the usual medium for embroidery, which decorates shirts, muslin aprons and japangi, although on some head scarves from Zadrima and the Bulgarian woman's costume from Monastir, which are decorated in the well-known Turkey red, the material used is cotton or very tightly twisted wool almost like a fine cord. Both silk, woollen and cotton threads are of home production. Amongst the photographs given by Miss Durham is one of a Moslem man spinning silk on a roadside on the outskirts of Scutari (Skodar). Gold thread is much used, and strips of beaten silver and brass are worked into the headings of braids.

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Braiding and cording are amongst the other important forms of decoration, narrow braids and ends of wool, silk and gold thread being hand plaited and twisted. Coats of the sleeveless type, both for men and women, the short jelek, the three-quarter length giubba, and the men's full trousers (Plate V. "*I*") are often decorated with cords and braids sewn down in beautiful curved designs. The "elaborate embroideries on the japangi and the handsome braided designs are usually the work of men Albanian tailors". (M.E.D.).

A Y 294 386

Until in recent years foreign dyes, imported in small packets, were sold in the shops the women themselves dyed their materials. Most of the examples in this collection have been so coloured with vegetable dyes; black being obtained from ash bark (*Fraxinus excelsia*); green from flowering rush with the addition of copper sulphate which was got from the shops; yellow from sumach (*Rhus cotinus*); red

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4

from madder; reddish brown from green walnuts (*Juglans regia*) and blue from copper sulphate.

Metallic decorations are also worn, and are almost always hand made by the men; large ornaments and belt clasps of silver or silvered brass are worn at the waist, silver coins and imitation coins are worn as a trimming to caps, and as necklaces and pendants to girdles. Ear-rings are also worn by some Slav peasants, especially Moslems. "The little ornament made of a small brass thimble and coloured beads was worn as a dangle at the end of the long pigtail. The pair of long plaits on either side of the face of the Bosnian woman in the frontispiece are ornamented with coins, tassels of beads and this thimble."

"Many of the objects worn on head-dresses are amulets to keep off the "evil eye" and include also such things as cowries and, in Bosnia, small mirrors." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER III.

Women's Costume in the Central and Coastal Areas of Yugoslavia.

The main features of the costume worn (by all but the Moslem women) in the central and coastal areas of Yugoslavia are shown by the illustration of the Orthodox Bosnian woman (see Frontispiece).

In this area three cultures have influenced costume and its decoration, Central European culture which has travelled along the river valleys from the north, Mediterranean culture through Italian influence on the Dalmatian coast, and Balkan culture with its own Oriental tendencies. The married woman's costume consists of a long or medium length *skirt*, embroidered at the neck, front-opening and on the sleeves. The shorter type is similar in style to that shown on Plate IA, and the longer to that on Plate IXA, but without the embroidery at the bottom edge. A full, fairly long *skirt* of woollen or felted cloth is worn in the winter, and in summer may be exchanged for a linen skirt, sometimes closely pleated, with wide horizontal bands of cross-stitch or embroidery. A *girdle* of either folded linen with embroidery, or a tablet-woven belt such as is shown (Plate IVe) with its end hanging down in front, is worn around the waist and helps to keep up the heavy *apron* of tapestry weaving with its deep fringe (Plate III). A *short coat* of woollen cloth with embroidered decoration, often sleeveless, is added for outdoor wear, and in winter a longer coat with side gores replaces it. This is also often sleeveless.

In the coastal area and some other parts of old Bosnia and Herzegovina a *jelek*, or zouave, is worn, similar in shape but differing in colour from those in Plates X and XI, which are from the southern area.

Married women in many districts of Bosnia wear their hair in two plaits hanging down over either shoulder in front, and as a *head-dress* have a diagonally folded kerchief, generally cream or white in colour, with the back corner embroidered and a red ribbon along the edge. In the coastal district a fringe is also added to the head-dress (Plate IVa).

On the feet thick *woollen stockings* ("sharapa") are worn, and over these, handsomely decorated short socks, which act as slippers in the house and are replaced by leather "opanke" for out-of-doors (Figure 9).

[Text continues on p. 14]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
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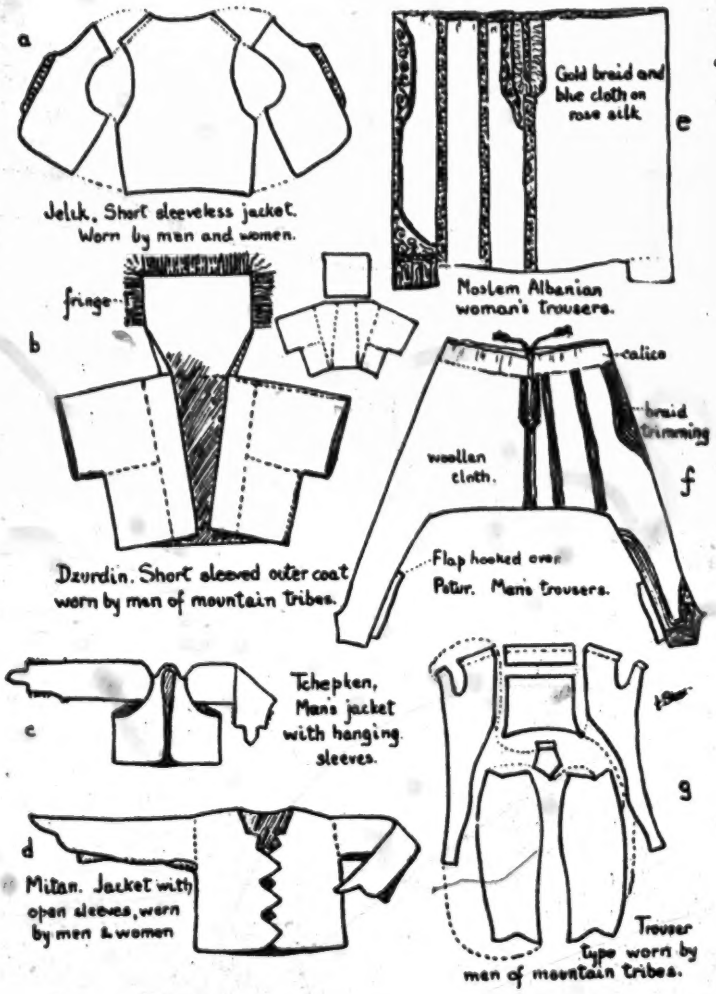

PLATE VI.—Patterns of some Albanian garments. a, b, d, g, From "Albanien," by Franz Baron Nopcsa. c, e, f, Adapted from "Costumes of Eastern Europe," by Max Tilke.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

B. The Japangi.

The japangi is the out-of-door cloak of a married woman, and is presented as a wedding gift from the bridegroom to his bride.* It is made of scarlet cloth or felt, often imported from Austria, and the handsome silk embroidery which decorates it is the work of Albanian men tailors. It is interesting to note that according to old archives "Scarlet cloth was one of the items the Venetians used to bestow on local Albanian chieftains in the days of Venetian domination in the Adriatic."† 291 294 531 [431]

The garment consists of two parts, the large circular cape and a rectangular flap for a hood which is attached to it (Plate XII a). Although the material is very wide there are some joinings, and a curved gore or a long dart is cut and joined together again to make the cloak fit well on the shoulders.

It is handsomely trimmed by three panels of embroidery, one on either side of the front, like the one at the left only in "b" on Plate XII, and one across the shoulders at the back (Plate XII c). These panels consist of strips, about an inch wide, of scarlet and dark red or maroon or black cloth seamed together to form a background of stripes upon which an elaborate pattern is solidly worked in chain-stitch in yellow, white, green and violet silk, the silk being home grown, spun and dyed in most cases. The joining of the front and back panels is disguised by a number of rows of plaited braids, plain yellow ones being used alternately with mixed red, black and white ones (Plate XII h). The silk strands of which the braids are made form a long fringe at either end (Plate XII g). "The embroidery is very noteworthy. It is done entirely by men, and the patterns are traditional and vary very little, a bird, possibly a dove (Plate XII f), a serpent (Plate XII e), flowers and an ear of corn (Plate XII d) are always included, and it was impossible to get any explanation from the embroiderers as to why these items were always to be found. After much discussion by one excellent worker with his fellows they decided that it must be some old tale, long forgotten. The flowers and corn may be fertility emblems as this is a marriage garment." (M.E.D.). [462]

When a woman becomes a widow she removes the embroidered panels and substitutes some black stripes instead, whose arrangement is shown at the right hand side of the front view of the japangi at "b" on Plate XII. A sketch (No.1935-27) by Miss Durham of a Scutarene widow wearing a japangi with black stripes can be seen in the museum collection. [765]

No. 1935-22. In addition to the japangi with the embroidery just described there are two other examples of the sets of embroidered panels, both from Scutari (Skodar), and one of which is drawn at "g" on Plate XII.

The fine felt stripes of which this ground is made are scarlet and very dark maroon, and the design and the technique of the embroideried work far outshines that of the other two specimens. Ivory silk chain-stitch, generally outlined in yellow, fills most of the important motives, but touches of pale blue, reseda green and violet appear here and there. The changes in the background colour enhance the richness of the general effect and part of the illustration at "g" on Plate XII has been filled in to give some idea of this variation in tone. The serpent, dove and corn

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*. Vol. XXIII. No. 5, 1923.
† loc. cit.

[Text continues on p. 57]

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PLATE XII.—Japangi. a, Pattern. b, Front. c, Back. d, e, f, Serpent, birds and corn or feathers from trimming on b, c. g, Half of embroidery on another japangi. h, Detail of shoulder braid.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

can be distinguished although exigencies of space prevent a large drawing of the design being available. The enlarged specimens on the plate are from the embroidery on the japangi shown at " b " and " c ". 291 294 531

No. 1937-6. The third example of embroidery for a japangi has a design worked in vivid orange, violet, emerald green and cerise outlined in white. The dyes are aniline and the result garish. The pattern, too, is not so good, the small four-petalled flowers dominating the design. The striped scarlet and black ground is made of a fine felt.

Those specially interested in the design itself will find a section of each of these patterns sketched by Miss Durham in her article on " Some Balkan Embroideries," in *Man.*, May, 1923, Vol. XXIII, No. 5 ; and she also states in her letters that she has seen the dove and serpent design on the corner of the sleeveless coat which formed part of the wedding dress of the Crown Princess Militza, wife of the Crown Prince Danilo, of Montenegro, which is now in the possession of her friend who was the English lady-in-waiting to the Princess.

C. The Giubba.

No. 1935-62. One of the most elegantly cut of all the garments in the collection is the giubba, a sleeveless coat, figured on Plate XIII. It is part of the indoor dress of the women and girls of Scutari, whether of the Christian or Moslem faith, and is worn over the shirt and full trousers or trousered skirt. The skirt-like enlargement of the lower part can be traced back to Persian and Tartaric garments, and adds considerably to its graceful effect in wear (Plate XIII a). The giubba is made of a rich reddish brown face cloth of fine quality, and consists of five pieces, two fronts of fairly straight cut (Plate XIII b), a back which includes a long narrow gore tapering to the bottom of the skirt as shown in " c " on Plate XIII, and two circular shaped pieces which fit the gore and the side edges of the fronts. On the seam thus formed there is a long pocket-like decoration in which, at the bottom, there is a tiny two-inch slot, from which one or more patterned silk handkerchiefs may hang. [174]

As will be seen from the measurements given on the plate, the garment is such as would fit a small and slender woman.

The coat is handsomely braided in black, three kinds of material being used, a thin and a thick twisted silk cord, the latter being usually applied on top of a closely laid fine cord, as indicated at " d " and " f " on Plate XIII, and a plaited silk braid which is used in rows to make the waved border all round the front and circular skirt part. Above this waved band a version of the popular continuous scroll, like an Ionic wave, forms two rows of trimming and for its working two operations are needed, a single line of cord, the darker in the drawing at " e " on Plate XIII, is sewn down first, and then a second row with little twirls at the top of the curve fills in the spaces of the first.

Some indication of the style of the patterns and their layout has been attempted at " b " and " c ", limitation of space preventing enlargements on a more adequate scale.

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Albania EG1

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The narrow back of the garment, which is outlined by several rows of plaited braid is also completely filled with a design which in its use of four-petalled flowers has some affinity with the patterns on the back of the jelek figured on Plate X.

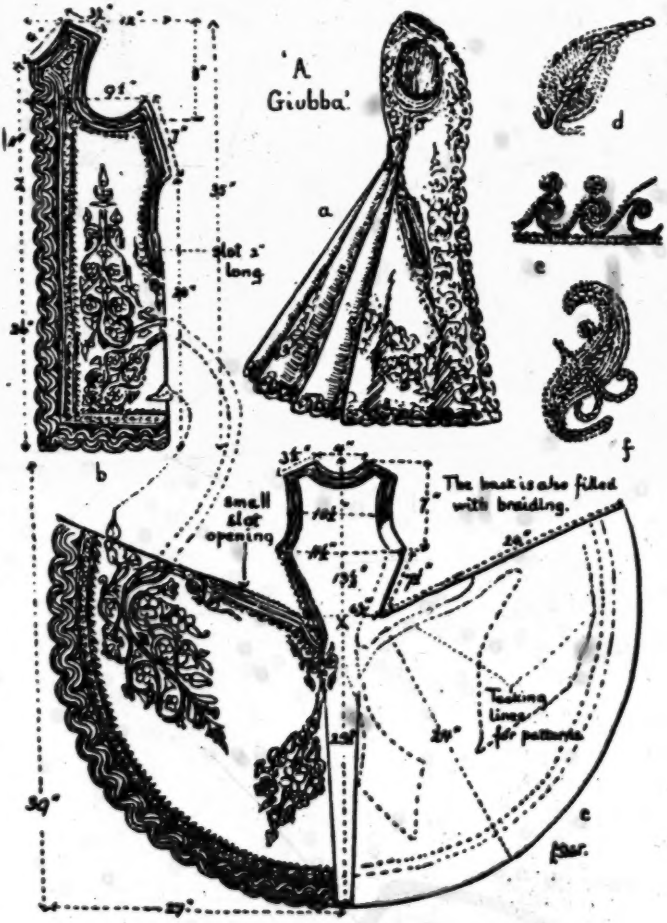

PLATE XIII.—A giubba from Scutari (now Skadar). b, Front section. c, Back. d, e, f, Details of braiding.

[Text continues on p. 60]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

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PLATE XIV.—A black giubba worked in gold.

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All the designs are filled in solidly with the fine cord, and detail, such as veining, emphasised with the coarser cord, the final effect of their flowing curvilinear designs in black silk on a dark background being very handsome, yet subdued.

No. 1936-118. The most magnificent garment in the whole collection as well as the most beautiful from an artistic standpoint is this Albanian lady's giubba or coat (Plate XIV), presented by Mrs. E. L. Hickson, a sister of Miss Durham.

It is of fine black face cloth decorated on the front, back and hem by handsome braided designs in fine gold cord.

The cut of the coat is very elegant and varies somewhat from that just described and illustrated. The garment is built to fit a slender woman and the same small back appears, outlined by solid bands of gold one and a half inches wide, made up of seven rows of plaited gold passing, with gold cord between, but the skirt part is much fuller.

A complete circle of 40-42 inches (about 1 m.) radius was used to make the skirt with an overlap of about one foot in the front, where the cloth is cleverly cut so as to continue upwards for the front of the bodice part. For the waist a concentric circle of 9 inches to 11 inches was cut away so that the depth of the skirt became 31 inches (78·8 cm.) and all the extra fulness was skilfully gathered into the waist at the back, forming folds which add great dignity and elegance to the garment, and which give balance to the coat in wear. The lining, which is a printed cotton, with patterned stripes having alternate backgrounds of red and green, is of Mid-Victorian date so the giubba is probably at least eighty years old, yet its gold work and the cloth are in as perfect condition as if it had been made today.

No verbal description can give adequate expression to the beauty of this specimen, but the refinement of the border which edges the curved hem must be specially mentioned, and at "c", "d" and "e" on Plate XIV some idea of the braided designs is given, these must be translated in the reader's mind into fine gold cord braiding on a velvety black surface.

The last of the jeleks just described was worn with this giubba, and the gold braided front has similar designs. When the heavily decorated back of the coat is noted, the reason for leaving the cloth in the back of the jelek plain is quite obvious, and worn together, probably with a silk trousered skirt or Turkish trousers, the effect would be very handsome.

CHAPTER XV.

Head-dresses.

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As was mentioned in the introduction to Section II, there is a great deal of variation in the types of head-dresses worn in Albania and Southern Yugoslavia, but they fall into three main categories, the large lace or embroidered net or muslin veil worn by Moslem and many Roman Catholic women, the square head kerchief and the long scarf.

There are two examples of the large lace veil in the collection, one being the example worn by the Roman Catholic woman from Scutari (Skodar) whose costume is illustrated on Plate V.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
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No. 1935-76. This is a very fine cotton net veil measuring 4 feet (1·3 m.) square, handsomely embroidered in floss silk. The design consists of a border 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide, of which a small portion near a corner is illustrated in Fig. 8; large corner motives of a bouquet form, about 14 inches (35·6 cm.) square, reach almost to the centre and little floral sprays spot the remaining space.

FIG. 8.—Part of the silk outlined and darned border on a silk lace veil.

The style of the lace, as can be seen from Fig. 8, is a fairly free treatment of floral forms. It is executed in an outline of double running with darning stitches and satin stitch as the chief filling-in stitches, although there are some ornamental filling stitches and overcast eyelets.

[171] The method of working this embroidered lace is similar in style and execution to the darned laces worked in England in the early 19th Century, and to some of those of Austria and Hungary of the same period and of somewhat earlier date*.

* "Peasant Art in Austria and Hungary." The Studio, Special Number, Autumn 1911.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
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Serbs EF6

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No. 1936-116. The second example of the large semi-transparent veil also comes from Scutari, and is beautifully embroidered on fine sheer muslin. It is 4 feet (1·3 m.) square and the scheme of decoration is somewhat similar to the previous specimen, consisting of a border and large floral motives reaching from the corners almost to the centre.

The technique is interesting as a variation in surface texture and is obtained by the use of a soft white cotton as well as white floss silk for the stitching, thus in a spray of leaves some will be worked in satin-stitch in silk with a fine chain-stitch outline worked in soft white cotton, whilst others will be filled with satin stitch in soft white cotton and have no special outline. Sometimes a flower will be partly worked on the wrong side and the rest solidly on the right, thus producing a contrasting softness such as is seen in modern shadow embroidery. Many fancy fillings are used, and the centres of the larger flowers consist of very fine drawn thread work whipped over to form an openwork of small squares. For the needlewoman this veil is full of suggestions as regards stitchery as well as the decorative treatment of floral motives, and there are also some rather amusing birds with sprigs of leaves in their mouths, possibly symbolic of the return of the dove to the ark, hovering over the big corner motives.

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The two examples of head kerchiefs are both illustrated on Plate XV and are from Prizren in the Kossovo Villayet.

The one at " A " is of fine hand-woven cotton cloth of a natural creamy colour, and is embroidered in silk with touches of gold thread. The design at the corner is reminiscent of the Persian pink, and the little triangular-shaped motives round the edge are a variant of the tree of life, which is so prevalent as a motive in embroideries from the Near East.

The corner spray is worked mainly in pink and green, the flowers being executed in an open stitch whose working is drawn at " c " on Plate XV, and the leaves and stems being variations of (v.) and (vi.) at " d " on the same plate. The combination of (v.) and (vi.) is sometimes known as triangular Turkish stitch. Both these stitches are used by other peoples in the south-eastern parts of Europe where both sides of the embroidery are made to look alike*.

The tree of life is in pink, green and gold, and its alternate motive, like a fruit tree on a mound, is in brown and pink with the mound in deep blue outlined in gold.

Little multi-coloured silk tassels adorn the corners, and the edge is rolled and closely whipped with cream silk.

No. 1935-30. The other head kerchief is worked in silk and gold on a rather openly woven muslin of gauze-like effect. One corner is shown at " B " on Plate XV, and is worked in very bright aniline colours somewhat toned down by black stems and pale pink and gold thread outlines. The flower border is carried out in vivid green with black outlines and little gold thread squares, the stitch used for filling the pattern being that sketched at " d ". The stems and lines consist of two rows of (v) d with (vi) d between them. The raw edge is rolled and whipped, but not so neatly as in the previous example which is probably older, and certainly more skilfully worked.

* Laura E. Start: " Armenian Embroideries." The Needlewoman, No. 4, 1920.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

Albania EG1

Serbs EF6

A S 291 294 171

The two head scarves also depicted on Plate XV are good specimens of embroidery in metal thread, and have a strong affinity with Turkish work.

No. 1936-46. The scarf shown at "E" is from northern Albania, and is of cream coloured, gauze-like muslin, worked entirely in gold thread and gold plate. One of the motives has been enlarged at "g" in order to show how the two working materials have been used. The edge near the decorated ends is closely buttonholed with cream silk.

A 291 294 531 286

No. 1935-92. The other example, drawn at "F" on Plate XIV, is of much more skilled workmanship. The material is hand-woven silk with broad stripes of heavier silk weft, and the embroidered ends are worked in a pale gold thread with touches of vivid colours here and there. The two motives have a likeness to the familiar pine pattern of India and Persia, and are filled in solidly with gold basket-stitch separated by double lines of slanting stitches giving the effect of a plait. The two ends are beautifully finished off by a scalloped edge of needle-point worked in fine cream silk with the tiny scallops filled in with black.

A [171]

The remaining five scarf head-dresses, which are worn with the worked ends hanging down the back, are all from Zadrima, a district near Scutari, on the banks of the river Drin. Two of them are for festival wear, and these both have their patterns worked mainly in gold thread, with outlines and some smaller motives in crimson, emerald and purple silk.

A 292 294 531 286

No. 1935-34. The handsomer of the two has a foundation of fine yellow cotton gauze, with weft stripes of different widths of white silk. It is hand-woven, and there are 36 warp ends and 60 weft picks to the inch in the plain parts of the cloth, which is 19 inches (48·2 cm.) wide and, including the scanty weft fringe at the ends, 4 feet 8 inches (1·4 m.) long.

The handsome border at either end is 11¾ inches (29·8 cm.) wide, including three, quarter-inch, gold thread weft stripes filling a space of 2 inches (5·1 cm.) on either side of the main pattern. The latter is divided by four narrow, multiple weft stripes of white, gold, red and green into a wide central border and two narrower ones.

The wider border consists of paired and single lozenges used alternately, their longer diagonals being horizontal, and in between them vertical zig-zag lines. All these are brocaded in by means of small free spools carrying three gold threads wound tape-wise. The gold lozenges are outlined with scarlet, purple and green floss silk, also worked in by means of free spools.

The narrower borders consist of single lozenges in gold, also outlined in colours, and with small, coloured silk devices between.

The effect of brocading each small motive by its individual spool produces a similar result to a darned-in pattern.

No. 1937-7. The other "festal" head-dress is similar in material although the cotton gauze ground is of a more greenish yellow, and its weft stripes are of cotton instead of silk. It is 20 inches (50·8 cm.) wide and 4 feet 4 inches (1·3 m.) in length, but the decorative borders at the ends are only 5 inches (12·7 cm.) wide, consisting of a wide central pattern and two narrower ones divided by multiple weft stripes.

[Text continues on p. 65]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

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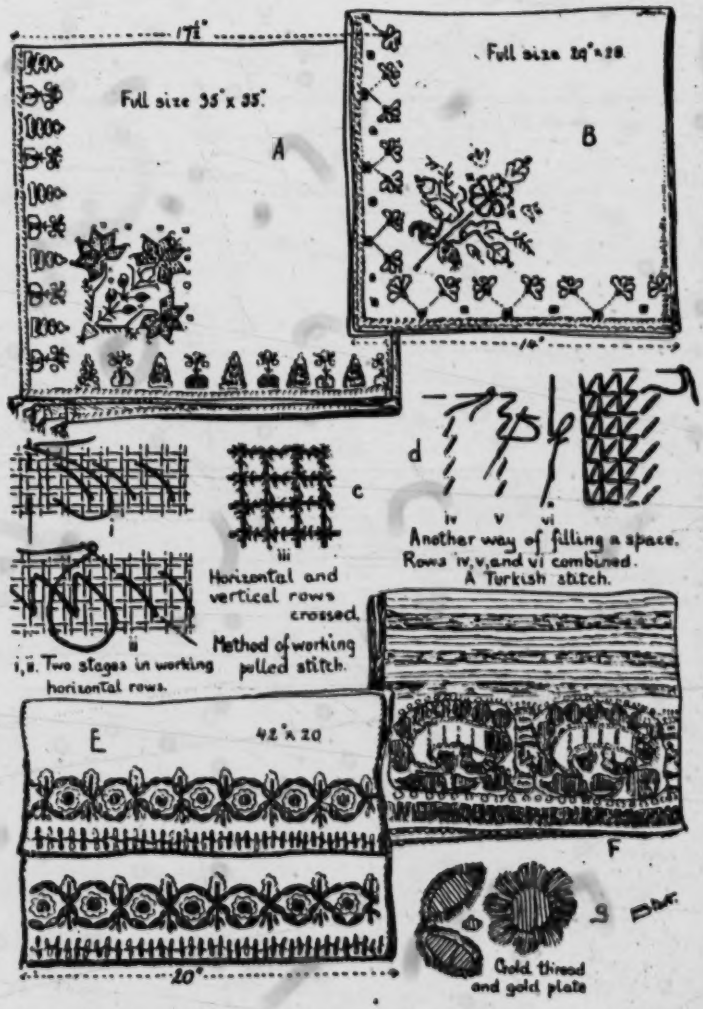

PLATE XV.—A, B, Two head squares from Prizren. c, d, Details of stitches used on them. E, F, Two head scarves from Scutari and N. Albania. g, Detail of E.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

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286

The narrow borders are brocaded with the six-armed cross or star which can be seen at " C " on Plate X. These are worked in series in yellow and red silk and gold thread.

The main central band has an hour-glass shaped motive consisting of one complete and two half lozenges, worked in gold thread, alternating with a single lozenge in coloured silk having a gold centre, and above and below it lines with right-angled triangles at each end worked in gold and red. The whole pattern is brocaded in with free spools just as in the previous example and, " . . . the woman who wove it and several other head-dresses had a husband, born crippled, who begged in the streets of Scutari. They lived in a miserable one-roomed hovel, a large part of which was occupied by her loom, by means of which she supported herself, her husband and as many of her children as survived. (An addition came every year). The family slept in a heap on the ground by the loom on which she worked these gorgeous patterns. You bargained for the price, paid for so much gold thread and silk, and left choice of design and colour to her. She had no patterns and did it all out of her head. The gold thread came from Austria but the silk was locally spun ". (M.E.D.).

No. 1937-9. This head scarf is one of the handsome old ones with weft stripes and brocaded borders worked in red, yellow and green wool. It is very similar in design and lay-out to the one figured at " C " on Plate X, except that in addition to the decorated ends there is also a band of decoration in the middle, and in place of the cross-like motive at " b " there is a conventional four-petalled flower.

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The material is a native-woven cotton cloth 18 inches wide, in natural colour, with brown weft stripes of varying width in the plain section on either side of the middle. The widest of these brown stripes has a simple spot motive worked mainly in red.

The scarf which is just over four feet long has a fringe of red and yellow tassels at either end, and its general effect is very handsome.

No. 1938-61. The eighteen inch wide cotton cloth used for this head-dress has a central portion of plain tabby weave of a rather muslin-like texture, and five ornamental borders totalling 11 inches wide at either end of its length of 5 feet 3 inches (1·6 m.). Their ends are unusual in that the four borders of brocaded pattern, on which the motives are mostly similar to those of the other Zadrima head scarves, are worked on a weft stripe of yellow as background.

The central border of the five, which with these intervening coloured weft stripes forms the ornamental end, is differently produced. The motives are the usual double lozenge and hour-glass arrangement, worked respectively in white cotton and green wool on a background of red, with smaller lozenges of gold thread and yellow wool to fill in the spaces, but the whole pattern had been tapestry-woven and not brocaded.

This method is also employed in the decoration of some of the hand towels and, although the process is exactly the same as that employed for the heavy aprons described in Section I, when carried out in very much finer threads the effect is very different.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

A 291 294 531 286

No. 1935-32. This is another head scarf of hand woven cotton of a muslin-like quality, with heavier weft stripes of a coarser cotton thread used double. It has three narrow brocaded borders in red and yellow at the ends measuring 3¼ inches over all, in which the motive at "b" on Plate X forms the two outer borders, and the double lozenge and hour-glass motives fill the central one.

This is the least interesting of the examples of head-dresses.

CHAPTER XVI.

Footwear.

S M A Y 291 281 286 531

Throughout Albania and Yugoslavia both men and women peasants and people of the mountain tribes wear two pairs of socks and a sandal, "opanga" or "opanke," of roughly dried hide over them when out-of-doors. Both their pairs of socks are knitted from rather coarse strong wool, the inner ones are usually white and the outer ones of gay colours handsomely embroidered or braided.

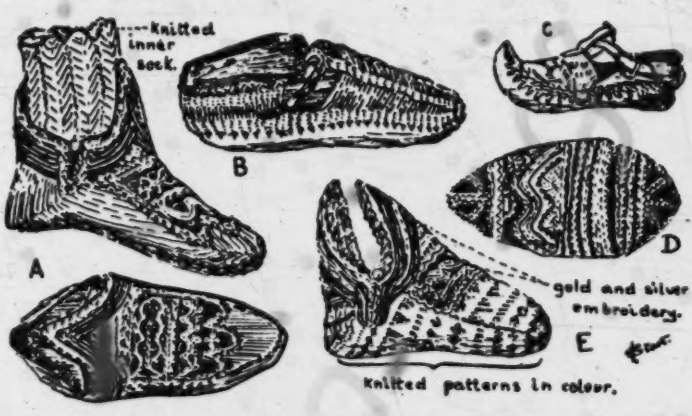

FIG. 9.—A, Silver braided knitted outer with inner sock. Grouda, W. Albania. B, String opanke with leather sole from Montenegro. C, Child's opanke of leather from Nish. D, Knitted outer sock with needle worked decoration. E, Outer sock from Kastrati tribe.

"The two layers of sock are needed to protect the sole of the foot as the hide used in the sandals or 'opanke' is thin and pliant. On entering the house the opanke are removed and the decorative over-sock forms a slipper." (M.E.D.).

A 286 291 531 294

There are six pairs of over-socks in the collection, and two pairs have their inner socks still inside them.

No. 1935-73. Three of the styles are shown in Fig. 9. The drawing at "A" is of a particularly handsome example from Grouda, in Western Albania. The over-sock is knitted from violet wool with the back of the heel and the front of the foot decorated by plaited silver braid and cord, outlined by a plait of black and silver.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

A 286 291 531 294

Half a dozen rows of black silk braid strengthen the top, and a button and loop fasten the short side-opening. An indication of the braid pattern appears in "A", where both a side and top view of the over-sock are given and the feather patterned welt of the inner sock is also shewn.

Another set of two pairs of socks, also from Grouda, have a knitted foundation of reddish-violet wool and are braided in silver and black in a similar design to those just described. The pair of white inner socks have a fancy welt.

No. 1937-18. An example from Northern Albania is figured at "E". In this pair of over-socks the black knitted portion has a number of simple geometrical patterns worked into it as shown in the drawing, these are in cerise, red, orange, emerald and gold thread, and produce a gay result. The top edge is strengthened as in the previous cases with many rows of black braid and some silver braid and cord, and a small rectangular panel of silver braiding decorates the top of the foot.

No. 1935-74. The specimen drawn at "D" in Fig. 9 is ornamented quite differently, being entirely embroidered not braided. The foundation is of knitted black wool, and on the top of the foot there are rows of chain-stitch in fine gold thread alternating with a white vandyke pattern worked like needle-point. The heel and toe are decorated with lines of white chain-stitch flanked by herringboning on either side, and in the centre there are two scallops outlined with white and gold thread chain-stitch and vandykes. Between these scallops and the toe are some small conventional flowers in scarlet and white. The under part or sole of the sock is also decorated with rows of white herringboning and scattered red and white spots.

No. 1936-52. Another gay pair was made for Miss Durham by a Moslem refugee from Gashi. The knitted portion has a lemon yellow sole, and the upper part at the toe has some concentric lozenges in emerald, violet, lemon, white and crimson.

The open edge is heavily braided with rows of plaited black wool, and filling in a rectangular space below (such as "E" in Fig. 9) is a patch of violet felt ornamented with rows and triangles of silver braid.

No. 1937-17. This pair of over-socks is knitted from red wool, and was made and embroidered for the Krasnichi tribe of Moslem Albanians. The scheme of decoration is very like that of 1935-74, the white vandyke border is used on toe and heel in exactly the same way as the herringboning in "D" (Fig. 9) and the main pattern on the top of the foot is similar, though more carefully planned; it consists of two big vandykes outlined with many rows of gold and black chain-stitch divided into three sections by rows of little white needlepoint vandykes. Rows of gold chain-stitch worked at right angles fill in the spaces.

M 291 281 294

No. 1936-62. The pair of Montenegrin "opanke" illustrated at "B" in Fig. 9, have hide soles and neatly worked tops of white twine. "When newly made the soles are soaked in oil till pliable. They then mould themselves to the feet, and give the toes and sole a good grip on rocks. The soles of this pair are worn through as I tramped many miles in them." (M.E.D.).

S 291 294 531

No. 1936-64. A child's "opanke" from Niš, drawn at "C" in Fig. 9. It is of orange and red leather with a little appliqué of cloth and some silver thread embroidery on the toe.

[Erratum, read "Niš". — Analyst]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Serbs EF6
Albanie EG1
Montenegrins EF5

CHAPTER XVII.

Accessories from the Southern Area.

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Amongst the odds and ends of the collection are some interesting accessories to costume of which the most important are sketched on Plate XV.

No. 1937-8. Perhaps the daintiest of them all is a hand-woven, natural coloured muslin apron from Prizren ("A" on Plate XVI). It has silk weft stripes arranged alternately in groups of five narrow and one broad, with seven narrow stripes.

As the apron is made of two pieces of the 18 inch wide material with the selvedges going across, the silk stripes appear lengthwise in the garment. The two selvedges are joined by a silk lacing stitch.

Down either side there is a plain muslin stripe about 2 inches wide, which is charmingly embroidered in silk. The flowers are worked in pairs, first two in pale pink with a deep pink border, then two in blue with a gold thread border. The leaves at the back of the flower are outlined in green and sometimes filled in with a pink pulled-stitch, similar to "c" on Plate XV, sometimes with satin-stitch in gold thread. The leaves sprouting from the main stem are outlined in pinkish brown and filled with satin-stitch in gold, and the green main stem has a line of gold thread down the centre. A portion of the pattern, giving some idea of the stitches used is enlarged at "b" on Plate XVI.

No. 1935-89. A gold galon and gold braided trouser end for a Moslem woman's full trousers or trousered skirt (Plate VI e) is shown at "C" on Plate XVI. The gold work and braid are mounted on a stiff foundation and lined with white cotton material and, being very stiff, help to keep the lower edges of the garment from the ground.

"Similar bands were used by the Christian women of the district, but they were usually red." (M.E.D.).

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No. 1936-50. A man's cap from Montenegro, drawn at "D" on Plate XVI, has symbolic colouring. The crown is of red felt and is "in memory of the blood shed at the battle of Kossovo, and the black silk border which is finely gathered on to the crown represents mourning for the defeat." (M.E.D.).

In this battle, in 1389, the Serbian empire was destroyed by Sultan Murad I and their king killed. The letters "H I", worked in raised gold thread inside a space outlined by five rows of gold braid, are cyrillic letters representing the Roman ones 'N I', for King Nikola I who, during his reign 1860-1918, obtained recognition of the independence of Montenegro in the Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

No. 1935-84. At "E" on the same plate the front and back of a knitted and beaded glove from Montenegro is drawn. It is one "such as were worn by old men in the winter, although such elaborate ones were already becoming uncommon in 1907". (M.E.D.).

The glove has the finger part knitted in blue and red stripes, with three rows of spots of yellow on the blue, but the wrist portion has a pattern of elongated hexagons and a cross-like motive in blue on a red ground. The diagram with the thumb part

[Text continues on p. 70]

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

M 291 531 286 in it shows a portion of this pattern, which has not been covered like all the rest with white beads, and a yellow chain-stitched outline. Little tassels of brown, blue and green with white beads at the ends also form part of the decoration.

A 5 **No. 1935-72.** A delightful girdle for a Moslem woman's trousers of hand-woven muslin has very handsome decorated ends worked in Turkey red, with tiny spots of blue, yellow and white.

291 294 286 531 The pattern is clearly shown at "F" on Plate XV, the upper part has been woven in by means of a number of small spools, as many as twenty-five might be in use on the loom, as each perpendicular bit of the pattern needs its own spool. A similar effect could be got by darning, but such long strips of vertical pattern would not be as evenly worked.

The border at the end is either needle-woven or again fine spools used, but this time on the bare warp thread whilst in the loom, and it is therefore more akin to the tapestry method of working a pattern, with the warp thread pulled more tightly so as to leave holes. This method and style of pattern is sometimes called Persian open-work. The edge of the girdle is rolled and carefully whipped over with a cotton thread.

No. 1935-24. O[illegible] half of a man's festival collar, worked in needlepoint in cream silk, is shown at "G" on Plate XV, and is a charming example of this method of producing lace.

Picots, solid buttonholing to form squares and triangles, and wrapped bars are the chief stitches used in making the patterns. The two narrow strips of fine linen probably formed a foundation for working upon.

"This is a similar type of collar to the one made fashionable by Byron." (M.E.D.).

No. 1935-23. An everyday collar for a man's wear is also included in the collection. It again has two strips of a coarser linen as foundation, and is decorated mainly by several rows of overcast scallops and picots worked in coarse cotton.

A 291 531 294 **No. 1937-18.** This specimen is a pair of crimson silk brocade sleeves, joined by a printed cotton back, for a Moslem Albanian woman's dress. "They were bought in Scutari in 1903 and could be attached to the shirt or blouse for wear under a jelek or a giubba" (M.E.D.). The pointed cuff is trimmed with gold braid and a motive worked in gold cord.

C 291 301 531 **No. 1939-2.** The remaining sketch on Plate XVI is of a silvered copper buckle such as would be worn over her corded waistband by the woman from Monastir (Bitolj), whose costume is illustrated on Plate IX.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Household Linen.

A Y 286 515 531 583 A: **"Marama" or Towels.**

There are thirteen towels in the collection, two of these "marama" for every day use have coloured weft stripes at the ends, the rest are guest or ceremonial towels and have ornamented ends, seven are embroidered and four are decorated with borders worked in by fine spools of small size, the appearance of the designs being like fine darning.

[Text continues on p. 72]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

tree-trunk. A similar section, split lengthways and hollowed out, made two wash-tubs for laundry work. Toilet appliances, a basin and ewer bought in the bazaar, and paraffin lamps from the same source, completed the list of additions.

The above outline omits many small variations in Albanian houses and furniture as irrelevant to the main subject of this book. Mention must be made, however, of certain houses which differed widely from the average type. The first were found among the Highlanders (Alb. *Malësorë*, 'mountaineers'), the semi-nomads who wintered on the soggy plains at the mouth of the river Mat. These houses had walls of planking or wattle and daub, with roofs of tiles or strips of wood. They rested on vertical sections of tree trunks about two feet high which had been laid at close intervals on the ground but had not been driven into it like piles. In this way they kept snug and dry even during the winter floods. All over Albania granaries were raised some distance from the ground in order to keep out the rats, but so far as is known, there were no houses on stilts except at the mouth of the Mat.

A number of Highland houses also contained a child's play-pen which might be as little as twenty-five inches long, wide and high. A shallow porringer projected from one of the top bars, chipped from the same piece of wood as the bar itself. In this pen Highland children spent all their winter days from the time they could crawl until they were three years old. They had no toys, but practised walking round the pen, sometimes stopping to eat a little bread and milk from the porringer with the diminutive home-made, wooden spoon which was tied to the bar, or merely gazing broodingly at the fire. The mothers meanwhile cooked, spun or gossiped, each secure in the knowledge that her child was on the dry floor of the kitchen and not sitting outside in the quagmire of mud that reached up to the very doorstep. The Highlanders said they invented both the houses and the play-pen themselves, but it is possible that they were at least advised by the Austro-Hungarian troops who were stationed in the neighbourhood for part of the war of 1914–18.

In Shpat, near Elbasan, huts were built for many bridegrooms. In the higher villages trunks of young trees about as tall as a man's waist were planted in a rectangle of the size desired, their boughs, while still green and flexible, were laced in and out of these uprights, and cross-pieces of timber were nailed to the uprights

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296] 225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837] runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765] shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696] out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628] been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585] whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554] collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894. 681 491 574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

527 incident that occurs during its twelve hours is
777 believed to presage the events of the corresponding months of the coming year, and the events of the first day of each month the character, lucky or unlucky, of the other days generally. It is unlucky to work in the
[461] fields during the first week of October, and no corn is sown this month, as the crop would be sure to fail.

527 The period between the 15th of November and
777 the 6th of January is, like the Greek *Fishoti* and
776 the Bulgarian *Kulada*,[1] supposed to be the carnival
784 time of the Vilas and other supernal beings, who are, at that season, not only more active, but more powerful than at others, and especially during the night. After sunset, consequently, people refrain from going abroad, or drinking water, for fear of mischief, and give no credence to their dreams. They are also careful not to leave any article of wearing ap-
[296] parel out of doors after nightfall, and if, by some oversight, a garment should be so left, it is washed before being used, in order to get rid of any spell cast upon it by the supernals.

527 Christmas, which bears a name (*Kolendravet*[2]) ap-
777 parently connected with those by which it is known among the Bulgarians and Vlachs, is observed with ceremonies that recall those of more Northern nations, as well as with some similar to those of their last-mentioned neighbours. On the 24th and 25th of

[1] Vol. i. pp. 123 and 329.

[2] Von Hahn derives this name from the κολόδρα, the ring-shaped cakes made at this season. I would, however, suggest the greater likelihood of the cakes having been named after the name of the feast in its various forms of (Albanian) *Kolendravet*, (Vlach) *Kolindi*, and (Bulgarian) *Kulada*.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291 286 531 The whole of this pattern work is braided in fine gold cord, and the usual half-buttons of gilt brass decorate the little added flaps on the front, just like the Zadrima example.

No. 1936-119. The last of the jelek in this group is another beautifully gold embroidered one given by Mrs. E. W. Hickson, which belongs to the magnificent gold braided giubba (No. 1936-118), described later.

It is made of an extremely fine black face cloth. The fronts are entirely covered by braiding in fine gold cord, four, six and many-petalled flowers growing out of sweeping curves fill most of the space, with leaves and smaller flowers in between. Most of the flower petals are slightly raised as in the presentation jelek (No. 1937-19).

The neck and front edges have broad bands formed of a series of gold plaited braids laid closely in rows in a similar manner to the other examples, and the plain back of the garment is also outlined and the seams emphasised by similar plaited braid and gold cord. This garment is particularly interesting as the worn-out [296] lining has been removed and the method of strengthening the cloth with parchment before working the braiding can be plainly seen.

When this garment is compared with its companion giubba it will be noted that a plain back was necessary as that of the giubba itself is heavily gold braided (Plate XIV).

CHAPTER XIV.

A. The Costume of a Roman Catholic Woman of Scutari.

291 292 531 In Albania, as elsewhere, native costume is rapidly disappearing, but when these specimens were collected between 1908 and 1914 it was almost universally worn, a different dress in different districts and for different religions; and the charming drawing by Miss Durham which forms the introduction to Section II (Plate V) illustrates the costume of a married Roman Catholic Scutarene. The scarlet outer cloak or "japangi" is worn over a sleeveless coat or "giubba", of which only the edge shows in the picture, and from whose pocket slot depends a large fancy silk handkerchief.

Under the flap of the japangi, which can be seen being held in position on the head by a cord, a lace veil is draped, partly concealing the face, and a fancy muslin, embroidered apron hangs down in front of the baggy trousered skirt (Plate VI e) with its stiff ankle bands, which in this Catholic woman's costume would be red, although otherwise similar to the gold braided ones belonging to a Moslem woman of Scutari which are figured on Plate XVIc.

An embroidered muslin shirt is worn under the trousered skirt, and girdled with a striped silk scarf, or a needleworked girdle with long ends (Plate XVIr). White knitted socks and Turkish shoes complete this out-of-door costume.

The details of the various items in the costume are discussed in the notes which follow, with the exception of the veil which is described in the chapter dealing with head-dresses.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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PLATE II.—WOMEN OF SHALA

[Facing p. 25]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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301

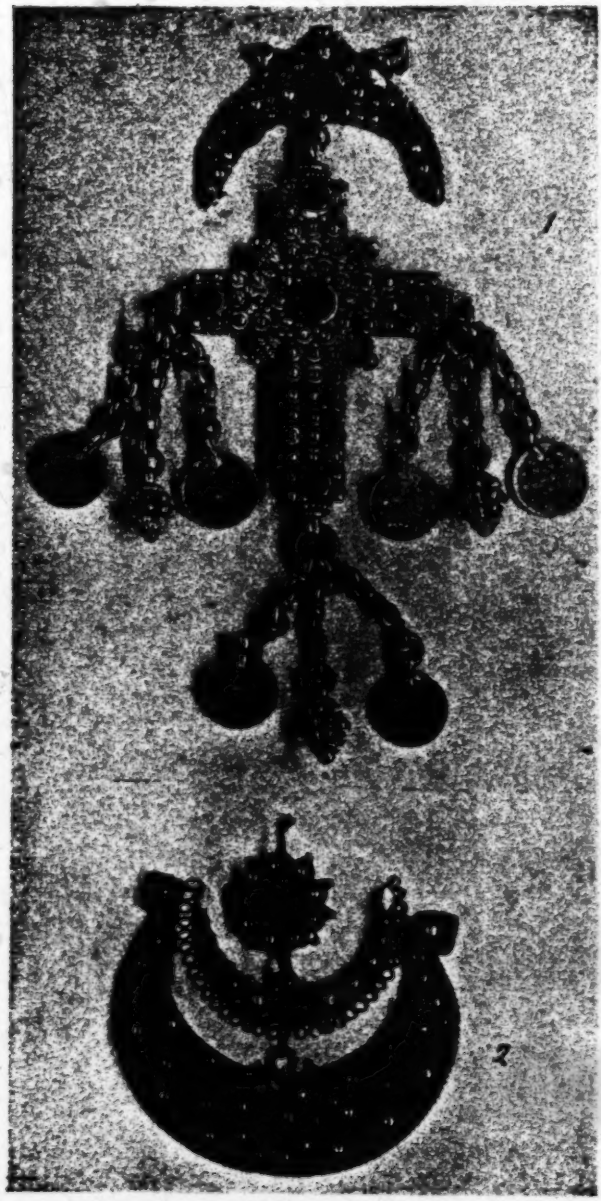

PLATE IV

(1) CRESCENT AND CROSS ORNAMENT
(2) CRESCENTS AND STAR

Worn by Catholic women of Maltsia e Madhe.

NOTE.—Here the "Suns" at the ends of the cross are replaced by coins and a pendant resembling the cowry shape. Both cross and crescent are covered with rayed balls.

[Facing p. 121]

visible mark has a strong effect on primitive and childish minds—witness national flags and school and college colours. The missionizing "popes" of the Orthodox Church had every reason to denounce a practice which thus "sealed" part of the population and made it turn a deaf ear to the attractions of Byzantium.

To this day the object of the Orthodox is to wipe all that belongs to Rome from the peninsula. I found the bitterest dislike, even among the educated classes; and among the peasants neither side would admit that the other was Christian. In early days the struggle must have been even cruder than to-day.

3. Tattooing in Albania

We will trace these symbols farther south. In North Albania I noticed that every Catholic woman among the five large tribes (Kastrati, Shkreli, Hotí, Gruda, and Klementi) wore, if not too poor, a large silver filigree crescent and star stitched to the crown of her flat cap; or a similar design was embroidered and the "star" then larger. Asked why they wore a Turkish symbol, they crossed themselves and denied the charge indignantly, saying: "We wear it because we always do. It is not Turkish. We are good Catholics." They declared also it was "very old"; and were quite correct. For the sun and moon symbol, as we have seen, was long pre-Turkish in the Balkans. I next found that the bulk of these tribes-folk, both men and women, are tattooed on the back of the hand, the forearm, or the breast (seldom on all) with a cross; but never a plain cross. It has a crescent above and below it; or the arms terminate in small circles, as do those on Byzantine coins; or some in circles and some in crescents; or the cross is in the "sun-wheel" form. None of these people at all objected to showing the tattoos. I at once recognized in a simplified form the elements of the Bosnian designs. Most people said they did it because they were Catholics. Anxious to give a reason, one man said it was to ensure you Christian burial if you died abroad.

When I asked the Albanian tribesmen what was the meaning of the circle and crescent on the cross-arms, they said at once it was "Dielli"—the sun; and "Hana"—the moon. The cross was to show you were a Christian. What were the sun and moon for? The only reply was "per bukur" (for beauty). Often they laughed and gave none. Mgr. Ernesto Cozzy, then priest of Rechi and later Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, a Tyrolese whose knowledge of the mountain people was the result of years of sympathetic study, told me: "They have a number of curious pagan beliefs which they will not tell me. I have found that

[Text continues on p. 123]

and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585
The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842]
uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592]
take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584
relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon
I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583
price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585
at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were
in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291]
kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and
pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301]
necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291]
and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom,
who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576]
have to assume a superhuman modesty.

585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and [533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house. [534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The [292 301] display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped; the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern [263] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker- [291] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell. [177] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait, punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take [177 842] the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

846 is spread, the national head-dress, ornamented with sequins, is placed on her head, and all her necklaces [301] are hung round her neck, to receive the friends and acquaintances who now flock in to offer their congratulations. In some parts of Albania, and especially [431] among the Moslems, it is customary to bring hand- [688] some presents to the infant. As each visitor did her best to outshine her neighbour in the value of her gift, this usage, among the Roman Catholic Miridites, became so ruinously expensive, that the ban of the Church was finally laid upon it. The visitors to the mother and baby consequently now bring with them only an egg, with which they rub the face of the new arrival, with the wish, "*Pashi bar*" (May it be always white!)—*i.e.*, never have cause to blush for its actions.

852 When the baby is three days old the Fates are be- [776] lieved to arrive and decide what its fortune is to be. When two of the Weird Sisters have had their say, the third speaks, and her decision is final.[1] On the evening of this day, which is called the child's *Poganik*,[2] all the relatives of the family assemble uninvited, each bringing a small loaf, a girdle cake, and a wooden flask of wine. On these they feast and drink healths to the mother and child, the formula addressed to the latter being, "May he have strong legs!" [777] The women then set to work to make a large cake, all present touching, "for luck," the sieve used to sift the flour. As the dough is being kneaded coins are put into it, and when baked it is broken in pieces

[1] See "The Story of the Child," p. 319.

[2] The meaning of this term appears to have been lost by the Albanians.

ALBANIAN WOMEN

291 The native dress for women in Albania is as interesting as it is varied and picturesque. The dress of the Albanian ladies is rich and costly. The ladies of rank dress extravagantly with very full trousers of some bright silk—generally red—and are drawn tight at the ankles where they are further ornamented with a deep flounce of rich, handmade lace. Over this is worn the sleeveless vest and coat reaching to the knees, both, probably, of crimson velvet, gorgeously trimmed with gold lace and embroidered around the hem. The 302 Albanian lady of the higher class generally divides her hair into three strands, two of which are plaited around a red fez and the other allowed to hang free. From this fez 301 hangs a long, dark blue tassel which is full and decorated with small discs of pure gold or seed pearls.

291 The women of the Mirdite district wear a coat of thick, white woolen material, red trousers like those just mentioned, and a richly embroidered apron with fringe a half yard in length, but her headdress is simply a dark blue kerchief.

The poor peasant women dress in coarse

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 trembling like a convalescent, but with fever gone and my lungs merely aching. I suggest the remedy for what it is worth.

[417] The byraktor received us at his gateway, for his house was surrounded by a high fence, almost a stockade, of woven branches. He was a tall, keen, quick man; bright, dark eyes and aquiline nose and thin, flexible lips, framed by the white turban's fold beneath his chin; a jacket of black sheep's wool; one massive jeweled silver chain on his breast. His swift smile was warm and beautiful, but one had a sense of reservations behind it; he welcomed the audacious Shala man without a quiver, and ushered us up the stone steps to the second floor of his house.

[342] There were several rooms[1], divided from the main large one by partitions of woven willow boughs, and from the large room a high, arched doorway in the stone wall led into farther regions.

592 At least forty men and women and children—five generations—were around the fire on the floor[1]. There was a little flurry of welcome and rearrangement, and in a moment we were in the center of the circle, sitting on thick mats of woven straw, while the byraktor made our coffee in the coals.

[303] The women were beautifully dressed; I had not seen so much elegance of embroidery, of colored headkerchiefs, earrings, and chains of silver and gold coins. Their dark, beautifully modeled faces, large dark eyes, and heavy braids of black hair were set off by the profusion of rich

[1] [House of war chief of Shoshi—] [252] [Analyst]

513 When all had done,[4] mattresses and eiderdowns would be brought and spread out on the floor for the half-dozen guests of honour, while the others made themselves as comfortable as they might with their overcoats and jackets. It was still considered rather indecent to undress, but before the lights were snuffed out the prudent ones would gather their arms and effects about them against the dangers and confusions of a night attack. In cold weather the fire was kept alight till morning; in summer the room would often become intolerably stuffy from the accumulated animal warmth of a score of snoring sleepers.

512 The Albanians were not given to early rising, for their evening hours were late, and in the mountains the mornings were cold. They would get up between eight and nine o'clock and, by a generous convention, the younger guests were left sleeping till last. The mountaineers knew not breakfast; but 264 in many houses the host would bring a cup of coffee or of hot, 515 sweetened milk when he saw us wake. Ablutions were per- 301 functory, each man, or the host, pouring cold water from a ewer over his fellow's hands, with which the latter seldom did more than dab his eyes. Moustaches were *de rigueur*, though by exception Abas Kupi was clean-shaven; but only priests or bandits grew beards. Shaving, however, was most often a weekly affair and considered a sufficient occasion to warrant the valedictory greeting of "*Meschnett*" — an equivalent of 000 "God bless you" — to the shaver. In these matters I conformed to the customs of the country, but Maclean and Smiley insisted on adhering to the standards of cleanliness of their distinguished cavalry regiments. Stripped to the waist and with razors flashing, they washed daily and thoroughly, to the great wonder of the mountaineers who crowded round to 514 watch. Albanian sanitary arrangements were primitive but ingenious. The closet, which adjoined the guest room, projected, sometimes precariously, from the house over the courtyard below. It consisted of a hole in the floor, often of impracticably narrow circumference; and, underneath it, the thrifty Albanians were wont to keep their poultry, which gobbled up a strange diet with evident relish.

4 [i.e. eating — Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

it was the offender's birthright to remain in the house, to eat at the common table, and to have his wife and children maintained out of the family purse. A striking illustration of this weakness of the communal system was to be seen in Shalë in the 1930's, when Mirash Nue's family included his wife, his elder son Pal, Pal's wife and four children, and his younger son Gjon. Since he, Mirash, was too old to work and Pal was a wastrel, Gjon alone ploughed to feed the household and fetched firewood to keep it warm. To get money for government taxes and his father's coffee and cigarettes, he worked for the priest in his spare time. He had been unable to earn enough to pay for a bride and at thirty years of age was still unmarried, a calamity in primitive Albanian eyes. Pal, not criminal, just lazy and selfish, and saved from beating by his father's advanced years and his own age, paid no attention to either his father's upbraidings or the barely concealed contempt of the neighbours and turned up unfailingly for the meals he had done nothing to provide.

The master received no money payments for his services but enjoyed certain privileges. His clothes were often newer and of better cloth than those of his subordinates; more silver chains crossed his breast, and more silver rings glittered on his fingers. He was entitled to have his own bedding and coffee utensils and to keep them until he died. If he chose to buy himself a riding horse, a watch, or arms richly inlaid with silver and bright stones, he might do so. His subordinates, though left to walk while he rode, to learn the time from the sun by day and from the crowing of a cock at night, and to content themselves with the plainest of rifles and revolvers, did not seem to resent his magnificence. He represented the family, and the worthier he appeared in externals as well as in mind and character, the greater the glory reflected on each of them.

Indoors the master sat in the place of honour in the sitting-room, the right-hand chimney corner as one looked from the fireplace towards the door. Though marked deference was usually shown to old people, he never gave up this place to his aged father or elder brother except in the districts of Shpat, Çermenikë and Shalë, where age took precedence over social position. The other men grouped themselves cross-legged in front of the fire, the future master facing it squarely, older men flanking him, and younger men sitting behind him. The youngest of all, who had to do such work as shutting the door, bringing firewood, and carrying in supper, sat next to the door; he was described as the serving man. When

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

Glass "turquoises" made the head-band yet more protective. Small
Y 777 cocks are still made as heads of pins to fasten the head-dress to the
172 hair in the Herzegovina.

In the prehistoric graves at Glasinatz in Bosnia, tiny bronze amulets, shaped like doves, have been found. In North Albania three wooden

A 764 777 301 M [301]

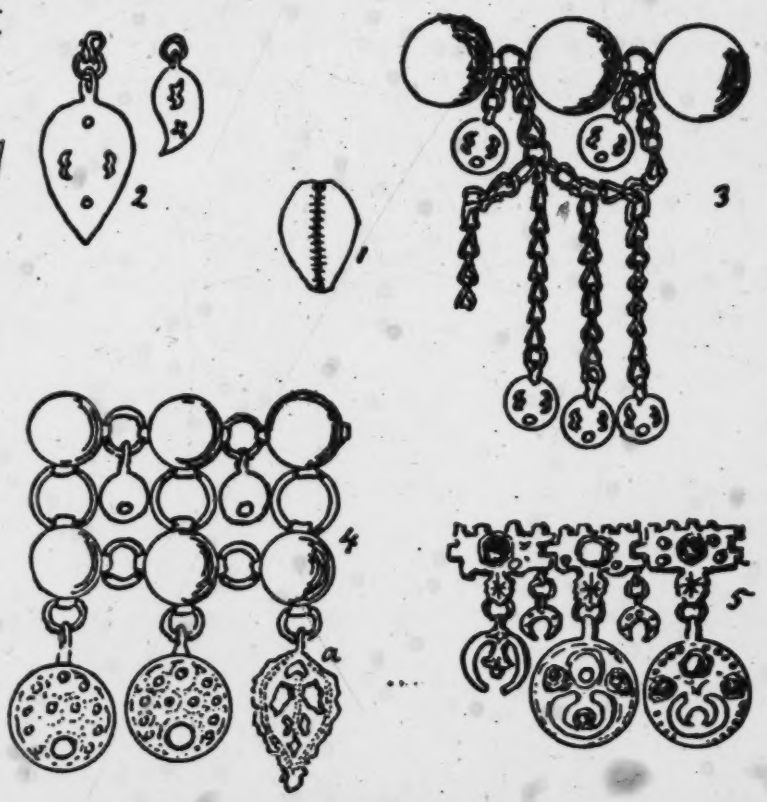

FIG. 19—SPECIMENS SHOWING EVOLUTION OF ORNAMENT FROM COWRY

1. Natural cowry. 2. Pendant common in North Albania. 3. Necklace from Kolashin, Montenegro (old specimen). 4. Breast ornament from Nikaj, North Albania (modern). 5. Old necklace, Scutari.

A [531] doves perch on many a wooden grave-cross. Especially good examples are at Boga. A dove forms part of the decorative design worked on the scarlet cloak worn by the Catholic married women of Scutari, as
A 142 does also the serpent. My repeated inquiries failed to find any explana-
171 tion of this dove. "It must be some old tale which we have forgotten," was the reply of the embroiderers. The Glasinatz amulets from ancient

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4

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Y
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from madder; reddish brown from green walnuts (*Juglans regia*) and blue from copper sulphate.

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Metallic decorations are also worn, and are almost always hand made by the men; large ornaments and belt clasps of silver or silvered brass are worn at the waist, silver coins and imitation coins are worn as a trimming to caps, and as necklaces and pendants to girdles. Ear-rings are also worn by some Slav peasants, especially Moslems. "The little ornament made of a small brass thimble and coloured beads was worn as a dangle at the end of the long pigtail. The pair of long plaits on either side of the face of the Bosnian woman in the frontispiece are ornamented with coins, tassels of beads and this thimble."

"Many of the objects worn on head-dresses are amulets to keep off the "evil eye" and include also such things as cowries and, in Bosnia, small mirrors." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER III.

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Women's Costume in the Central and Coastal Areas of Yugoslavia.

The main features of the costume worn (by all but the Moslem women) in the central and coastal areas of Yugoslavia are shown by the illustration of the Orthodox Bosnian woman (see Frontispiece).

In this area three cultures have influenced costume and its decoration, Central European culture which has travelled along the river valleys from the north, Mediterranean culture through Italian influence on the Dalmatian coast, and Balkan culture with its own Oriental tendencies. The married woman's costume consists of a long or medium length *shirt*, embroidered at the neck, front-opening and on the sleeves. The shorter type is similar in style to that shown on Plate IA, and the longer to that on Plate IXA, but without the embroidery at the bottom edge. A full, fairly long *skirt* of woollen or felted cloth is worn in the winter, and in summer may be exchanged for a linen skirt, sometimes closely pleated, with wide horizontal bands of cross-stitch or embroidery. A *girdle* of either folded linen with embroidery, or a tablet-woven belt such as is shown (Plate IVe) with its end hanging down in front, is worn around the waist and helps to keep up the heavy *apron* of tapestry weaving with its deep fringe (Plate III). A *short coat* of woollen cloth with embroidered decoration, often sleeveless, is added for outdoor wear, and in winter a longer coat with side gores replaces it. This is also often sleeveless.

In the coastal area and some other parts of old Bosnia and Herzegovina a *jelek*, or zouave, is worn, similar in shape but differing in colour from those in Plates X and XI, which are from the southern area.

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Married women in many districts of Bosnia wear their hair in two plaits hanging down over either shoulder in front, and as a *head-dress* have a diagonally folded kerchief, generally cream or white in colour, with the back corner embroidered and a red ribbon along the edge. In the coastal district a fringe is also added to the head-dress (Plate IVa).

On the feet thick *woollen stockings* ("sharapa") are worn, and over these, handsomely decorated short socks, which act as slippers in the house and are replaced by leather "opanke" for out-of-doors (Figure 9).

[Text continues on p. 14]

ALBANIAN WOMEN

291 The native dress for women in Albania is as interesting as it is varied and picturesque. The dress of the Albanian ladies is rich and costly. The ladies of rank dress extravagantly with very full trousers of some bright silk—generally red—and are drawn tight at the ankles where they are further ornamented with a deep flounce of rich, handmade lace. Over this is worn the sleeveless vest and coat reaching to the knees, both, probably, of crimson velvet, gorgeously trimmed with gold lace and embroidered around the hem. The 302 Albanian lady of the higher class generally divides her hair into three strands, two of which are plaited around a red fez and the other allowed to hang free. From this fez 301 hangs a long, dark blue tassel which is full and decorated with small discs of pure gold or seed pearls.

291 The women of the Mirdite district wear a coat of thick, white woolen material, red trousers like those just mentioned, and a richly embroidered apron with fringe a half yard in length, but her headdress is simply a dark blue kerchief.

The poor peasant women dress in coarse

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

courageous. The Tosks are blue-eyed, and also have 142
frequently blonde or chestnut hair. Their features are refined, and they are extremely elegant in figure and deportment. The Khams resemble the Greeks somewhat in feature. They have black eyes and hair, and darker skins than the Ghegs. The Liaps are the [462]
least handsome of all the Albanian women, and the laborious out-of-door life they lead, surrounded by privations of all kinds, soon destroys any degree of beauty they may have possessed in youth. They 481
are, however, expert swimmers and divers, this pastime affording almost their only distraction.

The national costumes of the Albanians are ex- 291
tremely varied and picturesque, and are still rigidly adhered to by all classes. The dress of a Skipetar lady is extremely rich and costly. It consists of a sleeved gown of striped white gauze; a pair of very full Turkish trousers drawn in at the ankle, where they are finished off with a revers of thick embroidery; a long sash, also of gauze; a sleeveless vest, and a coat reaching to the knees, both of crimson velvet, handsomely trimmed round the borders with elaborate gold embroidery. The hair is separated into three [302]
tresses, one of which floats on the shoulders, the other two being twisted round the little red fez which is worn on the head, and kept in place by a kerchief of silk. The dark-blue fez-tassel, which is very full and long, is ornamented with tiny plates of gold or with seed-pearls, and droops on the left shoulder. Formerly the Moslem women went barefoot, but they now wear embroidered slippers in the house and yellow *babouches* out of doors. The Miridite women

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

291 wear a coat of thick white woollen stuff, red trousers, an embroidered apron with fringe half a yard long, and on the head a blue kerchief. The dress of the Christians is similar in form but usually of a violet colour. The *yashmak* and *feridgé* (veil and cloak) of [563] the Turkish women is worn out of doors by the [562] Moslem women in the towns, and also, if they live in close proximity to Moslems, by the Christian women. The cloak of the latter is, however, of a different shape and of a light red colour, with a cross embroidered in front. This distinctive dress is said to have been imposed by a native pasha, who, being attracted by a Christian girl, not knowing her to be such, asked her in marriage and was refused.

The country women, however, both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about unveiled. Their costumes vary extremely in detail, but are generally of stout homespun and felt, and in [171] form resemble those of the Greek and Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia, the leading features of which are two aprons worn under a coat. In the villages of the plains, however, a blue petticoat, trimmed [531] with red bands, is worn over an embroidered linen gown, with a bodice of white cloth embroidered in black.

● 302 Albanian ladies appear to be even more addicted than Osmanlis to the use of cosmetics. No sooner are they married than they begin to dye their hair [303] with a decoction made from gall-nuts and palm oil, paint their eyelashes, and extend their eyebrows till they meet over the nose. For their skins they use a "wash" in which various deleterious ingredients

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

enter, redden their lips and cheeks with iris powder 302
or carmine, and stain their nails and the palms of their hands with henna.

The social status of the Albanian women varies 562
according to district and creed. The Liaps and the Christians of Southern Albania and Epirus generally occupy the least enviable position, all the hard out- [462]
of-door work devolving upon them. The Northern Albanians and also the Tosks, on the other hand, treat their wives with much greater consideration, consult them willingly in their affairs, both public and private, and accord them a position in the family almost equal to their own. And well do they merit the respect of their husbands and brothers. For often have they proved themselves to be fit companions for men, unmindful of fatigue, danger, and even death in the cause of liberty. When the armies of the Sultan menaced the privileges of which the people of Scutari had always been proud, it was the women who were the first to give the alarm and to excite the men to resist to the death, themselves following to aid in the combat. Restraining the [703]
tears natural to their sex, they would carry the mutilated bodies of their loved ones among the combatants in order to excite them to avenge their deaths. And the same women are said to have refused to receive back into their homes the husbands and sons who had for a moment turned their backs upon the enemy.

Albanian women, too, are often entrusted with 562
negotiations for truce or peace. Such is the respect 628
with which Albanians regard their women that they 728

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 belong. With the Moslems no religious character is
852 attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male
[779] relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father
[608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his godchild;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a
[302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 Although the Albanian beys have neither written
554 charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these
[779 177] ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely.

4: Garnett B-4,5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 same way on the Friday. On this day, too, the women assemble to help in the preparations for the ceremony. While some busy themselves with putting finishing touches to the trousseau, or helping in the kitchen, the others take the bride in hand and commence to "busk" her for the occasion. Compelled by custom [302] to submit silently to whatever operation they may, in their zeal to make her as beautiful as possible, subject her, the poor bride is bathed, scrubbed, "massaged," and *dépilée*, her hair and eyebrows are dyed black, and her feet and hands stained red with henna.

On Sunday evening the bride, dressed in her bridal array, and decked in all her ornaments, is presented to the women of the family. If she is of humble station, jewels are borrowed for her to wear for the occasion, so that, on this day at least, she may lack nothing. The work of the women who have dressed her is then freely and openly criticised, no word, however, being uttered which could possibly hurt the feelings of the bride; for, according to the good ladies of Scutari, a bride can never be otherwise than beautiful. Later on the father and brothers enter, and the maiden, throwing herself at their feet, asks their pardon with tears for all the faults she has since her childhood com- [152] mitted. Hardly has the father raised her than a chorus of sobs and cries is heard from all the company, who thus testify their sorrow at the approaching separation of the maiden from her family. When their grief has exhausted itself, they dry their tears and break into a song, which, translated, is as follows:—

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

 585 [539]

Lower your crests, ye mountains high,
That we may the moon descry
Sailing through the azure sky.
Our bride her mother's counsels heard,
Who said, "My daughter, mark my word,
Love and respect your father new."
"That, mother will I gladly do—
I'll love and honour him alway
Who's given to me a bridegroom gay."

On Monday morning, the homes of both bride and bridegroom are thronged with guests, sometimes to the number of several hundreds. Each one brings an *oka*[1] of coffee and another of sugar for the benefit of the house, and at the same time presents the bride with a gold coin, the value of which varies with the degree of relationship of the giver. These coins are subsequently strung into necklaces, and constitute part of the personal property of a married woman. [431] [422] [302]

At early dawn the bride is dressed in her wedding finery, decked with all her jewels, and, at sunrise, is led to a corner of the principal reception-room. Here custom requires her to stand, motionless and speechless, with downcast eyes and hands crossed on her breast, until she starts for her new home. Two women, posted at either side, keep watch and ward over her, and the rest of the female guests, seated round the room on the divans, stare at the poor girl as if she were the idol of their worship. At meal-times, on this and the two following days, she eats alone, covered with a veil, though if she is anxious to make a good impression she will partake of food only

[1] About 2¾ lbs. avoirdupois.

personal charm, if that's what you mean," said Perolli, coldly. "It's really your short hair. But I can get twenty thousand kronen for you, if you want to marry and stay here." 581

"Twenty thousand kronen!" said I. "Two thousand dollars? For me? Here? But for Heaven's sake, why? You don't mean anyone thinks me beautiful, among all these Albanian women?" said I, indignantly.

"Of course not," said Perolli.

"And I can't even talk their language. What do you mean, twenty thousand kronen? And what has short hair to do with it? Don't be so annoying, Perolli. What *do* you mean?"

"Well," said Perolli, "Lulash[1] would like to have an American wife. I don't mean he put it to me so crudely as that. He didn't actually put it to me at all, in fact. But I know that he will give twenty thousand kronen for you, and you can stay here and make over the whole life of Shala, if you like." [583]

"But why me? Why not Frances, or Alex?"

"Because you are all a long way past marrying age, in Albania, and their hair is long, so naturally these people think they are already married. But your hair is short, so they think you are a sworn virgin. In these mountains, when a girl is old enough to marry and absolutely refuses to marry the man to whom she has been promised, she may escape the marriage by swearing before the chiefs of the two tribes an oath of life-long virginity, and she cuts her hair and takes a man's 302 582

[1] [Tribal chief in Thethis -- [207] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

582 place in the tribe. Naturally, when they see
302 you, at your age, with short hair, they think
that is what you did. If you were an Albanian no one would dream of marrying you, for the man to whom your parents gave you would have to kill your husband to clear his honor, and all the chiefs before whom you had sworn would be bound in honor to see that your husband was killed. But America is a long way off; that man and the chiefs would hardly come so far after you, especially as your customs are so different.
581 Besides, I think Lulash would take the chance,
562 anyhow. He really very much wants a woman to help him with the people, and he will not marry a mountain woman."

"You mean he would listen to my ideas and take my advice—you mean he wants a wife who will be his equal, a sort of partner?"

"Of course. What else is a wife? He would like nothing better than to have you give him American ideas."

"But I thought a woman had no rights at all, here."

"How absurd! She has all the rights that a man has."

"But women aren't in the tribal councils?"

"They are when it's a council of the whole tribe. They aren't chiefs, no. But chiefs always talk things over with their wives."

583 "But women are bought and sold. You just said so. Didn't you say you were offered twenty thousand kronen for me?"

CHAPTER XIV

A NIGHT BY THE BYRAKTOR'S FIRE—THE BYRAKTOR CALLS A COUNCIL—REXH TO THE RESCUE—THE BYRAKTOR'S GENDARME TEARS A PONCHO—MOONLIGHT ON THE SCUTARI PLAIN.

THEN his grandmother made three beds, 513
on three sides of the fire. She brought a two-inch-thick mat of woven straw and laid it on the floor; over it she spread a handsome blanket of goats' hair dyed in stripes of magenta and purple; under one end of the mat she put a triangular piece of wood to serve as pillow, and when I lay down she tucked other blankets over me. Rexh and the Shala man had the other mats, and all the byraktor's family went to their own places, leaving the big room and the dying fire to us three guests.

At four in the morning the house was astir. 512
Out of the darkness yawning men came to stir the slumbering fire; the byraktor appeared without his turban, a weird figure with his shaven, [302] skin-white head and long black scalplock, and began to make the morning coffee; the sheep and goats were driven out into the rain by the ragged shepherdesses. I sat up and put on my 000
opangi, and the sleepy Rexh, still streaked with red dye from his fez, rolled out of his blankets.

[Shoshi war chief's -- [250] Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud. For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants, its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the head by Albanians (p. 230), as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

● 302 When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads
*628 except for a tuft on the crown, as a few old men and young boys
862 still do, the Highlanders of north Albania asserted that a murderer had licence to cut off his victim's head. The tuft, they said, was left so that an enemy might conveniently carry the head when he cut it off; failing such a handle, he would thrust his finger into the dead man's mouth, an intolerable insult. The veracity of this story appears doubtful, since although the Highlanders, Slavs, and Turks all cut off heads, Albanians as far inland as Elbasan shaved their head save for the tuft on the crown, and it is unlikely that all anticipated murder by Slavs or Turks. Whatever the purpose, the tuft was not confined to Albanians, but was seen in 1926 worn by small boys in the Turkish villages in south Serbia where the population was of mixed Turkish and Bulgarian stock.

*628 A murderer usually announced his crime to the victim's family
766 by a crude message to fetch him from such-and-such a place and
682 bury him. He was always expected to surrender the body, but if a feud was unusually bitter, the murderer might forbid the body to be buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way. If he was backed by enough men to make his ban effective, the body was buried in the secrecy of night. Sometimes he forbade it to be taken even at night to the cemetery; in that event it had to be buried elsewhere. A story comes from Sopot in Dibër. About 1893 Abas Kamber's enemy killed one of his men and forbade him to carry the body to the cemetery. Abas, strong though he was, could do nothing but bury it in the courtyard of his house. Just before it was lowered into the grave, the enemy repented and sent him leave to bury it in the cemetery. To show that he was not always prepared to do the enemy's bidding, Abas sent back the message that he would not dig up the body again and concluded that burial as it had begun.

Hiding the body was universally deprecated. When men stole a grazing cow, it was said they killed it, roasted and ate what they could of the meat and hid the remainder. But it was not to eat a man's flesh that they killed him and they must not conceal his body like the cow's. If they did, the feud was doubly embittered.

*628 By rights a man was never buried where he was killed. Even if
764 the spot were two days distant, or if, like Kol Mali's victim, he had
682 lain three weeks undiscovered, he was carried home for burial. 'He had been theirs', his relatives said, and neither distance nor a natural repugnance could prevent them from doing their duty by him. In the northern mountains, in Mirditë and in Kurbin, a heap

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania EG1
Slavic Peoples E16

S 302 754 755 278 'in order to draw out the fever'. This prescription has been used amongst others in close contact with Islamic culture, and, by analogy, powdered quinine is substituted for henna. On the other hand, some plants have a semi-religious C S 755 777 278 significance, without representing any economic value whatever; and only some of these again are used in medicine in a mystical sense. Others have a mystical value, where and when the medical use is lacking or lost. Thus *Sempervivum tect.* in Šumadija has no meaning attached other than it is 'lucky'; its medicinal use is practically restricted to Dalmatia. The iris was a sacred plant before its chemical properties were known, and its rare use is traceable to literary sources.

It is not always clear, either, that the veneration of a plant depends upon any marked obvious property, inherent in substance or form.

S 302 [177] The origin of the now very extensive use of various minerals and pigments is indeterminable. Again we incline to point to oriental commerce, partly on account of the numbers of them which appear regularly under Turkish names, and their late entry into written prescriptions.

The use of cosmetics has been established for the ancient Slavs. At present the application of pigments to the skin is S [563] [164] confined to urbanised areas and Mohammedanised centres, where the blackened teeth and sore lips which are seen there are due to the use of mercury and antimony in the preparation of face creams, and not, as travellers sometimes suggest, to the presence of syphilis. But tonic lotions are regularly used for beautifying skin and hair; and in South Serbia and A [302] the Lim district and other parts, and particularly amongst the Albanian population, the hair is bleached or dyed with henna or gall nuts, and that mostly in childhood. The oil S SP 302 751 or fat used by the ancient Slavs on their bodies, perhaps as a protection against cold or against stings of insects, may have had a ritual use, and witch ointments actually exist. I have not been able to discover the exact ingredients of such an oil but, on not wholly reliable evidence, I have heard of hemp oil in this connection, which fits in very well with an

1: Karutz--70 E-4 (no date) 1925 El Europe
Albania E 61

In many cases the men shave their
302 their head completely except for a tuft of hair on top of the head.
291 This tuft is left by them to grow into a long lock. In the south their dress resembles that of the Greeks. In the north it varies from the town to the country, and in the countryside it varies again according to the different regions. In Scutari the Catholics wear wide, pleated black breeches which among the men reach down below the knees, and among the women down to the ankles. Further they wear white stockings, a short lower jacket with attached long sleeves and a sleeveless top jacket. In addition the women wear an embroidered sleeveless coat. The Mohammedans wear the pleated coat (fustan) that weighs several kilograms and remains short in central and southern Albania. It consists of several hundreds of long, narrow strips of linen cloth sewn together. A cotton or silk belt holds the coat, and the weapons are clamped inside a leather belt. To this are added a lower and a top jacket. The Mohammedan women wear very wide breeches and richly embroidered mantles with long sleeves that have slits in them. The fustan is regarded as being ancient Illyrian and is believed to have been developed from the kilt; it has been attested in the surviving artistic monuments in Mycenae and on ancient Crete, as well as in the Palaeolithic caves of northern Spain. The rural population wears, likewise as an ancient Illyrian inheritance, a small, tightly-fitting, semi-spherical felt cap which does not cover much more than the top of the head, and is found represented among the "Barbarians" of the victory monument of Adam-Klissi. Tightly fitting sheep's wool trousers with two transverse slits in the region of the groin, which by some are considered Slavic, by others Thracian, an under jacket with sleeves, and a sleeveless vest, a mantle and a fur coat are also worn by the rural people. For these types of clothing evidences have again been
[462] discovered from antiquity. In the mode of life, the working of the
252 fields by the woman is regarded as an ancient cultural tradition; in the same category are placed the baking of flat cakes under the baking bell, the cooking of blood, fat, meat, and spices in a goat's stomach which is turned to and fro over the red hot coal embers, the cooking of wheat grains without prviously grinding them, the hand mill (Figure
412 14), and the turbine mill (Figure 10). The latter's grindstones lie five to six feet above the water wheel into whose spoon-like spokes the water
312 is poured from a steeply inclined conduit. Still belonging to the ancient cultural heritage are the watering of the field by means of canals and wooden conduits, something which is regulated by the family because of the dearth of water--Figure 16 shows a marking post, one and one-half meters high.

[see Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 696--Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Byzantine Civilization EH3
Hellenic Greece EH5
Serbs EF6

the Serbian *intelligentsia*, formerly Minister at the Court of St. James's. Possibly the belief that Draga dabbled in witchcraft was one reason why the populace cheerfully acquiesced in her murder. Near-Eastern politics are more often swayed by old-world beliefs than some folk are aware of.

By chance one night in Krsto's hut I learnt that the ancient rite of dedication by hair is part of the Orthodox baptismal ceremony. I was showing my folding pair of nail-scissors when Pope Gjuro exclaimed in admiration that they were just the thing for clipping hair at baptisms. Old Gjuro himself, of course, wore a beard, and his unclipped locks flowed on his shoulders. Hair, as we have seen, can be used to work grievous harm. "The simplest way of avoiding this peril," says Sir James George Frazer, "is not to cut the hair at all." Samson's strength lay in his hair. Kings, medicine-men, and others who were very holy, have gone unshorn, and so to this day do the priests of the Orthodox Church, the direct descendants of the priests of pre-Christian cults. Firmicus (Julius Maternus) wrote the *Errors of Religion* about A.D. 350, and described "men who stay in temples in an unkempt state, and walk abroad thus and never cut their hair, and who would announce something to men as if said by gods." Firmicus was a Sicilian and had, doubtless, been taught by Rome, for he did not connect holiness with hairiness as did Byzantium.

One of the many bitter complaints brought against the Church of Rome by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Byzantium (1043–58), was that Latin clerks shave the beard. So abhorrent did this practice seem to the Byzantine that he refused the Communion to shaven clerks. Thus a deep-rooted belief in the magic power of hair was one of the several odd reasons which helped to split the Church and ultimately affect the fate of Europe.

Rome, not given to haggling over unimportant details, did not and does not object to moustachioed and bearded priests should local custom prefer them. The Orthodox Church makes no exceptions. In the more civilized lands the Orthodox pope now likes to twist his locks into a "bun" pinned up under his high hat when he is not officiating. But up-country I have seen strange popes whose tangled black locks streamed in the wind, and whose faces were muffled to the eyes in beard that had never been profaned by steel: wild men of the mountains with knife and revolver in belt.

Hair-cutting as a dedication of the person is an old Balkan rite. Daremburg and Saglio, in the *Dictionnaire d'Antiquités*, figure a marble slab found in Thessaly, on which are carven two neat pigtails, "offered to Poseidon by the sons of Dumachos," says the inscription. In a storm hair would thus be cut off and thrown overboard with the hope that

Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13
Montenegrins EF5

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

angry and said: 'Do you dead dogs dare threaten the Roman realm? I will shave off those locks of yours and then cut off your heads.' H 302 171 175

"He then imprisoned them for six months and released them terrified, and for some time the Avars submitted to Rome and gave no trouble."

The Nemanja kings, as seen on the frescoes at Dechani, all wore the moustache. Their beards are very small. The hair of the head is completely hidden by the crown.

To-day in the Balkans the beard is worn almost solely by the Orthodox priesthood and the Moslem dervishes and hodjas. Thus the holy men of both faiths observe the hair taboo. B 302

Laymen in all parts where the modern fashion of clean-shaving has not penetrated always wear the moustache. Perhaps vague memories of the days when the hair was burnt as ultimate disgrace haunt the mind, for the clean-shaven man, I found, was a creature condemned and despised. M A 302 ●

In Krsto's hut I mentioned that my brother was clean-shaven, and the company, abashed, stared at their toes and were speechless. Then someone, deeply shocked, said: "No noble family will give him a wife." And kind old Pope Gjuro, wishing to be polite, said that such things might be done in London, but in Montenegro it was better not to speak of them. Whereupon the repulsive subject was dropped. 186 M A

In both Albania and Montenegro a hairless man is called by the Turkish word "Chosé." Bald heads in both lands are very rare. I never saw more than a slight thinning on the top. A really bald, shining head is thought an awful thing. We were once discussing the American regulations for emigrants. A Montenegrin who had been to America angrily denounced the injustice of the health inspectors at the landing-place. "I myself," he cried, "saw them allow a man with no hair on the top of his head—a most horrible sight—to pass. And they stopped a poor boy who had only a few little bare spots on his head and said he was diseased!" 183 554 186

In old Serbian ballads the hero's moustache is his glory. Mighty fine were these warriors. H 538 554 302

And there came five horsemen clad in black;
At their head rode a hero upon a raven steed.
His black moustachios reached below his shoulders
And hung to the pistols in his sash.
His breastplate ("toké") glittered through his moustachios
As doth the moon when fifteen days old
Shine through the branches of a fir-tree.
Lo and behold, O my brother Mujo!
Next to them come three horsemen
Clad in white cloth and riding upon greys.
At their head is a warrior on a grey steed,
And his fair moustachios reach to his shoulders, etc.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)-1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 538 554 302 And so they follow on, each matching his horse to his immense moustache. As Krsto used to say with a sigh, "One does not see such sights nowadays."

H 764 It is noteworthy that the warriors carved on the mediæval gravestones of Bosnia show no hair either on face or head. The work is very rude and shows no features either (Fig. 22).

A 302 In Albania, too, the moustache is very precious. My old friend Marko cherished a fine one. When he was young he declared he could easily tie its ends behind his head—the true test, he said, for a moustache.

A 776 554 In the fairy tales he used to tell, the villain was a "Chosé," a hairless man. They were always abominably wicked, he said.

The British Navy lost its prestige when clean-shaven officers appeared in Scutari in 1913.

A 302 293 554 When Marko was young and his moustache in its prime, he was kavass to the Turkish Embassy in Vienna, wore a gold-embroidered Albanian dress, and cut such a gallant figure that no less a person than one of the Rothschilds noticed him. The wealthy Jew asked the poor Albanian to quit Turkish service and be doorkeeper at the Rothschild palace. The salary offered was beyond Marko's wildest imagination. "I thought I should be a rich man," said he, "but the dog—yes, he was a dog—he told me his servants were clean-shaven and I must cut off my moustache. My moustache that I could tie behind my head! I said that not for all the gold of the Rothschilds would I cut it off." So Marko was never rich, and was never tired of telling of the insult.

So great is the respect for the moustache that the Catholic Church humours her Albanian flock, and bishops, abbots, and secular priests all wear the finest moustaches they can grow.

A [293] "If an Italian or Austrian comes here as a missionary," said a young Albanian Franciscan to me, roaring with laughter, "we shut him up till he's grown a decent moustache. It would be useless to send him to a mountain parish without one; they would hunt him out."

A 302 A great variety of head-shaves is found among both men and women of the Albanian mountains. The Catholic married women of Maltsia e Madhe shave the forehead and temples, and dye the hair black on marriage, and make their face look very large. A similar fashion is to be seen in many early Italian portraits of ladies. The Mirdite women and some of the allied groups wear a fringe over the forehead and do not dye the hair. The men of Maltsia e Madhe shave a great part of the head, and leave either one great lump on the top or two big side tufts; or they shave the back and leave the front. The temples are usually shaved, even by Scutarenes, who wear European dress.

A 292

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Serbs EP6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

In the Pulati mountains the head is often shaved, except for the perchin. A 302

In olden days a boy did not rank as a male till his head had been shaved. This was not done till after the ceremony of the first hair-cutting, described above. When once shaved he could be killed for blood-vengeance as male blood of the tribe. A 302 554 885

Mothers would defer the head-shave if they could for a year or two in consequence, but it was a practice not approved of.

The heads of both girls and boys are shaved in the mountains, and a fringe is left over the girl's forehead. A 302

When I was in Kosovo vilayet in 1908 I found that among the scattered Serbian peasants the heads of both girls and boys were S 302

A [302]

FIG. 23.—VARIETIES OF ALBANIAN HEAD-SHAVES

shaved. Both had a perchin, and the girls a fringe over the forehead. So soon as the girl was betrothed her hair was allowed to grow. In the rare case of her remaining unmarried I was told she would keep her head shaved. S 584 554

In the Albanian mountains, where the girls were betrothed as children, I found the hair was not allowed to grow till they were marriageable. A 584 302

Wood-ash and water in the mountains is the usual shaving mixture. Even in civilized places methods were sometimes barbaric. I watched a barber, who stood at the gates of Ragusa on a market-day, inviting incoming peasants to indulge in a shave before entering the town. The patient sat cross-legged on the ground. The barber gripped his head between his knees, spat freely on the razor blade, and set to work. A H 302

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Bulgaria EE1

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The results seemed quite as good as those achieved by the most advertised shaving creams.

Head-washing in old days was a purificatory ceremony. The Roman women, says Plutarch, washed their heads on Diana's day, August 13th. What a pity head-washing has not been made part of Bank Holiday ritual.

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The only head-washing ceremonial I met within the Balkans was at Ochrida, where the Bulgar women all washed their heads on the last day of Carnival. My landlady appeared without her sham pigtails and with her head dripping. She was deeply shocked to find me dry-headed. All the women at the refugee hospital I worked at were also wet-headed. The meaning of the ceremony was the renunciation of cleanliness during Lent. But I fear most of them regarded it as a penance, and so far as head-washing was concerned kept Lent all the year round.

One poor woman whose only son had been killed as a Komitadji had formally renounced washing of every kind as a sign of mourning for the rest of her life. It was a genuine expression of everlasting grief, and she was greatly respected for it.

Even so did Queen Isabella of Spain vow not to change her linen, and so gave her name to a colour. A light dun horse in France is still called "Isabelle."

Farewell

So far we have traced ancient life in Balkan corners. Much yet remains to be told—of dwellings and of manner of life; of costume, of the hearth, of tools, boats, and implements; of tales and fables: but our tale is already long enough, and the rest must be left for another day.

141 *128 A few features of the soft parts of the eyes show significant tribal variation. The western tribes, particularly Zadrima, Malsia e Madhe, and Dukagin, have large minorities with external eyefolds, rare in the east and in Mati. Men from Dukagin tend to narrow their eyelids to slits, and this accounts for 14 out of 28 significant differences in palpebral opening. The same tendency in Has accounts for 9 of the rest. In the case of Dukagin, at least, part of this may be due to the fact that I measured them in the snow, in bright sunlight. Most of the tribes had 20 to 30 per cent of slight eye obliquity, but Has with only 8 per cent was significantly below the others. This obliquity was not up, Mongol-wise, but down, as is usual in narrow-faced Europeans.

The lips show a few local differences only: Dukagin has thicker integumental lips than the others, in 18 out of 23 significant cases; Has runs low and Malsia e Madhe high in membranous thickness, to a very minor degree in each case; Malsia e Madhe and Malsia e Jakovës have a little more lip eversion than the others. Only a few of these differences reach 3 times p.e., and only one attains 4. Except for Dukagin's thick upper lip, we can ignore the rest.

Turning to the ears, we find no differences of consequence. We have 6 observations, in all of which only 20 differences of 3 times p.e. or over are found, out of a total of 810 computed. Of these only 4 are over 4 p.e., and one reaches 5 p.e. We may say with confidence that the Gheg tribes are alike in the frequency of the component factors in ear form.

REGIONAL VARIATIONS IN PILOSITY

142 *128 In the observed form of the hair, the ratio of deep to low waves is virtually the same between all tribes, except for Has, which is recorded to have significantly more deep-waved individuals than all other tribes, except for Malsia e Madhe and Dukagin. Aside from [302] Has the others are virtually the same. Owing to the prevalence of head shaving in some tribes, and the fact that my Has sample all lived near the city of Prizren, where modern haircuts are more in vogue than elsewhere, I have no confidence in this distinction. In hair texture, Zadrima shows a tendency in favor of fineness, and Luma of being medium, and both have some statistical validity. Again, I

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4

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from madder; reddish brown from green walnuts (*Juglans regia*) and blue from copper sulphate.

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Metallic decorations are also worn, and are almost always hand made by the men; large ornaments and belt clasps of silver or silvered brass are worn at the waist, silver coins and imitation coins are worn as a trimming to caps, and as necklaces and pendants to girdles. Ear-rings are also worn by some Slav peasants, especially Moslems. "The little ornament made of a small brass thimble and coloured beads was worn as a dangle at the end of the long pigtail. The pair of long plaits on either side of the face of the Bosnian woman in the frontispiece are ornamented with coins, tassels of beads and this thimble."

"Many of the objects worn on head-dresses are amulets to keep off the "evil eye" and include also such things as cowries and, in Bosnia, small mirrors." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER III.

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Women's Costume in the Central and Coastal Areas of Yugoslavia.

The main features of the costume worn (by all but the Moslem women) in the central and coastal areas of Yugoslavia are shown by the illustration of the Orthodox Bosnian woman (see Frontispiece).

In this area three cultures have influenced costume and its decoration, Central European culture which has travelled along the river valleys from the north, Mediterranean culture through Italian influence on the Dalmatian coast, and Balkan culture with its own Oriental tendencies. The married woman's costume consists of a long or medium length *shirt*, embroidered at the neck, front-opening and on the sleeves. The shorter type is similar in style to that shown on Plate IA, and the longer to that on Plate IXA, but without the embroidery at the bottom edge. A full, fairly long *skirt* of woollen or felted cloth is worn in the winter, and in summer may be exchanged for a linen skirt, sometimes closely pleated, with wide horizontal bands of cross-stitch or embroidery. A *girdle* of either folded linen with embroidery, or a tablet-woven belt such as is shown (Plate IVe) with its end hanging down in front, is worn around the waist and helps to keep up the heavy *apron* of tapestry weaving with its deep fringe (Plate III). A *short coat* of woollen cloth with embroidered decoration, often sleeveless, is added for outdoor wear, and in winter a longer coat with side gores replaces it. This is also often sleeveless.

In the coastal area and some other parts of old Bosnia and Herzegovina a *jelek*, or zouave, is worn, similar in shape but differing in colour from those in Plates X and XI, which are from the southern area.

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Married women in many districts of Bosnia wear their hair in two plaits hanging down over either shoulder in front, and as a *head-dress* have a diagonally folded kerchief, generally cream or white in colour, with the back corner embroidered and a red ribbon along the edge. In the coastal district a fringe is also added to the head-dress (Plate IVa).

On the feet thick *woollen stockings* ("sharapa") are worn, and over these, handsomely decorated short socks, which act as slippers in the house and are replaced by leather "opanke" for out-of-doors (Figure 9).

[Text continues on p. 14]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

291 wear a coat of thick white woollen stuff, red trousers, an embroidered apron with fringe half a yard long, and on the head a blue kerchief. The dress of the Christians is similar in form but usually of a violet colour. The *yashmak* and *feridgé* (veil and cloak) of [563] the Turkish women is worn out of doors by the [562] Moslem women in the towns, and also, if they live in close proximity to Moslems, by the Christian women. The cloak of the latter is, however, of a different shape and of a light red colour, with a cross embroidered in front. This distinctive dress is said to have been imposed by a native pasha, who, being attracted by a Christian girl, not knowing her to be such, asked her in marriage and was refused.

The country women, however, both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about unveiled. Their costumes vary extremely in detail, but are generally of stout homespun and felt, and in [171] form resemble those of the Greek and Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia, the leading features of which are two aprons worn under a coat. In the villages of the plains, however, a blue petticoat, trimmed [531] with red bands, is worn over an embroidered linen gown, with a bodice of white cloth embroidered in black.

302 Albanian ladies appear to be even more addicted than Osmanlis to the use of cosmetics. No sooner are they married than they begin to dye their hair [303] with a decoction made from gall-nuts and palm oil, paint their eyelashes, and extend their eyebrows till they meet over the nose. For their skins they use a "wash" in which various deleterious ingredients

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

visible mark has a strong effect on primitive and childish minds—605 witness national flags and school and college colours. The missionizing "popes" of the Orthodox Church had every reason to denounce a practice which thus "sealed" part of the population and made it turn a deaf ear to the attractions of Byzantium.

To this day the object of the Orthodox is to wipe all that belongs to Rome from the peninsula. I found the bitterest dislike, even among the educated classes; and among the peasants neither side would admit that the other was Christian. In early days the struggle must have been even cruder than to-day.

3. Tattooing in Albania

We will trace these symbols farther south. In North Albania I 301 noticed that every Catholic woman among the five large tribes (Kastrati, 531 Shkreli, Hotí, Gruda, and Klementi) wore, if not too poor, a large silver filigree crescent and star stitched to the crown of her flat cap; or a similar design was embroidered and the "star" then larger. Asked why they wore a Turkish symbol, they crossed themselves and denied the charge indignantly, saying: "We wear it because we always do. It is not Turkish. We are good Catholics." They declared also it was 174 "very old"; and were quite correct. For the sun and moon symbol, as we have seen, was long pre-Turkish in the Balkans. I next found that 304 the bulk of these tribes-folk, both men and women, are tattooed on 531 the back of the hand, the forearm, or the breast (seldom on all) with a cross; but never a plain cross. It has a crescent above and below it; or the arms terminate in small circles, as do those on Byzantine coins; or some in circles and some in crescents; or the cross is in the "sun-wheel" form. None of these people at all objected to showing the tattoos. I at once recognized in a simplified form the elements of the Bosnian designs. Most people said they did it because they were Catholics. Anxious to give a reason, one man said it was to ensure you Christian burial if you died abroad.

When I asked the Albanian tribesmen what was the meaning of the circle and crescent on the cross-arms, they said at once it was "Dielli" —the sun; and "Hana"—the moon. The cross was to show you were a Christian. What were the sun and moon for? The only reply was "per bukur" (for beauty). Often they laughed and gave none. Mgr. Ernesto Cozzy, then priest of Rechi and later Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, a Tyrolese whose knowledge of the mountain people was the result of years of sympathetic study, told me: "They have a number of 304 curious pagan beliefs which they will not tell me. I have found that 771

[Text continues on p. 123]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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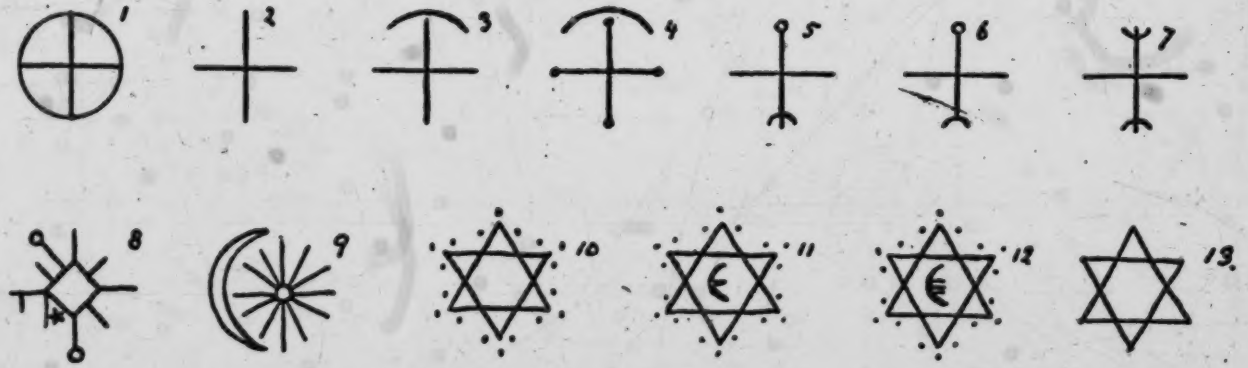

FIG. 7.—ALBANIAN TATTOO PATTERNS

1–7. Common tattoos of Catholic tribesmen. 8 and 9. Two curious tattoos on Catholic Scutarenes. 10 and 13. Moslem tattoos common in mountains and in Scutari. 11 and 12. Patterns common on Moslem houses.

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in con- 304
flict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. 771
So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. 531
Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died 114
in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to 771
Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle 174
I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is 776
the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and 174
floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern 776
and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his [787]
armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is [821]
driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda 531
tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear 304
tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from 173
the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

304 the influence of the Roman missionaries. Tattooing is not confined to tribes tracing northern origin, but is more marked among them.

[173] Among the Pulati and Dukagini, who trace a different origin, tattooing is common but not universal, and takes the form often of

[764]

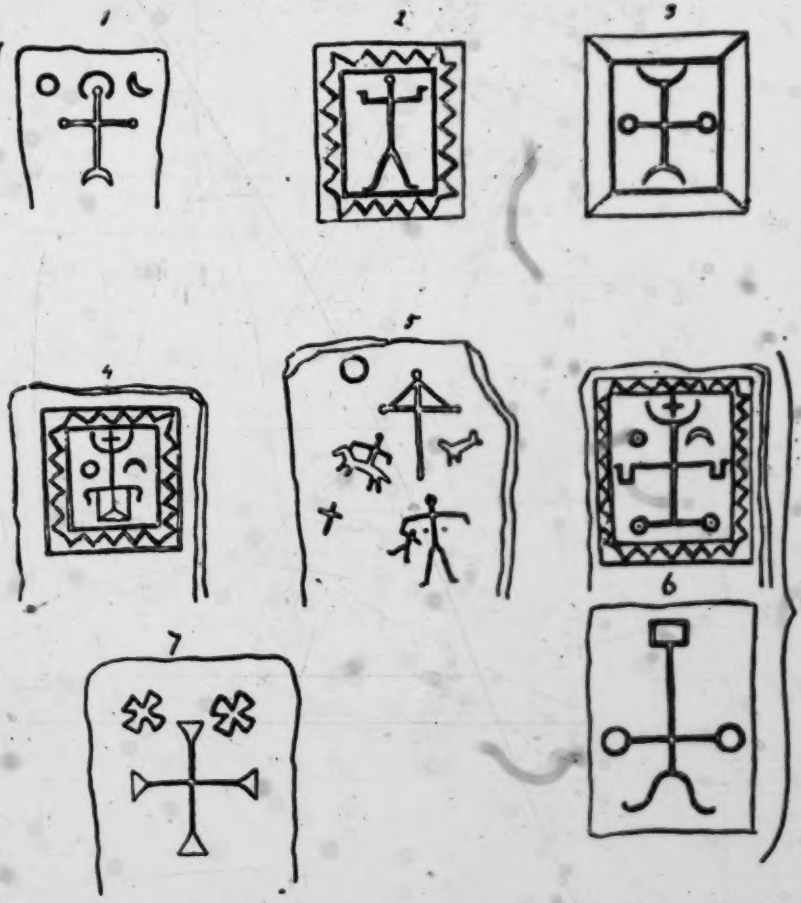

FIG. 8.—MODERN GRAVESTONES IN ROMAN CATHOLIC GRAVEYARD, DUSHMANI, NORTHERN ALBANIA

(Showing variants of Cross, Crescent, and Sun. All recent)

one tiny cross. I did not see a sun or moon tattoo, but found the sun and moon extremely common carved on graves, furniture, over doors, etc. Here the moon is carved as a semicircle with rays, just as shown in the Bosnian tattoos.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

776 beliefs and rites one can hardly doubt. As is well known, the gods of the heathens became the devils of the Christians.

776 Marko was greatly afraid of Beelzebub and mentioned him with
777 a curse and a whisper. Belial and Beelzebub were supposed to be the most active. The tribesman followed the advice of his priest and put
[304] a cross on his house and tattooed himself with a cross, but he further protected himself with more ancient signs; he planted the skulls of horses, goats, and oxen on poles round his house and fields. Some houses had rows of skulls. I wondered whether, in old days, human ones had figured there, too.

The horse-skull was most valued not only in Albania, but also in Bosnia and in Montenegro. Where civilization has penetrated the horse-skull was often replaced by a twisted petroleum tin whitewashed. Short-sighted devils, seeing it from a distance, could easily have mistaken it for the real thing and fought shy.

[793] Priests are but human. I found one Catholic priest had a whole array of horse- and other skulls round his beehives. He laughed it off when I remarked on it, and added that bees were very liable to disease. He evidently wanted to be on the safe side.

754 I often found in the mountains a distinct fear of being drawn, or "written," as they always called it. At Vraka I asked if I might draw the interior of a house. The woman was doubtful. She at last said I was not to "write" her or her children, and, to make sure, she drove the children out of the house. In Luria I was told not to "write" anyone or any house. At Lohja was a wonderful old man, who was reputed to be 110, who boasted that he had sinned but twice in his life—and then it was not his fault. Men in plenty he had killed, but never dishonourably or for money. The company suggested that I should "write" him. Much flattered, the old man sat still for a while, but when everyone shouted that the sketch was exactly like him, he became greatly alarmed, and earnestly begged me never to destroy what I had "written" about him, for at the moment it was torn he would drop down dead. I preserved the sketch, and five years later found him still going strong.

754 At Seltzi, in the Klimenti tribe, I was told the best way to detect
787 a shtriga is to keep the bones of the pig you ate on the last day of Carnival. All through the Balkans the pig, abhorred by Turk and Jew, is a sign of Christianity. On Easter Day you make a cross with the pig's bones and tie it on the church door when the church is full of people. If any shtrigas are in the church they cannot get out except carried on the shoulders of the man who made the cross. They run
754 wildly round and round and can be caught.

681 There was, so far as I could learn, no traditional punishment for a

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

place has been given to the Jugoslavs, has doubtless been destroyed. A 531
Here beyond doubt the Turkish "star" is the sun. The crescents at 342
the ray-tips suggest that many of the "twigs" of the Bosnian tattoos are really tiny crescents at the end of rays, and have in many cases been evolved into crosses.

We have examined tattooing and sun-symbols among the Catholics. Y
The Moslems of Bosnia, according to Truhelka, occasionally tattoo. [304]
I saw no examples myself.

But among the Moslems of North Albania tattooing is common. A 304
In the entirely Moslem districts of Hasi, Vuthaj, Arnji, and by the 531
Moslems of Luria it was not easy to make any investigation, and impossible to ask questions. The population received me kindly as the only female foreigner who had ever visited them. But the "giaour" was suspected of being the forerunner of foreign annexation, and any questions regarding beliefs would have led to difficulties and probably closed the route to me. I could only observe and make secret notes. I saw many tattooed Moslems in these districts but never a tattooed crescent and star. All, both here and at Scutari, were marked with a triangle, and sometimes with an Arabic inscription. Or with a double triangle—which forms a star and is, I suppose, the substitute for the rayed sun. This same triangle or double triangle (Fig. 7, Nos. 10–13) A
is commonly painted on Moslem houses both up-country and in Scutari, [342
where it sometimes contains a crescent within it. Oddly enough, the 531]
only time I saw the crescent and rayed sun (or star) without a cross as a tattoo it was on the hand of an old Catholic in Scutari (Fig. 12, No. 9).

But though the up-country Moslem does not tattoo the sun and A
crescent (probably because the Christians tattoo them along with the 764
cross), he cuts them out of wood—a circle for the sun and a sickle-shaped piece for the moon—and plants them at head and foot of his graves. Or the circle with a crescent below is cut in one piece and used as headpost (Fig. 9, No. 5). The Moslem Albanian, in fact, on quitting Christianity has rejected the cross but retained the ancient religious symbols of his pre-Christian ancestors—the sun and moon. He has not, except in the towns which were under Turkish influence, adopted the well-known Turkish gravestone with turban or fez upon it.

Emerging from these Moslem tribes I was amused to find that at A
Prizren, which was then by large majority Albanian, the sun and moon 531
figured over the door of the Serbian Orthodox Church. 346

In Montenegro, traces of sun and moon can be found. The arms of M
the solid stone crosses usual in the graveyards end as a rule in hemi- 764
spheres. Limestone is hard to tackle and no moon appears. When, 531
however, a cross is carved in relief on a slab the moon appears as a

[Text continues on p. 131

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

CRADLING

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THE EVIDENCE ACCUMULATES

I WROTE, in 1939, "There has been much discussion upon the subject of occipital flattening, both in Albania and in Asia Minor; there are two definite schools, one which believes that it is natural and racially determined, the other that it is a form of artificial deformation caused by cradling. My own position lies between these two extremes; occipital flattening is without doubt a phenomenon associated with the entire mechanical orientation of the cranium in the Dinaric race, and especially with the position of the foramen magnum to the rear of that usual in most races. As such, it is undeniably inherited.

"At the same time, the use of the Albanian cradle, in which the shoulders are bound but the head is not, may in some instances have caused an intensification of this flattening, since the heads of some living Albanians are unquestionably deformed. However, since cradling practices are regionally uniform in Albania, the geographical distribution of this character is wholly racial in pattern."[1]

I also promised in a footnote: "A detailed study of this question will be published in the author's "The Physical Anthropology of Northern Albania," the provisional title of the present monograph. Since then evidence has been accumulating that "some instances" should be changed to "most instances." Father Ewing found that Lebanese children born in Brooklyn show much less flattening than their parents, and 2 Harvard graduate students, Mr. David de Harport and Mr. William Laughlin, working under my direction, found the same thing among Tosks in Greater Boston.[2] 4

141 In the course of the present monograph 6 pieces of evidence have appeared in other contexts. In chapter 10, on "The Mountain Gheg Phenotype," on page 62,[2] and table 4,[3] we saw that the sigma ratios for head length, head breadth, and the cephalic index are abnormally high, both as a total and within tribes, and this applies especially to the ceph-

4 [see cat. 116, p. 90b -- Analyst]

[1] Coon, 1939, p. 600.

2 [see cat. 116, pp. 62a-62e -- Analyst]

3 [see cat. 116, pp. 54f-54m -- Analyst]

304 854 The literature of the entire subject of cranial deformation has been ably covered by Dingwall,[3] who quotes some Albanian instances in which intentional molding was observed. Miss Hasluck confirms this for Macedonia, and has a paper on the subject for Albania in preparation.[4] It is hard to say how much of the cranial deformation in Albania is intentional, and how much the unconscious result of cradling.

THE TECHNIQUE OF CRADLING

854 Albanian mothers, like mothers in other countries, are often faced with a "baby-sitter" problem. A young woman wants to go out in the fields to work, or to the market for shopping, and she cannot leave her baby alone. Besides, if she is to be gone for any length of time she must have her baby with her to nurse it. When she is on the march she cannot afford to immobilize her hands by carrying it in her arms. Walking-time is spinning-time in Albania. These are some of the practical reasons for a cradle. Other reasons are emotional and historical. The cradle is a part of Albanian culture, like the hearth and the loom—one of the material symbols of the activities of men, women, and children in families. Our grandfathers were cradled, and our grandfathers were wise and generous men, and brave warriors.

After he has been washed, blessed, and swaddled, the baby is laid in the cradle, which is lined with soft blankets. A thin pillow protects his head from the wood. There may be some variation on this point, as to how thin and how soft the pillow is. Once on his back, the baby is bound to the cradle-board at the shoulders and also lower down. This keeps him from moving about, and his shoulders stay flat. He can move his head about as much as this position will allow. Although the head is not bound, its easiest position in rest is squarely on the occipital bone.

The child rides and nurses and sleeps in this cradle most of the time until he is taken out for good, which is said to vary between 6 months and a year, or even longer. During this period it is changed from swaddling

[3] Dingwall, 1931.
[4] Hasluck, 1947, pp. 130-31.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)19:. EG1 Albania EG1

854 clothes to garments which permit freer movements. When the time for uncradling draws near, the mother takes the child out now and then to see if it can sit up; when it is able to sit by itself on a blanket while she works, she may remove it from the cradle altogether.

Armenian as well as Albanian informants tell me that 2 factors govern the age at which the child is uncradled: its "strength," or ability to "sit up without falling down," and the [304] preference of the parents. A "strong" baby, therefore, would be released earlier in life than a "weak" baby, and a difference between a year's cradling and 6 months' might make all the difference between no visible flattening and an extreme case. One is also tempted to postulate that a "strong" baby's bones would resist deformation more than those of a "weak" baby, particularly if weakness were a reflection of nutrition in a hungry land, as in many parts of the Gheg mountains. When parental choice is added, we find reasons enough to explain variations in the frequency of flattening.

Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Dmitri Peterson of Somerville, Massachusetts, we have a scale model of such a cradle to study first hand. Mr. Peterson was taught the trade of carpenter in Albania as a young man, and has made many such cradles. Although his home was in southern Albania, my photographs and memory of Gheg cradles showed them to be much the same. The cradle made by Mr. Peterson consists essentially of 2 boards, a backboard on which the baby lies, and a headboard shielding the top of his head. Other boards form the sides. A footboard, which is the same piece of wood as the front rocker, has been cut crescent-wise to let the baby's feet through. He could, however, brace against it with his feet if he tried.

The cradle depicted in figure 11, *a*,[1] on the other hand, has a sling of yarn for the head to rest on, and only a low headboard. The footboard is low, but straight. This cradle was photographed in Zadrima. Baron Nopcsa[8] illustrates another cradle from "Planti (Gebiet von Pulti)," which I presume is in Malsia e Madhe (fig. 11, *d*).[2] It had a headboard and a

1 [See p. 111 - Arnal 1]
2 [See p. 111 - Arnal 1]
[8] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 109.

854 curved footboard, like Mr. Peterson's. In Haberlandt's work[6] 2 are shown, both of the Peterson variety. One was from Scutari (fig. 11, *b*) the other belonged to Vlachs in central Albania (fig. 11, *c*).

854 Were one to make a detailed study of cradle
304 types in the Gheg mountains, tribe by tribe and village by village, one would probably find variations both in form and in use which might further help explain local differences in head form. It may for example be no coincidence that the Zadrima cradle has no headboard, while the Zadrima sample is high in occipital and very low in lambdoid flattening. It is not inconceivable that a baby who had outgrown his cradle and who had learned to brace his feet on the footboard might push his head against the headboard if there were one, and give himself lambdoid flattening. On the other hand, a slanting pillow might have the same effect.

Sometimes one finds both kinds on the same head; presumably the child was occipitally flattened first, then, as he outgrew his cradle, lambdoid flattening appeared. If during the process of flattening the smooth union of the parietals and the occipital bone were impeded, and an irregular bone growth resulted, the anomaly called bathrocephaly would be added. It is possible that, in some cases, bathrocephaly might be the only discernible after-effect of cradling; that the bones would spring rather than flatten. What is badly needed is some experimental work on this subject; until that is done it must remain partly speculative, since these types of deformation also occur on heads which have not been cradled, in lower frequencies and in less extreme degree.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF DEFORMATION

304 On figure 7 the frequencies and percentages
*128 of the various categories of occipital flattening, lambdoid flattening, and bathrocephaly have been given. Table 23 shows how these 3 phenomena are related. Less than a third (31.40%) of the men had unflattened heads, and 27 per cent also lacked bathrocephaly.

[6] Haberlandt, 1917, p. 11, table III, no. 12, and p. 95, fig. 29.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 111 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, p. 111 -- Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, p. 92b -- Analyst]
4 [See cat. 116, p. 93d -- Analyst]

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#128

These 27 per cent were undoubtedly cradled like the others; perhaps they were "strong" babies and released early; perhaps they had softer pillows than the others. What caused this difference in each case we do not know.

Of the two-thirds of the men who remain, those who have one kind of flattening seldom have the other. The fourfold table at the bottom of table 23 yields a coefficient of association of − .69, which is strongly negative.[7] The 68 men, or 6 per cent of the series, who

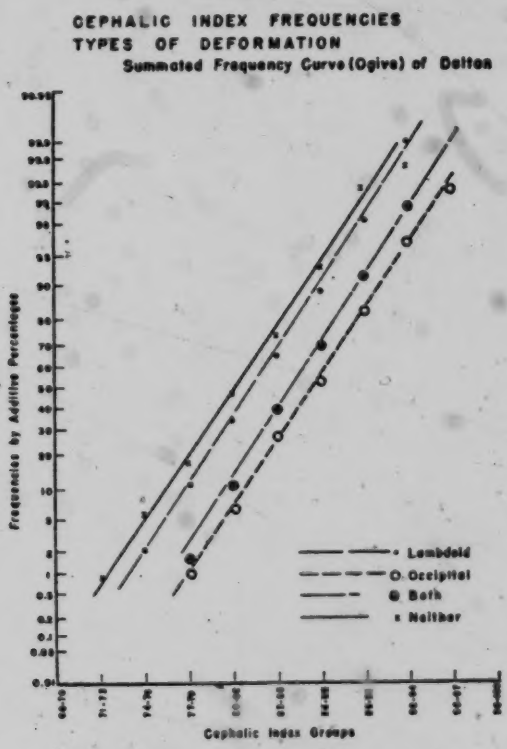

FIG. 7. Cephalic index frequencies.

have both, fail to reach the +++ category in either plane.

Bathrocephaly is closely linked to lambdoid flattening, to the extent of a + .84 coefficient of association, so closely that in the rest of this chapter we can, for practical purposes, ignore it. We can afford to do so, however, only

[7] Yule's formula. $Q = \frac{ad - bc}{ad + bc}$; Arkin and Colton, 1947, p. 100.

-92b-

304 +128 after considering the 49 men who had bathrocephaly without any flattening at all. These 49 men have a mean cephalic index of 82.41 ± .35, nearly the same as the total of 286 men who had no flattening, 82.97 ± .15. It seems fully justifiable to consider them in the latter category.

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THE EVIDENCE OF BROTHERS

In our series it was possible to identify 13 pairs of brothers and 4 sets of 3. Their positions in respect to presence or absence of the 2 kinds of cranial flattening are shown on table 24.

This table is difficult to interpret, largely because the numbers of individuals are so small. In the pairs of brothers, there seems to be a tendency for both or neither to have flattened skulls, regardless of the type of flattening. In the sets of 3, the numbers are too small to tell anything of consequence except that the same mother may bear sons who differ. In the upper right corner of the table the numbers in parentheses represent the numbers expected in each of the 4 classes if the group of 17 families were a random sample of the whole series. If we combine "lambdoid only" and "occipital only" we see that this is the

*P=present.
†A=absent.

[see cat. 116, p. 93e -- Analyst]

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case. The evidence of brothers is included here merely to show that neither genetics nor family cradling habits can be shown to govern the presence or absence of the 2 types of flattening. Unless we leave it entirely to chance, the theory of the "strong" child seems most likely.

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x128

TABLE 23: TYPES OF FLATTENING.

OCCIPITAL FLATTENING

		Abs.	sm	+	++	+++	Total
LAMBDOID FLATTENING	Abs.	335	22	164	66	10	597
	sm	98	8	4	—	—	110
	+	275	7	41	2	—	327
	++	27	—	2	2	—	31
	+++	2	—	—	—	—	2
	Total	737	37	213	70	10	1067

	Combinations of Flattening		Bathrocephaly and Flattening: Bathrocephaly Absent		Bathrocephaly Present		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
No flattening	335	31.40	286	85.37	49	14.63	100.00
Occipital only	262	24.56	254	97.21	7	2.79	100.00
Lambdoid only	402	37.66	183	45.52	218	54.48	100.00
Both	68	6.38	34	50.00	34	50.00	100.00
Total	1067	100.00	757		308		

	Occipital	
Lambdoid	Abs.	Pres.
Abs.	335	262
Pres.	402	68

Q = − .69

	Bathrocephaly	
Lambdoid	Abs.	Pres.
Abs.	540	56
Pres.	217	252

Q = + .84

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)19~~6~~0 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TABLE 24: HEAD FLATTENING AMONG BROTHERS.

	Pairs of Brothers	
	Occip.	Lambd.
Both brothers	4	2
Older only	1	3
Younger only	3	2
Neither	5	6
	13	13 pair

COMBINATIONS WITHIN FAMILIES
BOTH PAIRS & SETS OF THREE

Both types	5	(5)
Occipital only	7	(4)
Lambdoid only	3	(6)
Neither	2	(2)

FOUR SETS OF THREE BROTHERS

	Occipital			Lambdoid		
Birth Order	1	2	3	1	2	3
#1	P*	A†	P	A	A	A
#2	A	A	A	P	P	A
#3	P	A	P	A	P	A
#4	P	A	A	A	A	A

HANDEDNESS, ASYMMETRY, AND FLATTENING

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In table 4 we saw that over a third of our series had asymmetrical heads; that is a high ratio. Facial asymmetry, on the other hand, was negligible. With an abnormal amount of cranial asymmetry, and the indication that much if not all of the flattening might also be abnormal, it seems worth while to explore the possibility that these 2 features are associated. First, however, it must be explained how we judged which side the asymmetry was on. An asymmetrical skull bulges to one side or the other. When a skull bulged to the left, we called it left cranial asymmetry, and the converse. When the skull was both asymmetrical and flattened, the plane of flattening pointed to the opposite side from that designated.

TABLE 25: HANDEDNESS, ASYMMETRY, AND FLATTENING.

	Occipital	
Asymmetry	Abs.	Pres.
Abs.	549	188
Pres.	131	199

Q = + .63

	Lambdoid	
Assymmetry	Abs.	Pres.
Abs.	387	210
Pres.	293	177

Q = + .06

	Occipital Flattening Absent	
Cranial Asymmetry	Handedness	
	L	R
L	7	47
R	5	127

Q = + .58

	Occipital Flattening Present	
	Handedness	
	L	R
L	12	45
R	2	138

Q = + .89

Table 25 shows a definite tendency for men with occipital flattening to have cranial asymmetry as well; a little more than half the occipitally flattened heads are also asymmetrical. Men with lambdoid flattening may or may not have cranial asymmetry; in their case the association is a chance one. This seems

[See cat. 116, p. 54m --Analys
[See. Cat 116, p. 94a --Analys

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1938 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs
Tosks

304 logical enough if flattening is caused by
145 cradling. A baby lying on his back may
#128 strain to turn to one side, and if he habitually chose the same side, that side might be expected to bear the bulk of the flattening. On the other hand if the top of his head were pressed against the headboard, which side he turned to would make little difference.

The way to test this second theory is to see whether or not occipital flattening and handedness are associated. The frequencies for handedness are given on table 4.[1] We tested for handedness by seeing which hand the man put out to take the dynamometer, and if he seemed to hesitate, by asking him to throw a stone. A total figure of 7 per cent for left handedness seems reasonable for a country where almost no one is literate, and where the only compunctions about which hand to use lie in the field of eating and its ultimate result.

Table 25[2] also shows that handedness is associated with cranial asymmetry in any case; in the men who were not occipitally flattened, it reached a Q of + .58, but in those who were so flattened, it attained the nearly complete association of + .89. What this seems to mean is that the babies who were right handed had a tendency to roll over on the left to free their right arms, and to look with their right eyes, etc., while the babies who were left handed had a tendency to do the opposite. It would be very strange if these movements would distort the skull, or be associated with such distortion, without benefit of cradle.

THE BOSTON EVIDENCE

167 The best kind of evidence, of course, is experimental. Although it was impossible to experiment with the Ghegs, a full-dress experiment of exactly the kind we need was conducted unwittingly for us by a group of several thousand Tosks. Shortly before World War I a whole village, Katundi, pulled up stakes and moved to America. Most of them settled in the neighborhood of Boston, where they were joined by others from neighboring villages. The anthropological problems presented by this migration have yet to be studied as a whole, and their investigation should yield much profit in years to come. For the moment a slight beginning may be made, which will serve the purposes of the present report.

1 [see cat. 116, p. 54m -- analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, p. 94a -- analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)195'o EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs
Tosks

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During the winter of 1946–47, 2 graduate students in the Harvard Department of Anthropology, despite busy programs, undertook to measure and observe a sample of the colony, including both Albanian-born and American-born (fig. 16)[1] cradled and uncradled. They measured 37 adults of both sexes who had been born in Albania, and cradled, and 30 individuals, also of both sexes, born in America, of whom only 12 were 20 years old or over.

Table 26[2] gives the results in the categories of occipital and lambdoid flattening. Only one person born in Albania lacked any kind of flattening; he is Mr. Peter Peterson, whose picture may be seen on plate 14, fig. 3, of "The

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 116 -- Analyst]

[2] [see cat. 116, p. 95c -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1956 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs
Tasks

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Races of Europe." With a cephalic index of 91.5, he is a living argument that cradling may in some cases raise the cephalic index without producing flattening; persons with this index who were not cradled are exceedingly rare.

Nearly three-fourths had occipital flattening, while two-thirds had lambdoid as well. Of the 46 per cent with both, many had pronounced flattening in 2 planes, separated by an angle. Three were flattened at such an angle that it was necessary to decide arbitrarily between the 2 categories. On the blank used no place had been assigned for +++, or it would have been used. Although no sex difference appears in presence or absence of flattening, in both occipital and lambdoid flatten-

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs
Tsk 5

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TABLE 26: TYPE OF FLATTENING.

BIRTHPLACE	ALBANIA		AMERICA		AGES		
	#	%	#	%	5-14	15-19	20
No flattening.....	1	2.70	4	13.33	0	2	2
Occipital only.....	11	29.73	4	13.33	2	0	2
Lambdoid only.....	8	21.62	20	66.67	8	5	7
Both	17	45.95	2	6.67	1	0	1
Totals	37		30		11	7	12

DEGREE OF FLATTENING

	OCCIPITAL				LAMBDOID			
	ALBANIA		AMERICA		ALBANIA		AMERICA	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Abs.	9	24.32	24	80.00	12	32.43	8	26.67
sm	1	2.70	3	10.00	10	27.03	12	40.00
	17	45.95	1	3.33	7	18.92	8	26.67
	10	27.03	2	6.67	8	21.62	2	6.67
	37		30		37		30	

SEX DIFFERENCES

ALBANIAN-BORN			AMERICAN-BORN		
FLATTENING	MALE	FEMALE	FLATTENING	MALE	FEMALE
ABS.	1	0	ABS.	2	2
PRES.	21	15	PRES.	14	12

SEX DIFFERENCES

	ALBANIAN-BORN					AMERICAN-BORN			
	OCCIPITAL		LAMBDOID			OCCIPITAL		LAMBDOID	
	♂	♀	♂	♀		♂	♀	♂	♀
Abs.	4	5	6	6	Abs.	12	12	3	5
sm	1	0	4	6	sm	3	0	6	6
	8	9	6	1		0	1	5	3
	9	1	6	2		1	1	2	0
Total	22	15	22	15	Total	16	14	15	14

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950EG1 Albania EG1

TASKS

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ing, the men showed much more marked degrees than the women. It would be hard to find anywhere a more flattened group. These Tosks are much more flattened than the Ghegs of our series; only the tribesmen of Zadrima and Malsia e Madhe approach them. The Tosks, however, characteristically have both lambdoid and occipital types at once while among the Ghegs a combination of the two is rare. The Tosks are also stockier, heavier, hairier men than the Ghegs, and more frequently bald. Racially they appear to be typically Alpine, whereas the Ghegs are more typically Dinaric, in the classic sense.

The children of these people, born in America and treated in infancy in exactly the same fashion as other American children, differ from their parents, as might be expected. Four out of 5 had some lambdoid flattening, while only one out of 5 had the occipital variety. In the frequencies of degree of occipital flattening a regular descending progression is seen from absent to *sm* to + to ++, which is what one would expect for the incidence of a minority character were it acquired through the same agency as its absence. This is the opposite situation from that seen among the Ghegs and the Albanian-born Tosks. The degrees of lambdoid flattening also assume a normal distribution, with the peak at *sm*. Two uncradled males with lambdoid flattening also had bathrocephaly. Small as this series is, it is highly suggestive.

Flattening of both varieties appears in early childhood, and probably in infancy, among the American-born. It seems not to increase with age. Lambdoid flattening is just as frequent among the uncradled as among the cradled, but among the latter it is much more marked. From this evidence one can only conclude that when it appears as a small area of flattening only it is probably genetic, but that when cradling is added the area increases. Occipital flattening is found among only 6 out of 30 of the uncradled. Three of these 6 were traces to slight. Of the other 3, one with + was an 11-year-old girl; the other 2 had ++. Of these, one is a younger brother of Mr. Peter Peterson, aged 24. There can be no question whatever in his case. He was not cradled. The other is a 33-year-old woman born in Maine. In her case we are not as sure. Occip-

304 ital flattening is probably also genetic at times,
#128 or produced by other environmental influences of which we are not aware. When it occurs with the frequency and to the degree shown by the cradled Tosks, we may be reasonably sure that the cradling is responsible for most, but not necessarily all, of it. The Boston Tosk population urgently needs a thorough study, while the old people who led the colony across the ocean are still with us, and before the young people are dispersed.

THE ANTHROPOMETRY OF FLATTENING

141 Returning to our Gheg series, we may sur-
304 vey the effect of both kinds of flattening on
#128 the major dimensions of the head, and on the cephalic index, as shown in table 27[1] and figure 7.[2] Constants were also seriated for stature, minimum frontal, bizygomatic, bigonial, total face height, upper face height, nose height, nose breadth, and the nasal index. Since all of these drew complete blanks except bizygomatic, we may conclude with confidence that within present limits cranial vault form has nothing whatever to do with any of them except the width of the face, either genetically or mechanically. Furthermore, the failure of such sensitive criteria as face height and nose height to change with type of flattening confirms the independence of these latter from the influences of age, once the sutures have entirely closed.

The dimensions of the vault sort themselves out into 2 categories; those that are nearly identical with each other and those that approach or attain statistical significance. In head length, *lambdoid* and *both* are the same; in the breadth, *lambdoid* and *neither*. In the height, *occipital* and *both* are the same; in the cephalic index all are different.

It is interesting to observe that lambdoid flattening, despite its position, still causes a little shortening of the head, and that the men with both types of flattening follow those with lambdoid only in this dimension. In breadth, however, the lambdoidally flattened heads follow the unflattened, while the men with both take their breadth from their occipital flattening. As one would expect, lambdoid flattening carries with it the lowest values for

1 [see cat. 116, p. 97a -- Analyst]

2 [see cat. 116, p. 92b -- Analyst]

141 head height and occipital the highest. The men
● 304 with *both* follow the occipital line, while those
*128 with *neither* are between. Whatever else a man may have, lambdoid flattening prevents his head from being shortened beyond a certain degree; if he has occipital flattening he is sure to have a broad and high vault. As one

141 would expect, the values for the cephalic
● 304 index follow a progression from *neither* to
*128 *occipital*, and a range of 5 index points. Clearly, flattening is a vital factor in the makeup of Dinarics.

In the means for the bizygomatic diameter, significant differences are seen between *lambdoid* and *both*, *occipital* and *both*, and *neither* and *both*. Lambdoid flattening does not broaden the face but apparently occipital does. The reason why *both* exceeds *occipital* only is that *both* has higher values for degree of occipital flattening than *occipital only*.

141 This increase in face breadth, though sig-
● 30 nificant, is not great. Another element in this
#128 complex is the nasal profile, which seems to grow more convex as the occiput becomes more flattened. The significance of this, if any, may be seen more in the steady progression of percentages of convex in the column repre-

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senting degree of occipital flattening than in any statistical test. It may be added that many other attributes were tested for association with head form, and none of them were found to be related. Lambdoid flattening does nothing to the face. Occipital flattening may bring about a slight facial broadening in connection with the greater broadening of the parietals, for as it separates the areas of attachment of the temporal muscles, it may, in so doing, thus spread the hoops under which these muscles pass to the mandibular condyles, which remain constant. The increase in nasal

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 19[illegible] EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TABLE 27: ANTHROPOMETRY AND FLATTENING.

VAULT DIMENSIONS

	Only Occipital	Only Lambdoid	Both	Neither
No.	262	402	68	335
Head lgth.	181.70 ± .27	186.73 ± .23	186.71 ± .95	188.36 ± .25
Head br.	161.50 ± .23	156.93 ± .19	160.10 ± .44	156.10 ± .21
Head ht.	129.44 ± .33	126.88 ± .26	129.76 ± .73	128.23 ± .23
Cephalic index	87.91 ± .16	84.08 ± .12	86.82 ± .67	82.96 ± .23
Bizygomatic	142.60 ± .25	141.79 ± .19	144.78 ± .46	142.06 ± .21

DEGREE OF FLATTENING AND CEPHALIC INDEX

	Occipital*		Lambdoid*	
Abs.	737	83.56	597	85.18
sm	37	85.86	110	83.93
+	213	87.31	327	84.31
++	70	89.06	33	87.09
+++	10	92.10		
Total	1067		1067	

* Including both.

NASAL PROFILE AND FLATTENING

	Concave		Straight		Convex		Conc.-Conv.		Total
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	
Abs.	54	7.30	300	40.70	374	50.75	9	1.25	737
sm	3	8.11	15	40.54	18	48.65	1	2.70	37
+	7	3.37	80	37.47	125	58.69	1	.47	213
++	5	7.14	18	25.71	47	67.14	0	0	70
+++	0	0	3	30.00	7	70.00	0	0	10
Total	69		416		571		11		1067

	Convexity	
Occip. Flattening	Absence	Presence
Abs.	363	374
Pres.	133	197

Q = .45

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convexity would reflect a thrusting forward, in extreme cases, of the bony structures in the sagittal line of the cranium through the region of the nasal passages.

Before this section is concluded, it might be of interest to mention that the 22 adult male Tosks measured in Boston have a mean cephalic index of 89.91, with a mode of 8 individuals at 91. The distribution is not a curve at all.

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The 5 adult males born in America have cephalic indices of 76, 78, 78, 87, and 88, with a mean of 81; 3 out of 5 are as long headed as the rest of the American population, while the other 2 approximate the mean and mode of their cradled parents.

TRIBAL DISTRIBUTION OF HEAD FORM

Table 28[1] shows clearly that it is not merely

[1] [see cat. No, p. 98e-- Analyst]

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the relative frequency of occipital and lambdoid flattening that causes regional differences in head form (figs. 7, 14, 15).[1] When the unflattened individuals in each tribal series are sorted out and reseriated, we find that in each case a lower mean is obtained than before, varying from .74 points lower in the case of Dukagin, to 2.98 points lower in Has. The complete regularity of this column provides

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 92 b, 114, 115--Analyst]

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for its validation. If flattening alone were responsible for the differences in cephalic index, then when all flattened persons were removed the tribal means should be identical. They are not, and we have uncovered a real, probably genetic, difference in head form ranging from a mean of 84 in the west to 81 in the east. This accords perfectly with the regional distribution of facial measurements which we have already seen.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)195. EG1 Albania EG1
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TABLE 28: TRIBAL CEPHALIC AND INDEX MEANS.

	TOTAL AND UNFLATTENED			
	No.	TOTAL	No.	UNFLATTENED
MeM	105	86.79 ± .25	22	84.28 ± .46
Duk	106	84.54 ± .24	30	83.80 ± .33
MeJ	104	83.04 ± .28	41	81.22 ± .40
Has	114	85.59 ± .28	26	82.61 ± .59
Lum	109	82.62 ± .27	32	81.38 ± .40
Puk	102	83.76 ± .26	55	82.69 ± .27
Mir	101	84.39 ± .27	33	83.09 ± .42
Zad	105	86.67 ± .24	35	84.86 ± .38
Mat	104	86.49 ± .27	22	84.14 ± .54
Dib	108	84.96 ± .26	32	83.34 ± .49

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

cries of the street vendors. The nights, even 000
during the summer, are delightfully cool and enjoyable; sitting in one of the comfortable café gardens of Tirana with a cup of delicious 275
coffee! The old saying of "being killed with kindness" is literally true in this unique kingdom.

Upon leaving Tirana, the capital of Alba- 153
nia, and journeying further into the heart of 311
the country, one comes more in contact with the native aspect of this country in all of its charm. The land, in the vicinity of Tirana, is smooth and devoted to wide, rich fields of maize and wheat. A few miles further on the landscape loses its cultivated appearance and the scenery becomes more wild and desolate, and at the same time extraordinarily beautiful. From plains the country rapidly rises into rolling hills and rugged rocky mountains, and becomes a country from Wonderland.

The first point of interest along this route 712
are the ruins of the Petrela Castle, which dominated this district until the rise of Tirana about 1600. However, fragments of tile proclaim the fact that it was built for fortifying purposes in ancient times, but the more evident pro-Turkish brick and stone mortar de-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg,[1] the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

[1] "*Iskender Bey*, the Lord Alexander."

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

northern mountains begins modestly with ranges 2000–2600 feet 133
above sea-level, surpasses 7000 feet in several peaks of Lower Shalë, and culminates in the Accursed Alps (*Bjeshkët ë Nemuna*), where the close-set summits of Radohinë (8690 feet), Jezercë (8790 feet), Rosh (8270 feet) and Kolatë (8370 feet) wall off Yugoslavia from Upper Shalë in spectacular fashion. East of Shalë, the monster Peak of the Irons (*Majë e Hekuravë*, 8530 feet) divides the tribe of Mertur from the open plateau of Krasniqë. The passes across the mountains are often lofty and arduous. To take an extreme example, the only way from Shalë to Bogë, its western neighbour, is by the Sheep Track Pass, to the northern frontier by the Pejë Pass, and to Nikaj on the east by the Ndermajnë Pass, which are respectively 5900, 5600 and again 5600 feet above sea-level and take a day to traverse. It is self-evident that the tribesmen [w9]
of Shalë have never seen much of their neighbours. Elsewhere geographical conditions are less formidable, yet generally severe enough to limit intercourse between communities.

It is clear that agriculture and permanent habitations must stop 311
far below the summits of many mountains, and that on the highest [233]
slopes there can be only summer grazing. Throughout the area as a whole, however, there is so much summer and winter grazing that many Albanians live entirely by pastoralism and many others combine it with their agriculture. In this connexion it is essential 137
to remember the part played by the immense forests. These spread over the grim mountains as well as the plains, saving Albania from the desiccated look of Dalmatia and Greece, and making its scenery agreeable to the eye at all seasons. The forest trees are of many kinds, with a large proportion of evergreens. Since they grow at different levels according to their kinds, three zones, named the shrub, oak and beech, or pine zones after their predominating tree, have been distinguished.[1]

Shrubs grow all over the plains near the coast and up to a height of 600 feet in exposed regions like Shkodër and Durrës and 1600 feet in sheltered spots like the gullies on Mt Dajt. They include tree heather, hornbeam, arbutus, wild olives, broom and the terrible Christ's Thorn (*Spina Cristi*), which, withered or green, tears the flesh so savagely with its spikes that it is popularly said all over the Near East to have been used for the Crown of Thorns. There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs, especially for

[1] See Gashi, *Shqipnija*, pp. 51–60.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania,EGl

There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs especially for
137 goats and cattle, and some agriculture in clearings, but the zone
[34] derives its chief riches from the many acres of fertile alluvial soil that adjoin the rivers.

Oaks, tall or dwarf, begin sporadically among the shrubs and continue as thick forests up to a height of 2900 feet near Shkodër and 3300 feet in warmer districts. Among them grow ash, aspen, [36] chestnut, cornel, elm, hawthorn, hazel, hornbeam and limes. The majority of the 1140 villages in north Albania are found in this zone, for it best provides for Albanian needs. Though the soil is dry on the whole, it contains a sufficiency of springs. On the plateaux and gentler slopes there is enough arable land for subsistence farming, all that is possible among these rugged mountains. The copses and woods furnish winter grazing for small flocks and herds; an adjoining mountain furnishes the requisite summer feed. The [37] copses and woods also provide fuel for the log-fires that in Albanian phraseology are 'the poor man's wealth'. Leaves lopped from the [23] oak trees in autumn supply winter fodder which livestock eat with almost as much relish as they do hay, a scarcer commodity. It is this supplement to the grazing in the copses and woods which makes mixed farming possible in this zone; without it many animals could not get through the winter, and their number would [39] have to be reduced. If it is sometimes hot in the forest in summer, the heat is never unbearable, and in winter the cold is never excessive. In general the zone is healthy. A little wheat is grown, but—as everywhere in Albania, the Myzeqe plain excepted—the staple crop is maize. The grain provides food, and the livestock luxuries and government dues as well.

In the next zone beeches grow singly, in small clumps, or in mighty forests such as those between Çermenikë and Martanesh where one may walk for seven hours in the daytime and never catch a glimpse of the sun. Still without roads to carry modern woodcutters and their tools to them, such forests are in the virgin state, the trees self-sown, the strong killing the weak, and the survivors growing bigger and bigger until they succumb in extreme old age to some winter blast, when they lie and rot where they fall. When communications are developed, this waste will stop and these forests become a very valuable asset. No grass grows in them or under isolated beeches, of course, but there are usually grass meadows in the clearings, some of which are enormous. Well watered from the same sources as the beeches and fat with humus

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

from decaying beech leaves, these meadows make magnificent grazing in summer. 137 811

Where the underlying rock is serpentine, the forests in this zone are of pitch pine, not beech. Following the rock formation the pines may continue above the beech limit as on Mt Munellë in Mirditë, Mt Nezhdë, and the Peak of the Irons in Shalë. Or they may grow as low as the oak zone, adding to its amenities with their timber and pastures. In certain districts they cover whole mountain sides, while beeches fill the intervening, moister valleys; for beeches like a damp soil, and pines a dryish. Whether among the trees or in the clearings, these forests are a paradise for animals. They have other values, too. Their lower reaches are accessible enough for the peasants to cut their timber, load it on ponies, or slide it down the mountain side to their villages, there to be used for building or other simple purposes. Pine slivers are the only form of lighting in many village houses, and they also bring in a little money, finding a ready sale in towns as kindling for fires. [273]

The pine and beech zone is mostly too high for winter use. Near the coast its tree-limit is 5200–5600 feet above sea-level. Farther inland, where one range shelters another and the soil is damper, it may be 6000 feet, as on Mt Bukanik in Shpat or Mts Munellë and Nezhdë. On Mt Gjalicë it is 7000 feet. Between the tree-limit and the summits of higher mountains there is nothing but rock, scree and treeless pastures.

This pine zone is as necessary to Albanian economy as the oak zone. On much of the treeless ground above it the grass is so coarse that sheep will not eat it at all, and horses nibble it only at the beginning of the summer season and then with distaste. The grass of the pine and beech zone is sweet and palatable even to dainty sheep throughout the summer. On the agricultural side the zone serves as a great catchment area, not only for the huge, unharnessed rivers that traverse north Albania, but also for the myriads of invaluable little streams that flow down to the agricultural districts in the oak zone. Without these streams there could be little irrigation; without irrigation there could be little agriculture. Maize must have water, and there is never enough rain in summer to supply it. [312]

In the two areas of summer pasturage, the beech and pine zone and the treeless slopes above it, many thousands of cattle, horses, goats, and especially sheep, graze from May to October. Their 233

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

A Railway Line

As no-one but myself wanted to go on to Tirana I was put with the mails into an ordinary four-seater Ford car and continued the journey alone save for the driver. The country was well wooded with oak, ash, poplar, willow and alder. The fields were enclosed with hedges of bramble and, but for the big wild fig-trees, I might almost have been in England. I had been told that I should find in Albania no bank, no water-closet, and no railway, but as regards the railway I found this statement incorrect, for a narrow gauge track ran at the side of the road most of the way from Scutari to Tirana. It did not, however, appear to have been used for a considerable time as it was in bad repair and much broken. At one place, half-a-dozen little locomotives, dismantled and red with rust, stood idle on a siding, while in a ditch a short distance away lay a seventh—a pathetic corpse in a winding-sheet of bramble and convolvulus. Presumably the line was wrecked by the Austrians when they were in retreat at the end of the war. I should not imagine that it would be a very costly matter to put it into working order again.

The impression I received in the course of this drive was that the surrounding country was exceedingly fertile, and that much which is at present uncultivated could be made productive if modern agricultural methods were adopted. In all countries the farmer and tiller of the soil—conservative to the backbone—is slow to admit that his way of doing things can be bettered, and to this general rule the Albanian agriculturist is no exception. He knows nothing, and wants

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
●312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

361 lowed into them and is to be found in no other place in Europe.

These little hamlets are constant sources of surprise with their old traditions, native
619 songs and legends. In the more distant fastnesses of the mountains, the natives live in tribes as their ancestors did before them, generations ago, each tribe having distinctive ornaments for their costumes. There are hundreds of small farms scattered throughout the mountains; some in the valleys, others clinging to the side of a mountain, and still others perched on the summit of the lower knolls and even a few on the rocky heights. Their implements and methods are of the simplest
●312 variety. Irrigation is their chief way of watering their fields, for water is plentiful. This delicious, cold, spring water has many sources in the heart of the mountains and is inexhaustible. The natives dig small channels, and where necessary, they make troughs for the water and lead it in zig-zag fashion down the mountain-side to their forms. There is nothing more refreshing nor cooling than this icy-cold fountain that Mother Nature has given the Albanians.

000 Albania is also a seat of historic interest.

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

771 551 years ago as to whether it was to be Christian or Moslem. Therefore, in silent compromise, the elder members of the inhabitants had two names: the Moslem one used for public purposes, and the Christian one used privately and for baptisms and marriages, for these ceremonies a priest was smuggled in and out of the neighborhood by night. It was only about thirty years ago that the Christians felt free to declare openly their faith; this was due greatly to the intervention of the Austrians and Russians. However, those of the older generation retain their Moslem names but their children have been given Christian names only.

312 529 757 Perhaps of greatest interest to one visiting this fascinating country for health purposes, will be the healing springs at Llixha, only a few readily negotiable miles from Elbasan. These most unusual springs are certain cures for various forms of rheumatism. The sulphuric waters are so healing that merely by the repeated emptying of cans of water over the body in the oriental fashion many cures have been effected. The ground around these springs is very warm, and until forty years ago, before the useful invasion of the modern

baths and hotels, the natives dug large holes near the springs of the desired temperature and saturated themselves therein until cured. The weirdest phenomena of nature lies in the fact that the temperature of the springs is extremely varied: there are the cool, almost cold, enjoyable springs and others that are of varying degrees of heat up to the boiling point. It has been ascertained, however, that the mineral content of all the springs is the same. These famous sulphur baths have performed many seemingly miraculous cures, and are considered usurpers of Carlsbad; and what is more important, the price of living is unbelievably low. The price one pays a day in the average European capital would serve for three or four luxurious days in Albania. It is really amazing that the price of regained health should be so astonishingly moderate. The advent of comfortable and convenient hotels has greatly increased the value of these health-restoring springs, and make them the most desirable of their kind in Europe. One of the most outstanding of these hotels is the Park Hotel constructed on European lines with comfortable bathrooms, electric light and electrotherapy by a visiting doctor.

654 sirability to improve the quality and the
243 quantity of the domestic crop in order to be able to export wheat into the eastern neighboring country, Greece, and elsewhere.

243 Besides maize and wheat, there are numerous other grainfruits grown in rather equally large proportions. Rye is to be found in the mountainous regions of the east and northeast; oats and barley are grown in almost all sections of the country.

It is also to be noted with interest the rapid growth in the production of rice in Albania. This particular industry thrives in the districts of Elbasan and Berat. Here are many
[3/2] rice plantations and improvements in the irrigation system which has been rather antiquated to a certain extent, and since such a great supply of water is necessary, there have been great strides made in bettering the method of agriculture which will, without doubt, greatly enhance the production of rice.

248 Hemp is also raised successfully.

Flax and cotton are also cultivated and the crops show a steady increase.

245 Following in importance to the stabilizing grainfruits, the growth of olives holds a position of note. Albania possesses about 1,500,-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

3/2 A most profitable future is open to the many thermal and mineral springs, especially the hot sulphur springs at Llixha, near Elbasan, the springs near Përmet, Peshkopi, etc. ~~all with diversified medical possibilities.~~

These thermal and mineral springs have been known and used with great results by the neighboring population for many years for all ailments, and only in recent years has their fame spread and great numbers of visitors from abroad began to come and appreciate the salutary effects of these springs.

3/6 The factors of importance in considering investments in Albanian mining enterprises are:

Albania is and has been for years consistently on a gold basis. That is to say, mines owe their regular and current profit-earning and divident-paying capacity to low costs of production and not to manipulated or artificial exchange premiums.

Albania is in Europe. It is geographically situated in the world's chief markets and does not have to contend with highly expensive transportation costs. It is directly linked with the great industrial centres of Europe by direct water routes.

The Kingdom of Albania is a modern well-

PEAKS OF SHALA

628 the man who has given it. Thus, if a member of
619 a tribe is killed unjustly by a man of another tribe; if a woman is stolen or injured or affronted; if any part of the tribal property is stolen; if a man or a tribe fails to keep a *besa* (a word of honor) in a matter of land or war or marriage or
[312] irrigation—you will find excellent and admirable irrigation systems here—then the crime is punished by death. But if these crimes are committed against a member of the same tribe, then the house of the guilty man is burned, and he is cast off by the tribe and must go into the wilderness and live alone.

"You will see this law working out in the case of Shala and Shoshi. Last week a Shala man crossing the lands of Shoshi—the two tribes having some time ago sworn a *besa* that they would keep the peace between them—saw a woman of Shoshi on the trail. He said to himself that he would like that woman for his son, who was unmarried, though of marriageable age, because his betrothed had died in childhood. So the man of Shala took the woman of Shoshi to his house for his son, and there she is now.

"Apparently," said the bishop, dryly, "she did not make any outcry, for her husband was in their house only a few yards away, and it is a question whether she and the son had not previously arranged the abduction. However, the husband was, of course, obliged to avenge his honor, and he went at once to the heights above Shala and shot the son. This was, according to

PEAKS OF SHALA

423 "Well," said Perolli, "I pity the chiefs of that
578 village."

"But where do you suppose she got the idea?"

"Heavens knows. Who can tell what women will think of?" said Perolli.

We left her standing on the cliff edge, still superb and still defiant, the cigarette in her hand and the blue beads twinkling at the ends of her braids. A bright scarlet handkerchief was twisted around her head, and her wide belt, thickly studded with silver nails, shone like armor. A picture of revolt, and I thought what a catastrophe she must be in the peaceful village to which, clinging and dropping from bowlder to bowlder, we were descending.

"Will we see her again?" I asked.

"Oh, she'll probably drop in during the evening. She looks like a woman who would," said Perolli.

361 The village was perhaps fifteen houses, clustered on flat land at the foot of the cliffs. Beyond it, a creamy blue flood swollen by the rains, the Lumi Shala ran straight between the mountain
• [32] ranges. A score of little streams, stone walled and crossed by tiny stone bridges, ran through the village, and all the land on which it stood was cut into odd-shaped pieces by many stone fences and raised channels of stone for irrigation water. Dropping down into that village was rather like being a very small gnat descending on a piece of half-made honeycomb.

000 All the earth was sodden with water; we sank

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

from decaying beech leaves, these meadows make magnificent grazing in summer.

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would not recognize them and when A came to till his field, B's dog would treat him as an intruder and bite him, and he would have no legal claim to compensation for the injury. It is not known if this law obtained elsewhere, but the common sense on which it is based makes it probable that it did. Again, in the Moslem villages near enough to Elbasan to conform to the rigidity with which Moslem townsmen secluded their women, it was not permitted to make windows in a wall overlooking a neighbour's farmyard; the latter's womenfolk must be free to move about their yard unwatched. This ban on windows—which was Moslem, not Albanian—hardly extended to remoter Moslem villages, as women there enjoyed almost as much liberty as did their Christian ancestresses.

A man's ownership of his house and land was so absolute that he and his might emigrate temporarily or for good without losing their title to either house or land. Even if the family absented itself for a hundred years, no one might squat on its property. If the emigrant, before leaving, sold his land 'together with all that is on it', and one leaving for good usually did so, the piece constituting the site of the house remained his in spite of the terms of sale, and so long as one stone stood on another, no one might use the site. In Mirditë, however, a fixed term was set to this law; if the emigrant did not return within ten years, his house might be occupied by whosoever wanted it.

Every dwelling that emitted smoke might have one or more of the following accessories—yard, vegetable garden, field, road, boundary and, in suitable latitudes, vineyard. Of these the boundary and road were the most indispensable.[1] Every owner of a dwelling that emitted smoke had a right to graze his animals on the summer and winter pasturage owned by his village and to cut firewood and timber for his own use in the public coppices and forests. If he cared to build a bothy for his shepherds on a summer pasture or to break in ground for a field or vegetable garden on a common near his village, he was welcome to do so. He must first secure the consent of the elders of the village, who generally put the common weal before individual convenience. Their permission given, no one could stop his tilling the ground, nor turn him out. Theoretically every dwelling that emitted smoke should also have a portion of irrigation water, but the right to sell water often made this provision a dead letter.

[1] See Chapters VIII and IX.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

428 [428] older brothers had had time to acquire friends and could make their own way in the world, but the baby of the family knew nothing about anything except his father's house.

[423] After the land and the house had been divided, the boundaries between the holdings were demarcated. The house, it should be said, included land round it and also any cattle or sheepfolds. ●312 When the land was under water, irrigation channels were marked 428 out at the same time as the boundaries. Where the father had possessed one field with an irrigation channel running down its whole length, his sons tapped this channel without difficulty, each digging a small transverse channel from it on his own portion of the field. Where the stream was farther off the brothers jointly dug a channel to the point where their land met, after which each made a separate channel through his own ground; by preference each took this down his own side of the little path between his field and his brother's. When the water came from above a field so narrow that it must be divided short-ways, the brother getting the lower half was entitled to dig an irrigation channel down the side of his brother's land. But the area it occupied must be measured and an equivalent amount of land subtracted from his holding and added to his brother's. It was, of course, always stream irrigation that was in question.

The period for which each brother might irrigate was also settled when they separated. This was usually a matter of simple arithmetic. If, for example, the father had had the right to irrigate for two days, each of the two brothers was given the right for one day and each of three brothers for sixteen hours. In Mirditë, where few streams could be utilized, irrigation water was divided by the oke; unfortunately there is no information available as to how this was done.

Drinking water was seldom regulated; 'God has given it' and almost everywhere in excess. There was so little in some villages near Shkodër, however, that it was divided by the jugful, at least during the dry season. When brothers separated in these villages their portion of drinking water was decided. Division was as with food, by heads, so many jugfuls per person.

428 Milling rights varied from district to district. Where they were by hours or days each brother's quota was settled on the day of separation. It was again arithmetical, each of two brothers getting half the father's period and each of three getting one-third.

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especially near the sea, where the soil is alluvial and stoneless, had to be thirty-two spans wide (7 yards or 6·48 metres) in order to give a pack-horse space to dodge the mud-holes in winter, when the road became a morass. Excellent examples of this type of road traverse the half-drained marshes of Ngurëzë at the mouth of the river Mat.

Mountain roads eight spans wide led to villages 'where carts had never gone'. Certain other roads led to the rare villages 'where carts had gone'. These crossed firm inland plains such as the floor of the valley of Shkrel or the plain of Nangë in Lumë; in Shkrel they had to be twelve spans wide (8 feet or 2·43 metres), and in Lumë wide enough to take a cart. A picturesque detail from Mirditë is that a 'flag-road', that is to say, a road along which a flag was carried in tribal, wedding or other processions, had to be as wide as the flagstaff was long.

Roads always followed boundaries; as a general rule, when one passed two wards or two neighbours, exactly half of it had to be in the territory of each. In other words, their boundary had to run down its exact middle. Few modifications of this law are to be noted. When fields were on a slope, the road between them was often made on the upper one. The elders laying it out had reasoned that it would gradually slip down the hill, increasing the area of the upper field and diminishing that of the lower one. When there was an irrigation channel by the road, rules varied. In Theth one neighbour left three spans of land for the channel, and the other the same amount for the adjacent footpath. Their agreement might be verbal, noted only by witnesses, or it might be written down by the priest as tribal clerk and placed in the church archives. Each neighbour had full access to path and channel alike. In Lumë, on the other hand, a path was left on both sides of an irrigation channel. These were not only for men to walk on but also for maintaining the sides of the channel, a necessary safeguard even on level ground. Each neighbour, having his own path, was less liable to quarrel with the other.

In Perlat a highway was twenty-four spans wide (16 feet or 4·86 metres), to enable a horse laden with firewood to pass another without the loads touching. Elsewhere there was no provision for two-way traffic. Road-making in our sense did not exist, and roads were merely trodden out by man or beast in the scanty space available between fields or across mountain slopes. On a typical

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

compromise reconciled the public's need to use the road and the 494
individual's wish to protect his crop without incurring the 491
intolerable expense of making a fence or wall. One neighbour 423
put two hurdles across his half of the road, one where it entered and the other where it left his land; both were low enough for men to jump over and high enough to keep back animals. Each had a hole at the bottom that was too small for animals to crawl through but big enough to let logs through when they were [313]
dragged down from the mountain for fuel; logs for fuel were such a necessity of life that they could not be denied a road. The other neighbour threw across his half of the road the Christ's Thorn which grows all over the plains of Albania, thus making a formidable barrier for men and beasts. Shutting up this half of the road did not matter; animals had no right in any case to go near a sown field, and the other man's hurdle was sufficient for human traffic. After harvest the thorns were removed, leaving that half of the road clear. The hurdle remained in place, as the clear half of the road was wide enough for the traffic.

In 1935 a man from Nangë in Lumë blocked the road along an irrigation channel for the summer, half of it with a low wall and half with thorns, so that men, but not animals, could still travel on it. He had wished to sow maize in his adjoining field and been too poor and short-handed to construct a fence to keep out animals. Since irrigation was so important, there was a special law that [312]
'a road beside an irrigation channel can't be shut up'. Conse- [672]
quently, his act was highly illegal. But his poverty was thought to excuse it, and he had mitigated his offence by making a new road for animals at the top of his field, where there was no maize. In so doing he had confused the right to block a road for the summer only and the need, when closing one permanently, to provide a substitute. For the law forbidding a man to block an old road permanently was not rigid. If he had good reason for the change, secured the consent of the elders (a most important point), and provided a satisfactory substitute, he could even move a very old road. It was only if he failed to satisfy these conditions that he had to leave it where it was. The poor man just mentioned transgressed by not consulting the elders; their unusual clemency lay in refraining, out of consideration for his poverty, from reopening the road.

When a man applied for leave to close an old village road, he 491
generally pleaded damage by passers-by or a need for more land to 423

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

417 and if properly placed to begin with, caused no trouble. The same
685 was true of living hedges inland. On the other hand, living hedges in the marshy areas near the mouth of the river Mat sometimes
[241] grew so tall that they damaged the neighbouring land with their shade. To prevent this, the owner had to lop overgrown trees once every three years. Failing this, his neighbour could complain to the headman; inevitably they gave him leave to cut the trees down to the root on the owner's ground, an intrusion that was in itself a punishment, and fined the owner 250–450 grosh for breaking the law about lopping.

423 Similar rules regulated the planting of fruit and other trees, olives
245 being included among the former. In Mirditë a fruit tree might be planted only 5 'feet' (1 metre) from the boundary; another kind had to be at least 10 feet away. In Godolesh, a great fruit-growing area, a fruit tree could be planted on the very boundary, but in adjacent Labinot it had to be a span away. In Shkrel it could be planted anywhere on one's own ground, as it never caused trouble
[625] by itself. As with living hedges, care had to be taken that a tree did not cast harmful shade over a neighbour's land. If one did so in Shkrel the owner agreed amicably to lop it, raising no objections unless he had already quarrelled with his neighbour over something else. In Mirditë he was bound to lop the offending branches; if he failed to do so his neighbour could lop them as high as he could reach with a hook, the handle of which did not exceed 3½ spans in length. In the mountains of Lesh the owner had to uproot the tree or to pay annual damages to his neighbour. In Godolesh the neighbour was entitled to stretch as far as he could and cut the too luxuriant branches with his short-handled axe. If a tree was doing no damage to neighbouring ground, it could not be lopped except by its owner. A man who transgressed this law in Mirditë had to pay its owner 500 grosh.

312 Sometimes an open drain adjoined a boundary. When it was
423 first cut, each of the two neighbours provided half the ground
476 required, did half the work and retained the earth excavated from his own side. Three stones, one big and two small, were left at the head to mark the boundary; the two other sets, normally placed in the middle and at the foot, were removed to make room for the water; as the drain discharged into a bigger channel, they could not possibly be left at the foot. The boundary naturally ran exactly down the middle. In most places the drain had to be cleared out

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annually. In Godolesh the two neighbours did it in alternate years, 312
having exclusive right to the earth with its valuable fertilizing 423
properties for the year when they did the clean up. In Lumë two 476
neighbours cleared the drain together year after year and flung half the earth on one side and half on the other.

In other places one ditch seldom drained two neighbouring fields on the principle that 'you can't walk on my path or use my drain'. In Gurrëzë the man who wanted a drain had to cut it on his own ground with a 'footprint' (20 cm.) of land between the boundary and its edge for the protection of his neighbour's land. Without this buttress the drain might overflow or burst its bank to the detriment of his neighbour. In either contingency its owner had to pay compensation to his neighbour, but prevention of damage was always better for both parties. His neighbour might also accuse him of encroaching on his land, an insulting remark that provoked instant retaliation. If, later on, the neighbour wanted a drain he had to make one for himself, also a 'footprint' away from the boundary. In Lumë and Elbasan there was little risk that open drains would flood, but there too a space had to be left between their edge and the boundary. The avowed purpose of this space was to support the boundary stones. In all cases of single ownership the owner, on clearing the ditch, threw the earth on his own side, where it testified to his ownership if this was ever questioned.

Sometimes a man of Shkrel wanted both a drain and a fence. In that event the ditch was cut along the boundary and a strip of ground of the same width was set aside on the other side of the boundary. All the earth excavated from the ditch was thrown on this strip and so the neighbours became quits, one had a 'hole' on his land and the other a 'hill'. The fence was erected on the 'hill'.

We come now to one of the most important considerations in [32]
boundary making. North Albania is one of the wettest regions in 134
Europe, and when the land was waterlogged it inevitably tended 241
to slip downhill. The tropical intensity of many rainstorms 423
increased the mischief. Terracing the fields would have helped to
check it, but such manual labour is contrary to the habits and [461]
dignity of the north Albanian. His law, however, gave him every possible protection. When there were two fields on a slope, one above the other, they might be separated by a field-path, a road, an irrigation channel or a fence. (The term 'field-path' includes the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

423 little 'headland' which formed along the top of the lower field as
134 the plough-oxen turned in their ploughing.) It was vital to save
[241] the upper field from being undermined by the tillage of the lower one. So the field-path (or headland) was always assigned to the upper field, with the boundary and the fence, if any, along its lower edge. The upper man was strictly forbidden to work the path, generally grass-grown, and so fairly cohesive. The lower man was even more strictly forbidden to cultivate right up to the path for fear he brought it down; since his own land slipped a little lower every year as he tilled it, the field-path soared higher above it. Only if the lower field was in grass did the law revert to its usual form. If the upper field was planted with maize and the lower one a grass meadow, all the land under the boundary stones belonged to the lower field because grass is in itself binding enough to stop landslides.

If a road or an irrigation channel divided the two fields, the upper bank belonged in most places to the upper man, and the lower to the other, since there seemed no risk that cultivation of the lower field would undermine the upper one. In Greater
[312] Dibër, however, no risks were taken. Both banks of an irrigation channel were given to the upper man in case the lower one worked too close to it. In any area, the owner of a lower field who made a drain for it had to make it four finger-breadths from his own boundary to make sure it did not damage the upper field.

[342] If building a new house, the owner of the lower field had to keep it far enough away from the boundary to do no damage to the fence, as any such damage would make the upper field slip. On the other hand, the owner of the upper field had licence to build his house as close to the fence as if the site were flat, that is to say, with only half the width of a footpath intervening, but he was never foolhardy enough to do so.

Sometimes it was the lower man who received protection from the law. In Martanesh, for example, when the upper one built a fence or wall round his field, he had to leave the boundary stones as well clear of it as if the field were flat. This was in case it moved and encroached on the boundary.

42? Sometimes a fence was misplaced. Even if it was only one cm.
628 inside the neighbour's land, it had to be moved. In Bicaj the neighbour sent a mutual friend to say so to the owner; if the latter ignored the message the neighbour took down the fence and saw

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

[681] 10. The government authorities therefore by this Decree order that the nine points above-mentioned shall be observed and put into execution without fail or opposition.

Issued by the Government Authorities of Shkodër
Shkodër, Albania
May 9th, 1864

L.S. Mareshali
Civil and Military Representative of the
Government with the Prefecture of Shkodër

ISMAIL PASHA

[619] II. Solemn Pledge between Mnelë and Gomsiqe, February 13th, 1873.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 118.)

At the meeting we are holding to-day we have decided to write out the following document in order to have it for reference.

We, the tribesmen of Mnelë and Gomsiqe, comprising 150 houses, have solemnly promised each other to hold ourselves ready and of one mind for every need that may eventuate.

The witnesses of this pledge are:

[Here follow the names of 15 tribesmen, headed by the bajraktar.]

Written this day of February 13th, 1873.

III. Laws Enacted by the Twenty-four Elders and Agreed by the Chiefs, etc. Written in the Village of Kastrat on November 2nd, 1891.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 125.)

1. From Krue i Ri, which belongs to all Kastrat, up to She i Gurit; from Vorr Gjolaj to Breg i Gurrës, marching with Gjelosh Luce; from Shkamb Gropë Mollë to Brigje; from Gjekë Petroviqi to Çukë e Gurrës...whoever quarrels or fires a weapon within these limits will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[312] 2. Whoever refuses to allow a woman to fill her water-pitchers at fountains and springs saying she has no right to a share of the water, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

3. Whoever calls another names in the above-mentioned places or calls another's mother and father names, will be fined, if he is full 15 years old, 250 grosh and 3 rams.

4. Whoever goes to do a mischief in a mill must, if he is full 12 years old, pay a fine of 250 grosh to the miller and 500 grosh and 3 rams to the chiefs.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in the village of Kastrat on Nov. 2, 1891]

5. Whoever moves the stones of an old boundary and puts them in a new place will be fined 3000 grosh and 6 rams. 681 [423]

6. No one is to frighten a flock sheltering from the heat in a place it was in first.[1] Whoever does this will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams. [233]

7. The mill question remains inviolate as always and neither the Vukpalaj nor the Gjolaj may start a *degamë*,[2] and any miller who takes more than 5 per cent of the flour will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams. [256]

8. Any man who cuts down a tree under which animals take shelter from the heat or cuts off a mill or an irrigation stream will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.

9. Other fountains and springs are left under the old law, that is to say, whoever destroys a fountain or spring or prevents another from filling water-pots will be fined 500 grosh. [312]

10. Milling is by order of arrival. Any miller who mills for a man who comes later than another and breaks the order either out of favouritism or because corrupted by bribes will be fined 150 grosh and 3 rams. [256]

11. Whoever admits a stranger to huts on a mountain pasturage will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.[3]

IV. Truce Sworn between Nikaj and Mertur on August 10th, 1892. 628 619

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 121.)

The two tribes have sworn a truce with each other:

(1) As from August 14th up to the day of Our Lady of Mertur.

(2) As from December 26th up to the day of St Sebastian.

The guarantors of Flock and Shepherd, i.e. Nikaj and Mertur and the Bajraktars of Krasniqë and Gash.

V. Laws Enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on November 1st, 1892 A.D. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 126.)

At a general meeting held under the presidency of Brahim Beg the serxherde, Kasem Beg the bylikbash and the four and twenty chiefs (elders) of Kastrat, the following laws were enacted.

1. Whoever murders a man of Kastrat or of any of the other mountains will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[1] This must be a mistranslation. The Italian version of the sentence runs: *che nessuno ardisa impaurire il bastiame gravidò.*

[2] The Italian version of this very obscure clause is as follows: *Le disposizioni riguardanti i mulini rimangono inaltarate per sempre e non possono causare litigi nè fra il povero nè fra il ricco*, clearly referring to the principle, enunciated again in § 10, which compels the miller to treat all his clients on the principle of 'first come, first served'. It is possible that the Albanian version has been misunderstood.

[3] This refers to the letting of some of the tribe's scanty pasturage to strangers.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

681 solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj
[491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed
[594] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[695] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[204] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

In many cases the men shave their
302 their head completely except for a tuft of hair on top of the head.
291 This tuft is left by them to grow into a long lock. In the south their dress resembles that of the Greeks. In the north it varies from the town to the country, and in the countryside it varies again according to the different regions. In Scutari the Catholics wear wide, pleated black breeches which among the men reach down below the knees, and among the women down to the ankles. Further they wear white stockings, a short lower jacket with attached long sleeves and a sleeveless top jacket. In addition the women wear an embroidered sleeveless coat. The Mohammedans wear the pleated coat (fustan) that weighs several kilograms and remains short in central and southern Albania. It consists of several hundreds of long, narrow strips of linen cloth sewn together. A cotton or silk belt holds the coat, and the weapons are clamped inside a leather belt. To this are added a lower and a top jacket. The Mohammedan women wear very wide breeches and richly embroidered mantles with long sleeves that have slits in them. The fustan is regarded as being ancient Illyrian and is believed to have been developed from the kilt; it has been attested in the surviving artistic monuments in Mycenae and on ancient Crete, as well as in the Paleolithic caves of northern Spain. The rural population wears, likewise as an ancient Illyrian inheritance, a small, tightly-fitting, semi-spherical felt cap which does not cover much more than the top of the head, and is found represented among the "Barbarians" of the victory monument of Adam-Klissi. Tightly fitting sheep's wool trousers with two transverse slits in the region of the groin, which by some are considered Slavic, by others Thracian, an under jacket with sleeves, and a sleeveless vest, a mantle and a fur coat are also worn by the rural people. For these types of clothing evidences have again been
[462] discovered from antiquity. In the mode of life, the working of the
252 fields by the woman is regarded as an ancient cultural tradition; in the same category are placed the baking of flat cakes under the baking bell, the cooking of blood, fat, meat, and spices in a goat's stomach which is turned to and fro over the red hot coal embers, the cooking of wheat grains without prviously grinding them, the hand mill (Figure
412 14). and the turbine mill (Figure 10). The latter's grindstones lie five to six feet above the water wheel into whose spoon-like spokes the water
312 is poured from a steeply inclined conduit. Still belonging to the ancient cultural heritage are the watering of the field by means of canals and wooden conduits, something which is regulated by the family because of the dearth of water--Figure 16 shows a marking post, one and one-half meters high.

[see 1:Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a--Analyst]

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9). The swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6).
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8). Plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
000 forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,

[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p.69a -- Analyst]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Industry

HAVING immense natural wealth and possessing an abundance of raw materials and considerable reserves of power, Albania is well placed for the development of industry and may therefore be considered a country of the future. Already one can observe great progress made since the world war.

Albania being essentially an agricultural [241] country, it is logical that agriculture and the food industries are so far most developed. The possibilities of future development are also great, there also being large surplus stocks of agricultural products not required for home consumption.

Another industry yet to be developed on a [313] larger scale is timber. Albania is exceptionally rich in forests. Many of the forests are still untouched as domestic needs are filled easily from so dense a growth. Taking into consideration the large number of fully grown forests suitable for felling, and the excellent 433 quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably.

J. Reuter S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

000 quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably.

137 There are in Albania oak forests, coniferous trees, chestnut trees, beech trees, the latter being mingled with pine and firs. Juniper, maple and box grow on the higher slopes of the mountains. The elm, chestnut, walnut and plane trees are more prevalent on the plains.

313 There are steam sawmills near Valona and elsewhere which work continually.

433 Albania being so centrally located for the Balkan States and with one of their main outlets to the Adriatic Sea, is an ideal place for the establishment of factories, branch-factories and wholesale supply houses covering all trades, from canneries to automobile manufactures to supply the needs for the Balkan States and other nearby countries, this being [433] especially desirable and ideal when we con- [433] sider that there is ample labor to be had and the wages are the lowest in Europe.

[435] Land and building materials are extremely low in price, making it possible for the men of moderate means to live luxuriously.

000 Taxation on new properties does not exist,

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

compromise reconciled the public's need to use the road and the individual's wish to protect his crop without incurring the intolerable expense of making a fence or wall. One neighbour put two hurdles across his half of the road, one where it entered and the other where it left his land; both were low enough for men to jump over and high enough to keep back animals. Each had a hole at the bottom that was too small for animals to crawl through but big enough to let logs through when they were dragged down from the mountain for fuel; logs for fuel were such a necessity of life that they could not be denied a road. The other neighbour threw across his half of the road the Christ's Thorn which grows all over the plains of Albania, thus making a formidable barrier for men and beasts. Shutting up this half of the road did not matter; animals had no right in any case to go near a sown field, and the other man's hurdle was sufficient for human traffic. After harvest the thorns were removed, leaving that half of the road clear. The hurdle remained in place, as the clear half of the road was wide enough for the traffic.

In 1935 a man from Nangë in Lumë blocked the road along an irrigation channel for the summer, half of it with a low wall and half with thorns, so that men, but not animals, could still travel on it. He had wished to sow maize in his adjoining field and been too poor and short-handed to construct a fence to keep out animals. Since irrigation was so important, there was a special law that 'a road beside an irrigation channel can't be shut up'. Consequently, his act was highly illegal. But his poverty was thought to excuse it, and he had mitigated his offence by making a new road for animals at the top of his field, where there was no maize. In so doing he had confused the right to block a road for the summer only and the need, when closing one permanently, to provide a substitute. For the law forbidding a man to block an old road permanently was not rigid. If he had good reason for the change, secured the consent of the elders (a most important point), and provided a satisfactory substitute, he could even move a very old road. It was only if he failed to satisfy these conditions that he had to leave it where it was. The poor man just mentioned transgressed by not consulting the elders; their unusual clemency lay in refraining, out of consideration for his poverty, from reopening the road.

When a man applied for leave to close an old village road, he generally pleaded damage by passers-by or a need for more land to

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346 other place, among the numerous, to be visited with interest and close attention is the Neshad-Pasha Mosque which is a gem among its kind.

366 Here also is an exceedingly active branch of the Albanian National Bank.

529 From the center of the city, it is but a few kilometers' run to the seashore. In the cool of the day it is a delightful ride and after even a short swim in the clear waters one readily promises oneself to return to this lovely spot. For this strip of country from Valona to Himara is the Albanian Riviera and in no way can the rivieras of France and Italy surpass it. The climate is as agreeable, the natural beauties are far more picturesque, but the most inviting quality of this pleasant resort is that if privacy is desired it can be obtained and if, on the other hand, the gayety of a crowd is preferred, one has only to step from the front door and be buoyed along in a pleasant excitement.

315 A great deal of the wealth of Valona is derived from the rich petroleum fields that are situated near the city.

000 Another product important to Valona is

MINERALS AND MINING

135 trians discovered lignite near Tirana and along the side road to Elbasan and also an abundance of copper near Pukë. The French unearthed lignite at Pogradec and copper in several places near Korça.

654 The Albanian Government, since 1925, has given greater and more systematic assistance to the mining industry and to the research and study of geological conditions and possibilities.

There were eighteen mining concessions granted between the years 1922 and 1928 and twenty-one more concessions given out in 1929, thus giving these industries a strong impetus.

There are numerous concessions for oil, copper, iron, lead, asbestos, talcum, plaster and marls of cement, lignite, asphalt, chrome, et cetera, still available to responsible companies and individuals.

315 Some of the large international mining
316 enterprises have begun a continually increasing activity in Albania—the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Standard Oil Company, the Franco-Albanian Syndicate, Azienda Italiana Petroli Albania (AIPA), Societa Italiana Miniere di Selenizza, and others.

POSTSCRIPT

241 flourish. The southern plains, before the war,
439 exported fine horses in considerable numbers. Properly developed, Albania would be a rich agricultural country, even without the fertile valleys of Kossova and Epirus.

135 The mineral resources of Albania are unknown. During the Austrian occupation, a survey was made, looking toward the development of copper mines during the war; the results of the survey have vanished into the archives of the Austrian War Department. However, even the untrained eye perceives that there are copper and lead in the mountains. English mining engineers have told me that there are probably also silver and gold. I have seen veins of coal projecting on mountain sides; the mountaineers chip it off with hatchets or pry it loose with levers, and use it as fuel to a
[137] small extent. There are millions of feet of pine, oak, birch, and beech timber; unlimited water
[315] power. There are oil fields near Valona; producing oil wells were sunk, and later destroyed, by the Italians. Valona's military importance is not the only reason that Albanians are not left in peace.

175 There is also the political background. For twenty centuries the Albanians have been a beleaguered remnant of the first Aryan race in Europe. By character, temperament, and choice they belong with the peoples of the west, not with their Slav neighbors in the Balkans. But they have had no friends, either in west or east; their whole history has been a struggle for existence.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

643 Within a year of Tsena's murder Zog cemented his personal position by the assumption of the crown and style of King of the Albanians. The republican sympathies of the Tosk *beys* were disarmed by their mutual jealousies; and the new regime was established among the Ghegs by the efforts of a quadrumvirate of chiefs. These were Muharrem Bairaktar, Fikri Dine, Jemal Herri, and Prenk Previsi, who had all followed Zog into exile in Yugoslavia and had played an important part in the subsequent revolution. In the discharge of their duties they acquired considerable influence, but when they had served the royal purpose Zog broke their power, which might one day have challenged his own. In their place he installed new men, who proved more obedient to his wishes as they were more dependent upon his favour. Thus, in a period of five years, the royal dictatorship was made absolute.

648 315 Meanwhile Italian influence grew in Albania until the country's foreign relations and economic development came to be largely under Italian direction. Such a trend was indeed almost as inevitable in the economic as in the diplomatic sphere, for Albania possesses few natural resources which might have attracted the attention of other Powers. At one time, however, it appeared that the Albanian oil deposits might become of international interest; and an instructive tale is told of their emergence on the diplomatic scene. At one of the many international conferences which followed the last war, Albania was represented by Faik Bey Konitza, a man of considerable wit and distinction. Faik Bey was anxious to secure British support for his country's claims, and, after several unsuccessful applications, was reluctantly granted an interview by Lord Curzon. Curzon received Faik standing, and coldly invited him to be brief. The Albanian delegate bowed and replied:

"Your Excellency, in Albania there is oil."

Curzon's eyes lit up: "Sit down, my dear fellow," he said, suddenly unbending; and to the astonishment of the impatient secretaries their discussion was prolonged beyond the hour. Nor will the reader be surprised to learn that at the plenary session, next morning, the rights of a small nation were generously vindicated by the majestic eloquence of the British Foreign

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Secretary. *Si non è vero è ben trovato*, for a concession was 648
in fact granted to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. For a 315
variety of reasons, however, by no means exclusively commercial, the development of the oil-field was left to the Italians.

Italian influence in Albania was strong, but the King brooked 643
little interference in the internal administration of the country. 648
He drove hard bargains for every concession, insisted on retaining a British mission to train the gendarmerie, and gained from the Italians far more than he ever gave them. So long as Italy's ambitions were limited to assuring her predominance in the Adriatic such a situation was not unsatisfactory, for then her chief concern was to prevent other Powers extending their influence to Albania rather than to control the country herself. But when Mussolini decided that Albania should become the bridgehead from which his forces would march to the East, he was forced to recognise that Zog was of too independent a temper to serve this grand design. In April 1939, therefore, he decreed the invasion and annexation of Albania. The Italian landing at Durazzo was gallantly contested by the commandant of Kruya, a certain Abas Kupi. Otherwise there was no resistance. The King declined the unequal encounter and crossed into Greece with Queen Geraldine and their newborn son. From Greece he came by devious routes to Paris, and, after the fall of France, settled in London. The most loyal, or anti-Italian, of his subjects followed him into exile, and, for the most part, found hospitality in Yugoslavia or Turkey. Meanwhile, under the general amnesty proclaimed by the Italians, his chief opponents, including Ali Klissura and Mustafa Kruya, returned to Albania. An Italian Viceroy was installed in Tirana, the friends of Italy were rewarded, and a puppet government was set up on the bayonets of the invaders.

Zog had found Albania in chaos; he left her with at least 643
the rudiments of a modern state. Roads had been built; the framework of an administration created; and order, if not law, enforced. The King governed, indeed, in the oriental tradition, but it was also the tradition of his people. He corrupted his enemies, or played them off one against the other, and adminis-

ILLYRIA

lowed in 11 and 16 B. C. and in 6 and 9 A. D., 175 x
joined by the rebel Pannonians. Finally, Tiberius completely subjugated them in 9 A. D. along with Dalmatia, Iapidia and Liburnia, forming them into the Province of Illyricum.

For the next two or three centuries Latin civilization flourished in Illyria. Industrially, [316] • gold was mined in Bosnia and commercial cities sprang into being along the coast. Agri- [245] culturally, the cultivation of the vine was introduced with more than satisfactory results. Almost the whole of Illyria became a recruiting ground for the Roman legions, and in turbulent times, from the East, many of the Illyrian soldiers fought their way up to the imperial purple. Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian and Maximian[1] were all sons of Illyrian peasants. Through the growth in importance of Illyricum, many districts were added and thus in the second century A. D. the *Illyricum Times* included Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia and Thrace.

The Via Egnatia which extended from 491
Dyrrachium, across Illyricum to Constantinople, was built during this period, in this manner forming a definite link between Rome and Constantinople.

[1] [Errata: should be Maximinus. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

Minerals and Mining

316 MINING is rapidly becoming an important and profitable item in the economic life of Albania.

The soil of the country is extremely rich in ores of various kinds but unfortunately it has not been developed to the extent justified by the natural conditions and the riches of the sub-soil. Speaking generally, it has scarcely been developed beyond the phase of exploration and that of actual exploitation is just now actually beginning.

135 The Romans were aware of the deposits of asphalt near Valona, but in mediaeval times the continuous wars and later the Turkish domination did not favor the development of the mining industry.

Induced by the appalling scarcity of all raw materials during the world war and the numerous foreign occupations of Albania, a more intensive search for mineral products had been undertaken, and thus, the Italians found naphtha near Valona and lignite in the vicinity of Tepelene and elsewhere. The Aus-

MINERALS AND MINING

135 trians discovered lignite near Tirana and along the side road to Elbasan and also an abundance of copper near Pukë. The French unearthed lignite at Pogradec and copper in several places near Korça.

654 The Albanian Government, since 1925, has given greater and more systematic assistance to the mining industry and to the research and study of geological conditions and possibilities.

There were eighteen mining concessions granted between the years 1922 and 1928 and twenty-one more concessions given out in 1929, thus giving these industries a strong impetus.

There are numerous concessions for oil, copper, iron, lead, asbestos, talcum, plaster and marls of cement, lignite, asphalt, chrome, et cetera, still available to responsible companies and individuals.

315 Some of the large international mining
316 enterprises have begun a continually increasing activity in Albania—the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Standard Oil Company, the Franco-Albanian Syndicate, Azienda Italiana Petroli Albania (AIPA), Societa Italiana Miniere di Selenizza, and others.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG

316 A company has most successfully exploited the bitumen mines near Valona. The bitumen is found in solid form, both dull and shining, in liquid form and also as asphalt. The shining bitumen, called *romsi*, after the name of the village where it is principally found, is a remarkable product which does not exist in many countries. Albania exported in 1934 and 1935 bitumen in kilos 6,490,012 and 6,178,783 respectively.

135 Copper has been found near Pukë, Rehova, Kamenica and in the Mirdite district; iron in the Drin valley, near Kolonja, and in the Griba mountains; stratas of asbestos and talcum near Kruja, Deshnica, Voskopoja, Valona, Alessio and generally throughout the country; chrome near Pogradec; lead in the north; arsenic in several places; plaster and marls of cement appearing in large quantities near Valona, Alessio and many other places; lignite in numerous parts of Albania, especially in the vicinity of Tirana, Korça, etc. The asphalt and petroleum fields in some parts of Albania are the more advanced in development.

Few countries have a greater variety of mineral wealth, from precious metals down to

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

3/2 A most profitable future is open to the many thermal and mineral springs, especially the hot sulphur springs at Llixha, near Elbasan, the springs near Përmet, Peshkopi, etc. ~~all with diversified medical possibilities.~~

These thermal and mineral springs have been known and used with great results by the neighboring population for many years for all ailments, and only in recent years has their fame spread and great numbers of visitors from abroad began to come and appreciate the salutary effects of these springs.

3/6 The factors of importance in considering investments in Albanian mining enterprises are:

Albania is and has been for years consistently on a gold basis. That is to say, mines owe their regular and current profit-earning and divident-paying capacity to low costs of production and not to manipulated or artificial exchange premiums.

Albania is in Europe. It is geographically situated in the world's chief markets and does not have to contend with highly expensive transportation costs. It is directly linked with the great industrial centres of Europe by direct water routes.

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MINERALS AND MINING

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316 developed European State. It is already possessed of such social amenities as schools, hospitals, churches, aeroplanes, telegraphs, telephones, wireless, automobile roads, etc., consequently capital outlay and overhead charges are not, as in most mining countries, burdened with the provision of these services.

[464] Albania has at hand an adequate supply of qualified and skilled workers, from university graduates downwards. Apart, therefore, from foreign managers and technical specialists, there is no need for the otherwise usual expense and difficulty of staffing.

433 Albania is possessed of coalfields and is well wooded and exceptionally well watered. There is always available unlimited timber for mining and building, coal for power and water for general purposes.

Tirana, the capital of Albania, is within one day's air journey from London, a few hours' air journey from Paris and only about three hours' air trip from Rome.

[464] Albania is possessed of an abundant supply of willing unskilled and peasant labor. There is in the world to-day probably nowhere available such cheap, eager and efficient labor as is everywhere at hand in Albania.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

CHAPTER IX

Coal at Koritza—An Economic Problem—A Night at the Metropole—The American School—I Go a-Missionising—In the Middle Ages—A Painful Incident—Converting the Imaum—The Dervish and Omar—"Blessed are the Weak-Minded!"—The Education Question—Women and the Moral Standard—Vengeance! A True Story—Silver and Gold—Italy Again—A Beautiful Lake—At Podgradetz—The Bull-Frogs.

DERVISH PRIEST

KORITZA is a town of some 20,000 361 inhabitants, with several fine new churches, an old Turkish mosque, and a prospect of electric light in the near future. It owes its importance to its situation in the centre of a large plain, one of the chief agricultural districts of Albania. The surrounding [135] mountains contain coal, and during 316 the French occupation coal was exported in considerable quantities to Salonika. Since the war, however, there has been only a little surface mining—just enough to supply the local demand—and though the presence of coal may ultimately make Koritza an industrial centre there are as yet no signs of any such development. Albania is, in fact, in much the same position as Montenegro in regard to mineral exploitation and mining. Not only ooo

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

new metal and so give an impulse to the vast iron industry upon which the whole of our present material civilization is based. But into this prehistory we cannot now enter. The epoch-making discoveries of the Austrian experts attached to the Serajevo Museum require a volume to themselves, and can be studied in the volumes of the *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*. In his *Voyage en Bosnie*, 1807–1808, Chaumette-des-Fossés says: "The mines which abound in this country would become under another government an inexhaustible source of wealth. . . . That which has always contributed to the wealth of Bosnia and, at the present time, has become its principal branch of industry are the numerous iron mines. The most considerable are near Foinitza and Cressevo. They employ more than two thousand workers, of whom one-third are Catholics and the rest gipsies." According to this report the Orthodox Serbs did not work in the mines.

Iron being such a very ancient Balkan industry, it is strange to find that the bulk of the Balkan populations still consider iron-working as most degrading. When I travelled, the tide of foreign blue-enamelled ironware was only beginning to set in, and iron was still worked almost entirely by gipsies a-squat in ramshackle sheds on the outskirts of the towns of Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Albania, who, with most primitive anvil, hammer, and bellows, forged the horseshoes, hobbles, chains, ploughshares, fish-tridents, dentistry forceps, nails, and hooks commonly used by the peasants. Everyone bought their ware, and everyone looked on the gipsy as beneath contempt.

Respectable people, both Serb and Albanian, could make copper pots or cut up old petroleum canisters and fashion tin pots and other articles of them. No one who valued his reputation could hammer iron.

In 1907 I was Commissioner for Montenegro at the Balkan States Exhibition at Earl's Court, and took the Montenegrins who then came over for their first walk to see the shops. None of them had ever left their native land before. We stopped outside a large hardware shop in the Brompton Road, and the two men examined every tool and pot in the window. They then glanced inside. I shall never forget their contempt when they saw that the men behind the counter were not, as they expected, "tsrni tziganini" (black gipsies) but English.

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VALONA

317 Another product important to Valona is salt which is taken from the lagoons of the village of Arta, lying near Valona.

712 An excursion not to be missed is from Valona to Kanina. The road, going to the southwards, leads through luxuriant olive groves, fruity vineyards and waving fields of towering maize. About 400 meters above the town of Kanina stands the mighty Kanina Fortress, a relic of Byzantium. For its age, this veteran of so many attacks stands with comparatively few marks of the ravages of time and war. In the center of the village of 346 Kanina, directly under this fortress, is a Con- 764 vent of the Dervishes. Immediately in front of this building, a great tree proudly waves its branches far overhead, for this tree is the guardian of the last resting place of Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora, the father of modern Albania.

Valona has further interest historically for it was here that Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora proclaimed Albania's independence on November 28, 1912.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG I

lignite. The greater number of the deposits possess all the natural conditions for exploitation.

There are lignite, asbestos, talcum and asphalt fields throughout the entire country. The greater number of these seams have not yet been touched.

Were the chrome deposits fully exploited Albania would rank among the first in world production of this ore.

Gold, silver, antimony, cinnabar, chromium, coal and petroleum have been discovered by experts in several parts of Albania.

There are also ample indications in many parts of Albania of oil and natural gas, especially in the Viosa valley.

Some experts stated authoritatively that quicksilver has been discovered.

Salt in large quantities is obtained by evaporation, either from the seawater as at Durazzo, near Valona and at the mouth of the Semeni, or from the salt springs.

This great and varied mineral wealth suggests untold possibilities for the economic development and cultural progress of Albania.

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286 lugs or cogs, which lift up a heavy wooden
402 hammer and let it drop, 4 times for each revolution. Two staggered sets of cogs and 2 hammers give the cloth a constant pounding as long as it is left there.

No one seems to know who invented these mills or who makes them. When you encounter them along a stream, they are usually unattended. Apparently the wife, having woven her cloth, turns it over to her husband, who takes it to the mill to be fulled. There is no professional fuller, and each mill seems to belong to the group of kinsmen or neighbors who use it.

294 The women make their own clothing, for the most part of unfulled cloth. They also crochet the stockings, and stitch the opingas, worn by both sexes. The men, however, carry the fulled and heavily felted cloth to the market town, to a tailor who then cuts it in the traditional design of his client's native place, and sews up the pieces and embroiders the finished garment.

A number of other specialists are involved in the production of men's clothing and equipment. A special craftsman provides the quantities of braid with which jacket and trousers are adorned. Hatters, equipped with wooden molds to suit every variation of tribal taste, shape the felt caps, conical or truncated, white or black, which all mountaineers wear. Leather-workers, who are traditionally Turks, make ornate belts for the men, as well as saddles, bags, and straps. Special shoemakers make footgear for those who can afford it, although most wear the opingas which their wives produce from local hides. Most of the shoemakers are Kruja men, and this is a Kruja specialty. At Kukës we saw zebra hides on display outside several shops. These had been sent all the way from South Africa for the manufacture of opingas.

[322] As previously stated,* wooden buckets are made by professional coopers in towns, and
285 purchased by the mountain people, who use them in dairying and for food storage. Baskets, however, are local products; the country people often bring them to town for sale. Several villages near Scutari specialize in basket-making, and the women, who weave

*[See cat. 16, p. 136 -- Analyst]

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● 323

Slovenes EF7
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1 ●
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For additional miscellaneous bits of information on the use of brick, stone, tiles and masonry in building construction, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

285 them, bring them to market along with embroidery. These include not only spinning baskets and hand-carrying baskets, but also large osier panniers used in transport—a man can carry one on his back, a horse, two. I believe that the panniers are made by men.

326 Other containers include copperwork and pottery. The coppersmiths in each town hammer out sheets of metal into round trays, which can be used for baking cheese dishes, pastry, etc., or for tea and coffee service. They also make kettles, water jugs, and wash-basins. All of these things are purchased by the mountaineers, who now and then acquire a European chamber-pot to use as soup tureen, and a set of glass tumblers.

● 323 Three kinds of pottery find their way into the mountaineer's household. In the Catholic tribes, if not elsewhere, the women still make an Iron Age vessel, of simple profile, with handles, without slip, and decorated by incisions. It is hand-modeled, and fired in such a way as to give it a black surface. In the towns, professional male potters make a porous ware on the wheel. This is used for carrying and storing water. Regular modern glazed pottery is imported from Italy, and subsequently sold in the bazaars.

251 Food preservation and storage techniques vary between Catholics and Moslems, owing to their differences in diet. The Catholics preserve much pork by salting and smoking. The men of each household will butcher as many fat pigs as the family needs or can spare, in the fall. They cut the belly fat into flitches and hang it over the fire. An especial delicacy is the *peshk*, or "fish," a long strip of lean back-bacon, smoke-cured, which they cut in slices and fry. Besides these whole pork pieces, they make sausages and cure them in the same
[262] way. The Moslems as a rule eat only fresh meat and live on mutton, whereas Catholics eat both mutton and pork.

Both store their cereals and legumes in tubs and bags in the house, and keep maize in special outdoor corncribs, elevated to protect them from rats. Very often a fierce dog will be seen and heard, chained under the crib.
234 Both make butter from their cows' milk, and cheese from that of sheep and goats, although the use of the latter is much more common
000 among the Moslems. Catholics, in country fit

. 2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

757 278 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.

757 753 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 151 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought [563 a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and 326] pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him 759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can 752 survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house 757 in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound [278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen, 757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He 278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

ing, accompanied by the women on tambour-
533 ines and they by the men on violins and
535 cornets. Their dances are picturesque in
their native costumes with their hair either
flowing or bound up, according to the partic-
ular dance. For those who may interpret
their dances, there is a rich abundance of
narrative in store for the reader. The har-
mony of tambourine, violin and cornet is not
at all unpleasant when played by skilled musi-
cians. The singing, however, is not harmon-
563 ized, the performers using only one voice.
[461] Regardless of where these gypsies may live
they earn their living in the same way, and
being too lazy to cultivate even a small truck-
garden, they lead easy, happy-go-lucky exist-
[427] ences, and they have their huts free of rent,
provided they work a few days out of the year
for their ground landlord, Shevket Bey.
Strange as it may seem, these wandering,
[326] anchorless people are about the only local
blacksmiths found in this country, for the
Albanians proper have a curious aversion to
this occupation.

245 After leaving this quaint little town of
Bradshesh, and penetrating into the heart of
Albania towards Elbasan, large, beautiful

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

mill, the villagers themselves could work it; the miller was therefore 621
not entitled to public protection. The village blacksmith, with few [563]
exceptions a gipsy, was in even worse case than the miller. He was [326]
a public necessity, since Albanian peasants will not make horse 628*
shoes or farm implements, but he was only a gipsy and no Albanian
community would trouble about so low-class a creature. If he was
murdered, only his family would avenge him, and they probably
lacked the spirit to do so.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

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124 keepers measured, 18 were in Peshkopia. Of
463 these, 11 were locals, and 7 Big Dibra immigrants. Six shopkeepers were measured in Kukës, all Malsia e Jakovës men; 2 in Bicaj, a Luma village, were local. One Malsia e Jakovës man was measured in his own shop in Kolgecs, a local town. Thus 25 out of the 31 shopkeepers came from the eastern borderlands, from big towns or their neighborhood. The situation is the same as with the craftsmen whose goods they sell.

Four shopkeepers remain: 2 are from Malsia e Madhe, one with his shop in Scutari, the other at home. Of the other 2, one is a local in Puka, the other a local in Mirdita. The Mirdita man, who has the only shop in that tribe, claimed that his father was an Austrian officer who begat him during World War I. This would give him a maximum possible age of 14 years at the time of measuring. He was at least 30.

TECHNOLOGY, A REVIEW

000 From the foregoing study of the non-somatological data collected in our series,[1] and from what is generally known of the material culture of the Ghegs, we can make a brief summary, keeping in mind always our main purpose, to define the economic elements in the cultural situation within which the Ghegs live.

326 Cutting tools are of iron. They are made by
391 blacksmiths in the market towns in which the Ghegs do their trading. In Scutari, for example, there is a whole quarter devoted to smiths, most if not all of whom are gypsies. With hammer and tongs, a small anvil, and a pair of foot-pump bellows they forge nearly all of the metal objects needed by the mountaineers in their farming, herding, transport, and household carpentry. They make small anvils, hammers, nails, axes, adzes, knives, ploughshares, shovels, hoes, toothed sickles, billhooks, beam ties, door hinges, horseshoes, horse hobbles, chains, bits, firetongs, andirons, tripods, lighting racks, and probably other articles which have escaped our attention.[2]

326 There is no smelting in the neighborhood of Ghegnia. The iron which the smiths use is all imported. Although city blacksmiths can

[2] Haberlandt's, Nopcsa's, and mine. The best account of this is to be found in Haberlandt, 1917, p. 90. --13a--

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 11a-13a --Analysis]

326 make all of these implements out of trade iron, it is unlikely that the rural smiths, like the one measured in Mirdita, do much more than [439] horseshoeing. No one in Albania can make steel implements. Not only the material, but the finished implements themselves, must be imported, and hence they are expensive. That is why saws and augers are scarce in the mountains, where almost the only steel tools seen are files, useful for sharpening iron tools and for woodworking.

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Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For the special terminological usage of "cylindrical tiles" in house construction, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, p. 87./

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Slovenes EF7
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For additional miscellaneous bits of information on the use of brick, stone, tiles and masonry in building construction, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

372 and steel or lighters. This left the mountaineers in an unenviable position—they could not afford matches nor legally start fires by other means. Outside the market towns, however, their illegal actions passed unnoticed.

342 Several authorities, particularly Nopcsa, have concerned themselves with north Albanian house types. These are usually divided, on the basis of ground plan, room arrangement, and architecture into a number of classes: simple one-roomed huts, usually employed in the summer only by shepherds on high mountain pastures; 2-roomed, one-storied houses, with one room for animals and the other for the family; the so-called veranda houses, with a wooden front porch and columns, reminiscent of the Homeric hall; and finally the *kulla* or defensible stronghold (fig. 8, *a*). 1

The 2-roomed house seems to be basic in the mountains, although historically the more complicated structures have made these edifices rare. The veranda house, although old in the Mediterranean, was apparently late to reach this refuge area, being spread with Islam. The *kulla*, or stronghold, is said to have come at the same time as the veranda house. Both reached Kastrati and Shala about 1850, being introduced by one man who had lived in Istanbul, Liho Čuni.

For building materials the Ghegs are strictly limited to local supplies, since transportation
[135] is so difficult. In the region designated on figure 2 as "serpentine highland," 2 the stone is hard to cut, and unsuited for fine masonry except in the hands of experts. Furthermore, lime is found in few places only, and it is usually impossible to make mortar without many tedious trips with pack-horses or donkeys. In this region many of the houses are made of wood, with squared logs laid on each other and held in place by vertical or diagonal crosspieces. Others are made of wattle: vertical poles side by side, with flexible wands woven in and out between them. At times this wattling is bare, but usually it is covered with some sort of plaster or mud.

●[333] Where there is plenty of suitable stone and lime, these materials are used. The simpler, poorer houses are of dry masonry, but the majority are built with mortar. Roofing material varies from thatch to shakes, slate, and tile. Years ago thatch was much more com-

-14a-

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, p. 8a -- Analyst]

342 [562] local independence of the families within them. In the *kullas*, women are placed on the second floor, men on top; or else the women will live in a nearby unfortified house, while the men take refuge in the *kulla*. This reflects the inviolability of women in the local feuding law.

333 *Kulla*-building[1] requires the skill of professionals. All stones are squared, and carefully set in mortar. The fireplaces and chimneys must be properly aligned and made to draw. The great height of the walls requires scaffolding. Nopcsa[3] says that they are built by itinerant masons, and that in 1908 they cost between 440 and 660 crowns (110–165 dollars). I was told several times when I asked that the *kullas* were built by masons from Dibra,[4] who also build them in Montenegro, Bosnia, and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Exactly where in Dibra these masons come from I do not know. I have never seen one at work, nor did any appear in our series.

354 These houses, of whatever type, are heated by wood, which at the same time cooks the meals. In most of the region there is plenty of firewood, but in the northern limestone region it is scarce and must be sought afar. The mountaineers earn a little spare cash by carrying loads of firewood down to the market towns to sell.

In many houses in 1929 a primitive form of illumination was still employed. When it grew dark the host would lay a number of pine splinters in several iron racks, hanging from the roof, and light them. The oil in the wood would provide enough light to see by, but hardly enough for reading. In other houses, however, they used candles, and in still others oil lamps. Kerosene has been packed into this country in square 5-gallon tins for some time, and the tins themselves are as much sought after as their contents.

291 Gheg clothing has received even more attention than their housing. The costumes are picturesque, and make fine collections. They vary from tribe to tribe, *bairak* to *bairak*, and in some cases between villages. After six months of travel over the mountains I was able to tell where a man came from in many cases by the cut of his jacket, the color of his

1 [see cat. 11b, p. 14 b-- Analyst]

[3] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 62.

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania. A G 342 712 171

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1). A G [333]

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2). A 342 177 171

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate G [177]

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. 1B 85. See also **D Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof, (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

reasons, be no openings in the ground-floor walls except the door-way, but square holes were left in those of the upper floor for windows. Except in rich houses these 'windows' were not glazed. At night they were closed in rich as in poor houses by propping stone slabs against them or sliding wooden panels across them. Those in a one-storeyed cluster were usually too high for the curious outside to peep through or the hostile to shoot through. Nikollë Gjetë Coka of Breg i Matit, putting his trust in the exemplary peace which King Zog's government had established throughout Albania, neglected this ancient precaution and was shot in 1938 by some Mirdites who thrust their rifles through the window of the room in which he sat at supper. At the top of a tower there were usually loop-holes, splayed to give a wider field of fire and low enough to let a man kneel as he shot. When these were found in a clustered house, as they often were, it was naturally on a vulnerable side, where they might also be reinforced by turrets in the wall of the farmyard. In the kitchen, where the women and children must spend the day and evening, the hearth continued in the middle because more people could sit round it in that position.

In planning his house the Albanian householder sought chiefly shelter from the elements and his enemies, and took no thought for beauty. When villages are picturesque, as many are, it is always for such extraneous reasons as their site, the line of their roofs against a lightly clouded sky, and the greenery surrounding them, rather than for the architecture of their individual houses. A tower, it is true, may have machicoulis over its door or under an upper window, and these give it distinction; its elevation and its usual situation on a knoll may also be attractive. The best examples, some of them over two hundred years old, may be seen in Lurë. But few clustered houses are more than an assemblage of featureless boxes.

In the bigger houses the furnishings altered little from those of the simplest type already described. Mattresses and pillows were probably added to the bedding, and the floor of the sitting-room, instead of being left bare, was covered with mats made from reeds grown in the swamps near the coast. In the cold north and north-east there was usually a layer of earth under the mats; it made an admirable shield against winter blasts. Chairs remained rarities and stools were still confined to the kitchen with its chilly earthen floor. Workers being more plentiful, enough animals to make butter could be kept; the churn was made by hollowing out a section of tree-trunk.

17:Thurnher E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs

Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1

Y 342 [367] Settlements of the Vlahs are located in steep hillsides far away from the highways. The houses are large, have a number of rooms, and are two-story structures. They are rectangular and of stone; the higher the altitude the thicker the walls become. Windows are not very large, but all two-story buildings have a balcony on the second floor. When they consist of only one story the veranda is lacking (Capidan, 1941: 29-30). The floor plan of both stories consists of a central hall with side rooms. In winter the ground floor is used for habitation, in summer the upper story, although in large families both floors are occupied in summer and winter. Most daily activities take place in the hall of the ground floor. The side rooms there are generally for storage, and most of the sleeping rooms are on the top floor. One or two guest rooms may be present. (Capidan, 1941: 29-30).

Y 343 Farm Buildings. In the yard one finds the košara, a long rectangular building made of wicker with a straw roof, used for sheep in winter. The circular chicken coop is likewise of wicker (fig. 38). The most important structure is the plemnja, which is located close to the threshing floor and serves for the storage of straw and fodder. Poorer ones are made of wattle and daub and covered with straw; however, they are generally of the same construction as the house. They are one-story buildings and are found in all villages of southern Macedonia. While they may be located in the yard they usually form a group away from the houses (Milojević, 1921: 87-88). Y [184]

Y 342 [233] Buildings Outside the Village. In the mountains one finds groups of up to twenty shepherds' huts that form a hamlet, looking like beehives from afar. They have a diameter of 5-6 meters and are not higher than 3 meters. They are constructed of woven twigs or straw and plastered with mud. The walls are about 10-15 centimeters thick. The upper part of the "bee-hive" has a roof consisting of about 5-7 rows of straw which merge with the walls. In the interior one finds a fireplace with a cauldron hanging over it, and a loom (Capidan, 1941: 31-32). Y [354] [286]

In addition to these huts the Vlah shepherds have portable tents. The tent is made by spreading a cloth of woven goat hair, 4-5 meters long and 2-3 meters wide, over a wooden frame. One of the triangular entrances remains open while the other is closed by woven cloth (Capidan, 1941: 32-33). Y [286]

ALBANIA

A 133 Albania consists largely of rugged, barren mountains, bordered by a fairly wide coastal plain. Most of the available data deal with the mountain regions of northern Albania. This is an area of intensive feuding, where, as among the Spaći clan, up to 32% of mortalities are the result of feuds (Nopcsa, 1925: 52). This internecine warfare is clearly reflected in the preference for stone A •341 578

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 210). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

342 The simplest stone buildings are made of dry masonry. Windows are lacking. The roof may be made of two rows of boards, 30-40 centimeters wide and rather thick, which are weighted down with stones or with a beam at the eaves. Occasionally they may have a hipped roof covered with stone slabs (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). More common are buildings of mortar and stone. When the interior is partitioned, interior walls are of lighter material, wickerwork or [171] wooden boards. Whereas in Rumania and most of the southern Slav area the entrance leads to the central kitchen, on each side of which are symmetrical rooms, in Albania the hearths are located on either side of the building and there is only a passage between the two side rooms (figs. 50, 51) (Nopcsa, 1925: 39).

More often than one-story houses, one finds two-story ones (only the kulas may have more than two stories). The ground floor has storage rooms and stables, while the second story has two rooms. The stairway to the second story is located on the outside. Often one finds a two-story house that has a veranda along the whole front and a massive masonry stairway leading up to it (fig. 49). When the veranda is encompassed by the side walls of the house it is called a shamashin, when not enclosed, čardak (Nopcsa, 1925: 43). In the veranda house, the basement space under the veranda and the rooms may be partitioned off with dry masonry or wooden boards into small rooms for storage and animals (Nopcsa, 1925: 44).

The stairs leading up to the second story may have wooden banisters. The roof may project over the stairs, or a separate canopy roof may be built over them. Sometimes a small stairway house is built over it (fig. 53) which makes for greater security when stepping out of the house. (The position of the door is always an important factor in Albania). Nopcsa (1925: 53) believes that this staircase is an independent development. One part of the veranda may be walled in to form a small room (fig. 50). The pattern of building separate houses for family members when the family gets too large is not known in Albania. However, in northern Albania this is given consideration when building additions to the house or making changes. If one needs more room, the building is enlarged or a room may be subdivided. Fig. 51 represents modification of a building into two separate units each with its own stairway.

342 Kulas are high tower-like structures of massive masonry that can be defended by a few men. Instead of windows they have loopholes and sometimes have a bastion-like defense structure on their upper story (fig. 54). Special construction for defense is found [341] even in some of the simple one-room dairy houses. Thus, in one inside corner may be erected a structure, 2.5 meters long and 1.5 meters high, of solid walls covered with a slab roof. It looks very much like an oven, especially as the opening is only 75 centimeters high and 75 centimeters wide (Nopcsa, 1925: 52).

The door of the kula is generally to one side. Stairs to the second story are on the inside and may be merely ladders that lean

17: Thurnher E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1 •
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

SYARB
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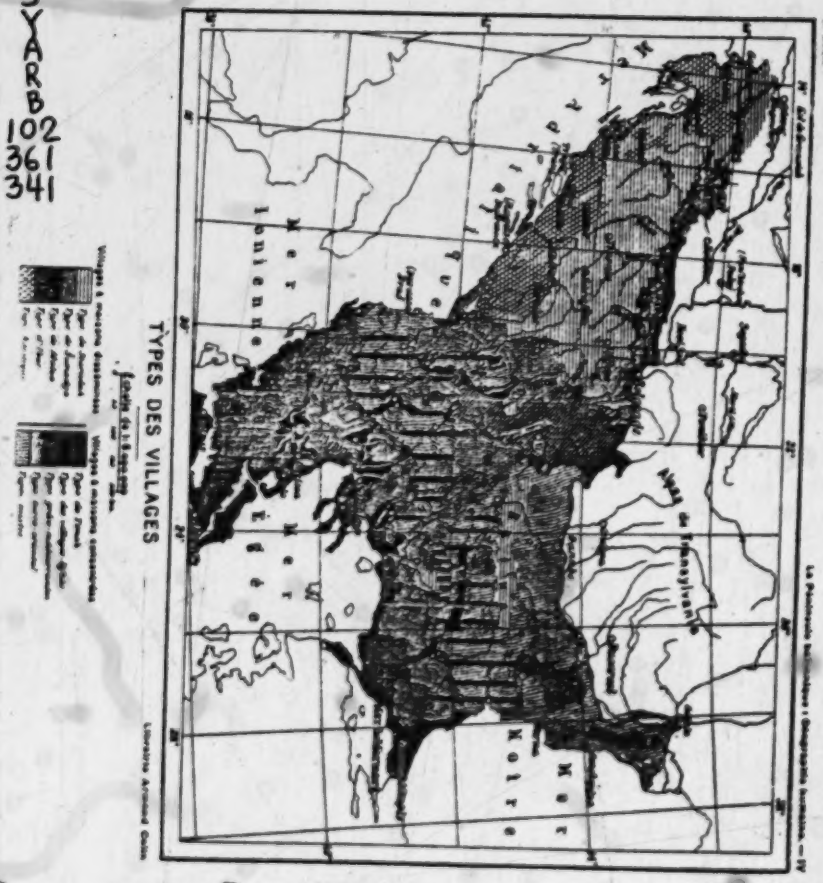

[P.86-R]

Bulgaria	EE1
Yugoslavia	EF1
Albania	EG1

113, 342

/For each end plate illustrating house plans in source 9:Megas, the author lists his sources of information in an appendix. See 9:Megas, EH1 Greece, category 116, pp. 120-134./

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Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1 •
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For the special terminological usage of "cylindrical tiles" in house construction, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, p. 87./

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/For information on the construction and form of houses, yards and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 66-70, passim and 86J, 86L-86M./

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Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For general information on houses and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 79-86./

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The large uncarved wooden crosses in most of the graveyards of 531
Dukagini and Pulati (Fig. 9) show at the ends of the arms either (1) a sun 764
and crescent, (2) a sun alone, or (3) a sun with two notches below it—
a transition form in which the carpenter has forgotten what the crescent
is and merely chopped notches. The sun-wheel forms the back and
the crescent and sun the ends of the arms of the typical wooden arm-
chair in which the house-lord sits. Such chairs were used by all the
tribes, but are now chiefly found in the further Dukagini tribes. The
chip-carved distaffs of the women show the cross frequently; but chip-
carving does not lend itself to curves, and the moon appears as an
angle on which the cross stands. Some distaffs, however, suggest that
their complicated designs are based on rayed curves, though they are
now angular.

The cross and rayed sun are also traceable on many of the elaborately 291
knitted socks. Here, owing to the exigencies of the material, the sun 531
is square, but the rays are duly shown.

A rayed sun is part of the elaborate design embroidered on the
scarlet cloak of the married Catholic women of Scutari. Of this design,
which with variations consists always of similar elements, I have failed
to find an explanation. "It must be some old story which we have
forgotten," say the embroiderers, who are always men. The sun, an ear
of wheat (? feather), a flowering plant, the dove and the serpent always
appear. It is given to the bride by the bridegroom on her wedding- [585]
day. The sun, the wheat, and the flowers suggest fertility. And the
facts that the serpent and dove were symbols of the mother goddess
worshipped at Knossos, and that bird and serpent played an important
part in Egyptian mythology, show that the origin of this Albanian
pattern is, indeed, so old that it is no wonder the embroiderers have
forgotten it (Figs. 10 and 11).

The sun and moon were firmly established as symbols in the Balkans 174
long before the Turk arrived. I think that probably the Turkish crescent 531
and star is really the rayed sun and moon, the sun being diminished
so as to fit decoratively within the crescent.

On the wall of a house at Vuthaj, when the district was wholly 531
Moslem and almost closed to outsiders, I saw, in 1908, a large rayed 342
sun painted with a slim crescent beside it (Fig. 12, No. 10). More
striking yet was the emblem at that time placed over the gate of the
Turkish Konak at Prizren. It was a large wooden sun with long rays
of unequal length. At the tip of each ray was a small wooden crescent.
At this time there was huge excitement over the proclamation of the
Turkish Constitution, and I was warned neither to draw nor photograph
anything in public. I made, therefore, only a memory sketch (Fig. 12,
No. 9), but it gives a correct idea of this curious sign, which, as the

[Text continues on p. 129]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

leries and the long proportions of the build- 346
ings, and the rich-hued tiles of the roof combined to make a unique harmony of color design. However, these cells have been uninhabited for some time, as the Orthodox monks have almost died out in Albania, and the monastery is now under the jurisdiction of a priest; but in due respect to their former occupants the wives of the priests do not go beyond the threshold of this old monument sacred to the memory of the devout ones who dwelt therein. To-day most of the cells are tenanted by the servants and aged dependents of the monastery, also, a modern comfortable guest-house is maintained for the use of visitors.

The remains of the saint are placed in the 779
chapel, where the faithful peasants, on the days of pilgrimage and exposition in early September, make wild efforts to get close enough to place a handkerchief or scarf on the coffin and to preserve these in case of illness, at which time, if worn, are believed to possess healing powers, especially against malaria and other fevers.

Returning to the highroad one soon arrives 342
at Bradshesh, where the peculiarity in the

342 dwellings immediately enables one to make the distinction between the natives of this district. The comfortable handsome stone houses, with large galleries on the upper stories before the living rooms and the stables below, denote the typical Albanian peasant homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

543 There are two kinds of gypsies in this in-
197 teresting country: one is the same as the
140 English variety, speaking the quaint old
191 Romany, although knowing at the same time the language of the country. This branch of gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly moving from one district to another, pitching their temporary tents wheresoever they will.
[443] Their keenest interest is in horses and they live by their tradings and quite often entirely by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is those, who, having forgotten almost all of their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a little Turkish where they are old enough to have experienced the Turkish occupation of Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up
533 tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their
535 daily bread in the simplest and most conven-
563 ient way possible for them: singing and danc-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

648 All foreign legations, except that of Great Britain, are located in Tirana. The British Legation is in Durazzo (Durrës).

366 To an eager tourist Tirana's allure will lie in the bazaars located in the side streets away from the center of the city, where craftsmen have plied their trades for centuries. Side by side are the shops of the silver- and goldsmiths and the displays of pottery, tapestry, and the laces and skillful handwork of the Albanian women will catch the feminine eye.

363 Those who never tire of the unique and intriguing will be swept along through a maze of streets that have nothing in common with the progressive edifices in the modern section of Tirana. Through these narrow streets which offer every form of merchandise in its own interesting way, the explorer will come

342 on the outskirts of the city to the small huts of peasants, made of sun-baked bricks of surprising endurance surrounded by the usual fence or wall, and here one touches a life that is different—prompted by traditions and cultures that have come down from person to person, perhaps from the days when modern progress was not even a dream.

346 Among the numerous other sights not to be missed in Tirana are the Mosque of Suleiman

Durazzo Beach

529 ALONG the crystal-white sands of the beach and on to the opposite end of the bay, are comfortable villas not more than fifty yards from the water. The last villa in this scattered row belongs to the King of the Albanians.

Looking from the far end of the beach towards Durazzo, one is faced with a view that contains more color than the Entrance of the Bay at Naples. There is the same rich blue of the water and its reflection in the vast, blue vault of the heavens, the various startlingly vivid colors of the town with two or three slender, graceful spires rearing their gold-tipped heads upward and here the resemblance ends; Naples has no more; but Durazzo presents a picture nestled into the olive-green and brownness of the surrounding mountains —like a rare and priceless opal placed on a piece of half-blue and tawny velvet.

342 The villas are built comfortably of stucco and native stone and are very light and airy. It will completely astonish some to learn that

342 these five and six room villas can be built for, including the price of the land, from $800.00 to $1,500.00 and[1] live as comfortably as in a city with much more offered them; and strange as it may seem, there are only about a dozen villas, most of them belonging to government officials, along this ideal beach, with its white, clean sand and the cool waters of
529 the Adriatic. Nothing is more enviable than to see these people on a hot morning taking a cool, refreshing "dip" before breakfast and to walk back—fifty yards—to their front porches for a delicious meal—taking life easily and leisurely and enjoying it to the fullest. For those who work all winter in a close office, the warm, healing air of the Adriatic is as a rebirth. And for those who are more inclined to mountain-climbing, they have only to walk about a half mile and begin the long, steady climb up to the summits of the Albanian mountains and they shall be rewarded with views that are indescribable. These great hills are covered with rich olive and fig trees and in the spring are complete blankets of irises. These dainty little flowers the natives bring down and plant before their villas, or in boxes for ornamentation. For the artist,

[1] [Errata: should be one can live, Cf. Errata sheet, cat. 116, p. 269 —Analyst.]

Korcha

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KORÇA (sometimes referred to as Korcha and also as Koritsa) is the central terminus for Albania. It lies in one of the most fertile plains of Central Albania which is under intense cultivation. This causes Korça to be rich industrially for here are located three tobacco factories, a large sawmill and an alcohol factory. Near Korça are rich coal mines, vineyards, and so forth.

Several of the principal roads connecting Albania with Yugoslavia on the north and with Greece on the south and east meet here. To this valued and fortunate location Korça owes her importance and her development into an exceedingly up-to-date center for trade and traffic which enables her to transport materials of all kinds to and from all parts of the country.

The King Pyrrhus, of historic renown, was born in this district in which the city of Korça now stands.

342 Each home in Korça is surrounded by a garden enclosed with a wall made of light-colored stones, giving the residences an appearance of wealth.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

175 famous of these chieftains were Kara Mohammed of Scutari, and Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The former, at the end of the last century, aimed at an independent sovereignty, which his son, Mustapha Pasha, asserted 175 in open rebellion in 1831; and the latter, notwith- 669 standing the frightful cruelties of which he was guilty, still lives in tale and song as the mighty upholder of Albanian independence against Ottoman tyranny. Subsequent risings have, however, resulted only in the death or banishment of the most influential members of leading families, the last *coup d'état* of this description having been carried out at Prisrend and [423] Uskup in 1881. The great landholders are now all Moslems, the property of which the Christian proprietors were despoiled at the end of last century by Ali Pasha having, on his death, been appropriated by the Sultan.

671 But, whether Christian or Moslem, each section of the Albanian nation has its own traditional laws and usages by which their social life is alone regulated. The Miridites claim to have received theirs from the Dukadjini princes, who, according to them, were the ancestors of their own chieftains. Their internal 642 government is a species of aristocratic republic, all 623 matters affecting the community being decided in council by the chiefs, the elders, and other hereditary functionaries.

342 The dwellings of the Albanians are quite in keeping with the character and mode of life of their occupants. Even at Ioannina, where the customs more closely approximate to those of the Greeks, the houses have a gloomy appearance from without, being shut in by

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the 342
street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, 363
the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly 347
mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a 352
low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold 353
the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are 415
hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride 411
of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys 342
are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high 711
walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to 181
slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his 577
feud with him. The villages of these districts are 361
generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the 352
cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

539 returned to the king, who, on seeing them, was quite overjoyed, and gave a splendid feast in their honour.

This is the end of the story.

[538] The following comic story is a good illustration of the adage, "Set a thief to catch a thief."

Mosko and Tosko.

There were once two brothers, who were robbers by trade, and they had a sister for whom they had long sought a husband of their own quality. Years passed, and one fine day they met on the road a man whom they asked, "Where goest thou? Wilt thou join us, and have our sister for thy wife? We will give her to thee, for we have long wanted a husband for her."

"Done," said the other, "and that shall not prevent our being comrades." So they gave him their sister.

One day, as they had not seen their sister for some time, Mosko and Tosko went to pay her a visit. The husband happened to be absent, having gone to the mill. You must know, however, that there was some [251] *pastourma*[1] hanging in the loft.[2] Arrived in the house, Mosko said to his sister: "My dear sister, give me some water." She went to fetch the water-barrel, and gave it to him. After having drunk, Mosko asked Tosko if he were not likewise thirsty. "Yes," he replied, and his brother passed him the barrel. Then Mosko said to Tosko:

[1] Smoke-dried meat.

[342] [2] *Taras*, the space between the uncelled rafters of a cottage and the roof.

embroidery. These were really separate linings 291
to the stiff and hard opangi, which had to be
soaked a long time in water and put on wet, in
order to get them on at all.

Very conscious of my feet, which seemed large 342
and unwieldy flopping objects at the ends of my
legs, I went across the flat, wet fields with Perolli
to drink coffee in the house of Lulash. 1

The house of Lulash was different from any of
the others we had seen. It stood on a castlelike
rock; we went up to it by a stairway cut in the
side of a cliff that rose almost sheer for so far
that the waterfall pouring down it looked like a
motionless streak of snow near the top. A
natural bridge of rock crossed the little space
between the cliff and the rock on which the
house of Lulash was built; a furious little stream
roared beneath us as we crossed the bridge, and
then there was another stairway leading up to
the house.

Lulash and a dozen men and women of his [574]
household stood outside his door to receive us.
No rifles were fired. We passed through a
double line of salutes and greetings and into a
high-arched stone doorway. There was a little
hall, floored and walled with stone, and a massive
stone stair leading upward. This we climbed, [352]
and were in a large whitewashed room, lighted
by a window and furnished with beautifully
painted chests and a few hand-woven rugs. But
this was not the only room; there were others, 001
and, leading us through several arched stone

1 [tribal chief in Thethis -- Analysf]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

pile of folded blankets before the fire, not yet sure that I was not dreaming and that the strange chests and stranger figures of turbaned men and barbarically dressed barefooted women would not vanish when I awoke.

"I did not think," said Lulash, "that any of our houses would be as fine as an American house." He was so pleased that his hand quivered a little on the long handle of the tiny brass pot in which he was making the coffee. So I told them that only our finest houses are of stone, that my house was of wood, and much smaller than his. But all our houses had windows, I said.

"Yes," said Lulash, wistfully "Windows are very good; I always wish that all our houses had windows. But first we must have a *besa* of peace among all the tribes; it is not safe now to have windows, a man never knows when his tribe will be 'in blood' and enemies will shoot him through windows. You see that mine are so placed that it would be difficult to shoot through them, and I have heavy shutters for closing them at night, when the firelight makes it easier to see us from outside."

But he was pleased that I praised his windows; he had gone through many other tribes and down into Scutari to bring up the glass of which he had heard, and made them with his own hands. They were on leather hinges so that they would open and let in the air; he said he had observed that sunshine and air were good things.

342 and, if good outdoors, why not good in houses?
619 "But it will be a long time before my people can have windows," he said, sadly.

He did not think it was good to keep the sheep and goats with the family, either; all his flocks were driven at night into their own quarters, on the lower floor of the house.

000 Houses are the most endless subject in the world; all of humanity and its history is expressed in houses, and while the coffee cup was passed back and forth I told about American houses; about the log cabins of the pioneers, such a little time ago as crude as those of the Albanians; about the loophole glassless windows, and the pegs on which rifles were hung; and about farmers' houses in New England, where the cattle live under the same roof, at the end of long sheds; and suburban houses with gardens, and apartment houses where whole tribes of people live, going up and down in movable rooms. And then I spoke about water power and said that it became electricity—Lulash asked me eagerly how it was done, but I did not know—and that brought us to the whole subject of machinery. I drew a picture of a spinning wheel for them and explained it, but they said it would not be practicable on the trails, where the women did most of the spinning; a woman could not carry her baby in its cradle and a spinning wheel, too; the spindle was better; and I agreed with them. But if men and women did not work so hard carrying water from the springs, they would

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 river. From time to time we struggled through a waterfall, and there was one huge torrent that, leaping from a cliff above the trail, arched over it in a curve that seemed solid as glass, and we
361 passed beneath it. Then, descending, we came to the little valley of upper Thethis. Perhaps six or ten houses were scattered there, among broken-off fragments of cliff as large as they, and between them all the level land was glistening with water at the grass roots.

[342] The house of Sadiri Luka was notable for its stone-walled courtyard and its broad balcony. The heavy arch of the gateway was mediæval in its grim solidity; we escaped from the rain to the peace of its shelter, and there were welcomed
[291] by Sadiri Luka. He was middle-aged, sturdy, even a little stodgy of figure, among the lithe mountaineers, and this appearance suggested the successful business man—a suggestion incongruous with his picturesque clothes. His trousers were the purest white that new wool can be, his fringed jacket the densest black, the colors of his sash were clear and gay, and his silver chains were massive. There was even a heavy silver ring on his finger. And there was no rifle on his back.

543 The courtyard was a litter of cornstalks, almost entirely covered with a roof of woven branches; evidently it was the home of flocks now out in the rain attended by a shepherd cutting leaves for them. An arched doorway opened into the first floor of the house, where we saw a pensive donkey gazing profoundly upon the liquid gray weather -- Analyst]
[168]

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 trembling like a convalescent, but with fever gone and my lungs merely aching. I suggest the remedy for what it is worth.

[417] The byraktor received us at his gateway, for his house was surrounded by a high fence, almost a stockade, of woven branches. He was a tall, keen, quick man; bright, dark eyes and aquiline nose and thin, flexible lips, framed by the white turban's fold beneath his chin; a jacket of black sheep's wool; one massive jeweled silver chain on his breast. His swift smile was warm and beautiful, but one had a sense of reservations behind it; he welcomed the audacious Shala man without a quiver, and ushered us up the stone steps to the second floor of his house.

[342] There were several rooms[1], divided from the main large one by partitions of woven willow boughs, and from the large room a high, arched doorway in the stone wall led into farther regions.

592 At least forty men and women and children—five generations—were around the fire on the floor[1]. There was a little flurry of welcome and rearrangement, and in a moment we were in the center of the circle, sitting on thick mats of woven straw, while the byraktor made our coffee in the coals.

[304] The women were beautifully dressed; I had not seen so much elegance of embroidery, of colored headkerchiefs, earrings, and chains of silver and gold coins. Their dark, beautifully modeled faces, large dark eyes, and heavy braids of black hair were set off by the profusion of rich

[1] [House of war chief of Shoshi—] [252] [Analyst]

POSTSCRIPT

[492] winding road to Shijak, the village by the river
491 where the bridge begins and ends in willow groves.

Beyond Shijak the road goes over the last low
[133] hill, and twenty miles of plain lie before it, most sparsely dotted with the great white houses of the beys of central Albania. Against the eastern sky the towering mountains, with their eternal smoke of clouds, catch the last rays of the sun and make magic with it. For an hour the colors shift and change, plum purple, orange gold, mauve and violet and sea green, until at last only a pale gold moon and a silvery star shine in a lemon-yellow sky. And the seven white minarets of Tirana lift above the green of trees.

342 Dusk was on the plain, and lights were glimmering through little houses here and there, when we came to Tirana. No, the lights do not glimmer through windows; these houses of peasants on the great estates have no windows, as they have no chimneys. The light of the evening fire, built on the earthen floor, shines through walls woven of willow withes, and the smoke seeps through thatched roofs.

373 Before us twinkled the street lamps of Tirana. These are literally lamps, filled every day with kerosene and set on their poles, to be lighted with a match after the evening call to prayer from the minarets. Our little car passed between low, ghostly white walls, and stopped before the gendarmerie. An officer came out, lifted one of the street lamps from its pole and held it over the car door, the better to see us.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

574 storied house, where a score of Zogist guerillas were gathered
[342] round the fire. The room was filled with smoke — for the house had no chimney, like many in Albania — and it was several minutes before I could see or breathe in comfort. I sat down, however, by the hearth, where a carpet had been spread, and while the evening meal was made ready had some talk with Petrit. He spoke quite good French, having studied in the French *lycée* at Korcha, where, by a strange irony, Enver Hoja had been his teacher. He was obviously eager for news of the outside world, and the flow of his questions was only restrained by his sense of courtesy as my host. In appearance he was not unlike his father, though of sturdier build and more slothful movements; and I was told that he had already distinguished himself in the previous autumn's fighting. He was possessed besides of a natural authority, and, despite his youth, seemed to command the respect of the wild mountaineers who accompanied him. Some of these spoke a little Italian or Serb, and their discussions that night gave me a first impression of
[521] Zogist public opinion. The Ghegs are not great talkers like the Greeks or Slavs, but I felt, from what they said, that they were rather suspicious of British intentions and far more concerned with preventing the spread of Communism in Albania than with fighting the Germans. Towards one o'clock
[262] our conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the evening meal of soup, boiled mutton and cheese. We ate in silence
[513] and as soon as we had finished I retired to rest on one of the mattresses which the master of the house had spread for us on the floor.

342 Next day, in the afternoon, Petrit accompanied me to the place where Abas Kupi had made his temporary headquarters. It was a grey stone keep, built on a jutting rib of the mountain range and approached by a path so narrow and precipitous that I had to send back my horse and make the last stage of the journey on foot. Abas Kupi came out to meet me, as I turned
[576] into the walled courtyard of the house, and welcomed me with the traditional greeting of "*Tungjatjeta*" — "May your life be prolonged". He led the way up a flight of wooden steps, resting like a ladder against the wall of the house, and took

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

me by the hand into a dark and dusty room, hung with rifles 342
and submachine-guns. It was thronged with Zogist notables
and their bodyguards: wild and rugged men, corrugated with 714
cartridge-belts, and festooned with pistols, daggers, and hand-grenades. Most of them were dressed in black, baggy Turkish breeches, braided homespun jackets of black or brown, with multicoloured sashes wound about their waists, and white fezes or skull-caps on their heads. A few besides were in uniform retained from the time of their service in the Albanian army, or looted from the Italians; while others, especially the leaders, wore tweed or leather jackets, variously combined with local or military costume.

We sat down, Turkish fashion, by the fire; and, while we 574
drank coffee and exchanged greetings, the guerillas milled [521]
around, or sat together in small groups, whispering intently. To a stranger this whispering seemed sinister and blatantly conspiratorial, but the others took no offence at it. Necessity indeed imposed a communal way of life on the guerillas; each man was watched by his fellows in his every movement, and it was only by whispering that any privacy of discussion could be preserved.

I had been there perhaps half an hour when, at a sign from 669*
Abas Kupi, the guerillas filed out of the room, and we remained 648
alone with Shaqir, my interpreter, and Colonel Murad Basha. Basha had been a regular officer under King Zog and had joined Abas Kupi in Belgrade in 1940. He was now the Zogist Chief-of-Staff, but struck me from the first as pedantic and too quick to see the difficulties in any scheme. He was indeed to prove a defeatist influence at the Zogist Headquarters, for, though personally no coward, he was terrified of action, like so many senior officers who have won their spurs on the square rather than in the field.

I began our discussions by showing Abas Kupi my creden-
tials: these were a letter from Stirling, who had been his [576]
friend, and a *besa* given me by King Zog. This was a covenant enjoining upon all Albanians the duty of protecting my life and, should their zeal prove unavailing, of avenging my death. My *bona fides* thus established I recalled our meeting in Belgrade

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

[727] XXII Mountain Corps, whose Headquarters were at Yannina. The Kossovo was independently garrisoned, mainly by the German-officered Albanian division, S.S. Skanderbeg. The *669 Partisans, who now formed the chief Albanian resistance movement, were reported to have nearly fifteen thousand men under arms. Except, however, for insignificant groups these were all among the Tosks, south of the river Shkumbi. The Ballist forces were also concentrated in the South and about Tirana, but were now reduced to little more than five thousand men. We were thus tolerably informed of the numbers and circumstances of our German enemies and Partisan allies, but knew almost nothing of the military potentialities of the Zogist movement in particular, or of the Ghegs in general. Maclean and I therefore set out on 3rd May to join Abas Kupi and study conditions in Mati and Kruya for ourselves. Meanwhile Smiley and Hare remained at base to reconnoitre the precise dispositions of the Germans and to take soundings of opinion in Tirana.

● [342] Abas Kupi and his staff had assembled in the fortress home of Tsen Lezi,[1] set in a cleft in the mountains high above the Mati valley. We joined him there about nightfall and found [352] the Zogist leaders seated round the hearth at the end of a long and narrow hall, lit only by the flames of the fire. The skins of sheep and goats were spread out on the floor as carpets, and the walls and rude crossbeams which supported the roof were black and shiny with soot. So must have been the keep of Dunsinane. Tsen Lezi, the master of the house, was wild and woolly like an aged bear, and grunted as he ambled out to greet us. His eyes were small and bright; his bushy moustache sprouted in all directions; and his clothes were brown and furry, homespun from the shearings of his sheep. 596 He ruled sternly over his family, or clan, for there were more than sixty of them living in the house, and directed every detail of dynastic policy: what land or livestock should be bought or sold, which of the children should be sent to school, what marriages should be made, what blood feuds prosecuted

[1] A Mati chieftain, not to be confused with the Dibran leader, Tsen Elezi.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Their houses,[1] varied in size and architecture with the wealth of the owners; but all were essentially 342
built for defence. As a rule, they were so situated as to command a good field of fire over their chief approaches, and were often surrounded by walled courtyards entered through heavy, wooden gates studded with iron. For the most part they were of wood and stone, sometimes whitewashed, and consisted of two stories, joined by a narrow indoor staircase, or by a flight of wooden steps on the outside. The ground floor was the cattle and the women's quarters; above was the guest-room. This guest-room was the centre of the life of the house, and, except for a stout chest in which the valuables of the family were stored, was altogether empty of furniture. At one end of it was the open hearth from which the smoke escaped through chinks in the wall or, in statelier mansions, through a chimney. Narrow windows, usually without panes, served as a means of ventilation or, on occasion, as rifle slits; but so dim was the light which they diffused that it was often difficult to read indoors, even at midday. At night the room would be lit by the glow of the fire, or sometimes by oil lamps or pinewood torches.

On entering a house we,[2] would take off our boots and give 574
up our rifles to the host, though retaining our side arms. As 576
foreigners, we would then be led to the place of honour, which is on the right-hand side of the hearth, next to the wall. Abas Kupi would sit with us, or take the left-hand side, and the rest of the company, including bodyguards and orderlies, assembled in a horse shoe round the fire. The youngest sat at the apex of the horse shoe, and, since there were often a score of us, the evening would begin with much show of "Friend go up higher". We sat on carpets or sheepskin rugs, cross-legged or reclining against our saddle-bags. When all [276]
were seated, the host rolled cigarettes, which only non-smokers might refuse, and tossed them with unfailing accuracy to each guest. Presently a warm drink would be served, usually coffee, though in the poorer houses sweetened or salted milk was often brought instead. As outlaws we sought to keep our movements secret and our arrival was, as a rule, the first warning of our visit which the host received. Custom demanded that he serve us

1 [i.e. in the Mati valley -- Analyst]

2 [British liaison officers in early 1944 -- Analyst]

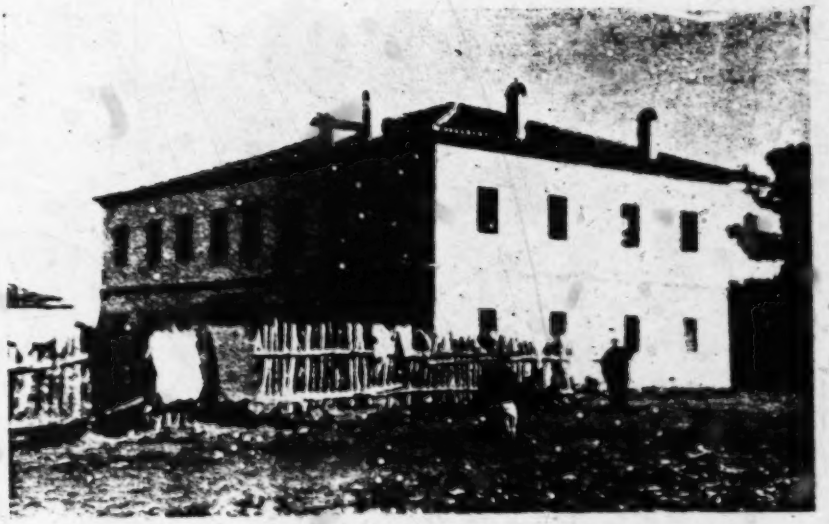
291

LIUMAN CHIEFTAINS

342

MAIN GATEWAY OF MUHARREM BAIRAKTAR'S CASTLE, WITH SENTRY ON THE PARAPET

342



OUR LAST HEADQUARTERS (A PROSPEROUS HOUSE)

000

THE BEACH WHERE WE EMBARKED
(MOUNT VELYES IN THE BACKGROUND)

[-308b-]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER III

THE ALBANIAN HOUSE

342 At its simplest an Albanian peasant's house was very simple indeed—no more than a small, square room with walls of undressed stones from the nearest stream; a man so poor had no money or time to spend on transporting better materials from a distance. The stones were bedded in mud and bound together every three feet or so by horizontal beams; in their turn the 'belts' were strengthened, particularly at the corners, by cross-timbers. The roof was a steep framework of timber covered with stone slabs but never with thatch or boards, for the house would stand no chance if an enemy flung a blazing firebrand on these. The doorway was low, but the wooden door, emblematic of the insecurity that lasted until Turkish rule ended, was strong enough not to be easily [354] broken down from outside. In most cases there was not even a hole in the wall for window, and there was never a chimney—a ring of stones in the middle kept the log-fire in its place, and the smoke found its own way out between the rafters unhampered by a ceiling. A kitchen-crook, a most important article, was suspended over the fire from a tie-beam. The floor was of beaten earth. In sum, the house was the most rudimentary type of stone and timber architecture.

352 415 The furnishings were in keeping. They consisted of a three-legged stool or two, a box or pile of bedding but no bedsteads, a rough shelf with a frying-pan and a few platters and pots, a big metal jug for boiling water, an earthenware pot for holding drinking water, a round dining-table on stumpy supports about ten inches high, a flour-bin, a pan for mixing bread, perhaps a pan for baking it, and nothing for washing—the nearest stream served for that. A metal tray with coffee cups inverted to keep them clean and a tiny pot with a long handle for making Turkish coffee rested by the hearth, a few satchels of home-dressed wool and a distaff hung on the wall, and a hen stared at the company from her nest under [353] the eaves. The only ornaments were yellow maize-cobs, rosy pomegranates, and strings of onions or garlic, all hanging from the 000 tie-beams. At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the table, to filch what it could. It was never caressed or deliberately fed; the whole Balkans believed that either indulgence would stop it from catching mice.

A man and his wife, with one or two small children, might live in this house. Of a kind hardly paralleled in the Balkans, except in the poorer parts of southern Greece, it was not common in Albania as a permanent dwelling. As soon as its master could scrape together the necessary money, he added a sitting-room. As he provided all the labour himself and needed to hire only one professional, a stone-mason who, like all his brethren in the Balkans, was also a carpenter, ten pounds sterling were enough. The sitting-room might be built on top of the kitchen (*shtēpí* or *shpi*, lit. 'house', from Lat. *hospitium*) or against one of its walls. It had a wooden floor, a chimney at one end, a window or two, a niche in the wall beside the hearth for the utensils for making coffee, and a few wooden pegs near the door on which to hang up rifles; it might also have a ceiling. It generally had a separate entrance, for sitting-rooms were men's apartments and Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox Albanians all segregated their young women. The Catholics and Orthodox attributed this custom to plain jealousy, and the Moslems, less convincingly, to a desire to obey their Prophet's order. In the evening and when not at work outside during the daytime, the master of the house with his men guests reclined, ate and smoked in the sitting-room, while his wife and children remained in the draughty kitchen. But the men were less comfortable than might have been expected. Since Albanian chimneys seldom drew, acrid fumes from the wood fire filled the room and almost made them weep unmanly tears. But not quite, for if they succumbed, they would be derided as 'poor sticks' who 'would never see to shoot'.

Guests, in the form of family friends or strangers 'sent by God', often came for a night. Because there were no inns in the Albanian countryside except on the long-distance tracks used by pack-horses, it was the rule that a benighted stranger might claim supper and shelter till the morning from any house he saw. The hospitality was never refused or charged for, but travellers of standing were expected to give a sum proportionate not to the hospitality offered but to their supposed wealth.

As soon as the children in a two-roomed house grew up, its master must build again. His daughters went forth to live in their

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

husbands' homes, but his sons brought their brides to his house and each couple required a separate bedroom. If he were very poor, he might be unable to provide anything better than a lean-to in the farmyard, but the average man built a proper house round the nucleus of sitting-room and kitchen. In the first of the two types to which this house might conform, a number of rooms were grouped together sideways, sometimes on one floor only, usually on two, but rarely on more. In the second type one room was built on top of another, as in a tower, for two, three or even four storeys. This type was always known as a *kullë* (lit. 'tower'), a description also often given to a two- or three-storeyed cluster, although, more usually, any clustered house was called *shtëpi*, the name of the original kitchen. Access to the upper floor in the clustered type was usually by an inner, fixed staircase, and in a tower by an inner ladder that could be pulled up if an enemy penetrated to the ground floor; a trapdoor hung over both staircase and ladder, ready to be closed in an instant, if necessary. The two types of house were found side by side. The clustered one was preferred because its rooms were easier of access, but a family with many enemies or little land fell back on a tower as it was more defensible and took up less space. Whereas a clustered house stood in a farmyard surrounded by a fence of withered thorn or, more frequently, a stone and timber wall of the same construction as that of the house, a tower had generally no farmyard. All its appurtenances—livestock, farm implements, hay or other fodder—were gathered under its own roof, on the ground floor, as being more secure. In a one-storeyed cluster livestock, farm implements, and probably dairy and kitchen as well, were housed in sheds in the yard to save space in the house. In a two-storeyed cluster they were more often accommodated on the ground floor as in a tower, but for convenience rather than security, which was guaranteed by the farmyard wall. Since the sitting-room in such a house was often over the cow-house, it contained an ingenious labour-saving device for use after supper. As soon as the table had been removed, the host swept the crumbs towards a small, unobtrusive hole in the floor in front of the hearth, removed its lid, and with a last flick of his broom dropped the crumbs on the animals below. In a tower the kitchen was over the cow-shed and under the bedrooms, and these in turn were under the men's sitting-room.

In a tower or a two-storeyed cluster there might, for security

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

reasons, be no openings in the ground-floor walls except the door- 342
way, but square holes were left in those of the upper floor for windows. Except in rich houses these 'windows' were not glazed. At night they were closed in rich as in poor houses by propping stone slabs against them or sliding wooden panels across them. Those in a one-storeyed cluster were usually too high for the curious outside to peep through or the hostile to shoot through. Nikollë Gjetë Coka of Breg i Matit, putting his trust in the exemplary peace which King Zog's government had established throughout Albania, neglected this ancient precaution and was shot in 1938 by some Mirdites who thrust their rifles through the window of the room in which he sat at supper. At the top of a tower there were usually loop-holes, splayed to give a wider field of fire and low enough to let a man kneel as he shot. When these were found in a clustered house, as they often were, it was naturally on a vulnerable side, where they might also be reinforced by turrets in the wall of the farmyard. In the kitchen, where the women and children must 354
spend the day and evening, the hearth continued in the middle because more people could sit round it in that position.

In planning his house the Albanian householder sought chiefly 341
shelter from the elements and his enemies, and took no thought for beauty. When villages are picturesque, as many are, it is always for such extraneous reasons as their site, the line of their roofs against a lightly clouded sky, and the greenery surrounding them, rather than for the architecture of their individual houses. A tower, it is true, may have machicoulis over its door or under an upper window, and these give it distinction; its elevation and its usual situation on a knoll may also be attractive. The best examples, some of them over two hundred years old, may be seen in Lurë. But few clustered houses are more than an assemblage of featureless boxes.

In the bigger houses the furnishings altered little from those of 352
the simplest type already described. Mattresses and pillows were probably added to the bedding, and the floor of the sitting-room. instead of being left bare, was covered with mats made from reeds grown in the swamps near the coast. In the cold north and north-east there was usually a layer of earth under the mats; it made an admirable shield against winter blasts. Chairs remained rarities and stools were still confined to the kitchen with its chilly earthen floor. Workers being more plentiful, enough animals to make butter 234
could be kept; the churn was made by hollowing out a section of
tree-trunk.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

tree-trunk. A similar section[1], split lengthways and hollowed out, made two wash-tubs for laundry work. Toilet appliances, a basin and ewer bought in the bazaar, and paraffin lamps from the same source, completed the list of additions.

The above outline omits many small variations in Albanian houses and furniture as irrelevant to the main subject of this book. Mention must be made, however, of certain houses which differed widely from the average type. The first were found among the Highlanders (Alb. *Malësorë*, 'mountaineers'), the semi-nomads who wintered on the soggy plains at the mouth of the river Mat. These houses had walls of planking or wattle and daub, with roofs of tiles or strips of wood. They rested on vertical sections of tree trunks about two feet high which had been laid at close intervals on the ground but had not been driven into it like piles. In this way they kept snug and dry even during the winter floods. All over Albania granaries were raised some distance from the ground in order to keep out the rats, but so far as is known, there were no houses on stilts except at the mouth of the Mat.

A number of Highland houses also contained a child's play-pen which might be as little as twenty-five inches long, wide and high. A shallow porringer projected from one of the top bars, chipped from the same piece of wood as the bar itself. In this pen Highland children spent all their winter days from the time they could crawl until they were three years old. They had no toys, but practised walking round the pen, sometimes stopping to eat a little bread and milk from the porringer with the diminutive home-made, wooden spoon which was tied to the bar, or merely gazing broodingly at the fire. The mothers meanwhile cooked, spun or gossiped, each secure in the knowledge that her child was on the dry floor of the kitchen and not sitting outside in the quagmire of mud that reached up to the very doorstep. The Highlanders said they invented both the houses and the play-pen themselves, but it is possible that they were at least advised by the Austro-Hungarian troops who were stationed in the neighbourhood for part of the war of 1914–18.

In Shpat, near Elbasan, huts were built for many bridegrooms. In the higher villages trunks of young trees about as tall as a man's waist were planted in a rectangle of the size desired, their boughs, while still green and flexible, were laced in and out of these uprights, and cross-pieces of timber were nailed to the uprights

[1] [i.e., of tree-trunk--Analys]

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to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elézi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

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342 A man's house, simple or elaborate, was his own, and he could
423 do what he would with it up to a point. But he held it on conditions
685 laid down by the Unwritten Law. This law defined a house as 'any hut or building of one, two, or more storeys that has a hearth and emits smoke', and insisted that poor house and rich house are alike inviolable. A stranger might not enter either without first hailing the master by name. If very discreet, he would call out from some distance; if bolder or on friendly terms with the family, he might lawfully enter the yard first. If no one answered his call, he must wait there or go away. On no account might he push the door open; that would make him a housebreaker. In the old days it would have cost him the usual penalties for theft, a fine of five hundred *grosh* ('piastres') for housebreaking, plus the obligation to send the family two of every article found missing after his visit, and even more recently it caused strife that might end in shooting. It was of no use for him to plead that he knew the master was from home; he knew also that somebody must have been left in the master's place.

The law allowed a man to erect a new house anywhere on his
[35] own ground, subject to the all-important provision that it did no harm to his neighbour's house and ground. In this connexion the term 'house' comprised, not only the dwelling, but also the farmyard wall or fence, and everything that this enclosed. It followed that a new house must be kept at least the width of its eaves from the neighbour's boundary to make sure that the rain dripping from them should not damage his property. The method most commonly adopted to ensure this was to leave space enough for a man to pass on foot between the new house and the neighbour's boundary. If a man wanted plenty of elbow-room, however, he might build his house as much as two *pashë* ('fathoms') from the boundary. As his visitors were as free as members of his family to use the empty
[49] space, a sizeable road was soon trodden out. Sometimes, too, a man who looked into the future left room for a road that was still non-existent but might one day be wanted by the community, in which contingency his house would otherwise have had to be pulled down and rebuilt elsewhere.

There were also a number of minor rules to be remembered in building. According to the law in Fulqet, if several men had contiguous land, they must build their houses as near as possible to the point at which their land met. Otherwise their several dogs

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would not recognize them and when A came to till his field, B's dog would treat him as an intruder and bite him, and he would have no legal claim to compensation for the injury. It is not known if this law obtained elsewhere, but the common sense on which it is based makes it probable that it did. Again, in the Moslem villages near enough to Elbasan to conform to the rigidity with which Moslem townsmen secluded their women, it was not permitted to make windows in a wall overlooking a neighbour's farmyard; the latter's womenfolk must be free to move about their yard unwatched. This ban on windows—which was Moslem, not Albanian—hardly extended to remoter Moslem villages, as women there enjoyed almost as much liberty as did their Christian ancestresses.

A man's ownership of his house and land was so absolute that he and his might emigrate temporarily or for good without losing their title to either house or land. Even if the family absented itself for a hundred years, no one might squat on its property. If the emigrant, before leaving, sold his land 'together with all that is on it', and one leaving for good usually did so, the piece constituting the site of the house remained his in spite of the terms of sale, and so long as one stone stood on another, no one might use the site. In Mirditë, however, a fixed term was set to this law; if the emigrant did not return within ten years, his house might be occupied by whosoever wanted it.

Every dwelling that emitted smoke might have one or more of the following accessories—yard, vegetable garden, field, road, boundary and, in suitable latitudes, vineyard. Of these the boundary and road were the most indispensable.[1] Every owner of a dwelling that emitted smoke had a right to graze his animals on the summer and winter pasturage owned by his village and to cut firewood and timber for his own use in the public coppices and forests. If he cared to build a bothy for his shepherds on a summer pasture or to break in ground for a field or vegetable garden on a common near his village, he was welcome to do so. He must first secure the consent of the elders of the village, who generally put the common weal before individual convenience. Their permission given, no one could stop his tilling the ground, nor turn him out. Theoretically every dwelling that emitted smoke should also have a portion of irrigation water, but the right to sell water often made this provision a dead letter.

[1] See Chapters VIII and IX.

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Obviously the crude and comfortless character of the Albanian house indicated a low standard of living and dire poverty in the ordinary sense of the word. But the Albanian had his compensations. He was secure in what he had, and unless he lived in an over-populated area like Dibër, he had the essentials. In alluvial areas like Myzeqe and in a few villages in the district of Mat there were big estates worked by share-croppers, but with these few exceptions the Albanian owned his house and land and need not think of rent or eviction. Since forests and commons belonged to his village or tribe and their products were free to him and his fellows, he need think only of the trouble involved in fetching his firewood and grazing his sheep. With luck he might have surplus animals to sell in a market town for money that would pay for his taxes, for clothing, for imported goods like coffee and sugar, and, costliest of all, for brides. With subsistence as his only possible aim, he need not work every day and so enjoyed a good deal of leisure. In short, although his comforts and amenities were few, so also were his worries.

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the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the 264
door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but [562]
warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight
because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh',
she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable
than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table
everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat
course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and
any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their [515]
own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed
them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and
tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or
at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his [272]
deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never
leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee.
Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee [415]
without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes
and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons, 592
a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories.
All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first
and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and
probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under
the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For
instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in
Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923,
and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The 342
houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern 513
of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bed-
room for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards.
Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all
sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often
served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried
or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and
the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was 592
the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits
could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect
one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest
possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent,
public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

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423 little 'headland' which formed along the top of the lower field as
134 the plough-oxen turned in their ploughing.) It was vital to save
[241] the upper field from being undermined by the tillage of the lower one. So the field-path (or headland) was always assigned to the upper field, with the boundary and the fence, if any, along its lower edge. The upper man was strictly forbidden to work the path, generally grass-grown, and so fairly cohesive. The lower man was even more strictly forbidden to cultivate right up to the path for fear he brought it down; since his own land slipped a little lower every year as he tilled it, the field-path soared higher above it. Only if the lower field was in grass did the law revert to its usual form. If the upper field was planted with maize and the lower one a grass meadow, all the land under the boundary stones belonged to the lower field because grass is in itself binding enough to stop landslides.

If a road or an irrigation channel divided the two fields, the upper bank belonged in most places to the upper man, and the lower to the other, since there seemed no risk that cultivation of the lower field would undermine the upper one. In Greater
[312] Dibër, however, no risks were taken. Both banks of an irrigation channel were given to the upper man in case the lower one worked too close to it. In any area, the owner of a lower field who made a drain for it had to make it four finger-breadths from his own boundary to make sure it did not damage the upper field.

[342] If building a new house, the owner of the lower field had to keep it far enough away from the boundary to do no damage to the fence, as any such damage would make the upper field slip. On the other hand, the owner of the upper field had licence to build his house as close to the fence as if the site were flat, that is to say, with only half the width of a footpath intervening, but he was never foolhardy enough to do so.

Sometimes it was the lower man who received protection from the law. In Martanesh, for example, when the upper one built a fence or wall round his field, he had to leave the boundary stones as well clear of it as if the field were flat. This was in case it moved and encroached on the boundary.

423 Sometimes a fence was misplaced. Even if it was only one cm.
628 inside the neighbour's land, it had to be moved. In Bicaj the neighbour sent a mutual friend to say so to the owner; if the latter ignored the message the neighbour took down the fence and saw

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a man willing to burn women and children to death and to harm 685 property; in Shpat property was so sacrosanct that one must not 628 touch even 'the leaf of the leek' belonging to one's enemy. [421]

When the community decided to burn out a man whom they 682 had sentenced to banishment for committing a heinous murder, 628 their numbers and their power to exclude him completely from the tribal life made it impossible for him to resist. It was otherwise with the victim's kin. For want of power to exclude the murderer from more than their own section of tribal life they could not make him submit tamely, and in their attempts to use force they were often baffled by the fire-resisting principles on which most mountain houses were built. With the walls of stone, only the roof and [342] the outer door were inflammable, and with no matches available these could only be set alight by blazing brands, probably of pitch pine, brought from another house. If the murderer was a rich man, he lived in a house surrounded by a courtyard wide enough to keep incendiaries at a safe distance from both roof and doorway; one or two towers in the walls of the courtyard sufficiently protected its gateway. If the murderer was poor, his house had no courtyard. But like the rich man's, it consisted of two or more storeys, the stable on the ground floor and the living-rooms above. The roof was, therefore, too high for the avenger to throw firebrands among the rafters. The door was surmounted by machicoulis through which the defenders could shoot or pour boiling water, and loopholes at the corners of the living-rooms commanded the approaches; in cases of bitter feud the door was sometimes covered outside with tin plates. Windows in a stable being thought unnecessary, the door was the only break in the solid walls of the ground floor. Sometimes avengers who were weak in guns hired men to fire the murderer's house. These hirelings came especially from Mirditë, for Mirdites were notoriously brave enough to face the risk entailed and poor enough to think only of the money offered; this amounted to some thirty napoleons (£40 in the 1930's) per man.

When an avenger burned down the murderer's house in hot blood, his motive was to do the murderer as much damage as possible. When he burned it down in cold blood, his motive was to drive the murderer into the open to be shot at. A murderer not infrequently shut himself up in his house during the daytime and stirred outside only at night, so remaining beyond the avenger's reach. When his house was set on fire, he knew that if he remained

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

of losing his protégé, but even so he had to be fairly 'strong'. In 628*
Mat such a friend might take the murderer out three times with [572]
impunity. Afterwards he was sure to receive a message from the 682
avenger which ran, 'Don't stir out again. Stay indoors. It was for your sake that I didn't fire.'

In the majority of cases the murderer neither ran away nor was shut up, but went about his normal business, taking certain precautions. An Albanian never despised his enemy; the strongest man will say, 'I am stronger than he is, but a rifle doesn't care for bravery, a rifle kills'. He remembers also that an enemy is ever on the watch: 'A wooden stake rots, but an enemy doesn't.' Yet another saying—this from west Mat—'Wood rots, a wrong doesn't'. 'A feud can't be forgotten.' 'A man with an enemy is like a hare sitting on its form, he must watch all the time.'

The first precaution a hunted man had to take at home was never to answer the door himself.

Since the laws of hospitality were rigid and seldom transgressed, 574
a guest seldom killed, or was killed by, his host. Frok Gjeta of 628*
Kthellë, however, had lost his father at a guest's hands; three men had called and been unsuspectingly admitted; the old man was hospitably making coffee when they suddenly opened fire and killed him.

About 1910 some men called at a house in Orenjë, in Çermenikë, and were admitted by its widowed mistress as guests. They seized the only adult male in the house, her stripling son and, hanging him head downwards by a rope slung across a rafter, demanded money and avowed that they were avenging the murder of one of their kin by the family. The son said he had no money; the mother screamed that she had a little, but they hanged her son.

Another precaution commonly taken by a 'wanted' man was to 628*
live in a house of more than one storey. Such a house never had 351
more than slits for windows in the ground floor and those in the [342]
upper room were square holes without glass, across which stone shutters were drawn at night. In Çermenikë the outside staircase that led down to the stables on the ground floor was always fenced in carefully with wood. For greater security the women lived on the ground floor protecting the men who lived above. If a man were rich enough, he built a high wall round the house; this gave him the freedom of his courtyard. In this case all the windows looked inwards on the court; the outer walls were blank save for

181 on the other hand, are strongly mixed with Greeks and softer, more
144 accessible to civilizing influences, and more desirous of innovations.
The consciousness of their racial coherence determines their life in tradition--they know their genealogical trees, and hundreds of names in them--, their boundless hospitality on the one hand, and their boundless desire for feuding and the implacability of their revenge
342 for murder, on the other hand. Of archaic methods of living there are to be found, as temporary living quarters, caves in naturally formed erosions of river banks, closed off in front by plaited mats of switches. Furthermore, there are conical huts made from unhewn stems and rushes left long in cutting, in the coastal swamps; also, half underground, walled up pits with a thatched saddle-roof and a mound of earth thrown against it, used by herders and herds. Then there are loam-covered huts of intertwined beech twigs and with a reed or leaf roofing (Figure 2); one-room houses with walls filled out with grass or pieces of turf with a flat roof frame-work consisting of three transverse beams and boards loosely laid over them and weighted down with rocks (Figure 3, which, furthermore, shows, next to the hut, a frame for storing meat, and so forth, with a notched tree stump serving as steps and a spruce tree serving as a natural hook for hanging things). The permanent dwellings, always fenced in, are log cabins in the forested region of the north; for the rest they are stone houses bound with mortar, in central and southern Albania with walled-in supporting beams, covered with straw, shingles, slate, planks, or furrowed tiles. Originally it was level with the ground, with one or two rooms, then it turned into a building with two or more stories, with or without a verandah. The perpetual insecurity of the country as a consequence of the blood revenge feuds developed tower-like fortified buildings (kulen), with embrasures and a solid roof difficult of access (Figure 1), out of bulletproof interior structures. The division into rooms in the interior of these buildings is rarely made by means of walls, more frequently just through boards or intertwined twigs, or sometimes even
[177] just through larger objects like chests. Into the urban building and
[53] decorative arts Italian-Venetian, Byzantine-Near Eastern, and Turkish influences have penetrated; the Scutari chest wall in Figure 13 shows a well-known pattern of Persian ornamentation with a tree of motif in the final state of degeneration. The interior of the houses has loam
352 floors or timber floors; wall boards for putting away things (Figure 8); wall pegs for hanging up dishes; tables in the shape of plates made of two half-moon-shaped boards joined together to form a circle, with

[See: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 67a --- Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 167 the trees and, as for arms, did not know what they were, except for two or three kinds of javelins and darts."

721 727 Thus he describes them as a savage horde, but gives no information as to tribes or chiefs.

It was fully another century before the Serbs were finally established and settled. Presbyter Diocleas, though hopelessly confused in his details about dates and persons, probably records a true tradition in his *Chronicles* when he describes the invasion of the pagan Slavs thus: "The Christians, seeing themselves placed in great tribulation and persecution, began gathering themselves together on mountain-tops, and strove to construct strongholds and castles and edifices, that they might escape from the hands of the Slavs till God should visit them and set them free."

H A 352 The mountain dwellings of the Vlahs and the Albanians still bear witness to the flight of the old inhabitant before the invader. To what extent the partly Romanized Illyrian populations became intermixed with the Serb it is impossible to say, but the Serb differs so much from the Northern Slav-speaking peoples (Poles, Czechs, Russians) that a considerable admixture of other blood is suggested. That this differed in various regions is shown by the place-names. Slavonic names are thickest in Serbia (pre-war), in Macedonia, and in Bosnia—that is, in the most fertile districts. They are rarest of all in North Albania, and are scanty in South Albania and in Thrace. In Montenegro and the Herzegovina there is a sprinkling of non-Slavonic names. Antique Greek and Roman names appear mainly on the coasts. Inland, "Nish" preserves the Roman (? pre-Roman) name of "Naissus"; and "Uskub" (Turkish) and "Shkupi" (Albanian) preserve the old "Scupi," now completely distorted by the Serbs into "Skoplje."

A 103 197

A 173 How much of what survives of tribe and tribe law is a remnant of the Illyrians and the "peligones," and how much is Slavonic, can hardly now be determined; but it is of interest to note that tribe and tribe law have survived longest in those districts which were least under Serb rule—Albania, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina.

2. Tribe Law in North Albania

THE CANON OF LEK DUKAGIN

A 671 173 Whenever in the mountains I asked why anything was done, I was told, "Because Lek ordered it." Law, custom, usage, were all attributed to Lek. That he must have been a man of strong personality to have thus set a mark on a people is obvious; but very little is known about

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

place has been given to the Jugoslavs, has doubtless been destroyed. A 531
Here beyond doubt the Turkish "star" is the sun. The crescents at 342
the ray-tips suggest that many of the "twigs" of the Bosnian tattoos are really tiny crescents at the end of rays, and have in many cases been evolved into crosses.

We have examined tattooing and sun-symbols among the Catholics. Y
The Moslems of Bosnia, according to Truhelka, occasionally tattoo. [304]
I saw no examples myself.

But among the Moslems of North Albania tattooing is common. A 304
In the entirely Moslem districts of Hasi, Vuthaj, Arnji, and by the 531
Moslems of Luria it was not easy to make any investigation, and impossible to ask questions. The population received me kindly as the only female foreigner who had ever visited them. But the "giaour" was suspected of being the forerunner of foreign annexation, and any questions regarding beliefs would have led to difficulties and probably closed the route to me. I could only observe and make secret notes. I saw many tattooed Moslems in these districts but never a tattooed crescent and star. All, both here and at Scutari, were marked with a triangle, and sometimes with an Arabic inscription. Or with a double triangle—which forms a star and is, I suppose, the substitute for the rayed sun. This same triangle or double triangle (Fig. 7, Nos. 10–13) A
is commonly painted on Moslem houses both up-country and in Scutari, [342
where it sometimes contains a crescent within it. Oddly enough, the 531]
only time I saw the crescent and rayed sun (or star) without a cross as a tattoo it was on the hand of an old Catholic in Scutari (Fig. 12, No. 9).

But though the up-country Moslem does not tattoo the sun and A
crescent (probably because the Christians tattoo them along with the 764
cross), he cuts them out of wood—a circle for the sun and a sickle-shaped piece for the moon—and plants them at head and foot of his graves. Or the circle with a crescent below is cut in one piece and used as headpost (Fig. 9, No. 5). The Moslem Albanian, in fact, on quitting Christianity has rejected the cross but retained the ancient religious symbols of his pre-Christian ancestors—the sun and moon. He has not, except in the towns which were under Turkish influence, adopted the well-known Turkish gravestone with turban or fez upon it.

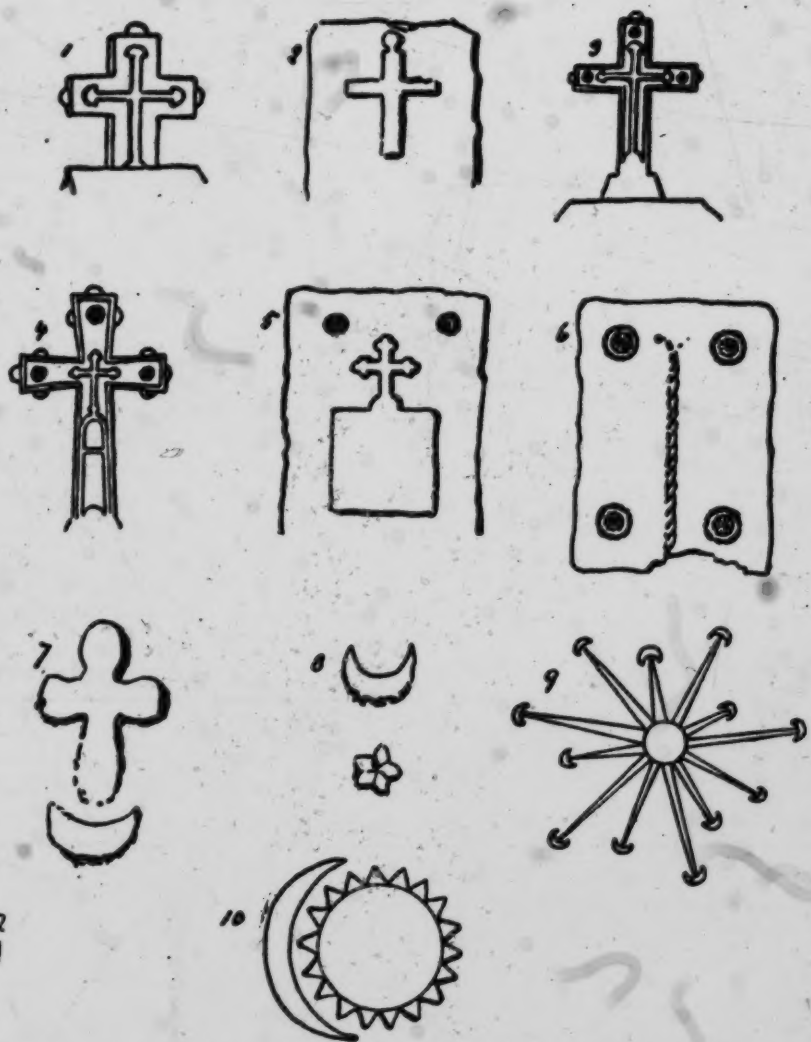
Emerging from these Moslem tribes I was amused to find that at A 531
Prizren, which was then by large majority Albanian, the sun and moon 346
figured over the door of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

In Montenegro, traces of sun and moon can be found. The arms of M
the solid stone crosses usual in the graveyards end as a rule in hemi- 764
spheres. Limestone is hard to tackle and no moon appears. When, 531
however, a cross is carved in relief on a slab the moon appears as a

[Text continues on p. 131

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Historical. Yugoslavia EF2

AMH
764
531



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3452
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FIG. 12.—MONTENEGRIN AND ALBANIAN SUN AND MOON DESIGNS

1–3. Modern Montenegrin gravestones, showing sun-and-moon cross. 4–6. Medieval gravestones at Stolats, Herzegovina, ascribed to Bogomil period. 9. Wooden sun with crescents on the Konak at Prizren (1908). 10. Rayed sun and crescent on Moslem house at Vulthaj.

372 and steel or lighters. This left the mountaineers in an unenviable position—they could not afford matches nor legally start fires by other means. Outside the market towns, however, their illegal actions passed unnoticed.

342 Several authorities, particularly Nopcsa, have concerned themselves with north Albanian house types. These are usually divided, on the basis of ground plan, room arrangement, and architecture into a number of classes: simple one-roomed huts, usually employed in the summer only by shepherds on high mountain pastures; 2-roomed, one-storied houses, with one room for animals and the other for the family; the so-called veranda houses, with a wooden front porch and columns, reminiscent of the Homeric hall; and finally the *kulla* or defensible stronghold (fig. 8, *a*). 1

The 2-roomed house seems to be basic in the mountains, although historically the more complicated structures have made these edifices rare. The veranda house, although old in the Mediterranean, was apparently late to reach this refuge area, being spread with Islam. The *kulla*, or stronghold, is said to have come at the same time as the veranda house. Both reached Kastrati and Shala about 1850, being introduced by one man who had lived in Istanbul, Liho Čuni.

For building materials the Ghegs are strictly limited to local supplies, since transportation
[135] is so difficult. In the region designated on figure 2 as "serpentine highland," 2 the stone is hard to cut, and unsuited for fine masonry except in the hands of experts. Furthermore, lime is found in few places only, and it is usually impossible to make mortar without many tedious trips with pack-horses or donkeys. In this region many of the houses are made of wood, with squared logs laid on each other and held in place by vertical or diagonal crosspieces. Others are made of wattle: vertical poles side by side, with flexible wands woven in and out between them. At times this wattling is bare, but usually it is covered with some sort of plaster or mud.

[333] Where there is plenty of suitable stone and lime, these materials are used. The simpler, poorer houses are of dry masonry, but the majority are built with mortar. Roofing material varies from thatch to shakes, slate, and tile. Years ago thatch was much more com-

-14a-

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116 p. 8a -- Analyst]

342 monly used than at present. The shift from wheat to maize as staple cereal deprived the farmers in many parts of Albania of roofing material.

[353] The interiors of most houses are quite bare, with no carpets on the hewn plank floors, and [354] little decoration on the walls. In the older houses a fireplace covers about 10 square feet of floor area, and the smoke finds its way out through the thatch or roof tiles. In so doing, it cures meats hung in a rack above the fire, particularly in Catholic houses where pork is preserved for the winter.

The introduction of the *kulla* brought with it some drastic architectural innovations. The *kulla* is a 3-storied square tower, built with one purpose in mind—defense. Nopcsa finds a high correlation between the incidence of *kullas* in different villages and *bairaks*, and that of death by violence. The lower floor of the *kulla* is for the shelter of animals. The second and third are for habitation. One door opens into the stable below, a second, up a flight of bare steps, to the living quarters.

With a multi-storied structure something had to be done about smoke. Hence fireplaces were built one above the other, and a high [514] chimney ensured draft. One of the principal troubles with the old-fashioned house was its lack of a toilet. The feuding Gheg, attending the needs of nature in a corn field of a frosty morning, made an excellent target to his enemies hiding in ambush, and the feudal code contained no sporting rules to outlaw this easy shot. The *kulla*-builders therefore constructed an overhanging enclosed balcony of masonry, to serve as "W. C." In the conflict between sanitation and safety, safety won. The drain hole is made crooked to prevent pot shots from below. Since there are few windows, and these are built more for gunplay than for light or ventilation, a strong draft usually rushes up the drain hole. Down below in a heap against the wall the refuse accumulates, and were it not for the healthy mountain climate and the hardihood of the mountaineers, epidemics would be commoner than they are.

Gheg houses have both a social and an economic implication. They are usually large, and accommodate an extended family and its animals. Serving for defense, they reflect the

342 [562] local independence of the families within them. In the *kullas*, women are placed on the second floor, men on top; or else the women will live in a nearby unfortified house, while the men take refuge in the *kulla*. This reflects the inviolability of women in the local feuding law.

333 *Kulla*-building[1] requires the skill of professionals. All stones are squared, and carefully set in mortar. The fireplaces and chimneys must be properly aligned and made to draw. The great height of the walls requires scaffolding. Nopcsa[3] says that they are built by itinerant masons, and that in 1908 they cost between 440 and 660 crowns (110–165 dollars). I was told several times when I asked that the *kullas* were built by masons from Dibra,[4] who also build them in Montenegro, Bosnia, and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Exactly where in Dibra these masons come from I do not know. I have never seen one at work, nor did any appear in our series.

354 These houses, of whatever type, are heated by wood, which at the same time cooks the meals. In most of the region there is plenty of firewood, but in the northern limestone region it is scarce and must be sought afar. The mountaineers earn a little spare cash by carrying loads of firewood down to the market towns to sell.

In many houses in 1929 a primitive form of illumination was still employed. When it grew dark the host would lay a number of pine splinters in several iron racks, hanging from the roof, and light them. The oil in the wood would provide enough light to see by, but hardly enough for reading. In other houses, however, they used candles, and in still others oil lamps. Kerosene has been packed into this country in square 5-gallon tins for some time, and the tins themselves are as much sought after as their contents.

291 Gheg clothing has received even more attention than their housing. The costumes are picturesque, and make fine collections. They vary from tribe to tribe, *bairak* to *bairak*, and in some cases between villages. After six months of travel over the mountains I was able to tell where a man came from in many cases by the cut of his jacket, the color of his

1 [see cat. 11b, p. 14 b-- Analyst]

[3] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 62.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 195 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

133
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a

b

c

d

a, An isolated *kulla*, Spaç; *bairak*, Mirdita. *b*, A Puka *ban*. *c*, Herder's hut, summer pasture. *d*, House in Shoshi.

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III. THE HOUSES OF THE ALBANIANS

The Albanians, as descendants of the ancient Illyrians (1), belong, as well as the Greeks, to the most ancient inhabitants of the Haimos Peninsula, but they have not developed their own civilization either in ancient times nor in medieval years. Living almost isolated on a mountainous and inaccessible country, the Albanians have retained for many centuries their ancient customs, and even to-day they represent the patriarchal level in the evolution of civilization (2). This is the reason why everything connected with the life and the dwellings of the Albanians presents a particular interest to the numerous foreign tourists and ethnographers who, from time to time, have made relative surveys. 101

The most complete survey on the dwellings of the Albanians is, as far as I know, the book on Albania by Franz Baron Nopcsa (3). In this book, the author has summed up his previous impressions on housing in Northern Albania (4), and, at the same time, took into 342 114

1) The question of the origin of Albanians has not yet been clarified. Some recent linguistic surveys question the origin of the Albanian language from the Illyrian and accept a rather close relation between the Albanian and Thracian languages. C. Patsch (see **Herbert Louis**, Albanien, Stuttgart, 1927, p. 41) has found traces of Thracians near the Adriatic sea. [174]

2) See **K. Amantos**, Οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1923, pp. 129-189. **A. Keramopoulos**, Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες. Athens, 1945, p. 198. Compare the journeys of **K. Steinmetz**, **E. Liebest**, and **Fr. Nopcsa** in «Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von C. Patsch, vol. 1 3-6 10. 11. **Baschmakoff**, A travers le Montenegro et le pays de Geuges, St. Petrsb. 1911 and **H. Louis**, pp. 36-40.

3) **Frans Baron Nopcsa**, Albanien, Bauten, Trachten, Geräte, Nordalbaniens, Berlin und Leipzig, 1925. Nopcsa is followed by **H. Louis**, on the subject of Albanian houses (p. 53-59).

4) **Fr. Baron Nopcsa**, Aus Sala und Klementi (Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von Patsh, vol. II) Sarajevo 1910. Haus und Hausrath im Katholischen Nordalbanien (volume 16) Sarajevo 1912.

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A 342 [114] consideration the remarks of all other previous investigators, especially those of J. Von Hahn (1) and A. Haberlandt (2).

According to Nopcsa, the social status existing in Albania which, as Haberlandt remarked, has not changed since the medieval years, the lack of security, frequent revolutions and the systematic burning by the Turkish army of the houses of the fugitives from justice, contributed, before 1909, in bringing the housing situation to a very low level. Inhabitants of some mountainous regions of Albania (Sala, Kastrati), have stated that any relatively high buildings were considered as a novelty introduced into the country only before sixty years. According to Nopcsa, before the introduction of the two-storey A [133] house with a prostoon and of the Kula, the Albanians, who live in mountainous regions, the two-thirds of the country being at an altitude of over 1.000 meters, must have inhabited low huts, comprising one or two rooms at most and covered with hay or branches. Generally speaking, the evolution from the simpler forms of housing to the more composite ones has been very slow and toilsome in Albania, comparable to the slow process of Albanian civilisation.

A [127] Here below I shall try to consider the house of Northern Albania, studied by Nopcsa, and, as regards Middle Albania (3), I shall only refer to the little but verified information we have from von Hahn and Ekrem bei Vlora (4).

According to Nopcsa, we distinguish in Albania a) houses of temporary or semi-temporary and permanent character, and b) houses built of timber, of other organic material and of stone.

In Northern Albania we first see the most primitive forms of housing, such as the cave dwellings of the Cem valley with the Y [342] Cruda tribe, which entirely correspond to the prehistoric shelters. Caves formed at the ends of the valley, were enclosed by stone

1) **J. G. von Hahn,** Albanische Studien. Jena 1853/54.

2) **A. Haberlandt,** Kulturwissenschaftliche Beiträge zur Volkskunde von Montenegro, Albanien und Serbien. Zeitschrift für Oesterreichische Volkskunde, Ergänzungsband 23, Wien 1918 — Volkskunst der Balkanländer, Wien 1919.

A [171] 3) The area to the South of the Avlon gulf, as far as the Greek border is not examined in this book. This area is very wrongly referred to as Southern Albania in foreign surveys The houses of this region are those of North Epirus and their building style is purely Greek.

4) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** Aus Berat und vom Tomor. Tagebuchblätter (Zur Kunde d. Balkanh 13) Sarajevo 1911.

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walls or woven branches and were thus converted into a cave dwelling, which is also met in many places of the Herzegovina (1).

But also the trogle, that other form of semi-underground dwelling which, as already said, was from time immemorial used by the Thracians in Scythia Minor and Dardania, is also to be found in the plain between the Scodra lake and Tuzi, which is near the frontier in the area of the Hoti tribe, and it constitutes to-day a form of temporary housing.

Nopcsa describes the construction of this hut as follows: «A trench is first dug in the ground, having 6 m. length, 3 m. width and 0.30 m. depth, in a parallelopiped (see fig. 62). A stone wall is then built on all sides of the trench, it excels the ground by 0.30 m. on the long sides and on the short sides by almost 2 m., and is continually reduced in its width. The main wooden beam is then fixed on the short side walls, and a saddle type roof is erected, covered with hay. Earth is then accumulated on the outside of the walls, so that the ends of the roof come into contact with it. The earth is soon covered with wild plants, and its artificial character is covered with green in a very short time; only roofs project then from the ground, and nothing else is seen in the inhabited areas. The hight of the hut in the inside is from 1.3 m. to 2 m. The entrance is constructed on one of the short sides, not higher than 1.2 m. It looks like an opening which is not closed by a door, but simply with thorny bushes during the night. On the wall that faces the door a fireplace is built. In winter time shepherds and flocks live together in those huts, whose little space is thus sufficiently warm and protected from the glacial North winds sweeping the Hoti valley.

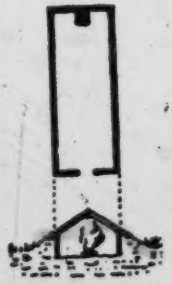

Fig. 62. Plan and section of a semi underground hut near Tuzi (Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 1)

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[354]
[231]

The last type of temporary houses of Northern Albania is that of huts built over the surface of the ground. The form of these huts is a parallelopiped; they are constructed of wood and their walls are of reeds or woven branches covered with a clay layer. These huts are widely used in summer pastures and lowlands near the sea.

1) **R. Meringer,** Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina, 275 and foll. Fig. 69.

342 Whenever the building material available on the spot is stone, the shepherds build their huts with simple stone walls covered with roughly cut wooden plants.

It is at first sight very difficult, according to Nopcsa, to find any basic difference between a stone-built shepherd's hut and a primitive one-room, stone-wall, permanent house of the Albanians. For the only difference it is that the permanent house is larger, higher and the frame-work of its roof is more strongly built. Its construction has also an immediate relation with the nature of the ground. Namely, the building material locally available will determine whether the house (called «shpi») will be out of stone, or out of wood and of reeds. Thus, in the plain district of the seaside (Mati), where there is no [556] stone at all, even richer inhabitants have to content themselves with houses made of wood, although, for lack of security, stone-built houses are everywhere considered as ideal, since they offer protection both against stray shots and fire.

The Albanian house is then in its simplest form an one-room dwelling, with its entrance either on the side of the roof gable or on the side where the rain water is drained off. But while half-underground shepherd huts have always their entrance on the side of the roof gable, even simpler clay and lime built Albanian houses have it always on the side of rain-water drainage.

Such one-room dwellings of stone and clay constitute the house of poorer classes of the population in the mountainous region NW of Scodra round the river Drilon, the Cem valley and many other regions of Northern Albania. The roof is sloping on two sides and the main pole corresponds to the length of the house, so that its two ends rest upon the short side walls. The roof is usually covered with branches.

In such mountains, where there is a complete lack of forests and therefore difficulty in obtaining timber in order to construct a frame for a large roof, inhabitants are obliged to construct a small stone-built house of a special type, whose geographical spreading out corresponds, according to Cvijic', to the area of the Karst Mountain. According to Haberlandt, this type of house was the characteristic dwelling of ancient Illyrians.

Both men and animals live in the above single-room, although [231] the stable is often separated from the human habitation by a thin, not very high wall made of woven reeds.

In some areas, a special entrance is opened for the animals in

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342 the above single-room house; thus there are now two doors in the house, corresponding to the internal, in fact only theorical, division of the room (1) (fig. 64). The floor consists of well beaten earth.

In later years, this internal division of the room was materielised by the erection of a real wall dividing the room into two serarate spaces. In some areas, this dividing wall runs parallel to the long side of the house; two dwellings are thus formed, each having a separate fireplace (Plate XVIII 5). But the most common division of space is that done by a transversal wall, i.e. running at right angles

Fig. 63. Houses near Dinoshi, in the area of tribe Gruda
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 34)

to the main pole. This wall is always built of lighter material (woven branches or planks) than the outer walls.

Of the above two rooms one contains the fireplace and it is the dwelling of men and the guest-room for visitors. The other, with no fireplace, is a sort of ante-room and it is used as cellar and dwelling for women. (Plate XVIII 3).

171 The entrance is always in the ante-room, through which one enters the main room where the fireplace is. This is, according to Nopcsa, a difference to be noted when comparing the above house to the corresponding Serbian and Croatian, which has the fireplace in the ante-room, as we have seen. This difference is also to be noted in the tripartite Albanian house. In Jugoslav and Rumanian regions,

1) The two separate doors can also be seen as a rule in houses of the villages in Attica. See **St. Kyriakidis**, Σπίτια καὶ καλύβια τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐν Ἡμερολ. Ὁδοιπ. Συνδέσμου, 1926, p. 67.

342 354 [171] the central-room, which has the entrance and the fireplace, is used as a kitchen, and the two rooms on each side are living rooms. On the contary, in Albania and in Herzegovina—had Nopcsa known the Greek house he would have added Greece(1)—there are rooms with fireplaces on each end of the house; a simple entrance between them is, according to Nopcsa, (and others before him), a proof that this room was previousley used as a stable (p. 39) (Plate XVIII 13). It must be noted that the fireplace has been moved from the party wall and is now always against the external wall of a short side, because this one is, as we have already said, more stoutly built than the middle one. This is the reason why in Middle Albania where, as

342

Fig. 64. Winter dwelling of the Nikshi baïraktar in Bregumatja
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 18)

354 noted by Hahn, the entire hut is usually built of timber, the wall of one narrow side, where the fireplace is built, is always made of stone or bricks.

Nopcsa attributes the construction of two-storey buildings in Albania not to a need to increase living space in hight, as it would be probable in a country where a horizontal increase is not always possible, because of the mountainous nature of the ground, but to the same reason why the floor of a wheat-store is built high over the ground, namely to the need for protection from dampness(2).

An example of a simple two-storey house is given by the plan

1) Nopcsa knows the Greek dwellings only from the book of **De la Guilletière** Lacédémoine ancienne et nouvelle, Paris 1676, noting here and there some happy comparisons in building and other habits of Albanians and Maniates (pp. 39-54).

2) See **Fr. Oelmann,** p. 73, On the Composition of Multi-floored Buildings.

of a house at Kolaj (in Mali Rencit) (Plate XVIII 6) where some 342 families of the Klmeni tribe spend their winter. The ground floor comprises a store-room and a stable for the horses. The two rooms of the upper-floor have each their own entrance. The ascent to the upper-floor is made by a stone-built twin-arm staircase, inorganically attached to the outside wall of the frontage. Fireplaces are also here situated on the narrow sides of the house, just as in ground-floor houses and huts. [354]

Apart from the above two-room houses, there are also in Albania two-storey houses with one or two rooms, having at their long side wall at the frontage, an open portico, a prostoon. The roof of this veranda is supported by wooden poles. In Albania we meet both forms of it: with both its sides open called then a «zardag»; the other, when its sides are closed by walls, known as «shamashin» (Figg. 66 and 67, Plate XVIII 7 and 8).

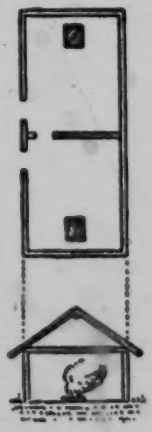

Fig. 65. Plan and section of a two-room dwelling (Nopcsa fig. 19)

The ascent to this veranda is made by a stone-built staircase, inorganically touching it; the staircase is either massive or it forms a semi-circular arcade under the landing. Nopcsa is right when he considers the one-floor wide fronted prostyle houses as a forerunner to the above type of Northern Albanian house; the former can be seen in Proseku, to the South of the area he surveyed, also in Middle and Southern Albania, and has infiltrated from the South to the North of the country.

Nopcsa is also right when he considers the prostoon, veranda, as that element of the building, whose different variations contribute to the increase of living spaces and lead to the perfection of the housing form.

According to Nopcsa, the first move towards a more composite form in the Albanian houses can be seen in the old house of the Mali Kencit area (Figg. 68 and 69). An external stone staircase leads to the veranda, which is supported by stone pillars and is enclosed on both sides (shamashin). Wooden poles support its roof; but the openings between them are closed with wooden planks on both ends. Two store-rooms or cellars have thus been formed, receiving light from small openings, sky-lights. Separate doors lead from the veranda to the two rooms of the first floor, that communicate by an inside door as well. Both rooms have fireplaces situated exactly at the [354]

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342 [354] middle of the external narrow side walls. There are no chimneys. The smoke escapes through the roof. Stone walls and wooden planks divide the ground floor under the veranda as well as the first floor into various spaces used as stables or store-rooms.

Nopcsa says (p. 41) that if, during the process of evolution the prostoon of our Albanian house is enclosed by wooden planks or by

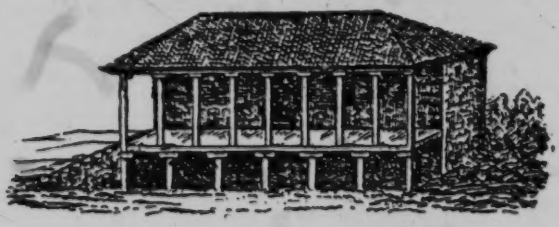

Fig. 66. House with prostoon in Brebula
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 25)

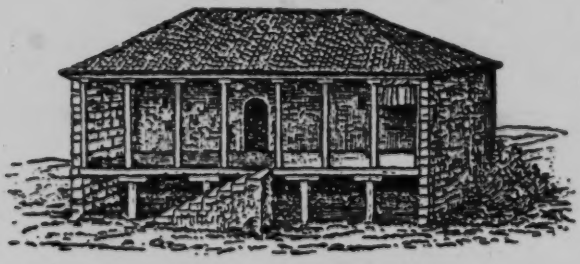

Fig. 67. House with prostoon in Toplana
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 24)

a wall on the front, it is possible that such a house originally one-roomed, is on its plan very similar to a two-roomed house divided in length; but the absence of a fireplace in the front-room as well as its use are even then enough for us to recognize the evolution which took place».

This is very clearly shown in the plan and the vertical section of the first-floor of a house in Vuksanlekaj (in the South of Podgoritsa) (Fig. 70). This was originally a single-room house. Later, one part of the room was divided off, thus forming a small room with no fireplace. In this house, the veranda is not supported by wooden

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poles in the front but by a solid wall. The fact however, that this supporting wall is only of secondary importance is proved by the existance of a middle wall, extending all along the length of the house; this wall is stone-built throughout and enables us to recognize it as one of the original external walls of the house. The roof of the

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Fig. 68. Main facade of a house of a well-to-do Shkreli in Mali Rencit
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 26)

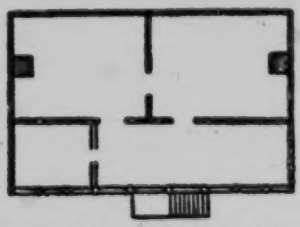

Fig. 69. Plan of the above house
(Nopcsa, fig. 28)

veranda is supported by wooden poles standing on the floor of the house. The ascent to the first floor shows here an important progress, because the staircase comes through the floor of the veranda and is thus included within the house.

By enclosing the space under the veranda other protected spaces are created and used as stables.

«Examples studied so far», says Nopcsa (p. 73) «show how many

342 types of housing may evolve by combining a two-room house to a prostylon house» (i.e. with a veranda). Starting from this idea, he proceeds to the explanation of how more elaborate housing types were created, such as those seen in the Scodra valley.

To illustrate this, Nopcsa gives the plan of the upper floor of a house in Kastrati (Fig. 71) and remarks that: «The plan of this house shows that it belongs to the same type as the Prel Ivanaj house we saw above (Fig. 68-69) and that the veranda is substituted

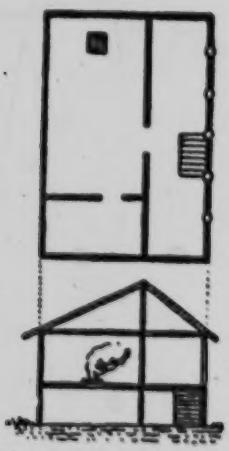

Fig. 70. Plan and section of a house in Vuksanlekaj (area of the Hoti tribe) (Nopcsa, fig. 28)

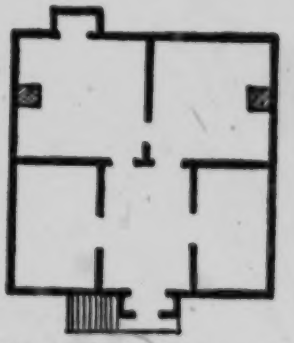

Fig. 71. Plan of a house in Kastrati (Nopcsa, fig. 30)

[712] by a space enclosed by walls». The staircase is also here external but, in order to protect the people, when they leave the house from the bullets of ambushing enemies, this staircase has been included into an enclosed entrance, which protrudes from the house in the form of a separate cabin outside its front wall. The small additional [514] cabin at the back of the house includes the lavatory.

This enclosed entrance which, according to Nopcsa «constitutes an original Albanian construction», is shown on Fig. 72, picturing a house of Kolaj. This entrance also includes a passage which ends at an enclosed staircase. This house, with its four rooms, two in the front and two in the back, can be considered, according to Nopcsa,

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as the most perfect type originating from a prostyle house. Even the difference in the size of the windows proves that the walls on the side of the veranda were built later than the rest of the building. 342

The description of another house of Bregumatja (p. 46, Fig. 33) illustrates the inner disposition of living space, and shows a similar evolution: the veranda has been closed by a wall on the frontside. Part of the inside, however, has remained as an entrance hall. A room with two windows « a la franca » was made on the right of the hall, and a cellar on its left. Yet these spaces were not separated by solid walls, but by thin mud-covered trellis. The room is characterised by

Fig. 72. View of a house in Kolaj
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

its roof, its large and glass panelled windows and by its containing a high table with a few high chairs, just as «the good room», destined for distinguished guests. This form and furniture are typical for all these extra rooms. The two large rooms at the back of the house are communicating by a door, but they do not have any ceiling. One of these rooms serves as men's room, and the other as women's room, but at the same time as a kitchen and cellar for everyday life articles. [352]

This multiple formation, as shown in this advanced type of Albanian house, evidently corresponds to the needs of the Albanian family, which is based on patriarchal customs. Moreover, if we take into consideration the life conditions of Albanias, the house pictured on Fig. 72 could include, according to Nopcsa, 20-30 inhabitants, as the only 342 592

342 reason for building another house would be the dissolution of family
[592] bonds.

Consequently, the system which exists in the Slav countries, to
[171] build separate, additional, small dwellings for young or married members of the family, is foreign to the housing customs of the Albanians.

As Nopcsa remarks (p. 49), a more developed and organically disposed house, like that pictured in Fig. 72, cannot easily be expanded, because of the serious difficulties created by a corridor running along it, as well as for the position of fireplaces and staircase. That these difficulties may be overcome, is shown by the house of Trushi (in Zadrima) Fig. 73.

[354] In this house, fireplaces have been moved to the front long wall and placed between two windows. Two staircases have been built

Fig. 73. Big house in Trushi, in the plain of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

in addition, with two prostoa opening at the centre. A twin house has thus been formed, each of which it is completely separate from the other. By the wooden extensions of both prostoa, some of which
[251] project and are supported dy wooden beams, there are formed some washing places known from our own villages; or cupboards, for victuals, that are protected against mice on the one hand, and are in a cool air draft on the other.

Similar constructions are seen in the veranda of an old two-storey house of Scodra (Fig. 74). This house is more than 125 years old and it is built at right angles, because of the smallness of the building plot. The ground floor includes a weaving room, an oil press, a stable, a wood store, etc.; living rooms are all in the upper floor.

9.Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
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In the front its centre is taken by a large open room, also disposed at right angles, whose roof is supported by wooden poles. Both ends of the front part of the house are occupied by brick-walled rooms. The construction of a stone-built staircase, leading to the upper floor, is characteristic of the construction mode. The staircase consists of two branches, it is internal and pierces through the floor of the veranda. Its steps are supported by two quarter-circle arches, and the landing by a semi-circular arch. If Scodra were not mentioned in the picture, we would imagine this house to be in Yannena or Arta (1). It is well known, that steps placed on arches are widely used at

Fig. 74. Old house of Scodra
(Νορεια, fig. 36)

the houses of Mystras; they remained in use at the popular houses of Greece until the beginning of 19th century, a characteristic element of Byzantine architecture which, according to An. Orlandos, «not only resulted in economy of space and building materials, but also gave lightness and grace to the staircase» (2).

The house of Middle Albania presents a similar evolution as that of Northern Albania despite the great difference in habits and customs displayed by the population on either side of the Genouses (3).

1) **A. Zachos,** Ἠπειρ. Χρονικά vol. 3 (1928) Table 5, 6 and 8 **An. Orlandos,** Ἀρχ. Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος vol. B. pp. 186, 189, 191 **Ang. Hadjimihali,** L'Art Populaire Grec, Athènes. 1937 p. 59 Fig. 24. Comp. **Ang. Hadjimihali,** Ἑλλ. Λαϊκὴ Τέχνη, Athens 1931 p. 175 Fig. 179 Ρουμλούκι, Τρίκερι, Ἰκαρία.

2) See **An. Orlandos,** Ἀρχεῖον Βυζ. Μνημ. Ἑλλάδος. Volume C. 1937 p. 60 and foll.

3) See **A. Keramopoullos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι γείτονες, p. 200.

A
●342 We conclude this from the description of J. von Hahn who visited
[171] Albania during the middle of the 19th century. «Albanians», says Hahn, «just like Greeks, seem to prefer the two-storey house. This takes the form of an elongated rectangle, divided into two parts both in the ground and in the upper floor. In the ground-floor one of them is a stable and the other a store-room.

» The two rooms of the upper floor have a long veranda in front of them, supported by wooden poles and opening on the yard. A staircase, covered by an extension of the roof, leads up to the veranda; two doors lead to rooms that do not communicate with each other. The women of the household sit and work in this veranda during almost the whole year.

A
[369] » A considerable increase of space is effected at the veranda (as far as I know, only in urban houses) by the fact that the house itself does not comprise two, but three spaces, of which the third, a central one, does not regularly constitute a closed room, for there is no party wall between the two corner rooms and the veranda. The floor of this room is about one foot higher than that of the veranda, and it is used by the family for their meals, when the season of the year permits it. Now, if an increase of space is necessary, part of the veranda is separated and converted into a room, which is sometimes extended on this side of the veranda towards the courtyard; or the veranda is left intact and two corner rooms are built on either side of the staircase; these rooms are also facing the conrtyard, so that the veranda takes now the shape of a cross.

A
[171] » This is the form which is taken as a besis in the final shape of the Turkish house (1), because even in the case when this or that or all the sections of the crossform building were converted into rooms, some indications in the consistence of the walls, the cornice and the

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1) **J. von Hahn** abuses here the word «Turkish» when he means the completed form of house which has developed after a long process of evolution during the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine years in Greek countries. The truth is that the Turks adopted the closed form of house, which opens into an internal courtyard, because of the secluded life their women live. The covered verandas and open rooms of Byzantine houses were especially pleasant to them, as they had a comfortable and protected view. The presence of this architectural element in the popular urban architecture of Greece, as remarks Prof.
G
[342] **A. Keramopoullos,** Αἱ δρύφακτοι τῶν οἰκιῶν in rev. Archimidis 21 (1920) 61. is continuously witnessed from the 6th century B.C. up to this day. Turks have never been known as good house builders. Comp. **Gi. Markopoulos:** Ἡ λαϊκή μας δομοτεκτονική, Athens 1945 p. 94.

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decorations allow us to discern that these rooms were(1) separated later on. When he was considering Hahn's descriptions, that prove of a most acute observation power this investigator of Greek and Albanian folklore was endowed with, Nopcsa already found some elements that bring the house of Middle Albania near that of Kastrati described above (p. 71), in what the development of the prostoon is concerned. Judging from the plans of houses in Dyrrachion and Rethi given by the Italian G. Rosati (2) in his survey, Nopcsa arrives at the conclusion that «the shape of such a house constitutes the regular type in Middle Albania» (3). If seen more closely, the shapes of houses taken as a basis by Hahn show, however, a much more advanced stage of development than that of the best houses of Northern Albania; and the plans of these houses, I have drawn on Plate XVIII No. 16-19, are basically the same as the types of Greek house on Plates V 5^{b} and IV 3^{b-f}. It must also be noted that the completed shape of the Bosnian house (see above p. 91, Plate XVII 9) entirely corresponds to the type of house characterised by Hahn as Turkish (Plate XVIII 19).

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When examining the expansion of the prostyle wide-fronted house, Nopcsa finds that this house may be spread all over the Balkan peninsula, from the Peloponese to the area North of Skopje, but thinks that houses with a veranda are much more numerous in the Italian peninsula than in the Balkan(4). This is perhaps the reason why he accepts the opinion of Haberlandt, who recognises a «Roman and an Italian medieval element» in Albanian housing architecture.

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As I have not been able to see the survey of A. Haberlandt,

1) **J. von Hahn,** Albanesishe Studien. Jena 1853 pp. 73 and 169 and foll.

2) I could not find the survey of Rosati, Condizioni agronomiche dell' Albania, 1915.

3) **Nopcsa,** op. cit. p. 46.

4) According to **Fr. Oelmann,** Haus and Hof im Altertum, p. 71, the portico which extends along the side of the rain-water drain (Längslaube) is the natural prolongation of the eagle-type wide-fronted house, especially if this house still comprises a single room, or if this room has been sub divided only internally. This may be seen in High Germany, High Italy, especially with Yugoslavs (Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria), and Rumanians, as well as with the inhabitans of New Caucasus (The Tcherkg); more rarely with the Tcechs and the Poles, and not at all in Russia and Northern Germany. But while Oelmann mentions Southern Soudan, Beast Africa, India and even China, he never mentions Greece, and completely ignores everything connected with modern Greek architecture.

342 I am not in a position to conclude as to the correctness of his results. In any case, the arguments put forward (p. 51) by Nopcsa in its support, cannot be considered as strong in my opinion. In the first [192] place, the word plas, which in Albanian means palace, may have originated from ancient Dalmatian. But the Latin word «palatium» has been naturalised in the Greek countries already since the Augustan days, and this does not prove that there was any Latin influance upon their building modes, as neither the word «δοσίτιον» (alb. shpit) originating from the Latin word hospitium, has any relation to Roman architecture.

Housing types impressed on medieval coins of some Albanian towns can be but little proof since, according to his own remark, houses such as the one represented on a coin of Scodra (end of 14th century) can be found even to-day in the area of Delvinon in Epirus; namely, they are connected with Greek monumental architecture.

342 712 This question will be better clarified, in my opinion, by the examination of another housing type, the Kula, which is widely spread in Albania.

The house in Albania does not serve as a protection against weather only, but it should also provide security against enemies. This double purpose obliges the Albanians to build even less comfortable houses, if these are to enable their inhabitants to enjoy a peaceful night and, if needed, to defend themselves in case of emergency from them. In Nothern Albania the most primitive system of defence at home consists in a mere hiding place, built with solid materials within the very house. This shelter is usually of 2.5 m. long and 1.5 m. high and it is covered with slabs of stone. The place is entered through an opening of 0.75 m. square, so that the entire [513] shelter does not differ in appearance from an oven. The head as well as male members of the family spend their nights in this shelter.

It is evident that the use of such a kind of quarters cannot continue over a long time. For this reason, even when they were to build a most primitive single-room house of stone, Albanians have tried to [361] obtain security by other means, i.e. by keeping the enemy as far from their houses as possible. The means to this aim are: building of the house in a secluded spot on a highest possible site, but not too far away from the fields, so that inhabitans may be able to reach their house in the shortest possible time in case of emergency; small windows, arranged in such a way as to afford covering fire on all approaches; a strong roof, difficult to reach, in order to

prevent enemies from climbing it and from piercing a hole in it to 342
fire on the defenders from above, something that has often happened. 712
Finally, the lavatory is built inside the house. [514]

Just as the house of Scodra is the highest point in the evolution of Albanian housig architecture, so is the Kula, according to Nopcsa, the most complete form of defensive houses.

The word Kula is of Arabic origin, and has already been met in Byzantine writers since the 11th century (1). Morever it is also known by the Serbs as early as 1350. Consequently, no Turkish intervention for the construction of the Kula, it is said by Nopcsa, was ever required.

The particular scope determines the building material, plan, dimensions and other construction details of such houses. These buildings are high, towerlike, built of solid stone, providing the greatest possible cover. Narrow loopholes are opened instead of windows, and small towers are built in well selected defensive places.

A veranda and a Kula mutually exclude each other, because if conditions of security allow the building of a house with an open prostoon, same conditions would render the construction of a kula useless. And vice-versa, nobody would ever think of constructing such a type of dwelling, where there is a danger that a veranda might be burned down at night time. This is confirmed by the geographical expansion of the «shpi» (house) and the «kula» (fortified house). Thus, there is a complete absence of typical, towerlike «kulas» in Melcija Madhe, Zadrima, which is situated in a plain, as well as in Bregubuns and Bregumatja, areas that enjoy greater security. On the contrary, in areas where statistics of crime show that a 21-32% [682] of all deaths are caused by murder, we find the kula, while houses [627] with a prostoon are absent. Because of the custom of vengence male members of many families are bound inside their kula for years.

As for the origin of these tower-form houses which, according to Nopcsa, were multiplied in Middle Albania between the years 890 [177] and 1274, Haberlandt believes that from a house-building point of [463] view, they must be derived from the towers and donjons propagated

1) **Anna Komnini**, 2, 124 Bonn: Τὴν μέντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλὰ νῦν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴωθεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον... (The acropolis, which is now by habit called kula, was occupied by Celts...) **G. Kedrinos**, 2, 366: Ὁ Βούρτζης ἰσχυσε λαβεῖν τὸ μέτρον ἐνὸς τῶν πρὸς δύσιν Ἀντιοχείας πύργων, Κάλα τοὔνομα... (Vourtzes had power enough as to take possession of a tower, called Kala, at the West of Antiocheia...)

in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their «naturalisation» as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called «mastori» in Albania. A 342 712 177 [463]

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word «maistor» has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of «Protomaistor». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words «maistor» and «protomaistor» that originate in the Latin word «magister» (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of A [192]

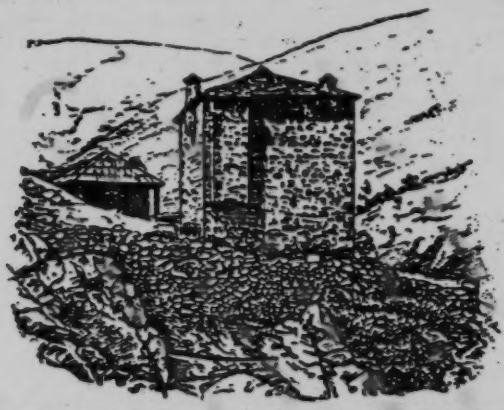

Fig. 75. A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe
(Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as «Μαστοροχώρια» (builders' villages), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession centuries ago. For months on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership A [192] G [331] [467] [484] A [463]

1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

2 [i.e. Haberlandt - ANALYST.]

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of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰσνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peniusula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». ('Ο Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

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as well as in Macedonian lowlands; it was also found in a lesser degree in other parts of the Turkish empire, probably as remains of Byzantine and even older years. On the other hand, it is well known that in Middle Age, « many houses were provided with towers and castles whence, in case of need, the rich were defending themselves against the attacking and exasperated populace » (1). Square towers, sometimes four floors high and attached to the parallelopiped of palaces and richer houses of Mystras are still to be seen in ruins. These date from the second half of 13th-15th centuries and have been described in detail by Professor Orlandos. (2).

Many such towers are still preserved in Thessaly, and I have described some of them, two in Aghià and one in Agrafa, in my book about the Thessalian houses (3). Some types of older towers at Damassi in Thessaly are known to us from a sketch and a description by the French author L. Heuzey (4). These towers are also the work of the same Epirot and Macedonian builders.

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[177]

A mere comparison between the Greek towers and those of Middle, South as well as North Albania, as described by Hahn, Ekrem and Nopcsa, will show that their architecture is identical. These towers are square, they have three or four floors, each of them including but one space; an internal wooden ladder connects these floors aud is used for the ascension from one to another. In some cases, a wooden fence divides the space of the ground floor into two parts only, the kitchen and the women's room. The system of an entrance through a draw-bridge, which connects the door of the second floor to a stone staircase built at a certain distance from the main tower, as

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1) **An. Orlandos,** Τὰ κυλάτια καὶ τὰ σπίτια τοῦ Μυστρᾶ (p. 19, 54, etc.).

2) **G. Megas.** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p. 82-85 Plate 1B

3) **L. Heuzey,** Excursions dans la Thessalie Turque en 1858, Paris 1911 p. 36 see translation of the relative paragraph in **G. Megas** Θεσσαλικαὶ Οἰκήσεις p 84 Plate 36, where also photograph of old tower at upper Volos. Comp. the tower of Markellos on Aegina (**Lygizos,** Ἑλλ. νησιωτ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 27) and the tower of Mytelene (**K. Maleas,** Εἰκόνες λαϊκ. Ἀρχιτεκ. p. 24). I have seen similar old towers in Messaria and Staries on the island of Andros; same also exist on Naxos.

4) According to **Nopcsa** (p. 27 and 237) only one (!) fountain with a massive vault in Midritia is of modern Greek origin. Some other elements of the material life of Albania as well as the rest of Balkan originate, according to Nopcsa (p. 233), in the civilisation area of Constantinople and, «they are, therefore, of a Turkish and Byzantine origin having obviously reached Albania comparatively late».

described by Hahn for towers in Middle Albania (p. 170), is found exactly similar in Aghia. And so is the way the lavatory is built projecting over the wall. Nopcsa, who had little knowledge about the architecture of Thessalian towers, related this building mode to towers of Northern Italy. Hahn and Ekrem have described smaller towers attached to the parallelopiped of the house, as in Mystras; or parts of the house formed into towers and used as a refuge when necessary; these were found in North Epirus and Middle Albania, but they are also known from North Albania. A G 342 712 171

Only open sun-terraces often crowned by arcades in the uppermost floor, as sketched by Heuzey and Hahn, are entirely absent from North Albania, where even the closed balconies are found but in some larger towers. The remark of Nopcsa on this subject is correct: this absence is an evidence of that the North Albanian kula is a product of decadence in this building art.

On the other hand, the methods of construction, as described by Ekrem bey Vlora, do not differ at all from the ones Greek builders apply: walls are also built with uncut stones, the space between stones is filled with gravel together with or without any mud; they are just in the same way supported by wooden frames, exactly as in the Byzantine constructions (1). A G [333]

According to a remark by the Albanian bey: « It is not possible to define a special Albanian style. Albanian houses display in architecture all characteristics of building art of peoples with whom the Albanians had come into close contact » (2). A 342 177 171

As it is well known, the peoples with whom the Albanians have had an intercourse are the Yugoslavs in the North and the Greeks in the South. But while, as we have seen, there is no Slav influence upon the housing and building methods of Albanians, these methods are almost the same as the ones that always prevailed in Greece except for their adjustment to Moslem habits. It was asked from Albanians, who had become Moslems, to have an absolutely separate G [177]

1) **Ph. Koukoules,** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντ. οἰκίαν in Ἐπετ. Βυζ. Σπ. 1B 85. See also **D. Loukopoulos** Αἰτωλ. Οἰκήσεις p. 45. Some other similarities between the houses of Albania and the houses of villages, such as formation of the roof (with a cover of clay), construction of the floor (splinters of tree trunks, covered with wud), can also be seen in the description of ancient and modern building methods by **Ant. Keramopoullos,** Ἀνασκαφαὶ καὶ ἔρευναι ἐν Ἄνω Μακεδονίᾳ.

2) **Ekrem bei Vlora,** p. 56.

A 342 171 177 Q 177 G [331]

living space for men and women (haremlik for the women and selamlik for the men)[1].

It may be said as a conclusion to the whole survey that, if we except simple primitive forms of the Albanian house, that belong probably to very ancient housing and building habits bequeathed to Albanians by the ancient Illyrians and Thracians, all the composite types of houses and especially the two-floor prostyle ones, as developed by the various modifications of the prostoon (προστῶον), as well as all forms of towers (kulas) have been imported into Albania from outside. Not only technique and evolution, but also geographical and historical relationship persuade that this progress of Albanian architecture is due to the activity of Epirot and Macedonian builders who, with their traditional technical skill, introduced better and more composite forms of housing into Albania. These builders, who travelled all over the country, have built many houses and have tought the art of building both to Albanians and to the other Balkan peoples.

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1) See the plan of an Albanian urban house of Berat by Ekrem bei Vlora p 57 and Plate VI.

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THE ALBANIAN HOUSE

PLATE XVIII

IN ITS EVOLUTION

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GROUND FLOOR UPPER FLOOR UPPER FLOORS

[End Plate 18]

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939) 1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Albania EG1

S 563 184 352 [516] [354]

ing, smoking cigarettes, and enjoying coffee and sweet cakes. Green creepers twine round the balconies; and the gardens are never without a medlar and a walnut-tree. In winter the women like to squat on their heels, warming their hands over a *mangal*, or open brazier, often made of brass or copper, decorated with pierced and incised patterns, and filled with glowing charcoal or hot wood-ashes, while the Turkish coffee-pot (*džezver*) comes to the boil. In richer houses small elaborately carved and inlaid wooden Turkish tables are set out for the plates of cakes and cigarettes.

The kitchen, the *podrum*, and the storerooms are on the ground floor, and the usual sheds and stables stand near the house, within the enclosure.

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The town type of Moslem dwelling follows what may be called the Old Macedonian or Turkish-Oriental style. I have found houses of this kind from Novi Pazar to Istambul. They are two or three storeys high; and are distinguished by their wide, overhanging eaves, formed by the projecting beams and rafters, sometimes supported by wooden brackets, their balconies and large roofed-in verandahs on the upper storeys, their airy passages, on which all the rooms open, and their shallow wide stairs, leading from floor to floor. The low-pitched roofs are sometimes thatched, sometimes covered with red curly tiles. In Novi Pazar, within the last three or four years, the overhanging eaves have been cut away from many of the houses in the main street in a distressing effort to acquire a modern appearance.

XIII

A 342 712

(6) *Houses of the* (*Moslem*) *Albanians in Metohija*, usually two storeys high, are more like fortresses than houses, and are known as *kule*, or towers. House and grounds, with the usual dependent outbuildings, are surrounded by a strong and high wall of brick or stone, entered only by the equally strong outer door. In some cases the house itself is part of the boundary wall. Its walls are strong and thick, also of stone or hard red bricks, never whitewashed. The

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania E61

342 low-pitched roof is tiled in red, with dormer-like smoke-
712 holes, or tall, lidded chimneys. The strong wooden doors are round or square at the top ; the doorways often formed by lintels and side-pieces of wood, or arched with stone. Windows are few, and very small, often mere loopholes or slits a few inches across. Glass is rare : the openings may be barred by twisted twigs. In the stone houses they are often outlined by a frame of regularly shaped and spaced blocks. The guest-room is lighted by rather larger windows, which are nowadays generally glazed, though old-fashioned paper windows still linger in some parts. The side of the house facing the road is blind, though sometimes a few narrow slits are pierced just under the eaves.

The peasants themselves give as a reason for building
342 such fortress-like houses that they have lived so long in
712 dread of hereditary enemies, often very numerous because
627 of the constant blood-feuds. These, like feuds in all countries, often arose over a woman, a runaway or a stolen wife. They said to me frankly : "Under Turkey we could pursue our wives, and kill them with their lovers ; but now we are forbidden to do this. A slit is wide enough for us to shoot through, not wide enough for us to be shot at. No enemy can see into the house through it, let alone climb in by it. And then a woman cannot go out by it to keep a tryst, nor can a man come in to find her." For similar reasons, all these dwellings have inside sanitation—small
[514] apse-like closets built of the same material as the house, and apparently clinging to it.

352 The ground floor contains the small dark kitchens where the women and children eat their meals. They have floors of hard earth, and fireplaces of the huge projecting kind, or
[354] small open fires with smoke-holes above, with a few cooking-
[415] vessels of baked clay set at their edges : the flour-chest stands behind the door. On either side are the storerooms.

An open-fronted shed holds the carts and ploughs, with the
343 stables and barn not far off. The stable is lofty, its roof of bare rafters being continuous with the roof of the first floor, so that one may look down on the horses through the slits in the end rooms of this storey.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad, made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece. 352 [417]

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder. [342]

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets, and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples, in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. [531] These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching up to the low roof. [354]

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the 264 516 562

EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

A 562 [264] [516] women, and set on the table by a young man. The best places and softest cushions are taken by the old men as a matter of course, when they recline or sit on the floor to smoke, talk, and drink coffee. At night this room is given A [574] up to the guests, who, of course, are almost always men. S Albanians are very jealous, and keep their women carefully M secluded in their own part of the house.

A Montenegrins and Serbs living in this region (some of 342 them claim that their families have dwelt there since pre-Kosovo days) build their houses in the thatched one-storeyed manner, with mud-brick walls as in Montenegro itself, copying nothing from the later Albanian fortress-houses.

XIV

C 342 [177] (7) *Houses in Dalmatia* are marked by Venetian influence, though not so strongly in the villages as in the towns, which are extremely Italianized in their building. In coast villages one generally finds quite ordinary little stone or brick cottages with thick walls and tiled roofs. Inland village houses are more distinctive. They are built of stone, with or without mortar. The roofs are tiled, and a C stone-flagged verandah and path run between the cool dark [351] house and the flower-garden, surrounded by a low stone wall. Windows are fairly large and kept open. In some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Dubrovnik a room shaped above the eaves like a huge extinguisher is used as a kitchen. Its sloping sides, twice the height of the upright walls, end above the roof in a small square chimney with a pointed cap, and are slit by one or more vent-holes. The narrow eaves almost meet the lintels of the doors and windows. In the Karst districts, farther inland, the cottages are of the barren mountain type.

XV

S 342 (8) *Shepherds' huts* are extremely simple, often like wigwams. In Serbia they are mostly made of sticks piled into the shape of a tent, with a door, the spaces between them sometimes filled with clay or sods. In the heights of

[i.e. the guest-chamber – Analyst]

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

342 The simplest stone buildings are made of dry masonry. Windows are lacking. The roof may be made of two rows of boards, 30-40 centimeters wide and rather thick, which are weighted down with stones or with a beam at the eaves. Occasionally they may have a hipped roof covered with stone slabs (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). More common are buildings of mortar and stone. When the interior is partitioned, interior walls are of lighter material, wickerwork or wooden boards. Whereas in Rumania and most of the southern Slav [171] area the entrance leads to the central kitchen, on each side of which are symmetrical rooms, in Albania the hearths are located on either side of the building and there is only a passage between the two side rooms (figs. 50, 51) (Nopcsa, 1925: 39).

More often than one-story houses, one finds two-story ones (only the kulas may have more than two stories). The ground floor has storage rooms and stables, while the second story has two rooms. The stairway to the second story is located on the outside. Often one finds a two-story house that has a veranda along the whole front and a massive masonry stairway leading up to it (fig. 49). When the veranda is encompassed by the side walls of the house it is called a shamashin, when not enclosed, čardak (Nopcsa, 1925: 43). In the veranda house, the basement space under the veranda and the rooms may be partitioned off with dry masonry or wooden boards into small rooms for storage and animals (Nopcsa, 1925: 44).

The stairs leading up to the second story may have wooden banisters. The roof may project over the stairs, or a separate canopy roof may be built over them. Sometimes a small stairway house is built over it (fig. 53) which makes for greater security when stepping out of the house. (The position of the door is always an important factor in Albania). Nopcsa (1925: 53) believes that this staircase is an independent development. One part of the veranda may be walled in to form a small room (fig. 50). The pattern of building separate houses for family members when the family gets too large is not known in Albania. However, in northern Albania this is given consideration when building additions to the house or making changes. If one needs more room, the building is enlarged or a room may be subdivided. Fig. 51 represents modification of a building into two separate units each with its own stairway.

342 712 [341] Kulas are high tower-like structures of massive masonry that can be defended by a few men. Instead of windows they have loopholes and sometimes have a bastion-like defense structure on their upper story (fig. 54). Special construction for defense is found even in some of the simple one-room dairy houses. Thus, in one inside corner may be erected a structure, 2.5 meters long and 1.5 meters high, of solid walls covered with a slab roof. It looks very much like an oven, especially as the opening is only 75 centimeters high and 75 centimeters wide (Nopcsa, 1925: 52).

The door of the kula is generally to one side. Stairs to the second story are on the inside and may be merely ladders that lean

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view. 342 712

Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects are placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwork and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81). 342 342 354 [417] [352]

Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 30, 41). 351 [712]

The kukor is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The kol for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure. 343 [251] [171]

ALBANIA EG1
BULGARIA EE1

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kačor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [184] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A [233]

A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gollert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'anciennes maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

B [133]

17:Thurnher E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs

Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1

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Fig. 43 Farmstead in Southeastern Albania

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Fig. 44 Houses of Bey and Čifči (Southern Macedonia)

[P.86-J]

17: Thurnher E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

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ALBANIA

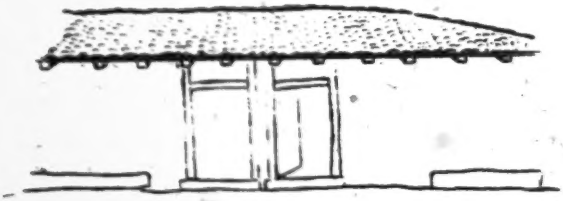

Fig. 47 House of Wattle and Daub

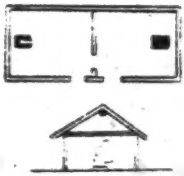

Fig. 48 Floor Plan of Fig. 47

Fig. 49 Veranda House

Fig. 50 House with a Room on the Veranda

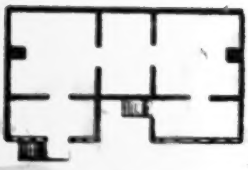

Fig. 51 House Transformed Into Two Separate Dwellings

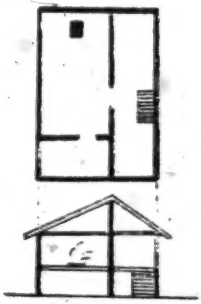

Fig. 52 Floor Plan of a House of the Moti

[P 86-L]

ALBANIA EG I

ALBANIA

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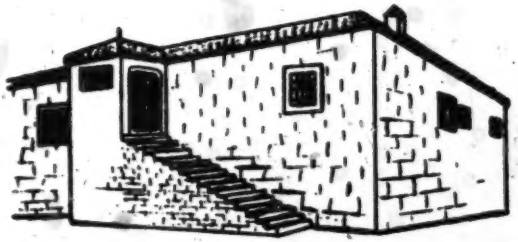

Fig. 53 Building with Stairway House

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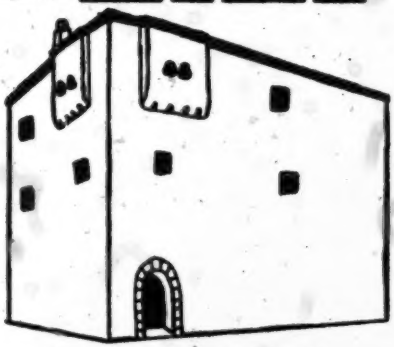

Fig. 54 Kula in Northern Albania

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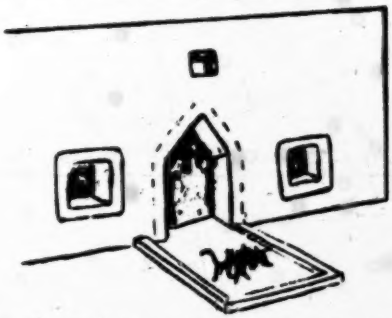

Fig. 55 Fireplace with Niches and Opening for Smoke

[P.86-M]

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Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For general information on houses and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 79-86./

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/For information on the construction and form of houses, yards and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 66-70, passim and 86J, 86L-86M./

river. From time to time we struggled through a waterfall, and there was one huge torrent that, leaping from a cliff above the trail, arched over it in a curve that seemed solid as glass, and we passed beneath it. Then, descending, we came to the little valley of upper Thethis. Perhaps six or ten houses were scattered there, among broken-off fragments of cliff as large as they, and between them all the level land was glistening with water at the grass roots.

The house of Sadiri Luka was notable for its stone-walled courtyard and its broad balcony. The heavy arch of the gateway was mediæval in its grim solidity; we escaped from the rain to the peace of its shelter, and there were welcomed by Sadiri Luka. He was middle-aged, sturdy, even a little stodgy of figure, among the lithe mountaineers, and this appearance suggested the successful business man—a suggestion incongruous with his picturesque clothes. His trousers were the purest white that new wool can be, his fringed jacket the densest black, the colors of his sash were clear and gay, and his silver chains were massive. There was even a heavy silver ring on his finger. And there was no rifle on his back.

The courtyard was a litter of cornstalks, almost entirely covered with a roof of woven branches; evidently it was the home of flocks now out in the rain attended by a shepherd cutting leaves for them. An arched doorway opened into the first floor of the house, where we saw a pensive donkey gazing profoundly upon the liquid gray weather -- Analyst

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

husbands' homes, but his sons brought their brides to his house and each couple required a separate bedroom. If he were very poor, he might be unable to provide anything better than a lean-to in the farmyard, but the average man built a proper house round the nucleus of sitting-room and kitchen. In the first of the two types to which this house might conform, a number of rooms were grouped together sideways, sometimes on one floor only, usually on two, but rarely on more. In the second type one room was built on top of another, as in a tower, for two, three or even four storeys. This type was always known as a *kullë* (lit. 'tower'), a description also often given to a two- or three-storeyed cluster, although, more usually, any clustered house was called *shtëpi*, the name of the original kitchen. Access to the upper floor in the clustered type was usually by an inner, fixed staircase, and in a tower by an inner ladder that could be pulled up if an enemy penetrated to the ground floor; a trapdoor hung over both staircase and ladder, ready to be closed in an instant, if necessary. The two types of house were found side by side. The clustered one was preferred because its rooms were easier of access, but a family with many enemies or little land fell back on a tower as it was more defensible and took up less space. Whereas a clustered house stood in a farmyard surrounded by a fence of withered thorn or, more frequently, a stone and timber wall of the same construction as that of the house, a tower had generally no farmyard. All its appurtenances—livestock, farm implements, hay or other fodder—were gathered under its own roof, on the ground floor, as being more secure. In a one-storeyed cluster livestock, farm implements, and probably dairy and kitchen as well, were housed in sheds in the yard to save space in the house. In a two-storeyed cluster they were more often accommodated on the ground floor as in a tower, but for convenience rather than security, which was guaranteed by the farmyard wall. Since the sitting-room in such a house was often over the cow-house, it contained an ingenious labour-saving device for use after supper. As soon as the table had been removed, the host swept the crumbs towards a small, unobtrusive hole in the floor in front of the hearth, removed its lid, and with a last flick of his broom dropped the crumbs on the animals below. In a tower the kitchen was over the cow-shed and under the bedrooms, and these in turn were under the men's sitting-room.

In a tower or a two-storeyed cluster there might, for security

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania E61

342 low-pitched roof is tiled in red, with dormer-like smoke-
712 holes, or tall, lidded chimneys. The strong wooden doors are round or square at the top ; the doorways often formed by lintels and side-pieces of wood, or arched with stone. Windows are few, and very small, often mere loopholes or slits a few inches across. Glass is rare : the openings may be barred by twisted twigs. In the stone houses they are often outlined by a frame of regularly shaped and spaced blocks. The guest-room is lighted by rather larger windows, which are nowadays generally glazed, though old-fashioned paper windows still linger in some parts. The side of the house facing the road is blind, though sometimes a few narrow slits are pierced just under the eaves.

The peasants themselves give as a reason for building
342 such fortress-like houses that they have lived so long in
712 dread of hereditary enemies, often very numerous because
627 of the constant blood-feuds. These, like feuds in all countries, often arose over a woman, a runaway or a stolen wife. They said to me frankly : "Under Turkey we could pursue our wives, and kill them with their lovers ; but now we are forbidden to do this. A slit is wide enough for us to shoot through, not wide enough for us to be shot at. No enemy can see into the house through it, let alone climb in by it. And then a woman cannot go out by it to keep a tryst, nor can a man come in to find her." For similar reasons, all these dwellings have inside sanitation—small
[514] apse-like closets built of the same material as the house, and apparently clinging to it.

352 The ground floor contains the small dark kitchens where the women and children eat their meals. They have floors of hard earth, and fireplaces of the huge projecting kind, or
[354] small open fires with smoke-holes above, with a few cooking-
[415] vessels of baked clay set at their edges : the flour-chest stands behind the door. On either side are the storerooms. An open-fronted shed holds the carts and ploughs, with the
343 stables and barn not far off. The stable is lofty, its roof of bare rafters being continuous with the roof of the first floor, so that one may look down on the horses through the slits in the end rooms of this storey.

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view. 342 712

Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects are placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwork and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81). 342 342 354 [417] [352]

Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 39, 41). 351 [712]

The kuker is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The koš for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure. 343 [251] [171]

ALBANIA EG1
BULGARIA EE1

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kačor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [84] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimet rs high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A [233]

A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

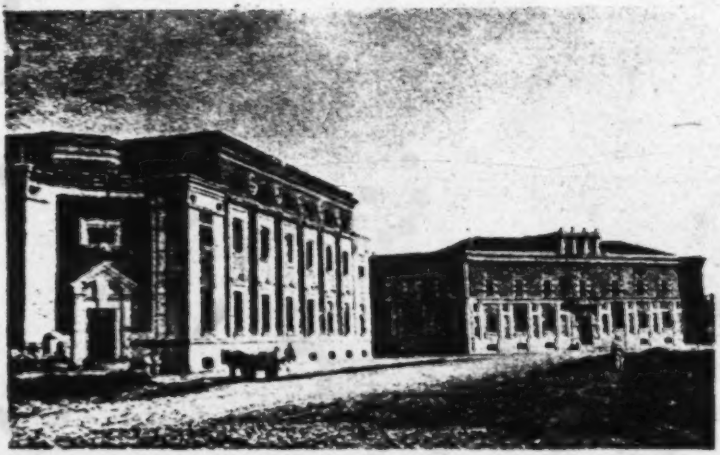
B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gellert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

B [133]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

344



TWO OF THE SEVERAL NEW GOVERNMENT BUILDINGS IN TIRANA

(facing p. 76)

361 this height have the appearance of a colorful checkerboard of the gods.

363 Tirana also has many modern boulevards, recently laid, equalling the cement boulevards of any cosmopolitan city, as well as all the modern conveniences that one finds in other capitals of the world.

367 In the large city park, music is provided every afternoon by the Royal Court Orchestra and where people promenade to the strains of Beethoven, Puccini, Strauss and Wagner.

644 In the center of Tirana is located the beautiful Royal Palace, lying in the midst of an immense, well-cared for garden. This garden 351 is one of the show places of Tirana and has a large collection of rare flowers.

•344 Also in the central part of the city in a vast square are to be found a group of modern and most convenient office buildings, wherein the various departments of the government—the Prime Minister's office, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Interior Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of National Economy, the Ministry of Public Instructions, the Ministry of Public Works, the Parliament and others—are housed.

000 All foreign legations, except that of Great

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

Alessio

361 ANOTHER city wealthy with memories of the past is Alessio (Lesh), the ancient Lissos, situated southward from Scutari on the left bank of the Drin River. This city still lives in the shadows of its ancient glory; the great ruins of her ancient [344] Acropolis and the strong, old Citadel sur- [344] round the present-day St. Nicholas Church which is built on the same spot where the St. Nicholas Cathedral stood, which was Scan- [778] derbeg's burial place in 1468. Sometime after Scanderbeg had been laid to rest here, the Turks, entering Alessio, made his tomb a place of veneration.

It was to this town that the chieftains of central Albania invited Scanderbeg to come when they offered him their allegiance. This great warrior had many faithful followers among the families of Alessio, and upon one of his visits, twenty-five years after he first went to Alessio to become their ruler, Scanderbeg died here.

Alessio (Lesh in the Albanian language)

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

excited either by statesmen or soldiers. Perhaps six scientists and business men are my heroes. Why, then, after three minutes of talk with Ahmet Bey Mati, did I add to that short list this mountain chief of semisavage tribes, who certainly knew nothing either of science or of modern business?

Government House in Tirana is an old residence, hurriedly converted into offices. It stands at the end of a street, in a courtyard surrounded by a high mud-brick wall rather badly broken at intervals. A mountain man with a rifle sits at the big gate. Another guard, even more gorgeous in white wool, scarlet jacket, and gold embroidery, stands on the wooden porch. Inside, the bare wooden floors, partitions, and stairways suggest a Middle Western American barn. Parliament Hall is furnished with school desks for the members, and a red-covered dais for the President, with the Scanderbeg flag above it, are bright colors against whitewashed walls. The offices are nondescript with overstuffed Italian furniture and fine Albanian rugs. Cigarettes are on the desks, coffee is served to callers, and my feminine experience of interviews was that facts must be fought for against a barrage of French compliments.

We had been in Tirana two days and could not put a finger on any fact to account for the distinct uneasiness we felt. We were tormented by a wholly irrational feeling that, somehow, somewhere, something was wrong. Everything

712 cisively date its construction in the early fifteenth century, as well as being frequently mentioned in the old histories of Scanderbeg the Great. Even to-day this point has not lost its strategic value as is proven by the trenches dug during the world war. Directly beneath these magnificent old ruins, a half-deserted village still holds its weekly bazaars—a strange contrast of the unceasing incongruity between the old and the new.

346 At this point are also four monasteries of dervishes: two Khalveti, one Rifai and one Hajati. The surrounding slopes are ablaze with irises during April, making a colorful and dainty setting for such severe buildings.

133 As the solidly-built road twists and turns up the majestic sides of the Krraba Pass, magnificent gorges, which form the head of the valley and which were cut in the course of the ages by winter torrents, come into view. At the summit of this mighty pass, eight hundred metres above sea-level and eighteen miles from Tirana, it is possible to gain a glimpse, on a clear day, of Durazzo (Durrës) and the Adriatic Sea. After having reached the top, the road, a result of much blasting, travels along the ridge of the mountains for some dis-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000cessible on account of snow during the winter months.

778 Much festivity pervades in this part of the country in the summer months, for tradition has it that on the summit of Tomori is the grave of Iman Abbas Ali to which many natives make pilgrimages every August from
346 the 19th to 28th. For this purpose, a monastery has been built 1,900 feet below the summit by the Bektashi Dervishes, where the pilgrims and visitors may lodge in comfort before the strenuous climb to the topmost
776 point; and it is another native belief that that top is the seat of the ancient sky-god, related to the Zeus of Dodona and Homer's Olympia, and only certain, privileged mortals may reach his abode, others being warned away by
773 nose bleedings and sickness. Also, there is said to be an inaccessible tree bearing golden apples growing on the summit. The peasants
778 often take oath by "Father Tomori," which mountain they regard with superstitious awe. Tourists to Albania often hear this mountain referred to as "The Olympia of Albania."

771 It is the district of Shpat at the base of
551 Mount Bokanik just to the east of this richly historical center that was in constant dispute

776 nowned for its miraculous powers. Fearing that the Serbs would steal the body and transfer it to Durazzo, the Greeks who occupied temporarily this section in 1215, exposed that town to so many attacks that this plan was soon abandoned, and in the next century this district fell into the hands of Charles Thopia of Kruja, a Catholic, but little distinction was made in the two branches of the religion at that time. It was the same valiant Thopia who removed the body of this saint to the monastery where it now lies. This church was rebuilt at the end of the nineteenth century, but as it became too small for its congregation, it was demolished and rebuilt in 1901.

• 346 This old monastery, built on mediaeval plans, stands in a shady olive grove, where the low, long line of monastic buildings with picturesque red-tiled roofs, are surrounded by a moat and a bridge, giving suggestion of the drawbridge and of high, lofty walls of an ancient fortress. The interior is an irregular square courtyard with the cells of the monks lining each side, and shaded by old galleries, underneath which were the storerooms and stables. The wood of these picturesque gal-

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

leries and the long proportions of the buildings, and the rich-hued tiles of the roof combined to make a unique harmony of color design. However, these cells have been uninhabited for some time, as the Orthodox monks have almost died out in Albania, and the monastery is now under the jurisdiction of a priest; but in due respect to their former occupants the wives of the priests do not go beyond the threshold of this old monument sacred to the memory of the devout ones who dwelt therein. To-day most of the cells are tenanted by the servants and aged dependents of the monastery, also, a modern comfortable guest-house is maintained for the use of visitors. 346

The remains of the saint are placed in the chapel, where the faithful peasants, on the days of pilgrimage and exposition in early September, make wild efforts to get close enough to place a handkerchief or scarf on the coffin and to preserve these in case of illness, at which time, if worn, are believed to possess healing powers, especially against malaria and other fevers. 779

Returning to the highroad one soon arrives at Bradshesh, where the peculiarity in the 342

There is no material evidence to
513 the tradition that there was once a Jewish colony in Elbasan.

443 The picturesque brown bazaar is held once a week just outside the south wall, and nowhere in all Albania is there to be found such a grand confusion of color as among the native costumes on market-day, which is generally Saturday.

• 346 There are several fine old mosques which are gems of Turkish architecture, especially that of Nazireshe located near the Vlach quarter, and it is one of the oldest and most beautiful in the country.

Among the newer buildings are the archaeological museum, the Baholi library, the normal school, erected at the foot of the dense olive groves just north of the town, and the
274 new Alcohol factory a very few miles along the road leading to Korcha (Korça). The
485 Grand Hotel and the Hotel Adriatik, with excellent European and native cuisines, add much to the desirability of visiting this Albanian center.

000 A strange, weird beauty is found among the olive groves at Elbasan, and the many walks through these young forests are indeed delightful. They add a strong note of contrast,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

346

A MOSQUE IN TIRANA

(facing p. 146)

648 All foreign legations, except that of Great Britain, are located in Tirana. The British Legation is in Durazzo (Durrës).

366 To an eager tourist Tirana's allure will lie in the bazaars located in the side streets away from the center of the city, where craftsmen have plied their trades for centuries. Side by side are the shops of the silver- and goldsmiths and the displays of pottery, tapestry, and the laces and skillful handwork of the Albanian women will catch the feminine eye.

363 Those who never tire of the unique and intriguing will be swept along through a maze of streets that have nothing in common with the progressive edifices in the modern section of Tirana. Through these narrow streets which offer every form of merchandise in its own interesting way, the explorer will come

342 on the outskirts of the city to the small huts of peasants, made of sun-baked bricks of surprising endurance surrounded by the usual fence or wall, and here one touches a life that is different—prompted by traditions and cultures that have come down from person to person, perhaps from the days when modern progress was not even a dream.

346 Among the numerous other sights not to be missed in Tirana are the Mosque of Suleiman

346 Pasha, built in 1645, and that of Etem Bey in 1835, both of which possess a group of exceptionally valuable and wonderful paintings and mosaics distinct in their kind. The Na-
543 tional Museum of Tirana is of unusual interest, containing the ancient and the modern: Priceless antiquities from the excavations of various cities in Albania, along with models of the native dress worn in various districts.

Tirana is now the residence of the head of the Albanian Orthodox Church.

366 This city with its romantic and war-like past, still retains its old bazaar established years and years ago, for Scutari is the chief market town of this region. Here the natives throng on market day in all their vivid array of costumes and make a picture that no one can easily forget. Scutari to-day, with its old Rozafat still standing, is the source of much of the folklore and tradition of the northern districts of Albania and also is the gateway to the neighboring mountainous villages which have retained their old and honorable customs and where the stranger is always welcomed with an age-old hospitality.

• 346 Other sights not to be missed in Scutari are the Jesuit Museum, Convent of the Franciscans, the Catholic Cathedral and the mosques, all of which hold some interest for everyone.

Near Scutari, in the mountains of Shala, there is an abundance of game to be had just for the sport—deer, fox, wildcats and fishing which will test any man's skill.

346 other place, among the numerous, to be visited with interest and close attention is the Neshad-Pasha Mosque which is a gem among its kind.

366 Here also is an exceedingly active branch of the Albanian National Bank.

529 From the center of the city, it is but a few kilometers' run to the seashore. In the cool of the day it is a delightful ride and after even a short swim in the clear waters one readily promises oneself to return to this lovely spot. For this strip of country from Valona to Himara is the Albanian Riviera and in no way can the rivieras of France and Italy surpass it. The climate is as agreeable, the natural beauties are far more picturesque, but the most inviting quality of this pleasant resort is that if privacy is desired it can be obtained and if, on the other hand, the gayety of a crowd is preferred, one has only to step from the front door and be buoyed along in a pleasant excitement.

315 A great deal of the wealth of Valona is derived from the rich petroleum fields that are situated near the city.

000 Another product important to Valona is

VALONA

317 Another product important to Valona is salt which is taken from the lagoons of the village of Arta, lying near Valona.

712 An excursion not to be missed is from Valona to Kanina. The road, going to the southwards, leads through luxuriant olive groves, fruity vineyards and waving fields of towering maize. About 400 meters above the town of Kanina stands the mighty Kanina Fortress, a relic of Byzantium. For its age, this veteran of so many attacks stands with comparatively few marks of the ravages of time and war. In the center of the village of 346 Kanina, directly under this fortress, is a Con- 764 vent of the Dervishes. Immediately in front of this building, a great tree proudly waves its branches far overhead, for this tree is the guardian of the last resting place of Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora, the father of modern Albania.

Valona has further interest historically for it was here that Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora proclaimed Albania's independence on November 28, 1912.

Berat

361 THOSE who have seen Berat have been justly profuse in praising it. With its stately old Cathedral and many inter-
[346] esting and unique churches and mosques, and above all its splendid castles, gems of archi-
[712] tecture, it is worthy of its high reputation and the admiration of all peoples. The ruins of the fortresses and once handsome loggias only enhance the beauty of this city.

The town itself lies on an unsurpassingly picturesque defile of the Osum River, and resembles the exquisite pictures by the old masters of quaint cathedral cities.

In this city stand many palaces of those old noble families, as the Vloras' and the Vrionis', who centuries ago held the power of princes in their own districts.

Here to-day all is fraternal harmony with Moslem and Christian living side by side.

245 The principal means of livelihood of the inhabitants of Berat is the olive trade, which is supported by all the vicinity as the chief crop.

Alessio

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Alessio (Lesh in the Albanian language)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

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RUINS OF THE BYZANTINE BAPTISTRY IN POJANI

346

ONE OF ELBASAN'S MOSQUES

(facing p. 170)

Other Towns of Interest

36 TO anyone familiar with Albanian history the name of Tepelene is well known. For this town, in southern Albania, is the birthplace of Ali Pasha Tepelene, born in 1741. The castle of this leader still stands although part of it has sunk into ruins. During the days of Napoleon one of the country's greatest fortresses stood near this town.

Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra) is a progressive city where many of the old families of this region live in comfortable homes. Being the largest city in the district it is a market place of note. The famous Ali Pasha Tepelene resided here for some time and his castle still remains. For the art devotee, the interiors of the churches, convents and mosques of Argyrokastro will give unfailing delight.

The city of mosques in Albania is Leskovik. Here are many of the most beautiful specimen of mosque architecture to be found in the country. There is also a large bazaar in Leskovik that will interest even the most seasoned traveller.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

between Kavaja and Durazzo, and were housed in new buildings constructed by the Near East Foundation. The construction is American,[1] but the architectural motive is taken from such examples of Albanian architecture as the ancient Scanderbeg Tower of Kruja. The result is that the major portion of the buildings harmonize well with the rural landscape of Albania. The two schools are called the "Albanian-American Institute." They are supported by the Albanian Government and the Near East Foundation. The Boys' School has a large farm and work on the farm is the basis for education in farming, training peasant boys in advanced farming and the art of good citizenship. Originally this school provided a four-year course, but with the approval of the Ministry of Public Instructions, the four years have been reduced to a three-year course. The Girls' School, formerly a normal institution where young women were trained for teaching in village schools, is now a Folk School and the curriculum includes: cooking and food preservation, household sanitation and baby care, weaving, pottery, mending and dress-making, poultry, bees, and gardening. The teaching in

874 [346]

1 [Two farm schools taken over in 1930 by the Near East Foundation -- Analyst]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Skiperi would Our Lady of Scutari forgive her 173
children, and return to her ancient shrine.

The scene on this day in the great square building, 796
which, with its bare walls and absence of ornament, [346]
bears little resemblance to a Romish church, is most
striking and strange. The mass performed on the
occasion is listened to by a congregation whose
waists are perfect arsenals, bristling with pistols and [291]
yataghans of every shape and pattern. There are [411]
wild-looking, fierce-moustachioed highlanders, white-
kilted Mussulmans, chieftains blazing with gold em-
broidery, and milder citizens in more homely garb, all
assembled in honour of the Madonna, before whose
shrine their ancestors had worshipped. Yet, notwith-
standing their participation in the religious rites of 577
their neighbours, the Albanians are not less tenacious 579
of their own honour than of that of the creed they
profess, any insult offered to a Christian church being
promptly retaliated upon a Moslem mosque, and *vice versâ*. Of this the following incident, which occurred
about the middle of the century, offers a striking
illustration.

A certain Tahir Mala, of Bugna, belonging to the 585
Moslem tribe of the Gascii, having married his son to
a maiden of the Christian Schialla, set out to bring
the bride home, accompanied, according to national
custom, by a numerous train, and preceded by the
tribal banners. On the return journey, they stopped,
as usual, every now and then to fire volleys into the air.
Their way, however, lying past a Christian cemetery,
the cross, standing in the midst, offered a mark for 798
their pistols too tempting to be resisted, and was soon

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

539
173

Scared at the sound, he in the tekkéh[1] hides,
His standards leaves, nor heeds what them betides;
Beard and moustache he tears with flowing tear,
And in a swoon at length he falls from fear.

Mahmoud his charger mounts, and riding out
His men before, now "Forward!" hear him shout;
"Forward with me! to-day, if Allah will,
I Kourd Pasha with my own hand will kill."

Now, like a roaring lion, where'er he goes,
With Allah's aid, in terror flee his foes;
The tekkéh of Baba Hussein before,
See how they rend from Tosks the spoils of war!

Veli escapes. Poor Tahir, from the rout
Into the mill thou fleest; there dost hold out.
It is in vain that bravely still thou fight;
How couldst thou stand against this vulture's might?

Death thee awaits, this day will be thy last,
Riddled with balls, thy troops are fleeing fast;
Long will it be before the Tosks forget
The valour of the Ghegs when last they met.

Now to his men hear Agha Rouka cry,
"Are ye then women, that from foe ye fly?
Of what avail the manly arms ye bear?
Of what avail the sabres bright ye wear?

Rally yourselves, as skirmishers in bands,
Fall on the Ghegs, and, with your curvéd brands,
Strike off their heads! Who falls the field upon
Wept is, but scorned who lives with honour gone!"

Naught heed they him, but in confusion fly.
Tosks of Berat! your sandals[2] go and tie!
Measure no more yourselves with Scutarine,
Who flees not, wields true gun, and sabre keen!

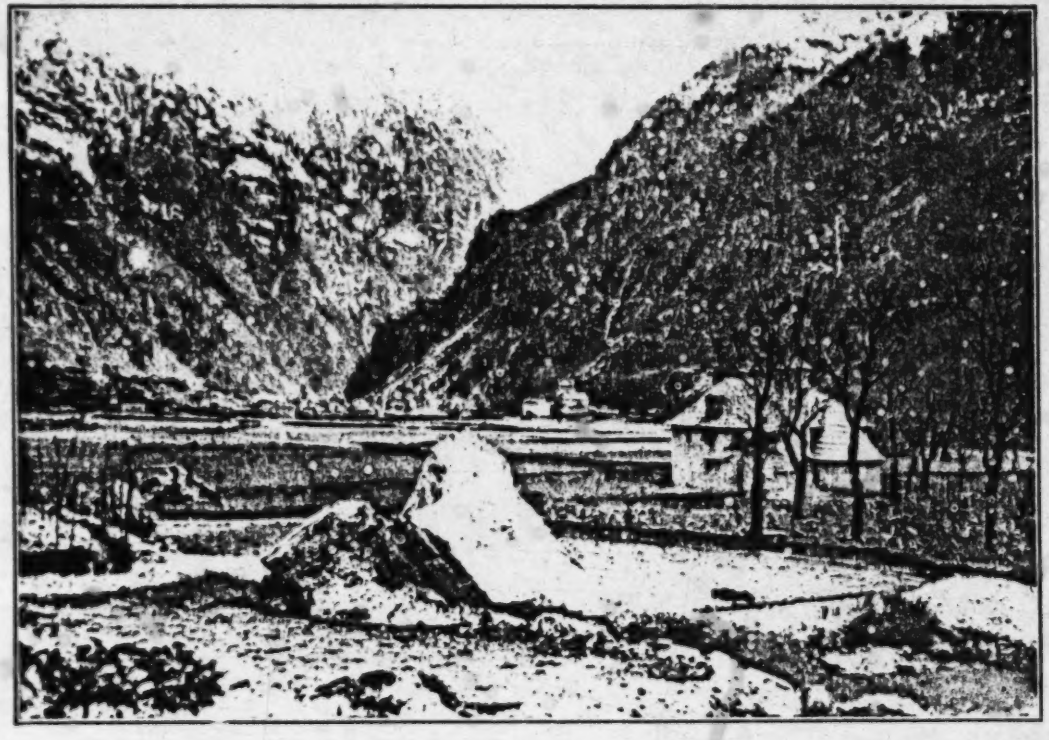
[346]

[1] A Dervish chapel.

[291]
[281]

[2] The hide shoes, with the hairy side turned inwards, worn generally in the mountains.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGI Albania EGI



THE PLATEAU OF THETHIS

In the foreground the church, etc. The hills in the background are held by the Serbs.

133
346

(1200)

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XI

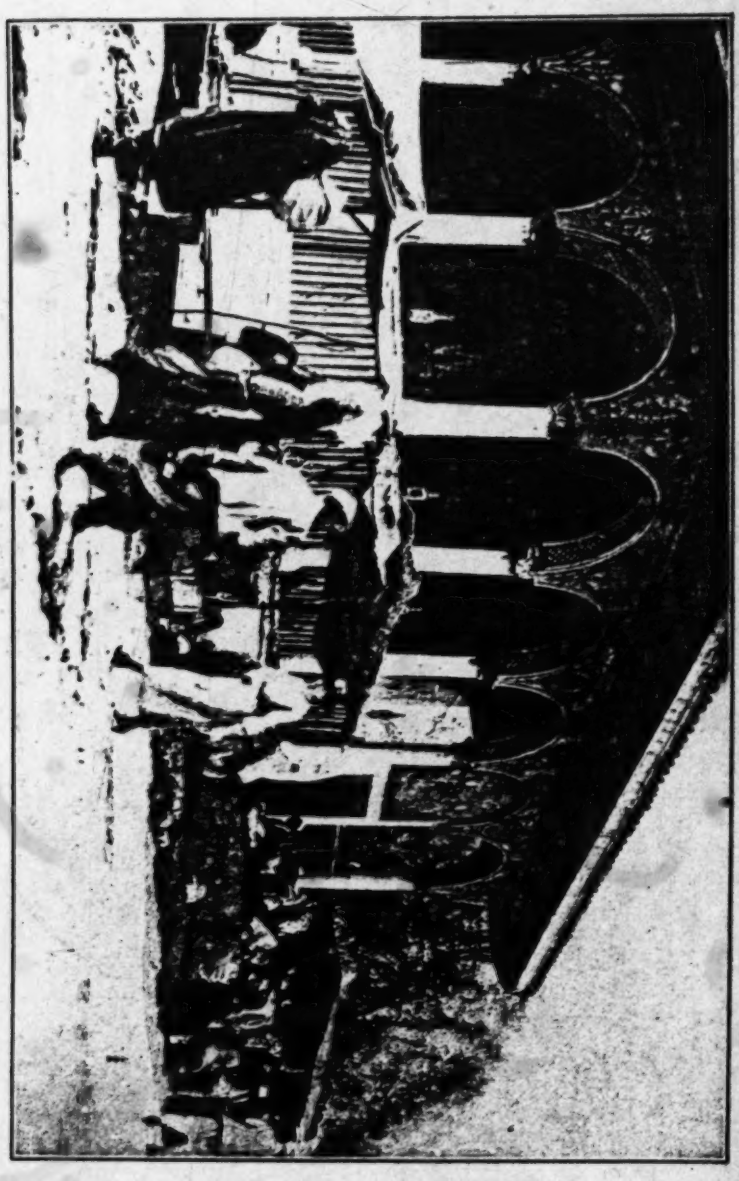
MASS IN THE CHURCH OF THETHIS—A MOUNTAIN CHIEF SEEKS A WIFE—DOWN THE VALLEY OF THE LUMI SHALA, WHILE THE DRANGOJT FIGHT THE DRAGON—HOW REXH CAME TO SCUTARI.

THE next morning was Sunday, and we were awakened by the church bell. It hung in a belfry over the padre's kitchen, and the padre pulled the rope himself. Then tucking his brown robe about his bare ankles, he descended the broken, draughty stairs to the church, and we followed him through blasts of cold rain that the wind drove through holes that had been made in the walls by the invading Serbs. 796

The church itself was bleak and cold; a bare room, whitewashed, with the stations of the Cross represented by crudely colored lithographs stained by the damp. A railing separated the body of the church from the altar, where a very brightly colored picture of the Virgin hung, surrounded by wreaths of paper flowers, above a rough table with a bit of brocade spread carefully upon it. We girls were given a bench inside the railing, and sat there in a row, in our many-times-water-soaked sweaters and trousers. Outside the railing all the women and [346]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

346



THE PAINTED MOSQUE IN TIRANA, AND THE LOW WALL ON WHICH, ALL DAY LONG, MEN SIT AND DISCUSS POLITICS

302 a

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

soils his hands with work!—and in the end his project had to be abandoned. Since the wealth of every country comes in the first instance from the soil, this attitude of mind is to be deeply deplored. All possible means of making the soil more productive should be welcomed. 241 181

Tirana, the Albanian capital and seat of government, is not a particularly impressive place. Its chief claim to notice, politics apart, lies in its mosques, which are all very beautiful examples of old Byzantine architecture and decoration. The streets are of rough cobbles—very uncomfortable to the feet—and the houses are, for the most part, of one storey only. The shops are the rickety wooden boxes one expects to find in this part of the world, and their proprietors sit, in Turkish fashion, at the receipt of custom. 361 [346]

I lunched soon after my arrival at the Hotel Internationale, which is the centre of the political life of the place. It is frequented by the deputies and their friends, and discussion and argument go on all day long over the coffee-cup and the raki glass. While I was struggling with the menu, which was Greek to me, a lady, seeing my difficulty, spoke to me in English and offered her assistance. She was an American and we got into conversation. One of the first things she said was, "You will find plenty of English here". I was astonished. That there was a British Legation at Durazzo I knew, but that Tirana contained "plenty of English" was news to me. Nor did it seem a place to attract the tourist. The meeting with the American did not surprise me so much, as I knew that there were American [485] 000

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

place has been given to the Jugoslavs, has doubtless been destroyed. A 531
Here beyond doubt the Turkish "star" is the sun. The crescents at 342
the ray-tips suggest that many of the "twigs" of the Bosnian tattoos are really tiny crescents at the end of rays, and have in many cases been evolved into crosses.

We have examined tattooing and sun-symbols among the Catholics. Y
The Moslems of Bosnia, according to Truhelka, occasionally tattoo. [304]
I saw no examples myself.

But among the Moslems of North Albania tattooing is common. A 304
In the entirely Moslem districts of Hasi, Vuthaj, Arnji, and by the 531
Moslems of Luria it was not easy to make any investigation, and impossible to ask questions. The population received me kindly as the only female foreigner who had ever visited them. But the "giaour" was suspected of being the forerunner of foreign annexation, and any questions regarding beliefs would have led to difficulties and probably closed the route to me. I could only observe and make secret notes. I saw many tattooed Moslems in these districts but never a tattooed crescent and star. All, both here and at Scutari, were marked with a triangle, and sometimes with an Arabic inscription. Or with a double triangle—which forms a star and is, I suppose, the substitute for the rayed sun. This same triangle or double triangle (Fig. 7, Nos. 10–13) A
is commonly painted on Moslem houses both up-country and in Scutari, [342
where it sometimes contains a crescent within it. Oddly enough, the 531]
only time I saw the crescent and rayed sun (or star) without a cross as a tattoo it was on the hand of an old Catholic in Scutari (Fig. 12, No. 9).

But though the up-country Moslem does not tattoo the sun and A
crescent (probably because the Christians tattoo them along with the 764
cross), he cuts them out of wood—a circle for the sun and a sickle-shaped piece for the moon—and plants them at head and foot of his graves. Or the circle with a crescent below is cut in one piece and used as headpost (Fig. 9, No. 5). The Moslem Albanian, in fact, on quitting Christianity has rejected the cross but retained the ancient religious symbols of his pre-Christian ancestors—the sun and moon. He has not, except in the towns which were under Turkish influence, adopted the well-known Turkish gravestone with turban or fez upon it.

Emerging from these Moslem tribes I was amused to find that at A 531
Prizren, which was then by large majority Albanian, the sun and moon 346
figured over the door of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

In Montenegro, traces of sun and moon can be found. The arms of M
the solid stone crosses usual in the graveyards end as a rule in hemi- 764
spheres. Limestone is hard to tackle and no moon appears. When, 531
however, a cross is carved in relief on a slab the moon appears as a

[Text continues on p. 131

H 755 Monastery, I saw three. They stood with their hands on their knees and their heads thrust under the desk from which the pope was to read the Lessons. The desk being draped, their heads were hidden and their hind-quarters protruded grotesquely. If they could refrain from crowing during the reading of the Lessons they would be cured. The cure failed. Hardly had the pope begun to read when a hideous and unearthly din arose beneath his desk. No one intervened; no one even smiled. The pope read steadily, though his voice was drowned by the noise. At the end the three were led away—uncured. But I was A told that as a rule the cure is successful. It may well be, for the Balkan [761 peasant is very much affected by suggestion. He pines if he believes 754] he has been cursed; he dies if he believes his death is "egil" (written in the Book of Fate). I did not see or hear of a case of crowing hysteria in Albania.

M In Montenegro I was told a remedy for fever. It was to make fire with 753 a fire-drill of wood. The patient helped to work the drill. The fire went 278 out of him and into the wood and he was cured. Perhaps the exertion of drilling produced sweat and so relieved the patient. Krsto believed greatly in this cure.

6. Soothsaying

A For some inscrutable reason man in many lands has thought his 787 gods were likely to choose the insides of animals as a means for revealing the future.

"Plucking the entrails of an offering forth, they could not find a heart within the beast." So the augurs warned Cæsar to beware the ides of March. Balkan folk still find their fate written in the bones of certain animals.

I first saw the bones read at Selchan, a village in the Spata mountains, near Elbasan. It was in those days a very remote spot, and a Russian Consul was the only foreigner who had visited it within memory. A Most of the male population were "wanted" by the Turkish Govern- [636 ment. But for the purpose of my visit the friendly Albanian Mutasarif 702] of Elbasan arranged a truce. We were halted outside the village for a parley, and also to give time to all the men of military age (whom the Government was trying to conscript for the Army) to hide in the bushes. I was then received with great joy, and even greater hospitality. The ancient headman, Constantine Suliman, a fine figure in a white A fustanella, swore friendship, and hustled the women to spread a noble 346 banquet of roast lamb, stewed fowl, cheese, milk, and maize-bread.

The district had neither church nor mosque. Every inhabitant had

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the 342
street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, 363
the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly 347
mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a 352
low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold 353
the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are 415
hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride 411
of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys 342
are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high 711
walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to 181
slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his 577
feud with him. The villages of these districts are 361
generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the 352
cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

secret diplomacy!" And this was the only sidelight that escaped him.

Nowadays, in order to get at the bottom of international complications it is a good plan to "look for the oil". And I have not much doubt that oil was the root of the trouble referred to. Presumably Great Britain, Italy, and perhaps also the United States, were striving to obtain concessions from the

A DURAZZO WAR MEMORIAL

Albanian Government. How serious the quarrel was, and how it was ultimately settled, I can only conjecture. I met, later on, however, both Italian and British mining engineers and learned that preparations were being made by both to begin boring operations, and from this I concluded that some sort of compromise had been arrived at.

From the point of view of the tourist there is not much of interest to be found at Durazzo with the exception of the old

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2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

361 city wall which at one time completely encircled the town
349 and is still, in many places, in good preservation. No one knows its age. The local people assert that it is Venetian, but, as flat brick figures largely in its construction, it is more probably Roman. At the present time roads pass through ragged gaps in the masonry, and houses, of which the British Legation is one, are built in, and on, the ramparts.
563 A small colony of Arabs—Baghdadi by their caste marks—inhabit one of the bastions.[1] One wonders how they came there. In the town[1] there is also a gipsy quarter, as in most other Albanian towns. The gipsies are a peace-loving folk, asking no more than a quiet life with not too much work and plenty of music and dancing. They are, in fact, Bohemians *par excellence*.

ooo I trespassed on the hospitality of the Durazzo Legation for three days and then went aboard the boat for Valona in the company of a King's Messenger, the consul's wife and family, the gentleman who had come out after oil and was now returning to England—whether satisfied or dissatisfied I did not trouble to enquire—and some other of my fellow countrymen whose acquaintance I had recently made.

Durazzo looked exceedingly attractive from the sea. The glittering water was that marvellous shade of blue which is peculiar to the Adriatic. Boats with patched and tattered triangular sails plied between the ship and the shore.
361 The little town of white and yellow houses, bathed in sunlight, lay at the foot of the island-like promontory on which

[1] [of Durazzo -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

609 consulate staff during my stay, I offered the maid—who had, incidentally, washed all my linen for me—a sum equivalent, I think, to about 2s. When at last, after some difficulty, I succeeded in making her accept it she seized and kissed my hand—to my intense embarrassment. And Vojn, who had carried my things for miles over the mountains and had given me ungrudging attention, behaved in exactly the same way and at first refused my modest offering. His manner did not, however, convey that he was too proud to accept the tip or that I had made a *faux pas* in offering it, but merely that what he had done he had done in goodwill and not with any idea of reward. It was refreshing, in these money-grubbing days, to meet with such an unexpected trait.

349 Before I left Argyrocastron I explored the old fortress. It proved to be a vast place full of arches, tunnels, and broken masses of masonry overrun with scarlet poppies. A few sleepy-looking, barrack-like buildings housed a few sleepy soldiers. The battlements gave a fine view of the town, the valley, and the mountains.

494 On making enquiries about getting to Koritza I found that a post lorry was leaving at midday. I therefore booked a front seat for which the price was 150 liras (Italian money being current in this part of Albania). I thought at the time that this was a rather heavy charge as Koritza was, as I then fondly imagined, only about three hours journey away. We should be there, I thought, in the classic English phrase, " in time for tea ". We were not. Nor were we there in time for tea on the day following. So I was slightly out in

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/For information on the construction and form of houses, yards and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 66-70, passim and 86J, 86L-86M./

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Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For general information on houses and farm buildings, see 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116, pp. 79-86./

361 this height have the appearance of a colorful checkerboard of the gods.

363 Tirana also has many modern boulevards, recently laid, equalling the cement boulevards of any cosmopolitan city, as well as all the modern conveniences that one finds in other capitals of the world.

367 In the large city park, music is provided every afternoon by the Royal Court Orchestra and where people promenade to the strains of Beethoven, Puccini, Strauss and Wagner.

644 In the center of Tirana is located the beautiful Royal Palace, lying in the midst of an immense, well-cared for garden. This garden 351 is one of the show places of Tirana and has a large collection of rare flowers.

344 Also in the central part of the city in a vast square are to be found a group of modern and most convenient office buildings, wherein the various departments of the government—the Prime Minister's office, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Interior Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of National Economy, the Ministry of Public Instructions, the Ministry of Public Works, the Parliament and others—are housed.

000 All foreign legations, except that of Great

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

husbands' homes, but his sons brought their brides to his house and each couple required a separate bedroom. If he were very poor, he might be unable to provide anything better than a lean-to in the farmyard, but the average man built a proper house round the nucleus of sitting-room and kitchen. In the first of the two types to which this house might conform, a number of rooms were grouped together sideways, sometimes on one floor only, usually on two, but rarely on more. In the second type one room was built on top of another, as in a tower, for two, three or even four storeys. This type was always known as a *kullë* (lit. 'tower'), a description also often given to a two- or three-storeyed cluster, although, more usually, any clustered house was called *shtëpi*, the name of the original kitchen. Access to the upper floor in the clustered type was usually by an inner, fixed staircase, and in a tower by an inner ladder that could be pulled up if an enemy penetrated to the ground floor; a trapdoor hung over both staircase and ladder, ready to be closed in an instant, if necessary. The two types of house were found side by side. The clustered one was preferred because its rooms were easier of access, but a family with many enemies or little land fell back on a tower as it was more defensible and took up less space. Whereas a clustered house stood in a farmyard surrounded by a fence of withered thorn or, more frequently, a stone and timber wall of the same construction as that of the house, a tower had generally no farmyard. All its appurtenances—livestock, farm implements, hay or other fodder—were gathered under its own roof, on the ground floor, as being more secure. In a one-storeyed cluster livestock, farm implements, and probably dairy and kitchen as well, were housed in sheds in the yard to save space in the house. In a two-storeyed cluster they were more often accommodated on the ground floor as in a tower, but for convenience rather than security, which was guaranteed by the farmyard wall. Since the sitting-room in such a house was often over the cow-house, it contained an ingenious labour-saving device for use after supper. As soon as the table had been removed, the host swept the crumbs towards a small, unobtrusive hole in the floor in front of the hearth, removed its lid, and with a last flick of his broom dropped the crumbs on the animals below. In a tower the kitchen was over the cow-shed and under the bedrooms, and these in turn were under the men's sitting-room.

In a tower or a two-storeyed cluster there might, for security

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

342 A man's house, simple or elaborate, was his own, and he could
423 do what he would with it up to a point. But he held it on conditions
635 laid down by the Unwritten Law. This law defined a house as 'any hut or building of one, two, or more storeys that has a hearth and emits smoke', and insisted that poor house and rich house are alike inviolable. A stranger might not enter either without first hailing the master by name. If very discreet, he would call out from some distance; if bolder or on friendly terms with the family, he might lawfully enter the yard first. If no one answered his call, he must wait there or go away. On no account might he push the door open; that would make him a housebreaker. In the old days it would have cost him the usual penalties for theft, a fine of five hundred *grosh* ('piastres') for housebreaking, plus the obligation to send the family two of every article found missing after his visit, and even more recently it caused strife that might end in shooting. It was of no use for him to plead that he knew the master was from home; he knew also that somebody must have been left in the master's place.

The law allowed a man to erect a new house anywhere on his
[35] own ground, subject to the all-important provision that it did no harm to his neighbour's house and ground. In this connexion the term 'house' comprised, not only the dwelling, but also the farm-yard wall or fence, and everything that this enclosed. It followed that a new house must be kept at least the width of its eaves from the neighbour's boundary to make sure that the rain dripping from them should not damage his property. The method most commonly adopted to ensure this was to leave space enough for a man to pass on foot between the new house and the neighbour's boundary. If a man wanted plenty of elbow-room, however, he might build his house as much as two *pashë* ('fathoms') from the boundary. As his visitors were as free as members of his family to use the empty space, a sizeable road was soon trodden out. Sometimes, too, a man
[49] who looked into the future left room for a road that was still non-existent but might one day be wanted by the community, in which contingency his house would otherwise have had to be pulled down and rebuilt elsewhere.

There were also a number of minor rules to be remembered in building. According to the law in Fulqet, if several men had contiguous land, they must build their houses as near as possible to the point at which their land met. Otherwise their several dogs

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

greediest man would not venture to disturb the cairn or to steal land for which another had lost his life. 423 628 [425]

Near boundaries of villages and tribes might be won with a boulder and distant boundaries with a slab of rock. In the former event what was a contest in throwing the heavy weight took place; in so poor a country the weight could only be a stone. When the two tribes had quarrelled over a boundary each selected a champion athlete to throw the weight. Whichever threw it farthest won the land in dispute for the tribe. Father Gjeçov does not make it clear where the men stood for the throw. When more distant boundaries were in question, each champion carried a slab of stone or a rock on his back until he dropped under it. The one who held out longest won all the ground he had covered for his tribe.

The relations between a boundary and adjoining structures, such as a fence, wall or house, and natural features like hedges, trees and ditches, were as carefully regulated as the site of the boundary.

A fence or a wall generally enclosed a farmyard and sometimes a field, a vineyard or the like. Fences were made of hurdles or, much oftener, withered Christ's Thorn, depending on what grew in the locality. In the marshes at the mouth of the river Mat withies were interlaced between living willow trees planted like posts in the ditches surrounding the fields. In well-watered areas inland hedges of living Christ's Thorn were common. Walls were usually dry, like Scottish dykes; the more pretentious had their stones bedded in mud. Dry or mud, they were rare round fields, because fences were easier to make and less trouble to maintain. In upland pastures there were neither fences nor walls, presumably because the boundaries were too long. The rules for both fences and walls were pretty much the same. 417 351

When an old farmyard was divided between two brothers or cousins who were on friendly terms, their respective portions were separated only by boundary stones. When they were not on friendly terms what they did depended on the degree of their enmity. If not embittered, they built a wall three spans wide (60 cm.) or a fence, centred exactly over the boundary line and possibly broken by a door that led from one yard to the other. Each built half of the barrier and became the recognized proprietor of what he built. When it was a wall he made a square niche on his own side to mark his ownership. When it was a fence he had no such material way of safeguarding his rights but could always rely on 417 423 596

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

417 public memory. If only one of the two wanted a barrier, he had to
423 build it unaided and entirely on his own ground, leaving the
596 boundary stones on his neighbour's side. In this case its position relative to these stones was enough to show whose it was, but he nevertheless constructed the usual niche on his own side. He could not, however, build the wall right against the boundary stones but had to leave its width free between them and its outer base. For the law said that any rain that fell on a man's house or wall must run off on his own ground and not damage his neighbour's property. It needed no legal compulsion, of course, to make him construct the various buildings in his own yard in such a position that their drips did not damage his fence. Incidentally the 60 cm. of free space served at need for a footpath. When two brothers were embittered, each built a partition wall, naturally without a communicating door.

685 If a man wilfully damaged a tree or other property on his neighbour's land he had to answer for his crime by paying damages. If a stranger who did not know he was trespassing on another's property and was not warned off by a shout from the owner did similar damage, he, too, had to appear before the elders.
[622] But if he could prove ignorance of trespass, he had no damage to
[351] pay. To keep animals under control so that they should not stray to another's property, a wall or at least a fence round the yard was an essential concomitant of a house. This too had to be its own thickness inside its owner's boundary to guarantee that rain drips
[1425] did not damage the ground next door. In the Malësi e Madhe the man building the wall could claim any timber that during building operations fell not more than half-way down on his neighbour's side. But whatever fell more than half-way or reached the ground—even the scrap of land he had left himself between the wall and the boundary—became his neighbour's. This discrimination applied to every form of wall.

351 Sometimes when one of two brothers was enclosing his yard he
596 was permitted to utilize his neighbour's wall for one side of his
417 enclosure. There was no risk of this confusing the ownership of the wall, for the neighbour, when building it, had not only put a proprietor's niche on his own side but had also left the boundary stones outside so that they fell within the new yard. A more distant relative could not utilize an existing wall, but had to build one of his own, parallel to the neighbour's and distant by the

regulation width from the boundary. If this involved him in more 351
expense it also saved him and his descendants from ever quarrelling 596
about the wall. It also gave his dog room enough to run round his 417
house at night, a not unimportant point. But even a brother could not be allowed to erect a building against his neighbour's wall. The risk from the drips of rain from it was too serious.

If one neighbour wished to fence or wall in his field he did 578
no wrong, strictly speaking, by building the barrier along the 423
middle of the grass-grown footpath along the boundary between 417
fields, and so on the very boundary line. But this caused so many quarrels that in Mirditë and the Malësi e Madhe the law bade him leave the width of his barrier free between its outer base and the boundary, just as he must do when building a wall across his courtyard. In its wisdom the law was providing for the future.

Theoretically, a man could not only build his fence or wall 423
along a boundary line, but could also ask his neighbour to make 685
half of it. In practice, however, the neighbour might be too lazy 417
or might say he was too poor or too ill to do his bit. In Kastrat[1] he could be fined 250 grosh and three rams for his unneighbourliness, and this possibility sometimes drove him to action. In the ingenious Malësi e Madhe the first man might in malice run up a fence parallel to the boundary but with an opening sixteen spans (3·20 metres) wide at either end. This ensured that his animals strayed through the opening on to his bad neighbour's field and ate it up. To give the neighbour no chance to make him move his fence he ran it up four spans, half the width of the horse-track, from the boundary. Most men, however, preferred to make the whole fence themselves, constructing it at least half the width of a footpath from the boundary. If two neighbours made half the fence each, but one made his half badly, this man was at fault—whether his sheep strayed into the good fencer's field or the good fencer's into his. The loss always fell on him; in the first case he had to compensate his neighbour, and in the second he had no right to be compensated for the damage done by the animals. 417

Sometimes a man wished to fence in a field which was bounded by a road. In Krasniqë and some other hilly districts he had to leave a strip of his land as well to allow for the fence slipping down on to the road, an ever likely possibility.

Most hedges of dead thorn were directly over the boundary line, 417 685

[1] See Appendix, Document V, § 11, p. 264.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

685 of theft which were no less universally regarded as shameful. A man who stole from another with whom he had broken bread as host or guest disgraced himself for ever. A woman must not steal for fun or spite. If she did, not only her husband's family, but the whole village felt ashamed and took steps to deal with her.

[672] The accomplice who helped the thief, the host who fed him and the receiver who hid the booty were all considered as no less guilty than the thief himself. 'A thief and his host are the same', and 'Like thief, like receiver' were common sayings. All had to suffer punishment in proportion to their share in the crime and booty. The owner of stolen goods had the right to remove them from the premises of a receiver and to claim compensation, and the receiver had no legal claim for redress as against the thief. On the other hand, if a man bought stolen goods in good faith he had to give them back to the rightful owner, but he was entitled to recover what he had paid for them from the thief.

All possible means of protection against theft were adopted by the mountain peoples. Every man carried a gun by day, and slept with it beside him at night. Dogs were kept in every house and 231 sheepfold. Domestic animals were branded with a mark that could not be destroyed, as when sheep had both their ears notched. [351] Farmyards were surrounded by walls too high to scale and had stout wooden gates heavily bolted at night. Thieves, however, could [417] make holes in the mud and stone walls, and frequently forced an entry that way. The walls of many village shops were lined with wood, so that a thief's chisel, striking it, would make sufficient noise to put the householder on the alert.

[625] In Turkish times many villages sent out armed patrols every night, composed not of professionals like the night watchman of the towns, but of unpaid villagers who served in turn as directed by the village headman. When there was danger of sheep-stealing on a large scale, the threatened villages sometimes bought the protection of some strong man. For example, the villagers of Reç, now in Yugoslavia, hired protection from sheep-stealers of Dibër by paying the Kaloshi family of Dibër a thousand napoleons a year. Nor were the parties deterred from contracting together by the fact that the Kaloshis were Moslems and Albanians, and the villagers of Reç were Orthodox and Macedonian Bulgars.

627 In the extreme north and south of the mountains, guns could 695 legitimately be used when a thief was caught in the act of breaking

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

of losing his protégé, but even so he had to be fairly 'strong'. In 628*
Mat such a friend might take the murderer out three times with [572]
impunity. Afterwards he was sure to receive a message from the 682
avenger which ran, 'Don't stir out again. Stay indoors. It was for your sake that I didn't fire.'

In the majority of cases the murderer neither ran away nor was shut up, but went about his normal business, taking certain precautions. An Albanian never despised his enemy; the strongest man will say, 'I am stronger than he is, but a rifle doesn't care for bravery, a rifle kills'. He remembers also that an enemy is ever on the watch: 'A wooden stake rots, but an enemy doesn't.' Yet another saying—this from west Mat—'Wood rots, a wrong doesn't'. 'A feud can't be forgotten.' 'A man with an enemy is like a hare sitting on its form, he must watch all the time.'

The first precaution a hunted man had to take at home was never to answer the door himself.

Since the laws of hospitality were rigid and seldom transgressed, 574
a guest seldom killed, or was killed by, his host. Frok Gjeta of 628*
Kthellë, however, had lost his father at a guest's hands; three men had called and been unsuspectingly admitted; the old man was hospitably making coffee when they suddenly opened fire and killed him.

About 1910 some men called at a house in Orenjë, in Çermenikë, and were admitted by its widowed mistress as guests. They seized the only adult male in the house, her stripling son and, hanging him head downwards by a rope slung across a rafter, demanded money and avowed that they were avenging the murder of one of their kin by the family. The son said he had no money; the mother screamed that she had a little, but they hanged her son.

Another precaution commonly taken by a 'wanted' man was to 628*
live in a house of more than one storey. Such a house never had 351
more than slits for windows in the ground floor and those in the [342]
upper room were square holes without glass, across which stone shutters were drawn at night. In Çermenikë the outside staircase that led down to the stables on the ground floor was always fenced in carefully with wood. For greater security the women lived on the ground floor protecting the men who lived above. If a man were rich enough, he built a high wall round the house; this gave him the freedom of his courtyard. In this case all the windows looked inwards on the court; the outer walls were blank save for

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

* 351 628 the loopholes. A still richer man, or one with many enemies, had several doors in his courtyard wall and watch-towers at strategic points. (The turrets at each corner and in the middle of the long walls effectually commanded these entrances, and many loopholes in the walls provided space for many defenders to shoot from.) Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan had several posterns in his garden wall, each commanded by a watch-tower and each providing him in case of need with a possible means of escape.

* 628 574 Incidentally, back entrances in the mountains were useful for guests with enemies. These could enter unseen by other guests, among whom there might be one or more who would inform the enemy of his whereabouts, and so endanger his life. They were also useful if the master had sent a group of his followers to shoot his enemy; if they failed, they could creep in unseen by the guests; in case of failure on such an errand, they did not wish the attempt to be known.

628 A wanted man who wished to work in his fields might station a child herding goats or a woman minding a cow at a vantage point where an enemy could be detected and the watcher give him warning, so that he might seize his rifle and defend himself. As the enemy's trump card was surprise, he was likely to retreat when detected. Before the wanted man left the house the women and children would look through the windows to make sure no enemy was near. A man with blood on his hands might wish to go to the forest to cut firewood, a place too distant for his women to keep watch. In that case he might send a scout ahead to reconnoitre the [476] road, and himself follow rifle in hand. In Zdrâjshë, Çermenikë, the [423] communal hay-field was so far away that a wanted man made no attempt to go and cut his hay; the others, however, gave him his due share, though he had done nothing to earn it. A man who, in spite of risks, kept moving about might never stir outside, especially at night, without his rifle. He never told where he was going and travelled by an unlikely route and at unwonted times.

* 628 484 In the summer of 1935, to return from Tirana, whither he had been officially summoned, Murat Kaloshi of Dibër sent out an attendant to find a car willing to drive at once to Dibër, and within five minutes of its drawing up at the door of his lodging started. This was at 2 p.m., an hour when Tirana is plunged in sleep on a summer afternoon. He supped at the wayside inn of Lunik, an insignificant village without telegraphic communication, four or

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view. 342 712

Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects are placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwork and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81). 342 342 354 [417] [352]

Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 39, 41). 351 [712]

The kukor is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The koš for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure. 343 [251] [171]

17:Thurnher E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs

Albania EG1
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R. A 342 351

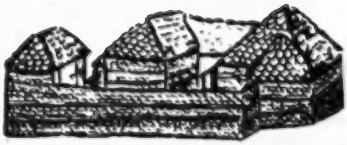


Fig. 43 Farmstead in Southeastern Albania

Y 342

Fig. 44 Houses of Bey and Čifči (Southern Macedonia)

[P.86-J]

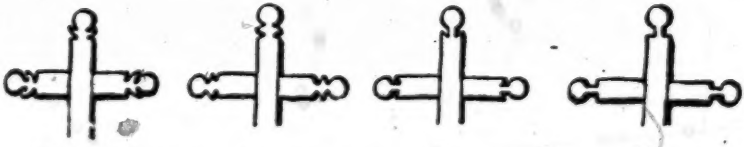
Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The finest carved rayed suns are those on the arms of the big wooden crosses in the Theti graveyard, which are beautifully chip-carved (Fig. 9, No. 3). Upon one of them a carved watch and chain marks the grave of the first tribesman of Thethi who possessed one. 531 764

Most interesting are some quite recent gravestones at Dushmani

[352]

4. "Sun and Moon" Chair, Shala. 2. Variant design of arm, end, and back. 3 Cross terminating in "suns," Thethi.



6. Series of common wooden crosses, showing all stages of patterns (Catholic cemeteries).

5. Wooden headpost and head and foot posts of Moslem graves (Hashi and Puka).

FIG. 9.—SUN AND MOON PATTERNS IN NORTH ALBANIA

(Fig. 8), whereon strange devices are carved, in some of which the cross and sun are turned into the figure of a man. A woman who came up told me I was drawing the grave of her mother (Fig. 8, No. 6). Asked what was the meaning of the things upon it, she said: "We poor people of the mountains cannot write. I put this to remember my mother. The sun and moon are 'per bukur' (to look pretty)."

[Text continues on p. 127]

PEAKS OF SHALA

embroidery. These were really separate linings 291
to the stiff and hard opangi, which had to be soaked a long time in water and put on wet, in order to get them on at all.

Very conscious of my feet, which seemed large 342
and unwieldy flopping objects at the ends of my legs, I went across the flat, wet fields with Perolli to drink coffee in the house of Lulash. 1

The house of Lulash was different from any of the others we had seen. It stood on a castlelike rock; we went up to it by a stairway cut in the side of a cliff that rose almost sheer for so far that the waterfall pouring down it looked like a motionless streak of snow near the top. A natural bridge of rock crossed the little space between the cliff and the rock on which the house of Lulash was built; a furious little stream roared beneath us as we crossed the bridge, and then there was another stairway leading up to the house.

Lulash and a dozen men and women of his [574]
household stood outside his door to receive us. No rifles were fired. We passed through a double line of salutes and greetings and into a high-arched stone doorway. There was a little hall, floored and walled with stone, and a massive stone stair leading upward. This we climbed, [352]
and were in a large whitewashed room, lighted by a window and furnished with beautifully painted chests and a few hand-woven rugs. But this was not the only room; there were others, 001
and, leading us through several arched stone

1 [tribal chief in The Ris -- Analys F]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

[727] XXII Mountain Corps, whose Headquarters were at Yannina. The Kossovo was independently garrisoned, mainly by the German-officered Albanian division, S.S. Skanderbeg. The *669 Partisans, who now formed the chief Albanian resistance movement, were reported to have nearly fifteen thousand men under arms. Except, however, for insignificant groups these were all among the Tosks, south of the river Shkumbi. The Ballist forces were also concentrated in the South and about Tirana, but were now reduced to little more than five thousand men. We were thus tolerably informed of the numbers and circumstances of our German enemies and Partisan allies, but knew almost nothing of the military potentialities of the Zogist movement in particular, or of the Ghegs in general. Maclean and I therefore set out on 3rd May to join Abas Kupi and study conditions in Mati and Kruya for ourselves. Meanwhile Smiley and Hare remained at base to reconnoitre the precise dispositions of the Germans and to take soundings of opinion in Tirana.

[342] Abas Kupi and his staff had assembled in the fortress home of Tsen Lezi,[1] set in a cleft in the mountains high above the Mati valley. We joined him there about nightfall and found [352] the Zogist leaders seated round the hearth at the end of a long and narrow hall, lit only by the flames of the fire. The skins of sheep and goats were spread out on the floor as carpets, and the walls and rude crossbeams which supported the roof were black and shiny with soot. So must have been the keep of Dunsinane. Tsen Lezi, the master of the house, was wild and woolly like an aged bear, and grunted as he ambled out to greet us. His eyes were small and bright; his bushy moustache sprouted in all directions; and his clothes were brown and furry, homespun from the shearings of his sheep. 596 He ruled sternly over his family, or clan, for there were more than sixty of them living in the house, and directed every detail of dynastic policy: what land or livestock should be bought or sold, which of the children should be sent to school, what marriages should be made, what blood feuds prosecuted

[1] A Mati chieftain, not to be confused with the Dibran leader, Tsen Elezi.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

000 the incident and adds: "Did not murder him as this is a recce. of coast and I do not want to attract attention".

The village of Priske Vogel was attractively situated among vineyards on the mountainside above Tirana; but the room in which we were lodged was small and indescribably filthy. It had served for some months as the working and sleeping quarters of Captain "Corsair", a secret Intelligence officer who had lived there alone with his Italian cook, observing enemy troop movements and the traffic on Tirana airfield. "Corsair" had been taken under Partisan "protection" after an ill-fated attempt to stop the civil war; and since his departure no attempt had been made to keep the room swept or clean. The floor was littered with empty bottles and tins; and clouds of fat, sticky flies fastened on every smear of sweat or grease. From dawn till dusk they were a ceaseless torment, drowning in our drinks, swarming over our plates, and making it impossible to sleep or even sit indoors. Most houses in Albania [352] offer sufficient, if primitive, comfort, with their carpets, mattresses, and cushions; but at Priske these had been replaced by two iron bedsteads and a few wooden chairs and benches, hard to the body and sordid to the eye. To these shortcomings was added lack of food; for the surrounding district was poor and offered neither meat, nor eggs, nor milk. Moreover, our courier service to Tirana had temporarily broken down; and we were reduced for several days to subsisting solely on maize bread and stale cheese.

In these disgustful circumstances I was presently stricken by a colic, which was soon contracted by my companions. An unequal diet aggravated our condition, but we dared not leave Priske until the new charging engine had been dropped to us. Bad weather delayed the aeroplane two days, but on the night of 29th July the sortie was carried out according to plan. The natural rapacity of the villagers was perhaps stimulated by the greed of their chieftain, Jemal Herri; thirteen packages and two hundred gold sovereigns were diverted to his use or their own; but the indispensable charging engine was safely recovered.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER III

THE ALBANIAN HOUSE

342 At its simplest an Albanian peasant's house was very simple indeed—no more than a small, square room with walls of undressed stones from the nearest stream; a man so poor had no money or time to spend on transporting better materials from a distance. The stones were bedded in mud and bound together every three feet or so by horizontal beams; in their turn the 'belts' were strengthened, particularly at the corners, by cross-timbers. The roof was a steep framework of timber covered with stone slabs but never with thatch or boards, for the house would stand no chance if an enemy flung a blazing firebrand on these. The doorway was low, but the wooden door, emblematic of the insecurity that lasted until Turkish rule ended, was strong enough not to be easily [354] broken down from outside. In most cases there was not even a hole in the wall for window, and there was never a chimney—a ring of stones in the middle kept the log-fire in its place, and the smoke found its own way out between the rafters unhampered by a ceiling. A kitchen-crook, a most important article, was suspended over the fire from a tie-beam. The floor was of beaten earth. In sum, the house was the most rudimentary type of stone and timber architecture.

352 The furnishings were in keeping. They consisted of a three-
415 legged stool or two, a box or pile of bedding but no bedsteads, a rough shelf with a frying-pan and a few platters and pots, a big metal jug for boiling water, an earthenware pot for holding drinking water, a round dining-table on stumpy supports about ten inches high, a flour-bin, a pan for mixing bread, perhaps a pan for baking it, and nothing for washing—the nearest stream served for that. A metal tray with coffee cups inverted to keep them clean and a tiny pot with a long handle for making Turkish coffee rested by the hearth, a few satchels of home-dressed wool and a distaff hung on the wall, and a hen stared at the company from her nest under [353] the eaves. The only ornaments were yellow maize-cobs, rosy pomegranates, and strings of onions or garlic, all hanging from the 000 tie-beams. At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

reasons, be no openings in the ground-floor walls except the door-way, but square holes were left in those of the upper floor for windows. Except in rich houses these 'windows' were not glazed. At night they were closed in rich as in poor houses by propping stone slabs against them or sliding wooden panels across them. Those in a one-storeyed cluster were usually too high for the curious outside to peep through or the hostile to shoot through. Nikollë Gjetë Coka of Breg i Matit, putting his trust in the exemplary peace which King Zog's government had established throughout Albania, neglected this ancient precaution and was shot in 1938 by some Mirdites who thrust their rifles through the window of the room in which he sat at supper. At the top of a tower there were usually loop-holes, splayed to give a wider field of fire and low enough to let a man kneel as he shot. When these were found in a clustered house, as they often were, it was naturally on a vulnerable side, where they might also be reinforced by turrets in the wall of the farmyard. In the kitchen, where the women and children must spend the day and evening, the hearth continued in the middle because more people could sit round it in that position.

In planning his house the Albanian householder sought chiefly shelter from the elements and his enemies, and took no thought for beauty. When villages are picturesque, as many are, it is always for such extraneous reasons as their site, the line of their roofs against a lightly clouded sky, and the greenery surrounding them, rather than for the architecture of their individual houses. A tower, it is true, may have machicoulis over its door or under an upper window, and these give it distinction; its elevation and its usual situation on a knoll may also be attractive. The best examples, some of them over two hundred years old, may be seen in Lurë. But few clustered houses are more than an assemblage of featureless boxes.

In the bigger houses the furnishings altered little from those of the simplest type already described. Mattresses and pillows were probably added to the bedding, and the floor of the sitting-room, instead of being left bare, was covered with mats made from reeds grown in the swamps near the coast. In the cold north and north-east there was usually a layer of earth under the mats; it made an admirable shield against winter blasts. Chairs remained rarities and stools were still confined to the kitchen with its chilly earthen floor. Workers being more plentiful, enough animals to make butter could be kept; the churn was made by hollowing out a section of tree-trunk.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

value or money compensation to the other. In the cases, frequent enough, where each had had his own implements before the separation, he took these with him to his new home.

Beehives too were divided on the offset or compensation system; they were seldom enough to go round the brothers. Honey was divided on a food basis, equally among old and young.

Household utensils such as spoons, milk cogs, churns, wash-tubs, pots, saucepans and all wooden and earthenware vessels were also divided equally among the brothers. After being taken out of the house they were stacked in piles, one for each brother under the direction of whoever divided the property. It was almost never possible to find an article of the same type for each brother. So an article was laid on one pile and the offset on the others. Less often, an article of which there was only one was valued and a proportionate share of its value paid by its new owner to his brothers. There was never any furniture in the sense of tables, chairs and bedsteads to divide. At most, there were reed mats and straw-stuffed cushions in the sitting-room and some wooden stools in the kitchen. The stools might be divided equally among the brothers; the other things were generally treated as part of the house and left where they were.

Certain articles in the house were not subject to division. These included the portable oven, flour-bin, tongs, shovel and kitchen-crook, which were the symbols of family life; and the mill, caddy, pot and cups forming the coffee outfit, which was the symbol of guest-friendship. The former remained in the kitchen and the latter in the sitting-room, irrespective of whether these rooms had been separated or left to one brother. Above all, it was unlucky to move the kitchen-crook; it was almost as sacred as the fire on the hearth on whose continuance depended the continuance of the family. Very occasionally, however, it was allotted like the rest of the property. Other articles were considered individual property and excluded from division on that account. These included the jack-knife, gun and revolver carried by each man (at least in the not-so-distant past), the trousseaux brought by the married women or being made by the girls, and the married women's pocket-money, wedding presents, possessions and livestock, or money lent at interest. All these continued to be the sole property of their owners. Bedding too was individual property, each brother's having been brought by his wife as part of her trousseau. If the

181 on the other hand, are strongly mixed with Greeks and softer, more
144 accessible to civilizing influences, and more desirous of innovations. The consciousness of their racial coherence determines their life in tradition--they know their genealogical trees, and hundreds of names in them--, their boundless hospitality on the one hand, and their boundless desire for feuding and the implacability of their revenge
342 for murder, on the other hand. Of archaic methods of living there are to be found, as temporary living quarters, caves in naturally formed erosions of river banks, closed off in front by plaited mats of switches. Furthermore, there are conical huts made from unhewn stems and rushes left long in cutting, in the coastal swamps; also, half underground, walled up pits with a thatched saddle-roof and a mound of earth thrown against it, used by herders and herds. Then there are loam-covered huts of intertwined beech twigs and with a reed or leaf roofing (Figure 2); one-room houses with walls filled out with grass or pieces of turf with a flat roof frame-work consisting of three transverse beams and boards loosely laid over them and weighted down with rocks (Figure 3, which, furthermore, shows, next to the hut, a frame for storing meat, and so forth, with a notched tree stump serving as steps and a spruce tree serving as a natural hook for hanging things). The permanent dwellings, always fenced in, are log cabins in the forested region of the north; for the rest they are stone houses bound with mortar, in central and southern Albania with walled-in supporting beams, covered with straw, shingles, slate, planks, or furrowed tiles. Originally it was level with the ground, with one or two rooms, then it turned into a building with two or more stories, with or without a verandah. The perpetual insecurity of the country as a consequence of the blood revenge feuds developed tower-like fortified buildings (kulen), with embrasures and a solid roof difficult of access (Figure 1), out of bulletproof interior structures. The division into rooms in the interior of these buildings is rarely made by means of walls, more frequently just through boards or intertwined twigs, or sometimes even
[177] just through larger objects like chests. Into the urban building and
[53] decorative arts Italian-Venetian, Byzantine-Near Eastern, and Turkish influences have penetrated; the Scutari chest wall in Figure 13 shows a well-known pattern of Persian ornamentation with a tree of motif in the final state of degeneration. The interior of the houses has loam
352 floors or timber floors; wall boards for putting away things (Figure 8); wall pegs for hanging up dishes; tables in the shape of plates made of two half-moon-shaped boards joined together to form a circle, with

[see: Karutz, El Europe, Cat. 116, p. 67a --- Analyst]

352 two transverse ledges nailed to them and serving as feet (Figure 11);[2] low, three-legged stools and semicircular arm chairs; bedsteads of posts rammed into the ground, floors made of boards or intertwined switches, and heaped up hay or ferns (Figure 11).[2] cradles which are
415 carried like a rucksack on the back. Among the kitchen utensil the baking bowl is important; it is made red hot and then the dough is placed in it and the baking bell is placed over it, on top of which embers are again heaped. Large wooden tubs with hoops of hazelnut are used to keep the wine, and smaller ones for water, butter, and brine for the cheese; sacks of sheep's or goat's hide are used to keep
354 milk. The open hearth fire, at the same time heating and cooking place, is situated in the center of the living room in a depression filled with loam; above it is suspended the kettle by a bent branch in its natural state, or by an iron chain; to the side of the fireplace a recess has been made into the wall to form a niche for the stove bench. Originally any kind of outlet for the smoke was lacking, then a hole for the smoke was left open, a flue was added; but it was not till later that proper fireplaces with a chimney were constructed.

/99: Illustrations./

/100/ The Albanians

II.

000 1. Woman from the Arbrie on the highland pastures of Kalmak. 2. Mohammedan Albanian. 3. Women from Scutari with wide breeches. 4. North Albanian shepherdess. 5. North Albanian woman with a wide apron. 6. Swimming bag and a raft of intertwined willow twigs floating on swimming bags; on the raft the swimmer's bundle of clothing. 7. Ferry made of a double canoe with planks raising the edge. 8. Canoe with booms on both sides. 9. Wooden plow. 10. Cross-section of a turbine mill. 11. Husking of corn by means of threshing flails. 12. Two-wheeled ox-cart. 13. Albanian from the region near Dibro. 14. Hand mill. 15. A pouch made of beech tree bark used for picking berries. 16. Peg with markings for water line use.[1]

142 The Albanians are amply medium-sized, powerfully built, mostly with short heads, with a narrow, long face. Blue eyes and
000 light hair occur not infrequently. In many cases the men shave their

1 [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe cat. 1116, p. 69a--Analyst]
2 [See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 1116, p. 69a--Analyst]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his feud with him. The villages of these districts are generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

352 fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in,
[415 a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper
373 *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two
412] rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes,
251 which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to
353 preserve them. The other serves as general living and
372 sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the
floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof.
241 Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit
249 and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a
high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green,
361 in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor,
243 where the grain is trodden out by horses.

142 The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired :—

[539]

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

183 They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly
Courageous.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

become a mother is announced to her husband's 843
family, she becomes thenceforward the object of the most devoted attention on their part, the slightest wish or preference she may express being immediately gratified. Custom, however, forbids her eating certain things, such as pomegranates and snails, and she must not dye her hair more than three times before her baby is born, or some unlucky accident would be sure to happen to her or to the infant.

As soon as the baby is born it is washed, and a 844
sickle, with which straw has just been cut, is laid for a few seconds on its stomach to prevent colics. The [603]
maternal grandmother, whose privilege it is to perform this office for the baby, then proceeds to swathe its little body tightly in broad swaddling bands of white woollen stuff, and finally deposits it in a narrow [352]
wooden cradle. A jar of water is taken to the Hodja [855]
or the Papas, according to the creed of the mother, to be blessed, and with some of its contents all the women who officiated at the birth wash their hands. The rest of the water is placed near the mother, and all the women who visit her during the five ensuing days dip their fingers in it and sprinkle her, expressing at the same time a wish that she may have a plentiful supply of milk for the baby, Albanian women [853]
making a point of nursing their own children. The relatives are now admitted to felicitate the mother and admire the baby, with the exception of its father, whom custom obliges to keep out of the way and refrain from seeing his child until it is eight days old. The mother is presently placed on a state bed, 846
over which a magnificently embroidered silk coverlet

252 and raise the hammer. Then when the water
402 spilled out the hammer fell, and the cycle began again. These mills have been observed by other authors as well.

Although they utilize water power so cleverly and save so much effort, these 2 kinds of mills involve no specific division of labor. Some men may be more skillful at setting them than others, but there are no professional mill-builders, and no millers. Like the fulling mills they belong to the families that use them, and
256 when not in use are unattended. In the cities, however, professional millers are to be found. Prizren, which has an ample supply of swift water running under the streets, is a milling town, and the traveler walking down the millers' street can hear the sharp ring of stone on stone for several hundred feet. These mills supply the needs of the bakers of Gonaj and Zum, and feed the citizens of Prizren. Bread from this region is of excellent quality and mountaineers coming to market often take a few loaves home.

264 The Ghegs eat one principal meal a day, late in the afternoon. In the morning a Moslem may take a small glass of *raki* for an eye-opener, and eat some bread and cheese; a Catholic will also break his fast. Both will munch a cold snack on the road or in the field for luncheon. But the time when the whole family gets together, when honored guests are entertained, comes when the day's work is over. Then the women cook the food, and the men squat around the communal table.
[352] In Moslem households the table is the only piece of furniture in evidence, aside from the omnipresent chests. Among the Catholics, each house usually contains one massive beechwood chair, made locally, which seats the head of the house or the guest of honor, and a number of low wooden stools.

Forks and other modern cutlery are usually absent. Mediaeval table manners are scrupulously observed, with all eating from the same dish, and with their fingers. Among the Moslems at least, the custom of passing a washbowl and jug of water with a towel before and after the meal is usual, as well as saying the Koranic grace, *bismillah*. At one meal which I attended at the house of Major Çen Eleze at Slatina, in Dibra, the table was at least 10 feet in diameter, the eaters numbered at

[See pp. 16a-16b-Analys -18a-]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

as the most perfect type originating from a prostyle house. Even the 342
difference in the size of the windows proves that the walls on the side of the veranda were built later than the rest of the building.

The description of another house of Bregumatja (p. 46, Fig. 33) illustrates the inner disposition of living space, and shows a similar evolution: the veranda has been closed by a wall on the frontside. Part of the inside, however, has remained as an entrance hall. A room with two windows «a la franca» was made on the right of the hall, and a cellar on its left. Yet these spaces were not separated by solid walls, but by thin mud-covered trellis. The room is characterised by

Fig. 72. View of a house in Kolaj
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

its roof, its large and glass panelled windows and by its containing [352]
a high table with a few high chairs, just as «the good room», destined for distinguished guests. This form and furniture are typical for all these extra rooms. The two large rooms at the back of the house are communicating by a door, but they do not have any ceiling. One of these rooms serves as men's room, and the other as women's room, but at the same time as a kitchen and cellar for everyday life articles.

This multiple formation, as shown in this advanced type of Albanian house, evidently corresponds to the needs of the Albanian family, 342
which is based on patriarchal customs. Moreover, if we take into consideration the life conditions of Albanias, the house pictured on Fig. 592
72 could include, according to Nopcsa, 20-30 inhabitants, as the only

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939) 1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania E61

342 low-pitched roof is tiled in red, with dormer-like smoke-
712 holes, or tall, lidded chimneys. The strong wooden doors are round or square at the top; the doorways often formed by lintels and side-pieces of wood, or arched with stone. Windows are few, and very small, often mere loopholes or slits a few inches across. Glass is rare: the openings may be barred by twisted twigs. In the stone houses they are often outlined by a frame of regularly shaped and spaced blocks. The guest-room is lighted by rather larger windows, which are nowadays generally glazed, though old-fashioned paper windows still linger in some parts. The side of the house facing the road is blind, though sometimes a few narrow slits are pierced just under the eaves.

The peasants themselves give as a reason for building
342 such fortress-like houses that they have lived so long in
712 dread of hereditary enemies, often very numerous because
627 of the constant blood-feuds. These, like feuds in all countries, often arose over a woman, a runaway or a stolen wife. They said to me frankly: "Under Turkey we could pursue our wives, and kill them with their lovers; but now we are forbidden to do this. A slit is wide enough for us to shoot through, not wide enough for us to be shot at. No enemy can see into the house through it, let alone climb in by it. And then a woman cannot go out by it to keep a tryst, nor can a man come in to find her." For similar reasons, all these dwellings have inside sanitation—small
[514] apse-like closets built of the same material as the house, and apparently clinging to it.

●352 The ground floor contains the small dark kitchens where the women and children eat their meals. They have floors of hard earth, and fireplaces of the huge projecting kind, or
[354] small open fires with smoke-holes above, with a few cooking-
[415] vessels of baked clay set at their edges: the flour-chest stands behind the door. On either side are the storerooms. An open-fronted shed holds the carts and ploughs, with the
343 stables and barn not far off. The stable is lofty, its roof of bare rafters being continuous with the roof of the first floor, so that one may look down on the horses through the slits in the end rooms of this storey.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along 352
which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad,
made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious [417]
hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece.

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room
takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the [342]
passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder.

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets, and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples,
in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. [531]
These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense
chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching [354]
up to the low roof.

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They 264
sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, 516
eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the 562

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view. 342 712

Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwork and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81). 342 342 354 [417] [352]

Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 39, 41). 351 [712]

The kuker is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The koš for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure. 343 [251] [171]

donkey gazing profoundly upon the liquid gray weather.

Obviously this was a rich house, and we followed Sadiri Luka[1] expectantly, up the stone stairs and down a long hall mysterious with closed doors, to a large room full of color. There were rugs on the stone floor, rugs on the stone walls, floor cushions covered with rugs in front of the fireplace. There was no other furniture save a row of old rifles on a wall. Their slender four-foot-long barrels were inlaid with silver, their curved thin butts were of silver chased and enameled, their triggers were intricate flint-lock affairs, and we tore our eyes from them with a wrench, to reply with proper courteousness to the welcome of our host.

While he made the coffee a woman came quietly through the door beside the fireplace and greeted us with poised and gracious dignity—one of those many beautiful Albanian women who, because they were so poised and so silent, remain a background for all our memories of the mountains, more mysterious behind their level eyes and courteous phrases than Turkish women behind their veils.

Sitting on the cushions, we drank the coffee and the rakëjia, from time to time responding to the greeting of other guests come to meet us. Perolli was quiet, fallen into one of the moods which we had learned not to interrupt with requests for interpreting. There was constraint in the atmosphere, and when, presently, he fell

[1] [In upper Thethis--Anal pt]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the 342
street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, 363
the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly 347
mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a 352
low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold 353
the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are 415
hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride 411
of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys 342
are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high 711
walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to 181
slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his 577
feud with him. The villages of these districts are 361
generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the 352
cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in, a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes, which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to preserve them. The other serves as general living and sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green, in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor, where the grain is trodden out by horses.

The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

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10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER III

THE ALBANIAN HOUSE

342 At its simplest an Albanian peasant's house was very simple indeed—no more than a small, square room with walls of undressed stones from the nearest stream; a man so poor had no money or time to spend on transporting better materials from a distance. The stones were bedded in mud and bound together every three feet or so by horizontal beams; in their turn the 'belts' were strengthened, particularly at the corners, by cross-timbers. The roof was a steep framework of timber covered with stone slabs but never with thatch or boards, for the house would stand no chance if an enemy flung a blazing firebrand on these. The doorway was low, but the wooden door, emblematic of the insecurity that lasted until Turkish rule ended, was strong enough not to be easily [351] broken down from outside. In most cases there was not even a hole in the wall for window, and there was never a chimney—a ring of stones in the middle kept the log-fire in its place, and the smoke found its own way out between the rafters unhampered by a ceiling. A kitchen-crook, a most important article, was suspended over the fire from a tie-beam. The floor was of beaten earth. In sum, the house was the most rudimentary type of stone and timber architecture.

352 415 The furnishings were in keeping. They consisted of a three-legged stool or two, a box or pile of bedding but no bedsteads, a rough shelf with a frying-pan and a few platters and pots, a big metal jug for boiling water, an earthenware pot for holding drinking water, a round dining-table on stumpy supports about ten inches high, a flour-bin, a pan for mixing bread, perhaps a pan for baking it, and nothing for washing—the nearest stream served for that. A metal tray with coffee cups inverted to keep them clean and a tiny pot with a long handle for making Turkish coffee rested by the hearth, a few satchels of home-dressed wool and a distaff hung on the wall, and a hen stared at the company from her nest under [353] the eaves. The only ornaments were yellow maize-cobs, rosy pomegranates, and strings of onions or garlic, all hanging from the 000 tie-beams. At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the

342 monly used than at present. The shift from wheat to maize as staple cereal deprived the farmers in many parts of Albania of roofing material.

● [353] The interiors of most houses are quite bare, with no carpets on the hewn plank floors, and [354] little decoration on the walls. In the older houses a fireplace covers about 10 square feet of floor area, and the smoke finds its way out through the thatch or roof tiles. In so doing, it cures meats hung in a rack above the fire, particularly in Catholic houses where pork is preserved for the winter.

The introduction of the *kulla* brought with it some drastic architectural innovations. The *kulla* is a 3-storied square tower, built with one purpose in mind—defense. Nopcsa finds a high correlation between the incidence of *kullas* in different villages and *bairaks*, and that of death by violence. The lower floor of the *kulla* is for the shelter of animals. The second and third are for habitation. One door opens into the stable below, a second, up a flight of bare steps, to the living quarters.

With a multi-storied structure something had to be done about smoke. Hence fireplaces were built one above the other, and a high [514] chimney ensured draft. One of the principal troubles with the old-fashioned house was its lack of a toilet. The feuding Gheg, attending the needs of nature in a corn field of a frosty morning, made an excellent target to his enemies hiding in ambush, and the feudal code contained no sporting rules to outlaw this easy shot. The *kulla*-builders therefore constructed an overhanging enclosed balcony of masonry, to serve as "W. C." In the conflict between sanitation and safety, safety won. The drain hole is made crooked to prevent pot shots from below. Since there are few windows, and these are built more for gunplay than for light or ventilation, a strong draft usually rushes up the drain hole. Down below in a heap against the wall the refuse accumulates, and were it not for the healthy mountain climate and the hardihood of the mountaineers, epidemics would be commoner than they are.

Gheg houses have both a social and an economic implication. They are usually large, and accommodate an extended family and its animals. Serving for defense, they reflect the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

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10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the 231
dining-table, to filch what it could. It was never caressed or deliberately fed; the whole Balkans believed that either indulgence would stop it from catching mice.

A man and his wife, with one or two small children, might live 342 574
in this house. Of a kind hardly paralleled in the Balkans, except in the poorer parts of southern Greece, it was not common in Albania as a permanent dwelling. As soon as its master could scrape together the necessary money, he added a sitting-room. As he provided all the labour himself and needed to hire only one professional, a stone-mason who, like all his brethren in the Balkans, was also a carpenter, ten pounds sterling were enough. The sitting-room might be built on top of the kitchen (*shtëpi* or *shpi*, lit. 'house', from Lat. *hospitium*) or against one of its walls. It had a wooden floor, a chimney at one end, a window or two, a niche in the wall beside the hearth for the utensils for making coffee, and a few wooden pegs near the door on which to hang up rifles; it might also have a ceiling. It generally had a separate 562
entrance, for sitting-rooms were men's apartments and Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox Albanians all segregated their young women. The Catholics and Orthodox attributed this custom to plain jealousy, and the Moslems, less convincingly, to a desire to obey their Prophet's order. In the evening and when not at work outside during the daytime, the master of the house with his men guests reclined, ate and smoked in the sitting-room, while his wife and children remained in the draughty kitchen. But the men were less comfortable than might have been expected. Since Albanian 353
chimneys seldom drew, acrid fumes from the wood fire filled the room and almost made them weep unmanly tears. But not quite, for if they succumbed, they would be derided as 'poor sticks' who 'would never see to shoot'.

Guests, in the form of family friends or strangers 'sent by God', 574
often came for a night. Because there were no inns in the Albanian countryside except on the long-distance tracks used by pack-horses, it was the rule that a benighted stranger might claim supper and shelter till the morning from any house he saw. The hospitality was never refused or charged for, but travellers of standing were expected to give a sum proportionate not to the hospitality offered but to their supposed wealth.

As soon as the children in a two-roomed house grew up, its 342
master must build again. His daughters went forth to live in their 591

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

reasons, be no openings in the ground-floor walls except the door-way, but square holes were left in those of the upper floor for windows. Except in rich houses these 'windows' were not glazed. At night they were closed in rich as in poor houses by propping stone slabs against them or sliding wooden panels across them. Those in a one-storeyed cluster were usually too high for the curious outside to peep through or the hostile to shoot through. Nikollë Gjetë Coka of Breg i Matit, putting his trust in the exemplary peace which King Zog's government had established throughout Albania, neglected this ancient precaution and was shot in 1938 by some Mirdites who thrust their rifles through the window of the room in which he sat at supper. At the top of a tower there were usually loop-holes, splayed to give a wider field of fire and low enough to let a man kneel as he shot. When these were found in a clustered house, as they often were, it was naturally on a vulnerable side, where they might also be reinforced by turrets in the wall of the farmyard. In the kitchen, where the women and children must spend the day and evening, the hearth continued in the middle because more people could sit round it in that position.

In planning his house the Albanian householder sought chiefly shelter from the elements and his enemies, and took no thought for beauty. When villages are picturesque, as many are, it is always for such extraneous reasons as their site, the line of their roofs against a lightly clouded sky, and the greenery surrounding them, rather than for the architecture of their individual houses. A tower, it is true, may have machicoulis over its door or under an upper window, and these give it distinction; its elevation and its usual situation on a knoll may also be attractive. The best examples, some of them over two hundred years old, may be seen in Lurë. But few clustered houses are more than an assemblage of featureless boxes.

In the bigger houses the furnishings altered little from those of the simplest type already described. Mattresses and pillows were probably added to the bedding, and the floor of the sitting-room, instead of being left bare, was covered with mats made from reeds grown in the swamps near the coast. In the cold north and north-east there was usually a layer of earth under the mats; it made an admirable shield against winter blasts. Chairs remained rarities and stools were still confined to the kitchen with its chilly earthen floor. Workers being more plentiful, enough animals to make butter could be kept; the churn was made by hollowing out a section of tree-trunk.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

tree-trunk. A similar section, split lengthways and hollowed out, made two wash-tubs for laundry work. Toilet appliances, a basin and ewer bought in the bazaar, and paraffin lamps from the same source, completed the list of additions.

The above outline omits many small variations in Albanian houses and furniture as irrelevant to the main subject of this book. Mention must be made, however, of certain houses which differed widely from the average type. The first were found among the Highlanders (Alb. *Malësorë*, 'mountaineers'), the semi-nomads who wintered on the soggy plains at the mouth of the river Mat. These houses had walls of planking or wattle and daub, with roofs of tiles or strips of wood. They rested on vertical sections of tree trunks about two feet high which had been laid at close intervals on the ground but had not been driven into it like piles. In this way they kept snug and dry even during the winter floods. All over Albania granaries were raised some distance from the ground in order to keep out the rats, but so far as is known, there were no houses on stilts except at the mouth of the Mat.

A number of Highland houses also contained a child's play-pen which might be as little as twenty-five inches long, wide and high. A shallow porringer projected from one of the top bars, chipped from the same piece of wood as the bar itself. In this pen Highland children spent all their winter days from the time they could crawl until they were three years old. They had no toys, but practised walking round the pen, sometimes stopping to eat a little bread and milk from the porringer with the diminutive home-made, wooden spoon which was tied to the bar, or merely gazing broodingly at the fire. The mothers meanwhile cooked, spun or gossiped, each secure in the knowledge that her child was on the dry floor of the kitchen and not sitting outside in the quagmire of mud that reached up to the very doorstep. The Highlanders said they invented both the houses and the play-pen themselves, but it is possible that they were at least advised by the Austro-Hungarian troops who were stationed in the neighbourhood for part of the war of 1914–18.

In Shpat, near Elbasan, huts were built for many bridegrooms. In the higher villages trunks of young trees about as tall as a man's waist were planted in a rectangle of the size desired, their boughs, while still green and flexible, were laced in and out of these uprights, and cross-pieces of timber were nailed to the uprights

[i.e., of tree-trunk--Analys]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

352 two transverse ledges nailed to them and serving as feet (Figure 11):[2] low, three-legged stools and semicircular arm chairs; bedsteads of posts rammed into the ground, floors made of boards or intertwined switches, and heaped up hay or ferns (Figure 11):[2] cradles which are
415 carried like a rucksack on the back. Among the kitchen utensil the baking bowl is important; it is made red hot and then the dough is placed in it and the baking bell is placed over it, on top of which embers are again heaped. Large wooden tubs with hoops of hazelnut are used to keep the wine, and smaller ones for water, butter, and brine for the cheese; sacks of sheep's or goat's hide are used to keep
354 milk. The open hearth fire, at the same time heating and cooking place, is situated in the center of the living room in a depression filled with loam; above it is suspended the kettle by a bent branch in its natural state, or by an iron chain; to the side of the fireplace a recess has been made into the wall to form a niche for the stove bench. Originally any kind of outlet for the smoke was lacking, then a hole for the smoke was left open, a flue was added; but it was not till later that proper fireplaces with a chimney were constructed.

/99: Illustrations./

/100/ The Albanians

II.

000 1. Woman from the Arbrie on the highland pastures of Kalmak. 2. Mohammedan Albanian. 3. Women from Scutari with wide breeches. 4. North Albanian shepherdess. 5. North Albanian woman with a wide apron. 6. Swimming bag and a raft of intertwined willow twigs floating on swimming bags; on the raft the swimmer's bundle of clothing. 7. Ferry made of a double canoe with planks raising the edge. 8. Canoe with booms on both sides. 9. Wooden plow. 10. Cross-section of a turbine mill. 11. Husking of corn by means of threshing flails. 12. Two-wheeled ox-cart. 13. Albanian from the region near Dibro. 14. Hand mill. 15. A pouch made of beech tree bark used for picking berries. 16. Peg with markings for water line use.[1]

142 The Albanians are amply medium-sized, powerfully built, mostly with short heads, with a narrow, long face. Blue eyes and
000 light hair occur not infrequently. In many cases the men shave their

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a--Analyst]
[2] [See 1: Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 67a--Analyst]

342 monly used than at present. The shift from wheat to maize as staple cereal deprived the farmers in many parts of Albania of roofing material.

[353] The interiors of most houses are quite bare, with no carpets on the hewn plank floors, and [354] little decoration on the walls. In the older houses a fireplace covers about 10 square feet of floor area, and the smoke finds its way out through the thatch or roof tiles. In so doing, it cures meats hung in a rack above the fire, particularly in Catholic houses where pork is preserved for the winter.

The introduction of the *kulla* brought with it some drastic architectural innovations. The *kulla* is a 3-storied square tower, built with one purpose in mind—defense. Nopcsa finds a high correlation between the incidence of *kullas* in different villages and *bairaks*, and that of death by violence. The lower floor of the *kulla* is for the shelter of animals. The second and third are for habitation. One door opens into the stable below, a second, up a flight of bare steps, to the living quarters.

With a multi-storied structure something had to be done about smoke. Hence fireplaces were built one above the other, and a high [514] chimney ensured draft. One of the principal troubles with the old-fashioned house was its lack of a toilet. The feuding Gheg, attending the needs of nature in a corn field of a frosty morning, made an excellent target to his enemies hiding in ambush, and the feudal code contained no sporting rules to outlaw this easy shot. The *kulla*-builders therefore constructed an overhanging enclosed balcony of masonry, to serve as "W. C." In the conflict between sanitation and safety, safety won. The drain hole is made crooked to prevent pot shots from below. Since there are few windows, and these are built more for gunplay than for light or ventilation, a strong draft usually rushes up the drain hole. Down below in a heap against the wall the refuse accumulates, and were it not for the healthy mountain climate and the hardihood of the mountaineers, epidemics would be commoner than they are.

Gheg houses have both a social and an economic implication. They are usually large, and accommodate an extended family and its animals. Serving for defense, they reflect the

342 [562] local independence of the families within them. In the *kullas*, women are placed on the second floor, men on top; or else the women will live in a nearby unfortified house, while the men take refuge in the *kulla*. This reflects the inviolability of women in the local feuding law.

333 *Kulla*-building[1] requires the skill of professionals. All stones are squared, and carefully set in mortar. The fireplaces and chimneys must be properly aligned and made to draw. The great height of the walls requires scaffolding. Nopcsa[3] says that they are built by itinerant masons, and that in 1908 they cost between 440 and 660 crowns (110–165 dollars). I was told several times when I asked that the *kullas* were built by masons from Dibra,[4] who also build them in Montenegro, Bosnia, and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Exactly where in Dibra these masons come from I do not know. I have never seen one at work, nor did any appear in our series.

354 These houses, of whatever type, are heated by wood, which at the same time cooks the meals. In most of the region there is plenty of firewood, but in the northern limestone region it is scarce and must be sought afar. The mountaineers earn a little spare cash by carrying loads of firewood down to the market towns to sell.

In many houses in 1929 a primitive form of illumination was still employed. When it grew dark the host would lay a number of pine splinters in several iron racks, hanging from the roof, and light them. The oil in the wood would provide enough light to see by, but hardly enough for reading. In other houses, however, they used candles, and in still others oil lamps. Kerosene has been packed into this country in square 5-gallon tins for some time, and the tins themselves are as much sought after as their contents.

291 Gheg clothing has received even more attention than their housing. The costumes are picturesque, and make fine collections. They vary from tribe to tribe, *bairak* to *bairak*, and in some cases between villages. After six months of travel over the mountains I was able to tell where a man came from in many cases by the cut of his jacket, the color of his

1 [see cat. 116, p. 14 b-- Analyst]

[3] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 62.

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1
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342
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[342]

walls or woven branches and were thus converted into a cave dwelling, which is also met in many places of the Herzegovina (1).

But also the trogle, that other form of semi-underground dwelling which, as already said, was from time immemorial used by the Thracians in Scythia Minor and Dardania, is also to be found in the plain between the Scodra lake and Tuzi, which is near the frontier in the area of the Hoti tribe, and it constitutes to-day a form of temporary housing.

Nopcsa describes the construction of this hut as follows: «A trench is first dug in the ground, having 6 m. length, 3 m. width and 0.30 m. depth, in a parallelopiped (see fig. 62). A stone wall is then built on all sides of the trench, it excels the ground by 0.30 m. on the long sides and on the short sides by almost 2 m., and is continually reduced in its width. The main wooden beam is then fixed on the short side walls, and a saddle type roof is erected, covered with hay. Earth is then accumulated on the outside of the walls, so that the ends of the roof come into contact with it. The earth is soon covered with wild plants, and its artificial character is covered with green in a very short time; only roofs project then from the ground, and nothing else is seen in the inhabited areas. The hight of the hut in the inside is from 1.3 m. to 2 m. The entrance is constructed on one of the short sides, not higher than 1.2 m. It looks like an opening which is not closed by a door, but simply with thorny bushes during the night. On the wall that faces the door a fireplace is built. In winter time shepherds and flocks live together in those huts, whose little space is thus sufficiently warm and protected from the glacial North winds sweeping the Hoti valley.

Fig. 62. Plan and section of a semi-underground hut near Tuzi (Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 1)

A
[354]
[231]

The last type of temporary houses of Northern Albania is that of huts built over the surface of the ground. The form of these huts is a parallelopiped; they are constructed of wood and their walls are of reeds or woven branches covered with a clay layer. These huts are widely used in summer pastures and lowlands near the sea.

1) R. Meringer, Das volkstümliche Haus in Bosnien und der Hercegovina, 275 and foll. Fig. 69.

342 the above single-room house; thus there are now two doors in the house, corresponding to the internal, in fact only theorical, division of the room (1) (fig. 64). The floor consists of well beaten earth.

In later years, this internal division of the room was materielised by the erection of a real wall dividing the room into two serarate [354] spaces. In some areas, this dividing wall runs parallel to the long side of the house; two dwellings are thus formed, each having a separate fireplace (Plate XVIII 5). But the most common division of space is that done by a transversal wall, i.e. running at right angles

Fig. 63. Houses near Dinoshi, in the area of tribe Gruda
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 34)

to the main pole. This wall is always built of lighter material (woven branches or planks) than the outer walls.

[354] Of the above two rooms one contains the fireplace and it is the [574] dwelling of men and the guest-room for visitors. The other, with no fireplace, is a sort of ante-room and it is used as cellar and dwelling for women. (Plate XVIII 3).

171 The entrance is always in the ante-room, through which one enters the main room where the fireplace is. This is, according to 342 Nopcsa, a difference to be noted when comparing the above house 354 to the corresponding Serbian and Croatian, which has the fireplace in the ante-room, as we have seen. This difference is also to be noted in the tripartite Albanian house. In Jugoslav and Rumanian regions,

1) The two separate doors can also be seen as a rule in houses of the villages in Attica. See **St. Kyriakidis**, Σπίτια καὶ κατοίκια τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐν Ἡμερολ. Ὁδοιπ. Συνδέσμου, 1926, p. 67.

342 the central-room, which has the entrance and the fireplace, is used
354 as a kitchen, and the two rooms on each side are living rooms. On
[171] the contary, in Albania and in Herzegovina—had Nopcsa known the Greek house he would have added Greece(1)—there are rooms with fireplaces on each end of the house; a simple entrance between them is, according to Nopcsa, (and others before him), a proof that this room was previousley used as a stable (p. 39) (Plate XVIII 13). It must be noted that the fireplace has been moved from the party wall and is now always against the external wall of a short side, because this one is, as we have already said, more stoutly built than the middle one. This is the reason why in Middle Albania where, as

342

Fig. 64. Winter dwelling of the Nikshi baïraktar in Bregumatja
(Nopcsa. Albanien, fig. 18)

354 noted by Hahn, the entire hut is usually built of timber, the wall of one narrow side, where the fireplace is built, is always made of stone or bricks.

Nopcsa attributes the construction of two-storey buildings in Albania not to a need to increase living space in hight, as it would be probable in a country where a horizontal increase is not always possible, because of the mountainous nature of the ground, but to the same reason why the floor of a wheat-store is built high over the ground, namely to the need for protection from dampness(2).

An example of a simple two-storey house is given by the plan

1) Nopcsa knows the Greek dwellings only from the book of **De la Guilletière** Lacédémoine ancienne et nouvelle, Paris 1676, noting here and there some happy comparisons in building and other habits of Albanians and Maniates (pp. 39-54).

2) See **Fr. Oelmann**, p. 73, On the Composition of Multi-floored Buildings.

of a house at Kolaj (in Mali Rencit) (Plate XVIII 6) where some 342
families of the Klmeni tribe spend their winter. The ground floor comprises a store-room and a stable for the horses. The two rooms of the upper-floor have each their own entrance. The ascent to the upper-floor is made by a stone-built twin-arm staircase, inorganically attached to the outside wall of the frontage. Fireplaces are also here situated on the narrow sides of the house, just as in ground-floor houses and huts. [354]

Apart from the above two-room houses, there are also in Albania two-storey houses with one or two rooms, having at their long side wall at the frontage, an open portico, a prostoon. The roof of this veranda is supported by wooden poles. In Albania we meet both forms of it: with both its sides open called then a «zardag»; the other, when its sides are closed by walls, known as «shamashin» (Figg. 66 and 67, Plate XVIII 7 and 8).

The ascent to this veranda is made by a stone-built staircase, inorganically touching it; the staircase is either massive or it forms a semi-circular arcade under the landing. Nopcsa is right when he considers the one-floor wide fronted prostyle houses as a forerunner to the above type of Northern Albanian house; the former can be seen in Proseku, to the South of the area he surveyed, also in Middle and Southern Albania, and has infiltrated from the South to the North of the country.

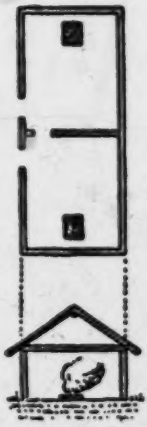

Fig. 65. Plan and section of a two-room dwelling (Nopcsa fig. 19)

Nopcsa is also right when he considers the prostoon, veranda, as that element of the building, whose different variations contribute to the increase of living spaces and lead to the perfection of the housing form.

According to Nopcsa, the first move towards a more composite form in the Albanian houses can be seen in the old house of the Mali Kencit area (Figg. 68 and 69). An external stone staircase leads to the veranda, which is supported by stone pillars and is enclosed on both sides (shamashin). Wooden poles support its roof; but the openings between them are closed with wooden planks on both ends. Two store-rooms or cellars have thus been formed, receiving light from small openings, sky-lights. Separate doors lead from the veranda to the two rooms of the first floor, that communicate by an inside door as well. Both rooms have fireplaces situated exactly at the [354]

9:Megas 1,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

342 middle of the external narrow side walls. There are no chimneys.
[354] The smoke escapes through the roof. Stone walls and wooden planks divide the ground floor under the veranda as well as the first floor into various spaces used as stables or store-rooms.

Nopcsa says (p. 41) that if, during the process of evolution the prostoon of our Albanian house is enclosed by wooden planks or by

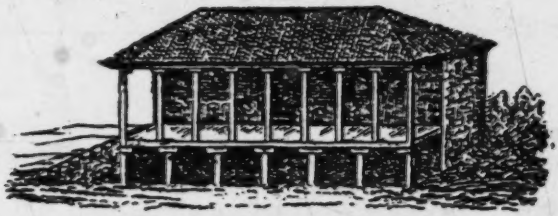

Fig. 66. House with prostoon in Brebula
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 23)

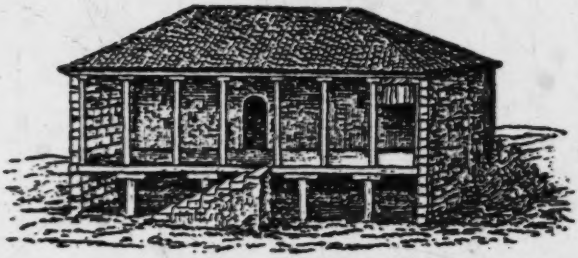

Fig. 67. House with prostoon in Toplana
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 24)

a wall on the front, it is possible that such a house originally one-roomed, is on its plan very similar to a two-roomed house divided in length; but the absence of a fireplace in the front-room as well as its use are even then enough for us to recognize the evolution which took place».

This is very clearly shown in the plan and the vertical section of the first-floor of a house in Vuksanlekaj (in the South of Podgoritsa) (Fig. 70). This was originally a single-room house. Later, one part of the room was divided off, thus forming a small room with no fireplace. In this house, the veranda is not supported by wooden

342 reason for building another house would be the dissolution of family
[592] bonds.

[171] Consequently, the system which exists in the Slav countries, to build separate, additional, small dwellings for young or married members of the family, is foreign to the housing customs of the Albanians.

As Nopcsa remarks (p. 49), a more developed and organically disposed house, like that pictured in Fig. 72, cannot easily be expanded, because of the serious difficulties created by a corridor running along it, as well as for the position of fireplaces and staircase. That these difficulties may be overcome, is shown by the house of Trushi (in Zadrima) Fig. 73.

[354] In this house, fireplaces have been moved to the front long wall and placed between two windows. Two staircases have been built

Fig. 73. Big house in Trushi, in the plain of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

in addition, with two prostoa opening at the centre. A twin house has thus been formed, each of which it is completely separate from the other. By the wooden extensions of both prostoa, some of which
[251] project and are supported dy wooden beams, there are formed some washing places known from our own villages; or cupboards, for victuals, that are protected against mice on the one hand, and are in a cool air draft on the other.

Similar constructions are seen in the veranda of an old two-storey house of Scodra (Fig. 74). This house is more than 125 years old and it is built at right angles, because of the smallness of the building plot. The ground floor includes a weaving room, an oil press, a stable, a wood store, etc.; living rooms are all in the upper floor.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania E61

342 low-pitched roof is tiled in red, with dormer-like smoke-
712 holes, or tall, lidded chimneys. The strong wooden doors are round or square at the top ; the doorways often formed by lintels and side-pieces of wood, or arched with stone. Windows are few, and very small, often mere loopholes or slits a few inches across. Glass is rare : the openings may be barred by twisted twigs. In the stone houses they are often outlined by a frame of regularly shaped and spaced blocks. The guest-room is lighted by rather larger windows, which are nowadays generally glazed, though old-fashioned paper windows still linger in some parts. The side of the house facing the road is blind, though sometimes a few narrow slits are pierced just under the eaves.

342 The peasants themselves give as a reason for building
712 such fortress-like houses that they have lived so long in dread of hereditary enemies, often very numerous because
627 of the constant blood-feuds. These, like feuds in all countries, often arose over a woman, a runaway or a stolen wife. They said to me frankly : "Under Turkey we could pursue our wives, and kill them with their lovers ; but now we are forbidden to do this. A slit is wide enough for us to shoot through, not wide enough for us to be shot at. No enemy can see into the house through it, let alone climb in by it. And then a woman cannot go out by it to keep a tryst, nor can a man come in to find her." For similar reasons, all these dwellings have inside sanitation—small
[514] apse-like closets built of the same material as the house, and apparently clinging to it.

352 The ground floor contains the small dark kitchens where the women and children eat their meals. They have floors of hard earth, and fireplaces of the huge projecting kind, or
[354] small open fires with smoke-holes above, with a few cooking-
[415] vessels of baked clay set at their edges : the flour-chest stands behind the door. On either side are the storerooms. An open-fronted shed holds the carts and ploughs, with the
343 stables and barn not far off. The stable is lofty, its roof of bare rafters being continuous with the roof of the first floor, so that one may look down on the horses through the slits in the end rooms of this storey.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad, made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece. 352 [417]

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder. [342]

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets, and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples, in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. [531] These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching up to the low roof. [354]

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the 264 516 562

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view. 342 712

Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects are placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwork and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81). 342 342 354 [417] [352]

Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 39, 41). 351 [712]

The kukor is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The koš for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure. 343 [251] [171]

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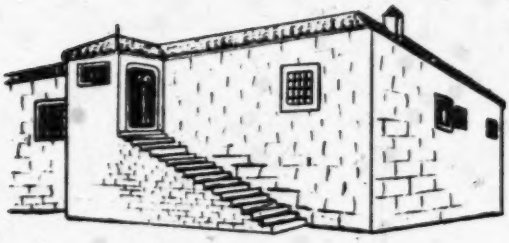

Fig. 53 Building with Stairway House

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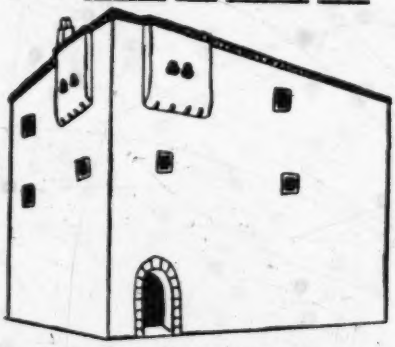

Fig. 54 Kula in Northern Albania

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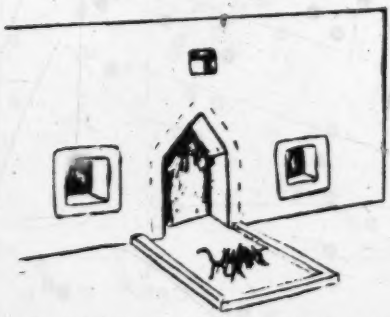

Fig. 55 Fireplace with Niches and Opening for Smoke

[P.86-M]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

lenders for the want of security), and in the less-developed north 562
she invested it in sheep, plough-oxen, or even horses which she 593
hired out on the 'half-and-half' system. Before a woman died, she 426
gave a little of her *pekul* to her daughters and the major part to her sons, but nothing to her husband, so making a last comment on the curiously detached relationship between them during their married life.

Except in the towns, no Albanian woman ever went into 357
domestic service. Each worked as a girl in her father's house and then in her husband's and, though never paid any money, was assured for life of whatever board, lodging and clothes these could provide. This applied even to families of the standing of Cen Elezi in Dibër. Consequently the Unwritten Law took no cognizance of female servants. On the other hand, men servants—mainly farm workers or herdsmen—were numerous enough to have been carefully legislated for.

Though such a servant ate out of the same dish as his master and slept in the sitting-room or elsewhere in the same conditions as the young unmarried men of the family, he had always to take a back seat—in the literal sense near the door and far from the fire; and, in the metaphorical sense, effacing himself. This befitted both his youth and his status. For his status was like that of a woman. 'It is for the master to command and for the servant to obey', said the Unwritten Law. If he were a shepherd, his views on the beasts under his care commanded his master's respect, but other servants were required to keep their opinions to themselves. In areas such 357
as Martanesh where women could not be killed in a blood feud, 628
a servant was as safe as they were from his master's enemies. 'Kill a servant? Faugh! As well kill a woman', was the sentiment.

There was, however, another aspect to his position: since he [574]
came from another family in his master's village or from another village altogether, he was not a member of his master's household but was its guest. As such he was entitled to protection by his master against all hurt from third parties. If he were hit, the offender must pay twice, compensating him for the personal injury of the blow and his master for the affront to his guest. If he were robbed, his master latterly complained to the police, but in the old days would have shot the robber out of hand in the north, but in Martanesh and farther south, not until he saw that the servant himself was too weak to resent the injury as honour demanded. If

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357 a servant were killed, a modern master again told the police, but
628 nevertheless both he and the servant's family considered themselves at feud with the murderer, the former to avenge the death of his guest and the latter to avenge the death of their relative; more often than not, the master made it 'tit for tat' by killing the murderer's servant. In former times a servant was most commonly killed because he was mixed up in a blood feud of his own. In that event his master went to see his enemy and warned him that the man was now in his service and, consequently, under his protection. If his enemy disregarded the warning, his master never rested until he had avenged the servant.

Again in the old days, vengeance took a fiercer turn when the servant was from a different community. He was then counted as a stranger, and the guest of his master's tribe or village, as well as of his master himself. If he were killed by one of this community, the others rose as one man, burned down the murderer's house and destroyed all his goods. The modern Albanian government has repressed this custom, but the servant's master and family still try to shoot the murderer.

The same public vengeance used to await the murderer of a local servant who was working for a stranger to the tribe or village. But in such a case it was the injury to its stranger guest which the community wished to avenge; in itself the death of the servant was a matter for private vengeance by his family. In aggravated cases, as when the murdered servant as well as his master was a stranger, the community might order the execution of the murderer by a firing squad. This was done in 1944 in the village of Dukat, in south-west Albania.

357 No Albanian ever stooped to become a servant except from dire necessity. Most commonly he wanted to marry, and having no spare cash, must earn enough to pay for his bride. He was usually engaged on St George's or St Demetrius's day in the Old Style calendar, and so on 6 May and 8 November in ours, dates which correspond roughly to the beginning and end of the dry season. His engagement was for six months or, more often, a year. His wages and his work depended on the bargain he made with his master before being hired. In the 1930's his wages, including food only, ranged according to his quality from one napoleon (16*s*. at par) to half a napoleon a month, payable monthly. In late Turkish times, when clothes as well as food were given, the rates were from

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

357 worked, and must forfeit the rest. To us the pound or two involved seems too insignificant to matter to either, but to most Albanians it was an important sum. In the event, for example, of the master's moving from one district to another, he might not dismiss the servant unless he gave him a full year's wages. If, however, he asked the servant to go with him and the servant refused, he must let him go but need give him no more than what he had so far earned. In the same spirit the law forbade the master to dismiss the servant for a frivolous reason, such as not liking him, and forbade the servant to run away for a frivolous reason, such as boredom. If the master disregarded this law, he must pay the servant a full year's wages, and if the servant disregarded it, he must be content with the wages he had earned to date. By exception, in Krasniqë, in north-east Albania, the master sought out his runaway servant, and after making him find a man to guarantee his future behaviour, brought him back to stay out his time.

[622] If the master had good grounds for dismissing the servant, he must warn and forgive him twice. If the warnings went unheeded, the master said the elders must now judge between them. The servant then went and told his story to the chief elder—the bajraktar in tribal areas—who next asked the master what he had to say. Thus in possession of both sides of the story, the elders sat on the case and pronounced judgement; this turned generally on what money was to be paid to the servant.

[466] If the servant were lazy, an all too common occurrence, or otherwise unsatisfactory, without being criminal, the Unwritten Law allowed his master to reprimand him reasonably and bade the servant swallow the reprimand. But the master must not use foul language or hit the man. For his motive might be to force him to leave before his time, apparently of his own volition, and so deprive himself of his full wages. If the master transgressed this law, the servant had leave to appeal to the elders, not only for payment of his wages in full, but also for compensation for the injury of being hit or violently abused.

357 The more serious crimes with which a servant might be charged [illegible] included theft, murder and seducing a girl or young wife in his 685 master's family. In the case of theft the issue depended largely on whether the servant stole from his master, in his master's village, or in another community. If he were caught red-handed robbing his master or subsequently admitted doing so, he was immediately

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500 to 50 *grosh* ('piastres') a year, payable in two instalments, the first after six months' service and the second at the end of his term. 357

According to a list from Shkrel where wages were still on an 'all-found' basis, a servant must be given a complete set of clothes —a shirt, drawers, cloth cap, scarf, cow-hide sandals, socks, trousers and sleeveless jacket. He got sandals as often as he needed a new pair, and a set of the other things three times a year: when first engaged, at the end of three months, and during his last month. On leaving he was given three okes of wool, which his female relatives could work up for him. [291]

Disputes hardly ever arose over the servant's food or clothes, but were common about his work. As an Albanian of Koplik said picturesquely, 'Before a man is hired he talks like an angel, and then turns out a devil', so that 'half the men who lie in cemeteries have died of worry over servants'. The same speaker told a lively folk-tale of a master who was delighted to get a servant cheap and then found him come very dear indeed. Every time he asked him to do something, the man said it had not been mentioned in their bargain and he could not do it unless he got a rise in wages. Little attempt to get 'references' seems to have been made, perhaps because in the old days a would-be servant would have shot the giver of an adverse 'character' for slandering him. There was also a feeling that a servant's engagement was too temporary to take seriously. Once when the author inquired uneasily about a servant she had been urged to hire, an old mountaineer replied, 'What does it matter? you're not going to marry him'.

'Any gains made or any damage done by a servant are his master's', said the law. If, for instance, a servant somehow gained a horse, he could not send it to his own family, but must give it to his master. On the loss side of the ledger, if a servant unintentionally damaged a neighbour's property, say, by killing his horse, it was not he but his master who must make restitution, and his master could not keep back any of his wages for that purpose. Fining a servant was absolutely forbidden. [672] [423]

The relations of master and man with each other and with the outside world were regulated in detail by the Unwritten Law, using the servant's wages as its chief instrument. Thus if the two parted prematurely, the master being to blame, he must pay the servant his full wages for the year. When the servant was to blame, he had no right to more than the money for which he had so far

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dismissed with only the wages due until then. Since it was in a sense his own house and his own father that he had robbed, he could not be given a second chance; he was too obviously devoid of ordinary decency to be trusted again. And since the law forbade his master to strike him, he could not be beaten, as a thievish woman might be, till he reformed. 357 685

Dismissal did not end his story. He had to pay the statutory fine for housebreaking and to bring his late master two of everything he had stolen. If he had no money for the fine, he had to find a surety for the amount and then go and earn it elsewhere. After European legal codes were introduced at the end of the 1920's, these unwritten laws lost much of their force, and it was rather by threatening to get the thief sent to prison that an injured master obtained restitution. [671]

In less sophisticated days a servant who was only suspected of robbing his master could be tried by the ordeal of the oath. If this proved him innocent, his master had to pay him six *qese* ('purses') for unjustly accusing him, besides a full year's wages and clothes. If it was later found that he had perjured himself, the elders fined him twenty-four *qese*, of which half went to the church (or mosque) and half to the tribe; he had also to return to his master the six *qese* and the unearned wages and clothes which he had won from him by perjury. It sometimes transpired, however, that the informant who had disclosed his perjury had lied himself. Then the elders once more declared the servant innocent, ordered the church and tribe to return his twenty-four *qese*, and the informant to pay him a year's wages and clothes besides six *qese* for the false accusation. [695]

If a servant stole in his master's village or another community, punishment depended on who had instigated the crime. If his master had done so, he and not the servant was in fault, and it was for him to make reparation to the victim. He must also dismiss the servant forthwith as a public nuisance; but since the man was only his tool, he must pay him a full year's wages. If, on the other hand, a servant stole on his own initiative, the fault was his and it was for him alone to make restitution. In addition, he might be legally dismissed with no more than the wages he had earned. [672]

Much the same laws applied when a servant committed a murder. If he did so at his master's instigation, both were punished. He must be dismissed, but his master must pay him a full year's wages. The resultant blood feud was primarily his concern, but if he 357 682 672

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357 escaped from the district, his master might lawfully be shot in his
182 stead. When, however, a servant murdered on his own respon-
672 sibility, he alone should suffer for the crime. His master was entitled, in dismissing him, to keep back the portion of his wages for which he had not worked, and according to Lek's Kanùn ought not to be shot in his stead. Skanderbeg's law, however, held him as liable in this case as in the former.

357 The only available information about a servant's seducing a girl
684 or young wife in his master's family comes from Martanesh and Shkrel and dates from past times. In Martanesh the law con-
[608] demned the man to death for incest because his master was his 'father' and the young woman his 'sister'. In Shkrel he was killed
[836] at once if he had sinned with a young wife, but if with a girl he was dismissed with orders to hold his tongue, and only if he talked did the girl's father go and shoot him. As for the girl, she was married
[836] to her fiancé as quickly as possible. He was not told that she was pregnant by another man, and would not have cared if he had been. He wanted her as wife and worker and felt sure that he was man enough to keep her straight after marriage; beatings always worked
[848] wonders. The child was sent to the servant as soon as born; he never acknowledged it but either killed it or exposed it by the wayside. The father did not dare to beat the girl in case she ran away to the servant; at all costs he had to keep her for her fiancé, who had presumably paid a good proportion of her bride-price and would have killed him had he failed to deliver her. Presumably the fact that a servant was held to be of little or no account saved the wife or girl from the usual punishment for adultery.[1]

357 Sometimes, despite their being 'brother' and 'sister', a servant
[562] married his master's daughter. Thus an ancestor of Bicaj was a Catholic of Gjugjë in Mirditë who entered the service of Hysen Agë Shteki of Bicaj, turned Moslem, and married Hysen Agë's daughter. Even in modern times a servant may be given his master's daughter in marriage. This is particularly likely to happen if his master is Moslem and he a Christian who agrees to change his religion. His master then looks on his own consent to the marriage as an act of piety. Servants varied in importance according to the master they served. Thus the servant of a Moslem priest (*hoxhë*) had more power than an ordinary peasant's and less than a bajraktar's —at least in the days before most bajraktars were shorn of their

[1] See Chapter XXI.

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power by modern governments. The value of the difference to the 357
servant was that the more important his master, the better he
himself was protected.

It is the rule in all denominations that priests may not carry [793]
arms. This is no drawback to anybody under a modern administra- 357
tion, but in Turkish times it meant that a priest's servant was more 688
exposed to danger than an armed layman's. The Catholic church
tried to make up for the deficiency by special legislation of which
Father Gjeçov gives a full account. Thus, though a priest's servant
had a certain freedom to attend to his own business, any message
he carried to a house was treated as coming from the priest.
Whoever molested him molested the priest, and might be fined
according to the gravity of the offence but not less than ten lambs,
which went, not to the servant, but to the church and tribe.
Whoever killed the servant started a feud with his family only, if the
servant were local, but with the whole parish if he were a stranger— [574]
here can be recognized the principle of the community's guest—
and if the murderer was local, the parish burned his house and took
a hundred lambs and an ox from him as fine. If labourers hired by
the church were molested, the offender had to pay a fine, divisible
between them and the church; the more numerous they were, the
heavier the fine; on an average this amounted to ten lambs. If an
offender refused to pay, the parish went in a body and took what
it wanted from his sheepfold. In short, the church treated any
wrong to a defenceless priest's servant as a major crime.

The retainers of great men were essentially a bodyguard, and 592
were only maintained by men with blood feuds. Some lived at
home and joined their patron for some special, and usually brief,
occasion; others lived for long periods with him, constantly ready
for whatever service he might ask. They occasionally received a gold
piece as reward; more often they were paid in kind—by being lent
money without interest for a funeral or a wedding feast, by being
given grain in bad years, by having a useful word said in the ear of
the authorities to extract them from some difficulty. While his own
children were small, the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë had eight
young relatives living permanently with him, brief holidays at
home excepted. They waited at meals or carried messages to the
servants with the lofty air of medieval pages of noble blood. Until
exiled during the war of 1939–45, Shevqet Vërlaci, the formidable
Bey of Elbasan, was guarded night and day by relays of peasants

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five hours from Tirana, travelled on through the night, and in the 484 early morning as the car neared Peshkopi, he got out and walked 628* home across country. (With him were a number of attendants armed to the teeth.)

Needless to say, such a man never announced beforehand the time of his departure, if his intention to depart could not be concealed.

An obvious precaution was never to stir outside the house. When a Dibër notable went to Tirana, he took at least six armed attendants along with him, who might or might not live with him permanently. The armed attendants of the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë were mainly young relatives of his who spent years with him, at once his clansmen and his relatives; their loyalty was beyond doubt. The bodyguard of Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan were generally peasants from his farms who had been long in his service. Less rich men who needed numerous attendants on their walks abroad drew them from their neighbours. Selman Nus Cohu, for instance, an attendant of the bajraktar of Lurë, lived at home and only joined the bajraktar when he or another member of his family needed him for a journey or some other cause. When Miftar Selmani of Lumë came to Tirana he brought a posse of armed neighbours who constantly changed as their services were required at home; some came with him for the outing, others out of bounden duty to requite the help he had given them in earlier times.

Men still poorer contented themselves with reinforcing the men 357 of the household with a single permanent retainer. Such a man was the peasant from Shëngjerg who fled to Namid Çallaku of Fulqet after committing three murders, and in return for his board and an occasional tip protected his protector. In Mat it was also customary to go and stay for a month at a time with a friend who had need of an extra gun.

Failing armed attendants, a hunted man was not without 628* protectors on his journey. In districts where women were immune 574 a woman's company, on a journey as at work, was sufficient. When Shalë as a tribe was in blood with its neighbour, Mertur, a man from Shalë could safely go to Mertur with a woman born in Shalë or another tribe who was married in Mertur, for she counted as belonging to Mertur and the man was therefore her guest. On the other hand, a daughter of Mertur who was married in another tribe

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SANTI QUARANTA (SARANDA)

(facing p. 86)

POPULATION AND RELIGION

771 Mixed marriages are common in spite of the vast differences between Moslems and Christians.

162 Tirana, the capital, has about 35,000 in-
361 habitants, Durazzo (Durrës), the main port
504 of Albania, has 9,739, Valona (Vlona), second important port of Albania, 9,110, Elbasan 13,800, Scutari (Shkodra) 29,209, Argyrocastro (Gjinokastra) 12,500, Korça 25,000, Berat 10,500, Pogradec 3,400, Leskovik 2,500, Permet 3,000, Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the third port of Albania, 2,000, Delvina 4,000, Fier 3,700, Kruja, Kukës, Prizren Peshkopi, Dibër, Libohova, Kavaja, Lesh, Butrinto, Lushnja, Llixha, etc., are also well populated. San Giovanni di Medua is the fourth port of Albania. Butrinto Bay is also a harbour, measuring about a mile by 1,300 yards and has very good anchorage in 14 and 16 fathoms.

An Intimate Glimpse into Albania

361 IT is like stepping from one world into another to visit Albania. Its naturalness and quaintness, which goes hand-in-hand with the native customs and costumes are still retained. It is a country of wild, unconquered mountains which have infused their strength into the inhabitants and given justification to their name: "The Eagle Men" —*Shqipetars*. These vast towering mountain ranges with their majestic peaks and forest-clad slopes, make up almost the whole of Albania, and have rendered invaluable natural assistance as barriers to attacking enemies. Their grandeur fills the human soul with awe before their solemnity. The picturesque towns, perched in the laps of these magnificent guardians, are studies for those interested in folklore. Situated as they are on tiny plateaus, with part of the towns straggling up the side of the mountains, and the narrow, little streets winding their way between high walls, they are invaded with an air of mystic knowledge that has been mel-

361 lowed into them and is to be found in no other place in Europe.

These little hamlets are constant sources of surprise with their old traditions, native [619] songs and legends. In the more distant fastnesses of the mountains, the natives live in tribes as their ancestors did before them, generations ago, each tribe having distinctive ornaments for their costumes. There are hundreds of small farms scattered throughout the mountains; some in the valleys, others clinging to the side of a mountain, and still others perched on the summit of the lower knolls and even a few on the rocky heights. Their implements and methods are of the simplest 312 variety. Irrigation is their chief way of watering their fields, for water is plentiful. This delicious, cold, spring water has many sources in the heart of the mountains and is inexhaustible. The natives dig small channels, and where necessary, they make troughs for the water and lead it in zig-zag fashion down the mountain-side to their farms. There is nothing more refreshing nor cooling than this icy-cold fountain that Mother Nature has given the Albanians.

000 Albania is also a seat of historic interest,

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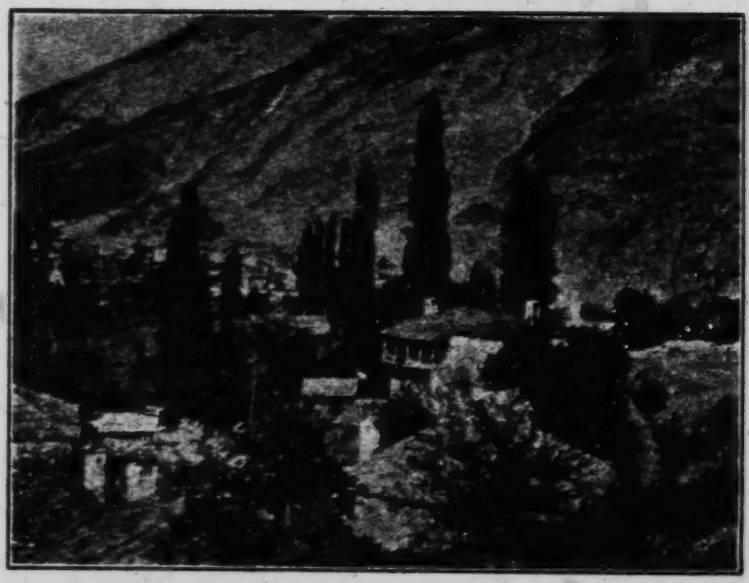

A TYPICAL MOUNTAIN TOWN IN ALBANIA

(facing p. 110)

245 olive groves cover the surrounding hills turning them into lofty, dark mounds of rich olive-green. Amid all of this rolling naturalness
258 of Mother Nature, the new factory for refining the local oil gives it a startling note of modernity. There is oil in plenty in these rich regions.

• 361 Rounding the corner of a hill, a sheer wall rises in the near vicinity, with a few, ancient spires soaring above it. Upon approaching the wall, its height becomes more apparent and which proves to be the historic old town of Elbasan, over which there hangs an aura of historic romance. This high wall gives the small city a most oriental appearance which is in truth, a reality, for Elbasan was founded by Sultan Mohammed II for the purpose of suppressing the natives of this district, because, in 1566, at the time of his conquest, there were few settlements in this region. The Sultan therefore built the town which
[103] is now known and called Elbasan, a word of uncertain derivation, but most probably being the Turkish *el basan*, meaning "*land subduing*," and which in all likelihood, was a copy of Alexander the Great's foundation of
000 Smyrna. Here also Mohammed II left several

[in the heart of Albania towards Elbasan --Analyst]

as the basis of the language of the whole 000
country.

The majority of the villages between Tirana 563
and Elbasan are Moslem, due to the invasion of the Turks. Many of these little hamlets have preserved the tradition of having received visits from the mighty Scanderbeg the Great, the national hero.

A view of Albania from an aeroplane, is 361
like looking down upon a checkerboard of blazing colors. On one side, the home-made brick huts of the peasants situated on the pebbled-banks of the river amid waving green fields of maize, and on the other, the sun-burnt stucco of the new buildings, surrounded by lovely old-fashioned gardens, with the bright mosaics of the mosques with their golden spires lending rich hues to the already bewildering mass of color, a subject fit for an artist's brush. The ancient in contrast with the modern—past and present walking hand in hand. Age old fortresses and castles and modern buildings; narrow, winding streets and wide, spacious boulevards; palaces of glistering white and the ageless ruins of bygone glories. This thriving country, seen from the air, seems to glitter and shimmer

361 under a bright sun amid the encircling majestic heights of the mountains, leaving the ~~observer a well-stored memory of the ageless mystery of the country,~~ the charming graciousness of the people and scenery never to be forgotten.

543 If one were to set before himself the map of Europe and tried to find the one country in Europe that has been the seat of the greatest controversies, the land of the most invasions and exploitations, the most disputed territory of all Europe for many hundreds of years before Christ up to the twentieth century, that country would in truth, be Albania. For these reasons, the National Museums of Tirana, Elbasan, Fier, Valona and those of the other Albanian cities are treasure houses for those interested in archaeology and history, for there are to be found many relics of these influences. There are priceless and interesting excavations of prehistoric Albania as well as many valuable pieces from the Greco-Roman period. It is also necessary to mention here the marvelous Acropolis of Fenike, the porticus and the various statues and busts from Pojani. There are hundreds of other pieces of historic value that are worthy of notation here, but

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A THOROUGHFARE IN TIRANA

(facing p. 144)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E 4 1

Tirana

361

TIRANA, capital of Albania, founded in 1600 by Suleiman Pasha, has grown, in the last few years, from a small town to a large, modern city with flowered squares and gardens surrounding the many café houses and other places of amusement, and with well-lighted streets, comfortable hotels, residences and prosperous business houses, wherein beats the heart of a progressive nation.

The city is located in one of the fertile plains of Central Albania, surrounded by a chain of pleasant hills rapidly rising to more lofty heights, and dominated over by the Dajti mountain which rears its majestic head 5,000 feet above the city. From this point is seen one of the most beautiful of panoramas in Albania with the gentle undulating hills to the sparkling Adriatic; to the north are mountains of impressive grandeur rising to breathless heights; on the south and east are farms scattered over the plains which, from

361 this height have the appearance of a colorful checkerboard of the gods.

363 Tirana also has many modern boulevards, recently laid, equalling the cement boulevards of any cosmopolitan city, as well as all the modern conveniences that one finds in other capitals of the world.

367 In the large city park, music is provided every afternoon by the Royal Court Orchestra and where people promenade to the strains of Beethoven, Puccini, Strauss and Wagner.

644 In the center of Tirana is located the beautiful Royal Palace, lying in the midst of an immense, well-cared for garden. This garden is one of the show places of Tirana and has a large collection of rare flowers.

351

344 Also in the central part of the city in a vast square are to be found a group of modern and most convenient office buildings, wherein the various departments of the government—the Prime Minister's office, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Interior Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of National Economy, the Ministry of Public Instructions, the Ministry of Public Works, the Parliament and others—are housed.

000 All foreign legations, except that of Great

Durazzo

361 IN a setting that has no rival in Europe, is the small town of Durazzo (Durrës), which Cicero called "admirabilis urbs," the summer residence of King Zog I. There is great historic charm about this ancient city with century-old narrow streets reminiscent of the days of swaggering Roman invaders—crumbling fortresses and towers, battered by many fierce attacks of yore, grim sea walls that tell of slumbering memories, all in vivid contrast to the modern city that Durazzo has become.

Situated at one end of a natural bay, with stately mountains forming the immediate background, this unique city has advantages that are the desire of every vacation seeker. The neat white stucco houses with dim, cool interiors, and on the outskirts of the town, a few small red, mud-brick native cottages, form a vivid contrast to the sapphire blueness of the Adriatic Sea and the dark, olive-green grandeur of the mountains upon which half of the town is built.

361

A VIEW OF DURAZZO

LOOKING SEAWARD FROM DURAZZO

(facing p. 148)

Scutari

103 OF all the cities in Albania there are very few that can lay claim to as much romance as can Scutari (Shkodra). In the past it has seen the foreign invaders swarm all around in the neighboring districts 712 only to be repulsed at the walls of the Rozafat Citadel which surrounds Scutari.

36 This ancient city in northern Albania is encircled by the lofty peaks of the north Albanian Alps and is situated on the southern extremity of the lake of Scutari at the conflux of the Bojana, Drin and Kiri rivers.

175 The Labeatans, a branch tribe of the Illyrians, resided in this district about two centuries before Christ, when for a time Scutari was the capital of Illyria. King Gentius ruled over this strongly fortified city until 168 before Christ, at which time the Romans occupied the city under Praetor Ancicius. It was left to the Emperor Diocletian to unite the city into the Roman Empire and he named Scutari as the capital of the province of Praevalis; in this capacity it remained until

Valona

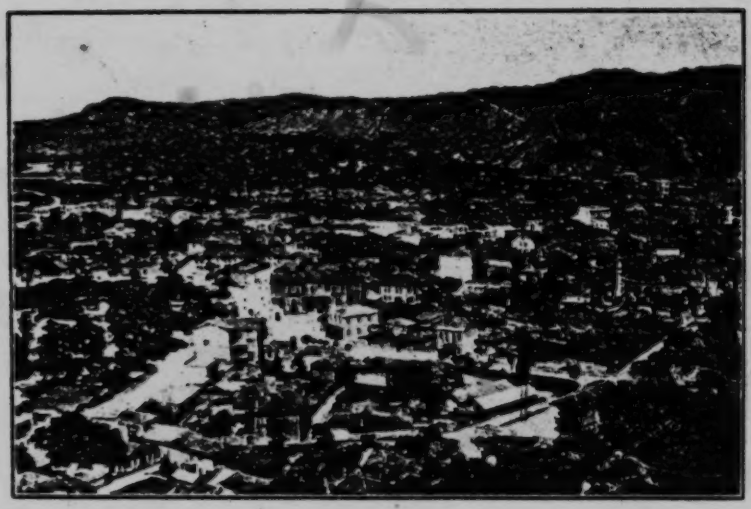
THIS colorful city of Valona—the ancient Aulon—(Vlona in Albanian language) presents the charm and beauty of past ages and in addition can boast of rapid, modern progress. The fascinating old ruins of Moslem architecture are perfect representatives of the skill employed in by-gone years, combined with the beauties of the natural scenery of sea and mountains, make an unbeatable vacation land. 103

Geographically, Valona lies across the Adriatic Sea from Brindisi and is one of the cleanest, friendliest and sympathetic cities that a tourist may find anywhere. One of its startling features to a stranger is the countless number of storks that fly around the city and make their homes on the roof-tops. Strange to relate, in this connection, Valona is not the most populous city in Albania! 361

The fashionable place for promenade in this lovely town is the modern city park laid out to occupy a city block and consists of an enchanting variety of trees and flowers. An- 367 000

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania Egr1

361



VALONA (VLONA)

(facing p. 158)

Korcha

• 361 438 ORÇA (sometimes referred to as Korcha and also as Koritsa) is the central terminus for Albania. It lies in one of the most fertile plains of Central Albania which is under intense cultivation. This causes Korça to be rich industrially for here are located three tobacco factories, a large sawmill and an alcohol factory. Near Korça are rich coal mines, vineyards, and so forth.

Several of the principal roads connecting Albania with Yugoslavia on the north and with Greece on the south and east meet here. To this valued and fortunate location Korça owes her importance and her development into an exceedingly up-to-date center for trade and traffic which enables her to transport materials of all kinds to and from all parts of the country.

The King Pyrrhus, of historic renown, was born in this district in which the city of Korça now stands.

342 Each home in Korça is surrounded by a garden enclosed with a wall made of light-colored stones, giving the residences an appearance of wealth.

KORÇA

000 colored stones, giving the residences an appearance of wealth.

775 Korça is now the residence of the head of the Albanian Orthodox Church.

769 The local hero of Korça is one Themistokli Gërmeni.

167 About 70% of the Albanian immigrants to other countries come from Korça.

361 Korça is two and a half hours by automobile from Florina, Greece, where the railroad comes from Salonica northward. Thus making Korça the point nearest to railway connection.

[Errata: should be was until recently (cf. Erraza. "Sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

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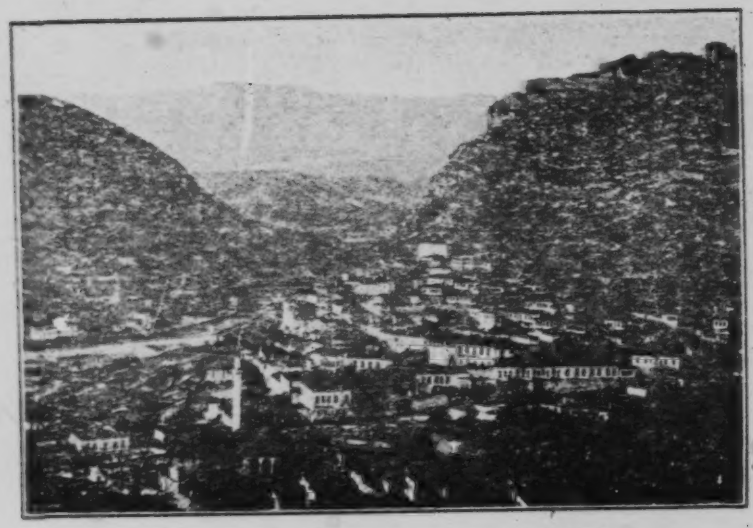

BERAT AND THE BERAT FORTRESS

(facing p. 162)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Berat

361 WHOSE who have seen Berat have been justly profuse in praising it. With its stately old Cathedral and many inter-
[346] esting and unique churches and mosques, and above all its splendid castles, gems of archi-
[712] tecture, it is worthy of its high reputation and the admiration of all peoples. The ruins of the fortresses and once handsome loggias only enhance the beauty of this city.

The town itself lies on an unsurpassingly picturesque defile of the Osum River, and resembles the exquisite pictures by the old masters of quaint cathedral cities.

In this city stand many palaces of those old noble families, as the Vloras' and the Vrionis', who centuries ago held the power of princes in their own districts.

Here to-day all is fraternal harmony with Moslem and Christian living side by side.

245 The principal means of livelihood of the inhabitants of Berat is the olive trade, which is supported by all the vicinity as the chief crop.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Alessio

361 ANOTHER city wealthy with memories of the past is Alessio (Lesh), the ancient Lissos, situated southward from Scutari on the left bank of the Drin River. This city still lives in the shadows of its ancient glory; the great ruins of her ancient [344] Acropolis and the strong, old Citadel sur- [344] round the present-day St. Nicholas Church which is built on the same spot where the St. Nicholas Cathedral stood, which was Scan- [778] derbeg's burial place in 1468. Sometime after Scanderbeg had been laid to rest here, the Turks, entering Alessio, made his tomb a place of veneration.

It was to this town that the chieftains of central Albania invited Scanderbeg to come when they offered him their allegiance. This great warrior had many faithful followers among the families of Alessio, and upon one of his visits, twenty-five years after he first went to Alessio to become their ruler, Scanderbeg died here.

Alessio (Lesh in the Albanian language)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

ALESSIO

361 Alessio (Lesh in the Albanian language) is easily accessible from all points of the compass. One of the newer roads terminates at San Giovanni di Medua, Shën Gjin in Albanian, which is a small port in the northern part of Albania.

This village, with a population of 3,000, is rapidly becoming a thriving town although it is more dominated over by Scutari. Here has
491 been built a new bridge, one of the government projects, across the Drin River, however, the ancient bridge has not been demolished.

000 From a historic standpoint this charming town has enough to occupy an archaeologist for some time, not to mention the lovely setting of which Alessio is justly proud.

Kruja

• 361 KRUJA is one of the oldest towns of Albania. It is situated in a highly strategic position 1,500 feet up the mountain side and the great, well preserved [712] ruins of the Scanderbeg fortress loom like a sentinel over the town. On account of its fortified walls, many of the houses, some dating from the early fifteenth century, have escaped from the ravages of the invaders. And thus one finds all types of interesting architecture scattered throughout the city which bear mute witness to the influence of those who for so short a time tried to gain a foothold in this unconquerable country.

To one whose eye is ever eager for the adventurous and romantic setting, they need travel no further. Approaching Kruja from the south, the beholder feels as if he had taken a centuries-long step backward. The whole aspect is mediaeval. The town clings to the mountain side and every corner turned makes one tingle with anticipation for the unexpected. This lovely gem of an old world town

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

361 with cobble stone streets creeping between rows of houses, its beautiful old mosque—all guarded over by the proud monarch on the hilltop which saw Scanderbeg the Great and his faithful followers drive the Turks from the country.

From the top of the tower it is possible to get a magnificent view of the country for miles around. On clear days Durazzo and the heavenly blue of the Adriatic make a picture that comes straight from fairyland.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Pogradec

• 361

THROUGH many narrow, shady and cool dales and over steep, majestic slopes, first along the Shkumbi River and then, after much winding and twisting, along the Langajaka River, we reach the town of Pogradec on the emerald shores of the charming Ochrida Lake, one of the prettiest in this more southernly district.

Pogradec is much visited by all who know of its fresh and invigorating climate in the summer; the Albanians themselves consider it one of the best and most healthy of summer resorts.

[529]

It is a small, clean, prosperous town encircled by some of the most beautiful mountainous scenery in Albania. The town is also noted for its friendly and hospitable appearance which adds much to the natural charm of its surroundings. It is essentially a city for relaxation with its marvelous fishing, and also because here there is wine and tobacco aplenty.

Other Towns of Interest

36d

TO anyone familiar with Albanian history the name of Tepelene is well known. For this town, in southern Albania, is the birthplace of Ali Pasha Tepelene, born in 1741. The castle of this leader still stands although part of it has sunk into ruins. During the days of Napoleon one of the country's greatest fortresses stood near this town.

Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra) is a progressive city where many of the old families of this region live in comfortable homes. Being the largest city in the district it is a market place of note. The famous Ali Pasha Tepelene resided here for some time and his castle still remains. For the art devotee, the interiors of the churches, convents and mosques of Argyrokastro will give unfailing delight.

The city of mosques in Albania is Leskovik. Here are many of the most beautiful specimen of mosque architecture to be found in the country. There is also a large bazaar in Leskovik that will interest even the most seasoned traveller.

361 seasoned traveller. The climate in this small town is delightful due to its position at 930 feet above sea level.

Kavaja, an agricultural center, is also the seat of many excellent schools. Tobacco is the [249] main crop in this vicinity and the tobacco leaves are marketed at Kavaja. There are also large fruit groves intercepted by vegetable gardens.

[346] Fier, a rich and prosperous town, is the market place of cereals. As these crops are among the largest in Albania, the wealth of the town is understood. As Fier is only forty minutes from Pojani, the majority of the valuable excavations from Apollonia soon [543] found their way into the artistic museum of Fier. This collection from Apollonia in Pojani is as rich as that from Butrinto.

Lushnja is important in Albanian history as the city wherein that memorable congress convened which confirmed Albania's independence in 1920.

504 Santa Quaranta (Saranda), a port of 361 southern Albania, lies in that strip of coastline which, by reason of its beauty of scenery and vegetation, merits the name of Riviera of Albania. It is the third port of Albania with

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

a good harbor and here connections may be made with Janina and Florina, Greece, by steamer. This service is very regular and frequent. Also, Butrinto is only two hours distance from this port.

Almost lost among vast gardens, vineyards, orange and olive groves lies Delvina, on the road to Korça. This lovely little town is like a miniature paradise, so pervaded is it by the rich perfumes of flowers and fruit and many ladies have wished that its essence were in bottle form!

Have you ever looked at a miniature water color where the vari-colored roofs visible above tree-tops on a high hill and at the base a river gurgles along and wondered if such a place ever existed? It does. The picturesque little town on the hill is Përmet and the laughing river that goes tumbling along is the Viosa. It has to be seen to be believed.

Of all the towns there is surely not one that has such a tragic past, one so full of willing sacrifices, as has Voskopoj. In 1753 it was one of the largest cities in Albania and now it is a tiny village of about 400 inhabitants. In 1753 this city was a center of culture, of intellectual achievement, with 60,000

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

• 361 inhabitants. A few years later, in 1769, robbers annihilated the city, but was later rebuilt. During the world war, in 1914, the Greek forces attacked the city, and in order to drive the enemy from this district Salih Butka, leader of the Albanian troops of this vicinity, evacuated the city and had it burned to the ground. This was a supreme sacrifice of the people, but the plan succeeded and the Greeks left the district.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the 342
street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, 363
the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly 347
mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a 352
low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold 353
the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are 415
hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride 411
of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys 342
are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high 711
walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to 181
slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his 577
feud with him. The villages of these districts are 361
generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the 352
cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

352 fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in,
[415 a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper
373 *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two
412] rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes,
251 which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to
353 preserve them. The other serves as general living and
372 sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the
floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof.
241 Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit
249 and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a
high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green,
361 in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor,
243 where the grain is trodden out by horses.

142 The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

[539]

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

183 They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly courageous.

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "He is a good man, and brave," said the bishop, "and little Sokoi will be a great one."

At noon the rain was still pouring from apparently inexhaustible skies, but Cheremi, Rexh, and Perolli assumed, as a matter of course, that we would go on; the difficulty was that there [36] were no mules. There should have been a mule in the village, whose houses were scattered, miles apart, all the way down the deep-walled gorge to the banks of the River Shala, twenty-five miles away, but when Cheremi hastened lightly up a twelve-hundred-foot peak and cried to the farthest house that we wanted mules, the answer came back that there were none since the war.

So he found an aged man—seventy-five years old, he was, but still agile and bright eyed—and put our packs on his back, and at noon we started out on foot, with fresh-peeled staffs provided by Rexh, and new-baked corn bread in the saddlebags.

576 202 After an hour of desperate climbing we stood on the peak from which Cheremi had telephoned. The bishop's house and the school lay dwarfed beneath our feet, and Perolli, standing on a rock and holding his ears, sent down to them a shrill hail. "Ooeeoo! Monseignor!"

The bishop appeared in his woolen gown, a rifle in his hand, and all the guns in our party went off at once, and again, and again, while fifty miles of sheer rock cliffs barked back at them. My hands were over my ears, but I saw the three answering white puffs from the bishop's

[Pultit, in Albanian

Mountains -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

000
361

feet above our heads. He[1] gestured toward three cone-shaped peaks of solid rock that, rising steeply from the gorge three thousand feet below, rose to some hundreds of feet above the level of our eyes. Little Rexh, silent and watchful as ever at Frances's side, translated his words.

"There is an old city," he said, "the city of Pog. He says it was built by his people, men of the Land of the Eagle, a hundred years before the Romans came."

"Tell him to wait where he is," we exclaimed, for, looking again at the nearest cone-shaped mountain, we saw on its top traces of old walls, and on its sides what might once have been a circling road, and we clambered up the trail to ask Cheremi about it.

"It is a very old city," said Cheremi. "It was built before men began to remember." Standing on the edge of the trail, which was also the edge of the gorge, he looked over perhaps a quarter of a mile of space to the sharp-pointed peak of rock. In one hand he held his rifle, its butt resting on the rock at his feet; the thumb of the other hand was thrust through a fold of the scarlet sash about his loins, and the sun, appearing blindingly at that moment in a rent of the clouds, shone on his wet white skin and made it shimmer like satin. The deep seams worn in his leathery face by forty years of childlike, mischievous mirth became shallow (an unaccustomed look of solemnity had ironed them out) and, looking straight and unwinking at the sun, he said, "The

[1] [Albanian gendarme accompany- [44] ing authors expedition -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

sun is now the only living thing that saw that 361 ●
city built."

We shaded our eyes with cupped hands and looked at it. The world was suddenly all aglitter, every leaf a heliograph, every giant slope of rock reflecting a thousand rays, and our eyes watered. But, gazing steadily, we saw the fragment of a wall, and below it, curling around the tall, slender cone of the mountain, traces of a road that had been walled, and a broken flight of four broad steps, torn apart by the roots of a tree. It was the only tree we could see on the three-thousand-foot height, but, like all the others of the forests, it was a gnarled, branchless trunk; its young boughs had been cut every spring to feed the goats.

"Does anyone live there now?"

"No," said Cheremi. "It[1] is the place where 776
the ora love to sit, and sometimes one hears them crying, like trees in a wind, when there is no wind. But no human person lives there."

"What is an ora?" I asked, when Perolli had translated.

"An ora—a spirit of the forest, soul of a tree or a rock.[2] Nature spirits," said Frances. "You know the Greek oreads? Well, that's the Greek name of the Albanian ora; the Greeks got them from the Albanians."

"And they still live in these mountains?"

"Apparently. Did you ever see an ora, Cheremi?" she asked him, in Albanian.

"No. Very few people see them. But I have

1 [Ancient city of Pog -- Analyst] [45] 2 [see also pp. 61-64 -- Analyst pp. 66-76]

PEAKS OF SHALA

776 heard them singing, and once, in the Wood of the Ora, which we will pass to-morrow, I heard 761 them[1] talking together in the twilight. I heard 776 them say that my cousin would die," said Cheremi, seriously.

"And did he die?"

"Of course," said he, surprised by the question. "He was a strong man, but within six weeks, sitting beside the fire one night, he said that he felt a pain in his heart, and in an hour he was dead." Cheremi crossed himself.

361 "But about the city of Pog. Does anyone ever go there? Could we go there?"

People sometimes went, he said; the shepherds always went to cut the branches of the trees, which belonged to the tribe of Pultit. How far was it from where we stood? He thought for [804] a time, and said, "Four hours." Albanians have no measure for distance except the time it takes to walk it, and this time corresponds with no measurement of ours. He had said that our walk of that day would be an hour and a half; we had already been exhausting every ounce of energy and breath for four, and were scarcely a third of the way.

"What does one find when one gets there?"

"Very little. There is the old wall which you see, and on the rock one can follow the lines of the walls of houses, built square and with many rooms, and from the rocks which have fallen they must have been tall houses. That is all, except that on some of the large stones one can

1 [The ora or nature spirits - [46] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

see that the sun circle was carved. Everything 361
else has been eaten by the great flocks of years.
But there is still treasure buried there." 173

"How do you know?"

"I know because I have seen men who have seen it. There is a man of Pultit whom I know. He went to the old city of Pog one day with his goats. There had been a great storm and part of the wall had fallen. Before that day the wall had had a corner, where now you see nothing. Where the wall had fallen there was a golden image of a man, as large as himself, shining in the sun. The man of Pultit forgot his goats in looking at it. It was too heavy for him to carry, so he took a stone and broke off four of its fingers, and with them in his sash he went to get his brothers to help him carry away the image.

"But it was night before he reached their house, and they said it was better not to go to that city until morning. In the morning they went, and where the image had been there was nothing but stones. Afterward, in thinking of nothing but that image, the man went mad, and he now lives alone and naked in the mountains, talking to the ora and begging them to take him again to that image. But before that he sold the fingers to the gold beaters in Scutari, and they said those fingers were of the purest gold and not alloyed, as gold is now. I did not see the fingers, but many did before they were beaten into ornaments."

"What do you think became of the image?"

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

already climbing up the cone-shaped pinnacle of Pog.

We went on, up and down the trail, over mountain after mountain that at home no one would dream of climbing. The rain fell again, bringing premature night down with the flood of water, and again we came into clear weather and saw all the colors of sunset on the clouds below and around us.

Many times we passed above villages that [361] clung like mud-daubers' nests on the cliffs below the trail, and once Cheremi stopped at the trail's edge and, closing his ears firmly with his thumbs, sent out into the interminable miles of air the clear high note of the "telephone call."

A voice from the depths responded, and, searching with our eyes, we discovered a white-and-black figure among the rocks some hundreds of feet below. Then this conversation ensued:

"Are you a man?"

"I am a woman of Shoshi, married in Pultit."

"What is the name of your husband?"

"The name of my husband is Lulash."

"Say to your husband, Lulash, that Cheremi is on the trail. Cheremi goes to Plani with four strangers from far away and with a Mohammedan youth of Scutari. To-night Cheremi will be in Plani. Say to Lulash that he may bring to Cheremi in Plani the hundred kronen which he owes him."

"I will say to my husband, Lulash, that Cheremi is on the trail. Cheremi goes to Plani

PEAKS OF SHALA

423 "Well," said Perolli, "I pity the chiefs of that
578 village."

"But where do you suppose she got the idea?"

"Heavens knows. Who can tell what women will think of?" said Perolli.

We left her standing on the cliff edge, still superb and still defiant, the cigarette in her hand and the blue beads twinkling at the ends of her braids. A bright scarlet handkerchief was twisted around her head, and her wide belt, thickly studded with silver nails, shone like armor. A picture of revolt, and I thought what a catastrophe she must be in the peaceful village to which, clinging and dropping from bowlder to bowlder, we were descending.

"Will we see her again?" I asked.

"Oh, she'll probably drop in during the evening. She looks like a woman who would," said Perolli.

361 The village was perhaps fifteen houses, clustered on flat land at the foot of the cliffs. Beyond it, a creamy blue flood swollen by the rains, the Lumi Shala ran straight between the mountain
[32] ranges. A score of little streams, stone walled and crossed by tiny stone bridges, ran through the village, and all the land on which it stood was cut into odd-shaped pieces by many stone fences and raised channels of stone for irrigation water. Dropping down into that village was rather like being a very small gnat descending on a piece of half-made honeycomb.

000 All the earth was sodden with water; we sank

PEAKS OF SHALA

7/56 The shouts redoubled, rifles cracked from
609 every rock, the church bell wildly rung, and through the clamor, deafened and a little dizzy, we came into the village of Thethis. The four chiefs, having greeted us ("Long life to you! Glory to your feet! Glory to the trails that brought you!" they said) preceded us up the last breathless quarter of a mile of trail, and all along the way the boys turned handsprings on the cliff tops.

361 The village of Thethis is built on the plateau that tops the gigantic, shiplike rock wedged in the narrow head of Shala Valley. All around it rise the mountains, snow capped, seamed with white waterfalls like rich quartz with streaks of silver; the shadows of them lie almost all day long across the village. Thethis itself is perhaps thirty large, oblong stone houses scattered at wide intervals on the flat land, and all the land is divided neatly into squares by stone fences—some fields for corn, some for grain, some for meadow. In the midst stands the church, two stories, oblong and gray like the houses, and a network of trodden paths leads to it.

It seemed a quiet, peaceful place. But on the mountains above it to the north the Serbian armies lay; their mountain-trained eyes were doubtless watching us as we crossed the sodden fields. This is the village, these are the chiefs, whose houses were destroyed by a company of soldiers sent from the struggling Albanian government in Tirana. The Serbs held the Albanian

PEAKS OF SHALA

361 cities where the men of Thethis have always gone to market; the grazing lands where they have always fed their sheep lie in the grasp of Serbian armies. Scutari, the nearest free Albanian market place, is a hundred miles away across two mountain ranges. Therefore it was said that Thethis was friendly to the Serbs; it was said that her men still went to market in the Albanian cities that are now clutched by Serbia, that spies came and went across the border, that the chiefs listened to the clink of Serbian gold. And Alex and I remembered that in Thethis we were not to address Rrok Perolli, secretary of the Albanian Minister of the Interior, by his real name.

609 574 But he was behind us on the trail, doubtless still engaged in trying to get breakfast for Frances in the house we had left, and we went forward with easy minds to meet Padre Marjan. He came barefooted and bareheaded across the fields to welcome us, a thin, ascetic-looking man in the brown robes of the Franciscan friar. Large brown eyes burned in his face that seemed made of bones and stretched skin, the grasp of his thin hand was hot and nervous. He spoke to us in Albanian, Italian, and German, ushering us with apologies into the bleak rooms above the church.

000 The Serbians and Montenegrins, in their drive down toward Scutari, had looted the church, he said. He had come into Thethis two months ago, and found not even a wooden stool left. He was doing his best, but it took time ——

we said little. The sheets of rain blurred our sight, and the sound of it dulled our hearing. But when we began cautiously to climb the slippery trail that edged up the mountain side, exercise had begun to warm us, and we escaped from the silence which is to human beings a more unfamiliar element than water.

"How can he be the richest man in the Five Tribes? I thought these people were communistic," said Alex.

"The tribes own only lands and houses and most of the forests," said Perolli. "A man or a family can own flocks, or buy and sell when they go down to the cities. Sadiri Luka's the richest man because he went down to Ipek. He was a merchant there, and everyone is rich in Ipek. How I wish I might show you that valley, my own valley—it is more beautiful than you can imagine. There are such rich fields—the cows stand knee deep there in greenness like a carpet—and the best fruits of all the Balkans grow there. And butter, and honey, and fine flour, and quantities of the finest wool that makes the beautiful rugs of my people—there is everything in Ipek that you could wish to have, and both hands running over. I mean," he added, grimly, "there *was*. Yes, Ipek was a rich and happy place before the Serbs came. And if Sadiri Luka——" He broke off, on such a savage note that we were startled.

"You see," he resumed with a note of eagerness, stopping to point with his staff, "just over

PEAKS OF SHALA

river. From time to time we struggled through a waterfall, and there was one huge torrent that, leaping from a cliff above the trail, arched over it in a curve that seemed solid as glass, and we passed beneath it. Then, descending, we came to the little valley of upper Thethis. Perhaps six or ten houses were scattered there, among broken-off fragments of cliff as large as they, and between them all the level land was glistening with water at the grass roots.

[342] The house of Sadiri Luka was notable for its stone-walled courtyard and its broad balcony. The heavy arch of the gateway was mediæval in its grim solidity; we escaped from the rain to the peace of its shelter, and there were welcomed [291] by Sadiri Luka. He was middle-aged, sturdy, even a little stodgy of figure, among the lithe mountaineers, and this appearance suggested the successful business man—a suggestion incongruous with his picturesque clothes. His trousers were the purest white that new wool can be, his fringed jacket the densest black, the colors of his sash were clear and gay, and his silver chains were massive. There was even a heavy silver ring on his finger. And there was no rifle on his back.

343 The courtyard was a litter of cornstalks, almost entirely covered with a roof of woven branches; evidently it was the home of flocks now out in the rain attended by a shepherd cutting leaves for them. An arched doorway opened into the first floor of the house, where we saw a pensive donkey gazing profoundly upon the liquid gray weather -- Analysis] [168]

POSTSCRIPT

000 "You aren't really going into Albania—all alone?" she gasped. "Why—won't you be killed?" The shipload of passengers crowded the rail to watch us descend the swaying ladder, and gazed as the safe crowd watches the lion tamer, divided between admiration for daring and contempt for such senseless waste of courage. The weight of this mass opinion swayed even my friend, who said, nervously, as we went bobbing across waves of green water: "I wish I hadn't listened to you in Budapest. I wish I'd brought the gun they told us to bring."

"Nonsense!" I said, firmly—and would have believed no fortune teller who had told me I was lying—"we'll be safer in Albania than in New York." And with irrational, vicarious pride I pointed out to her the many masts of sunken ships around us—remains of Austrian and Italian cruisers impartially sunk by Albanians during the Great War.

361 As the boat came nearer to the yellow walls of Durazzo I gazed with complacency on the ruins of the palace of the Prince of Wied, the German king forced on Albania by the European Powers just before the Powers themselves leaped at one another's throats. In 1914 the Albanians rose and drove him out with their rifles; his palace is a ruin now, and the palace grounds are a public park. But all Durazzo is built upon ruins, for it was an ancient city when the Romans built the towers and walls that still surround it, and there are still cafés on the sites of the cafés where

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

POSTSCRIPT

Cicero sat with parchment and stylus, writing 361
home to Rome for money to pay his way back—
because, as he admitted with some chagrin, he
had wasted all his substance in that merry and
wicked city. Even for Cicero Durazzo had, in
addition to its living charms, the flavor of an-
tiquity, for the Roman city was built on the
ruins of the older Albanian seaport.

A year earlier there had been no automobiles
in Albania, but now, to our surprise, we found
a valiant small Ford waiting at the pier, and
engaged it at once to take us to Tirana, forty
miles away. Our baggage was a problem until [609]
the chauffeur of a government truck, addressing
us in French, volunteered on his own responsi-
bility to take it to the capital for us. "Pay?
Mais, non!" said he, hurt. "You are Americans,
and the stranger in Albania is our guest."

The road from Durazzo to Tirana crossed the 491
low mountains that, from Trieste to Valona,
make the endless monotonous eastern wall of the
Adriatic. When you come over the crest of them
you see lying before you the green low central
valley and the farther blue peaks of the lands of
the hidden tribes. And everything accustomed, 492
everything commonplace, everything that reflects
ourselves to us, is left behind. Gray water buf-
falo, flat-nosed, curly-horned, monstrous beasts
that seem risen from depths of primeval slime,
plod down the road drawing high, narrow wagons
of wickerwork on huge wooden wheels. Shaggy,
small donkeys carry picturesque folk down the

ernment spoke of peace, demanded peace, and— 175
determined to have peace—set about disarming 727
the Ghegs in the very face of their enemies. 578

This was the Albania into whose capital I 000
blithely rode, in the rattling little Ford, on that spring night of 1922. I pass over all the minor political disputes, the ambitions of selfish men, the mistakes of foolish ones, the bitter rivalry between Elbassan, to the south, Scutari, to the north, and Tirana, in the center, for the honor and profit of being Albania's capital. Tirana 361
was, tentatively, the capital; made so because it was everywhere conceded to be the least progressive, the most hopelessly Mohammedan, the most dangerously un-Albanian city in the country. The government had made Tirana the capital for the same reason that the teacher puts the worst boy of the class in the front seat. But this was no solace to Scutari or Elbassan.

Tirana, the white, low town, drowsed in the sun; *water rippled in the gutters of the winding, walled streets; donkeys laden with cedar boughs, the brooms of Tirana, carefully picked their footing on the uneven cobbles; women with gayly painted cradles on their backs trudged behind the donkeys. Men in rags of their homespun white garments and Scanderbeg jackets and colored sashes sat all day on the low walls around the mosques. The fez makers, amid their piles of raw wool and mixing bowls and heating irons, were talking politics, and so were the men in the street of the coppersmiths, which is musical from

*[In spring 1922 -- Analyst]

POSTSCRIPT

36 day to sunset with the sound of little hammers beating glowing sheets of metal. At noon the *hodjis* droned their long prayers to Allah from the minarets. At sunset their voices wailed again, above the sound of clattering hoofs and tinkling bells as the flocks came home to the courtyards. Then the sunset left a yellow sky behind the dark blue mountains. The air was so still that the bells of a mule train, winding down to Tirana on the far-off foothill trails, chimed with the sound of running water in the gutters beside the courtyards' mud-brick walls. And the Cabinet Ministers of Albania came out to walk.

They walked in a row, sedately, hands behind their backs, and after them marched their escort, a single row of soldiers. They walked down from Government House, the square two-storied building behind a half-ruined wall; they walked past the Tirana Vocational School and, turning in front of the painted mosque, by the two Cypresses of the Dead, they went past the block of little shops that is Main Street, past the cemetery filled with toppling turbaned stones, past the large white barracks where soldiers sang of Lec i Madhe, and out on the Durazzo road. Then they came slowly back, and slowly went out again. With them on this same way walked all the men of Tirana, for this is the custom at the sunset hour. And we walked, too, saying at intervals: "Long may you live! Long may you live!"

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

133 symmetry into a tangle of high and broken ranges. The valleys they enclose are narrow but fertile, and from them powerful streams pursue their twisted courses down to the Adriatic.

361 Albania has many times been overrun in the strife of empires for the control of the Straits of Otranto; and it is in the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the interior rather than in the rich coastal plain that the remnant of the Illyrians have made their homes. There they have found freedom; for, so wild and rugged are the mountains, and so poor the prospect of wealth which they offer, that none of Albania's conquerors have attempted to rule them except in name.

To this day the majority of the Albanians live in the mountains; but at different times — when the growth of population in the highlands has pressed too hard upon the means of subsistence, or when political conditions have been favourable — families have moved down to the plains or to the towns. Thus, in the seventeenth century, under the protection of Islam, the tribesmen of the North flowed back into the Kossovo. But [181] the trend has been a slow one; for the Albanians prize freedom above all else, and many that have descended to the plains have returned again to the mountains. The plains are rich, but, as the malaria saps a man's strength, so work on the big estates destroys his independence, and submission to the laws of the conqueror corrupts his soul. Thus the lowlands have ever been the province of the foreign overlord, and it is in the mountains, beyond the reach of invaders and guarded by the armed might of the clans, that the moral and material strength of Albania resides.

642 The steep and rugged mountains, the deep and pathless forests, the drifts of snow in winter, and the spate of the rivers in spring and autumn have preserved the Albanians from foreign conquerors. But these obstacles to communications, which have so often turned back hostile armies, have operated powerfully against the growth of a centralised Albanian state. Geography has thus combined with contending foreign Powers to promote disunity among the Albanians. The ancient Illyrian and Pelasgian kingdoms were seldom even allied, and, under the Turkish Empire, the country was divided for political and

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000 from the baroque splendours of Lecce and the bourgeois pleasures of its black-market restaurant.

2

We rose at daybreak and emerged from the sheepfold to find ourselves on the edge of a broad grassland plateau set in an amphitheatre of rock peaks. This was broken only towards the east, where a wooded gorge led down towards the village of Shengyerg. The scene was impressive but desolate; for, although the thaw was far advanced, there was at this height but little sign of spring. Moreover, such snow as still remained, mostly on the higher slopes and in ravines seldom reached by the sun, was everywhere thickly powdered with grey dust. This phenomenon was widely observed that year in the Western Balkans and was attributed by scientists to a recent eruption of Vesuvius, four hundred miles away.

We breakfasted off hard-boiled eggs and presently set out towards the valley with an escort of a dozen of the guerillas. We went slowly, for we were not yet in training, and, after some four hours' walk across the plateau and down the gorge leading from it, came out on to a ridge overlooking Shengyerg. [361] There we halted and through our glasses studied the white houses scattered over the hillside, each at least half a mile from its neighbour. Among them, distinguishable from the others [795] only by its squat minaret, stood a mosque; for despite its name, which in Albanian means Saint George, Shengyerg was a Moslem village. We could detect no sign of anything untoward and so made our way quite openly down to the house which belonged to Seymour's interpreter, a schoolmaster named Shaqir. There we stopped for a midday rest and, after restoring our carbohydrates with a bottle of cherry brandy — a most welcome gift which the British Mission had sent us in greeting — attacked the lavish if starchy fare which our host presently set before us.

*669 Shengyerg was a place of some strategic importance for it was the terminus of a motor road, at this time[1] still blocked by

1 [late April 1944 -- Analyst]

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All of these men had taken part that autumn in the rising against the Italians, and many had seen their homes burnt and their livestock slaughtered in the accompanying reprisals. They had fought, however, with spirit, for they had been exasperated by Italian rule, and had believed that the hour of liberation, and of looting, was at hand. Now the situation was very different: they bore little hatred against the Germans; for the German yoke sat upon them lightly, and, in their remote regions, months might pass without their even seeing a German soldier. They knew indeed that an Allied victory was certain but, although they meant to play their part in the final destruction of the enemy, they had a wholesome respect for his ruthless ways. Only six months before they had risen in premature revolt; the price had been heavy; and they intended to make doubly sure of the fruits of victory before they again exposed their families and property to the risk of reprisals. 669* 727

They received us with every mark of friendship and respect, but we saw that they would not easily be moved to fight. The fear of reprisals had become an obsession with them; and, when we urged them to take the field, they only pointed to the ruins of Burrel and to the gutted houses which in almost every village recalled the passage of an Italian army. Burrel was the capital of Mati, built by King Zog as the model provincial city of Albania. It had once numbered some ten thousand inhabitants and had boasted solid public buildings, schools, a hospital, and modern houses such as had never been seen in these backward regions. In the rising of 1943 the clansmen of Mati had rushed the town and captured it, driving the Italian garrison back into their fortified barracks. The Italian command in Tirana had despatched reinforcements to the relief of the garrison; but Abas Kupi had lain in wait for them on the Qafa Stamm pass and for three days had disputed their crossing of the Skanderbeg range. Meanwhile the men of Mati had looted Burrel and decimated its defenders. In the end the Italians had reoccupied the city, and had set fire in revenge to every building in it. Nothing now remained but the gutted shell of its buildings, altogether deserted, with [361]

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ABAS KUPI (SMELLING A ROSE) WITH TWO CHIEFS FROM THE TIRANA MOUNTAINS

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1/1 [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 121-122 -- Analyst]

THE ZOGIST HEADQUARTERS AT SHUPAL

[-116 b-]

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While Abas Kupi had been thus engaged, we had crossed the Kruya road with the main body of Zogists, now commanded by Petrit, and had withdrawn into the mountains to the south-east. There the Agha joined us next day and told us of his meeting. Then, leaving the bodyguard to rest, he led us to an isolated farm-house, where he had hidden his family in the care of a trusted friend. His wife was a large, motherly lady, of curiously Welsh appearance, with sharp features protruding from under a white veil. With her was their daughter, a vivacious girl of twelve, and their youngest son, Rustum, a wide-eyed, graceful boy, who, at the age of fourteen, had already killed his first Italian.

A family is a heavy liability in time of revolution, but, although a devoted father and husband, Abas Kupi never allowed his domestic cares to influence his political decisions. He had, besides, the satisfaction of finding in his eldest son, Petrit, a brave and useful lieutenant, who now acted increasingly as interpreter between us when important business was discussed. Petrit had been interned for two years in Italy at the beginning of the war and had acquired the patience and discretion which prison often teaches. Back in Albania, he had at once taken to the mountains and had fought for a year in the South in the ranks of the Partisans. In the winter of 1943, when the Agha had broken with Enver Hoja, Petrit had followed suit and had brought over to the Zogists a "shock cheta" of some thirty young Partisans. He was deeply respectful of his father and would never smoke nor drink in his presence. At the same time he held very independent views, curiously compounded of Albanian traditional values and the Marxist teachings of the Partisan commissars. The former, however, seemed to predominate; and he once told me that *The Count of Monte Cristo* was his favourite book, adding by way of explanation: "Quelle superbe vengeance!"

Abas Kupi had not seen his family for three months, but stayed with them only one night. Next day we pushed on to the village of Shupal, the seat of the permanent Zogist Headquarters. These were established in a cluster of houses on the summit of a steep-sided plateau, which rose out of the

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 [361] valley between Mount Daiti and Mount Bastar. The position was naturally strong and enjoyed a commanding view of the surrounding country. Despite the rain a guard of honour had been turned out to receive us; and we were welcomed by Colonel Yahya Chachi, the Commandant of the Zogist Headquarters, and his staff. This was composed of three former majors of gendarmerie and a former major and a captain of infantry, who all greeted us with the customary Zogist salute, swinging the right arm smartly across the chest. They entertained us royally, providing us with knives and forks which [273] we had almost forgotten how to use, and plying us in quick succession with potent *raki* and good Italian wine. We drank a health to the monarchs of England and Albania — the greatest and the smallest kingdoms in the world — and then toasted each other with appropriate speeches and excessive frequency. This drinking of toasts was to be the cause of some mirth; for Colonel Yahya Chachi suffered from a pronounced squint, and every time he raised his glass to propose a health at the crowded table, two persons invariably replied, each arrested alike by the gaze of his penetrating but divergent eyes. The Zogist staff were friendly disposed, but strangers to Central Albania, and, it seemed to us, demoralised by prolonged inactivity. Their real function indeed was to impress the tribes with Abas Kupi's power, and, if it came to fighting, to man the movement's mortars and heavy machine-guns.

When we had lunched we were taken out in a body to inspect the *cheta* responsible for the defence of the Headquarters.[1] It consisted of a hundred and fifty ragged men and boys, variously armed with rifles of German, Italian, Austrian, Serbian and Turkish pattern. They were drawn up in two ranks, each of which was dressed with as much precision as the undulations of the ground and the individualism of the guerillas would allow. We passed them rapidly in inspection and were then led to a low eminence where the staff officers assumed appropriately martial attitudes while Colonel Yahya harangued ooo the troops. Maclean was invited to reply; and when he had finished speaking the men placed their rifles between their knees and signified their approbation by loud and prolonged

[1] [i.e. at Shupal, seat of permanent Zogist Headquarters -- Analyst]

7: Amary G+5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

meanwhile to the plain to the house of Ihsan Toptani, to throw a spanner into the wheels of German diplomacy. 669*

A son of Abdi Bey, one of the founders of modern Albania, and a nephew of the famous Essad Pasha, Ihsan was now the head of the powerful Toptani clan. Under the monarchy he had remained aloof from politics, but during the war had shown himself a staunch, if prudent, supporter of the Allied cause. Independent of party, he was yet in touch with all parties and, since he was politically and financially disinterested, his opinion was respected by all. The care of his estates, natural caution, and an instinctive aversion to violence and disorder had hitherto prevented him from taking an active part in the guerilla movement. Instead he had remained in the background, emerging now and then to act as intermediary between the different guerilla factions, or as their link with the political leaders in Tirana. Thus, in the autumn of 1943, he had undertaken the preliminary negotiations between the Partisan and the Ballist leaders, and had acted as host to their meeting at Mukai. Later, in the disasters of the winter, he had taken in Colonel Nicholls and sheltered him during his last agonies. Since that time he had maintained close relations with the British Missions; and it was from his house that Hare conducted his campaign to spread disaffection among the enemy's garrison in Tirana. [621]

Maclean and I accordingly set out with Hare and, crossing the Shupal valley, reached the head of the Qaf Bechit in the late afternoon. This was a precipitous col between Mount Daiti and Mount Berar, over which ran the shorter but less frequented track to the capital. The light was clear and from a jutting crag just below the col I saw Tirana for the first time. The capital city of Albania lies in a broad and fertile plain, surrounded by a crescent of mountains, open towards the sea. Thirty years before it had been little more than a village; now it was a prosperous town, a blend of East and West, boasting a population of some thirty thousand souls. Through my field-glasses I made out slender minarets rising between tall modern buildings, a long rambling suq or bazaar, and several broad, leafy avenues, flanked by whitewashed and red-roofed villas, set in green and shady gardens. There lay the prize for the victors in this many-sided struggle. 000 361

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

the sun some ten yards back from the road. Behind them through the window of a little wooden hut, I could see two German military policemen writing at a desk. Our coachman shouted some greeting to the gendarmes, and one of them beckoned us on with a lordly gesture. The two Germans looked up for a moment and then went back to their work. The coachman cracked his whip and we rolled into the capital.

Tirana was to us what Damascus had once been to Lawrence; the goal towards which we strained. We had scanned it through our glasses, imagined it in our dreams, and made its capture the myth of our struggle. Now at last I had entered it, though in disguise and not in triumph. The streets down which we drove from the "check-post" were dirty, and presented the usual Balkan contrast of cheap, modern structures, interspersed with hovels. Towards the centre of the city, however, the hovels ceased, and the buildings assumed a more solid, as well as a more agreeable, appearance. Presently we emerged into a broad and pleasing square which was the heart of the city. At one end of it stood a painted mosque with broad dome and slender minaret; at the other an ornamental clock-tower rose above a small public garden, flanked by gay cafés and attractive shops. Beyond the city's heart was its head—a wide crescent of well-proportioned buildings of Italian design. These were the government offices; and, as we passed them, Ihsan pointed out the windows of the Council Chamber, whence Fikri Dine and his colleagues still issued their vain decrees. A few moments later the coachman pulled up in a narrow street at the entrance to Ihsan's Tirana home. Immediately opposite stood a German sentry, on duty outside the Hôtel Metropole, where the *Gestapo* had made their headquarters.

We went indoors and were presently joined first by a friend of Ihsan, who had known that I was coming, and then by an agent of Abas Kupi who had recognised me as we drove into the town. They told us of the latest arrests made by the *Gestapo*, and also brought us a summary of an important speech by the Bulgarian Premier, foreshadowing his government's rupture with Germany. We sat talking for perhaps

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

crests; numerous valleys lie between them, each surprisingly narrow and steep-sided, some 3000 feet deep, all watered by a winter, if not by a perennial, stream, and many branching off right and left into side-valleys. In the district of Martanesh the ranges are rounded in outline, the summits are spreading instead of steep and sharp, large tracts of ground are comparatively unbroken, and in place of the countless valleys and streamlets of the north there are only a few deep ravines, each with a river on its floor.

These geographical characteristics have influenced the tribal cleft which still survives in the population. The main valleys in the north, such as Shalë, Shkrel or Orosh, are each capable of supporting a small unit such as a tribe, but seldom more. Appropriately, then, each is inhabited by a single tribe, which jealously prevents strangers from settling in its territory. The broad spaces farther south, such as the plateaux of Mat and Dibër, or the heights of Martanesh and adjacent Çermenikë, can carry a much larger population, in which no one tribe could hope to maintain its racial integrity or its political supremacy. Consequently, they are non-tribal and peopled partly by indigenous families, partly, at least in the case of Mat and Dibër, by immigrants, all of whom came in small numbers and many within recent memory. To quote only one example of each type, the Kadije family of Lis in eastern Mat is indigenous, and its neighbours at Burgajet, the Zogolli family, are immigrants.

More than the forms of social grouping have been affected by the physical features of the country. The number and height of the mountains have made stock-raising as important as agriculture to Albanians. Both parts of the range that rises sheer as a wall and green with forests from the coastal plain are over 3000 feet high, that of Krujë to the north being 3280–3940 feet and that of Dajt, which forms so beautiful a feature of the scenery round Tirana (Tiranë), 5290 feet—nearly 900 feet more than Ben Nevis and 1720 feet more than Snowdon. The parallel range which bounds the plateau of Mat on the east runs southwards from Mt Nezhdë in Lurë to Mt Dêjë and on to Mt Allaman at a height that is in few places below 5000 feet and is often above 6000 feet. The frontier range is still higher, composed as it is of Mt Çjalicë (8150 feet) and Mt Korab (9070 feet), the former in Lumë, the latter in Dibër. The topmost summits of the Martanesh area, Mt Kaptinë and Mt Lopë, are respectively 6145 and 6630 feet in height; the surrounding ranges average 5000 feet. As seen from Shkodër, the welter of

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs especially for
137 goats and cattle, and some agriculture in clearings, but the zone
316 derives its chief riches from the many acres of fertile alluvial soil
[13] that adjoin the rivers.

Oaks, tall or dwarf, begin sporadically among the shrubs and continue as thick forests up to a height of 2900 feet near Shkodër and 3300 feet in warmer districts. Among them grow ash, aspen, [36] chestnut, cornel, elm, hawthorn, hazel, hornbeam and limes. The majority of the 1140 villages in north Albania are found in this zone, for it best provides for Albanian needs. Though the soil is dry on the whole, it contains a sufficiency of springs. On the plateaux and gentler slopes there is enough arable land for subsistence farming, all that is possible among these rugged mountains. The copses and woods furnish winter grazing for small flocks and herds; an adjoining mountain furnishes the requisite summer feed. The [374] copses and woods also provide fuel for the log-fires that in Albanian phraseology are 'the poor man's wealth'. Leaves lopped from the [231] oak trees in autumn supply winter fodder which livestock eat with almost as much relish as they do hay, a scarcer commodity. It is this supplement to the grazing in the copses and woods which makes mixed farming possible in this zone; without it many animals could not get through the winter, and their number would [132] have to be reduced. If it is sometimes hot in the forest in summer, the heat is never unbearable, and in winter the cold is never excessive. In general the zone is healthy. A little wheat is grown, but—as everywhere in Albania, the Myzeqe plain excepted—the staple crop is maize. The grain provides food, and the livestock luxuries and government dues as well.

In the next zone beeches grow singly, in small clumps, or in mighty forests such as those between Çermenikë and Martanesh where one may walk for seven hours in the daytime and never catch a glimpse of the sun. Still without roads to carry modern woodcutters and their tools to them, such forests are in the virgin state, the trees self-sown, the strong killing the weak, and the survivors growing bigger and bigger until they succumb in extreme old age to some winter blast, when they lie and rot where they fall. When communications are developed, this waste will stop and these forests become a very valuable asset. No grass grows in them or under isolated beeches, of course, but there are usually grass meadows in the clearings, some of which are enormous. Well watered from the same sources as the beeches and fat with humus

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

692 It had its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and [671] left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their 361 diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geo- 221 graphy of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

623 Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As 484 a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, [619] country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. 671 More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

[693] The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each [821] community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such

4/n [the legal system --Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

nation, which is the greatest, could put into the field more than 15,000 men on horseback, well fitted to wage war in the manner of their country, valiant and good fighters. And the said nations, both Latins and Abbanois, are harshly oppressed under the intolerable and very hard servitude of the most hateful and abominable lordship of the Slavs. Indeed, they are a downtrodden people; their clergy is lowered and humbled; their bishops and abbots often imprisoned; their nobles disinherited and imprisoned; their churches, both cathedrals and collegiate, are dispersed and deprived of power; their monasteries and priories lost and destroyed. They, one and all, would think to consecrate their hands in the blood of the said Slavs if they saw coming a Prince of France who would be their leader and chief against the said Slavs, the enemies of truth and of our faith. One thousand French horse and five or six infantry, along with the said Abbanois and Latins, could conquer at their ease the whole of this Kingdom of Rassie, such as it is."

This passage, written almost at the height of Serb power, shows clearly that the Serb conqueror had failed to destroy the Albanian sense of nationality, and failed to force the Serbian Orthodox Church upon the people; and that there was a very large Albanophone population with a Catholic clergy of its own. The bishoprics of Antivari, Scutari, Sappa, and Pulati still exist, and have survived both Serb and Turk. Into this reserve of Albanian nationality the refugees from the surrounding districts fled when the Turks advanced. The mountain population, then as now, was no doubt scattered in isolated houses or family groups of several houses on the mountain pastures, and not gathered into towns or villages. They formed "katuns." That the population was numerous is shown by the many ecclesiastical and political documents, correspondence with the Vatican, Venice, and Ragusa, and old Serbian archives. Thus in 1348 Tsar Stefan Dushan gives to the monastery he is founding at Prizren nine Albanian "katuns" near Prizren, the said Albanians to give serf labour to the monastery. He gives also some land in Upper Pulati, together with its inhabitants. Several still existing place-names are mentioned: Shikje, Krue e Madhe (the great spring of water), and Sakati. "The existing Catholic clergy at Shikje who have vineyards" are to pay a tribute of wine to the monastery (an Orthodox one), and so are certain other districts. The people of Lower Pulati are to pay tribute of 100,000 silk cocoons. Several mills are handed to the monastery and in one case the miller, Zan, and his brethren are mentioned. No one may erect a mill on Church land, under penalty of a fine and loss of the mill. (The Church alone has the right to grind corn. This would give it immense power.) Large districts of Lower Pulati are given to the Serb Church, including the

H 702 H 636 798 H [186] A 194 779 A 361 H A 161 H A 792 566 103 H 651 792 233 H 256 H 794

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To the Land of the Eagle

485 When I came down in the morning to get a cup of coffee before leaving for Tirana, I found the waiter asleep in the "coffee-room" with the remains of last night's supper on the uncleared tables and every window tightly shut. The noise I made in rushing to open something and save myself from immediate asphyxiation woke him up, and he arose from his bed—to strain a simile to its utmost limits—like Aphrodite from the waves, completed a scanty toilet with the aid of a comb, and attended to my modest requirements in the way of breakfast. At seven the car came and I departed, nothing loth.

494 The car was a nine-seater, and the other passengers, including several Roman-Catholic priests, were going by it [505] to San Giovanni di Medua, whence a steamer connection is maintained with Bari, the Italian seaport on the opposite ● 361 side of the Adriatic. *Rome—Bari—San Giovanni di Medua* is the direct route to Albania, and I was accordingly surprised to find the place so small and insignificant. It contained little more, as far as I could see, than a tiny wharf, a custom-house, a police post, and a few single-storied shacks 504 —mostly coffee-houses—along the waterfront. The bay being very shallow, the steamer was anchored some distance out, and passengers had to be taken aboard by shore boats. But San Giovanni di Medua is no worse in this respect than the other ports of Albania, Durazzo, Valona, and Santi Quaranta, which all suffer, as I found later, from the same drawback. In none of these places is the water deep enough to allow a vessel to lie at the quay.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

soils his hands with work!—and in the end his project had 241
to be abandoned. Since the wealth of every country comes 181
in the first instance from the soil, this attitude of mind is to be deeply deplored. All possible means of making the soil more productive should be welcomed.

Tirana, the Albanian capital and seat of government, is 361
not a particularly impressive place. Its chief claim to notice, [346]
politics apart, lies in its mosques, which are all very beautiful examples of old Byzantine architecture and decoration. The streets are of rough cobbles—very uncomfortable to the feet—and the houses are, for the most part, of one storey only. The shops are the rickety wooden boxes one expects to find in this part of the world, and their proprietors sit, in Turkish fashion, at the receipt of custom.

I lunched soon after my arrival at the Hotel Inter- [485]
nationale, which is the centre of the political life of the 000
place. It is frequented by the deputies and their friends, and discussion and argument go on all day long over the coffee-cup and the raki glass. While I was struggling with the menu, which was Greek to me, a lady, seeing my difficulty, spoke to me in English and offered her assistance. She was an American and we got into conversation. One of the first things she said was, "You will find plenty of English here". I was astonished. That there was a British Legation at Durazzo I knew, but that Tirana contained "plenty of English" was news to me. Nor did it seem a place to attract the tourist. The meeting with the American did not surprise me so much, as I knew that there were American

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

secret diplomacy!" And this was the only sidelight that escaped him.

Nowadays, in order to get at the bottom of international complications it is a good plan to "look for the oil". And I have not much doubt that oil was the root of the trouble referred to. Presumably Great Britain, Italy, and perhaps also the United States, were striving to obtain concessions from the

A DURAZZO WAR MEMORIAL

Albanian Government. How serious the quarrel was, and how it was ultimately settled, I can only conjecture. I met, later on, however, both Italian and British mining engineers and learned that preparations were being made by both to begin boring operations, and from this I concluded that some sort of compromise had been arrived at.

From the point of view of the tourist there is not much of interest to be found at Durazzo with the exception of the old

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2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EGL

To the Land of the Eagle

361 city wall which at one time completely encircled the town
349 and is still, in many places, in good preservation. No one knows its age. The local people assert that it is Venetian, but, as flat brick figures largely in its construction, it is more probably Roman. At the present time roads pass through ragged gaps in the masonry, and houses, of which the British Legation is one, are built in, and on, the ramparts.
563 A small colony of Arabs—Baghdadi by their caste marks—inhabit one of the bastions.[1] One wonders how they came there. In the town[1] there is also a gipsy quarter, as in most other Albanian towns. The gipsies are a peace-loving folk, asking no more than a quiet life with not too much work and plenty of music and dancing. They are, in fact, Bohemians *par excellence*.

000 I trespassed on the hospitality of the Durazzo Legation for three days and then went aboard the boat for Valona in the company of a King's Messenger, the consul's wife and family, the gentleman who had come out after oil and was now returning to England—whether satisfied or dissatisfied I did not trouble to enquire—and some other of my fellow countrymen whose acquaintance I had recently made.

Durazzo looked exceedingly attractive from the sea. The glittering water was that marvellous shade of blue which is peculiar to the Adriatic. Boats with patched and tattered triangular sails plied between the ship and the shore.
361 The little town of white and yellow houses, bathed in sunlight, lay at the foot of the island-like promontory on which

[1] [of Durazzo -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To Valona

it is built. Landwards, fading into a purple haze, stretched the flat marsh. In the far, far distance were the mountains, a rugged line faintly discernible against the background of sky. 361

The voyage, which took the greater part of the day, was uneventful, and brought us to Valona the same evening two hours late—though that, as things go hereabouts, is considered punctual. The town is a mile or more distant from the port, and as one of the Albanian Ministers was a disembarking passenger, a large crowd of his supporters met the boat and commandeered every available vehicle for themselves and for him. In consequence a young Italian business man and I found ourselves stranded at the port with our baggage, and it was an hour and a half before we were able to secure a *carozza* and set out for the town. At the Hotel Gambino, which appeared to be the principal hotel, our arrival was met with apologetic shrugs and the statement "tutto occupato" (Italian being largely spoken in Valona). And not only so, but we were assured in addition that every house in the town was in a similar position on account of the Minister's visit and the approaching elections. However, we dined, and after dinner raised the question again, whereupon the proprietor made me a speech which began "Comme vous êtes anglais," and stated, as far as I could gather, that a man sitting at the next table had a room which contained two beds, and on account of my nationality had graciously consented to allow me to occupy the empty one. This I did—and hardly slept a wink all

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2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

○○○ night owing to the prodigious snoring of my room-mate. I have never heard such an organ-pipe of a snore, or such an alarming accompaniment of grunts, wheezes, and explosive noises of every imaginable kind. To make matters worse—if anything could have been worse—there was a stork's nest on the corner of the roof immediately above us, and the storks replied to the sounds beneath by clashing their beaks like a watchman's rattle.

A TOSC

The snorer, I afterwards discovered, was an Italian visiting Valona in connection with war-graves—or that at least was the ostensible reason of his presence. Personally I think he was a political agent.

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Valona, which is a town of considerable size, has an Italian look, and owes, indeed, much both to Italian and to Austrian influence. The Austrians occupied it for some time during the war. It possesses a light railway which is still in partial use, though to what extent and for what distance from the town I was not able to ascertain

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To the Land of the Eagle

361 The village,[1] which is the birthplace of the wife of the national hero, Skanderbeg,—its only claim to notice, picturesqueness apart—possesses no inn or wine-shop, and I looked for refreshment in vain. It was a hot day and the walk up the hill had made me thirsty. Some men who met me in what I suppose was the market place, or centre of the village, gave me Turkish delight, good of its kind but hardly what I wanted after my climb in the hot sun, and with that I had to be satisfied. The village gave every sign of being an extremely poor one and many of the houses were in ruins. [291] There was a school in which sat a row of small boys all wearing their white fezzes, for the Moslem headcovering is worn both indoors and out. The castle I did not inspect. It looked more interesting from a distance, a remark which applies to Kanina as a whole.

164 The bane of Valona, as at Durazzo and elsewhere on the coast, is the mosquito, and the inhabitants of the district are great sufferers from the malaria it carries, as well as from 744 other diseases connected with or due to malaria. Certain philanthropic English people—of whom one of the most active is the Dowager Countess of Carnarvon, who has a small house at Valona—are doing what they can, with the limited funds and limited opportunities available, to help the local Albanians to fight the trouble. They have imported two nurses and three V.A.D. girls. The nurses work at the local hospital. The V.A.D. girls—voluntary helpers—superintend the measures which are being taken to treat, with petroleum and otherwise, the breeding and hibernating

1 [Valona -- Analyst]

To the Land of the Eagle

000 inn. We sat outside at a table under the vines like a family party, and were joined in true democratic fashion by the driver and the mechanic of the lorry. I thought with regret of the snobbish class-distinctions of my native land. How much happier we should be if only we could abolish them!

361 The Albanian countryside at this spot[1] was but sparsely inhabited, and houses were few and far apart. The occasional villages were tumble-down and poverty-stricken. At one place the mosque had fallen into ruins—perhaps the result of an earthquake—and no one had troubled to build it up again.

181 The Albanian, like the Turk, is something of a fatalist. He is also lazy. Doubtless it was the will of Allah that the mosque should collapse—why, then, trouble to rebuild it?

825 The broken minaret was crowned with an enormous stork's-nest on which stood the owner clapping its long beak. The stork, being a sacred bird, was in no danger, having once established itself, of being disturbed or turned out of its home.

000 Our way lay amongst mountains—soft green mountains with rounded outlines, very different in type from the jagged rocks of Montenegro. Their sides were splashed with the gold of broom and the yellow of sage, and with the purple of some wild-flower which grew in regular stripes in the crevices of out-cropping rock-strata. The air was scented and soft.

We travelled on for some hours without any incident beyond an occasional stoppage to tighten a bolt, to retrieve a loose nut, or to do some minor repairs to the engine. At length the plain of Argyrocastron came into view—a wide, well-cultivated valley many miles in extent, where green

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1 [near Argyrocastron-- 166 Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E6 1

133 The opposite side of the valley - which appeared to be two or three miles in width—was bounded by a formidable chain of mountains still covered with snow in places unreached by the sun.

361 It was evening before we came in sight of Argyrocastron itself. Rounding a bend of the road we suddenly had a fine view of the town, which occupies three parallel ridges of hill at right angles to the main range, the highest of the three topped by an immense old Turkish fortress, black, rugged, and forbidding. On a fourth, and smaller, ridge is a monastery with cypresses. I have seldom seen a town so finely situated or so impressive at first sight.

The lorry climbed the winding road on low gear and drew up in an open space or square among cafés crowded with people. Work was over for the day and the Argyrocastrians
485 were taking their ease. In a steep cobbled street beneath the fortress ramparts I found an inn. It was merely a pothouse and the accommodation was of the roughest. I secured a bedroom to myself, however—an unusual luxury in Albania, as I have already indicated. The ground floor, with a door opening on to the street, served as restaurant, bar, kitchen, larder, and general living-room. It was furnished with deal tables and benches. On the left of the door was a desk whereat the proprietor kept his accounts.
265 On the right was an enclosed counter with a long metal
485 tray containing lime, on which stood pots full of meat and vegetables slowly stewing. The tray was, in fact, a kind of fireless cooker. On a shelf below the tray were clean knives, forks and spoons, clean plates, and an enormous bowl of

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Lorries

494 my calculations, and the fare, for a journey of nearly two days' duration, was after all by no means unreasonable.

The Albanian post lorries are of the familiar military type, and I came across no ambulance waggons like those in which I had suffered such discomfort in Montenegro. There is a good deal of traffic on these roads, not only by post lorries but by other lorries, which also belong to the State. A more or less regular service plies between Santi Quaranta and Koritza, the most important town in Northern Albania, with freight, passengers, and live-stock. I often noticed passengers sitting amongst sheep, lambs, and goats with every appearance of contentment. They did not seem at all incommoded. But in the post lorries, fortunately for me, livestock were not carried.

361 Tepeleni, our first stopping place, was destroyed by an earthquake some years ago and it has never yet been properly rebuilt. At the present time it consists of an irregular 265 street of shanties made of lath and tarred paper. As soon as we arrived the lorry-conductor took me to a restaurant—a [262] lop-sided wooden shack with an earthen floor—where two yokels sat eating maize-bread and yaghourt, and a third man, more opulent, was devouring fried fish with his fingers. [524] Coffee was called for and, despite my protests, paid for by the conductor—little courtesies such as this being the commonplaces of travel in benighted and uncivilised Albania.

505 Beyond Tepeleni a river barred our way. There was a bridge, but it was in ruins like the rest of the village, and the crossing had to be made by a ferry. The roadway on

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Albania EG1

CHAPTER IX

Coal at Koritza—An Economic Problem—A Night at the Metropole—The American School—I Go a-Missionising—In the Middle Ages—A Painful Incident—Converting the Imaum—The Dervish and Omar—"Blessed are the Weak-Minded!"—The Education Question—Women and the Moral Standard—Vengeance! A True Story—Silver and Gold—Italy Again—A Beautiful Lake—At Podgradetz—The Bull-Frogs.

DERVISH PRIEST

KORITZA is a town of some 20,000 361 inhabitants, with several fine new churches, an old Turkish mosque, and a prospect of electric light in the near future. It owes its importance to its situation in the centre of a large plain, one of the chief agricultural districts of Albania. The surrounding [135] mountains contain coal, and during 316 the French occupation coal was exported in considerable quantities to Salonika. Since the war, however, there has been only a little surface mining—just enough to supply the local demand—and though the presence of coal may ultimately make Koritza an industrial centre there are as yet no signs of any such development. Albania is, in fact, in much the same position as Montenegro in regard to mineral exploitation and mining. Not only ooo

To the Land of the Eagle

496 has it no railways, but the country is so Not only mountainous and the population so small and so scattered that without a considerable subsidy from the State a railway could not be made to pay and is therefore a remote possibility. For this reason it seems likely that Albania will miss the blessings—or escape the degradation (whichever way you prefer to put it)—of industrialism, and remain an agricultural nation.

361 The town has a few smart-looking European shops, as well as one large semi-wholesale store, but for the rest it resembles other Albanian and Turkish towns with streets of cobblers, streets of blacksmiths, streets devoted to saddle-making, harness-making, rope-making, and so forth—all the various trades being segregated, and carried on in the conditions of confusion, dirt, and squalor which are a legacy 524 from the middle ages. In addition there are many cafés, full from early morning to late at night with men who appear to have nothing better to do than sit there playing cards and 458 backgammon. I commented on this fact and was told that it was a sign of bad times and the very serious economic situation of the moment. For this—as for the similar situation in Montenegro—the practical closure of the United States to immigrants is to a large extent responsible. [167] In the past the States have supported a floating population of 40,000 Albanians to whom their own country offered no prospect of remunerative employment; to-day most of these men are at home with nothing to do.

000 I was often asked about Australia, and whether some scheme might not be arranged by which entry would be

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To the Land of the Eagle

871 there is an improvement, and in the principal towns there are
[562] not only schools for boys but schools for girls also. The villagers, however, with the aversion from change and progress which is characteristic of the peasant in all countries, oppose the education of the girls. What do they want with education? Is it not their job to attend to the house, to work in the fields, to wait on their lords and masters and to bear them children? So say these village folk,—and I seem to have heard arguments on the education question, in essentials exactly the same though perhaps not quite so crudely put, uttered by persons in a certain civilised country who ought to know better.

● 362 During my stay in Koritza I explored the town thoroughly. The Mohammedan quarter swarms with children—quaint little creatures in all sorts of garments, the girls for the most part wearing the orthodox Turkish trousers. They seem happy enough, though dirty. The Christian section of the town does not lag behind the Mohammedan in this particular, and there are no signs whatever of a decreasing birth-rate. As you walk along the rather narrow streets, open and half-open doorways give glimpses of shady courtyards where women sit spinning and sewing and nursing their babies. There are plants in tubs, and trellises, and vines, and always a pump to supply the household with water, for Koritza is proud of its water, which is very pure and fresh. In the business parts crowds of men fill the streets, and they carry all sorts of things—fish on a string, the entrails of sheep, dead mutton, live kids, the raw pelts of goats and cattle,

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

Women and the Moral Standard

361 sheep's heads, and every conceivable kind of foodstuff both
[562] animate and inanimate. Here the only women to be seen are peasants with loads of grass and fodder, or gipsies with bags slung across their shoulders and distaffs in their hands, for it is not considered respectable for women to walk in the main streets of the town, though in the more secluded parts you may occasionally meet high-heeled Mohammedan ladies whose veils do not quite hide the fact that they are smartly dressed in the European fashion.

562 One rarely sees men and women together in Albania, and
831 in consequence one gets the impression, rightly or wrongly, that the company of women is not valued, and that women are regarded only as household drudges and the mothers of children. Nevertheless—or perhaps on this account—the standard of morality is high both in Albania and throughout the Balkans, and breaches of the moral code are rare. In all uncivilised and half-civilised communities the same characteristic is observable, for a wife is regarded as property just as much as a sheep or a bullock or a house, and it is the primitive man's first instinct to keep his property inviolate. Doubtless the women as well as the men have come to regard this point of view as normal, and it is to this, together with a healthy fear of the consequences which any lapse must inevitably bring, that the chastity of the Balkan women is chiefly to be attributed, though a simple religious faith accepted without questioning may also play some part.
831 At all events, whatever the reason, the fact remains that the standard of conduct is, in this particular, higher in the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania-EG1

At Podgradetz

361 [226] Podgradetz is a pretty little town situated at the water's edge. Fishing is its main industry, the boats used being of a curious and cumbersome build unlike any craft I have seen elsewhere. It is also the distributing centre for local produce, and on market days is a lively little place, packed to the limit with peasants, donkeys, horses, mules, sheep,

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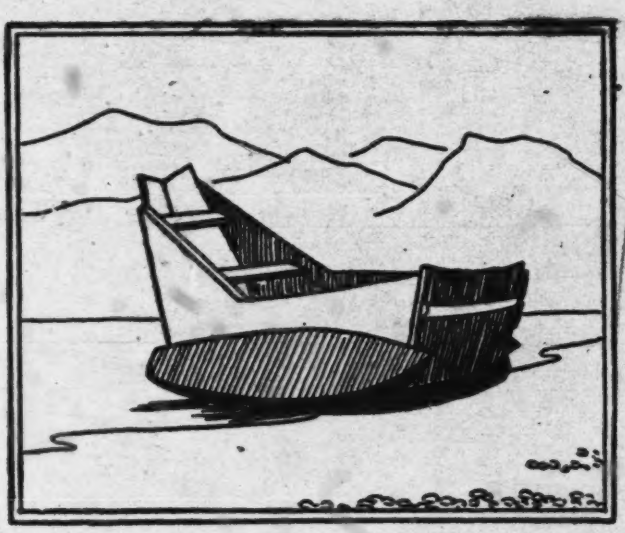

A PODGRADETZ FISHING-BOAT

cattle, goats, sellers of this, buyers of that, sacks of wheat, maize, rye, rolls of home-made cloth, eggs, chickens, dairy produce, and all the various commodities necessary for the life of the district. On days other than market days it is, however, quiet enough, and there are few people about save some café loungers, half-a-dozen idle gendarmes, a few

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To the Land of the Eagle

361 shop-keepers, and children. The children have an ideal
857 existence—from the child's point of view. Down the centre of every street runs a little trickling stream of water in which they can play and mess about to their hearts' content, and there are no nurses to reprove them for making themselves wet or scold them for dirtying their clothes.

856 In Podgradetz, as elsewhere in Albania, the children are often quite pretty. Their good looks, however, seldom last to maturity—at least the good looks of the girls, who deteriorate so rapidly in appearance after about the age of sixteen that they seem to skip a whole period and become old women immediately.

000 While I was in Podgradetz I made the acquaintance of the schoolmaster and the doctor. The schoolmaster invited me into the school where he was giving the third and fourth classes—girls—an arithmetic lesson. Without any trace of shyness the children came out from the class one by one and did sums on the blackboard. They seemed bright and intelligent, and I was not surprised when the teacher told me that he had found the girls more intelligent and quicker than the boys.

The doctor, who also ran the chemist's shop, as is customary in these parts, was a cheery little man bursting with local patriotism. To use an Americanism, " he boosted his home town some ". He praised the water, the air, the scenery. He took me up a hill in rear of the town and showed me the view. " Is there anywhere in the world a finer prospect than this ? " he demanded. The local wine,

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

CHAPTER XI

Elbasan—At the Fez-maker's—Factories or No Factories—An Albanian Schoolboy—Antiques—The Becktashi Monastery—The Strange Story of a Saint—A Remarkable Belief—The Giant Cypresses of Elbasan—The Inn—Osman the Art Critic—In the Restaurant—Concerning Patriotism.

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GIPSY WOMAN

ELBASAN, an ancient Mohammedan city of 15,000 inhabitants, is a piece of Asia set down in Europe. The streets are narrow, and paved with the customary irregular cobblestones. The shops, of one storey only, appear to be saved from entire collapse by props, posts, and other temporary supports. The heavily-tiled roofs, which tumble about at all sorts of angles, suggest a rough sea petrified. The main square boasts a plane tree of tremendous girth—a veritable Methuselah of trees—in whose extensive shade sit country-folk with their various produce for sale beside them. Everyone who is anyone owns a shop, and the life of the place centres in the bazaar. The itinerant coffee-vendor, a man much in request, walks about all day with a

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2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

Elbasan

443 circular tray on which are set out half a dozen long-handled
361 Turkish-coffee-pots, a few tiny cups, and a handful of glowing charcoal. As he goes he rattles a pair of tongs—the audible

THE GIANT CYPRESSES OF ELBASAN

sign of his trade. Elsewhere the ice-cream man with his bucket makes his own special appeal, crying his wares in a loud and raucous voice. Somebody is always bawling in the Elbasan streets.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

361 the Elbasan streets. And there is always a noise of hammer-
438 ing.[1] The blacksmiths are at work—hammering. The tinsmiths are at work—hammering. The silversmiths are at work—hammering. The carpenters and joiners are planing, sawing, or hammering. The cobblers are stitching and hammering. Wherever you go your ears are assailed by the sounds of toil—honest, pleasant sounds far removed from the noises of a modern mill or factory. As I listened I thought of the thousands of folk at home who have to spend hours every day merely watching or feeding a machine—nothing to interest them, no pride in their work, no thought in their minds save escape at the end of the day. How much better off are these workers of Elbasan! And yet the Albanian is always grumbling because he has no factories. To have factories is the summit of his ambition. Factories—and then the millennium! If only he had factories! Factories! Then everybody would have work, everybody would have money, everybody would be thoroughly happy. So, in his folly and blindness, he thinks.

One has only to travel in countries where everything is made by hand to regret the invention of machinery. Economists, no doubt, will argue that it is wrong to do so. Machinery, they will say, enables work to be done quicker and cheaper, gives the worker leisure to improve his mind and to enjoy life, provides the means of trading with other countries, and adds to the wealth of the nation. It may be so. But that does not alter the fact that hand-made goods are always better than similar goods which are turned out by

1 [In Elbasan -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

saint can further their political aims, and, to me, at all events, the matter still remains a mystery.

In addition to the belief in the powers of St. John of Scutari—a belief which has a religious background—the local people hold other beliefs, some of which date back to very remote times. The graves of the babas are accounted holy, and are usually covered with cloths put there by pious persons who need assistance. And at a certain spot in the masonry of the ancient city wall there is a window or aperture at which it is customary for women who are unable to nurse their babies to place offerings of bread. When the wall was originally built, many centuries ago, a woman was sacrificed by being enclosed alive in the masonry at this particular spot. The sacrifice, quite a usual one in those days when any constructional work of importance was begun, was intended to propitiate evil spirits who might interfere with the progress of the work. On this occasion an opening was left, so the story goes, through which the unhappy woman might suckle her baby, and it is on this account that the place is supposed to possess the power of stimulating the flow of natural milk in those who make offerings there.

The tourist, should he penetrate so far, will find much to interest him in Elbasan, especially on market day, when it is packed with country folk in an astonishing variety of costumes. The surroundings are delightful. There are several parks and open spaces of which the most remarkable is a small square to the south of the town surrounded by

The Inn

[361] 137 cypresses. These cypresses[1] are the biggest I have ever seen. I never imagined that such cypresses existed or could exist. Even the tall Douglas firs of British Columbia, which attain a height of 400 feet, did not impress me as much as did these giants with their masses of solid foliage and their gnarled and knotted trunks thirty feet in circumference. It is worth while making a special journey to Elbasan to see them. This row of towering trees, almost black, walling in the little square and flooding it with their dense shadow, made a deep impression upon me. I saw no finer sight in all Albania.

485 The hotel accommodation in Elbasan is about what one would expect. The little place at which I stayed consisted of a nondescript shop below, where rope, lemons, corn, sugar, maize, nails, crockery, and all sorts of odds and ends were on sale, and a floor above with a landing, a lavatory, and three rooms all crammed with beds. It was tolerably clean, and the folk who ran it—an old Mohammedan named Osman Arapi, a youth, and a small boy—did everything possible to supply the, to them, rather remarkable demands of an English guest. The room in which I lived was pleasant and well lit, and I always had it to myself during the daytime. At night the other beds were usually occupied, and I never knew whom my companions might be. They were always accommodating and agreeable, however, and I soon became used to the lack of privacy. The washing arrangements were crude, and consisted of a basin on a soap-box in the corridor, but elsewhere, if you were

1 [in Elbasan-- Analyst]

To the Land of the Eagle

—and its rapidity enabled me to accomplish in forty minutes a journey which had previously taken me six hours by car.

A remote Balkan country like Albania was the last place in which I expected to make my first flight, and I could not help thinking it remarkable that within a few days I should thus experience the two extremes of travel—the pack-horse and the aeroplane.

485 On this, my second visit to Scutari, I stayed at the Hotel Europa. From without it did not look attractive, as the larger part of it appeared to be either under repair or in course of demolition. But within I found it clean, and even —for an Albanian hotel—luxurious. I had a bedroom to myself, with a washstand, a wardrobe, and other articles of furniture to which I had for some time been a stranger. And, finally, I actually dared to sleep without socks on and to forego the elaborate barrage of insect powder without which I had found sleep impossible in the up-country inns.

361 Until recently, when the government migrated to Tirana for safety, Scutari was the Albanian capital and an important diplomatic centre. All the foreign legations were here, and there was a good deal of gaiety. Now, however, it is a dead-alive place with no social amenities such as there were in the old days. Personally I found the old town, which, with the ancient citadel, is about a mile away from Scutari proper, 291 by far the most interesting part. It has a bazaar thronged 361 with peasants in the picturesque costumes of the district, among whom are always to be found some of the gipsy or

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Belts and Cloaks

Rumanian women, with heavy black-striped and white-291
edged skirts and enormous silver-studded belts, whom 136
have previously described. I saw these belts being made. [294]
The foundation is leather, and into it are driven nails in so

THE FUSTANELLA (KILT) AS I EXPECTED TO SEE IT—

—AND AS I SAW IT

close a pattern that little of the leather remains visible. The belts are eight or nine inches wide and have a big lock. Their weight may be imagined, and yet the women were wearing them, in addition to the heaviest possible clothing, in a temperature which had driven me to take refuge in a suit of tropical linen.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

CHAPTER XIV

I leave Albania—Montenegro Once More—Pelim Tea—A Hold-up—More Politics—Cettinje to Ragusa—Local Beauties—Barber's Shops—The Austrian Riviera—The Mystery in the Church—Its Explanation—Money's Worth.

SCUTARI is situated, according to the map, at the 361
head of Scutari Lake, and I had therefore expected
to find an esplanade or riva with houses facing the water.
Actually the lake cannot be seen from the town, and there is [504]
no waterfront except at Old Scutari, where a narrow inlet
accommodates a few fishing-boats and where there is a small
wharf. The reason for this became apparent when I left by
the lake steamer on my way home. The shore is merely
swamp, and the open water is approached by a tortuous
channel which winds for a considerable distance amongst
waterweeds, alder scrub and tall rushes. The lake at the [133]
Scutari end is, in fact, very shallow, and for a mile or so out
looks much more like grass than water.

The morning of my departure was cloudy and wet, and ooo
owing to frequent rainstorms which obscured the view I
did not see the lake at its best. I was the only passenger
and had the little cabin to myself. Here I settled down,
and for lack of other occupation wrote up my journal which
was, as usual, several days in arrear. Some three hours
after our departure we anchored off the north-east shore of

361 Peshkopia has grown rapidly because the international boundary commission of 1913 cut off the Dibra mountaineers from their natural market town of Big Dibra. Hence many of the Big Dibra men moved to Peshkopia, which is just inside Albania. In the same way Prizren was cut off from the Luma people, who built up Kukës; Jakova from the Malsia e Jakovës men, who also go to Kukës. On the western side no such disturbance has taken place. Scutari, Lesh, and Kruja now, as for centuries past, serve as market towns for the mountain people.

124 463 *Services*: Only 12 men are listed under "services." Two of these are innkeepers. One is a Puka man, host at Rrap, his native place. The other is an outsider, a Kruja man, whose inn is at Gur i Bardh in Mati. Kruja men specialize in innkeeping, and in the heyday of Ottoman power might be found all over the Turkish Empire, including Asia Minor. These *hanjis* marry in Kruja, and do not mix with the populations in the regions in which they do their business.

Three men were restaurant-keepers: one Koplik man, whose shop was presumably in Scutari, a Luma man, and a Malsia e Jakovës man, with shops in Kukës. The barber was a Malsia e Jakovës man, working in Kukës. Of the 2 waiters, one was a local man serving the gendarmes in their post at Puka, the other a Big Dibra man working in the hotel in Peshkopia, a new institution. Of the 3 listed as servants, all were local. One served the prefect and another the teacher in the new government center in Bureli. The third worked for a priest in Mirdita.

Of the 12 "services" listings, 9 can be accounted for as a result of recent political events.

[444] *Transport*: Transportation in Ghegnia in 1929 meant but one thing—the services of *kiragis*, those incredibly tough horse-drivers who would take you and your goods anywhere, and try to raise the price on the road, once you were at their mercy. Three out of 4 came from Dibra, and one from Malsia e Jakovës. As far as I know, all *kiragis*, like all *hanjis*, are Moslems.

[441] *Trade*: All merchants in the mountain country are shopkeepers; there are no large or complex commercial institutions. Of the 31 shop-

173 Turks, came from different places. The people of Toplana were driven to their present mountain stronghold from Vasojevitch in Montenegro about 1450, being pushed out by immigrants from Herzegovina. The ancestors of Plani came from 3 sources: Klementi, Merturi, and indigenous *anas*. Those of Kiri were from Kuchi and Ipek, in Montenegro. One [61] hundred houses of Nikaj people are said to be descended from a daughter of Nikol by a gypsy, and are called Tsura. This is the only instance known of female descent, and indicates the relative social status of the alleged spouses.

The famous invasion of the Dukagin brothers, Shosh, Shal, Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen, probably took place before the Bosniak migration.[20] Miss Durham derives them from the Pestriku mountains near Jakova, where they were part of the Ipek tribal confederacy. My informants named Marina *bairak* as their home. In Shala they are supposed to have found some small, dark people with whom they intermarried. A few of these *anas* stayed on, and there are said to be 8 houses of them at Abate in Lower Shala, while the rest immigrated to Dechani. The Mirdita brethren found the Dibri and Fan people ahead of them.

One tradition relates that the Dukagin *bairaks* of Mirdita did not stay long in their new home, but when the Turks had taken Scutari and were raiding the neighboring mountains, the settlers retreated to their ancient home, from which they did not return to Mirdita until around 1650. How true this is, and how many people, if any, it involved, cannot be determined.

[36!] We know finally that Jakova town was settled by people from various parts of the Gheg mountains, and the same is true of Ipek. These were cities of refuge, like earlier towns before them. More recent than any of these is the village of Vraka, a community of a thousand people lying between Koplik and Scutari. This is the residence of Serbian-speaking, Orthodox farmers whose ancestors fled from blood vengeance in various parts of Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Bosnia. They have not yet become absorbed, and with modern

[see p. 45a -- Analyst]

173 politics what they are, probably will not be. They serve our purpose of illustrating a principle of population movement in a feuding society.

This ends our history up to the final date of the ethnographic present as defined in chapter 1, "The Dinaric Problem."*

175 Turkish rule lasted in Albania until 1912. After the Balkan wars an opera bouffe kingdom was set up with the Prince of Wied as king, and the capital in Durazzo. During his uninspired reign an international boundary commission laid out the borders of the new state, and at every point where there was any question, Albania came out the loser. Gruda was given to Montenegro. The Grudans who survived this political change fled to Scutari. Hoti lost part of its land, particularly its winter pasture. The tribesmen of Klementi were so cut off that they could not drive their flocks to their winter pasture near Scutari without crossing Montenegrin territory, which would have been equivalent to losing their animals. The Serbs closed the border to mountaineers bringing their goods to Jakova to trade, and expelled many of the Albanians from both [114] that city and Ipek. They made it almost impossible to travel between Kukës and Prizren; in 1929 our party was held up a whole day while we were searched to the skin, ordered to read aloud all of our papers, accused of being renegade Croats, etc., and we finally got away only after a great deal of telephoning on the plea that one of us was dangerously ill. In Prizren we found the jail full of Albanians.

• [361] Dibra as well was lost as a market town. Kukës sprang up as a makeshift metropolis, as did Peshkopia. Tradesmen and artisans, as we have seen, stole over the border from Jakova, Prizren, and Dibra, to set up shop in the new places. The boundary commission could have created no more international hatred if this had been its principal objective.

World War I followed immediately after these unwise decisions, and the powderpuff king ran away. An army of Serbs, fleeing for their lives, marched across Dibra and Mati, burning and looting as they passed, to seek refuge on Corfu. Austrian troops, at their heels, occupied Scutari and the Malsia e Madhe, as well as the region of Kukës. They built

*[See cat. 116, p. 56 -- Analyst]

124 has to face in the field. Half the Luma sample came from Biçani, which comprises over half the tribe. As one can readily see, these Moslems marry within their own *bairaks* most commonly.

614 634 In Puka it is manifest that Kabash and Çeret form each a single *fis*. Berisha, the oldest known *fis* in Ghegnia, has a companion *fis*, Thach, in its *bairak*, with which it sometimes marries. Buxhon and Iballja each have more than one *fis*, as do Puka and Mal i Zi. On the whole the *bairaks* of Puka, whether single or multiple as regards *fis*, are exogamous. Since marriage across the Drin is frequent, many of the men from Buxhon, Berisha, and Iballja may have had mothers from the Lower Pulati section of Dukagin.

We were able to get a complete list of the *fis* in the tribe of Puka, except for Mal i Zi, as follows:

1. *Kabash*, *bairak* and *fis*. Three hundred houses, located in Kabash, Puka, and Iballja.
2. *Marin*, a *fis* of 30 houses in Puka village of Puka *bairak*.
3. *Guian*, a *fis* of 3 or 4 houses only, in Puka village.
4. *Kashnet*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak* only.
5. *Shkrella*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak*, related to the Shkrelli people in Malsia e Madhe.
6. *Krasniq*, with obvious affiliations, 10 houses, Puka village.
7. *Shala*, with obvious affiliations, 60 houses, Puka *bairak*.
8. *Thach*, this is the only *fis* in Buxhon, and one of two in Kabash, the other being Kabash *fis*.
9. *Berisha*, *bairak* and *fis*, a single unit.
10. *Kcheira*, a *fis* in Çeret.
11. *Shosh*, with obvious affiliations, a *fis* in Çeret.
12. *Çereti*, also a *fis* in Çeret.

614 634 361 In Mal i Zi there are said to be many other *fis* besides these 12. The above list shows 7 different *fis* in the single bairak of Puka, with 3 of them limited to a single village. This situation reflects the location of Puka village

[1] Kashnet and Guian of Puka also appear here. Vik, Mesouli, seem to be others.

614 634 361 at a natural stopping point on the Roman road, where other trails come in. It is also a trading center, and one of administration. Its geographical position has brought in people from many places, and it stands in striking contrast to the more isolated *bairaks* of the same tribe, which in some cases have only one *fis* each. If Mal i Zi has many *fis* as well, that is because it too is conveniently located on the road.

In Mirdita exactly the opposite situation is found; the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen all belong to one *fis*, although one village in Orosh is eligible for marriage with these Dukagini. This village was once part of [124] Kthella. Two of our subjects were the sons of women from this village. Fan and Dibri marry both with Dukagini and within their own *fis*, of which there are several.[1] In our series Kushneni married only Dibri, which was nearest; Fan mostly Orosh, for the same reason. One blank bears the astounding information that its subject was the son of an Orosh father and a Kushnen mother. This is undoubtedly some kind of a mistake, possibly similar to the situation noted above.

614 634 Zadrima is only one *bairak*, all Catholic except a few small villages nearest Scutari. Despite its lowland habitat it retains its tribal organization, as well as its Gheg speech, and hence was included in this series. We did not obtain a record of its *fis*.

All 4 *bairaks* of Mati contain 2 or more *fis* each. The 3-part Catholic *bairaks* in the north form an intermarrying group and married with Mirdita extensively in the old days. In the time of our series, Lura was in blood with the Mirdites and the exchange of wives had been broken off. Very rarely do these northerners intermarry with the men of Mat. If this job were to be done again, the 3 northern *bairaks* should be given separate consideration for they are a genetic unit apart from Mat. The northerners are frequently tall, the Mat men almost uniformly short. In Dibra the 4 *bairaks* were almost wholly endogamous, and again separate treatment would be profitable. If we had measured 600 more men, the series would have been a better one.

342 I am not in a position to conclude as to the correctness of his results. In any case, the arguments put forward (p. 51) by Nopcsa in its support, cannot be considered as strong in my opinion. In the first [192] place, the word plas, which in Albanian means palace, may have originated from ancient Dalmatian. But the Latin word «palatium» has been naturalised in the Greek countries already since the Augustan days, and this does not prove that there was any Latin influance upon their building modes, as neither the word «δοκίμιον» (alb. shpit) originating from the Latin word hospitium, has any relation to Roman architecture.

Housing types impressed on medieval coins of some Albanian towns can be but little proof since, according to his own remark, houses such as the one represented on a coin of Scodra (end of 14th century) can be found even to-day in the area of Delvinon in Epirus; namely, they are connected with Greek monumental architecture.

342 712 This question will be better clarified, in my opinion, by the examination of another housing type, the Kula, which is widely spread in Albania.

The house in Albania does not serve as a protection against weather only, but it should also provide security against enemies. This double purpose obliges the Albanians to build even less comfortable houses, if these are to enable their inhabitants to enjoy a peaceful night and, if needed, to defend themselves in case of emergency from them. In Nothern Albania the most primitive system of defence at home consists in a mere hiding place, built with solid materials within the very house. This shelter is usually of 2.5 m. long and 1.5 m. high and it is covered with slabs of stone. The place is entered through an opening of 0.75 m. square, so that the entire [513] shelter does not differ in appearance from an oven. The head as well as male members of the family spend their nights in this shelter.

It is evident that the use of such a kind of quarters cannot continue over a long time. For this reason, even when they were to build a most primitive single-room house of stone, Albanians have tried to [361] obtain security by other means, i.e. by keeping the enemy as far from their houses as possible. The means to this aim are: building of the house in a secluded spot on a highest possible site, but not too far away from the fields, so that inhabitans may be able to reach their house in the shortest possible time in case of emergency; small windows, arranged in such a way as to afford covering fire on all approaches; a strong roof, difficult to reach, in order to

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss, windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

17: Thurnher E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs EF6
Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

SYARB
102
.361
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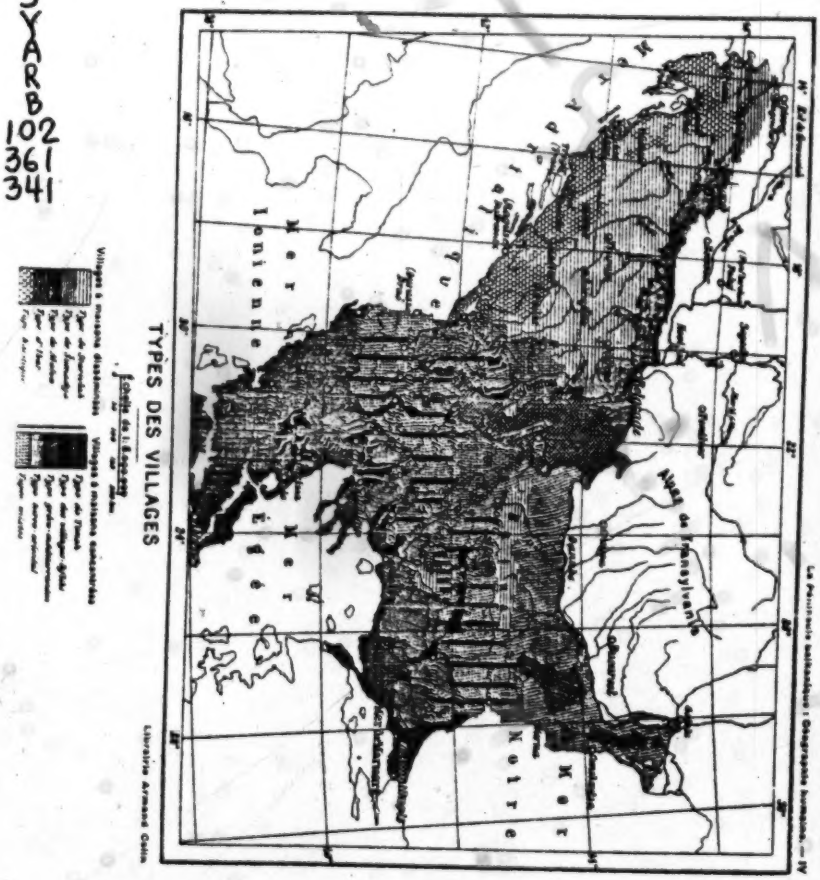

[P.86-R]

361 this height have the appearance of a colorful checkerboard of the gods.

363 Tirana also has many modern boulevards, recently laid, equalling the cement boulevards of any cosmopolitan city, as well as all the modern conveniences that one finds in other capitals of the world.

367 In the large city park, music is provided every afternoon by the Royal Court Orchestra and where people promenade to the strains of Beethoven, Puccini, Strauss and Wagner.

644 In the center of Tirana is located the beautiful Royal Palace, lying in the midst of an immense, well-cared for garden. This garden is one of the show places of Tirana and has a large collection of rare flowers.

351

344 Also in the central part of the city in a vast square are to be found a group of modern and most convenient office buildings, wherein the various departments of the government—the Prime Minister's office, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Interior Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of National Economy, the Ministry of Public Instructions, the Ministry of Public Works, the Parliament and others—are housed.

000 All foreign legations, except that of Great

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

648 All foreign legations, except that of Great Britain, are located in Tirana. The British Legation is in Durazzo (Durrës).

366 To an eager tourist Tirana's allure will lie in the bazaars located in the side streets away from the center of the city, where craftsmen have plied their trades for centuries. Side by side are the shops of the silver- and goldsmiths and the displays of pottery, tapestry, and the laces and skillful handwork of the Albanian women will catch the feminine eye.

363 Those who never tire of the unique and intriguing will be swept along through a maze of streets that have nothing in common with the progressive edifices in the modern section of Tirana. Through these narrow streets which offer every form of merchandise in its own interesting way, the explorer will come

342 on the outskirts of the city to the small huts of peasants, made of sun-baked bricks of surprising endurance surrounded by the usual fence or wall, and here one touches a life that is different—prompted by traditions and cultures that have come down from person to person, perhaps from the days when modern progress was not even a dream.

346 Among the numerous other sights not to be missed in Tirana are the Mosque of Suleiman

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his feud with him. The villages of these districts are generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

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ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

366 This city with its romantic and war-like past, still retains its old bazaar established years and years ago, for Scutari is the chief market town of this region. Here the natives throng on market day in all their vivid array of costumes and make a picture that no one can easily forget. Scutari to-day, with its old Rozafat still standing, is the source of much of the folklore and tradition of the northern districts of Albania and also is the gateway to the neighboring mountainous villages which have retained their old and honorable customs and where the stranger is always welcomed with an age-old hospitality.

346 Other sights not to be missed in Scutari are the Jesuit Museum, Convent of the Franciscans, the Catholic Cathedral and the mosques, all of which hold some interest for everyone.

Near Scutari, in the mountains of Shala, there is an abundance of game to be had just for the sport—deer, fox, wildcats and fishing which will test any man's skill.

346 other place, among the numerous, to be visited with interest and close attention is the Neshad-Pasha Mosque which is a gem among its kind.

366 Here also is an exceedingly active branch of the Albanian National Bank.

529 From the center of the city, it is but a few kilometers' run to the seashore. In the cool of the day it is a delightful ride and after even a short swim in the clear waters one readily promises oneself to return to this lovely spot. For this strip of country from Valona to Himara is the Albanian Riviera and in no way can the rivieras of France and Italy surpass it. The climate is as agreeable, the natural beauties are far more picturesque, but the most inviting quality of this pleasant resort is that if privacy is desired it can be obtained and if, on the other hand, the gayety of a crowd is preferred, one has only to step from the front door and be buoyed along in a pleasant excitement.

315 A great deal of the wealth of Valona is derived from the rich petroleum fields that are situated near the city.

000 Another product important to Valona is

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Other Towns of Interest

36d TO anyone familiar with Albanian history the name of Tepelene is well known. For this town, in southern Albania, is the birthplace of Ali Pasha Tepelene, born in 1741. The castle of this leader [912] still stands although part of it has sunk into ruins. During the days of Napoleon one of the country's greatest fortresses stood near this town.

Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra) is a progressive city where many of the old families of this region live in comfortable homes. Being the largest city in the district it is a market [362] place of note. The famous Ali Pasha Tepelene resided here for some time and his castle still remains. For the art devotee, the interiors of the churches, convents and mosques of Argyrokastro will give unfailing delight.

The city of mosques in Albania is Leskovik. [346] Here are many of the most beautiful specimen of mosque architecture to be found in [366] the country. There is also a large bazaar in Leskovik that will interest even the most seasoned traveller.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

361 seasoned traveller. The climate in this small town is delightful due to its position at 930 feet above sea level.

Kavaja, an agricultural center, is also the seat of many excellent schools. Tobacco is the [249] main crop in this vicinity and the tobacco leaves are marketed at Kavaja. There are also large fruit groves intercepted by vegetable gardens.

[346] Fier, a rich and prosperous town, is the market place of cereals. As these crops are among the largest in Albania, the wealth of the town is understood. As Fier is only forty minutes from Pojani, the majority of the valuable excavations from Apollonia soon [543] found their way into the artistic museum of Fier. This collection from Apollonia in Pojani is as rich as that from Butrinto.

Lushnja is important in Albanian history as the city wherein that memorable congress convened which confirmed Albania's independence in 1920.

504 Santa Quaranta (Saranda), a port of 361 southern Albania, lies in that strip of coastline which, by reason of its beauty of scenery and vegetation, merits the name of Riviera of Albania. It is the third port of Albania with

361 this height have the appearance of a colorful checkerboard of the gods.

363 Tirana also has many modern boulevards, recently laid, equalling the cement boulevards of any cosmopolitan city, as well as all the modern conveniences that one finds in other capitals of the world.

• 367 In the large city park, music is provided every afternoon by the Royal Court Orchestra and where people promenade to the strains of Beethoven, Puccini, Strauss and Wagner.

644 In the center of Tirana is located the beautiful Royal Palace, lying in the midst of an immense, well-cared for garden. This garden 351 is one of the show places of Tirana and has a large collection of rare flowers.

344 Also in the central part of the city in a vast square are to be found a group of modern and most convenient office buildings, wherein the various departments of the government—the Prime Minister's office, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Interior Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of National Economy, the Ministry of Public Instructions, the Ministry of Public Works, the Parliament and others—are housed.

000 All foreign legations, except that of Great

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Valona

THIS colorful city of Valona—the ancient Aulon—(Vlona in Albanian language) presents the charm and beauty of past ages and in addition can boast of rapid, modern progress. The fascinating old ruins of Moslem architecture are perfect representatives of the skill employed in by-gone years, combined with the beauties of the natural scenery of sea and mountains, make an unbeatable vacation land. 103

Geographically, Valona lies across the Adriatic Sea from Brindisi and is one of the cleanest, friendliest and sympathetic cities that a tourist may find anywhere. One of its startling features to a stranger is the countless number of storks that fly around the city and make their homes on the roof-tops. Strange to relate, in this connection, Valona is not the most populous city in Albania! 361

The fashionable place for promenade in this lovely town is the modern city park laid out to occupy a city block and consists of an enchanting variety of trees and flowers. An- 367 000

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

197 great measure to the profession of three creeds by the Albanian people, Turkish only being taught in the Moslem schools; in the Roman Catholic, Italian; and in the Orthodox Christian, Greek. The only section of the Albanians who can boast of any degree of culture are the Khams, and even this is not indigenous, but is borrowed entirely from the Epirote Greeks of Ioannina and its neighbourhood.

871 The education of the vast majority of Albanian
565 girls, whether Moslem or Christian, is of a purely
562 domestic character, and, with the exception of a small number of Gheg and Tosk maidens of the better class, who are taught a little reading and writing and a great deal of etiquette by old lady *hodjas*, they are entirely unlettered. From the age of twelve to the
562 time of their marriage, which generally takes place
571 before they are sixteen, both Moslem and Christian
868 girls are condemned to complete seclusion from the outer world. The customs of the Christians in this respect are, indeed, more rigid than those of the Moslems, for their daughters are not, during this interval, allowed to present themselves before visitors even of their own sex. Time is not, however, allowed to hang heavily upon the hands of these maidens, whatever their position and prospects. Besides taking an active part in all household duties, there is the important task to accomplish of getting ready her trousseau, and this involves the spinning, weaving, sewing, and embroidering of the various stuffs, cotton, linen, woollen, and silken, of which it is to be composed.

369 The peasant and country girls generally, both of
562

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

the mountains and of the plains, enjoy, as has been seen, much greater liberty than their sisters of the towns. With the exception of the Miridites, social intercourse with members of the other sex is not denied to them, and, like the Greek and Vlach maidens, they tend the flocks on the hills, fetch water from the fountain, and lead a life generally of healthy industry.

369
562
[184]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

hear him. He offers her sweets which have been left 585
there purposely, but still she heeds him not. This comedy may, if the bridegroom be timid and the bride reserved, be prolonged until the third evening after the marriage, in which case the courage and virtue of the bride are extolled by the women in song. On the third evening, however, custom requires the bride to respond to her husband's advances. On the three days following the wedding the bride, dressed as before, stands like a statue in the reception-room to receive the women visitors who flock to the house in order to inspect her.

The ceremonies attending the nuptials of the [369]
mountain people are almost precisely similar to those customary in the towns, with the exception that the bride is not veiled when conducted to her husband's home. A romantic reserve, however, surrounds the 593
interviews between the young couple, who, especially 831
if the husband be one of a numerous family and have no private apartments, can only meet in secret until they have children of their own. The mountaineers cherish this custom, which, they contend, by surrounding with a halo of romance and mystery the relations of the young couple, tends to keep their love for each 585
other fresh and warm. The wedding processions of the 184
Moslems and Christians are only to be distinguished by the more picturesque effect of those of the former. Many of the company, dressed in rich apparel glitter- [241]
ing with gold embroidery, accompany the bride on [531]
horseback, indulging as they go, whenever they arrive at a spot sufficiently spacious, in the manly old Os- [524]
manli game of throwing the *djerid*, or spear. Pistols

A 342 [171] We conclude this from the description of J. von Hahn who visited Albania during the middle of the 19th century. «Albanians», says Hahn, «just like Greeks, seem to prefer the two-storey house. This takes the form of an elongated rectangle, divided into two parts both in the ground and in the upper floor. In the ground-floor one of them is a stable and the other a store-room.

» The two rooms of the upper floor have a long veranda in front of them, supported by wooden poles and opening on the yard. A staircase, covered by an extension of the roof, leads up to the veranda; two doors lead to rooms that do not communicate with each other. The women of the household sit and work in this veranda during almost the whole year.

A [369] » A considerable increase of space is effected at the veranda (as far as I know, only in urban houses) by the fact that the house itself does not comprise two, but three spaces, of which the third, a central one, does not regularly constitute a closed room, for there is no party wall between the two corner rooms and the veranda. The floor of this room is about one foot higher than that of the veranda, and it is used by the family for their meals, when the season of the year permits it. Now, if an increase of space is necessary, part of the veranda is separated and converted into a room, which is sometimes extended on this side of the veranda towards the courtyard; or the veranda is left intact and two corner rooms are built on either side of the staircase; these rooms are also facing the conrtyard, so that the veranda takes now the shape of a cross.

A [171] » This is the form which is taken as a besis in the final shape of the Turkish house (1), because even in the case when this or that or all the sections of the crossform building were converted into rooms, some indications in the consistence of the walls, the cornice and the

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1) **J. von Hahn** abuses here the word «Turkish» when he means the completed form of house which has developed after a long process of evolution during the Byzantine and the post-Byzantine years in Greek countries. The truth is that the Turks adopted the closed form of house, which opens into an internal courtyard, because of the secluded life their women live. The covered verandas and open rooms of Byzantine houses were especially pleasant to them, as they had a comfortable and protected view. The presence of this architectural element in the popular urban architecture of Greece, as remarks Prof. G [342] **A. Keramopoullos,** Αἱ δρύφρακτοι τῶν οἰκιῶν in rev. Archimidis 21 (1920) 61. is continuously witnessed from the 6th century B.C. up to this day. Turks have never been known as good house builders. Comp. **Gl. Markopoulos:** Ἡ λαϊκή μας δομοτεκτονική, Athens 1945 p. 94.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in, a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes, which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to preserve them. The other serves as general living and sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green, in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor, where the grain is trodden out by horses.

The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly courageous.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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December the housewife makes, besides other sweet cakes, some in the shape of rings, which are called *Koléndhra.* The one first made is termed "the cake of the oxen," and is hung up on the wall "for luck," and left there until the farmer goes out with his team to the fields. On this occasion the cake is taken down and broken to pieces on the head of one of the yoked oxen, and then divided between the pair.

Fire-ceremonies play a great part in the Christmas observances of the Albanian highlanders. As may have already been remarked in connection with birth-ceremonies, a protective and salutary character appears to attach to the fire on the hearth, and not only on such occasions, but on the eve of every important festival, the Albanian peasants light fires and keep them burning until sunset on the following day, even in summer; and from the crackling, or exploding, noises emitted by the wood in burning, they learn when the enemies of their house are conspiring against them, and whether the flocks will thrive, or the contrary. On ordinary occasions they consider it inauspicious when the thick end of a log burns before the thin, and are careful not to place one log across another. On Christmas Eve, however, all such precautions are considered unnecessary. The fire is piled up as high as the safety of the house will permit, as this is supposed to neutralise all evil effects of the non-observance of the foregoing precautions during the coming year. The largest log that can be found is brought home at sunset, when all the family, who are reunited for the festival, rise to greet it with the words, "Welcome, our log! God has destined thee for the fire! Bring

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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789 good luck to us and to our flocks!" Before the
372 family sit down to supper a small quantity of food from every dish on the table is placed upon the burning log. Some branches of a cherry tree are also put on the fire, and, when partially burnt, are taken off again and kept.

857 Soon after midnight, the boys, in companies of from
533 ten to fifteen, go singing from house to house, and receive, in reward for their carols, a ring-cake from each housewife.

527 On the Eve of St. Basil (January 1) the fire is
789 also kept burning all night, and the half-burnt cherry
787 branches are again thrown on and withdrawn, to be
[372] wholly consumed on the Eve of the Epiphany, when the ashes are collected and strewn in the vineyard. The fire of St. Basil's Eve is often watched by an expectant mother, who thus hopes to ensure an easy confinement. In the morning people wash themselves and their children with "unspoken-over" water, and draw omens from the character, gay or sad, of the person who first enters the house. A cock is also sacrificed, for it is auspicious to spill blood in the house on St. Basil's Day.

789 On the Eve of Epiphany the fire is also kept alight
[787] all night, and in the morning the character of the coming seasons is prophesied from the set of the wind. If a south wind blows, it indicates a full harvest and sickness; if the wind is from the east, a scanty harvest and a healthy year are predicted; if from the north, a late spring. The Christians, on the Feast of Epiphany, sprinkle their vineyards with holy water, in the hope of ensuring a plentiful crop of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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grapes. They also place at the four corners of each 789
plot four vine stems tied together with straw bands, and under them a piece of a cake called a *kophtopite*, made specially for the purpose, wine being one of its ingredients. A round loaf is rolled from the gate to the middle of the vineyard, and then distributed to the ravens, crows, and other birds which damage the grapes, with this invitation, "Assemble, O crows and ravens, so that we may eat and drink, and that you may do us no more harm!"

On the 1st of February, St. Tryphon's Day, it is 789
considered lucky to work in the fields, but not in the 787
vineyards. On the 2nd, the "Feast of the Puri- [372]
fication," all kinds of small pulse and cereals are cooked together in a pot, and this mess, called *karkasina*, forms the staple food of the day. On the eve of the 1st of March, a kind of divination is performed by throwing into the fire a particular kind of leaf and pronouncing at the same time the name of a member of the family. If the leaf makes an explosive noise while burning, it is held to be a good omen for the person indicated, but if it burns quietly, the reverse.[1] On this vigil a clod of earth, on which a few drops of wolf's milk have been sprinkled, is thrown against the door in order that the cows and goats may milk well. In the morning the cattle are whipped with cherry branches, in order that they may enjoy good [515]
health, and people wash themselves with wine with a view to preserving themselves from vermin during the summer. As an additional precaution, they also 789
catch a flea, which they impale on the point of a new

[1] The ancient φυλλοφορία.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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of these parti-coloured bracelets, with a tiny gold coin attached, was, on the 1st of March (Old Style), presented by the Roumanian Consul-General to each lady of his acquaintance, and I, for one, religiously wore my charm against the power of the March sun, which in the East generally is said to "blacken" the complexion, until the month was out. It was not, however, finally thrown to the swallows, but carried off by an English visitor as a curio. 527 789 777

On the 25th of this month the women go through the house beating on copper pans, in order to drive out any poisonous snakes that may have intended to take up their abode there. The two last days of March and the first of April are called *Plyáketé*, a word signifying "old," and referring to the past season, personified as "Old Mother Winter." If by the last-mentioned date Spring has not yet fully set in, the blame is laid at the door of the old women, who are evidently held to be in league with "Old Mother Winter." 789 [754]

On Easter Eve in some places, Selitza, for instance, the young men assemble with lighted torches, which they wave about as they walk in procession through the village. Arrived at the river, they throw them in, crying, "*Koré-ya* (O Maiden)! We throw thee into the water with these torches, so mayest thou never return!" the *Koré* evidently referring, as Von Hahn suggests,[1] to the malevolent supernals, Vilas, Dragonas, &c., before described. When the priest comes to bless the house on Easter Day, the women throw after him, as he leaves, hot embers from the 789 [372] [776] [788]

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 160.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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789 hearth, in order that he may take away with him all
788 danger from fire for the coming year.

St. John's Eve is observed in Albania with the
789 customary bonfire, to leap over which is considered so
372 salutary that even the old people venture to do so at least once. A curious ceremony, performed about this season, when the spring sowing is concluded, may also be here mentioned. Standing with his back to the plough, the farmer rubs part of the
[136] handle with earth in the belief that the wild swine will thus be prevented from damaging his crops.

789 On the day on which the new moon is first seen, all possible work is avoided, and no important task of any kind, such as ploughing, sowing, or harvesting, is commenced, for it would be sure to be unsuccessful. The girls and children look at the moon through a sieve, and rub their faces with a piece of silver, while they sing:

[539]

Young moon!
Young maid!
Health to me;
Ill to thee!
Head as soft as dough be thine!
Head as hard as stone be mine!

777 The 9th, 19th, and 29th days of every month are considered unlucky, as is also the Tuesday of every week, for setting out on a journey, or commencing any kind of work. Friday is also an inauspicious day
[241] for sowing, and Saturday for beginning to plough or dig.

326 make all of these implements out of trade iron, it is unlikely that the rural smiths, like the one measured in Mirdita, do much more than horseshoeing. No one in Albania can make steel implements. Not only the material, but the finished implements themselves, must be imported, and hence they are expensive. That is why saws and augers are scarce in the mountains, where almost the only steel tools seen are files, useful for sharpening iron tools and for woodworking.

[439]

322 This explains the primitive nature of Gheg woodworking. Most wooden objects which require special tools or skills are bought in the market towns. Here 3 kinds of woodworking specialists carry on their crafts: the coopers, turners, and joiners. The coopers make tubs and buckets for kitchen use, including churns, butter firkins, and casks for storing grain. The material of which these are made is pear wood. The turner cuts out on his lathe various parts for looms, to be set up later; bobbins, spools, reelers, winders, and spool frames. The joiners provide the mountaineers with solid, ornately decorated chests of pine wood, as well as cradles in which to carry their babies, of which more later.

The Gheg at home in his mountains is a jack-of-all-trades. He may not be able to manufacture the special objects listed above, but he can adze out beams for his house, put together a new plough during the winter months when there is little work out of doors, or build one of his massive chairs. Professional carpenters are rare, although some men may show more skill in this than others.

372 In Ghegnia, as in most of the primitive world known to anthropologists, it is the custom not to let fires go out, for it is hard to start a new one. Sometimes a householder will walk several miles to borrow a glowing coal from a neighbor. In 1929 and 1930 most of the Ghegs were making fire with flint and steel or with old-fashioned dry-wick lighters. They did this slyly, and in my presence only when they could not borrow a match from me. King Zog had sold the match monopoly to the Swedish match trust, which had promptly set a price of 5 cents a box on penny matches. The king had at the same time prohibited the use of flint

372 and steel or lighters. This left the mountaineers in an unenviable position—they could not afford matches nor legally start fires by other means. Outside the market towns, however, their illegal actions passed unnoticed.

342 Several authorities, particularly Nopcsa, have concerned themselves with north Albanian house types. These are usually divided, on the basis of ground plan, room arrangement, and architecture into a number of classes: simple one-roomed huts, usually employed in the summer only by shepherds on high mountain pastures; 2-roomed, one-storied houses, with one room for animals and the other for the family; the so-called veranda houses, with a wooden front porch and columns, reminiscent of the Homeric hall; and finally the *kulla* or defensible stronghold (fig. 8, *a*). 1

The 2-roomed house seems to be basic in the mountains, although historically the more complicated structures have made these edifices rare. The veranda house, although old in the Mediterranean, was apparently late to reach this refuge area, being spread with Islam. The *kulla*, or stronghold, is said to have come at the same time as the veranda house. Both reached Kastrati and Shala about 1850, being introduced by one man who had lived in Istanbul, Liho Čuni.

For building materials the Ghegs are strictly limited to local supplies, since transportation
[135] is so difficult. In the region designated on figure 2 as "serpentine highland," 2 the stone is hard to cut, and unsuited for fine masonry except in the hands of experts. Furthermore, lime is found in few places only, and it is usually impossible to make mortar without many tedious trips with pack-horses or donkeys. In this region many of the houses are made of wood, with squared logs laid on each other and held in place by vertical or diagonal crosspieces. Others are made of wattle: vertical poles side by side, with flexible wands woven in and out between them. At times this wattling is bare, but usually it is covered with some sort of plaster or mud.

[333] Where there is plenty of suitable stone and lime, these materials are used. The simpler, poorer houses are of dry masonry, but the majority are built with mortar. Roofing material varies from thatch to shakes, slate, and tile. Years ago thatch was much more com-

-14a-

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116 p. 8a -- Analyst]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in, a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes, which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to preserve them. The other serves as general living and sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green, in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor, where the grain is trodden out by horses.

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POSTSCRIPT

[492] winding road to Shijak, the village by the river
491 where the bridge begins and ends in willow groves.

Beyond Shijak the road goes over the last low
[133] hill, and twenty miles of plain lie before it, most sparsely dotted with the great white houses of the beys of central Albania. Against the eastern sky the towering mountains, with their eternal smoke of clouds, catch the last rays of the sun and make magic with it. For an hour the colors shift and change, plum purple, orange gold, mauve and violet and sea green, until at last only a pale gold moon and a silvery star shine in a lemon-yellow sky. And the seven white minarets of Tirana lift above the green of trees.

342 Dusk was on the plain, and lights were glimmering through little houses here and there, when we came to Tirana. No, the lights do not glimmer through windows; these houses of peasants on the great estates have no windows, as they have no chimneys. The light of the evening fire, built on the earthen floor, shines through walls woven of willow withes, and the smoke seeps through thatched roofs.

373 Before us twinkled the street lamps of Tirana. These are literally lamps, filled every day with kerosene and set on their poles, to be lighted with a match after the evening call to prayer from the minarets. Our little car passed between low, ghostly white walls, and stopped before the gendarmerie. An officer came out, lifted one of the street lamps from its pole and held it over the car door, the better to see us.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

from decaying beech leaves, these meadows make magnificent grazing in summer.

Where the underlying rock is serpentine, the forests in this zone are of pitch pine, not beech. Following the rock formation the pines may continue above the beech limit as on Mt Munellë in Mirditë, Mt Nezhdë, and the Peak of the Irons in Shalë. Or they may grow as low as the oak zone, adding to its amenities with their timber and pastures. In certain districts they cover whole mountain sides, while beeches fill the intervening, moister valleys; for beeches like a damp soil, and pines a dryish. Whether among the trees or in the clearings, these forests are a paradise for animals. They have other values, too. Their lower reaches are accessible enough for the peasants to cut their timber, load it on ponies, or slide it down the mountain side to their villages, there to be used for building or other simple purposes. Pine slivers are the only form of lighting in many village houses, and they also bring in a little money, finding a ready sale in towns as kindling for fires.

The pine and beech zone is mostly too high for winter use. Near the coast its tree-limit is 5200–5600 feet above sea-level. Farther inland, where one range shelters another and the soil is damper, it may be 6000 feet, as on Mt Bukanik in Shpat or Mts Munellë and Nezhdë. On Mt Gjalicë it is 7000 feet. Between the tree-limit and the summits of higher mountains there is nothing but rock, scree and treeless pastures.

This pine zone is as necessary to Albanian economy as the oak zone. On much of the treeless ground above it the grass is so coarse that sheep will not eat it at all, and horses nibble it only at the beginning of the summer season and then with distaste. The grass of the pine and beech zone is sweet and palatable even to dainty sheep throughout the summer. On the agricultural side the zone serves as a great catchment area, not only for the huge, unharnessed rivers that traverse north Albania, but also for the myriads of invaluable little streams that flow down to the agricultural districts in the oak zone. Without these streams there could be little irrigation; without irrigation there could be little agriculture. Maize must have water, and there is never enough rain in summer to supply it.

In the two areas of summer pasturage, the beech and pine zone and the treeless slopes above it, many thousands of cattle, horses, goats, and especially sheep, graze from May to October. Their

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs, especially for
137 goats and cattle, and some agriculture in clearings, but the zone
[134] derives its chief riches from the many acres of fertile alluvial soil that adjoin the rivers.

Oaks, tall or dwarf, begin sporadically among the shrubs and continue as thick forests up to a height of 2900 feet near Shkodër and 3300 feet in warmer districts. Among them grow ash, aspen, [36] chestnut, cornel, elm, hawthorn, hazel, hornbeam and limes. The majority of the 1140 villages in north Albania are found in this zone, for it best provides for Albanian needs. Though the soil is dry on the whole, it contains a sufficiency of springs. On the plateaux and gentler slopes there is enough arable land for subsistence farming, all that is possible among these rugged mountains. The copses and woods furnish winter grazing for small flocks and herds; an adjoining mountain furnishes the requisite summer feed. The [374] copses and woods also provide fuel for the log-fires that in Albanian phraseology are 'the poor man's wealth'. Leaves lopped from the [23] oak trees in autumn supply winter fodder which livestock eat with almost as much relish as they do hay, a scarcer commodity. It is this supplement to the grazing in the copses and woods which makes mixed farming possible in this zone; without it many animals could not get through the winter, and their number would [132] have to be reduced. If it is sometimes hot in the forest in summer, the heat is never unbearable, and in winter the cold is never excessive. In general the zone is healthy. A little wheat is grown, but—as everywhere in Albania, the Myzeqe plain excepted—the staple crop is maize. The grain provides food, and the livestock luxuries and government dues as well.

In the next zone beeches grow singly, in small clumps, or in mighty forests such as those between Çermenikë and Martanesh where one may walk for seven hours in the daytime and never catch a glimpse of the sun. Still without roads to carry modern woodcutters and their tools to them, such forests are in the virgin state, the trees self-sown, the strong killing the weak, and the survivors growing bigger and bigger until they succumb in extreme old age to some winter blast, when they lie and rot where they fall. When communications are developed, this waste will stop and these forests become a very valuable asset. No grass grows in them or under isolated beeches, of course, but there are usually grass meadows in the clearings, some of which are enormous. Well watered from the same sources as the beeches and fat with humus

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

of the neck for dog bite. Venous blood was let from the arm or leg for almost any illness due to bad blood, including headache. An incision was made above the veins in the hollow of the elbow, made to swell by a ligature on the upper arm, and blood extracted by means of a small cup or glass. In taking blood from the head at Levač they bind the neck, and when extracting it from the arm the operators tie a cord above the elbow. When an abdominal swelling appeared after intermittent fever it was diagnosed as a disease of the liver or the spleen. According to which side of the body it was found the doctors made a small cut in the lobe of the right or left ear and extracted a few drops of blood. The swelling was treated directly with a plaster of pine tar spread on bread, and the patient also drank a decoction of herbs, including *Artemisia*, *Malva*, *Marrubium*.

S 752

STEAMING AND FUMIGATION

Sweating is effected by bathing in hot water, by fumigation and by steaming. Throughout the territory a very usual method of procuring steam is still by the method of dropping a red-hot iron or stone into a large vessel of water, over which the patient leans or sits. Possibly this is an example of an older procedure for heating water preserved specifically in therapeutic associations, since, in daily life, it would seldom be necessary now to resort to this clumsier method, convenient only for the preparation of sherbet and hot alcoholic drinks. It is used for heating large quantities of water, when it is not convenient to do so over a fire, or when the container is of wood, but the point is still that for steaming in illness it is done when there is no practical necessity at all. This may simply be because the doctors who advise this method themselves come from a less advanced material culture environment and are often from mountain districts. Yet I have seen it done in towns, for example, at Peć, and regard it as a survival. Thus it was when a person was suffering from piles or constipation, he sat on a plank, balanced on two chairs, over a hole, and a copper pan of water was placed below him.

A S 757 374
6 [252] [273]

cliffs or passed the ends of smaller mountain ranges that ran down to the opposite banks of the Lumi Shala. There were villages over there; we saw them built against the mountains like clumps of gray swallows' nest—the villages of [376] Shoshi, with whom Shala was in blood. At the foot of the waterfall streams that dashed down their cliffs we saw now and then a little mill, flooded with water, its roof of slate hardly showing above the flood, where in drier season Shoshi ground its grain or put the loosely woven white woolen cloth to be soaked in the running water and pounded by paddle wheels until it shrank into the feltlike fabric that makes their garments. [233] 246 Here and there a red-brown or gray-white moving patch at the foot of a clump of mangled trees announced that a little shepherd was there, clinging to a tall stump and cutting twigs to throw down to the goats and sheep; we were too far away to see him. And there were other clumps of trees green with uncut leaves; always near these we saw, bronze brown among the gray rocks, structures taller than a man and shaped like a beehive. These were trees that the axes spare until the leaves are fully grown and filled with sap. Then the branches are cut and piled in a circle, the cut ends outward and the leaves to the center, layer upon layer, until the beehive shape is completed, when they are weighted down with rocks. The leaves dry, remaining green and nutritious, and slowly through the winter the curious silos are demolished armful

Albanie EG1
Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

A
Y

Other alien materials are small pieces of dyed cloth, silk ribbons, silver and gold braids and manufactured lace, often used on the sleeve edges of shirts. These materials were bought in the village shops and markets, and appear to be largely of Austrian and Italian origin; under Turkish rule they were sold in the villages by pedlars. 286 291 294

In the South and Albania, where Turkish influence is greater, there is a tendency, especially amongst the women of the towns, to wear garments made from more sumptuous materials so that, in addition to the hand-woven linens, extremely fine muslins of native make are used for shirts and aprons, and silken materials of beautiful quality for girdles, sleeves and the Moslem type of women's trousers. Fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy is also imported for the making of jeleks, giubbas and japangi, and some of the nets used for the large embroidered veils worn by many women, both Catholic and Moslem, are of foreign origin. A Y 291 439

Materials used for Embroidery and other Decorative Purposes.

These also fall into two classes, home-made and purchased. M S

The fine wools, used largely in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia, for the decorative embroidery of oshvitza, sleeves, woollen coats, aprons and the making of fringes are spun and dyed by the women themselves. Dark brown and black goat's hair is also used in the apron fringes. "Goat's hair was extensively used in the Balkans for weaving market bags, saddle-bags and floor mats in stripes. The goats, clipped in uneven ridges, looked very ridiculous." (M.E.D.). 291 294 531

Ribbons, gold and silver braid and strips of coloured cloth were purchased and used as appliqué on skirts, head dresses, aprons and caps. In older and finer examples of embroidery, silk was used, and was locally produced and dyed.

In Albania and the south silk is the usual medium for embroidery, which decorates shirts, muslin aprons and japangi, although on some head scarves from Zadrima and the Bulgarian woman's costume from Monastir, which are decorated in the well-known Turkey red, the material used is cotton or very tightly twisted wool almost like a fine cord. Both silk, woollen and cotton threads are of home production. Amongst the photographs given by Miss Durham is one of a Moslem man spinning silk on a roadside on the outskirts of Scutari (Skodar). Gold thread is much used, and strips of beaten silver and brass are worked into the headings of braids. B A 291 531

Braiding and cording are amongst the other important forms of decoration, narrow braids and ends of wool, silk and gold thread being hand plaited and twisted. Coats of the sleeveless type, both for men and women, the short jelek, the three-quarter length giubba, and the men's full trousers (Plate V. "*l*") are often decorated with cords and braids sewn down in beautiful curved designs. The "elaborate embroideries on the japangi and the handsome braided designs are usually the work of men Albanian tailors". (M.E.D.). A 291 531 294 463

Until in recent years foreign dyes, imported in small packets, were sold in the shops the women themselves dyed their materials. Most of the examples in this collection have been so coloured with vegetable dyes; black being obtained from ash bark (*Fraxinus excelsia*); green from flowering rush with the addition of copper sulphate which was got from the shops; yellow from sumach (*Rhus cotinus*); red A Y 294 386

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4

from madder; reddish brown from green walnuts (*Juglans regia*) and blue from copper sulphate.

Metallic decorations are also worn, and are almost always hand made by the men; large ornaments and belt clasps of silver or silvered brass are worn at the waist, silver coins and imitation coins are worn as a trimming to caps, and as necklaces and pendants to girdles. Ear-rings are also worn by some Slav peasants, especially Moslems. "The little ornament made of a small brass thimble and coloured beads was worn as a dangle at the end of the long pigtail. The pair of long plaits on either side of the face of the Bosnian woman in the frontispiece are ornamented with coins, tassels of beads and this thimble."

"Many of the objects worn on head-dresses are amulets to keep off the "evil eye" and include also such things as cowries and, in Bosnia, small mirrors." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER III.

Women's Costume in the Central and Coastal Areas of Yugoslavia.

The main features of the costume worn (by all but the Moslem women) in the central and coastal areas of Yugoslavia are shown by the illustration of the Orthodox Bosnian woman (see Frontispiece).

In this area three cultures have influenced costume and its decoration, Central European culture which has travelled along the river valleys from the north, Mediterranean culture through Italian influence on the Dalmatian coast, and Balkan culture with its own Oriental tendencies. The married woman's costume consists of a long or medium length *shirt*, embroidered at the neck, front-opening and on the sleeves. The shorter type is similar in style to that shown on Plate IA, and the longer to that on Plate IXA, but without the embroidery at the bottom edge. A full, fairly long *skirt* of woollen or felted cloth is worn in the winter, and in summer may be exchanged for a linen skirt, sometimes closely pleated, with wide horizontal bands of cross-stitch or embroidery. A *girdle* of either folded linen with embroidery, or a tablet-woven belt such as is shown (Plate IVe) with its end hanging down in front, is worn around the waist and helps to keep up the heavy *apron* of tapestry weaving with its deep fringe (Plate III). A *short coat* of woollen cloth with embroidered decoration, often sleeveless, is added for outdoor wear, and in winter a longer coat with side gores replaces it. This is also often sleeveless.

In the coastal area and some other parts of old Bosnia and Herzegovina a *jelek*, or zouave, is worn, similar in shape but differing in colour from those in Plates X and XI, which are from the southern area.

Married women in many districts of Bosnia wear their hair in two plaits hanging down over either shoulder in front, and as a *head-dress* have a diagonally folded kerchief, generally cream or white in colour, with the back corner embroidered and a red ribbon along the edge. In the coastal district a fringe is also added to the head-dress (Plate IVa).

On the feet thick *woollen stockings* ("sharapa") are worn, and over these, handsomely decorated short socks, which act as slippers in the house and are replaced by leather "opanke" for out-of-doors (Figure 9).

[Text continues on p. 14]

124
463

Extractive: Of the 930 men so listed, 926 were farmers, 3 shepherds, one a woodcutter. The woodcutter and one shepherd came from Luma, the other shepherd from Mirdita. Eighty-five per cent of all inhabitants of Ghegnia measured are farmers, 88 per cent of all tribesmen.

Processing: Twelve occupations are listed under processing: charcoal burner, blacksmith, tinsmith, carpenter, saddler, hatter, tailor, shoemaker, butcher, baker, cook, and pastry cook.

The 2 charcoal burners, the smith, and the carpenter were Mirdites. Their occupations are mutually dependent. As a rule iron goods are imported, and distributed by merchants in the towns. Axe heads, sickles, billhooks, and other tools of familiar Iron Age shapes are produced by craftsmen in the larger centers, such as Scutari, for the mountain trade. Minor metallurgy is usually carried on by gypsies.

[391]

The other specialists fall into a different class. None were mountain men, except one cook and one baker, both natives of Mati, who worked in the new prefecture headquarters established at Bureli, within Mati territory, by King Zog. They were there because of the impact of the new central government on the mountain tribes. Neither of these men had long been professionals.

The tinsmith, the saddler, and the hatter were natives of Peshkopia, the principal town of Dibra. Of the 3 tailors in this town, one was a native, one had come from Big Dibra, and the third from Jakova. The butcher, one of the 2 bakers, and the cook measured in Peshkopia were Big Dibra men. The pastry cook worked in Kukës, in Luma. This leaves 11 bakers. These men all came from Gonaj and neighboring villages in Has, within walking distance of Prizren. Baking is their traditional hereditary occupation. They get their flour from the gristmills of Prizren and sell their bread in that city. Many of these Hasi bakers migrate to distant cities to work. Mr. Anthony Stevens, our guide, and an employee of the U. S. State Department, began life as one of these bakers; as a boy he went to Cincinnati to work in a bakery.

It can be seen that within Gheg tribal territory processing techniques are practised almost exclusively in the eastern borderlands.

124 keepers measured, 18 were in Peshkopia. Of
463 these, 11 were locals, and 7 Big Dibra immigrants. Six shopkeepers were measured in Kukës, all Malsia e Jakovës men; 2 in Bicaj, a Luma village, were local. One Malsia e Jakovës man was measured in his own shop in Kolgecs, a local town. Thus 25 out of the 31 shopkeepers came from the eastern borderlands, from big towns or their neighborhood. The situation is the same as with the craftsmen whose goods they sell.

Four shopkeepers remain: 2 are from Malsia e Madhe, one with his shop in Scutari, the other at home. Of the other 2, one is a local in Puka, the other a local in Mirdita. The Mirdita man, who has the only shop in that tribe, claimed that his father was an Austrian officer who begat him during World War I. This would give him a maximum possible age of 14 years at the time of measuring. He was at least 30.

TECHNOLOGY, A REVIEW

000 From the foregoing study of the non-somatological data collected in our series,[1] and from what is generally known of the material culture of the Ghegs, we can make a brief summary, keeping in mind always our main purpose, to define the economic elements in the cultural situation within which the Ghegs live.

326 Cutting tools are of iron. They are made by
● 391 blacksmiths in the market towns in which the Ghegs do their trading. In Scutari, for example, there is a whole quarter devoted to smiths, most if not all of whom are gypsies. With hammer and tongs, a small anvil, and a pair of foot-pump bellows they forge nearly all of the metal objects needed by the mountaineers in their farming, herding, transport, and household carpentry. They make small anvils, hammers, nails, axes, adzes, knives, ploughshares, shovels, hoes, toothed sickles, billhooks, beam ties, door hinges, horseshoes, horse hobbles, chains, bits, firetongs, andirons, tripods, lighting racks, and probably other articles which have escaped our attention.[2]

326 There is no smelting in the neighborhood of Ghegnia. The iron which the smiths use is all imported. Although city blacksmiths can

[2] Haberlandt's, Nopcsa's, and mine. The best account of this is to be found in Haberlandt, 1917, p. 90.

--13a-

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 11a - 13a -- Analysis]

291 which is bought from silversmiths in the town, and the woman is clothed.

These costumes are undoubtedly ancient. Some of their elements may be traced back to the early Mediterranean, others to the central European Iron Age. However, the Ghegs themselves do not make all parts of them, but carry on the tradition by demand, like the Crow Indians for whom Stetson has, for decades, been manufacturing a special kind of hat.

283 The basic cloth is woven at home. The farmer gives his wife the necessary wool from his sheep, both white and black. She cards it with a homemade device, either a flick bow or a nail-studded card, and spins it. Her spinning kit consists of a distaff, a spindle, and a basket. Holding the distaff in one hand, she twists the wool with the other, and winds it onto the spindle in the basket. Whenever she has nothing else to do, or when she is walking along the trail, the Albanian housewife dutifully spins, and her spinning has soon become a reflex action, like knitting or bead-telling.

286 When she has enough wool, she begins weaving. The Albanian loom is an ordinary European 2-beam affair, similar to those used in the Hebrides and the Kentucky mountains. It has a wooden frame, 2 beams or rollers between which the warps are stretched, a wooden batten, and a foot-operated heddle. The bobbin, within its shuttle, is hand-thrown. The men buy all of the delicate parts of this loom in the town, from turners. The rest of it they make at home. The loom is kept mounted only while a length of cloth is being woven. When not in use the loom is taken apart and piled in a corner with other household impedimenta.

Once the cloth has been woven, it must, if intended for masculine use, be fulled. This involves keeping it wet, working it about, and
402 pounding it for several hours. The mountain-
286 eers employ an ingenious water-powered device for this purpose. Several writers have observed these mills; Nopcsa has drawn one.[5] I saw several. The fulling mill consists of an open-air wooden structure powered by an overshot water wheel. A smaller stream of water runs through a trough to wet the cloth. The wheelshaft is studded with four wooden

[5] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 134, fig. 99.

286 lugs or cogs, which lift up a heavy wooden
402 hammer and let it drop, 4 times for each revolution. Two staggered sets of cogs and 2 hammers give the cloth a constant pounding as long as it is left there.

No one seems to know who invented these mills or who makes them. When you encounter them along a stream, they are usually unattended. Apparently the wife, having woven her cloth, turns it over to her husband, who takes it to the mill to be fulled. There is no professional fuller, and each mill seems to belong to the group of kinsmen or neighbors who use it.

294 The women make their own clothing, for the most part of unfulled cloth. They also crochet the stockings, and stitch the opingas, worn by both sexes. The men, however, carry the fulled and heavily felted cloth to the market town, to a tailor who then cuts it in the traditional design of his client's native place, and sews up the pieces and embroiders the finished garment.

A number of other specialists are involved in the production of men's clothing and equipment. A special craftsman provides the quantities of braid with which jacket and trousers are adorned. Hatters, equipped with wooden molds to suit every variation of tribal taste, shape the felt caps, conical or truncated, white or black, which all mountaineers wear. Leather-workers, who are traditionally Turks, make ornate belts for the men, as well as saddles, bags, and straps. Special shoemakers make footgear for those who can afford it, although most wear the opingas which their wives produce from local hides. Most of the shoemakers are Kruja men, and this is a Kruja specialty. At Kukës we saw zebra hides on display outside several shops. These had been sent all the way from South Africa for the manufacture of opingas.

[322] As previously stated,* wooden buckets are made by professional coopers in towns, and
285 purchased by the mountain people, who use them in dairying and for food storage. Baskets, however, are local products; the country people often bring them to town for sale. Several villages near Scutari specialize in basket-making, and the women, who weave

*[See cat. 16, p. 136 -- Analyst]

273 Catholics in country fit
for grape-growing, make a potent red wine, which they resinate in Homeric fashion.

The Moslems, prohibited by the Koran from wine drinking, content themselves with distilled liquors. In every neighborhood one or more Moslem families will own a copper still, complete with boiler and cooling screw, which someone once bought in Scutari or another town. Neighbors borrow these stills from time to time, as American families borrow each other's ice-cream freezers. Much of the *raki*, or raisin brandy, so produced, is home distilled, but a certain amount is carried up from the towns. Green *mastica*, a vicious local variety of absinthe, is imported only.
276 Both Catholics and Moslems smoke. While a few Moslems own *narghilehs*, most tobacco addicts smoke cigarettes. The economics of cigarette smoking is that as a rule each man grows his own tobacco, and sells what he does not consume. He has to buy cigarette paper, imported from France. He has to have some kind of a lighting device, which usually runs to expense, as previously explained (see p. 13).[1] The social aspect of smoking is that it forms a ready means of polite interaction, for men give each other cigarettes, rolling and licking them for an honored guest.

[262] 252 Since the principal food of all the mountaineers, whatever their religion, is bread, usually a tough, unleavened cornbread which will keep for weeks and grow harder and harder instead of molding, one of their principal needs is some way to grind the grain. Most houses contain mortars and pestles, and many also contain hand querns, of Roman design, which the women operate. It is probable, but not certain, that all of the millstones come from the market, since suitable stone is found in few
402 areas. A large part of the grain-milling, how-
252 ever, is done in small, water-driven mills, of which there are many. These mills, homemade except for the stones, are operated by vertical-shaft paddle wheels which are in effect primitive turbines. They save the expenditure of human muscular energy, and much time. In one place in Malsia e Jakovës, I saw another kind of mill, a pounding device which consisted of a trough-shaped log set on a pivot, and equipped with a heavy hammer at one end. Water flowed into this trough until enough had entered the lower end to tip the whole,

[1] [See cut 116 p.13b --Analyst]
-17b-

252 and raise the hammer. Then when the water
402 spilled out the hammer fell, and the cycle began again. These mills have been observed by other authors as well.

Although they utilize water power so cleverly and save so much effort, these 2 kinds of mills involve no specific division of labor. Some men may be more skillful at setting them than others, but there are no professional mill-builders, and no millers. Like the fulling mills they belong to the families that use them, and
256 when not in use are unattended. In the cities, however, professional millers are to be found. Prizren, which has an ample supply of swift water running under the streets, is a milling town, and the traveler walking down the millers' street can hear the sharp ring of stone on stone for several hundred feet. These mills supply the needs of the bakers of Gonaj and Zum, and feed the citizens of Prizren. Bread from this region is of excellent quality and mountaineers coming to market often take a few loaves home.

264 The Ghegs eat one principal meal a day, late in the afternoon. In the morning a Moslem may take a small glass of *raki* for an eye-opener, and eat some bread and cheese; a Catholic will also break his fast. Both will munch a cold snack on the road or in the field for luncheon. But the time when the whole family gets together, when honored guests are entertained, comes when the day's work is over. Then the women cook the food, and the men squat around the communal table.
[352] In Moslem households the table is the only piece of furniture in evidence, aside from the omnipresent chests. Among the Catholics, each house usually contains one massive beechwood chair, made locally, which seats the head of the house or the guest of honor, and a number of low wooden stools.

Forks and other modern cutlery are usually absent. Mediaeval table manners are scrupulously observed, with all eating from the same dish, and with their fingers. Among the Moslems at least, the custom of passing a washbowl and jug of water with a towel before and after the meal is usual, as well as saying the Koranic grace, *bismillah*. At one meal which I attended at the house of Major Çen Eleze at Slatina, in Dibra, the table was at least 10 feet in diameter, the eaters numbered at

1 [See pp. 16a-16b - Analysis -18a-]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania E61
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

A 175

Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

A 175 779

The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

B 175

Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

Y A 121

However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

Y A 286 439

The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

A Y [462]

Cloths.

Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen ("platno") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshawls or kerchiefs; and "sukno", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. "The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap 'zubun', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts."* "The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material" (M.E.D.).

A S [291 286 287 402]

That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. "Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.

* Milan Karanovic. "Costume of the Women of Zmiyagne" Sarajevo, 1926.

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9). The swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6).
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8). Plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
000 forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,

[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his feud with him. The villages of these districts are generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Skiperi would Our Lady of Scutari forgive her 173
children, and return to her ancient shrine.

The scene on this day in the great square building, 796
which, with its bare walls and absence of ornament, [346]
bears little resemblance to a Romish church, is most
striking and strange. The mass performed on the
occasion is listened to by a congregation whose
waists are perfect arsenals, bristling with pistols and
yataghans of every shape and pattern. There are [291]
wild-looking, fierce-moustachioed highlanders, white- [411]
kilted Mussulmans, chieftains blazing with gold em-
broidery, and milder citizens in more homely garb, all
assembled in honour of the Madonna, before whose
shrine their ancestors had worshipped. Yet, notwith-
standing their participation in the religious rites of 577
their neighbours, the Albanians are not less tenacious 579
of their own honour than of that of the creed they
profess, any insult offered to a Christian church being
promptly retaliated upon a Moslem mosque, and *vice versâ*. Of this the following incident, which occurred
about the middle of the century, offers a striking
illustration.

A certain Tahir Mala, of Bugna, belonging to the 585
Moslem tribe of the Gascii, having married his son to
a maiden of the Christian Schialla, set out to bring
the bride home, accompanied, according to national
custom, by a numerous train, and preceded by the
tribal banners. On the return journey, they stopped,
as usual, every now and then to fire volleys into the air.
Their way, however, lying past a Christian cemetery,
the cross, standing in the midst, offered a mark for 798
their pistols too tempting to be resisted, and was soon

1: Karutz--70 E-4 (no date) 1925 E1 Europe
Albania E G1

In many cases the men shave their
302 their head completely except for a tuft of hair on top of the head.
291 This tuft is left by them to grow into a long lock. In the south their dress resembles that of the Greeks. In the north it varies from the town to the country, and in the countryside it varies again according to the different regions. In Scutari the Catholics wear wide, pleated black breeches which among the men reach down below the knees, and among the women down to the ankles. Further they wear white stockings, a short lower jacket with attached long sleeves and a sleeveless top jacket. In addition the women wear an embroidered sleeveless coat. The Mohammedans wear the pleated coat (fustan) that weighs several kilograms and remains short in central and southern Albania. It consists of several hundreds of long, narrow strips of linen cloth sewn together. A cotton or silk belt holds the coat, and the weapons are clamped inside a leather belt. To this are added a lower and a top jacket. The Mohammedan women wear very wide breeches and richly embroidered mantles with long sleeves that have slits in them. The fustan is regarded as being ancient Illyrian and is believed to have been developed from the kilt; it has been attested in the surviving artistic monuments in Mycenae and on ancient Crete, as well as in the Palaeolithic caves of northern Spain. The rural population wears, likewise as an ancient Illyrian inheritance, a small, tightly-fitting, semi-spherical felt cap which does not cover much more than the top of the head, and is found represented among the "Barbarians" of the victory monument of Adam-Klissi. Tightly fitting sheep's wool trousers with two transverse slits in the region of the groin, which by some are considered Slavic, by others Thracian, an under jacket with sleeves, and a sleeveless vest, a mantle and a fur coat are also worn by the rural people. For these types of clothing evidences have again been
[462] discovered from antiquity. In the mode of life, the working of the
252 fields by the woman is regarded as an ancient cultural tradition; in the same category are placed the baking of flat cakes under the baking bell, the cooking of blood, fat, meat, and spices in a goat's stomach which is turned to and fro over the red hot coal embers, the cooking of wheat grains without prviously grinding them, the hand mill (Figure
412 14). and the turbine mill (Figure 10). The latter's grindstones lie five to six feet above the water wheel into whose spoon-like spokes the water
312 is poured from a steeply inclined conduit. Still belonging to the ancient cultural heritage are the watering of the field by means of canals and wooden conduits, something which is regulated by the family because of the dearth of water--Figure 16 shows a marking post, one and one-half meters high.

[see Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a--Analyst]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in, a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes, which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to preserve them. The other serves as general living and sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof. Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green, in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor, where the grain is trodden out by horses.

The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the 342
street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, 363
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the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are 415
hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride 411
of every family.

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are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high 711
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EG1 Albania EG1

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183 They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly
Courageous.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 if compelled to do so, in order to show how great is her regret at leaving the paternal roof.[1] In fact, her behaviour throughout is intended to typify her reluctance to exchange the single for the married state. Meantime the guests divert themselves with liqueurs, [262 463] coffee, and sweets, and the performances of the professional musicians hired for the occasion.

About ten o'clock a cart arrives from the bridegroom's abode to fetch the bride's baggage, which is [415 531] packed in a large wooden box ornamented with designs of flowers rudely executed. When it starts every one shouts, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!), and among the Christians, several women accompany the cart [788] outside the gate, sprinkling both it and its contents with holy water. A few minutes afterwards, all the male guests invited by the bridegroom's friends set out, preceded by his father, who leads a richly caparisoned horse on which the bride will ride home. As they leave the house the women sing:

[539]

Happy may thy journey be,
Eldest of our family.
Holy sign of cross now make,
To the right thy way then take.
If to us thou bring fair bride,
May the sugar-plums taste sweet,
If a foul one by thy side
That they bitter taste were meet.

585 Arrived at their destination, the party range them-
262 selves around the courtyard, where glasses of cognac and water, and sweets and sugar-plums of various kinds

[1] The Mongols of Tibet observe a similar custom. See *Journal of Sarat Chandra Das*, published by the Royal Geographical Society.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER III

THE ALBANIAN HOUSE

342 At its simplest an Albanian peasant's house was very simple indeed—no more than a small, square room with walls of undressed stones from the nearest stream; a man so poor had no money or time to spend on transporting better materials from a distance. The stones were bedded in mud and bound together every three feet or so by horizontal beams; in their turn the 'belts' were strengthened, particularly at the corners, by cross-timbers. The roof was a steep framework of timber covered with stone slabs but never with thatch or boards, for the house would stand no chance if an enemy flung a blazing firebrand on these. The doorway was low, but the wooden door, emblematic of the insecurity that lasted until Turkish rule ended, was strong enough not to be easily [354] broken down from outside. In most cases there was not even a hole in the wall for window, and there was never a chimney—a ring of stones in the middle kept the log-fire in its place, and the smoke found its own way out between the rafters unhampered by a ceiling. A kitchen-crook, a most important article, was suspended over the fire from a tie-beam. The floor was of beaten earth. In sum, the house was the most rudimentary type of stone and timber architecture.

352 415 The furnishings were in keeping. They consisted of a three-legged stool or two, a box or pile of bedding but no bedsteads, a rough shelf with a frying-pan and a few platters and pots, a big metal jug for boiling water, an earthenware pot for holding drinking water, a round dining-table on stumpy supports about ten inches high, a flour-bin, a pan for mixing bread, perhaps a pan for baking it, and nothing for washing—the nearest stream served for that. A metal tray with coffee cups inverted to keep them clean and a tiny pot with a long handle for making Turkish coffee rested by the hearth, a few satchels of home-dressed wool and a distaff hung on the wall, and a hen stared at the company from her nest under [353] the eaves. The only ornaments were yellow maize-cobs, rosy pomegranates, and strings of onions or garlic, all hanging from the 000 tie-beams. At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the 264
door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but [562]
warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight
because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh',
she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable
than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table
everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat
course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and
any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their [515]
own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed
them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and
tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or
at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his [272]
deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never
leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee.
Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee [415]
without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes
and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons 592
a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories.
All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first
and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and
probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under
the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For
instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in
Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923,
and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The 342
houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern 513
of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bed-
room for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards.
Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all
sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often
served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried
or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and
the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was 592
the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits
could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect
one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest
possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent,
public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

352 two transverse ledges nailed to them and serving as feet (Figure 11):[2] low, three-legged stools and semicircular arm chairs; bedsteads of posts rammed into the ground, floors made of boards or intertwined switches, and heaped up hay or ferns (Figure 11);[2] cradles which are
●415 carried like a rucksack on the back. Among the kitchen utensil the baking bowl is important; it is made red hot and then the dough is placed in it and the baking bell is placed over it, on top of which embers are again heaped. Large wooden tubs with hoops of hazelnut are used to keep the wine, and smaller ones for water, butter, and brine for the cheese; sacks of sheep's or goat's hide are used to keep
354 milk. The open hearth fire, at the same time heating and cooking place, is situated in the center of the living room in a depression filled with loam; above it is suspended the kettle by a bent branch in its natural state, or by an iron chain; to the side of the fireplace a recess has been made into the wall to form a niche for the stove bench. Originally any kind of outlet for the smoke was lacking, then a hole for the smoke was left open, a flue was added; but it was not till later that proper fireplaces with a chimney were constructed.

/99: Illustrations./

/100/ The Albanians

II.

000 1. Woman from the Arbrie on the highland pastures of Kalmak. 2. Mohammedan Albanian. 3. Women from Scutari with wide breeches. 4. North Albanian shepherdess. 5. North Albanian woman with a wide apron. 6. Swimming bag and a raft of intertwined willow twigs floating on swimming bags; on the raft the swimmer's bundle of clothing. 7. Ferry made of a double canoe with planks raising the edge. 8. Canoe with booms on both sides. 9. Wooden plow. 10. Cross-section of a turbine mill. 11. Husking of corn by means of threshing flails. 12. Two-wheeled ox-cart. 13. Albanian from the region near Dibro. 14. Hand mill. 15. A pouch made of beech tree bark used for picking berries. 16. Peg with markings for water line use.[1]

142 The Albanians are amply medium-sized, powerfully built, mostly with short heads, with a narrow, long face. Blue eyes and
000 light hair occur not infrequently. In many cases the men shave their

[1] [For illustrations, see 1: Karutz, El Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a--Analyst]
[2] [See 1: Karutz, El Europe, Cat. 116, p. 67a--Analyst]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
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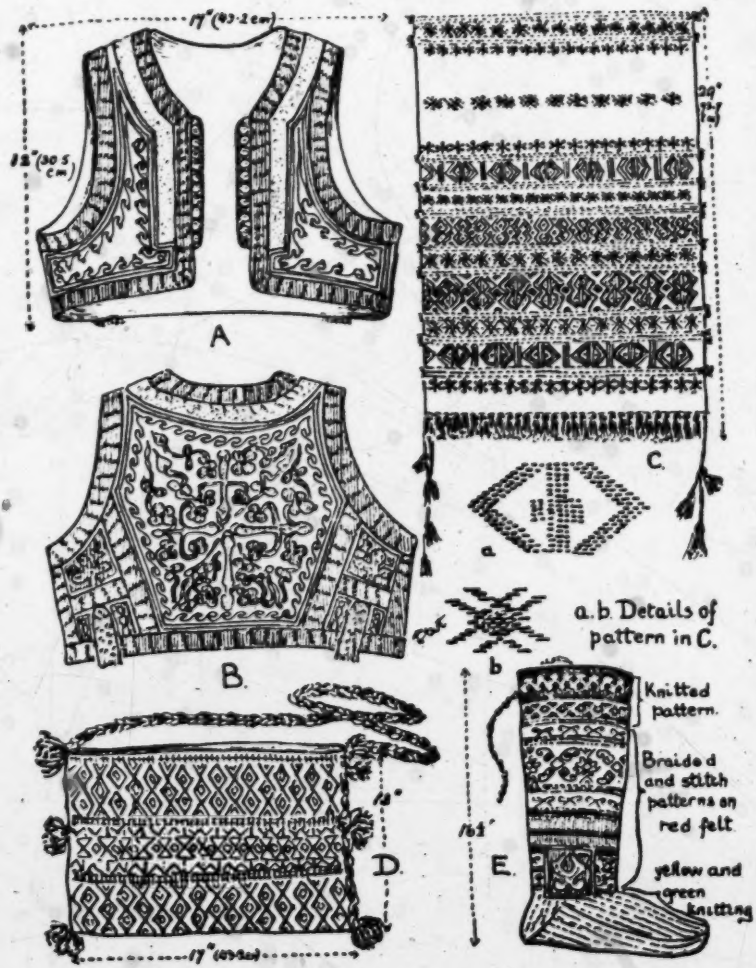

PLATE X.—A Zadrima woman's garments. A, B, Front and back of jelek. C, Half of head scarf. D, Knapsack market bag. E, Legging.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania E61

342 low-pitched roof is tiled in red, with dormer-like smoke-
712 holes, or tall, lidded chimneys. The strong wooden doors are round or square at the top ; the doorways often formed by lintels and side-pieces of wood, or arched with stone. Windows are few, and very small, often mere loopholes or slits a few inches across. Glass is rare : the openings may be barred by twisted twigs. In the stone houses they are often outlined by a frame of regularly shaped and spaced blocks. The guest-room is lighted by rather larger windows, which are nowadays generally glazed, though old-fashioned paper windows still linger in some parts. The side of the house facing the road is blind, though sometimes a few narrow slits are pierced just under the eaves.

The peasants themselves give as a reason for building
342 such fortress-like houses that they have lived so long in
712 dread of hereditary enemies, often very numerous because
627 of the constant blood-feuds. These, like feuds in all countries, often arose over a woman, a runaway or a stolen wife. They said to me frankly : "Under Turkey we could pursue our wives, and kill them with their lovers ; but now we are forbidden to do this. A slit is wide enough for us to shoot through, not wide enough for us to be shot at. No enemy can see into the house through it, let alone climb in by it. And then a woman cannot go out by it to keep a tryst, nor can a man come in to find her." For similar reasons, all these dwellings have inside sanitation—small
[514] apse-like closets built of the same material as the house, and apparently clinging to it.

352 The ground floor contains the small dark kitchens where the women and children eat their meals. They have floors of hard earth, and fireplaces of the huge projecting kind, or
[354] small open fires with smoke-holes above, with a few cooking-
[415] vessels of baked clay set at their edges : the flour-chest stands behind the door. On either side are the storerooms. An open-fronted shed holds the carts and ploughs, with the
343 stables and barn not far off. The stable is lofty, its roof of bare rafters being continuous with the roof of the first floor, so that one may look down on the horses through the slits in the end rooms of this storey.

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooo trembling like a convalescent, but with fever gone and my lungs merely aching. I suggest the remedy for what it is worth.

• [417] The byraktor received us at his gateway, for his house was surrounded by a high fence, almost a stockade, of woven branches. He was a tall, keen, quick man; bright, dark eyes and aquiline nose and thin, flexible lips, framed by the white turban's fold beneath his chin; a jacket of black sheep's wool; one massive jeweled silver chain on his breast. His swift smile was warm and beautiful, but one had a sense of reservations behind it; he welcomed the audacious Shala man without a quiver, and ushered us up the stone steps to the second floor of his house.

[342] There were several rooms,[1] divided from the main large one by partitions of woven willow boughs, and from the large room a high, arched doorway in the stone wall led into farther regions.

592 At least forty men and women and children—five generations—were around the fire on the floor.[1] There was a little flurry of welcome and rearrangement, and in a moment we were in the center of the circle, sitting on thick mats of woven straw, while the byraktor made our coffee in the coals.

[309] The women were beautifully dressed; I had not seen so much elegance of embroidery, of colored headkerchiefs, earrings, and chains of silver and gold coins. Their dark, beautifully modeled faces, large dark eyes, and heavy braids of black hair were set off by the profusion of rich

[1] [House of war chief of Shoshi—] [252] [Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

greediest man would not venture to disturb the cairn or to steal land for which another had lost his life. 423 628 [425]

Near boundaries of villages and tribes might be won with a boulder and distant boundaries with a slab of rock. In the former event what was a contest in throwing the heavy weight took place; in so poor a country the weight could only be a stone. When the two tribes had quarrelled over a boundary each selected a champion athlete to throw the weight. Whichever threw it farthest won the land in dispute for the tribe. Father Gjeçov does not make it clear where the men stood for the throw. When more distant boundaries were in question, each champion carried a slab of stone or a rock on his back until he dropped under it. The one who held out longest won all the ground he had covered for his tribe.

The relations between a boundary and adjoining structures, such as a fence, wall or house, and natural features like hedges, trees and ditches, were as carefully regulated as the site of the boundary.

A fence or a wall generally enclosed a farmyard and sometimes a field, a vineyard or the like. Fences were made of hurdles or, much oftener, withered Christ's Thorn, depending on what grew in the locality. In the marshes at the mouth of the river Mat withies were interlaced between living willow trees planted like posts in the ditches surrounding the fields. In well-watered areas inland hedges of living Christ's Thorn were common. Walls were usually dry, like Scottish dykes; the more pretentious had their stones bedded in mud. Dry or mud, they were rare round fields, because fences were easier to make and less trouble to maintain. In upland pastures there were neither fences nor walls, presumably because the boundaries were too long. The rules for both fences and walls were pretty much the same. 417 351

When an old farmyard was divided between two brothers or cousins who were on friendly terms, their respective portions were separated only by boundary stones. When they were not on friendly terms what they did depended on the degree of their enmity. If not embittered, they built a wall three spans wide (60 cm.) or a fence, centred exactly over the boundary line and possibly broken by a door that led from one yard to the other. Each built half of the barrier and became the recognized proprietor of what he built. When it was a wall he made a square niche on his own side to mark his ownership. When it was a fence he had no such material way of safeguarding his rights but could always rely on 417 423 596

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

417 public memory. If only one of the two wanted a barrier, he had to
423 build it unaided and entirely on his own ground, leaving the
596 boundary stones on his neighbour's side. In this case its position relative to these stones was enough to show whose it was, but he nevertheless constructed the usual niche on his own side. He could not, however, build the wall right against the boundary stones but had to leave its width free between them and its outer base. For the law said that any rain that fell on a man's house or wall must run off on his own ground and not damage his neighbour's property. It needed no legal compulsion, of course, to make him construct the various buildings in his own yard in such a position that their drips did not damage his fence. Incidentally the 60 cm. of free space served at need for a footpath. When two brothers were embittered, each built a partition wall, naturally without a communicating door.

685 If a man wilfully damaged a tree or other property on his neighbour's land he had to answer for his crime by paying damages. If a stranger who did not know he was trespassing on another's property and was not warned off by a shout from the owner did similar damage, he, too, had to appear before the elders.
[672] But if he could prove ignorance of trespass, he had no damage to
[351] pay. To keep animals under control so that they should not stray to another's property, a wall or at least a fence round the yard was an essential concomitant of a house. This too had to be its own thickness inside its owner's boundary to guarantee that rain drips
[442] did not damage the ground next door. In the Malësi e Madhe the man building the wall could claim any timber that during building operations fell not more than half-way down on his neighbour's side. But whatever fell more than half-way or reached the ground—even the scrap of land he had left himself between the wall and the boundary—became his neighbour's. This discrimination applied to every form of wall.

351 Sometimes when one of two brothers was enclosing his yard he
596 was permitted to utilize his neighbour's wall for one side of his
417 enclosure. There was no risk of this confusing the ownership of the wall, for the neighbour, when building it, had not only put a proprietor's niche on his own side but had also left the boundary stones outside so that they fell within the new yard. A more distant relative could not utilize an existing wall, but had to build one of his own, parallel to the neighbour's and distant by the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

regulation width from the boundary. If this involved him in more 351
expense it also saved him and his descendants from ever quarrelling 596
about the wall. It also gave his dog room enough to run round his 417
house at night, a not unimportant point. But even a brother could not be allowed to erect a building against his neighbour's wall. The risk from the drips of rain from it was too serious.

If one neighbour wished to fence or wall in his field he did 598
no wrong, strictly speaking, by building the barrier along the 423
middle of the grass-grown footpath along the boundary between 417
fields, and so on the very boundary line. But this caused so many quarrels that in Mirditë and the Malësi e Madhe the law bade him leave the width of his barrier free between its outer base and the boundary, just as he must do when building a wall across his courtyard. In its wisdom the law was providing for the future.

Theoretically, a man could not only build his fence or wall 423
along a boundary line, but could also ask his neighbour to make 685
half of it. In practice, however, the neighbour might be too lazy 417
or might say he was too poor or too ill to do his bit. In Kastrat[1] he could be fined 250 grosh and three rams for his unneighbourliness, and this possibility sometimes drove him to action. In the ingenious Malësi e Madhe the first man might in malice run up a fence parallel to the boundary but with an opening sixteen spans (3·20 metres) wide at either end. This ensured that his animals strayed through the opening on to his bad neighbour's field and ate it up. To give the neighbour no chance to make him move his fence he ran it up four spans, half the width of the horse-track, from the boundary. Most men, however, preferred to make the whole fence themselves, constructing it at least half the width of a footpath from the boundary. If two neighbours made half the fence each, but one made his half badly, this man was at fault—whether his sheep strayed into the good fencer's field or the good fencer's into his. The loss always fell on him; in the first case he had to compensate his neighbour, and in the second he had no right to be compensated for the damage done by the animals. 417

Sometimes a man wished to fence in a field which was bounded by a road. In Krasniqë and some other hilly districts he had to leave a strip of his land as well to allow for the fence slipping down on to the road, an ever likely possibility.

Most hedges of dead thorn were directly over the boundary line, 417 685

[1] See Appendix, Document V, § 11, p. 264.

417 and if properly placed to begin with, caused no trouble. The same
685 was true of living hedges inland. On the other hand, living hedges in the marshy areas near the mouth of the river Mat sometimes
[241] grew so tall that they damaged the neighbouring land with their shade. To prevent this, the owner had to lop overgrown trees once every three years. Failing this, his neighbour could complain to the headman; inevitably they gave him leave to cut the trees down to the root on the owner's ground, an intrusion that was in itself a punishment, and fined the owner 250–450 grosh for breaking the law about lopping.

423 Similar rules regulated the planting of fruit and other trees, olives
245 being included among the former. In Mirditë a fruit tree might be planted only 5 'feet' (1 metre) from the boundary; another kind had to be at least 10 feet away. In Godolesh, a great fruit-growing area, a fruit tree could be planted on the very boundary, but in adjacent Labinot it had to be a span away. In Shkrel it could be planted anywhere on one's own ground, as it never caused trouble
[685] by itself. As with living hedges, care had to be taken that a tree did not cast harmful shade over a neighbour's land. If one did so in Shkrel the owner agreed amicably to lop it, raising no objections unless he had already quarrelled with his neighbour over something else. In Mirditë he was bound to lop the offending branches; if he failed to do so his neighbour could lop them as high as he could reach with a hook, the handle of which did not exceed 3½ spans in length. In the mountains of Lesh the owner had to uproot the tree or to pay annual damages to his neighbour. In Godolesh the neighbour was entitled to stretch as far as he could and cut the too luxuriant branches with his short-handled axe. If a tree was doing no damage to neighbouring ground, it could not be lopped except by its owner. A man who transgressed this law in Mirditë had to pay its owner 500 grosh.

312 Sometimes an open drain adjoined a boundary. When it was
423 first cut, each of the two neighbours provided half the ground
476 required, did half the work and retained the earth excavated from his own side. Three stones, one big and two small, were left at the head to mark the boundary; the two other sets, normally placed in the middle and at the foot, were removed to make room for the water; as the drain discharged into a bigger channel, they could not possibly be left at the foot. The boundary naturally ran exactly down the middle. In most places the drain had to be cleared out

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

685 of theft which were no less universally regarded as shameful. A man who stole from another with whom he had broken bread as host or guest disgraced himself for ever. A woman must not steal for fun or spite. If she did, not only her husband's family, but the whole village felt ashamed and took steps to deal with her.

[672] The accomplice who helped the thief, the host who fed him and the receiver who hid the booty were all considered as no less guilty than the thief himself. 'A thief and his host are the same', and 'Like thief, like receiver' were common sayings. All had to suffer punishment in proportion to their share in the crime and booty. The owner of stolen goods had the right to remove them from the premises of a receiver and to claim compensation, and the receiver had no legal claim for redress as against the thief. On the other hand, if a man bought stolen goods in good faith he had to give them back to the rightful owner, but he was entitled to recover what he had paid for them from the thief.

All possible means of protection against theft were adopted by the mountain peoples. Every man carried a gun by day, and slept with it beside him at night. Dogs were kept in every house and 231 sheepfold. Domestic animals were branded with a mark that could not be destroyed, as when sheep had both their ears notched. [351] Farmyards were surrounded by walls too high to scale and had stout wooden gates heavily bolted at night. Thieves, however, could [417] make holes in the mud and stone walls, and frequently forced an entry that way. The walls of many village shops were lined with wood, so that a thief's chisel, striking it, would make sufficient noise to put the householder on the alert.

[625] In Turkish times many villages sent out armed patrols every night, composed not of professionals like the night watchman of the towns, but of unpaid villagers who served in turn as directed by the village headman. When there was danger of sheep-stealing on a large scale, the threatened villages sometimes bought the protection of some strong man. For example, the villagers of Reç, now in Yugoslavia, hired protection from sheep-stealers of Dibër by paying the Kaloshi family of Dibër a thousand napoleons a year. Nor were the parties deterred from contracting together by the fact that the Kaloshis were Moslems and Albanians, and the villagers of Reç were Orthodox and Macedonian Bulgars.

627 In the extreme north and south of the mountains, guns could 695 legitimately be used when a thief was caught in the act of breaking

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939) 1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad, made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece. 352 [417]

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder. [342]

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples, in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. [531] These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching up to the low roof. [354]

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the 264 516 562

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view. 342 712

Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects are placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwork and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81). 342 342 354 [417] [352]

Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 39, 41). 351 [712]

The kuker is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The koš for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure. 343 [251] [71]

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

● 421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.

689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

we said little. The sheets of rain blurred our sight, and the sound of it dulled our hearing. But when we began cautiously to climb the slippery trail that edged up the mountain side, exercise had begun to warm us, and we escaped from the silence which is to human beings a more unfamiliar element than water.

421 "How can he be the richest man in the Five Tribes? I thought these people were communistic," said Alex.

"The tribes own only lands and houses and most of the forests," said Perolli. "A man or a family can own flocks, or buy and sell when they go down to the cities. Sadiri Luka's the richest man because he went down to Ipek. He was a merchant there, and everyone is rich in Ipek. How I wish I might show you that valley, my own valley—it is more beautiful than you can imagine. There are such rich fields—the cows stand knee deep there in greenness like a carpet—and the best fruits of all the Balkans grow there. And butter, and honey, and fine flour, and quantities of the finest wool that makes the beautiful rugs of my people—there is everything in Ipek that you could wish to have, and both hands running over. I mean," he added, grimly, "there *was*. Yes, Ipek was a rich and happy place before the Serbs came. And if Sadiri Luka——" He broke off, on such a savage note that we were startled.

"You see," he resumed with a note of eagerness, stopping to point with his staff, "just over

[Sadiri Luka of upper

 Thetis --Analysis]

[Constitution]

642 All activities of the administrative organs of the state and courts must be based on law.

TITLE II

Social and Economic Measures

ARTICLE 5

471 In the People's Republic of Albania the means of production comprises all the wealth of the people owned by the state, the cooperative organizations of the people, and private individuals whether real or legal entities.

The wealth of the people includes mines and all other sub-surface resources, as well as waterways, natural wealth, forests, pasture land, airways, postal service, telegraph, telephone, radio stations, and banks.

[439] Foreign trade is under the control of the state.

ARTICLE 6

185 In order to protect the vital interests of the people and to improve the standard of living and in order to exploit all the economical forces the state undertakes to direct the economic life and development by an overall planned economy. The state, by controlling its economy and the cooperatives, exercises a general control over private economy as well.

[575] The state, in order to carry out the general economic plan, relies on the trade unions of the working men and civil servants, the cooperatives of the peasants, and other organizations of the laboring masses.

ARTICLE 7

471 The state regulates and directs by law the use of the collective wealth of the people. The collective wealth of the people is especially favored by the state.

ARTICLE 8

474 The state is especially interested in the cooperative movement of the people which it favors and assists.

ARTICLE 9

421 Private property and private initiative are guaranteed
[428] by the state. Private inheritance is guaranteed. Nobody may use private property to the detriment of the public.

[Constitution]

Private property may be limited, and when the general 421
welfare of the community calls for it, it may be expropriated [425]
by a law, which shall provide in each case what the amount of compensation shall be to the owner.

Likewise other branches of economy or enterprises may 471
also be nationalized whenever the interest of the people demands or requires it.

Monopolies, trusts, cartels, etc., created for the purpose of imposing prices and monopolizing markets to the detriment of national economy, are prohibited.

ARTICLE 10

The land belongs to those who till it. The conditions 423
under which an institution or a person can own land which they do not cultivate shall be established by law.

Large estates may under no circumstances be owned by private individuals.

The maximum amount of land that may be owned individually is determined by law.

The state especially favors and protects the small and 652
middle peasants by its economic policy, by means of credit, and by its taxation system.

ARTICLE 11

The state, by means of economic and other measures, 466
encourages the working classes to unite and organize themselves against economic exploitation.

The state protects the workers by guaranteeing them the right to organize, by limiting their hours of work, and by establishing minimum wages. The state supports the workers by means of social security laws and vacations with pay at the expense of the employers.

The state especially protects minors by regulating their 464
employment.

TITLE III

Rights and Duties of Citizens

ARTICLE 12

All citizens are equal before the law. They must obey 641
the Constitution and all laws of the land.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER IV

THE ALBANIAN HOUSEHOLD

Society in the Albanian mountains was patrilineal, and took so little account of women that whereas the names of ancestors in the male line might be known for as many as twenty generations, those in the female line were forgotten after two or three. In the words of the Unwritten Law 'a man has blood, and a woman kin', i.e. a man has a pedigree, and a woman her own relatives, and 'a woman is anybody's daughter', i.e. comes from anywhere and has no pedigree.

As usual in patrilineal societies, all property and rights were vested in the men. So when a man married, his house belonged to him exclusively and not at all to his wife, neither priest nor law having bound him to endow her with his worldly goods. The Unwritten Law states further that 'a wife is a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was in her husband's house to bear his children. It was also understood, however, that she must take an active part in the work of both the farm and the house. In consequence, the wife in a household containing only a married pair and their small children led a life of almost unrelieved hardship, all the relaxations and leisure going to the husband. Since the Unwritten Law forbade her to have any dealings with the outside world until she was old, she stayed at home to work while her husband went to market to shop and sell, visited government offices to discuss the payment—or non-payment—of his taxes, and arranged the future marriages of his children. Whether it was a kerchief, a daughter-in-law, or nothing at all that he bought for her, he never consulted her wishes and she might not murmur openly at his choice. Nor might she remonstrate with him if he idled when at home; any such criticism would only make him beat her. The Unwritten Law said that the husband was the head of the wife and might punish her for indiscipline as well as misconduct. There was plenty of secret grumbling of course. Thus a pretty young woman in Mat was heard to complain that her husband spent all the money he could find on coffee and cigarettes for himself and left her, after five years of marriage, 'without a rag to her back'. 'And it's for him I toil

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

a man willing to burn women and children to death and to harm 685 property; in Shpat property was so sacrosanct that one must not 628 touch even 'the leaf of the leek' belonging to one's enemy. [421]

When the community decided to burn out a man whom they 682 had sentenced to banishment for committing a heinous murder, 628 their numbers and their power to exclude him completely from the tribal life made it impossible for him to resist. It was otherwise with the victim's kin. For want of power to exclude the murderer from more than their own section of tribal life they could not make him submit tamely, and in their attempts to use force they were often baffled by the fire-resisting principles on which most mountain houses were built. With the walls of stone, only the roof and [342] the outer door were inflammable, and with no matches available these could only be set alight by blazing brands, probably of pitch pine, brought from another house. If the murderer was a rich man, he lived in a house surrounded by a courtyard wide enough to keep incendiaries at a safe distance from both roof and doorway; one or two towers in the walls of the courtyard sufficiently protected its gateway. If the murderer was poor, his house had no courtyard. But like the rich man's, it consisted of two or more storeys, the stable on the ground floor and the living-rooms above. The roof was, therefore, too high for the avenger to throw firebrands among the rafters. The door was surmounted by machicoulis through which the defenders could shoot or pour boiling water, and loopholes at the corners of the living-rooms commanded the approaches; in cases of bitter feud the door was sometimes covered outside with tin plates. Windows in a stable being thought unnecessary, the door was the only break in the solid walls of the ground floor. Sometimes avengers who were weak in guns hired men to fire the murderer's house. These hirelings came especially from Mirditë, for Mirdites were notoriously brave enough to face the risk entailed and poor enough to think only of the money offered; this amounted to some thirty napoleons (£40 in the 1930's) per man.

When an avenger burned down the murderer's house in hot blood, his motive was to do the murderer as much damage as possible. When he burned it down in cold blood, his motive was to drive the murderer into the open to be shot at. A murderer not infrequently shut himself up in his house during the daytime and stirred outside only at night, so remaining beyond the avenger's reach. When his house was set on fire, he knew that if he remained

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

562 *628 672 784 woman was sometimes shot accidentally in a man's stead in spite of the tabu. In that unhappy event in Kurbin a woman in the murderer's family might be killed in return. If, too, a feud was unusually bitter, as was, for instance, the Kaloshi family one in Dibër, all barriers of law and disgrace were thrown down; 'kill at all costs' was the order of the day, and in its execution women and children were as likely as men to suffer.

This tabu on killing women had several sources. In the first place, a woman was 'a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was the vehicle by which a family was carried on, and killing her might mean the loss of more than one man to her husband's family. Then she carried no arms, and therefore was classed with old men, children, and lunatics as safe from an avenger. Again, she was [421] always regarded as an article of property, belonging in her maiden days to her father and afterwards to her husband; her father had the right to her work till she married, and her husband afterwards; in token of this work her father sold her dear, and her husband bought her dear. Articles of property could not be damaged in the course of blood feuds. There was also the feeling that it was a disgrace for a 'strong' man to kill anything so inferior as a woman.

The tabu on killing women was so strong that when one committed a murder, not she but one of the males in the family expiated the crime, if expiation were possible. Murders by women fell into two categories, the first outside and the second inside the family. In both cases the murderess might commit the crime on her own account or butt into a men's quarrel to avenge a murdered relative.

*628 672 One more class of expiator remains to be considered. It sometimes happened that a man hired an outsider to kill his enemy. In [754] the Breg i Matit some held that such a man was a 'witch', and 676 since witches could not have blood feuds, he must go scot-free and his hireling suffer, like any other murderer. In most places, if the instigator could not be discovered, or if time was passing without vengeance being taken on him, the hireling was killed. These practices were exceptional, and in general the feud was credited to the principal rather than to the subordinate who fired the fatal shot.

[554] Vanity as well as justice came into the question, for the instigator was usually a more important person than his instrument, and killing him brought the avenger more glory.

4: Garnett: B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

 585
[539]

Lower your crests, ye mountains high,
That we may the moon descry
Sailing through the azure sky.
Our bride her mother's counsels heard,
Who said, "My daughter, mark my word,
Love and respect your father new."
"That, mother will I gladly do—
I'll love and honour him alway
Who's given to me a bridegroom gay."

On Monday morning, the homes of both bride and bridegroom are thronged with guests, sometimes to the number of several hundreds. Each one brings an *oka*[1] of coffee and another of sugar for the benefit of the house, and at the same time presents the bride with a gold coin, the value of which varies with the degree of relationship of the giver. These coins are subsequently strung into necklaces, and constitute part of the personal property of a married woman. [431] [422] [302]

At early dawn the bride is dressed in her wedding finery, decked with all her jewels, and, at sunrise, is led to a corner of the principal reception-room. Here custom requires her to stand, motionless and speechless, with downcast eyes and hands crossed on her breast, until she starts for her new home. Two women, posted at either side, keep watch and ward over her, and the rest of the female guests, seated round the room on the divans, stare at the poor girl as if she were the idol of their worship. At meal-times, on this and the two following days, she eats alone, covered with a veil, though if she is anxious to make a good impression she will partake of food only

[1] About 2¾ lbs. avoirdupois.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

family's means permitted, and that there was a sufficiency of 592
coffee, sugar and cigarettes to maintain its dignity with visitors. He must also pay government dues and instalments of the price of any bride who was marrying into the family. Until the newer ways of to-day came in, he had further to buy a rifle for every youth in the family who came of military age. If he sent another man to market in his stead, as he was entitled to do, he often put a reserve price on the produce and always instructed his deputy about what he was to buy. On his return the latter must give a full account of his stewardship, saying what he had received for the produce and what he had spent, proving that he had made no unauthorized purchases, and handing over the remaining money intact. If the master grew so physically incapacitated that he could no longer make the long, arduous journey over the mountains to market (*pazàr*), he usually appointed one of the others, preferably the future master, to the permanent post of 'bazaar-man'. The latter then kept the family purse, but in other respects remained subordinate to the master.

It resulted naturally from the master's hold on the family purse [426]
that only he could lend money or contract a debt recoverable in law. If any of his subordinates made a loan or pledged the family credit on behalf of a friend, the borrower might lawfully repudiate the debt on the plea that it was not lawfully contracted. Generally, however, the master first scolded the culprit well for transgressing the law and then told the borrower that the loan was made on his authority, so leaving him no option but to repay it. In the same way, when subordinates borrowed, both they and the master were within their rights if they said the loan was illegally contracted and refused to repay it. More often than not, for the honour of the family, the master paid up. Again, in such matters as going surety for a loan, a woman's chastity, or a man's life, which were great features of Albanian life, only the master might act, subject to one
exception. Each man's rifle and revolver were his personal [422]
property—to keep, to barter, to sell or to pledge without any reference to the master. Consequently, each subordinate might go surety up to the value of his arms. He usually did so with circumspection, however, for if he lost them he must not ask the master to
replace them. The master was also responsible for any material 592
damage done to a neighbour by his subordinates. If, for instance, 672
they had stolen or killed a cow, or had set fire to a haystack, it was

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

500 to 50 *grosh* ('piastres') a year, payable in two instalments, the first after six months' service and the second at the end of his term. 357

According to a list from Shkrel where wages were still on an 'all-found' basis, a servant must be given a complete set of clothes [491] —a shirt, drawers, cloth cap, scarf, cow-hide sandals, socks, trousers and sleeveless jacket. He got sandals as often as he needed a new pair, and a set of the other things three times a year: when first engaged, at the end of three months, and during his last month. On leaving he was given three okes of wool, which his female relatives could work up for him.

Disputes hardly ever arose over the servant's food or clothes, but were common about his work. As an Albanian of Koplik said picturesquely, 'Before a man is hired he talks like an angel, and then turns out a devil', so that 'half the men who lie in cemeteries have died of worry over servants'. The same speaker told a lively folk-tale of a master who was delighted to get a servant cheap and then found him come very dear indeed. Every time he asked him to do something, the man said it had not been mentioned in their bargain and he could not do it unless he got a rise in wages. Little attempt to get 'references' seems to have been made, perhaps because in the old days a would-be servant would have shot the giver of an adverse 'character' for slandering him. There was also a feeling that a servant's engagement was too temporary to take seriously. Once when the author inquired uneasily about a servant she had been urged to hire, an old mountaineer replied, 'What does it matter? you're not going to marry him'.

'Any gains made or any damage done by a servant are his [672] master's', said the law. If, for instance, a servant somehow gained [422] a horse, he could not send it to his own family, but must give it to his master. On the loss side of the ledger, if a servant unintentionally damaged a neighbour's property, say, by killing his horse, it was not he but his master who must make restitution, and his master could not keep back any of his wages for that purpose. Fining a servant was absolutely forbidden.

The relations of master and man with each other and with the outside world were regulated in detail by the Unwritten Law, using the servant's wages as its chief instrument. Thus if the two parted prematurely, the master being to blame, he must pay the servant his full wages for the year. When the servant was to blame, he had no right to more than the money for which he had so far

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

value or money compensation to the other. In the cases, frequent enough, where each had had his own implements before the separation, he took these with him to his new home.

Beehives too were divided on the offset or compensation system; they were seldom enough to go round the brothers. Honey was divided on a food basis, equally among old and young.

Household utensils such as spoons, milk cogs, churns, wash-tubs, pots, saucepans and all wooden and earthenware vessels were also divided equally among the brothers. After being taken out of the house they were stacked in piles, one for each brother under the direction of whoever divided the property. It was almost never possible to find an article of the same type for each brother. So an article was laid on one pile and the offset on the others. Less often, an article of which there was only one was valued and a proportionate share of its value paid by its new owner to his brothers. There was never any furniture in the sense of tables, chairs and bedsteads to divide. At most, there were reed mats and straw-stuffed cushions in the sitting-room and some wooden stools in the kitchen. The stools might be divided equally among the brothers; the other things were generally treated as part of the house and left where they were.

Certain articles in the house were not subject to division. These included the portable oven, flour-bin, tongs, shovel and kitchen-crook, which were the symbols of family life; and the mill, caddy, and cups forming the coffee outfit, which was the symbol of guest-friendship. The former remained in the kitchen and the latter in the sitting-room, irrespective of whether these rooms had been separated or left to one brother. Above all, it was unlucky to move the kitchen-crook; it was almost as sacred as the fire on the hearth on whose continuance depended the continuance of the family. Very occasionally, however, it was allotted like the rest of the property. Other articles were considered individual property and excluded from division on that account. These included the jack-knife, gun and revolver carried by each man (at least in the not-so-distant past), the trousseaux brought by the married women or being made by the girls, and the married women's pocket-money, wedding presents, possessions and livestock, or money lent at interest. All these continued to be the sole property of their owners. Bedding too was individual property, each brother's having been brought by his wife as part of her trousseau. If the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[179 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming
614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167 the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[669 died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe. 609 579

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes. 726

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep. 684 848

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head. 685

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider. 423 428

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has 842 554 562 592

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

643 lowed by several uprisings, and, when we realize that, following the world war, Albania was pillaged by her neighbors, and, lastly, when we comprehend in some measure the tremendous task that confronted the king as the ruler of a torn and sadly mutilated country endeavoring, in the role of a new and independent nation, to struggle to its feet, and against terrific economic, social, and political odds to take its place in the family of nations, when he was called upon to face innumerable problems in organizing a government without money and to create a peaceful nation out of chaos, only then can we appreciate the great achievements of King Zog. He has met and beneficially solved the numerous post-war problems, social, political, cultural and economic, which confronted Albania, creating the necessary administration of government and freeing the country of invaders.

199 The promotion of national consciousness was pushed ahead by the use of a common language in which school-books, newspapers and literary works have to be printed, substituting for the local dialects. The law of agra-
• 423 rian reform of 1930 laid the foundation for
[565] the creation of a nationalistically-inclined class of small peasant proprietors.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

class of small peasants proprietors. The sta- 423
bility of the country has been further promoted by the pacification of the outlying districts.

During the more recent years of the reign 663
of King Zog, his actions and work have all tended toward the true pacification and reconciliation of divided interests, to internal union and prosperity, and to the political and social progress of Albania.

The work accomplished for Albania by King Zog can be outlined briefly as follows: a highway construction program; new roads built; new modern bridges constructed throughout the country; new government and public buildings erected in Tirana and other cities; better housing; greater trade relationship; increased exports and imports; general development of the country and of some of the mineral resources; establishment and stabilization of the Albanian currency; hospitals and clinics built in the various cities; codification and improving changes of the laws; the assurance of absolute safety and security throughout the country by organizing the militia and the gendarmerie, thereby giving to Albania for the first time a permanent mili-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

175 famous of these chieftains were Kara Mohammed of Scutari, and Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The former, at the end of the last century, aimed at an independent sovereignty, which his son, Mustapha Pasha, asserted
175 in open rebellion in 1831; and the latter, notwith-
669 standing the frightful cruelties of which he was guilty, still lives in tale and song as the mighty upholder of Albanian independence against Ottoman tyranny. Subsequent risings have, however, resulted only in the death or banishment of the most influential members of leading families, the last *coup d'état* of this description having been carried out at Prisrend and
[423] Uskup in 1881. The great landholders are now all Moslems, the property of which the Christian proprietors were despoiled at the end of last century by Ali Pasha having, on his death, been appropriated by the Sultan.

671 But, whether Christian or Moslem, each section of the Albanian nation has its own traditional laws and usages by which their social life is alone regulated. The Miridites claim to have received theirs from the Dukadjini princes, who, according to them, were the ancestors of their own chieftains. Their internal
642 government is a species of aristocratic republic, all
623 matters affecting the community being decided in council by the chiefs, the elders, and other hereditary functionaries.

342 The dwellings of the Albanians are quite in keeping with the character and mode of life of their occupants. Even at Ioannina, where the customs more closely approximate to those of the Greeks, the houses have a gloomy appearance from without, being shut in by

drop falling from a rock, the delicate sound of our breathing and of the blood in our ears.

"Which proves nothing, of course. The sound wasn't in the right direction; the echoes didn't work," said Alex.

"Yes," I said. "But I wish they had. It would have given us such delightfully shivery sensations."

So we came up out of the wood, and over the next mountain, and there on a slope, where the dead grass was splotched with patches of rotting snow and the soft earth trodden by the sharp hoofs of goats, we came back with a jolt to problems of unquestioned reality. For we met a woman, herding the goats, who believes in private property.

She was a tall, dark-eyed woman, handsome, but not beautiful. Her face, as we say, was full of character; and there was independence, even a shade of defiance, in her bearing as she stood watching us approach, her chin up, her eyes cool and steady, one hand grasping a peeled branch as a staff, her ragged skirt strained against her by the wind that blew down from the mountain pass. Her thick, dark hair hung forward over her shoulders in two braids, and from each dangled a charm of bright blue beads, defense against any demon she might meet in the mountains.

"Long life to you!" she said.

"And to you long life!" we replied, and, seeing her glance fall covetously on my cigarette—only

PEAKS OF SHALA

423 the swiftest flicker of a glance, it was—I offered
578 her one. She took it, thanked me, lighted it from mine.

"A bold woman," said Perolli.

"Why?"

[562] "In these mountains[1] the women smoke, but
[576] not before men; that is a man's privilege, and it is unwomanly to smoke in their presence. Are you a woman?" he asked her, in Albanian.

"A woman of Pultit, married in Shala. A widow with two children, demanding justice from my tribe," she said.

I looked about. There was nothing but snow and wet earth to sit on. Well, she must have been standing for hours, watching the goats. I leaned on my staff. "What justice?" said I.

She told us with a calm precision; none of her people's rhetorical flourishes. Even through the barrier of language I could see that she was stating her case as a lawyer might who was not addressing a jury.

She had been married five years; she was twenty-one years old. She had two children—boys. While she was married her husband had built a house. It was a large house; two rooms. She had helped her husband build that house. With her own hands she had laid the slate on the roof. She liked that house. She had lived in it four years. Now her husband had been killed by the Serbs and she wanted to keep that house. She wanted to live in it, alone, with her two children.

1 [Albanian mountains → [98] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

"But it is impossible!" said Perolli. "A large house, with two rooms, for one woman?" 423 578

By the Virgin Mary, she said, yes! She wanted that house; it was her house. She was going to have that house. She was not going to stop talking till she got that house.

"By Jove! I like her spirit!" said Frances. The woman stood looking from one to the other of us, defiant, superb.

"Well, but what's become of the house?" Alex demanded.

Her husband's brother, head of the family now, had taken it. He was living in it with his wife and children and brothers and cousins and —I forget exactly; seventeen of them in all. The family, which comprised all the village at the foot of the slope on which we stood, had decided that the house should be used for them. She and her children could live with them. But she would not do it. She wanted that house all for herself; she said again that it was her house. Until she got that house nothing would content her or keep her silent. Her sons she had sent to the priest's house in Plani—to the same "macaroni" who had refused us shelter. He had taken them in and promised to educate them for the priesthood. For herself, she remained in this village, clamoring for that house. If she got it before her sons were grown and married she would bring them back to live with her. She might do so, even when they were married. That did not matter; what she wanted was the house, her house, all for herself.

PEAKS OF SHALA

423 "Well," said Perolli, "I pity the chiefs of that
578 village."

"But where do you suppose she got the idea?"

"Heavens knows. Who can tell what women will think of?" said Perolli.

We left her standing on the cliff edge, still superb and still defiant, the cigarette in her hand and the blue beads twinkling at the ends of her braids. A bright scarlet handkerchief was twisted around her head, and her wide belt, thickly studded with silver nails, shone like armor. A picture of revolt, and I thought what a catastrophe she must be in the peaceful village to which, clinging and dropping from bowlder to bowlder, we were descending.

"Will we see her again?" I asked.

"Oh, she'll probably drop in during the evening. She looks like a woman who would," said Perolli.

361 The village was perhaps fifteen houses, clustered on flat land at the foot of the cliffs. Beyond it, a creamy blue flood swollen by the rains, the Lumi Shala ran straight between the mountain
[32] ranges. A score of little streams, stone walled and crossed by tiny stone bridges, ran through the village, and all the land on which it stood was cut into odd-shaped pieces by many stone fences and raised channels of stone for irrigation water. Dropping down into that village was rather like being a very small gnat descending on a piece of half-made honeycomb.

ooo All the earth was sodden with water; we sank

574 to help his wife cook the dinner; there was a built-up place of stone outside where the cooking fire was made. All this time we had been talking, making the courteous speeches that accompany coffee drinking, and exchanging cigarettes.

One of the empty cigarette boxes—the little, ten-cigarette, tin-foil-lined ones—I handed to a little boy, perhaps four years old. He took it gravely, thanking me like a man, and retired to look at it. But hardly had he opened the flap when I saw the hand of a chief come over the boy's shoulder and quietly take the box. The boy gave it up, not even a shade of discontent on his face, and it passed slowly from hand to hand, was inspected, marveled at, discussed. The cunningness of the folding, the beautiful design of printing and picture, the delicacy of the tissue paper that had been around the cigarettes, the pliability of the tin foil, of metal, and yet so thin, engrossed them all. When they had satisfied their curiosity and admiration, it went back to the boy, who took it with his hand on his heart, bowed, and sat for a long time looking at it.

"Have you ever seen such perfect courtesy?" said, I, marveling. "And from such a baby!"

Peroll looked at me in amazement. "Why, what's strange about it?" he asked.

423 Undoubtedly we were among the most cour-
578 teous people in the world, I thought, but the next moment that idea was completely upset,

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGI Albania EGI

for out of the darkness walked that rebel woman who believes in private property. 423 578

She came quite calmly into the circle of the firelight, her beautiful hands low on her thighs, below the wide, silver-shining marriage belt, the blue beads twinkling at the ends of the long black braids of her hair, her chin up, and a light of battle in her eyes.

"May you live long!" said she to the circle, and, "To you long life!" we responded. But the chiefs looked at her sidewise from narrowed eyes and then again at the fire, and hostility came from them like a chill air. The children looked at her with wide, attentive eyes, chins on their hands; the sprawling, graceful, handsome youths seemed amused. Beyond the firelight, the women of the household went about their tasks; one came in and lowered from her shoulders a large, kidney-shaped wooden keg of water.

"When am I going to get my house?" said the woman. She stood there superb, holding that question like a bone above a mob of starving dogs, and they rose at it.

I have never seen such pandemonium. Three chiefs spoke at once, snarling; they were on their feet; all the men were on their feet; it was like a picture by Jan Steen changed into the wildest of futurist canvases. I expected them to fly at one another's throats, after the words that they hurled at one another like spears. I expected them to strike the woman, so violently they thrust their faces close to hers, clenching quiver-

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

423 ing fists on the hilts of the knives in their sashes.
578 She stamped her foot; her lips curled back like a dog's from her fine, gleaming teeth, and she stood her ground, flashing back at them words that seemed poisoned by the venom in her eyes. "My house!" she repeated, and, "I want my house!" These words, the only ones I recognized, were like a motif in the clamor; Rexh and Perolli were both too much absorbed to translate, and we added to the turmoil by frantic appeals to them.

Then, suddenly as the calm after an explosion, they were all quiet. They sat down; they rolled cigarettes; the coffee maker picked up his flung-away pot and went on making coffee. Only the eyes of the chiefs were still cold and bitter, and the woman, though silent, was not at all defeated. There was a pause.

"Ask them what she wants," said I, quickly, to Perolli.

"Who can say what the avalanche desires?" replied the chief, contemptuously. "She would break our village into pieces. She has no respect for wisdom or custom. She says that a house is her house; she is a widow with two sons, and she demands the house in which she lived with her husband. She wishes to take a house from the tribe and keep it for herself. Have the mountains seen such a thing since a hundred hundred years before the Turks came? She is *gogoli*."[1]

"I helped to build that house," said the woman.

[1] Gogoli—bewitched by a demon of the mountains; insane.

PEAKS OF SHALA

423 578 "With my own hands I laid the roof upon it. It is my house. I will not give up my house."

Frances and I hugged each other in silent convulsions of delight. My pen spilled ink on my excited hands as I tried to capture their words in shorthand. I was seeing, actually seeing with my own eyes, the invention of private property!

"What are they going to do about it?"

The question was not too tactful, nor too happily received, but they answered it. "They have already called a council of the whole village four [627] times," said Perolli. "They will do nothing about it. ⁊ Houses belong to the tribe. It is a large house, and the people have decided that her dead husband's brother shall have it for his household. She has been offered a place in it. If she does not want that, she can live wherever she likes in the tribe. No one will refuse shelter or food to her and her children. She has friends with whom she can live, since she quarrels with her husband's brother. All this is absurd, and they will not call another council to satisfy a foolish woman."

"I want my house," said the woman.

Then the oldest man—one of the little boys was playing with the silver chains around his neck, and another hung heavily against his shoulder, but his dignity was undisturbed and he was obviously chief of the chiefs—appealed to me.

609 423 "In your country, what would you do with such a woman?" And I perceived that I was

⁊ [For data on this gnce - [107] vance, see cat. 116, pp. 97-101, 104-107 -- Analyst]

423obliged to explain to this circle of eager listeners
609a system of social and economic life of which they had never dreamed, of which they knew as little as we know of the year 2900.

The woman sat impassive, as unmoved as a rock of her mountains; the younger men turned, propping their chins on their elbows and looking at me attentively, and the chiefs waited with expectation. The children, settled comfortably here and there in the mass of lounging bodies, stopped their quiet playing to listen.

"Go on," said Alex, with friendly malice. "Just tell them what private property is."

"I expect sympathy, not ribald mirth," said I. "Well," I said, carefully, "tell them, Perolli, that when I say 'man' I mean either a man or a woman. It isn't quite true, of course, but I'll have to say that. Now then. In my country, a man owns a house."

"*Po! Po!*" they said, shaking their heads from side to side in the sign that in Albanian means, "Yes." "It is so here. A man owns the house in which he lives."

"No, it's not that. In my country, a man can own a house in which he does not live."

Then they were surprised. "You must have many houses in your tribe, if some are left vacant."

("Shades of the housing situation!" murmured Alex. "Shut up!" said I.)

"No," I said. "You don't understand. In my country a man owns a house. It is his very

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

own house. He owns it always; he owns it after 423
he is dead. He owns it when other people live 609
in it."

"In your country dead men own houses? Dead men live in houses?"

"No. Living in a house has nothing to do with owning a house. A man owns a house; it is his house; other people live in that house, and they pay him money to be allowed to live in his house."

"We do not understand. In your country do men of the same tribe pay one another money for houses?"

"Yes."

There was always a pause after I had spoken, while they pondered.

"Ah!" they said. "In your country a man can build a house all by himself. You have one man who makes all the houses for the village, and the others divide with him the money they earn outside the tribe."

"No," I said. "In my country many men must work to build a house." And I tried to think how best to go on.

"But it is so here," they said. "Many men of the tribe build a house, and then the house is a house of the tribe."

"But it is different in my country," I insisted. "In my country the house does not belong to the tribe. It belongs to the man who owns the land on which it is built, and he pays money to the men who build it for him, and then it is his house.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

423 Even if he lives somewhere else, it is still his
609 house. Now in the case of this woman, the house would belong to her husband, and when he died he would give her the house, and then it would be her house. It would belong to her. The tribe would not own the house, but she would pay money to the tribe from time to time, because she had the house."

("Don't tell me you're going to explain taxation, too!" chortled the joyous Frances. "For the love of Michael, do this yourself, then!" said I.)

But the chiefs passed over the taxation idea; they stuck to the main point, though their eyes were clouded with bewilderment.

"How can a man own land?" said one, more in amazement than in question. And, "But how can a man pay another man for helping him to build a house, except by helping him as much in building another house? And when all have helped one another equally, then no man would have two houses unless every man had two houses, and that would be foolish, for half the houses would be empty," reasoned another, slowly.

It was then that the remarkable intelligence of these people began to dawn on me. For, given the experience from which he was reasoning, I consider this one of the most intelligent and logical methods of meeting a new idea that I have known. A case of almost pure logic, given his starting point.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER VII

CAN A MAN OWN A HOUSE?—WE SING FOR OUR HOSTS OF PULTIT—DAWN AND A MEETING ON THE TRAIL—THE VILLAGE OF THETHIS WELCOMES GUESTS—LIFE OR DEATH FOR PEROLLI.

BUT my delight in this discovery of their 423 intelligence received a violent blow almost at once, for another man—tall, keen featured, black bearded, his face framed in the folds of a white turban, red and blue stones gleaming dully in the links of the silver chains on his breast; I will never forget him—leaned forward in the firelight and said: "Such things can never be. Even a child knows that it would be foolish to own a house in which he did not live. Of what use is a house, except to live in? As it is, each man has the house in which he lives, and there are houses for all, and they belong to the tribe that built them. It is impossible that a man can own a house. It is not the nature of men to own houses, and we will never do it, for the nature of man is always the same. It is the same to-day as it was before the Romans came, and it will always be the same. And no man will ever own a house."

"Glory to your lips!" they said to him. "It is so."

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

washed-down soil—and he felt that he was leaving enough land to the tribe to stand as his contribution, without this one small piece. That piece he wished the tribe to give to the Church. 428 794

There was also a statement from the man's wife, saying that her husband had long wished the Church to have that piece of land, and that she and her children wished it also.

"Those words are written words," said Perolli, gravely, the eyes of all upon him. "Therefore they are holy words; they are as the words of the saints."

"That is doubtless so," said one of the chiefs. "But this man was not a saint, and, besides, how can he give away land? Land belongs to the tribe of Shala." [423]

"It is not as though I wished to take the land from Shala," said Padre Marjan. "I do not want it for myself. I wish to build a school upon it, and the school will be for all the children of Shala. It will be for the good of the tribe, that their children can learn to read and write."

"Glory to your lips," said another chief. "But since it is for the children of Shala, let it be built on the land of Shala. Build our school upon it, and all our tribe will bless you."

"But this man left the land to the Church, for the welfare of his soul. It is written here upon this paper that the land belongs to the Church. It is the Church that will build the school in Thethis; I myself am already teaching your children, and even when the new teacher comes from

[Constitution]

Private property may be limited, and when the general 421
welfare of the community calls for it, it may be expropriated [425]
by a law, which shall provide in each case what the amount of compensation shall be to the owner.

Likewise other branches of economy or enterprises may 471
also be nationalized whenever the interest of the people demands or requires it.

Monopolies, trusts, cartels, etc., created for the purpose of imposing prices and monopolizing markets to the detriment of national economy, are prohibited.

ARTICLE 10

The land belongs to those who till it. The conditions 423
under which an institution or a person can own land which they do not cultivate shall be established by law.

Large estates may under no circumstances be owned by private individuals.

The maximum amount of land that may be owned individually is determined by law.

The state especially favors and protects the small and 652
middle peasants by its economic policy, by means of credit, and by its taxation system.

ARTICLE 11

The state, by means of economic and other measures, 466
encourages the working classes to unite and organize themselves against economic exploitation.

The state protects the workers by guaranteeing them the right to organize, by limiting their hours of work, and by establishing minimum wages. The state supports the workers by means of social security laws and vacations with pay at the expense of the employers.

The state especially protects minors by regulating their 464
employment.

TITLE III

Rights and Duties of Citizens

ARTICLE 12

All citizens are equal before the law. They must obey 641
the Constitution and all laws of the land.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

342 A man's house, simple or elaborate, was his own, and he could
423 do what he would with it up to a point. But he held it on conditions
685 laid down by the Unwritten Law. This law defined a house as 'any hut or building of one, two, or more storeys that has a hearth and emits smoke', and insisted that poor house and rich house are alike inviolable. A stranger might not enter either without first hailing the master by name. If very discreet, he would call out from some distance; if bolder or on friendly terms with the family, he might lawfully enter the yard first. If no one answered his call, he must wait there or go away. On no account might he push the door open; that would make him a housebreaker. In the old days it would have cost him the usual penalties for theft, a fine of five hundred *grosh* ('piastres') for housebreaking, plus the obligation to send the family two of every article found missing after his visit, and even more recently it caused strife that might end in shooting. It was of no use for him to plead that he knew the master was from home; he knew also that somebody must have been left in the master's place.

The law allowed a man to erect a new house anywhere on his
[351] own ground, subject to the all-important provision that it did no harm to his neighbour's house and ground. In this connexion the term 'house' comprised, not only the dwelling, but also the farmyard wall or fence, and everything that this enclosed. It followed that a new house must be kept at least the width of its eaves from the neighbour's boundary to make sure that the rain dripping from them should not damage his property. The method most commonly adopted to ensure this was to leave space enough for a man to pass on foot between the new house and the neighbour's boundary. If a man wanted plenty of elbow-room, however, he might build his house as much as two *pashë* ('fathoms') from the boundary. As his visitors were as free as members of his family to use the empty
[491] space, a sizeable road was soon trodden out. Sometimes, too, a man who looked into the future left room for a road that was still non-existent but might one day be wanted by the community, in which contingency his house would otherwise have had to be pulled down and rebuilt elsewhere.

There were also a number of minor rules to be remembered in building. According to the law in Fulqet, if several men had contiguous land, they must build their houses as near as possible to the point at which their land met. Otherwise their several dogs

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would not recognize them and when A came to till his field, B's dog would treat him as an intruder and bite him, and he would have no legal claim to compensation for the injury. It is not known if this law obtained elsewhere, but the common sense on which it is based makes it probable that it did. Again, in the Moslem villages near enough to Elbasan to conform to the rigidity with which Moslem townsmen secluded their women, it was not permitted to make windows in a wall overlooking a neighbour's farmyard; the latter's womenfolk must be free to move about their yard unwatched. This ban on windows—which was Moslem, not Albanian—hardly extended to remoter Moslem villages, as women there enjoyed almost as much liberty as did their Christian ancestresses.

A man's ownership of his house and land was so absolute that he and his might emigrate temporarily or for good without losing their title to either house or land. Even if the family absented itself for a hundred years, no one might squat on its property. If the emigrant, before leaving, sold his land 'together with all that is on it', and one leaving for good usually did so, the piece constituting the site of the house remained his in spite of the terms of sale, and so long as one stone stood on another, no one might use the site. In Mirditë, however, a fixed term was set to this law; if the emigrant did not return within ten years, his house might be occupied by whosoever wanted it.

Every dwelling that emitted smoke might have one or more of the following accessories—yard, vegetable garden, field, road, boundary and, in suitable latitudes, vineyard. Of these the boundary and road were the most indispensable.[1] Every owner of a dwelling that emitted smoke had a right to graze his animals on the summer and winter pasturage owned by his village and to cut firewood and timber for his own use in the public coppices and forests. If he cared to build a bothy for his shepherds on a summer pasture or to break in ground for a field or vegetable garden on a common near his village, he was welcome to do so. He must first secure the consent of the elders of the village, who generally put the common weal before individual convenience. Their permission given, no one could stop his tilling the ground, nor turn him out. Theoretically every dwelling that emitted smoke should also have a portion of irrigation water, but the right to sell water often made this provision a dead letter.

[1] See Chapters VIII and IX.

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Obviously the crude and comfortless character of the Albanian house indicated a low standard of living and dire poverty in the ordinary sense of the word. But the Albanian had his compensations. He was secure in what he had, and unless he lived in an over-populated area like Dibër, he had the essentials. In alluvial areas like Myzeqe and in a few villages in the district of Mat there were big estates worked by share-croppers, but with these few exceptions the Albanian owned his house and land and need not think of rent or eviction. Since forests and commons belonged to his village or tribe and their products were free to him and his fellows, he need think only of the trouble involved in fetching his firewood and grazing his sheep. With luck he might have surplus animals to sell in a market town for money that would pay for his taxes, for clothing, for imported goods like coffee and sugar, and, costliest of all, for brides. With subsistence as his only possible aim, he need not work every day and so enjoyed a good deal of leisure. In short, although his comforts and amenities were few, so also were his worries.

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592 mother and others in her position, such as his uncle's elderly widow, might go to spend the night in her father's house. This gave him complete control over the time of the workers of the household. Whatever task he assigned the other men and the women must be performed without cavil; they must not only work as he said but go where he bade them and even marry when and whom he pleased. He spoke of them as 'my people' in English or 'my folk' in American parlance. When obliged to speak of them to the authorities or neighbours, he called any young man 'my son', any girl 'my daughter', and any married woman 'my wife' or 'my [502] old woman'. No decent Albanian, it should be noted, ever mentions the women of his household to outsiders except under compulsion.

The master had also sole control of the family purse. Any money earned by the other men by the sweat of their brow or a windfall like a tip must be paid over to him and spent for the family's benefit. For, says the law, 'the earnings of a son are shared by his father and brothers'. Here the words 'father', 'son' and 'brothers' have not only the narrow application which we English give, but also the wider Albanian sense of relatives in the [423] older or younger generation.[1] The farm was registered in the Land Office and popularly spoken of under the master's name, but this was only for convenience. It was owned jointly by all the men on it, and the master did not own a blade of grass more than the others [432] did. Yet in virtue of his position he need not consult any of them if he wished to buy or sell a field, vineyard, wood or portion of irrigation water. The right to buy and sell was his alone. There were only two limitations on this right, both deriving from the simple good sense that underlies all the unwritten laws. He could not sell a sheep or goat without first securing the shepherd's permission, and if the latter preferred to give him another animal, he must accept it, for the shepherd knew the flock better than he did. Secondly, the farmer of the family, having sole charge of the plough-oxen, did not require to ask his leave if he wished to help a neighbour with his ploughing, to lend the oxen, or even to give them away outright.

As keeper of the purse the master generally went to market himself with whatever produce was for sale, and bought what he thought necessary with the proceeds. It was his duty to see that everybody in the house was as well shod and dressed as the

[1] See p. 30.

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428 equal of each of his father's brothers. Supposing the dead man had
592 been one of four brothers, the three survivors and his orphan son each received one-quarter of the property. If he had left two sons, these became joint owners of his quarter share. Even if all the brothers in a communal household died before it split up, the principle of division was the same. Suppose they were three, and the eldest had ten male descendants, the second five and the third one, the property was divided into three equal parts, one for each of them, regardless of the disparity in the number of their descendants.

Division of food was relatively simple, a matter of arithmetic—so many souls, so many portions. The process of division of property was much more complicated, a thing of exact measurements and difficult calculations. As a first step the land was measured with a rope and divided into as many equal parts as there were brothers. Occasionally it was measured by pacing, the man who paced clasping his hands behind his back to steady himself and so to keep his paces equal.

When the quality of the land was uniform there was no difficulty about the actual partition by these methods. But it might happen that one field or one part of a field was better than another. Good and bad must nevertheless be shared alike by the brothers. To make this possible, what may be called the system of 'offset or compensation' came into play. Most commonly a smaller field or a smaller portion of the same field was given to the brother who got the better land, and a larger field or larger portion of the same field to the one who got the worse. The basis of calculation was the average yield of the land, this being common knowledge in the district. Size was thus offset against quality. Less often the portions were valued and the brother who got the better one paid compensation to the other; the latter was theoretically supposed to spend the money on buying himself a piece of land somewhere else.

423 The term 'land' included arable land, vineyards, vegetable
428 gardens, orchards, hay meadows and enclosed lowland pastures, all of which must be divided up when the brothers separated. It did not include mountain pastures or woods and forest for firewood, fodder and timber. These remained undivided, common property for the common use of the brothers. It was rare, however, to find a joint household owning mountain pastures and forests, for these were generally held in common by a whole ward or even a whole

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village. In Çermenikë all the brothers were allowed to graze their sheep after harvest on a divided arable field as they did when it was whole and they were together; it was immaterial that one had a bigger flock than the other. At least it was immaterial in theory, but in practice they sometimes quarrelled over the grazing. Then each must set a shepherd on his own boundary to watch over his interests. Presumably the impossibility of providing shepherds enough to guard the wide boundaries of forests and mountain pastures has prevented these pieces of property from being divided up.

Two curiosities of land division are to be noted: if an arable field was very narrow, it must be divided short-ways, for if divided long-ways, the plough-oxen might not have room to turn when ploughing; sometimes, too, three brothers who were separating amicably might wish to have each of their father's fields divided in three rather than each receive one field apiece. A day might come when one of them might wish to sell his land, then there would be more inducement to keep it in the family if it immediately adjoined another brother's holding. They also wished, they said, to perpetuate the memory of their joint ownership of all the fields, and when one field was some way from another and in different hands, it was less easy to realize that once the same family had owned them all. If possible they would like to keep up their brotherly ties for a hundred years or more.

The division of the joint home was generally much more complicated. Supposing there were two brothers in a house consisting of only a sitting-room and a kitchen. By the partition method one was given the sitting-room and the other the kitchen. Since the sitting-room was manifestly superior it was valued together with the kitchen. The values were added, then divided into two, and the difference between half the total and the value of the kitchen was paid to the less lucky brother. The payment made, it was held that the old home had been equally divided between the brothers. Sometimes instead of money the offset system was used, a better portion of land being given to the brother who had received the worse part of the house. For this purpose the land as well as the house was valued, and if the former's total value was 26 napoleons, 14 napoleons' worth would go to the brother with the kitchen worth 6 and 12 napoleons' worth to the brother with the sitting-room worth 8, so giving each 20 napoleons' worth of property.

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428 older brothers had had time to acquire friends and could make [284] their own way in the world, but the baby of the family knew nothing about anything except his father's house.

[123] After the land and the house had been divided, the boundaries between the holdings were demarcated. The house, it should be said, included land round it and also any cattle or sheepfolds. 312 When the land was under water, irrigation channels were marked 428 out at the same time as the boundaries. Where the father had possessed one field with an irrigation channel running down its whole length, his sons tapped this channel without difficulty, each digging a small transverse channel from it on his own portion of the field. Where the stream was farther off the brothers jointly dug a channel to the point where their land met, after which each made a separate channel through his own ground; by preference each took this down his own side of the little path between his field and his brother's. When the water came from above a field so narrow that it must be divided short-ways, the brother getting the lower half was entitled to dig an irrigation channel down the side of his brother's land. But the area it occupied must be measured and an equivalent amount of land subtracted from his holding and added to his brother's. It was, of course, always stream irrigation that was in question.

The period for which each brother might irrigate was also settled when they separated. This was usually a matter of simple arithmetic. If, for example, the father had had the right to irrigate for two days, each of the two brothers was given the right for one day and each of three brothers for sixteen hours. In Mirditë, where few streams could be utilized, irrigation water was divided by the oke; unfortunately there is no information available as to how this was done.

Drinking water was seldom regulated; 'God has given it' and almost everywhere in excess. There was so little in some villages near Shkodër, however, that it was divided by the jugful, at least during the dry season. When brothers separated in these villages their portion of drinking water was decided. Division was as with food, by heads, so many jugfuls per person.

428 Milling rights varied from district to district. Where they were by hours or days each brother's quota was settled on the day of separation. It was again arithmetical, each of two brothers getting half the father's period and each of three getting one-third.

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him, possession of the title-deeds made it more certain that they would fulfil the contract. On his death the deeds passed to his sons. 428 737

These were the general rules for his maintenance, but there were a few variants. In Çermenikë a man who had managed to buy a large amount of land during his working years had the right to keep this back when his sons separated and to leave it all to the son with whom he lived, to the exclusion of the others. More often than not, he allowed it to be divided up with the land he inherited. Sometimes he was still able to earn a little. In Lumë his sons treated his earnings as family property, taking the cost of his funeral out of them and dividing up the rest. In Çermenikë the son he lived with paid the whole cost of his funeral and kept all his earnings. In Mat, a relatively fertile district, a yoke of land was set aside for him. On his death his richest son paid for his funeral and took his piece of land in exchange. In Perlat an ox was set aside on Separation day for the public meal at his funeral; it was kept and worked till required by the son with whom he lived; its work was supposed to compensate this son for the other expenses of the funeral. In all areas the father's portion of land was often given by richer families to the poor or, among the Catholics, to the church.

A father had in the last resort the right to banish a son from his house, or a son might insist on hiving off against his father's wish. 428 [593] In either case he need not give him a portion, but when he died the son would take his proportionate share of the food and property, exactly as if he had never been expelled. A son who separated from his father in these conditions must restrict himself to any land his father might have given him and must refrain from interfering with the rest of the land or other property. The consequences of a premature division of property may be seen in the following story from Perlat. Two men made such scenes about their father's remarriage that he bade them leave his house. Of a just, or simple, disposition, he divided his property into three, keeping one-third for himself and giving one apiece to his sons. Afterwards he had two more sons by his second wife, then found he could not leave them more than his own portion of property, for land once divided [423] cannot be taken back, says the law. So each of the two sons he loved best received only one-sixth, and each of the two sons he had come to dislike one-third, of his original property. An interesting variation of the above law is found in Kurbin. If a father gave a rebellious son a portion, he gave it only out of the land and

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they reminded these onlookers how everything had been divided. 428
Then if disputes arose later between the brothers these could bear 574
witness to the division. No documents[1] were drawn up, the oral [423]
testimony of the witnesses in general, and in particular the mute testimony of the boundary stones, was enough for the unwritten law. Where a dead father had held title-deeds, these were distributed appropriately among the brothers, but such cases were few. 578

Too often, the division was followed there and then by disputes. 428
Most frequently they were about the land and due to greed, for each brother knew that on the portion allotted to him on that day he and perhaps unborn generations of his descendants must live, and he naturally tried to make it as large as possible. Sometimes a brother was rightly disgruntled. Dividers were human enough to make mistakes; an eldest brother sometimes tried to cheat when dividing; at times even an elder showed favouritism. In such cases the division was revised, an elder dividing instead of the eldest brother or a second elder instead of the first, on the usual 'elder after elder' basis. Or instead of having one elder between them the brothers might each put in one for himself; in this case they must all stand aside and leave the elders to fight things out.

Not infrequently one brother was simply cantankerous. Then 623
the easiest way for the elders to make him see reason was to exercise 574
their right to have all their meals at the family's expense until their 428
work was done. They might go away, leaving the division incomplete and refusing to return until he bent his stubborn neck and in person fetched them back with promises to be good. This meant an extra meal, an expense that even the trouble-maker deplored in his heart, if not openly. As it was, surely unfairly, shared by the reasonable brothers these were from the first careful to do nothing to excite the other further. There was no difficulty about extracting this meal, as the commonest source of trouble, the land, was always divided before the livestock.

A story of Turkish times from Godolesh shows the elders taking cruder but no less effective steps to settle matters. A family at the top of the village refused to accept the division they proposed. 'Where is your best ram?' asked the elders the first day, and ate the animal. 'Where is the pot of *bekmès* (boiled grape juice)?' they asked the second day, and emptied this. 'Where is the butter jar?' they asked the third day, and devoured that. The brothers then came to their senses and allowed the suggested division to proceed.

1 [concerning the division of land at the time of separation of brothers--Analyst]

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especially near the sea, where the soil is alluvial and stoneless, had to be thirty-two spans wide (7 yards or 6·48 metres) in order to give a pack-horse space to dodge the mud-holes in winter, when the road became a morass. Excellent examples of this type of road traverse the half-drained marshes of Ngurëzë at the mouth of the river Mat.

Mountain roads eight spans wide led to villages 'where carts had never gone'. Certain other roads led to the rare villages 'where carts had gone'. These crossed firm inland plains such as the floor of the valley of Shkrel or the plain of Nangë in Lumë; in Shkrel they had to be twelve spans wide (8 feet or 2·43 metres), and in Lumë wide enough to take a cart. A picturesque detail from Mirditë is that a 'flag-road', that is to say, a road along which a flag was carried in tribal, wedding or other processions, had to be as wide as the flagstaff was long.

Roads always followed boundaries; as a general rule, when one passed two wards or two neighbours, exactly half of it had to be in the territory of each. In other words, their boundary had to run down its exact middle. Few modifications of this law are to be noted. When fields were on a slope, the road between them was often made on the upper one. The elders laying it out had reasoned that it would gradually slip down the hill, increasing the area of the upper field and diminishing that of the lower one. When there was an irrigation channel by the road, rules varied. In Theth one neighbour left three spans of land for the channel, and the other the same amount for the adjacent footpath. Their agreement might be verbal, noted only by witnesses, or it might be written down by the priest as tribal clerk and placed in the church archives. Each neighbour had full access to path and channel alike. In Lumë, on the other hand, a path was left on both sides of an irrigation channel. These were not only for men to walk on but also for maintaining the sides of the channel, a necessary safeguard even on level ground. Each neighbour, having his own path, was less liable to quarrel with the other.

In Perlat a highway was twenty-four spans wide (16 feet or 4·86 metres), to enable a horse laden with firewood to pass another without the loads touching. Elsewhere there was no provision for two-way traffic. Road-making in our sense did not exist, and roads were merely trodden out by man or beast in the scanty space available between fields or across mountain slopes. On a typical

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road two loaded donkeys might meet and pass, but two loaded 492
horses could not. When these met, one or the other had to step 499
aside from the road, turning back, if need be to find a suitable place in which to do so. This was almost invariably of nature's making; there were no artificial passing places as on narrow motor roads in England.

Load generally determined priority of passage. To use Albanian 494
phraseology, when a riding-saddle met a riding-saddle on a horse- 576
track the one with no saddle-bags or other load besides the rider had to turn back. The riding-saddle had to make way for the loaded pack-saddle, but had priority over an empty one. When two pack-saddles met, the one loaded and the other empty, the latter had to make way for the former. When they were both loaded or both empty, the one which was nearer a possible place at which to step off the road had to turn back. The same rules applied to carts. In the rare cases where there was plenty of room for two loaded horses or carts, there was no 'Keep right' or 'Keep left'; they could pass on whichever side they wished.

The rules about priority were apt to be honoured in the breach 494
rather than the observance. A man who was turned back on his road 628
felt, even if priority was not his, as much disgraced as if his gun had been taken from him. His honour was lost, and could not be redeemed unless he killed his rival. There have been many deaths for the sake of precedence. The men of Godolesh, who were satisfied when the offender was fined by the elders, were condemned by their neighbours as soft and citified. But even in Godolesh there was no more fertile cause of murder than disputes about who should have the right of way. The trouble arose because priority rules were often confused, especially on purpose by strong wilful men, with the general law of road ownership. As enunciated by Father [423]
Gjeçov, this law said that a village street or a public highway was nobody's individual perquisite, but belonged to one man as much as to another. Hence, the living and the dead—traveller and livestock, bride and corpse—had an absolute right to use either, and no man, even if the road passed close to the door of his house, could deny this right.

A road was free to all. It was for breaking this general law that [579]
highway robbery was punished so much more severely than other [685]
forms of theft, and that a traveller who killed a dangerous dog on a highway did not have to compensate its owner.

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685 A man could not, without the elders' consent, close an old road
491 that, having been used by his fellow-travellers, bridal parties and
494 funeral processions, was public property. If he did, it was reopened
423 by the elders, sometimes by force. He was often fined too. If he had ploughed it up, so that its line was uncertain, they sought out an old trustworthy man and made him show them under oath and in the presence of witnesses where it had been. Then the offender was ordered to open it again, removing any fence he had erected and, by way of penalty, to give a meal and small fee to the old man and the witnesses. If he shut it up once more he was liable to be shot.

491 As always, there were exceptions to the general rule. Owing to
494 the marshy nature of the land most of the fields near the mouth of
423 the river Mat were enclosed by hedges of living willow and
[487] communicated with each other by stiles, not gates. If the public, having formed a shorter route, no longer used a certain field-path, the owner of the field could close the path and the stiles at either end without any compulsion to reopen them; the public had the shorter road and one was enough. If a man bought a field which had a road round it and a right-of-way through it, he had the right to close the latter and to make the public go by the road; only if a long detour was involved could he be forced to leave the right-of-way open. On the other hand, if his new-bought field was bordered not by a road but by another field, he could not block the right-of-way unless he made a new road entirely within his own boundaries. This was substantially the law which governed changes of road all over north Albania. In Lumë a distinction was drawn between permanent roads which had to remain open all the year round and winter roads which could be closed in summer. The first were known as 'roads with a boundary'; the most important led to the high pastures on Mount Gjalicë. Winter roads generally went through fields and were closed to men and animals from seed-time to harvest; as soon as the crop was in, the roads were opened to traffic. If somebody had great need to use one during the season, he might take what he could carry and go along the very edge of the sown land, taking pains not to damage the growing crop. He could not make a habit of this or take his horse and must not forget to ask leave from the owner of the land. Again, a few roads to the Alpine pastures passed through wheat fields on their way. As a necessary link with the high pastures they could not be completely closed even when the fields were under crop. An ingenious

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compromise reconciled the public's need to use the road and the 494
individual's wish to protect his crop without incurring the 491
intolerable expense of making a fence or wall. One neighbour 423
put two hurdles across his half of the road, one where it entered and the other where it left his land; both were low enough for men to jump over and high enough to keep back animals. Each had a hole at the bottom that was too small for animals to crawl through but big enough to let logs through when they were [313]
dragged down from the mountain for fuel; logs for fuel were such a necessity of life that they could not be denied a road. The other neighbour threw across his half of the road the Christ's Thorn which grows all over the plains of Albania, thus making a formidable barrier for men and beasts. Shutting up this half of the road did not matter; animals had no right in any case to go near a sown field, and the other man's hurdle was sufficient for human traffic. After harvest the thorns were removed, leaving that half of the road clear. The hurdle remained in place, as the clear half of the road was wide enough for the traffic.

In 1935 a man from Nangë in Lumë blocked the road along an irrigation channel for the summer, half of it with a low wall and half with thorns, so that men, but not animals, could still travel on it. He had wished to sow maize in his adjoining field and been too poor and short-handed to construct a fence to keep out animals. Since irrigation was so important, there was a special law that [312]
'a road beside an irrigation channel can't be shut up'. Conse- [672]
quently, his act was highly illegal. But his poverty was thought to excuse it, and he had mitigated his offence by making a new road for animals at the top of his field, where there was no maize. In so doing he had confused the right to block a road for the summer only and the need, when closing one permanently, to provide a substitute. For the law forbidding a man to block an old road permanently was not rigid. If he had good reason for the change, secured the consent of the elders (a most important point), and provided a satisfactory substitute, he could even move a very old road. It was only if he failed to satisfy these conditions that he had to leave it where it was. The poor man just mentioned transgressed by not consulting the elders; their unusual clemency lay in refraining, out of consideration for his poverty, from reopening the road.

When a man applied for leave to close an old village road, he 491
generally pleaded damage by passers-by or a need for more land to 423

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till. In the first case he might have his house or field adjoining the road and find his dog biting strangers and shot for its pains, his children killed by passing horses or cattle, and his crops, vegetables, vines or fruit damaged or plundered. Or the road might cross his field necessitating a fence on both sides, thus preventing his sheep from passing freely from one part of the field to another, besides involving him in expense for making and maintaining it. In the second case he might wish to plough up the road, a good plea since the law said 'Agriculture can move a highway', and more pithily, 'spades can shift roads'. If the elders on investigation considered his request justifiable, they gave him leave to close the old road. They required, however, that he should provide a satisfactory substitute, not by a stream where sheep might drown or across a precipice where they might break their necks; if the precipice could not be avoided, the rock had to be blasted away with dynamite. The new road could not be far from the old one, a distance of 200 metres being the maximum allowed. It had also to be made by the man's own unaided efforts, without any help from the community, and it had to be well made. If it was poorly made, the man suffered himself when he came to grief on it and had to pay damages when another did so; he was also laughed at by his neighbours as a foolish creature who did not know how to make a road; often they went and reopened the old road. In Fulqet it did not matter if the public was inconvenienced by the change; the law said 'land must not be spoiled'. In the Breg i Matit, on the other hand, the new road had to be shorter and so more convenient. A curious point in Krasniqë was that if a man ploughed up his field he could reduce the public road to the width of a footpath; this was little more than a gesture, since oxen and horses could not in any case use the road after the field was sown and a footpath was wide enough for other traffic. In Martanesh it was never lawful to plough up a public road, perhaps because the fields were few and very scattered, and the roads few, long and often dangerous.

In case of clear necessity an old public road might be moved on the initiative of the elders. If, for example, it was inconveniently crooked or became a morass in winter, they could divert it to better ground. The old road became the property of the man whose land adjoined it. The men whose land was taken for the diversion received no compensation. They often threatened to kill the elders, but for sole reply received an exposition of the law; they might

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shoot as much as they pleased but could not have their way; the village could not be shut up by mud, and the public good overrode private loss. The new road was a permanency and could not be closed or moved back to the old site except by the elders. According to Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar of Shkrel, it was easier to move the bad road than to try to mend it. If it was under water, all the owners of the land through which it ran had to unite to repair it, making a ditch, repairing bridges and so on. But they had to decide unanimously to repair it; if even one hung back nothing could be done. The ditch too could only be made where there had once been one before. And men whose land was some distance from the road would object to having the water diverted from the road towards their fields.

New roads were constantly being opened, if only because brothers were constantly dividing their father's property and setting up separate establishments. For the law said 'every field must have access to a public highway' and 'every house must have its road'. Consequently, the elders supervising the separation were careful to specify the exact direction and character of the old roads which the brothers might use and the new ones which they might make to and from their houses and fields. The laws were the same everywhere. If there were two brothers, each took half the father's field. When there was no cultivated land beyond this they might make no path at all or they might make a little path along the boundary between them, only two spans in width, as this was enough for their own needs. Naturally each set aside land for half its width; as this could not be worked, it was soon grass-grown. When there was someone else's field beyond their own and there was no other way of entering this, they were bound to leave a track wide enough for a horse laden with panniers of manure or for a pair of plough-oxen. As with a field-path the land for this track came from each.

A more complicated case occurred if three brothers inherited a field which had a public highway running along its length, and was divided into three longitudinal strips with the boundaries parallel to the highway. Let it be supposed that the family home remained in the central strip. A road to the highway from the inmost strip was a prime necessity. It was most economically made by constructing a path to the old road that connected the family home with the highway. But the new owner of the central strip might

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487 object to its coming so near his house. In that case the elders
59 directed him and the owner of the outermost strip to leave land
423 elsewhere for it. As for the houses which the brothers in the innermost and outermost strips had to build, the former had only to see that his stood the canonical distance, the width of the eaves from his neighbour's boundary. The most convenient and economical site for the outermost brother to build on was a corner by the highway. But remembering that his dog might bite strangers and his children be trampled on by passing animals, he generally built his house with its back to the road and its yard facing his field. Alternatively, in Krasniqë, by what seems undue licence, he could ask his neighbour to remove the public highway to his land. If the latter owned waste ground or a hill close by, he was compelled by the elders to accede to the request. He could only refuse it by convincing them that in its new position the road would spoil his land.

487 New roads were sometimes necessitated by sales of land, and
423 might cause trouble. Suppose a field surrounded by four others was offered for sale and the owners of the surrounding fields were unable to buy it. Someone farther away, always described as a 'stranger', then bought it and demanded a road. The natural line for this was through the field between his purchase and his house. If the owner of this field objected, the stranger bade him buy the enclosed plot. When he refused, as he inevitably did, the stranger referred the case to the elders. If these, he said, could cite any previous purchaser of a field which had no way in and out, he could not claim the road. If, on the other hand, and this was sure to be the case, they found it was good law that 'land is never sold without a road' he had to have it. There was, as usual, no need to compensate the man whose land it took up. Fear of such complications made some men, when selling a piece of land, retain the adjoining road in case they themselves or their descendants wished to use it later on.

[491] A man was undisputed and sole master of the path that led across his field from a public thoroughfare to his house and ended there. According to the letter of the law, whatever the condition of the public road—good or bad, a sea of mud or even washed away in a winter storm—animals and wayfarers had to keep to it or to find another. They could not bypass the bad stretch by taking the path to the man's house; that was his private property, reserved for

his household and his visitors. Bridal parties or funeral processions 423
which tried to pass along his path to evade the difficulties of the 487
highway were not so likely as habitual travellers to attempt to [585]
create a precedent, but he had the right to turn them back. If they [764]
tried to force their way past him he had the right to shoot them. Many a corpse, to quote Father Gjeçov, has found comrades in death before being buried, and many a bride has mourned the loss of a kinsman in her escort on the way to her bridegroom.

If, however, at a time when the highway was impassable, occasional travellers asked a man's leave to use his path he often granted their request. But he always made it clear that the right of passage was temporary and stipulated that his honour was not to be smirched or his property damaged. In Shkrel a man whose field adjoined a road liable to bogging in winter often left enough land in the field for a new road. This he did as alms. Any timber on either side of the new road remained his private property, and could not be cut down by anyone else though he was free to cut it as and when he pleased. He could also close the road at his pleasure; even if the public had used it for years, usage did not create a right and rob a man of his land. Sometimes a village, to suit its convenience rather than to meet its need, asked a man to allow the public to go through his land. He usually agreed, but always stipulated that if any damage was done or he needed to work the land, he should be entitled to close the right-of-way, informing his fellow-villagers that they must not come that way any more. If this became necessary, he was not required to provide an alternative, as a man who moved a public road must do. He had opened the road as a favour, and what was given as a favour could not be retained by force. The option of closing the road descended [428]
to his heirs.

The private ownership of a road is seen at its most interesting in the case of a blind alley. This was seldom wide enough to take two persons abreast and had an entrance but no exit. The commonest type led across a man's field from a public thoroughfare to his house, where it came to a dead end. In this case it was his sole property, and if he liked he could plough it up without consulting anybody. Another type served several houses, and was held jointly and equally by these. The common ownership had its drawbacks. Two out of three owners, for instance, might wish to plough up the section passing through their fields. Though this

[i.e. the private path of a man -- Analyst]

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might mean his going a long way round in future, the third owner could not oppose their wish. Again the land on both sides of an alley which three families used might belong to a fourth man. If he persuaded or bribed two of the three to let him plough it up, the third man had to acquiesce. A third type of blind alley began and ended in a single field.

All types of alley were private property reserved for the sole use of their owner, joint or single, and his family and lawful visitors. If he found anyone else on it he could turn him back as an intruder, and if he refused to comply could shoot him. This was irrespective of whether he did damage or not. An honest man would not trespass. Consequently, a trespasser's intentions were felonious. In Labinot a 'foreigner' from another village was licensed to use the blind alley once. He might be unaware that he was trespassing. In Zerqan, too, if he did not trespass more than once most owners said nothing to avoid disgracing themselves. A foreigner has his rights. In truculent Lumë no allowance was made for ignorance. About 1900 three men lost their lives because a stranger from the town of Prizren rode by pure mischance along a blind alley in a field in the village of Stiqan and resisted the owner's attempt to turn him back. In all districts a fellow-villager who trespassed could not plead ignorance as a stranger could; consequently his fault was graver. Even so he was not shot in Zerqan till other measures had been tried and failed. First the owner asked him not to use the blind alley again. If he persisted the owner complained to the village and the village forbade the man to go by the path. If he still persisted the village fined him. If he still persisted the owner shot him. Such was the theory, but in practice a strong man skipped the diplomatic stages and shot the offender at his first or second offence. Sometimes a fellow-villager who had a genuine need to use a private road, for instance, to regulate his irrigation water, might be given permission to do so. But he had to go on foot and could not take his horse.

In Godolesh, exceptionally, the question of damages affected the rules for blind alleys. Such paths traversed the market gardens on which the village still depended for most of its livelihood. Usually each belonged to several owners, any of whom might use it throughout its length, though they were forbidden to introduce animals as these might damage the fruit and vegetables. A trespasser was pardoned up to three times, then one or more owners

complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in 429
Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times 487
a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man [685]
cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of
private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended
even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit
as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one
ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and
to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or [574]
village had married into the privileged ward[1] her kinsmen had leave [607]
to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even
one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto
their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into
being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families [614]
in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact,
the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter- 486
tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of 619
sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and
their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed
its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all
their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks
on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory,
and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the
road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking
advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus,
a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed
limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the
contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep
within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign
tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and
not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but
must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his
providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger 574
obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded 628
as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection 486
and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the 672
event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the
knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for
any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

1 [in the village of Gedolesh --An alist]

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CHAPTER IX

BOUNDARIES

According to the law, every tribe, village, house, field, meadow, 423
pasturage, vegetable garden, vineyard, forest and spinney required a fixed boundary. Some boundaries were centuries old, but, ancient or modern, they could in no circumstances be moved. The stones that most often indicated their line were, in the absence or rarity of title-deeds written on paper or engraved on copper, the chief tokens of ownership of property. Consequently they were as sacred and immovable in the eyes of the law as the bones in a dead man's grave. Brothers, cousins or villages might quarrel over a boundary and keep up the shooting until it had cost a hundred lives—nevertheless, the boundary remained where it had been when the first shot was fired.

In fields of average size the boundary was marked by three stones, one at either end and the third in the middle. Each had to be planted as deep in the earth as it projected above it, and to have its centre exactly over the boundary line so that half of it stood on one neighbour's property and half on the other's. When fields were very small, there might be only two stones, one belonging to each neighbour. Instances can be seen in Shijan. Little heaps of stones marked the division between fields and pastures in Shpat and Dumre. Big cairns of rocks and boulders, each 'as big as a house' and at varying intervals from the next one with no charcoal under them, divided off the vast alpine hayfields of Martanesh one from the other and also separated its territory from that of the neighbouring villages of Shëngjerg, Bulqizë and Okshtùn. Sometimes in the lonelier regions of the Martanesh highlands deep holes were dug in place of piling up the more usual cairns. In the spacious Alps of the north only an occasional stone was used to mark off one man's forest or grazing-ground from another's.

Each boundary stone 'had two friends with it'. These were small stones which were more or less buried in the ground on either side of the big one. They were almost invariably two in number, but in Mirditë six or twelve. In most places they were picturesquely said to be there as 'witnesses', but according to a more sophisticated

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423 informant in Bytyç their business was to prop up the big stone. The association of the three, one big and two small, was so distinct that it could be seen at a glance that they were boundary stones.

In old days, in places as far apart as Kurvelesh in south-west Albania and Lumë in the north-east, some pieces of charcoal, generally three, were put under the big boundary stone; in Lumë a fragment of tile was added. Centuries might pass, but charcoal and tile remained as imperishable evidence of the true line of the [623] boundary. In case one neighbour charged the other with moving the stones the elders dug these up; if they found no charcoal under them they knew they had been moved and dug all round until they came on charcoal and with it the original boundary. A man who went to move boundary stones always went on a dark night when the buried charcoal was as invisible as himself, and so far as was known his ingenuity never ran to taking a handful with him from home.

Boundary stones were set up with all the ceremony befitting [623] a mark that was to last for ever. All the members of the families concerned, the village elders, as many children and youths of the village as possible, as many men from neighbouring villages as possible and all the tribal elders gathered to witness the event and [804] to preserve its memory for their lifetime. When the entity to be divided—field, farmyard, vineyard, etc.—had been measured with a rope or by pacing into the required number of portions, the elder chosen to delimit the boundary put any chance stone and a clod of earth on his right shoulder, and after swearing upon his soul to delimit justly, moved forward along the boundary line followed by all the witnesses. It was his duty to walk in a straight line in order to iron out every possibility of future conflict—'a boundary mustn't twist' said the law—but if he deviated slightly no one 789 could correct him; it was his responsibility. All the objector could 423 do was to say, 'Well, lead the way and if you don't act righteously may that weight lie heavy on you in the other life'. At the two ends and in the middle the elder—no one else—dug a hole in which he set up the big stone at one end, packing the smaller ones round it. When he finished, he laid his hand on the big stone and solemnly cursed anyone who should seek to move it, saying in Mirditë, 'Whoever moves this stone, shall be weighted down with it in the life beyond'. In Lumë the curse was vaguer, 'Here are your boundaries, men', said the elder. 'Don't move them because it's bad'—in this world where quarrelling results and in the other

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where damnation follows. When the last big stone was in place the 423 witnesses fired in the air to signify that the ceremony was over. [789]

When a geographical feature was available, it was often utilized as a boundary. For instance, an irrigation channel might be recognized as such. The dividing line between the neighbours then ran down the middle. It could not be diverted or otherwise interfered with by either neighbour, since it contained running water and had been made long years before—a point that gave it the permanence indispensable in a boundary. In Mirditë a very old tree sometimes marked the division between two pieces of land. In all areas growing trees of any age might outline forest and even village boundaries. Notches were cut in each; all the ground this side of a notch belonged to one neighbour and all on that to the other. Between big units such as villages or forests, though not small ones like fields or houses, a watershed or a torrent bed often formed the boundary. 'God has separated the two; nature has decided their boundaries', said the people of such cases. Sometimes a road was the boundary between the villages; a field-path was never important enough for this purpose. Finally, in some [609] groups of villages near Elbasan, such as Godolesh, Griqan and Labinot, there was so much buying of land in one village by natives of the others that no very definite line was drawn between their territories, though the boundaries of individual properties were as clearly marked and as fiercely defended as they were elsewhere. In the north, since no outsider could buy land in a village, there was no fluidity of boundary, whether village or private.

The delimiting elder was usually one of the recognized elders of 623 the village. Sometimes only one was employed, more often there 789 was one for each new neighbour, and in sprawling areas like Martanesh ten or even fifteen men might be asked to help. In Shijan elders often worked only 'for the good of their soul' and took no fee; elsewhere they charged one to two napoleons according to local rates. In Surroj they asked no less than four napoleons but seldom received them; to save this heavy fee, the older of the new neighbours set up the boundary stones, and only if he seemed to be cheating did a younger man think it necessary to call in an elder. That elder carried the earth and stone of the oath on his shoulder. In Çermenikë, however, he carried them in his hands and in Labinot he did not carry them at all, only spoke of doing so. Both these usages seem degenerations from the original. The

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623 expression 'to take on the shoulder', which is frequently heard in
789 speech all over the country in the sense of 'to destroy' or 'to ruin', seems to derive from this obviously very ancient method of making oath. 'If I don't act justly, may I carry this weight in this world and the next', the elder swore solemnly as, irrespective of whether he was Catholic, Orthodox or Moslem, he embarked on his delimitation. In most cases he believed that if he were unfair the earth and stone would punish him literally as he said. 'Earth will rot us all one day; we can't put it lightly on our shoulders like a stone. It's a very serious thing; we stake our soul by touching it', were some of the expressions used to explain the general fear. Some men were so frightened of the dread symbols that they would not undertake to delimit a boundary, saying, 'It's a serious business to undertake such a thing; it brings you up against God's justice'. A few others, it must be confessed, were sceptical enough in consideration of a bribe to defy the consequences of perjury and to delimit unfairly.

423 Boundary stones then were set up by elders in the presence of
527 witnesses as an abiding memorial to the ownership of the land they outlined. 'A fence may rot, a boundary does not', said the proverb. 'Let ever so many be killed; a field, or mountain, a vineyard cannot be seized by force; the boundary stones say who is the lawful owner', was another aphorism. In many places it was customary, generation after generation, to 'ride the marches' once a year so that the old could show the young where the stones were and so forge the next link in the endless chain of memory. Like its British counterpart, the custom gave occasion for a public holiday. Often performed, as in Nangë, at the spring festival of 'Summer Day', all men and boys in a village went round every known boundary in it. They saw that the boundary stones were still in place and not sunk out of sight, noted their position, and cleared away thorns and other concealing overgrowth. Often, as in Nangë, they were led by gypsies banging joyously on drums.

423 It was thought a sin to move boundary stones, since they had
685 been set up in such solemn circumstances by elders, the highest
783 tribal authorities. But land-hunger was so prevalent that the sin was all too common. With the lapse of time, too, boundary stones might sink out of sight in the ground and the boundary line be obliterated. Disputes over boundaries were consequently endless. To prevent them there were various deterrents. Men of weight—

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tribal, religious or personal—fostered the belief that moving boundary stones made things specially hard for the sinner in the next world. In this world the elders punished the misdeed with a heavy fine—of varying amount in Mirditë, 30 rams and an ox in Bicaj of Lumë, 3000 grosh and 6 rams in Kastrat, and a Turkish pound and boycott in Godolesh. Everywhere the sinner was publicly disgraced even if he was not always boycotted as in Godolesh, and he had always to compensate his victim financially. He had in fact stolen land, a valuable article of property as representing a man's livelihood. Consequently his crime was punishable as a bad form of theft. In Mirditë a man who had not only moved the boundary stones but also killed his neighbour was fined 100 rams and an ox and publicly executed for his double crime.

Yet in Mirditë one very primitive method of moving a tribal boundary was permissible. If a man had no forest or other source of timber and he had desperate need of this, he might take his axe and go to a forest in a neighbouring tribe—naturally he did not penetrate very far from his own tribe's boundary. The noise his axe made as he felled and lopped a tree soon brought up the foresters. If he had presence of mind and strength of arm enough to drive his axe up to the shaft in the fallen tree, and if the foresters could not pull it out, the boundary of his tribe was advanced to the tree. This was the manner in which Gjokë Buca of Kaçinar won forest from Kushnen. The method may have been peculiar to Mirditë.

In the Malësi e Madhe a man who had a spinney might refuse to permit his neighbour who had none to cut timber to fence in his property. He might want to cut the timber himself next year. It was his own business whether he sold it or not. The other was getting food from his field; let him go and buy or beg wood elsewhere for his fence. Presumably what went for an individual tribesman went for his village or tribe.

When disputes arose, efforts were made to settle them before they ended in bloodshed. Two types of dispute were distinguished, public—as arising between tribe and tribe, village and village, ward of a village and ward of a village—and private, as arising between individual and individual.

Settlement in private disputes might be effected by the parties themselves, by elders or by the government. The first method was

628 the quickest, the second tried when the first failed, and the third
423 when the second failed. In practice recourse to the authorities was rare and seldom as effective as action by elders.

[695] When settlement was made by the parties themselves, one of the two men quarrelling might exclaim, 'Well, take it on your shoulders' —there was no need to specify what—'and set up the stones'. 'All right', replied the other as he bent to pick up a stone or a clod of earth or both to put on his shoulders. 'May I carry it on my shoulder in this world and in that if this ground isn't mine', or 'May I carry this stone and this earth and the whole wide world', he proclaimed as he swaggered off along what he said was the boundary line. Provided four or five witnesses were present this ended the dispute. Either oath was too solemn to be gainsaid. The second in particular was convincing: who would do anything as grave as to take the world on his shoulder for the sake of an erring rope in a measurer's hand? Four or five friends of both parties attended as witnesses. Fear of being asked to take this solemn oath was a considerable deterrent against disturbing the stones. Sometimes the older disputant took an oath, with or without earth or stone, that the disputed land was his, and so proved his title to it.

When the boundary had been recently delimited the disputants might consult their other neighbours, especially if these were older than they were themselves. Or they might ask the opinion of one, two or three very old men from another village as likely to be impartial. If they consulted only one, they had both to consent formally to employing him. Sometimes, when a dispute was dragging on interminably, an old man cut in with an offer to show them where the boundary was, with earth and a stone on his shoulder.

When friends or neighbours were called in they might settle the dispute by arguing. When old men were asked, they had to point out the boundary afresh but not till after they had taken earth and a stone on their shoulders and made a solemn oath to carry these through all eternity if they delimited falsely. When the old men were from the same villages as the disputants, they were unpaid; when from another village they were each given a Turkish pound.

627 By the second method of settlement the elders in Munë took two
623 or three napoleons from each disputant as a pledge of his future
423 behaviour, and arranged for five or six elders as well as some
[of boundary disputes—Analysis]

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ordinary householders to meet at an early date at the boundary. In 623
presence of the assembled company the claimant swore with earth 627
and a stone on his shoulders that the boundary was where he said. 423
The elders then dug to see if they could find the stones. If they did
they gave judgement in the claimant's favour and vice versa. If
the losing disputant did not accept their ruling they kept his pledge.
In Martanesh, according to Mr Lef Nosi, the case was entrusted
to a single elder. First he tried to decide it by questioning the
neighbours of the disputants. If he doubted what they said he put [695]
them to the ordeal of an oath on bread and the Koran. If he still
thought one or more of them was lying he bade them set up the
boundary stones where they wished. If they dared to do so he
could say no more, but sometimes they jibbed at this final perjury
and then his judgement prevailed. If the loser objected to his
allowing the neighbours to mark the boundary, he hushed him by
bidding him let them perjure themselves and then offering to
indemnify him out of his own pocket for his loss, but here the
elder was on safe ground. Shame prevented the loser from
accepting this offer.

When the elders failed to effect a settlement the injured party in Shijan complained to the government—not always unsuccessfully. Shijan was so near Elbasan that the government's writ ran there even in Turkish times. In many other places, in modern as in Turkish times, it was thought that if elders had failed it was useless to apply to the government, and a shooting match began. In Lumë the man who had taken the oath with earth and a stone took the initiative. In a fury at finding he had risked his soul with an oath for nothing he apostrophized his absent enemy, 'I put the stone on my shoulder. You could have done it, but you wouldn't. Now I'll kill you.' When he succeeded the bitterest of feuds started. Sometimes for greater ignominy they beat each other with sticks. This too started a bitter feud.

When bigger units disputed a boundary each party generally 628
engaged an elder, paying him a fee of 250–500 grosh in Martanesh 623
in Mr Lef Nosi's time, against 50 for a quarrel between individuals. 423
Elders, disputants and witnesses crowded to the boundary, where
the elders questioned and argued interminably. If they failed to
come to an agreement, murder soon followed. When both sides
were sickened by the shuttlecock of the feud they called in famous
elders from another unit who could not possibly have an interest in

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623 the matter and asked them to set up the boundary stones where they
628 thought right. But sometimes many lives had been lost in the
423 interval. Once the elders of Bytyç found, when summoned to intervene in a boundary dispute between Gash and Krasniqë, that in two days it had cost the lives of 124 men.

Characteristic processes often marked the arbitration. For example, when two village wards quarrelled in Çermenikë, the chief elders of the village summoned two of the oldest men in each and questioned them separately in the presence of witnesses. If their answers tallied, there could be no more question where the boundary lay. For ratification the old men were asked to walk along it, earth and stone on their shoulder, or to swear formally to its being the correct line. If there were discrepancies in their answers, the dispute was referred to the government authorities in Elbasan or, more probably, to elders from another village. If two villages of Kthellë quarrelled the three bajraktars went with the leading men and a sufficient number of hangers-on to the boundary. One village said where the line was, the other contradicted this. Finally, the most important of the bajraktars, lifting a stone set it on the shoulder of an old, wise, upright man and bade him set it down exactly on the boundary. When he had done so the line was established beyond controversy and no more murder could be done for it.[1]

423 To begin with the bloodshed method, if different villages or
628 tribes were involved, when men quarrelling over a boundary or
425 shepherds jostling over a grazing ground killed each other at the very time that the boundary was being delimited, there was no more need for elders. The tribal or village boundary was where heaps of stones marked the graves of the murdered men. If it was from a distance that they killed each other, the boundary of each village or tribe was by his grave and the ground in between became the common property of both. If one was only seriously wounded and was able to stagger or roll himself along into the foreign territory before he died, a cairn of stones was piled over him where he died, and though in foreign territory, became the boundary of his village or tribe. Boundaries so established were the most permanent; the

[1] In Mirditë boundary disputes between villages and tribes were sometimes decided with bloodshed or a rock, obviously very primitive methods. Indeed the latter, a glorification of physical strength, seems to antedate the discovery of gunpowder.

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greediest man would not venture to disturb the cairn or to steal land for which another had lost his life. 423 628 [425]

Near boundaries of villages and tribes might be won with a boulder and distant boundaries with a slab of rock. In the former event what was a contest in throwing the heavy weight took place; in so poor a country the weight could only be a stone. When the two tribes had quarrelled over a boundary each selected a champion athlete to throw the weight. Whichever threw it farthest won the land in dispute for the tribe. Father Gjeçov does not make it clear where the men stood for the throw. When more distant boundaries were in question, each champion carried a slab of stone or a rock on his back until he dropped under it. The one who held out longest won all the ground he had covered for his tribe.

The relations between a boundary and adjoining structures, such as a fence, wall or house, and natural features like hedges, trees and ditches, were as carefully regulated as the site of the boundary.

A fence or a wall generally enclosed a farmyard and sometimes a field, a vineyard or the like. Fences were made of hurdles or, much oftener, withered Christ's Thorn, depending on what grew in the locality. In the marshes at the mouth of the river Mat withies were interlaced between living willow trees planted like posts in the ditches surrounding the fields. In well-watered areas inland hedges of living Christ's Thorn were common. Walls were usually dry, like Scottish dykes; the more pretentious had their stones bedded in mud. Dry or mud, they were rare round fields, because fences were easier to make and less trouble to maintain. In upland pastures there were neither fences nor walls, presumably because the boundaries were too long. The rules for both fences and walls were pretty much the same. 417 351

When an old farmyard was divided between two brothers or cousins who were on friendly terms, their respective portions were separated only by boundary stones. When they were not on friendly terms what they did depended on the degree of their enmity. If not embittered, they built a wall three spans wide (60 cm.) or a fence, centred exactly over the boundary line and possibly broken by a door that led from one yard to the other. Each built half of the barrier and became the recognized proprietor of what he built. When it was a wall he made a square niche on his own side to mark his ownership. When it was a fence he had no such material way of safeguarding his rights but could always rely on 417 423 596

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417 public memory. If only one of the two wanted a barrier, he had to
423 build it unaided and entirely on his own ground, leaving the
596 boundary stones on his neighbour's side. In this case its position relative to these stones was enough to show whose it was, but he nevertheless constructed the usual niche on his own side. He could not, however, build the wall right against the boundary stones but had to leave its width free between them and its outer base. For the law said that any rain that fell on a man's house or wall must run off on his own ground and not damage his neighbour's property. It needed no legal compulsion, of course, to make him construct the various buildings in his own yard in such a position that their drips did not damage his fence. Incidentally the 60 cm. of free space served at need for a footpath. When two brothers were embittered, each built a partition wall, naturally without a communicating door.

685 If a man wilfully damaged a tree or other property on his neighbour's land he had to answer for his crime by paying damages. If a stranger who did not know he was trespassing on another's property and was not warned off by a shout from the owner did similar damage, he, too, had to appear before the elders.
[672] But if he could prove ignorance of trespass, he had no damage to
[351] pay. To keep animals under control so that they should not stray to another's property, a wall or at least a fence round the yard was an essential concomitant of a house. This too had to be its own thickness inside its owner's boundary to guarantee that rain drips
[112] did not damage the ground next door. In the Malësi e Madhe the man building the wall could claim any timber that during building operations fell not more than half-way down on his neighbour's side. But whatever fell more than half-way or reached the ground—even the scrap of land he had left himself between the wall and the boundary—became his neighbour's. This discrimination applied to every form of wall.

351 Sometimes when one of two brothers was enclosing his yard he
596 was permitted to utilize his neighbour's wall for one side of his
417 enclosure. There was no risk of this confusing the ownership of the wall, for the neighbour, when building it, had not only put a proprietor's niche on his own side but had also left the boundary stones outside so that they fell within the new yard. A more distant relative could not utilize an existing wall, but had to build one of his own, parallel to the neighbour's and distant by the

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regulation width from the boundary. If this involved him in more 351
expense it also saved him and his descendants from ever quarrelling 576
about the wall. It also gave his dog room enough to run round his 417
house at night, a not unimportant point. But even a brother could not be allowed to erect a building against his neighbour's wall. The risk from the drips of rain from it was too serious.

If one neighbour wished to fence or wall in his field he did 578
no wrong, strictly speaking, by building the barrier along the 423
middle of the grass-grown footpath along the boundary between 417
fields, and so on the very boundary line. But this caused so many quarrels that in Mirditë and the Malësi e Madhe the law bade him leave the width of his barrier free between its outer base and the boundary, just as he must do when building a wall across his courtyard. In its wisdom the law was providing for the future.

Theoretically, a man could not only build his fence or wall 423
along a boundary line, but could also ask his neighbour to make 685
half of it. In practice, however, the neighbour might be too lazy 417
or might say he was too poor or too ill to do his bit. In Kastrat[1] he could be fined 250 grosh and three rams for his unneighbourliness, and this possibility sometimes drove him to action. In the ingenious Malësi e Madhe the first man might in malice run up a fence parallel to the boundary but with an opening sixteen spans (3·20 metres) wide at either end. This ensured that his animals strayed through the opening on to his bad neighbour's field and ate it up. To give the neighbour no chance to make him move his fence he ran it up four spans, half the width of the horse-track, from the boundary. Most men, however, preferred to make the whole fence themselves, constructing it at least half the width of a footpath from the boundary. If two neighbours made half the fence each, but one made his half badly, this man was at fault—whether his sheep strayed into the good fencer's field or the good fencer's into his. The loss always fell on him; in the first case he had to compensate his neighbour, and in the second he had no right to be compensated for the damage done by the animals. 417

Sometimes a man wished to fence in a field which was bounded by a road. In Krasniqë and some other hilly districts he had to leave a strip of his land as well to allow for the fence slipping down on to the road, an ever likely possibility.

Most hedges of dead thorn were directly over the boundary line, 417 685

[1] See Appendix, Document V, § 11, p. 264.

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417 and if properly placed to begin with, caused no trouble. The same
685 was true of living hedges inland. On the other hand, living hedges in the marshy areas near the mouth of the river Mat sometimes
[241] grew so tall that they damaged the neighbouring land with their shade. To prevent this, the owner had to lop overgrown trees once every three years. Failing this, his neighbour could complain to the headman; inevitably they gave him leave to cut the trees down to the root on the owner's ground, an intrusion that was in itself a punishment, and fined the owner 250–450 grosh for breaking the law about lopping.

423 Similar rules regulated the planting of fruit and other trees, olives
245 being included among the former. In Mirditë a fruit tree might be planted only 5 'feet' (1 metre) from the boundary; another kind had to be at least 10 feet away. In Godolesh, a great fruit-growing area, a fruit tree could be planted on the very boundary, but in adjacent Labinot it had to be a span away. In Shkrel it could be planted anywhere on one's own ground, as it never caused trouble
[685] by itself. As with living hedges, care had to be taken that a tree did not cast harmful shade over a neighbour's land. If one did so in Shkrel the owner agreed amicably to lop it, raising no objections unless he had already quarrelled with his neighbour over something else. In Mirditë he was bound to lop the offending branches; if he failed to do so his neighbour could lop them as high as he could reach with a hook, the handle of which did not exceed 3½ spans in length. In the mountains of Lesh the owner had to uproot the tree or to pay annual damages to his neighbour. In Godolesh the neighbour was entitled to stretch as far as he could and cut the too luxuriant branches with his short-handled axe. If a tree was doing no damage to neighbouring ground, it could not be lopped except by its owner. A man who transgressed this law in Mirditë had to pay its owner 500 grosh.

312 Sometimes an open drain adjoined a boundary. When it was
423 first cut, each of the two neighbours provided half the ground
476 required, did half the work and retained the earth excavated from his own side. Three stones, one big and two small, were left at the head to mark the boundary; the two other sets, normally placed in the middle and at the foot, were removed to make room for the water; as the drain discharged into a bigger channel, they could not possibly be left at the foot. The boundary naturally ran exactly down the middle. In most places the drain had to be cleared out

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annually. In Godolesh the two neighbours did it in alternate years, 312
having exclusive right to the earth with its valuable fertilizing 423
properties for the year when they did the clean up. In Lumë two 476
neighbours cleared the drain together year after year and flung half the earth on one side and half on the other.

In other places one ditch seldom drained two neighbouring fields on the principle that 'you can't walk on my path or use my drain'. In Gurrëzë the man who wanted a drain had to cut it on his own ground with a 'footprint' (20 cm.) of land between the boundary and its edge for the protection of his neighbour's land. Without this buttress the drain might overflow or burst its bank to the detriment of his neighbour. In either contingency its owner had to pay compensation to his neighbour, but prevention of damage was always better for both parties. His neighbour might also accuse him of encroaching on his land, an insulting remark that provoked instant retaliation. If, later on, the neighbour wanted a drain he had to make one for himself, also a 'footprint' away from the boundary. In Lumë and Elbasan there was little risk that open drains would flood, but there too a space had to be left between their edge and the boundary. The avowed purpose of this space was to support the boundary stones. In all cases of single ownership the owner, on clearing the ditch, threw the earth on his own side, where it testified to his ownership if this was ever questioned.

Sometimes a man of Shkrel wanted both a drain and a fence. In that event the ditch was cut along the boundary and a strip of ground of the same width was set aside on the other side of the boundary. All the earth excavated from the ditch was thrown on this strip and so the neighbours became quits, one had a 'hole' on his land and the other a 'hill'. The fence was erected on the 'hill'.

We come now to one of the most important considerations in [132]
boundary making. North Albania is one of the wettest regions in 134
Europe, and when the land was waterlogged it inevitably tended 241
to slip downhill. The tropical intensity of many rainstorms 423
increased the mischief. Terracing the fields would have helped to
check it, but such manual labour is contrary to the habits and [461]
dignity of the north Albanian. His law, however, gave him every possible protection. When there were two fields on a slope, one above the other, they might be separated by a field-path, a road, an irrigation channel or a fence. (The term 'field-path' includes the

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423 little 'headland' which formed along the top of the lower field as
134 the plough-oxen turned in their ploughing.) It was vital to save
[241] the upper field from being undermined by the tillage of the lower one. So the field-path (or headland) was always assigned to the upper field, with the boundary and the fence, if any, along its lower edge. The upper man was strictly forbidden to work the path, generally grass-grown, and so fairly cohesive. The lower man was even more strictly forbidden to cultivate right up to the path for fear he brought it down; since his own land slipped a little lower every year as he tilled it, the field-path soared higher above it. Only if the lower field was in grass did the law revert to its usual form. If the upper field was planted with maize and the lower one a grass meadow, all the land under the boundary stones belonged to the lower field because grass is in itself binding enough to stop landslides.

If a road or an irrigation channel divided the two fields, the upper bank belonged in most places to the upper man, and the lower to the other, since there seemed no risk that cultivation of the lower field would undermine the upper one. In Greater
[312] Dibër, however, no risks were taken. Both banks of an irrigation channel were given to the upper man in case the lower one worked too close to it. In any area, the owner of a lower field who made a drain for it had to make it four finger-breadths from his own boundary to make sure it did not damage the upper field.

[342] If building a new house, the owner of the lower field had to keep it far enough away from the boundary to do no damage to the fence, as any such damage would make the upper field slip. On the other hand, the owner of the upper field had licence to build his house as close to the fence as if the site were flat, that is to say, with only half the width of a footpath intervening, but he was never foolhardy enough to do so.

Sometimes it was the lower man who received protection from the law. In Martanesh, for example, when the upper one built a fence or wall round his field, he had to leave the boundary stones as well clear of it as if the field were flat. This was in case it moved and encroached on the boundary.

423 Sometimes a fence was misplaced. Even if it was only one cm.
62 inside the neighbour's land, it had to be moved. In Bicaj the neighbour sent a mutual friend to say so to the owner; if the latter ignored the message the neighbour took down the fence and saw

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that when next it was erected it was correctly sited, otherwise shooting began. In the Martanesh area the village headman, with two official and two unofficial assistants, was usually called in to set the fence up on the exact boundary line. If the offender moved it forward again, the elders sent word to his relatives that if he touched it again, there would be shooting. So restrained, he usually settled down. 423 628

An opening was never to be made in a fence by force or without the owner's leave. Only a foolish and 'lawless' man would do such a thing; it could only be the preliminary to using the field as a road, or to stealing something. [685]

Fines were imposed as a deterrent. These amounted to 50 grosh in Turkish times and 100 koronë in the 1920's in the Malësi e Madhe, with 150 grosh and 3 rams in Kastrat in 1892; even if the offender closed the gap again, he had no right to make it in the first instance. If he destroyed a fence altogether in the marshes at the mouth of the Mat he was fined 250 grosh, five times the amount imposed for opening a way through it. If he did not pay the fine he was killed by the owner. As many as three lives have often been lost for one opening.

So with a wall in the marshland of the Mat. If it was holed, the owner asked the offender furiously if he was agreeable to having elders assess the damage. If the offender objected to assessment or refused payment, the owner shot him; at best he was sharply fined by the village. A breach in a fence or wall had always to be repaired by the owner.

Elsewhere manners were milder. In Martanesh there was no punishment at all for making a hole in a fence. In Perlat permission to make one was readily given either as a favour or in exchange for a passage through the other man's. In Fulqet a traveller could make one without leave if the highway was deep in mud and the only dry ground within reach was the field behind the fence. Often enough the owner of fence and field shot at him, but this was illegal; there was only one legitimate way of keeping the traveller to the muddy road. This was for the owner of field and fence to fill up the holes in the road with stones. If he took this trouble and the traveller still trespassed on his field he had full right to shoot him. [491]

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so numerous that their livestock amounted to a considerable 233
percentage of the total in Albania. They were found mostly in the shrub areas, though a few very poor men lived also in the oak zone. But the vast majority of this leafy belt herded their flocks on a larger scale. Above each village there was always the overhanging mountain with its forests of beech and pine to hold the waters and keep the pastures green and sweet. Under the higher beech trees no grass grew, but in the sloping clearings the animals could graze at will. In winter, however, these clearings were too high to [244]
permit of habitation; besides, such tilling of the soil as did take place occurred at roughly the same level as the village, and it was there that the flocks found most of their feeding. In summer the [246]
fields and meadows, whether open or enclosed, provided hay for the animals; in the autumn the stubble served for a few weeks; while in winter they wandered over the grass. In spring the winter-sown wheat was improved by being eaten down a few inches by the sheep. Dried leaves from the numerous oak trees supplemented this winter feeding.

Sometimes the number of animals was such that all these sources 231
did not suffice during the lean months, or sometimes a village had no suitable winter pastures or had lost them for political reasons. Many animals would then be slaughtered at the commencement of [251]
winter and the meat smoked or salted down, while the remainder lived to fare as best they could. The many owners who could not afford meat, fresh or salted, had to try to maintain their livestock until the spring. By that time the poor creatures were no better than living skeletons hardly able to walk out to the pastures.

On the long coastal plains and marshy river banks the owners of 221
large flocks and herds were scorched out of their pastures in 233
summer or plagued by the mosquitoes from the marshy swamps. This necessitated a wholesale migration at the beginning of summer to the cooler alpine slopes, a feature of Albanian life as characteristic as picturesque.

A few of the purely winter pastures belonged to the State, a few 233
to private persons, and the immense majority to some community, 423
either a tribe, a village or a village ward. State-owned pastures dated from Turkish times and were consequently found only on the plains near big centres, as Turkish control had little reality elsewhere. Examples of these were the forested swamps of Mamuras and the Highland village of Gurrëzë on the left bank of the river

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Mat. They were extensive, if not numerous, and must be distinguished from the other state-owned pastures which, also in Turkish times, were added piecemeal to the community's possessions from the confiscated property of tribesmen who had transgressed an important law.

There were both alpine and winter pasturages in private hands in the 1930's, but the former were few and small; examples of these were some meadows on Mt Dragû between Bulqizë and Zerqan, and an upland plateau east of Sllovë in Dibër. The former, carrying 1500 sheep, was owned by Dervish Ali of Fulqet, and the latter, carrying not more than 1000 sheep, by Cen Elezi of Sllovë. Up till 1920, when Prenk Bib Doda Pasha bequeathed all his property to the tribe of Mirditë because he disliked his heir, the Mal i Shenjt (Holy Mountain) above Orosh was the private property of each Hereditary Captain. As for winter pasturages, much of the marshy land from Mamuras to below Durrës was in private hands. Thus the estate known as Cakalë belonged to Abas Kupi of Krujë, and several others near Shijak to members of the Toptan family. Some scandal was caused in the 1920's when three of these were leased for 99 years to Italians. A few meadows, some coppices and all the fields of stubble (for arable land was never owned by the community), complete the tale of winter pasturages which were private property.

Everything else, big and little, on the mountains and the plains, by the river bank and the wayside, belonged to some community. This was usually the nearest. For example, the plateau on the mountain overhanging Zerqan was owned by that village, the upland meadows round Okol in north Shalë by the various wards of Theth, one by each, and the swamps between Gurrëzë and Mamuras by the village of Laç near Milot. A major exception was the summer grazing which belonged to the village of Kuturman in Çermenikë. This pasturage lay twelve hours away on Mount Shebenik, more popularly known as the Mal i Kuq (the Red Mountain) on the eastern frontier between Albania and Yugoslavia. But its acquisition has been accidental. Most of it came as the dowry of a girl of Ricë who was her father's sole surviving heir and who married a man from Kuturman. The rest was subsequently purchased by the village; the copper plate on which its title to this portion was engraved in Turkish, a great curiosity in view of the rarity of title deeds, remained in the possession of Beqir Ali of

[the pastures of Mamuras and Gurrëzë -- Analyst]

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Kuturman until his family died out and the plate disappeared. The 423
summer grazing which belonged to the village of Bërshenj near 233
Fulqet was three days away on Mt Dragû. The Highlanders, living at the mouth of the river Mat, had their summer pasturages on Mt Vermosh five days away from their winter homes.

A clear distinction was drawn between the laws governing private and public pasturages. In broad outline what was private [428]
could be fenced or sold or built on at its owner's sole pleasure, and was divided up between his sons at his death. What was public was marked off by boundary stones from neighbouring properties but had neither outside fence nor internal boundaries. Though all the households in the tribe or village had equal rights in it and could each graze as many animals, cut as much firewood or timber, build as many huts or folds and shoot as much game on it as they pleased, these rights came to them only as members of the community and were not transferable to strangers. They could not sell their grazing rights to an outsider, share a hut with him or graze his animals along with their own; if they wanted to give an outsider friend pasturage, they must do so on their private ground. They could not sell part of the common or dispose of firewood, timber or game for their individual gain; only the community could negotiate such sales, and all the profit or loss from them was community profit or loss. They could not build a permanent house on the common. When the head of a family died, his rights were [428]
not divided among his sons like his private property but descended to them jointly. Gypsies, it may be added, were allowed to pitch [523]
their tents, graze their animals and gather firewood on the common. Being as resourceful in Albania as elsewhere, they needed no permission and snared what game they could; as they did not carry firearms they could not shoot it.

Those communities which did not possess their own private 427
summer pasturage, hired or rented it from near and far. Breg i Matit 233
rented theirs partly from Shkrel and partly from Theth, and the 437
latter was a full week's journey away. Modernity having come to Albania, they paid cash down. Fulqet rented a neighbour's mountain every summer and paid for it in the old-fashioned way with half an oke of butter, the same of sour-milk cheese and 2½ oke of sweet cheese for every forty sheep. Perlat again gave their own winter pasturage in return for leave to summer on the mountains of Lurë and Selitë. In Turkish times, Lurë asked neither money

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687 As Father Gjeçov remarks, perjury harmed the soul, imposed a fine and disgraced the man in the eyes of his fellows. All three consequences worked powerfully in their different ways to keep oath-takers on the path of truth. A thief, for instance, might get [783] as far as the door of a church or mosque, but there his heart would fail him and he would exclaim, 'Forgive me, I did steal it'. Then he would proceed to make the usual reparation. Even innocent men dreaded the oath and took it with great reluctance. In poverty-stricken Theth many were so afraid of it that even when wrongfully accused, they preferred to pay whatever fine was due for the crime. 782 In Lurë people professed to fear nothing so much. 'You may rob [627] me of my life, but I will not break my oath', they used to say. As [423] for oaths taken to settle disputes, generations afterwards the descendants of the original disputants were afraid to break the oath of their ancestors. This fear kept boundaries that had been trodden out by an elder under an oath immovable for all time, and preserved water rights. In modern Lurë there is some maldistribution of irrigation water, but no attempt is made to remedy this by force of law. Many years ago, the people say, their ancestors took an oath about the irrigation rights of each family and they dare not violate this oath. One of the derisory stories told in sophisticated Tirana about the Highlanders relates that they were such poor stuff that one said, when brought to court, 'I have sworn a solemn oath not to tell, but press me a little and I will speak'.

There were occasions, however, on which perjury was thought permissible or even commendable. A man of Lumë, when asked to be compurgator in a murder case, would sometimes consider whether he might help to make peace between the parties if he forswore himself. If he decided that 'giving a living man for a dead one was no way of doing', he would swear a false oath. In the Malësi e Madhe, a village ward or a tribe had sometimes to swear not to enter a malefactor's house; when this punishment came to seem excessive it was thought advisable to break the oath.

695 In general, the modern mountaineers drew a distinction between their own old jury system and the law court that was superseding it. 687 Reluctant though they remained to forswear themselves by their old system, they would do so joyfully in the modern court, especially if this saved a friend or relative or concealed their possession of a rifle; this weapon being their chief treasure, they would deny '500 times' on oath that they had it. Instead of public censure

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682 ten or twenty years, according to the crime. In Mirditë, pre-
*628 sumably under church influence, the murderer of a priest was expelled for ever, and other anti-social criminals for five to fifteen years. In Martanesh the injured man might after an interval intercede with the local elders and secure a remission of part of the sentence; otherwise the murderer and his descendants must remain in exile. Several local traditions maintain that sentences of perpetual banishment were formerly much commoner. In Martanesh no such sentence has been pronounced for 200 years, and in Shpat none for 100 years. In Lurë any murderer used to be banished in perpetuity; witness the numerous families of Lurë origin who now live in Prizren, Tetovo, Reka and other places in Yugoslavia.

428 In Lurë when a man was sentenced to perpetual banishment, his
682 nearest kinsmen, those who would have been his heirs in the event of his dying childless, divided up his land. His family was in fact reckoned as extinct so far as the tribe was concerned. In Mirditë also he was considered as dead to the tribe. Father Gjeçov gives two accounts of what happened there to his land. For ordinary expulsions it was left uncultivated and used for public grazing.
[688] When a man was expelled for breaking into a church or for killing a priest, his land was bought by his nearest kinsmen and the money given to the church. In Shpat again the murderer's nearest kinsmen divided up his land; but there the elders valued it and the kinsmen paid the murderer the estimated sum before he was drummed out; if they could not raise the money, the village found
[452] it, subject to recovering it later from the kinsmen. On the other hand, when a murderer was banished only for a term of years, his land everywhere remained uncultivated until his return, when he built a house and resumed cultivation. During his absence, his ownership of the land was uncontested, but he was not allowed to derive any profit from it. A voluntary exile was in a different position; he could empower a kinsman to work his land and throughout his absence to remit to him in his place of exile an agreed proportion of the profits.

682 When a man was expelled for good, the community signalled the
*628 same by tearing up the four corner-stones of the foundations of his
584 house after they had burned it down. When his banishment was temporary, the corner-stones were left in place to await his return. Again when his banishment was perpetual, there could be no more giving or taking in marriage for him in the village; any engagements

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351 the loopholes. A still richer man, or one with many enemies, had
* 628 several doors in his courtyard wall and watch-towers at strategic points. (The turrets at each corner and in the middle of the long walls effectually commanded these entrances, and many loopholes in the walls provided space for many defenders to shoot from.) Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan had several posterns in his garden wall, each commanded by a watch-tower and each providing him in case of need with a possible means of escape.

* 628 Incidentally, back entrances in the mountains were useful for
574 guests with enemies. These could enter unseen by other guests, among whom there might be one or more who would inform the enemy of his whereabouts, and so endanger his life. They were also useful if the master had sent a group of his followers to shoot his enemy; if they failed, they could creep in unseen by the guests; in case of failure on such an errand, they did not wish the attempt to be known.

628 A wanted man who wished to work in his fields might station a child herding goats or a woman minding a cow at a vantage point where an enemy could be detected and the watcher give him warning, so that he might seize his rifle and defend himself. As the enemy's trump card was surprise, he was likely to retreat when detected. Before the wanted man left the house the women and children would look through the windows to make sure no enemy was near. A man with blood on his hands might wish to go to the forest to cut firewood, a place too distant for his women to keep watch. In that case he might send a scout ahead to reconnoitre the
[476] road, and himself follow rifle in hand. In Zdrâjshë, Çermenikë, the
● [423] communal hay-field was so far away that a wanted man made no attempt to go and cut his hay; the others, however, gave him his due share, though he had done nothing to earn it. A man who, in spite of risks, kept moving about might never stir outside, especially at night, without his rifle. He never told where he was going and travelled by an unlikely route and at unwonted times.

* 628 In the summer of 1935, to return from Tirana, whither he had
484 been officially summoned, Murat Kaloshi of Dibër sent out an attendant to find a car willing to drive at once to Dibër, and within five minutes of its drawing up at the door of his lodging started. This was at 2 p.m., an hour when Tirana is plunged in sleep on a summer afternoon. He supped at the wayside inn of Lunik, an insignificant village without telegraphic communication, four or

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[Laws enacted in the village of Kastrat on Nov. 2, 1891]

5. Whoever moves the stones of an old boundary and puts them in a new place will be fined 3000 grosh and 6 rams. 681 [423]

6. No one is to frighten a flock sheltering from the heat in a place it was in first.[1] Whoever does this will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams. [233]

7. The mill question remains inviolate as always and neither the Vukpalaj nor the Gjolaj may start a *degamë*,[2] and any miller who takes more than 5 per cent of the flour will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams. [256]

8. Any man who cuts down a tree under which animals take shelter from the heat or cuts off a mill or an irrigation stream will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.

9. Other fountains and springs are left under the old law, that is to say, whoever destroys a fountain or spring or prevents another from filling water-pots will be fined 500 grosh. [312]

10. Milling is by order of arrival. Any miller who mills for a man who comes later than another and breaks the order either out of favouritism or because corrupted by bribes will be fined 150 grosh and 3 rams. [256]

11. Whoever admits a stranger to huts on a mountain pasturage will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.[3]

IV. Truce Sworn between Nikaj and Mertur on August 10th, 1892. 628 619

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 121.)

The two tribes have sworn a truce with each other:

(1) As from August 14th up to the day of Our Lady of Mertur.

(2) As from December 26th up to the day of St Sebastian.

The guarantors of Flock and Shepherd, i.e. Nikaj and Mertur and the Bajraktars of Krasniqë and Gash.

V. Laws Enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on November 1st, 1892 A.D. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 126.)

At a general meeting held under the presidency of Brahim Beg the serxherde, Kasem Beg the bylikbash and the four and twenty chiefs (elders) of Kastrat, the following laws were enacted.

1. Whoever murders a man of Kastrat or of any of the other mountains will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[1] This must be a mistranslation. The Italian version of the sentence runs: *che nessuno ardisa impaurire il bastiame gravido.*

[2] The Italian version of this very obscure clause is as follows: *Le disposizioni riguardanti i mulini rimangono inaltarate per sempre e non possono causare litigi nè fra il povero nè fra il ricco*, clearly referring to the principle, enunciated again in § 10, which compels the miller to treat all his clients on the principle of 'first come, first served'. It is possible that the Albanian version has been misunderstood.

[3] This refers to the letting of some of the tribe's scanty pasturage to strangers.

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[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

681 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Breg i Shpellës, Viri, and Krue i Ri—will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a patch for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[233] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[423] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[487] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one [623] week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 500 grosh.

[693] 17. 'Pledge elders' are not to take more than 10 grosh as their fee for a judgement, and commoners not more than 5 grosh.

[628] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after their feud has been compounded by order of the government will be fined 12 purses and expelled from the village and turned into a ghost.

681 231 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

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[Covenant of Mat, 1942]

any political intriguers against the present régime who may be found within its territory. 681

2. If, after the conclusion of this covenant, one man kills another with or without just cause, his family shall be punished by the people of Mat with banishment from Mat for three years and his property, both movable and immovable, shall be confiscated and become state property. [672]

3. The same penalties shall be imposed on any man who runs off with a betrothed girl or a married woman.

4. When a domestic animal has been stolen and the thief cannot be found, the village to which the tracks lead must either pay the animal's value or prove that the tracks lead away from its land.

5. Whoever aids criminals and gives them food and shelter renders himself liable to the penalties detailed in clause 2.[1]

6. Whoever carries arms of any description without declaring them renders himself liable to the death penalty.

7. Whoever spreads false rumours about the policy of the State, public security or public finances to the detriment of the present régime and its policy shall be punished as laid down by the Lieutenant-General's decree No. 185.[2]

8. The people's representatives are to regulate and to examine all complaints which may be made concerning land, irrigation, water, roads and forests and if a commission succeeds in settling a dispute between two persons, the decision of the commission shall be inviolable. If it is contested, the contestants shall take the matter to the proper court. [692]

9. Land in Mat is generally held without regular title-deeds and ownership is proved by nothing but a written receipt (*senet*) and a meal according to the local custom. It appears that lately the ownership of properties bought 5, 10, 20 or 30 years ago with a receipt and a meal, as witnesses also confirm, is often disregarded or if regarded, is a constant source of disorders and murder. To put an end to such quarrelling the local Commission must not meddle with exchange of land so made until the Government has registered all the land according to the laws concerned. [423]

10. The chairman of the Commission shall be the local sub-prefect, and its members the political secretary of the sub-prefecture, the gendarmerie commander, the Fascist Albanian militia's commander, and the representatives of the people who assist in drawing up the present covenant. [624]

11. It is learned that Communists or, as some call them, Bolshevists, have made their appearance among us. We must get rid of these persons. 681 665

[1] (Author's note. At this time the term 'criminals' included not only transgressors of the law but also patriots resisting Italian rule.)

[2] (Author's note. No copy of this decree can be found.)

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conference, it will be remembered, condemned both the 795
Protestant Ecumenical Movement and the Vatican, "center of 659
Fascism and of plots against the Slavic peoples."

The fact that the Primate, Archbishop Christopher Kissi, 793
did not attend any of these assemblies was strongly indicative 661
of a lack of appreciation for Communist conceptions of the
role and functions of the Church. Indeed, it would have been
strange if he had attended. The Orthodox Church, like all [423]
other religious bodies in Albania, had suffered from the Land
Reform Law promulgated during August, 1945, which gave
the Party the right to confiscate and nationalize property it
has claimed elsewhere. By the close of 1948, Moslem and
Orthodox ecclesiastics were completely dependent financially
on the state. During the next year, the Archbishop was deposed
and arrested. The government's published contention was that
he "had worked against our interests and the interests of the
people by collaborating with the Unitarian Church during the
period of Fascist occupation." Two other prelates, Bishop
Ireneo and Bishop Agathangjeli, were arrested. How many
other members of the clergy have been taken into custody,
deported to labor camps, or executed, no one knows. There is
a report that Bishop Irenaeus Banushi was put to death during
1947.

However, the full fury of Hoxha's enmity fell upon the Ro- 795
man Catholic Church. The Germans had withdrawn in No- 661
vember, 1944. A month later the government seized all print-
ing establishments, and the Catholic press was abolished. At
the same time a number of ecclesiastical offices were searched,
and some members of the clergy were taken into custody.
Religious youth organizations were banned, and only the Anti- [883]
fascist Youth Front, avowedly pro-Communist, was permitted
to function. In February, 1945, the first "People's Court"
to convene in Scutari sentenced one of the best known Al-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

646 who is in full possession of all his citizenship rights and can read and write the Albanian language, may be elected as a deputy.

641 All citizens are equal before the law and their citizenship and political rights secured.

425 Confiscation of property is definitely abolished.

659 The State recognizes no official religion, all religions are equal and have full rights and receive equally favorable treatment in every respect.

641 Foreigners enjoy equal rights with Albanian citizens, except they cannot vote nor hold parliamentary and certain other offices.

645 The official business of the State is carried on by the eight Ministries, namely: Ministry of Interior Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Brëndëshme), Ministry of Justice (Ministria e Drejtësisë), Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme), Ministry of Public Instructions (Ministria e Arësimit), Ministry of Finance (Ministria e Financave), Ministry of National Economy (Ministria e Ekonomisë Kombëtare), Ministry of Public Works (Ministria e Punëve Botore), and Ministry of National Defense (Ministria Komonda e Përgjithshme e Mprojtjes Kombëtare).

[Constitution]

Private property may be limited, and when the general 421
welfare of the community calls for it, it may be expropriated [425]
by a law, which shall provide in each case what the amount
of compensation shall be to the owner.

Likewise other branches of economy or enterprises may 471
also be nationalized whenever the interest of the people
demands or requires it.

Monopolies, trusts, cartels, etc., created for the purpose
of imposing prices and monopolizing markets to the detri-
ment of national economy, are prohibited.

ARTICLE 10

The land belongs to those who till it. The conditions 423
under which an institution or a person can own land which
they do not cultivate shall be established by law.

Large estates may under no circumstances be owned by
private individuals.

The maximum amount of land that may be owned indi-
vidually is determined by law.

The state especially favors and protects the small and 652
middle peasants by its economic policy, by means of credit,
and by its taxation system.

ARTICLE 11

The state, by means of economic and other measures, 466
encourages the working classes to unite and organize them-
selves against economic exploitation.

The state protects the workers by guaranteeing them
the right to organize, by limiting their hours of work, and
by establishing minimum wages. The state supports the
workers by means of social security laws and vacations with
pay at the expense of the employers.

The state especially protects minors by regulating their 464
employment.

TITLE III

Rights and Duties of Citizens

ARTICLE 12

All citizens are equal before the law. They must obey 641
the Constitution and all laws of the land.

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491 till. In the first case he might have his house or field adjoining the
423 road and find his dog biting strangers and shot for its pains, his children killed by passing horses or cattle, and his crops, vegetables, vines or fruit damaged or plundered. Or the road might cross his field necessitating a fence on both sides, thus preventing his sheep from passing freely from one part of the field to another, besides involving him in expense for making and maintaining it. In the second case he might wish to plough up the road, a good plea since the law said 'Agriculture can move a highway', and more pithily, 'spades can shift roads'. If the elders on investigation considered his request justifiable, they gave him leave to close the old road. They required, however, that he should provide a satisfactory substitute, not by a stream where sheep might drown or across a precipice where they might break their necks; if the precipice could not be avoided, the rock had to be blasted away with dynamite. The new road could not be far from the old one, a distance of 200 metres being the maximum allowed. It had also to be made by the man's own unaided efforts, without any help from the community, and it had to be well made. If it was poorly made, the man suffered himself when he came to grief on it and had to pay damages when another did so; he was also laughed at by his neighbours as a foolish creature who did not know how to make a road; often they went and reopened the old road. In Fulqet it did not matter if the public was inconvenienced by the change; the law said 'land must not be spoiled'. In the Breg i Matit, on the other hand, the new road had to be shorter and so more convenient. A curious point in Krasniqë was that if a man ploughed up his field he could reduce the public road to the width of a footpath; this was little more than a gesture, since oxen and horses could not in any case use the road after the field was sown and a footpath was wide enough for other traffic. In Martanesh it was never lawful to plough up a public road, perhaps because the fields were few and very scattered, and the roads few, long and often dangerous.

491 In case of clear necessity an old public road might be moved on
[425] the initiative of the elders. If, for example, it was inconveniently
623 crooked or became a morass in winter, they could divert it to better
423 ground. The old road became the property of the man whose land adjoined it. The men whose land was taken for the diversion received no compensation. They often threatened to kill the elders, but for sole reply received an exposition of the law; they might

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tribal, religious or personal—fostered the belief that moving 423
boundary stones made things specially hard for the sinner in the 685
next world. In this world the elders punished the misdeed with 783
a heavy fine—of varying amount in Mirditë, 30 rams and an ox in Bicaj of Lumë, 3000 grosh and 6 rams in Kastrat, and a Turkish pound and boycott in Godolesh. Everywhere the sinner was publicly disgraced even if he was not always boycotted as in Godolesh, and he had always to compensate his victim financially. He had in fact stolen land, a valuable article of property as representing a man's livelihood. Consequently his crime was punishable as a bad form of theft. In Mirditë a man who had not only moved the boundary stones but also killed his neighbour was fined 100 rams and an ox and publicly executed for his double crime.

Yet in Mirditë one very primitive method of moving a tribal 423
boundary was permissible. If a man had no forest or other source 425
of timber and he had desperate need of this, he might take his axe and go to a forest in a neighbouring tribe—naturally he did not penetrate very far from his own tribe's boundary. The noise his axe made as he felled and lopped a tree soon brought up the foresters. If he had presence of mind and strength of arm enough to drive his axe up to the shaft in the fallen tree, and if the foresters could not pull it out, the boundary of his tribe was advanced to the tree. This was the manner in which Gjokë Buca of Kaçinar won forest from Kushnen. The method may have been peculiar to Mirditë.

In the Malësi e Madhe a man who had a spinney might refuse to permit his neighbour who had none to cut timber to fence in his property. He might want to cut the timber himself next year. It was his own business whether he sold it or not. The other was getting food from his field; let him go and buy or beg wood elsewhere for his fence. Presumably what went for an individual tribesman went for his village or tribe.

When disputes arose, efforts were made to settle them before 628
they ended in bloodshed. Two types of dispute were distinguished, 423
public—as arising between tribe and tribe, village and village, ward of a village and ward of a village—and private, as arising between individual and individual.

Settlement in private disputes might be effected by the parties themselves, by elders or by the government. The first method was

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623 the matter and asked them to set up the boundary stones where they
62 thought right. But sometimes many lives had been lost in the
423 interval. Once the elders of Bytyç found, when summoned to intervene in a boundary dispute between Gash and Krasniqë, that in two days it had cost the lives of 124 men.

Characteristic processes often marked the arbitration. For example, when two village wards quarrelled in Çermenikë, the chief elders of the village summoned two of the oldest men in each and questioned them separately in the presence of witnesses. If their answers tallied, there could be no more question where the boundary lay. For ratification the old men were asked to walk along it, earth and stone on their shoulder, or to swear formally to its being the correct line. If there were discrepancies in their answers, the dispute was referred to the government authorities in Elbasan or, more probably, to elders from another village. If two villages of Kthellë quarrelled the three bajraktars went with the leading men and a sufficient number of hangers-on to the boundary. One village said where the line was, the other contradicted this. Finally, the most important of the bajraktars, lifting a stone set it on the shoulder of an old, wise, upright man and bade him set it down exactly on the boundary. When he had done so the line was established beyond controversy and no more murder could be done for it.[1]

423 To begin with the bloodshed method, if different villages or
628 tribes were involved, when men quarrelling over a boundary or
425 shepherds jostling over a grazing ground killed each other at the very time that the boundary was being delimited, there was no more need for elders. The tribal or village boundary was where heaps of stones marked the graves of the murdered men. If it was from a distance that they killed each other, the boundary of each village or tribe was by his grave and the ground in between became the common property of both. If one was only seriously wounded and was able to stagger or roll himself along into the foreign territory before he died, a cairn of stones was piled over him where he died, and though in foreign territory, became the boundary of his village or tribe. Boundaries so established were the most permanent; the

[1] In Mirditë boundary disputes between villages and tribes were sometimes decided with bloodshed or a rock, obviously very primitive methods. Indeed the latter, a glorification of physical strength, seems to antedate the discovery of gunpowder.

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greediest man would not venture to disturb the cairn or to steal land for which another had lost his life. 423 628 [425]

Near boundaries of villages and tribes might be won with a boulder and distant boundaries with a slab of rock. In the former event what was a contest in throwing the heavy weight took place; in so poor a country the weight could only be a stone. When the two tribes had quarrelled over a boundary each selected a champion athlete to throw the weight. Whichever threw it farthest won the land in dispute for the tribe. Father Gjeçov does not make it clear where the men stood for the throw. When more distant boundaries were in question, each champion carried a slab of stone or a rock on his back until he dropped under it. The one who held out longest won all the ground he had covered for his tribe.

The relations between a boundary and adjoining structures, such as a fence, wall or house, and natural features like hedges, trees and ditches, were as carefully regulated as the site of the boundary.

A fence or a wall generally enclosed a farmyard and sometimes a field, a vineyard or the like. Fences were made of hurdles or, much oftener, withered Christ's Thorn, depending on what grew in the locality. In the marshes at the mouth of the river Mat withies were interlaced between living willow trees planted like posts in the ditches surrounding the fields. In well-watered areas inland hedges of living Christ's Thorn were common. Walls were usually dry, like Scottish dykes; the more pretentious had their stones bedded in mud. Dry or mud, they were rare round fields, because fences were easier to make and less trouble to maintain. In upland pastures there were neither fences nor walls, presumably because the boundaries were too long. The rules for both fences and walls were pretty much the same. 417 351

When an old farmyard was divided between two brothers or cousins who were on friendly terms, their respective portions were separated only by boundary stones. When they were not on friendly terms what they did depended on the degree of their enmity. If not embittered, they built a wall three spans wide (60 cm.) or a fence centred exactly over the boundary line and possibly broken by a door that led from one yard to the other. Each built half of the barrier and became the recognized proprietor of what he built. When it was a wall he made a square niche on his own side to mark his ownership. When it was a fence he had no such material way of safeguarding his rights but could always rely on 417 423 596

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417 public memory. If only one of the two wanted a barrier, he had to
423 build it unaided and entirely on his own ground, leaving the
596 boundary stones on his neighbour's side. In this case its position relative to these stones was enough to show whose it was, but he nevertheless constructed the usual niche on his own side. He could not, however, build the wall right against the boundary stones but had to leave its width free between them and its outer base. For the law said that any rain that fell on a man's house or wall must run off on his own ground and not damage his neighbour's property. It needed no legal compulsion, of course, to make him construct the various buildings in his own yard in such a position that their drips did not damage his fence. Incidentally the 60 cm. of free space served at need for a footpath. When two brothers were embittered, each built a partition wall, naturally without a communicating door.

685 If a man wilfully damaged a tree or other property on his neighbour's land he had to answer for his crime by paying damages. If a stranger who did not know he was trespassing on another's property and was not warned off by a shout from the owner did similar damage, he, too, had to appear before the elders.
[672] But if he could prove ignorance of trespass, he had no damage to
[351] pay. To keep animals under control so that they should not stray to another's property, a wall or at least a fence round the yard was an essential concomitant of a house. This too had to be its own thickness inside its owner's boundary to guarantee that rain drips
[425] did not damage the ground next door. In the Malësi e Madhe the man building the wall could claim any timber that during building operations fell not more than half-way down on his neighbour's side. But whatever fell more than half-way or reached the ground—even the scrap of land he had left himself between the wall and the boundary—became his neighbour's. This discrimination applied to every form of wall.

351 Sometimes when one of two brothers was enclosing his yard he
596 was permitted to utilize his neighbour's wall for one side of his
417 enclosure. There was no risk of this confusing the ownership of the wall, for the neighbour, when building it, had not only put a proprietor's niche on his own side but had also left the boundary stones outside so that they fell within the new yard. A more distant relative could not utilize an existing wall, but had to build one of his own, parallel to the neighbour's and distant by the

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233 Mat. They were extensive, if not numerous, and must be dis-
423 tinguished from the other state-owned pastures which, also
[425] in Turkish times, were added piecemeal to the community's possessions from the confiscated property of tribesmen who had transgressed an important law.

There were both alpine and winter pasturages in private hands in the 1930's, but the former were few and small; examples of these were some meadows on Mt Dragû between Bulqizë and Zerqan, and an upland plateau east of Sllovë in Dibër. The former, carrying 1500 sheep, was owned by Dervish Ali of Fulqet, and the latter, carrying not more than 1000 sheep, by Cen Elezi of Sllovë. Up till 1920, when Prenk Bib Doda Pasha bequeathed all his property to the tribe of Mirditë because he disliked his heir, the Mal i Shenjt (Holy Mountain) above Orosh was the private property of each Hereditary Captain. As for winter pasturages, much of the marshy land from Mamuras to below Durrës was in private hands. Thus the estate known as Cakalë belonged to Abas Kupi of Krujë, and several others near Shijak to members of the Toptan family. Some scandal was caused in the 1920's when three of these were leased for 99 years to Italians. A few meadows, some coppices and all the fields of stubble (for arable land was never owned by the community), complete the tale of winter pasturages which were private property.

Everything else, big and little, on the mountains and the plains, by the river bank and the wayside, belonged to some community. This was usually the nearest. For example, the plateau on the mountain overhanging Zerqan was owned by that village, the upland meadows round Okol in north Shalë by the various wards of Theth, one by each, and the swamps between Gurrëzë and Mamuras by the village of Laç near Milot. A major exception was the summer grazing which belonged to the village of Kuturman in Çermenikë. This pasturage lay twelve hours away on Mount Shebenik, more popularly known as the Mal i Kuq (the Red Mountain) on the eastern frontier between Albania and Yugoslavia. But its acquisition has been accidental. Most of it came as the dowry of a girl of Ricë who was her father's sole surviving heir and who married a man from Kuturman. The rest was subsequently purchased by the village; the copper plate on which its title to this portion was engraved in Turkish, a great curiosity in view of the rarity of title deeds, remained in the possession of Beqir Ali of

[the pastures of Mamuras and Gurrëzë -- Analyst]

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family's means permitted, and that there was a sufficiency of 592 coffee, sugar and cigarettes to maintain its dignity with visitors. He must also pay government dues and instalments of the price of any bride who was marrying into the family. Until the newer ways of to-day came in, he had further to buy a rifle for every youth in the family who came of military age. If he sent another man to market in his stead, as he was entitled to do, he often put a reserve price on the produce and always instructed his deputy about what he was to buy. On his return the latter must give a full account of his stewardship, saying what he had received for the produce and what he had spent, proving that he had made no unauthorized purchases, and handing over the remaining money intact. If the master grew so physically incapacitated that he could no longer make the long, arduous journey over the mountains to market (*pazàr*), he usually appointed one of the others, preferably the future master, to the permanent post of 'bazaar-man'. The latter then kept the family purse, but in other respects remained subordinate to the master.

It resulted naturally from the master's hold on the family purse [426] that only he could lend money or contract a debt recoverable in law. If any of his subordinates made a loan or pledged the family credit on behalf of a friend, the borrower might lawfully repudiate the debt on the plea that it was not lawfully contracted. Generally, however, the master first scolded the culprit well for transgressing the law and then told the borrower that the loan was made on his authority, so leaving him no option but to repay it. In the same way, when subordinates borrowed, both they and the master were within their rights if they said the loan was illegally contracted and refused to repay it. More often than not, for the honour of the family, the master paid up. Again, in such matters as going surety for a loan, a woman's chastity, or a man's life, which were great features of Albanian life, only the master might act, subject to one exception. Each man's rifle and revolver were his personal [422] property—to keep, to barter, to sell or to pledge without any reference to the master. Consequently, each subordinate might go surety up to the value of his arms. He usually did so with circumspection, however, for if he lost them he must not ask the master to replace them. The master was also responsible for any material 592 damage done to a neighbour by his subordinates. If, for instance, 672 they had stolen or killed a cow, or had set fire to a haystack, it was

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592 to work indoors. Her clothes were no better than theirs; indeed, if she had dairy work to do, they were usually dirtier. If she was unjust and ill-tempered, pilfered or sold family property, or fomented rather than composed the quarrels that were endemic among the other women, the men assembled in general meeting and deposed her.[1]

562 593 It only remains to describe a small domain with which the master had nothing to do. In astonishing contrast to the penniless men, all the women had their own money and controlled it absolutely. Called *pekul*, from Lat. *peculium*, and essentially pin-money, they spent it on kerchiefs, gewgaws, and even clothes and shoes. Each received the first of it on the morning after her marriage, when her men relatives filed past her in farewell and dropped money into a plate for her. Afterwards her father or brother might slip a coin or two into her hand when he visited her. In the tribal districts of the north her father also gave her on her marriage as much as half of the money which her husband had paid him for her. Later on she might occasionally earn a few pence by knitting socks in her odd moments or making the rough home-spun trousers worn by peasants. Debarred by law and custom from taking the finished articles to market herself, she gave them to her father or brother to sell, but never to her husband or grown-up son, for they would not let her even see the money. If near a market-town, she might gather walnuts or hazel-nuts in the woods and send these to market. In tobacco-growing areas she normally got the coarse bottom leaves of the plants, to smoke or to [437] sell as she pleased. If she had none of these resources, she could only steal maize, eggs, wool or cheese from her husband's house and send a child to the shop to barter them for what she wished to have; she was bound to pay in kind or money, for the law forbade her to pledge either her husband's or her father's credit. On these occasions neither her father nor her brother would act as her agent, for if such connivance in her pilfering were discovered, they would be in serious trouble with her husband's family. If she chose to keep her *pekul* idle, she might safely lock it up in her dowry-chest in her room; her husband never seemed to make her give it up and 562 593 no others might enter their room. Generally, however, she made 426 the money fructify. In southern areas like Çermenikë she lent it at the usual rate of interest, which was 30% (enough to compensate

[1] The author never heard, however, of this being done.

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lenders for the want of security), and in the less-developed north 562
she invested it in sheep, plough-oxen, or even horses which she 593
hired out on the 'half-and-half' system. Before a woman died, she 426
gave a little of her *pekul* to her daughters and the major part to her sons, but nothing to her husband, so making a last comment on the curiously detached relationship between them during their married life.

Except in the towns, no Albanian woman ever went into 357
domestic service. Each worked as a girl in her father's house and then in her husband's and, though never paid any money, was assured for life of whatever board, lodging and clothes these could provide. This applied even to families of the standing of Cen Elezi in Dibër. Consequently the Unwritten Law took no cognizance of female servants. On the other hand, men servants—mainly farm workers or herdsmen—were numerous enough to have been carefully legislated for.

Though such a servant ate out of the same dish as his master and slept in the sitting-room or elsewhere in the same conditions as the young unmarried men of the family, he had always to take a back seat—in the literal sense near the door and far from the fire; and, in the metaphorical sense, effacing himself. This befitted both his youth and his status. For his status was like that of a woman. 'It is for the master to command and for the servant to obey', said the Unwritten Law. If he were a shepherd, his views on the beasts under his care commanded his master's respect, but other servants were required to keep their opinions to themselves. In areas such 357
as Martanesh where women could not be killed in a blood feud, 628
a servant was as safe as they were from his master's enemies. 'Kill a servant? Faugh! As well kill a woman', was the sentiment.

There was, however, another aspect to his position: since he [574]
came from another family in his master's village or from another village altogether, he was not a member of his master's household but was its guest. As such he was entitled to protection by his master against all hurt from third parties. If he were hit, the offender must pay twice, compensating him for the personal injury of the blow and his master for the affront to his guest. If he were robbed, his master latterly complained to the police, but in the old days would have shot the robber out of hand in the north, but in Martanesh and farther south, not until he saw that the servant himself was too weak to resent the injury as honour demanded. If

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

that must be divided equally among all the brothers. If a house was built with it, that again must be divided equally. The law laid down 'What is in the house on Separation day is part of it'. 428

On the same principle, any debts due by the family such as government taxes or arrears of taxes were divided equally among the brothers.[1] Each had to discharge his share independently, the others accepting and being given no responsibility for it. Any payments due to the family, such as repayment of money borrowed, were similarly divided between the brothers. Bride-price was in a class by itself, being paid to the bride's father, both while he still lived with his brothers and afterwards as well. [426]

In a very few areas special charges on the family property were recognized. If, for instance, the youngest brother in Çermenikë did not yet have a gun, it was thought fair to give him money out of the common purse with which to buy one. In Perlat before the livestock was divided, two oxen and a few sheep were set aside for the wedding feast of an unmarried brother. In Mirditë the estimated cost of his wedding was paid to him, generally in kind, as in Perlat. Elsewhere, so far as is known, no such allowances were made.

Food and property of every description having been divided as described, accounts were balanced. Each brother paid up what money he had to pay and each received what money he had to receive. This concluded the division in most cases. It will be observed that no provision beyond 500 grosh was made for the daughters of the family. This was probably thought unnecessary by the old law-givers because a woman who had not reached extreme old age or been otherwise disabled was no burden to anybody. Her work, herding, spinning or even hoeing in the fields, was worth more to both brother and husband than the cost of her keep. An unmarried girl stayed with any of her brothers after their separation. She stood in the same relation to them all, it was thought, and was no nearer to the one than to the other. The modern civil code enacts, however, that a real and not a token provision shall be made for each daughter.

It sometimes happened that the father was alive when the brothers separated. If so, his welfare was provided for by the law. If the separation took place with his blessing he went to live with the son he liked and got on with best. This was almost invariably the youngest, who was thought nearer to him than the others, and 737

1 [at the time of separation--Analyst]

10. Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

X. Decisions Taken on April 30th, 1905, by the Youth of Shalë. [681]

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 126–7.)

1. As from to-day up to Ash Wednesday the percentage on loans at interest is to be paid with 25 okes of grain. If this is not paid by Ash Wednesday, a percentage of 30 okes is to be taken by force from the debtor. [426]

As interest 100 grosh or 100 okes of grain as the creditor wishes are to be paid. Let him take 100 grosh if it suits him, or if he says, 'I'll have grain', let them give him 100 okes of grain.

2. Grain is never to be given to anybody by a man of Shalë unless it is wanted for a funeral meal or it is desired to make a present of not more than 20 okes. [431] [765]

3. Raki is never to be produced by a man of Shalë at a funeral meal except during the seven weeks of Lent. [273]

4. No man of Shalë is ever to give away more than 100 grosh either outside or inside the tribe. [431]

A godmother is not to present a red *xhamadam* (sleeveless jacket). [608]

No woman is to go to a wedding in a party of five or more and they are not to seek a woman outside the same house.[1] [585]

5. Whoever fires the first shot in the yard of a church or inside its boundaries is to have his house burned and must pay 20 purses under the guarantee of flock-cum-shepherd and the youth of Shalë.

6. If a man disturbs a mass that is being said and if the priest, crucifix in hand, says, 'So-and-so has troubled me', the offender will have his house burned and must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

7. Whoever touches Church property must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

8. Whoever molests the Church servant must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

9. If anyone borrows coffee and sugar from the priest for a funeral meal and does not return them to him within four weeks, and if the priest complains, he must pay a fine of one ox to the tribe. [765] [426]

10. Whoever steals an ewe, goat and cow from a man of Shalë and whoever does anything to his neighbour that disgraces him, shall have his harvest burned, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed. He will pay fines of one ox to the youth and 2 rams to the government representative.

11. These laws, enacted by the youth of Shalë together with the

[1] The last clause of § 4 is given as in Mrs Hasluck's MS., but there seems to be some mistake, as the corresponding passage in the Italian version of Father Gjeçov's *Kanùn* runs:

Lo shalano non può fare il compare più di 5 volte, e non può chiedere che si leghino in comparto più di 5 famiglie.

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

563 ing, accompanied by the women on tambour-
533 ines and they by the men on violins and
585 cornets. Their dances are picturesque in their native costumes with their hair either flowing or bound up, according to the particular dance. For those who may interpret their dances, there is a rich abundance of narrative in store for the reader. The harmony of tambourine, violin and cornet is not at all unpleasant when played by skilled musicians. The singing, however, is not harmon-
563 ized, the performers using only one voice.
[461] Regardless of where these gypsies may live they earn their living in the same way, and being too lazy to cultivate even a small truck-garden, they lead easy, happy-go-lucky exist-
[427] ences, and they have their huts free of rent, provided they work a few days out of the year for their ground landlord, Shevket Bey. Strange as it may seem, these wandering,
[326] anchorless people are about the only local blacksmiths found in this country, for the Albanians proper have a curious aversion to this occupation.

245 After leaving this quaint little town of Bradshesh, and penetrating into the heart of Albania towards Elbasan, large, beautiful

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Kuturman until his family died out and the plate disappeared. The 423
summer grazing which belonged to the village of Bërshenj near 233
Fulqet was three days away on Mt Dragû. The Highlanders, living at the mouth of the river Mat, had their summer pasturages on Mt Vermosh five days away from their winter homes.

A clear distinction was drawn between the laws governing private and public pasturages. In broad outline what was private [428]
could be fenced or sold or built on at its owner's sole pleasure, and was divided up between his sons at his death. What was public was marked off by boundary stones from neighbouring properties but had neither outside fence nor internal boundaries. Though all the households in the tribe or village had equal rights in it and could each graze as many animals, cut as much firewood or timber, build as many huts or folds and shoot as much game on it as they pleased, these rights came to them only as members of the community and were not transferable to strangers. They could not sell their grazing rights to an outsider, share a hut with him or graze his animals along with their own; if they wanted to give an outsider friend pasturage, they must do so on their private ground. They could not sell part of the common or dispose of firewood, timber or game for their individual gain; only the community could negotiate such sales, and all the profit or loss from them was community profit or loss. They could not build a permanent house on the common. When the head of a family died, his rights were [428]
not divided among his sons like his private property but descended to them jointly. Gypsies, it may be added, were allowed to pitch [523]
their tents, graze their animals and gather firewood on the common. Being as resourceful in Albania as elsewhere, they needed no permission and snared what game they could; as they did not carry firearms they could not shoot it.

Those communities which did not possess their own private 427
summer pasturage, hired or rented it from near and far. Breg i Matit 233
rented theirs partly from Shkrel and partly from Theth, and the 437
latter was a full week's journey away. Modernity having come to Albania, they paid cash down. Fulqet rented a neighbour's mountain every summer and paid for it in the old-fashioned way with half an oke of butter, the same of sour-milk cheese and 2½ oke of sweet cheese for every forty sheep. Perlat again gave their own winter pasturage in return for leave to summer on the mountains of Lurë and Selitë. In Turkish times, Lurë asked neither money

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

233 nor produce nor an exchange for summering the flocks brought to
437 the Crown (Kunora) by tribesmen living north of Shkodër, but
427 welcomed them because their sheep manured the fields. Com-
[241] paratively recently, Lurë gave a Selitë man leave to summer his flocks gratis on Mt Murije, which, lacking their manure, would hardly have been worth the labour of tilling. Dervish Ali of Fulqet too was glad to let hundreds of sheep graze free in his meadows on Mt Dragû. Surroj and Arrn pastured sheep belonging to the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë without payment, because they also had so little arable land.

609 Except where the soil was so poor that the manure was welcome,
685 as in Lurë, or where grazing was very plentiful, as in Theth, outsiders were rigidly excluded from alps which were owned or rented by a community. Nangë said it had not enough feed for its own flocks. Martenesh, Gurrëzë and Breg i Matit said they did not want their pastures disturbed by strangers. All infringements of the ban, both petty and grave, were punished by fines.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

682 dependent on charity. At best the elders fixed a sum to be paid by
*628 the murderer for leave to work his own land: the money paid, the avenger gave his word not to molest him; or a 'strong' friend guaranteed his safety as he tilled his fields. This arrangement continued until he was killed elsewhere or the avenger consented to make peace.

*628 Various devices were tried to outwit an avenger too venomous
[562] to make the smallest concession to his 'imprisoned' enemy. The
[427] commonest was for the murderer to let his land to a neutral on the usual Albanian terms of 'halves'. Once some men of Lurë, trusting to the prevailing immunity of women from attack, dressed in their wives' clothes and went out to work. They were soon discovered and compelled to return home. Frequently a woman was made to work alongside the men, the assumption being that from fear of accidentally hitting the women and so disgracing himself the avenger would not fire on the party. The man who murdered the brother of Kodhel Dede of Nezhar in Shpat belonged to a large family, the members of which went to work with a woman between every two men. Kodhel thus found it impossible to kill one of them and after a long period of years made peace. Sometimes a man's wife kept watch while he worked; if she signalled the enemy's approach, he seized his rifle and prepared to defend himself. During Kodhel Dede's feud with the Trepsanishti family he found himself long baulked by the vigilance of his enemy's wife.
[796] At last his chance came on the eve of 15 August. The wife had her
[762] mind set on making *melata* (sacrificial foods) for distribution on the festival, and, forgetting her husband who was at work on the threshing floor, she went home to make them. Kodhel, who had crept up through a maize field, shot her husband as soon as her back was turned. In the hilly landscape of Fulqet in west Mat a different sort of watch was kept. The 'imprisoned' men, aided by friends, dug a hole on top of a hill commanding a wide view. One of their best shots, rifle in hand, settled down in this hole ready to snipe the avenger if he tried to kill any of the men at work.

*628 Work in the fields apart, an 'imprisoned' murderer might for
572 short periods leave his house under escort of a friend. This friend
682 had to be 'strong', otherwise the murderer might be killed by his enemy, a lasting disgrace to the man whose protégé he was for the time being. Sometimes murderer and avenger had a common friend who took the former out; in that case the friend ran less risk

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe. 609 579

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes. 726

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep. 684 848

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head. 685

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider. 423 428

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has 842 554 562 592

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's 689
dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to 562
one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after [428] which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-aide by eloping [689] with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, 689
so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church 562
at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard 773
a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man 585
refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in 583
blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed 578
daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" 577
that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 583

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

175 Vaghia,[1] not one escaping. Shainitza caused the town
159 to be razed to the ground, and, after cutting off the
[669] hair of the women with every insult which she could heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove them forth with their children to the mountains, menacing any with a like doom who should venture to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath. The traveller passing through the valley of Drynopolis may to this day see in the wall of the khan the tablet which records, in letters of gold, the number of the dead and the date of their sacrifice to the *manes* of the mother and the fury of the sister of the Vizier of Ioannina.

[428] In a codicil to her will, Khamko directed that a *hadji*, or pilgrim, should be despatched on her part to lay offerings on the tomb of the Prophet and pray
788 there for the repose of her soul. Such pilgrimages and offerings may, however, only be made when the expenses are defrayed with money lawfully and honestly acquired. And as it was found on inquiry into the estate of the late Veli Bey, Ali's ancestor, that the property to be sold for this purpose had been taken by force or fraud from a Christian, the pilgrim-
175 age was disallowed by the religious authorities.
159
562 Such extreme ferocity of disposition as that mani-
[152] fested by Khamko and Shainitza is, however, exceptional among Albanian women, and even in Ali Pasha's

[1] The Greek poet, Aristotle Valaorites, has made Thanasé Vaghia the subject of one of his most striking poems, Ὁ βρυκόλακας, "The Vampire," a translation of which may be found in my *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 121. The tragedy of Ἡ κυρὰ φροσύνη, "The Lady Phrosyne," by the same writer, part of which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica, gives a vivid picture of Ali Pasha and his Court.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

583 184 principal inhabitants of Orosh have all been acquired in this way, and far from resenting or being ashamed of the circumstance, they are, on the contrary, proud of it, and their relatives accept the situation on payment of the usual dowry. And although they may not embrace with enthusiasm the faith into which they are generally baptised as a preliminary to marriage, they scrupulously observe its external forms, are much devoted to their husbands, proud of their reputation, and jealous of their honour, which, should occasion require, they are ready either to defend or avenge.

428 611 Among these exogamous tribes, succession is, as a rule, in the male line. If, however, there are no surviving sons, and a daughter chooses to remain single, she may enjoy the usufruct of her father's property, which on her death reverts to her nearest male relatives. If a man die childless his property is divided among his male relatives, who pay to his widow a pension, she remaining in his house or returning to her friends as she pleases, and retaining all that she has received from her parents either before or after her marriage.

567 428 As with the Osmanlis, the children by slaves of Moslem Albanians have an equal right with those of free mothers to succeed to the estate of their father.[1]

587 If the deceased husband has an unmarried brother, the latter has a right to marry the widow with or without her consent. On the wedding-day she receives from him the present of an ox, or its equivalent, four goats.

[1] The father of Ali Pasha, of Ioannina, was the son of a slave.

CHAPTER IX

THE CHIEFS OF SHALA PROBATE A WILL—WE VISIT THE HOUSE OF LULASH—A JOURNEY TO UPPER THETHIS.

000 I MAY say that such agitators will have a very bad time of it, as doubtless all agitators deserve to have, since all agitators always have 428 had it. 794 There was a conference that afternoon in the padre's bedroom, and this time it was the padre who wanted the principle of private property established. A man had died and left a piece of land to the Church, and the padre[1] wanted the land to build the school on. Four chiefs of Shala sat beside the desk, on a bench brought in for the purpose, and Padre Marjan, gaunt and earnest in his Franciscan robe, talked the case out before Perolli.[2] (Perolli was no longer a hunted man who might be turned over to the Serbs; he was now an honored guest, emissary from an allied tribe, whose words were heard with respect.)

Padre Marjan had written down the testator's dying words in a notebook. He read them, those little mysterious marks on paper. They said that the man had made much land—every foot of earth is made by incredible labor of uprooting bowlders and building stone walls to catch

1 [Padre Marjan of Thethis [156] -- Analyst]
2 [Secretary of Albanian Ministry of Interior. Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

washed-down soil—and he felt that he was leaving enough land to the tribe to stand as his contribution, without this one small piece. That piece he wished the tribe to give to the Church. 428 794

There was also a statement from the man's wife, saying that her husband had long wished the Church to have that piece of land, and that she and her children wished it also.

"Those words are written words," said Perolli, gravely, the eyes of all upon him. "Therefore they are holy words; they are as the words of the saints."

"That is doubtless so," said one of the chiefs. "But this man was not a saint, and, besides, how can he give away land? Land belongs to the tribe of Shala." [423]

"It is not as though I wished to take the land from Shala," said Padre Marjan. "I do not want it for myself. I wish to build a school upon it, and the school will be for all the children of Shala. It will be for the good of the tribe, that their children can learn to read and write."

"Glory to your lips," said another chief. "But since it is for the children of Shala, let it be built on the land of Shala. Build our school upon it, and all our tribe will bless you."

"But this man left the land to the Church, for the welfare of his soul. It is written here upon this paper that the land belongs to the Church. It is the Church that will build the school in Thethis; I myself am already teaching your children, and even when the new teacher comes from

428 Tirana the school will be under my care. I am
794 the servant of the Church in Thethis, and this land must belong to the Church."

"We will think about it," said the chiefs.

"Shall it be said," demanded the padre, "that the Americans have come from far across strange seas to bring money to build a school for the children of Thethis, and that the people of Thethis will not give even one small piece of land?"

"But," said I to Frances, "why do you want to take land from the tribe and give it to the Church?"

"The Church is the only light they have up here; the only center of inspiration and learning," said Frances. "See how the people come to the padre's kitchen; see what he means to them. I'm not a Catholic, but can't you see that if the school is to be a community center the Church must have it? They don't know how to make it what we want it to be, themselves."

"Very well," said the chiefs. "You may have the land, Padre Marjan."

291 My opangi[1] had arrived. The edges of the leather had been turned upward and joined across the toes by an intricately woven network of rawhide thongs. Another network made a heel piece, and there were thongs to go around the ankles. With the opangi came a pair of short, knitted purple socks reaching just to the ankle, where they ended in points bound with black braid and stiff with gold and silver

1 [Albanian handmade shoes] Analyst

[Constitution]

642 All activities of the administrative organs of the state and courts must be based on law.

TITLE II

Social and Economic Measures

ARTICLE 5

471 In the People's Republic of Albania the means of production comprises all the wealth of the people owned by the state, the cooperative organizations of the people, and private individuals whether real or legal entities.

The wealth of the people includes mines and all other sub-surface resources, as well as waterways, natural wealth, forests, pasture land, airways, postal service, telegraph, telephone, radio stations, and banks.

[439] Foreign trade is under the control of the state.

ARTICLE 6

185 In order to protect the vital interests of the people and to improve the standard of living and in order to exploit all the economical forces the state undertakes to direct the economic life and development by an overall planned economy. The state, by controlling its economy and the cooperatives, exercises a general control over private economy as well.

[575] The state, in order to carry out the general economic plan, relies on the trade unions of the working men and civil servants, the cooperatives of the peasants, and other organizations of the laboring masses.

ARTICLE 7

471 The state regulates and directs by law the use of the collective wealth of the people. The collective wealth of the people is especially favored by the state.

ARTICLE 8

474 The state is especially interested in the cooperative movement of the people which it favors and assists.

ARTICLE 9

421 Private property and private initiative are guaranteed
[428] by the state. Private inheritance is guaranteed. Nobody may use private property to the detriment of the public.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

592 were publicly mocked as 'low-class fellows'. Sometimes they had no choice, being so disobedient and unruly that their father compelled them to leave his house. Or they got on so badly with each other that he feared there would be murder done.

Three factors militated against separation. There was the sense of family which was so strong that four or five generations, numbering twenty souls or more, might live under one roof. Secondly, it was economically to the advantage of each man that the household should remain together. In a large household all branches of the pastoral and agricultural life were possible, but in a small one activities must be restricted; one and the same person could not tend cows and oxen, ewes and lambs. With good reason the proverb says 'Separation ruins a family'. In the bad old days too, it was strategically good for brothers to stick together; the more guns in a house the stronger it was.

592 428 When separation had been decided on, the family possessions were divided equally without any regard for primogeniture. Everything that could be eaten or drunk—dairy produce, grain, haricot beans, eggs, honey, raki—was considered food and divided equally among the mouths to be fed, and everything else—land, livestock, farm implements, house, household utensils—was considered property and divided equally between the brothers.

The law of food, as expanded, laid down that every living soul in the house on the day of separation, male and female, sick and well, greybeard and infant drawing its first breath, should receive the same share of food. Supposing one of the two brothers had besides his wife ten children, and the other two, the first received twelve portions of food and the second four. Then the age clause was variously interpreted. In Dibër even a child still in the womb was allotted a full portion, but elsewhere one born so little as an hour after the conclusion of the separation received nothing and the prospective father naturally tried to protect himself against this loss by delaying the separation, if possible, until the child had been [853] born. In Lumë and Mirditë a child less than a year old was not given food, the idea being that its mother's milk would suffice for it throughout the coming year—partly to avoid conception Albanian children were everywhere suckled until they were three years of age. In other areas a new-born child received its quota on the assumption that before a year was out it would 'eat a little, spill a little and let the cat eat a little'. Separation generally, though not

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

invariably, took place immediately after harvest when bins were full and a year must pass before the fields again yielded a crop. 592 428

Although food supply was divided in most areas into equal portions irrespective of total quantity, in the Malësi e Madhe each person received three loads of maize, which was considered to be enough food for a year. Any surplus was sold and the proceeds divided among the brothers. In other areas a surplus rarely existed, so the specification of quantity had never been made.

For the purposes of separation the term 'grain' included not only maize and wheat but also everything that grew in a field or garden, such as fruit and vegetables. Exceptionally, in Godolesh both olives and butter were regarded as property and divided equally, not among the number of souls, but among the brothers. In Perlat raki and wine were divided equally among all who drank; some of the men did not drink and some of the women did. Sometimes a woman tried to secure a double share of drink for her husband by alleging falsely that she herself drank. The attempt was usually frustrated by the other women, who, not wishing to see their husbands go shorter than they should, exposed her fraud. In rare instances where drinking water was divided, it was treated like food.

Property, said the law, was to be divided equally among the brothers. This applied only to property inherited by the father; the number of children belonging to each brother was not considered. One of two might have seven children and the other three, but each received exactly half the property. The only exception recorded is in Martanesh, where a brother with many mouths to feed might be given a little extra food on condition of accepting a little less land. It followed that the brother with the large family was much worse off initially, though eventually, as his children grew old enough to work, he might catch up the other because he would have more hands at work. No doubt it was this balance of initial poverty against subsequent wealth that led the old law-givers to enact this law of equal division of property among brothers. It was also immaterial that one of the brothers had a grown son; the son counted in the division of food but not in that of property.

A dead brother was ignored when the food was divided, but if he had left a son, his rights to an equal share of the property remained intact. It descended to his son, who, irrespective of his age, ranked on separation day as his father's representative and the

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428 592 equal of each of his father's brothers. Supposing the dead man had been one of four brothers, the three survivors and his orphan son each received one-quarter of the property. If he had left two sons, these became joint owners of his quarter share. Even if all the brothers in a communal household died before it split up, the principle of division was the same. Suppose they were three, and the eldest had ten male descendants, the second five and the third one, the property was divided into three equal parts, one for each of them, regardless of the disparity in the number of their descendants.

Division of food was relatively simple, a matter of arithmetic—so many souls, so many portions. The process of division of property was much more complicated, a thing of exact measurements and difficult calculations. As a first step the land was measured with a rope and divided into as many equal parts as there were brothers. Occasionally it was measured by pacing, the man who paced clasping his hands behind his back to steady himself and so to keep his paces equal.

When the quality of the land was uniform there was no difficulty about the actual partition by these methods. But it might happen that one field or one part of a field was better than another. Good and bad must nevertheless be shared alike by the brothers. To make this possible, what may be called the system of 'offset or compensation' came into play. Most commonly a smaller field or a smaller portion of the same field was given to the brother who got the better land, and a larger field or larger portion of the same field to the one who got the worse. The basis of calculation was the average yield of the land, this being common knowledge in the district. Size was thus offset against quality. Less often the portions were valued and the brother who got the better one paid compensation to the other; the latter was theoretically supposed to spend the money on buying himself a piece of land somewhere else.

423 426 The term 'land' included arable land, vineyards, vegetable gardens, orchards, hay meadows and enclosed lowland pastures, all of which must be divided up when the brothers separated. It did not include mountain pastures or woods and forest for firewood, fodder and timber. These remained undivided, common property for the common use of the brothers. It was rare, however, to find a joint household owning mountain pastures and forests, for these were generally held in common by a whole ward or even a whole

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village. In Çermenikë all the brothers were allowed to graze their sheep after harvest on a divided arable field as they did when it was whole and they were together; it was immaterial that one had a bigger flock than the other. At least it was immaterial in theory, but in practice they sometimes quarrelled over the grazing. Then each must set a shepherd on his own boundary to watch over his interests. Presumably the impossibility of providing shepherds enough to guard the wide boundaries of forests and mountain pastures has prevented these pieces of property from being divided up.

Two curiosities of land division are to be noted: if an arable field was very narrow, it must be divided short-ways, for if divided long-ways, the plough-oxen might not have room to turn when ploughing; sometimes, too, three brothers who were separating amicably might wish to have each of their father's fields divided in three rather than each receive one field apiece. A day might come when one of them might wish to sell his land, then there would be more inducement to keep it in the family if it immediately adjoined another brother's holding. They also wished, they said, to perpetuate the memory of their joint ownership of all the fields, and when one field was some way from another and in different hands, it was less easy to realize that once the same family had owned them all. If possible they would like to keep up their brotherly ties for a hundred years or more.

The division of the joint home was generally much more complicated. Supposing there were two brothers in a house consisting of only a sitting-room and a kitchen. By the partition method one was given the sitting-room and the other the kitchen. Since the sitting-room was manifestly superior it was valued together with the kitchen. The values were added, then divided into two, and the difference between half the total and the value of the kitchen was paid to the less lucky brother. The payment made, it was held that the old home had been equally divided between the brothers. Sometimes instead of money the offset system was used, a better portion of land being given to the brother who had received the worse part of the house. For this purpose the land as well as the house was valued, and if the former's total value was 26 napoleons, 14 napoleons' worth would go to the brother with the kitchen worth 6 and 12 napoleons' worth to the brother with the sitting-room worth 8, so giving each 20 napoleons' worth of property.

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428 592 Alternatively, both sitting-room and kitchen were measured with a rope and divided into two. A partition wall of lath and plaster or, more probably, of lath and mud was then run up in both. This left half of each with the old door and, where it existed, the old staircase, while the other two halves had neither door nor staircase; a new door and, if required, a new staircase, were built for these, generally on the opposite side of the house. Each brother then took possession of his new home, a small poor place but his own with its own egress to the outside world.

[562] [795] In the Mohammedan villages near Elbasan there were regulations about windows which aimed, like the building laws, at protecting women from prying eyes. In Godolesh the brother getting the upper room in a two-storeyed house was told to blind the windows overlooking the yard if his brother's kitchen, as was probable, opened on to this; otherwise his brother's womenfolk would not have full freedom to move about the yard. The brother getting the middle storey in a three-storeyed house was given similar instructions, but the brother with the topmost floor might leave all his windows open as they were too high to overlook the yard. In Labinot all windows overlooking another's property must, irrespective of their height, be blinded. Such regulations were not enforced in Christian villages.

When the old house had two rooms as well as a kitchen the division was less complicated. To begin with, one room was assigned to each brother. If one was bigger than the other they were both valued and due compensation paid to the brother with the smaller one. As for the kitchen, either it was divided in two or it was given to one brother and its estimated value paid to the other so that he could build a new kitchen for himself on his own land.

Continuing to live under the same roof imposed certain mutual obligations on the brothers. If the flimsy partition wall or the roof needed repairs, both must share the expense in equal proportions. If one could not or would not pay his quota the other was entitled to repair only his own section of the roof, leaving his brother's to the ravages of the weather; or he might try to extract the money from his brother by force; until lately, he might even shoot him in truculent Lumë. As for the partition wall, he probably repaired it at his own expense for the sake of his personal privacy.

To avoid such quarrels and to secure more houseroom the buying out method of dividing the old home was preferred. The

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building itself was allotted to one of the brothers, almost everywhere the youngest, who became its sole owner and master. But he must pay each of his brothers a proportionate share of its value, half if he had only one brother, a third if he had two and so on. Sometimes two brothers who had decided to divide the old house with a partition wall, according to the first method of division, quarrelled irreconcilably about the position of this wall. Then they might switch over to the second method, one buying out the other. If they could not afford to do this, one might legally pull down his own section of the house, take away the timber and stones, and build himself a new house on his own land.

Sometimes four brothers separated two by two, one pair remaining in the old home and the other going out. In that case the former paid between them half the assessed value of the house to the outgoing pair. Sometimes the four separated one by one, two remaining in the old home as before and two going out. In this case the old home was divided by a partition into two portions, one for each of the two brothers remaining in it and one-quarter of its value was taken from each of them and given to each outgoing brother.

In Dibër and Perlat, possibly elsewhere, the outgoing brothers received an extra portion of land as a site for the house they must build. In Perlat a distinction was made between irrigable and non-irrigable land. The extra portion given in the case of the latter, which was nearly worthless, might amount to as much as 120 *pashë*.

Almost everywhere the old home was valued as it stood, but a system not recorded elsewhere prevailed in Perlat. This took no account of the timber, stones and mud (for mortar) which went to the building of the house because these cost nothing but labour, and the labour had been provided as a joint enterprise by the family when still united. (But the brothers, remembering what the mason who built the house had been paid, divided that sum equally between themselves; it was generally no more than 6 or 7 napoleons.) As usual, the brother allotted the house paid cash to his outgoing brothers. The drawback to this system was that it did not provide for fluctuations in the value of money.

The old house was generally given to the youngest because he was thought too young to be able to build one for himself. 'The man who has not built himself a house or celebrated his daughter's wedding does not know what trouble is', runs the proverb. The

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428 older brothers had had time to acquire friends and could make
[884] their own way in the world, but the baby of the family knew nothing about anything except his father's house.

[123] After the land and the house had been divided, the boundaries between the holdings were demarcated. The house, it should be said, included land round it and also any cattle or sheepfolds.
312 When the land was under water, irrigation channels were marked
428 out at the same time as the boundaries. Where the father had possessed one field with an irrigation channel running down its whole length, his sons tapped this channel without difficulty, each digging a small transverse channel from it on his own portion of the field. Where the stream was farther off the brothers jointly dug a channel to the point where their land met, after which each made a separate channel through his own ground; by preference each took this down his own side of the little path between his field and his brother's. When the water came from above a field so narrow that it must be divided short-ways, the brother getting the lower half was entitled to dig an irrigation channel down the side of his brother's land. But the area it occupied must be measured and an equivalent amount of land subtracted from his holding and added to his brother's. It was, of course, always stream irrigation that was in question.

The period for which each brother might irrigate was also settled when they separated. This was usually a matter of simple arithmetic. If, for example, the father had had the right to irrigate for two days, each of the two brothers was given the right for one day and each of three brothers for sixteen hours. In Mirditë, where few streams could be utilized, irrigation water was divided by the oke; unfortunately there is no information available as to how this was done.

Drinking water was seldom regulated; 'God has given it' and almost everywhere in excess. There was so little in some villages near Shkodër, however, that it was divided by the jugful, at least during the dry season. When brothers separated in these villages their portion of drinking water was decided. Division was as with food, by heads, so many jugfuls per person.

428 Milling rights varied from district to district. Where they were by hours or days each brother's quota was settled on the day of separation. It was again arithmetical, each of two brothers getting half the father's period and each of three getting one-third.

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Generally one took over the others' periods and compensated them 428 with an agreed quantity of maize per year.

In dividing the livestock the system of 'offset or compensation' was much used; four horses could not otherwise be divided equally between five brothers. By this system four of these brothers each took a horse and together subscribed the value of one for the fifth. Or this brother might be given another animal, such as a cow, plus the difference in money between its value and that of a horse. If there were five horses to be divided among four brothers, one received two horses and each of the others one horse and another animal or animals of the same value as a horse, plus any money compensation that might be necessary. In Çermenikë a house-dog was equated to a sheep and rules enunciated for its future service. If the old home was partitioned between the brothers, it must continue to guard this for their joint benefit. If they set up separate houses, it went with the one to whom it had been allotted and guarded only his house; the other must buy a dog for himself. As for the brandings or other marks on animals, the father's sign was assigned to one brother and new ones devised by the others. There were some exceptions to these rules. In Dibër livestock was divided equally among all the boys and men old enough to herd; this is said to be Skanderbeg's law. In Mirditë it was divided equally among the guns in the house. In Çermenikë if a brother had a very small family the sheep might be divided equally among the souls in the old home on the plea that a man with few hands could not tend many sheep. Everywhere sheep-folds and cattle-folds were divided, like the old home, equally among the brothers. Fodder, including wheat and maize straw, hay and leaves of trees, was divided on the same principles as the livestock, equally in Mirditë among the guns, in Dibër among the herds, and elsewhere among the brothers.

As for poultry, custom varied. In Lumë they were considered property, not food, and so divided equally among the brothers. In Çermenikë they were regarded, somewhat uncertainly, as food, and so divided according to the number of souls. In Mirditë the mistress of the joint household divided the poultry as directed by the person arranging the separation.

Farm implements included plough, sickles, saws, hatchets, hoes, etc. If possible one article of each kind was given to each brother. Otherwise an article was given to one and something else of equal

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value or money compensation to the other. In the cases, frequent enough, where each had had his own implements before the separation, he took these with him to his new home.

Beehives too were divided on the offset or compensation system; they were seldom enough to go round the brothers. Honey was divided on a food basis, equally among old and young.

Household utensils such as spoons, milk cogs, churns, wash-tubs, pots, saucepans and all wooden and earthenware vessels were also divided equally among the brothers. After being taken out of the house they were stacked in piles, one for each brother under the direction of whoever divided the property. It was almost never possible to find an article of the same type for each brother. So an article was laid on one pile and the offset on the others. Less often, an article of which there was only one was valued and a proportionate share of its value paid by its new owner to his brothers. There was never any furniture in the sense of tables, chairs and bedsteads to divide. At most, there were reed mats and straw-stuffed cushions in the sitting-room and some wooden stools in the kitchen. The stools might be divided equally among the brothers; the other things were generally treated as part of the house and left where they were.

Certain articles in the house were not subject to division. These included the portable oven, flour-bin, tongs, shovel and kitchen-crook, which were the symbols of family life; and the mill, caddy, pot and cups forming the coffee outfit, which was the symbol of guest-friendship. The former remained in the kitchen and the latter in the sitting-room, irrespective of whether these rooms had been separated or left to one brother. Above all, it was unlucky to move the kitchen-crook; it was almost as sacred as the fire on the hearth on whose continuance depended the continuance of the family. Very occasionally, however, it was allotted like the rest of the property. Other articles were considered individual property and excluded from division on that account. These included the jack-knife, gun and revolver carried by each man (at least in the not-so-distant past), the trousseaux brought by the married women or being made by the girls, and the married women's pocket-money, wedding presents, possessions and livestock, or money lent at interest. All these continued to be the sole property of their owners. Bedding too was individual property, each brother's having been brought by his wife as part of her trousseau. If the

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father was dead his bedding was divided in Mirditë equally among the brothers; presumably it was so elsewhere. There was divergence about his arms. In Mat and Mirditë, for instance, these were given to the oldest brother but in neighbouring Perlat and Dibër to the youngest. In Perlat the mother's jewellery also fell to the youngest. 428

With both the land and the house, it was only the father's property which was divided according to the number of brothers. Any land bought after his death was divided according to the number of adult men. All of these, it was considered, had shepherded the family flocks or worked in the family fields, so helping to amass the purchase price of the new land. Under this rule, when one brother had two grown-up sons and one small son, and the other brother had only two small sons, the small son of the former and his little cousins received no land at all, but the two grown-up sons received each one-quarter of the land bought since their grandfather died. In Perlat a son taking a share of bought land must be at least 20 years of age; in Mirditë he need not be more than 15, the age at which he began to bear arms. In Mat, if he herded sheep, he need be only ten.

So with the house: this went to the youngest brother only if built or inherited by the father. If built by the brothers after his death, it was retained by the eldest, who turned his juniors out, paying each of them their proportionate share of its assessed value or, in Perlat, the mason's charges for building it.

A difference of mothers never affected the division of the 'father's property'. If the mother of the eldest of three brothers had died or been divorced, he took his third just the same. If the mother of the third brother were a concubine, he too took his third. The inheritance came from the father, irrespective of the mother. It was otherwise with a wife's or a mother's property. This went to her son, to the exclusion of her step-son. A man who built a house with his wife's money might give his brothers house-room until they separated, but they had no legal share in it; as husband of the heiress, he was its sole owner, and when they separated, did not pay them any part of its value. If his wife died or was divorced and he married again, the house descended to the first wife's son, to the exclusion of the second wife's. If the former son separated from his half-brother, he paid him nothing for the house; built with his mother's money, not his step-mother's, it was his exclusive property. Such cases were rare, occurring only when

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421 a woman was the sole survivor of her family and so inherited its property.

It was on the principle of father's property—or very much more rarely mother's—that big households containing several sets of cousins split up. They went back to their common ancestor, ascertained what property he had had, and divided that equally among his sons. The descendants of each son then took their portion and no more, regardless of their number. Supposing a man had had three sons who in their turn had respectively five, three and two sons. When these cousins separated the five sons of the eldest brother received only one-third of their grandfather's property, no more and no less than the amount received by the three sons of the second and the two sons of the third brother.

The question of the father's property came up again when a man died childless after separating from his brothers. For instance, if four brothers all separated they divided the dead man's property equally as having been originally their father's. If three were living together apart from the fourth who had died childless, they took his property back into the common fund, and when they separated divided it equally with their other possessions. If one of the three who lived together died childless, the two surviving took his property back into the common fund and when they separated divided it equally between themselves, but they did not give any to the fourth brother because he had separated from them before the death. Matters were usually complicated in Perlat and Mirditë when four brothers had separated into two pairs. If one died childless, any property which they had bought together was retained by the survivor of his pair, but what he had inherited went back into the stock of father's property and was divided into three portions, one for his survivor and two for the other pair. A rather better portion of land was given to his survivor in Perlat but apparently not in Mirditë.

[592] Money a man had earned away from home—as government official, gendarme, shopkeeper or servant—had to be sent home up to the date of separation. Then it was counted family earnings and put into the common purse on the plea that although he was away working his brothers were toiling at home. If he kept any back for some months before the expected separation, it was accounted stealing, and if he was only suspected of doing so, he might be put to the oath to clear himself. If livestock was bought with his money

that must be divided equally among all the brothers. If a house was built with it, that again must be divided equally. The law laid down 'What is in the house on Separation day is part of it'. 428

On the same principle, any debts due by the family such as government taxes or arrears of taxes were divided equally among the brothers.[1] Each had to discharge his share independently, the others accepting and being given no responsibility for it. Any payments due to the family, such as repayment of money borrowed, were similarly divided between the brothers. Bride-price was in a class by itself, being paid to the bride's father, both while he still lived with his brothers and afterwards as well. [Jx]

In a very few areas special charges on the family property were recognized. If, for instance, the youngest brother in Çermenikë did not yet have a gun, it was thought fair to give him money out of the common purse with which to buy one. In Perlat before the livestock was divided, two oxen and a few sheep were set aside for the wedding feast of an unmarried brother. In Mirditë the estimated cost of his wedding was paid to him, generally in kind, as in Perlat. Elsewhere, so far as is known, no such allowances were made.

Food and property of every description having been divided as described, accounts were balanced. Each brother paid up what money he had to pay and each received what money he had to receive. This concluded the division in most cases. It will be observed that no provision beyond 500 grosh was made for the daughters of the family. This was probably thought unnecessary by the old law-givers because a woman who had not reached extreme old age or been otherwise disabled was no burden to anybody. Her work, herding, spinning or even hoeing in the fields, was worth more to both brother and husband than the cost of her keep. An unmarried girl stayed with any of her brothers after their separation. She stood in the same relation to them all, it was thought, and was no nearer to the one than to the other. The modern civil code enacts, however, that a real and not a token provision shall be made for each daughter.

It sometimes happened that the father was alive when the brothers separated. If so, his welfare was provided for by the law. If the separation took place with his blessing he went to live with the son he liked and got on with best. This was almost invariably the youngest, who was thought nearer to him than the others, and 737

1 [at the time of separation--Analyst]

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737 if the youngest died, he went to the next youngest. Only one per cent of fathers chose to live with another son, and then a woman was generally to blame. If the youngest was unmarried or had a disagreeable wife who did not give much promise of looking after a troublesome old father-in-law, he went to a son with a kinder wife.

Since it was understood that he would live with his youngest son and that this son would have his house, he continued to live in his old familiar quarters. One room was allotted for his special use, but it frequently served as the general sitting-room as well because he only required one corner to sit in by day and to sleep in at night. For his support he might either keep one-eighth of his land in his own hands or arrange to be fed by his sons, either jointly or in turn. In the former case the son he lived with worked his bit of land, fed him with its produce, and eventually buried him. In consideration of the latter expense this son was allowed to keep his land and his room, though it meant getting a larger portion than his brothers. Sometimes the others contributed a little towards the old man's keep and the expenses of his funeral. In that case they had a claim [428] at his death to an equal share of his fraction of land and his room, payable in money.

When all his sons contracted to feed him in turn, he probably continued to live with the son with whom he was happiest, and month by month asked each of the others in turn for money with which to buy food. If they contracted to feed him jointly, each sent him an agreed quantity of food and clothing per year. In Mirditë this was fixed at 6 loads of maize, 3 pairs of sandals, 25 okes of salt and 2 bushels of haricot beans. Under this arrangement there was no eighth of land to be divided on his death. His room was kept by the son with whom he had lived, but this son must pay a proportionate share of its value to his brothers.

428 On Separation day after a room and an eighth of land had been 737 set aside for the father, the division of his property, both inherited and bought, proceeded as if he no longer existed, but he retained any title-deeds to all his former land which he might hold. His eighth was never enough to feed him, and the youngest son might become too impoverished to make up the deficiency, in which case his only resource was to pay lengthy visits to his other sons. With the title-deeds in his hands he was sure of his welcome; without them he might not be. So, too, if his sons had contracted to feed

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him, possession of the title-deeds made it more certain that they would fulfil the contract. On his death the deeds passed to his sons. 428 737

These were the general rules for his maintenance, but there were a few variants. In Çermenikë a man who had managed to buy a large amount of land during his working years had the right to keep this back when his sons separated and to leave it all to the son with whom he lived, to the exclusion of the others. More often than not, he allowed it to be divided up with the land he inherited. Sometimes he was still able to earn a little. In Lumë his sons treated his earnings as family property, taking the cost of his funeral out of them and dividing up the rest. In Çermenikë the son he lived with paid the whole cost of his funeral and kept all his earnings. In Mat, a relatively fertile district, a yoke of land was set aside for him. On his death his richest son paid for his funeral and took his piece of land in exchange. In Perlat an ox was set aside on Separation day for the public meal at his funeral; it was kept and worked till required by the son with whom he lived; its work was supposed to compensate this son for the other expenses of the funeral. In all areas the father's portion of land was often given by richer families to the poor or, among the Catholics, to the church.

A father had in the last resort the right to banish a son from his house, or a son might insist on hiving off against his father's wish. 428 [593] In either case he need not give him a portion, but when he died the son would take his proportionate share of the food and property, exactly as if he had never been expelled. A son who separated from his father in these conditions must restrict himself to any land his father might have given him and must refrain from interfering with the rest of the land or other property. The consequences of a premature division of property may be seen in the following story from Perlat. Two men made such scenes about their father's remarriage that he bade them leave his house. Of a just, or simple, disposition, he divided his property into three, keeping one-third for himself and giving one apiece to his sons. Afterwards he had two more sons by his second wife, then found he could not leave [423] them more than his own portion of property, for land once divided cannot be taken back, says the law. So each of the two sons he loved best received only one-sixth, and each of the two sons he had come to dislike one-third, of his original property. An interesting variation of the above law is found in Kurbin. If a father gave a rebellious son a portion, he gave it only out of the land and

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428 livestock which he had bought since the son's birth; it was half or a third or a quarter according to the number of his sons. He kept the rest of his property, and this passed on his death to the son or sons with whom he continued to live, the expelled son getting nothing. If, however, he had built his house since this son's birth, it fell on his death to the son he lived with, but this son must pay the expelled son the usual proportionate share of its value.

137 When there was an old mother she, like the father, usually went to live with the son she loved best; in 99 cases out of 100 this was the youngest. The problem of her support was not so difficult as 593 that of an old father. The relationship between the sons and their mother was so close that few quarrelled with her and refused her food and shelter. If 'wicked' enough to do so, the whole of their world cried shame and the old lady herself might react. A native of Shelcan in Shpat took his wife away and settled in Elbasan, leaving his mother in the village. She wished openly that he were dead. More important still, a mother had economic value and was seldom the useless encumbrance that most old fathers were. At her weakest she had strength enough to rock the cradle and to mind the house while her son's wife was out working in the fields. Besides, she had worked hard for the general benefit in her time, and that must not be forgotten. For all these reasons, in most places the son she lived with was content to feed and dress her. The others might or might not contribute. If they did, their contribution was generally voluntary and at their discretion. It normally took the form of small presents, such as a kerchief or a pair of sandals. It was not advisable to give such presents regularly, for that might make the son she lived with take them for granted. By exception, in Malësi e Madhe the law bade the other sons combine to send her three loads of maize every year as a contribution towards her keep. In Mat, if she stayed with one son, he must support her unaided; the others gave her no food or clothes. In this district, however, she might opt for staying a month with each son in turn, so making them share the expense of keeping her. In Godolesh, and in Shijan near Elbasan, she had the right, like the father, to take one-eighth of the general property. The son worked this land, fed her with its produce and eventually took it into his own holding in consideration of paying for her funeral. In practice she seldom exercised this right, preferring to run in and out of all her sons' houses in turn and getting a meal in any of them. She

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was expected to behave reasonably; in Mirditë if she were a trouble- 737
maker her son might legally send her back to her brother, giving her three loads of grain for her support during the first year and nothing afterwards. On her death she might be buried by the son she lived with, as in Zerqan, or by all the sons in combination, as in Martanesh and the Malësi e Madhe. Here good feeling rather than the law dictated the usage.

Sometimes a minor—a small brother or the orphan of a dead 428
brother—had to be arranged for. The essential was that he should 736
receive his portion and not be left alone with his mother, as she might induce him to sell his land or might herself take a lover. If his grandfather were alive he remained with him. Otherwise he went to live with an older brother or an uncle. Exceptionally, in Shijan he lived by preference with his mother's brother, less probably with his father's brother, and still less probably with his own brother. His guardian worked his land or gave it to a third party to work for an agreed return and fed and clothed the minor with its produce until he came of age at fifteen. The guardian had also to feed and clothe his mother and any small brothers and sisters he might have. Sometimes a guardian brother remained in the father's house with the minor. He was its master, though not its owner, until the minor came of age. Then he must leave the house to the minor and himself move to new quarters.

Sometimes brothers who had separated joined up again. The 592
'remarriage' seldom lasted long; as the proverb puts it, 'a loaf once broken can't be put together again'. When they separated for the second time, their food and property were divided on the same principles as before. Due note was taken of any house they might have built or any land or livestock they might have bought during their temporary reunion; these were divided as usual, not according to the number of brothers, but according to the number of men. If one brother had died childless since the first separation, a completely new division of the property was necessary.

The division of food and property might be effected by elders, 428
by the eldest brother, by a neighbour, or by a more distant relative, 592
or by the father if alive. The factors governing the choice of one or other were, as usual, based on common sense. The division of property, as distinct from food, was often so complicated that only experienced men like elders could grapple with it. A father tended to favour his best loved son or daughter-in-law and was often ruled

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

out for that reason. If the brothers were not on good terms, division by the eldest caused quarrelling, the others accusing him of robbing them and he retaliating in the usual manner. If they were on exceptionally bad terms, even distant relatives feared the unpleasantness that was bound to follow their best attempts at a fair division. For all these reasons the choice generally fell on elders. Their drawback was their need of a fee, but it was generally thought better to spend money on a fee than to quarrel with a brother. These principles were at the back of the various practices in different places. When the choice was between neighbours and relatives by marriage the latter were preferred because they were always more trusted. Each brother put in his own man.

In Perlat the father was never allowed to divide his property, elders or relatives on the male side must do so, and when they were at work, neither the father nor the sons might put in their word. In Martanesh the same fear of favouritism prevailed, and elders or the neighbours in bulk carried out the division. In south Dibër the local notables did so, their influence being thought to counteract any tendency to break the peace over the division. In Godolesh separation had always been on an official basis; it was arranged by the headman of the whole village and his two assistants, as it had been in Turkish times by the headman assisted by an elder from each of the six quarters of the village; it is to be noted that no fee was taken by these elders because separations had always been part of their official duties. In Shijan the separation might be entrusted to the husband's or wife's relatives since they were interested in preserving peace in the family, yet had no personal interest in the division. In any area, when brothers were on really bad terms, complete strangers from another village might be called in to arrange the separation.

When the brothers decided to engage elders, they engaged one between them if they were on good terms; if not, each put in his own man. In Mirditë they might engage two, four or more elders according to the amount of work to be done.

Portions were allocated to the brothers by their own choice or, more often, by lot. In the very few cases where the brothers were completely friendly, the eldest said to the youngest 'Which field will you have, this or that?' Then he took for himself what was left. If the second coveted the field chosen by the youngest, they drew

[i.e., to divide the food and property of a household at the time of separation--Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

lots for it or asked elders to divide it. When the brothers were a degree less friendly but the eldest nevertheless divided the property, the youngest was given first choice of the portions, the next youngest the second choice and the eldest what was left. The law ran: 'the eldest divides, the youngest chooses.' It is obvious that the risk of getting an inferior portion made the eldest divide carefully. In Mirditë by exception it was the middle brother who had first choice.

Lots varied: in Lumë they were drawn in the modern method with pieces of paper; one without holes, another with one hole, the third with two holes, and so on; and by the old-fashioned with a stone, a twig and a clod of earth. In the Malësi e Madhe grains of maize, coins and weeds as well as paper were used. Shijan preferred straw and grass, and Godolesh grains of maize and haricot beans. Maize was satisfactory when there were two brothers, as one variety has white grains and the other yellow, but when there were three brothers, haricot beans, which may be white, black or mottled, were preferred. Somewhat curiously, though stones and sticks were both plentiful, they were seldom used. In Shijan, for example, the lots were drawn with elaborate care. One of the relatives present at the division was sent some distance away and told to keep his eyes closed. Each brother selected his token and handed it to another relative. The first was recalled, given the tokens, and told to place each where he chose. Each brother was expected to accept the luck which his token had brought him, but if one objected, lots were drawn a second or even a third time, fresh tokens being chosen and a different relative asked to drop them each time. The brother who got the disputed land or other property two out of three times became its owner for good. The various positions of land and livestock, the piles of farm implements and household utensils and the rooms in the house (if this was partitioned) were drawn for in the same way. In Martanesh the procedure was shorter but there was again, for greater fairness, a man between the brothers and the person who made the decisive throw. Each brother gave his token to one of the bystanders, who carried it to the elder dividing the property. In ignorance of which token belonged to whom the elder cast them on the various portions. In Zerqan there was again an intermediary. Each brother had a secret, unpaid representative who gave a stone to a third person approved by all the brothers but ignorant of who represented each.

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592 This third person threw the token stones on this portion or that.
428 In Godolesh there was no intermediary. Each brother gave his
592 token to an elder in whom they all had confidence. As they were
777 selecting their tokens, he arranged tokens of his own on the ground, naming each aloud for the various portions of the land or house. He carefully refrained from looking at the brothers' tokens and threw them blindly one after another on his own. 'Here is the sitting-room, good luck to it. Here is the kitchen, good luck to it', he said of the house. Each brother then claimed his token and accepted his portion. With a similar phrase of good omen the elder divided the land. In Lumë there might or might not be an intermediary. The elder taking delivery of the tokens might place them himself or, if afraid he would be suspected of dishonesty, he might give them to another man to do so. Well-omened phrases were used, such as 'The luck of this stone lies there and of this twig here'. In the Malësi e Madhe the elder said which portion the bits of stick each represented, then drew them, as would be done in England. Here the procedure seems influenced by the European
[77] education of the priests.

623 The commonest fee for an elder dividing property between
428 brothers was two or three napoleons, but it might be as low as one or as high as ten. Everything depended on how much the brothers quarrelled over the division, and how hard they struggled against yielding one to the other. In Perlat the elder made a distinction between rich and poor, asking a sheep from a rich family but only a kilo of coffee from a poor one. In Mirditë he had the right to a sheep and a money fee as well; the latter was as agreed. In Lumë 'it does not do to have an elder without a sheep'. Wherever, as in Godolesh, officials arranged the separation, no fees were charged.

408 Everywhere one meal at least of meat and rice pilaff must be
574 given to whoever came from outside the family to separate the brothers. If these had no flocks, they must buy meat from someone who had. The expense of these meals, which was heavy for people so poor, was shared by all the brothers, the animals being taken out of the common stock before it was divided and the money for the rice, coffee and, if necessary, meat out of the common purse before the settling up of accounts. These meals were the first charge on the family property.

All stages of the division were watched by neighbours. Before the persons negotiating the separation sat down to the final meal,

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they reminded these onlookers how everything had been divided. 428
Then if disputes arose later between the brothers these could bear 574
witness to the division. No documents were drawn up, the oral 623
testimony of the witnesses in general, and in particular the mute
testimony of the boundary stones, was enough for the unwritten
law. Where a dead father had held title-deeds, these were distributed appropriately among the brothers, but such cases were few. 578

Too often, the division was followed there and then by disputes. 428
Most frequently they were about the land and due to greed, for each brother knew that on the portion allotted to him on that day he and perhaps unborn generations of his descendants must live, and he naturally tried to make it as large as possible. Sometimes a brother was rightly disgruntled. Dividers were human enough to make mistakes; an eldest brother sometimes tried to cheat when dividing; at times even an elder showed favouritism. In such cases the division was revised, an elder dividing instead of the eldest brother or a second elder instead of the first, on the usual 'elder after elder' basis. Or instead of having one elder between them the brothers might each put in one for himself; in this case they must all stand aside and leave the elders to fight things out.

Not infrequently one brother was simply cantankerous. Then 623
the easiest way for the elders to make him see reason was to exercise 574
their right to have all their meals at the family's expense until their 428
work was done. They might go away, leaving the division incomplete and refusing to return until he bent his stubborn neck and in person fetched them back with promises to be good. This meant an extra meal, an expense that even the trouble-maker deplored in his heart, if not openly. As it was, surely unfairly, shared by the reasonable brothers these were from the first careful to do nothing to excite the other further. There was no difficulty about extracting this meal, as the commonest source of trouble, the land, was always divided before the livestock.

A story of Turkish times from Godolesh shows the elders taking cruder but no less effective steps to settle matters. A family at the top of the village refused to accept the division they proposed. 'Where is your best ram?' asked the elders the first day, and ate the animal. 'Where is the pot of *bekmès* (boiled grape juice)?' they asked the second day, and emptied this. 'Where is the butter jar?' they asked the third day, and devoured that. The brothers then came to their senses and allowed the suggested division to proceed.

1 [concerning the division of land at the time of separation of brothers--Analyst]

his household and his visitors. Bridal parties or funeral processions 423
which tried to pass along his path to evade the difficulties of the 487
highway were not so likely as habitual travellers to attempt to [585]
create a precedent, but he had the right to turn them back. If they [764]
tried to force their way past him he had the right to shoot them. Many a corpse, to quote Father Gjeçov, has found comrades in death before being buried, and many a bride has mourned the loss of a kinsman in her escort on the way to her bridegroom.

If, however, at a time when the highway was impassable, occasional travellers asked a man's leave to use his path he often granted their request. But he always made it clear that the right of passage was temporary and stipulated that his honour was not to be smirched or his property damaged. In Shkrel a man whose field adjoined a road liable to bogging in winter often left enough land in the field for a new road. This he did as alms. Any timber on either side of the new road remained his private property, and could not be cut down by anyone else though he was free to cut it as and when he pleased. He could also close the road at his pleasure; even if the public had used it for years, usage did not create a right and rob a man of his land. Sometimes a village, to suit its convenience rather than to meet its need, asked a man to allow the public to go through his land. He usually agreed, but always stipulated that if any damage was done or he needed to work the land, he should be entitled to close the right-of-way, informing his fellow-villagers that they must not come that way any more. If this became necessary, he was not required to provide an alternative, as a man who moved a public road must do. He had opened the road as a favour, and what was given as a favour could not be retained by force. The option of closing the road descended [428] to his heirs.

The private ownership of a road is seen at its most interesting in the case of a blind alley. This was seldom wide enough to take two persons abreast and had an entrance but no exit. The commonest type led across a man's field from a public thoroughfare to his house, where it came to a dead end. In this case it was his sole property, and if he liked he could plough it up without consulting anybody. Another type served several houses, and was held jointly and equally by these. The common ownership had its drawbacks. Two out of three owners, for instance, might wish to plough up the section passing through their fields. Though this

[i.e. the private path of a man -- Analyst]

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Kuturman until his family died out and the plate disappeared. The 423
summer grazing which belonged to the village of Bërshenj near 233
Fulqet was three days away on Mt Dragû. The Highlanders, living at the mouth of the river Mat, had their summer pasturages on Mt Vermosh five days away from their winter homes.

A clear distinction was drawn between the laws governing private and public pasturages. In broad outline what was private [428]
could be fenced or sold or built on at its owner's sole pleasure, and was divided up between his sons at his death. What was public was marked off by boundary stones from neighbouring properties but had neither outside fence nor internal boundaries. Though all the households in the tribe or village had equal rights in it and could each graze as many animals, cut as much firewood or timber, build as many huts or folds and shoot as much game on it as they pleased, these rights came to them only as members of the community and were not transferable to strangers. They could not sell their grazing rights to an outsider, share a hut with him or graze his animals along with their own; if they wanted to give an outsider friend pasturage, they must do so on their private ground. They could not sell part of the common or dispose of firewood, timber or game for their individual gain; only the community could negotiate such sales, and all the profit or loss from them was community profit or loss. They could not build a permanent house on the common. When the head of a family died, his rights were [428]
not divided among his sons like his private property but descended to them jointly. Gypsies, it may be added, were allowed to pitch [523]
their tents, graze their animals and gather firewood on the common. Being as resourceful in Albania as elsewhere, they needed no permission and snared what game they could; as they did not carry firearms they could not shoot it.

Those communities which did not possess their own private 427
summer pasturage, hired or rented it from near and far. Breg i Matit 233
rented theirs partly from Shkrel and partly from Theth, and the 437
latter was a full week's journey away. Modernity having come to Albania, they paid cash down. Fulqet rented a neighbour's mountain every summer and paid for it in the old-fashioned way with half an oke of butter, the same of sour-milk cheese and 2½ oke of sweet cheese for every forty sheep. Perlat again gave their own winter pasturage in return for leave to summer on the mountains of Lurë and Selitë. In Turkish times, Lurë asked neither money

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682 ten or twenty years, according to the crime. In Mirditë, pre-
*628 sumably under church influence, the murderer of a priest was expelled for ever, and other anti-social criminals for five to fifteen years. In Martanesh the injured man might after an interval intercede with the local elders and secure a remission of part of the sentence; otherwise the murderer and his descendants must remain in exile. Several local traditions maintain that sentences of perpetual banishment were formerly much commoner. In Martanesh no such sentence has been pronounced for 200 years, and in Shpat none for 100 years. In Lurë any murderer used to be banished in perpetuity; witness the numerous families of Lurë origin who now live in Prizren, Tetovo, Reka and other places in Yugoslavia.

428 In Lurë when a man was sentenced to perpetual banishment, his
682 nearest kinsmen, those who would have been his heirs in the event of his dying childless, divided up his land. His family was in fact reckoned as extinct so far as the tribe was concerned. In Mirditë also he was considered as dead to the tribe. Father Gjeçov gives two accounts of what happened there to his land. For ordinary expulsions it was left uncultivated and used for public grazing. [686] When a man was expelled for breaking into a church or for killing a priest, his land was bought by his nearest kinsmen and the money given to the church. In Shpat again the murderer's nearest kinsmen divided up his land; but there the elders valued it and the kinsmen paid the murderer the estimated sum before he was drummed out; if they could not raise the money, the village found it, subject to recovering it later from the kinsmen. On the other [423] hand, when a murderer was banished only for a term of years, his land everywhere remained uncultivated until his return, when he built a house and resumed cultivation. During his absence, his ownership of the land was uncontested, but he was not allowed to derive any profit from it. A voluntary exile was in a different position; he could empower a kinsman to work his land and throughout his absence to remit to him in his place of exile an agreed proportion of the profits.

682 When a man was expelled for good, the community signalled the
*628 same by tearing up the four corner-stones of the foundations of his
584 house after they had burned it down. When his banishment was temporary, the corner-stones were left in place to await his return. Again when his banishment was perpetual, there could be no more giving or taking in marriage for him in the village; any engagements

589 her alive. It is doubtful if this punishment has been exacted on any such person within the last few generations.

As the reader can readily see, this custom has its economic aspects. The number of hands available for men's work is increased by two, that for women's work decreased by the same number. There is a second and less dramatic reason for a girl to swear virginity: if her father has no sons to help him with his work, or if his sons are killed. Then a daughter may step into the position of a son, and the [428] situation is momentarily saved. However, since the pseudo-son will have no offspring, the line will become extinct with her death, and the property pass to the next of kin on the father's side. This custom is at variance with the usual one in comparable societies, in which the husband of the man's daughter comes to live with her parents, and is adopted as an [611] heir. So strong is the belief in the continuity of the male line that this could not be done in Ghegnia.

On my travels I encountered only 2 sworn virgins. One wore men's clothes, and appeared to be either mentally defective or at least "queer." That also was her reputation. The second wore women's clothes. She was in her early twenties, and quite attractive. Since she spent the night with a junior member of my group of horse-drivers, I formed a poor opinion of the burning-alive theory. It is quite apparent that the practice of swearing virginity is not only often economic in motivation, but also a part of the whole business of local population control, along with the entire configuration of pride, insult, and feuding.

587 Two other mechanisms help maintain the personnel of the family at the optimum numerical working level, and to prevent the isolation of separate individuals or small, uneconomic groups. One is the levirate. Classically this means that when a man dies, his widow will be married to a surviving brother [165] or next of kin if such a brother is lacking. In a country where the rate of death by violence reaches the level of 40 per cent of all male [582] deaths in some localities, and where girls are married at 14 or 15, many are widowed.

Such a widow must be cared for by the men of her husband's family, since they have paid

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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846 is spread, the national head-dress, ornamented with sequins, is placed on her head, and all her necklaces [301] are hung round her neck, to receive the friends and acquaintances who now flock in to offer their congratulations. In some parts of Albania, and especially [431] among the Moslems, it is customary to bring hand- [688] some presents to the infant. As each visitor did her best to outshine her neighbour in the value of her gift, this usage, among the Roman Catholic Miridites, became so ruinously expensive, that the ban of the Church was finally laid upon it. The visitors to the mother and baby consequently now bring with them only an egg, with which they rub the face of the new arrival, with the wish, "*Pashi bar*" (May it be always white!)—*i.e.*, never have cause to blush for its actions.

852 When the baby is three days old the Fates are be- [776] lieved to arrive and decide what its fortune is to be. When two of the Weird Sisters have had their say, the third speaks, and her decision is final.[1] On the evening of this day, which is called the child's *Poganik*,[2] all the relatives of the family assemble uninvited, each bringing a small loaf, a girdle cake, and a wooden flask of wine. On these they feast and drink healths to the mother and child, the formula addressed to the latter being, "May he have strong legs!" [777] The women then set to work to make a large cake, all present touching, "for luck," the sieve used to sift the flour. As the dough is being kneaded coins are put into it, and when baked it is broken in pieces

[1] See "The Story of the Child," p. 319.
[2] The meaning of this term appears to have been lost by the Albanians.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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585
[539]

Lower your crests, ye mountains high,
That we may the moon descry
Sailing through the azure sky.
Our bride her mother's counsels heard,
Who said, "My daughter, mark my word,
Love and respect your father new."
"That, mother will I gladly do—
I'll love and honour him alway
Who's given to me a bridegroom gay."

On Monday morning, the homes of both bride and bridegroom are thronged with guests, sometimes to the number of several hundreds. Each one brings an *oka*[1] of coffee and another of sugar for the benefit of the house, and at the same time presents the bride with a gold coin, the value of which varies with the degree of relationship of the giver. These coins are subsequently strung into necklaces, and constitute part of the personal property of a married woman.

[431]
[422]
[302]

At early dawn the bride is dressed in her wedding finery, decked with all her jewels, and, at sunrise, is led to a corner of the principal reception-room. Here custom requires her to stand, motionless and speechless, with downcast eyes and hands crossed on her breast, until she starts for her new home. Two women, posted at either side, keep watch and ward over her, and the rest of the female guests, seated round the room on the divans, stare at the poor girl as if she were the idol of their worship. At meal-times, on this and the two following days, she eats alone, covered with a veil, though if she is anxious to make a good impression she will partake of food only

[1] About 2¾ lbs. avoirdupois.

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X. Decisions Taken on April 30th, 1905, by the Youth of Shalë. [681]

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 126–7.)

1. As from to-day up to Ash Wednesday the percentage on loans at [426] interest is to be paid with 25 okes of grain. If this is not paid by Ash Wednesday, a percentage of 30 okes is to be taken by force from the debtor.

As interest 100 grosh or 100 okes of grain as the creditor wishes are to be paid. Let him take 100 grosh if it suits him, or if he says, 'I'll have grain', let them give him 100 okes of grain.

2. Grain is never to be given to anybody by a man of Shalë unless it [431] is wanted for a funeral meal or it is desired to make a present of not more [765] than 20 okes.

3. Raki is never to be produced by a man of Shalë at a funeral meal [273] except during the seven weeks of Lent.

4. No man of Shalë is ever to give away more than 100 grosh either [431] outside or inside the tribe.

A godmother is not to present a red *xhamadam* (sleeveless jacket). [608]

No woman is to go to a wedding in a party of five or more and they [585] are not to seek a woman outside the same house.[1]

5. Whoever fires the first shot in the yard of a church or inside its boundaries is to have his house burned and must pay 20 purses under the guarantee of flock-cum-shepherd and the youth of Shalë.

6. If a man disturbs a mass that is being said and if the priest, crucifix in hand, says, 'So-and-so has troubled me', the offender will have his house burned and must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

7. Whoever touches Church property must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

8. Whoever molests the Church servant must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

9. If anyone borrows coffee and sugar from the priest for a funeral [765] meal and does not return them to him within four weeks, and if the priest [426] complains, he must pay a fine of one ox to the tribe.

10. Whoever steals an ewe, goat and cow from a man of Shalë and whoever does anything to his neighbour that disgraces him, shall have his harvest burned, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed. He will pay fines of one ox to the youth and 2 rams to the government representative.

11. These laws, enacted by the youth of Shalë together with the

[1] The last clause of § 4 is given as in Mrs Hasluck's MS., but there seems to be some mistake, as the corresponding passage in the Italian version of Father Gjeçov's *Kanùn* runs:

Lo shalano non può fare il compare più di 5 volte, e non può chiedere che si leghino in comparto più di 5 famiglie.

Birth, Marriage, and Death

In 1392 Bogavach Cuiavich of Rudine of his own free will releases 000
from servitude Radaca, daughter of John of Albania, whom he had bought of Braycho Ucarich.

This seems to have been the case of an actual slave. But the lot of others, when sold for a long term of service, can have been little better than slavery unless they fell into good hands.

ALBANIA

I heard of a similar custom of thus selling children for a term of A 597
years in Malacastra in South Albania. Here poor Moslems sometimes sent their daughters as far as Constantinople; and I was told that some of the Albanian beys thus purchased servant-girls from their mothers, and at the end of the term dowered them and married them to peasants on the estate. The Italian Consul at Valona, the first time I was there, told me he had thus purchased a servant girl.

Birth.—In Albania, as in Montenegro, childbirth received but the M A 844
most ignorant treatment. The death-rate of mothers and children was high.

There was great rejoicing among the mountain tribes when a boy was born and proportionate disappointment over a girl. For a son, especially a first-born, the whole family group turned out and fired rifles.

Some kind of spiritual relationship was held to exist between the child and the woman who cut the umbilical cord; but I learnt no particulars.

As in Montenegro, even in the towns there was the greatest reluctance to summon medical aid. In Scutari one day the Austrian doctor was summoned to a Moslem woman who was in the last stages of A
exhaustion. He found the child was already dead, and said that to [758]
save the woman's life it must be removed at once. The family refused to believe or permit this and dismissed him. Some hours later they fetched him again—but she was dead.

On the birth of a child, both in Scutari and the mountains, all the A
women neighbours go at once to visit the mother and take offerings [431 ●
of eggs. For a boy, two, four, six, or eight—an even number—are 777]
brought; for a girl, one, three, five, or seven. One egg is broken over the child's face to protect it from the Evil Eye. Presumably this makes the child unrecognizable or hideous.

Both in Albania and Montenegro, and I believe in all Balkan lands, M A 854
infants are swaddled. The cradle is of wood and serves as a packing-case in which to carry the child on its mother's back. In Scutari the cradles A 854
are very gaily painted with conventional patterns of flowers and birds, 531

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B. The Japangi.

The japangi is the out-of-door cloak of a married woman, and is presented as a wedding gift from the bridegroom to his bride.* It is made of scarlet cloth or felt, often imported from Austria, and the handsome silk embroidery which decorates it is the work of Albanian men tailors. It is interesting to note that according to old archives "Scarlet cloth was one of the items the Venetians used to bestow on local Albanian chieftains in the days of Venetian domination in the Adriatic."† 291 294 531 [431]

The garment consists of two parts, the large circular cape and a rectangular flap for a hood which is attached to it (Plate XII a). Although the material is very wide there are some joinings, and a curved gore or a long dart is cut and joined together again to make the cloak fit well on the shoulders.

It is handsomely trimmed by three panels of embroidery, one on either side of the front, like the one at the left only in "b" on Plate XII, and one across the shoulders at the back (Plate XII c). These panels consist of strips, about an inch wide, of scarlet and dark red or maroon or black cloth seamed together to form a background of stripes upon which an elaborate pattern is solidly worked in chain-stitch in yellow, white, green and violet silk, the silk being home grown, spun and dyed in most cases. The joining of the front and back panels is disguised by a number of rows of plaited braids, plain yellow ones being used alternately with mixed red, black and white ones (Plate XII h). The silk strands of which the braids are made form a long fringe at either end (Plate XII g). "The embroidery is very noteworthy. It is done entirely by men, and the patterns are traditional and vary very little, a bird, possibly a dove (Plate XII f), a serpent (Plate XII e), flowers and an ear of corn (Plate XII d) are always included, and it was impossible to get any explanation from the embroiderers as to why these items were always to be found. After much discussion by one excellent worker with his fellows they decided that it must be some old tale, long forgotten. The flowers and corn may be fertility emblems as this is a marriage garment." (M.E.D.). [462]

When a woman becomes a widow she removes the embroidered panels and substitutes some black stripes instead, whose arrangement is shown at the right hand side of the front view of the japangi at "b" on Plate XII. A sketch (No.1935-27) by Miss Durham of a Scutarene widow wearing a japangi with black stripes can be seen in the museum collection. [765]

No. 1935-22. In addition to the japangi with the embroidery just described there are two other examples of the sets of embroidered panels, both from Scutari (Skodar), and one of which is drawn at "g" on Plate XII.

The fine felt stripes of which this ground is made are scarlet and very dark maroon, and the design and the technique of the embroideried work far outshines that of the other two specimens. Ivory silk chain-stitch, generally outlined in yellow, fills most of the important motives, but touches of pale blue, reseda green and violet appear here and there. The changes in the background colour enhance the richness of the general effect and part of the illustration at "g" on Plate XII has been filled in to give some idea of this variation in tone. The serpent, dove and corn

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*, Vol. XXIII. No. 8, 1923.
† loc. cit.

[Text continues on p. 57]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

592 mother and others in her position, such as his uncle's elderly widow, might go to spend the night in her father's house. This gave him complete control over the time of the workers of the household. Whatever task he assigned the other men and the women must be performed without cavil; they must not only work as he said but go where he bade them and even marry when and whom he pleased. He spoke of them as 'my people' in English or 'my folk' in American parlance. When obliged to speak of them to the authorities or neighbours, he called any young man 'my son', any girl 'my daughter', and any married woman 'my wife' or 'my [562] old woman'. No decent Albanian, it should be noted, ever mentions the women of his household to outsiders except under compulsion.

The master had also sole control of the family purse. Any money earned by the other men by the sweat of their brow or a windfall like a tip must be paid over to him and spent for the family's benefit. For, says the law, 'the earnings of a son are shared by his father and brothers'. Here the words 'father', 'son' and 'brothers' have not only the narrow application which we English give, but also the wider Albanian sense of relatives in the [423] older or younger generation.[1] The farm was registered in the Land Office and popularly spoken of under the master's name, but this was only for convenience. It was owned jointly by all the men on it, and the master did not own a blade of grass more than the others [432] did. Yet in virtue of his position he need not consult any of them if he wished to buy or sell a field, vineyard, wood or portion of irrigation water. The right to buy and sell was his alone. There were only two limitations on this right, both deriving from the simple good sense that underlies all the unwritten laws. He could not sell a sheep or goat without first securing the shepherd's permission, and if the latter preferred to give him another animal, he must accept it, for the shepherd knew the flock better than he did. Secondly, the farmer of the family, having sole charge of the plough-oxen, did not require to ask his leave if he wished to help a neighbour with his ploughing, to lend the oxen, or even to give them away outright.

As keeper of the purse the master generally went to market himself with whatever produce was for sale, and bought what he thought necessary with the proceeds. It was his duty to see that everybody in the house was as well shod and dressed as the

[1] See p. 30.

648, 665, 642, 433

Albania EG1

[For the economic and political position of Albania under Soviet control since the death of Stalin, see 85: Zinner, R1 Soviet Union, Category 116, Pp. 157B-163B.]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Industry

HAVING immense natural wealth and possessing an abundance of raw materials and considerable reserves of power, Albania is well placed for the development of industry and may therefore be considered a country of the future. Already one can observe great progress made since the world war.

Albania being essentially an agricultural [341] country, it is logical that agriculture and the food industries are so far most developed. The possibilities of future development are also great, there also being large surplus stocks of agricultural products not required for home consumption.

Another industry yet to be developed on a [313] larger scale is timber. Albania is exceptionally rich in forests. Many of the forests are still untouched as domestic needs are filled easily from so dense a growth. Taking into consideration the large number of fully grown forests suitable for felling, and the excellent /33 quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

000 quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably.

137 There are in Albania oak forests, coniferous trees, chestnut trees, beech trees, the latter being mingled with pine and firs. Juniper, maple and box grow on the higher slopes of the mountains. The elm, chestnut, walnut and plane trees are more prevalent on the plains.

313 There are steam sawmills near Valona and elsewhere which work continually.

433 Albania being so centrally located for the Balkan States and with one of their main outlets to the Adriatic Sea, is an ideal place for the establishment of factories, branch-factories and wholesale supply houses covering all trades, from canneries to automobile manufactures to supply the needs for the Balkan States and other nearby countries, this being [400] especially desirable and ideal when we con- [435] sider that there is ample labor to be had and the wages are the lowest in Europe.

[435] Land and building materials are extremely low in price, making it possible for the men of moderate means to live luxuriously.

000 Taxation on new properties does not exist,

MINERALS AND MINING

• 433 The Kingdom of Albania is a modern well-
316 developed European State. It is already possessed of such social amenities as schools, hospitals, churches, aeroplanes, telegraphs, telephones, wireless, automobile roads, etc., consequently capital outlay and overhead charges are not, as in most mining countries, burdened with the provision of these services.

[464] Albania has at hand an adequate supply of qualified and skilled workers, from university graduates downwards. Apart, therefore, from foreign managers and technical specialists, there is no need for the otherwise usual expense and difficulty of staffing.

433 Albania is possessed of coalfields and is well wooded and exceptionally well watered. There is always available unlimited timber for mining and building, coal for power and water for general purposes.

Tirana, the capital of Albania, is within one day's air journey from London, a few hours' air journey from Paris and only about three hours' air trip from Rome.

[464] Albania is possessed of an abundant supply of willing unskilled and peasant labor. There is in the world to-day probably nowhere available such cheap, eager and efficient labor as is everywhere at hand in Albania.

baths and hotels, the natives dug large holes near the springs of the desired temperature and saturated themselves therein until cured. The weirdest phenomena of nature lies in the fact that the temperature of the springs is extremely varied: there are the cool, almost cold, enjoyable springs and others that are of varying degrees of heat up to the boiling point. It has been ascertained, however, that the mineral content of all the springs is the same. These famous sulphur baths have performed many seemingly miraculous cures, and are considered usurpers of Carlsbad; and what is more important, the price of living is unbelievably low. The price one pays a day in the average European capital would serve for three or four luxurious days in Albania. It is really amazing that the price of regained health should be so astonishingly moderate. The advent of comfortable and convenient hotels has greatly increased the value of these health-restoring springs, and make them the most desirable of their kind in Europe. One of the most outstanding of these hotels is the Park Hotel constructed on European lines with comfortable bathrooms, electric light and electrotherapy by a visiting doctor.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably.

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There are steam sawmills near Valona and elsewhere which work continually.

Albania being so centrally located for the Balkan States and with one of their main outlets to the Adriatic Sea, is an ideal place for the establishment of factories, branch-factories and wholesale supply houses covering all trades, from canneries to automobile manufactures to supply the needs for the Balkan States and other nearby countries, this being especially desirable and ideal when we consider that there is ample labor to be had and the wages are the lowest in Europe.

Land and building materials are extremely low in price, making it possible for the men of moderate means to live luxuriously.

Taxation on new properties does not exist,

Monetary and Banking System; Budget and Public Loans

THE monetary unit of Albania is the gold Franc at one hundred Qindtar according to the law of July 12, 1925. The gold coin of twenty gold Francs has a weight of 6.45161 grams with an allowance of 1.29%. The issues of the Albanian National Bank are for five, twenty and one hundred gold Francs, and the coins issued for circulation are for one, one-half and one-fourth Lek, one Lek being the equivalent of one-fifth of a gold Franc—a Lek having twenty Qindtar. 436

The Albanian National Bank (Banka Kombëtare e Shqipnis) was created by law of September 2, 1925. 453

The exclusive privilege of emitting notes was granted to the Albanian National Bank, which is a limited company, and which right is solely theirs for a duration of fifty years. The capital of the bank is 12,500,000 gold Francs of which three-tenths are actually [436]

453 paid in. The by-laws of the bank provide that the notes issued for circulation have to be covered with thirty-three and one-third per centum; any decline of this percentage would have, eventually, to be circumvented by an increase of the rate of discount, which, at the present time is two and one-half per centum. Covering must be made in actual gold or of sight-drafts payable in gold; but in any case, one-third of it must consist of actual gold, that is: one-ninth of the total amount of notes in circulation.

[436] Notes in circulation were 13,294,840 gold Francs, which were covered by 116%, according to the bank's balance sheet of December 31, 1932; the liabilities of the bank, on the same date, which were payable on sight, amounted to 19,432,192 gold Francs. Both of these totals were balanced by 5,534,837 in gold, sight-drafts also payable in gold amounted to 26,365,270 gold Francs and by 8,041,902 [436] of other stable values. The Albanian gold Franc, at the regular rate of exchange, has for a number of years last past always been equal with the Swiss Franc. In fact, at the present time, the Albanian gold Franc stands higher

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blood of his brother this man cannot take his rightful position 628
in the family or in the community to which he belongs, and 577
rather than be an outcast and scorned by his people he is 831
prepared to spend a great part of his life in gaol. Such is the Balkan code of honour.

At Koritza I found that the money in circulation was no 436
longer Italian. Here, as at Tirana, one transacted business with the krone (or crown) instead of with the lira, as at Durazzo, Valona, Argyrocastron and in the South generally. The currency, moreover, was entirely metal, and consisted, in addition to the Austrian krone itself, of Turkish silver coins, Greek silver drachmae, Serbian dinars, and so forth—the basis being gold. There are no banks, but there are 453
money-changers who are always quite willing to cash British or American notes, and who have drawers full to the brim with gold—French napoleons, English sovereigns and half-sovereigns, and American five-dollar pieces. I had not seen so much gold at one time since the old days before the war when bank cashiers in English used to gather it up from the counter by the shovelful.

The absence of banks must, one would imagine, be a 453
considerable hindrance to the commercial development of a 457
country. Nevertheless it is remarkable how little difference it seems to make in Albania, and I began to wonder whether banks are, after all, as essential as we are prone to think. It was likely, however, at the time of which I am writing, that an Albanian bank would shortly be established with headquarters at Tirana. A proposal had been made by the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

592 to work indoors. Her clothes were no better than theirs; indeed, if she had dairy work to do, they were usually dirtier. If she was unjust and ill-tempered, pilfered or sold family property, or fomented rather than composed the quarrels that were endemic among the other women, the men assembled in general meeting and deposed her.[1]

562 593 It only remains to describe a small domain with which the master had nothing to do. In astonishing contrast to the penniless men, all the women had their own money and controlled it absolutely. Called *pekul*, from Lat. *peculium*, and essentially pin-money, they spent it on kerchiefs, gewgaws, and even clothes and shoes. Each received the first of it on the morning after her marriage, when her men relatives filed past her in farewell and dropped money into a plate for her. Afterwards her father or brother might slip a coin or two into her hand when he visited her. In the tribal districts of the north her father also gave her on her marriage as much as half of the money which her husband had paid him for her. Later on she might occasionally earn a few pence by knitting socks in her odd moments or making the rough home-spun trousers worn by peasants. Debarred by law and custom from taking the finished articles to market herself, she gave them to her father or brother to sell, but never to her husband or grown-up son, for they would not let her even see the money. If near a market-town, she might gather walnuts or hazel-nuts in the woods and send these to market. In tobacco-growing areas she normally got the coarse bottom leaves of the plants, to smoke or to [437] sell as she pleased. If she had none of these resources, she could only steal maize, eggs, wool or cheese from her husband's house and send a child to the shop to barter them for what she wished to have; she was bound to pay in kind or money, for the law forbade her to pledge either her husband's or her father's credit. On these occasions neither her father nor her brother would act as her agent, for if such connivance in her pilfering were discovered, they would be in serious trouble with her husband's family. If she chose to keep her *pekul* idle, she might safely lock it up in her dowry-chest in her room; her husband never seemed to make her give it up and 562 no others might enter their room. Generally, however, she made 593 the money fructify. In southern areas like Çermenikë she lent it 426 at the usual rate of interest, which was 30% (enough to compensate

[1] The author never heard, however, of this being done.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Kuturman until his family died out and the plate disappeared. The 423
summer grazing which belonged to the village of Bërshenj near 233
Fulqet was three days away on Mt Dragû. The Highlanders, living at the mouth of the river Mat, had their summer pasturages on Mt Vermosh five days away from their winter homes.

A clear distinction was drawn between the laws governing private and public pasturages. In broad outline what was private [428] could be fenced or sold or built on at its owner's sole pleasure, and was divided up between his sons at his death. What was public was marked off by boundary stones from neighbouring properties but had neither outside fence nor internal boundaries. Though all the households in the tribe or village had equal rights in it and could each graze as many animals, cut as much firewood or timber, build as many huts or folds and shoot as much game on it as they pleased, these rights came to them only as members of the community and were not transferable to strangers. They could not sell their grazing rights to an outsider, share a hut with him or graze his animals along with their own; if they wanted to give an outsider friend pasturage, they must do so on their private ground. They could not sell part of the common or dispose of firewood, timber or game for their individual gain; only the community could negotiate such sales, and all the profit or loss from them was community profit or loss. They could not build a permanent house on the common. When the head of a family died, his rights were [428] not divided among his sons like his private property but descended to them jointly. Gypsies, it may be added, were allowed to pitch [523] their tents, graze their animals and gather firewood on the common. Being as resourceful in Albania as elsewhere, they needed no permission and snared what game they could; as they did not carry firearms they could not shoot it.

Those communities which did not possess their own private 427
summer pasturage, hired or rented it from near and far. Breg i Matit 233
rented theirs partly from Shkrel and partly from Theth, and the 437
latter was a full week's journey away. Modernity having come to Albania, they paid cash down. Fulqet rented a neighbour's mountain every summer and paid for it in the old-fashioned way with half an oke of butter, the same of sour-milk cheese and 2½ oke of sweet cheese for every forty sheep. Perlat again gave their own winter pasturage in return for leave to summer on the mountains of Lurë and Selitë. In Turkish times, Lurë asked neither money

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

233 nor produce nor an exchange for summering the flocks brought to
437 the Crown (Kunora) by tribesmen living north of Shkodër, but
427 welcomed them because their sheep manured the fields. Com-
[241] paratively recently, Lurë gave a Selitë man leave to summer his flocks gratis on Mt Murije, which, lacking their manure, would hardly have been worth the labour of tilling. Dervish Ali of Fulqet too was glad to let hundreds of sheep graze free in his meadows on Mt Dragû. Surroj and Arrn pastured sheep belonging to the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë without payment, because they also had so little arable land.

609 Except where the soil was so poor that the manure was welcome,
685 as in Lurë, or where grazing was very plentiful, as in Theth, outsiders were rigidly excluded from alps which were owned or rented by a community. Nangë said it had not enough feed for its own flocks. Martenesh, Gurrëzë and Breg i Matit said they did not want their pastures disturbed by strangers. All infringements of the ban, both petty and grave, were punished by fines.

Korcha

361
438

ORÇA (sometimes referred to as Korcha and also as Koritsa) is the central terminus for Albania. It lies in one of the most fertile plains of Central Albania which is under intense cultivation. This causes Korça to be rich industrially for here are located three tobacco factories, a large sawmill and an alcohol factory. Near Korça are rich coal mines, vineyards, and so forth.

Several of the principal roads connecting Albania with Yugoslavia on the north and with Greece on the south and east meet here. To this valued and fortunate location Korça owes her importance and her development into an exceedingly up-to-date center for trade and traffic which enables her to transport materials of all kinds to and from all parts of the country.

The King Pyrrhus, of historic renown, was born in this district in which the city of Korça now stands.

342 Each home in Korça is surrounded by a garden enclosed with a wall made of light-colored stones giving the residences an appearance of wealth.

485 with cooking privileges at the fireplace, while the host brews coffee for sale, and also dispenses *raki*. After his guests are in for the night he locks the door, and cannot ordinarily be persuaded to unlock it before morning, no matter how urgent the needs of the guests to go outside. This precaution is necessary owing to the frequency of violence.

Some of the *hanjis* are local men. Others come from Kruja, the home of innkeepers. All of them live as bachelors. This system, like the *kiragi* business, brings a certain number of outsiders into the country. All in all there are probably 12 to 18 *hans* in Ghegnia, in addition to the one European-style hotel at
574 Peshkopia. The Catholics do not use this system; in their tribal areas guests are put up by important individuals through a system of re-
[628] ciprocal hospitality. Since local feuds are usually more prevalent in Catholic than in Moslem country, travel across the former is relatively light.

● 438 There remains only the question of trade, which has been partly covered.[1] On the whole it may be said of the mountain Ghegs that they live by a regional, or geographic, and perhaps also ethnic, division of labor. The ordinary man is a farmer, who produces firewood, cereals, legumes, tobacco, wool, milk products, and sometimes wooden spoons. His wife produces cloth, crocheted stockings, embroidered scarfs, baskets, eggs, and a few other local products. These mountain products find their way to the market towns. Usually men and women come together; sometimes only the women make the trip, and sometimes the whole family stays at home, sending the goods by a *kiragi*.[2]

The Ghegs are able to export these things because they produce a slight surplus of agricultural products. One reason for the surplus may be that they use a number of labor-saving devices, including fulling and mealing mills run by water power.[3] This gives them more time for other pursuits, but does not increase their complexity of relations at home, since the mills are small and serve individual groups of related families.

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 20a-20b --Analyst]
2 [see cat 116, pp 20a-20b Analyst]
3 [see cat 116 pp 17b-18a --Analyst]

438 On the other side of the picture lie the craftsmen and shopkeepers in the towns, some Albanian, others Turkish, others Serbian. These craftsmen live off the exports from the mountains and from the other agricultural regions around them, and supply the mountaineers with their needs, including firearms and ammunition, as well as the objects previously listed.

So far the picture is simple, mountaineers on one side of the fence, townsmen on the other. A mountaineer may become a townsman, but never the reverse. At several points, however, the security of the mountains is penetrated: by the itinerant masons who build *kullas*,[1] by the *hanjis*[2] and *kiragis*[3] who handle traffic and care for travelers, and by the shopkeepers, who are themselves usually Ghegs, and who are found in the larger tribal villages, usually but one to a settlement. I can recall but one in Mirdita, none in Shoshi, while in the country villages of Dibra, Luma, and Puka, along the main roads, there were several. These men sold tea and sugar, needles and thread, cigarette papers, salt and pepper, a little candy, candles, kerosene, kerchiefs, and matches. They saved a trip to town for minor purchases.

511 With this balance of production and trade,[4] the Ghegs barely succeed in making a living. If their average income could be accurately assessed, it would be one of the lowest in Europe. The ordinary farmer has just enough clothing to cover his family. In some cases I have seen brothers with one suit between them; one had to stay indoors while the other went out. This was in Merturi. The ordinary household has just enough food to get through the year, saving the next year's seed and selling a little in the town. Many houses are the scenes of tightened belts and near starvation every spring. Since there is no knowledge of contraception, many children are born. As ideas of sanitation are also lacking, many people die, and the population is always a little greater than the threshold of tolerance. Feuds, sudden death, and emigration are necessary safety valves. Another very recent one is enlistment in the gendarmerie.

[842]
[165]

1 [See Cat. 116, pp. 14b - 15a -- Analyst]
2 [See cat 116, pp. 20b - 21a -- Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, pp. 20a - 20b - Analyst]
4 [See cat. 116, pp 21a - b -- Analyst]

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To the Land of the Eagle

361 the Elbasan streets. And there is always a noise of hammer-
438 ing.[1] The blacksmiths are at work—hammering. The tinsmiths are at work—hammering. The silversmiths are at work—hammering. The carpenters and joiners are planing, sawing, or hammering. The cobblers are stitching and hammering. Wherever you go your ears are assailed by the sounds of toil—honest, pleasant sounds far removed from the noises of a modern mill or factory. As I listened I thought of the thousands of folk at home who have to spend hours every day merely watching or feeding a machine—nothing to interest them, no pride in their work, no thought in their minds save escape at the end of the day. How much better off are these workers of Elbasan! And yet the Albanian is always grumbling because he has no factories. To have factories is the summit of his ambition. Factories—and then the millennium! If only he had factories! Factories! Then everybody would have work, everybody would have money, everybody would be thoroughly happy. So, in his folly and blindness, he thinks.

One has only to travel in countries where everything is made by hand to regret the invention of machinery. Economists, no doubt, will argue that it is wrong to do so. Machinery, they will say, enables work to be done quicker and cheaper, gives the worker leisure to improve his mind and to enjoy life, provides the means of trading with other countries, and adds to the wealth of the nation. It may be so. But that does not alter the fact that hand-made goods are always better than similar goods which are turned out by

1 [In Elbasan -- Analyst]

113, 439, 648 Albania EG1

[For a discussion of the nature, scope and probable future trends (up to 1970) of Soviet economic relations with the East European satellites since World War II, and the degree of inter-satellite economic integration, see 60: Bergson, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, pp. 321-355]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Foreign Trade

DUE to the constant change of government that Albania was subjected to prior to 1925, the country had been unable to develop its natural resources and trade possibilities. However, since 1925, trade relations with foreign nations has received great impetus and has continued with even greater intensity. 439

In accordance with the figures of the official statistics for 1932, the total of Albanian imports amounted to 22,814,500 gold Francs and her total exports amounted to 4,500,360 gold Francs. The figures for 1933 are of necessity reduced for the imports because of the regrettable consequence of the world economic crisis, which, naturally, has affected Albania as well as other countries of the world. These figures being: Imports 15,938,221 gold Francs and 5,746,476 gold Francs for exports. For the year 1934 the figures are: Imports 12,-332,708 gold Francs and exports 4,284,331 gold Francs. For 1935 the imports amounted to 13,727,138 gold Francs and exports 6,037,-

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

439 478 gold Francs. In the first three months of 1936 the exports amounted to 1,575,803 gold Francs and imports reached the sum of 3,-574,540 gold Francs.

Albania being an essentially agricultural country, has also suffered from the world disaster in this field, and the blow to her in this connection has been a severe one, since 4/5 of her exports consist in farming products of the agricultural industries, such as: olives, olive oil, cheese, eggs, live-stock, wool, hides and skins, fruits of all kinds, vegetables, cereals, charcoal, bitumen, wood-pulp, various kinds of woods, lumber, et cetera.

One of the widest fields for imports at the present time is Albania. She has just begun in recent years to tap her own source of supply and is dependent to a great extent upon other countries for various products. It is expected that in the near future Albania will be enabled to develop her own great possibilities and consequently reduce her imports and increase her exports.

It is worthwhile to note that the number of nations with which Albania transacts business is constantly increasing. The principal imports of Albania are of a more constructive

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

nature; some of which are technical and 439
chemical products, textiles of all kinds, constructing materials, machineries and motors of all kinds, cement, hardware and cutlery, leather goods, rubber and rubber articles, paper and paper articles of all kinds, coffee, chocolate, tea, sugar, musical instruments, medicines, et cetera. Up until recent years it has also been necessary to import cereals for the years in which the crops have been unsuccessful, but these imports have now become superfluous since modernization of agricultural methods have recently caused greater strides towards progress.

The deficit in the balance of trade seems exceptionally heavy at first glance but it is naturally explained by the fact that most of the imported merchandise such as machinery, construction materials, et cetera, have been put to profit-bearing uses which are bound to increase, in due time, the productive possibilities of the country.

The following list is of the Albanian imports of a more specific nature: 3,864,327 kilos of sugar in 1935 as compared to 3,882,-046 kilos in 1934. There were 6,842,330 kilos of cement bought in 1935 while 11,717,440

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

439 kilos were absorbed in 1934. Another item of great importance is benzine, of which 3,135,795 kilos were used in 1935 and 2,943,-690 kilos in 1934. Petroleum in 1935 found a market of 2,198,230 kilos compared to the 2,306,911 kilos in 1934—this product is slowly being excluded by the development of the plentiful native fields. 2,693,780 kilos of naphtha was imported in 1935 as contrasted with 1,991,414 kilos in 1934. Paper and paper articles of all kinds were absorbed to the amount of 1,136,689 kilos in 1935. Large quantities of chemicals and medicine were also imported.

Smaller items on the import list are: Beer, vegetable and mineral oils, cotton goods and textures, silk and artificial silk tissues, wool textures, biscuits of all kinds, meat extracts, sausages, sardines, 24,983 kilos of cacao and chocolate.

Coffee was imported from: England 882 kilos, United States of America 34,456 kilos, Egypt 9 kilos, Brazil 508,387 kilos, Italy 25 kilos and Austria 147 kilos in 1935. There were 5,433 kilos of tea imported in 1935. Also cognac, grains, shoes, leather goods, bicycles, motorcycles, automobiles, gramophones, ra-

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

dios, and numerous other articles. 439

Albanian exports in 1935 were lower than in some of the previous years and are as follows: Various kinds of live-stock, such as horses, colts, mares, mules, donkeys, oxen, cows, sheep, lambs, ewes, goats, pigs, et cetera; poultry; game meats; 1,200 kilos of butter; 817,080 kilos of cheese; 1,222,611 kilos of eggs; 322 kilos of honey; 380,861 kilos of fish; 2,629,767 kilos of fresh and salted olives; 1,314,750 kilos of marc d'olives; 56,000 kilos of cotton seeds; large quantities of tobacco and cigarettes; 1,232 kilos of olive oil; 83,168 kilos of new hides; 607,666 kilos of dry hides; 200 kilos of colored hides; 12,782 kilos of pelts of fox, otter, etc.; 1,700 kilos of horse hair; 4,467 kilos of fertilizer; 7,898 kilos of wax; 31,333 kilos of bones, horns and hoofs, and large quantities of soap.

Among the cereals were 835,580 kilos of wheat; 865 kilos of rye; 11,941,683 kilos of maize; 53,654 kilos of barley; 50,640 kilos of oats; 1,808,224 kilos of hay; 9,527 kilos of special citrus fruits; 17,880 kilos of ordinary citrus fruits; 29,199 kilos of nuts; 1,210,510 kilos of haricots; onions; potatoes; starch, and sausage casings.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

439 Other exports of interest are 1,358,706 kilos of firewood; 757,045 kilos of ebony; 319,000 kilos of malaca; 240 kilos of works of malaca; 18,285 kilos of cotton; 400,313 kilos of wool; 2,329,425 kilos of charcoal; 6,784,383 kilos of bitumen; 574 kilos of oakwood and 4,194,764 kilos of crude petroleum.

And the articles of needlecraft, the laces and tapestries of Albania hold a very high place. In this diligent country the women spend much spare time over these exquisite additions to the feminine toilet and household decorations. These bits of art may not be widely known as yet, but where their markets have already been established there is the greatest demand for these; also the products of the silver- and goldsmiths and pottery makers, which are a symphony in precious medals and clay, have found an eager market.

The lists which follow are from the official statistical records of the principal exports and imports of Albania for the last nine years (1927-1935).

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Exports and Imports

Covering the Period from 1927 to 1936

Year	Imports Gold Francs	Exports Gold Francs
1927	24,681,888	11,106,901
1928	32,311,583	14,694,203
1929	38,643,900	14,682,603
1930	33,288,900	12,352,063
1931	29,513,300	7,509,000
1932	22,814,500	4,500,360
1933	15,938,221	5,746,476
1934	12,332,708	4,284,331
1935	13,730,138	6,037,478

For the first three months of 1936 the imports amounted to 3,574,540 gold Francs and the exports reached the figure of 1,575,803 gold Francs.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS WITH SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES FOR 1935

Country	Imports Gold Francs	Exports Gold Francs
Belgium	457,219	9,551
Brazil	317,187	—
Czechoslovakia	948,431	52,039
Egypt	181,298	9,608
France	385,210	79,246
Germany	1,114,493	560
Great Britain	1,344,524	22,306
Greece	581,913	1,241,482
India	101,404	—

•439 Italy	3,905,374	3,686,743
Japan	1,583,801	—
United States	550,346	865,391
Yugoslavia	617,154	78,349

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS WITH SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL STATES FOR THE FIRST THREE MONTHS OF 1936

Country	Imports Gold Francs	Exports Gold Francs
Austria	120,483	2,636
Belgium	198,959	—
Czechoslovakia	255,796	6,734
Egypt	45,264	3,104
France	138,363	9,348
Germany	313,574	120
Great Britain	357,563	17,148
Greece	242,962	134,193
Hungary	72,083	—
Italy	904,192	1,223,364
Japan	401,844	—
Switzerland	16,208	2,575
United States	202,009	162,025
Yugoslavia	120,311	14,556
Other countries	184,929	—
Total	3,574,540	1,575,803

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Principal Albanian Exports

With Quantities For Period 1928-1935

ARTICLES	QUANTITY	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Live Animals	Pieces	110,025	114,239	60,110	22,839	11,574	4,707	48,542	25,700
Cheese	Kilos	1,498,797	1,433,009	1,435,087	730,669	738,645	523,026	412,126	817,080
Eggs	Kilos	1,191,432	1,154,522	1,475,915	1,479,927	639,219	582,013	933,235	1,159,601
Fish	Kilos	279,695	188,293	353,950	476,030	507,858	523,751	531,415	380,604
Olives	Kilos	3,262,926	2,217,261	981,042	4,372,883	3,388,655	11,284,061	1,112,571	2,629,767
Olive oil	Kilos	828,402	1,697,685	1,415,501	47,489	4,632	17,145	2,748	1,247
Tobacco and Cigarettes	Kilos	72,425	40,751	95,501	305,191	23,377	55,455	63,025	140,725
Hides and Skins	Kilos	1,047,731	865,415	763,918	435,783	372,021	849,627	668,162	691,900
Wool	Kilos	474,203	634,880	480,079	396,747	289,100	324,851	364,600	468,369
Charcoal	Kilos	9,636,308	9,812,900	5,695,989	3,585,730	2,899,450	735,222	665,197	2,329,425
Bitumen	Kilos	3,232,355	4,425,984	4,334,853	3,163,259	4,358,650	7,352,718	6,490,012	6,178,783
Timber and Woodpulp	Kilos	10,296,404	10,666,207	8,545,928	2,484,510	4,197,925	4,570,582	4,036,258	2,115,811

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Principal Imports

With Quantities For Period 1928-1935

ARTICLES	QUANTITY	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Rice	Kilos	2,808,147	3,164,954	2,887,567	3,440,355	3,164,505	1,756,326	2,587,639	2,805,731
Coffee	Kilos	497,365	625,052	640,111	639,887	609,327	602,295	507,289	543,734
Sugar	Kilos	5,247,294	4,819,389	5,599,372	5,356,629	4,720,541	4,350,151	3,882,046	3,864,327
Beer	Kilos	415,080	470,153	531,333	616,189	546,292	302,254	83,091	106,730
Hides and Skins	Kilos	207,019	231,413	258,540	211,105	150,926	228,137	206,046	238,060
Textile Products	Kgr.	1,224,202	134,435	1,429,471	1,258,661	1,186,613	1,365,606	1,556,441	1,933,615
Cement	Kgr.	12,404,280	22,728,115	22,481,150	26,547,740	23,079,520	13,508,917	11,717,440	6,842,330
Industrial Machines	Kgr.	734,421	1,177,582	715,975	867,659	541,603	215,869	98,768	448,793
Agricultural Machines	Kgr.	89,184	182,286	153,478	210,140	71,551	93,797	37,409	78,342
Automobiles	Pieces	200	413	283	276	163	123	75	91
Benzine	Kgr.	2,587,796	2,925,386	3,581,471	3,290,186	3,133,266	3,880,086	2,943,690	3,135,795
Petroleum	Kgr.	4,119,202	3,338,816	2,510,918	2,321,019	2,091,780	2,393,735	2,306,911	2,198,230
Naphtha and Gasoline	Kgr.	928,030	1,289,129	1,229,038	947,780	1,961,265	2,193,369	1,991,414	2,693,780

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1
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Imports from the Principal Countries

(In Gold Francs)

1928-1935

COUNTRY	1928	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	1934	1935
Italy	15.623,810	17,840,100	16,707,000	13,839,500	8,918,800	6,675,655	4,203,080	3,905,374
Great Britain	2,062,426	2,694,200	2,464,600	1,770,900	1,586,200	1,438,222	1,134,154	1,344,524
Czechoslovakia	2,386,967	2,414,700	2,430,400	1,982,000	1,766,900	1,078,134	679,320	948,431
United States	2,651,053	3,919,500	2,416,500	2,803,600	2,215,700	1,012,842	705,281	550,346
Japan	———	6,700	32,000	115,500	290,000	984,431	1,442,825	1,583,801
Germany	1,388,420	1,892,700	1,801,100	1,325,300	1,113,200	973,013	640,837	1,114,493
Yugoslavia	1,828,815	3,061,400	2,554,100	2,733,300	2,063,000	967,817	826,636	617,154
Greece	1,878,495	1,598,500	1,186,200	1,076,200	644,900	823,150	633,882	581,913
France	660,407	788,200	947,500	672,000	436,800	509,910	362,264	385,210
Austria	926,997	1,079,300	1,120,400	951,400	667,300	434,298	429,468	522,093
Belgium	422,221	796,600	695,800	600,100	374,700	380,655	409,596	457,219
Hungary	88,745	167,100	310,300	430,400	255,000	249,750	392,169	318,236
Holland	42,872	31,460	63,000	40,500	48,100	67,775	61,184	71,415
Egypt	1,125,775	2,015,400	111,000	110,000	35,300	60,382	85,755	181,298
Switzerland	96,809	30,800	152,000	116,100	77,800	57,750	45,955	95,333
Sweden	62,725	52,090	16,000	11,500	10,400	32,929	27,827	19,117
Turkey	68,486	47,590	82,000	131,400	53,300	19,242	11,863	9,861
Rumania	743,059	67,390	27,000	117,300	1,030,800	2,946	3,236	564,153
Bulgaria	60,339	12,200	12,000	224,600	862,200	2,035	4,123	3,525
Other Countries	193,162	127,970	160,000	461,700	364,200	167,285	233,251	456,642
Total	32,311,583	38,643,900	33,288,900	29,513,300	22,814,500	15,938,221	12,332,708	13,730,138

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

POSTSCRIPT

241 flourish. The southern plains, before the war,
489 exported fine horses in considerable numbers. Properly developed, Albania would be a rich agricultural country, even without the fertile valleys of Kossova and Epirus.

135 The mineral resources of Albania are unknown. During the Austrian occupation, a survey was made, looking toward the development of copper mines during the war; the results of the survey have vanished into the archives of the Austrian War Department. However, even the untrained eye perceives that there are copper and lead in the mountains. English mining engineers have told me that there are probably also silver and gold. I have seen veins of coal projecting on mountain sides; the mountaineers chip it off with hatchets or pry it loose with levers, and use it as fuel to a
[137] small extent. There are millions of feet of pine, oak, birch, and beech timber; unlimited water
[312] power. There are oil fields near Valona; producing oil wells were sunk, and later destroyed, by the Italians. Valona's military importance is not the only reason that Albanians are not left in peace.

175 There is also the political background. For twenty centuries the Albanians have been a beleaguered remnant of the first Aryan race in Europe. By character, temperament, and choice they belong with the peoples of the west, not with their Slav neighbors in the Balkans. But they have had no friends, either in west or east; their whole history has been a struggle for existence.

[Constitution]

642 All activities of the administrative organs of the state and courts must be based on law.

TITLE II
Social and Economic Measures

ARTICLE 5

471 In the People's Republic of Albania the means of production comprises all the wealth of the people owned by the state, the cooperative organizations of the people, and private individuals whether real or legal entities.

The wealth of the people includes mines and all other sub-surface resources, as well as waterways, natural wealth, forests, pasture land, airways, postal service, telegraph, telephone, radio stations, and banks.

[439] Foreign trade is under the control of the state.

ARTICLE 6

185 In order to protect the vital interests of the people and to improve the standard of living and in order to exploit all the economical forces the state undertakes to direct the economic life and development by an overall planned economy. The state, by controlling its economy and the cooperatives, exercises a general control over private economy as well.

[575] The state, in order to carry out the general economic plan, relies on the trade unions of the working men and civil servants, the cooperatives of the peasants, and other organizations of the laboring masses.

ARTICLE 7

471 The state regulates and directs by law the use of the collective wealth of the people. The collective wealth of the people is especially favored by the state.

ARTICLE 8

474 The state is especially interested in the cooperative movement of the people which it favors and assists.

ARTICLE 9

421 Private property and private initiative are guaranteed
[428] by the state. Private inheritance is guaranteed. Nobody may use private property to the detriment of the public.

326 make all of these implements out of trade iron, it is unlikely that the rural smiths, like the one measured in Mirdita, do much more than horseshoeing. No one in Albania can make [439] steel implements. Not only the material, but the finished implements themselves, must be imported, and hence they are expensive. That is why saws and augers are scarce in the mountains, where almost the only steel tools seen are files, useful for sharpening iron tools and for woodworking.

322 This explains the primitive nature of Gheg woodworking. Most wooden objects which require special tools or skills are bought in the market towns. Here 3 kinds of woodworking specialists carry on their crafts: the coopers, turners, and joiners. The coopers make tubs and buckets for kitchen use, including churns, butter firkins, and casks for storing grain. The material of which these are made is pear wood. The turner cuts out on his lathe various parts for looms, to be set up later; bobbins, spools, reelers, winders, and spool frames. The joiners provide the mountaineers with solid, ornately decorated chests of pine wood, as well as cradles in which to carry their babies, of which more later.

The Gheg at home in his mountains is a jack-of-all-trades. He may not be able to manufacture the special objects listed above, but he can adze out beams for his house, put together a new plough during the winter months when there is little work out of doors, or build one of his massive chairs. Professional carpenters are rare, although some men may show more skill in this than others.

372 In Ghegnia, as in most of the primitive world known to anthropologists, it is the custom not to let fires go out, for it is hard to start a new one. Sometimes a householder will walk several miles to borrow a glowing coal from a neighbor. In 1929 and 1930 most of the Ghegs were making fire with flint and steel or with old-fashioned dry-wick lighters. They did this slyly, and in my presence only when they could not borrow a match from me. King Zog had sold the match monopoly to the Swedish match trust, which had promptly set a price of 5 cents a box on penny matches. The king had at the same time prohibited the use of flint

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Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

A 175

Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

A 175 779

The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

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Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

Y A 121

However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

Y A 286 439

The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

A Y [462]

Cloths.

Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen (" platno ") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshawls or kerchiefs ; and "sukno ", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. " The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap ' zubun ', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts."* " The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material " (M.E.D.).

A S [291 286 287 402]

That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. " Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.

* Milan Karanovic. " Costume of the Women of Zmiyagne " Sarajevo, 1928.

Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EE1

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Other alien materials are small pieces of dyed cloth, silk ribbons, silver and gold braids and manufactured lace, often used on the sleeve edges of shirts. These materials were bought in the village shops and markets, and appear to be largely of Austrian and Italian origin; under Turkish rule they were sold in the villages by pedlars.

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In the South and Albania, where Turkish influence is greater, there is a tendency, especially amongst the women of the towns, to wear garments made from more sumptuous materials so that, in addition to the hand-woven linens, extremely fine muslins of native make are used for shirts and aprons, and silken materials of beautiful quality for girdles, sleeves and the Moslem type of women's trousers. Fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy is also imported for the making of jeleks, giubbas and japangi, and some of the nets used for the large embroidered veils worn by many women, both Catholic and Moslem, are of foreign origin.

Materials used for Embroidery and other Decorative Purposes.

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These also fall into two classes, home-made and purchased.

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The fine wools, used largely in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia, for the decorative embroidery of oshvitza, sleeves, woollen coats, aprons and the making of fringes are spun and dyed by the women themselves. Dark brown and black goat's hair is also used in the apron fringes. "Goat's hair was extensively used in the Balkans for weaving market bags, saddle-bags and floor mats in stripes. The goats, clipped in uneven ridges, looked very ridiculous." (M.E.D.).

Ribbons, gold and silver braid and strips of coloured cloth were purchased and used as appliqué on skirts, head dresses, aprons and caps. In older and finer examples of embroidery, silk was used, and was locally produced and dyed.

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In Albania and the south silk is the usual medium for embroidery, which decorates shirts, muslin aprons and japangi, although on some head scarves from Zadrima and the Bulgarian woman's costume from Monastir, which are decorated in the well-known Turkey red, the material used is cotton or very tightly twisted wool almost like a fine cord. Both silk, woollen and cotton threads are of home production. Amongst the photographs given by Miss Durham is one of a Moslem man spinning silk on a roadside on the outskirts of Scutari (Skodar). Gold thread is much used, and strips of beaten silver and brass are worked into the headings of braids.

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Braiding and cording are amongst the other important forms of decoration, narrow braids and ends of wool, silk and gold thread being hand plaited and twisted. Coats of the sleeveless type, both for men and women, the short jelek, the three-quarter length giubba, and the men's full trousers (Plate V. "f") are often decorated with cords and braids sewn down in beautiful curved designs. The "elaborate embroideries on the japangi and the handsome braided designs are usually the work of men Albanian tailors". (M.E.D.).

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Until in recent years foreign dyes, imported in small packets, were sold in the shops the women themselves dyed their materials. Most of the examples in this collection have been so coloured with vegetable dyes; black being obtained from ash bark (*Fraxinus excelsia*); green from flowering rush with the addition of copper sulphate which was got from the shops; yellow from sumach (*Rhus cotinus*); red

361 Peshkopia has grown rapidly because the international boundary commission of 1913 cut off the Dibra mountaineers from their natural market town of Big Dibra. Hence many of the Big Dibra men moved to Peshkopia, which is just inside Albania. In the same way Prizren was cut off from the Luma people, who built up Kukës; Jakova from the Malsia e Jakovës men, who also go to Kukës. On the western side no such disturbance has taken place. Scutari, Lesh, and Kruja now, as for centuries past, serve as market towns for the mountain people.

124 463 *Services*: Only 12 men are listed under "services." Two of these are innkeepers. One is a Puka man, host at Rrap, his native place. The other is an outsider, a Kruja man, whose inn is at Gur i Bardh in Mati. Kruja men specialize in innkeeping, and in the heyday of Ottoman power might be found all over the Turkish Empire, including Asia Minor. These *hanjis* marry in Kruja, and do not mix with the populations in the regions in which they do their business.

Three men were restaurant-keepers: one Koplik man, whose shop was presumably in Scutari, a Luma man, and a Malsia e Jakovës man, with shops in Kukës. The barber was a Malsia e Jakovës man, working in Kukës. Of the 2 waiters, one was a local man serving the gendarmes in their post at Puka, the other a Big Dibra man working in the hotel in Peshkopia, a new institution. Of the 3 listed as servants, all were local. One served the prefect and another the teacher in the new government center in Bureli. The third worked for a priest in Mirdita.

Of the 12 "services" listings, 9 can be accounted for as a result of recent political events.

[494] *Transport*: Transportation in Ghegnia in 1929 meant but one thing—the services of *kiragis*, those incredibly tough horse-drivers who would take you and your goods anywhere, and try to raise the price on the road, once you were at their mercy. Three out of 4 came from Dibra, and one from Malsia e Jakovës. As far as I know, all *kiragis*, like all *hanjis*, are Moslems.

[441] *Trade*: All merchants in the mountain country are shopkeepers; there are no large or complex commercial institutions. Of the 31 shop-

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1938 EG1 Albania E61

dwellings immediately enables one to make the distinction between the natives of this district. The comfortable handsome stone houses, with large galleries on the upper stories before the living rooms and the stables below, denote the typical Albanian peasant homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

There are two kinds of gypsies in this interesting country: one is the same as the English variety, speaking the quaint old Romany, although knowing at the same time the language of the country. This branch of gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly moving from one district to another, pitching their temporary tents wheresoever they will. Their keenest interest is in horses and they live by their tradings and quite often entirely by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is those, who, having forgotten almost all of their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a little Turkish where they are old enough to have experienced the Turkish occupation of Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their daily bread in the simplest and most convenient way possible for them: singing and danc-

There is no material evidence to
513 the tradition that there was once a Jewish colony in Elbasan.

443 The picturesque brown bazaar is held once a week just outside the south wall, and nowhere in all Albania is there to be found such a grand confusion of color as among the native costumes on market-day, which is generally Saturday.

346 There are several fine old mosques which are gems of Turkish architecture, especially that of Nazireshe located near the Vlach quarter, and it is one of the oldest and most beautiful in the country.

Among the newer buildings are the archaeological museum, the Baholi library, the normal school, erected at the foot of the dense olive groves just north of the town, and the
274 new Alcohol factory a very few miles along the road leading to Korcha (Korça). The
485 Grand Hotel and the Hotel Adriatik, with excellent European and native cuisines, add much to the desirability of visiting this Albanian center.

000 A strange, weird beauty is found among the olive groves at Elbasan, and the many walks through these young forests are indeed delightful. They add a strong note of contrast,

Fisheries

THE fishery industry in Albania has tremendous possibilities and is so far only partially developed. At the present time, canned fish is imported into Albania from foreign countries, which is without reason or actual necessity, for the whole of Albania's western boundary is the plentiful Adriatic Sea, not to mention the innumerable large lakes and rivers. If this tremendous, almost inexhaustible, possibility were to be sounded, there would be found a resource more than sufficient to supply the whole of Europe. This great promise for canneries is only one of the many for which the Adriatic Sea may be utilized. 228

In the large lakes of Scutari, Ochrida, Malik and Presba there is a supply of fish which has remained abundant through the centuries. The method of catching these fish is still the primitive use of fences on the banks of the rivers and lakes. From these fisheries the State claims 70%, the remaining 30% being kept by the fisherman. If fish are caught 226 226 443

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

[226] 443

outside of these enclosures, the government claims only 20%. The percentage of fish which comes to the government is sold by auction to private enterprises.

The centers of these auction markets are as follows:

(1) Scutari: The lakes of Scutari, Murtepe, Kakarriqi and Lundra, with the rivers of Bojana and Drin;

(2) Leshnja: The Old-Drin river and the Adriatic coast from the mouth of the Bojana to that of the Mati;

(3) Durazzo: The mouth of the Mati, the lake of Durazzo, Shlliza, the mouth of the Erzen and the Adriatic coast from the mouth of the Mati to lake Karavasta;

(4) Lushnja: The lakes of Karavasta, Divjaku, Terbuffi, the river Shkumbi, and the Adriatic coast from Karavasta to the mouth of the Semeni;

(5) The Semeni and Devolli rivers;

(6) Valona: The lakes of Narta, Sverneci; the Shushica and Viosa rivers, and the coast of the Adriatic from the mouth of the Semeni to Himara;

(7) Saranda-Delvina: The lakes of Butrinto and Ristica; the Argyrocastro river and the

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

coast of the Adriatic from Himara to the 443
frontier of Greece;

(8) The lakes of Pogradec, Ochrida and Prespa.

There are all kinds of fish to be found in /36
these waters, mainly: bass, trout, eel, carp, whitebait, red mullet, sole, sea-fish, etc.

The proceeds from these sales are generally 228
between 350,000 and 400,000 gold Francs annually, although there are some years when the amounts are remarkably higher.

There is no element of risk in this industry.

This industry promises to become an immense source of revenue when fully developed on a modern basis and for this purpose foreign capital is urgently needed and would be welcomed in Albania.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGI Albania EGI

THE SHOPPING CENTER IN TIRANA

These mountain women are admiring the strange weaving and color of bandana handkerchiefs and unbleached muslin from Europe. But they will sigh and content themselves with their own hand-woven silks and cottons, and if they buy anything, it will be the brightly painted cradle. An unbetrothed girl baby who was strapped into so fine a cradle might well hope to be married in Tirana or Scutari.

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(150 ~)

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGI Albania EGI

Once a week she comes walking over fifteen miles of mountain trails, to be ready for business bright and early on Bazaar Day. This week she has brought jars of kos (the thickened but not soured milk that she makes by putting three sprigs of grape vine into the boiled milk) and plums and baskets, and on the way she has been knitting. When she finishes the gay sock pinned to her jacket she will sell that, too.

443

[1960]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

CHAPTER XI

Elbasan—At the Fez-maker's—Factories or No Factories—An Albanian Schoolboy—Antiques—The Becktashi Monastery—The Strange Story of a Saint—A Remarkable Belief—The Giant Cypresses of Elbasan—The Inn—Osman the Art Critic—In the Restaurant—Concerning Patriotism.

361

GIPSY WOMAN

ELBASAN, an ancient Mohammedan city of 15,000 inhabitants, is a piece of Asia set down in Europe. The streets are narrow, and paved with the customary irregular cobblestones. The shops, of one storey only, appear to be saved from entire collapse by props, posts, and other temporary supports. The heavily-tiled roofs, which tumble about at all sorts of angles, suggest a rough sea petrified. The main square boasts a plane tree of tremendous girth—a veritable Methuselah of trees—in whose extensive shade sit country-folk with their various produce for sale beside them. Everyone who is anyone owns a shop, and the life of the place centres in the bazaar. The itinerant coffee-vendor, a man much in request, walks about all day with a

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2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

Elbasan

443 circular tray on which are set out half a dozen long-handled
361 Turkish-coffee-pots, a few tiny cups, and a handful of glowing charcoal. As he goes he rattles a pair of tongs—the audible

THE GIANT CYPRESSES OF ELBASAN

sign of his trade. Elsewhere the ice-cream man with his bucket makes his own special appeal, crying his wares in a loud and raucous voice. Somebody is always bawling in the Elbasan streets.

Monetary and Banking System; Budget and Public Loans

THE monetary unit of Albania is the 436
gold Franc at one hundred Qindtar according to the law of July 12, 1925. The gold coin of twenty gold Francs has a weight of 6.45161 grams with an allowance of 1.29%. The issues of the Albanian National Bank are for five, twenty and one hundred gold Francs, and the coins issued for circulation are for one, one-half and one-fourth Lek, one Lek being the equivalent of one-fifth of a gold Franc—a Lek having twenty Qindtar.

The Albanian National Bank (Banka Kom- 453
bëtare e Shqipnis) was created by law of September 2, 1925.

The exclusive privilege of emitting notes [436]
was granted to the Albanian National Bank, which is a limited company, and which right is solely theirs for a duration of fifty years. The capital of the bank is 12,500,000 gold Francs of which three-tenths are actually

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

453 paid in. The by-laws of the bank provide that the notes issued for circulation have to be covered with thirty-three and one-third per centum; any decline of this percentage would have, eventually, to be circumvented by an increase of the rate of discount, which, at the present time is two and one-half per centum. Covering must be made in actual gold or of sight-drafts payable in gold; but in any case, one-third of it must consist of actual gold, that is: one-ninth of the total amount of notes in circulation.

436 Notes in circulation were 13,294,840 gold Francs, which were covered by 116%, according to the bank's balance sheet of December 31, 1932; the liabilities of the bank, on the same date, which were payable on sight, amounted to 19,432,192 gold Francs. Both of these totals were balanced by 5,534,837 in gold, sight-drafts also payable in gold amounted to 26,365,270 gold Francs and by 8,041,902 [436] of other stable values. The Albanian gold Franc, at the regular rate of exchange, has for a number of years last past always been equal with the Swiss Franc. In fact, at the present time, the Albanian gold Franc stands higher

than the Swiss Franc in the regular course 453
of exchange.

The Albanian National Bank has six active branches in the various towns of Albania.

It is rapidly becoming more desirable to establish new banks in Albania, for at present there is only the Albanian National Bank and a branch of a Yugoslavian bank, and with the rapid increase of trade and general impetus to business, there are greater demands for other banking institutions which are becoming a necessity.

The national budget of Albania for the 652
financial year of 1933-34 showed the following figures.

Income	24,563,040 gold Francs
Expense	23,921,683 gold Francs

The national budget for the financial year of 1934-35 showed the following figures:

Income	18,506,500 gold Francs
Expense	18,888,192 gold Francs
Deficit	381,692 gold Francs

For the financial year of 1935-36 the figures of the national budget were as follows:

Income	17,237,191 gold Francs
Expense	18,035,563 gold Francs
Deficit	798,372 gold Francs

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania-EG1

blood of his brother this man cannot take his rightful position 628
in the family or in the community to which he belongs, and 577
rather than be an outcast and scorned by his people he is 831
prepared to spend a great part of his life in gaol. Such is the Balkan code of honour.

At Koritza I found that the money in circulation was no 436
longer Italian. Here, as at Tirana, one transacted business with the krone (or crown) instead of with the lira, as at Durazzo, Valona, Argyrocastron and in the South generally. The currency, moreover, was entirely metal, and consisted, in addition to the Austrian krone itself, of Turkish silver coins, Greek silver drachmae, Serbian dinars, and so forth—
the basis being gold. There are no banks, but there are 453
money-changers who are always quite willing to cash British or American notes, and who have drawers full to the brim with gold—French napoleons, English sovereigns and half-sovereigns, and American five-dollar pieces. I had not seen so much gold at one time since the old days before the war when bank cashiers in English used to gather it up from the counter by the shovelful.

The absence of banks must, one would imagine, be a 453
considerable hindrance to the commercial development of a 457
country. Nevertheless it is remarkable how little difference it seems to make in Albania, and I began to wonder whether banks are, after all, as essential as we are prone to think. It was likely, however, at the time of which I am writing, that an Albanian bank would shortly be established with headquarters at Tirana. A proposal had been made by the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

453 Italian Government to finance such a bank with a loan, and
457 the question of the acceptance or refusal of this offer was then being discussed by the Chamber. The offer was hedged in by conditions of which one I understood, was a requirement that in case of any default in repayment the Italian Government should be entitled to seize the Albanian customs. But it was difficult to get information upon the accuracy of which one could depend. In the end the Chamber did, I believe, accept the Italian offer, so that Albania now, presumably, has a bank, and Italy another large finger in the Albanian pie.

000 As I had been saved from the necessity of sleeping at the Hotel Metropole—thanks to the kind hospitality of my American friends—I was able to stay for some days in Koritza before moving on to the Lake of Ochrida. I wanted, if possible, to cross the lake by steamer and visit the town of
[505] Ochrida and its celebrated monastery, and I was told that a steamer service ran there from Podgradetz, a lakeside village distant an hour and a half from Koritza by post lorry. So I booked a seat and departed.

133 On the afternoon of my arrival the lake was looking extremely beautiful—sky, water, and mountains mingling in a haze of turquoise and opal. But I found that it was always changing. The next day there were thunderstorms about and the surface of the lake was vivid green against a background of violet mountains half hidden in inky clouds. On the day after that the water was a deep blue, and the mountains were veiled in a soft grey mist. And so on, through infinite variations.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

454 Existing laws and current legislation en-
457 courage the investment of foreign capital and technical experience. Albania imposes no embargo upon the re-export of capital or dividends, nor are there any exchange restrictions. The fact of the matter is that foreign investments are absolutely safe and not subject to confiscation. Albania's record for protecting foreigners and foreign capital is irreproachable. Taxation is moderate and equi-
651 table.

INDUSTRY

Taxation on new property does not exist
651 all new buildings being fully free of all taxation for a long number of years.

•457 The Albanian Government is always ready to extend all facilities in its power to encourage foreign industries to establish business branches, factories and store houses for their products.

651 Customs duties are low, in some instances negligible or entirely eliminated.

000 When we consider the fact that a Ford automobile, costing in the United States about $500.00, with the customs duties and taxes sells in France for about $1,200.00, and that if the same automobile would be shipped directly to Albania, where the parts would be assimilated and sold from Albania, the automobile would be available to the European public for about $650.00 to $800.00, this clearly gives us a good example of low customs duties and taxation in Albania.

From Albania it is easily and most conveniently possible to supply the needs of Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and other countries.

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Albania EG1

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Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

496 has it no railways, but the country is so Not only mountainous and the population so small and so scattered that without a considerable subsidy from the State a railway could not be made to pay and is therefore a remote possibility. For this reason it seems likely that Albania will miss the blessings—or escape the degradation (whichever way you prefer to put it)—of industrialism, and remain an agricultural nation.

362 The town has a few smart-looking European shops, as well as one large semi-wholesale store, but for the rest it resembles other Albanian and Turkish towns with streets of cobblers, streets of blacksmiths, streets devoted to saddle-making, harness-making, rope-making, and so forth—all the various trades being segregated, and carried on in the conditions of confusion, dirt, and squalor which are a legacy 524 from the middle ages. In addition there are many cafés, full from early morning to late at night with men who appear to have nothing better to do than sit there playing cards and 458 backgammon. I commented on this fact and was told that it was a sign of bad times and the very serious economic situation of the moment. For this—as for the similar situation in Montenegro—the practical closure of the United States to immigrants is to a large extent responsible. [167] In the past the States have supported a floating population of 40,000 Albanians to whom their own country offered no prospect of remunerative employment; to-day most of these men are at home with nothing to do.

000 I was often asked about Australia, and whether some scheme might not be arranged by which entry would be

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

712 Albania is also a seat of historic interest having been the battle ground for many wars with the Greeks and the Turks. The national hero of Albania—Scanderbeg the Great—lived in Kruja, where, as a silent testimonial to this great hero's strength, are the remains of the old fortress. It looms directly above the town on a cliff, and the old Tower and lower massive walls still stand. If these old stones could speak, what a story they could tell of the Albanian struggle and strife against the invader! Throughout the country many strategic points are heavily fortified and many watch towers raise their white heads on mountain tops.

574 The Albanians are by far the most hospitable people in Southeastern Europe. Their doors are never closed and a friend cannot ask too much. They are charmingly naive in their manners and delightfully quaint in their cus-
• 461 toms. There is nothing of the hurried, hysterical existence in Albania; the natives are leisurely and get the full benefit out of their
493 sunny, mellow days. The city man is aware of a pleasant surprise at the lack of the constant blare of the motor horn; the peaceful serenity of the golden days is only broken by the occasional honk of the droschka and the cries of the street vendors.

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

563 ing, accompanied by the women on tambour-
533 ines and they by the men on violins and
535 cornets. Their dances are picturesque in their native costumes with their hair either flowing or bound up, according to the particular dance. For those who may interpret their dances, there is a rich abundance of narrative in store for the reader. The harmony of tambourine, violin and cornet is not at all unpleasant when played by skilled musicians. The singing, however, is not harmon-
563 ized, the performers using only one voice.
[461] Regardless of where these gypsies may live they earn their living in the same way, and being too lazy to cultivate even a small truck-garden, they lead easy, happy-go-lucky exist-
[427] ences, and they have their huts free of rent, provided they work a few days out of the year for their ground landlord, Shevket Bey. Strange as it may seem, these wandering,
[326] anchorless people are about the only local blacksmiths found in this country, for the Albanians proper have a curious aversion to this occupation.

245 After leaving this quaint little town of Bradshesh, and penetrating into the heart of Albania towards Elbasan, large, beautiful

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

527 777 incident that occurs during its twelve hours is believed to presage the events of the corresponding months of the coming year, and the events of the first day of each month the character, lucky or unlucky, of the other days generally. It is unlucky to work in the [461] fields during the first week of October, and no corn is sown this month, as the crop would be sure to fail.

527 777 776 784 The period between the 15th of November and the 6th of January is, like the Greek *Fishoti* and the Bulgarian *Kulada*,[1] supposed to be the carnival time of the Vilas and other supernal beings, who are, at that season, not only more active, but more powerful than at others, and especially during the night. After sunset, consequently, people refrain from going abroad, or drinking water, for fear of mischief, and give no credence to their dreams. They are also careful not to leave any article of wearing ap- [296] parel out of doors after nightfall, and if, by some oversight, a garment should be so left, it is washed before being used, in order to get rid of any spell cast upon it by the supernals.

527 777 Christmas, which bears a name (*Kolendravet*[2]) apparently connected with those by which it is known among the Bulgarians and Vlachs, is observed with ceremonies that recall those of more Northern nations, as well as with some similar to those of their last-mentioned neighbours. On the 24th and 25th of

[1] Vol. i. pp. 123 and 329.

[2] Von Hahn derives this name from the κολόδρα, the ring-shaped cakes made at this season. I would, however, suggest the greater likelihood of the cakes having been named after the name of the feast in its various forms of (Albanian) *Kolendravet*, (Vlach) *Kolindi*, and (Bulgarian) *Kulada*.

[Constitution]

671 No citizens may be exiled or interned within the state
641 except as prescribed by law.

The People's Republic of Albania protects the rights of its citizens in foreign lands.

ARTICLE 20

694 A home cannot be violated.

No person can enter a house and search it against the wishes of the owner, except when he holds a court order in his hands.

No search can be made except in the presence of two witnesses. The owner of the house also has a right to be present.

ARTICLE 21

205 The secrecy of mail and other correspondence cannot be violated except in cases of criminal investigations, military mobilization, or state of war.

ARTICLE 22

461 In the People's Republic of Albania work is a privilege and a duty.

Every citizen has a right to be paid according to his work and to receive from society as much as he gives to it.

ARTICLE 23

647 All citizens have a right to be employed in government work according to specific regulations laid down by law.

Citizens appointed or elected to public office are bound to perform their duties conscientiously.

ARTICLE 24

[729] It is the duty of the state to adequately support disabled
657 soldiers at public expense and to enable them to resume their work. The state shall support the families of those who died in battle and of all war victims.

ARTICLE 25

The state takes care of the health of the people by organizing and controlling health service, hospitals, and sanatoriums.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EG1

would pass over any or all of his own sons in favour of his younger brother or nephew if the latter promised to be a better administrator. Ymer Tullumi of Bujars in Shpat was a case in point. His father made him heir over the heads of his two elder brothers, and in his own old age, being childless, he selected as his successor, not his oldest nephew or the eldest son of his eldest brother, but the most intelligent among his nephews. For the same reason a master whose powers had been dimmed by years or illness generally resigned his position to his successor, although he was legally entitled to remain master as long as he lived. 592

In his relations with the authorities and the neighbours, the master had to do his best for the family. He tried, for instance, to get the burden of taxation and unpaid labour on government roads lightened, or, better still, shelved altogether; here he might find some degree of literacy useful, though it was otherwise superfluous. To keep on good terms with the neighbours he restrained his subordinates from provocative acts such as stealing or trespassing, and if a quarrel broke out he tried to settle it before it reached the shooting stage, which was always a nuisance to everybody concerned. At home he tried to keep the domestic wheels well oiled, soothing the quarrelsome, reasoning with the disgruntled, never showing anger real or feigned, assigning to each worker, whether man or woman, a daily task. In practice the last point seldom required thinking out, since each man had early specialized as ploughman, shepherd, cow-herd or odd man. If 'hands' were few, the master must work himself; if they were numerous, he confined himself to general supervision and planning of the work of the others. His chief duty was then to see that the fields were properly tilled and the flocks well cared for. In some districts, when temporary labourers had been hired for a special job, the master of a household so big that he did not normally work with his own hands ceased to supervise the workers and joined them as one of themselves. This was regarded as gracious condescension on his part and stimulated the hired men to greater effort. [2/2] [46]

The master's rule over his household was absolute and extended to every aspect of its life. Unless he first consented, no other man might stay away from work, leave the farm for a day's outing, accept employment elsewhere, or even call in a doctor to attend to his sick child; no boy or girl might be betrothed; no child might be hired out, apprenticed, or sent to school; no woman except his

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

annually. In Godolesh the two neighbours did it in alternate years, having exclusive right to the earth with its valuable fertilizing properties for the year when they did the clean up. In Lumë two neighbours cleared the drain together year after year and flung half the earth on one side and half on the other.

In other places one ditch seldom drained two neighbouring fields on the principle that 'you can't walk on my path or use my drain'. In Gurrëzë the man who wanted a drain had to cut it on his own ground with a 'footprint' (20 cm.) of land between the boundary and its edge for the protection of his neighbour's land. Without this buttress the drain might overflow or burst its bank to the detriment of his neighbour. In either contingency its owner had to pay compensation to his neighbour, but prevention of damage was always better for both parties. His neighbour might also accuse him of encroaching on his land, an insulting remark that provoked instant retaliation. If, later on, the neighbour wanted a drain he had to make one for himself, also a 'footprint' away from the boundary. In Lumë and Elbasan there was little risk that open drains would flood, but there too a space had to be left between their edge and the boundary. The avowed purpose of this space was to support the boundary stones. In all cases of single ownership the owner, on clearing the ditch, threw the earth on his own side, where it testified to his ownership if this was ever questioned.

Sometimes a man of Shkrel wanted both a drain and a fence. In that event the ditch was cut along the boundary and a strip of ground of the same width was set aside on the other side of the boundary. All the earth excavated from the ditch was thrown on this strip and so the neighbours became quits, one had a 'hole' on his land and the other a 'hill'. The fence was erected on the 'hill'.

We come now to one of the most important considerations in boundary making. North Albania is one of the wettest regions in Europe, and when the land was waterlogged it inevitably tended to slip downhill. The tropical intensity of many rainstorms increased the mischief. Terracing the fields would have helped to check it, but such manual labour is contrary to the habits and dignity of the north Albanian. His law, however, gave him every possible protection. When there were two fields on a slope, one above the other, they might be separated by a field-path, a road, an irrigation channel or a fence. (The term 'field-path' includes the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

courageous. The Tosks are blue-eyed, and also have 142
frequently blonde or chestnut hair. Their features are refined, and they are extremely elegant in figure and deportment. The Khams resemble the Greeks somewhat in feature. They have black eyes and hair, and darker skins than the Ghegs. The Liaps are the [462]
least handsome of all the Albanian women, and the laborious out-of-door life they lead, surrounded by privations of all kinds, soon destroys any degree of beauty they may have possessed in youth. They 481
are, however, expert swimmers and divers, this pastime affording almost their only distraction.

The national costumes of the Albanians are ex- 291
tremely varied and picturesque, and are still rigidly adhered to by all classes. The dress of a Skipetar lady is extremely rich and costly. It consists of a sleeved gown of striped white gauze; a pair of very full Turkish trousers drawn in at the ankle, where they are finished off with a revers of thick embroidery; a long sash, also of gauze; a sleeveless vest, and a coat reaching to the knees, both of crimson velvet, handsomely trimmed round the borders with elaborate
gold embroidery. The hair is separated into three [302]
tresses, one of which floats on the shoulders, the other two being twisted round the little red fez which is worn on the head, and kept in place by a kerchief of silk. The dark-blue fez-tassel, which is very full and long, is ornamented with tiny plates of gold or with seed-pearls, and droops on the left shoulder. Formerly the Moslem women went barefoot, but they now wear embroidered slippers in the house and yellow *babouches* out of doors. The Miridite women

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

enter, redden their lips and cheeks with iris powder 302
or carmine, and stain their nails and the palms of
their hands with henna.

The social status of the Albanian women varies 562
according to district and creed. The Liaps and the
Christians of Southern Albania and Epirus generally
occupy the least enviable position, all the hard out- [462]
of-door work devolving upon them. The Northern
Albanians and also the Tosks, on the other hand, treat
their wives with much greater consideration, consult
them willingly in their affairs, both public and private,
and accord them a position in the family almost
equal to their own. And well do they merit
the respect of their husbands and brothers. For
often have they proved themselves to be fit com-
panions for men, unmindful of fatigue, danger, and
even death in the cause of liberty. When the
armies of the Sultan menaced the privileges of which
the people of Scutari had always been proud, it was
the women who were the first to give the alarm and
to excite the men to resist to the death, themselves
following to aid in the combat. Restraining the [703]
tears natural to their sex, they would carry the
mutilated bodies of their loved ones among the com-
batants in order to excite them to avenge their deaths.
And the same women are said to have refused to
receive back into their homes the husbands and sons
who had for a moment turned their backs upon the
enemy.

Albanian women, too, are often entrusted with 562
negotiations for truce or peace. Such is the respect 628
with which Albanians regard their women that they 728

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 462 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their [591] families they return to their employment, leaving

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

rally terminate in a fainting fit, while others have frequently to be restrained by their friends from doing themselves grievous bodily harm in their excitement. 763

The men of the family receive visits of condolence from those of their own sex, standing in the courtyard. The formula in which sympathy is usually expressed is, "May you continue to enjoy good health," the speaker at the same time putting his right hand on the shoulder of the mourner. The latter responds, "May our friends be well," and the visitor enters the house to express in the same way his sympathy to the women of the family. The corpse is washed and laid out according to the usages of the faith, Christian or Moslem, professed during lifetime, and is dressed in its best clothes, which are, however, taken off before burial. And now begins the formal wailing round the body, in which the women of the family are assisted by their neighbours. 764

The majority of the dirges used are, like those of the Greeks, conventional, every woman having her memory well stored with a *répertoire*, from which she selects those suited to the occasion. They are sung antiphonically, a verse or couplet being first chanted as a solo, and then repeated by the rest in chorus. The nearest relatives first lead the chant, and continue without interruption until either their voices or their memories are exhausted. It is then the turn of the other women, who, when they consider that one has had the lead long enough, stop her with a sign, and another lifts up her voice. Among the dirges sung for a youth killed in battle the following, which is in the Tosk dialect, is one of the oldest and best known. 764 533 [462]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1960 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples. 245

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*).[1] The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture. [462] 221 233

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling. 231 262

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached. 261 628

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later,[2] goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjës to Puka, then on to Kukes, and across 491

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108 . . Analyst
2 [See cat. 116 p 42a - Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

593 and moil the whole blessed day', she ended, sadly rather than
562 bitterly.

462 Toil and moil she did. The daily duties of every peasant woman
512 in her position included fetching firewood from the forest and water from the river or spring, besides cooking, washing and baking for the household. At certain seasons she must also do farm work, so long as she retained a measure of youth. Her husband did heavy work like ploughing, scything hay, or cutting oak leaves for winter fodder. But she must carry the manure from the stable to the fields in spring, help her husband to sow and earth up the maize and, while he stayed indoors, reap it. She must carry home the hay and fodder and feed them to the animals. If grain was trodden out by horses or oxen, her husband drove them; if threshed with flails, she wielded them. If there was no miller, she conveyed the grist to the mill, ground it, and brought back the flour. Only if there were a miller did these tasks devolve on her husband, and then it was only in order to keep her virtue above suspicion. In poor families she was herself the beast of burden, and when young was expected to carry up to seventy pounds. In richer families she had a horse or donkey to do the actual carrying, unless her home was under snow in winter. Then she must brave the snow that confined the animal to its stable and bring in supplies of firewood and water, fodder and flour. Paucity of workers prevented her husband from having more than a couple of milch-goats or ewes, and these were tethered; it was she who tethered, watered and milked them. It was she, too, who turned their milk into curds (*kos*) or butter and cheese, arduous tasks in summer when milk sours easily. She also saw to the poultry and in her spare time knitted or span.

857 Fortunately for the women, there was almost no peasant house-
596 hold in which a young husband and wife were the only workers.
512 The eldest child, boy or girl, began at seven or eight years of age to herd the goats as they roamed in search of food and saw to them morning and evening. This gave the mother some relief and provided the family with more food and, by the sale of the goats
516 themselves or the kids, more money. When very small, the girl
462 must spin or knit as she herded; when in her teens, she must sew
512 her trousseau; but no extra tasks were expected of boy herds. Since, too, a man's mother and sisters never lost their legal right to share his home, a family might include the husband's mother and even

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

his unmarried sister or his widowed, childless sister. In that event, while the younger women worked outside, his mother, if physically fit, remained at home to cook, sweep and bake, besides attending to the dairy and poultry. She also saw that any children who were big enough to walk but too small to follow their mother to the fields, did not fall into the fire or otherwise come to grief. She further entertained any men visitors who might come when her son was absent. She did not, however, wash her clothes or her husband's, should he be still alive, for even at the height of the busy season outside that was one of her daughter-in-law's duties. When she was no longer strong enough for her various tasks, she was sent out, complete with distaff, to herd the goats or plough-oxen and another woman succeeded her as housekeeper.

If the married pair had a separate bedroom, it was private property, as inviolable as a separate house would be, and no one other than the man and his wife and children might enter uninvited. Unless she was his wife, even the housekeeper was under the ban. It followed that when a wife worked outside, she must care herself for her bedroom, sweeping it, spreading the bedding at night, and picking this up again in the morning. She must also tend her children, and wash and mend their clothes, her husband's and her own, besides those of her mother-in-law. If she had a tiny baby, she carried it in its cradle on her back to the fields, left it in a shady place while she worked, and carried it home again in the evening.

If the house was too small to have a sitting-room, the husband ate in the kitchen. He never lingered over the meal, and in most districts ate alone unless his mother, privileged by having brought him into the world, wished to join him. A man who ate with his wife or sat much in her company courted public ridicule as unmanly and 'no class'. If there was a sitting-room, the husband probably took his midday meal in the kitchen and his evening meal in the sitting-room. Before supper he might invite his sons or even his daughters, if these were small, to share the comfort of the sitting-room for a little.

Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of an age to marry. Then sheer pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units, each with a house of its own.[1]

[1] See Chapter VI.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

592 When the men in a household were numerous, three or more might be shepherds, one tending the sheep, another the goats, and a third the oxen; several might be farmers who ploughed and hoed and irrigated; yet others might be housemen, one keeping the house supplied with firewood, a second going to the bazaar, and a third grinding grain at the local mill for the household's bread. Each thus contributed his quota to the family wealth, and obviously the more numerous the quotas, the greater the general comfort. A well-to-do household which had only a few men might make up the number of hands available by engaging servants. 'Çota's tableful' is now proverbial in Çermenikë because eighteen men—ten relatives and eight hirelings—used to sit down nightly to supper in Sali Çota's house in the village of Fenars in that district. If, however, a household were poor as well as small, it could not risk having to pay servants in a bad year, and must restrict its activities—for example, by keeping only sheep or goats but not both. Since sheep eat grass and goats leaves, they must have separate herds.

462 512 Even in the richest of these multiple households the women lived much as they did in small, poor ones. A housekeeper, who was generally elderly, cooked and baked for the whole family, swept the kitchen, the men's sitting-room, and her own bedroom if she had one apart from the kitchen, but did not enter any room belonging to a married man, even if he was her son. The young wives worked out of doors when required and at all times looked after their children, husband and bedroom. They were often exempt from fetching firewood and water and were reasonably fed and dressed, but otherwise fared no better than their poorer sisters. By and large, even in these relatively more leisured homes, women worked much harder than men. The latter excused their comparative idleness by saying that in Turkish times, when blood feuds raged, it had been death for most men to show their faces outside in the daytime, and if the family was not to die of starvation the women had to work for its bread. They claimed that when blood feuds grew rarer, they became more industrious. But they could never produce any evidence that the women had gained by their new diligence.

264 562 Soon after sunset the men sat down to sup at the same table in the sitting-room, while the women and children ate at another table in the kitchen. The food was brought to the sitting-room by

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

685 [683] Assembly by his neighbour from whose tobacco box he had inadvertently rolled a cigarette. In every tribe and village, a man's honour was so stained by the theft of his gun or his wife that he had to shoot the thief and take the consequences of the ensuing blood feud.

The penalties imposed depended also on the nature of the articles stolen. North Albania was predominantly pastoral and, as the safety of the flock of sheep depended on the bell-animal, penalties for stealing this animal were heavy.[1] In Lumë the owner could demand six or seven sheep for the thief: 'as well steal the whole flock as its leader.' In Perlat stealing a bell-wether was such a disgraceful act that in the blood feud against the thief's family, even a woman could be killed. The bell of the leading animal was even more precious than the animal itself, and in Perlat, if it were stolen, it had to be returned and a sheep with it. In Labinot, the bell was thought too unlucky to be hung round an animal's neck again, and instead of returning it, the thief had to pay twice its value or be shot. In Mirditë a fine of 500 grosh was imposed for the dishonour done to the owner.

The two-for-one rule was applied to thefts of all farm animals, with the exception of pigs and cocks. The man who stole a pig had to pay 500 grosh in hard cash. This sum was often ten times the value of the animal, but the pig was the mainstay of the poor man and required special protection. The same sum of 500 grosh had to be paid for a cock, as 'the cock is the poor man's watch'. It was said that in Krasniqë an actual watch had to be paid instead of the money penalty.

685 562 [462] [672] Firewood was usually collected by women, and when they stole it their husbands were held responsible. It was common practice to seize the axe with which the thief cut the wood and the rope with which she slung it on her back. These articles were sometimes used as visible evidence of her guilt, sometimes retained as compensation, or as a guarantee for the payment of the penalty, or of the fee due to the elder who dealt with the case. Women might steal other things than firewood, and responsibility was always placed on the husband. It is recorded that, during the reign of King Zog, men might even be imprisoned for their wives' thefts. It was they who had to take the oath if an oath was required. The woman did not, however, get off scot free. In most areas she was

[1] Vide supra, p. 173.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

subsisting at the time of his expulsion were voided by that fact. 682 When his banishment was temporary, his marriage engagements 628* remained binding. [584]

Even in cases of temporary banishment the murderer's separation from his tribe was thoroughgoing. For the specified period 'he could not light a cigarette in a single house of the tribe', as the men of Lurë put it. Nor could he, or his, return to borrow honey, that most important commodity where sugar is scarce. In Mirditë a tribesman who admitted him to his house for any of the above purposes was publicly 'burned, roasted and expelled' for breaking tribal discipline.

The banished murderer's obligation to take root whether he 682 wished it or not in some alien spot is another of the factors which produced the many colonies of diverse origin in Albanian lands. The exiles, home-sick like exiles the world over, often gave the name of their ancestral village to their new settlement.

If the murderer did not choose to go into exile of his own accord, [697] he was condemned by the avenger to virtual imprisonment in his house. Sometimes he shut himself up voluntarily; more often, especially in north Albania, he was peremptorily ordered to do so by the avenger. For the period of his 'imprisonment' fear that the avenger was lurking near prevented him from stirring outside during the daytime and restricted his movements to the night hours. If he left home, he had by dawn to find shelter under a friend's roof and he could not continue his travels until the next night fell. These disabilities were his so long as he eluded the avenger, and he might do so for years, as in the case of a native of Sheshaj who had been shut up by his enemy for twenty-five years. At Belsh in Dumre, as a result of this confinement, two men who had been shut up for twelve years were 'waxen and yellow as the dead'. They longed to walk in the sunlight and were bored indoors where they could do nothing to pass the time except strip maize [226] and knit (most curiously, knitting is one of the staple occupations [462] of the men, but not the women, in Dumre). But they could not help themselves, since it was certain death to step outside during the daytime.

Just as the murderer's house could not be burned down in case 672 women and children perished in the conflagration, so his 'imprison- 682 ment' could not be allowed to stop the work of the family in case 628* women and children died of starvation. There were several

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

provisions for carrying on the work. The first was the law that women, children, servants and domestic animals must not be shut up. So in comparative security the able-bodied women, on whom fell the heaviest burden, tilled the fields, went to market, ground corn at the mill and fetched water from the spring and firewood from the forest. The boys and aged women herded the cows, sheep and goats. The servants took part in any or all of these tasks, but few households could afford the luxury of servants.

A social phenomenon alleged to be a by-product of this immunity of women and children is interesting. To-day a good proportion of the agricultural work of Albania is done by women, while the men idle; a generation ago the bulk of it was so done. The men of to-day excuse their idling by saying it is a habit formed when they or their fathers were shut up by blood feuds; whatever their natural inclination to work, they were then driven perforce into allowing their women to toil alone to feed the family. This plea may or may not be valid; as the frequency of blood feuds decreased, the men's industry increased.

In bad feuds the immunity of women and children was sometimes denied. Even to-day the women of Murat Kaloshi's household cannot stir outside his compound except under heavy escort; failing that, they would be shot without pity by his enemies. The numerous children in his household are growing up illiterate four minutes' walk from an excellent school; if they attended this school, a battalion of gendarmes or men-at-arms could hardly ensure their safety. Another bad case is to be found at Milot, where even the boys in the cradle in Gjin Bardhoku's house have to share the men's imprisonment. In Çermenikë the immunity of women was never absolute; there was always a danger that the avenger might lose his temper and kill them. Within living memory two women in Fenars, one of the more accessible villages in Çermenikë, once tried to plough and were discovered by the avenger. On their declining to desist as he bade them, he fired at them with unexpectedly fortunate results. He wounded both but only severely enough to make them fall to the ground while letting go the oxen. They made a speedy recovery and, each wound counting as half a 'blood', the avenger was considered to have taken vengeance. The two parties were then 'measure for measure' and made peace.

Again with a view to feeding the murderer's family an avenger

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGI Albania EGI

sometimes yielded to a friend's pleadings and allowed one or more 628* men in the 'imprisoned' man's household to come out and work. 697 The same friend went security to the murderer for the lives of the man or men released. In Shpat, if one of the men imprisoned [672] died, the avenger sent word that one of those hitherto free must shut himself up in his stead. It is not known whether this was the rule in other districts or not.

In earlier times, according to vague traditions still current in Çermenikë and Martanesh, only the actual murderer was shut up and the other men in his household were free to work and to travel. This tradition is supported by the history of the Balli family in the village of Fenars. Seven generations ago, i.e. about 175 years ago, Sali Balli of Martanesh killed a friend and was shut up by the avenger, while his four brothers went free. He grew so bored in his 'prison' that he ran away from Martanesh and settled in Fënars, where he founded a family now headed by Isuf Balli. The descendants of his brothers still live in the old home in Martanesh.

When an avenger felt too bitter to release indefinitely one or [462] more men in the imprisoned murderer's household, he was sometimes induced to make a minor concession. When all the men were shut up, women were able to hoe, to carry manure, to sow seed, to reap wheat and to harvest maize successfully, but they could not plough—so it was believed in north, though not in south, Albania, where the wives of many emigrants must to this day plough if they and their children are to eat. There was therefore danger in north Albania that if all the men were shut up during the ploughing season, the family would, in spite of the women's efforts, starve. This led to a ticket-of-leave system, called *besë*, literally 'pledged word', 'truce', or *kuvend*, 'agreement'. At the instance of a mutual friend the avenger granted the murderer leave for one or more men in his household to come out and work his land for a stipulated period, varying from three to twelve months. As so often, the forces [626] of public opinion reinforced the friend's urgings; indeed, it was said of an avenger who refused his enemy leave to plough that he 'was not to be entered in the register', i.e. could not be classed as a man, and of one who did not that he was both brave and honourable.

In Dukagjin the kanùn of murder was so stern that neither the 682 murderer nor his womenfolk were allowed to work his land if the 628* avenger was strong. Indeed, the avenger often worked it and carried home the produce, leaving the murderer's household

In many cases the men shave their
302 their head completely except for a tuft of hair on top of the head.
291 This tuft is left by them to grow into a long lock. In the south their dress resembles that of the Greeks. In the north it varies from the town to the country, and in the countryside it varies again according to the different regions. In Scutari the Catholics wear wide, pleated black breeches which among the men reach down below the knees, and among the women down to the ankles. Further they wear white stockings, a short lower jacket with attached long sleeves and a sleeveless top jacket. In addition the women wear an embroidered sleeveless coat. The Mohammedans wear the pleated coat (fustan) that weighs several kilograms and remains short in central and southern Albania. It consists of several hundreds of long, narrow strips of linen cloth sewn together. A cotton or silk belt holds the coat, and the weapons are clamped inside a leather belt. To this are added a lower and a top jacket. The Mohammedan women wear very wide breeches and richly embroidered mantles with long sleeves that have slits in them. The fustan is regarded as being ancient Illyrian and is believed to have been developed from the kilt; it has been attested in the surviving artistic monuments in Mycenae and on ancient Crete, as well as in the Palaeolithic caves of northern Spain. The rural population wears, likewise as an ancient Illyrian inheritance, a small, tightly-fitting, semi-spherical felt cap which does not cover much more than the top of the head, and is found represented among the "Barbarians" of the victory monument of Adam-Klissi. Tightly fitting sheep's wool trousers with two transverse slits in the region of the groin, which by some are considered Slavic, by others Thracian, an under jacket with sleeves, and a sleeveless vest, a mantle and a fur coat are also worn by the rural people. For these types of clothing evidences have again been
[462] discovered from antiquity. In the mode of life, the working of the
252 fields by the woman is regarded as an ancient cultural tradition; in the same category are placed the baking of flat cakes under the baking bell, the cooking of blood, fat, meat, and spices in a goat's stomach which is turned to and fro over the red hot coal embers, the cooking of wheat grains without prviously grinding them, the hand mill (Figure
412 14), and the turbine mill (Figure 10). The latter's grindstones lie five to six feet above the water wheel into whose spoon-like spokes the water
312 is poured from a steeply inclined conduit. Still belonging to the ancient cultural heritage are the watering of the field by means of canals and wooden conduits, something which is regulated by the family because of the dearth of water--Figure 16 shows a marking post, one and one-half meters high.

[see Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a--Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

yaghourt. The publicity of the cooking arrangements, 265
which is common to all Albanian eating-houses, has its 485
advantages. It makes a menu unnecessary. The foreigner, just as easily as the native, can see for himself what food is available and can indicate the dish of his choice by pointing to it. In the inn at Argyrocastron, however, the publicity went unpleasantly far, for hanging from a rail of the staircase was to-morrow's dinner in the raw state—a defunct sheep all ready for roasting whole, with a long wooden spit struck through it lengthwise. This revolting sight brought me to the verge of vegetarianism, but since Albania, like Montenegro, is essentially a meat-eating country, I realised that it was not a suitable place to begin experiments in a vegetable diet, and I was therefore obliged to stifle my better instincts and carry on for the nonce in the old carnivorous way.

One feature of the Albanian inns that the traveller will [462]
remark is the absence of womenfolk. All the household work is done—and usually done very badly—by men or boys. At Argyrocastron the "chambermaid" was an Italian-speaking Albanian, dressed in a very old and shabby khaki uniform, who spared no pains to make me as comfortable as circumstances permitted, and was exceedingly grateful for the few liras I gave him on leaving. In fact, neither in Albania nor in Montenegro did I find that distressing greed for tips which is so characteristic of countries which claim to be much more civilised. Before I left Cettinje, being 609
anxious to show my appreciation of services rendered by the

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania E61
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

A 175

Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

A 175 779

The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

B 175

Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

Y A 121

However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

Y A 286 439

The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

A Y

Cloths.

[462]

Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen ("platno") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshawls or kerchiefs; and "sukno", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. "The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap 'zubun', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts."* "The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material" (M.E.D.).

A S [291 286 287 402]

That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. "Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.

* Milan Karanovic. "Costume of the Women of Zmiyagne" Sarajevo, 1926.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

B. The Japangi.

The japangi is the out-of-door cloak of a married woman, and is presented as a wedding gift from the bridegroom to his bride.* It is made of scarlet cloth or felt, often imported from Austria, and the handsome silk embroidery which decorates it is the work of Albanian men tailors. It is interesting to note that according to old archives "Scarlet cloth was one of the items the Venetians used to bestow on local Albanian chieftains in the days of Venetian domination in the Adriatic."† 291 294 531 [431]

The garment consists of two parts, the large circular cape and a rectangular flap for a hood which is attached to it (Plate XII a). Although the material is very wide there are some joinings, and a curved gore or a long dart is cut and joined together again to make the cloak fit well on the shoulders.

It is handsomely trimmed by three panels of embroidery, one on either side of the front, like the one at the left only in "b" on Plate XII, and one across the shoulders at the back (Plate XII c). These panels consist of strips, about an inch wide, of scarlet and dark red or maroon or black cloth seamed together to form a background of stripes upon which an elaborate pattern is solidly worked in chain-stitch in yellow, white, green and violet silk, the silk being home grown, spun and dyed in most cases. The joining of the front and back panels is disguised by a number of rows of plaited braids, plain yellow ones being used alternately with mixed red, black and white ones (Plate XII h). The silk strands of which the braids are made form a long fringe at either end (Plate XII g). "The embroidery is very noteworthy. It is done entirely by men, and the patterns are traditional and vary very little, a bird, possibly a dove (Plate XII f), a serpent (Plate XII e), flowers and an ear of corn (Plate XII d) are always included, and it was impossible to get any explanation from the embroiderers as to why these items were always to be found. After much discussion by one excellent worker with his fellows they decided that it must be some old tale, long forgotten. The flowers and corn may be fertility emblems as this is a marriage garment." (M.E.D.). [462]

When a woman becomes a widow she removes the embroidered panels and substitutes some black stripes instead, whose arrangement is shown at the right hand side of the front view of the japangi at "b" on Plate XII. A sketch (No.1935-27) by Miss Durham of a Scutarene widow wearing a japangi with black stripes can be seen in the museum collection. [765]

No. 1935-22. In addition to the japangi with the embroidery just described there are two other examples of the sets of embroidered panels, both from Scutari (Skodar), and one of which is drawn at "g" on Plate XII.

The fine felt stripes of which this ground is made are scarlet and very dark maroon, and the design and the technique of the embroideried work far outshines that of the other two specimens. Ivory silk chain-stitch, generally outlined in yellow, fills most of the important motives, but touches of pale blue, reseda green and violet appear here and there. The changes in the background colour enhance the richness of the general effect and part of the illustration at "g" on Plate XII has been filled in to give some idea of this variation in tone. The serpent, dove and corn

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*. Vol. XXIII. No. 5, 1923.
† loc. cit.

[Text continues on p. 57]

000 TO THE anthropologist, selective marriage systems, such as cross-cousin and parallel-cousin, are run-of-the-mill phenomena. But the anthropologist is used to dealing primarily with non-European peoples, living far from centers of civilization. To the sociologist brought up on European and American subject matter it is an event to discover a "primitive" system in operation only 250 miles from Rome, in the 20th century.

592 As our study of material culture made clear, the Gheg family, like that of the early Israelites, or of the Chinese of any period, is an economic institution. One household, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, his sons, unmarried daughters, and son's children, lives in a single house or group of houses, and all ordinarily work together. The most complicated tasks which confront them require the co-operation of such a group, but no more, except in rare events when neighboring kinsmen may be called in. Isolation and political insecurity enhance the frequency and strength of the mutual relations of the family members. In some of the tribes, notably Dukagin, these households number up to 30 or 40 persons; the Arabic word *meballa* (military camp) is used to designate them.

[462] A sex division of labor clearly separates the work of the women from that of the men. Each needs the other. A houseful of widows and unmarried women would be unthinkable, as would a house occupied by men alone. The family must be a balanced unit. If a man dies his place must be filled if possible; if a woman fails to bear children another must be found [842] who can. The family must continue, and since so many men are killed before they reach maturity, it must produce boys. The birth of girls is less important because they are not killed, and because they leave the family to get married.

582 For a number of very good reasons, it is considered desirable to obtain wives for one's sons from a distance. In the first place, if a

[127] [1] The principal source of this chapter is my own records. However, I also made use of Miss M. E.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E61

133 The extensive basin-shaped plains of eastern Albania—especially the plain of Metova in the upper region of the White Drin Valley, and the plains of Kosova and Tetova—are important to Albania. There are many lakes in these regions.

463 Agriculture and cattle raising are the principal occupations, with olives, the making of 241 olive oil, grains and tobacco being the prin- 135 cipal products of the country. But there is great mineral wealth (asphalt, arsenic, copper, iron, lead, lignite, naphtha, oil, and other mineral resources), which is largely yet undeveloped, and with time, possibly a very short time, through the development of the great abundance of these natural resources, including the fisheries, they will become the principal resources of the country.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the
462 Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the
[283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of
[593 society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their
591] families they return to their employment, leaving

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband [484]
leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
with which they console themselves testify. Unknown to their partners, they sew in their clothes [789]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch 852
the cradle while they sing:

> *Poganik*, When the boy grows a man, [539]
> A weaver we'll make him, [562]
> And money he'll bring us.[1]

And for a girl:

> *Poganik*, When our girl grows up tall,
> She shall go to the valley
> And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother 846
nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by 553
the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal 852
rite of the churches to which they respectively 779

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on. [463] [286]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 if compelled to do so, in order to show how great is her regret at leaving the paternal roof.[1] In fact, her behaviour throughout is intended to typify her reluctance to exchange the single for the married state. Meantime the guests divert themselves with liqueurs, [262 463] coffee, and sweets, and the performances of the professional musicians hired for the occasion.

About ten o'clock a cart arrives from the bridegroom's abode to fetch the bride's baggage, which is [415 531] packed in a large wooden box ornamented with designs of flowers rudely executed. When it starts every one shouts, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!), and among the Christians, several women accompany the cart [788] outside the gate, sprinkling both it and its contents with holy water. A few minutes afterwards, all the male guests invited by the bridegroom's friends set out, preceded by his father, who leads a richly caparisoned horse on which the bride will ride home. As they leave the house the women sing:

[539]

Happy may thy journey be,
Eldest of our family.
Holy sign of cross now make,
To the right thy way then take.
If to us thou bring fair bride,
May the sugar-plums taste sweet,
If a foul one by thy side
That they bitter taste were meet.

585 Arrived at their destination, the party range them-
262 selves around the courtyard, where glasses of cognac and water, and sweets and sugar-plums of various kinds

[1] The Mongols of Tibet observe a similar custom. See *Journal of Sarat Chandra Das*, published by the Royal Geographical Society.

101 intermarriages were recorded between Podrima people and Has tribesmen from the Albanian side of the border.

124 The 20 others were outsiders in Albanian-controlled Gheg tribal territory. Sixteen came from the large market town of Big Dibra (Dibra e Madhe to the Albanians, Debar to the Serbs) in Yugoslavia, which contains a mixed population of Albanians, Serbs, and a few Turks. One was a Serbian-speaking Moslem from the alien *bairak* of Gorë which forms part of the tribe of Luma; his home lay also beyond the border. Another was an Albanian from the town of Jakova. Two others came from inside Ghegnia but outside the tribal territory—from Krujë and Elbasan, respectively.

These 20 men were all first-generation immigrants. There was no older generation like them. I measured none of their sons, and thus this particular immigration had had no effect on our series. All of them were specialists in some kind of technology. Through the study of the data on occupations given in our tabulations we can discover the exact situation of these people.

124 In our series of 1102 men, 36 occupations
●463 were listed. These may be grouped into 7 classes: extractive, processing, services, transport, trade, political, and religious. Their distribution among the 10 tribes and 44 "others" is as follows:

1 [see p. 11d - Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

124
463

	Total	Extr.	Proc.	Serv.	Trans.	Trade	Pol.	Rel.
MeM	105	101		1		2	1	
Duk	106	103					3	
MeJ	104	87		2	1	7	7	
Has	114	102	11					1
Lum	109	79		1		2	25	2
Puk	102	87		3		1	11	
Mir	101	89	4	1		1	6	
Zad	105	104					1	
Mat	104	80	2	2			20	
Dib	108	75	7		3	11	9	3
Others	44	23	7	2		7	4	1
	1102	930	31	12	4	31	87	7

[121] [1] Haberlandt, 1917; Nopcsa, 1925; Start, 1939; Traeger, 1904. 1/1

1/1 [pertains to text, cat. 116, p. 11 b --Analyst]

124
463

Extractive: Of the 930 men so listed, 926 were farmers, 3 shepherds, one a woodcutter. The woodcutter and one shepherd came from Luma, the other shepherd from Mirdita. Eighty-five per cent of all inhabitants of Ghegnia measured are farmers, 88 per cent of all tribesmen.

Processing: Twelve occupations are listed under processing: charcoal burner, blacksmith, tinsmith, carpenter, saddler, hatter, tailor, shoemaker, butcher, baker, cook, and pastry cook.

The 2 charcoal burners, the smith, and the carpenter were Mirdites. Their occupations are mutually dependent. As a rule iron goods are imported, and distributed by merchants in the towns. Axe heads, sickles, billhooks, and other tools of familiar Iron Age shapes are produced by craftsmen in the larger centers, such as Scutari, for the mountain trade. Minor metallurgy is usually carried on by gypsies.

[391]

The other specialists fall into a different class. None were mountain men, except one cook and one baker, both natives of Mati, who worked in the new prefecture headquarters established at Bureli, within Mati territory, by King Zog. They were there because of the impact of the new central government on the mountain tribes. Neither of these men had long been professionals.

The tinsmith, the saddler, and the hatter were natives of Peshkopia, the principal town of Dibra. Of the 3 tailors in this town, one was a native, one had come from Big Dibra, and the third from Jakova. The butcher, one of the 2 bakers, and the cook measured in Peshkopia were Big Dibra men. The pastry cook worked in Kukës, in Luma. This leaves 11 bakers. These men all came from Gonaj and neighboring villages in Has, within walking distance of Prizren. Baking is their traditional hereditary occupation. They get their flour from the gristmills of Prizren and sell their bread in that city. Many of these Hasi bakers migrate to distant cities to work. Mr. Anthony Stevens, our guide, and an employee of the U. S. State Department, began life as one of these bakers; as a boy he went to Cincinnati to work in a bakery.

It can be seen that within Gheg tribal territory processing techniques are practised almost exclusively in the eastern borderlands.

361 Peshkopia has grown rapidly because the international boundary commission of 1913 cut off the Dibra mountaineers from their natural market town of Big Dibra. Hence many of the Big Dibra men moved to Peshkopia, which is just inside Albania. In the same way Prizren was cut off from the Luma people, who built up Kukës; Jakova from the Malsia e Jakovës men, who also go to Kukës. On the western side no such disturbance has taken place. Scutari, Lesh, and Kruja now, as for centuries past, serve as market towns for the mountain people.

124 463 *Services*: Only 12 men are listed under "services." Two of these are innkeepers. One is a Puka man, host at Rrap, his native place. The other is an outsider, a Kruja man, whose inn is at Gur i Bardh in Mati. Kruja men specialize in innkeeping, and in the heyday of Ottoman power might be found all over the Turkish Empire, including Asia Minor. These *hanjis* marry in Kruja, and do not mix with the populations in the regions in which they do their business.

Three men were restaurant-keepers: one Koplik man, whose shop was presumably in Scutari, a Luma man, and a Malsia e Jakovës man, with shops in Kukës. The barber was a Malsia e Jakovës man, working in Kukës. Of the 2 waiters, one was a local man serving the gendarmes in their post at Puka, the other a Big Dibra man working in the hotel in Peshkopia, a new institution. Of the 3 listed as servants, all were local. One served the prefect and another the teacher in the new government center in Bureli. The third worked for a priest in Mirdita.

Of the 12 "services" listings, 9 can be accounted for as a result of recent political events.

[494] *Transport*: Transportation in Ghegnia in 1929 meant but one thing—the services of *kiragis*, those incredibly tough horse-drivers who would take you and your goods anywhere, and try to raise the price on the road, once you were at their mercy. Three out of 4 came from Dibra, and one from Malsia e Jakovës. As far as I know, all *kiragis*, like all *hanjis*, are Moslems.

[441] *Trade*: All merchants in the mountain country are shopkeepers; there are no large or complex commercial institutions. Of the 31 shop-

124 keepers measured, 18 were in Peshkopia. Of
463 these, 11 were locals, and 7 Big Dibra immigrants. Six shopkeepers were measured in Kukës, all Malsia e Jakovës men; 2 in Bicaj, a Luma village, were local. One Malsia e Jakovës man was measured in his own shop in Kolgecs, a local town. Thus 25 out of the 31 shopkeepers came from the eastern borderlands, from big towns or their neighborhood. The situation is the same as with the craftsmen whose goods they sell.

Four shopkeepers remain: 2 are from Malsia e Madhe, one with his shop in Scutari, the other at home. Of the other 2, one is a local in Puka, the other a local in Mirdita. The Mirdita man, who has the only shop in that tribe, claimed that his father was an Austrian officer who begat him during World War I. This would give him a maximum possible age of 14 years at the time of measuring. He was at least 30.

TECHNOLOGY, A REVIEW

000 From the foregoing study of the non-somatological data collected in our series,[1] and from what is generally known of the material culture of the Ghegs, we can make a brief summary, keeping in mind always our main purpose, to define the economic elements in the cultural situation within which the Ghegs live.

326 Cutting tools are of iron. They are made by
391 blacksmiths in the market towns in which the Ghegs do their trading. In Scutari, for example, there is a whole quarter devoted to smiths, most if not all of whom are gypsies. With hammer and tongs, a small anvil, and a pair of foot-pump bellows they forge nearly all of the metal objects needed by the mountaineers in their farming, herding, transport, and household carpentry. They make small anvils, hammers, nails, axes, adzes, knives, ploughshares, shovels, hoes, toothed sickles, billhooks, beam ties, door hinges, horseshoes, horse hobbles, chains, bits, firetongs, andirons, tripods, lighting racks, and probably other articles which have escaped our attention.[2]

326 There is no smelting in the neighborhood of Ghegnia. The iron which the smiths use is all imported. Although city blacksmiths can

[2] Haberlandt's, Nopcsa's, and mine. The best account of this is to be found in Haberlandt, 1917, p. 90. --13a-

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 11a- 13a -- Analysis]

264 least 15, with as many more waiting patiently for second table, and the dishes included a whole roast sheep, which the Major picked apart with his hands and distributed.

463 Professional cooks are found only in the
252 towns and in new government stations. In
265 Prizren and Scutari, many of these cooks are Turks and their dishes consist mostly of mutton with various kinds of vegetables. Personally I found this cuisine very tasty. They also make a fine *yughurt*. Pastry cooks form another special group, and concentrate on *baklava* and *kadaif*, the two honey desserts familiar to eaters in Greek restaurants in all countries. Although their products may be carried into the mountains, the pastry cooks themselves stay at home.

262 The mountaineers obtain almost all of their own food by farming and herding. Hunting provides little or none for most families, and the same is true of fishing. Along the Black Drin, just above Kukës, a few fish are sometimes caught, and welcomed in the kitchen. In Prizren, fresh river fish are sold in the market. But fish is an insignificant element in the Mountain Gheg diet. The same is true of wild vegetable products, shoots, berries, and the
594 like, collected by women. Furthermore each
261 family produces practically all of its own food, except for a little coffee and tea, and a bit of sugar and salt. Most families are too poor to afford these imported luxuries often. The significance of the absolute self-sufficiency of the Ghegs in their food supply is linked with local differences in geology, and must have a profound effect upon differences in physique attendant on diet.

241 Farming is a family affair. The man buys
[594] the iron implements which he needs in town, and makes the rest of wood. He breaks the soil with a spade, and ploughs it with oxen. As he ploughs each furrow, his wife walks behind him with a basket of seed, sowing it. Later the women will do the weeding, and the whole family comes out to reap. If the crop is wheat, they cut off each head of grain with a sickle and put the heads in a bag; if maize, they pick the ears and braid the husks for drying. They thresh small grains and beans with flails. When the tobacco leaves are ripe, the men cut them carefully and hang them on their verandas or the sides of their houses to cure. -18b

491 animals to cross, and have waded up to my chin at night, with snow on either bank. When the streams are swollen, animals and men are not infrequently drowned. There is or was an old Turkish bridge across the White Drin, from Kukës to the northern bank (fig. 9, *b*). 1/1 Several wooden bridges crossed the Black Drin in Dibra. On the road from Krasniqi to Shoshi, I have crossed a bridge which consisted of 2 poles, one to walk on, the other a little higher and to one side, to use as a rail.

501 In a few places, ferry boats are available, which operate by the principle of changing the mooring position of the cable after each crossing, so that the power of the stream will push the boat diagonally across to the other bank. There was one such at Kukës across the Black Drin, another at Bureli over the Mati. Other observers have witnessed Ghegs crossing these streams on inflated skins, but I have never seen it.

Navigation in Ghegnia is very limited. Although Nopcsa has a picture of a man in a boat at Merturi, I have seen it only on the lower course of the Drin, between Vau i Denjës and Scutari, where special boatmen ferry passengers to town in a few hours, to save the day's march over the road. These boats are long dugout canoes, usually double. The boatman propels them by sculling, like the gondoliers of Venice. The men who run the ferries, and these boatmen on the lower Drin, are without doubt specialists, as nearly fulltime as the traffic requires. Probably not more than a dozen
494 men ply these trades. Much more numerous
463 are the *kiragis*, the professional horse-drivers who may be seen on all of the roads in Moslem country, and in some Catholic tribes as well. The *kiragis* in our series were Dibra men, but others come from outside the tribal area, from such places as Elbasan and Tirana.

The *kiragi* is a hard-bitten man, disillusioned early in life by a close observation of human behavior under stress, since all travel in Ghegnia is difficult. He is a non-combatant, a man with no family ties in the regions in which he works, and not worth killing. Anyone who robs him too often will keep trade away and cut off the supply of needed imports. He will rent out anywhere from one to a half dozen horses, to go anywhere the road will take him, and the rate per day has to be argued over at length. He insists on taking grain for his

1/1 [See cat. 116, p. 109 -- Analyst]

494 463 horses at the customer's expense, and will refuse to go on if the grain is exhausted. All kinds of situations arise to produce arguments between *kiragi* and customer, such as the unexpectedly high price of grain in a certain place, inn charges, and the condition of the horses.

Besides carrying passengers and their goods, the *kiragi* will do errands; he will carry goods to market without their owners, sell them, and take his commission; then he will bring back a specified list of purchased objects. He must be reasonably honest or he will lose the traffic. At the same time the mountaineers who hire him are spared the risk of crossing hostile territory.

[473] *Kiragis* are either in business for themselves or in partnership, or working on shares with an investing capitalist. Since Islam prohibits interest, the share system is the one employed. It is not big business, for the maximum number of persons involved will not exceed a half dozen, including the boys whom the *kiragi* takes with him to help with the horses. It is, however, one of the few ways in which the otherwise closed country of the Gheg mountaineers is systematically and constantly penetrated. In 1929 there must have been at least a hundred such professionals on the roads every day.

485 In Moslem country the principal roads are equipped, at appropriate distances, with inns. As with tourist cabins in the United States, it is best to start at daybreak or earlier, and get in well before sunset, for the inns are often full well before night. The usual inn consists of 3 rooms; a large stable, which occupies about three-fourths of the whole; a chamber with a low ceiling built into one corner of the building, some 14 feet wide by 30 or 40 feet long, with a fireplace at the far end; and a cubicle which serves as the *hanji's* (innkeeper's) private quarters, office, and store.

When you enter the inn, the *hanji* sees that you unload your animals, and assigns them space in the stable. He has straw there, and sometimes grain if you have not brought your own. Then he gives each guest a section of the floor, which is divided into 3 strips, the 2 on the sides being about 6 feet wide, and the center one, 2 feet. Guests sleep side by side on the lateral strips, with the center reserved as a passageway. The guests feed themselves.

124 elders,[4] 8 *bairaktars*,[5] and 5 retainers of a tribal
619 prince, Jon Markajon of Mirdita (fig. 10, *a*)
[463] Except for the chief elder of Karashegeç in Has, who was a baker, all of the elders, chief elders, and *bairaktars* were farmers. The baker was "mayor" of a village of bakers, outside the mountain area. All of these men were locals, born of local fathers and mothers taken from within the father's tribe. Preferences are thus shown for (a) agriculture as against handicrafts or trade, and (b) local as against outside descent.

Jon Markajon, the only tribal chief whom we met, and who entertained us very well at his capital in Orosh, would not allow us to measure him, although he summoned all of his subjects from nearby villages. The 5 retainers whom we measured in his house constituted his princely staff. Three of them were part-time farmers, and 2, full-time political employees. What their exact duties and titles
619 were, we did not determine. The ancient
642 tribal government of Ghegnia, if we may judge by the example of Mirdita, the one tribe in which it survived more or less intact until 1929, consisted of a graded hierarchy with three steps—elders and their chief, *bairaktars*, and tribal prince. Attached to the prince was his staff of special messengers, chamberlains, and guards.

The tribal government was in the hands of the prince and his council, which consisted of all of the elders of the tribe, with their chief elders, and the *bairaktars*. The heads of large and powerful households, even if they held no
[623] formal office, would be included. The council met in cases of murder within the tribe, of intertribal warfare, invasion, or other crises involving violence. It also met to decide on its own composition, i.e., to hear the petitions of neighboring *bairaks* to join it.

619 The strength of the prince as compared to
643 that of the council depended on the former's personality. During the last 50 years, for example, Mirdita has been ruled by the following princes: Bib Doda, a great and powerful man who died about 1913; Preng Bib Doda, his son, who was killed shortly after in a blood

[4] Nine from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Has, 4 Mirdita, 4 Zadrima, 3 Mati, and 1 Dibra.

[see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

prevent enemies from climbing it and from piercing a hole in it to fire on the defenders from above, something that has often happened. Finally, the lavatory is built inside the house. 342 712 [514]

Just as the house of Scodra is the highest point in the evolution of Albanian housig architecture, so is the Kula, according to Nopcsa, the most complete form of defensive houses.

The word Kula is of Arabic origin, and has already been met in Byzantine writers since the 11th century (1). Morever it is also known by the Serbs as early as 1350. Consequently, no Turkish intervention for the construction of the Kula, it is said by Nopcsa, was ever required.

The particular scope determines the building material, plan, dimensions and other construction details of such houses. These buildings are high, towerlike, built of solid stone, providing the greatest possible cover. Narrow loopholes are opened instead of windows, and small towers are built in well selected defensive places.

A veranda and a Kula mutually exclude each other, because if conditions of security allow the building of a house with an open prostoon, same conditions would render the construction of a kula useless. And vice-versa, nobody would ever think of constructing such a type of dwelling, where there is a danger that a veranda might be burned down at night time. This is confirmed by the geographical expansion of the «shpi» (house) and the «kula» (fortified house). Thus, there is a complete absence of typical, towerlike «kulas» in Melcija Madhe, Zadrima, which is situated in a plain, as well as in Bregubuns and Bregumatja, areas that enjoy greater security. On the contrary, in areas where statistics of crime show that a 21-32% of all deaths are caused by murder, we find the kula, while houses with a prostoon are absent. Because of the custom of vengence male members of many families are bound inside their kula for years. [682] [627]

As for the origin of these tower-form houses which, according to Nopcsa, were multiplied in Middle Albania between the years 890 and 1274, Haberlandt believes that from a house-building point of view, they must be derived from the towers and donjons propagated [177] [463]

1) **Anna Komnini**, 2, 124 Bonn: Τὴν μέντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλὰ νῦν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν ἔοικεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον... (The acropolis, which is now by habit called kula, was occupied by Celts...) **O. Kedrinos**, 2, 366: Ὁ Βούρτζης ἰσχυσε λαβεῖν τὸ μέτρον ἑνὸς τῶν πρὸς δύσιν Ἀντιοχείας πύργων, Κάλα τοῦνομα... (Vourtzes had power enough as to take possession of a tower, called Kala, at the West of Antiocheia...)

in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their «naturalisation» as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called «mastori» in Albania. A 342 712 177 [463]

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word «maistor» has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of «Protomaistor». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words «maistor» and «protomaistor» that originate in the Latin word «magister» (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of A [192]

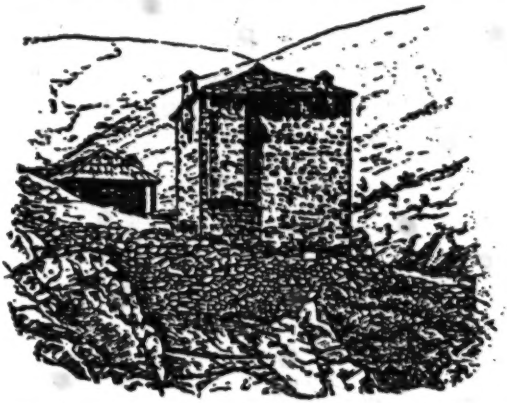

Fig. 75. A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe
(Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as «Μαστοροχώρια» (builders' villages), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession centuries ago. For months on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership A [192] G [331] [467] [484] A [463]

1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

2 [i.e. Haberlandt - ANALYST.]

A
342
712
177
463
G
331
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A
171
G
342
712
171
627

of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰωνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peninsula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

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See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1

Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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Other alien materials are small pieces of dyed cloth, silk ribbons, silver and gold braids and manufactured lace, often used on the sleeve edges of shirts. These materials were bought in the village shops and markets, and appear to be largely of Austrian and Italian origin; under Turkish rule they were sold in the villages by pedlars.

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In the South and Albania, where Turkish influence is greater, there is a tendency, especially amongst the women of the towns, to wear garments made from more sumptuous materials so that, in addition to the hand-woven linens, extremely fine muslins of native make are used for shirts and aprons, and silken materials of beautiful quality for girdles, sleeves and the Moslem type of women's trousers. Fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy is also imported for the making of jeleks, giubbas and japangi, and some of the nets used for the large embroidered veils worn by many women, both Catholic and Moslem, are of foreign origin.

Materials used for Embroidery and other Decorative Purposes.

These also fall into two classes, home-made and purchased.

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The fine wools, used largely in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia, for the decorative embroidery of oshvitza, sleeves, woollen coats, aprons and the making of fringes are spun and dyed by the women themselves. Dark brown and black goat's hair is also used in the apron fringes. "Goat's hair was extensively used in the Balkans for weaving market bags, saddle-bags and floor mats in stripes. The goats, clipped in uneven ridges, looked very ridiculous." (M.E.D.).

Ribbons, gold and silver braid and strips of coloured cloth were purchased and used as appliqué on skirts, head dresses, aprons and caps. In older and finer examples of embroidery, silk was used, and was locally produced and dyed.

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In Albania and the south silk is the usual medium for embroidery, which decorates shirts, muslin aprons and japangi, although on some head scarves from Zadrima and the Bulgarian woman's costume from Monastir, which are decorated in the well-known Turkey red, the material used is cotton or very tightly twisted wool almost like a fine cord. Both silk, woollen and cotton threads are of home production. Amongst the photographs given by Miss Durham is one of a Moslem man spinning silk on a roadside on the outskirts of Scutari (Skodar). Gold thread is much used, and strips of beaten silver and brass are worked into the headings of braids.

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Braiding and cording are amongst the other important forms of decoration, narrow braids and ends of wool, silk and gold thread being hand plaited and twisted. Coats of the sleeveless type, both for men and women, the short jelek, the three-quarter length giubba, and the men's full trousers (Plate V. "f") are often decorated with cords and braids sewn down in beautiful curved designs. The "elaborate embroideries on the japangi and the handsome braided designs are usually the work of men Albanian tailors". (M.E.D.).

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Until in recent years foreign dyes, imported in small packets, were sold in the shops the women themselves dyed their materials. Most of the examples in this collection have been so coloured with vegetable dyes; black being obtained from ash bark (*Fraxinus excelsia*); green from flowering rush with the addition of copper sulphate which was got from the shops; yellow from sumach (*Rhus cotinus*); red

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

000 quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably.

137 There are in Albania oak forests, coniferous trees, chestnut trees, beech trees, the latter being mingled with pine and firs. Juniper, maple and box grow on the higher slopes of the mountains. The elm, chestnut, walnut and plane trees are more prevalent on the plains.

313 There are steam sawmills near Valona and elsewhere which work continually.

433 Albania being so centrally located for the Balkan States and with one of their main outlets to the Adriatic Sea, is an ideal place for the establishment of factories, branch-factories and wholesale supply houses covering all trades, from canneries to automobile manufactures to supply the needs for the Balkan States and other nearby countries, this being [444] especially desirable and ideal when we con- [465] sider that there is ample labor to be had and the wages are the lowest in Europe.

[435] Land and building materials are extremely low in price, making it possible for the men of moderate means to live luxuriously.

000 Taxation on new properties does not exist,

MINERALS AND MINING

433 The Kingdom of Albania is a modern well-
316 developed European State. It is already possessed of such social amenities as schools, hospitals, churches, aeroplanes, telegraphs, telephones, wireless, automobile roads, etc., consequently capital outlay and overhead charges are not, as in most mining countries, burdened with the provision of these services.

•[464] Albania has at hand an adequate supply of qualified and skilled workers, from university graduates downwards. Apart, therefore, from foreign managers and technical specialists, there is no need for the otherwise usual expense and difficulty of staffing.

433 Albania is possessed of coalfields and is well wooded and exceptionally well watered. There is always available unlimited timber for mining and building, coal for power and water for general purposes.

Tirana, the capital of Albania, is within one day's air journey from London, a few hours' air journey from Paris and only about three hours' air trip from Rome.

[464] Albania is possessed of an abundant supply of willing unskilled and peasant labor. There is in the world to-day probably nowhere available such cheap, eager and efficient labor as is everywhere at hand in Albania.

[Constitution]

Private property may be limited, and when the general 421
welfare of the community calls for it, it may be expropriated [425]
by a law, which shall provide in each case what the amount of compensation shall be to the owner.

Likewise other branches of economy or enterprises may 471
also be nationalized whenever the interest of the people demands or requires it.

Monopolies, trusts, cartels, etc., created for the purpose of imposing prices and monopolizing markets to the detriment of national economy, are prohibited.

ARTICLE 10

The land belongs to those who till it. The conditions 423
under which an institution or a person can own land which they do not cultivate shall be established by law.

Large estates may under no circumstances be owned by private individuals.

The maximum amount of land that may be owned individually is determined by law.

The state especially favors and protects the small and 652
middle peasants by its economic policy, by means of credit, and by its taxation system.

ARTICLE 11

The state, by means of economic and other measures, 466
encourages the working classes to unite and organize themselves against economic exploitation.

The state protects the workers by guaranteeing them the right to organize, by limiting their hours of work, and by establishing minimum wages. The state supports the workers by means of social security laws and vacations with pay at the expense of the employers.

The state especially protects minors by regulating their 464
employment.

TITLE III

Rights and Duties of Citizens

ARTICLE 12

All citizens are equal before the law. They must obey 641
the Constitution and all laws of the land.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

000 quality of the wood, the timber industry could be developed very profitably.

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[435] Land and building materials are extremely low in price, making it possible for the men of moderate means to live luxuriously.

000 Taxation on new properties does not exist,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

the bridge but a kilted shepherd lad called Lonila Ziko—a name as picturesque as the boy himself. I also had a talk with a young fellow in charge of a primitive flour-mill, who spoke rudimentary Italian and asked me many questions. How long did it take to get from London to New York? How long from Albania to London? How much did it cost? What wages did people earn in London? And so forth.

LONILA ZIKO

[465]

I told him that wages were as much as 300 liras a week of five and a half working days, at which he shook his head enviously. "Here", said he, "they are 30 liras for a seven day week."

Fearing that I was giving him a false impression I hastened to explain that although wages were so good there were many people in England who could get no work at all. But I landed myself in a worse difficulty.

"What do they do?" he asked.

[Constitution]

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by a law, which shall provide in each case what the amount of compensation shall be to the owner.

Likewise other branches of economy or enterprises may 471
also be nationalized whenever the interest of the people demands or requires it.

Monopolies, trusts, cartels, etc., created for the purpose of imposing prices and monopolizing markets to the detriment of national economy, are prohibited.

ARTICLE 10

The land belongs to those who till it. The conditions 423
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Large estates may under no circumstances be owned by private individuals.

The maximum amount of land that may be owned individually is determined by law.

The state especially favors and protects the small and 652
middle peasants by its economic policy, by means of credit, and by its taxation system.

ARTICLE 11

The state, by means of economic and other measures, 466
encourages the working classes to unite and organize themselves against economic exploitation.

The state protects the workers by guaranteeing them the right to organize, by limiting their hours of work, and by establishing minimum wages. The state supports the workers by means of social security laws and vacations with pay at the expense of the employers.

The state especially protects minors by regulating their 464
employment.

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ARTICLE 12

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10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

357 worked, and must forfeit the rest. To us the pound or two involved seems too insignificant to matter to either, but to most Albanians it was an important sum. In the event, for example, of the master's moving from one district to another, he might not dismiss the servant unless he gave him a full year's wages. If, however, he asked the servant to go with him and the servant refused, he must let him go but need give him no more than what he had so far earned. In the same spirit the law forbade the master to dismiss the servant for a frivolous reason, such as not liking him, and forbade the servant to run away for a frivolous reason, such as boredom. If the master disregarded this law, he must pay the servant a full year's wages, and if the servant disregarded it, he must be content with the wages he had earned to date. By exception, in Krasniqë, in north-east Albania, the master sought out his runaway servant, and after making him find a man to guarantee his future behaviour, brought him back to stay out his time.

[627] If the master had good grounds for dismissing the servant, he must warn and forgive him twice. If the warnings went unheeded, the master said the elders must now judge between them. The servant then went and told his story to the chief elder—the bajraktar in tribal areas—who next asked the master what he had to say. Thus in possession of both sides of the story, the elders sat on the case and pronounced judgement; this turned generally on what money was to be paid to the servant.

[466] If the servant were lazy, an all too common occurrence, or otherwise unsatisfactory, without being criminal, the Unwritten Law allowed his master to reprimand him reasonably and bade the servant swallow the reprimand. But the master must not use foul language or hit the man. For his motive might be to force him to leave before his time, apparently of his own volition, and so deprive himself of his full wages. If the master transgressed this law, the servant had leave to appeal to the elders, not only for payment of his wages in full, but also for compensation for the injury of being hit or violently abused.

357 The more serious crimes with which a servant might be charged [624] included theft, murder and seducing a girl or young wife in his 685 master's family. In the case of theft the issue depended largely on whether the servant stole from his master, in his master's village, or in another community. If he were caught red-handed robbing his master or subsequently admitted doing so, he was immediately

[Constitution]

642 All activities of the administrative organs of the state and courts must be based on law.

TITLE II

Social and Economic Measures

ARTICLE 5

471 In the People's Republic of Albania the means of production comprises all the wealth of the people owned by the state, the cooperative organizations of the people, and private individuals whether real or legal entities.

The wealth of the people includes mines and all other sub-surface resources, as well as waterways, natural wealth, forests, pasture land, airways, postal service, telegraph, telephone, radio stations, and banks.

[439] Foreign trade is under the control of the state.

ARTICLE 6

185 In order to protect the vital interests of the people and to improve the standard of living and in order to exploit all the economical forces the state undertakes to direct the economic life and development by an overall planned economy. The state, by controlling its economy and the cooperatives, exercises a general control over private economy as well.

[575] The state, in order to carry out the general economic plan, relies on the trade unions of the working men and civil servants, the cooperatives of the peasants, and other organizations of the laboring masses.

ARTICLE 7

471 The state regulates and directs by law the use of the collective wealth of the people. The collective wealth of the people is especially favored by the state.

ARTICLE 8

474 The state is especially interested in the cooperative movement of the people which it favors and assists.

ARTICLE 9

421 Private property and private initiative are guaranteed
[428] by the state. Private inheritance is guaranteed. Nobody may use private property to the detriment of the public.

[Constitution]

Private property may be limited, and when the general 421
welfare of the community calls for it, it may be expropriated [425]
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494 463 horses at the customer's expense, and will refuse to go on if the grain is exhausted. All kinds of situations arise to produce arguments between *kiragi* and customer, such as the unexpectedly high price of grain in a certain place, inn charges, and the condition of the horses.

Besides carrying passengers and their goods, the *kiragi* will do errands; he will carry goods to market without their owners, sell them, and take his commission; then he will bring back a specified list of purchased objects. He must be reasonably honest or he will lose the traffic. At the same time the mountaineers who hire him are spared the risk of crossing hostile territory.

[473] *Kiragis* are either in business for themselves or in partnership, or working on shares with an investing capitalist. Since Islam prohibits interest, the share system is the one employed. It is not big business, for the maximum number of persons involved will not exceed a half dozen, including the boys whom the *kiragi* takes with him to help with the horses. It is, however, one of the few ways in which the otherwise closed country of the Gheg mountaineers is systematically and constantly penetrated. In 1929 there must have been at least a hundred such professionals on the roads every day.

485 In Moslem country the principal roads are equipped, at appropriate distances, with inns. As with tourist cabins in the United States, it is best to start at daybreak or earlier, and get in well before sunset, for the inns are often full well before night. The usual inn consists of 3 rooms; a large stable, which occupies about three-fourths of the whole; a chamber with a low ceiling built into one corner of the building, some 14 feet wide by 30 or 40 feet long, with a fireplace at the far end; and a cubicle which serves as the *hanji's* (innkeeper's) private quarters, office, and store.

When you enter the inn, the *hanji* sees that you unload your animals, and assigns them space in the stable. He has straw there, and sometimes grain if you have not brought your own. Then he gives each guest a section of the floor, which is divided into 3 strips, the 2 on the sides being about 6 feet wide, and the center one, 2 feet. Guests sleep side by side on the lateral strips, with the center reserved as a passageway. The guests feed themselves.

[Constitution]

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10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

417 and if properly placed to begin with, caused no trouble. The same
685 was true of living hedges inland. On the other hand, living hedges in the marshy areas near the mouth of the river Mat sometimes
[241] grew so tall that they damaged the neighbouring land with their shade. To prevent this, the owner had to lop overgrown trees once every three years. Failing this, his neighbour could complain to the headman; inevitably they gave him leave to cut the trees down to the root on the owner's ground, an intrusion that was in itself a punishment, and fined the owner 250–450 grosh for breaking the law about lopping.

423 Similar rules regulated the planting of fruit and other trees, olives
245 being included among the former. In Mirditë a fruit tree might be planted only 5 'feet' (1 metre) from the boundary; another kind had to be at least 10 feet away. In Godolesh, a great fruit-growing area, a fruit tree could be planted on the very boundary, but in adjacent Labinot it had to be a span away. In Shkrel it could be planted anywhere on one's own ground, as it never caused trouble
[685] by itself. As with living hedges, care had to be taken that a tree did not cast harmful shade over a neighbour's land. If one did so in Shkrel the owner agreed amicably to lop it, raising no objections unless he had already quarrelled with his neighbour over something else. In Mirditë he was bound to lop the offending branches; if he failed to do so his neighbour could lop them as high as he could reach with a hook, the handle of which did not exceed 3½ spans in length. In the mountains of Lesh the owner had to uproot the tree or to pay annual damages to his neighbour. In Godolesh the neighbour was entitled to stretch as far as he could and cut the too luxuriant branches with his short-handled axe. If a tree was doing no damage to neighbouring ground, it could not be lopped except by its owner. A man who transgressed this law in Mirditë had to pay its owner 500 grosh.

312 Sometimes an open drain adjoined a boundary. When it was
423 first cut, each of the two neighbours provided half the ground
476 required, did half the work and retained the earth excavated from his own side. Three stones, one big and two small, were left at the head to mark the boundary; the two other sets, normally placed in the middle and at the foot, were removed to make room for the water; as the drain discharged into a bigger channel, they could not possibly be left at the foot. The boundary naturally ran exactly down the middle. In most places the drain had to be cleared out

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

annually. In Godolesh the two neighbours did it in alternate years, 312 having exclusive right to the earth with its valuable fertilizing 423 properties for the year when they did the clean up. In Lumë two 476 neighbours cleared the drain together year after year and flung half the earth on one side and half on the other.

In other places one ditch seldom drained two neighbouring fields on the principle that 'you can't walk on my path or use my drain'. In Gurrëzë the man who wanted a drain had to cut it on his own ground with a 'footprint' (20 cm.) of land between the boundary and its edge for the protection of his neighbour's land. Without this buttress the drain might overflow or burst its bank to the detriment of his neighbour. In either contingency its owner had to pay compensation to his neighbour, but prevention of damage was always better for both parties. His neighbour might also accuse him of encroaching on his land, an insulting remark that provoked instant retaliation. If, later on, the neighbour wanted a drain he had to make one for himself, also a 'footprint' away from the boundary. In Lumë and Elbasan there was little risk that open drains would flood, but there too a space had to be left between their edge and the boundary. The avowed purpose of this space was to support the boundary stones. In all cases of single ownership the owner, on clearing the ditch, threw the earth on his own side, where it testified to his ownership if this was ever questioned.

Sometimes a man of Shkrel wanted both a drain and a fence. In that event the ditch was cut along the boundary and a strip of ground of the same width was set aside on the other side of the boundary. All the earth excavated from the ditch was thrown on this strip and so the neighbours became quits, one had a 'hole' on his land and the other a 'hill'. The fence was erected on the 'hill'.

We come now to one of the most important considerations in [32] boundary making. North Albania is one of the wettest regions in 134 Europe, and when the land was waterlogged it inevitably tended 241 to slip downhill. The tropical intensity of many rainstorms 423 increased the mischief. Terracing the fields would have helped to check it, but such manual labour is contrary to the habits and [461] dignity of the north Albanian. His law, however, gave him every possible protection. When there were two fields on a slope, one above the other, they might be separated by a field-path, a road, an irrigation channel or a fence. (The term 'field-path' includes the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

351 * 628 the loopholes. A still richer man, or one with many enemies, had several doors in his courtyard wall and watch-towers at strategic points. (The turrets at each corner and in the middle of the long walls effectually commanded these entrances, and many loopholes in the walls provided space for many defenders to shoot from.) Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan had several posterns in his garden wall, each commanded by a watch-tower and each providing him in case of need with a possible means of escape.

* 628 574 Incidentally, back entrances in the mountains were useful for guests with enemies. These could enter unseen by other guests, among whom there might be one or more who would inform the enemy of his whereabouts, and so endanger his life. They were also useful if the master had sent a group of his followers to shoot his enemy; if they failed, they could creep in unseen by the guests; in case of failure on such an errand, they did not wish the attempt to be known.

628 A wanted man who wished to work in his fields might station a child herding goats or a woman minding a cow at a vantage point where an enemy could be detected and the watcher give him warning, so that he might seize his rifle and defend himself. As the enemy's trump card was surprise, he was likely to retreat when detected. Before the wanted man left the house the women and children would look through the windows to make sure no enemy was near. A man with blood on his hands might wish to go to the forest to cut firewood, a place too distant for his women to keep watch. In that case he might send a scout ahead to reconnoitre the [476] road, and himself follow rifle in hand. In Zdrâjshë, Çermenikë, the [423] communal hay-field was so far away that a wanted man made no attempt to go and cut his hay; the others, however, gave him his due share, though he had done nothing to earn it. A man who, in spite of risks, kept moving about might never stir outside, especially at night, without his rifle. He never told where he was going and travelled by an unlikely route and at unwonted times.

* 628 484 In the summer of 1935, to return from Tirana, whither he had been officially summoned, Murat Kaloshi of Dibër sent out an attendant to find a car willing to drive at once to Dibër, and within five minutes of its drawing up at the door of his lodging started. This was at 2 p.m., an hour when Tirana is plunged in sleep on a summer afternoon. He supped at the wayside inn of Lunik, an insignificant village without telegraphic communication, four or

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

courageous. The Tosks are blue-eyed, and also have 142
frequently blonde or chestnut hair. Their features are refined, and they are extremely elegant in figure and deportment. The Khams resemble the Greeks somewhat in feature. They have black eyes and hair, and darker skins than the Ghegs. The Liaps are the [462]
least handsome of all the Albanian women, and the laborious out-of-door life they lead, surrounded by privations of all kinds, soon destroys any degree of beauty they may have possessed in youth. They 481
are, however, expert swimmers and divers, this pastime affording almost their only distraction.

The national costumes of the Albanians are ex- 291
tremely varied and picturesque, and are still rigidly adhered to by all classes. The dress of a Skipetar lady is extremely rich and costly. It consists of a sleeved gown of striped white gauze; a pair of very full Turkish trousers drawn in at the ankle, where they are finished off with a revers of thick embroidery; a long sash, also of gauze; a sleeveless vest, and a coat reaching to the knees, both of crimson velvet, handsomely trimmed round the borders with elaborate
gold embroidery. The hair is separated into three [302]
tresses, one of which floats on the shoulders, the other two being twisted round the little red fez which is worn on the head, and kept in place by a kerchief of silk. The dark-blue fez-tassel, which is very full and long, is ornamented with tiny plates of gold or with seed-pearls, and droops on the left shoulder. Formerly the Moslem women went barefoot, but they now wear embroidered slippers in the house and yellow *babouches* out of doors. The Miridite women

491 the border to Prizren. This was an old Roman road, and has probably not changed much in a thousand years. At Kukës another road meets it, running south along the Black Drin to Peshkopia and outside Gheg country to Lake Ochrida and Korça. Parts of this road had been widened for vehicular traffic in 1929, but the wide pieces had not been connected. It is said that both these roads have been opened for motor traffic since the Italian occupation.

Another trail goes from Tirana to Zall, thence to Gur i Bardh in Mati, through Klos, across the divide to Bulçiz in Dibra, and thence to Peshkopia. This is the principal route between the new capital and the important region to the northeast. Still another passes from Lesh to Bureli in Mati (fig. 9, *c*) following the banks of the Mati River. Bureli, now a prefect station, has grown important only with the Zog regime. From Bureli one can proceed to the northern Catholic country of Lura and Kthella, and thence down into Dibra, but the road is little traveled. North of the Drin a trail passes from Scutari to Shoshi over the Gur i Kutch, but in winter this is impassable. On the other side there is a road from Kukës across the Drin through the *bairaks* of Bituç, Gashi, and Krasniqi, past Merturi, into Shoshi (fig. 8, *d*). In winter this can be passed by men but not animals. Hence in wintertime no animal traffic can enter either Shoshi, or Shala which lies to its north. Before the boundary was drawn between Albania and Yugoslavia the road from Tropoya, in Gashi (Malsia e Jakovës), to Jakova was much traveled; but now this is forbidden and the people of this tribe must go to market in Kukës.

492 As far as any considerable traffic is con-
482 cerned, horseback and human back are the only methods of land transport available in Ghegnia. In a few of the flatter places, however, other means are used locally for short
493 distances. In the country around Scutari just below the mountains, the farmers use carts, particularly in Zadrima. In Luma, on the flat land at the confluence of the Drins, and in Has on the other side, carts are likewise used, as well as ox-drawn summer sleds.

491 Crossing streams is not a simple matter in Ghegnia. Most of the crossings are fjords, and very cold. I have seen men strip naked to swim across icy rivers in search of a place for

ANALYS--
[see Oct 116, p109
-196-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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628 worthy of a better cause, and fourteen victims fell,
562 thus perpetuating the feud among the survivors.
578

On another occasion the breaking of a girl's pitcher at the fountain by two mischievous boys resulted in such a desperate contest between her friends and theirs that some sixty persons fell in the fight. It is said, however, that even on such occasions as these
562 the men refrain, as far as possible, from striking or
577 wounding the women, for the Albanian code of
484 honour makes it impossible to attack a woman, whether armed or unarmed. The sacredness attached to their persons extends also to those whom they take under their protection. Escorted by a girl only, travellers may safely pass through the wildest parts of the country, and a man may cross, without fear, the lands of one with whom he is at feud, if he have the safe-conduct of a woman belonging to his enemy's family.

577 To such an extent is respect for women carried by
562 the Albanians, that it is contrary to their notions of
522 propriety ever to make women the subject of jokes or humorous stories. Insult or annoyance offered to a
578 girl, or carrying off one without the consent of her
562 parents, almost invariably results in bitter feuds between families, or fierce battles between tribes. As with most mountain people, the moral code is with
684 the Skipetars exceedingly strict. Among many of the tribes any lapse from virtue on the part of a woman is punished with death, a subsequent marriage not being allowed to condone the fault. The penalty of adultery is of equally Draconic severity. The unfaithful wife is placed up to her shoulders in a pit, and

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband [484]
leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
with which they console themselves testify. Un- [789]
known to their partners, they sew in their clothes

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

The men on their side are not free from home-sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
  Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
  So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
  Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
  From Fatherland as outlaws lorn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
  Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
  Poisoned by my blood would pine!

The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

times happens, are ravaging the country, a number of women assemble, and, having captured some of the insects, form a mock funeral procession, and, with hair dishevelled, proceed to drown them in the nearest well or stream, singing in turn as they go the following dirge, which is repeated by the others in chorus: 789 731

> O locusts! O cockchafers! parents kind,
> Orphaned you have left us all behind!

This ceremony is believed to cause the death of the rest of the destructive swarm.

If one of a herd of cattle dies, its head is buried in the farmyard in order that a similar fate may not befall the rest of the herd. When an ox or cow is ill, "unspoken-over" water is brought and sprinkled over it. If several of the cattle are ailing, and in other cases of a serious nature, the water used is brought from three different wells or springs, and mixed together, its efficacy being believed to be thus increased to a threefold degree. 782 231

Very numerous are the ceremonies observed with the object of ensuring good, or averting bad, luck. In Northern Albania, when a youth, or man, is about to leave his home for a distant town a curious ceremony is performed, which is believed to ensure him a safe and successful journey. In front of the house-door the women place a jar filled with "unspoken-over" water, decorated with foliage and hung with earrings of gold and silver. The traveller touches the jar with his foot, takes in his hand the earrings and some of the foliage, and sets out, accompanied for a mile or two by his relatives, to whom, when they finally take 789 484

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 leave of him, he returns the earrings. It is considered
484 a bad omen for the journey if the traveller should for any reason turn or look back. If he have left anything behind, he sends another to fetch it; and should a friend or stranger call to him from behind, he will not turn back to meet him, but remain standing where he is until the other comes up, a practice which foreigners, not understanding the reason for it, have
[777] put down to discourtesy. If on the road the traveller meets a fox, or a flock of sheep, he considers it a good augury; a flock of goats, however, or a hare crossing the road, is held to signify ill luck.

778 Travellers in Upper Albania may frequently see
775 stones placed in the forks or hollows of roadside trees.
484 According to M. Hecquard,[1] this practice originates in the belief that the stones serve as resting-places for the feet of those unhappy beings for whom the rites of sepulture have not been properly performed, and who, while wandering in mid-air, can alight upon them as on the solid earth. To place a stone on a tree is also said in some mysterious way to diminish the fatigue of the pedestrian, and help him on his journey.

787 Omens and auguries, too, both good and evil, are drawn from all the trifling occurrences of every-day life, as well as from the observation of the phenomena of Nature, besides being sought for in the bones and entrails of slaughtered sheep and in the flight of birds. Among the omens read in the actions of the domestic animals are the following. When introducing a newly purchased cow into the farmyard, some object, made of iron or silver, is placed across the gateway

[1] *La Haute Albanie.*

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 very sight of that trail, and then, as it dipped downward and I heard the gendarme bracing his feet and felt the mule's weight sag against the strength of that useful tail, I looked up and forgot everything else in the magnificence of shadow and sunshine on the snow-piled heights.

I do not mean that I am at all unusual in my attitude to danger. I'm not, and the prospect of sudden death scares me stiff, as it does everyone else. I mean that human beings are all chameleons. The stuff of humanity is always the same, it merely takes on different colors from its environment; in Albania there is not one of us who will not become Albanian. There are many morals to be drawn from this; you may apply the idea to education, or to your attitude toward immigrants or capitalists or criminals or even to your next-door neighbor; it would be useful also in considering international politics or religions that are not yours, or the actions of men in war, 484 but I did not draw any morals, being immediately engaged in crossing the foot of the largest waterfall I had yet encountered. 7

It was so large that the men unsaddled the mule, stripped themselves, and wrapped their clothes in several bundles before attempting to cross it. Then they made a living chain of themselves; the byraktor, at its head, advanced to a water-worn bowlder in the center of the current, braced himself firmly, and became the pivot on which the chain moved. The end man carried over the clothes, bundle by bundle, wrapped in

7 [on return trip, [264] Shoshi to Scutari--Analyst]

my poncho; then he carried me across—I was 484
soaked in spray, but that did not matter. Then he put one arm around the donkey and supported it across, and then the saddle, and then he went back once more and took the protesting Rexh and brought him over. The water was above their waists; their white bodies slanted in the glassy current; three yards below them the water poured in a crystal mass over the edge of the pool, a second waterfall that struck in roaring foam fifty feet below.

The worst of the current was between me and the central rock where the byraktor was braced; several times the end man's feet slipped there, notably when he crossed with the donkey, which I gave up for lost, but each time the chain of hands held firm.

Their bodies came blue from the icy water, but they put on only their cotton underdrawers, for they said we would next go through the snow, and they did not want to get their beautifully embroidered trousers wet; for the same reason they left their purple, gold-embroidered socks and rawhide opangi in the packs, and went on barefoot.

"Good! If we're crossing the snow fields 622
already, we'll surely be in Scutari by to-night," I said. But I was joyful too soon, for when we reached the first of the snow the party stopped. The byraktor sat down on a rock and lighted a cigarette; the gendarme, without a word, began to climb a tall cliff that overhung the trail.

[Warchief of Shoshi -- [265] Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

692 It had its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and [671] left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their 361 diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geo- 221 graphy of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

623 Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As 484 a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, [619] country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. 671 More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

[693] The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each 321 community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such

[the legal system -- analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

351 * 628 the loopholes. A still richer man, or one with many enemies, had several doors in his courtyard wall and watch-towers at strategic points. (The turrets at each corner and in the middle of the long walls effectually commanded these entrances, and many loopholes in the walls provided space for many defenders to shoot from.) Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan had several posterns in his garden wall, each commanded by a watch-tower and each providing him in case of need with a possible means of escape.

* 628 574 Incidentally, back entrances in the mountains were useful for guests with enemies. These could enter unseen by other guests, among whom there might be one or more who would inform the enemy of his whereabouts, and so endanger his life. They were also useful if the master had sent a group of his followers to shoot his enemy; if they failed, they could creep in unseen by the guests; in case of failure on such an errand, they did not wish the attempt to be known.

628 A wanted man who wished to work in his fields might station a child herding goats or a woman minding a cow at a vantage point where an enemy could be detected and the watcher give him warning, so that he might seize his rifle and defend himself. As the enemy's trump card was surprise, he was likely to retreat when detected. Before the wanted man left the house the women and children would look through the windows to make sure no enemy was near. A man with blood on his hands might wish to go to the forest to cut firewood, a place too distant for his women to keep watch. In that case he might send a scout ahead to reconnoitre the [476] road, and himself follow rifle in hand. In Zdrâjshë, Çermenikë, the [423] communal hay-field was so far away that a wanted man made no attempt to go and cut his hay; the others, however, gave him his due share, though he had done nothing to earn it. A man who, in spite of risks, kept moving about might never stir outside, especially at night, without his rifle. He never told where he was going and travelled by an unlikely route and at unwonted times.

* 628 484 In the summer of 1935, to return from Tirana, whither he had been officially summoned, Murat Kaloshi of Dibër sent out an attendant to find a car willing to drive at once to Dibër, and within five minutes of its drawing up at the door of his lodging started. This was at 2 p.m., an hour when Tirana is plunged in sleep on a summer afternoon. He supped at the wayside inn of Lunik, an insignificant village without telegraphic communication, four or

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

five hours from Tirana, travelled on through the night, and in the 484
early morning as the car neared Peshkopi, he got out and walked 628*
home across country. (With him were a number of attendants armed to the teeth.)

Needless to say, such a man never announced beforehand the time of his departure, if his intention to depart could not be concealed.

An obvious precaution was never to stir outside the house. When a Dibër notable went to Tirana, he took at least six armed attendants along with him, who might or might not live with him permanently. The armed attendants of the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë were mainly young relatives of his who spent years with him, at once his clansmen and his relatives; their loyalty was beyond doubt. The bodyguard of Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan were generally peasants from his farms who had been long in his service. Less rich men who needed numerous attendants on their walks abroad drew them from their neighbours. Selman Nus Cohu, for instance, an attendant of the bajraktar of Lurë, lived at home and only joined the bajraktar when he or another member of his family needed him for a journey or some other cause. When Miftar Selmani of Lumë came to Tirana he brought a posse of armed neighbours who constantly changed as their services were required at home; some came with him for the outing, others out of bounden duty to requite the help he had given them in earlier times.

Men still poorer contented themselves with reinforcing the men [357]
of the household with a single permanent retainer. Such a man was the peasant from Shëngjerg who fled to Namid Çallaku of Fulqet after committing three murders, and in return for his board and an occasional tip protected his protector. In Mat it was also customary to go and stay for a month at a time with a friend who had need of an extra gun.

Failing armed attendants, a hunted man was not without 628*
protectors on his journey. In districts where women were immune 574
a woman's company, on a journey as at work, was sufficient. When Shalë as a tribe was in blood with its neighbour, Mertur, a man from Shalë could safely go to Mertur with a woman born in Shalë or another tribe who was married in Mertur, for she counted as belonging to Mertur and the man was therefore her guest. On the other hand, a daughter of Mertur who was married in another tribe

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

There is no material evidence to
513 the tradition that there was once a Jewish colony in Elbasan.

443 The picturesque brown bazaar is held once a week just outside the south wall, and nowhere in all Albania is there to be found such a grand confusion of color as among the native costumes on market-day, which is generally Saturday.

346 There are several fine old mosques which are gems of Turkish architecture, especially that of Nazireshe located near the Vlach quarter, and it is one of the oldest and most beautiful in the country.

Among the newer buildings are the archaeological museum, the Baholi library, the normal school, erected at the foot of the dense olive groves just north of the town, and the
274 new Alcohol factory a very few miles along the road leading to Korcha (Korça). The
485 Grand Hotel and the Hotel Adriatik, with excellent European and native cuisines, add much to the desirability of visiting this Albanian center.

000 A strange, weird beauty is found among the olive groves at Elbasan, and the many walks through these young forests are indeed delightful. They add a strong note of contrast,

Hotels and Restaurants

• 485

THERE are innumerable large and small but most comfortable hotels throughout Albania.

While one must not expect to find in Albania the same kind of large modern hotels as in London, New York, Paris and Vienna, the traveller will find clean and comfortable hotels, with running hot and cold water, like the Continental Hotel and Hotel International in Tirana, which two are classified in the first class category, and the Hotel London, Adriatik Hotel and the Hotel Metropol, also in Tirana, which are classified in the category of second class, but, of course, there are several other hotels. In Scutari (Shkodra) the tourist will find the Grand Hotel, Hotel International and the Park Hotel very comfortable, but the Park Hotel has no restaurant, while the others have first class restaurants. Garages serve the majority of the hotels throughout Albania. In Durazzo (Durrës) the main hotels are the Isola Bella, Miramare and the Palace. The two largest first class

HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS

445 hotels in Elbasan are the Grand Hotel and Adriatik Hotel. From Elbasan to Llixha is fourteen kilometers where there is a special hotel in connection with the thermal baths. The Hotel Colombo is the largest in Berat. The most convenient hotels of Valona (Vlona) are the Adriatik and the Gambino. The Palace Hotel of Korça is very nice and the restaurant in connection will satisfy the pallet of the most fastidious. In Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra) the largest hotels are the Savoja and the Royal. At Santa Quaranta (Saranda) the Piro Palas is the best. This latter city is the most convenient stop to visit Butrinto, Delvina and Himara for these three towns are all within a very short distance.

265 There are countless large and small restaurants throughout the country—spotlessly clean—serving the most delicious, tasty food —American, European or Oriental.

TIME AND COSTS

000 likely to be. Obviously the answer depends on the individual's personal tastes in accommodations and how he or she spends the time.

•485 In Albania the visitor may spend as much or as little as he may like. There are accommodations of every type, metropolitan, residential, suburban—whatever taste and purse dictate. However, because Albania is a year 'round playground one escapes the "peak" prices necessary in resorts having only brief "seasons" each year.

Ordinary expenses in Albania will never exceed those at home.

Furthermore, surveys indicate that costs in Albania are about forty per cent under the average for Europe as a whole.

000 Conditions in Albania are such that summer and winter hold much more attraction to the visitor than do the periodical summer or winter weeks elsewhere.

To spend a few days, weeks or months in Albania is to be furnished with refreshing and delightful memories for years to come!

494 463 horses at the customer's expense, and will refuse to go on if the grain is exhausted. All kinds of situations arise to produce arguments between *kiragi* and customer, such as the unexpectedly high price of grain in a certain place, inn charges, and the condition of the horses.

Besides carrying passengers and their goods, the *kiragi* will do errands; he will carry goods to market without their owners, sell them, and take his commission; then he will bring back a specified list of purchased objects. He must be reasonably honest or he will lose the traffic. At the same time the mountaineers who hire him are spared the risk of crossing hostile territory.

[473] *Kiragis* are either in business for themselves or in partnership, or working on shares with an investing capitalist. Since Islam prohibits interest, the share system is the one employed. It is not big business, for the maximum number of persons involved will not exceed a half dozen, including the boys whom the *kiragi* takes with him to help with the horses. It is, however, one of the few ways in which the otherwise closed country of the Gheg mountaineers is systematically and constantly penetrated. In 1929 there must have been at least a hundred such professionals on the roads every day.

485 In Moslem country the principal roads are equipped, at appropriate distances, with inns. As with tourist cabins in the United States, it is best to start at daybreak or earlier, and get in well before sunset, for the inns are often full well before night. The usual inn consists of 3 rooms; a large stable, which occupies about three-fourths of the whole; a chamber with a low ceiling built into one corner of the building, some 14 feet wide by 30 or 40 feet long, with a fireplace at the far end; and a cubicle which serves as the *hanji's* (innkeeper's) private quarters, office, and store.

When you enter the inn, the *hanji* sees that you unload your animals, and assigns them space in the stable. He has straw there, and sometimes grain if you have not brought your own. Then he gives each guest a section of the floor, which is divided into 3 strips, the 2 on the sides being about 6 feet wide, and the center one, 2 feet. Guests sleep side by side on the lateral strips, with the center reserved as a passageway. The guests feed themselves.

485 with cooking privileges at the fireplace, while the host brews coffee for sale, and also dispenses *raki*. After his guests are in for the night he locks the door, and cannot ordinarily be persuaded to unlock it before morning, no matter how urgent the needs of the guests to go outside. This precaution is necessary owing to the frequency of violence.

Some of the *hanjis* are local men. Others come from Kruja, the home of innkeepers. All of them live as bachelors. This system, like the *kiragi* business, brings a certain number of outsiders into the country. All in all there are probably 12 to 18 *hans* in Ghegnia, in addition to the one European-style hotel at
574 Peshkopia. The Catholics do not use this system; in their tribal areas guests are put up by important individuals through a system of re-
[628] ciprocal hospitality. Since local feuds are usually more prevalent in Catholic than in Moslem country, travel across the former is relatively light.

438 There remains only the question of trade, which has been partly covered.[1] On the whole it may be said of the mountain Ghegs that they live by a regional, or geographic, and perhaps also ethnic, division of labor. The ordinary man is a farmer, who produces firewood, cereals, legumes, tobacco, wool, milk products, and sometimes wooden spoons. His wife produces cloth, crocheted stockings, embroidered scarfs, baskets, eggs, and a few other local products. These mountain products find their way to the market towns. Usually men and women come together; sometimes only the women make the trip, and sometimes the whole family stays at home, sending the goods by a *kiragi*.[2]

The Ghegs are able to export these things because they produce a slight surplus of agricultural products. One reason for the surplus may be that they use a number of labor-saving devices, including fulling and mealing mills run by water power.[3] This gives them more time for other pursuits, but does not increase their complexity of relations at home, since the mills are small and serve individual groups of related families.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 20a-20b -- Analyst]
2 [See cat 116, pp 20a-20b Analyst]
3 [See cat 116 pp 17b-18a -- Analyst]

2: Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

CHAPTER VI

A Useful Shoe Sole—A Grand Hotel—A Railway Line—The Conservative Peasant—Tirana—"Plenty of English"—Ahmed Zogou—To Durazzo—The Bigamist—Diplomatic Worries—"Look for the Oil!"—Baghdadis—To Valona—The Snorer—Kanina—Fighting Malaria—Kossovari Refugees—Boring for Oil.

A HODJA

THE question "What becomes of old motor-tyres?" would probably be as difficult for the average person to answer as the Sunday-school child's query to the bishop "How many legs has a caterpillar got?" The average person, however, has not been to Scutari. If he had, he would answer without hesitation "They are sent to Albania and made into shoe-soles."

The cobblers' shops in the Scutari bazaar are piled high with used tyres—knobbed, grooved and studded—either whole or cut into convenient lengths. And the shoes themselves, thus soled, are strong and serviceable—if not particularly elegant—and are at the same time almost as pliable as the native upanka. It seems an excellent way of using up old rubber.

The Grand Hotel, Scutari, is grand only in name. My bedroom was next door to a malodorous lavatory, but I insisted on clean sheets and got them—and that was something.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To the Land of the Eagle

485 When I came down in the morning to get a cup of coffee before leaving for Tirana, I found the waiter asleep in the "coffee-room" with the remains of last night's supper on the uncleared tables and every window tightly shut. The noise I made in rushing to open something and save myself from immediate asphyxiation woke him up, and he arose from his bed—to strain a simile to its utmost limits—like Aphrodite from the waves, completed a scanty toilet with the aid of a comb, and attended to my modest requirements in the way of breakfast. At seven the car came and I departed, nothing loth.

494 [505] The car was a nine-seater, and the other passengers, including several Roman-Catholic priests, were going by it to San Giovanni di Medua, whence a steamer connection is maintained with Bari, the Italian seaport on the opposite 361 side of the Adriatic. *Rome—Bari—San Giovanni di Medua* is the direct route to Albania, and I was accordingly surprised to find the place so small and insignificant. It contained little more, as far as I could see, than a tiny wharf, a custom-house, a police post, and a few single-storied shacks 504 —mostly coffee-houses—along the waterfront. The bay being very shallow, the steamer was anchored some distance out, and passengers had to be taken aboard by shore boats. But San Giovanni di Medua is no worse in this respect than the other ports of Albania, Durazzo, Valona, and Santi Quaranta, which all suffer, as I found later, from the same drawback. In none of these places is the water deep enough to allow a vessel to lie at the quay.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG-1

soils his hands with work!—and in the end his project had 241
to be abandoned. Since the wealth of every country comes 181
in the first instance from the soil, this attitude of mind is to be deeply deplored. All possible means of making the soil more productive should be welcomed.

Tirana, the Albanian capital and seat of government, is 361
not a particularly impressive place. Its chief claim to notice, [346]
politics apart, lies in its mosques, which are all very beautiful examples of old Byzantine architecture and decoration. The streets are of rough cobbles—very uncomfortable to the feet—and the houses are, for the most part, of one storey only. The shops are the rickety wooden boxes one expects to find in this part of the world, and their proprietors sit, in Turkish fashion, at the receipt of custom.

I lunched soon after my arrival at the Hotel Inter- [485]
nationale, which is the centre of the political life of the 000
place. It is frequented by the deputies and their friends, and discussion and argument go on all day long over the coffee-cup and the raki glass. While I was struggling with the menu, which was Greek to me, a lady, seeing my difficulty, spoke to me in English and offered her assistance. She was an American and we got into conversation. One of the first things she said was, "You will find plenty of English here". I was astonished. That there was a British Legation at Durazzo I knew, but that Tirana contained "plenty of English" was news to me. Nor did it seem a place to attract the tourist. The meeting with the American did not surprise me so much, as I knew that there were American

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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Ahmed Zogou

Ahmed Zogou is still in the early thirties. He is a strong man and consequently has enemies, and several attempts have already been made upon his life. The story goes that on one occasion he was shot at and wounded in two places whilst presiding at a sitting of the Chamber. Taking his revolver from his pocket he placed it on the table in front of him and proceeded with the business in hand—whereupon 643

FETCHING WATER

the deputies as one man rose to their feet with arms upraised. They were taking no chances.

The Hotel Internationale being full, I obtained quarters at the Hotel Continental.[1] This is the hotel fancied by the English and is run on modern lines. It even possesses that extreme rarity, a bathroom—probably, with the exception of one at the British Legation, the only one in 485

[1] [in Tirana -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

485 Albania. The charge for a bath is equivalent to 2s. 6d.—a large sum of money in those parts—and it takes the combined efforts of the hotel staff the whole day to get the water hot. So at least I was told by a resident. I found the hotel quite comfortable, and anyone visiting Tirana can stay there without hesitation. It is the most up-to-date hotel in the country.

000 I was invited to breakfast on the following morning with the colonel who had charge of this reorganisation business. He was going to Durazzo and had kindly suggested that I might accompany him. After a very acceptable real English breakfast we left in the inevitable Ford, and a run of an hour and a half, through what a rider to hounds at home would call "good hunting country," brought us to Durazzo. The president happened to be staying there, and on this account the town was very full. As there was no accommodation available at the hotel, the British Minister took pity on me and very kindly put me up at the Legation, where, needless to say, I was infinitely more comfortable than I should have been elsewhere. I had previously written and told him that I was coming, and had asked him, incidentally, whether it would be possible for him to give me introductions to native Albanians, so that I should have an opportunity of seeing something of their home life. This request, however, he felt himself unable to accede to, and explained his refusal by telling me how he once had been deceived by a plausible Englishman who came to him with a similar request and afterwards cashed £150 worth of bogus

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To Valona

it is built. Landwards, fading into a purple haze, stretched 361
the flat marsh. In the far, far distance were the mountains, a rugged line faintly discernible against the background of sky.

The voyage, which took the greater part of the day, was uneventful, and brought us to Valona the same evening two hours late—though that, as things go hereabouts, is considered punctual. The town is a mile or more distant from the port, and as one of the Albanian Ministers was a dis- 000
embarking passenger, a large crowd of his supporters met the boat and commandeered every available vehicle for themselves and for him. In consequence a young Italian business man and I found ourselves stranded at the port with our baggage, and it was an hour and a half before we were able to secure a *carozza* and set out for the town. At [485]
the Hotel Gambino, which appeared to be the principal hotel, our arrival was met with apologetic shrugs and the statement "tutto occupato" (Italian being largely spoken in Valona). And not only so, but we were assured in addition that every house in the town was in a similar position on account of the Minister's visit and the approaching elections. However, we dined, and after dinner raised the question again, whereupon the proprietor made me a speech which began "Comme vous êtes anglais," and stated, as far as I could gather, that a man sitting at the next table had a room which contained two beds, and on account of my nationality had graciously consented to allow me to occupy the empty one. This I did—and hardly slept a wink all

To the Land of the Eagle

133 The opposite side of the valley - which appeared to be two or three miles in width—was bounded by a formidable chain of mountains still covered with snow in places unreached by the sun.

361 It was evening before we came in sight of Argyrocastron itself. Rounding a bend of the road we suddenly had a fine view of the town, which occupies three parallel ridges of hill at right angles to the main range, the highest of the three topped by an immense old Turkish fortress, black, rugged, and forbidding. On a fourth, and smaller, ridge is a monastery with cypresses. I have seldom seen a town so finely situated or so impressive at first sight.

The lorry climbed the winding road on low gear and drew up in an open space or square among cafés crowded with people. Work was over for the day and the Argyrocastrians 485 were taking their ease. In a steep cobbled street beneath the fortress ramparts I found an inn. It was merely a pothouse and the accommodation was of the roughest. I secured a bedroom to myself, however—an unusual luxury in Albania, as I have already indicated. The ground floor, with a door opening on to the street, served as restaurant, bar, kitchen, larder, and general living-room. It was furnished with deal tables and benches. On the left of the door was a desk whereat the proprietor kept his accounts. 265 On the right was an enclosed counter with a long metal 485 tray containing lime, on which stood pots full of meat and vegetables slowly stewing. The tray was, in fact, a kind of fireless cooker. On a shelf below the tray were clean knives, forks and spoons, clean plates, and an enormous bowl of

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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yaghourt. The publicity of the cooking arrangements, 265
which is common to all Albanian eating-houses, has its 485
advantages. It makes a menu unnecessary. The foreigner, just as easily as the native, can see for himself what food is available and can indicate the dish of his choice by pointing to it. In the inn at Argyrocastron, however, the publicity went unpleasantly far, for hanging from a rail of the staircase was to-morrow's dinner in the raw state—a defunct sheep all ready for roasting whole, with a long wooden spit struck through it lengthwise. This revolting sight brought me to the verge of vegetarianism, but since Albania, like Montenegro, is essentially a meat-eating country, I realised that it was not a suitable place to begin experiments in a vegetable diet, and I was therefore obliged to stifle my better instincts and carry on for the nonce in the old carnivorous way.

One feature of the Albanian inns that the traveller will [462]
remark is the absence of womenfolk. All the household work is done—and usually done very badly—by men or boys. At Argyrocastron the "chambermaid" was an Italian-speaking Albanian, dressed in a very old and shabby khaki uniform, who spared no pains to make me as comfortable as circumstances permitted, and was exceedingly grateful for the few liras I gave him on leaving. In fact, neither in Albania nor in Montenegro did I find that distressing greed for tips which is so characteristic of countries which claim to be much more civilised. Before I left Cettinje, being 609
anxious to show my appreciation of services rendered by the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

505 the near bank was thick with men, dogs, donkeys, mules, oxen, and merchandise, all waiting to be taken to the other side. It was a long time before our turn came, and then, as the fully loaded lorry was too heavy for the ferry-boat, two journeys had to be made, one with the lorry itself and the other with goods and passengers. All this spelled delay, and as a consequence we did not arrive at Permeti, the town where we were to stay the night, until it was growing dusk.

PEASANT WOMAN

485

The Permeti inn was primitive, but its roughnesses were mitigated by the willing efforts of the proprietor's small son, who did his best to make me comfortable and provided me with all the amenities the establishment could offer. He was a bright, intelligent lad, and ought—to use a typically Western expression—" to get on ". He gave me a room to myself, a clean upper sheet, and a clean towel. I looked at the wooden ceiling with misgivings, for the weather was getting warm. It painfully suggested bugs. But it had

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To Stifle or Freeze

recently been washed with paraffin, and a liberal quantity 485
of the same malodorous fluid had been poured on the floor round the legs of the bed, so that but for the smell I suffered no inconvenience, nor did I need to use my tin of insect powder, though I kept it handy in case of emergency.

In all the local inns they provide, as bedcovering, a quilt stuffed with wool, and a sheet. The quilt may be all right for the winter, but it is too heavy for spring and summer. Consequently one has to choose between stifling under the quilt or freezing under the sheet. Washing apparatus you may or may not find. Generally it is a tiny trickle of water from the bottom of a kerosene tin hung on the wall outside. Should there be a mirror in the bedroom, the distorted reflection you see in it will dispel once and for all any claims you may have privately entertained to good looks. You can please yourself whether or not you use the brush and comb which, since the Albanian travels in what he stands up in, you will always find provided.

I dined that evening at an eating-house of the usual type in company of the driver and conductor of the lorry and several natives. One of these, who spoke English, told me that during the previous week gendarmes had visited the town and, after rounding up the Greek and Roman Catholic population, had searched their houses and confiscated all their firearms and other weapons. He further asserted that the Mohammedan families had not been interfered with nor had their arms been taken, and that in consequence, the Christians went in fear of a massacre. I made leave to doubt

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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The Inn

[361] 137 cypresses. These cypresses[1] are the biggest I have ever seen. I never imagined that such cypresses existed or could exist. Even the tall Douglas firs of British Columbia, which attain a height of 400 feet, did not impress me as much as did these giants with their masses of solid foliage and their gnarled and knotted trunks thirty feet in circumference. It is worth while making a special journey to Elbasan to see them. This row of towering trees, almost black, walling in the little square and flooding it with their dense shadow, made a deep impression upon me. I saw no finer sight in all Albania.

485 The hotel accommodation in Elbasan is about what one would expect. The little place at which I stayed consisted of a nondescript shop below, where rope, lemons, corn, sugar, maize, nails, crockery, and all sorts of odds and ends were on sale, and a floor above with a landing, a lavatory, and three rooms all crammed with beds. It was tolerably clean, and the folk who ran it—an old Mohammedan named Osman Arapi, a youth, and a small boy—did everything possible to supply the, to them, rather remarkable demands of an English guest. The room in which I lived was pleasant and well lit, and I always had it to myself during the daytime. At night the other beds were usually occupied, and I never knew whom my companions might be. They were always accommodating and agreeable, however, and I soon became used to the lack of privacy. The washing arrangements were crude, and consisted of a basin on a soap-box in the corridor, but elsewhere, if you were

1 [in Elbasan-- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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485 not over-particular, a shower bath, with the aid of a bucket, was possible.

As usual, the boy was the power behind the machine. He it was who made the beds, swept out the rooms, and supplied the milk, the coffee, the yaghourt, or whatever you might happen to want. He never took his clothes off (some day, I imagine, when he has grown to a certain size, he will burst out like a butterfly from its chrysalis and a new suit will become an imperative necessity), nor did the youth who sometimes shared his labours. The two of them slept together on the landing not only fully clad but beneath a pile of rugs and blankets, while I, in the bedroom next door, though wearing only pyjamas, could hardly bear the weight [291] of the single rezai. But the Albanian is insensible to heat, and even in the height of summer continues to wear his heavy homespun clothing and a vast waistband wound many times around his stomach.

Osman, my host, took a fatherly interest in my proceedings. He often came into my room and stood watching me while I wrote on the typewriter or made a drawing. On [574] these occasions he would roll a cigarette and present it to me wet from his tongue—a customary offering in this part of 000 the world which, of course, you must not refuse. As an art critic he was more well-meaning than discriminating. One day, I remember, I happened to finish a picture when he was in the room and gave it to him to look at. He turned it upside down, held it at arm's length, and, with his head on one side in the manner of the real connoisseur, exclaimed,

2: Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

—and its rapidity enabled me to accomplish in forty minutes a journey which had previously taken me six hours by car.

A remote Balkan country like Albania was the last place in which I expected to make my first flight, and I could not help thinking it remarkable that within a few days I should thus experience the two extremes of travel—the pack-horse and the aeroplane.

485 On this, my second visit to Scutari, I stayed at the Hotel Europa. From without it did not look attractive, as the larger part of it appeared to be either under repair or in course of demolition. But within I found it clean, and even —for an Albanian hotel—luxurious. I had a bedroom to myself, with a washstand, a wardrobe, and other articles of furniture to which I had for some time been a stranger. And, finally, I actually dared to sleep without socks on and to forego the elaborate barrage of insect powder without which I had found sleep impossible in the up-country inns.

361 Until recently, when the government migrated to Tirana for safety, Scutari was the Albanian capital and an important diplomatic centre. All the foreign legations were here, and there was a good deal of gaiety. Now, however, it is a dead-alive place with no social amenities such as there were in the old days. Personally I found the old town, which, with the ancient citadel, is about a mile away from Scutari proper, 291 by far the most interesting part. It has a bazaar thronged 361 with peasants in the picturesque costumes of the district, among whom are always to be found some of the gipsy or

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Passport and Visa Regulations

• 486 FOREIGNERS who desire to enter Albania are required to be in possession of a valid passport, issued by the proper authorities of the country of which they are citizens or subjects, and an Albanian visa, issued by an Albanian diplomatic or consular official.

Albanian visa is granted by the Albanian diplomatic or consular representatives, without delay, to the following:

(a) Persons going to Albania on official missions;

(b) Persons going to Albania for scientific, educational or humanitarian purposes;

(c) Tourists and travellers.

Austrian, Italian, Liechtenstein and Swiss nationals must be in possession of a valid passport but require no Albanian visa.

American citizens require the Albanian visa on their passports for travel to Albania. Such visa will be granted by any diplomatic or consular representative of Albania without any fee. American naturalized citizens of

PASSPORT AND VISA REGULATIONS

Albanian birth or origin, who intend taking up 486
permanent residence in Albania, are required to comply with certain regulations prior to the obtaining of the visa.

Tourists and visitors going to Albania in groups of over five persons can receive specially one visa for all, paying the fee of only one visa for the whole group.

Persons intending to become temporary or 167
permanent residents in Albania will find that there are no difficulties or restrictions whatsoever for prospective residents.

For further information about passports 000
and visas apply to any Albanian diplomatic or consular representative.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in 423
Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times 487
a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man [685]
cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of
private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended
even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit
as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one
ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and
to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or [574]
village had married into the privileged ward* her kinsmen had leave [607]
to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even
one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto
their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into
being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families [614]
in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact,
the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter- 486
tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of 619
sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and
their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed
its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all
their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks
on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory,
and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the
road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking
advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus,
a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed
limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the
contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep
within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign
tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and
not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but
must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his
providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger 574
obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded 628
as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection 486
and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the 672
event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the
knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for
any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

* [in the village of Gedolesh --An 2145t]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

was 22 purses instead of the usual 12. If the murderer was slow to pay up, the tribe enforced payment. In addition, they burned down three of the *kulla* (houses of two or more storeys) in the murderer's compound. If he did not possess so many, they burned his own *kullë* and two belonging to his nearest relatives. If between them they did not have so many, the tribe searched among his more distant relatives until they found the required number, going back a hundred generations if need be. They also destroyed his property—crops, livestock and the rest—so thoroughly that nothing of it remained. The same penalties were inflicted on a thief who stole sheep travelling or grazing within the protected area. On the other hand, if a traveller, public messenger or shepherd broke the conditions of the truce, straying, for example, from the prescribed path, he was no longer counted a public guest and lost his right to public protection and vengeance. He was still a private guest however. The last man in whose house he stayed before his mishap was bound to kill his murderer or to punish the man who robbed him.

This truce of sheep and shepherd has now died out. At the end of Turkish times it was already confined to the Gjakovë group of tribes in the extreme north-east, such as Nikaj, Mertur, Gash and Krasniq. But Father Gjeçov found traditions of its existence in the Dukagjin tribes of Shalë, Shosh, Kir, Gjâj and Toplanë, and also in Puke, Mirditë, Kthellë, Kurbìn and the mountains of Lesh. Father Gjeçov considers the custom to be so old that it dates from days 'before thin-necks began to vomit flame', that is to say, before firearms were invented.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

published in the Albanian newspaper *Tomori* on 7 November 1942,[1] a curious mixture of Fascist ideology and ancient mountain law. But the decisions were honoured only in the breach. A few months later, many hundreds of families represented at the meeting were homeless, victims of Italian reprisals for their persistent revolts.

Sometimes a tribe met in plenary session to deal with inter-tribal matters. It might have quarrelled with a neighbour over a grazing or forest boundary between their territories, or the neighbour might be harbouring one of its dangerous criminals. In either case the tribe had to meet in plenary session, first of all to discover by public argument the best way of enforcing its boundary rights or procuring the surrender of the criminal, and secondly to secure public sanction for the steps it decided on. These might even include war. Miss Durham describes a General Assembly of Shalë which she witnessed in 1908.[2] The Moslem tribes to the north and east, surreptitiously armed by the Turkish government, had threatened to massacre Shalë and its Catholic associates if they did not embrace Islam by the next Ramazan. Shalë met in General Assembly, and amid scenes of wild enthusiasm passed a resolution to warn its Moslem neighbours that within seven days of their receiving notice Shalë and its fellow-Catholics would be at war with them.

Sometimes a pair of tribes met in plenary assembly for mutual aid. Several examples of contracts made on such occasions are given by Father Gjeçov; translations of three appear as Documents IV, VII and VIII.[3] In the first the tribes of Nikaj and Mertur pledge the safety of man and beast at certain times of the year. The second is between the tribes of Nikaj and Shalë in 1894, and the third, dated 1895, is between Nikaj and Curraj, a 'brotherhood' of Nikaj. In these latter, each contracting party guarantees the safety of the other's tribesmen when travelling along certain specified roads in its territory; in the first Shalë's guarantee is extended to tribesmen of Shosh, its western neighbour, and Nikaj's guarantee to tribesmen of Mertur, its eastern neighbour. In this way they facilitated a considerable amount of movement from tribe to tribe. Such documents were really an early form of passport, allowing the tribesmen of one tribe 'to pass freely without let or hindrance' in the territory of the other.

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, p. 272.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 71, 72. [3] See Appendix, pp. 263, 265, 267.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

its well-constructed and durable roads which cross at all parts of the country. For those who have not the leisure to travel slowly in their own automobiles or one of those which may be easily hired with careful and skilled chauffeurs, and yet who wish to travel independent of the time-tables of the official service, there are motor-coaches available which make excellent connections with each other in any town. Albania may be reached by good roads from Greece and Yugoslavia; by sea on Italian, Greek or Yugoslavian lines and by air from any metropolis in a few short hours.

and white, hundreds of stripes, each as wide as the stone house down in the blue distance.

We knew it was a large house; we could hardly have seen it if it had been a small one; it looked as large as a match box.

"The byraktor of Shoshi lives there, Mrs. Lane, and I think we had better stay with him to-night," said Rexh. "There is a priest, but he is four miles farther down the valley, and we would have to come back in the morning, for this is where the trail begins to cross the mountains to Scutari. Also, if there is a mule in Shoshi, the byraktor will know him."

So we began dropping down to the house, the Shala man much pleased by the adventure of calling upon his enemies' war chief. We went easily, for the way was a gigantic staircase of cliff and terraced green field. Each field had its little house of stone; the trails down the cliff were broadened and held up by walls of stone. True, the centers of the trails were running ankle deep in water and springs gushed from every wall, but the effect was of ease and order and fresh green things, and before we reached the house of the byraktor my head was clearer and my breath no longer stabbing pains.

How to account for it I do not know; I am sure that in happier conditions I should have had pneumonia. But the fact is that after nearly forty miles of incredibly difficult journeying over those mountains in twelve rain-drenched hours, I came to the byraktor's fire weak, it is true, and

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER VIII

ROADS

Very strict rules were laid down for the construction and the maintenance of roads, 'the arteries of the land' as they were called by the tribesmen. 491

Two main types were recognized: the public highway, 'the big road', or 'the general road' and the footpath. The former led through a village or from one village to another, and consequently was often called the 'village road'. Yet another name was 'ward road' of a village which separated two wards. A footpath lay most often across fields, but it seemed only in Zerqan that it was described as a 'field-path', 'road wide enough for a foot', or plain 'road'. 487

The law said that a public highway must be a horse-track, wide enough for a loaded packhorse or a pair of plough-oxen with their plough to pass along it, unimpeded by any hedges, walls or trees that might fringe it. The minimum width allowable was consequently eight spans, the equivalent of 5⅓ feet or 1·62 metres. Where more space was available, whether on mountain wastes as in Martanesh or waterless downs as in Perlat, the road was often wider, so it was eight to twelve spans wide in Çermenikë, ten to twelve in Martanesh and Godolesh, sixteen in Zerqan and twenty-four in Perlat. In spacious Krasniqë a road for plough-oxen was usually a trifle wider than a horse-track, but there were no hard and fast rules for the width of either; the only criterion was traffic needs.

Provided that a man carrying a spade on his shoulder could pass a footpath was wide enough; rules were not so rigid for these as for highways. Consequently some were only one, and many, especially in Mirditë, only two spans wide. In other places, however, footpaths from three to six spans in breadth were found. In general a path across irrigable, cultivated land tended to be narrow and one across, say, rough pasturage broad. 487

These rules were for mountain roads, where there were usually so many stones that there was no mud, and the ground remained firm under the feet in all weathers. A highway across a plain,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

491 especially near the sea, where the soil is alluvial and stoneless, had to be thirty-two spans wide (7 yards or 6·48 metres) in order to give a pack-horse space to dodge the mud-holes in winter, when the road became a morass. Excellent examples of this type of road traverse the half-drained marshes of Ngurëzë at the mouth of the river Mat.

Mountain roads eight spans wide led to villages 'where carts had never gone'. Certain other roads led to the rare villages 'where carts had gone'. These crossed firm inland plains such as the floor of the valley of Shkrel or the plain of Nangë in Lumë; in Shkrel they had to be twelve spans wide (8 feet or 2·43 metres), and in Lumë wide enough to take a cart. A picturesque detail from [18] Mirditë is that a 'flag-road', that is to say, a road along which a flag was carried in tribal, wedding or other processions, had to be as wide as the flagstaff was long.

491 Roads always followed boundaries; as a general rule, when one 487 passed two wards or two neighbours, exactly half of it had to be in 423 the territory of each. In other words, their boundary had to run 312 down its exact middle. Few modifications of this law are to be noted. When fields were on a slope, the road between them was often made on the upper one. The elders laying it out had reasoned that it would gradually slip down the hill, increasing the area of the upper field and diminishing that of the lower one. When there was an irrigation channel by the road, rules varied. In Theth one neighbour left three spans of land for the channel, and the other the same amount for the adjacent footpath. Their agreement might be verbal, noted only by witnesses, or it might be written down by the priest as tribal clerk and placed in the church archives. Each neighbour had full access to path and channel alike. In Lumë, on the other hand, a path was left on both sides of an irrigation channel. These were not only for men to walk on but also for maintaining the sides of the channel, a necessary safeguard even on level ground. Each neighbour, having his own path, was less liable to quarrel with the other.

492 In Perlat a highway was twenty-four spans wide (16 feet or 499 4·86 metres), to enable a horse laden with firewood to pass another without the loads touching. Elsewhere there was no provision for two-way traffic. Road-making in our sense did not exist, and roads were merely trodden out by man or beast in the scanty space available between fields or across mountain slopes. On a typical

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

685 A man could not, without the elders' consent, close an old road
491 that, having been used by his fellow-travellers, bridal parties and
494 funeral processions, was public property. If he did, it was reopened
423 by the elders, sometimes by force. He was often fined too. If he had ploughed it up, so that its line was uncertain, they sought out an old trustworthy man and made him show them under oath and in the presence of witnesses where it had been. Then the offender was ordered to open it again, removing any fence he had erected and, by way of penalty, to give a meal and small fee to the old man and the witnesses. If he shut it up once more he was liable to be shot.

491 As always, there were exceptions to the general rule. Owing to
494 the marshy nature of the land most of the fields near the mouth of
423 the river Mat were enclosed by hedges of living willow and
[487] communicated with each other by stiles, not gates. If the public, having formed a shorter route, no longer used a certain field-path, the owner of the field could close the path and the stiles at either end without any compulsion to reopen them; the public had the shorter road and one was enough. If a man bought a field which had a road round it and a right-of-way through it, he had the right to close the latter and to make the public go by the road; only if a long detour was involved could he be forced to leave the right-of-way open. On the other hand, if his new-bought field was bordered not by a road but by another field, he could not block the right-of-way unless he made a new road entirely within his own boundaries. This was substantially the law which governed changes of road all over north Albania. In Lumë a distinction was drawn between permanent roads which had to remain open all the year round and winter roads which could be closed in summer. The first were known as 'roads with a boundary'; the most important led to the high pastures on Mount Gjalicë. Winter roads generally went through fields and were closed to men and animals from seed-time to harvest; as soon as the crop was in, the roads were opened to traffic. If somebody had great need to use one during the season, he might take what he could carry and go along the very edge of the sown land, taking pains not to damage the growing crop. He could not make a habit of this or take his horse and must not forget to ask leave from the owner of the land. Again, a few roads to the Alpine pastures passed through wheat fields on their way. As a necessary link with the high pastures they could not be completely closed even when the fields were under crop. An ingenious

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

shoot as much as they pleased but could not have their way; the village could not be shut up by mud, and the public good overrode private loss. The new road was a permanency and could not be closed or moved back to the old site except by the elders. According to Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar of Shkrel, it was easier to move the bad road than to try to mend it. If it was under water, all the owners of the land through which it ran had to unite to repair it, making a ditch, repairing bridges and so on. But they had to decide unanimously to repair it; if even one hung back nothing could be done. The ditch too could only be made where there had once been one before. And men whose land was some distance from the road would object to having the water diverted from the road towards their fields.

New roads were constantly being opened, if only because brothers were constantly dividing their father's property and setting up separate establishments. For the law said 'every field must have access to a public highway' and 'every house must have its road'. Consequently, the elders supervising the separation were careful to specify the exact direction and character of the old roads which the brothers might use and the new ones which they might make to and from their houses and fields. The laws were the same everywhere. If there were two brothers, each took half the father's field. When there was no cultivated land beyond this they might make no path at all or they might make a little path along the boundary between them, only two spans in width, as this was enough for their own needs. Naturally each set aside land for half its width; as this could not be worked, it was soon grass-grown. When there was someone else's field beyond their own and there was no other way of entering this, they were bound to leave a track wide enough for a horse laden with panniers of manure or for a pair of plough-oxen. As with a field-path the land for this track came from each.

A more complicated case occurred if three brothers inherited a field which had a public highway running along its length, and was divided into three longitudinal strips with the boundaries parallel to the highway. Let it be supposed that the family home remained in the central strip. A road to the highway from the inmost strip was a prime necessity. It was most economically made by constructing a path to the old road that connected the family home with the highway. But the new owner of the central strip might

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

487 object to its coming so near his house. In that case the elders
596 directed him and the owner of the outermost strip to leave land
423 elsewhere for it. As for the houses which the brothers in the innermost and outermost strips had to build, the former had only to see that his stood the canonical distance, the width of the eaves from his neighbour's boundary. The most convenient and economical site for the outermost brother to build on was a corner by the highway. But remembering that his dog might bite strangers and his children be trampled on by passing animals, he generally built his house with its back to the road and its yard facing his field. Alternatively, in Krasniqë, by what seems undue licence, he could ask his neighbour to remove the public highway to his land. If the latter owned waste ground or a hill close by, he was compelled by the elders to accede to the request. He could only refuse it by convincing them that in its new position the road would spoil his land.

487 New roads were sometimes necessitated by sales of land, and
423 might cause trouble. Suppose a field surrounded by four others was offered for sale and the owners of the surrounding fields were unable to buy it. Someone farther away, always described as a 'stranger', then bought it and demanded a road. The natural line for this was through the field between his purchase and his house. If the owner of this field objected, the stranger bade him buy the enclosed plot. When he refused, as he inevitably did, the stranger referred the case to the elders. If these, he said, could cite any previous purchaser of a field which had no way in and out, he could not claim the road. If, on the other hand, and this was sure to be the case, they found it was good law that 'land is never sold without a road' he had to have it. There was, as usual, no need to compensate the man whose land it took up. Fear of such complications made some men, when selling a piece of land, retain the adjoining road in case they themselves or their descendants wished to use it later on.

[491] A man was undisputed and sole master of the path that led across his field from a public thoroughfare to his house and ended there. According to the letter of the law, whatever the condition of the public road—good or bad, a sea of mud or even washed away in a winter storm—animals and wayfarers had to keep to it or to find another. They could not bypass the bad stretch by taking the path to the man's house; that was his private property, reserved for

his household and his visitors. Bridal parties or funeral processions 423
which tried to pass along his path to evade the difficulties of the 487
highway were not so likely as habitual travellers to attempt to [585]
create a precedent, but he had the right to turn them back. If they [764]
tried to force their way past him he had the right to shoot them. Many a corpse, to quote Father Gjeçov, has found comrades in death before being buried, and many a bride has mourned the loss of a kinsman in her escort on the way to her bridegroom.

If, however, at a time when the highway was impassable, occasional travellers asked a man's leave to use his path he often granted their request. But he always made it clear that the right of passage was temporary and stipulated that his honour was not to be smirched or his property damaged. In Shkrel a man whose field adjoined a road liable to bogging in winter often left enough land in the field for a new road. This he did as alms. Any timber on either side of the new road remained his private property, and could not be cut down by anyone else though he was free to cut it as and when he pleased. He could also close the road at his pleasure; even if the public had used it for years, usage did not create a right and rob a man of his land. Sometimes a village, to suit its convenience rather than to meet its need, asked a man to allow the public to go through his land. He usually agreed, but always stipulated that if any damage was done or he needed to work the land, he should be entitled to close the right-of-way, informing his fellow-villagers that they must not come that way any more. If this became necessary, he was not required to provide an alternative, as a man who moved a public road must do. He had opened the road as a favour, and what was given as a favour could not be retained by force. The option of closing the road descended [428]
to his heirs.

The private ownership of a road is seen at its most interesting in the case of a blind alley. This was seldom wide enough to take two persons abreast and had an entrance but no exit. The commonest type led across a man's field from a public thoroughfare to his house, where it came to a dead end. In this case it was his sole property, and if he liked he could plough it up without consulting anybody. Another type served several houses, and was held jointly and equally by these. The common ownership had its drawbacks. Two out of three owners, for instance, might wish to plough up the section passing through their fields. Though this

[i.e. the private path of a man -- Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

might mean his going a long way round in future, the third owner could not oppose their wish. Again the land on both sides of an alley which three families used might belong to a fourth man. If he persuaded or bribed two of the three to let him plough it up, the third man had to acquiesce. A third type of blind alley began and ended in a single field.

All types of alley were private property reserved for the sole use of their owner, joint or single, and his family and lawful visitors. If he found anyone else on it he could turn him back as an intruder, and if he refused to comply could shoot him. This was irrespective of whether he did damage or not. An honest man would not trespass. Consequently, a trespasser's intentions were felonious. In Labinot a 'foreigner' from another village was licensed to use the blind alley once. He might be unaware that he was trespassing. In Zerqan, too, if he did not trespass more than once most owners said nothing to avoid disgracing themselves. A foreigner has his rights. In truculent Lumë no allowance was made for ignorance. About 1900 three men lost their lives because a stranger from the town of Prizren rode by pure mischance along a blind alley in a field in the village of Stiqan and resisted the owner's attempt to turn him back. In all districts a fellow-villager who trespassed could not plead ignorance as a stranger could; consequently his fault was graver. Even so he was not shot in Zerqan till other measures had been tried and failed. First the owner asked him not to use the blind alley again. If he persisted the owner complained to the village and the village forbade the man to go by the path. If he still persisted the village fined him. If he still persisted the owner shot him. Such was the theory, but in practice a strong man skipped the diplomatic stages and shot the offender at his first or second offence. Sometimes a fellow-villager who had a genuine need to use a private road, for instance, to regulate his irrigation water, might be given permission to do so. But he had to go on foot and could not take his horse.

In Godolesh, exceptionally, the question of damages affected the rules for blind alleys. Such paths traversed the market gardens on which the village still depended for most of its livelihood. Usually each belonged to several owners, any of whom might use it throughout its length, though they were forbidden to introduce animals as these might damage the fruit and vegetables. A trespasser was pardoned up to three times, then one or more owners

complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in 423
Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times 487
a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man [685]
cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or [574]
village had married into the privileged ward[1] her kinsmen had leave [607]
to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families [614]
in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact, the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter- 486
tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of 619
sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory, and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus, a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger 574
obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded 628
as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection 486
and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the 672
event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

1 [in the village of Godolesh --Anal4st]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

681 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Breg i Shpellës, Viri, and Krue i Ri —will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a patch for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[233] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[403] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[487] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

[623] 16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 500 grosh.

[693] 17. 'Pledge elders' are not to take more than 10 grosh as their fee for a judgement, and commoners not more than 5 grosh.

[628] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after their feud has been compounded by order of the government will be fined 12 purses and expelled from the village and turned into a ghost.

681 231 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

/33 their heights—the Eagle; and the latter guess would be the true index to the character of the inhabitants—courageous, strong and en-
[137] during. These mountains, covered with stately pinewoods and beautiful forests of beeches and olives many hundreds of years old, are often cut into deep, mysterious gorges and lovely green valleys which lend their soft, rich and dark colors to make a picture worthy of the talents of a master.

The natural geography of Central Albania is that of littoral plains, imperceptibly changing into smooth hills with dense oakwoods, which encircle and hold as precious secrets many wide and fertile basins. These rolling hills further to the south, heighten into mountains of unusual grandeur, intersected with wooded ravines and sheer precipices. For those who are irresistibly attracted by the invading charms of the solitary plains, the typical character of the Karst of these higher regions holds a peculiar fascination; also the lonely splendor of the bare, rocky, limestone cliffs and summits, haunted by the mountain eagle.

•489 Transportation in Albania is of the pleasantest sort—by air, by automobile or by

489 steamer. Albania has no railroad. This fact is readily ignored for a view of a country from a moving train is no view at all. Travelling is more delightful when we can stop wheresoever we will please and enjoy ourselves to the fullest. And when the time comes for a regretted farewell the aeroplane is much faster and far more comfortable.

000 The most well-known of Swiss and Tyrolian landscapes are in no way superior to the picturesque mountain lakes of Ochrida and Presba in Albania; their clear and limpid waters reflect the varied shades and colors of their rich surroundings and the magnificence of the Balkan sky in an unbelievable harmony of hues, pierced occasionally with a flash of red or gold or black as the rich, wild water darts hither and yon.

However, as stated above, the more lasting charm of Albania lies in the varied little villages and the unusual originality of the people expressed by their colorful and characteristic costumes, rather than in the exceptional beauty of the country. Here a friendly people seek to gratify every wish and whim of the visitor, to make him feel at home and welcome so that he will quickly return to this delightful country.

lowed in 11 and 16 B. C. and in 6 and 9 A. D., 175 x
joined by the rebel Pannonians. Finally, Tiberius completely subjugated them in 9 A. D. along with Dalmatia, Iapidia and Liburnia, forming them into the Province of Illyricum.

For the next two or three centuries Latin civilization flourished in Illyria. Industrially, [316] gold was mined in Bosnia and commercial cities sprang into being along the coast. Agri- [245] culturally, the cultivation of the vine was introduced with more than satisfactory results. Almost the whole of Illyria became a recruiting ground for the Roman legions, and in turbulent times, from the East, many of the Illyrian soldiers fought their way up to the imperial purple. Claudius, Aurelian, Probus, Diocletian and Maximian* were all sons of Illyrian peasants. Through the growth in importance of Illyricum, many districts were added and thus in the second century A. D. the *Illyricum Times* included Noricum, Pannonia, Moesia, Dacia and Thrace.

The Via Egnatia which extended from 491
Dyrrachium, across Illyricum to Constantinople, was built during this period, in this manner forming a definite link between Rome and Constantinople.

* [Errata: should be Maximinus. Cf. Errata Sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

101 "Shqipetar"[1] originated with Pyrrhus of Epirus. It is related that when the swiftness of his troops was praised, Pyrrhus proudly answered that this was natural, inasmuch as his soldiers were the sons of the eagle, their movement as the flight of the king of birds.

000 Subjection to Rome, however, did not mean that the Shqipetars[1] were to give up all hope for independence.

491 Eventually Albania became the passageway for the Roman legions on their way to the East. Embarking at Brindisi, the terminus of the Appian Way, they were transported to Dyrrachium (Durazzo—Durrës in Albanian language), continuing their journey on the Via Aegitana or Egnatia, the road bed of which is well preserved to the present day.

177 On the whole, Roman influence in Albania had been of little importance. Remains of Roman architecture and civilization may be seen throughout the country even today, but the influence of Rome in shaping the course of Albanian domestic culture or national life has been slight or was completely absorbed by later invasions.

1 [Errata: should be Shqipëtar(s). Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, Cat. 116--Analyst]

ALESSIO

361 Alessio (Lesh in the Albanian language) is easily accessible from all points of the compass. One of the newer roads terminates at San Giovanni di Medua, Shën Gjin in Albanian, which is a small port in the northern part of Albania.

This village, with a population of 3,000, is rapidly becoming a thriving town although it is more dominated over by Scutari. Here has
• 491 been built a new bridge, one of the government projects, across the Drin River, however, the ancient bridge has not been demolished.

000 From a historic standpoint this charming town has enough to occupy an archaeologist for some time, not to mention the lovely setting of which Alessio is justly proud.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

491

THE ZOGU BRIDGE OVER THE MATI RIVER AT MILOTI

(facing p. 146)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania
Eo 1

Roads

• 491 IN few other countries has there been such giant steps taken in furthering the development and welfare of a nation as has been the case in Albania since the inauguration of the present regime. No field has been overlooked: Agriculture, Banking, Education, Industry, Trade and all other forms of internal services including roads. It is of vital importance to the wealth of a nation to have adequate means of transportation, and, since 1925, the king and government has given much careful consideration to the development and improvement of roads and construction of bridges.

In the northern part of the country, a very important road from Scutari, through Pukë, to the Yugoslavian border has been commenced and will very soon be ready. This road is seventy-five miles in length and unites the main sections of the Scutari and Kosova districts. Another road of great national benefit is the so-called Dibra-Road, which has its beginning at the new Zogu Bridge, near

• 491 Miloti, and makes its way to the Yugoslavian frontier, which is a distance of over eighty miles, connecting some of the most fertile regions of the interior with the port of Durazzo and with Tirana, thus making an outlet for the tremendous agricultural sections and forming new markets for commerce and trade.

Amongst some of the well constructed roads in Albania which lend much to the enjoyment of the country and enhances its commercial value are those from Kruja to Mati, a distance of about thirty-three miles, from Peshkopi sixty miles to Librazhd, which road connects with that running between Elbasan and Tirana, a distance of thirty-four miles. Another of these roads is the one from Lushnja leading to Fier twenty miles away, where a spur runs on to Valona.

Numerous roads throughout the country are rapidly nearing completion, and once finished will prove a decided advantage for further developments in every field of industry; the agricultural districts will be brought nearer their natural marketing centers, and will facilitate the traffic between individual markets.

The total mileage of the roads in Albania

3: Fedlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

• 491 that were completed by March 31, 1933, was approximately two thousand one hundred miles.

Due to the unusual and difficult formations of the country, especially in the mountainous regions where the flow of water is constant and therefore presents the necessity of numerous large and small bridges, a complication is arrived at which no other country has to cope with. In spite of the colossal interference, however, the number of permanent bridges has increased from three hundred sixty in 1921 to eight hundred in 1928. But the last six years have seen even greater strides and by March 31, 1933, Albania had two thousand six hundred and seventy-four permanently constructed bridges, and still work continues!

Albania has many roads leading to her neighbors on the three points of the compass, the following of which are the principal ones:

I. In a northeasterly direction from Scutari to the Albanian border near Hani i Hotit, and afterwards to Yugoslavia through to Podgorica, a distance of twenty-one miles.

II. Another eastern route having its source at Scutari leads from Cattaro (Yugoslavia) via Antivari and Dulcigno or by Cetinje, Ritjeka,

Virbazar and then Antivari and Dulcigno to the Albanian-Yugoslavian frontier near Gorica, and afterwards via Obliki to Scutari. 49/

III. Twelve miles southeast from Peshkopi, the road winds its way from Dibra (Dibër) to the Albanian-Yugoslavian border near Biladë, (Albania), and continues southwards from Biladë to Librazhd, a distance of sixty miles. At Librazhd, the road branches to the west towards Durazzo and Elbasan (Elbasan being about twenty-five miles from Librazhd); and the southern fork leads to Pogradec and Korça, the former town being about thirty-seven miles from Librazhd.

IV. Qafa e Thanës is a border line town between Albania and Yugoslavia and is used in the east of Albania for the road coming from Struga, Yugoslavia, which forks, going eastwards to Librazhd, and southwards to Pogradec and Korça. The distance from Qafa e Thanës to Pogradec is about twenty-seven miles, and from Pogradec to Korça is approximately forty-six miles.

V. From Korça a road extends southeast along the Albanian-Greek frontier. On another more round-about route, the traveller finds himself in three countries in a radius of little more than fifty miles, for this road begins at Monastir (Yugoslavia) and continues, via Florina (Greece), to Bilisht (Albania).

VI. The road from Janina (Greece) leads, via Ersek-Leskovik (Kolonja) in a northeastern direction to Korça by way of Perat. The distance between these cities being: Perat to

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

• 491

Leskovik thirteen miles; Leskovik to Ersek approximately forty-seven miles, and from Ersek to Korça about forty-one miles.

VII. Another road comes northeastward to Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra), from Janina, to the Albanian frontier at Kakavi; about nine miles to the rear of Kakavi, at Yorgusati, the road branches: One fork continues to Delvina and Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the former town being twenty-four miles from Yorgusati; and the other on to Argyrokastro, a distance of seventeen miles from Yorgusati.

For those travellers desirous of visiting Albania by automobile, it will be found to be more advantageous to use the Gorica road in the northern part of the country and, entering from the east, the road northwards from Pogradec via Qafa-e-Thanë. In the south, the more desirable road is by way of Bilisht, also the roads from Perat to Korça and from Kakavi to Santa Quaranta (Saranda) and Argyrokastro; the road from Dibra (Dibër) to Librazhd having too many slopes.

By far one of the most beautiful and interesting of roads in Albania is the one opened on July 2, 1933, between Tirana and Elbasan, and is thirty-four miles in length. Since it is only an hour and fifteen minutes' journey it should be of great assistance in opening the

central part of the country. Before this road was constructed, the traveller had to go by way of Durazzo and spend some four hours on the journey. And only ten years ago, it was necessary to go on horse-back over the difficult pass of Krrab and spend a minimum of eleven hours on the trip. Thus the progress of Albania!

Taking this motor-route from Tirana, one first follows the interesting old caravan path that was made through the years. But soon the main road veers off because the path took the steeper climb upward.

This road has to cross many new bridges which are very compactly built and substantial, one of these being the long bridge over the Erzen into Petrela.

Upon leaving Petrela, one begins the long, steady pull upward to the summit of the pass of Krrab. However, the gradients are never very steep, but there are many long ascents. This mountain pass is really an achievement in road-making: The road twists and turns ever upward with strong embankments above and below. In the more dangerous parts of the road, powerful balustrades have been erected to insure the riders' safe passage. The

491 firm and solid foundation is very good, being metalled with the famous local stone which is said to have durability enough to serve as grindstones for flour mills.

At the summit of the pass, very heavy blasting was necessary and many thousands of dollars were spent for sufficient dynamite. The road runs along the spine of the ridge for some distance, affording much beautiful scenery. Upon leaving the summit, the road begins to unwind itself slowly down to the great plains of Elbasan, and the traveller feels he has had a magnificent view of a picturesque and romantic country in complete safety.

Thus we see Albania with connecting arteries throughout the nation which allows easy passage from Yugoslavia to Greece and vice-versa and facilitates passage with the whole of Europe. The economic importance of these routes have already been mentioned, for economically a country depends upon good communication and this is why the construction of roads and bridges properly heads the list of public works.

Nothing could be of more pleasure and interest than travelling in Albania to-day with

ROADS

491 its well-constructed and durable roads which
cross at all parts of the country. For those
494 who have not the leisure to travel slowly in
their own automobiles or one of those which
may be easily hired with careful and skilled
chauffeurs, and yet who wish to travel independent of the time-tables of the official service, there are motor-coaches available which
make excellent connections with each other in
487 any town. Albania may be reached by good
roads from Greece and Yugoslavia; by sea on
Italian, Greek or Yugoslavian lines and by air
from any metropolis in a few short hours.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, as in those of other nations, are said to have been [491] formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 731 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

[1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

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6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

POSTSCRIPT

Cicero sat with parchment and stylus, writing 361
home to Rome for money to pay his way back—
because, as he admitted with some chagrin, he
had wasted all his substance in that merry and
wicked city. Even for Cicero Durazzo had, in
addition to its living charms, the flavor of antiquity, for the Roman city was built on the
ruins of the older Albanian seaport.

A year earlier there had been no automobiles
in Albania, but now, to our surprise, we found
a valiant small Ford waiting at the pier, and
engaged it at once to take us to Tirana, forty
miles away. Our baggage was a problem until [609]
the chauffeur of a government truck, addressing
us in French, volunteered on his own responsibility to take it to the capital for us. "Pay?
Mais, non!" said he, hurt. "You are Americans,
and the stranger in Albania is our guest."

The road from Durazzo to Tirana crossed the 491
low mountains that, from Trieste to Valona,
make the endless monotonous eastern wall of the
Adriatic. When you come over the crest of them
you see lying before you the green low central
valley and the farther blue peaks of the lands of
the hidden tribes. And everything accustomed, 492
everything commonplace, everything that reflects
ourselves to us, is left behind. Gray water buffalo, flat-nosed, curly-horned, monstrous beasts
that seem risen from depths of primeval slime,
plod down the road drawing high, narrow wagons
of wickerwork on huge wooden wheels. Shaggy,
small donkeys carry picturesque folk down the

POSTSCRIPT

[492] winding road to Shijak, the village by the river
491 where the bridge begins and ends in willow groves.

Beyond Shijak the road goes over the last low
[133] hill, and twenty miles of plain lie before it, most sparsely dotted with the great white houses of the beys of central Albania. Against the eastern sky the towering mountains, with their eternal smoke of clouds, catch the last rays of the sun and make magic with it. For an hour the colors shift and change, plum purple, orange gold, mauve and violet and sea green, until at last only a pale gold moon and a silvery star shine in a lemon-yellow sky. And the seven white minarets of Tirana lift above the green of trees.

342 Dusk was on the plain, and lights were glimmering through little houses here and there, when we came to Tirana. No, the lights do not glimmer through windows; these houses of peasants on the great estates have no windows, as they have no chimneys. The light of the evening fire, built on the earthen floor, shines through walls woven of willow withes, and the smoke seeps through thatched roofs.

373 Before us twinkled the street lamps of Tirana. These are literally lamps, filled every day with kerosene and set on their poles, to be lighted with a match after the evening call to prayer from the minarets. Our little car passed between low, ghostly white walls, and stopped before the gendarmerie. An officer came out, lifted one of the street lamps from its pole and held it over the car door, the better to see us.

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among ourselves. There we took stock of what we had learned, 669 648
and sought to impose a definite pattern on the many projects
we had so often revolved on the march, or discussed around
the hearth at night. Our[1] first aim from the beginning had been 725
to raise the Ghegs against the Germans, both with the laudable
object of killing our enemies wherever and whenever possible,
and, above all, so as to disrupt their overland communications:
the main road from Tirana to Scutari and its lateral links with [491]
Macedonia — the roads from Tirana to Dibra and from Scutari
to Kukes and Prizren. These roads were important targets;
for the German troops in Albania depended upon them for
their communications with the Reich, and they also afforded
the second of the two lines of retreat open to the enemy's
garrisons in Greece.

The thinkers who inspire, and the historians who record, 000
the course of revolutions tend naturally to dwell on those
ideological issues which lend them their distinctive character.
In the making, however, they more often appear to the revolu-
tionary, as wars do to the strategist, in terms of power and
technique. The first object, therefore, of our reconnaissances
had been to discover what was the distribution of power in
North Albania.

The strongest force in the land was still the German army, [727]
but the roots of its strength were abroad, and our journeys 619
had shown us that its influence was on the wane. Among the
Ghegs power lay in the armed might and resources of the tribes,
and, to a much smaller extent, in the wealth of the merchants
and the landowners of the plain. The strength of the tribes
was sapped by their disunity and was never canalised into any
higher unit of organisation than the tribe itself. Nevertheless,
geographical barriers tended to separate the tribes into distinct
regional groups; and, within one or more such groups, they
were sometimes brought together by a man pre-eminent among
them by his personal ability, family tradition, or wealth. Such
a leader enjoyed influence rather than authority; for his
following was never more than a loose, voluntary, and shifting
confederacy of tribes and parts of tribes, intolerant of any form
of discipline. These confederacies were none the less the

[1] [British underground liaison officers — Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER II

THE UNWRITTEN LAW IN OUTLINE

To ensure for all, irrespective of their individual material wealth, a fair share of the essential grazing, arable land and irrigation, there has grown up a corpus of Unwritten Law. This was evolved at some unknown date by the mountaineers, as part of the legal framework which they had devised for every aspect of their life. They evolved all their laws—social, administrative, or pastoral—unaided. For many centuries before the Turks arrived in the fifteenth century, the country was split up into a number of principalities, none of which was strong enough for long to subject a neighbour to its rule. Though the Turks remained for four and a half centuries, they could never exert more than a nominal authority outside the chief towns. If they sent a punitive column into the interior, the people living in the mountains took evasive action, retreating to some peak until the inevitable departure of the intruders; their wealth was so small that they could carry or drive off most of it to their refuge, and so lost little from the raid. If the Turks sent tax or police officials, they fired on them at the first defile as a warning to return to their offices in town. There were no roads along which forces strong enough to be effective could march, in order to reduce them to real submission. The Turkish government, unable to enforce its will, accepted the situation and left the mountaineers to govern themselves, as they had presumably done under their native princes and chiefs. The first all-weather road to be built in North Albania was constructed in 1916 by the Austro-Hungarian armies during their temporary occupation; it ran from Shkodër to Durrës, with a branch to Tirana.

Every type of unwritten law has been constantly recast, added to, and restated down the centuries by a body of experts drawn from the rank of rulers. This rank exists because the mountaineers came to realize that an entity which is divided against itself cannot stand. Consequently, in every social unit—in house and village as in tribe or group of villages—the principle of subordination to a supreme head was accepted. In a household the headship is hereditary, with an important qualification. As the mountaineers are aware that

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A man's house, simple or elaborate, was his own, and he could do what he would with it up to a point. But he held it on conditions laid down by the Unwritten Law. This law defined a house as 'any hut or building of one, two, or more storeys that has a hearth and emits smoke', and insisted that poor house and rich house are alike inviolable. A stranger might not enter either without first hailing the master by name. If very discreet, he would call out from some distance; if bolder or on friendly terms with the family, he might lawfully enter the yard first. If no one answered his call, he must wait there or go away. On no account might he push the door open; that would make him a housebreaker. In the old days it would have cost him the usual penalties for theft, a fine of five hundred *grosh* ('piastres') for housebreaking, plus the obligation to send the family two of every article found missing after his visit, and even more recently it caused strife that might end in shooting. It was of no use for him to plead that he knew the master was from home; he knew also that somebody must have been left in the master's place.

The law allowed a man to erect a new house anywhere on his own ground, subject to the all-important provision that it did no harm to his neighbour's house and ground. In this connexion the term 'house' comprised, not only the dwelling, but also the farmyard wall or fence, and everything that this enclosed. It followed that a new house must be kept at least the width of its eaves from the neighbour's boundary to make sure that the rain dripping from them should not damage his property. The method most commonly adopted to ensure this was to leave space enough for a man to pass on foot between the new house and the neighbour's boundary. If a man wanted plenty of elbow-room, however, he might build his house as much as two *pashë* ('fathoms') from the boundary. As his visitors were as free as members of his family to use the empty space, a sizeable road was soon trodden out. Sometimes, too, a man who looked into the future left room for a road that was still non-existent but might one day be wanted by the community, in which contingency his house would otherwise have had to be pulled down and rebuilt elsewhere.

There were also a number of minor rules to be remembered in building. According to the law in Fulqet, if several men had contiguous land, they must build their houses as near as possible to the point at which their land met. Otherwise their several dogs

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CHAPTER VIII

ROADS

Very strict rules were laid down for the construction and the maintenance of roads, 'the arteries of the land' as they were called by the tribesmen. 491

Two main types were recognized: the public highway, 'the big road', or 'the general road' and the footpath. The former led through a village or from one village to another, and consequently was often called the 'village road'. Yet another name was 'ward road' of a village which separated two wards. A footpath lay most often across fields, but it seemed only in Zerqan that it was described as a 'field-path', 'road wide enough for a foot', or plain 'road'. [487]

The law said that a public highway must be a horse-track, wide enough for a loaded packhorse or a pair of plough-oxen with their plough to pass along it, unimpeded by any hedges, walls or trees that might fringe it. The minimum width allowable was consequently eight spans, the equivalent of $5\frac{1}{3}$ feet or 1·62 metres. Where more space was available, whether on mountain wastes as in Martanesh or waterless downs as in Perlat, the road was often wider, so it was eight to twelve spans wide in Çermenikë, ten to twelve in Martanesh and Godolesh, sixteen in Zerqan and twenty-four in Perlat. In spacious Krasniqë a road for plough-oxen was usually a trifle wider than a horse-track, but there were no hard and fast rules for the width of either; the only criterion was traffic needs.

Provided that a man carrying a spade on his shoulder could pass, a footpath was wide enough; rules were not so rigid for these as for highways. Consequently some were only one, and many, especially in Mirditë, only two spans wide. In other places, however, footpaths from three to six spans in breadth were found. In general a path across irrigable, cultivated land tended to be narrow and one across, say, rough pasturage broad. [487]

These rules were for mountain roads, where there were usually so many stones that there was no mud, and the ground remained firm under the feet in all weathers. A highway across a plain,

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491 especially near the sea, where the soil is alluvial and stoneless, had to be thirty-two spans wide (7 yards or 6·48 metres) in order to give a pack-horse space to dodge the mud-holes in winter, when the road became a morass. Excellent examples of this type of road traverse the half-drained marshes of Ngurëzë at the mouth of the river Mat.

Mountain roads eight spans wide led to villages 'where carts had never gone'. Certain other roads led to the rare villages 'where carts had gone'. These crossed firm inland plains such as the floor of the valley of Shkrel or the plain of Nangë in Lumë; in Shkrel they had to be twelve spans wide (8 feet or 2·43 metres), and in Lumë wide enough to take a cart. A picturesque detail from [186] Mirditë is that a 'flag-road', that is to say, a road along which a flag was carried in tribal, wedding or other processions, had to be as wide as the flagstaff was long.

491 Roads always followed boundaries; as a general rule, when one 487 passed two wards or two neighbours, exactly half of it had to be in 423 the territory of each. In other words, their boundary had to run 312 down its exact middle. Few modifications of this law are to be noted. When fields were on a slope, the road between them was often made on the upper one. The elders laying it out had reasoned that it would gradually slip down the hill, increasing the area of the upper field and diminishing that of the lower one. When there was an irrigation channel by the road, rules varied. In Theth one neighbour left three spans of land for the channel, and the other the same amount for the adjacent footpath. Their agreement might be verbal, noted only by witnesses, or it might be written down by the priest as tribal clerk and placed in the church archives. Each neighbour had full access to path and channel alike. In Lumë, on the other hand, a path was left on both sides of an irrigation channel. These were not only for men to walk on but also for maintaining the sides of the channel, a necessary safeguard even on level ground. Each neighbour, having his own path, was less liable to quarrel with the other.

492 In Perlat a highway was twenty-four spans wide (16 feet or 499 4·86 metres), to enable a horse laden with firewood to pass another without the loads touching. Elsewhere there was no provision for two-way traffic. Road-making in our sense did not exist, and roads were merely trodden out by man or beast in the scanty space available between fields or across mountain slopes. On a typical

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685 A man could not, without the elders' consent, close an old road
491 that, having been used by his fellow-travellers, bridal parties and
494 funeral processions, was public property. If he did, it was reopened
423 by the elders, sometimes by force. He was often fined too. If he had ploughed it up, so that its line was uncertain, they sought out an old trustworthy man and made him show them under oath and in the presence of witnesses where it had been. Then the offender was ordered to open it again, removing any fence he had erected and, by way of penalty, to give a meal and small fee to the old man and the witnesses. If he shut it up once more he was liable to be shot.

491 As always, there were exceptions to the general rule. Owing to
494 the marshy nature of the land most of the fields near the mouth of
423 the river Mat were enclosed by hedges of living willow and
[487] communicated with each other by stiles, not gates. If the public, having formed a shorter route, no longer used a certain field-path, the owner of the field could close the path and the stiles at either end without any compulsion to reopen them; the public had the shorter road and one was enough. If a man bought a field which had a road round it and a right-of-way through it, he had the right to close the latter and to make the public go by the road; only if a long detour was involved could he be forced to leave the right-of-way open. On the other hand, if his new-bought field was bordered not by a road but by another field, he could not block the right-of-way unless he made a new road entirely within his own boundaries. This was substantially the law which governed changes of road all over north Albania. In Lumë a distinction was drawn between permanent roads which had to remain open all the year round and winter roads which could be closed in summer. The first were known as 'roads with a boundary'; the most important led to the high pastures on Mount Gjalicë. Winter roads generally went through fields and were closed to men and animals from seed-time to harvest; as soon as the crop was in, the roads were opened to traffic. If somebody had great need to use one during the season, he might take what he could carry and go along the very edge of the sown land, taking pains not to damage the growing crop. He could not make a habit of this or take his horse and must not forget to ask leave from the owner of the land. Again, a few roads to the Alpine pastures passed through wheat fields on their way. As a necessary link with the high pastures they could not be completely closed even when the fields were under crop. An ingenious

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compromise reconciled the public's need to use the road and the 494
individual's wish to protect his crop without incurring the 491
intolerable expense of making a fence or wall. One neighbour 423
put two hurdles across his half of the road, one where it entered and the other where it left his land; both were low enough for men to jump over and high enough to keep back animals. Each had a hole at the bottom that was too small for animals to crawl through but big enough to let logs through when they were [313]
dragged down from the mountain for fuel; logs for fuel were such a necessity of life that they could not be denied a road. The other neighbour threw across his half of the road the Christ's Thorn which grows all over the plains of Albania, thus making a formidable barrier for men and beasts. Shutting up this half of the road did not matter; animals had no right in any case to go near a sown field, and the other man's hurdle was sufficient for human traffic. After harvest the thorns were removed, leaving that half of the road clear. The hurdle remained in place, as the clear half of the road was wide enough for the traffic.

In 1935 a man from Nangë in Lumë blocked the road along an irrigation channel for the summer, half of it with a low wall and half with thorns, so that men, but not animals, could still travel on it. He had wished to sow maize in his adjoining field and been too poor and short-handed to construct a fence to keep out animals. Since irrigation was so important, there was a special law that [312]
'a road beside an irrigation channel can't be shut up'. Conse- [672]
quently, his act was highly illegal. But his poverty was thought to excuse it, and he had mitigated his offence by making a new road for animals at the top of his field, where there was no maize. In so doing he had confused the right to block a road for the summer only and the need, when closing one permanently, to provide a substitute. For the law forbidding a man to block an old road permanently was not rigid. If he had good reason for the change, secured the consent of the elders (a most important point), and provided a satisfactory substitute, he could even move a very old road. It was only if he failed to satisfy these conditions that he had to leave it where it was. The poor man just mentioned transgressed by not consulting the elders; their unusual clemency lay in refraining, out of consideration for his poverty, from reopening the road.

When a man applied for leave to close an old village road, he 491
generally pleaded damage by passers-by or a need for more land to 423

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491 423 till. In the first case he might have his house or field adjoining the road and find his dog biting strangers and shot for its pains, his children killed by passing horses or cattle, and his crops, vegetables, vines or fruit damaged or plundered. Or the road might cross his field necessitating a fence on both sides, thus preventing his sheep from passing freely from one part of the field to another, besides involving him in expense for making and maintaining it. In the second case he might wish to plough up the road, a good plea since the law said 'Agriculture can move a highway', and more pithily, 'spades can shift roads'. If the elders on investigation considered his request justifiable, they gave him leave to close the old road. They required, however, that he should provide a satisfactory substitute, not by a stream where sheep might drown or across a precipice where they might break their necks; if the precipice could not be avoided, the rock had to be blasted away with dynamite. The new road could not be far from the old one, a distance of 200 metres being the maximum allowed. It had also to be made by the man's own unaided efforts, without any help from the community, and it had to be well made. If it was poorly made, the man suffered himself when he came to grief on it and had to pay damages when another did so; he was also laughed at by his neighbours as a foolish creature who did not know how to make a road; often they went and reopened the old road. In Fulqet it did not matter if the public was inconvenienced by the change; the law said 'land must not be spoiled'. In the Breg i Matit, on the other hand, the new road had to be shorter and so more convenient. A curious point in Krasniqë was that if a man ploughed up his field he could reduce the public road to the width of a footpath; this was little more than a gesture, since oxen and horses could not in any case use the road after the field was sown and a footpath was wide enough for other traffic. In Martanesh it was never lawful to plough up a public road, perhaps because the fields were few and very scattered, and the roads few, long and often dangerous.

491 [425] 623 423 In case of clear necessity an old public road might be moved on the initiative of the elders. If, for example, it was inconveniently crooked or became a morass in winter, they could divert it to better ground. The old road became the property of the man whose land adjoined it. The men whose land was taken for the diversion received no compensation. They often threatened to kill the elders, but for sole reply received an exposition of the law; they might

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shoot as much as they pleased but could not have their way; the village could not be shut up by mud, and the public good overrode private loss. The new road was a permanency and could not be closed or moved back to the old site except by the elders. According to Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar of Shkrel, it was easier to move the bad road than to try to mend it. If it was under water, all the owners of the land through which it ran had to unite to repair it, making a ditch, repairing bridges and so on. But they had to decide unanimously to repair it; if even one hung back nothing could be done. The ditch too could only be made where there had once been one before. And men whose land was some distance from the road would object to having the water diverted from the road towards their fields.

New roads were constantly being opened, if only because brothers were constantly dividing their father's property and setting up separate establishments. For the law said 'every field must have access to a public highway' and 'every house must have its road'. Consequently, the elders supervising the separation were careful to specify the exact direction and character of the old roads which the brothers might use and the new ones which they might make to and from their houses and fields. The laws were the same everywhere. If there were two brothers, each took half the father's field. When there was no cultivated land beyond this they might make no path at all or they might make a little path along the boundary between them, only two spans in width, as this was enough for their own needs. Naturally each set aside land for half its width; as this could not be worked, it was soon grass-grown. When there was someone else's field beyond their own and there was no other way of entering this, they were bound to leave a track wide enough for a horse laden with panniers of manure or for a pair of plough-oxen. As with a field-path the land for this track came from each.

A more complicated case occurred if three brothers inherited a field which had a public highway running along its length, and was divided into three longitudinal strips with the boundaries parallel to the highway. Let it be supposed that the family home remained in the central strip. A road to the highway from the inmost strip was a prime necessity. It was most economically made by constructing a path to the old road that connected the family home with the highway. But the new owner of the central strip might

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487 object to its coming so near his house. In that case the elders
596 directed him and the owner of the outermost strip to leave land
423 elsewhere for it. As for the houses which the brothers in the innermost and outermost strips had to build, the former had only to see that his stood the canonical distance, the width of the eaves from his neighbour's boundary. The most convenient and economical site for the outermost brother to build on was a corner by the highway. But remembering that his dog might bite strangers and his children be trampled on by passing animals, he generally built his house with its back to the road and its yard facing his field. Alternatively, in Krasniqë, by what seems undue licence, he could ask his neighbour to remove the public highway to his land. If the latter owned waste ground or a hill close by, he was compelled by the elders to accede to the request. He could only refuse it by convincing them that in its new position the road would spoil his land.

487 New roads were sometimes necessitated by sales of land, and
423 might cause trouble. Suppose a field surrounded by four others was offered for sale and the owners of the surrounding fields were unable to buy it. Someone farther away, always described as a 'stranger', then bought it and demanded a road. The natural line for this was through the field between his purchase and his house. If the owner of this field objected, the stranger bade him buy the enclosed plot. When he refused, as he inevitably did, the stranger referred the case to the elders. If these, he said, could cite any previous purchaser of a field which had no way in and out, he could not claim the road. If, on the other hand, and this was sure to be the case, they found it was good law that 'land is never sold without a road' he had to have it. There was, as usual, no need to compensate the man whose land it took up. Fear of such complications made some men, when selling a piece of land, retain the adjoining road in case they themselves or their descendants wished to use it later on.

[491] A man was undisputed and sole master of the path that led across his field from a public thoroughfare to his house and ended there. According to the letter of the law, whatever the condition of the public road—good or bad, a sea of mud or even washed away in a winter storm—animals and wayfarers had to keep to it or to find another. They could not bypass the bad stretch by taking the path to the man's house; that was his private property, reserved for

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

that when next it was erected it was correctly sited, otherwise 423
shooting began. In the Martanesh area the village headman, with 628
two official and two unofficial assistants, was usually called in to set the fence up on the exact boundary line. If the offender moved it forward again, the elders sent word to his relatives that if he touched it again, there would be shooting. So restrained, he usually settled down.

An opening was never to be made in a fence by force or without [685]
the owner's leave. Only a foolish and 'lawless' man would do such a thing; it could only be the preliminary to using the field as a road, or to stealing something.

Fines were imposed as a deterrent. These amounted to 50 grosh in Turkish times and 100 koronë in the 1920's in the Malësi e Madhe, with 150 grosh and 3 rams in Kastrat in 1892; even if the offender closed the gap again, he had no right to make it in the first instance. If he destroyed a fence altogether in the marshes at the mouth of the Mat he was fined 250 grosh, five times the amount imposed for opening a way through it. If he did not pay the fine he was killed by the owner. As many as three lives have often been lost for one opening.

So with a wall in the marshland of the Mat. If it was holed, the owner asked the offender furiously if he was agreeable to having elders assess the damage. If the offender objected to assessment or refused payment, the owner shot him; at best he was sharply fined by the village. A breach in a fence or wall had always to be repaired by the owner.

Elsewhere manners were milder. In Martanesh there was no punishment at all for making a hole in a fence. In Perlat permission to make one was readily given either as a favour or in exchange for a passage through the other man's. In Fulqet a traveller could [491]
make one without leave if the highway was deep in mud and the only dry ground within reach was the field behind the fence. Often enough the owner of fence and field shot at him, but this was illegal; there was only one legitimate way of keeping the traveller to the muddy road. This was for the owner of field and fence to fill up the holes in the road with stones. If he took this trouble and the traveller still trespassed on his field he had full right to shoot him.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296] 225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837] runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765] shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696] out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628] been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585] whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554] collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894.

681 491 574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

681 solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj
[491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed
[574] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[495] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[224] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prendo's Day, 1894]

If any man meddles with one by force he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety. [681]

If any man dishonours a woman or ravishes her he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety.

The Gjklika family is not under a pledge of safety.

Ndue Lika's family is under a pledge of safety for its flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever touches sheep belonging to Nikaj or Shalë must pay 500 grosh or give a Martini rifle, the value of which is 500 grosh. He must also return two animals for every one stolen and pay 500 grosh to the owner of the stolen animals.

10. A detective is to receive 100 grosh for tracking down a sheep and twenty for tracking down a cow or an ox.

11. If a Nikaj or a Shalë man goes to a house to kill someone, he has leave to do whatever the fingers of his hand or the muzzle of his rifle can do. But chisels, wood and any form of iron are not to be used.

Whoever breaks this law, unless he is killed and buried, must pay 20 purses and until he pays them he must look out for his life. If he is killed, the matter must be left at a head for a head.

12. Whoever plays false to this pledge treating it with contempt or ignoring it must give an oath with 24 persons who must say they know nothing, as arranged by the other tribes. If he cannot give such an oath he must pay 20 purses like a man who kills another. [695]

13. A borrower who owes money to someone must go to the head of his ward. If he does not give this head satisfaction, he must go to the Bajraktar. If he does not give the Bajraktar satisfaction he is without protection. He may be robbed and killed until he enters the way of the Bajraktar.

14. The roads from Shalë and Nikaj to Shosh and Mertur are guaranteed by Shalë and Nikaj and if they are cut, 20 purses must be paid. [491]

15. The chapels (*koniqet*) of Nikaj and Shalë in which no candle is lit to St John, St Nicolas and St Bastian (Sebastian), are under a pledge of safety. [718]

16. Complaints in Shkodër and Gjakovë are annulled. [694]

VIII. Pledge for Flocks and Shepherds in Nikaj and Curraj, St John's Day, 1895.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 120.)

1. Any man who kills a shepherd will have his house burned down and his land kept untilled for three years.

2. His neighbours will not have their houses burned down but must pay five purses, 1000 grosh of it for the master of the feud and three purses for the guarantors.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1.

Rough Going

it survived. Fortunately, however, such obstacles were infrequent, for in many places a partly-finished metalled road[1] made rapid progress possible. This road is evidence of the fact that the Government is alive to the necessity of grappling with the traffic problem and desirous of linking up all the principal towns by means of a lorry service. Even during my journey through the mountains between Podgradetz and Elbasan I saw men working here and there on bridges and on cuttings in the mountainside in readiness for the road which will some day carry the traffic between these two towns.

We left Elbasan soon after nine in the morning. Osman Arapi, the boy, and the youth, and also Mr. Lef Nossi, came to see me off. I have a vivid visual memory of the scene at the starting-point—a cobbled street with a tumble-down shop on the right full of rows of tin pots glittering in the sunshine, a yellow-walled house with a brown roof and bright blue window shutters on the left, ahead an old mosque with a rounded dome and an enormous cypress towering aloft into the azure sky.

As we crossed the plain, through olive groves, orchards, and fields of wheat and rye, the farther hills were misty, and the great three-peaked mountain near Berat, which stands up alone a giant among pigmies, was only just visible through the haze. Beyond were fields of oats already ripe and yellow, and maize—a later crop—still green. We stopped at a wayside fountain to quench our thirst and to change a tyre. On the hillside, where some olives cast a scanty shade,

1 [from Elbasan to Durazzo -- Analyst]

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples. 245

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*).[1] The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture. [462] 221 233

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling. 231 262

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached. 261 628

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later,[2] goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjës to Puka, then on to Kukës, and across 491

1 [see cat. 116, p. 108.. Analyst
2 [See cat. 116 p 42a.. Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

491 the border to Prizren. This was an old Roman road, and has probably not changed much in a thousand years. At Kukës another road meets it, running south along the Black Drin to Peshkopia and outside Gheg country to Lake Ochrida and Korça. Parts of this road had been widened for vehicular traffic in 1929, but the wide pieces had not been connected. It is said that both these roads have been opened for motor traffic since the Italian occupation.

Another trail goes from Tirana to Zall, thence to Gur i Bardh in Mati, through Klos, across the divide to Bulçiz in Dibra, and thence to Peshkopia. This is the principal route between the new capital and the important region to the northeast. Still another passes from Lesh to Bureli in Mati (fig. 9, *c*) following the banks of the Mati River. Bureli, now a prefect station, has grown important only with the Zog regime. From Bureli one can proceed to the northern Catholic country of Lura and Kthella, and thence down into Dibra, but the road is little traveled. North of the Drin a trail passes from Scutari to Shoshi over the Gur i Kutch, but in winter this is impassable. On the other side there is a road from Kukës across the Drin through the *bairaks* of Bituç, Gashi, and Krasniqi, past Merturi, into Shoshi (fig. 8, *d*). In winter this can be passed by men but not animals. Hence in wintertime no animal traffic can enter either Shoshi, or Shala which lies to its north. Before the boundary was drawn between Albania and Yugoslavia the road from Tropova, in Gashi (Malsia e Jakovës), to Jakova was much traveled; but now this is forbidden and the people of this tribe must go to market in Kukës.

492 As far as any considerable traffic is con-
482 cerned, horseback and human back are the only methods of land transport available in Ghegnia. In a few of the flatter places, however, other means are used locally for short
493 distances. In the country around Scutari just below the mountains, the farmers use carts, particularly in Zadrima. In Luma, on the flat land at the confluence of the Drins, and in Has on the other side, carts are likewise used, as well as ox-drawn summer sleds.

491 Crossing streams is not a simple matter in Ghegnia. Most of the crossings are fjords, and very cold. I have seen men strip naked to swim across icy rivers in search of a place for

ANALYS--
1 [see cat. 116, p 109
-196-

491 animals to cross, and have waded up to my chin at night, with snow on either bank. When the streams are swollen, animals and men are not infrequently drowned. There is or was an old Turkish bridge across the White Drin, from Kukës to the northern bank (fig. 9, *b*). Several wooden bridges crossed the Black Drin in Dibra. On the road from Krasniqi to Shoshi, I have crossed a bridge which consisted of 2 poles, one to walk on, the other a little higher and to one side, to use as a rail.

501 In a few places, ferry boats are available, which operate by the principle of changing the mooring position of the cable after each crossing, so that the power of the stream will push the boat diagonally across to the other bank. There was one such at Kukës across the Black Drin, another at Bureli over the Mati. Other observers have witnessed Ghegs crossing these streams on inflated skins, but I have never seen it.

Navigation in Ghegnia is very limited. Although Nopcsa has a picture of a man in a boat at Merturi, I have seen it only on the lower course of the Drin, between Vau i Denjës and Scutari, where special boatmen ferry passengers to town in a few hours, to save the day's march over the road. These boats are long dugout canoes, usually double. The boatman propels them by sculling, like the gondoliers of Venice. The men who run the ferries, and these boatmen on the lower Drin, are without doubt specialists, as nearly fulltime as the traffic requires. Probably not more than a dozen
494 men ply these trades. Much more numerous
463 are the *kiragis*, the professional horse-drivers who may be seen on all of the roads in Moslem country, and in some Catholic tribes as well. The *kiragis* in our series were Dibra men, but others come from outside the tribal area, from such places as Elbasan and Tirana.

The *kiragi* is a hard-bitten man, disillusioned early in life by a close observation of human behavior under stress, since all travel in Ghegnia is difficult. He is a non-combatant, a man with no family ties in the regions in which he works, and not worth killing. Anyone who robs him too often will keep trade away and cut off the supply of needed imports. He will rent out anywhere from one to a half dozen horses, to go anywhere the road will take him, and the rate per day has to be argued over at length. He insists on taking grain for his

1/4 [see cat. 116, p. 109--Analyst]

175 The evidence is excellent that in Roman times the geographical division of labor, by means of which the mountaineers exchanged their raw materials for processed goods in bordering market towns, had already begun. Since the earliest archaeological material in Albanian sites is either of Bosnian, Thracian, or Roman manufacture, this system must have been in force from the beginning of the Illyrian settlement. On the Adriatic side of the mountains small Roman trading posts have been located archaeologically at Berzumno (Vuksanlekaj, north of Scutari), Cinna (Koplik), and Iminacum (Iballja, in Puka).[11] The Romans also occupied Scutari (Scodra), Lesh (Lissus), and Durazzo (Dyrachium), and connected these 3 market towns with a road.

175 491 At Durazzo this road turned eastward from the coast and went across country, following the lowest gap in the Dinaric chain north of the Gulf of Corinth, over to Lychnidus on Lake Ochrida. This highway skirted but did not traverse the Gheg mountains, crossing the Black Drin just south of the present tribal boundary of Dibra.

Another road, however, went straight across the mountains from Lissus (Lesh) south of the Drin.[12] It apparently followed the same course as the modern road which goes from Vau i Denjës in Zadrima to Puka, across the Mal i Zi and down to the bank of the Black Drin just a short distance south of its confluence with the White Drin. This road follows the south bank of the White Drin for about 18 miles, at which point the river makes a sharp bend to the north.

In Roman times the country beyond the confluence of the 2 Drins was part of the province of Upper Moesia. The road continued across this province to a place called Ulpiana in the Kossovo plain, probably near the modern town of Prishtina. From Ulpiana it went on to the Morava valley where it reached the river at Nissa, the modern city of Niš. This road was not the only Roman highway which crossed the Dinaric Alps from the Adriatic into the modern city of Niš. It was only one of 3 methods of getting from the Adriatic coast to the Danube valley over-

1 [see p. 42b -- Analyst]

[11] Nopcsa, 1910, p. [31].

175
491

land. Far to the north, a highway connected Senia (Zengg) just south of Fiume, with Siscia (Zagreb or nearby) and the route down the Save. From Spalatum (Split) too it was possible to cross the watershed on Roman pavement. The *Via Ignatia*, across central Albania, offered a longer route to Niš, for at Heraclium (Bitolj) it met at right angles a road going north and south, one branch of which passed, via Scupi (Skoplje), to Ulpiana.

175

The Drin road cannot have been the most comfortable of these various routes. Although the Romans must have kept it in repair, there is little evidence of it left today. It can never have been suitable for wheeled traffic, for it is narrow, twisting, and steep, consisting in places of steps, hewn in the rock or built of masonry. For 2 nights the travelers must have slept in Gheg mountain territory. This means that the Romans must have built fortified stations for this purpose. The first night would take them to Picaria (Çeret?), the second to Creveni, near either the present Spash or Parmchi, on the south bank of the Drin a few miles below the confluence. The third night would take them out on the plain, on the way to Ulpiana. A Roman settlement at Gabuleum, somewhere near Gonaj or Zum in present-day Has territory, may have been the spot.

The transport of goods over this road, with processed materials moving east and raw materials west, must have furnished a strong temptation to the mountaineers on either side. The Romans must have kept it guarded, for otherwise ambushes would have been easy. Garrisons mean troops, and troops mean fraternization between imported soldiery and the local population. Perhaps many of the soldiers were recruited from Gheg tribes a short distance from their posts. Even so, some must have been outsiders, and we may expect that the genetic capsule of Ghegnia became somewhat unsealed during Roman times along the highway. This would affect principally the tribe of Puka, across which much of the road passes, and also the tribes of Luma and Has, which it skirts.

After the decay of the Western Empire the

[18] Shepherd, 1921, map 39; Kiepert, 1894, map XVII, Illyricum et Thracia.

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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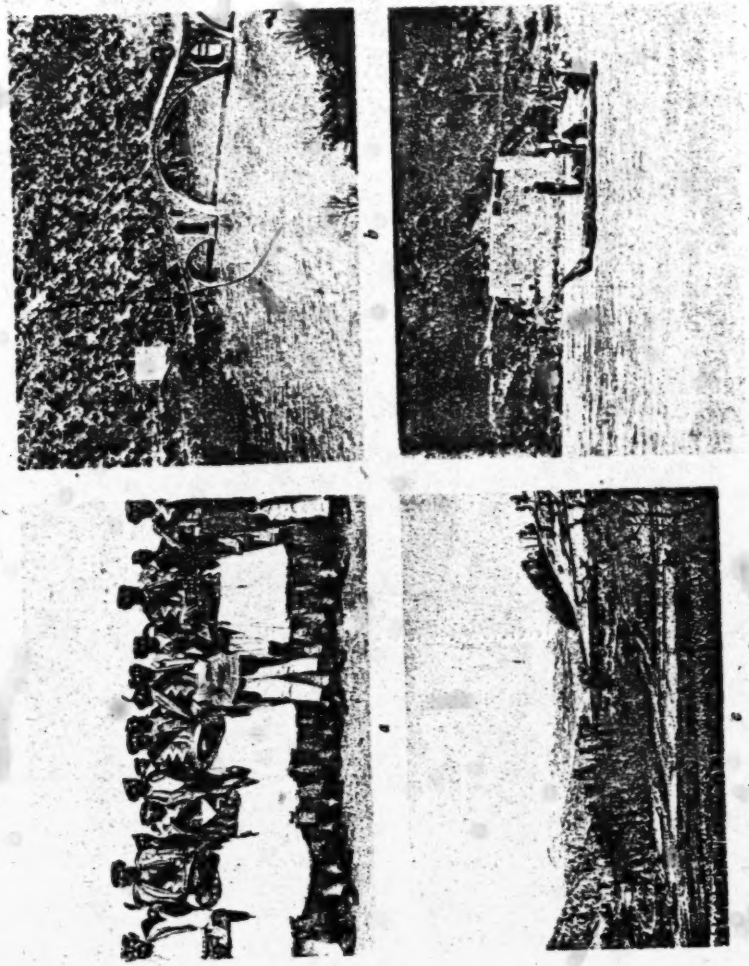

a, Tosks dancing at King Zog's birthday party, 1929. *b*, Turkish bridge over the White Drin, near Kiliza. *c*, Boats in Mal. *d*, Ferrying across the Black Drin between Lama and Mal i Zi.

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER I

SHADOWS ON SCUTARI PLAIN—THE VOICE IN THE CHAFA BISHKASIT—THE LANDS OF THE HIDDEN TRIBES—A WOMAN OF SHALA.

000 WHEN the sun rose over the blue, snow-crested mountains that are the southernmost slopes of the Dinaric Alps, it made, on the Scutari plain, a pattern of our shadows; shadows of four small wooden-saddled ponies, each led by a mountaineer with a rifle on his back, of two tall, ragged gendarmes, and of a small trudging boy in a red Turkish fez—all moving single file across an interminable plain shaggy with blossoming cactus.

[492] The wooden saddles were three-sided boxes made of peeled branches; padded beneath with sheepskins, they fitted over the ponies' backs. On top of them our blankets were packed; saddlebags hung from the four corners; enthroned in the midst we rode, comfortable as in an easy-chair, sitting sidewise, our knees crossed, smoking cigarettes and rocking gently with the ponies' pace. And all this was to me an enchantment suddenly appearing above the surface of well-arranged days, as new South Sea islands rise before a mariner in hitherto familiar waters.

Three days earlier the mountains of Albania,

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

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RROK PEROLLI

[58a]

PEAKS OF SHALA

"You cannot do such a thing to the byraktor of Shoshi!" said the Shala man.

"I have done it to the byraktor of Shoshi," said I, violently, gasping on the trail. I kept my knees stiff with sheer rage, but on the first terrace above the byraktor's house not even that could keep me going, and I sat down in a heap on the trail to rest.

The sun had not yet cleared the top of the stupendous sweep of striped rock that soared above the chasm; it could hardly do so before noon. The cañon was filled with silver light; the rain itself seemed silver; the rose and blue and white of that great cliff glowed softly through it, and the greens of the little fields below were soft as mist. I sat looking at this, and insensibly realizing why time was so little to these people, and how unimportant, really, all our little hastes are.

Then, coming leisurely across the green, like little toys on a carpet, appeared the byraktor, his gendarme, and the minute mule. In half an hour they reached us, calm and unperturbed. 492 The donkey bore a wooden saddle quite as large as himself; they placed me on this and leisurely began to climb.

"To-night," said I, firmly, "I shall be in Scutari."

Rexh translated this to the byraktor, but the byraktor said nothing.

We proceeded slowly over the mountains.* This was wilder going than I had yet seen, and

* [From Shoshi to Scutari -- Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

again the simplicity of these people was borne 492
in upon me. Coming to places that, to any European understanding, would be absolutely impassable, the byraktor's action was simple and direct. He wrapped around his wrist the steel chain that held the mule by the neck, and easily, without haste, he went on. The mule came, too; it could not do otherwise, and when it would have fallen the steel chain and the gendarme's firm grip on its tail kept it going until its feet got their grip again. I was, of course, on the mule's back, and where it went I went, too.

The byraktor and the gendarme thought 000
nothing of thus casually carrying between them a mule with me on its back, and very shortly—so adaptable is the human mind—I thought little of it myself. I recall sitting there, comfortable in that armchair of a saddle, taking my smoked glasses out of my pocket and polishing them; the sun was piercing through the clouds, and the glare on the snow above was blinding to my eyes. We were passing along a trail really too narrow for the mule; my knees grazed a cliff; a glance over my shoulder went straight down into depths where pine-tree tops looked like a lawn; at every second the mule's tiny hoofs slipped and rocks showered downward, the chain tightened around the byraktor's wrist and the muscles of his shoulders knotted as the mule's weight bore on them. It crossed my mind, as I settled the smoked glasses on my nose, that two weeks earlier my heart would have stopped at

POSTSCRIPT

Cicero sat with parchment and stylus, writing 361
home to Rome for money to pay his way back—
because, as he admitted with some chagrin, he
had wasted all his substance in that merry and
wicked city. Even for Cicero Durazzo had, in
addition to its living charms, the flavor of antiquity, for the Roman city was built on the
ruins of the older Albanian seaport.

A year earlier there had been no automobiles
in Albania, but now, to our surprise, we found
a valiant small Ford waiting at the pier, and
engaged it at once to take us to Tirana, forty
miles away. Our baggage was a problem until [609]
the chauffeur of a government truck, addressing
us in French, volunteered on his own responsibility to take it to the capital for us. "Pay?
Mais, non!" said he, hurt. "You are Americans,
and the stranger in Albania is our guest."

The road from Durazzo to Tirana crossed the 491
low mountains that, from Trieste to Valona,
make the endless monotonous eastern wall of the
Adriatic. When you come over the crest of them
you see lying before you the green low central
valley and the farther blue peaks of the lands of
the hidden tribes. And everything accustomed, 492
everything commonplace, everything that reflects
ourselves to us, is left behind. Gray water buffalo, flat-nosed, curly-horned, monstrous beasts
that seem risen from depths of primeval slime,
plod down the road drawing high, narrow wagons
of wickerwork on huge wooden wheels. Shaggy,
small donkeys carry picturesque folk down the

POSTSCRIPT

[492] winding road to Shijak, the village by the river
491 where the bridge begins and ends in willow groves.

Beyond Shijak the road goes over the last low
[133] hill, and twenty miles of plain lie before it, most sparsely dotted with the great white houses of the beys of central Albania. Against the eastern sky the towering mountains, with their eternal smoke of clouds, catch the last rays of the sun and make magic with it. For an hour the colors shift and change, plum purple, orange gold, mauve and violet and sea green, until at last only a pale gold moon and a silvery star shine in a lemon-yellow sky. And the seven white minarets of Tirana lift above the green of trees.

342 Dusk was on the plain, and lights were glimmering through little houses here and there, when we came to Tirana. No, the lights do not glimmer through windows; these houses of peasants on the great estates have no windows, as they have no chimneys. The light of the evening fire, built on the earthen floor, shines through walls woven of willow withes, and the smoke seeps through thatched roofs.

373 Before us twinkled the street lamps of Tirana. These are literally lamps, filled every day with kerosene and set on their poles, to be lighted with a match after the evening call to prayer from the minarets. Our little car passed between low, ghostly white walls, and stopped before the gendarmerie. An officer came out, lifted one of the street lamps from its pole and held it over the car door, the better to see us.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

491 especially near the sea, where the soil is alluvial and stoneless, had to be thirty-two spans wide (7 yards or 6·48 metres) in order to give a pack-horse space to dodge the mud-holes in winter, when the road became a morass. Excellent examples of this type of road traverse the half-drained marshes of Ngurëzë at the mouth of the river Mat.

Mountain roads eight spans wide led to villages 'where carts had never gone'. Certain other roads led to the rare villages 'where carts had gone'. These crossed firm inland plains such as the floor of the valley of Shkrel or the plain of Nangë in Lumë; in Shkrel they had to be twelve spans wide (8 feet or 2·43 metres), and in Lumë wide enough to take a cart. A picturesque detail from [[28] Mirditë is that a 'flag-road', that is to say, a road along which a flag was carried in tribal, wedding or other processions, had to be as wide as the flagstaff was long.

491 Roads always followed boundaries; as a general rule, when one
487 passed two wards or two neighbours, exactly half of it had to be in
423 the territory of each. In other words, their boundary had to run
312 down its exact middle. Few modifications of this law are to be noted. When fields were on a slope, the road between them was often made on the upper one. The elders laying it out had reasoned that it would gradually slip down the hill, increasing the area of the upper field and diminishing that of the lower one. When there was an irrigation channel by the road, rules varied. In Theth one neighbour left three spans of land for the channel, and the other the same amount for the adjacent footpath. Their agreement might be verbal, noted only by witnesses, or it might be written down by the priest as tribal clerk and placed in the church archives. Each neighbour had full access to path and channel alike. In Lumë, on the other hand, a path was left on both sides of an irrigation channel. These were not only for men to walk on but also for maintaining the sides of the channel, a necessary safeguard even on level ground. Each neighbour, having his own path, was less liable to quarrel with the other.

492 In Perlat a highway was twenty-four spans wide (16 feet or
499 4·86 metres), to enable a horse laden with firewood to pass another without the loads touching. Elsewhere there was no provision for two-way traffic. Road-making in our sense did not exist, and roads were merely trodden out by man or beast in the scanty space available between fields or across mountain slopes. On a typical

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

road two loaded donkeys might meet and pass, but two loaded 492
horses could not. When these met, one or the other had to step 499
aside from the road, turning back, if need be to find a suitable place in which to do so. This was almost invariably of nature's making; there were no artificial passing places as on narrow motor roads in England.

Load generally determined priority of passage. To use Albanian 494
phraseology, when a riding-saddle met a riding-saddle on a horse- 576
track the one with no saddle-bags or other load besides the rider had to turn back. The riding-saddle had to make way for the loaded pack-saddle, but had priority over an empty one. When two pack-saddles met, the one loaded and the other empty, the latter had to make way for the former. When they were both loaded or both empty, the one which was nearer a possible place at which to step off the road had to turn back. The same rules applied to carts. In the rare cases where there was plenty of room for two loaded horses or carts, there was no 'Keep right' or 'Keep left'; they could pass on whichever side they wished.

The rules about priority were apt to be honoured in the breach 494
rather than the observance. A man who was turned back on his road 628
felt, even if priority was not his, as much disgraced as if his gun had been taken from him. His honour was lost, and could not be redeemed unless he killed his rival. There have been many deaths for the sake of precedence. The men of Godolesh, who were satisfied when the offender was fined by the elders, were condemned by their neighbours as soft and citified. But even in Godolesh there was no more fertile cause of murder than disputes about who should have the right of way. The trouble arose because priority rules were often confused, especially on purpose by strong wilful men, with the general law of road ownership. As enunciated by Father [423]
Gjeçov, this law said that a village street or a public highway was nobody's individual perquisite, but belonged to one man as much as to another. Hence, the living and the dead—traveller and livestock, bride and corpse—had an absolute right to use either, and no man, even if the road passed close to the door of his house, could deny this right.

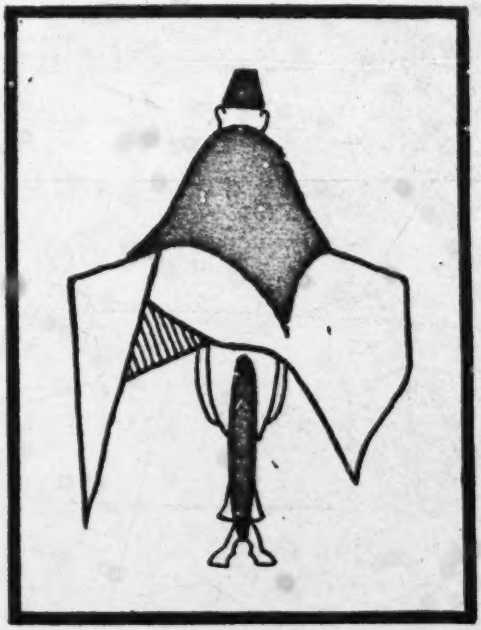
A road was free to all. It was for breaking this general law that [579]
highway robbery was punished so much more severely than other [685]
forms of theft, and that a traveller who killed a dangerous dog on a highway did not have to compensate its owner.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

day and the conditions for travel could not have been bettered. I felt perfectly happy and contented. Poor innocent! I little realised what was before me.

492 The horses[1] had neither bridles nor bits, nor even head-ropes, a headstall decorated with blue beads being the only



A PACK PONY

harness. But as it soon became apparent that they knew every inch of the way, the uncomfortable feeling engendered by the absence of head-rope or guiding rein wore off, and we resigned ourselves to being carried along like so many bundles of merchandise. The lead horse went ahead unhesitatingly;

1 [For author's experiences riding from Podgradetz to Elbasan, see cat. 116, pp. 208-225 - Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E&1

not a word was said or a touch given to guide him during 492
the whole difficult journey from Podgradetz to Elbasan.
Indeed, the intelligence of these pack animals was a revelation
to me. I could actually see my beast think. If there were 000
a choice of ways over a bad bit of ground he would hesitate
momentarily and then take the one he considered the best.
If he had to pass a post or a tree, after a similar slowing-up
he would move outwards a few inches to allow the pack to
clear the obstacle, then, with a little shake of the head which
said as plainly as words could, "That's all right!" he would
resume his normal way. His intelligence, however, did not,
I must admit, extend to the vertical, and he would pass
under tree branches without any regard to the rider on his
back. The edge of a precipice, when we got up into the
mountains, was an irresistible temptation to him, perhaps
because the edge offered a bit of smooth and unbroken
ground, and I suffered many agonising moments on account
of this idiosyncrasy. It is alarming, when you are unused
to it, to find yourself looking down into space from the back
of an animal over which you have no manner of control. I
vividly remember, as we were at a particularly awkward
corner where the path sloped downwards and outwards,
the pack animal in front of me slipping and only with
difficulty recovering himself. I held my breath as my beast
passed the danger point. And I recall some hair-raising
seconds when my horse was taken with a fit of coughing on
the extreme edge of what appeared to be a bottomless abyss.
But, to be quite fair to the creature, he always went slowly

491 the border to Prizren. This was an old Roman road, and has probably not changed much in a thousand years. At Kukës another road meets it, running south along the Black Drin to Peshkopia and outside Gheg country to Lake Ochrida and Korça. Parts of this road had been widened for vehicular traffic in 1929, but the wide pieces had not been connected. It is said that both these roads have been opened for motor traffic since the Italian occupation.

Another trail goes from Tirana to Zall, thence to Gur i Bardh in Mati, through Klos, across the divide to Bulçiz in Dibra, and thence to Peshkopia. This is the principal route between the new capital and the important region to the northeast. Still another passes from Lesh to Bureli in Mati (fig. 9, *c*) following the banks of the Mati River. Bureli, now a prefect station, has grown important only with the Zog regime. From Bureli one can proceed to the northern Catholic country of Lura and Kthella, and thence down into Dibra, but the road is little traveled. North of the Drin a trail passes from Scutari to Shoshi over the Gur i Kutch, but in winter this is impassable. On the other side there is a road from Kukës across the Drin through the *bairaks* of Bituç, Gashi, and Krasniqi, past Merturi, into Shoshi (fig. 8, *d*). In winter this can be passed by men but not animals. Hence in wintertime no animal traffic can enter either Shoshi, or Shala which lies to its north. Before the boundary was drawn between Albania and Yugoslavia the road from Tropoya, in Gashi (Malsia e Jakovës), to Jakova was much traveled; but now this is forbidden and the people of this tribe must go to market in Kukës.

492 As far as any considerable traffic is con-
482 cerned, horseback and human back are the only methods of land transport available in Ghegnia. In a few of the flatter places, however, other means are used locally for short
493 distances. In the country around Scutari just below the mountains, the farmers use carts, particularly in Zadrima. In Luma, on the flat land at the confluence of the Drins, and in Has on the other side, carts are likewise used, as well as ox-drawn summer sleds.

491 Crossing streams is not a simple matter in Ghegnia. Most of the crossings are fjords, and very cold. I have seen men strip naked to swim across icy rivers in search of a place for

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ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

712 Albania is also a seat of historic interest
having been the battle ground for many wars with the Greeks and the Turks. The national hero of Albania—Scanderbeg the Great—lived in Kruja, where, as a silent testimonial to this great hero's strength, are the remains of the old fortress. It looms directly above the town on a cliff, and the old Tower and lower massive walls still stand. If these old stones could speak, what a story they could tell of the Albanian struggle and strife against the invader! Throughout the country many strategic points are heavily fortified and many watch towers raise their white heads on mountain tops.

574 The Albanians are by far the most hospitable people in Southeastern Europe. Their doors are never closed and a friend cannot ask too much. They are charmingly naive in their manners and delightfully quaint in their cus-
461 toms. There is nothing of the hurried, hysterical existence in Albania; the natives are leisurely and get the full benefit out of their
493 sunny, mellow days. The city man is aware of a pleasant surprise at the lack of the constant blare of the motor horn; the peaceful serenity of the golden days is only broken by the occasional honk of the droschka and the
cries of the street vendors.

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9); the swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6).
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8); plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
000 forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]

491 the border to Prizren. This was an old Roman road, and has probably not changed much in a thousand years. At Kukës another road meets it, running south along the Black Drin to Peshkopia and outside Gheg country to Lake Ochrida and Korça. Parts of this road had been widened for vehicular traffic in 1929, but the wide pieces had not been connected. It is said that both these roads have been opened for motor traffic since the Italian occupation.

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1 [see cat. 116, p 109
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ROADS

its well-constructed and durable roads which cross at all parts of the country. For those who have not the leisure to travel slowly in their own automobiles or one of those which may be easily hired with careful and skilled chauffeurs, and yet who wish to travel independent of the time-tables of the official service, there are motor-coaches available which make excellent connections with each other in any town. Albania may be reached by good roads from Greece and Yugoslavia; by sea on Italian, Greek or Yugoslavian lines and by air from any metropolis in a few short hours.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

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horses could not. When these met, one or the other had to step 499
aside from the road, turning back, if need be to find a suitable place in which to do so. This was almost invariably of nature's making; there were no artificial passing places as on narrow motor roads in England.

Load generally determined priority of passage. To use Albanian 494
phraseology, when a riding-saddle met a riding-saddle on a horse- 576
track the one with no saddle-bags or other load besides the rider had to turn back. The riding-saddle had to make way for the loaded pack-saddle, but had priority over an empty one. When two pack-saddles met, the one loaded and the other empty, the latter had to make way for the former. When they were both loaded or both empty, the one which was nearer a possible place at which to step off the road had to turn back. The same rules applied to carts. In the rare cases where there was plenty of room for two loaded horses on carts, there was no 'Keep right' or 'Keep left'; they could pass on whichever side they wished.

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Gjeçov, this law said that a village street or a public highway was nobody's individual perquisite, but belonged to one man as much as to another. Hence, the living and the dead—traveller and livestock, bride and corpse—had an absolute right to use either, and no man, even if the road passed close to the door of his house, could deny this right.

A road was free to all. It was for breaking this general law that [579]
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forms of theft, and that a traveller who killed a dangerous dog on a highway did not have to compensate its owner.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

685 A man could not, without the elders' consent, close an old road
491 that, having been used by his fellow-travellers, bridal parties and
494 funeral processions, was public property. If he did, it was reopened
423 by the elders, sometimes by force. He was often fined too. If he had ploughed it up, so that its line was uncertain, they sought out an old trustworthy man and made him show them under oath and in the presence of witnesses where it had been. Then the offender was ordered to open it again, removing any fence he had erected and, by way of penalty, to give a meal and small fee to the old man and the witnesses. If he shut it up once more he was liable to be shot.

491 As always, there were exceptions to the general rule. Owing to
494 the marshy nature of the land most of the fields near the mouth of
423 the river Mat were enclosed by hedges of living willow and
[487] communicated with each other by stiles, not gates. If the public, having formed a shorter route, no longer used a certain field-path, the owner of the field could close the path and the stiles at either end without any compulsion to reopen them; the public had the shorter road and one was enough. If a man bought a field which had a road round it and a right-of-way through it, he had the right to close the latter and to make the public go by the road; only if a long detour was involved could he be forced to leave the right-of-way open. On the other hand, if his new-bought field was bordered not by a road but by another field, he could not block the right-of-way unless he made a new road entirely within his own boundaries. This was substantially the law which governed changes of road all over north Albania. In Lumë a distinction was drawn between permanent roads which had to remain open all the year round and winter roads which could be closed in summer. The first were known as 'roads with a boundary'; the most important led to the high pastures on Mount Gjalicë. Winter roads generally went through fields and were closed to men and animals from seed-time to harvest; as soon as the crop was in, the roads were opened to traffic. If somebody had great need to use one during the season, he might take what he could carry and go along the very edge of the sown land, taking pains not to damage the growing crop. He could not make a habit of this or take his horse and must not forget to ask leave from the owner of the land. Again, a few roads to the Alpine pastures passed through wheat fields on their way. As a necessary link with the high pastures they could not be completely closed even when the fields were under crop. An ingenious

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

compromise reconciled the public's need to use the road and the 494
individual's wish to protect his crop without incurring the 491
intolerable expense of making a fence or wall. One neighbour 423
put two hurdles across his half of the road, one where it entered and the other where it left his land; both were low enough for men to jump over and high enough to keep back animals. Each had a hole at the bottom that was too small for animals to crawl through but big enough to let logs through when they were [313]
dragged down from the mountain for fuel; logs for fuel were such a necessity of life that they could not be denied a road. The other neighbour threw across his half of the road the Christ's Thorn which grows all over the plains of Albania, thus making a formidable barrier for men and beasts. Shutting up this half of the road did not matter; animals had no right in any case to go near a sown field, and the other man's hurdle was sufficient for human traffic. After harvest the thorns were removed, leaving that half of the road clear. The hurdle remained in place, as the clear half of the road was wide enough for the traffic.

In 1935 a man from Nangë in Lumë blocked the road along an irrigation channel for the summer, half of it with a low wall and half with thorns, so that men, but not animals, could still travel on it. He had wished to sow maize in his adjoining field and been too poor and short-handed to construct a fence to keep out animals. Since irrigation was so important, there was a special law that [312]
'a road beside an irrigation channel can't be shut up'. Conse- [672]
quently, his act was highly illegal. But his poverty was thought to excuse it, and he had mitigated his offence by making a new road for animals at the top of his field, where there was no maize. In so doing he had confused the right to block a road for the summer only and the need, when closing one permanently, to provide a substitute. For the law forbidding a man to block an old road permanently was not rigid. If he had good reason for the change, secured the consent of the elders (a most important point), and provided a satisfactory substitute, he could even move a very old road. It was only if he failed to satisfy these conditions that he had to leave it where it was. The poor man just mentioned transgressed by not consulting the elders; their unusual clemency lay in refraining, out of consideration for his poverty, from reopening the road.

When a man applied for leave to close an old village road, he 491
generally pleaded damage by passers-by or a need for more land to 423

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

485 When I came down in the morning to get a cup of coffee before leaving for Tirana, I found the waiter asleep in the "coffee-room" with the remains of last night's supper on the uncleared tables and every window tightly shut. The noise I made in rushing to open something and save myself from immediate asphyxiation woke him up, and he arose from his bed—to strain a simile to its utmost limits—like Aphrodite from the waves, completed a scanty toilet with the aid of a comb, and attended to my modest requirements in the way of breakfast. At seven the car came and I departed, nothing loth.

494 [505] The car was a nine-seater, and the other passengers, including several Roman-Catholic priests, were going by it to San Giovanni di Medua, whence a steamer connection is maintained with Bari, the Italian seaport on the opposite 361 side of the Adriatic. *Rome—Bari—San Giovanni di Medua* is the direct route to Albania, and I was accordingly surprised to find the place so small and insignificant. It contained little more, as far as I could see, than a tiny wharf, a custom-house, a police post, and a few single-storied shacks 504 —mostly coffee-houses—along the waterfront. The bay being very shallow, the steamer was anchored some distance out, and passengers had to be taken aboard by shore boats. But San Giovanni di Medua is no worse in this respect than the other ports of Albania, Durazzo, Valona, and Santi Quaranta, which all suffer, as I found later, from the same drawback. In none of these places is the water deep enough to allow a vessel to lie at the quay.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

609 consulate staff during my stay, I offered the maid—who had, incidentally, washed all my linen for me—a sum equivalent, I think, to about 2s. When at last, after some difficulty, I succeeded in making her accept it she seized and kissed my hand—to my intense embarrassment. And Vojn, who had carried my things for miles over the mountains and had given me ungrudging attention, behaved in exactly the same way and at first refused my modest offering. His manner did not, however, convey that he was too proud to accept the tip or that I had made a *faux pas* in offering it, but merely that what he had done he had done in goodwill and not with any idea of reward. It was refreshing, in these money-grubbing days, to meet with such an unexpected trait.

349 Before I left Argyrocastron I explored the old fortress. It proved to be a vast place full of arches, tunnels, and broken masses of masonry overrun with scarlet poppies. A few sleepy-looking, barrack-like buildings housed a few sleepy soldiers. The battlements gave a fine view of the town, the valley, and the mountains.

494 On making enquiries about getting to Koritza I found that a post lorry was leaving at midday. I therefore booked a front seat for which the price was 150 liras (Italian money being current in this part of Albania). I thought at the time that this was a rather heavy charge as Koritza was, as I then fondly imagined, only about three hours journey away. We should be there, I thought, in the classic English phrase, " in time for tea ". We were not. Nor were we there in time for tea on the day following. So I was slightly out in

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Lorries

494 my calculations, and the fare, for a journey of nearly two days' duration, was after all by no means unreasonable.

The Albanian post lorries are of the familiar military type, and I came across no ambulance waggons like those in which I had suffered such discomfort in Montenegro. There is a good deal of traffic on these roads, not only by post lorries but by other lorries, which also belong to the State. A more or less regular service plies between Santi Quaranta and Koritza, the most important town in Northern Albania, with freight, passengers, and live-stock. I often noticed passengers sitting amongst sheep, lambs, and goats with every appearance of contentment. They did not seem at all incommoded. But in the post lorries, fortunately for me, livestock were not carried.

361 Tepeleni, our first stopping place, was destroyed by an earthquake some years ago and it has never yet been properly rebuilt. At the present time it consists of an irregular 265 street of shanties made of lath and tarred paper. As soon as we arrived the lorry-conductor took me to a restaurant—a [262] lop-sided wooden shack with an earthen floor—where two yokels sat eating maize-bread and yaghourt, and a third man, more opulent, was devouring fried fish with his fingers. [524] Coffee was called for and, despite my protests, paid for by the conductor—little courtesies such as this being the commonplaces of travel in benighted and uncivilised Albania.

505 Beyond Tepeleni a river barred our way. There was a bridge, but it was in ruins like the rest of the village, and the crossing had to be made by a ferry. The roadway on

361 Peshkopia has grown rapidly because the international boundary commission of 1913 cut off the Dibra mountaineers from their natural market town of Big Dibra. Hence many of the Big Dibra men moved to Peshkopia, which is just inside Albania. In the same way Prizren was cut off from the Luma people, who built up Kukës; Jakova from the Malsia e Jakovës men, who also go to Kukës. On the western side no such disturbance has taken place. Scutari, Lesh, and Kruja now, as for centuries past, serve as market towns for the mountain people.

124 463 *Services*: Only 12 men are listed under "services." Two of these are innkeepers. One is a Puka man, host at Rrap, his native place. The other is an outsider, a Kruja man, whose inn is at Gur i Bardh in Mati. Kruja men specialize in innkeeping, and in the heyday of Ottoman power might be found all over the Turkish Empire, including Asia Minor. These *hanjis* marry in Kruja, and do not mix with the populations in the regions in which they do their business.

Three men were restaurant-keepers: one Koplik man, whose shop was presumably in Scutari, a Luma man, and a Malsia e Jakovës man, with shops in Kukës. The barber was a Malsia e Jakovës man, working in Kukës. Of the 2 waiters, one was a local man serving the gendarmes in their post at Puka, the other a Big Dibra man working in the hotel in Peshkopia, a new institution. Of the 3 listed as servants, all were local. One served the prefect and another the teacher in the new government center in Bureli. The third worked for a priest in Mirdita.

Of the 12 "services" listings, 9 can be accounted for as a result of recent political events.

[494] *Transport*: Transportation in Ghegnia in 1929 meant but one thing—the services of *kiragis*, those incredibly tough horse-drivers who would take you and your goods anywhere, and try to raise the price on the road, once you were at their mercy. Three out of 4 came from Dibra, and one from Malsia e Jakovës. As far as I know, all *kiragis*, like all *hanjis*, are Moslems.

[441] *Trade*: All merchants in the mountain country are shopkeepers; there are no large or complex commercial institutions. Of the 31 shop-

491 animals to cross, and have waded up to my chin at night, with snow on either bank. When the streams are swollen, animals and men are not infrequently drowned. There is or was an old Turkish bridge across the White Drin, from Kukës to the northern bank (fig. 9, *b*). Several wooden bridges crossed the Black Drin in Dibra. On the road from Krasniqi to Shoshi, I have crossed a bridge which consisted of 2 poles, one to walk on, the other a little higher and to one side, to use as a rail.

501 In a few places, ferry boats are available, which operate by the principle of changing the mooring position of the cable after each crossing, so that the power of the stream will push the boat diagonally across to the other bank. There was one such at Kukës across the Black Drin, another at Bureli over the Mati. Other observers have witnessed Ghegs crossing these streams on inflated skins, but I have never seen it.

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1 [see cat. 116, p. 109 - Analyst]

494 463 horses at the customer's expense, and will refuse to go on if the grain is exhausted. All kinds of situations arise to produce arguments between *kiragi* and customer, such as the unexpectedly high price of grain in a certain place, inn charges, and the condition of the horses.

Besides carrying passengers and their goods, the *kiragi* will do errands; he will carry goods to market without their owners, sell them, and take his commission; then he will bring back a specified list of purchased objects. He must be reasonably honest or he will lose the traffic. At the same time the mountaineers who hire him are spared the risk of crossing hostile territory.

[73] *Kiragis* are either in business for themselves or in partnership, or working on shares with an investing capitalist. Since Islam prohibits interest, the share system is the one employed. It is not big business, for the maximum number of persons involved will not exceed a half dozen, including the boys whom the *kiragi* takes with him to help with the horses. It is, however, one of the few ways in which the otherwise closed country of the Gheg mountaineers is systematically and constantly penetrated. In 1929 there must have been at least a hundred such professionals on the roads every day.

485 In Moslem country the principal roads are equipped, at appropriate distances, with inns. As with tourist cabins in the United States, it is best to start at daybreak or earlier, and get in well before sunset, for the inns are often full well before night. The usual inn consists of 3 rooms; a large stable, which occupies about three-fourths of the whole; a chamber with a low ceiling built into one corner of the building, some 14 feet wide by 30 or 40 feet long, with a fireplace at the far end; and a cubicle which serves as the *hanji's* (innkeeper's) private quarters, office, and store.

When you enter the inn, the *hanji* sees that you unload your animals, and assigns them space in the stable. He has straw there, and sometimes grain if you have not brought your own. Then he gives each guest a section of the floor, which is divided into 3 strips, the 2 on the sides being about 6 feet wide, and the center one, 2 feet. Guests sleep side by side on the lateral strips, with the center reserved as a passageway. The guests feed themselves.

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ALBANIA
Scale of Miles
0 5 10 20 30 40 50
Roads (in red)
Railways
Albanian Frontier pre-1941
Frontier assigned to Albania by the Axis Powers
MONTENEGRO
YUGOSLAVIA
KOSSOVO
MACEDONIA
(YUGOSLAVIA)
ADRIATIC SEA
Strait of Otranto
MOSLEMS
ORTHODOX
SCUTARI
SCUTARI
SHENGJIN
DURAZZO
TIRANA
KRUYA
DIBRA
PEZRENI
PETCH
JAKOVA
SKOPLYE
BITOLYE
KORCHA
VALONA
SARANDA
CORFU
Corfu
Prizrend
Ipek
Kukes
Peshkopi
Elbasan
Librashd
Okhrida
Prespa
Florina
Kozani
Gostivar
Tetovo
Kumanovo
Veles
Priep
Tepelene
Leskovo
Gjirokastro
Argyrocastro
Himara
Kavaya
Fier
Kuchova
Tomori
Bilisht
Erseka
Kiseno
Mt. Velyes
Mt. Tomori
Mt. Dhiarmi
Mt. Lunjes
Mt. Shengjergj
Mt. Dhrenovit
Mt. Kaldhi
Mt. Ceraunian
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Vitsi
Mt. Grammos
Mt. Nemercka
Mt. Ostrovo
Mt. Kajmakcalan
Mt. Perim
Mt. Pelion
Mt. Olympus
Mt. Ossa
Mt. Pelion
Mt. Kissavos
Mt. Parnassus
Mt. Oeta
Mt. Pindus
Mt. Tymphrestos

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

A Railway Line

As no-one but myself wanted to go on to Tirana I was put with the mails into an ordinary four-seater Ford car and continued the journey alone save for the driver. The country was well wooded with oak, ash, poplar, willow and alder. The fields were enclosed with hedges of bramble and, but for the big wild fig-trees, I might almost have been in England. I had been told that I should find in Albania no bank, no water-closet, and no railway, but as regards the railway I found this statement incorrect, for a narrow gauge track ran at the side of the road most of the way from Scutari to Tirana. It did not, however, appear to have been used for a considerable time as it was in bad repair and much broken. At one place, half-a-dozen little locomotives, dismantled and red with rust, stood idle on a siding, while in a ditch a short distance away lay a seventh—a pathetic corpse in a winding-sheet of bramble and convolvulus. Presumably the line was wrecked by the Austrians when they were in retreat at the end of the war. I should not imagine that it would be a very costly matter to put it into working order again.

The impression I received in the course of this drive was that the surrounding country was exceedingly fertile, and that much which is at present uncultivated could be made productive if modern agricultural methods were adopted. In all countries the farmer and tiller of the soil—conservative to the backbone—is slow to admit that his way of doing things can be bettered, and to this general rule the Albanian agriculturist is no exception. He knows nothing, and wants

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

○○○ night owing to the prodigious snoring of my room-mate. I have never heard such an organ-pipe of a snore, or such an alarming accompaniment of grunts, wheezes, and explosive noises of every imaginable kind. To make matters worse—if anything could have been worse—there was a stork's nest on the corner of the roof immediately above us, and the storks replied to the sounds beneath by clashing their beaks like a watchman's rattle.

A TOSC

The snorer, I afterwards discovered, was an Italian visiting Valona in connection with war-graves—or that at least was the ostensible reason of his presence. Personally I think he was a political agent.

Valona, which is a town of considerable size, has an Italian look, and owes, indeed, much both to Italian and to Austrian influence. The Austrians occupied it for some time during the war. It possesses a light railway which is still in partial use, though to what extent and for what distance from the town I was not able to ascertain.

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[496]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

496 has it no railways, but the country is so Not only mountainous and the population so small and so scattered that without a considerable subsidy from the State a railway could not be made to pay and is therefore a remote possibility. For this reason it seems likely that Albania will miss the blessings—or escape the degradation (whichever way you prefer to put it)—of industrialism, and remain an agricultural nation.

361 The town has a few smart-looking European shops, as well as one large semi-wholesale store, but for the rest it resembles other Albanian and Turkish towns with streets of cobblers, streets of blacksmiths, streets devoted to saddle-making, harness-making, rope-making, and so forth—all the various trades being segregated, and carried on in the conditions of confusion, dirt, and squalor which are a legacy 524 from the middle ages. In addition there are many cafés, full from early morning to late at night with men who appear to have nothing better to do than sit there playing cards and 458 backgammon. I commented on this fact and was told that it was a sign of bad times and the very serious economic situation of the moment. For this—as for the similar situation in Montenegro—the practical closure of the United States to immigrants is to a large extent responsible. [167] In the past the States have supported a floating population of 40,000 Albanians to whom their own country offered no prospect of remunerative employment; to-day most of these men are at home with nothing to do.

000 I was often asked about Australia, and whether some scheme might not be arranged by which entry would be

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

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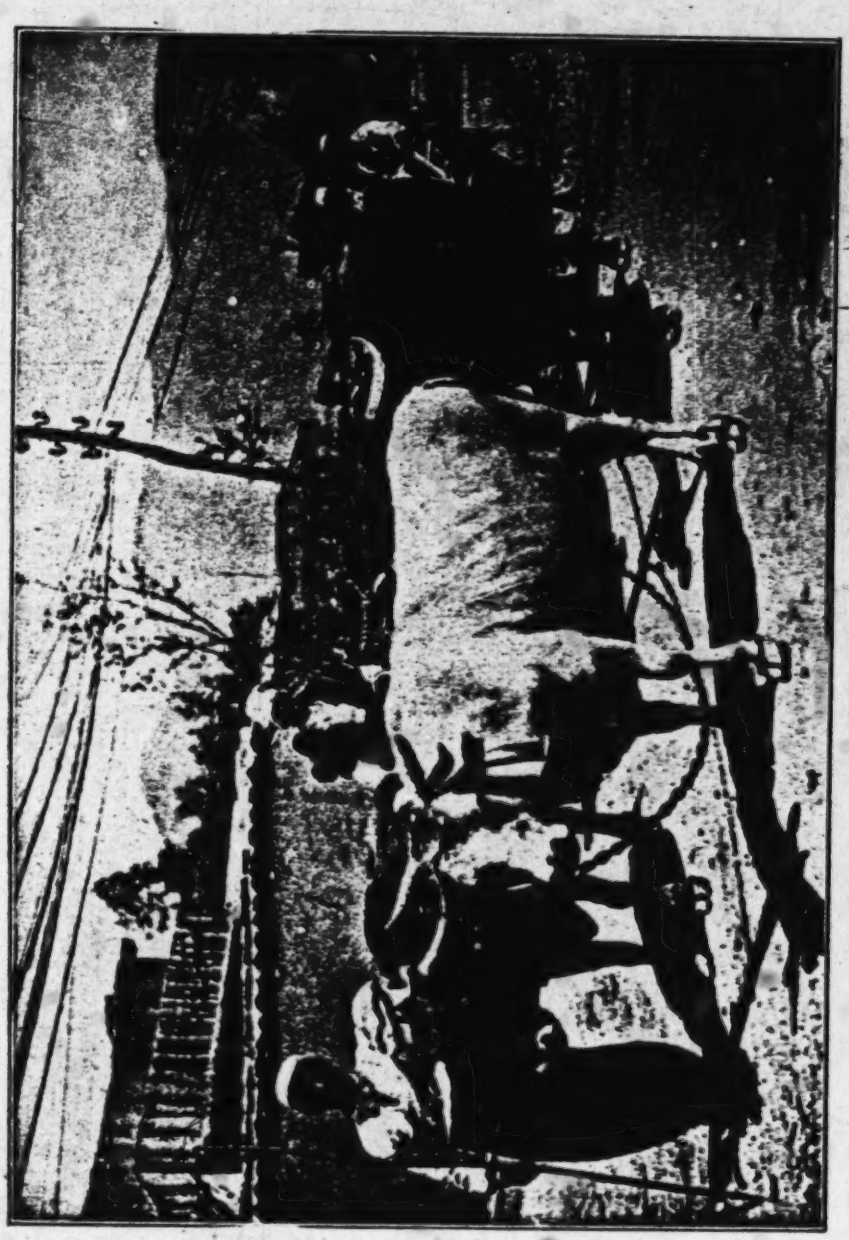

THE ROLLER THAT IS SMOOTHING THE NEW BOULEVARD IN TIRANA

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

491 especially near the sea, where the soil is alluvial and stoneless, had to be thirty-two spans wide (7 yards or 6·48 metres) in order to give a pack-horse space to dodge the mud-holes in winter, when the road became a morass. Excellent examples of this type of road traverse the half-drained marshes of Ngurëzë at the mouth of the river Mat.

Mountain roads eight spans wide led to villages 'where carts had never gone'. Certain other roads led to the rare villages 'where carts had gone'. These crossed firm inland plains such as the floor of the valley of Shkrel or the plain of Nangë in Lumë; in Shkrel they had to be twelve spans wide (8 feet or 2·43 metres), and in Lumë wide enough to take a cart. A picturesque detail from [188] Mirditë is that a 'flag-road', that is to say, a road along which a flag was carried in tribal, wedding or other processions, had to be as wide as the flagstaff was long.

491 Roads always followed boundaries; as a general rule, when one 487 passed two wards or two neighbours, exactly half of it had to be in 423 the territory of each. In other words, their boundary had to run 312 down its exact middle. Few modifications of this law are to be noted. When fields were on a slope, the road between them was often made on the upper one. The elders laying it out had reasoned that it would gradually slip down the hill, increasing the area of the upper field and diminishing that of the lower one. When there was an irrigation channel by the road, rules varied. In Theth one neighbour left three spans of land for the channel, and the other the same amount for the adjacent footpath. Their agreement might be verbal, noted only by witnesses, or it might be written down by the priest as tribal clerk and placed in the church archives. Each neighbour had full access to path and channel alike. In Lumë, on the other hand, a path was left on both sides of an irrigation channel. These were not only for men to walk on but also for maintaining the sides of the channel, a necessary safeguard even on level ground. Each neighbour, having his own path, was less liable to quarrel with the other.

492 In Perlat a highway was twenty-four spans wide (16 feet or 499 4·86 metres), to enable a horse laden with firewood to pass another without the loads touching. Elsewhere there was no provision for two-way traffic. Road-making in our sense did not exist, and roads were merely trodden out by man or beast in the scanty space available between fields or across mountain slopes. On a typical

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

road two loaded donkeys might meet and pass, but two loaded 492
horses could not. When these met, one or the other had to step 499
aside from the road, turning back, if need be to find a suitable place in which to do so. This was almost invariably of nature's making; there were no artificial passing places as on narrow motor roads in England.

Load generally determined priority of passage. To use Albanian 494
phraseology, when a riding-saddle met a riding-saddle on a horse- 576
track the one with no saddle-bags or other load besides the rider had to turn back. The riding-saddle had to make way for the loaded pack-saddle, but had priority over an empty one. When two pack-saddles met, the one loaded and the other empty, the latter had to make way for the former. When they were both loaded or both empty, the one which was nearer a possible place at which to step off the road had to turn back. The same rules applied to carts. In the rare cases where there was plenty of room for two loaded horses or carts, there was no 'Keep right' or 'Keep left'; they could pass on whichever side they wished.

The rules about priority were apt to be honoured in the breach 494
rather than the observance. A man who was turned back on his road 628
felt, even if priority was not his, as much disgraced as if his gun had been taken from him. His honour was lost, and could not be redeemed unless he killed his rival. There have been many deaths for the sake of precedence. The men of Godolesh, who were satisfied when the offender was fined by the elders, were condemned by their neighbours as soft and citified. But even in Godolesh there was no more fertile cause of murder than disputes about who should have the right of way. The trouble arose because priority rules were often confused, especially on purpose by strong wilful men, with the general law of road ownership. As enunciated by Father [423]
Gjeçov, this law said that a village street or a public highway was nobody's individual perquisite, but belonged to one man as much as to another. Hence, the living and the dead—traveller and livestock, bride and corpse—had an absolute right to use either, and no man, even if the road passed close to the door of his house, could deny this right.

A road was free to all. It was for breaking this general law that [579]
highway robbery was punished so much more severely than other [685]
forms of theft, and that a traveller who killed a dangerous dog on a highway did not have to compensate its owner.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

608 628 banks of the Drin to shoot another lad with whose family he was in blood, and who was due to cross the river on the usual inflated sheep-skins. Drin ran swiftly, the sheep-skin float broke loose. Soon the foe was struggling for life in the torrent. The blood-seeker threw aside his rifle, dashed into the torrent and saved his foe at the risk of his own life. They then and there swore brotherhood and the feud ceased. This episode goes to prove that blood-taking is not vengeance. The drowning of the foe would have in no way settled the feud, for expiatory blood would not have been taken. [501]

608 The old bairaktar of Nikaj heard that I was sister to the King of England and believed a blood alliance with me would be for the good of the tribe. The priest at whose house I was, however, laughed at him uproariously and he was hurt; so I never took part in the ritual.

In Albanian this brotherhood is called "Vllam" or "Vlaa me Tenzone" (brother in God). It is also very commonly called "probotin" or "probo," an obvious corruption of the Serb "pobratim." "Birazel" (? Turkish) was, I was told, used also by the Moslems.

The custom extends all over Albania, but of the South I have no details.

Serbs and Montenegrins

000 In Montenegro I was often assured that the custom was extinct, and I never came across a case. But it possibly still lingered in out-of-the-way places. People who wished to appear "civilized" in Montenegro were very apt to deny the existence of customs they thought would be despised. But it was admitted that "pobratimstvo" had but recently died out. Medakovitch in 1860 mentions it as prevalent.

The Orthodox Church, both in Serbia and Montenegro, adopted this pagan custom and tried to "Christianize" it.

Two forms of pobratimstvo were known:—

1. "Probratimstvo prichestno" (communion pobratimstvo). "Prichest" is the word for the Holy Communion. It was not, however, a case of the two parties taking the Communion together, but a special ceremony. In the Orthodox Church, when the people receive the Communion, the Host is put into the consecrated wine. The pope takes a portion of the soaked bread in a special spoon and gives it to the communicant. The ritual for pobratimstvo, so far as I could learn, was as follows: The two parties went together to church. The pope read a prayer. The two then took a large goblet full of wine, and both, setting their lips to it, sipped at once. They then broke bread and each ate a piece. They sipped and ate together thus three times and then kissed the cross, the Gospels, and the ikon, and lastly each other. It is a curious

[P157-190 blank]

491 animals to cross, and have waded up to my chin at night, with snow on either bank. When the streams are swollen, animals and men are not infrequently drowned. There is or was an old Turkish bridge across the White Drin, from Kukës to the northern bank (fig. 9, *b*). Several wooden bridges crossed the Black Drin in Dibra. On the road from Krasniqi to Shoshi, I have crossed a bridge which consisted of 2 poles, one to walk on, the other a little higher and to one side, to use as a rail.

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1/4 [See cat. 116, p. 109 -- Analyst]

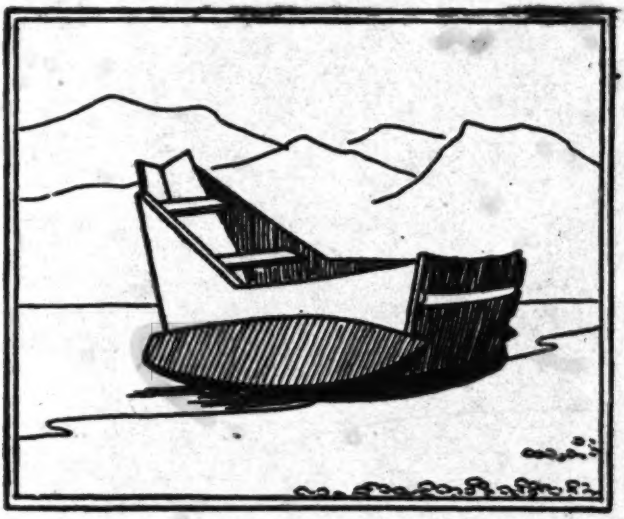
312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9). 1/n the swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6) 1/n
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8). 1/n plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). 1/n The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
000 forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
1/n [see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

At Podgradetz

361 [226] Podgradetz is a pretty little town situated at the water's edge. Fishing is its main industry, the boats used being of a curious and cumbersome build unlike any craft I have seen elsewhere. It is also the distributing centre for local produce, and on market days is a lively little place, packed to the limit with peasants, donkeys, horses, mules, sheep,

[501]



A PODGRADETZ FISHING-BOAT

cattle, goats, sellers of this, buyers of that, sacks of wheat, maize, rye, rolls of home-made cloth, eggs, chickens, dairy produce, and all the various commodities necessary for the life of the district. On days other than market days it is, however, quiet enough, and there are few people about save some café loungers, half-a-dozen idle gendarmes, a few

POPULATION AND RELIGION

771 Mixed marriages are common in spite of the vast differences between Moslems and Christians.

162 Tirana, the capital, has about 35,000 in-
361 habitants, Durazzo (Durrës), the main port
504 of Albania, has 9,739, Valona (Vlona), second important port of Albania, 9,110, Elbasan 13,800, Scutari (Shkodra) 29,209, Argyrocastro (Gjinokastra) 12,500, Korça 25,000, Berat 10,500, Pogradec 3,400, Leskovik 2,500, Permet 3,000, Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the third port of Albania, 2,000, Delvina 4,000, Fier 3,700, Kruja, Kukës, Prizren Peshkopi, Dibër, Libohova, Kavaja, Lesh, Butrinto, Lushnja, Llixha, etc., are also well populated. San Giovanni di Medua is the fourth port of Albania. Butrinto Bay is also a harbour, measuring about a mile by 1,300 yards and has very good anchorage in 14 and 16 fathoms.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

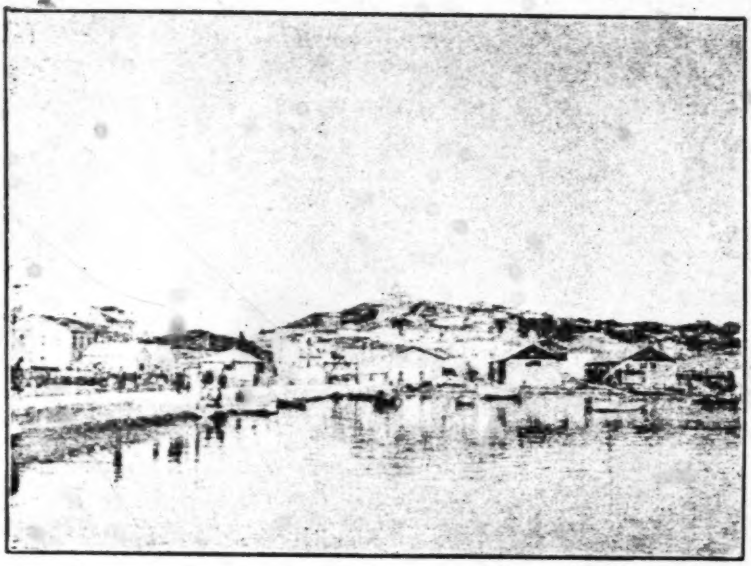
504

PORTO PALERMO (HIMARA)

(facing p 118)

103 and this influence also had left its mark on the town. Then came the Anjous of the Neapolitan line who were the first to assume for themselves the title of King of Albania. However, during the four hundred years of Turkish domination, some of the Byzantine and Venetian architecture was altered or destroyed by the invaders. To-day, picturesque Durazzo lies peacefully on the Adriatic converted into a thriving modern city, amid all
504 of its interesting ruins, with an ideal port that has become a growing center for both sea-going and general trade, and the largest
277 cigarette factory in Albania is located here.

504



THE PORT OF DURAZZO

(facing p. 150)

361 seasoned traveller. The climate in this small town is delightful due to its position at 930 feet above sea level.

Kavaja, an agricultural center, is also the seat of many excellent schools. Tobacco is the [249] main crop in this vicinity and the tobacco leaves are marketed at Kavaja. There are also large fruit groves intercepted by vegetable gardens.

[346] Fier, a rich and prosperous town, is the market place of cereals. As these crops are among the largest in Albania, the wealth of the town is understood. As Fier is only forty minutes from Pojani, the majority of the valuable excavations from Apollonia soon [543] found their way into the artistic museum of Fier. This collection from Apollonia in Pojani is as rich as that from Butrinto.

Lushnja is important in Albanian history as the city wherein that memorable congress convened which confirmed Albania's independence in 1920.

• 504 Santa Quaranta (Saranda), a port of 361 southern Albania, lies in that strip of coastline which, by reason of its beauty of scenery and vegetation, merits the name of Riviera of Albania. It is the third port of Albania with

a good harbor and here connections may be 361
made with Janina and Florina, Greece, by [504]
steamer. This service is very regular and frequent. Also, Butrinto is only two hours distance from this port.

Almost lost among vast gardens, vineyards, orange and olive groves lies Delvina, on the road to Korça. This lovely little town is like a miniature paradise, so pervaded is it by the rich perfumes of flowers and fruit and many ladies have wished that its essence were in bottle form!

Have you ever looked at a miniature water color where the vari-colored roofs visible above tree-tops on a high hill and at the base a river gurgles along and wondered if such a place ever existed? It does. The picturesque little town on the hill is Përmet and the laughing river that goes tumbling along is the Viosa. It has to be seen to be believed.

Of all the towns there is surely not one that has such a tragic past, one so full of willing sacrifices, as has Voskopoj. In 1753 it was one of the largest cities in Albania and now it is a tiny village of about 400 inhabitants. In 1753 this city was a center of culture, of intellectual achievement, with 60,000

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

485 When I came down in the morning to get a cup of coffee before leaving for Tirana, I found the waiter asleep in the "coffee-room" with the remains of last night's supper on the uncleared tables and every window tightly shut. The noise I made in rushing to open something and save myself from immediate asphyxiation woke him up, and he arose from his bed—to strain a simile to its utmost limits—like Aphrodite from the waves, completed a scanty toilet with the aid of a comb, and attended to my modest requirements in the way of breakfast. At seven the car came and I departed, nothing loth.

494 [505] The car was a nine-seater, and the other passengers, including several Roman-Catholic priests, were going by it to San Giovanni di Medua, whence a steamer connection is maintained with Bari, the Italian seaport on the opposite 361 side of the Adriatic. *Rome—Bari—San Giovanni di Medua* is the direct route to Albania, and I was accordingly surprised to find the place so small and insignificant. It contained little more, as far as I could see, than a tiny wharf, a custom-house, a police post, and a few single-storied shacks 504 —mostly coffee-houses—along the waterfront. The bay being very shallow, the steamer was anchored some distance out, and passengers had to be taken aboard by shore boats. But San Giovanni di Medua is no worse in this respect than the other ports of Albania, Durazzo, Valona, and Santi Quaranta, which all suffer, as I found later, from the same drawback. In none of these places is the water deep enough to allow a vessel to lie at the quay.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

CHAPTER XIV

I leave Albania—Montenegro Once More—Pelim Tea—A Hold-up—More Politics—Cettinje to Ragusa—Local Beauties—Barber's Shops—The Austrian Riviera—The Mystery in the Church—Its Explanation—Money's Worth.

SCUTARI is situated, according to the map, at the 361
head of Scutari Lake, and I had therefore expected
to find an esplanade or riva with houses facing the water.
Actually the lake cannot be seen from the town, and there is [504]
no waterfront except at Old Scutari, where a narrow inlet
accommodates a few fishing-boats and where there is a small
wharf. The reason for this became apparent when I left by
the lake steamer on my way home. The shore is merely
swamp, and the open water is approached by a tortuous
channel which winds for a considerable distance amongst
waterweeds, alder scrub and tall rushes. The lake at the [133]
Scutari end is, in fact, very shallow, and for a mile or so out
looks much more like grass than water.

The morning of my departure was cloudy and wet, and 000
owing to frequent rainstorms which obscured the view I
did not see the lake at its best. I was the only passenger
and had the little cabin to myself. Here I settled down,
and for lack of other occupation wrote up my journal which
was, as usual, several days in arrear. Some three hours
after our departure we anchored off the north-east shore of

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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Lorries

494 my calculations, and the fare, for a journey of nearly two days' duration, was after all by no means unreasonable.

The Albanian post lorries are of the familiar military type, and I came across no ambulance waggons like those in which I had suffered such discomfort in Montenegro. There is a good deal of traffic on these roads, not only by post lorries but by other lorries, which also belong to the State. A more or less regular service plies between Santi Quaranta and Koritza, the most important town in Northern Albania, with freight, passengers, and live-stock. I often noticed passengers sitting amongst sheep, lambs, and goats with every appearance of contentment. They did not seem at all incommoded. But in the post lorries, fortunately for me, livestock were not carried.

361 Tepeleni, our first stopping place, was destroyed by an earthquake some years ago and it has never yet been properly rebuilt. At the present time it consists of an irregular 265 street of shanties made of lath and tarred paper. As soon as we arrived the lorry-conductor took me to a restaurant—a [262] lop-sided wooden shack with an earthen floor—where two yokels sat eating maize-bread and yaghourt, and a third man, more opulent, was devouring fried fish with his fingers. [524] Coffee was called for and, despite my protests, paid for by the conductor—little courtesies such as this being the commonplaces of travel in benighted and uncivilised Albania.

505 Beyond Tepeleni a river barred our way. There was a bridge, but it was in ruins like the rest of the village, and the crossing had to be made by a ferry. The roadway on

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

505 the near bank was thick with men, dogs, donkeys, mules, oxen, and merchandise, all waiting to be taken to the other side. It was a long time before our turn came, and then, as the fully loaded lorry was too heavy for the ferry-boat, two journeys had to be made, one with the lorry itself and the other with goods and passengers. All this spelled delay, and as a consequence we did not arrive at Permeti, the town where we were to stay the night, until it was growing dusk.

PEASANT WOMAN

485

The Permeti inn was primitive, but its roughnesses were mitigated by the willing efforts of the proprietor's small son, who did his best to make me comfortable and provided me with all the amenities the establishment could offer. He was a bright, intelligent lad, and ought—to use a typically Western expression—" to get on ". He gave me a room to myself, a clean upper sheet, and a clean towel. I looked at the wooden ceiling with misgivings, for the weather was getting warm. It painfully suggested bugs. But it had

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

453 Italian Government to finance such a bank with a loan, and
457 the question of the acceptance or refusal of this offer was then being discussed by the Chamber. The offer was hedged in by conditions of which one I understood, was a requirement that in case of any default in repayment the Italian Government should be entitled to seize the Albanian customs. But it was difficult to get information upon the accuracy of which one could depend. In the end the Chamber did, I believe, accept the Italian offer, so that Albania now, presumably, has a bank, and Italy another large finger in the Albanian pie.

000 As I had been saved from the necessity of sleeping at the Hotel Metropole—thanks to the kind hospitality of my American friends—I was able to stay for some days in Koritza before moving on to the Lake of Ochrida. I wanted, if possible, to cross the lake by steamer and visit the town of
[505] Ochrida and its celebrated monastery, and I was told that a steamer service ran there from Podgradetz, a lakeside village distant an hour and a half from Koritza by post lorry. So I booked a seat and departed.

133 On the afternoon of my arrival the lake was looking extremely beautiful—sky, water, and mountains mingling in a haze of turquoise and opal. But I found that it was always changing. The next day there were thunderstorms about and the surface of the lake was vivid green against a background of violet mountains half hidden in inky clouds. On the day after that the water was a deep blue, and the mountains were veiled in a soft grey mist. And so on, through infinite variations.

3 Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E 6 1

Aerial Service

509

TO-DAY, with man in the air as often as the bird, there is no inconvenience caused by the more southeasternly location of Albania; it has access by air, road and sea. There are flights to Albania running on regular schedule and are most comfortable and efficient, none lasting more than a few short hours. The Ala Littoria has control of the Albanian air lines which affords regular passenger and mail service between Tirana, Korça, Scutari and Valona in a very short while, thus affording a bird's eye view of this picturesque country of beauty and tradition. The trip from Tirana to Scutari (Shkodra) and back is made three times weekly: Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. The Tirana-Korça-Tirana service is effectual on Monday, Wednesday and Saturday of every week, also from Tirana-Vlona-Tirana and return is made on Tuesday, Thursday and Friday. The service from Tirana to Kukësi and return is made on the same day and on second days of the week.

AERIAL SERVICE

The connections abroad are through Bari, Italy, on the west and Salonica on the east.

The schedule between Rome and Tirana and vice-versa runs regularly three times every week and lasts only about three hours. The time seems as naught, for the beautiful mountainous landscape below and the shimmering Adriatic will fascinate the most sophisticated eye.

The schedule between Tirana-Salonica-Athens and vice-versa runs also three times a week.

There are also convenient aeroplane connections between Vienna (Austria) and Tirana (Albania).

A recent addition to the air connections abroad is the run between Trieste and Durazzo (Durrës) and vice-versa twice weekly.

It is worthy of mention that since these communications were introduced in Albania, in 1925, there has not been one single accident, which is a record to boast of for eleven years, for there are very few countries, if any, that have an achievement such as this of which to be consciously proud.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

At the Aerodrome

greatest marvels of the age. I confess that I was thrilled at the prospect before me. I went to bed early and rose with the dawn.

The aeroplane service, which connects Scutari, Tirana, Valona, and Koritza, is run by the Aero-Lloyd Company. It does not pay as yet, though it may do so eventually, and in the meantime is subsidised, I understand, by the German government. [509]

Having packed my suitcases as quietly as possible, in order not to disturb the other occupants of my room who were still fast asleep, I went out into the main part of the hotel and succeeded in arousing the proprietor and getting my bill. Then, with some difficulty, I found a porter to carry my baggage, and set out for the aerodrome. It was a heavenly morning—warm and sunny. Not a breath of wind was stirring. I could not have had more ideal conditions for my first flight. A clock in the town was striking six as we arrived, and soon afterwards the plane was run out of the shed and the engine was started. My two suitcases and typewriter were weighed and placed in the coupé and I had to settle a bill which came to more than the price of my own seat. The throttle was opened, a hurricane of wind from the roaring propellor flattened out the grass blades and made us cling to our hats, the pilot in leather coat and goggles climbed to his place. My fellow passenger and I took our seats in the coupé, and the door was shut. The plane began to move forward, there were a few light bumps, then our speed increased, and with a wide circular sweep we were off.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

of the mountaineers. This ancient code of conduct has undoubtedly exercised a restraining influence on the clansmen and helped to soften the grim realities of anarchy. None the less it was our experience that, like other codes of chivalry and laws of war, it was honoured as much in the breach as in the observance. This was perhaps a recent development, born of the crisis of the times or of the influence of Western ideas unaccompanied by Western conditions. Be this as it may, what most impressed us in the way of life of the Albanians was not the stray survivals of their ancient customs but the extent to which they lived without a law at all.

If anarchy was the way, poverty was the standard of their lives. They subsisted mainly from their flocks and upon maize, grown wherever the valleys offered soil for their wooden ploughs to scratch, or traded in the towns against hides and dairy produce. Their fare was simple; their clothing homespun; the forests gave them fuel, and, with the rocks of the mountain, their building materials. They lived, Turkish fashion, on the ground, and, beyond a few rugs, mattresses, and cooking utensils, required no other furniture or amenities. Tobacco, salt, sugar, and coffee, were their luxuries; weapons their chief expenditure and pride.

But besides this pastoral economy there was another source of wealth from which the mountaineers, and especially the chief men among them, drew their strength. Bad communications made coercion difficult, but the poverty of the clans made the power of money great. Elsewhere this might have been of no great moment, but in the Balkans the clashing interests of the Powers afforded frequent opportunities for holding the Central Government to ransom, or indulging in mercenary enterprise on behalf of the foreigner. Such enterprise had ever been a time-honoured means of livelihood among the Albanians; and, if the Eastern Question had caused the ruin of their merchants, it had also created boom conditions for their mercenaries. Such indeed had been the influx of gold and arms into the mountains in the past hundred years that it was perhaps not too much to say that the whole economy and strength of many of the clans had become dependent on subsidies received for "political

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Obviously the crude and comfortless character of the Albanian house indicated a low standard of living and dire poverty in the ordinary sense of the word. But the Albanian had his compensations. He was secure in what he had, and unless he lived in an over-populated area like Dibër, he had the essentials. In alluvial areas like Myzeqe and in a few villages in the district of Mat there were big estates worked by share-croppers, but with these few exceptions the Albanian owned his house and land and need not think of rent or eviction. Since forests and commons belonged to his village or tribe and their products were free to him and his fellows, he need think only of the trouble involved in fetching his firewood and grazing his sheep. With luck he might have surplus animals to sell in a market town for money that would pay for his taxes, for clothing, for imported goods like coffee and sugar, and, costliest of all, for brides. With subsistence as his only possible aim, he need not work every day and so enjoyed a good deal of leisure. In short, although his comforts and amenities were few, so also were his worries.

438 On the other side of the picture lie the craftsmen and shopkeepers in the towns, some Albanian, others Turkish, others Serbian. These craftsmen live off the exports from the mountains and from the other agricultural regions around them, and supply the mountaineers with their needs, including firearms and ammunition, as well as the objects previously listed.

So far the picture is simple, mountaineers on one side of the fence, townsmen on the other. A mountaineer may become a townsman, but never the reverse. At several points, however, the security of the mountains is penetrated: by the itinerant masons who build *kullas*,[1] by the *hanjis*[2] and *kiragis*[3] who handle traffic and care for travelers, and by the shopkeepers, who are themselves usually Ghegs, and who are found in the larger tribal villages, usually but one to a settlement. I can recall but one in Mirdita, none in Shoshi, while in the country villages of Dibra, Luma, and Puka, along the main roads, there were several. These men sold tea and sugar, needles and thread, cigarette papers, salt and pepper, a little candy, candles, kerosene, kerchiefs, and matches. They saved a trip to town for minor purchases.

511 With this balance of production and trade,[4] the Ghegs barely succeed in making a living. If their average income could be accurately assessed, it would be one of the lowest in Europe. The ordinary farmer has just enough clothing to cover his family. In some cases I have seen brothers with one suit between them; one had to stay indoors while the other went out. This was in Merturi. The ordinary household has just enough food to get through the year, saving the next year's seed and selling a little in the town. Many houses are the scenes of tightened belts and near starvation every spring. Since there is no knowledge of contraception, many children are born. As ideas of sanitation are also lacking, many people die, and the population is always a little greater than the threshold of tolerance. Feuds, sudden death, and emigration are necessary safety valves. Another very recent one is enlistment in the gendarmerie.

[842]
[165]

1 [See Cat. 116, pp. 14b – 15a -- Analyst]
2 [See cat 116, pp. 20b - 21a -- Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, pp. 20a - 20b - Analyst]
4 [See cat. 116 pp 21a – b -- Analyst]

125 not remember how many children the oldest wife had had.

128 595 These statistics do not constitute a record of pregnancies. Children who died in infancy are probably not included. Female infanticide has not been reported in Ghegnia. Presumably all or most of the children grew to such an age that either they were still living in 1929–30, or were old enough at the time of death to have made an impression on their full or half brothers who were our subjects. Our figures tell how many wives each father had, but not how many at a time. It would be hard to get that information from a casual questioning done in public at the time of measuring. In 1929 polygyny was legally forbidden in Albania for Catholics and Moslems alike, and the Catholics had in addition the position of the church to keep them from revealing the polygyny of their parents in the presence of several dozen other people. One other obvious defect of our data is that we have no record of marriages in which no son was born, and no second wife taken. This circumstance, although rare, must have occurred. The reader may think, in view of the unusual sex ratio, 163 male to 100 female offspring, that Moslems failed to reveal the true number of girls born, but I do not believe that this was the case. The Catholics had the same sex ratio as the Moslems. Furthermore, if many more children had been born than were recorded, the reproductive systems of Gheg mothers would have been taxed beyond their capacities.

As table 1 reveals,[1] 1060 Ghegs married 1375 women. Three-fourths of the men had but one wife each, the rest anywhere from 2 to 6. A third of all Moslems married more than once, compared to a sixth of Catholics. The [511] greater plurality on the part of the Moslems reflects the greater fertility of the soil in the eastern tribes, which are almost wholly Moslem, and where a man can afford more wives and feed more children. The wholly Catholic tribes, Mirdita and Dukagin, are the poorest in Ghegnia. Where the Catholics and Moslems live together in about equal numbers, the Catholics marry as many wives as the Moslems. In fact, in Puka the Catholics had more. Religion therefore has little to do with the total number of wives a man marries, although it

[1] [see p. 236 -- Analysis]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

followed made the dangers of the night vocal for us. We had seen the dogs, tied by the houses, curled into sullen gray-white balls; they are wolves, they are the first dogs, torn from the forests and made half-tame savage companions of these primitive men. Here in the Albanian mountains the long process of molding life, by which men have created the breeds of dogs we know, the great Dane, the collie, the monstrous, fantastic bulldog, and the wispy Pekingese is still in its beginning.

For us, safe in the shelter of solid walls, the night wore away as the previous one had done. Talk and music and the desperate struggle with weariness; the leisurely dinner in the small hours of the morning; the brief lapse into unconsciousness, lying on the floor, which we shared with twenty others—our host and his wife and their smallest child, the last quite naked, had ascended the notched log to the nest of woven willow branches that hung above us on the wall—and the awakening at dawn to the smell of new-made coffee.

"Perolli," said Frances, desperately, "I simply can't walk another twenty miles on one little cup of coffee. Isn't there something left over from dinner? Can't I have just one little bite of corn bread? Oh, Perolli, please!"

"If we stay for that, it means we'll never start," said I. "Slowly, slowly, little by little, breakfast will be ready at six this afternoon."

"But I'm starving!" she wailed.

CHAPTER XIV

A NIGHT BY THE BYRAKTOR'S FIRE—THE BYRAKTOR CALLS A COUNCIL—REXH TO THE RESCUE—THE BYRAKTOR'S GENDARME TEARS A PONCHO—MOONLIGHT ON THE SCUTARI PLAIN.

THEN his grandmother made three beds, 513
on three sides of the fire. She brought a two-inch-thick mat of woven straw and laid it on the floor; over it she spread a handsome blanket of goats' hair dyed in stripes of magenta and purple; under one end of the mat she put a triangular piece of wood to serve as pillow, and when I lay down she tucked other blankets over me. Rexh and the Shala man had the other mats, and all the byraktor's family went to their own places, leaving the big room and the dying fire to us three guests.

At four in the morning the house was astir. 512
Out of the darkness yawning men came to stir the slumbering fire; the byraktor appeared without his turban, a weird figure with his shaven, [302]
skin-white head and long black scalplock, and began to make the morning coffee; the sheep and goats were driven out into the rain by the ragged shepherdesses. I sat up and put on my ooo
opangi, and the sleepy Rexh, still streaked with red dye from his fez, rolled out of his blankets.

[Shoshi war chief's -- [250] Analyst]

513 When all had done[1], mattresses and eiderdowns would be brought and spread out on the floor for the half-dozen guests of honour, while the others made themselves as comfortable as they might with their overcoats and jackets. It was still considered rather indecent to undress, but before the lights were snuffed out the prudent ones would gather their arms and effects about them against the dangers and confusions of a night attack. In cold weather the fire was kept alight till morning; in summer the room would often become intolerably stuffy from the accumulated animal warmth of a score of snoring sleepers.

•512 The Albanians were not given to early rising, for their evening hours were late, and in the mountains the mornings were cold. They would get up between eight and nine o'clock and, by a generous convention, the younger guests were left sleeping till last. The mountaineers knew not breakfast; but 264 in many houses the host would bring a cup of coffee or of hot, 315 sweetened milk when he saw us wake. Ablutions were per- 301 functory, each man, or the host, pouring cold water from a ewer over his fellow's hands, with which the latter seldom did more than dab his eyes. Moustaches were *de rigueur*, though by exception Abas Kupi was clean-shaven; but only priests or bandits grew beards. Shaving, however, was most often a weekly affair and considered a sufficient occasion to warrant the valedictory greeting of "*Meschnett*" — an equivalent of 000 "God bless you" — to the shaver. In these matters I conformed to the customs of the country, but Maclean and Smiley insisted on adhering to the standards of cleanliness of their distinguished cavalry regiments. Stripped to the waist and with razors flashing, they washed daily and thoroughly, to the great wonder of the mountaineers who crowded round to 514 watch. Albanian sanitary arrangements were primitive but ingenious. The closet, which adjoined the guest room, projected, sometimes precariously, from the house over the courtyard below. It consisted of a hole in the floor, often of impracticably narrow circumference; and, underneath it, the thrifty Albanians were wont to keep their poultry, which gobbled up a strange diet with evident relish.

1 [i.e. eating — Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

593 and moil the whole blessed day', she ended, sadly rather than
562 bitterly.

462 Toil and moil she did. The daily duties of every peasant woman
512 in her position included fetching firewood from the forest and water from the river or spring, besides cooking, washing and baking for the household. At certain seasons she must also do farm work, so long as she retained a measure of youth. Her husband did heavy work like ploughing, scything hay, or cutting oak leaves for winter fodder. But she must carry the manure from the stable to the fields in spring, help her husband to sow and earth up the maize and, while he stayed indoors, reap it. She must carry home the hay and fodder and feed them to the animals. If grain was trodden out by horses or oxen, her husband drove them; if threshed with flails, she wielded them. If there was no miller, she conveyed the grist to the mill, ground it, and brought back the flour. Only if there were a miller did these tasks devolve on her husband, and then it was only in order to keep her virtue above suspicion. In poor families she was herself the beast of burden, and when young was expected to carry up to seventy pounds. In richer families she had a horse or donkey to do the actual carrying, unless her home was under snow in winter. Then she must brave the snow that confined the animal to its stable and bring in supplies of firewood and water, fodder and flour. Paucity of workers prevented her husband from having more than a couple of milch-goats or ewes, and these were tethered; it was she who tethered, watered and milked them. It was she, too, who turned their milk into curds (*kos*) or butter and cheese, arduous tasks in summer when milk sours easily. She also saw to the poultry and in her spare time knitted or span.

857 Fortunately for the women, there was almost no peasant house-
596 hold in which a young husband and wife were the only workers.
512 The eldest child, boy or girl, began at seven or eight years of age to herd the goats as they roamed in search of food and saw to them morning and evening. This gave the mother some relief and provided the family with more food and, by the sale of the goats
516 themselves or the kids, more money. When very small, the girl
462 must spin or knit as she herded; when in her teens, she must sew
512 her trousseau; but no extra tasks were expected of boy herds. Since, too, a man's mother and sisters never lost their legal right to share his home, a family might include the husband's mother and even

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

his unmarried sister or his widowed, childless sister. In that event, 596
while the younger women worked outside, his mother, if physically 462
fit, remained at home to cook, sweep and bake, besides attending 512
to the dairy and poultry. She also saw that any children who were big enough to walk but too small to follow their mother to the fields, did not fall into the fire or otherwise come to grief. She further entertained any men visitors who might come when her son was absent. She did not, however, wash her clothes or her husband's, should he be still alive, for even at the height of the busy season outside that was one of her daughter-in-law's duties. When she was no longer strong enough for her various tasks, she was sent out, complete with distaff, to herd the goats or plough-oxen and another woman succeeded her as housekeeper.

If the married pair had a separate bedroom, it was private 513
property, as inviolable as a separate house would be, and no one 512
other than the man and his wife and children might enter uninvited. 462
Unless she was his wife, even the housekeeper was under the ban. It followed that when a wife worked outside, she must care herself for her bedroom, sweeping it, spreading the bedding at night, and picking this up again in the morning. She must also tend her children, and wash and mend their clothes, her husband's and her own, besides those of her mother-in-law. If she had a tiny baby, she carried it in its cradle on her back to the fields, left it in a shady place while she worked, and carried it home again in the evening.

If the house was too small to have a sitting-room, the husband 264
ate in the kitchen. He never lingered over the meal, and in most 593
districts ate alone unless his mother, privileged by having brought him into the world, wished to join him. A man who ate with his wife or sat much in her company courted public ridicule as unmanly and 'no class'. If there was a sitting-room, the husband probably took his midday meal in the kitchen and his evening meal in the sitting-room. Before supper he might invite his sons or even his daughters, if these were small, to share the comfort of the sitting-room for a little.

Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since 592
for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of an age to marry. Then sheer pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units, each with a house of its own.[1]

[1] See Chapter VI.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

592 When the men in a household were numerous, three or more might be shepherds, one tending the sheep, another the goats, and a third the oxen; several might be farmers who ploughed and hoed and irrigated; yet others might be housemen, one keeping the house supplied with firewood, a second going to the bazaar, and a third grinding grain at the local mill for the household's bread. Each thus contributed his quota to the family wealth, and obviously the more numerous the quotas, the greater the general comfort. A well-to-do household which had only a few men might make up the number of hands available by engaging servants. 'Çota's tableful' is now proverbial in Çermenikë because eighteen men—ten relatives and eight hirelings—used to sit down nightly to supper in Sali Çota's house in the village of Fenars in that district. If, however, a household were poor as well as small, it could not risk having to pay servants in a bad year, and must restrict its activities—for example, by keeping only sheep or goats but not both. Since sheep eat grass and goats leaves, they must have separate herds.

462 512 Even in the richest of these multiple households the women lived much as they did in small, poor ones. A housekeeper, who was generally elderly, cooked and baked for the whole family, swept the kitchen, the men's sitting-room, and her own bedroom if she had one apart from the kitchen, but did not enter any room belonging to a married man, even if he was her son. The young wives worked out of doors when required and at all times looked after their children, husband and bedroom. They were often exempt from fetching firewood and water and were reasonably fed and dressed, but otherwise fared no better than their poorer sisters. By and large, even in these relatively more leisured homes, women worked much harder than men. The latter excused their comparative idleness by saying that in Turkish times, when blood feuds raged, it had been death for most men to show their faces outside in the daytime, and if the family was not to die of starvation the women had to work for its bread. They claimed that when blood feuds grew rarer, they became more industrious. But they could never produce any evidence that the women had gained by their new diligence.

264 562 Soon after sunset the men sat down to sup at the same table in the sitting-room, while the women and children ate at another table in the kitchen. The food was brought to the sitting-room by

113
• 513

Yugoslavia EF1
Slovenes EF7
Albania EG1 •
Rumania ED1
Bulgaria EE1

/For general information on sleeping quarters in the house, see scattered references in 17: Thurnher, EF6 Serbs file, category 116./

followed made the dangers of the night vocal for 231
us. We had seen the dogs, tied by the houses, curled into sullen gray-white balls; they are wolves, they are the first dogs, torn from the forests and made half-tame savage companions of these primitive men. Here in the Albanian mountains the long process of molding life, by which men have created the breeds of dogs we know, the great Dane, the collie, the monstrous, fantastic bulldog, and the wispy Pekingese is still in its beginning.

For us, safe in the shelter of solid walls, the 512
night wore away as the previous one had done. Talk and music and the desperate struggle with weariness; the leisurely dinner in the small hours of the morning; the brief lapse into unconscious- [513]
ness, lying on the floor, which we shared with twenty others—our host and his wife and their smallest child, the last quite naked, had ascended the notched log to the nest of woven willow branches that hung above us on the wall—and the awakening at dawn to the smell of new-made coffee.

"Perolli," said Frances, desperately, "I simply 000
can't walk another twenty miles on one little cup of coffee. Isn't there something left over from dinner? Can't I have just one little bite of corn bread? Oh, Perolli, please!"

"If we stay for that, it means we'll never start," said I. "Slowly, slowly, little by little, breakfast will be ready at six this afternoon."

"But I'm starving!" she wailed.

CHAPTER XIV

A NIGHT BY THE BYRAKTOR'S FIRE—THE BYRAKTOR CALLS A COUNCIL—REXH TO THE RESCUE—THE BYRAKTOR'S GENDARME TEARS A PONCHO—MOONLIGHT ON THE SCUTARI PLAIN.

THEN his grandmother made three beds, 513 on three sides of the fire. She brought a two-inch-thick mat of woven straw and laid it on the floor; over it she spread a handsome blanket of goats' hair dyed in stripes of magenta and purple; under one end of the mat she put a triangular piece of wood to serve as pillow, and when I lay down she tucked other blankets over me. Rexh and the Shala man had the other mats, and all the byraktor's family went to their own places, leaving the big room and the dying fire to us three guests.

At four in the morning the house was astir. 512 Out of the darkness yawning men came to stir the slumbering fire; the byraktor appeared without his turban, a weird figure with his shaven, [302] skin-white head and long black scalplock, and began to make the morning coffee; the sheep and goats were driven out into the rain by the ragged shepherdesses. I sat up and put on my opangi, and the sleepy Rexh, still streaked with red dye from his fez, rolled out of his blankets.

[Shoshi war chief's -- [250] Analyst]

574 storied house, where a score of Zogist guerillas were gathered
[342] round the fire. The room was filled with smoke — for the house had no chimney, like many in Albania — and it was several minutes before I could see or breathe in comfort. I sat down, however, by the hearth, where a carpet had been spread, and while the evening meal was made ready had some talk with Petrit. He spoke quite good French, having studied in the French *lycée* at Korcha, where, by a strange irony, Enver Hoja had been his teacher. He was obviously eager for news of the outside world, and the flow of his questions was only restrained by his sense of courtesy as my host. In appearance he was not unlike his father, though of sturdier build and more slothful movements; and I was told that he had already distinguished himself in the previous autumn's fighting. He was possessed besides of a natural authority, and, despite his youth, seemed to command the respect of the wild mountaineers who accompanied him. Some of these spoke a little Italian or Serb, and their discussions that night gave me a first impression of
[521] Zogist public opinion. The Ghegs are not great talkers like the Greeks or Slavs, but I felt, from what they said, that they were rather suspicious of British intentions and far more concerned with preventing the spread of Communism in Albania than with fighting the Germans. Towards one o'clock
[262] our conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the evening meal of soup, boiled mutton and cheese. We ate in silence
[513] and as soon as we had finished I retired to rest on one of the mattresses which the master of the house had spread for us on the floor.

342 Next day, in the afternoon, Petrit accompanied me to the place where Abas Kupi had made his temporary headquarters. It was a grey stone keep, built on a jutting rib of the mountain range and approached by a path so narrow and precipitous that I had to send back my horse and make the last stage of the journey on foot. Abas Kupi came out to meet me, as I turned
[576] into the walled courtyard of the house, and welcomed me with the traditional greeting of "*Tungjatjeta*" — "May your life be prolonged". He led the way up a flight of wooden steps, resting like a ladder against the wall of the house, and took

513 When all had done,[1] mattresses and eiderdowns would be brought and spread out on the floor for the half-dozen guests of honour, while the others made themselves as comfortable as they might with their overcoats and jackets. It was still considered rather indecent to undress, but before the lights were snuffed out the prudent ones would gather their arms and effects about them against the dangers and confusions of a night attack. In cold weather the fire was kept alight till morning; in summer the room would often become intolerably stuffy from the accumulated animal warmth of a score of snoring sleepers.

512 The Albanians were not given to early rising, for their evening hours were late, and in the mountains the mornings were cold. They would get up between eight and nine o'clock and, by a generous convention, the younger guests were left sleeping till last. The mountaineers knew not breakfast; but 264 in many houses the host would bring a cup of coffee or of hot, 315 sweetened milk when he saw us wake. Ablutions were per- 301 functory, each man, or the host, pouring cold water from a ewer over his fellow's hands, with which the latter seldom did more than dab his eyes. Moustaches were *de rigueur*, though by exception Abas Kupi was clean-shaven; but only priests or bandits grew beards. Shaving, however, was most often a weekly affair and considered a sufficient occasion to warrant the valedictory greeting of "*Meschnett*" — an equivalent of 000 "God bless you" — to the shaver. In these matters I conformed to the customs of the country, but Maclean and Smiley insisted on adhering to the standards of cleanliness of their distinguished cavalry regiments. Stripped to the waist and with razors flashing, they washed daily and thoroughly, to the great wonder of the mountaineers who crowded round to 514 watch. Albanian sanitary arrangements were primitive but ingenious. The closet, which adjoined the guest room, projected, sometimes precariously, from the house over the courtyard below. It consisted of a hole in the floor, often of impracticably narrow circumference; and, underneath it, the thrifty Albanians were wont to keep their poultry, which gobbled up a strange diet with evident relish.

1 [i.e. eating — Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

his unmarried sister or his widowed, childless sister. In that event, 596
while the younger women worked outside, his mother, if physically 462
fit, remained at home to cook, sweep and bake, besides attending 512
to the dairy and poultry. She also saw that any children who were big enough to walk but too small to follow their mother to the fields, did not fall into the fire or otherwise come to grief. She further entertained any men visitors who might come when her son was absent. She did not, however, wash her clothes or her husband's, should he be still alive, for even at the height of the busy season outside that was one of her daughter-in-law's duties. When she was no longer strong enough for her various tasks, she was sent out, complete with distaff, to herd the goats or plough-oxen and another woman succeeded her as housekeeper.

If the married pair had a separate bedroom, it was private 513
property, as inviolable as a separate house would be, and no one 512
other than the man and his wife and children might enter uninvited. 462
Unless she was his wife, even the housekeeper was under the ban. It followed that when a wife worked outside, she must care herself for her bedroom, sweeping it, spreading the bedding at night, and picking this up again in the morning. She must also tend her children, and wash and mend their clothes, her husband's and her own, besides those of her mother-in-law. If she had a tiny baby, she carried it in its cradle on her back to the fields, left it in a shady place while she worked, and carried it home again in the evening.

If the house was too small to have a sitting-room, the husband 264
ate in the kitchen. He never lingered over the meal, and in most 593
districts ate alone unless his mother, privileged by having brought him into the world, wished to join him. A man who ate with his wife or sat much in her company courted public ridicule as unmanly and 'no class'. If there was a sitting-room, the husband probably took his midday meal in the kitchen and his evening meal in the sitting-room. Before supper he might invite his sons or even his daughters, if these were small, to share the comfort of the sitting-room for a little.

Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since 592
for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of an age to marry. Then sheer pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units, each with a house of its own.[1]

[1] See Chapter VI.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh', she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee. Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons, a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories. All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923, and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bedroom for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards. Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent, public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The Catholic thus goes safely to church and there the veil is raised. Evil spirits are powerless there; and as we have seen, when she leaves the sacred building she is carefully veiled and conveyed safely to her future home. Food and drink are given her by her attendants behind the veil; all possible precautions are taken, in fact, to prevent her soul escaping and harmful glances falling on her. A 585 777 A 264 777 774

In early days in Montenegro the brides were so closely veiled when fetched from home by the svatovi that in the Martinovitch family, of Baitza near Cetinje, there is a tradition of a bride being accidentally exchanged for the bride of another wedding-party. M 585 293 578

Two parties of svatovi started from Baitza to fetch brides from afar, and had to pass the night on the mountain-side. They met at the same wayside spring and encamped. The two girls begged to be allowed to sleep together. Next morning each party rode off with the wrong girl. The weddings were celebrated at once on arrival, and as no one had previously seen the girls and they, as was customary, knew nothing about their future bridegrooms, the mistake was not detected till a week after, when the girls' relatives came to pay the first visit to them. They were then infuriated to find that the carefully planned alliances had gone wrong and they had not acquired the "in-laws" they had intended. The respective bridegrooms expressed themselves quite satisfied. Not so the parents of brides. A violent quarrel took place. Blows were exchanged and a blood-feud was imminent. The annulment of the weddings was demanded, and peace was only restored by the metropolitan, who declared the marriages legal and the whole complication evidently the will of God, Who must be obeyed. M [627] M A

All Balkan people, so far as my experience goes, sleep with the head covered, no matter how hot it may be. B 513

I remember a suffocating night in a wretched cottage at Bratonozhitch, Montenegro. I lay on a bench on one side of the hut, and the floor was covered by some sixteen persons of both sexes. So hot was it that the men stripped their shirts and slept in their breeches; but all buried their heads under thick, felt-like blankets.

Often have I been awakened from a much-needed midday sleep under a tree by a choking, horrible smell, and have found that some kindly creature while I slept had covered my head with a filthy towel or coat. Poor old Marko perpetually told me it was most unhealthy to sleep with an uncovered head. By way of warning he told me the horrible end of a neighbour of ours. He not only left his head uncovered, but he slept near an open window. The wind blew into his head and went round and round inside it, and the unhappy man, driven distracted, hanged himself in the vineyard. M [762 753] B

A possible further reason for shrouding the head is the strange 761 518

342 I am not in a position to conclude as to the correctness of his results. In any case, the arguments put forward (p. 51) by Nopcsa in its support, cannot be considered as strong in my opinion. In the first [192] place, the word plas, which in Albanian means palace, may have originated from ancient Dalmatian. But the Latin word «palatium» has been naturalised in the Greek countries already since the Augustan days, and this does not prove that there was any Latin influance upon their building modes, as neither the word «δοπίτιον» (alb. shpit) originating from the Latin word hospitium, has any relation to Roman architecture.

Housing types impressed on medieval coins of some Albanian towns can be but little proof since, according to his own remark, houses such as the one represented on a coin of Scodra (end of 14th century) can be found even to-day in the area of Delvinon in Epirus; namely, they are connected with Greek monumental architecture.

342 712 This question will be better clarified, in my opinion, by the examination of another housing type, the Kula, which is widely spread in Albania.

The house in Albania does not serve as a protection against weather only, but it should also provide security against enemies. This double purpose obliges the Albanians to build even less comfortable houses, if these are to enable their inhabitants to enjoy a peaceful night and, if needed, to defend themselves in case of emergency from them. In Nothern Albania the most primitive system of defence at home consists in a mere hiding place, built with solid materials within the very house. This shelter is usually of 2.5 m. long and 1.5 m. high and it is covered with slabs of stone. The place is entered through an opening of 0.75 m. square, so that the entire [513] shelter does not differ in appearance from an oven. The head as well as male members of the family spend their nights in this shelter.

It is evident that the use of such a kind of quarters cannot continue over a long time. For this reason, even when they were to build a most primitive single-room house of stone, Albanians have tried to [361] obtain security by other means, i.e. by keeping the enemy as far from their houses as possible. The means to this aim are: building of the house in a secluded spot on a highest possible site, but not too far away from the fields, so that inhabitans may be able to reach their house in the shortest possible time in case of emergency; small windows, arranged in such a way as to afford covering fire on all approaches; a strong roof, difficult to reach, in order to

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

A 286 515 531 [574]

No. 1937-10. A guest towel given to Miss Durham by Dom Simeone, a Catholic priest of Djakova, in Albania, was woven by his sister. It is of fine cotton with wide weft stripes of coarser thread and has a few narrow silk stripes bordering the plain cloth of the ends, which are decorated with a spool-woven pattern worked in wool, dyed with aniline dyes. The colours used are a hard pink, violet, blue, dark red and emerald, and the result is somewhat harsh compared with the other examples. The design of a stiff stem with three very conventional flowers is vaguely Turkish but the little borders on either side of the main pattern, consisting of two rows of circular spots, are rather charming.

Dom Simeone's initials D.S.C. are worked in red cross-stitch.

No. 1935-35. The two last "marama" with decorated ends have some of their motives brocaded in by free spools, but also have borders worked in the tapestry manner on the warp threads, whilst the cloth is still in the loom, in the style often called Persian openwork*, which is akin to needleweaving but much finer.

The example whose number is quoted above, is of hand woven cotton material 17 inches (43·18 cm.) wide and 4 feet (1·2 m.) long, and has five Persian open-work borders in Turkey red and white at the end, divided by coarse cotton weft stripes. Above this group of narrow border patterns there are two rows of "ibriks" in red filling the angles of a chevron pattern in white which has yellow four-petalled flowers at its angles. These designs are worked in with free spools.

The five open-work borders consist of two outer ones with tiny red rectangles on a white ground and three wider ones composed of chevrons in white filled in with red triangles; the whole border measures 6½ inches (16·51 cm.) in width, and has a rich appearance.

No. 1936-57. This "marama" from Scutari is unusual on account of its size, being made of two widths of material each 13 inches (33·0 cm.) wide and measuring 7 feet (2·1 m.) in length.

It is of hand-woven cotton almost covered with broad and narrow weft stripes of a thicker thread, and the decorated borders at the ends are 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide. The whole border consists of six narrow ones with a broader one in the centre, worked in pink, red and white, all divided from one another by groups of narrow weft stripes. The patterns are all geometrical, and based on arrangements of squares and triangles, and the six narrower ones are of Persian openwork, whilst the broader central one is brocaded with free spools.

A twisted fringe of the warp ends finishes off the whole.

A S 515 531

No. 1936-53. One of the two "maramas" for everyday use is of coarse, hand-woven cotton and has a group of Turkey red weft stripes at each end. It was bought in Prizren and used personally by Miss Durham.

286 A

No. 1936-47. The other, also of coarse, hand-woven material, has an arrangement of broad and narrow stripes of gold plate at the ends.

B. **Bedspreads.**

286 513 583 531

No. 1935-29. A gauze bed-cover from Scutari (Skodar) with warp and weft stripes in red and white, the wider red ones having a line of yellow or green down their centres, is an example from the latter end of the 19th Century, and formed part of a bride's outfit. The crossing of the pairs of red stripes with pairs of white stripes produces a gay, tartan-like effect.

* T. de Dillmont: "Encyclopædia of Needlework."

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

Albania EG1

Montenegrins EF5

A 286 513 583 531

The cover measures 8 feet (2·4 m.) by 5 feet 6 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of material which are joined by needlepoint insertion. Picots with three knots are worked closely along the two edges, and then these are joined by bars of knotted stitchery.

The ends and a little way up each side are also ornamented by similar picots into which a row of wrapped scallops, with smaller picots in bullion stitch, is worked.

These needlepoint trimmings are carried out in red, yellow and green silk, the foundation picots in red, and the scallops in three-inch lengths of each colour in series. Tassels of the mixed colours are added at the corners.

No. 1935-25. A delightful white silk gauze bedcover from Scutari which also formed part of a bridal outfit came from a Catholic family.

A [731 727]

"After the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 there was much distress and things from old family chests were offered for sale. This was one." (M.E.D.).

The spread measures 7 feet 8 inches (2·3 m.) by 5 feet 9 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of gauze seamed together. Each width of material has groups of stripes near the selvedges consisting of one wide and three narrow stripes of white, five narrow red and three pale green ones; measuring altogether 4½ inches (11·4 cm.) across.

As two groups of these stripes are joined at the seams three wider groups appear to divide the cover into thirds with narrower bands down the sides. The ends are hemstitched and the hems ornamented by two rows of wrapped buttonholing, into which at distances of two inches little triangles of buttonhole stitch are worked, finished off by a floral motive done in an arrangement of picoted scallops and decorated with three gold sequins.

These little needlepoint motives are worked in sequence in red, green and a soft pink and the bedcover as a whole is charming.

No. 1936-57a. The strips of needlepoint insertion 4 feet 9 inches (1·4 m.) long and 2 inches (5 cm.) wide, and the 9 feet of inch-wide edging are intended for trimming another bedspread. Aniline dyes have been used for the silk thread, and purple, orange, yellow, maroon, emerald and pink are used in sequence for the circular motive in the centre of the insertion and for a few inches along the edge. The final effect is somewhat garish.

C. **A Cloth, possibly for a table.**

M 286 531

No. 1936-44. "A black and dark blue cloth from Kolashin, bought off a dealer in Montenegro, is a curious piece of weaving and I never saw another like it. It is evidently hand-made, native work." (M.E.D.).

This cloth which measures 40 inches (1 m.) by 29 inches (73·7 cm.) is made of two stripes of narrow material, which is tabby-woven in fine black wool, there being 32 warp and 32 weft picks to the inch.

It is entirely covered with a large lozenge design, almost filling the width of the material, bordered by five diagonal lines of small squares and each lozenge enclosing twenty-five repeats of a four-petalled flower in white with a dark blue spot in the centre (Fig. 10).

The whole of the pattern is produced by the use of a large number of free spools, for instance, in the diagonal lines of squares forming the divisions between the big lozenges a new spool is added for every alternate eight warp ends forming a small square, working over and under the next eight warps, and then passes on to the next groups of eight lower down.

In using the spools of white thread each line of pattern is worked backwards and forwards before the next two throws of weft are made.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

513 When all had done,[1] mattresses and eiderdowns would be brought and spread out on the floor for the half-dozen guests of honour, while the others made themselves as comfortable as they might with their overcoats and jackets. It was still considered rather indecent to undress, but before the lights were snuffed out the prudent ones would gather their arms and effects about them against the dangers and confusions of a night attack. In cold weather the fire was kept alight till morning; in summer the room would often become intolerably stuffy from the accumulated animal warmth of a score of snoring sleepers.

512 The Albanians were not given to early rising, for their evening hours were late, and in the mountains the mornings were cold. They would get up between eight and nine o'clock and, by a generous convention, the younger guests were left sleeping till last. The mountaineers knew not breakfast; but 264 in many houses the host would bring a cup of coffee or of hot, 515 sweetened milk when he saw us wake. Ablutions were per- 301 functory, each man, or the host, pouring cold water from a ewer over his fellow's hands, with which the latter seldom did more than dab his eyes. Moustaches were *de rigueur*, though by exception Abas Kupi was clean-shaven; but only priests or bandits grew beards. Shaving, however, was most often a weekly affair and considered a sufficient occasion to warrant the valedictory greeting of "*Meschnett*" — an equivalent of 000 "God bless you" — to the shaver. In these matters I conformed to the customs of the country, but Maclean and Smiley insisted on adhering to the standards of cleanliness of their distinguished cavalry regiments. Stripped to the waist and with razors flashing, they washed daily and thoroughly, to the great wonder of the mountaineers who crowded round to 514 watch. Albanian sanitary arrangements were primitive but ingenious. The closet, which adjoined the guest room, projected, sometimes precariously, from the house over the courtyard below. It consisted of a hole in the floor, often of impracticably narrow circumference; and, underneath it, the thrifty Albanians were wont to keep their poultry, which gobbled up a strange diet with evident relish.

1 [i.e. eating — Analyst]

342 monly used than at present. The shift from wheat to maize as staple cereal deprived the farmers in many parts of Albania of roofing material.

[353] The interiors of most houses are quite bare, with no carpets on the hewn plank floors, and [354] little decoration on the walls. In the older houses a fireplace covers about 10 square feet of floor area, and the smoke finds its way out through the thatch or roof tiles. In so doing, it cures meats hung in a rack above the fire, particularly in Catholic houses where pork is preserved for the winter.

The introduction of the *kulla* brought with it some drastic architectural innovations. The *kulla* is a 3-storied square tower, built with one purpose in mind—defense. Nopcsa finds a high correlation between the incidence of *kullas* in different villages and *bairaks*, and that of death by violence. The lower floor of the *kulla* is for the shelter of animals. The second and third are for habitation. One door opens into the stable below, a second, up a flight of bare steps, to the living quarters.

With a multi-storied structure something had to be done about smoke. Hence fireplaces were built one above the other, and a high [514] chimney ensured draft. One of the principal troubles with the old-fashioned house was its lack of a toilet. The feuding Gheg, attending the needs of nature in a corn field of a frosty morning, made an excellent target to his enemies hiding in ambush, and the feudal code contained no sporting rules to outlaw this easy shot. The *kulla*-builders therefore constructed an overhanging enclosed balcony of masonry, to serve as "W. C." In the conflict between sanitation and safety, safety won. The drain hole is made crooked to prevent pot shots from below. Since there are few windows, and these are built more for gunplay than for light or ventilation, a strong draft usually rushes up the drain hole. Down below in a heap against the wall the refuse accumulates, and were it not for the healthy mountain climate and the hardihood of the mountaineers, epidemics would be commoner than they are.

Gheg houses have both a social and an economic implication. They are usually large, and accommodate an extended family and its animals. Serving for defense, they reflect the

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania E61

342 low-pitched roof is tiled in red, with dormer-like smoke-
712 holes, or tall, lidded chimneys. The strong wooden doors are round or square at the top ; the doorways often formed by lintels and side-pieces of wood, or arched with stone. Windows are few, and very small, often mere loopholes or slits a few inches across. Glass is rare : the openings may be barred by twisted twigs. In the stone houses they are often outlined by a frame of regularly shaped and spaced blocks. The guest-room is lighted by rather larger windows, which are nowadays generally glazed, though old-fashioned paper windows still linger in some parts. The side of the house facing the road is blind, though sometimes a few narrow slits are pierced just under the eaves.

The peasants themselves give as a reason for building
342 such fortress-like houses that they have lived so long in
712 dread of hereditary enemies, often very numerous because
627 of the constant blood-feuds. These, like feuds in all countries, often arose over a woman, a runaway or a stolen wife. They said to me frankly : "Under Turkey we could pursue our wives, and kill them with their lovers ; but now we are forbidden to do this. A slit is wide enough for us to shoot through, not wide enough for us to be shot at. No enemy can see into the house through it, let alone climb in by it. And then a woman cannot go out by it to keep a tryst, nor can a man come in to find her." For similar reasons, all these dwellings have inside sanitation—small
•[514] apse-like closets built of the same material as the house, and apparently clinging to it.

352 The ground floor contains the small dark kitchens where the women and children eat their meals. They have floors of hard earth, and fireplaces of the huge projecting kind, or
[354] small open fires with smoke-holes above, with a few cooking-
[415] vessels of baked clay set at their edges : the flour-chest stands behind the door. On either side are the storerooms. An open-fronted shed holds the carts and ploughs, with the
343 stables and barn not far off. The stable is lofty, its roof of bare rafters being continuous with the roof of the first floor, so that one may look down on the horses through the slits in the end rooms of this storey.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

S
515 Pazar I have seen peasants lie for long periods soaking an affected limb in outlying sulphur pools in the fields, and resting afterwards in booths of branches made by themselves.

In villages it is still usual when washing in the morning for one person to pour water over another's hands, passing the soap and towel as required. The face is afterwards washed with the hands. This may take place out-of-doors, or in the verandah-living-room. Before and after meals everyone washes his hands in the same way. Peasants usually have a bath once a week, using the washing-trough for this purpose, generally in the kitchen or a shed. They S also change all their clothing once a week, as a rule, even [296] their thick woollen outer garments. These are all washed, so that they do not smell like a crowd of ordinary workmen, who may wash themselves more, but not their outer garments.

XXI

S
514 Sanitation is of course very primitive in the villages. Sometimes the peasants disappear into the fields or up the mountains, though the countryside is remarkably free from refuse. Paper is rarely used, leaves or maize sheaths sometimes, or even a stone; and defecation is accomplished in the natural squatting position. In some cottages the midden or the cowshed serves. Other houses have a small shelter, made of boughs or wood, open to all the animals of the farmyard. Sometimes a small closet (*nužnik*), fenced half-way up, exists at the end of the passage on the first A storey, with a triangular hole in the floor. In Metohija [514] the Albanians build a small apse-shaped room on the end of the house, on the upper storey—closed by a door, but again with a mere hole in the floor. Moslems place a jar of water by the hole. Enlightened householders are now prolonging their apse-closets by stone tunnels to the ground.

In the smaller towns a wooden shed in the garden is provided for the family. A triangular hole is cut in the boarded floor (sometimes also a smaller one is made for the children). Underneath is a pit (it may be ten feet deep), which is emptied when necessary: but sometimes, if space

342 types of housing may evolve by combining a two-room house to a prostylon house» (i.e. with a veranda). Starting from this idea, he proceeds to the explanation of how more elaborate housing types were created, such as those seen in the Scodra valley.

To illustrate this, Nopcsa gives the plan of the upper floor of a house in Kastrati (Fig. 71) and remarks that: «The plan of this house shows that it belongs to the same type as the Prel Ivanaj house we saw above (Fig. 68-69) and that the veranda is substituted

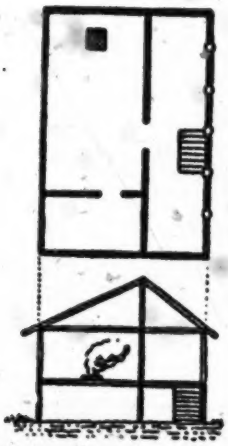

Fig. 70. Plan and section of a house in Vuksanlekaj (area of the Hoti tribe) (Nopcsa, fig. 28)

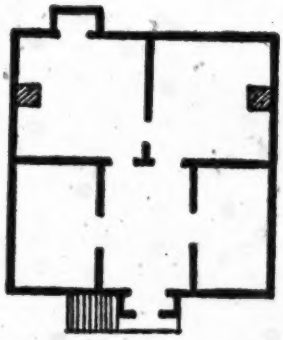

Fig. 71. Plan of a house in Kastrati (Nopcsa, fig. 30)

[712] by a space enclosed by walls». The staircase is also here external but, in order to protect the people, when they leave the house from the bullets of ambushing enemies, this staircase has been included into an enclosed entrance, which protrudes from the house in the form of a separate cabin outside its front wall. The small additional [514] cabin at the back of the house includes the lavatory.

This enclosed entrance which, according to Nopcsa «constitutes an original Albanian construction», is shown on Fig. 72, picturing a house of Kolaj. This entrance also includes a passage which ends at an enclosed staircase. This house, with its four rooms, two in the front and two in the back, can be considered, according to Nopcsa,

prevent enemies from climbing it and from piercing a hole in it to 342
fire on the defenders from above, something that has often happened. 712
Finally, the lavatory is built inside the house. [514]

Just as the house of Scodra is the highest point in the evolution of Albanian housig architecture, so is the Kula, according to Nopcsa, the most complete form of defensive houses.

The word Kula is of Arabic origin, and has already been met in Byzantine writers since the 11th eentury (1). Morever it is also known by the Serbs as early as 1350. Consequently, no Turkish intervention for the construction of the Kula, it is said by Nopcsa, was ever required.

The particular scope determines the building material, plan, dimensions and other construction details of such houses. These buildings are high, towerlike, built of solid stone, providing the greatest possible cover. Narrow loopholes are opened instead of windows, and small towers are built in well selected defensive places.

A veranda and a Kula mutually exclude each other, because if conditions of security allow the building of a house with an open prostoon, same conditions would render the construction of a kula useless. And vice-versa, nobody would ever think of constructing such a type of dwelling, where there is a danger that a veranda might be burned down at night time. This is confirmed by the geographical expansion of the «shpi» (house) and the «kula» (fortified house). Thus, there is a complete absence of typical, towerlike «kulas» in Melcija Madhe, Zadrima, which is situated in a plain, as well as in Bregubuns and Bregumatja, areas that enjoy greater security. On the contrary, in areas where statistics of crime show that a 21-32% [682] of all deaths are caused by murder, we find the kula, while houses [627] with a prostoon are absent. Because of the custom of vengence male members of many families are bound inside their kula for years.

As for the origin of these tower-form houses which, according to Nopcsa, were multiplied in Middle Albania between the years 890 [177] and 1274, Haberlandt believes that from a house-building point of [463] view, they must be derived from the towers and donjons propagated

1) **Anna Komnini**, 2, 124 Bonn: Τὴν μέντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλᾶ νῦν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴωθεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον... (The acropolis, which is now by habit called kula, was occupied by Celts...) **G. Kedrinos**, 2, 366: Ὁ Βούρτζης ἰσχυσε λαβεῖν τὸ μέτρον ἐντὸς τῶν πρὸς δύσιν Ἀντιοχείας πύργων, Κάλα τοὔνομα... (Vourtzes had power enough as to take possession of a tower, called Kala, at the West of Antiocheia...)

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

between the individual mouth and the communal dish. More [244] solid foods, such as meat or rice, were eaten with the fingers, 262 and, since each dish was communal, those who ate slowly went hungry. The midday and evening meals were both known as "*buk*", or bread; for theoretically, and in the poorer houses practically, maize bread was the basic foodstuff, while the other dishes were regarded merely as sauces to make the bread more palatable.

In the course of our journeys we touched life at many angles and experienced extremes of poverty and plenty. Often we were lucky to get even a lump of cheese and maize bread, or a cup of unsweetened milk. At other times, especially in Mati, we were surfeited by a wealthy host on successive dishes of eggs, boiled mutton, roast mutton *pilaf*, and luscious *halvas* and *baklavas* in the Turkish style. As a general rule, however, Albanian fare was lacking in variety and the average meal might be a soup of beans, a dish of boiled mutton, and a bowl of milk or *yoghourt*. The guest of honour usually received [576] the sheep's head — the brain and eyes were considered the greatest delicacies — or sometimes the kidneys and the tail. Fatness was the quality most admired in sheep, though even with hard exercise all of us except Smiley found the enjoyment of lumps of hot boiled fat an acquired taste. Milk was the usual drink at meals, drunk like soup from a communal bowl and served as a last course. Water was also to be had, but only on request, for there was usually only one glass or mug in the house. Before and after meals the host came round 264 with a basin and ewer, and the guests washed their hands — [515] a most necessary proceeding seeing that these were used for eating. In the richer houses the washing water was warmed and home-made soap was also provided. Each man left the table when he had finished eating without waiting for his fellows; and when the chief guests had done there would be a "deuxième service" for the rest of the company, or sometimes two tables might be set at once. The guests had the right — and often used it — to criticise any meanness in their entertainment to their host's face; and he would never sit at table or taste food until the last of the guests had eaten.

513 When all had done,[1] mattresses and eiderdowns would be brought and spread out on the floor for the half-dozen guests of honour, while the others made themselves as comfortable as they might with their overcoats and jackets. It was still considered rather indecent to undress, but before the lights were snuffed out the prudent ones would gather their arms and effects about them against the dangers and confusions of a night attack. In cold weather the fire was kept alight till morning; in summer the room would often become intolerably stuffy from the accumulated animal warmth of a score of snoring sleepers.

512 The Albanians were not given to early rising, for their evening hours were late, and in the mountains the mornings were cold. They would get up between eight and nine o'clock and, by a generous convention, the younger guests were left sleeping till last. The mountaineers knew not breakfast; but 264 in many houses the host would bring a cup of coffee or of hot, ●515 sweetened milk when he saw us wake. Ablutions were per- 301 functory, each man, or the host, pouring cold water from a ewer over his fellow's hands, with which the latter seldom did more than dab his eyes. Moustaches were *de rigueur*, though by exception Abas Kupi was clean-shaven; but only priests or bandits grew beards. Shaving, however, was most often a weekly affair and considered a sufficient occasion to warrant the valedictory greeting of "*Meschnett*" — an equivalent of 000 "God bless you" — to the shaver. In these matters I conformed to the customs of the country, but Maclean and Smiley insisted on adhering to the standards of cleanliness of their distinguished cavalry regiments. Stripped to the waist and with razors flashing, they washed daily and thoroughly, to the great wonder of the mountaineers who crowded round to 514 watch. Albanian sanitary arrangements were primitive but ingenious. The closet, which adjoined the guest room, projected, sometimes precariously, from the house over the courtyard below. It consisted of a hole in the floor, often of impracticably narrow circumference; and, underneath it, the thrifty Albanians were wont to keep their poultry, which gobbled up a strange diet with evident relish.

1 [i.e. eating — Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

tree-trunk. A similar section, split lengthways and hollowed out, made two wash-tubs for laundry work. Toilet appliances, a basin and ewer bought in the bazaar, and paraffin lamps from the same source, completed the list of additions.

The above outline omits many small variations in Albanian houses and furniture as irrelevant to the main subject of this book. Mention must be made, however, of certain houses which differed widely from the average type. The first were found among the Highlanders (Alb. *Malësorë*, 'mountaineers'), the semi-nomads who wintered on the soggy plains at the mouth of the river Mat. These houses had walls of planking or wattle and daub, with roofs of tiles or strips of wood. They rested on vertical sections of tree trunks about two feet high which had been laid at close intervals on the ground but had not been driven into it like piles. In this way they kept snug and dry even during the winter floods. All over Albania granaries were raised some distance from the ground in order to keep out the rats, but so far as is known, there were no houses on stilts except at the mouth of the Mat.

A number of Highland houses also contained a child's play-pen which might be as little as twenty-five inches long, wide and high. A shallow porringer projected from one of the top bars, chipped from the same piece of wood as the bar itself. In this pen Highland children spent all their winter days from the time they could crawl until they were three years old. They had no toys, but practised walking round the pen, sometimes stopping to eat a little bread and milk from the porringer with the diminutive home-made, wooden spoon which was tied to the bar, or merely gazing broodingly at the fire. The mothers meanwhile cooked, spun or gossiped, each secure in the knowledge that her child was on the dry floor of the kitchen and not sitting outside in the quagmire of mud that reached up to the very doorstep. The Highlanders said they invented both the houses and the play-pen themselves, but it is possible that they were at least advised by the Austro-Hungarian troops who were stationed in the neighbourhood for part of the war of 1914–18.

In Shpat, near Elbasan, huts were built for many bridegrooms. In the higher villages trunks of young trees about as tall as a man's waist were planted in a rectangle of the size desired, their boughs, while still green and flexible, were laced in and out of these uprights, and cross-pieces of timber were nailed to the uprights

[i.e., of tree-trunk--Analys]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the 264
door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but [562]
warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight
because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh',
she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable
than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table
everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat
course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and
any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their [515]
own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed
them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and
tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or
at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his [272]
deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never
leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee.
Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee [415]
without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes
and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons, 592
a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories.
All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first
and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and
probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under
the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For
instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in
Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923,
and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The 342
houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern 513
of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bed-
room for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards.
Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all
sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often
served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried
or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and
the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was 592
the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits
could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect
one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest
possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent,
public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

grapes. They also place at the four corners of each 789
plot four vine stems tied together with straw bands, and under them a piece of a cake called a *kophtopite*, made specially for the purpose, wine being one of its ingredients. A round loaf is rolled from the gate to the middle of the vineyard, and then distributed to the ravens, crows, and other birds which damage the grapes, with this invitation, "Assemble, O crows and ravens, so that we may eat and drink, and that you may do us no more harm!"

On the 1st of February, St. Tryphon's Day, it is 789
considered lucky to work in the fields, but not in the 787
vineyards. On the 2nd, the "Feast of the Puri- [372]
fication," all kinds of small pulse and cereals are cooked together in a pot, and this mess, called *karkasina*, forms the staple food of the day. On the eve of the 1st of March, a kind of divination is performed by throwing into the fire a particular kind of leaf and pronouncing at the same time the name of a member of the family. If the leaf makes an explosive noise while burning, it is held to be a good omen for the person indicated, but if it burns quietly, the reverse.[1] On this vigil a clod of earth, on which a few drops of wolf's milk have been sprinkled, is thrown against the door in order that the cows and goats may milk well. In the morning the cattle are whipped with cherry branches, in order that they may enjoy good [515] ●
health, and people wash themselves with wine with a view to preserving themselves from vermin during the summer. As an additional precaution, they also 789
catch a flea, which they impale on the point of a new

[1] The ancient φελλαρεία.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

M 291 531 286

in it shows a portion of this pattern, which has not been covered like all the rest with white beads, and a yellow chain-stitched outline. Little tassels of brown, blue and green with white beads at the ends also form part of the decoration.

A 5

No. 1935-72. A delightful girdle for a Moslem woman's trousers of hand-woven muslin has very handsome decorated ends worked in Turkey red, with tiny spots of blue, yellow and white.

291 294 286 531

The pattern is clearly shown at "F" on Plate XV, the upper part has been woven in by means of a number of small spools, as many as twenty-five might be in use on the loom, as each perpendicular bit of the pattern needs its own spool. A similar effect could be got by darning, but such long strips of vertical pattern would not be as evenly worked.

The border at the end is either needle-woven or again fine spools used, but this time on the bare warp thread whilst in the loom, and it is therefore more akin to the tapestry method of working a pattern, with the warp thread pulled more tightly so as to leave holes. This method and style of pattern is sometimes called Persian open-work. The edge of the girdle is rolled and carefully whipped over with a cotton thread.

No. 1935-24. One half of a man's festival collar, worked in needlepoint in cream silk, is shown at "G" on Plate XV, and is a charming example of this method of producing lace.

Picots, solid buttonholing to form squares and triangles, and wrapped bars are the chief stitches used in making the patterns. The two narrow strips of fine linen probably formed a foundation for working upon.

"This is a similar type of collar to the one made fashionable by Byron." (M.E.D.).

No. 1935-23. An everyday collar for a man's wear is also included in the collection. It again has two strips of a coarser linen as foundation, and is decorated mainly by several rows of overcast scallops and picots worked in coarse cotton.

A 291 531 294

No. 1937-15. This specimen is a pair of crimson silk brocade sleeves, joined by a printed cotton back, for a Moslem Albanian woman's dress. "They were bought in Scutari in 1903 and could be attached to the shirt or blouse for wear under a jelek or a giubba" (M.E.D.). The pointed cuff is trimmed with gold braid and a motive worked in gold cord.

C 291 301 531

No. 1939-2. The remaining sketch on Plate XVI is of a silvered copper buckle such as would be worn over her corded waistband by the woman from Monastir (Bitolj), whose costume is illustrated on Plate IX.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Household Linen.

A Y 286 515 531 583

A. "Marama" or Towels.

There are thirteen towels in the collection, two of these "marama" for every day use have coloured weft stripes at the ends, the rest are guest or ceremonial towels and have ornamented ends, seven are embroidered and four are decorated with borders worked in by fine spools of small size, the appearance of the designs being like fine darning.

[Text continues on p. 72]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

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Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

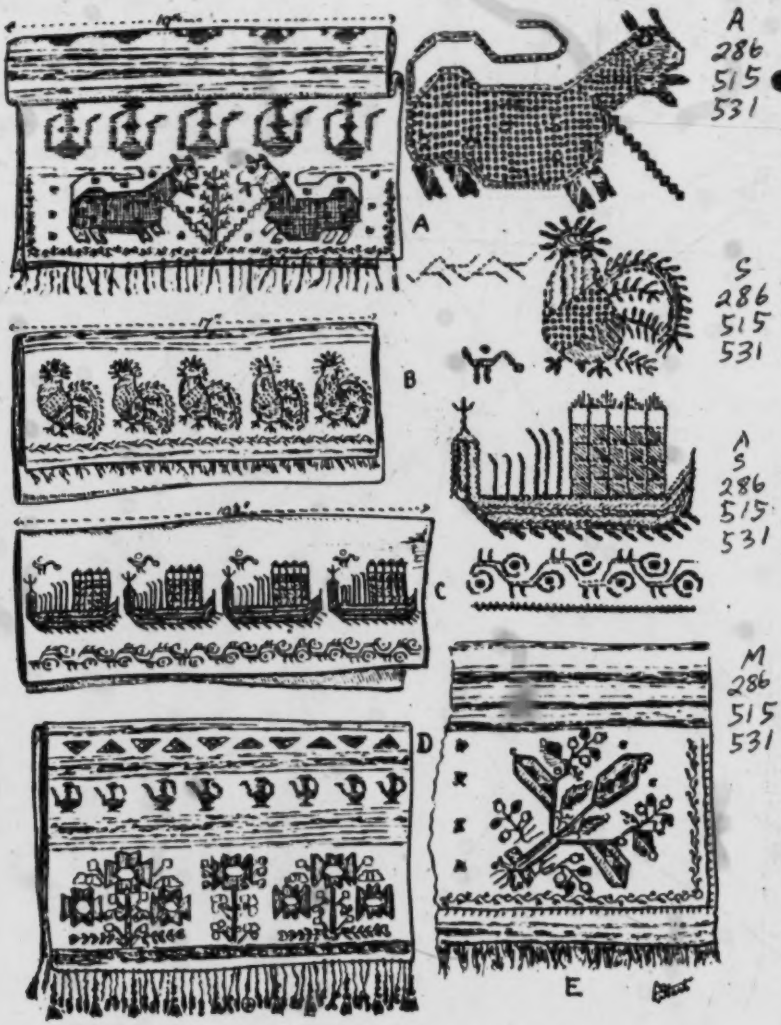

PLATE XVII.—" Marama " or towels. A, With " ibrik " or spouted water vessel, from Prizren. B, Cock design, from Kossova villayet. C, Ark and dove pattern, from Prizren. D From Kolasin. E, Design showing Turkish influence, from Prizren.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

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"As a rule these embroidered towels are from wedding outfits, the bride's coffer." (M.E.D.).

No. 1937·11. Perhaps the most interesting of the embroidered group is an old marama bought at Prizren in 1908, which is probably Moslem Albanian work. It is of fine hand-spun and loosely woven cotton rather like a muslin, with groups of wide, double weft stripes in cotton and finer weft stripes in silk.

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In its length of four feet there are five plainly woven bands, three inches wide, decorated with free spool-woven "ibriks" or water vessels, and the plainly woven ends are embroidered. (Plate XVIIA).

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"The ibrik is a spouted vessel used to pour water on guests' hands before and after a meal. As no forks are used fingers needed washing, and it is probable that the native was taught hand-washing at meals by the Turk, who was not such a bad fellow as some people make out. 'Marama' and 'ibrik' are both Turkish words." (M.E.D.).

The two tethered beasts are worked in a violet-red silk in pulled stitch ("c" Plate XV), with outlines in pale blue and cream of the Turkish stitch shown at vi, in "d" on the same plate. This stitch, in apricot pink and pale yellow with a pale blue outline, is also used for filling in the animals' legs.

The "tree of life", to which the beasts are tethered by chains made of squares of gold thread, has a stem of gold plate worked diagonally bearing green leaves. The spots are worked in gold plate and the whole design has affinities with Persian pattern.

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No. 1937·12. Another "marama" of a similar weave, also with stripes weft of cotton and silk, has its ends embroidered with a procession of boldly stylised cocks, gaily worked in aniline dyed silks and gold thread (Plate XVIIB). Although the use of aniline dyes indicates that this towel is not very old, the pattern is probably a traditional one.

The body of each cock is outlined and the feet are worked in black, the head and most of the body is filled in with a flat or satin stitch in gold thread, as indicated by the slanting lines in the enlarged drawing, with a band of pulled stitch across the middle worked in violet. At the extreme edge there is a narrow border worked in coral pink, a colour which is also introduced as a small patch on the cock's neck.

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No. 1937·13. A motive representing "the dove returning to the ark" is repeated at the ends of a guest towel made of machine woven muslin (Plate XVIIC).

"This marama was obtained from Prizren and might be either Christian, Serb or Albanian work. The Ark seems to be based on the state galleys of the Middle Ages when Venice held the Adriatic coast, and is probably a traditional design. The curious running pattern below looks as though it might be symbolic, possibly a conventionalised dove, just the head and legs." (M.E.D.).*

The dark lines in the drawing are all worked in green in Turkish stitch, the bank of oars in the same stitch in red, and the dove in violet. The slanting lines represent flat or satin stitch worked in gold thread. Turkish stitch in violet, with a gold thread line down the centre, is used for the little border below the ark design. The whole of the plain part of the towel has a rolled edge very neatly oversewn, but where

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man.* Vol. XXIII, No. 5, 1923.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albanja EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

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[171]

the patterned section comes this is replaced by a very fine picot edge worked in orange silk.

No. 1937-5. One half of an end of a gaily embroidered " marama " is drawn at " E " on Plate XVI. The material is hand-woven cotton of a muslin-like texture, which again has both silk and cotton weft stripes. The pattern shows a strong Turkish influence, the towel being bought in Prizren in 1908. Prizren was then in Turkish terr.

Gold thread and black silk help to tone down the gay, but rather hard, aniline greens, red, pink and violet, and the final result is bright but pleasing. Gold thread is used for the running border, lining the stems, filling in the white berries of the drawing and the square spots. The large and the fern-like leaves are solidly filled in with a variant of the Turkish stitch, in which the stitches are sloped both going and returning so that it is like two rows of a slanted running stitch. A rough fringe of the warp ends finishes off the lower edges. The selvedges at the sides have not been finished off in any way, and the carry over of the spools of silk and doubled cotton which were used for the stripes leave it rather untidy.

No. 1936-49. Another towel of similar material to the last, but with a whipped selvedge, has a design of crimson roses with green, gold and black leaves. With the exception of a little pulled stitch in gold, the stitches used are also similar, but there is in addition a charming little border near the lower edge. The towel is another example from Prizren and the design is of Persian origin.

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No. 1936-58. A muslin marama from Scutari has whipped selvedges and a border at the ends of highly conventionalised flower sprays worked in pale blue, dull violet and pale blue silk in Turkish stitch, with flowers formed of three squares filled in with gold plate.

A border below the main pattern consists of double buds or flowers in gold plate which somewhat resemble crosses.

No. 1937-14. The last specimen of an embroidered towel is of machine-woven material and has a flower design without special interest.

M
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No. 1935-32. A very fine old " marama " from the Kolašin district of hand-woven cotton with wide weft stripes of a coarser cotton has six rows of the " ibrik " motive and four rows of a triangular motive woven on the plain material between the stripes.

Both these designs are woven in by means of small free spools, or possibly needles, and the same thick cotton weft is used as that for the stripes. The handsome border at the ends (Plate XVIID) is also woven in by a number of free spools, producing a result like fine darning in which the needle would go over one thread and under one thread of the fabric alternately.

The only materials used are Turkey red and black cotton, and a very fine gold thread.

The flowers are centred with gold and have red petals with gold spots, the whole being outlined with a band of black. Leaves and other details are chiefly outlined in red and filled in with gold. A weft stripe of red near the end has inserts of little triangles on the gold, and an amusing fringe made of the twisted warp ends is decorated with red and black beads, probably Venetian, small Turkey red tassels and an imitation coin.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

A 286 515 531 [574]

No. 1937-10. A guest towel given to Miss Durham by Dom Simeone, a Catholic priest of Djakova, in Albania, was woven by his sister. It is of fine cotton with wide weft stripes of coarser thread and has a few narrow silk stripes bordering the plain cloth of the ends, which are decorated with a spool-woven pattern worked in wool, dyed with aniline dyes. The colours used are a hard pink, violet, blue, dark red and emerald, and the result is somewhat harsh compared with the other examples. The design of a stiff stem with three very conventional flowers is vaguely Turkish but the little borders on either side of the main pattern, consisting of two rows of circular spots, are rather charming.

Dom Simeone's initials D.S.C. are worked in red cross-stitch.

No. 1935-35. The two last " marama " with decorated ends have some of their motives brocaded in by free spools, but also have borders worked in the tapestry manner on the warp threads, whilst the cloth is still in the loom, in the style often called Persian openwork*, which is akin to needleweaving but much finer.

The example whose number is quoted above, is of hand woven cotton material 17 inches (43·18 cm.) wide and 4 feet (1·2 m.) long, and has five Persian open-work borders in Turkey red and white at the end, divided by coarse cotton weft stripes. Above this group of narrow border patterns there are two rows of " ibriks " in red filling the angles of a chevron pattern in white which has yellow four-petalled flowers at its angles. These designs are worked in with free spools.

The five open-work borders consist of two outer ones with tiny red rectangles on a white ground and three wider ones composed of chevrons in white filled in with red triangles ; the whole border measures 6½ inches (16·51 cm.) in width, and has a rich appearance.

No. 1936-57. This " marama " from Scutari is unusual on account of its size, being made of two widths of material each 13 inches (33·0 cm.) wide and measuring 7 feet (2·1 m.) in length.

It is of hand-woven cotton almost covered with broad and narrow weft stripes of a thicker thread, and the decorated borders at the ends are 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide. The whole border consists of six narrow ones with a broader one in the centre, worked in pink, red and white, all divided from one another by groups of narrow weft stripes. The patterns are all geometrical, and based on arrangements of squares and triangles, and the six narrower ones are of Persian openwork, whilst the broader central one is brocaded with free spools.

A S 515 531

A twisted fringe of the warp ends finishes off the whole.

No. 1936-53. One of the two " maramas " for everyday use is of coarse, hand-woven cotton and has a group of Turkey red weft stripes at each end. It was bought in Prizren and used personally by Miss Durham.

286 A

No. 1936-47. The other, also of coarse, hand-woven material, has an arrangement of broad and narrow stripes of gold plate at the ends.

B. **Bedspreads.**

286 513 583 531

No. 1935-29. A gauze bed-cover from Scutari (Skodar) with warp and weft stripes in red and white, the wider red ones having a line of yellow or green down their centres, is an example from the latter end of the 19th Century, and formed part of a bride's outfit. The crossing of the pairs of red stripes with pairs of white stripes produces a gay, tartan-like effect.

* T. de Dillmont : " Encyclopædia of Needlework."

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939) 1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad, made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece. 352 [417]

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder. [342]

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples, in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. [531] These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching up to the low roof. [354]

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the 264 516 562

EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

562 [264] [516] women, and set on the table by a young man. The best places and softest cushions are taken by the old men as a matter of course, when they recline or sit on the floor to smoke, talk, and drink coffee. At night this room[1] is given A [574] up to the guests, who, of course, are almost always men. S Albanians are very jealous, and keep their women carefully M secluded in their own part of the house.

A 342 Montenegrins and Serbs living in this region (some of them claim that their families have dwelt there since pre-Kosovo days) build their houses in the thatched one-storeyed manner, with mud-brick walls as in Montenegro itself, copying nothing from the later Albanian fortress-houses.

XIV

C 342 [177] (7) *Houses in Dalmatia* are marked by Venetian influence, though not so strongly in the villages as in the towns, which are extremely Italianized in their building. In coast villages one generally finds quite ordinary little stone or brick cottages with thick walls and tiled roofs. Inland village houses are more distinctive. They are built of stone, with or without mortar. The roofs are tiled, and a C stone-flagged verandah and path run between the cool dark [35] house and the flower-garden, surrounded by a low stone wall. Windows are fairly large and kept open. In some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Dubrovnik a room shaped above the eaves like a huge extinguisher is used as a kitchen. Its sloping sides, twice the height of the upright walls, end above the roof in a small square chimney with a pointed cap, and are slit by one or more vent-holes. The narrow eaves almost meet the lintels of the doors and windows. In the Karst districts, farther inland, the cottages are of the barren mountain type.

XV

S 342 (8) *Shepherds' huts* are extremely simple, often like wigwams. In Serbia they are mostly made of sticks piled into the shape of a tent, with a door, the spaces between them sometimes filled with clay or sods. In the heights of

[1] [i.e., the guest-chamber.– Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

much probably valuable material, for when many an ancient grave has been opened and nothing but pottery and bits of bronze or iron found, the treasure-seekers, enraged that the gold should have thus been turned to rubbish because they did not know the formula, have smashed it all into small fragments. 776 777 789

One way to find treasure is to spread a layer of wood-ash over the spot where it is believed to lie. Next morning, if it bears the footprint of any bird or beast—a fox, sheep, etc.—such a creature must be sacrificed upon the spot. A black animal or bird with no touch of white on it is particularly efficacious. 777 782

In many places I had to declare to the headmen that I had not come to search for treasure.

Those good days are past. Albania is now being searched for petroleum, and, unless the kindly earth refuses to give it up, the land will be devoured by foreign speculators.

I was once taken a weary tramp in Berisha to see and explain a marvel. On a great mass of rock was a slight hollow into which a man's hand would fit, and near it a depression that was supposed to be like a mule's hoof-print. Both were natural weatherings of the rock. But the native theory was that ages ago, when the rock was soft, a man had hidden a treasure and made the rock flow over it. He had then marked the spot with his hand and the hoof-mark of his beast. Unless the right formula could be obtained there was nothing for it but to quarry and blast the huge mass, and without the formula even this might not avail. I vainly said the marks meant nothing. My excited escort would not let me leave till I had "written" (i.e. drawn) the marks, and promised that if learned men in England could explain them I would return and show them how to find the treasure. 777 789

"Hoof-marks" are favourite things in the Balkans. One was shown me on the shores of Lake Presba and ascribed to Sharatz, the magic horse of Marko Kralyevitch; and in a cave on the slopes of the Lovchen in Montenegro I was shown, as a great marvel, a small roundish depression—a hoof-mark, also "made when the rock was soft." Krsto thought it possible that Marko Kralyevitch had once stabled Sharatz here, and several people asked my opinion about it. In the long weary hours, when watching goats on the mountains, men ponder over such trifles and build fancies upon them. Weary and weary are those endless hours. I never met anyone who did not speak with hate of the watching of beasts he had had to do when young. Often was I asked to build a factory where a man would be given enough bread for a day's labour and no longer have to watch goats on the mountain. The foreigner is now starting works; I doubt if they bring the expected happiness. [517] ● 777

In the hill-side on the left of the road from Djakova to Prizren I 772

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

returned home. Said he to his wife, "Go and invite your brothers to dinner." 539

Arrived at their house, she said, "We beg you to come and dine with us," and they followed her home. They began to eat the *pastourma*, but tried in vain to chew it, for it was not cooked.

"How is this," they asked, "that you give us raw meat?"

"It is the same meat you had on the spit the other evening," replied the husband. "I have served it to you precisely as you roasted it yourselves."

"What! Was it thou who gave us such a horrible fright?"

"I myself. But let us be comrades all the same."

And comrades they were.

Though the Albanians cannot be called a musical people, singing is the favourite pastime of both men and women. Their airs have little variety, being for the most part monotonous recitatives, and the singer's merit depends upon his success in rivalling the violin, mandolin, or flute, by which his song is accompanied, in prolonging the last note. The songs are generally long ballads, which recount the victories of the tribe, the doughty deeds of ancestors, of the family, or the exploits of some national hero. For in the songs of the Skipetars the later history of the country is preserved, and in those of the Ghegs more particularly may be found the record of how they obstinately resisted, yard by yard, the Turkish advance into their mountains, and were only subdued at last by the

533 [517] [534] 533 173

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 26

The state takes care of the physical education of the people, especially that of the youth, with a view to improving health and increasing the capacity of the people for work and the defense of the state. 657

ARTICLE 27

Freedom of scientific and artistic work is guaranteed. 517
The state promotes science and the arts in such a way as to further the culture and welfare of the public.

The rights of authors are protected by law.

ARTICLE 28

In order to raise the cultural level, the state gives to all 871
classes of people every chance to attend schools and other cultural institutions.

The state is particularly interested in the education of youth.

Minors are protected by law. [858]

The schools belong to the state. Private schools can be opened only by special permission. All their activities are supervised by the state. Elementary education is free and obligatory.

Schools are separated from the church.

ARTICLE 29

Citizens have the right to petition state organs for 641
redress of wrongs.

Citizens have the right to complain against any illegal or irregular decision of an administrative organ of the state.

ARTICLE 30

Every citizen can complain in competent courts against officials who have acted unjustly in the discharge of their duty.

ARTICLE 31

Citizens are entitled to seek from the state or from an 695
official compensation for damages incurred as a result of illegal or irregular punishment.

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "I should say they're patient!" cried Frances. "Perolli, if you don't tell them we are simply dying of hunger, I will! It's almost two o'clock in the morning. Do they think we are made of—cast iron? I want something to eat, and I want to go to sleep. Do they intend to talk until morning?"

[576] [521] "It is the custom, when strangers come, to talk to them," said Perolli, severely. "Their only way of hearing news, and their only entertainment, is talking to guests. If you want to be rude about eating and sleeping, go ahead; I won't."

"Oh, all right," Frances relented, sadly. "Perolli, do you believe in ora?"

"Well—do you believe in heaven and hell, and God and the devil? There are lots of things in the world that you don't see or touch. I don't know——" He said, briskly, "Of course I don't believe in ora!" He wavered again. "But when you know so many people who have seen them and talked with them—I mean, who think they have—— Everyone used to believe such things, long ago, and perhaps, here in these mountains, where the people have changed so little through all the centuries, there may still be things—spirits, phantoms, whatever you like to call them. Understand, I don't believe it. But there may be something in that myth that's part of every religion, that there was a time when there were other beings on earth besides men. And if there were once, why then, if we could

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

574 storied house, where a score of Zogist guerillas were gathered
[342] round the fire. The room was filled with smoke — for the house had no chimney, like many in Albania — and it was several minutes before I could see or breathe in comfort. I sat down, however, by the hearth, where a carpet had been spread, and while the evening meal was made ready had some talk with Petrit. He spoke quite good French, having studied in the French *lycée* at Korcha, where, by a strange irony, Enver Hoja had been his teacher. He was obviously eager for news of the outside world, and the flow of his questions was only restrained by his sense of courtesy as my host. In appearance he was not unlike his father, though of sturdier build and more slothful movements; and I was told that he had already distinguished himself in the previous autumn's fighting. He was possessed besides of a natural authority, and, despite his youth, seemed to command the respect of the wild mountaineers who accompanied him. Some of these spoke a little Italian or Serb, and their discussions that night gave me a first impression of
● [521] Zogist public opinion. The Ghegs are not great talkers like the Greeks or Slavs, but I felt, from what they said, that they were rather suspicious of British intentions and far more concerned with preventing the spread of Communism in Albania than with fighting the Germans. Towards one o'clock
[262] our conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the evening meal of soup, boiled mutton and cheese. We ate in silence
[513] and as soon as we had finished I retired to rest on one of the mattresses which the master of the house had spread for us on the floor.

342 Next day, in the afternoon, Petrit accompanied me to the place where Abas Kupi had made his temporary headquarters. It was a grey stone keep, built on a jutting rib of the mountain range and approached by a path so narrow and precipitous that I had to send back my horse and make the last stage of the journey on foot. Abas Kupi came out to meet me, as I turned
[576] into the walled courtyard of the house, and welcomed me with the traditional greeting of "*Tungjatjeta*" — "May your life be prolonged". He led the way up a flight of wooden steps, resting like a ladder against the wall of the house, and took

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

me by the hand into a dark and dusty room, hung with rifles and submachine-guns. It was thronged with Zogist notables and their bodyguards: wild and rugged men, corrugated with cartridge-belts, and festooned with pistols, daggers, and hand-grenades. Most of them were dressed in black, baggy Turkish breeches, braided homespun jackets of black or brown, with multicoloured sashes wound about their waists, and white fezes or skull-caps on their heads. A few besides were in uniform retained from the time of their service in the Albanian army, or looted from the Italians; while others, especially the leaders, wore tweed or leather jackets, variously combined with local or military costume.

We sat down, Turkish fashion, by the fire; and, while we drank coffee and exchanged greetings, the guerillas milled around, or sat together in small groups, whispering intently. To a stranger this whispering seemed sinister and blatantly conspiratorial, but the others took no offence at it. Necessity indeed imposed a communal way of life on the guerillas; each man was watched by his fellows in his every movement, and it was only by whispering that any privacy of discussion could be preserved.

I had been there perhaps half an hour when, at a sign from Abas Kupi, the guerillas filed out of the room, and we remained alone with Shaqir, my interpreter, and Colonel Murad Basha. Basha had been a regular officer under King Zog and had joined Abas Kupi in Belgrade in 1940. He was now the Zogist Chief-of-Staff, but struck me from the first as pedantic and too quick to see the difficulties in any scheme. He was indeed to prove a defeatist influence at the Zogist Headquarters, for, though personally no coward, he was terrified of action, like so many senior officers who have won their spurs on the square rather than in the field.

I began our discussions by showing Abas Kupi my credentials: these were a letter from Stirling, who had been his friend, and a *besa* given me by King Zog. This was a covenant enjoining upon all Albanians the duty of protecting my life and, should their zeal prove unavailing, of avenging my death. My *bona fides* thus established I recalled our meeting in Belgrade

7: Amary G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

576 574 meat, and, since several hours might pass before the sheep or kid had been killed and made ready, it was often past midnight before we had eaten.

While the meal was cooking we variously slept or talked and let the bodyguards dry damp clothes by the fire or massage our weary limbs. Sometimes, to beguile the time, one of the [533] company would recite from the long epic poems in which the Albanians record the exploits of their heroes. They were weird, monotonous laments, sung in a high-pitched nasal voice to the accompaniment of a one-stringed mandolin. An hour [273] or so before the meal was served flasks of *raki* would be brought, accompanied by *mese* of onions, cheese, and sometimes hard-boiled eggs or lumps of grilled meat. *Raki* is a fiery, colourless spirit, made from the pulp of grapes, or sometimes, like *slivovitz*, from plums. Among the mountaineers it was usually home-brewed, and varied greatly in quality and strength. The principal guests would each receive a small flask, the shape of an old-fashioned burgundy flagon, and holding perhaps half a pint, while the rest of the company fared according to the resources of the host, sharing a flask between two or three. Toasts were drunk to the traditional greeting of " *Tungjatjeta* " — " May your life be prolonged " ; and, though the mountaineers habitually drank to excess, they seldom failed to comport themselves with grave, if sometimes mellowed, dignity.

When the cooking was done Maclean, as the chief guest, would be asked if the meal might be served ; there was never [521] conversation after meals, and so the greatest compliment which he could pay his host and fellows was to ask for a postponement. 264 As soon, however, as he had given his assent, a circular wooden table some five feet in diameter would be carried in, standing about six inches from the ground. Round this a dozen of us would assemble, sitting cross-legged, but in a crocodile, each sideways on to the table so as to make room for as many as possible. We would then each be given a spoon as our sole piece of cutlery and with this helped ourselves to the more liquid dishes at the centre of the table. There were no plates, so that each spoon plied steadily backwards and forwards

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

628 worthy of a better cause, and fourteen victims fell,
562 thus perpetuating the feud among the survivors.
578

On another occasion the breaking of a girl's pitcher at the fountain by two mischievous boys resulted in such a desperate contest between her friends and theirs that some sixty persons fell in the fight. It is said, however, that even on such occasions as these
562 the men refrain, as far as possible, from striking or
577 wounding the women, for the Albanian code of
484 honour makes it impossible to attack a woman, whether armed or unarmed. The sacredness attached to their persons extends also to those whom they take under their protection. Escorted by a girl only, travellers may safely pass through the wildest parts of the country, and a man may cross, without fear, the lands of one with whom he is at feud, if he have the safe-conduct of a woman belonging to his enemy's family.

577 To such an extent is respect for women carried by
562 the Albanians, that it is contrary to their notions of
522 propriety ever to make women the subject of jokes or humorous stories. Insult or annoyance offered to a
578 girl, or carrying off one without the consent of her
562 parents, almost invariably results in bitter feuds between families, or fierce battles between tribes. As with most mountain people, the moral code is with
684 the Skipetars exceedingly strict. Among many of the tribes any lapse from virtue on the part of a woman is punished with death, a subsequent marriage not being allowed to condone the fault. The penalty of adultery is of equally Draconic severity. The unfaithful wife is placed up to her shoulders in a pit, and

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

by armful and carried into the houses to be fed 246
to the sheep and goats.

The sky was still a leaden gray, with darker ooo
clouds moving sluggishly among the mountains, and the air still seemed more than half full of falling water. The soaked rawhide opangi were like soft rags on my feet; at every step my woolen stockings emptied and filled with water like sponges, and all our fingers were shrunk in ridges from the long wetting. But we were gay, 522
we sang along the way, the weak little songs that so amused the steel-lunged mountaineers, and when a low growl of thunder and a flicker of fire among the clouds announced a stronger onslaught of the rain, Perolli waved his hand toward the mountain tops and joyously shouted something—we thought, to the effect that we were not flowers.

"*Dranit?*" said I. "Great Scott! do you need announce that we aren't flowers? Shout that we are not drowned puppies, if you want to startle onlookers."

"Not *dranit—drangojt,*" Perolli corrected. "I said to the dragon he may growl as he likes; we're not drangojt."

"No," I said. "No, we aren't. But what aren't we?"

"Drangojt," replied Perolli, and broke into careless song. There were times when I could have boxed that young man's ears, for nothing is more irritating than a sense of humor which is not yours. And the Albanians have a sense

522 of humor which is never idle, and seldom comprehensible to the foreigner.

776 "Drangojt means the people with wings, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh, and thought that all was clear. "You know, the people born with little wings under their arms," he elaborated, when I regarded him blankly. "The people—I don't know how other to say it, Mrs. Lane. Wings, you know—what the birds fly with—wings. Under their arms. Don't you have people born with wings in your country?"

I said that if we had I knew nothing of it, and Rexh's forehead wrinkled with perplexity. "But perhaps—— Of course you are not a drangue, you would not know the American drangojt," he concluded, his face clearing. "You can usually tell them, though, by their running to their houses whenever it rains. First, you hear the dragon on the mountains; then, you see all the drangojt running to houses. That is the way you tell them; except, if you are their mother, then you see the wings when they are born. But if you are not their mother, you cannot see the wings, and you only know they are drangojt when they run to their houses in the rain."

"Are they afraid they'll get their wings wet?" said I, with great interest.

"Oh no! They are not afraid of anything. When the weather is thundering, that is the dragon fighting with the drangojt. So when they hear the dragon, all the drangojt go quickly to their houses to be ready if they are called to

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

bread. Five commercial lorries were drawn up beside them, 669*
but the leading one had blown up on a land-mine and its front wheels and radiator were shattered and twisted. Abas Kupi came to meet us and embraced us warmly, expressing his relief to see us safe and sound. Half a mile away, from the head of the pass, came the sound of rifle and machine-gun fire.

The Zogist counter-offensive had begun that morning: and the Agha now explained to us that he intended to re-occupy the Shupal valley and descend over the Qaf Murresit into Mati to outflank the Partisans. He parried most of my questions and presently we left the road to climb with the guerillas to the head of the Shupal valley. There we found Murad Basha and Dule Allemani with an advance guard of some five hundred men, grouped just below the crest of the watershed. From the crest itself a few snipers were harassing the retreat of the Partisans. The latter soon withdrew out of range; and an hour later, with forces which amounted to fifteen hundred men, Abas Kupi reoccupied the village of Bruz. There we were lodged for the night, in the same house where I had first met Petrit three months before.

The morale of the Zogists was high; and their chiefs had been much encouraged by a speech in the Albanian transmission of the B.B.C. made by General Percy, the former Inspector-General of the Albanian gendarmerie. The General had condemned the Partisan attack against Abas Kupi, and his words, taken in conjunction with the Smith Mission, had convinced the Zogist leaders that they could count on British support. The talk that evening was livelier than usual, and 522
Murad Basha indulged in sallies against the reactionary influence of the *Beys* and *Aghas* with pointed references to Abas Kupi and Said. They riposted with a joke typical of Albanian humour and which was kept up for several weeks. Among the chiefs was a kindly but simple young man whose brother had been killed some years before when a bomb with which he had gone out fishing had exploded in his hand. The bomb had apparently been given him by Murad Basha; and Abas Kupi now represented to the young man with the utmost gravity that he was in honour bound to avenge the injury. The

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

522 youth at first took it all in earnest; Basha looked hotly embarrassed; and the assembled company laughed till their sides ached. Later in the evening a more pathetic note was struck by Dule Bey, when I condoled with him over the burning of his home.

"I had no right," he said, "to expect that my house would escape destruction when so many great cities all over the world are bombed every day. But I had hoped that it would be burnt by the Germans whom I intended to attack and not by fellow Albanians."

*669 From Bruz I had sent couriers to Maclean, who joined us next afternoon with Davis and the wireless set. He made the journey without difficulty; for the Partisans were in full retreat and their rearguards had already lost touch with the Zogist van. We slept that night in Mener, a village two hours' march further down the valley, and in the morning received a disturbing report from Smiley that German troops had appeared on the Mati front near Burrel. We at once informed Abas Kupi and told him bluntly that any "collaboration" between his men and the Germans must prove fatal to our relations. He showed concern rather than surprise at the news, and, after some discussion, wrote to Sul Kurti, ordering him to avoid all contact with the Germans and to withdraw his men from any sector where they might appear.

The Agha now marched off to direct the reoccupation of Shupal, but we remained at Mener, preparing a report for Headquarters. Smiley joined us there next day, the 19th July, after finding it impossible to cross the Mati valley. That same afternoon a courier came from Tirana with the news that Fikri Dine had accepted the premiership and had persuaded a number of influential men hitherto unsuspected of "collaboration" to join his government.

The presence of lorries with the Zogist forces, the sudden abundance of white bread, the arrival of German troops in Mati, and now the news that Fikri Dine had taken office, all suggested that Neubacher had at last succeeded in creating the very anti-Communist Front which we had worked hard, and for a time successfully, to prevent. The situation of the Zogists

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

they met with public commendation in such cases. The modernity 695
of the court-house was against the oath; there had been no time for 687
the growth of stories about punishment for perjury in it. For the same reason the new church in Nikaj was not thought so good a place for taking an oath as was the old one.

It happened inevitably that some men were sceptical or sacrilegious enough to take a false oath and plausible enough to persuade the requisite number of compurgators to swear to their innocence. A thief could send a stolen cow to graze with his own, yoke the stolen ox into the plough with one of his own and hang a bell on the neck of the stolen sheep or goat. The real owner might recognize the animal, but he could not claim it. The public too might recognize it, but they had to shut their eyes. The law said, 'what is won by an oath belongs to him who wins it'. The law disliked this principle but had to accept it because there was no way of bringing home a crime to a man who had been cleared by an oath. This legal defect made it essential that honourable and knowledgeable compurgators should be chosen. The same defect made every tribal authority, in the interests of justice, foster the general fear of perjury to the utmost.

In spite of the fear of punishment for perjury, some jesting [522]
stories, which are possibly apocryphal, were told of perjurers. Once there was a headman in the village of Peladhi, near Zerqan, who wrapped up a block of wood in a cloth as if it were a Koran and summoned the village to swear on it that they would no longer go and cut wood illicitly in each other's forest. They took the oath and, believing they had done so on the Koran, kept it. He too took the oath, but knowing it to be void because taken only on a profane bit of wood went afterwards to his neighbour's forest and cut all the wood he wanted.

619 634 114 Travel in Ghegnia in the years 1908–13 would not have been easy, even for an experienced man. For a woman to have made these journeys is something of a miracle. Others may be the result of the process of amalgamation, for many of the "tribes" which she mentions were miserable fragments of former populations decimated by warfare, and massacred, in some cases, by the Serbs. By 1929 a considerable realignment must have taken place in the whole area north of the Drin, and especially in the regions which she designates as Postripa and Pulati. In any case the 10 groups of people whom I have designated as tribes were so considered by the people with whom I worked in 1929, and form more or less self-contained, intermarrying units, sufficient for our present purpose.

619 628 Under the tribal system warfare was almost continuous. The underlying cause was of course population pressure. The overt causes were seduction, theft of women, elopement, cattle-stealing, and general raiding. It did not take much to give offense, particularly in the late winter, when food was scarce. Even a man who had almost enough to eat himself would be under severe tension, because of the general nervous strain of his kinsmen and dependents, and consequent maladjustment within the household.

A chance blow, a harsh word, even a play on words which is very easy in Shqip, or above all a cruel joke—these seemingly minor conflicts often led to gunplay and murder, with consequent feuding. I had several occasions to feel their Iron Age wit, so much like that of the Norse sagas. Once my host in Zadrima remarked, in front of many people, that I had the skinniest legs he had ever seen, and wondered how I could walk. The assembled company burst into Homeric roars. On another occasion, in a Puka *han*, I lifted my head suddenly and hit it a sound smack on a protruding nail, partially stunning myself in the process. This was the funniest thing in the world. Once again, when Farnsworth and I crawled into our sleeping bags for the night, the whole household laughed and laughed. When we asked what was the matter, they said, "Just think, if the house should catch on fire! You

●522

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

521 wouldn't be able to get out of those sacks, Ha! Ha! Ha!"

628 682 619 What happens when a man kills another of the same tribe can best be learned from the following quotation from Miss Durham.[7]

> Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. [Miss Durham is using "tribe" in the restricted sense, as before.] Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and order his house to be burnt. Among the Dukagini the council has power also to destroy his crops, cut down his fruit trees, slaughter his beasts, and condemn the land to lie unworked for a term of years. An incredible amount of food-stuff is thus wasted. In this group not only the man who has taken blood, but all the males of his "house," are liable for blood, so they, too, have to fly. The "house" is the home maybe of a whole family community—forty people. But the law is carried out to the last letter. Such desolated spots have I seen. But "It is the Canon, so must be obeyed," was the answer to any remonstrance I made. The women and children may scatter and find shelter in other houses if they can; they usually do. A man can save his house if he can return to it and defend it three days successfully, so that the men sent by the council cannot set fire to it; I saw "a very brave man" in Berisha who had three times saved his house thus. Or a man can save his house by inviting the head of another mehala [household] to act as house lord and defend it with his own men. This might cause severe fighting. The council, to prevent this, then as a rule agrees to burn the house only and spare the property. The amount of property to be destroyed was always decided by the council. . . . In addition to the burning of the house, in all tribes a fine has to be paid. . . . in sheep or cattle. . . . to the Turkish Government. In the case of Maltsia e Madhe this was paid . . . in Scutari. . . . punctually . . . . The Turkish Government had a certain hold on all the nearer tribes, for it could hold as hostage any member of a tribe which owed blood-gelt and came to market at Scutari. The outlying tribes of Dukagini by no means always either notified or paid for their murders.
>
> Feuds being very weakening to a tribe, the headmen of the tribe or friends of the family would attempt to stop the feud. Blood-feuds of the Dukagini

[672]

[7] Durham, 1928, pp. 66-68.

[8] Miss Durham translated *bairaktar as* "head of the tribe." This explains her confusion between tribes and *bairaks* noted earlier.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

hear him. He offers her sweets which have been left 585
there purposely, but still she heeds him not. This comedy may, if the bridegroom be timid and the bride reserved, be prolonged until the third evening after the marriage, in which case the courage and virtue of the bride are extolled by the women in song. On the third evening, however, custom requires the bride to respond to her husband's advances. On the three days following the wedding the bride, dressed as before, stands like a statue in the reception-room to receive the women visitors who flock to the house in order to inspect her.

The ceremonies attending the nuptials of the [369]
mountain people are almost precisely similar to those customary in the towns, with the exception that the bride is not veiled when conducted to her husband's home. A romantic reserve, however, surrounds the 593
interviews between the young couple, who, especially 831
if the husband be one of a numerous family and have no private apartments, can only meet in secret until they have children of their own. The mountaineers cherish this custom, which, they contend, by surrounding with a halo of romance and mystery the relations of the young couple, tends to keep their love for each 585
other fresh and warm. The wedding processions of the 184
Moslems and Christians are only to be distinguished by the more picturesque effect of those of the former. Many of the company, dressed in rich apparel glitter- [291]
ing with gold embroidery, accompany the bride on [531]
horseback, indulging as they go, whenever they arrive at a spot sufficiently spacious, in the manly old Os- [524]
manli game of throwing the *djerid*, or spear. Pistols

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

538 776 which, by Easter Eve, have become very thin. On the morning of Easter Sunday, however, the Saviour arrives with a new chain with which He again secures Satan to the rock.

A graceful little myth is related in some parts of Albania concerning the origin of the Cuckoo and the *Gyon*, or *Gyonit*, which is, I believe, a species of small 539 owl. The story goes that the cuckoo and the gyon were brother and sister, and had a brother named Gyon, who had been killed. Various causes are assigned for his death in the different versions of the story, that current among the Ritza tribe being that he was accidentally stabbed by his brother with a pair of scissors. In order the better to mourn his loss, the surviving brother was changed into the bird gyon, and the sister into a cuckoo. And so the gyon calls his brother all night long by his name, "*Gyon, Gyon!*" and the cuckoo in the daytime sings, "*Kou! Kou!*" which means, "Where art thou?"[1] In Elbassan, however, it is also said that the sister was changed into the blue flower, which is called the "cuckoo flower," or "cuckoo's bread," and when a woman finds this flower in the field she sings:

Cuckoo, cuckoo, more than cuckoo,
Saw'st thou me?
Saw I thee?
Saw'st thou thy dear brother, Gyon?
How they slew him like an ox?
Blood a spoonful,
Flesh a cupful;
Give me both thine hands!

[524 857] [1] It has occurred to me that the call of "Cuckoo," used by children both in the East and in the West when playing hide-and-seek, may have its origin in some such bird legend.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

Lorries

494 my calculations, and the fare, for a journey of nearly two days' duration, was after all by no means unreasonable.

The Albanian post lorries are of the familiar military type, and I came across no ambulance waggons like those in which I had suffered such discomfort in Montenegro. There is a good deal of traffic on these roads, not only by post lorries but by other lorries, which also belong to the State. A more or less regular service plies between Santi Quaranta and Koritza, the most important town in Northern Albania, with freight, passengers, and live-stock. I often noticed passengers sitting amongst sheep, lambs, and goats with every appearance of contentment. They did not seem at all incommoded. But in the post lorries, fortunately for me, livestock were not carried.

361 Tepeleni, our first stopping place, was destroyed by an earthquake some years ago and it has never yet been properly rebuilt. At the present time it consists of an irregular 265 street of shanties made of lath and tarred paper. As soon as we arrived the lorry-conductor took me to a restaurant—a [262] lop-sided wooden shack with an earthen floor—where two yokels sat eating maize-bread and yaghourt, and a third man, more opulent, was devouring fried fish with his fingers. [524] Coffee was called for and, despite my protests, paid for by the conductor—little courtesies such as this being the commonplaces of travel in benighted and uncivilised Albania.

505 Beyond Tepeleni a river barred our way. There was a bridge, but it was in ruins like the rest of the village, and the crossing had to be made by a ferry. The roadway on

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

496 has it no railways, but the country is so mountainous and the population so small and so scattered that without a considerable subsidy from the State a railway could not be made to pay and is therefore a remote possibility. For this reason it seems likely that Albania will miss the blessings—or escape the degradation (whichever way you prefer to put it)—of industrialism, and remain an agricultural nation.

361 The town has a few smart-looking European shops, as well as one large semi-wholesale store, but for the rest it resembles other Albanian and Turkish towns with streets of cobblers, streets of blacksmiths, streets devoted to saddle-making, harness-making, rope-making, and so forth—all the various trades being segregated, and carried on in the conditions of confusion, dirt, and squalor which are a legacy 524 from the middle ages. In addition there are many cafés, full from early morning to late at night with men who appear to have nothing better to do than sit there playing cards and 458 backgammon. I commented on this fact and was told that it was a sign of bad times and the very serious economic situation of the moment. For this—as for the similar situation in Montenegro—the practical closure of the United States to immigrants is to a large extent responsible. [167] In the past the States have supported a floating population of 40,000 Albanians to whom their own country offered no prospect of remunerative employment; to-day most of these men are at home with nothing to do.

000 I was often asked about Australia, and whether some scheme might not be arranged by which entry would be

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

should strike the next man and the blow would entail a fight and 671
blood. Women should walk the length of a distaff apart—they usually spin as they go—lest a blow given should draw their men into a fight.

Neither man nor woman must pass between two persons who have 671
just been speaking together, for (? in some occult manner) this will 576
cause them to quarrel. So strong is this belief that once in a small hut a woman gripped me by the shoulder, dragged me out, and squeezed herself between me and the wall in order to avoid passing between me and Marko, where there was plenty of room. Lek, I was told, had so ordained. I like to think that he did his best by means of house-burning and fines to diminish the very ancient custom of "blood," and that he did not deserve the Pope's excommunication.

As we have seen, house-burning and fine are the only punishments 681
under the Canon. Nevertheless, by decree of the council of the whole 627
tribe the death penalty can be inflicted. In February 1912 an amazing case of wholesale justice was reported to me which had recently taken place in Mirdita. A certain family of the Fandi bairak had long been notorious for evil-doing—robbing, shooting, and being a pest to the tribe. A gathering of all the heads condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lay in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off; and on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was but five and another but twelve years old. I protested against thus killing children who must be innocent and was told: [827]
"It was bad blood and must not be further propagated." Such was the belief in heredity that it was proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant, lest she should bear a male and so renew the evil. Three shots which missed were fired at her; she rushed to a man and [671]
called on him to protect her. He took her under his besa and she was spared.

A case of private "justice," though it took place in South Albania 681
at Postenani, a small isolated village, and so is not connected with the 183
Canon of Lek, is so singular that it should be recorded. I stayed some days at the village and, when leaving, a crowd gathered to see me start. When we were on the way my guide asked if I had noticed a woman who had stood near the door; I had not. He said it was a pity, as she was a very brave woman and had saved her husband. They owned a house and some land; a child was born to them, and all went well till her husband's brother arrived. He was a bad man, and demoralized the village, not only by starting gambling with card games, but by [525]
drinking and teaching very vicious practices to the youth. The woman with dismay saw her husband taken with the gambling craze, playing away his goods, and nearing ruin. Then the child was ill. She prayed her husband to send for a doctor; but the nearest was a whole day's

ing, accompanied by the women on tambour-
533 ines and they by the men on violins and
535 cornets. Their dances are picturesque in
their native costumes with their hair either
flowing or bound up, according to the partic-
ular dance. For those who may interpret
their dances, there is a rich abundance of
narrative in store for the reader. The har-
mony of tambourine, violin and cornet is not
at all unpleasant when played by skilled musi-
cians. The singing, however, is not harmon-
563 ized, the performers using only one voice.
[461] Regardless of where these gypsies may live
they earn their living in the same way, and
being too lazy to cultivate even a small truck-
garden, they lead easy, happy-go-lucky exist-
[497] ences, and they have their huts free of rent,
provided they work a few days out of the year
for their ground landlord, Shevket Bey.
Strange as it may seem, these wandering,
[526] anchorless people are about the only local
blacksmiths found in this country, for the
Albanians proper have a curious aversion to
this occupation.

245 After leaving this quaint little town of
Bradshesh, and penetrating into the heart of
Albania towards Elbasan, large, beautiful

PEAKS OF SHALA

A bridge of two logs, with railing of twisted 100
branches, ran from bowlder to bowlder across this incredible river, and we stood on it, gazing at these colors and at a cliff that rose before us, striped rose and green and gray and white in long jagged lines, as though it had been painted, when we heard overhead an outburst of cries, like a hundred sea gulls shrieking in a storm. We looked higher, and there on the top of the 526
cliff we saw a score of boys, naked except for 576
bright loin cloths, engaged in acrobatics. 609

They made pyramids of their wet white bodies; four, three, two, one, they stood on one another's shoulders, and the four who upheld the pyramid ran swiftly along the edge of the cliff, passing and circling about a similar pyramid; from top to top of the pyramids the top youths swung, passing each other in the air, landing on other shoulders, balancing, taking flight again. The pyramids melted, as though dissolved in the rain, and formed again, while all along the edge of the precipice other boys made a freize of living bodies, turning cart wheels, somersaulting over one another, walking on their hands.

We stood paralyzed. What did it mean? Then there was an explosion of shots; the cliffs around us crackled like giant firecrackers, the air seemed to fall in fragments around us, and through the din came multiplied shouts. Four tall chiefs appeared on the cliff trail, gorgeous in black and white and red and blue and green and silver. We were being welcomed to Thethis,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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484 562 777 789 small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various 787 methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

152 593 The men on their side are not free from home-sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

[539]

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
From Fatherland as outlaws lorn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
Poisoned by my blood would pine!

527 535 The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

527 535

holding each other with one hand while they execute a step composed of shuffles and leaps, and not particularly graceful, waving at the same time over their heads a kerchief, or scarf, with their disengaged hand. Another dance of a pantomimic character is sometimes performed at weddings for the amusement of the company. Three masked men, in the characters of a man, his wife, and his servant, perform a burlesque representing the weakness of man and the unfaithfulness of woman. The husband expresses by gesture his despair at seeing his wife make eyes at the wedding guests, while her servant, armed with a broom in lieu of a gun, threatens to shoot her mistress's lovers.

[585]

The Albanians are, as M. Dozon remarks,[1] "without literature, without art, and almost without a history." Their language, which is difficult to learn and difficult to pronounce, is a complete mosaic of fragments borrowed from many sources, though a native element naturally predominates. Greek and Turkish words abound, and many of Slav and Latin origin have become part of the vernacular. The language of the Skipetars is also divided between the two dialects spoken respectively by the Tosks and the Ghegs, though there is no well-defined line of demarcation between them. The purest Albanian is said to be spoken at Elbassan, the inhabitants of which according to the native saying:

191 197 [192]

> "Turk of Stambolhit [Constantinople],
> Skipe of Elbasanit,"

are looked upon as representative Skipetars. The total neglect of the mother tongue has been due in

[1] *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*, pp. 1 and 163.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

755

Head thy poultice,
Head this stone.[1]

A few of the trifling occurrences of every-day life 787
to which a superstitious significance is attached by the Albanians have their parallels in our own country. We say, for instance, when seized by a sudden shiver, "Some one is walking over my grave;" while an Albanian says, "Death is calling me," and mentally replies, "I am not yet ready." When attacked with a fit of hiccough, the Albanian believes that some friend is speaking of him, and calls over the names of all his relatives and acquaintances, in the belief that the one he mentions with the last hiccough will be the one who has uttered his name. If the eye itches, it denotes coming rain; if the right hand, vexation consequent on being called upon to pay money; if the left, the receipt of money; itching of the lips signifies the arrival of a friend or relative; of the nose, strife and discord. Humming in the right ear is looked upon as a good omen, and in the left the reverse. If a little child drops asleep just before a meal, the incident is regarded as most propitious for the whole household.

In addition to the every-day observances with respect 527
to auspicious and inauspicious actions and events, so 777
many are attached to certain seasons and days of the year as to form quite a Calendar of Superstitions. Some tribes, the Ritza, for example, celebrate their New Year's Day on the 1st of September, and every

[1] Κρυε τον πόλ,
κρυε τον γόνρ.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

527 incident that occurs during its twelve hours is
777 believed to presage the events of the corresponding months of the coming year, and the events of the first day of each month the character, lucky or unlucky, of the other days generally. It is unlucky to work in the
[461] fields during the first week of October, and no corn is sown this month, as the crop would be sure to fail.

527 The period between the 15th of November and
777 the 6th of January is, like the Greek *Fisholi* and
776 the Bulgarian *Kulada*,[1] supposed to be the carnival
784 time of the Vilas and other supernal beings, who are, at that season, not only more active, but more powerful than at others, and especially during the night. After sunset, consequently, people refrain from going abroad, or drinking water, for fear of mischief, and give no credence to their dreams. They are also careful not to leave any article of wearing ap-
[296] parel out of doors after nightfall, and if, by some oversight, a garment should be so left, it is washed before being used, in order to get rid of any spell cast upon it by the supernals.

527 Christmas, which bears a name (*Kolendravel*[2]) ap-
777 parently connected with those by which it is known among the Bulgarians and Vlachs, is observed with ceremonies that recall those of more Northern nations, as well as with some similar to those of their last-mentioned neighbours. On the 24th and 25th of

[1] Vol. i. pp. 123 and 329.

[2] Von Hahn derives this name from the κολένδρα, the ring-shaped cakes made at this season. I would, however, suggest the greater likelihood of the cakes having been named after the name of the feast in its various forms of (Albanian) *Kolendravel*, (Vlach) *Kolindi*, and (Bulgarian) *Kulada*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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December the housewife makes, besides other sweet cakes, some in the shape of rings, which are called *Koléndhra*. The one first made is termed "the cake of the oxen," and is hung up on the wall "for luck," and left there until the farmer goes out with his team to the fields. On this occasion the cake is taken down and broken to pieces on the head of one of the yoked oxen, and then divided between the pair.

Fire-ceremonies play a great part in the Christmas observances of the Albanian highlanders. As may have already been remarked in connection with birth-ceremonies, a protective and salutary character appears to attach to the fire on the hearth, and not only on such occasions, but on the eve of every important festival, the Albanian peasants light fires and keep them burning until sunset on the following day, even in summer; and from the crackling, or exploding, noises emitted by the wood in burning, they learn when the enemies of their house are conspiring against them, and whether the flocks will thrive, or the contrary. On ordinary occasions they consider it inauspicious when the thick end of a log burns before the thin, and are careful not to place one log across another. On Christmas Eve, however, all such precautions are considered unnecessary. The fire is piled up as high as the safety of the house will permit, as this is supposed to neutralise all evil effects of the non-observance of the foregoing precautions during the coming year. The largest log that can be found is brought home at sunset, when all the family, who are reunited for the festival, rise to greet it with the words, "Welcome, our log! God has destined thee for the fire! Bring

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 372 good luck to us and to our flocks!" Before the family sit down to supper a small quantity of food from every dish on the table is placed upon the burning log. Some branches of a cherry tree are also put on the fire, and, when partially burnt, are taken off again and kept.

857 533 Soon after midnight, the boys, in companies of from ten to fifteen, go singing from house to house, and receive, in reward for their carols, a ring-cake from each housewife.

527 789 787 [372] On the Eve of St. Basil (January 1) the fire is also kept burning all night, and the half-burnt cherry branches are again thrown on and withdrawn, to be wholly consumed on the Eve of the Epiphany, when the ashes are collected and strewn in the vineyard. The fire of St. Basil's Eve is often watched by an expectant mother, who thus hopes to ensure an easy confinement. In the morning people wash themselves and their children with "unspoken-over" water, and draw omens from the character, gay or sad, of the person who first enters the house. A cock is also sacrificed, for it is auspicious to spill blood in the house on St. Basil's Day.

789 [787] On the Eve of Epiphany the fire is also kept alight all night, and in the morning the character of the coming seasons is prophesied from the set of the wind. If a south wind blows, it indicates a full harvest and sickness; if the wind is from the east, a scanty harvest and a healthy year are predicted; if from the north, a late spring. The Christians, on the Feast of Epiphany, sprinkle their vineyards with holy water, in the hope of ensuring a plentiful crop of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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789 needle, a warning evidently to other fleas of the fate awaiting them.

The women in South Albania twist together a [751] number of coloured threads and tie them round the children's wrists and necks, in order to preserve them from sunburn or sunstroke, and draw a similar thread along the threshold of the house. They also roll up tightly little balls of rag, at which they stitch assiduously with a needle and thread; and when asked what they are doing, they reply, "We are sewing up the plague, snakes, and sickness." On this day no vegetables are eaten, the sweet cakes and dishes, in which the Ritza alone indulge, being believed to ensure a good [777] summer. The whole of this month is a close time for the ravens, as to kill one would bring bad luck to the vintage.

527 The North Albanians begin their year on the 1st of March. On this day the cattle are decked with gar-
789 lands of flowers, and the Ghegs not only tie threads of
777 many colours on the wrists and necks of their children,
[805] but themselves also wear one of red silk on the little finger of the right hand and the great toe of the right foot. When the first swallow has been seen, they take off these threads, and hang them on the rose-bushes, in order that the swallows may take them to their nests. [177] Von Hahn is of opinion that this graceful little custom is not indigenous, and it may indeed have been partly borrowed, either from the Bulgarians, or, through the neighbouring Vlachs, from the Roumanians, with whom, as I have already mentioned,[1] a similar usage exists. While I was at Salonica, one

[1] Vol. i. p. 335.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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of these parti-coloured bracelets, with a tiny gold coin attached, was, on the 1st of March (Old Style), presented by the Roumanian Consul-General to each lady of his acquaintance, and I, for one, religiously wore my charm against the power of the March sun, which in the East generally is said to "blacken" the complexion, until the month was out. It was not, however, finally thrown to the swallows, but carried off by an English visitor as a curio. 527 789 777

On the 25th of this month the women go through the house beating on copper pans, in order to drive out any poisonous snakes that may have intended to take up their abode there. The two last days of March and the first of April are called *Plyáketé*, a word signifying "old," and referring to the past season, personified as "Old Mother Winter." If by the last-mentioned date Spring has not yet fully set in, the blame is laid at the door of the old women, who are evidently held to be in league with "Old Mother Winter." 789 [754]

On Easter Eve in some places, Selitza, for instance, the young men assemble with lighted torches, which they wave about as they walk in procession through the village. Arrived at the river, they throw them in, crying, "*Koré-ya* (O Maiden)! We throw thee into the water with these torches, so mayest thou never return!" the *Koré* evidently referring, as Von Hahn suggests,[1] to the malevolent supernals, Vilas, Dragouas, &c., before described. When the priest comes to bless the house on Easter Day, the women throw after him, as he leaves, hot embers from the 789 [372] [776] [788]

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 160.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

623 expression 'to take on the shoulder', which is frequently heard in
709 speech all over the country in the sense of 'to destroy' or 'to ruin', seems to derive from this obviously very ancient method of making oath. 'If I don't act justly, may I carry this weight in this world and the next', the elder swore solemnly as, irrespective of whether he was Catholic, Orthodox or Moslem, he embarked on his delimitation. In most cases he believed that if he were unfair the earth and stone would punish him literally as he said. 'Earth will rot us all one day; we can't put it lightly on our shoulders like a stone. It's a very serious thing; we stake our soul by touching it', were some of the expressions used to explain the general fear. Some men were so frightened of the dread symbols that they would not undertake to delimit a boundary, saying, 'It's a serious business to undertake such a thing; it brings you up against God's justice'. A few others, it must be confessed, were sceptical enough in consideration of a bribe to defy the consequences of perjury and to delimit unfairly.

423 Boundary stones then were set up by elders in the presence of
527 witnesses as an abiding memorial to the ownership of the land they outlined. 'A fence may rot, a boundary does not', said the proverb. 'Let ever so many be killed: a field, or mountain, a vineyard cannot be seized by force; the boundary stones say who is the lawful owner', was another aphorism. In many places it was customary, generation after generation, to 'ride the marches' once a year so that the old could show the young where the stones were and so forge the next link in the endless chain of memory. Like its British counterpart, the custom gave occasion for a public holiday. Often performed, as in Nangë, at the spring festival of 'Summer Day', all men and boys in a village went round every known boundary in it. They saw that the boundary stones were still in place and not sunk out of sight, noted their position, and cleared away thorns and other concealing overgrowth. Often, as in Nangë, they were led by gypsies banging joyously on drums.

423 It was thought a sin to move boundary stones, since they had
685 been set up in such solemn circumstances by elders, the highest
783 tribal authorities. But land-hunger was so prevalent that the sin was all too common. With the lapse of time, too, boundary stones might sink out of sight in the ground and the boundary line be obliterated. Disputes over boundaries were consequently endless. To prevent them there were various deterrents. Men of weight—

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

771 years ago as to whether it was to be Christian
551 or Moslem. Therefore, in silent compromise, the elder members of the inhabitants had two names: the Moslem one used for public purposes, and the Christian one used privately and for baptisms and marriages, for these ceremonies a priest was smuggled in and out of the neighborhood by night. It was only about thirty years ago that the Christians felt free to declare openly their faith; this was due greatly to the intervention of the Austrians and Russians. However, those of the older generation retain their Moslem names but their children have been given Christian names only.

312 Perhaps of greatest interest to one visiting
529 this fascinating country for health purposes,
757 will be the healing springs at Llixha, only a few readily negotiable miles from Elbasan. These most unusual springs are certain cures for various forms of rheumatism. The sulphuric waters are so healing that merely by the repeated emptying of cans of water over the body in the oriental fashion many cures have been effected. The ground around these springs is very warm, and until forty years ago, before the useful invasion of the modern

baths and hotels, the natives dug large holes near the springs of the desired temperature and saturated themselves therein until cured. The weirdest phenomena of nature lies in the fact that the temperature of the springs is extremely varied: there are the cool, almost cold, enjoyable springs and others that are of varying degrees of heat up to the boiling point. It has been ascertained, however, that the mineral content of all the springs is the same. These famous sulphur baths have performed many seemingly miraculous cures, and are considered usurpers of Carlsbad; and what is more important, the price of living is unbelievably low. The price one pays a day in the average European capital would serve for three or four luxurious days in Albania. It is really amazing that the price of regained health should be so astonishingly moderate. The advent of comfortable and convenient hotels has greatly increased the value of these health-restoring springs, and make them the most desirable of their kind in Europe. One of the most outstanding of these hotels is the Park Hotel constructed on European lines with comfortable bathrooms, electric light and electrotherapy by a visiting doctor.

Durazzo Beach

529 ALONG the crystal-white sands of the beach and on to the opposite end of the bay, are comfortable villas not more than fifty yards from the water. The last villa in this scattered row belongs to the King of the Albanians.

Looking from the far end of the beach towards Durazzo, one is faced with a view that contains more color than the Entrance of the Bay at Naples. There is the same rich blue of the water and its reflection in the vast, blue vault of the heavens, the various startlingly vivid colors of the town with two or three slender, graceful spires rearing their gold-tipped heads upward and here the resemblance ends; Naples has no more; but Durazzo presents a picture nestled into the olive-green and brownness of the surrounding mountains —like a rare and priceless opal placed on a piece of half-blue and tawny velvet.

342 The villas are built comfortably of stucco and native stone and are very light and airy. It will completely astonish some to learn that

342 these five and six room villas can be built for, including the price of the land, from $800.00 to $1,500.00 and[1] live as comfortably as in a city with much more offered them; and strange as it may seem, there are only about a dozen villas, most of them belonging to government officials, along this ideal beach, with its white, clean sand and the cool waters of
• 529 the Adriatic. Nothing is more enviable than to see these people on a hot morning taking a cool, refreshing "dip" before breakfast and to walk back—fifty yards—to their front porches for a delicious meal—taking life easily and leisurely and enjoying it to the fullest. For those who work all winter in a close office, the warm, healing air of the Adriatic is as a rebirth. And for those who are more inclined to mountain-climbing, they have only to walk about a half mile and begin the long, steady climb up to the summits of the Albanian mountains and they shall be rewarded with views that are indescribable. These great hills are covered with rich olive and fig trees and in the spring are complete blankets of irises. These dainty little flowers the natives bring down and plant before their villas, or in boxes for ornamentation. For the artist,

1 [Errata: should be one can live, Cf. Errata sheet, cat. 114, p. 269 — Analyst.]

DURAZZO BEACH

529 Albania is as a paradise the year around; a rich riot of color and landscape is his reward in whatever direction he may turn; and as character subjects, the Albanian people lend themselves as unique studies.

In no other country would it be possible to have the great advantages of the sea at your front door and the mountains for your backyard, which abound in promise of adventure and discovery. Life in the summer is lazy and informal. The vacationer lives as only he has dreamed it possible, and enjoys a thorough relaxation in healing air, with wonderful swimming, aqua planing, water sports and mountain climbing. And a last feature of this interesting vicinity, but a very important one, is that Durazzo Beach is entirely free from those demoralizing pests—mosquitos.

346 other place, among the numerous, to be visited with interest and close attention is the Neshad-Pasha Mosque which is a gem among its kind.

366 Here also is an exceedingly active branch of the Albanian National Bank.

529 From the center of the city, it is but a few kilometers' run to the seashore. In the cool of the day it is a delightful ride and after even a short swim in the clear waters one readily promises oneself to return to this lovely spot. For this strip of country from Valona to Himara is the Albanian Riviera and in no way can the rivieras of France and Italy surpass it. The climate is as agreeable, the natural beauties are far more picturesque, but the most inviting quality of this pleasant resort is that if privacy is desired it can be obtained and if, on the other hand, the gayety of a crowd is preferred, one has only to step from the front door and be buoyed along in a pleasant excitement.

315 A great deal of the wealth of Valona is derived from the rich petroleum fields that are situated near the city.

000 Another product important to Valona is

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Pogradec

361 THROUGH many narrow, shady and cool dales and over steep, majestic slopes, first along the Shkumbi River and then, after much winding and twisting, along the Langajaka River, we reach the town of Pogradec on the emerald shores of the charming Ochrida Lake, one of the prettiest in this more southernly district.

Pogradec is much visited by all who know of its fresh and invigorating climate in the summer; the Albanians themselves consider [529] it one of the best and most healthy of summer resorts.

It is a small, clean, prosperous town encircled by some of the most beautiful mountainous scenery in Albania. The town is also noted for its friendly and hospitable appearance which adds much to the natural charm of its surroundings. It is essentially a city for relaxation with its marvelous fishing, and also because here there is wine and tobacco aplenty.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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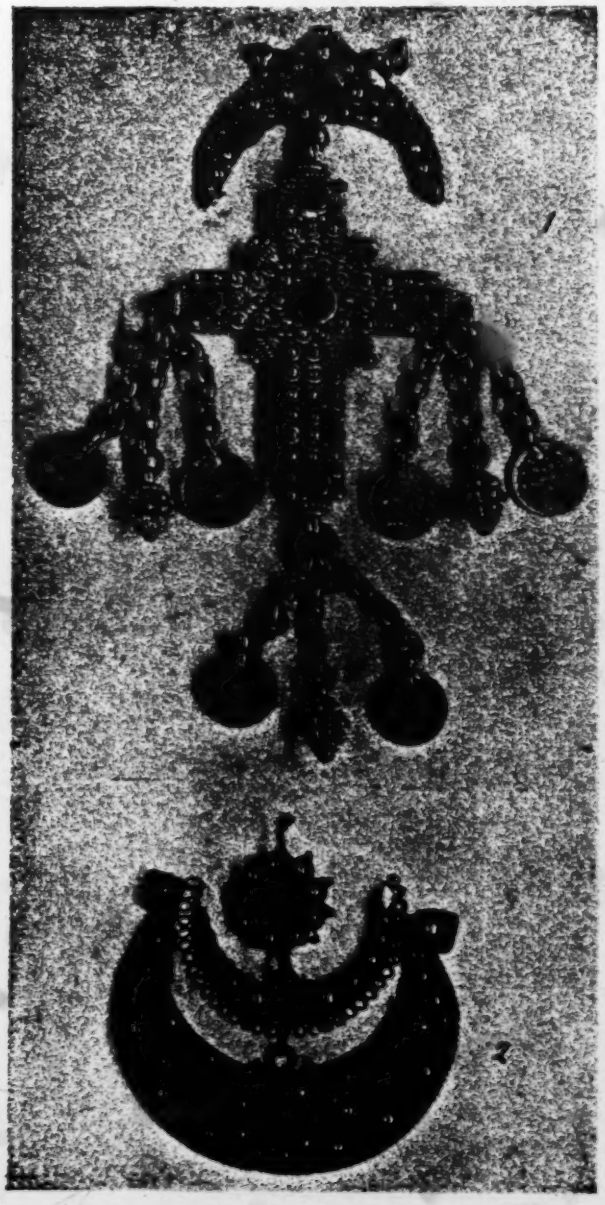

PLATE IV

(1) CRESCENT AND CROSS ORNAMENT
(2) CRESCENTS AND STAR

Worn by Catholic women of Maltsia e Madhe.

NOTE.—Here the "Suns" at the ends of the cross are replaced by coins and a pendant resembling the cowry shape. Both cross and crescent are covered with rayed balls.

[Facing p. 121]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

visible mark has a strong effect on primitive and childish minds—witness national flags and school and college colours. The missionizing "popes" of the Orthodox Church had every reason to denounce a practice which thus "sealed" part of the population and made it turn a deaf ear to the attractions of Byzantium.

To this day the object of the Orthodox is to wipe all that belongs to Rome from the peninsula. I found the bitterest dislike, even among the educated classes; and among the peasants neither side would admit that the other was Christian. In early days the struggle must have been even cruder than to-day.

3. Tattooing in Albania

We will trace these symbols farther south. In North Albania I noticed that every Catholic woman among the five large tribes (Kastrati, Shkreli, Hotí, Gruda, and Klementi) wore, if not too poor, a large silver filigree crescent and star stitched to the crown of her flat cap; or a similar design was embroidered and the "star" then larger. Asked why they wore a Turkish symbol, they crossed themselves and denied the charge indignantly, saying: "We wear it because we always do. It is not Turkish. We are good Catholics." They declared also it was "very old"; and were quite correct. For the sun and moon symbol, as we have seen, was long pre-Turkish in the Balkans. I next found that the bulk of these tribes-folk, both men and women, are tattooed on the back of the hand, the forearm, or the breast (seldom on all) with a cross; but never a plain cross. It has a crescent above and below it; or the arms terminate in small circles, as do those on Byzantine coins; or some in circles and some in crescents; or the cross is in the "sun-wheel" form. None of these people at all objected to showing the tattoos. I at once recognized in a simplified form the elements of the Bosnian designs. Most people said they did it because they were Catholics. Anxious to give a reason, one man said it was to ensure you Christian burial if you died abroad.

When I asked the Albanian tribesmen what was the meaning of the circle and crescent on the cross-arms, they said at once it was "Dielli"—the sun; and "Hana"—the moon. The cross was to show you were a Christian. What were the sun and moon for? The only reply was "per bukur" (for beauty). Often they laughed and gave none. Mgr. Ernesto Cozzy, then priest of Rechi and later Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, a Tyrolese whose knowledge of the mountain people was the result of years of sympathetic study, told me: "They have a number of curious pagan beliefs which they will not tell me. I have found that

[Text continues on p. 123]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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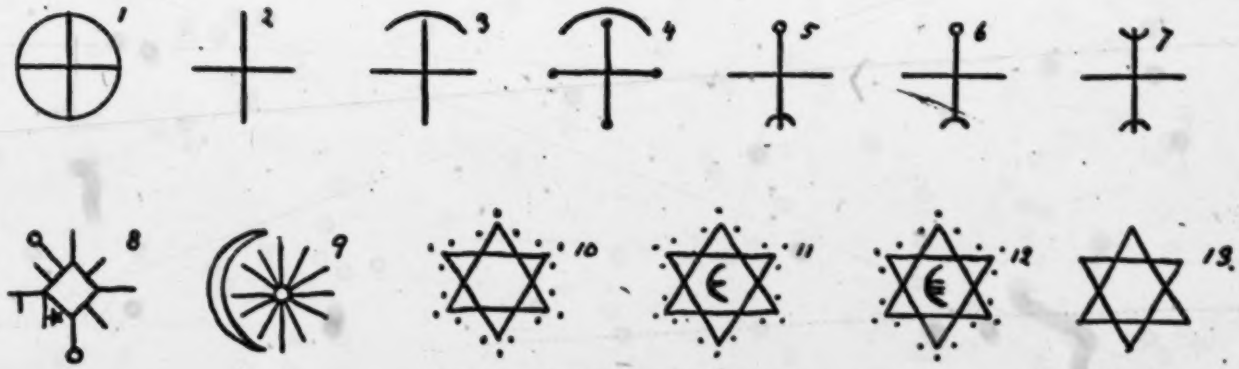


FIG. 7.—ALBANIAN TATTOO PATTERNS

1-7. Common tattoos of Catholic tribesmen. 8 and 9. Two curious tattoos on Catholic Scutarenes. 10 and 13. Moslem tattoos common in mountains and in Scutari. 11 and 12. Patterns common on Moslem houses.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in con- 304
flict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. 771
So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. 531
Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died 114
in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to 771
Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle 174
I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is 776
the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and 174
floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern 776
and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his [787]
armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is [821]
driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda 531
tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear 304
tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from 173
the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

304 [173] the influence of the Roman missionaries. Tattooing is not confined to tribes tracing northern origin, but is more marked among them.

Among the Pulati and Dukagini, who trace a different origin, tattooing is common but not universal, and takes the form often of

[764]

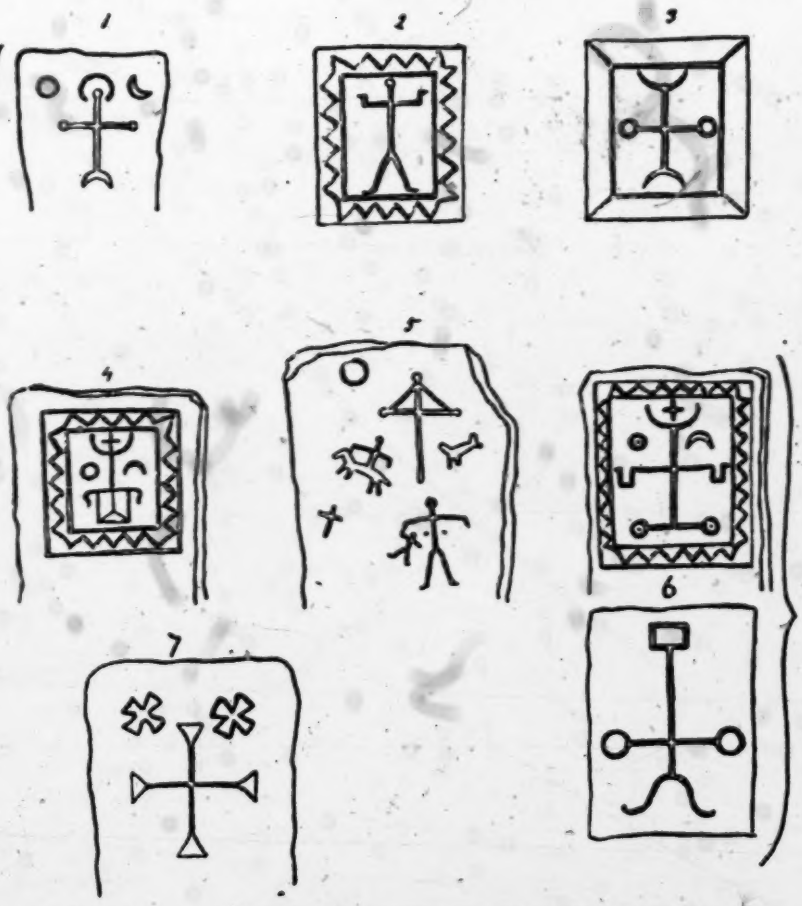


FIG. 8.—MODERN GRAVESTONES IN ROMAN CATHOLIC GRAVEYARD, DUSHMANI, NORTHERN ALBANIA

(Showing variants of Cross, Crescent, and Sun. All recent)

one tiny cross. I did not see a sun or moon tattoo, but found the sun and moon extremely common carved on graves, furniture, over doors, etc. Here the moon is carved as a semicircle with rays, just as shown in the Bosnian tattoos.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

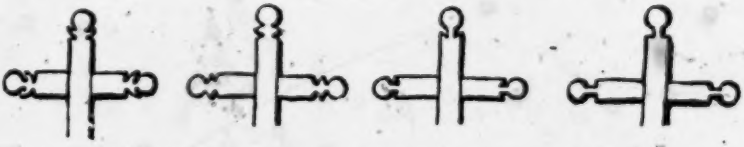
Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The finest carved rayed suns are those on the arms of the big wooden crosses in the Theti graveyard, which are beautifully chip-carved (Fig. 9, No. 3). Upon one of them a carved watch and chain marks the grave of the first tribesman of Thethi who possessed one. 531 764

Most interesting are some quite recent gravestones at Dushmani

[352]

4. "Sun and Moon" Chair, Shala. 2. Variant design of arm, end, and back. 3 Cross terminating in "suns," Thethi.



4. Series of common wooden crosses, showing all stages of patterns (Catholic cemeteries).

5. Wooden headpost and head and foot posts of Moslem graves (Hashi and Puka).

FIG. 9.—SUN AND MOON PATTERNS IN NORTH ALBANIA

(Fig. 8), whereon strange devices are carved, in some of which the cross and sun are turned into the figure of a man. A woman who came up told me I was drawing the grave of her mother (Fig. 8, No. 6). Asked what was the meaning of the things upon it, she said: "We poor people of the mountains cannot write. I put this to remember my mother. The sun and moon are 'per bukur' (to look pretty)."

[Text continues on p. 127]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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FIG. 10.—BIRD AND SERPENT DESIGN ON SCUTARI WOMAN'S CLOAK

Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The large uncarved wooden crosses in most of the graveyards of 531 Dukagini and Pulati (Fig. 9) show at the ends of the arms either (1) a sun 764 and crescent, (2) a sun alone, or (3) a sun with two notches below it—a transition form in which the carpenter has forgotten what the crescent is and merely chopped notches. The sun-wheel forms the back and the crescent and sun the ends of the arms of the typical wooden arm-chair in which the house-lord sits. Such chairs were used by all the tribes, but are now chiefly found in the further Dukagini tribes. The chip-carved distaffs of the women show the cross frequently; but chip-carving does not lend itself to curves, and the moon appears as an angle on which the cross stands. Some distaffs, however, suggest that their complicated designs are based on rayed curves, though they are now angular.

The cross and rayed sun are also traceable on many of the elaborately 291 knitted socks. Here, owing to the exigencies of the material, the sun 531 is square, but the rays are duly shown.

A rayed sun is part of the elaborate design embroidered on the scarlet cloak of the married Catholic women of Scutari. Of this design, which with variations consists always of similar elements, I have failed to find an explanation. "It must be some old story which we have forgotten," say the embroiderers, who are always men. The sun, an ear of wheat (? feather), a flowering plant, the dove and the serpent always appear. It is given to the bride by the bridegroom on her wedding- [585] day. The sun, the wheat, and the flowers suggest fertility. And the facts that the serpent and dove were symbols of the mother goddess worshipped at Knossos, and that bird and serpent played an important part in Egyptian mythology, show that the origin of this Albanian pattern is, indeed, so old that it is no wonder the embroiderers have forgotten it (Figs. 10 and 11).

The sun and moon were firmly established as symbols in the Balkans 174 long before the Turk arrived. I think that probably the Turkish crescent 531 and star is really the rayed sun and moon, the sun being diminished so as to fit decoratively within the crescent.

On the wall of a house at Vuthaj, when the district was wholly 531 Moslem and almost closed to outsiders, I saw, in 1908, a large rayed 342 sun painted with a slim crescent beside it (Fig. 12, No. 10). More striking yet was the emblem at that time placed over the gate of the Turkish Konak at Prizren. It was a large wooden sun with long rays of unequal length. At the tip of each ray was a small wooden crescent. At this time there was huge excitement over the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, and I was warned neither to draw nor photograph anything in public. I made, therefore, only a memory sketch (Fig. 12, No. 9), but it gives a correct idea of this curious sign, which, as the

[Text continues on p. 129]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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FIG. 11.—BIRD AND SERPENT DESIGN

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of laths—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. Marriage

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

ALBANIA

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

291 wear a coat of thick white woollen stuff, red trousers, an embroidered apron with fringe half a yard long, and on the head a blue kerchief. The dress of the Christians is similar in form but usually of a violet colour. The *yashmak* and *feridgé* (veil and cloak) of [563] the Turkish women is worn out of doors by the [562] Moslem women in the towns, and also, if they live in close proximity to Moslems, by the Christian women. The cloak of the latter is, however, of a different shape and of a light red colour, with a cross embroidered in front. This distinctive dress is said to have been imposed by a native pasha, who, being attracted by a Christian girl, not knowing her to be such, asked her in marriage and was refused.

The country women, however, both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about unveiled. Their costumes vary extremely in detail, but are generally of stout homespun and felt, and in [171] form resemble those of the Greek and Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia, the leading features of which are two aprons worn under a coat. In the villages of the plains, however, a blue petticoat, trimmed [531] with red bands, is worn over an embroidered linen gown, with a bodice of white cloth embroidered in black.

302 Albanian ladies appear to be even more addicted than Osmanlis to the use of cosmetics. No sooner are they married than they begin to dye their hair [303] with a decoction made from gall-nuts and palm oil, paint their eyelashes, and extend their eyebrows till they meet over the nose. For their skins they use a "wash" in which various deleterious ingredients

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 if compelled to do so, in order to show how great is her regret at leaving the paternal roof.[1] In fact, her behaviour throughout is intended to typify her reluctance to exchange the single for the married state. Meantime the guests divert themselves with liqueurs, [262 463] coffee, and sweets, and the performances of the professional musicians hired for the occasion.

About ten o'clock a cart arrives from the bridegroom's abode to fetch the bride's baggage, which is [415 531] packed in a large wooden box ornamented with designs of flowers rudely executed. When it starts every one shouts, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!), and among the Christians, several women accompany the cart [788] outside the gate, sprinkling both it and its contents with holy water. A few minutes afterwards, all the male guests invited by the bridegroom's friends set out, preceded by his father, who leads a richly caparisoned horse on which the bride will ride home. As they leave the house the women sing:

[539]

Happy may thy journey be,
Eldest of our family.
Holy sign of cross now make,
To the right thy way then take.
If to us thou bring fair bride,
May the sugar-plums taste sweet,
If a foul one by thy side
That they bitter taste were meet.

585 Arrived at their destination, the party range them- 262 selves around the courtyard, where glasses of cognac and water, and sweets and sugar-plums of various kinds

[1] The Mongols of Tibet observe a similar custom. See *Journal of Sarat Chandra Das*, published by the Royal Geographical Society.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

hear him. He offers her sweets which have been left 585
there purposely, but still she heeds him not. This comedy may, if the bridegroom be timid and the bride reserved, be prolonged until the third evening after the marriage, in which case the courage and virtue of the bride are extolled by the women in song. On the third evening, however, custom requires the bride to respond to her husband's advances. On the three days following the wedding the bride, dressed as before, stands like a statue in the reception-room to receive the women visitors who flock to the house in order to inspect her.

The ceremonies attending the nuptials of the [369]
mountain people are almost precisely similar to those customary in the towns, with the exception that the bride is not veiled when conducted to her husband's home. A romantic reserve, however, surrounds the 593
interviews between the young couple, who, especially 831
if the husband be one of a numerous family and have no private apartments, can only meet in secret until they have children of their own. The mountaineers cherish this custom, which, they contend, by surrounding with a halo of romance and mystery the relations of the young couple, tends to keep their love for each 585
other fresh and warm. The wedding processions of the 184
Moslems and Christians are only to be distinguished by the more picturesque effect of those of the former. Many of the company, dressed in rich apparel glitter- [291]
ing with gold embroidery, accompany the bride on [531]
horseback, indulging as they go, whenever they arrive at a spot sufficiently spacious, in the manly old Os- [524]
manli game of throwing the *djerid*, or spear. Pistols

181 on the other hand, are strongly mixed with Greeks and softer, more
144 accessible to civilizing influences, and more desirous of innovations.
The consciousness of their racial coherence determines their life in
tradition--they know their genealogical trees, and hundreds of names
in them--, their boundless hospitality on the one hand, and their
boundless desire for feuding and the implacability of their revenge
342 for murder, on the other hand. Of archaic methods of living there
are to be found, as temporary living quarters, caves in naturally formed
erosions of river banks, closed off in front by plaited mats of switches.
Furthermore, there are conical huts made from unhewn stems and
rushes left long in cutting, in the coastal swamps; also, half under-
ground, walled up pits with a thatched saddle-roof and a mound of
earth thrown against it, used by herders and herds. Then there are
loam-covered huts of intertwined beech twigs and with a reed or leaf
roofing (Figure 2); one-room houses with walls filled out with grass or
pieces of turf with a flat roof frame-work consisting of three transverse
beams and boards loosely laid over them and weighted down with
rocks (Figure 3, which, furthermore, shows, next to the hut, a frame
for storing meat, and so forth, with a notched tree stump serving as
steps and a spruce tree serving as a natural hook for hanging things).
The permanent dwellings, always fenced in, are log cabins in the
forested region of the north; for the rest they are stone houses bound
with mortar, in central and southern Albania with walled-in supporting
beams, covered with straw, shingles, slate, planks, or furrowed tiles.
Originally it was level with the ground, with one or two rooms, then
it turned into a building with two or more stories, with or without a
verandah. The perpetual insecurity of the country as a consequence
of the blood revenge feuds developed tower-like fortified buildings
(kulen), with embrasures and a solid roof difficult of access (Figure 1),
out of bulletproof interior structures. The division into rooms in the
interior of these buildings is rarely made by means of walls, more
frequently just through boards or intertwined twigs, or sometimes even
[177] just through larger objects like chests. Into the urban building and
● [531] decorative arts Italian-Venetian, Byzantine-Near Eastern, and Turkish
influences have penetrated; the Scutari chest wall in Figure 13 shows
a well-known pattern of Persian ornamentation with a tree of motif
in the final state of degeneration. The interior of the houses has loam
352 floors or timber floors; wall boards for putting away things (Figure 8);
wall pegs for hanging up dishes; tables in the shape of plates made of
two half-moon-shaped boards joined together to form a circle, with

[See 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, Cat. 116, p. 67a --- Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

place has been given to the Jugoslavs, has doubtless been destroyed. A 531
Here beyond doubt the Turkish "star" is the sun. The crescents at 342
the ray-tips suggest that many of the "twigs" of the Bosnian tattoos are really tiny crescents at the end of rays, and have in many cases been evolved into crosses.

We have examined tattooing and sun-symbols among the Catholics. Y
The Moslems of Bosnia, according to Truhelka, occasionally tattoo. [304]
I saw no examples myself.

But among the Moslems of North Albania tattooing is common. A 304
In the entirely Moslem districts of Hasi, Vuthaj, Arnji, and by the 531
Moslems of Luria it was not easy to make any investigation, and impossible to ask questions. The population received me kindly as the only female foreigner who had ever visited them. But the "giaour" was suspected of being the forerunner of foreign annexation, and any questions regarding beliefs would have led to difficulties and probably closed the route to me. I could only observe and make secret notes. I saw many tattooed Moslems in these districts but never a tattooed crescent and star. All, both here and at Scutari, were marked with a triangle, and sometimes with an Arabic inscription. Or with a double triangle—which forms a star and is, I suppose, the substitute for the rayed sun. This same triangle or double triangle (Fig. 7, Nos. 10–13) A
is commonly painted on Moslem houses both up-country and in Scutari, [342
where it sometimes contains a crescent within it. Oddly enough, the 531]
only time I saw the crescent and rayed sun (or star) without a cross as a tattoo it was on the hand of an old Catholic in Scutari (Fig. 12, No. 9).

But though the up-country Moslem does not tattoo the sun and A
crescent (probably because the Christians tattoo them along with the 764
cross), he cuts them out of wood—a circle for the sun and a sickle-shaped piece for the moon—and plants them at head and foot of his graves. Or the circle with a crescent below is cut in one piece and used as headpost (Fig. 9, No. 5). The Moslem Albanian, in fact, on quitting Christianity has rejected the cross but retained the ancient religious symbols of his pre-Christian ancestors—the sun and moon. He has not, except in the towns which were under Turkish influence, adopted the well-known Turkish gravestone with turban or fez upon it.

Emerging from these Moslem tribes I was amused to find that at A 531
Prizren, which was then by large majority Albanian, the sun and moon 346
figured over the door of the Serbian Orthodox Church.

In Montenegro, traces of sun and moon can be found. The arms of M
the solid stone crosses usual in the graveyards end as a rule in hemi- 764
spheres. Limestone is hard to tackle and no moon appears. When, 531
however, a cross is carved in relief on a slab the moon appears as a

[Text continues on p. 131

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Historical. Yugoslavia EF2

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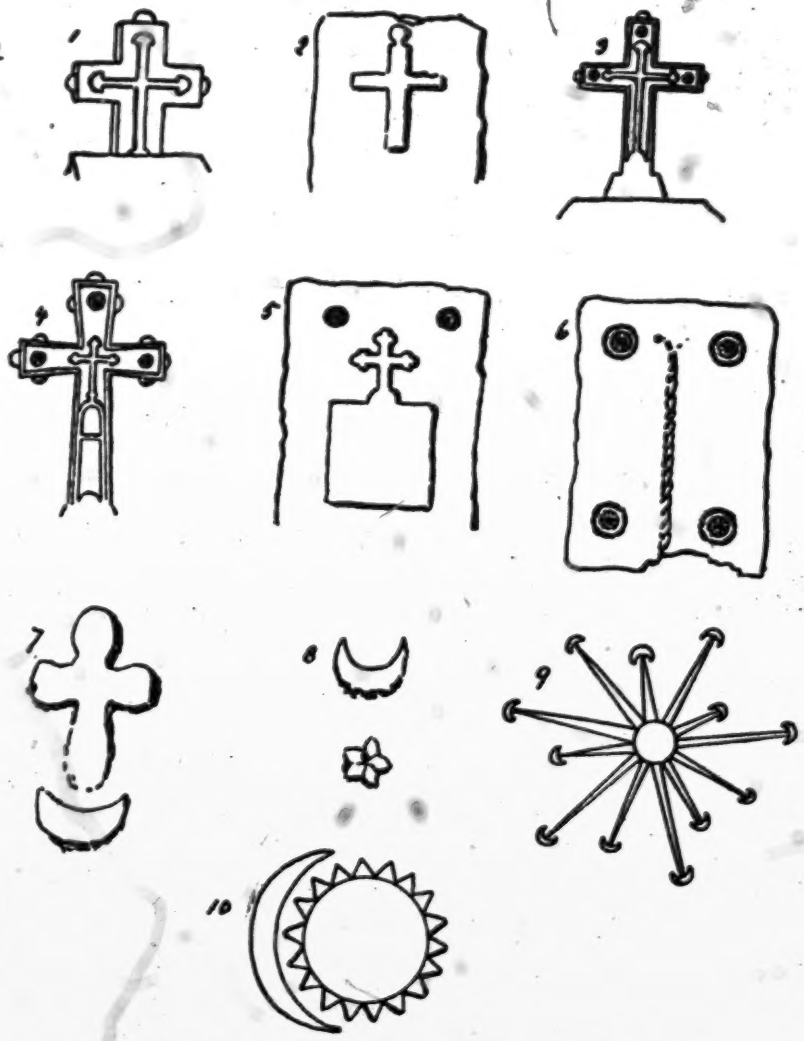

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FIG. 12.—MONTENEGRIN AND ALBANIAN SUN AND MOON DESIGNS

1–5. Modern Montenegrin gravestones, showing sun-and-moon cross. 6–8. Medieval gravestones at Stolac, Herzegovina, ascribed to Bogumil period. 9. Wooden sun with crescents on the Konak at Prizren (1908). 10. Rayed sun and crescent on Moslem house at Vulthaj.

Birth, Marriage, and Death

In 1392 Bogavach Cuiavich of Rudine of his own free will releases 000
from servitude Radaca, daughter of John of Albania, whom he had bought of Braycho Ucarich.

This seems to have been the case of an actual slave. But the lot of others, when sold for a long term of service, can have been little better than slavery unless they fell into good hands.

ALBANIA

I heard of a similar custom of thus selling children for a term of A 597
years in Malacastra in South Albania. Here poor Moslems sometimes sent their daughters as far as Constantinople; and I was told that some of the Albanian beys thus purchased servant-girls from their mothers, and at the end of the term dowered them and married them to peasants on the estate. The Italian Consul at Valona, the first time I was there, told me he had thus purchased a servant girl.

Birth.—In Albania, as in Montenegro, childbirth received but the M A 844
most ignorant treatment. The death-rate of mothers and children was high.

There was great rejoicing among the mountain tribes when a boy was born and proportionate disappointment over a girl. For a son, especially a first-born, the whole family group turned out and fired rifles.

Some kind of spiritual relationship was held to exist between the child and the woman who cut the umbilical cord; but I learnt no particulars.

As in Montenegro, even in the towns there was the greatest reluctance to summon medical aid. In Scutari one day the Austrian doctor was summoned to a Moslem woman who was in the last stages of A
exhaustion. He found the child was already dead, and said that to [758]
save the woman's life it must be removed at once. The family refused to believe or permit this and dismissed him. Some hours later they fetched him again—but she was dead.

On the birth of a child, both in Scutari and the mountains, all the A
women neighbours go at once to visit the mother and take offerings [431
of eggs. For a boy, two, four, six, or eight—an even number—are 777]
brought; for a girl, one, three, five, or seven. One egg is broken over the child's face to protect it from the Evil Eye. Presumably this makes the child unrecognizable or hideous.

Both in Albania and Montenegro, and I believe in all Balkan lands, M A 854
infants are swaddled. The cradle is of wood and serves as a packing-case in which to carry the child on its mother's back. In Scutari the cradles A 854
are very gaily painted with conventional patterns of flowers and birds, 531

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

Glass "turquoises" made the head-band yet more protective. Small
Y 777 cocks are still made as heads of pins to fasten the head-dress to the hair in the Herzegovina.
172 In the prehistoric graves at Glasinatz in Bosnia, tiny bronze amulets, shaped like doves, have been found. In North Albania three wooden

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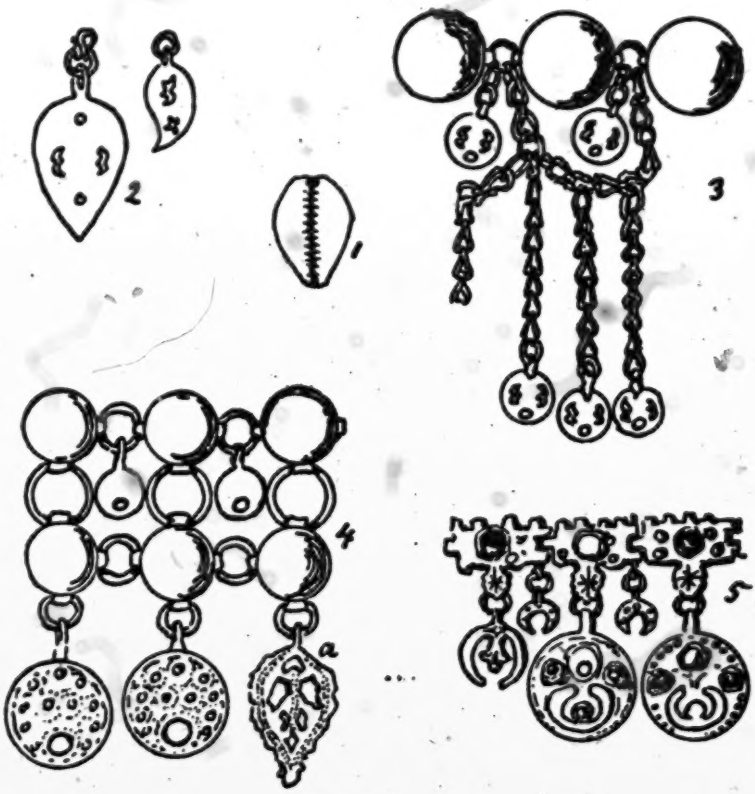

FIG. 19—SPECIMENS SHOWING EVOLUTION OF ORNAMENT FROM COWRY

1. Natural cowry. 2. Pendant common in North Albania. 3. Necklace from Kolashin, Montenegro (old specimen). 4. Breast ornament from Nikaj, North Albania (modern). 5. Old necklace, Scutari.

A [531] doves perch on many a wooden grave-cross. Especially good examples are at Boga. A dove forms part of the decorative design worked on the scarlet cloak worn by the Catholic married women of Scutari, as
A 142 does also the serpent. My repeated inquiries failed to find any explanation of this dove. "It must be some old tale which we have forgotten,"
171 was the reply of the embroiderers. The Glasinatz amulets from ancient

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

291 531 I stopped one morning at a shop where an old man was busily embroidering a cloak. It was one of the great cloaks which are worn by the Scutari ladies, and the work was very intricate and fine. One of the completed cloaks—a voluminous garment of terrific weight—hung at the front of the shop. I asked the price. The embroidery was black on a scarlet ground and covered the whole cloak in a pattern of spirals. It must have taken him months to complete, yet all he asked for it was two napoleons (32s.), and I daresay, had I made him an offer, he would have accepted less. In order to show it off the better he put the cloak on and strutted up and down outside—an impromptu mannequin parade which much amused the onlookers. I fear he was disappointed when I went away without making a purchase, but if one bought all the beautiful and cheap things one saw when travelling one would have to charter a ship to bring them home.

534 One little purchase I did make, however, when wandering one day in the country outside Scutari. This was a small pipe on which a shepherd lad was playing a most fascinating modal tune. At first he refused to part with it, but his father, who came out from an adjacent cottage, settled the question by taking it away from him and thrusting it into my hand. The boy looked glum at this summary disposal of his property, but a handful of small coins consoled him, and before I left he was happily engaged in making another. The pipe had five double fingerholes—its two reed stems being side by side—and terminated in a bell-mouth made

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along 352
which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad, [417]
made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece.

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the [342] passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder.

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets, and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples, [531] in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense [354] chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching up to the low roof.

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They 264 516
sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, 562
eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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Other alien materials are small pieces of dyed cloth, silk ribbons, silver and gold braids and manufactured lace, often used on the sleeve edges of shirts. These materials were bought in the village shops and markets, and appear to be largely of Austrian and Italian origin; under Turkish rule they were sold in the villages by pedlars.

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In the South and Albania, where Turkish influence is greater, there is a tendency, especially amongst the women of the towns, to wear garments made from more sumptuous materials so that, in addition to the hand-woven linens, extremely fine muslins of native make are used for shirts and aprons, and silken materials of beautiful quality for girdles, sleeves and the Moslem type of women's trousers. Fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy is also imported for the making of jeleks, giubbas and japangi, and some of the nets used for the large embroidered veils worn by many women, both Catholic and Moslem, are of foreign origin.

Materials used for Embroidery and other Decorative Purposes.

These also fall into two classes, home-made and purchased.

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The fine wools, used largely in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Macedonia, for the decorative embroidery of oshvitza, sleeves, woollen coats, aprons and the making of fringes are spun and dyed by the women themselves. Dark brown and black goat's hair is also used in the apron fringes. "Goat's hair was extensively used in the Balkans for weaving market bags, saddle-bags and floor mats in stripes. The goats, clipped in uneven ridges, looked very ridiculous." (M.E.D.).

Ribbons, gold and silver braid and strips of coloured cloth were purchased and used as appliqué on skirts, head dresses, aprons and caps. In older and finer examples of embroidery, silk was used, and was locally produced and dyed.

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In Albania and the south silk is the usual medium for embroidery, which decorates shirts, muslin aprons and japangi, although on some head scarves from Zadrima and the Bulgarian woman's costume from Monastir, which are decorated in the well-known Turkey red, the material used is cotton or very tightly twisted wool almost like a fine cord. Both silk, woollen and cotton threads are of home production. Amongst the photographs given by Miss Durham is one of a Moslem man spinning silk on a roadside on the outskirts of Scutari (Skodar). Gold thread is much used, and strips of beaten silver and brass are worked into the headings of braids.

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Braiding and cording are amongst the other important forms of decoration, narrow braids and ends of wool, silk and gold thread being hand plaited and twisted. Coats of the sleeveless type, both for men and women, the short jelek, the three-quarter length giubba, and the men's full trousers (Plate V. "*1*") are often decorated with cords and braids sewn down in beautiful curved designs. The "elaborate embroideries on the japangi and the handsome braided designs are usually the work of men Albanian tailors". (M.E.D.).

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Until in recent years foreign dyes, imported in small packets, were sold in the shops the women themselves dyed their materials. Most of the examples in this collection have been so coloured with vegetable dyes; black being obtained from ash bark (*Fraxinus excelsia*); green from flowering rush with the addition of copper sulphate which was got from the shops; yellow from sumach (*Rhus cotinus*); red

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4

from madder; reddish brown from green walnuts (*Juglans regia*) and blue from copper sulphate.

Metallic decorations are also worn, and are almost always hand made by the men; large ornaments and belt clasps of silver or silvered brass are worn at the waist, silver coins and imitation coins are worn as a trimming to caps, and as necklaces and pendants to girdles. Ear-rings are also worn by some Slav peasants, especially Moslems. "The little ornament made of a small brass thimble and coloured beads was worn as a dangle at the end of the long pigtail. The pair of long plaits on either side of the face of the Bosnian woman in the frontispiece are ornamented with coins, tassels of beads and this thimble."

"Many of the objects worn on head-dresses are amulets to keep off the "evil eye" and include also such things as cowries and, in Bosnia, small mirrors." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER III.

Women's Costume in the Central and Coastal Areas of Yugoslavia.

The main features of the costume worn (by all but the Moslem women) in the central and coastal areas of Yugoslavia are shown by the illustration of the Orthodox Bosnian woman (see Frontispiece).

In this area three cultures have influenced costume and its decoration, Central European culture which has travelled along the river valleys from the north, Mediterranean culture through Italian influence on the Dalmatian coast, and Balkan culture with its own Oriental tendencies. The married woman's costume consists of a long or medium length *shirt*, embroidered at the neck, front-opening and on the sleeves. The shorter type is similar in style to that shown on Plate IA, and the longer to that on Plate IXA, but without the embroidery at the bottom edge. A full, fairly long *skirt* of woollen or felted cloth is worn in the winter, and in summer may be exchanged for a linen skirt, sometimes closely pleated, with wide horizontal bands of cross-stitch or embroidery. A *girdle* of either folded linen with embroidery, or a tablet-woven belt such as is shown (Plate IVe) with its end hanging down in front, is worn around the waist and helps to keep up the heavy *apron* of tapestry weaving with its deep fringe (Plate III). A *short coat* of woollen cloth with embroidered decoration, often sleeveless, is added for outdoor wear, and in winter a longer coat with side gores replaces it. This is also often sleeveless.

In the coastal area and some other parts of old Bosnia and Herzegovina a *jelek*, or zouave, is worn, similar in shape but differing in colour from those in Plates X and XI, which are from the southern area.

Married women in many districts of Bosnia wear their hair in two plaits hanging down over either shoulder in front, and as a *head-dress* have a diagonally folded kerchief, generally cream or white in colour, with the back corner embroidered and a red ribbon along the edge. In the coastal district a fringe is also added to the head-dress (Plate IVa).

On the feet thick *woollen stockings* ("sharapa") are worn, and over these, handsomely decorated short socks, which act as slippers in the house and are replaced by leather "opanke" for out-of-doors (Figure 9).

[Text continues on p. 14]

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Croats EF4
Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

the women of Zagreb always have a band of clipped wool, resembling fur, along the lower edges of their jackets, and those of Dubrovnik have particularly narrow fronts, probably to display the wide type of oshvitza which is popular there.

As the most important of the jeleks in this collection are from the southern area of Yugoslavia or Albania, detailed descriptions and drawings appear in Section II, but there is one example from Bosnia, of which Mrs. E. L. Hickson was the donor though the specimen was collected by Miss Durham. A description of this follows :—

No. 1936-117. It is an excellent specimen of fine silk cord braiding in black and white, with two braided straps which meet to form a fastening in front, with hooks underneath and three beautifully braided buttons on the top.

The material used for the garment is a black woollen face cloth of very good quality, probably of Austrian origin. Rows of white silk cord and plaited black silk braid alternate to form a border round the sleeve opening and around the neck and front, and a waved design at the lower edge of the jacket. This waved style is common to many Macedonian and Albanian examples so that, although bought in Bosnia, this can hardly be considered a typical Bosnian specimen.

The back and under-arm portions of the garment have a conventional four-petalled flower design in white silk braid, with another white motive which appears to be the leaves of a plant like an arum growing in a basket or pot. The ground is filled in with black silk cord work.

The front opening has the usual added flaps at each side decorated with fourteen half-buttons in moulded brass, and the whole garment is both elegant and handsome.

CHAPTER VI.

Aprons (Pregaca).

The aprons which form such a distinctive feature of the women's dress are heavy, and should be very hard wearing. They are mostly woven in the tapestry manner, that is, each motive is darned in on the warp threads whilst these are stretched on a frame or in a loom, by means of a needle or a spool like a small netting needle. Tapestry weaving is generally worked on the wrong side, and its modern equivalent in embroidery is needle-weaving. The warp in these aprons is made of hemp, and the weft is usually a harsh, rather coarse wool, dyed either dark blue, dark red tending towards maroon, dark brown, yellow or green. When white is needed a bleached hempen yarn similar to the warp is used.

One example from Banjaluka (No. 1935-80) is worked in a different manner and, with the exception of a few strands of coarse wool, a fine hempen yarn is used for both warp and weft, the latter being dyed several colours. The patterns in the apron appear to have been woven on a four-heddle loom, and are variations of the well-known "monk's belt" design.

All the aprons are heavily fringed down the sides and along the bottom edge; these fringes, which vary in depth from four to eight inches are generally made of coarse, dark wool, but some are intermingled with black goat's hair. They have been made with the aid of tablets as all have headings of a simple tablet weave.

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1

Croats EF4
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

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By using different colours of silk a pattern of greater effect is produced, in this case larger squares of orange and black, consisting of nine small ones, are arranged alternately to form diagonal rows, divided by rows of single small squares in self colour. Each large square has the central small one worked in gold thread, and the edges of the girdle are whipped with self-coloured silk.

Footwear.

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All over the Balkans and in Albania both men and women of the peasant tribes and of the hill tribes wear two pairs of thick, knitted woollen socks, the outer pair being elaborately decorated with appliqué and embroidery on top of the knitting, and forming a sort of slipper when the outdoor sandal is discarded on entering the house. "In Yugoslavia these over-socks are called 'opanke', in Albania 'opangi' and in Rumania 'opinstsi'. The sandals are made of roughly dried hide, and when newly made the soles are soaked in oil till pliable. This helps to mould them to the foot, and the pliability of the leather gives the toes a good grip, especially on rocks or when climbing." (M.E.D.).

With the exception of a pair of leather opanke from Nish (Niš) in Serbia, made to fit a child (No. 1936-62), the opanke and socks in this collection are all of Albanian origin. They are illustrated and described in Section II.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

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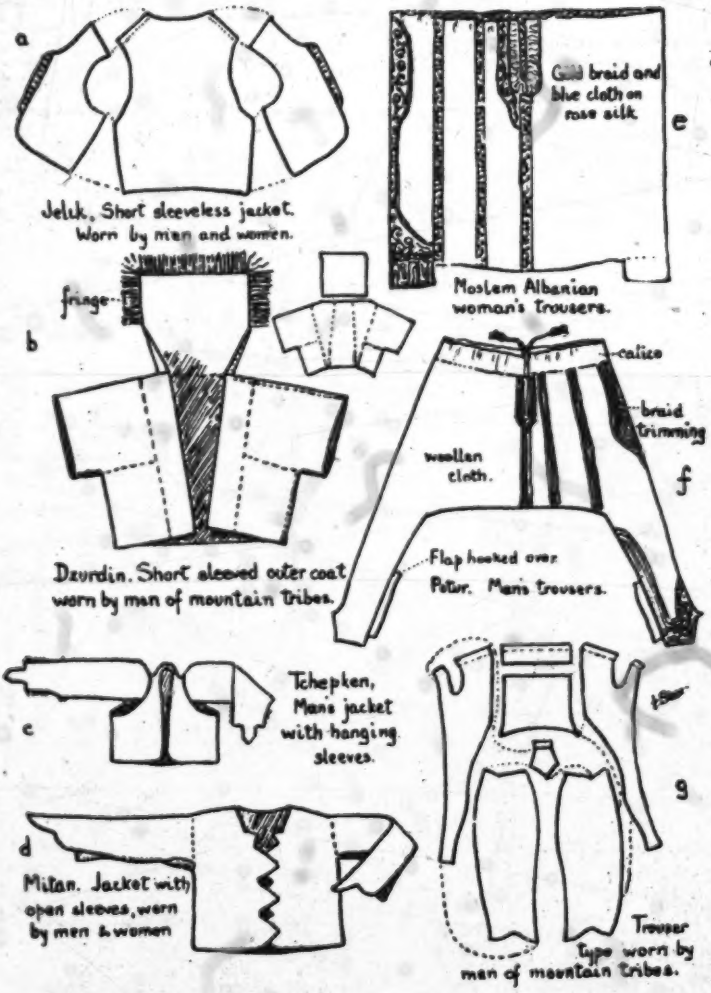

PLATE VI.—Patterns of some Albanian garments. a, b, d, g. From "Albanien," by Franz Baron Nopcsa. c, e, f, Adapted from "Costumes of Eastern Europe," by Max Tilke.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291 (f) Turkish shoes.
177 (g) "Bunches of coloured handkerchiefs hanging from the pocket hole of the giubba or coat under the japangi" (M.E.D.).

[292] Married Catholic women for outdoor wear add a "japangi", that is, a large scarlet cape with brilliant embroideries, having a flap down the back to be used instead of the square head-dress or the veil (Plate XII).

291 The men wear a shirt and folded girdle, often of striped silk, through which weapons are thrust, short Turkish trousers (Plate VIf), a sleeveless jelek (Plate VIa),
531 or a jacket with open sleeves (Plate VIc and d) and a small round hat with a tassel, like an old-fashioned smoking cap (cf. Plate XVID).

The Moslem women of Scutari wear :—

(a) A similar shirt, but with wide open sleeves, often elaborately embroidered and usually of fine muslin.
(b) Full Turkish trousers of striped or embroidered silk or gauze (Plate VIe).
(c) A short-waisted jelek, or a long-skirted coat without sleeves or, for older women, with bell-shaped sleeves.
(d) As head-dress, a cap decorated with coins or a thick yashmak.

The women of Zadrima, a town on the River Drin, wear :—

(a) A shirt of similar style to those of Scutari, but sometimes with a cross-over front like a Chinese jacket fastening on the wrong side.
(b) Full skirts of heavy material, accordion pleated.
(c) A jelek, usually ornamented in scarlet and yellow.
(d) An apron which may be of the heavy tapestry type or of muslin, embroidered.
(e) Long scarves with decorated ends for head-dresses.
(f) Knitted and embroidered leggings and sandals ("opanga").

The men of Zadrima wear a jelek, either sleeveless or of the half-sleeve type (Plate VIc) over their shirt, Turkish trousers with elaborately hand-braided designs on the hips and outside of legs (Plate VIf), a leather belt for weapons and a round cap-like hat.

Another type of costume which is worn in many parts of old Macedonia is that of the Bulgar woman from Monastir (Bitolj), where the long shirt of heavy linen or calico (Plate IXA), heavily embroidered at the sleeves and hem, acts also as a skirt, and is girdled at the waist with rows of cord forming a sort of corset, which is decorated with silver ornaments. A handsome heavy tapestry apron worked in scarlet (Plate IXc), and a wide scarf (Plate IXB) with heavily embroidered ends complete the costume.

This type of garment, with its long front opening, is a very ancient form, and is similar to some of the early Egyptian garments*.

The women of the mountain tribes wear :—

(a) A shirt, sometimes with cloth sleeves decorated with coloured strips of felt, similar to the trimming on the skirt.
(b) A full skirt of heavy cloth with appliquéd patterns.
(c) A jelek or a jacket ("mitan") (Plate VId) in which case the shirt does not have sleeves of cloth.

* L. E. Start: "Coptic Cloths." Bankfield Museum Notes, Ser. II. No. 4.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

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(d) A heavy tapestry worked apron, or possibly two, one at the back and one at the front.
(e) A woollen sash round the waist and over it a leather belt, sometimes with metal ornaments or chains.
(f) Long scarves or square kerchiefs as head-dresses.
(g) Thick knitted socks with embroidered ornament, and leather sandals or opanga.

CHAPTER IX.

Materials and their Decoration.

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It is interesting to note that other materials besides those described in Section I. are used in making the garments worn in the south. The shirts, instead of being either of handmade linen or heavy calico, are more often made of fine muslin with silk stripes, or of an open crepe-like cotton fabric, both home spun and woven. Sometimes they are of striped silken fabric. Muslin with silk stripes is used for the daintier types of aprons which often have silk embroidered borders.

The trouser type of skirt is either of hard wearing, dark, cotton cloth, imported material, or of striped silk or even gauze of local manufacture, and may be handsomely embroidered, often with the addition of gold thread (Plate VIe).

Head-dresses in the form of scarves or kerchiefs for gala occasions may be of silk or cotton gauze, or of silk striped muslin, with silk stitchery and gold and silver embroidery (Plate XV). Fine handmade silk and cotton nets, as well as imported material, are handsomely embroidered to form the large lace veil (Fig. 8).

The sleeveless jelek and giubba are usually of fine woollen cloth, and are elaborately braided with plaited silk and cords.

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When heavier material such as linen or thick cotton cloth is used in garments like those from Monastir (Bitolj) and some of the odd sleeves, the embroidery is nearly always in Turkey red with touches of gold and black.

All the colourings tend to be gayer, and yet are often very refined in their choice, and the use of gold in the form of thread and plate is widespread.

In the embroidery, cross-stitch gives place to petit-point; pulled stitches (which produce an open work effect); satin stitch; double running for outlines; and fancy filling stitches, which provide great variety. Needlepoint decorates the edges of shirt sleeves, scarves and bedspreads, which are often of exquisite workmanship.

Some of the patterns and the method of working the stitchery are included in the following chapters which deal with the various parts of the costume from these areas.

CHAPTER X.

A. Women's Shirts.

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The women's shirts from Albania and the south of Yugoslavia are of two forms, the shorter type worn with either a full cloth skirt, or the wide-trousered variety, and the long form, which is shirt and skirt combined.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

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The neck of the garment is uncut, but the ends of the sleeves are beautifully embroidered in natural coloured floss-silk in a conventional flower design worked in satin-stitch and pulled-stitch to which the open weave lends itself. Below this border is a chevron design in pulled-stitch with the triangles filled by a little chequered square in satin-stitch. At the extreme edge is a beautiful needlepoint lace of unusual design worked in natural coloured cotton. The whole border is an example of delicate workmanship.

B. Oshvitza.

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The little worked borders, called oshvitza, which form the collars and outline the front-openings of the shirts are always worked separately from the garment and applied to it by plain or fancy stitching. The specimens in the collection are nearly all from Montenegro. As has already been stated, the young girls work them in their leisure moments and whilst tending sheep, and are often quite willing to sell what is a bit of exquisite stitchery for about a shilling.

The material used is generally a fine hand-woven linen, and two strips are needed, one for the collar band and one for the front-opening. As the length of the collar embroidery varies from 14 to 16 inches (35·6 to 40·6 cm.), and that for the front from 13 to 15 inches (33 to 38 cm.), strips of linen 3 inches (7·6 cm.) wide for the collar and 4 inches (10·2 cm.) for the front, and about one inch longer than the required length are used.

The two little borders for the front-opening are worked parallel to one another about an inch apart as shown at a, a^1 (Plate VIIA), and then just at the inner edge of the work the cloth is doubled back and the folded edge buttonholed over. This process is indicated in the lower part of " A ". When the front is applied to the garment, the strip is cut between the two " a's ", and helps to neaten both the right and the wrong sides of the opening.

The worked strip tacked on to the left hand side of " A " is the collar piece.

Nos. 1936·24—41. There are eleven complete sets, three front-openings and two collar pieces in the collection. All are Montenegrin in origin, and they include a variety of patterns, many of which are traditional " . . . and are copied from one another without any marking out. The wife of the German Minister at Cetinje at the time of the Balkan wars had collected two hundred different patterns." (M.E.D.).

A few of the more interesting patterns in the collection are illustrated on Plate VII where, at " A " (No. 1936·24), there is a very popular and neat little motive known as " . . . ' mala krushka ' or little pear. The wild crab-pear is common in these lands, hard and astringent, but with a pear flavour." (M.E.D.).*

The pattern at " B " (No. 1936·26) is called " . . . ' kukatcha ', the scorpion fly. It appears to represent a fly with bent tail and sting, the group of three alternating stitches at the top being wings. ' Krstatz ' figured at ' C ' (No. 1936·25) is a stylised form of the four-leaved Herb Paris, which has four leaves with a berry in the middle." (M.E.D.).†

Combinations of motives are often made, and there are many varieties of the motives themselves, whilst another example at " d " on Plate I is similar to one named

* M. E. Durham: " Balkan Peninsula. Place Names." *Man.* March 1923.
† M. E. Durham: " Some Balkan Embroidery Patterns." *Man.* May 1923.

[Text continues on p. 41]

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An elaborate border surrounds the apron which is edged all round with a row of fringe, about an inch in width, in red and browns, but at the lower edge by two additional rows of short fringe in scarlet and crimson, and then a four inch fringe of scarlet backed with brown, having a handsome wrapped heading three-quarters of an inch deep.

The heading of the first narrow fringe is of strip brass made into flattened tubes round bunches of the threads, next to this comes a row of black and white beads, then three rows of brass tubes used like long beads, a three-quarter inch band of gold braid with an open lace edging of gold measuring another half inch. The whole border is finished off by another row of alternate black and white beads (Fig. 6 " c ").

At the lower edge of the apron as shown at " C " on Plate IX two more rows of the gold braid are added as well as the deeper fringe. All this heavy work at the lower edge of the apron is strengthened at the back by pieces of felt at the corners and a broad woven black and white braid above the top row of the fringe.

In addition to these garments the woman might wear a jelek and, for out-of-doors, a fairly long white woollen coat with more embroidery or braiding.

CHAPTER XII.

Some Garments from Zadrima.

A 291 286 531

The group of specimens illustrated on Plate X are the more decorative parts of the attire of a peasant woman from Zadrima, a town near Scutari, on the River Drin. The colouring is predominantly Turkey red with touches of yellow, white (either as background or ornament), a little green and a little dark blue.

In addition to those articles shown there would be a shirt with decorated oshvitza, perhaps with the opening as a cross-over, and a full skirt of heavy material.

No. 1935-38. The jelek (Plate XA and B), which was worn over the shirt, has a foundation of a diagonally woven cotton cloth, like a twill, which from the irregularity of the weaving appears to be of home production. This is stiffened with parchment or some similar substance and lined with a fine imported, slightly glazed calico.

The garment is 12 inches (30·5 cm.) deep and 17 inches (43·2 cm.) wide, and has two added flaps of scarlet felt in the front which are decorated with half buttons of gilded brass.

It is bordered, and the back divided into panels by an inch wide band of plaited braids made up alternately of three square plaited red braids each having eight strands, and four variegated braids in red, yellow, white and black consisting of four red, two black, two red and two yellow strands. Eight of the threads in the latter are used as two groups of four for cores over which the other two are plaited, a new colour pair being taken from the core as required. Inside the plaited border round the neck and down the front a bright strip of gold and scarlet ribbon is applied, this is represented by the dotted band in Plate XA and B.

The two shaped panels in the front are ornamented by lines and an Ionic wave pattern made by sewing down side by side a scarlet and a yellow cord.

[Text continues on page 49]

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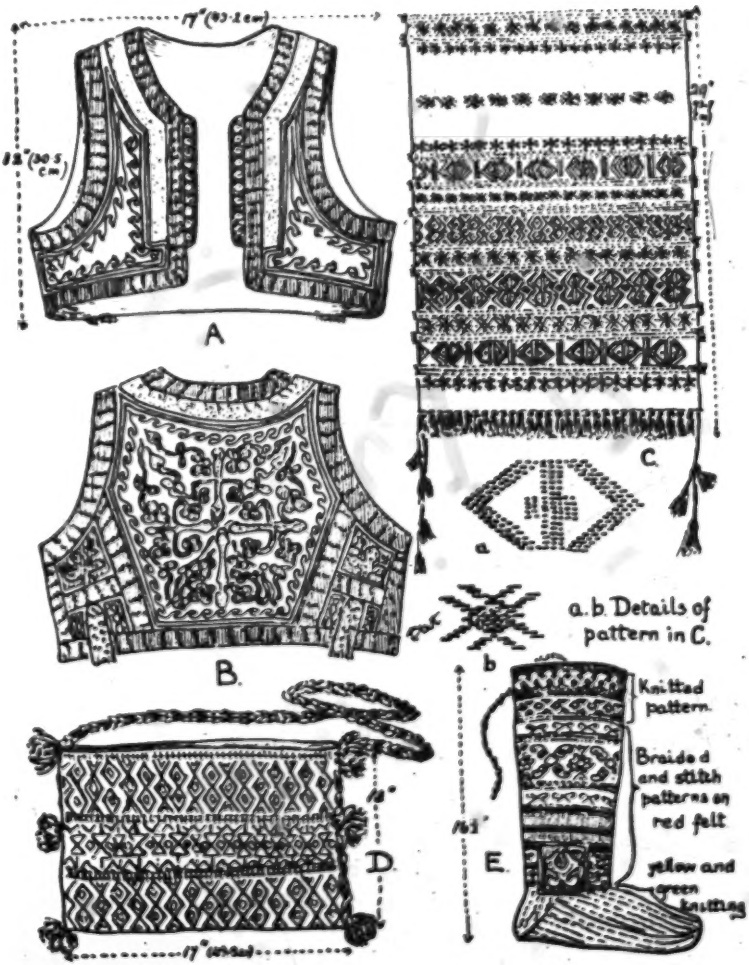

PLATE X.—A Zadrima woman's garments. A, B, Front and back of jelek. C, Half of head scarf. D, Kazpack market bag. E, Legging.

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The principal panel on the back has a white ground outlined by border lines and a similar wave worked in the same way, but the conventional flower pattern which fills the rest of the space is braided solidly in red cord, with eight radiating wavy motives in yellow. The two side panels are very simply braided with yellow on a background of scarlet felt. "The braiding is done entirely by men." (M.E.D.). 291 286 531

No. 1936-60. The Zadrima woman's head scarf is nearly five feet long without its little corner tassels, and eighteen inches wide. One half is shown on Plate X at "C". It is made of a fine, but rather open, tabby weave of cotton, dyed pale yellow, and in the unworked part there are some thicker weft stripes in natural coloured cotton. It is heavily and handsomely decorated for most of its length, and the lay-out and design of the patterns is indicated at "C", where the dotted lines which separate the geometrical patterns represent a series of weft stripes, mainly red but with touches of dark blue. These stripes are woven over groups of warp threads, each spool carrying a bundle of weft threads, as many as six or eight very fine ones being used. The patterns themselves are also worked in with similar bundles of weft threads, and have been woven into the cloth by means of a number of free spools, one for each colour in each motive. The result is a very much raised design of great richness.

A similar result could be obtained by embroidery, but the pull of the multiple threads used would be greater and the raised effect, both on the back as well as the front, much less.

It will be noticed that alternate rows in the pattern are the same, the device at "b" on Plate X being the motive. Although these patterns are the same they are not worked exactly under one another, which suggests that the woven pattern is not dependent upon an elaborate arrangement of heddles but rather that there were the usual two heddles necessary for the tabby ground and a third, or a shed stick, which lifted two and kept down three warps to form a shed for use in picking up the patterns by hand with the free spools.

"It is of some interest to note that recently the French Customs House refused flatly to believe that similar work was woven, and declared the border to be hand-embroidered, and wanted to charge it as such. Such handsome head-dresses are no longer made." (M.E.D.).

A festival head-dress from the same district is described in Chapter XV, where other head-dresses are discussed.

No. 1935-77. A bag, measuring 17 inches (43·2 cm.) wide and 12 inches (30·5 cm.) deep, which goes with the jelek, head-scarf and leggings, is worked with free spools on a rather open hand-woven cloth, exactly in the same way as the scarf, but is a coarser piece of work and less interesting in colour, which is again mainly red with touches of dull yellow and black (Plate XD). There is one interesting difference, however; in this example the patterns are carried out in coarse wool whilst in the head-scarf the work is done by very fine cotton thread used in bundles.

A thick, three-stranded plaited cord in red, black and yellow, just over six feet long, is attached along the sides of the bag and forms loops for carrying. The bag is worn over one shoulder and leaves the hands free. The sides of the bag are seamed to the cord, and three thick woollen tassels decorate each side.

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291 286 531 **No. 1935-68.** One of a pair of leggings for a Zadrima woman is illustrated at "E" on Plate X. The foundation is of knitting done in coarse wool, the foot portion striped in yellow and green, two stitches of each colour alternately, and the top portion in the design indicated at "E", in red and black.

The part below the latter is covered as far down as the ankle with red felt upon which braided patterns in scarlet, yellow and white are sewn down, and five rows of fine stitchery taken right through the knitting divide each set of motives.

The outer side of the legging is the part that has been drawn. On the inner side is a plainer panel, divided for the whole length of the felt, finished off with a felt flap, and both sides of the division hooked together with strong brass hooks and eyes. This arrangement ensures a well-fitted legging which is warm, comfortable and decorative. Over the knitted foot part a leather "opanga" would be worn.

[177] "Similar leggings, with local differences of pattern and colour, were formerly worn in many districts. This was the only pair I was able to obtain." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER XIII.

Women's Jeleks.

In addition to the jelek on Plate X worn by a Zadrima woman, there are five others from Albania in the collection.

These little sleeveless jackets or zouaves are worn by both women and men in many districts and are usually beautifully decorated, chiefly by braiding, which is done by Albanian tailors. Amongst those not yet described is one of outstanding workmanship and design, that presented to Miss Durham by the Beys forming the provisional government of Berat in July, 1913, in token of gratitude. She says, "Korcha was occupied by Greek troops in the Balkan war of 1912-13, and the Greeks claimed it. Along with Mr. H. W. Nevinson (the famous war correspondent), I rode three days over the mountains, arriving at Berat early in the morning, and drafted a telegram to the Council of Ambassadors in London as a petition from the inhabitants of Korcha saying they wished to remain Albanian, and Korcha remains Albanian to this day as a result of that desperate ride."

[72] 648

No. 1937-19. This jelek, which has a foundation of black face cloth, either Austrian or Italian in origin, is entirely covered with gold embroidery, both raised and flat, in which expert use is made of gold thread or passing, gold cord, purl and sequins.

The design on the front, of conventional eight and four-petalled flowers connected by graceful curves and mingled with raised geometrical forms, is so elaborate that a reduced drawing of it would be unsatisfactory, but a small portion of one corner of actual size is reproduced in Fig. 7b, which also shows the four rows of plaited gold passing divided by three rows of gold cord which border the whole garment.

The back has a large bi-symmetrical motive which fills most of the space, and is bordered by the same design that almost encircles the armhole. A part of this border from near the lower edge at the back is given on Fig. 7a. The little added flaps at the front, usually found on jeleks, are absent from this specimen, being re-

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placed by gold lace of a continuous wave pattern similar to the Ionic wave. Two buttons are wrapped with gold thread in a manner like those enlarged at "d" on Plate XI, and plain loops complete the fastening. 291 286 531

The garment is lined with yellow cotton material, nicely printed with red, daisy-like flowers, which appears to be English in origin.

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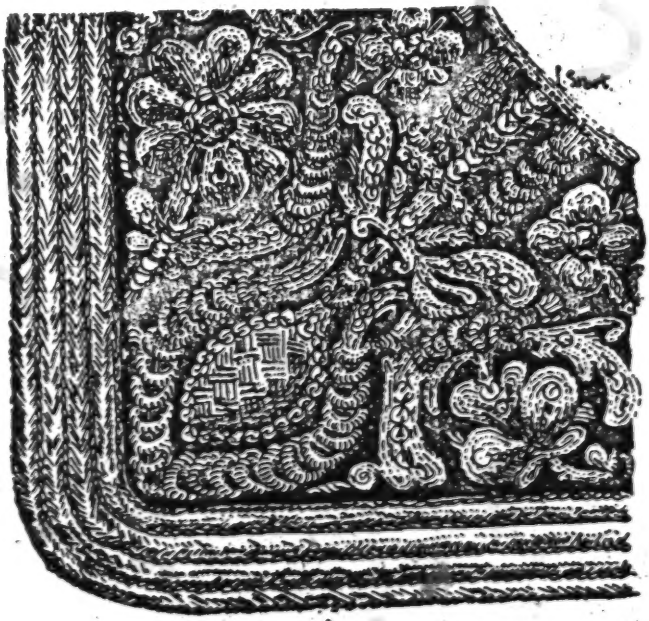

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FIG. 7.—Gold embroidery on presentation jelek. a, Portion of border surrounding back panel. b, Small portion of decoration on the front.

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Great richness of effect is produced by such close work in gold, which can only be compared to expert church embroideries, or those decorating some diplomatic uniforms, although the technique is much finer than is usual on these latter garments.

No. 1935-75. A very elegant jelek of violet velvet, almost entirely covered with gold cord and matching violet silk braids and cords, which comes from Ipek (Pec) and belonged to a Moslem woman, has a rather pathetic history. "In the Balkan war of 1912-13 the Montenegrins took Ipek and treated the Moslem inhabitants with hideous brutality. Numbers fled with little but what they stood up in, and sold their garments to buy bread. This was sold by one of these poor victims who had been well-to-do." (M.E.D.). The front and back of the little jacket are illustrated in Plate XI at "A" and "B"; but the refined richness of the purple braiding round the edge and outlining the panels, and the rows of patterned cord work surrounding the gold motive in the centre of the back, cannot be successfully given, as if these parts were made dark as they are in the garment details could not be effectively shown. Gold cord braiding decorates the long narrow front panel (a part is shown at "b"), and there is a little running border on the collar (Plate XI "a"). The inside band, which appears light in the drawing (Plate XIA) consists of eight rows of plaited gold passing sewn down with purple silk. The two side panels in the front (Plate XI "c") have the gold ornament worked in twisted gold thread with the background filled in by rows of purple silk cord. The side panel at the back is similarly worked. Finally the front-opening has sixteen very handsome gold buttons, each made by covering a wooden mould with gold thread, a little purple cord as contrast to emphasize the arrangement of the wrapping, and seven coral beads (Plate XI "d").

[27]

The jacket is lined with a printed cotton lining of mid-Victorian design.

No. 1936-42. Fine black cloth is the foundation of the third jelek, which is bordered by five, plaited, black silk cords, which along the lower edge of the jacket form a large Ionic wave design, each spiral being centred by a rather poor variety of gilt ribbon.

The same ribbon is placed as a stripe down the front, and between it and the braided edge there is a neat little pattern of leaves with a wavy stem worked in gold cord.

The back of the jelek has a centre and two side panels handsomely braided in white silk cord. The design, with its four-petalled flower, has a great similarity to the one on the back of the Zadrima jelek on Plate X, but is much more finely planned and worked. Raised centres of cord enhance the effect of the flowers and form the mid-rib of the conventional leaves.

The white cord design has a fine black cord outline but the black background renders this almost invisible. A black and white braid sewn in close loops finishes off the curves at the lower edge, and on each of the little added flaps in the front there are ten half-buttons in gilt brass.

No. 1939-1. The fourth of the jeleks in this group is an example of one covered entirely with work in gold braid.

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At the lower edge it has the waved border, so usual in the south, consisting of four parallel rows of plaited gold braid, which are carried up the front and round the neck also. The small panels on the front have a leaf design with a raised midrib

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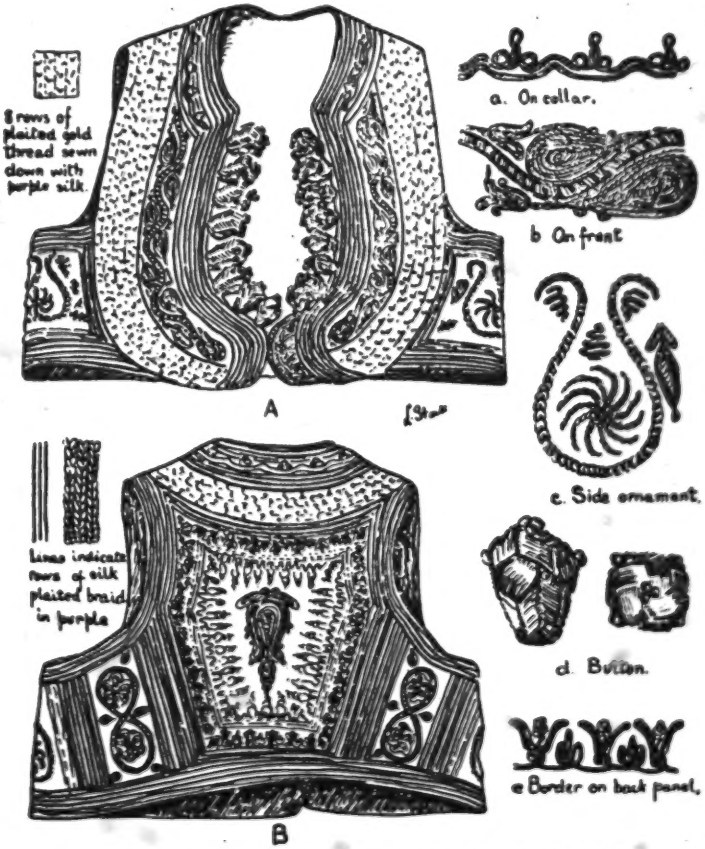

PLATE XI.—A, B, Front and back of "jelek" of reddish-purple velvet, elaborately decorated with braided patterns worked in fine cords and plaits made of purple silk and of gold passing. (From Ipek, Albania). a, b, c, e, Details of patterns worked in gold. d, Side and top of button covered by gold cord with red coral beads.

similar to "d" on Plate XIII. The back is divided into three panels, like the Zadrima example on Plate X, and these panels are entirely filled with the popular four-petalled flower motive, having a raised ring in the centre.

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The whole of this pattern work is braided in fine gold cord, and the usual half-buttons of gilt brass decorate the little added flaps on the front, just like the Zadrima example.

No. 1936-119. The last of the jelek in this group is another beautifully gold embroidered one given by Mrs. E. W. Hickson, which belongs to the magnificent gold braided giubba (No. 1936-118), described later.

It is made of an extremely fine black face cloth. The fronts are entirely covered by braiding in fine gold cord, four, six and many-petalled flowers growing out of sweeping curves fill most of the space, with leaves and smaller flowers in between. Most of the flower petals are slightly raised as in the presentation jelek (No. 1937-19).

The neck and front edges have broad bands formed of a series of gold plaited braids laid closely in rows in a similar manner to the other examples, and the plain back of the garment is also outlined and the seams emphasised by similar plaited braid and gold cord. This garment is particularly interesting as the worn-out lining has been removed and the method of strengthening the cloth with parchment before working the braiding can be plainly seen. [296]

When this garment is compared with its companion giubba it will be noted that a plain back was necessary as that of the giubba itself is heavily gold braided (Plate XIV).

CHAPTER XIV.

A. The Costume of a Roman Catholic Woman of Scutari.

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In Albania, as elsewhere, native costume is rapidly disappearing, but when these specimens were collected between 1908 and 1914 it was almost universally worn, a different dress in different districts and for different religions; and the charming drawing by Miss Durham which forms the introduction to Section II (Plate V) illustrates the costume of a married Roman Catholic Scutarene. The scarlet outer cloak or "japangi" is worn over a sleeveless coat or "giubba", of which only the edge shows in the picture, and from whose pocket slot depends a large fancy silk handkerchief.

Under the flap of the japangi, which can be seen being held in position on the head by a cord, a lace veil is draped, partly concealing the face, and a fancy muslin, embroidered apron hangs down in front of the baggy trousered skirt (Plate VI e) with its stiff ankle bands, which in this Catholic woman's costume would be red, although otherwise similar to the gold braided ones belonging to a Moslem woman of Scutari which are figured on Plate XVIc.

An embroidered muslin shirt is worn under the trousered skirt, and girdled with a striped silk scarf, or a needleworked girdle with long ends (Plate XVIr). White knitted socks and Turkish shoes complete this out-of-door costume.

The details of the various items in the costume are discussed in the notes which follow, with the exception of the veil which is described in the chapter dealing with head-dresses.

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B. The Japangi.

The japangi is the out-of-door cloak of a married woman, and is presented as a wedding gift from the bridegroom to his bride.* It is made of scarlet cloth or felt, often imported from Austria, and the handsome silk embroidery which decorates it is the work of Albanian men tailors. It is interesting to note that according to old archives "Scarlet cloth was one of the items the Venetians used to bestow on local Albanian chieftains in the days of Venetian domination in the Adriatic."† 291 294 531 [431]

The garment consists of two parts, the large circular cape and a rectangular flap for a hood which is attached to it (Plate XII a). Although the material is very wide there are some joinings, and a curved gore or a long dart is cut and joined together again to make the cloak fit well on the shoulders.

It is handsomely trimmed by three panels of embroidery, one on either side of the front, like the one at the left only in "b" on Plate XII, and one across the shoulders at the back (Plate XII c). These panels consist of strips, about an inch wide, of scarlet and dark red or maroon or black cloth seamed together to form a background of stripes upon which an elaborate pattern is solidly worked in chain-stitch in yellow, white, green and violet silk, the silk being home grown, spun and dyed in most cases. The joining of the front and back panels is disguised by a number of rows of plaited braids, plain yellow ones being used alternately with mixed red, black and white ones (Plate XII h). The silk strands of which the braids are made form a long fringe at either end (Plate XII g). "The embroidery is very noteworthy. It is done entirely by men, and the patterns are traditional and vary very little, a bird, possibly a dove (Plate XII f), a serpent (Plate XII e), flowers and an ear of corn (Plate XII d) are always included, and it was impossible to get any explanation from the embroiderers as to why these items were always to be found. After much discussion by one excellent worker with his fellows they decided that it must be some old tale, long forgotten. The flowers and corn may be fertility emblems as this is a marriage garment." (M.E.D.). [462]

When a woman becomes a widow she removes the embroidered panels and substitutes some black stripes instead, whose arrangement is shown at the right hand side of the front view of the japangi at "b" on Plate XII. A sketch (No.1935-27) by Miss Durham of a Scutarene widow wearing a japangi with black stripes can be seen in the museum collection. [765]

No. 1935-22. In addition to the japangi with the embroidery just described there are two other examples of the sets of embroidered panels, both from Scutari (Skodar), and one of which is drawn at "g" on Plate XII.

The fine felt stripes of which this ground is made are scarlet and very dark maroon, and the design and the technique of the embroideried work far outshines that of the other two specimens. Ivory silk chain-stitch, generally outlined in yellow, fills most of the important motives, but touches of pale blue, reseda green and violet appear here and there. The changes in the background colour enhance the richness of the general effect and part of the illustration at "g" on Plate XII has been filled in to give some idea of this variation in tone. The serpent, dove and corn

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*, Vol. XXIII. No. 5, 1923.
† loc. cit.

[Text continues on p. 57]

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PLATE XII.—Japangi. a, Pattern. b, Front. c, Back. d, e, f, Serpent, birds and corn or feathers from trimming on b, c. g, Half of embroidery on another japangi. h, Detail of shoulder braid.

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can be distinguished although exigencies of space prevent a large drawing of the design being available. The enlarged specimens on the plate are from the embroidery on the japangi shown at " b " and " c ". 291 294 531

No. 1937-6. The third example of embroidery for a japangi has a design worked in vivid orange, violet, emerald green and cerise outlined in white. The dyes are aniline and the result garish. The pattern, too, is not so good, the small four-petalled flowers dominating the design. The striped scarlet and black ground is made of a fine felt.

Those specially interested in the design itself will find a section of each of these patterns sketched by Miss Durham in her article on " Some Balkan Embroideries," in *Man.*, May, 1923, Vol. XXIII, No. 5 ; and she also states in her letters that she has seen the dove and serpent design on the corner of the sleeveless coat which formed part of the wedding dress of the Crown Princess Militza, wife of the Crown Prince Danilo, of Montenegro, which is now in the possession of her friend who was the English lady-in-waiting to the Princess.

C. The Giubba.

No. 1935-62. One of the most elegantly cut of all the garments in the collection is the giubba, a sleeveless coat, figured on Plate XIII. It is part of the indoor dress of the women and girls of Scutari, whether of the Christian or Moslem faith, and is worn over the shirt and full trousers or trousered skirt. The skirt-like enlargement of the lower part can be traced back to Persian and Tartaric garments, and adds considerably to its graceful effect in wear (Plate XIII a). The giubba is made of a rich reddish brown face cloth of fine quality, and consists of five pieces, two fronts of fairly straight cut (Plate XIII b), a back which includes a long narrow gore tapering to the bottom of the skirt as shown in " c " on Plate XIII, and two circular shaped pieces which fit the gore and the side edges of the fronts. On the seam thus formed there is a long pocket-like decoration in which, at the bottom, there is a tiny two-inch slot, from which one or more patterned silk handkerchiefs may hang. [174]

As will be seen from the measurements given on the plate, the garment is such as would fit a small and slender woman.

The coat is handsomely braided in black, three kinds of material being used, a thin and a thick twisted silk cord, the latter being usually applied on top of a closely laid fine cord, as indicated at " d " and " f " on Plate XIII, and a plaited silk braid which is used in rows to make the waved border all round the front and circular skirt-part. Above this waved band a version of the popular continuous scroll, like an Ionic wave, forms two rows of trimming and for its working two operations are needed, a single line of cord, the darker in the drawing at " e " on Plate XIII, is sewn down first, and then a second row with little twirls at the top of the curve fills in the spaces of the first.

Some indication of the style of the patterns and their layout has been attempted at " b " and " c ", limitation of space preventing enlargements on a more adequate scale.

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The narrow back of the garment, which is outlined by several rows of plaited braid is also completely filled with a design which in its use of four-petalled flowers has some affinity with the patterns on the back of the jelek figured on Plate X.

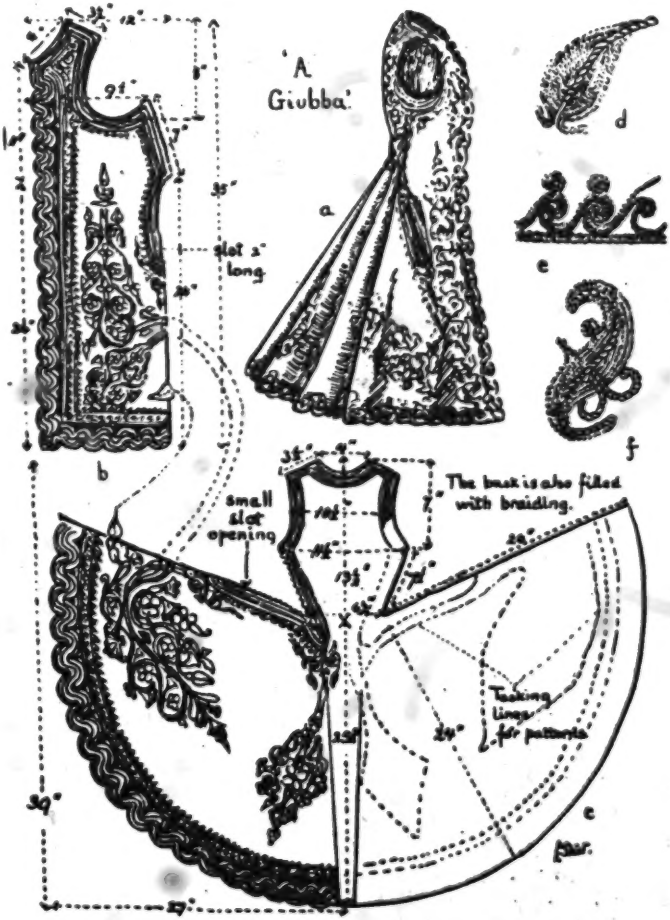

PLATE XIII.—A giubba from Scutari (now Skadar). b, Front section. c, Back. d, e, f, Details of braiding.

[Text continues on p. 60]

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PLATE XIV.—A black giubba worked in gold.

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All the designs are filled in solidly with the fine cord, and detail, such as veining, emphasised with the coarser cord, the final effect of their flowing curvilinear designs in black silk on a dark background being very handsome, yet subdued.

No. 1936-118. The most magnificent garment in the whole collection as well as the most beautiful from an artistic standpoint is this Albanian lady's giubba or coat (Plate XIV), presented by Mrs. E. L. Hickson, a sister of Miss Durham.

It is of fine black face cloth decorated on the front, back and hem by handsome braided designs in fine gold cord.

The cut of the coat is very elegant and varies somewhat from that just described and illustrated. The garment is built to fit a slender woman and the same small back appears, outlined by solid bands of gold one and a half inches wide, made up of seven rows of plaited gold passing, with gold cord between, but the skirt part is much fuller.

A complete circle of 40-42 inches (about 1 m.) radius was used to make the skirt with an overlap of about one foot in the front, where the cloth is cleverly cut so as to continue upwards for the front of the bodice part. For the waist a concentric circle of 9 inches to 11 inches was cut away so that the depth of the skirt became 31 inches (78·8 cm.) and all the extra fulness was skilfully gathered into the waist at the back, forming folds which add great dignity and elegance to the garment, and which give balance to the coat in wear. The lining, which is a printed cotton, with patterned stripes having alternate backgrounds of red and green, is of Mid-Victorian date so the giubba is probably at least eighty years old, yet its gold work and the cloth are in as perfect condition as if it had been made today.

No verbal description can give adequate expression to the beauty of this specimen, but the refinement of the border which edges the curved hem must be specially mentioned, and at "c", "d" and "e" on Plate XIV some idea of the braided designs is given, these must be translated in the reader's mind into fine gold cord braiding on a velvety black surface.

The last of the jeleks just described was worn with this giubba, and the gold braided front has similar designs. When the heavily decorated back of the coat is noted, the reason for leaving the cloth in the back of the jelek plain is quite obvious, and worn together, probably with a silk trousered skirt or Turkish trousers, the effect would be very handsome.

CHAPTER XV.

Head-dresses.

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As was mentioned in the introduction to Section II, there is a great deal of variation in the types of head-dresses worn in Albania and Southern Yugoslavia, but they fall into three main categories, the large lace or embroidered net or muslin veil worn by Moslem and many Roman Catholic women, the square head kerchief and the long scarf.

There are two examples of the large lace veil in the collection, one being the example worn by the Roman Catholic woman from Scutari (Skodar) whose costume is illustrated on Plate V.

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No. 1935-76. This is a very fine cotton net veil measuring 4 feet (1·3 m.) square, handsomely embroidered in floss silk. The design consists of a border 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide, of which a small portion near a corner is illustrated in Fig. 8; large corner motives of a bouquet form, about 14 inches (35·6 cm.) square, reach almost to the centre and little floral sprays spot the remaining space.

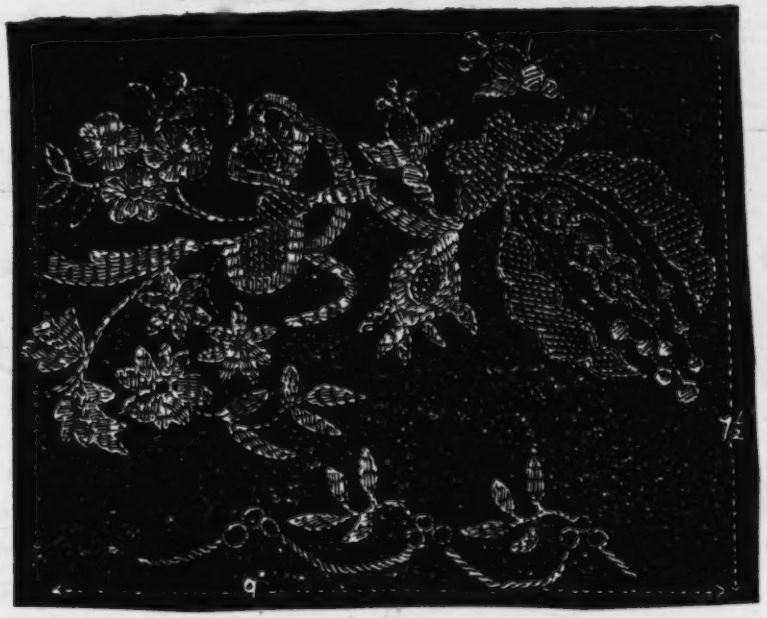

FIG. 8.—Part of the silk outlined and darned border on a silk lace veil.

The style of the lace, as can be seen from Fig. 8, is a fairly free treatment of floral forms. It is executed in an outline of double running with darning stitches and satin stitch as the chief filling-in stitches, although there are some ornamental filling stitches and overcast eyelets.

[171] The method of working this embroidered lace is similar in style and execution to the darned laces worked in England in the early 19th Century, and to some of those of Austria and Hungary of the same period and of somewhat earlier date*.

* "Peasant Art in Austria and Hungary." The Studio, Special Number, Autumn 1911.

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No. 1938-11c. The second example of the large semi-transparent veil also comes from Scutari, and is beautifully embroidered on fine sheer muslin. It is 4 feet (1·3 m.) square and the scheme of decoration is somewhat similar to the previous specimen, consisting of a border and large floral motives reaching from the corners almost to the centre.

The technique is interesting as a variation in surface texture and is obtained by the use of a soft white cotton as well as white floss silk for the stitching, thus in a spray of leaves some will be worked in satin-stitch in silk with a fine chain-stitch outline worked in soft white cotton, whilst others will be filled with satin-stitch in soft white cotton and have no special outline. Sometimes a flower will be partly worked on the wrong side and the rest solidly on the right, thus producing a contrasting softness such as is seen in modern shadow embroidery. Many fancy fillings are used, and the centres of the larger flowers consist of very fine drawn thread work whipped over to form an openwork of small squares. For the needlewoman this veil is full of suggestions as regards stitchery as well as the decorative treatment of floral motives, and there are also some rather amusing birds with sprigs of leaves in their mouths, possibly symbolic of the return of the dove to the ark, hovering over the big corner motives.

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The two examples of head kerchiefs are both illustrated on Plate XV and are from Prizren in the Kossovo Villayet.

The one at " A " is of fine hand-woven cotton cloth of a natural creamy colour, and is embroidered in silk with touches of gold thread. The design at the corner is reminiscent of the Persian pink, and the little triangular-shaped motives round the edge are a variant of the tree of life, which is so prevalent as a motive in embroideries from the Near East.

The corner spray is worked mainly in pink and green, the flowers being executed in an open stitch whose working is drawn at " c " on Plate XV, and the leaves and stems being variations of (v.) and (vi.) at " d " on the same plate. The combination of (v.) and (vi.) is sometimes known as triangular Turkish stitch. Both these stitches are used by other peoples in the south-eastern parts of Europe where both sides of the embroidery are made to look alike*.

The tree of life is in pink, green and gold, and its alternate motive, like a fruit tree on a mound, is in brown and pink with the mound in deep blue outlined in gold.

Little multi-coloured silk tassels adorn the corners, and the edge is rolled and closely whipped with cream silk.

No. 1935-30. The other head kerchief is worked in silk and gold on a rather openly woven muslin of gauze-like effect. One corner is shown at " B " on Plate XV, and is worked in very bright aniline colours somewhat toned down by black stems and pale pink and gold thread outlines. The flower border is carried out in vivid green with black outlines and little gold thread squares, the stitch used for filling the pattern being that sketched at " d ". The stems and lines consist of two rows of (v) d with (vi) d between them. The raw edge is rolled and whipped, but not so neatly as in the previous example which is probably older, and certainly more skilfully worked.

* Laura E. Start: " Armenian Embroideries." The Needlewoman, No. 4, 1920.

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The two head scarves also depicted on Plate XV are good specimens of embroidery in metal thread, and have a strong affinity with Turkish work.

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No. 1936-46. The scarf shown at "E" is from northern Albania, and is of cream coloured, gauze-like muslin, worked entirely in gold thread and gold plate. One of the motives has been enlarged at "g" in order to show how the two working materials have been used. The edge near the decorated ends is closely buttonholed with cream silk.

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No. 1935-92. The other example, drawn at "F" on Plate XIV, is of much more skilled workmanship. The material is hand-woven silk with broad stripes of heavier silk weft, and the embroidered ends are worked in a pale gold thread with touches of vivid colours here and there. The two motives have a likeness to the familiar pine pattern of India and Persia, and are filled in solidly with gold basket-stitch separated by double lines of slanting stitches giving the effect of a plait. The two ends are beautifully finished off by a scalloped edge of needle-point worked in fine cream silk with the tiny scallops filled in with black.

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The remaining five scarf head-dresses, which are worn with the worked ends hanging down the back, are all from Zadrima, a district near Scutari, on the banks of the river Drin. Two of them are for festival wear, and these both have their patterns worked mainly in gold thread, with outlines and some smaller motives in crimson, emerald and purple silk.

No. 1935-34. The handsomer of the two has a foundation of fine yellow cotton gauze, with weft stripes of different widths of white silk. It is hand-woven, and there are 36 warp ends and 60 weft picks to the inch in the plain parts of the cloth, which is 19 inches (48·2 cm.) wide and, including the scanty weft fringe at the ends, 4 feet 8 inches (1·4 m.) long.

The handsome border at either end is 11¾ inches (29·8 cm.) wide, including three, quarter-inch, gold thread weft stripes filling a space of 2 inches (5·1 cm.) on either side of the main pattern. The latter is divided by four narrow, multiple weft stripes of white, gold, red and green into a wide central border and two narrower ones.

The wider border consists of paired and single lozenges used alternately, their longer diagonals being horizontal, and in between them vertical zig-zag lines. All these are brocaded in by means of small free spools carrying three gold threads wound tape-wise. The gold lozenges are outlined with scarlet, purple and green floss silk, also worked in by means of free spools.

The narrower borders consist of single lozenges in gold, also outlined in colours, and with small, coloured silk devices between.

The effect of brocading each small motive by its individual spool produces a similar result to a darned-in pattern.

No. 1937-7. The other "festal" head-dress is similar in material although the cotton gauze ground is of a more greenish yellow, and its weft stripes are of cotton instead of silk. It is 20 inches (50·8 cm.) wide and 4 feet 4 inches (1·3 m.) in length, but the decorative borders at the ends are only 5 inches (12·7 cm.) wide, consisting of a wide central pattern and two narrower ones divided by multiple weft stripes.

[Text continues on p. 65]

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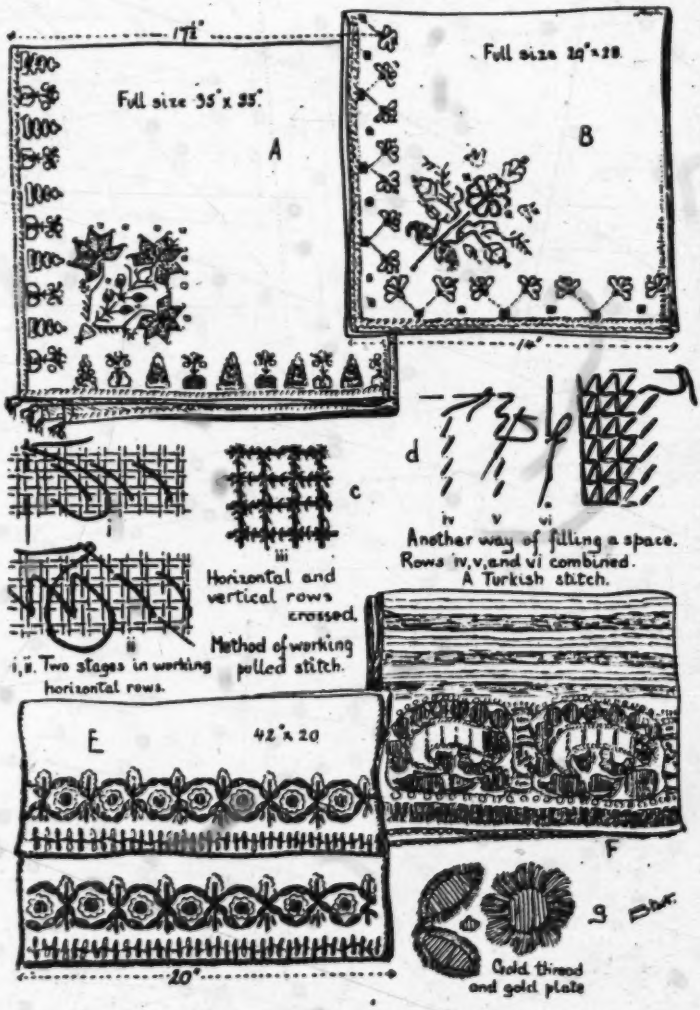

PLATE XV.—A, B, Two head squares from Prizren. c, d, Details of stitches used on them. E, F, Two head scarves from Scutari and N. Albania. g, Detail of E.

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The narrow borders are brocaded with the six-armed cross or star which can be seen at " C " on Plate X. These are worked in series in yellow and red silk and gold thread.

The main central band has an hour-glass shaped motive consisting of one complete and two half lozenges, worked in gold thread, alternating with a single lozenge in coloured silk having a gold centre, and above and below it lines with right-angled triangles at each end worked in gold and red. The whole pattern is brocaded in with free spools just as in the previous example and, " . . . the woman who wove it and several other head-dresses had a husband, born crippled, who begged in the streets of Scutari. They lived in a miserable one-roomed hovel, a large part of which was occupied by her loom, by means of which she supported herself, her husband and as many of her children as survived. (An addition came every year). The family slept in a heap on the ground by the loom on which she worked these gorgeous patterns. You bargained for the price, paid for so much gold thread and silk, and left choice of design and colour to her. She had no patterns and did it all out of her head. The gold thread came from Austria but the silk was locally spun ". (M.E.D.).

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No. 1937-9. This head scarf is one of the handsome old ones with weft stripes and brocaded borders worked in red, yellow and green wool. It is very similar in design and lay-out to the one figured at " C " on Plate X, except that in addition to the decorated ends there is also a band of decoration in the middle, and in place of the cross-like motive at " b " there is a conventional four-petalled flower.

The material is a native-woven cotton cloth 18 inches wide, in natural colour, with brown weft stripes of varying width in the plain section on either side of the middle. The widest of these brown stripes has a simple spot motive worked mainly in red.

The scarf which is just over four feet long has a fringe of red and yellow tassels at either end, and its general effect is very handsome.

No. 1936-61. The eighteen inch wide cotton cloth used for this head-dress has a central portion of plain tabby weave of a rather muslin-like texture, and five ornamental borders totalling 11 inches wide at either end of its length of 5 feet 3 inches (1·6 m.). Their ends are unusual in that the four borders of brocaded pattern, on which the motives are mostly similar to those of the other Zadrima head scarves, are worked on a weft stripe of yellow as background.

The central border of the five, which with these intervening coloured weft stripes forms the ornamental end, is differently produced. The motives are the usual double lozenge and hour-glass arrangement, worked respectively in white cotton and green wool on a background of red, with smaller lozenges of gold thread and yellow wool to fill in the spaces, but the whole pattern had been tapestry-woven and not brocaded.

This method is also employed in the decoration of some of the hand towels and, although the process is exactly the same as that employed for the heavy aprons described in Section I, when carried out in very much finer threads the effect is very different.

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No. 1935-32. This is another head scarf of hand woven cotton of a muslin-like quality, with heavier weft stripes of a coarser cotton thread used double. It has three narrow brocaded borders in red and yellow at the ends measuring 3¼ inches over all, in which the motive at "b" on Plate X forms the two outer borders, and the double lozenge and hour-glass motives fill the central one.

This is the least interesting of the examples of head-dresses.

CHAPTER XVI.

Footwear.

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Throughout Albania and Yugoslavia both men and women peasants and people of the mountain tribes wear two pairs of socks and a sandal, "opanga" or "opanke," of roughly dried hide over them when out-of-doors. Both their pairs of socks are knitted from rather coarse strong wool, the inner ones are usually white and the outer ones of gay colours handsomely embroidered or braided.

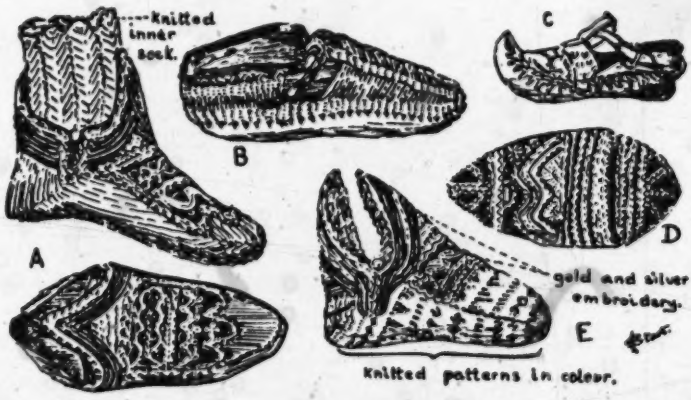

FIG. 9.—A, Silver braided knitted outer with inner sock. Grouda, W. Albania. B, String opanke with leather sole from Montenegro. C, Child's opanke of leather from Nish. D, Knitted outer sock with needle worked decoration. E, Outer sock from Kastrati tribe.

"The two layers of sock are needed to protect the sole of the foot as the hide used in the sandals or 'opanke' is thin and pliant. On entering the house the opanke are removed and the decorative over-sock forms a slipper." (M.E.D.).

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There are six pairs of over-socks in the collection, and two pairs have their inner socks still inside them.

No. 1935-73. Three of the styles are shown in Fig. 9. The drawing at "A" is of a particularly handsome example from Grouda, in Western Albania. The over-sock is knitted from violet wool with the back of the heel and the front of the foot decorated by plaited silver braid and cord, outlined by a plait of black and silver.

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Half a dozen rows of black silk braid strengthen the top, and a button and loop fasten the short side-opening. An indication of the braid pattern appears in "A" where both a side and top view of the over-sock are given and the feather patterned welt of the inner sock is also shewn.

Another set of two pairs of socks, also from Grouda, have a knitted foundation of reddish-violet wool and are braided in silver and black in a similar design to those just described. The pair of white inner socks have a fancy welt.

No. 1937-18. An example from Northern Albania is figured at "E". In this pair of over-socks the black knitted portion has a number of simple geometrical patterns worked into it as shown in the drawing, these are in cerise, red, orange, emerald and gold thread, and produce a gay result. The top edge is strengthened as in the previous cases with many rows of black braid and some silver braid and cord, and a small rectangular panel of silver braiding decorates the top of the foot.

No. 1935-74. The specimen drawn at "D" in Fig. 9 is ornamented quite differently, being entirely embroidered not braided. The foundation is of knitted black wool, and on the top of the foot there are rows of chain-stitch in fine gold thread alternating with a white vandyke pattern worked like needle-point. The heel and toe are decorated with lines of white chain-stitch flanked by herringboning on either side, and in the centre there are two scallops outlined with white and gold thread chain-stitch and vandykes. Between these scallops and the toe are some small conventional flowers in scarlet and white. The under part or sole of the sock is also decorated with rows of white herringboning and scattered red and white spots.

No. 1936-52. Another gay pair was made for Miss Durham by a Moslem refugee from Gashi. The knitted portion has a lemon yellow sole, and the upper part at the toe has some concentric lozenges in emerald, violet, lemon, white and crimson.

The open edge is heavily braided with rows of plaited black wool, and filling in a rectangular space below (such as "E" in Fig. 9) is a patch of violet felt ornamented with rows and triangles of silver braid.

No. 1937-17. This pair of over-socks is knitted from red wool, and was made and embroidered for the Krasnichi tribe of Moslem Albanians. The scheme of decoration is very like that of 1935-74, the white vandyke border is used on toe and heel in exactly the same way as the herringboning in "D" (Fig. 9) and the main pattern on the top of the foot is similar, though more carefully planned; it consists of two big vandykes outlined with many rows of gold and black chain-stitch divided into three sections by rows of little white needlepoint vandykes. Rows of gold chain-stitch worked at right angles fill in the spaces.

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No. 1936-62. The pair of Montenegrin "opanke" illustrated at "B" in Fig. 9, have hide soles and neatly worked tops of white twine. "When newly made the soles are soaked in oil till pliable. They then mould themselves to the feet, and give the toes and sole a good grip on rocks. The soles of this pair are worn through as I tramped many miles in them." (M.E.D.). 1

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No. 1936-64. A child's "opanke" from Ni is drawn at "C" in Fig. 9. It is of orange and red leather with a little appliqué of cloth and some silver thread embroidery on the toe.

[Erratum, read "Niš" – Analyst]

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CHAPTER XVII.

Accessories from the Southern Area.

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Amongst the odds and ends of the collection are some interesting accessories to costume of which the most important are sketched on Plate XV.

No. 1937-8. Perhaps the daintiest of them all is a hand-woven, natural coloured muslin apron from Prizren ("A" on Plate XVI). It has silk weft stripes arranged alternately in groups of five narrow and one broad, with seven narrow stripes.

As the apron is made of two pieces of the 18 inch wide material with the selvedges going across, the silk stripes appear lengthwise in the garment. The two selvedges are joined by a silk lacing stitch.

Down either side there is a plain muslin stripe about 2 inches wide, which is charmingly embroidered in silk. The flowers are worked in pairs, first two in pale pink with a deep pink border, then two in blue with a gold thread border. The leaves at the back of the flower are outlined in green and sometimes filled in with a pink pulled-stitch, similar to "c" on Plate XV, sometimes with satin-stitch in gold thread. The leaves sprouting from the main stem are outlined in pinkish brown and filled with satin-stitch in gold, and the green main stem has a line of gold thread down the centre. A portion of the pattern, giving some idea of the stitches used is enlarged at "b" on Plate XVI.

No. 1935-89. A gold galon and gold braided trouser end for a Moslem woman's full trousers or trousered skirt (Plate VI e) is shown at "C" on Plate XVI. The gold work and braid are mounted on a stiff foundation and lined with white cotton material and, being very stiff, help to keep the lower edges of the garment from the ground.

"Similar bands were used by the Christian women of the district, but they were usually red." (M.E.D.).

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No. 1935-50. A man's cap from Montenegro, drawn at "D" on Plate XVI, has symbolic colouring. The crown is of red felt and is "in memory of the blood shed at the battle of Kossovo, and the black silk border which is finely gathered on to the crown represents mourning for the defeat." (M.E.D.).

In this battle, in 1389, the Serbian empire was destroyed by Sultan Murad I and their king killed. The letters "H I", worked in raised gold thread inside a space outlined by five rows of gold braid, are cyrillic letters representing the Roman ones 'N I', for King Nikola I who, during his reign 1860-1918, obtained recognition of the independence of Montenegro in the Treaty of Berlin, 1878.

No. 1935-94. At "E" on the same plate the front and back of a knitted and beaded glove from Montenegro is drawn. It is one "such as were worn by old men in the winter, although such elaborate ones were already becoming uncommon in 1907". (M.E.D.).

The glove has the finger part knitted in blue and red stripes, with three rows of spots of yellow on the blue, but the wrist portion has a pattern of elongated hexagons and a cross-like motive in blue on a red ground. The diagram with the thumb part

[Text continues on p. 70]

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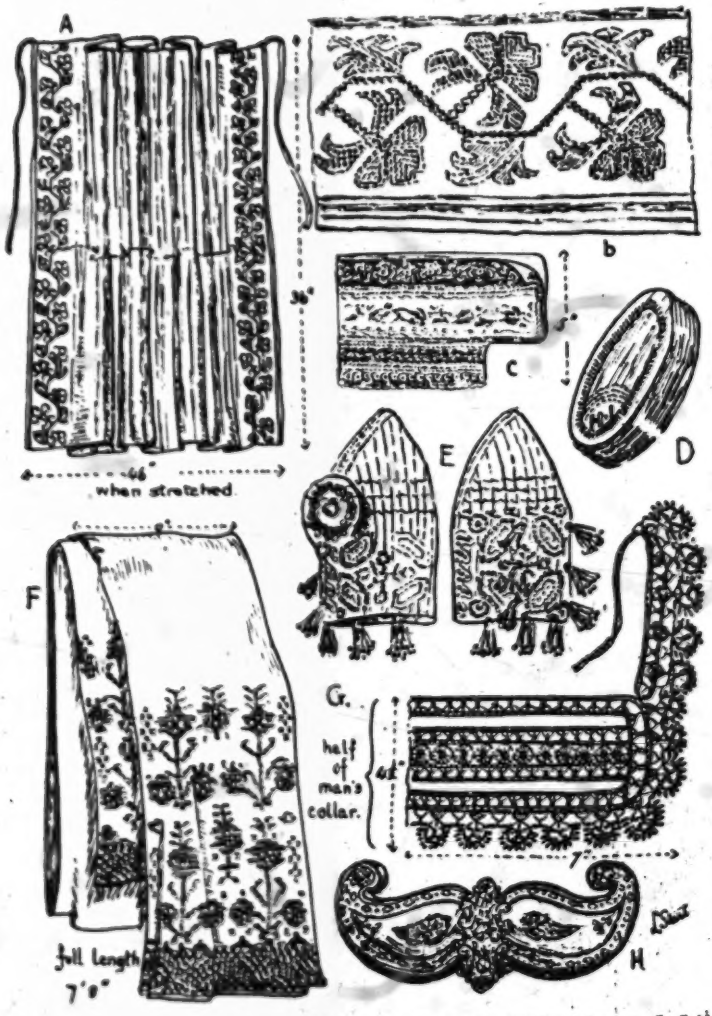

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PLATE XVI.—A, Silk striped apron (Prizren). b, Section of embroidered border. C, Gold braided ankle band for woman's full trousers. D, Man's cap from Kosovo. E, Man's glove. F, Girdle for woman's trousers. G, Man's collar. H, Silvered copper buckle.

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Contemporary Macedonians EF8

M 291 531 286 in it shows a portion of this pattern, which has not been covered like all the rest with white beads, and a yellow chain-stitched outline. Little tassels of brown, blue and green with white beads at the ends also form part of the decoration.

A 5 **No. 1935-72.** A delightful girdle for a Moslem woman's trousers of hand-woven muslin has very handsome decorated ends worked in Turkey red, with tiny spots of blue, yellow and white.

291 294 286 531 The pattern is clearly shown at " F " on Plate XV, the upper part has been woven in by means of a number of small spools, as many as twenty-five might be in use on the loom, as each perpendicular bit of the pattern needs its own spool. A similar effect could be got by darning, but such long strips of vertical pattern would not be as evenly worked.

The border at the end is either needle-woven or again fine spools used, but this time on the bare warp thread whilst in the loom, and it is therefore more akin to the tapestry method of working a pattern, with the warp thread pulled more tightly so as to leave holes. This method and style of pattern is sometimes called Persian open-work. The edge of the girdle is rolled and carefully whipped over with a cotton thread.

No. 1935-24. One half of a man's festival collar, worked in needlepoint in cream silk, is shown at " G " on Plate XV, and is a charming example of this method of producing lace.

Picots, solid buttonholing to form squares and triangles, and wrapped bars are the chief stitches used in making the patterns. The two narrow strips of fine linen probably formed a foundation for working upon.

" This is a similar type of collar to the one made fashionable by Byron." (M.E.D.).

No. 1935-23. An everyday collar for a man's wear is also included in the collection. It again has two strips of a coarser linen as foundation, and is decorated mainly by several rows of overcast scallops and picots worked in coarse cotton.

A 291 531 294 **No. 1937-15.** This specimen is a pair of crimson silk brocade sleeves, joined by a printed cotton back, for a Moslem Albanian woman's dress. " They were bought in Scutari in 1903 and could be attached to the shirt or blouse for wear under a jelek or a giubba " (M.E.D.). The pointed cuff is trimmed with gold braid and a motive worked in gold cord.

C 291 301 531 **No. 1939-2.** The remaining sketch on Plate XVI is of a silvered copper buckle such as would be worn over her corded waistband by the woman from Monastir (Bitolj), whose costume is illustrated on Plate IX.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Household Linen.

A Y 286 515 531 583 A. **" Marama " or Towels.**

There are thirteen towels in the collection, two of these " marama " for every day [illegible] have coloured weft stripes at the ends, the rest are guest or ceremonial towels and have ornamented ends, seven are embroidered and four are decorated with borders worked in by fine spools of small size, the appearance of the designs being like fine darning.

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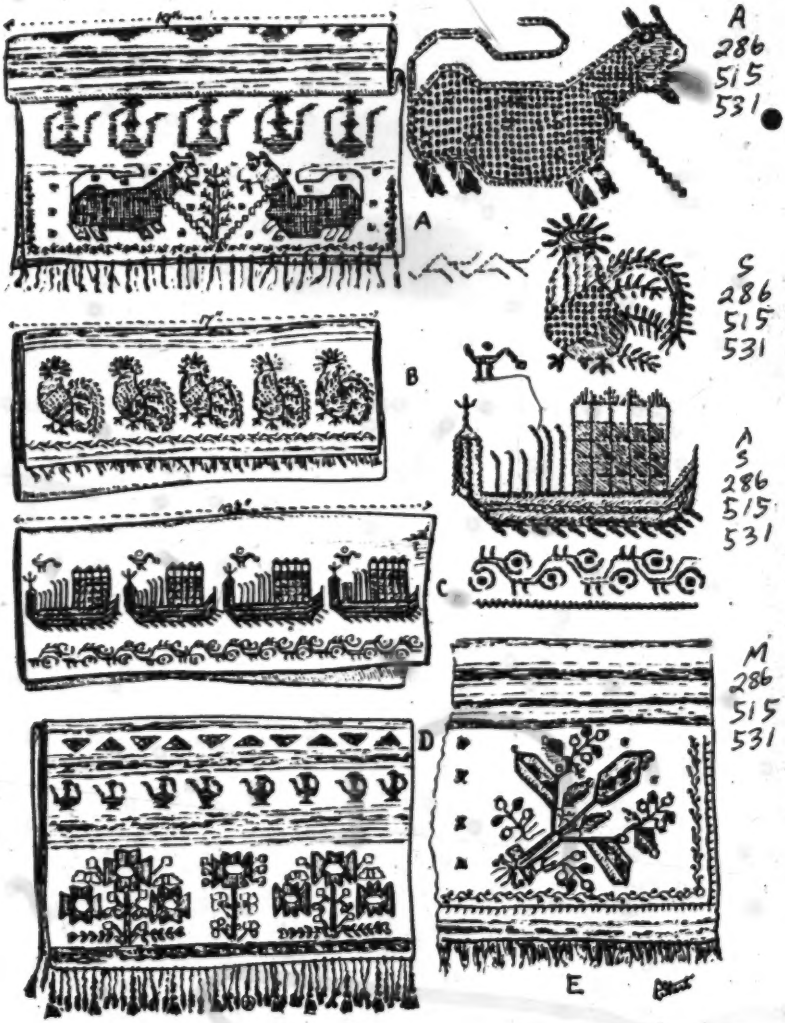

PLATE XVII.—" Marama " or towels. A, With " ibrik " or spouted water vessel, from Prizren. B, Cock design, from Kosova vilayet. C, Ark and dove pattern, from Prizren. D From Kolasin. E, Design showing Turkish influence, from Prizren.

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"As a rule these embroidered towels are from wedding outfits, the bride's coffer." (M.E.D.).

No. 1937-11. Perhaps the most interesting of the embroidered group is an old marama bought at Prizren in 1908, which is probably Moslem Albanian work. It is of fine hand-spun and loosely woven cotton rather like a muslin, with groups of wide, double weft stripes in cotton and finer weft stripes in silk.

In its length of four feet there are five plainly woven bands, three inches wide, decorated with free spool-woven "ibriks" or water vessels, and the plainly woven ends are embroidered. (Plate XVIIA).

"The ibrik is a spouted vessel used to pour water on guests' hands before and after a meal. As no forks are used fingers needed washing, and it is probable that the native was taught hand-washing at meals by the Turk, who was not such a bad fellow as some people make out. 'Marama' and 'ibrik' are both Turkish words." (M.E.D.).

The two tethered beasts are worked in a violet-red silk in pulled stitch ("c" Plate XV), with outlines in pale blue and cream of the Turkish stitch shown at vi. in "d" on the same plate. This stitch, in apricot pink and pale yellow with a pale blue outline, is also used for filling in the animals' legs.

The "tree of life", to which the beasts are tethered by chains made of squares of gold thread, has a stem of gold plate worked diagonally bearing green leaves. The spots are worked in gold plate and the whole design has affinities with Persian pattern.

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No. 1937-12. Another "marama" of a similar weave, also with stripes weft of cotton and silk, has its ends embroidered with a procession of boldly stylised cocks, gaily worked in aniline dyed silks and gold thread (Plate XVIIB). Although the use of aniline dyes indicates that this towel is not very old, the pattern is probably a traditional one.

The body of each cock is outlined and the feet are worked in black, the head and most of the body is filled in with a flat or satin stitch in gold thread, as indicated by the slanting lines in the enlarged drawing, with a band of pulled stitch across the middle worked in violet. At the extreme edge there is a narrow border worked in coral pink, a colour which is also introduced as a small patch on the cock's neck.

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No. 1937-13. A motive representing "the dove returning to the ark" is repeated at the ends of a guest towel made of machine woven muslin (Plate XVIIc).

"This marama was obtained from Prizren and might be either Christian, Serb or Albanian work. The Ark seems to be based on the state galleys of the Middle Ages when Venice held the Adriatic coast, and is probably a traditional design. The curious running pattern below looks as though it might be symbolic, possibly a conventionalised dove, just the head and legs." (M.E.D.).*

The dark lines in the drawing are all worked in green in Turkish stitch, the bank of oars in the same stitch in red, and the dove in violet. The slanting lines represent flat or satin stitch worked in gold thread. Turkish stitch in violet, with a gold thread line down the centre, is used for the little border below the ark design. The whole of the plain part of the towel has a rolled edge very neatly oversewn, but where

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Mus.* Vol. XXIII, No. 5, 1923.

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the patterned section comes this is replaced by a very fine picot edge worked in orange silk.

No. 1937·5. One half of an end of a gaily embroidered "marama" is drawn at "E" on Plate XVI. The material is hand-woven cotton of a muslin-like texture, which again has both silk and cotton weft stripes. The pattern shows a strong Turkish influence, the towel being bought in Prizren in 1908. Prizren was then in Turkish terr.

Gold thread and black silk help to tone down the gay, but rather hard, aniline greens, red, pink and violet, and the final result is bright but pleasing. Gold thread is used for the running border, lining the stems, filling in the white berries of the drawing and the square spots. The large and the fern-like leaves are solidly filled in with a variant of the Turkish stitch, in which the stitches are sloped both going and returning so that it is like two rows of a slanted running stitch. A rough fringe of the warp ends finishes off the lower edges. The selvedges at the sides have not been finished off in any way, and the carry over of the spools of silk and doubled cotton which were used for the stripes leave it rather untidy.

No. 1936·49. Another towel of similar material to the last, but with a whipped selvedge, has a design of crimson roses with green, gold and black leaves. With the exception of a little pulled stitch in gold, the stitches used are also similar, but there is in addition a charming little border near the lower edge. The towel is another example from Prizren and the design is of Persian origin.

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No. 1936·58. A muslin marama from Scutari has whipped selvedges and a border at the ends of highly conventionalised flower sprays worked in pale blue, dull violet and pale blue silk in Turkish stitch, with flowers formed of three squares filled in with gold plate.

A border below the main pattern consists of double buds or flowers in gold plate which somewhat resemble crosses.

No. 1937·14. The last specimen of an embroidered towel is of machine-woven material and has a flower design without special interest.

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No. 1935·32. A very fine old "marama" from the Kolašin district of hand-woven cotton with wide weft stripes of a coarser cotton has six rows of the "ibrik" motive and four rows of a triangular motive woven on the plain material between the stripes.

Both these designs are woven in by means of small free spools, or possibly needles, and the same thick cotton weft is used as that for the stripes. The handsome border at the ends (Plate XVIID) is also woven in by a number of free spools, producing a result like fine darning in which the needle would go over one thread and under one thread of the fabric alternately.

The only materials used are Turkey red and black cotton, and a very fine gold thread.

The flowers are centred with gold and have red petals with gold spots, the whole being outlined with a band of black. Leaves and other details are chiefly outlined in red and filled in with gold. A weft stripe of red near the end has inserts of little triangles on the gold, and an amusing fringe made of the twisted warp ends is decorated with red and black beads, probably Venetian, small Turkey red tassels and an imitation coin.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

A 286 515 531 [574]

No. 1937-10. A guest towel given to Miss Durham by Dom Simeone, a Catholic priest of Djakova, in Albania, was woven by his sister. It is of fine cotton with wide weft stripes of coarser thread and has a few narrow silk stripes bordering the plain cloth of the ends, which are decorated with a spool-woven pattern worked in wool, dyed with aniline dyes. The colours used are a hard pink, violet, blue, dark red and emerald, and the result is somewhat harsh compared with the other examples. The design of a stiff stem with three very conventional flowers is vaguely Turkish but the little borders on either side of the main pattern, consisting of two rows of circular spots, are rather charming.

Dom Simeone's initials D.S.C. are worked in red cross-stitch.

No. 1935-35. The two last "marama" with decorated ends have some of their motives brocaded in by free spools, but also have borders worked in the tapestry manner on the warp threads, whilst the cloth is still in the loom, in the style often called Persian openwork*, which is akin to needleweaving but much finer.

The example whose number is quoted above, is of hand woven cotton material 17 inches (43·18 cm.) wide and 4 feet (1·2 m.) long, and has five Persian open-work borders in Turkey red and white at the end, divided by coarse cotton weft stripes. Above this group of narrow border patterns there are two rows of "ibriks" in red filling the angles of a chevron pattern in white which has yellow four-petalled flowers at its angles. These designs are worked in with free spools.

The five open-work borders consist of two outer ones with tiny red rectangles on a white ground and three wider ones composed of chevrons in white filled in with red triangles; the whole border measures 6½ inches (16·51 cm.) in width, and has a rich appearance.

No. 1936-57. This "marama" from Scutari is unusual on account of its size, being made of two widths of material each 13 inches (33·0 cm.) wide and measuring 7 feet (2·1 m.) in length.

It is of hand-woven cotton almost covered with broad and narrow weft stripes of a thicker thread, and the decorated borders at the ends are 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide. The whole border consists of six narrow ones with a broader one in the centre, worked in pink, red and white, all divided from one another by groups of narrow weft stripes. The patterns are all geometrical, and based on arrangements of squares and triangles, and the six narrower ones are of Persian openwork, whilst the broader central one is brocaded with free spools.

A twisted fringe of the warp ends finishes off the whole.

A S 515 531

No. 1936-53. One of the two "maramas" for everyday use is of coarse, hand-woven cotton and has a group of Turkey red weft stripes at each end. It was bought in Prizren and used personally by Miss Durham.

286 A

No. 1936-47. The other, also of coarse, hand-woven material, has an arrangement of broad and narrow stripes of gold plate at the ends.

B. **Bedspreads.**

286 513 583 531

No. 1935-29. A gauze bed-cover from Scutari (Skodar) with warp and weft stripes in red and white, the wider red ones having a line of yellow or green down their centres, is an example from the latter end of the 19th Century, and formed part of a bride's outfit. The crossing of the pairs of red stripes with pairs of white stripes produces a gay, tartan-like effect.

* T. de Dillmont: "Encyclopædia of Needlework."

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

Albania EG1

Montenegrins EF5

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The cover measures 8 feet (2·4 m.) by 5 feet 6 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of material which are joined by needlepoint insertion. Picots with three knots are worked closely along the two edges, and then these are joined by bars of knotted stitchery.

The ends and a little way up each side are also ornamented by similar picots into which a row of wrapped scallops, with smaller picots in bullion stitch, is worked.

These needlepoint trimmings are carried out in red, yellow and green silk, the foundation picots in red, and the scallops in three-inch lengths of each colour in series. Tassels of the mixed colours are added at the corners.

No. 1935-25. A delightful white silk gauze bedcover from Scutari which also formed part of a bridal outfit came from a Catholic family.

A [731 727]

"After the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 there was much distress and things from old family chests were offered for sale. This was one." (M.E.D.).

The spread measures 7 feet 8 inches (2·3 m.) by 5 feet 9 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of gauze seamed together. Each width of material has groups of stripes near the selvedges consisting of one wide and three narrow stripes of white, five narrow red and three pale green ones; measuring altogether 4½ inches (11·4 cm.) across.

As two groups of these stripes are joined at the seams three wider groups appear to divide the cover into thirds with narrower bands down the sides. The ends are hemstitched and the hems ornamented by two rows of wrapped buttonholing, into which at distances of two inches little triangles of buttonhole stitch are worked, finished off by a floral motive done in an arrangement of picoted scallops and decorated with three gold sequins.

These little needlepoint motives are worked in sequence in red, green and a soft pink and the bedcover as a whole is charming.

No. 1936-57a. The strips of needlepoint insertion 4 feet 9 inches (1·4 m.) long and 2 inches (5 cm.) wide, and the 9 feet of inch-wide edging are intended for trimming another bedspread. Aniline dyes have been used for the silk thread, and purple, orange, yellow, maroon, emerald and pink are used in sequence for the circular motive in the centre of the insertion and for a few inches along the edge. The final effect is somewhat garish.

C. **A Cloth, possibly for a table.**

M 286 531

No. 1936-44. "A black and dark blue cloth from Kolashin, bought off a dealer in Montenegro, is a curious piece of weaving and I never saw another like it. It is evidently hand-made, native work." (M.E.D.).

This cloth which measures 40 inches (1 m.) by 29 inches (73·7 cm.) is made of two stripes of narrow material, which is tabby-woven in fine black wool, there being 32 warp and 32 weft picks to the inch.

It is entirely covered with a large lozenge design, almost filling the width of the material, bordered by five diagonal lines of small squares and each lozenge enclosing twenty-five repeats of a four-petalled flower in white with a dark blue spot in the centre (Fig. 10).

The whole of the pattern is produced by the use of a large number of free spools, for instance, in the diagonal lines of squares forming the divisions between the big lozenges a new spool is added for every alternate eight warp ends forming a small square, working over and under the next eight warps, and then passes on to the next groups of eight lower down.

In using the spools of white thread each line of pattern is worked backwards and forwards before the next two throws of weft are made.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

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It requires seven spools to work each flower, and an attempt to show how much is worked by each is made in Figure 10, where lines enclose the work done by the individual spools.

Some warp stripes in white form a border down the selvedges, and white weft stripes enclose a small square repeat in white and blue which divides the main pattern from the ends.

Twisted and knotted warp ends form a fringe which finishes off the whole.

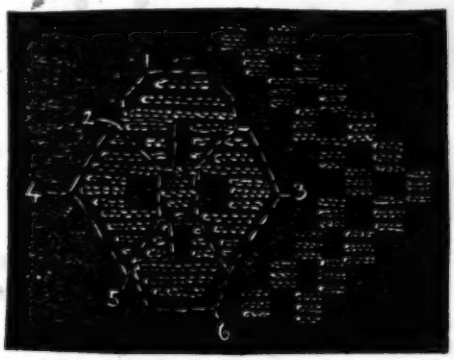

FIG. 10.—A motive from the Kolasin cloth, showing portion of pattern worked by each spool.

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The study of such a collection of work as this impresses one with the artistic achievement of the peasant peoples of these two mountainous countries where the conditions of life are hard, and where the arts of weaving and embroidery have grown out of the daily needs of the people and that inborn desire to make homely things beautiful.

Much naive charm, as well as expert manipulation, is expressed in the variations of the patterns in embroidery and tapestry weaving that have descended for generations from mother to daughter, and the technical skill displayed in the workmanship can be the more appreciated when one realizes the limitations imposed by the use of home grown, spun and dyed materials, and primitive tools. The tribal groups or social communities which form the nucleus of most villages have played a large part in perpetuating traditional patterns and craftsmanship, and have therefore some responsibility for many of the beautiful pieces of work.

The more sophisticated garments worn in the towns, particularly in Albania, owe something of their attractiveness to Byzantine art, which has come through Turkish influence, and is traceable in the fine braided patterns worked by the Albanian tailors, which both in beauty of design and workmanship are unsurpassed elsewhere.

In conclusion, I should like to express the personal pleasure I have had in working through this interesting and valuable collection so generously given to Bankfield Museum by Miss Durham, and my indebtedness to Dr. Hodge, the Keeper, for affording me the opportunity of doing so.

Manchester University,
May 1939.

533

533 MUSIC--musical form and structure (e.g., scale, pitch, tone, tempo, rhythm); melody; harmony; vocal music (e.g., singing, humming, chanting); instrumental music (e.g., accompaniment, solo playing, orchestras); occasions for music; song styles (e.g., work songs, drinking songs, dance songs, war songs, love songs, lullabies, sacred music, dirges and laments); musical training and appreciation; composition of music; specialization (e.g., composers, minstrels, musicologists, musicians); organization (e.g., choirs, bands, orchestras); etc. See also:

Property in songs 424
Palliation of labor with music 461
Musical texts 539
Musical performances on the stage 545

585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and [533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house. [534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The [292 301] display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped; the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern [262] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker- [281] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell. [777] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait, punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take [777 842] the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

enable her to bear male children. The ladies again sang songs of greeting. 585
Then the two bride-leaders manipulated the bride as though she were [777
a lay figure. She was absolutely passive. They raised her to her feet, 842]
set her feet one after the other, shod in the wedding-boots, on to the steps of the carriage, and then on the ground. They then draped her with the red silk handkerchief sent her yesterday, and pinned it to the top of her head. Supported under the armpits she was slowly shuffled across the yard. It was but a few yards long, but her passage took full ten minutes. She was pelted with sweets, which a crowd of children gathered, and sprinkled with holy water, and led into the women's room. The bridegroom then arrived on foot and went to the men's room. I followed the bride. She was led backwards, and seated, still blinded by the veils, upon the chair in the corner. Her hands were laid on her sash and nervously grasped a folded handkerchief. Her immobility as her attendants handled her was so inhuman as to be almost horrible. One of her leaders carefully lifted a corner of her head-coverings and gave her lemonade to drink under it. The attendants [272]
themselves were then ceremoniously served with refreshments. They then removed her wedding-boots and put on the slippers, raised her to her feet, lifted a corner of her veil, said good-bye under it, and withdrew. The poor bride still stirred never a finger, but the violent [152]
heaving of her breast showed her on the verge of hysterics. She pulled herself together and the ordeal continued. One of the bridegroom's female relatives unpinned the red handkerchief from the bride's head and held it as a screen before her. Behind it her headdress was changed. Her white veil was removed, and a yellow beflowered silk one substituted.

The great moment had now come. We were to see her face. A lady on each side of her threw back the veil and showed her off. She was exposed to a crowd of staring females. Her head dropped modestly. Her attendants each placed a finger under her chin and raised it again. The sweat streamed down her face. They wiped it. They straightened her wide coat, settled her sash, and waved the flies off her. Such was her Spartan heroism that when a fly, unobserved by the attendants, crawled up her face, she did not even by a twitch show that she was alive. Then a front row of chairs was arranged and all the men came in. The bridegroom, witnesses, and father took their seats. The background was crowded with miscellaneous youths. They stared with all their eyes at the luckless girl, who in vain dropped or turned her head, only to have it put straight again.

Only the bridegroom held his head down and would not look. His 533
witnesses grasped his chin and made him look, and he faltered, "But 585
I've seen her already."

The wedding song then began:—

533 How beautiful is the bride, Mashallah, Mashallah.
585 She has a forehead for a "perishan" (gold ornament of coins, etc.).
Her eyebrows are like braid, Mashallah, etc.
Her eyes large as coffee cups, Mashallah, etc.
Her nose is like a gold coin ("muskala").
Her cheeks like sweet cake ("gurabi," given at night by the bride to the bridegroom).
Her mouth is like a casket, Mashallah, etc.
Her teeth like pearls.
Her neck like a lily. Her figure is like a standard

585 sang the ladies, the men roaring: "She is, she is!" in a high falsetto, pressing their hands on their ears, and the small boys yelling "Mashallah," a strange cry at a Catholic wedding. All the time her two attendants [152] patted, straightened, and wiped the bride. My neighbour whispered to me: "They often faint." I anxiously watched her panting and swaying, and was relieved when the bridegroom left the room and the men followed. The ladies then bent the bride's knees and she plopped on to the chair. By now she was almost hypnotized, and mechanically at intervals tried to rise, but was at once replaced unless a child came in, when it was correct for her to rise for a moment. Then came midday and the wedding dinner, to which I did not stay. The bride is allowed to withdraw for a time. She does not eat with the guests. Her attendants [264] put little bits of food into her mouth. If very modest she does not take it, but when left alone secretly consumes some food she has hidden in her marriage coffer. On my return she was again enthroned. I was given three tumblers of wine and a dish of sweets and told to consume them, and did my best. I was then given a special view of all the bride's ornaments, and invited to return at night for the final ceremony. This I did not do. It was described as follows: The two attendants prepare the bed at midnight. They undress the bride and put a long silk shirt on her; lay her forcibly on the bed, and withdraw. The two male [833 533] witnesses then lead or drag in the bridegroom and prepare him. The wedding guests all stand outside the door when the couple are left alone, and sing epithalamia of an encouraging nature and shout advice through the keyhole. The bride has to feed the bridegroom with the "gurabi" (cake) she has brought in her wedding coffer.

The company sings continually till told the marriage has been consummated. In a short time the bride and bridegroom emerge completely redressed. She wears a married woman's dress. They are greeted as man and wife and at last left in peace.

585 The whole of the next week the bride may be visited at any hour
574 of the day and must not speak a word, but sit rigid as before.

At the end of the week she has a holiday and goes back to her own people on the Sunday. On the Wednesday her husband is invited to

342 dwellings immediately enables one to make the distinction between the natives of this district. The comfortable handsome stone houses, with large galleries on the upper stories before the living rooms and the stables below, denote the typical Albanian peasant homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

563 There are two kinds of gypsies in this in-
197 teresting country: one is the same as the
[166] English variety, speaking the quaint old
191 Romany, although knowing at the same time the language of the country. This branch of gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly moving from one district to another, pitching their temporary tents wheresoever they will.
[443] Their keenest interest is in horses and they live by their tradings and quite often entirely by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is those, who, having forgotten almost all of their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a little Turkish where they are old enough to have experienced the Turkish occupation of Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up
533 tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their
535 daily bread in the simplest and most conven-
563 ient way possible for them: singing and danc-

ing, accompanied by the women on tambour-
533 ines and they by the men on violins and
535 cornets. Their dances are picturesque in their native costumes with their hair either flowing or bound up, according to the particular dance. For those who may interpret their dances, there is a rich abundance of narrative in store for the reader. The harmony of tambourine, violin and cornet is not at all unpleasant when played by skilled musi-
563 cians. The singing, however, is not harmon-
[461] ized, the performers using only one voice. Regardless of where these gypsies may live they earn their living in the same way, and being too lazy to cultivate even a small truck-garden, they lead easy, happy-go-lucky exist-
[427] ences, and they have their huts free of rent, provided they work a few days out of the year for their ground landlord, Shevket Bey. Strange as it may seem, these wandering,
[326] anchorless people are about the only local blacksmiths found in this country, for the Albanians proper have a curious aversion to this occupation.

245 After leaving this quaint little town of Bradshesh, and penetrating into the heart of Albania towards Elbasan, large, beautiful

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

rally terminate in a fainting fit, while others have frequently to be restrained by their friends from doing themselves grievous bodily harm in their excitement. 763

The men of the family receive visits of condolence from those of their own sex, standing in the courtyard. 764 The formula in which sympathy is usually expressed is, "May you continue to enjoy good health," the speaker at the same time putting his right hand on the shoulder of the mourner. The latter responds, "May our friends be well," and the visitor enters the house to express in the same way his sympathy to the women of the family. The corpse is washed and laid out according to the usages of the faith, Christian or Moslem, professed during lifetime, and is dressed in its best clothes, which are, however, taken off before burial. And now begins the formal wailing round the body, in which the women of the family are assisted by their neighbours.

The majority of the dirges used are, like those of the Greeks, conventional, every woman having her memory well stored with a *répertoire*, from which she selects those suited to the occasion. They are sung antiphonically, a verse or couplet being first chanted as a solo, and then repeated by the rest in chorus. The nearest relatives first lead the chant, and continue without interruption until either their voices or their memories are exhausted. It is then the turn of the other women, who, when they consider that one has had the lead long enough, stop her with a sign, and another lifts up her voice. Among the dirges sung for a youth killed in battle the following, which is in the Tosk dialect, is one of the oldest and best known. 764 533 [462]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

764 533 The ideas expressed in it may also be found in Greek and Roumanian folk-song.

[539]

Kyabése's bridge hard by,
Slain by treach'rous foes I lie.
Comrades, greet my mother well,
Bid her the two oxen sell;
Give the money to my Life,
To my dear, my promised wife.
Asks mother what doth me betide,
Say, I have wedded here a bride.
Asks she who holds me with her charms,
Tell her, three bullets in my breast,
Six in my legs and in my arms.
Asks she who came as bidden guest,
And at my wedding feast was seen;
The crows and ravens, say, were there;
They have the friends and neighbours been,
And they devoured the wedding fare!

Sometimes animals and inanimate objects, with which the deceased has been associated in his lifetime, are poetically represented as missing him and mourning his loss, as in this lament for a Tosk chieftain who has met with a violent death:—

[539]

Derwen Agha, *vah!*[1] all slain
Lie thy followers on the plain!
Hear thy sword cry from the wall,
"Where's my lord?" in sorrow's thrall,
"Where's my lord, that he no more
Draws and waves me as of yore?"
Hear thy charger from his stall,
"Where's my lord?" complain and call,
"Where's my lord, to fill my rack,
Girth the saddle on my back?
Where's my lord, that he bestride me,
Gaily through the mountains ride me?"

[1] The Albanian exclamation of distress.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

For the untimely death of a young wife, not yet a mother, the following may serve as a specimen :— 764 533

O willow-wand so golden,
No townswoman more slight;
O beautiful of feature,
As partridge on the height!

[539]

O swift as weaver's shuttle,
Where wilt thou henceforth bide?
O partridge on the red rock,
Thy dower in chest must hide!

Where wilt thou be this summer,
Reft from thy dear lord's side?
O beauteous dancing vine-branch,
Thou wast a virgin bride!

Like blade of grass thou grewest,
Refined as finest gold,
And thy short life, O joyless!
Few joys for thee did hold.

A mother's grief is expressed in these, the opening verses only, of a long dirge for an only son. As I have previously had occasion to mention, the women of South Albania especially manifest an excessive degree of grief for the death of children, and often refuse, when left childless, to survive them. 764 533 539

O Death! O thou who know'st no ruth!
Why rob me of my son?
Why tear him from my loving arms?
My boy, my dearest one!

No pity hadst thou in thy stroke!
Before thou laidst him prone,
Why torture him with cruel pains?—
My boy, my dearest one!

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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[539]

Remorseless, Death, I know thou art,
Yet, from a mother lone,
How couldst thou take her only son,
Her boy, her dearest one?

Why didst thou not, my treasured child,
My only darling son—
Why didst thou not resist his blow?
My boy, my dearest one!

Ah! knew'st thou not, within my heart,
Should'st thou from me be gone,
Thou ope'st a wound must ever bleed?
My boy, my dearest one!

[152] Sometimes, too, as among the Greek women, a mourner finds no adequate outlet for her grief in the conventional dirges, and, inspired by sorrow, bursts into an improvised lament for the lost son, brother, or husband, extolling his virtues and bewailing his fate.

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It is said that when an Albanian of the mountains is led to execution by the authorities for any crime but that of theft, which is by these people alone considered disgraceful, he walks to his doom with head erect and bearing dignified, improvising as he goes his own dirge, in which he relates the circumstances that have led to his premature departure from the world. His mother and sisters follow him to the place of execution, their hearts devoured with grief, but wearing smiles on their lips, in order that their relative may, on his side, show no sign of weakness. Intently they listen to his death-song, the words of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 372 good luck to us and to our flocks!" Before the family sit down to supper a small quantity of food from every dish on the table is placed upon the burning log. Some branches of a cherry tree are also put on the fire, and, when partially burnt, are taken off again and kept.

857 533 Soon after midnight, the boys, in companies of from ten to fifteen, go singing from house to house, and receive, in reward for their carols, a ring-cake from each housewife.

527 789 787 [372] On the Eve of St. Basil (January 1) the fire is also kept burning all night, and the half-burnt cherry branches are again thrown on and withdrawn, to be wholly consumed on the Eve of the Epiphany, when the ashes are collected and strewn in the vineyard. The fire of St. Basil's Eve is often watched by an expectant mother, who thus hopes to ensure an easy confinement. In the morning people wash themselves and their children with "unspoken-over" water, and draw omens from the character, gay or sad, of the person who first enters the house. A cock is also sacrificed, for it is auspicious to spill blood in the house on St. Basil's Day.

789 [787] On the Eve of Epiphany the fire is also kept alight all night, and in the morning the character of the coming seasons is prophesied from the set of the wind. If a south wind blows, it indicates a full harvest and sickness; if the wind is from the east, a scanty harvest and a healthy year are predicted; if from the north, a late spring. The Christians, on the Feast of Epiphany, sprinkle their vineyards with holy water, in the hope of ensuring a plentiful crop of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

returned home. Said he to his wife, "Go and invite your brothers to dinner." 539

Arrived at their house, she said, "We beg you to come and dine with us," and they followed her home. They began to eat the *pastourma*, but tried in vain to chew it, for it was not cooked.

"How is this," they asked, "that you give us raw meat?"

"It is the same meat you had on the spit the other evening," replied the husband. "I have served it to you precisely as you roasted it yourselves."

"What! Was it thou who gave us such a horrible fright?"

"I myself. But let us be comrades all the same."

And comrades they were.

Though the Albanians cannot be called a musical people, singing is the favourite pastime of both men and women. Their airs have little variety, being for the most part monotonous recitatives, and the singer's merit depends upon his success in rivalling the violin, mandolin, or flute, by which his song is accompanied, in prolonging the last note. The songs are generally long ballads, which recount the victories of the tribe, the doughty deeds of ancestors, of the family, or the exploits of some national hero. For in the songs of the Skipetars the later history of the country is preserved, and in those of the Ghegs more particularly may be found the record of how they obstinately resisted, yard by yard, the Turkish advance into their mountains, and were only subdued at last by the

533 [517] [534] 533 173

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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533 173 overwhelming numbers and equal pertinacity of the foe. The record, too, of every insurrection, and they have been many, has thus from 1572 downwards been orally transmitted from generation to generation, keeping alive in the memory of the Albanians the heroism of their ancestors, and inciting them in their turn to similar deeds of daring.

533 538 The songs vary greatly in literary merit. Poetical talent seems now to have died out in the country, though formerly Albania had her national poets, the last of them (so far as I can ascertain), Hussein Mollah, having lived in the eighteenth century. The old ballads are consequently far superior to those of more recent date, which consist chiefly of detached couplets, and are very episodic, though they describe with sufficient accuracy the events they profess to record. In the more remote highlands some very ancient historical ballads are preserved, but unfortunately none of these have yet been collected.

One of the most striking songs of the Skipetars commemorates the revolution of 1572 under Ibrahim Pasha of Scutari. The result of this insurrection was the recognition by the Porte of its leader as Pasha of Scutari, he being the first Albanian since the conquest who had been allowed to assume that title. The song is, unfortunately, too long to give in full, but the following opening and concluding lines may give some idea of its spirit :—

539

No! no! our country only must we mother call,
For on her breast she us has nourished all.
She is the wife we to our bosoms press,
Who wakes within our hearts love's tenderness.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Where is the man, love of such mother, wife, 539
Who holds within his heart, counts not his life
As naught, as naught whatever he
May sacrifice, to keep his loved one free.

* * * * *

Come! Oh, ye generous sons, brave children, come!
And you, ye cherished husbands, hasten home.
Come to the arms of those who, with your fall,
Would have lost loved ones, country, home, and all!
Come back and rest from war's dread strife and din,
And teach your sons a hero's name to win!

The following ballad graphically describes a struggle which took place in 1795 between the Ghegs under Mahmoud Pasha of Scutari and the Tosks under Kourd Pasha of Berat. 533 173

Beat, beat, O valiant hearts of Ghegs, with noble pride! 539
The hosts of Tosks we've scattered far and wide; 173
For warrior Scutari has now at length,
With Roumeli's famed hero tried her strength.

To Hussein Mollah hear them call with glee,
"Now onward march, Tabácchi and Terzi,
Tosk has met Gheg. Come thou, our Laureate,
And make a song this fight to celebrate."

Kourd Pasha's at Berat, there let him bide;
Mean is his rank to stand Mahmoud beside;
What's he before Mahmoud Pasha, our lord?
How dares he 'gainst his master draw the sword?

Rebel is Kourd Pasha and *verlazi*,[1]
To his liege lord a traitor foul is he;
With fear he trembles when afar the drum,
Three hours[2] away, proclains Mahmoud doth come. [805 822]

[1] One who takes arms against his suzerain.
[2] Distance in the East is always calculated by time

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

538 776 banner beside it, and on it hang his sword, stained with the blood of the Turk:

539

Within its blade Death yet shall sleep,
And, 'neath that sombre tree,
The arms of their erst dreaded foe,
Shall they now silent be?

No! When the wind shall furious blow,
And waves my flag around,
When whinnies my good charger there,
My sword makes clanking sound,

The Turk shall hear, and, tremblingly,
He'll turn, with bated breath,
With visage blanched, and hear behind
Him, swiftly following, Death.

[854 533] The Gheg mother, in her mountain home, rocks her little ones to sleep and amuses their waking hours with such lullabies as these:

I.

539 854

"*De! De!* Lambkin mine,
Where didst thou this even dine?"
"In the fields where waters flow,
'Neath the trees where cherries grow,"

"Tell me what thou there didst see?"
"Two twin birdies on a tree."
"What song did they sing to thee?"
"*Chili! Chili! Mangouli!*

I saw the old woman
'Mong corn ears all ripe;
I heard her a-playing
Upon the black pipe!"

stood that the killing was an accident and it 628
caused no blood feud. Accidents, he remarked, will happen anywhere, and he spoke of the death toll of automobiles, which at that moment seemed as far from my knowledge as the twenty centuries that separated us from them.

"Through the Land of the Eagle the news is 533
sung," the second gendarme began a new song, 186
thumbs against his ears and sixty-pound pack on his back, as he ascended the rocks above us. Cheremi took it up, repeating each line as the other improvised it, and under his breath Rexh translated them for me, storing them away in his memory, from which I later transferred them to my notebook. As I listened I glanced at Rrok Perolli, disguised servant of the new government about which they were making the song, but his face wore a cheerful and unconcerned expression, like a mask so perfect that it seems real.

"Through the Land of the Eagle the news is sung —— (It has a double rhyme as they sing it, Mrs. Lane, but I do not know the English to make it rhyme in your language)," said Rexh, apologetically.

"What have the men of Tirana been doing?
I am a son of the mountain eagles;
I do not give up my nest while there is life in my claws;
I do not yield to the gendarmes!
I will drown them in their own blood.
Rise, rise, and go to the door.
There is a sergeant with twenty soldiers.

PEAKS OF SHALA

[533] Ho! Ho! Sergeant, I am not the man you think!
186 I will not bow and be led to the slaughter.
I will not be killed like a lamb for the men of Tirana,
I am a goat and will fight!"

"What do they mean about sergeants and soldiers?" I asked Perolli, and he said, "These tribes do not understand that the new government in Tirana is an all-Albanian government. They don't think as a nation; they think as tribes. They think the government is a Tirana government, trying to destroy their liberty as the Romans and the Turks and the Austrians and Italians and the Serbs and the Greeks and the Peace Council tried to do. They know that the Peace Conference in Paris arranged to divide Albania into three parts, giving one to Greece, one to Italy, and one to Jugo-Slavia (and would have done it if Greece and Serbia had been strong enough at the moment to grab a third of a hornets' nest and if we hadn't driven out Italy). They know there is a connection between the Peace Conference and the League of Nations, so, now that the Albanian government is a member of the League, they think that the men of Tirana have joined their enemies. They were so dangerous that we had to send soldiers up here to burn the houses of the Shala chiefs. But everything will be all right as soon as we can get the government going and begin building schools and roads up here. They just don't understand yet."

000 Political discussion was cut short by one of the men who had run ahead a few miles to inform the

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

and shower, of small grassy plateaus and quick dips down cliffsides, and struggles up again, beside and through waterfalls that drenched the rocks with spray for yards around. Our muscles were now accustomed to the exercise; they complained hardly at all, and with occasional pauses for rest beneath the wooden crosses set at long intervals along the trail we went gayly, accompanied by the shrill songs of the men.

"Marke Gjloshi is putting on his jacket," sang the leading man.

533 539 "Marke Gjloshi is putting on his jacket," repeated Cheremi, for this was a song he knew well, a song of Shala made in the days of the Turks, and, repeating each line alternately, they sang:

"Marke Gjloshi is putting on his jacket.
He goes to the Pasha and makes complaint:
'The Mohammedan has cursed the cross of my Christ!
He has cursed it, and I draw my pistol,
My death-spitting pistol, I draw it
And blow him to bits. He is scattered,
He is scattered like leaves on the rocks.'
The Pasha is angry, the Pasha is crazy,
The Pasha goes mad and the bugles blow
And the guns are out, the gendarmes are out!
Marke Gjloshi is away on the road,
Away on the road a long way,
All the long way through the six tribes.
The Arabian Sea stops him, the Arabs stop him,
Arabs of the sandy sea, black Arabs.
There he stands, there he fights with the gendarmes.
'O Marke Gjloshi, what will you tell the nations?
What will you tell the Five Nations?'

PEAKS OF SHALA

'I will tell the consuls the Sultan is to blame, 533
I will tell to God the Sultan is to blame. 539
But they will not free me,
But they will not let me go
Back to my tribe, back to my own tribe.
They tear me in pieces, they send me far away,
Far away to the other side of the sea.
My greetings, my greetings, to the lost six tribes!'"

So in the mountains they sing the tales of the men who have been driven from them, to become khedives of Egypt, pashas, themselves, of Turkey, political leaders in Italy, great surgeons of France. From all these countries men are coming back now to make the new free government of Albania, and here among the mountaineers we were walking with Perolli, an agent of this government, who dared not say who he was, for danger of death.

"I ask myself sometimes why God did not 000 make me born in a happier land," said Perolli, as we looked out over scores of miles of valleys inclosed by the sky-touching mountains, dotted meagerly with the tiny stone houses. "But then I think, He has made me an Albanian, and given me the most beautiful and the most unhappy land in all the world, for His own purposes."

And he spoke of roads through these mountains, railroads, mines, great power plants, all feeding the people, giving them comforts and luxuries and knowledge. For all of Albania, beneath six feet of upper soil, belongs to the government, as well as all the water power, and we

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 The woman, who had been sitting quietly listening to this, now rose and very quietly, without saying farewell, slipped out of the firelight, and in a moment, by the sound of the closing door, I knew she had left the house. But there was something about my last glimpse of her back that makes me believe she is still clamoring for her house, and will be until long after her baby sons are grown and married. Unless she gets it sooner.

533 There was a little silence after the woman had gone, and then one of the youths, compressing his ears with his thumbs, began to sing.[1] He sang softly, for an Albanian mountaineer, but the high, clear notes filled the house like those of a bugle. He uttered a phrase and paused; Cheremi repeated it and paused; and, so [illegible]ging alternately, repeating always the same musical phrase with changing words, they chanted long songs of war and adventure, old legends of men whose lives had been worn into myths by the erosion of centuries.

The music, strange and nostalgic, seemed to follow a scale quite different from ours, a simple scale of five notes, thin and vibrating like a violin string.

000 [551] "Sing one of the songs of your land, Flower," said Cheremi to me, politely. All the Albanians addressed us by our first names, as is the custom, for among them the last name is merely the possessive form of the father's, and it is dropped in conversation. Long since my name had been

1 [At house in Albanian moun- [112] tains -- Analyst]

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war was ended. He will sing it for you, if you want him to."

He was a grimy man, barefooted, ragged, and incredibly whiskered. But he carried besides his rifle on his back an old beautifully made musical instrument somewhat resembling a mandolin, with a long neck ending in a carved ram's head. It was strung with fine wire, and he handled it proudly; the wire, he said, had come from Scutari. In his father's day it had been strung with horsehair and played with a bow, but at the time of his own marriage he had sent to Scutari for the wire, and he now played it with a finger nail. Fresh cigarettes were rolled and adjusted in holders, knees were crossed comfortably, and the song began.

It was only a fragment—the last song of all the songs about that great war of the dragon and the drangojt above the Dukaghini mountains. The strangely pitched twang of the wire accompanied the words, chanted in a wild rhythm to the rain-filled valley of the Lumi Shala:

"The ora of Shala came from the deathless forest,
From the wood that is always green beyond the Mali Nicaj.
The ora of Shala saw the war in the air above the forest,
She saw the war in the air above the crashing peaks,
She saw the blood of the dragon spilled on the rocks.
Ho lo! Ho la! The head of the dragon falls!
Ho lo! Ho la! Two heads of the dragon are dead!
Ho lo! Ho la! Three heads of the dragon fall on the rocks!
The men of the earth are saved!
The ora of Shala screamed the word that the earth was saved.

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PEAKS OF SHALA

533 Three times the ora of Shala screamed,
539 And her scream was heard on the Mali Nicaj,
Her voice was heard on the Chafa Morines,
And the Lumi Shala ran through the valley of Shala.
Three times the ora of Shala called,
And the ora of all the mountains came to her call,
They came like sparks from a fire to the ora of Shala.
'Oh, my sisters, this is the word from the battle.
The dragon is dead and the world is saved!
The brave drangojt have saved the world.
The mountains stand without moving forevermore,
And the waters go back to their places,
For the brave drangojt have saved the world.
We will make a feasting for the saviors of the world.
My sister, go to the field for grain,
Cut it and thresh it and grind it,
Make bread and bake it well.
My sister, go to the mountains among the flocks,
Find a sheep with a lamb beside her,
Ask the sheep to give you her milk
For we make a feast for the brave drangojt.
My sister, go to the tree that is hollow.
To the tree where the honey is made,
And ask the bees for their yellow honey.
My sister, here is a knife that is sharp;
Strike true, strike deep, strike quickly,
And bake the meat in a heated pit.'
The first ora came with bread on her head,
The second ora came with a sack of milk,
A milk sack made from the skin of trees.
The third ora came with her hands full of honey.
The fourth ora came with two roasted animals,
Large roasted animals, hot and brown.
Now we can go to our brave drangojt.
The hair of the ora was unbound,
And their heads were crowned with flowers,
And the beauty of the world was their garment.

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PEAKS OF SHALA

The ora of Shala came first to the Mali Riges, 533
The ora of Shala came to the camp of the drangojt. 539
'I hope we find you well, heroes of the earth,
Long may you live, the courage of the world.'
Then rose and spoke Lleshi of Lleshi,
Chief of the tribe of the Merdite drangojt.
'Welcome to you from wherever you come.
Where have you been hiding your beauty?'
'I am the sister of the ora of the Merdite,
She who is guarding the Mali Mundelles,
I am the ora of Shala.
Long live the heroes who have killed the dragon,
Long live the warriors who have saved the world.'
Then on the grass they sat for the feasting.
All the ora turned back their sleeves,
Making ready to serve the heroes.
The first ora broke the round loaf of bread,
The second ora brought the hot roasted meat,
The third ora brought the bowl of yellow honey,
The fourth ora poured the milk from the sack.
All the ora brought good water from the spring,
And the drangojt drank from the cup of their hands.
When the feasting was ended they left that place,
They washed their hands in flowing water,
They lay by a fire on a carpet of leaves,
And they spoke of many things pleasant to hear.
They spoke till the star of the dawn came out
Above the peaks of the Mali Mundelles.
The star of the daylight came out,
For the power of the dragon was broken.
This was the feast of the Merdite drangojt
After the last great war with the dragon."

The player ran his finger down the wire in a final weird whine, and the instrument lay silent on his knees. "That is all I know of that one," he said. "But if the American *zonyas* would like ooo

PEAKS OF SHALA

579 Shala in summer, until the coming of Durgat Pasha.

"After that came the treason of Essad Pasha, and, having then neither house, nor sheep, nor sons, nor tobacco, but only my rifle——"

We must interrupt, to bring him back to Durgat Pasha, and he was astonished that more than that name was needed to make us understand. Had we never heard the songs of Durgat
533 Pasha? Durgat Pasha, who in 1912 came from
539 the Sultan of Turkey to subdue the Sons of the Eagle? Durgat Pasha, who burned and killed, from the Mali Malines to the Malit Shkodra? He bent over the instrument on his knees, twanged three wild notes from it, and sang:

"Seven Powers had called a council,
Seven Powers met and said,
'Shqiperia is no more in our hands,
All Shqiperia is not in our hands.'
Then rose Durgat Pasha and took his gun.
'Leave this to me for three years.
O Sultan, I go for three years.
When I return the Shqiptars are yours.'
Durgat Pasha came past the white lake,
Durgat Pasha to the Mali Malines,
Durgat Pasha to the Mali Shoshit,
Durgat Pasha and five thousand soldiers.
He sends word to Hasjakupit,
'You shall send your rifle to me.
'Thirty Turkish pounds have I paid for my rifle,
Thirty pounds for my own rifle,
But I leave houses and lands and go with my rifle.
Thirty houses I leave behind me.'
These were the words of Hasjakupit.

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PEAKS OF SHALA

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'Thirty houses I leave behind me,
And into Montenegro I go.
I go to King Nichola of Montenegro;
He will give me meat and bread.'
Durgat Pasha on the top of the mountain,
Durgat Pasha with Shala around him,
Durgat Pasha had no bread or water,
Durgat Pasha's rifles had nothing to eat.
And the fighting men of Shala were all around him,
The fighting of Shala was terrible.
Durgat Pasha went out of his way to Puka.
Puka and Iballa greeted him.
When he came to Bashchellek
All of Scutari came to greet him.
The people of Scutari were frightened.
Durgat Pasha was going to die,
And Scutari rubbed his face with a sack,
Scutari gave him food and drink.
Then rose Salo Kali of Scutari.
'My rifles I cannot give,
I have made *besa* with one hundred men;
Our rifles are not for Durgat Pasha.'
'Leave the *besa*, Salo Kali,
Take your hammer and shoe the horses.
That is your business, Salo Kali.
What have you to do with rifles?'
'I have made *besa* with one hundred men;
Our rifles are not for Durgat Pasha.'
Durgat Pasha rubbed his forehead.
'I have never seen this kind of people,
I never saw a nation like Shala or Shoshi.
What can be done with the Shqiptars?'
These were the words of Durgat Pasha.

"That is the song of Durgat Pasha," said the 725
bandit. "When I came home from the fighting,
the men of Durgat Pasha had burned my house,

000 past when killing will solve our problems. Stupidity! But sometimes I think the whole world is stupid."

We agreed with little assenting sounds, our minds too much occupied with the difficulty of the way to spend energy on words. We were absorbed in the narrow, slippery trail running rust red along a cliff that wept iron. Only when we paused for breath did we see the beautiful valley of the Lumi Shala beneath us. The rain was falling gently now, a wavering veil of gray chiffon over the mountains that ran a scale of paling blues to the white peaks in the west. Below them little fields were green, burgeoning woods were faintly rainbow misted with colors of new leaves, and there was a foam of plum blossom and a sudden rosy note from a solitary peach tree.

533 We looked in silence. And when we resumed our toiling way, Perolli began to sing. It was a song with springtime in it, a song like the valley of the Lumi Shala, an Albanian song of strangely pitched half notes and indescribable transitions, breaking at intervals into the burbling melody of a bird's throat. We listened entranced; we begged him to sing it again.

"It is called 'The Mountain Song,'" he said. "But it isn't one of the songs of the trails; it is a song of the large villages of Kossova. I think it isn't more than fifty or sixty years old, because it is a love song. Love songs are new in Albania, and you find them only in the villages." And he sang:

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PEAKS OF SHALA

533 "How beautiful is the month of May
When we go with the flocks to the mountains!
On the mountains we heard the voice of the wind.
Do you remember how happy we were?

"In the month of May, through the blossoming trees,
The sound of song is abroad on the mountains.
The song of the nightingale, ge re ge re ge re.
Do you remember how happy we were?

"I would I had died in that month of May
When you leaned on my breast and kissed me, saying,
'I do not wish to live without you.'
Do you remember how happy we were?

"I wish again for the month of May
That again we might be on the mountains,
That again we might hear the mountain voices.
Have you forgotten those days of beauty?"

000 Again and again he sang it, while we tried to follow with our voices those unwritten notes that express so much more clearly than any words the beauty and fleetingness of spring. And when, unexpectedly, we came upon five young men drawn up in a line to greet us, we could not believe that the way had been so short and that we had come to the village of Shala.

It was indeed Shala, and in a moment we were being welcomed by the padre and escorted up a stone stairway into his rooms above the church.

These were better rooms than Padre Marjan's; the windows were not broken and the walls were solid. But they were bitterly cold, and this priest was not our Father Marjan. He was

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by those who know Tirana. It is the sunset hour, and all Tirana goes walking in the colored evening air. Tirana goes walking down the smooth Durazzo road, the road that is white and firm beneath the feet, from the turn beyond the barracks all the way to the sea. The Cabinet Ministers of Albania go walking in a row, sedately, their hands behind their backs, and in the middle walks Ahmet Zogu, elected by Parliament Prime Minister of Albania. Six even paces behind them marches their escort, a single row of soldiers.

The eastern mountains are catching the last light of the sun and making magic with it. Plum purple, orange gold, mauve and violet and blue, the colors shift and change, and the air is faintly golden over the green plains where the mountain men are gathering as they used to gather in the evenings long before Athens was built. Holding hands in long lines, moving in a stamping circle, they are singing songs improvised by their leader, who, with a handkerchief in his hand, acts in pantomime the verses he creates. The strange, wild song in which they have clothed and preserved the tales of all their heroes of two thousand years is heard far over the green plains, where flocks of sheep are coming home with little tinkling of bells.

"Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey! [they sing].
Ahmet, the Son of the Mountain Eagle!
His wings spread out and cover us,

[Chief of the Mati. for role in 1922 rebellions, see cat. 116-345 pp 306-Analy

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POSTSCRIPT

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The shadow of his wings is over us,
His claws are terrible to our foes.
Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey!
The men of Dibra came with their rifles,
Elez Jusuf, the chief of the Dibra,
Mustapha Kruja and Zija Dibra,
The Toptani family, curse of Albania,
Hamid Toptani, with nine hundred soldiers,
Nine hundred soldiers armed by Italians,
Came from Durazzo to murder Albania.
Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey!

"Elez Jusuf goes back to the Dibra,
Besa of peace he has given to Ahmet.
Hamid Toptani flees through the mountains,
Cursed be the trees that give him hiding.
Zija Dibra is sent to Stamboul,
Zija Dibra, exiled from Dibra.
Five thousand napoleons, fine of Durazzo,
Five thousand napoleons, fine of Tirana.
Five villages burned. Let the market place tell
Names of the men who were hanged there at dawn.

"Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey!
He set three hundred men to work on the roads,
He built a good road from Tirana to Durazzo,
He makes electric lights in the capital of Albania.
O! O! Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! Ahmet Bey!"

THE END

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

576 574 meat, and, since several hours might pass before the sheep or kid had been killed and made ready, it was often past midnight before we had eaten.

While the meal was cooking we variously slept or talked and let the bodyguards dry damp clothes by the fire or massage our weary limbs. Sometimes, to beguile the time, one of the [533] company would recite from the long epic poems in which the Albanians record the exploits of their heroes. They were weird, monotonous laments, sung in a high-pitched nasal voice to the accompaniment of a one-stringed mandolin. An hour [273] or so before the meal was served flasks of *raki* would be brought, accompanied by *mese* of onions, cheese, and sometimes hard-boiled eggs or lumps of grilled meat. *Raki* is a fiery, colourless spirit, made from the pulp of grapes, or sometimes, like *slivovitz*, from plums. Among the mountaineers it was usually home-brewed, and varied greatly in quality and strength. The principal guests would each receive a small flask, the shape of an old-fashioned burgundy flagon, and holding perhaps half a pint, while the rest of the company fared according to the resources of the host, sharing a flask between two or three. Toasts were drunk to the traditional greeting of " *Tungjatjeta* " — " May your life be prolonged " ; and, though the mountaineers habitually drank to excess, they seldom failed to comport themselves with grave, if sometimes mellowed, dignity.

When the cooking was done Maclean, as the chief guest, would be asked if the meal might be served ; there was never [521] conversation after meals, and so the greatest compliment which he could pay his host and fellows was to ask for a postponement. 264 As soon, however, as he had given his assent, a circular wooden table some five feet in diameter would be carried in, standing about six inches from the ground. Round this a dozen of us would assemble, sitting cross-legged, but in a crocodile, each sideways on to the table so as to make room for as many as possible. We would then each be given a spoon as our sole piece of cutlery and with this helped ourselves to the more liquid dishes at the centre of the table. There were no plates, so that each spoon plied steadily backwards and forwards

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

CHAPTER XII

Two Kinds of Music—" There was a Young Man of Durazzo "—Rhythms—The Band in the Park—Gipsy Dancing Girls—Ghouls in the Cemetery—Twilight.

533

STONE DOG
ON CHURCH WALL

I FOUND two kinds of music in Albania—the modern imported article as performed by a brass band in front of the President's house at Tirana, and the true music of the country, which is now played and kept alive only by gipsies. The brass band music was of the usual popular order—American jazz (the players had been trained in the States), the Barcarolle from " The Tales of Hoffman ", the Toreador's Song from " Carmen ", extracts from " Faust ", and so forth, decently played but uninspiring. The gipsy music, on the other hand, was extremely stimulating, and at the first hearing I became keen to learn, if possible, something about it. So while I was at Elbasan I mentioned my desire to Mr. Lef Nossi, and he at once arranged—through the police—for some gipsy girls to come to my inn and sing to me so that I might have an opportunity of hearing and transcribing some real Albanian tunes. Exactly why the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EGL

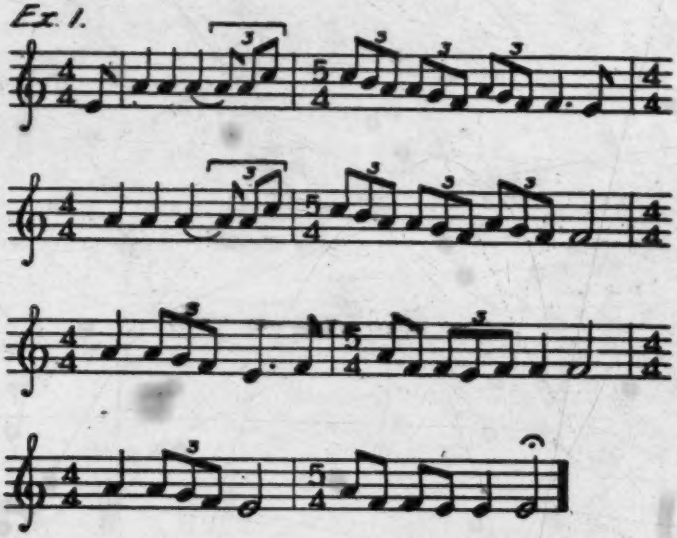
police should have had to be first approached I am not quite 533
clear, but at all events a gendarme brought the girls and stayed in the room until the conclusion of their performance. Probably they were members of a certain profession, but as to that I did not enquire.

There were four of them[1] in all—two girls of eighteen 291
or so, and two older women. The girls wore the traditional 533
dress of the dancer—a short dark-coloured bodice of velvet, and Turkish trousers of an amplitude that would make the widest Victorian crinoline look meagre. Yards and yards of material must have gone to the making of them, and yards more to the numberless frilly petticoats which showed through the thin stuff of which the trousers were made. Brightly-coloured handkerchiefs were bound round their heads, and long braids of black hair hung loose. Neat shoes, pointed and high-heeled, peeped out beneath the vast trousers. Gathering the ample folds of their garments around them they seated themselves on chairs, while the older women squatted on the floor. All had big tambourines. Then, according to the usual custom, cigarettes were handed round and tiny cups of black coffee, of which we all partook —the gipsies, the gendarme, Mr. Lef Nossi, my host Osman Arapi, and myself. These ceremonies concluded, the concert 533
started. Swaying gently from side to side and beating a rhythm with their fingers on the tambourines, the girls began to sing. I got out paper and pencil and tried to write down the tune, and after a good many repetitions evolved the following approximate transcription :

1 [i.e. gipsy dancing girls -- Arnd pst]

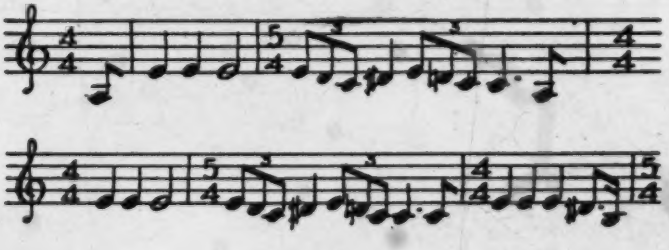
To the Land of the Eagle

533 Ex. 1.



The song, I was told, concerned the adventures of a certain young man of Durazzo who was inveigled away by gipsy girls and robbed of all he possessed. I am afraid it was hardly a drawing-room song, and I refrained from asking for more details either of this or of a second song, of which the tune, as nearly as I could get it, was as follows :

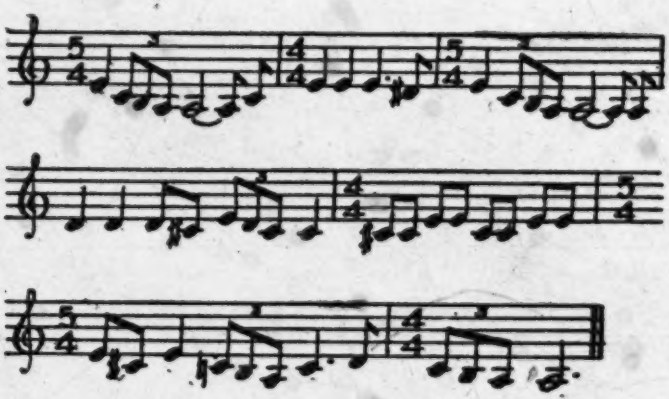
Ex. 2.



2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG I

Rhythms

533



Of a third tune, which was exceedingly intriguing and which I should have much liked to transcribe in its entirety, I could secure only the opening phrases, and these but very roughly ; after that it became too intricate and too elaborate for my powers of transcription.

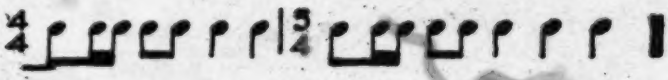
" Our music ", said Mr. Lef Nossi, " is very difficult "— and I heartily agreed with him.

A musician reading these tunes may perhaps wonder wherein lay the difficulty. Any intelligent student could, he will think, write them down correctly at almost the first dictation. The difficulty arose from the fact that the tambourine rhythms which accompanied the songs were not only very elaborate but were strongly marked, and appeared to have little relation to the tune itself, which was smooth and had no outstanding accents or strong beats whatsoever.

To the Land of the Eagle

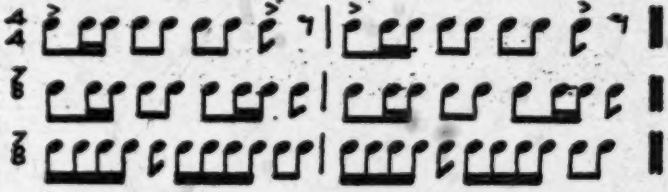
533 A favourite tambourine rhythm was the following :—

Ex. 3.



Other rhythms which I heard then and later were :—

Ex. 4.



The same evening, happening to stroll out to a little park on the eastern outskirts of the city, I met the gipsy girls again. They were part of a troupe of musicians which was performing there. The band consisted of a clarinet, a violin, and six big tambourines, and the players sat cross-legged on a bench under an acacia. There was a little refreshment hut or bar behind, and tables were set out on the grass. It was a very pleasant place to while away an hour or two.

The music, though not quite the same as the music I had heard in the morning (being, in fact, modern whereas the other was old), was equally interesting. The rhythms, as before, were complicated, and there were many unexpected progressions as well as curious scale passages which seemed to belong to no particular key. Tonality, us we know it, was practically non-existent, and its absence gave the music

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania L61

Ghouls in the Cemetery

533 a character and charm impossible to describe. Many Western listeners would doubtless class it vaguely as "Oriental", and dismiss it as of no further significance, but there is a great deal more in it than such people may think.

The gipsy girls, as soon as they saw me, smiled broadly, and on the conclusion of the item in which they were engaged came across to my table for bakshish. One of them I sketched, to the intense amusement of the others. Then they returned to their places on the bench and the music [535] began again. Presently one rose and began to dance—a slow, swaying dance with body movements but with little [292] foot work. She was soon joined by another. Both were wearing the short bodices and vast trousers I have already described. From a Mohammedan cemetery which adjoined the park a party of Moslem women in ghoul-like black draperies and veils watched the proceedings. I wondered what their thoughts were. Did they envy the gipsies? Or 000 did they find compensation for the dullness of their own lives in a sense of virtue and moral superiority?

The cemetery was entirely overgrown with bracken, and only the occasional appearance above the greenery of a tombstone higher than its fellows indicated what the place really was. I thought of certain cemeteries of England and Western Europe with their serried rows of staring white headstones, their glass-covered imitation flowers, their monuments—so ugly and so pretentious—and I wished that they too, could be overgrown with bracken.

533 182 [534] Still another mechanism[1] is that of art, expressed chiefly in singing to the *oud*, or *gusle*, as it is more familiarly known to outsiders. Singing hour after hour to the accompaniment of this one-stringed instrument, and sometimes throughout the night, warriors recount the deeds of their ancestors, and even of their contemporaries. By using traditional verse forms and a stereotyped vocabulary they can compose new epics as they sing, and recite old ones verbatim. Like illiterate bards elsewhere, they have prodigious memories. *Gusle*-singing stirs the mountaineer to action as surely as bagpipe music fires the Highland Scot, thus rousing men to heroic deeds for which they may later pay dearly. It is a part of the whole com-

1 [for maintaining equilibrium in Gheg society -- Analyst]

182 plex of feuding, like that other and minor art
533 form, the embroidered and crocheted decorations on the mountaineer's clothing by which he announces defiantly from the limit of eyesight his exact familial and political affiliation.

All of these cultural mechanisms[1] belong to Moslems and Catholics without distinction. They make up by far the greater part of the emotional life of the people, and it is no wonder that Albanians say that they are not "religious." These customs are psychological means of reinforcing the habits of behavior by which the mountain people maintain their adjustment to their environment, and as such are pertinent to our present study.

[1] [see cat. 11b, pp. 37a-38b -- Analyst]

534

534 MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS--idiophones (e.g., clappers, gongs, rattles); membranophones (e.g., drums); cordophones (e.g., zithers, lutes, harps); aerophones (e.g., flutes, pipes, trumpets); special instruments (e.g., bullroarers), complex mechanical instruments (e.g., piano, organ); care and repair of musical instruments; etc. See also:

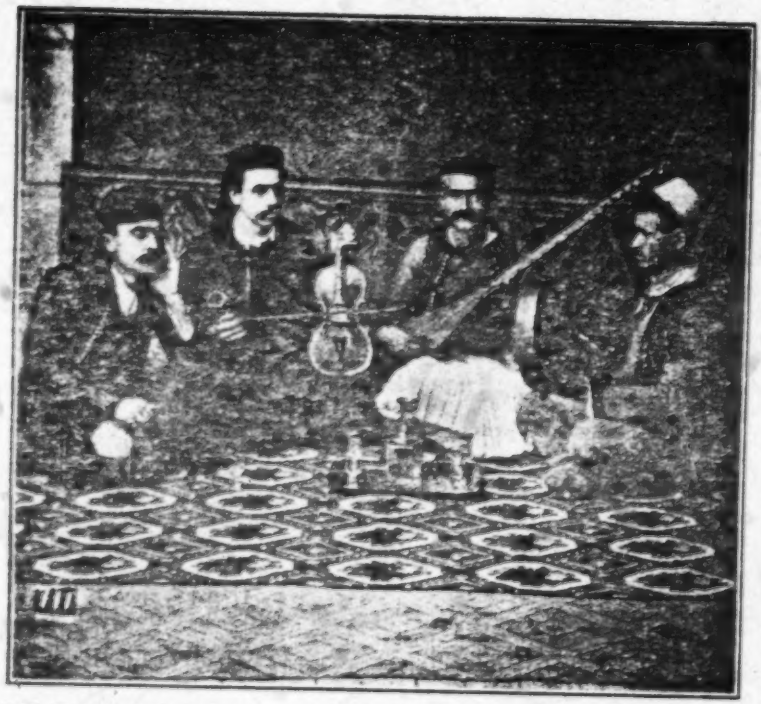
Drum signaling 202
Radio 207
Sound recordings 316
Musical supplies industry 349

585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and [533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house. [534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The [292 301] display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped; the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern [262] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker- [291] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell. [177] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait, punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take [177 842] the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

534



OLD-FASHIONED GROUP OF ALBANIAN MUSICIANS

(facing p. 248)

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

returned home. Said he to his wife, "Go and invite your brothers to dinner." 539

Arrived at their house, she said, "We beg you to come and dine with us," and they followed her home. They began to eat the *pastourma*, but tried in vain to chew it, for it was not cooked.

"How is this," they asked, "that you give us raw meat?"

"It is the same meat you had on the spit the other evening," replied the husband. "I have served it to you precisely as you roasted it yourselves."

"What! Was it thou who gave us such a horrible fright?"

"I myself. But let us be comrades all the same."

And comrades they were.

Though the Albanians cannot be called a musical people, singing is the favourite pastime of both men and women. Their airs have little variety, being for the most part monotonous recitatives, and the singer's merit depends upon his success in rivalling the violin, mandolin, or flute, by which his song is accompanied, in prolonging the last note. The songs are generally long ballads, which recount the victories of the tribe, the doughty deeds of ancestors, of the family, or the exploits of some national hero. For in the songs of the Skipetars the later history of the country is preserved, and in those of the Ghegs more particularly may be found the record of how they obstinately resisted, yard by yard, the Turkish advance into their mountains, and were only subdued at last by the

533 [517] [534] 533 173

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "Try them on the 'Merry Widow,'" I said, knowing that that music had come to us from the Balkans, and they laughed aloud at the [534] strains of that famous waltz. "Albanian gypsy music," said they, and from somewhere in the shadows they produced a sort of musical instrument, cunningly carved from pine, in shape like a long, thin mandolin, strung with horse hair, and on this with a hair-strung bow they played us the real "Merry Widow" waltz. "You have gypsies in your country, too," said they, and we thought how the centuries have transformed the wandering bands of ragged entertainers into our press-agented musical-comedy companies; how the commercial age had divided fortune telling, thieving, and music into complex and separate activities.

At eleven o'clock Cheremi broke reluctantly from the merry group and, approaching us stealthily, whispered his request to be permitted to go home for the night. His house lay only four hours away, perhaps forty miles by our measurements; he had not seen his family for two years, and he wished to visit them. He would be back before dawn. We gave him permission, and one of the villagers went with him, to guard him from the village dogs.

231 Then we learned that when darkness came the dogs were let loose, and after their loosening only the boldest ventured outside stone walls. And the long wolf howl that rose and quavered and sank and rose again along the trail that Cheremi

war was ended. He will sing it for you, if you 000
want him to."

He was a grimy man, barefooted, ragged, and 533
incredibly whiskered. But he carried besides his [534]
rifle on his back an old beautifully made musical
instrument somewhat resembling a mandolin,
with a long neck ending in a carved ram's head.
It was strung with fine wire, and he handled it
proudly; the wire, he said, had come from Scutari. In his father's day it had been strung with horsehair and played with a bow, but at the time of his own marriage he had sent to Scutari for the wire, and he now played it with a finger nail. Fresh cigarettes were rolled and adjusted in holders, knees were crossed comfortably, and the song began.

It was only a fragment—the last song of all 533
the songs about that great war of the dragon and 539
the drangojt above the Dukaghini mountains. The strangely pitched twang of the wire accompanied the words, chanted in a wild rhythm to the rain-filled valley of the Lumi Shala:

"The ora of Shala came from the deathless forest,
From the wood that is always green beyond the Mali Nicaj.
The ora of Shala saw the war in the air above the forest,
She saw the war in the air above the crashing peaks,
She saw the blood of the dragon spilled on the rocks.
Ho lo! Ho la! The head of the dragon falls!
Ho lo! Ho la! Two heads of the dragon are dead!
Ho lo! Ho la! Three heads of the dragon fall on the rocks!
The men of the earth are saved!
The ora of Shala screamed the word that the earth was saved.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

M
535
291

PLATE V.—MONTENEGRIN DANCE

A
534

PLATE VI.—KRSTO AND IKÉ (GUSLE-PLAYING)

[Facing p. 129]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

291 531 I stopped one morning at a shop where an old man was busily embroidering a cloak. It was one of the great cloaks which are worn by the Scutari ladies, and the work was very intricate and fine. One of the completed cloaks—a voluminous garment of terrific weight—hung at the front of the shop. I asked the price. The embroidery was black on a scarlet ground and covered the whole cloak in a pattern of spirals. It must have taken him months to complete, yet all he asked for it was two napoleons (32s.), and I daresay, had I made him an offer, he would have accepted less. In order to show it off the better he put the cloak on and strutted up and down outside—an impromptu mannequin parade which much amused the onlookers. I fear he was disappointed when I went away without making a purchase, but if one bought all the beautiful and cheap things one saw when travelling one would have to charter a ship to bring them home.

534 One little purchase I did make, however, when wandering one day in the country outside Scutari. This was a small pipe on which a shepherd lad was playing a most fascinating modal tune. At first he refused to part with it, but his father, who came out from an adjacent cottage, settled the question by taking it away from him and thrusting it into my hand. The boy looked glum at this summary disposal of his property, but a handful of small coins consoled him, and before I left he was happily engaged in making another. The pipe had five double fingerholes—its two reed stems being side by side—and terminated in a bell-mouth made

2Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E-G1

from a ram's horn. It was fastened together with beeswax 534
into which tiny coloured beads had been driven to form a pattern. At the mouthpiece end were inserted two short lengths of straw cut in a peculiar manner, and it was the vibration of these straws which produced the pleasant, oboe-like sound; though when I got back to the hotel and tried the instrument, much to my disappointment no sound whatever came. There is evidently a knack in playing it which I do not possess. Similar little pipes have been known in the Balkans for many centuries. They are, without doubt, the early ancestors of the reed instruments—clarinets, oboes, English horns and bassoons—of the modern orchestra.

The principal tobacco-growing districts of Albania are 277
Elbasan and Scutari. The tobacco of Elbasan is usually considered the better, though the cigarettes of Scutari suited my personal taste and I preferred them to the Elbasan cigarettes. I think that the leaf was chosen with more care and that the blending was superior. At both places they are cheap, the price of a packet of twenty being half a krone (2½d.). Many of the local people, however, prefer to carry loose tobacco and roll their own. Pipe-smoking is rare, and the pipe-smoker has to have tobacco specially cut for him. Cigars are not available, the reason being that, although they could be made, nobody could afford to buy them. The crop at present grown is only sufficient to supply the home demand, and, with the exception of a small quantity to Zara on the Dalmatian coast, no tobacco is

533 182 [534] Still another mechanism[1] is that of art, expressed chiefly in singing to the *oud*, or *gusle*, as it is more familiarly known to outsiders. Singing hour after hour to the accompaniment of this one-stringed instrument, and sometimes throughout the night, warriors recount the deeds of their ancestors, and even of their contemporaries. By using traditional verse forms and a stereotyped vocabulary they can compose new epics as they sing, and recite old ones verbatim. Like illiterate bards elsewhere, they have prodigious memories. *Gusle*-singing stirs the mountaineer to action as surely as bagpipe music fires the Highland Scot, thus rousing men to heroic deeds for which they may later pay dearly. It is a part of the whole com-

1 [for maintaining equilibrium in Gheg society -- Analyst]

535

535 DANCING--dance styles (e.g., imitative, pantomimic, symbolic, stylized); technique (e.g., movements of the head, trunk, and limbs); gestures, postures, and their symbolism; solo, pair, and group dancing; choreographic patterns; extemporization and formalization; rhythm; musical accompaniment; occasions for dancing and associated dance forms (e.g., war dances, shamanistic dances, ballroom dancing, tap dancing); participants and spectators; dancing places (e.g., dance halls); dance costumes and paraphernalia; emotional expression in dancing; training in dancing; specialized dancers and dance leaders; choreographic arts allied to dancing (e.g., figure skating); etc. See also:

Gestures 201
Postures 516
Skating 526
Dance performances on the stage 545
Night clubs 547

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

342 dwellings immediately enables one to make the distinction between the natives of this district. The comfortable handsome stone houses, with large galleries on the upper stories before the living rooms and the stables below, denote the typical Albanian peasant homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

563 197 There are two kinds of gypsies in this interesting country: one is the same as the 191 English variety, speaking the quaint old Romany, although knowing at the same time the language of the country. This branch of gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly moving from one district to another, pitching their temporary tents wheresoever they will. Their keenest interest is in horses and they live by their tradings and quite often entirely by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is those, who, having forgotten almost all of their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a little Turkish where they are old enough to have experienced the Turkish occupation of Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up 533 tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their 535 daily bread in the simplest and most convenient way possible for them: singing and danc-

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

ing, accompanied by the women on tambour-
533 ines and they by the men on violins and
535 cornets. Their dances are picturesque in
their native costumes with their hair either
flowing or bound up, according to the partic-
ular dance. For those who may interpret
their dances, there is a rich abundance of
narrative in store for the reader. The har-
mony of tambourine, violin and cornet is not
at all unpleasant when played by skilled musi-
cians. The singing, however, is not harmon-
563 ized, the performers using only one voice.
[461] Regardless of where these gypsies may live
they earn their living in the same way, and
being too lazy to cultivate even a small truck-
garden, they lead easy, happy-go-lucky exist-
[427] ences, and they have their huts free of rent,
provided they work a few days out of the year
for their ground landlord, Shevket Bey.
Strange as it may seem, these wandering,
[326] anchorless people are about the only local
blacksmiths found in this country, for the
Albanians proper have a curious aversion to
this occupation.

245 After leaving this quaint little town of
Bradshesh, and penetrating into the heart of
Albania towards Elbasan, large, beautiful

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

484 562 777 789 small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various 787 methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

152 593 The men on their side are not free from home-sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

[539]

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
From Fatherland as outlaws lorn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
Poisoned by my blood would pine!

527 535 The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

holding each other with one hand while they execute a step composed of shuffles and leaps, and not particularly graceful, waving at the same time over their heads a kerchief, or scarf, with their disengaged hand. Another dance of a pantomimic character is sometimes performed at weddings for the amusement of the company. Three masked men, in the characters of a man, his wife, and his servant, perform a burlesque representing the weakness of man and the unfaithfulness of woman. The husband expresses by gesture his despair at seeing his wife make eyes at the wedding guests, while her servant, armed with a broom in lieu of a gun, threatens to shoot her mistress's lovers.

The Albanians are, as M. Dozon remarks,[1] "without literature, without art, and almost without a history." Their language, which is difficult to learn and difficult to pronounce, is a complete mosaic of fragments borrowed from many sources, though a native element naturally predominates. Greek and Turkish words abound, and many of Slav and Latin origin have become part of the vernacular. The language of the Skipetars is also divided between the two dialects spoken respectively by the Tosks and the Ghegs, though there is no well-defined line of demarcation between them. The purest Albanian is said to be spoken at Elbassan, the inhabitants of which according to the native saying:

> "Turk of Stambolhit [Constantinople],
> Skipe of Elbasanit,"

are looked upon as representative Skipetars. The total neglect of the mother tongue has been due in

[1] *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*, pp. 1 and 163.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Ghouls in the Cemetery

533 a character and charm impossible to describe. Many Western listeners would doubtless class it vaguely as "Oriental", and dismiss it as of no further significance, but there is a great deal more in it than such people may think.

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538

538 LITERATURE--literary styles; poetry (e.g., epic, lyric); verse forms (e.g., couplets, stanzas); poetic techniques (e.g., meter, rhyme, alliteration); prose forms (e.g., tales, sagas, proverbs, fiction, short stories, essays); narrative plot and structure; literary subjects and themes; characters (e.g., animals, men, gods); treatment (e.g., realism, fantasy, allegory, satire); composition; literary conventions; recitation and narration (e.g., occasions, audiences); specialists (e.g., poets, prose authors, story tellers, ghost writers); etc. This category is reserved for generalized descriptions of literature. For literary texts, and analyses and commentaries related to specific literary works see 539. See also:

Stylistics 195
News stories and magazine articles 204
Books and their publication 214
Esthetic ideals and canons of taste 517
Wit and humor 522
Riddles 524
Lectures 544
Mythology 773
Sacred literature 779
Humanistic studies 814

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER X.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR CULTURE-BELIEFS.

779 THOUGH speaking the same language, observing the same customs, and cherishing the same traditions and aspirations, the Albanians, as may have been seen from the foregoing chapter, are, in matters of religious belief, divided by three Creeds, the Moslem, Orthodox Greek, and Roman Catholic. The Moslems constitute about one-half of the population, and of the remaining half the majority follow the rites of the Eastern Church.

797 175 After the loss of their independence the Albanians began by degrees to abandon the faith of their forefathers for that of their conquerors. Islam, however, made but slow progress among them until towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the Porte promulgated a law assuring the possession of their property to those Albanian families who would bring up one of their sons in the Moslem faith. A Tosk proverb [538] says, "Where the sword is, there is the faith;" and the advantages which a nation of mercenary soldiers could not fail to find in belonging to the religion of the dominant race, soon made conversion so general that the populations of whole villages, towns, and even districts would simultaneously apostatise to Islam. Wholesale perversions, such as these, have

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-POESY—FOLK-TALES.

THE subject of Albanian folk-lore attracted many years ago the attention of Von Hahn, whose *Albanesische Studien* and *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen* are well known to folk-lorists throughout Europe. Other collections have since been made by French and Italian students of the language and lore of the Skipetars, not only in their native land, but also in their colonies in Italy, Sicily, and the Greek Islands, where, though long settled, they still remain a distinct race.[1] 114

Long contact with the neighbouring Greeks has, in South Albania, naturally resulted in much interborrowing of folk-tales, and it is often difficult to determine to which nationality a story originally belonged. M. Dozon finds also traces of a Slav origin in several tales contained in his collection, which may have been introduced either by the Bulgarians of Upper Macedonia, or by the Montenegrin settlers in Northern Albania. The pious Pagano-Christian element, as M. Dozon calls the legends of Saints which are found both in Greek and Armenian 538 177 [773]

[1] See, for instance, Jubany, *Raccolta*, &c.; and Dozon, *Contes Albanais* and *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*. A small collection, untranslated, referred to by M. Dozon as *L'Abeille Chkipe*, but of which I have not been able to learn the exact title, has also been published at Cairo.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

538 177 773 folk-tales, is, however, almost entirely absent from those of the Albanians. Of the so-called religious legends current among the Skipetars, some are of Christian and others of Moslem origin. The following explanation, given by the highlanders, of the reason for the Moslem's distaste for pork, savours, however, rather of Bektashí scepticism. One day, they say, Mohammed went out in company with a Christian on a thieving expedition. Finding nothing else to lay their hands upon, the pair took possession of a sow, which, having killed, they proceeded to divide by drawing lots. As luck would have it, the head, shoulders, and best parts of the carcase fell to the Christian, while the Prophet received as his portion only the tail and the hams. Discontented with his share of the spoil, Mohammed proclaimed the pig unclean, and forbade his followers to eat thenceforward of its flesh.[1]

538 773 Some of the sayings proverbially current among the Albanians have their origin in myths, which are for the most part of a religious character. The phrase, "The drop has fallen," used with reference to any one who has died suddenly, with the connected imprecation, "May the drop fall on thee!" are thus explained. While the rebellious angels were falling from heaven into the abyss, the angel Gabriel called a halt, and every one stopped exactly where he happened to be at that moment. Some had already reached the regions below the earth, others were on the earth itself, while a third section were still in mid-air, where they have remained suspended ever

[1] Compare Hecquard, *La Haute Albanie*, p. 510.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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since. If the tears of remorse which they are continually shedding happen to fall upon a human being he dies instantaneously. "Suspended devils" also occur in the Armenian legend of the Fall, already related.[1] 538 773

The saying, "Eat him, wolf, and make him burst, O Michael," refers to the part played by Satan in the following legend. When God created Adam, Satan, after inspecting him, observed that he did not think highly of His handiwork, and believed himself capable of producing something better. The Lord took Satan's remarks in good part, and gave him leave to try his hand at creation. Satan then kneaded some dough, as he had seen the Lord do, and fashioned it into the shape of a wolf, which he asserted to be equal to God's handiwork. "Thou must give thy creature life," said the Lord to him, "as I have given to mine." So Satan set about doing this, and he blew into the wolf till his black head became red and blue, but to no purpose, for it still remained lifeless. The Lord, finally becoming weary of his vain attempts, struck the wolf on the side with a staff and gave him life. Hence it is that the wolf has a hollow beneath his ribs. God then said to the wolf, "Creature, devour thy creator." What the Archangel Michael has to do with the story does not, however, appear.[2]

Another legend concerning the Devil describes him as fastened by a chain of enormous strength to a rock. The whole year through he gnaws at the links, 538 776

[1] Vol. i. p. 272.
[2] Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 165.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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538 776 which, by Easter Eve, have become very thin. On the morning of Easter Sunday, however, the Saviour arrives with a new chain with which He again secures Satan to the rock.

A graceful little myth is related in some parts of Albania concerning the origin of the Cuckoo and the *Gyon*, or *Gyonit*, which is, I believe, a species of small owl. 539 The story goes that the cuckoo and the gyon were brother and sister, and had a brother named Gyon, who had been killed. Various causes are assigned for his death in the different versions of the story, that current among the Ritza tribe being that he was accidentally stabbed by his brother with a pair of scissors. In order the better to mourn his loss, the surviving brother was changed into the bird gyon, and the sister into a cuckoo. And so the gyon calls his brother all night long by his name, "*Gyon, Gyon!*" and the cuckoo in the daytime sings, "*Kou! Kou!*" which means, "Where art thou?"[1] In Elbassan, however, it is also said that the sister was changed into the blue flower, which is called the "cuckoo flower," or "cuckoo's bread," and when a woman finds this flower in the field she sings:

Cuckoo, cuckoo, more than cuckoo,
Saw'st thou me?
Saw I thee?
Saw'st thou thy dear brother, Gyon?
How they slew him like an ox?
Blood a spoonful,
Flesh a cupful;
Give me both thine hands!

[524 857] [1] It has occurred to me that the call of "Cuckoo," used by children both in the East and in the West when playing hide-and-seek, may have its origin in some such bird legend.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

She then takes hold of the flower with both hands 539
and lays her head upon it.

Almost every Albanian tribe has a more or less 173
mythical tradition of its origin, which is generally traced to some single ancestor. Of these I have already mentioned two, the legends of the Miridite clans of the Clementi and the Castrati. Another tradition, however, traces the descent of the entire tribe of the Miridites from one man, who, like the favourite hero of fairy tales generally, was the youngest of three sons. His father, according to the story, lived on Mount Pastrik, near Diakova, and at his death the three brothers divided their poor inheritance, the eldest taking the saddle (*Shalla*), the second the sieve (*Shosh*), the third receiving only the salutation of "Good-day" (*Mir dia*). As is, however, always the case in such stories, the prosperity of the portionless one greatly excelled that of his brothers. For while they became the founders of the clans called Shialla and Shoshi, in remembrance of the saddle and sieve they had respectively inherited, he who had been dismissed with an ironical salutation bequeathed it as a name to a far more numerous and powerful tribe, the *Miridites*.

Out of so many charming folk-tales it is a difficult 114
matter to choose the best or most characteristically 538
Albanian. I have, however, limited myself to those [121]
of which the originals are available, in order to obtain the precise names of the Supernals described in them, many of whom are disguised by their French translator under the name of *Lamie*, and by Von Hahn under the Teutonic *Elfe* or *Kobold*. As mentioned in

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

114 the previous chapter, most of these magical beings
538 have their equivalents in Greek folk-lore, but the Liouvía is peculiar to Albania, and has, so far, been found only in two stories, the following, and that entitled "Perseus" by Von Hahn.[1] The "Beauty
538 of the Earth," or "The World," is the subject of other stories, both Albanian and Greek, and also occurs in Greek folk-song under the same title.[2] This story, however, has a parallel in the Epirote Greek tale of "The King's Son and the Beardless One," in which the hero, a king's son, is personated by a beardless muleteer, a blind *Drache* being substituted for the Liouvía, and an old lame horse for the old man of the Albanian version. The king's son throws pieces of meat to the *Drache*, who recovers his sight, and out of gratitude swallows the hero, who, while in the creature's stomach, learns the language of birds, an attainment which afterwards serves him in good stead. In one of the Greek variants the Beauty is described as "The Golden-haired One," and all the maidens of the town form her train.[3] The incident of stealing the magic dress occurs also in the Bulgarian song of "The Samodiva Married against her Will."[4]

[1] *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, No. 98.

[2] See Passow, *Carmina, &c.* : 'Η ὀμορφιὰ τοῦ κόσμου.

[3] Von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen;* and the story of "The Twins" in Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια.

[4] See vol. i. p. 352.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

When our hero returned, they repeated to him the 539
words of his wife. Without losing a moment, he bought three pairs of iron shoes, and set out in search of her. On the spot at which he had arrived when the last pair was worn out he built a khan, where travellers might eat and drink without paying, and he questioned them as to what they had seen on their journeys. One said, "Not far from here I had let my water-cask fall, and it rolled to the bottom of a ravine. When I went down to find it, I saw twelve maidens bathing in a fountain."

At these words our hero rushed out of doors, and the traveller having described to him the spot, he approached the bathers unperceived, seized the dress of his wife, and threw it into the fire which they had kindled in order to wash their clothes. Her dress burnt, the Beauty had no means of escaping him again, for in it was contained all her magic power, and she returned with her husband to the king.

The story of the "Maiden promised to the Sun" is [538 171] made up of two separate episodes, both of which have their variants in the folk-lore of the Greeks and Bulgarians. In the Greek variant[1] of the first part of the story, the maiden is stolen by a ray of sunshine which enters through the key-hole, and carries her to his master. Two hares are commissioned to take her back to her mother, who silvers the tail of the surviving one as a reward for its services. A Bul-

[1] Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, No. 41.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 garian ballad[1] also describes the stealing of a maiden by the Sun. Prayers addressed to Nature-powers, as to the Sun in this story, are not uncommon in Greek and Albanian folk-tales, though the name of God is occasionally substituted for or added to them.[2] The following is, however, the only instance of the Sun or other power voluntarily relinquishing his captive. In [538 171] a Greek parallel to the second part of the story, Τὸ μαχαίρι της σφαγῆς, &c., "The Knife of Slaughter,"[3] a Gipsy woman is substituted for the slave. The incident of the man transformed to stone by a spell is of frequent occurrence, as, for instance, in the story from the island of Astypaleá, Τὸ χρυσὸ ἄλογο, "The Golden Horse,"[4] and in the Gipsy story of "The King's Son and the Daughter of the Dervish."[5]

The Maiden who was Promised to the Sun.[6]

There was, and there was not.[7] There was once a queen who had no child, and she prayed continually the Sun to give her one, were it only a girl; when [582] she should be twelve years old,[8] she added, the Sun could have her back again.

Finally the queen had a daughter, and she went

[1] Dozon, *Chants Bulgares*, No. xii.

[2] See, for instance, Von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, Nos. iv. v. liv. and cxli.

[3] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 49, translated by Geldart in the little volume somewhat too ambitiously entitled *The Folk-lore of Modern Greece.*

[4] *Ibid.* p. 80. [5] See below, p. 370.

[6] Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, No. vii.

[7] The usual preface to an Albanian folk-tale. The Magyar formula, *Volt, nem volt*, has the same meaning.

[8] The marriageable age.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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who had heard him. So they built a hut for her to live in. But she did nothing but weep and recount her misfortunes. The king having heard her once or twice lamenting in this way, approached and asked her why she wept; so the maiden told him her story. Then the king took her for his wife, and as for the slave, he cut her into a thousand pieces, the biggest of which was not larger than that! 539

The following story strikingly illustrates the fatalistic beliefs entertained by the Albanians in common with the generality of Orientals. The incident of the substituted letter is of common occurrence in Greek as well as Albanian folk-tale.[1] [829] [538]

The Story of the Child; or, The Fates.[2]

There was once an old man and an old woman who had no children. At last, after I don't know how many years, God gave them a son, and their joy had no bounds when they found that the Lord had at length thus remembered them. Two nights had passed since it was born, and the third was coming on when the Three Women would appear to assign to the infant its destiny.[3]

The same night it rained so heavily that no one dared put his nose out of doors for fear of being carried off by the water and drowned. However, who should arrive in the midst of the rain but a Pasha,

[1] See, for instance, "The Three Brothers and the Dev," p. 156; Dozon's "La Boîte Merveilleuse," *Manuel, &c.*, No. xviii., *Contes*, No. xi.; and Hahn's Tinote story of "Kosta and the Drakos," in the Νεοελληνικὴ Παραμυθία.

[2] Dozon, *Langue Chkipe*, No. xx.; *Contes Albanais*, No. xiii. [3] See p. 244.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

539 wards the Pasha's son-in-law arrived to fetch the article ordered. The blacksmith gave him the handkerchief, which he carried to his father-in-law.

When the Pasha saw him alive before his eyes, he trembled in every limb; but what was his grief when, on opening the handkerchief, he found the head of his son! However, he made no sign, but gave this order to his groom—"To-night, if the horses fight, leave them alone, so that my son-in-law may go down and quiet them. Do thou, however, be behind the door, with a bludgeon in thy hand, and the moment he appears, smash his skull."

"Very well," was the reply.

During the night, the horses having begun to fight, the Pasha called to his son-in-law to go and quiet them, but his wife persuaded him not to get up, saying that they would soon stop. The Pasha, who thought that this time he was really dead, went out of his room and crept softly towards the stable. The groom thought it was the son-in-law coming, and with one blow struck him dead.

Then the youth took the power into his own hands, and became Pasha in place of the other. And so it all fell out as the Third Woman had foretold, at the time of his birth, that he should supplant the Pasha.

Our story is done. The youth was lucky, and may we be luckier still!

538 171 The following story of The Three Brothers and the Three Sisters has many parallels in Greek folk-tale. In an Epirote variant the sisters are married respect-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

ively to a lion, a tiger, and an eagle,[1] and in the others we have besides the "Mother of Night," the Mother of the Sun, of the Moon, and of the Wind, who protect the princess against their own sons.[2] 538 171

The Three Brothers and the Three Sisters.[3]

There were, and there were not. There were once three brothers who had three sisters, and they married them, and gave the first to the Sun, the second to the Moon, and the third to the South Wind.[4] 539

Some time afterwards, I don't know how long, the brothers said to each other, "Let us go to our sisters and see how they fare." So without wasting time they made ready for the journey, took their provisions, and set off. As they were going the night overtook them when they were on a plain near a mountain. So they stopped there, took out their provisions, and made a fire. Supper finished, the eldest of the brothers said to the others:

"Lie down and sleep, and I will watch and keep guard for fear that some one might come to rob or kill us."

So the two younger ones slept, and he mounted guard. Presently a Koutchédra, seeing the light, came up, and, her mouth watering at the sight of the men, she threw herself upon the one who was watching, to eat him. But he with a shot from

[1] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια; No. 12, *Gr. und Alb. Märchen*, No. 25.
[2] *Ibid.* No. 10.
[3] Dozon, *Langue Chkipe*, No. xxiv., *Contes Albanais*, No. xv.
[4] *Yousa.* In Albanian, as in Servian and Bulgarian, the moon and the south are masculine, and from this circumstance M. Dozon was of opinion that this story is of Slav origin. [821]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

539 returned to the king, who, on seeing them, was quite overjoyed, and gave a splendid feast in their honour.

This is the end of the story.

[538] The following comic story is a good illustration of the adage, "Set a thief to catch a thief."

Mosko and Tosko.

There were once two brothers, who were robbers by trade, and they had a sister for whom they had long sought a husband of their own quality. Years passed, and one fine day they met on the road a man whom they asked, "Where goest thou? Wilt thou join us, and have our sister for thy wife? We will give her to thee, for we have long wanted a husband for her."

"Done," said the other, "and that shall not prevent our being comrades." So they gave him their sister.

One day, as they had not seen their sister for some time, Mosko and Tosko went to pay her a visit. The husband happened to be absent, having gone to the mill. You must know, however, that there was some [251] *pastourma*[1] hanging in the loft.[2] Arrived in the house, Mosko said to his sister: "My dear sister, give me some water." She went to fetch the water-barrel, and gave it to him. After having drunk, Mosko asked Tosko if he were not likewise thirsty. "Yes," he replied, and his brother passed him the barrel. Then Mosko said to Tosko:

[1] Smoke-dried meat.

[342] [2] *Taras*, the space between the uncelled rafters of a cottage and the roof.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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533 173 overwhelming numbers and equal pertinacity of the foe. The record, too, of every insurrection, and they have been many, has thus from 1572 downwards been orally transmitted from generation to generation, keeping alive in the memory of the Albanians the heroism of their ancestors, and inciting them in their turn to similar deeds of daring.

533 538 The songs vary greatly in literary merit. Poetical talent seems now to have died out in the country, though formerly Albania had her national poets, the last of them (so far as I can ascertain), Hussein Mollah, having lived in the eighteenth century. The old ballads are consequently far superior to those of more recent date, which consist chiefly of detached couplets, and are very episodic, though they describe with sufficient accuracy the events they profess to record. In the more remote highlands some very ancient historical ballads are preserved, but unfortunately none of these have yet been collected.

One of the most striking songs of the Skipetars commemorates the revolution of 1572 under Ibrahim Pasha of Scutari. The result of this insurrection was the recognition by the Porte of its leader as Pasha of Scutari, he being the first Albanian since the conquest who had been allowed to assume that title. The song is, unfortunately, too long to give in full, but the following opening and concluding lines may give some idea of its spirit:—

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No! no! our country only must we mother call,
For on her breast she us has nourished all.
She is the wife we to our bosoms press,
Who wakes within our hearts love's tenderness.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The following little Tosk song refers to an unsuccessful rising in South Albania about 1835:— 538

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From Corfu they tidings bear,
Tafilbouz is landing here;
On Avlona's shore he lands,
Three detachments he commands.

To the mosque they crowd and shout,
"Hodo, from thy house come out!"
Now may Allah be his shield,
If to them should Hodo yield!

O Hodo, O Sadik, Bekir, and Karafili!
Simon the Liap's brave sons!
'Mid the rattle of the guns,
They have fall'n, unhappy ones!
May the rest be lucky!

The national songs, as well as the folk-tales, of the land of their forefathers are also sacredly cherished by those Albanians who, as before mentioned, for centuries past have been settled in Southern Italy and Sicily. There the exploits of the heroic Scanderbeg are still celebrated, and at their feasts they sing how the hero of Croia [538]

Of hares and capons ate the flesh,
Of partridges the heads ate;

[262]
[264]

and how

His cups and forks were all of gold,
And of fine silk his napkins.

The women, too, in their Easter dances, relate how, as he went forth to battle, Death met him on the road, and revealed to him the secrets of the Book of Destiny; how he called to him his young son, and bade him tie his horse to a cypress on the seashore, plant his 538
776

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

538 776 banner beside it, and on it hang his sword, stained with the blood of the Turk:

539

Within its blade Death yet shall sleep,
And, 'neath that sombre tree,
The arms of their erst dreaded foe,
Shall they now silent be?

No! When the wind shall furious blow,
And waves my flag around,
When whinnies my good charger there,
My sword makes clanking sound,

The Turk shall hear, and, tremblingly,
He'll turn, with bated breath,
With visage blanched, and hear behind
Him, swiftly following, Death.

[854 533] The Gheg mother, in her mountain home, rocks her little ones to sleep and amuses their waking hours with such lullabies as these:

I.

539 854

"*De! De!* Lambkin mine,
Where didst thou this even dine?"
"In the fields where waters flow,
'Neath the trees where cherries grow,"

"Tell me what thou there didst see?"
"Two twin birdies on a tree."
"What song did they sing to thee?"
"*Chili! Chili! Mangouli!*

I saw the old woman
'Mong corn ears all ripe;
I heard her a-playing
Upon the black pipe!"

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

Vizier. In your name I will give these things to your people, and they will be grateful.'"

We laughed hastily.

"But it is time to cut your beard and hang your rifle on the wall," Perolli suggested. "There is a free Albanian government now."

"But not a free Albania," said the bandit. "The government forgets that, and sits in council with the Powers that sold us to Italy and gave us to Serbia. Have you forgotten Kossova and a million of your brothers who are slaves to the Serbs?"

"I am of Ipek," Perolli answered him. "Nevertheless, I am first a Shqiptar and second a man of Kossova. And I remember our proverb that says, 'Better an egg to-day than a chicken next year.'"

"We have also a saying, 'Better the nightingale once than the blackbird every day,'" replied the bandit.

"Let it be. 'Every sheep hangs by her own leg,'" Perolli retorted, rising.

The honors were with him. For the moment, the bandit could think of no proverb which would be a weapon, and could only reply to our courteous farewells by wishing us smooth trails.

"The good man of yesterday becomes a burden to-day and a danger to-morrow," said Perolli, as we went slowly along the ledge of trail. "Why is it that our minds do not change as rapidly as the world changes around us? These mountain men will cling to their rifles, though the time is

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

186 hour he had extracted from them the identity of the criminals and the fruits of the crime. By a gentleman's agreement there were no prosecutions, but the victims were fully reimbursed, with ten per cent interest for their trouble.

On Good Friday of 1939 King Zog entrusted Abas Kupi with the defence of Durazzo. His forces only consisted of a battalion of Albanian gendarmes and some tribal levies but, although hopelessly outmatched in man-power and in guns, he kept two of the Duce's divisions at bay for more than thirty-six hours. This gallant action, the only effective resistance offered to the Italian invasion, covered the King's escape and made [538] Abas Kupi a national hero. Indeed, as we learned from our agents, the mountain bards had already added verses celebrating his defence of Durazzo to the long epic poem in which the great exploits of Albanian history are recorded.

*669 Gani's advice that we should seek the help of Abas Kupi seemed to us sound, and we therefore asked Stirling to approach him, for he had known him well in Albania. Accordingly, a few days after the capitulation of France, the two met in the dingy lodgings which Abas had taken in Constantinople. The Albanians are usually given to prolonged ceremonial greetings, but, although it was five years since he had last seen Stirling, Abas Kupi asked at once:

"Will you English fight on?"

"I give you my word we will," Stirling answered.

"Thank God," said Abas Kupi, "for now the Italians are at last fair game for both of us." Then, his mind at rest, he remembered his manners and, with a smile, produced the customary greetings and enquiries: "*Tungjatjeta! A je mirë? A je shendosh? A je burri fortë?*" ("May your life be prolonged! Are you well? Are you in good heart? Are you a strong man?")

After devious transactions the necessary passports were obtained and Abas Kupi was brought to Yugoslavia. At our first meeting I was struck, as others have been, by his pronounced likeness, especially in profile, to certain of the portraits of Napoleon; a likeness accentuated by a lock of hair brushed forward on his forehead to hide the deep scar of a bullet wound

593 maternal uncle's children. Then when the bride joins her husband in his father's house, she will come directly under the supervision of her paternal aunt, a woman whom she has already seen, and who represents an extension of her own family in the strange household. Such an ideal arrangement still makes no provision for a selection of mates on the basis of personality adjustments. It merely makes the change from one household to the other a little easier than if the girl were a total stranger. Very often a girl's fiancé is killed and she has to marry one of his brothers, a cousin, or someone of an entirely different family, and there will be no familiar aunt to smooth things over, but instead a suspicious and exacting mother-in-law, with whom her only ties are through her husband.

583 It is no wonder that brides sometimes run away. If they come home their fathers usually return them. Not infrequently they elope and if they are lucky settle in some city, or distant countryside where the limb of Lek Dukagin's [538] law is not long enough to reach them. Gheg epic poetry, which the traveler hears sung night after night in private houses, hans, and gendarmeries, dwells frequently on the theme of elopement. One hears at length about couple after couple, hopelessly in love, who break all of the rules, run away, and meet a tragic but inexorable fate. In the epics they seldom if ever make good their escape. In real life I believe that they sometimes succeed, and their elopements, successful or otherwise, help reduce the population of the mountains.

589 If a young woman is faced with a marriage which she cannot bring herself to consummate, and if she has enough strength of character to take the following step, she can avoid matrimony by becoming a "sworn virgin" (fig. 10, *d*). She summons a meeting of the 12 elders of her community and in their presence swears perpetual chastity. By this means she not only gets out of her engagement, but also prevents a feud between her father's kin and those of [838] her fiancé. At this point she becomes technically a man. She may or may not don masculine clothing. She will carry a gun, and fight like other men. She will plough and reap, and do all of the tasks of a man. If she breaks her oath, the elders will, in theory, burn

[see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XI

BAJRAKTARS

It is an Albanian tradition that when the Turks began to raise 104
Albanian levies for their army they chose specially brave tribes- 701
men to lead the levies and called them by the Turkish name of *deli*, meaning 'madman' or 'desperado'. At a later date they called them *spahis* (cavalrymen), and at a still later date *bajraktars* (standard-bearers), from the Turk *bajrak*, standard. So the word bajraktar conveys the business of the man so-called, and the origin of his title. He was the military leader of his tribe and owed his appointment to the Turks, not to his fellow-Albanians.

Neither delis nor spahis seem to have been blood ancestors of the bajraktars. Each tribe knows how its first bajraktar won his flag but never says that he was either a deli or a spahi. In the folk-tales [538] which purport to recount their deeds, the spahis figure not as heroes but as ordinary cavalrymen of the type we still find in Algeria. Certain families, notably in Lumë and Yugoslav Losovë, [551] are surnamed Spahi. These claim descent not from medieval bravos but from relatively modern cavalrymen, and they are not bajraktars. The memory of the delis and their deeds survives only in folk-tales and an occasional personal name. The bajraktar of Hot at the beginning of the century was Deli Metë Çuni. In the folk-tales the delis, more fortunate than the spahis, preserve their reputation as doughty fighters.

Tribal traditions agree that most *bajraks* were bestowed on the 703
original holder like a Victoria Cross, for valour in battle. The combats were generally against the Serbs and Montenegrins, natural enemies of the Albanians as they were their nearest neighbours, and had not ceased ever since they appeared in the Balkans to steal ancient Albanian territory. Some bajraks are said to have been gained hundreds of years ago, and others only a few generations since. The historical details in the traditions are generally meagre and the chronology vague, but these defects make on the whole for greater credibility, assuring us that no lively imagination has been at work. To minds running as Albanian

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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797 most of the surrounding land. The head of the fraternity received us in an upper room furnished in Turkish fashion with carpets, divans, and cushions. He was a big man with a great brown beard, a prominent nose, and a huge white hat, and he sat cross-legged in the Oriental way. After he had entertained us with coffee, cigarettes, and conversation, the harmonium was carried upstairs and deposited in the middle of the room—an astonishing anachronism in that atmosphere of Omar Khayyam—and hymns were sung to him for the good of his soul. Leaflets were left, as if by accident, on the divan, as well as a hymn-book—all printed in Albanian—and so a little more of "the Lord's work" ooo was accomplished. But I wished I could see into the dervish's mind and read what he really thought of it all. And I wondered what would happen if he were to turn the tables and attempt a little missionary work on his own account. The situation would have been unusual, and might have proved amusing.

The translation of the Bible into a somewhat limited language like Albanian has its pitfalls. In one of Mr. Kennedy's tracts the quotation "Blessed are the poor in spirit" occurred. This, unfortunately, had been rendered by the Albanian translator, and, more unluckily still, had been printed by the printer, as "Blessed are the weak-minded"!

● 538 The dervish, in answer to a question I put to him through Mr. Kennedy, said that there was no Albanian literature, and that such poetry and legend as there was had survived only through being handed down orally. This, he explained,

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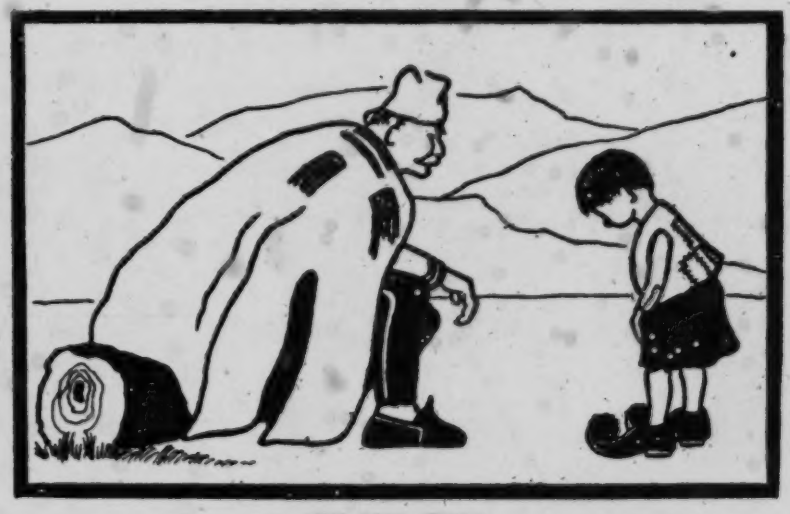
The Education Question

was due to the fact that Albania had for such a great part of 538
its existence been a subject race. Under Turkish domination the Turkish language was made compulsory and was taught in the schools, and Albanian books were confiscated. The Turks were followed by the Greeks, who were even more bitter against the printing of Albanian and subjected every



THE NEW SHOES

house to a rigorous search and burned every Albanian book
that had escaped the Turks. Asking about education, I 871
was told that it is only very lately that the country has had a chance of settling down and attending to this very important matter. During the war it was occupied at different times by the Austrians, the Italians, and the French, and education, like everything else, was in a state of chaos. Now, however,

539

539 LITERARY TEXTS--texts, translations, and abstracts of folktales, myths, songs, and other individual literary products; critical analyses and commentaries thereupon; etc.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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352 fashion, a well-scoured copper pan to mix the meal in,
[415 a wooden bowl or two, a few horn spoons, a copper
373 *ibrik*, or coffee pot, and a brass lamp. One of the two
412] rooms is used as a storehouse for the maize or grapes,
251 which are spread out and sprinkled with salt in order to
353 preserve them. The other serves as general living and
372 sleeping apartment, where the fire is made on the floor, the smoke escaping through a hole in the roof.
241 Each house has its garden well stocked with fruit
249 and vegetables, and its tobacco plot, surrounded by a high loopholed wall. Each village has, too, its green,
361 in one corner of which is the paved threshing-floor,
243 where the grain is trodden out by horses.

142 The physical appearance of the women of Albania varies according to the district they inhabit, the tribe to which they belong, and the conditions under which they live. The Skipetars of the Drin and the Gheg and Miridite women of North Albania generally are tall, handsome, and well-made, having good complexions and not infrequently fair hair, which, as the following verse from one of their folk-songs shows, is much admired:—

[539]

O maiden so tender,
No pipe of Vizier
Was ever so slender
As thou art, my dear!
The soft silken tresses
Of thy yellow hair,
The glad breeze caresses,
Like flax threads are fair.

183 They are also dignified in demeanour, capable of undergoing fatigue and hardship, and exceedingly courageous.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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then literally buried under a heap of stones, which are piled upon and around her; and her husband has a right to slay the partner of her guilt wherever he may find him. Such cases are, however, of extremely rare occurrence. 684

Considering this rigidity of morals it is a rather curious fact that two clans, or tribes—the Clementi and the Castrati—ascribe their origin to irregular connections between the daughters of shepherds and strangers, exiles from other countries. The stories are almost identical. That of the Clementi is as follows :— 173

A young man named Clement, clerk to a priest of Moratcha, a district of Montenegro, weary of the tyranny of his superior, ran away, and, not knowing which way to go, made for the road leading from Selze to Scutari. Arriving at a place called Tamara, he came upon a flockmaster of Triepsei, who, astonished to see a youth dressed as he was in such a place, inquired his business there. Without disclosing whence he came, Clement related his misfortunes, and declared his intention of going to Scutari in order to seek service with some family of position. Touched with pity, and fearing for him the dangers of the way, the shepherd invited the stranger to stay with him and help him to keep his flocks. Clement accepted the offer; and when the number of sheep he was to receive as wages was settled, he followed his new master home. 173 539

The shepherd was rich in flocks and lands, possessed of a second wife with a young family, and also of a grown-up daughter, Bubce, who was both ugly

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and lame. Clement, being young and active, and also attentive to his new duties, soon gained the affection of his master, and, at the same time, that of his daughter, who, seeing no chance of ever being asked in marriage by her equal, took it into her head to make the shepherd lad fall in love with her. Clement long resisted the allurements of the uncomely Bubce, and pointed out to her the danger they would both run should any understanding between them come to her father's ears, and also the misery that would follow for her a union with a penniless man. "It is not our danger, but my deformity that thou fearest," the shrewd Bubce would reply, and, her devotion finally touching the heart of Clement, the lovers met frequently in secret.

Finding herself compelled to take her stepmother into her confidence, the latter, fearing that her husband's pride would impel him to some act of violence were the state of affairs to come suddenly to his knowledge, tried to prepare him for the news, and made him swear by St. Nicholas not to do harm to any one. The angry father, in spite of his oath, at first threatened to kill both his daughter and her lover, and reproached them bitterly for the dishonour they had brought upon his house. Bubce, however, took all the blame upon herself, and her tears and prayers, joined to those of his wife, who reminded him of the oath he had sworn "by St. Nicholas," and which is of all oaths the most binding on an Albanian, finally prevailed with him. Clement might marry his daughter, but on condition that neither of them ever again should appear before him. So the couple

[788]

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173
retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd 539
gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep
which constituted Clement's wages. Here they
settled down and prospered, leaving behind them [465]
great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the 162
Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by 562
the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women 577
enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sun- 796
day, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, 788
who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after 762
partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucha- 577
rist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the 627
tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, 583
which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the 184
extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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484 562 777 789 small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various 787 methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

152 593 The men on their side are not free from home-sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

[539]

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
From Fatherland as outlaws lorn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
Poisoned by my blood would pine!

527 535 The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

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over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch 852
the cradle while they sing:

> *Poganik*, When the boy grows a man,
> A weaver we'll make him,
> And money he'll bring us.[1]

[539 562]

And for a girl:

> *Poganik*, When our girl grows up tall,
> She shall go to the valley
> And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother 846
nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by 553
the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal 852
rite of the churches to which they respectively 779

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on. [463 286]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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including boots and shoes of yellow leather embroidered with gold, together with a loaf of sugar, some coffee, and other customary trifles. The *dunti* is carried by two boys belonging to the bridegroom's family, both of whose parents must be living. As they arrive at the house the women and girls sing a song beginning :

585 [184]

[539]

> O flaxen one, far whiter
> Than foam on Drin's wave-crest,
> —— sends to thee the *dunti*,
> All in a golden chest.

All the members of the family receive the boys at the foot of the staircase with every mark of respect, and conduct them to the reception-room. As the *dunti* is placed on a coffer, all present cry, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!) The envoys are seated in the place of honour, while all the family of the bride remain standing; refreshments, consisting of liqueurs and bonbons, are served twice, complimentary speeches are exchanged, and after about an hour of polite attentions, the boys depart. On the same day a youth is despatched by the bridegroom's parents to invite the guests for the following Monday. The formula he makes use of is—"So-and-so is to be married, and begs you to come next Monday to the wedding with all your family, or, if you prefer it, let the head of the family come alone." At each house he receives in return for his invitation a present of a few piastres. The number of persons invited by each family is fixed according to the degree of kinship or friendship existing between them and the bridegroom's family.

[574]

The bride's family send out their invitations in the

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[539]

Lower your crests, ye mountains high,
That we may the moon descry
Sailing through the azure sky.
Our bride her mother's counsels heard,
Who said, "My daughter, mark my word,
Love and respect your father new."
"That, mother will I gladly do—
I'll love and honour him alway
Who's given to me a bridegroom gay."

On Monday morning, the homes of both bride and bridegroom are thronged with guests, sometimes to the number of several hundreds. Each one brings an *oka*[1] of coffee and another of sugar for the benefit of the house, and at the same time presents the bride with a gold coin, the value of which varies with the degree of relationship of the giver. These coins are subsequently strung into necklaces, and constitute part of the personal property of a married woman.

[431]
[422]
[302]

At early dawn the bride is dressed in her wedding finery, decked with all her jewels, and, at sunrise, is led to a corner of the principal reception-room. Here custom requires her to stand, motionless and speechless, with downcast eyes and hands crossed on her breast, until she starts for her new home. Two women, posted at either side, keep watch and ward over her, and the rest of the female guests, seated round the room on the divans, stare at the poor girl as if she were the idol of their worship. At meal-times, on this and the two following days, she eats alone, covered with a veil, though if she is anxious to make a good impression she will partake of food only

[1] About 2¾ lbs. avoirdupois.

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585 if compelled to do so, in order to show how great is her regret at leaving the paternal roof.[1] In fact, her behaviour throughout is intended to typify her reluctance to exchange the single for the married state. Meantime the guests divert themselves with liqueurs, [262 463] coffee, and sweets, and the performances of the professional musicians hired for the occasion.

About ten o'clock a cart arrives from the bridegroom's abode to fetch the bride's baggage, which is [415 531] packed in a large wooden box ornamented with designs of flowers rudely executed. When it starts every one shouts, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!), and among the Christians, several women accompany the cart [788] outside the gate, sprinkling both it and its contents with holy water. A few minutes afterwards, all the male guests invited by the bridegroom's friends set out, preceded by his father, who leads a richly caparisoned horse on which the bride will ride home. As they leave the house the women sing:

[539]

Happy may thy journey be,
Eldest of our family.
Holy sign of cross now make,
To the right thy way then take.
If to us thou bring fair bride,
May the sugar-plums taste sweet,
If a foul one by thy side
That they bitter taste were meet.

585 Arrived at their destination, the party range them-
262 selves around the courtyard, where glasses of cognac and water, and sweets and sugar-plums of various kinds

[1] The Mongols of Tibet observe a similar custom. See *Journal of Sarat Chandra Das*, published by the Royal Geographical Society.

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are handed round by men-servants. During this 585
ceremony, which every one endeavours to prolong, the [262]
bride, enveloped in a long cloak and covered with a veil, is led downstairs. She walks as slowly as possible, supported on either hand by an attendant as if infirm, and is hidden from all eyes by silken draperies held on either side of her path until she has been seated on her horse.

The procession then starts. The husband's guests walk first, then comes the bride, her horse led by a servant, supported on either side by her brothers, behind her follow the musicians and singers, the rear being brought up by her relatives and friends. Various songs are sung *en route*, of which the following may serve as a specimen :— [539]

Our fair bride is on the way,
Like a pink, so fresh and gay.
At the door's our brideling fair,
Like the pink's her perfume rare.
In the courtyard is the bride,
She's a rose that's open'd wide.
On the stair the bride see now,
White as jasmine is her brow.
Now she comes within the room,
Her neck is like the lily's bloom.
"Bride of mine, now cease to grieve,
Let not sobs thy bosom heave."
"Bridegroom mine, can I be gay?
I've my father left to-day.
From my home for ever torn,
It is meet that I should mourn."

The bride, on leaving the door of her childhood's 585
home, and at every street corner she passes, inclines

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585 her head three times in token of farewell to the places she will never again, as a maiden, behold.[1] When her approach is announced to the women of her husband's family, they sing:

[539]

"Bride, lost bride, what wouldst thou find?"
"The courtyard gate of my bridegroom kind."
"What, O bride, wilt thou give to me
If I show now his courtyard gate unto thee?"
"Shirts, O my bridegroom, all broidered and fine."
"Small is thy guerdon, O brideling of mine,
For I can take them, nor ask leave of thine."

Arrived at the bridegroom's home, the same precautions are taken in dismounting the bride as were observed in placing her upon her horse. The women of the house come down to receive her, and pushing her gently, lead her, as if against her will, into the nuptial chamber, where she is seated on cushions. When coffee has been served and partaken of, the bride's friends take their leave, the eldest among them saying in a loud voice:

"Until now she belonged to God and to us, now and henceforward she belongs to you and to God, who will protect her."[2]

As they retire, the last message of the bride to her mother is sung:

[539]

Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!
A word to you the bride would say.
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!

[1] This observance may possibly have its origin in the propitiatory farewells paid by a bride, among the ancient Slavs, to her father's household gods. Compare Kovalevsky, *Modern Customs, &c., of Russia*, pp. 33–4.

[606] [2] This is intended to signify that if the bride is not well treated in her new home her parents will intervene on her behalf.

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My greetings to my mother bear,
My greetings to my sisters fair,
Tell them my heart will love them e'er.
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!
Each day, when comes the even glow,
My prayers, on winds that softly blow,
For them to God on high shall go—
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!

As soon as the bride's relatives have left, the women raise her veil with the silver handle of a dagger, or some other object made of the same metal,[1] and whether she comes up to their expectations or not, they are in duty bound to sing:

How beautiful she is, the bride!
May God preserve her!
Her brow is high and white and wide,
May God preserve her!
Her eyebrows have the rainbow's curve,
May God preserve her!
Her eyes for coffee cups might serve,[2]
May God preserve her!
Her cheeks the rose's inmost fold
May God preserve her!
Her mouth a little box of gold
May God preserve her!
Her lips as red as cherries are
May God preserve her!
Her teeth than pearls are whiter far!
May God preserve her!
Like milk her skin is fair and white
May God preserve her!
Like cypress is she tall and slight
May God preserve her!

Among the Christian Albanians, the religious ceremony is now performed in the nuptial chamber, where

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[1] Magical properties are attributed to this metal by the Albanians.
[2] Literally, "as large as coffee-cups"—*Andjunes.*

[777]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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764
533 The ideas expressed in it may also be found in Greek and Roumanian folk-song.

[539]

Kyabése's bridge hard by,
Slain by treach'rous foes I lie.
Comrades, greet my mother well,
Bid her the two oxen sell;
Give the money to my Life,
To my dear, my promised wife.
Asks mother what doth me betide,
Say, I have wedded here a bride.
Asks she who holds me with her charms,
Tell her, three bullets in my breast,
Six in my legs and in my arms.
Asks she who came as bidden guest,
And at my wedding feast was seen;
The crows and ravens, say, were there;
They have the friends and neighbours been,
And they devoured the wedding fare!

Sometimes animals and inanimate objects, with which the deceased has been associated in his lifetime, are poetically represented as missing him and mourning his loss, as in this lament for a Tosk chieftain who has met with a violent death:—

[539]

Derwen Agha, *vaï* /[1] all slain
Lie thy followers on the plain!
Hear thy sword cry from the wall,
"Where's my lord?" in sorrow's thrall,
"Where's my lord, that he no more
Draws and waves me as of yore?"
Hear thy charger from his stall,
"Where's my lord?" complain and call,
"Where's my lord, to fill my rack,
Girth the saddle on my back?
Where's my lord, that he bestride me,
Gaily through the mountains ride me?"

[1] The Albanian exclamation of distress.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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For the untimely death of a young wife, not yet a mother, the following may serve as a specimen :— 764 533

O willow-wand so golden,
No townswoman more slight;
O beautiful of feature,
As partridge on the height!

O swift as weaver's shuttle,
Where wilt thou henceforth bide?
O partridge on the red rock,
Thy dower in chest must hide!

Where wilt thou be this summer,
Reft from thy dear lord's side?
O beauteous dancing vine-branch,
Thou wast a virgin bride!

Like blade of grass thou growest,
Refined as finest gold,
And thy short life, O joyless!
Few joys for thee did hold.

[539]

A mother's grief is expressed in these, the opening verses only, of a long dirge for an only son. As I have previously had occasion to mention, the women of South Albania especially manifest an excessive degree of grief for the death of children, and often refuse, when left childless, to survive them. 764 533 539

O Death! O thou who know'st no ruth!
Why rob me of my son?
Why tear him from my loving arms?
My boy, my dearest one!

No pity hadst thou in thy stroke!
Before thou laidst him prone,
Why torture him with cruel pains?—
My boy, my dearest one!

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764
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[539]

Remorseless, Death, I know thou art,
  Yet, from a mother lone,
How couldst thou take her only son,
  Her boy, her dearest one?

Why didst thou not, my treasured child,
  My only darling son—
Why didst thou not resist his blow?
  My boy, my dearest one!

Ah! knew'st thou not, within my heart,
  Should'st thou from me be gone,
Thou ope'st a wound must ever bleed?
  My boy, my dearest one!

[152] Sometimes, too, as among the Greek women, a mourner finds no adequate outlet for her grief in the conventional dirges, and, inspired by sorrow, bursts into an improvised lament for the lost son, brother, or husband, extolling his virtues and bewailing his fate.

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It is said that when an Albanian of the mountains is led to execution by the authorities for any crime but that of theft, which is by these people alone considered disgraceful, he walks to his doom with head erect and bearing dignified, improvising as he goes his own dirge, in which he relates the circumstances that have led to his premature departure from the world. His mother and sisters follow him to the place of execution, their hearts devoured with grief, but wearing smiles on their lips, in order that their relative may, on his side, show no sign of weakness. Intently they listen to his death-song, the words of

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789 hearth, in order that he may take away with him all
788 danger from fire for the coming year.

St. John's Eve is observed in Albania with the
789 customary bonfire, to leap over which is considered so
372 salutary that even the old people venture to do so at least once. A curious ceremony, performed about this season, when the spring sowing is concluded, may also be here mentioned. Standing with his back to the plough, the farmer rubs part of the
[136] handle with earth in the belief that the wild swine will thus be prevented from damaging his crops.

789 On the day on which the new moon is first seen, all possible work is avoided, and no important task of any kind, such as ploughing, sowing, or harvesting, is commenced, for it would be sure to be unsuccessful. The girls and children look at the moon through a sieve, and rub their faces with a piece of silver, while they sing:

[539]

Young moon!
Young maid!
Health to me;
Ill to thee!
Head as soft as dough be thine!
Head as hard as stone be mine!

777 The 9th, 19th, and 29th days of every month are considered unlucky, as is also the Tuesday of every week, for setting out on a journey, or commencing any kind of work. Friday is also an inauspicious day
[241] for sowing, and Saturday for beginning to plough or dig.

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538 776 which, by Easter Eve, have become very thin. On the morning of Easter Sunday, however, the Saviour arrives with a new chain with which He again secures Satan to the rock.

A graceful little myth is related in some parts of Albania concerning the origin of the Cuckoo and the *Gyon*, or *Gyonit*, which is, I believe, a species of small owl. The story goes that the cuckoo and the gyon were brother and sister, and had a brother named Gyon, who had been killed. Various causes are assigned for his death in the different versions of the story, that current among the Ritza tribe being that he was accidentally stabbed by his brother with a pair of scissors. In order the better to mourn his loss, the surviving brother was changed into the bird gyon, and the sister into a cuckoo. And so the gyon calls his brother all night long by his name, "*Gyon, Gyon!*" and the cuckoo in the daytime sings, "*Kou! Kou!*" which means, "Where art thou?"[1] In Elbassan, however, it is also said that the sister was changed into the blue flower, which is called the "cuckoo flower," or "cuckoo's bread," and when a woman finds this flower in the field she sings:

539

Cuckoo, cuckoo, more than cuckoo,
Saw'st thou me?
Saw I thee?
Saw'st thou thy dear brother, Gyon?
How they slew him like an ox?
Blood a spoonful,
Flesh a cupful;
Give me both thine hands!

[1] It has occurred to me that the call of "Cuckoo," used by children both in the East and in the West when playing hide-and-seek, may have its origin in some such bird legend.

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She then takes hold of the flower with both hands 539
and lays her head upon it.

Almost every Albanian tribe has a more or less 173
mythical tradition of its origin, which is generally traced to some single ancestor. Of these I have already mentioned two, the legends of the Miridite clans of the Clementi and the Castrati. Another tradition, however, traces the descent of the entire tribe of the Miridites from one man, who, like the favourite hero of fairy tales generally, was the youngest of three sons. His father, according to the story, lived on Mount Pastrik, near Diakova, and at his death the three brothers divided their poor inheritance, the eldest taking the saddle (*Shalla*), the second the sieve (*Shosh*), the third receiving only the salutation of "Good-day" (*Mir dia*). As is, however, always the case in such stories, the prosperity of the portionless one greatly excelled that of his brothers. For while they became the founders of the clans called Shialla and Shoshi, in remembrance of the saddle and sieve they had respectively inherited, he who had been dismissed with an ironical salutation bequeathed it as a name to a far more numerous and powerful tribe, the *Miridites*.

Out of so many charming folk-tales it is a difficult 114
matter to choose the best or most characteristically 538
Albanian. I have, however, limited myself to those [121]
of which the originals are available, in order to obtain the precise names of the Supernals described in them, many of whom are disguised by their French translator under the name of *Lamie*, and by Von Hahn under the Teutonic *Elfe* or *Kobold*. As mentioned in

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The Liouvia[1] *and the Beauty of the Earth.*[2]

There was once a Vlach[3] who was very rich and had a big sheep farm. A king once happened to be travelling that way, and stopped at his house, and the Vlach gave him the best of all he had. That same night the Vlach's wife gave birth to a son. The king made the father promise to have his son taught various languages, and gave him a cross, saying, "When thy son is fifteen years old, give him this cross and tell him to come to me in such and such a town." This said, he went away. 539

The Vlach did as the king had advised, and the boy learnt to speak several languages. On his fifteenth birthday, his father gave him the cross. He read the inscription it bore, which was, "I am the king, thy godfather; come to me in such and such a town." When he had read it, he said to his father:

"See what the king has written for me. I must go to him."

So the father gave him a companion.

On the way, the boy, being hungry, descended a ravine, at the bottom of which was a spring. When he had finished his meal, he saw his companion standing on the top of a rock with a great stone in his hand, and heard him say:

"Take off thy clothes, give them to me, and take mine; then swear that thou wilt reveal to no man what has passed between us." [788]

[1] This appears to me the most correct way of rendering phonetically the word Λιουβία.

[2] Dozon, *Manuel Chkipe*, No. xvi., and *Contes Albanais*, No. xii.

[3] See vol. i. chap. i., "The Vlachs."

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539 The boy pronounced this oath, "If I die and come
788 to life again, then only will I denounce thee."

When they had changed dresses, the companion mounted the horse, and they arrived at the king's palace. The latter, on seeing the cross, took the youth who presented it for his godson, and, giving him his hand, led him to his private apartment. As to the son of the Vlach, he remained in the basement, and spoke to each person there in his own language.

539 The companion pretended to be ill. The king went to see him, and asked him what he ailed.

"I feel very ill," he replied.

"What shall we do for you?"

"Get me one of the cabbages guarded by the Liouvía."

"So many kings, and so many more powerful than I, have gone to take one, and have never succeeded," replied the king.

"Command the youth who is downstairs to go. If he refuses, threaten him."

Then the king said to the boy, "Willy, nilly, thou must go to such and such a place, and bring back a cabbage" (the companion pretended to be ill because he knew that if the son of the Vlach went for the cabbage, he would never come back).

The boy passed his days and nights in weeping, and knew not what to do. One night he saw in a dream an old man, who said to him, "My son, dry thy tears; this is what thou must do. Take forty loads of honey and forty loads of milk, and manage to arrive about noon, for then the Liouvía is out hunting, and is not in her den."

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The next morning the youth asked the king for the provisions mentioned by the old man, and set out. On the road he met the old man he had seen in his dream. Said he, "Good luck, my son. But be sure when you get there to sweep out the lair of the Liouvía; then mix together the honey and the milk, and hide thee close by. When the Liouvía comes, she will eat half the honey and milk, and then she will leave her den, saying, 'Let him to whom I owe this kindness show himself; I would see him.' Then," continued the old man, "when she has said this, leave thy hiding-place, and say, 'Here I am.' She will ask thee how she can reward thee. Reply that thou wouldst have a cabbage, and she will give thee leave to choose one. Choose three of the finest, and eat them thyself, for they are very wholesome, and on thy way back come to me, and I will give thee another for the invalid."

The young man did precisely what the old man advised. In the afternoon, just two hours before sunset, the Liouvía came home, making known her approach by the noise she made in lashing her tail. She ate half of what the youth had brought, and then came out, saying, "Let him to whom I owe this kindness show himself," and the youth came out, saying, "Here I am," and it all fell out as the old man had foretold.

When they had become better acquainted, the Liouvía said to the boy, "You can come here as often as you like, and without fear." (Now this was the road that led to the abode of the Beauty of the Earth.) He then took his cabbages and left, and on

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●539 the way back he met the old man, who gave him what he had promised. When he arrived he gave it to the king.

The patient ate the cabbage, and declared himself cured; but, after a few days, he pretended to have a relapse. The king having asked him what he should do for him, he replied, "What I require is the Beauty of the Earth; tell this boy to go and fetch her."

"So many kings have gone, and have never returned."

"Well, if he refuses to go, threaten him."

The youth passed the day in tears, and knew not what to do. But at night the old man again appeared to him in a dream, and said, "Dry thy tears; this is what thou must do. Ask of the king a thousand lambs, four rams, a hundred loads of wheat, a hundred of honey, and ten brooms. On arriving kill the lambs, but it must be at noon, for then the wild beasts are not on guard, save the lions. There are two doors, one within the other, each guarded by two lions. When thou hast passed the outer door, throw the lambs to the eagles, the wheat to the ants, the honey to the bees; and when thou comest to the inner door, throw the four rams to the lions. Then enter without fear, but do not forget to sweep the walls, or they will fall upon you and crush you, and when you come to the door of the Beauty's room, you must sweep that too. All these animals, after having eaten, will ask thee what recompense they can make for what you have done for them. Ask of the lions a hair, of the bees, the ants, and the eagles, a feather each.

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The youth did all that the old man told him. 539
After eating, the animals cried, "Show thyself, O our benefactor; we would see thee!"

When he showed himself, they gave him a hair and three feathers, saying, "Each time that thou requirest our services, burn a feather or a hair, and we will be with thee."

Armed with the hair and the feathers, the youth, after having carefully swept the door, entered the apartment of the Beauty of the Earth. The Beauty soon appeared, attended by eleven maidens, and asked him, "Who art thou? What seekest thou here?"

"I am a man, as you may see, and I have come to carry thee off."

"So many others," she replied, laughing, "have come, and have not been able to carry me off." Then, going out of the room, she called the lions and asked them, "Why did you let this man come in?"

"Because," they answered, "we only get from you bad meat, and very little of that, while he has given a whole ram to each of us."

She then asked the eagles, "Why did you let this man come in?"

"Because," they replied, "he gave to each of us a lamb, while you left us without any food."

She next asked the same question of the bees and the ants. The former replied, "You gave us but wax, and he has given us honey;" and the latter, "You gave us only crumbs of mouldy bread, and he has given us corn."

She then asked the walls and doors, "Why did you let him come in?"

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539 "Because," they replied, "thou hast never swept us, while he has made us clean."

Then the Beauty of the Earth said to the son of the Vlach, "I will set you three tasks, and if you accomplish them I will be yours."

"Agreed," said the youth.

"This is the first. I will heap up together a quantity of wheat, barley, rye, and earth, and thou must separate them in one night."

"I will separate them."

"This is the second task. Thou must go to the two mountains which open and shut, and bring me thence some of the Water of Life."[1]

"I will bring it."

"Here is the third task. I will cover myself with a veil; these eleven maidens will do the same, and if you can distinguish me among them, I will be yours."

"Very good," replied the youth.

In order to accomplish the first task, he burnt the feather which had been given to him by the ants. "Can you," he asked, "separate all these grains of wheat, barley, rye, and earth in one night?"

"Certainly," replied the ants. So our hero lay down and slept. He awoke very early in the morning, but seeing all the grains in separate heaps, he had another nap, from which he was awoke by the Beauty of the Earth, who had just got up.

[1] The late Mr. Geldart, in the little book before referred to, translated this as "Deathless Water." I venture, however, to think that the Water of Life, the Oriental myth concerning which is related in a subsequent chapter, is here referred to. In a following story (p. 334) the hero is restored to life with a draught of "swallow's milk," also brought from a mountain which opened and shut.

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"Let me sleep," he replied, "I haven't closed my eyes all night." But in a moment she came back again to the youth, saying: 539

"You have accomplished the first task, now let us see about the others."

For the second task he burnt the feather given to him by the eagles, who immediately appeared. Said he, "I would go to draw Water of Life from the two mountains which open and shut, but we must be there at noon, for then only do they remain open for half an hour."

He took a bottle, and they started. Arrived near the mountain, the eagles took the youth up on their wings, and carried him in; and with his bottle filled, he returned to the Beauty of the Earth.

For the third task he burnt the feather given to him by the bees, and when they appeared, he asked them, "What shall I do to recognise the Beauty of the Earth when she is in the midst of the eleven maidens, and all are covered with a similar veil?"

"Let them be veiled," replied the Queen Bee; "I will alight on the head of the Beauty, and thou must seize and hold her fast, for if once thou let her go, even I could not find her again."

Accordingly, when the maidens entered, all veiled and dancing in a ring, the youth seized the one on whom the bee poised, and did not let her escape. So finally the Beauty was obliged to accept him for her husband.

When they arrived at the palace of the king, he gave her to the invalid, and our hero resumed his place among the servants. On the following day the

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539 patient begged the king to kill the youth, and as he refused, he went himself down stairs, found our hero asleep, and slew him with his own hand. The Beauty, hearing of this, also went down, and found out from one of the servants, who was very fond of him, where his body was. She then had the dead youth carried to her own chamber, where she opened his mouth, and poured in some of the Water of Life, and he revived. Having thus "died and come to life again" he was able to tell the king who he was, and what his companion had done to him while coming from his father's house. Then, by the king's command, and in his presence, they led the pretended invalid outside the town to a place where were four trees. Having bent a branch from each, they tied him to them by his hands and feet, and the branches when let go tore him into four quarters.

Some time afterwards our hero wished to pay a visit to his father and mother. Before leaving, he gave to the queen a dress which he had bought for the Beauty of the Earth, and begged her not to give it to the latter until his return.

One day, however, when they were dancing, the Beauty refused to take part in the dance unless the dress left by her husband were given to her. Then all the maidens went together and begged the queen to give it to her. She refused, but the youngest went and took it by stealth. As soon as she had put it on, she said to the dancers:

"Farewell. Tell my husband, when he returns, that, until he has worn out three pairs of iron shoes, he need not hope to find me."

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When our hero returned, they repeated to him the words of his wife. Without losing a moment, he bought three pairs of iron shoes, and set out in search of her. On the spot at which he had arrived when the last pair was worn out he built a khan, where travellers might eat and drink without paying, and he questioned them as to what they had seen on their journeys. One said, "Not far from here I had let my water-cask fall, and it rolled to the bottom of a ravine. When I went down to find it, I saw twelve maidens bathing in a fountain." 539

At these words our hero rushed out of doors, and the traveller having described to him the spot, he approached the bathers unperceived, seized the dress of his wife, and threw it into the fire which they had kindled in order to wash their clothes. Her dress burnt, the Beauty had no means of escaping him again, for in it was contained all her magic power, and she returned with her husband to the king.

The story of the "Maiden promised to the Sun" is made up of two separate episodes, both of which have their variants in the folk-lore of the Greeks and Bulgarians. In the Greek variant[1] of the first part of the story, the maiden is stolen by a ray of sunshine which enters through the key-hole, and carries her to his master. Two hares are commissioned to take her back to her mother, who silvers the tail of the surviving one as a reward for its services. A Bul- [538 171]

[1] Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, No. 41.

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539 garian ballad[1] also describes the stealing of a maiden by the Sun. Prayers addressed to Nature-powers, as to the Sun in this story, are not uncommon in Greek and Albanian folk-tales, though the name of God is occasionally substituted for or added to them.[2] The following is, however, the only instance of the Sun or other power voluntarily relinquishing his captive. In a Greek parallel to the second part of the story, [538 171] Τὸ μαχαίρι της σφαγῆς, &c., "The Knife of Slaughter,"[3] a Gipsy woman is substituted for the slave. The incident of the man transformed to stone by a spell is of frequent occurrence, as, for instance, in the story from the island of Astypaleá, Τὸ χρουσὸ ἄλογο, "The Golden Horse,"[4] and in the Gipsy story of "The King's Son and the Daughter of the Dervish."[5]

The Maiden who was Promised to the Sun.[6]

There was, and there was not.[7] There was once a queen who had no child, and she prayed continually the Sun to give her one, were it only a girl; when [582] she should be twelve years old,[8] she added, the Sun could have her back again.

Finally the queen had a daughter, and she went

[1] Dozon, *Chants Bulgares*, No. xii.

[2] See, for instance, Von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, Nos. iv. v. liv. and cxli.

[3] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 49, translated by Geldart in the little volume somewhat too ambitiously entitled *The Folk-lore of Modern Greece.*

[4] *Ibid.* p. 80. [5] See below, p. 370.

[6] Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, No. vii.

[7] The usual preface to an Albanian folk-tale. The Magyar formula, *Volt, nem volt*, has the same meaning.

[8] The marriageable age.

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to school every day. One day, as she was on her way thither, the Sun said to her: 539

"Remind thy mother to give me what she promised."

The girl repeated what the Sun had said. Her mother told her to say to him, "It is still too young;" and she gave this answer to the Sun.

On her twelfth birthday, as she was going to school, the Sun carried her off to his house. The mother awaited her daughter's return, but, seeing nothing of her, she concluded that the Sun had stolen her, as he had threatened. So she had the house painted black,[1] barred the door, which she never allowed to be opened, and sat all alone, weeping and lamenting.

The Sun had at his house, among other creatures, a Koutchédra. She, scenting the maiden, said, "I smell kingly flesh."

"It is my daughter," replied the Sun; "so see that thou touch her not."

One day he sent her into the garden to cut a cabbage, and, as she was cutting it, she said to herself, "Just as this cabbage cracks, so my heart is rent at the remembrance of my mother," and she burst into tears.

The Sun, who had observed this, asked her, "What hast thou to weep for? Dost thou grieve for thy mother?"

"I am dying of grief for her," she replied.

"Well, if thou wilt go home, call the animals that they may carry thee."

[1] See pp. 221 and 261.

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●539 She called several of the animals, and the Sun, on his side, sent for the Koutchédra, and said to her, "If thou bearest this maiden, and art hungry on the way, what wilt thou eat?"

"Herself."

"If thou art thirsty, what wilt thou drink?"

"Her blood."

Seeing that the Koutchédra was not be depended upon, the Sun told the maiden to call another animal. She called the Stag.

The Sun asked him, "Wilt thou carry this maiden home?"

"Willingly."

"If thou art hungry on the way, what wilt thou eat?"

"The green grass."

"If thou art thirsty, what wilt thou drink?"

"The cool water; only when we arrive her mother must give me three *okas* of hay."

The Stag took the maiden and placed her on his horns. As they went, he was hungry, and said to her, "Climb on this tree, and if any one passing asks you to come down, be sure not to do so before I return." So the girl climbed up the tree.

Presently there came by a Koutchédra, who, looking this way and that, perceived the maiden, and begged her to come down, so that they might gossip together.

"I shall not come down; I'm afraid you'd eat me."

"I won't eat you."

"Well, go home, and come back later."

The Koutchédra went off, and when the maiden

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saw the Stag coming back, she cried, "Make haste, for there is a Koutchédra coming to eat me." 539

She mounted again on the horns of the Stag, who set off at a gallop, and to every one they met he said, "If you meet a Koutchédra, don't betray us, but tell her that the Stag and the maiden have taken another road."

Arrived at the house of the queen, they knocked at the door, but no one answered. Then, while still knocking, the girl cried, "Open, *Néné!* (mother). It is thy daughter!"

At last the mother opened, and, seeing her daughter, was beside herself with joy.

The maidens of the quarter, hearing of her return, came to the queen and said, "Let her come with us, to walk about and amuse herself," and the queen allowed her. They went together towards a garden, and this garden had a big gate, which they could not open. But hardly had the queen's daughter touched it than it opened wide, and drew her in, closing again upon her immediately. Her companions waited for her, but seeing that the gate did not re-open, they returned in great distress to relate to her mother what had happened. And the mother became as desolate as before.

The maiden meanwhile walked about the garden, where she found men and animals all turned to stone. Among them there was a king, who held in his hand a paper on which she read as follows:

"The woman who is able to pass three days, three nights, and three weeks without sleeping, will I wed, for then shall I come again to life."

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539 So she began to abstain from sleep, taking books and reading them. The three days, three nights, and two of the weeks had already passed when there came by a man selling slaves. She put her head out of the window[1] and asked him how much he wanted for a female slave.

"Whatever you please to give me," was the reply.

So she threw to the merchant a handful of sequins, let down a cord, and the slave fastening herself to it, she drew her up. She then said to her:

"Thou must watch for two or three nights, so that I may sleep a little, for it is long since I closed my eyes, because of the promise contained in the paper which the king holds; but thou must awaken me when the king comes to life. So after relating to her at length what was written in the paper, she laid down and slept. But the slave hastened to take off her clothes and put them on herself, so that when the king should come to life, he might marry her instead.

The three weeks passed, the king came to life.

"Who art thou?" he asked of the slave.

"I am she who has for three days, three nights, and three weeks remained without sleep," she replied; and he married her. He then asked who was the woman who lay sleeping there.

"It is a slave whom I bought because I was all alone."

When the maiden woke up, the king said to his wife, "What shall we do with this slave?"

"Send me to keep the geese," replied the princess,

[1] Probably of the *kotla*, or tower, built at one of the angles of the garden wall.

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who had heard him. So they built a hut for her to live in. But she did nothing but weep and recount her misfortunes. The king having heard her once or twice lamenting in this way, approached and asked her why she wept; so the maiden told him her story. Then the king took her for his wife, and as for the slave, he cut her into a thousand pieces, the biggest of which was not larger than that!

539

The following story strikingly illustrates the fatalistic beliefs entertained by the Albanians in common with the generality of Orientals. The incident of the substituted letter is of common occurrence in Greek as well as Albanian folk-tale.[1]

[829 538]

The Story of the Child; or, The Fates.[2]

There was once an old man and an old woman who had no children. At last, after I don't know how many years, God gave them a son, and their joy had no bounds when they found that the Lord had at length thus remembered them. Two nights had passed since it was born, and the third was coming on when the Three Women would appear to assign to the infant its destiny.[3]

The same night it rained so heavily that no one dared put his nose out of doors for fear of being carried off by the water and drowned. However, who should arrive in the midst of the rain but a Pasha,

[1] See, for instance, "The Three Brothers and the Dev," p. 156; Dozon's "La Boîte Merveilleuse," *Manuel, &c.*, No. xviii., *Contes*, No. xi.; and Hahn's Tinote story of "Kosta and the Drakos," in the Νεοελληνικὴ Παραμυθία.

[2] Dozon, *Langue Chkipe*, No. xx.; *Contes Albanais*, No. xiii. [3] See p. 244.

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539 who asked the old man for shelter. The latter, seeing that he was a man of importance, made him welcome, led him to the hearth, made up a great fire, and gave him to eat of the best he had. He then piled up in the corner a number of things so as to make room for the Pasha's horse, for part of the house was roofless.

The Pasha, warmed and fed, had now nothing to do but sleep. But how could he sleep when he had on his person I don't know how many thousands of piastres?

That night, as we have said, the Three Women were expected to determine the child's destiny. Well, they came, and sat down by the fire. The Pasha, when he saw them, was horribly frightened, but he kept quiet, and made no noise whatever.

Let us leave the Pasha, and attend to the Women.

The first said: "This child will not live long; he will die young."

The second said: "This child will live long, but he will die by the hand of his father."

Then the third said: "My sisters, what are you saying?—This child will live long enough to kill the Pasha here, to strip him of his power, and to marry his daughter."

Now, what the last had said must come to pass. They remained but a moment longer, and then disappeared.

The Pasha, who had heard everything, shivered with terror. He couldn't sleep a wink all night, and only thought of finding means of killing the baby. Next morning he said to the old man:

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"I also am childless; wilt thou not give me thy child? I will pay thee what thou wilt." 539

"How could that be?" replied the old man. "We have so longed for the birth of this child, and you would take him from us. Never!"

"Yes, yes; you will let me have him," said the Pasha, and he poured out of his bag three thousand piastres, which he offered to the father. When he refused to take them, the Pasha pulled out another three thousand piastres, because he was determined to kill the child. The sight of these six thousand piastres decided the father, but not the mother, who would not consent even after the Pasha offered another three thousand piastres.

Then the old man said to his wife, "What are you thinking of, wife? We don't even know if the child will live or not. Why, then, not give him up, and take all this money in exchange? Supposing we had had no child? But at all events thou knowest that the child will be better cared for than by thee, and we can go now and then to see him." And with such words he persuaded his wife.

To make a long story short, they took the nine thousand piastres, and gave up the child in his cradle to the Pasha, who placed it on his horse before him. Then they could not help sobbing.

"Don't fret," said the Pasha, "and come to see the child whenever you please."

As he went, however, he only thought of the best way of getting rid of the child, for he couldn't find in his heart to draw his poniard and cut its head off. What did he do? As he passed by a river, he took

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539 the cradle, threw it in, and then hurried off, so as not to hear the baby's cries.

The child, thought he, must have been drowned. On the contrary, however, it was saved, for on falling into the water its body went under, while its head remained above, so that it could breathe, and after being borne along by the current, it was finally left among some bushes which grew on the borders of a forest.

In this forest a herdsman kept his goats, and he was in the habit of leading them to the river every day about noon, to give them water. On this day, one of the goats, leaving the flock, went towards the baby, whose cries she heard. She placed herself over him, and put one of her teats in his mouth so that he could suck, and when he was satisfied she rejoined her companions.

When the time came to milk the goats, they saw that this goat had no milk, and the master said to the shepherd, "Why dost thou milk the goats in secret? Hast thou not enough to eat, that thou takest the milk which belongs to me?"

The poor shepherd protested with all his might that he knew not how it had happened. At last, the master said, "You stay here and work, and I will look after the goats this afternoon."

So he took the goats to graze outside the forest, and, towards sunset, as he led them to the river to drink, he saw the goat whose milk had failed leave the rest, straddle its legs, and give suck to the baby. Astonished, he went up to her, perceived the cradle with the new-born baby in it, and carried

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it home, acknowledging that his shepherd was not to blame. 539

It was not long before it was discovered to whom the child belonged, and the finder gave him up to the old man (who lived in the same village), so that he might take care of him and let him have him again when he was grown up.

To be brief, this is what happened. The boy, brought back by the old man to the flockmaster who had found him, showed himself so intelligent and so wise that he excelled all the other servants of this man, and was put over them.

One day the Pasha came to this village, of which he was the lord, and he lodged in the house where the young man lived. The latter, almost from the first day, pleased him and won his heart by his beauty, his modesty, and all his other good qualities.

On one occasion, the Pasha was praising the youth to the peasant, who said, "If you knew his story, you would be surprised in another way," and he told him all about it from beginning to end. What was the consternation of the Pasha when he discovered by this history that it was the child he had thrown into the river.

So what does he do? He hits upon another way of getting rid of him, and with that end he writes a letter to his wife, in which he says, "Order the bearer of this letter to be put to death, and when he is killed let them fire a salute, so that I may know and be glad."

The letter ready, he tells to the peasant that he wants a trusty man to take it to his wife.

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• 539 "Your lordship," replied the villager, "knows that I have no one more trustworthy than the young man of whom we spoke."

"Precisely. I had him in my mind. Let him take my horse, and let him come to me for the letter."

The youth took it, mounted the horse, and set out. On the road he was thirsty, and having found a spring, he dismounted from the horse, drank his fill, and lay down to take a nap. While he slept, a negro appeared, took the letter out of his bosom, and wrote another to this effect.

"The man whom I send to thee thou must receive with all honour, prepare for him a magnificent feast, and then marry him to our daughter. At the moment the wedding crowns are placed on their [585] heads[1] let a salute be fired, so that I may hear and take part in the rejoicings."

The letter finished, the negro folded and sealed it as the other had been, and then placed it in the bosom of the youth, who was not long in waking. Unconscious of what had happened, he continued his journey, and delivered the letter forthwith to the Pasha's lady. She had no sooner read it than she began to treat him with great politeness, gave orders for a great feast, and married him to her daughter, while salutes were fired by the gunners. The Pasha, hearing in the village the sound of the guns, concluded that the youth was dead. "At last I have got rid of him," he said to himself. So you may

[1] "Placing the crowns," being a part of the Christian marriage ceremony, is somewhat out of place in the wedding of a Pasha's daughter.

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imagine what was his dismay when, on his return home several days afterwards, he saw him alive, and especially on finding him married to his daughter.

So again he cudgels his brain to find a means of doing away with him. After thinking some time, he said to a certain blacksmith :

"To-morrow I will send a youth for such and such a thing. Tell him to wait till thou hast made it; then, take thy big hammer and give him two or three blows with it, so that he die. That done, cut off his head, put it in a handkerchief, and give it to another youth whom I will send."

In the evening, having called his son-in-law, he said to him, "To-morrow thou must get up very early, and go to such and such a blacksmith, who will give thee something which I have ordered."

"I will not fail," replied the young man, and he went to bed. At daybreak he rose to go to the blacksmith, when his wife said it was too early, and persuaded him to lie down and go to sleep again. The Pasha, however, having also awoke, called his son and asked him if his brother-in-law had gone out.

"I will go and see," he replied, and he went to the apartments of his brother-in-law, whom he awoke, asking him if he had yet been to the blacksmith's.

"No," he said, "but I will go immediately."

But the Pasha's son thought to himself that, instead of waiting till his brother-in-law was dressed, it was better to go himself, so he went. Seeing him in the distance, the blacksmith took his big hammer, and with one blow he killed him; and, after cutting off his head, he tied it up in a handkerchief. Soon after-

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539 wards the Pasha's son-in-law arrived to fetch the article ordered. The blacksmith gave him the handkerchief, which he carried to his father-in-law.

When the Pasha saw him alive before his eyes, he trembled in every limb; but what was his grief when, on opening the handkerchief, he found the head of his son! However, he made no sign, but gave this order to his groom—"To-night, if the horses fight, leave them alone, so that my son-in-law may go down and quiet them. Do thou, however, be behind the door, with a bludgeon in thy hand, and the moment he appears, smash his skull."

"Very well," was the reply.

During the night, the horses having begun to fight, the Pasha called to his son-in-law to go and quiet them, but his wife persuaded him not to get up, saying that they would soon stop. The Pasha, who thought that this time he was really dead, went out of his room and crept softly towards the stable. The groom thought it was the son-in-law coming, and with one blow struck him dead.

Then the youth took the power into his own hands, and became Pasha in place of the other. And so it all fell out as the Third Woman had foretold, at the time of his birth, that he should supplant the Pasha.

Our story is done. The youth was lucky, and may we be luckier still!

538 171 The following story of The Three Brothers and the Three Sisters has many parallels in Greek folk-tale. In an Epirote variant the sisters are married respect-

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ively to a lion, a tiger, and an eagle,[1] and in the others we have besides the "Mother of Night," the Mother of the Sun, of the Moon, and of the Wind, who protect the princess against their own sons.[2] 538 171

The Three Brothers and the Three Sisters.[3]

There were, and there were not. There were once three brothers who had three sisters, and they married them, and gave the first to the Sun, the second to the Moon, and the third to the South Wind.[4] 539

Some time afterwards, I don't know how long, the brothers said to each other, "Let us go to our sisters and see how they fare." So without wasting time they made ready for the journey, took their provisions, and set off. As they were going the night overtook them when they were on a plain near a mountain. So they stopped there, took out their provisions, and made a fire. Supper finished, the eldest of the brothers said to the others:

"Lie down and sleep, and I will watch and keep guard for fear that some one might come to rob or kill us."

So the two younger ones slept, and he mounted guard. Presently a Koutchédra, seeing the light, came up, and, her mouth watering at the sight of the men, she threw herself upon the one who was watching, to eat him. But he with a shot from

[1] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια; No. 12, *Gr. und Alb. Märchen*, No. 25.
[2] *Ibid.* No. 10.
[3] Dozon, *Langue Chkipe*, No. xxiv., *Contes Albanais*, No. xv.
[4] *Youga.* In Albanian, as in Servian and Bulgarian, the moon and the south are masculine, and from this circumstance M. Dozon was of opinion that this story is of Slav origin. [821]

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539 his gun stretched her dead on the ground. Then, drawing his poniard, he cut off her head, which he hid in his bag, after throwing her body into a ditch so that his brothers might not see it. He then resumed his watch. After some time he awoke them, and all three continued their journey.

On the second night they found themselves in another place. After having lighted a fire and supped, two of the brothers lay down, guarded by the second, who, as soon as a Koutchédra came up killed her, as his brother had done.

The third night, the youngest said to the others, "Go to sleep; it is now my turn to watch."

"No," they replied, "thou art too young; one of us must do that duty."

However, he would not consent, and so it was he who kept watch that night, and was, in his turn, attacked by a Koutchédra. As he was but young, he fired too soon, and when, having drawn his dagger, he threw himself on the Koutchédra in order to finish her, she, in a convulsion of pain, put out the light with a stroke of her tail. How was he to kindle it again; for he had not the materials? A fire happened to be burning on the top of the mountain, so he went towards it.

On the way he met the Mother of the Night, and asked her where she was going.

"I am going to make the day," she replied.

"Wait," he said, "until I have got a light."

"Very well, I will wait." But as he did not trust her word, he bound her so that she could not make the day.

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When he came near the fire, he saw upon it an enormous cauldron with twelve handles. He lifted it up, and lighted his torch. By chance the brigands, to whom it belonged, arrived at that moment, and asked him who he was.

"A traveller," he replied. "My light had gone out, and I came here to re-light it."

"But how," they asked again, "did you manage to lift the cauldron? The twelve of us, when we want to take it off the fire, take hold of a handle each, and it is as much as we can do to lift it."

"I didn't find it very heavy," replied the youth, and he lifted it again.

"You must be the most valiant of men," said the brigands, "and you are the man to help us to rob the king."

So they set off, all the thirteen, to rob the king. Having made a hole in the wall, they entered the stable in order to steal the horses, and the boy remained outside. Left alone, he began to reflect.

"Until now," he said to himself, "I have never committed the smallest theft. There is but one thing to do—kill these men and run away." So he began to shout, "Quick! save yourselves; we are discovered!"

The robbers came out as fast as they could, but as each one appeared he cut off his head. After having thus killed every one, he entered the lower court, and stuck his poniard in the ground. Then, having relighted his torch, he unbound the Mother of the Night, and, returning to his brothers, they set out again together.

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539 But let us leave them and go back to the king. When he arose, the sight of the twelve corpses and the dagger in the middle of the court astonished him greatly. Then he gave orders that a *khan* should be built at the cross roads, where every traveller would be lodged and fed gratis on condition of his relating all that he had done in his life, whether good or evil. This order was obeyed. Many people came to the *khan*, and lodged and slept without paying a *para*.

Chance willed it that the brothers too came and stopped at the *khan*. In the morning, as they were going away, they asked the *khandji* (innkeeper) how much was to pay. He replied, "Here we take no money; we only require every man to tell the story of his life, whether good or bad."

So the eldest told the story of what he had done, and among other things how he had killed a Koutchédra, and the second the same. But when it was the turn of the third, and he came to the adventure with the Koutchédra, and the robbers he had killed when they were in the act of robbing the king, the *khandji* cried, "Thou art the man whom the king seeks."

The two eldest brothers went their way, and we don't know what became of them. As for the youngest, the king, having heard his story, gave him his daughter in marriage, and made him the first person in the kingdom.

In that country it was customary, on the occasion of a royal wedding, to set at liberty several prisoners. Among the people then in prison was one half iron and half man, who had not been set free with the

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others, and who cried and complained continually. 539 Moved with compassion, the bridegroom begged the king to set him also at liberty. He was, however, condemned for life, and the bridegroom had to beg very hard before he would give orders to strike off his fetters. At the moment they were taken off the king's daughter was close by, and in a moment he had seized her and swallowed her, after which he instantly disappeared.

Horrified at this misfortune, the king drew his sword to kill his son-in-law. But he said, "I can find her again and bring her back, only you must give me a pair of iron shoes and an iron staff (because he had to undertake a terribly long journey), and I promise before the year is out to return with your daughter." And when the king had had made for him the things he required, he set out.

That evening he went straight to his sister, who had married the Sun.

"Who is there?" she asked, when he knocked at the door.

"So and so," he replied. The sister opened the door, and great was her joy on seeing her brother. But directly afterwards the Sun came, and, fearing that he might devour the new arrival, she pushed him into a chest. Hardly had the Sun entered than he asked, "What is there for supper?"

"Whatever there may be," was the reply.

"I smell fresh meat," said the Sun.

"No, you are mistaken; there is no flesh here," she replied again. But seeing that he began to look about for it, she added, "It were better for thee to

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539 eat me than to eat my brother, who came in just before thee."

"Let him show himself, and I will not hurt him."

So he came out of his hiding-place, and on seeing his brother-in-law the Sun shared the joy of his wife. He asked them if by chance they knew where Half-man-half-iron lived.

"No," they replied, "we know nothing about him; go and ask the Moon."

To make a long story short, the next evening he arrived at the house of his sister who had married the Moon; but they could tell him nothing, and so he went on to see the third, the wife of the South Wind. When he asked her the same question, she replied, "I don't know. But to-morrow, before daybreak, take that road which you see up there, and in such and such a place you will find a falcon so big that he cannot fly. Come up to him very softly from behind, seize him by the head, and say to him, 'I will kill thee if thou tell me not where Half-man-half-iron lives.' Then when he has told thee that, and also what thou must do, set out to seek him."

Accordingly, at daybreak, he mastered the falcon, who said, "I know where he is, but thou must give me so many *okas* of meat and then wait till my wings be grown, because I am old."

So he waited till the falcon's wings were grown, and collected a supply of meat to feed him with while he was flying, for the place they were going to was a mountain so high, so high, that no man had ever climbed it. They called it "The Other World," and

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it was there that Half-man-half-iron lived with the 539 king's daughter.

At last he bestrode the falcon, placed before him the meat, and the bird began its flight. As they ascended, the youth gave him from time to time pieces of meat, but presently the supply was exhausted, and he had no more to put in his beak.

"I want meat," said the falcon.

"I have no more; it is all finished."

"You must give me meat, or I shall let you fall."

At his wits' end, the young man cut off a piece from his thigh and gave it to him, and then, as he still clamoured for more, from the other thigh. Arrived at the summit, the falcon, seeing his rider all bloody, vomited the pieces of flesh which he had swallowed, and the young man, on putting them back in their places, found his wounds healed.

Close to the spot on which they had alighted was a palace; he knocked at the door, and it was his wife, the king's daughter, who opened it. She knew him at once, and cried in her joy, "It is thou, my husband! How hast thou come hither, and who has carried thee?"

He told her of all his adventures, and while they were talking Half-man-half-iron came home. Fearing for her husband's life, she took him up to the loft and hid him there. He came in and asked:

"What is there for supper?"

"What there may be."

"I smell fresh meat," and as he said this, he chanced to see through a hole the man in the loft. In a second

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539 he had caught hold of him, and drunk his blood. As for his skin and bones, he threw them out of doors.

The falcon saw these remains, and said:

"That is the young man whom I brought here. Let us be quick and fetch some swallow's milk so as to bring him back to life." And without loss of time he spread his wings, and sailed off towards two mountains which opened and shut, for it was there that swallows' milk was to be found. He arrived, filled his mouth, and returned as fast as he could. Hardly had the milk touched the lips of the youth than he came back to life. Entering the house, he said to his wife: "Pretend to be ill, and then say to Half-man-half-iron: 'We have lived so long together, and you have never yet revealed to me where your strength lies. I am going to die, so you need not fear to tell me.' Then he will tell you." Then the youth went away to sleep, for fear of being eaten up a second time.

So the king's daughter pretended to be ill, and questioned Half-man-half-iron as to where his strength lay. "In the broom," he replied.

When he had gone out she burnt the broom, but to no purpose, for his strength was not affected. Again she pretended to be ill, and pressed him with questions. Then he said: "My strength is in a wild boar which lives on such and such a mountain. It has a silver tusk; in this tusk is a hare, the hare has in its inside three pigeons, and in them resides my strength." This said, he went about his business. The princess went out, called her husband, and repeated to him what she had learnt. Without losing a moment, he set out for the mountain, where, finding a shepherd

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tending his sheep, he asked him where the great boar had his lair. 539

"Don't speak so loud," said the shepherd, "or he will hear you and come and devour us." But he made still more noise, so that at last the boar came up and rushed upon him, but he drew his dagger and defended himself bravely. While they were fighting thus, the boar cried:

"If I had only a root to sharpen my tusks with, thou would see!"

"And I," retorted the young man, "if I had only a cake of fine flour, some fried fish, and a jar of wine, *thou* would see too!"

In a moment the shepherd had brought what they mentioned. After they both had eaten, the boar his root, and the youth his cake of fine bread and fried fish, the fight began again, and continued till the youth had slain the boar. He looked at his tusks, saw that one was of gold and silver, and, having split it, he found inside a hare, and, having opened its stomach, he found inside three pigeons.

Let us now return to Half-man-half-iron. Hardly had the boar expired, than he felt bad; when the hare had been opened he felt worse, and could hardly stand. Then the youth cut the throats of two of the pigeons which he had found, and, holding the third in his hand, he returned to the house of Half-man-half-iron. The latter, when he saw him, tried to rise, but could not; and when the young man killed the last pigeon, he died on the spot.

The youth took his wife, mounted with her on the falcon's back, and descended from the mountain. They

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539 returned to the king, who, on seeing them, was quite overjoyed, and gave a splendid feast in their honour.

This is the end of the story.

[538] The following comic story is a good illustration of the adage, "Set a thief to catch a thief."

Mosko and Tosko.

There were once two brothers, who were robbers by trade, and they had a sister for whom they had long sought a husband of their own quality. Years passed, and one fine day they met on the road a man whom they asked, "Where goest thou? Wilt thou join us, and have our sister for thy wife? We will give her to thee, for we have long wanted a husband for her."

"Done," said the other, "and that shall not prevent our being comrades." So they gave him their sister.

One day, as they had not seen their sister for some time, Mosko and Tosko went to pay her a visit. The husband happened to be absent, having gone to the mill. You must know, however, that there was some [251] *pastourma*[1] hanging in the loft.[2] Arrived in the house, Mosko said to his sister: "My dear sister, give me some water." She went to fetch the water-barrel, and gave it to him. After having drunk, Mosko asked Tosko if he were not likewise thirsty. "Yes," he replied, and his brother passed him the barrel. Then Mosko said to Tosko:

[1] Smoke-dried meat.

[342] [2] *Taras*, the space between the uncelled rafters of a cottage and the roof.

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"Hast thou seen it?"

"Yes."

"Hast thou seen it?" he asked again.

"Yes."

"Hast thou seen it?" he asked a third time.

"Yes," and this said, they left.

When the husband came home, he asked his wife if any one had been there.

"My brothers," she replied, "have been; it was long since I had seen them."

"Did they ask anything of thee?"

"They asked for some water to drink."

"Didst thou give them some?"

"I did."

"Did they both drink?"

"They did, and, while they drank, they said to each other, 'Hast thou seen it?' 'Yes.'"

"Nothing more?"

"They said nothing more."

The evening had now come, and the couple went to bed. During the night the two brothers returned. Mosko, standing at the door, imitated the mewing of a cat, while Tosko entered the house. The husband, hearing the voice of a cat, asked his wife where the *pastourma* was.

"In the loft," she replied.

Tosko, hearing this, climbed up hastily into the loft, seized the meat, and both made off. The husband, however, got up to see if the meat was in its place, and, finding it gone, he went in pursuit of the brothers. He overtook Tosko, to whom Mosko, tired of carrying the *pastourma*, had given it.

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•539 "Thou must be tired," he said to his brother-in-law; "give me the meat and I will carry it," and Tosko, thinking it was his brother, gave up the *pastourma*. Soon afterwards, Tosko, coming up with Mosko, asked him where the meat was.

"But thou hast it," he replied. "Hast thou forgotten that thou asked me for it, and I did give it to thee?"

"You gave me nothing of the kind," returned Tosko. Soon, however, it dawned upon him that this had been a trick of the husband's.

"Wait here for me," he said to his brother, "and I will bring it back." So he made haste, and got first to his sister's house. When the husband arrived, Tosko feigned to be his wife, and mimicked so well that the man gave the *pastourma* into his hands.

Having rejoined Mosko, they sat down together, and prepared to cook the meat. But the husband, who soon found out the trick that had been played him, went again in search of them, and finding them in the act of cooking their booty, what does he do? Well, there was close by a tree which had been half burnt, and with the charred wood he blackens his face till he looks like a negro, and then goes and sits opposite the couple grinning and showing his teeth. Tosko, who was turning the spit, no sooner caught sight of him than, taking him for a *lougät*,[1] he in a fright woke his brother, who was lying asleep, and both ran off as fast as their legs could carry them.

The husband took possession of his property, and

[1] See preceding chapter p 280.

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returned home. Said he to his wife, "Go and invite your brothers to dinner." 539

Arrived at their house, she said, "We beg you to come and dine with us," and they followed her home. They began to eat the *pastourma*, but tried in vain to chew it, for it was not cooked.

"How is this," they asked, "that you give us raw meat?"

"It is the same meat you had on the spit the other evening," replied the husband. "I have served it to you precisely as you roasted it yourselves."

"What! Was it thou who gave us such a horrible fright?"

"I myself. But let us be comrades all the same."

And comrades they were.

Though the Albanians cannot be called a musical people, singing is the favourite pastime of both men and women. Their airs have little variety, being for the most part monotonous recitatives, and the singer's merit depends upon his success in rivalling the violin, mandolin, or flute, by which his song is accompanied, in prolonging the last note. The songs are generally long ballads, which recount the victories of the tribe, the doughty deeds of ancestors, of the family, or the exploits of some national hero. For in the songs of the Skipetars the later history of the country is preserved, and in those of the Ghegs more particularly may be found the record of how they obstinately resisted, yard by yard, the Turkish advance into their mountains, and were only subdued at last by the

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533 173 overwhelming numbers and equal pertinacity of the foe. The record, too, of every insurrection, and they have been many, has thus from 1572 downwards been orally transmitted from generation to generation, keeping alive in the memory of the Albanians the heroism of their ancestors, and inciting them in their turn to similar deeds of daring.

533 538 The songs vary greatly in literary merit. Poetical talent seems now to have died out in the country, though formerly Albania had her national poets, the last of them (so far as I can ascertain), Hussein Mollah, having lived in the eighteenth century. The old ballads are consequently far superior to those of more recent date, which consist chiefly of detached couplets, and are very episodic, though they describe with sufficient accuracy the events they profess to record. In the more remote highlands some very ancient historical ballads are preserved, but unfortunately none of these have yet been collected.

One of the most striking songs of the Skipetars commemorates the revolution of 1572 under Ibrahim Pasha of Scutari. The result of this insurrection was the recognition by the Porte of its leader as Pasha of Scutari, he being the first Albanian since the conquest who had been allowed to assume that title. The song is, unfortunately, too long to give in full, but the following opening and concluding lines may give some idea of its spirit:—

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No! no! our country only must we mother call,
For on her breast she us has nourished all.
She is the wife we to our bosoms press,
Who wakes within our hearts love's tenderness.

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Where is the man, love of such mother, wife, 539
Who holds within his heart, counts not his life
As naught, as naught whatever he
May sacrifice, to keep his loved one free.

* * * * *

Come! Oh, ye generous sons, brave children, come!
And you, ye cherished husbands, hasten home.
Come to the arms of those who, with your fall,
Would have lost loved ones, country, home, and all!
Come back and rest from war's dread strife and din,
And teach your sons a hero's name to win!

The following ballad graphically describes a struggle 533
which took place in 1795 between the Ghegs under 173
Mahmoud Pasha of Scutari and the Tosks under Kourd Pasha of Berat.

Beat, beat, O valiant hearts of Ghegs, with noble pride! 539
The hosts of Tosks we've scattered far and wide; 173
For warrior Scutari has now at length,
With Roumeli's famed hero tried her strength.

To Hussein Mollah hear them call with glee,
"Now onward march, Tabácchi and Terzi,
Tosk has met Gheg. Come thou, our Laureate,
And make a song this fight to celebrate."

Kourd Pasha's at Berat, there let him bide;
Mean is his rank to stand Mahmoud beside;
What's he before Mahmoud Pasha, our lord?
How dares he 'gainst his master draw the sword?

Rebel is Kourd Pasha and *verlazi*,[1]
To his liege lord a traitor foul is he;
With fear he trembles when afar the drum,
Three hours[2] away, proclains Mahmoud doth come. [805 822]

[1] One who takes arms against his suzerain.
[2] Distance in the East is always calculated by time

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Scared at the sound, he in the tekkéh[1] hides,
His standards leaves, nor heeds what them betides;
Beard and moustache he tears with flowing tear,
And in a swoon at length he falls from fear.

Mahmoud his charger mounts, and riding out
His men before, now "Forward!" hear him shout;
"Forward with me! to-day, if Allah will,
I Kourd Pasha with my own hand will kill."

Now, like a roaring lion, where'er he goes,
With Allah's aid, in terror flee his foes;
The tekkéh of Baba Hussein before,
See how they rend from Tosks the spoils of war!

Veli escapes. Poor Tahir, from the rout
Into the mill thou fleest; there dost hold out.
It is in vain that bravely still thou fight;
How couldst thou stand against this vulture's might?

Death thee awaits, this day will be thy last,
Riddled with balls, thy troops are fleeing fast;
Long will it be before the Tosks forget
The valour of the Ghegs when last they met.

Now to his men hear Agha Rouka cry,
"Are ye then women, that from foe ye fly?
Of what avail the manly arms ye bear?
Of what avail the sabres bright ye wear?

Rally yourselves, as skirmishers in bands,
Fall on the Ghegs, and, with your curvéd brands,
Strike off their heads! Who falls the field upon
Wept is, but scorned who lives with honour gone!"

Naught heed they him, but in confusion fly.
Tosks of Berat! your sandals[2] go and tie!
Measure no more yourselves with Scutarine,
Who flees not, wields true gun, and sabre keen!

[346]

[1] A Dervish chapel.

[291]
[281]

[2] The hide shoes, with the hairy side turned inwards, worn generally in the mountains.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

The following little Tosk song refers to an unsuccessful rising in South Albania about 1835:— 538

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From Corfu they tidings bear,
Tafilbouz is landing here;
On Avlona's shore he lands,
Three detachments he commands.

To the mosque they crowd and shout,
"Hodo, from thy house come out!"
Now may Allah be his shield,
If to them should Hodo yield!

O Hodo, O Sadik, Bekir, and Karafili!
Simon the Liap's brave sons!
'Mid the rattle of the guns,
They have fall'n, unhappy ones!
May the rest be lucky!

The national songs, as well as the folk-tales, of the land of their forefathers are also sacredly cherished by those Albanians who, as before mentioned, for centuries past have been settled in Southern Italy and Sicily. There the exploits of the heroic Scanderbeg are still celebrated, and at their feasts they sing how the hero of Croia [538]

Of hares and capons ate the flesh,
Of partridges the heads ate;

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and how

His cups and forks were all of gold,
And of fine silk his napkins.

The women, too, in their Easter dances, relate how, as he went forth to battle, Death met him on the road, and revealed to him the secrets of the Book of Destiny; how he called to him his young son, and bade him tie his horse to a cypress on the seashore, plant his 538
776

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

538 banner beside it, and on it hang his sword, stained
776 with the blood of the Turk:

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Within its blade Death yet shall sleep,
And, 'neath that sombre tree,
The arms of their erst dreaded foe,
Shall they now silent be?

No! When the wind shall furious blow,
And waves my fing around,
When whinnies my good charger there,
My sword makes clanking sound,

The Turk shall hear, and, tremblingly,
He'll turn, with bated breath,
With visage blanched, and hear behind
Him, swiftly following, Death.

[854 533] The Gheg mother, in her mountain home, rocks her little ones to sleep and amuses their waking hours with such lullabies as these:

I.

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"*De! De!* Lambkin mine,
Where didst thou this even dine?"
"In the fields where waters flow,
'Neath the trees where cherries grow,"

"Tell me what thou there didst see?"
"Two twin birdies on a tree."
"What song did they sing to thee?"
"*Chili! Chili! Mangouli!*

I saw the old woman
'Mong corn ears all ripe;
I heard her a-playing
Upon the black pipe!"

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

II.

Oloria! Boloria!
Come and listen to my story!

A sieve my master bade me bring,
To sift the flour some cakes to make;
A faggot in the oven fling,
When they were made the cakes to bake;
That he a lady bride might take.

Said he, "I'll do to her no ill,
Nor will I my dear wifie kill;
My sheep and goats shall be her care,
And bread and nuts shall be her fare."

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854
[252]

PEAKS OF SHALA

and shower, of small grassy plateaus and quick dips down cliffsides, and struggles up again, beside and through waterfalls that drenched the rocks with spray for yards around. Our muscles were now accustomed to the exercise; they complained hardly at all, and with occasional pauses for rest beneath the wooden crosses set at long intervals along the trail we went gayly, accompanied by the shrill songs of the men.

"Marke Gjloshi is putting on his jacket," sang the leading man.

533 "Marke Gjloshi is putting on his jacket,"
539 repeated Cheremi, for this was a song he knew well, a song of Shala made in the days of the Turks, and, repeating each line alternately, they sang:

"Marke Gjloshi is putting on his jacket.
He goes to the Pasha and makes complaint:
'The Mohammedan has cursed the cross of my Christ!
He has cursed it, and I draw my pistol,
My death-spitting pistol, I draw it
And blow him to bits. He is scattered,
He is scattered like leaves on the rocks.'
The Pasha is angry, the Pasha is crazy,
The Pasha goes mad and the bugles blow
And the guns are out, the gendarmes are out!
Marke Gjloshi is away on the road,
Away on the road a long way,
All the long way through the six tribes.
The Arabian Sea stops him, the Arabs stop him,
Arabs of the sandy sea, black Arabs.
There he stands, there he fights with the gendarmes.
'O Marke Gjloshi, what will you tell the nations?
What will you tell the Five Nations?'

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

PEAKS OF SHALA

'I will tell the consuls the Sultan is to blame, 533
I will tell to God the Sultan is to blame. 539
But they will not free me,
But they will not let me go
Back to my tribe, back to my own tribe.
They tear me in pieces, they send me far away,
Far away to the other side of the sea.
My greetings, my greetings, to the lost six tribes!'"

So in the mountains they sing the tales of the men who have been driven from them, to become khedives of Egypt, pashas, themselves, of Turkey, political leaders in Italy, great surgeons of France. From all these countries men are coming back now to make the new free government of Albania, and here among the mountaineers we were walking with Perolli, an agent of this government, who dared not say who he was, for danger of death.

"I ask myself sometimes why God did not 000 make me born in a happier land," said Perolli, as we looked out over scores of miles of valleys inclosed by the sky-touching mountains, dotted meagerly with the tiny stone houses. "But then I think, He has made me an Albanian, and given me the most beautiful and the most unhappy land in all the world, for His own purposes."

And he spoke of roads through these mountains, railroads, mines, great power plants, all feeding the people, giving them comforts and luxuries and knowledge. For all of Albania, beneath six feet of upper soil, belongs to the government, as well as all the water power, and we

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER X

THE WATER ORA OF MALI SHARIT—THE COMING OF THE TRIBES TO EUROPE BEFORE THE SEAS WERE BORN, AND HOW THE FIRST GREEKS CAME IN BOATS—WHY ALEXANDER THE GREAT WAS BORN IN EMADHIJA, AND OF HIS JOURNEY TO MACEDONIA—THE SAD HOUSE OF KOL MARKU.

"THE water ora were an ancient race," said the old man. "They were here before the ora of the forests. I do not think there are very many of them left, and no man has seen them in my time, nor in the time of my father. But very long ago, before the tribes of Shala, Shoshi, and Pultit were founded by the three brothers from the land that is now the Merdite country, there was a man of their tribe who caught a water ora. It is a very old song, and much of it has been forgotten, but the man was a man from the Mali Sharit, and by three days he missed becoming the king of the world. In my father's time the thing that happened to him was still sung. I heard that song when I was a child, but I have forgotten the words of it. I remember only the thing that happened.

"The man of Mali Sharit went every day to the wood on the mountain, and in that wood was

776 a lake, small, but like the sky in clearness. I do
539 not know why he went; he was probably laying by green leaves to feed his sheep in the winter. But it happened that one day while he worked he saw a very beautiful girl lift her head from that clear water and look carefully in every direction. He was hidden by low leaves and she did not see him. When she saw no one, she came from the water into the sunshine, and danced in the sunshine. When she had danced until she wished no longer to dance, she went again into the water. The man of Mali Sharit went to the pool and looked into it, and it was like the sky in clearness.

"The next day this happened, and the next, and on the evening of the third day the man of Mali Sharit went to a wise old woman and told her what he had seen. He said: 'I am thirsty for this girl. If I cannot marry her I will marry no one and have no sons. Tell me what I can do.'

"The old woman thought, and said: 'I will tell you what to do. To-morrow you shall take to the edge of the pool a silver mirror and lay it beside the pool. And you shall take a rope and tie yourself round and round with your back against a tree trunk. And you shall stay there without moving while the girl comes from the pool and goes into it again. Then come and tell me what you saw.'

"The man of Mali Sharit did this. When the girl came from the water and saw the mirror she looked into it for a long time. Then she saw

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

the man of Mali Sharit where he stood tied to the tree, and quickly she went back into the water. That day she had not danced.

"In the evening the old woman said: 'It is good. For three days you shall do again as you have done to-day. On the third day, lay beside the mirror a dress of white silk in which there has been cut no opening for the head to go through. The girl will put this on, in order to see it upon her in the mirror. But when her head is inside it, while she tries to find the opening that is not there, then loosen your ropes and leap quickly, and take her to your house as your wife.'

"All that the old woman had said was wise, and the man of Mali Sharit took the ora of the pool to his house as his wife. But that is not the end of the song."

The old man paused to adjust a freshly rolled cigarette in his silver holder. For a moment pale sunshine came through the slits of windows in bars of light across the colored rugs and the mass of loungers upon them; it struck a sparkle here and there from revolver hilt and silver chain. Then it went out, and only the firelight richly accented the duskiness. There was a constant coming and going on the long balcony outside the windows, for behind one of the closed doors Padre Marjan was hearing confessions and giving absolution or penance for sins.

"It's like some old, half-forgotten story," I said, puzzled. "I remember it, but only as he tells it."

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "Mmmh. So do I," said Alex. "I can't just remember what comes next."

"*Asht shum i buker* (It is very beautiful)," I said to the old man. "And what was the end of the song?"

539 "The man of Mali Sharit kept in his house the
776 ora of the pool," the old man continued, "and she was his wife. For six months he was not unhappy, for she was beautiful and she was good, but he longed to hear her speak. And when the six months of humbleness and modesty were gone and the time had come for her to laugh and be gay in his house, she was still silent. The man of Mali Sharit worked hard for her. He brought her fine wool to weave and he made a most beautiful cradle painted with figures of animals and of birds and of fishes, for he remembered that she was of the water. But when he gave her the wool she said nothing, and when he showed her the cradle she was silent. He said to her, 'Tell me what you want, that I may get it for you,' and she did not answer. He went into the woods to a place he knew, and fought the wild bees and brought her honey, and she ate the honey, smiling, but still she did not speak. He did other things that I do not remember; he did everything that his mind could devise, to make her break that stillness, and she did not. His home was always very still, and he was troubled. And when their son was born she loved the child, but she made no sound when he was born and she made no song when she nursed him.

PEAKS OF SHALA

"And when a year had gone by since their marriage he could endure this stillness no longer. He went to the wise old woman and told her this and asked her how to make his wife speak. 776 539

"The old woman thought, and said, 'You will kill a sheep and take the bladder of the sheep and fill it with its blood. Secretly put the bladder into the cradle of the child. To-night speak sternly to your wife and command her to speak. If she does not answer, take your knife and say to her, 'Speak, or I will kill the child.' If then she does not speak, strike with your knife into the cradle and cut the bladder. When she sees the blood your wife will speak.'

"The man of Mali Sharit went with a heavy heart and a dark mind and did as the old woman had told him. He said to his wife, 'Speak!' and she was silent. He took out his knife and showed it to her, and she was silent. He laid his hand upon the cradle, he said he would kill the child, and she looked at him with terrible eyes and was silent. Then he struck, and the blood came red upon the blankets, and she spoke.

"She spoke with a sob and a scream. She lifted the cradle in her arms, and she said, 'Had you been patient for three days longer, I could have made you king of the world.' Then she wept, and her tears became a fountain, and the fountain became a mist, and the mist was gone. The man of Mali Sharit never saw his wife again, and as for the child, in three days he died. And I do not know what became of the man of Mali Sharit."

PEAKS OF SHALA

539 In my disappointment I spoke too quickly, forgetting the excellence of Rexh as an interpreter. "It isn't Albanian, after all; it's Greek," I said. "I remember now that I read it years ago."

"Yes, so do I," said Alex, and her words crossed those of Rexh, who had picked up mine and was turning them into Albanian.

"*Po*," said the old man, with irony. "It is a Greek song—it is as Greek as Lec i Madhe."

186 I had thanked the old man with an insult, for even the Ghegs keep smoldering in their hearts the knowledge that the Greeks hold Janina, and the memory of the burned villages and slaughtered Albanians of Epirus is only six years old. In an unguarded instant I had made for myself one of those recollections that burn in sleepless night hours. I called myself a fool, while I heard my voice trying to bury the irremediable mistake by
173 hurried words. "What is Lec i Madhe?"
186 Frances and Alex were busy in a scrap bag of mythology, and Rexh replied. "I don't know what you call him in English, Mrs. Lane. Lec i Madhe was our king of very long years ago, who went down from the mountains and took all the cities of the world. He was the son of our twentieth king, and he was a very great fighter. I think surely you must know him by some name in English. We call him Lec i Madhe; it means, the Great Lec. Because we had other kings before him called Lec."

"Lec i Madhe?" cried Frances, headlong at

PEAKS OF SHALA

war was ended. He will sing it for you, if you 000
want him to."

He was a grimy man, barefooted, ragged, and 533
incredibly whiskered. But he carried besides his [534]
rifle on his back an old beautifully made musical instrument somewhat resembling a mandolin, with a long neck ending in a carved ram's head. It was strung with fine wire, and he handled it proudly; the wire, he said, had come from Scutari. In his father's day it had been strung with horsehair and played with a bow, but at the time of his own marriage he had sent to Scutari for the wire, and he now played it with a finger nail. Fresh cigarettes were rolled and adjusted in holders, knees were crossed comfortably, and the song began.

It was only a fragment—the last song of all 533
the songs about that great war of the dragon and 539
the drangojt above the Dukaghini mountains. The strangely pitched twang of the wire accompanied the words, chanted in a wild rhythm to the rain-filled valley of the Lumi Shala:

"The ora of Shala came from the deathless forest,
From the wood that is always green beyond the Mali Nicaj.
The ora of Shala saw the war in the air above the forest,
She saw the war in the air above the crashing peaks,
She saw the blood of the dragon spilled on the rocks.
Ho lo! Ho la! The head of the dragon falls!
Ho lo! Ho la! Two heads of the dragon are dead!
Ho lo! Ho la! Three heads of the dragon fall on the rocks!
The men of the earth are saved!
The ora of Shala screamed the word that the earth was saved.

PEAKS OF SHALA

533 Three times the ora of Shala screamed,
539 And her scream was heard on the Mali Nicaj,
Her voice was heard on the Chafa Morines,
And the Lumi Shala ran through the valley of Shala.
Three times the ora of Shala called,
And the ora of all the mountains came to her call,
They came like sparks from a fire to the ora of Shala.
'Oh, my sisters, this is the word from the battle.
The dragon is dead and the world is saved!
The brave drangojt have saved the world.
The mountains stand without moving forevermore,
And the waters go back to their places,
For the brave drangojt have saved the world.
We will make a feasting for the saviors of the world.
My sister, go to the field for grain,
Cut it and thresh it and grind it,
Make bread and bake it well.
My sister, go to the mountains among the flocks,
Find a sheep with a lamb beside her,
Ask the sheep to give you her milk
For we make a feast for the brave drangojt.
My sister, go to the tree that is hollow.
To the tree where the honey is made,
And ask the bees for their yellow honey.
My sister, here is a knife that is sharp;
Strike true, strike deep, strike quickly,
And bake the meat in a heated pit.'
The first ora came with bread on her head,
The second ora came with a sack of milk,
A milk sack made from the skin of trees.
The third ora came with her hands full of honey.
The fourth ora came with two roasted animals,
Large roasted animals, hot and brown.
Now we can go to our brave drangojt.
The hair of the ora was unbound,
And their heads were crowned with flowers,
And the beauty of the world was their garment.

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PEAKS OF SHALA

The ora of Shala came first to the Mali Riges, 533
The ora of Shala came to the camp of the drangojt. 539
'I hope we find you well, heroes of the earth,
Long may you live, the courage of the world.'
Then rose and spoke Lleshi of Lleshi,
Chief of the tribe of the Merdite drangojt.
'Welcome to you from wherever you come.
Where have you been hiding your beauty?'
'I am the sister of the ora of the Merdite,
She who is guarding the Mali Mundelles.
I am the ora of Shala.
Long live the heroes who have killed the dragon,
Long live the warriors who have saved the world.'
Then on the grass they sat for the feasting.
All the ora turned back their sleeves,
Making ready to serve the heroes.
The first ora broke the round loaf of bread,
The second ora brought the hot roasted meat,
The third ora brought the bowl of yellow honey,
The fourth ora poured the milk from the sack.
All the ora brought good water from the spring,
And the drangojt drank from the cup of their hands.
When the feasting was ended they left that place,
They washed their hands in flowing water,
They lay by a fire on a carpet of leaves,
And they spoke of many things pleasant to hear.
They spoke till the star of the dawn came out
Above the peaks of the Mali Mundelles.
The star of the daylight came out,
For the power of the dragon was broken.
This was the feast of the Merdite drangojt
After the last great war with the dragon."

The player ran his finger down the wire in a final weird whine, and the instrument lay silent on his knees. "That is all I know of that one," he said. "But if the American *zonyas* would like ooo

PEAKS OF SHALA

579 Shala in summer, until the coming of Durgat Pasha.

"After that came the treason of Essad Pasha, and, having then neither house, nor sheep, nor sons, nor tobacco, but only my rifle——"

We must interrupt, to bring him back to Durgat Pasha, and he was astonished that more than that name was needed to make us understand. Had we never heard the songs of Durgat
533 Pasha? Durgat Pasha, who in 1912 came from
539 the Sultan of Turkey to subdue the Sons of the Eagle? Durgat Pasha, who burned and killed, from the Mali Malines to the Malit Shkodra? He bent over the instrument on his knees, twanged three wild notes from it, and sang:

"Seven Powers had called a council,
Seven Powers met and said,
'Shqiperia is no more in our hands,
All Shqiperia is not in our hands.'
Then rose Durgat Pasha and took his gun.
'Leave this to me for three years.
O Sultan, I go for three years.
When I return the Shqiptars are yours.'
Durgat Pasha came past the white lake,
Durgat Pasha to the Mali Malines,
Durgat Pasha to the Mali Shoshit,
Durgat Pasha and five thousand soldiers.
He sends word to Hasjakupit,
'You shall send your rifle to me.
'Thirty Turkish pounds have I paid for my rifle,
Thirty pounds for my own rifle,
But I leave houses and lands and go with my rifle.
Thirty houses I leave behind me.'
These were the words of Hasjakupit.

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PEAKS OF SHALA

533
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'Thirty houses I leave behind me,
And into Montenegro I go.
I go to King Nichola of Montenegro;
He will give me meat and bread.'
Durgat Pasha on the top of the mountain,
Durgat Pasha with Shala around him,
Durgat Pasha had no bread or water,
Durgat Pasha's rifles had nothing to eat.
And the fighting men of Shala were all around him,
The fighting of Shala was terrible.
Durgat Pasha went out of his way to Puka.
Puka and Iballa greeted him.
When he came to Bashchellek
All of Scutari came to greet him.
The people of Scutari were frightened.
Durgat Pasha was going to die,
And Scutari rubbed his face with a sack,
Scutari gave him food and drink.
Then rose Salo Kali of Scutari.
'My rifles I cannot give,
I have made *besa* with one hundred men;
Our rifles are not for Durgat Pasha.'
'Leave the *besa*, Salo Kali,
Take your hammer and shoe the horses.
That is your business, Salo Kali.
What have you to do with rifles?'
'I have made *besa* with one hundred men;
Our rifles are not for Durgat Pasha.'
Durgat Pasha rubbed his forehead.
'I have never seen this kind of people,
I never saw a nation like Shala or Shoshi,
What can be done with the Shqiptars?'
These were the words of Durgat Pasha.

"That is the song of Durgat Pasha," said the 725
bandit. "When I came home from the fighting,
the men of Durgat Pasha had burned my house,

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POSTSCRIPT

by those who know Tirana. It is the sunset hour, and all Tirana goes walking in the colored evening air. Tirana goes walking down the smooth Durazzo road, the road that is white and firm beneath the feet, from the turn beyond the barracks all the way to the sea. The Cabinet Ministers of Albania go walking in a row, sedately, their hands behind their backs, and in the middle walks Ahmet Zogu, elected by Parliament Prime Minister of Albania. Six even paces behind them marches their escort, a single row of soldiers.

The eastern mountains are catching the last light of the sun and making magic with it. Plum purple, orange gold, mauve and violet and blue, the colors shift and change, and the air is faintly golden over the green plains where the mountain men are gathering as they used to gather in the evenings long before Athens was built. Holding hands in long lines, moving in a stamping circle, they are singing songs improvised by their leader, who, with a handkerchief in his hand, acts in pantomime the verses he creates. The strange, wild song in which they have clothed and preserved the tales of all their heroes of two thousand years is heard far over the green plains, where flocks of sheep are coming home with little tinkling of bells.

"Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey! [they sing].
Ahmet, the Son of the Mountain Eagle!
His wings spread out and cover us,

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POSTSCRIPT

The shadow of his wings is over us, 533
His claws are terrible to our foes. 539
Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey!
The men of Dibra came with their rifles,
Elez Jusuf, the chief of the Dibra,
Mustapha Kruja and Zija Dibra,
The Toptani family, curse of Albania,
Hamid Toptani, with nine hundred soldiers,
Nine hundred soldiers armed by Italians,
Came from Durazzo to murder Albania.
Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey!

"Elez Jusuf goes back to the Dibra,
Besa of peace he has given to Ahmet.
Hamid Toptani flees through the mountains,
Cursed be the trees that give him hiding.
Zija Dibra is sent to Stamboul,
Zija Dibra, exiled from Dibra.
Five thousand napoleons, fine of Durazzo,
Five thousand napoleons, fine of Tirana.
Five villages burned. Let the market place tell
Names of the men who were hanged there at dawn.

"Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! O! Ahmet Bey!
He set three hundred men to work on the roads,
He built a good road from Tirana to Durazzo,
He makes electric lights in the capital of Albania.
O! O! Ahmet Bey, the Beautiful! O! Ahmet Bey!"

THE END

361 under a bright sun amid the encircling majestic heights of the mountains, leaving the observer a well-stored memory of the ageless mystery of the country, the charming graciousness of the people and scenery never to be forgotten.

543 If one were to set before himself the map of Europe and tried to find the one country in Europe that has been the seat of the greatest controversies, the land of the most invasions and exploitations, the most disputed territory of all Europe for many hundreds of years before Christ up to the twentieth century, that country would in truth, be Albania. For these reasons, the National Museums of Tirana, Elbasan, Fier, Valona and those of the other Albanian cities are treasure houses for those interested in archaeology and history, for there are to be found many relics of these influences. There are priceless and interesting excavations of prehistoric Albania as well as many valuable pieces from the Greco-Roman period. It is also necessary to mention here the marvelous Acropolis of Fenike, the porticus and the various statues and busts from Pojani. There are hundreds of other pieces of historic value that are worthy of notation here, but

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543 space forbids this long list; suffice it to mention as a last source of interest, Butrinto (ancient Buthrotum) with treasures beyond price of antique art and architecture which will captivate the admiration of all who appreciate classical beauty in its purest expression: The Greek porticus and the Temple of Asklepios, the Roman Theatre of the third century before Christ, the statues, the intricacies of the many-colored mosaic works, the magnificent workmanship on the Baptisterium of the Byzantine era, and so forth.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

346 Pasha, built in 1645, and that of Etem Bey in 1835, both of which possess a group of exceptionally valuable and wonderful paintings and mosaics distinct in their kind. The Na-
•543 tional Museum of Tirana is of unusual interest, containing the ancient and the modern: Priceless antiquities from the excavations of various cities in Albania, along with models of the native dress worn in various districts.

Tirana is now the residence of the head of the Albanian Orthodox Church.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

361 seasoned traveller. The climate in this small town is delightful due to its position at 930 feet above sea level.

Kavaja, an agricultural center, is also the seat of many excellent schools. Tobacco is the [249] main crop in this vicinity and the tobacco leaves are marketed at Kavaja. There are also large fruit groves intercepted by vegetable gardens.

[366] Fier, a rich and prosperous town, is the market place of cereals. As these crops are among the largest in Albania, the wealth of the town is understood. As Fier is only forty minutes from Pojani, the majority of the valuable excavations from Apollonia soon [543] found their way into the artistic museum of Fier. This collection from Apollonia in Pojani is as rich as that from Butrinto.

Lushnja is important in Albanian history as the city wherein that memorable congress convened which confirmed Albania's independence in 1920.

504 Santa Quaranta (Saranda), a port of 361 southern Albania, lies in that strip of coastline which, by reason of its beauty of scenery and vegetation, merits the name of Riviera of Albania. It is the third port of Albania with

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000 cessible on account of snow during the winter months.

778 Much festivity pervades in this part of the country in the summer months, for tradition has it that on the summit of Tomori is the grave of Iman Abbas Ali to which many natives make pilgrimages every August from 346 the 19th to 28th. For this purpose, a monastery has been built 1,900 feet below the summit by the Bektashi Dervishes, where the pilgrims and visitors may lodge in comfort before the strenuous climb to the topmost 776 point; and it is another native belief that that top is the seat of the ancient sky-god, related to the Zeus of Dodona and Homer's Olympia, and only certain, privileged mortals may reach his abode, others being warned away by 773 nose bleedings and sickness. Also, there is said to be an inaccessible tree bearing golden apples growing on the summit. The peasants 778 often take oath by "Father Tomori," which mountain they regard with superstitious awe. Tourists to Albania often hear this mountain referred to as "The Olympia of Albania."

771 It is the district of Shpat at the base of 551 Mount Bokanik just to the east of this richly historical center that was in constant dispute

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

771 years ago as to whether it was to be Christian
351 or Moslem. Therefore, in silent compromise, the elder members of the inhabitants had two names: the Moslem one used for public purposes, and the Christian one used privately and for baptisms and marriages, for these ceremonies a priest was smuggled in and out of the neighborhood by night. It was only about thirty years ago that the Christians felt free to declare openly their faith; this was due greatly to the intervention of the Austrians and Russians. However, those of the older generation retain their Moslem names but their children have been given Christian names only.

312 Perhaps of greatest interest to one visiting
529 this fascinating country for health purposes,
757 will be the healing springs at Llixha, only a few readily negotiable miles from Elbasan. These most unusual springs are certain cures for various forms of rheumatism. The sulphuric waters are so healing that merely by the repeated emptying of cans of water over the body in the oriental fashion many cures have been effected. The ground around these springs is very warm, and until forty years ago, before the useful invasion of the modern

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 The woman, who had been sitting quietly listening to this, now rose and very quietly, without saying farewell, slipped out of the firelight, and in a moment, by the sound of the closing door, I knew she had left the house. But there was something about my last glimpse of her back that makes me believe she is still clamoring for her house, and will be until long after her baby sons are grown and married. Unless she gets it sooner.

533 There was a little silence after the woman had gone, and then one of the youths, compressing his ears with his thumbs, began to sing.[1] He sang softly, for an Albanian mountaineer, but the high, clear notes filled the house like those of a bugle. He uttered a phrase and paused; Cheremi repeated it and paused; and, so singing alternately, repeating always the same musical phrase with changing words, they chanted long songs of war and adventure, old legends of men whose lives had been worn into myths by the erosion of centuries.

The music, strange and nostalgic, seemed to follow a scale quite different from ours, a simple scale of five notes, thin and vibrating like a violin string.

000 "Sing one of the songs of your land, Flower," [551] said Cheremi to me, politely. All the Albanians addressed us by our first names, as is the custom, for among them the last name is merely the possessive form of the father's, and it is dropped in conversation. Long since my name had been

1 [At house in Albanian moun- [112] tains -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

in danger of foreign attack. To secure such a *besa* and so restore 628
the unity of Mati was now the Agha's foremost aim.

We were joined every now and then by groups of notables 662
who would accompany us on the march for two or three days. Among them came one, Hafuz Effendi, a shrunken, bird-like creature, who had been deputy of Mati under the Italians. Like many of the older Albanians Hafuz still wrote for preference in the Arabic script and for our benefit recited the opening *surahs* of the Koran. He had been on Essad Pasha's staff in the last war and since then, in the time-serving tradition of the Ottoman bureaucracy, had worked in turn for Fan Noli, Zog, and the Italians. During the occupation, indeed, he had twice betrayed Abas Kupi's hide-out to the Italians, and was even held responsible for the arrest of some of the guerillas. Now, however, that the Italians were gone, he piously proclaimed himself a democrat and had come to offer his services to Abas Kupi, in whom he discerned the paramount influence of the day. Such time-serving exceeded, even among the Albanians; and, despite his great age, he was mocked unmercifully by young and old. He was a guest, however, albeit self-invited, and while he was with us no one would have thought of harming him. Abas Kupi let him stay with us two days and then dismissed him to his house, but kindly; for it was now his policy to forget the past and to stretch out a hand to all who would support him.

Germanic names, such as Allemani and Walter, were found [551]
among the Mati clans, derived, so it was said, from Crusaders who had settled in Albania on their way to the East. The 628
Walter clan had declared for Abas Kupi, but they were still suspect to the Zogists; for they had long been blood enemies of the King. One of them indeed, named Bekir, had tried in 1924 to assassinate Zog in the Tirana Parliament. He had only succeeded in wounding him and, to escape capture, had then locked himself up in the Parliament lavatory. There he had reloaded and prepared to stand siege, singing patriotic songs to keep up his courage. None of the deputies had dared to break in the door, for they knew that Bekir was armed;

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

or incapacitated, one of his wife's relatives must come for her and bring her back, but that meant the extra trouble of letting them know that she was coming.

Each member of a household had a personal name. Though this was usually determined by the religion professed, Moslem first names were not uncommon among the Catholics. The usual cause seems to have been no more than a personal whim. Thus the junior bajraktar ('standard-bearer')[1] of Shalë, a Catholic, was called Avdi because his father was very friendly with a Moslem of that name at the time of his birth. Another interesting anomaly is found in the forty-three Orthodox villages of Shpat, near Elbasan, where the older men have two names, a Moslem one for public use and an Orthodox one for private. For some decades before Albania freed herself from Turkish rule these villages were pressed by the Moslems of Elbasan to abandon Christianity and, to save their faith and lives, camouflaged themselves as Moslems, giving themselves Moslem names, keeping the Ramazan fast, and so on, but evading circumcision. At intervals they fetched an Orthodox priest from Elbasan under cover of night so that in some dark stable he might marry the newly wed with Christian rites and baptize the newly born. So, to name only two examples, the apparently Moslem Tahir Baduri of Shelcan and Ymer Tullumi of Bujars are really the Christian Spiro Baduri and Vasil Tullumi. Religious persecution having ended when Albanian independence was attained, the Orthodox of Shpat shed their Moslem camouflage and gave only Christian names to their children. If Godolesh, the picturesque village north of Elbasan, had managed to hold out for only two years more against the pressure to 'turn Turk', it, too, might now still have been Christian. It failed to hold out, so that its middle-aged and young inhabitants are fanatical Moslems but the old still visit Orthodox churches in secrecy and grieve that they must lie in a Moslem grave. One sturdy old woman, who married soon after the conversion to Islam, boasted that she had had all her four sons baptized. One of them confirmed this to the author, saying he had often been told by Christian and Moslem alike that he smelt less than did other Moslems, an agreeable peculiarity which he attributed to his baptism. The Greeks too, who introduced Orthodox Christianity into Albania, subscribed to the belief that baptism takes away the smell from which all Moslems suffer.

[1] See Chapter XI.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Women, too, had a personal name, but after they married their husbands were too shy to use it, and others knew them in early life as 'Mark's (or Asllan's or Vasil's) young wife' and in later life as his 'wife' or 'old woman', so that their own name fell into disuse. This contributed to their seclusion from the outside world and at the same time avoided the superfluous; since descent in the female line did not count, their names were not thought worth remembering.

Surnames in the sense of family names were general among the Orthodox, comparatively rare among the Moslems, and non-existent among the Catholics. Both Moslems and Catholics, however, tacked on the name of a man's father to his own and so distinguished him from his fellows. Thus a Moslem called Sadik Asllan was Asllan's Sadik and different from Sadik Arif, the son of Arif. A Catholic called Zef Nika was Nikë's Zef, i.e. Zef son of Nikë—Joseph Nicolson in English—and Zef Toma was Tom's Zef, i.e. Joseph Thomson, quite another person. Nika and Toma are in the indefinite genitive, to mark possession. As Moslem names might also be put in this genitive in Albania, Sadik Asllani, an Albanian form, was as frequently heard as Sadik Asllan, its Turkish counterpart. The endings of the Albanian indefinite genitive, it should be said, are tricky and vary according to the final letter of the root word and also according to the dialect used. They are further liable to be confused by foreigners with the definite article which Albanians must suffix to the name when making a statement about a person or a place. Thus Zef Nika signed himself so, without any suffixed article, but if another Albanian reported that 'Zef had gone', he must add the definite article to the name, saying *Zefi iku*. Turkish influence also made Moslems stop at the father's name, but the Catholics, who seem to have preserved the oldest Albanian method of nomenclature, often appended the grandfather's name as well.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XI

BAJRAKTARS

It is an Albanian tradition that when the Turks began to raise 104
Albanian levies for their army they chose specially brave tribes- 701
men to lead the levies and called them by the Turkish name of *deli*, meaning 'madman' or 'desperado'. At a later date they called them *spahis* (cavalrymen), and at a still later date *bajraktars* (standard-bearers), from the Turk *bajrak*, standard. So the word bajraktar conveys the business of the man so-called, and the origin of his title. He was the military leader of his tribe and owed his appointment to the Turks, not to his fellow-Albanians.

Neither delis nor spahis seem to have been blood ancestors of the bajraktars. Each tribe knows how its first bajraktar won his flag but never says that he was either a deli or a spahi. In the folk-tales [538] which purport to recount their deeds, the spahis figure not as heroes but as ordinary cavalrymen of the type we still find in Algeria. Certain families, notably in Lumë and Yugoslav Losovë, [551] are surnamed Spahi. These claim descent not from medieval bravos but from relatively modern cavalrymen, and they are not bajraktars. The memory of the delis and their deeds survives only in folk-tales and an occasional personal name. The bajraktar of Hot at the beginning of the century was Deli Metë Çuni. In the folk-tales the delis, more fortunate than the spahis, preserve their reputation as doughty fighters.

Tribal traditions agree that most *bajraks* were bestowed on the 703
original holder like a Victoria Cross, for valour in battle. The combats were generally against the Serbs and Montenegrins, natural enemies of the Albanians as they were their nearest neighbours, and had not ceased ever since they appeared in the Balkans to steal ancient Albanian territory. Some bajraks are said to have been gained hundreds of years ago, and others only a few generations since. The historical details in the traditions are generally meagre and the chronology vague, but these defects make on the whole for greater credibility, assuring us that no lively imagination has been at work. To minds running as Albanian

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

S 186 114

begs and I was propitiated on all sides. It was the thing to ask me into the nearest house and stuff me with food, and for days my hotel bills were almost nil. But that was in the days of the Obrenovitch, when the Karageorgevitches had been exiled for ever and ever for having murdered Prince Michael. They now reign over wide lands for having murdered the Archduke Ferdinand.

We, too, have a stranger craze. We still hedge the stranger with difficulties until, or unless, we think fit to feast him at the Guildhall, hoping earnestly that by thus feeding the beast we may induce him to work magic in our favour with tariffs or arm his compatriots on our behalf.

2. The Name Taboo

A 784 551 121

Among many primitive races all the world over a man's name is part of himself. Just as spells to hurt a man may be wrought by means of bits of his hair or nails, so, too, can evil be worked by using his name. The name is, therefore, a thing to be carefully guarded. Thus is the name taboo explained by authorities on the subject.

A B 784 551 576

The taboo is common in the Balkans. In 1904, among the Bulgars of Macedonia, I had to classify long lists of refugees. Woman after woman would give her name as "Maria," and refuse, with tears running down her cheeks, to give her husband's name, or any clue to her identity, save perhaps the name of her father in a distant village. "They are ashamed. You must not ask such a thing," I was told. I had asked an indecent question and hurt their feelings. "Ask another woman." The Maria in question would hurry from the room, while I learnt from a woman of the same village that the husband's name was Dmitri, son of George. This constantly happened when I have dealt with Bulgar and Albanian refugees. The explanation always is that they are "modest."

M 784 551 576

In Montenegro the custom was nearly dead—but not quite. Old folk still thought it improper for man and wife to name each other. The schoolmaster at Tzrmnitza told me that there were still many who had never done so. Savo Vuletitch, himself a Montenegrin, in one of his admirable tales of Montenegro, tells how "Petar Radisitch, though he had lived on the best of terms with his wife for full twenty years, had never called her by her name, nor even spoken to her as a human being, on any subject, if it were possible for a stranger to overhear. Had he to speak to her in public he muttered through his teeth, and she did the same by him. To have done otherwise would have been shameful."

A plan I found adopted was that the man gave his order in the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

M 184 551 576 third person without looking at his wife: "She is to bring coffee." Or turned his back and gave the order over his shoulder: "Bring coffee." If he had to mention his wife or present her, the older men still did so with a formal apology: "Da oprostish—moja zhena" ("If you will pardon me—my wife"). This I heard often enough. The mention of any female relative was avoided, and a man with daughters but no sons would emphatically declare he had no children. The girl child was made to feel her inferiority early. "A man feeds his son for himself, but his daughter for another man," she was told.

M 606 551 576 The name taboo till recently extended to other members of a household. The daughter-in-law, when brought to the family house, was not to call her new in-laws by their baptismal names.

"She dared not, for modesty," says Vuk Karadjitch. She addressed them all by nicknames which implied admiration or respect. Thus she called the elder brethren of the house Gospodin (sir), or Djever (brother-in-law), or even Ago (a great Aga). The younger more familiarly, as Sokolo (falcon), Miloshto (dear one), Zlatoye (golden one), or Krasni (the handsome). The elder women of the house were called Gospa (lady); the sisters-in-law Snasha, if they were the wives of the husband's brothers. If they were the unmarried sisters of the husband, who would all be very young in a land where girls are often married at fourteen, they were given fancy names, such as Lepotitza or Ubavitza (pretty little one), or Gospodjitza (little lady), or Golubitza (little dove). Beyond the family circle I found no trace of name taboo in Montenegro.

A 551 553 In the North Albanian mountains, however, in the Dukagin districts, it was decidedly unadvisable for a man's real name to be known. Especially in Shala, Shoshi, and Nikaj, I found it customary for men to adopt another name. It was a constant annoyance to the Franciscans that, though they baptized their flocks with good Albanian Christian names such as Kol (Nicholas), Gin (John), Ded (Dominic), or Pietr (Peter), the lads, on growing up, persisted in calling themselves by another name, preferably a Moslem one. They rigidly kept the fasts; they flocked to church on a feast day; according to their rather dim lights they fulfilled some, at least, of their religious duties. But they called themselves Hussein, or Ismail, or Mehmed, and no plea or threat of the priest could budge them. I was once asked by a Franciscan to express my horror of the practice to a whole party of men. I therefore said no one in England would believe they were Christians if they had such names. They did not like this and crossed themselves repeatedly in proof of their faith. But on this question they were obstinate. They did it "because they wished to," "because the names were beautiful" and, most convincing of all, "because we always do."

A [771 784]

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The district was known to swarm with witches and, though none of them said so, similar customs in other lands make it probable that the nickname was intended to shield its owner's identity. How better than by taking a Moslem name? A 551 553 [754]

A good example was my old friend, plucky old Mehmed Shpend of Shala, a well-known headman. It was incredible—nor did anyone pretend—that he had been baptized Mehmed the Raven. But when asked what his Christian name was he only grinned and twinkled, and said that "Mehmed Shpend" was "fort i bukur" ("very pretty").

A curious example of the belief that the Name is the Person occurred at Mount Athos at the beginning of this century. A Russian officer entered one of the monasteries as a monk. He was pious and much respected. Pondering over the sacred mysteries, it seemed fit to him that separate worship should be given to the Name of God. The idea found favour among some of the monks, and the cult of the name was instituted by them. The authorities at Athos forbade it, but the cult became more popular. It ended abruptly by the arrival of a Russian warship. The misguided monk was carried off and the heresy ended. The Russian Government, whether Tsarist or Bolshevist, stands no nonsense. G GR 776

The Importance of a Name.—In Montenegro it was believed that the naming of a child may have an influence on its fate. It is customary for the same man to be christening "kum" (godfather) to all the children of one family. But if one child after another dies it is clear that the kum is unsuitable; and, in order to make sure this time that the kum is pleasing to God, the next infant is left in its cradle by the wayside. The mother hides close by. The first wayfarer who rashly stoops and looks at the infant is at once claimed as kum and must not refuse. M 753 777 852

On the way up to Durmitor I saw a cradle all alone, and was about to investigate it when Krsto snatched hold of me, crying: "No! no! you will have to be kum!" He then halted and shouted out for the mother, saying that neither of us was going to be trapped into being kum. The mother came up laughing, with a sickle in her hand. She said she was merely cutting some grass and had brought the baby with her. It was already baptized; so we passed on safely. Being kum cost a deal of money and trouble. But we might have refused? "No," said Krsto decidedly; "if you are caught that is quite impossible." M [551 462]

Under such circumstances, and especially if the child is weakly, it is common to baptize it Zhivko (lively), or Vuk (wolf), or one of the many derivatives of Vuk—Vuksan, Vujadin, Vule, etc., or Dabizhiv (mayest thou live), in order to give strength. S [852]

The custom exists, too, in Serbia and Bosnia. In old days, in Montenegro, when the christening of children was part of the ceremony M 852 628

In Mer –

178 turi and Nikaj, the men adopt 2 sets of names,
795 Moslem and Christian, and employ the former
[55] while traveling to avoid trouble. They get used to these names and in many cases use them at home. In Hoti, the *bairaktar* once led his men against the invading Serbs, with the help of the Turkish government. In gratitude for his brave and successful conduct the Turks granted him special privileges, and he went over, with his family, to Islam. The rest of the *bairak* is still mostly Catholic, but the tendency in such a case is for the others to follow the leader. In Lura, where mixed families are found, the Catholics have given up keeping pigs so as not to offend the Moslems, and celebrate Moslem festivals as well as Christian ones, to avoid trouble. Very rarely a Mirdite will marry a Moslem woman from Mati, but when he does she becomes Catholic.

797 When the Turks introduced Islam, all
144 Ghegs were Catholics. Almost exclusively, the change has been in the Moslem direction. Hence we may assume that almost none of the present-day Catholics bear genetic elements brought in from outside the region by the Turks or their followers, while the same is not necessarily true of the Moslem Ghegs. *Bairak* by *bairak* and tribe by tribe, as conversion progressed, the line between the 2 religions has remained, by and large, a marital barrier. During the whole period of the Turkish rule, Catholics have furthermore been able to travel much less widely than Moslems, with resultant genetic implications.

771 In Albania one frequently hears the remark that "the Albanians are not very religious." This is usually said with pride, for the presence of 3 religions in so small a country is deemed a dangerous impediment to political unity. In one sense, the remark is quite true. Few Albanians are religious fanatics; few of them worry about their spiritual salvation. Most of the Catholics go to church with some regularity, and most of the Moslems keep Ramadan. However, their ancient way of life provides most of the ritual which they need to tide them over emotional crises, so that church and
771 mosque are in many ways superfluous. A
596 man's first loyalty is to his "blood," that is, his extended family. He spends much of his time, effort, and material goods keeping the family together and avenging any deed which has up-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch 852
the cradle while they sing:

> *Poganik*, When the boy grows a man,
> A weaver we'll make him,
> And money he'll bring us.[1]

[539 562]

And for a girl:

> *Poganik*, When our girl grows up tall,
> She shall go to the valley
> And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother 846
nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by 553
the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal 852
rite of the churches to which they respectively 779

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on. [463 286]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 belong. With the Moslems no religious character is
852 attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male
[779] relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father
[608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his godchild;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a
[302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 Although the Albanian beys have neither written
554 charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these
[779 177] ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

Every inhabitant had two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Constantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all children that had meanwhile been born. A 553 702 651 A 852 771

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of ancient days. A 574

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more? A 767

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro. M 787 M 781

M 784 551 576 third person without looking at his wife: "She is to bring coffee." Or turned his back and gave the order over his shoulder: "Bring coffee." If he had to mention his wife or present her, the older men still did so with a formal apology: "Da oprostish—moja zhena" ("If you will pardon me—my wife"). This I heard often enough. The mention of any female relative was avoided, and a man with daughters but no sons would emphatically declare he had no children. The girl child was made to feel her inferiority early. "A man feeds his son for himself, but his daughter for another man," she was told.

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Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The district was known to swarm with witches and, though none of them said so, similar customs in other lands make it probable that the nickname was intended to shield its owner's identity. How better than by taking a Moslem name? A 551 553 [754]

A good example was my old friend, plucky old Mehmed Shpend of Shala, a well-known headman. It was incredible—nor did anyone pretend—that he had been baptized Mehmed the Raven. But when asked what his Christian name was he only grinned and twinkled, and said that "Mehmed Shpend" was "fort i bukur" ("very pretty").

A curious example of the belief that the Name is the Person occurred at Mount Athos at the beginning of this century. A Russian officer entered one of the monasteries as a monk. He was pious and much respected. Pondering over the sacred mysteries, it seemed fit to him that separate worship should be given to the Name of God. The idea found favour among some of the monks, and the cult of the name was instituted by them. The authorities at Athos forbade it, but the cult became more popular. It ended abruptly by the arrival of a Russian warship. The misguided monk was carried off and the heresy ended. The Russian Government, whether Tsarist or Bolshevist, stands no nonsense. G GR 776

The Importance of a Name.—In Montenegro it was believed that the naming of a child may have an influence on its fate. It is customary for the same man to be christening "kum" (godfather) to all the children of one family. But if one child after another dies it is clear that the kum is unsuitable; and, in order to make sure this time that the kum is pleasing to God, the next infant is left in its cradle by the wayside. The mother hides close by. The first wayfarer who rashly stoops and looks at the infant is at once claimed as kum and must not refuse. M 753 777 852

On the way up to Durmitor I saw a cradle all alone, and was about to investigate it when Krsto snatched hold of me, crying: "No! no! you will have to be kum!" He then halted and shouted out for the mother, saying that neither of us was going to be trapped into being kum. The mother came up laughing, with a sickle in her hand. She said she was merely cutting some grass and had brought the baby with her. It was already baptized; so we passed on safely. Being kum cost a deal of money and trouble. But we might have refused? "No," said Krsto decidedly; "if you are caught that is quite impossible." M [551 462]

Under such circumstances, and especially if the child is weakly, it is common to baptize it Zhivko (lively), or Vuk (wolf), or one of the many derivatives of Vuk—Vuksan, Vujadin, Vule, etc., or Dabizhiv (mayest thou live), in order to give strength.

The custom exists, too, in Serbia and Bosnia. In old days, in Montenegro, when the christening of children was part of the ceremony S [852] M 852 628

175 them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty.' "[16]

During the Slavic period it is likely that the invaders had some effect upon the genetic composition of the mountain people, for Slavic names, such as Orosh, are common enough in Ghegnia, the Slavs certainly had access to much of the country, and Slavic speech had a considerable effect on the Albanian vocabulary. This was not, however, as important an invasion from the standpoint of biological interest as others that followed.

During the brief period between the end of the Old Serbian Empire and the time of the Turks, the Ghegs were left alone. The Turks began their invasion of Albania at the end of the 14th century, after the battle of Kossovo, in 1389. They met in battle the formidable Scanderbeg[17] (George Castrioti), the most famous of all Ghegs. He and his successors held them off from his fortress at Kruja (or Croya) until after 1479, the date of the fall of Scutari. The Turks never won control of all the highlands. Indeed, all of Mirdita and Dukagin, and parts of other tribes, remained Catholic throughout the Turkish period. Remaining Catholic meant that they were able to keep their country free of Turks. It also
[553] meant that they usually stayed at home. However, many of the Christians adopted Moslem names which they used when they left their tribal territory to visit market towns, and this custom was still going on in 1929.

175 All of the Ghegs who were converted to
797 Islam did not change their faith through necessity. Many of them saw solid advantages in making the shift. A Moslem could carry a gun openly anywhere, and could shoot Christians at will, for they were outlaws. He could travel in Turkish territory without having to worry about being caught, and he could obtain many economic advantages over his Christian relatives, whose marital arrangements, unlike his own, produced a religious conflict. He could join the Turkish army, and rise to high rank; many Turkish generals were Albanians. Other Albanians became high court officials. One of

[16] Durham, 1928, p. 29.
[17] Durham, 1928, pp. 24–25
[17] See Fan Noli, 1947.

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe.

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes.

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes ; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep.

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head.

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider.

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER IX.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

562 184 THE domestic usages of the Albanians vary slightly, according to locality and religion, but are, in their main features, identical. And though the customs surrounding such family ceremonies as births, marriages, and deaths belong naturally more to the domain of women than of men, the latter are not less scrupulous in the fulfilment of the part in these observances which fall to their share.

156 181 Tribal and family pride being, as has been already seen, the leading feature of Albanian character, the desire of offspring, and especially male offspring, is naturally very strong with them. A childless man [554] is designated by an expression which signifies "without a root," and is looked upon as a most unfortunate [754] being. The wish, "May you be childless!" is also considered the most weighty curse that can be launched against a man by his enemy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the dearest wish of every woman's heart is consequently to be the mother of a numerous family of boys, both for the sake of the future prosperity of the tribe and for the present social consideration which their birth ensures to her. 843 When the fact that an Albanian woman is about to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 belong. With the Moslems no religious character is
852 attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male
[779] relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father
[608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his godchild;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a
[302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 Although the Albanian beys have neither written
554 charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these
[779 177] ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Women among the clans were but the slaves and chattels of their men. In the mountains they went unveiled but almost all were prematurely aged by manual labour and child-bearing. Sometimes we saw one hurrying across a courtyard or peering up at us from the kitchen fire; otherwise they had no part in our lives. 562

Social distinctions among the guerillas were subtle and changing; the chieftains and their sons were treated with respect but never with servility; and the bodyguards sometimes as poor relations but always as members of the same family. They ate and slept together, and, in so far as he could, the host provided alike for all. Luxuries in the mountains were inevitably scarce, but, if the choicest morsels went to the *Beys* and elders, the rest received their portion until the whole was finished. The Ghegs indeed regard hospitality as a sacred duty enjoined upon the host, never as a favour conferred upon the guest. To give of his best was a point of honour, and a tribesman would kill his last ewe lamb, or even his milch goat, rather than fail to set meat before the meanest of his guests. In the days of slavery Albanians had been known to sell their wives or children to feast a stranger; and one story which I heard illustrates the extent of their honourable, if quixotic, liberality. In the repression which followed the rising of the Scutari clans early in the last century the bravest of the insurgent leaders, a Catholic chieftain, was captured and brought before the Turkish governor. The Pasha gave the order to cut off his head but, as the proud Albanian knelt to receive the fatal stroke, the Turk was moved by a dark and sudden curiosity: 554 574

"You are a brave man," he said. "Tell me, have you ever known a worse moment than this?"

The Albanian looked up and answered gravely: "Only once; when a stranger came to my house and I had not even bread to set before him."

For the sake of the answer, his life was spared.

We spent several days among the men of Mati, resting in sunlit orchards, or cool, whitewashed rooms, or round their 000

[Constitution]

641 No privilege because of family, position in life, wealth,
554 or cultural level is recognized.

ARTICLE 13

[563] All citizens are equal regardless of nationality, race, or
[659] religion. Any act which grants privileges or takes away rights from any citizen because of nationality, race, or religion is unconstitutional and carries with it punishments as provided by law. It is unconstitutional and punishable by law to stir up hatred and dissension among nationalities, races, or religions.

ARTICLE 14

666 All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen are
641 eligible to elect and be elected in all organs of state, regardless of sex, nationality, race, creed, cultural level, or residence.

Members of the armed forces also have these rights.

The right to vote is universal, equal, direct, and secret.

The right to vote is forfeited by those who have been disqualified by law.

ARTICLE 15

562 Women are equal to men in all walks of life, private, political, or social.

Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same work. And women have similar rights with regard to social security.

745 The government especially protects the interests of mothers and young children, by assuring vacations with pay before and after childbirth and also by building maternity hospitals and nurseries.

ARTICLE 16

659 Freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed to all citizens.

The church is separated from the state.

Religious communities are free to exercise and practice their creeds.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

his case. Since 1912 most of this administrative and penal legislation has been superseded of set purpose by European methods and laws, whereas the social content of the old mountain code has been left comparatively undisturbed, free to come into line with the ways of the West in its own time.

The community sense was fostered by every art the mountaineers knew. Each member of a household was encouraged to regard everything in it and everything its other members said and did as his own. The humblest man was encouraged to regard his village or group of villages as his personal property. If home, village or group of villages prospered, he rejoiced as if he had himself been advanced. If they were insulted or injured, he burned to avenge a personal affront. If they were disgraced by misconduct on the part of another member, he felt his own honour to be smirched. The patriotism so bred was narrow, perhaps, but it was genuine, free from egregious self-seeking, and by its emphasis on the need to keep the community's honour untarnished, a good deterrent from crime.

This close relationship between individual and community was also a curb on dictatorship. The ruling rank had always to respect the individual's property in the community's laws. They could not make any change in an existing law unless they obtained the consent of a General Assembly of their village or tribe. They could impose, but (except in the tribes which maintained fine-collectors) they could not collect fines; social pressure was necessary for that. In a very common punishment, social ostracism, they might play no more than a subordinate part. They could not pass heavy sentences like banishment or death unless a General Assembly demanded them, and if it did, they could not resist its will. In short, the elders voiced, but did not dictate, popular sentiment.

They were no privileged oligarchy either. They might sit in the seat of honour or get the lamb's head and eye at a banquet, but they had no official residences, horses or guards of honour provided for them at public expense. They lived in houses that were often meaner than those of their subordinates; they ate the same food and toiled in the same way in their fields and among their flocks. In fact, the self-government of the Albanian mountaineers went far towards being true democracy in the Anglo-American sense of that much-abused word. In its primitive way it was really government of the People, by the People, for the People. It had

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

it was the offender's birthright to remain in the house, to eat at the common table, and to have his wife and children maintained out of the family purse. A striking illustration of this weakness of the communal system was to be seen in Shalë in the 1930's, when Mirash Nue's family included his wife, his elder son Pal, Pal's wife and four children, and his younger son Gjon. Since he, Mirash, was too old to work and Pal was a wastrel, Gjon alone ploughed to feed the household and fetched firewood to keep it warm. To get money for government taxes and his father's coffee and cigarettes, he worked for the priest in his spare time. He had been unable to earn enough to pay for a bride and at thirty years of age was still unmarried, a calamity in primitive Albanian eyes. Pal, not criminal, just lazy and selfish, and saved from beating by his father's advanced years and his own age, paid no attention to either his father's upbraidings or the barely concealed contempt of the neighbours and turned up unfailingly for the meals he had done nothing to provide.

The master received no money payments for his services but enjoyed certain privileges. His clothes were often newer and of better cloth than those of his subordinates; more silver chains crossed his breast, and more silver rings glittered on his fingers. He was entitled to have his own bedding and coffee utensils and to keep them until he died. If he chose to buy himself a riding horse, a watch, or arms richly inlaid with silver and bright stones, he might do so. His subordinates, though left to walk while he rode, to learn the time from the sun by day and from the crowing of a cock at night, and to content themselves with the plainest of rifles and revolvers, did not seem to resent his magnificence. He represented the family, and the worthier he appeared in externals as well as in mind and character, the greater the glory reflected on each of them.

Indoors the master sat in the place of honour in the sitting-room, the right-hand chimney corner as one looked from the fireplace towards the door. Though marked deference was usually shown to old people, he never gave up this place to his aged father or elder brother except in the districts of Shpat, Çermenikë and Shalë, where age took precedence over social position. The other men grouped themselves cross-legged in front of the fire, the future master facing it squarely, older men flanking him, and younger men sitting behind him. The youngest of all, who had to do such work as shutting the door, bringing firewood, and carrying in supper, sat next to the door; he was described as the serving man. When

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

popularly believed in Shkrel that the three sons of Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar, and the three daughters of the Voivode Preng Mirashi, had turned out badly because the deeds of Vatë and Preng had been evil.

In time of war a bajraktar from the north-west group received triple pay and triple rations. A bajraktar of Shalë received double pay and double rations, one portion as a person and the other as standard-bearer. He also received pay and rations for three servants, two of whom followed him to the war both to guard and to serve him, while the third, a specially trusted man, remained behind in his house in Shalë as guardian of his property, women-folk and children. The allowances for these servants were only what ordinary soldiers received, food and *katik* (pocket-money: in Turkish, any relish eaten with bread) at the rate of one grosh per day, which was barely sufficient for their tobacco.

As an administrator a bajraktar was unpaid in so far as he had no fixed salary. He earned something, however, by his judgements, for which he was paid at the same rate as an elder. In the Malësi e Madhe, as often as he appointed elders, he too received a fee, although they did all the work and he did not stir from home. If they could not agree on a verdict, the litigants appealed to him. He then received a double fee, one the same as the elders' and the other in respect of his own journey to the scene of the quarrel. In other tribes or groups of tribes he did not get off so lightly; he had always to judge the case himself before he received any payment. The fees varied with the importance of the case and the rapacity of the bajraktar. In the tribal, but not in the non-tribal, areas any fines imposed were divided between the bajraktar and the headmen or 'good families' of his tribe. In the Malësi e Madhe a bajraktar who was summoned to Shkodër received ten grosh (50 koronë) per day from the Turkish government for his expenses. But everywhere a bajraktar's best source of income was bribes.

The bajraktar was both the military and administrative head of his tribe. His military and administrative precedence came 'from the staff in his hand', the flag stick of Turkish donation, but descent was the test for social precedence, and priority of descent was not always his. In many tribes there were 'good families' who descended from an older brother or a social superior of his ancestor, and on that account had, generation after generation, taken social precedence of his family.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

554 Modern civilization with its army and dense array of gendarmes
[701] and officials swept away the military and administrative functions of the bajraktar, but his social position remained untouched. So in Krasniqë, Sali Mena, the bajraktar in 1939, had the precedence because he descended from the eldest son of Gjô Vata of the village of Bunjaj; but Hakik Meta, the bajraktar of Lurë, remained inferior to Doçi, Nezhë and Vlad families in that tribe because their ancestors were from better families than his.

576 Social precedence was marked in several characteristically
554 Albanian ways. For instance, if the bajraktar of Perlat in Kthellë met a Simonaj and a Gjet-Kolaj at a feast, his seat would be third from the corner and his portion of meat only the leg. The Simonaj would sit in the corner and get the head and the Gjet-Kolaj would sit next to him and get the shoulder. Even in wartime a bajraktar was kept in his civilian place except during the actual fighting. On the way to and from the battlefield he sat in the seat and ate the portion of meat that appertained to him by descent. In 1935 Lurë was mustered to check a revolt at Fier in central Albania. The bajraktar's men carried the flag out of Lurë into Mat, and by arrangement met Zef Doçi's men at Burrel in Mat. There, though both were on a warlike errand, Zef Doçi sat in the chief seat and the bajraktar and his flag in the fourth. The revolt was suppressed before the tribesmen advanced beyond Burrel. If they had gone on, rifles would have cracked at Fier before Zef Doçi had to yield
[619] the first place to the bajraktar. If one of the bajraktars of Kthellë found it necessary to discuss something with one of the six 'good families', he could not ask its head to come and see him as he would an ordinary tribesman. Instead, he must gird up his own loins and go and see the other. If they disagreed during the discussion, he could not persist in his own view but had to fall in with the other's. Trivial though this insistence on correct precedence and its manifestations may seem, it had its value in maintaining tribal discipline. Slackening of the social framework in communities so backward as these tribesmen would only have ended in anarchy.

The 'first families' excepted, the bajraktar was unquestioned first among the tribesmen, this being signified in the usual manner of corner seat and choicest portion of meat. Any male of his family old enough to walk enjoyed the same precedence and was, by the courteous and diplomatic, addressed as 'bajraktar'.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

A 'bajraktar' of tender years could evict a greybeard commoner 576
from the corner seat, and the greybeard would be distressed if 554
left in it. A worthless and ignorant 'bajraktar' got the head of the roast lamb while successful and learned commoners had no precedence by right—they belonged to their father's tribe and were counted aliens in the bajraktar's. Sometimes, however, the tribesmen gave them precedence as a courtesy.

When a bajraktar or any male in his family, infants excepted, 764
died in his bed, a black flag was stuck at the head of his grave to mark his rank during life. Otherwise he and his were treated in death like ordinary mortals. If he himself was murdered, the 628
ensuing blood feud was no worse than it would have been for a commoner—Lek had laid down that in death one man was as good as another. Besides, another bajraktar succeeded him and with the office continuing, the personality of the holder had no special significance. His family alone had to show a sense of his unusual importance; it could not stain its honour by accepting blood money instead of killing the assassin. If a bajraktar was killed by somebody in another tribe, his tribe undertook to hunt down the assassin, but this was no more than it would have done for any tribesman dead in comparable circumstances. Conversely, when a bajraktar killed anyone, his victim's family sought his blood precisely as they would have sought a commoner's.

As between bajraktars, seniority of the ancestor's appointment 576
determined precedence. Gjejaj of Dukaj, the first bajraktar in 554
Perlat, lived long before there was a bajraktar of Rrshen. His modern representative was, as already said above, so weak that Perlat had abandoned him to follow the Rrshen man's leadership. Yet in everything social, by virtue of his ancestor's seniority, he walked ahead of his supplanter. Once, however, a Kthellë tribesman entertained all three bajraktars of his tribe together. There is no record of how he seated them, but when the roast lamb appeared, he split the head in two, gave the two halves to two of the bajraktars and a shoulder to the third. Half a head being reasonably equated to a shoulder, he thus gave equal honour to all three men and did justice both to descent and to strength.

When a bajraktar encountered a beg, as a bey is called in north Albania, the latter sat in the corner because a beg is bigger than a bajraktar. When bajraktar and agha met, the bajraktar sat in the corner. Such a meeting was rare in the north owing to the paucity

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

554 of aghas. The title of agha was a courtesy title bestowed by the
576 populace. By special provision of the Turkish Government there had been hereditary aghas since the Turkish conquest at Botush in Yugoslav Kosovë; these, says their representative in Albania, took precedence of all bajraktars in Albania and Kosovë.

578 Given the pride of a bajraktar in his standard and of a 'first
668 family' in its descent, a clash between the two was not uncommon. When this took the form of an ordinary isolated quarrel, elders were called in from another tribe to judge between the disputants. Their own tribe did not venture to try the issue, knowing that it might suffer, as outside elders could not do, for an unwelcome judgement. If the elders failed to effect a settlement, shooting began between the parties, both bajraktar and 'first family' being followed by his own kin. A man related to both followed the one to whom he was more nearly related; this at least in theory. In practice they often showed a naive sense of which side their bread was buttered and joined the disputant with the stronger following.

628 Sometimes a long struggle for precedence developed between
662 a 'first family' tenacious of its ancient privileges and an ambitious
578 bajraktar. In Lurë, for instance, both the Catholic Zef Doçi of Lurë e Vjetër (Old Lurë) and the Mohammedan Ibrahim Gjoçi of Kreje had long been rivals of the Mohammedan bajraktar Hakik Aliu Meta. In 1926 Gjoçi had the largest following, because he maintained the tribe with surpassing generosity. Within a decade he ate himself out of house and home, and then lost nearly all his power, retaining only the tribesmen's affection and respect for his past benefits. He therefore ceased to hamper the ambitions of the bajraktar. Zef Doçi, the 'first family' in the whole tribe, was a more obstinate rival, as his power rested less on his lavish doles than on his descent and personal wisdom. Ancestor after ancestor had been 'captains' in Turkish times, whereas Gjoçi and Meta had never been 'captains' till created by King Zog. The bajraktar began by undermining Doçi's position with traditional doles. He sent sheep to the poor at every festival and went guarantee for them in the shops during crises such as weddings and burials. 'So they all follow me now', he told the visitor with disarming simplicity. He had resorted to direct action, seizing every chance to kill off the guns in Doçi's family. In 1933 some brigands, who had killed one of Llesh Doçi's men, were harboured in a mountain sheepfold by the bajraktar's shepherds. Together with Zef and other relatives,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

621 of Turkish rule these were the famous law-givers Dedë Lleshi and
622 Likë Gjegjaj. Again, when Per Dedë Ndoj was senior headman of the village of Gojan in Mirditë, he took the lead in publicly executing a man of his own kin, Buçaj, for murdering a guest who belonged to the Martinaj kin in the same village. The story is related by Father Gjeçov.

623 This fifth type[1] was the recognized superior of the sixth, the body of men who were[2] unitedly called 'village elders'. These consisted of all the brotherhood and kin elders in the village as well as the [634] village elder himself. For instance, in the district of Kurbin there were sixteen villages, each of which had its 'head (or village) elder'. But according to a document published on p. 129 of Father Gjeçov's book[3] there were altogether forty-five elders in Kurbin. Besides the sixteen 'head elders' there were twenty-nine ordinary 'village elders', some of them kin elders and some brotherhood elders. In Mirditë these village elders were known as 'canon elders', because it was their business to see that the law was respected and applied. To avoid confusion between the single village elder and the body of village elders these will henceforth be alluded to as canon elders.

634 The document mentioned by Father Gjeçov introduces us to the seventh type, a personage styled 'chief elder'. In the document he was chief of the 'forty-five elders of the region of Krujë' (i.e. Kurbin). There is no explicit information of how his position came to this man or whether it was hereditary in his family. It can only be inferred that as he was a Përvizi of Skuraj, and this family led Kurbin, the position was hereditary and a tribute to the outstanding strength of his family. In so large an area as Kurbin there could not be any question of all the villages being related by blood and owning allegiance to Përvizi as the descendant, master after master, of the master of the ancestral household. In other districts where a chief elder existed, it may be assumed similarly that he owed his position to the personal qualities of his family rather than to its descent.

Some other kinds of elder were found, both among the southern tribes and elsewhere, but it will be easier to understand their position after the characteristics and functions which were common to the elders have been elucidated.

554 Viewed as a human being, an elder was an ordinary man without privileges other than the corner seat, head of the roasted animal

[1] [of elder -- ie., the senior headman -- Analyst]
[2] [cf. cat. 116, pp. 12-15 -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

and first cup of coffee, which were offered to any man of standing. 554
He lived in the same style as the rest of his social unit and was their equal in the eyes of the law. The latter point was clearer in the old days. If he were killed an ordinary blood feud ensued; if this was compounded, the price of his blood was no higher than an ordinary man's. If he killed someone, his life was forfeit in the usual manner to his victim's family. If he committed a crime against the community, he was liable to the usual punishments for such a crime and could be asked to give the community a rifle or other recognized article as security for his good behaviour in future. He had also the same social obligations as humbler tribesmen. These included serving in the tribal 'army', feeding the tribal 'youth', doing forced labour for the government, sharing communal labour for the village, and subscribing to public objects like buying an extra piece of communal pasturage or forest. He had also, like common men, to do military service and work annually without payment for a short period on the roads.

As a legal personage, however, an elder was on a higher footing 693
than ordinary tribesmen. If, for instance, a village elder were to 622
witness an oath in a case grave enough to require twenty-four 613
jurors, his single person counted as the twelve jurors who were left unspecified by the judging elder. Another elder did not count as high, for a village elder ranked higher than a kin elder, and the latter higher than a brotherhood elder. An elder's duties were twofold, administrative and legal. The former were an expansion of the master's, for he had to take the same fatherly care of his brotherhood, kin or village that a master took of his household and had to run it on much the same system. On the external side he had to present its case skilfully to higher authorities and defend it from oppression. Internally he must maintain law and order by checking the chief evils, assassination and damage to property. He had to try to nip quarrels in the bud by persuasive reasoning, arbitrate when they menaced and judge when they developed. He had to lend the weight of his presence not only to the giving of an oath but also to the bequeathing of a legacy to church or mosque, the planting of boundary stones, and (generally) the separation of brothers. The embodiment of the tribal law, he was at once advocate, judge and law-giver.

An elder's age and wealth did not matter to the ordinary 613
members of his social unit, who drew no invidious comparisons 554
622

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

between him and themselves on those grounds. Provided he was correctly descended from the master of the ancestral household through a succession of what were conventionally called 'eldest' brothers, and were really the most competent, they accepted him as their elder as unquestioningly as the English nation accepts its king. Sometimes a new elder seemed unfit for his duties. Then the others took him with them when they went to work, and told him how his dead father judged or arbitrated: the most telling and least offensive method of training him.

When a dispute occurred it was the duty of the aggrieved party to inform his brotherhood elder first of all. When he did so and the matter was trifling and lay between two members of his brotherhood, this elder judged the case out of hand. If the disputants belonged to different brotherhoods, he consulted with the elder of the second brotherhood. When the case was graver he carried it to his kin elder, who might judge it straight away or carry it to the village elder. The village elder might in his turn pronounce judgement forthwith or call a General Assembly of the village in order to thrash the matter out in public and get a backing for any decision taken. Often the aggrieved party went straight to the village elder who was accessible to all tribesmen. In that event neither his kin nor his brotherhood had the right to resent the man's going over their heads. Moreover, the village elder's superiority was so well established that no resentment was likely to be felt. In no case was it lawful for an aggrieved man to seek advice from an elder in an outside village before he had consulted one of his own. If a kin elder or the brotherhood elders in the kin oppressed others in the village it was the duty of the village elder to repress them; and he had the right to summon the elders of the other kins in the village, if necessary, to his support. Article 10 in the Convention of Kurbin[1] betrays a strong feeling that there must be no shooting until the village elder has been informed of the dispute and given a chance to settle it by quieter means.

Elders could also act collectively. In the old days no new law could be passed, nor any judgement affecting their social unit be pronounced, unless they were present and gave their approval. When the bajraktar summoned a General Assembly for such important purposes as concluding a truce, trying a serious case or enacting new laws of tribal behaviour, their attendance was

[1] See Appendix, Document XI, p. 271.

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while he had gone to the ambush by another's instructions he had 628
walked there on his own legs. As the instigator of the crime had 682
broken his promise about paying the blood money, they sentenced
him to have his house burned down by the tribe.

On one occasion Lek Dukagjini had come at Skanderbeg's 649
invitation to discuss some blood feuds at a General Assembly of all
the tribes in the land. Skanderbeg opposed the principle of 'a life 654
for a life' on the grounds that all men were *not* equal; the blood of
a physically fine man was different from that of a poor type. At
Lek's suggestion, however, he inquired of his mother, upon oath,
what sort of a man his father had been. On learning that he had
been a poor type, Skanderbeg at the next Assembly agreed to the
principle of equality!

About 1870, when Kolë Prenga the Great was Captain of 688
Mirditë, a jar of butter was stolen from the church house in Orosh 696
during the priest's absence. On his return his servant, who had
also been away at the time, informed him of the theft. The priest,
a Franciscan, informed the bajraktar of Orosh. The latter convened
the tribe (*bajrak*) but no one confessed to the theft. The bajraktar
then informed Captain Kola. The captain undertook to track down
the culprit, and one day ordered the tribe to assemble on the open
space in front of the church at Orosh. In spite of Captain Kola's
questions no one came forward to confess to the crime. Then
Captain Kola, together with the chiefs of the tribe, sentenced the
unknown thief to death and banishment from the tribe; his house,
too, was to be destroyed and his land left uncultivated. Not long
afterwards the thieves were discovered. They were two young men
of Orosh, Prengë Kolë Marku and another whose name has been
forgotten. Captain Kolë Prenga the Great again ordered the tribe
to assemble, one man from every house, at the church at Orosh.
The two young men also came by order to the meeting. Captain
Kola read out the sentence that had previously been pronounced.
The two thieves were stood in the middle of an open space,
unarmed and with their hands folded at the waist. The tribe stood
up awaiting the captain's order to fire. But the priest, filled with
pity for the culprits, begged the captain, the chiefs and the
commoners to grant them their lives. This was done, they paid
money to the church for their sacrilege, returned twice the quantity
of what they had stolen, paid the usual fine and were expelled from
the tribe.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XXIV

BLOOD FEUD

III. EXPIATOR AND EXPIATION

In most cases of murder one life only was forfeit to the avenger; 554 'one for one' was the formula. This was irrespective of the social 682 standing or the character of the victim. Hence the murder of a standard-bearer (bajraktar) was neither better nor worse than the murder of the least of clansmen, and that of a priest was neither better nor worse than that of a layman.

The formula of 'one for one' was disregarded only in a few cases. 554 In Lumë, a district which prided itself on its 'spirit', 'two for one' 628* was the rule when a man killed his social superior; nothing less 682 would content his victim's injured pride. In most districts a man who suffered the more grievous forms of bereavement, losing his wife, guest or child at a murderer's hands, took double or even triple vengeance. In the Malësi e Madhe the victim's family, if 'strong' with all the pride that the epithet denotes, might kill two of the murderer's relatives if they found them together, though not otherwise. Spiro Toli of Shënjon, near Elbasan, a man as proud as any Lumjan of his 'spirit', felt so degraded when his brother was killed by a hireling at another's bidding, and that hireling a gipsy, that he killed both the instigator and the hireling. Pride, of course, was the ruling motive in every blood feud. By his successful crime the murderer had proved himself the better man, and the victim could not endure this inferiority and was bound to strike back in kind.

The person of the expiator seems to have undergone an historical 628* development. Long ago, 'blood feuds went by the finger', that is to 672 say, only the actual murderer, the man whose finger had pulled the trigger, was made to expiate his crime. Father Gjeçov aptly compares Deuteronomy xxiv, 16. In modern times the merging of the individual in his family was stressed as in the case of the avenger, and expiation might be made by any male who lived in the same house as the murderer and was in either the actual or classificatory sense his 'father', 'brother' or 'son'.

This rule was subject to several important reservations. The

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

562 woman was sometimes shot accidentally in a man's stead in spite of
*628 the tabu. In that unhappy event in Kurbin a woman in the
672 murderer's family might be killed in return. If, too, a feud was
784 unusually bitter, as was, for instance, the Kaloshi family one in Dibër, all barriers of law and disgrace were thrown down; 'kill at all costs' was the order of the day, and in its execution women and children were as likely as men to suffer.

This tabu on killing women had several sources. In the first place, a woman was 'a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was the vehicle by which a family was carried on, and killing her might mean the loss of more than one man to her husband's family. Then she carried no arms, and therefore was classed with old men, children, and lunatics as safe from an avenger. Again, she was
[421] always regarded as an article of property, belonging in her maiden days to her father and afterwards to her husband; her father had the right to her work till she married, and her husband afterwards; in token of this work her father sold her dear, and her husband bought her dear. Articles of property could not be damaged in the course of blood feuds. There was also the feeling that it was a disgrace for a 'strong' man to kill anything so inferior as a woman.

The tabu on killing women was so strong that when one committed a murder, not she but one of the males in the family expiated the crime, if expiation were possible. Murders by women fell into two categories, the first outside and the second inside the family. In both cases the murderess might commit the crime on her own account or butt into a men's quarrel to avenge a murdered relative.

*628 One more class of expiator remains to be considered. It some-
672 times happened that a man hired an outsider to kill his enemy. In
[754] the Breg i Matit some held that such a man was a 'witch', and
676 since witches could not have blood feuds, he must go scot-free and his hireling suffer, like any other murderer. In most places, if the instigator could not be discovered, or if time was passing without vengeance being taken on him, the hireling was killed. These practices were exceptional, and in general the feud was credited to the principal rather than to the subordinate who fired the fatal shot.

[554] Vanity as well as justice came into the question, for the instigator was usually a more important person than his instrument, and killing him brought the avenger more glory.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296] 225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837] runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765] shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696] out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628] been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585] whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554] collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894.

681
491
574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 262 264 562 576 to them. Any women sitting by the roadside when a man passed at once arose and gave humble greeting. Krsto always was very lordly on these occasions. He always ate with me—partly, I think, to convince himself he was not my servant but my equal. Poor Iké fed apart afterwards. Once when he was absent a week I begged her to feed with me, for it was ridiculous to make two meals of it. But the mere idea of doing anything so unseemly distressed her so that she burst into tears and prayed me to excuse her. She said it was a thing that could not be done; it would "shame" me.

H 576 562 554 For a man to wait on a woman was very humiliating. A mounted gendarme, a Bosnian Moslem, was once ordered to escort me in Turkish territory. He had conscientious scruples about obeying a woman. After a midday halt at a "kavana," he hurried down to get the horses ready, leaving his rifle on the balcony. Presently he shouted up to no one in particular, "Give me my rifle." As it was alongside of me I handed it down. His ruse had succeeded, and he cried with childish glee, "She has waited on me! she has waited on me!" Honour was satisfied.

A 554 264 Among the Albanian tribesmen it was considered very degrading to eat with a woman. I remember how a Kastrati man jeered at the Austrian Consul. A poor creature, indeed. He drank coffee and ate meat and bread, and let his wife eat at the same time. A shameless woman! A despicable man. The Kastrati man would not let his wife so misbehave. He would never eat with a woman, not he.

A [186] It is amusing how often ambassadors, generals, admirals, ministers, and other exalted beings are looked down on with contempt by the native whose respect and admiration they fondly imagine they are arousing.

When I arrived at Vuthaj, a Moslem Albanian village, where they had never before entertained a strange female, there was a very long powwow as to the correct course to pursue. I had gone there on the invitation of a headman. It was decided that I was too important a guest to feed with the harem. I was to rank as a man and feed with the chiefs. But in order to comply with their sense of fitness I was helped last of all, even after my horse-boy. And so honour was satisfied. The women waited at table—unveiled—but I did not enter their apartment and had no communication with them.

A [576] Among the Christian Mirdites at the house of the Kapetan, where I was treated with great honour, the younger men of the family waited at table, as did Chaucer's Squire, and no woman was allowed to come near me at all. I heard a giggling crowd trying to get a peep at me through the crack of the door, but they were chivied away by a male, and my suggestion that I should see them was met by the statement that they were too modest.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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Balkan Peoples E13
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

new metal and so give an impulse to the vast iron industry upon which the whole of our present material civilization is based. But into this prehistory we cannot now enter. The epoch-making discoveries of the Austrian experts attached to the Serajevo Museum require a volume to themselves, and can be studied in the volumes of the *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Hercegovina*. In his *Voyage en Bosnie*, 1807–1808, Chaumette-des-Fossés says: "The mines which abound in this country would become under another government an inexhaustible source of wealth. . . . That which has always contributed to the wealth of Bosnia and, at the present time, has become its principal branch of industry are the numerous iron mines. The most considerable are near Foinitza and Cressevo. They employ more than two thousand workers, of whom one-third are Catholics and the rest gipsies." According to this report the Orthodox Serbs did not work in the mines.

B 172
H 316 172

Iron being such a very ancient Balkan industry, it is strange to find that the bulk of the Balkan populations still consider iron-working as most degrading. When I travelled, the tide of foreign blue-enamelled ironware was only beginning to set in, and iron was still worked almost entirely by gipsies a-squ[illegible] in ramshackle sheds on the outskirts of the towns of Serbia, Bosnia, Montenegro, and Albania, who, with most primitive anvil, hammer, and bellows, forged the horseshoes, hobbles, chains, ploughshares, fish-tridents, dentistry forceps, nails, and hooks commonly used by the peasants. Everyone bought their ware, and everyone looked on the gipsy as beneath contempt.

A H 316 554 326

Respectable people, both Serb and Albanian, could make copper pots or cut up old petroleum canisters and fashion tin pots and other articles of them. No one who valued his reputation could hammer iron.

In 1907 I was Commissioner for Montenegro at the Balkan States Exhibition at Earl's Court, and took the Montenegrins who then came over for their first walk to see the shops. None of them had ever left their native land before. We stopped outside a large hardware shop in the Brompton Road, and the two men examined every tool and pot in the window. They then glanced inside. I shall never forget their contempt when they saw that the men behind the counter were not, as they expected, "tsrni tziganini" (black gipsies) but English.

M 648 114 186

"What!" cried the elder in horror, "Englishmen making and selling iron things!" He thought, of course, they made the goods they were selling. "I had rather see my son dead than see him sink so low as this! The English! By God, they are no better than Black Gipsies."

And, until we arrived at Whitehall and saw the Horse Guards, nothing would make him modify his opinion that the English were a "pogan

M 186

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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Montenegrins EF5

angry and said: 'Do you dead dogs dare threaten the Roman realm? I will shave off those locks of yours and then cut off your heads.' H 302 171 175

"He then imprisoned them for six months and released them terrified, and for some time the Avars submitted to Rome and gave no trouble."

The Nemanja kings, as seen on the frescoes at Dechani, all wore the moustache. Their beards are very small. The hair of the head is completely hidden by the crown.

To-day in the Balkans the beard is worn almost solely by the Orthodox priesthood and the Moslem dervishes and hodjas. Thus the holy men of both faiths observe the hair taboo. B 302

Laymen in all parts where the modern fashion of clean-shaving has not penetrated always wear the moustache. Perhaps vague memories of the days when the hair was burnt as ultimate disgrace haunt the mind, for the clean-shaven man, I found, was a creature condemned and despised. M A 302

In Krsto's hut I mentioned that my brother was clean-shaven, and the company, abashed, stared at their toes and were speechless. Then someone, deeply shocked, said: "No noble family will give him a wife." And kind old Pope Gjuro, wishing to be polite, said that such things might be done in London, but in Montenegro it was better not to speak of them. Whereupon the repulsive subject was dropped. 186 M A

In both Albania and Montenegro a hairless man is called by the Turkish word "Chosé." Bald heads in both lands are very rare. I never saw more than a slight thinning on the top. A really bald, shining head is thought an awful thing. We were once discussing the American regulations for emigrants. A Montenegrin who had been to America angrily denounced the injustice of the health inspectors at the landing-place. "I myself," he cried, "saw them allow a man with no hair on the top of his head—a most horrible sight—to pass. And they stopped a poor boy who had only a few little bare spots on his head and said he was diseased!" 183 554 186

In old Serbian ballads the hero's moustache is his glory. Mighty fine were these warriors. H 538 554 302

And there came five horsemen clad in black;
At their head rode a hero upon a raven steed.
His black moustachios reached below his shoulders
And hung to the pistols in his sash.
His breastplate ("toké") glittered through his moustachios
As doth the moon when fifteen days old
Shine through the branches of a fir-tree.
Lo and behold, O my brother Mujo!
Next to them come three horsemen
Clad in white cloth and riding upon greys.
At their head is a warrior on a grey steed,
And his fair moustachios reach to his shoulders, etc.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 538 554 302

And so they follow on, each matching his horse to his immense moustache. As Krsto used to say with a sigh, "One does not see such sights nowadays."

H 764

It is noteworthy that the warriors carved on the mediæval gravestones of Bosnia show no hair either on face or head. The work is very rude and shows no features either (Fig. 22).

A 302

In Albania, too, the moustache is very precious. My old friend Marko cherished a fine one. When he was young he declared he could easily tie its ends behind his head—the true test, he said, for a moustache.

A 776

In the fairy tales he used to tell, the villain was a "Chosé," a hairless man. They were always abominably wicked, he said.

554

The British Navy lost its prestige when clean-shaven officers appeared in Scutari in 1913.

A 302 293 554

When Marko was young and his moustache in its prime, he was kavass to the Turkish Embassy in Vienna, wore a gold-embroidered Albanian dress, and cut such a gallant figure that no less a person than one of the Rothschilds noticed him. The wealthy Jew asked the poor Albanian to quit Turkish service and be doorkeeper at the Rothschild palace. The salary offered was beyond Marko's wildest imagination. "I thought I should be a rich man," said he, "but the dog—yes, he was a dog—he told me his servants were clean-shaven and I must cut off my moustache. My moustache that I could tie behind my head! I said that not for all the gold of the Rothschilds would I cut it off." So Marko was never rich, and was never tired of telling of the insult.

So great is the respect for the moustache that the Catholic Church humours her Albanian flock, and bishops, abbots, and secular priests all wear the finest moustaches they can grow.

A [293]

"If an Italian or Austrian comes here as a missionary," said a young Albanian Franciscan to me, roaring with laughter, "we shut him up till he's grown a decent moustache. It would be useless to send him to a mountain parish without one; they would hunt him out."

A 302

A great variety of head-shaves is found among both men and women of the Albanian mountains. The Catholic married women of Maltsia e Madhe shave the forehead and temples, and dye the hair black on marriage, and make their face look very large. A similar fashion is to be seen in many early Italian portraits of ladies. The Mirdite women and some of the allied groups wear a fringe over the forehead and do not dye the hair. The men of Maltsia e Madhe shave a great part of the head, and leave either one great lump on the top or two big side tufts; or they shave the back and leave the front. The temples are usually shaved, even by Scutarenes, who wear European dress.

A 292

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Serbs EF6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

In the Pulati mountains the head is often shaved, except for the perchin. A 302

In olden days a boy did not rank as a male till his head had been shaved. This was not done till after the ceremony of the first hair-cutting, described above. When once shaved he could be killed for blood-vengeance as male blood of the tribe. A 307 554 885

Mothers would defer the head-shave if they could for a year or two in consequence, but it was a practice not approved of.

The heads of both girls and boys are shaved in the mountains, and a fringe is left over the girl's forehead. A 302

When I was in Kosovo vilayet in 1908 I found that among the scattered Serbian peasants the heads of both girls and boys were S 302

A [302]

FIG. 23.—VARIETIES OF ALBANIAN HEAD-SHAVES

shaved. Both had a perchin, and the girls a fringe over the forehead. So soon as the girl was betrothed her hair was allowed to grow. In the rare case of her remaining unmarried I was told she would keep her head shaved. S 584 554

In the Albanian mountains, where the girls were betrothed as children, I found the hair was not allowed to grow till they were marriageable. A 584 302

Wood-ash and water in the mountains is the usual shaving mixture. Even in civilized places methods were sometimes barbaric. I watched a barber, who stood at the gates of Ragusa on a market-day, inviting incoming peasants to indulge in a shave before entering the town. The patient sat cross-legged on the ground. The barber gripped his head between his knees, spat freely on the razor blade, and set to work. A H 302

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw 342
or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older [77]
generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's [343]
apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed [351]
within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments [362]
are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms [352]
indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs [353]
are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, [354]
warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped [574]
and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, [262]
working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

342 Whenever the building material available on the spot is stone, the shepherds build their huts with simple stone walls covered with roughly cut wooden plants.

It is at first sight very difficult, according to Nopcsa, to find any basic difference between a stone-built shepherd's hut and a primitive one-room, stone-wall, permanent house of the Albanians. For the only difference it is that the permanent house is larger, higher and the frame-work of its roof is more strongly built. Its construction has also an immediate relation with the nature of the ground. Namely, the building material locally available will determine whether the house (called «shpi») will be out of stone, or out of wood and of reeds. Thus, in the plain district of the seaside (Mati), where there is no [556] stone at all, even richer inhabitants have to content themselves with houses made of wood, although, for lack of security, stone-built houses are everywhere considered as ideal, since they offer protection both against stray shots and fire.

The Albanian house is then in its simplest form an one-room dwelling, with its entrance either on the side of the roof gable or on the side where the rain water is drained off. But while half-underground shepherd huts have always their entrance on the side of the roof gable, even simpler clay and lime built Albanian houses have it always on the side of rain-water drainage.

Such one-room dwellings of stone and clay constitute the house of poorer classes of the population in the mountainous region NW of Scodra round the river Drilon, the Cem valley and many other regions of Northern Albania. The roof is sloping on two sides and the main pole corresponds to the length of the house, so that its two ends rest upon the short side walls. The roof is usually covered with branches.

In such mountains, where there is a complete lack of forests and therefore difficulty in obtaining timber in order to construct a frame for a large roof, inhabitants are obliged to construct a small stone-built house of a special type, whose geographical spreading out corresponds, according to Cvijic', to the area of the Karst Mountain. According to Haberlandt, this type of house was the characteristic dwelling of ancient Illyrians.

Both men and animals live in the above single-room, although [231] the stable is often separated from the human habitation by a thin, not very high wall made of woven reeds.

In some areas, a special entrance is opened for the animals in

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

696 compurgators that the land was his. He took the oath, but the other refused to accept its verdict and the quarrel continued. The whole village denounced this as 'very shameful'.

Some losers were made to accept the verdict by the realization [558] that resistance would only plunge them into the difficulties of a blood feud, and others submitted in fear of losing 'face'. The [696] elders had normally little machinery for enforcing the verdict. In one difficult case observed by the author in Çermenikë however, they succeeded by the unusual device of putting both claimants to the oath. An old, forceful man had quarrelled about irrigation water with a young rascal who was his distant relative. The elders decided that if the young man could take the oath, he should have the water; if he could not, the old man must not think the water his but must take oath on another day that it was his by right. As the young man was a notorious liar, it was not expected that he would be able to muster the requisite number of compurgators. But to the general surprise he succeeded, and took the oath. The elders decreed that he should have water for six hours every five days. The old man seemed at first to acquiesce in this decree, but later held up the water and turned out his own compurgators to take oath along with himself that it was his. But the elders would not countenance such disobedience, particularly as he had originally submitted to the verdict of his relative's oath; and by refusing to come and witness his oath they prevented it from being taken. Eventually he gave in, and allowed the young man to have water according to the oath that he had sworn as prescribed by the elders.

693 Another interesting case occurred in Dibër about 1935. Cen
696 Elezi was asked to arbitrate between two cousins in Çajë, in south Lumë, who were quarrelling about a piece of land. He asked a fee of twelve napoleons from each, and accepted their tobacco boxes in pledge thereof. The boxes were silver but not worth anything like his fee, so they were only a token pledge. Cen then went to see the land and discovered that neither cousin knew exactly where its boundaries lay. He pointed this out and said that this and their relationship made arbitration difficult. One of them, whom he named, must therefore take oath with six named and six unnamed compurgators that the land was his. First of all, however, he must set up the boundary stones in their proper places. On the day arranged Cen could not go himself to witness the oath. He

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such phrases as 'May Sheikh Ibrahim cut short my life' and 'May the bread kill me'. Sometimes the mechanism was crude and obvious, as in Jove's thunderbolts, the lightning that struck the perjurer dead, set his house on fire, or killed his livestock. Even if a perjurer escaped death, it was expected all over the country that he would fall ill or go from bad to worse till he came to ruin. Poverty and sickness must be his lot. His family might even die out, most dreadful of calamities. His son might be born with a physical defect, lame or blind or with a withered arm or too many fingers to his hands. A man of Tërnovë, near Martanesh, took a false oath, and as a result one of his eyes a year later was as large as his fist. 783

There were also social penalties to be faced. A man detected in a false oath became an outcast, despised and condemned by all his fellows, and was never again invited into any house in the tribe. In grosser cases in the Malësi e Madhe he might even be expelled by the tribe. In Mirditë his family was branded with shame for seven generations. All over the Catholic areas he was also fined. In Mirditë there were elaborate rules for these fines. If there had been a jury of twenty-four, the perjurer had to pay 100 rams and an ox to the Gjomarkaj family. If the jury had been smaller, the fine, which was presumably of the same amount, went to the tribe. In addition, the perjurer had to pay a fine to the Church and 500 grosh to each compurgator for leading him into perjury and outrage to the Church, and so exposing him to the usual punishments for perjury and sacrilege. For the Divine wrath fell on an unwitting no less than on a witting perjurer. It was no excuse for a compurgator in God's eyes that he had forsworn himself in reliance on the suspect's oath; he had had the responsibility of ascertaining the facts for himself. The compurgators and the perjurer had to go to church in order to obtain absolution for their sins. Just before leaving, the perjurer had to leave money on the altar to pay all the fines he had contracted to pay when he took the oath before the compurgators. In the Malësi e Madhe he had to give six purses to the Church as well as one to each compurgator. In Martanesh which is, of course, completely Moslem, the same compensation was payable to each compurgator in a perjury case, but in neighbouring Zerqan the practice was unknown. The fine was obviously a considerable deterrent to would-be perjurers, especially when the jury was large. 687 [672] [558] [783]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

they had punished the man he denounced, they repaid any moneys 695
taken from this man out of the false witness's property, selling 687
a portion of it if necessary.

In some southern areas manners were softer. In Çermenikë and Zerqan a lying witness was dismissed with a contemptuous word, suffering only disgrace in the accuser's eyes. Since his identity had never transpired, the public thought neither more nor less of him than before.

Sometimes the witness convicted himself of being the thief. This 685
happened especially when he knew too many details, describing too 695
exactly, for instance, the colour of a stolen animal's hair, the number of its spots, or the shape and twirls of its horns. The elders then called him the thief outright and sentenced him to pay their fee as well as the value of the stolen property and the amount he had extracted from the accuser as his own fee. 'So you wanted to steal twice over from him, did you?' they would exclaim. In Martanesh [558]
they also disgraced him publicly. The elder in whose yard he was being secretly examined called out to the accuser to come and seize him like the thief he was; during his cross-examination the accuser had remained, as was everywhere customary, out of earshot. As the yard was bolted for the night, the thief could not escape. Next day he was led out in front of the assembled village, denounced by the elders, and publicly sentenced to pay the sums described above. It often happened that they saw him then for the first time.

In Mirditë, it sometimes happened that a witness, observing that he had failed to convince the elders, and certain of his evidence, came forward publicly, seized the thief (or murderer) by the arm and denounced him as the criminal. Such courage never failed to win credence for his story.

If the witness was dismissed as a liar or convicted as the thief, the accuser lost the money he had paid him as well as the value of his lost property. That explains why a suspect could not be put to the oath a second time, yet could be retried as it were on a witness's evidence. It cost the accuser nothing to make a suspect take an oath, so that if the law had allowed 'oath after oath', a litigiously minded man might have made himself an endless nuisance to suspect, elders, compurgators and general public. But there was no such risk with a witness. The accuser had to prepay him whatever fee they agreed on, and if he had been foolish enough to trust an unsatisfactory person, he lost his money.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XXI

MURDER WITHIN THE FAMILY

682 When a man murdered his son, father, brother, paternal uncle,
627 paternal uncle's son, or brother's son, the usual verdict was that
596 in killing so near a relative the murderer had 'killed himself'. The victim's blood was therefore lost, 'no one sought-to-avenge him', and it had only been his 'ill-luck' so to die.

From another point of view it might be argued that since the murderer was the victim's nearest relative, other relatives could not act over his head and avenge the dead man. For example, when a man murdered his paternal uncle, if the latter left neither son nor brother, his blood was lost, for the murderer was his nearest relative and by killing him had only killed himself. On the other hand, if the uncle left either a son or a brother, that son or brother was nearer to him than the murderer and avenged his death. In view of his relationship to the criminal his vengeance generally took the form of exacting blood money. In the same way when a man murdered his brother's son, the victim's blood was lost if he left neither father nor brother. But if he left either, the murderer had to pay blood money. The rule of the nearest relative failed only if one brother killed another while their father was alive. Though the father was the nearest relative of the victim, the fratricide being only a neighbour by comparison, the victim's blood was lost. The father could not avenge him except by killing his surviving son, and even from the best of motives no decent father would kill a son.

[672] The motive of the murderer seldom affected the situation. The murder of a son, an extremely rare occurrence, was oftenest due to his adultery with his young stepmother. His blood was lost, not [584] because of his sin, but solely because the father who murdered him [587] was his nearest relative. Again, one brother sometimes fell in love with the other's wife, and knowing, especially in north Albania, [607] that if she became a widow he could by customary law marry her, could not always resist the temptation to make her a widow. The [558] victim's blood was lost in spite of the murderer's motive, and the fratricide married the widow and suffered no disability except some loss of face.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

of stones was made where he was killed; on this every passer-by was expected to throw a green leaf, a blade of grass or a pebble while expressing a wish for the repose of his soul. In Shkrel, according to one informant, a stone was stuck at the head and another at the foot, as though the place was a real grave, but a *muranë* was not made. Any relatives who wished to mourn him went to his grave, not to the place where he had been killed. Exceptionally, what seem real graves may be seen near the meadows of Tërnovë above Zerqan; ten or twelve in number, each roughly outlined with stones, they are known as 'the murdered graves' and are said to contain the bodies of men who fell there in a long-past battle between the villages of Tërnovë and Sopot. Again exceptionally, when Muharrem Bajraktar of Lumë fled in 1934 to Yugoslavia, the Spahi family, his hereditary enemies, killed one of his servants. Muharrem said this man was not to be buried in Bicaj, his native village, but by the wayside where he fell, so that when he himself returned from exile he should see the grave and be reminded to take vengeance.

The ideal was to take vengeance as soon as possible. In Kurbin the piled stones served to make the dead man's kinsmen hasten to take vengeance, reminding them of his death and so 'heating their blood'. For the same purpose the Catholics of the north frequently buried the man in his blood-stained clothes; the Mohammedans, however, obedient to the dictum that all who profess their faith must go to the grave in a clean winding sheet, discarded this custom. A still stranger reminder of the need to take vengeance, a little bottle filled with the dead man's blood, was used all over north Albania and in Kosovë. This bottle the relatives looked at day and night. As soon as the blood 'boiled', i.e. fermented, they seized their rifles, cocked their skull-caps over one ear to show their determination, and rushed forth to kill the murderer. If the blood did not 'boil', they might accept a money indemnity instead of taking a life. In western Mat they dipped a rag in the dead man's blood; when it looked stained and brown, they knew the hour to avenge him had struck. None of these reminders was found as far south as Çermenikë and Shpat.

Public opinion also spurred the avenger on. A man slow to kill his enemy was thought 'disgraced' and was described as 'low-class' and 'bad'. Among the Highlanders he risked finding that other men had contemptuously come to sleep with his wife, his

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

626 daughter could not marry into a 'good' family and his son must
*628 marry a 'bad' girl. As far south as Godolesh on the outskirts of
558 Elbasan, he paid visits at his peril; his coffee cup was only half-filled, and before being handed to him it was passed under the host's left arm, or even his left leg, to remind him of his disgrace. He was often mocked openly.

All over north Albania it was permissible for the victim's kin to burn down the murderer's house. The veteran Mirash Nue of
[574] Vuksan in Shalë boasted that once he saved his house from this fate by sending a message to the avenger which ran: 'Spare the ashes on my hearth for the sake of the open house I've kept.' The avenger, touched by the reminder of Mirash's noted hospitality, yielded to the plea. In 1935 a Dibran took to the mountains after wounding a fellow-villager with whom he was at feud; on recovering, his victim did not dare to sleep at home in case he returned under cover of darkness to repair his bad marksmanship by setting fire to the house and burning him to death. In hot blood an avenger might in some places do as much material damage as possible to the murderer, burning his hay as well as his house, scything his ripening grain and harrowing over his growing maize. For fear of reprisals in kind he could nowhere harm his children or animals.

685 Burning down a murderer's house is said in Martanesh to have
*628 been a recent innovation, and in Dibër and Lumë to have been formerly much more common than in recent times. Various considerations suggest that the latter view is correct. The reason given in Lumë for the waning of the custom is that it grew progressively more serious as people abandoned the straw huts in which they once lived and built themselves stone houses; the huts were cheap and easy to rebuild, but the houses were not so easily replaced. With poverty as general and murder as frequent as they used to be, it is obvious that if burning the murderer's stone house and destroying his crops had been freely permitted, the life of the tribe could not have gone on. To restrict the attacks on property, sanctions were introduced. In Dibër an avenger guilty of incendiarism was banished in perpetuity by the community. In Krujë the crime was deprecated as doubly unwise; it might cause further deaths, so involving the avenger in further feuds, and women and children might be among the victims, in which case the avenger would be covered with disgrace. In Shpat an avenger who burned his enemy's house found the whole community against him as

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

The man killed in the murderer's stead must not be too old, feeble-minded, or physically frail to carry arms, for such men were counted women, and women could not be killed in blood feuds. If the avenger killed such a man, he lost caste, was publicly branded as 'low-class' and made it certain that the feud would not be closed. It was also illegal to kill boys who were still too young to carry arms, that is to say, under fifteen or in some cases twenty. In the Malësi e Madhe, however, it was held that one must take vengeance where one could, and that in default of an adult enemy one might kill a boy. Even in that region such a crime was not committed except by a very bad man or one who was frenzied with rage at the recent murder of a relative or otherwise. For instance, in 1933 a subaltern of the Alije family, whose wife had been carried off by another Dibran, refrained for some years from avenging the insult in the way demanded by mountain law. Taunted with this restraint at a chance meeting in a café, he put aside the civilization acquired during his military education in Albania and in Italy and rushed for his revolver. As he was unable to find the man who had taunted him, he lay in wait for the latter's schoolboy son, aged fourteen, and shot him dead.

The men of Shalë said that vengeance on a boy was commoner in Pult than in their own tribe; the men of Pult, they added contemptuously, were in every way their inferiors. Much the same was said by the tribesmen of Lurë of their neighbours in Mirditë and Kthellë, who returned the compliment in kind. In Lumë a man who took such vengeance was never again given the greeting 'Peace be with thee', which is every good Mohammedan's due from his fellows. The manner of such vengeance was inevitably very brutal. Thus two men from Shlak, when working in Bardhanjol, found the small son of their enemy and tore him in two; they are said not to have troubled to kill him first. More often the enemy wrenched the cradle off a woman's back and in her presence cut the infant's throat. A particularly nasty case was reported about 1932 from Shalë, one of the most backward regions of Albania. While two families were quarrelling about a piece of land, the wife of Grimës one day voiced her opinions so volubly in Gjelosh's house that he lost his temper and pushed her out. She fell down some steps by the door and bruised her hip. She showed the bruise to the gendarmerie, who were sympathetic enough to arrest Gjelosh and to imprison him for three months. The woman, who cared more

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the A [186] lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

Y A 292 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

562 561 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, Y too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

A [12] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with A their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

Y M 757 776 774 Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

A Y M 777 "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and A 585 hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

AGE

121 THE dimension of time can never be neglected in studying the properties of bodies, including those of human beings. Time is the scale on which we grow to maturity and shrink into old age. In this particular study time sets us 3 problems: (1) what is the range of the series in terms of age groups, and how do the component tribal subseries vary in this respect; (2) in what way does its age distribution affect the comparability of this with other series; and (3) to what extent, if at all, do differences in age account for the intertribal differences in growth, form, pigment, and pilosity, discovered in the last chapter?

ACCURACY OF THE PRESENT DATA

●561 *128 Probably not more than a dozen of the younger men whom I measured knew exactly how old they were. None of the older men did. The Gheg mountaineers work and play by families, and not by age grades. Nothing in their way of living makes a precise knowledge of age useful. Sometimes when I was measuring a group of 20 or 30 men, all from

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*128

the same place, certain members of the elder generation might know who was the oldest, and the birth order of the others on down, but they would not know how old any one man might be. Sometimes they could date a birth roughly by some local historic event, and this would give a serviceable anchor. More often I had to use my own judgment on the basis of tooth eruption, loss, and wear; wrinkling, graying, and the like. When asked their ages the men would usually reply in round numbers, "About 50," "Perhaps 40," etc., and most senile individuals declared themselves to be 100.

Possessing no illusions as to my ability to judge age in mature, outdoor-living white males, I believe that the degree of accuracy of the age judgments so made must vary considerably. We are faced with a probable error, not only of sampling, but also of the accuracy of the material itself. The latter renders the use of refined statistical constants specious. Table 10 takes only the first source of error into consideration.[1]

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 71c -- Analyst]

[p. 71(b)]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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TABLE 10: AGE

TRIBE	No.	RANGE	MEAN P.E.	σ P.E.	V P.E.
Total series	1063	18–65+	39.40 ± .26	12.50 ± .18	31.73 ± .66
Malsia e Madhe	105	20–65+	38.05 ± .71	10.80 ± .71	28.38 ± 1.32
Dukagin	106	25–65+	37.80 ± .61	9.25 ± .43	24.47 ± 1.13
Malsia e Jakovës	104	18–65+	35.85 ± .75	11.50 ± .54	32.08 ± 1.50
Has	113	18–65+	44.30 ± .82	12.95 ± .58	29.23 ± 1.31
Luma	108	18–65+	36.70 ± .87	13.50 ± .62	36.78 ± 1.69
Puka	101	18–65+	36.10 ± .92	13.70 ± .65	37.95 ± 1.80
Mirdita	101	21–65+	43.60 ± .85	12.60 ± .60	28.90 ± 1.37
Zadrima	105	21–65+	43.70 ± .78	11.80 ± .55	27.00 ± 1.26
Mati	103	18–65+	35.80 ± .67	10.10 ± .47	28.21 ± 1.33
Dibra	108	18–65+	42.00 ± .88	13.55 ± .50	32.26 ± 1.48

PERCENTILE DISTRIBUTION

	No.	PER CENT
18–20	12	1.1
21–24	99	9.3
25–29	155	14.6
30–34	166	15.6
35–39	162	15.3
40–44	129	12.1
45–49	103	9.7
50–54	88	8.3
55–59	52	4.9
60–64	56	5.3
65+	41	3.8
	1063	100.0

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe. 609 579

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes. 726

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes ; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep. 684 848

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head. 685

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider. 423 428

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has 842 554 562 592

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583 rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162 women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585 bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834 important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581 one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609 days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585 born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842 it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589 married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562 has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836 ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842 priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585 betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal, and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage." "They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586 miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away. In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31, 1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage." And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584 and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577 and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted, and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626 the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585 it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

626 585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before 585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common. 584 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage 589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her 626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms, 689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given 562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself, 839 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's 689
dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to 562
one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after [428]
which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping [689]
with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, 689
so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church 562
at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard 773
a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man 585
refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in 583
blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed 578
daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" 577
that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 583

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

Albanian Women

562 THE Albanian women are an intriguing combination of charm and grace with the addition of more serious virile qualities; the results of this association make them delightful and quite unique. They have rapidly risen from any form of servitude which they may have endured in the long past and now walk hand in hand with the men of their country.

142 In appearance she is tall and slender and of the brunette type, with large, black eyes smouldering between long, curling, black lashes—the warm, emotional type. Her carriage is pleasing, moving as she does with a suppleness that denotes the women who are accustomed to living in the open air and not spoiled by those instruments of torture which, for the sake of coquetry, support the elegant Parisian woman. It is perhaps easier to imagine Diana the Huntress and her retinue under the natural aspects of the Albanian woman.

155 The marshes, the great forests or the mighty mountains do not frighten her at all.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

155 They will go into these places without fear. They will, under any conditions, willingly take the place of their husbands or brothers should the necessity arise, for the national sentiment, so dominant in the Albanian race, inspires the woman as well as the man. In the history of Albania there are numerous examples of the heroism of women as well as men which recall the admirable anecdotes of Spartan history.

The Albanian women acquire the right of coquetry, but they have the art as surely as their Parisian sisters. This is readily realized when they are seen arrayed in their beautiful gold-embroidered dresses with their magnificent tresses becomingly adjusted under their head-dress.

562 As a rule the women of Albania are generally domesticated. They derive great pleasure from their homes and live out of it very little. It is in the home that she works and makes everything she needs—outside of her 259 household duties, she finds time to embroider, to spin and much of the lovely silk handwork that one finds in Tirana, Elbasan and other Albanian cities, which is so skillfully done in lovely, harmonizing colors on the finest of

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

tissues, is made by the women who are so occupied with other duties! The Albanian wife in the cities is also acquainted with domestic industry—she knows not laziness. Many of them, being good housewives, try to flatter the tastes of their husbands. Culinary arts are by no means alien to her: her cakes and tarts may easily cause the best patissiers of Paris to cast an envious eye into her kitchen. She is her husband's companion, his daily associate, and he keeps the lady of his hearth informed of all his affairs and often asks her advice and seeks her suggestions.

Womanhood is universally respected in Albania. They are held in the highest regard in all places to the extent that she may go any place unmolested and even in a man's company he is the one who derives protection through her.

Negotiations for a truce of peace have formerly been intrusted many times to women, for they were allowed protection and safety in an enemy's camp where a man would never have survived.

Even in Albanian history women have played many important roles; as above-mentioned she has been endowed with strong

644 fail to contribute their assistance to whatever is being done for Albanian womanhood and youth.

Therefore, there is little wonder that the six sisters of King Zog are so well-beloved by all Albanians.

562 The moral code of the Albanians is sharply drawn in respect to their women. It is considered a very grave breach of etiquette to make them the object of jokes or stories. Any unfaithfulness on the part of Albanian women is very, very rare. However, under certain specified reasons, as provided by law, divorces are possible both in the Moslem and Christian religions.

814 562 The intellectual occupations also attract the attention of Albanian women. It is thus that Albanian erudition is honored with the presence of a woman, Dora d'Istra, who has written numerous volumes that are authorities, such as "La Suisse allemande et l'Ascension du Moenich," "La Vie monastique dans l'Eglise Orientale," "Les Femmes en Orient," etc. This capable writer is an ardent feminist, in the sensible use of the word and she has done much in directing the Albanian women to intellectual freedom.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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291 wear a coat of thick white woollen stuff, red trousers, an embroidered apron with fringe half a yard long, and on the head a blue kerchief. The dress of the Christians is similar in form but usually of a violet colour. The *yashmak* and *feridgé* (veil and cloak) of [563] the Turkish women is worn out of doors by the [562] Moslem women in the towns, and also, if they live in close proximity to Moslems, by the Christian women. The cloak of the latter is, however, of a different shape and of a light red colour, with a cross embroidered in front. This distinctive dress is said to have been imposed by a native pasha, who, being attracted by a Christian girl, not knowing her to be such, asked her in marriage and was refused.

The country women, however, both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about unveiled. Their costumes vary extremely in detail, but are generally of stout homespun and felt, and in [171] form resemble those of the Greek and Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia, the leading features of which are two aprons worn under a coat. In the villages of the plains, however, a blue petticoat, trimmed [531] with red bands, is worn over an embroidered linen gown, with a bodice of white cloth embroidered in black.

302 Albanian ladies appear to be even more addicted than Osmanlis to the use of cosmetics. No sooner are they married than they begin to dye their hair [303] with a decoction made from gall-nuts and palm oil, paint their eyelashes, and extend their eyebrows till they meet over the nose. For their skins they use a "wash" in which various deleterious ingredients

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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enter, redden their lips and cheeks with iris powder 302
or carmine, and stain their nails and the palms of
their hands with henna.

The social status of the Albanian women varies 562
according to district and creed. The Liaps and the
Christians of Southern Albania and Epirus generally
occupy the least enviable position, all the hard out- [462]
of-door work devolving upon them. The Northern
Albanians and also the Tosks, on the other hand, treat
their wives with much greater consideration, consult
them willingly in their affairs, both public and private,
and accord them a position in the family almost
equal to their own. And well do they merit
the respect of their husbands and brothers. For
often have they proved themselves to be fit com-
panions for men, unmindful of fatigue, danger, and
even death in the cause of liberty. When the
armies of the Sultan menaced the privileges of which
the people of Scutari had always been proud, it was
the women who were the first to give the alarm and
to excite the men to resist to the death, themselves
following to aid in the combat. Restraining the [703]
tears natural to their sex, they would carry the
mutilated bodies of their loved ones among the com-
batants in order to excite them to avenge their deaths.
And the same women are said to have refused to
receive back into their homes the husbands and sons
who had for a moment turned their backs upon the
enemy.

Albanian women, too, are often entrusted with 562
negotiations for truce or peace. Such is the respect 628
with which Albanians regard their women that they 728

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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562 may traverse the camps of belligerents with greater
628 safety than men. The terms of treaties of peace, too,
728 are often discussed by the women belonging to the hostile parties in the privacy of the harems of the chieftains. More ready, however, as a rule, are they to espouse and take part in the quarrels of their male relatives than to act as peacemakers, and, owing to their practice of carrying arms, they are always ready for a fray. Miss Mackenzie relates that, when traversing the Pass of Katchanik, her attention was directed by her escort to two Albanian women whom they chanced to meet. "Look at them," he cried, "they are women worth looking at, for well do they know how to handle a gun!"

"Are they Moslems?" asked the traveller.

"Assuredly."

"But they do not wear the yashmak."

"Not they, indeed," was the reply. "They have never worn it, and why should they? for they are fiercer and more unapproachable than men."[1]

159 Such being the character of the Albanian women,
175 it is not surprising that they have played a con-
562 siderable part in the history of their country. It was, indeed, to the indomitable energy and courageous spirit of his mother, Khamko, that Ali Pasha, the "Lion of Ioannina," owed the earlier successes that paved the way for his subsequent brilliant career. Ali, who had during his father's lifetime been a wild and intractable boy, appears at his death to have submitted with the utmost docility to the authority of his mother. This lady, who was the daughter of a

[1] *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Bey of Konitza, and connected with some of the best Tosk families, had not, until the death of her husband placed the responsibility for the well-being of the family in her hands, given any signs of the extraordinary strength of character and readiness of resource which afterwards distinguished her, qualities which were, however, sullied by an implacability of soul which only too nearly resembled that displayed by Olympias, the mother of Alexander, herself a native of Epirus.

"To my mother," said the tyrant of Ioannina on one occasion to the French Consul-General—"to my mother I owe everything, for my father left me but a mere hole (τρίνα) and a few fields. My imagination, fired by the counsels of her who had twice given me birth—for she has made me both a *man* and a *vizier*—revealed to me the secret of my destiny."[1] The hereditary enemies of the family having at once taken advantage of its head being a minor, by seizing upon some of his lands, Khamko suddenly exchanged the distaff for the sword, and gathering round her the partisans of her house, and those among her late husband's vassals who still remained faithful, tried in various skirmishes her strength against that of the enemies of her family. In these raids she was accompanied by her young son, to whom she pointed out the lands of which he had been despoiled, and the estates of the despoilers. Braving every danger, the *Aghadina*, as Khamko was called by her followers, continued to harass her enemies by open hostility or secret intrigue until she was finally taken in an

[1] See pp. 245 and 319, *Fate*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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159 ambuscade by the men of Gardiki and Tchormovo,
175 together with Ali and her only daughter, Shainitza.
562 After having been subjected to every indignity and
628 outrage by their captors, Khamko and her children had the good fortune to be ransomed by the generosity of a Greek merchant for the sum of 22,800 piastres (£3700).

Hatred of those who had thus humiliated her took entire possession of the Aghadina's soul, and her one idea thenceforward was to train up her son as the avenger of her wrongs. With this object she commenced to instil into his mind those pernicious principles which he was only too well disposed to receive, and which may be summed up in the words [577] *Might is right*, an adage sufficiently popular among the turbulent Albanian clans. Ali's first attempt to vindicate his rights in the field was a complete failure. Having met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected, he fled from the fight, and was one of the first to re-enter Tepeleni. Khamko, furious at finding all her hopes blasted by what she deemed his cowardice, loaded him with reproaches, and thrusting her distaff into his hand, added, "Go, coward, and spin with the women in the harem; thou art fitter for that than for the career of arms!" Ali's fortunes indeed fluctuated for some time between success and failure. While he was absent on a campaign, Khamko found herself on her death-bed, and, though repeated and urgent messages were despatched to him, she died before he could arrive. The Aghadina in her will bequeathed to her son and daughter the task of immo- [789] lating to her *manes* the inhabitants of Gardiki and Tchormovo, at whose hands they had suffered such

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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unpardonable indignities, and over her dead body the brother and sister swore to utterly exterminate her enemies.

Some years later Shainitza was grieving for the death of her favourite son, Aden Bey. So wild was her sorrow that she smashed with a hammer all his and her own diamond ornaments, burnt all her cashmeres and valuable furs, and forced his young widow to lie on straw mats spread on the ground instead of on a bed. The mirrors and ornaments of her serail were also destroyed, its windows were by her order painted black,[1] and everything which in any way recalled joy or happiness was banished from the palace. Roused from this abandonment of grief by the news of the fall of Gardiki,[2] she wrote to Ali reminding him of the oath they had sworn together over their mother's corpse, and of her wrongs and theirs, and urged him to have no mercy on the inhabitants of that town. "As for me," she added in conclusion, "it is only on cushions stuffed with the hair of the women of Gardiki that Shainitza will henceforward repose!"

Faithfully was the terrible oath, sworn to the dead, kept both by brother and sister. The chief men of Gardiki, to the number of some three hundred, induced by fair promises to meet Ali at the Khan of Valieré, were there ruthlessly massacred by the Christian troops under his Greek lieutenant, Thanasé

[1] See p. 265; and compare similar custom in folk-tale, p. 315.

[2] In 1802. A Greek folk-song graphically describes the gallant defence made by this town, which was taken by one of Ali's lieutenants, "Yousóuf the Arab" (*Greek Folk-songs*, p. 234).

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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175 Vaghia,[1] not one escaping. Shainitza caused the town
159 to be razed to the ground, and, after cutting off the
[669] hair of the women with every insult which she could heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove them forth with their children to the mountains, menacing any with a like doom who should venture to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath. The traveller passing through the valley of Drynopolis may to this day see in the wall of the khan the tablet which records, in letters of gold, the number of the dead and the date of their sacrifice to the *manes* of the mother and the fury of the sister of the Vizier of Ioannina.

[428] In a codicil to her will, Khamko directed that a *hadji*, or pilgrim, should be despatched on her part to lay offerings on the tomb of the Prophet, and pray
788 there for the repose of her soul. Such pilgrimages and offerings may, however, only be made when the expenses are defrayed with money lawfully and honestly acquired. And as it was found on inquiry into the estate of the late Veli Bey, Ali's ancestor, that the property to be sold for this purpose had been taken by force or fraud from a Christian, the pilgrim-
175 age was disallowed by the religious authorities.
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562 Such extreme ferocity of disposition as that mani-
[152] fested by Khamko and Shainitza is, however, exceptional among Albanian women, and even in Ali Pasha's

[1] The Greek poet, Aristotle Valaorites, has made Thanasé Vaghia the subject of one of his most striking poems, Ὁ βρυκόλακας, "The Vampire," a translation of which may be found in my *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 121. The tragedy of Ἡ κυρὰ φροσύνη, "The Lady Phrosyne," by the same writer, part of which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica, gives a vivid picture of Ali Pasha and his Court.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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own household was one whose character stands out in striking contrast to theirs. This was the Vizier's favourite wife, Emineh, the daughter of the Pasha of Delvino, a chieftain whose ruthless cruelty had gained for him the surname of the Tiger, but who had fallen a victim to Ali's ambition. In the dirges sung by the Liaps on the death of her husband, Emineh is described as "the gentle hind of Mount Pelagos," and her sympathy for the victims of the Vizier's rancour brought about her untimely and tragical end.

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When the news arrived at Ioannina of the fall of Souli, Emineh, touched with the story of their heroism, fell at the Vizier's feet and implored his clemency on their behalf. "O Effendi!" she cried, clasping his knees, "deign to listen to thy most devoted slave, and be not insensible to her tears! Your Fate has warned me in a dream that it will be well for you if you spare the Souliotes!"

"The *Souliotes!*" exclaimed the Vizier, in a voice of thunder—"the *Souliotes!* Darest thou intercede for my worst enemies and not tremble for thyself?"

"Effendi," replied the brave woman, rising with dignified firmness—"Effendi, remember that I am the daughter of a Pasha. Yes, I dare intercede for them, and, moreover, dare to tell thee that their blood, and the blood of my unhappy father, which thou hast shed whilst I was yet a child, will be upon thy head!"

"And upon thine also," replied the Vizier, beside himself with fury. Drawing from his girdle a pistol, he discharged it at his wife, who, falling in a swoon, was carried by her slaves into the haremlik. Ali, think-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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159 ing he had killed her, and overcome with grief and
175 remorse, shut himself up in his most private apart-
562 ments until he was informed by his physician that Emineh was not even wounded, but had merely fainted from emotion. His mind thus relieved, Ali shed tears, and, with all his tenderness for his favourite wife revived, proceeded to her apartment. Admittance being from fear refused him, he entered the chamber by force. The noise, however, and the sight of the tyrant, gave to the tender Emineh a shock which proved fatal, and she expired during the night in a state of delirium.

The death of Emineh was a terrible shock also to her murderer. Her memory perpetually haunted him, whether at the festal board or in the council chamber, and, above all, in the silent watches of the night. He feared to be left alone, and was frequently heard by his pages to start up, and exclaim: "Emineh! it is she!—it is she! Save me from her vengeance!" Years later, when the Dervish Sheikh, Youssouf, while boldly reproving the Vizier for his crimes and cruelties, pointed out from the window the tomb of the murdered Emineh, he was interrupted by Ali, who exclaimed with tears: "Stop, stop, my father! Thou hast named the name of Emineh; overwhelm me not with the weight of thy maledictions!"

628 An account of the Albanian women would hardly
578 be complete without some mention of the terrible blood-feuds (*Ram de Ghiak*), which, though often originating in the most trifling causes, result in great loss of life, and are frequently handed down from generation to generation. Sometimes these feuds

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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exist between individuals or families only; at others, whole villages, or clans, are concerned in them. In carrying them on, however, certain traditional rules are punctiliously adhered to, and occasionally those concerned, finding the state of continual hostility irksome, agree to a *bessa*, or truce, for a fixed period. When entire clans take part in the feud, each keeps strictly to its own wells or fountains, its public ovens and its markets. Such dissensions, however, rarely interrupt the usual occupation of a district, the land being tilled and the flocks pastured as usual in the daytime, the combatants assembling for the fray at evening on the common or in the market-place of the town or village. When a few men have bitten the dust, the hostile parties withdraw, in order to bury the dead, and the battle is over for the time.

Though women are not the principals in these vendetta, it is no uncommon thing for them to take part in the bloody frays to which they give rise, and for which their custom of carrying arms makes them always ready. Mrs. Blunt describes[1] a combat of this description which took place in the neighbourhood of Uskup (Skopia), the cause of contention being merely a hare, to which two sportsmen laid equal claim. As neither would give in, it was decided that the case should be tried by combat on the village green. The duel, however, soon became a general *mêlée*, relatives and friends joining the principals, and women fighting by the side of their husbands and brothers. One girl of seventeen, the sister of one of the sportsmen, fought, it is said, with a desperation and success

[1] *The People of Turkey*, vol. i. p. 81.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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628
562 worthy of a better cause, and fourteen victims fell,
578 thus perpetuating the feud among the survivors.

On another occasion the breaking of a girl's pitcher at the fountain by two mischievous boys resulted in such a desperate contest between her friends and theirs that some sixty persons fell in the fight. It is said, however, that even on such occasions as these
562 the men refrain, as far as possible, from striking or
577 wounding the women, for the Albanian code of
484 honour makes it impossible to attack a woman, whether armed or unarmed. The sacredness attached to their persons extends also to those whom they take under their protection. Escorted by a girl only, travellers may safely pass through the wildest parts of the country, and a man may cross, without fear, the lands of one with whom he is at feud, if he have the safe-conduct of a woman belonging to his enemy's family.

577 To such an extent is respect for women carried by
562 the Albanians, that it is contrary to their notions of
522 propriety ever to make women the subject of jokes or humorous stories. Insult or annoyance offered to a
578 girl, or carrying off one without the consent of her
562 parents, almost invariably results in bitter feuds between families, or fierce battles between tribes. As with most mountain people, the moral code is with the Skipetars exceedingly strict. Among many of
684 the tribes any lapse from virtue on the part of a woman is punished with death, a subsequent marriage not being allowed to condone the fault. The penalty of adultery is of equally Draconic severity. The unfaithful wife is placed up to her shoulders in a pit, and

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880)-1891
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173
retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd 539
gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep
which constituted Clement's wages. Here they [465]
settled down and prospered, leaving behind them
great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the 162
Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by 562
the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women 577
enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sun- 796
day, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, 788
who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after 762
partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucha- 577
rist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man
whose careless words had been the cause of the 627
tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, 583
which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the 184
extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 462 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593 591] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their families they return to their employment, leaving

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband [484]
leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
with which they console themselves testify. Unknown to their partners, they sew in their clothes [789]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

484 562 777 789 small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various 787 methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

152 593 The men on their side are not free from home-sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

[539]

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
From Fatherland as outlaws lorn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
Poisoned by my blood would pine!

527 535 The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

197 great measure to the profession of three creeds by the Albanian people, Turkish only being taught in the Moslem schools; in the Roman Catholic, Italian; and in the Orthodox Christian, Greek. The only section of the Albanians who can boast of any degree of culture are the Khams, and even this is not indigenous, but is borrowed entirely from the Epirote Greeks of Ioannina and its neighbourhood.

871 The education of the vast majority of Albanian
565 girls, whether Moslem or Christian, is of a purely
562 domestic character, and, with the exception of a small number of Gheg and Tosk maidens of the better class, who are taught a little reading and writing and a great deal of etiquette by old lady *hodjas*, they are entirely unlettered. From the age of twelve to the
562 time of their marriage, which generally takes place
571 before they are sixteen, both Moslem and Christian
868 girls are condemned to complete seclusion from the outer world. The customs of the Christians in this respect are, indeed, more rigid than those of the Moslems, for their daughters are not, during this interval, allowed to present themselves before visitors even of their own sex. Time is not, however, allowed to hang heavily upon the hands of these maidens, whatever their position and prospects. Besides taking an active part in all household duties, there is the important task to accomplish of getting ready her trousseau, and this involves the spinning, weaving, sewing, and embroidering of the various stuffs, cotton, linen, woollen, and silken, of which it is to be composed.

369 The peasant and country girls generally, both of
562

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

the mountains and of the plains, enjoy, as has been seen, much greater liberty than their sisters of the towns. With the exception of the Miridites, social intercourse with members of the other sex is not denied to them, and, like the Greek and Vlach maidens, they tend the flocks on the hills, fetch water from the fountain, and lead a life generally of healthy industry.

369
562
[184]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER IX.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

562 184 The domestic usages of the Albanians vary slightly, according to locality and religion, but are, in their main features, identical. And though the customs surrounding such family ceremonies as births, marriages, and deaths belong naturally more to the domain of women than of men, the latter are not less scrupulous in the fulfilment of the part in these observances which fall to their share.

156 181 Tribal and family pride being, as has been already seen, the leading feature of Albanian character, the desire of offspring, and especially male offspring, is naturally very strong with them. A childless man [554] is designated by an expression which signifies "without a root," and is looked upon as a most unfortunate [754] being. The wish, "May you be childless!" is also considered the most weighty curse that can be launched against a man by his enemy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the dearest wish of every woman's heart is consequently to be the mother of a numerous family of boys, both for the sake of the future prosperity of the tribe and for the present social consideration which their birth ensures to her. 843 When the fact that an Albanian woman is about to

[p. 242]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch 852
the cradle while they sing:

> *Poganik*, When the boy grows a man,
> A weaver we'll make him,
> And money he'll bring us.[1]

[539 562]

And for a girl:

> *Poganik*, When our girl grows up tall,
> She shall go to the valley
> And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother 846
nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by 553
the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal 852
rite of the churches to which they respectively 779

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on. [463 286]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 an altar is specially prepared. The nearest relatives of the bridegroom only are present, and he, like the bride, simulates great unwillingness to enter the apartment. The mass performed, the priest asks the bride three times if she accepts the man kneeling at her side for her husband. Custom, however, forbids her to [577] reply, and at the third interrogation the women in attendance force her to bow her head in token of assent. The bridegroom, on the contrary, pronounces his consent in a loud voice. However plain the bride may prove to be, custom forbids that any sign of disgust or annoyance should be manifested. If, however, she be afflicted with any physical deformity, such as lameness, blindness, or a humped back, the husband may claim an indemnity from her parents, or, if he is prepared to abide the consequences of such an insult, may send her back to them.

The ceremony terminated, the bridegroom leaves the room, and the female guests re-enter, extolling in song the graces and virtues with which, according to [562 264] them, every bride is endowed. The feast is then served, the men sitting down by themselves in one room, and the women in another, and the two parties amuse themselves separately for the rest of the evening. An hour before midnight, the women conduct the bride to the nuptial chamber, and, having taken off her bridal finery, cover her face with a veil, and leave her. When the bridegroom enters, he simulates astonishment at finding a maiden there. Lifting the veil from her head, he declares himself to be enraptured with her beauty, and asks her a hundred questions. The bride feigns sleep and pretends not to

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

them. Great Scott, woman! And you sit there and talk about Constantinople!"

"But if nobody goes there, how can we do so?" I said.

"How does anyone ever do anything? Simply do it. Hire horses, get on them, and go."

"Carrying our own guns?"

"Oh, we'll be safe enough! We may run into a blood feud or two, and get our guides shot up, but nobody ever harms a woman. Nobody even [562] shoots a man in her presence."

"She means no Albanian ever does," said Alex.

"Bless 'em!" said Frances, and added, in Albanian, "Glory to their feet!"

I had the vaguest notion of Albania. I knew it was the smallest and newest member of the League of Nations; I knew it was in the Balkan wars, and I knew that recently the Albanians had driven from their shores the Italian army of occupation. If some one, testing my intelligence or psycho-analyzing, had said to me, "Albanians," I should have replied, "Bandits."

But Frances Hardy is irresistible in more ways than one. Therefore, on this spring morning, while mists rose slowly from the blue waters of Lake Scutari and the shadows of the mountains retreated from its shores, we were riding northward toward the lands of the mountain tribes.

There were four of us, not counting our retainers. No, five, for at the last moment small, chubby-cheeked Rexh,[1] in his red Mohammedan

[1] Rexh—pronounced Redge.

PEAKS OF SHALA

423 the swiftest flicker of a glance, it was—I offered
578 her one. She took it, thanked me, lighted it from mine.

"A bold woman," said Perolli.

"Why?"

[562] "In these mountains,[1] the women smoke, but
[576] not before men; that is a man's privilege, and it is unwomanly to smoke in their presence. Are you a woman?" he asked her, in Albanian.

"A woman of Pultit, married in Shala. A widow with two children, demanding justice from my tribe," she said.

I looked about. There was nothing but snow and wet earth to sit on. Well, she must have been standing for hours, watching the goats. I leaned on my staff. "What justice?" said I.

She told us with a calm precision; none of her people's rhetorical flourishes. Even through the barrier of language I could see that she was stating her case as a lawyer might who was not addressing a jury.

She had been married five years; she was twenty-one years old. She had two children—boys. While she was married her husband had built a house. It was a large house; two rooms. She had helped her husband build that house. With her own hands she had laid the slate on the roof. She liked that house. She had lived in it four years. Now her husband had been killed by the Serbs and she wanted to keep that house. She wanted to live in it, alone, with her two children.

1 [Albanian mountains-- [98] Analyst]

582 place in the tribe. Naturally, when they see
302 you, at your age, with short hair, they think that is what you did. If you were an Albanian no one would dream of marrying you, for the man to whom your parents gave you would have to kill your husband to clear his honor, and all the chiefs before whom you had sworn would be bound in honor to see that your husband was killed. But America is a long way off; that man and the chiefs would hardly come so far after you, especially as your customs are so different.
581 Besides, I think Lulash would take the chance,
562 anyhow. He really very much wants a woman to help him with the people, and he will not marry a mountain woman."

"You mean he would listen to my ideas and take my advice—you mean he wants a wife who will be his equal, a sort of partner?"

"Of course. What else is a wife? He would like nothing better than to have you give him American ideas."

"But I thought a woman had no rights at all, here."

"How absurd! She has all the rights that a man has."

"But women aren't in the tribal councils?"

"They are when it's a council of the whole tribe. They aren't chiefs, no. But chiefs always talk things over with their wives."

583 "But women are bought and sold. You just said so. Didn't you say you were offered twenty thousand kronen for me?"

PEAKS OF SHALA

"It's an unusual situation. Here you are, 583
without a family; I'm the only man in the party; naturally he thinks of me as in the position of a brother or a father. The man's family always pays money to the girl's family before a marriage, but the girl isn't sold; she's been betrothed in her childhood, for any number of reasons. The money the man pays is spent for the girl's clothes and household things."

"Then you'd be supposed to give me the twenty thousand kronen? And then it would be his again, after all."

"Of course not. It's yours, isn't it? No one [562]
has any right to a woman's personal belongings, except her."

"You mean I could do anything I liked with it? I wouldn't have to have his consent?"

"Of course you could do anything you liked with it," Perolli said, wearily. "This isn't Europe."

"Obviously," said I. "Nor America."

"Well, what do you say? Do you want to ooo
do it?"

Men ask women to marry them for many reasons and from many motives, even though they are all lumped under the word "love." Sometimes the asking is an honor that should make any woman, either happily or regretfully, proud. And sometimes it isn't. For myself, I shall always remember as one of my finest experiences this offer of a scalplocked Shala chief to pay twenty thousand kronen for me. There was

PEAKS OF SHALA

They smoked over this for some time. The 823
byraktor rescued his coffee pot, in deep abstraction. I did not expect them to believe what I had said. How could they? It must have appeared to them the wildest of fairy tales (although in all Albania there are no fairies, and therefore —I suppose that is the reason—there are no Albanian fairy tales). Men suffered much at the hands of our ancestors for telling them the monstrous idea that the flat earth is round. I wished I knew what thoughts were taking shape behind those dark Albanian eyes.

Then the byraktor looked up. "If the solid earth is round," he said, "and if the water lies upon it in a curve, then this earth is moving very rapidly. For if the earth were standing still the water would fall off."

My astonishment was profound. I felt myself 000
a child beside that mind, and I thought that a man who could so wrestle with a new fact and evolve from it an even more amazing conclusion was no man for me to contend with in a little matter of hiring a mule and getting, somehow, to Scutari.

Presently large flocks of sheep and goats were 231
driven through the room[1], past the fire, and into 562
the darkness beyond the arched doorway. Raindrenched shepherdesses, half clad in rags, followed them, and having, with much noise of tearing branches, given them their dried oak boughs to eat during the night, the shepherdesses returned and sat by the fire, addressing the byraktor in tones of accustomed equality.

1 [In house of Shoshi warchief [255] -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Women among the clans were but the slaves and chattels of their men. In the mountains they went unveiled but almost all were prematurely aged by manual labour and child-bearing. Sometimes we saw one hurrying across a courtyard or peering up at us from the kitchen fire; otherwise they had no part in our lives. 562

Social distinctions among the guerillas were subtle and changing; the chieftains and their sons were treated with respect but never with servility; and the bodyguards sometimes as poor relations but always as members of the same family. They ate and slept together, and, in so far as he could, the host provided alike for all. Luxuries in the mountains were inevitably scarce, but, if the choicest morsels went to the *Beys* and elders, the rest received their portion until the whole was finished. The Ghegs indeed regard hospitality as a sacred duty enjoined upon the host, never as a favour conferred upon the guest. To give of his best was a point of honour, and a tribesman would kill his last ewe lamb, or even his milch goat, rather than fail to set meat before the meanest of his guests. In the days of slavery Albanians had been known to sell their wives or children to feast a stranger; and one story which I heard illustrates the extent of their honourable, if quixotic, liberality. In the repression which followed the rising of the Scutari clans early in the last century the bravest of the insurgent leaders, a Catholic chieftain, was captured and brought before the Turkish governor. The Pasha gave the order to cut off his head but, as the proud Albanian knelt to receive the fatal stroke, the Turk was moved by a dark and sudden curiosity: 554 574

"You are a brave man," he said. "Tell me, have you ever known a worse moment than this?"

The Albanian looked up and answered gravely: "Only once; when a stranger came to my house and I had not even bread to set before him."

For the sake of the answer, his life was spared.

We spent several days among the men of Mati, resting in sunlit orchards, or cool, whitewashed rooms, or round their 000

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

us, now reduced to fifteen men, continued southwards, still 000
hoping to reach the Kukes–Scutari road before it was light. The men were tired, however, for we had been marching seven hours; and the sun had already risen when we crossed the [137]
motor road into the great beech forests of Mirdita. As we learned only later, a German patrol caught sight of us just as we crossed the road. Had they pursued us we must have been overtaken; for once in Mirdita we dropped to a leisurely climbing pace and indulged ourselves in frequent halts. Instead they sought to head us off by taking a short cut; but the forests of Mirdita are dark and trackless, and we passed like ships in the night.

We soon lost our way in these forests, and were forced to climb some five thousand feet to the rocky summit of Mount Rones to take our bearings. We sat there for a time, but hunger discouraged us from resting, and we struck a south-westerly course downhill into the valley of the Lesser Fani. Our ponies were too lame and galled to ride; and we had been marching seventeen hours when, towards three o'clock, we reached the house of Gyok Bairaktar. Gyok was a Mirdite chieftain and many years before had been an ally of Muharrem. Since those days, however, he had fallen on evil times, and we found him living in the utmost poverty and squalor. His home [562] ●
was a wooden hut, divided into two rooms, one of which housed his goats and womenfolk, while the other was kept for his guests, himself, and his sons.

"That's a funny sort of *Bairaktar*," said Shaqir, our interpreter, "he hasn't even got any trousers."

Poor Gyok indeed was dressed in nothing but a dirty white shirt and long cotton drawers, having thriftily put away his one pair of breeches for the summer. He gave us a light meal of eggs and milk; for besides his milch goats he had no flocks or cattle, and offered us a pinkish *raki* which I could scarcely stomach, even after the fatigues of the march. But despite his miserable circumstances, which in Mirdita were the rule rather than the exception, Gyok was a loyal liege of Marko Joni. He was frankly disturbed to hear that we were British officers, and, when we sought to learn his political opinions, answered sharply:

[Constitution]

641 No privilege because of family, position in life, wealth,
554 or cultural level is recognized.

ARTICLE 13

[563] All citizens are equal regardless of nationality, race, or
[659] religion. Any act which grants privileges or takes away rights from any citizen because of nationality, race, or religion is unconstitutional and carries with it punishments as provided by law. It is unconstitutional and punishable by law to stir up hatred and dissension among nationalities, races, or religions.

ARTICLE 14

666 All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen are
641 eligible to elect and be elected in all organs of state, regardless of sex, nationality, race, creed, cultural level, or residence.

Members of the armed forces also have these rights.

The right to vote is universal, equal, direct, and secret.

The right to vote is forfeited by those who have been disqualified by law.

ARTICLE 15

562 Women are equal to men in all walks of life, private, political, or social.

Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same work. And women have similar rights with regard to social security.

745 The government especially protects the interests of mothers and young children, by assuring vacations with pay before and after childbirth and also by building maternity hospitals and nurseries.

ARTICLE 16

659 Freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed to all citizens.

The church is separated from the state.

Religious communities are free to exercise and practice their creeds.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

At meal-times a cat took up a vantage point under the 231
dining-table, to filch what it could. It was never caressed or deliberately fed; the whole Balkans believed that either indulgence would stop it from catching mice.

A man and his wife, with one or two small children, might live 342 574
in this house. Of a kind hardly paralleled in the Balkans, except in the poorer parts of southern Greece, it was not common in Albania as a permanent dwelling. As soon as its master could scrape together the necessary money, he added a sitting-room. As he provided all the labour himself and needed to hire only one professional, a stone-mason who, like all his brethren in the Balkans, was also a carpenter, ten pounds sterling were enough. The sitting-room might be built on top of the kitchen (*shtēpí* or *shpi*, lit. 'house', from Lat. *hospitium*) or against one of its walls. It had a wooden floor, a chimney at one end, a window or two, a niche in the wall beside the hearth for the utensils for making coffee, and a few wooden pegs near the door on which to hang up rifles; it might also have a ceiling. It generally had a separate 562
entrance, for sitting-rooms were men's apartments and Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox Albanians all segregated their young women. The Catholics and Orthodox attributed this custom to plain jealousy, and the Moslems, less convincingly, to a desire to obey their Prophet's order. In the evening and when not at work outside during the daytime, the master of the house with his men guests reclined, ate and smoked in the sitting-room, while his wife and children remained in the draughty kitchen. But the men were less comfortable than might have been expected. Since Albanian 358
chimneys seldom drew, acrid fumes from the wood fire filled the room and almost made them weep unmanly tears. But not quite, for if they succumbed, they would be derided as 'poor sticks' who 'would never see to shoot'.

Guests, in the form of family friends or strangers 'sent by God', 574
often came for a night. Because there were no inns in the Albanian countryside except on the long-distance tracks used by pack-horses, it was the rule that a benighted stranger might claim supper and shelter till the morning from any house he saw. The hospitality was never refused or charged for, but travellers of standing were expected to give a sum proportionate not to the hospitality offered but to their supposed wealth.

As soon as the children in a two-roomed house grew up, its 342
master must build again. His daughters went forth to live in their 591

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

would not recognize them and when A came to till his field, B's dog would treat him as an intruder and bite him, and he would have no legal claim to compensation for the injury. It is not known if this law obtained elsewhere, but the common sense on which it is based makes it probable that it did. Again, in the Moslem villages near enough to Elbasan to conform to the rigidity with which Moslem townsmen secluded their women, it was not permitted to make windows in a wall overlooking a neighbour's farmyard; the latter's womenfolk must be free to move about their yard unwatched. This ban on windows—which was Moslem, not Albanian—hardly extended to remoter Moslem villages, as women there enjoyed almost as much liberty as did their Christian ancestresses.

A man's ownership of his house and land was so absolute that he and his might emigrate temporarily or for good without losing their title to either house or land. Even if the family absented itself for a hundred years, no one might squat on its property. If the emigrant, before leaving, sold his land 'together with all that is on it', and one leaving for good usually did so, the piece constituting the site of the house remained his in spite of the terms of sale, and so long as one stone stood on another, no one might use the site. In Mirditë, however, a fixed term was set to this law; if the emigrant did not return within ten years, his house might be occupied by whosoever wanted it.

Every dwelling that emitted smoke might have one or more of the following accessories—yard, vegetable garden, field, road, boundary and, in suitable latitudes, vineyard. Of these the boundary and road were the most indispensable.[1] Every owner of a dwelling that emitted smoke had a right to graze his animals on the summer and winter pasturage owned by his village and to cut firewood and timber for his own use in the public coppices and forests. If he cared to build a bothy for his shepherds on a summer pasture or to break in ground for a field or vegetable garden on a common near his village, he was welcome to do so. He must first secure the consent of the elders of the village, who generally put the common weal before individual convenience. Their permission given, no one could stop his tilling the ground, nor turn him out. Theoretically every dwelling that emitted smoke should also have a portion of irrigation water, but the right to sell water often made this provision a dead letter.

[1] See Chapters VIII and IX.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER IV

THE ALBANIAN HOUSEHOLD

Society in the Albanian mountains was patrilineal, and took so little account of women that whereas the names of ancestors in the male line might be known for as many as twenty generations, those in the female line were forgotten after two or three. In the words of the Unwritten Law 'a man has blood, and a woman kin', i.e. a man has a pedigree, and a woman her own relatives, and 'a woman is anybody's daughter', i.e. comes from anywhere and has no pedigree.

As usual in patrilineal societies, all property and rights were vested in the men. So when a man married, his house belonged to him exclusively and not at all to his wife, neither priest nor law having bound him to endow her with his worldly goods. The Unwritten Law states further that 'a wife is a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was in her husband's house to bear his children. It was also understood, however, that she must take an active part in the work of both the farm and the house. In consequence, the wife in a household containing only a married pair and their small children led a life of almost unrelieved hardship, all the relaxations and leisure going to the husband. Since the Unwritten Law forbade her to have any dealings with the outside world until she was old, she stayed at home to work while her husband went to market to shop and sell, visited government offices to discuss the payment—or non-payment—of his taxes, and arranged the future marriages of his children. Whether it was a kerchief, a daughter-in-law, or nothing at all that he bought for her, he never consulted her wishes and she might not murmur openly at his choice. Nor might she remonstrate with him if he idled when at home; any such criticism would only make him beat her. The Unwritten Law said that the husband was the head of the wife and might punish her for indiscipline as well as misconduct. There was plenty of secret grumbling of course. Thus a pretty young woman in Mat was heard to complain that her husband spent all the money he could find on coffee and cigarettes for himself and left her, after five years of marriage, 'without a rag to her back'. 'And it's for him I toil

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593 and moil the whole blessed day', she ended, sadly rather than
562 bitterly.

462 Toil and moil she did. The daily duties of every peasant woman
512 in her position included fetching firewood from the forest and water from the river or spring, besides cooking, washing and baking for the household. At certain seasons she must also do farm work, so long as she retained a measure of youth. Her husband did heavy work like ploughing, scything hay, or cutting oak leaves for winter fodder. But she must carry the manure from the stable to the fields in spring, help her husband to sow and earth up the maize and, while he stayed indoors, reap it. She must carry home the hay and fodder and feed them to the animals. If grain was trodden out by horses or oxen, her husband drove them; if threshed with flails, she wielded them. If there was no miller, she conveyed the grist to the mill, ground it, and brought back the flour. Only if there were a miller did these tasks devolve on her husband, and then it was only in order to keep her virtue above suspicion. In poor families she was herself the beast of burden, and when young was expected to carry up to seventy pounds. In richer families she had a horse or donkey to do the actual carrying, unless her home was under snow in winter. Then she must brave the snow that confined the animal to its stable and bring in supplies of firewood and water, fodder and flour. Paucity of workers prevented her husband from having more than a couple of milch-goats or ewes, and these were tethered; it was she who tethered, watered and milked them. It was she, too, who turned their milk into curds (*kos*) or butter and cheese, arduous tasks in summer when milk sours easily. She also saw to the poultry and in her spare time knitted or span.

857 Fortunately for the women, there was almost no peasant house-
516 hold in which a young husband and wife were the only workers.
512 The eldest child, boy or girl, began at seven or eight years of age to herd the goats as they roamed in search of food and saw to them morning and evening. This gave the mother some relief and provided the family with more food and, by the sale of the goats
516 themselves or the kids, more money. When very small, the girl
462 must spin or knit as she herded; when in her teens, she must sew
512 her trousseau; but no extra tasks were expected of boy herds. Since, too, a man's mother and sisters never lost their legal right to share his home, a family might include the husband's mother and even

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592 When the men in a household were numerous, three or more might be shepherds, one tending the sheep, another the goats, and a third the oxen; several might be farmers who ploughed and hoed and irrigated; yet others might be housemen, one keeping the house supplied with firewood, a second going to the bazaar, and a third grinding grain at the local mill for the household's bread. Each thus contributed his quota to the family wealth, and obviously the more numerous the quotas, the greater the general comfort. A well-to-do household which had only a few men might make up the number of hands available by engaging servants. 'Çota's tableful' is now proverbial in Çermenikë because eighteen men—ten relatives and eight hirelings—used to sit down nightly to supper in Sali Çota's house in the village of Fenars in that district. If, however, a household were poor as well as small, it could not risk having to pay servants in a bad year, and must restrict its activities—for example, by keeping only sheep or goats but not both. Since sheep eat grass and goats leaves, they must have separate herds.

462 512 Even in the richest of these multiple households the women lived much as they did in small, poor ones. A housekeeper, who was generally elderly, cooked and baked for the whole family, swept the kitchen, the men's sitting-room, and her own bedroom if she had one apart from the kitchen, but did not enter any room belonging to a married man, even if he was her son. The young wives worked out of doors when required and at all times looked after their children, husband and bedroom. They were often exempt from fetching firewood and water and were reasonably fed and dressed, but otherwise fared no better than their poorer sisters. By and large, even in these relatively more leisured homes, women worked much harder than men. The latter excused their comparative idleness by saying that in Turkish times, when blood feuds raged, it had been death for most men to show their faces outside in the daytime, and if the family was not to die of starvation the women had to work for its bread. They claimed that when blood feuds grew rarer, they became more industrious. But they could never produce any evidence that the women had gained by their new diligence.

264 562 Soon after sunset the men sat down to sup at the same table in the sitting-room, while the women and children ate at another table in the kitchen. The food was brought to the sitting-room by

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the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh', she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee. Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons; a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories. All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923, and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bedroom for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards. Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent, public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

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Women, too, had a personal name, but after they married their husbands were too shy to use it, and others knew them in early life as 'Mark's (or Asllan's or Vasil's) young wife' and in later life as his 'wife' or 'old woman', so that their own name fell into disuse. This contributed to their seclusion from the outside world and at the same time avoided the superfluous; since descent in the female line did not count, their names were not thought worth remembering. 551 562

Surnames in the sense of family names were general among the Orthodox, comparatively rare among the Moslems, and non-existent among the Catholics. Both Moslems and Catholics, however, tacked on the name of a man's father to his own and so distinguished him from his fellows. Thus a Moslem called Sadik Asllan was Asllan's Sadik and different from Sadik Arif, the son of Arif. A Catholic called Zef Nika was Nikë's Zef, i.e. Zef son of Nikë—Joseph Nicolson in English—and Zef Toma was Tom's Zef, i.e. Joseph Thomson, quite another person. Nika and Toma are in the indefinite genitive, to mark possession. As Moslem names might also be put in this genitive in Albania, Sadik Asllani, an Albanian form, was as frequently heard as Sadik Asllan, its Turkish counterpart. The endings of the Albanian indefinite genitive, it should be said, are tricky and vary according to the final letter of the root word and also according to the dialect used. They are further liable to be confused by foreigners with the definite article which Albanians must suffix to the name when making a statement about a person or a place. Thus Zef Nika signed himself so, without any suffixed article, but if another Albanian reported that 'Zef had gone', he must add the definite article to the name, saying *Zefi iku*. Turkish influence also made Moslems stop at the father's name, but the Catholics, who seem to have preserved the oldest Albanian method of nomenclature, often appended the grandfather's name as well. 551 193

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592 mother and others in her position, such as his uncle's elderly widow, might go to spend the night in her father's house. This gave him complete control over the time of the workers of the household. Whatever task he assigned the other men and the women must be performed without cavil; they must not only work as he said but go where he bade them and even marry when and whom he pleased. He spoke of them as 'my people' in English or 'my folk' in American parlance. When obliged to speak of them to the authorities or neighbours, he called any young man 'my son', any girl 'my daughter', and any married woman 'my wife' or 'my [562] old woman'. No decent Albanian, it should be noted, ever mentions the women of his household to outsiders except under compulsion.

The master had also sole control of the family purse. Any money earned by the other men by the sweat of their brow or a windfall like a tip must be paid over to him and spent for the family's benefit. For, says the law, 'the earnings of a son are shared by his father and brothers'. Here the words 'father', 'son' and 'brothers' have not only the narrow application which we English give, but also the wider Albanian sense of relatives in the [423] older or younger generation.[1] The farm was registered in the Land Office and popularly spoken of under the master's name, but this was only for convenience. It was owned jointly by all the men on it, and the master did not own a blade of grass more than the others [432] did. Yet in virtue of his position he need not consult any of them if he wished to buy or sell a field, vineyard, wood or portion of irrigation water. The right to buy and sell was his alone. There were only two limitations on this right, both deriving from the simple good sense that underlies all the unwritten laws. He could not sell a sheep or goat without first securing the shepherd's permission, and if the latter preferred to give him another animal, he must accept it, for the shepherd knew the flock better than he did. Secondly, the farmer of the family, having sole charge of the plough-oxen, did not require to ask his leave if he wished to help a neighbour with his ploughing, to lend the oxen, or even to give them away outright.

As keeper of the purse the master generally went to market himself with whatever produce was for sale, and bought what he thought necessary with the proceeds. It was his duty to see that everybody in the house was as well shod and dressed as the

[1] See p. 30.

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592 to work indoors. Her clothes were no better than theirs; indeed, if she had dairy work to do, they were usually dirtier. If she was unjust and ill-tempered, pilfered or sold family property, or fomented rather than composed the quarrels that were endemic among the other women, the men assembled in general meeting and deposed her.[1]

562 593 It only remains to describe a small domain with which the master had nothing to do. In astonishing contrast to the penniless men, all the women had their own money and controlled it absolutely. Called *pekul*, from Lat. *peculium*, and essentially pin-money, they spent it on kerchiefs, gewgaws, and even clothes and shoes. Each received the first of it on the morning after her marriage, when her men relatives filed past her in farewell and dropped money into a plate for her. Afterwards her father or brother might slip a coin or two into her hand when he visited her. In the tribal districts of the north her father also gave her on her marriage as much as half of the money which her husband had paid him for her. Later on she might occasionally earn a few pence by knitting socks in her odd moments or making the rough home-spun trousers worn by peasants. Debarred by law and custom from taking the finished articles to market herself, she gave them to her father or brother to sell, but never to her husband or grown-up son, for they would not let her even see the money. If near a market-town, she might gather walnuts or hazel-nuts in the woods and send these to market. In tobacco-growing areas she normally got the coarse bottom leaves of the plants, to smoke or to [437] sell as she pleased. If she had none of these resources, she could only steal maize, eggs, wool or cheese from her husband's house and send a child to the shop to barter them for what she wished to have; she was bound to pay in kind or money, for the law forbade her to pledge either her husband's or her father's credit. On these occasions neither her father nor her brother would act as her agent, for if such connivance in her pilfering were discovered, they would be in serious trouble with her husband's family. If she chose to keep her *pekul* idle, she might safely lock it up in her dowry-chest in her room; her husband never seemed to make her give it up and 562 593 no others might enter their room. Generally, however, she made 426 the money fructify. In southern areas like Çermenikë she lent it at the usual rate of interest, which was 30% (enough to compensate

[1] The author never heard, however, of this being done.

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lenders for the want of security), and in the less-developed north 562
she invested it in sheep, plough-oxen, or even horses which she 593
hired out on the 'half-and-half' system. Before a woman died, she 426
gave a little of her *pekul* to her daughters and the major part to her sons, but nothing to her husband, so making a last comment on the curiously detached relationship between them during their married life.

Except in the towns, no Albanian woman ever went into 357
domestic service. Each worked as a girl in her father's house and then in her husband's and, though never paid any money, was assured for life of whatever board, lodging and clothes these could provide. This applied even to families of the standing of Çen Elezi in Dibër. Consequently the Unwritten Law took no cognizance of female servants. On the other hand, men servants—mainly farm workers or herdsmen—were numerous enough to have been carefully legislated for.

Though such a servant ate out of the same dish as his master and slept in the sitting-room or elsewhere in the same conditions as the young unmarried men of the family, he had always to take a back seat—in the literal sense near the door and far from the fire; and, in the metaphorical sense, effacing himself. This befitted both his youth and his status. For his status was like that of a woman. 'It is for the master to command and for the servant to obey', said the Unwritten Law. If he were a shepherd, his views on the beasts under his care commanded his master's respect, but other servants were required to keep their opinions to themselves. In areas such 357
as Martanesh where women could not be killed in a blood feud, 628
a servant was as safe as they were from his master's enemies. 'Kill a servant? Faugh! As well kill a woman', was the sentiment.

There was, however, another aspect to his position: since he [574]
came from another family in his master's village or from another village altogether, he was not a member of his master's household but was its guest. As such he was entitled to protection by his master against all hurt from third parties. If he were hit, the offender must pay twice, compensating him for the personal injury of the blow and his master for the affront to his guest. If he were robbed, his master latterly complained to the police, but in the old days would have shot the robber out of hand in the north, but in Martanesh and farther south, not until he saw that the servant himself was too weak to resent the injury as honour demanded. If

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428 592 Alternatively, both sitting-room and kitchen were measured with a rope and divided into two. A partition wall of lath and plaster or, more probably, of lath and mud was then run up in both. This left half of each with the old door and, where it existed, the old staircase, while the other two halves had neither door nor staircase; a new door and, if required, a new staircase, were built for these, generally on the opposite side of the house. Each brother then took possession of his new home, a small poor place but his own with its own egress to the outside world.

[562] [795] In the Mohammedan villages near Elbasan there were regulations about windows which aimed, like the building laws, at protecting women from prying eyes. In Godolesh the brother getting the upper room in a two-storeyed house was told to blind the windows overlooking the yard if his brother's kitchen, as was probable, opened on to this; otherwise his brother's womenfolk would not have full freedom to move about the yard. The brother getting the middle storey in a three-storeyed house was given similar instructions, but the brother with the topmost floor might leave all his windows open as they were too high to overlook the yard. In Labinot all windows overlooking another's property must, irrespective of their height, be blinded. Such regulations were not enforced in Christian villages.

When the old house had two rooms as well as a kitchen, the division was less complicated. To begin with, one room was assigned to each brother. If one was bigger than the other they were both valued and due compensation paid to the brother with the smaller one. As for the kitchen, either it was divided in two or it was given to one brother and its estimated value paid to the other so that he could build a new kitchen for himself on his own land.

Continuing to live under the same roof imposed certain mutual obligations on the brothers. If the flimsy partition wall or the roof needed repairs, both must share the expense in equal proportions. If one could not or would not pay his quota the other was entitled to repair only his own section of the roof, leaving his brother's to the ravages of the weather; or he might try to extract the money from his brother by force; until lately, he might even shoot him in truculent Lumë. As for the partition wall, he probably repaired it at his own expense for the sake of his personal privacy.

To avoid such quarrels and to secure more houseroom the buying out method of dividing the old home was preferred. The

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695 be put to the oath; such an ordeal was not for boys under twenty, old men over sixty, women, gipsies or lunatics. All of these were [562] considered so irresponsible that even their sworn word carried no [592] weight. One exception comes from Zerqan, where a woman accused of a petty theft like stealing a dress might take an oath in the semi-privacy of her home that she was innocent. If her fault was more serious, her oath was not accepted. A man—her husband [672] or son or, failing these, her brother—had to take one for her, as he would have done for his senile father or his infant son. Another exception occurred in family oaths, as described later. But this exception was apparent rather than real. The infant boys who were present did not themselves take the oath. The master alone repeated the words dictated; the boys and other males were present solely to be implicated to the maximum extent possible in the dread consequences of perjury.

In criminal cases it was the suspect, the man who denied an accusation, who had to take the oath. In such cases its sole purpose was to clear him of suspicion; if he could take it, he was acquitted, and if he could not, he was convicted. The accuser was never allowed to support his accusation by an oath; even if he insisted that with his own eyes he had seen the crime being committed, he could not swear upon oath that what he said was true. For motives of spite might have induced him first to accuse his neighbour falsely, and then to swear a false oath. So the law said firmly 'It's for the denier to take the oath'.

695 Occasionally a suspect refused to take the oath. Then his 628 accuser was at least tempted to shoot him. If it was a case of stealing he had to think twice; shooting the suspect would start a blood feud because 'murder for a fault (like stealing) isn't allowed', and perhaps the lost property was not worth the nuisance which the blood feud would cause. If it was a murder case, it did not much matter if he did shoot the suspect; he was already at feud with the murderer. In property cases refusals to take the oath seem to have been unknown when the dispute was in the hands of elders; if they ordered a disputant to take an oath, he dared not disobey for he knew that the whole community would gather to enforce the order. If one disputant, before the case had reached the elders, asked the other to take an oath that the property was his, his request was refused as often as not, and then shooting became inevitable.

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685 [683] Assembly by his neighbour from whose tobacco box he had inadvertently rolled a cigarette. In every tribe and village, a man's honour was so stained by the theft of his gun or his wife that he had to shoot the thief and take the consequences of the ensuing blood feud.

The penalties imposed depended also on the nature of the articles stolen. North Albania was predominantly pastoral and, as the safety of the flock of sheep depended on the bell-animal, penalties for stealing this animal were heavy.[1] In Lumë the owner could demand six or seven sheep for the thief: 'as well steal the whole flock as its leader.' In Perlat stealing a bell-wether was such a disgraceful act that in the blood feud against the thief's family, even a woman could be killed. The bell of the leading animal was even more precious than the animal itself, and in Perlat, if it were stolen, it had to be returned and a sheep with it. In Labinot, the bell was thought too unlucky to be hung round an animal's neck again, and instead of returning it, the thief had to pay twice its value or be shot. In Mirditë a fine of 500 grosh was imposed for the dishonour done to the owner.

The two-for-one rule was applied to thefts of all farm animals, with the exception of pigs and cocks. The man who stole a pig had to pay 500 grosh in hard cash. This sum was often ten times the value of the animal, but the pig was the mainstay of the poor man and required special protection. The same sum of 500 grosh had to be paid for a cock, as 'the cock is the poor man's watch'. It was said that in Krasniqë an actual watch had to be paid instead of the money penalty.

685 562 [462] [672] Firewood was usually collected by women, and when they stole it their husbands were held responsible. It was common practice to seize the axe with which the thief cut the wood and the rope with which she slung it on her back. These articles were sometimes used as visible evidence of her guilt, sometimes retained as compensation, or as a guarantee for the payment of the penalty, or of the fee due to the elder who dealt with the case. Women might steal other things than firewood, and responsibility was always placed on the husband. It is recorded that, during the reign of King Zog, men might even be imprisoned for their wives' thefts. It was they who had to take the oath if an oath was required. The woman did not, however, get off scot free. In most areas she was

[1] Vide supra, p. 173.

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beaten by her husband, and no matter how severe the punishment, 562
her brother, who was her natural protector, would be too ashamed 685
of her conduct to interfere. If a thieving woman did not mend her [593]
ways, her husband usually divorced her. The southern Catholics, [586]
anxious to reform erring wives and to avoid divorce, sometimes sent
wrongdoers to spend a night in the lonely church of Shen Ndue in
the forest above the village of Laç in Kurbin. This treatment is
said to have been effective in many cases!

By the laws of hospitality, a man never robbed his guest nor 574
a guest his host. If a third party robbed either, the other did his 685
best to find the thief and the stolen goods. But such laws were not
always respected, and penalties were prescribed for their breach.
In Mirditë a guest who stole was ostracized as well as having to
pay the usual penalty. In Kurbin he was expelled for ever from
the tribe. If a guest in Mirditë was robbed by a fellow-guest, their
host demanded double redress from the criminal—for the injury
to his guest and for housebreaking. If a guest was robbed after
leaving his host's house, it was still the host's duty to punish the
thief, as the latter would know where the victim had been.

1 [i.e. the Albanian wife, as recorded during the reign of King Zog --Analyst]

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couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was [582] too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 628 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

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682 father, his only means of doing so, was forbidden. Her son by
562 another husband, belonging as he did to another family, was free
628 to avenge her. If a woman's son killed her for any but the above
596 heinous crimes, her husband could not avenge her, since to do so
[607] he must kill his son. In Mirditë her brother could kill her son or other male in his family, but elsewhere it was held that her brother was as helpless as her husband because her son was a nearer relative and her nearest relative having killed her, her blood must be lost. If she was married for the second time and was killed by the son of her former marriage, her husband could kill his stepson, but as before, her brother's hands were tied, except in Mirditë, by the law of nearest relative.

When a man killed his brother's wife for any other reason than those stated above, her husband took no action if he and the murderer had not separated; the murder was a family affair. Her brother, however, killed one of them. If the two brothers had separated, the murderer had to pay blood money to her husband. If the husband did not exact it within a year, her brother killed either the murderer or her husband. Her husband never killed his brother: 'I'd never kill my brother for the sake of my wife', was a common saying.

When a woman was killed by her father or brother, her blood was always lost by the rule of nearest relative. If she was married, her husband did not, in most districts, continue friendly relations with the murderer, but in some, such as Krasniqë, he asked him for another girl and on receiving her forgot his annoyance at the other's
[584] murder. The same was true if the murdered woman was only betrothed, for a betrothed girl 'is counted the man's wife'. When a woman was killed by some other man in her own family, by her uncle or her nephew for instance, by the rule of nearest relative her
[593] blood was lost if she was neither married nor betrothed. If she was either and was not killed for a heinous crime, her husband felt he had been disgraced and avenged her by killing a male in her family.

When murders were committed by women, the situation was complicated by the fact that women belonged to two families, their husband's and their father's.

[672] If a woman murdered her husband, both his family and her father's were involved. The important factor was her motive, which was usually love for another man who had probably bought the necessary rat poison in the bazaar. If her lover was her

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husband's brother, she married him and her husband's blood was 682
lost exactly as if he had died by his brother's hand. If her lover 562
was an outsider, her husband's brother killed her. He had the 628
right to do so, woman though she was, for a question of honour 596
was involved, and for questions of honour women might lawfully be put to death. Her son by the dead man could not kill the murderess because matricide is not allowable. Her husband's son by another wife was under no such inhibition, for he was only her stepson and therefore no relative. If her father's family believed in her adulterous motive, they sent a cartridge to her husband's brother, thereby signifying that they gave him leave to kill her and would not avenge her death. If they did not believe in the alleged motive, they avenged her by killing a man in her husband's family and an unusually bitter feud resulted.

Sometimes her husband's brother was too high-spirited or too angry to rest content with killing the murderess and killed one of her male relatives as well; he would plead that a woman's blood could never equal a man's and that her male relatives were responsible for her misdeeds. Sometimes a murderess escaped alive to her [591] father's house. In that case she was held to have escaped from the suzerainty of her husband's family and became a stranger; as a stranger she must expiate her crime, but her sex shielded her personally and threw the onus of expiation on her male relatives—'Women don't have blood feuds'. Her husband's brother was therefore bound to kill one of her relatives. To avoid losing a male for his daughter's crime her father sometimes killed her himself, [628] a desperate act that always satisfied her husband's brother.

A woman rarely murdered any other man than her husband. If [593] she did murder her brother, it was assumed that it had happened by accident as he was her surest protector. There are no records of the murder of father or paternal uncle by a woman.

The last category of murders within the family includes the very rare cases in which a woman murdered a woman in her husband's or her father's family. If she murdered her mother or her daughter, both most unlikely contingencies if she were sane, the victim's blood was lost by law of nearest relative. In all other cases the result depended on whether her victim was single or married. Thus the murder of her unmarried sister, paternal aunt, brother's daughter, counted as a suicide and the victim's blood was lost. If she murdered her husband's sister, the victim's blood was again

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

582 lost because the only possible avenger was the woman's husband,
562 who was not likely to kill the wife, who had cost him good money, for
628 the sake of his sister, though he was more likely to do so for the sake
596 of his father or brother. If she murdered a married woman of her
[607] own kin, her victim's husband exacted blood money from the males of her family or perhaps another girl. If she murdered a married woman in her husband's kin, his brother's wife, for example, or her own brother's wife, her victim's brother exacted blood money or even a life from the males in her family.

When a woman killed the wife of her husband's brother, her victim's husband had to suffer the loss of his chattel in silence. He could not kill the murderess because a man might not kill his brother's wife for any reason other than adultery or thieving. Nor could he kill her husband because a man might not kill his own brother. In his default his wife was avenged by her brother, who might kill either him or his brother if they were not separated, but only him if they were. Whatever the issue, her sex saved the murderess from expiating her crime.

[606] When a woman killed her mother-in-law or her daughter-in-law, her sex again saved her from expiating the crime. Her victim's brother was the only possible avenger, for no member of her husband's family could kill the murderess for anything except adultery and thieving. The avenger could kill any male in the family of the murderess; the marriage relationship did not count.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother. 628* 184 [611] [602]

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider. 628* [587] [768] [595]

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son 562 628*

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son
562 had been killed at a third person's instigation, took his revolver and
*628 killed the instigator. Unfortunately for her, the date was about
[682] 1923 when a modern government was already functioning; she was arrested and tried for murder, but in view of the circumstances she was condemned to no more than a year and a half's imprisonment. The public were astonished to find that the government had punished a woman on much the same terms as a man.

[593] Assuming that a woman could steel herself to murder anyone, it is natural to find her avenging her father, son or brother. Given primitive Albanian ideas about the proprieties between husband and wife, and the feeling that the wife remained a member of her father's household, it is somewhat surprising to find one avenging her husband. A woman of western Mat went one day to the bazaar and there saw the man who had murdered her husband. In spite of the press of people she drew a revolver and shot him dead; as she had come provided with the weapon, there is little doubt that she did not act on the spur of the moment. About 1883 Fatime Almetaj, a woman born in Kostejë near Martanesh and married in Përvall, was busy baking one day while her husband talked to a neighbour. On hearing a gunshot she rushed out to find her husband already dead and the neighbour running away. She ran inside, seized her husband's rifle and again rushed out. The neighbour had already reached his own doorstep when she fired. As soon as she saw him fall dead, she re-entered her house and resumed her baking; her husband had been avenged, there were others in the family to feed, and the dough was getting cold. In neither of these cases do records show whose life the enemy took in return for the one she had taken; by right it should have been one of the males in her husband's family.

593 In certain cases both the avenger and the expiator of a murder
*628 might be drawn from outside the household directly concerned.
[826] For instance, if a murderer and his brother were separated, the avenger might kill the latter while his blood was boiling, a period estimated in Dibër at one hour and in Mirditë and elsewhere at twenty-four hours. When his blood had cooled he must not molest the separated brother, and might be required to find a guarantor that he would not do so. Conversely, a man separated from his murdered brother might avenge him during the regulation period, but not afterwards.

613 Sometimes the rule of 'boiling blood' was extended to larger
*628

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

for the violation of her honour by the push than for the bruise, was not satisfied and instigated her son, a boy of twelve or thirteen, to vindicate her honour by killing Gjelosh's son, who was of the same age. Since the boys habitually herded their goats together, her son found an opportunity of pushing the other boy over a rock and as he lay there helpless he stoned him till he died. Then Gjelosh, still in prison, paid a man to kill the little murderer. Grimës retorted by killing Gjelosh's remaining son and dooming Gjelosh's family to extinction.

Two instances, both from Beshkash in western Mat, in which a child was killed by a woman in revenge for the death of a relative, are recorded. In the first (about 1918) the only son of Pushko Zefi of Beshkash had been killed, and the cousins, who were his natural avengers, did not seem inclined to do their duty. Maddened by their inaction, the victim's sister, who was married in Perlat, took the opportunity provided by a visit to her old home and called at the enemy's house. On being left alone for a moment with a small boy in the kitchen, she cut his throat. Another woman in Beshkash, crazed by the murder of her grown-up son by Pal Dede Hajo, went to Pal's house and cut off the head of a little boy she found asleep in his cradle.

Since women do not have rifles or blood feuds according to the Kanùn, a woman could not possibly be killed to avenge a murder. It follows that when a woman avenged a murdered relative, she could not be killed in return, and indeed this did not happen very often. The tabu on killing a woman in any circumstances was reinforced by all the forces of public opinion and superstition. Killing a woman save when taken in adultery or incorrigible pilfering was the most disgraceful thing that an Albanian could do. Only one who came from 'a low-class family' would do it, he never again had any luck with his rifle and he could not hope to have his crime pardoned, but must wash away his crime with his blood. He need pay with only one life, but if his victim was a married woman, he could hardly hope to save it, for two or even three families sought to take it. The dead woman's husband wished to avenge his wife, her father his daughter, and, in Martanesh, her maternal uncle his niece. At Shënjon, near Elbasan, the father asked the husband if he meant to kill the enemy; if from cowardice or weakness he said no, the father at once set about tracking down the enemy. Since 'rifles can't weigh'—that is, discriminate—a

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

562 +628 672 784 woman was sometimes shot accidentally in a man's stead in spite of the tabu. In that unhappy event in Kurbin a woman in the murderer's family might be killed in return. If, too, a feud was unusually bitter, as was, for instance, the Kaloshi family one in Dibër, all barriers of law and disgrace were thrown down; 'kill at all costs' was the order of the day, and in its execution women and children were as likely as men to suffer.

This tabu on killing women had several sources. In the first place, a woman was 'a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was the vehicle by which a family was carried on, and killing her might mean the loss of more than one man to her husband's family. Then she carried no arms, and therefore was classed with old men, children, and lunatics as safe from an avenger. Again, she was [421] always regarded as an article of property, belonging in her maiden days to her father and afterwards to her husband; her father had the right to her work till she married, and her husband afterwards; in token of this work her father sold her dear, and her husband bought her dear. Articles of property could not be damaged in the course of blood feuds. There was also the feeling that it was a disgrace for a 'strong' man to kill anything so inferior as a woman.

The tabu on killing women was so strong that when one committed a murder, not she but one of the males in the family expiated the crime, if expiation were possible. Murders by women fell into two categories, the first outside and the second inside the family. In both cases the murderess might commit the crime on her own account or butt into a men's quarrel to avenge a murdered relative.

* 628 672 One more class of expiator remains to be considered. It sometimes happened that a man hired an outsider to kill his enemy. In [754] the Breg i Matit some held that such a man was a 'witch', and 676 since witches could not have blood feuds, he must go scot-free and his hireling suffer, like any other murderer. In most places, if the instigator could not be discovered, or if time was passing without vengeance being taken on him, the hireling was killed. These practices were exceptional, and in general the feud was credited to the principal rather than to the subordinate who fired the fatal shot.

[554] Vanity as well as justice came into the question, for the instigator was usually a more important person than his instrument, and killing him brought the avenger more glory.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

If expiation took the form of blood money, no distinction was made for age; the payment for a worn-out man of eighty or an able-bodied man of thirty was the same as for a boy of five or an infant of a few weeks. As when a life was taken for a life, no distinction was made for social standing or moral character; the payment for a bajraktar was the same as for a labourer. A female's 'blood', however, cost only half a male's. In the early days when these payments were determined, money was so distributed that the rich had a great deal, while the poor, who formed the bulk of the population, were all but penniless. The fear of having to pay a large sum in blood money was therefore a considerable deterrent against murder.

Blood money was accepted only in Mirditë and north Albania. Elsewhere it was scorned. 'Blood money and bride-price do you no good', said Lumë. 'We don't sell blood for money; that is a low thing to do', said Çermenikë, a boast repeated in Dibër in even stronger terms. In Labinot and Godolesh blood could not be washed away with money on the north Albanian system. In all these districts the formula after a murder was 'either pardon or kill'.

It must be admitted that neither lived up to its pretensions, the north being more truculent and the other districts less truculent than they claimed. In the Malësi e Madhe, for instance, only weak, low-class families would accept blood money; if other families did so, they were held to have 'disgraced themselves'. Indeed, a bajraktar's household, a voivode's or a 'leading family' should seek for fifty years, if need be, to kill the murderer of one of their men. On the other hand, a Çermenikë man sometimes accepted blood money, but if he so demeaned himself, his aim was to ruin his enemy and he fixed the price accordingly. In Dibër no man would accept blood money for a male relative unless it was accompanied by the present of a rifle as a conventional sign that he was still free to kill the murderer if he could. In Lumë a subtle use was sometimes made of blood money. Normally, when a life had been paid for a life, peace was made. But when an inferior killed his superior, the latter's relative would not make peace till he had killed two of the other's men. At the peace-making the first was paired with the original victim and for the second the superior's relative paid blood money.

Given the stigma attached to blood money, it was seldom paid except in lighter cases. After an accidental murder, for instance,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

682 dependent on charity. At best the elders fixed a sum to be paid by
*628 the murderer for leave to work his own land: the money paid, the avenger gave his word not to molest him; or a 'strong' friend guaranteed his safety as he tilled his fields. This arrangement continued until he was killed elsewhere or the avenger consented to make peace.

*628 Various devices were tried to outwit an avenger too venomous
[562] to make the smallest concession to his 'imprisoned' enemy. The
[442] commonest was for the murderer to let his land to a neutral on the usual Albanian terms of 'halves'. Once some men of Lurë, trusting to the prevailing immunity of women from attack, dressed in their wives' clothes and went out to work. They were soon discovered and compelled to return home. Frequently a woman was made to work alongside the men, the assumption being that from fear of accidentally hitting the women and so disgracing himself the avenger would not fire on the party. The man who murdered the brother of Kodhel Dede of Nezhar in Shpat belonged to a large family, the members of which went to work with a woman between every two men. Kodhel thus found it impossible to kill one of them and after a long period of years made peace. Sometimes a man's wife kept watch while he worked; if she signalled the enemy's approach, he seized his rifle and prepared to defend himself. During Kodhel Dede's feud with the Trepsanishti family he found himself long baulked by the vigilance of his enemy's wife.
[796] At last his chance came on the eve of 15 August. The wife had her
[782] mind set on making *melata* (sacrificial foods) for distribution on the festival, and, forgetting her husband who was at work on the threshing floor, she went home to make them. Kodhel, who had crept up through a maize field, shot her husband as soon as her back was turned. In the hilly landscape of Fulqet in west Mat a different sort of watch was kept. The 'imprisoned' men, aided by friends, dug a hole on top of a hill commanding a wide view. One of their best shots, rifle in hand, settled down in this hole ready to snipe the avenger if he tried to kill any of the men at work.

*628 Work in the fields apart, an 'imprisoned' murderer might for
572 short periods leave his house under escort of a friend. This friend
682 had to be 'strong', otherwise the murderer might be killed by his enemy, a lasting disgrace to the man whose protégé he was for the time being. Sometimes murderer and avenger had a common friend who took the former out; in that case the friend ran less risk

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

681 solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj
[491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed
[574] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[695] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[224] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

871 there is an improvement, and in the principal towns there are
[562] not only schools for boys but schools for girls also. The villagers, however, with the aversion from change and progress which is characteristic of the peasant in all countries, oppose the education of the girls. What do they want with education? Is it not their job to attend to the house, to work in the fields, to wait on their lords and masters and to bear them children? So say these village folk,—and I seem to have heard arguments on the education question, in essentials exactly the same though perhaps not quite so crudely put, uttered by persons in a certain civilised country who ought to know better.

361 During my stay in Koritza I explored the town thoroughly. The Mohammedan quarter swarms with children—quaint little creatures in all sorts of garments, the girls for the most part wearing the orthodox Turkish trousers. They seem happy enough, though dirty. The Christian section of the town does not lag behind the Mohammedan in this particular, and there are no signs whatever of a decreasing birth-rate. As you walk along the rather narrow streets, open and half-open doorways give glimpses of shady courtyards where women sit spinning and sewing and nursing their babies. There are plants in tubs, and trellises, and vines, and always a pump to supply the household with water, for Koritza is proud of its water, which is very pure and fresh. In the business parts crowds of men fill the streets, and they carry all sorts of things—fish on a string, the entrails of sheep, dead mutton, live kids, the raw pelts of goats and cattle,

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Women and the Moral Standard

361 sheep's heads, and every conceivable kind of foodstuff both
[562] animate and inanimate. Here the only women to be seen are peasants with loads of grass and fodder, or gipsies with bags slung across their shoulders and distaffs in their hands, for it is not considered respectable for women to walk in the main streets of the town, though in the more secluded parts you may occasionally meet high-heeled Mohammedan ladies whose veils do not quite hide the fact that they are smartly dressed in the European fashion.

562 One rarely sees men and women together in Albania, and
831 in consequence one gets the impression, rightly or wrongly, that the company of women is not valued, and that women are regarded only as household drudges and the mothers of children. Nevertheless—or perhaps on this account—the standard of morality is high both in Albania and throughout the Balkans, and breaches of the moral code are rare. In all uncivilised and half-civilised communities the same characteristic is observable, for a wife is regarded as property just as much as a sheep or a bullock or a house, and it is the primitive man's first instinct to keep his property inviolate. Doubtless the women as well as the men have come to regard this point of view as normal, and it is to this, together with a healthy fear of the consequences which any lapse must inevitably bring, that the chastity of the Balkan women is chiefly to be attributed, though a simple religious faith accepted without questioning may also play some part.
831 At all events, whatever the reason, the fact remains that the standard of conduct is, in this particular, higher in the

of the padres, being Albanian mountain men themselves, thought this right, though they admitted that the beating was sometimes cruelly severe. A 593 681

In some ways the women have more freedom than among the Montenegrins, for they are permitted to give their opinion freely on important subjects, and it is often asked, and they join in general conversation. Nor do their husbands ever apologize for their existence. M A 562

In Montenegro, on the other hand, as often as not the master of the house has shouted: "Be quiet, woman," when his wife only wanted to ask some innocent question. I never heard any of Iké's views except when Krsto was out, and one was always hearing, "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head!" hurled at the women. The Albanian woman, on the other hand, would joke and chaff the men; would even, in the streets of Scutari, call their husbands out of the drink-shop and tell them they had had enough. Nor does the Albanian woman have to bow humbly and kiss the hand of every male visitor as does the Montenegrin peasant woman. Among the Dukagini I found the men would even fetch water—a thing no Montenegrin "junak" would condescend to do.

A curious case illustrating the rights of the husband occurred while I was in Albania. A mountain woman left her husband and came to Scutari, where she lived by prostitution among the Turkish garrison. The husband's honour was blackened, but if he killed his wife he would owe blood to her family. He therefore consulted her brother, her nearest surviving male relative. The brother agreed that his family, too, was blackened, and gave the man the cartridge wherewith to shoot her. Shot she was, and public opinion considered the husband had acted rightly and cleaned the honour of both families. I said that in such a case divorce should be permitted, but was told that so long as she was alive the family honour would still be black; a divorce would be useless. A 577 684

5. Marriage Customs in Montenegro

In Montenegro, and all through the Serb-speaking lands, marriages were arranged by the head of the house. The young people were rarely consulted. A century ago in Montenegro infant and child betrothals were not uncommon, and the young couple did not see each other before marriage. Old Serbian ballads show that exogamy was the rule, for the hero, we are usually told, "sought his bride from afar." Such marriages were designed to strengthen the "house." We find in ballads and tales the youth who laments to his father that no wife has yet been found for him; to whom his father replies: "I have long sought M 583 M [582]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

forth. Seventy to eighty years was nearer their age than a hundred; and many who looked sixty were younger. H 164 165

Women are early worn out. Especially in Montenegro, there is a very great difference in height between men and women. Women I found usually shorter than I am (5 ft. 3 ins.); whereas men well over six foot are not uncommon. The Montenegrins seemed proud of this difference, and when I said that of course, if a girl was married at fifteen and had four children before she was twenty she never grew to her full height, they were very angry indeed. M 142 165 583

Lunacy and Mental Diseases.—Lunacy is very generally believed to be possession by evil spirits, if the lunatic is a violent and dangerous one. Exorcisms are much used both by the Catholic and Orthodox priests. In Orthodox monasteries lunatics are often treated with great cruelty, and beaten and otherwise maltreated in order to drive out the spirits. I once saw an unfortunate man, almost naked, chained like a dog to a sort of kennel in the yard of a monastery. He was very quiet and half-dazed. The monks admitted that they beat him whenever he resisted or tried to escape. H A 164 753 776

The women of the Balkans, completely exhausted as they only too often are by severe toil and perpetual child-bearing and lactation, often suffer from neurasthenia and "hysteria." A curious form is not uncommon among the women of Macedonia and Montenegro. I am told it occurs also in Russia. It begins as a hiccough, and becomes more and more intense until it is a violent and fast-recurring spasm of the diaphragm. The hiccoughs become louder and louder till they are an uninterrupted crowing like that of a hoarse rooster. So quick are they that the patient cannot breathe. Just as she appears to be in danger of choking, she suddenly pulls herself together, draws a long breath, gives a gasp or two, and recovers in a few minutes. At intervals the attacks may go on all day; nor, when the habit is acquired, is it easy to cure. To a certain extent it is under the patient's control; but not entirely. When I did relief work among the Bulgar peasants in Macedonia after the revolt in 1903, I met a case which had been reported as "a Turkish atrocity" by relief workers unacquainted with the complaint. I visited the village where she was. She was quite quiet. So soon as she heard I was an English relief agent she began to "crow" loudly and had one spasm after another. By way of a test I said: "Tell her if she makes that noise I will do nothing for her." And after some gasping she recovered and made no more noise while I was there. But she was not cured. H A 164 562

The Balkan remedy is one of suggestion. On a saint's day the patient is taken to the Orthodox church. On St. Petar's Day, at Moratchka H 755

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

Both the name and the food taboos being even to-day so common in the Balkans, it is strange to find Herodotus, so many centuries ago, mentioning both as peculiar customs of the Ionians and explaining them thus: "Even those who esteemed themselves the most noble of the Ionians on first settling in the country brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women whose husbands they put to death. In consequence of this violence the women made a compact which they delivered to their daughters never to sit at meals with their husbands nor to call them by their appropriate names" (Bk. I, c. xlvi). He, however, expressly states that these Ionians were of very mixed origin, saying that: "Molossians, Pelasgians of Arcadia, and Dorians of Epidaurus were mingled with them." These are some of the oldest known Balkan tribes. The Molossians especially were in South Albania. The food and name taboos were thus possibly brought from the Balkans to Asia by the men. Judging by the present Balkan peoples, it is far more likely that the customs should have been enforced by them on their captured wives than that Herodotus's explanation should be correct.

B 262 175 171 562

4. Taboo on Showing the Face

The amount of veiling done by the women varies very considerably among the Balkan peoples, I know. The most closely veiled and hooded of all were the Moslem Slavs of Mostar and Serajevo. The Moslem Slav, whether called Serb or Croat, is a very strict Mohammedan.

A H 784 562

This may be because the Bosnians and Herzegovinians—the Bosnians more especially—adopted Islam in many cases as early as the fifteenth century, whereas the Albanians, upon whom it sits far more lightly, and a very large number of whom belong to the heretical Bektashi sect, became Mohammedan mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some in the nineteenth. The women of the Moslem Albanian mountain tribes are never veiled, and will come to market and bargain freely with any man, their faces more exposed than those of many Christians.

A 794 562 292 171

In the towns, which were under the rule of Turkish officials whose womenfolk possibly set the fashions, the Albanian Moslem women were all more or less closely veiled. In Dulcigno they almost exceeded the hooding of Mostar, and have preserved the custom under the rule of the Montenegrin, which was forced upon them by the pious efforts of Mr. Gladstone.

A 292 171

The veiling of women was, however, not unknown in Ancient Greece, and the veiling or partial veiling of both men and women was practised in various primitive and non-Moslem lands. The usual explanation of

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the A [186] lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

Y A 292 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

562 561 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, Y too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

A [12] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

A Y M 754 776 774 Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

A V M 777 "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and A 585 hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

342 local independence of the families within
[562] them. In the *kullas*, women are placed on the second floor, men on top; or else the women will live in a nearby unfortified house, while the men take refuge in the *kulla*. This reflects the inviolability of women in the local feuding law.

333 *Kulla*-building[1] requires the skill of professionals. All stones are squared, and carefully set in mortar. The fireplaces and chimneys must be properly aligned and made to draw. The great height of the walls requires scaffolding. Nopcsa[3] says that they are built by itinerant masons, and that in 1908 they cost between 440 and 660 crowns (110–165 dollars). I was told several times when I asked that the *kullas* were built by masons from Dibra,[4] who also build them in Montenegro, Bosnia, and elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Exactly where in Dibra these masons come from I do not know. I have never seen one at work, nor did any appear in our series.

354 These houses, of whatever type, are heated by wood, which at the same time cooks the meals. In most of the region there is plenty of firewood, but in the northern limestone region it is scarce and must be sought afar. The mountaineers earn a little spare cash by carrying loads of firewood down to the market towns to sell.

In many houses in 1929 a primitive form of illumination was still employed. When it grew dark the host would lay a number of pine splinters in several iron racks, hanging from the roof, and light them. The oil in the wood would provide enough light to see by, but hardly enough for reading. In other houses, however, they used candles, and in still others oil lamps. Kerosene has been packed into this country in square 5-gallon tins for some time, and the tins themselves are as much sought after as their contents.

291 Gheg clothing has received even more attention than their housing. The costumes are picturesque, and make fine collections. They vary from tribe to tribe, *bairak* to *bairak*, and in some cases between villages. After six months of travel over the mountains I was able to tell where a man came from in many cases by the cut of his jacket, the color of his

1 [see cat. 116, p. 14 b -- Analyst]

[3] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 62.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939) 1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania EG1

A wide rudely made ladder leads to the first floor, along 352
which runs a passage, or *hodnik*, four or five feet broad, [417]
made of uneven and draughty planks that give precarious hold to Western shoes. Dark cupboards of rooms open on both sides, one for each married man of the *zadruga*, with his wife and children. Sometimes they possess a window-slit, sometimes not. They are furnished with nothing besides a home-made plank bed, covered with the much-valued long-fleeced sheepskin rugs, made from sheep that have never been shorn, a clothes-chest, a loom, a distaff, and a stock of cotton and fleece.

In houses with only one top storey the large guest-room takes up the whole width of the house at one end of the [342] passage. At the other end is the small apse-closet. But in a house with two upper storeys the entire top floor is devoted to the guest-room, which is reached by another perilous home-made ladder.

This guest-chamber is far the largest and best-furnished room in the house; its ceiling, however, is as low as the rest. The floor-boards fit better, although, as in the other rooms, the door rests on a fixed barrier, twelve inches high, which keeps off draughts from those who are reclining on rugs or mats. A half or a third of the floor is spread with carpets and enclosed by a low wooden kerb. Here against the walls are laid many long stiff cushions, tight with wool or straw, and covered with coarse hand-woven woollen stuff, worked in bright greens, reds, whites, and purples, [531] in chevron-like patterns on a black or yellow ground. These colours, in similar bold Albanian designs, are repeated on the light wood of the doors, unless these are carved instead. Outside the kerb stands a kind of bed-seat, about a foot high, with very simply carved back and arms, spread with the finest of the long-fleeced sheepskins. On one side of the room the fire burns within an immense [354] chimney-place, projecting far into the room and reaching up to the low roof.

The men have their meals in the guest-chamber. They 264 516
sit cross-legged and unshod upon cushions round the *sofra*, 562
eating from the dishes brought as far as the door by the

EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

A 562 [264] [516] women, and set on the table by a young man. The best places and softest cushions are taken by the old men as a matter of course, when they recline or sit on the floor to smoke, talk, and drink coffee. At night this room[1] is given A [574] up to the guests, who, of course, are almost always men. S M Albanians are very jealous, and keep their women carefully secluded in their own part of the house.

A 342 Montenegrins and Serbs living in this region (some of them claim that their families have dwelt there since pre-Kosovo days) build their houses in the thatched one-storeyed manner, with mud-brick walls as in Montenegro itself, copying nothing from the later Albanian fortress-houses.

XIV

C 342 [177] (7) *Houses in Dalmatia* are marked by Venetian influence, though not so strongly in the villages as in the towns, which are extremely Italianized in their building. In coast villages one generally finds quite ordinary little stone or brick cottages with thick walls and tiled roofs. Inland village houses are more distinctive. They are built of stone, with or without mortar. The roofs are tiled, and a C [351] stone-flagged verandah and path run between the cool dark house and the flower-garden, surrounded by a low stone wall. Windows are fairly large and kept open. In some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Dubrovnik a room shaped above the eaves like a huge extinguisher is used as a kitchen. Its sloping sides, twice the height of the upright walls, end above the roof in a small square chimney with a pointed cap, and are slit by one or more vent-holes. The narrow eaves almost meet the lintels of the doors and windows. In the Karst districts, farther inland, the cottages are of the barren mountain type.

XV

S 342 (8) *Shepherds' huts* are extremely simple, often like wigwams. In Serbia they are mostly made of sticks piled into the shape of a tent, with a door, the spaces between them sometimes filled with clay or sods. In the heights of

[1] [i.e. the guest-chamber.– Analyst]

113, 183, 563 Albania EG1

[For data on beliefs and customs relative to baptism of Moslems in Albania, see 9: Filipovich, EF1 Yugoslavia, category 116, pp. 4-5.]

757 278 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.

757 753 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 151 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and [563 326] pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him 759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can 752 survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house 757 in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound [278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen, 757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He 278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

dwellings immediately enables one to make the distinction between the natives of this district. The comfortable handsome stone houses, with large galleries on the upper stories before the living rooms and the stables below, denote the typical Albanian peasant homes. And in the immediate vicinity, the small reed huts tenanted by the gypsies.

There are two kinds of gypsies in this interesting country: one is the same as the English variety, speaking the quaint old Romany, although knowing at the same time the language of the country. This branch of gypsies is the eternal wanderer, constantly moving from one district to another, pitching their temporary tents wheresoever they will. Their keenest interest is in horses and they live by their tradings and quite often entirely by their wits. The other kind of gypsies is those, who, having forgotten almost all of their Romany, speak only Albanian, and a little Turkish where they are old enough to have experienced the Turkish occupation of Albania. Essentially lazy, these broken-up tribes live mostly in the towns, gaining their daily bread in the simplest and most convenient way possible for them: singing and danc-

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

ing, accompanied by the women on tambour-
533 ines and they by the men on violins and
535 cornets. Their dances are picturesque in their native costumes with their hair either flowing or bound up, according to the particular dance. For those who may interpret their dances, there is a rich abundance of narrative in store for the reader. The harmony of tambourine, violin and cornet is not at all unpleasant when played by skilled musicians. The singing, however, is not harmon-
563 ized, the performers using only one voice.
[461] Regardless of where these gypsies may live they earn their living in the same way, and being too lazy to cultivate even a small truck-garden, they lead easy, happy-go-lucky exist-
[427] ences, and they have their huts free of rent, provided they work a few days out of the year for their ground landlord, Shevket Bey. Strange as it may seem, these wandering,
[326] anchorless people are about the only local blacksmiths found in this country, for the Albanians proper have a curious aversion to this occupation.

245 After leaving this quaint little town of Bradshesh, and penetrating into the heart of Albania towards Elbasan, large, beautiful

Here also Mohammed II left several
pure-blooded Turks, a plantation which does 563
not seem to have occurred in any other place, for the great majority of the natives in this town today are of the Moslem faith, and strongly resemble the dark and powerful physiques of the Turks. The Christian inhabitants of Elbasan are all Orthodox, as this is the seat of an Orthodox Archbishop. The older Albanian colony has almost confined itself to the castle area, whereas, the Vlachs, first cousins to Rumanians, more recent inhabitants, have satisfied themselves with the southern area of the town.

The great, impressive old castle built by 712
Mohammed II is still in a fair state of preservation on two of its rectangular sides. The main part of the havoc that has been wrought upon this magnificent old pile was caused by Reshid Mehmed Pasha in 1832, when he quelled an insurrection in this area. The other part of the damage is due to the natural ravages of time and the elements. The castle proper is 1,060 by 1,000 feet and its massive old walls are nine feet thick. A small, daintily-designed mosque stood over the South Gate until 1920, when it was destroyed. There is no material evidence to 000

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

There is no material evidence to
•563 the tradition that there was once a Jewish colony in Elbasan.

443 The picturesque brown bazaar is held once a week just outside the south wall, and nowhere in all Albania is there to be found such a grand confusion of color as among the native costumes on market-day, which is generally Saturday.

346 There are several fine old mosques which are gems of Turkish architecture, especially that of Nazireshe located near the Vlach quarter, and it is one of the oldest and most beautiful in the country.

Among the newer buildings are the archaeological museum, the Baholi library, the normal school, erected at the foot of the dense olive groves just north of the town, and the
274 new Alcohol factory a very few miles along the road leading to Korcha (Korça). The
485 Grand Hotel and the Hotel Adriatik, with excellent European and native cuisines, add much to the desirability of visiting this Albanian center.

000 A strange, weird beauty is found among the olive groves at Elbasan, and the many walks through these young forests are indeed delightful. They add a strong note of contrast,

as the basis of the language of the whole 000
country.

The majority of the villages between Tirana 563
and Elbasan are Moslem, due to the invasion of the Turks. Many of these little hamlets have preserved the tradition of having received visits from the mighty Scanderbeg the Great, the national hero.

A view of Albania from an aeroplane, is 361
like looking down upon a checkerboard of blazing colors. On one side, the home-made brick huts of the peasants situated on the pebbled-banks of the river amid waving green fields of maize, and on the other, the sunburnt stucco of the new buildings, surrounded by lovely old-fashioned gardens, with the bright mosaics of the mosques with their golden spires lending rich hues to the already bewildering mass of color, a subject fit for an artist's brush. The ancient in contrast with the modern—past and present walking hand in hand. Age old fortresses and castles and modern buildings; narrow, winding streets and wide, spacious boulevards; palaces of glistering white and the ageless ruins of bygone glories. This thriving country, seen from the air, seems to glitter and shimmer

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

291 wear a coat of thick white woollen stuff, red trousers, an embroidered apron with fringe half a yard long, and on the head a blue kerchief. The dress of the Christians is similar in form but usually of a violet colour. The *yashmak* and *feridgé* (veil and cloak) of [563] the Turkish women is worn out of doors by the [562] Moslem women in the towns, and also, if they live in close proximity to Moslems, by the Christian women. The cloak of the latter is, however, of a different shape and of a light red colour, with a cross embroidered in front. This distinctive dress is said to have been imposed by a native pasha, who, being attracted by a Christian girl, not knowing her to be such, asked her in marriage and was refused.

The country women, however, both of mountain and plain, and whether Christian or Moslem, go about unveiled. Their costumes vary extremely in detail, but are generally of stout homespun and felt, and in [171] form resemble those of the Greek and Bulgarian peasants of Macedonia, the leading features of which are two aprons worn under a coat. In the villages of the plains, however, a blue petticoat, trimmed [531] with red bands, is worn over an embroidered linen gown, with a bodice of white cloth embroidered in black.

302 Albanian ladies appear to be even more addicted than Osmanlis to the use of cosmetics. No sooner are they married than they begin to dye their hair [303] with a decoction made from gall-nuts and palm oil, paint their eyelashes, and extend their eyebrows till they meet over the nose. For their skins they use a "wash" in which various deleterious ingredients

[Constitution]

641 No privilege because of family, position in life, wealth,
554 or cultural level is recognized.

ARTICLE 13

●[563] All citizens are equal regardless of nationality, race, or
[659] religion. Any act which grants privileges or takes away rights from any citizen because of nationality, race, or religion is unconstitutional and carries with it punishments as provided by law. It is unconstitutional and punishable by law to stir up hatred and dissension among nationalities, races, or religions.

ARTICLE 14

666 All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen are
641 eligible to elect and be elected in all organs of state, regardless of sex, nationality, race, creed, cultural level, or residence.

Members of the armed forces also have these rights.

The right to vote is universal, equal, direct, and secret.

The right to vote is forfeited by those who have been disqualified by law.

ARTICLE 15

562 Women are equal to men in all walks of life, private, political, or social.

Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same work. And women have similar rights with regard to social security.

745 The government especially protects the interests of mothers and young children, by assuring vacations with pay before and after childbirth and also by building maternity hospitals and nurseries.

ARTICLE 16

659 Freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed to all citizens.

The church is separated from the state.

Religious communities are free to exercise and practice their creeds.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 32

641 Defense of the country is the highest duty and greatest privilege of any citizen.

[687] Treachery against the people is the greatest crime.

Military service is obligatory for all citizens.

ARTICLE 33

651 Every citizen must pay taxes according to his income.

The state fixes taxes, and exemption from the same is determined by law.

ARTICLE 34

687 Citizens cannot use the rights given them by this constitution in order to change the constitutional regime of the People's Republic of Albania in an undemocratic manner. Any act of this kind is illegal and carries with it punishment as prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 35

563 In the People's Republic of Albania national minorities enjoy all the rights enjoyed by other citizens as well as freedom to use their own language and develop their own culture.

ARTICLE 36

641 The People's Republic of Albania gives the right of refuge to citizens of other countries who are persecuted for their activities in behalf of democracy, national liberation, rights of the workers, or scientific and cultural freedom.

PART TWO
STATE ORGANIZATIONS

TITLE I
Highest Organs of the State

646 (a) People's Convention

ARTICLE 37

The People's Convention (Parliament) is the highest organ of the state of the People's Republic of Albania.

ARTICLE 38

The People's Convention maintains the sovereignty of the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Kuturman until his family died out and the plate disappeared. The 423
summer grazing which belonged to the village of Bërshenj near 233
Fulqet was three days away on Mt Dragû. The Highlanders, living at the mouth of the river Mat, had their summer pasturages on Mt Vermosh five days away from their winter homes.

A clear distinction was drawn between the laws governing private and public pasturages. In broad outline what was private [428] could be fenced or sold or built on at its owner's sole pleasure, and was divided up between his sons at his death. What was public was marked off by boundary stones from neighbouring properties but had neither outside fence nor internal boundaries. Though all the households in the tribe or village had equal rights in it and could each graze as many animals, cut as much firewood or timber, build as many huts or folds and shoot as much game on it as they pleased, these rights came to them only as members of the community and were not transferable to strangers. They could not sell their grazing rights to an outsider, share a hut with him or graze his animals along with their own; if they wanted to give an outsider friend pasturage, they must do so on their private ground. They could not sell part of the common or dispose of firewood, timber or game for their individual gain; only the community could negotiate such sales, and all the profit or loss from them was community profit or loss. They could not build a permanent house on the common. When the head of a family died, his rights were [428] not divided among his sons like his private property but descended to them jointly. Gypsies, it may be added, were allowed to pitch [323] their tents, graze their animals and gather firewood on the common. Being as resourceful in Albania as elsewhere, they needed no permission and snared what game they could; as they did not carry firearms they could not shoot it.

Those communities which did not possess their own private 427
summer pasturage, hired or rented it from near and far. Breg i Matit 233
rented theirs partly from Shkrel and partly from Theth, and the 437
latter was a full week's journey away. Modernity having come to Albania, they paid cash down. Fulqet rented a neighbour's mountain every summer and paid for it in the old-fashioned way with half an oke of butter, the same of sour-milk cheese and 2½ oke of sweet cheese for every forty sheep. Perlat again gave their own winter pasturage in return for leave to summer on the mountains of Lurë and Selitë. In Turkish times, Lurë asked neither money

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

695 nominees they were supposedly free from bias in the suspect's
693 favour. Then they were very carefully selected.

Since the truth or falsity of the result of the ordeal depended in the first place on their probity, and since it had to be certain that one or more of them would refuse to sell his soul by swearing falsely to a criminal's innocence, their personal honour had to be beyond question—they must never have been caught, for instance, swearing a false oath or taking bribes. They had further to be free from ill-will against either party—they must not be malicious. It was also important that they should have some knowledge of the case at either first or second hand. Hence the accuser liked to name the suspect's relatives and neighbours, as in the case of Qazim of Labinot, men who came from the suspect's village if not his brotherhood. In the case of a stolen animal, for example, the relatives in particular might have seen the meat being eaten by the suspect's family or the bones being gnawed by his dog. In all cases of theft a near relative would know that the suspect was not at home at the time. But if any of the suspect's relatives were unscrupulous the accuser naturally preferred to nominate others. Better an ignorant but upright compurgator.

[563] Certain members of a tribe could not be compurgators. A gipsy, we have said, might serve on a suspect's behalf, though he might not be put to the oath to discharge himself of an accusation or to make good his claim to a property. Old men, boys and lunatics were never allowed to take oath either as suspects or as compurgators; nor were women except in very rare cases.

A Moslem hoxha or sheikh counted as only one compurgator, but, being regarded as a man of weight, tended to come high on the accuser's list. A Catholic priest was theoretically exempted by his office from being put to the oath as either suspect or compurgator, but if named as compurgator, he counted in his single person as equal to twenty-four. If a bajraktar of Mirditë or one of the Gjomarkaj family was chosen as compurgator in a case involving twenty-four, the court named twelve others and declared the bajraktar or Gjomarkaj equivalent to the remainder.

The suspect had the right to object to the accuser's nominees if they were not in a position to know the truth of the case, or to risk taking an oath to clear him. If his objection was obviously well founded, the accuser had to change his nominees. The suspect was also protected from ill-will on the part of a compurgator. As

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

mill, the villagers themselves could work it; the miller was therefore 621
not entitled to public protection. The village blacksmith, with few [563]
exceptions a gipsy, was in even worse case than the miller. He was [384]
a public necessity, since Albanian peasants will not make horse 628*
shoes or farm implements, but he was only a gipsy and no Albanian
community would trouble about so low-class a creature. If he was
murdered, only his family would avenge him, and they probably
lacked the spirit to do so.

To the Land of the Eagle

361 city wall which at one time completely encircled the town
349 and is still, in many places, in good preservation. No one knows its age. The local people assert that it is Venetian, but, as flat brick figures largely in its construction, it is more probably Roman. At the present time roads pass through ragged gaps in the masonry, and houses, of which the British Legation is one, are built in, and on, the ramparts.
● 563 A small colony of Arabs—Baghdadi by their caste marks—inhabit one of the bastions.[1] One wonders how they came there. In the town[1] there is also a gipsy quarter, as in most other Albanian towns. The gipsies are a peace-loving folk, asking no more than a quiet life with not too much work and plenty of music and dancing. They are, in fact, Bohemians *par excellence.*

ooo I trespassed on the hospitality of the Durazzo Legation for three days and then went aboard the boat for Valona in the company of a King's Messenger, the consul's wife and family, the gentleman who had come out after oil and was now returning to England—whether satisfied or dissatisfied I did not trouble to enquire—and some other of my fellow countrymen whose acquaintance I had recently made.

Durazzo looked exceedingly attractive from the sea. The glittering water was that marvellous shade of blue which is peculiar to the Adriatic. Boats with patched and tattered triangular sails plied between the ship and the shore.
361 The little town of white and yellow houses, bathed in sunlight, lay at the foot of the island-like promontory on which

[1] [of Durazzo -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

000 country, if I am rightly informed, two crops a year are possible, though whether the land would stand two crops without impoverishment I have not enough knowledge of such matters to say. There is room, too, for many more sheep and cattle than at present. If the gipsies can raise the large flocks they do, presumably the Albanian can raise them also. I saw gipsy encampments with flocks which 233 appeared to run to a thousand head of sheep or more. As to 563 cattle, the local breed is small; this is attributed by the natives to the poor pasturage, but the importation of pedigree 000 stock might bring about an improvement. In fact, as I see it, there is wealth in Albania—the best kind of wealth, that which comes from honest work on the soil—and I cannot help wondering whether the Albanian who is yearning after the United States, Canada, or Australia, as the case may be, is not shutting his eyes to opportunities which lie ready to his hand in his own country. It is a truism that people are often blind to their own immediate surroundings.

The accommodation offered by the Hotel Metropole fell so far short of my fanciful anticipations that as soon as I had supped I made my way through the ill-lit streets to the American School, hoping that my friends Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy —whom I had met at Tirana—might be able to tell me of better quarters. They assured me, however, that the Hotel Metropole was the only place at which it was at all possible to stay, and very kindly offered to make me up a bed in their sitting-room. This offer—foolishly, as it turned out—I declined. I was back early the next morning begging that

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

XI

S A 184 586 563 Customs among the Moslems vary in different districts, and with different races; as for example, the Bosnians and the Albanians of Metohija. In villages near Peć a man can divorce his wife; but the wife may only run away. If she does she cannot remarry. In Turkish days the man could kill an offending wife; this extreme measure is now forbidden to him. In some parts of Bosnia, however, wives and husbands have equal rights of divorce, though in the Travnik villages only the man can divorce, especially if there is no child. In case of death, a husband can remarry [587] the day after if he likes; a woman must wait at least three months.

A 586 When a Bosnian couple decide on divorce, both must go before the *šerijakski sud*, in which court they had deposited a signed document at their marriage. As soon as the marriage papers have been discovered, the divorce is granted. The process may take two hours, eight days, or an indefinite period. Divorce costs nothing if the wife comes before the court of her own free will.

A 58 563 Albanian girls in Metohija are sometimes betrothed at birth, or at the end of their first year; and are usually married at fourteen or fifteen. The bridegroom is usually at least seventeen. But sometimes a betrothal lasts for years, until the bride-price has been collected. In Streoc, a village near Peć, a bride cost anything up to 10,000 dinars: after the crisis in 1931 her price fell to 5000 dinars.

S 595 563 S 587 563 Most of the Moslems I met had one wife. None but the rich, they said, could afford more than one, in Jugoslavia as elsewhere. Only in Bosnia did I find husbands with two wives, though one Moslem peasant, Šaban Lepi, living in a Travnik village, had considerably excelled Henry VIII in the number of his wives; he had nine—in succession. This experienced husband was a poor man in patched clothes, about fifty, with a ragged grey beard, who, when I saw him, was living with his ninth wife, Rasija, in a cottage of one room, with a wooden floor, and a kitchen with a mud floor. His first wife, Zuleha, during thirteen

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

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The Albanian men of Metohija are accustomed to white garments—white cotton or woollen trousers, fitting the leg, and embroidered about the ankle, a full white shirt sometimes worn like a tunic, and a white woollen coat of the same length, with elbow-sleeves, lightly outlined and panelled with narrow black braid. A turban-scarf is wound over the little white felt cap. They wear soft knitted shoes, but theirs are pointed and very carefully worked with typical Albanian patterns.

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One or two special points may be noted in concluding. Caps are particularly expressive of district and religion. In villages only an Orthodox Serb wears the *šubara*, or the Serbian national cap,[1] the Orthodox Montenegrin and Hercegovinian and the Roman Catholic Dalmatian wear their national flat round caps, the Roman Catholic Croat usually has a hat of one kind or another, the Moslem headgear is a fez with or without a turban-scarf, or a white felt skull-cap, or the high Dervish fez. In some villages peasants have said they would kill anybody who used a cap to which he was not born.

And still in Sarajevo to-day (1939) postmen, tram conductors and drivers proclaim their faith by their headgear, the Orthodox wearing the Serbian national cap, the Moslem Slav the fez, while the Roman Catholic Croat or Bosnian uses the ordinary peaked official cap.

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The older Spanish Jewesses of the town also still perch their curious high, brimless hats, made of dull golden brocade or some other patterned material, on their smooth hair tightly drawn into a bun behind. This high, stiff, narrow crown is flattened at the sides, concave back and front, with a row of small overlapping "gold" ducats round the top.

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For mourning men leave off shaving, and don black shirts: the women cut their hair and put on a black head scarf.

[1] I am, of course, excluding soldiers, or possibly some officials.

643 lowed by several uprisings, and, when we realize that, following the world war, Albania was pillaged by her neighbors, and, lastly, when we comprehend in some measure the tremendous task that confronted the king as the ruler of a torn and sadly mutilated country endeavoring, in the role of a new and independent nation, to struggle to its feet, and against terrific economic, social, and political odds to take its place in the family of nations, when he was called upon to face innumerable problems in organizing a government without money and to create a peaceful nation out of chaos, only then can we appreciate the great achievements of King Zog. He has met and beneficially solved the numerous post-war problems, social, political, cultural and economic, which confronted Albania, creating the necessary administration of government and freeing the country of invaders.

191 The promotion of national consciousness was pushed ahead by the use of a common language in which school-books, newspapers and literary works have to be printed, substituting for the local dialects. The law of agra-
423 rian reform of 1930 laid the foundation for
[565] the creation of a nationalistically-inclined
class of small peasant proprietors.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

197 great measure to the profession of three creeds by the Albanian people, Turkish only being taught in the Moslem schools; in the Roman Catholic, Italian; and in the Orthodox Christian, Greek. The only section of the Albanians who can boast of any degree of culture are the Khams, and even this is not indigenous, but is borrowed entirely from the Epirote Greeks of Ioannina and its neighbourhood.

871 The education of the vast majority of Albanian
565 girls, whether Moslem or Christian, is of a purely
562 domestic character, and, with the exception of a small number of Gheg and Tosk maidens of the better class, who are taught a little reading and writing and a great deal of etiquette by old lady *hodjas*, they are entirely unlettered. From the age of twelve to the
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10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

his case. Since 1912 most of this administrative and penal legislation has been superseded of set purpose by European methods and laws, whereas the social content of the old mountain code has been left comparatively undisturbed, free to come into line with the ways of the West in its own time.

The community sense was fostered by every art the mountaineers knew. Each member of a household was encouraged to regard everything in it and everything its other members said and did as his own. The humblest man was encouraged to regard his village or group of villages as his personal property. If home, village or group of villages prospered, he rejoiced as if he had himself been advanced. If they were insulted or injured, he burned to avenge a personal affront. If they were disgraced by misconduct on the part of another member, he felt his own honour to be smirched. The patriotism so bred was narrow, perhaps, but it was genuine, free from egregious self-seeking, and by its emphasis on the need to keep the community's honour untarnished, a good deterrent from crime.

This close relationship between individual and community was also a curb on dictatorship. The ruling rank had always to respect the individual's property in the community's laws. They could not make any change in an existing law unless they obtained the consent of a General Assembly of their village or tribe. They could impose, but (except in the tribes which maintained fine-collectors) they could not collect fines; social pressure was necessary for that. In a very common punishment, social ostracism, they might play no more than a subordinate part. They could not pass heavy sentences like banishment or death unless a General Assembly demanded them, and if it did, they could not resist its will. In short, the elders voiced, but did not dictate, popular sentiment.

They were no privileged oligarchy either. They might sit in the seat of honour or get the lamb's head and eye at a banquet, but they had no official residences, horses or guards of honour provided for them at public expense. They lived in houses that were often meaner than those of their subordinates; they ate the same food and toiled in the same way in their fields and among their flocks. In fact, the self-government of the Albanian mountaineers went far towards being true democracy in the Anglo-American sense of that much-abused word. In its primitive way it was really government of the People, by the People, for the People. It had

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

701 escorting him to town, guarding him during his stay there and escorting him home again. If they refused without justifiable cause to give him such service, he withdrew his support from them at least for a time.

622 The bajraktar was also much occupied with local administration.
634 Here he was assisted by one or more headmen, hereditary officials like himself. Independently or together, he and they checked quarrelling, judged and formulated new laws. He was admittedly their superior, and when their views diverged his prevailed. If pressure of work made him think an increase in their number desirable, he had power to make extra appointments provided only that he first submitted the names of his nominees to the Turkish government for approval. In short, he was the acknowledged head of the local administration.

[619] As supreme administrative head the bajraktar had power to summon a general meeting for administrative as well as military purposes. If the matter at issue was important and affected the whole tribe, he sent the *kasnec* (tribal messenger) to command the presence of one man per house. If narrower issues were involved he summoned only one or more headmen and the local *gjobtarë*
[693] (fine-collectors) or other elders. Plenary meetings dealt with anti-social acts grave enough to involve the death penalty or expulsion, judged cases of sacrilege against the church, tightened up tribal discipline by enacting new or re-enacting old laws, decided whether to revolt or not against the Turkish government, and heard important messages from the government. In 1908 a plenary
[642] meeting[1] was held by each tribe to decide whether or not it should accept the Young Turk Constitution. Smaller meetings handled business where fines were sufficient punishment for transgression. Notably they regulated grazing rights, fixing the day for a general move to summer pastures, stipulating how many animals each family might feed on a common. They also regulated wood-cutting rights and controlled the supply of water for irrigation. The bajraktar presided at all such meetings, took an active part in the deliberations, and signed or set his seal on any minutes that were
[965] kept. He and the elders, as being socially superior, sat apart from the commoners. In the Malësi e Madhe he sat on the ground while the tribesmen stood respectfully on their feet.

[1] See M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 74.

[the local military leader--Analyst]

141 from all the others in the measurements of the
*128 head and face. These people are, compared to the others, notably narrow headed, narrow faced, and long faced.

Head form (figs. 14, 15)[1] follows the same distribution shown by the tribes. The one measurement that does not vary at all significantly is head height. Head length, however, shows the greatest variation of any character recorded. Computing a cephalic module from the means,[7] we find the areas clustered into 2 groups, limestone and folded, with 158.90 and 158.41 centimeters respectively, and flysch, serpentine, and eastern with 155.65, 156.71, and 156.91; big heads and medium to small heads. The size of the head, within a major racial group, of man, goes with the volume of the body.[8][2] In a series like ours where the dimensions of the head are subject to great variation of questionable origin, head size is a more useful criterion for the purpose of this chapter than its components. It clearly separates the Mountain Ghegs into 2 categories, one large, the other medium to small.

This, rather than the individual measurements and indices, is the most suggestive difference yet found between regional segments of the total series. The people in the limestone karst country are big people, and their kinsmen in the country where the soil is laid on a medley of folded outcrops are nearly as big. The people living in the land of serpentine and gabbro are much smaller, as is the small sample of flysch-dwellers. To the east, in the valley of the Black Drin and up into the Prizren region, the people are of intermediate stature, but with relatively long, narrow heads and faces.

142 In addition to the data presented, sortings
*128 were made for a number of observations which might have to do with general robusticity. This effort yielded nothing that the tribal sortings have not already revealed. No difference was found between areas in the proportion of concave scapulae, which seem to have more to do with age than with nutrition.
[164] Finally, the teeth of all areas were seen to be equally carious, equal in frequency of evulsion.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 114-115 -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116 p. 89b -- Analyst]

PRIVILEGE AND NUTRITION

565 In many countries food and other benefits
141 are unequally distributed, and in some of them
*128

[7] Cephalic module $= \frac{L+B+Ht}{3}$

141 members of the privileged classes are taller
565 than their less-favored fellow citizens. In the
*128 mountains of the Ghegs no stereotyped class system exists. Nevertheless in each tribe a few men hold higher political rank than the others, and a little difference in wealth may be discovered. Wealth and power usually go together. Using the data discussed in chapter 5, on "Politics and Feuding," page 30,[1] I have segregated 66 office-holders, 23 from limestone territory, and 43 from serpentine. The latter group included the entourage of Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*),[2] the tribal chief of Mirdita. These men had eaten the best the land had to offer. As table 22 shows, this made no real

TABLE 22: GEOLOGY AND STATURE, OFFICE-HOLDERS.

	Limestone			Serpentine		
	No.	Mean		No.	Mean	
Total	237	173.04	.34	354	167.22	.22
Office-holders ..	23	174.09	.78	43	167.63	.57

[264] difference in stature. In the mountains a chief eats at a big table, surrounded by his retainers, but any visitor is free to join at the hospitable
[262] board. The office-holders probably get more meat than the poorer people, but everyone consumes dairy products, bread, and legumes. Everyone also derives all his food from the same geographical source.

CONCLUSION

*128 Although the geological map on which this study is based was of a most general character, it seems to have been accurate enough for the present purpose. The minerals of this region which it shows can be correlated with the body size and robusticity of the inhabitants as populations, and with nothing else which this particular study reveals, other than a partly coincidental east-west trend in head and face form, which will be discussed later. What minerals, if any, are involved in these size variations, how they are assimilated, if they are, and how they affect growth, if they do, are problems beyond the scope of this paper and its author's competence. If this excursion into the nutritional field has any value it lies in the fact that other explanations of regional size differences have been eliminated.

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 30b-30c -- Analyst]

[2] [see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

* Coon, 1939, p. 267.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders. The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for

[1] See Chapter V. [2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

nation, which is the greatest, could put into the field more than 15,000 men on horseback, well fitted to wage war in the manner of their country, valiant and good fighters. And the said nations, both Latins and Abbanois, are harshly oppressed under the intolerable and very hard servitude of the most hateful and abominable lordship of the Slavs. Indeed, they are a downtrodden people; their clergy is lowered and humbled; their bishops and abbots often imprisoned; their nobles disinherited and imprisoned; their churches, both cathedrals and collegiate, are dispersed and deprived of power; their monasteries and priories lost and destroyed. They, one and all, would think to consecrate their hands in the blood of the said Slavs if they saw coming a Prince of France who would be their leader and chief against the said Slavs, the enemies of truth and of our faith. One thousand French horse and five or six infantry, along with the said Abbanois and Latins, could conquer at their ease the whole of this Kingdom of Rassie, such as it is."

This passage, written almost at the height of Serb power, shows clearly that the Serb conqueror had failed to destroy the Albanian sense of nationality, and failed to force the Serbian Orthodox Church upon the people; and that there was a very large Albanophone population with a Catholic clergy of its own. The bishoprics of Antivari, Scutari, Sappa, and Pulati still exist, and have survived both Serb and Turk. Into this reserve of Albanian nationality the refugees from the surrounding districts fled when the Turks advanced. The mountain population, then as now, was no doubt scattered in isolated houses or family groups of several houses on the mountain pastures, and not gathered into towns or villages. They formed "katuns." That the population was numerous is shown by the many ecclesiastical and political documents, correspondence with the Vatican, Venice, and Ragusa, and old Serbian archives. Thus in 1348 Tsar Stefan Dushan gives to the monastery he is founding at Prizren nine Albanian "katuns" near Prizren, the said Albanians to give serf labour to the monastery. He gives also some land in Upper Pulati, together with its inhabitants. Several still existing place-names are mentioned: Shikje, Krue e Madhe (the great spring of water), and Sakati. "The existing Catholic clergy at Shikje who have vineyards" are to pay a tribute of wine to the monastery (an Orthodox one), and so are certain other districts. The people of Lower Pulati are to pay tribute of 100,000 silk cocoons. Several mills are handed to the monastery and in one case the miller, Zan, and his brethren are mentioned. No one may erect a mill on Church land, under penalty of a fine and loss of the mill. (The Church alone has the right to grind corn. This would give it immense power.) Large districts of Lower Pulati are given to the Serb Church, including the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

583 184 principal inhabitants of Orosh have all been acquired in this way, and far from resenting or being ashamed of the circumstance, they are, on the contrary, proud of it, and their relatives accept the situation on payment of the usual dowry. And although they may not embrace with enthusiasm the faith into which they are generally baptised as a preliminary to marriage, they scrupulously observe its external forms, are much devoted to their husbands, proud of their reputation, and jealous of their honour, which, should occasion require, they are ready either to defend or avenge.

428 611 Among these exogamous tribes, succession is, as a rule, in the male line. If, however, there are no surviving sons, and a daughter chooses to remain single, she may enjoy the usufruct of her father's property, which on her death reverts to her nearest male relatives. If a man die childless his property is divided among his male relatives, who pay to his widow a pension, she remaining in his house or returning to her friends as she pleases, and retaining all that she has received from her parents either before or after her marriage.

567 428 As with the Osmanlis, the children by slaves of Moslem Albanians have an equal right with those of free mothers to succeed to the estate of their father.[1]

587 If the deceased husband has an unmarried brother, the latter has a right to marry the widow with or without her consent. On the wedding-day she receives from him the present of an ox, or its equivalent, four goats.

[1] The father of Ali Pasha, of Ioannina, was the son of a slave.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

197 great measure to the profession of three creeds by the Albanian people, Turkish only being taught in the Moslem schools; in the Roman Catholic, Italian; and in the Orthodox Christian, Greek. The only section of the Albanians who can boast of any degree of culture are the Khams, and even this is not indigenous, but is borrowed entirely from the Epirote Greeks of Ioannina and its neighbourhood.

871 The education of the vast majority of Albanian
565 girls, whether Moslem or Christian, is of a purely
562 domestic character, and, with the exception of a small number of Gheg and Tosk maidens of the better class, who are taught a little reading and writing and a great deal of etiquette by old lady *hodjas*, they are entirely unlettered. From the age of twelve to the
562 time of their marriage, which generally takes place
571 before they are sixteen, both Moslem and Christian
868 girls are condemned to complete seclusion from the outer world. The customs of the Christians in this respect are, indeed, more rigid than those of the Moslems, for their daughters are not, during this interval, allowed to present themselves before visitors even of their own sex. Time is not, however, allowed to hang heavily upon the hands of these maidens, whatever their position and prospects. Besides taking an active part in all household duties, there is the important task to accomplish of getting ready her trousseau, and this involves the spinning, weaving, sewing, and embroidering of the various stuffs, cotton, linen, woollen, and silken, of which it is to be composed.

369 The peasant and country girls generally, both of
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10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

682 dependent on charity. At best the elders fixed a sum to be paid by
*628 the murderer for leave to work his own land: the money paid, the avenger gave his word not to molest him; or a 'strong' friend guaranteed his safety as he tilled his fields. This arrangement continued until he was killed elsewhere or the avenger consented to make peace.

*628 Various devices were tried to outwit an avenger too venomous
[562 to make the smallest concession to his 'imprisoned' enemy. The
[627] commonest was for the murderer to let his land to a neutral on the usual Albanian terms of 'halves'. Once some men of Lurë, trusting to the prevailing immunity of women from attack, dressed in their wives' clothes and went out to work. They were soon discovered and compelled to return home. Frequently a woman was made to work alongside the men, the assumption being that from fear of accidentally hitting the women and so disgracing himself the avenger would not fire on the party. The man who murdered the brother of Kodhel Dede of Nezhar in Shpat belonged to a large family, the members of which went to work with a woman between every two men. Kodhel thus found it impossible to kill one of them and after a long period of years made peace. Sometimes a man's wife kept watch while he worked; if she signalled the enemy's approach, he seized his rifle and prepared to defend himself. During Kodhel Dede's feud with the Trepsanishti family he found himself long baulked by the vigilance of his enemy's wife.
[796] At last his chance came on the eve of 15 August. The wife had her
[762] mind set on making *melata* (sacrificial foods) for distribution on the festival, and, forgetting her husband who was at work on the threshing floor, she went home to make them. Kodhel, who had crept up through a maize field, shot her husband as soon as her back was turned. In the hilly landscape of Fulqet in west Mat a different sort of watch was kept. The 'imprisoned' men, aided by friends, dug a hole on top of a hill commanding a wide view. One of their best shots, rifle in hand, settled down in this hole ready to snipe the avenger if he tried to kill any of the men at work.

*628 Work in the fields apart, an 'imprisoned' murderer might for
572 short periods leave his house under escort of a friend. This friend
682 had to be 'strong', otherwise the murderer might be killed by his enemy, a lasting disgrace to the man whose protégé he was for the time being. Sometimes murderer and avenger had a common friend who took the former out; in that case the friend ran less risk

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

of losing his protégé, but even so he had to be fairly 'strong'. In Mat such a friend might take the murderer out three times with impunity. Afterwards he was sure to receive a message from the avenger which ran, 'Don't stir out again. Stay indoors. It was for your sake that I didn't fire.'

In the majority of cases the murderer neither ran away nor was shut up, but went about his normal business, taking certain precautions. An Albanian never despised his enemy; the strongest man will say, 'I am stronger than he is, but a rifle doesn't care for bravery, a rifle kills'. He remembers also that an enemy is ever on the watch: 'A wooden stake rots, but an enemy doesn't.' Yet another saying—this from west Mat—'Wood rots, a wrong doesn't'. 'A feud can't be forgotten.' 'A man with an enemy is like a hare sitting on its form, he must watch all the time.'

The first precaution a hunted man had to take at home was never to answer the door himself.

Since the laws of hospitality were rigid and seldom transgressed, a guest seldom killed, or was killed by, his host. Frok Gjeta of Kthellë, however, had lost his father at a guest's hands; three men had called and been unsuspectingly admitted; the old man was hospitably making coffee when they suddenly opened fire and killed him.

About 1910 some men called at a house in Orenjë, in Çermenikë, and were admitted by its widowed mistress as guests. They seized the only adult male in the house, her stripling son and, hanging him head downwards by a rope slung across a rafter, demanded money and avowed that they were avenging the murder of one of their kin by the family. The son said he had no money; the mother screamed that she had a little, but they hanged her son.

Another precaution commonly taken by a 'wanted' man was to live in a house of more than one storey. Such a house never had more than slits for windows in the ground floor and those in the upper room were square holes without glass, across which stone shutters were drawn at night. In Çermenikë the outside staircase that led down to the stables on the ground floor was always fenced in carefully with wood. For greater security the women lived on the ground floor protecting the men who lived above. If a man were rich enough, he built a high wall round the house; this gave him the freedom of his courtyard. In this case all the windows looked inwards on the court; the outer walls were blank save for

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

from place to place. In Shpat the original criminal must take the [28*] initiative and go to his enemy's house, escorted for safety's sake by at least one friend. The enemy came to meet him in the open air, but did not offer him his hand, for a man reserves his hand for his friends. Then both went into the house, the coffee, the all-essential [574] to a peace-making, was soon served, followed perhaps by a meal with meat. Both coffee and meal were 'like a funeral', enlivened by next to no conversation and with little cordiality of mien. A day or two later the enemy must go to the original criminal's house, and the same ceremonies were gone through. Alternate visits had to be paid for some time, until at last the original enemy declared that he had forgiven the other. A marriage very often cemented the peace- [581] making. Occasionally the attempt to make peace broke down—one's gorge rose at the idea of making friends with the murderer. Then the whole evil story began again, murder alternating with murder.

The ceremonies in Çermenikë and Martanesh followed much the same lines. New elements were introduced farther north, for example, in Krasniqë. Accompanied by six to eight men, the man originally at fault, with his hands tied behind his back, went unexpectedly on a festive evening to his enemy's house. The host, as in duty bound, said, 'Come in!' and invited them to sit down. They refused to do so until in sign of forgiveness he untied his enemy's hands. He never refused, for he said, 'Better forgive, and forget one dead man than quarrel with ten living ones'. If he had not granted their request, the murderer's escort would never have visited his house again. That night the uninvited guest ate a meal at the involuntary host's house, and the next day the man forgiven carried them all off to his house, where he provided a meal with meat pasty and sweets. Forgiveness in Krasniqë was more easily obtained [572] for a murder done in hot blood, and the ensuing friendship was more genuine; if the murderer had ambushed his enemy, peace was more difficult to establish and the resultant friendship less real. In Lumë the murderer was thrust into his enemy's house before dawn so that his enemy might not see him coming; no notice of his coming was given beforehand. If the host did not untie his hands, the friends who accompanied him refused to drink coffee; the host always yielded to the threat of this disgrace.

In Kurbin peace was made by the same methods as in Lumë and Krasniqë. The murderer, who had the sailor collar of his jacket

173 days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice,
643 and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.

[688] Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

671 Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law
681 of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth
174 century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

682 Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who
[574] has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He
[609] at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

533 How beautiful is the bride, Mashallah, Mashallah.
585 She has a forehead for a "perishan" (gold ornament of coins, etc.).
Her eyebrows are like braid, Mashallah, etc.
Her eyes large as coffee cups, Mashallah, etc.
Her nose is like a gold coin ("muskala").
Her cheeks like sweet cake ("gurabi," given at night by the bride to the bridegroom).
Her mouth is like a casket, Mashallah, etc.
Her teeth like pearls.
Her neck like a lily. Her figure is like a standard

585 sang the ladies, the men roaring: "She is, she is!" in a high falsetto, pressing their hands on their ears, and the small boys yelling "Mashallah," a strange cry at a Catholic wedding. All the time her two attendants [152] patted, straightened, and wiped the bride. My neighbour whispered to me: "They often faint." I anxiously watched her panting and swaying, and was relieved when the bridegroom left the room and the men followed. The ladies then bent the bride's knees and she plopped on to the chair. By now she was almost hypnotized, and mechanically at intervals tried to rise, but was at once replaced unless a child came in, when it was correct for her to rise for a moment. Then came midday and the wedding dinner, to which I did not stay. The bride is allowed to withdraw for a time. She does not eat with the guests. Her attendants [264] put little bits of food into her mouth. If very modest she does not take it, but when left alone secretly consumes some food she has hidden in her marriage coffer. On my return she was again enthroned. I was given three tumblers of wine and a dish of sweets and told to consume them, and did my best. I was then given a special view of all the bride's ornaments, and invited to return at night for the final ceremony. This I did not do. It was described as follows: The two attendants prepare the bed at midnight. They undress the bride and put a long silk shirt on her; lay her forcibly on the bed, and withdraw. The two male [833 533] witnesses then lead or drag in the bridegroom and prepare him. The wedding guests all stand outside the door when the couple are left alone, and sing epithalamia of an encouraging nature and shout advice through the keyhole. The bride has to feed the bridegroom with the "gurabi" (cake) she has brought in her wedding coffer.

The company sings continually till told the marriage has been consummated. In a short time the bride and bridegroom emerge completely redressed. She wears a married woman's dress. They are greeted as man and wife and at last left in peace.

585 The whole of the next week the bride may be visited at any hour
574 of the day and must not speak a word, but sit rigid as before.

At the end of the week she has a holiday and goes back to her own people on the Sunday. On the Wednesday her husband is invited to

make acquaintance with the family into which he has married. Again 585
the party is divided into "buck-herds and doe-herds." The husband 574
enters the ladies' room and embraces all of his new female relations,
except his wife, whom modesty compels to turn away. He sups with [576]
the family and goes home alone. Next day the bride is brought back
to his house and the same pantomime of extreme reluctance is gone
through. She comes home usually in a carriage. I was told that formerly
it was etiquette for her to come on foot, but only inch by inch, so that
her return from a house round the corner might perhaps take hours.
She visits her family thus at week-ends for several months, but only
on the first occasion is a carriage and ceremony necessary.

A bridegroom, while I was in Scutari, revolted against the midnight
ceremony, and turned all the guests out of his house after the feast.
In spite of her assumed modesty the bride was deeply hurt at being
thus deprived of publicity. She complained to her parents, who angrily
asked why their daughter should have been thus insulted. Was she
not good enough to show as his wife to his friends in the usual manner?
Nor could they see that in this case the bridegroom's modesty had
been real and not assumed.

He was in the unusual position of having a house of his own. In most 591
cases the young couple lives in the house of the bridegroom's parents 592
in the town and has a separate room. The parents rule and control
the household, and the bride is often very hard-worked. The emigrants
returned from America have brought new ideas and the system is
breaking down.

Much of the above ceremony resembles Roman practice. The distaff,
the casket of household implements, the throwing of sweets, sprinkling
of water, epithalamia, the *patria potestas* also.

The girls of a family must be married according to age—the eldest 582
first, and so on. The origin of this is perhaps that formerly infant
betrothals were almost universal and girls were sent to their husbands
so soon as old enough.

In Scutari, and, I believe, in the other towns, the daughters, or at
least one of them, must be married before the sons can be married.
The explanation offered was that the daughters must be dowered,
and the sons cannot marry till they have helped earn the dowries.
Over these wedding outfits the parties are very exacting. The bride- 583
groom's family bargains for every stitch of the garments and stipulates
as to their quality. While I was in Scutari a betrothed man, who had
always worn Albanian costume, went to work abroad and dressed
à la Franga. He wrote home to say he now required drawers that
could be worn under trousers, and his fiancée, who had already finished
I forget how many dozen voluminous Albanian garments, had all her

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

712 Albania is also a seat of historic interest having been the battle ground for many wars with the Greeks and the Turks. The national hero of Albania—Scanderbeg the Great—lived in Kruja, where, as a silent testimonial to this great hero's strength, are the remains of the old fortress. It looms directly above the town on a cliff, and the old Tower and lower massive walls still stand. If these old stones could speak, what a story they could tell of the Albanian struggle and strife against the invader! Throughout the country many strategic points are heavily fortified and many watch towers raise their white heads on mountain tops.

574 The Albanians are by far the most hospitable people in Southeastern Europe. Their doors are never closed and a friend cannot ask too much. They are charmingly naive in their manners and delightfully quaint in their cus-
461 toms. There is nothing of the hurried, hysterical existence in Albania; the natives are leisurely and get the full benefit out of their
493 sunny, mellow days. The city man is aware of a pleasant surprise at the lack of the constant blare of the motor horn; the peaceful serenity of the golden days is only broken by the occasional honk of the droschka and the cries of the street vendors.

the Law, an unjustifiable murder, since he should 628
have killed the father who was the abductor. 619
Therefore the father waited on the trail above Shoshi and shot the husband.

"It should have stopped there, but Shoshi's honor is involved as long as a woman of the tribe is held unlawfully in the hands of Shala. So a hot-tempered Shoshi man has shot a man of Shala and it has become a blood feud between the two tribes. As the woman was born in Pultit, some say that Pultit's honor is also involved. So you see that the affair becomes complicated; I have been told by wise men that no less than sixteen deaths will wipe out the insults on both sides. You perhaps heard telephoning about it as you came in? The mountain sides have been ringing with it. But what can one do? Excommunication, of course. At every mass I tell my people that the anger of the Church will descend on all who take part in the killings, but the Law of Lec holds them, and it is, after all, their only civil law."

It took time to tell this, what with filling the 000
glasses, serving the food platters of delicious stewed rabbit and bowls of macaroni, a dish the bishop had grown fond of in Rome—and then there were the cups of syrupy Turkish coffee to be ceremoniously served and drunk, and for hours, struggling with an agony of sleepiness, we 574
had implored Perolli in English to make our excuses and let us go to bed, he refusing sternly, since it is the most terrible breach of mountain hospitality for a guest to grow sleepy as early as midnight,

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER IV

WELCOME TO THE HOUSE OF MARKE GJONNI—WE HEAR THE VOICE OF AN OREAD—A GUARDIAN SPIRIT OF THE TRAILS.

574 CONCEALED by the darkness, we lay back in our wet clothes on the wet rocks and shook with smothered laughter. How Albanian! While Perolli with a hundred honeyed words made excuses for the feebleness of foreign women, already weary with only sixteen miles of mountain climbing. He was still explaining when up the trail came the flare of a torch, and an Albanian boy of perhaps fourteen years appeared, a turban on his head, a rifle on his back, and a silver-hilted knife stuck through his orange sash.

"May you live long!" said he.

"May you live long!" said we.

"How could you?" He meant, "How could you get here?"

"Slowly, slowly, little by little," we replied.

"Are you a man?" said Perolli.

"I am a man of Pultit, of the village of Plani, of the house of Marke Gjonni," said the boy. "In our house there is always a welcome for the stranger. The door of the house of Marke Gjonni is open to you."

"Glory to your lips and to your feet," said

Perolli, and to us in English: "His father has 574 sent him to ask us to come to his house. What do you think?"

"Is anyone going to think?" we cried. "There'll be a fire, won't there?"

We followed the boy up the mountain side, our lungs sobbing and our feet slipping on the trail dimly lighted by the torch, and so steep that the palms of our hands were bruised by climbing it. Out of the ceaseless swishing murmur of falling water that had surrounded us all day one note rose above the rest; flying spray was like a mist on our faces; we were following the edge of a waterfall hidden by the dark. Then 574 the trail turned; we stood on a level ledge; and 576 suddenly all the rifles in the world seemed to go off not ten feet away.

"It's all right!" Perolli's shout came up from the darkness beneath our feet. "They're only welcoming you!" But I have never felt so defenseless, so nakedly exposed to sudden death, as I did standing there, clutching Frances and Alex, while sharp flashes darted out of the blackness and deafening explosions contended with more deafening echoes. All the household of Marke Gjonni stood on the trail, every man firing his rifle until it was empty. Then a woman appeared with a torch, her beautiful face and two heavy braids of hair painted on the darkness like a Rembrandt, if Rembrandt had ever used a model from ancient Greece, and we made our way through a jumble of greetings ("May you

574 live long! May you live long!" we repeated),
[576] and up a flight of stone steps along the side of a blank stone wall, and through a low, arched stone doorway.

The stone-walled room was large—as large as the house itself—and low ceilinged, and filled with shadows. Near the farther end, on the stone floor, a bonfire burned in a ring of ashes. In the corner near the door several goats and two kids and two sheep stopped their browsing on a heap of dry-leaved branches, and looked at us with large eyes shining in the torchlight. Five or six women came out of the shadows to greet us, and behind us the men were coming in, reloading their rifles, hanging them on pegs, closing and bolting the heavy wooden door.

Rexh and our two gendarmes were already busy unrolling the packs, spreading our blankets over heaps of dried grass on the other side of the fire. In a moment we were sitting comfortably on them, extending wet feet toward the flames, while one of our hosts put a fresh armful of brush on the coals, another hacked slivers of pitch pine from a great knot of it and set them blazing in a small wrought-iron basket that hung from the ceiling, and another, with hollowed-out wooden bowls of coffee, of sugar, and of water around him, began making Turkish coffee in a tiny, long-handled iron bowl set in the hot ashes.

"We're going to have a night in a native house, after all," said I, happily, and added, starting, "What's that?" A long, thin, curiously un-

earthly sound—hardly a wail, though that is the 514
dearest word I have for it—was abroad in the night that surrounded the stone house. Even the shadows seemed to crouch a little nearer the fire, hearing it, and when it ceased the splashing of the waterfall was louder in the stillness. Then the man with the coffee pot pushed it farther among the coals, and with the little grating noise the movement of the household recovered and went on.

"Are you a man?" said our host, courteously, turning his clear dark eyes on Perolli, and Perolli, silencing me with a glance, folded his arms more comfortably around his drawn-up knees and began the proper conversation of a guest.

By degrees the house of Marke Gjonni grew clearer to our eyes; they became accustomed to the firelight and the shadows and saw the guns hanging on the wall, the browsing goats that, with a little tinkling of bells, worried and tore at the dried green leaves on the oak branches heaped for them, the outlines of a painted wooden 252
chest filled with corn meal, at which a woman worked making a loaf of bread on a flat board. One of the men raked out some coals and set in them a round flat iron pan on legs—the cross and the sun circle were wrought on its bottom. In the midst of the flames he laid its cover to heat. Soon the woman came with the bread, a loaf two feet across and two inches thick, and deftly slid it from the board into the pan, which it exactly fitted; one of the children put the cover over it and buried all in hot ashes.

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "We'd be saying: 'Run away and play, dear. This isn't for children,'" I commented.

"We wouldn't," said Frances. "They'd have been in bed six hours ago. How on earth do they live to grow up?"

"Heaven knows. But aren't they strong and beautiful when they do!"

"It's all right," said Perolli, aside. "They're talking about the French—whether France will become enough afraid of Jugo-Slavia to side with Italy down here. They aren't for or against the Tirana government; they don't exactly understand it, but they're waiting to find out. They don't know who I am. Don't be worried."

And at last dinner appeared. It was exactly half past two in the morning.

Most of the children—they had had no supper at all, so far as we could determine—were going to sleep, collapsing in soft little heaps where they sat beside the fire. Various women of the household lifted them tenderly, carried them to the farther corner of the house, near the goats, and laid them in a row on the floor. There, covered head and foot with heavy, tucked-in blankets, they continued to sleep.

264 574 Meantime the table was brought for us.[1] It was a large round piece of wood, raised on little legs perhaps five inches from the floor. We sat about it, comfortably cross-legged on our blankets, and before each of us was laid a large chunk of corn bread broken from the flat loaf. In the

7 [At Marke Gjonni's house. For detailed account of visit, see cat. 116, pp. 54-86 -- Analyst]

center of the table was set a wooden bowl filled with pieces of pork. 264 574

"Don't!" said Perolli, quickly, restraining our famished gestures. "In Albania it is not good manners to be eager to eat." So we sat wretched for some moments, savoring the delicious odor of food that we must not touch, and politely making conversation with our hosts, who still sprawled in graceful attitudes about the fire. Then, with slow and indifferent movements, we fished out bits of the meat with our fingers, and ate.

It was delicious, the lean meat, stripped of every scrap of fat and broiled on sticks over a wood fire. We ate eagerly, biting first the meat, then a morsel of corn bread, coarse, made without leavening, but sweet and nutty. The smallest crumb of it must not be scattered on table or floor; when one fell, Perolli instructed us to pick it up and kiss it. We should also have made the sign of the cross, for bread is sacred in these mountains. Since we were not Catholics, that omission might be overlooked. But we must pick up the crumb and kiss it; to have ignored it would have been scandal.

"In Albania," said Perolli, "it is etiquette to leave a great deal of the food." And while we were still starving, after fourteen hours of hunger, he ordered the dish away.

After that, another wooden bowl filled with cubes of the fat pork, fried crisp. Rexh[1], sitting a little apart, soberly ate his piece of corn bread,

[1] [A Mohammedan boy -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

264 for not even in the next village had the mes-
574 senger been able to find eggs or goat's meat.

When this second course was removed, fresh water was again brought to wash our hands, while the table was removed to a little distance. Then I saw why it was courteous to leave food, for all the villagers who had come in to see us gathered around this second table. And when they had finished and all had washed their hands —it was now past three in the morning—the table was again moved, and the family ate, men and women together, chatting and daintily dipping into the common dish.

000 "Do you think, Perolli," said Frances, "that we could go to bed now?" And she looked enviously at Alex, who sat stony eyed, upright, and fast asleep.

"Oh, surely!" said Perolli. "They'll understand that you're tired." And he explained this to our hosts, who nodded, smiling. So Cheremi and Rexh spread our blankets more smoothly on the floor, and we lay down in a row, our heads on our saddlebags, and pulled another blanket over us.

For a time the others sat by the fire and talked; one roasted coffee over the coals in a long-handled pan, and then ground it in a cylinder of brass. The warm brown smell of it and the sound of grinding kept coming through my daze of fatigue. Then one by one they lay down, covering their heads with blankets; the fire died to a fading glow of coals; there was no sound

000 this, too," she added, in a tone of surprise, as though she saw the house for the first time.

It was slightly different from the house of Marke Gjonni. The end where the goats were eating was shut off from the rest by a latticework of woven willow boughs, and high against the wall where we sat by the fire an inclosed platform of the same latticework hung like a huge bird's nest. It was reached by the stairway Alex had remarked—simply a slanting log, notched roughly into steps. Above the fire itself was another square of the interlaced branches, hung from the ceiling; the smoke rose and curled against it and made long velvety fringes of soot, and all around its edges were wooden pegs on which our coats were hung to dry and haunches of goat's meat were hung to smoke. From one of the pegs swung the basket of wrought iron holding slivers of blazing pitch pine; this was the lamp.

"Eighth century," I repeated, vaguely. "So we are living in the eighth century."

"Or earlier. Oh yes, surely earlier, for the house I saw must have been one of the last of its kind in Norway," said Alex. But we said no more about it, for centuries seemed unimportant then, and, indeed, we did not remember very clearly any newer ways of living; we were too comfortable where we were, like people coming home after a very short journey.

574 Perhaps ten men of the village had come in to see us;[1] several older and more dignified ones

[1] [At house in Albanian moun- [102] tains -- Analyst]

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whom we took to be chiefs, and some young ones, 574
and half a dozen boys, all moving gracefully as panthers, their white garments ghostly in the gloom, and each swinging his rifle from his shoulder and hanging it on a peg near the door before he settled himself near the fire, where the quivering light flickered over silver chains, bright sashes, and colored turbans. Their large brown eyes regarded us with serious friendliness; when they turned their heads their profiles were sharp and fine against the darkness; and their hands were slender, firmly molded, aristocratic.

A small kid was brought for our inspection; we were to eat it for dinner. It looked at us mildly, contented in the arm that held it comfortably; its fur was soft as sealskin. One of the children rose and smilingly kissed its delicate muzzle, with a gesture of charming affection. Then they took it out and killed it, bringing back its skin, which they hung on a peg. After a time the mother goat came over and nuzzled that skin thoughtfully.

Then they brought us a lamb, all woolly white with youth, and we praised that, and they took it out and killed it. Its skin hung beside that of the kid. And after that they showed us a fat hen, and it also was so used to the companionship of humans that it uttered no faintest squawk when the woman who held it nonchalantly wrung its neck, just beyond the circle of firelight.

After that our host handed over the making of coffee to one of the village men and went out

574 to help his wife cook the dinner; there was a built-up place of stone outside where the cooking fire was made. All this time we had been talking, making the courteous speeches that accompany coffee drinking, and exchanging cigarettes.

One of the empty cigarette boxes—the little, ten-cigarette, tin-foil-lined ones—I handed to a little boy, perhaps four years old. He took it gravely, thanking me like a man, and retired to look at it. But hardly had he opened the flap when I saw the hand of a chief come over the boy's shoulder and quietly take the box. The boy gave it up, not even a shade of discontent on his face, and it passed slowly from hand to hand, was inspected, marveled at, discussed. The cunningness of the folding, the beautiful design of printing and picture, the delicacy of the tissue paper that had been around the cigarettes, the pliability of the tin foil, of metal, and yet so thin, engrossed them all. When they had satisfied their curiosity and admiration, it went back to the boy, who took it with his hand on his heart, bowed, and sat for a long time looking at it.

"Have you ever seen such perfect courtesy?" said, I, marveling. "And from such a baby!"

Perolli looked at me in amazement. "Why, what's strange about it?" he asked.

423 Undoubtedly we were among the most cour-
578 teous people in the world, I thought, but the next moment that idea was completely upset,

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

361 cities where the men of Thethis have always gone to market; the grazing lands where they have always fed their sheep lie in the grasp of Serbian armies. Scutari, the nearest free Albanian market place, is a hundred miles away across two mountain ranges. Therefore it was said that Thethis was friendly to the Serbs; it was said that her men still went to market in the Albanian cities that are now clutched by Serbia, that spies came and went across the border, that the chiefs listened to the clink of Serbian gold. And Alex and I remembered that in Thethis we were not to address Rrok Perolli, secretary of the Albanian Minister of the Interior, by his real name.

609 574 But he was behind us on the trail, doubtless still engaged in trying to get breakfast for Frances in the house we had left, and we went forward with easy minds to meet Padre Marjan. He came barefooted and bareheaded across the fields to welcome us, a thin, ascetic-looking man in the brown robes of the Franciscan friar. Large brown eyes burned in his face that seemed made of bones and stretched skin, the grasp of his thin hand was hot and nervous. He spoke to us in Albanian, Italian, and German, ushering us with apologies into the bleak rooms above the church.

000 The Serbians and Montenegrins, in their drive down toward Scutari, had looted the church, he said. He had come into Thethis two months ago, and found not even a wooden stool left. He was doing his best, but it took time ——

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000 The rickety broken stairway led upward to a long hall; from this, a door let us into the living room. It was bare; rain-stained wooden walls and a floor that clattered beneath our feet. The one window was shattered; fragments of glass held together by pasted paper. There were a long wooden table and a bench, nothing more. No fire. Our soaked garments were suddenly cold on us, and a chill entered our very bones.

609 574 The only fire in the house, he said, was in the kitchen. We begged him to take us to it, and in a moment we were sitting on a bench before a crackling fire in a big stone fireplace. The tiny room was crowded with villagers, the floor was muddy with their trampling, and more arrived every moment. Padre Marjan had no servant, but all were eager to help him. Some took off our shoes, others heated water over the fire, a handsome youth who looked Serbian and talked German anxiously beat eggs and sugar together while Padre Marjan made coffee. The warmth and the genuine welcome they all gave thawed us and made us happy, and we sat drinking the heartening mixture of eggs and coffee, while clouds of steam rose from us all and a babble of talk went on.

One tall, handsome chief—Lulash, his name was, and beyond doubt he was the handsomest man we had yet seen—brought us a lamb as a gift. Dripping beside him stood a ragged boy, barefooted and blue with chill, who had come down the valley to bring us three eggs, which he

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carried tied around his waist in a pouch of goat's 609
skin. He put them carefully into our hands, and 574
we tried to return the gift with some pieces of hoarded candy. But he gazed in dismay at the strange things, and nothing would persuade him to taste them. A colored handkerchief, however, was accepted in an ecstasy that made him dumb; he could only lay it upon his heart and touch our hands to his forehead. Another chief came with a fat hen, others with eggs; all were eager to roll cigarettes for us, all were smiling, and in a hundred beautiful phrases they overwhelmed us with thanks for our coming, for our presence, for the school that Alex and Frances had promised Thethis. For this was to be the first of the [871]
mountain schools, and Alex, who had come into the mountains to decide where to put the other two, was delighted to learn that already, before the school building was begun, Padre Marjan had started the school, and Lulash had promised a hundred trees to be burned to make lime for the building.

We sat talking of these things while Padre Marjan set pots of soup to boiling in the fireplace, broke eggs, unlocked his box of precious flour, busied himself with all preparations for dinner, climbing over and around the tangle of lounging bodies, until another outbreak of echoing noises announced the arrival of Frances and Perolli and Rexh and our men with the packs. We felt a little tension with Perolli's arrival, seeing the keen eyes of the men fixed on his English

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

609 clothes and swarthy, intelligent face. He is as
574 tall as most Europeans, but he was small among those giants, and the neat leather-holstered revolver and dagger that hung from his belt looked inadequate among all those long, bristling rifles.

But Padre Marjan, unaware of our apprehensions, was altogether the happy welcoming host. He greeted the dripping Frances warmly, anxious only to make her comfortable—she who was also responsible for the hope of a school in Thethis. He welcomed Perolli also, calling him by his first name. "How does he know that Perolli's name is Rrok?" we girls asked one another with startled eyes—and then, turning to the chiefs with a radiant smile, "This guest," said Padre Marjan, with pleasure, "is Rrok Perolli, the secretary of the Minister of the Interior in Tirana."

000 You read of such things calmly. Nothing that one reads is real to him. Therefore you can never know what Padre Marjan's innocent words meant to us as he spoke them in his crowded kitchen in Thethis, at the headwaters of the Lumi Shala, a hundred miles and twenty centuries from anything you know.

The wildness, the savagery and isolation of those mountains seemed to come into the room. A hundred miles to Scutari, a hundred miles of almost impassable mountains between us and any kind of help. There we were, three girls and a boy, alone in the narrow valley beneath the eyes of the Serbs, the Serbs who six months

embroidery. These were really separate linings 291
to the stiff and hard opangi, which had to be soaked a long time in water and put on wet, in order to get them on at all.

Very conscious of my feet, which seemed large 342
and unwieldy flopping objects at the ends of my legs, I went across the flat, wet fields with Perolli to drink coffee in the house of Lulash. ⁊

The house of Lulash was different from any of the others we had seen. It stood on a castlelike rock; we went up to it by a stairway cut in the side of a cliff that rose almost sheer for so far that the waterfall pouring down it looked like a motionless streak of snow near the top. A natural bridge of rock crossed the little space between the cliff and the rock on which the house of Lulash was built; a furious little stream roared beneath us as we crossed the bridge, and then there was another stairway leading up to the house.

Lulash and a dozen men and women of his [574] household stood outside his door to receive us. No rifles were fired. We passed through a double line of salutes and greetings and into a high-arched stone doorway. There was a little hall, floored and walled with stone, and a massive stone stair leading upward. This we climbed, [352] and were in a large whitewashed room, lighted by a window and furnished with beautifully painted chests and a few hand-woven rugs. But this was not the only room; there were others, 000 and, leading us through several arched stone

⁊ [tribal chief in Thethis -- Analysf]

PEAKS OF SHALA

empty coffee cup to Sadiri Luka, saying, "*Per te mire* (All good to you)," and rose. He would not stay to share the food which the women were even then bringing, for there was a sick man in upper Thethis, too ill to come to confession, who had sent, begging the padre to come to him. The sick man's son waited for him at the door, and two chiefs laced his opangi, gave him his staff, and went with him a little way on the trail.

574 It was midafternoon, and since early morning 264 the women had been preparing the feast they offered us.[1] A special dispensation had been asked, and granted by Padre Marjan, for that feast, for though this was Lent, we were not Catholics, and never before had Americans been guests in upper Thethis. Far and wide the rumor had gone that in our own tribe we were daughters of chiefs, and it was with apologies that the village offered us its best.

When we had washed our hands in water poured from a silver pitcher, and dried them on a towel of white silk, a large brass tray was set on four midget legs in the midst of our cushions, and the other guests withdrew to places near the walls. Much urging persuaded Sadiri Luka to sit with us and share such parts of the feast as did not break the Lenten fast. Newly made wooden spoons were given us, and a silver bowl of hot chicken broth was set in the center of the tray.

829 Sadiri Luka spoke little, but his remarks were sound and well considered. While our spoons

1 [At house of Sadiri Luka, [190] wealthy man of upper Thethis -- Analy.]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Shaqir, and Veli. Halit was a young Mati chieftain and spoke French; a big-boned, blond fellow, he was brave as a lion, possessed of boundless energy, and, which was rare among Albanians, knew how to make others work. Shaqir was a schoolmaster from Shengyerg, rather euphemistically surnamed "the Bold", and spoke some English; he was the jester of the company and, through his brother, organised our courier system with Tirana. Veli was a Tosk and had for several years been orderly to General Percy, the Inspector-General of the Albanian gendarmerie. He spoke quite good English and in his well-kept battledress looked just like an English soldier. We employed besides a score of Albanians who served us as bodyguards and mulemen. Among them was one Arslan, who guarded Smiley, but was in normal times a village *hoja*.

The defence of our base was entrusted to the Zogist villagers of Ziber and Bastar, who undertook to mount a guard each night for our protection. In practice they often failed even to post sentries; but, since the only paths leading to our camp ran through their villages, we might reasonably hope to receive some warning of the approach of an enemy.

5

We were still busy with details of organisation when, as arranged at Derye, a young Zogist officer came with a small escort to conduct me to Abas Kupi. We rode all afternoon through forests of beech and pine, broken by broad stretches of barren scree. Darkness overtook us just as we crossed the range into the Shupal valley, but the moon rose early, and we pushed on until towards midnight we reached the straggling village of Bruz. There I was welcomed by Abas Kupi's eighteen-year-old son, Petrit, who held the place with a small force of Zogists. His father was still an hour's march away; and seeing that it was late, Petrit suggested that I should spend the night as his guest. I accepted gladly, for I had been eight hours in the saddle; and he led the way into a low, single-

574 storied house, where a score of Zogist guerillas were gathered
[342] round the fire. The room was filled with smoke — for the house had no chimney, like many in Albania — and it was several minutes before I could see or breathe in comfort. I sat down, however, by the hearth, where a carpet had been spread, and while the evening meal was made ready had some talk with Petrit. He spoke quite good French, having studied in the French *lycée* at Korcha, where, by a strange irony, Enver Hoja had been his teacher. He was obviously eager for news of the outside world, and the flow of his questions was only restrained by his sense of courtesy as my host. In appearance he was not unlike his father, though of sturdier build and more slothful movements; and I was told that he had already distinguished himself in the previous autumn's fighting. He was possessed besides of a natural authority, and, despite his youth, seemed to command the respect of the wild mountaineers who accompanied him. Some of these spoke a little Italian or Serb, and their discussions that night gave me a first impression of
[521] Zogist public opinion. The Ghegs are not great talkers like the Greeks or Slavs, but I felt, from what they said, that they were rather suspicious of British intentions and far more concerned with preventing the spread of Communism in Albania than with fighting the Germans. Towards one o'clock
[262] our conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the evening meal of soup, boiled mutton and cheese. We ate in silence
[513] and as soon as we had finished I retired to rest on one of the mattresses which the master of the house had spread for us on the floor.

342 Next day, in the afternoon, Petrit accompanied me to the place where Abas Kupi had made his temporary headquarters. It was a grey stone keep, built on a jutting rib of the mountain range and approached by a path so narrow and precipitous that I had to send back my horse and make the last stage of the journey on foot. Abas Kupi came out to meet me, as I turned
[576] into the walled courtyard of the house, and welcomed me with the traditional greeting of "*Tungjatjeta*" — "May your life be prolonged". He led the way up a flight of wooden steps, resting like a ladder against the wall of the house, and took

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me by the hand into a dark and dusty room, hung with rifles and submachine-guns. It was thronged with Zogist notables and their bodyguards: wild and rugged men, corrugated with cartridge-belts, and festooned with pistols, daggers, and hand-grenades. Most of them were dressed in black, baggy Turkish breeches, braided homespun jackets of black or brown, with multicoloured sashes wound about their waists, and white fezes or skull-caps on their heads. A few besides were in uniform retained from the time of their service in the Albanian army, or looted from the Italians; while others, especially the leaders, wore tweed or leather jackets, variously combined with local or military costume.

We sat down, Turkish fashion, by the fire; and, while we drank coffee and exchanged greetings, the guerillas milled around, or sat together in small groups, whispering intently. To a stranger this whispering seemed sinister and blatantly conspiratorial, but the others took no offence at it. Necessity indeed imposed a communal way of life on the guerillas; each man was watched by his fellows in his every movement, and it was only by whispering that any privacy of discussion could be preserved.

I had been there perhaps half an hour when, at a sign from Abas Kupi, the guerillas filed out of the room, and we remained alone with Shaqir, my interpreter, and Colonel Murad Basha. Basha had been a regular officer under King Zog and had joined Abas Kupi in Belgrade in 1940. He was now the Zogist Chief-of-Staff, but struck me from the first as pedantic and too quick to see the difficulties in any scheme. He was indeed to prove a defeatist influence at the Zogist Headquarters, for, though personally no coward, he was terrified of action, like so many senior officers who have won their spurs on the square rather than in the field.

I began our discussions by showing Abas Kupi my credentials: these were a letter from Stirling, who had been his friend, and a *besa* given me by King Zog. This was a covenant enjoining upon all Albanians the duty of protecting my life and, should their zeal prove unavailing, of avenging my death. My *bona fides* thus established I recalled our meeting in Belgrade

Their houses,[1] varied in size and architecture with the wealth of the owners; but all were essentially 342
built for defence. As a rule, they were so situated as to command a good field of fire over their chief approaches, and were often surrounded by walled courtyards entered through heavy, wooden gates studded with iron. For the most part they were of wood and stone, sometimes whitewashed, and consisted of two stories, joined by a narrow indoor staircase, or by a flight of wooden steps on the outside. The ground floor was the cattle and the women's quarters; above was the guest-room. This guest-room was the centre of the life of the house, and, except for a stout chest in which the valuables of the family were stored, was altogether empty of furniture. At one end of it was the open hearth from which the smoke escaped through chinks in the wall or, in statelier mansions, through a chimney. Narrow windows, usually without panes, served as a means of ventilation or, on occasion, as rifle slits; but so dim was the light which they diffused that it was often difficult to read indoors, even at midday. At night the room would be lit by the glow of the fire, or sometimes by oil lamps or pinewood torches.

On entering a house we,[2] would take off our boots and give 574
up our rifles to the host, though retaining our side arms. As 576
foreigners, we would then be led to the place of honour, which is on the right-hand side of the hearth, next to the wall. Abas Kupi would sit with us, or take the left-hand side, and the rest of the company, including bodyguards and orderlies, assembled in a horse shoe round the fire. The youngest sat at the apex of the horse shoe, and, since there were often a score of us, the evening would begin with much show of "Friend go up higher". We sat on carpets or sheepskin rugs, cross-legged or reclining against our saddle-bags. When all [276]
were seated, the host rolled cigarettes, which only non-smokers might refuse, and tossed them with unfailing accuracy to each guest. Presently a warm drink would be served, usually coffee, though in the poorer houses sweetened or salted milk was often brought instead. As outlaws we sought to keep our movements secret and our arrival was, as a rule, the first warning of our visit which the host received. Custom demanded that he serve us

1 [i.e. in the Mati valley -- Analyst]

2 [British liaison officers in early 1944 -- Analyst]

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576 meat, and, since several hours might pass before the sheep or
574 kid had been killed and made ready, it was often past midnight before we had eaten.

While the meal was cooking we variously slept or talked and let the bodyguards dry damp clothes by the fire or massage our weary limbs. Sometimes, to beguile the time, one of the [533] company would recite from the long epic poems in which the Albanians record the exploits of their heroes. They were weird, monotonous laments, sung in a high-pitched nasal voice to the accompaniment of a one-stringed mandolin. An hour [273] or so before the meal was served flasks of *raki* would be brought, accompanied by *mese* of onions, cheese, and sometimes hard-boiled eggs or lumps of grilled meat. *Raki* is a fiery, colourless spirit, made from the pulp of grapes, or sometimes, like *slivovitz*, from plums. Among the mountaineers it was usually home-brewed, and varied greatly in quality and strength. The principal guests would each receive a small flask, the shape of an old-fashioned burgundy flagon, and holding perhaps half a pint, while the rest of the company fared according to the resources of the host, sharing a flask between two or three. Toasts were drunk to the traditional greeting of " *Tungjatjeta* " — " May your life be prolonged " ; and, though the mountaineers habitually drank to excess, they seldom failed to comport themselves with grave, if sometimes mellowed, dignity.

When the cooking was done Maclean, as the chief guest, would be asked if the meal might be served ; there was never [521] conversation after meals, and so the greatest compliment which he could pay his host and fellows was to ask for a postponement.
264 As soon, however, as he had given his assent, a circular wooden table some five feet in diameter would be carried in, standing about six inches from the ground. Round this a dozen of us would assemble, sitting cross-legged, but in a crocodile, each sideways on to the table so as to make room for as many as possible. We would then each be given a spoon as our sole piece of cutlery and with this helped ourselves to the more liquid dishes at the centre of the table. There were no plates, so that each spoon plied steadily backwards and forwards

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Women among the clans were but the slaves and chattels of their men. In the mountains they went unveiled but almost all were prematurely aged by manual labour and child-bearing. Sometimes we saw one hurrying across a courtyard or peering up at us from the kitchen fire; otherwise they had no part in our lives. 562

Social distinctions among the guerillas were subtle and changing; the chieftains and their sons were treated with respect but never with servility; and the bodyguards sometimes as poor relations but always as members of the same family. They ate and slept together, and, in so far as he could, the host provided alike for all. Luxuries in the mountains were inevitably scarce, but, if the choicest morsels went to the *Beys* and elders, the rest received their portion until the whole was finished. The Ghegs indeed regard hospitality as a sacred duty enjoined upon the host, never as a favour conferred upon the guest. To give of his best was a point of honour, and a tribesman would kill his last ewe lamb, or even his milch goat, rather than fail to set meat before the meanest of his guests. In the days of slavery Albanians had been known to sell their wives or children to feast a stranger; and one story which I heard illustrates the extent of their honourable, if quixotic, liberality. In the repression which followed the rising of the Scutari clans early in the last century the bravest of the insurgent leaders, a Catholic chieftain, was captured and brought before the Turkish governor. The Pasha gave the order to cut off his head but, as the proud Albanian knelt to receive the fatal stroke, the Turk was moved by a dark and sudden curiosity: 554 574

"You are a brave man," he said. "Tell me, have you ever known a worse moment than this?"

The Albanian looked up and answered gravely: "Only once; when a stranger came to my house and I had not even bread to set before him."

For the sake of the answer, his life was spared.

We spent several days among the men of Mati, resting in sunlit orchards, or cool, whitewashed rooms, or round their 000

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Our work at base was finished with the preparation of our report to Headquarters. Riddle awaited us in Dibra; and, although it was past midnight when we had done with writing, it was settled that Maclean and I should leave next day on our reconnaissance of the Black Drin valley. The sky was clear when we retired to sleep, but just before dawn a gale blew up from the south, and with the day a deluge of rain and hail broke on our camp. In less than an hour our sleeping and eating quarters were turned into a sea of mud; mules and men slithered on the hillside; our makeshift tents collapsed; our kit was soaked; and for a time it even seemed impossible to light a fire and brew a hot drink. About midday the storm at last subsided into a steady downpour, and, leaving Smiley and Hare paddling disconsolately in the mud, we moved down through the clouds towards the Mati valley. With us went John Hibberdine, on his way to join Neel and our mission in the extreme north of Albania.

The march was irksome, for the wind blew cold and the paths were slippery. The day turned fine, however, as we crossed the valley, and we saw the sun set just before we reached the house of our friend Yussuf Bey Chelai, whose hospitality we sought for the night. Although nominally a Zogist, Yussuf Bey was known to be in touch with the Partisans, not indeed from ideological conviction, but because his former blood enemies, the Allemanis, were already deeply committed to Abas Kupi's cause. That evening he spoke of the growing danger of civil war and said that it would not long be possible for a man in his position to avoid taking sides. His concern was genuine; for, unlike most Albanians, Yussuf Bey preferred the arts and pleasures of peace to the stratagems of war, and spent his time in reading and in entertaining his friends. There was, indeed, an almost Persian delicacy about his hospitality; and he called me next morning with a glass of hot, sweetened milk and a rose!

We left Yussuf Bey's house early and climbed northwards over the shoulder of the great Mount Allemani, hoping to reach the neighbourhood of Peshkopi that night. The path led up a sheltered gully in the side of the mountain, and at

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574 the head of it we found an old man with his two sons tending a flock of sheep. It was midday, and so we broke our journey [609] to accept their profferred hospitality of sheep's milk and pancakes dipped in honey. The old shepherd was not the least surprised to learn that we were British officers, but became very excited when he discovered that we had just come from Cairo. It then appeared that he had fought in the Ottoman army in the Tripolitanian war and had escaped to Egypt after the defeat of the Turks. There he had become a bodyguard to King Fuad and had served that Prince for fifteen years, both before and after his accession to the throne. He was overjoyed at the chance of practising his few words of Arabic and of reminiscing about the Egyptian leaders of his time; and it was only with difficulty that we restrained him from killing a sheep in our honour. Presently we rose to leave, and the old man shouldered his rifle to speed us on our way. The Albanian code of hospitality requires that the host should accompany his guests for an hour on their road to protect them against attack. In practice the full formality is usually abridged, but our shepherd friend was so genuinely anxious to express his goodwill that he guided us for the next seven hours of the march down to the main road leading to Dibra. There he bade us farewell in Arabic, and with great dignity declined our tactful offers of remuneration. By good fortune, however, I still had with me a box of Egyptian cigarettes and a few Egyptian piastres, which he gladly accepted as a souvenir of our meeting.

000 We had seen two cars on the road in the early afternoon, but there was now no sign of traffic. We therefore marched boldly along it, rejoicing in its even surface and in its breadth, which allowed us to walk two or more abreast and so to talk in comfort. Just before the light failed we came to a place where the road curved sharply eastwards along the face of a cliff. There, for the first time, we caught sight of the Black Drin, winding through the plain of Dibra. Two hours later, after a march which had lasted altogether twelve hours, we reached the house of Aziz Dino Hoja, a granite keep four stories high, situated only a few yards from the river. There Riddle was waiting.

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rem's open hostility. Their aim was to keep Muharrem neutral; ours was now to bring him back into the war. 669* 622

We left Riddle's base on the 29th of May, and, just before sunset, climbed on to the range that forms the eastern wall of the Drin gorges. The powerful river lay two thousand feet below us, narrowly compressed between smooth black cliffs, through which its deep and swirling waters ran a vivid blue, stained by the copper deposits in the rock. Beyond the jagged peaks of Liuma towered into the sky, and, with the approach of darkness, the scene became awe-inspiring, almost Wagnerian. We[1] followed a narrow path scratched in the face of the cliff above the river, and now and then passed little stone cairns beside it. Each marked a grave and guarded the bones of some traveller who had fallen to his blood enemy, lying in wait. The dead were buried where they had been killed; for the path was too steep and the way too long to bring their bodies home for funeral. 000 764

Night overtook us on the march, but we pressed on until we came to a cluster of buildings, surrounded by a high crenellated wall. This was Muharrem's[2] castle. Our guards called out and beat upon the gates, and, after an exchange of shouts with shadowy figures on the battlements, we were admitted to a wide courtyard. In front of us was a stone building, founded on a rock, and on the steps leading up to it stood the lord of Liuma, with a bodyguard beside him holding a torch of blazing pinewood. He bowed to us, introducing himself as Bairaktar, and led the way indoors to a room furnished with tables and upholstered chairs, the first I had seen in Albania. There we sat down for the customary exchange of greetings; and presently coffee was brought. 574 609

Muharrem was of stocky build, dressed in a plain grey uniform with a lumberjack's leather cap on his head. He looked not unlike Kaiser Wilhelm, with the same iron grey hair and moustache, loose mouth, and small piercing eyes. When at rest there was an almost abnormal concentration in his gaze, and sometimes a sly smile would cross his face, as if prompted by his inward thoughts. He was reserved of speech

1 [British liaison officers -- Analyst]

2 [Muharrem Bairaktar, chieftain of Liuma clan -- Analyst]

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574 and his delivery rapid and jerky. In his years of exile he had
609 acquired a working knowledge of French and German; and, though the limitations of his vocabulary were only matched by his Olympian disregard of syntax, we were delighted to avoid the boredom of badly interpreted conversation. The evening meal was served towards midnight in a separate dining-room, and was distinguished by excellent Turkish dishes and a coarse red wine, pressed from the Liuman vineyards. At table we were waited on by Muharrem's two sons, who stood guard behind our chairs while we ate. Both were grown men, but treated their father with almost servile respect.

*669 Next morning Muharrem laid before us an ambitious plan for raising the Gheg tribes against the Germans. This was set out in the form of a memorandum addressed to the British Government, and contained an interesting analysis of the Balkan situation, as well as detailed proposals for the organisation and strategy of a resistance movement. Appended to it was an estimate of the military supplies that would be needed to equip and maintain the tribes. Muharrem's general argument was that the useful military operations of the L.N.C. were becoming increasingly subordinated to their questionable political aims. The interests, therefore, of Albania and of Great Britain required the promotion of an Albanian Nationalist movement, which would attack the Germans with greater zeal than was shown by the L.N.C., and would seek to take over political power in the hour of victory. He, Muharrem, was prepared to undertake the leadership of such a movement if we would provide him with the necessary arms and sinews of war.

We insensibly eroded this bold and visionary scheme until, after two hours' discussion, Muharrem agreed to our more modest proposal. This was that he should organise and lead the resistance movement in the valley of the Black Drin. He declined, however, to accept our thesis that no supplies could be sent to him before he had attacked the enemy, and remarked with some plausibility:

"I have fought against the Italians, and I intend to fight against the Germans. If you will send me arms I will fight

000 and while it was made ready were entertained by two old men who sang to us the strident epics of the highlands, accompanied on the one-stringed *guzla*. We climbed on after we had eaten, but the path now wound ever steeper through the woods and we lost our way several times in the moonless night. Climbing was hot work, but we lit fires wherever we halted, for at that height the night air was still bitterly cold. At last, just before dawn, we crawled over the crest of the range and came out on to a broad and undulating stretch of moorland. We continued marching till the sun had warmed the morning and then dropped asleep in the bracken, where we lay till the afternoon.

622 We resumed our journey in the evening and an hour after dark reached the tall stone keep of Mehmet Ali, the *Bairaktar* of Hass. There our strength was revived with lashings of a [574] potent *raki*; and, while the meal was made ready, our hunger was stayed by *mese* of eggs and cheese. Mehmet Ali was an old-fashioned tribal chief, a cheery fellow, and an excellent host. He was reputed the most prudent man in all Albania and had persistently refused to disclose the name of the friend who had sheltered him in the Balkan wars thirty years before.

"You never know," he would say, "when I may need to hide with his family again!"

000 Towards midnight the sudden barking of the watch-dogs warned us that strangers were at the gate. Mehmet Ali went out to meet them and presently returned, ushering two men into the room. The first of these was Said Kryeziu, a sub-machine-gun slung across his shoulder and two hand-grenades dangling from his belt. Prison had left its mark on him, and his face was thin and drawn. He shook hands gravely with the assembled company and was just murmuring some formal greeting to me when a flash of recognition crossed his face and we fell into each other's arms. He had received no word that I was in Albania, and now this sudden reunion in the mountains seemed to both of us like a good omen. Perhaps we were at last to fulfil the work we had begun together in Belgrade.

*669 Said brought us the best news we had heard since landing in Albania. His brother, Gani, had just fought an engagement with the Germans, the third in recent weeks. At last we had

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down, feeling distinctly out of place amid these comfortable surroundings, with our unkempt hair, dirty uniforms, and heavy boots.

Ihsan Bey was still in his early thirties, a well-built and rather studious-looking man, dressed in a grey flannel suit with a white shirt open at the neck. He had studied in Vienna, and indeed might well have been an Austrian country gentleman from his small talk, the cut of his clothes, and the slightly German turn of his English sentences. An attentive host, he plied us in quick succession with tea, coffee, and a very potent *raki*, while we explained the purpose of our visit. Then, seeing that we were tired, he led us to our bedrooms, where clean pyjamas had been laid out. For the first time in months we slept between linen sheets and forgot the fatigues of the march in the delights of a spring mattress. It was after midday when we awoke to the comforts of modern lavatories and hot, scented baths; superfluous luxuries for a guerilla, but doubly welcome for their strangeness.

In the morning, while we still slept, Ihsan had driven into Tirana on our business. He returned about two o'clock, accompanied by Nureddin Bey Vlora, the friend of Count Carlo Frasso, our host at Brindisi, and by a younger man with a charming, French-speaking wife. Nureddin Bey was a son of the Ottoman Grand Vizier, Ferid Pasha, and a nephew of Ismail Kemal, the founder of the first Albanian Republic. A great landowner in the region of Valona, he had been condemned to death, though later pardoned, for his part in the Fieri revolution against King Zog, and had long been one of the most influential supporters of the Republican Party. He was too great a patriot and too proud to "collaborate" with either the Italians or the Germans, but his counsels weighed heavily with the political leaders in Tirana, and especially with the Republican chiefs of the Balli Kombetar.

Still in his forties, Nureddin was fit-looking, debonair, and very much a man of the world. He was dressed in a smart white suit and might just have stepped out of the casino at Mentone or the Mohammed Ali Club in Cairo. His English

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hour's ride, came on a group of Zogists taking up position on a low hill commanding one of the main tracks along the valley. Their commander was our old friend, Yussuf Bey Chelai, once the protector of the Mati Partisans, but now turned against them by their unprovoked invasion of the valley. Maclean with some difficulty repressed his professional urge to correct the siting of their one machine-gun, but the Chelai clansmen showed little sign of enthusiasm; and Yussuf Bey was plainly grieved that we should meet under such circumstances. 669*

"This fighting between Albanians is bad," he told us, "but we must defend our homes, for these men come as robbers, not as guests."

Despite the approach of battle Yussuf Bey did not forget the laws of hospitality; and while we talked together one of his men brought a pitcher of water and a basket of mulberries for our refreshment. We were touched by his courtesy, but soon took leave of him; for we did not wish to become involved in a fight with the Partisans. [574]

We pressed on, passing several groups of armed Zogists on the way, until about noon we reached the ford across the Mati. We could now hear the sound of shooting from the direction of the Chelai territory but, judging that it was still some distance off, halted and enjoyed a second bathe. An hour's march beyond the river brought us to the village of Gurre Madhe, at the foot of the mountains. There we stopped for the midday meal and sent out spies to watch the course of the battle. Sporadic rifle and machine-gun fire continued throughout the afternoon, and at length our spies returned to report that the Partisans were not more than half an hour away. Their strength was generally put at between one and two thousand men, and we were told that the quantity and quality of their equipment had excited the wonder and envy of the men of Mati. As yet there had been no serious engagement; for the defenders were but a few hundred strong, and only sought to delay the invasion while the main Zogist forces concentrated around Burrel.

We now climbed into the mountains on the last stage of the journey to our base. The light was beginning to fail but,

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the 231
dining-table, to filch what it could. It was never caressed or deliberately fed; the whole Balkans believed that either indulgence would stop it from catching mice.

A man and his wife, with one or two small children, might live 342 594
in this house. Of a kind hardly paralleled in the Balkans, except in the poorer parts of southern Greece, it was not common in Albania as a permanent dwelling. As soon as its master could scrape together the necessary money, he added a sitting-room. As he provided all the labour himself and needed to hire only one professional, a stone-mason who, like all his brethren in the Balkans, was also a carpenter, ten pounds sterling were enough. The sitting-room might be built on top of the kitchen (*shtëpi* or *shpi*, lit. 'house', from Lat. *hospitium*) or against one of its walls. It had a wooden floor, a chimney at one end, a window or two, a niche in the wall beside the hearth for the utensils for making coffee, and a few wooden pegs near the door on which to hang up rifles; it might also have a ceiling. It generally had a separate 562
entrance, for sitting-rooms were men's apartments and Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox Albanians all segregated their young women. The Catholics and Orthodox attributed this custom to plain jealousy, and the Moslems, less convincingly, to a desire to obey their Prophet's order. In the evening and when not at work outside during the daytime, the master of the house with his men guests reclined, ate and smoked in the sitting-room, while his wife and children remained in the draughty kitchen. But the men were less comfortable than might have been expected. Since Albanian 558
chimneys seldom drew, acrid fumes from the wood fire filled the room and almost made them weep unmanly tears. But not quite, for if they succumbed, they would be derided as 'poor sticks' who 'would never see to shoot'.

Guests, in the form of family friends or strangers 'sent by God', 574
often came for a night. Because there were no inns in the Albanian countryside except on the long-distance tracks used by pack-horses, it was the rule that a benighted stranger might claim supper and shelter till the morning from any house he saw. The hospitality was never refused or charged for, but travellers of standing were expected to give a sum proportionate not to the hospitality offered but to their supposed wealth.

As soon as the children in a two-roomed house grew up, its 342
master must build again. His daughters went forth to live in their 594

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

to keep the structure rigid. When a light roof thatched with straw or more boughs had been nailed on and the inner walls had been plastered with mud, the hut was ready for occupation. Quickly built and costing only the price of the nails, it was often larger and more comfortable than the sitting-room in the adjacent house. A folk-tradition says it was long the handsomest dwelling to which any country Albanian aspired. At lower altitudes in Shpat the huts were flimsier as befitted the milder climate. They were usually made of reeds plastered with cow-dung, which was sufficient to keep out the wind.

Three houses of more splendid type, each containing about forty souls, exist at Dibër—Hysni Dema's at Homesh, Murat Kaloshi's at Kandër, and Cen Elezi's at Sllovë. The owners were rich and most hospitable Moslem notables. As some of the older generation were schooled in Constantinople, they complemented their culture and their position by building establishments of Turkish inspiration, with separate blocks of buildings for the men's apartments (Tk. *selamlik*), stables, granaries, storehouses, kitchens and women's apartments (Tk. *haremlik*). These are all enclosed within a high stone wall with defensive turrets at every weak point, especially near the one and only gateway. The women's apartments are really only a series of bedrooms, one for each married man and his wife and children, and the women, for want of a common sitting-room, sit normally in the kitchen like their poorer sisters. Softer mattresses, richer floor-rugs, and fireplaces in the bedrooms indicate the family's wealth, but European beds, tables and chairs are still barred, partly to avoid rousing envy in more backward neighbours. Cen Elezi's sitting-room was a magnificent oblong, warmed by a log-fire in a huge chimney at the far end from the door and softly lit on both its long sides by a row of short windows at the top of the tall walls; enemies outside had as usual to be prevented from shooting through the outer windows, and the men inside must not be able to look through the inner ones at the women's apartments. In this room a hundred travellers supped and slept every night, going their separate ways at dawn; a chef, working in a kitchen of his own and slaughtering a couple of sheep or an ox per night, provided the unvarying menu of soup, boiled meat, bread and rice pilaff. In their retired kitchen the women catered for themselves and the children, when there was no overflow from the chef's.

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railing at him, threatened to make him set up a separate home, 593
which would reduce both him and her to a lower level of comfort.
Custom, it is true, under the stress of hard necessity, sanctioned
his working alongside her in the fields, but only on condition that
he did not indulge in unnecessary or frivolous conversation with
her. The only explanation which Albanians offered of these [83]
restrictions was that a husband and a wife felt 'ashamed' in each
other's presence. The same feeling existed all over the Balkans
until they came under strong western influences a generation ago.
Before that every decorous peasant bride, whatever her race or
religion, refrained for several years after her marriage from
speaking at all to her husband in public and spoke to him in
whispers only in private, meanwhile keeping her eyes modestly
downcast. This behaviour seems to originate in an idea which is
prevalent throughout the Near East. The Greeks say that since only [789]
the celibate life is really holy, the matrimonial state is one of sin
and therefore of shame. In I Cor. vii, 8, St Paul voiced it when he
wrote, 'I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for
them if they abide even as I'. Moslems, too, believe this, in spite
of many being polygamists. There is, for instance, a married as
well as a celibate branch of the Bektashi Order of dervishes, but it
has so few supporters that at the central monastery at Haci
Bektas in the heart of Asia Minor its headquarters are little more
than a poverty-stricken excrescence on the enormous, wealthy
headquarters of the celibates, and in Albania it has only the [792]
monastery at Qesarakë in the south-east, compared with the
seventy maintained for the celibates in different parts of the
country.

Now the Unwritten Law of Albania ordained that every married 574
woman had the right to visit her own relatives at least once a year. 593
Since these frequently lived in a different village, she could not
travel to or from them without an escort, which neither custom nor
the law allowed her husband to provide in person. Since brothers
were everywhere allowed to talk to each other's wives, no difficulty
arose in a communal household, where any man except the
husband could accompany a wife to her parents' home and fetch
her back. In a house with only one man matters were more
complicated. If his mother were alive and physically fit for the
journey, she might go with his wife, but who would then cook his
supper and prepare his bed for the night? If his mother were dead

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or incapacitated, one of his wife's relatives must come for her and bring her back, but that meant the extra trouble of letting them know that she was coming.

Each member of a household had a personal name. Though this was usually determined by the religion professed, Moslem first names were not uncommon among the Catholics. The usual cause seems to have been no more than a personal whim. Thus the junior bajraktar ('standard-bearer')[1] of Shalë, a Catholic, was called Avdi because his father was very friendly with a Moslem of that name at the time of his birth. Another interesting anomaly is found in the forty-three Orthodox villages of Shpat, near Elbasan, where the older men have two names, a Moslem one for public use and an Orthodox one for private. For some decades before Albania freed herself from Turkish rule these villages were pressed by the Moslems of Elbasan to abandon Christianity and, to save their faith and lives, camouflaged themselves as Moslems, giving themselves Moslem names, keeping the Ramazan fast, and so on, but evading circumcision. At intervals they fetched an Orthodox priest from Elbasan under cover of night so that in some dark stable he might marry the newly wed with Christian rites and baptize the newly born. So, to name only two examples, the apparently Moslem Tahir Baduri of Shelcan and Ymer Tullumi of Bujars are really the Christian Spiro Baduri and Vasil Tullumi. Religious persecution having ended when Albanian independence was attained, the Orthodox of Shpat shed their Moslem camouflage and gave only Christian names to their children. If Godolesh, the picturesque village north of Elbasan, had managed to hold out for only two years more against the pressure to 'turn Turk', it, too, might now still have been Christian. It failed to hold out, so that its middle-aged and young inhabitants are fanatical Moslems but the old still visit Orthodox churches in secrecy and grieve that they must lie in a Moslem grave. One sturdy old woman, who married soon after the conversion to Islam, boasted that she had had all her four sons baptized. One of them confirmed this to the author, saying he had often been told by Christian and Moslem alike that he smelt less than did other Moslems, an agreeable peculiarity which he attributed to his baptism. The Greeks too, who introduced Orthodox Christianity into Albania, subscribed to the belief that baptism takes away the smell from which all Moslems suffer.

[1] See Chapter XI.

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lenders for the want of security), and in the less-developed north 562
she invested it in sheep, plough-oxen, or even horses which she 593
hired out on the 'half-and-half' system. Before a woman died, she 426
gave a little of her *pekul* to her daughters and the major part to her sons, but nothing to her husband, so making a last comment on the curiously detached relationship between them during their married life.

Except in the towns, no Albanian woman ever went into 357
domestic service. Each worked as a girl in her father's house and then in her husband's and, though never paid any money, was assured for life of whatever board, lodging and clothes these could provide. This applied even to families of the standing of Cen Elezi in Dibër. Consequently the Unwritten Law took no cognizance of female servants. On the other hand, men servants—mainly farm workers or herdsmen—were numerous enough to have been carefully legislated for.

Though such a servant ate out of the same dish as his master and slept in the sitting-room or elsewhere in the same conditions as the young unmarried men of the family, he had always to take a back seat—in the literal sense near the door and far from the fire; and, in the metaphorical sense, effacing himself. This befitted both his youth and his status. For his status was like that of a woman. 'It is for the master to command and for the servant to obey', said the Unwritten Law. If he were a shepherd, his views on the beasts under his care commanded his master's respect, but other servants were required to keep their opinions to themselves. In areas such 357
as Martanesh where women could not be killed in a blood feud, 628
a servant was as safe as they were from his master's enemies. 'Kill a servant? Faugh! As well kill a woman', was the sentiment.

There was, however, another aspect to his position: since he [574]
came from another family in his master's village or from another village altogether, he was not a member of his master's household but was its guest. As such he was entitled to protection by his master against all hurt from third parties. If he were hit, the offender must pay twice, compensating him for the personal injury of the blow and his master for the affront to his guest. If he were robbed, his master latterly complained to the police, but in the old days would have shot the robber out of hand in the north, but in Martanesh and farther south, not until he saw that the servant himself was too weak to resent the injury as honour demanded. If

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power by modern governments. The value of the difference to the 357
servant was that the more important his master, the better he
himself was protected.

It is the rule in all denominations that priests may not carry [793]
arms. This is no drawback to anybody under a modern administra- 357
tion, but in Turkish times it meant that a priest's servant was more 688
exposed to danger than an armed layman's. The Catholic church
tried to make up for the deficiency by special legislation of which
Father Gjeçov gives a full account. Thus, though a priest's servant
had a certain freedom to attend to his own business, any message
he carried to a house was treated as coming from the priest.
Whoever molested him molested the priest, and might be fined
according to the gravity of the offence but not less than ten lambs,
which went, not to the servant, but to the church and tribe.
Whoever killed the servant started a feud with his family only, if the [574]
servant were local, but with the whole parish if he were a stranger—
here can be recognized the principle of the community's guest—
and if the murderer was local, the parish burned his house and took
a hundred lambs and an ox from him as fine. If labourers hired by
the church were molested, the offender had to pay a fine, divisible
between them and the church; the more numerous they were, the
heavier the fine; on an average this amounted to ten lambs. If an
offender refused to pay, the parish went in a body and took what
it wanted from his sheepfold. In short, the church treated any
wrong to a defenceless priest's servant as a major crime.

The retainers of great men were essentially a bodyguard, and 592
were only maintained by men with blood feuds. Some lived at
home and joined their patron for some special, and usually brief,
occasion; others lived for long periods with him, constantly ready
for whatever service he might ask. They occasionally received a gold
piece as reward; more often they were paid in kind—by being lent
money without interest for a funeral or a wedding feast, by being
given grain in bad years, by having a useful word said in the ear of
the authorities to extract them from some difficulty. While his own
children were small, the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë had eight
young relatives living permanently with him, brief holidays at
home excepted. They waited at meals or carried messages to the
servants with the lofty air of medieval pages of noble blood. Until
exiled during the war of 1939–45, Shevqet Vërlaci, the formidable
Bey of Elbasan, was guarded night and day by relays of peasants

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value or money compensation to the other. In the cases, frequent enough, where each had had his own implements before the separation, he took these with him to his new home.

Beehives too were divided on the offset or compensation system; they were seldom enough to go round the brothers. Honey was divided on a food basis, equally among old and young.

Household utensils such as spoons, milk cogs, churns, wash-tubs, pots, saucepans and all wooden and earthenware vessels were also divided equally among the brothers. After being taken out of the house they were stacked in piles, one for each brother under the direction of whoever divided the property. It was almost never possible to find an article of the same type for each brother. So an article was laid on one pile and the offset on the others. Less often, an article of which there was only one was valued and a proportionate share of its value paid by its new owner to his brothers. There was never any furniture in the sense of tables, chairs and bedsteads to divide. At most, there were reed mats and straw-stuffed cushions in the sitting-room and some wooden stools in the kitchen. The stools might be divided equally among the brothers; the other things were generally treated as part of the house and left where they were.

Certain articles in the house were not subject to division. These included the portable oven, flour-bin, tongs, shovel and kitchen-crook, which were the symbols of family life; and the mill, caddy, pot and cups forming the coffee outfit, which was the symbol of guest-friendship. The former remained in the kitchen and the latter in the sitting-room, irrespective of whether these rooms had been separated or left to one brother. Above all, it was unlucky to move the kitchen-crook; it was almost as sacred as the fire on the hearth on whose continuance depended the continuance of the family. Very occasionally, however, it was allotted like the rest of the property. Other articles were considered individual property and excluded from division on that account. These included the jack-knife, gun and revolver carried by each man (at least in the not-so-distant past), the trousseaux brought by the married women or being made by the girls, and the married women's pocket-money, wedding presents, possessions and livestock, or money lent at interest. All these continued to be the sole property of their owners. Bedding too was individual property, each brother's having been brought by his wife as part of her trousseau. If the

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592 This third person threw the token stones on this portion or that.
428 In Godolesh there was no intermediary. Each brother gave his
592 token to an elder in whom they all had confidence. As they were
777 selecting their tokens, he arranged tokens of his own on the ground, naming each aloud for the various portions of the land or house. He carefully refrained from looking at the brothers' tokens and threw them blindly one after another on his own. 'Here is the sitting-room, good luck to it. Here is the kitchen, good luck to it', he said of the house. Each brother then claimed his token and accepted his portion. With a similar phrase of good omen the elder divided the land. In Lumë there might or might not be an intermediary. The elder taking delivery of the tokens might place them himself or, if afraid he would be suspected of dishonesty, he might give them to another man to do so. Well-omened phrases were used, such as 'The luck of this stone lies there and of this twig here'. In the Malësi e Madhe the elder said which portion the bits of stick each represented, then drew them, as would be done in England. Here the procedure seems influenced by the European
[77] education of the priests.

623 The commonest fee for an elder dividing property between
428 brothers was two or three napoleons, but it might be as low as one or as high as ten. Everything depended on how much the brothers quarrelled over the division, and how hard they struggled against yielding one to the other. In Perlat the elder made a distinction between rich and poor, asking a sheep from a rich family but only a kilo of coffee from a poor one. In Mirditë he had the right to a sheep and a money fee as well; the latter was as agreed. In Lumë 'it does not do to have an elder without a sheep'. Wherever, as in Godolesh, officials arranged the separation, no fees were charged.

408 Everywhere one meal at least of meat and rice pilaff must be
574 given to whoever came from outside the family to separate the brothers. If these had no flocks, they must buy meat from someone who had. The expense of these meals, which was heavy for people so poor, was shared by all the brothers, the animals being taken out of the common stock before it was divided and the money for the rice, coffee and, if necessary, meat out of the common purse before the settling up of accounts. These meals were the first charge on the family property.

All stages of the division were watched by neighbours. Before the persons negotiating the separation sat down to the final meal,

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they reminded these onlookers how everything had been divided. 428
Then if disputes arose later between the brothers these could bear 574
witness to the division. No documents were drawn up, the oral [623]
testimony of the witnesses in general, and in particular the mute
testimony of the boundary stones, was enough for the unwritten
law. Where a dead father had held title-deeds, these were distributed appropriately among the brothers, but such cases were few. 578

Too often, the division was followed there and then by disputes. 428
Most frequently they were about the land and due to greed, for each brother knew that on the portion allotted to him on that day he and perhaps unborn generations of his descendants must live, and he naturally tried to make it as large as possible. Sometimes a brother was rightly disgruntled. Dividers were human enough to make mistakes; an eldest brother sometimes tried to cheat when dividing; at times even an elder showed favouritism. In such cases the division was revised, an elder dividing instead of the eldest brother or a second elder instead of the first, on the usual 'elder after elder' basis. Or instead of having one elder between them the brothers might each put in one for himself; in this case they must all stand aside and leave the elders to fight things out.

Not infrequently one brother was simply cantankerous. Then 623
the easiest way for the elders to make him see reason was to exercise 574
their right to have all their meals at the family's expense until their 428
work was done. They might go away, leaving the division incomplete and refusing to return until he bent his stubborn neck and in person fetched them back with promises to be good. This meant an extra meal, an expense that even the trouble-maker deplored in his heart, if not openly. As it was, surely unfairly, shared by the reasonable brothers these were from the first careful to do nothing to excite the other further. There was no difficulty about extracting this meal, as the commonest source of trouble, the land, was always divided before the livestock.

A story of Turkish times from Godolesh shows the elders taking cruder but no less effective steps to settle matters. A family at the top of the village refused to accept the division they proposed. 'Where is your best ram?' asked the elders the first day, and ate the animal. 'Where is the pot of *bekmès* (boiled grape juice)?' they asked the second day, and emptied this. 'Where is the butter jar?' they asked the third day, and devoured that. The brothers then came to their senses and allowed the suggested division to proceed.

1 [concerning the division of land at the time of separation of brothers--Analyst]

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231 If a dog was unusually fierce, it might be tied up early and loosed late. If a locality was dangerous or if the dog's master was at feud with someone, the dog might be loosed precisely at sundown and left free till exactly sunrise. As a result of the latter proviso a stranger who reached a village about sunset must ask immediately in the interest of his own safety whether his intended host is at feud with anyone. If he were, he called to his host from a safe distance —the fiercest dog did not stir unprovoked beyond the outskirts of its own farmyard. There followed an exchange of conventional questions and answers, designed to convince the host that the stranger came as a friend and not as an enemy. When convinced, the host bade the stranger stay where he was and forbade him to speak—this in case the dog charged in the direction of the voice. He then tied up the dog while some of his womenfolk went to inspect the stranger, and if satisfied that he was harmless, to bring him to the house.

231 When a house dog attacked a stranger the law considered three 683 positions: (*a*) when the dog only threatened to bite, (*b*) when it 628 succeeded in biting and (*c*) when it killed. In all three positions there was discrimination between attack by day and attack by night.

If during the daytime a house dog threatened to bite a stranger, the latter might kill it without incurring a penalty. The day was his time not the dog's, and he was in the right and the dog in the wrong. To attack him it must have broken its chain or pulled up the stake to which it had been tied. Its master too was at fault for not having observed that its chain and stake were insecure. Exceptionally in Martanesh the stranger was fined 100 grosh.

If again during the daytime a house dog succeeded in biting a stranger its master must indemnify the stranger, and that irrespective of whether the dog had been killed or not. In Dibër he escaped by paying the blood money due for wounding a man. In the more picturesque north he must keep the wounded man in his house free of charge until he recovered, pay any doctor's bills that might be incurred and pay the wounded man what he would have earned if well. The northerners were so poor that they found such expenses a heavy burden. In consequence they tested a dog's chain and stake from time to time and sent their womenfolk to escort a stranger to and from the house; they could not perform this task themselves because they did not enjoy a woman's immunity from attack by a lurking enemy. A poor man, desperate

complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in 423
Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times 487
a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man [685]
cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or [574]
village had married into the privileged ward her kinsmen had leave [607]
to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families [614]
in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact, the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter- 486
tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of 619
sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory, and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus, a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger 574
obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded 628
as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection 486
and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the 672
event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

[in the village of Gadolesh --Analyst]

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was 22 purses instead of the usual 12. If the murderer was slow to pay up, the tribe enforced payment. In addition, they burned down three of the *kulla* (houses of two or more storeys) in the murderer's compound. If he did not possess so many, they burned his own *kullë* and two belonging to his nearest relatives. If between them they did not have so many, the tribe searched among his more distant relatives until they found the required number, going back a hundred generations if need be. They also destroyed his property—crops, livestock and the rest—so thoroughly that nothing of it remained. The same penalties were inflicted on a thief who stole sheep travelling or grazing within the protected area. On the other hand, if a traveller, public messenger or shepherd broke the conditions of the truce, straying, for example, from the prescribed path, he was no longer counted a public guest and lost his right to public protection and vengeance. He was still a private guest however. The last man in whose house he stayed before his mishap was bound to kill his murderer or to punish the man who robbed him.

This truce of sheep and shepherd has now died out. At the end of Turkish times it was already confined to the Gjakovë group of tribes in the extreme north-east, such as Nikaj, Mertur, Gash and Krasniq. But Father Gjeçov found traditions of its existence in the Dukagjin tribes of Shalë, Shosh, Kir, Gjâj and Toplanë, and also in Puke, Mirditë, Kthellë, Kurbìn and the mountains of Lesh. Father Gjeçov considers the custom to be so old that it dates from days 'before thin-necks began to vomit flame', that is to say, before firearms were invented.

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693 of coffee if he were poor, a sheep if he were rich. Farther south, the fee varied with the elder's importance and the bargain he made beforehand. In Martanesh it was ordinarily one Turkish pound, but Selim Peshku accepted this only in easy cases; he asked, and was gladly given, three or even five in more complicated cases. Cen Elezi of Dibër asked in 1938 twelve napoleons from each of two cousins who were quarrelling about a boundary. Two elders employed in a dispute were usually paid alike, each disputant paying half the total. But when each disputant bargained separately with his elder, one elder might be paid more than the other. Even where fees were conventionally fixed as in Lumë, an elder often bargained for a larger one. An elder who came from a distance was naturally paid more, as he had to spend at least one night and two days away from home. An average fee in Shkrel for such cases was one napoleon, whereas for cases near at hand it was a silver Turkish dollar in Turkish times or 10–20 koronë in 1932. Almost always an elder was given a sheep in addition; 'an elder without a sheep doesn't do', it was said. Elders could not exact prepayment; it was evidently felt by the old law-givers that if prepaid they might be tempted to default on the work. At the same time they had to be protected from the litigant who tried to default on their fee. A litigant had, therefore, to deposit a rifle or a silver watch or a silver tobacco box or the like at the outset of the case as a pledge that he would pay the fee at the end of the case. Judgement pronounced, he paid the fee and was given back his pledge. Because of this arrangement elders were called 'pledge elders' when they undertook work involving a fee.

693 In addition to his fee and sheep an elder also expected at least
[574] one meal for himself and his party. It had to be of the highest
[262] class, with meat and rice pilaff, and the meat had to be goat, ewe or ram, more rarely beef and never that inferior thing, chicken. When the elder's party was small, the sheep-breeders of the north gave *mazë*, a delicious dish compounded of butter, cheese and maize flour. In Kosovë the meal was generally taken from the richer disputant so as to save the poorer litigant expense, or from the one who had insisted on calling in elders. In Martanesh it was taken from the one who had caused the trouble. In Shalë, on the contrary, each elder ate at his own client's expense except in road cases, where both elders and their suites ate at the expense of the litigant in fault. In Zerqan, if the case dragged on so long that the

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promise—if they did, there would be no shooting. Each had to give 696
this guarantor a pledge of the usual type—rifle, revolver, watch—
which was laid before the elders. The elders then delivered their
judgement, the two disputants accepted it and had their pledges
returned. If a disputant broke his promise and shot his rival, the
village Council of Elders would fine the guarantor, asking him why
he had let the man break his word. In this way, through the medium [620]
of the guarantor a good deal of pressure was brought to bear on the
loser to make him keep the peace. In the Elbasan area it was agreed [574]
that a disputant who gave a meal to the elders thereby accepted
their judgement, so that the strong instincts of hospitality came
into play. In Mirditë the elders whose decision was flouted 695
bade the disputants 'go to Shupal (St Paul's Church) or the
Grykë e Oroshit (Defile of Orosh)', i.e. bring the matter up before
the next General Assembly for the tribe at one or other of these
famous meeting-places. If the loser would not abide by the decision
of the General Assembly he could be fined by the tribe, ostracized
or even banished for a period. Occasionally a strong man sub-
jected to such sanctions killed the offending elder; by so doing he
involved himself in yet another blood feud. In Mirditë and adjacent
areas emphasis was laid on the fact that the recusant loser had
himself chosen and approved the offending elder, and had signified
the same by giving him a pledge. By these acts he had stripped
himself of the right to take back the pledge or to express active
disapproval of the judgement given. Only in the event of the
judgement's being demonstrably biased or unfair were the dis-
putants allowed to challenge it. 'A crooked judgement can be
annulled', the law stated. Often the crookedness was established
by the loser going secretly to ask another elder for his opinion. In
that event the disputant had everywhere the right to appeal against
the judgement and to call for a new examination of the case by
another elder or pair of elders. In some parts, the law ruled that
'the law does not admit of elder on elder, and trial on trial', and
that a man who had 'chosen and approved' elders had no right to
call in others.

Frivolous changing of elders was restrained by the extra expense 693
this entailed. In Lumë, for instance, if two brothers were dis-
pleased by the manner in which their chosen elders were dividing
their property, they could call in one more elder, a *staraplak*
(ancient), whose decision was final. But his regulation fee was five

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fail to turn up. If even one so failed, the suspect was declared 695
guilty. Indeed, the easiest and least obnoxious way of convicting the suspect was not to turn up for the oath. Such was the almost universal rule. In the Malësi e Madhe, however, a message was sent to a missing compurgator to make sure that he had not merely forgotten the date. If he replied that he had not come on purpose because he thought the suspect was guilty, the case ended, a verdict of guilty being returned. If he replied that he was absent for personal reasons, an attempt was made to find two others to take his place at once; if this succeeded, the oath was taken. If only one compurgator did not attend in Bytyç, the oath could be taken, particularly if the reason for the compurgator's default was the newly discovered pregnancy of his wife. These rules applied only to the accuser's quota. If one of the suspect's compurgators failed to turn up, any bystander who could be persuaded to join the jury might be substituted. As the suspect was not bound to disclose the names of his quota, the public was often unaware that the second man was a substitute and not the suspect's first choice.

In Mirditë the verdict was virtually known before the taking of [574]
the oath. When the suspect felt ready to take the oath he invited the compurgators to a meal in his house. If they declined his invitation it meant that they thought him guilty and would not take the oath. If they accepted his invitation he could sleep in peace, secure in the knowledge that whenever the time came for them to take the oath, they would do so. Once they had eaten his food, the oath was as good as taken. This custom may have developed because the suspect had to assemble the compurgators to hear him take the oath and was forbidden by his instincts of hospitality to leave them unfed. In Labinot, Çermenikë and Zerqan, the suspect also offered the compurgators a high-class meal, with meat and rice pilaff, but not till after they had taken the oath, and only if he had been cleared. The meal was thought to ratify the oath and to reward the compurgators in some measure for their trouble.

A loser who did not abide by the verdict of the oath lost 'face'. 696
Some years ago, a family in Fulqet died out. Two neighbours, more or less related to the family, claimed its land, one taking possession of it and the other gathering a stackful of hay from it. Even the women quarrelled so fiercely over it that they had to be separated by gendarmes and the elders intervened and said that the relative in possession must take an oath with twenty-four

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beaten by her husband, and no matter how severe the punishment, her[1] brother, who was her natural protector, would be too ashamed of her conduct to interfere. If a thieving woman did not mend her ways, her husband usually divorced her. The southern Catholics, anxious to reform erring wives and to avoid divorce, sometimes sent wrongdoers to spend a night in the lonely church of Shen Ndue in the forest above the village of Laç in Kurbin. This treatment is said to have been effective in many cases!

By the laws of hospitality, a man never robbed his guest nor a guest his host. If a third party robbed either, the other did his best to find the thief and the stolen goods. But such laws were not always respected, and penalties were prescribed for their breach. In Mirditë a guest who stole was ostracized as well as having to pay the usual penalty. In Kurbin he was expelled for ever from the tribe. If a guest in Mirditë was robbed by a fellow-guest, their host demanded double redress from the criminal—for the injury to his guest and for housebreaking. If a guest was robbed after leaving his host's house, it was still the host's duty to punish the thief, as the latter would know where the victim had been.

1 [i.e. the Albanian wife, as recorded during the reign of King Zog --Analyst]

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loss of face. At Krujë in 1930 when the authorities sought to 682
punish a man who had murdered his brother during a quarrel, the 627
widow swore that the pistol had gone off accidentally when her 596
brother-in-law was trying to wrest it from her husband, who had
threatened suicide. Having thus prevented the authorities from [641]
taking action, the widow made no effort to keep the true story of
the murder quiet, but repeated it every day during the month [765]
when the women met for the ceremonial 'keening'. She was also
openly commended by the public for preventing the government
from shaming her husband's family by arresting the murderer.

Exceptionally, if the murderer's motive was bad by tribal stan- [672]
dards, his relative was well avenged. For instance, if a man killed
his cousin or nephew to get his land, the crime was considered so
anti-social that the murderer was killed by the community, his blood
was lost, and his family expelled. Again, exceptionally, a motive
might be so good by tribal standards as to win the murderer public
admiration. Thus children in Shalë were taught with great pride
that once a tribesman killed his brother for killing a guest, for an [574]
Albanian's duty to his guest transcends the claims of blood
relationship.

Two modifications of the general rule are to be noted. In Mirditë in spite of the victim's blood being lost, the murderer had to pay the tribe the fine due in cases of ordinary murder, 100 rams and an ox. In the Malësi e Madhe if the two brothers had separated the fratricide had to pay blood money to his brother's dependants. If the widow had no children, she took all the money; if she had a daughter only, she again took it all, for when the time came for the girl to marry, she would as 'head of the family' have to pay the wedding expenses; if she had a son, he took all the money, for his father's death had made him head of the family. The blood money was therefore alimony payable to the widow and orphans who had been robbed of their breadwinner. If the two brothers had not separated, the fratricide as a matter of course supported the widow and orphans along with the other members of his household and the question of alimony did not arise.

Parricide was thought the most abhorrent of all murders within 682
the family. In a sense a father had the right to kill his son without 627
being asked by anybody what he had done, but a son unnatural 593
enough to kill his father could surely not have been got by that
father, but must be a bastard. Even where his crime was regarded

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units. For twenty-four hours after a murder in Lumë, a district 613 peopled by little groups of kinsmen, any man of the victim's kin 628* might avenge him on any man of the criminal's kin. So long as members of this group survived no other would move. If they were killed off, other groups, beginning with the nearest neighbours, might seek vengeance. Within living memory this licence found dreadful expression in Theth, the beautiful northern part of Shalë. About 1890 a man who lost a lamb promised to give a cartridge to a shepherd if he found it. When the shepherd succeeded, the man went back on his promise saying he would 'give him five' (*sc.* fingers on the trigger) instead. For the moment the shepherd let the matter drop, but later met the man and asked once more for his promised reward. Again the man refused it, not too courteously, and was immediately killed by the incensed shepherd. Unfortunately, it was Easter Sunday and the murder took place in a meadow where all the men of Theth were gathered for the festival. Immediately the dead man's *vllazni* (brotherhood), comprising all the males descended from the same ancestor, sought vengeance on the murderer's brotherhood. These were not backward in replying, and within an hour fourteen men lay dead for the sake of one cartridge.

Whole tribes might be affected by the rule of 'boiling blood'. 619 In the Malësi e Madhe if a Kastrati tribesman killed a Koplik man, 628* any member of the latter tribe had licence for 24 hours to kill any man from Kastrati. The murderer was, therefore, bound to announce his crime at once so that his fellow-tribesmen might take cover. The time limit elapsed, vengeance lay as usual between the two households. In such cases of inter-tribal aggression each tribe became temporarily a single family in which each member represented the whole.

In Çermenikë, kinsfolk were sometimes fused into one family, 612 not by boiling blood as described above, but by a particularly 574 atrocious murder such as that of a guest by his host, when 'circle 628* after circle' was the rule. The guest's 'circle', consisting of his own household, his kinsmen in separate homes, his neighbours and the sons of the married daughters of his family, wherever these last might live, tried to kill the murderer, and failing to find him or other members of his household, they might kill one of his 'circle'. On succeeding, they held that they had avenged their relative's death, and their victim's family agreed. In other districts they

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would have found themselves involved in a new feud with the household of the man they had killed, but by the local rule of 'circle after circle' he died as proxy for the real criminal and no new feud entered into the question. There seems to have been no time limit to their extended vengeance.

National solidarity was recognized in the debatable border lands where Slav and Albanian lived side by side. If an Albanian was killed by a Slav, any Albanian would kill any Slav in revenge. The crime, it was felt, had pitted the Albanian family against the Slav family. This national sentiment was so strong that though there has never been any love lost between Gegs (north Albanians) and Tosks (south Albanians), no Geg would allow a Slav to kill a Tosk without seeking in return to kill any Slav he could find. The less warlike Tosks did not feel a similar impulse. If one of their number or a Geg were killed by their Bulgarian or Greek neighbours, they left vengeance to the victim's family.

The community also acted as a single family when certain public servants were killed. If the victim were a Roman Catholic priest, he might lawfully be avenged by his parish, the tribe in which the parish lay, and his own family. If action were taken by the parish or tribe, the matter ended. The avenger's act closed the feud, and, fearing no retribution, he could hang up his rifle. If the priest's family afterwards killed another of the murderer's men, they began a new feud. Generally the family did not wait for the parish or the tribe to act. When a Mohammedan or an Orthodox priest was killed, it fell to his relatives to avenge the crime; the feeling that sacrilege had been committed was too slight to drive their parishioners into action.

If a field-guard of Lumë were killed, he was publicly avenged. If the murderer was from another village, any of the field-guard's fellow villagers could lawfully kill any man from the murderer's village during the first twenty-four hours, and afterwards he could kill the murderer or any other man in his household. In either case he could hang up his rifle. If the field-guard were killed by a fellow-villager, the village expelled the murderer. On the other hand, if a miller were killed, vengeance rested with his family; the village could not act. A field-guard was a public necessity; without his services the village economy would suffer, and he must be given public protection. A miller had taken up his work for the sake of private gain and was not a public necessity; if he were not at the

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626 daughter could not marry into a 'good' family and his son must
*628 marry a 'bad' girl. As far south as Godolesh on the outskirts of
558 Elbasan, he paid visits at his peril; his coffee cup was only half-filled, and before being handed to him it was passed under the host's left arm, or even his left leg, to remind him of his disgrace. He was often mocked openly.

All over north Albania it was permissible for the victim's kin to burn down the murderer's house. The veteran Mirash Nue of
●[574] Vuksan in Shalë boasted that once he saved his house from this fate by sending a message to the avenger which ran: 'Spare the ashes on my hearth for the sake of the open house I've kept.' The avenger, touched by the reminder of Mirash's noted hospitality, yielded to the plea. In 1935 a Dibran took to the mountains after wounding a fellow-villager with whom he was at feud; on recovering, his victim did not dare to sleep at home in case he returned under cover of darkness to repair his bad marksmanship by setting fire to the house and burning him to death. In hot blood an avenger might in some places do as much material damage as possible to the murderer, burning his hay as well as his house, scything his ripening grain and harrowing over his growing maize. For fear of reprisals in kind he could nowhere harm his children or animals.

685 Burning down a murderer's house is said in Martanesh to have
*628 been a recent innovation, and in Dibër and Lumë to have been formerly much more common than in recent times. Various considerations suggest that the latter view is correct. The reason given in Lumë for the waning of the custom is that it grew progressively more serious as people abandoned the straw huts in which they once lived and built themselves stone houses; the huts were cheap and easy to rebuild, but the houses were not so easily replaced. With poverty as general and murder as frequent as they used to be, it is obvious that if burning the murderer's stone house and destroying his crops had been freely permitted, the life of the tribe could not have gone on. To restrict the attacks on property, sanctions were introduced. In Dibër an avenger guilty of incendiarism was banished in perpetuity by the community. In Krujë the crime was deprecated as doubly unwise; it might cause further deaths, so involving the avenger in further feuds, and women and children might be among the victims, in which case the avenger would be covered with disgrace. In Shpat an avenger who burned his enemy's house found the whole community against him as

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of losing his protégé, but even so he had to be fairly 'strong'. In 628* Mat such a friend might take the murderer out three times with [572] impunity. Afterwards he was sure to receive a message from the 682 avenger which ran, 'Don't stir out again. Stay indoors. It was for your sake that I didn't fire.'

In the majority of cases the murderer neither ran away nor was shut up, but went about his normal business, taking certain precautions. An Albanian never despised his enemy; the strongest man will say, 'I am stronger than he is, but a rifle doesn't care for bravery, a rifle kills'. He remembers also that an enemy is ever on the watch: 'A wooden stake rots, but an enemy doesn't.' Yet another saying—this from west Mat—'Wood rots, a wrong doesn't'. 'A feud can't be forgotten.' 'A man with an enemy is like a hare sitting on its form, he must watch all the time.'

The first precaution a hunted man had to take at home was never to answer the door himself.

Since the laws of hospitality were rigid and seldom transgressed, 574 a guest seldom killed, or was killed by, his host. Frok Gjeta of 628* Kthellë, however, had lost his father at a guest's hands; three men had called and been unsuspectingly admitted; the old man was hospitably making coffee when they suddenly opened fire and killed him.

About 1910 some men called at a house in Orenjë, in Çermenikë, and were admitted by its widowed mistress as guests. They seized the only adult male in the house, her stripling son and, hanging him head downwards by a rope slung across a rafter, demanded money and avowed that they were avenging the murder of one of their kin by the family. The son said he had no money; the mother screamed that she had a little, but they hanged her son.

Another precaution commonly taken by a 'wanted' man was to 628* live in a house of more than one storey. Such a house never had 351 more than slits for windows in the ground floor and those in the [342] upper room were square holes without glass, across which stone shutters were drawn at night. In Çermenikë the outside staircase that led down to the stables on the ground floor was always fenced in carefully with wood. For greater security the women lived on the ground floor protecting the men who lived above. If a man were rich enough, he built a high wall round the house; this gave him the freedom of his courtyard. In this case all the windows looked inwards on the court; the outer walls were blank save for

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351 * 628 the loopholes. A still richer man, or one with many enemies, had several doors in his courtyard wall and watch-towers at strategic points. (The turrets at each corner and in the middle of the long walls effectually commanded these entrances, and many loopholes in the walls provided space for many defenders to shoot from.) Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan had several posterns in his garden wall, each commanded by a watch-tower and each providing him in case of need with a possible means of escape.

* 628 574 Incidentally, back entrances in the mountains were useful for guests with enemies. These could enter unseen by other guests, among whom there might be one or more who would inform the enemy of his whereabouts, and so endanger his life. They were also useful if the master had sent a group of his followers to shoot his enemy; if they failed, they could creep in unseen by the guests; in case of failure on such an errand, they did not wish the attempt to be known.

628 A wanted man who wished to work in his fields might station a child herding goats or a woman minding a cow at a vantage point where an enemy could be detected and the watcher give him warning, so that he might seize his rifle and defend himself. As the enemy's trump card was surprise, he was likely to retreat when detected. Before the wanted man left the house the women and children would look through the windows to make sure no enemy was near. A man with blood on his hands might wish to go to the forest to cut firewood, a place too distant for his women to keep watch. In that case he might send a scout ahead to reconnoitre the [476] road, and himself follow rifle in hand. In Zdrâjshë, Çermenikë, the [423] communal hay-field was so far away that a wanted man made no attempt to go and cut his hay; the others, however, gave him his due share, though he had done nothing to earn it. A man who, in spite of risks, kept moving about might never stir outside, especially at night, without his rifle. He never told where he was going and travelled by an unlikely route and at unwonted times.

* 628 484 In the summer of 1935, to return from Tirana, whither he had been officially summoned, Murat Kaloshi of Dibër sent out an attendant to find a car willing to drive at once to Dibër, and within five minutes of its drawing up at the door of his lodging started. This was at 2 p.m., an hour when Tirana is plunged in sleep on a summer afternoon. He supped at the wayside inn of Lunik, an insignificant village without telegraphic communication, four or

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five hours from Tirana, travelled on through the night, and in the 484
early morning as the car neared Peshkopi, he got out and walked 628*
home across country. (With him were a number of attendants armed to the teeth.)

Needless to say, such a man never announced beforehand the time of his departure, if his intention to depart could not be concealed.

An obvious precaution was never to stir outside the house. When a Dibër notable went to Tirana, he took at least six armed attendants along with him, who might or might not live with him permanently. The armed attendants of the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë were mainly young relatives of his who spent years with him, at once his clansmen and his relatives; their loyalty was beyond doubt. The bodyguard of Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan were generally peasants from his farms who had been long in his service. Less rich men who needed numerous attendants on their walks abroad drew them from their neighbours. Selman Nus Cohu, for instance, an attendant of the bajraktar of Lurë, lived at home and only joined the bajraktar when he or another member of his family needed him for a journey or some other cause. When Miftar Selmani of Lumë came to Tirana he brought a posse of armed neighbours who constantly changed as their services were required at home; some came with him for the outing, others out of bounden duty to requite the help he had given them in earlier times.

Men still poorer contented themselves with reinforcing the men [357]
of the household with a single permanent retainer. Such a man was the peasant from Shëngjerg who fled to Namid Çallaku of Fulqet after committing three murders, and in return for his board and an occasional tip protected his protector. In Mat it was also customary to go and stay for a month at a time with a friend who had need of an extra gun.

Failing armed attendants, a hunted man was not without 628*
protectors on his journey. In districts where women were immune 574
a woman's company, on a journey as at work, was sufficient. When Shalë as a tribe was in blood with its neighbour, Mertur, a man from Shalë could safely go to Mertur with a woman born in Shalë or another tribe who was married in Mertur, for she counted as belonging to Mertur and the man was therefore her guest. On the other hand, a daughter of Mertur who was married in another tribe

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* 628 was no protection, for she had lost her Mertur nationality as it were
574 by her marriage, and so her company did not in itself make the traveller a guest of that tribe. In Mat it was a protection to have a foreigner in front of you, for a foreigner was as sacred as a woman. This held for most districts of Albania.

The principle of the guest's sacrosanctity was often invoked. If a guest of an important man in Dibër had an enemy and was travelling alone, his host would give him an attendant when he left. This attendant must see him safely to his next destination; should any harm befall him on the way his powerful host would avenge him. The protection, and with it the obligation, of his host ended by nightfall, for he would by then have either reached home or become the guest of another man. His journey being thus limited to a day's duration, the mere fact of his being accompanied by the attendant would generally suffice to keep him safe, for within the radius of a day's journey, on foot, everybody knew everybody else, and on his being seen in the company of the attendant, it was at once recognized whose guest he had been and who his avenger would be.

There were interesting extensions of the principle. It was not necessary to have been actually a guest of the strong man for him to avenge the traveller's murder; it was sufficient to say one was about to be his guest. In the time of Lan Kaloshi, one of the Alijes on his discharge from detention as a hostage by the Turks was on his way to stay with the Lleshaj of Kander when he was killed by the powerful Ali Doçi. Although he had not actually become the guest of the Lleshaj, it fell to that family to avenge him. They, however, realizing that they were no match for Ali Doçi, told the family that the only way in which the murder could be avenged would be to declare that the victim had been on his way to visit Lan Kaloshi. They did this. Lan accepted the responsibility, and avenged the murder.

In Shalë a traveller, no matter whether native or stranger, could travel safely provided he called out some native's name in a loud voice. Scattered though the population of that mountainous valley might be, there was always some goatherd or cowherd within hail to report on whom the traveller had called; in case of need, that involuntary protector recognized that the man was travelling under his protection and took whatever steps were necessary.

It sometimes happened that a hunted man, when paying a visit

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to a friend, found his enemy was his fellow-guest. This was natural enough, for especially where both belonged to the same village, hunter and hunted always had a number of mutual friends. All over Albania the two enemies, being fellow-guests, did not molest each other, but rather, out of courtesy to their host, talked together as if nothing divided them. In the old days they would in Çermenikë even shoot at a target together without turning their rifles on each other. In Çermenikë the hunted man's immunity was not quite complete, varying according to his behaviour. If he cocked his fez to one side and held his head high, his enemy might kill him even at their common host's in his exasperation at his effrontery. If, on the other hand, the murderer pushed his fez straight to the back of his head and kept his head down, his enemy would almost certainly not touch him till both had left the house. Sometimes hunter and hunted were invited to the same wedding or funeral feast. Then the same rules of courtesy came into play. The enemies sat at one table, ate out of the common dish, passed each other their tobacco boxes and drank coffee side by side. If toasts were drunk among the Highlanders, they would not drink to each other's health nor would they willingly address each other, but otherwise they gave little sign of their enmity. 574 628*

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from place to place. In Shpat the original criminal must take the [28*] initiative and go to his enemy's house, escorted for safety's sake by at least one friend. The enemy came to meet him in the open air, but did not offer him his hand, for a man reserves his hand for his friends. Then both went into the house, the coffee, the all-essential [574] to a peace-making, was soon served, followed perhaps by a meal with meat. Both coffee and meal were 'like a funeral', enlivened by next to no conversation and with little cordiality of mien. A day or two later the enemy must go to the original criminal's house, and the same ceremonies were gone through. Alternate visits had to be paid for some time, until at last the original enemy declared that he had forgiven the other. A marriage very often cemented the peace- [581] making. Occasionally the attempt to make peace broke down—one's gorge rose at the idea of making friends with the murderer. Then the whole evil story began again, murder alternating with murder.

The ceremonies in Çermenikë and Martanesh followed much the same lines. New elements were introduced farther north, for example, in Krasniqë. Accompanied by six to eight men, the man originally at fault, with his hands tied behind his back, went unexpectedly on a festive evening to his enemy's house. The host, as in duty bound, said, 'Come in!' and invited them to sit down. They refused to do so until in sign of forgiveness he untied his enemy's hands. He never refused, for he said, 'Better forgive, and forget one dead man than quarrel with ten living ones'. If he had not granted their request, the murderer's escort would never have visited his house again. That night the uninvited guest ate a meal at the involuntary host's house, and the next day the man forgiven carried them all off to his house, where he provided a meal with meat pasty and sweets. Forgiveness in Krasniqë was more easily obtained [572] for a murder done in hot blood, and the ensuing friendship was more genuine; if the murderer had ambushed his enemy, peace was more difficult to establish and the resultant friendship less real. In Lumë the murderer was thrust into his enemy's house before dawn so that his enemy might not see him coming; no notice of his coming was given beforehand. If the host did not untie his hands, the friends who accompanied him refused to drink coffee; the host always yielded to the threat of this disgrace.

In Kurbin peace was made by the same methods as in Lumë and Krasniqë. The murderer, who had the sailor collar of his jacket

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[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296] 225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837] runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765] shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696] out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628] been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585] whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554] collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894. 601 491 574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

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[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

681 solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj
[491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed
[594] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[495] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[204] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin, Aug. 5-7, 1906]

8. As for jurors, in every crime committed in Kurbin, a murder excepted, the jurors must give their oath, saying, 'That it has been stolen from you, I don't know'.[1] 681 [695]

9. What an informant says is said with an oath of how it was in mind.[2]

10. If a man quarrels deliberately with another and without informing the village elder, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If he informs the village elder and the latter asks for a pledge of good behaviour from the one who is oppressing the other and this man refuses to give it, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If the village elder cannot put things right he gives both men a month's grace and informs the other elders who shall settle the quarrel in accordance with the local law.

11. Anyone who gives food or admittance to his house to a Christian or a Mohammedan who is a policeman in the service of the Sultan shall be fined 1500 grosh. [625] [574]

12. If a man breaks a pledge of security given and taken in the presence of elders and commoners in Kurbin, the elders and commoners are under an obligation to burn his house and to expel him from the tribe. [696]

Written in Delbinisht, Kurbin, at the spring of water under the mulberry tree near the Archbishop's palace on August 5th, 6th and 7th, 1906.

Gjin Pjetër Mark Pervizi of Skuraj, Kurbin, senior elder among the 45 elders of the environs of Krue, in the name of the elders and commoners.

Also present at this General Assembly and registrars of the aforesaid laws:

Mgr. Nikollë Kaçorri, witness.

Father Shtjefën K. Gjeçov, Franciscan, witness.

XII. Letter from Shalë dated May 12th, 1907.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 127.)

1. Greetings from the bajraktar of Shalë, the notables and youth to you, chiefs and youth of Theth. We beg to inform you that the undermentioned laws have been enacted by the tribe of Lower Shalë. We let you know, asking if you too will abide by these laws. We laid down the

[1] The Italian version of clause 8 runs: *Il dorere del giurato per tutto ciò che accada nel territorio di Kurbini, salvo che nelle cause di uccisione, consiste nel giuramento di non cognoscere il colpevole.*

[2] The Italian translator has *La deposizione del delatore deve essere accompagnata dal giuramento.*

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania

485 not over-particular, a shower bath, with the aid of a bucket, was possible.

As usual, the boy was the power behind the machine. He it was who made the beds, swept out the rooms, and supplied the milk, the coffee, the yaghourt, or whatever you might happen to want. He never took his clothes off (some day, I imagine, when he has grown to a certain size, he will burst out like a butterfly from its chrysalis and a new suit will become an imperative necessity), nor did the youth who sometimes shared his labours. The two of them slept together on the landing not only fully clad but beneath a pile of rugs and blankets, while I, in the bedroom next door, [291] though wearing only pyjamas, could hardly bear the weight of the single rezai. But the Albanian is insensible to heat, and even in the height of summer continues to wear his heavy homespun clothing and a vast waistband wound many times around his stomach.

Osman, my host, took a fatherly interest in my proceedings. He often came into my room and stood watching me while I wrote on the typewriter or made a drawing. On [574] these occasions he would roll a cigarette and present it to me wet from his tongue—a customary offering in this part of 000 the world which, of course, you must not refuse. As an art critic he was more well-meaning than discriminating. One day, I remember, I happened to finish a picture when he was in the room and gave it to him to look at. He turned it upside down, held it at arm's length, and, with his head on one side in the manner of the real connoisseur, exclaimed,

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

Every inhabitant had two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Constantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all children that had meanwhile been born. A 553 702 651 A 852 771

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of ancient days. A 574

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more? A 787

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro. M 787 M 781

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

M 126 114 as not the schoolmaster picked up each sheet to examine as I finished it. How many times, when hoarse and exhausted, I have howled the "British Grenadiers," or some such ditty, only to have it rapturously encored!

M 574 In return I was crammed with food and drink.

One should never look a gift-horse in the mouth; but the suspicion with which a stranger is received, the endless questions that must be answered, and finally the lavish hospitality when it is decided to admit him, recall the fact that among primitive people it is necessary to A 186 propitiate the stranger, lest, offended, he should work evil to the house. By eating under the roof he acquires a temporary membership of the 574 family. In the Albanian mountains, and, indeed, in the towns, I have been given hospitality with the words, "Buk i kryp i zemer i em" ("Bread and salt and my heart").

M 574 In Montenegro, rakia was the universal symbol of hospitality. When, after weeks of showing off my "parlour tricks," we returned to Krsto's house at Njegushi, he was triumphant. He confessed he had had grave doubts as to the propriety of a warrior going round the country as servant to a woman. But, managed in his manner, the tour had been a great success. I had, he said, made an excellent impression, and on one point only had offended. If he might say so, it was thought improper for an unmarried woman to imitate the manners of the officers. Greatly surprised, I asked what military action I had performed. He explained M 576 515 that in Montenegro all modest women blew their noses "like this"—here he performed loudly upon his own, with his fingers—whereas the officers who had been trained abroad used a handkerchief, and so my doing so was thought decidedly "fast." I conformed carefully to many a local custom, but in spite of Krsto's request I drew the line at "the finger trick."

M 777 787 Upon the journey he repeatedly affirmed that I had not come to search for treasure. At Pirlitor upon Durmitor, the legendary site of the castle of Voyvoda Momchilo, the belief in treasure was very strong. The local headmen followed me about the alleged ruins, though by nothing short of magic could I have moved the great stones. I purposely dropped my heavy pocket-knife, and the clank of metal on stone brought them up swiftly with the cry: "Has she found it?"

S 186 114 In Serbia, where I travelled without a guide, for I was raw to the Balkans at that time, I found the stranger taboo very strong. As I was ignorant of their politics, I merely thought they were crazy when they dogged me perpetually and went my way. When the powers in Belgrade ascertained, by means of countless cipher telegrams, that I was really a British subject and not a Karageorgevitch in disguise, as they had been foolish enough to suppose, then suddenly the hospitality phase

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

including boots and shoes of yellow leather embroidered with gold, together with a loaf of sugar, some coffee, and other customary trifles. The *dunti* is carried by two boys belonging to the bridegroom's family, both of whose parents must be living. As they arrive at the house the women and girls sing a song beginning :

585 [184]

[539]

> O flaxen one, far whiter
> Than foam on Drin's wave-crest,
> —— sends to thee the *dunti*,
> All in a golden chest.

All the members of the family receive the boys at the foot of the staircase with every mark of respect, and conduct them to the reception-room. As the *dunti* is placed on a coffer, all present cry, "*Per heir*" (Good luck !) The envoys are seated in the place of honour, while all the family of the bride remain standing; refreshments, consisting of liqueurs and bonbons, are served twice, complimentary speeches are exchanged, and after about an hour of polite attentions, the boys depart. On the same day a youth is despatched by the bridegroom's parents to invite the guests for the following Monday. The formula he makes use of is—"So-and-so is to be married, and begs you to come next Monday to the wedding with all your family, or, if you prefer it, let the head of the family come alone." At each house he receives in return for his invitation a present of a few piastres. The number of persons invited by each family is fixed according to the degree of kinship or friendship existing between them and the bridegroom's family.

[574]

The bride's family send out their invitations in the

485 with cooking privileges at the fireplace, while the host brews coffee for sale, and also dispenses *raki*. After his guests are in for the night he locks the door, and cannot ordinarily be persuaded to unlock it before morning, no matter how urgent the needs of the guests to go outside. This precaution is necessary owing to the frequency of violence.

Some of the *hanjis* are local men. Others come from Kruja, the home of innkeepers. All of them live as bachelors. This system, like the *kiragi* business, brings a certain number of outsiders into the country. All in all there are probably 12 to 18 *hans* in Ghegnia, in addition to the one European-style hotel at
• 574 Peshkopia. The Catholics do not use this system; in their tribal areas guests are put up by important individuals through a system of re-
[628] ciprocal hospitality. Since local feuds are usually more prevalent in Catholic than in Moslem country, travel across the former is relatively light.

438 There remains only the question of trade, which has been partly covered.[1] On the whole it may be said of the mountain Ghegs that they live by a regional, or geographic, and perhaps also ethnic, division of labor. The ordinary man is a farmer, who produces firewood, cereals, legumes, tobacco, wool, milk products, and sometimes wooden spoons. His wife produces cloth, crocheted stockings, embroidered scarfs, baskets, eggs, and a few other local products. These mountain products find their way to the market towns. Usually men and women come together; sometimes only the women make the trip, and sometimes the whole family stays at home, sending the goods by a *kiragi*.[2]

The Ghegs are able to export these things because they produce a slight surplus of agricultural products. One reason for the surplus may be that they use a number of labor-saving devices, including fulling and mealing mills run by water power.[3] This gives them more time for other pursuits, but does not increase their complexity of relations at home, since the mills are small and serve individual groups of related families.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 20a -20b -- Analyst]
2 [See cat 116, pp 20a -20b Analyst]
3 [See cat 116 pp 17b - 18a -- Analyst]

342 the above single-room house; thus there are now two doors in the house, corresponding to the internal, in fact only theorical, division of the room (1) (fig. 64). The floor consists of well beaten earth.

In later years, this internal division of the room was materielised by the erection of a real wall dividing the room into two serarate spaces. In some areas, this dividing wall runs parallel to the long [354] side of the house; two dwellings are thus formed, each having a separate fireplace (Plate XVIII 5). But the most common division of space is that done by a transversal wall, i.e. running at right angles

Fig. 63. Houses near Dinoshi, in the area of tribe Gruda
(Nopcsa, Albanien, fig. 34)

to the main pole. This wall is always built of lighter material (woven branches or planks) than the outer walls.

[354] Of the above two rooms one contains the fireplace and it is the [574] dwelling of men and the guest-room for visitors. The other, with no fireplace, is a sort of ante-room and it is used as cellar and dwelling for women. (Plate XVIII 3).

171 The entrance is always in the ante-room, through which one enters the main room where the fireplace is. This is, according to 342 Nopcsa, a difference to be noted when comparing the above house 354 to the corresponding Serbian and Croatian, which has the fireplace in the ante-room, as we have seen. This difference is also to be noted in the tripartite Albanian house. In Jugoslav and Rumanian regions,

1) The two separate doors can also be seen as a rule in houses of the villages in Attica. See **St. Kyriakidis**, Σπίτια καὶ καλύβια τῆς Ἀττικῆς ἐν Ἡμερολ. Ὁδοιπ. Συνδέσμου, 1926, p. 67.

EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

A 562 [264] [516] women, and set on the table by a young man. The best places and softest cushions are taken by the old men as a matter of course, when they recline or sit on the floor to smoke, talk, and drink coffee. At night this room[1] is given A [574] up to the guests, who, of course, are almost always men. S Albanians are very jealous, and keep their women carefully M secluded in their own part of the house.

A 342 Montenegrins and Serbs living in this region (some of them claim that their families have dwelt there since pre-Kosovo days) build their houses in the thatched one-storeyed manner, with mud-brick walls as in Montenegro itself, copying nothing from the later Albanian fortress-houses.

XIV

C 342 [177] (7) *Houses in Dalmatia* are marked by Venetian influence, though not so strongly in the villages as in the towns, which are extremely Italianized in their building. In coast villages one generally finds quite ordinary little stone or brick cottages with thick walls and tiled roofs. Inland village houses are more distinctive. They are built of stone, with or without mortar. The roofs are tiled, and a C stone-flagged verandah and path run between the cool dark [351] house and the flower-garden, surrounded by a low stone wall. Windows are fairly large and kept open. In some of the villages in the neighbourhood of Dubrovnik a room shaped above the eaves like a huge extinguisher is used as a kitchen. Its sloping sides, twice the height of the upright walls, end above the roof in a small square chimney with a pointed cap, and are slit by one or more vent-holes. The narrow eaves almost meet the lintels of the doors and windows. In the Karst districts, farther inland, the cottages are of the barren mountain type.

XV

S 342 (8) *Shepherds' huts* are extremely simple, often like wigwams. In Serbia they are mostly made of sticks piled into the shape of a tent, with a door, the spaces between them sometimes filled with clay or sods. In the heights of

[1] [i.e., the guest-chamber.– Analyst]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

A 286 515 531 [574]

No. 1937-10. A guest towel given to Miss Durham by Dom Simeone, a Catholic priest of Djakova, in Albania, was woven by his sister. It is of fine cotton with wide weft stripes of coarser thread and has a few narrow silk stripes bordering the plain cloth of the ends, which are decorated with a spool-woven pattern worked in wool, dyed with aniline dyes. The colours used are a hard pink, violet, blue, dark red and emerald, and the result is somewhat harsh compared with the other examples. The design of a stiff stem with three very conventional flowers is vaguely Turkish but the little borders on either side of the main pattern, consisting of two rows of circular spots, are rather charming.

Dom Simeone's initials D.S.C. are worked in red cross-stitch.

No. 1935-35. The two last "marama" with decorated ends have some of their motives brocaded in by free spools, but also have borders worked in the tapestry manner on the warp threads, whilst the cloth is still in the loom, in the style often called Persian openwork*, which is akin to needleweaving but much finer.

The example whose number is quoted above, is of hand woven cotton material 17 inches (43·18 cm.) wide and 4 feet (1·2 m.) long, and has five Persian open-work borders in Turkey red and white at the end, divided by coarse cotton weft stripes. Above this group of narrow border patterns there are two rows of "ibriks" in red filling the angles of a chevron pattern in white which has yellow four-petalled flowers at its angles. These designs are worked in with free spools.

The five open-work borders consist of two outer ones with tiny red rectangles on a white ground and three wider ones composed of chevrons in white filled in with red triangles; the whole border measures 6½ inches (16·51 cm.) in width, and has a rich appearance.

No. 1936-57. This "marama" from Scutari is unusual on account of its size, being made of two widths of material each 13 inches (33·0 cm.) wide and measuring 7 feet (2·1 m.) in length.

It is of hand-woven cotton almost covered with broad and narrow weft stripes of a thicker thread, and the decorated borders at the ends are 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide. The whole border consists of six narrow ones with a broader one in the centre, worked in pink, red and white, all divided from one another by groups of narrow weft stripes. The patterns are all geometrical, and based on arrangements of squares and triangles, and the six narrower ones are of Persian openwork, whilst the broader central one is brocaded with free spools.

A twisted fringe of the warp ends finishes off the whole.

A S 515 531

No. 1936-53. One of the two "maramas" for everyday use is of coarse, hand-woven cotton and has a group of Turkey red weft stripes at each end. It was bought in Prizren and used personally by Miss Durham.

286 A

No. 1936-47. The other, also of coarse, hand-woven material, has an arrangement of broad and narrow stripes of gold plate at the ends.

B. **Bedspreads.**

286 513 583 531

No. 1935-29. A gauze bed-cover from Scutari (Skodar) with warp and weft stripes in red and white, the wider red ones having a line of yellow or green down their centres, is an example from the latter end of the 19th Century, and formed part of a bride's outfit. The crossing of the pairs of red stripes with pairs of white stripes produces a gay, tartan-like effect.

* T. de Dillmont: "Encyclopædia of Needlework."

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

644 of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great.

The late Queen Mother aided her people to an unlimited extent, without rest or pause. She showed marvelous ability of leadership in the darkest days of Albania. She earned the everlasting gratitude of the people. And today her resting place is one of veneration and pilgrimage.

After King Zog ascended the throne, the Queen Mother and her six daughters devoted themselves to helping their fellowmen. Of these six daughters, one is a widow, two others are married and the three remaining are single.

644 741 575 Before her death, the Queen Mother gave large donations and devoted her time towards the organization of women movements, charitable institutions, orphanages, hospitals and similar activities for the welfare of the Albanian people at large. It was this beloved Queen Mother and her daughter, Princess Senié, who were directly responsible for the creation and organization on a modern basis of the Albanian Red Cross. Also through the work of the Queen Mother and Princess Senié, the Albanian National Women's Society, the

ALBANIAN WOMEN

"Gruja Shqipëtare," came into existence in 575 1929, as the first woman's organization in 644 Albania. This Society has branches through- 741 out the country, not only with the object to educate the women and children and further the interests of womanhood, but also to donate clothing, food and warmth to the needy. The Queen Mother also encouraged the organization of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

The Princesses Muzejen, Madjidé and Ruhijé are directly responsible and can justly be proud of the work they have done and are doing for the furtherance of the arts, music, sports and allied subjects. These three sisters of King Zog are active participants and patronesses of the National Union of Albanian Youth.

Princess Madjidé (Maxhidé), who takes a keen interest in sports, does much to further the interests and welfare of the Albanian youth. She has aptly been chosen as the patroness of the Royal Albanian Touring and Automobile Club.

The proper upbringing and education of 644 their children occupies most of the time of the Princesses Adilé and Nafié, but they never

874 both schools is done by trained Albanian teachers and under the direction of American specialists. An experimental village school is administered by the Girls' Schools staff in a nearby village. These two schools have been operating successfully and under the supervision of the Albanian Ministry of Public Instructions. The number of young men and women who have graduated from these schools have carried their acquired knowledge into practical usage and conclusively proved that the good training given them is bearing fruit.

515 883 One of the new movements of great advantage and assistance to the children of Albania is the National Union of Albanian Youth, organized by the late Queen Mother and the sisters of the king in 1928. To-day this is one of the strongest recognized organizations in the country. Among the main objects of this Union are the physical, moral and patriotic upbuilding of the Albanian youth, encouragement in the arts, music, etc., and a greater impetus to sports—baseball, football, gymnastics, rowing, skiing, swimming, tennis, et cetera. Thus, we realize the care given to

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

the sound upbuilding of the Albanian citizen of to-morrow. 575 883

Prior to the establishment of the National Union of Albanian Youth, King Zog I introduced and made obligatory the Boy-Scout system for boys between the ages of 12 and 18.

There is naturally great need for more schools, especially colleges, and the Albanian Government is continually improving on the existing educational system and new schools are opened as the budget and conditions permit. 871

It can be truthfully stated that the present educational system in Albania is of a high standard.

[Constitution]

642 All activities of the administrative organs of the state and courts must be based on law.

TITLE II
Social and Economic Measures

ARTICLE 5

471 In the People's Republic of Albania the means of production comprises all the wealth of the people owned by the state, the cooperative organizations of the people, and private individuals whether real or legal entities.

The wealth of the people includes mines and all other sub-surface resources, as well as waterways, natural wealth, forests, pasture land, airways, postal service, telegraph, telephone, radio stations, and banks.

[439] Foreign trade is under the control of the state.

ARTICLE 6

185 In order to protect the vital interests of the people and to improve the standard of living and in order to exploit all the economical forces the state undertakes to direct the economic life and development by an overall planned economy. The state, by controlling its economy and the cooperatives, exercises a general control over private economy as well.

[575] The state, in order to carry out the general economic plan, relies on the trade unions of the working men and civil servants, the cooperatives of the peasants, and other organizations of the laboring masses.

ARTICLE 7

471 The state regulates and directs by law the use of the collective wealth of the people. The collective wealth of the people is especially favored by the state.

ARTICLE 8

474 The state is especially interested in the cooperative movement of the people which it favors and assists.

ARTICLE 9

421 Private property and private initiative are guaranteed
[428] by the state. Private inheritance is guaranteed. Nobody may use private property to the detriment of the public.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

should strike the next man and the blow would entail a fight and 671
blood. Women should walk the length of a distaff apart—they usually spin as they go—lest a blow given should draw their men into a fight.

Neither man nor woman must pass between two persons who have 671
just been speaking together, for (? in some occult manner) this will 576
cause them to quarrel. So strong is this belief that once in a small hut a woman gripped me by the shoulder, dragged me out, and squeezed herself between me and the wall in order to avoid passing between me and Marko, where there was plenty of room. Lek, I was told, had so ordained. I like to think that he did his best by means of house-burning and fines to diminish the very ancient custom of "blood," and that he did not deserve the Pope's excommunication.

As we have seen, house-burning and fine are the only punishments 681
under the Canon. Nevertheless, by decree of the council of the whole 627
tribe the death penalty can be inflicted. In February 1912 an amazing case of wholesale justice was reported to me which had recently taken place in Mirdita. A certain family of the Fandi bairak had long been notorious for evil-doing—robbing, shooting, and being a pest to the tribe. A gathering of all the heads condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lay in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off; and on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was but five and another but twelve years old. I protested against thus killing children who must be innocent and was told: [827]
"It was bad blood and must not be further propagated." Such was the belief in heredity that it was proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant, lest she should bear a male and so renew the evil. Three shots which missed were fired at her; she rushed to a man and [671]
called on him to protect her. He took her under his besa and she was spared.

A case of private "justice," though it took place in South Albania 681
at Postenani, a small isolated village, and so is not connected with the 183
Canon of Lek, is so singular that it should be recorded. I stayed some days at the village and, when leaving, a crowd gathered to see me start. When we were on the way my guide asked if I had noticed a woman who had stood near the door; I had not. He said it was a pity, as she was a very brave woman and had saved her husband. They owned a house and some land; a child was born to them, and all went well till her husband's brother arrived. He was a bad man, and demoralized the village, not only by starting gambling with card games, but by [525]
drinking and teaching very vicious practices to the youth. The woman with dismay saw her husband taken with the gambling craze, playing away his goods, and nearing ruin. Then the child was ill. She prayed her husband to send for a doctor; but the nearest was a whole day's

and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585
The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842]
uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592]
take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584
relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon
I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583
price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585
at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were
in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291]
kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and
pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301]
necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291]
and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom,
who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576]
have to assume a superhuman modesty.

make acquaintance with the family into which he has married. Again 585
the party is divided into "buck-herds and doe-herds." The husband 574
enters the ladies' room and embraces all of his new female relations,
except his wife, whom modesty compels to turn away. He sups with [576]
the family and goes home alone. Next day the bride is brought back
to his house and the same pantomime of extreme reluctance is gone
through. She comes home usually in a carriage. I was told that formerly
it was etiquette for her to come on foot, but only inch by inch, so that
her return from a house round the corner might perhaps take hours.
She visits her family thus at week-ends for several months, but only
on the first occasion is a carriage and ceremony necessary.

A bridegroom, while I was in Scutari, revolted against the midnight ceremony, and turned all the guests out of his house after the feast. In spite of her assumed modesty the bride was deeply hurt at being thus deprived of publicity. She complained to her parents, who angrily asked why their daughter should have been thus insulted. Was she not good enough to show as his wife to his friends in the usual manner? Nor could they see that in this case the bridegroom's modesty had been real and not assumed.

He was in the unusual position of having a house of his own. In most 591
cases the young couple lives in the house of the bridegroom's parents 592
in the town and has a separate room. The parents rule and control the household, and the bride is often very hard-worked. The emigrants returned from America have brought new ideas and the system is breaking down.

Much of the above ceremony resembles Roman practice. The distaff, the casket of household implements, the throwing of sweets, sprinkling of water, epithalamia, the *patria potestas* also.

The girls of a family must be married according to age—the eldest 582
first, and so on. The origin of this is perhaps that formerly infant betrothals were almost universal and girls were sent to their husbands so soon as old enough.

In Scutari, and, I believe, in the other towns, the daughters, or at least one of them, must be married before the sons can be married. The explanation offered was that the daughters must be dowered, and the sons cannot marry till they have helped earn the dowries. Over these wedding outfits the parties are very exacting. The bride- 583
groom's family bargains for every stitch of the garments and stipulates as to their quality. While I was in Scutari a betrothed man, who had always worn Albanian costume, went to work abroad and dressed *à la Franga*. He wrote home to say he now required drawers that could be worn under trousers, and his fiancée, who had already finished I forget how many dozen voluminous Albanian garments, had all her

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blue haze; above us were forested slopes, and 000
above them sheer, great cliffs throwing shadows across a dozen valleys. Our small grassy knoll was white with daisies and with fallen petals from a blossoming apple tree that arched above the cross. On it our men lay at ease, beautiful, graceful animals, their rifles swung from their shoulders and laid ready to their hands.

"Why are Shala and Shoshi[1] in blood?" Frances 628
asked, casually, biting idly at the stem of a 576
daisy. Perolli did not know; he had gathered only the fact that there was a feud.

"Do we go through both tribes?" I wanted to know.

"Through Shala. Shoshi's farther down the river. We'll go around it."

"Are our men Shala or Shoshi?"

Perolli glanced at them. "Shala, by the pattern of the braiding on their trousers. So we won't have any troub—— Hello! That's a Shoshi man coming up the trail, now."

It was Alex who acted quickest. She was sitting on a rock beside me, her arms clasped about her knees; she rose instantly and, flinging out a hand in the gesture of greeting, cried in her most feminine voice those Albanian words that sound like, "Tune yet yetta!" and mean, "May you live long!"

The Shoshi man's hand was on his rifle, but his step had not faltered. He replied, coming on steadily, and the appropriateness of the greeting struck me, for if it had not been uttered by a

1 [Albanian mountain tribes -- Analyst]

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[628] woman he would at that moment have been
576 dead. Our Shala men, with perfect courtesy, went through the formalities of greeting on the trail, and this is the form, translated to me by Rexh:

"Long life to you!"

"And to you, long life!"

"How could you?" meaning, "How could you get here?"

"Slowly, slowly, little by little."

No one who has ever seen those trails can doubt it.

291 The Shoshi man sat down, our men offered him cigarettes, and up the trail came a woman of Shoshi.[1] She wore a tight, bell-shaped skirt of horizontal black and white stripes, made of cloth heavier and thicker than felt, the twelve-inch-wide marriage belt of heavy leather studded with pounds of nails, and a jacket covered with three-inch-thick fringe. Two heavy braids of black hair hung forward on her breasts, a colored handkerchief was bound around her head, and her face, smoothly weather browned, large eyed, delicately shaped, was the most beautiful that I
[854] had ever seen. On her back, held by woven woolen straps that crossed between her breasts, was a cradle tightly covered by a thick blanket;
[283] in one hand she held a bunch of raw wool, and from the other dangled a whirling spindle. Her feet were bare, and as she came up that trail which had exhausted me she sang softly to herself, dexterously spinning thread from the bunch of wool.

[1] [Albanian mountain tribe -- [12] Analyst]

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Cheremi, our gayer gendarme, rose quickly 576 and went to meet her. He took her by the hand and laid his cheek caressingly against hers. He was like a child, Cheremi, with his happy face, deep wrinkled with laughter, the mischievous twinkle in his eyes, his bursts of wit and song. But he looked all of his forty years as he gazed tenderly at the woman of Shoshi.

"She is a woman of my people," he said, leading her gallantly to us.

"Are you a woman?" said Frances Hardy, correctly, in Albanian.

"I am born of Shala[1] married in Shoshi," she 591 answered. Her voice was soft, and her hands and feet would have been madness to a sculptor. In any Paris restaurant those slender fingers, almond nails, and delicate wrists, aristocratic, well bred, would have been a sensation.

We admired the baby, excavating it from five [854] folds of blankets to do so. How they live beneath the smothering I do not know; a Western baby would die in three hours. We asked the mother how old she was. Eighteen, she said, and she had been married three years.

"And have you been home since?"

"Ah no," she said, with a wistful smile.

"Born in Shala," said Cheremi. "But she was married in Shoshi, and in Shoshi she will die."

"I wonder what she thinks of us," I said, for, 000 though she must have felt great curiosity about these strange beings, dropped apparently from the sky upon her well-known trails, she did not

1 [Albanian Mountain [13] tribe -- Analyst]

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000 "He is a good man, and brave," said the bishop, "and little Sokoi will be a great one."

At noon the rain was still pouring from apparently inexhaustible skies, but Cheremi, Rexh, and Perolli assumed, as a matter of course, that we would go on; the difficulty was that there [361] were no mules. There should have been a mule in the village, whose houses were scattered, miles apart, all the way down the deep-walled gorge to the banks of the River Shala, twenty-five miles away, but when Cheremi hastened lightly up a twelve-hundred-foot peak and cried to the farthest house that we wanted mules, the answer came back that there were none since the war.

So he found an aged man—seventy-five years old, he was, but still agile and bright eyed—and put our packs on his back, and at noon we started out on foot, with fresh-peeled staffs provided by Rexh, and new-baked corn bread in the saddlebags.

576 202 After an hour of desperate climbing we stood on the peak from which Cheremi had telephoned. The bishop's house and the school lay dwarfed beneath our feet, and Perolli, standing on a rock and holding his ears, sent down to them a shrill hail. "Ooeeoo! Monseignor!"

The bishop appeared in his woolen gown, a rifle in his hand, and all the guns in our party went off at once, and again, and again, while fifty miles of sheer rock cliffs barked back at them. My hands were over my ears, but I saw the three answering white puffs from the bishop's

[Pultit, in Albanian

 Mountains --Analyst]

576 rifle, and while the echoes were dying, still
202 repeating themselves down the valley, we saw him hand it to his servant and protect his eardrums with his thumbs. His call came up to us, "Go on a smooth trail!"

"Now," said Perolli, thrusting his revolver back into its holster, "we have said good-by to the bishop. *Allons!*"

∞∞ "And to-night," I said, joyously, "we'll sleep in a native house."

Frances and Perolli did not seem enthusiastic about that hope, and as we toiled up trails that were stairways of giant bowlders, or slid down slopes of pale-green shale, above valleys where the clouds swirled beneath us, the discussion continued fragmentarily.

Frances's reluctance I could ascribe to the shrieking of her muscles, which, if tortured as mine had been by the previous day's travel, must be screaming with agony at her every step. But Perolli, true Albanian in spite of his years of living in foreign capitals, was as fresh as the crisp air that blew upon us between the gusts of driving rain. He leaped up bowlders, he joined in the singing of the others, who, with sixty-pound sacks on their backs, walked easily up the incredible steeps, their thumbs at their ears, chanting songs of ancient battles with the Turks.

"Don't you think it safe to stay in a native house?" said I, remembering that he was an officer of the government traveling incognito among unfriendly tribes, and that within sight

were the Albanian mountains held by the Serbs who had put a price on his head.

576 627 "Safe?" said he, scornfully. "A man is always safe in another man's house. It has happened not once, but often, in these mountains, that a man has given shelter to a hunted man and found, while the guest sat at his fire, that he was harboring a man who had shot the son of the house not an hour before. The neighbors bring in the body, and the father sits beside it, with the murderer under his roof. And the father gives him coffee and food and drink and rolls cigarettes for him, until the guest is ready to go, and then he accompanies him for an hour's journey, so that none of the tribe can injure him, and says a courteous farewell to him on the trail. 'Go on a smooth road,' he says. 'There is a word of peace between us for a day and a night because you are my guest. After that I will follow you all my life, until I kill you.'"

I began to see the exquisite, infinite complications of that system of law and order, the Law of Lec, which guides these people in all their actions, and I thought, "This goes back beyond the Middle Ages," remembering the old Bible stories of the time when men lived similarly, under the laws of Moses.

But already the sense of perspective in time was growing dim; we were living in the past, not thinking of it, and the scores of future centuries in which men would spread over Europe, invent private property, build great cities and

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000 with four strangers from far away and with a Mohammedan youth of Scutari. To-night Cheremi will be in Plani. I will say to Lulash that he may bring to Cheremi in Plani the hundred kronen which he owes him."

"Oo-ee-oo-oo!" The final shrill call came circling back among the peaks like ripples of disturbed water, and up through its circling came [576] the answering call of the woman. Since he had been telephoning to a woman, Cheremi did not fire his rifle three times, for which my ears were grateful.

We went on. And once, as I clambered up the side of a rock pile that the child of a giant might have made in building a tower with blocks, my staff (ah, how grateful I was for that third leg!) dislodged a stone the size of my head, and Cheremi, turning like a cat, flung himself downward and caught it as it tottered on the trail's edge. Then I looked and saw, far below, the miniature images of a woman and a cradle, set among moving white spots that were sheep, and I saw that the rock would have gone down the slope like a bomb from an airplane and struck the cradle beside which the woman was sitting, and, I thought, spinning.

628 "One must be careful on the trails," said Cheremi, and as the men at that moment had finished a song with a joyous fusillade of rifle shots, I asked if people were not sometimes killed by stray bullets. Perolli said that of course it happened now and then, but everyone under-

Perolli, and to us in English: "His father has 574
sent him to ask us to come to his house. What do you think?"

"Is anyone going to think?" we cried. "There'll be a fire, won't there?"

We followed the boy up the mountain side, our lungs sobbing and our feet slipping on the trail dimly lighted by the torch, and so steep that the palms of our hands were bruised by climbing it. Out of the ceaseless swishing murmur of falling water that had surrounded us all day one note rose above the rest; flying spray was like a mist on our faces; we were following the edge of a waterfall hidden by the dark. Then 574
the trail turned; we stood on a level ledge; and 576
suddenly all the rifles in the world seemed to go off not ten feet away.

"It's all right!" Perolli's shout came up from the darkness beneath our feet. "They're only welcoming you!" But I have never felt so defenseless, so nakedly exposed to sudden death, as I did standing there, clutching Frances and Alex, while sharp flashes darted out of the blackness and deafening explosions contended with more deafening echoes. All the household of Marke Gjonni stood on the trail, every man firing his rifle until it was empty. Then a woman appeared with a torch, her beautiful face and two heavy braids of hair painted on the darkness like a Rembrandt, if Rembrandt had ever used a model from ancient Greece, and we made our way through a jumble of greetings ("May you

574 live long! May you live long!" we repeated),
[576] and up a flight of stone steps along the side of a blank stone wall, and through a low, arched stone doorway.

The stone-walled room was large—as large as the house itself—and low ceilinged, and filled with shadows. Near the farther end, on the stone floor, a bonfire burned in a ring of ashes. In the corner near the door several goats and two kids and two sheep stopped their browsing on a heap of dry-leaved branches, and looked at us with large eyes shining in the torchlight. Five or six women came out of the shadows to greet us, and behind us the men were coming in, reloading their rifles, hanging them on pegs, closing and bolting the heavy wooden door.

Rexh and our two gendarmes were already busy unrolling the packs, spreading our blankets over heaps of dried grass on the other side of the fire. In a moment we were sitting comfortably on them, extending wet feet toward the flames, while one of our hosts put a fresh armful of brush on the coals, another hacked slivers of pitch pine from a great knot of it and set them blazing in a small wrought-iron basket that hung from the ceiling, and another, with hollowed-out wooden bowls of coffee, of sugar, and of water around him, began making Turkish coffee in a tiny, long-handled iron bowl set in the hot ashes.

"We're going to have a night in a native house, after all," said I, happily, and added, starting, "What's that?" A long, thin, curiously un-

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291 There were ten or twelve children—little girls half naked, with serious, beautiful faces and long-lashed brown eyes; small boys dignified in little long tight trousers of white wool beautifully braided in black, short fringed black jackets, and colored sashes and turbans like those of their [854] fathers. Two cradles stood near the fire, covered tightly over high footboards and headboards with heavy blankets; presently a woman partly uncovered one and, kneeling, offered her breast to the tiny baby tied down in it. Only the baby's puckered little face showed; arms and legs tightly bound, it lay motionless and uncomplaining, and when it was fed the mother kissed it tenderly and covered it again, carefully smoothing the many folds of thick wool and tucking the ends tightly beneath the cradle.

576 Meantime Cheremi was taking off our shoes and stockings and bathing our feet in cold water brought by one of the women. This was proper, since when guests arrive the member of the family nearest to them by ties of blood or affection acts as their servant, and Cheremi, being an Albanian who knew us, was judged to stand in that position. By the time we had drawn on dry woolen stockings from our packs the first 576 cup of coffee was ready. To the boiling water in 272 the tiny pot the coffee maker added two spoonfuls of the powdered coffee, two of sugar, stirred the mixture till it foamed, and poured it into a handleless little cup which he offered Perolli. But Perolli indicated me, and without the

[In home of Marka [58] Gjonni of Pulhi-Analyst]

576 slightest revelation of his surprise the host
272 changed his gesture.

"Beauty and good to you," said I, in Albanian, prompted by Perolli, and when I had drunk the thimbleful, "Good trails!" said I, handing back the cup. For this is the manner in which one
273 drinks coffee. Do not make the mistake, when
576 next you are in the Albanian mountains, of saying the same things when you are offered rakejia. For rakejia there is a quite different form of courtesies. And as soon as the coffee cup, rinsed and refilled with freshly made coffee, has been given to each guest in turn, you will be offered rakejia.

Alex and Frances and I looked at one another, but we drained the large goblet of colorless liquid fire in turn, without a word of protest. It might have been the water that it looked like, so far as it affected our minds or tongues, for I continue to ascribe to the fire warmth and the blessed sensation of resting after those trails the sense of contentment that filled us all.

OOO "Strange," I said, for I still dimly remembered another way of life, as though, perhaps, I had sometime dreamed it, "chimneys that don't draw make so much smoke in a room, yet here there is no chimney and a large fire, and we don't notice the smoke." And, leaning back on the piled blankets, I gazed up at the pale-blue clouds of it, rising beyond the firelight into a velvety darkness overhead. But I really felt that I had always lived thus, shut off by stone walls from the mountains and the night, ringed around by

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER V

THE UNEARTHLY MARRIAGE OF THE MAN OF IPEK —FIRST NIGHT IN A NATIVE ALBANIAN HOUSE.

THERE was a moment of contemplative silence. Beyond the circle of firelight the goats still tore and worried the dried leaves from the oak branches. A woman came leisurely forward and put an iron pan on the coals. When it was hot she brought scraps of pork and laid them in it. Rexh, the little Mohammedan, turned his head so that he should not smell that unclean meat. Frances said to Perolli, in a ravenous voice, "How much longer will it be before we can eat?"

He looked at her reprovingly. "In Albania it is not polite to care about food."

"But it's past midnight and we've had nothing to eat since noon!" Frances mourned.

"Slowly, slowly, little by little," said Perolli, soothingly. For myself, I curled more comfortably among the blankets, too contented to ask for anything at all. It was a though I had returned to a place that I knew long ago and found myself at home there. I had forgotten that these people are living still in the childhood of the Aryan race and that I am the daughter of a century that is, to them, in the far and unknown

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000 "I should say they're patient!" cried Frances. "Perolli, if you don't tell them we are simply dying of hunger, I will! It's almost two o'clock in the morning. Do they think we are made of—cast iron? I want something to eat, and I want to go to sleep. Do they intend to talk until morning?"

[576] [321] "It is the custom, when strangers come, to talk to them," said Perolli, severely. "Their only way of hearing news, and their only entertainment, is talking to guests. If you want to be rude about eating and sleeping, go ahead; I won't."

"Oh, all right," Frances relented, sadly. "Perolli, do you believe in ora?"

"Well—do you believe in heaven and hell, and God and the devil? There are lots of things in the world that you don't see or touch. I don't know——" He said, briskly, "Of course I don't believe in ora!" He wavered again. "But when you know so many people who have seen them and talked with them—I mean, who think they have—— Everyone used to believe such things, long ago, and perhaps, here in these mountains, where the people have changed so little through all the centuries, there may still be things—spirits, phantoms, whatever you like to call them. Understand, I don't believe it. But there may be something in that myth that's part of every religion, that there was a time when there were other beings on earth besides men. And if there were once, why then, if we could

6: L T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER VI

THE SONG OF THE FLIGHT OF MARKE GJLOSHI—THE HUNTED MAN OF SHOSHI — THE WAY THROUGH THE WOOD OF THE ORA—A WOMAN WHO BELIEVES IN PRIVATE PROPERTY.

FOUR men of Marke Gjonni's household 000 went with us to carry the packs, so we left the stone house peaceful on the cliff below our upward-climbing path, not disturbing it with any parting volley when we paused for our last glimpse of it. A faint haze of blue smoke hung over it, seeping through the slates of the roof; there was no other sign of life about it, and only the smoke distinguished it from the natural rocks. Beside us the stream, which was the waterfall, roared and glittered in the sunlight as it fell into the depths; following with our gaze its narrowing ribbon of silver and searching for the blue smoke haze, we found the house, and I would have had Cheremi fling down to it the keen high call of farewell, ended by six times three shots, that we had sent back to the bishop.

But no; there were only women left in the [576] house, and how could I be so crude as to imagine that one greeted women with rifle-shots?

We went on for a time over sunshiny uplands, and I remember that day as a succession of sun

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

000 walked on, seeing even with our untrained eyes that the "white coal" of those thousand streams is enough to turn every wheel in a reorganized Europe, and dreaming—dreams that will never be realized.

627 Then we saw the men stopping on the trail ahead, stopping with quick hands on their rifles, and, remembering in a strange kind of panic that [576] no one could be killed in the presence of a woman, I flung myself gasping up the slope, crying with my last half breath, "Long may you live!" to two strange men who appeared before us.

Then I collapsed, panting, on a grassy knoll, and dimly through my dizzy eyes I saw that the men, relaxing gladly, were sitting down around me and taking out their silver tobacco boxes.

"A Shoshi man," said Perolli, "with one of Pultit. I don't just get it; something to do with the blood feud. Let me listen."

We sat on the grassy knoll that seemed to be the edge at the end of the world, so far below it the valleys lay, and listened while the men of the tribes that were "in blood" talked easily together of unimportant matters and offered one another cigarettes.

The Shoshi man had taken off his turban and wore on his handsome head only the tiny round white cap, hardly larger than the curved palm of a hand, that covered his scalp lock. Around its edges the hair was shaved clean to the skull, and with his weather-browned face and scarlet sash bristling with knives he looked altogether the savage.

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423 the swiftest flicker of a glance, it was—I offered
578 her one. She took it, thanked me, lighted it from mine.

"A bold woman," said Perolli.

"Why?"

[562] "In these mountains,[1] the women smoke, but
[574] not before men; that is a man's privilege, and it is unwomanly to smoke in their presence. Are you a woman?" he asked her, in Albanian.

"A woman of Pultit, married in Shala. A widow with two children, demanding justice from my tribe," she said.

I looked about. There was nothing but snow and wet earth to sit on. Well, she must have been standing for hours, watching the goats. I leaned on my staff. "What justice?" said I.

She told us with a calm precision; none of her people's rhetorical flourishes. Even through the barrier of language I could see that she was stating her case as a lawyer might who was not addressing a jury.

She had been married five years; she was twenty-one years old. She had two children—boys. While she was married her husband had built a house. It was a large house; two rooms. She had helped her husband build that house. With her own hands she had laid the slate on the roof. She liked that house. She had lived in it four years. Now her husband had been killed by the Serbs and she wanted to keep that house. She wanted to live in it, alone, with her two children.

1 [Albanian mountains-- [98] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

A bridge of two logs, with railing of twisted 100
branches, ran from bowlder to bowlder across this incredible river, and we stood on it, gazing at these colors and at a cliff that rose before us, striped rose and green and gray and white in long jagged lines, as though it had been painted, when we heard overhead an outburst of cries, like a hundred sea gulls shrieking in a storm. We looked higher, and there on the top of the 526
cliff we saw a score of boys, naked except for 576
bright loin cloths, engaged in acrobatics. 609

They made pyramids of their wet white bodies; four, three, two, one, they stood on one another's shoulders, and the four who upheld the pyramid ran swiftly along the edge of the cliff, passing and circling about a similar pyramid; from top to top of the pyramids the top youths swung, passing each other in the air, landing on other shoulders, balancing, taking flight again. The pyramids melted, as though dissolved in the rain, and formed again, while all along the edge of the precipice other boys made a freize of living bodies, turning cart wheels, somersaulting over one another, walking on their hands.

We stood paralyzed. What did it mean? Then there was an explosion of shots; the cliffs around us crackled like giant firecrackers, the air seemed to fall in fragments around us, and through the din came multiplied shouts. Four tall chiefs appeared on the cliff trail, gorgeous in black and white and red and blue and green and silver. We were being welcomed to Thethis.

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooo ing one another across ravines and from far mountain slopes.

576 "Yes," he said, "I am happy. I am happy, for Sadiri Luka is a true Albanian, and when I go back to the plains I shall see that he is released from the price on his head which has been offered in Scutari."

"What!" we cried. Yes, he said, in a matter-of-fact tone, ten thousand kronen were officially offered for the head of Sadiri Luka.

"And he doesn't even carry a gun?"

"Why should he? He is among his own people. It is no shame to go unarmed among his own people. He would carry a rifle, certainly, if he had to go to Scutari."

"But you are from Scutari—we are all from Scutari—Cheremi, Rexh—and he asked us to his house?"

Perolli looked at us with scorn. We had been guests in the house of Sadiri Luka, he explained, with weary patience. If he had been twenty times a traitor to Albania, could a guest have killed him? And on the trail he had not carried a gun; no one could kill him, unarmed. He could go to Scutari in safety, if he went unarmed. But, of course, he would not do that, for that
627 would be shameful. For two years he had been living in upper Thethis, unable to go to Scutari without risking his life, though he was a merchant, and poor, and could have made a business for himself in Scutari. But it had all been a mistake, said Perolli, which he would clear up.

1 [Perolli, secretary to Albanian [194] minister of Interior -- Analyst]
2 [of Thethis -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

574 storied house, where a score of Zogist guerillas were gathered
[342] round the fire. The room was filled with smoke — for the house had no chimney, like many in Albania — and it was several minutes before I could see or breathe in comfort. I sat down, however, by the hearth, where a carpet had been spread, and while the evening meal was made ready had some talk with Petrit. He spoke quite good French, having studied in the French *lycée* at Korcha, where, by a strange irony, Enver Hoja had been his teacher. He was obviously eager for news of the outside world, and the flow of his questions was only restrained by his sense of courtesy as my host. In appearance he was not unlike his father, though of sturdier build and more slothful movements; and I was told that he had already distinguished himself in the previous autumn's fighting. He was possessed besides of a natural authority, and, despite his youth, seemed to command the respect of the wild mountaineers who accompanied him. Some of these spoke a little Italian or Serb, and their discussions that night gave me a first impression of
[521] Zogist public opinion. The Ghegs are not great talkers like the Greeks or Slavs, but I felt, from what they said, that they were rather suspicious of British intentions and far more concerned with preventing the spread of Communism in Albania than with fighting the Germans. Towards one o'clock
[262] our conversation was interrupted by the arrival of the evening meal of soup, boiled mutton and cheese. We ate in silence
[513] and as soon as we had finished I retired to rest on one of the mattresses which the master of the house had spread for us on the floor.

342 Next day, in the afternoon, Petrit accompanied me to the place where Abas Kupi had made his temporary headquarters. It was a grey stone keep, built on a jutting rib of the mountain range and approached by a path so narrow and precipitous that I had to send back my horse and make the last stage of the journey on foot. Abas Kupi came out to meet me, as I turned
[576] into the walled courtyard of the house, and welcomed me with the traditional greeting of "*Tungjatjeta*" — "May your life be prolonged". He led the way up a flight of wooden steps, resting like a ladder against the wall of the house, and took

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

me by the hand into a dark and dusty room, hung with rifles and submachine-guns. It was thronged with Zogist notables and their bodyguards: wild and rugged men, corrugated with cartridge-belts, and festooned with pistols, daggers, and hand-grenades. Most of them were dressed in black, baggy Turkish breeches, braided homespun jackets of black or brown, with multicoloured sashes wound about their waists, and white fezes or skull-caps on their heads. A few besides were in uniform retained from the time of their service in the Albanian army, or looted from the Italians; while others, especially the leaders, wore tweed or leather jackets, variously combined with local or military costume.

We sat down, Turkish fashion, by the fire; and, while we drank coffee and exchanged greetings, the guerillas milled around, or sat together in small groups, whispering intently. To a stranger this whispering seemed sinister and blatantly conspiratorial, but the others took no offence at it. Necessity indeed imposed a communal way of life on the guerillas; each man was watched by his fellows in his every movement, and it was only by whispering that any privacy of discussion could be preserved.

I had been there perhaps half an hour when, at a sign from Abas Kupi, the guerillas filed out of the room, and we remained alone with Shaqir, my interpreter, and Colonel Murad Basha. Basha had been a regular officer under King Zog and had joined Abas Kupi in Belgrade in 1940. He was now the Zogist Chief-of-Staff, but struck me from the first as pedantic and too quick to see the difficulties in any scheme. He was indeed to prove a defeatist influence at the Zogist Headquarters, for, though personally no coward, he was terrified of action, like so many senior officers who have won their spurs on the square rather than in the field.

I began our discussions by showing Abas Kupi my credentials: these were a letter from Stirling, who had been his friend, and a *besa* given me by King Zog. This was a covenant enjoining upon all Albanians the duty of protecting my life and, should their zeal prove unavailing, of avenging my death. My *bona fides* thus established I recalled our meeting in Belgrade

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Their houses,[1] varied in size and architecture with the wealth of the owners; but all were essentially built for defence. As a rule, they were so situated as to command a good field of fire over their chief approaches, and were often surrounded by walled courtyards entered through heavy, wooden gates studded with iron. For the most part they were of wood and stone, sometimes whitewashed, and consisted of two stories, joined by a narrow indoor staircase, or by a flight of wooden steps on the outside. The ground floor was the cattle and the women's quarters; above was the guest-room. This guest-room was the centre of the life of the house, and, except for a stout chest in which the valuables of the family were stored, was altogether empty of furniture. At one end of it was the open hearth from which the smoke escaped through chinks in the wall or, in statelier mansions, through a chimney. Narrow windows, usually without panes, served as a means of ventilation or, on occasion, as rifle slits; but so dim was the light which they diffused that it was often difficult to read indoors, even at midday. At night the room would be lit by the glow of the fire, or sometimes by oil lamps or pinewood torches. 342

On entering a house we,[2] would take off our boots and give up our rifles to the host, though retaining our side arms. As foreigners, we would then be led to the place of honour, which is on the right-hand side of the hearth, next to the wall. Abas Kupi would sit with us, or take the left-hand side, and the rest of the company, including bodyguards and orderlies, assembled in a horse shoe round the fire. The youngest sat at the apex of the horse shoe, and, since there were often a score of us, the evening would begin with much show of "Friend go up higher". We sat on carpets or sheepskin rugs, cross-legged or reclining against our saddle-bags. When all were seated, the host rolled cigarettes, which only non-smokers might refuse, and tossed them with unfailing accuracy to each guest. Presently a warm drink would be served, usually coffee, though in the poorer houses sweetened or salted milk was often brought instead. As outlaws we sought to keep our movements secret and our arrival was, as a rule, the first warning of our visit which the host received. Custom demanded that he serve us 574 576 [276]

1 [i.e. in the Mati valley -- Analyst]

2 [British liaison officers in early 1944 -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

576 574 meat, and, since several hours might pass before the sheep or kid had been killed and made ready, it was often past midnight before we had eaten.

While the meal was cooking we variously slept or talked and let the bodyguards dry damp clothes by the fire or massage our weary limbs. Sometimes, to beguile the time, one of the [533] company would recite from the long epic poems in which the Albanians record the exploits of their heroes. They were weird, monotonous laments, sung in a high-pitched nasal voice to the accompaniment of a one-stringed mandolin. An hour [273] or so before the meal was served flasks of *raki* would be brought, accompanied by *mese* of onions, cheese, and sometimes hard-boiled eggs or lumps of grilled meat. *Raki* is a fiery, colourless spirit, made from the pulp of grapes, or sometimes, like *slivovitz*, from plums. Among the mountaineers it was usually home-brewed, and varied greatly in quality and strength. The principal guests would each receive a small flask, the shape of an old-fashioned burgundy flagon, and holding perhaps half a pint, while the rest of the company fared according to the resources of the host, sharing a flask between two or three. Toasts were drunk to the traditional greeting of " *Tungjatjeta* " — " May your life be prolonged " ; and, though the mountaineers habitually drank to excess, they seldom failed to comport themselves with grave, if sometimes mellowed, dignity.

When the cooking was done Maclean, as the chief guest, would be asked if the meal might be served ; there was never [521] conversation after meals, and so the greatest compliment which he could pay his host and fellows was to ask for a postponement. 264 As soon, however, as he had given his assent, a circular wooden table some five feet in diameter would be carried in, standing about six inches from the ground. Round this a dozen of us would assemble, sitting cross-legged, but in a crocodile, each sideways on to the table so as to make room for as many as possible. We would then each be given a spoon as our sole piece of cutlery and with this helped ourselves to the more liquid dishes at the centre of the table. There were no plates, so that each spoon plied steadily backwards and forwards

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44), 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

between the individual mouth and the communal dish. More [264] solid foods, such as meat or rice, were eaten with the fingers, 262 and, since each dish was communal, those who ate slowly went hungry. The midday and evening meals were both known as "*buk*", or bread; for theoretically, and in the poorer houses practically, maize bread was the basic foodstuff, while the other dishes were regarded merely as sauces to make the bread more palatable.

In the course of our journeys we touched life at many angles and experienced extremes of poverty and plenty. Often we were lucky to get even a lump of cheese and maize bread, or a cup of unsweetened milk. At other times, especially in Mati, we were surfeited by a wealthy host on successive dishes of eggs, boiled mutton, roast mutton *pilaf*, and luscious *halvas* and *baklavas* in the Turkish style. As a general rule, however, Albanian fare was lacking in variety and the average meal might be a soup of beans, a dish of boiled mutton, and a bowl of milk or *yoghourt*. The guest of honour usually received [576] the sheep's head — the brain and eyes were considered the greatest delicacies — or sometimes the kidneys and the tail. Fatness was the quality most admired in sheep, though even with hard exercise all of us except Smiley found the enjoyment of lumps of hot boiled fat an acquired taste. Milk was the usual drink at meals, drunk like soup from a communal bowl and served as a last course. Water was also to be had, but only on request, for there was usually only one glass or mug in the house. Before and after meals the host came round 264 with a basin and ewer, and the guests washed their hands — [515] a most necessary proceeding seeing that these were used for eating. In the richer houses the washing water was warmed and home-made soap was also provided. Each man left the table when he had finished eating without waiting for his fellows; and when the chief guests had done there would be a "deuxième service" for the rest of the company, or sometimes two tables might be set at once. The guests had the right — and often used it — to criticise any meanness in their entertainment to their host's face; and he would never sit at table or taste food until the last of the guests had eaten.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

road two loaded donkeys might meet and pass, but two loaded 492
horses could not. When these met, one or the other had to step 499
aside from the road, turning back, if need be to find a suitable place in which to do so. This was almost invariably of nature's making; there were no artificial passing places as on narrow motor roads in England.

Load generally determined priority of passage. To use Albanian 494
phraseology, when a riding-saddle met a riding-saddle on a horse- 576
track the one with no saddle-bags or other load besides the rider had to turn back. The riding-saddle had to make way for the loaded pack-saddle, but had priority over an empty one. When two pack-saddles met, the one loaded and the other empty, the latter had to make way for the former. When they were both loaded or both empty, the one which was nearer a possible place at which to step off the road had to turn back. The same rules applied to carts. In the rare cases where there was plenty of room for two loaded horses or carts, there was no 'Keep right' or 'Keep left'; they could pass on whichever side they wished.

The rules about priority were apt to be honoured in the breach 494
rather than the observance. A man who was turned back on his road 628
felt, even if priority was not his, as much disgraced as if his gun had been taken from him. His honour was lost, and could not be redeemed unless he killed his rival. There have been many deaths for the sake of precedence. The men of Godolesh, who were satisfied when the offender was fined by the elders, were condemned by their neighbours as soft and citified. But even in Godolesh there was no more fertile cause of murder than disputes about who should have the right of way. The trouble arose because priority rules were often confused, especially on purpose by strong wilful men, with the general law of road ownership. As enunciated by Father [423]
Gjeçov, this law said that a village street or a public highway was nobody's individual perquisite, but belonged to one man as much as to another. Hence, the living and the dead—traveller and livestock, bride and corpse—had an absolute right to use either, and no man, even if the road passed close to the door of his house, could deny this right.

A road was free to all. It was for breaking this general law that [579]
highway robbery was punished so much more severely than other [685]
forms of theft, and that a traveller who killed a dangerous dog on a highway did not have to compensate its owner.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

554 Modern civilization with its army and dense array of gendarmes [701] and officials swept away the military and administrative functions of the bajraktar, but his social position remained untouched. So in Krasniqë, Sali Mena, the bajraktar in 1939, had the precedence because he descended from the eldest son of Gjô Vata of the village of Bunjaj; but Hakik Meta, the bajraktar of Lurë, remained inferior to Doçi, Nezhë and Vlad families in that tribe because their ancestors were from better families than his.

576 554 Social precedence was marked in several characteristically Albanian ways. For instance, if the bajraktar of Perlat in Kthellë met a Simonaj and a Gjet-Kolaj at a feast, his seat would be third from the corner and his portion of meat only the leg. The Simonaj would sit in the corner and get the head and the Gjet-Kolaj would sit next to him and get the shoulder. Even in wartime a bajraktar was kept in his civilian place except during the actual fighting. On the way to and from the battlefield he sat in the seat and ate the portion of meat that appertained to him by descent. In 1935 Lurë was mustered to check a revolt at Fier in central Albania. The bajraktar's men carried the flag out of Lurë into Mat, and by arrangement met Zef Doçi's men at Burrel in Mat. There, though both were on a warlike errand, Zef Doçi sat in the chief seat and the bajraktar and his flag in the fourth. The revolt was suppressed before the tribesmen advanced beyond Burrel. If they had gone on, rifles would have cracked at Fier before Zef Doçi had to yield [619] the first place to the bajraktar. If one of the bajraktars of Kthellë found it necessary to discuss something with one of the six 'good families', he could not ask its head to come and see him as he would an ordinary tribesman. Instead, he must gird up his own loins and go and see the other. If they disagreed during the discussion, he could not persist in his own view but had to fall in with the other's. Trivial though this insistence on correct precedence and its manifestations may seem, it had its value in maintaining tribal discipline. Slackening of the social framework in communities so backward as these tribesmen would only have ended in anarchy.

The 'first families' excepted, the bajraktar was unquestioned first among the tribesmen, this being signified in the usual manner of corner seat and choicest portion of meat. Any male of his family old enough to walk enjoyed the same precedence and was, by the courteous and diplomatic, addressed as 'bajraktar'.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

A 'bajraktar' of tender years could evict a greybeard commoner 576
from the corner seat, and the greybeard would be distressed if 554
left in it. A worthless and ignorant 'bajraktar' got the head of the roast lamb while successful and learned commoners had no precedence by right—they belonged to their father's tribe and were counted aliens in the bajraktar's. Sometimes, however, the tribesmen gave them precedence as a courtesy.

When a bajraktar or any male in his family, infants excepted, 764
died in his bed, a black flag was stuck at the head of his grave to mark his rank during life. Otherwise he and his were treated in death like ordinary mortals. If he himself was murdered, the 628
ensuing blood feud was no worse than it would have been for a commoner—Lek had laid down that in death one man was as good as another. Besides, another bajraktar succeeded him and with the office continuing, the personality of the holder had no special significance. His family alone had to show a sense of his unusual importance; it could not stain its honour by accepting blood money instead of killing the assassin. If a bajraktar was killed by somebody in another tribe, his tribe undertook to hunt down the assassin, but this was no more than it would have done for any tribesman dead in comparable circumstances. Conversely, when a bajraktar killed anyone, his victim's family sought his blood precisely as they would have sought a commoner's.

As between bajraktars, seniority of the ancestor's appointment 576
determined precedence. Gjejaj of Dukaj, the first bajraktar in 554
Perlat, lived long before there was a bajraktar of Rrshen. His modern representative was, as already said above, so weak that Perlat had abandoned him to follow the Rrshen man's leadership. Yet in everything social, by virtue of his ancestor's seniority, he walked ahead of his supplanter. Once, however, a Kthellë tribesman entertained all three bajraktars of his tribe together. There is no record of how he seated them, but when the roast lamb appeared, he split the head in two, gave the two halves to two of the bajraktars and a shoulder to the third. Half a head being reasonably equated to a shoulder, he thus gave equal honour to all three men and did justice both to descent and to strength.

When a bajraktar encountered a beg, as a bey is called in north Albania, the latter sat in the corner because a beg is bigger than a bajraktar. When bajraktar and agha met, the bajraktar sat in the corner. Such a meeting was rare in the north owing to the paucity

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

557 of aghas. The title of agha was a courtesy title bestowed by the
576 populace. By special provision of the Turkish Government there had been hereditary aghas since the Turkish conquest at Botush in Yugoslav Kosovë; these, says their representative in Albania, took precedence of all bajraktars in Albania and Kosovë.

578 Given the pride of a bajraktar in his standard and of a 'first
658 family' in its descent, a clash between the two was not uncommon. When this took the form of an ordinary isolated quarrel, elders were called in from another tribe to judge between the disputants. Their own tribe did not venture to try the issue, knowing that it might suffer, as outside elders could not do, for an unwelcome judgement. If the elders failed to effect a settlement, shooting began between the parties, both bajraktar and 'first family' being followed by his own kin. A man related to both followed the one to whom he was more nearly related; this at least in theory. In practice they often showed a naive sense of which side their bread was buttered and joined the disputant with the stronger following.

628 Sometimes a long struggle for precedence developed between
662 'first family' tenacious of its ancient privileges and an ambitious
578 bajraktar. In Lurë, for instance, both the Catholic Zef Doçi of Lurë e Vjetër (Old Lurë) and the Mohammedan Ibrahim Gjoçi of Kreje had long been rivals of the Mohammedan bajraktar Hakik Aliu Meta. In 1926 Gjoçi had the largest following, because he maintained the tribe with surpassing generosity. Within a decade he ate himself out of house and home, and then lost nearly all his power, retaining only the tribesmen's affection and respect for his past benefits. He therefore ceased to hamper the ambitions of the bajraktar. Zef Doçi, the 'first family' in the whole tribe, was a more obstinate rival, as his power rested less on his lavish doles than on his descent and personal wisdom. Ancestor after ancestor had been 'captains' in Turkish times, whereas Gjoçi and Meta had never been 'captains' till created by King Zog. The bajraktar began by undermining Doçi's position with traditional doles. He sent sheep to the poor at every festival and went guarantee for them in the shops during crises such as weddings and burials. 'So they all follow me now', he told the visitor with disarming simplicity. He had resorted to direct action, seizing every chance to kill off the guns in Doçi's family. In 1933 some brigands, who had killed one of Llesh Doçi's men, were harboured in a mountain sheepfold by the bajraktar's shepherds. Together with Zef and other relatives,

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Assemblies of tribe or village watched above all over their honour. Sometimes their interpretation of honour took strange lines. Father Gjeçov gives the following story from the Mirditë tribe of Spaç. The sister of a villager of Gomsiqe was married to a villager of Dush in the same tribe. It happened that on one occasion when she came to pay a visit to her brother she took ill and died. He and his friends laid her on a bier and carried her, not to their own cemetery, but to her husband's house in Dush, presumably to avoid the expense of burying her. When the village heard what they had done, they met in General Assembly, and after carefully appraising the dishonour brought on Gomsiqe by such a public exhibition of meanness, fined the man a cow. This they divided into fifteen portions, which they distributed among the fifteen houses of the village. The fine was justice at its most precise. If the man had buried his sister as he should have done, the funeral feast would have cost him a cow. The event took place about 1903.

Another type of meanness had a similar end. About 1872 a villager of Urë e Shtrejtë in the tribe of Drisht happened to call on a neighbour about midday and was kept for dinner. As they finished, his host scraped his plate. The visitor afterwards complained to the village of the disgrace brought on his own dinner-table by the host. The village met in General Assembly and fined the host 500 grosh for his meanness. According to the law 'a dinner-table is disgraced in a guest's eyes when the host wipes or licks the porringer or scrapes his plate'.

The smallest General Assemblies—those of brotherhoods and households—dealt with what were essentially family matters. They met perhaps to decide on expelling or even killing any hopeless member if his misdeeds were serious enough to threaten the whole brotherhood or household with wholesale punishment by the tribe. They considered the pros and cons of buying an extra bit of land.

Tribal government was entirely democratic—of the people, by the people and for the people, but it differed from tribe to tribe and from time to time, enough to prevent unity. As the tribes in general would not have accepted the law of any one of them as supreme, it was ultimately necessary for Albanian unity that tribal government should be superseded by a modern system evolved in, and exercised from, a capital.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

ooo field for their breakfast of maize, and soon afterwards the work of placing the packs in position was begun. At 5.30 we bade the shepherd farewell, and, leaving the driver to bring the horses along after us, set out on foot down the trail.

● 516 When in Montenegro I had been struck by the friendly attitude of the peasants we met. There they were always ready with a smile and a cheery "Dobar dan!" But it was quite otherwise in Albania, where no salutations were given or expected and the peasants regarded us with a suspicious stare. I several times attempted a greeting, but [593] it never elicited any response. Greetings between relations, however, are warm enough if they are all like one I witnessed on the morning about which I am writing. A young Yankee-speaking Albanian had attached himself to our party and was waiting with us at the bottom of a hill for the rest of the pack-train to come up when he saw an old man driving two mules along the trail towards him. "That my pop", he said. And he ran forward and not only shook the old man warmly by the hand but kissed him on both cheeks with every sign of affection.

ooo An hour's trek brought us to a place which I understood was called "Chokus". The name as spelt on the board over the police post began with a Q and ended with a T, and how it came to be pronounced "Chokus" I cannot imagine. Here the gendarme handed in my way-bill and was replaced by a substitute, an oldish man for whom I was sorry later on. He started out literally at a moment's notice to trudge on foot the whole day's journey to Elbasan, there

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

began and I was propitiated on all sides. It was the thing to ask me into the nearest house and stuff me with food, and for days my hotel bills were almost nil. But that was in the days of the Obrenovitch, when the Karageorgevitches had been exiled for ever and ever for having murdered Prince Michael. They now reign over wide lands for having murdered the Archduke Ferdinand. S 186 114

We, too, have a stranger craze. We still hedge the stranger with difficulties until, or unless, we think fit to feast him at the Guildhall, hoping earnestly that by thus feeding the beast we may induce him to work magic in our favour with tariffs or arm his compatriots on our behalf.

2. The Name Taboo

Among many primitive races all the world over a man's name is part of himself. Just as spells to hurt a man may be wrought by means of bits of his hair or nails, so, too, can evil be worked by using his name. The name is, therefore, a thing to be carefully guarded. Thus is the name taboo explained by authorities on the subject. A 784 551 121

The taboo is common in the Balkans. In 1904, among the Bulgars of Macedonia, I had to classify long lists of refugees. Woman after woman would give her name as "Maria," and refuse, with tears running down her cheeks, to give her husband's name, or any clue to her identity, save perhaps the name of her father in a distant village. "They are ashamed. You must not ask such a thing," I was told. I had asked an indecent question and hurt their feelings. "Ask another woman." The Maria in question would hurry from the room, while I learnt from a woman of the same village that the husband's name was Dmitri, son of George. This constantly happened when I have dealt with Bulgar and Albanian refugees. The explanation always is that they are "modest." A B 784 551 576

In Montenegro the custom was nearly dead—but not quite. Old folk still thought it improper for man and wife to name each other. The schoolmaster at Tzrmnitza told me that there were still many who had never done so. Savo Vuletitch, himself a Montenegrin, in one of his admirable tales of Montenegro, tells how "Petar Radisitch, though he had lived on the best of terms with his wife for full twenty years, had never called her by her name, nor even spoken to her as a human being, on any subject, if it were possible for a stranger to overhear. Had he to speak to her in public he muttered through his teeth, and she did the same by him. To have done otherwise would have been shameful." M 784 551 576

A plan I found adopted was that the man gave his order in the

H 262 264 562 576 to them. Any women sitting by the roadside when a man passed at once arose and gave humble greeting. Krsto always was very lordly on these occasions. He always ate with me—partly, I think, to convince himself he was not my servant but my equal. Poor Iké fed apart afterwards. Once when he was absent a week I begged her to feed with me, for it was ridiculous to make two meals of it. But the mere idea of doing anything so unseemly distressed her so that she burst into tears and prayed me to excuse her. She said it was a thing that could not be done; it would "shame" me.

H 576 562 554 For a man to wait on a woman was very humiliating. A mounted gendarme, a Bosnian Moslem, was once ordered to escort me in Turkish territory. He had conscientious scruples about obeying a woman. After a midday halt at a "kavana," he hurried down to get the horses ready, leaving his rifle on the balcony. Presently he shouted up to no one in particular, "Give me my rifle." As it was alongside of me I handed it down. His ruse had succeeded, and he cried with childish glee, "She has waited on me! she has waited on me!" Honour was satisfied.

A 554 264 Among the Albanian tribesmen it was considered very degrading to eat with a woman. I remember how a Kastrati man jeered at the Austrian Consul. A poor creature, indeed. He drank coffee and ate meat and bread, and let his wife eat at the same time. A shameless woman! A despicable man. The Kastrati man would not let his wife so misbehave. He would never eat with a woman, not he.

A [186] It is amusing how often ambassadors, generals, admirals, ministers, and other exalted beings are looked down on with contempt by the native whose respect and admiration they fondly imagine they are arousing.

When I arrived at Vuthaj, a Moslem Albanian village, where they had never before entertained a strange female, there was a very long powwow as to the correct course to pursue. I had gone there on the invitation of a headman. It was decided that I was too important a guest to feed with the harem. I was to rank as a man and feed with the chiefs. But in order to comply with their sense of fitness I was helped last of all, even after my horse-boy. And so honour was satisfied. The women waited at table—unveiled—but I did not enter their apartment and had no communication with them.

Among the Christian Mirdites at the house of the Kapetan, where I was treated with great honour, the younger men of the family waited A [576] at table, as did Chaucer's Squire, and no woman was allowed to come near me at all. I heard a giggling crowd trying to get a peep at me through the crack of the door, but they were chivied away by a male, and my suggestion that I should see them was met by the statement that they were too modest.

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583
rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162
women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585
bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834
important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581
one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609
days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should
cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585
born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842
it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman
bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589
married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562
has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to
do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right
to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt
twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836
ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842
priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585
betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal,
and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage."
"They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586
miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away.
In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great
trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31,
1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage."
And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584
and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577
and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each
other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the
relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted,
and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626
the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585
it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be
forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the
Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or
immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states
that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's 689
dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to 562
one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after [428] which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping [689] with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, 689
so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church 562
at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard 773
a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man 585
refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in 583
blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed 578
daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" 577
that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 583

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

583 577 and ask the girl. The usual answer was that they were too modest. The suggestion seemed to be thought indecent.

581 152 The fact that both in Montenegro and Albania a word of Turkish origin is used commonly for "to make love" (Montenegrin and Bosnian, "ashikovati"; Albanian, "ashik," lover—"ashari," love) suggests that love-making played little or no part in the marriages of both lands. I heard that the son of an Austrian mother and an Albanian father was betrothed and asked his mother if he was much in love. "O dear, no!" she cried. "Not in the least; he is quite Albanian!"

183 583 One case only I met in which—perhaps for the first time—a betrothal was broken and the girl left free to marry. She was the niece of Mgr. Premi Dochi, mitred abbot of the Mirdites, a very remarkable man, whose death during the war was an immense loss to Albania.

I passed the night at her father's house. The girl sat sullen and glowering in a corner like a wild cat at bay. No one spoke to her. I asked what was the matter. She had refused to be sent to her betrothed. Her father was furious. Only the abbot's intervention had saved her. He talked the young man into admitting that it was useless to marry a girl who hated him and would probably run away, when another more amenable could be found, and got him to swear that no blood-581 vengeance should be taken if the girl married another. But the father, enraged, declared often and loudly, "A girl marries to please her house and not for herself"; and rated her till I was sorry I had asked. Awe of the abbot alone had made him yield.

585 *Marriage Ceremonies.*—When the wedding-day is fixed the male relatives of the bridegroom go to fetch the bride. The bridegroom usually does not go. As the tribes are exogamous the distance may be considerable. Sometimes the men of the bride's family take her to a spot half-way and hand her over there. Sometimes she is fetched from her father's house. Moslem girls are always accompanied by one or two female relatives. Christian girls usually are, if the journey is a long one; but not always. In no case does the mother go.

Marriage among the Christians is according to the rites of the Catholic Church.

I was never at a mountain wedding, but was told some local ceremonies. In Klementi the bride, on coming to her husband's home, must throw an apple over the roof, and is given some corn. This recalls the confarreatio of the Romans. She is then led three times round the hearth. All through the mountains I gathered that a bride must enter the house with her right foot first and carry in a male child with her. On marriage the hair of the woman is dyed black and dressed differently from that of a virgin. There are various modes, according to district. In the Maltsia e Madhe the head is shaved in front and over the temples,

583 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian 684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he 183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. The Levirate

587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the 688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Maltsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose [628] between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

[577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Sometimes the brother-in-law was unmarried, but this did not help 587
matters, such marriages being prohibited by the Church. To stop the 688
practice it was usual to excommunicate not only the couple but the whole "house" which permitted it, until the "levirate wife" was dismissed. I visited, at Apripa Gurit, a house of eighteen people thus under the ban. The son, a fine young fellow, had taken his elder brother's young widow to wife one month after her husband's death: this by tribe rule is the correct time. She had been married a very short time to her first husband and had not yet borne a child. The whole household was very uneasy about the excommunication, and offered the priest in my presence first thirty and then fifty guldens and pictures and candles for the church. But they stubbornly refused to put a stop to the "levirate marriage"; it would not be honourable. The young man himself was very certain of this. It was a duty he owed to his brother, and, no matter what the consequences, he would do it. He said they had found a girl, and arranged that he should marry her in a year's time. Till then he must cohabit with his sister-in-law. This he assured me very earnestly.

At Thethi Shala I found a case of a man who had thus taken his 587
uncle's widow and his brother's widow. He then proposed taking a legitimate wife as well and had paid most of the purchase money. Only then did the bride's parents learn of the two other "wives." They said he should not have their daughter till the other two were 578
dismissed. He replied she was paid for, and was his property and 684
threatened vengeance.

The parents appealed to the padre, who sheltered them and the girl at the church-house, and succeeded in arranging a marriage for her with a man at a safe distance. The parents returned the first purchase money. "The aunt and sister-in-law" arrangement continued. The 595
padre at Thethi had routed out all polygamous arrangements in his parish but two.

He said that the people had a deep-rooted belief that it was right 587
thus to take as wife the widow of uncle, cousin, or brother if she con- 577
tinued to live in the communal house. If this was not permitted she must be sent home to her people. They could see no alternative, and pleaded: "It is our old custom. Do not interfere with it."

In the wild and distant tribes of Nikaj, Toplana, and Berisha the 587
custom was extremely common among the Christians. Thus at Nikaj, out of three hundred houses about fifty had sister-in-law concubinage, and other houses similarly kept aunts, so a large proportion of the children were illegitimate in the eyes of the Church, but not of the people. The legitimate wives were very apt to bolt with another man, and there was much blood-feud. In Berisha I was told that the sister-in-

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
179 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the 342
street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, 363
the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly 347
mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a 352
low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold 353
the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are 415
hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride 411
of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys 342
are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high 711
walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to 181
slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his 577
feud with him. The villages of these districts are 361
generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the 352
cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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159 ambuscade by the men of Gardiki and Tchormovo,
175 together with Ali and her only daughter, Shainitza.
562 After having been subjected to every indignity and
628 outrage by their captors, Khamko and her children had the good fortune to be ransomed by the generosity of a Greek merchant for the sum of 22,800 piastres (£3700).

Hatred of those who had thus humiliated her took entire possession of the Aghadina's soul, and her one idea thenceforward was to train up her son as the avenger of her wrongs. With this object she commenced to instil into his mind those pernicious principles which he was only too well disposed to receive, and which may be summed up in the words [577] *Might is right*, an adage sufficiently popular among the turbulent Albanian clans. Ali's first attempt to vindicate his rights in the field was a complete failure. Having met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected, he fled from the fight, and was one of the first to re-enter Tepeleni. Khamko, furious at finding all her hopes blasted by what she deemed his cowardice, loaded him with reproaches, and thrusting her distaff into his hand, added, "Go, coward, and spin with the women in the harem; thou art fitter for that than for the career of arms!" Ali's fortunes indeed fluctuated for some time between success and failure. While he was absent on a campaign, Khamko found herself on her death-bed, and, though repeated and urgent messages were despatched to him, she died before he could arrive. The Aghadina in her will bequeathed to her son and daughter the task of immo-
[789] lating to her *manes* the inhabitants of Gardiki and Tchormovo, at whose hands they had suffered such

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

628 worthy of a better cause, and fourteen victims fell,
562 thus perpetuating the feud among the survivors.
578

On another occasion the breaking of a girl's pitcher at the fountain by two mischievous boys resulted in such a desperate contest between her friends and theirs that some sixty persons fell in the fight. It is said, however, that even on such occasions as these
562 the men refrain, as far as possible, from striking or
577 wounding the women, for the Albanian code of
484 honour makes it impossible to attack a woman, whether armed or unarmed. The sacredness attached to their persons extends also to those whom they take under their protection. Escorted by a girl only, travellers may safely pass through the wildest parts of the country, and a man may cross, without fear, the lands of one with whom he is at feud, if he have the safe-conduct of a woman belonging to his enemy's family.

577 To such an extent is respect for women carried by
562 the Albanians, that it is contrary to their notions of
522 propriety ever to make women the subject of jokes or humorous stories. Insult or annoyance offered to a
578 girl, or carrying off one without the consent of her
562 parents, almost invariably results in bitter feuds between families, or fierce battles between tribes. As with most mountain people, the moral code is with the Skipetars exceedingly strict. Among many of
684 the tribes any lapse from virtue on the part of a woman is punished with death, a subsequent marriage not being allowed to condone the fault. The penalty of adultery is of equally Draconic severity. The unfaithful wife is placed up to her shoulders in a pit, and

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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585 an altar is specially prepared. The nearest relatives of the bridegroom only are present, and he, like the bride, simulates great unwillingness to enter the apartment. The mass performed, the priest asks the bride three times if she accepts the man kneeling at her side for her husband. Custom, however, forbids her to [577] reply, and at the third interrogation the women in attendance force her to bow her head in token of assent. The bridegroom, on the contrary, pronounces his consent in a loud voice. However plain the bride may prove to be, custom forbids that any sign of disgust or annoyance should be manifested. If, however, she be afflicted with any physical deformity, such as lameness, blindness, or a humped back, the husband may claim an indemnity from her parents, or, if he is prepared to abide the consequences of such an insult, may send her back to them.

The ceremony terminated, the bridegroom leaves the room, and the female guests re-enter, extolling in song the graces and virtues with which, according to [562] them, every bride is endowed. The feast is then [264] served, the men sitting down by themselves in one room, and the women in another, and the two parties amuse themselves separately for the rest of the evening. An hour before midnight, the women conduct the bride to the nuptial chamber, and, having taken off her bridal finery, cover her face with a veil, and leave her. When the bridegroom enters, he simulates astonishment at finding a maiden there. Lifting the veil from her head, he declares himself to be enraptured with her beauty, and asks her a hundred questions. The bride feigns sleep and pretends not to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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Skiperi would Our Lady of Scutari forgive her 173
children, and return to her ancient shrine.

The scene on this day in the great square building, 796
which, with its bare walls and absence of ornament, [346]
bears little resemblance to a Romish church, is most
striking and strange. The mass performed on the
occasion is listened to by a congregation whose
waists are perfect arsenals, bristling with pistols and
yataghans of every shape and pattern. There are [291 411]
wild-looking, fierce-moustachioed highlanders, white-
kilted Mussulmans, chieftains blazing with gold em-
broidery, and milder citizens in more homely garb, all
assembled in honour of the Madonna, before whose
shrine their ancestors had worshipped. Yet, notwith-
standing their participation in the religious rites of 577
their neighbours, the Albanians are not less tenacious 579
of their own honour than of that of the creed they
profess, any insult offered to a Christian church being
promptly retaliated upon a Moslem mosque, and *vice versâ*. Of this the following incident, which occurred
about the middle of the century, offers a striking
illustration.

A certain Tahir Mala, of Bugna, belonging to the 585
Moslem tribe of the Gascii, having married his son to
a maiden of the Christian Schialla, set out to bring
the bride home, accompanied, according to national
custom, by a numerous train, and preceded by the
tribal banners. On the return journey, they stopped,
as usual, every now and then to fire volleys into the air.
Their way, however, lying past a Christian cemetery,
the cross, standing in the midst, offered a mark for
their pistols too tempting to be resisted, and was soon 798

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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through which the animal is led. If the cow steps 787
over the object with the right hoof, it is considered a good augury; if with the left, the omen is unfavourable. If a hen shakes her feathers in the house, or if one of her feathers hangs askew without falling, it foretells the arrival of a friend, or the receipt of news from an absent relative. Should the hen crow like a cock without turning its head to the East, it signifies a death or other serious misfortune. If, during the night, a cock crows at an unusual hour, it is either a sign of a change in the weather, or that important news will arrive in the morning. To an expectant mother, however, it announces [843]
that her child will be a boy. Should the dog howl while looking away from the dwelling, it is a sign of death; and if the cat mews repeatedly, that a member of the family will shortly fall ill. If, however, she licks herself frequently, it is merely a sign of rain.

Cats, I may here remark, are treated with great 231
kindness by the Albanians, who, it is said, are not 825
in the habit of laying to their charge the smashing of crockery, or the disappearance of provisions. According to a myth current among the Albanian highlanders, the cat was created by Jesus, who produced one from the sleeve of His mantle when dining in a house infested with mice. To kill a cat is consequently considered a most reprehensible action. [577]
When such a family pet dies, the children of the 766
house call in their friends to assist in pussy's obsequies, and, after she has been carried in solemn procession to the grave, the little party sit down to a funeral feast, for which the mother willingly furnishes the necessary viands.

PEAKS OF SHALA

He had put on his turban; below its white folds 000
the silver chain dangled on his bare breast; above it the muzzle of his rifle caught a glint of the western sunlight.

"He says it is not a question of your safety; 628
it is a question of his honor. I was right, Mrs. 517
Lane; he says that he is in blood with the tribes through which one goes to Scutari. If he travels through them by night he will be killed, and in the darkness no one will know who has done it. He does not mind being killed, but to be killed by some one his tribe cannot know and kill afterward would be black dishonor to him. It is true, Mrs. Lane, and he is a great byraktor—the byraktor of five hundred houses."

"But he need not go with me. You and the Shala man will go with me. I only want his mule. Is he afraid for his mule? I will give him a paper, and if I am killed and the mule is stolen he can get another mule from the Red Cross house in Scutari."

I said this quite innocently, but the words taught me what blazing eyes are. One hears of them; one seldom sees them. But the byraktor's eyes seemed actually to kindle into flame, and involuntarily I shrank back when he turned them on me.

"He does not think of the mule, Mrs. Lane. He thinks only of his honor. You must not say such things. He says you cannot go on without him; you are traveling under his protection, and it is his honor that is concerned if anything happens to you."

7 [Shoshi warchief and [271] author's guide to Scutari -- analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

577
628 I looked at the ring of utterly savage-looking men, half naked, with shaven heads and scalp-locks, surrounding me in those wild mountains, and suddenly I struggled not to laugh. If a magic vision could have shown me then to my friends at home, how they would have prayed that I escape alive, while the real difficulty was that these savages wanted only too embarrassingly to protect me.

"But, Rexh, it is absurd. I did not ask for his protection; I simply hired his mule. Tell him that he has brought me so far safely, so far I have traveled under his protection. I thank him, I thank him deeply, I am most grateful with my whole heart, but now I will leave his protection and travel onward." And to Rexh's words, with my hand on my heart, I added in Albanian, "I thank you from my heart."

The byraktor made a gesture, only a little gesture with his hand, but the violence of its fury I cannot describe. "You thank me! You have broken my honor!" he said, and even without Rexh's murmured translation I would have felt the menace of the silence that followed.

"But," I said, bewildered, "I am traveling with the Shala[1] man. Isn't the Shala man protection? Besides, tell him I don't need protection. I am protected even here by the power of my own tribe."

"The Shala man shall take you in, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh. That too-handsome youth had hung back from the conversation, but Rexh's stern

[1] [Shala tribe is in blood feud [272] with Shoshi tribe -- Analyst]

eye brought him into it. And then there was 577
such a battle of words that the very rocks joined 628
it. The byraktor stood listening, bending down a little, intent; Rexh—short, pudgy Rexh in his flannelette pajamas—drove home with fist on chubby fist his earnest words, and the Shala man called Heaven and the cliffs to witness his clamor. The byraktor turned his eyes from Rexh to the Shala man, from the Shala man to Rexh, and thoughtfully stroked his chin. Around us the other men stood attentive.

Then the Shala man turned and, lifting me from the trail to which I had dismounted, swung me again into the saddle. He pounded the saddle with his fist and exclaimed violently, his face congested with dark blood.

"It is all right, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh, grimly. "He will take you in. He has told the byraktor why he cannot take you to Scutari; it is because the gendarmes are looking for him to kill him. But he will take you in. After that the gendarmes can have him; he is of no use."

Even my fixed idea was shaken by those astounding, calm words.

"But, Rexh," I said, in horror, "I can't kill a man, even to get to Scutari to-night. Do you think the gendarmes will really kill him if he takes me in?" But one glance at the violently miserable Shala man answered the question.

"Yes, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh. "They will kill him by law, because he has killed some men. But, Mrs. Lane, he said he would take you to

577 628 Scutari and he must take you to Scutari. The byraktor will tell you so."

"*Po, po,*" said the byraktor, agreeing, and, "*Po, po,*" said the others; and looking at the Shala man, I had no doubt that if he faltered on the way Rexh's tongue had barbs to drive him onward.

"But explain to the byraktor that it is not American custom—that I can't take a man to be killed, Rexh. I'm sorry," said I, for it did seem a pity to disappoint Rexh so, when he had so nicely arranged everything. I leaned from the saddle and spoke earnestly to the byraktor myself, Rexh's murmured translation for his ears while I held his eyes: "I must get to Scutari to-night. It is necessary. But I do not want to risk any man's life. I take my own life in my hands and go with it on the trail. No one else can carry it for me. That is American custom. It is American custom that I thank you now, and give back to you your protection, and go on alone. If it is not your custom, I am sorry, but by all American custom your honor is safe, and I am American, and Albanian law does not apply to me."

"You speak with a tongue of great learning," said the byraktor, but this time his manner was sympathetic. "However, my honor is my honor, and my protection goes with you all the way to your own tribe. I will go with you to Scutari."

"But I don't want the byraktor to be killed, either!" I wailed; and then the byraktor's

gendarme came forward. He was a low-browed, 577
rascally-looking fellow, a man with bad eyes like 628
those of an untrustworthy horse, and a charming smile. He was naked except for the wide scarlet sash around his loins and the tiny white cap over his scalplock.

"The honor of my byraktor is my honor," he said. "My byraktor is a good byraktor and a great byraktor. He is byraktor of five hundred houses. If he is killed, all the valley mourns. If he is killed in the dark and we never know who killed him so that we can kill that man, that is black dishonor for all the tribe of Shoshi. I am only one man, and if I am killed it does not matter. I will go with you to Scutari."

"Glory to your lips!" said the others. "Good! It is decided."

"Well," I thought, "all this is beautiful 628
rhetoric, but no one will kill him while I am with him." As for the danger in the darkness, I did not believe it for a moment. Who would shoot a person he could not see? So I said good-by to the byraktor—all our long and flowery speeches consumed another quarter of an hour, and the sunlight was climbing away over the mountains so rapidly that we could see it go—and I said good-by to all the others, and promised the frantic Shala man that indeed he should be paid what had been promised; I would send him the money by the gendarme, and I would send the mule and the hundred kronen to the byraktor—and then another difficulty arose. If I left the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

114 penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud.
[628] For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no
[577] doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

171 It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that
721 of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss
[826] Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants,
[842] its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance
[583] is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance
[302] of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the head by Albanians (p. 230). as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but
[628] quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other
000 primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

Assemblies of tribe or village watched above all over their honour. Sometimes their interpretation of honour took strange lines. Father Gjeçov gives the following story from the Mirditë tribe of Spaç. The sister of a villager of Gomsiqe was married to a villager of Dush in the same tribe. It happened that on one occasion when she came to pay a visit to her brother she took ill and died. He and his friends laid her on a bier and carried her, not to their own cemetery, but to her husband's house in Dush, presumably to avoid the expense of burying her. When the village heard what they had done, they met in General Assembly, and after carefully appraising the dishonour brought on Gomsiqe by such a public exhibition of meanness, fined the man a cow. This they divided into fifteen portions, which they distributed among the fifteen houses of the village. The fine was justice at its most precise. If the man had buried his sister as he should have done, the funeral feast would have cost him a cow. The event took place about 1903.

Another type of meanness had a similar end. About 1872 a villager of Urë e Shtrejtë in the tribe of Drisht happened to call on a neighbour about midday and was kept for dinner. As they finished, his host scraped his plate. The visitor afterwards complained to the village of the disgrace brought on his own dinner-table by the host. The village met in General Assembly and fined the host 500 grosh for his meanness. According to the law 'a dinner-table is disgraced in a guest's eyes when the host wipes or licks the porringer or scrapes his plate'.

The smallest General Assemblies—those of brotherhoods and households—dealt with what were essentially family matters. They met perhaps to decide on expelling or even killing any hopeless member if his misdeeds were serious enough to threaten the whole brotherhood or household with wholesale punishment by the tribe. They considered the pros and cons of buying an extra bit of land.

Tribal government was entirely democratic—of the people, by the people and for the people, but it differed from tribe to tribe and from time to time, enough to prevent unity. As the tribes in general would not have accepted the law of any one of them as supreme, it was ultimately necessary for Albanian unity that tribal government should be superseded by a modern system evolved in, and exercised from, a capital.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

695 With a few exceptions, the greatest precautions were taken to conceal the witness's identity, as the criminal would have killed him if he had discovered who he was. In Mirditë he was allowed to object to the nomination of men whom he thought too indiscreet to preserve his incognito, and those eventually selected had to take an oath that so long as they lived they would not without his permission divulge his identity. He was always interviewed in all secrecy; often the accuser alone knew who he was. He might be taken to an empty house where the elders awaited him, or led at night to the house of an elder who questioned him from a balcony while he stood unseen by all the inmates, the elder included, in the dark farmyard. In the Malësi e Madhe he was often given a rendezvous by night in another village altogether. In Zerqan he usually met the committee in some lonely spot at sunset, with them on one side of a thick hedge and him on the other so that they could not see him. However often he was interviewed, it was always in the same secrecy.

No doubt owing to the danger involved in trying to bring a criminal to justice, a witness was always given a fee. With the delicacy characteristic of Albanians the fee was cloaked under the name of *këpucë* (lit. 'shoe'), presumably in allusion to the shoe-leather which he wore out in finding or conveying his information. Consequently, *këpucar* means literally the 'man who gets shoe-money'.

In the case of theft the witness's fee was not allowed to exceed the value of the stolen property. It was generally determined by agreement between witness and accuser at their first meeting, often after lively bargaining, particularly if the witness was greedy enough to ask more than he should. When the accuser let it be known that he was looking for a witness, he often specified the fee he was willing to pay. When the theft took place in a house, the fee [577] was doubled, because human life had been endangered and the house's honour tarnished; house-breaking always implied that the men in it were weak or the womenfolk light. In Kurbin and Lumë, for example, four napoleons were paid to an informant who found an ox that had been stolen from the farmyard or stable under the house, but only its value, which was always less than four napoleons, in those districts when it had been stolen while grazing outside.

684. A man who disclosed a woman's adultery to her husband
695 received no fee; and a friend was not allowed to take money for

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

*628 596 details; vengeance could not be taken indiscriminately, but was governed by a multiplicity of rules. Thus, a murdered man found his most natural avenger in his brother, especially if they had not separated. If his father was not too old, and his son too young, to bear arms, they shared the brother's obligation. In slightly less degree so did his father's brother and cousin in the male line, and their sons and grandsons, that is to say, all the other males who were in the collective sense his 'father', 'brother' and 'son', through being at the time, or having recently been, members of his household. If his son was in the cradle, the child's mother and the neighbours told him of the crime as he grew up and urged him, failing another avenger, not to rest till he had done his duty. No matter which of these relatives took revenge, his 'rifle could be hung up' and 'go to sleep', to quote the picturesque phrases of Dibër and the North. The lawful representative of his murdered kinsman because he belonged to the same household, he had only made the two sides equal, with one of two results; either peace could be made or the feud continued between the same two families.

A man might kill his enemy where and when he could—in a chance encounter, in a meeting deliberately sought or in a carefully laid ambush. If he was 'strong' with plenty of good shots in his house, he and his family went alone on set expeditions. If he was weak he was probably accompanied by friends, who included friends in the ordinary sense, relatives by marriage, dependants and servants. They came, not for pay, but on his invitation or of their own accord. Invitations, always verbal, requested the recipients to come with so many rifles to such-and-such a place by [571] such-and-such a day and hour. Those invited were bound to come; those who volunteered were praised by the public for their bravery and devotion, a much coveted distinction. The distance from which they came was immaterial; a feud had no geographical limits.

[572] If the enemy fell to the rifle of a friend, the shot was always credited to the 'master', who was expected to assume responsibility for it. The enemy accepted the kill as a bout in the feud and either made peace or continued the feud with his original antagonist. The friend who fired the fatal shot could 'hang up his rifle' and let it 'go to sleep'; he did not need its protection for he was quit of the affair. If he had been alone when he killed the man, he would have 'brought the feud home', i.e. involved himself in a separate feud with the victim's family while leaving his friend's feud unaffected.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XXIII

BLOOD FEUD

II. COURSE OF THE FEUD

The fatal shot fired, a murderer's life was in such instant danger from the avenger that it behoved him to fly with all speed. But often his 'blood seized him' so that 'his legs gave way under him' and he was rooted to the spot from shock. Custom therefore prescribed in Shkodër, Lumë and Godolesh that he must drop on the ground a cartridge or an article of clothing such as his fez, sash, or handkerchief; in Elbasan, Shpat and Çermenikë that he must lick the muzzle of his rifle or pistol; alternatively, in Elbasan that he must inhale the smoke of the gunpowder or let his comrades slap his face; in Labinot that he must hold the cartridge case in his mouth and bite his little finger and suck the blood, and in Mat that he must eat a little gunpowder. That done successfully, 'his blood was set free', 'the seizure passed', and he was able to run away.

When an article of clothing was left behind, it served to identify the murderer; where none was left, word had to be sent to the victim's family. It was everywhere 'held dishonourable' to kill and not to tell. It was also thought unfair for reasons that varied with the locality. In Mirditë the victim's relatives might go mad if they did not know the identity of the murderer; in north Albania the murderer's kinsmen would not know to hide while the avenger's blood was boiling; in south Albania the crime might be laid at the wrong door. Besides, the normal murder was matter for boasting; committed only to avenge some wrong or insult, it showed that the murderer was spirited enough to resent ill-treatment.

Latterly, when the government was attempting to repress murder, the murderer, certain of arrest, left no token and did not inform the relatives. The community, however, was always on the watch and from its members' observation of those who came from the direction of the shots and from their knowledge of the whereabouts of the victim's enemies at the time, the murderer's identity was established—at all events to the satisfaction of the community.

In the early days of a feud the father or brother of the victim might in his furious rage kill the murderer and shoot a second time

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

831 Balkans than in more civilised and cultured parts of Europe, and the following true story attests to the lengths to which men are prepared to go in order to maintain the code.

628 A young peasant of Epirus who had only recently taken
● 577 a wife had to go to the war. On leaving he placed her in the
931 care of his brother, charging him by everything he held sacred to guard her honour as if it were his own. On his return, a few years later, he found that the trust had been betrayed—and by the brother himself—and that his wife was about to become a mother. The primitive peasant code demanded the death of both the guilty parties, and the soldier killed his wife with his own hand, but before he could go in pursuit of his brother, who had fled to the mountains, was arrested by the gendarmerie. At the subsequent trial he was sentenced to fifteen year's imprisonment—a sentence which is still unexpired. The man who told me the story said that he paid a visit to the gaol and had an interview with the prisoner, who at first stated that there had been a reconciliation between his brother and himself. The visitor, who knew that this could not possibly be true, said, "Why do you lie to me?" And, as the man remained silent, continued, "I know that you will go back when you are free and kill your brother. And what will be the use of that? It will only mean another long term of imprisonment."

The prisoner nodded. "Yes", he said. "But when my imprisonment is over I shall once more be able to live honourably amongst my own people."

Until, therefore, the disgrace has been wiped out by the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

blood of his brother this man cannot take his rightful position 628
in the family or in the community to which he belongs, and 577
rather than be an outcast and scorned by his people he is 831
prepared to spend a great part of his life in gaol. Such is the Balkan code of honour.

At Koritza I found that the money in circulation was no 436
longer Italian. Here, as at Tirana, one transacted business with the krone (or crown) instead of with the lira, as at Durazzo, Valona, Argyrocastron and in the South generally. The currency, moreover, was entirely metal, and consisted, in addition to the Austrian krone itself, of Turkish silver coins, Greek silver drachmae, Serbian dinars, and so forth—the basis being gold. There are no banks, but there are 453
money-changers who are always quite willing to cash British or American notes, and who have drawers full to the brim with gold—French napoleons, English sovereigns and half-sovereigns, and American five-dollar pieces. I had not seen so much gold at one time since the old days before the war when bank cashiers in English used to gather it up from the counter by the shovelful.

The absence of banks must, one would imagine, be a 453
considerable hindrance to the commercial development of a 457
country. Nevertheless it is remarkable how little difference it seems to make in Albania, and I began to wonder whether banks are, after all, as essential as we are prone to think. It was likely, however, at the time of which I am writing, that an Albanian bank would shortly be established with headquarters at Tirana. A proposal had been made by the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

of the padres, being Albanian mountain men themselves, thought this right, though they admitted that the beating was sometimes cruelly severe. A 593 681

In some ways the women have more freedom than among the Montenegrins, for they are permitted to give their opinion freely on important subjects, and it is often asked, and they join in general conversation. Nor do their husbands ever apologize for their existence. M A 562

In Montenegro, on the other hand, as often as not the master of the house has shouted: "Be quiet, woman," when his wife only wanted to ask some innocent question. I never heard any of Iké's views except when Krsto was out, and one was always hearing, "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head!" hurled at the women. The Albanian woman, on the other hand, would joke and chaff the men; would even, in the streets of Scutari, call their husbands out of the drink-shop and tell them they had had enough. Nor does the Albanian woman have to bow humbly and kiss the hand of every male visitor as does the Montenegrin peasant woman. Among the Dukagini I found the men would even fetch water—a thing no Montenegrin "junak" would condescend to do.

A curious case illustrating the rights of the husband occurred while I was in Albania. A mountain woman left her husband and came to Scutari, where she lived by prostitution among the Turkish garrison. The husband's honour was blackened, but if he killed his wife he would owe blood to her family. He therefore consulted her brother, her nearest surviving male relative. The brother agreed that his family, too, was blackened, and gave the man the cartridge wherewith to shoot her. Shot she was, and public opinion considered the husband had acted rightly and cleaned the honour of both families. I said that in such a case divorce should be permitted, but was told that so long as she was alive the family honour would still be black; a divorce would be useless. A 577 684

5. Marriage Customs in Montenegro

In Montenegro, and all through the Serb-speaking lands, marriages were arranged by the head of the house. The young people were rarely consulted. A century ago in Montenegro infant and child betrothals were not uncommon, and the young couple did not see each other before marriage. Old Serbian ballads show that exogamy was the rule, for the hero, we are usually told, "sought his bride from afar." Such marriages were designed to strengthen the "house." We find in ballads and tales the youth who laments to his father that no wife has yet been found for him; to whom his father replies: "I have long sought M 583 M [582]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

The Vendetta[1]

At that time, the blood feud and the 628
vendetta were the chief preoccupations of the mountain folk 577
and murders and killings were of frequent occurrence. Men were liable to be shot at any moment, and often were shot, solely because their ancestors of several generations back had quarrelled over some trivial matter. Albanians claim to-day that the vendetta is a thing of the past, but I had no difficulty in ascertaining that the claim is not well founded; vendetta crimes are still common, and even while I was in Scutari a murder "in revenge" was reported to the police.

The following story illustrates very well the sacrifices demanded by the code:—

A bitter blood feud had waged for several generations between two families in a remote mountain district. The head of one family died and the headship, and with it the duty of carrying on the vendetta, devolved upon another member of the family who was, as it happened, the village priest. One would have thought that his office would release him from the necessity of committing a murder. But it did not. He bided his time and shot his enemy dead. Then, as there was no other priest within many miles of the place, he officiated—difficult though it is to credit it—at the funeral of his victim.

Notwithstanding that a vendetta murder is committed [681]
in defence of the family honour it is, if the gendarmes succeed in tracing and arresting the perpetrator, invariably punished by hanging. The code of the mountaineers is so strict, however, that the penalty acts as no deterrent. A man who fails in his duty to kill an enemy of his house is outlawed

1 [two years before World 275 War I -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

628 [577] from his own fireside, and he would rather face the gallows than the contempt of his family.

Even apart from the vendetta, the Albanian of this type is sometimes rather too ready to use his gun. Shortly before I was in Scutari a man was killed in a quarrel. It seems that the local schoolmaster had occasion to chastise one of the scholars. The boy's father was angry about it and called on the schoolmaster to remonstrate, taking a friend with him. In the ensuing dispute all lost their tempers and the friend unwisely " butted in." Whereupon the schoolmaster drew a revolver and shot the man dead.

674 681 The act which makes the carrying of firearms illegal is very necessary, and it is a pity that it cannot be enforced in this part of Albania as it has been elsewhere. But the inaccessibility of the mountain villages, and the lawlessness which makes the carrying of a weapon almost obligatory for self-protection, are at the moment insuperable difficulties. All that the gendarmes have been able to do so far is to insist that rifles shall be deposited at the police post outside Scutari before their owners enter the town. This explains what at first puzzled me—why the men in the streets of Scutari and in the Scutari bazaar were decorated with belts full of cartridges and yet no guns or rifles were in evidence.

for bullets is made in the body. If four men have fired and but three 682
bullets are found, any one of them may be innocent of the death. 628
If each can get twenty-four con-jurors to swear innocence with him, all secure acquittal. Any who cannot find twenty-four con-jurors are guilty and owe blood. If there are as many bullets as men, then all owe blood.

For killing a woman, which is a rare thing, blood may be taken. 682
If she is unmarried, it is taken by her father's family; usually by her brother. If married, her father's family may take blood for her within the year. After that only her husband's family has the right to do so. Blood-gelt, if any, for a woman is very small. The tribe does not punish the murderer; it is purely a family affair. The death of a woman does not weaken the tribe, for she is of another blood and can easily be replaced from without; whereas a man cannot be replaced.

If a pregnant woman be killed two bloods can be claimed. Dom 682
Kol Ashti told me that cases have occurred even in which a grave has 843
been opened to settle the question of blood-gelt for the unborn child, and full payment claimed if it proved to be a male.

Cases in which killing is justified and is not punishable.—1. Blood may 684
be taken for rape and none may be taken in return.

2. If the relatives of the man who is shot succeed in taking blood 682
at once, shoot the murderer that day, the blood is laid and no more can be taken.

3. A woman taken in adultery may be killed along with her partner 684
by her husband or brother, and no punishment follows. But should her husband kill her and not the man, her family can take blood for her.

In none of the above cases, I believe, does the tribe punish; nor has 682
the tribe, at any rate in some places, the power to punish a crime 578
committed within the "shpi" (house). When I was in Shala, at the priest's house in 1908, we heard two shots fired. Someone ran in to call the priest to a man who was dying; it was too late. In a dispute [683]
about the irrigation channels in the fields, a man had killed his own first cousin. Both were inmates of one large house. The crime excited genuine horror and was loudly discussed. Public opinion seemed to think something should be done—but what? It is the clear duty of a house to take blood as atonement for blood that has been taken. But the house, having already lost a man, cannot make matters any better by taking more of its own blood. This could not be expected; nor could any outsider interfere in what was a matter for the house lord. He could not be both lord of blood and gjaksur—could not owe himself blood. It was, in fact, an example of *patria potestas*. He decided to do nothing but hold a fine funeral to show his regret for the loss; and so sure was he that he was acting correctly that he sent a boy to the priest's

682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
576 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the
[608] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's 689
dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to 562
one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after [428]
which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping [689]
with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, 689
so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church 562
at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard 773
a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man 585
refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in 583
blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed 578 ●
daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" 577
that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 583

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

Sometimes the brother-in-law was unmarried, but this did not help 587
matters, such marriages being prohibited by the Church. To stop the 688
practice it was usual to excommunicate not only the couple but the whole "house" which permitted it, until the "levirate wife" was dismissed. I visited, at Apripa Gurit, a house of eighteen people thus under the ban. The son, a fine young fellow, had taken his elder brother's young widow to wife one month after her husband's death: this by tribe rule is the correct time. She had been married a very short time to her first husband and had not yet borne a child. The whole household was very uneasy about the excommunication, and offered the priest in my presence first thirty and then fifty guldens and pictures and candles for the church. But they stubbornly refused to put a stop to the "levirate marriage"; it would not be honourable. The young man himself was very certain of this. It was a duty he owed to his brother, and, no matter what the consequences, he would do it. He said they had found a girl, and arranged that he should marry her in a year's time. Till then he must cohabit with his sister-in-law. This he assured me very earnestly.

At Thethi Shala I found a case of a man who had thus taken his 587
uncle's widow and his brother's widow. He then proposed taking a legitimate wife as well and had paid most of the purchase money. Only then did the bride's parents learn of the two other "wives." They said he should not have their daughter till the other two were [578
dismissed. He replied she was paid for, and was his property and 684]
threatened vengeance.

The parents appealed to the padre, who sheltered them and the girl at the church-house, and succeeded in arranging a marriage for her with a man at a safe distance. The parents returned the first purchase money. "The aunt and sister-in-law" arrangement continued. The 595
padre at Thethi had routed out all polygamous arrangements in his parish but two.

He said that the people had a deep-rooted belief that it was right 587
thus to take as wife the widow of uncle, cousin, or brother if she con- 577
tinued to live in the communal house. If this was not permitted she must be sent home to her people. They could see no alternative, and pleaded: "It is our old custom. Do not interfere with it."

In the wild and distant tribes of Nikaj, Toplana, and Berisha the 587
custom was extremely common among the Christians. Thus at Nikaj, out of three hundred houses about fifty had sister-in-law concubinage, and other houses similarly kept aunts, so a large proportion of the children were illegitimate in the eyes of the Church, but not of the people. The legitimate wives were very apt to bolt with another man, and there was much blood-feud. In Berisha I was told that the sister-in-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

159 ing he had killed her, and overcome with grief and
175 remorse, shut himself up in his most private apart-
562 ments until he was informed by his physician that Emineh was not even wounded, but had merely fainted from emotion. His mind thus relieved, Ali shed tears, and, with all his tenderness for his favourite wife revived, proceeded to her apartment. Admittance being from fear refused him, he entered the chamber by force. The noise, however, and the sight of the tyrant, gave to the tender Emineh a shock which proved fatal, and she expired during the night in a state of delirium.

The death of Emineh was a terrible shock also to her murderer. Her memory perpetually haunted him, whether at the festal board or in the council chamber, and, above all, in the silent watches of the night. He feared to be left alone, and was frequently heard by his pages to start up, and exclaim: "Emineh! it is she!—it is she! Save me from her vengeance!" Years later, when the Dervish Sheikh, Youssouf, while boldly reproving the Vizier for his crimes and cruelties, pointed out from the window the tomb of the murdered Emineh, he was interrupted by Ali, who exclaimed with tears: "Stop, stop, my father! Thou hast named the name of Emineh; overwhelm me not with the weight of thy maledictions!"

628 An account of the Albanian women would hardly
578 be complete without some mention of the terrible blood-feuds (*Ram de Ghiak*), which, though often originating in the most trifling causes, result in great loss of life, and are frequently handed down from generation to generation. Sometimes these feuds

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

exist between individuals or families only; at others, whole villages, or clans, are concerned in them. In carrying them on, however, certain traditional rules are punctiliously adhered to, and occasionally those concerned, finding the state of continual hostility irksome, agree to a *bessa*, or truce, for a fixed period. When entire clans take part in the feud, each keeps strictly to its own wells or fountains, its public ovens and its markets. Such dissensions, however, rarely interrupt the usual occupation of a district, the land being tilled and the flocks pastured as usual in the daytime, the combatants assembling for the fray at evening on the common or in the market-place of the town or village. When a few men have bitten the dust, the hostile parties withdraw, in order to bury the dead, and the battle is over for the time.

Though women are not the principals in these vendetta, it is no uncommon thing for them to take part in the bloody frays to which they give rise, and for which their custom of carrying arms makes them always ready. Mrs. Blunt describes[1] a combat of this description which took place in the neighbourhood of Uskup (Skopia), the cause of contention being merely a hare, to which two sportsmen laid equal claim. As neither would give in, it was decided that the case should be tried by combat on the village green. The duel, however, soon became a general *mêlée*, relatives and friends joining the principals, and women fighting by the side of their husbands and brothers. One girl of seventeen, the sister of one of the sportsmen, fought, it is said, with a desperation and success

[1] *The People of Turkey*, vol. i. p. 81.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

628
562 worthy of a better cause, and fourteen victims fell,
578 thus perpetuating the feud among the survivors.

On another occasion the breaking of a girl's pitcher at the fountain by two mischievous boys resulted in such a desperate contest between her friends and theirs that some sixty persons fell in the fight. It is said, however, that even on such occasions as these
562 the men refrain, as far as possible, from striking or
577 wounding the women, for the Albanian code of
484 honour makes it impossible to attack a woman, whether armed or unarmed. The sacredness attached to their persons extends also to those whom they take under their protection. Escorted by a girl only, travellers may safely pass through the wildest parts of the country, and a man may cross, without fear, the lands of one with whom he is at feud, if he have the safe-conduct of a woman belonging to his enemy's family.

577 To such an extent is respect for women carried by
562 the Albanians, that it is contrary to their notions of
522 propriety ever to make women the subject of jokes or humorous stories. Insult or annoyance offered to a
578 girl, or carrying off one without the consent of her
562 parents, almost invariably results in bitter feuds between families, or fierce battles between tribes. As with most mountain people, the moral code is with
684 the Skipetars exceedingly strict. Among many of the tribes any lapse from virtue on the part of a woman is punished with death, a subsequent marriage not being allowed to condone the fault. The penalty of adultery is of equally Draconic severity. The unfaithful wife is placed up to her shoulders in a pit, and

drop falling from a rock, the delicate sound of ooo
our breathing and of the blood in our ears.

"Which proves nothing, of course. The sound wasn't in the right direction; the echoes didn't work," said Alex.

"Yes," I said. "But I wish they had. It would have given us such delightfully shivery sensations."

So we came up out of the wood,[1] and over the next mountain, and there on a slope, where the dead grass was splotched with patches of rotting snow and the soft earth trodden by the sharp hoofs of goats, we came back with a jolt to problems of unquestioned reality. For we met a 423
woman, herding the goats, who believes in 578
private property.

She was a tall, dark-eyed woman, handsome, but not beautiful. Her face, as we say, was full of character; and there was independence, even a shade of defiance, in her bearing as she stood watching us approach, her chin up, her eyes cool and steady, one hand grasping a peeled branch as a staff, her ragged skirt strained against her by the wind that blew down from the mountain pass. Her thick, dark hair hung forward [777]
over her shoulders in two braids, and from each dangled a charm of bright blue beads, defense against any demon she might meet in the mountains.

"Long life to you!" she said.

"And to you long life!" we replied, and, seeing her glance fall covetously on my cigarette—only

[1] [Wood of the Ore -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

423 the swiftest flicker of a glance, it was—I offered
578 her one. She took it, thanked me, lighted it from mine.

"A bold woman," said Perolli.

"Why?"

[562] "In these mountains,[1] the women smoke, but
[574] not before men; that is a man's privilege, and it is unwomanly to smoke in their presence. Are you a woman?" he asked her, in Albanian.

"A woman of Pultit, married in Shala. A widow with two children, demanding justice from my tribe," she said.

I looked about. There was nothing but snow and wet earth to sit on. Well, she must have been standing for hours, watching the goats. I leaned on my staff. "What justice?" said I.

She told us with a calm precision; none of her people's rhetorical flourishes. Even through the barrier of language I could see that she was stating her case as a lawyer might who was not addressing a jury.

She had been married five years; she was twenty-one years old. She had two children—boys. While she was married her husband had built a house. It was a large house; two rooms. She had helped her husband build that house. With her own hands she had laid the slate on the roof. She liked that house. She had lived in it four years. Now her husband had been killed by the Serbs and she wanted to keep that house. She wanted to live in it, alone, with her two children.

1 [Albanian mountains-- [98] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

"But it is impossible!" said Perolli. "A large house, with two rooms, for one woman?" 423 578

By the Virgin Mary, she said, yes! She wanted that house; it was her house. She was going to have that house. She was not going to stop talking till she got that house.

"By Jove! I like her spirit!" said Frances. The woman stood looking from one to the other of us, defiant, superb.

"Well, but what's become of the house?" Alex demanded.

Her husband's brother, head of the family now, had taken it. He was living in it with his wife and children and brothers and cousins and —I forget exactly; seventeen of them in all. The family, which comprised all the village at the foot of the slope on which we stood, had decided that the house should be used for them. She and her children could live with them. But she would not do it. She wanted that house all for herself; she said again that it was her house. Until she got that house nothing would content her or keep her silent. Her sons she had sent to the priest's house in Plani—to the same "macaroni" who had refused us shelter. He had taken them in and promised to educate them for the priesthood. For herself, she remained in this village, clamoring for that house. If she got it before her sons were grown and married she would bring them back to live with her. She might do so, even when they were married. That did not matter; what she wanted was the house, her house, all for herself.

PEAKS OF SHALA

423 "Well," said Perolli, "I pity the chiefs of that
578 village."

"But where do you suppose she got the idea?"

"Heavens knows. Who can tell what women will think of?" said Perolli.

We left her standing on the cliff edge, still superb and still defiant, the cigarette in her hand and the blue beads twinkling at the ends of her braids. A bright scarlet handkerchief was twisted around her head, and her wide belt, thickly studded with silver nails, shone like armor. A picture of revolt, and I thought what a catastrophe she must be in the peaceful village to which, clinging and dropping from bowlder to bowlder, we were descending.

"Will we see her again?" I asked.

"Oh, she'll probably drop in during the evening. She looks like a woman who would," said Perolli.

361 The village was perhaps fifteen houses, clustered on flat land at the foot of the cliffs. Beyond it, a creamy blue flood swollen by the rains, the Lumi Shala ran straight between the mountain
[32] ranges. A score of little streams, stone walled and crossed by tiny stone bridges, ran through the village, and all the land on which it stood was cut into odd-shaped pieces by many stone fences and raised channels of stone for irrigation water. Dropping down into that village was rather like being a very small gnat descending on a piece of half-made honeycomb.

000 All the earth was sodden with water; we sank

PEAKS OF SHALA

574 to help his wife cook the dinner; there was a built-up place of stone outside where the cooking fire was made. All this time we had been talking, making the courteous speeches that accompany coffee drinking, and exchanging cigarettes.

One of the empty cigarette boxes—the little, ten-cigarette, tin-foil-lined ones—I handed to a little boy, perhaps four years old. He took it gravely, thanking me like a man, and retired to look at it. But hardly had he opened the flap when I saw the hand of a chief come over the boy's shoulder and quietly take the box. The boy gave it up, not even a shade of discontent on his face, and it passed slowly from hand to hand, was inspected, marveled at, discussed. The cunningness of the folding, the beautiful design of printing and picture, the delicacy of the tissue paper that had been around the cigarettes, the pliability of the tin foil, of metal, and yet so thin, engrossed them all. When they had satisfied their curiosity and admiration, it went back to the boy, who took it with his hand on his heart, bowed, and sat for a long time looking at it.

"Have you ever seen such perfect courtesy?" said, I, marveling. "And from such a baby!"

Perolli looked at me in amazement. "Why, what's strange about it?" he asked.

423 Undoubtedly we were among the most cour-
578 teous people in the world, I thought, but the next moment that idea was completely upset,

for out of the darkness walked that rebel woman who believes in private property. 423 578

She came quite calmly into the circle of the firelight, her beautiful hands low on her thighs, below the wide, silver-shining marriage belt, the blue beads twinkling at the ends of the long black braids of her hair, her chin up, and a light of battle in her eyes.

"May you live long!" said she to the circle, and, "To you long life!" we responded. But the chiefs looked at her sidewise from narrowed eyes and then again at the fire, and hostility came from them like a chill air. The children looked at her with wide, attentive eyes, chins on their hands; the sprawling, graceful, handsome youths seemed amused. Beyond the firelight, the women of the household went about their tasks; one came in and lowered from her shoulders a large, kidney-shaped wooden keg of water.

"When am I going to get my house?" said the woman. She stood there superb, holding that question like a bone above a mob of starving dogs, and they rose at it.

I have never seen such pandemonium. Three chiefs spoke at once, snarling; they were on their feet; all the men were on their feet; it was like a picture by Jan Steen changed into the wildest of futurist canvases. I expected them to fly at one another's throats, after the words that they hurled at one another like spears. I expected them to strike the woman, so violently they thrust their faces close to hers, clenching quiver-

423 ing fists on the hilts of the knives in their sashes.
578 She stamped her foot; her lips curled back like a dog's from her fine, gleaming teeth, and she stood her ground, flashing back at them words that seemed poisoned by the venom in her eyes. "My house!" she repeated, and, "I want my house!" These words, the only ones I recognized, were like a motif in the clamor; Rexh and Perolli were both too much absorbed to translate, and we added to the turmoil by frantic appeals to them.

Then, suddenly as the calm after an explosion, they were all quiet. They sat down; they rolled cigarettes; the coffee maker picked up his flung-away pot and went on making coffee. Only the eyes of the chiefs were still cold and bitter, and the woman, though silent, was not at all defeated. There was a pause.

"Ask them what she wants," said I, quickly, to Perolli.

"Who can say what the avalanche desires?" replied the chief, contemptuously. "She would break our village into pieces. She has no respect for wisdom or custom. She says that a house is her house; she is a widow with two sons, and she demands the house in which she lived with her husband. She wishes to take a house from the tribe and keep it for herself. Have the mountains seen such a thing since a hundred hundred years before the Turks came? She is *gogoli*."[1]

"I helped to build that house," said the woman.

[1] Gogoli—bewitched by a demon of the mountains; insane.

PEAKS OF SHALA

423 578 "With my own hands I laid the roof upon it. It is my house. I will not give up my house."

Frances and I hugged each other in silent convulsions of delight. My pen spilled ink on my excited hands as I tried to capture their words in shorthand. I was seeing, actually seeing with my own eyes, the invention of private property!

"What are they going to do about it?"

The question was not too tactful, nor too happily received, but they answered it. "They have already called a council of the whole village four [627] times," said Perolli. "They will do nothing about it.* Houses belong to the tribe. It is a large house, and the people have decided that her dead husband's brother shall have it for his household. She has been offered a place in it. If she does not want that, she can live wherever she likes in the tribe. No one will refuse shelter or food to her and her children. She has friends with whom she can live, since she quarrels with her husband's brother. All this is absurd, and they will not call another council to satisfy a foolish woman."

"I want my house," said the woman.

Then the oldest man—one of the little boys was playing with the silver chains around his neck, and another hung heavily against his shoulder, but his dignity was undisturbed and he was obviously chief of the chiefs—appealed to me.

609 423 "In your country, what would you do with such a woman?" And I perceived that I was

* [For data on this gnie - [107] vance, see cat. 116, pp. 97-101, 104-107 -- Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

of the cross, and hears in his forests the voices of the ora. This vague religion is unconscious. The Albanian himself does not recognize it, but it is the resisting subsoil which has prevented acknowledged religions from taking deep root. Families of all religions freely intermarry; Mohammedan women are unveiled, or Catholic women veiled, according to the fashion of their town; in the mountains neither are veiled. In Guri-Bardhe, a village of the Mati known as being fanatically Mohammedan, the women were quite willing to pose for photographs, and Limoni, the chief, was defying the local *hodji* by demanding a modern school; the *hodji* taught the children nothing worth while, he said. In the spring religious festivals—the two Easters and the fast of Ramazan—all Albanians in Tirana took part, and Mohammedan fezzes were thick in the midnight processions carrying Easter candles.

There has never been friction along the frontiers of the three religions. All Albanians united to resist the Romanizing and Germanizing influence of Catholicism, the attempt of Shiek ul Islam to cripple the Albanian language by a Turkish alphabet (a revolution was fought, and won, for the Latin alphabet in 1910), and the Hellenizing propaganda of certain Orthodox Churchmen.

But there is a real division in Albania. It lies between the Toshks, or southerners, and the Ghegs, who are the mountaineers. Men who have held their mountain fastnesses and main-

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

tained their independence for six centuries within 184
the Turkish Empire look with distrust and con- 578
tempt on the Toshks whose valleys have been flooded by every wave of invaders. The Toshks, who are the educated men of Albania, and the travelers, are equally contemptuous of the Ghegs, ignorant men unable to read or write. Nor do the Toshks admit that they cannot fight as well as the Ghegs. It was the Toshks in Sicily who fought with Garibaldi, the Toshks of Egypt who fought with Mehmet Ali; the Albanian soldiers in Russia and Rumania and Turkey are Toshk; the 50,000 Albanians ~~in~~ the United States are Toshk, and fought well with the Americans in France. Hundreds of them have returned to spread American ideas through the south; there are Toshk villages in which American English is spoken by nearly every child. Men from these villagers led the forces that drove the Italians from Valona in 1920. Indeed, say the Toshks, they can fight as well as Ghegs. But it is not fighting that Albania needs.

One of the errors about Albania, to which I 133
fear my descriptions may contribute is the belief that the country is entirely mountainous. This is true of the northern part, adjoining Montenegro. Farther south the ranges are like the partitions in a house; steep, high, almost impassable, they surround valleys and plateaus of rich level land, much of it irrigated. The 132
climate of the valleys is semitropical; rice, cot- 241
ton, tobacco, citrus fruits, figs, and pomegranates

POSTSCRIPT

She had great natural wealth and no debts, 175
but she had no currency of her own, no banks, 727
no credit system. She had hides, wool, and olive oil to export, but all her frontiers were closed by enemies. She had minerals, forests, water power, oil, harbors, but no machines of any kind, no trained men, no commercial organization. She had the strongest men, the bravest fighters, the most indomitable national spirit in Europe, but few of her people could read or write. Certainly more than half the population was ill from malnutrition and malaria, and she had probably the highest infantile mortality rate in Europe.

This was the new Albania which must somehow maintain itself. And if the curtain of silence behind which this Balkan drama is played were a stone wall shutting out her neighbors, the situation would not be so difficult. But Italy—promised southern Albania by the secret Treaty of London in 1915 which induced her to join the Allies against Germany, and cheated of her payment—has authority from the League of Nations to occupy Albania again if the Albanians fail to maintain a stable government. Serbia is still intriguing to push farther south and west the boundary lines not yet entirely fixed by the League of Nations.

There were other difficulties. Because the 175
Toshks are the Albanians who can read and 727
write, the weak provisional government[1] was 578
Toshk. Around the fires in their mountain houses, the Ghegs were saying that only cow-

1 [After World War I - Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

POSTSCRIPT

175 ardly Toshks would allow free Albania to bow
727 to a League of Nations—a League of the very
578 Powers who were her enemies. The Ghegs, they said, were no such shameful trucklers. And every fire had its refugee guests who had fled from burning villages, leaving terror and death behind them. These refugees cried to their brother Ghegs for vengeance. Did the Ghegs call themselves men and Albanians? they demanded. "Our teeth in the throats of the Serbs!" the Ghegs replied.

Meanwhile in Tirana the Toshks were talking softly of patience, and of more patience, of waiting month after month for a commission and yet another commission from the League of Nations. The Toshks—with that threat of Italian invasion over them—were demanding peace, peace at any cost. Albania must wait for the League of Nations to fix the boundaries, must acquiesce in any boundaries fixed, must be quiet, must wait.

While they waited, the people starved. Prices in Albania are higher than in the United States—higher in dollars. The homespun garments have worn out; there is nothing to replace them. Fields have been devastated, and no men left alive to till them. Flocks have disappeared, horses and mules are gone. And as the boundaries have been fixed, mile by mile upon a map, Dibra and Mati have lost their market cities, Dukaghini and Merdite have lost their grazing lands, the tribes of Hoti and Gruda and Castrati have been cut in two. Still, the Albanian gov-

POSTSCRIPT

ernment spoke of peace, demanded peace, and— 175
determined to have peace—set about disarming 727
the Ghegs in the very face of their enemies. 578

This was the Albania into whose capital I 000
blithely rode, in the rattling little Ford, on that spring night of 1922. I pass over all the minor political disputes, the ambitions of selfish men, the mistakes of foolish ones, the bitter rivalry between Elbassan, to the south, Scutari, to the north, and Tirana, in the center, for the honor and profit of being Albania's capital. Tirana 361
was, tentatively, the capital; made so because it was everywhere conceded to be the least progressive, the most hopelessly Mohammedan, the most dangerously un-Albanian city in the country. The government had made Tirana the capital for the same reason that the teacher puts the worst boy of the class in the front seat. But this was no solace to Scutari or Elbassan.

Tirana, the white, low town, drowsed in the sun; [7] water rippled in the gutters of the winding, walled streets; donkeys laden with cedar boughs, the brooms of Tirana, carefully picked their footing on the uneven cobbles; women with gayly painted cradles on their backs trudged behind the donkeys. Men in rags of their homespun white garments and Scanderbeg jackets and colored sashes sat all day on the low walls around the mosques. The fez makers, amid their piles of raw wool and mixing bowls and heating irons, were talking politics, and so were the men in the street of the coppersmiths, which is musical from

7 [In spring 1922 [301] -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

comed Turkish protection against the Slavs and Greeks who 642
threatened them on every side. It resulted rather from the jealousies of the Powers; and it was their representatives who determined the territories of the new state with such singular disregard for economic and ethnological considerations that they left as many Albanians outside the boundaries of Albania as within them.

The total number of Albanians has been generally com- [162]
puted at some two millions. Of these, upwards of one million lived within the frontiers which were proposed by the Ambassadors' Conference in 1913, ratified in 1926, and once more restored in 1945. Of the remainder, more than six hundred thousand inhabited the Kossovo, while the others were scattered in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Epirus. The amputa- [243]
tion of the Kossovo was a heavy loss to the new state; for the region was the natural granary of the northern provinces, and the standard of living of the Ghegs rose or fell according as they were allowed or denied free access to it.

The economic and social structure of the Ghegs, or Northern 184
Albanians, was one of tribal anarchy, save in the coastal plain 621
and the Kossovo, where there were feudal estates. Islam and [162]
Roman Catholicism were the accepted religions: the Moslems inhabiting Central and North-eastern Albania with the Kossovo, the Catholics Mirdita and the inaccessible ranges of the north-west. A way of life near to the tribal system of the Ghegs still survived in the mountains of Southern Albania, but the Tosk tribes had never wholly recovered from the repressions of Ali the Lion and had increasingly disintegrated into communities of landowning peasants. The broad plains of the South, however, remained divided into feudal estates, owned by an Ottomanised ruling class and worked in part by an Orthodox Christian peasantry. Thus, while the distinction between Moslems and Catholics was one of geography and history, the Catholics being those Albanians whom the Turks had never subdued, that between Moslems and Orthodox was one rather of class and of cash.

It was scarcely to be expected that a conference of ambassa- 578
dors would quickly set up a strong state among a people divided 642

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

578 by geography, dialect, religion, and tradition, as well as by the new frontiers assigned to them. Nor indeed were the Powers conspicuous by their efforts to achieve Albanian unity. The German Prince of Wied, whom they chose as head of the new state, arrived in Durazzo in March 1914, with no previous experience of the Balkans and little enough of fallen human nature. He found his principality torn between three armed factions, each supported by foreign gold and inspired by the personal ambition of their leaders. These were Prenk Bib Doda Pasha, hereditary Captain of the Catholic Mirdita; Essad Pasha Toptani, a former general of the Turkish army and the most powerful chief in Central Albania; and Ismail Kemal Vlora, a cousin of the Grand Vizier Ferid Pasha and the chief man among the Tosks. On his arrival the Prince invited these warlike men to dinner, and, in the course of conversation, Prenk Bib Doda turned to him and remarked:

"If Albania is to be ruled peacefully, three persons ought to be hanged: Ismail Kemal, Essad Pasha, and myself! If all three of us were dead Albania would fare much better!"

Seldom in history has such disinterested advice been tendered by a subject to his sovereign. Prince William, however, failed to act upon it and within six months he was driven from his throne, never to return, by the bashi-bazouks of Essad Pasha and Ismail Kemal.

In the years of the first World War and of its aftermath, Prenk and Ismail Kemal intrigued and counter-intrigued with the agents of the Powers whose armies marched and countermarched across Albania. But they were not destined to see the final settlement: Ismail Kemal died in Italy in 1918, apparently of natural causes, while Prenk and Essad were both murdered in 1920 at the instigation of the Italian Government; the latter while attending the Peace Conference in Paris. In Albania strife and confusion persisted for a time; but, with the passing of the old leaders and in face of the determination of Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece to deny to each other the control of the Straits of Otranto, the internal political situation slowly crystallised into a recognisable form.

A new generation of political leaders now came forward,

they reminded these onlookers how everything had been divided. 428
Then if disputes arose later between the brothers these could bear 574
witness to the division. No documents[1] were drawn up, the oral 723]
testimony of the witnesses in general, and in particular the mute
testimony of the boundary stones, was enough for the unwritten
law. Where a dead father had held title-deeds, these were distributed appropriately among the brothers, but such cases were few. 578

Too often, the division was followed there and then by disputes. 428
Most frequently they were about the land and due to greed, for each brother knew that on the portion allotted to him on that day he and perhaps unborn generations of his descendants must live, and he naturally tried to make it as large as possible. Sometimes a brother was rightly disgruntled. Dividers were human enough to make mistakes; an eldest brother sometimes tried to cheat when dividing; at times even an elder showed favouritism. In such cases the division was revised, an elder dividing instead of the eldest brother or a second elder instead of the first, on the usual 'elder after elder' basis. Or instead of having one elder between them the brothers might each put in one for himself; in this case they must all stand aside and leave the elders to fight things out.

Not infrequently one brother was simply cantankerous. Then 623
the easiest way for the elders to make him see reason was to exercise 574
their right to have all their meals at the family's expense until their 428
work was done. They might go away, leaving the division incomplete and refusing to return until he bent his stubborn neck and in person fetched them back with promises to be good. This meant an extra meal, an expense that even the trouble-maker deplored in his heart, if not openly. As it was, surely unfairly, shared by the reasonable brothers these were from the first careful to do nothing to excite the other further. There was no difficulty about extracting this meal, as the commonest source of trouble, the land, was always divided before the livestock.

A story of Turkish times from Godolesh shows the elders taking cruder but no less effective steps to settle matters. A family at the top of the village refused to accept the division they proposed. 'Where is your best ram?' asked the elders the first day, and ate the animal. 'Where is the pot of *bekmès* (boiled grape juice)?' they asked the second day, and emptied this. 'Where is the butter jar?' they asked the third day, and devoured that. The brothers then came to their senses and allowed the suggested division to proceed.

1 [concerning the division of land at the time of separation of brothers--Analyst]

regulation width from the boundary. If this involved him in more 351
expense it also saved him and his descendants from ever quarrelling 596
about the wall. It also gave his dog room enough to run round his 417
house at night, a not unimportant point. But even a brother could not be allowed to erect a building against his neighbour's wall. The risk from the drips of rain from it was too serious.

If one neighbour wished to fence or wall in his field he did 578
no wrong, strictly speaking, by building the barrier along the 423
middle of the grass-grown footpath along the boundary between 417
fields, and so on the very boundary line. But this caused so many quarrels that in Mirditë and the Malësi e Madhe the law bade him leave the width of his barrier free between its outer base and the boundary, just as he must do when building a wall across his courtyard. In its wisdom the law was providing for the future.

Theoretically, a man could not only build his fence or wall 423
along a boundary line, but could also ask his neighbour to make 685
half of it. In practice, however, the neighbour might be too lazy 417
or might say he was too poor or too ill to do his bit. In Kastrat[1] he could be fined 250 grosh and three rams for his unneighbourliness, and this possibility sometimes drove him to action. In the ingenious Malësi e Madhe the first man might in malice run up a fence parallel to the boundary but with an opening sixteen spans (3·20 metres) wide at either end. This ensured that his animals strayed through the opening on to his bad neighbour's field and ate it up. To give the neighbour no chance to make him move his fence he ran it up four spans, half the width of the horse-track, from the boundary. Most men, however, preferred to make the whole fence themselves, constructing it at least half the width of a footpath from the boundary. If two neighbours made half the fence each, but one made his half badly, this man was at fault—whether his sheep strayed into the good fencer's field or the good fencer's into his. The loss always fell on him; in the first case he had to compensate his neighbour, and in the second he had no right to be compensated for the damage done by the animals. 417

Sometimes a man wished to fence in a field which was bounded by a road. In Krasniqë and some other hilly districts he had to leave a strip of his land as well to allow for the fence slipping down on to the road, an ever likely possibility.

Most hedges of dead thorn were directly over the boundary line, 417 685

[1] See Appendix, Document V, § 11, p. 264.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

of aghas. The title of agha was a courtesy title bestowed by the populace. By special provision of the Turkish Government there had been hereditary aghas since the Turkish conquest at Botush in Yugoslav Kosovë; these, says their representative in Albania, took precedence of all bajraktars in Albania and Kosovë.

Given the pride of a bajraktar in his standard and of a 'first family' in its descent, a clash between the two was not uncommon. When this took the form of an ordinary isolated quarrel, elders were called in from another tribe to judge between the disputants. Their own tribe did not venture to try the issue, knowing that it might suffer, as outside elders could not do, for an unwelcome judgement. If the elders failed to effect a settlement, shooting began between the parties, both bajraktar and 'first family' being followed by his own kin. A man related to both followed the one to whom he was more nearly related; this at least in theory. In practice they often showed a naive sense of which side their bread was buttered and joined the disputant with the stronger following.

Sometimes a long struggle for precedence developed between 'first family' tenacious of its ancient privileges and an ambitious bajraktar. In Lurë, for instance, both the Catholic Zef Doçi of Lurë e Vjetër (Old Lurë) and the Mohammedan Ibrahim Gjoçi of Kreje had long been rivals of the Mohammedan bajraktar Hakik Aliu Meta. In 1926 Gjoçi had the largest following, because he maintained the tribe with surpassing generosity. Within a decade he ate himself out of house and home, and then lost nearly all his power, retaining only the tribesmen's affection and respect for his past benefits. He therefore ceased to hamper the ambitions of the bajraktar. Zef Doçi, the 'first family' in the whole tribe, was a more obstinate rival, as his power rested less on his lavish doles than on his descent and personal wisdom. Ancestor after ancestor had been 'captains' in Turkish times, whereas Gjoçi and Meta had never been 'captains' till created by King Zog. The bajraktar began by undermining Doçi's position with traditional doles. He sent sheep to the poor at every festival and went guarantee for them in the shops during crises such as weddings and burials. 'So they all follow me now', he told the visitor with disarming simplicity. He had resorted to direct action, seizing every chance to kill off the guns in Doçi's family. In 1933 some brigands, who had killed one of Llesh Doçi's men, were harboured in a mountain sheepfold by the bajraktar's shepherds. Together with Zef and other relatives,

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Llesh ambushed the brigands and wounded one. As one of his men was killed, the two sides were 'one and one', equalized, and could have made peace. But the opportunity was too good for the bajraktar to miss. By the law of the mountains Llesh should not have attacked the sheepfold until he had asked the bajraktar to withdraw his protection from the brigands and had met with a refusal. So the bajraktar vowed he would not make peace but would have Doçi's blood for the 'injury'. Soon he learned that Zef Doçi and all his male relatives were at a wedding in a poor man's house. Under cover of darkness his followers crept up to the house and shooting through the windows killed two and wounded four of the wedding guests. A year later the bajraktar managed to have a third man from Zef's family killed, leaving Zef almost alone.

In his charities this bajraktar of Lurë took no account of the recipient's religion, helping a Catholic as readily as one of his fellow Mohammedans. If he discriminated between the two he would gain nothing from the Albanian government, which ignored religious differences. In Turkish times discrimination in favour of Mohammedans would have furthered his designs by winning approval from the Turkish government. He found, however, that the proved loyalty of his family to King Zog's stood him in even better stead. A marriage had also proved a useful asset. Metë Hoti, the best shot in Lurë, would have been expected to join Zef Doçi, because his mortal enemy, Dalip Kaci, followed Zef's enemy, the bajraktar. Unfortunately for Zef, Metë had a sister married to one of the bajraktar's household. Since joining Zef meant shooting at the bajraktar's men, Metë feared to have the blood of his nephews on his hands and continued reluctantly, side by side with his mortal enemy, to follow the bajraktar.

The result of the struggle can be shown by the numbers of the levies raised by the three captains for the Albanian government in 1926, 1933 and 1935 respectively. They were as follows:

	1926	1933	1935
Zef Doçi	150	50	23
Ibrahim Gjoçi	300	40	32
Bajraktar	4	300	400

It would have been interesting to revisit Lurë to see the effect on the position established by the Italian occupation. The bajraktar,

17:Thurnher E-4 (no date) 1956 EF6 Serbs

Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1

Y 342 [361] Settlements of the Vlahs are located in steep hillsides far away from the highways. The houses are large, have a number of rooms, and are two-story structures. They are rectangular and of stone; the higher the altitude the thicker the walls become. Windows are not very large, but all two-story buildings have a balcony on the second floor. When they consist of only one story the veranda is lacking (Capidan, 1941: 29-30). The floor plan of both stories consists of a central hall with side rooms. In winter the ground floor is used for habitation, in summer the upper story, although in large families both floors are occupied in summer and winter. Most daily activities take place in the hall of the ground floor. The side rooms there are generally for storage, and most of the sleeping rooms are on the top floor. One or two guest rooms may be present. (Capidan, 1941: 29-30).

Y 343 Farm Buildings. In the yard one finds the košara, a long rectangular building made of wicker with a straw roof, used for sheep in winter. The circular chicken coop is likewise of wicker (fig. 38). The most important structure is the plemnja, which is located close to the threshing floor and serves for the storage of straw and fodder. Poorer ones are made of wattle and daub and covered with straw; however, they are generally of the same construction as the house. Y [184] They are one-story buildings and are found in all villages of southern Macedonia. While they may be located in the yard they usually form a group away from the houses (Milojević, 1921: 87-88).

Y 342 [233] Buildings Outside the Village. In the mountains one finds groups of up to twenty shepherds' huts that form a hamlet, looking like beehives from afar. They have a diameter of 5-6 meters and are not higher than 3 meters. They are constructed of woven twigs or straw and plastered with mud. The walls are about 10-15 centimeters thick. The upper part of the "bee-hive" has a roof consisting of about 5-7 rows of straw which merge with the walls. In the interior Y [354] [286] one finds a fireplace with a cauldron hanging over it, and a loom (Capidan, 1941: 31-32).

In addition to these huts the Vlah shepherds have portable tents. Y [286] The tent is made by spreading a cloth of woven goat hair, 4-5 meters long and 2-3 meters wide, over a wooden frame. One of the triangular entrances remains open while the other is closed by woven cloth (Capidan, 1941: 32-33).

ALBANIA

A 133 Albania consists largely of rugged, barren mountains, bordered by a fairly wide coastal plain. Most of the available data deal with the mountain regions of northern Albania. This is an area of intensive feuding, where, as among the Spaši clan, up to 32% of A 341 mortalities are the result of feuds (Nopcsa, 1925: 52). This inter- •578 necine warfare is clearly reflected in the preference for stone

buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

579 A quarrel broke out between Krasnichi and Shala. Shala had a besa
685 with Krasnichi, but the Krasnichi had harried some Christian villages
609 near Djakova which claimed descent from Shala. Shala therefore declared the besa ended and raided Krasnichi at night, stealing three mules. This caused complications, for Shala and Krasnichi do not border with each other. Krasnichi sent three headmen to Nikaj to accuse Nikaj of having sheltered and fed the mule-stealers on their way, and being thus party to the theft. The Nikaj men and three Krasnichi sat all day at the foot of the big wooden cross in front of the church and argued furiously—Nikaj loudly protesting ignorance and innocence of the whole affair and bidding Krasnichi to go to Shala.

Vexed with Shala for getting them into trouble thus, a day or two afterwards Nikaj went a-raiding to Shala and stole two fine horses. Shala sent delegates and complained that the theft was unfair. The horses were not Shala horses but belonged to guests—some Klimenti men who had come under besa to pasture some beasts. The horses were, therefore, under besa, too, and should not be touched. Nikaj only replied rudely: "You should not leave the horses of guests straying about." And my horse and Marko's were put at night into one of the church outbuildings to secure them from retort. The two horse-stealers, however, kindly offered to sell the horses to Shala for five hundred piastres apiece. Shala was enraged. The sitting lasted till late, and the debate was put off till to-morrow. But next day the Shala men and the horses had all disappeared in the night. The two horse-thieves came in hot indignation to the church house to ask the Franciscan's advice. They considered that in stealing their own horses back and going off with them Shala had played a dirty trick and acted most unfairly. The Franciscan, Marko, and I all shouted with laughter: "Bravo, Shala!" The two thieves were hurt. In all innocence they told of the great pains they had taken to steal the horses in the first place, and now they had been robbed. It was most unfair. Nor could the padre make them see it in another light; for to them robbery from a tribe with which there is no besa was rather a merit than a crime.

Nikaj argued that if Shala had the right to take back these horses, then Shala should restore the three mules taken from Krasnichi. A delegate came from Shala to debate this and to ask, "Are you in besa with Krasnichi? If so, we return the mules." As Nikaj was in blood with Krasnichi and only a day or two before had refused to have anything to do with the mule matter, Nikaj could not defend its proposition. Shala withdrew, leaving Nikaj furious and the poor horse-thieves much depressed.

609 Such raids, of course, easily start blood-feuds. The more civilized
579 tribes and the intelligent headmen, who were increasing in number

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe.

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes.

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep.

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head.

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider.

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Skiperi would Our Lady of Scutari forgive her 173
children, and return to her ancient shrine.

The scene on this day in the great square building, 796
which, with its bare walls and absence of ornament, [346]
bears little resemblance to a Romish church, is most
striking and strange. The mass performed on the
occasion is listened to by a congregation whose
waists are perfect arsenals, bristling with pistols and
yataghans of every shape and pattern. There are [291]
wild-looking, fierce-moustachioed highlanders, white- [411]
kilted Mussulmans, chieftains blazing with gold em-
broidery, and milder citizens in more homely garb, all
assembled in honour of the Madonna, before whose
shrine their ancestors had worshipped. Yet, notwith-
standing their participation in the religious rites of 577
their neighbours, the Albanians are not less tenacious 579
of their own honour than of that of the creed they
profess, any insult offered to a Christian church being
promptly retaliated upon a Moslem mosque, and *vice versâ*. Of this the following incident, which occurred
about the middle of the century, offers a striking
illustration.

A certain Tahir Mala, of Bugna, belonging to the 585
Moslem tribe of the Gascii, having married his son to
a maiden of the Christian Schialla, set out to bring
the bride home, accompanied, according to national
custom, by a numerous train, and preceded by the
tribal banners. On the return journey, they stopped,
as usual, every now and then to fire volleys into the air.
Their way, however, lying past a Christian cemetery,
the cross, standing in the midst, offered a mark for 798
their pistols too tempting to be resisted, and was soon

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

798 riddled with balls. The tribe of the Schialla, having heard of this insult to their religion, prepared to take vengeance for it; but, the offenders being out of reach, they made the family of Bobi, to which the bride belonged, responsible. The Bobi engaged to obtain satisfaction within a week, or pay the penalty, and on the morrow the young men of the family set off for Bugna, where they killed two nephews of Tahir Mala. Not content, however, with this retribution, they entered the mosque, where they killed a pig, rubbed the doors with its blood, and placed the head on the ledge of the pulpit.

798
579
628

The Moslems, at this profanation of their mosque, hastened to complain to Mustapha Pasha, of Skodra, who prepared to send a military expedition against the Bobi. The latter, with the rest of the Schialla tribe, placed themselves under the protection of the Miridite Prince, Prenk Doda, who threatened the Pasha that, if troops were sent against the Schialla, he would not only support them, but call all the Christian highlanders to arms. The Pasha, alarmed at the prospect of a religious war for which he would be held responsible, then agreed to let the insulted cross atone for the polluted mosque, and cry quits with the Christians.

795 The number of Albanians affiliated to the Bektashi Order of Dervishes is said to be no fewer than 80,000. The lax observance of even the outward forms of Islam, characteristic of the followers of Hadji Bektash generally, is more especially observable in the conduct of the Skipetars, and has occasionally subjected them to persecution from their Osmanli Moslem neigh-

579

THE BANDIT WHOM WE MET IN THE CAVE ABOVE THE LUMI SHALA AND WHO SANG US THE SONG OF DURGAT PASHA

A letter just received from Albania brings the news that he has cut his beard, hung his rifle on the wall (when disarming the mountaineers the Albanian government made an exception in his case), and is now running, with considerable success, a sawmill in the Mati.

[2240]

PEAKS OF SHALA

the daylight. I, *I* in a bandit's cave! Such things didn't *happen;* they were only in books. So I said, meekly, timidly, quite inadequately, "Do you like—banditing?"

579 Yes, he said, he liked it very much. He became even poetic about it. I admit I took no notes of what he said. But I recall Rexh's voice repeating lyrical words about life on the mountains, camp fires and stars, freedom and fighting—the only life for a man, he declared. Once he had stopped being a bandit and gone back to the life of houses, but he was glad when the time came to be a bandit again.

I had not thought that being a bandit was a seasonal occupation, and I begged an explanation of these mysterious words. It developed that they referred to wars unknown and unrecorded save in the songs of the mountaineers, and we became so involved in references cryptic to me, but clear to the listening Albanians, that at last I was obliged to beg him to begin at the beginning and tell the straight story of his life. This he did, with the modest reluctance of a hero surrounded by admirers.

"I was not a rich man," he began, "but as our saying is, 'The smallest hair has its own shadow.' There were sheep in my house, and it was a house of two rooms, and the fields repaid our labor.. The tobacco box in my sash was never empty, and there was bread in the baking pan. There was a son in the cradle and another by the fire, and life was as smooth as the Lumi

* [Albanian bandit [225] encountered on trail above Lumi Shala -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

579 Shala in summer, until the coming of Durgat Pasha.

"After that came the treason of Essad Pasha, and, having then neither house, nor sheep, nor sons, nor tobacco, but only my rifle——"

We must interrupt, to bring him back to Durgat Pasha, and he was astonished that more than that name was needed to make us understand. Had we never heard the songs of Durgat
533 Pasha? Durgat Pasha, who in 1912 came from
539 the Sultan of Turkey to subdue the Sons of the Eagle? Durgat Pasha, who burned and killed, from the Mali Malines to the Malit Shkodra? He bent over the instrument on his knees, twanged three wild notes from it, and sang:

"Seven Powers had called a council,
Seven Powers met and said,
'Shqiperia is no more in our hands,
All Shqiperia is not in our hands.'
Then rose Durgat Pasha and took his gun.
'Leave this to me for three years.
O Sultan, I go for three years.
When I return the Shqiptars are yours.'
Durgat Pasha came past the white lake,
Durgat Pasha to the Mali Malines,
Durgat Pasha to the Mali Shoshit,
Durgat Pasha and five thousand soldiers.
He sends word to Hasjakupit,
'You shall send your rifle to me.
'Thirty Turkish pounds have I paid for my rifle,
Thirty pounds for my own rifle,
But I leave houses and lands and go with my rifle.
Thirty houses I leave behind me.'
These were the words of Hasjakupit.

ooo away, and a pale sunshine fell on Shoshi, which looked like a water-color picture in a gray frame. Our side of the valley was in shadow, but the rain had ceased and we should have been going on. I was held by a still unsatisfied curiosity about that bandit.

•579 "I thought bandits were highwaymen," I murmured, and, unwilling to ask interpreters to put the question that was in my mind, I laid the burden on my own lame knowledge of their language. "You kill Serbs?" I asked. "How do you get money?"

The whiskered face seemed to smile broadly at this boldness. "I get it on the trails," he said.

"From Albanians?"

"I get it where I can," he answered, indifferently. "The Austrians had money, and there were many Austrians in Albania. This rifle came into the mountains on an Austrian officer. I gave his clothes to a naked man of Dibra who was fighting the Serbs there. I got four Italian capes and trousers in one day, on the road north of Scutari, and there was money on their bodies, too. As to Albanians—there was a rich Albanian once, whom I met riding out from Ipek. Why should a man of Albanian blood ride in the eyes of the Serbs with gold in his pocket, while true Albanians are dying of cold and hunger? I took from him everything he had, and left him on the trail as naked as he came to the cradle. I said to him, 'You are the Sultan, and I am the Grand

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

Vizier. In your name I will give these things to your people, and they will be grateful.'"

We laughed hastily.

"But it is time to cut your beard and hang your rifle on the wall," Perolli suggested. "There is a free Albanian government now."

"But not a free Albania," said the bandit. "The government forgets that, and sits in council with the Powers that sold us to Italy and gave us to Serbia. Have you forgotten Kossova and a million of your brothers who are slaves to the Serbs?"

"I am of Ipek," Perolli answered him. "Nevertheless, I am first a Shqiptar and second a man of Kossova. And I remember our proverb that says, 'Better an egg to-day than a chicken next year.'"

"We have also a saying, 'Better the nightingale once than the blackbird every day,'" replied the bandit.

"Let it be. 'Every sheep hangs by her own leg,'" Perolli retorted, rising.

The honors were with him. For the moment, the bandit could think of no proverb which would be a weapon, and could only reply to our courteous farewells by wishing us smooth trails.

"The good man of yesterday becomes a burden to-day and a danger to-morrow," said Perolli, as we went slowly along the ledge of trail. "Why is it that our minds do not change as rapidly as the world changes around us? These mountain men will cling to their rifles, though the time is

Germans. I had been waiting for this opening and asked :

" Do you hold a reconciliation between the Partisans and Nationalist leaders like Abas Kupi to be possible ? "

" Yes, if they will fight the Germans as we do."

" Can they be persuaded to fight again ? "

[643] " I[1] fear there is only one way. If Zog will come to the radio and tell them to fight, then they will. You know that I have worked against him all my life, but I tell you now that he is the only man who can raise the Ghegs and so prevent civil war."

We finished talking towards midnight, when I took leave of Aqif and of my hosts ; for, unless I crossed the Drin before daybreak, I should be delayed on the west bank until the following night. The crossing was guarded by a gendarmerie post ; and the river was in spate. My obol, however, won the favour of the aged ferryman, who punted us over on a raft right under the nose of the sleeping gendarmes. A guide from • 579 Aziz Dino Hoja led the way beyond the river and I was followed by Kolaver, my personal bodyguard. This Kolaver was a lean and wolfish fellow, and a source of constant anxiety to my companions. He had started life as a brigand, but in the time of King Zog had turned gendarme, not indeed from any change of heart, but because he appreciated that, under a strong government, only the police can rob with impunity. When the Italians had invaded Albania he had returned to the mountains, judging that under their laxer rule it would be more profitable as well as more patriotic to pursue his calling after the manner of his youth. In those troubled times, however, brigandage proved a hard life ; and a solid if unusual interest in the King's restoration had led him to join Abas Kupi. He had attached himself to me during our progress through Mati, and at an early stage had been caught stealing in our camp. Abas Kupi had threatened him with death, but I had interceded on his behalf, because he was a gay rogue, and had saved him from his deserts by accepting responsibility for his future conduct. Thereafter he protected my belongings as if they had been the Holy Grail, and attended to my campaigning comforts with almost motherly devotion. Other people's

[1] [Aqif Llesh, a life-time opponent of Zog, cf. cat. ab. p. 133 -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

property, however, he continued to regard as fair game; but, though he sometimes boasted to me of his plundering expeditions, he was careful for my sake to honour the eleventh commandment.

Our guide seemed only casually acquainted with the district, and was besides terrified by rumours that a German patrol had been seen by the river earlier that night. Kolaver, however, encouraged him to find the path by alternately promising glittering rewards and jabbing him in the ribs with my submachine-gun. At last, after wandering for nearly four hours through rolling woods and meadows, we reached the house of Ramadan Kalloshi, where Maclean and Riddle were asleep.

Murad, the head of the powerful Kalloshi clan, had followed Zog into exile and lay in Istanbul, stricken with epilepsy. In his absence the leadership of the family was divided between his son, Ramadan, and his half brother, Myftar. In accordance with Dibran practice these two had proceeded to a division of labour: Ramadan pursued a pro-Allied policy, keeping in touch with the British missions, the Zogists, and the L.N.C., while Myftar sided with the Axis and led the government forces against the Macedonian Partisans. Ramadan was a dark young man, with the smooth, round features, delicate eyebrows, and moustache of a Moghul miniature. His nature was sombre and brooding, but he spoke with breath-taking frankness. Next morning in the course of conversation Riddle enquired after the health of his relatives and asked:

"How is your cousin, Selim?"

"The dead one?" Ramadan queried.

"Forgive me," Riddle said, "I didn't know that he had died."

"Well, he's not dead yet," came the reply, "but the doctors say that there is little hope, so we call him 'the Dead One' and are dividing up his property!"

His words sounded blatantly cynical, but they were not meant to shock, and it struck me at the time that they were symbolic of the attitude of the Albanians towards the problems of the war. In their eyes the Germans, like Selim, were "dead", because past hope of recovery; and the approaching

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

road two loaded donkeys might meet and pass, but two loaded 492
horses could not. When these met, one or the other had to step 499
aside from the road, turning back, if need be to find a suitable place in which to do so. This was almost invariably of nature's making; there were no artificial passing places as on narrow motor roads in England.

Load generally determined priority of passage. To use Albanian 494
phraseology, when a riding-saddle met a riding-saddle on a horse- 576
track the one with no saddle-bags or other load besides the rider had to turn back. The riding-saddle had to make way for the loaded pack-saddle, but had priority over an empty one. When two pack-saddles met, the one loaded and the other empty, the latter had to make way for the former. When they were both loaded or both empty, the one which was nearer a possible place at which to step off the road had to turn back. The same rules applied to carts. In the rare cases where there was plenty of room for two loaded horses or carts, there was no 'Keep right' or 'Keep left'; they could pass on whichever side they wished.

The rules about priority were apt to be honoured in the breach 494
rather than the observance. A man who was turned back on his road 628
felt, even if priority was not his, as much disgraced as if his gun had been taken from him. His honour was lost, and could not be redeemed unless he killed his rival. There have been many deaths for the sake of precedence. The men of Godolesh, who were satisfied when the offender was fined by the elders, were condemned by their neighbours as soft and citified. But even in Godolesh there was no more fertile cause of murder than disputes about who should have the right of way. The trouble arose because priority rules were often confused, especially on purpose by strong wilful men, with the general law of road ownership. As enunciated by Father [423]
Gjeçov, this law said that a village street or a public highway was nobody's individual perquisite, but belonged to one man as much as to another. Hence, the living and the dead—traveller and livestock, bride and corpse—had an absolute right to use either, and no man, even if the road passed close to the door of his house, could deny this right.

A road was free to all. It was for breaking this general law that [579]
highway robbery was punished so much more severely than other [685]
forms of theft, and that a traveller who killed a dangerous dog on a highway did not have to compensate its owner.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

everyone else did, and they would only have been laughed at if they 685
had refrained. As the proverb says, 'One bunch of grapes, seeing another ripening, then ripens itself'. Then there were incidental offenders: a man who could not recover a debt might distrain on his debtor by turning highwayman and seizing his pack-pony or sheep on the public road; or men might steal out of spite. The debt recovered or the spite vented, such thieves usually became law-abiding citizens again. Though poverty is, and always has been, extreme in this mountainous land, hunger rarely made a man steal. Few broke into a house to help themselves because of the risks involved. Many, however, would catch a lamb or kid on the mountain where the risks were less and, after killing it, make a cooking-vessel of its paunch and boil the meat over a gipsy fire. Sheep stealing often took place on a grand scale between family [579]
and family, village and village or tribe and tribe. There are many popular tales of forays for fun or glory. 'Ragging' the other house, village or tribe and, more especially, the hated Serbs and Montenegrins, was a recognized sport, and the bigger the booty the greater the glory. There was a picnic atmosphere about such expeditions. A hundred men might go, half to drive the sheep and half to take pot-shots at pursuers. As soon as the first party found the flock they killed the bell-wether and cut off its head. One of them held this out, bell and all, to the other sheep and ran off at top speed. As the sheep galloped helter-skelter after the head, the rest of the party ran hither and thither shouting and cursing, laughing and beating the sheep with sticks to make them run faster. Being pressed for time, they left the leader's carcass on the ground. They usually disarmed the shepherd and carried him off to prevent his giving the alarm. On releasing him they gave him what they pleased.

On the whole there was little shame about individual and group thieving, although there were many expressions of disapproval. The men of Lumë had a saying, 'Better be a good-for-nothing than a thief', which was in direct contradiction to their reputation. The Malesors asserted that all other tribes were thieves, but that they themselves never stole. The Catholics of Kthellë used to say that it was better not to sleep too softly like the Moslems of Mat, whose oxen had often been driven away, killed and eaten before they got out of their beds. The man who stole because he had been stolen from evoked universal admiration. There were, however, two forms

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

XI

S A 184 586 563 Customs among the Moslems vary in different districts, and with different races; as for example, the Bosnians and the Albanians of Metohija. In villages near Peć a man can divorce his wife; but the wife may only run away. If she does she cannot remarry. In Turkish days the man could kill an offending wife; this extreme measure is now forbidden to him. In some parts of Bosnia, however, wives and husbands have equal rights of divorce, though in the Travnik villages only the man can divorce, especially if there is no child. In case of death, a husband can remarry [587] the day after if he likes; a woman must wait at least three months.

A 586 When a Bosnian couple decide on divorce, both must go before the *šerijakski sud*, in which court they had deposited a signed document at their marriage. As soon as the marriage papers have been discovered, the divorce is granted. The process may take two hours, eight days, or an indefinite period. Divorce costs nothing if the wife comes before the court of her own free will.

A ●58 563 Albanian girls in Metohija are sometimes betrothed at birth, or at the end of their first year; and are usually married at fourteen or fifteen. The bridegroom is usually at least seventeen. But sometimes a betrothal lasts for years, until the bride-price has been collected. In Streoc, a village near Peć, a bride cost anything up to 10,000 dinars: after the crisis in 1931 her price fell to 5000 dinars.

S 595 563 S 587 563 Most of the Moslems I met had one wife. None but the rich, they said, could afford more than one, in Jugoslavia as elsewhere. Only in Bosnia did I find husbands with two wives, though one Moslem peasant, Šaban Lepi, living in a Travnik village, had considerably excelled Henry VIII in the number of his wives; he had nine—in succession. This experienced husband was a poor man in patched clothes, about fifty, with a ragged grey beard, who, when I saw him, was living with his ninth wife, Rasija, in a cottage of one room, with a wooden floor, and a kitchen with a mud floor. His first wife, Zuleha, during thirteen

854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of laths—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. Marriage

● 581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

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583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583 rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162 women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585 bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834 important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581 one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609 days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585 born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842 it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589 married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562 has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836 ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842 priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585 betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal, and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage." "They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586 miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away. In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31, 1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage." And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584 and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577 and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted, and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626 the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585 it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before
585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common.
584 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage
589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her
626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms,
689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given
562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself,
939 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

583
577 and ask the girl. The usual answer was that they were too modest. The suggestion seemed to be thought indecent.

● 581 The fact that both in Montenegro and Albania a word of Turkish
152 origin is used commonly for "to make love" (Montenegrin and Bosnian, "ashikovati"; Albanian, "ashik," lover—"ashari," love) suggests that love-making played little or no part in the marriages of both lands. I heard that the son of an Austrian mother and an Albanian father was betrothed and asked his mother if he was much in love. "O dear, no!" she cried. "Not in the least; he is quite Albanian!"

183 One case only I met in which—perhaps for the first time—a betrothal
583 was broken and the girl left free to marry. She was the niece of Mgr. Premi Dochi, mitred abbot of the Mirdites, a very remarkable man, whose death during the war was an immense loss to Albania.

I passed the night at her father's house. The girl sat sullen and glowering in a corner like a wild cat at bay. No one spoke to her. I asked what was the matter. She had refused to be sent to her betrothed. Her father was furious. Only the abbot's intervention had saved her. He talked the young man into admitting that it was useless to marry a girl who hated him and would probably run away, when another more amenable could be found, and got him to swear that no blood-
581 vengeance should be taken if the girl married another. But the father, enraged, declared often and loudly, "A girl marries to please her house and not for herself"; and rated her till I was sorry I had asked. Awe of the abbot alone had made him yield.

585 *Marriage Ceremonies.*—When the wedding-day is fixed the male relatives of the bridegroom go to fetch the bride. The bridegroom usually does not go. As the tribes are exogamous the distance may be considerable. Sometimes the men of the bride's family take her to a spot half-way and hand her over there. Sometimes she is fetched from her father's house. Moslem girls are always accompanied by one or two female relatives. Christian girls usually are, if the journey is a long one; but not always. In no case does the mother go.

Marriage among the Christians is according to the rites of the Catholic Church.

I was never at a mountain wedding, but was told some local ceremonies. In Klementi the bride, on coming to her husband's home, must throw an apple over the roof, and is given some corn. This recalls the confarreatio of the Romans. She is then led three times round the hearth. All through the mountains I gathered that a bride must enter the house with her right foot first and carry in a male child with her. On marriage the hair of the woman is dyed black and dressed differently from that of a virgin. There are various modes, according to district. In the Maltsia e Madhe the head is shaved in front and over the temples,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 belong. With the Moslems no religious character is
852 attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male
[779] relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father
[608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his godchild;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a
[302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

● 581 Although the Albanian beys have neither written
554 charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these
[779 177] ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Their wives and mothers, like women generally, are 581
well up in all the degrees of kinship and descent, and the preliminaries of betrothals are usually settled by them in the harem before they are submitted to the head of the family and communicated to the parties most nearly interested. Children are frequently 582
betrothed before they are ten years of age, and 584
occasionally while still in the cradle. In such cases, [583]
however, the arrangement is kept secret from the couple until the young man is in a position to marry. This usage is intended to prevent the Albanian youths marrying in the towns to which they resort for employment. A refusal on the part of a young 626
man to fulfil an engagement made for him by his 584
parents, would inevitably result not only in a vendetta with the relatives of the rejected bride, but in social ostracism. Such cases are, however, extremely rare, for, as the bridegroom elect has, as a rule, never beheld the bride chosen for him, he can have no reason for refusing to marry her. In such an eventuality 582
national usage decrees that the younger brothers and sisters of the maiden may not marry until her matrimonial affairs are satisfactorily settled.

Women in Albania being less numerous than men, 583
it is not customary to require a portion with the [162]
bride, who is, on the contrary, as among the Vlachs and Bulgarians, practically purchased from her father or brothers for a sum of money which varies according to the wealth and standing of the respective families. The parents of the maiden, however, besides providing the materials for her trousseau, supply her with various articles of jewellery and a

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"I should be glad to see the women of my tribe wearing American garments," said Lulash. "Skirts are heavy and cumbersome; trousers are far better."

Perolli translated.

"Goodness! He thinks all American women wear trousers!" I said. "Well, tell him I thank him; I agree with him; for the mountains trousers are more comfortable. Tell him I am much interested in the women of his tribe and would like to ask him some questions about them. And I'll die right here if you don't tell me what's happened."

"He will be glad to tell you anything he knows, but no man understands the nature of women, which is like the streams that run under the mountains. Don't worry; it's all over."

"What do you mean? Ask him if he thinks it is a good idea to betroth children before they are born. (What did you write in the notebook?)"

"He says he does not think it a good idea. (I tell you it's all right.)"

"Oh, thank goodness! Then he does not think the women are happy in their marriages? (But tell me what he was saying to you, won't you?)"

"He says that as for happiness, his people do not expect happiness in marriage; happiness comes from other things. (I cannot tell you; he would understand the word; I will spell it. He has sworn a *b-e-s-a* that his whole tribe will be loyal to the Albanian government as long as he [581]

[Lulash, tribal chief in Thethis -- Analyst]

lives. Careful! Don't let him suspect I'm talking about it.)"

Albanians, with their many languages, are used to such conversations. I hope I deceived Lulash; my training in dissimulation has been small. I was rather dizzy.

"From what does their happiness come, then?" said I. ("For Heaven's sake, what happened to make him do that?")

581 "Happiness," said Lulash, "comes from the 828 skies. It comes from sunshine, and from light and shadow on the mountains, and from green things in the spring. It comes also from rest when one is tired, and from food when one is hungry, and from fire when one is cold. It comes from singing together, and from walking on hard trails and being harder than the rocks; and there is a kind of happiness that comes to a man in battle, but that is a different kind. For us, marriage has nothing to do with happiness."

Perolli, translating, added, "He did it because the Albanian government has helped the American school here."

Then for the first time I really looked at Lulash. He had been until then simply a marvelously beautiful animal; a man such as men must have been before cities and machines and office desks brought dull skins and eyes, joy rides, padded shoulders, and crippling collars. Now I perceived that he was also a real person.

He saw beyond immediate gain for himself or his people. He had refused any advantages to

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

be gained by this unexpected dropping into his hands of this man that the Serbs wanted; he lived under the shadow of mountains alive with Serbian troops, his village was filled with Serbian influences, the Tirana government was two hundred miles away, and he knew nothing of it except that it had promised a hundred kronen a month to the mountain school that Alex and Frances had started. Yet he had come, voluntarily, without urging, to swear a *besa* of loyalty to that government because it had helped the school. And the *besa*, the word of honor, would hold him, I knew, as the strongest treaties never hold Western governments. I admired that man. I felt a tender sort of pity for him, too, because of his faith in the value of being able to read. After all, what has it done for us? Like most of civilization, it has done little more than create a useless desire that men become slaves to satisfy. It has made us very little kinder, very little less unsympathetic with alien points of view, and no farther from war, poverty, and misery than the Albanians are.

"Then what does marriage mean to the Albanians?" I said, grasping for the thread of the conversation.

Lulash was really puzzled by my idea that marriage and happiness were in some way connected. He was courteous, but there was a little surprise in his voice. "Marriage is a family question," he said. "One marries because one is old enough to marry, and that is the way

●581 the family goes on from generation to generation. You marry in America, do you not? You keep the family alive? How are marriages arranged in America?"

000 "With us," I said, "marriage does not have much to do with the family. Young people grow up thinking about themselves. Then, when they are old enough, if they have money enough to live on, and if they meet some one they like and want to marry, they marry. They marry to be happy, because they have found some one they want to live with always. They go away from their families, sometimes very far away, and live in a house by themselves."

It came over me, while I watched the surprise growing in Lulash's eyes, how haphazard and egotistic — how shallowly rooted, really — our whole system is. We marry because we want another human being, because—it really comes to that—we want to use that other human being to make happiness for ourselves. For even when one gets happiness by giving, instead of taking, it is still fundamentally a demand, a demand that the other take what is given, and that is sometimes the hardest of all demands to satisfy. Two persons, each demanding that the other be a source of personal happiness to him or her, each demanding, clutching, insisting on that gift from the other—that is the spectacle of American marriage. No wonder it so often ends in a heap of wreckage, out of which maimed human beings struggle through divorce.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG

"I do not understand what you mean by saying they must have money enough to marry," said Lulash. "There is always money enough to marry, isn't there? A man costs the tribe no more married than not married, and if new girls are brought into the tribe by marriage, others are given away in marriage. Even in the poorest tribes marriages never stop."

"We have another system of owning property in America," said I. "By that system, often men cannot afford to marry until they are quite old. They are never able to marry as young as you do here. In fact, many persons never marry at all."

"Because there are not enough women?"

"Oh no! The women work, too, and do not marry. (Goodness! Perolli, tell him it is too difficult to explain.)"

"He thinks," said Perolli, "that you mean that in your country the young men live like priests and the women like sworn virgins, such as they sometimes have here. He's very deeply shocked by such an idea. I'll have to tell him something—what? Either way, he'll get the idea that Americans are utterly immoral."

"Well, say that we have—that we have another kind of marriage, that isn't exactly marriage—say we have concubines. He'll understand that, from Turkey," said I, in desperation. And while Perolli endeavored to explain and still uphold the honor of America in the eyes of a profoundly shocked chief of Shala, I tried to

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000 devise another way of getting at the subject. For I did want to know what Albanian women felt about being married to men they had never seen, in strange tribes, and I knew they would never tell me through masculine interpreters. Lulash would know.

[156] "But most of the sources of happiness that you mentioned are in the lives of men," I said. "Are the women happy?"

"No," said Lulash. "I do not think our women are happy." He seemed deeply troubled; there were perplexity and anxiety in his dark eyes, and he moved restlessly—which Albanians almost never do—as he sat on the floor by the heap of coals in the baking dish. They had sunk quite into gray ashes; the bleak room was very cold, filled with the ceaseless swishing sound of the rain and of the innumerable waterfalls that poured from the mountains overhead.

"Perhaps I shouldn't be asking him this? Perhaps he is married to an unhappy woman?" I asked.

"No," said Perolli. "He is not married; he is the only man in Shala who is not married."

[593] "Our women have their children; they love their children," said Lulash. "And they do not quarrel with their husbands. It almost never happens that there are ugly words in a family. 581 But I do not think the women are happy. I do not know whether they would be happier if they chose their own husbands. Girls of the marrying age are not very wise. But I often think,

*[Tribal chief in [146] The this -- Analysis]

6: Lar T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

when I see a young girl taken away to the house 581
of some old man, who perhaps is sick and ugly and morose because he must stay all day in the house, that it is a sad thing. For myself, I would like to see the American way tried here. I have [582] said to my people that it is wrong to betroth children before they are born. We do not do it very often, now. Usually they are five or six years old, old enough so that one can see what they will become and what they will like. But parents do not often think of those things; they think more of marrying their children into a richer, stronger tribe, so that when war and bad seasons come there will be the strong, rich tribe to help them. Also, it is better for the child who is married into a good tribe. So that parents do not think much about the children themselves; they think more about the family and the tribe."

"Why isn't he married?" I said to Perolli. "Did they give the girl he wanted to some one else?"

"How could they, when he would have been a baby then?" said Perolli, indignant at my stupidity. "No. When he was old enough to marry he paid the girl's family and arranged her marriage to some one else. It is well known why he has not married; he does not want to marry a woman of the mountains, and he knows no other women."

"And in my country," I said to Lulash, "I think it would be better if parents thought more about the young man's family."

581 "Yes," he replied, "if they thought about the character of that family, as they would doubtless do in America. Here, they think more about the lands and herds and strong fighting men that the tribe has. I have often thought at night—for I lie awake a great deal, thinking about my people—that we would have better children if the women were free to choose their own husbands. They would choose men who were young and strong and beautiful. Also the young men would choose the strongest and most beautiful girls. There is another thing, too. I believe there is something like a spirit between two people, something that knows more than their brains do about what their children will be, and that that spirit would lead them into better marriages if they could listen to it. I do not say it very well, because there is no word for it, but I understand it. I would like to see my people try the American way," he repeated.

He rose to his six feet of height, splendid in fine white wool and silken sash, the jewel-studded chains clinking together on his chest, and swung the rifle again on his back. "I will go now to my own house," he said. "If the *zaushka* from America would follow me and drink coffee before my fire, the path her feet would take would always be flowery with spring to my eyes."

There is something contagious in that sort of thing. "Say to him that my feet will be happy on the path," I said to the amused Perolli.

"Glory to your lips!" said Lulash. "Glory

851 of hell fire, had brought it over the mountains and had it christened as her own, and Padre Marjan, all unsuspecting, had performed the ceremony.

Not half an hour later an almost naked man, streaming with rain as though he had swum the forty miles, appeared, breathless, with a water-soaked note from the other priest, and Padre Marjan read it aghast. "Merely parochial business," he said, tucking it in his belt and bending over the bubbling pots in the fireplace to taste and season. But his brown face remained wrinkled with worry.

581 A matter far more serious distracted attention from this complication in Church affairs, for Perolli, taking me aside, said to me: "You say you love the Albanians and the Albanian mountains. Do you want to stay here?"

"I'd love to stay here for years," I said. "It's the most beautiful country I've ever seen, and the most interesting people. But I can't, of course. Why?"

"Because you can, if you really do want to," said he. "I have a proposal of marriage for you."

"What!" said I. "You're joking!"

"Not at all," said Perolli, indignantly. "Do you think marriage is a thing to joke about?"

"But I never know what you mean," I complained. "And why should anyone want to marry me, here?"

"You needn't take it as a compliment to your

* [Sec. to the Minister of the Interior .. Analyst] [206] 2 * [Author - - Analyst]

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personal charm, if that's what you mean," said 581
Perolli, coldly. "It's really your short hair. But I can get twenty thousand kronen for you, if you want to marry and stay here."

"Twenty thousand kronen!" said I. "Two thousand dollars? For me? Here? But for Heaven's sake, why? You don't mean anyone thinks me beautiful, among all these Albanian women?" said I, indignantly.

"Of course not," said Perolli.

"And I can't even talk their language. What do you mean, twenty thousand kronen? And what has short hair to do with it? Don't be so annoying, Perolli. What *do* you mean?"

"Well," said Perolli, "Lulash[1] would like to have an American wife. I don't mean he put it to me so crudely as that. He didn't actually put it to me at all, in fact. But I know that he will [583] give twenty thousand kronen for you, and you can stay here and make over the whole life of Shala, if you like."

"But why me? Why not Frances, or Alex?"

"Because you are all a long way past marrying 302
age, in Albania, and their hair is long, so natur- 582
ally these people think they are already married. But your hair is short, so they think you are a sworn virgin. In these mountains, when a girl is old enough to marry and absolutely refuses to marry the man to whom she has been promised, she may escape the marriage by swearing before the chiefs of the two tribes an oath of life-long virginity, and she cuts her hair and takes a man's

1 [Tribal chief in Thethis -- Analyst]

582 place in the tribe. Naturally, when they see
302 you, at your age, with short hair, they think that is what you did. If you were an Albanian no one would dream of marrying you, for the man to whom your parents gave you would have to kill your husband to clear his honor, and all the chiefs before whom you had sworn would be bound in honor to see that your husband was killed. But America is a long way off; that man and the chiefs would hardly come so far after you, especially as your customs are so different.
581 Besides, I think Lulash would take the chance,
562 anyhow. He really very much wants a woman to help him with the people, and he will not marry a mountain woman."

"You mean he would listen to my ideas and take my advice—you mean he wants a wife who will be his equal, a sort of partner?"

"Of course. What else is a wife? He would like nothing better than to have you give him American ideas."

"But I thought a woman had no rights at all, here."

"How absurd! She has all the rights that a man has."

"But women aren't in the tribal councils?"

"They are when it's a council of the whole tribe. They aren't chiefs, no. But chiefs always talk things over with their wives."

583 "But women are bought and sold. You just said so. Didn't you say you were offered twenty thousand kronen for me?"

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

682 as suicide so that he escaped with his life, and that was the com-
627 monest result, he was treated as 'a low-class fellow', visited by
593 none but bad characters, and, if a Mohammedan, never given the greeting 'Peace be with thee'. In Mirditë, always more rigorous than other districts, he was considered so anti-social that he was either killed or expelled in perpetuity by his kinsmen, or, according to another version, by the whole village along with his kinsmen.

606 The murder of certain relatives did not concern the family. Thus,
628 if a man murdered a relative by marriage, such as his son-in-law, father-in-law, wife's brother, or sister's husband, the crime ranked as an ordinary murder and was expiated with a life or with blood money. The marriage tie was disregarded; the important point was that, unlike two brothers living under separate roofs, murderer and
[58] victim belonged to different families. Such murders were very rare, for marriage relationships were always contracted to secure a valued friend, and no Albanian in his senses ever threw a friend lightly away. Again, if a man murdered his maternal uncle or his sister's son, murderer and victim belonged to different families, and blood money at least was payable for the crime. The contingency rarely arose, since a maternal uncle was regarded as a father and a sister's son as one's own child.

623 If a woman was taken in adultery, and her husband killed her and
837 her paramour together—'kerchief and cap together'—he incurred
634 no feud; their deaths went unavenged; it was a case of 'blood for
593 blood', one equal to the other. To prove them guilty he sent for his wife's brother and her lover's brother to see them both lying dead; his message would run, 'I killed her because I caught her sinning'. The wife's brother would hand him a cartridge, saying, 'Here is a cartridge for my sister. Bravo for doing this'. The paramour's nearest relatives came to the house, drank coffee, and took away the corpse; the murderer accompanied them to their house, drank coffee, and so peace was established between them. If the paramour's brother was 'a gentleman', 'a man', he would give a cartridge to the husband, saying, 'I pardon your crime because my brother has sinned'. Even the father of the paramour might say to the murderer, 'A blessing on your rifle', and give him coffee as a sign that there was peace between them. In modern times the government accepted the evidence of the two bodies lying together and punished the husband with no more than two or three weeks' imprisonment.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

from place to place. In Shpat the original criminal must take the [28*] initiative and go to his enemy's house, escorted for safety's sake by at least one friend. The enemy came to meet him in the open air, but did not offer him his hand, for a man reserves his hand for his friends. Then both went into the house, the coffee, the all-essential [574] to a peace-making, was soon served, followed perhaps by a meal with meat. Both coffee and meal were 'like a funeral', enlivened by next to no conversation and with little cordiality of mien. A day or two later the enemy must go to the original criminal's house, and the same ceremonies were gone through. Alternate visits had to be paid for some time, until at last the original enemy declared that he had forgiven the other. A marriage very often cemented the peace- [581] making. Occasionally the attempt to make peace broke down—one's gorge rose at the idea of making friends with the murderer. Then the whole evil story began again, murder alternating with murder.

The ceremonies in Çermenikë and Martanesh followed much the same lines. New elements were introduced farther north, for example, in Krasniqë. Accompanied by six to eight men, the man originally at fault, with his hands tied behind his back, went unexpectedly on a festive evening to his enemy's house. The host, as in duty bound, said, 'Come in!' and invited them to sit down. They refused to do so until in sign of forgiveness he untied his enemy's hands. He never refused, for he said, 'Better forgive, and forget one dead man than quarrel with ten living ones'. If he had not granted their request, the murderer's escort would never have visited his house again. That night the uninvited guest ate a meal at the involuntary host's house, and the next day the man forgiven carried them all off to his house, where he provided a meal with meat pasty and sweets. Forgiveness in Krasniqë was more easily obtained [572] for a murder done in hot blood, and the ensuing friendship was more genuine; if the murderer had ambushed his enemy, peace was more difficult to establish and the resultant friendship less real. In Lumë the murderer was thrust into his enemy's house before dawn so that his enemy might not see him coming; no notice of his coming was given beforehand. If the host did not untie his hands, the friends who accompanied him refused to drink coffee; the host always yielded to the threat of this disgrace.

In Kurbin peace was made by the same methods as in Lumë and Krasniqë. The murderer, who had the sailor collar of his jacket

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(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 174
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of [628]
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 582
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 602
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence 611
it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

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A 779 582 Finally he said he supposed he could not; but that such a case had never occurred, and he hoped he should never have to do anything so horrible. So long as he lived in the mountains he was safe.

I dared not ask how many cousins in the female line he had married in all good faith.

A 614 The tribe is sometimes a group of several stocks, in which case marriage within the tribe is possible between them. These groups are called "bairaks" (standards: Turk.). Some tribes consist of but one bairak. The head is the "bairaktar" (standard-bearer). This post is hereditary from father to eldest son. Of old the bairaktar is said to have been important. In my time he had lost ground and was often quite cut out in council by abler men.

A 596 Each bairak contains many groups, called "vlaznii" (brethren), consisting of a family group including second cousins or even further. The Turkish word "mehala" is also used for these groups.

H 114 779 A vivid picture of North Albania before the coming of the Turk is given by Father Brocardus, a Dominican who wrote an account of the routes suitable for the Crusaders in 1332, and presented it to his sovereign, Lord Philippe de Valois. He shows Albania under Serb rule. Especially he recommends the route from Brindisi to Durazzo, and thence across "Abbanie where the people are devout and obedient to the Church of Rome," and thence by way of the Blaques (Vlahs of the Pindus) to Thessalonica.

Of the Kingdom of Rassie (Serbia) he says that it is a land where Catholics are treated with insult and violence. He proposes to the King of France: "Some movements to assail it, and certain easy conditions for taking it. . . . Among other things there is one which does much to make the capture of the said Kingdom of Rassie more easy. Be it known there are two nations, the one the Abbanois, and the other the Latins, who are both of the faith and owe obedience to the Church of Rome, according to which they have Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and religious and secular priests of lower estate and degree. The Latins have six cities and as many bishops. These are Antivari—the Archiepiscopate—Cattaro, Dulcigno, Suacinense, Scutari, and Drivasto. In these cities only Latins live, and some are without the walls. In all their dioceses are Abbanois, who have also four cities: that is to say Polat Major, Polat Minor, Sabbate, and Albanie, which together with the Latins are all subject to the Archbishop of Antivari" (these "cities" are, in fact, districts), "and his Church. And though these *Abbanois have a language quite other from that of the Latins, they use the Latin letters in all their books*. Thus the power of the Latins is enclosed within the circuit of the cities which are theirs, though they have some vineyards and fields without the cities. . . . The Abbanois

H [794]

H 197 212 245

H 702

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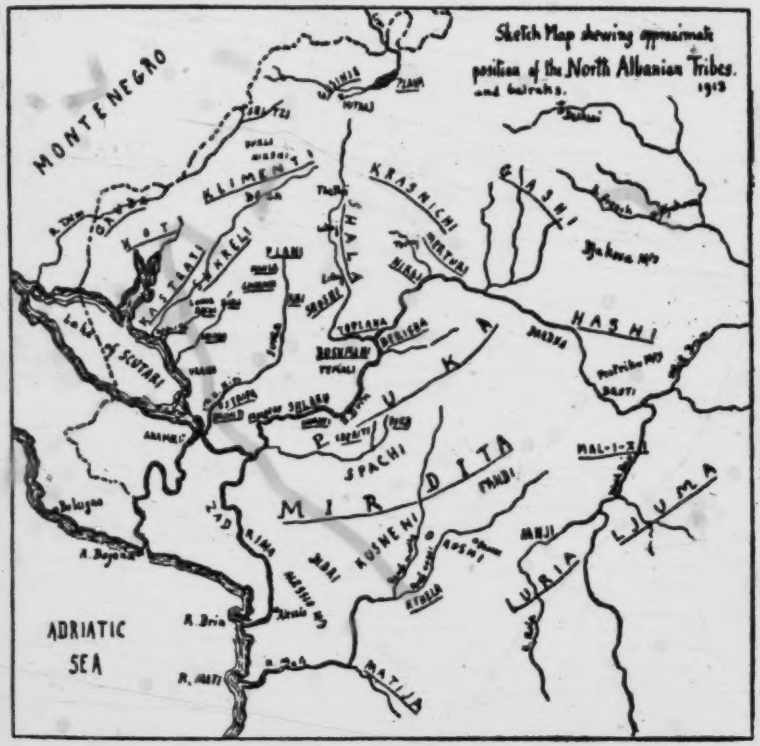
the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon 619
after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the 614
sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia- [67]
Herzegovina.

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half 582
the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly 779
destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war 727

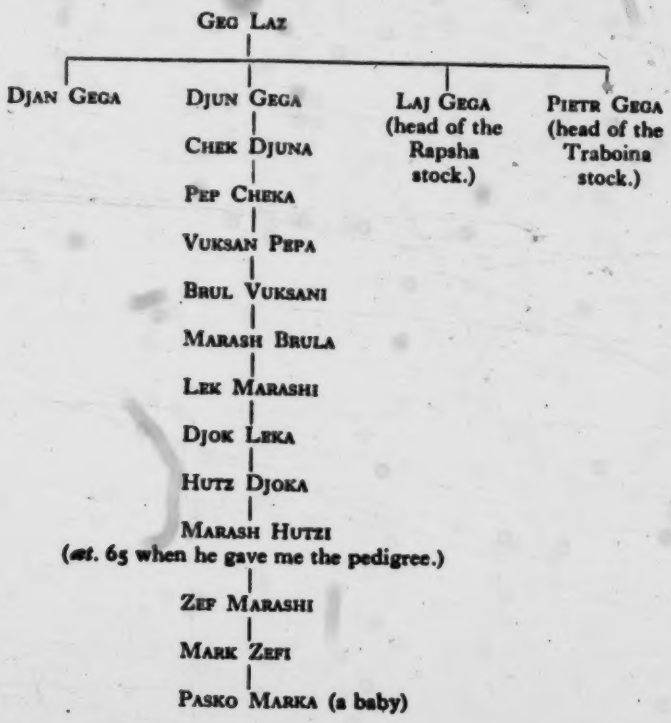


[102
619
133]

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many
refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly 798
handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and 727
Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

me not to give him more than his share. One of the Franciscans gave him shelter, for he was generally beloved, but he did not survive the winter. I mourned him at the time, but was later glad that he had died before his beloved tribe was handed to the enemy. The name "Hoti" is older than the arrival of Geg Laz. Jirecek, quoting the Venetian archives, states that the Hoti ("montanea Ottanorum") allied itself in 1474 with Ivan Tzrnojevitch and fought the Turks. The "Anas" must then have been numerous.



The tribe of Nikaj (see below) is also related to Hoti. Marash Hutzi said that Nikaj descends from a son of Krasnich. Baron Nopcsa learnt from another quarter that Nik was another brother of Geg Laz. That they are related is clear, for they are not intermarriageable.

Hoti usually marries the neighbour tribe Kastrati. As Kastrati mainly marries Hoti, after so many generations the two must be very closely related. But old Marash was extremely proud of the strict exogamy of the tribe. To marry "one's own blood" he looked on with unspeakable horror. I asked how many generations must pass before the descendants

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619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the
[103 mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is
174 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the
[97 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are
779] said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat,
174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo,
776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and
614 widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti,
[166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli.
[582] They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the
174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza). 103 779 596 614

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it. [582] [221 648]

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church. 619 614 779 [174 794]

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas." 619 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group. [779 294] 648

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 619 779 103 [776] [628 166] 648 779

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includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, 175
that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the 794
vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, 619
and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," 779
not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the [651]
mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati 794
extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani.*—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three 614
stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, 619
Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population). 779

2. *Ghoanni.*—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula.*—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala.*—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of 173
Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and [582]
three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

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173 dark people inhabiting the land, with whom they intermarried. Eight houses near Abate, in lower Shala, trace descent from these old inhabi-
142 tants. The rest of them migrated to Dechani. The Albanians I saw at Dechani in 1903 were certainly all of the small dark type.

614 Shala consists of four bairaks: Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj. The three latter are said to have separated into three groups 376 years
[613 ago (told me in 1908). Lothaj and Lekaj recently decided they were far
582] enough removed to be intermarriageable. But Shoshi and Mirdita still would not marry with them.

The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

619 2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate
[611] child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood is possible.

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of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 765 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 582 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 614 619 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North. Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 779 186 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 614 779 582 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress. When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

619 64 779 582

Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

[186 609] [628] [669 648]

3. *Dibra.*—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji.*—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

[186 291]

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma.*—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

727 619

854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of laths—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. Marriage

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

ALBANIA

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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efforts. Jonas died in 1241 and was buried outside Constantinople with full Scythian honours. A huge mound was raised above him, on the sides of which twenty-five of his serving-men, who voluntarily offered themselves, were hanged. Twenty-five horses were also hanged, and the prince thus provided with a mounted escort in another world. Not long afterwards the East expelled the West, and the Comans took part in the expulsion. The markedly Mongol types still common in Macedonia and Bulgaria are partly, maybe, the legacy of the "Coman and Scythian from beyond the Danube."

B 608 643

The custom of blood-brotherhood is so widely spread through the world that it was probably practised by other Balkan peoples besides the Comans.

It was very common among the North Albanian tribesmen, both Catholic and Moslem, when I was in the mountains. The Catholic Church regarded it as a pagan survival, and has made no effort to "Christianize" it, as has the Orthodox. The usage of ancient days is, therefore, little changed. In its crudest form the arm, or finger, of each was pricked by a thorn, and either party licked the other's blood. The favourite and more elaborate way was described to me by my old friend, Tony Precha, of Mirdite descent, thus: "I travelled through a dangerous district with a young Moslem when I was a lad. He asked me to be his brother. I had to ask permission of my father, the head of the house. He said theirs was a good house to be allied to. When some time had passed and we still wished for brotherhood, we met, and each tied a tight string round his little finger till it swelled, then pricked the finger, and each let his blood drop on a lump of sugar. I ate his lump and he mine. We were then of the same blood and swore brotherhood. Then I dined at his house, and we gave each other presents of socks knitted in beautiful patterns. He is now dead, but his brothers are my brothers and our children are cousins, and they cannot marry for more than a hundred years."

A 608

The interdict against marriage, however, in a case of sworn brotherhood, applied only to the direct descendants of the couple and not to any collaterals.

A 608 582

Sugar was used in this case because one party was Moslem. In the case of Christians the blood is always taken in raki or in wine. Red wine, doubtless because most resembling blood, is the correct medium.

Blood-brotherhood was, of course, not reckoned a "forbidden degree" by the Church, but in practice was strictly observed by the people.

The swearing of blood-brotherhood between some members of either side was one of the ways of making peace after a blood-feud. In Dushmani I met a high-spirited youth who had laid in wait on the

A 608 628

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

make acquaintance with the family into which he has married. Again 585
the party is divided into "buck-herds and doe-herds." The husband 574
enters the ladies' room and embraces all of his new female relations,
except his wife, whom modesty compels to turn away. He sups with [576]
the family and goes home alone. Next day the bride is brought back
to his house and the same pantomime of extreme reluctance is gone
through. She comes home usually in a carriage. I was told that formerly
it was etiquette for her to come on foot, but only inch by inch, so that
her return from a house round the corner might perhaps take hours.
She visits her family thus at week-ends for several months, but only
on the first occasion is a carriage and ceremony necessary.

A bridegroom, while I was in Scutari, revolted against the midnight
ceremony, and turned all the guests out of his house after the feast.
In spite of her assumed modesty the bride was deeply hurt at being
thus deprived of publicity. She complained to her parents, who angrily
asked why their daughter should have been thus insulted. Was she
not good enough to show as his wife to his friends in the usual manner?
Nor could they see that in this case the bridegroom's modesty had
been real and not assumed.

He was in the unusual position of having a house of his own. In most 591
cases the young couple lives in the house of the bridegroom's parents 592
in the town and has a separate room. The parents rule and control
the household, and the bride is often very hard-worked. The emigrants
returned from America have brought new ideas and the system is
breaking down.

Much of the above ceremony resembles Roman practice. The distaff,
the casket of household implements, the throwing of sweets, sprinkling
of water, epithalamia, the *patria potestas* also.

The girls of a family must be married according to age—the eldest 582
first, and so on. The origin of this is perhaps that formerly infant
betrothals were almost universal and girls were sent to their husbands
so soon as old enough.

In Scutari, and, I believe, in the other towns, the daughters, or at
least one of them, must be married before the sons can be married.
The explanation offered was that the daughters must be dowered,
and the sons cannot marry till they have helped earn the dowries.
Over these wedding outfits the parties are very exacting. The bride- 583
groom's family bargains for every stitch of the garments and stipulates
as to their quality. While I was in Scutari a betrothed man, who had
always worn Albanian costume, went to work abroad and dressed
à la Franga. He wrote home to say he now required drawers that
could be worn under trousers, and his fiancée, who had already finished
I forget how many dozen voluminous Albanian garments, had all her

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

583 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian 684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he 183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. The Levirate

587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the 688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Maltsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose [628] between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

[577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Great Russians RF2

to the four quarters of the heavens—north, south, east, and west. A 852 These locks are at once destroyed. Handsome gifts are then exchanged, 608 the kumpare giving sometimes as much as two or three gold napoleons, and receiving some embroidered garments or the elaborately patterned knitted socks which are favourite ceremonial gifts. A great feast, of course, follows. The child's father and the kumpare are now brothers, A and their children are not intermarriageable till the seventh degree. [582] In olden days I was assured they were never intermarriageable, and ranked exactly as consanguines. Near Scutari this prohibition had lapsed altogether. Among the Pulati and Dukagini it was still believed in. At Thethi Shala in 1908 a man rushed into the church to stop a marriage on the ground that the parties were cousins by hair-cutting. The Franciscan who was officiating refused to recognize the impediment and married the couple. Whereupon the outraged tribesman ran hot-foot to the Bishop of Pulati and denounced the Franciscan for having celebrated an incestuous marriage. The bishop refused to listen to him. He and his friends then hastened to Scutari, and begged the Turkish Vali to denounce the marriage. The Vali said he did not care whom the Christians married. The bridegroom belonged to a very strong house and so was not molested, and the matter dropped.

The Moslems cut but three locks of hair because four makes a cross, whereas a triangle is a popular Moslem pattern (*v.* Tattoos). But the Montenegrin, as we have seen, cut three for the Holy Trinity.

The clipping of the four locks out of doors to the four quarters of the heavens has all the appearance of being a dedication to the sun. Sun-worship, as we have seen, was widely spread in the Balkans. When we find this ceremony considered of high importance in the very district where sun and moon symbols are still commonly carved and tattooed, we are tempted to connect them. That the rite is ancient and pre-Christian cannot be doubted.

The Catholic Church strives to suppress the notion of "hair-cutting A incest." The Orthodox Church, by admitting hair-cutting as part of [779] the baptismal ceremonial, has perpetuated it; for baptismal godfatherhood prohibits the marriage of descendants of either party till the seventh degree. "Hair-cutting incest," therefore, prohibits marriage between the descendants of the Duke of York and the Karageorgevitch, for the papers were careful to inform us that locks of hair were duly clipped when the Duke and Duchess of York acted as godparents to the heir to the Serbian throne. Their Royal Highnesses took part in a pagan ceremony of unknown antiquity. You can never tell what a Balkan alliance will let you in for.

The hair-cutting in the Russian baptism is probably an importation G 852 from Byzantium, as is also the unshorn priest. A deacon, on ordination,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Their wives and mothers, like women generally, are 581
well up in all the degrees of kinship and descent, and
the preliminaries of betrothals are usually settled by
them in the harem before they are submitted to the
head of the family and communicated to the parties
most nearly interested. Children are frequently 582
betrothed before they are ten years of age, and 584
occasionally while still in the cradle. In such cases, [583]
however, the arrangement is kept secret from the
couple until the young man is in a position to marry.
This usage is intended to prevent the Albanian
youths marrying in the towns to which they resort
for employment. A refusal on the part of a young 626
man to fulfil an engagement made for him by his 584
parents, would inevitably result not only in a vendetta
with the relatives of the rejected bride, but in social
ostracism. Such cases are, however, extremely rare,
for, as the bridegroom elect has, as a rule, never beheld
the bride chosen for him, he can have no reason for
refusing to marry her. In such an eventuality 582
national usage decrees that the younger brothers and
sisters of the maiden may not marry until her matri-
monial affairs are satisfactorily settled.

Women in Albania being less numerous than men, 583
it is not customary to require a portion with the [162]
bride, who is, on the contrary, as among the Vlachs
and Bulgarians, practically purchased from her father
or brothers for a sum of money which varies accord-
ing to the wealth and standing of the respective
families. The parents of the maiden, however, be-
sides providing the materials for her trousseau,
supply her with various articles of jewellery and a

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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not been unfrequent even in the present century, and 797
the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders 175
to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian
agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, [167]
makes it probable that in course of time the country
may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians 771
have among the Turks the reputation of being but 184
indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same
opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of
the Albanians who call themselves members of the
Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem [582]
women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the [869]
faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ;
Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian
saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Chris-
tians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints [755]
for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while [778]
Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-
beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which
both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The [779]
Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast
adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of
the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some
Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administra-
tion of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of 796
Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary 771
of the departure of her image from the Latin church
in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems par-
ticipate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief
of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years 173

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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539 garian ballad[1] also describes the stealing of a maiden by the Sun. Prayers addressed to Nature-powers, as to the Sun in this story, are not uncommon in Greek and Albanian folk-tales, though the name of God is occasionally substituted for or added to them.[2] The following is, however, the only instance of the Sun or other power voluntarily relinquishing his captive. In [538 171] a Greek parallel to the second part of the story, Τὸ μαχαίρι της σφαγῆς, &c., "The Knife of Slaughter,"[3] a Gipsy woman is substituted for the slave. The incident of the man transformed to stone by a spell is of frequent occurrence, as, for instance, in the story from the island of Astypaleá, Τὸ χρουσὸ ἄλογο, "The Golden Horse,"[4] and in the Gipsy story of "The King's Son and the Daughter of the Dervish."[5]

The Maiden who was Promised to the Sun.[6]

There was, and there was not.[7] There was once a queen who had no child, and she prayed continually the Sun to give her one, were it only a girl; when [582] she should be twelve years old,[8] she added, the Sun could have her back again.

Finally the queen had a daughter, and she went

[1] Dozon, *Chants Bulgares*, No. xii.

[2] See, for instance, Von Hahn, *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen*, Nos. iv. v. liv. and cxii.

[3] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 49, translated by Geldart in the little volume somewhat too ambitiously entitled *The Folk-lore of Modern Greece.*

[4] *Ibid.* p. 80.

[5] See below, p. 370.

[6] Dozon, *Contes Albanais*, No. vii.

[7] The usual preface to an Albanian folk-tale. The Magyar formula, *Volt, nem volt*, has the same meaning.

[8] The marriageable age.

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 583 God. It was not strange that what I had heard of the marriage customs had baffled me, he[1] said; I should not look for traces of marriage by capture or marriage by purchase; the basis of the tribal ceremonies is fire worship.

585 On the day of the wedding the bride, elabo-
593 rately dressed, is carried, screaming and struggling, from her father's house, and by her brothers is delivered to the husband's family at a place midway between the lands of the two
[582] tribes. Since each tribe is technically a large
[619] family, claiming a common prehistoric ancestor, it is forbidden to marry within the tribe. The bride carries with her from her home one invariable gift—a pair of fire tongs. When she arrives at her husband's house she takes a humble place in the corner, standing, her hands folded on her breast, her eyes downcast, and for three days and nights she is required to remain in that position, without lifting her eyes, without moving, and without eating or drinking.

"Though I believe," said the bishop, smiling, "that she takes the precaution of hiding some food and drink in her garments, and no doubt the mother-in-law sees that she is allowed to rest a little while the household is asleep." And he explained that this custom remains from the old days when the father of each house was also the priestly guardian of the fire, and anyone coming to ask for a light from it stood reverently in that position, silent, before the hearth, until the father priest gave it to him. The bride, new-

1 [Bishop of Pultit -- Analyst]

when I see a young girl taken away to the house 581
of some old man, who perhaps is sick and ugly and morose because he must stay all day in the house, that it is a sad thing. For myself, I would like to see the American way tried here. I have [582] said to my people that it is wrong to betroth children before they are born. We do not do it very often, now. Usually they are five or six years old, old enough so that one can see what they will become and what they will like. But parents do not often think of those things; they think more of marrying their children into a richer, stronger tribe, so that when war and bad seasons come there will be the strong, rich tribe to help them. Also, it is better for the child who is married into a good tribe. So that parents do not think much about the children themselves; they think more about the family and the tribe."

"Why isn't he married?" I said to Perolli. "Did they give the girl he wanted to some one else?"

"How could they, when he would have been a baby then?" said Perolli, indignant at my stupidity. "No. When he was old enough to marry he paid the girl's family and arranged her marriage to some one else. It is well known why he has not married; he does not want to marry a woman of the mountains, and he knows no other women."

"And in my country," I said to Lulash, "I think it would be better if parents thought more about the young man's family."

personal charm, if that's what you mean," said 581
Perolli, coldly. "It's really your short hair. But I can get twenty thousand kronen for you, if you want to marry and stay here."

"Twenty thousand kronen!" said I. "Two thousand dollars? For me? Here? But for Heaven's sake, why? You don't mean anyone thinks me beautiful, among all these Albanian women?" said I, indignantly.

"Of course not," said Perolli.

"And I can't even talk their language. What do you mean, twenty thousand kronen? And what has short hair to do with it? Don't be so annoying, Perolli. What *do* you mean?"

"Well," said Perolli, "Lulash[1] would like to have an American wife. I don't mean he put it to me so crudely as that. He didn't actually put it to me at all, in fact. But I know that he will [583] give twenty thousand kronen for you, and you can stay here and make over the whole life of Shala, if you like."

"But why me? Why not Frances, or Alex?"

"Because you are all a long way past marrying 302
age, in Albania, and their hair is long, so natur- 582
ally these people think they are already married. But your hair is short, so they think you are a sworn virgin. In these mountains, when a girl is old enough to marry and absolutely refuses to marry the man to whom she has been promised, she may escape the marriage by swearing before the chiefs of the two tribes an oath of life-long virginity, and she cuts her hair and takes a man's

1 [Tribal chief in Thethis -- Analyst]

582 place in the tribe. Naturally, when they see
302 you, at your age, with short hair, they think that is what you did. If you were an Albanian no one would dream of marrying you, for the man to whom your parents gave you would have to kill your husband to clear his honor, and all the chiefs before whom you had sworn would be bound in honor to see that your husband was killed. But America is a long way off; that man and the chiefs would hardly come so far after you, especially as your customs are so different.
581 Besides, I think Lulash would take the chance,
562 anyhow. He really very much wants a woman to help him with the people, and he will not marry a mountain woman."

"You mean he would listen to my ideas and take my advice—you mean he wants a wife who will be his equal, a sort of partner?"

"Of course. What else is a wife? He would like nothing better than to have you give him American ideas."

"But I thought a woman had no rights at all, here."

"How absurd! She has all the rights that a man has."

"But women aren't in the tribal councils?"

"They are when it's a council of the whole tribe. They aren't chiefs, no. But chiefs always talk things over with their wives."

583 "But women are bought and sold. You just said so. Didn't you say you were offered twenty thousand kronen for me?"

6; Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

of the cross, and hears in his forests the voices of the ora. This vague religion is unconscious. The Albanian himself does not recognize it, but it is the resisting subsoil which has prevented acknowledged religions from taking deep root. Families of all religions freely intermarry; Mohammedan women are unveiled, or Catholic women veiled, according to the fashion of their town; in the mountains neither are veiled. In Guri-Bardhe, a village of the Mati known as being fanatically Mohammedan, the women were quite willing to pose for photographs, and Limoni, the chief, was defying the local *hodji* by demanding a modern school; the *hodji* taught the children nothing worth while, he said. In the spring religious festivals—the two Easters and the fast of Ramazan—all Albanians in Tirana took part, and Mohammedan fezzes were thick in the midnight processions carrying Easter candles.

There has never been friction along the frontiers of the three religions. All Albanians united to resist the Romanizing and Germanizing influence of Catholicism, the attempt of Shiek ul Islam to cripple the Albanian language by a Turkish alphabet (a revolution was fought, and won, for the Latin alphabet in 1910), and the Hellenizing propaganda of certain Orthodox Churchmen.

But there is a real division in Albania. It lies between the Toshks, or southerners, and the Ghegs, who are the mountaineers. Men who have held their mountain fastnesses and main-

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

357 escaped from the district, his master might lawfully be shot in his
182 stead. When, however, a servant murdered on his own respon-
672 sibility, he alone should suffer for the crime. His master was entitled, in dismissing him, to keep back the portion of his wages for which he had not worked, and according to Lek's Kanùn ought not to be shot in his stead. Skanderbeg's law, however, held him as liable in this case as in the former.

357 The only available information about a servant's seducing a girl
664 or young wife in his master's family comes from Martanesh and Shkrel and dates from past times. In Martanesh the law con-
[608] demned the man to death for incest because his master was his 'father' and the young woman his 'sister'. In Shkrel he was killed
[836] at once if he had sinned with a young wife, but if with a girl he was dismissed with orders to hold his tongue, and only if he talked did the girl's father go and shoot him. As for the girl, she was married
[836] to her fiancé as quickly as possible. He was not told that she was pregnant by another man, and would not have cared if he had been. He wanted her as wife and worker and felt sure that he was man enough to keep her straight after marriage; beatings always worked
[848] wonders. The child was sent to the servant as soon as born; he never acknowledged it but either killed it or exposed it by the wayside. The father did not dare to beat the girl in case she ran away to the servant; at all costs he had to keep her for her fiancé, who had presumably paid a good proportion of her bride-price and would have killed him had he failed to deliver her. Presumably the fact that a servant was held to be of little or no account saved the wife or girl from the usual punishment for adultery.[1]

357 Sometimes, despite their being 'brother' and 'sister', a servant
[562] married his master's daughter. Thus an ancestor of Bicaj was a Catholic of Gjugjë in Mirditë who entered the service of Hysen Agë Shteki of Bicaj, turned Moslem, and married Hysen Agë's daughter. Even in modern times a servant may be given his master's daughter in marriage. This is particularly likely to happen if his master is Moslem and he a Christian who agrees to change his religion. His master then looks on his own consent to the marriage as an act of piety. Servants varied in importance according to the master they served. Thus the servant of a Moslem priest (*hoxhë*) had more power than an ordinary peasant's and less than a bajraktar's —at least in the days before most bajraktars were shorn of their

[1] See Chapter XXI.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the [582] inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 625 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

582 lost because the only possible avenger was the woman's husband,
562 who was not likely to kill the wife, who had cost him good money, for
628 the sake of his sister, though he was more likely to do so for the sake
596 of his father or brother. If she murdered a married woman of her
[607] own kin, her victim's husband exacted blood money from the males of her family or perhaps another girl. If she murdered a married woman in her husband's kin, his brother's wife, for example, or her own brother's wife, her victim's brother exacted blood money or even a life from the males in her family.

When a woman killed the wife of her husband's brother, her victim's husband had to suffer the loss of his chattel in silence. He could not kill the murderess because a man might not kill his brother's wife for any reason other than adultery or thieving. Nor could he kill her husband because a man might not kill his own brother. In his default his wife was avenged by her brother, who might kill either him or his brother if they were not separated, but only him if they were. Whatever the issue, her sex saved the murderess from expiating her crime.

[606] When a woman killed her mother-in-law or her daughter-in-law, her sex again saved her from expiating the crime. Her victim's brother was the only possible avenger, for no member of her husband's family could kill the murderess for anything except adultery and thieving. The avenger could kill any male in the family of the murderess; the marriage relationship did not count.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

In a few cases vengeance was lawfully taken by men who were not, strictly speaking, members of the victim's family. Theoretically, the man who had 'drunk blood' with the victim[1] and so had become his foster-brother could not go alone to avenge him, for he had not been an actual member of his household. In Lumë and Labinot such a man was held to the letter of the law, and could take vengeance only when accompanied by the victim's 'brother'; taking it when alone involved him in a separate feud with the murderer, with no benefit to the victim's family. In many other districts it was recognized that great love must have existed between the two men before they swore blood-brotherhood, and in virtue of that love one could, even when alone, lawfully avenge the other. In Dibër, indeed, he had no choice but to do so, and often outstripped a brother by birth. In Shkrel such vengeance has been taken 'five hundred times'. On the other hand, a compromise was the rule in western Mat. Solitary vengeance by a foster-brother was theoretically as unlawful as in Lumë, but in practice it was generally legalized by the 'master' of the feud, who sent the foster-brother a cartridge and so recognized him after the event as his emissary. Wherever foster-brothers had the right to take solitary vengeance, they seem to have derived it from their community of blood with the victim. For only those united by the drinking of blood possessed the right; those united by any other ceremony, by hair-cutting, for instance, were denied it. And in districts where they had the right, one could not go alone to avenge any relative of the other's. During their lifetime each regarded the other's relatives as father, brother, etc., and was regarded by them as son and brother, but when one was killed, the other ranked as an alien by blood and household and could only avenge his foster-brother by joining an expedition led by their 'master'. And almost everywhere blood-brotherhood was recognized as a complete bar to marriage between the two families.

Relations on the female side could always avenge a murdered man by joining an expedition led by his 'master'. Opinions differed about their right to avenge him when alone. Shkrel, the Malësi e Madhe generally, and Labinot held to the logical view. A sister's son, they said, although called 'nephew' like a brother's son, belonged to his father's family and was an outsider in his mother's. He had, therefore, no right, joint expeditions apart, to

[1] I.e. had sworn blood-brotherhood with him.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1956 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

000 TO THE anthropologist, selective marriage systems, such as cross-cousin and parallel-cousin, are run-of-the-mill phenomena. But the anthropologist is used to dealing primarily with non-European peoples, living far from centers of civilization. To the sociologist brought up on European and American subject matter it is an event to discover a "primitive" system in operation only 250 miles from Rome, in the 20th century.

592 As our study of material culture made clear, the Gheg family, like that of the early Israelites, or of the Chinese of any period, is an economic institution. One household, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, his sons, unmarried daughters, and son's children, lives in a single house or group of houses, and all ordinarily work together. The most complicated tasks which confront them require the co-operation of such a group, but no more, except in rare events when neighboring kinsmen may be called in. Isolation and political insecurity enhance the frequency and strength of the mutual relations of the family members. In some of the tribes, notably Dukagin, these households number up to 30 or 40 persons; the Arabic word *mehalla* (military camp) is used to designate them.

[462] A sex division of labor clearly separates the work of the women from that of the men. Each needs the other. A houseful of widows and unmarried women would be unthinkable, as would a house occupied by men alone. The family must be a balanced unit. If a man dies his place must be filled if possible; if a woman fails to bear children another must be found [842] who can. The family must continue, and since so many men are killed before they reach maturity, it must produce boys. The birth of girls is less important because they are not killed, and because they leave the family to get married.

• 582 For a number of very good reasons, it is considered desirable to obtain wives for one's sons from a distance. In the first place, if a

[127] [1] The principal source of this chapter is my own records. However, I also made use of Miss M. E.

• 582 boy were to marry a local girl, he might get in trouble with other local boys. Young men form attachments for the girls whom they see every day, and any feeling of rivalry in youth which was followed by such a marriage might continue the tension into manhood. The young men who live in one place must get along together as well as possible. Owing to economic pressure, all tensions run high, and tensions result in violence. Violence with one's immediate neighbors would be suicidal. Therefore it is best for fathers to arrange these matters well in advance, and to bring in new girls who have no local ties.

Then again, let us suppose that the marriage did not work well; that the bride was shy, disliked her husband, was slow to adjust herself to living with him, or resented her mother-in-law's interference. If her parents lived close at hand, she could run home and complain to her mother. Soon her father and brothers would be making trouble for her husband and his family. Any wise person can see that it is much better to bring the bride from a distance, and then if any trouble arises between the two kins, they will be too far separated to cross each other's paths very often.

Once a family has formed the habit of getting its wives from another group in a distant area, that habit is likely to continue. A man will go to his wife's brother and say, "Haven't you a daughter for my son?" and the thing is easily arranged, providing that the earlier marriage has been successful. This requires less effort than breaking the ice with an entirely new group of people, but at the same time it preserves the necessary distance. Of course, if the man's wife's family has no daughters available for his son, he can try their neighboring kinfolk, or some other family with which some of his cousins have worked out a similar arrangement. In this way 2 things are evened up; one does not give a girl away without some assurance of getting in return a wife for one's own son.

[127] Durham's publication of 1928, as well as material contained in a letter which she most kindly wrote me.

582 This system satisfies the universal principle which applies in all human mating, that *the ideal or normal choice of spouses shall be that which creates the least disturbance in the systems of relations of both parties concerned.*[1a] That a form of cross-cousin mating should have survived in the Gheg country is a natural consequence of the equal survival of an archaic technology in a rugged environment. The system fits the circumstances, as one might expect.

582
775 However, the Gheg father, if asked, would not give the answers detailed above as reasons for his choice of a bride for his son. He would voice a number of local rationalizations: that the son inherits body and soul from the father alone, the mother being merely a vehicle of

[3a] Coon, 1948, pp. 602-03.

582 775 reproduction; that it is dishonorable and unthinkable to marry any kin whatever. Since the mother's family is no relation, sons can continue to take their brides from it for generation after generation. The Law of Lek Dukagin, which the Gheg father would quote on such an occasion, has taken care of this subject once and forever.

583 The choice of a bride for his son is as much a political problem to a Gheg householder as it was to a 19th-century European king in the

000 582 new *kulla*[1] If the man has many sons, the youngest may not get a new wife, but have to content himself with a widow, who is cheaper. Also it may take some time to find a fiancée for each boy, and many young men wait until quite late in life for marriage.

[163] The principal reason for this delay, aside from the price, is the peculiar birth and death rate figures for Ghegnia. Many more boys than girls are born. In some regions the boys outnumber the girls almost two to one (see table 1).[2] However, as soon as a boy is big enough to carry a gun he may begin feuding, and stands a good chance of being killed. Then his marriage arrangements may be transferred to his brother, or cousin, and hence the young lady may marry someone quite different from her expectation.

582 586 The alert and provident father, ever on the lookout for daughters-in-law, may place a substantial part of his bride price on a baby girl, as soon as she is born. Or he may gamble on the sex of an unborn child. The baby girl may find herself, at the age of 14, married to a man of 40. Once she has been handed over to her new husband and the folk-rites performed, she is still on trial, and may be sent home if she fails to produce offspring within a reasonable time. Among the Catholics the church wedding is often delayed until after the birth of the first child. In this way the bride can be returned if found wanting, and the rule of Christian monogamy will not have been technically violated. Among the Moslems, where both polygyny and divorce are officially permitted, these subterfuges are not needed.

593 While the Gheg system of selecting mates may be well attuned to the exigencies of the environment, the economics, and the political life of the mountaineers, it permits little opportunity for personal adjustment between the husband and wife. Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*)[3] summed this up when he said to me, gloomily, in the presence of his wife, "There is only one woman a man can trust—his mother." In the cases where cross-cousin marriage works out ideally, the boy and girl may have met before betrothal, or at least before marriage. The boy's mother, on a visit to her own kin, may take her youthful son with her, and he will have a chance to play with his

1 [See footnote, cat 116, p. 23 e -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, p. 23b -- Analyst]
3 [see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

589 her alive. It is doubtful if this punishment has been exacted on any such person within the last few generations.

As the reader can readily see, this custom has its economic aspects. The number of hands available for men's work is increased by two, that for women's work decreased by the same number. There is a second and less dramatic reason for a girl to swear virginity: if her father has no sons to help him with his work, or if his sons are killed. Then a daughter may step into the position of a son, and the [428] situation is momentarily saved. However, since the pseudo-son will have no offspring, the line will become extinct with her death, and the property pass to the next of kin on the father's side. This custom is at variance with the usual one in comparable societies, in which the husband of the man's daughter comes to live with her parents, and is adopted as an [611] heir. So strong is the belief in the continuity of the male line that this could not be done in Ghegnia.

On my travels I encountered only 2 sworn virgins. One wore men's clothes, and appeared to be either mentally defective or at least "queer." That also was her reputation. The second wore women's clothes. She was in her early twenties, and quite attractive. Since she spent the night with a junior member of my group of horse-drivers, I formed a poor opinion of the burning-alive theory. It is quite apparent that the practice of swearing virginity is not only often economic in motivation, but also a part of the whole business of local population control, along with the entire configuration of pride, insult, and feuding.

587 Two other mechanisms help maintain the personnel of the family at the optimum numerical working level, and to prevent the isolation of separate individuals or small, uneconomic groups. One is the levirate. Classically this means that when a man dies, his widow will be married to a surviving brother [165] or next of kin if such a brother is lacking. In a country where the rate of death by violence reaches the level of 40 per cent of all male [582] deaths in some localities, and where girls are married at 14 or 15, many are widowed.

Such a widow must be cared for by the men of her husband's family, since they have paid

163 reproductive organs. That is why first-born children tend preponderantly to be boys. It is the age of the mother that counts. In northern Albania girls are married as soon as they come to sexual maturity and begin bearing children as soon as they are biologically able. There is no time of peace.

128 These statistics,[1] though not complete, help round out the picture drawn in the earlier chapters. All of these things fit together: the environment; the techniques of making a living on the specific kind of landscape; the division of labor between the sexes; the economic unity of the patriarchal household; its independence of similar households; the division of labor between mountain and town; the consequent absence of any need for a technological division of labor among the mountaineers; the difficulty and limitation of travel and transport; the struggle for life within an ever-increasing population; the consequent mechanisms of population control, consisting in some of the border tribes of a certain amount of emigration, but, by and large, taken care of by the time-honored technique of feuds and reciprocal murder, to which the whole system of marriage, and its biological compensations, [177] are adjusted. They show without question the truth of the main point of this paper so far, that the Mountains of Giants form a genetic area peculiarly closed to outside influence.

614 [582] We stated in our discourse on marriage that a boy might not marry a girl with whom he could trace any common patrilineal descent.[2] That statement needs elucidation. Actually the Ghegs are divided up into a number of mutually exclusive gentes, called *fis*, based on traditions of common ancestry, complete with origin myths. The extent to which the myths are historically accurate probably depends on how far back the particular *fis* goes. Each *fis* is said to have been derived from a single man, usually someone who came into the country at one time or another, although a few are believed to have been descended from aborigines.

The most numerous and best known *fis* in Ghegnia is that of Dukagin. This includes the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç and Kushnen, which

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 25b-27b — Analyst]

[1] Gates, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 872-73; Little, 1919, pp. 127-30.

2 [See cat. 116, pp. 22b-23a, 23c-23d -- Analyst]

795 Despite its centuries in Ghegnia, Catholicism
182 has failed to change many of the customs of the mountaineers, such as the *fis* system with cross-cousin marriage, trial marriage, the levirate, blood brotherhood, and the swearing of virginity. The reason is of course that the needs which these customs fill have not been eliminated. The Moslem faith permits them and thus has become more popular. Islam is deemed the more fashionable and more civilized religion. The people of the towns, rich men, army officers, and other sophisticates are usually Moslems. Most Catholics are poor. This attitude is of course a hold-over from the period of Turkish domination. Many Alban-
[191] ians admired the Turks. Many spoke Turkish by preference. I recall once riding along a lane in Zadrima with my interpreter, Mr. Frasheri, who reprimanded 2 old harvesters whom we passed for talking Turkish together. Bishop Fan Noli suggests that they may have been Turkish-speaking refugees from the towns of Prizren, Peia, or Podgoritza.

795 There is a certain dietary difference between
262 Catholics and Moslems. The former eat pork,
273 especially in the wintertime. The Moslems curl up their nostrils and gag at the smell of pork, and will not enter a room where it is cooking. In its place they use much mutton fat in their cooking. Catholics drink wine when they can get it; Moslems care for their alcoholic needs with *raki*. These differences are probably of no biological importance, as far as the growth and development of the individual are concerned, but they do serve to intensify the mutual antipathy of the 2 religious groups and inhibit a genetic interchange.

582 In Lura, in a population not exceeding a few
178 hundred individuals, Catholics and Moslems
795 intermarry. In a single household the father may be Catholic, the mother Moslem, and the children will choose their own religions. This is the only place in Ghegnia where this happens. Lura is in process of change from Catholicism to Islam. As the latter gains ground, mixed households are found. The government of Ahmed Zog made much of this isolated situation, urging other Albanians to follow the example of the Lurans in the interests of national unity.

178 Various stages in this process of shifting are
795 found in different tribes and *bairaks*. In Mer-

*128 141 The one exception is Malsia e Jakovës, divided between limestone and folded. These 2 areas are nearly the same in stature, and the difference betwen tribal segments is inconsequential. The 4 other men from this tribe who lived in serpentine territory were much shorter, 168 centimeters. Not only were the men from serpentine territory short as a whole, but very few of the exceptionally tall men, the "giants" of 180 to 190 centimeters from whom the Ghegs get their name, are found among them. These striking figures are seen almost exclusively north of the Drin. A few turn up near the limestone area of northern Mati, where a small sample suggests that a tall enclave may be found.

*128 142 From a statistical standpoint, the most telling division within a tribe is that which splits Dibra into serpentine and eastern subsamples. The difference between the means, 3.07, is 3.49 times p.e. In order to test this for the possibility of a genetic difference I selected the one character in which Dibra is most distinctive, light brown eye color, and sorted the subsamples for it. Out of 15 men whose eyes were of this hue, 7, or 19 per cent, were from serpentine territory, and 8, or 11 per cent, from the eastern. Neither the rest of serpentine nor the rest of eastern approach these frequencies. In this character, which is certainly genetic, Dibra is still a unit, still separate from its neighbors.

141 582 *128 Although fragmentation of the series is unprofitable because of the smallness of the subsamples, one example may show what kind of thing to expect when the local enclaves can be investigated. In Dukagin, as stated earlier, mutual exogamy, with cross-cousin marriage, is the rule between the people of Shala and Shoshi. However, many of the Shala men marry Shala women, who come from the families of *anas*, unrelated in the male line to the *fis* of Dukagin. In Shoshi also local endogamy takes place, but more rarely. Shala is apparently in the limestone, Shoshi in the folded, area. Shala men whose mothers came from Shoshi are 4.04 centimeters taller (see table 21, last part) than Shala men whose mothers were local, and this difference is 5.53 times its p.e. At the same time Shala men with Shoshi mothers are 3.37 centimeters taller than their cousins, the Shoshi men with Shala mothers, and this comes to 2.88 times p.e.

1 [See cat. 116 p. 88c -- Analyst]

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of laths—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. Marriage

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

ALBANIA

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583 rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162 women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585 bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834 important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581 one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609 days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585 born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842 it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589 married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562 has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836 ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842 priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585 betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal, and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage." "They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586 miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away. In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31, 1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage." And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584 and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577 and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted, and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626 the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585 it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before
585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common.
584 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage
589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her
626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms,
689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given
562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself,
839 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's 689
dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to 562
one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after [428] which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping [689] with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, 689
so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church 562
at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard 773
a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man 585
refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in 583
blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed 578
daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" 577
that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 583

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

583 577 and ask the girl. The usual answer was that they were too modest. The suggestion seemed to be thought indecent.

581 152 The fact that both in Montenegro and Albania a word of Turkish origin is used commonly for "to make love" (Montenegrin and Bosnian, "ashikovati"; Albanian, "ashik," lover—"ashari," love) suggests that love-making played little or no part in the marriages of both lands. I heard that the son of an Austrian mother and an Albanian father was betrothed and asked his mother if he was much in love. "O dear, no!" she cried. "Not in the least; he is quite Albanian!"

183 583 One case only I met in which—perhaps for the first time—a betrothal was broken and the girl left free to marry. She was the niece of Mgr. Premi Dochi, mitred abbot of the Mirdites, a very remarkable man, whose death during the war was an immense loss to Albania.

I passed the night at her father's house. The girl sat sullen and glowering in a corner like a wild cat at bay. No one spoke to her. I asked what was the matter. She had refused to be sent to her betrothed. Her father was furious. Only the abbot's intervention had saved her. He talked the young man into admitting that it was useless to marry a girl who hated him and would probably run away, when another more amenable could be found, and got him to swear that no blood-581 vengeance should be taken if the girl married another. But the father, enraged, declared often and loudly, "A girl marries to please her house and not for herself"; and rated her till I was sorry I had asked. Awe of the abbot alone had made him yield.

585 *Marriage Ceremonies.*—When the wedding-day is fixed the male relatives of the bridegroom go to fetch the bride. The bridegroom usually does not go. As the tribes are exogamous the distance may be considerable. Sometimes the men of the bride's family take her to a spot half-way and hand her over there. Sometimes she is fetched from her father's house. Moslem girls are always accompanied by one or two female relatives. Christian girls usually are, if the journey is a long one; but not always. In no case does the mother go.

Marriage among the Christians is according to the rites of the Catholic Church.

I was never at a mountain wedding, but was told some local ceremonies. In Klementi the bride, on coming to her husband's home, must throw an apple over the roof, and is given some corn. This recalls the confarreatio of the Romans. She is then led three times round the hearth. All through the mountains I gathered that a bride must enter the house with her right foot first and carry in a male child with her. On marriage the hair of the woman is dyed black and dressed differently from that of a virgin. There are various modes, according to district. In the Maltsia e Madhe the head is shaved in front and over the temples,

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585
The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842] uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592] take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584
relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon
I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583
price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585
at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291] kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301] necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291] and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom, who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576] have to assume a superhuman modesty.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

make acquaintance with the family into which he has married. Again 585
the party is divided into "buck-herds and doe-herds." The husband 574
enters the ladies' room and embraces all of his new female relations,
except his wife, whom modesty compels to turn away. He sups with [576]
the family and goes home alone. Next day the bride is brought back
to his house and the same pantomime of extreme reluctance is gone
through. She comes home usually in a carriage. I was told that formerly
it was etiquette for her to come on foot, but only inch by inch, so that
her return from a house round the corner might perhaps take hours.
She visits her family thus at week-ends for several months, but only
on the first occasion is a carriage and ceremony necessary.

A bridegroom, while I was in Scutari, revolted against the midnight
ceremony, and turned all the guests out of his house after the feast.
In spite of her assumed modesty the bride was deeply hurt at being
thus deprived of publicity. She complained to her parents, who angrily
asked why their daughter should have been thus insulted. Was she
not good enough to show as his wife to his friends in the usual manner?
Nor could they see that in this case the bridegroom's modesty had
been real and not assumed.

He was in the unusual position of having a house of his own. In most 591
cases the young couple lives in the house of the bridegroom's parents 592
in the town and has a separate room. The parents rule and control
the household, and the bride is often very hard-worked. The emigrants
returned from America have brought new ideas and the system is
breaking down.

Much of the above ceremony resembles Roman practice. The distaff,
the casket of household implements, the throwing of sweets, sprinkling
of water, epithalamia, the *patria potestas* also.

The girls of a family must be married according to age—the eldest 582
first, and so on. The origin of this is perhaps that formerly infant
betrothals were almost universal and girls were sent to their husbands
so soon as old enough.

In Scutari, and, I believe, in the other towns, the daughters, or at
least one of them, must be married before the sons can be married.
The explanation offered was that the daughters must be dowered,
and the sons cannot marry till they have helped earn the dowries.
Over these wedding outfits the parties are very exacting. The bride- 583
groom's family bargains for every stitch of the garments and stipulates
as to their quality. While I was in Scutari a betrothed man, who had
always worn Albanian costume, went to work abroad and dressed
à la Franga. He wrote home to say he now required drawers that
could be worn under trousers, and his fiancée, who had already finished
I forget how many dozen voluminous Albanian garments, had all her

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

583 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian 684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he 183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. The Levirate

587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the 688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Maltsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose [628] between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

[577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

583 184 principal inhabitants of Orosh have all been acquired in this way, and far from resenting or being ashamed of the circumstance, they are, on the contrary, proud of it, and their relatives accept the situation on payment of the usual dowry. And although they may not embrace with enthusiasm the faith into which they are generally baptised as a preliminary to marriage, they scrupulously observe its external forms, are much devoted to their husbands, proud of their reputation, and jealous of their honour, which, should occasion require, they are ready either to defend or avenge.

428 611 Among these exogamous tribes, succession is, as a rule, in the male line. If, however, there are no surviving sons, and a daughter chooses to remain single, she may enjoy the usufruct of her father's property, which on her death reverts to her nearest male relatives. If a man die childless his property is divided among his male relatives, who pay to his widow a pension, she remaining in his house or returning to her friends as she pleases, and retaining all that she has received from her parents either before or after her marriage.

567 428 As with the Osmanlis, the children by slaves of Moslem Albanians have an equal right with those of free mothers to succeed to the estate of their father.[1]

587 If the deceased husband has an unmarried brother, the latter has a right to marry the widow with or without her consent. On the wedding-day she receives from him the present of an ox, or its equivalent, four goats.

[1] The father of Ali Pasha, of Ioannina, was the son of a slave.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Their wives and mothers, like women generally, are 581
well up in all the degrees of kinship and descent, and
the preliminaries of betrothals are usually settled by
them in the harem before they are submitted to the
head of the family and communicated to the parties
most nearly interested. Children are frequently 582
betrothed before they are ten years of age, and 584
occasionally while still in the cradle. In such cases, [583]
however, the arrangement is kept secret from the
couple until the young man is in a position to marry.
This usage is intended to prevent the Albanian
youths marrying in the towns to which they resort
for employment. A refusal on the part of a young 626
man to fulfil an engagement made for him by his 584
parents, would inevitably result not only in a vendetta
with the relatives of the rejected bride, but in social
ostracism. Such cases are, however, extremely rare,
for, as the bridegroom elect has, as a rule, never beheld
the bride chosen for him, he can have no reason for
refusing to marry her. In such an eventuality 582
national usage decrees that the younger brothers and
sisters of the maiden may not marry until her matri-
monial affairs are satisfactorily settled.

Women in Albania being less numerous than men, 583
it is not customary to require a portion with the [162]
bride, who is, on the contrary, as among the Vlachs
and Bulgarians, practically purchased from her father
or brothers for a sum of money which varies accord-
ing to the wealth and standing of the respective
families. The parents of the maiden, however, be-
sides providing the materials for her trousseau,
supply her with various articles of jewellery and a

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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583 certain amount of plenishing, the bridegroom supplying the rest.

585 184 With the exception of the nuptial benediction, the marriage customs of the Christian and Moslem Albanians are similar, and there is very little difference in the songs by which they are accompanied. Among the Moslems the betrothal takes [584] place in the presence of the Kadi. This functionary receives the declaration of mutual consent, made on the part of the maiden by her natural guardians, who undertake to prove it by the mouth of two Moslem witnesses. After a prayer for the benediction of Allah on the union, a contract is drawn up enumerating the articles to be given to the bride by her parents, and stipulating the sum to be paid to her by the husband in the event of his divorcing her. To this document the Kadi and the witnesses affix their seals, and this ceremony constitutes the legal marriage.

As with the Osmanlis, the bride does not, however, go to her husband's house until the wedding festivities have taken place, the interval ranging in duration from a few weeks to a year, according to the convenience of the bridegroom's family. As the ceremonies observed in Epirus present so many points of similarity with those of the Greeks,[1] I will here describe only those belonging to Upper Albania which present features peculiar to themselves.

The festivities invariably begin on a Thursday with the sending of the *dunti* by the bridegroom. This is the decorated box containing the presents to the bride of various articles of dress and ornament,

[1] Vol. i. chap. iii.

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 583 God. It was not strange that what I had heard of the marriage customs had baffled me, he[1] said; I should not look for traces of marriage by capture or marriage by purchase; the basis of the tribal ceremonies is fire worship.

585 On the day of the wedding the bride, elaborately dressed, is carried, screaming and struggling, from her father's house, and by her brothers is delivered to the husband's family at a place midway between the lands of the two tribes. Since each tribe is technically a large family, claiming a common prehistoric ancestor, it is forbidden to marry within the tribe. The bride carries with her from her home one invariable gift—a pair of fire tongs. When she arrives at her husband's house she takes a humble place in the corner, standing, her hands folded on her breast, her eyes downcast, and for three days and nights she is required to remain in that position, without lifting her eyes, without moving, and without eating or drinking.

[582] [619] 593

"Though I believe," said the bishop, smiling, "that she takes the precaution of hiding some food and drink in her garments, and no doubt the mother-in-law sees that she is allowed to rest a little while the household is asleep." And he explained that this custom remains from the old days when the father of each house was also the priestly guardian of the fire, and anyone coming to ask for a light from it stood reverently in that position, silent, before the hearth, until the father priest gave it to him. The bride, new-

1 [Bishop of Pulit -- Analyst]

personal charm, if that's what you mean," said 581
Perolli, coldly. "It's really your short hair. But I can get twenty thousand kronen for you, if you want to marry and stay here."

"Twenty thousand kronen!" said I. "Two thousand dollars? For me? Here? But for Heaven's sake, why? You don't mean anyone thinks me beautiful, among all these Albanian women?" said I, indignantly.

"Of course not," said Perolli.

"And I can't even talk their language. What do you mean, twenty thousand kronen? And what has short hair to do with it? Don't be so annoying, Perolli. What *do* you mean?"

"Well," said Perolli, "Lulash would like to have an American wife. I don't mean he put it to me so crudely as that. He didn't actually put it to me at all, in fact. But I know that he will [583] give twenty thousand kronen for you, and you can stay here and make over the whole life of Shala, if you like."

"But why me? Why not Frances, or Alex?"

"Because you are all a long way past marrying 302
age, in Albania, and their hair is long, so natur- 582
ally these people think they are already married. But your hair is short, so they think you are a sworn virgin. In these mountains, when a girl is old enough to marry and absolutely refuses to marry the man to whom she has been promised, she may escape the marriage by swearing before the chiefs of the two tribes an oath of life-long virginity, and she cuts her hair and takes a man's

[Tribal chief in Thethis -- Analyst]

582 place in the tribe. Naturally, when they see
302 you, at your age, with short hair, they think that is what you did. If you were an Albanian no one would dream of marrying you, for the man to whom your parents gave you would have to kill your husband to clear his honor, and all the chiefs before whom you had sworn would be bound in honor to see that your husband was killed. But America is a long way off; that man and the chiefs would hardly come so far after you, especially as your customs are so different.
581 Besides, I think Lulash would take the chance,
562 anyhow. He really very much wants a woman to help him with the people, and he will not marry a mountain woman."

"You mean he would listen to my ideas and take my advice—you mean he wants a wife who will be his equal, a sort of partner?"

"Of course. What else is a wife? He would like nothing better than to have you give him American ideas."

"But I thought a woman had no rights at all, here."

"How absurd! She has all the rights that a man has."

"But women aren't in the tribal councils?"

"They are when it's a council of the whole tribe. They aren't chiefs, no. But chiefs always talk things over with their wives."

583 "But women are bought and sold. You just said so. Didn't you say you were offered twenty thousand kronen for me?"

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

"It's an unusual situation. Here you are, 583
without a family; I'm the only man in the party; naturally he thinks of me as in the position of a brother or a father. The man's family always pays money to the girl's family before a marriage, but the girl isn't sold; she's been betrothed in her childhood, for any number of reasons. The money the man pays is spent for the girl's clothes and household things."

"Then you'd be supposed to give me the twenty thousand kronen? And then it would be his again, after all."

"Of course not. It's yours, isn't it? No one [562]
has any right to a woman's personal belongings, except her."

"You mean I could do anything I liked with it? I wouldn't have to have his consent?"

"Of course you could do anything you liked with it," Perolli said, wearily. "This isn't Europe."

"Obviously," said I. "Nor America."

"Well, what do you say? Do you want to ooo
do it?"

Men ask women to marry them for many reasons and from many motives, even though they are all lumped under the word "love." Sometimes the asking is an honor that should make any woman, either happily or regretfully, proud. And sometimes it isn't. For myself, I shall always remember as one of my finest experiences this offer of a scalplocked Shala chief to pay twenty thousand kronen for me. There was

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

114 penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud.
[628] For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no
[577] doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

171 It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that
721 of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss
[826] Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants,
[842] its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance
[583] is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the
[302] head by Albanians (p. 230), as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but
[628] quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other
000 primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

If expiation took the form of blood money, no distinction was made for age; the payment for a worn-out man of eighty or an able-bodied man of thirty was the same as for a boy of five or an infant of a few weeks. As when a life was taken for a life, no distinction was made for social standing or moral character; the payment for a bajraktar was the same as for a labourer. A female's 'blood', however, cost only half a male's. In the early days when these payments were determined, money was so distributed that the rich had a great deal, while the poor, who formed the bulk of the population, were all but penniless. The fear of having to pay a large sum in blood money was therefore a considerable deterrent against murder.

Blood money was accepted only in Mirditë and north Albania. Elsewhere it was scorned. 'Blood money and bride-price do you no good', said Lumë. 'We don't sell blood for money; that is a low thing to do', said Çermenikë, a boast repeated in Dibër in even stronger terms. In Labinot and Godolesh blood could not be washed away with money on the north Albanian system. In all these districts the formula after a murder was 'either pardon or kill'.

It must be admitted that neither lived up to its pretensions, the north being more truculent and the other districts less truculent than they claimed. In the Malësi e Madhe, for instance, only weak, low-class families would accept blood money; if other families did so, they were held to have 'disgraced themselves'. Indeed, a bajraktar's household, a voivode's or a 'leading family' should seek for fifty years, if need be, to kill the murderer of one of their men. On the other hand, a Çermenikë man sometimes accepted blood money, but if he so demeaned himself, his aim was to ruin his enemy and he fixed the price accordingly. In Dibër no man would accept blood money for a male relative unless it was accompanied by the present of a rifle as a conventional sign that he was still free to kill the murderer if he could. In Lumë a subtle use was sometimes made of blood money. Normally, when a life had been paid for a life, peace was made. But when an inferior killed his superior, the latter's relative would not make peace till he had killed two of the other's men. At the peace-making the first was paired with the original victim and for the second the superior's relative paid blood money.

Given the stigma attached to blood money, it was seldom paid except in lighter cases. After an accidental murder, for instance,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

672 honour was in most places satisfied by a money payment. For
682 example, two men of Krujë were examining a revolver together,
*628 not knowing it was loaded, when it went off suddenly and killed one of them. The other was held guilty of murder, but in view of the circumstances escaped with a payment of twenty-five napoleons, the conventional six purses. If an animal killed somebody, the death was considered accidental and the payment of blood money sufficed. In Breg i Matit the grazing was good enough to carry a considerable head of cattle which wandered freely through the swamps, with consequent risk to the public from the bulls. If a man was killed by a bull which its owner knew to be dangerous, the latter had to pay blood money, failing which he was liable to be shot. If he did not know the animal's character, he was excused the payment of blood money but had to surrender the bull to its victim's relatives as a minor atonement.

Accidental though a murder might be, the murderer could not rely on saving his life with blood money. Especially while the crime was fresh, he was well advised to lie low until responsible men had weighed the case and confirmed its accidental character. After paying the money he was not absolutely safe unless he found a guarantor.

In Mirditë when blood money was accepted the murderer had also to pay fines of 100 rams and one ox to the tribe and of 500 grosh (piastres, i.e. one purse) to the family of the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë; the animals were eaten at a public banquet by the tribe. These fines were imposed on the murderer for disturbing the public peace. In cases of accidental murder, however, no fine was payable; the formula ran: 'The rifle which kills accidentally entails blood (really blood money) for blood, but not a fine or pursuit.'

627 The payment of blood money also solved the difficulties in
682 certain cases of murder within the family where atonement had to
*628 be made, yet could not properly be exacted in the form of a life for a life. For instance, if two brothers in Shkrel had separate households, when one killed the other's wife for any but a question of honour, the victim's husband could not kill his own brother for
[583] her sake but had the right to exact blood money; after all, he had been unjustly deprived of his wife's services and must buy another wife. If a married woman in Shkrel were killed, again unreservedly, by some member of her husband's family, her son, if fifteen years

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

APPENDIX

LAWS PASSED AT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

(TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ALBANIAN)

I. Some Laws Ratified by the Prefecture of Shkodër.

681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 128–9.)

1. Bride-price is not to be altered. The amount fixed seven years ago remains in force. It is, therefore, 600 grosh, a sum which includes everything. Whoever acts contrary to this order will be fined 1000 grosh. [583]

2. Girls will be betrothed by their father, or if they have no father by their brother and, failing him, by their nearest male cousin. Women are not to interfere in betrothals. [584]

3. Every betrothal will be arranged openly not secretly, and there will be a go-between as witness. When the betrothal has been completed and rifles have been fired off in front of the betrothed girl's house, the men who have the right to betroth her will go to the parish priest in order to register the names of the betrothed pair, the registrar and the witnesses, together with all the circumstances. Whosoever does not abide by this decree will be fined 1000 grosh.

4. Whoever refuses to go through the marriage ceremony when the priest comes for that purpose will be fined 1000 grosh. [585]

5. Whoever incites a married woman to run away will be fined eight purses.

6. Whoever gives a bride to a man who has divorced his lawfully wedded wife will be fined 1000 grosh. [587]

7. Whoever shall dare to send away his lawfully wedded wife in order to take another woman in unlawful wedlock will be fined 1000 grosh.

8. Whoever sells his daughter or sister or other female of his blood relations will be fined, like the buyer, 1000 grosh.

9. On the basis of the ancient customs, which are still observed among the Christians of the mountains of Shkodër concerning betrothals, marriages, enticing of other men's wives, running away of wives and other similar causes of trouble, some laws have been enacted for the repression of the aforesaid evil acts and have been approved by His Lordship the Archbishop of Shkodër, Mgr Luigi Çurçi, and by the mountain chiefs. These laws after being weighed by the Government Council have been approved and ordered to be put into execution.

582 775 reproduction; that it is dishonorable and unthinkable to marry any kin whatever. Since the mother's family is no relation, sons can continue to take their brides from it for generation after generation. The Law of Lek Dukagin, which the Gheg father would quote on such an occasion, has taken care of this subject once and forever.

583 The choice of a bride for his son is as much a political problem to a Gheg householder as it was to a 19th-century European king in the

583 heyday of royalty. No mistakes must be made, and the preferences of the parties concerned are not considered important. Hence the fathers make the arrangements. A man normally pays 15 to 20 napoleons (60–80 dollars) for his son's wife. This is half the price of a new kulla[1].

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 14b - 15a -- Analyst]

593 maternal uncle's children. Then when the bride joins her husband in his father's house, she will come directly under the supervision of her paternal aunt, a woman whom she has already seen, and who represents an extension of her own family in the strange household. Such an ideal arrangement still makes no provision for a selection of mates on the basis of personality adjustments. It merely makes the change from one household to the other a little easier than if the girl were a total stranger. Very often a girl's fiancé is killed and she has to marry one of his brothers, a cousin, or someone of an entirely different family, and there will be no familiar aunt to smooth things over, but instead a suspicious and exacting mother-in-law, with whom her only ties are through her husband.

● 583 It is no wonder that brides sometimes run away. If they come home their fathers usually return them. Not infrequently they elope and if they are lucky settle in some city, or distant countryside where the limb of Lek Dukagin's [538] law is not long enough to reach them. Gheg epic poetry, which the traveler hears sung night after night in private houses, hans, and gendarmeries, dwells frequently on the theme of elopement. One hears at length about couple after couple, hopelessly in love, who break all of the rules, run away, and meet a tragic but inexorable fate. In the epics they seldom if ever make good their escape. In real life I believe that they sometimes succeed, and their elopements, successful or otherwise, help reduce the population of the mountains.

589 If a young woman is faced with a marriage which she cannot bring herself to consummate, and if she has enough strength of character to take the following step, she can avoid matrimony by becoming a "sworn virgin" (fig. 10, *d*). She summons a meeting of the 12 elders of her community and in their presence swears perpetual chastity. By this means she not only gets out of her engagement, but also prevents a feud between her father's kin and those of [838] her fiancé. At this point she becomes technically a man. She may or may not don masculine clothing. She will carry a gun, and fight like other men. She will plough and reap, and do all of the tasks of a man. If she breaks her oath, the elders will, in theory, burn

[See cat. 116, p. 110--Analyst]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

M 291 531 286 in it shows a portion of this pattern, which has not been covered like all the rest with white beads, and a yellow chain-stitched outline. Little tassels of brown, blue and green with white beads at the ends also form part of the decoration.

No. 1935-72. A delightful girdle for a Moslem woman's trousers of hand-woven muslin has very handsome decorated ends worked in Turkey red, with tiny spots of blue, yellow and white.

A 5 291 294 286 531 The pattern is clearly shown at "F" on Plate XV, the upper part has been woven in by means of a number of small spools, as many as twenty-five might be in use on the loom, as each perpendicular bit of the pattern needs its own spool. A similar effect could be got by darning, but such long strips of vertical pattern would not be as evenly worked.

The border at the end is either needle-woven or again fine spools used, but this time on the bare warp thread whilst in the loom, and it is therefore more akin to the tapestry method of working a pattern, with the warp thread pulled more tightly so as to leave holes. This method and style of pattern is sometimes called Persian open-work. The edge of the girdle is rolled and carefully whipped over with a cotton thread.

No. 1935-24. One half of a man's festival collar, worked in needlepoint in cream silk, is shown at "G" on Plate XV, and is a charming example of this method of producing lace.

Picots, solid buttonholing to form squares and triangles, and wrapped bars are the chief stitches used in making the patterns. The two narrow strips of fine linen probably formed a foundation for working upon.

"This is a similar type of collar to the one made fashionable by Byron." (M.E.D.).

No. 1935-23. An everyday collar for a man's wear is also included in the collection. It again has two strips of a coarser linen as foundation, and is decorated mainly by several rows of overcast scallops and picots worked in coarse cotton.

A 291 531 294 **No. 1937-15.** This specimen is a pair of crimson silk brocade sleeves, joined by a printed cotton back, for a Moslem Albanian woman's dress. "They were bought in Scutari in 1903 and could be attached to the shirt or blouse for wear under a jelek or a giubba" (M.E.D.). The pointed cuff is trimmed with gold braid and a motive worked in gold cord.

C 291 301 531 **No. 1939-2.** The remaining sketch on Plate XVI is of a silvered copper buckle such as would be worn over her corded waistband by the woman from Monastir (Bitolj), whose costume is illustrated on Plate IX.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Household Linen.

A Y 286 515 531 583 **A. "Marama" or Towels.**

There are thirteen towels in the collection, two of these "marama" for every day use have coloured weft stripes at the ends, the rest are guest or ceremonial towels and have ornamented ends, seven are embroidered and four are decorated with borders worked in by fine spools of small size, the appearance of the designs being like fine darning.

[Text continues on p. 72]

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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As a rule these embroidered towels are from wedding outfits, the bride's coffer." (M.E.D.).

No. 1937·11. Perhaps the most interesting of the embroidered group is an old marama bought at Prizren in 1908, which is probably Moslem Albanian work. It is of fine hand-spun and loosely woven cotton rather like a muslin, with groups of wide, double weft stripes in cotton and finer weft stripes in silk.

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In its length of four feet there are five plainly woven bands, three inches wide, decorated with free spool-woven " ibriks " or water vessels, and the plainly woven ends are embroidered. (Plate XVIIA).

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" The ibrik is a spouted vessel used to pour water on guests' hands before and after a meal. As no forks are used fingers needed washing, and it is probable that the native was taught hand-washing at meals by the Turk, who was not such a bad fellow as some people make out. ' Marama ' and ' ibrik ' are both Turkish words." (M.E.D.).

The two tethered beasts are worked in a violet-red silk in pulled stitch (" c " Plate XV), with outlines in pale blue and cream of the Turkish stitch shown at vi, in " d " on the same plate. This stitch, in apricot pink and pale yellow with a pale blue outline, is also used for filling in the animals' legs.

The " tree of life ", to which the beasts are tethered by chains made of squares of gold thread, has a stem of gold plate worked diagonally bearing green leaves. The spots are worked in gold plate and the whole design has affinities with Persian pattern.

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No. 1937·12. Another " marama " of a similar weave, also with stripes weft of cotton and silk, has its ends embroidered with a procession of boldly stylised cocks, gaily worked in aniline dyed silks and gold thread (Plate XVIIB). Although the use of aniline dyes indicates that this towel is not very old, the pattern is probably a traditional one.

The body of each cock is outlined and the feet are worked in black, the head and most of the body is filled in with a flat or satin stitch in gold thread, as indicated by the slanting lines in the enlarged drawing, with a band of pulled stitch across the middle worked in violet. At the extreme edge there is a narrow border worked in coral pink, a colour which is also introduced as a small patch on the cock's neck.

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No. 1937·13. A motive representing " the dove returning to the ark " is repeated at the ends of a guest towel made of machine woven muslin (Plate XVIIc).

" This marama was obtained from Prizren and might be either Christian, Serb or Albanian work. The Ark seems to be based on the state galleys of the Middle Ages when Venice held the Adriatic coast, and is probably a traditional design. The curious running pattern below looks as though it might be symbolic, possibly a conventionalised dove, just the head and legs." (M.E.D.).*

The dark lines in the drawing are all worked in green in Turkish stitch, the bank of oars in the same stitch in red, and the dove in violet. The slanting lines represent flat or satin stitch worked in gold thread. Turkish stitch in violet, with a gold thread line down the centre, is used for the little border below the ark design. The whole of the plain part of the towel has a rolled edge very neatly oversewn, but where

* M. E. Durham: " Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man*, Vol. XXIII, No. 5, 1923.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

A 286 515 531 [574]

No. 1937-10. A guest towel given to Miss Durham by Dom Simeone, a Catholic priest of Djakova, in Albania, was woven by his sister. It is of fine cotton with wide weft stripes of coarser thread and has a few narrow silk stripes bordering the plain cloth of the ends, which are decorated with a spool-woven pattern worked in wool, dyed with aniline dyes. The colours used are a hard pink, violet, blue, dark red and emerald, and the result is somewhat harsh compared with the other examples. The design of a stiff stem with three very conventional flowers is vaguely Turkish but the little borders on either side of the main pattern, consisting of two rows of circular spots, are rather charming.

Dom Simeone's initials D.S.C. are worked in red cross-stitch.

No. 1935-35. The two last "marama" with decorated ends have some of their motives brocaded in by free spools, but also have borders worked in the tapestry manner on the warp threads, whilst the cloth is still in the loom, in the style often called Persian openwork*, which is akin to needleweaving but much finer.

The example whose number is quoted above, is of hand woven cotton material 17 inches (43·18 cm.) wide and 4 feet (1·2 m.) long, and has five Persian open-work borders in Turkey red and white at the end, divided by coarse cotton weft stripes. Above this group of narrow border patterns there are two rows of "ibriks" in red filling the angles of a chevron pattern in white which has yellow four-petalled flowers at its angles. These designs are worked in with free spools.

The five open-work borders consist of two outer ones with tiny red rectangles on a white ground and three wider ones composed of chevrons in white filled in with red triangles; the whole border measures 6½ inches (16·51 cm.) in width, and has a rich appearance.

No. 1936-57. This "marama" from Scutari is unusual on account of its size, being made of two widths of material each 13 inches (33·0 cm.) wide and measuring 7 feet (2·1 m.) in length.

It is of hand-woven cotton almost covered with broad and narrow weft stripes of a thicker thread, and the decorated borders at the ends are 7 inches (17·8 cm.) wide. The whole border consists of six narrow ones with a broader one in the centre, worked in pink, red and white, all divided from one another by groups of narrow weft stripes. The patterns are all geometrical, and based on arrangements of squares and triangles, and the six narrower ones are of Persian openwork, whilst the broader central one is brocaded with free spools.

A twisted fringe of the warp ends finishes off the whole.

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No. 1936-53. One of the two "maramas" for everyday use is of coarse, hand-woven cotton and has a group of Turkey red weft stripes at each end. It was bought in Prizren and used personally by Miss Durham.

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No. 1936-47. The other, also of coarse, hand-woven material, has an arrangement of broad and narrow stripes of gold plate at the ends.

B. **Bedspreads.**

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No. 1935-29. A gauze bed-cover from Scutari (Skodar) with warp and weft stripes in red and white, the wider red ones having a line of yellow or green down their centres, is an example from the latter end of the 19th Century, and formed part of a bride's outfit. The crossing of the pairs of red stripes with pairs of white stripes produces a gay, tartan-like effect.

* T. de Dillmont: "Encyclopædia of Needlework."

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia

Albania EG1

Montenegrins EF5

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The cover measures 8 feet (2·4 m.) by 5 feet 6 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of material which are joined by needlepoint insertion. Picots with three knots are worked closely along the two edges, and then these are joined by bars of knotted stitchery.

The ends and a little way up each side are also ornamented by similar picots into which a row of wrapped scallops, with smaller picots in bullion stitch, is worked.

These needlepoint trimmings are carried out in red, yellow and green silk, the foundation picots in red, and the scallops in three-inch lengths of each colour in series. Tassels of the mixed colours are added at the corners.

No. 1935-25. A delightful white silk gauze bedcover from Scutari which also formed part of a bridal outfit came from a Catholic family.

A [731 727]

"After the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 there was much distress and things from old family chests were offered for sale. This was one." (M.E.D.).

The spread measures 7 feet 8 inches (2·3 m.) by 5 feet 9 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of gauze seamed together. Each width of material has groups of stripes near the selvedges consisting of one wide and three narrow stripes of white, five narrow red and three pale green ones; measuring altogether 4½ inches (11·4 cm.) across.

As two groups of these stripes are joined at the seams three wider groups appear to divide the cover into thirds with narrower bands down the sides. The ends are hemstitched and the hems ornamented by two rows of wrapped buttonholing, into which at distances of two inches little triangles of buttonhole stitch are worked, finished off by a floral motive done in an arrangement of picoted scallops and decorated with three gold sequins.

These little needlepoint motives are worked in sequence in red, green and a soft pink and the bedcover as a whole is charming.

No. 1936-57a. The strips of needlepoint insertion 4 feet 9 inches (1·4 m.) long and 2 inches (5 cm.) wide, and the 9 feet of inch-wide edging are intended for trimming another bedspread. Aniline dyes have been used for the silk thread, and purple, orange, yellow, maroon, emerald and pink are used in sequence for the circular motive in the centre of the insertion and for a few inches along the edge. The final effect is somewhat garish.

C. **A Cloth, possibly for a table.**

M 286 531

No. 1936-44. "A black and dark blue cloth from Kolashin, bought off a dealer in Montenegro, is a curious piece of weaving and I never saw another like it. It is evidently hand-made, native work." (M.E.D.).

This cloth which measures 40 inches (1 m.) by 29 inches (73·7 cm.) is made of two stripes of narrow material, which is tabby-woven in fine black wool, there being 32 warp and 32 weft picks to the inch.

It is entirely covered with a large lozenge design, almost filling the width of the material, bordered by five diagonal lines of small squares and each lozenge enclosing twenty-five repeats of a four-petalled flower in white with a dark blue spot in the centre (Fig. 10).

The whole of the pattern is produced by the use of a large number of free spools, for instance, in the diagonal lines of squares forming the divisions between the big lozenges a new spool is added for every alternate eight warp ends forming a small square, working over and under the next eight warps, and then passes on to the next groups of eight lower down.

In using the spools of white thread each line of pattern is worked backwards and forwards before the next two throws of weft are made.

854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of laths—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. Marriage

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

ALBANIA

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583
rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162
women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585
bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834
important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581
one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609
days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should
cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585
born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842
it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman
bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589
married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562
has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to
do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right
to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt
twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836
ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842
priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585
betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal,
and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage."
"They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586
miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away.
In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great
trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31,
1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage."
And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584
and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577
and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each
other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the
relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted,
and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626
the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585
it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be
forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the
Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or
immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states
that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before
585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common.
584 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage
589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her
626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms,
689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given
562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself,
839 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585
The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842]
uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592]
take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584
relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583
price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585
at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291]
kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301]
necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291]
and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom, who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576]
have to assume a superhuman modesty.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

584 betrothal, as was customary, they were not allowed to meet, and the unfortunate man did not know till the veil was lifted in church that they had betrothed him to the girl's elder sister. He at once said, "I refuse to take her." The assembled relatives hushed him up and said he must not make a disturbance in church. He, thinking his protest was sufficient, allowed the service to finish. So soon as it was over he repudiated the girl, and said if she was taken to his home he should not return there. Nor did he. His parents kept her some time and then sent her to her own home. He returned then; but left when they again [586] sent her round. The affair was some two or three years old. All parties were greatly concerned. But I could not make them believe that Rome, if properly applied to, would certainly declare this to be no marriage.

Among the Moslems the usual form of Mohammedan divorce prevailed.

7. Marriage of an Outsider into a Tribe

MONTENEGRO

Outsider into the Tribe.—There was one exception to the rule which forbade any man—an outsider—to become a member of a tribe. If a man had no sons and one or more daughters he could, with the consent of his bratstvo and tribe, import a son-in-law instead of exporting all his daughters.

This man then lived as son of the house and took the place of a son. He lost all rights in his former tribe and was a member of that which he had married into. He dropped his own family name and took that of Domazet ("dom," the house; "zet," son-in-law). His sons were Domazetovitch, a name which can still be found in Montenegro and, I believe, in Bosnia.

But the introduction of a man of another tribe was so much disliked that in marriages of this kind the domazet was, as a rule, chosen if possible from another group within the tribe that was not related by blood. Such groups existed in most of the larger tribes (*v.* Tribes).

FORBIDDEN DEGREES

In Montenegro, though the ancient strict rule of exogamy no longer held good as regards tribes according to law, yet in practice there was still a tendency to marry outside the tribe or into a quite distant group of it.

The laws of the Orthodox Church on forbidden degrees were given me by Pope Gjuro as follows:—

[P. 215 – 242 blank]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Their wives and mothers, like women generally, are 581
well up in all the degrees of kinship and descent, and
the preliminaries of betrothals are usually settled by
them in the harem before they are submitted to the
head of the family and communicated to the parties
most nearly interested. Children are frequently 582
betrothed before they are ten years of age, and 584
occasionally while still in the cradle. In such cases, [583]
however, the arrangement is kept secret from the
couple until the young man is in a position to marry.
This usage is intended to prevent the Albanian
youths marrying in the towns to which they resort
for employment. A refusal on the part of a young 626
man to fulfil an engagement made for him by his 584
parents, would inevitably result not only in a vendetta
with the relatives of the rejected bride, but in social
ostracism. Such cases are, however, extremely rare,
for, as the bridegroom elect has, as a rule, never beheld
the bride chosen for him, he can have no reason for
refusing to marry her. In such an eventuality 582
national usage decrees that the younger brothers and
sisters of the maiden may not marry until her matri-
monial affairs are satisfactorily settled.

Women in Albania being less numerous than men, 583
it is not customary to require a portion with the [162]
bride, who is, on the contrary, as among the Vlachs
and Bulgarians, practically purchased from her father
or brothers for a sum of money which varies accord-
ing to the wealth and standing of the respective
families. The parents of the maiden, however, be-
sides providing the materials for her trousseau,
supply her with various articles of jewellery and a

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

583 certain amount of plenishing, the bridegroom supplying the rest.

585 184 With the exception of the nuptial benediction, the marriage customs of the Christian and Moslem Albanians are similar, and there is very little difference in the songs by which they are accompanied. Among the Moslems the betrothal takes [584] place in the presence of the Kadi. This functionary receives the declaration of mutual consent, made on the part of the maiden by her natural guardians, who undertake to prove it by the mouth of two Moslem witnesses. After a prayer for the benediction of Allah on the union, a contract is drawn up enumerating the articles to be given to the bride by her parents, and stipulating the sum to be paid to her by the husband in the event of his divorcing her. To this document the Kadi and the witnesses affix their seals, and this ceremony constitutes the legal marriage.

As with the Osmanlis, the bride does not, however, go to her husband's house until the wedding festivities have taken place, the interval ranging in duration from a few weeks to a year, according to the convenience of the bridegroom's family. As the ceremonies observed in Epirus present so many points of similarity with those of the Greeks,[1] I will here describe only those belonging to Upper Albania which present features peculiar to themselves.

The festivities invariably begin on a Thursday with the sending of the *dunti* by the bridegroom. This is the decorated box containing the presents to the bride of various articles of dress and ornament,

[1] Vol. i. chap. iii.

comer in the family, is a suppliant for the gift of 585
fire, of life, of the Mystery that continues the race. 593

On the third day she puts on the heavy belt that means she is a wife, and thereafter she goes about the household, obeying the commands of the elders, always standing until they tell her to sit, and for six months not speaking unless they address her. And it is her duty to care for the fire, and with her fire tongs to light the cigarettes smoked by any of the family, or by their guests. Sometime, when it is convenient, she and her husband will go to the church and be married by the priest. Usually she has not seen 584
her husband until she comes to his house, since she is of another tribe and the marriage is arranged by the families.

"We have tried to prevent the betrothing of children before they are born," said the bishop,[1] smiling ruefully, "and in many centuries we have had some effect. Children now are usually not betrothed until they are two or three years old. Even that we combat, of course, yet I cannot say that the custom makes much unhappiness. Husbands and wives are good comrades; they almost never quarrel and they are devoted to their children. But you will see all that for yourself. Yet occasionally there is something 000
like this Shala-Shoshi affair, which I fear will lead to much bloodshed. But the dinner is ready and my servant will show you your room and bring water to wash your hands."

The servant led us to the bishop's own bed-

1 [Bishop of Pultit -- Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

837 thing would mean a blood feud between tribes.
628 No man would make love to a girl of his own
619 tribe, of course; a tribe traces its ancestry back to a common ancestor, and it would be like an American's making love to his own sister. And if he seduced a girl of another tribe he would be involving hundreds of people. Men have to respect women in these mountains; they're killed if they don't, and not only they, but their families. A blood feud is no joke.

"However, I did hear of its happening once. The man's family had to send word to the family of the girl to whom he was betrothed, to say that he could not marry her because he was going to have a child by another woman. The three tribes met in council and prevented a blood feud, but the man's family had to pay his fiancée's tribe ten thousand kronen, and ten thousand kronen to the family of the man that the other girl was engaged to. Then those two married, and the first man married the girl who was going to have his child. But it was a terrible disgrace to both their families.

But he cut short our awed admiration for such a rigidly moral community. He was a man of Ipek, educated in Europe, and returned to Tirana, and his attitude to the ignorant tribes of these mountains was not one of admiration.

584 "They are really a wretched lot," he declared.
627 "Now, take a thing like this, for instance." And he told us that in a house a few miles down the valley there was a nine-year-old girl held prisoner. The story was this:

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

PEAKS OF SHALA

584 627 A man of Pultit had betrothed his unborn child to the unborn child of a man of Shala, eighteen years ago. The two men, being friends, and one evening drinking rakejia together, had agreed that if one child proved to be a boy and the other a girl, they should marry. The wife of the Pultit man had protested; she did not like the tribe of Shala, and she did not like her husband's friend, perhaps because he was too fond of rakejia. Besides, she was an ambitious woman, and said that if she had a daughter she would marry her in Scutari. Wild, irrational woman! But the compact was made, and nothing was left to her but to hope that both children would be boys, or both girls.

However, she became the mother of a daughter, and the Shala man became the father of a son. The girl was eleven years old, and in a few more years would have been duly married in Shala, when the Serbs and Montenegrins, pouring down over the mountains in the retreat before the Austrians, suddenly invaded Albania, and in fighting those ancestral enemies the girl's father was killed. The mother immediately took her children and fled to Scutari.

Four years later, the girl now being of marriageable age, Shala sent to Scutari for her, and what was their outrage to discover that the mother not only would not give her up, but had actually betrothed her to a Scutari man! The gendarmes of Scutari make simple and direct justice difficult; mountain law does not apply

584 there. Two Shala men made an attempt to
627 carry off the girl, and were captured by superior forces and thrown into jail. Not killed, you perceive, but trapped, and talked over at length, and kept in a cage for some time, and at length freed, all most absurdly and unreasonably. They returned at once to their task, but they found it impossible to seize the girl again. She was closely guarded, not only by her mother, but by the family of the Scutari man to whom she was unjustly betrothed. So, finding that way to justice blocked, the Shala men caught her little sister, eight years old, and triumphantly escaped with her into the mountains.

She was not yet of marriageable age, and the Shala bridegroom must wait another six years, but justice had been done, though imperfectly. Pultit owed him a bride, and a Pultit bride he would have, with patience. The girl was brought to his house, and was even now being kept there, much against her will, while the family waited for her to grow old enough to be married.

ooo "Those are things that we must change as soon as the government is strong enough," Perolli said, decisively, and we hoped that the government would be strong enough in time to rescue the girl, though the poor Shala lad, through no fault of his own, seemed doomed to live an unhappy bachelor.

In Padre Marjan's kitchen we found at least twenty visitors from the village; the men were there again, among them all the chiefs but

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

682 father, his only means of doing so, was forbidden. Her son by
562 another husband, belonging as he did to another family, was free
628 to avenge her. If a woman's son killed her for any but the above
596 heinous crimes, her husband could not avenge her, since to do so
[607] he must kill his son. In Mirditë her brother could kill her son or other male in his family, but elsewhere it was held that her brother was as helpless as her husband because her son was a nearer relative and her nearest relative having killed her, her blood must be lost. If she was married for the second time and was killed by the son of her former marriage, her husband could kill his stepson, but as before, her brother's hands were tied, except in Mirditë, by the law of nearest relative.

When a man killed his brother's wife for any other reason than those stated above, her husband took no action if he and the murderer had not separated; the murder was a family affair. Her brother, however, killed one of them. If the two brothers had separated, the murderer had to pay blood money to her husband. If the husband did not exact it within a year, her brother killed either the murderer or her husband. Her husband never killed his brother: 'I'd never kill my brother for the sake of my wife', was a common saying.

When a woman was killed by her father or brother, her blood was always lost by the rule of nearest relative. If she was married, her husband did not, in most districts, continue friendly relations with the murderer, but in some, such as Krasniqë, he asked him for another girl and on receiving her forgot his annoyance at the other's
[584] murder. The same was true if the murdered woman was only betrothed, for a betrothed girl 'is counted the man's wife'. When a woman was killed by some other man in her own family, by her uncle or her nephew for instance, by the rule of nearest relative her
[593] blood was lost if she was neither married nor betrothed. If she was either and was not killed for a heinous crime, her husband felt he had been disgraced and avenged her by killing a male in her family.

When murders were committed by women, the situation was complicated by the fact that women belonged to two families, their husband's and their father's.

[672] If a woman murdered her husband, both his family and her father's were involved. The important factor was her motive, which was usually love for another man who had probably bought the necessary rat poison in the bazaar. If her lover was her

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

682 *628 ten or twenty years, according to the crime. In Mirditë, presumably under church influence, the murderer of a priest was expelled for ever, and other anti-social criminals for five to fifteen years. In Martanesh the injured man might after an interval intercede with the local elders and secure a remission of part of the sentence; otherwise the murderer and his descendants must remain in exile. Several local traditions maintain that sentences of perpetual banishment were formerly much commoner. In Martanesh no such sentence has been pronounced for 200 years, and in Shpat none for 100 years. In Lurë any murderer used to be banished in perpetuity; witness the numerous families of Lurë origin who now live in Prizren, Tetovo, Reka and other places in Yugoslavia.

428 682 In Lurë when a man was sentenced to perpetual banishment, his nearest kinsmen, those who would have been his heirs in the event of his dying childless, divided up his land. His family was in fact reckoned as extinct so far as the tribe was concerned. In Mirditë also he was considered as dead to the tribe. Father Gjeçov gives two accounts of what happened there to his land. For ordinary expulsions it was left uncultivated and used for public grazing. [686] When a man was expelled for breaking into a church or for killing a priest, his land was bought by his nearest kinsmen and the money given to the church. In Shpat again the murderer's nearest kinsmen divided up his land; but there the elders valued it and the kinsmen paid the murderer the estimated sum before he was drummed out; if they could not raise the money, the village found it, subject to recovering it later from the kinsmen. On the other [423] hand, when a murderer was banished only for a term of years, his land everywhere remained uncultivated until his return, when he built a house and resumed cultivation. During his absence, his ownership of the land was uncontested, but he was not allowed to derive any profit from it. A voluntary exile was in a different position; he could empower a kinsman to work his land and throughout his absence to remit to him in his place of exile an agreed proportion of the profits.

682 *628 584 When a man was expelled for good, the community signalled the same by tearing up the four corner-stones of the foundations of his house after they had burned it down. When his banishment was temporary, the corner-stones were left in place to await his return. Again when his banishment was perpetual, there could be no more giving or taking in marriage for him in the village; any engagements

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

subsisting at the time of his expulsion were voided by that fact. 682 When his banishment was temporary, his marriage engagements 628* remained binding. [584]

Even in cases of temporary banishment the murderer's separation from his tribe was thoroughgoing. For the specified period 'he could not light a cigarette in a single house of the tribe', as the men of Lurë put it. Nor could he, or his, return to borrow honey, that most important commodity where sugar is scarce. In Mirditë a tribesman who admitted him to his house for any of the above purposes was publicly 'burned, roasted and expelled' for breaking tribal discipline.

The banished murderer's obligation to take root whether he 682 wished it or not in some alien spot is another of the factors which produced the many colonies of diverse origin in Albanian lands. The exiles, home-sick like exiles the world over, often gave the name of their ancestral village to their new settlement.

If the murderer did not choose to go into exile of his own accord, [697] he was condemned by the avenger to virtual imprisonment in his house. Sometimes he shut himself up voluntarily; more often, especially in north Albania, he was peremptorily ordered to do so by the avenger. For the period of his 'imprisonment' fear that the avenger was lurking near prevented him from stirring outside during the daytime and restricted his movements to the night hours. If he left home, he had by dawn to find shelter under a friend's roof and he could not continue his travels until the next night fell. These disabilities were his so long as he eluded the avenger, and he might do so for years, as in the case of a native of Sheshaj who had been shut up by his enemy for twenty-five years. At Belsh in Dumre, as a result of this confinement, two men who had been shut up for twelve years were 'waxen and yellow as the dead'. They longed to walk in the sunlight and were bored indoors where they could do nothing to pass the time except strip maize [286] and knit (most curious, knitting is one of the staple occupations [462] of the men, but not the women, in Dumre). But they could not help themselves, since it was certain death to step outside during the daytime.

Just as the murderer's house could not be burned down in case 172 women and children perished in the conflagration, so his 'imprison- 682 ment' could not be allowed to stop the work of the family in case 628* women and children died of starvation. There were several

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

APPENDIX

LAWS PASSED AT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

(TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ALBANIAN)

I. Some Laws Ratified by the Prefecture of Shkodër. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 128–9.)

1. Bride-price is not to be altered. The amount fixed seven years ago remains in force. It is, therefore, 600 grosh, a sum which includes everything. Whoever acts contrary to this order will be fined 1000 grosh. [583]

2. Girls will be betrothed by their father, or if they have no father by their brother and, failing him, by their nearest male cousin. Women are not to interfere in betrothals. [584]

3. Every betrothal will be arranged openly not secretly, and there will be a go-between as witness. When the betrothal has been completed and rifles have been fired off in front of the betrothed girl's house, the men who have the right to betroth her will go to the parish priest in order to register the names of the betrothed pair, the registrar and the witnesses, together with all the circumstances. Whosoever does not abide by this decree will be fined 1000 grosh.

4. Whoever refuses to go through the marriage ceremony when the priest comes for that purpose will be fined 1000 grosh. [585]

5. Whoever incites a married woman to run away will be fined eight purses.

6. Whoever gives a bride to a man who has divorced his lawfully wedded wife will be fined 1000 grosh. [587]

7. Whoever shall dare to send away his lawfully wedded wife in order to take another woman in unlawful wedlock will be fined 1000 grosh.

8. Whoever sells his daughter or sister or other female of his blood relations will be fined, like the buyer, 1000 grosh.

9. On the basis of the ancient customs, which are still observed among the Christians of the mountains of Shkodër concerning betrothals, marriages, enticing of other men's wives, running away of wives and other similar causes of trouble, some laws have been enacted for the repression of the aforesaid evil acts and have been approved by His Lordship the Archbishop of Shkodër, Mgr Luigi Çurçi, and by the mountain chiefs. These laws after being weighed by the Government Council have been approved and ordered to be put into execution.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

mitted it because of the frightful blood-feuds caused by fights over women who fled back to their own families or went off with other men. Parents, having once betrothed a daughter in the cradle to a youth also in the cradle, dared not refuse to carry out the bargain when the time came, even if they knew the boy infant had grown up into a bad lot. The marriage was accomplished, and the daughter encouraged to come home if she could not stand it. M 586

If no signs of pregnancy soon occurred a man demanded divorce. Till Vladika Petar's time a woman could not sue for divorce; but by flying home and refusing cohabitation she could drive her husband to do so. The old formula was that a council of elders, at which the pope presided, having been called, the wrongs of the husband were declared and discussed. If the elders decided in his favour, a cup of wine was offered to the wife's male relatives, who drank of it and offered it to the husband, who refused to drink with them. The pope then gave one corner of the wife's apron to her father, and the other corner to the husband's father. He then drew a cord between them and declared them separated. Thus the parents who made the marriage also unmade it. M 586 842 623

Vladika Petar I (1796) decreed that "He who takes a woman whose husband is living or a girl not given to him by her parents or guardians, according to the rites of religion, shall be expelled from our territory and his goods confiscated." M 683 684

12. "A pope who marries a man and woman when the woman has a living husband, or marries a girl forcibly captured, or a woman not permitted by religion to marry, shall be expelled both from the priesthood and from our land." M [688 585]

He permitted women to sue for divorce and instituted a fine of fifty thalars, which the man who had divorced his wife had to pay to her father. If the woman asked and gained the divorce, her father had to pay fifty thalars to the husband. M 586

If there were any children, the elders usually did not grant a divorce. In case of the wife's adultery the husband obtained divorce at once and paid no damages. He could, if he pleased, cut off his wife's nose, and not infrequently did so.

ALBANIA

Among the Catholics, as elsewhere, there was no divorce. Such was the severity of the local priesthood that few persons were aware that it was possible to get a marriage annulled. A 586

An unlucky young Scutarene was told by his parents that they had arranged for him to marry a certain girl. He had already said he wished to marry her, for he had known her as a child. During the A 584

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Serbs EP6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

In the Pulati mountains the head is often shaved, except for the perchin. A 302

In olden days a boy did not rank as a male till his head had been shaved. This was not done till after the ceremony of the first hair-cutting, described above. When once shaved he could be killed for blood-vengeance as male blood of the tribe. A 302 554 885

Mothers would defer the head-shave if they could for a year or two in consequence, but it was a practice not approved of.

The heads of both girls and boys are shaved in the mountains, and a fringe is left over the girl's forehead. A 302

When I was in Kosovo vilayet in 1908 I found that among the scattered Serbian peasants the heads of both girls and boys were S 302

A [302]

FIG. 23.—VARIETIES OF ALBANIAN HEAD-SHAVES

shaved. Both had a perchin, and the girls a fringe over the forehead. So soon as the girl was betrothed her hair was allowed to grow. In the rare case of her remaining unmarried I was told she would keep her head shaved. S 584 554

In the Albanian mountains, where the girls were betrothed as children, I found the hair was not allowed to grow till they were marriageable. A 584 302

Wood-ash and water in the mountains is the usual shaving mixture. Even in civilized places methods were sometimes barbaric. I watched a barber, who stood at the gates of Ragusa on a market-day, inviting incoming peasants to indulge in a shave before entering the town. The patient sat cross-legged on the ground. The barber gripped his head between his knees, spat freely on the razor blade, and set to work. A H 302

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The large uncarved wooden crosses in most of the graveyards of 531
Dukagini and Pulati (Fig. 9) show at the ends of the arms either (1) a sun 764
and crescent, (2) a sun alone, or (3) a sun with two notches below it—a transition form in which the carpenter has forgotten what the crescent is and merely chopped notches. The sun-wheel forms the back and the crescent and sun the ends of the arms of the typical wooden armchair in which the house-lord sits. Such chairs were used by all the tribes, but are now chiefly found in the further Dukagini tribes. The chip-carved distaffs of the women show the cross frequently; but chip-carving does not lend itself to curves, and the moon appears as an angle on which the cross stands. Some distaffs, however, suggest that their complicated designs are based on rayed curves, though they are now angular.

The cross and rayed sun are also traceable on many of the elaborately 291
knitted socks. Here, owing to the exigencies of the material, the sun 531
is square, but the rays are duly shown.

A rayed sun is part of the elaborate design embroidered on the scarlet cloak of the married Catholic women of Scutari. Of this design, which with variations consists always of similar elements, I have failed to find an explanation. "It must be some old story which we have forgotten," say the embroiderers, who are always men. The sun, an ear of wheat (? feather), a flowering plant, the dove and the serpent always appear. It is given to the bride by the bridegroom on her wedding- [585]
day. The sun, the wheat, and the flowers suggest fertility. And the facts that the serpent and dove were symbols of the mother goddess worshipped at Knossos, and that bird and serpent played an important part in Egyptian mythology, show that the origin of this Albanian pattern is, indeed, so old that it is no wonder the embroiderers have forgotten it (Figs. 10 and 11).

The sun and moon were firmly established as symbols in the Balkans 174
long before the Turk arrived. I think that probably the Turkish crescent 531
and star is really the rayed sun and moon, the sun being diminished so as to fit decoratively within the crescent.

On the wall of a house at Vuthaj, when the district was wholly 531
Moslem and almost closed to outsiders, I saw, in 1908, a large rayed 342
sun painted with a slim crescent beside it (Fig. 12, No. 10). More striking yet was the emblem at that time placed over the gate of the Turkish Konak at Prizren. It was a large wooden sun with long rays of unequal length. At the tip of each ray was a small wooden crescent. At this time there was huge excitement over the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, and I was warned neither to draw nor photograph anything in public. I made, therefore, only a memory sketch (Fig. 12, No. 9), but it gives a correct idea of this curious sign, which, as the

[Text continues on p. 129]

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583 rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162 women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585 bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834 important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581 one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609 days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585 born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842 it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589 married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562 has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836 ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842 priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585 betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal, and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage." "They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586 miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away. In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31, 1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage." And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584 and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577 and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted, and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626 the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585 it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before
585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common.
584 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage
589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her
626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms,
689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given
562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself,
839 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's 689
dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to 562
one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after [428] which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping [689] with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, 689
so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church 562
at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard 773
a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man 585
refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in 583
blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed 578
daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" 577
that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 583

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

583
577 and ask the girl. The usual answer was that they were too modest. The suggestion seemed to be thought indecent.

581 The fact that both in Montenegro and Albania a word of Turkish
152 origin is used commonly for "to make love" (Montenegrin and Bosnian, "ashikovati"; Albanian, "ashik," lover—"ashari," love) suggests that love-making played little or no part in the marriages of both lands. I heard that the son of an Austrian mother and an Albanian father was betrothed and asked his mother if he was much in love. "O dear, no!" she cried. "Not in the least; he is quite Albanian!"

183 One case only I met in which—perhaps for the first time—a betrothal
583 was broken and the girl left free to marry. She was the niece of Mgr. Premi Dochi, mitred abbot of the Mirdites, a very remarkable man, whose death during the war was an immense loss to Albania.

I passed the night at her father's house. The girl sat sullen and glowering in a corner like a wild cat at bay. No one spoke to her. I asked what was the matter. She had refused to be sent to her betrothed. Her father was furious. Only the abbot's intervention had saved her. He talked the young man into admitting that it was useless to marry a girl who hated him and would probably run away, when another more amenable could be found, and got him to swear that no blood-
581 vengeance should be taken if the girl married another. But the father, enraged, declared often and loudly, "A girl marries to please her house and not for herself"; and rated her till I was sorry I had asked. Awe of the abbot alone had made him yield.

585 *Marriage Ceremonies.*—When the wedding-day is fixed the male relatives of the bridegroom go to fetch the bride. The bridegroom usually does not go. As the tribes are exogamous the distance may be considerable. Sometimes the men of the bride's family take her to a spot half-way and hand her over there. Sometimes she is fetched from her father's house. Moslem girls are always accompanied by one or two female relatives. Christian girls usually are, if the journey is a long one; but not always. In no case does the mother go.

Marriage among the Christians is according to the rites of the Catholic Church.

I was never at a mountain wedding, but was told some local ceremonies. In Klementi the bride, on coming to her husband's home, must throw an apple over the roof, and is given some corn. This recalls the confarreatio of the Romans. She is then led three times round the hearth. All through the mountains I gathered that a bride must enter the house with her right foot first and carry in a male child with her. On marriage the hair of the woman is dyed black and dressed differently from that of a virgin. There are various modes, according to district. In the Maltsia e Madhe the head is shaved in front and over the temples,

and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585 ● The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842] uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592] take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584 relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583 price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585 at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291] kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301] necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291] and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom, who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576] have to assume a superhuman modesty.

585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and [533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house. [534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The [282 301] display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped; the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern [262] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker- [281] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell. [777] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait, punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take [777 842] the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

enable her to bear male children. The ladies again sang songs of greeting. 585
Then the two bride-leaders manipulated the bride as though she were [777
a lay figure. She was absolutely passive. They raised her to her feet, 842]
set her feet one after the other, shod in the wedding-boots, on to the steps of the carriage, and then on the ground. They then draped her with the red silk handkerchief sent her yesterday, and pinned it to the top of her head. Supported under the armpits she was slowly shuffled across the yard. It was but a few yards long, but her passage took full ten minutes. She was pelted with sweets, which a crowd of children gathered, and sprinkled with holy water, and led into the women's room. The bridegroom then arrived on foot and went to the men's room. I followed the bride. She was led backwards, and seated, still blinded by the veils, upon the chair in the corner. Her hands were laid on her sash and nervously grasped a folded handkerchief. Her immobility as her attendants handled her was so inhuman as to be almost horrible. One of her leaders carefully lifted a corner of her head-coverings and gave her lemonade to drink under it. The attendants [272]
themselves were then ceremoniously served with refreshments. They then removed her wedding-boots and put on the slippers, raised her to her feet, lifted a corner of her veil, said good-bye under it, and withdrew. The poor bride still stirred never a finger, but the violent [152]
heaving of her breast showed her on the verge of hysterics. She pulled herself together and the ordeal continued. One of the bridegroom's female relatives unpinned the red handkerchief from the bride's head and held it as a screen before her. Behind it her headdress was changed. Her white veil was removed, and a yellow beflowered silk one substituted.

The great moment had now come. We were to see her face. A lady on each side of her threw back the veil and showed her off. She was exposed to a crowd of staring females. Her head dropped modestly. Her attendants each placed a finger under her chin and raised it again. The sweat streamed down her face. They wiped it. They straightened her wide coat, settled her sash, and waved the flies off her. Such was her Spartan heroism that when a fly, unobserved by the attendants, crawled up her face, she did not even by a twitch show that she was alive. Then a front row of chairs was arranged and all the men came in. The bridegroom, witnesses, and father took their seats. The background was crowded with miscellaneous youths. They stared with all their eyes at the luckless girl, who in vain dropped or turned her head, only to have it put straight again.

Only the bridegroom held his head down and would not look. His 533
witnesses grasped his chin and made him look, and he faltered, "But 585
I've seen her already."

The wedding song then began:—

533 How beautiful is the bride, Mashallah, Mashallah.
585 She has a forehead for a "perishan" (gold ornament of coins, etc.).
Her eyebrows are like braid, Mashallah, etc.
Her eyes large as coffee cups, Mashallah, etc.
Her nose is like a gold coin ("muskala").
Her cheeks like sweet cake ("gurabi," given at night by the bride to the bridegroom).
Her mouth is like a casket, Mashallah, etc.
Her teeth like pearls.
Her neck like a lily. Her figure is like a standard

585 sang the ladies, the men roaring: "She is, she is!" in a high falsetto, pressing their hands on their ears, and the small boys yelling "Mashallah," a strange cry at a Catholic wedding. All the time her two attendants [152] patted, straightened, and wiped the bride. My neighbour whispered to me: "They often faint." I anxiously watched her panting and swaying, and was relieved when the bridegroom left the room and the men followed. The ladies then bent the bride's knees and she plopped on to the chair. By now she was almost hypnotized, and mechanically at intervals tried to rise, but was at once replaced unless a child came in, when it was correct for her to rise for a moment. Then came midday and the wedding dinner, to which I did not stay. The bride is allowed to withdraw for a time. She does not eat with the guests. Her attendants [264] put little bits of food into her mouth. If very modest she does not take it, but when left alone secretly consumes some food she has hidden in her marriage coffer. On my return she was again enthroned. I was given three tumblers of wine and a dish of sweets and told to consume them, and did my best. I was then given a special view of all the bride's ornaments, and invited to return at night for the final ceremony. This I did not do. It was described as follows: The two attendants prepare the bed at midnight. They undress the bride and put a long silk shirt on her; lay her forcibly on the bed, and withdraw. The two male [833 witnesses then lead or drag in the bridegroom and prepare him. The 533] wedding guests all stand outside the door when the couple are left alone, and sing epithalamia of an encouraging nature and shout advice through the keyhole. The bride has to feed the bridegroom with the "gurabi" (cake) she has brought in her wedding coffer.

The company sings continually till told the marriage has been consummated. In a short time the bride and bridegroom emerge completely redressed. She wears a married woman's dress. They are greeted as man and wife and at last left in peace.

585 The whole of the next week the bride may be visited at any hour
574 of the day and must not speak a word, but sit rigid as before.

At the end of the week she has a holiday and goes back to her own people on the Sunday. On the Wednesday her husband is invited to

make acquaintance with the family into which he has married. Again 585
the party is divided into "buck-herds and doe-herds." The husband 574
enters the ladies' room and embraces all of his new female relations,
except his wife, whom modesty compels to turn away. He sups with [576]
the family and goes home alone. Next day the bride is brought back
to his house and the same pantomime of extreme reluctance is gone through. She comes home usually in a carriage. I was told that formerly it was etiquette for her to come on foot, but only inch by inch, so that her return from a house round the corner might perhaps take hours. She visits her family thus at week-ends for several months, but only on the first occasion is a carriage and ceremony necessary.

A bridegroom, while I was in Scutari, revolted against the midnight ceremony, and turned all the guests out of his house after the feast. In spite of her assumed modesty the bride was deeply hurt at being thus deprived of publicity. She complained to her parents, who angrily asked why their daughter should have been thus insulted. Was she not good enough to show as his wife to his friends in the usual manner? Nor could they see that in this case the bridegroom's modesty had been real and not assumed.

He was in the unusual position of having a house of his own. In most 591
cases the young couple lives in the house of the bridegroom's parents 592
in the town and has a separate room. The parents rule and control the household, and the bride is often very hard-worked. The emigrants returned from America have brought new ideas and the system is breaking down.

Much of the above ceremony resembles Roman practice. The distaff, the casket of household implements, the throwing of sweets, sprinkling of water, epithalamia, the *patria potestas* also.

The girls of a family must be married according to age—the eldest 582
first, and so on. The origin of this is perhaps that formerly infant betrothals were almost universal and girls were sent to their husbands so soon as old enough.

In Scutari, and, I believe, in the other towns, the daughters, or at least one of them, must be married before the sons can be married. The explanation offered was that the daughters must be dowered, and the sons cannot marry till they have helped earn the dowries. Over these wedding outfits the parties are very exacting. The bride- 583
groom's family bargains for every stitch of the garments and stipulates as to their quality. While I was in Scutari a betrothed man, who had always worn Albanian costume, went to work abroad and dressed *à la Franga*. He wrote home to say he now required drawers that could be worn under trousers, and his fiancée, who had already finished I forget how many dozen voluminous Albanian garments, had all her

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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holding each other with one hand while they execute a step composed of shuffles and leaps, and not particularly graceful, waving at the same time over their heads a kerchief, or scarf, with their disengaged hand. Another dance of a pantomimic character is sometimes performed at weddings for the amusement of the company. Three masked men, in the characters of a man, his wife, and his servant, perform a burlesque representing the weakness of man and the unfaithfulness of woman. The husband expresses by gesture his despair at seeing his wife make eyes at the wedding guests, while her servant, armed with a broom in lieu of a gun, threatens to shoot her mistress's lovers.

The Albanians are, as M. Dozon remarks,[1] "without literature, without art, and almost without a history." Their language, which is difficult to learn and difficult to pronounce, is a complete mosaic of fragments borrowed from many sources, though a native element naturally predominates. Greek and Turkish words abound, and many of Slav and Latin origin have become part of the vernacular. The language of the Skipetars is also divided between the two dialects spoken respectively by the Tosks and the Ghegs, though there is no well-defined line of demarcation between them. The purest Albanian is said to be spoken at Elbassan, the inhabitants of which according to the native saying:

> "Turk of Stambolhit [Constantinople],
> Skipe of Elbasanit,"

are looked upon as representative Skipetars. The total neglect of the mother tongue has been due in

[1] *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*, pp. 1 and 163.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

583 certain amount of plenishing, the bridegroom supplying the rest.

585 184 With the exception of the nuptial benediction, the marriage customs of the Christian and Moslem Albanians are similar, and there is very little difference in the songs by which they are accompanied. Among the Moslems the betrothal takes [584] place in the presence of the Kadi. This functionary receives the declaration of mutual consent, made on the part of the maiden by her natural guardians, who undertake to prove it by the mouth of two Moslem witnesses. After a prayer for the benediction of Allah on the union, a contract is drawn up enumerating the articles to be given to the bride by her parents, and stipulating the sum to be paid to her by the husband in the event of his divorcing her. To this document the Kadi and the witnesses affix their seals, and this ceremony constitutes the legal marriage.

As with the Osmanlis, the bride does not, however, go to her husband's house until the wedding festivities have taken place, the interval ranging in duration from a few weeks to a year, according to the convenience of the bridegroom's family. As the ceremonies observed in Epirus present so many points of similarity with those of the Greeks,[1] I will here describe only those belonging to Upper Albania which present features peculiar to themselves.

The festivities invariably begin on a Thursday with the sending of the *dunti* by the bridegroom. This is the decorated box containing the presents to the bride of various articles of dress and ornament,

[1] Vol. i. chap. iii.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

including boots and shoes of yellow leather embroidered with gold, together with a loaf of sugar, some coffee, and other customary trifles. The *dunti* is carried by two boys belonging to the bridegroom's family, both of whose parents must be living. As they arrive at the house the women and girls sing a song beginning :

O flaxen one, far whiter
Than foam on Drin's wave-crest,
—— sends to thee the *dunti*,
All in a golden chest.

All the members of the family receive the boys at the foot of the staircase with every mark of respect, and conduct them to the reception-room. As the *dunti* is placed on a coffer, all present cry, "*Per heir*" (Good luck !) The envoys are seated in the place of honour, while all the family of the bride remain standing; refreshments, consisting of liqueurs and bonbons, are served twice, complimentary speeches are exchanged, and after about an hour of polite attentions, the boys depart. On the same day a youth is despatched by the bridegroom's parents to invite the guests for the following Monday. The formula he makes use of is—"So-and-so is to be married, and begs you to come next Monday to the wedding with all your family, or, if you prefer it, let the head of the family come alone." At each house he receives in return for his invitation a present of a few piastres. The number of persons invited by each family is fixed according to the degree of kinship or friendship existing between them and the bridegroom's family.

The bride's family send out their invitations in the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

●585 same way on the Friday. On this day, too, the women assemble to help in the preparations for the ceremony. While some busy themselves with putting finishing touches to the trousseau, or helping in the kitchen, the others take the bride in hand and commence to "busk" her for the occasion. Compelled by custom [302] to submit silently to whatever operation they may, in their zeal to make her as beautiful as possible, subject her, the poor bride is bathed, scrubbed, "massaged," and *dépilée*, her hair and eyebrows are dyed black, and her feet and hands stained red with henna.

On Sunday evening the bride, dressed in her bridal array, and decked in all her ornaments, is presented to the women of the family. If she is of humble station, jewels are borrowed for her to wear for the occasion, so that, on this day at least, she may lack nothing. The work of the women who have dressed her is then freely and openly criticised, no word, however, being uttered which could possibly hurt the feelings of the bride; for, according to the good ladies of Scutari, a bride can never be otherwise than beautiful. Later on the father and brothers enter, and the maiden, throwing herself at their feet, asks their pardon with tears for all the faults she has since her childhood com- [152] mitted. Hardly has the father raised her than a chorus of sobs and cries is heard from all the company, who thus testify their sorrow at the approaching separation of the maiden from her family. When their grief has exhausted itself, they dry their tears and break into a song, which, translated, is as follows:—

4: Garnet: B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585
[539]

Lower your crests, ye mountains high,
That we may the moon descry
Sailing through the azure sky.
Our bride her mother's counsels heard,
Who said, "My daughter, mark my word,
Love and respect your father new."
"That, mother will I gladly do—
I'll love and honour him alway
Who's given to me a bridegroom gay."

On Monday morning, the homes of both bride and bridegroom are thronged with guests, sometimes to the number of several hundreds. Each one brings an *oka*[1] of coffee and another of sugar for the benefit of the house, and at the same time presents the bride with a gold coin, the value of which varies with the degree of relationship of the giver. These coins are subsequently strung into necklaces, and constitute part of the personal property of a married woman.

[431]
[422]
[302]

At early dawn the bride is dressed in her wedding finery, decked with all her jewels, and, at sunrise, is led to a corner of the principal reception-room. Here custom requires her to stand, motionless and speechless, with downcast eyes and hands crossed on her breast, until she starts for her new home. Two women, posted at either side, keep watch and ward over her, and the rest of the female guests, seated round the room on the divans, stare at the poor girl as if she were the idol of their worship. At meal-times, on this and the two following days, she eats alone, covered with a veil, though if she is anxious to make a good impression she will partake of food only

[1] About 2¾ lbs. avoirdupois.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 if compelled to do so, in order to show how great is her regret at leaving the paternal roof.[1] In fact, her behaviour throughout is intended to typify her reluctance to exchange the single for the married state. Meantime the guests divert themselves with liqueurs, coffee, and sweets, and the performances of the professional musicians hired for the occasion.

[262 463]

About ten o'clock a cart arrives from the bridegroom's abode to fetch the bride's baggage, which is packed in a large wooden box ornamented with designs of flowers rudely executed. When it starts every one shouts, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!), and among the Christians, several women accompany the cart outside the gate, sprinkling both it and its contents with holy water. A few minutes afterwards, all the male guests invited by the bridegroom's friends set out, preceded by his father, who leads a richly caparisoned horse on which the bride will ride home. As they leave the house the women sing:

[415 531]

[788]

[539]

Happy may thy journey be,
Eldest of our family.
Holy sign of cross now make,
To the right thy way then take.
If to us thou bring fair bride,
May the sugar-plums taste sweet,
If a foul one by thy side
That they bitter taste were meet.

585 262 Arrived at their destination, the party range themselves around the courtyard, where glasses of cognac and water, and sweets and sugar-plums of various kinds

[1] The Mongols of Tibet observe a similar custom. See *Journal of Sarat Chandra Das*, published by the Royal Geographical Society.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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are handed round by men-servants. During this ceremony, which every one endeavours to prolong, the bride, enveloped in a long cloak and covered with a veil, is led downstairs. She walks as slowly as possible, supported on either hand by an attendant as if infirm, and is hidden from all eyes by silken draperies held on either side of her path until she has been seated on her horse. 585 [262]

The procession then starts. The husband's guests walk first, then comes the bride, her horse led by a servant, supported on either side by her brothers, behind her follow the musicians and singers, the rear being brought up by her relatives and friends. Various songs are sung *en route*, of which the following may serve as a specimen :— [539]

Our fair bride is on the way,
Like a pink, so fresh and gay.
At the door's our brideling fair,
Like the pink's her perfume rare.
In the courtyard is the bride,
She's a rose that's open'd wide.
On the stair the bride see now,
White as jasmine is her brow.
Now she comes within the room,
Her neck is like the lily's bloom.
" Bride of mine, now cease to grieve,
Let not sobs thy bosom heave."
" Bridegroom mine, can I be gay?
I've my father left to-day.
From my home for ever torn,
It is meet that I should mourn."

The bride, on leaving the door of her childhood's home, and at every street corner she passes, inclines 585

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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585 her head three times in token of farewell to the places she will never again, as a maiden, behold.[1] When her approach is announced to the women of her husband's family, they sing:

[539]

"Bride, lost bride, what wouldst thou find?"
"The courtyard gate of my bridegroom kind."
"What, O bride, wilt thou give to me
If I show now his courtyard gate unto thee?"
"Shirts, O my bridegroom, all broidered and fine."
"Small is thy guerdon, O brideling of mine,
For I can take them, nor ask leave of thine."

Arrived at the bridegroom's home, the same precautions are taken in dismounting the bride as were observed in placing her upon her horse. The women of the house come down to receive her, and pushing her gently, lead her, as if against her will, into the nuptial chamber, where she is seated on cushions. When coffee has been served and partaken of, the bride's friends take their leave, the eldest among them saying in a loud voice:

"Until now she belonged to God and to us, now and henceforward she belongs to you and to God, who will protect her."[2]

As they retire, the last message of the bride to her mother is sung:

[539]

Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!
A word to you the bride would say.
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!

[1] This observance may possibly have its origin in the propitiatory farewells paid by a bride, among the ancient Slavs, to her father's household gods. Compare Kovalevsky, *Modern Customs, &c., of Russia*, pp. 33–4.

[606] [2] This is intended to signify that if the bride is not well treated in her new home her parents will intervene on her behalf.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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585
539

My greetings to my mother bear,
My greetings to my sisters fair,
Tell them my heart will love them e'er.
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!
Each day, when comes the even glow,
My prayers, on winds that softly blow,
For them to God on high shall go—
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!

As soon as the bride's relatives have left, the women raise her veil with the silver handle of a dagger, or some other object made of the same metal,[1] and whether she comes up to their expectations or not, they are in duty bound to sing:

How beautiful she is, the bride!
May God preserve her!
Her brow is high and white and wide,
May God preserve her!
Her eyebrows have the rainbow's curve,
May God preserve her!
Her eyes for coffee cups might serve,[2]
May God preserve her!
Her cheeks the rose's inmost fold
May God preserve her!
Her mouth a little box of gold
May God preserve her!
Her lips as red as cherries are
May God preserve her!
Her teeth than pearls are whiter far!
May God preserve her!
Like milk her skin is fair and white
May God preserve her!
Like cypress is she tall and slight
May God preserve her!

Among the Christian Albanians, the religious ceremony is now performed in the nuptial chamber, where

585

[1] Magical properties are attributed to this metal by the Albanians.
[2] Literally, "as large as coffee-cups"—*findjanes*.

[777]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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585 an altar is specially prepared. The nearest relatives of the bridegroom only are present, and he, like the bride, simulates great unwillingness to enter the apartment. The mass performed, the priest asks the bride three times if she accepts the man kneeling at her side for her husband. Custom, however, forbids her to [577] reply, and at the third interrogation the women in attendance force her to bow her head in token of assent. The bridegroom, on the contrary, pronounces his consent in a loud voice. However plain the bride may prove to be, custom forbids that any sign of disgust or annoyance should be manifested. If, however, she be afflicted with any physical deformity, such as lameness, blindness, or a humped back, the husband may claim an indemnity from her parents, or, if he is prepared to abide the consequences of such an insult, may send her back to them.

The ceremony terminated, the bridegroom leaves the room, and the female guests re-enter, extolling in song the graces and virtues with which, according to [562] them, every bride is endowed. The feast is then [264] served, the men sitting down by themselves in one room, and the women in another, and the two parties amuse themselves separately for the rest of the evening. An hour before midnight, the women conduct the bride to the nuptial chamber, and, having taken off her bridal finery, cover her face with a veil, and leave her. When the bridegroom enters, he simulates astonishment at finding a maiden there. Lifting the veil from her head, he declares himself to be enraptured with her beauty, and asks her a hundred questions. The bride feigns sleep and pretends not to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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hear him. He offers her sweets which have been left there purposely, but still she heeds him not. This comedy may, if the bridegroom be timid and the bride reserved, be prolonged until the third evening after the marriage, in which case the courage and virtue of the bride are extolled by the women in song. On the third evening, however, custom requires the bride to respond to her husband's advances. On the three days following the wedding the bride, dressed as before, stands like a statue in the reception-room to receive the women visitors who flock to the house in order to inspect her.

The ceremonies attending the nuptials of the mountain people are almost precisely similar to those customary in the towns, with the exception that the bride is not veiled when conducted to her husband's home. A romantic reserve, however, surrounds the interviews between the young couple, who, especially if the husband be one of a numerous family and have no private apartments, can only meet in secret until they have children of their own. The mountaineers cherish this custom, which, they contend, by surrounding with a halo of romance and mystery the relations of the young couple, tends to keep their love for each other fresh and warm. The wedding processions of the Moslems and Christians are only to be distinguished by the more picturesque effect of those of the former. Many of the company, dressed in rich apparel glittering with gold embroidery, accompany the bride on horseback, indulging as they go, whenever they arrive at a spot sufficiently spacious, in the manly old Osmanli game of throwing the *djerid*, or spear. Pistols

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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585 are fired incessantly, and the strains of wild music
184 echoing from the surrounding hills add to the animation of the scene.

The wedding ceremonies observed in Southern Albania, in so far as they differ from those of the Northern Albanians, resemble very closely the Greek country customs described in the preceding volume.[1]

764 The funeral observances of the Albanians also re-
171 semble in some degree those of the Greeks. Family ties are equally strong in both races, and the death of a relative is always a source of poignant grief to the
763 survivors. The demonstrations of sorrow are loudest and most heartrending when a man or woman dies in the prime of life. When he is believed to be at the point of death, the women watching round him give utterance to frightfully piercing cries and shrieks, upon hearing which the friends hasten to the house of mourning in order to take part in the death chorus. When the last breath is drawn, all the near female relatives of the deceased who are not past middle age —wife, sisters, sisters-in-law, and daughters—testify their grief by beating their breasts, scratching their faces until the blood flows, and tearing out or cutting off their hair. In their utter abandonment of sorrow they also beat their heads against the walls of the room, calling wildly upon the deceased by his or her name, often exhausting themselves to such a degree as to lose for the time the use of their voices. With the weaker among them these frenzies of sorrow gene-

[1] Chapter iii. An account of these ceremonies may be found in Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, and Dozon, *Contes Albanais*.

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Skiperi would Our Lady of Scutari forgive her 173
children, and return to her ancient shrine.

The scene on this day in the great square building, 796
which, with its bare walls and absence of ornament, [346]
bears little resemblance to a Romish church, is most
striking and strange. The mass performed on the
occasion is listened to by a congregation whose
waists are perfect arsenals, bristling with pistols and
yataghans of every shape and pattern. There are [291 411]
wild-looking, fierce-moustachioed highlanders, white-
kilted Mussulmans, chieftains blazing with gold em-
broidery, and milder citizens in more homely garb, all
assembled in honour of the Madonna, before whose
shrine their ancestors had worshipped. Yet, notwith-
standing their participation in the religious rites of 577
their neighbours, the Albanians are not less tenacious 579
of their own honour than of that of the creed they
profess, any insult offered to a Christian church being
promptly retaliated upon a Moslem mosque, and *vice versâ*. Of this the following incident, which occurred
about the middle of the century, offers a striking
illustration.

A certain Tahir Mala, of Bugna, belonging to the 585
Moslem tribe of the Gascii, having married his son to
a maiden of the Christian Schialla, set out to bring
the bride home, accompanied, according to national
custom, by a numerous train, and preceded by the
tribal banners. On the return journey, they stopped,
as usual, every now and then to fire volleys into the air.
Their way, however, lying past a Christian cemetery,
the cross, standing in the midst, offered a mark for 798
their pistols too tempting to be resisted, and was soon

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539 "Your lordship," replied the villager, "knows that I have no one more trustworthy than the young man of whom we spoke."

"Precisely. I had him in my mind. Let him take my horse, and let him come to me for the letter."

The youth took it, mounted the horse, and set out. On the road he was thirsty, and having found a spring, he dismounted from the horse, drank his fill, and lay down to take a nap. While he slept, a negro appeared, took the letter out of his bosom, and wrote another to this effect.

"The man whom I send to thee thou must receive with all honour, prepare for him a magnificent feast, and then marry him to our daughter. At the [585] moment the wedding crowns are placed on their heads[1] let a salute be fired, so that I may hear and take part in the rejoicings."

The letter finished, the negro folded and sealed it as the other had been, and then placed it in the bosom of the youth, who was not long in waking. Unconscious of what had happened, he continued his journey, and delivered the letter forthwith to the Pasha's lady. She had no sooner read it than she began to treat him with great politeness, gave orders for a great feast, and married him to her daughter, while salutes were fired by the gunners. The Pasha, hearing in the village the sound of the guns, concluded that the youth was dead. "At last I have got rid of him," he said to himself. So you may

[1] "Placing the crowns," being a part of the Christian marriage ceremony, is somewhat out of place in the wedding of a Pasha's daughter.

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 583 God. It was not strange that what I had heard of the marriage customs had baffled me, he[1] said; I should not look for traces of marriage by capture or marriage by purchase; the basis of the tribal ceremonies is fire worship.

585 On the day of the wedding the bride, elabo-
593 rately dressed, is carried, screaming and struggling, from her father's house, and by her brothers is delivered to the husband's family at a place midway between the lands of the two
[582] tribes. Since each tribe is technically a large
[619] family, claiming a common prehistoric ancestor, it is forbidden to marry within the tribe. The bride carries with her from her home one invariable gift—a pair of fire tongs. When she arrives at her husband's house she takes a humble place in the corner, standing, her hands folded on her breast, her eyes downcast, and for three days and nights she is required to remain in that position, without lifting her eyes, without moving, and without eating or drinking.

"Though I believe," said the bishop, smiling, "that she takes the precaution of hiding some food and drink in her garments, and no doubt the mother-in-law sees that she is allowed to rest a little while the household is asleep." And he explained that this custom remains from the old days when the father of each house was also the priestly guardian of the fire, and anyone coming to ask for a light from it stood reverently in that position, silent, before the hearth, until the father priest gave it to him. The bride, new-

1 [Bishop of Pulhit -- Analyst]

comer in the family, is a suppliant for the gift of 585
fire, of life, of the Mystery that continues the race. 593

On the third day she puts on the heavy belt that means she is a wife, and thereafter she goes about the household, obeying the commands of the elders, always standing until they tell her to sit, and for six months not speaking unless they address her. And it is her duty to care for the fire, and with her fire tongs to light the cigarettes smoked by any of the family, or by their guests. Sometime, when it is convenient, she and her husband will go to the church and be married by the priest. Usually she has not seen 584
her husband until she comes to his house, since she is of another tribe and the marriage is arranged by the families.

"We have tried to prevent the betrothing of children before they are born," said the bishop,[1] smiling ruefully, "and in many centuries we have had some effect. Children now are usually not betrothed until they are two or three years old. Even that we combat, of course, yet I cannot say that the custom makes much unhappiness. Husbands and wives are good comrades; they almost never quarrel and they are devoted to their children. But you will see all that for yourself. Yet occasionally there is something ooo
like this Shala-Shoshi affair, which I fear will lead to much bloodshed. But the dinner is ready and my servant will show you your room and bring water to wash your hands."

The servant led us to the bishop's own bed-

[1] [Bishop of Pultit -- Analyst]

[Constitution]

It is forbidden to use the church and religion for political purposes. 659

Likewise, political organizations based on religion are also forbidden.

The state may assist religious communities materially.

ARTICLE 17

Marriage and family are protected by the state. The legal conditions of marriage and family are fixed by law. 585

Legal marriages can be performed only by competent representatives of the government. After celebrating a civil marriage a citizen may celebrate a religious marriage according to the rules of his creed.

The courts of the state only are competent to determine all questions concerning marriage. [692]

Parents have the same obligations towards their illegitimate children as to those born in wedlock. Illegitimate children have the same rights as those born in wedlock. [848]

ARTICLE 18

Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of organization, freedom of assembly and of public demonstration. are guaranteed to all citizens. 641

ARTICLE 19

Personal inviolability is guaranteed to all citizens. Nobody can be arrested for more than three days without a court warrant or without the approval of the district attorney. 671 641 [694]

No person shall be punished for a crime without the decision of a competent judge in conformity with the law which defines the crime and the competence of the court.

No punishment shall be determined and inflicted except as prescribed by law.

No person shall be punished without a hearing nor without being summoned to defend himself according to law, except in a case where his absence is legally established

The administrative organs of the state may give jail sentences for common law misdemeanors as prescribed by law.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

tree-trunk. A similar section[1], split lengthways and hollowed out, made two wash-tubs for laundry work. Toilet appliances, a basin and ewer bought in the bazaar, and paraffin lamps from the same source, completed the list of additions.

The above outline omits many small variations in Albanian houses and furniture as irrelevant to the main subject of this book. Mention must be made, however, of certain houses which differed widely from the average type. The first were found among the Highlanders (Alb. *Malësorë*, 'mountaineers'), the semi-nomads who wintered on the soggy plains at the mouth of the river Mat. These houses had walls of planking or wattle and daub, with roofs of tiles or strips of wood. They rested on vertical sections of tree trunks about two feet high which had been laid at close intervals on the ground but had not been driven into it like piles. In this way they kept snug and dry even during the winter floods. All over Albania granaries were raised some distance from the ground in order to keep out the rats, but so far as is known, there were no houses on stilts except at the mouth of the Mat.

A number of Highland houses also contained a child's play-pen which might be as little as twenty-five inches long, wide and high. A shallow porringer projected from one of the top bars, chipped from the same piece of wood as the bar itself. In this pen Highland children spent all their winter days from the time they could crawl until they were three years old. They had no toys, but practised walking round the pen, sometimes stopping to eat a little bread and milk from the porringer with the diminutive home-made, wooden spoon which was tied to the bar, or merely gazing broodingly at the fire. The mothers meanwhile cooked, spun or gossiped, each secure in the knowledge that her child was on the dry floor of the kitchen and not sitting outside in the quagmire of mud that reached up to the very doorstep. The Highlanders said they invented both the houses and the play-pen themselves, but it is possible that they were at least advised by the Austro-Hungarian troops who were stationed in the neighbourhood for part of the war of 1914–18.

In Shpat, near Elbasan, huts were built for many bridegrooms. In the higher villages trunks of young trees about as tall as a man's waist were planted in a rectangle of the size desired, their boughs, while still green and flexible, were laced in and out of these uprights, and cross-pieces of timber were nailed to the uprights

[1] [i.e., of tree-trunk--Analys]

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his household and his visitors. Bridal parties or funeral processions 423
which tried to pass along his path to evade the difficulties of the 487
highway were not so likely as habitual travellers to attempt to [585]
create a precedent, but he had the right to turn them back. If they [764]
tried to force their way past him he had the right to shoot them. Many a corpse, to quote Father Gjeçov, has found comrades in death before being buried, and many a bride has mourned the loss of a kinsman in her escort on the way to her bridegroom.

If, however, at a time when the highway was impassable, occasional travellers asked a man's leave to use his path he often granted their request. But he always made it clear that the right of passage was temporary and stipulated that his honour was not to be smirched or his property damaged. In Shkrel a man whose field adjoined a road liable to bogging in winter often left enough land in the field for a new road. This he did as alms. Any timber on either side of the new road remained his private property, and could not be cut down by anyone else though he was free to cut it as and when he pleased. He could also close the road at his pleasure; even if the public had used it for years, usage did not create a right and rob a man of his land. Sometimes a village, to suit its convenience rather than to meet its need, asked a man to allow the public to go through his land. He usually agreed, but always stipulated that if any damage was done or he needed to work the land, he should be entitled to close the right-of-way, informing his fellow-villagers that they must not come that way any more. If this became necessary, he was not required to provide an alternative, as a man who moved a public road must do. He had opened the road as a favour, and what was given as a favour could not be retained by force. The option of closing the road descended [428] to his heirs.

The private ownership of a road is seen at its most interesting in the case of a blind alley. This was seldom wide enough to take two persons abreast and had an entrance but no exit. The commonest type led across a man's field from a public thoroughfare to his house, where it came to a dead end. In this case it was his sole property, and if he liked he could plough it up without consulting anybody. Another type served several houses, and was held jointly and equally by these. The common ownership had its drawbacks. Two out of three owners, for instance, might wish to plough up the section passing through their fields. Though this

[i.e. the private path of a man--Analyst]

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This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother or her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an adulteress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband

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APPENDIX

LAWS PASSED AT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

(TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ALBANIAN)

I. Some Laws Ratified by the Prefecture of Shkodër. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 128–9.)

1. Bride-price is not to be altered. The amount fixed seven years ago remains in force. It is, therefore, 600 grosh, a sum which includes everything. Whoever acts contrary to this order will be fined 1000 grosh. [583]

2. Girls will be betrothed by their father, or if they have no father by their brother and, failing him, by their nearest male cousin. Women are not to interfere in betrothals. [584]

3. Every betrothal will be arranged openly not secretly, and there will be a go-between as witness. When the betrothal has been completed and rifles have been fired off in front of the betrothed girl's house, the men who have the right to betroth her will go to the parish priest in order to register the names of the betrothed pair, the registrar and the witnesses, together with all the circumstances. Whosoever does not abide by this decree will be fined 1000 grosh.

4. Whoever refuses to go through the marriage ceremony when the priest comes for that purpose will be fined 1000 grosh. [585]

5. Whoever incites a married woman to run away will be fined eight purses.

6. Whoever gives a bride to a man who has divorced his lawfully wedded wife will be fined 1000 grosh. [587]

7. Whoever shall dare to send away his lawfully wedded wife in order to take another woman in unlawful wedlock will be fined 1000 grosh.

8. Whoever sells his daughter or sister or other female of his blood relations will be fined, like the buyer, 1000 grosh.

9. On the basis of the ancient customs, which are still observed among the Christians of the mountains of Shkodër concerning betrothals, marriages, enticing of other men's wives, running away of wives and other similar causes of trouble, some laws have been enacted for the repression of the aforesaid evil acts and have been approved by His Lordship the Archbishop of Shkodër, Mgr Luigi Çurçi, and by the mountain chiefs. These laws after being weighed by the Government Council have been approved and ordered to be put into execution.

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[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296] 225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837] runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765] shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696] out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628] been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585] whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554] collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894. 681 491 574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

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X. Decisions Taken on April 30th, 1905, by the Youth of Shalë. [681]

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 126–7.)

1. As from to-day up to Ash Wednesday the percentage on loans at [426] interest is to be paid with 25 okes of grain. If this is not paid by Ash Wednesday, a percentage of 30 okes is to be taken by force from the debtor.

As interest 100 grosh or 100 okes of grain as the creditor wishes are to be paid. Let him take 100 grosh if it suits him, or if he says, 'I'll have grain', let them give him 100 okes of grain.

2. Grain is never to be given to anybody by a man of Shalë unless it [631] is wanted for a funeral meal or it is desired to make a present of not more [768] than 20 okes.

3. Raki is never to be produced by a man of Shalë at a funeral meal [273] except during the seven weeks of Lent.

4. No man of Shalë is ever to give away more than 100 grosh either [431] outside or inside the tribe.

A godmother is not to present a red *xhamadam* (sleeveless jacket). [609]

No woman is to go to a wedding in a party of five or more and they [585] are not to seek a woman outside the same house.[1]

5. Whoever fires the first shot in the yard of a church or inside its boundaries is to have his house burned and must pay 20 purses under the guarantee of flock-cum-shepherd and the youth of Shalë.

6. If a man disturbs a mass that is being said and if the priest, crucifix in hand, says, 'So-and-so has troubled me', the offender will have his house burned and must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

7. Whoever touches Church property must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

8. Whoever molests the Church servant must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

9. If anyone borrows coffee and sugar from the priest for a funeral [765] meal and does not return them to him within four weeks, and if the priest [426] complains, he must pay a fine of one ox to the tribe.

10. Whoever steals an ewe, goat and cow from a man of Shalë and whoever does anything to his neighbour that disgraces him, shall have his harvest burned, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed. He will pay fines of one ox to the youth and 2 rams to the government representative.

11. These laws, enacted by the youth of Shalë together with the

[1] The last clause of § 4 is given as in Mrs Hasluck's MS., but there seems to be some mistake, as the corresponding passage in the Italian version of Father Gjeçov's *Kanùn* runs:

Lo shalano non può fare il compare più di 5 volte, e non può chiedere che si leghino in comparto più di 5 famiglie.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583
rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162
women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585
bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834
important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581
one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609
days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should
cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585
born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842
it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman
bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589
married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562
has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to
do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right
to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt
twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836
ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842
priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585
betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal,
and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage."
"They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586
miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away.
In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great
trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31,
1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage."
And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584
and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577
and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each
other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the
relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted,
and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626
the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585
it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be
forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the
Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or
immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states
that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

mitted it because of the frightful blood-feuds caused by fights over women who fled back to their own families or went off with other men. Parents, having once betrothed a daughter in the cradle to a youth also in the cradle, dared not refuse to carry out the bargain when the time came, even if they knew the boy infant had grown up into a bad lot. The marriage was accomplished, and the daughter encouraged to come home if she could not stand it. M 586

If no signs of pregnancy soon occurred a man demanded divorce. Till Vladika Petar's time a woman could not sue for divorce; but by flying home and refusing cohabitation she could drive her husband to do so. The old formula was that a council of elders, at which the pope presided, having been called, the wrongs of the husband were declared and discussed. If the elders decided in his favour, a cup of wine was offered to the wife's male relatives, who drank of it and offered it to the husband, who refused to drink with them. The pope then gave one corner of the wife's apron to her father, and the other corner to the husband's father. He then drew a cord between them and declared them separated. Thus the parents who made the marriage also unmade it. M 586 842 623

Vladika Petar I (1796) decreed that "He who takes a woman whose husband is living or a girl not given to him by her parents or guardians, according to the rites of religion, shall be expelled from our territory and his goods confiscated." M 683 684

12. "A pope who marries a man and woman when the woman has a living husband, or marries a girl forcibly captured, or a woman not permitted by religion to marry, shall be expelled both from the priesthood and from our land." M [688 585]

He permitted women to sue for divorce and instituted a fine of fifty thalars, which the man who had divorced his wife had to pay to her father. If the woman asked and gained the divorce, her father had to pay fifty thalars to the husband. M 586

If there were any children, the elders usually did not grant a divorce. In case of the wife's adultery the husband obtained divorce at once and paid no damages. He could, if he pleased, cut off his wife's nose, and not infrequently did so.

ALBANIA

Among the Catholics, as elsewhere, there was no divorce. Such was the severity of the local priesthood that few persons were aware that it was possible to get a marriage annulled. A 586

An unlucky young Scutarene was told by his parents that they had arranged for him to marry a certain girl. He had already said he wished to marry her, for he had known her as a child. During the A 584

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

584 betrothal, as was customary, they were not allowed to meet, and the unfortunate man did not know till the veil was lifted in church that they had betrothed him to the girl's elder sister. He at once said, "I refuse to take her." The assembled relatives hushed him up and said he must not make a disturbance in church. He, thinking his protest was sufficient, allowed the service to finish. So soon as it was over he repudiated the girl, and said if she was taken to his home he should not return there. Nor did he. His parents kept her some time and then sent her to her own home. He returned then; but left when they again [586] sent her round. The affair was some two or three years old. All parties were greatly concerned. But I could not make them believe that Rome, if properly applied to, would certainly declare this to be no marriage.

Among the Moslems the usual form of Mohammedan divorce prevailed.

7. Marriage of an Outsider into a Tribe

MONTENEGRO

Outsider into the Tribe.—There was one exception to the rule which forbade any man—an outsider—to become a member of a tribe. If a man had no sons and one or more daughters he could, with the consent of his bratstvo and tribe, import a son-in-law instead of exporting all his daughters.

This man then lived as son of the house and took the place of a son. He lost all rights in his former tribe and was a member of that which he had married into. He dropped his own family name and took that of Domazet ("dom," the house; "zet," son-in-law). His sons were Domazetovitch, a name which can still be found in Montenegro and, I believe, in Bosnia.

But the introduction of a man of another tribe was so much disliked that in marriages of this kind the domazet was, as a rule, chosen if possible from another group within the tribe that was not related by blood. Such groups existed in most of the larger tribes (*v.* Tribes).

FORBIDDEN DEGREES

In Montenegro, though the ancient strict rule of exogamy no longer held good as regards tribes according to law, yet in practice there was still a tendency to marry outside the tribe or into a quite distant group of it.

The laws of the Orthodox Church on forbidden degrees were given me by Pope Gjuro as follows:—

[P. 215— 242 blank]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

If, however, she returns home and marries into another 587
family, her father pays to her first husband's heirs, or to her son if she have one, half the dowry promised at her second betrothal. With the exception of her deceased husband's brother, a woman may not re-marry in the same village without the consent of his relatives. In the mountains of Pulati this is [628]
never given, and a vendetta follows if it is dispensed with. If the betrothed man die, his brother has also the right to marry the betrothed maiden, but must pay to her parents, in addition to the dowry already promised, a hundred and fifty piastres.

An Albanian has the right to beat his wife if she 593
misconducts herself, but this right is little exercised except among the Liaps, who are the rudest and most brutal of all Albanians. He must, however, be careful not to draw blood even in the most trifling degree, for, if a wife receives a mere scratch in the course of a castigation, she complains to her parents, who cite the husband before the authorities. The penalty [681]
consists chiefly in the payment of a considerable fine, which becomes the private property of the woman abused.

Divorce is not uncommon among the Moslem Al- 586
banians, who follow in this respect the customs of the [171]
Ottomans, the husband paying to the discarded wife the sum specified in the marriage contract in view of such a contingency. The divorce generally takes place at the instance of the husband, but the wife may also claim it for a limited number of reasons. If, for instance, a man has left his native town or village, and does not return within the period fixed by the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 462 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593 591] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their families they return to their employment, leaving

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

beaten by her husband, and no matter how severe the punishment, 562
her[1] brother, who was her natural protector, would be too ashamed 685
of her conduct to interfere. If a thieving woman did not mend her [593]
ways, her husband usually divorced her. The southern Catholics, [586]
anxious to reform erring wives and to avoid divorce, sometimes sent
wrongdoers to spend a night in the lonely church of Shen Ndue in
the forest above the village of Laç in Kurbin. This treatment is
said to have been effective in many cases!

By the laws of hospitality, a man never robbed his guest nor 574
a guest his host. If a third party robbed either, the other did his 685
best to find the thief and the stolen goods. But such laws were not
always respected, and penalties were prescribed for their breach.
In Mirditë a guest who stole was ostracized as well as having to
pay the usual penalty. In Kurbin he was expelled for ever from
the tribe. If a guest in Mirditë was robbed by a fellow-guest, their
host demanded double redress from the criminal—for the injury
to his guest and for housebreaking. If a guest was robbed after
leaving his host's house, it was still the host's duty to punish the
thief, as the latter would know where the victim had been.

1 [i.e. the Albanian wife, as recorded during the reign of King Zog --Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband 684
who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard 607
in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it 682
was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back [585]
of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, [627]
he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he [586]
divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother or her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They [587]
preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman [627]
was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an adulteress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her 593
death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side 607
he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband 628
684

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the A [186] lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

Y A 292 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

562 561 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, Y too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

A [12] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their A Y teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

M 754 776 774 Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

A Y M 777 "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and A 585 hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The Catholic thus goes safely to church and there the veil is raised. A 585 Evil spirits are powerless there; and as we have seen, when she leaves 777 the sacred building she is carefully veiled and conveyed safely to her A future home. Food and drink are given her by her attendants behind 264 the veil; all possible precautions are taken, in fact, to prevent her soul 777 escaping and harmful glances falling on her. 714

In early days in Montenegro the brides were so closely veiled M when fetched from home by the svatovi that in the Martinovitch 585 family, of Baitza near Cetinje, there is a tradition of a bride being 293 accidentally exchanged for the bride of another wedding-party. 578

Two parties of svatovi started from Baitza to fetch brides from afar, and had to pass the night on the mountain-side. They met at the same wayside spring and encamped. The two girls begged to be allowed to sleep together. Next morning each party rode off with the wrong girl. The weddings were celebrated at once on arrival, and as no one had previously seen the girls and they, as was customary, knew nothing about their future bridegrooms, the mistake was not detected till a week after, when the girls' relatives came to pay the first visit to them. They were then infuriated to find that the carefully planned alliances had gone wrong and they had not acquired the "in-laws" they had intended. The respective bridegrooms expressed themselves quite satisfied. Not so the parents of brides. A violent quarrel took M place. Blows were exchanged and a blood-feud was imminent. The [627] annulment of the weddings was demanded, and peace was only restored M by the metropolitan, who declared the marriages legal and the whole A *complication evidently the will of God, Who must be obeyed.* B

All Balkan people, so far as my experience goes, sleep with the 513 head covered, no matter how hot it may be.

I remember a suffocating night in a wretched cottage at Bratonozhitch, Montenegro. I lay on a bench on one side of the hut, and the floor was covered by some sixteen persons of both sexes. So hot was it that the men stripped their shirts and slept in their breeches; but all buried their heads under thick, felt-like blankets.

Often have I been awakened from a much-needed midday sleep under a tree by a choking, horrible smell, and have found that some kindly creature while I slept had covered my head with a filthy towel or coat. Poor old Marko perpetually told me it was most unhealthy to sleep with an uncovered head. By way of warning he told me the horrible end of a neighbour of ours. He not only left his head uncovered, M but he slept near an open window. The wind blew into his head and [762a 753] went round and round inside it, and the unhappy man, driven dis- B tracted, hanged himself in the vineyard. 761

A possible further reason for shrouding the head is the strange 518

000 582 new *kulla*[1] If the man has many sons, the youngest may not get a new wife, but have to content himself with a widow, who is cheaper. Also it may take some time to find a fiancée for each boy, and many young men wait until quite late in life for marriage.

[163] The principal reason for this delay, aside from the price, is the peculiar birth and death rate figures for Ghegnia. Many more boys than girls are born. In some regions the boys outnumber the girls almost two to one (see table 1).[2] However, as soon as a boy is big enough to carry a gun he may begin feuding, and stands a good chance of being killed. Then his marriage arrangements may be transferred to his brother, or cousin, and hence the young lady may marry someone quite different from her expectation.

582 586 The alert and provident father, ever on the lookout for daughters-in-law, may place a substantial part of his bride price on a baby girl, as soon as she is born. Or he may gamble on the sex of an unborn child. The baby girl may find herself, at the age of 14, married to a man of 40. Once she has been handed over to her new husband and the folk-rites performed, she is still on trial, and may be sent home if she fails to produce offspring within a reasonable time. Among the Catholics the church wedding is often delayed until after the birth of the first *child. In this* way the bride can be returned if found wanting, and the rule of Christian monogamy will not have been technically violated. Among the Moslems, where both polygyny and divorce are officially permitted, these subterfuges are not needed.

593 While the Gheg system of selecting mates may be well attuned to the exigencies of the environment, the economics, and the political life of the mountaineers, it permits little opportunity for personal adjustment between the husband and wife. Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*) summed this up when he said to me, gloomily, in the presence of his wife, "There is only one woman a man can trust—his mother." In the cases where cross-cousin marriage works out ideally, the boy and girl may have met before betrothal, or at least before marriage. The boy's mother, on a visit to her own kin, may take her youthful son with her, and he will have a chance to play with his

[1] [See footnote, cat. 116, p. 23 c -- Analyst]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 23b -- Analyst]
[3] [see cat. 116, p 110 -- Analyst]

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

XI

S A 184 ●586 563 Customs among the Moslems vary in different districts, and with different races; as for example, the Bosnians and the Albanians of Metohija. In villages near Peć a man can divorce his wife; but the wife may only run away. If she does she cannot remarry. In Turkish days the man could kill an offending wife; this extreme measure is now forbidden to him. In some parts of Bosnia, however, wives and husbands have equal rights of divorce, though in the Travnik villages only the man can divorce, especially if there is no child. In case of death, a husband can remarry the day after if he likes; a woman must wait at least three [587] months.

A 586 When a Bosnian couple decide on divorce, both must go before the *šerijakski sud*, in which court they had deposited a signed document at their marriage. As soon as the marriage papers have been discovered, the divorce is granted. The process may take two hours, eight days, or an indefinite period. Divorce costs nothing if the wife comes before the court of her own free will.

A 58 563 Albanian girls in Metohija are sometimes betrothed at birth, or at the end of their first year; and are usually married at fourteen or fifteen. The bridegroom is usually at least seventeen. But sometimes a betrothal lasts for years, until the bride-price has been collected. In Streoc, a village near Peć, a bride cost anything up to 10,000 dinars: after the crisis in 1931 her price fell to 5000 dinars.

S 595 563 S 587 563 Most of the Moslems I met had one wife. None but the rich, they said, could afford more than one, in Jugoslavia as elsewhere. Only in Bosnia did I find husbands with two wives, though one Moslem peasant, Šaban Lepi, living in a Travnik village, had considerably excelled Henry VIII in the number of his wives; he had nine—in succession. This experienced husband was a poor man in patched clothes, about fifty, with a ragged grey beard, who, when I saw him, was living with his ninth wife, Rasija, in a cottage of one room, with a wooden floor, and a kitchen with a mud floor. His first wife, Zuleha, during thirteen

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's 689
dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to 562
one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after [428]
which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okes of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping [689]
with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, 689
so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church 562
at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard 773
a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man 585
refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in 583
blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed 578
daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" 577
that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 583

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

583 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian 684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he 183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. The Levirate

● 587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the 688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Maltsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose [628] between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

[577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

Sometimes the brother-in-law was unmarried, but this did not help 587 matters, such marriages being prohibited by the Church. To stop the 688 practice it was usual to excommunicate not only the couple but the whole "house" which permitted it, until the "levirate wife" was dismissed. I visited, at Apripa Gurit, a house of eighteen people thus under the ban. The son, a fine young fellow, had taken his elder brother's young widow to wife one month after her husband's death: this by tribe rule is the correct time. She had been married a very short time to her first husband and had not yet borne a child. The whole household was very uneasy about the excommunication, and offered the priest in my presence first thirty and then fifty guldens and pictures and candles for the church. But they stubbornly refused to put a stop to the "levirate marriage"; it would not be honourable. The young man himself was very certain of this. It was a duty he owed to his brother, and, no matter what the consequences, he would do it. He said they had found a girl, and arranged that he should marry her in a year's time. Till then he must cohabit with his sister-in-law. This he assured me very earnestly.

At Thethi Shala I found a case of a man who had thus taken his 587 uncle's widow and his brother's widow. He then proposed taking a legitimate wife as well and had paid most of the purchase money. Only then did the bride's parents learn of the two other "wives." They said he should not have their daughter till the other two were [578 dismissed. He replied she was paid for, and was his property and 684] threatened vengeance.

The parents appealed to the padre, who sheltered them and the girl at the church-house, and succeeded in arranging a marriage for her with a man at a safe distance. The parents returned the first purchase money. "The aunt and sister-in-law" arrangement continued. The 595 padre at Thethi had routed out all polygamous arrangements in his parish but two.

He said that the people had a deep-rooted belief that it was right 587 thus to take as wife the widow of uncle, cousin, or brother if she con- 577 tinued to live in the communal house. If this was not permitted she must be sent home to her people. They could see no alternative, and pleaded: "It is our old custom. Do not interfere with it."

In the wild and distant tribes of Nikaj, Toplana, and Berisha the 587 custom was extremely common among the Christians. Thus at Nikaj, out of three hundred houses about fifty had sister-in-law concubinage, and other houses similarly kept aunts, so a large proportion of the children were illegitimate in the eyes of the Church, but not of the people. The legitimate wives were very apt to bolt with another man, and there was much blood-feud. In Berisha I was told that the sister-in-

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

583 184 principal inhabitants of Orosh have all been acquired in this way, and far from resenting or being ashamed of the circumstance, they are, on the contrary, proud of it, and their relatives accept the situation on payment of the usual dowry. And although they may not embrace with enthusiasm the faith into which they are generally baptised as a preliminary to marriage, they scrupulously observe its external forms, are much devoted to their husbands, proud of their reputation, and jealous of their honour, which, should occasion require, they are ready either to defend or avenge.

428 611 Among these exogamous tribes, succession is, as a rule, in the male line. If, however, there are no surviving sons, and a daughter chooses to remain single, she may enjoy the usufruct of her father's property, which on her death reverts to her nearest male relatives. If a man die childless his property is divided among his male relatives, who pay to his widow a pension, she remaining in his house or returning to her friends as she pleases, and retaining all that she has received from her parents either before or after her marriage.

567 428 As with the Osmanlis, the children by slaves of Moslem Albanians have an equal right with those of free mothers to succeed to the estate of their father.[1]

587 If the deceased husband has an unmarried brother, the latter has a right to marry the widow with or without her consent. On the wedding-day she receives from him the present of an ox, or its equivalent, four goats.

[1] The father of Ali Pasha, of Ioannina, was the son of a slave.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

If, however, she returns home and marries into another 587
family, her father pays to her first husband's heirs, or to her son if she have one, half the dowry promised at her second betrothal. With the exception of her deceased husband's brother, a woman may not re-marry in the same village without the consent of his relatives. In the mountains of Pulati this is [628]
never given, and a vendetta follows if it is dispensed with. If the betrothed man die, his brother has also the right to marry the betrothed maiden, but must pay to her parents, in addition to the dowry already promised, a hundred and fifty piastres.

An Albanian has the right to beat his wife if she 593
misconducts herself, but this right is little exercised except among the Liaps, who are the rudest and most brutal of all Albanians. He must, however, be careful not to draw blood even in the most trifling degree, for, if a wife receives a mere scratch in the course of a castigation, she complains to her parents, who cite the husband before the authorities. The penalty [681]
consists chiefly in the payment of a considerable fine, which becomes the private property of the woman abused.

Divorce is not uncommon among the Moslem Al- 586
banians, who follow in this respect the customs of the [171]
Ottomans, the husband paying to the discarded wife the sum specified in the marriage contract in view of such a contingency. The divorce generally takes place at the instance of the husband, but the wife may also claim it for a limited number of reasons. If, for instance, a man has left his native town or village, and does not return within the period fixed by the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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761

the forgiveness" of the departed, and sing funeral songs in his honour.

When, as often happens, a man dies at a distance from his home, on the arrival of the tidings of his death, the funeral ceremonies are, with the exception of the actual interment, performed as above described. The women lament, friends hasten to comfort them, and the procession goes to church, the place of the bier being occupied by a youth, who carries the dish of *Kólyva*, on which is placed a cake for the priest.

765

Only slight changes are generally made in their dress by the Albanian women on the death of a relative. The chief mourners cut their hair short, turn their coats inside out, so that the fur lining alone is seen, and lay aside all ornaments. The nieces of the deceased allow their hair to hang loose for some months, or cut off a lock, and wear on their heads a black kerchief. A similar head-dress is assumed by the widow, who, if she has arrived at middle age, wears it for the rest of her life. If, however, she is still young, and intends to return to her father's house with the expectation of finding another husband, she wears at the same time her bridal apparel, and does not manifest such an exaggerated degree of grief.

[604]

[292]
[587]

Sometimes, as illustrated in the history of Shainitza[1] and in folk-tale,[2] the grief of the women finds expression in giving to their dwelling the most dismal and funereal appearance, by painting black either the whole of the outside of the house, or the shutters only, and covering up or removing from their usual places the mirrors and other ornaments.

[1] See p. 225. [2] P. 315.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XXI

MURDER WITHIN THE FAMILY

682 When a man murdered his son, father, brother, paternal uncle,
627 paternal uncle's son, or brother's son, the usual verdict was that
596 in killing so near a relative the murderer had 'killed himself'. The victim's blood was therefore lost, 'no one sought-to-avenge him', and it had only been his 'ill-luck' so to die.

From another point of view it might be argued that since the murderer was the victim's nearest relative, other relatives could not act over his head and avenge the dead man. For example, when a man murdered his paternal uncle, if the latter left neither son nor brother, his blood was lost, for the murderer was his nearest relative and by killing him had only killed himself. On the other hand, if the uncle left either a son or a brother, that son or brother was nearer to him than the murderer and avenged his death. In view of his relationship to the criminal his vengeance generally took the form of exacting blood money. In the same way when a man murdered his brother's son, the victim's blood was lost if he left neither father nor brother. But if he left either, the murderer had to pay blood money. The rule of the nearest relative failed only if one brother killed another while their father was alive. Though the father was the nearest relative of the victim, the fratricide being only a neighbour by comparison, the victim's blood was lost. The father could not avenge him except by killing his surviving son, and even from the best of motives no decent father would kill a son.

[672] The motive of the murderer seldom affected the situation. The murder of a son, an extremely rare occurrence, was oftenest due
[584] to his adultery with his young stepmother. His blood was lost, not because of his sin, but solely because the father who murdered him
[587] was his nearest relative. Again, one brother sometimes fell in love with the other's wife, and knowing, especially in north Albania,
[60] that if she became a widow he could by customary law marry her, could not always resist the temptation to make her a widow. The
[558] victim's blood was lost in spite of the murderer's motive, and the fratricide married the widow and suffered no disability except some loss of face.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother or her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an adulteress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother. 628* 184 [611] [602]

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider. 628* [587] [768] [595]

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son 562 628*

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

APPENDIX

LAWS PASSED AT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

(TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ALBANIAN)

I. Some Laws Ratified by the Prefecture of Shkodër. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 128–9.)

1. Bride-price is not to be altered. The amount fixed seven years ago remains in force. It is, therefore, 600 grosh, a sum which includes everything. Whoever acts contrary to this order will be fined 1000 grosh. [583]

2. Girls will be betrothed by their father, or if they have no father by their brother and, failing him, by their nearest male cousin. Women are not to interfere in betrothals. [584]

3. Every betrothal will be arranged openly not secretly, and there will be a go-between as witness. When the betrothal has been completed and rifles have been fired off in front of the betrothed girl's house, the men who have the right to betroth her will go to the parish priest in order to register the names of the betrothed pair, the registrar and the witnesses, together with all the circumstances. Whosoever does not abide by this decree will be fined 1000 grosh.

4. Whoever refuses to go through the marriage ceremony when the priest comes for that purpose will be fined 1000 grosh. [585]

5. Whoever incites a married woman to run away will be fined eight purses.

6. Whoever gives a bride to a man who has divorced his lawfully wedded wife will be fined 1000 grosh. [587]

7. Whoever shall dare to send away his lawfully wedded wife in order to take another woman in unlawful wedlock will be fined 1000 grosh.

8. Whoever sells his daughter or sister or other female of his blood relations will be fined, like the buyer, 1000 grosh.

9. On the basis of the ancient customs, which are still observed among the Christians of the mountains of Shkodër concerning betrothals, marriages, enticing of other men's wives, running away of wives and other similar causes of trouble, some laws have been enacted for the repression of the aforesaid evil acts and have been approved by His Lordship the Archbishop of Shkodër, Mgr Luigi Çurçi, and by the mountain chiefs. These laws after being weighed by the Government Council have been approved and ordered to be put into execution.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

as one hears daily." Some writers have ascribed this to "Turkish influence." But as the custom of the Levirate was common all through the neighbouring Albanian tribes and many of the Montenegrin tribes are of Albanian stock, it is highly probable that at least some of these extra wives were levirate. The custom of the djeveri sleeping with the bride before she is given to the bridegroom suggests that they stand in a peculiar relationship to her. In Albania the widow can be taken by the eldest male relative of her deceased husband—barring his father. In Montenegro the djeveri as a rule were the bridegroom's next brother and his uncle. In the old ballads we very frequently find the wife appealing to her djever brother-in-law as one whose special duty it is to help and protect her.

Among the oldest ballads in the Karadjitch Collection are two versions of the same theme—the punishment inflicted upon a criminal land by the Virgin Mary and the Saints. In the first version the land is India; in the second it is Syrmia. In both the crimes are similar: "An accursed land where God's religion is not; where they do not pray God's help; where children obey not their parents; where the younger obey not the elders; where kum (sponsor) does not keep faith with kum; *where the djever works shame to his sister-in-law;* where brother drives brother before the judges and inflicts penalties on him before the Turks; where they do not celebrate the saints, nor burn candles in the churches, nor read God's liturgy." The saints burnt up the land first, and then St. Sava buried it in snow, and finally the population returned to the paths of virtue and were pardoned. This curious tale sounds like a reminiscence of the struggle of the Church against pagan practices. The reference to the sin of the djever is noteworthy.

6. Divorce

In Montenegro, when I was there, divorce was according to the rules of the Orthodox Church, and more easily obtained by men than by women.

But within living memory a local form of divorce had existed. Against this Prince Danilo legislated in 1855 in Law 67: "Divorces between man and wife, so frequent in our land, are forbidden, except in the cases permitted by our Holy Church owing to the faults or impediments of husband or wife."

When neither party to the marriage had any choice in it, it is not surprising that ill-matched couples should have wished to part so soon as possible. Local usage forced them to marry; but local usage permitted divorce. Vladika Petar I is said to have favoured and per-

589 her alive. It is doubtful if this punishment has been exacted on any such person within the last few generations.

As the reader can readily see, this custom has its economic aspects. The number of hands available for men's work is increased by two, that for women's work decreased by the same number. There is a second and less dramatic reason for a girl to swear virginity: if her father has no sons to help him with his work, or if his sons are killed. Then a daughter may step into the position of a son, and the [428] situation is momentarily saved. However, since the pseudo-son will have no offspring, the line will become extinct with her death, and the property pass to the next of kin on the father's side. This custom is at variance with the usual one in comparable societies, in which the husband of the man's daughter comes to live with her parents, and is adopted as an [611] heir. So strong is the belief in the continuity of the male line that this could not be done in Ghegnia.

On my travels I encountered only 2 sworn virgins. One wore men's clothes, and appeared to be either mentally defective or at least "queer." That also was her reputation. The second wore women's clothes. She was in her early twenties, and quite attractive. Since she spent the night with a junior member of my group of horse-drivers, I formed a poor opinion of the burning-alive theory. It is quite apparent that the practice of swearing virginity is not only often economic in motivation, but also a part of the whole business of local population control, along with the entire configuration of pride, insult, and feuding.

• 587 Two other mechanisms help maintain the personnel of the family at the optimum numerical working level, and to prevent the isolation of separate individuals or small, uneconomic groups. One is the levirate. Classically this means that when a man dies, his widow will be married to a surviving brother [165] or next of kin if such a brother is lacking. In a country where the rate of death by violence reaches the level of 40 per cent of all male [582] deaths in some localities, and where girls are married at 14 or 15, many are widowed.

Such a widow must be cared for by the men of her husband's family, since they have paid

587 for her and she has joined their group. If there is a surviving brother who is single, obviously the expedient thing to do is to give her to him. She might even be given to a first cousin. However, the occasion sometimes arises in Ghegnia where the classical form of the levirate is indicated, and a brother, preferably an older brother, of the deceased, a man who is already married, takes the widow into his household. In Moslem communities this causes no ecclesiastical difficulty. In Catholic households it may bring about a conflict with the priest. In such a case the Law of Lek wins over the Law of Rome. Societal needs are stronger than religious taboos. The new husband may not be allowed a church marriage, and it is possible that he may not consummate the new union, but the woman enters his household, and he cares for her and her children.

595 The second mechanism is polygyny, in case the first wife fails to produce male offspring. This again is perfectly legal among Moslems and diametrically counter to Catholic rules. The priest will not allow the husband to divorce his wife who fails to give him sons. If she gives him daughters there is always hope that a son will follow, and the crisis may be delayed. But if after a suitable time there are no offspring whatever, he will need a new wife. He cannot divorce his old one, and he cannot legally marry his new one. Here again custom sometimes wins. I personally have visited only one household of Catholic Ghegs in which I knew that the master had 2 wives, and it was for this reason. It is little wonder, since Catholicism fits so imperfectly the economic needs of the Albanian family, that many of them went over to the much more satisfactory (in this respect) faith of Islam.

125 In making up the form of our measurement blanks before the expedition, Dr. Hooton and I allotted spaces for the notation of the following vital statistics: number of wives married by subject's father, and number of children of each sex born to each wife. We chose the subject's father rather than the man himself because we would thus be dealing with complete or nearly complete families. In every case we received specific answers; very few men, whose fathers had had 3 or 4 wives, could

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61

XI

S A 184 586 563 Customs among the Moslems vary in different districts, and with different races; as for example, the Bosnians and the Albanians of Metohija. In villages near Peć a man can divorce his wife; but the wife may only run away. If she does she cannot remarry. In Turkish days the man could kill an offending wife; this extreme measure is now forbidden to him. In some parts of Bosnia, however, wives and husbands have equal rights of divorce, though in the Travnik villages only the man can divorce, especially if there is no child. In case of death, a husband can remarry the day after if he likes; a woman must wait at least three [587] months.

A 586 When a Bosnian couple decide on divorce, both must go before the *šerijakski sud*, in which court they had deposited a signed document at their marriage. As soon as the marriage papers have been discovered, the divorce is granted. The process may take two hours, eight days, or an indefinite period. Divorce costs nothing if the wife comes before the court of her own free will.

A 58 563 Albanian girls in Metohija are sometimes betrothed at birth, or at the end of their first year; and are usually married at fourteen or fifteen. The bridegroom is usually at least seventeen. But sometimes a betrothal lasts for years, until the bride-price has been collected. In Streoc, a village near Peć, a bride cost anything up to 10,000 dinars: after the crisis in 1931 her price fell to 5000 dinars.

S 595 563 Most of the Moslems I met had one wife. None but the rich, they said, could afford more than one, in Jugoslavia as elsewhere. Only in Bosnia did I find husbands with two wives, though one Moslem peasant, Šaban Lepi, S 587 563 living in a Travnik village, had considerably excelled Henry VIII in the number of his wives; he had nine—in succession. This experienced husband was a poor man in patched clothes, about fifty, with a ragged grey beard, who, when I saw him, was living with his ninth wife, Rasija, in a cottage of one room, with a wooden floor, and a kitchen with a mud floor. His first wife, Zuleha, during thirteen

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

588 house of a relative of his to live there till the marriage was arranged and declared herself a Mohammedan. As she was not of age, her parents appealed to the archbishop, who intervened, and she was sent home. Then, to save her from Turkish influence, she was sent to friends at Podgoritza. Here she obstinately declared that she wished to be Moslem
777 till those in charge of her saw that she wore a Turkish amulet round her neck. They cut the string and threw the thing in the fire. Scarcely had it burnt up when she at once became Christian again. So ended her poor little romance, and I was told it was unlikely she would ever find a good husband owing to this fatal infatuation. Marko considered it, indeed, a mercy that the evil amulet had been discovered, and was horrified when I said I was sorry for her.

776 *Evil Spirits.*—In addition to witches and magicians in Albania there are many mischievous spirits. These are the "ore," a word which an Albanian often translates as "devil." The ore, however, are not the ordinary devils known to Christianity; they are relics of some pre-Christian beliefs, and are usually seen at night as fiery sparks, and delight to prevent a traveller from proceeding by circling round him and confusing him completely. Once, when starting from Scutari to Djakova, Tony Precha was thus stopped on the way. There is but one thing to be done, and that is to wait till the first cock crows, when they vanish at once.

Another delight of theirs is to ride horses at night and knot their manes. These knots should on no account be untied. The ore also guard hidden treasure, and by confusing the seeker prevent him from finding it.

The ore were generally believed to be females.

776 Much magic surrounds hidden treasure. Throughout the Balkans
777 there is a belief in masses of treasure hidden in ancient days. The hider
789 consigned it to the care of the earth "amanet," which may deliver it up only if certain formulæ are observed. A person ignorant of these formulæ may dig on the right spot and find nothing but sticks and stones. An example given me in the mountains was that of a man who buried some money at the foot of a tree, at the same time bidding the earth not to give it up till two mice had drawn a carriage round the tree. Unfortunately a man passing by heard this. He returned home, caught two mice, tamed them, and with some trouble harnessed them to a tiny box. He then returned to the tree, drove the mouse-chariot round it, dug on the spot, and found the money. I suggested that he might have done so without troubling to catch and train the mice, but was assured it was impossible. The earth would not have yielded that which had been consigned to it. Much time and ingenuity is spent over the search for treasure. It has led to the destruction of

Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

Gospels. In Serbian these are called "Zapis." They are enclosed in silver cases called by the Turkish word "hamaljija" both by Serbs and Albanians; or they are sewn up in leather. Such leather cases are usually triangular. Most of the Catholic women of Zadrima, Albania, wore two brass crucifixes on a chain and a leathern triangular amulet case. Such cases are often fixed to the horns of oxen. When a Christian finds a Christian "writing" has done no good, he will go on the sly to beg one from a Moslem, and vice versa. A S BP 777 A S BP

Priests, both Orthodox and Catholic, write an immense number of amulets, fold the paper neatly in a triangle, thread it on a string, and direct that it shall be tied over the spot where the pain is felt; and peasants will tramp many miles in search of this help. At Ochrida, where I had to examine the patients before the doctor saw them, I came across an up-to-date development of this treatment. A child was brought with his neck thickly swathed. When the wrappings were off, his neck was an alarming dull purple, as though horribly contused. The amulet had been written in copying ink and had come off on his skin! The mother fondly hoped its magic had soaked in. 777 793 751

In both Albania and Montenegro I have seen Moslems flock to a church or a well-known Christian shrine in search of a cure. At the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity, on the festival day at Plevlje, I saw two Turkish gendarmes bring in a lunatic with his arms tied behind him and lay him in front of the altar during service in order that he might be cured. A M 755

Several thousand peasants, Orthodox, Catholic, and Moslem, used to crowd on Trinity Sunday to the shrine of St. Vasil of Ostrog in Montenegro—a purely Montenegrin saint. The shrine of another local saint at the Piperski monastery is also in great repute. The best way to obtain a cure is to pass the night lying on the ground, with the head beneath the coffin, holding the relics. For this privilege a high fee was asked. At Ostrog I was told that a Moslem stricken with paralysis had been brought from Mostar on a mule, and had paid twenty-five napoleons to pass the night thus. Next day he was well and returned home happy. But he was an unbelieving Moslem, and soon declared he did not believe the saint had cured him: he had got well of himself. Next morning he awoke again paralysed, and the twenty-five napoleons were under his pillow. The saint withdrew the cure and returned the fee. M 776 778 755

An amulet with a good writing on it works good; but evil writing can in the same way work evil. A 777 754

While I was in Scutari a Turkish officer fell in love with a Catholic girl. He acted honourably and asked her hand of her parents. To their horror the girl not only wished to marry him, but she went to the A 588

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

● 589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

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[Facing p. 193]

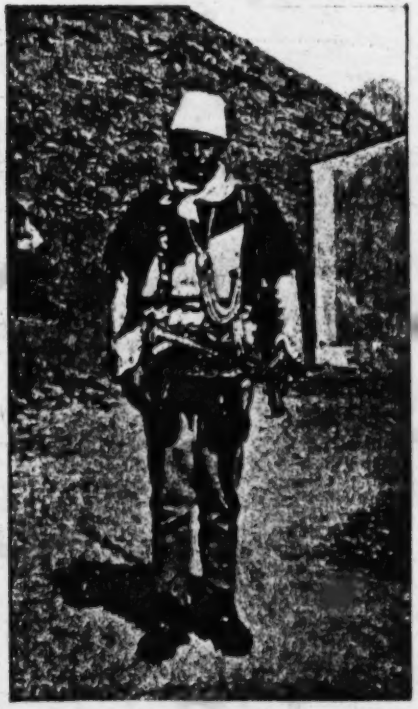

PLATE VII.—BOGA BOY IN FULL DRESS

(See p. 23)

PLATE VIII.—

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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589
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AN ALBANIAN VIRGIN

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583
rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162
women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585
bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834
important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581
one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609
days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should
cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585
born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842
it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman
bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589
married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562
has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to
do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right
to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt
twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836
ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842
priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585
betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal,
and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage."
"They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586
miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away.
In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great
trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31,
1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage."
And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584
and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577
and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each
other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the
relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted,
and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626
the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585
it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be
forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the
Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or
immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states
that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before
585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common.
584 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage
589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her
626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms,
689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given
562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself,
839 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

bours. One of their chief offences, in the eyes of the strictly orthodox, is the scant attention paid by the wives of these sectarians to the law of *namekhram*, or wearing the veil, it being their practice to appear unveiled before their husband's friends when he gives them permission to do so.

Cloistered life is not more popular with the women of Albania than with those of the rest of Turkey. In Islam there is, of course, no such resource for disappointed maidens, and marriage being as much the rule among Christians, whether orthodox Greek or Roman Catholic, as among Moslems, nunneries are not numerous, and their inmates are but few. Those which exist, however, offer a welcome asylum to the small section of women whom circumstances have doomed to a life of celibacy, and who the more willingly enter them as they, by so doing, acquire a degree of liberty which could never be theirs while living as unmarried women in the house of their father or brother. For in the East, as I have before remarked, convent rule is remarkably lax, and, beyond attending the prescribed church services, no very strict account is required of the way in which the good sisters spend their time. If report speaks true, they do not always refrain from making use of the opportunities for flirtation afforded them by their emancipation from conventional restraint.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

railing at him, threatened to make him set up a separate home, 593
which would reduce both him and her to a lower level of comfort.
Custom, it is true, under the stress of hard necessity, sanctioned
his working alongside her in the fields, but only on condition that
he did not indulge in unnecessary or frivolous conversation with
her. The only explanation which Albanians offered of these [83]
restrictions was that a husband and a wife felt 'ashamed' in each
other's presence. The same feeling existed all over the Balkans
until they came under strong western influences a generation ago.
Before that every decorous peasant bride, whatever her race or
religion, refrained for several years after her marriage from
speaking at all to her husband in public and spoke to him in
whispers only in private, meanwhile keeping her eyes modestly
downcast. This behaviour seems to originate in an idea which is
prevalent throughout the Near East. The Greeks say that since only [589]
the celibate life is really holy, the matrimonial state is one of sin
and therefore of shame. In I Cor. vii, 8, St Paul voiced it when he
wrote, 'I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for
them if they abide even as I'. Moslems, too, believe this, in spite
of many being polygamists. There is, for instance, a married as
well as a celibate branch of the Bektashi Order of dervishes, but it
has so few supporters that at the central monastery at Haci
Bektas in the heart of Asia Minor its headquarters are little more
than a poverty-stricken excrescence on the enormous, wealthy
headquarters of the celibates, and in Albania it has only the [792]
monastery at Qesarakë in the south-east, compared with the
seventy maintained for the celibates in different parts of the
country.

Now the Unwritten Law of Albania ordained that every married 574
woman had the right to visit her own relatives at least once a year. 593
Since these frequently lived in a different village, she could not
travel to or from them without an escort, which neither custom nor
the law allowed her husband to provide in person. Since brothers
were everywhere allowed to talk to each other's wives, no difficulty
arose in a communal household, where any man except the
husband could accompany a wife to her parents' home and fetch
her back. In a house with only one man matters were more
complicated. If his mother were alive and physically fit for the
journey, she might go with his wife, but who would then cook his
supper and prepare his bed for the night? If his mother were dead

593 maternal uncle's children. Then when the bride joins her husband in his father's house, she will come directly under the supervision of her paternal aunt, a woman whom she has already seen, and who represents an extension of her own family in the strange household. Such an ideal arrangement still makes no provision for a selection of mates on the basis of personality adjustments. It merely makes the change from one household to the other a little easier than if the girl were a total stranger. Very often a girl's fiancé is killed and she has to marry one of his brothers, a cousin, or someone of an entirely different family, and there will be no familiar aunt to smooth things over, but instead a suspicious and exacting mother-in-law, with whom her only ties are through her husband.

583 It is no wonder that brides sometimes run away. If they come home their fathers usually return them. Not infrequently they elope and if they are lucky settle in some city, or distant countryside where the limb of Lek Dukagin's [538] law is not long enough to reach them. Gheg epic poetry, which the traveler hears sung night after night in private houses, hans, and gendarmeries, dwells frequently on the theme of elopement. One hears at length about couple after couple, hopelessly in love, who break all of the rules, run away, and meet a tragic but inexorable fate. In the epics they seldom if ever make good their escape. In real life I believe that they sometimes succeed, and their elopements, successful or otherwise, help reduce the population of the mountains.

589 If a young woman is faced with a marriage which she cannot bring herself to consummate, and if she has enough strength of character to take the following step, she can avoid matrimony by becoming a "sworn virgin" (fig. 10, *d*).* She summons a meeting of the 12 elders of her community and in their presence swears perpetual chastity. By this means she not only gets out of her engagement, but also prevents a feud between her father's kin and those of [838] her fiancé. At this point she becomes technically a man. She may or may not don masculine clothing. She will carry a gun, and fight like other men. She will plough and reap, and do all of the tasks of a man. If she breaks her oath, the elders will, in theory, burn

* [see cat. 16, p. 110 -- Analyst]

589 her alive. It is doubtful if this punishment has been exacted on any such person within the last few generations.

As the reader can readily see, this custom has its economic aspects. The number of hands available for men's work is increased by two, that for women's work decreased by the same number. There is a second and less dramatic reason for a girl to swear virginity: if her father has no sons to help him with his work, or if his sons are killed. Then a daughter may step into the position of a son, and the [428] situation is momentarily saved. However, since the pseudo-son will have no offspring, the line will become extinct with her death, and the property pass to the next of kin on the father's side. This custom is at variance with the usual one in comparable societies, in which the husband of the man's daughter comes to live with her parents, and is adopted as an [611] heir. So strong is the belief in the continuity of the male line that this could not be done in Ghegnia.

On my travels I encountered only 2 sworn virgins. One wore men's clothes, and appeared to be either mentally defective or at least "queer." That also was her reputation. The second wore women's clothes. She was in her early twenties, and quite attractive. Since she spent the night with a junior member of my group of horse-drivers, I formed a poor opinion of the burning-alive theory. It is quite apparent that the practice of swearing virginity is not only often economic in motivation, but also a part of the whole business of local population control, along with the entire configuration of pride, insult, and feuding.

587 Two other mechanisms help maintain the personnel of the family at the optimum numerical working level, and to prevent the isolation of separate individuals or small, uneconomic groups. One is the levirate. Classically this means that when a man dies, his widow will be married to a surviving brother [165] or next of kin if such a brother is lacking. In a country where the rate of death by violence reaches the level of 40 per cent of all male [582] deaths in some localities, and where girls are married at 14 or 15, many are widowed.

Such a widow must be cared for by the men of her husband's family, since they have paid

make acquaintance with the family into which he has married. Again 585
the party is divided into "buck-herds and doe-herds." The husband 574
enters the ladies' room and embraces all of his new female relations,
except his wife, whom modesty compels to turn away. He sups with [576]
the family and goes home alone. Next day the bride is brought back
to his house and the same pantomime of extreme reluctance is gone
through. She comes home usually in a carriage. I was told that formerly
it was etiquette for her to come on foot, but only inch by inch, so that
her return from a house round the corner might perhaps take hours.
She visits her family thus at week-ends for several months, but only
on the first occasion is a carriage and ceremony necessary.

A bridegroom, while I was in Scutari, revolted against the midnight
ceremony, and turned all the guests out of his house after the feast.
In spite of her assumed modesty the bride was deeply hurt at being
thus deprived of publicity. She complained to her parents, who angrily
asked why their daughter should have been thus insulted. Was she
not good enough to show as his wife to his friends in the usual manner?
Nor could they see that in this case the bridegroom's modesty had
been real and not assumed.

He was in the unusual position of having a house of his own. In most 591
cases the young couple lives in the house of the bridegroom's parents 592
in the town and has a separate room. The parents rule and control
the household, and the bride is often very hard-worked. The emigrants
returned from America have brought new ideas and the system is
breaking down.

Much of the above ceremony resembles Roman practice. The distaff,
the casket of household implements, the throwing of sweets, sprinkling
of water, epithalamia, the *patria potestas* also.

The girls of a family must be married according to age—the eldest 582
first, and so on. The origin of this is perhaps that formerly infant
betrothals were almost universal and girls were sent to their husbands
so soon as old enough.

In Scutari, and, I believe, in the other towns, the daughters, or at
least one of them, must be married before the sons can be married.
The explanation offered was that the daughters must be dowered,
and the sons cannot marry till they have helped earn the dowries.
Over these wedding outfits the parties are very exacting. The bride- 583
groom's family bargains for every stitch of the garments and stipulates
as to their quality. While I was in Scutari a betrothed man, who had
always worn Albanian costume, went to work abroad and dressed
à la Franga. He wrote home to say he now required drawers that
could be worn under trousers, and his fiancée, who had already finished
I forget how many dozen voluminous Albanian garments, had all her

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 462 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their [591] families they return to their employment, leaving

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband [484]
leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
with which they console themselves testify. Un- [789]
known to their partners, they sew in their clothes

PEAKS OF SHALA

Cheremi, our gayer gendarme, rose quickly 576
and went to meet her. He took her by the hand
and laid his cheek caressingly against hers. He
was like a child, Cheremi, with his happy face,
deep wrinkled with laughter, the mischievous
twinkle in his eyes, his bursts of wit and song.
But he looked all of his forty years as he gazed
tenderly at the woman of Shoshi.

"She is a woman of my people," he said, leading her gallantly to us.

"Are you a woman?" said Frances Hardy, correctly, in Albanian.

"I am born of Shala[1] married in Shoshi," she 591
answered. Her voice was soft, and her hands
and feet would have been madness to a sculptor.
In any Paris restaurant those slender fingers,
almond nails, and delicate wrists, aristocratic,
well bred, would have been a sensation.

We admired the baby, excavating it from five [854]
folds of blankets to do so. How they live beneath the smothering I do not know; a Western baby would die in three hours. We asked the mother how old she was. Eighteen, she said, and she had been married three years.

"And have you been home since?"

"Ah no," she said, with a wistful smile.

"Born in Shala," said Cheremi. "But she was married in Shoshi, and in Shoshi she will die."

"I wonder what she thinks of us," I said, for, 000
though she must have felt great curiosity about
these strange beings, dropped apparently from
the sky upon her well-known trails, she did not

1 [Albanian Mountain [13] tribe -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

At meal-times a cat took up a vantage point under the 231
dining-table, to filch what it could. It was never caressed or deliberately fed; the whole Balkans believed that either indulgence would stop it from catching mice.

A man and his wife, with one or two small children, might live 342 594
in this house. Of a kind hardly paralleled in the Balkans, except in the poorer parts of southern Greece, it was not common in Albania as a permanent dwelling. As soon as its master could scrape together the necessary money, he added a sitting-room. As he provided all the labour himself and needed to hire only one professional, a stone-mason who, like all his brethren in the Balkans, was also a carpenter, ten pounds sterling were enough. The sitting-room might be built on top of the kitchen (*shtēpí* or *shpi*, lit. 'house', from Lat. *hospitium*) or against one of its walls. It had a wooden floor, a chimney at one end, a window or two, a niche in the wall beside the hearth for the utensils for making coffee, and a few wooden pegs near the door on which to hang up rifles; it might also have a ceiling. It generally had a separate 562
entrance, for sitting-rooms were men's apartments and Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox Albanians all segregated their young women. The Catholics and Orthodox attributed this custom to plain jealousy, and the Moslems, less convincingly, to a desire to obey their Prophet's order. In the evening and when not at work outside during the daytime, the master of the house with his men guests reclined, ate and smoked in the sitting-room, while his wife and children remained in the draughty kitchen. But the men were less comfortable than might have been expected. Since Albanian 258
chimneys seldom drew, acrid fumes from the wood fire filled the room and almost made them weep unmanly tears. But not quite, for if they succumbed, they would be derided as 'poor sticks' who 'would never see to shoot'.

Guests, in the form of family friends or strangers 'sent by God', 574
often came for a night. Because there were no inns in the Albanian countryside except on the long-distance tracks used by pack-horses, it was the rule that a benighted stranger might claim supper and shelter till the morning from any house he saw. The hospitality was never refused or charged for, but travellers of standing were expected to give a sum proportionate not to the hospitality offered but to their supposed wealth.

As soon as the children in a two-roomed house grew up, its 342
master must build again. His daughters went forth to live in their 594

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

husbands' homes, but his sons brought their brides to his house and each couple required a separate bedroom. If he were very poor, he might be unable to provide anything better than a lean-to in the farmyard, but the average man built a proper house round the nucleus of sitting-room and kitchen. In the first of the two types to which this house might conform, a number of rooms were grouped together sideways, sometimes on one floor only, usually on two, but rarely on more. In the second type one room was built on top of another, as in a tower, for two, three or even four storeys. This type was always known as a *kullë* (lit. 'tower'), a description also often given to a two- or three-storeyed cluster, although, more usually, any clustered house was called *shtëpi*, the name of the original kitchen. Access to the upper floor in the clustered type was usually by an inner, fixed staircase, and in a tower by an inner ladder that could be pulled up if an enemy penetrated to the ground floor; a trapdoor hung over both staircase and ladder, ready to be closed in an instant, if necessary. The two types of house were found side by side. The clustered one was preferred because its rooms were easier of access, but a family with many enemies or little land fell back on a tower as it was more defensible and took up less space. Whereas a clustered house stood in a farmyard surrounded by a fence of withered thorn or, more frequently, a stone and timber wall of the same construction as that of the house, a tower had generally no farmyard. All its appurtenances—livestock, farm implements, hay or other fodder—were gathered under its own roof, on the ground floor, as being more secure. In a one-storeyed cluster livestock, farm implements, and probably dairy and kitchen as well, were housed in sheds in the yard to save space in the house. In a two-storeyed cluster they were more often accommodated on the ground floor as in a tower, but for convenience rather than security, which was guaranteed by the farmyard wall. Since the sitting-room in such a house was often over the cow-house, it contained an ingenious labour-saving device for use after supper. As soon as the table had been removed, the host swept the crumbs towards a small, unobtrusive hole in the floor in front of the hearth, removed its lid, and with a last flick of his broom dropped the crumbs on the animals below. In a tower the kitchen was over the cow-shed and under the bedrooms, and these in turn were under the men's sitting-room.

In a tower or a two-storeyed cluster there might, for security

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

husband's brother, she married him and her husband's blood was 682
lost exactly as if he had died by his brother's hand. If her lover 562
was an outsider, her husband's brother killed her. He had the 628
right to do so, woman though she was, for a question of honour 596
was involved, and for questions of honour women might lawfully be put to death. Her son by the dead man could not kill the murderess because matricide is not allowable. Her husband's son by another wife was under no such inhibition, for he was only her stepson and therefore no relative. If her father's family believed in her adulterous motive, they sent a cartridge to her husband's brother, thereby signifying that they gave him leave to kill her and would not avenge her death. If they did not believe in the alleged motive, they avenged her by killing a man in her husband's family and an unusually bitter feud resulted.

Sometimes her husband's brother was too high-spirited or too angry to rest content with killing the murderess and killed one of her male relatives as well; he would plead that a woman's blood could never equal a man's and that her male relatives were responsible for her misdeeds. Sometimes a murderess escaped alive to her [591] father's house. In that case she was held to have escaped from the suzerainty of her husband's family and became a stranger; as a stranger she must expiate her crime, but her sex shielded her personally and threw the onus of expiation on her male relatives—'Women don't have blood feuds'. Her husband's brother was therefore bound to kill one of her relatives. To avoid losing a male for his daughter's crime her father sometimes killed her himself, [628] a desperate act that always satisfied her husband's brother.

A woman rarely murdered any other man than her husband. If [593] she did murder her brother, it was assumed that it had happened by accident as he was her surest protector. There are no records of the murder of father or paternal uncle by a woman.

The last category of murders within the family includes the very rare cases in which a woman murdered a woman in her husband's or her father's family. If she murdered her mother or her daughter, both most unlikely contingencies if she were sane, the victim's blood was lost by law of nearest relative. In all other cases the result depended on whether her victim was single or married. Thus the murder of her unmarried sister, paternal aunt, brother's daughter, counted as a suicide and the victim's blood was lost. If she murdered her husband's sister, the victim's blood was again

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

he found it to his interest to stay away permanently. If he found the climate or the soil of his new home kindlier, he might sell his paternal holding through an intermediary and with the proceeds buy land in his new home. Before he ran away, he had probably sent his wife to her parents, who no doubt lived in another village. There he visited her at intervals until he was installed in his new property, when he sent for her and their children, if any. A voluntary exile, it may be added, was content to leave his wife in his brother's charge; a compulsory exile took her with him. Good examples of voluntary exiles turned permanent from motives of advantage are provided by the many Bojdan families from Bicaj in Lumë, who in recent centuries involved themselves in blood feuds and fled to Kosovë. Their feuds were compounded in every instance, but the greater fertility in Kosovë was not to be resisted. To-day their descendants live scattered as far apart as Kaçanik and Blacë, near Skopljë. They still preserve memories of their kinship one with another and with Bicaj; in fact, till the break-up of the Turkish empire in Europe after the Balkan wars interposed new frontiers between the Albanian lands, they made occasional pilgrimages to the homes of their ancestors in Bicaj.

Sometimes an exiled murderer set up a small business, selling cigarettes and cleaning shoes, and made money as he could never have done in his mountain village. Sometimes, too, he entered the service of a rich man and in return for his devotion was given a grant of land.

The emergence of a central government which punished murder tended to increase the number of permanent exiles and to make the strong as well as the weak run away. An Albanian would face boldly enough the vengeance of his victim's relatives, but he detested being imprisoned by the government. A man of Bashabun, near Elbasan, killed a neighbour years ago. Blood money was paid, and so far as his victim's family was concerned, he was free to return home. Unwilling, however, to serve the short term of imprisonment to which the government would condemn him, he remained in exile in Bosnia. A Milot murderer remained in exile after the payment of blood money had closed the feud, because he feared imprisonment by the government. In an accidental meeting with his victim's brother, both forgot the closing of the feud and shot at each other, the brother killing the murderer. Then only the taking of the oath with twenty-four men cleared him from the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe. 609 579

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes. 726

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep. 684 848

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head. 685

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider. 423

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side. 428

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has 842 554 562 592

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585
The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842]
uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592]
take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584
relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583
price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585
at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291]
kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301]
necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291]
and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom, who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576]
have to assume a superhuman modesty.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

make acquaintance with the family into which he has married. Again 585
the party is divided into "buck-herds and doe-herds." The husband 574
enters the ladies' room and embraces all of his new female relations,
except his wife, whom modesty compels to turn away. He sups with [576]
the family and goes home alone. Next day the bride is brought back
to his house and the same pantomime of extreme reluctance is gone
through. She comes home usually in a carriage. I was told that formerly
it was etiquette for her to come on foot, but only inch by inch, so that
her return from a house round the corner might perhaps take hours.
She visits her family thus at week-ends for several months, but only
on the first occasion is a carriage and ceremony necessary.

A bridegroom, while I was in Scutari, revolted against the midnight ceremony, and turned all the guests out of his house after the feast. In spite of her assumed modesty the bride was deeply hurt at being thus deprived of publicity. She complained to her parents, who angrily asked why their daughter should have been thus insulted. Was she not good enough to show as his wife to his friends in the usual manner? Nor could they see that in this case the bridegroom's modesty had been real and not assumed.

He was in the unusual position of having a house of his own. In most 591
cases the young couple lives in the house of the bridegroom's parents 592
in the town and has a separate room. The parents rule and control
the household, and the bride is often very hard-worked. The emigrants
returned from America have brought new ideas and the system is
breaking down.

Much of the above ceremony resembles Roman practice. The distaff, the casket of household implements, the throwing of sweets, sprinkling of water, epithalamia, the *patria potestas* also.

The girls of a family must be married according to age—the eldest 582
first, and so on. The origin of this is perhaps that formerly infant
betrothals were almost universal and girls were sent to their husbands
so soon as old enough.

In Scutari, and, I believe, in the other towns, the daughters, or at least one of them, must be married before the sons can be married. The explanation offered was that the daughters must be dowered, and the sons cannot marry till they have helped earn the dowries.
Over these wedding outfits the parties are very exacting. The bride- 583
groom's family bargains for every stitch of the garments and stipulates
as to their quality. While I was in Scutari a betrothed man, who had
always worn Albanian costume, went to work abroad and dressed
à la Franga. He wrote home to say he now required drawers that
could be worn under trousers, and his fiancée, who had already finished
I forget how many dozen voluminous Albanian garments, had all her

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 trembling like a convalescent, but with fever gone and my lungs merely aching. I suggest the remedy for what it is worth.

[417] The byraktor received us at his gateway, for his house was surrounded by a high fence, almost a stockade, of woven branches. He was a tall, keen, quick man; bright, dark eyes and aquiline nose and thin, flexible lips, framed by the white turban's fold beneath his chin; a jacket of black sheep's wool; one massive jeweled silver chain on his breast. His swift smile was warm and beautiful, but one had a sense of reservations behind it; he welcomed the audacious Shala man without a quiver, and ushered us up the stone steps to the second floor of his house.

[342] There were several rooms, divided from the main large one by partitions of woven willow boughs, and from the large room a high, arched doorway in the stone wall led into farther regions.

592 At least forty men and women and children—five generations—were around the fire on the floor. There was a little flurry of welcome and rearrangement, and in a moment we were in the center of the circle, sitting on thick mats of woven straw, while the byraktor made our coffee in the coals.

[303] The women were beautifully dressed; I had not seen so much elegance of embroidery, of colored headkerchiefs, earrings, and chains of silver and gold coins. Their dark, beautifully modeled faces, large dark eyes, and heavy braids of black hair were set off by the profusion of rich

[House of war chief of Shoshi-] 252 [Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

color. Most of them were sitting on low stools, 592 embroidering or working opangi, and the white-garbed men lounged at their feet, closer to the fire, resting on elbows and smoking.

There was the delicate negotiation about the mule. The byraktor owned one, but he did not want to take it to Scutari. I left that to Rexh; the byraktor listened to him as courteously as though the boy had been twenty years older, and Rexh bargained with him as with an equal. A hundred kronen, Rexh said, tentatively, at last, but even at that terrific price the byraktor did not seem eager to make the trip (for, of course, he himself would go where his mule went) and Rexh thought best to drop the question for a while.

"Where do you come from?" one of the youths 823 asked me; and when I had replied, "In what direction from here is America?"

"California, the part of America from which I come," I answered—and did not very greatly stretch the truth—"is directly through the earth, on the other side."

Why they* sat up in such excitement I did not know; I had expected surprise, but not such a volley of questions, not such a visible sensation. Rexh sat replying to them, earnestly explaining, making a gesture now and then; their eyes followed his hands, fascinated. His talk became a monologue; it went on and on; all work stopped, cigarettes burned to heedless fingers, the coffee bubbled unnoticed by the byraktor. Little Rexh,

* [Shoshi people at [253] warchief's house --Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER II

THE UNWRITTEN LAW IN OUTLINE

To ensure for all, irrespective of their individual material wealth, 671
a fair share of the essential grazing, arable land and irrigation, there 175
has grown up a corpus of Unwritten Law. This was evolved at some 631
unknown date by the mountaineers, as part of the legal framework which they had devised for every aspect of their life. They evolved all their laws—social, administrative, or pastoral—unaided. For many centuries before the Turks arrived in the fifteenth century, the country was split up into a number of principalities, none of which was strong enough for long to subject a neighbour to its rule. Though the Turks remained for four and a half centuries, they could never exert more than a nominal authority outside the chief towns. If they sent a punitive column into the interior, the people living in the mountains took evasive action, retreating to some peak until the inevitable departure of the intruders; their wealth was so small that they could carry or drive off most of it to their refuge, and so lost little from the raid. If the Turks sent tax or police officials, they fired on them at the first defile as a warning to return to their offices in town. There were no roads along which forces strong enough to be effective could march, in order to reduce them to real submission. The Turkish government, unable to enforce its will, accepted the situation and left the mountaineers to govern themselves, as they had presumably done under their native princes and chiefs. The first all-weather road to be built in North [491]
Albania was constructed in 1916 by the Austro-Hungarian armies during their temporary occupation; it ran from Shkodër to Durrës, with a branch to Tirana.

Every type of unwritten law has been constantly recast, added to, 592
and restated down the centuries by a body of experts drawn from [271]
the rank of rulers. This rank exists because the mountaineers came to realize that an entity which is divided against itself cannot stand. Consequently, in every social unit—in house and village as in tribe or group of villages—the principle of subordination to a supreme head was accepted. In a household the headship is hereditary, with an important qualification. As the mountaineers are aware that

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

592 a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

619 Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village
622 or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal
[564] qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

692 In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or
695 revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders.
[623] The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be
681 asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment
671 also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as
673 understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for his case.

[1] See Chapter V. [2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

his unmarried sister or his widowed, childless sister. In that event, 596
while the younger women worked outside, his mother, if physically 462
fit, remained at home to cook, sweep and bake, besides attending 512
to the dairy and poultry. She also saw that any children who were big enough to walk but too small to follow their mother to the fields, did not fall into the fire or otherwise come to grief. She further entertained any men visitors who might come when her son was absent. She did not, however, wash her clothes or her husband's, should he be still alive, for even at the height of the busy season outside that was one of her daughter-in-law's duties. When she was no longer strong enough for her various tasks, she was sent out, complete with distaff, to herd the goats or plough-oxen and another woman succeeded her as housekeeper.

If the married pair had a separate bedroom, it was private 513
property, as inviolable as a separate house would be, and no one 512
other than the man and his wife and children might enter uninvited. 462
Unless she was his wife, even the housekeeper was under the ban. It followed that when a wife worked outside, she must care herself for her bedroom, sweeping it, spreading the bedding at night, and picking this up again in the morning. She must also tend her children, and wash and mend their clothes, her husband's and her own, besides those of her mother-in-law. If she had a tiny baby, she carried it in its cradle on her back to the fields, left it in a shady place while she worked, and carried it home again in the evening.

If the house was too small to have a sitting-room, the husband 264
ate in the kitchen. He never lingered over the meal, and in most 593
districts ate alone unless his mother, privileged by having brought him into the world, wished to join him. A man who ate with his wife or sat much in her company courted public ridicule as unmanly and 'no class'. If there was a sitting-room, the husband probably took his midday meal in the kitchen and his evening meal in the sitting-room. Before supper he might invite his sons or even his daughters, if these were small, to share the comfort of the sitting-room for a little.

Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since 592
for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of an age to marry. Then sheer pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units, each with a house of its own.[1]

[1] See Chapter VI.

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592 When the men in a household were numerous, three or more might be shepherds, one tending the sheep, another the goats, and a third the oxen; several might be farmers who ploughed and hoed and irrigated; yet others might be housemen, one keeping the house supplied with firewood, a second going to the bazaar, and a third grinding grain at the local mill for the household's bread. Each thus contributed his quota to the family wealth, and obviously the more numerous the quotas, the greater the general comfort. A well-to-do household which had only a few men might make up the number of hands available by engaging servants. 'Çota's tableful' is now proverbial in Çermenikë because eighteen men—ten relatives and eight hirelings—used to sit down nightly to supper in Sali Çota's house in the village of Fenars in that district. If, however, a household were poor as well as small, it could not risk having to pay servants in a bad year, and must restrict its activities—for example, by keeping only sheep or goats but not both. Since sheep eat grass and goats leaves, they must have separate herds.

462 512 Even in the richest of these multiple households the women lived much as they did in small, poor ones. A housekeeper, who was generally elderly, cooked and baked for the whole family, swept the kitchen, the men's sitting-room, and her own bedroom if she had one apart from the kitchen, but did not enter any room belonging to a married man, even if he was her son. The young wives worked out of doors when required and at all times looked after their children, husband and bedroom. They were often exempt from fetching firewood and water and were reasonably fed and dressed, but otherwise fared no better than their poorer sisters. By and large, even in these relatively more leisured homes, women worked much harder than men. The latter excused their comparative idleness by saying that in Turkish times, when blood feuds raged, it had been death for most men to show their faces outside in the daytime, and if the family was not to die of starvation the women had to work for its bread. They claimed that when blood feuds grew rarer, they became more industrious. But they could never produce any evidence that the women had gained by their new diligence.

264 562 Soon after sunset the men sat down to sup at the same table in the sitting-room, while the women and children ate at another table in the kitchen. The food was brought to the sitting-room by

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the housekeeper who remained discreetly out of sight behind the 264
door where she handed it to the men. She must wash up but [562]
warned by the proverb which says of work done badly by firelight
because there are no lamps, 'Evening's work, morning's laugh',
she waited till the next day. Then her task was much less formidable
than one might think. At both the men's and the women's table
everybody ate out of a common dish, fingers were used for a meat
course, and one and the same wooden spoon dealt with soup and
any semi-liquid food that followed. The men generally had their [515]
own spoons as they thought this more hygienic; they washed
them themselves—rather sketchily—immediately after supper, and
tucked them into their breast, ready for the next meal at home or
at a friend's. If coffee was served, the master of the house or his [272]
deputy rinsed out the cups, for the precious utensils must never
leave the sitting-room in case the women took to drinking coffee.
Twenty men could sup on soup, meat, bread, curds and coffee [415]
without the housekeeper's having more than three centre dishes
and the dining-table to wash.

A multiple household might contain as many as twenty persons, 592
a goodly enough number but only a pale reflexion of past glories.
All over north Albania it used to be the custom for brothers, first
and even second cousins to live with their wives and children, and
probably several aged uncles and aunts and young sisters, under
the same roof. Enormous housefuls sometimes resulted. For
instance, there were sixty-four people in Gjon Macaj's house in
Perlat about 1900, ninety-five in Isuf Isaku's in Zdrâjshë in 1923,
and seventy in Lushan Sadrija's in Shalë even more recently. The 342
houses themselves, though conforming to the regulation pattern 513
of men's sitting-room, kitchen, stables, store-rooms, and one bed-
room for every family unit, were remarkably small by our standards.
Quite a little bedroom suffices for seven or eight persons if they all
sleep on the floor, and both the sitting-room and the kitchen often
served as dormitories, the former for men guests and the unmarried
or widowed men of the family and the latter for women guests and
the widows of the family. The primary cause of this way of life was 592
the lack of public security in former times. Enemies and bandits
could wreak their will on a single-handed man, but had to respect
one surrounded by well-armed guards, and these the trustiest
possible, his nearest relatives. After Albania became independent,
public security improved so much that the need for a family to see

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592 to its own safety disappeared, and with it the need for several generations to huddle together under one roof if they wished to survive. Consequently, immense households like that of Gjon Macaj disappeared.

In the families of the landed gentry of Dibër such as Cen Elezi, life followed rather different lines. Most of the young men went into government or army service and left their wives and children at home, visiting them when they obtained leave, and the farm work was done by hired servants with the help and under the supervision of any of the family who might have remained at home. The women were organized on the customary pattern, with some variation in detail. A housekeeper cooked, but only for the women and children, since a special chef was required to cope with the hospitable requirements of the *selamlik*.[1] Each young wife attended to her own room and children besides cleaning her husband's boots and helping him to dress when he was at home. No one was required to work outside, but each must in turn wash up after meals for a week at a time. The daughters of such families were often less fortunate in their lives than the daughters-in-law. For want of suitors of their father's standing they must often be given to men of lower rank and then they worked both in and out of doors as if born and bred in a poor family.

Every house containing two or more married men included a corresponding number of family units. Each of these looked on its own members as we should do—as father, mother, son, daughter, brother and sister—but in its attitude to the other units diverged [601] from our practice. To us the oldest men may be brothers or cousins; to Albanians they were all 'brothers', irrespective of whether one father had begotten them or not. In the next generation instead of first cousins and in the third, second cousins, Albanians saw only 'brothers' and 'sisters' in both. The middle generation of Albanians regarded all its elders as 'uncle' or 'aunt' (though in some, particularly in Moslem, cases distinguishing between the paternal and maternal lines) and all its juniors as 'nephew' or 'niece'. It was only when some need to particularize arose that they defined the relationship according to the blood tie as 'father's brother', 'father's brother's wife', 'brother's son', 'cousin' or the like.

593 Not only did a man who was seen much in his wife's company lose face, but in a communal household his brothers, in addition to

[1] See p. 21. 1/n

1/n [i.e., the men's apartments]

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CHAPTER V

THE MASTER OF THE HOUSE

592 Some co-ordinating authority is obviously necessary when many workers, most of them occupied with different duties, live under the same roof. The Unwritten Law therefore requires that in each family there shall be a patriarchal system of government, with one man master of the house and everybody else subordinate to him.

When there was only one man in a house, he became automatically its unquestioned master. If he died while his children were small, his brother or, much less often, his wife's brother saw to the family until the eldest boy grew old enough to take charge as master. When there were two or more men in a household, the master was elected, not born, to his position. Most frequently he was chosen in early youth by his predecessor, but should the latter die prematurely, he was elected at a general meeting of the men of the household. The women were not invited to this meeting nor were their views ascertained. The former method was preferred because it enabled the future master to be trained by his predecessor with incessant talk about the matters that would fall within his competence—relations with the authorities, relations with neighbours, household management, laws on roads, field boundaries, pasturage rights and so on. If he had to be elected by the household, he must rely on his own good sense and experience, supplemented by consultations with his subordinates or neighbours. Since its publication in 1933 Father Gjeçov's book on Lek's Kanùn has become available for reference, but previously heads of households had only the unwritten laws for guidance.

When a new master was being chosen, primogeniture was one of the factors taken into consideration. Albanians regarded their elders with deference and, consequently, obeyed them more willingly. A very young master, however, such as might emerge from exclusive reliance on the accident of birth, could be a misfortune for his family.

Primogeniture, however, counted for nothing compared to administrative qualities such as knowledge of the law, shrewd judgement, even temper and fair-mindedness. A reigning master

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would pass over any or all of his own sons in favour of his younger brother or nephew if the latter promised to be a better administrator. Ymer Tullumi of Bujars in Shpat was a case in point. His father made him heir over the heads of his two elder brothers, and in his own old age, being childless, he selected as his successor, not his oldest nephew or the eldest son of his eldest brother, but the most intelligent among his nephews. For the same reason a master whose powers had been dimmed by years or illness generally resigned his position to his successor, although he was legally entitled to remain master as long as he lived. 592

In his relations with the authorities and the neighbours, the master had to do his best for the family. He tried, for instance, to get the burden of taxation and unpaid labour on government roads lightened, or, better still, shelved altogether; here he might find [212] some degree of literacy useful, though it was otherwise superfluous. To keep on good terms with the neighbours he restrained his subordinates from provocative acts such as stealing or trespassing, and if a quarrel broke out he tried to settle it before it reached the shooting stage, which was always a nuisance to everybody concerned. At home he tried to keep the domestic wheels well oiled, soothing the quarrelsome, reasoning with the disgruntled, never showing anger real or feigned, assigning to each worker, whether man or woman, a daily task. In practice the last point seldom required thinking out, since each man had early specialized as ploughman, shepherd, cow-herd or odd man. If 'hands' were few, the master must work himself; if they were numerous, he confined himself to general supervision and planning of the work of the others. His chief duty was then to see that the fields were properly tilled and the flocks well cared for. In some districts, when temporary labourers had been hired for a special job, the master of a household so big that he did not normally work with his own [461] hands ceased to supervise the workers and joined them as one of themselves. This was regarded as gracious condescension on his part and stimulated the hired men to greater effort.

The master's rule over his household was absolute and extended to every aspect of its life. Unless he first consented, no other man might stay away from work, leave the farm for a day's outing, accept employment elsewhere, or even call in a doctor to attend to his sick child; no boy or girl might be betrothed; no child might be hired out, apprenticed, or sent to school; no woman except his

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592 mother and others in her position, such as his uncle's elderly widow, might go to spend the night in her father's house. This gave him complete control over the time of the workers of the household. Whatever task he assigned the other men and the women must be performed without cavil; they must not only work as he said but go where he bade them and even marry when and whom he pleased. He spoke of them as 'my people' in English or 'my folk' in American parlance. When obliged to speak of them to the authorities or neighbours, he called any young man 'my son', any girl 'my daughter', and any married woman 'my wife' or 'my [562] old woman'. No decent Albanian, it should be noted, ever mentions the women of his household to outsiders except under compulsion.

The master had also sole control of the family purse. Any money earned by the other men by the sweat of their brow or a windfall like a tip must be paid over to him and spent for the family's benefit. For, says the law, 'the earnings of a son are shared by his father and brothers'. Here the words 'father', 'son' and 'brothers' have not only the narrow application which we English give, but also the wider Albanian sense of relatives in the [423] older or younger generation.[1] The farm was registered in the Land Office and popularly spoken of under the master's name, but this was only for convenience. It was owned jointly by all the men on it, and the master did not own a blade of grass more than the others [432] did. Yet in virtue of his position he need not consult any of them if he wished to buy or sell a field, vineyard, wood or portion of irrigation water. The right to buy and sell was his alone. There were only two limitations on this right, both deriving from the simple good sense that underlies all the unwritten laws. He could not sell a sheep or goat without first securing the shepherd's permission, and if the latter preferred to give him another animal, he must accept it, for the shepherd knew the flock better than he did. Secondly, the farmer of the family, having sole charge of the plough-oxen, did not require to ask his leave if he wished to help a neighbour with his ploughing, to lend the oxen, or even to give them away outright.

As keeper of the purse the master generally went to market himself with whatever produce was for sale, and bought what he thought necessary with the proceeds. It was his duty to see that everybody in the house was as well shod and dressed as the

[1] See p. 30.

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family's means permitted, and that there was a sufficiency of 592 coffee, sugar and cigarettes to maintain its dignity with visitors. He must also pay government dues and instalments of the price of any bride who was marrying into the family. Until the newer ways of to-day came in, he had further to buy a rifle for every youth in the family who came of military age. If he sent another man to market in his stead, as he was entitled to do, he often put a reserve price on the produce and always instructed his deputy about what he was to buy. On his return the latter must give a full account of his stewardship, saying what he had received for the produce and what he had spent, proving that he had made no unauthorized purchases, and handing over the remaining money intact. If the master grew so physically incapacitated that he could no longer make the long, arduous journey over the mountains to market (*pazàr*), he usually appointed one of the others, preferably the future master, to the permanent post of 'bazaar-man'. The latter then kept the family purse, but in other respects remained subordinate to the master.

It resulted naturally from the master's hold on the family purse [426] that only he could lend money or contract a debt recoverable in law. If any of his subordinates made a loan or pledged the family credit on behalf of a friend, the borrower might lawfully repudiate the debt on the plea that it was not lawfully contracted. Generally, however, the master first scolded the culprit well for transgressing the law and then told the borrower that the loan was made on his authority, so leaving him no option but to repay it. In the same way, when subordinates borrowed, both they and the master were within their rights if they said the loan was illegally contracted and refused to repay it. More often than not, for the honour of the family, the master paid up. Again, in such matters as going surety for a loan, a woman's chastity, or a man's life, which were great features of Albanian life, only the master might act, subject to one exception. Each man's rifle and revolver were his personal [422] property—to keep, to barter, to sell or to pledge without any reference to the master. Consequently, each subordinate might go surety up to the value of his arms. He usually did so with circumspection, however, for if he lost them he must not ask the master to replace them. The master was also responsible for any material 592 damage done to a neighbour by his subordinates. If, for instance, 672 they had stolen or killed a cow, or had set fire to a haystack, it was

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he who must find the money for compensating the injured neighbour. He sought it naturally in the common purse according to the law that 'the mishaps of a son are shared by his father and brothers'. If however, a subordinate killed a neighbour, it was just as likely that he himself or another subordinate would have to pay the penalty of a life for a life as that the master would have to do so. Presumably this anomalous division of responsibility arose because if the master alone were responsible for a murder, he would be so closely guarded that there would be no catching him and the murdered man's death would remain unavenged.[1]

Though the master's authority, resting as it did on his customary and traditional acceptance as his predecessor's choice or on his election by general consent of the household, was essentially moral, it was also backed by certain powers of enforcement. He had the right to beat a culprit, to leave him hungry, or to tie him up in a room or cellar until he came to a more proper frame of mind. This applied equally to the women; in fact, the commonest victim of tying up in a cellar was a girl who had jibbed at a proposed marriage. When a subordinate was grossly at fault and seemed incorrigible, the master might threaten to give him his portion and turn him out to fend for himself, and if the man did not reform, he would carry out the threat. In Krujë the author was present when a father expelled one of his sons for killing the other. In Turkish times the master had another salutary form of punishment at his disposal. This was taking away a culprit's arms for a week or two, so reducing him to the status of women and greybeards. 'Once shamed, twice shy' was almost invariably the result. But the best of masters might be helpless with a shiftless subordinate who had grown too old to beat. So long as the latter avoided gross misdemeanours like murder, he might idle with impunity. For physical reasons the master could not force him to work, and except in extreme cases the Unwritten Law disapproved of turning him out to sink or swim as an angry English parent might do.[2] The law said

[1] It is perhaps more likely that this vicarious responsibility of any member of the family instead of the master only is the survival of the more ancient practice unmodified by more civilized conventions. It is typical of the blood feud in more primitive societies than that of Albania. (Ed.)

[2] In Montenegrin tribal law the disobedient son might be fined the first time, confined and beaten the second and third time, and only expelled after that, expulsion involving disinheritance. *Vide* Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 84. (Ed.)

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it was the offender's birthright to remain in the house, to eat at the common table, and to have his wife and children maintained out of the family purse. A striking illustration of this weakness of the communal system was to be seen in Shalë in the 1930's, when Mirash Nue's family included his wife, his elder son Pal, Pal's wife and four children, and his younger son Gjon. Since he, Mirash, was too old to work and Pal was a wastrel, Gjon alone ploughed to feed the household and fetched firewood to keep it warm. To get money for government taxes and his father's coffee and cigarettes, he worked for the priest in his spare time. He had been unable to earn enough to pay for a bride and at thirty years of age was still unmarried, a calamity in primitive Albanian eyes. Pal, not criminal, just lazy and selfish, and saved from beating by his father's advanced years and his own age, paid no attention to either his father's upbraidings or the barely concealed contempt of the neighbours and turned up unfailingly for the meals he had done nothing to provide.

The master received no money payments for his services but enjoyed certain privileges. His clothes were often newer and of better cloth than those of his subordinates; more silver chains crossed his breast, and more silver rings glittered on his fingers. He was entitled to have his own bedding and coffee utensils and to keep them until he died. If he chose to buy himself a riding horse, a watch, or arms richly inlaid with silver and bright stones, he might do so. His subordinates, though left to walk while he rode, to learn the time from the sun by day and from the crowing of a cock at night, and to content themselves with the plainest of rifles and revolvers, did not seem to resent his magnificence. He represented the family, and the worthier he appeared in externals as well as in mind and character, the greater the glory reflected on each of them.

Indoors the master sat in the place of honour in the sitting-room, the right-hand chimney corner as one looked from the fireplace towards the door. Though marked deference was usually shown to old people, he never gave up this place to his aged father or elder brother except in the districts of Shpat, Çermenikë and Shalë, where age took precedence over social position. The other men grouped themselves cross-legged in front of the fire, the future master facing it squarely, older men flanking him, and younger men sitting behind him. The youngest of all, who had to do such work as shutting the door, bringing firewood, and carrying in supper, sat next to the door; he was described as the serving man. When

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the master entered, all rose to their feet and remained standing until he was seated. If he was armed, one of them relieved him of his rifle, hung it on a peg by the door, and turned to see if he wanted to keep his side-arms or to have them hung up beside the rifle. As soon as he settled down he made himself a cup of coffee, rolled and lit a cigarette, and perhaps pulled a small bottle of raw spirit (*raki*) from his pocket. If in a gracious mood, he might make a cup of coffee for the older men and the master designate and let them smoke or even suck at his raki bottle, but if he wished he might lawfully reserve these joys for himself. In any event the younger men might neither drink nor smoke in his presence, though they could do both elsewhere. If he chose to make conversation, the others must follow his lead; if he preferred to remain silent, they could not speak—like good children they must remain seen but not heard. When supper came, no one might put his spoon into the common dish until he had done so. When the time came to leave the room, he led the way as he did when walking through the fields. In the house this indicated his pre-eminence; in the fields it was also a security measure. The others strung out behind him at specified intervals, on the assumption that he could deal himself with a frontal attack but needed to have his back protected by friends.

Given his duties, rights and privileges, the master soon acquired an air of command, whereas his subordinates, condemned for ever to show no initiative, shrank progressively into complete nonentities as their youthful qualities atrophied for want of exercise. But the master must not be tyrannical or unjust, spendthrift or careless of the general weal, and above all he must show no favouritism. If he developed such faults, the other men might lawfully depose him and elect another in his stead. However, the care taken initially in selecting him made such action extremely rare. A good master preferred the spirit to the letter of the law. For example, he rarely sold or bought any family possessions without first consulting his subordinates. And he was always careful not to destroy his subordinates' feeling that the farm and everybody and everything on it belonged to each of them individually as well as collectively, that the welfare of each of them concerned the whole family, and that the general welfare concerned each individual.[1]

[1] Thus a youth who obviously had nothing of his own was yet perfectly in order when he stated that he had just bought a field or even a bride for his brother.

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The master designate, who might be appointed 'bazaar-man' in the master's lifetime, sat in a place of some honour, and might be given coffee and cigarettes while other men went without. Often, too, he was deputed to make the coffee and to lead the conversation with a guest. This was training for him and practice in family manners for his future subordinates. When the master was not present, all the duties and privileges of headship were his. During wedding celebrations no one might join a ring dance, however much he wished to do so, unless commanded by the master or in his absence by the master designate. 592

There is little to add to what has already been said about the subordinate men in a communal household. Each was head of his own particular family, with full powers to chastise both wife and children, though not to direct their lives and work—that was the master's business. An older man was further regarded as a father by his juniors. This principle was carried so far in Mirditë, though not elsewhere, that he might lawfully reprimand and even beat a junior's wife and children. The junior could not retaliate in kind, for the law holds it criminal to strike a 'father's' wife. In other respects it was a subordinate's whole duty to obey the master. [593]

As for the women in a communal household, the master governed them through the housekeeper: under her official style of mistress of the house she transmitted his orders to the other women or gave them her own and supervised their indoor work. When they were working outside, the master or a man deputizing for him must oversee them, for a mistress worked only in the house and farmyard. She was appointed by the master and was not necessarily his wife. Like him, she must rule justly, moderately, and impartially, taking special pains to avoid favouring her own children, and if his wife did not possess these qualities, he passed her over and chose another. In no case did a mistress have as much authority as the master; she had none at all outside her own departments, and in these must at all times work under his orders. Nor might she buy, sell or barter so much as an egg on her own responsibility. Her tenure of office was also much shorter. Since strong young women must do farm work, she was seldom appointed until nearing forty, and since her duties were manifold and heavy, especially in summer owing to the absence of the other women, she was superseded about fifty when her physical strength began to wane. Her only privilege, but one for which she was much envied by the other women, was

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592 to work indoors. Her clothes were no better than theirs; indeed, if she had dairy work to do, they were usually dirtier. If she was unjust and ill-tempered, pilfered or sold family property, or fomented rather than composed the quarrels that were endemic among the other women, the men assembled in general meeting and deposed her.[1]

562 593 It only remains to describe a small domain with which the master had nothing to do. In astonishing contrast to the penniless men, all the women had their own money and controlled it absolutely. Called *pekul*, from Lat. *peculium*, and essentially pin-money, they spent it on kerchiefs, gewgaws, and even clothes and shoes. Each received the first of it on the morning after her marriage, when her men relatives filed past her in farewell and dropped money into a plate for her. Afterwards her father or brother might slip a coin or two into her hand when he visited her. In the tribal districts of the north her father also gave her on her marriage as much as half of the money which her husband had paid him for her. Later on she might occasionally earn a few pence by knitting socks in her odd moments or making the rough home-spun trousers worn by peasants. Debarred by law and custom from taking the finished articles to market herself, she gave them to her father or brother to sell, but never to her husband or grown-up son, for they would not let her even see the money. If near a market-town, she might gather walnuts or hazel-nuts in the woods and send these to market. In tobacco-growing areas she normally got the coarse bottom leaves of the plants, to smoke or to [437] sell as she pleased. If she had none of these resources, she could only steal maize, eggs, wool or cheese from her husband's house and send a child to the shop to barter them for what she wished to have; she was bound to pay in kind or money, for the law forbade her to pledge either her husband's or her father's credit. On these occasions neither her father nor her brother would act as her agent, for if such connivance in her pilfering were discovered, they would be in serious trouble with her husband's family. If she chose to keep her *pekul* idle, she might safely lock it up in her dowry-chest in her room; her husband never seemed to make her give it up and 562 593 no others might enter their room. Generally, however, she made 426 the money fructify. In southern areas like Çermenikë she lent it at the usual rate of interest, which was 30% (enough to compensate

[1] The author never heard, however, of this being done.

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power by modern governments. The value of the difference to the 357
servant was that the more important his master, the better he
himself was protected.

It is the rule in all denominations that priests may not carry [793]
arms. This is no drawback to anybody under a modern administra- 357
tion, but in Turkish times it meant that a priest's servant was more 688
exposed to danger than an armed layman's. The Catholic church
tried to make up for the deficiency by special legislation of which
Father Gjeçov gives a full account. Thus, though a priest's servant
had a certain freedom to attend to his own business, any message
he carried to a house was treated as coming from the priest.
Whoever molested him molested the priest, and might be fined
according to the gravity of the offence but not less than ten lambs,
which went, not to the servant, but to the church and tribe.
Whoever killed the servant started a feud with his family only, if the [574]
servant were local, but with the whole parish if he were a stranger—
here can be recognized the principle of the community's guest—
and if the murderer was local, the parish burned his house and took
a hundred lambs and an ox from him as fine. If labourers hired by
the church were molested, the offender had to pay a fine, divisible
between them and the church; the more numerous they were, the
heavier the fine; on an average this amounted to ten lambs. If an
offender refused to pay, the parish went in a body and took what
it wanted from his sheepfold. In short, the church treated any
wrong to a defenceless priest's servant as a major crime.

The retainers of great men were essentially a bodyguard, and 592
were only maintained by men with blood feuds. Some lived at
home and joined their patron for some special, and usually brief,
occasion; others lived for long periods with him, constantly ready
for whatever service he might ask. They occasionally received a gold
piece as reward; more often they were paid in kind—by being lent
money without interest for a funeral or a wedding feast, by being
given grain in bad years, by having a useful word said in the ear of
the authorities to extract them from some difficulty. While his own
children were small, the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë had eight
young relatives living permanently with him, brief holidays at
home excepted. They waited at meals or carried messages to the
servants with the lofty air of medieval pages of noble blood. Until
exiled during the war of 1939–45, Shevqet Vërlaci, the formidable
Bey of Elbasan, was guarded night and day by relays of peasants

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592 from his own farms, who spent weeks at a time with him. During the same period every notable from Dibër who visited Tirana called at least six peasant neighbours to come and escort him there and back. If his stay in the capital were short, they saw him safely home; if long, they were relieved by others at intervals. Needless to say, all retainers were crack shots.

Finally, the protected might also be the protector. In the 1930's Hamit Callaku, an influential notable of Fulqet, had a notorious murderer from Çermenikë living with him for nothing except the assurance that so long as he kept Hamit's enemies at a distance the former would prevent the authorities from arresting him.

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CHAPTER VI

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

In spite of the modernization which Albanian laws had undergone since 1912, brothers still separated according to the laws they had learned from their fathers. The only change introduced by the civil code adapted from the Swiss models was that economic provision must now be made for the daughters of the family, who had formerly been given only a nominal sum when their father's home was broken up. [671] 592 884

There were several reasons for breaking up an old home. When a communal household was already full of men, each with his wife and children, it could no longer spare a room for each boy as he grew up and married. Some of the men must hive off, although many disliked the idea of separating from their brothers. As the Albanian proverb says, 'When the hive is full the bees must swarm'.

Quarrelling was another cause of separation. Often the brothers themselves quarrelled, the younger resenting the elder's control of his person and of the family purse, or 'the devil entering both their hearts' they quarrelled about nothing. In the latter case climate might play a role. Theth, for example, lay so high that the peasants were confined to their houses for several months each winter. Then brother got on brother's nerves, high words were spoken and the younger demanded a separation or the elder threatened to expel him. When the milder weather came to release them from confinement, their tempers cooled, but each was too proud to retract the word he had spoken in haste. A financial cause operated in villages near towns, such as Godolesh and Shijan near Elbasan. With the bazaar at hand each brother wanted to control the purse, which he could not do unless he had a separate establishment. Often too brothers must separate because their wives quarrelled. The companionship enforced by communal life naturally bore harder on the women who lacked the blood tie and similarity of upbringing that might neutralize clashes of temperament among the men. Occasionally brothers separated while their father was still alive. If this was their own wish they lost face and 592

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592 were publicly mocked as 'low-class fellows'. Sometimes they had no choice, being so disobedient and unruly that their father compelled them to leave his house. Or they got on so badly with each other that he feared there would be murder done.

Three factors militated against separation. There was the sense of family which was so strong that four or five generations, numbering twenty souls or more, might live under one roof. Secondly, it was economically to the advantage of each man that the household should remain together. In a large household all branches of the pastoral and agricultural life were possible, but in a small one activities must be restricted; one and the same person could not tend cows and oxen, ewes and lambs. With good reason the proverb says 'Separation ruins a family'. In the bad old days too, it was strategically good for brothers to stick together; the more guns in a house the stronger it was.

592 When separation had been decided on, the family possessions 4:8 were divided equally without any regard for primogeniture. Everything that could be eaten or drunk—dairy produce, grain, haricot beans, eggs, honey, raki—was considered food and divided equally among the mouths to be fed, and everything else—land, livestock, farm implements, house, household utensils—was considered property and divided equally between the brothers.

The law of food, as expanded, laid down that every living soul in the house on the day of separation, male and female, sick and well, greybeard and infant drawing its first breath, should receive the same share of food. Supposing one of the two brothers had besides his wife ten children, and the other two, the first received twelve portions of food and the second four. Then the age clause was variously interpreted. In Dibër even a child still in the womb was allotted a full portion, but elsewhere one born so little as an hour after the conclusion of the separation received nothing and the prospective father naturally tried to protect himself against this loss by delaying the separation, if possible, until the child had been [853] born. In Lumë and Mirditë a child less than a year old was not given food, the idea being that its mother's milk would suffice for it throughout the coming year—partly to avoid conception Albanian children were everywhere suckled until they were three years of age. In other areas a new-born child received its quota on the assumption that before a year was out it would 'eat a little, spill a little and let the cat eat a little'. Separation generally, though not

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invariably, took place immediately after harvest when bins were full and a year must pass before the fields again yielded a crop.

Although food supply was divided in most areas into equal portions irrespective of total quantity, in the Malësi e Madhe each person received three loads of maize, which was considered to be enough food for a year. Any surplus was sold and the proceeds divided among the brothers. In other areas a surplus rarely existed, so the specification of quantity had never been made.

For the purposes of separation the term 'grain' included not only maize and wheat but also everything that grew in a field or garden, such as fruit and vegetables. Exceptionally, in Godolesh both olives and butter were regarded as property and divided equally, not among the number of souls, but among the brothers. In Perlat raki and wine were divided equally among all who drank; some of the men did not drink and some of the women did. Sometimes a woman tried to secure a double share of drink for her husband by alleging falsely that she herself drank. The attempt was usually frustrated by the other women, who, not wishing to see their husbands go shorter than they should, exposed her fraud. In rare instances where drinking water was divided, it was treated like food.

Property, said the law, was to be divided equally among the brothers. This applied only to property inherited by the father; the number of children belonging to each brother was not considered. One of two might have seven children and the other three, but each received exactly half the property. The only exception recorded is in Martanesh, where a brother with many mouths to feed might be given a little extra food on condition of accepting a little less land. It followed that the brother with the large family was much worse off initially, though eventually, as his children grew old enough to work, he might catch up the other because he would have more hands at work. No doubt it was this balance of initial poverty against subsequent wealth that led the old law-givers to enact this law of equal division of property among brothers. It was also immaterial that one of the brothers had a grown son; the son counted in the division of food but not in that of property.

A dead brother was ignored when the food was divided, but if he had left a son, his rights to an equal share of the property remained intact. It descended to his son, who, irrespective of his age, ranked on separation day as his father's representative and the

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428 equal of each of his father's brothers. Supposing the dead man had
592 been one of four brothers, the three survivors and his orphan son each received one-quarter of the property. If he had left two sons, these became joint owners of his quarter share. Even if all the brothers in a communal household died before it split up, the principle of division was the same. Suppose they were three, and the eldest had ten male descendants, the second five and the third one, the property was divided into three equal parts, one for each of them, regardless of the disparity in the number of their descendants.

Division of food was relatively simple, a matter of arithmetic—so many souls, so many portions. The process of division of property was much more complicated, a thing of exact measurements and difficult calculations. As a first step the land was measured with a rope and divided into as many equal parts as there were brothers. Occasionally it was measured by pacing, the man who paced clasping his hands behind his back to steady himself and so to keep his paces equal.

When the quality of the land was uniform there was no difficulty about the actual partition by these methods. But it might happen that one field or one part of a field was better than another. Good and bad must nevertheless be shared alike by the brothers. To make this possible, what may be called the system of 'offset or compensation' came into play. Most commonly a smaller field or a smaller portion of the same field was given to the brother who got the better land, and a larger field or larger portion of the same field to the one who got the worse. The basis of calculation was the average yield of the land, this being common knowledge in the district. Size was thus offset against quality. Less often the portions were valued and the brother who got the better one paid compensation to the other; the latter was theoretically supposed to spend the money on buying himself a piece of land somewhere else.

423 The term 'land' included arable land, vineyards, vegetable
428 gardens, orchards, hay meadows and enclosed lowland pastures, all of which must be divided up when the brothers separated. It did not include mountain pastures or woods and forest for firewood, fodder and timber. These remained undivided, common property for the common use of the brothers. It was rare, however, to find a joint household owning mountain pastures and forests, for these were generally held in common by a whole ward or even a whole

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village. In Çermenikë all the brothers were allowed to graze their sheep after harvest on a divided arable field as they did when it was whole and they were together; it was immaterial that one had a bigger flock than the other. At least it was immaterial in theory, but in practice they sometimes quarrelled over the grazing. Then each must set a shepherd on his own boundary to watch over his interests. Presumably the impossibility of providing shepherds enough to guard the wide boundaries of forests and mountain pastures has prevented these pieces of property from being divided up.

Two curiosities of land division are to be noted: if an arable field was very narrow, it must be divided short-ways, for if divided long-ways, the plough-oxen might not have room to turn when ploughing; sometimes, too, three brothers who were separating amicably might wish to have each of their father's fields divided in three rather than each receive one field apiece. A day might come when one of them might wish to sell his land, then there would be more inducement to keep it in the family if it immediately adjoined another brother's holding. They also wished, they said, to perpetuate the memory of their joint ownership of all the fields, and when one field was some way from another and in different hands, it was less easy to realize that once the same family had owned them all. If possible they would like to keep up their brotherly ties for a hundred years or more.

The division of the joint home was generally much more complicated. Supposing there were two brothers in a house consisting of only a sitting-room and a kitchen. By the partition method one was given the sitting-room and the other the kitchen. Since the sitting-room was manifestly superior it was valued together with the kitchen. The values were added, then divided into two, and the difference between half the total and the value of the kitchen was paid to the less lucky brother. The payment made, it was held that the old home had been equally divided between the brothers. Sometimes instead of money the offset system was used, a better portion of land being given to the brother who had received the worse part of the house. For this purpose the land as well as the house was valued, and if the former's total value was 26 napoleons, 14 napoleons' worth would go to the brother with the kitchen worth 6 and 12 napoleons' worth to the brother with the sitting-room worth 8, so giving each 20 napoleons' worth of property.

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428 592 Alternatively, both sitting-room and kitchen were measured with a rope and divided into two. A partition wall of lath and plaster or, more probably, of lath and mud was then run up in both. This left half of each with the old door and, where it existed, the old staircase, while the other two halves had neither door nor staircase; a new door and, if required, a new staircase, were built for these, generally on the opposite side of the house. Each brother then took possession of his new home, a small poor place but his own with its own egress to the outside world.

[562] [795] In the Mohammedan villages near Elbasan there were regulations about windows which aimed, like the building laws, at protecting women from prying eyes. In Godolesh the brother getting the upper room in a two-storeyed house was told to blind the windows overlooking the yard if his brother's kitchen, as was probable, opened on to this; otherwise his brother's womenfolk would not have full freedom to move about the yard. The brother getting the middle storey in a three-storeyed house was given similar instructions, but the brother with the topmost floor might leave all his windows open as they were too high to overlook the yard. In Labinot all windows overlooking another's property must, irrespective of their height, be blinded. Such regulations were not enforced in Christian villages.

When the old house had two rooms as well as a kitchen the division was less complicated. To begin with, one room was assigned to each brother. If one was bigger than the other they were both valued and due compensation paid to the brother with the smaller one. As for the kitchen, either it was divided in two or it was given to one brother and its estimated value paid to the other so that he could build a new kitchen for himself on his own land.

Continuing to live under the same roof imposed certain mutual obligations on the brothers. If the flimsy partition wall or the roof needed repairs, both must share the expense in equal proportions. If one could not or would not pay his quota the other was entitled to repair only his own section of the roof, leaving his brother's to the ravages of the weather; or he might try to extract the money from his brother by force; until lately, he might even shoot him in truculent Lumë. As for the partition wall, he probably repaired it at his own expense for the sake of his personal privacy.

To avoid such quarrels and to secure more houseroom the buying out method of dividing the old home was preferred. The

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building itself was allotted to one of the brothers, almost everywhere the youngest, who became its sole owner and master. But he must pay each of his brothers a proportionate share of its value, half if he had only one brother, a third if he had two and so on. Sometimes two brothers who had decided to divide the old house with a partition wall, according to the first method of division, quarrelled irreconcilably about the position of this wall. Then they might switch over to the second method, one buying out the other. If they could not afford to do this, one might legally pull down his own section of the house, take away the timber and stones, and build himself a new house on his own land.

Sometimes four brothers separated two by two, one pair remaining in the old home and the other going out. In that case the former paid between them half the assessed value of the house to the outgoing pair. Sometimes the four separated one by one, two remaining in the old home as before and two going out. In this case the old home was divided by a partition into two portions, one for each of the two brothers remaining in it and one-quarter of its value was taken from each of them and given to each outgoing brother.

In Dibër and Perlat, possibly elsewhere, the outgoing brothers received an extra portion of land as a site for the house they must build. In Perlat a distinction was made between irrigable and non-irrigable land. The extra portion given in the case of the latter, which was nearly worthless, might amount to as much as 120 *pashë*.

Almost everywhere the old home was valued as it stood, but a system not recorded elsewhere prevailed in Perlat. This took no account of the timber, stones and mud (for mortar) which went to the building of the house because these cost nothing but labour, and the labour had been provided as a joint enterprise by the family when still united. (But the brothers, remembering what the mason who built the house had been paid, divided that sum equally between themselves; it was generally no more than 6 or 7 napoleons.) As usual, the brother allotted the house paid cash to his outgoing brothers. The drawback to this system was that it did not provide for fluctuations in the value of money.

The old house was generally given to the youngest because he was thought too young to be able to build one for himself. 'The man who has not built himself a house or celebrated his daughter's wedding does not know what trouble is', runs the proverb. The

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[591] a woman was the sole survivor of her family and so inherited its property.

It was on the principle of father's property—or very much more rarely mother's—that big households containing several sets of cousins split up. They went back to their common ancestor, ascertained what property he had had, and divided that equally among his sons. The descendants of each son then took their portion and no more, regardless of their number. Supposing a man had had three sons who in their turn had respectively five, three and two sons. When these cousins separated the five sons of the eldest brother received only one-third of their grandfather's property, no more and no less than the amount received by the three sons of the second and the two sons of the third brother.

The question of the father's property came up again when a man died childless after separating from his brothers. For instance, if four brothers all separated they divided the dead man's property equally as having been originally their father's. If three were living together apart from the fourth who had died childless, they took his property back into the common fund, and when they separated divided it equally with their other possessions. If one of the three who lived together died childless, the two surviving took his property back into the common fund and when they separated divided it equally between themselves, but they did not give any to the fourth brother because he had separated from them before the death. Matters were usually complicated in Perlat and Mirditë when four brothers had separated into two pairs. If one died childless, any property which they had bought together was retained by the survivor of his pair, but what he had inherited went back into the stock of father's property and was divided into three portions, one for his survivor and two for the other pair. A rather better portion of land was given to his survivor in Perlat but apparently not in Mirditë.

[592] Money a man had earned away from home—as government official, gendarme, shopkeeper or servant—had to be sent home up to the date of separation. Then it was counted family earnings and put into the common purse on the plea that although he was away working his brothers were toiling at home. If he kept any back for some months before the expected separation, it was accounted stealing, and if he was only suspected of doing so, he might be put to the oath to clear himself. If livestock was bought with his money

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was expected to behave reasonably; in Mirditë if she were a trouble-maker her son might legally send her back to her brother, giving her three loads of grain for her support during the first year and nothing afterwards. On her death she might be buried by the son she lived with, as in Zerqan, or by all the sons in combination, as in Martanesh and the Malësi e Madhe. Here good feeling rather than the law dictated the usage. 737

Sometimes a minor—a small brother or the orphan of a dead brother—had to be arranged for. The essential was that he should receive his portion and not be left alone with his mother, as she might induce him to sell his land or might herself take a lover. If his grandfather were alive he remained with him. Otherwise he went to live with an older brother or an uncle. Exceptionally, in Shijan he lived by preference with his mother's brother, less probably with his father's brother, and still less probably with his own brother. His guardian worked his land or gave it to a third party to work for an agreed return and fed and clothed the minor with its produce until he came of age at fifteen. The guardian had also to feed and clothe his mother and any small brothers and sisters he might have. Sometimes a guardian brother remained in the father's house with the minor. He was its master, though not its owner, until the minor came of age. Then he must leave the house to the minor and himself move to new quarters. 428 736

Sometimes brothers who had separated joined up again. The 'remarriage' seldom lasted long; as the proverb puts it, 'a loaf once broken can't be put together again'. When they separated for the second time, their food and property were divided on the same principles as before. Due note was taken of any house they might have built or any land or livestock they might have bought during their temporary reunion; these were divided as usual, not according to the number of brothers, but according to the number of men. If one brother had died childless since the first separation, a completely new division of the property was necessary. 592

The division of food and property might be effected by elders, by the eldest brother, by a neighbour, or by a more distant relative, or by the father if alive. The factors governing the choice of one or other were, as usual, based on common sense. The division of property, as distinct from food, was often so complicated that only experienced men like elders could grapple with it. A father tended to favour his best loved son or daughter-in-law and was often ruled 428 592

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592 428 out for that reason. If the brothers were not on good terms, division by the eldest caused quarrelling, the others accusing him of robbing them and he retaliating in the usual manner. If they were on exceptionally bad terms, even distant relatives feared the unpleasantness that was bound to follow their best attempts at [623] a fair division. For all these reasons the choice[1] generally fell on elders. Their drawback was their need of a fee, but it was generally thought better to spend money on a fee than to quarrel with a brother. These principles were at the back of the various practices in different places. When the choice was between neighbours and relatives by marriage the latter were preferred because they were always more trusted. Each brother put in his own man.

In Perlat the father was never allowed to divide his property, elders or relatives on the male side must do so, and when they were at work, neither the father nor the sons might put in their word. In Martanesh the same fear of favouritism prevailed, and elders or the neighbours in bulk carried out the division. In south Dibër the local notables did so, their influence being thought to counteract any tendency to break the peace over the division. In Godolesh separation had always been on an official basis; it was arranged by the headman of the whole village and his two assistants, as it had been in Turkish times by the headman assisted by an elder from each of the six quarters of the village; it is to be noted that no fee was taken by these elders because separations had always been part of their official duties. In Shijan the separation might be entrusted to the husband's or wife's relatives since they were interested in preserving peace in the family, yet had no personal interest in the division. In any area, when brothers were on really bad terms, complete strangers from another village might be called in to arrange the separation.

When the brothers decided to engage elders, they engaged one between them if they were on good terms; if not, each put in his own man. In Mirditë they might engage two, four or more elders according to the amount of work to be done.

Portions were allocated to the brothers by their own choice or, more often, by lot. In the very few cases where the brothers were completely friendly, the eldest said to the youngest 'Which field will you have, this or that?' Then he took for himself what was left. If the second coveted the field chosen by the youngest, they drew

1 [i.e., to divide the food and property of a household at the time of separation--Analyst]

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lots for it or asked elders to divide it. When the brothers were a degree less friendly but the eldest nevertheless divided the property, the youngest was given first choice of the portions, the next youngest the second choice and the eldest what was left. The law ran: 'the eldest divides, the youngest chooses.' It is obvious that the risk of getting an inferior portion made the eldest divide carefully. In Mirditë by exception it was the middle brother who had first choice. 592 428

Lots varied: in Lumë they were drawn in the modern method with pieces of paper; one without holes, another with one hole, the third with two holes, and so on; and by the old-fashioned with a stone, a twig and a clod of earth. In the Malësi e Madhe grains of maize, coins and weeds as well as paper were used. Shijan preferred straw and grass, and Godolesh grains of maize and haricot beans. Maize was satisfactory when there were two brothers, as one variety has white grains and the other yellow, but when there were three brothers, haricot beans, which may be white, black or mottled, were preferred. Somewhat curiously, though stones and sticks were both plentiful, they were seldom used. In Shijan, for example, the lots were drawn with elaborate care. One of the relatives present at the division was sent some distance away and told to keep his eyes closed. Each brother selected his token and handed it to another relative. The first was recalled, given the tokens, and told to place each where he chose. Each brother was expected to accept the luck which his token had brought him, but if one objected, lots were drawn a second or even a third time, fresh tokens being chosen and a different relative asked to drop them each time. The brother who got the disputed land or other property two out of three times became its owner for good. The various positions of land and livestock, the piles of farm implements and household utensils and the rooms in the house (if this was partitioned) were drawn for in the same way. In Martanesh the procedure was shorter but there was again, for greater fairness, a man between the brothers and the person who made the decisive throw. Each brother gave his token to one of the bystanders, who carried it to the elder dividing the property. In ignorance of which token belonged to whom the elder cast them on the various portions. In Zerqan there was again an intermediary. Each brother had a secret, unpaid representative who gave a stone to a third person approved by all the brothers but ignorant of who represented each. 777 592 428

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592 This third person threw the token stones on this portion or that.
428 In Godolesh there was no intermediary. Each brother gave his
592 token to an elder in whom they all had confidence. As they were
777 selecting their tokens, he arranged tokens of his own on the ground, naming each aloud for the various portions of the land or house. He carefully refrained from looking at the brothers' tokens and threw them blindly one after another on his own. 'Here is the sitting-room, good luck to it. Here is the kitchen, good luck to it', he said of the house. Each brother then claimed his token and accepted his portion. With a similar phrase of good omen the elder divided the land. In Lumë there might or might not be an intermediary. The elder taking delivery of the tokens might place them himself or, if afraid he would be suspected of dishonesty, he might give them to another man to do so. Well-omened phrases were used, such as 'The luck of this stone lies there and of this twig here'. In the Malësi e Madhe the elder said which portion the bits of stick each represented, then drew them, as would be done in England. Here the procedure seems influenced by the European
[77] education of the priests.

623 The commonest fee for an elder dividing property between
428 brothers was two or three napoleons, but it might be as low as one or as high as ten. Everything depended on how much the brothers quarrelled over the division, and how hard they struggled against yielding one to the other. In Perlat the elder made a distinction between rich and poor, asking a sheep from a rich family but only a kilo of coffee from a poor one. In Mirditë he had the right to a sheep and a money fee as well; the latter was as agreed. In Lumë 'it does not do to have an elder without a sheep'. Wherever, as in Godolesh, officials arranged the separation, no fees were charged.

408 Everywhere one meal at least of meat and rice pilaff must be
574 given to whoever came from outside the family to separate the brothers. If these had no flocks, they must buy meat from someone who had. The expense of these meals, which was heavy for people so poor, was shared by all the brothers, the animals being taken out of the common stock before it was divided and the money for the rice, coffee and, if necessary, meat out of the common purse before the settling up of accounts. These meals were the first charge on the family property.

All stages of the division were watched by neighbours. Before the persons negotiating the separation sat down to the final meal,

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592 596 The separation completed, each new household had its own master and mistress, and its members were no longer under the control of the master and mistress of the old home, who now controlled only their own establishment. It was remembered, however, that the master of this smaller home was master of the house in which they had all lived together. When he was succeeded by his son or another, his former position was still kept in mind. So when the brotherhood formed at the first separation expanded into a kin the master of this house became the 'elder of the kin'. If his kin was the most important in the ward, his name was given to the ward and so perpetuated. The names of most wards were the names of such elders.

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CHAPTER XII

ELDERS

[671] It is impossible to understand the laws and customs of the Albanian
622 mountains without a knowledge of the varieties and responsibilities of the elders. A man could be an elder not only in the literal sense but as a legal personage. Seven types developed in sequence one from another among the southern tribes.

388 Everywhere the word for 'elder' is (sing.) *plak* (plur. *pleq*), which is pure Albanian and means literally 'old man'. There is a corresponding feminine (sing.) *plaka*, 'old woman'. In households of any size there might be several men and women who were really old in years and were 'elders' in the literal sense. These were the first type. The majority were ordinary people and had no legal importance.

●572 The idea of age disappears with the second type, found in every household irrespective of its size. Here there were always one man and one woman who bore the special title of 'old man (or elder) of the house' and 'old woman (or elder) of the house'. These under their more usual Albanian titles of master of the household and mistress of the household were not necessarily elders in the sense of 'older people'. They might have attained their position when under forty and have found themselves in authority at that comparatively early age over older men and women.

613 The third category of elders appeared as soon as a household
576 split up and each brother or male cousin in it acquired his own house. Then, a 'brotherhood' (*vllazni*) was formed. In this community each new house was as much a separate entity as the parent one, and was no longer under the control of the master and mistress, the 'elders' of the old joint home. It had its own 'elders' of both sexes who managed all its affairs, external and internal. The 'old man' of the joint home, now administering a much smaller household, thus lost a proportionate share of his importance. But the new masters also lost some of theirs. So long as the family lived together any competent adult among them might deputise for the master in village or tribal affairs or in the administration of the communal home, but from the day they separated,

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us by Father Gjeçov,[1] the last clause announces that though the Pecnıkaj kin of Shalë laid down the law enunciated in clause 2, it had the support of the Lotaj, Abati (Abat) and Bobi (Bob) kins in doing so. Its first and its fourth clauses consider the adhesion of the brotherhood of Theth as well. Occasionally there was a partial meeting of a brotherhood, and at the bottom of the scale there were household meetings at which the master set some common problem before all the men in the family.

Generally speaking, assemblies of all types took place at irregular intervals, to meet some special need, though the demand that they should be called regularly once a year was not unknown.[2]

When a kin or smaller meeting was in question, the convener sent anyone he could find to call it. Bigger meetings were summoned by word of mouth by the public messenger. In Mat a gipsy beat out the summons on his drum and in Shpat church bells were rung.

Attendance at a plenary meeting was compulsory, non-attendance punishable by a fine. For instance, an elder of Kurbin who failed to turn up and could not satisfy the other elders that his absence was justified was fined five rams. An ordinary tribesman in the same area was fined one ram and in Kastrat 250 piastres. The strength and solidarity of the tribes were closely connected with the plenary character of their assemblies.

Most public meetings took place in the open air, as church houses were usually too small and schoolrooms and village halls did not exist. Meeting places had to be central and free from cultivation, rock, scrub and forest so as to provide adequate seating space In Catholic areas the yard of the church was commonly used for General Assemblies and in Moslem areas that of the mosque. Assemblies of a village or kin could be held in the most central of the smaller clearings of the area, and a house was big enough for a brotherhood or household assembly.

Some meeting-places were specially famous. At Lesh, a thriving seaport at the mouth of the river Drin, and not the malarial inland townlet into which it has been converted by the advance of the Drin towards Italy, Lek Dukagjini and Skanderbeg met by preference, as it was centrally situated for both their domains. The place of meeting was probably the grassy sward near the ruined church on the right bank of the Drin, opposite the modern town.

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 272

[2] See Appendix, Document V, § 16, p. 264.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

695 be put to the oath; such an ordeal was not for boys under twenty, old men over sixty, women, gipsies or lunatics. All of these were [562] considered so irresponsible that even their sworn word carried no [592] weight. One exception comes from Zerqan, where a woman accused of a petty theft like stealing a dress might take an oath in the semi-privacy of her home that she was innocent. If her fault was more serious, her oath was not accepted. A man—her husband [672] or son or, failing these, her brother—had to take one for her, as he would have done for his senile father or his infant son. Another exception occurred in family oaths, as described later. But this exception was apparent rather than real. The infant boys who were present did not themselves take the oath. The master alone repeated the words dictated; the boys and other males were present solely to be implicated to the maximum extent possible in the dread consequences of perjury.

In criminal cases it was the suspect, the man who denied an accusation, who had to take the oath. In such cases its sole purpose was to clear him of suspicion; if he could take it, he was acquitted, and if he could not, he was convicted. The accuser was never allowed to support his accusation by an oath; even if he insisted that with his own eyes he had seen the crime being committed, he could not swear upon oath that what he said was true. For motives of spite might have induced him first to accuse his neighbour falsely, and then to swear a false oath. So the law said firmly 'It's for the denier to take the oath'.

695 Occasionally a suspect refused to take the oath. Then his 628 accuser was at least tempted to shoot him. If it was a case of stealing he had to think twice; shooting the suspect would start a blood feud because 'murder for a fault (like stealing) isn't allowed', and perhaps the lost property was not worth the nuisance which the blood feud would cause. If it was a murder case, it did not much matter if he did shoot the suspect; he was already at feud with the murderer. In property cases refusals to take the oath seem to have been unknown when the dispute was in the hands of elders; if they ordered a disputant to take an oath, he dared not disobey for he knew that the whole community would gather to enforce the order. If one disputant, before the case had reached the elders, asked the other to take an oath that the property was his, his request was refused as often as not, and then shooting became inevitable.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

*628 672 682 [462] [592] provisions for carrying on the work. The first was the law that women, children, servants and domestic animals must not be shut up. So in comparative security the able-bodied women, on whom fell the heaviest burden, tilled the fields, went to market, ground corn at the mill and fetched water from the spring and firewood from the forest. The boys and aged women herded the cows, sheep and goats. The servants took part in any or all of these tasks, but few households could afford the luxury of servants.

[462] A social phenomenon alleged to be a by-product of this immunity of women and children is interesting. To-day a good proportion of the agricultural work of Albania is done by women, while the men idle; a generation ago the bulk of it was so done. The men of to-day excuse their idling by saying it is a habit formed when they or their fathers were shut up by blood feuds; whatever their natural inclination to work, they were then driven perforce into allowing their women to toil alone to feed the family. This plea may or may not be valid; as the frequency of blood feuds decreased, the men's industry increased.

*628 672 In bad feuds the immunity of women and children was sometimes denied. Even to-day the women of Murat Kaloshi's household cannot stir outside his compound except under heavy escort; failing that, they would be shot without pity by his enemies. The numerous children in his household are growing up illiterate four minutes' walk from an excellent school; if they attended this school, a battalion of gendarmes or men-at-arms could hardly ensure their safety. Another bad case is to be found at Milot, where even the boys in the cradle in Gjin Bardhoku's house have to share the men's imprisonment. In Çermenikë the immunity of women was never absolute; there was always a danger that the avenger might lose his temper and kill them. Within living memory two women in Fenars, one of the more accessible villages in Çermenikë, once tried to plough and were discovered by the avenger. On their declining to desist as he bade them, he fired at them with unexpectedly fortunate results. He wounded both but only severely enough to make them fall to the ground while letting go the oxen. They made a speedy recovery and, each wound counting as half a 'blood', the avenger was considered to have taken vengeance. The two parties were then 'measure for measure' and made peace.

*628 697 Again with a view to feeding the murderer's family an avenger

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

H 794 present Kopliku; Albanian districts on the Drin are also given or ordered to pay tribute. All of which confirms Father Brocardus's statements.

H 792 651 Stefan Urosh III, when founding the monastery at Dechani, gives it in 1330 many "villages and katuns of Vlahs and Albanians between the Lim and White Drin," and gives a list of persons who are to pay tribute, the last of which are Zaharia and Mihal of Nikita in Pulati, who are to pay the former 4,000 and the latter 2,000 cocoons annually to the Church. All Vlahs and Albanians are to carry salt for the monastery. Thus numbers of peasants were put into the power of the Orthodox Church, but though severe laws were enacted against Catholicism, North Albania in large part remains Catholic.

H 175 779 So soon as the Serb Empire fell, references to Albanian chiefs become frequent, and the Catholic Church speedily took the ascendancy. Many of these chiefs took service with their men under Venice. Others were subsidized by Venice as allies. All documents show that at the time of the Turkish invasion there was a large Albanian population both in the mountains and on the plains, which then, as now, were largely used as winter pasture.

The swoop of the conquering Turk, the capture of Scutari and Alessio, the complete destruction of Drivasto, caused a great dislocation of population. As the Turk settled on the fat plains, numbers of refugees took to the mountains. The tradition now told in the mountains of the north is often that of these immigrant refugees, who tell of having found other inhabitants in the land, but the families who H 582 now trace direct male descent from these are few. The strict law of exogamy must, however, have forced the immigrant to intermarry largely with the old inhabitant, and the race continuity is, therefore, unbroken.

2. The Maltsia e Madhe Group

A 619 614 The tribes fall into several main groups.

The Maltsia e Madhe (the Great Mountains) group consisted, when I visited it, of five large tribes and some smaller ones.

1. *Gruda.*—A tribe of one bairak, situated between the river Tsem and the old Montenegrin frontier. To the north of it is Triepshi and south is Hoti. Triepshi was part of this group till given to Montenegro in 1878. Gruda in 1908 consisted of about five hundred "houses." A [592] A "house" was roughly reckoned at from eight to ten souls.

Of these five hundred "houses," eighty traced descent from Berisha (see below), and thus are of old indigenous stock. The remainder, A [167] called Djell, said they were immigrants from the Herzegovina, and that

000 TO THE anthropologist, selective marriage systems, such as cross-cousin and parallel-cousin, are run-of-the-mill phenomena. But the anthropologist is used to dealing primarily with non-European peoples, living far from centers of civilization. To the sociologist brought up on European and American subject matter it is an event to discover a "primitive" system in operation only 250 miles from Rome, in the 20th century.

592 As our study of material culture made clear, the Gheg family, like that of the early Israelites, or of the Chinese of any period, is an economic institution. One household, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, his sons, unmarried daughters, and son's children, lives in a single house or group of houses, and all ordinarily work together. The most complicated tasks which confront them require the co-operation of such a group, but no more, except in rare events when neighboring kinsmen may be called in. Isolation and political insecurity enhance the frequency and strength of the mutual relations of the family members. In some of the tribes, notably Dukagin, these households number up to 30 or 40 persons; the Arabic word *meballa* (military camp) is used to designate them.

[462] A sex division of labor clearly separates the work of the women from that of the men. Each needs the other. A houseful of widows and unmarried women would be unthinkable, as would a house occupied by men alone. The family must be a balanced unit. If a man dies his place must be filled if possible: if a woman fails to bear children another must be found [842] who can. The family must continue, and since so many men are killed before they reach maturity, it must produce boys. The birth of girls is less important because they are not killed, and because they leave the family to get married.

582 For a number of very good reasons, it is considered desirable to obtain wives for one's sons from a distance. In the first place, if a

[127] [1] The principal source of this chapter is my own records. However, I also made use of Miss M. E.

POLITICS AND FEUDING

592 THE smallest political institution in tribal Gheg society is the household, the extended family living together, which is also an economic institution. The head of the household is the oldest male of the parental or grandparental generation, the patriarch. So strong is the feeling for age-grading in Albania that men will obey their fathers as faithfully at 40 and 50 as in their teens. Since all sons do not necessarily live with their fathers, but some may occupy separate houses, the institution of the household may thus be expanded spatially, although the relationships are maintained.

[672] The household is a unit of warfare; when a man commits murder within his own tribe, his [628] household suffers together. In seeking vengeance, a man can wipe out the blot on his family honor by killing the brother of his enemy; responsibility is held to be collective. If one member of a household kills another, which happens but very rarely,[1] nothing is done. The loss is that of the family.

621 The next unit is the village. It may be a compact group of houses, surrounded by its farmland and pasture; or it may consist of isolated homesteads, each in its own land. The latter is the more usual form. In either case, it has some central building, a mosque or a church; or it may merely have a flat place, usually shaded by an oak, where the elders 623 meet. Each village is supposed to have 12 elders, whose office is partly hereditary, partly elective. Various families habitually furnish one man each to fill this position. The word for elder is *plak*, which Miss Durham traces back to the time of Strabo.[2] One of these elders is the *kryeplak*, literally, head elder. In one village in Has, when I measured the *kryeplak*, he told the recorder that he was "mayor" of the village. He calls the elders together when events arise that need their

[1] Miss Durham gives one instance from Dukagin (Durham, 1928, pp. 69-70).
[2] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 - EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

as the most perfect type originating from a prostyle house. Even the difference in the size of the windows proves that the walls on the side of the veranda were built later than the rest of the building. 342

The description of another house of Bregumatja (p. 46, Fig. 33) illustrates the inner disposition of living space, and shows a similar evolution: the veranda has been closed by a wall on the frontside. Part of the inside, however, has remained as an entrance hall. A room with two windows «a la franca» was made on the right of the hall, and a cellar on its left. Yet these spaces were not separated by solid walls, but by thin mud-covered trellis. The room is characterised by

Fig. 72. View of a house in Kolaj
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

its roof, its large and glass panelled windows and by its containing a high table with a few high chairs, just as «the good room», destined for distinguished guests. This form and furniture are typical for all these extra rooms. The two large rooms at the back of the house are communicating by a door, but they do not have any ceiling. One of these rooms serves as men's room, and the other as women's room, but at the same time as a kitchen and cellar for everyday life articles. [352]

This multiple formation, as shown in this advanced type of Albanian house, evidently corresponds to the needs of the Albanian family, which is based on patriarchal customs. Moreover, if we take into consideration the life conditions of Albanias, the house pictured on Fig. 72 could include, according to Nopcsa, 20-30 inhabitants, as the only 342 592

342 reason for building another house would be the dissolution of family
[592] bonds.
[171] Consequently, the system which exists in the Slav countries, to build separate, additional, small dwellings for young or married members of the family, is foreign to the housing customs of the Albanians.

As Nopcsa remarks (p. 49), a more developed and organically disposed house, like that pictured in Fig. 72, cannot easily be expanded, because of the serious difficulties created by a corridor running along it, as well as for the position of fireplaces and staircase. That these difficulties may be overcome, is shown by the house of Trushi (in Zadrima) Fig. 73.

[354] In this house, fireplaces have been moved to the front long wall and placed between two windows. Two staircases have been built

Fig. 73. Big house in Trushi, in the plain of Scodra
(Nopcsa, fig. 32)

in addition, with two prostoa opening at the centre. A twin house has thus been formed, each of which it is completely separate from the other. By the wooden extensions of both prostoa, some of which
[251] project and are supported dy wooden beams, there are formed some washing places known from our own villages; or cupboards, for victuals, that are protected against mice on the one hand, and are in a cool air draft on the other.

Similar constructions are seen in the veranda of an old two-storey house of Scodra (Fig. 74). This house is more than 125 years old and it is built at right angles, because of the smallness of the building plot. The ground floor includes a weaving room, an oil press, a stable, a wood store, etc.; living rooms are all in the upper floor.

593

593 FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS--patterns of behavior between spouses, between parents and children, between siblings; rights, privileges, and powers of husband, wife, father, mother, son, daughter, brother, and sister; family law; emotional attachments; evidences of ambivalence; etc. See also:

Kinship terminology and patterned behavior between secondary and remoter relatives . . . 60
Marital sexuality 83
Care, status, activities of children 85
Socialization 86
Personality traits 157
Division of labor by sex 462
Sex status 562
Quarrels 578
Conception of marriage 581
Incest taboos 835
Theory of paternity 842

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

If, however, she returns home and marries into another 587
family, her father pays to her first husband's heirs, or to her son if she have one, half the dowry promised at her second betrothal. With the exception of her deceased husband's brother, a woman may not re-marry in the same village without the consent of his relatives. In the mountains of Pulati this is [628]
never given, and a vendetta follows if it is dispensed with. If the betrothed man die, his brother has also the right to marry the betrothed maiden, but must pay to her parents, in addition to the dowry already promised, a hundred and fifty piastres.

An Albanian has the right to beat his wife if she 593
misconducts herself, but this right is little exercised except among the Liaps, who are the rudest and most brutal of all Albanians. He must, however, be careful not to draw blood even in the most trifling degree, for, if a wife receives a mere scratch in the course of a castigation, she complains to her parents, who cite the husband before the authorities. The penalty [681]
consists chiefly in the payment of a considerable fine, which becomes the private property of the woman abused.

Divorce is not uncommon among the Moslem Al- 586
banians, who follow in this respect the customs of the [171]
Ottomans, the husband paying to the discarded wife the sum specified in the marriage contract in view of such a contingency. The divorce generally takes place at the instance of the husband, but the wife may also claim it for a limited number of reasons. If, for instance, a man has left his native town or village, and does not return within the period fixed by the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

586 Kadi, his wife may claim to be released from her vows to him. Other sufficient causes for divorce are ill-treatment, aberration of mind, and excessive corpulence on the part of the husband.

562 462 The Moslem Albanian, when he marries, is, like the Osmanli, bound to provide his wife with food, clothes, and shelter in keeping with his position and means, and cannot require her, as do the Christians, to earn money for herself or for him by her labour. She, on her side, is required to obey her husband and never oppose his wishes, to abstain from anything likely to annoy or vex him, and to watch over the interests of the family, and, if poor, she must do the work of the house, cook the food, do the dairy work, spin the [283] wool and flax necessary for the family use. The Albanian generally has no fondness for field labour, which he usually leaves to the women, children, and old men, and, when he does not follow the calling of a soldier or trader, prefers wood-cutting, attending to his vineyard, or, still more, tending sheep on the mountains, a pursuit which combines laziness with peril.

463 Besides those who enter the military service, numbers seek fortune in the large towns of Turkey, as traders, *cavasses*—a kind of orderly attached to Embassies, Consulates, banks, and other public offices, in which capacity they are much esteemed for their devotion to their employers—or in other positions of trust. As soon as they have amassed sufficient money to enable them to do so, they return home and marry, in order to prove themselves respectable members of [593 591] society. After a brief sojourn in the bosom of their families they return to their employment, leaving

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband [484]
leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
with which they console themselves testify. Un- [789]
known to their partners, they sew in their clothes

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

484 562 777 789 small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various 787 methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

152 593 The men on their side are not free from home-sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

[539]

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
From Fatherland as outlaws forn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
Poisoned by my blood would pine!

527 535 The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

hear him. He offers her sweets which have been left there purposely, but still she heeds him not. This comedy may, if the bridegroom be timid and the bride reserved, be prolonged until the third evening after the marriage, in which case the courage and virtue of the bride are extolled by the women in song. On the third evening, however, custom requires the bride to respond to her husband's advances. On the three days following the wedding the bride, dressed as before, stands like a statue in the reception-room to receive the women visitors who flock to the house in order to inspect her.

The ceremonies attending the nuptials of the mountain people are almost precisely similar to those customary in the towns, with the exception that the bride is not veiled when conducted to her husband's home. A romantic reserve, however, surrounds the interviews between the young couple, who, especially if the husband be one of a numerous family and have no private apartments, can only meet in secret until they have children of their own. The mountaineers cherish this custom, which, they contend, by surrounding with a halo of romance and mystery the relations of the young couple, tends to keep their love for each other fresh and warm. The wedding processions of the Moslems and Christians are only to be distinguished by the more picturesque effect of those of the former. Many of the company, dressed in rich apparel glittering with gold embroidery, accompany the bride on horseback, indulging as they go, whenever they arrive at a spot sufficiently spacious, in the manly old Osmanli game of throwing the *djerid*, or spear. Pistols

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 583 God. It was not strange that what I had heard of the marriage customs had baffled me, he[1] said; I should not look for traces of marriage by capture or marriage by purchase; the basis of the tribal ceremonies is fire worship.

585 On the day of the wedding the bride, elaborately dressed, is carried, screaming and struggling, from her father's house, and by her brothers is delivered to the husband's family at a place midway between the lands of the two [582] tribes. Since each tribe is technically a large [619] family, claiming a common prehistoric ancestor, it is forbidden to marry within the tribe. The bride carries with her from her home one invariable gift—a pair of fire tongs. When she arrives at her husband's house she takes a humble place in the corner, standing, her hands folded on her breast, her eyes downcast, and for three days and nights she is required to remain in that position, without lifting her eyes, without moving, and without eating or drinking.

"Though I believe," said the bishop, smiling, "that she takes the precaution of hiding some food and drink in her garments, and no doubt the mother-in-law sees that she is allowed to rest a little while the household is asleep." And he explained that this custom remains from the old days when the father of each house was also the priestly guardian of the fire, and anyone coming to ask for a light from it stood reverently in that position, silent, before the hearth, until the father priest gave it to him. The bride, new-

1 [Bishop of Pulhit -- Ana[illegible]st] [26]

comer in the family, is a suppliant for the gift of 585
fire, of life, of the Mystery that continues the race. 593

On the third day she puts on the heavy belt that means she is a wife, and thereafter she goes about the household, obeying the commands of the elders, always standing until they tell her to sit, and for six months not speaking unless they address her. And it is her duty to care for the fire, and with her fire tongs to light the cigarettes smoked by any of the family, or by their guests. Sometime, when it is convenient, she and her husband will go to the church and be married by the priest. Usually she has not seen 584
her husband until she comes to his house, since she is of another tribe and the marriage is arranged by the families.

"We have tried to prevent the betrothing of children before they are born," said the bishop,[1] smiling ruefully, "and in many centuries we have had some effect. Children now are usually not betrothed until they are two or three years old. Even that we combat, of course, yet I cannot say that the custom makes much unhappiness. Husbands and wives are good comrades; they almost never quarrel and they are devoted to their children. But you will see all that for yourself. Yet occasionally there is something 000
like this Shala-Shoshi affair, which I fear will lead to much bloodshed. But the dinner is ready and my servant will show you your room and bring water to wash your hands."

The servant led us to the bishop's own bed-

[1] [Bishop of Pultit -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 devise another way of getting at the subject. For I did want to know what Albanian women felt about being married to men they had never seen, in strange tribes, and I knew they would never tell me through masculine interpreters. Lulash would know.

[156] "But most of the sources of happiness that you mentioned are in the lives of men," I said. "Are the women happy?"

"No," said Lulash. "I do not think our women are happy." He seemed deeply troubled; there were perplexity and anxiety in his dark eyes, and he moved restlessly—which Albanians almost never do—as he sat on the floor by the heap of coals in the baking dish. They had sunk quite into gray ashes; the bleak room was very cold, filled with the ceaseless swishing sound of the rain and of the innumerable waterfalls that poured from the mountains overhead.

"Perhaps I shouldn't be asking him this? Perhaps he is married to an unhappy woman?" I asked.

"No," said Perolli. "He is not married; he is the only man in Shala who is not married."

[593] "Our women have their children; they love their children," said Lulash. "And they do not quarrel with their husbands. It almost never happens that there are ugly words in a family. 581 But I do not think the women are happy. I do not know whether they would be happier if they chose their own husbands. Girls of the marrying age are not very wise. But I often think,

*[Tribal chief in [146] Thethis -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER IV

THE ALBANIAN HOUSEHOLD

Society in the Albanian mountains was patrilineal, and took so little account of women that whereas the names of ancestors in the male line might be known for as many as twenty generations, those in the female line were forgotten after two or three. In the words of the Unwritten Law 'a man has blood, and a woman kin', i.e. a man has a pedigree, and a woman her own relatives, and 'a woman is anybody's daughter', i.e. comes from anywhere and has no pedigree.

As usual in patrilineal societies, all property and rights were vested in the men. So when a man married, his house belonged to him exclusively and not at all to his wife, neither priest nor law having bound him to endow her with his worldly goods. The Unwritten Law states further that 'a wife is a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was in her husband's house to bear his children. It was also understood, however, that she must take an active part in the work of both the farm and the house. In consequence, the wife in a household containing only a married pair and their small children led a life of almost unrelieved hardship, all the relaxations and leisure going to the husband. Since the Unwritten Law forbade her to have any dealings with the outside world until she was old, she stayed at home to work while her husband went to market to shop and sell, visited government offices to discuss the payment—or non-payment—of his taxes, and arranged the future marriages of his children. Whether it was a kerchief, a daughter-in-law, or nothing at all that he bought for her, he never consulted her wishes and she might not murmur openly at his choice. Nor might she remonstrate with him if he idled when at home; any such criticism would only make him beat her. The Unwritten Law said that the husband was the head of the wife and might punish her for indiscipline as well as misconduct. There was plenty of secret grumbling of course. Thus a pretty young woman in Mat was heard to complain that her husband spent all the money he could find on coffee and cigarettes for himself and left her, after five years of marriage, 'without a rag to her back'. 'And it's for him I toil

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGI Albania EGI

593 and moil the whole blessed day', she ended, sadly rather than
562 bitterly.

462 Toil and moil she did. The daily duties of every peasant woman
512 in her position included fetching firewood from the forest and water from the river or spring, besides cooking, washing and baking for the household. At certain seasons she must also do farm work, so long as she retained a measure of youth. Her husband did heavy work like ploughing, scything hay, or cutting oak leaves for winter fodder. But she must carry the manure from the stable to the fields in spring, help her husband to sow and earth up the maize and, while he stayed indoors, reap it. She must carry home the hay and fodder and feed them to the animals. If grain was trodden out by horses or oxen, her husband drove them; if threshed with flails, she wielded them. If there was no miller, she conveyed the grist to the mill, ground it, and brought back the flour. Only if there were a miller did these tasks devolve on her husband, and then it was only in order to keep her virtue above suspicion. In poor families she was herself the beast of burden, and when young was expected to carry up to seventy pounds. In richer families she had a horse or donkey to do the actual carrying, unless her home was under snow in winter. Then she must brave the snow that confined the animal to its stable and bring in supplies of firewood and water, fodder and flour. Paucity of workers prevented her husband from having more than a couple of milch-goats or ewes, and these were tethered; it was she who tethered, watered and milked them. It was she, too, who turned their milk into curds (*kos*) or butter and cheese, arduous tasks in summer when milk sours easily. She also saw to the poultry and in her spare time knitted or span.

857 Fortunately for the women, there was almost no peasant house-
576 hold in which a young husband and wife were the only workers.
512 The eldest child, boy or girl, began at seven or eight years of age to herd the goats as they roamed in search of food and saw to them morning and evening. This gave the mother some relief and provided the family with more food and, by the sale of the goats
516 themselves or the kids, more money. When very small, the girl
462 must spin or knit as she herded; when in her teens, she must sew
512 her trousseau; but no extra tasks were expected of boy herds. Since, too, a man's mother and sisters never lost their legal right to share his home, a family might include the husband's mother and even

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

his unmarried sister or his widowed, childless sister. In that event, 596
while the younger women worked outside, his mother, if physically 462
fit, remained at home to cook, sweep and bake, besides attending 512
to the dairy and poultry. She also saw that any children who were big enough to walk but too small to follow their mother to the fields, did not fall into the fire or otherwise come to grief. She further entertained any men visitors who might come when her son was absent. She did not, however, wash her clothes or her husband's, should he be still alive, for even at the height of the busy season outside that was one of her daughter-in-law's duties. When she was no longer strong enough for her various tasks, she was sent out, complete with distaff, to herd the goats or plough-oxen and another woman succeeded her as housekeeper.

If the married pair had a separate bedroom, it was private 513
property, as inviolable as a separate house would be, and no one 512
other than the man and his wife and children might enter uninvited. 462
Unless she was his wife, even the housekeeper was under the ban. It followed that when a wife worked outside, she must care herself for her bedroom, sweeping it, spreading the bedding at night, and picking this up again in the morning. She must also tend her children, and wash and mend their clothes, her husband's and her own, besides those of her mother-in-law. If she had a tiny baby, she carried it in its cradle on her back to the fields, left it in a shady place while she worked, and carried it home again in the evening.

If the house was too small to have a sitting-room, the husband 264
ate in the kitchen. He never lingered over the meal, and in most 593
districts ate alone unless his mother, privileged by having brought him into the world, wished to join him. A man who ate with his wife or sat much in her company courted public ridicule as unmanly and 'no class'. If there was a sitting-room, the husband probably took his midday meal in the kitchen and his evening meal in the sitting-room. Before supper he might invite his sons or even his daughters, if these were small, to share the comfort of the sitting-room for a little.

Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since 592
for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of an age to marry. Then sheer pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units, each with a house of its own.[1]

[1] See Chapter VI.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

592 to its own safety disappeared, and with it the need for several generations to huddle together under one roof if they wished to survive. Consequently, immense households like that of Gjon Macaj disappeared.

In the families of the landed gentry of Dibër such as Cen Elezi, life followed rather different lines. Most of the young men went into government or army service and left their wives and children at home, visiting them when they obtained leave, and the farm work was done by hired servants with the help and under the supervision of any of the family who might have remained at home. The women were organized on the customary pattern, with some variation in detail. A housekeeper cooked, but only for the women and children, since a special chef was required to cope with the hospitable requirements of the *selamlik*.[1] Each young wife attended to her own room and children besides cleaning her husband's boots and helping him to dress when he was at home. No one was required to work outside, but each must in turn wash up after meals for a week at a time. The daughters of such families were often less fortunate in their lives than the daughters-in-law. For want of suitors of their father's standing they must often be given to men of lower rank and then they worked both in and out of doors as if born and bred in a poor family.

Every house containing two or more married men included a corresponding number of family units. Each of these looked on its own members as we should do—as father, mother, son, daughter, brother and sister—but in its attitude to the other units diverged [601] from our practice. To us the oldest men may be brothers or cousins; to Albanians they were all 'brothers', irrespective of whether one father had begotten them or not. In the next generation instead of first cousins and in the third, second cousins, Albanians saw only 'brothers' and 'sisters' in both. The middle generation of Albanians regarded all its elders as 'uncle' or 'aunt' (though in some, particularly in Moslem, cases distinguishing between the paternal and maternal lines) and all its juniors as 'nephew' or 'niece'. It was only when some need to particularize arose that they defined the relationship according to the blood tie as 'father's brother', 'father's brother's wife', 'brother's son', 'cousin' or the like.

593 Not only did a man who was seen much in his wife's company lose face, but in a communal household his brothers, in addition to

[1] See p. 21. 1

1 [i.e., the men's apartments]

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railing at him, threatened to make him set up a separate home, 593
which would reduce both him and her to a lower level of comfort.
Custom, it is true, under the stress of hard necessity, sanctioned
his working alongside her in the fields, but only on condition that
he did not indulge in unnecessary or frivolous conversation with
her. The only explanation which Albanians offered of these [83]
restrictions was that a husband and a wife felt 'ashamed' in each
other's presence. The same feeling existed all over the Balkans
until they came under strong western influences a generation ago.
Before that every decorous peasant bride, whatever her race or
religion, refrained for several years after her marriage from
speaking at all to her husband in public and spoke to him in
whispers only in private, meanwhile keeping her eyes modestly
downcast. This behaviour seems to originate in an idea which is
prevalent throughout the Near East. The Greeks say that since only [589]
the celibate life is really holy, the matrimonial state is one of sin
and therefore of shame. In I Cor. vii, 8, St Paul voiced it when he
wrote, 'I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for
them if they abide even as I'. Moslems, too, believe this, in spite
of many being polygamists. There is, for instance, a married as
well as a celibate branch of the Bektashi Order of dervishes, but it
has so few supporters that at the central monastery at Haci
Bektas in the heart of Asia Minor its headquarters are little more
than a poverty-stricken excrescence on the enormous, wealthy
headquarters of the celibates, and in Albania it has only the [792]
monastery at Qesarakë in the south-east, compared with the
seventy maintained for the celibates in different parts of the
country.

Now the Unwritten Law of Albania ordained that every married 574
woman had the right to visit her own relatives at least once a year. 593
Since these frequently lived in a different village, she could not
travel to or from them without an escort, which neither custom nor
the law allowed her husband to provide in person. Since brothers
were everywhere allowed to talk to each other's wives, no difficulty
arose in a communal household, where any man except the
husband could accompany a wife to her parents' home and fetch
her back. In a house with only one man matters were more
complicated. If his mother were alive and physically fit for the
journey, she might go with his wife, but who would then cook his
supper and prepare his bed for the night? If his mother were dead

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The master designate, who might be appointed 'bazaar-man' in the master's lifetime, sat in a place of some honour, and might be given coffee and cigarettes while other men went without. Often, too, he was deputed to make the coffee and to lead the conversation with a guest. This was training for him and practice in family manners for his future subordinates. When the master was not present, all the duties and privileges of headship were his. During wedding celebrations no one might join a ring dance, however much he wished to do so, unless commanded by the master or in his absence by the master designate. 592

There is little to add to what has already been said about the subordinate men in a communal household. Each was head of his own particular family, with full powers to chastise both wife and children, though not to direct their lives and work—that was the master's business. An older man was further regarded as a father by his juniors. This principle was carried so far in Mirditë, though not elsewhere, that he might lawfully reprimand and even beat a junior's wife and children. The junior could not retaliate in kind, for the law holds it criminal to strike a 'father's' wife. In other respects it was a subordinate's whole duty to obey the master. 593

As for the women in a communal household, the master governed them through the housekeeper: under her official style of mistress of the house she transmitted his orders to the other women or gave them her own and supervised their indoor work. When they were working outside, the master or a man deputizing for him must oversee them, for a mistress worked only in the house and farmyard. She was appointed by the master and was not necessarily his wife. Like him, she must rule justly, moderately, and impartially, taking special pains to avoid favouring her own children, and if his wife did not possess these qualities, he passed her over and chose another. In no case did a mistress have as much authority as the master; she had none at all outside her own departments, and in these must at all times work under his orders. Nor might she buy, sell or barter so much as an egg on her own responsibility. Her tenure of office was also much shorter. Since strong young women must do farm work, she was seldom appointed until nearing forty, and since her duties were manifold and heavy, especially in summer owing to the absence of the other women, she was superseded about fifty when her physical strength began to wane. Her only privilege, but one for which she was much envied by the other women, was

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592 to work indoors. Her clothes were no better than theirs; indeed, if she had dairy work to do, they were usually dirtier. If she was unjust and ill-tempered, pilfered or sold family property, or fomented rather than composed the quarrels that were endemic among the other women, the men assembled in general meeting and deposed her.[1]

562 593 It only remains to describe a small domain with which the master had nothing to do. In astonishing contrast to the penniless men, all the women had their own money and controlled it absolutely. Called *pekul*, from Lat. *peculium*, and essentially pin-money, they spent it on kerchiefs, gewgaws, and even clothes and shoes. Each received the first of it on the morning after her marriage, when her men relatives filed past her in farewell and dropped money into a plate for her. Afterwards her father or brother might slip a coin or two into her hand when he visited her. In the tribal districts of the north her father also gave her on her marriage as much as half of the money which her husband had paid him for her. Later on she might occasionally earn a few pence by knitting socks in her odd moments or making the rough home-spun trousers worn by peasants. Debarred by law and custom from taking the finished articles to market herself, she gave them to her father or brother to sell, but never to her husband or grown-up son, for they would not let her even see the money. If near a market-town, she might gather walnuts or hazel-nuts in the woods and send these to market. In tobacco-growing areas she normally got the coarse bottom leaves of the plants, to smoke or to [437] sell as she pleased. If she had none of these resources, she could only steal maize, eggs, wool or cheese from her husband's house and send a child to the shop to barter them for what she wished to have; she was bound to pay in kind or money, for the law forbade her to pledge either her husband's or her father's credit. On these occasions neither her father nor her brother would act as her agent, for if such connivance in her pilfering were discovered, they would be in serious trouble with her husband's family. If she chose to keep her *pekul* idle, she might safely lock it up in her dowry-chest in her room; her husband never seemed to make her give it up and 562 no others might enter their room. Generally, however, she made 593 the money fructify. In southern areas like Çermenikë she lent it 426 at the usual rate of interest, which was 30% (enough to compensate

[1] The author never heard, however, of this being done.

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lenders for the want of security), and in the less-developed north 562
she invested it in sheep, plough-oxen, or even horses which she 593
hired out on the 'half-and-half' system. Before a woman died, she 426
gave a little of her *pekul* to her daughters and the major part to her sons, but nothing to her husband, so making a last comment on the curiously detached relationship between them during their married life.

Except in the towns, no Albanian woman ever went into 357
domestic service. Each worked as a girl in her father's house and then in her husband's and, though never paid any money, was assured for life of whatever board, lodging and clothes these could provide. This applied even to families of the standing of Cen Elezi in Dibër. Consequently the Unwritten Law took no cognizance of female servants. On the other hand, men servants—mainly farm workers or herdsmen—were numerous enough to have been carefully legislated for.

Though such a servant ate out of the same dish as his master and slept in the sitting-room or elsewhere in the same conditions as the young unmarried men of the family, he had always to take a back seat—in the literal sense near the door and far from the fire; and, in the metaphorical sense, effacing himself. This befitted both his youth and his status. For his status was like that of a woman. 'It is for the master to command and for the servant to obey', said the Unwritten Law. If he were a shepherd, his views on the beasts under his care commanded his master's respect, but other servants were required to keep their opinions to themselves. In areas such 357
as Martanesh where women could not be killed in a blood feud, 628
a servant was as safe as they were from his master's enemies. 'Kill a servant? Faugh! As well kill a woman', was the sentiment.

There was, however, another aspect to his position: since he [574]
came from another family in his master's village or from another village altogether, he was not a member of his master's household but was its guest. As such he was entitled to protection by his master against all hurt from third parties. If he were hit, the offender must pay twice, compensating him for the personal injury of the blow and his master for the affront to his guest. If he were robbed, his master latterly complained to the police, but in the old days would have shot the robber out of hand in the north, but in Martanesh and farther south, not until he saw that the servant himself was too weak to resent the injury as honour demanded. If

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him, possession of the title-deeds made it more certain that they would fulfil the contract. On his death the deeds passed to his sons. 428 737

These were the general rules for his maintenance, but there were a few variants. In Çermenikë a man who had managed to buy a large amount of land during his working years had the right to keep this back when his sons separated and to leave it all to the son with whom he lived, to the exclusion of the others. More often than not, he allowed it to be divided up with the land he inherited. Sometimes he was still able to earn a little. In Lumë his sons treated his earnings as family property, taking the cost of his funeral out of them and dividing up the rest. In Çermenikë the son he lived with paid the whole cost of his funeral and kept all his earnings. In Mat, a relatively fertile district, a yoke of land was set aside for him. On his death his richest son paid for his funeral and took his piece of land in exchange. In Perlat an ox was set aside on Separation day for the public meal at his funeral; it was kept and worked till required by the son with whom he lived; its work was supposed to compensate this son for the other expenses of the funeral. In all areas the father's portion of land was often given by richer families to the poor or, among the Catholics, to the church.

A father had in the last resort the right to banish a son from his house, or a son might insist on hiving off against his father's wish. In either case he need not give him a portion, but when he died the son would take his proportionate share of the food and property, exactly as if he had never been expelled. A son who separated from his father in these conditions must restrict himself to any land his father might have given him and must refrain from interfering with the rest of the land or other property. The consequences of a premature division of property may be seen in the following story from Perlat. Two men made such scenes about their father's remarriage that he bade them leave his house. Of a just, or simple, disposition, he divided his property into three, keeping one-third for himself and giving one apiece to his sons. Afterwards he had two more sons by his second wife, then found he could not leave them more than his own portion of property, for land once divided cannot be taken back, says the law. So each of the two sons he loved best received only one-sixth, and each of the two sons he had come to dislike one-third, of his original property. An interesting variation of the above law is found in Kurbin. If a father gave a rebellious son a portion, he gave it only out of the land and 428 [593] [423]

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livestock which he had bought since the son's birth; it was half or a third or a quarter according to the number of his sons. He kept the rest of his property, and this passed on his death to the son or sons with whom he continued to live, the expelled son getting nothing. If, however, he had built his house since this son's birth, it fell on his death to the son he lived with, but this son must pay the expelled son the usual proportionate share of its value.

When there was an old mother she, like the father, usually went to live with the son she loved best; in 99 cases out of 100 this was the youngest. The problem of her support was not so difficult as that of an old father. The relationship between the sons and their mother was so close that few quarrelled with her and refused her food and shelter. If 'wicked' enough to do so, the whole of their world cried shame and the old lady herself might react. A native of Shelcan in Shpat took his wife away and settled in Elbasan, leaving his mother in the village. She wished openly that he were dead. More important still, a mother had economic value and was seldom the useless encumbrance that most old fathers were. At her weakest she had strength enough to rock the cradle and to mind the house while her son's wife was out working in the fields. Besides, she had worked hard for the general benefit in her time, and that must not be forgotten. For all these reasons, in most places the son she lived with was content to feed and dress her. The others might or might not contribute. If they did, their contribution was generally voluntary and at their discretion. It normally took the form of small presents, such as a kerchief or a pair of sandals. It was not advisable to give such presents regularly, for that might make the son she lived with take them for granted. By exception, in Malësi e Madhe the law bade the other sons combine to send her three loads of maize every year as a contribution towards her keep. In Mat, if she stayed with one son, he must support her unaided; the others gave her no food or clothes. In this district, however, she might opt for staying a month with each son in turn, so making them share the expense of keeping her. In Godolesh, and in Shijan near Elbasan, she had the right, like the father, to take one-eighth of the general property. The son worked this land, fed her with its produce and eventually took it into his own holding in consideration of paying for her funeral. In practice she seldom exercised this right, preferring to run in and out of all her sons' houses in turn and getting a meal in any of them. She

beaten by her husband, and no matter how severe the punishment, 562
her[1] brother, who was her natural protector, would be too ashamed 685
of her conduct to interfere. If a thieving woman did not mend her [593]
ways, her husband usually divorced her. The southern Catholics, [586]
anxious to reform erring wives and to avoid divorce, sometimes sent wrongdoers to spend a night in the lonely church of Shen Ndue in the forest above the village of Laç in Kurbin. This treatment is said to have been effective in many cases!

By the laws of hospitality, a man never robbed his guest nor 574
a guest his host. If a third party robbed either, the other did his 685
best to find the thief and the stolen goods. But such laws were not always respected, and penalties were prescribed for their breach. In Mirditë a guest who stole was ostracized as well as having to pay the usual penalty. In Kurbin he was expelled for ever from the tribe. If a guest in Mirditë was robbed by a fellow-guest, their host demanded double redress from the criminal—for the injury to his guest and for housebreaking. If a guest was robbed after leaving his host's house, it was still the host's duty to punish the thief, as the latter would know where the victim had been.

1 [i.e. the Albanian wife, as recorded during the reign of King Zog --Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

loss of face. At Krujë in 1930 when the authorities sought to punish a man who had murdered his brother during a quarrel, the widow swore that the pistol had gone off accidentally when her brother-in-law was trying to wrest it from her husband, who had threatened suicide. Having thus prevented the authorities from taking action, the widow made no effort to keep the true story of the murder quiet, but repeated it every day during the month when the women met for the ceremonial 'keening'. She was also openly commended by the public for preventing the government from shaming her husband's family by arresting the murderer. 682 627 596 [641] [765]

Exceptionally, if the murderer's motive was bad by tribal standards, his relative was well avenged. For instance, if a man killed his cousin or nephew to get his land, the crime was considered so anti-social that the murderer was killed by the community, his blood was lost, and his family expelled. Again, exceptionally, a motive might be so good by tribal standards as to win the murderer public admiration. Thus children in Shalë were taught with great pride that once a tribesman killed his brother for killing a guest, for an Albanian's duty to his guest transcends the claims of blood relationship. [672] [574]

Two modifications of the general rule are to be noted. In Mirditë in spite of the victim's blood being lost, the murderer had to pay the tribe the fine due in cases of ordinary murder, 100 rams and an ox. In the Malësi e Madhe if the two brothers had separated the fratricide had to pay blood money to his brother's dependants. If the widow had no children, she took all the money; if she had a daughter only, she again took it all, for when the time came for the girl to marry, she would as 'head of the family' have to pay the wedding expenses; if she had a son, he took all the money, for his father's death had made him head of the family. The blood money was therefore alimony payable to the widow and orphans who had been robbed of their breadwinner. If the two brothers had not separated, the fratricide as a matter of course supported the widow and orphans along with the other members of his household and the question of alimony did not arise.

Parricide was thought the most abhorrent of all murders within the family. In a sense a father had the right to kill his son without being asked by anybody what he had done, but a son unnatural enough to kill his father could surely not have been got by that father, but must be a bastard. Even where his crime was regarded 682 627 593

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682 as suicide so that he escaped with his life, and that was the com-
627 monest result, he was treated as 'a low-class fellow', visited by
593 none but bad characters, and, if a Mohammedan, never given the greeting 'Peace be with thee'. In Mirditë, always more rigorous than other districts, he was considered so anti-social that he was either killed or expelled in perpetuity by his kinsmen, or, according to another version, by the whole village along with his kinsmen.

606 The murder of certain relatives did not concern the family. Thus,
628 if a man murdered a relative by marriage, such as his son-in-law, father-in-law, wife's brother, or sister's husband, the crime ranked as an ordinary murder and was expiated with a life or with blood money. The marriage tie was disregarded; the important point was that, unlike two brothers living under separate roofs, murderer and
[581] victim belonged to different families. Such murders were very rare, for marriage relationships were always contracted to secure a valued friend, and no Albanian in his senses ever threw a friend lightly away. Again, if a man murdered his maternal uncle or his sister's son, murderer and victim belonged to different families, and blood money at least was payable for the crime. The contingency rarely arose, since a maternal uncle was regarded as a father and a sister's son as one's own child.

628 If a woman was taken in adultery, and her husband killed her and
[illegible] her paramour together—'kerchief and cap together'—he incurred
684 no feud; their deaths went unavenged; it was a case of 'blood for
593 blood', one equal to the other. To prove them guilty he sent for his wife's brother and her lover's brother to see them both lying dead; his message would run, 'I killed her because I caught her sinning'. The wife's brother would hand him a cartridge, saying, 'Here is a cartridge for my sister. Bravo for doing this'. The paramour's nearest relatives came to the house, drank coffee, and took away the corpse; the murderer accompanied them to their house, drank coffee, and so peace was established between them. If the paramour's brother was 'a gentleman', 'a man', he would give a cartridge to the husband, saying, 'I pardon your crime because my brother has sinned'. Even the father of the paramour might say to the murderer, 'A blessing on your rifle', and give him coffee as a sign that there was peace between them. In modern times the government accepted the evidence of the two bodies lying together and punished the husband with no more than two or three weeks' imprisonment.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother or her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an adulteress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

had killed her out of ill-will. After her brother had killed a male from his house, the husband would kill both her brother and her lover; then peace would be made between all three families. In Martanesh and Lumë if the husband did not kill the lover as well, the wife's brother, when threatening vengeance, would say, 'You killed the bitch; why didn't you kill the dog also?'

Sometimes a husband had not the courage or the heart to kill his wife; then perhaps his people killed her. Or perhaps he sent word to her father that he had found her sinning and asked him to kill her. But the father generally replied to such husbands, 'Kill her yourself, because I gave her to you to look after'. If the wife suspected this interchange of messages, she might run away to her father. In that case her husband sent him word saying, 'Either kill that bitch or see me destroy you root and branch'. The father then either killed her or sent her to her husband to kill. If the father protected the wife, a blood feud began between him and the husband, for the latter could not bear the world to think that he had swallowed such a disgrace.

In Martanesh, it should be noted, it was permissible, as it was not elsewhere, to kill the lover and the wife separately, if they could not be found together. This seems to have been the case in Dibër also. About 1916 a man in Vleshjë (Dibër) found his wife unfaithful and killed the lover. The wife ran away, but the husband caught her, poured paraffin on her, and burned her alive, yet seems to have escaped her brother's vengeance.

If the outraged husband killed only the lover, then he had to fear vengeance from the lover's family. In Lumë on the principle that 'vengeance is not abandoned because of guilt', vengeance was sometimes taken by a 'bad' brother for a man killed in adultery. He might kill the husband, forgive him, or demand blood money.

A gruesome story of collective punishment of a guilty pair comes from Martanesh. About 1912 a young man was caught with a young wife. The 'circle' of the young man took him and the 'circle' of the wife took her out to an appointed spot where they stood them up together. The youth's uncle shot him dead, and the girl's brother shot her, while the drums beat and the other men danced. The honour of the two families being thus cleared, they buried the two close together, but in separate graves, at cross-roads; no hoxha was present to commit them to the grave, nor were they washed and changed. In the neighbouring Zdrâjshë also a guilty

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the [582] inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 625 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

682 father, his only means of doing so, was forbidden. Her son by
562 another husband, belonging as he did to another family, was free
628 to avenge her. If a woman's son killed her for any but the above
596 heinous crimes, her husband could not avenge her, since to do so
[607] he must kill his son. In Mirditë her brother could kill her son or other male in his family, but elsewhere it was held that her brother was as helpless as her husband because her son was a nearer relative and her nearest relative having killed her, her blood must be lost. If she was married for the second time and was killed by the son of her former marriage, her husband could kill his stepson, but as before, her brother's hands were tied, except in Mirditë, by the law of nearest relative.

When a man killed his brother's wife for any other reason than those stated above, her husband took no action if he and the murderer had not separated; the murder was a family affair. Her brother, however, killed one of them. If the two brothers had separated, the murderer had to pay blood money to her husband. If the husband did not exact it within a year, her brother killed either the murderer or her husband. Her husband never killed his brother: 'I'd never kill my brother for the sake of my wife', was a common saying.

When a woman was killed by her father or brother, her blood was always lost by the rule of nearest relative. If she was married, her husband did not, in most districts, continue friendly relations with the murderer, but in some, such as Krasniqë, he asked him for another girl and on receiving her forgot his annoyance at the other's [584] murder. The same was true if the murdered woman was only betrothed, for a betrothed girl 'is counted the man's wife'. When a woman was killed by some other man in her own family, by her uncle or her nephew for instance, by the rule of nearest relative her blood was lost if she was neither married nor betrothed. If she was [593] either and was not killed for a heinous crime, her husband felt he had been disgraced and avenged her by killing a male in her family.

When murders were committed by women, the situation was complicated by the fact that women belonged to two families, their husband's and their father's.

[672] If a woman murdered her husband, both his family and her father's were involved. The important factor was her motive, which was usually love for another man who had probably bought the necessary rat poison in the bazaar. If her lover was her

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husband's brother, she married him and her husband's blood was 682
lost exactly as if he had died by his brother's hand. If her lover 562
was an outsider, her husband's brother killed her. He had the 628
right to do so, woman though she was, for a question of honour 596
was involved, and for questions of honour women might lawfully be put to death. Her son by the dead man could not kill the murderess because matricide is not allowable. Her husband's son by another wife was under no such inhibition, for he was only her stepson and therefore no relative. If her father's family believed in her adulterous motive, they sent a cartridge to her husband's brother, thereby signifying that they gave him leave to kill her and would not avenge her death. If they did not believe in the alleged motive, they avenged her by killing a man in her husband's family and an unusually bitter feud resulted.

Sometimes her husband's brother was too high-spirited or too angry to rest content with killing the murderess and killed one of her male relatives as well; he would plead that a woman's blood could never equal a man's and that her male relatives were responsible for her misdeeds. Sometimes a murderess escaped alive to her [591] father's house. In that case she was held to have escaped from the suzerainty of her husband's family and became a stranger; as a stranger she must expiate her crime, but her sex shielded her personally and threw the onus of expiation on her male relatives—'Women don't have blood feuds'. Her husband's brother was therefore bound to kill one of her relatives. To avoid losing a male for his daughter's crime her father sometimes killed her himself, [628] a desperate act that always satisfied her husband's brother.

A woman rarely murdered any other man than her husband. If [593] she did murder her brother, it was assumed that it had happened by accident as he was her surest protector. There are no records of the murder of father or paternal uncle by a woman.

The last category of murders within the family includes the very rare cases in which a woman murdered a woman in her husband's or her father's family. If she murdered her mother or her daughter, both most unlikely contingencies if she were sane, the victim's blood was lost by law of nearest relative. In all other cases the result depended on whether her victim was single or married. Thus the murder of her unmarried sister, paternal aunt, brother's daughter, counted as a suicide and the victim's blood was lost. If she murdered her husband's sister, the victim's blood was again

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Agzin, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son
562 had been killed at a third person's instigation, took his revolver and
*628 killed the instigator. Unfortunately for her, the date was about
[682] 1923 when a modern government was already functioning; she was arrested and tried for murder, but in view of the circumstances she was condemned to no more than a year and a half's imprisonment. The public were astonished to find that the government had punished a woman on much the same terms as a man.

[593] Assuming that a woman could steel herself to murder anyone, it is natural to find her avenging her father, son or brother. Given primitive Albanian ideas about the proprieties between husband and wife, and the feeling that the wife remained a member of her father's household, it is somewhat surprising to find one avenging her husband. A woman of western Mat went one day to the bazaar and there saw the man who had murdered her husband. In spite of the press of people she drew a revolver and shot him dead; as she had come provided with the weapon, there is little doubt that she did not act on the spur of the moment. About 1883 Fatime Almetaj, a woman born in Kostejë near Martanesh and married in Përvall, was busy baking one day while her husband talked to a neighbour. On hearing a gunshot she rushed out to find her husband already dead and the neighbour running away. She ran inside, seized her husband's rifle and again rushed out. The neighbour had already reached his own doorstep when she fired. As soon as she saw him fall dead, she re-entered her house and resumed her baking; her husband had been avenged, there were others in the family to feed, and the dough was getting cold. In neither of these cases do records show whose life the enemy took in return for the one she had taken; by right it should have been one of the males in her husband's family.

593 In certain cases both the avenger and the expiator of a murder
*628 might be drawn from outside the household directly concerned.
[826] For instance, if a murderer and his brother were separated, the avenger might kill the latter while his blood was boiling, a period estimated in Dibër at one hour and in Mirditë and elsewhere at twenty-four hours. When his blood had cooled he must not molest the separated brother, and might be required to find a guarantor that he would not do so. Conversely, a man separated from his murdered brother might avenge him during the regulation period, but not afterwards.

613 Sometimes the rule of 'boiling blood' was extended to larger
*628

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

of the padres, being Albanian mountain men themselves, thought this right, though they admitted that the beating was sometimes cruelly severe. A 593 681

In some ways the women have more freedom than among the Montenegrins, for they are permitted to give their opinion freely on important subjects, and it is often asked, and they join in general conversation. Nor do their husbands ever apologize for their existence. M A 562

In Montenegro, on the other hand, as often as not the master of the house has shouted: "Be quiet, woman," when his wife only wanted to ask some innocent question. I never heard any of Iké's views except when Krsto was out, and one was always hearing, "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head!" hurled at the women. The Albanian woman, on the other hand, would joke and chaff the men; would even, in the streets of Scutari, call their husbands out of the drink-shop and tell them they had had enough. Nor does the Albanian woman have to bow humbly and kiss the hand of every male visitor as does the Montenegrin peasant woman. Among the Dukagini I found the men would even fetch water—a thing no Montenegrin "junak" would condescend to do.

A curious case illustrating the rights of the husband occurred while I was in Albania. A mountain woman left her husband and came to Scutari, where she lived by prostitution among the Turkish garrison. The husband's honour was blackened, but if he killed his wife he would owe blood to her family. He therefore consulted her brother, her nearest surviving male relative. The brother agreed that his family, too, was blackened, and gave the man the cartridge wherewith to shoot her. Shot she was, and public opinion considered the husband had acted rightly and cleaned the honour of both families. I said that in such a case divorce should be permitted, but was told that so long as she was alive the family honour would still be black; a divorce would be useless. A 577 684

5. Marriage Customs in Montenegro

In Montenegro, and all through the Serb-speaking lands, marriages were arranged by the head of the house. The young people were rarely consulted. A century ago in Montenegro infant and child betrothals were not uncommon, and the young couple did not see each other before marriage. Old Serbian ballads show that exogamy was the rule, for the hero, we are usually told, "sought his bride from afar." Such marriages were designed to strengthen the "house." We find in ballads and tales the youth who laments to his father that no wife has yet been found for him; to whom his father replies: "I have long sought M 583 M [582]

To the Land of the Eagle

ooo field for their breakfast of maize, and soon afterwards the work of placing the packs in position was begun. At 5.30 we bade the shepherd farewell, and, leaving the driver to bring the horses along after us, set out on foot down the trail.

576 When in Montenegro I had been struck by the friendly attitude of the peasants we met. There they were always ready with a smile and a cheery "Dobar dan!" But it was quite otherwise in Albania, where no salutations were given or expected and the peasants regarded us with a suspicious stare. I several times attempted a greeting, but [593] it never elicited any response. Greetings between relations, however, are warm enough if they are all like one I witnessed on the morning about which I am writing. A young Yankee-speaking Albanian had attached himself to our party and was waiting with us at the bottom of a hill for the rest of the pack-train to come up when he saw an old man driving two mules along the trail towards him. "That my pop", he said. And he ran forward and not only shook the old man warmly by the hand but kissed him on both cheeks with every sign of affection.

ooo An hour's trek brought us to a place which I understood was called "Chokus". The name as spelt on the board over the police post began with a Q and ended with a T, and how it came to be pronounced "Chokus" I cannot imagine. Here the gendarme handed in my way-bill and was replaced by a substitute, an oldish man for whom I was sorry later on. He started out literally at a moment's notice to trudge on foot the whole day's journey to Elbasan, there

000 582 new *kulla*[1] If the man has many sons, the youngest may not get a new wife, but have to content himself with a widow, who is cheaper. Also it may take some time to find a fiancée for each boy, and many young men wait until quite late in life for marriage.

[163] The principal reason for this delay, aside from the price, is the peculiar birth and death rate figures for Ghegnia. Many more boys than girls are born. In some regions the boys outnumber the girls almost two to one (see table 1).[2] However, as soon as a boy is big enough to carry a gun he may begin feuding, and stands a good chance of being killed. Then his marriage arrangements may be transferred to his brother, or cousin, and hence the young lady may marry someone quite different from her expectation.

582 586 The alert and provident father, ever on the lookout for daughters-in-law, may place a substantial part of his bride price on a baby girl, as soon as she is born. Or he may gamble on the sex of an unborn child. The baby girl may find herself, at the age of 14, married to a man of 40. Once she has been handed over to her new husband and the folk-rites performed, she is still on trial, and may be sent home if she fails to produce offspring within a reasonable time. Among the Catholics the church wedding is often delayed until after the birth of the first child. In this way the bride can be returned if found wanting, and the rule of Christian monogamy will not have been technically violated. Among the Moslems, where both polygyny and divorce are officially permitted, these subterfuges are not needed.

●593 While the Gheg system of selecting mates may be well attuned to the exigencies of the environment, the economics, and the political life of the mountaineers, it permits little opportunity for personal adjustment between the husband and wife. Prince Jon Markajon (fig. 10, *a*)[3] summed this up when he said to me, gloomily, in the presence of his wife, "There is only one woman a man can trust—his mother." In the cases where cross-cousin marriage works out ideally, the boy and girl may have met before betrothal, or at least before marriage. The boy's mother, on a visit to her own kin, may take her youthful son with her, and he will have a chance to play with his

1 [See footnote, cat. 116, p. 23 e -- Analyst.]
2 [See cat. 116, p. 23b -- Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

593 maternal uncle's children. Then when the bride joins her husband in his father's house, she will come directly under the supervision of her paternal aunt, a woman whom she has already seen, and who represents an extension of her own family in the strange household. Such an ideal arrangement still makes no provision for a selection of mates on the basis of personality adjustments. It merely makes the change from one household to the other a little easier than if the girl were a total stranger. Very often a girl's fiancé is killed and she has to marry one of his brothers, a cousin, or someone of an entirely different family, and there will be no familiar aunt to smooth things over, but instead a suspicious and exacting mother-in-law, with whom her only ties are through her husband.

583 It is no wonder that brides sometimes run away. If they come home their fathers usually return them. Not infrequently they elope and if they are lucky settle in some city, or distant countryside where the limb of Lek Dukagin's [538] law is not long enough to reach them. Gheg epic poetry, which the traveler hears sung night after night in private houses, hans, and gendarmeries, dwells frequently on the theme of elopement. One hears at length about couple after couple, hopelessly in love, who break all of the rules, run away, and meet a tragic but inexorable fate. In the epics they seldom if ever make good their escape. In real life I believe that they sometimes succeed, and their elopements, successful or otherwise, help reduce the population of the mountains.

589 If a young woman is faced with a marriage which she cannot bring herself to consummate, and if she has enough strength of character to take the following step, she can avoid matrimony by becoming a "sworn virgin" (fig. 10, *d*). She summons a meeting of the 12 elders of her community and in their presence swears perpetual chastity. By this means she not only gets out of her engagement, but also prevents a feud between her father's kin and those of [838] her fiancé. At this point she becomes technically a man. She may or may not don masculine clothing. She will carry a gun, and fight like other men. She will plough and reap, and do all of the tasks of a man. If she breaks her oath, the elders will, in theory, burn

[See cat. 16, p. 110 -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

At meal times a cat took up a vantage point under the 231
dining-table, to filch what it could. It was never caressed or deliberately fed; the whole Balkans believed that either indulgence would stop it from catching mice.

A man and his wife, with one or two small children, might live 342 594
in this house. Of a kind hardly paralleled in the Balkans, except in the poorer parts of southern Greece, it was not common in Albania as a permanent dwelling. As soon as its master could scrape together the necessary money, he added a sitting-room. As he provided all the labour himself and needed to hire only one professional, a stone-mason who, like all his brethren in the Balkans, was also a carpenter, ten pounds sterling were enough. The sitting-room might be built on top of the kitchen (*shtēpi* or *shpi*, lit. 'house', from Lat. *hospitium*) or against one of its walls. It had a wooden floor, a chimney at one end, a window or two, a niche in the wall beside the hearth for the utensils for making coffee, and a few wooden pegs near the door on which to hang up rifles; it might also have a ceiling. It generally had a separate 562
entrance, for sitting-rooms were men's apartments and Catholic, Moslem, and Orthodox Albanians all segregated their young women. The Catholics and Orthodox attributed this custom to plain jealousy, and the Moslems, less convincingly, to a desire to obey their Prophet's order. In the evening and when not at work outside during the daytime, the master of the house with his men guests reclined, ate and smoked in the sitting-room, while his wife and children remained in the draughty kitchen. But the men were less comfortable than might have been expected. Since Albanian 559
chimneys seldom drew, acrid fumes from the wood fire filled the room and almost made them weep unmanly tears. But not quite, for if they succumbed, they would be derided as 'poor sticks' who 'would never see to shoot'.

Guests, in the form of family friends or strangers 'sent by God', 574
often came for a night. Because there were no inns in the Albanian countryside except on the long-distance tracks used by pack-horses, it was the rule that a benighted stranger might claim supper and shelter till the morning from any house he saw. The hospitality was never refused or charged for, but travellers of standing were expected to give a sum proportionate not to the hospitality offered but to their supposed wealth.

As soon as the children in a two-roomed house grew up, its 342
master must build again. His daughters went forth to live in their 591

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

or incapacitated, one of his wife's relatives must come for her and bring her back, but that meant the extra trouble of letting them know that she was coming.

Each member of a household had a personal name. Though this was usually determined by the religion professed, Moslem first names were not uncommon among the Catholics. The usual cause seems to have been no more than a personal whim. Thus the junior bajraktar ('standard-bearer')[1] of Shalë, a Catholic, was called Avdi because his father was very friendly with a Moslem of that name at the time of his birth. Another interesting anomaly is found in the forty-three Orthodox villages of Shpat, near Elbasan, where the older men have two names, a Moslem one for public use and an Orthodox one for private. For some decades before Albania freed herself from Turkish rule these villages were pressed by the Moslems of Elbasan to abandon Christianity and, to save their faith and lives, camouflaged themselves as Moslems, giving themselves Moslem names, keeping the Ramazan fast, and so on, but evading circumcision. At intervals they fetched an Orthodox priest from Elbasan under cover of night so that in some dark stable he might marry the newly wed with Christian rites and baptize the newly born. So, to name only two examples, the apparently Moslem Tahir Baduri of Shelcan and Ymer Tullumi of Bujars are really the Christian Spiro Baduri and Vasil Tullumi. Religious persecution having ended when Albanian independence was attained, the Orthodox of Shpat shed their Moslem camouflage and gave only Christian names to their children. If Godolesh, the picturesque village north of Elbasan, had managed to hold out for only two years more against the pressure to 'turn Turk', it, too, might now still have been Christian. It failed to hold out, so that its middle-aged and young inhabitants are fanatical Moslems but the old still visit Orthodox churches in secrecy and grieve that they must lie in a Moslem grave. One sturdy old woman, who married soon after the conversion to Islam, boasted that she had had all her four sons baptized. One of them confirmed this to the author, saying he had often been told by Christian and Moslem alike that he smelt less than did other Moslems, an agreeable peculiarity which he attributed to his baptism. The Greeks too, who introduced Orthodox Christianity into Albania, subscribed to the belief that baptism takes away the smell from which all Moslems suffer.

[1] See Chapter XI.

264 least 15, with as many more waiting patiently for second table, and the dishes included a whole roast sheep, which the Major picked apart with his hands and distributed.

463 Professional cooks are found only in the
252 towns and in new government stations. In
265 Prizren and Scutari, many of these cooks are Turks and their dishes consist mostly of mutton with various kinds of vegetables. Personally I found this cuisine very tasty. They also make a fine *yughurt*. Pastry cooks form another special group, and concentrate on *baklava* and *kadaif*, the two honey desserts familiar to eaters in Greek restaurants in all countries. Although their products may be carried into the mountains, the pastry cooks themselves stay at home.

262 The mountaineers obtain almost all of their own food by farming and herding. Hunting provides little or none for most families, and the same is true of fishing. Along the Black Drin, just above Kukës, a few fish are sometimes caught, and welcomed in the kitchen. In Prizren, fresh river fish are sold in the market. But fish is an insignificant element in the Mountain Gheg diet. The same is true of wild vegetable products, shoots, berries, and the
594 like, collected by women. Furthermore each
261 family produces practically all of its own food, except for a little coffee and tea, and a bit of sugar and salt. Most families are too poor to afford these imported luxuries often. The significance of the absolute self-sufficiency of the Ghegs in their food supply is linked with local differences in geology, and must have a profound effect upon differences in physique attendant on diet.

241 Farming is a family affair. The man buys
[594] the iron implements which he needs in town, and makes the rest of wood. He breaks the soil with a spade, and ploughs it with oxen. As he ploughs each furrow, his wife walks behind him with a basket of seed, sowing it. Later the women will do the weeding, and the whole family comes out to reap. If the crop is wheat, they cut off each head of grain with a sickle and put the heads in a bag; if maize, they pick the ears and braid the husks for drying. They thresh small grains and beans with flails. When the tobacco leaves are ripe, the men cut them carefully and hang them on their verandas or the sides of their houses to cure.

Sometimes the brother-in-law was unmarried, but this did not help 587
matters, such marriages being prohibited by the Church. To stop the 688
practice it was usual to excommunicate not only the couple but the whole "house" which permitted it, until the "levirate wife" was dismissed. I visited, at Apripa Gurit, a house of eighteen people thus under the ban. The son, a fine young fellow, had taken his elder brother's young widow to wife one month after her husband's death: this by tribe rule is the correct time. She had been married a very short time to her first husband and had not yet borne a child. The whole household was very uneasy about the excommunication, and offered the priest in my presence first thirty and then fifty guldens and pictures and candles for the church. But they stubbornly refused to put a stop to the "levirate marriage"; it would not be honourable. The young man himself was very certain of this. It was a duty he owed to his brother, and, no matter what the consequences, he would do it. He said they had found a girl, and arranged that he should marry her in a year's time. Till then he must cohabit with his sister-in-law. This he assured me very earnestly.

At Thethi Shala I found a case of a man who had thus taken his 587
uncle's widow and his brother's widow. He then proposed taking a legitimate wife as well and had paid most of the purchase money. Only then did the bride's parents learn of the two other "wives." They said he should not have their daughter till the other two were 578
dismissed. He replied she was paid for, and was his property and 684
threatened vengeance.

The parents appealed to the padre, who sheltered them and the girl at the church-house, and succeeded in arranging a marriage for her with a man at a safe distance. The parents returned the first purchase money. "The aunt and sister-in-law" arrangement continued. The 595
padre at Thethi had routed out all polygamous arrangements in his parish but two.

He said that the people had a deep-rooted belief that it was right 587
thus to take as wife the widow of uncle, cousin, or brother if she con- 577
tinued to live in the communal house. If this was not permitted she must be sent home to her people. They could see no alternative, and pleaded: "It is our old custom. Do not interfere with it."

In the wild and distant tribes of Nikaj, Toplana, and Berisha the 587
custom was extremely common among the Christians. Thus at Nikaj, out of three hundred houses about fifty had sister-in-law concubinage, and other houses similarly kept aunts, so a large proportion of the children were illegitimate in the eyes of the Church, but not of the people. The legitimate wives were very apt to bolt with another man, and there was much blood-feud. In Berisha I was told that the sister-in-

597 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
779 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother. 628* 184 [611] [602]

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider. 628* [587] [768] [595]

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son 562 628*

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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as one hears daily." Some writers have ascribed this to "Turkish influence." But as the custom of the Levirate was common all through the neighbouring Albanian tribes and many of the Montenegrin tribes are of Albanian stock, it is highly probable that at least some of these extra wives were levirate. The custom of the djeveri sleeping with the bride before she is given to the bridegroom suggests that they stand in a peculiar relationship to her. In Albania the widow can be taken by the eldest male relative of her deceased husband—barring his father. In Montenegro the djeveri as a rule were the bridegroom's next brother and his uncle. In the old ballads we very frequently find the wife appealing to her djever brother-in-law as one whose special duty it is to help and protect her.

Among the oldest ballads in the Karadjitch Collection are two versions of the same theme—the punishment inflicted upon a criminal land by the Virgin Mary and the Saints. In the first version the land is India; in the second it is Syrmia. In both the crimes are similar: "An accursed land where God's religion is not; where they do not pray God's help; where children obey not their parents; where the younger obey not the elders; where kum (sponsor) does not keep faith with kum; *where the djever works shame to his sister-in-law;* where brother drives brother before the judges and inflicts penalties on him before the Turks; where they do not celebrate the saints, nor burn candles in the churches, nor read God's liturgy." The saints burnt up the land first, and then St. Sava buried it in snow, and finally the population returned to the paths of virtue and were pardoned. This curious tale sounds like a reminiscence of the struggle of the Church against pagan practices. The reference to the sin of the djever is noteworthy.

6. Divorce

In Montenegro, when I was there, divorce was according to the rules of the Orthodox Church, and more easily obtained by men than by women.

But within living memory a local form of divorce had existed. Against this Prince Danilo legislated in 1855 in Law 67: "Divorces between man and wife, so frequent in our land, are forbidden, except in the cases permitted by our Holy Church owing to the faults or impediments of husband or wife."

When neither party to the marriage had any choice in it, it is not surprising that ill-matched couples should have wished to part so soon as possible. Local usage forced them to marry; but local usage permitted divorce. Vladika Petar I is said to have favoured and per-

128
595

TABLE 1: NUMBERS OF WIVES MARRIED BY FATHERS OF SUBJECTS, AND NUMBERS OF OFFSPRING.

	MrM	Duk	MrJ	Has	Lum	Puk	Mir	Zad	Mat	Dib	Int	Total
One Wife, Moslems	40		54	72	76	50		9	69	74	3	450
Catholics	47	89	10	10		24	82	83	9		2	356
Total	87	89	64	82	76	74	82	92	78	74	5	803
Two Wives, Moslems	12		27	19	23	13		3	20	32	1	150
Catholics	5	16	5	3		12	16	7	1		3	68
Orthodox											1	1
Total	17	16	32	22	23	25	16	10	21	33	4	219
Three Wives, Moslems			4	7	8	1		1	4			25
Catholics			2				1	1				4
Total			6	7	8	1	1	2	4			29
Four Wives, Moslems			1		2	1						4
Catholics		1					2					3
Total		1	1		2	1	2					7
Six Wives, Moslems			1						1			2
Total Fathers	104	106	104	111	109	101	101	104	104	107	9	1060
No. childless 1st wives		6	8	4	2	3	1	1	4	6		35
With daughters only	1	7	2			4	3	3	4	2	2	28
Total unsatisfactory 1st wives in plural marriages	1	13	10	4	2	7	4	4	8	8	2	63
No. boys born	400	317	332	366	394	325	300	298	271	365	31	3399
No. girls born	283	237	201	239	227	188	165	159	167	184	17	2067
Total children	683	554	533	605	621	513	465	457	438	549	48	5466
No. children per family	6.6	5.2	5.1	5.8	5.7	5.1	4.5	4.4	4.2	5.1	5.3	5.2
Sex ratio of children	141	134	165	154	174	173	182	187	162	198	182	163

587 for her and she has joined their group. If there is a surviving brother who is single, obviously the expedient thing to do is to give her to him. She might even be given to a first cousin. However, the occasion sometimes arises in Ghegnia where the classical form of the levirate is indicated, and a brother, preferably an older brother, of the deceased, a man who is already married, takes the widow into his household. In Moslem communities this causes no ecclesiastical difficulty. In Catholic households it may bring about a conflict with the priest. In such a case the Law of Lek wins over the Law of Rome. Societal needs are stronger than religious taboos. The new husband may not be allowed a church marriage, and it is possible that he may not consummate the new union, but the woman enters his household, and he cares for her and her children.

595 The second mechanism is polygyny, in case the first wife fails to produce male offspring. This again is perfectly legal among Moslems and diametrically counter to Catholic rules. The priest will not allow the husband to divorce his wife who fails to give him sons. If she gives him daughters there is always hope that a son will follow, and the crisis may be delayed. But if after a suitable time there are no offspring whatever, he will need a new wife. He cannot divorce his old one, and he cannot legally marry his new one. Here again custom sometimes wins. I personally have visited only one household of Catholic Ghegs in which I knew that the master had 2 wives, and it was for this reason. It is little wonder, since Catholicism fits so imperfectly the economic needs of the Albanian family, that many of them went over to the much more satisfactory (in this respect) faith of Islam.

125 In making up the form of our measurement blanks before the expedition, Dr. Hooton and I allotted spaces for the notation of the following vital statistics: number of wives married by subject's father, and number of children of each sex born to each wife. We chose the subject's father rather than the man himself because we would thus be dealing with complete or nearly complete families. In every case we received specific answers; very few men, whose fathers had had 3 or 4 wives, could

125 not remember how many children the oldest wife had had.

128 These statistics do not constitute a record
●595 of pregnancies. Children who died in infancy are probably not included. Female infanticide has not been reported in Ghegnia. Presumably all or most of the children grew to such an age that either they were still living in 1929–30, or were old enough at the time of death to have made an impression on their full or half brothers who were our subjects. Our figures tell how many wives each father had, but not how many at a time. It would be hard to get that information from a casual questioning done in public at the time of measuring. In 1929 polygyny was legally forbidden in Albania for Catholics and Moslems alike, and the Catholics had in addition the position of the church to keep them from revealing the polygyny of their parents in the presence of several dozen other people. One other obvious defect of our data is that we have no record of marriages in which no son was born, and no second wife taken. This circumstance, although rare, must have occurred. The reader may think, in view of the unusual sex ratio, 163 male to 100 female offspring, that Moslems failed to reveal the true number of girls born, but I do not believe that this was the case. The Catholics had the same sex ratio as the Moslems. Furthermore, if many more children had been born than were recorded, the reproductive systems of Gheg mothers would have been taxed beyond their capacities.

As table 1 reveals, 1060 Ghegs married 1375 women. Three-fourths of the men had but one wife each, the rest anywhere from 2 to 6. A third of all Moslems married more than
[511] once, compared to a sixth of Catholics. The greater plurality on the part of the Moslems reflects the greater fertility of the soil in the eastern tribes, which are almost wholly Moslem, and where a man can afford more wives and feed more children. The wholly Catholic tribes, Mirdita and Dukagin, are the poorest in Ghegnia. Where the Catholics and Moslems live together in about equal numbers, the Catholics marry as many wives as the Moslems. In fact, in Puka the Catholics had more. Religion therefore has little to do with the total number of wives a man marries, although it

[see p. 236 -- Analysis]

595 may have something to do with the number to
163 whom he is married at one time.
128 Our statistics give us a little help in finding out why 256 Ghegs married more than one wife. In 82 cases, or 32 per cent, the first wife failed to provide her husband with an heir, although in 28 of these cases, or 11 per cent, she did produce one or more daughters. Since we do not know the date of birth of each child, we cannot be sure that some of the first wives who bore sons did not do so after a second wife had been taken, and the ratio of plural marriages concluded for this reason may be higher than our figures indicate. Some of our records reveal marriage after marriage without issue, until finally, the fourth or even the sixth wife bears a son. One can almost hear the gunfire and rejoicing.

Our intertribal mixtures, in 5 cases out of 9, were men whose fathers had taken more than one wife each. Of the 4 Has men whose mothers had come from Podrima, 3 had been reared in polygynous families. These figures strongly indicate a political motivation. The custom of taking plural wives from alien tribes in order to strengthen alliances is a widespread one, and goes back to the days of Solomon. Our figures are not suited to reveal the exact instance of this kind of exogamy.

These 2 reasons probably account for nearly a half of all plural marriages. The other half can easily have been caused by accommodations to untimely deaths. Upon the death of a man, the levirate might give one of his kinsmen a second wife. Upon the death of a woman, her husband would remarry, were he able. What with difficult deliveries, puerperal fever, and general exhaustion from having borne too many children in rapid succession, death must have taken many of the women listed in our series at an early age.

163 The figures on children show that 1060
128 fathers, through the agency of 1375 wives, produced 5466 offspring who lived long enough for our subjects to remember them. This yields an average of 5.2 children per family, of whom 3399, or 62 per cent, were boys. Thus the average Gheg householder had 3.2 boys to help him work his farm. He had only 2.0 daughters to sell in marriage. This birth rate is so high that a considerable population

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619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is
[103 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the
174] road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

● 596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the
[197 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are
779] said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat,
174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo,
776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and
614 widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti,
[166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli.
[582] They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the
174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza). 103 779 596 614

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it. [582] [221 648]

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church. 619 614 779 [174 794]

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas." 619 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group. [779 294] 648

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 619 779 103 [776] [628 166] 648 779

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

[727] XXII Mountain Corps, whose Headquarters were at Yannina. The Kossovo was independently garrisoned, mainly by the German-officered Albanian division, S.S. Skanderbeg. The *669 Partisans, who now formed the chief Albanian resistance movement, were reported to have nearly fifteen thousand men under arms. Except, however, for insignificant groups these were all among the Tosks, south of the river Shkumbi. The Ballist forces were also concentrated in the South and about Tirana, but were now reduced to little more than five thousand men. We were thus tolerably informed of the numbers and circumstances of our German enemies and Partisan allies, but knew almost nothing of the military potentialities of the Zogist movement in particular, or of the Ghegs in general. Maclean and I therefore set out on 3rd May to join Abas Kupi and study conditions in Mati and Kruya for ourselves. Meanwhile Smiley and Hare remained at base to reconnoitre the precise dispositions of the Germans and to take soundings of opinion in Tirana.

[342] Abas Kupi and his staff had assembled in the fortress home of Tsen Lezi,[1] set in a cleft in the mountains high above the Mati valley. We joined him there about nightfall and found [352] the Zogist leaders seated round the hearth at the end of a long and narrow hall, lit only by the flames of the fire. The skins of sheep and goats were spread out on the floor as carpets, and the walls and rude crossbeams which supported the roof were black and shiny with soot. So must have been the keep of Dunsinane. Tsen Lezi, the master of the house, was wild and woolly like an aged bear, and grunted as he ambled out to greet us. His eyes were small and bright; his bushy moustache sprouted in all directions; and his clothes were brown and furry, homespun from the shearings of his sheep. • 596 He ruled sternly over his family, or clan, for there were more than sixty of them living in the house, and directed every detail of dynastic policy: what land or livestock should be bought or sold, which of the children should be sent to school, what marriages should be made, what blood feuds prosecuted

[1] A Mati chieftain, not to be confused with the Dibran leader, Tsen Elezi.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

or compounded and, above all, what sides the clan should take 596
in the strife of political factions. Tsen Lezi had long been a supporter of Abas Kupi and he received us well.

It was already May, but in the mountains we had still lived /133
amid the gales and snow of winter. Next morning, however, as we descended from Tsen Lezi's house, we came out of the mists into the sunlight and saw the broad Mati valley spread out below us like a promised land. Fat sheep and cattle grazed in the undulating pastures; whitewashed houses, the tallest in Albania, were scattered over the low, wooded hills; and beyond the sparkling river the ground rose steeply to the wild glens of Mirdita. The guerillas had not left the mountains since autumn; and now, at the sight of the sunlit valley, the long line of men winding down the hillside broke into a strident song. Presently Abas Kupi called a halt and we sat down to refresh our eyes with the view. Hitherto I had always looked on mountains as holiday grounds; but the guerillas' song touched some atavistic chord in me and for the first time I experienced the weary highlander's longing for the plain.

Mati was rich and populated, the region where the tribal /01
system of the mountains mingled with the feudalism of the coastal plain. The land and flocks were still owned and worked in common by the different clans; but their chiefs were already known as *Beys*; and the wealthier among them employed hired labour and rented out some of their fields to poorer families. The men of Mati were reputed devout Moslems and, as is often the way of the pious, they lived well; renowned for their lavish hospitality and comfortably appointed houses. They had prospered especially under the monarchy; for King Zog was a man of Mati and his first care had been 643
for the people of his valley. Many, though they could not [212]
read nor write, had been given appointments in the civil service; and, following the tradition of the Turks, Zog had conferred reserve commissions on most of the *Beys*. This was not indeed to compel them to military service, but to bind them more closely to his cause by the payment of an honourable and regular pension. The valley had benefited, moreover, 653
from an ambitious programme of public works; a road and

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593 and moil the whole blessed day', she ended, sadly rather than
562 bitterly.

462 Toil and moil she did. The daily duties of every peasant woman
512 in her position included fetching firewood from the forest and water from the river or spring, besides cooking, washing and baking for the household. At certain seasons she must also do farm work, so long as she retained a measure of youth. Her husband did heavy work like ploughing, scything hay, or cutting oak leaves for winter fodder. But she must carry the manure from the stable to the fields in spring, help her husband to sow and earth up the maize and, while he stayed indoors, reap it. She must carry home the hay and fodder and feed them to the animals. If grain was trodden out by horses or oxen, her husband drove them; if threshed with flails, she wielded them. If there was no miller, she conveyed the grist to the mill, ground it, and brought back the flour. Only if there were a miller did these tasks devolve on her husband, and then it was only in order to keep her virtue above suspicion. In poor families she was herself the beast of burden, and when young was expected to carry up to seventy pounds. In richer families she had a horse or donkey to do the actual carrying, unless her home was under snow in winter. Then she must brave the snow that confined the animal to its stable and bring in supplies of firewood and water, fodder and flour. Paucity of workers prevented her husband from having more than a couple of milch-goats or ewes, and these were tethered; it was she who tethered, watered and milked them. It was she, too, who turned their milk into curds (*kos*) or butter and cheese, arduous tasks in summer when milk sours easily. She also saw to the poultry and in her spare time knitted or span.

857 Fortunately for the women, there was almost no peasant house-
576 hold in which a young husband and wife were the only workers.
512 The eldest child, boy or girl, began at seven or eight years of age to herd the goats as they roamed in search of food and saw to them morning and evening. This gave the mother some relief and provided the family with more food and, by the sale of the goats
576 themselves or the kids, more money. When very small, the girl
462 must spin or knit as she herded; when in her teens, she must sew
512 her trousseau; but no extra tasks were expected of boy herds. Since, too, a man's mother and sisters never lost their legal right to share his home, a family might include the husband's mother and even

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his unmarried sister or his widowed, childless sister. In that event, 596
while the younger women worked outside, his mother, if physically 462
fit, remained at home to cook, sweep and bake, besides attending 512
to the dairy and poultry. She also saw that any children who were big enough to walk but too small to follow their mother to the fields, did not fall into the fire or otherwise come to grief. She further entertained any men visitors who might come when her son was absent. She did not, however, wash her clothes or her husband's, should he be still alive, for even at the height of the busy season outside that was one of her daughter-in-law's duties. When she was no longer strong enough for her various tasks, she was sent out, complete with distaff, to herd the goats or plough-oxen and another woman succeeded her as housekeeper.

If the married pair had a separate bedroom, it was private 513
property, as inviolable as a separate house would be, and no one 512
other than the man and his wife and children might enter uninvited. 462
Unless she was his wife, even the housekeeper was under the ban. It followed that when a wife worked outside, she must care herself for her bedroom, sweeping it, spreading the bedding at night, and picking this up again in the morning. She must also tend her children, and wash and mend their clothes, her husband's and her own, besides those of her mother-in-law. If she had a tiny baby, she carried it in its cradle on her back to the fields, left it in a shady place while she worked, and carried it home again in the evening.

If the house was too small to have a sitting-room, the husband 264
ate in the kitchen. He never lingered over the meal, and in most 593
districts ate alone unless his mother, privileged by having brought him into the world, wished to join him. A man who ate with his wife or sat much in her company courted public ridicule as unmanly and 'no class'. If there was a sitting-room, the husband probably took his midday meal in the kitchen and his evening meal in the sitting-room. Before supper he might invite his sons or even his daughters, if these were small, to share the comfort of the sitting-room for a little.

Peasant households with only one man in them were rare, since 592
for economic reasons it was customary for several brothers or even several first cousins to live together until their children were of an age to marry. Then sheer pressure of population compelled the household to split up into smaller units, each with a house of its own.[1]

[1] See Chapter VI.

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592 The separation completed, each new household had its own
596 master and mistress, and its members were no longer under the control of the master and mistress of the old home, who now controlled only their own establishment. It was remembered, however, that the master of this smaller home was master of the house in which they had all lived together. When he was succeeded by his son or another, his former position was still kept in mind. So when the brotherhood formed at the first separation expanded into a kin the master of this house became the 'elder of the kin'. If his kin was the most important in the ward, his name was given to the ward and so perpetuated. The names of most wards were the names of such elders.

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shoot as much as they pleased but could not have their way; the village could not be shut up by mud, and the public good overrode private loss. The new road was a permanency and could not be closed or moved back to the old site except by the elders. According to Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar of Shkrel, it was easier to move the bad road than to try to mend it. If it was under water, all the owners of the land through which it ran had to unite to repair it, making a ditch, repairing bridges and so on. But they had to decide unanimously to repair it; if even one hung back nothing could be done. The ditch too could only be made where there had once been one before. And men whose land was some distance from the road would object to having the water diverted from the road towards their fields.

New roads were constantly being opened, if only because brothers were constantly dividing their father's property and setting up separate establishments. For the law said 'every field must have access to a public highway' and 'every house must have its road'. Consequently, the elders supervising the separation were careful to specify the exact direction and character of the old roads which the brothers might use and the new ones which they might make to and from their houses and fields. The laws were the same everywhere. If there were two brothers, each took half the father's field. When there was no cultivated land beyond this they might make no path at all or they might make a little path along the boundary between them, only two spans in width, as this was enough for their own needs. Naturally each set aside land for half its width; as this could not be worked, it was soon grass-grown. When there was someone else's field beyond their own and there was no other way of entering this, they were bound to leave a track wide enough for a horse laden with panniers of manure or for a pair of plough-oxen. As with a field-path the land for this track came from each.

A more complicated case occurred if three brothers inherited a field which had a public highway running along its length, and was divided into three longitudinal strips with the boundaries parallel to the highway. Let it be supposed that the family home remained in the central strip. A road to the highway from the inmost strip was a prime necessity. It was most economically made by constructing a path to the old road that connected the family home with the highway. But the new owner of the central strip might

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487 object to its coming so near his house. In that case the elders
● 59 directed him and the owner of the outermost strip to leave land
423 elsewhere for it. As for the houses which the brothers in the innermost and outermost strips had to build, the former had only to see that his stood the canonical distance, the width of the eaves from his neighbour's boundary. The most convenient and economical site for the outermost brother to build on was a corner by the highway. But remembering that his dog might bite strangers and his children be trampled on by passing animals, he generally built his house with its back to the road and its yard facing his field. Alternatively, in Krasniqë, by what seems undue licence, he could ask his neighbour to remove the public highway to his land. If the latter owned waste ground or a hill close by, he was compelled by the elders to accede to the request. He could only refuse it by convincing them that in its new position the road would spoil his land.

487 New roads were sometimes necessitated by sales of land, and
423 might cause trouble. Suppose a field surrounded by four others was offered for sale and the owners of the surrounding fields were unable to buy it. Someone farther away, always described as a 'stranger', then bought it and demanded a road. The natural line for this was through the field between his purchase and his house. If the owner of this field objected, the stranger bade him buy the enclosed plot. When he refused, as he inevitably did, the stranger referred the case to the elders. If these, he said, could cite any previous purchaser of a field which had no way in and out, he could not claim the road. If, on the other hand, and this was sure to be the case, they found it was good law that 'land is never sold without a road' he had to have it. There was, as usual, no need to compensate the man whose land it took up. Fear of such complications made some men, when selling a piece of land, retain the adjoining road in case they themselves or their descendants wished to use it later on.

[491] A man was undisputed and sole master of the path that led across his field from a public thoroughfare to his house and ended there. According to the letter of the law, whatever the condition of the public road—good or bad, a sea of mud or even washed away in a winter storm—animals and wayfarers had to keep to it or to find another. They could not bypass the bad stretch by taking the path to the man's house; that was his private property, reserved for

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greediest man would not venture to disturb the cairn or to steal land for which another had lost his life. 423 628 [425]

Near boundaries of villages and tribes might be won with a boulder and distant boundaries with a slab of rock. In the former event what was a contest in throwing the heavy weight took place; in so poor a country the weight could only be a stone. When the two tribes had quarrelled over a boundary each selected a champion athlete to throw the weight. Whichever threw it farthest won the land in dispute for the tribe. Father Gjeçov does not make it clear where the men stood for the throw. When more distant boundaries were in question, each champion carried a slab of stone or a rock on his back until he dropped under it. The one who held out longest won all the ground he had covered for his tribe.

The relations between a boundary and adjoining structures, such as a fence, wall or house, and natural features like hedges, trees and ditches, were as carefully regulated as the site of the boundary.

A fence or a wall generally enclosed a farmyard and sometimes a field, a vineyard or the like. Fences were made of hurdles or, much oftener, withered Christ's Thorn, depending on what grew in the locality. In the marshes at the mouth of the river Mat withies were interlaced between living willow trees planted like posts in the ditches surrounding the fields. In well-watered areas inland hedges of living Christ's Thorn were common. Walls were usually dry, like Scottish dykes; the more pretentious had their stones bedded in mud. Dry or mud, they were rare round fields, because fences were easier to make and less trouble to maintain. In upland pastures there were neither fences nor walls, presumably because the boundaries were too long. The rules for both fences and walls were pretty much the same. 417 351

When an old farmyard was divided between two brothers or cousins who were on friendly terms, their respective portions were separated only by boundary stones. When they were not on friendly terms what they did depended on the degree of their enmity. If not embittered, they built a wall three spans wide (60 cm.) or a fence, centred exactly over the boundary line and possibly broken by a door that led from one yard to the other. Each built half of the barrier and became the recognized proprietor of what he built. When it was a wall he made a square niche on his own side to mark his ownership. When it was a fence he had no such material way of safeguarding his rights but could always rely on 417 423 596

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public memory. If only one of the two wanted a barrier, he had to build it unaided and entirely on his own ground, leaving the boundary stones on his neighbour's side. In this case its position relative to these stones was enough to show whose it was, but he nevertheless constructed the usual niche on his own side. He could not, however, build the wall right against the boundary stones but had to leave its width free between them and its outer base. For the law said that any rain that fell on a man's house or wall must run off on his own ground and not damage his neighbour's property. It needed no legal compulsion, of course, to make him construct the various buildings in his own yard in such a position that their drips did not damage his fence. Incidentally the 60 cm. of free space served at need for a footpath. When two brothers were embittered, each built a partition wall, naturally without a communicating door.

If a man wilfully damaged a tree or other property on his neighbour's land he had to answer for his crime by paying damages. If a stranger who did not know he was trespassing on another's property and was not warned off by a shout from the owner did similar damage, he, too, had to appear before the elders. But if he could prove ignorance of trespass, he had no damage to pay. To keep animals under control so that they should not stray to another's property, a wall or at least a fence round the yard was an essential concomitant of a house. This too had to be its own thickness inside its owner's boundary to guarantee that rain drips did not damage the ground next door. In the Malësi e Madhe the man building the wall could claim any timber that during building operations fell not more than half-way down on his neighbour's side. But whatever fell more than half-way or reached the ground—even the scrap of land he had left himself between the wall and the boundary—became his neighbour's. This discrimination applied to every form of wall.

Sometimes when one of two brothers was enclosing his yard he was permitted to utilize his neighbour's wall for one side of his enclosure. There was no risk of this confusing the ownership of the wall, for the neighbour, when building it, had not only put a proprietor's niche on his own side but had also left the boundary stones outside so that they fell within the new yard. A more distant relative could not utilize an existing wall, but had to build one of his own, parallel to the neighbour's and distant by the

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regulation width from the boundary. If this involved him in more 351
expense it also saved him and his descendants from ever quarrelling 596
about the wall. It also gave his dog room enough to run round his 417
house at night, a not unimportant point. But even a brother could not be allowed to erect a building against his neighbour's wall. The risk from the drips of rain from it was too serious.

If one neighbour wished to fence or wall in his field he did 578
no wrong, strictly speaking, by building the barrier along the 423
middle of the grass-grown footpath along the boundary between 417
fields, and so on the very boundary line. But this caused so many quarrels that in Mirditë and the Malësi e Madhe the law bade him leave the width of his barrier free between its outer base and the boundary, just as he must do when building a wall across his courtyard. In its wisdom the law was providing for the future.

Theoretically, a man could not only build his fence or wall 423
along a boundary line, but could also ask his neighbour to make 685
half of it. In practice, however, the neighbour might be too lazy 417
or might say he was too poor or too ill to do his bit. In Kastrat[1] he could be fined 250 grosh and three rams for his unneighbourliness, and this possibility sometimes drove him to action. In the ingenious Malësi e Madhe the first man might in malice run up a fence parallel to the boundary but with an opening sixteen spans (3·20 metres) wide at either end. This ensured that his animals strayed through the opening on to his bad neighbour's field and ate it up. To give the neighbour no chance to make him move his fence he ran it up four spans, half the width of the horse-track, from the boundary. Most men, however, preferred to make the whole fence themselves, constructing it at least half the width of a footpath from the boundary. If two neighbours made half the fence each, but one made his half badly, this man was at fault—whether his sheep strayed into the good fencer's field or the good fencer's into his. The loss always fell on him; in the first case he had to compensate his neighbour, and in the second he had no right to be compensated for the damage done by the animals. 417

Sometimes a man wished to fence in a field which was bounded by a road. In Krasniqë and some other hilly districts he had to leave a strip of his land as well to allow for the fence slipping down on to the road, an ever likely possibility.

Most hedges of dead thorn were directly over the boundary line, 417 685

[1] See Appendix, Document V, § 11, p. 264.

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CHAPTER XII

ELDERS

[671] It is impossible to understand the laws and customs of the Albanian
622 mountains without a knowledge of the varieties and responsibilities of the elders. A man could be an elder not only in the literal sense but as a legal personage. Seven types developed in sequence one from another among the southern tribes.

888 Everywhere the word for 'elder' is (sing.) *plak* (plur. *pleq*), which is pure Albanian and means literally 'old man'. There is a corresponding feminine (sing.) *plaka*, 'old woman'. In households of any size there might be several men and women who were really old in years and were 'elders' in the literal sense. These were the first type. The majority were ordinary people and had no legal importance.

592 The idea of age disappears with the second type, found in every household irrespective of its size. Here there were always one man and one woman who bore the special title of 'old man (or elder) of the house' and 'old woman (or elder) of the house'. These under their more usual Albanian titles of master of the household and mistress of the household were not necessarily elders in the sense of 'older people'. They might have attained their position when under forty and have found themselves in authority at that comparatively early age over older men and women.

613 The third category of elders appeared as soon as a household
596 split up and each brother or male cousin in it acquired his own house. Then, a 'brotherhood' (*vllazni*) was formed. In this community each new house was as much a separate entity as the parent one, and was no longer under the control of the master and mistress, the 'elders' of the old joint home. It had its own 'elders' of both sexes who managed all its affairs, external and internal. The 'old man' of the joint home, now administering a much smaller household, thus lost a proportionate share of his importance. But the new masters also lost some of theirs. So long as the family lived together any competent adult among them might deputise for the master in village or tribal affairs or in the administration of the communal home, but from the day they separated,

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the old master reserved such business for himself and his sons, leaving only their own concerns to the masters of the new houses. As he remained the eldest or the most capable of the brothers, his help and advice tended to be sought by the others, particularly in external business, and his opinion was more regarded by outsiders such as tribal or government authorities. So he developed into the 'old man (or elder) of the brotherhood'. As the generations passed and the houses of the original brotherhood split up in their turn, the dignity of brotherhood elder remained in his family, handed down inalienably from master to master. The term 'brotherhood elder' was little used, however; 'first (or head) of the brotherhood' was preferred. There was no woman elder of the brotherhood or any larger unit. The mistress of the household of a brotherhood elder had neither authority nor influence outside his house, as he had. She was a foreign importation into the brotherhood, a stranger to it in blood, her only duties being to bear her husband's children and to work in the house, her only rights proceeding from her fulfilment of those duties.

In course of time so many households split up that a number of new brotherhoods were formed. In some the sense of brotherhood or even cousinship with the others faded, and only a remoter feeling of kinship due to descent from a common ancestor persisted. The agglomeration of brotherhoods then constituted a 'kin' (*fis*). In this, the fourth type, each brotherhood retained its own elder, and at the same time looked up to the elder of the original brotherhood as leader, calling him 'elder of the kin' or 'head of the kin'.

In the next, fifth stage of development several kins united to form a village. They might be distantly related to each other as in the village of Vuksanaj in Shalë, or of quite different stock as in the village of Nangë in Lumë. If related, they remembered which kin descended from the eldest brother in the ancestral home and regarded the elder of that kin as the village elder. If not related, they selected one of the kin elders, preferably the head of the strongest kin, for that position. Alternative names for him were 'senior elder', 'senior headman' and 'head elder'. According to the usual pattern of development each kin and each brotherhood in the village retained its own elder. Already it is possible to understand such data as the following. In the tribe of Lurë there were twelve elders, two for each kin. In the village of Perlat there were two men called village elders or senior elders; in the last days

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Assemblies of tribe or village watched above all over their honour. Sometimes their interpretation of honour took strange lines. Father Gjeçov gives the following story from the Mirditë tribe of Spaç. The sister of a villager of Gomsiqe was married to a villager of Dush in the same tribe. It happened that on one occasion when she came to pay a visit to her brother she took ill and died. He and his friends laid her on a bier and carried her, not to their own cemetery, but to her husband's house in Dush, presumably to avoid the expense of burying her. When the village heard what they had done, they met in General Assembly, and after carefully appraising the dishonour brought on Gomsiqe by such a public exhibition of meanness, fined the man a cow. This they divided into fifteen portions, which they distributed among the fifteen houses of the village. The fine was justice at its most precise. If the man had buried his sister as he should have done, the funeral feast would have cost him a cow. The event took place about 1903.

Another type of meanness had a similar end. About 1872 a villager of Urë e Shtrejtë in the tribe of Drisht happened to call on a neighbour about midday and was kept for dinner. As they finished, his host scraped his plate. The visitor afterwards complained to the village of the disgrace brought on his own dinner-table by the host. The village met in General Assembly and fined the host 500 grosh for his meanness. According to the law 'a dinner-table is disgraced in a guest's eyes when the host wipes or licks the porringer or scrapes his plate'.

The smallest General Assemblies—those of brotherhoods and households—dealt with what were essentially family matters. They met perhaps to decide on expelling or even killing any hopeless member if his misdeeds were serious enough to threaten the whole brotherhood or household with wholesale punishment by the tribe. They considered the pros and cons of buying an extra bit of land.

Tribal government was entirely democratic—of the people, by the people and for the people, but it differed from tribe to tribe and from time to time, enough to prevent unity. As the tribes in general would not have accepted the law of any one of them as supreme, it was ultimately necessary for Albanian unity that tribal government should be superseded by a modern system evolved in, and exercised from, a capital.

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CHAPTER XXI

MURDER WITHIN THE FAMILY

682 When a man murdered his son, father, brother, paternal uncle,
627 paternal uncle's son, or brother's son, the usual verdict was that
596 in killing so near a relative the murderer had 'killed himself'. The victim's blood was therefore lost, 'no one sought-to-avenge him', and it had only been his 'ill-luck' so to die.

From another point of view it might be argued that since the murderer was the victim's nearest relative, other relatives could not act over his head and avenge the dead man. For example, when a man murdered his paternal uncle, if the latter left neither son nor brother, his blood was lost, for the murderer was his nearest relative and by killing him had only killed himself. On the other hand, if the uncle left either a son or a brother, that son or brother was nearer to him than the murderer and avenged his death. In view of his relationship to the criminal his vengeance generally took the form of exacting blood money. In the same way when a man murdered his brother's son, the victim's blood was lost if he left neither father nor brother. But if he left either, the murderer had to pay blood money. The rule of the nearest relative failed only if one brother killed another while their father was alive. Though the father was the nearest relative of the victim, the fratricide being only a neighbour by comparison, the victim's blood was lost. The father could not avenge him except by killing his surviving son, and even from the best of motives no decent father would kill a son.

[672] The motive of the murderer seldom affected the situation. The murder of a son, an extremely rare occurrence, was oftenest due
[684] to his adultery with his young stepmother. His blood was lost, not because of his sin, but solely because the father who murdered him
[587] was his nearest relative. Again, one brother sometimes fell in love with the other's wife, and knowing, especially in north Albania,
[607] that if she became a widow he could by customary law marry her, could not always resist the temptation to make her a widow. The
[558] victim's blood was lost in spite of the murderer's motive, and the fratricide married the widow and suffered no disability except some loss of face.

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loss of face. At Krujë in 1930 when the authorities sought to 682
punish a man who had murdered his brother during a quarrel, the 627
widow swore that the pistol had gone off accidentally when her 596
brother-in-law was trying to wrest it from her husband, who had
threatened suicide. Having thus prevented the authorities from [641]
taking action, the widow made no effort to keep the true story of
the murder quiet, but repeated it every day during the month [765]
when the women met for the ceremonial 'keening'. She was also
openly commended by the public for preventing the government
from shaming her husband's family by arresting the murderer.

Exceptionally, if the murderer's motive was bad by tribal stan- [672]
dards, his relative was well avenged. For instance, if a man killed
his cousin or nephew to get his land, the crime was considered so
anti-social that the murderer was killed by the community, his blood
was lost, and his family expelled. Again, exceptionally, a motive
might be so good by tribal standards as to win the murderer public
admiration. Thus children in Shalë were taught with great pride
that once a tribesman killed his brother for killing a guest, for an [574]
Albanian's duty to his guest transcends the claims of blood
relationship.

Two modifications of the general rule are to be noted. In Mirditë in spite of the victim's blood being lost, the murderer had to pay the tribe the fine due in cases of ordinary murder, 100 rams and an ox. In the Malësi e Madhe if the two brothers had separated the fratricide had to pay blood money to his brother's dependants. If the widow had no children, she took all the money; if she had a daughter only, she again took it all, for when the time came for the girl to marry, she would as 'head of the family' have to pay the wedding expenses; if she had a son, he took all the money, for his father's death had made him head of the family. The blood money was therefore alimony payable to the widow and orphans who had been robbed of their breadwinner. If the two brothers had not separated, the fratricide as a matter of course supported the widow and orphans along with the other members of his household and the question of alimony did not arise.

Parricide was thought the most abhorrent of all murders within 682
the family. In a sense a father had the right to kill his son without 627
being asked by anybody what he had done, but a son unnatural 593
enough to kill his father could surely not have been got by that
father, but must be a bastard. Even where his crime was regarded

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couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was [582] too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 628 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

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682 father, his only means of doing so, was forbidden. Her son by
562 another husband, belonging as he did to another family, was free
628 to avenge her. If a woman's son killed her for any but the above
596 heinous crimes, her husband could not avenge her, since to do so
[607] he must kill his son. In Mirditë her brother could kill her son or other male in his family, but elsewhere it was held that her brother was as helpless as her husband because her son was a nearer relative and her nearest relative having killed her, her blood must be lost. If she was married for the second time and was killed by the son of her former marriage, her husband could kill his stepson, but as before, her brother's hands were tied, except in Mirditë, by the law of nearest relative.

When a man killed his brother's wife for any other reason than those stated above, her husband took no action if he and the murderer had not separated; the murder was a family affair. Her brother, however, killed one of them. If the two brothers had separated, the murderer had to pay blood money to her husband. If the husband did not exact it within a year, her brother killed either the murderer or her husband. Her husband never killed his brother: 'I'd never kill my brother for the sake of my wife', was a common saying.

When a woman was killed by her father or brother, her blood was always lost by the rule of nearest relative. If she was married, her husband did not, in most districts, continue friendly relations with the murderer, but in some, such as Krasniqë, he asked him for another girl and on receiving her forgot his annoyance at the other's
[584] murder. The same was true if the murdered woman was only betrothed, for a betrothed girl 'is counted the man's wife'. When a woman was killed by some other man in her own family, by her uncle or her nephew for instance, by the rule of nearest relative her
[593] blood was lost if she was neither married nor betrothed. If she was either and was not killed for a heinous crime, her husband felt he had been disgraced and avenged her by killing a male in her family.

When murders were committed by women, the situation was complicated by the fact that women belonged to two families, their husband's and their father's.

[672] If a woman murdered her husband, both his family and her father's were involved. The important factor was her motive, which was usually love for another man who had probably bought the necessary rat poison in the bazaar. If her lover was her

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husband's brother, she married him and her husband's blood was 682
lost exactly as if he had died by his brother's hand. If her lover 562
was an outsider, her husband's brother killed her. He had the 628
right to do so, woman though she was, for a question of honour 596
was involved, and for questions of honour women might lawfully be put to death. Her son by the dead man could not kill the murderess because matricide is not allowable. Her husband's son by another wife was under no such inhibition, for he was only her stepson and therefore no relative. If her father's family believed in her adulterous motive, they sent a cartridge to her husband's brother, thereby signifying that they gave him leave to kill her and would not avenge her death. If they did not believe in the alleged motive, they avenged her by killing a man in her husband's family and an unusually bitter feud resulted.

Sometimes her husband's brother was too high-spirited or too angry to rest content with killing the murderess and killed one of her male relatives as well; he would plead that a woman's blood could never equal a man's and that her male relatives were responsible for her misdeeds. Sometimes a murderess escaped alive to her [591] father's house. In that case she was held to have escaped from the suzerainty of her husband's family and became a stranger; as a stranger she must expiate her crime, but her sex shielded her personally and threw the onus of expiation on her male relatives—'Women don't have blood feuds'. Her husband's brother was therefore bound to kill one of her relatives. To avoid losing a male for his daughter's crime her father sometimes killed her himself, [628] a desperate act that always satisfied her husband's brother.

A woman rarely murdered any other man than her husband. If [593] she did murder her brother, it was assumed that it had happened by accident as he was her surest protector. There are no records of the murder of father or paternal uncle by a woman.

The last category of murders within the family includes the very rare cases in which a woman murdered a woman in her husband's or her father's family. If she murdered her mother or her daughter, both most unlikely contingencies if she were sane, the victim's blood was lost by law of nearest relative. In all other cases the result depended on whether her victim was single or married. Thus the murder of her unmarried sister, paternal aunt, brother's daughter, counted as a suicide and the victim's blood was lost. If she murdered her husband's sister, the victim's blood was again

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582 lost because the only possible avenger was the woman's husband,
562 who was not likely to kill the wife, who had cost him good money, for
628 the sake of his sister, though he was more likely to do so for the sake
596 of his father or brother. If she murdered a married woman of her
[607] own kin, her victim's husband exacted blood money from the males of her family or perhaps another girl. If she murdered a married woman in her husband's kin, his brother's wife, for example, or her own brother's wife, her victim's brother exacted blood money or even a life from the males in her family.

When a woman killed the wife of her husband's brother, her victim's husband had to suffer the loss of his chattel in silence. He could not kill the murderess because a man might not kill his brother's wife for any reason other than adultery or thieving. Nor could he kill her husband because a man might not kill his own brother. In his default his wife was avenged by her brother, who might kill either him or his brother if they were not separated, but only him if they were. Whatever the issue, her sex saved the murderess from expiating her crime.

[606] When a woman killed her mother-in-law or her daughter-in-law, her sex again saved her from expiating the crime. Her victim's brother was the only possible avenger, for no member of her husband's family could kill the murderess for anything except adultery and thieving. The avenger could kill any male in the family of the murderess; the marriage relationship did not count.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XXII

BLOOD FEUD

I. FAMILY VENGEANCE AND COLLECTIVE VENGEANCE

To understand the fabric of the Albanian blood feud it is essential 621 to remember several things. Till after the 1914–18 war communica- 628* tions in Albania were so bad, government centres so few and the 596 gendarmerie so ill-organized that communities were largely self- 619 governing. These communities consisted in the narrower sense of the family, and in the wider sense of the tribe. If a person was injured, the family in most cases, and the tribe in a few cases, by the law of self-government punished the wrongdoer. Since the individual was almost completely submerged in his family, an injury to him was an injury to the whole family and might be punished by any of its members. When the tribal community was involved, the injury might again be avenged by any of its members. When the injury took the form of murder, vengeance generally [681] took the Mosaic form of a life for a life, but sometimes was achieved by the exaction of blood money or the imposition of exile.

When the family of a murdered man, in default of government 628* action, took the punishment of the murderer into its own hands 596 and killed him or one of his male relatives, the head of his family might admit that both sides were equal and make peace. On the other hand, while still admitting that both sides were equal he might prefer to continue the feud by killing a second male from the avenging family; that done, a second life was forfeit on his side. In this way the feud might rage backwards and forwards for years or even generations, each family being in turn murderer and victim, hunter and hunted. 'To take vengeance' was 'to take the blood' (that is, of the man already killed, not of him who was to make atonement); the criminal was called 'the bloodstained', and avenger and criminal thought of each other as the 'enemy'. In north Albania the criminal was also called the 'agent' and the avenger the 'master of the blood of the victim', i.e. the master of the house in which the victim lived. 'To incur a feud' was 'to fall into blood' or 'enmity'.

This simple outline was filled in with all manner of elaborate

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

*628 596 details; vengeance could not be taken indiscriminately, but was governed by a multiplicity of rules. Thus, a murdered man found his most natural avenger in his brother, especially if they had not separated. If his father was not too old, and his son too young, to bear arms, they shared the brother's obligation. In slightly less degree so did his father's brother and cousin in the male line, and their sons and grandsons, that is to say, all the other males who were in the collective sense his 'father', 'brother' and 'son', through being at the time, or having recently been, members of his household. If his son was in the cradle, the child's mother and the neighbours told him of the crime as he grew up and urged him, failing another avenger, not to rest till he had done his duty. No matter which of these relatives took revenge, his 'rifle could be hung up' and 'go to sleep', to quote the picturesque phrases of Dibër and the North. The lawful representative of his murdered kinsman because he belonged to the same household, he had only made the two sides equal, with one of two results; either peace could be made or the feud continued between the same two families.

A man might kill his enemy where and when he could—in a chance encounter, in a meeting deliberately sought or in a carefully laid ambush. If he was 'strong' with plenty of good shots in his house, he and his family went alone on set expeditions. If he was weak he was probably accompanied by friends, who included friends in the ordinary sense, relatives by marriage, dependants and servants. They came, not for pay, but on his invitation or of their own accord. Invitations, always verbal, requested the recipients to come with so many rifles to such-and-such a place by [571] such-and-such a day and hour. Those invited were bound to come; those who volunteered were praised by the public for their bravery and devotion, a much coveted distinction. The distance from which they came was immaterial; a feud had no geographical limits.

[572] If the enemy fell to the rifle of a friend, the shot was always credited to the 'master', who was expected to assume responsibility for it. The enemy accepted the kill as a bout in the feud and either made peace or continued the feud with his original antagonist. The friend who fired the fatal shot could 'hang up his rifle' and let it 'go to sleep'; he did not need its protection for he was quit of the affair. If he had been alone when he killed the man, he would have 'brought the feud home', i.e. involved himself in a separate feud with the victim's family while leaving his friend's feud unaffected.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

A 779 582 Finally he said he supposed he could not; but that such a case had never occurred, and he hoped he should never have to do anything so horrible. So long as he lived in the mountains he was safe.

I dared not ask how many cousins in the female line he had married in all good faith.

A 614 The tribe is sometimes a group of several stocks, in which case marriage within the tribe is possible between them. These groups are called "bairaks" (standards: Turk.). Some tribes consist of but one bairak. The head is the "bairaktar" (standard-bearer). This post is hereditary from father to eldest son. Of old the bairaktar is said to have been important. In my time he had lost ground and was often quite cut out in council by abler men.

A 596 Each bairak contains many groups, called "vlaznii" (brethren), consisting of a family group including second cousins or even further. The Turkish word "mehala" is also used for these groups.

H 114 779 A vivid picture of North Albania before the coming of the Turk is given by Father Brocardus, a Dominican who wrote an account of the routes suitable for the Crusaders in 1332, and presented it to his sovereign, Lord Philippe de Valois. He shows Albania under Serb rule. Especially he recommends the route from Brindisi to Durazzo, and thence across "Abbanie where the people are devout and obedient to the Church of Rome," and thence by way of the Blaques (Vlahs of the Pindus) to Thessalonica.

Of the Kingdom of Rassie (Serbia) he says that it is a land where Catholics are treated with insult and violence. He proposes to the King of France: "Some movements to assail it, and certain easy conditions for taking it. . . . Among other things there is one which does much to make the capture of the said Kingdom of Rassie more easy. Be it known there are two nations, the one the Abbanois, and the H [794] other the Latins, who are both of the faith and owe obedience to the Church of Rome, according to which they have Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and religious and secular priests of lower estate and degree. The Latins have six cities and as many bishops. These are Antivari—the Archiepiscopate—Cattaro, Dulcigno, Suacinense, Scutari, and Drivasto. In these cities only Latins live, and some are without the walls. In all their dioceses are Abbanois, who have also four cities: that is to say Polat Major, Polat Minor, Sabbate, and Albanie, which together with the Latins are all subject to the Archbishop of Antivari" H 197 (these "cities" are, in fact, districts), "and his Church. And though 212 these *Abbanois have a language quite other from that of the Latins, they* 245 *use the Latin letters in all their books*. Thus the power of the Latins is enclosed within the circuit of the cities which are theirs, though they H 702 have some vineyards and fields without the cities. . . . The Abbanois

In Mer -

178 turi and Nikaj, the men adopt 2 sets of names,
795 Moslem and Christian, and employ the former
[55] while traveling to avoid trouble. They get used to these names and in many cases use them at home. In Hoti, the *bairaktar* once led his men against the invading Serbs, with the help of the Turkish government. In gratitude for his brave and successful conduct the Turks granted him special privileges, and he went over, with his family, to Islam. The rest of the *bairak* is still mostly Catholic, but the tendency in such a case is for the others to follow the leader. In Lura, where mixed families are found, the Catholics have given up keeping pigs so as not to offend the Moslems, and celebrate Moslem festivals as well as Christian ones, to avoid trouble. Very rarely a Mirdite will marry a Moslem woman from Mati, but when he does she becomes Catholic.

797 When the Turks introduced Islam, all
144 Ghegs were Catholics. Almost exclusively, the change has been in the Moslem direction. Hence we may assume that almost none of the present-day Catholics bear genetic elements brought in from outside the region by the Turks or their followers, while the same is not necessarily true of the Moslem Ghegs. *Bairak* by *bairak* and tribe by tribe, as conversion progressed, the line between the 2 religions has remained, by and large, a marital barrier. During the whole period of the Turkish rule, Catholics have furthermore been able to travel much less widely than Moslems, with resultant genetic implications.

771 In Albania one frequently hears the remark that "the Albanians are not very religious." This is usually said with pride, for the presence of 3 religions in so small a country is deemed a dangerous impediment to political unity. In one sense, the remark is quite true. Few Albanians are religious fanatics; few of them worry about their spiritual salvation. Most of the Catholics go to church with some regularity, and most of the Moslems keep Ramadan. However, their ancient way of life provides most of the ritual which they need to tide them over emotional crises, so that church and
771 mosque are in many ways superfluous. A
596 man's first loyalty is to his "blood," that is, his extended family. He spends much of his time, effort, and material goods keeping the family together and avenging any deed which has up-

[77] [596] set its internal stability. The very act of vengeance is a ritual, as is the constant repetition of [608] the need for vengeance. The rites of blood brotherhood and godfatherhood are rituals performed by Catholic and Moslem alike.

776 Both Catholics and Moslems believe in a host of malevolent spirits which pay the mountains a seasonal visit in the springtime, and which can sometimes be kept at bay by the use of amulets. These evil spirits are of course the symbols of the general hunger, illness, and irritability which beset the mountaineers at 753 this critical season. Catholics and Moslems alike attribute non-traumatic illnesses to spells cast by magicians, through the agency of hair and nail clippings. Wasting illnesses, such as consumption and cancer, may be attributed to vampires, sucking their victim's blood.

754 A vampire is said to be a human being, usually but not always a woman, who can change herself into an insect and fly into a room in which her victim is sleeping. As she fills with the blood, she has to leave now and then to spit it out. A person who finds such a gobbet of blood on the path is lucky; he can wrap it up and keep it as an amulet to protect him against vampires—and incidentally probably expose himself and his family to tuberculosis.

When people are hungry and ill, it is easy to suspect others of evil magic. The person named as a witch or vampire will of course be someone whose actions are eccentric or mysterious, who is a cause of disturbance in the community, and whose loss will not be greatly felt. If a child is suffering from malnutrition its parents may accuse some old woman, and drag her from her house. They will accuse her of having sucked blood from the child, and force her to spit in the child's mouth. Under protest she may spit merely in order to get away. If the child recovers, then the parents are sure she is a vampire; if the child dies she was innocent for her spittle did not cure it. People do not like being accused of witchcraft, or of having their aged grandmothers hauled off for trial; such actions, like the very suspicion itself, may result in bloodshed.

782 The Ghegs are great oath-swearers. Between blood feuds rivals will swear to keep the peace, on a stone in the presence of the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

Birth, Marriage, and Death

In 1392 Bogavach Cuiavich of Rudine of his own free will releases 000
from servitude Radaca, daughter of John of Albania, whom he had bought of Braycho Ucarich.

This seems to have been the case of an actual slave. But the lot of others, when sold for a long term of service, can have been little better than slavery unless they fell into good hands.

ALBANIA

I heard of a similar custom of thus selling children for a term of A 597
years in Malacastra in South Albania. Here poor Moslems sometimes sent their daughters as far as Constantinople; and I was told that some of the Albanian beys thus purchased servant-girls from their mothers, and at the end of the term dowered them and married them to peasants on the estate. The Italian Consul at Valona, the first time I was there, told me he had thus purchased a servant girl.

Birth.—In Albania, as in Montenegro, childbirth received but the M A 844
most ignorant treatment. The death-rate of mothers and children was high.

There was great rejoicing among the mountain tribes when a boy was born and proportionate disappointment over a girl. For a son, especially a first-born, the whole family group turned out and fired rifles.

Some kind of spiritual relationship was held to exist between the child and the woman who cut the umbilical cord; but I learnt no particulars.

As in Montenegro, even in the towns there was the greatest reluctance to summon medical aid. In Scutari one day the Austrian doctor was summoned to a Moslem woman who was in the last stages of A
exhaustion. He found the child was already dead, and said that to [758]
save the woman's life it must be removed at once. The family refused to believe or permit this and dismissed him. Some hours later they fetched him again—but she was dead.

On the birth of a child, both in Scutari and the mountains, all the A
women neighbours go at once to visit the mother and take offerings [431
of eggs. For a boy, two, four, six, or eight—an even number—are 777]
brought; for a girl, one, three, five, or seven. One egg is broken over the child's face to protect it from the Evil Eye. Presumably this makes the child unrecognizable or hideous.

Both in Albania and Montenegro, and I believe in all Balkan lands, M A 854
infants are swaddled. The cradle is of wood and serves as a packing-case
in which to carry the child on its mother's back. In Scutari the cradles A 854
are very gaily painted with conventional patterns of flowers and birds, 531

000 Brother—Brat. Applied to all cousins within the bratstvo in ordinary conversation. "Born brother" or "brother by my mother" added to explain real brother.

Sister—Sestra.

A woman's husband's brother is her Djever.

A woman's husband's sister is her Zaova.

A woman's sister is her husband's Svast.

A woman's brother is her husband's Shura. The Shura's wife is Shurnjaja.

The wives of two or more brothers are each other's Jetrva.

A woman's father is her husband's Test.

A man's father is his wife's Svekar.

A man's mother is his wife's Svekrva.

A woman's mother is her husband's Punitza.

Nephew (brother's child) is Bratanatz or Sinovatz, or Bratuched.

Nephew (sister's child) is Sestritch.

A man's sister's husband is his Svak.

A man's brother's wife is his Snaha.

A daughter of the house married into another tribe is called Odiva.

A cousin on the father's side to almost any degree, Rodjak or Bratsvenik.

When first plunged into a peasant family one finds these numerous names most complicated.

RELATIONSHIPS IN NORTH ALBANIA

Mother's Side.

601 Mother—Am. But familiarly and commonly Nané.

Uncle (mother's brother)—Daje, or Vla i Nanes.

Aunt (mother's sister)—Dajeshe, or Teze.

Daughter—E bija. Often Vaiza eme (my maiden).

Sister—Moter.

Wife—Shoké (lit., companion). Sometimes Fat, my fate.

Bride or fiancée or newly married woman—Nusé.

Mother-in-law—Vjehera.

The in-law family collectively—Vjeherii.

Daughter-in-law—Ree.

Godmother—Nriku, or Nuné.

Cousin on mother's side. This seemed hardly to be considered a relation. Marko denied that his mother's sister's daughter was his "cousin," but said if she had been his father's sister's child she would have been his Kushrina. The dictionaries give "kushrina" without mentioning on which side the family. There seems to be no special word for "cousin" on female side.

Female head of the household—E zoja shpis.

Father's Side.

Father—Bab. (This is the word commonly used. When speaking of the father of the family, Ati fmjevet would be used. Ati is used when speaking of God the Father, e.g. Ati i pustueshem, the Eternal Father.)

Grandfather (father's father)—Gyushi.

Great-grandfather—Katragjushi.

Brother—Vlla.

Brethren collectively—Vllaznii.

Relationships and Blood Customs

Uncle (father's brother)—Adzh: this is a Turkish word, but is in common use. There is another word, which is Albanian: "Mighe," also "unghe," but "adzh" is commonly used. 601

Aunt (father's sister)—Hallé.
Nephew (brother's or sister's son)—Nipi, collectively Nipnii.
Niece (brother's or sister's daughter)—Mesé.
Son—I biri.
Brother-in-law—Konati.
Son-in-law—Dhaner. Also used for bridegroom and fiancé.
Sister-in-law—Kunata.
Cousin—Kushrin.
Female cousin—Kushrina.
Husband—Shok, i.e. companion; or Bur, i.e. man.
Father-in-law—Vjeher.
Godfather, sponsor—Kumar. Godfather of baptism—Kumar i pakzimit. [608]
Godfather of haircutting—Kumar i floksh.
Tribe—Fis.
Relations collectively—Dzinije.

Vlaznija, lit. brethren. A large family group within the tribe like the Montenegrin bratstvo.
Mehala—a Turkish word used for a group of related houses, i.e. a Vlaznija.
Shpi—House and house community.
Krue—Head of a Vlaznija or Mehala.
Plak—Old man. Hence an elder—member, that is, of a tribal council. [623]
Zoti i shpis—Lord of the house.
Bairaktar—Standard-bearer. Head of Fis (Turkish word).

2. Blood-brotherhood

"But the flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof shall ye not eat" (Gen. ix. 4). 608

"For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof" (Lev. xvii. 14). 174

He who ate the blood would take within him the life of the beast—would become, in fact, partly beast. It follows naturally that he who eats the blood of man establishes kinship with him whose life he thus shares. Blood-brotherhood is a very old and widespread custom. "Whenever the Scythians," says Herodotus (Bk. IV, lxx), "form alliances a large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties . . . in this cup they dip some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After some solemn praying the parties who form the contract . . . finally drink the contents of the bowl."

From the lands lying north-east of the Balkans came down neighbours of the Scythians, the Pechinegs and the Comans, and the Bulgars. The Comans, says B. H. Minns (*v. Scythians and Greeks*), were a

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

592 to its own safety disappeared, and with it the need for several generations to huddle together under one roof if they wished to survive. Consequently, immense households like that of Gjon Macaj disappeared.

In the families of the landed gentry of Dibër such as Cen Elezi, life followed rather different lines. Most of the young men went into government or army service and left their wives and children at home, visiting them when they obtained leave, and the farm work was done by hired servants with the help and under the supervision of any of the family who might have remained at home. The women were organized on the customary pattern, with some variation in detail. A housekeeper cooked, but only for the women and children, since a special chef was required to cope with the hospitable requirements of the *selamlik*.[1] Each young wife attended to her own room and children besides cleaning her husband's boots and helping him to dress when he was at home. No one was required to work outside, but each must in turn wash up after meals for a week at a time. The daughters of such families were often less fortunate in their lives than the daughters-in-law. For want of suitors of their father's standing they must often be given to men of lower rank and then they worked both in and out of doors as if born and bred in a poor family.

Every house containing two or more married men included a corresponding number of family units. Each of these looked on its own members as we should do—as father, mother, son, daughter, brother and sister—but in its attitude to the other units diverged [60] from our practice. To us the oldest men may be brothers or cousins; to Albanians they were all 'brothers', irrespective of whether one father had begotten them or not. In the next generation instead of first cousins and in the third, second cousins, Albanians saw only 'brothers' and 'sisters' in both. The middle generation of Albanians regarded all its elders as 'uncle' or 'aunt' (though in some, particularly in Moslem, cases distinguishing between the paternal and maternal lines) and all its juniors as 'nephew' or 'niece'. It was only when some need to particularize arose that they defined the relationship according to the blood tie as 'father's brother', 'father's brother's wife', 'brother's son', 'cousin' or the like.

593 Not only did a man who was seen much in his wife's company lose face, but in a communal household his brothers, in addition to

[1] See p. 21. 1

1 [i.e., the men's apartment]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 174
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of [628]
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated 582
by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 602
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 611
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother. 628* 184 [611] [602]

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider. 628* [587] [768] [595]

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son 562 628*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

become a mother is announced to her husband's 843
family, she becomes thenceforward the object of the most devoted attention on their part, the slightest wish or preference she may express being immediately gratified. Custom, however, forbids her eating certain things, such as pomegranates and snails, and she must not dye her hair more than three times before her baby is born, or some unlucky accident would be sure to happen to her or to the infant.

As soon as the baby is born it is washed, and a 844
sickle, with which straw has just been cut, is laid for a few seconds on its stomach to prevent colics. The
maternal grandmother, whose privilege it is to per- [603]
form this office for the baby, then proceeds to swathe its little body tightly in broad swaddling bands of white woollen stuff, and finally deposits it in a narrow [352]
wooden cradle. A jar of water is taken to the Hodja [855]
or the Papas, according to the creed of the mother, to be blessed, and with some of its contents all the women who officiated at the birth wash their hands. The rest of the water is placed near the mother, and all the women who visit her during the five ensuing days dip their fingers in it and sprinkle her, expressing at the same time a wish that she may have a plentiful supply of milk for the baby, Albanian women [853]
making a point of nursing their own children. The relatives are now admitted to felicitate the mother and admire the baby, with the exception of its father, whom custom obliges to keep out of the way and refrain from seeing his child until it is eight days old. The mother is presently placed on a state bed, 846
over which a magnificently embroidered silk coverlet

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

765
761

the forgiveness" of the departed, and sing funeral songs in his honour.

When, as often happens, a man dies at a distance from his home, on the arrival of the tidings of his death, the funeral ceremonies are, with the exception of the actual interment, performed as above described. The women lament, friends hasten to comfort them, and the procession goes to church, the place of the bier being occupied by a youth, who carries the dish of *Kólyva*, on which is placed a cake for the priest.

765

Only slight changes are generally made in their dress by the Albanian women on the death of a relative. The chief mourners cut their hair short, turn their coats inside out, so that the fur lining alone is seen, and lay aside all ornaments. The nieces of the deceased allow their hair to hang loose for some months, or cut off a lock, and wear on their heads a black kerchief. A similar head-dress is assumed by the widow, who, if she has arrived at middle age, wears it for the rest of her life. If, however, she is still young, and intends to return to her father's house with the expectation of finding another husband, she wears at the same time her bridal apparel, and does not manifest such an exaggerated degree of grief.

[604]

[292 587]

Sometimes, as illustrated in the history of Shainitza[1] and in folk-tale,[2] the grief of the women finds expression in giving to their dwelling the most dismal and funereal appearance, by painting black either the whole of the outside of the house, or the shutters only, and covering up or removing from their usual places the mirrors and other ornaments.

[1] See p. 225. [2] P. 315.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

In a few cases vengeance was lawfully taken by men who were not, strictly speaking, members of the victim's family. Theoretically, the man who had 'drunk blood' with the victim[1] and so had become his foster-brother could not go alone to avenge him, for he had not been an actual member of his household. In Lumë and Labinot such a man was held to the letter of the law, and could take vengeance only when accompanied by the victim's 'brother'; taking it when alone involved him in a separate feud with the murderer, with no benefit to the victim's family. In many other districts it was recognized that great love must have existed between the two men before they swore blood-brotherhood, and in virtue of that love one could, even when alone, lawfully avenge the other. In Dibër, indeed, he had no choice but to do so, and often outstripped a brother by birth. In Shkrel such vengeance has been taken 'five hundred times'. On the other hand, a compromise was the rule in western Mat. Solitary vengeance by a foster-brother was theoretically as unlawful as in Lumë, but in practice it was generally legalized by the 'master' of the feud, who sent the foster-brother a cartridge and so recognized him after the event as his emissary. Wherever foster-brothers had the right to take solitary vengeance, they seem to have derived it from their community of blood with the victim. For only those united by the drinking of blood possessed the right; those united by any other ceremony, by hair-cutting, for instance, were denied it. And in districts where they had the right, one could not go alone to avenge any relative of the other's. During their lifetime each regarded the other's relatives as father, brother, etc., and was regarded by them as son and brother, but when one was killed, the other ranked as an alien by blood and household and could only avenge his foster-brother by joining an expedition led by their 'master'. And almost everywhere blood-brotherhood was recognized as a complete bar to marriage between the two families. 608 628* [582]

Relations on the female side could always avenge a murdered man by joining an expedition led by his 'master'. Opinions differed about their right to avenge him when alone. Shkrel, the Malësi e Madhe generally, and Labinot held to the logical view. A sister's son, they said, although called 'nephew' like a brother's son, belonged to his father's family and was an outsider in his mother's. He had, therefore, no right, joint expeditions apart, to 604 628*

[1] I.e. had sworn blood-brotherhood with him.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

604 avenge or to be avenged by his maternal 'uncle', that is to say, the
*628 males in his mother's family. The two men belonged to different households, and if one attempted independently to avenge the other, he meddled in business that was no concern of his and so could only involve himself in a separate feud. The men of Shkrel in the Malësi e Madhe who felt so little duty towards their maternal 'uncle' that they would entertain his murderer were therefore within their rights. On the other hand, in central and east Albania—in Çermenikë, Dibër, Kurbin, Lumë and Martanesh—it was held that a man could not avenge his maternal 'uncle' but could be avenged by him, a law said in Kurbin to have been of Skanderbeg's making. As a corollary, if a native of these districts did avenge his maternal 'uncle', he plumed himself on the deed more than a nephew in the male line could have done; the latter, as a member of the dead family, could not escape the obligation and would not have been involved in a new feud as he, the outsider, had been.

The confused practice is locally explained as follows: A man could not avenge his maternal 'uncle' because he was the son of his mother and she as a woman had no rifle, presumably to hand on to him with all its offensive and defensive possibilities; the rifle he carried came to him as a member of his father's family. On the other hand, he could be avenged by his maternal 'uncle' for the same reason that the latter was entitled, when his 'sister's' daughter was married, to receive a 'maternal uncle's fee' at the time of the wedding and, if she was afterwards killed, to avenge her. For the maternal 'uncle' regarded his 'sister's' children as his own and as part of his own household; in Kurbin, indeed, a man owned a quarter share in his 'sister's' son. Further, since a woman could not carry a rifle, a 'sister' could not defend herself, and therefore, retained the right for herself and her children to be protected by her 'brother'. In Dibër, where rich and powerful men were so few that girls must often be given in marriage to men who were neither, this feeling that 'sisters' and their issue might require protection was pronounced.

*628 In south Albania, on the other hand, a man would both avenge
184 and be avenged by his maternal 'uncle'. A classic instance of the
[604] former process at Melesinë near Leskovik is commemorated in the song beginning:

> Melesinë on a hill,
> For his uncle fights a sister's son.

The other rite, godfatherhood, has its
608 motivation in exactly the same circumstances;
852 but it is made to coincide with another rite of passage, that of the first haircut of a baby boy, the son of one of the participants. The father, child, and prospective godfather meet outdoors, in the presence of other kin. The godfather holds the boy in his lap, and snips off 4 locks of hair, if Christian, and 3, if Moslem. The difference lies in the refusal of the Moslem to make the sign of the cross. The godfather then burns the hair. A feast follows, during which the godfather gives the father a present of cash, the father reciprocating with a gift of fine clothing.

604 Both of these rites[1] place the descendants of
614 the 2 principals in an incest relationship. They do not, however, apply to collateral kin, for if *A* and *B* become blood brothers or godfathers, *A*'s brother's son can still wed *B*'s daughter, while *A*'s son cannot. This complicates the picture beyond this simple *fis* system and provides a number of special relationships to meet individual requirements. Needless to say, the local Catholic clergy frown on both these practices.

1 [blood brotherhood and godfatherhood see cat. 116, pp. 29a - 29b .. Analyst']

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 her head three times in token of farewell to the places she will never again, as a maiden, behold.[1] When her approach is announced to the women of her husband's family, they sing:

[539]

"Bride, lost bride, what wouldst thou find?"
"The courtyard gate of my bridegroom kind."
"What, O bride, wilt thou give to me
If I show now his courtyard gate unto thee?"
"Shirts, O my bridegroom, all broidered and fine."
"Small is thy guerdon, O brideling of mine,
For I can take them, nor ask leave of thine."

Arrived at the bridegroom's home, the same precautions are taken in dismounting the bride as were observed in placing her upon her horse. The women of the house come down to receive her, and pushing her gently, lead her, as if against her will, into the nuptial chamber, where she is seated on cushions. When coffee has been served and partaken of, the bride's friends take their leave, the eldest among them saying in a loud voice:

"Until now she belonged to God and to us, now and henceforward she belongs to you and to God, who will protect her."[2]

As they retire, the last message of the bride to her mother is sung:

[539]

Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!
A word to you the bride would say.
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!

[1] This observance may possibly have its origin in the propitiatory farewells paid by a bride, among the ancient Slavs, to her father's household gods. Compare Kovalevsky, *Modern Customs, &c., of Russia*, pp. 33-4.

[606] [2] This is intended to signify that if the bride is not well treated in her new home her parents will intervene on her behalf.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

682 as suicide so that he escaped with his life, and that was the com-
627 monest result, he was treated as 'a low-class fellow', visited by
593 none but bad characters, and, if a Mohammedan, never given the greeting 'Peace be with thee'. In Mirditë, always more rigorous than other districts, he was considered so anti-social that he was either killed or expelled in perpetuity by his kinsmen, or, according to another version, by the whole village along with his kinsmen.

606 The murder of certain relatives did not concern the family. Thus,
628 if a man murdered a relative by marriage, such as his son-in-law, father-in-law, wife's brother, or sister's husband, the crime ranked as an ordinary murder and was expiated with a life or with blood money. The marriage tie was disregarded; the important point was that, unlike two brothers living under separate roofs, murderer and
[581] victim belonged to different families. Such murders were very rare, for marriage relationships were always contracted to secure a valued friend, and no Albanian in his senses ever threw a friend lightly away. Again, if a man murdered his maternal uncle or his sister's son, murderer and victim belonged to different families, and blood money at least was payable for the crime. The contingency rarely arose, since a maternal uncle was regarded as a father and a sister's son as one's own child.

628 If a woman was taken in adultery, and her husband killed her and
831 her paramour together—'kerchief and cap together'—he incurred
681 no feud; their deaths went unavenged; it was a case of 'blood for
593 blood', one equal to the other. To prove them guilty he sent for his wife's brother and her lover's brother to see them both lying dead; his message would run, 'I killed her because I caught her sinning'. The wife's brother would hand him a cartridge, saying, 'Here is a cartridge for my sister. Bravo for doing this'. The paramour's nearest relatives came to the house, drank coffee, and took away the corpse; the murderer accompanied them to their house, drank coffee, and so peace was established between them. If the paramour's brother was 'a gentleman', 'a man', he would give a cartridge to the husband, saying, 'I pardon your crime because my brother has sinned'. Even the father of the paramour might say to the murderer, 'A blessing on your rifle', and give him coffee as a sign that there was peace between them. In modern times the government accepted the evidence of the two bodies lying together and punished the husband with no more than two or three weeks' imprisonment.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[607] had killed her out of ill-will. After her brother had killed a male
628 from his house, the husband would kill both her brother and her
684 lover; then peace would be made between all three families. In
593 Martanesh and Lumë if the husband did not kill the lover as well, the wife's brother, when threatening vengeance, would say, 'You killed the bitch; why didn't you kill the dog also?'

[606] Sometimes a husband had not the courage or the heart to kill his wife; then perhaps his people killed her. Or perhaps he sent word to her father that he had found her sinning and asked him to kill her. But the father generally replied to such husbands, 'Kill her yourself, because I gave her to you to look after'. If the wife suspected this interchange of messages, she might run away to her father. In that case her husband sent him word saying, 'Either kill that bitch or see me destroy you root and branch'. The father then either killed her or sent her to her husband to kill. If the father protected the wife, a blood feud began between him and the husband, for the latter could not bear the world to think that he had swallowed such a disgrace.

In Martanesh, it should be noted, it was permissible, as it was not elsewhere, to kill the lover and the wife separately, if they could not be found together. This seems to have been the case in Dibër also. About 1916 a man in Vleshjë (Dibër) found his wife unfaithful and killed the lover. The wife ran away, but the husband caught her, poured paraffin on her, and burned her alive, yet seems to have escaped her brother's vengeance.

684 If the outraged husband killed only the lover, then he had to fear
682 vengeance from the lover's family. In Lumë on the principle that
628 'vengeance is not abandoned because of guilt', vengeance was sometimes taken by a 'bad' brother for a man killed in adultery. He might kill the husband, forgive him, or demand blood money.

716 A gruesome story of collective punishment of a guilty pair comes
684 from Martanesh. About 1912 a young man was caught with a
627 young wife. The 'circle' of the young man took him and the 'circle' of the wife took her out to an appointed spot where they stood them up together. The youth's uncle shot him dead, and the girl's brother shot her, while the drums beat and the other men danced. The honour of the two families being thus cleared, they buried the two close together, but in separate graves, at cross-roads; no hoxha was present to commit them to the grave, nor were they washed and changed. In the neighbouring Zdrâjshë also a guilty

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the [582] inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 628 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

582 lost because the only possible avenger was the woman's husband,
562 who was not likely to kill the wife, who had cost him good money, for
628 the sake of his sister, though he was more likely to do so for the sake
596 of his father or brother. If she murdered a married woman of her
[607] own kin, her victim's husband exacted blood money from the males of her family or perhaps another girl. If she murdered a married woman in her husband's kin, his brother's wife, for example, or her own brother's wife, her victim's brother exacted blood money or even a life from the males in her family.

When a woman killed the wife of her husband's brother, her victim's husband had to suffer the loss of his chattel in silence. He could not kill the murderess because a man might not kill his brother's wife for any reason other than adultery or thieving. Nor could he kill her husband because a man might not kill his own brother. In his default his wife was avenged by her brother, who might kill either him or his brother if they were not separated, but only him if they were. Whatever the issue, her sex saved the murderess from expiating her crime.

[606] When a woman killed her mother-in-law or her daughter-in-law, her sex again saved her from expiating the crime. Her victim's brother was the only possible avenger, for no member of her husband's family could kill the murderess for anything except adultery and thieving. The avenger could kill any male in the family of the murderess; the marriage relationship did not count.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in 429
Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times 487
a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man [685]
cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of
private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended
even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit
as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one
ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and
to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or [574]
village had married into the privileged ward[1] her kinsmen had leave [607]
to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even
one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto
their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into
being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families [614]
in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact,
the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter- 486
tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of 619
sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and
their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed
its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all
their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks
on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory,
and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the
road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking
advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus,
a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed
limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the
contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep
within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign
tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and
not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but
must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his
providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger 574
obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded 628
as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection 486
and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the 672
event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the
knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for
any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

1 [in the village of Godolesh --An 21/45t]

CHAPTER XXI

MURDER WITHIN THE FAMILY

682 When a man murdered his son, father, brother, paternal uncle,
627 paternal uncle's son, or brother's son, the usual verdict was that
596 in killing so near a relative the murderer had 'killed himself'. The victim's blood was therefore lost, 'no one sought-to-avenge him', and it had only been his 'ill-luck' so to die.

From another point of view it might be argued that since the murderer was the victim's nearest relative, other relatives could not act over his head and avenge the dead man. For example, when a man murdered his paternal uncle, if the latter left neither son nor brother, his blood was lost, for the murderer was his nearest relative and by killing him had only killed himself. On the other hand, if the uncle left either a son or a brother, that son or brother was nearer to him than the murderer and avenged his death. In view of his relationship to the criminal his vengeance generally took the form of exacting blood money. In the same way when a man murdered his brother's son, the victim's blood was lost if he left neither father nor brother. But if he left either, the murderer had to pay blood money. The rule of the nearest relative failed only if one brother killed another while their father was alive. Though the father was the nearest relative of the victim, the fratricide being only a neighbour by comparison, the victim's blood was lost. The father could not avenge him except by killing his surviving son, and even from the best of motives no decent father would kill a son.

[672] The motive of the murderer seldom affected the situation. The murder of a son, an extremely rare occurrence, was oftenest due
[684] to his adultery with his young stepmother. His blood was lost, not because of his sin, but solely because the father who murdered him
[587] was his nearest relative. Again, one brother sometimes fell in love with the other's wife, and knowing, especially in north Albania,
[607] that if she became a widow he could by customary law marry her, could not always resist the temptation to make her a widow. The
[558] victim's blood was lost in spite of the murderer's motive, and the fratricide married the widow and suffered no disability except some loss of face.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother or her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an adulteress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

had killed her out of ill-will. After her brother had killed a male from his house, the husband would kill both her brother and her lover; then peace would be made between all three families. In Martanesh and Lumë if the husband did not kill the lover as well, the wife's brother, when threatening vengeance, would say, 'You killed the bitch; why didn't you kill the dog also?'

Sometimes a husband had not the courage or the heart to kill his wife; then perhaps his people killed her. Or perhaps he sent word to her father that he had found her sinning and asked him to kill her. But the father generally replied to such husbands, 'Kill her yourself, because I gave her to you to look after'. If the wife suspected this interchange of messages, she might run away to her father. In that case her husband sent him word saying, 'Either kill that bitch or see me destroy you root and branch'. The father then either killed her or sent her to her husband to kill. If the father protected the wife, a blood feud began between him and the husband, for the latter could not bear the world to think that he had swallowed such a disgrace.

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If the outraged husband killed only the lover, then he had to fear vengeance from the lover's family. In Lumë on the principle that 'vengeance is not abandoned because of guilt', vengeance was sometimes taken by a 'bad' brother for a man killed in adultery. He might kill the husband, forgive him, or demand blood money.

A gruesome story of collective punishment of a guilty pair comes from Martanesh. About 1912 a young man was caught with a young wife. The 'circle' of the young man took him and the 'circle' of the wife took her out to an appointed spot where they stood them up together. The youth's uncle shot him dead, and the girl's brother shot her, while the drums beat and the other men danced. The honour of the two families being thus cleared, they buried the two close together, but in separate graves, at cross-roads; no hoxha was present to commit them to the grave, nor were they washed and changed. In the neighbouring Zdrâjshë also a guilty

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682 father, his only means of doing so, was forbidden. Her son by
562 another husband, belonging as he did to another family, was free
628 to avenge her. If a woman's son killed her for any but the above
596 heinous crimes, her husband could not avenge her, since to do so
[607] he must kill his son. In Mirditë her brother could kill her son or other male in his family, but elsewhere it was held that her brother was as helpless as her husband because her son was a nearer relative and her nearest relative having killed her, her blood must be lost. If she was married for the second time and was killed by the son of her former marriage, her husband could kill his stepson, but as before, her brother's hands were tied, except in Mirditë, by the law of nearest relative.

When a man killed his brother's wife for any other reason than those stated above, her husband took no action if he and the murderer had not separated; the murder was a family affair. Her brother, however, killed one of them. If the two brothers had separated, the murderer had to pay blood money to her husband. If the husband did not exact it within a year, her brother killed either the murderer or her husband. Her husband never killed his brother: 'I'd never kill my brother for the sake of my wife', was a common saying.

When a woman was killed by her father or brother, her blood was always lost by the rule of nearest relative. If she was married, her husband did not, in most districts, continue friendly relations with the murderer, but in some, such as Krasniqë, he asked him for another girl and on receiving her forgot his annoyance at the other's [584] murder. The same was true if the murdered woman was only betrothed, for a betrothed girl 'is counted the man's wife'. When a woman was killed by some other man in her own family, by her uncle or her nephew for instance, by the rule of nearest relative her blood was lost if she was neither married nor betrothed. If she was [593] either and was not killed for a heinous crime, her husband felt he had been disgraced and avenged her by killing a male in her family.

When murders were committed by women, the situation was complicated by the fact that women belonged to two families, their husband's and their father's.

[672] If a woman murdered her husband, both his family and her father's were involved. The important factor was her motive, which was usually love for another man who had probably bought the necessary rat poison in the bazaar. If her lover was her

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

582 lost because the only possible avenger was the woman's husband,
562 who was not likely to kill the wife, who had cost him good money, for
628 the sake of his sister, though he was more likely to do so for the sake
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[607] own kin, her victim's husband exacted blood money from the males of her family or perhaps another girl. If she murdered a married woman in her husband's kin, his brother's wife, for example, or her own brother's wife, her victim's brother exacted blood money or even a life from the males in her family.

When a woman killed the wife of her husband's brother, her victim's husband had to suffer the loss of his chattel in silence. He could not kill the murderess because a man might not kill his brother's wife for any reason other than adultery or thieving. Nor could he kill her husband because a man might not kill his own brother. In his default his wife was avenged by her brother, who might kill either him or his brother if they were not separated, but only him if they were. Whatever the issue, her sex saved the murderess from expiating her crime.

[606] When a woman killed her mother-in-law or her daughter-in-law, her sex again saved her from expiating the crime. Her victim's brother was the only possible avenger, for no member of her husband's family could kill the murderess for anything except adultery and thieving. The avenger could kill any male in the family of the murderess; the marriage relationship did not count.

693 plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be
609 named by the "bairaktar" (head of the tribe). This is only done if the
682 matter cannot be settled by con-jurors chosen by the plaintiff.

The gjaksur has the right to object to two of the con-jurors, who must be replaced by others. The con-jurors are all men of standing in the tribe ("plect," elders; "kren," heads). They examine the facts and hear the accused ("gjaksur") and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood-gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. If they all agree but one, he may be replaced by two others. If still no agreement is come to, the gjaksur may bring more con-jurors, who are members of his family, up to the number of eight.

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the
[782 church (or mosque) before which the council has been held. In the
608] church the candles are lighted on the altar, and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood and is, therefore, innocent. Next swear those of his family who may have been summoned, and then all the con-jurors. After this the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood (*v.* Blood Brotherhood).

By Moslems the oath is sworn in the mosque.

693 Each of the con-jurors has to be paid a small fee for his services. The plaintiff in some cases can thus annoy the accused by insisting upon the full number of con-jurors allowed by the law. A priest counts as twelve con-jurors, and sometimes an important elder is reckoned as two.

628 The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.

627 To Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari, I am indebted for an
682 account of how two families can make peace voluntarily without appeal to the law. Having ascertained by means of emissaries that peace will be acceptable, the gjaksur and his relatives choose a feast day and enter the house of the injured family with their hands bound. A child placed the wrong way round in a cradle is carried with them. If the peace offer is accepted the lord of blood loosens their bonds and puts the child straight in the cradle. The blood-gelt is then arranged and paid. This custom existed among the Dukagini.

682 The above all refers to a murder committed by one man. But it
628 may happen that several men all fire at once and kill a man. A search

682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
576 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and
[608] the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Relationships and Blood Customs

Uncle (father's brother)—Adsh: this is a Turkish word, but is in common use. There is another word, which is Albanian: "Mighe," also "unghe," but "adsh" is commonly used. 601

Aunt (father's sister)—Hallé.
Nephew (brother's or sister's son)—Nipi, collectively Nipnii.
Niece (brother's or sister's daughter)—Mesé.
Son—I biri.
Brother-in-law—Konati.
Son-in-law—Dhaner. Also used for bridegroom and fiancé.
Sister-in-law—Kunata.
Cousin—Kushrin.
Female cousin—Kushrina.
Husband—Shok, i.e. companion; or Bur, i.e. man.
Father-in-law—Vjeher.
Godfather, sponsor—Kumar. Godfather of baptism—Kumar i pakzimit. [608]
Godfather of haircutting—Kumar i flokah.
Tribe—Fis.
Relations collectively—Dzinije.

Vlaznija, lit. brethren. A large family group within the tribe like the Montenegrin bratstvo.
Mehala—a Turkish word used for a group of related houses, i.e. a Vlaznija.
Shpi—House and house community.
Krue—Head of a Vlaznija or Mehala.
Plak—Old man. Hence an elder—member, that is, of a tribal council. [623]
Zoti i shpis—Lord of the house.
Bairaktar—Standard-bearer. Head of Fis (Turkish word).

2. Blood-brotherhood

"But the flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof shall ye not eat" (Gen. ix. 4). 608

"For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof" (Lev. xvii. 14). 174

He who ate the blood would take within him the life of the beast—would become, in fact, partly beast. It follows naturally that he who eats the blood of man establishes kinship with him whose life he thus shares. Blood-brotherhood is a very old and widespread custom. "Whenever the Scythians," says Herodotus (Bk. IV, lxx), "form alliances a large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties . . . in this cup they dip some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After some solemn praying the parties who form the contract . . . finally drink the contents of the bowl."

From the lands lying north-east of the Balkans came down neighbours of the Scythians, the Pechinegs and the Comans, and the Bulgars. The Comans, says B. H. Minns (*v. Scythians and Greeks*), were a

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

608 628 banks of the Drin to shoot another lad with whose family he was in blood, and who was due to cross the river on the usual inflated sheep-skins. Drin ran swiftly, the sheep-skin float broke loose. Soon the foe was struggling for life in the torrent. The blood-seeker threw aside his rifle, dashed into the torrent and saved his foe at the risk of his own life. They then and there swore brotherhood and the feud ceased. This episode goes to prove that blood-taking is not vengeance. The drowning of the foe would have in no way settled the feud, for expiatory blood would not have been taken. [501]

608 The old bairaktar of Nikaj heard that I was sister to the King of England and believed a blood alliance with me would be for the good of the tribe. The priest at whose house I was, however, laughed at him uproariously and he was hurt; so I never took part in the ritual.

In Albanian this brotherhood is called "Vllam" or "Vlaa me Tenzone" (brother in God). It is also very commonly called "probotin" or "probo," an obvious corruption of the Serb "pobratim." "Birazel" (? Turkish) was, I was told, used also by the Moslems.

The custom extends all over Albania, but of the South I have no details.

Serbs and Montenegrins

In Montenegro I was often assured that the custom was extinct, and I never came across a case. But it possibly still lingered in out-of-the-way places. People who wished to appear "civilized" in Montenegro were very apt to deny the existence of customs they thought would be despised. But it was admitted that "pobratimstvo" had but recently died out. Medakovitch in 1860 mentions it as prevalent.

The Orthodox Church, both in Serbia and Montenegro, adopted this pagan custom and tried to "Christianize" it.

Two forms of pobratimstvo were known:—

1. "Probratimstvo prichestno" (communion pobratimstvo). "Prichest" is the word for the Holy Communion. It was not, however, a case of the two parties taking the Communion together, but a special ceremony. In the Orthodox Church, when the people receive the Communion, the Host is put into the consecrated wine. The pope takes a portion of the soaked bread in a special spoon and gives it to the communicant. The ritual for pobratimstvo, so far as I could learn, was as follows: The two parties went together to church. The pope read a prayer. The two then took a large goblet full of wine, and both, setting their lips to it, sipped at once. They then broke bread and each ate a piece. They sipped and ate together thus three times and then kissed the cross, the Gospels, and the ikon, and lastly each other. It is a curious

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4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 belong. With the Moslems no religious character is
852 attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male
[779] relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father
[608] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he
171 most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his godchild;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a
[302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 Although the Albanian beys have neither written
554 charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these
[779] ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate
177 national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, [491] as in those of other nations, are said to have been formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 731 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

[1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

357 escaped from the district, his master might lawfully be shot in his
682 stead. When, however, a servant murdered on his own respon-
672 sibility, he alone should suffer for the crime. His master was entitled, in dismissing him, to keep back the portion of his wages for which he had not worked, and according to Lek's Kanùn ought not to be shot in his stead. Skanderbeg's law, however, held him as liable in this case as in the former.

357 The only available information about a servant's seducing a girl
684 or young wife in his master's family comes from Martanesh and Shkrel and dates from past times. In Martanesh the law con-
[608] demned the man to death for incest because his master was his 'father' and the young woman his 'sister'. In Shkrel he was killed
[836] at once if he had sinned with a young wife, but if with a girl he was dismissed with orders to hold his tongue, and only if he talked did the girl's father go and shoot him. As for the girl, she was married
[836] to her fiancé as quickly as possible. He was not told that she was pregnant by another man, and would not have cared if he had been. He wanted her as wife and worker and felt sure that he was man enough to keep her straight after marriage; beatings always worked
[848] wonders. The child was sent to the servant as soon as born; he never acknowledged it but either killed it or exposed it by the wayside. The father did not dare to beat the girl in case she ran away to the servant; at all costs he had to keep her for her fiancé, who had presumably paid a good proportion of her bride-price and would have killed him had he failed to deliver her. Presumably the fact that a servant was held to be of little or no account saved the wife or girl from the usual punishment for adultery.[1]

357 Sometimes, despite their being 'brother' and 'sister', a servant
[562] married his master's daughter. Thus an ancestor of Bicaj was a Catholic of Gjugjë in Mirditë who entered the service of Hysen Agë Shteki of Bicaj, turned Moslem, and married Hysen Agë's daughter. Even in modern times a servant may be given his master's daughter in marriage. This is particularly likely to happen if his master is Moslem and he a Christian who agrees to change his religion. His master then looks on his own consent to the marriage as an act of piety. Servants varied in importance according to the master they served. Thus the servant of a Moslem priest (*hoxhë*) had more power than an ordinary peasant's and less than a bajraktar's —at least in the days before most bajraktars were shorn of their

[1] See Chapter XXI.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

In a few cases vengeance was lawfully taken by men who were not, strictly speaking, members of the victim's family. Theoretically, the man who had 'drunk blood' with the victim[1] and so had become his foster-brother could not go alone to avenge him, for he had not been an actual member of his household. In Lumë and Labinot such a man was held to the letter of the law, and could take vengeance only when accompanied by the victim's 'brother'; taking it when alone involved him in a separate feud with the murderer, with no benefit to the victim's family. In many other districts it was recognized that great love must have existed between the two men before they swore blood-brotherhood, and in virtue of that love one could, even when alone, lawfully avenge the other. In Dibër, indeed, he had no choice but to do so, and often outstripped a brother by birth. In Shkrel such vengeance has been taken 'five hundred times'. On the other hand, a compromise was the rule in western Mat. Solitary vengeance by a foster-brother was theoretically as unlawful as in Lumë, but in practice it was generally legalized by the 'master' of the feud, who sent the foster-brother a cartridge and so recognized him after the event as his emissary. Wherever foster-brothers had the right to take solitary vengeance, they seem to have derived it from their community of blood with the victim. For only those united by the drinking of blood possessed the right; those united by any other ceremony, by hair-cutting, for instance, were denied it. And in districts where they had the right, one could not go alone to avenge any relative of the other's. During their lifetime each regarded the other's relatives as father, brother, etc., and was regarded by them as son and brother, but when one was killed, the other ranked as an alien by blood and household and could only avenge his foster-brother by joining an expedition led by their 'master'. And almost everywhere blood-brotherhood was recognized as a complete bar to marriage between the two families.

Relations on the female side could always avenge a murdered man by joining an expedition led by his 'master'. Opinions differed about their right to avenge him when alone. Shkrel, the Malësi e Madhe generally, and Labinot held to the logical view. A sister's son, they said, although called 'nephew' like a brother's son, belonged to his father's family and was an outsider in his mother's. He had, therefore, no right, joint expeditions apart, to

[1] I.e. had sworn blood-brotherhood with him.

10 Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

X. Decisions Taken on April 30th, 1905, by the Youth of Shalë. [681]

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 126–7.)

1. As from to-day up to Ash Wednesday the percentage on loans at interest is to be paid with 25 okes of grain. If this is not paid by Ash Wednesday, a percentage of 30 okes is to be taken by force from the debtor. [426]

As interest 100 grosh or 100 okes of grain as the creditor wishes are to be paid. Let him take 100 grosh if it suits him, or if he says, 'I'll have grain', let them give him 100 okes of grain.

2. Grain is never to be given to anybody by a man of Shalë unless it is wanted for a funeral meal or it is desired to make a present of not more than 20 okes. [931] [765]

3. Raki is never to be produced by a man of Shalë at a funeral meal except during the seven weeks of Lent. [273]

4. No man of Shalë is ever to give away more than 100 grosh either outside or inside the tribe. [431]

A godmother is not to present a red *xhamadam* (sleeveless jacket). [608]

No woman is to go to a wedding in a party of five or more and they are not to seek a woman outside the same house.[1] [585]

5. Whoever fires the first shot in the yard of a church or inside its boundaries is to have his house burned and must pay 20 purses under the guarantee of flock-cum-shepherd and the youth of Shalë.

6. If a man disturbs a mass that is being said and if the priest, crucifix in hand, says, 'So-and-so has troubled me', the offender will have his house burned and must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

7. Whoever touches Church property must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

8. Whoever molests the Church servant must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

9. If anyone borrows coffee and sugar from the priest for a funeral meal and does not return them to him within four weeks, and if the priest complains, he must pay a fine of one ox to the tribe. [765] [426]

10. Whoever steals an ewe, goat and cow from a man of Shalë and whoever does anything to his neighbour that disgraces him, shall have his harvest burned, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed. He will pay fines of one ox to the youth and 2 rams to the government representative.

11. These laws, enacted by the youth of Shalë together with the

[1] The last clause of § 4 is given as in Mrs Hasluck's MS., but there seems to be some mistake, as the corresponding passage in the Italian version of Father Gjeçov's *Kanùn* runs:

Lo shalano non può fare il compare più di 5 volte, e non può chiedere che si leghino in comparto più di 5 famiglie.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Byzantine Civilization EH3

174 Mongol people. Both Pechinegs and Comans, we hear in contemporary accounts of the Crusades, were used as soldiery by the Balkan princes.

B 101 A vivid account of Balkan armies in the Middle Ages is given by Nicephor Gregory and by Villehardouin (*v.* Dufresne Ducange, *History of Constantinople*, 1729), telling of the Latin capture of Constantinople 175 726 when Count Baldwin of Flanders and the other princes established a Latin empire there, though on their way to a crusade in Palestine.

In 1204 Baldwin was crowned Emperor of Byzantium in St. Sofia with great magnificence, and was about to lead an army eastward when, "on a sudden, like the crash of a great thunderstorm, the terror of a Bulgarian rising stayed them. John, the brother of the first Asan and his successor, with troops levied through all Bulgaria, and not a few of the Scythians who dwell north of the Ister (Danube), fell upon Thrace with violence and greatly endangered the Latin State." Baldwin fought the Bulgars, with terrible slaughter on both sides. But the heavily armoured Crusaders could not cope with the swift Scythians; "some forty thousand Comans, who are a pagan people," ambushed them and overwhelmed them with lances and arrows. The ground was covered with corpses. Many Latins were taken prisoner, among them Baldwin himself, who was never seen again. "And the Scythians, in their fashion, laid waste Macedonia."

The whole of Villehardouin's account of the Fourth Crusade in the Balkans is of high interest for the light it throws on the conditions then prevailing. We see the Balkans reinforced by hordes from the north-east. Russia has always pressed Balkan-ward, and will again. The Turk had not yet arrived on the scene, but the Balkan already was the East, with aims and aspirations different from those of the West—a thing apart from West Europe, with its civilization built upon Rome. The Fourth Crusade was but one of the many vain attempts of the West to establish a permanent footing in the East.

Vain it was. Baldwin II, the last Latin emperor, poverty-stricken, was reduced to obtaining funds by selling the much-treasured relic, the Crown of Thorns, to the King of France, and buying the support of those very Comans who had formerly broken the Latin forces. He did this by swearing an alliance "with these barbarous people. In order to make the treaty more solemn they drew blood from their veins—one giving it to be drunk by the other, believing that from this mixture of blood they contracted a kind of brotherhood . . . which our people, driven by the necessity in which they found themselves, had also to do."

B 608 643 Thus in 1240 did the knights of France swear blood-brotherhood with pagans—a grotesque result of a Crusade which was to free the East of Unbelievers. A French noble, Nariot de Toucy, further cemented the bond by marrying the daughter of Jonas, Prince of the Comans. Vain

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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efforts. Jonas died in 1241 and was buried outside Constantinople with full Scythian honours. A huge mound was raised above him, on the sides of which twenty-five of his serving-men, who voluntarily offered themselves, were hanged. Twenty-five horses were also hanged, and the prince thus provided with a mounted escort in another world. Not long afterwards the East expelled the West, and the Comans took part in the expulsion. The markedly Mongol types still common in Macedonia and Bulgaria are partly, maybe, the legacy of the "Coman and Scythian from beyond the Danube." B 608 643

The custom of blood-brotherhood is so widely spread through the world that it was probably practised by other Balkan peoples besides the Comans.

It was very common among the North Albanian tribesmen, both Catholic and Moslem, when I was in the mountains. The Catholic Church regarded it as a pagan survival, and has made no effort to "Christianize" it, as has the Orthodox. The usage of ancient days is, therefore, little changed. In its crudest form the arm, or finger, of each was pricked by a thorn, and either party licked the other's blood. The favourite and more elaborate way was described to me by my old friend, Tony Precha, of Mirdite descent, thus: "I travelled through a dangerous district with a young Moslem when I was a lad. He asked me to be his brother. I had to ask permission of my father, the head of the house. He said theirs was a good house to be allied to. When some time had passed and we still wished for brotherhood, we met, and each tied a tight string round his little finger till it swelled, then pricked the finger, and each let his blood drop on a lump of sugar. I ate his lump and he mine. We were then of the same blood and swore brotherhood. Then I dined at his house, and we gave each other presents of socks knitted in beautiful patterns. He is now dead, but his brothers are my brothers and our children are cousins, and they cannot marry for more than a hundred years." A 608

The interdict against marriage, however, in a case of sworn brotherhood, applied only to the direct descendants of the couple and not to any collaterals. A 608 582

Sugar was used in this case because one party was Moslem. In the case of Christians the blood is always taken in raki or in wine. Red wine, doubtless because most resembling blood, is the correct medium.

Blood-brotherhood was, of course, not reckoned a "forbidden degree" by the Church, but in practice was strictly observed by the people.

The swearing of blood-brotherhood between some members of either side was one of the ways of making peace after a blood-feud. In Dushmani I met a high-spirited youth who had laid in wait on the A 608 628

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

H 302 782 Poseidon would kindly accept it as substitute for the body. In this case evidently he did so.

G 302 852 The Orthodox Church, too, dedicates the child, after immersion and unction, by "clipping off four locks of hair as sign of the Cross, the pope saying: 'The servant of God is shorn in the name of God.' The pieces of hair are mixed with some wax from the candle and dropped into the font by the child's father" (Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Roman Church*). The hair, no doubt, is dropped into the holy water to save it from being used for spells by some wicked person.

My friend Mr. Stroud Read, who has lived much in Greece, tells me that there is a tendency there now to omit the hair-cutting from baptism, the pope sometimes refusing to have it done in church, but that it is done, nevertheless, by the laity at home after returning from the church. Someone is invited to be hair-cutter, and the clippings are dropped into a pan of hot charcoal.

M 852 582 608 The two ceremonies were formerly separate ones in Montenegro. Pope Gjuro told me there used to be two kumstvos (sponsorships): Shishano Kumstvo (shearing kumstvo), and Mokro (wet) or Krsteno Kumstvo (baptism). The former, as a separate kumstvo, is now extinct. It used to carry with it spiritual relationship and prevent the intermarriage of the direct descendants of the sponsor and those of the child's father for several generations. The marriage circle was thus further restricted and drove folk farther afield in search of a wife. Medakovitch, describing the ceremony as done by the laity between 1840 and 1850, says it was done some time after baptism. Three locks were cut in the name of the Trinity and thrown on the dunghill. At that time the ceremony did not form an obstacle to marriage.

A 852 [174] About three years after my nail-scissors had become an ecclesiastical implement I learnt in the Albanian mountains what is probably the most complete form in which the ceremony now survives. It is performed habitually by both Moslems and Christians. The Catholic priests try to suppress this pagan practice, which, nevertheless, their flock considers quite as important as baptism and even more so. A careful study of those pagan practices adopted by one Church and abhorred by the other might throw light on the centres or origin of such practices.

A 852 608 In North Albania the "kumpare i floksh" (sponsor of hair) is chosen when the child is about two years old. He is a man with whom the head of the house wishes to be related. The family being assembled out of doors, the kumpare (conpatrem, compère) sits down on the ground, and first takes another child on his knees to ensure that his "hair child" shall not be the last his parents have. He then takes his "hair child," whose hair as yet has never been cut, and snips off four locks of hair

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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to the four quarters of the heavens—north, south, east, and west. These locks are at once destroyed. Handsome gifts are then exchanged, the kumpare giving sometimes as much as two or three gold napoleons, and receiving some embroidered garments or the elaborately patterned knitted socks which are favourite ceremonial gifts. A great feast, of course, follows. The child's father and the kumpare are now brothers, and their children are not intermarriageable till the seventh degree. In olden days I was assured they were never intermarriageable, and ranked exactly as consanguines. Near Scutari this prohibition had lapsed altogether. Among the Pulati and Dukagini it was still believed in. At Thethi Shala in 1908 a man rushed into the church to stop a marriage on the ground that the parties were cousins by hair-cutting. The Franciscan who was officiating refused to recognize the impediment and married the couple. Whereupon the outraged tribesman ran hot-foot to the Bishop of Pulati and denounced the Franciscan for having celebrated an incestuous marriage. The bishop refused to listen to him. He and his friends then hastened to Scutari, and begged the Turkish Vali to denounce the marriage. The Vali said he did not care whom the Christians married. The bridegroom belonged to a very strong house and so was not molested, and the matter dropped.

The Moslems cut but three locks of hair because four makes a cross, whereas a triangle is a popular Moslem pattern (*v.* Tattoos). But the Montenegrin, as we have seen, cut three for the Holy Trinity.

The clipping of the four locks out of doors to the four quarters of the heavens has all the appearance of being a dedication to the sun. Sun-worship, as we have seen, was widely spread in the Balkans. When we find this ceremony considered of high importance in the very district where sun and moon symbols are still commonly carved and tattooed, we are tempted to connect them. That the rite is ancient and pre-Christian cannot be doubted.

The Catholic Church strives to suppress the notion of "hair-cutting incest." The Orthodox Church, by admitting hair-cutting as part of the baptismal ceremonial, has perpetuated it; for baptismal godfatherhood prohibits the marriage of descendants of either party till the seventh degree. "Hair-cutting incest," therefore, prohibits marriage between the descendants of the Duke of York and the Karageorgevitch, for the papers were careful to inform us that locks of hair were duly clipped when the Duke and Duchess of York acted as godparents to the heir to the Serbian throne. Their Royal Highnesses took part in a pagan ceremony of unknown antiquity. You can never tell what a Balkan alliance will let you in for.

The hair-cutting in the Russian baptism is probably an importation from Byzantium, as is also the unshorn priest. A deacon, on ordination,

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

S 608 852 302 tonsure of his godchild, following the church practice of taking hair from the temples and the occiput, places upon his head a new cap—perhaps once a tribal emblem, at any rate a protective garment with special properties and associations—and makes and receives certain presents which witness to the contract of *kum*ship. It is thought that the hair of the S [782] [776] child was offered to the presiding spirit, or the genius of birth, who in turn have been connected with ancestral spirits, inhabiting streams and trees. As a precaution, the hair is carefully preserved; it is not allowed to fall to the ground, but caught in a cloth and afterwards rolled in wax, and either then or later it is placed or buried under a young rose tree. For the child concerned it is a passage rite. It is a S [551] current belief that a child is not safe until it has been baptised, and until then it is known by a protective, misleading nickname. The rite of tonsure also ensures its security, partly, surely, by fixing its identity and establishing relationship with a sponsor or protector, who becomes responsible in part for it, and with the society on which its life and strength depend. S 852 608 [755] Weakly children are baptised in haste, and where the tonsure rite has lost its first meaning, I have heard of it as an extra precautionary rite for ailing children. When a child is born sickly, or of parents whose other children have died early, there is a custom by which it is carried outside the house, say to a cross-roads. The father or woman who carries the child generally beseeches the first passer-by to stand as godfather. Sometimes the child is left for the first who finds it to pick up and adopt, or claim as godchild, and thus give it his protection. On Kosovo the child is moreover carefully bound round and laid, its face to the ground, with its head to the East. The finder turns the child over and reverses its position, pronouncing a blessing of long life.

A 852 608 628 The rôle of redeemer is clearly seen in an Albanian rite quoted by Hahn. The children to be sponsored, at the ceremonial reconciliation of parties of a blood feud, were brought in their cradles by women to the house of the wronged party, and set with the children's heads turned to the West. The

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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sign of their acceptance was the turning of the children round so that their heads were to the East, symbolising release from death, and in this case, pardon.

The special relationship between protector and protected, which has been stressed in descriptions of primitive society, was also characteristic of the Balkan peoples; the pardoned murderer, the man whose life had been spared, or who had claimed protection or some special boon—all of which naturally had to be done in a special way—was from then onwards not only the lifelong and intimate ally of his protector, but enjoyed the other's greatest respect and consideration.[1] It was laid down in the traditional regulations for concluding a vendetta that the party of the murderer should give a certain number of sponsor children and blood brothers, according to the number of lives owing, to be received by the offended person and his relatives in the usual way. This was not merely a means of securing peace by a sacred alliance but in the nature of a compensating fine. The murderer placed himself and his children at the mercy of the men he had wronged. From the conventions attaching to pardon and redemption the new relationship proceeds. It is possible that formerly a real substitute for the life in dispute was offered, and that it was entirely at the pleasure of the offended party to spare or to pardon the children. Only by a special ceremony could peace be made without blood. The feast which usually followed was a compensatory sacrifice and included a memorial of the dead. These customs amongst the South Slavs have died out; vendetta is no longer an open tribal business, and descriptions of the ceremonies are often lacking in detail, and particularly the important detail of the exact manner in which the *kum* received the children. However, the symbolical act of raising from death is occasionally mentioned, and on enquiry I found that it was remembered in tradition, here and there, unambiguously as such.

[1] There are common peasant sayings of the form: 'Of whom should you ask a favour if not of me, who helped you in the past?'

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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In Homoljski district the deliverer not only performed the symbolical opening of the fetters, but drew his 'brother' under the pot chains or through a hoop made by a wild-rose-tree branch which was split, or under a branch of the tree bent to the ground to form an arch. At Sokobanja, also, the rite could be done at the hearth. Brotherhood in the ordinary way could be made at the hearth and by passing under the pot chains. Touching the pot chains among the Albanians gave a fugitive the right of asylum, and automatically involved the householder's *besa*. Should a pilgrim to the monastery of St John of Rila, when creeping through an opening in a certain stone as custom recommends, not be able to get through and another gave him his hand to help him, they afterwards went before a priest to get a blessing on their accidental brotherhood.[1] In the district of Homoljski there are further purifications with water, elaborate burials or floating away of objects used in the rites, fumigation and drinking potions, e.g. of the coals used for the divining, etc., etc. The purpose that is understood is shown by the burial of a bird or animal under the tree which has been used. The rite of redemption can be done thus:

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On the eve of a feast day the seeress clears a space round a wild-rose bush which has sprouted that year, scatters ashes on the roots and leaves a piece of bread there. Crossing herself and walking backwards she repeats: 'I have seen you (this is said to the young branches), you have not seen me or him', until she catches sight of a living creature. Then she stops, turns her back to the tree, crosses herself with her left hand and says: 'As he looked at you so look at him.' She leaves immediately without looking back. Before the next dawn, she, the redeemer, the sick person and the latter's mother, go to the bush again, the mother having made ready a jar of water drawn at midnight, a bunch of basil,

[1] *v.* Načov, *op. cit.* The rites of creeping under something may be compared with the old Norse ceremony of making brotherhood by creeping under a 'halter of turf'; cf. K. Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben* (Berlin, 1886), p. 287.

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621 pletely static. It changes with local needs. We have seen how in Dukagin the local geographical requirements split a *fis*, and how in the relatively less warlike Moslem areas with a reduction in need for extended exogamy, the device of a 7-generation distance was innovated, while village exogamy disappeared. So far we are dealing with reductions in exogamy. However, there are instances in which the opposite occurs, and the incest group is ex-
•608 tended. Two ritual mechanisms provide for this, blood brotherhood and godfatherhood..

When 2 men become close friends and allies, and find themselves in need of each other's assistance, particularly in feuds, their relationship becomes similar to that of brothers, which is an extremely close one. It is therefore considered necessary that they make this relationship legal, which they do by means of a simple ceremony. The 2 men prick their fingers with knives, and either lick each other's blood, or bleed mutually into a cup of *raki*, which both drink. Once this has been done they are one in blood, and their children cannot marry each other. The other rite, godfatherhood, has its

[p. 29 (a)]

The other rite, godfatherhood, has its
608 motivation in exactly the same circumstances;
852 but it is made to coincide with another rite of passage, that of the first haircut of a baby boy, the son of one of the participants. The father, child, and prospective godfather meet outdoors, in the presence of other kin. The godfather holds the boy in his lap, and snips off 4 locks of hair, if Christian, and 3, if Moslem. The difference lies in the refusal of the Moslem to make the sign of the cross. The godfather then burns the hair. A feast follows, during which the godfather gives the father a present of cash, the father reciprocating with a gift of fine clothing.

604 Both of these rites[1] place the descendants of
614 the 2 principals in an incest relationship. They do not, however, apply to collateral kin, for if *A* and *B* become blood brothers or godfathers, *A*'s brother's son can still wed *B*'s daughter, while *A*'s son cannot. This complicates the picture beyond this simple *fis* system and provides a number of special relationships to meet individual requirements. Needless to say, the local Catholic clergy frown on both these practices.

1 [blood brotherhood and godfatherhood see cat. 116, pp. 29a - 29b .. Analyst']

[596] set its internal stability. The very act of vengeance is a ritual, as is the constant repetition of [608] the need for vengeance. The rites of blood brotherhood and godfatherhood are rituals performed by Catholic and Moslem alike.

776 Both Catholics and Moslems believe in a host of malevolent spirits which pay the mountains a seasonal visit in the springtime, and which can sometimes be kept at bay by the use of amulets. These evil spirits are of course the symbols of the general hunger, illness, and irritability which beset the mountaineers at 753 this critical season. Catholics and Moslems alike attribute non-traumatic illnesses to spells cast by magicians, through the agency of hair and nail clippings. Wasting illnesses, such as consumption and cancer, may be attributed to vampires, sucking their victim's blood.

754 A vampire is said to be a human being, usually but not always a woman, who can change herself into an insect and fly into a room in which her victim is sleeping. As she fills with the blood, she has to leave now and then to spit it out. A person who finds such a gobbet of blood on the path is lucky; he can wrap it up and keep it as an amulet to protect him against vampires—and incidentally probably expose himself and his family to tuberculosis.

When people are hungry and ill, it is easy to suspect others of evil magic. The person named as a witch or vampire will of course be someone whose actions are eccentric or mysterious, who is a cause of disturbance in the community, and whose loss will not be greatly felt. If a child is suffering from malnutrition its parents may accuse some old woman, and drag her from her house. They will accuse her of having sucked blood from the child, and force her to spit in the child's mouth. Under protest she may spit merely in order to get away. If the child recovers, then the parents are sure she is a vampire; if the child dies she was innocent for her spittle did not cure it. People do not like being accused of witchcraft, or of having their aged grandmothers hauled off for trial; such actions, like the very suspicion itself, may result in bloodshed.

782 The Ghegs are great oath-swearers. Between blood feuds rivals will swear to keep the peace, on a stone in the presence of the

9: Filipovic --4 E-5 (No date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
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missionaries were surprised to find that Catholic priests in Albania baptized male children of the Turks (that is, Moslems) solely because of a superstition; "Solo per alcune superstitioni." (1)

1. J. Radonich, op. cit., p. 103

Another report, bearing a somewhat later date (1646), by the vice-prefect of the mission in Albania, Fra Gregoria Romano Trassini, states that children of Moslems baptized by Christian priests, later on live as "Turks." (2) Toma Tomichich, Archbishop of Skoplje,

2. Ibidem, p. 116

in 1755 in his report to the Congregation 'de propaganda fide' in Rome, speaks of baptism of children of the "Dvoverci" in his diocese. He also states that real "Turks" (that is, Moslems who seem more probably to have been Albanians, rather than Turks - M. S. F.), frequently used to invite Catholic priests to baptize their male children because they were convinced that if the children were baptized, then a witch would not devour them ("Accio le streghe non mangino i loro figlioli"/" In order that witches do not devour their children"/). (3) Finally, we have a report from

3. Ibidem, pp 641-642.

the middle of the nineteenth century that the Albanian Moslems used to have their children baptized in order to cure them of illness, but that the Catholic priests were forbidden to perform such baptisms. (4)

4. G. v. Hahn, "Albanesische Studien" (Jena, 1854), p. 38.

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Not only in Hahn's time, but even today there are among the Albanian Moslems those who have been baptized; today, however, there are fewer of these than at an earlier time. Among the Albanian Moslems, and especially among the Moslem gypsies in the area of Preshovo and Buianovci, there is a custom in families where child mortality is high, to place a newborn baby out on the road. If the first man to find the child is a Moslem, he takes the baby, and accepts and performs the "shishano kumstvo." (a colloquialism, meaning an incomplete performance of the ritual of a godfather) /122/ If the first one to find the baby is a Christian, he becomes the baby's godfather at the baptism

A 851

performed according to the Orthodox ritual. Such a Moslem child, after he grows up, customarily goes to church, and holds great esteem for his godfather. Thus is the case, for example, of an Albanian whose first name is Nenad, living in the village of Moravica (1948).

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There are not as many first-hand and precise reports about baptized Moslems whose mother tongue is Serbian. This, however, does not mean that these Moslems resorted to such baptism to a lesser extent than other Moslems. The scarcity of reports is due only to the fact that there are generally fewer written records about the people's life in earlier periods in the regions where they lived.

During 1623 and 1624, Peter Masarech (from 1624 on he was bishop of Prizren), papal visitor, traveled through the Balkan countries. He submitted an exhaustive report about his travels, in which he answered the fifty-four questions asked in the instructions given him by the Congregation 'de propaganda fide'. In answer to question number twenty-four, Masarech asserts that Bosnian Franciscans baptized "Turkish" children, not because they, the Franciscans, were superstitious, but because of the superstitions of the parents who had their children baptized in order that such children would have good fortune, be victorious in battle, and would escape misfortune, fears, evil spirits, and similar calamities. In certain localities children were baptized by coercion. (1)

1. K. Draganovich, "Izvješće apostolskog vizitatora Petra Masarechija o prilikama kat, naroda u Bugarskoj, Srbiji, Srijemu, Slavoniji i Bosni, g. 1623 i 1624." /"Report by Peter Masarech, apostolic visitor, on the conditions of the Catholic population in Bulgaria, Serbia, Srem, Slavonia, and Bosnia, in 1623 and 1624"/, Starine, XXXIX (Zagreb, 1938), p. 14.

At that time the Bosnian Franciscans performed priestly functions not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in Slavonia, those parts of Hungary which were under the Turks, and in Belgrade. The above report, therefore, can be accepted as valid not only for Bosnia alone, but also for the above mentioned regions.

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There is one special example which has been preserved in a folk poem. Two variants of this poem about Kushtrim Vasoievich were published ten years ago. According to the first

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra.*—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji.*—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma.*—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910) 1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice,
643 and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tsrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.

[688] Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

671 Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law
681 of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth
174 century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

682 Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any
[574] house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He
[609] at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

order his house to be burnt. Among the Dukagini the council has power also to destroy his crops, cut down his fruit trees, slaughter his beasts, and condemn the land to lie unworked for a term of years. An incredible amount of food-stuff is thus wasted. In this group not only the man who has taken blood, but all the males of his "house," are liable for blood, so they, too, have to fly. The "house" is the home maybe of a whole family community—forty people. But the law is carried out to the last letter. Such desolated spots have I seen. But "It is the Canon, so must be obeyed," was the answer to any remonstrance I made. The women and children may scatter and find shelter in other houses if they can; they usually do. A man can save his house if he can return to it and defend it three days successfully, so that the men sent by the council cannot set fire to it; I saw "a very brave man" in Berisha who had three times saved his house thus. Or a man can save his house by inviting the head of another mehala to act as house lord and defend it with his own men. This might cause severe fighting. The council, to prevent this, then as a rule agrees to burn the house only and spare the property. The amount of property to be destroyed was always to be decided by the council.

In Maltsia e Madhe a man was allowed to redeem his house by paying from £5 to £10 by a modification of the old law.

In addition to the burning of the house, in all tribes a fine has to be paid. Fines are paid in sheep or cattle. The fines varied in different districts. In both groups a fine had to be paid to the Turkish Government. In the case of Maltsia e Madhe this was paid to the Sergerdé and the Bulukbashes, who represented the tribes in Scutari. It was generally paid punctually. "Lek decreed that a fine must be paid, so it must be." Moreover, the Turkish Government had a certain hold on all the nearer tribes, for it could hold as hostage any member of a tribe which owed blood-gelt and came to market at Scutari. The outlying tribes of Dukagini by no means always either notified or paid for their murders.

Feuds being very weakening to a tribe, the headmen of the tribe or friends of the family would attempt to stop the feud. Blood-feuds of the Dukagini and Pulati tribes are settled in the mountains; those of Maltsia e Madhe were settled in Scutari before the representatives of those tribes who lived there.

The peace-making is preceded by the "gjaksur" (he who owes blood) sending some friends to the "zoti i gjakut" (lord of blood) to ask for "besa" (promise of truce). This may be granted and further prolonged, and during the truce the gjaksur and his relatives are safe. To end the feud, "me paitue gjak" (pacify the blood), twenty-four con-jurors are needed to swear the peace oath with the gjaksur. The

693 plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be
● 609 named by the "bairaktar" (head of the tribe). This is only done if the
682 matter cannot be settled by con-jurors chosen by the plaintiff.

The gjaksur has the right to object to two of the con-jurors, who must be replaced by others. The con-jurors are all men of standing in the tribe ("plect," elders; "kren," heads). They examine the facts and hear the accused ("gjaksur") and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood-gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. If they all agree but one, he may be replaced by two others. If still no agreement is come to, the gjaksur may bring more con-jurors, who are members of his family, up to the number of eight.

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the
[682 church (or mosque) before which the council has been held. In the
608] church the candles are lighted on the altar, and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood and is, therefore, innocent. Next swear those of his family who may have been summoned, and then all the con-jurors. After this the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood (*v.* Blood Brotherhood).

By Moslems the oath is sworn in the mosque.

693 Each of the con-jurors has to be paid a small fee for his services. The plaintiff in some cases can thus annoy the accused by insisting upon the full number of con-jurors allowed by the law. A priest counts as twelve con-jurors, and sometimes an important elder is reckoned as two.

628 The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.

627 To Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari, I am indebted for an
682 account of how two families can make peace voluntarily without appeal to the law. Having ascertained by means of emissaries that peace will be acceptable, the gjaksur and his relatives choose a feast day and enter the house of the injured family with their hands bound. A child placed the wrong way round in a cradle is carried with them. If the peace offer is accepted the lord of blood loosens their bonds and puts the child straight in the cradle. The blood-gelt is then arranged and paid. This custom existed among the Dukagini.

682 The above all refers to a murder committed by one man. But it
628 may happen that several men all fire at once and kill a man. A search

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

579 A quarrel broke out between Krasnichi and Shala. Shala had a besa
685 with Krasnichi, but the Krasnichi had harried some Christian villages
609 near Djakova which claimed descent from Shala. Shala therefore declared the besa ended and raided Krasnichi at night, stealing three mules. This caused complications, for Shala and Krasnichi do not border with each other. Krasnichi sent three headmen to Nikaj to accuse Nikaj of having sheltered and fed the mule-stealers on their way, and being thus party to the theft. The Nikaj men and three Krasnichi sat all day at the foot of the big wooden cross in front of the church and argued furiously—Nikaj loudly protesting ignorance and innocence of the whole affair and bidding Krasnichi to go to Shala.

Vexed with Shala for getting them into trouble thus, a day or two afterwards Nikaj went a-raiding to Shala and stole two fine horses. Shala sent delegates and complained that the theft was unfair. The horses were not Shala horses but belonged to guests—some Klimenti men who had come under besa to pasture some beasts. The horses were, therefore, under besa, too, and should not be touched. Nikaj only replied rudely: "You should not leave the horses of guests straying about." And my horse and Marko's were put at night into one of the church outbuildings to secure them from retort. The two horse-stealers, however, kindly offered to sell the horses to Shala for five hundred piastres apiece. Shala was enraged. The sitting lasted till late, and the debate was put off till to-morrow. But next day the Shala men and the horses had all disappeared in the night. The two horse-thieves came in hot indignation to the church house to ask the Franciscan's advice. They considered that in stealing their own horses back and going off with them Shala had played a dirty trick and acted most unfairly. The Franciscan, Marko, and I all shouted with laughter: "Bravo, Shala!" The two thieves were hurt. In all innocence they told of the great pains they had taken to steal the horses in the first place, and now they had been robbed. It was most unfair. Nor could the padre make them see it in another light; for to them robbery from a tribe with which there is no besa was rather a merit than a crime.

Nikaj argued that if Shala had the right to take back these horses, then Shala should restore the three mules taken from Krasnichi. A delegate came from Shala to debate this and to ask, "Are you in besa with Krasnichi? If so, we return the mules." As Nikaj was in blood with Krasnichi and only a day or two before had refused to have anything to do with the mule matter, Nikaj could not defend its proposition. Shala withdrew, leaving Nikaj furious and the poor horse-thieves much depressed.

609 Such raids, of course, easily start blood-feuds. The more civilized
579 tribes and the intelligent headmen, who were increasing in number

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe. 609 579

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes. 726

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep. 684 848

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head. 685

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider. 423 428

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has 842 554 562 592

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583
rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162
women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585
bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834
important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581
one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609
days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should
cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585
born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842
it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman
bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589
married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562
has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to
do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right
to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt
twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836
ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842
priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585
betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal,
and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage."
"They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586
miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away.
In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great
trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31,
1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage."
And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584
and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577
and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each
other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the
relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted,
and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626
the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585
it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be
forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the
Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or
immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states
that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

000 friendly familiar faces, smelling the delicious odor of corn bread baking and hearing the tinkling bells of goats.

609 "Where is America?" said our hosts, and: "How large are your tribes? Do they have villages like ours, and mountains? Do you raise corn? How many donkey loads do you raise to a field, and what is your method of cultivating the soil? Have you stone ditches for carrying 000 water from the rivers to the fields?" Rousing ourselves, we tried to give them in words a picture of our cities; we told of horses made of iron, fed by coal, snorting black clouds of smoke and racing at great speeds for long distances on roads made of iron; and I told of the irrigation systems of California's valleys, and Oregon's; of orchards plowed by steel-shod plows; of great machines as large as houses, cutting grain on the plains of Kansas; of mountain streams like Albanian mountain streams, which we harness as one might harness a donkey, and how their invisible strength is carried unseen on wires for many, many long hours—as far as an Albanian could walk in two days—and used to turn wheels far away.

609 Resting comfortably on their heels around the fire, they listened as one would listen to a traveler from Mars, the men opening silver tobacco boxes and deftly rolling cigarettes for us, the women spinning, the children—each given its space in the circle—propping little chins on beautiful, delicate hands and listening wide eyed. The questions they asked—and the elders were

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as courteous to the children's curiosity as the 609
children were to theirs—were keen and intelligent, but when it came to explaining electricity I was as helpless as they and could answer only with vague indications of some strange unknown force which we use without understanding it.

A woman, barefooted, barearmed, graceful as 776
a sculptor's hope of a statue, lifted the cover from the baking-pan, crossed herself, made the sign of the cross over the hot loaf, and took it up. Stooping, with the smoking golden disk between her hands, she stopped, suddenly struck motionless. The long, strange cry came again through the darkness, like a voice of the wind and the mountains and the night.

"Look here, Perolli," said I, my stretched nerves unexpectedly relaxing into the kind of anger that is part of fear, "what is that? Don't be an idiot! Tell me!"

"It is an ora,[1] if you must know," said Perolli, and he looked at me defiantly, as though he expected me to laugh.

"An ora!" said Frances, sitting up. The strange, unearthly call came again, very far away this time; we strained our ears to hear it. Then silence and the roaring of the river. The turbaned men in the circle of firelight, who had understood the word, nodded.

"Holy crickets! Rose Lane, we're actually hearing an oread!" Frances exclaimed. And Alex said: "Oh no! Undoubtedly there is some natural explanation."

1 [A nature spirit, see also [61] cat. 116, pp. 45-6 (pp. 66-76) -- Analys.]

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423 578 "With my own hands I laid the roof upon it. It is my house. I will not give up my house."

Frances and I hugged each other in silent convulsions of delight. My pen spilled ink on my excited hands as I tried to capture their words in shorthand. I was seeing, actually seeing with my own eyes, the invention of private property!

"What are they going to do about it?"

The question was not too tactful, nor too happily received, but they answered it. "They have already called a council of the whole village four [627] times," said Perolli. "They will do nothing about it. ☆ Houses belong to the tribe. It is a large house, and the people have decided that her dead husband's brother shall have it for his household. She has been offered a place in it. If she does not want that, she can live wherever she likes in the tribe. No one will refuse shelter or food to her and her children. She has friends with whom she can live, since she quarrels with her husband's brother. All this is absurd, and they will not call another council to satisfy a foolish woman."

"I want my house," said the woman.

Then the oldest man—one of the little boys was playing with the silver chains around his neck, and another hung heavily against his shoulder, but his dignity was undisturbed and he was obviously chief of the chiefs—appealed to me.

• 609 423 "In your country, what would you do with such a woman?" And I perceived that I was

☆ [For data on this gnie- [107] vance, see cat. 116, pp. 97-100, 104-107 -- Analyst]

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423obliged to explain to this circle of eager listeners
609a system of social and economic life of which they had never dreamed, of which they knew as little as we know of the year 2900.

The woman sat impassive, as unmoved as a rock of her mountains; the younger men turned, propping their chins on their elbows and looking at me attentively, and the chiefs waited with expectation. The children, settled comfortably here and there in the mass of lounging bodies, stopped their quiet playing to listen.

"Go on," said Alex, with friendly malice. "Just tell them what private property is."

"I expect sympathy, not ribald mirth," said I. "Well," I said, carefully, "tell them, Perolli, that when I say 'man' I mean either a man or a woman. It isn't quite true, of course, but I'll have to say that. Now then. In my country, a man owns a house."

"*Po! Po!*" they said, shaking their heads from side to side in the sign that in Albanian means, "Yes." "It is so here. A man owns the house in which he lives."

"No, it's not that. In my country, a man can own a house in which he does not live."

Then they were surprised. "You must have many houses in your tribe, if some are left vacant."

("Shades of the housing situation!" murmured Alex. "Shut up!" said I.)

"No," I said. "You don't understand. In my country a man owns a house. It is his very

own house. He owns it always; he owns it after 423
he is dead. He owns it when other people live 609
in it."

"In your country dead men own houses? Dead men live in houses?"

"No. Living in a house has nothing to do with owning a house. A man owns a house; it is his house; other people live in that house, and they pay him money to be allowed to live in his house."

"We do not understand. In your country do men of the same tribe pay one another money for houses?"

"Yes."

There was always a pause after I had spoken, while they pondered.

"Ah!" they said. "In your country a man can build a house all by himself. You have one man who makes all the houses for the village, and the others divide with him the money they earn outside the tribe."

"No," I said. "In my country many men must work to build a house." And I tried to think how best to go on.

"But it is so here," they said. "Many men of the tribe build a house, and then the house is a house of the tribe."

"But it is different in my country," I insisted. "In my country the house does not belong to the tribe. It belongs to the man who owns the land on which it is built, and he pays money to the men who build it for him, and then it is his house.

423 Even if he lives somewhere else, it is still his
609 house. Now in the case of this woman, the house would belong to her husband, and when he died he would give her the house, and then it would be her house. It would belong to her. The tribe would not own the house, but she would pay money to the tribe from time to time, because she had the house."

("Don't tell me you're going to explain taxation, too!" chortled the joyous Frances. "For the love of Michael, do this yourself, then!" said I.)

But the chiefs passed over the taxation idea; they stuck to the main point, though their eyes were clouded with bewilderment.

"How can a man own land?" said one, more in amazement than in question. And, "But how can a man pay another man for helping him to build a house, except by helping him as much in building another house? And when all have helped one another equally, then no man would have two houses unless every man had two houses, and that would be foolish, for half the houses would be empty," reasoned another, slowly.

It was then that the remarkable intelligence of these people began to dawn on me. For, given the experience from which he was reasoning, I consider this one of the most intelligent and logical methods of meeting a new idea that I have known. A case of almost pure logic, given his starting point.

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A bridge of two logs, with railing of twisted 100
branches, ran from bowlder to bowlder across this incredible river, and we stood on it, gazing at these colors and at a cliff that rose before us, striped rose and green and gray and white in long jagged lines, as though it had been painted, when we heard overhead an outburst of cries, like a hundred sea gulls shrieking in a storm. We looked higher, and there on the top of the 526
cliff we saw a score of boys, naked except for 576
bright loin cloths, engaged in acrobatics. 609

They made pyramids of their wet white bodies; four, three, two, one, they stood on one another's shoulders, and the four who upheld the pyramid ran swiftly along the edge of the cliff, passing and circling about a similar pyramid; from top to top of the pyramids the top youths swung, passing each other in the air, landing on other shoulders, balancing, taking flight again. The pyramids melted, as though dissolved in the rain, and formed again, while all along the edge of the precipice other boys made a freize of living bodies, turning cart wheels, somersaulting over one another, walking on their hands.

We stood paralyzed. What did it mean? Then there was an explosion of shots; the cliffs around us crackled like giant firecrackers, the air seemed to fall in fragments around us, and through the din came multiplied shouts. Four tall chiefs appeared on the cliff trail, gorgeous in black and white and red and blue and green and silver. We were being welcomed to Thethis,

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756 The shouts redoubled, rifles cracked from
609 every rock, the church bell wildly rung, and
through the clamor, deafened and a little dizzy, we came into the village of Thethis. The four chiefs, having greeted us ("Long life to you! Glory to your feet! Glory to the trails that brought you!" they said) preceded us up the last breathless quarter of a mile of trail, and all along the way the boys turned handsprings on the cliff tops.

361 The village of Thethis is built on the plateau that tops the gigantic, shiplike rock wedged in the narrow head of Shala Valley. All around it rise the mountains, snow capped, seamed with white waterfalls like rich quartz with streaks of silver; the shadows of them lie almost all day long across the village. Thethis itself is perhaps thirty large, oblong stone houses scattered at wide intervals on the flat land, and all the land is divided neatly into squares by stone fences—some fields for corn, some for grain, some for meadow. In the midst stands the church, two stories, oblong and gray like the houses, and a network of trodden paths leads to it.

It seemed a quiet, peaceful place. But on the mountains above it to the north the Serbian armies lay; their mountain-trained eyes were doubtless watching us as we crossed the sodden fields. This is the village, these are the chiefs, whose houses were destroyed by a company of soldiers sent from the struggling Albanian government in Tirana. The Serbs held the Albanian

361 cities where the men of Thethis have always gone to market; the grazing lands where they have always fed their sheep lie in the grasp of Serbian armies. Scutari, the nearest free Albanian market place, is a hundred miles away across two mountain ranges. Therefore it was said that Thethis was friendly to the Serbs; it was said that her men still went to market in the Albanian cities that are now clutched by Serbia, that spies came and went across the border, that the chiefs listened to the clink of Serbian gold. And Alex and I remembered that in Thethis we were not to address Rrok Perolli, secretary of the Albanian Minister of the Interior, by his real name.

609 574 But he was behind us on the trail, doubtless still engaged in trying to get breakfast for Frances in the house we had left, and we went forward with easy minds to meet Padre Marjan. He came barefooted and bareheaded across the fields to welcome us, a thin, ascetic-looking man in the brown robes of the Franciscan friar. Large brown eyes burned in his face that seemed made of bones and stretched skin, the grasp of his thin hand was hot and nervous. He spoke to us in Albanian, Italian, and German, ushering us with apologies into the bleak rooms above the church.

000 The Serbians and Montenegrins, in their drive down toward Scutari, had looted the church, he said. He had come into Thethis two months ago, and found not even a wooden stool left. He was doing his best, but it took time ——

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000 The rickety broken stairway led upward to a long hall; from this, a door let us into the living room. It was bare; rain-stained wooden walls and a floor that clattered beneath our feet. The one window was shattered; fragments of glass held together by pasted paper. There were a long wooden table and a bench, nothing more. No fire. Our soaked garments were suddenly cold on us, and a chill entered our very bones.

609 574 The only fire in the house, he said, was in the kitchen. We begged him to take us to it, and in a moment we were sitting on a bench before a crackling fire in a big stone fireplace. The tiny room was crowded with villagers, the floor was muddy with their trampling, and more arrived every moment. Padre Marjan had no servant, but all were eager to help him. Some took off our shoes, others heated water over the fire, a handsome youth who looked Serbian and talked German anxiously beat eggs and sugar together while Padre Marjan made coffee. The warmth and the genuine welcome they all gave thawed us and made us happy, and we sat drinking the heartening mixture of eggs and coffee, while clouds of steam rose from us all and a babble of talk went on.

One tall, handsome chief—Lulash, his name was, and beyond doubt he was the handsomest man we had yet seen—brought us a lamb as a gift. Dripping beside him stood a ragged boy, barefooted and blue with chill, who had come down the valley to bring us three eggs, which he

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carried tied around his waist in a pouch of goat's 609
skin. He put them carefully into our hands, and 574
we tried to return the gift with some pieces of hoarded candy. But he gazed in dismay at the strange things, and nothing would persuade him to taste them. A colored handkerchief, however, was accepted in an ecstasy that made him dumb; he could only lay it upon his heart and touch our hands to his forehead. Another chief came with a fat hen, others with eggs; all were eager to roll cigarettes for us, all were smiling, and in a hundred beautiful phrases they overwhelmed us with thanks for our coming, for our presence, for the school that Alex and Frances had promised Thethis. For this was to be the first of the [871]
mountain schools, and Alex, who had come into the mountains to decide where to put the other two, was delighted to learn that already, before the school building was begun, Padre Marjan had started the school, and Lulash had promised a hundred trees to be burned to make lime for the building.

We sat talking of these things while Padre Marjan set pots of soup to boiling in the fireplace, broke eggs, unlocked his box of precious flour, busied himself with all preparations for dinner, climbing over and around the tangle of lounging bodies, until another outbreak of echoing noises announced the arrival of Frances and Perolli and Rexh and our men with the packs. We felt a little tension with Perolli's arrival, seeing the keen eyes of the men fixed on his English

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clothes and swarthy, intelligent face. He is as tall as most Europeans, but he was small among those giants, and the neat leather-holstered revolver and dagger that hung from his belt looked inadequate among all those long, bristling rifles.

But Padre Marjan, unaware of our apprehensions, was altogether the happy welcoming host. He greeted the dripping Frances warmly, anxious only to make her comfortable—she who was also responsible for the hope of a school in Thethis. He welcomed Perolli also, calling him by his first name. "How does he know that Perolli's name is Rrok?" we girls asked one another with startled eyes—and then, turning to the chiefs with a radiant smile, "This guest," said Padre Marjan, with pleasure, "is Rrok Perolli, the secretary of the Minister of the Interior in Tirana."

000

You read of such things calmly. Nothing that one reads is real to him. Therefore you can never know what Padre Marjan's innocent words meant to us as he spoke them in his crowded kitchen in Thethis, at the headwaters of the Lumi Shala, a hundred miles and twenty centuries from anything you know.

The wildness, the savagery and isolation of those mountains seemed to come into the room. A hundred miles to Scutari, a hundred miles of almost impassable mountains between us and any kind of help. There we were, three girls and a boy, alone in the narrow valley beneath the eyes of the Serbs, the Serbs who six months

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POSTSCRIPT

Cicero sat with parchment and stylus, writing 361
home to Rome for money to pay his way back—
because, as he admitted with some chagrin, he
had wasted all his substance in that merry and
wicked city. Even for Cicero Durazzo had, in
addition to its living charms, the flavor of an-
tiquity, for the Roman city was built on the
ruins of the older Albanian seaport.

A year earlier there had been no automobiles
in Albania, but now, to our surprise, we found
a valiant small Ford waiting at the pier, and
engaged it at once to take us to Tirana, forty
miles away. Our baggage was a problem until [609]
the chauffeur of a government truck, addressing
us in French, volunteered on his own responsi-
bility to take it to the capital for us. "Pay?
Mais, non!" said he, hurt. "You are Americans,
and the stranger in Albania is our guest."

The road from Durazzo to Tirana crossed the 491
low mountains that, from Trieste to Valona,
make the endless monotonous eastern wall of the
Adriatic. When you come over the crest of them
you see lying before you the green low central
valley and the farther blue peaks of the lands of
the hidden tribes. And everything accustomed, 492
everything commonplace, everything that reflects
ourselves to us, is left behind. Gray water buf-
falo, flat-nosed, curly-horned, monstrous beasts
that seem risen from depths of primeval slime,
plod down the road drawing high, narrow wagons
of wickerwork on huge wooden wheels. Shaggy,
small donkeys carry picturesque folk down the

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Royal Engineers, and Corporal Williamson of the Black Watch, their wireless operator. 669* 648

From Derna they were flown to Epirus and there were dropped to one of the British Missions which were already working with the Greek resistance movement. Albania was only a few miles away, but the Greeks knew nothing of the Albanian guerillas; and Maclean and Smiley therefore walked across the border to find them for themselves. They were received in the villages with elaborate courtesy and hospitality, but met with none of the pro-Allied enthusiasm which had been the rule in Greece. Despite their strikingly Nordic appearance, they were presently detained as Greek spies and stood in danger of their lives until they had satisfied their captors that they were genuine British officers. Even then an atmosphere of suspicion surrounded them; they were conscious all the time of being watched; and yet their efforts to come into touch with the guerillas were baffled at every turn. At last one night they came face to face with a representative of the "Partisans"; he brought them to the guerilla camp; and gradually they discovered the true nature of the Albanian resistance movement. [609]

4

Two seeds of revolt had been planted in Albania: the United Front, built up by British efforts and led by chiefs of proven valour; and a Communist cell, Russian instructed and composed of new men. The fortunes of war had cut them off in turn from their patrons, and for a long time they were no more than bands of wanted fugitives; a powerful ferment, but powerless of themselves. Revolutions are not made without leaders, but never by leaders alone. Some men indeed are always ready to risk their lives for their ideals, but the mass of a people will not defy their rulers unless the hopes of happiness which they set upon revolt are sharply stimulated by the goad of their present discontents. Now the Albanians experienced no violent crises of an economic or social nature such as nourished, and in large measure underlay, the resistance movements of Greece 669*

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

574 the head of it we found an old man with his two sons tending a flock of sheep. It was midday, and so we broke our journey [609] to accept their profferred hospitality of sheep's milk and pancakes dipped in honey. The old shepherd was not the least surprised to learn that we were British officers, but became very excited when he discovered that we had just come from Cairo. It then appeared that he had fought in the Ottoman army in the Tripolitanian war and had escaped to Egypt after the defeat of the Turks. There he had become a bodyguard to King Fuad and had served that Prince for fifteen years, both before and after his accession to the throne. He was overjoyed at the chance of practising his few words of Arabic and of reminiscing about the Egyptian leaders of his time; and it was only with difficulty that we restrained him from killing a sheep in our honour. Presently we rose to leave, and the old man shouldered his rifle to speed us on our way. The Albanian code of hospitality requires that the host should accompany his guests for an hour on their road to protect them against attack. In practice the full formality is usually abridged, but our shepherd friend was so genuinely anxious to express his goodwill that he guided us for the next seven hours of the march down to the main road leading to Dibra. There he bade us farewell in Arabic, and with great dignity declined our tactful offers of remuneration. By good fortune, however, I still had with me a box of Egyptian cigarettes and a few Egyptian piastres, which he gladly accepted as a souvenir of our meeting.

000 We had seen two cars on the road in the early afternoon, but there was now no sign of traffic. We therefore marched boldly along it, rejoicing in its even surface and in its breadth, which allowed us to walk two or more abreast and so to talk in comfort. Just before the light failed we came to a place where the road curved sharply eastwards along the face of a cliff. There, for the first time, we caught sight of the Black Drin, winding through the plain of Dibra. Two hours later, after a march which had lasted altogether twelve hours, we reached the house of Aziz Dino Hoja, a granite keep four stories high, situated only a few yards from the river. There Riddle was waiting.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

rem's open hostility. Their aim was to keep Muharrem neutral; ours was now to bring him back into the war. 669* 622

We left Riddle's base on the 29th of May, and, just before sunset, climbed on to the range that forms the eastern wall of the Drin gorges. The powerful river lay two thousand feet below us, narrowly compressed between smooth black cliffs, through which its deep and swirling waters ran a vivid blue, stained by the copper deposits in the rock. Beyond the jagged peaks of Liuma towered into the sky. and, with the approach of darkness, the scene became awe-inspiring, almost Wagnerian. We followed a narrow path scratched in the face of the cliff above the river, and now and then passed little stone cairns beside it. Each marked a grave and guarded the bones of some traveller who had fallen to his blood enemy, lying in wait. The dead were buried where they had been killed; for the path was too steep and the way too long to bring their bodies home for funeral. 764

Night overtook us on the march, but we pressed on until we came to a cluster of buildings, surrounded by a high crenellated wall. This was Muharrem's castle. Our guards called out and beat upon the gates, and, after an exchange of shouts with shadowy figures on the battlements, we were admitted to a wide courtyard. In front of us was a stone building, founded on a rock, and on the steps leading up to it stood the lord of Liuma, with a bodyguard beside him holding a torch of blazing pinewood. He bowed to us, introducing himself as Bairaktar, and led the way indoors to a room furnished with tables and upholstered chairs, the first I had seen in Albania. There we sat down for the customary exchange of greetings; and presently coffee was brought. 574 609

Muharrem was of stocky build, dressed in a plain grey uniform with a lumberjack's leather cap on his head. He looked not unlike Kaiser Wilhelm, with the same iron grey hair and moustache, loose mouth, and small piercing eyes. When at rest there was an almost abnormal concentration in his gaze, and sometimes a sly smile would cross his face, as if prompted by his inward thoughts. He was reserved of speech

* [British liaison officers -- Analyst]

& [Muharrem Bairaktar, chieftain of Liuma clan -- Analyst]

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574 and his delivery rapid and jerky. In his years of exile he had
609 acquired a working knowledge of French and German ; and, though the limitations of his vocabulary were only matched by his Olympian disregard of syntax, we were delighted to avoid the boredom of badly interpreted conversation. The evening meal was served towards midnight in a separate dining-room, and was distinguished by excellent Turkish dishes and a coarse red wine, pressed from the Liuman vineyards. At table we were waited on by Muharrem's two sons, who stood guard behind our chairs while we ate. Both were grown men, but treated their father with almost servile respect.

*669 Next morning Muharrem laid before us an ambitious plan for raising the Gheg tribes against the Germans. This was set out in the form of a memorandum addressed to the British Government, and contained an interesting analysis of the Balkan situation, as well as detailed proposals for the organisation and strategy of a resistance movement. Appended to it was an estimate of the military supplies that would be needed to equip and maintain the tribes. Muharrem's general argument was that the useful military operations of the L.N.C. were becoming increasingly subordinated to their questionable political aims. The interests, therefore, of Albania and of Great Britain required the promotion of an Albanian Nationalist movement, which would attack the Germans with greater zeal than was shown by the L.N.C., and would seek to take over political power in the hour of victory. He, Muharrem, was prepared to undertake the leadership of such a movement if we would provide him with the necessary arms and sinews of war.

We insensibly eroded this bold and visionary scheme until, after two hours' discussion, Muharrem agreed to our more modest proposal. This was that he should organise and lead the resistance movement in the valley of the Black Drin. He declined, however, to accept our thesis that no supplies could be sent to him before he had attacked the enemy, and remarked with some plausibility :

" I have fought against the Italians, and I intend to fight against the Germans. If you will send me arms I will fight

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

might mean his going a long way round in future, the third owner could not oppose their wish. Again the land on both sides of an alley which three families used might belong to a fourth man. If he persuaded or bribed two of the three to let him plough it up, the third man had to acquiesce. A third type of blind alley began and ended in a single field.

All types of alley were private property reserved for the sole use of their owner, joint or single, and his family and lawful visitors. If he found anyone else on it he could turn him back as an intruder, and if he refused to comply could shoot him. This was irrespective of whether he did damage or not. An honest man would not trespass. Consequently, a trespasser's intentions were felonious. In Labinot a 'foreigner' from another village was licensed to use the blind alley once. He might be unaware that he was trespassing. In Zerqan, too, if he did not trespass more than once most owners said nothing to avoid disgracing themselves. A foreigner has his rights. In truculent Lumë no allowance was made for ignorance. About 1900 three men lost their lives because a stranger from the town of Prizren rode by pure mischance along a blind alley in a field in the village of Stiqan and resisted the owner's attempt to turn him back. In all districts a fellow-villager who trespassed could not plead ignorance as a stranger could; consequently his fault was graver. Even so he was not shot in Zerqan till other measures had been tried and failed. First the owner asked him not to use the blind alley again. If he persisted the owner complained to the village and the village forbade the man to go by the path. If he still persisted the village fined him. If he still persisted the owner shot him. Such was the theory, but in practice a strong man skipped the diplomatic stages and shot the offender at his first or second offence. Sometimes a fellow-villager who had a genuine need to use a private road, for instance, to regulate his irrigation water, might be given permission to do so. But he had to go on foot and could not take his horse.

In Godolesh, exceptionally, the question of damages affected the rules for blind alleys. Such paths traversed the market gardens on which the village still depended for most of its livelihood. Usually each belonged to several owners, any of whom might use it throughout its length, though they were forbidden to introduce animals as these might damage the fruit and vegetables. A trespasser was pardoned up to three times, then one or more owners

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

where damnation follows. When the last big stone was in place the 423 witnesses fired in the air to signify that the ceremony was over. [789]

When a geographical feature was available, it was often utilized as a boundary. For instance, an irrigation channel might be recognized as such. The dividing line between the neighbours then ran down the middle. It could not be diverted or otherwise interfered with by either neighbour, since it contained running water and had been made long years before—a point that gave it the permanence indispensable in a boundary. In Mirditë a very old tree sometimes marked the division between two pieces of land. In all areas growing trees of any age might outline forest and even village boundaries. Notches were cut in each; all the ground this side of a notch belonged to one neighbour and all on that to the other. Between big units such as villages or forests, though not small ones like fields or houses, a watershed or a torrent bed often formed the boundary. 'God has separated the two; nature has decided their boundaries', said the people of such cases. Sometimes a road was the boundary between the villages; a field-path was never important enough for this purpose. Finally, in some [609] groups of villages near Elbasan, such as Godolesh, Griqan and Labinot, there was so much buying of land in one village by natives of the others that no very definite line was drawn between their territories, though the boundaries of individual properties were as clearly marked and as fiercely defended as they were elsewhere. In the north, since no outsider could buy land in a village, there was no fluidity of boundary, whether village or private.

The delimiting elder was usually one of the recognized elders of 623 the village. Sometimes only one was employed, more often there 789 was one for each new neighbour, and in sprawling areas like Martanesh ten or even fifteen men might be asked to help. In Shijan elders often worked only 'for the good of their soul' and took no fee; elsewhere they charged one to two napoleons according to local rates. In Surroj they asked no less than four napoleons but seldom received them; to save this heavy fee, the older of the new neighbours set up the boundary stones, and only if he seemed to be cheating did a younger man think it necessary to call in an elder. That elder carried the earth and stone of the oath on his shoulder. In Çermenikë, however, he carried them in his hands and in Labinot he did not carry them at all, only spoke of doing so. Both these usages seem degenerations from the original. The

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

233 nor produce nor an exchange for summering the flocks brought to
437 the Crown (Kunora) by tribesmen living north of Shkodër, but
427 welcomed them because their sheep manured the fields. Com-
[241] paratively recently, Lurë gave a Selitë man leave to summer his flocks gratis on Mt Murije, which, lacking their manure, would hardly have been worth the labour of tilling. Dervish Ali of Fulqet too was glad to let hundreds of sheep graze free in his meadows on Mt Dragû. Surroj and Arrn pastured sheep belonging to the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë without payment, because they also had so little arable land.

609 Except where the soil was so poor that the manure was welcome,
685 as in Lurë, or where grazing was very plentiful, as in Theth, outsiders were rigidly excluded from alps which were owned or rented by a community. Nangë said it had not enough feed for its own flocks. Martenesh, Gurrëzë and Breg i Matit said they did not want their pastures disturbed by strangers. All infringements of the ban, both petty and grave, were punished by fines.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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yaghourt. The publicity of the cooking arrangements, 265
which is common to all Albanian eating-houses, has its 485
advantages. It makes a menu unnecessary. The foreigner, just as easily as the native, can see for himself what food is available and can indicate the dish of his choice by pointing to it. In the inn at Argyrocastron, however, the publicity went unpleasantly far, for hanging from a rail of the staircase was to-morrow's dinner in the raw state—a defunct sheep all ready for roasting whole, with a long wooden spit struck through it lengthwise. This revolting sight brought me to the verge of vegetarianism, but since Albania, like Montenegro, is essentially a meat-eating country, I realised that it was not a suitable place to begin experiments in a vegetable diet, and I was therefore obliged to stifle my better instincts and carry on for the nonce in the old carnivorous way.

One feature of the Albanian inns that the traveller will [462]
remark is the absence of womenfolk. All the household work is done—and usually done very badly—by men or boys. At Argyrocastron the "chambermaid" was an Italian-speaking Albanian, dressed in a very old and shabby khaki uniform, who spared no pains to make me as comfortable as circumstances permitted, and was exceedingly grateful for the few liras I gave him on leaving. In fact, neither in Albania nor in Montenegro did I find that distressing greed for tips which is so characteristic of countries which claim to be much more civilised. Before I left Cettinje, being 609
anxious to show my appreciation of services rendered by the

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609 consulate staff during my stay, I offered the maid—who had, incidentally, washed all my linen for me—a sum equivalent, I think, to about 2s. When at last, after some difficulty, I succeeded in making her accept it she seized and kissed my hand—to my intense embarrassment. And Vojn, who had carried my things for miles over the mountains and had given me ungrudging attention, behaved in exactly the same way and at first refused my modest offering. His manner did not, however, convey that he was too proud to accept the tip or that I had made a *faux pas* in offering it, but merely that what he had done he had done in goodwill and not with any idea of reward. It was refreshing, in these money-grubbing days, to meet with such an unexpected trait.

349 Before I left Argyrocastron I explored the old fortress. It proved to be a vast place full of arches, tunnels, and broken masses of masonry overrun with scarlet poppies. A few sleepy-looking, barrack-like buildings housed a few sleepy soldiers. The battlements gave a fine view of the town, the valley, and the mountains.

494 On making enquiries about getting to Koritza I found that a post lorry was leaving at midday. I therefore booked a front seat for which the price was 150 liras (Italian money being current in this part of Albania). I thought at the time that this was a rather heavy charge as Koritza was, as I then fondly imagined, only about three hours journey away. We should be there, I thought, in the classic English phrase, " in time for tea ". We were not. Nor were we there in time for tea on the day following. So I was slightly out in

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 174
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of [628]
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 582
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 602
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence 611
it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 dark people inhabiting the land, with whom they intermarried. Eight houses near Abate, in lower Shala, trace descent from these old inhabi-
142 tants. The rest of them migrated to Dechani. The Albanians I saw at Dechani in 1903 were certainly all of the small dark type.

614 Shala consists of four bairaks: Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj. The three latter are said to have separated into three groups 376 years
[613 ago (told me in 1908). Lothaj and Lekaj recently decided they were far
582] enough removed to be intermarriageable. But Shoshi and Mirdita still would not marry with them.

The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

619 2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate
● [611] child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood is possible.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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583 184 principal inhabitants of Orosh have all been acquired in this way, and far from resenting or being ashamed of the circumstance, they are, on the contrary, proud of it, and their relatives accept the situation on payment of the usual dowry. And although they may not embrace with enthusiasm the faith into which they are generally baptised as a preliminary to marriage, they scrupulously observe its external forms, are much devoted to their husbands, proud of their reputation, and jealous of their honour, which, should occasion require, they are ready either to defend or avenge.

428 611 Among these exogamous tribes, succession is, as a rule, in the male line. If, however, there are no surviving sons, and a daughter chooses to remain single, she may enjoy the usufruct of her father's property, which on her death reverts to her nearest male relatives. If a man die childless his property is divided among his male relatives, who pay to his widow a pension, she remaining in his house or returning to her friends as she pleases, and retaining all that she has received from her parents either before or after her marriage.

567 428 As with the Osmanlis, the children by slaves of Moslem Albanians have an equal right with those of free mothers to succeed to the estate of their father.[1]

587 If the deceased husband has an unmarried brother, the latter has a right to marry the widow with or without her consent. On the wedding-day she receives from him the present of an ox, or its equivalent, four goats.

[1] The father of Ali Pasha, of Ioannina, was the son of a slave.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother. 628* 184 [611] [602]

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider. 628* [587] [768] [595]

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son 562 628*

589 her alive. It is doubtful if this punishment has been exacted on any such person within the last few generations.

As the reader can readily see, this custom has its economic aspects. The number of hands available for men's work is increased by two, that for women's work decreased by the same number. There is a second and less dramatic reason for a girl to swear virginity: if her father has no sons to help him with his work, or if his sons are killed. Then a daughter may step into the position of a son, and the [429] situation is momentarily saved. However, since the pseudo-son will have no offspring, the line will become extinct with her death, and the property pass to the next of kin on the father's side. This custom is at variance with the usual one in comparable societies, in which the husband of the man's daughter comes to live with her parents, and is adopted as an •[611] heir. So strong is the belief in the continuity of the male line that this could not be done in Ghegnia.

On my travels I encountered only 2 sworn virgins. One wore men's clothes, and appeared to be either mentally defective or at least "queer." That also was her reputation. The second wore women's clothes. She was in her early twenties, and quite attractive. Since she spent the night with a junior member of my group of horse-drivers, I formed a poor opinion of the burning-alive theory. It is quite apparent that the practice of swearing virginity is not only often economic in motivation, but also a part of the whole business of local population control, along with the entire configuration of pride, insult, and feuding.

587 Two other mechanisms help maintain the personnel of the family at the optimum numerical working level, and to prevent the isolation of separate individuals or small, uneconomic groups. One is the levirate. Classically this means that when a man dies, his widow will be married to a surviving brother [165] or next of kin if such a brother is lacking. In a country where the rate of death by violence reaches the level of 40 per cent of all male [582] deaths in some localities, and where girls are married at 14 or 15, many are widowed.

Such a widow must be cared for by the men of her husband's family, since they have paid

173 Turks, came from different places. The people of Toplana were driven to their present mountain stronghold from Vasojevitch in Montenegro about 1450, being pushed out by immigrants from Herzegovina. The ancestors of Plani came from 3 sources: Klementi, Merturi, and indigenous *anas*. Those of Kiri were from Kuchi and Ipek, in Montenegro. One [61] hundred houses of Nikaj people are said to be descended from a daughter of Nikol by a gypsy, and are called Tsura. This is the only instance known of female descent, and indicates the relative social status of the alleged spouses.

The famous invasion of the Dukagin brothers, Shosh, Shal, Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen, probably took place before the Bosniak migration.[20] Miss Durham derives them from the Pestriku mountains near Jakova, where they were part of the Ipek tribal confederacy. My informants named Marina *bairak* as their home. In Shala they are supposed to have found some small, dark people with whom they intermarried. A few of these *anas* stayed on, and there are said to be 8 houses of them at Abate in Lower Shala, while the rest immigrated to Dechani. The Mirdita brethren found the Dibri and Fan people ahead of them.

One tradition relates that the Dukagin *bairaks* of Mirdita did not stay long in their new home, but when the Turks had taken Scutari and were raising the neighboring mountains, the settlers retreated to their ancient home, from which they did not return to Mirdita until around 1650. How true this is, and how many people, if any, it involved, cannot be determined.

[36] We know finally that Jakova town was settled by people from various parts of the Gheg mountains, and the same is true of Ipek. These were cities of refuge, like earlier towns before them. More recent than any of these is the village of Vraka, a community of a thousand people lying between Koplik and Scutari. This is the residence of Serbian-speaking, Orthodox farmers, whose ancestors fled from blood vengeance in various parts of Montenegro, Herzegovina, and Bosnia. They have not yet become absorbed, and with modern

[See p. 45a - Analyst]

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units. For twenty-four hours after a murder in Lumë, a district 613 peopled by little groups of kinsmen, any man of the victim's kin 628* might avenge him on any man of the criminal's kin. So long as members of this group survived no other would move. If they were killed off, other groups, beginning with the nearest neighbours, might seek vengeance. Within living memory this licence found dreadful expression in Theth, the beautiful northern part of Shalë. About 1890 a man who lost a lamb promised to give a cartridge to a shepherd if he found it. When the shepherd succeeded, the man went back on his promise saying he would 'give him five' (*sc.* fingers on the trigger) instead. For the moment the shepherd let the matter drop, but later met the man and asked once more for his promised reward. Again the man refused it, not too courteously, and was immediately killed by the incensed shepherd. Unfortunately, it was Easter Sunday and the murder took place in a meadow where all the men of Theth were gathered for the festival. Immediately the dead man's *vllazni* (brotherhood), comprising all the males descended from the same ancestor, sought vengeance on the murderer's brotherhood. These were not backward in replying, and within an hour fourteen men lay dead for the sake of one cartridge.

Whole tribes might be affected by the rule of 'boiling blood'. 619 In the Malësi e Madhe if a Kastrati tribesman killed a Koplik man, 628* any member of the latter tribe had licence for 24 hours to kill any man from Kastrati. The murderer was, therefore, bound to announce his crime at once so that his fellow-tribesmen might take cover. The time limit elapsed, vengeance lay as usual between the two households. In such cases of inter-tribal aggression each tribe became temporarily a single family in which each member represented the whole.

In Çermenikë, kinsfolk were sometimes fused into one family 612 not by boiling blood as described above, but by a particularly 574 atrocious murder such as that of a guest by his host, when 'circle 628* after circle' was the rule. The guest's 'circle', consisting of his own household, his kinsmen in separate homes, his neighbours and the sons of the married daughters of his family, wherever these last might live, tried to kill the murderer, and failing to find him or other members of his household, they might kill one of his 'circle'. On succeeding, they held that they had avenged their relative's death, and their victim's family agreed. In other districts they

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

612 would have found themselves involved in a new feud with the
574 household of the man they had killed, but by the local rule of
*628 'circle after circle' he died as proxy for the real criminal and no new feud entered into the question. There seems to have been no time limit to their extended vengeance.

*628 National solidarity was recognized in the debatable border lands
186 where Slav and Albanian lived side by side. If an Albanian was killed by a Slav, any Albanian would kill any Slav in revenge. The crime, it was felt, had pitted the Albanian family against the Slav family. This national sentiment was so strong that though there has never been any love lost between Gegs (north Albanians) and Tosks (south Albanians), no Geg would allow a Slav to kill a Tosk without seeking in return to kill any Slav he could find. The less warlike Tosks did not feel a similar impulse. If one of their number or a Geg were killed by their Bulgarian or Greek neighbours, they left vengeance to the victim's family.

621 The community also acted as a single family when certain public
688 servants were killed. If the victim were a Roman Catholic priest,
*628 he might lawfully be avenged by his parish, the tribe in which the parish lay, and his own family. If action were taken by the parish or tribe, the matter ended. The avenger's act closed the feud, and, fearing no retribution, he could hang up his rifle. If the priest's family afterwards killed another of the murderer's men, they began a new feud. Generally the family did not wait for the parish or the tribe to act. When a Mohammedan or an Orthodox priest was killed, it fell to his relatives to avenge the crime; the feeling that sacrilege had been committed was too slight to drive their parishioners into action.

621 If a field-guard of Lumë were killed, he was publicly avenged.
*628 If the murderer was from another village, any of the field-guard's fellow villagers could lawfully kill any man from the murderer's village during the first twenty-four hours, and afterwards he could kill the murderer or any other man in his household. In either case he could hang up his rifle. If the field-guard were killed by a fellow-villager, the village expelled the murderer. On the other hand, if a miller were killed, vengeance rested with his family; the village could not act. A field-guard was a public necessity; without his services the village economy would suffer, and he must be given public protection. A miller had taken up his work for the sake of private gain and was not a public necessity; if he were not at the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[579 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming
614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167] the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

● 613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[669] died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

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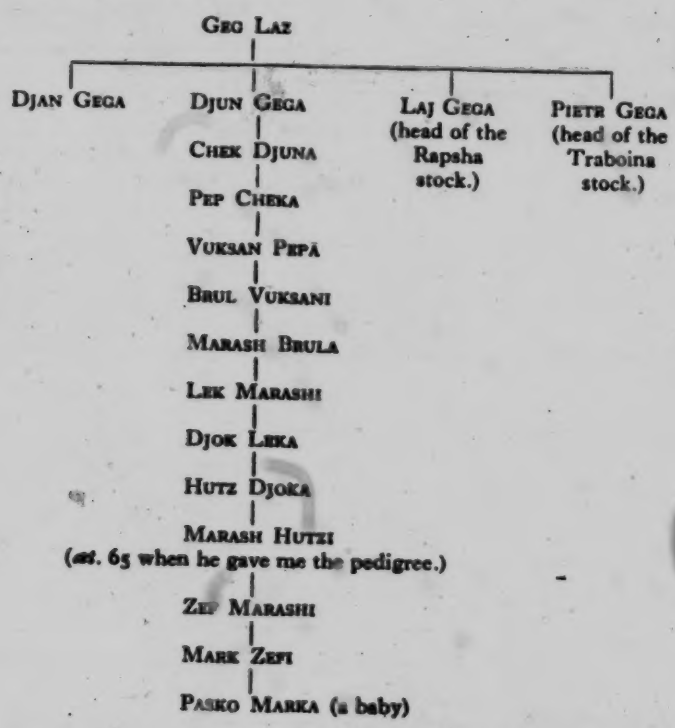
me not to give him more than his share. One of the Franciscans gave him shelter, for he was generally beloved, but he did not survive the winter. I mourned him at the time, but was later glad that he had died before his beloved tribe was handed to the enemy. The name "Hoti" is older than the arrival of Geg Laz. Jirecek, quoting the Venetian archives, states that the Hoti ("montanea Ottanorum") allied itself in 1474 with Ivan Tzrnojevitch and fought the Turks. The "Anas" must then have been numerous.



The tribe of Nikaj (see below) is also related to Hoti. Marash Hutzi said that Nikaj descends from a son of Krasnich. Baron Nopcsa learnt from another quarter that Nik was another brother of Geg Laz. That they are related is clear, for they are not intermarriageable.

Hoti usually marries the neighbour tribe Kastrati. As Kastrati mainly marries Hoti, after so many generations the two must be very closely related. But old Marash was extremely proud of the strict exogamy of the tribe. To marry "one's own blood" he looked on with unspeakable horror. I asked how many generations must pass before the descendants

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

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The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

619 2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate
[611] child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood is possible.

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CHAPTER IV

THE ALBANIAN HOUSEHOLD

Society in the Albanian mountains was patrilineal, and took so little account of women that whereas the names of ancestors in the male line might be known for as many as twenty generations, those in the female line were forgotten after two or three. In the words of the Unwritten Law 'a man has blood, and a woman kin', i.e. a man has a pedigree, and a woman her own relatives, and 'a woman is anybody's daughter', i.e. comes from anywhere and has no pedigree.

As usual in patrilineal societies, all property and rights were vested in the men. So when a man married, his house belonged to him exclusively and not at all to his wife, neither priest nor law having bound him to endow her with his worldly goods. The Unwritten Law states further that 'a wife is a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was in her husband's house to bear his children. It was also understood, however, that she must take an active part in the work of both the farm and the house. In consequence, the wife in a household containing only a married pair and their small children led a life of almost unrelieved hardship, all the relaxations and leisure going to the husband. Since the Unwritten Law forbade her to have any dealings with the outside world until she was old, she stayed at home to work while her husband went to market to shop and sell, visited government offices to discuss the payment—or non-payment—of his taxes, and arranged the future marriages of his children. Whether it was a kerchief, a daughter-in-law, or nothing at all that he bought for her, he never consulted her wishes and she might not murmur openly at his choice. Nor might she remonstrate with him if he idled when at home; any such criticism would only make him beat her. The Unwritten Law said that the husband was the head of the wife and might punish her for indiscipline as well as misconduct. There was plenty of secret grumbling of course. Thus a pretty young woman in Mat was heard to complain that her husband spent all the money he could find on coffee and cigarettes for himself and left her, after five years of marriage, 'without a rag to her back'. 'And it's for him I toil

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701 Mertur and some others were wholly Catholic. Nikç, Selcë, Hot,
795 Kthellë and Lurë were more or less mixed Catholic and Mohammedan. Certain tribes such as Has, Bytyç and Krasniq are at the time of writing completely Mohammedan but were partly Catholic until three or four generations ago, as their genealogies testify. Lumë asserts that it has been completely Mohammedan since the
[613] coming of the Turks five centuries ago. It was also not fully tribal,
[619] since each bajraktar's following consisted not of a single kin or agglomeration of kins with the same ancestors, but of a number of little kins of varying ancestry.

701 There were also bajraktars in certain non-tribal areas, such as
[619] Shpat and Martanesh in central Albania. Here the dignity was not hereditary and localized, but moved with successive holders from family to family, from quarter to quarter or even from village to village. Fitness for military leadership of the local levies was always demanded, and that quality did not necessarily remain from one generation to another, in the same family, quarter or village. Hysejn Zavolina of the village of Shelcan was a famous bajraktar in Shpat in the last years of Turkish rule, but it was at Fushë e Kuqe in the more central village of Gjinar that he set up his standard. Hysejn Ramaj became bajraktar of Martanesh because he was as popular as he was competent. After having carried his standard to
[192] victory in Montenegro he 'got religion' and turned dervish. As Baba Hysejn (Abbot Hysejn) he presided first over the Bektashi monastery (tege) at Krujë and then over that at Martanesh and was buried in the monastery of Zerqan. When he took to the cloister the bajrak passed to Murat Xhabolli, who was from the Gjoni quarter and quite a different family. The great lawgiver, Mus Ballgjini, of the village of Gurakuq was bajraktar of the district of Çermenikë when Turkish rule over Albania ended, but his son did not inherit the office. When Albania developed a conscript army of European type, there could be no more bajraktars in central Albania. Officers led the conscripts, and there was no hereditary principle to preserve the ancient title as there was among the tribes of the north.

701 In certain areas of the north there were no bajraktars. Since
619 beys were feudal lords of the soil it fell to them to lead their henchmen in war. So wherever there were beys of any importance there were no bajraktars. Mat was the classic instance. There were bajraktars to the north of it in tribal Kthellë and Lurë; there were

[the local military leader --Analyst]

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CHAPTER XII

ELDERS

[671] It is impossible to understand the laws and customs of the Albanian
622 mountains without a knowledge of the varieties and responsibilities of the elders. A man could be an elder not only in the literal sense but as a legal personage. Seven types developed in sequence one from another among the southern tribes.

888 Everywhere the word for 'elder' is (sing.) *plak* (plur. *pleq*), which is pure Albanian and means literally 'old man'. There is a corresponding feminine (sing.) *plaka*, 'old woman'. In households of any size there might be several men and women who were really old in years and were 'elders' in the literal sense. These were the first type. The majority were ordinary people and had no legal importance.

592 The idea of age disappears with the second type, found in every household irrespective of its size. Here there were always one man and one woman who bore the special title of 'old man (or elder) of the house' and 'old woman (or elder) of the house'. These under their more usual Albanian titles of master of the household and mistress of the household were not necessarily elders in the sense of 'older people'. They might have attained their position when under forty and have found themselves in authority at that comparatively early age over older men and women.

613 The third category of elders appeared as soon as a household
596 split up and each brother or male cousin in it acquired his own house. Then, a 'brotherhood' (*vllazni*) was formed. In this community each new house was as much a separate entity as the parent one, and was no longer under the control of the master and mistress, the 'elders' of the old joint home. It had its own 'elders' of both sexes who managed all its affairs, external and internal. The 'old man' of the joint home, now administering a much smaller household, thus lost a proportionate share of his importance. But the new masters also lost some of theirs. So long as the family lived together any competent adult among them might deputise for the master in village or tribal affairs or in the administration of the communal home, but from the day they separated,

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the old master reserved such business for himself and his sons, leaving only their own concerns to the masters of the new houses. As he remained the eldest or the most capable of the brothers, his help and advice tended to be sought by the others, particularly in external business, and his opinion was more regarded by outsiders such as tribal or government authorities. So he developed into the 'old man (or elder) of the brotherhood'. As the generations passed and the houses of the original brotherhood split up in their turn, the dignity of brotherhood elder remained in his family, handed down inalienably from master to master. The term 'brotherhood elder' was little used, however; 'first (or head) of the brotherhood' was preferred. There was no woman elder of the brotherhood or any larger unit. The mistress of the household of a brotherhood elder had neither authority nor influence outside his house, as he had. She was a foreign importation into the brotherhood, a stranger to it in blood, her only duties being to bear her husband's children and to work in the house, her only rights proceeding from her fulfilment of those duties.

In course of time so many households split up that a number of new brotherhoods were formed. In some the sense of brotherhood or even cousinship with the others faded, and only a remoter feeling of kinship due to descent from a common ancestor persisted. The agglomeration of brotherhoods then constituted a 'kin' (*fis*). In this, the fourth type, each brotherhood retained its own elder, and at the same time looked up to the elder of the original brotherhood as leader, calling him 'elder of the kin' or 'head of the kin'.

In the next, fifth stage of development several kins united to form a village. They might be distantly related to each other as in the village of Vuksanaj in Shalë, or of quite different stock as in the village of Nangë in Lumë. If related, they remembered which kin descended from the eldest brother in the ancestral home and regarded the elder of that kin as the village elder. If not related, they selected one of the kin elders, preferably the head of the strongest kin, for that position. Alternative names for him were 'senior elder', 'senior headman' and 'head elder'. According to the usual pattern of development each kin and each brotherhood in the village retained its own elder. Already it is possible to understand such data as the following. In the tribe of Lurë there were twelve elders, two for each kin. In the village of Perlat there were two men called village elders or senior elders; in the last days

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and first cup of coffee, which were offered to any man of standing. 554
He lived in the same style as the rest of his social unit and was their equal in the eyes of the law. The latter point was clearer in the old days. If he were killed an ordinary blood feud ensued; if this was compounded, the price of his blood was no higher than an ordinary man's. If he killed someone, his life was forfeit in the usual manner to his victim's family. If he committed a crime against the community, he was liable to the usual punishments for such a crime and could be asked to give the community a rifle or other recognized article as security for his good behaviour in future. He had also the same social obligations as humbler tribesmen. These included serving in the tribal 'army', feeding the tribal 'youth', doing forced labour for the government, sharing communal labour for the village, and subscribing to public objects like buying an extra piece of communal pasturage or forest. He had also, like common men, to do military service and work annually without payment for a short period on the roads.

As a legal personage, however, an elder was on a higher footing 693
than ordinary tribesmen. If, for instance, a village elder were to 622
witness an oath in a case grave enough to require twenty-four 613
jurors, his single person counted as the twelve jurors who were left unspecified by the judging elder. Another elder did not count as high, for a village elder ranked higher than a kin elder, and the latter higher than a brotherhood elder. An elder's duties were twofold, administrative and legal. The former were an expansion of the master's, for he had to take the same fatherly care of his brotherhood, kin or village that a master took of his household and had to run it on much the same system. On the external side he had to present its case skilfully to higher authorities and defend it from oppression. Internally he must maintain law and order by checking the chief evils, assassination and damage to property. He had to try to nip quarrels in the bud by persuasive reasoning, arbitrate when they menaced and judge when they developed. He had to lend the weight of his presence not only to the giving of an oath but also to the bequeathing of a legacy to church or mosque, the planting of boundary stones, and (generally) the separation of brothers. The embodiment of the tribal law, he was at once advocate, judge and law-giver.

An elder's age and wealth did not matter to the ordinary 613
members of his social unit, who drew no invidious comparisons 554 622

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between him and themselves on those grounds. Provided he was correctly descended from the master of the ancestral household through a succession of what were conventionally called 'eldest' brothers, and were really the most competent, they accepted him as their elder as unquestioningly as the English nation accepts its king. Sometimes a new elder seemed unfit for his duties. Then the others took him with them when they went to work, and told him how his dead father judged or arbitrated: the most telling and least offensive method of training him.

When a dispute occurred it was the duty of the aggrieved party to inform his brotherhood elder first of all. When he did so and the matter was trifling and lay between two members of his brotherhood, this elder judged the case out of hand. If the disputants belonged to different brotherhoods, he consulted with the elder of the second brotherhood. When the case was graver he carried it to his kin elder, who might judge it straight away or carry it to the village elder. The village elder might in his turn pronounce judgement forthwith or call a General Assembly of the village in order to thrash the matter out in public and get a backing for any decision taken. Often the aggrieved party went straight to the village elder who was accessible to all tribesmen. In that event neither his kin nor his brotherhood had the right to resent the man's going over their heads. Moreover, the village elder's superiority was so well established that no resentment was likely to be felt. In no case was it lawful for an aggrieved man to seek advice from an elder in an outside village before he had consulted one of his own. If a kin elder or the brotherhood elders in the kin oppressed others in the village it was the duty of the village elder to repress them; and he had the right to summon the elders of the other kins in the village, if necessary, to his support. Article 10 in the Convention of Kurbin[1] betrays a strong feeling that there must be no shooting until the village elder has been informed of the dispute and given a chance to settle it by quieter means.

Elders could also act collectively. In the old days no new law could be passed, nor any judgement affecting their social unit be pronounced, unless they were present and gave their approval. When the bajraktar summoned a General Assembly for such important purposes as concluding a truce, trying a serious case or enacting new laws of tribal behaviour, their attendance was

[1] See Appendix, Document XI, p. 271.

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CHAPTER XIV

GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

619 Turkish suzerainty affected the life of the remoter areas so little that each tribe, and in non-tribal areas each region, was virtually a self-governing unit. The governing bodies in tribal areas were the General Assemblies and the Partial Assemblies. In Turkish times these meetings were often called *mexhlis* (from Arabic '*majlis*' meaning council, assembly, parliament). *Kuvend* is the Latin '*conventio*' (gathering) in Albanian dress. In non-tribal areas regional or village assemblies corresponded to the general and partial assemblies of the tribes.

The General Assembly was usually a tribal gathering, but the word *Kuvend* was used by the Albanians to indicate the national parliament during the German occupation in 1943–4 when Albanian nationalism expressed itself in rejecting the use of words of foreign origin.

In the fifteenth century there was a *Kuvend* of great historical importance when the men of the region of north Albania met to hear Lek Dukagjini, the lord of the extreme north, debate points of law with Skanderbeg, the lord of north central Albania.

[L34] Tribal assemblies brought together one or more tribes. These were plenary, attended by the whole tribe (or region) on the basis of 'one man from each house'. They were convened and presided over by the highest authority available. This was the bajraktar in most tribes, but one of the Gjomarkaj family or a bajraktar in Mirditë. In Dibër, Mat and Kurbin it was the head of the leading family, and in Çermenikë the regional elder. Miss Durham found the president elected in Theth, and stated that this innovation was spreading. Where a General Assembly of two or more tribes took place the meeting resulted from a conference of the chief men of each tribe, convened by the highest dignitary in each tribe and presided over by the highest of these high dignitaries.

613 623 Partial Assemblies too were plenary and were convened and presided over by the head of the unit concerned. The more important were formed by a village or a kin. In a document preserved for

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us by Father Gjeçov,[1] the last clause announces that though the Pecnikaj kin of Shalë laid down the law enunciated in clause 2, it had the support of the Lotaj, Abati (Abat) and Bobi (Bob) kins in doing so. Its first and its fourth clauses consider the adhesion of the brotherhood of Theth as well. Occasionally there was a partial meeting of a brotherhood, and at the bottom of the scale there were household meetings at which the master set some common problem before all the men in the family.

Generally speaking, assemblies of all types took place at irregular intervals, to meet some special need, though the demand that they should be called regularly once a year was not unknown.[2]

When a kin or smaller meeting was in question, the convener sent anyone he could find to call it. Bigger meetings were summoned by word of mouth by the public messenger. In Mat a gipsy beat out the summons on his drum and in Shpat church bells were rung.

Attendance at a plenary meeting was compulsory, non-attendance punishable by a fine. For instance, an elder of Kurbin who failed to turn up and could not satisfy the other elders that his absence was justified was fined five rams. An ordinary tribesman in the same area was fined one ram and in Kastrat 250 piastres. The strength and solidarity of the tribes were closely connected with the plenary character of their assemblies.

Most public meetings took place in the open air, as church houses were usually too small and schoolrooms and village halls did not exist. Meeting places had to be central and free from cultivation, rock, scrub and forest so as to provide adequate seating space. In Catholic areas the yard of the church was commonly used for General Assemblies and in Moslem areas that of the mosque. Assemblies of a village or kin could be held in the most central of the smaller clearings of the area, and a house was big enough for a brotherhood or household assembly.

Some meeting-places were specially famous. At Lesh, a thriving seaport at the mouth of the river Drin, and not the malarial inland townlet into which it has been converted by the advance of the Drin towards Italy, Lek Dukagjini and Skanderbeg met by preference, as it was centrally situated for both their domains. The place of meeting was probably the grassy sward near the ruined church on the right bank of the Drin, opposite the modern town.

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 272

[2] See Appendix, Document V, § 16, p. 264.

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Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son
562 had been killed at a third person's instigation, took his revolver and
*628 killed the instigator. Unfortunately for her, the date was about
[682] 1923 when a modern government was already functioning; she was arrested and tried for murder, but in view of the circumstances she was condemned to no more than a year and a half's imprisonment. The public were astonished to find that the government had punished a woman on much the same terms as a man.

[593] Assuming that a woman could steel herself to murder anyone, it is natural to find her avenging her father, son or brother. Given primitive Albanian ideas about the proprieties between husband and wife, and the feeling that the wife remained a member of her father's household, it is somewhat surprising to find one avenging her husband. A woman of western Mat went one day to the bazaar and there saw the man who had murdered her husband. In spite of the press of people she drew a revolver and shot him dead; as she had come provided with the weapon, there is little doubt that she did not act on the spur of the moment. About 1883 Fatime Almetaj, a woman born in Kostejë near Martanesh and married in Përvall, was busy baking one day while her husband talked to a neighbour. On hearing a gunshot she rushed out to find her husband already dead and the neighbour running away. She ran inside, seized her husband's rifle and again rushed out. The neighbour had already reached his own doorstep when she fired. As soon as she saw him fall dead, she re-entered her house and resumed her baking; her husband had been avenged, there were others in the family to feed, and the dough was getting cold. In neither of these cases do records show whose life the enemy took in return for the one she had taken; by right it should have been one of the males in her husband's family.

593 In certain cases both the avenger and the expiator of a murder
*628 might be drawn from outside the household directly concerned.
[826] For instance, if a murderer and his brother were separated, the avenger might kill the latter while his blood was boiling, a period estimated in Dibër at one hour and in Mirditë and elsewhere at twenty-four hours. When his blood had cooled he must not molest the separated brother, and might be required to find a guarantor that he would not do so. Conversely, a man separated from his murdered brother might avenge him during the regulation period, but not afterwards.

613 Sometimes the rule of 'boiling blood' was extended to larger
*628

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units. For twenty-four hours after a murder in Lumë, a district 613
peopled by little groups of kinsmen, any man of the victim's kin 628*
might avenge him on any man of the criminal's kin. So long as members of this group survived no other would move. If they were killed off, other groups, beginning with the nearest neighbours, might seek vengeance. Within living memory this licence found dreadful expression in Theth, the beautiful northern part of Shalë. About 1890 a man who lost a lamb promised to give a cartridge to a shepherd if he found it. When the shepherd succeeded, the man went back on his promise saying he would 'give him five' (*sc.* fingers on the trigger) instead. For the moment the shepherd let the matter drop, but later met the man and asked once more for his promised reward. Again the man refused it, not too courteously, and was immediately killed by the incensed shepherd. Unfortunately, it was Easter Sunday and the murder took place in a meadow where all the men of Theth were gathered for the festival. Immediately the dead man's *vllazni* (brotherhood), comprising all the males descended from the same ancestor, sought vengeance on the murderer's brotherhood. These were not backward in replying, and within an hour fourteen men lay dead for the sake of one cartridge.

Whole tribes might be affected by the rule of 'boiling blood'. 619
In the Malësi e Madhe if a Kastrati tribesman killed a Koplik man, 628*
any member of the latter tribe had licence for 24 hours to kill any man from Kastrati. The murderer was, therefore, bound to announce his crime at once so that his fellow-tribesmen might take cover. The time limit elapsed, vengeance lay as usual between the two households. In such cases of inter-tribal aggression each tribe became temporarily a single family in which each member represented the whole.

In Çermenikë, kinsfolk were sometimes fused into one family, 612
not by boiling blood as described above, but by a particularly 574
atrocious murder such as that of a guest by his host, when 'circle 628*
after circle' was the rule. The guest's 'circle', consisting of his own household, his kinsmen in separate homes, his neighbours and the sons of the married daughters of his family, wherever these last might live, tried to kill the murderer, and failing to find him or other members of his household, they might kill one of his 'circle'. On succeeding, they held that they had avenged their relative's death, and their victim's family agreed. In other districts they

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[779 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before,
173 after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
614 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167] the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[669 died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is
[103 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the
174 road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the
[197 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are
779] said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat,
174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo,
776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and
614 widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti,
[166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli.
[582] They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the
174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza). 103 779 596 614

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it. [582] [221 648]

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church. 619 614 779 [174 794]

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas." 619 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group. [779 294] 648

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 619 779 103 [776] [628 166] 648 779

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the mountain folk, they are ~~free from~~ Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani.*—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population).

2. *Ghoanni.*—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula.*—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala.*—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

173 dark people inhabiting the land, with whom they intermarried. Eight houses near Abate, in lower Shala, trace descent from these old inhabi-
142 tants. The rest of them migrated to Dechani. The Albanians I saw at Dechani in 1903 were certainly all of the small dark type.

614 Shala consists of four bairaks: Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj. The three latter are said to have separated into three groups 376 years
[613 ago (told me in 1908). Lothaj and Lekaj recently decided they were far
582] enough removed to be intermarriageable. But Shoshi and Mirdita still would not marry with them.

The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

619 2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate
[611] child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood is possible.

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Baron Nopcsa considers the ancestor Nikol to have been brother and not son to Krasan. 619 173

THE PUKA GROUP

This is sometimes reckoned a large tribe of seven bairaks. Sometimes as a group of tribes. 614 619

It is an important group, as here are the oldest of all the population. Much is probably of indigenous origin with little immigration.

1. *Berisha-Merturi.*—The Berisha people state that they have always been in their present homeland. They formerly, says Nopcsa, occupied more, but were driven from Ibalja by the Thachi. With great patience the Baron traced some very extensive pedigrees with certainty back to 1370, and with probability to 1270, an extraordinarily detailed piece of oral tradition. Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago. Even in the days when the district was included in the Serb Empire we find no Slav names in these pedigrees, and only two, Sokol (falcon) and Uk (wolf), occur later. As above mentioned, both Gruda and Kuchi also trace descent in part from Berisha. I would particularly direct ethnologists to this region before it is penetrated and broken up by roads.

Merturi, I was told, was an ancient Roman name "Merituri," but I have not traced it. That the Romans had a route through the district is shown by the place-names "Valbona" and "Apripa." Berisha-Merturi is all Catholic.

2. *Cheriti.*—Part Catholic, part Moslem. These people also stated that they were "very old," but I have no particulars. [779]

3. *Komani.*—Catholic. In this tribe land are the ruins and the ancient graveyard known as Kalja Dalmaches, or tower of the Dalmatians, which is generally considered to be the remains of the Illyrian tribe of the Delmates or Dalmates, driven from the coast by the Romans. The present inhabitants seem to have no tradition of descent from these people, and no tradition, in fact, about them at all, so are clearly later immigrants.

The name Komani occurs also for a district in Montenegro, not far from Podgoritza. One is tempted to connect it with the Cumans or Komans, who were used as hired troops by various Balkan rulers, especially the Bulgars, in the Middle Ages. But we have no definite tale of their movements.

4. *Chiri.*—All Catholic.

5. *Dushaj.*—Catholic.

6. *Kabashi.*—Moslem. Nopcsa reports they came about 250 years ago to their present site.

7. *Puka.*—All Moslem.

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THE POSTRIPA GROUP

619 175 Postripa is obviously a name bequeathed by the Romans. It consists of five tribes, all included in the Diocese of Pulati. Much of Postripa is Moslem, for it was quarrelled about by several bishops. In 1702 Pope Clement XI, who was of Albanian blood on his mother's side, sent Vicentius Zmajevitch as Visitator Apostolicus, who reported among other lamentable things that three bishops were all claiming Postripa, and that meanwhile the people are left "without leader or shepherd, like a scattered flock subject to oppression and persecution."

In Postripa are included five tribes:—

619 175 614 1. *Mazreku.*—A small Catholic tribe. That the place was in ancient days a centre of civilization is shown by the considerable ruins of an abbey, Shenkol Shati, believed to have belonged to the Benedictines and to be the one mentioned by several ancient writers as not far from Scutari. It is now lost in a tangle of trees and brushwood. There is [784] a strong feeling throughout Albania against felling trees on the spot where a church once existed—a feeling that probably goes back to the very ancient days of sacred groves. The abbey presumably fell into ruin when the Serbs seized the district in the Middle Ages. The hatred [798] of the Serb Orthodox for the Catholics was shown in 1913 in the Balkan War, when the Montenegrin troops, whose object was said to be "to liberate Christians," fell upon the little church of Mazreku, trampled the Host under foot, dressed up in the priestly vestments, danced about, and amused themselves by cutting off the noses from images of the saints and firing bullets into the crucifix.

2. *Drishti.*—A small Moslem tribe that was almost annihilated in 1913 by the Montenegrins. Drishti is the site of the ancient city of Drivasto, in ancient days a bishopric, mentioned as early as 877. The town was entirely destroyed by the Turks, who beheaded the leaders before the walls of Scutari—then too besieged—in order to terrify the Scutarines into submission. The wasted spot was afterwards settled by incomers from the neighbourhood of mixed origin. And in the period when three bishops were quarrelling for Postripa the Drishti folk all turned Moslem.

3. *Shlaku.*—A tribe of one bairak on the right bank of the Drin, in a [779] very poor district. It is all Catholic and traces origin from Toplana (*q.v.*).

4. *Dushmani.*—A Catholic tribe of two bairaks—Temali and Dushmani. Dushmani takes its name from a chieftain family which ruled here. In 1403 "Goranimus, Damianus, and Nenada, brothers Dusmani, Lords of Polati Minor," offer themselves as subjects to Venice and swear fidelity on condition that Venice will guarantee them in possession

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared
765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 582 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 614 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North.
619 Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 779 186 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 614 779 582 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress. When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

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Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra*.—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji*.—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma*.—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

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614 Along with Ljuma were grouped Bruti, Mal i zi (the Black Mountain, not to be confounded with Montenegro), Rechi, Vlas, and some other small groups—all offshoots of older tribes, especially of Shala and the Fandi bairak of Mirdita.

DJAKOVA GROUP

614 1. *Gashi.*—All Moslem. About eight hundred houses. I did not
619 visit it.

779 2. *Hashi.*—A very large tribe of, it was said, about a thousand houses, almost all Moslem. They had never seen a woman in European dress, and were greatly amused at my arrival armed only with an umbrella. They occupy the Pestriku mountains, traditionally a former [186] home of the Mirdites. They were hospitable and allowed me to pass through their land, but were so unused to foreigners and so afraid that their admission might bring about foreign annexation that I asked no questions about origin or anything personal.

[103] 3. *Tropopoja.*—Three hundred Moslem houses—I did not visit.
173 The town of Djakova was founded by an offshoot of the Merturi-Berisha, and I was told derives its name from St. Jak (St. Giacomo), and that its founders were Christians. But when I visited it almost the whole of its large population was Moslem. There was a small Catholic church and school. Except for one hundred Serb families the town was solid Albanian. Two stocks claimed descent from the original founders: the Merturi and the Vula. The Vula was a large and powerful family, and I was told I could travel anywhere safely with a Vula as guide. I did so. He carried no weapon.

A large number of villages surround Djakova. These I found to be all Albanian, tracing descent from Berisha, Shala, Fandi, and other bairaks of Mirdita, as do many inhabitants of the town. None intermarry with their tribe of origin. The villages were mixed Catholic and Moslem. There were no Serb villages. The district is now part of Jugoslavia, and the population doubtless much changed by immigration and emigration.

IPEK GROUP

614 1. *Ipek* (now called Petch) and its villages.—A large Albanian
619 population of many stocks flowed down from the mountains when the
173 Serbs evacuated it in 1640 and reoccupied the lands formerly taken from their ancestors.

Some villages traced origin from Berisha and Shala. Dechani was populated by descendants of the ancient Shala stock (*q.v.*). This

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district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania. 619 173 [166]

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them. [648] [186 727]

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude. 619 173

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether 619 101 779

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in 423
Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times 487
a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man [685]
cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or [574]
village had married into the privileged ward[1] her kinsmen had leave [607]
to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families [614]
in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact, the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter- 486
tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of 619
sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory, and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus, a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger 574
obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded 628
as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection 486
and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the 672
event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

1 [in the village of Godolesh --Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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A 779 582 Finally he said he supposed he could not; but that such a case had never occurred, and he hoped he should never have to do anything so horrible. So long as he lived in the mountains he was safe.

I dared not ask how many cousins in the female line he had married in all good faith.

A 614 The tribe is sometimes a group of several stocks, in which case marriage within the tribe is possible between them. These groups are called "bairaks" (standards: Turk.). Some tribes consist of but one bairak. The head is the "bairaktar" (standard-bearer). This post is hereditary from father to eldest son. Of old the bairaktar is said to have been important. In my time he had lost ground and was often quite cut out in council by abler men.

A 596 Each bairak contains many groups, called "vlaznii" (brethren), consisting of a family group including second cousins or even further. The Turkish word "mehala" is also used for these groups.

H 114 779 A vivid picture of North Albania before the coming of the Turk is given by Father Brocardus, a Dominican who wrote an account of the routes suitable for the Crusaders in 1332, and presented it to his sovereign, Lord Philippe de Valois. He shows Albania under Serb rule. Especially he recommends the route from Brindisi to Durazzo, and thence across "Abbanie where the people are devout and obedient to the Church of Rome," and thence by way of the Blaques (Vlahs of the Pindus) to Thessalonica.

Of the Kingdom of Rassie (Serbia) he says that it is a land where Catholics are treated with insult and violence. He proposes to the King of France: "Some movements to assail it, and certain easy conditions for taking it. . . . Among other things there is one which does much to make the capture of the said Kingdom of Rassie more easy. Be it known there are two nations, the one the Abbanois, and the H [794] other the Latins, who are both of the faith and owe obedience to the Church of Rome, according to which they have Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and religious and secular priests of lower estate and degree. The Latins have six cities and as many bishops. These are Antivari—the Archiepiscopate—Cattaro, Dulcigno, Suacinense, Scutari, and Drivasto. In these cities only Latins live, and some are without the walls. In all their dioceses are Abbanois, who have also four cities: that is to say Polat Major, Polat Minor, Sabbate, and Albanie, which together with the Latins are all subject to the Archbishop of Antivari" H 197 (these "cities" are, in fact, districts), "and his Church. And though 212 these *Abbanois have a language quite other from that of the Latins, they* 245 *use the Latin letters in all their books*. Thus the power of the Latins is enclosed within the circuit of the cities which are theirs, though they H 702 have some vineyards and fields without the cities. . . . The Abbanois

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

H 794 present Kopliku; Albanian districts on the Drin are also given or ordered to pay tribute. All of which confirms Father Brocardus's statements.

H 792 651 Stefan Urosh III, when founding the monastery at Dechani, gives it in 1330 many "villages and katuns of Vlahs and Albanians between the Lim and White Drin," and gives a list of persons who are to pay tribute, the last of which are Zaharia and Mihal of Nikita in Pulati, who are to pay the former 4,000 and the latter 2,000 cocoons annually to the Church. All Vlahs and Albanians are to carry salt for the monastery. Thus numbers of peasants were put into the power of the Orthodox Church, but though severe laws were enacted against Catholicism, North Albania in large part remains Catholic.

H 175 779 So soon as the Serb Empire fell, references to Albanian chiefs become frequent, and the Catholic Church speedily took the ascendancy. Many of these chiefs took service with their men under Venice. Others were subsidized by Venice as allies. All documents show that at the time of the Turkish invasion there was a large Albanian population both in the mountains and on the plains, which then, as now, were largely used as winter pasture.

The swoop of the conquering Turk, the capture of Scutari and Alessio, the complete destruction of Drivasto, caused a great dislocation of population. As the Turk settled on the fat plains, numbers of refugees took to the mountains. The tradition now told in the mountains of the north is often that of these immigrant refugees, who tell of having found other inhabitants in the land, but the families who H 582 now trace direct male descent from these are few. The strict law of exogamy must, however, have forced the immigrant to intermarry largely with the old inhabitant, and the race continuity is, therefore, unbroken.

2. The Maltsia e Madhe Group

A 619 614 The tribes fall into several main groups.

The Maltsia e Madhe (the Great Mountains) group consisted, when I visited it, of five large tribes and some smaller ones.

1. *Gruda.*—A tribe of one bairak, situated between the river Tsem and the old Montenegrin frontier. To the north of it is Triepshi and south is Hoti. Triepshi was part of this group till given to Montenegro in 1878. Gruda in 1908 consisted of about five hundred "houses." A [592] A "house" was roughly reckoned at from eight to ten souls.

Of these five hundred "houses," eighty traced descent from Berisha (see below), and thus are of old indigenous stock. The remainder, A [167] called Djell, said they were immigrants from the Herzegovina, and that

163 reproductive organs. That is why first-born children tend preponderantly to be boys. It is the age of the mother that counts. In northern Albania girls are married as soon as they come to sexual maturity and begin bearing children as soon as they are biologically able. There is no time of peace.

128 These statistics,[1] though not complete, help round out the picture drawn in the earlier chapters. All of these things fit together: the environment; the techniques of making a living on the specific kind of landscape; the division of labor between the sexes; the economic unity of the patriarchal household; its independence of similar households; the division of labor between mountain and town; the consequent absence of any need for a technological division of labor among the mountaineers; the difficulty and limitation of travel and transport; the struggle for life within an ever-increasing population; the consequent mechanisms of population control, consisting in some of the border tribes of a certain amount of emigration, but, by and large, taken care of by the time-honored technique of feuds and reciprocal murder, to which the whole system of marriage, and its biological compensations, [177] are adjusted. They show without question the truth of the main point of this paper so far, that the Mountains of Giants form a genetic area peculiarly closed to outside influence.

● 614 [582] We stated in our discourse on marriage that a boy might not marry a girl with whom he could trace any common patrilineal descent.[2] That statement needs elucidation. Actually the Ghegs are divided up into a number of mutually exclusive gentes, called *fis*, based on traditions of common ancestry, complete with origin myths. The extent to which the myths are historically accurate probably depends on how far back the particular *fis* goes. Each *fis* is said to have been derived from a single man, usually someone who came into the country at one time or another, although a few are believed to have been descended from aborigines.

The most numerous and best known *fis* in Ghegnia is that of Dukagin. This includes the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spac and Kushnen, which

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 25b-27b -- Analyst]

[1] Gates, 1946, vol. 2, pp. 872-73; Little, 1919, pp. 127-30.

2 [see cat. 116, pp. 22b-23a, 23c-23d -- Analyst]

614 constitute three-fifths of Mirdita, as well as Shoshi and Shala in the tribe which bears the Dukagin name. There are 2 origin myths, one told in Dukagin, the other in Mirdita.

According to the first legend, 3 brothers came from a place called Marina near Jakova. One carried a winnowing sieve (*shosh*) and became the ancestor of Shoshi. The other carried a saddle (*shal*) and sired Shala. The third carried nothing, said, "*Mir dit*" (Good day) and walked away. His descendants are the people of Mirdita. The Mirdita people tell a more detailed story. They list 5 brothers, Shosh and Shal as before, named for the objects they carried, and 3 others who settled Mirdita—Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen. The meaning of these words is obscure.[5]

614 621 In Mirdita where these 3 brothers settled they found other people ahead of them, the ancestors of the inhabitants of the 2 remaining *bairaks* of Dibri and Fan. Dibri and Fan had several kinship lines each, hence each consists of a number of *fis*. Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen *bairaks* form a single exogamic unit today. They take their wives from Dibri and Fan, from the Christian *bairaks* of Selita and Kthella in Mati, and they did from Lura before they fell in blood with them. They also marry Christian women from the 7 *bairaks* of Puka. No man from Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen can marry any woman from these 3 *bairaks*, or from Shoshi or Shala.

Shoshi and Shala form an isolated geographical unit, with Shala at the high and Shoshi at the low end of an enclosed upland valley. It is not easy to enter or leave this area. Hence the marriage restrictions between the two, if they ever existed, have disappeared, and Shoshi men regularly marry Shala women, and vice versa. The local rationalization is that over a hundred generations have passed since the time of the 2 ancestral brothers, long enough to remove any trace of consanguinity. By the same token they could theoretically marry their fellow *fis* members from Mirdita, except that the Mirdites would not agree. In any case

[5] The Mirdites claim that *spaç* meant "sickle," *kushnen*, "pitchfork." I did not learn what *orosh* was supposed to mean, nor can my Albanian friends in Boston identify it. *Orosh* may, however, be the same as Urosh, a Slavic name borne by the son of the Tzar

[continued p. 28b --Analyst]

614 621 the 2 tribes are so far apart, and so isolated, that the occasion would not arise. Shosh and Shala, like their brothers, found aborigines in their valley; with the descendants of these earlier residents they too can form convenient short-distance unions.

Merturi and Nikaj, the 2 Catholic *bairaks* of Malsia e Jakovës (the other Catholics, those of Krasniqi, migrated en masse some 30 or more years previously to Jakova) regularly intermarry, back and forth, like Shoshi and Shala. In general the larger exogamous units are found among Catholics, the smaller among Moslems. Most Moslems feel that 7 generations distance between kin is enough to permit marriage, which means that brides are usually taken from nearer home. North of the Drin, and in Mirdita, even when there are several intermarriageable *fis* in a single village, village exogamy is required. In the Moslem tribes to the south and east this is said to be unnecessary. In the town of Gur i Bardh, in Mati, we were told that village endogamy is usual. There can be little question that the Catholic system as practised in Mirdita, Dukagin, and Merturi-Nikaj is historically the older, and is the more closely associated with isolation and intense feuding.

In the next chapter we will go into detail on the number and locations of various *fis*.[1] Here it is enough to state the principle, amply demonstrated by the evidence, that where there has been little travel and a minimum of immigration, one finds single kinship groups occupying wide areas, as in the cases just mentioned. Where there has been more travel and moving around and changing of domicile, one finds many little kinship units in a relatively small area. Thus in Puka, where the main highway passes, there are dozens of *fis*, of a few households each, and the same is true in the more traveled parts of Luma and Dibra, and in the neighborhood of Scutari.

The *fis*, as we have seen, is the basic unit of exogamy. Like all human institutions and aggregations it is a mobile unit, never com-

Dushan, who despoiled the lower Drin country at the end of the 14th century (see page 43).[2] It is obvious that these contemporary translations of the ancestral names are apocryphal.

[p. 28(b)]

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 30a - 34b -- Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, pp. 43a - 43b -- Analyst]

614
621 pletely static. It changes with local needs. We have seen how in Dukagin the local geographical requirements split a *fis*, and how in the relatively less warlike Moslem areas with a reduction in need for extended exogamy, the device of a 7-generation distance was innovated, while village exogamy disappeared. So far we are dealing with reductions in exogamy. However, there are instances in which the opposite occurs, and the incest group is ex-
608 tended. Two ritual mechanisms provide for this, blood brotherhood and godfatherhood.

When 2 men become close friends and allies, and find themselves in need of each other's assistance, particularly in feuds, their relationship becomes similar to that of brothers, which is an extremely close one. It is therefore considered necessary that they make this relationship legal, which they do by means of a simple ceremony. The 2 men prick their fingers with knives, and either lick each other's blood, or bleed mutually into a cup of *raki*, which both drink. Once this has been done they are one in blood, and their children cannot marry each other. The other rite, godfatherhood, has its

[p. 29 (a)]

The other rite, godfatherhood, has its
608 motivation in exactly the same circumstances;
852 but it is made to coincide with another rite of passage, that of the first haircut of a baby boy, the son of one of the participants. The father, child, and prospective godfather meet outdoors, in the presence of other kin. The godfather holds the boy in his lap, and snips off 4 locks of hair, if Christian, and 3, if Moslem. The difference lies in the refusal of the Moslem to make the sign of the cross. The godfather then burns the hair. A feast follows, during which the godfather gives the father a present of cash, the father reciprocating with a gift of fine clothing.

604 Both of these rites[1] place the descendants of
614 the 2 principals in an incest relationship. They do not, however, apply to collateral kin, for if *A* and *B* become blood brothers or godfathers, *A*'s brother's son can still wed *B*'s daughter, while *A*'s son cannot. This complicates the picture beyond this simple *fis* system and provides a number of special relationships to meet individual requirements. Needless to say, the local Catholic clergy frown on both these practices.

1 [blood brotherhood and godfatherhood see cat. 116, pp. 29a - 29b -- Analyst']

124 has to face in the field. Half the Luma sample came from Biçani, which comprises over half the tribe. As one can readily see, these Moslems marry within their own *bairaks* most commonly.

614 634 In Puka it is manifest that Kabash and Çeret form each a single *fis*. Berisha, the oldest known *fis* in Ghegnia, has a companion *fis*, Thach, in its *bairak*, with which it sometimes marries. Buxhon and Iballja each have more than one *fis*, as do Puka and Mal i Zi. On the whole the *bairaks* of Puka, whether single or multiple as regards *fis*, are exogamous. Since marriage across the Drin is frequent, many of the men from Buxhon, Berisha, and Iballja may have had mothers from the Lower Pulati section of Dukagin.

We were able to get a complete list of the *fis* in the tribe of Puka, except for Mal i Zi, as follows:

1. *Kabash*, *bairak* and *fis*. Three hundred houses, located in Kabash, Puka, and Iballja.
2. *Marin*, a *fis* of 30 houses in Puka village of Puka *bairak*.
3. *Guian*, a *fis* of 3 or 4 houses only, in Puka village.
4. *Kashnet*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak* only.
5. *Shkrella*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak*, related to the Shkrelli people in Malsia e Madhe.
6. *Krasniq*, with obvious affiliations, 10 houses, Puka village.
7. *Shala*, with obvious affiliations, 60 houses, Puka *bairak*.
8. *Thach*, this is the only *fis* in Buxhon, and one of two in Kabash, the other being Kabash *fis*.
9. *Berisha*, *bairak* and *fis*, a single unit.
10. *Kcheira*, a *fis* in Çeret.
11. *Shosh*, with obvious affiliations, a *fis* in Çeret.
12. *Çereti*, also a *fis* in Çeret.

614 634 361 In Mal i Zi there are said to be many other *fis* besides these 12. The above list shows 7 different *fis* in the single bairak of Puka, with 3 of them limited to a single village. This situation reflects the location of Puka village

[1] Kashnet and Guian of Puka also appear here. Vik, Mesouli, seem to be others.

614 634 361 at a natural stopping point on the Roman road, where other trails come in. It is also a trading center, and one of administration. Its geographical position has brought in people from many places, and it stands in striking contrast to the more isolated *bairaks* of the same tribe, which in some cases have only one *fis* each. If Mal i Zi has many *fis* as well, that is because it too is conveniently located on the road.

In Mirdita exactly the opposite situation is found; the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen all belong to one *fis*, although one village in Orosh is eligible for marriage with these Dukagini. This village was once part of [124] Kthella. Two of our subjects were the sons of women from this village. Fan and Dibri marry both with Dukagini and within their own *fis*, of which there are several.[1] In our series Kushneni married only Dibri, which was nearest; Fan mostly Orosh, for the same reason. One blank bears the astounding information that its subject was the son of an Orosh father and a Kushnen mother. This is undoubtedly some kind of a mistake, possibly similar to the situation noted above.

614 634 Zadrima is only one *bairak*, all Catholic except a few small villages nearest Scutari. Despite its lowland habitat it retains its tribal organization, as well as its Gheg speech, and hence was included in this series. We did not obtain a record of its *fis*.

All 4 *bairaks* of Mati contain 2 or more *fis* each. The 3-part Catholic *bairaks* in the north form an intermarrying group and married with Mirdita extensively in the old days. In the time of our series, Lura was in blood with the Mirdites and the exchange of wives had been broken off. Very rarely do these northerners intermarry with the men of Mat. If this job were to be done again, the 3 northern *bairaks* should be given separate consideration for they are a genetic unit apart from Mat. The northerners are frequently tall, the Mat men almost uniformly short. In Dibra the 4 *bairaks* were almost wholly endogamous, and again separate treatment would be profitable. If we had measured 600 more men, the series would have been a better one.

(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 174
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of [628]
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 582
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 602
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence 611
it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon 619
after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the 614
sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia- [67]
Herzegovina.

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half 582
the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly 779
destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war 727

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133]

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many
refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly 798
handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and 727
Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the [423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by 648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[179 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those 614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno. 173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming 614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with [167 the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth 197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

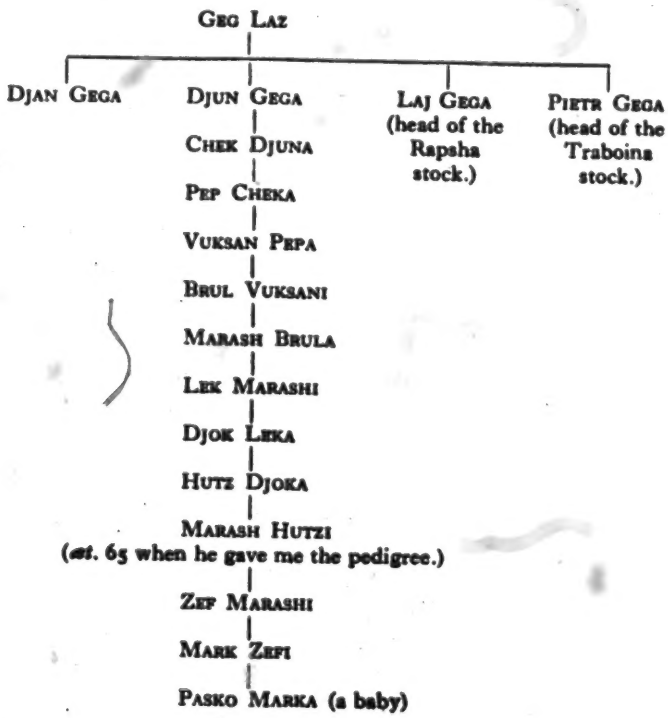
619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and 721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best, [669 died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule 727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

me not to give him more than his share. One of the Franciscans gave him shelter, for he was generally beloved, but he did not survive the winter. I mourned him at the time, but was later glad that he had died before his beloved tribe was handed to the enemy. The name "Hoti" is older than the arrival of Geg Laz. Jirecek, quoting the Venetian archives, states that the Hoti ("montanea Ottanorum") allied itself in 1474 with Ivan Tzrnojevitch and fought the Turks. The "Anas" must then have been numerous.



The tribe of Nikaj (see below) is also related to Hoti. Marash Hutzi said that Nikaj descends from a son of Krasnich. Baron Nopcsa learnt from another quarter that Nik was another brother of Geg Laz. That they are related is clear, for they are not intermarriageable.

Hoti usually marries the neighbour tribe Kastrati. As Kastrati mainly marries Hoti, after so many generations the two must be very closely related. But old Marash was extremely proud of the strict exogamy of the tribe. To marry "one's own blood" he looked on with unspeakable horror. I asked how many generations must pass before the descendants

619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is [703 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the 174] road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the [197 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are 779] said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat,
174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo,
776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and
614 widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti, [166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli.

[582] They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the
174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza). 103 779 596 614

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it. [582] [221 648]

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church. 619 614 779 [174 794]

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas." 619 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group. [779 294] 648

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 619 779 103 [776] [628 166] 648 779

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includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, 175
that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the 794
vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, 619
and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," 779
not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the [651]
mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati 794
extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani.*—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three 614
stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, 619
Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population). 779

2. *Ghoanni.*—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula.*—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala.*—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of 173
Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and [582]
three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

173 dark people inhabiting the land, with whom they intermarried. Eight houses near Abate, in lower Shala, trace descent from these old inhabi-
142 tants. The rest of them migrated to Dechani. The Albanians I saw at Dechani in 1903 were certainly all of the small dark type.

614 Shala consists of four bairaks: Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj. The three latter are said to have separated into three groups 376 years
[613 ago (told me in 1908). Lothaj and Lekaj recently decided they were far
582] enough removed to be intermarriageable. But Shoshi and Mirdita still would not marry with them.

The bairak of Thethi consists of 180 houses. In these mountains a "house" is far more numerous than in the Maltsia e Madhe. Large communal "houses" still exist, of as many as thirty or forty persons. Thethi is self-governing, and, in fact, is practically a separate tribe. It clings strongly to exogamy, and does not intermarry at all within the tribe, nor does Petsaj. Thethi marries almost entirely with Boga, and this, continued through many generations, has made the Thethi differ somewhat in physical type from the rest of Shala.

619 2. *Shoshi.*—Origin as above. It lies south of Shala, on the right bank of Shala river. The rock of Lek Dukagin is in Shoshi territory. Shala and Shoshi reckon themselves as "Dukagini," former subjects, that is, of the now extinct chieftain family of Dukagin. Shoshi and Shala are entirely Catholic.

3. *Toplana.*—This was a very wild tribe and had the highest record for blood-vengeance of all the Christian tribes. It is situated in very rugged mountains difficult of access. Toplana told me it was "very old." Baron Nopcsa traced pedigrees to 1450, and considers that about that time it came in to its present site from Vasojevitch. Vasojevitch is known to have shifted its ground from somewhere near Focha in the Herzegovina to Medun, near Podgoritza, and thence to its present site. In one of these shifts it probably drove Toplana out.

The whole district occupied by the above seven tribes is often called Maltsia e Vogel, the little mountains. Also included in the diocese of Pulati is:—

4. *Nikaj.*—Here I was told that the tribe is mainly an offshoot from the Moslem tribe of Krasnichi, which, as we have seen, is brother to Hoti. Nikol, the ancestor, left Krasnichi while that tribe was still Christian, and Nikaj is all Catholic. One hundred houses of Nikaj, the Tsuraj, trace descent from a daughter of Nikol, who bore an illegitimate
[611] child by a cut-eared gipsy ("tsurrue," to cut or mark the ears). This is the only case of female descent I heard of. The cut ear suggests that the gipsy had been mutilated as a punishment and had fled to the mountains. The Nikaj people are dark and are a wild lot. Gipsy blood is possible.

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Baron Nopcsa considers the ancestor Nikol to have been brother and not son to Krasan. 619 173

THE PUKA GROUP

This is sometimes reckoned a large tribe of seven bairaks. Sometimes as a group of tribes. 614 619

It is an important group, as here are the oldest of all the population. Much is probably of indigenous origin with little immigration.

1. *Berisha-Merturi.*—The Berisha people state that they have always been in their present homeland. They formerly, says Nopcsa, occupied more, but were driven from Ibalja by the Thachi. With great patience the Baron traced some very extensive pedigrees with certainty back to 1370, and with probability to 1270, an extraordinarily detailed piece of oral tradition. Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago. Even in the days when the district was included in the Serb Empire we find no Slav names in these pedigrees, and only two, Sokol (falcon) and Uk (wolf), occur later. As above mentioned, both Gruda and Kuchi also trace descent in part from Berisha. I would particularly direct ethnologists to this region before it is penetrated and broken up by roads.

Merturi, I was told, was an ancient Roman name "Merituri," but I have not traced it. That the Romans had a route through the district is shown by the place-names "Valbona" and "Apripa." Berisha-Merturi is all Catholic.

2. *Cheriti.*—Part Catholic, part Moslem. These people also stated that they were "very old," but I have no particulars. [779]

3. *Komani.*—Catholic. In this tribe land are the ruins and the ancient graveyard known as Kalja Dalmaches, or tower of the Dalmatians, which is generally considered to be the remains of the Illyrian tribe of the Delmates or Dalmates, driven from the coast by the Romans. The present inhabitants seem to have no tradition of descent from these people, and no tradition, in fact, about them at all, so are clearly later immigrants.

The name Komani occurs also for a district in Montenegro, not far from Podgoritza. One is tempted to connect it with the Cumans or Komans, who were used as hired troops by various Balkan rulers, especially the Bulgars, in the Middle Ages. But we have no definite tale of their movements.

4. *Chiri.*—All Catholic.

5. *Dushaj.*—Catholic.

6. *Kabashi.*—Moslem. Nopcsa reports they came about 250 years ago to their present site.

7. *Puka.*—All Moslem.

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Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

THE POSTRIPA GROUP

619 175 Postripa is obviously a name bequeathed by the Romans. It consists of five tribes, all included in the Diocese of Pulati. Much of Postripa is Moslem, for it was quarrelled about by several bishops. In 1702 Pope Clement XI, who was of Albanian blood on his mother's side, sent Vicentius Zmajevitch as Visitator Apostolicus, who reported among other lamentable things that three bishops were all claiming Postripa, and that meanwhile the people are left "without leader or shepherd, like a scattered flock subject to oppression and persecution."

In Postripa are included five tribes:—

619 175 614 1. *Mazreku.*—A small Catholic tribe. That the place was in ancient days a centre of civilization is shown by the considerable ruins of an abbey, Shenkol Shati, believed to have belonged to the Benedictines and to be the one mentioned by several ancient writers as not far from Scutari. It is now lost in a tangle of trees and brushwood. There is [784] a strong feeling throughout Albania against felling trees on the spot where a church once existed—a feeling that probably goes back to the very ancient days of sacred groves. The abbey presumably fell into ruin when the Serbs seized the district in the Middle Ages. The hatred [798] of the Serb Orthodox for the Catholics was shown in 1913 in the Balkan War, when the Montenegrin troops, whose object was said to be "to liberate Christians," fell upon the little church of Mazreku, trampled the Host under foot, dressed up in the priestly vestments, danced about, and amused themselves by cutting off the noses from images of the saints and firing bullets into the crucifix.

2. *Drishti.*—A small Moslem tribe that was almost annihilated in 1913 by the Montenegrins. Drishti is the site of the ancient city of Drivasto, in ancient days a bishopric, mentioned as early as 877. The town was entirely destroyed by the Turks, who beheaded the leaders before the walls of Scutari—then too besieged—in order to terrify the Scutarines into submission. The wasted spot was afterwards settled by incomers from the neighbourhood of mixed origin. And in the period when three bishops were quarrelling for Postripa the Drishti folk all turned Moslem.

3. *Shlaku.*—A tribe of one bairak on the right bank of the Drin, in a [779] very poor district. It is all Catholic and traces origin from Toplana (*q.v.*).

4. *Dushmani.*—A Catholic tribe of two bairaks—Temali and Dushmani. Dushmani takes its name from a chieftain family which ruled here. In 1403 "Goranimus, Damianus, and Nenada, brothers Dusmani, Lords of Polati Minor," offer themselves as subjects to Venice and swear fidelity on condition that Venice will guarantee them in possession

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured 619
of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of 614
their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, 175
was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states [173]
that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When 619
I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses 779
with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from [793]
a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was 643
one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence 614
of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, 173
Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the 582
Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

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173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared
765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 582 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 614 619 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North. Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 779 186 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 614 779 582 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress. When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

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Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra.*—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji.*—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma.*—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

614 Along with Ljuma were grouped Bruti, Mal i zi (the Black Mountain, not to be confounded with Montenegro), Rechi, Vlas, and some other small groups—all offshoots of older tribes, especially of Shala and the Fandi bairak of Mirdita.

DJAKOVA GROUP

614 1. *Gashi.*—All Moslem. About eight hundred houses. I did not
619 visit it.
779 2. *Hashi.*—A very large tribe of, it was said, about a thousand houses, almost all Moslem. They had never seen a woman in European dress, and were greatly amused at my arrival armed only with an umbrella. They occupy the Pestriku mountains, traditionally a former [186] home of the Mirdites. They were hospitable and allowed me to pass through their land, but were so unused to foreigners and so afraid that their admission might bring about foreign annexation that I asked no questions about origin or anything personal.

[103 173] 3. *Tropopoja.*—Three hundred Moslem houses—I did not visit. The town of Djakova was founded by an offshoot of the Merturi-Berisha, and I was told derives its name from St. Jak (St. Giacomo), and that its founders were Christians. But when I visited it almost the whole of its large population was Moslem. There was a small Catholic church and school. Except for one hundred Serb families the town was solid Albanian. Two stocks claimed descent from the original founders: the Merturi and the Vula. The Vula was a large and powerful family, and I was told I could travel anywhere safely with a Vula as guide. I did so. He carried no weapon.

A large number of villages surround Djakova. These I found to be all Albanian, tracing descent from Berisha, Shala, Fandi, and other bairaks of Mirdita, as do many inhabitants of the town. None intermarry with their tribe of origin. The villages were mixed Catholic and Moslem. There were no Serb villages. The district is now part of Jugoslavia, and the population doubtless much changed by immigration and emigration.

IPEK GROUP

614 1. *Ipek* (now called Petch) and its villages.—A large Albanian
619 population of many stocks flowed down from the mountains when the
173 Serbs evacuated it in 1640 and reoccupied the lands formerly taken from their ancestors.

Some villages traced origin from Berisha and Shala. Dechani was populated by descendants of the ancient Shala stock (*q.v.*). This

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district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania.

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether

Epirus

THE southern part of the Kingdom of /31 Albania of today was the ancient Epirus. This territory was bounded on the north by the Ionian Sea and on the south by the Ambracian Gulf. Its landward sides were next to Illyria, Macedonia and Thessaly. The terrain is essentially moun- /33 tainous. About the fourth century before 619 Christ these Epirots were divided in fourteen tribes. Epirus at this time exerted no small 791 influence on Thessaly through the oracle of Dodona. Historically, the part of Epirus was passive. Epirus was divided into the smaller 631 kingdoms of Molossia, Thesprotia, Chaonia, etc., which were formed into an Epirotic League.

The chieftains of Molossia, who dominated /73 all Epirus, claimed to be descended from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who settled in the country after the fall of Troy. (Plutarch also relates that Achilles was known in this country under the name of "Aspetos" which in Albanian means "swift.") Upon Pyrrhus' death his kingdom was transmitted to Molossus, his son by Andromache.

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

361 lowed into them and is to be found in no other place in Europe.

These little hamlets are constant sources of surprise with their old traditions, native [619] songs and legends. In the more distant fastnesses of the mountains, the natives live in tribes as their ancestors did before them, generations ago, each tribe having distinctive ornaments for their costumes. There are hundreds of small farms scattered throughout the mountains; some in the valleys, others clinging to the side of a mountain, and still others perched on the summit of the lower knolls and even a few on the rocky heights. Their implements and methods are of the simplest 312 variety. Irrigation is their chief way of watering their fields, for water is plentiful. This delicious, cold, spring water has many sources in the heart of the mountains and is inexhaustible. The natives dig small channels, and where necessary, they make troughs for the water and lead it in zig-zag fashion down the mountain-side to their farms. There is nothing more refreshing nor cooling than this icy-cold fountain that Mother Nature has given the Albanians.

000 Albania is also a seat of historic interest,

6: Lane
619

EG1 Albania EG1

/For an account of inter-tribal agreements following the March 1922 rebellion, staged by the mountain Ghegs in Tirana and Durazzo against the newly formed Albanian Toshk Government, see category 116, pp. 333-335./

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 583 God. It was not strange that what I had heard of the marriage customs had baffled me, he[1] said; I should not look for traces of marriage by capture or marriage by purchase; the basis of the tribal ceremonies is fire worship.

585 On the day of the wedding the bride, elabo-
593 rately dressed, is carried, screaming and struggling, from her father's house, and by her brothers is delivered to the husband's family at a place midway between the lands of the two
[582] tribes. Since each tribe is technically a large
[619] family, claiming a common prehistoric ancestor, it is forbidden to marry within the tribe. The bride carries with her from her home one invariable gift—a pair of fire tongs. When she arrives at her husband's house she takes a humble place in the corner, standing, her hands folded on her breast, her eyes downcast, and for three days and nights she is required to remain in that position, without lifting her eyes, without moving, and without eating or drinking.

"Though I believe," said the bishop, smiling, "that she takes the precaution of hiding some food and drink in her garments, and no doubt the mother-in-law sees that she is allowed to rest a little while the household is asleep." And he explained that this custom remains from the old days when the father of each house was also the priestly guardian of the fire, and anyone coming to ask for a light from it stood reverently in that position, silent, before the hearth, until the father priest gave it to him. The bride, new-

1 [Bishop of Pultit -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

room, furnished by a mattress laid on a raised platform of boards. Our saddlebags and blankets had been piled on the rough wooden floor, and Rexh held the torch while the bishop's servant poured cold water from a wooden bucket over our hands. Then he offered us a beautifully hand-woven towel of red-and-white striped linen, and when we had dried our hands he led us down a stone stairway, through a kitchen crowded with villagers, where an old woman tended cooking pots over a fire built on the earthen floor, and into the dining room.

There was a long, rude table covered with hand-woven linen, rough benches on each side of it. The bishop sat at its head, on a stool, and served the soup. The Franciscan brother and a meek little priest in black sat humbly near the foot of the table, and did not speak. There was nothing in the stone-floored, plaster-walled room except the table, the benches, and a rain-stained photograph on the discolored wall—a picture of a gathering of Albanian priests, taken many years ago in Tirana.

628 "The feud between Shala and Shoshi[1] looks
619 very bad," said the bishop[2] "I fear there will be many deaths. We do what we can to prevent it, all the authority of the Church is used against these feuds, but——" He shrugged his shoulders. "It is their way of enforcing their law, the Law of Lec, which has come down to them from prehistoric times. And the Albanians are very tenacious of their own customs."

1 [Albanian Mountain tribes -- [28] Analyst]
2 [Bishop of Pultit -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

He filled our glasses with red wine. "You must not mistake my people," he said. "The blood feud is bad, very bad, but it is their only way of enforcing laws, which are, in general, admirable. 628 619

"The blood feud is not a lawless thing, as strangers sometimes think. Nor has it anything to do with personal strife or hate. It is a form of capital punishment, such as all nations have, and it is governed by most strict laws.

"You must remember that in these mountains we have never been conquered by foreign governments. The Roman Empire claimed to have overpowered Albania, it is true, as later the Turks did, but neither Rome nor Constantinople was able to send its government into these mountains. The people live as they did before the days of Greece, except for the influence of the Church. It is a simple, communistic society, [181] without private property or any organized government. The only law is the moral law, enforced by tradition, by custom, and by common consent. The father of the family becomes the chief of the tribe, but he has no power that conflicts with the moral law, the ancient Law of Lec. There is a tradition that all this group of tribes [173] was once, long ago, given this moral law by a man named Lec, but that is doubtless a myth added to through the ages.

"This Law of Lec is based on personal honor, which is also the honor of the tribe. A man or a tribe must punish an insult to honor by killing

628 the man who has given it. Thus, if a member of
619 a tribe is killed unjustly by a man of another tribe; if a woman is stolen or injured or affronted; if any part of the tribal property is stolen; if a man or a tribe fails to keep a *besa* (a word of honor) in a matter of land or war or marriage or
[312] irrigation—you will find excellent and admirable irrigation systems here—then the crime is punished by death. But if these crimes are committed against a member of the same tribe, then the house of the guilty man is burned, and he is cast off by the tribe and must go into the wilderness and live alone.

"You will see this law working out in the case of Shala and Shoshi. Last week a Shala man crossing the lands of Shoshi—the two tribes having some time ago sworn a *besa* that they would keep the peace between them—saw a woman of Shoshi on the trail. He said to himself that he would like that woman for his son, who was unmarried, though of marriageable age, because his betrothed had died in childhood. So the man of Shala took the woman of Shoshi to his house for his son, and there she is now.

"Apparently," said the bishop, dryly, "she did not make any outcry, for her husband was in their house only a few yards away, and it is a question whether she and the son had not previously arranged the abduction. However, the husband was, of course, obliged to avenge his honor, and he went at once to the heights above Shala and shot the son. This was, according to

the Law, an unjustifiable murder, since he should have killed the father who was the abductor. Therefore the father waited on the trail above Shoshi and shot the husband.

"It should have stopped there, but Shoshi's honor is involved as long as a woman of the tribe is held unlawfully in the hands of Shala. So a hot-tempered Shoshi man has shot a man of Shala and it has become a blood feud between the two tribes. As the woman was born in Pultit, some say that Pultit's honor is also involved. So you see that the affair becomes complicated; I have been told by wise men that no less than sixteen deaths will wipe out the insults on both sides. You perhaps heard telephoning about it as you came in? The mountain sides have been ringing with it. But what can one do? Excommunication, of course. At every mass I tell my people that the anger of the Church will descend on all who take part in the killings, but the Law of Lec holds them, and it is, after all, their only civil law."

It took time to tell this, what with filling the glasses, serving the food platters of delicious stewed rabbit and bowls of macaroni, a dish the bishop had grown fond of in Rome—and then there were the cups of syrupy Turkish coffee to be ceremoniously served and drunk, and for hours, struggling with an agony of sleepiness, we had implored Perolli in English to make our excuses and let us go to bed, he refusing sternly, since it is the most terrible breach of mountain hospitality for a guest to grow sleepy as early as midnight,

forever to the little feet that brought you to Thethis!"

The little feet were wearing at that moment two pairs of wrinkled, thick woolen stockings, indescribably ludicrous beneath the flapping legs of trousers around which I had not rewound the soaked woolen leggings, and Perolli and I were helpless with laughter as soon as the door had closed behind Lulash.

"How am I ever going to get to his house?" I asked, wiping my eyes.

"Oh, we'll have somebody make you some goatskin opangi," said Perolli. "He won't expect us very soon." He flung out his arms in a jubilant gesture. "A *besa* of peace from Shala!" he exclaimed. "I couldn't have hoped for that! It means peace through the whole north; it means internal security for northern Albania—if I can only get the other tribes to join it."

Frances and Alex came in, desperately anxious to know what had happened, and we three did a dance of pure delight. It was an inexpressible relief to know that Perolli would get out of Shala alive, and the *besa* was almost too much.

"But, Perolli," said Frances, when I had told the whole conversation, "do you mean to say that these people are—are absolutely moral? I mean, as we understand morality? No love making along all these mountain trails? No illegitimate children? Never?"

"Never? Well, I have heard of one case," said Perolli. "But don't forget that such a

837 thing would mean a blood feud between tribes.
628 No man would make love to a girl of his own
619 tribe, of course; a tribe traces its ancestry back to a common ancestor, and it would be like an American's making love to his own sister. And if he seduced a girl of another tribe he would be involving hundreds of people. Men have to respect women in these mountains; they're killed if they don't, and not only they, but their families. A blood feud is no joke.

"However, I did hear of its happening once. The man's family had to send word to the family of the girl to whom he was betrothed, to say that he could not marry her because he was going to have a child by another woman. The three tribes met in council and prevented a blood feud, but the man's family had to pay his fiancée's tribe ten thousand kronen, and ten thousand kronen to the family of the man that the other girl was engaged to. Then those two married, and the first man married the girl who was going to have his child. But it was a terrible disgrace to both their families.

But he cut short our awed admiration for such a rigidly moral community. He was a man of Ipek, educated in Europe, and returned to Tirana, and his attitude to the ignorant tribes of these mountains was not one of admiration.

584 "They are really a wretched lot," he declared.
627 "Now, take a thing like this, for instance." And he told us that in a house a few miles down the valley there was a nine-year-old girl held prisoner. The story was this:

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pile of folded blankets before the fire, not yet sure that I was not dreaming and that the strange chests and stranger figures of turbaned men and barbarically dressed barefooted women would not vanish when I awoke.

"I did not think," said Lulash, "that any of our houses would be as fine as an American house." He was so pleased that his hand quivered a little on the long handle of the tiny brass pot in which he was making the coffee. So I told them that only our finest houses are of stone, that my house was of wood, and much smaller than his. But all our houses had windows, I said.

"Yes," said Lulash, wistfully "Windows are very good; I always wish that all our houses had windows. But first we must have a *besa* of peace among all the tribes; it is not safe now to have windows, a man never knows when his tribe will be 'in blood' and enemies will shoot him through windows. You see that mine are so placed that it would be difficult to shoot through them, and I have heavy shutters for closing them at night, when the firelight makes it easier to see us from outside."

But he was pleased that I praised his windows; he had gone through many other tribes and down into Scutari to bring up the glass of which he had heard, and made them with his own hands. They were on leather hinges so that they would open and let in the air; he said he had observed that sunshine and air were good things.

342 and, if good outdoors, why not good in houses?
619 "But it will be a long time before my people can have windows,' he said, sadly.

He did not think it was good to keep the sheep and goats with the family, either; all his flocks were driven at night into their own quarters, on the lower floor of the house.

000 Houses are the most endless subject in the world; all of humanity and its history is expressed in houses, and while the coffee cup was passed back and forth I told about American houses; about the log cabins of the pioneers, such a little time ago as crude as those of the Albanians; about the loophole glassless windows, and the pegs on which rifles were hung; and about farmers' houses in New England, where the cattle live under the same roof, at the end of long sheds; and suburban houses with gardens, and apartment houses where whole tribes of people live, going up and down in movable rooms. And then I spoke about water power and said that it became electricity—Lulash asked me eagerly how it was done, but I did not know—and that brought us to the whole subject of machinery. I drew a picture of a spinning wheel for them and explained it, but they said it would not be practicable on the trails, where the women did most of the spinning; a woman could not carry her baby in its cradle and a spinning wheel, too; the spindle was better; and I agreed with them. But if men and women did not work so hard carrying water from the springs, they would

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CHAPTER X

THE WATER ORA OF MALI SHARIT—THE COMING OF THE TRIBES TO EUROPE BEFORE THE SEAS WERE BORN, AND HOW THE FIRST GREEKS CAME IN BOATS—WHY ALEXANDER THE GREAT WAS BORN IN EMADHIJA, AND OF HIS JOURNEY TO MACEDONIA—THE SAD HOUSE OF KOL MARKU.

"THE water ora were an ancient race," said the old man. "They were here before the ora of the forests. I do not think there are very many of them left, and no man has seen them in my time, nor in the time of my father. But very long ago, before the tribes of Shala, Shoshi, and Pultit were founded by the three brothers from the land that is now the Merdite country, there was a man of their tribe who caught a water ora. It is a very old song, and much of it has been forgotten, but the man was a man from the Mali Sharit, and by three days he missed becoming the king of the world. In my father's time the thing that happened to him was still sung. I heard that song when I was a child, but I have forgotten the words of it. I remember only the thing that happened.

"The man of Mali Sharit went every day to the wood on the mountain, and in that wood was

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administrative ends. Indeed, save for the short-lived rule of 642
Skanderbeg, there had never been an independent Albania until modern times. It is therefore small matter for surprise that the Albanians have hardly acquired a national or state consciousness; nor indeed, outside of the towns and the coastal plain, has nature encouraged, or their way of life given rise to, social organisation in any form.

At the time of which I write, the family, or clan, was the 621
basic, indeed the only unit of society among the Gheg mountaineers; and was held together by common ownership of the means of production and common interest in their defence. The head, or chief, of the clan still preserved patriarchal powers, sometimes even of life and death over its members. He arranged their marriages, allotted them their tasks, settled their disputes, and decided what courses they should follow in the burning issues of blood feuds and politics. In recent years, however, the [619]
spread of Western ideas had weakened the traditional respect for the patriarchal authority; nor was there any sufficient intermediate patriotism of the province or the village to take its place. Indeed, the village community as we know it did not exist, for the village of the Gheg highlands was but a group of houses, each often as much as a mile from its neighbour. There were no village councils or other corporate institutions, and the feuds between the inhabitants prevailed over their common interests. The ancient tribal system was thus dissolving into anarchy, for where there is no community there can be no law. Indeed, the cry of "stop thief!" would have ooo
been almost inconceivable among the Albanians, "Because", as Wordsworth wrote of other highlanders:

> the good old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
> That they should take, who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

In such circumstances, each man had to be his own law-giver, and alone, or at best with the help of his family, defended his rights or punished those that trespassed against him.

Anarchy knows no prisons — the most fundamental of social

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among ourselves. There we took stock of what we had learned, 669* 648
and sought to impose a definite pattern on the many projects
we had so often revolved on the march, or discussed around
the hearth at night. Our[1] first aim from the beginning had been 725
to raise the Ghegs against the Germans, both with the laudable
object of killing our enemies wherever and whenever possible,
and, above all, so as to disrupt their overland communications:
the main road from Tirana to Scutari and its lateral links with [491]
Macedonia — the roads from Tirana to Dibra and from Scutari
to Kukes and Prizren. These roads were important targets;
for the German troops in Albania depended upon them for
their communications with the Reich, and they also afforded
the second of the two lines of retreat open to the enemy's
garrisons in Greece.

The thinkers who inspire, and the historians who record, 000
the course of revolutions tend naturally to dwell on those
ideological issues which lend them their distinctive character.
In the making, however, they more often appear to the revolu-
tionary, as wars do to the strategist, in terms of power and
technique. The first object, therefore, of our reconnaissances
had been to discover what was the distribution of power in
North Albania.

The strongest force in the land was still the German army, [727]
but the roots of its strength were abroad, and our journeys 619
had shown us that its influence was on the wane. Among the
Ghegs power lay in the armed might and resources of the tribes,
and, to a much smaller extent, in the wealth of the merchants
and the landowners of the plain. The strength of the tribes
was sapped by their disunity and was never canalised into any
higher unit of organisation than the tribe itself. Nevertheless,
geographical barriers tended to separate the tribes into distinct
regional groups; and, within one or more such groups, they
were sometimes brought together by a man pre-eminent among
them by his personal ability, family tradition, or wealth. Such
a leader enjoyed influence rather than authority; for his
following was never more than a loose, voluntary, and shifting
confederacy of tribes and parts of tribes, intolerant of any form
of discipline. These confederacies were none the less the

[1] [British underground liaison officers — Analyst]

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619 strongest forces among the Ghegs, and their leaders might be identified as the principal " ministers of power ".

*669 619 Our reconnaissance had shown us that there were at this time five such confederacies among the Ghegs, led respectively by Abas Kupi, Jon Marko Joni, Gani Kryeziu, Muharrem Bairaktar, and Fikri Dine. Of these Abas Kupi was the most powerful ; he swayed the central provinces of Mati, Kruya, and Tirana ; and his influence extended to the tribes of Shiyak, Dibra, the southern *Bairaks* of Mirdita, and the Catholic regions north of the Drin. We reckoned his potential strength at between five thousand and ten thousand rifles ; and he might, besides, enjoy the financial backing of the Tirana merchants and of the landowning *Beys* of Central Albania. Second to him stood Jon Marko Joni, the hereditary Captain of Mirdita. He might command three thousand rifles among his clansmen alone, a further two thousand from the Catholics of the North, and the financial support of the guilds and churches of Scutari. Next in the hierarchy of power came Gani Kryeziu, whose influence was waxing among the Moslem chiefs beyond the Drin, and whose strength was computed at more than two thousand rifles. Almost as powerful was Muharrem Bairaktar, the Lord of Liuma, who might raise a thousand rifles from his own clansmen and as many again from among his confederates in Puka, Lura, and Dibra. Fikri Dine's power was harder to assess and it seemed doubtful whether he could raise even five hundred men alone. It was said, however, that there were six thousand rifles in Dibra ; and, though it was unlikely that more than three thousand could ever be brought into action, the bulk of these might follow Fikri if he fought in alliance with Abas Kupi or Muharrem Bairaktar.

These powerful men thus commanded between them more than fifteen thousand rifles, and, if the fortunes of war were favourable, they might hope to recruit a further ten thousand scattered among the smaller and more isolated clans. At this time, however, they were divided among themselves by ancient feuds, personal jealousies, and their varying attachment to the Allied or to the German cause. Hitherto these divisions had paralysed their strength, but many circumstances were now

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Map to illustrate the situation in Northern Albania, and the activities of the Maclean Mission, April-November 1944

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combining to bring them together against the Germans.

The Ghegs, indeed, were stirred by no deep economic or social discontents. The state of anarchy which had prevailed since the collapse of Italian rule was most welcome to the tribes, and they were sustained in their enjoyment of its licence by cheap and plentiful supplies of bread from the granaries of the Kossovo. Their leaders might variously incline towards the Allies or the Germans, but the ordinary tribesmen remained supremely indifferent to the invaders, whom he seldom saw. Hitherto the tribes had therefore favoured a policy of neutrality, but the growing weakness of the Germans of itself supplied a powerful incentive to revolt. The prospect of a German surrender or withdrawal sharply stimulated their predatory appetites ; and their Chiefs, including the "collaborationists" among them, made ready for the day when they might fall upon the stricken Germans to strip them of their power, their weapons, and their wealth.

Left to themselves, the Ghegs would have bided their time until their leaders had discovered that the Germans could be attacked and plundered with impunity. The revolt would thus in all probability have been delayed until the eve of a German retreat, or until Allied forces had landed in Albania. The growth, however, of the L.N.C. introduced a new and disturbing factor into their calculations. The Partisan leaders had already proclaimed themselves the future rulers of Albania and made little secret that, as Communists and as Tosks, they had no room in their scheme of things for the tribal lairds of the North. The Gheg chieftains were thus still further united by the advance of a rival who threatened to deprive them equally of all share in the plunder of the enemy and in the future government of their country.

The Gheg leaders were not afraid of the growth of a Partisan movement in North Albania ; for the conservatism of the tribes, Catholic influence, and the Slav associations of Communism made the mountaineers predominantly hostile to the L.N.C. Nor indeed were they alarmed by the warlike qualities of the Partisans, for they considered themselves a match for Tosk troops of any kind. They knew, however, that the L.N.C.

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*669 [619] had for some time been receiving military supplies from the British and would thus be well equipped with mortars and automatic weapons. They were convinced, moreover, that, if Enver Hoja should fail to conquer the North by his own efforts, he could always count on the help of Marshal Tito, and, in the last instance, of Soviet Russia itself.

*669 648 The knowledge that their rivals enjoyed foreign support admonished the Ghegs of their own isolation, and they rightly concluded that their only hope of escaping destruction lay in securing foreign backing for themselves. Seeing that the Partisans were inspired by the Russians and armed by the British, the first reaction of many among them had been to turn to the Germans for help. This, indeed, was the policy pursued by Jon Marko Joni and by Fikri Dine, who sought, though somewhat half-heartedly, to crush the L.N.C. with levies equipped and supported by the Germans. Neither of these leaders any longer believed in a German victory, but they hoped to use the German army to suppress the social revolution before the Allies came. Their policy, however, was openly condemned by Gani Kryeziu and later by Abas Kupi, who both recognised that its success was improbable and that its failure must be disastrous. They held instead that it was only by obtaining British support that the Ghegs might be saved and that they must therefore do all in their power to comply with British demands. These leaders understood, if they did not always approve, our motives in supporting the L.N.C., but they could not believe that a British government would ever allow a Communist, and therefore Russian-controlled, regime to be set up at the entrance to the Adriatic. There were thus two schools of thought among the Gheg leaders as to how best to meet the danger of Communism.

Anglophiles and " collaborationists " publicly accused each other of betraying their common interests, but the line of distinction between them was often blurred and fluctuating. The Anglophiles could scarcely regret the losses which the " collaborationists " inflicted on the L.N.C. ; and the " collaborationists ", for their part, regarded the Anglophiles as exponents of an alternative, rather than a contrary, policy to

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escape from foreign soldiers was no great problem for an able-bodied man fighting in his own country. This elusiveness of the guerillas drove their opponents to indirect retaliation ; they imprisoned their families and confiscated their property, and even proceeded against the harmless villagers who had failed to denounce or to prevent their operations. Thus, in revolt, the heaviest burden fell not on the combatants, as in war, but on the wives and children, the cattle and the homes which remained as hostages in the hands of the enemy. 000

It followed from this that the elements most naturally inclined to revolt were the young who had no family responsibilities and the " have-nots ", who had no property to lose. To them revolt offered faith, discipline, and a way of life ; and the strength which they acquired collectively in battle afforded hopes of wealth and power in the event of victory. They started from nothing ; their organisation was moulded in the forge of war ; its growth was slow. Prolonged guerilla warfare was thus their natural military expression. By the same token, those with a stake in the country were at a disadvantage in guerilla war ; for their families and possessions were so many hostages in the hands of the enemy. Heroes among them might sacrifice their all to fight for freedom ; the braver sort would run great risks for great gains ; but the majority would only take the field if they knew that their families and homes were safe from enemy reprisals. Without such protection, indeed, either they would withdraw their support from the revolt or else the social order itself would be transformed by the destruction through reprisals of the property relationships on which it was based. The leaders of an established society would therefore tend to postpone revolt until their hopes of victory outweighed their fears of reprisals. At the same time — and this was their great advantage over the other sort of revolutionaries — if they once decided to fight, they would not have to create a new organisation but would go into action with the full force of an organised community behind them. 1

Applied to the situation in Albania, this theory explained the difference between the Partisans and the Gheg tribal confederacies, and showed that their military efforts must 669* 619 725

1 [cf. cat. nb, pp. 165-167 -- Analyst]

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naturally develop along different lines. The Partisans had started as a small Communist cell, destitute of resources, and had slowly recruited their forces from among the landless peasants and the youth of the towns. By joining an avowedly social-revolutionary movement these recruits had become outlaws; there could be no turning back; and, since they lacked personal wealth or the backing of a tribe, they were easily subjected to the discipline of a movement on which they depended for their daily bread. With no resources of their own, the Partisans had to fight if they would eat, and thus were driven from one raid to another by sheer necessity. Nor was their zeal for war and plunder restrained by fear of reprisals against property; for they were, by definition, of the dispossessed. Indeed they might even welcome reprisals; for, by adding to the number of the dispossessed, reprisals added to the number of their potential supporters, while the destruction of property which they involved weakened the economic foundations of a hostile social order. The operations of the Partisans, therefore, took the form of sustained guerilla raids; and their movement fed on the devastation which it caused and grew, Phoenix-like, from the ashes of its own defeats. Sometimes they attacked the Germans; more often they plundered their richer compatriots; but whether they advanced the cause of national liberation or of social revolution, the bitterness of their enemies convinced them that they could never lay aside their arms with impunity, except as masters of Albania. Thus discipline was seconded by experience of battle, and morale was fortified by the knowledge that their only hope of safety lay in victory.

The conditions of a Gheg rising were altogether different, for the Gheg leaders were the representatives of the existing social order; and their strength was rooted in the tribal system. Gheg armies were nothing but the tribes on a war footing; and each contingent marched under the orders of its own tribal chief. In the simple conditions of highland life considerable forces might thus be mustered at little more than a day's notice; and each tribesman in them would be a natural guerilla and an accurate marksman. Discipline, however, was rare; the habit of team work unknown; and at every stage in a

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campaign protracted negotiations supplied the place of concise orders. But, besides being invertebrate, Gheg armies were also short-winded; for they depended for their food supplies on the bounty of the clans, and no region could long support the expense of a campaign. The tribesmen, moreover, were shepherds and farmers, and, as such, were continually distracted by domestic cares and especially sensitive to the threat of reprisals against property. To obtain their support, therefore, the revolt must be a paying proposition; and it was essential to show that the prospects of plunder or subsidies would exceed the probable costs of fighting and outweigh the expectation of losses through reprisals.

This fundamental consideration lent certain distinctive features to the warfare of the Ghegs. They required a sufficient extent of territory as a "safe harbour" into which the non-combatants might withdraw with their flocks and movable property beyond the reach of enemy punitive expeditions. They sought to raise the strongest possible fighting force, not only for its weight in the attack, but also to deter the enemy from lightly sending out troops to devastate their homes. Above all, they aimed at achieving a decisive victory in the shortest possible time, so as to win the spoils of war without incurring expenses or reprisals. The Gheg tribes were thus wholly unsuited to sustained guerilla raids which involved living on the country and might lead to heavy reprisals. Instead, their natural form of offensive war was a general revolt, based on the full extent of their territory, supported by the strongest available forces and directed to attaining their objective in the shortest possible time.

We had seen for ourselves that no single Gheg leader swayed a broad enough region or a sufficient following to challenge the Germans alone. But if the five great chieftains, Abas Kupi, Gani Kryeziu, Muharrem Bairaktar, Jon Marko Joni, and Fikri Dine, were to rise up together they would encounter the German army on more equal terms. Their combined territories would provide an impenetrable "safe harbour" where the non-combatants could withdraw with their flocks and where the tribesmen might await military

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*669 supplies from Italy without fear of enemy interception. Their
●619 combined forces, moreover, would amount to somewhere
725 between fifteen and twenty-five thousand rifles, which would be rapidly reinforced with mortars and machine-guns from the Allied arsenals. Such an army would be comparable in numbers, if not in equipment, and superior in valour, if inferior in discipline, to that of the L.N.C.; nor was it by any means certain that the Germans still possessed the energy or could spare the troops for its suppression. We concluded, therefore, that Gheg resistance against the Germans must take the form of a general revolt.

*669 This conception of a general revolt had for some weeks been shaping in our minds; and we had already prepared the ground for its fulfilment in our preliminary negotiations with the Gheg leaders. Gani Kryeziu was already fighting the Germans; agreement with Abas Kupi seemed to hang on instructions from King Zog; Muharrem Bairaktar had announced his readiness to take the field if armed; and Jon Marko Joni and Fikri Dine had sounded Abas Kupi to learn on what terms they might now change sides. Starting from this foundation the next step was to reach final agreement with Abas Kupi. Once this had been done we would summon a congress of all the Gheg leaders and their satellite chiefs and invite them to proclaim a general revolt of North Albania. At such a congress Abas Kupi and Gani Kryeziu would naturally exert all their influence to bring the other leaders into the war beside them; and we were confident that Muharrem Bairaktar and the Dibran chiefs would not be slow to follow their example. Jon Marko Joni might show more reluctance but, despite his close connections with the enemy, we doubted whether he would long resist the prospects of plunder, the hopes of power, and the promises of rifles and gold.

Our chances of success, however, were threatened by the danger of a conflict between the Zogists and the Partisans; and this it was our duty to prevent for weighty reasons, military and political: military, because civil war must consume the energies of both resistance movements at the expense of their operations against the Germans; political, because the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

133 crests; numerous valleys lie between them, each surprisingly narrow and steep-sided, some 3000 feet deep, all watered by a winter, if not by a perennial, stream, and many branching off right and left into side-valleys. In the district of Martanesh the ranges are rounded in outline, the summits are spreading instead of steep and sharp, large tracts of ground are comparatively unbroken, and in place of the countless valleys and streamlets of the north there are only a few deep ravines, each with a river on its floor.

361 These geographical characteristics have influenced the tribal 619 cleft which still survives in the population. The main valleys in the north, such as Shalë, Shkrel or Orosh, are each capable of supporting a small unit such as a tribe, but seldom more. Appropriately, then, each is inhabited by a single tribe, which jealously prevents strangers from settling in its territory. The broad spaces farther south, such as the plateaux of Mat and Dibër, or the heights of Martanesh and adjacent Çermenikë, can carry a much larger population, in which no one tribe could hope to maintain its racial integrity or its political supremacy. Consequently, they are non-tribal and peopled partly by indigenous families, partly, at least in the case of Mat and Dibër, by immigrants, all of whom came in small numbers and many within recent memory. To quote only one example of each type, the Kadije family of Lis in eastern Mat is indigenous, and its neighbours at Burgajet, the Zogolli family, are immigrants.

133 More than the forms of social grouping have been affected by the 233 physical features of the country. The number and height of the mountains have made stock-raising as important as agriculture to Albanians. Both parts of the range that rises sheer as a wall and green with forests from the coastal plain are over 3000 feet high, that of Krujë to the north being 3280–3940 feet and that of Dajt, which forms so beautiful a feature of the scenery round Tirana (Tiranë), 5290 feet—nearly 900 feet more than Ben Nevis and 1720 feet more than Snowdon. The parallel range which bounds the plateau of Mat on the east runs southwards from Mt Nezhdë in Lurë to Mt Dêjë and on to Mt Allaman at a height that is in few places below 5000 feet and is often above 6000 feet. The frontier range is still higher, composed as it is of Mt Çjalicë (8150 feet) and Mt Korab (9070 feet), the former in Lumë, the latter in Dibër. The topmost summits of the Martanesh area, Mt Kaptinë and Mt Lopë, are respectively 6145 and 6630 feet in height; the surrounding ranges average 5000 feet. As seen from Shkodër, the welter of

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

northern mountains begins modestly with ranges 2000–2600 feet above sea-level, surpasses 7000 feet in several peaks of Lower Shalë, and culminates in the Accursed Alps (*Bjeshkët ë Nemuna*), where the close-set summits of Radohinë (8690 feet), Jezercë (8790 feet), Rosh (8270 feet) and Kolatë (8370 feet) wall off Yugoslavia from Upper Shalë in spectacular fashion. East of Shalë, the monster Peak of the Irons (*Majë e Hekuravë*, 8530 feet) divides the tribe of Mertur from the open plateau of Krasniqë. The passes across the mountains are often lofty and arduous. To take an extreme example, the only way from Shalë to Bogë, its western neighbour, is by the Sheep Track Pass, to the northern frontier by the Pejë Pass, and to Nikaj on the east by the Ndermajnë Pass, which are respectively 5900, 5600 and again 5600 feet above sea-level and take a day to traverse. It is self-evident that the tribesmen of Shalë have never seen much of their neighbours. Elsewhere geographical conditions are less formidable, yet generally severe enough to limit intercourse between communities.

It is clear that agriculture and permanent habitations must stop far below the summits of many mountains, and that on the highest slopes there can be only summer grazing. Throughout the area as a whole, however, there is so much summer and winter grazing that many Albanians live entirely by pastoralism and many others combine it with their agriculture. In this connexion it is essential to remember the part played by the immense forests. These spread over the grim mountains as well as the plains, saving Albania from the desiccated look of Dalmatia and Greece, and making its scenery agreeable to the eye at all seasons. The forest trees are of many kinds, with a large proportion of evergreens. Since they grow at different levels according to their kinds, three zones, named the shrub, oak and beech, or pine zones after their predominating tree, have been distinguished.[1]

Shrubs grow all over the plains near the coast and up to a height of 600 feet in exposed regions like Shkodër and Durrës and 1600 feet in sheltered spots like the gullies on Mt Dajt. They include tree heather, hornbeam, arbutus, wild olives, broom and the terrible Christ's Thorn (*Spina Cristi*), which, withered or green, tears the flesh so savagely with its spikes that it is popularly said all over the Near East to have been used for the Crown of Thorns. There is rough winter grazing among the shrubs, especially for

[1] See Gashi, *Shqipnija*, pp. 51–60.

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a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders. The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for

[1] See Chapter V. [2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

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692 It had its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and [671] left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their 361 diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geo- 221 graphy of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

623 Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As 484 a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, [619] country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. 671 More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

[693] The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each [621] community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such

[the legal system - analyst]

complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in 423
Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times 487
a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man [685]
cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of
private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended
even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit
as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one
ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and
to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or [574]
village had married into the privileged ward[1] her kinsmen had leave [607]
to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even
one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto
their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into
being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families [614]
in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact,
the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter- 486
tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of 619
sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and
their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed
its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all
their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks
on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory,
and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the
road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking
advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus,
a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed
limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the
contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep
within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign
tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and
not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but
must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his
providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger 574
obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded 628
as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection 486
and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the 672
event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the
knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for
any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

1 [in the village of Godolesh --Ana1454]

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701 Mertur and some others were wholly Catholic. Nikç, Selcë, Hot,
795 Kthellë and Lurë were more or less mixed Catholic and Mohammedan. Certain tribes such as Has, Bytyç and Krasniq are at the time of writing completely Mohammedan but were partly Catholic until three or four generations ago, as their genealogies testify. Lumë asserts that it has been completely Mohammedan since the
[618] coming of the Turks five centuries ago. It was also not fully tribal,
[619] since each bajraktar's[1] following consisted not of a single kin or agglomeration of kins with the same ancestors, but of a number of little kins of varying ancestry.

701 There were also bajraktars in certain non-tribal areas, such as
[619] Shpat and Martanesh in central Albania. Here the dignity was not hereditary and localized, but moved with successive holders from family to family, from quarter to quarter or even from village to village. Fitness for military leadership of the local levies was always demanded, and that quality did not necessarily remain from one generation to another, in the same family, quarter or village. Hysejn Zavolina of the village of Shelcan was a famous bajraktar in Shpat in the last years of Turkish rule, but it was at Fushë e Kuqe in the more central village of Gjinar that he set up his standard. Hysejn Ramaj became bajraktar of Martanesh because he was as popular as he was competent. After having carried his standard to
[792] victory in Montenegro he 'got religion' and turned dervish. As Baba Hysejn (Abbot Hysejn) he presided first over the Bektashi monastery (tege) at Krujë and then over that at Martanesh and was buried in the monastery of Zerqan. When he took to the cloister the bajrak passed to Murat Xhabolli, who was from the Gjoni quarter and quite a different family. The great lawgiver, Mus Ballgjini, of the village of Gurakuq was bajraktar of the district of Çermenikë when Turkish rule over Albania ended, but his son did not inherit the office. When Albania developed a conscript army of European type, there could be no more bajraktars in central Albania. Officers led the conscripts, and there was no hereditary principle to preserve the ancient title as there was among the tribes of the north.

701 In certain areas of the north there were no bajraktars[1] Since
619 beys were feudal lords of the soil it fell to them to lead their henchmen in war. So wherever there were beys of any importance there were no bajraktars. Mat was the classic instance. There were bajraktars to the north of it in tribal Kthellë and Lurë; there were

[1] [the local military leader --Analyst]

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bajraktars to the south of it in non-tribal Martanesh; but there was none within its own boundaries. There factions, not tribes, were the social units, and all power, military and otherwise, was concentrated in the hands of four powerful bey families.

From first to last the primary function of a bajraktar was military. When one learned that war was imminent and troops were required, he had immediately to inform the tribe in the first instance by firing eight shots in quick succession into the air, and in the second by sending out the official runner called *kasnec* with news and a statement of how many men were wanted. One from each house was the usual number. The muster was soon complete, for it was thought shameful to hang back or to hide at home and no time was wasted hunting for deserters. When all had gathered, the march began. Two tribesmen in some cases, and in others four, led off singing. Next came a man closely connected with the bajraktar, preferably his eldest son, carrying the flag. The rank and file followed, firing constantly into the air to show their joy at the call to arms. Any sign of depression at leaving their homes would have been thought disgraceful and unmanly. The best warriors among them had the bajraktar in their midst and would guard him and the flag with their lives till they all came marching home again. No equipment was issued to bajraktars or 'soldiers'; each brought his own rifle and pistols and came in his ordinary clothes. Nor was any military training given them. Their value as soldiers depended upon the rifle practice which they had had at home. It was usually sufficient to make them all good shots. After a few months the war ended and they came home again, still in their peasant clothes and again firing into the air for joy.

In time of peace the bajraktar performed civilian duties. One of the chief was caring for the poor. If they got into trouble or needed work he intervened with the authorities. If they were benighted he gave them free board and lodging. On high occasions he sent them a ram on which to feast. So that they could buy on credit what they needed for their weddings and funerals he went guarantee for them at the village shops; perhaps he even paid for the goods when the following harvest failed and left them unable themselves to clear the debt. At times he lent them money without interest. In return he asked only that if required they would put their rifles at his disposal, joining him in attacking an enemy, spending some weeks annually in his house as unpaid or poorly paid guards,

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701 escorting him to town, guarding him during his stay there and escorting him home again. If they refused without justifiable cause to give him such service, he withdrew his support from them at least for a time.

622 634 The bajraktar[1] was also much occupied with local administration. Here he was assisted by one or more headmen, hereditary officials like himself. Independently or together, he and they checked quarrelling, judged and formulated new laws. He was admittedly their superior, and when their views diverged his prevailed. If pressure of work made him think an increase in their number desirable, he had power to make extra appointments provided only that he first submitted the names of his nominees to the Turkish government for approval. In short, he was the acknowledged head of the local administration.

[619] As supreme administrative head the bajraktar had power to summon a general meeting for administrative as well as military purposes. If the matter at issue was important and affected the whole tribe, he sent the *kasnec* (tribal messenger) to command the presence of one man per house. If narrower issues were involved he summoned only one or more headmen and the local *gjobtarë* [693] (fine-collectors) or other elders. Plenary meetings dealt with anti-social acts grave enough to involve the death penalty or expulsion, judged cases of sacrilege against the church, tightened up tribal discipline by enacting new or re-enacting old laws, decided whether to revolt or not against the Turkish government, and heard important messages from the government. In 1908 a plenary [642] meeting[1] was held by each tribe to decide whether or not it should accept the Young Turk Constitution. Smaller meetings handled business where fines were sufficient punishment for transgression. Notably they regulated grazing rights, fixing the day for a general move to summer pastures, stipulating how many animals each family might feed on a common. They also regulated wood-cutting rights and controlled the supply of water for irrigation. The bajraktar[1] presided at all such meetings, took an active part in the deliberations, and signed or set his seal on any minutes that were [565] kept. He and the elders, as being socially superior, sat apart from the commoners. In the Malësi e Madhe he sat on the ground while the tribesmen stood respectfully on their feet.

[1] See M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 74.

[1] [the local military leader--Analyst]

In certain cases the bajraktar and the local headman could act alone. For example, in case of sacrilege against the church they had power to pronounce even a death sentence. In practice, however, they preferred to consult the tribe and the ecclesiastical authorities. After the Young Turks introduced their constitution in 1908 they tried to make everything in Albania very legal and proper. If land was bought, for example, they required a deed of conveyance where the word of witnesses had formerly sufficed. The best lawyer in the land might write out the document and great men witness it, but it had no legal validity until the bajraktar and local headmen had affixed their seals.

As a legal figure the bajraktar had special weight. If called to serve on a jury of twenty-four men, his single person was counted equal to the twelve jurors left unnamed by the elders. A peace made in his presence was particularly binding. If at all distinguished he was often called in by another tribe to settle a dispute that had baffled its own elders. In his own tribe, besides acting as judge in many ordinary cases, he was ultimate referee in all difficult cases. Boundary disputes, the most fertile source of trouble among these land-starved tribes, were often referred straight to him for settlement. Disobedience to his ruling might entail the worst penalties. Particularly in the Malësi e Madhe, he and the local headman had power to appoint elders to settle a quarrel. If these failed to do so, or were found to have based their decision on a false oath by one of the litigants, it fell to the bajraktar and the local headman to reopen the case and to pronounce a final judgement. If a headman judged a case and gave a verdict the bajraktar disliked, he could upset this verdict and substitute one of his own. But neither headman nor elders could upset his judgements; these were always final and unalterable.

All the above applies to the non-tribal areas of central Albania as much as to the northern tribes. Mus Ballgjini of Çermenikë, for instance, was almost more famous as a law-giver than as a military leader. By a seeming exception the bajraktar of the Perlat tribe of Kthellë did not judge but left such matters to the elders. The explanation of the anomaly probably lies in his notorious incompetence. It was every bajraktar's province to judge in peace as well as to lead in war.

In all areas the jurisdiction of the bajraktar was subject to certain limitations. If the commoners did not like one of his decisions,

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If the commoners did not like one of his[1]
692 even if made in concert with the headmen and elders, they were
[622] not bound to abide by it and could compel him to re-examine the case. Neither he nor a headman could, singly or in combination, fine a tribesman without first securing authority from the tribe. After all, he and the headman might have a personal grudge against the man and might fine him for no other reason. To take an example
● [619] from the non-tribal valley of Bulqizë, Miftar Meta the bajraktar and Lam Isaku his assistant were much respected and admired but they had no power, on their sole responsibility, to fine a man from Fushaj, their own village. Still less had they power to fine a man from another village in Bulqizë. They could not act in either case
[623] until they had secured the backing of the culprit's village at a general meeting. Nothing less, it was felt, guaranteed the impartiality of the sentence.

693 If a bajraktar misconducted himself, all the headmen and
623 commoners of his tribe, or possibly the commoners alone, sat in judgement on him. They could not ostracize, expel or burn him out like an ordinary criminal; he was too inherently a tribal institution for that. But they could, and did fine him. In 1907,[1] the Kryezi tribe assembled in plenary session, one man from each house, and fined its bajraktar and headmen 100 rams and an ox for some judgements they could prove to have been unjustifiable and prejudiced. The commoners could also ask an erring bajraktar to give a rifle or other valuable as security for his good behaviour in the future.

693 The misconduct for which a bajraktar was fined was seldom more heinous than sending his sheep to pasture on another's ground or pronouncing a biased judgement. On the whole, each was so carefully selected and trained by his predecessor in office that he rarely committed the graver crimes. When one did, he was sure to be so 'strong', i.e. influential, that the tribesmen thought it more prudent to close their eyes to his iniquity. There was much grumbling at the venality of bajraktars, but neither the tribal law nor the Turkish government took cognizance of this offence. If
693 a bajraktar,[1] serving as judge or arbitrator, took a bribe, the only
687 remedy lay in the individual tribesman's freedom to choose another law-giver next time. If a bajraktar accepted a 'present' for doing a favour, there was no remedy at all. His victim could only comfort himself by noting how God, or Allah, punished such greed. It was

[1] [the bajraktars--Analyst] [the local milary, administrative and judicial head--Analyst]

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 271.

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popularly believed in Shkrel that the three sons of Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar, and the three daughters of the Voivode Preng Mirashi, had turned out badly because the deeds of Vatë and Preng had been evil.

In time of war a bajraktar from the north-west group received triple pay and triple rations. A bajraktar of Shalë received double pay and double rations, one portion as a person and the other as standard-bearer. He also received pay and rations for three servants, two of whom followed him to the war both to guard and to serve him, while the third, a specially trusted man, remained behind in his house in Shalë as guardian of his property, womenfolk and children. The allowances for these servants were only what ordinary soldiers received, food and *katik* (pocket-money: in Turkish, any relish eaten with bread) at the rate of one grosh per day, which was barely sufficient for their tobacco.

As an administrator a bajraktar was unpaid in so far as he had no fixed salary. He earned something, however, by his judgements, for which he was paid at the same rate as an elder. In the Malësi e Madhe, as often as he appointed elders, he too received a fee, although they did all the work and he did not stir from home. If they could not agree on a verdict, the litigants appealed to him. He then received a double fee, one the same as the elders' and the other in respect of his own journey to the scene of the quarrel. In other tribes or groups of tribes he did not get off so lightly; he had always to judge the case himself before he received any payment. The fees varied with the importance of the case and the rapacity of the bajraktar. In the tribal, but not in the non-tribal, areas any fines imposed were divided between the bajraktar and the headmen or 'good families' of his tribe. In the Malësi e Madhe a bajraktar who was summoned to Shkodër received ten grosh (50 koronë) per day from the Turkish government for his expenses. But everywhere a bajraktar's best source of income was bribes.

The bajraktar was both the military and administrative head of his tribe. His military and administrative precedence came 'from the staff in his hand', the flag stick of Turkish donation, but descent was the test for social precedence, and priority of descent was not always his. In many tribes there were 'good families' who descended from an older brother or a social superior of his ancestor, and on that account had, generation after generation, taken social precedence of his family.

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554 Modern civilization with its army and dense array of gendarmes
[701] and officials swept away the military and administrative functions of the bajraktar, but his social position remained untouched. So in Krasniqë, Sali Mena, the bajraktar in 1939, had the precedence because he descended from the eldest son of Gjô Vata of the village of Bunjaj; but Hakik Meta, the bajraktar of Lurë, remained inferior to Doçi, Nezhë and Vlad families in that tribe because their ancestors were from better families than his.

576 Social precedence was marked in several characteristically
554 Albanian ways. For instance, if the bajraktar of Perlat in Kthellë met a Simonaj and a Gjet-Kolaj at a feast, his seat would be third from the corner and his portion of meat only the leg. The Simonaj would sit in the corner and get the head and the Gjet-Kolaj would sit next to him and get the shoulder. Even in wartime a bajraktar was kept in his civilian place except during the actual fighting. On the way to and from the battlefield he sat in the seat and ate the portion of meat that appertained to him by descent. In 1935 Lurë was mustered to check a revolt at Fier in central Albania. The bajraktar's men carried the flag out of Lurë into Mat, and by arrangement met Zef Doçi's men at Burrel in Mat. There, though both were on a warlike errand, Zef Doçi sat in the chief seat and the bajraktar and his flag in the fourth. The revolt was suppressed before the tribesmen advanced beyond Burrel. If they had gone on, rifles would have cracked at Fier before Zef Doçi had to yield
[619] the first place to the bajraktar. If one of the bajraktars of Kthellë found it necessary to discuss something with one of the six 'good families', he could not ask its head to come and see him as he would an ordinary tribesman. Instead, he must gird up his own loins and go and see the other. If they disagreed during the discussion, he could not persist in his own view but had to fall in with the other's. Trivial though this insistence on correct precedence and its manifestations may seem, it had its value in maintaining tribal discipline. Slackening of the social framework in communities so backward as these tribesmen would only have ended in anarchy.

The 'first families' excepted, the bajraktar was unquestioned first among the tribesmen, this being signified in the usual manner of corner seat and choicest portion of meat. Any male of his family old enough to walk enjoyed the same precedence and was, by the courteous and diplomatic, addressed as 'bajraktar'.

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Then, to guard against the man's forswearing himself they stipu- 695
lated that a certain number of men must swear at the same time to his innocence. These might or might not be more than men of standing and reputed probity. Whether or not, they were called 'juror elders' for the period covered by the oath.

A subsection of juror elders was known as 'murder elders'. Men [682]
of unusually high repute who never shot without cause or stole or burned a neighbour's property, but not necessarily drawn from the ranks of canon elders, these were qualified by their character for swearing to the innocence of a man accused of murder. This crime being the most serious of all, twenty-four of them had to be found on each occasion. As usual, half were nominated by the judging elders and half found by the accused. When the first half had given their oath the accused was virtually cleared and the oath he then gave was only a formality. In Lumë the more important 'murder elders' refused to waste time on giving their oath in cases of petty crime but always came forward in murder cases if they thought the accused innocent. The mere fact of their coming forward in a case sometimes ended it, the rest of the proceedings seeming farcical by comparison.

In the more organized north there were, besides the Gjomarkaj 619
family, recognized substitutes for elders. The Hereditary Captain of Mirditë represented the family which had ruled over the Alpine region of Orosh and its kindred of Dibër, Fan, Kushnen and Spaç for several hundred years and was said by some to be descended from the Albanian national hero, Skanderbeg. It had remained Catholic, and its long pedigree may be found in the church registers of Orosh. This family was the 'foundation of law'. Specially difficult cases in Mirditë were referred straight to its head for solution. Any case which three pairs of elders had failed to settle was taken to the chieftains of the subtribes and finally to the head of the Gjomarkaj family. Beyond this there was no appeal. Outsiders, even Mohammedan outsiders, were often glad to refer knotty problems to the family. In view of his exalted position the head had many legal rights. He took precedence in every assembly wherever and whenever met. He had the right to summon chieftains and populace to a General Assembly. Whenever necessary he could summon one man per family to a General Assembly in Shën Pal. At every trial or arbitration he could intervene. He had the right to uproot a family and expel it from Mirditë. He could

619 even pass a sentence of death, for the 'quarters of the body are a matter for the tribes but the head belongs to Gjomarkaj', says the law. In virtue of these rights, if a village rebelled against the authorities of its tribe, word had to be sent to the Gjomarkaj family, which then summoned the other subtribes and led them against the insurgent villagers and reduced them to reason by fining some, banishing others and destroying others root and branch.

[671] But there were limitations to the head's power. Laws made in concert for themselves by the elders and commonalty of a village about such matters as instigation to crime, breaking one's pledged word, murder and robbery could not be upset by either the tribal authorities or the Gjomarkaj[1] family, provided that these new laws were not innovations contrary to the spirit of the ancient law of the mountains.

1 [the leading family in the region of Orosh, Dibër, Fan, Kushnen and Spaç for several hundred years--Ana]

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CHAPTER XIV

GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

619 Turkish suzerainty affected the life of the remoter areas so little that each tribe, and in non-tribal areas each region, was virtually a self-governing unit. The governing bodies in tribal areas were the General Assemblies and the Partial Assemblies. In Turkish times these meetings were often called *mexhlis* (from Arabic '*majlis*' meaning council, assembly, parliament). *Kuvend* is the Latin '*conventio*' (gathering) in Albanian dress. In non-tribal areas regional or village assemblies corresponded to the general and partial assemblies of the tribes.

The General Assembly was usually a tribal gathering, but the word *Kuvend* was used by the Albanians to indicate the national parliament during the German occupation in 1943–4 when Albanian nationalism expressed itself in rejecting the use of words of foreign origin.

In the fifteenth century there was a *Kuvend* of great historical importance when the men of the region of north Albania met to hear Lek Dukagjini, the lord of the extreme north, debate points of law with Skanderbeg, the lord of north central Albania.

[634] Tribal assemblies brought together one or more tribes. These were plenary, attended by the whole tribe (or region) on the basis of 'one man from each house'. They were convened and presided over by the highest authority available. This was the bajraktar in most tribes, but one of the Gjomarkaj family or a bajraktar in Mirditë. In Dibër, Mat and Kurbin it was the head of the leading family, and in Çermenikë the regional elder. Miss Durham found the president elected in Theth, and stated that this innovation was spreading. Where a General Assembly of two or more tribes took place the meeting resulted from a conference of the chief men of each tribe, convened by the highest dignitary in each tribe and presided over by the highest of these high dignitaries.

613 Partial Assemblies too were plenary and were convened and
623 presided over by the head of the unit concerned. The more important were formed by a village or a kin. In a document preserved for

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us by Father Gjeçov,[1] the last clause announces that though the 613
Pecnikaj kin of Shalë laid down the law enunciated in clause 2, it 623
had the support of the Lotaj, Abati (Abat) and Bobi (Bob) kins in doing so. Its first and its fourth clauses consider the adhesion of the brotherhood of Theth as well. Occasionally there was a partial meeting of a brotherhood, and at the bottom of the scale there were [593] household meetings at which the master set some common problem before all the men in the family.

Generally speaking, assemblies of all types took place at irregular intervals, to meet some special need, though the demand that they should be called regularly once a year was not unknown.[2]

When a kin or smaller meeting was in question, the convener 202
sent anyone he could find to call it. Bigger meetings were summoned by word of mouth by the public messenger. In Mat a gipsy beat out the summons on his drum and in Shpat church bells were rung.

Attendance at a plenary meeting was compulsory, non-attendance 619
punishable by a fine. For instance, an elder of Kurbin who failed 634
to turn up and could not satisfy the other elders that his absence 626
was justified was fined five rams. An ordinary tribesman in the same area was fined one ram and in Kastrat 250 piastres. The [619] strength and solidarity of the tribes were closely connected with the plenary character of their assemblies.

Most public meetings took place in the open air, as church houses were usually too small and schoolrooms and village halls did not exist. Meeting places had to be central and free from cultivation, rock, scrub and forest so as to provide adequate seating space In Catholic areas the yard of the church was commonly used for General Assemblies and in Moslem areas that of the mosque. Assemblies of a village or kin could be held in the most central of the smaller clearings of the area, and a house was big enough for a brotherhood or household assembly.

Some meeting-places were specially famous. At Lesh, a thriving seaport at the mouth of the river Drin, and not the malarial inland townlet into which it has been converted by the advance of the Drin towards Italy, Lek Dukagjini and Skanderbeg met by preference, as it was centrally situated for both their domains. The place of meeting was probably the grassy sward near the ruined church on the right bank of the Drin, opposite the modern town.

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 272

[2] See Appendix, Document V, § 16, p. 264.

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623 In Lower Martanesh Selim Lashku dispensed justice to the village of Martanesh under a branching tree by the *Gur i Kuvendit* (Stone of Assembly). At the spring called Gurrë Gega, which is at the confluence of the Shëmil and Gurakuq torrents in Çermenikë, he used to meet his famous contemporary of Gurakuq village, Mus Ballgjini, at plenary meetings of the twelve villages of Çermenikë. A list of the usual meeting-places of his day is to be found in Father Gjeçov's book.

The convener fixed the time and place of meeting. The favourite time was the early morning, as this left the whole day free for arguing.

634 The bajraktar presided over the General Assembly and sat cross-
619 legged on the ground in the most honourable place. Near him sat other dignitaries—voivodes, village elders, clan elders, village ancients and clan ancients in due order of social precedence. Facing them and well apart sat the rest of the tribe, the youth, the commoners, the public messengers and the fine-collectors (*gjobtarë*), in a half-circle in Mirditë, and elsewhere in a roughly shaped rectangle or circle. The essential thing was that each man present should see and be seen by everybody else, and should have room to advance, if required, to the dignitaries. Since neither youth nor voivodes and fine-collectors existed in southerly districts like Martanesh, General Assemblies there consisted only of the bajraktar, elders, commoners, and public messengers.

[695] Every effort was made to keep a meeting orderly. When a presiding dignitary, a judging elder or a witness was speaking no interruption was allowed. Insulting remarks and abuse were prohibited under pain of a fine that might amount to as many as five rams. Calling another a liar meant a fine of 500 piastres. For the better observance of these rules when a case was being tried, the disputants were not allowed to address the court. Each had to go some distance away with his elder in order to tell him his story quietly, and had to return to his place at the meeting to await judgement in silence. The elders drew apart from the meeting after their briefing, argued the case out with each other, and returned to the meeting to announce their decision in the hearing of all present. In this way only two or three men talked, the rest sat quiet and listened. In Mirditë a stranger might not take part in a general meeting, but in Lumë and Çermenikë, in the belief that a stranger could have 'nothing in his bosom or his pocket', that

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is to say, no interested motive for his opinion, he was actually encouraged to express his views. Among the Catholics of the far north the priest was permitted to speak, as though he were one of the tribesmen, but his views did not necessarily prevail.

It was unthinkable, of course, that the tribesmen should come without their arms in view of possible dangers on the way. So the law said explicitly that they might bring them. But as soon as they took their places cross-legged on the ground they had to lay their guns on the grass in front of them or on their laps and had to keep them so until the meeting ended. The Catholics sometimes let the priest coax them into depositing their arms in the church house for the duration of the meeting. If anyone raised his gun in anger, it was promptly taken from him by his neighbours. If anyone fired his gun the rest of the meeting immediately formed itself into a firing squad and killed him, and then went in a body to his house and burned it down. Even at the smallest meeting there were four or five important men present who kept a sharp look-out ready to prevent trouble. The priests too kept good watch, and a Franciscan found in Theth by Miss Durham in 1908 told the following story: 'We nearly had a row at the *mexhlis*[1] a little while ago....I heard a fearful noise and as I ran out a lot of them got up into a bunch like bees and raised their rifles. They were just going to fire. They would not listen to me. I rushed into the church and rang the bell as hard as I could. It had a splendid effect. As soon as they heard the bell, from habit they all shoved their pistols into their belts and took their guns in their left hands and began to cross themselves. No one knew what had happened. They poured into the church to see. By the time we came out again...they were quieted.'

Proceedings usually began with a statement by the president that the tribe had assembled to consider certain matters in the manner required by God and the canon, that is to say, with justice and without innovations or departures from the established law. Great importance was attached to the latter point. The decisions of specialist elders were accepted only on condition that they conformed to the accepted law and did not constitute innovations. This proviso was thought unnecessary in the case of elders who had been bred to the law as the specialists had not, and were therefore trusted to stick to it. This conservatism maintained the strength of the law, the main factor in keeping the tribe together.

[1] General Assembly.

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CHAPTER XV

ASSEMBLIES AND THEIR WORK

623 634 619 Assemblies sometimes dealt with internal matters such as criminal trials, formulation of laws, local administration, and sometimes with the external relations of the community. Internal affairs were dealt with, according to their gravity, by the tribe, village or kin, but a plenary assembly had to be called to consider foreign affairs.

619 669 During the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century the northern tribes of Albania were singly or collectively in constant opposition to Turkish sovereignty, and plenary assemblies were summoned by tribes whenever they planned to break out into open revolt. Earlier in 1855 and 1862 there had been attacks on the Montenegrins by the Mirditë, which had followed on plenary assemblies of the Mirditë tribes.

In 1881 the Albanians of Kosovë formed the League of Prizren in order to struggle more effectively for independence of Turkey. [631] All over Kosovë and what afterwards became the kingdom of Albania plenary meetings were held by tribes, and, where these did not exist as in south Albania, by districts, to decide on whether to join this League or not. Again in 1908, as Miss Durham relates,[1] the northern tribes held plenary meetings about accepting the new [721] Turkish constitution. The Albanian attack on the Turkish garrisons in Skoplje and adjacent towns, that began the Balkan war of 1912, was prefaced by general assemblies of every tribe in Kosovë and north Albania. In the summer of 1914, when Esad Pashë Toptani revolted against Prince William of Wied, then *Mbret* (king) of Albania, his supporters raised central Albania in his favour by carrying the Koran in one hand and a crucifix in the other to plenary meetings of the villages and bidding the Assembly, generally consisting of Moslems only, choose between the Moslem Esad and the Christian 'Mbret'. In 1942 a plenary meeting of all Mat was convened by the subprefect of Mat in the hope of enforcing obedience to the Italian government of the day. The decisions reached at the meeting were embodied in a document

[1] *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 120, n. 1.

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published in the Albanian newspaper *Tomori* on 7 November 1942,[1] a curious mixture of Fascist ideology and ancient mountain law. But the decisions were honoured only in the breach. A few months later, many hundreds of families represented at the meeting were homeless, victims of Italian reprisals for their persistent revolts.

Sometimes a tribe met in plenary session to deal with inter-tribal matters. It might have quarrelled with a neighbour over a grazing or forest boundary between their territories, or the neighbour might be harbouring one of its dangerous criminals. In either case the tribe had to meet in plenary session, first of all to discover by public argument the best way of enforcing its boundary rights or procuring the surrender of the criminal, and secondly to secure public sanction for the steps it decided on. These might even include war. Miss Durham describes a General Assembly of Shalë which she witnessed in 1908.[2] The Moslem tribes to the north and east, surreptitiously armed by the Turkish government, had threatened to massacre Shalë and its Catholic associates if they did not embrace Islam by the next Ramazan. Shalë met in General Assembly, and amid scenes of wild enthusiasm passed a resolution to warn its Moslem neighbours that within seven days of their receiving notice Shalë and its fellow-Catholics would be at war with them.

Sometimes a pair of tribes met in plenary assembly for mutual aid. Several examples of contracts made on such occasions are given by Father Gjeçov; translations of three appear as Documents IV, VII and VIII.[3] In the first the tribes of Nikaj and Mertur pledge the safety of man and beast at certain times of the year. The second is between the tribes of Nikaj and Shalë in 1894, and the third, dated 1895, is between Nikaj and Curraj, a 'brotherhood' of Nikaj. In these latter, each contracting party guarantees the safety of the other's tribesmen when travelling along certain specified roads in its territory; in the first Shalë's guarantee is extended to tribesmen of Shosh, its western neighbour, and Nikaj's guarantee to tribesmen of Mertur, its eastern neighbour. In this way they facilitated a considerable amount of movement from tribe to tribe. Such documents were really an early form of passport, allowing the tribesmen of one tribe 'to pass freely without let or hindrance' in the territory of the other.

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, p. 272.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 71, 72.
[3] See Appendix, pp. 263, 265, 267.

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721 Like tribes, villages sometimes met together to try to agree
623 about matters of common interest. Villages often quarrelled over
685 irrigation water, and a forest or pasture boundary. They quarrelled even oftener perhaps because the tracks of stolen animals led from one to the other; cattle-lifting and sheep-stealing were common. The most satisfactory way of dealing with troubles was for the two villages to meet in full assembly. After thrashing the matter out in public they generally reached a settlement, failing which they could only go to war. In the early years of the twentieth century cattle thieving was listed as one of the thirteen most important matters brought before General Assemblies in Martanesh. In 1942 it was still so active a disturber of the public peace that the pro-Fascist subprefect of Mat legislated for it among the questions which were the real occasion of his calling together the 5000 families of Mat.[1]

671 Law-giving was also an important function of General Assem-
619 blies. This activity came to an end with centralization and western
634 legal codes, and its nature can be studied in the documents quoted by Father Gjeçov and reproduced as an appendix to this book, pp. 261 sqq. These documents show the variety of matters with which the law-giving of the Assembly was concerned. For instance, Document I, coming from Malësi e Madhe and dated 1864, is wholly devoted to such subjects as betrothal, bride-price, divorce and abduction or elopement. Document XI, which comes from Kurbin in 1906, is much occupied with stealing and with tightening up the social fabric by making attendance at General Assemblies imperative and the authority of elders supreme. With the proclamation of Albanian independence of Turkey only six years ahead, it contains an interesting political note; no Kurbin man is to become a gendarme in Turkish service or to give one food and shelter; and no Moslem of Kurbin is to curry favour with the Turkish authorities by denouncing a Christian fellow-tribesman. Document XIII, which comes from Mat in 1942, is also dated by its politics enjoining support of the Italian régime in Albania.

671 In the midst of the variety of subjects in the documents, crimes
674 against life and property are continually appearing as the fundamental threats to the security of the community. A study of the documents shows them as reaffirming and modifying old and recognized laws, rather than formulating new ones. Assemblies

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, § 4, p. 273.

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Disobedience to accepted authority was not permitted to an 687
individual tribesman, a villager or even a tribe if that formed part, like the Mirditë tribes, of a group of tribes. Several of the Documents end by indicating the penalties that await tribesmen who defy the authority of the General Assembly that had laid down the preceding laws for the public good.

Examples of penalties prescribed are a fine of 3000 grosh, a choice between being burnt out or paying an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, and a sentence of having one's house burned down and oneself expelled. Number XIII, the Fascist document from Mat, simply declares that any delinquent will be called a traitor. In each case the whole tribe was to meet again in General Assembly and go in a body to carry out the sentence. According to Document XI the breaker of a pledge guaranteed by the General Assembly of the Elders and Commoners of Kurbin was warned that the said Elders and Commoners would be obliged to burn his house and expel him.'

Elders were seldom tried before a General Assembly. They were 693
kept in check by the fact that if their judgements were found unfair they lost not only face but also fees, for they were seldom asked to judge again. If there were complaints against one he was first asked, like an erring bajraktar or voivode, for a pledge; if he refused to give it he was haled before the General Assembly.

If a disputant flouted an elder's just and carefully considered judgement, he found himself before a General Assembly. For an elder represented a lawful authority. 'If you don't like the decision, 619
go to St Paul's church or the Defile of Orosh (*Grykë e Oroshit*)' 672
was the formula in Mirditë in such cases, church and defile being the favourite meeting-places for the General Assemblies of all its five tribes. If the Assembly upheld the elder's judgement, the penalty usually imposed was banishment for three years for the culprit and his family, the burning down of his house, the destruction of his crops and trees, and leaving his land untilled until he returned.

Sometimes a village was a public nuisance, harrying travellers, stealing its neighbours' beasts, cutting off their irrigation or mill water, trespassing on their forest or grazing, and so on. The bajraktar, voivodes, elders, and all the commoners in the rest of the tribe then gathered in General Assembly, one man from each house, and brought the village to its senses, fining the more harmless

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619 offenders, banishing others, and executing the ringleaders if these
672 had committed any crime entailing the death penalty.

619 Sometimes a village went to actual war with the rest of the tribe.
[72] As it never did so unless it knew itself to be very strong, the rest of the tribe was sometimes unable to reduce it. If the tribe was alone, the war went on until both sides were exhausted enough to cry halt. If the tribe was one of a group its heads could call in all the men of the other tribes to reduce the belligerent. In Mirditë a Gjomarkaj called the General Assembly which decided on this step, and led its members against the belligerent.

Sometimes, like a pestilent village, a tribe that formed part of a group made itself a nuisance to its neighbours. In that case the
[681] General Assembly of the other tribes in the group sentenced it wholesale to the usual penalties—fines for mild offenders, burning out for medium offenders and death for bad offenders. A whole tribe, however, could not be banished. It could only be ostracized, cut off from all intercourse with its neighbours; this penalty lasted until it consented to furnish the usual pledges for its future behaviour.

623 Village Assemblies dealt with matters of exclusively village interest. They regulated wood-cutting and irrigation rights, for example. They fixed the date at which beasts might be sent up to their summer pasturage on the high mountains. They stipulated the number of beasts that might be sent up by each family. They took steps to see that no one appropriated more than his fair share of forest, irrigation water or grazing. In so doing they made a valuable contribution to the public peace. Some aspects of
[682] murder also engaged their attention. The actual crime and revenge
[623] for it were the concern only of the families of the murderer and his victim. But it was the concern of the village that the range of revenge should not spread, increasing the number of avenging assassinations and so disturbing the village peace. So the law having laid down that the avenger must allow the murderer a day or two's grace to settle up his affairs before he was besieged in his house, the village had to extract a promise of this grace from the avenger. In cases where the grace lasted for thirty days, the village had to see that the murderer did not abuse his privilege and harry the victim's family. If he showed any such tendency, the village in General Assembly had to fine him and bring his period of grace to an untimely end.

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Assemblies of tribe or village watched above all over their 577
honour. Sometimes their interpretation of honour took strange lines. Father Gjeçov gives the following story from the Mirditë tribe of Spaç. The sister of a villager of Gomsiqe was married to a villager of Dush in the same tribe. It happened that on one [578]
occasion when she came to pay a visit to her brother she took ill and died. He and his friends laid her on a bier and carried her, not to their own cemetery, but to her husband's house in Dush, presumably to avoid the expense of burying her. When the village heard what they had done, they met in General Assembly, and after carefully appraising the dishonour brought on Gomsiqe by such a public exhibition of meanness, fined the man a cow. This they divided into fifteen portions, which they distributed among the fifteen houses of the village. The fine was justice at its most precise. If the man had buried his sister as he should have done, the funeral feast would have cost him a cow. The event took place about 1903.

Another type of meanness had a similar end. About 1872 a villager of Urë e Shtrejtë in the tribe of Drisht happened to call on a neighbour about midday and was kept for dinner. As they [576]
finished, his host scraped his plate. The visitor afterwards complained to the village of the disgrace brought on his own dinner-table by the host. The village met in General Assembly and fined the host 500 grosh for his meanness. According to the law 'a dinner-table is disgraced in a guest's eyes when the host wipes or licks the porringer or scrapes his plate'.

The smallest General Assemblies—those of brotherhoods and 627
households—dealt with what were essentially family matters. They 596
met perhaps to decide on expelling or even killing any hopeless member if his misdeeds were serious enough to threaten the whole brotherhood or household with wholesale punishment by the tribe. They considered the pros and cons of buying an extra bit of land.

Tribal government was entirely democratic—of the people, by 619
the people and for the people, but it differed from tribe to tribe and 184
from time to time, enough to prevent unity. As the tribes in general would not have accepted the law of any one of them as supreme, it was ultimately necessary for Albanian unity that tribal government should be superseded by a modern system evolved in, and exercised from, a capital.

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each seeking their support. Had four refused at this stage to take 695
the oath Asllan would at once have been publicly convicted—if less than four, two substitutes would have had to be produced for every one that refused; two for one, four for two, and six for three, and there would have been no extension of the time limit. In this case, however, all the compurgators agreed to swear to Asllan's innocence, and he himself, towards the end of the week, swore on the Koran that he had nothing to do with the theft. Later the compurgators, led by Qazim's nominees, took the oath of Asllan's innocence before the whole village. Actually, Qazim cut short the proceedings after six or seven had sworn, as by then the compurgators most likely to know the truth had sworn to the suspect's innocence.

Having celebrated his acquittal with a banquet to the compur- [696]
gators, Asllan two days later yoked the stolen ox, hidden during the case in a lonely sheepfold, to his plough. Now, although the mistake—either designed or accidental—of the compurgators was obvious, there was no legal machinery for annulling the verdict. In [777]
the opinion of the village, however, Asllan received his punishment when shortly afterwards his son was born lame.[1]

Qazim in Labinot put his case into the hands of the headman of [692]
his village. In the tribal north he would have entrusted it to the elder of his brotherhood, ward or village or perhaps to the bajraktar of his tribe.

Tribal officials, being hereditary, had more authority to act for 619
their community than had the temporary headman in non-tribal 622
districts such as Labinot. In Milot, the most northerly village of 694
Kurbin, the victim tackled the suspect himself, asking him first if he had committed the outrage and then if he would take oath that he had not. In view of the fieriness of Albanian tempers this information is surprising—one would expect shooting to put an abrupt end to such an interview—but it is confirmed by information from the neighbouring village of Laç. When one of its inhabitants denied having received a loan, the lender asked him directly to swear in the presence of two or three witnesses that he had never been lent the money.

Only men of military age and capacity had standing enough to 695

[1] A very similar system of compurgators exists among the Naga tribes of Assam. There, however, though in some tribes there is no means of modifying the verdict if an oath prove to be false, in others a compurgator who discovers that his principal is lying can 'withdraw his life', otherwise in danger from the false oath, and so reopen the case *ab initio*. (Ed.)

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CHAPTER XXII

BLOOD FEUD

I. FAMILY VENGEANCE AND COLLECTIVE VENGEANCE

To understand the fabric of the Albanian blood feud it is essential 621 to remember several things. Till after the 1914–18 war communica- 628* tions in Albania were so bad, government centres so few and the 596 gendarmerie so ill-organized that communities were largely self- 619 governing. These communities consisted in the narrower sense of the family, and in the wider sense of the tribe. If a person was injured, the family in most cases, and the tribe in a few cases, by the law of self-government punished the wrongdoer. Since the individual was almost completely submerged in his family, an injury to him was an injury to the whole family and might be punished by any of its members. When the tribal community was involved, the injury might again be avenged by any of its members. When the injury took the form of murder, vengeance generally [681] took the Mosaic form of a life for a life, but sometimes was achieved by the exaction of blood money or the imposition of exile.

When the family of a murdered man, in default of government 628* action, took the punishment of the murderer into its own hands 596 and killed him or one of his male relatives, the head of his family might admit that both sides were equal and make peace. On the other hand, while still admitting that both sides were equal he might prefer to continue the feud by killing a second male from the avenging family; that done, a second life was forfeit on his side. In this way the feud might rage backwards and forwards for years or even generations, each family being in turn murderer and victim, hunter and hunted. 'To take vengeance' was 'to take the blood' (that is, of the man already killed, not of him who was to make atonement); the criminal was called 'the bloodstained', and avenger and criminal thought of each other as the 'enemy'. In north Albania the criminal was also called the 'agent' and the avenger the 'master of the blood of the victim', i.e. the master of the house in which the victim lived. 'To incur a feud' was 'to fall into blood' or 'enmity'.

This simple outline was filled in with all manner of elaborate

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units. For twenty-four hours after a murder in Lumë, a district 613 peopled by little groups of kinsmen, any man of the victim's kin 628* might avenge him on any man of the criminal's kin. So long as members of this group survived no other would move. If they were killed off, other groups, beginning with the nearest neighbours, might seek vengeance. Within living memory this licence found dreadful expression in Theth, the beautiful northern part of Shalë. About 1890 a man who lost a lamb promised to give a cartridge to a shepherd if he found it. When the shepherd succeeded, the man went back on his promise saying he would 'give him five'(*sc.* fingers on the trigger) instead. For the moment the shepherd let the matter drop, but later met the man and asked once more for his promised reward. Again the man refused it, not too courteously, and was immediately killed by the incensed shepherd. Unfortunately, it was Easter Sunday and the murder took place in a meadow where all the men of Theth were gathered for the festival. Immediately the dead man's *vllazni* (brotherhood), comprising all the males descended from the same ancestor, sought vengeance on the murderer's brotherhood. These were not backward in replying, and within an hour fourteen men lay dead for the sake of one cartridge.

Whole tribes might be affected by the rule of 'boiling blood'. 619 In the Malësi e Madhe if a Kastrati tribesman killed a Koplik man, 628* any member of the latter tribe had licence for 24 hours to kill any man from Kastrati. The murderer was, therefore, bound to announce his crime at once so that his fellow-tribesmen might take cover. The time limit elapsed, vengeance lay as usual between the two households. In such cases of inter-tribal aggression each tribe became temporarily a single family in which each member represented the whole.

In Çermenikë, kinsfolk were sometimes fused into one family 612 not by boiling blood as described above, but by a particularly 574 atrocious murder such as that of a guest by his host, when 'circle 628* after circle' was the rule. The guest's 'circle', consisting of his own household, his kinsmen in separate homes, his neighbours and the sons of the married daughters of his family, wherever these last might live, tried to kill the murderer, and failing to find him or other members of his household, they might kill one of his 'circle'. On succeeding, they held that they had avenged their relative's death, and their victim's family agreed. In other districts they

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682 accusation of taking government money to kill the murderer after
641 he had taken blood money from the family.

[167] The same fear of government action was at work in Kosovë, a province largely populated by Albanians but assigned to Yugoslavia after the Turkish empire broke up in 1912. A steady drift towards Albania proper went on among the Kosovars. Some were impelled by land hunger to go and take up the free land which the Albanian government had offered them; others came to evade Yugoslav justice. By contrast with the Albanian government, which did not yet punish severely homicide that was justifiable by tribal law, the Yugoslav government hanged most murderers. To avoid this ignominy, a Kosovar murderer preferred to emigrate, lock, stock and barrel, to Albania. Most interestingly, this emigration was the ebb of the tide that within recent centuries peopled Kosovë with Albanians.

[621] Sometimes a murderer did not run away of his own accord, but was forcibly expelled by the community. Although when murder was not punished by government, only the weak ran away voluntarily, the community expelled a strong man as readily as a weak one. In tribal districts like Mirditë which contained several villages, the murderer's village could not expel him without the other villages' consent and help. If the village resisted the expulsion, the tribe as a whole had the right to 'proclaim' the village or to call in other tribes to bring it to reason. In small tribes like Nikaj the murderer's kinsmen could expel him independently of the tribe. In non-tribal districts like Shpat, where each village was a self-contained unit, it needed to ask no one before expelling a murderer.

682 A man sentenced to communal expulsion was always one whose
*628 crime struck at the roots of society as understood in the mountains.
674 Perhaps he had violated the acknowledged sanctity of the 'pledged word' by killing his enemy during a public truce or even after making peace with him. Perhaps he had infringed the sacred laws of hospitality by killing his host or guest. Perhaps he threatened family solidarity by killing a cousin to get his land. Perhaps he had killed a man to steal his rifle and thereby as good as robbed him of his manhood, for a man without a rifle is as nothing, no better than a woman. Perhaps he had committed sacrilege by killing someone, possibly the priest himself, inside the territory of church or mosque, or by breaking into the church to steal.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[681] 10. The government authorities therefore by this Decree order that the nine points above-mentioned shall be observed and put into execution without fail or opposition.

Issued by the Government Authorities of Shkodër
Shkodër, Albania
May 9th, 1864

L.S. Mareshali
Civil and Military Representative of the
Government with the Prefecture of Shkodër

ISMAIL PASHA

[619] II. Solemn Pledge between Mnelë and Gomsiqe, February 13th, 1873.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 118.)

At the meeting we are holding to-day we have decided to write out the following document in order to have it for reference.

We, the tribesmen of Mnelë and Gomsiqe, comprising 150 houses, have solemnly promised each other to hold ourselves ready and of one mind for every need that may eventuate.

The witnesses of this pledge are:

[Here follow the names of 15 tribesmen, headed by the bajraktar.]

Written this day of February 13th, 1873.

III. Laws Enacted by the Twenty-four Elders and Agreed by the Chiefs, etc. Written in the Village of Kastrat on November 2nd, 1891.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 125.)

1. From Krue i Ri, which belongs to all Kastrat, up to She i Gurit; from Vorr Gjolaj to Breg i Gurrës, marching with Gjelosh Luce; from Shkamb Gropë Mollë to Brigje; from Gjekë Petroviqi to Çukë e Gurrës...whoever quarrels or fires a weapon within these limits will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[312] 2. Whoever refuses to allow a woman to fill her water-pitchers at fountains and springs saying she has no right to a share of the water, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

3. Whoever calls another names in the above-mentioned places or calls another's mother and father names, will be fined, if he is full 15 years old, 250 grosh and 3 rams.

4. Whoever goes to do a mischief in a mill must, if he is full 12 years old, pay a fine of 250 grosh to the miller and 500 grosh and 3 rams to the chiefs.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in the village of Kastrat on Nov. 2, 1891]

5. Whoever moves the stones of an old boundary and puts them in a new place will be fined 3000 grosh and 6 rams. 681 [423]

6. No one is to frighten a flock sheltering from the heat in a place it was in first.[1] Whoever does this will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams. [233]

7. The mill question remains inviolate as always and neither the Vukpalaj nor the Gjolaj may start a *degamë*,[2] and any miller who takes more than 5 per cent of the flour will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams. [256]

8. Any man who cuts down a tree under which animals take shelter from the heat or cuts off a mill or an irrigation stream will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.

9. Other fountains and springs are left under the old law, that is to say, whoever destroys a fountain or spring or prevents another from filling water-pots will be fined 500 grosh. [312]

10. Milling is by order of arrival. Any miller who mills for a man who comes later than another and breaks the order either out of favouritism or because corrupted by bribes will be fined 150 grosh and 3 rams. [256]

11. Whoever admits a stranger to huts on a mountain pasturage will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.[3]

IV. Truce Sworn between Nikaj and Mertur on August 10th, 1892. 628 619

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 121.)

The two tribes have sworn a truce with each other:

(1) As from August 14th up to the day of Our Lady of Mertur.

(2) As from December 26th up to the day of St Sebastian.

The guarantors of Flock and Shepherd, i.e. Nikaj and Mertur and the Bajraktars of Krasniqë and Gash.

V. Laws Enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on November 1st, 1892 A.D. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 126.)

At a general meeting held under the presidency of Brahim Beg the serxherde, Kasem Beg the bylikbash and the four and twenty chiefs (elders) of Kastrat, the following laws were enacted.

1. Whoever murders a man of Kastrat or of any of the other mountains will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[1] This must be a mistranslation. The Italian version of the sentence runs: *che nessuno ardisa impaurire il bastiame gravido.*

[2] The Italian version of this very obscure clause is as follows: *Le disposizioni riguardanti i mulini rimangono inaltarate per sempre e non possono causare litigi nè fra il povero nè fra il ricco*, clearly referring to the principle, enunciated again in § 10, which compels the miller to treat all his clients on the principle of 'first come, first served'. It is possible that the Albanian version has been misunderstood.

[3] This refers to the letting of some of the tribe's scanty pasturage to strangers.

10: Haskuck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

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[End map (A) - Upper Left]

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Key to tribes

1. Berishë	8. Hot	15. Kurbin	22. Nikç
2. Beshkash	9. Kastrat	16. Lumë	23. Pukë
3. Bytyç	10. Kastriot	17. Lurë	24. Selcë
4. Dibër	11. Kir	18. Matjë	25. Sholë
5. Drisht	12. Krasniq	19. Mertur	26. Shkrel
6. Gash	13. Kryezez	20. Mirditë	27. Theth
7. Has	14. Kthellë	21. Nikaj	28. Toplanë

[End map (B)- Upper Right]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

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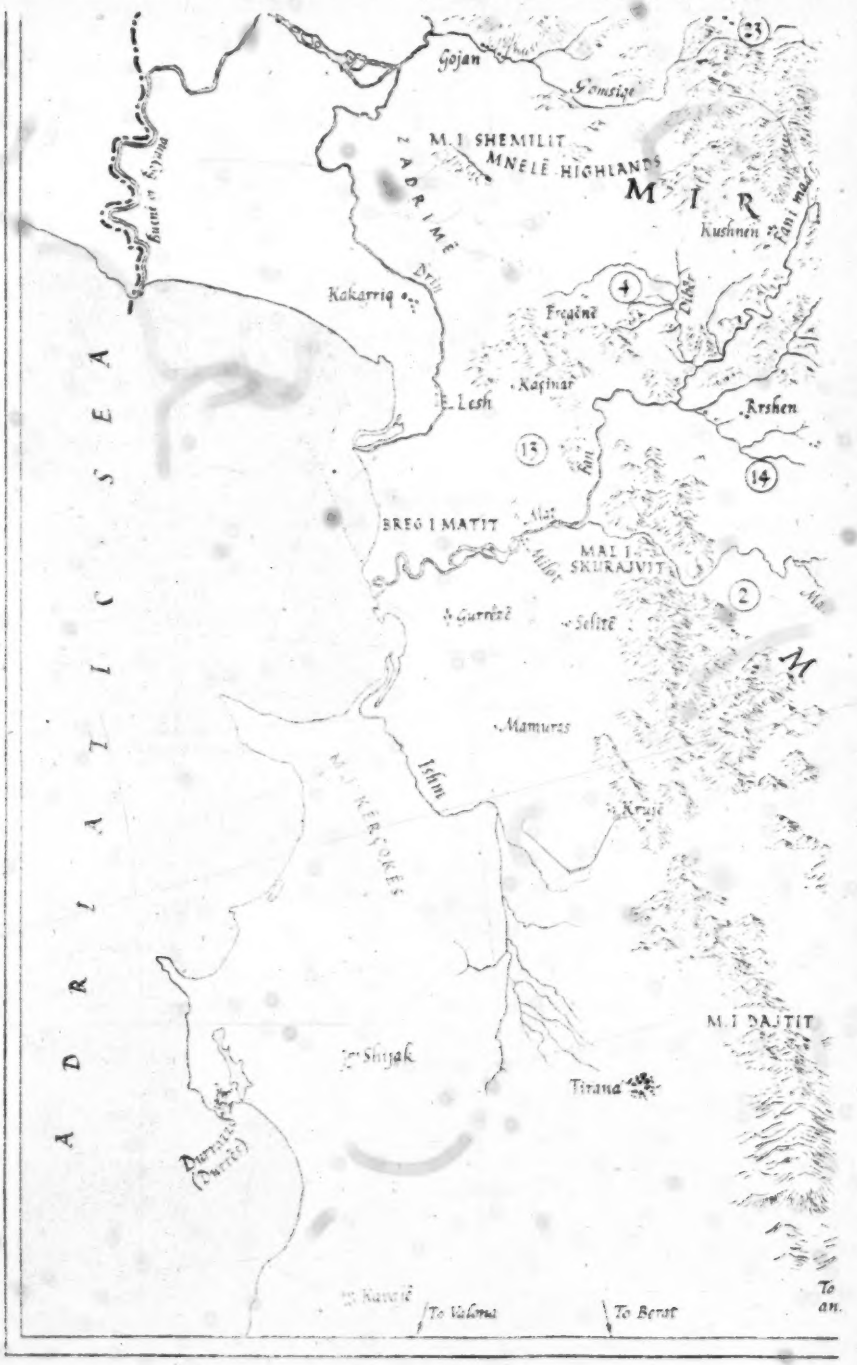

THE NORTH ALBANIAN MOUN

[End Map (C)-Lower Left]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

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N MOUNTAINS AND TRIBES

[End Map (D)-Lower Right]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

H 794 present Kopliku; Albanian districts on the Drin are also given or ordered to pay tribute. All of which confirms Father Brocardus's statements.

H 792 651 Stefan Urosh III, when founding the monastery at Dechani, gives it in 1330 many "villages and katuns of Vlahs and Albanians between the Lim and White Drin," and gives a list of persons who are to pay tribute, the last of which are Zaharia and Mihal of Nikita in Pulati, who are to pay the former 4,000 and the latter 2,000 cocoons annually to the Church. All Vlahs and Albanians are to carry salt for the monastery. Thus numbers of peasants were put into the power of the Orthodox Church, but though severe laws were enacted against Catholicism, North Albania in large part remains Catholic.

H 175 779 So soon as the Serb Empire fell, references to Albanian chiefs become frequent, and the Catholic Church speedily took the ascendancy. Many of these chiefs took service with their men under Venice. Others were subsidized by Venice as allies. All documents show that at the time of the Turkish invasion there was a large Albanian population both in the mountains and on the plains, which then, as now, were largely used as winter pasture.

The swoop of the conquering Turk, the capture of Scutari and Alessio, the complete destruction of Drivasto, caused a great dislocation of population. As the Turk settled on the fat plains, numbers of refugees took to the mountains. The tradition now told in the mountains of the north is often that of these immigrant refugees, who tell of having found other inhabitants in the land, but the families who H 582 now trace direct male descent from these are few. The strict law of exogamy must, however, have forced the immigrant to intermarry largely with the old inhabitant, and the race continuity is, therefore, unbroken.

2. The Maltsia e Madhe Group

A 619 614 The tribes fall into several main groups.

The Maltsia e Madhe (the Great Mountains) group consisted, when I visited it, of five large tribes and some smaller ones.

1. *Gruda.*—A tribe of one bairak, situated between the river Tsem and the old Montenegrin frontier. To the north of it is Triepshi and south is Hoti. Triepshi was part of this group till given to Montenegro in 1878. Gruda in 1908 consisted of about five hundred "houses." A [592] A "house" was roughly reckoned at from eight to ten souls.

Of these five hundred "houses," eighty traced descent from Berisha (see below), and thus are of old indigenous stock. The remainder, A [167] called Djell, said they were immigrants from the Herzegovina, and that

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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they penetrated yet farther into the Albanophone and Catholic Albanian mountains. In the latter case they have remained Albanian; in the former they have been Serbized, and have also acquired doubtless some Slav blood. That the Vlah (Roman-Illyrian) forms a considerable part of the present Albanian inhabitants is indicated by Brocardus's reference to "Latini" and Farlati's to "Blachia."

5. The Tribes of Montenegro up to 1913

The tribes of Montenegro, as they existed up to the beginning of the Great War, have not been recorded in English. I therefore describe them in some detail, for they are the last example of the development of a wholly tribal nation into a State in Europe. I say the last because the tribal system of Albania had disappeared, save in the Northern mountains, long before Albania became independent. When I first went to Montenegro in 1900 it consisted of about thirty tribes. I say "about," for some were recent compounds and not, strictly speaking, tribes.

Montenegro was divided into two parts—Montenegro and the Brda. The first was old Montenegro with some additions on the Herzegovinian side; the second, the mountain mass that borders on Albania. The real "plemé" (tribe) in each consisted of a group of people believing itself to be descended from a common male ancestor. In some cases there was a tale of some previous inhabitants, and in others of later settlers who had been admitted as part of the tribe. I regret that I did not collect the tale of ancestry of each tribe instead of the details of a few, but these will serve to show how a tribe was formed and developed.

Each tribe till recently was exogamous, except when the tribe descended from two or more separate stocks, which were then intermarriageable. Male blood alone counted.

Each tribe was divided into several "bratstvos" (groups of brothers literally) consisting of many cousins and brothers, each calling the other "brother" or "sister." In my time a bratstvo was not reckoned farther than and including second cousins; but in former days it extended farther. When I first lived in my guide's, Krsto's, hovel at Njegushi, I was amazed at the number of his brothers. The neighbours were equally surprised by my narrow idea of a "brother." When I said I believed I had cousins whom I had never seen and whose names I did not know, all were horrified and said the English were no better than dogs. They could not understand a bratstvo that did not live on its own patch of ground. Scattering over the world they thought

[P-35-62 BLANK]

Ancient Albania

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

144 The ancient Epirots were as distinct from the Hellenes as the Albanians are from the modern Greeks. The Greek writers of ancient times referred to them as a Pelasgic race, or, in other words, the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of the country.

The Pelasgian Zeus has his memory, even today, in their language, for we find the Albanian word for God is "Zoti." A minute's examination of the term "Gheg" and "Tosk" reveals that they are identical with "Truscus" or "Etruscus," while the form "Tyrrhenus" perhaps survives in Tirana, the capital of the Kingdom of Albania, as no other explanation for the derivation of the name of the city can be found.

618 These Pelasgians formed a cluster of rude,
619 rough, highland clans, very similar to those of the Highlanders of Scotland a hundred and fifty years ago,brave,illiterate and essentially barbarian in character. Oftimes these clans and tribes were banded together in an independent government of a tribal sort. They even went farther and coalesced into little
175 kingdoms of greater or lesser extent. In the times of the successor of Alexander the Great, Epirus made considerable progress in civilization, and its kings exerted no small degree

623 attention. These include the use of tribal lands, decisions whether or not to burn forest to make pasture, etc., although such matters usually involve several villages. The elders also convene as witnesses in oath-taking.

634 Above the village is the *bairak* (Turkish for banner, standard), a geographical area with some kind of natural unity, so that the people living in it habitually see more of each other than of those without. All of the village councils meet together for the *bairak* council, under the *bairaktar* (standard-bearer), or head of the *bairak* (fig. 10, *e*). His office is hereditary in certain families. King Zog's father was *bairaktar* of Mat, the principal *bairak* of Mati; in Dibra Major Çen Eleze, who acted as host to our expedition, was one *bairaktar*, while Murat Kaloshi, his rival, was another. These men were great feudal leaders, maintaining large households of armed men, and dispensing [177] lavish hospitality to all comers. Çen Eleze had sent two of his sons to the American Technical School in Tirana, where they learned modern agricultural methods as well as perfect English. These boys, huge fellows over 6 feet 3, were of great help to us when we visited Slatina.

The *bairaktar* can become an independent sovereign if he has a strong enough personality and if the tribal authority is weak, and that of 619 the central government likewise. At other times he is under the authority of the head of the tribe, an official chosen from a ruling household, and bearing a different title in each tribe. In Mirdita he is called *Kapedan* (Captain); in Puka, *Shpij e Krye Ziut* (Black-Head House); in Malsia e Madhe, *Shpij e Madhe* (Big House), the exact equivalent of the ancient Egyptian *per āa*, or Pharaoh.

124 Fifty men, comprising 5 per cent of our
619 metrical series, were office-holders in the Gheg tribal system. Eleven[8] were elders, 26 chief

[8] Four from Dukagin, 2 Puka, 4 Mirdita, 1 Zadrima.

[see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

124 elders,[4] 8 *bairaktars*,[5] and 5 retainers of a tribal
619 prince, Jon Markajon of Mirdita (fig. 10, *a*). Except for the chief elder of Karashegeç in
[463] Has, who was a baker, all of the elders, chief elders, and *bairaktars* were farmers. The baker was "mayor" of a village of bakers, outside the mountain area. All of these men were locals, born of local fathers and mothers taken from within the father's tribe. Preferences are thus shown for (a) agriculture as against handicrafts or trade, and (b) local as against outside descent.

Jon Markajon, the only tribal chief whom we met, and who entertained us very well at his capital in Orosh, would not allow us to measure him, although he summoned all of his subjects from nearby villages. The 5 retainers whom we measured in his house constituted his princely staff. Three of them were part-time farmers, and 2, full-time political employees. What their exact duties and titles
619 were, we did not determine. The ancient
642 tribal government of Ghegnia, if we may judge by the example of Mirdita, the one tribe in which it survived more or less intact until 1929, consisted of a graded hierarchy with three steps—elders and their chief, *bairaktars*, and tribal prince. Attached to the prince was his staff of special messengers, chamberlains, and guards.

The tribal government was in the hands of the prince and his council, which consisted of all of the elders of the tribe, with their chief elders, and the *bairaktars*. The heads of large and powerful households, even if they held no
[623] formal office, would be included. The council met in cases of murder within the tribe, of intertribal warfare, invasion, or other crises involving violence. It also met to decide on its own composition, i.e., to hear the petitions of neighboring *bairaks* to join it.

619 The strength of the prince as compared to
643 that of the council depended on the former's personality. During the last 50 years, for example, Mirdita has been ruled by the following princes: Bib Doda, a great and powerful man who died about 1913; Preng Bib Doda, his son, who was killed shortly after in a blood

[4] Nine from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Has, 4 Mirdita, 4 Zadrima, 3 Mati, and 1 Dibra.

[5] [see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

619 643 feud; his cousin, Marka Gjoni, a weak character; his son, Jon Markajon, the incumbent in 1929, a man powerful enough to maintain the tribal system in defiance of the central government, to have his men exempted from military service and taxation, and to exact from Ahmed Zog an annual stipend in return for which he would keep his men quiet.

634 619 Each tribe in Ghegnia is an aggregation of *bairaks*. In 1929 we found 13 *bairaks* in Malsia e Madhe, 6 in Dukagin, 7 in Malsia e Jakovës, 2 in Has, 5 in Luma, 7 in Puka, 5 in Mirdita, one in Zadrima, 4 in Mati, 4 in Dibra, making 54 in all. The names of these, as recorded on our measurement blanks, are:

Malsia e Madhe: Klementi, Gruda, Hoti, Kastrati, Koplik, Greisha, Shkrelli, Riola, Reçi, Loya, Postripa, Triepsh, and Kraja.
Dukagin: Shoshi, Shala, Kiri, Dushman, Pulati, Toplana.
Malsia e Jakovës: Krasniqi, Gashi, Bituç, Marina, Vunshaj, Merturi, Nakaj.
Has: Vlana, Ershan.
Luma: Biçani, Kalishi, Ujmisht, Dolovisht, Çaja (Gorë, a Serbian-speaking *bairak*, is sometimes also counted with Luma).
Puka: Kabash, Puka, Çerej, Mal i Zi, Berisha, Buxhon, Iballja.
Mirdita: Dibri, Fan, Orosh, Speç, Kushnen.
Zadrima: Zadrima.
Mati: Mat, Lura, Kthella, Selita.
Dibra: Reçi, Stashani, Sheheri Poshtar, Sheheri Epert.

This list cannot be wrong in the cases of Puka and Mirdita, for the members of these tribes use the names *shtat bairaket* and *pes bairaket*, meaning *seven bairaks* and *five bairaks*, to designate their tribes. In Luma, Malsia e Jakovës, and Malsia e Madhe the picture is complicated by the presence of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, which not only cuts through *bairaks*, but has caused wholesale migrations and flights within the lifetimes of the subjects measured. Dozens of *fis* of a few households each have shifted about, and it is hard to tell to which *bairak* each belonged at the time the series was measured.

619 634 114 Miss Durham, who made her observations between 1908–13, some 20 years ahead of

[a] Three from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Malsia e Jakovës, 1 Puka, 1 Mirdita, 2 Dibra. All of these except the Mirdita man bore reserve titles.

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me, found the tribal rosters different in some areas from those I later encountered.[1] She calls Malsia e Madhe not a tribe at all, but a confederation of tribes. Of these Klementi is given 4 *bairaks*, Seltzi, Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi, while the other 9, Gruda, Hoti, Skreli (Shkrelli), Klementi (Kilmeni), Lohe (Loya), Rechi (Reçi), Rioli (Riola), Kopliku, and Grizha (Greisha), are said to have consisted of a single *bairak* each. Triepsh and Kraja were not listed, doubtless because they lay over the Montenegrin border even before the imposition of the 1913 boundary. She did not include Postripa in the confederacy, but made it a separate group of tribes.

These were Mazreku, Drishti, Shlaku, Dushmani, and Summa. Only one of these, Dushmani, is given 2 *bairaks*, the others having one each. Dushman is the only one of these names which appears on my list, where it is given the status of a *bairak* of Dukagin. I measured in the village of Postripa itself, and am surprised that no subjects from these separate "tribes" appeared. What I was told was called Dukagin, she lists as "the Pulati group," dividing this into Upper and Lower Pulati. She grants Lower Pulati 4 small, one-*bairak* tribes: Plani, Ghoanni, Mgula, and Kiri. Upper Pulati is given Shala, with 4 *bairaks*, Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj; Shoshi, number of *bairaks* not stated; Toplana, same; Nikaj, same. Merturi, which intermarried with Nikaj and is now called part of Malsia e Jakovës, she listed with Puka as a part of Berisha. The reason for this was that "Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago."[6]

Mal i Zi, listed in my roster as a *bairak* of Puka, she assigns to Luma. She makes Gashi, a *bairak* of Malsia e Jakovës, a separate tribe. She also grants tribal independence to the *bairak* of Lura, which she places at the head of a confederation including Mati and Dibra, and to Kthella, which she divides into 3 *bairaks*, Kthella, Selita, and Perlati.

1/1 [See Cat. 116, p 31 b. Analyst]

It is my impression that some of these differences are due to a confusion on Miss Durham's part between *fis* and *bairak*, *bairak* and tribe. On page 68 she translates *bairaktar* as "head of the tribe." Had she not gone wrong somewhere it would have been remarkable.

[6] Durham, 1928, p. 27.

619 634 114 Travel in Ghegnia in the years 1908–13 would not have been easy, even for an experienced man. For a woman to have made these journeys is something of a miracle. Others may be the result of the process of amalgamation, for many of the "tribes" which she mentions were miserable fragments of former populations decimated by warfare, and massacred, in some cases, by the Serbs. By 1929 a considerable realignment must have taken place in the whole area north of the Drin, and especially in the regions which she designates as Postripa and Pulati. In any case the 10 groups of people whom I have designated as tribes were so considered by the people with whom I worked in 1929, and form more or less self-contained, intermarrying units, sufficient for our present purpose.

619 628 Under the tribal system warfare was almost continuous. The underlying cause was of course population pressure. The overt causes were seduction, theft of women, elopement, cattle-stealing, and general raiding. It did not take much to give offense, particularly in the late winter, when food was scarce. Even a man who had almost enough to eat himself would be under severe tension, because of the general nervous strain of his kinsmen and dependents, and consequent maladjustment within the household.

A chance blow, a harsh word, even a play on words which is very easy in Shqip, or above all a cruel joke—these seemingly minor conflicts often led to gunplay and murder, with 522 consequent feuding. I had several occasions to feel their Iron Age wit, so much like that of the Norse sagas. Once my host in Zadrima remarked, in front of many people, that I had the skinniest legs he had ever seen, and wondered how I could walk. The assembled company burst into Homeric roars. On another occasion, in a Puka *han*, I lifted my head suddenly and hit it a sound smack on a protruding nail, partially stunning myself in the process. This was the funniest thing in the world. Once again, when Farnsworth and I crawled into our sleeping bags for the night, the whole household laughed and laughed. When we asked what was the matter, they said, "Just think, if the house should catch on fire! You

521 wouldn't be able to get out of those sacks, Ha! Ha! Ha!"

628 682 619 What happens when a man kills another of the same tribe can best be learned from the following quotation from Miss Durham.[7]

Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. [Miss Durham is using "tribe" in the restricted sense, as before.] Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and order his house to be burnt. Among the Dukagini the council has power also to destroy his crops, cut down his fruit trees, slaughter his beasts, and condemn the land to lie unworked for a term of years. An incredible [672] amount of food-stuff is thus wasted. In this group not only the man who has taken blood, but all the males of his "house," are liable for blood, so they, too, have to fly. The "house" is the home maybe of a whole family community—forty people. But the law is carried out to the last letter. Such desolated spots have I seen. But "It is the Canon, so must be obeyed," was the answer to any remonstrance I made. The women and children may scatter and find shelter in other houses if they can; they usually do. A man can save his house if he can return to it and defend it three days successfully, so that the men sent by the council cannot set fire to it; I saw "a very brave man" in Berisha who had three times saved his house thus. Or a man can save his house by inviting the head of another mehala [household] to act as house lord and defend it with his own men. This might cause severe fighting. The council, to prevent this, then as a rule agrees to burn the house only and spare the property. The amount of property to be destroyed was always decided by the council. . . . In addition to the burning of the house, in all tribes a fine has to be paid. . . . in sheep or cattle. . . . to the Turkish Government. In the case of Maltsia e Madhe this was paid . . . in Scutari. . . . punctually . . . . The Turkish Government had a certain hold on all the nearer tribes, for it could hold as hostage any member of a tribe which owed blood-gelt and came to market at Scutari. The outlying tribes of Dukagini by no means always either notified or paid for their murders.

Feuds being very weakening to a tribe, the headmen of the tribe or friends of the family would attempt to stop the feud. Blood-feuds of the Dukagini

[7] Durham, 1928, pp. 66-68.

[8] Miss Durham translated *bairaktar as* "head of the tribe." This explains her confusion between tribes and *bairaks* noted earlier.

and Pulati tribes are settled in the mountains; those of Maltsia e Madhe were settled in Scutari before the representatives of those tribes [to the Turkish Government] who lived there. 628 682 619

The peace-making is preceded by the "gjaksur" (he who owes blood) sending some friends to the "zoti i gjakut" (lord of blood) to ask for "besa" (promise of truce). This may be granted and further prolonged, and during the truce the gjaksur and his relatives are safe. To end the feud . . . twenty-four con-jurors are needed to swear the peace oath with the gjaksur. The plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be named by the "bairaktar"* . . . . They examine the facts and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. . . .

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the church (or mosque) before which the council has been held . . . and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood. [After the others have all sworn] . . . the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood. . . .

The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.*

Within the *bairak*, then, political mechanisms tended to reduce the frequency of murder by making it expensive. Murder between *bairaks* would likewise be discouraged if the central authority of the tribe were strong. Otherwise inter-*bairak* feuds could rage for decades before peacemaking. Whole tribes could likewise be in blood with each other, or with single *bairaks*, just as Mirdita was in blood with Lura during the period in which we are interested.

A central political authority tended to strengthen the ties between tribal members, and with the numerous council meetings that were called, members of the more prominent families got about frequently within their tribal boundaries. This would give them opportunity to arrange marriages some distance 619

* In this whole section I have used Miss Durham's spelling of local names, now obsolete. Also, I have left the definite article before *zoti i gjakut*, where it is grammatically superfluous.

S:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)195 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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from home. The blood feud, on the other hand, scattered them even more widely, and while most of the exiles returned home, some settled outside the mountains. Miss Durham discovered around Jakova, about 1912, small villages made up of people from Fan and other

619
166 Mirdite *bairaks*, from Shala, Berisha, and other Gheg regions. Most of these exiles had probably left home involuntarily. The political framework of Gheg tribal society, particularly its warlike aspects, tends to promote emigration.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

administrative ends. Indeed, save for the short-lived rule of 642
Skanderbeg, there had never been an independent Albania until modern times. It is therefore small matter for surprise that the Albanians have hardly acquired a national or state consciousness; nor indeed, outside of the towns and the coastal plain, has nature encouraged, or their way of life given rise to, social organisation in any form.

At the time of which I write, the family, or clan, was the 621
basic, indeed the only unit of society among the Gheg mountaineers; and was held together by common ownership of the means of production and common interest in their defence. The head, or chief, of the clan still preserved patriarchal powers, sometimes even of life and death over its members. He arranged their marriages, allotted them their tasks, settled their disputes, and decided what courses they should follow in the burning issues of blood feuds and politics. In recent years, however, the [619]
spread of Western ideas had weakened the traditional respect for the patriarchal authority; nor was there any sufficient intermediate patriotism of the province or the village to take its place. Indeed, the village community as we know it did not exist, for the village of the Gheg highlands was but a group of houses, each often as much as a mile from its neighbour. There were no village councils or other corporate institutions, and the feuds between the inhabitants prevailed over their common interests. The ancient tribal system was thus dissolving into anarchy, for where there is no community there can be no law. Indeed, the cry of "stop thief!" would have ooo
been almost inconceivable among the Albanians, "Because", as Wordsworth wrote of other highlanders:

> the good old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
> That they should take, who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

In such circumstances, each man had to be his own law-giver, and alone, or at best with the help of his family, defended his rights or punished those that trespassed against him.

Anarchy knows no prisons — the most fundamental of social

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

comed Turkish protection against the Slavs and Greeks who 642
threatened them on every side. It resulted rather from the jealousies of the Powers; and it was their representatives who determined the territories of the new state with such singular disregard for economic and ethnological considerations that they left as many Albanians outside the boundaries of Albania as within them.

The total number of Albanians has been generally com- [162]
puted at some two millions. Of these, upwards of one million lived within the frontiers which were proposed by the Ambassadors' Conference in 1913, ratified in 1926, and once more restored in 1945. Of the remainder, more than six hundred thousand inhabited the Kossovo, while the others were scattered in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Epirus. The amputa- [243]
tion of the Kossovo was a heavy loss to the new state; for the region was the natural granary of the northern provinces, and the standard of living of the Ghegs rose or fell according as they were allowed or denied free access to it.

The economic and social structure of the Ghegs, or Northern 184
Albanians, was one of tribal anarchy, save in the coastal plain 621
and the Kossovo, where there were feudal estates. Islam and [162]
Roman Catholicism were the accepted religions: the Moslems inhabiting Central and North-eastern Albania with the Kossovo, the Catholics Mirdita and the inaccessible ranges of the north-west. A way of life near to the tribal system of the Ghegs still survived in the mountains of Southern Albania, but the Tosk tribes had never wholly recovered from the repressions of Ali the Lion and had increasingly disintegrated into communities of landowning peasants. The broad plains of the South, however, remained divided into feudal estates, owned by an Ottomanised ruling class and worked in part by an Orthodox Christian peasantry. Thus, while the distinction between Moslems and Catholics was one of geography and history, the Catholics being those Albanians whom the Turks had never subdued, that between Moslems and Orthodox was one rather of class and of cash.

It was scarcely to be expected that a conference of ambassa- 578
dors would quickly set up a strong state among a people divided 642

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

669*

meanwhile to the plain to the house of Ihsan Toptani, to throw a spanner into the wheels of German diplomacy.

A son of Abdi Bey, one of the founders of modern Albania, and a nephew of the famous Essad Pasha, Ihsan was now the head of the powerful Toptani clan. Under the monarchy he had remained aloof from politics, but during the war had shown himself a staunch, if prudent, supporter of the Allied cause. Independent of party, he was yet in touch with all parties and, since he was politically and financially disinterested, his opinion was respected by all. The care of his estates, natural caution, and an instinctive aversion to violence and disorder had hitherto prevented him from taking an active part in the guerilla movement. Instead he had remained in the background, emerging now and then to act as intermediary between the different guerilla factions, or as their link with the political leaders in Tirana. Thus, in the autumn of 1943, he had undertaken the preliminary negotiations between the Partisan and the Ballist leaders, and had acted as host to their meeting at Mukai. Later, in the disasters of the winter, he had taken in Colonel Nicholls and sheltered him during his last agonies. Since that time he had maintained close relations with the British Missions; and it was from his house that Hare conducted his campaign to spread disaffection among the enemy's garrison in Tirana. [621]

Maclean and I accordingly set out with Hare and, crossing the Shupal valley, reached the head of the Qaf Bechit in the late afternoon. This was a precipitous col between Mount Daiti and Mount Berar, over which ran the shorter but less frequented track to the capital. The light was clear and from a jutting crag just below the col I saw Tirana for the first time. The capital city of Albania lies in a broad and fertile plain, surrounded by a crescent of mountains, open towards the sea. Thirty years before it had been little more than a village; now it was a prosperous town, a blend of East and West, boasting a population of some thirty thousand souls. Through my field-glasses I made out slender minarets rising between tall modern buildings, a long rambling suq or bazaar, and several broad, leafy avenues, flanked by whitewashed and red-roofed villas, set in green and shady gardens. There lay the prize for the victors in this many-sided struggle. 000 361

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592 a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

619 622 Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal [624] qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

692 695 In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders. [623] The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be 681 asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment 621 also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as 673 understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for his case.

[1] See Chapter V. [2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

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his case. Since 1912 most of this administrative and penal legislation has been superseded of set purpose by European methods and laws, whereas the social content of the old mountain code has been left comparatively undisturbed, free to come into line with the ways of the West in its own time.

The community sense was fostered by every art the mountaineers knew. Each member of a household was encouraged to regard everything in it and everything its other members said and did as his own. The humblest man was encouraged to regard his village or group of villages as his personal property. If home, village or group of villages prospered, he rejoiced as if he had himself been advanced. If they were insulted or injured, he burned to avenge a personal affront. If they were disgraced by misconduct on the part of another member, he felt his own honour to be smirched. The patriotism so bred was narrow, perhaps, but it was genuine, free from egregious self-seeking, and by its emphasis on the need to keep the community's honour untarnished, a good deterrent from crime.

This close relationship between individual and community was also a curb on dictatorship. The ruling rank had always to respect the individual's property in the community's laws. They could not make any change in an existing law unless they obtained the consent of a General Assembly of their village or tribe. They could impose, but (except in the tribes which maintained fine-collectors) they could not collect fines; social pressure was necessary for that. In a very common punishment, social ostracism, they might play no more than a subordinate part. They could not pass heavy sentences like banishment or death unless a General Assembly demanded them, and if it did, they could not resist its will. In short, the elders voiced, but did not dictate, popular sentiment.

They were no privileged oligarchy either. They might sit in the seat of honour or get the lamb's head and eye at a banquet, but they had no official residences, horses or guards of honour provided for them at public expense. They lived in houses that were often meaner than those of their subordinates; they ate the same food and toiled in the same way in their fields and among their flocks. In fact, the self-government of the Albanian mountaineers went far towards being true democracy in the Anglo-American sense of that much-abused word. In its primitive way it was really government of the People, by the People, for the People. It had

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692 It had its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and [671] left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their 36 diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geo-221 graphy of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

623 Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As 484 a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, [619] country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. 671 More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

[693] The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each [62] community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such

1/n [the legal system -- Analyst]

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the old master reserved such business for himself and his sons, leaving only their own concerns to the masters of the new houses. As he remained the eldest or the most capable of the brothers, his help and advice tended to be sought by the others, particularly in external business, and his opinion was more regarded by outsiders such as tribal or government authorities. So he developed into the 'old man (or elder) of the brotherhood'. As the generations passed and the houses of the original brotherhood split up in their turn, the dignity of brotherhood elder remained in his family, handed down inalienably from master to master. The term 'brotherhood elder' was little used, however; 'first (or head) of the brotherhood' was preferred. There was no woman elder of the brotherhood or any larger unit. The mistress of the household of a brotherhood elder had neither authority nor influence outside his house, as he had. She was a foreign importation into the brotherhood, a stranger to it in blood, her only duties being to bear her husband's children and to work in the house, her only rights proceeding from her fulfilment of those duties.

In course of time so many households split up that a number of new brotherhoods were formed. In some the sense of brotherhood or even cousinship with the others faded, and only a remoter feeling of kinship due to descent from a common ancestor persisted. The agglomeration of brotherhoods then constituted a 'kin' (*fis*). In this, the fourth type, each brotherhood retained its own elder, and at the same time looked up to the elder of the original brotherhood as leader, calling him 'elder of the kin' or 'head of the kin'.

In the next, fifth stage of development several kins united to form a village. They might be distantly related to each other as in the village of Vuksanaj in Shalë, or of quite different stock as in the village of Nangë in Lumë. If related, they remembered which kin descended from the eldest brother in the ancestral home and regarded the elder of that kin as the village elder. If not related, they selected one of the kin elders, preferably the head of the strongest kin, for that position. Alternative names for him were 'senior elder', 'senior headman' and 'head elder'. According to the usual pattern of development each kin and each brotherhood in the village retained its own elder. Already it is possible to understand such data as the following. In the tribe of Lurë there were twelve elders, two for each kin. In the village of Perlat there were two men called village elders or senior elders; in the last days

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621 of Turkish rule these were the famous law-givers Dedë Lleshi and
622 Likë Gjegjaj. Again, when Per Dedë Ndoj was senior headman of the village of Gojan in Mirditë, he took the lead in publicly executing a man of his own kin, Buçaj, for murdering a guest who belonged to the Martinaj kin in the same village. The story is related by Father Gjeçov.

623 This fifth type[1] was the recognized superior of the sixth, the body of men who were[2] unitedly called 'village elders'. These consisted of all the brotherhood and kin elders in the village as well as the
[634] village elder himself. For instance, in the district of Kurbin there were sixteen villages, each of which had its 'head (or village) elder'. But according to a document published on p. 129 of Father Gjeçov's book, there were altogether forty-five elders in Kurbin. Besides the sixteen 'head elders' there were twenty-nine ordinary 'village elders', some of them kin elders and some brotherhood elders. In Mirditë these village elders were known as 'canon elders', because it was their business to see that the law was respected and applied. To avoid confusion between the single village elder and the body of village elders these will henceforth be alluded to as canon elders.

634 The document mentioned by Father Gjeçov introduces us to the seventh type, a personage styled 'chief elder'. In the document he was chief of the 'forty-five elders of the region of Krujë' (i.e. Kurbin). There is no explicit information of how his position came to this man or whether it was hereditary in his family. It can only be inferred that as he was a Përvizi of Skuraj, and this family led Kurbin, the position was hereditary and a tribute to the outstanding strength of his family. In so large an area as Kurbin there could not be any question of all the villages being related by blood and owning allegiance to Përvizi as the descendant, master after master, of the master of the ancestral household. In other districts where a chief elder existed, it may be assumed similarly that he owed his position to the personal qualities of his family rather than to its descent.

Some other kinds of elder were found, both among the southern tribes and elsewhere, but it will be easier to understand their position after the characteristics and functions which were common to the elders have been elucidated.

554 Viewed as a human being, an elder was an ordinary man without privileges other than the corner seat, head of the roasted animal

[1] [of elder -- i.e., the senior headman -- Analyst]
[2] [cf. cat. 116, pp. 12-15 -- Analyst]

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CHAPTER XXII

BLOOD FEUD

I. FAMILY VENGEANCE AND COLLECTIVE VENGEANCE

To understand the fabric of the Albanian blood feud it is essential to remember several things. Till after the 1914–18 war communications in Albania were so bad, government centres so few and the gendarmerie so ill-organized that communities were largely self-governing. These communities consisted in the narrower sense of the family, and in the wider sense of the tribe. If a person was injured, the family in most cases, and the tribe in a few cases, by the law of self-government punished the wrongdoer. Since the individual was almost completely submerged in his family, an injury to him was an injury to the whole family and might be punished by any of its members. When the tribal community was involved, the injury might again be avenged by any of its members. When the injury took the form of murder, vengeance generally took the Mosaic form of a life for a life, but sometimes was achieved by the exaction of blood money or the imposition of exile.

When the family of a murdered man, in default of government action, took the punishment of the murderer into its own hands and killed him or one of his male relatives, the head of his family might admit that both sides were equal and make peace. On the other hand, while still admitting that both sides were equal he might prefer to continue the feud by killing a second male from the avenging family; that done, a second life was forfeit on his side. In this way the feud might rage backwards and forwards for years or even generations, each family being in turn murderer and victim, hunter and hunted. 'To take vengeance' was 'to take the blood' (that is, of the man already killed, not of him who was to make atonement); the criminal was called 'the bloodstained', and avenger and criminal thought of each other as the 'enemy'. In north Albania the criminal was also called the 'agent' and the avenger the 'master of the blood of the victim', i.e. the master of the house in which the victim lived. 'To incur a feud' was 'to fall into blood' or 'enmity'.

This simple outline was filled in with all manner of elaborate

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612 would have found themselves involved in a new feud with the
574 household of the man they had killed, but by the local rule of
*628 'circle after circle' he died as proxy for the real criminal and no new feud entered into the question. There seems to have been no time limit to their extended vengeance.

*628 National solidarity was recognized in the debatable border lands
186 where Slav and Albanian lived side by side. If an Albanian was killed by a Slav, any Albanian would kill any Slav in revenge. The crime, it was felt, had pitted the Albanian family against the Slav family. This national sentiment was so strong that though there has never been any love lost between Gegs (north Albanians) and Tosks (south Albanians), no Geg would allow a Slav to kill a Tosk without seeking in return to kill any Slav he could find. The less warlike Tosks did not feel a similar impulse. If one of their number or a Geg were killed by their Bulgarian or Greek neighbours, they left vengeance to the victim's family.

• 621 The community also acted as a single family when certain public
688 servants were killed. If the victim were a Roman Catholic priest,
*628 he might lawfully be avenged by his parish, the tribe in which the parish lay, and his own family. If action were taken by the parish or tribe, the matter ended. The avenger's act closed the feud, and, fearing no retribution, he could hang up his rifle. If the priest's family afterwards killed another of the murderer's men, they began a new feud. Generally the family did not wait for the parish or the tribe to act. When a Mohammedan or an Orthodox priest was killed, it fell to his relatives to avenge the crime; the feeling that sacrilege had been committed was too slight to drive their parishioners into action.

621 If a field-guard of Lumë were killed, he was publicly avenged.
*628 If the murderer was from another village, any of the field-guard's fellow villagers could lawfully kill any man from the murderer's village during the first twenty-four hours, and afterwards he could kill the murderer or any other man in his household. In either case he could hang up his rifle. If the field-guard were killed by a fellow-villager, the village expelled the murderer. On the other hand, if a miller were killed, vengeance rested with his family; the village could not act. A field-guard was a public necessity; without his services the village economy would suffer, and he must be given public protection. A miller had taken up his work for the sake of private gain and was not a public necessity; if he were not at the

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mill, the villagers themselves could work it; the miller was therefore 621
not entitled to public protection. The village blacksmith, with few [563]
exceptions a gipsy, was in even worse case than the miller. He was [326]
a public necessity, since Albanian peasants will not make horse 628*
shoes or farm implements, but he was only a gipsy and no Albanian
community would trouble about so low-class a creature. If he was
murdered, only his family would avenge him, and they probably
lacked the spirit to do so.

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682 accusation of taking government money to kill the murderer after
641 he had taken blood money from the family.

[167] The same fear of government action was at work in Kosovë, a province largely populated by Albanians but assigned to Yugoslavia after the Turkish empire broke up in 1912. A steady drift towards Albania proper went on among the Kosovars. Some were impelled by land hunger to go and take up the free land which the Albanian government had offered them; others came to evade Yugoslav justice. By contrast with the Albanian government, which did not yet punish severely homicide that was justifiable by tribal law, the Yugoslav government hanged most murderers. To avoid this ignominy, a Kosovar murderer preferred to emigrate, lock, stock and barrel, to Albania. Most interestingly, this emigration was the ebb of the tide that within recent centuries peopled Kosovë with Albanians.

[621] Sometimes a murderer did not run away of his own accord, but was forcibly expelled by the community. Although when murder was not punished by government, only the weak ran away voluntarily, the community expelled a strong man as readily as a weak
[619] one. In tribal districts like Mirditë which contained several villages, the murderer's village could not expel him without the other villages' consent and help. If the village resisted the expulsion, the tribe as a whole had the right to 'proclaim' the village or to call in other tribes to bring it to reason. In small tribes like Nikaj the murderer's kinsmen could expel him independently of the tribe. In non-tribal districts like Shpat, where each village was a self-contained unit, it needed to ask no one before expelling a murderer.

682 A man sentenced to communal expulsion was always one whose
*628 crime struck at the roots of society as understood in the mountains.
674 Perhaps he had violated the acknowledged sanctity of the 'pledged word' by killing his enemy during a public truce or even after making peace with him. Perhaps he had infringed the sacred laws of hospitality by killing his host or guest. Perhaps he threatened family solidarity by killing a cousin to get his land. Perhaps he had killed a man to steal his rifle and thereby as good as robbed him of his manhood, for a man without a rifle is as nothing, no better than a woman. Perhaps he had committed sacrilege by killing someone, possibly the priest himself, inside the territory of church or mosque, or by breaking into the church to steal.

614 constitute three-fifths of Mirdita, as well as Shoshi and Shala in the tribe which bears the Dukagin name. There are 2 origin myths, one told in Dukagin, the other in Mirdita.

According to the first legend, 3 brothers came from a place called Marina near Jakova. One carried a winnowing sieve (*shosh*) and became the ancestor of Shoshi. The other carried a saddle (*shal*) and sired Shala. The third carried nothing, said, "*Mir dit*" (Good day) and walked away. His descendants are the people of Mirdita. The Mirdita people tell a more detailed story. They list 5 brothers, Shosh and Shal as before, named for the objects they carried, and 3 others who settled Mirdita—Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen. The meaning of these words is obscure.[5]

614 621 In Mirdita where these 3 brothers settled they found other people ahead of them, the ancestors of the inhabitants of the 2 remaining *bairaks* of Dibri and Fan. Dibri and Fan had several kinship lines each, hence each consists of a number of *fis*. Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen *bairaks* form a single exogamic unit today. They take their wives from Dibri and Fan, from the Christian *bairaks* of Selita and Kthella in Mati, and they did from Lura before they fell in blood with them. They also marry Christian women from the 7 *bairaks* of Puka. No man from Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen can marry any woman from these 3 *bairaks*, or from Shoshi or Shala.

Shoshi and Shala form an isolated geographical unit, with Shala at the high and Shoshi at the low end of an enclosed upland valley. It is not easy to enter or leave this area. Hence the marriage restrictions between the two, if they ever existed, have disappeared, and Shoshi men regularly marry Shala women, and vice versa. The local rationalization is that over a hundred generations have passed since the time of the 2 ancestral brothers, long enough to remove any trace of consanguinity. By the same token they could theoretically marry their fellow *fis* members from Mirdita, except that the Mirdites would not agree. In any case

[5] The Mirdites claim that *spaç* meant "sickle," *kushnen*, "pitchfork." I did not learn what *orosh* was supposed to mean, nor can my Albanian friends in Boston identify it. *Orosh* may, however, be the same as Urosh, a Slavic name borne by the son of the Tzar

[continued p. 286 --Analyst]

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the 2 tribes are so far apart, and so isolated, that the occasion would not arise. Shosh and Shala, like their brothers, found aborigines in their valley; with the descendants of these earlier residents they too can form convenient short-distance unions.

Merturi and Nikaj, the 2 Catholic *bairaks* of Malsia e Jakovës (the other Catholics, those of Krasniqi, migrated en masse some 30 or more years previously to Jakova) regularly intermarry, back and forth, like Shoshi and Shala. In general the larger exogamous units are found among Catholics, the smaller among Moslems. Most Moslems feel that 7 generations distance between kin is enough to permit marriage, which means that brides are usually taken from nearer home. North of the Drin, and in Mirdita, even when there are several intermarriageable *fis* in a single village, village exogamy is required. In the Moslem tribes to the south and east this is said to be unnecessary. In the town of Gur i Bardh, in Mati, we were told that village endogamy is usual. There can be little question that the Catholic system as practised in Mirdita, Dukagin, and Merturi-Nikaj is historically the older, and is the more closely associated with isolation and intense feuding.

In the next chapter we will go into detail on the number and locations of various *fis*.[1] Here it is enough to state the principle, amply demonstrated by the evidence, that where there has been little travel and a minimum of immigration, one finds single kinship groups occupying wide areas, as in the cases just mentioned. Where there has been more travel and moving around and changing of domicile, one finds many little kinship units in a relatively small area. Thus in Puka, where the main highway passes, there are dozens of *fis*, of a few households each, and the same is true in the more traveled parts of Luma and Dibra, and in the neighborhood of Scutari.

The *fis*, as we have seen, is the basic unit of exogamy. Like all human institutions and aggregations it is a mobile unit, never com-

Dushan, who despoiled the lower Drin country at the end of the 14th century (see page 432). It is obvious that these contemporary translations of the ancestral names are apocryphal.

[p. 28(b)]

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 30a - 34b -- Analyst]
2 [see cat. 116, pp. 43a - 43b -- Analyst]

614
621 pletely static. It changes with local needs. We have seen how in Dukagin the local geographical requirements split a *fis*, and how in the relatively less warlike Moslem areas with a reduction in need for extended exogamy, the device of a 7-generation distance was innovated, while village exogamy disappeared. So far we are dealing with reductions in exogamy. However, there are instances in which the opposite occurs, and the incest group is ex-
608 tended. Two ritual mechanisms provide for this, blood brotherhood and godfatherhood..

When 2 men become close friends and allies, and find themselves in need of each other's assistance, particularly in feuds, their relationship becomes similar to that of brothers, which is an extremely close one. It is therefore considered necessary that they make this relationship legal, which they do by means of a simple ceremony. The 2 men prick their fingers with knives, and either lick each other's blood, or bleed mutually into a cup of *raki*, which both drink. Once this has been done they are one in blood, and their children cannot marry each other. The other rite, godfatherhood, has its

[p. 29 (a)]

POLITICS AND FEUDING

592 THE smallest political institution in tribal Gheg society is the household, the extended family living together, which is also an economic institution. The head of the household is the oldest male of the parental or grandparental generation, the patriarch. So strong is the feeling for age-grading in Albania that men will obey their fathers as faithfully at 40 and 50 as in their teens. Since all sons do not necessarily live with their fathers, but some may occupy separate houses, the institution of the household may thus be expanded spatially, although the relationships are maintained.

[672] The household is a unit of warfare; when a man commits murder within his own tribe, his [628] household suffers together. In seeking vengeance, a man can wipe out the blot on his family honor by killing the brother of his enemy; responsibility is held to be collective. If one member of a household kills another, which happens but very rarely,[1] nothing is done. The loss is that of the family.

621 The next unit is the village. It may be a compact group of houses, surrounded by its farmland and pasture; or it may consist of isolated homesteads, each in its own land. The latter is the more usual form. In either case, it has some central building, a mosque or a church; or it may merely have a flat place, usually shaded by an oak, where the elders 623 meet. Each village is supposed to have 12 elders, whose office is partly hereditary, partly elective. Various families habitually furnish one man each to fill this position. The word for elder is *plak*, which Miss Durham traces back to the time of Strabo.[2] One of these elders is the *kryeplak*, literally, head elder. In one village in Has, when I measured the *kryeplak*, he told the recorder that he was "mayor" of the village. He calls the elders together when events arise that need their

[1] Miss Durham gives one instance from Dukagin (Durham, 1928, pp. 69-70).
[2] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

my poncho; then he carried me across—I was 484
soaked in spray, but that did not matter. Then he put one arm around the donkey and supported it across, and then the saddle, and then he went back once more and took the protesting Rexh and brought him over. The water was above their waists; their white bodies slanted in the glassy current; three yards below them the water poured in a crystal mass over the edge of the pool, a second waterfall that struck in roaring foam fifty feet below.

The worst of the current was between me and the central rock where the byraktor was braced; several times the end man's feet slipped there, notably when he crossed with the donkey, which I gave up for lost, but each time the chain of hands held firm.

Their bodies came blue from the icy water, but they put on only their cotton underdrawers, for they said we would next go through the snow, and they did not want to get their beautifully embroidered trousers wet; for the same reason they left their purple, gold-embroidered socks and rawhide opangi in the packs, and went on barefoot.

"Good! If we're crossing the snow fields 622
already, we'll surely be in Scutari by to-night," I said. But I was joyful too soon, for when we reached the first of the snow the party stopped. The byraktor sat down on a rock and lighted a cigarette; the gendarme, without a word, began to climb a tall cliff that overhung the trail.

[Warchief of Shoshi -- [265] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

• 622 What did it mean? Rexh did not know, and I sat impatiently on the mule, which began nosing through the snow for some bite to eat.

Then overhead the high, keen telephone call rang out, answered by far, thin voices that sounded as though the crystal air itself had been tapped, far away, by a giant finger. Even while the voices called and answered in the sky, silent men began to appear, suddenly, without my having noticed their approach. It was startling to see a strange, turbaned head beside my elbow, to find that between two glances a dignified, half-naked man was sitting on the rock beside the byraktor.

Rexh came and led the mule to a little distance. The figure of the gendarme, against the sky, raised its rifle, and I put my hands over my ears just in time to dull the echo crash. "It is polite to go away for a little distance, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh. "The byraktor has called a council of all chiefs of Shoshi."

[291] In half an hour twenty men surrounded the byraktor. They were all, like the byraktor and his gendarme, in cotton underdrawers, barefooted, and naked above the waist, many of them wearing on their heads only the tiny round white cap that covered their scalplocks. Each of them carried his rifle on a woven strap slung over his shoulder, and all had an arsenal in their sashes. They sat on small rocks, on the snow-filmed ground, in a group about the byraktor's bowlder.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

PEAKS OF SHALA

We were at the mouth of the highest pass. All around the little open space towered cliffs heavy with snow, only to the east the mountain ranges fell away, one beyond the other, to the just-suggested chasm of the Lumi Shala Valley, and beyond it they rose again, purple and blue and gray, to the foot of the great wave of snow that touched the sky—the wave that Alex and Frances and Perolli were climbing, if they had left Shala. A black cloud hanging over the pass they were to take told that they were traveling in a storm.

The council lasted half an hour, three quarters of an hour, an hour. It concerned grave matters; the earnestness of those intent bodies and keen faces said that. Meantime Rexh and I talked in low tones. [622]

"I am not paying the byraktor a hundred kronen to sit here while he holds a council," said I. "Do you think he intends to get me to Scutari to-night?"

"I do not think so, Mrs. Lane. But if you want to get there, it shall be done. We must consider many things." Rexh used his fingers to check them off. "First, the byraktor must be thinking a great deal about the new Tirana government. You remember that he asked the Shala man about Rrok Perolli. Also he talked a long time with his mother's mother, and that was about politics. Second, the byraktor holds a council. Therefore he is going to do something that concerns the tribe. The byraktor, you 622

* [See pp. 265-6 [267] -- Analyst]

[§ 22] know, is the war chief; he is the one who leads the tribe to war. Shoshi is in blood with Shala, and Shala has sworn a *besa* with the Tirana government. We must think of all these things. Now I think that the byraktor is also in blood with some of the tribes along the Kiri River, between here and Scutari. I think that he has hired you the mule so that he can travel in safety with you through those tribes and get to Scutari, where he will inquire about the Tirana government and whether it intends to join Shala in war against Shoshi. That is what I think."

I looked at that twelve-year-old lad in amazement and admiration. "Well, Rexh," I said, humbly, "I must leave it to you to get me to Scutari to-night, somehow. You think the byraktor intends to stop along the way?"

"Yes, Mrs. Lane. Also I think that the Shala man does not want to reach Scutari to-night. He swears earnestly, but I think he is a serpent with a forked tongue."

I sat there on the donkey, appalled. "But, Rexh, you know that I must get to Scutari to-night. Tell them I have said it. I am of the American tribe, and what Americans say they will do, they do. To-night I get to Scutari!"

"Yes, Mrs. Lane. But one must not tell all one thinks. We will say nothing. We will see."

When the council was ended we went on leisurely through the pass, and down into valleys, and up again over other mountains. At two o'clock we left behind the last glimpse of the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

175 reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani
105 among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

101 "Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived. Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Peligones*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

174 This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still
● 622 found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe
623 still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 174
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of [628]
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 582
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 602
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence 611
it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

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000 weeks, so that his appreciation of events was necessarily tentative. He saw little hope, however, of reconciling Zogists and Partisans, and believed that our Headquarters gravely underrated the difficulties of bringing Abas Kupi back into the fight. Hare's state of health, as well as his length of service in Albania, would fully have entitled him to seek evacuation; and indeed we had been ordered to relieve both him and Seymour. We judged, however, that his support would be a great strength to us and easily prevailed on him to remain. Seymour also volunteered to stay to help ensure continuity of policy.

5

[622] THE evening after we had reached Derye we received the visit of Kiamil, the headman of the village, who had protected and provided for the British Mission during the anxious winter months. Kiamil was an Albanian of the old school, dressed in a handsome, dark-blue cloak and remarkable by the extraordinary whiteness of his hands. He was indeed afflicted with a curious complex, whereby he felt impelled to wash his hands and mouth every hour of the day, a proceeding which excited the wonder of the villagers, though without in any degree inducing their emulation. He spoke Turkish, Arabic, and a little French, having studied at Salonika; and was eager for news of the Near East where he had travelled as a young man. A pious Moslem he would touch no alcohol, and in any case refused to take food or drink outside his own house. He greeted us with the old-fashioned salaam, discussed general topics for half an hour, and then delivered a message from Abas Kupi to say that he had learned of our arrival, and was on his way to meet us.

* 669 648 Abas Kupi duly reached Derye on the following evening 1/1 with a force of about a hundred men. He put off meeting us that night, pleading fatigue from the march, but came next morning to the house where we were lodged, accompanied by a few armed bodyguards. He was dressed now in riding-

1/1 [late April, 1944 -- Analyst]

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000 wiser to play a deserter's part to the end. Twice he went to Scutari, ostensibly to obtain information for Neel, but really to learn the latest news of the fighting in the west from his German colleagues. For several days he continued undecided, but meanwhile the Turkomans grew impatient of the primitive guerilla life which they shared with the British Mission. They saw no difficulty in capturing the British officers, and were hungry, besides, for the rewards they had been promised when they should bring them back as prisoners. Early one morning, therefore, they formed up to Brandt and pressed for permission to seize Neel and his staff at once. Brandt tried to put them off, but they demanded an immediate decision; and he now made up his mind to go over to the British. He therefore went and roused Neel, who was still sleeping, to explain the situation to him.

"It was very early, and a beastly morning," Neel afterwards told me, "and there was old Fred telling me that he was a Lieut.-Colonel in the Hun Secret Service. It was a bit of a shock, don't you know."

Neel recovered, however, from his surprise, and after drinking a cup of tea the two went out together to meet the Turkomans. A brief harangue, seconded by a liberal donative, secured their allegiance; and for the next four months they did stout service in the Allied cause.

9

*669 622 RIDDLE's reports and our talks with the Dibran chiefs had convinced us that we must enlist the support of Muharrem Bairaktar, and we therefore decided to push on northwards to meet him. Muharrem was the lord of Liuma, the wild territory to the east of the Black Drin, and was reputed worth more than a thousand rifles. His influence, moreover, extended beyond the borders of his region, both into Dibra, as we had seen for ourselves, and into the lands north of the White Drin. The word *Bairaktar* means "standard bearer" in Albanian, but by a natural association of ideas it has become the usual title

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of a tribal chief among the Ghegs. Muharrem's whole clan, however, was surnamed *Bairaktari*, from an incident in the eleventh century, when the Liuman chief of the day had been elected general of a confederation of northern tribes. In more recent times the fortunes of the clan had declined, and it was only under Muharrem's chieftainship that it had returned to its ancient supremacy in the valley of the Black Drin.

Muharrem had first come into prominence in the revolt of 1924, when he had raised Liuma for Zog and had outflanked the government forces concentrated in Dibra. As a reward he had been made one of the quadrumvirate, with Fikri Dine, Prenk Previsi, and Jemal Herri, to whom Zog had entrusted the pacification of North Albania. He had received the command of the Kukes military district, and had skilfully exploited this position to consolidate his personal influence in Liuma and extend it to the surrounding regions. But once the monarchy had been solidly established, the King had regarded the mission of the quadrumvirs as fulfilled and had determined to reduce the power which they already threatened to abuse. Accordingly, in 1933, he had appointed Muharrem as his A.D.C., an empty promotion which deprived him of his military command and kept him in Tirana, away from the seat of his influence. Muharrem was not the man to submit quietly to such gilded servitude, and, fired by jealousy and ambition, had plotted with the Captain of Mirdita and the Yugoslav Government to overthrow the King. The conspiracy, however, had been betrayed, and, warned of his impending arrest, Muharrem had fled to Liuma to raise the standard of revolt. He could scarcely have expected to defeat the government forces alone, but, with the support of the Captain of Mirdita and the intervention of the Yugoslavs, he still hoped to obtain honourable terms from Zog. Marko Joni, however, had lost heart, and, abandoned by his ally, Muharrem had crossed into Yugoslavia to begin the cycle of exile which was to lead him in turn to Belgrade, Vienna, and Paris.

Exile is perhaps the hardest test which a political leader can face; for it deprives him of those correctives of custom and

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000 public opinion which at home insensibly guide and restrain his actions. He becomes a general without an army, beholden to foreign governments, and, living in a mental climate where ideas tend naturally to the abstract and extreme because no longer rooted in the daily needs of political supporters. Men of wide interests and philosophic bent may, like Louis Napoleon or Lenin, improve the enforced leisure of exile ; but Muharrem Bairaktar was a primitive highland chief, and in the crowded capitals of Europe was deprived of his bearings. His natural wariness was turned into persecution mania by the petty café intrigues of political *émigrés* ; and the interest which he aroused by his picturesque ways swelled his ambition until he saw himself not merely as ruler of Albania but as the man predestined to unite the Balkan peoples.

*669 622 His exile had fortunately been short, and, in 1939, he had taken advantage of the general amnesty to return to Albania. He had declined, however, to take any part in public life and had retired to his stronghold in Liuma, refusing all contact with the occupation authorities. During the summer of 1940 he had corresponded with Gani Kryeziu in Belgrade, and, in April 1941, had mobilised to support the attempted revolt of the United Front. After its failure he had remained inactive, except for some communication with General Mihailovitch, but, with the collapse of Italy, he had suddenly raised his clan and captured Kukes. Kukes commands the junction of the Black with the White Drin and the vital bridges on the road from Prizren to Scutari. The Germans had therefore sent considerable forces to recover the town ; and Muharrem, realising that resistance was hopeless, had agreed to retire without fighting on condition that no German troops should enter Liuma. The region had thus never been occupied by the Germans; and Muharrem had afforded shelter through the winter to Riddle's Mission, as well as to isolated groups of Partisans. The Germans must have known of these things through their spies, but they kept to their agreement. They were well aware, indeed, of the difficulties of tracking down lone British officers in the tangled mountains of Liuma, and with the small forces at their disposal hesitated to provoke Muhar-

rem's open hostility. Their aim was to keep Muharrem neutral; ours was now to bring him back into the war. 669* 622

We left Riddle's base on the 29th of May, and, just before sunset, climbed on to the range that forms the eastern wall of the Drin gorges. The powerful river lay two thousand feet below us, narrowly compressed between smooth black cliffs, through which its deep and swirling waters ran a vivid blue, stained by the copper deposits in the rock. Beyond the jagged peaks of Liuma towered into the sky, and, with the approach of darkness, the scene became awe-inspiring, almost Wagnerian. We followed a narrow path scratched in the face of the cliff above the river, and now and then passed little stone cairns beside it. Each marked a grave and guarded the bones of some traveller who had fallen to his blood enemy, lying in wait. The dead were buried where they had been killed; for the path was too steep and the way too long to bring their bodies home for funeral. 764

Night overtook us on the march, but we pressed on until we came to a cluster of buildings, surrounded by a high crenellated wall. This was Muharrem's castle. Our guards called out and beat upon the gates, and, after an exchange of shouts with shadowy figures on the battlements, we were admitted to a wide courtyard. In front of us was a stone building, founded on a rock, and on the steps leading up to it stood the lord of Liuma, with a bodyguard beside him holding a torch of blazing pinewood. He bowed to us, introducing himself as Bairaktar, and led the way indoors to a room furnished with tables and upholstered chairs, the first I had seen in Albania. There we sat down for the customary exchange of greetings; and presently coffee was brought. 574 609

Muharrem was of stocky build, dressed in a plain grey uniform with a lumberjack's leather cap on his head. He looked not unlike Kaiser Wilhelm, with the same iron grey hair and moustache, loose mouth, and small piercing eyes. When at rest there was an almost abnormal concentration in his gaze, and sometimes a sly smile would cross his face, as if prompted by his inward thoughts. He was reserved of speech

* [British liaison officers -- Analyst]

* [Muharrem Bairaktar, chieftain of Liuma clan -- Analyst]

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000 and while it was made ready were entertained by two old men who sang to us the strident epics of the highlands, accompanied on the one-stringed *guzla*. We climbed on after we had eaten, but the path now wound ever steeper through the woods and we lost our way several times in the moonless night. Climbing was hot work, but we lit fires wherever we halted, for at that height the night air was still bitterly cold. At last, just before dawn, we crawled over the crest of the range and came out on to a broad and undulating stretch of moorland. We continued marching till the sun had warmed the morning and then dropped asleep in the bracken, where we lay till the afternoon.

622 We resumed our journey in the evening and an hour after dark reached the tall stone keep of Mehmet Ali, the *Bairaktar* of Hass. There our strength was revived with lashings of a [574] potent *raki* ; and, while the meal was made ready, our hunger was stayed by *mese* of eggs and cheese. Mehmet Ali was an old-fashioned tribal chief, a cheery fellow, and an excellent host. He was reputed the most prudent man in all Albania and had persistently refused to disclose the name of the friend who had sheltered him in the Balkan wars thirty years before.

"You never know," he would say, "when I may need to hide with his family again!"

000 Towards midnight the sudden barking of the watch-dogs warned us that strangers were at the gate. Mehmet Ali went out to meet them and presently returned, ushering two men into the room. The first of these was Said Kryeziu, a sub-machine-gun slung across his shoulder and two hand-grenades dangling from his belt. Prison had left its mark on him, and his face was thin and drawn. He shook hands gravely with the assembled company and was just murmuring some formal greeting to me when a flash of recognition crossed his face and we fell into each other's arms. He had received no word that I was in Albania, and now this sudden reunion in the mountains seemed to both of us like a good omen. Perhaps we were at last to fulfil the work we had begun together in Belgrade.

*669 Said brought us the best news we had heard since landing in Albania. His brother, Gani, had just fought an engagement with the Germans, the third in recent weeks. At last we had

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*669 should have crossed again. He led us to the shade of some trees where carpets from a neighbouring house had been spread for our conference. The hardships of internment had aged him, but they had also given him strength, and there was now a more determined look in his eyes than I had ever seen in Belgrade.

[622] With Gani were representatives of the Kosmet Partisans and a number of Moslem chiefs, including Salimani, the *Bairaktar* of Krasniqi. Salimani stood over six feet tall, a fierce old warrior with strong, regular features and thick, silver [291] hair and moustache. He was dressed in close-fitting, white breeches and a dark-blue jacket, with a white skull-cap on his head and a scarlet sash around his waist. His gun was silver-handled, a silver lanyard hung from his neck, and the tobacco pouch on his belt was of filigree worked by the Scutari silversmiths. He was over eighty years old, but bore himself erect, and his voice was still clear and strong. His clan had long been in blood with the Kryezius; for Gani's brother, Tsena, had pursued Bairam Tsuri, a rival northern chief, into Krasniqi and there had driven him to suicide. But now the two were reconciled, for that winter Salimani's only son had been killed fighting against the Germans in the ranks of the Partisans. The new feud obscured the old, and, in the face of a common foe, the two clans had laid aside their ancient enmity.

We sat down cross-legged under the trees, and, with Said acting as interpreter, began our conversations with Gani. Meanwhile the other chiefs rested around us in a semicircle, listening. Our first instinct had been to bid them withdraw, that we might talk in privacy, but Said had dissuaded us, arguing that nothing would impress the chiefs so much as to see us reach agreement in public. Gani therefore told us of his recent fights with the Germans and stressed that only lack of arms and ammunition had prevented him from taking the offensive on a wider scale. Then, with a gesture of invitation he said:

"I have come to receive your orders."

We answered along familiar lines that the time had now

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000 OUR meeting with Gani Kryeziu had taken us farther afield than we had at first intended ; it was already the 6th of June, and we were due back at base next day for talks with Abas Kupi. To return by the way we had come would take us more than a week ; but the only short cut — and this would take at least four days — lay through the wild highlands of Mirdita. This was the most primitive region in all Albania [622] and firmly in the grip of Jon Marko Joni, the Captain of the Mirdites and the ally of the Germans. Gani and Muharrem begged us not to attempt the journey, and, when they saw that our minds were made up, offered to put a force of a hundred men at our disposal, so that, if necessary, we might fight our way through any opposition. To feed such a force, however, might well prove impossible, especially if the clansmen were hostile. We therefore determined to put our trust in speed rather than strength, hoping to be in Mati before Marko Joni learned that we had crossed Mirdita.

We rested, therefore, through the morning and afternoon of the 6th June and, bidding Gani farewell, set out at sunset with Said and Muharrem Bairaktar. The nights are short at this season, but we planned to cross both the Great Drin and the Scutari–Kukes road before dawn. The river was too deep and [133] swift to ford, and there was no alternative but to cross by the ferry. This was guarded, however, by a gendarmerie post under a new commandant, whose attitude was still unknown to the local chieftains. We reached the crossing about midnight and Muharrem deployed his men so as to surround the gendarmes. He then sent for the commandant and exhorted him as a patriotic Albanian to help our forces over the Drin. Intimidated by our array, and encouraged by a handful of gold, that officer soon discovered a vehement sympathy for the Allied cause ; the necessary orders were issued to the ferryman, and within half an hour our forces were across the river.

An hour beyond the Drin our paths divided ; Muharrem turned eastwards on his way back to Liuma ; and the rest of

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000 "Where the Captain leads, I will follow."

We stretched out on his mud floor and slept a couple of hours, but then pressed on, not wishing to stay there long enough for news of our presence to reach Marko Joni. Our short rest had stiffened rather than refreshed us, but that night, at about ten o'clock, after a march of altogether twenty-two hours, we crawled into a low stone fortress near the village of Konai. There we were hospitably entertained by a cousin of Marko Joni, who inclined, however, to the Zogist cause. The •622 company that evening included Res Lufi, a chieftain from the borders of Mati and Mirdita, who was renowned for the success [628] with which he waged his blood feuds. Next day we were to pass a well where, some years earlier, he had drowned six of his blood enemies whom he had taken in their sleep.

000 From Konai the path to Mati led through Oroshi, the seat of the Abbot of Mirdita, and one of Marko Joni's strongholds. We judged it more prudent, therefore, to make a slight detour and set out in the morning to climb the Mali Shengjit, or Mount Saint John, a broad, wooded massif which separates the regions of Mirdita and Lura. The day was fine, but we made slow progress; for the going was rough and the men nearing the limit of endurance. In the late afternoon, however, we descended into Lura and stopped by the side of the path to smoke and chat with a farmer returning from the market. He spoke for some time of local politics and then added as an afterthought:

"They said in the market that Rome has fallen and that the English have landed in France!"

Our bodyguards greeted the news with wild shouts and fired their rifles into the air; the old man was embraced by all and sundry; and we left him still sitting by the roadside, bewildered that anyone should be excited by news of these distant events.

We pushed on next morning through the barren gorges of Matsukull and in the evening reached Sul Kurti's house on the fringes of the Mati valley. We found old Sul sitting on a carpet in his orchard enjoying the last hours of daylight with one of his sons. This young man had come from Tirana only the day before, and from him we learnt details of the battle in France. That night Sul gave us a banquet in honour of the landing and

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GANI KRYEZIU AND HIS STAFF

(*Front row, from Right to Left*) Said Kryeziu, Hassan Kryeziu, Lazar Fundo, Gani Kryeziu, Captain Hibberdine

[-1646-]

665 stiffened by a handful of German deserters and fugitives from
[625] the labour gangs of the Todt Organisation. We had not previously met Jemal, for his relations with Abas Kupi were strained, and he had for some time been sulking in his tent. We knew, however, that he was in daily contact with Tirana and were anxious to enlist his support in disrupting the political manœuvres of the Germans.

[622] He[1] entertained us to lunch in the house of a village *hoja* and supplemented the usual hospitality of the mountains with highly spiced Yugoslav dishes specially prepared for us by his Bosnian mistress. In appearance he was a cross between Mussolini and Mephistopheles, with a powerful cast of face, ruthless yet somehow mask-like, malicious, and smooth. His violent temperament was curbed by iron self-control and disguised by an elaborate courtesy which might have seemed unctuous but for a hint of arrogance. In conversation he damned Abas Kupi with faint praise, seeking to drive a wedge between us and suggesting that we should send him supplies as an independent leader. We turned a guarded answer, but prevailed on him to send an urgent message to Fikri Dine, advising him to decline Neubacher's invitation to form a government.

000 In the afternoon Hare left for Shupal to persuade Abas Kupi to send a similar warning to Fikri. Meanwhile Maclean and I pressed across the valley and reached Bastar about midnight, only to find that Smiley had moved the camp. We therefore rode out along the range and, at 2 A.M., came on the new base, situated by the side of a gurgling stream on the edge of a broad, level clearing in the forest. We roused Smiley from his slumbers and when at last the flow of his curses had subsided he told us that he had good news: Headquarters had telegraphed approving the terms of our agreement with Abas Kupi. Now at last the revolt might begin.

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61 NEXT morning, the last of June, we reviewed our situation
648 and judged it satisfactory. Headquarters had already ratified

1 [i.e. Jemal Herri, former chief of Zogist secret police-- Analyst]

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000 maintained a regular correspondence, we only once saw the Agha in the whole period between 26th July and 13th August. We continued, however, to work out plans for his journey to Italy but, in spite of several reconnaissances, were at last obliged to abandon hope of an evacuation by sea. Nor were we more successful in our attempts to arrange for him to be flown out; for the R.A.F. rejected the different landing-grounds we proposed, as well as a suggestion that a seaplane might pick us up on Lake Scutari.

622 Meanwhile we maintained close relations with Jemal Herri, who was the paramount influence in the region where we were encamped. Jemal had now embarked on the greatest conspiracy of a life devoted to intrigue. The seat of his influence was near to Tirana, and he had long nourished the design of attempting a *coup de main* on the capital in the moment when the Germans withdrew. Hitherto he had held his hand, for timing was of the essence of his plan; but now some substance was lent to the perennial rumours of a German withdrawal by the sudden evacuation of their wounded. Jemal therefore prepared to strike and, encouraged by the presence of a British Mission in his territory, strove to rally to his cause dissident Zogists and Ballists, disappointed "collaborationists", and renegade Partisans. These intrigues were conducted from Jemal's new and comfortable house at Zali Herrit, built, so it was said, with the gold which he had robbed from the British Missions.

We paid several visits to this house; for it had become a useful centre of information, and a meeting-place for men of all parties. Lunching there one day, I found Osman Taroku, a German spy whom we had unsuccessfully tried to liquidate some weeks before. Few secrets are kept for long in Albania; and I have no doubt that Osman knew of our intentions towards him. He showed no sign, however, of embarrassment and, after lunch, challenged me to a game of chess. I have never been much of a chess player, but found on this occasion that the contest derived a special savour from the knowledge that we were hunting each other in real life as well as on the board.

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At the beginning of the civil war our rear base at Murait had been overrun by the Germans. We knew that some of its personnel had found refuge with the Partisans, but had remained without news of Merret and Sergeants Jones and Jenkins. We had begun to fear that they must have perished, or been taken prisoner, when, at the beginning of August, Merret walked into our camp, followed next day by the two sergeants and a crowd of Italian camp-followers. Merret now told us that their base had been overrun by the Germans and Partisans in turn. Caught between these two fires they had withdrawn into the forests of Lura, where they had eked out a precarious and frugal existence until the retreat of the Partisans had enabled them to join the Zogist forces near Matsukull. Save for Sergeant Jones, who was suffering from a bad bout of malaria, they seemed none the worse for their experience; and Merret now set out to make a close reconnaissance of Tirana airfield.

We remained a fortnight encamped beneath the olive trees, waiting for instructions from Headquarters and revolving plans for our uncertain future. A few political leaders came out to see us from Tirana, all imploring British intervention to end the civil war. We heard them patiently, but turned guarded answers, for we were now as ignorant of British intentions as they. Among other visitors came Kiamil, the headman of Derye, who had sheltered Hare and Seymour through the winter. Kiamil had sought to remain neutral during the civil war, but the Partisans could not forgive his close association with the British and had burnt down his house and carried off his cattle — in all some two hundred sheep and eight cows. Robbed of all his substance, he was on his way to Tirana to seek the hospitality of a merchant whom he had once befriended. We could only hope that this earlier act of kindness would be better rewarded than had been his service to the Allied cause.

Each day brought its visits, and much time was spent in the questioning of couriers and spies. Meanwhile kind sympathisers brought us French and Italian books from Tirana to

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000 amuse our leisure; and an old Turkish lady, an aunt of Said Kryeziu, sent us sweetmeats worthy of Haji Bekir, which she had made for us herself.

186 622 In these long hours of waiting Said won our respect by his coolness and sincerity, and our friendship by his sense of humour and understanding. His Western education brought us closer to him than to most of his compatriots; and the objective quality of his mind enabled him to discuss dispassionately the problems of his country. By conviction a Social Democrat, his sympathies had at first inclined towards the Partisans and he had publicly rebuked Abas Kupi for his reluctance to attack the Germans. But he could not condone Enver Hoja's unprovoked attack against the Zogists, and had been deeply shocked by the deliberate destruction of the homes of the Mati *Beys*. He saw now that the Partisans were bent on establishing a regime no less dictatorial than that of the Fascists, and began to fear that the last state of his country might be worse than the first. For us, as British officers, the civil war presented practical problems to be primarily considered in terms of the war with Germany and the protection of British interests. For Said, as an Albanian patriot, it raised moral issues of transcending importance, and brought him face to face with the great ideological division of Europe which the war against Fascism had masked but not healed. At times his disgust with both sides made him long to return to Jakova to escape from politics and serve as a soldier in his brother's forces. He was convinced, however, that only the British could safeguard his country's independence and so agreed, though reluctantly, to stay with us.

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000 In the early hours of the 11th August I felt a hand on my shoulder and woke up to hear Maclean saying:

"Tell me what you make of this: it sounds like trouble for someone."

I propped myself up on my elbow and listened in silence, while the sound of firing broke in on the stillness of the night.

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GENERAL PRENK PREVISI,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ALBANIAN ARMY

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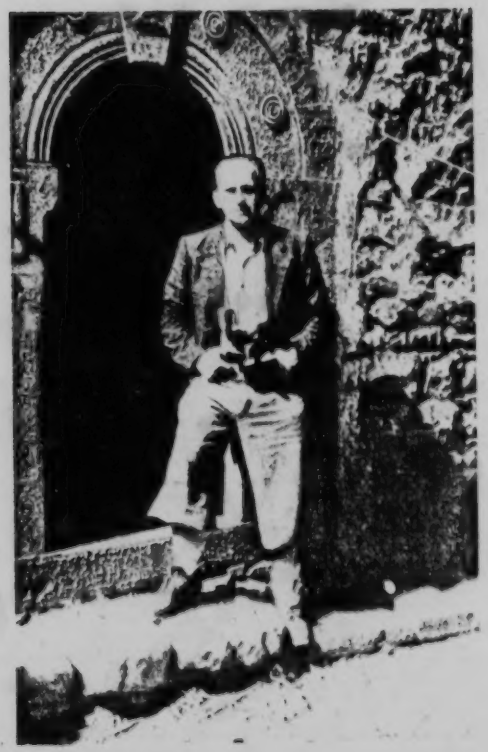

IHSAN BEY TOPTANI

[24 a]

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EPILOGUE

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Two days later we were back in London; our mission was ended; and we could only repeat what Bismarck had once observed to the German candidate for a Balkan throne: "It will always have been an experience." A month passed in holiday; and within six weeks I was flying out to China to try my luck again. Maclean and Smiley were soon to follow.

So ended our connection with the Albanian revolt; and I will now dismiss this melancholy tale with a brief account of the fate of its protagonists. The Agha, his two sons, Gaitcho Goga and Ramiz, have joined their king in Egypt. Said Kryeziu and Ihsan Toptani are in Rome. Of the Ballist leaders, Midhat Frasheri and Ali Klissura escaped from Scutari in a river barge and crossed the Adriatic with two hundred of their adherents. Nureddin Vlora and the Pasha, his brother, made good their escape through Vienna. Abas Ermenye, their gallant commander, hid for a time in the South, and later escaped to Greece. There he has since been joined by General Prenk Previsi and by Fikri Dine. The old Captain of Mirdita came by devious ways to Rome, and has found safety in the shadow of the Vatican. Of Mustafa Kruya there is no certain news, but rumour has it that his timely conversion to the Roman faith has been rewarded by the protection of a cloister.

Not all escaped. Gani Kryeziu returned to Jakova when the Germans had gone, and, believing that Said was still with Enver Hoja, requested a safe-conduct to Tirana from the Partisan authorities. He was at once arrested, and, since Jakova is within the frontiers of Yugoslavia, found himself Marshal Tito's prisoner. He was arraigned before a "people's court" and condemned to five years' hard labour on charges of "reactionary tendencies" and of "exposing the people to German reprisals". His brother, Hassan, was lured meanwhile into the Partisan headquarters at Jakova, on the pretence that Gani had sent for him. He was never seen alive again.

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The promise of a general amnesty enticed the Zogist chiefs into Tirana. All were arrested, and many have been shot, among them our friends: Sul Kurti, Murad Basha, Dule Allemani, and Yussuf Chelai. Nor has the persecution ceased with the murder of the chiefs; and the wretched Shaqir has been sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment, simply because he served as our interpreter.

In Mirdita the Captain's two sons, Mark and Skender, long sustained the resistance of their clans. Mark was at last betrayed by his brother-in-law, who broke the sacred laws of hospitality and shot him while he slept. Skender now bears the tribal standard alone, and has avenged his brother's death by the extermination of the murderer, his own sister, and their children to the last babe.

The man-hunt still goes on, and its attendant skirmishes, denunciations, and intrigues fan the flames of popular discontent. For close on two years Muharrem Bairaktar defied the Partisans from the fastnesses of Liuma before escaping to Greece. Since then, small bands of outlaws have appeared on the borders of Mati; and Halit Kola is said to be among their leaders. The Partisans themselves are torn by feuds; and old Tsen Elezi has deserted Enver Hoja with all his clan and taken the familiar road to the mountains. Once more, as in 1941, the guerillas are little more than groups of hunted men, but they have sown the seeds of a new resistance movement. It will ripen with the perennial struggle of the Powers and sooner or later the harvest of hate must be reaped. Blood calls for blood in the mountains, and one day the tribes will take their revenge.

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a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders. The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for

[1] See Chapter V. [2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

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701 escorting him to town, guarding him during his stay there and escorting him home again. If they refused without justifiable cause to give him such service, he withdrew his support from them at least for a time.

622 634 The bajraktar was also much occupied with local administration. Here he was assisted by one or more headmen, hereditary officials like himself. Independently or together, he and they checked quarrelling, judged and formulated new laws. He was admittedly their superior, and when their views diverged his prevailed. If pressure of work made him think an increase in their number desirable, he had power to make extra appointments provided only that he first submitted the names of his nominees to the Turkish government for approval. In short, he was the acknowledged head of the local administration.

[619] As supreme administrative head the bajraktar had power to summon a general meeting for administrative as well as military purposes. If the matter at issue was important and affected the whole tribe, he sent the *kasnec* (tribal messenger) to command the presence of one man per house. If narrower issues were involved he summoned only one or more headmen and the local *gjobtarë* [693] (fine-collectors) or other elders. Plenary meetings dealt with anti-social acts grave enough to involve the death penalty or expulsion, judged cases of sacrilege against the church, tightened up tribal discipline by enacting new or re-enacting old laws, decided whether to revolt or not against the Turkish government, and heard important messages from the government. In 1908 a plenary [642] meeting[1] was held by each tribe to decide whether or not it should accept the Young Turk Constitution. Smaller meetings handled business where fines were sufficient punishment for transgression. Notably they regulated grazing rights, fixing the day for a general move to summer pastures, stipulating how many animals each family might feed on a common. They also regulated wood-cutting rights and controlled the supply of water for irrigation. The bajraktar presided at all such meetings, took an active part in the deliberations, and signed or set his seal on any minutes that were [565] kept. He and the elders, as being socially superior, sat apart from the commoners. In the Malësi e Madhe he sat on the ground while the tribesmen stood respectfully on their feet.

[1] See M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 74.

[the local military leader--Analyst]

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If the commoners did not like one of his
692 even if made in concert with the headmen and elders, they were
[622] not bound to abide by it and could compel him to re-examine the case. Neither he nor a headman could, singly or in combination, fine a tribesman without first securing authority from the tribe. After all, he and the headman might have a personal grudge against the man and might fine him for no other reason. To take an example
[619] from the non-tribal valley of Bulqizë, Miftar Meta the bajraktar and Lam Isaku his assistant were much respected and admired but they had no power, on their sole responsibility, to fine a man from Fushaj, their own village. Still less had they power to fine a man from another village in Bulqizë. They could not act in either case
[623] until they had secured the backing of the culprit's village at a general meeting. Nothing less, it was felt, guaranteed the impartiality of the sentence.

693 If a bajraktar misconducted himself, all the headmen and
623 commoners of his tribe, or possibly the commoners alone, sat in judgement on him. They could not ostracize, expel or burn him out like an ordinary criminal; he was too inherently a tribal institution for that. But they could, and did fine him. In 1907,[1] the Kryezi tribe assembled in plenary session, one man from each house, and fined its bajraktar and headmen 100 rams and an ox for some judgements they could prove to have been unjustifiable and prejudiced. The commoners could also ask an erring bajraktar to give a rifle or other valuable as security for his good behaviour in the future.

693 The misconduct for which a bajraktar was fined was seldom more heinous than sending his sheep to pasture on another's ground or pronouncing a biased judgement. On the whole, each was so carefully selected and trained by his predecessor in office that he rarely committed the graver crimes. When one did, he was sure to be so 'strong', i.e. influential, that the tribesmen thought it more prudent to close their eyes to his iniquity. There was much grumbling at the venality of bajraktars, but neither the tribal law nor the Turkish government took cognizance of this offence. If
693 a bajraktar,* serving as judge or arbitrator, took a bribe, the only
687 remedy lay in the individual tribesman's freedom to choose another law-giver next time. If a bajraktar accepted a 'present' for doing a favour, there was no remedy at all. His victim could only comfort himself by noting how God, or Allah, punished such greed. It was

* [the bajraktars--Analyst] [the local military, administrative and judicial head--Analyst]

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 271.

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000 as King Zog's man and therefore anathema to the Italians, must have lost much ground. Zef Doçi as his enemy and as a good Catholic may have regained some.

622 634 According to Albanian tradition there were no bajraktars before the Turks came, and headmen were literally the head men of their tribe. This would seem to be confirmed by a document dated 1403 which cited Alexius Kastrati, as headman of the tribe of that name, in a list of Albanian chiefs who were rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Albanian tradition further alleges that the Turks aimed deliberately at weakening Albanian chieftains. So, on the one hand, Sultan Mahmut destroyed thirty-six kins, root and branch, and his son Mexhi a further number. On the other hand, Sultan after Sultan appointed bajraktars, ostensibly as military leaders but really as pillars of Turkish rule. By recognizing their nominees as administrative heads as well as military leaders they reduced the old headmen to a subordinate position, and thereby lessened their chances of engineering a successful revolt. This policy would explain why some bajraktars were social as well as administrative and military leaders, and others were not. The former presumably descended from headmen who were complaisant enough to accept Turkish rule, and the latter from strong men of lower position in tribes where the headmen were recalcitrant. The Turks must have trusted that pleasure in their official rank, and the increased possibilities of money-making would keep the bajraktars quiet in their turn. Recognizing the hereditary character of the bajraktar was another shrewd step on their part. As the non-hereditary delis and spahis aged or died, a hiatus unfavourable to their rule might arise. When it was a case of 'the bajraktar is old or dead, long live the bajraktar', they never lacked an agent. When 662 King Zog, as Minister Ahmed Zogu, began to unify Albania he 701 saw the danger from the numerous bajraktars. Accustomed to lead 634 their tribes to war, unaccustomed to any restraint by a central authority, ignorant and untravelled for the most part and generally of autocratic temper, all of them might not have been willing to submit to the new government in Tirana. Methods of bringing them into line with or without their own wish had, therefore, to be devised. If one was willing to serve loyally, the government treated him as the Turks had long before treated a pliant headman. It made him an officer in the reserve, the modern equivalent of the ancient bajraktar, gave him the half-pay of his rank, and provided

1/n local military and administrative leaders--Analyst

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CHAPTER XII

ELDERS

It is impossible to understand the laws and customs of the Albanian mountains without a knowledge of the varieties and responsibilities of the elders. A man could be an elder not only in the literal sense but as a legal personage. Seven types developed in sequence one from another among the southern tribes.

Everywhere the word for 'elder' is (sing.) *plak* (plur. *pleq*), which is pure Albanian and means literally 'old man'. There is a corresponding feminine (sing.) *plaka*, 'old woman'. In households of any size there might be several men and women who were really old in years and were 'elders' in the literal sense. These were the first type. The majority were ordinary people and had no legal importance.

The idea of age disappears with the second type, found in every household irrespective of its size. Here there were always one man and one woman who bore the special title of 'old man (or elder) of the house' and 'old woman (or elder) of the house'. These under their more usual Albanian titles of master of the household and mistress of the household were not necessarily elders in the sense of 'older people'. They might have attained their position when under forty and have found themselves in authority at that comparatively early age over older men and women.

The third category of elders appeared as soon as a household split up and each brother or male cousin in it acquired his own house. Then, a 'brotherhood' (*vllazni*) was formed. In this community each new house was as much a separate entity as the parent one, and was no longer under the control of the master and mistress, the 'elders' of the old joint home. It had its own 'elders' of both sexes who managed all its affairs, external and internal. The 'old man' of the joint home, now administering a much smaller household, thus lost a proportionate share of his importance. But the new masters also lost some of theirs. So long as the family lived together any competent adult among them might deputise for the master in village or tribal affairs or in the administration of the communal home, but from the day they separated,

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the old master reserved such business for himself and his sons, leaving only their own concerns to the masters of the new houses. As he remained the eldest or the most capable of the brothers, his help and advice tended to be sought by the others, particularly in external business, and his opinion was more regarded by outsiders such as tribal or government authorities. So he developed into the 'old man (or elder) of the brotherhood'. As the generations passed and the houses of the original brotherhood split up in their turn, the dignity of brotherhood elder remained in his family, handed down inalienably from master to master. The term 'brotherhood elder' was little used, however; 'first (or head) of the brotherhood' was preferred. There was no woman elder of the brotherhood or any larger unit. The mistress of the household of a brotherhood elder had neither authority nor influence outside his house, as he had. She was a foreign importation into the brotherhood, a stranger to it in blood, her only duties being to bear her husband's children and to work in the house, her only rights proceeding from her fulfilment of those duties.

In course of time so many households split up that a number of new brotherhoods were formed. In some the sense of brotherhood or even cousinship with the others faded, and only a remoter feeling of kinship due to descent from a common ancestor persisted. The agglomeration of brotherhoods then constituted a 'kin' (*fis*). In this, the fourth type, each brotherhood retained its own elder, and at the same time looked up to the elder of the original brotherhood as leader, calling him 'elder of the kin' or 'head of the kin'.

In the next, fifth stage of development several kins united to form a village. They might be distantly related to each other as in the village of Vuksanaj in Shalë, or of quite different stock as in the village of Nangë in Lumë. If related, they remembered which kin descended from the eldest brother in the ancestral home and regarded the elder of that kin as the village elder. If not related, they selected one of the kin elders, preferably the head of the strongest kin, for that position. Alternative names for him were 'senior elder', 'senior headman' and 'head elder'. According to the usual pattern of development each kin and each brotherhood in the village retained its own elder. Already it is possible to understand such data as the following. In the tribe of Lurë there were twelve elders, two for each kin. In the village of Perlat there were two men called village elders or senior elders; in the last days

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of Turkish rule these were the famous law-givers Dedë Lleshi and Likë Gjegjaj. Again, when Per Dedë Ndoj was senior headman of the village of Gojan in Mirditë, he took the lead in publicly executing a man of his own kin, Buçaj, for murdering a guest who belonged to the Martinaj kin in the same village. The story is related by Father Gjeçov.

This fifth type was the recognized superior of the sixth, the body of men who were unitedly called 'village elders'. These consisted of all the brotherhood and kin elders in the village as well as the village elder himself. For instance, in the district of Kurbin there were sixteen villages, each of which had its 'head (or village) elder'. But according to a document published on p. 129 of Father Gjeçov's book, there were altogether forty-five elders in Kurbin. Besides the sixteen 'head elders' there were twenty-nine ordinary 'village elders', some of them kin elders and some brotherhood elders. In Mirditë these village elders were known as 'canon elders', because it was their business to see that the law was respected and applied. To avoid confusion between the single village elder and the body of village elders these will henceforth be alluded to as canon elders.

The document mentioned by Father Gjeçov introduces us to the seventh type, a personage styled 'chief elder'. In the document he was chief of the 'forty-five elders of the region of Krujë' (i.e. Kurbin). There is no explicit information of how his position came to this man or whether it was hereditary in his family. It can only be inferred that as he was a Përvizi of Skuraj, and this family led Kurbin, the position was hereditary and a tribute to the outstanding strength of his family. In so large an area as Kurbin there could not be any question of all the villages being related by blood and owning allegiance to Përvizi as the descendant, master after master, of the master of the ancestral household. In other districts where a chief elder existed, it may be assumed similarly that he owed his position to the personal qualities of his family rather than to its descent.

Some other kinds of elder were found, both among the southern tribes and elsewhere, but it will be easier to understand their position after the characteristics and functions which were common to the elders have been elucidated.

Viewed as a human being, an elder was an ordinary man without privileges other than the corner seat, head of the roasted animal

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and first cup of coffee, which were offered to any man of standing. 554
He lived in the same style as the rest of his social unit and was their equal in the eyes of the law. The latter point was clearer in the old days. If he were killed an ordinary blood feud ensued; if this was compounded, the price of his blood was no higher than an ordinary man's. If he killed someone, his life was forfeit in the usual manner to his victim's family. If he committed a crime against the community, he was liable to the usual punishments for such a crime and could be asked to give the community a rifle or other recognized article as security for his good behaviour in future. He had also the same social obligations as humbler tribesmen. These included serving in the tribal 'army', feeding the tribal 'youth', doing forced labour for the government, sharing communal labour for the village, and subscribing to public objects like buying an extra piece of communal pasturage or forest. He had also, like common men, to do military service and work annually without payment for a short period on the roads.

As a legal personage, however, an elder was on a higher footing 693
than ordinary tribesmen. If, for instance, a village elder were to 622
witness an oath in a case grave enough to require twenty-four 613
jurors, his single person counted as the twelve jurors who were left unspecified by the judging elder. Another elder did not count as high, for a village elder ranked higher than a kin elder, and the latter higher than a brotherhood elder. An elder's duties were twofold, administrative and legal. The former were an expansion of the master's, for he had to take the same fatherly care of his brotherhood, kin or village that a master took of his household and had to run it on much the same system. On the external side he had to present its case skilfully to higher authorities and defend it from oppression. Internally he must maintain law and order by checking the chief evils, assassination and damage to property. He had to try to nip quarrels in the bud by persuasive reasoning, arbitrate when they menaced and judge when they developed. He had to lend the weight of his presence not only to the giving of an oath but also to the bequeathing of a legacy to church or mosque, the planting of boundary stones, and (generally) the separation of brothers. The embodiment of the tribal law, he was at once advocate, judge and law-giver.

An elder's age and wealth did not matter to the ordinary 613
members of his social unit, who drew no invidious comparisons 554 622

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between him and themselves on those grounds. Provided he was correctly descended from the master of the ancestral household through a succession of what were conventionally called 'eldest' brothers, and were really the most competent, they accepted him as their elder as unquestioningly as the English nation accepts its king. Sometimes a new elder seemed unfit for his duties. Then the others took him with them when they went to work, and told him how his dead father judged or arbitrated: the most telling and least offensive method of training him.

When a dispute occurred it was the duty of the aggrieved party to inform his brotherhood elder first of all. When he did so and the matter was trifling and lay between two members of his brotherhood, this elder judged the case out of hand. If the disputants belonged to different brotherhoods, he consulted with the elder of the second brotherhood. When the case was graver he carried it to his kin elder, who might judge it straight away or carry it to the village elder. The village elder might in his turn pronounce judgement forthwith or call a General Assembly of the village in order to thrash the matter out in public and get a backing for any decision taken. Often the aggrieved party went straight to the village elder who was accessible to all tribesmen. In that event neither his kin nor his brotherhood had the right to resent the man's going over their heads. Moreover, the village elder's superiority was so well established that no resentment was likely to be felt. In no case was it lawful for an aggrieved man to seek advice from an elder in an outside village before he had consulted one of his own. If a kin elder or the brotherhood elders in the kin oppressed others in the village it was the duty of the village elder to repress them; and he had the right to summon the elders of the other kins in the village, if necessary, to his support. Article 10 in the Convention of Kurbin[1] betrays a strong feeling that there must be no shooting until the village elder has been informed of the dispute and given a chance to settle it by quieter means.

Elders could also act collectively. In the old days no new law could be passed, nor any judgement affecting their social unit be pronounced, unless they were present and gave their approval. When the bajraktar summoned a General Assembly for such important purposes as concluding a truce, trying a serious case or enacting new laws of tribal behaviour, their attendance was

[1] See Appendix, Document XI, p. 271.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

compulsory. Any who failed to attend and could not justify their absence were fined. Together with the general public, they had to investigate complaints against a senior elder or a bajraktar, and if they found him guilty, they had to fine or ostracize him. In their attempts to prevent breaches of the peace they were entitled to try any method from peaceful persuasion to forcible restraint by the whole village. When, for instance, a tribesman refused to accept a judgement that was demonstrably lawful and unbiased, they could call a General Assembly to discuss the case. A public fine generally ended the man's obduracy. If not, the village elders could ask all the headmen and 'soldiers' of the tribe to come and bring him to his senses by threatening to destroy his house and property. They continued to apply the old law, the public preferring these methods to those of modern officials.

Canon elders were subordinate to the bajraktar and the voivodes of their tribe, acting as their assistants at General Assemblies.

In non-tribal districts like Shpat and Martanesh the canon elders of Mirditë were represented by a body of men called 'local elders'. These were hereditary, found in every village and restricted in their law-giving to their own village.

Another type were called 'specialist elders' in the southern tribal areas, 'regional elders' or 'mountain elders' in Martanesh, and plain 'elders' in Theth. The great majority owed nothing to heredity and everything to themselves, being ordinary men who had gradually built up a reputation for good sense, conciliatory temper and especially knowledge of the mountain law. A few were hereditary elders who had displayed the same qualities. Except in a few unusual cases they did not hand on their gifts or their position. As it required time to build up their reputation, the generality were older than herditary elders when they attained this position. They began by settling petty troubles within their brotherhood and gradually as their reputation grew, they extended their sphere of action to their kin, village and district in succession. A brotherhood elder must not interfere in another brotherhood, a kin elder in another kin or a 'local elder' of Martanesh in another village. But the specialists might travel far and wide outside their own social unit judging and arbitrating wherever required. Provided that they judged according to the law, their judgements were binding and overrode any delivered previously by a local man. As gifted men do not arise at will, they were never common but were found only

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

693 here and there. After the introduction of modern codes of justice
622 they had little chance to emerge.
634 Above all elders, in both Mirditë and the adjacent tribes, came the Gjomarkaj family. This family was regarded as the source of all knowledge of the mountain law and represented the final court of appeal. The villagers of Martanesh carried many of their graver troubles to its head, but at the same time had often a 'special elder' whom they consulted in such cases. Selim Peshku, who died about 1910, was the latest example. The tree under which he sat dispensing justice in Martanesh is still shown. In the north the bishop
[793] or a specially gifted priest was the ultimate referee. They were consulted not so much for their knowledge of the law but because of their reputation for probity.

623 Functionally the brotherhood elders of Mirditë were represented in the Malësi e Madhe by the 'ward elders', who ruled and judged in their own small community, the village ward in which they lived.
[651] They were more commonly called *gjobtarë* ('fine-collectors') from their primary function of collecting fines. As legal functionaries they resembled specialist elders rather than brotherhood elders because they were ordinary tribesmen and owed their position as elders, not to hereditary right, but to special appointment. They were selected, however, not by the public like the specialists, but by the local bajraktar or voivode. On taking up an appointment to judge or arbitrate they were known as 'soul elders', on account of the solemn phrases with which they were commissioned. The commissioning bajraktar or voivode first asked, 'Do you pledge your souls, elders, that it was so?' On receiving their assent he laid a stone on the ground before them, saying, 'With body and soul, with a stone in front of you and with God's justice set these two people straight in any way that you can see'. It goes without saying that only upright men were willing or were asked to accept a charge laden with such danger to their soul after death. These northern ward elders had no connexion with the ward elders of Godolesh near Elbasan, who were seven in number for the six wards (mëhallë), all subordinate to the paid non-hereditary headman and his two assistants.

695 Another functional type, which was most important for the repression of crime and was found everywhere, was constituted by 'juror elders'. When trying a case, the judging elders might decide to make one of the disputants take an oath that he was not guilty.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

each seeking their support. Had four refused at this stage to take 695
the oath Asllan would at once have been publicly convicted—if less than four, two substitutes would have had to be produced for every one that refused; two for one, four for two, and six for three, and there would have been no extension of the time limit. In this case, however, all the compurgators agreed to swear to Asllan's innocence, and he himself, towards the end of the week, swore on the Koran that he had nothing to do with the theft. Later the compurgators, led by Qazim's nominees, took the oath of Asllan's innocence before the whole village. Actually, Qazim cut short the proceedings after six or seven had sworn, as by then the compurgators most likely to know the truth had sworn to the suspect's innocence.

Having celebrated his acquittal with a banquet to the compur- [696]
gators, Asllan two days later yoked the stolen ox, hidden during the case in a lonely sheepfold, to his plough. Now, although the mistake—either designed or accidental—of the compurgators was obvious, there was no legal machinery for annulling the verdict. In [777]
the opinion of the village, however, Asllan received his punishment when shortly afterwards his son was born lame.[1]

Qazim in Labinot put his case into the hands of the headman of [692]
his village. In the tribal north he would have entrusted it to the elder of his brotherhood, ward or village or perhaps to the bajraktar of his tribe.

Tribal officials, being hereditary, had more authority to act for 69
their community than had the temporary headman in non-tribal 622
districts such as Labinot. In Milot, the most northerly village of 694
Kurbin, the victim tackled the suspect himself, asking him first if he had committed the outrage and then if he would take oath that he had not. In view of the fieriness of Albanian tempers this information is surprising—one would expect shooting to put an abrupt end to such an interview—but it is confirmed by information from the neighbouring village of Laç. When one of its inhabitants denied having received a loan, the lender asked him directly to swear in the presence of two or three witnesses that he had never been lent the money.

Only men of military age and capacity had standing enough to 695

[1] A very similar system of compurgators exists among the Naga tribes of Assam. There, however, though in some tribes there is no means of modifying the verdict if an oath prove to be false, in others a compurgator who discovers that his principal is lying can 'withdraw his life', otherwise in danger from the false oath, and so reopen the case *ab initio*. (Ed.)

175 reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani
105 among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

101 "Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived. Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Peligones*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

174 This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still
622 found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe
623 still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Maessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 174
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of [628]
great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated
by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 582
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 602
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence 611
it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

SECTION II

GOVERNMENT AND LAW

1. Strabo and the Ancient Tribes. The Coming of the Slav

As we have seen, Strabo (*ob. c.* A.D. 20), in his detailed account of the Balkan tribes of his day, tells us in the fragmentary account of Dodona that "Among the Thesprotæ and the Molotti the persons who hold office are called Peligones, as among the Macedonians." Also that "most of the tribes were governed by native princes." A 175

In most parts of the world the tribe, with a chieftain and a council of headmen, has existed or exists. The North Albanian tribes, when I visited them, were the last tribes in Europe to preserve autonomy.

The governing councils consisted of elders—"plaki," an old man ("pleknit," plural). The idea of administration of law is so closely connected with old age that "to arbitrate" is "me plechnue," and "plechni" means both "seniority" and "arbitration." A 623 175

The resemblance between Strabo's word "peligones" and the modern Albanian terms is so striking as to suggest that the Albanian "plak, plaku, pelaku" (all variations of the same word) are in fact Strabo's "pelig," that "ones" is merely an added termination, and that both custom and name have survived uninterruptedly. We need not doubt that under Roman rule the tribal system continued just as it does to-day in Africa under the British Empire.

The Serbs, we are told, were also tribal, but of this there is little information. One of the earliest contemporary accounts of their irruption into the Balkan peninsula is that of John of Ephesus, who says: "This same year, the third after the death of Justin (A.D. 574), was famous for the invasion of the accursed people called Slavonians. . . . And four years have now elapsed and still, because the Emperor is engaged in war with the Persians, they live at their ease in the land, and spread far and wide, and ravage and burn, and take captives. . . . They have ridden even to the walls of the town (Byzantium) and driven away the Emperor's horses—many thousand—and even to this day they still dwell free of care or fear and lead captive, slay, and burn, and have now grown rich in gold and silver and herds of horses, and have learned to fight better than the Romans, though at first they were rude savages and did not dare show themselves outside the forests and coverts of H 167 721 727

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Relationships and Blood Customs

Uncle (father's brother)—Adzh: this is a Turkish word, but is in common use. There is another word, which is Albanian: "Mighe," also "unghe," but "adzh" is commonly used. 601

Aunt (father's sister)—Hallé.
Nephew (brother's or sister's son)—Nipi, collectively Nipnii.
Niece (brother's or sister's daughter)—Mesé.
Son—I biri.
Brother-in-law—Konati.
Son-in-law—Dhaner. Also used for bridegroom and fiancé.
Sister-in-law—Kunata.
Cousin—Kushrin.
Female cousin—Kushrina.
Husband—Shok, i.e. companion; or Bur, i.e. man.
Father-in-law—Vjeher.
Godfather, sponsor—Kumar. Godfather of baptism—Kumar i pakzimit. [608]
Godfather of haircutting—Kumar i floksh.
Tribe—Fis.
Relations collectively—Dzinije.

Vlaznijs, lit. brethren. A large family group within the tribe like the Montenegrin bratstvo.
Mehala—a Turkish word used for a group of related houses, i.e. a Vlaznija.
Shpi—House and house community.
Krue—Head of a Vlaznija or Mehala.
Plak—Old man. Hence an elder—member, that is, of a tribal council. [623]
Zoti i shpis—Lord of the house.
Bairaktar—Standard-bearer. Head of Fis (Turkish word).

2. Blood-brotherhood

"But the flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof shall ye not eat" (Gen. ix. 4). 608

"For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof" (Lev. xvii. 14). 174

He who ate the blood would take within him the life of the beast—would become, in fact, partly beast. It follows naturally that he who eats the blood of man establishes kinship with him whose life he thus shares. Blood-brotherhood is a very old and widespread custom. "Whenever the Scythians," says Herodotus (Bk. IV, lxx), "form alliances a large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties . . . in this cup they dip some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After some solemn praying the parties who form the contract . . . finally drink the contents of the bowl."

From the lands lying north-east of the Balkans came down neighbours of the Scythians, the Pechinegs and the Comans, and the Bulgars. The Comans, says B. H. Minns (*v. Scythians and Greeks*), were a

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

175 famous of these chieftains were Kara Mohammed of Scutari, and Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The former, at the end of the last century, aimed at an independent sovereignty, which his son, Mustapha Pasha, asserted
175 in open rebellion in 1831; and the latter, notwith-
669 standing the frightful cruelties of which he was guilty, still lives in tale and song as the mighty upholder of Albanian independence against Ottoman tyranny. Subsequent risings have, however, resulted only in the death or banishment of the most influential members of leading families, the last *coup d'état* of this description having been carried out at Prisrend and
[423] Uskup in 1881. The great landholders are now all Moslems, the property of which the Christian proprietors were despoiled at the end of last century by Ali Pasha having, on his death, been appropriated by the Sultan.

671 But, whether Christian or Moslem, each section of the Albanian nation has its own traditional laws and usages by which their social life is alone regulated. The Miridites claim to have received theirs from the Dukadjini princes, who, according to them, were the ancestors of their own chieftains. Their internal
642 government is a species of aristocratic republic, all
● 623 matters affecting the community being decided in council by the chiefs, the elders, and other hereditary functionaries.

342 The dwellings of the Albanians are quite in keeping with the character and mode of life of their occupants. Even at Ioannina, where the customs more closely approximate to those of the Greeks, the houses have a gloomy appearance from without, being shut in by

9: Albania (no date) 1946 EG1 Albania EG1

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 65

The various ministries of the government are: 645

1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
2. Ministry of the Interior
3. Ministry of National Defense
4. Ministry of Justice
5. Ministry of Finance
6. Ministry of Education
7. Ministry of Economy
8. Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
9. Ministry of Public Works
10. Ministry of Health

ARTICLE 66

The government may appoint a special Council of Ministers to deal with questions of national economy and defense.

The decree by which this Council is appointed shall determine its organization and scope.

TITLE III

Organs of the Local Governmental Units

ARTICLE 67

The people's councils are the governmental units in rural 631
districts, communes, subprefectures, and prefectures.

The people's councils are elected directly by the people: [666]
those of the rural districts for two years and those of the communes, subprefectures, and prefectures, for three years.

The people's councils of the communes, subprefectures, and prefectures hold regular meetings according to special regulations.

ARTICLE 68

The people's councils direct their own administrative 632
affairs, are responsible for economic and cultural matters 623
within their jurisdiction, maintain order, see that the laws

[Constitution]

632 623 are carried out, uphold the rights of citizens, and pass local budgets.

The people's councils make decisions within their own jurisdiction in conformity with the constitution and the laws, decrees, and ordinances of high departments of government.

ARTICLE 69

In the exercise of their local functions, the people's councils must cooperate with the people as well as the workers' organizations, and they should be inspired by their initiative.

ARTICLE 70

With the exception of the rural districts, the executive committees elected by the people's councils are the executive and administrative organs of these councils.

The executive committee is composed of a chairman, a secretary, and members.

ARTICLE 71

In the rural districts the executive body of the people's council is composed of one chairman and one secretary.

ARTICLE 72

The people's council of the rural district calls a convention to which it gives an account of its activities.

The rights and duties of the local convention are defined by law.

ARTICLE 73

The executive organs of the people's council depend on the people's council and also on the executive and administrative organs of the state.

ARTICLE 74

The people's councils may create special offices and sections to direct various administrative affairs.

The activities of these offices or subdivisions are directed by the executive committee and are under the jurisdiction of the people's council as well as the respective higher councils and ministries concerned.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders. The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for

[1] See Chapter V. [2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

his case. Since 1912 most of this administrative and penal legislation has been superseded of set purpose by European methods and laws, whereas the social content of the old mountain code has been left comparatively undisturbed, free to come into line with the ways of the West in its own time.

The community sense was fostered by every art the mountaineers knew. Each member of a household was encouraged to regard everything in it and everything its other members said and did as his own. The humblest man was encouraged to regard his village or group of villages as his personal property. If home, village or group of villages prospered, he rejoiced as if he had himself been advanced. If they were insulted or injured, he burned to avenge a personal affront. If they were disgraced by misconduct on the part of another member, he felt his own honour to be smirched. The patriotism so bred was narrow, perhaps, but it was genuine, free from egregious self-seeking, and by its emphasis on the need to keep the community's honour untarnished, a good deterrent from crime.

This close relationship between individual and community was also a curb on dictatorship. The ruling rank had always to respect the individual's property in the community's laws. They could not make any change in an existing law unless they obtained the consent of a General Assembly of their village or tribe. They could impose, but (except in the tribes which maintained fine-collectors) they could not collect fines; social pressure was necessary for that. In a very common punishment, social ostracism, they might play no more than a subordinate part. They could not pass heavy sentences like banishment or death unless a General Assembly demanded them, and if it did, they could not resist its will. In short, the elders voiced, but did not dictate, popular sentiment.

They were no privileged oligarchy either. They might sit in the seat of honour or get the lamb's head and eye at a banquet, but they had no official residences, horses or guards of honour provided for them at public expense. They lived in houses that were often meaner than those of their subordinates; they ate the same food and toiled in the same way in their fields and among their flocks. In fact, the self-government of the Albanian mountaineers went far towards being true democracy in the Anglo-American sense of that much-abused word. In its primitive way it was really government of the People, by the People, for the People. It had

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its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geography of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such

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would not recognize them and when A came to till his field, B's dog would treat him as an intruder and bite him, and he would have no legal claim to compensation for the injury. It is not known if this law obtained elsewhere, but the common sense on which it is based makes it probable that it did. Again, in the Moslem villages near enough to Elbasan to conform to the rigidity with which Moslem townsmen secluded their women, it was not permitted to make windows in a wall overlooking a neighbour's farmyard; the latter's womenfolk must be free to move about their yard unwatched. This ban on windows—which was Moslem, not Albanian—hardly extended to remoter Moslem villages, as women there enjoyed almost as much liberty as did their Christian ancestresses.

A man's ownership of his house and land was so absolute that he and his might emigrate temporarily or for good without losing their title to either house or land. Even if the family absented itself for a hundred years, no one might squat on its property. If the emigrant, before leaving, sold his land 'together with all that is on it', and one leaving for good usually did so, the piece constituting the site of the house remained his in spite of the terms of sale, and so long as one stone stood on another, no one might use the site. In Mirditë, however, a fixed term was set to this law; if the emigrant did not return within ten years, his house might be occupied by whosoever wanted it.

Every dwelling that emitted smoke might have one or more of the following accessories—yard, vegetable garden, field, road, boundary and, in suitable latitudes, vineyard. Of these the boundary and road were the most indispensable.[1] Every owner of a dwelling that emitted smoke had a right to graze his animals on the summer and winter pasturage owned by his village and to cut firewood and timber for his own use in the public coppices and forests. If he cared to build a bothy for his shepherds on a summer pasture or to break in ground for a field or vegetable garden on a common near his village, he was welcome to do so. He must first secure the consent of the elders of the village, who generally put the common weal before individual convenience. Their permission given, no one could stop his tilling the ground, nor turn him out. Theoretically every dwelling that emitted smoke should also have a portion of irrigation water, but the right to sell water often made this provision a dead letter.

[1] See Chapters VIII and IX.

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out for that reason. If the brothers were not on good terms, division by the eldest caused quarrelling, the others accusing him of robbing them and he retaliating in the usual manner. If they were on exceptionally bad terms, even distant relatives feared the unpleasantness that was bound to follow their best attempts at a fair division. For all these reasons the choice generally fell on elders. Their drawback was their need of a fee, but it was generally thought better to spend money on a fee than to quarrel with a brother. These principles were at the back of the various practices in different places. When the choice was between neighbours and relatives by marriage the latter were preferred because they were always more trusted. Each brother put in his own man.

In Perlat the father was never allowed to divide his property, elders or relatives on the male side must do so, and when they were at work, neither the father nor the sons might put in their word. In Martanesh the same fear of favouritism prevailed, and elders or the neighbours in bulk carried out the division. In south Dibër the local notables did so, their influence being thought to counteract any tendency to break the peace over the division. In Godolesh separation had always been on an official basis; it was arranged by the headman of the whole village and his two assistants, as it had been in Turkish times by the headman assisted by an elder from each of the six quarters of the village; it is to be noted that no fee was taken by these elders because separations had always been part of their official duties. In Shijan the separation might be entrusted to the husband's or wife's relatives since they were interested in preserving peace in the family, yet had no personal interest in the division. In any area, when brothers were on really bad terms, complete strangers from another village might be called in to arrange the separation.

When the brothers decided to engage elders, they engaged one between them if they were on good terms; if not, each put in his own man. In Mirditë they might engage two, four or more elders according to the amount of work to be done.

Portions were allocated to the brothers by their own choice or, more often, by lot. In the very few cases where the brothers were completely friendly, the eldest said to the youngest 'Which field will you have, this or that?' Then he took for himself what was left. If the second coveted the field chosen by the youngest, they drew

[i.e., to divide the food and property of a household at the time of separation--Analys]

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592 This third person threw the token stones on this portion or that.
428 In Godolesh there was no intermediary. Each brother gave his
592 token to an elder in whom they all had confidence. As they were
777 selecting their tokens, he arranged tokens of his own on the ground, naming each aloud for the various portions of the land or house. He carefully refrained from looking at the brothers' tokens and threw them blindly one after another on his own. 'Here is the sitting-room, good luck to it. Here is the kitchen, good luck to it', he said of the house. Each brother then claimed his token and accepted his portion. With a similar phrase of good omen the elder divided the land. In Lumë there might or might not be an intermediary. The elder taking delivery of the tokens might place them himself or, if afraid he would be suspected of dishonesty, he might give them to another man to do so. Well-omened phrases were used, such as 'The luck of this stone lies there and of this twig here'. In the Malësi e Madhe the elder said which portion the bits of stick each represented, then drew them, as would be done in England. Here the procedure seems influenced by the European
[77] education of the priests.

● 623 The commonest fee for an elder dividing property between
428 brothers was two or three napoleons, but it might be as low as one or as high as ten. Everything depended on how much the brothers quarrelled over the division, and how hard they struggled against yielding one to the other. In Perlat the elder made a distinction between rich and poor, asking a sheep from a rich family but only a kilo of coffee from a poor one. In Mirditë he had the right to a sheep and a money fee as well; the latter was as agreed. In Lumë 'it does not do to have an elder without a sheep'. Wherever, as in Godolesh, officials arranged the separation, no fees were charged.

408 Everywhere one meal at least of meat and rice pilaff must be
574 given to whoever came from outside the family to separate the brothers. If these had no flocks, they must buy meat from someone who had. The expense of these meals, which was heavy for people so poor, was shared by all the brothers, the animals being taken out of the common stock before it was divided and the money for the rice, coffee and, if necessary, meat out of the common purse before the settling up of accounts. These meals were the first charge on the family property.

All stages of the division were watched by neighbours. Before the persons negotiating the separation sat down to the final meal,

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they reminded these onlookers how everything had been divided. 428 Then if disputes arose later between the brothers these could bear 574 witness to the division. No documents were drawn up, the oral 723] testimony of the witnesses in general, and in particular the mute testimony of the boundary stones, was enough for the unwritten law. Where a dead father had held title-deeds, these were distributed appropriately among the brothers, but such cases were few. 578

Too often, the division was followed there and then by disputes. 428 Most frequently they were about the land and due to greed, for each brother knew that on the portion allotted to him on that day he and perhaps unborn generations of his descendants must live, and he naturally tried to make it as large as possible. Sometimes a brother was rightly disgruntled. Dividers were human enough to make mistakes; an eldest brother sometimes tried to cheat when dividing; at times even an elder showed favouritism. In such cases the division was revised, an elder dividing instead of the eldest brother or a second elder instead of the first, on the usual 'elder after elder' basis. Or instead of having one elder between them the brothers might each put in one for himself; in this case they must all stand aside and leave the elders to fight things out.

Not infrequently one brother was simply cantankerous. Then 623 the easiest way for the elders to make him see reason was to exercise 574 their right to have all their meals at the family's expense until their 428 work was done. They might go away, leaving the division incomplete and refusing to return until he bent his stubborn neck and in person fetched them back with promises to be good. This meant an extra meal, an expense that even the trouble-maker deplored in his heart, if not openly. As it was, surely unfairly, shared by the reasonable brothers these were from the first careful to do nothing to excite the other further. There was no difficulty about extracting this meal, as the commonest source of trouble, the land, was always divided before the livestock.

A story of Turkish times from Godolesh shows the elders taking cruder but no less effective steps to settle matters. A family at the top of the village refused to accept the division they proposed. 'Where is your best ram?' asked the elders the first day, and ate the animal. 'Where is the pot of *bekmès* (boiled grape juice)?' they asked the second day, and emptied this. 'Where is the butter jar?' they asked the third day, and devoured that. The brothers then came to their senses and allowed the suggested division to proceed.

1 [concerning the division of land at the time of separation of brothers--Analysis]

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491 till. In the first case he might have his house or field adjoining the
423 road and find his dog biting strangers and shot for its pains, his children killed by passing horses or cattle, and his crops, vegetables, vines or fruit damaged or plundered. Or the road might cross his field necessitating a fence on both sides, thus preventing his sheep from passing freely from one part of the field to another, besides involving him in expense for making and maintaining it. In the second case he might wish to plough up the road, a good plea since the law said 'Agriculture can move a highway', and more pithily, 'spades can shift roads'. If the elders on investigation considered his request justifiable, they gave him leave to close the old road. They required, however, that he should provide a satisfactory substitute, not by a stream where sheep might drown or across a precipice where they might break their necks; if the precipice could not be avoided, the rock had to be blasted away with dynamite. The new road could not be far from the old one, a distance of 200 metres being the maximum allowed. It had also to be made by the man's own unaided efforts, without any help from the community, and it had to be well made. If it was poorly made, the man suffered himself when he came to grief on it and had to pay damages when another did so; he was also laughed at by his neighbours as a foolish creature who did not know how to make a road; often they went and reopened the old road. In Fulqet it did not matter if the public was inconvenienced by the change; the law said 'land must not be spoiled'. In the Breg i Matit, on the other hand, the new road had to be shorter and so more convenient. A curious point in Krasniqë was that if a man ploughed up his field he could reduce the public road to the width of a footpath; this was little more than a gesture, since oxen and horses could not in any case use the road after the field was sown and a footpath was wide enough for other traffic. In Martanesh it was never lawful to plough up a public road, perhaps because the fields were few and very scattered, and the roads few, long and often dangerous.

491 In case of clear necessity an old public road might be moved on
[425] the initiative of the elders. If, for example, it was inconveniently
623 crooked or became a morass in winter, they could divert it to better
423 ground. The old road became the property of the man whose land adjoined it. The men whose land was taken for the diversion received no compensation. They often threatened to kill the elders, but for sole reply received an exposition of the law; they might

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shoot as much as they pleased but could not have their way; the village could not be shut up by mud, and the public good overrode private loss. The new road was a permanency and could not be closed or moved back to the old site except by the elders. According to Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar of Shkrel, it was easier to move the bad road than to try to mend it. If it was under water, all the owners of the land through which it ran had to unite to repair it, making a ditch, repairing bridges and so on. But they had to decide unanimously to repair it; if even one hung back nothing could be done. The ditch too could only be made where there had once been one before. And men whose land was some distance from the road would object to having the water diverted from the road towards their fields.

New roads were constantly being opened, if only because brothers were constantly dividing their father's property and setting up separate establishments. For the law said 'every field must have access to a public highway' and 'every house must have its road'. Consequently, the elders supervising the separation were careful to specify the exact direction and character of the old roads which the brothers might use and the new ones which they might make to and from their houses and fields. The laws were the same everywhere. If there were two brothers, each took half the father's field. When there was no cultivated land beyond this they might make no path at all or they might make a little path along the boundary between them, only two spans in width, as this was enough for their own needs. Naturally each set aside land for half its width; as this could not be worked, it was soon grass-grown. When there was someone else's field beyond their own and there was no other way of entering this, they were bound to leave a track wide enough for a horse laden with panniers of manure or for a pair of plough-oxen. As with a field-path the land for this track came from each.

A more complicated case occurred if three brothers inherited a field which had a public highway running along its length, and was divided into three longitudinal strips with the boundaries parallel to the highway. Let it be supposed that the family home remained in the central strip. A road to the highway from the inmost strip was a prime necessity. It was most economically made by constructing a path to the old road that connected the family home with the highway. But the new owner of the central strip might

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423 informant in Bytyç their business was to prop up the big stone. The association of the three, one big and two small, was so distinct that it could be seen at a glance that they were boundary stones.

In old days, in places as far apart as Kurvelesh in south-west Albania and Lumë in the north-east, some pieces of charcoal, generally three, were put under the big boundary stone; in Lumë a fragment of tile was added. Centuries might pass, but charcoal and tile remained as imperishable evidence of the true line of the [423] boundary. In case one neighbour charged the other with moving the stones the elders dug these up; if they found no charcoal under them they knew they had been moved and dug all round until they came on charcoal and with it the original boundary. A man who went to move boundary stones always went on a dark night when the buried charcoal was as invisible as himself, and so far as was known his ingenuity never ran to taking a handful with him from home.

Boundary stones were set up with all the ceremony befitting [423] a mark that was to last for ever. All the members of the families concerned, the village elders, as many children and youths of the village as possible, as many men from neighbouring villages as possible and all the tribal elders gathered to witness the event and [804] to preserve its memory for their lifetime. When the entity to be divided—field, farmyard, vineyard, etc.—had been measured with a rope or by pacing into the required number of portions, the elder chosen to delimit the boundary put any chance stone and a clod of earth on his right shoulder, and after swearing upon his soul to delimit justly, moved forward along the boundary line followed by all the witnesses. It was his duty to walk in a straight line in order to iron out every possibility of future conflict—'a boundary mustn't twist' said the law—but if he deviated slightly no one 789 could correct him; it was his responsibility. All the objector could 423 do was to say, 'Well, lead the way and if you don't act righteously may that weight lie heavy on you in the other life'. At the two ends and in the middle the elder—no one else—dug a hole in which he set up the big stone at one end, packing the smaller ones round it. When he finished, he laid his hand on the big stone and solemnly cursed anyone who should seek to move it, saying in Mirditë, 'Whoever moves this stone, shall be weighted down with it in the life beyond'. In Lumë the curse was vaguer, 'Here are your boundaries, men', said the elder. 'Don't move them because it's bad'—in this world where quarrelling results and in the other

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where damnation follows. When the last big stone was in place the 423 witnesses fired in the air to signify that the ceremony was over. [789]

When a geographical feature was available, it was often utilized as a boundary. For instance, an irrigation channel might be recognized as such. The dividing line between the neighbours then ran down the middle. It could not be diverted or otherwise interfered with by either neighbour, since it contained running water and had been made long years before—a point that gave it the permanence indispensable in a boundary. In Mirditë a very old tree sometimes marked the division between two pieces of land. In all areas growing trees of any age might outline forest and even village boundaries. Notches were cut in each; all the ground this side of a notch belonged to one neighbour and all on that to the other. Between big units such as villages or forests, though not small ones like fields or houses, a watershed or a torrent bed often formed the boundary. 'God has separated the two; nature has decided their boundaries', said the people of such cases. Sometimes a road was the boundary between the villages; a field-path was never important enough for this purpose. Finally, in some [609] groups of villages near Elbasan, such as Godolesh, Griqan and Labinot, there was so much buying of land in one village by natives of the others that no very definite line was drawn between their territories, though the boundaries of individual properties were as clearly marked and as fiercely defended as they were elsewhere. In the north, since no outsider could buy land in a village, there was no fluidity of boundary, whether village or private.

The delimiting elder was usually one of the recognized elders of 623 the village. Sometimes only one was employed, more often there 789 was one for each new neighbour, and in sprawling areas like Martanesh ten or even fifteen men might be asked to help. In Shijan elders often worked only 'for the good of their soul' and took no fee; elsewhere they charged one to two napoleons according to local rates. In Surroj they asked no less than four napoleons but seldom received them; to save this heavy fee, the older of the new neighbours set up the boundary stones, and only if he seemed to be cheating did a younger man think it necessary to call in an elder. That elder carried the earth and stone of the oath on his shoulder. In Çermenikë, however, he carried them in his hands and in Labinot he did not carry them at all, only spoke of doing so. Both these usages seem degenerations from the original. The

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623 expression 'to take on the shoulder', which is frequently heard in
709 speech all over the country in the sense of 'to destroy' or 'to ruin', seems to derive from this obviously very ancient method of making oath. 'If I don't act justly, may I carry this weight in this world and the next', the elder swore solemnly as, irrespective of whether he was Catholic, Orthodox or Moslem, he embarked on his delimitation. In most cases he believed that if he were unfair the earth and stone would punish him literally as he said. 'Earth will rot us all one day; we can't put it lightly on our shoulders like a stone. It's a very serious thing; we stake our soul by touching it', were some of the expressions used to explain the general fear. Some men were so frightened of the dread symbols that they would not undertake to delimit a boundary, saying, 'It's a serious business to undertake such a thing; it brings you up against God's justice'. A few others, it must be confessed, were sceptical enough in consideration of a bribe to defy the consequences of perjury and to delimit unfairly.

423 Boundary stones then were set up by elders in the presence of
527 witnesses as an abiding memorial to the ownership of the land they outlined. 'A fence may rot, a boundary does not', said the proverb. 'Let ever so many be killed; a field, or mountain, a vineyard cannot be seized by force; the boundary stones say who is the lawful owner', was another aphorism. In many places it was customary, generation after generation, to 'ride the marches' once a year so that the old could show the young where the stones were and so forge the next link in the endless chain of memory. Like its British counterpart, the custom gave occasion for a public holiday. Often performed, as in Nangë, at the spring festival of 'Summer Day', all men and boys in a village went round every known boundary in it. They saw that the boundary stones were still in place and not sunk out of sight, noted their position, and cleared away thorns and other concealing overgrowth. Often, as in Nangë, they were led by gypsies banging joyously on drums.

423 It was thought a sin to move boundary stones, since they had
685 been set up in such solemn circumstances by elders, the highest
783 tribal authorities. But land-hunger was so prevalent that the sin was all too common. With the lapse of time, too, boundary stones might sink out of sight in the ground and the boundary line be obliterated. Disputes over boundaries were consequently endless. To prevent them there were various deterrents. Men of weight—

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628 the quickest, the second tried when the first failed, and the third
423 when the second failed. In practice recourse to the authorities was rare and seldom as effective as action by elders.

[695] When settlement was made by the parties themselves, one of the two men quarrelling might exclaim, 'Well, take it on your shoulders' —there was no need to specify what—'and set up the stones'. 'All right', replied the other as he bent to pick up a stone or a clod of earth or both to put on his shoulders. 'May I carry it on my shoulder in this world and in that if this ground isn't mine', or 'May I carry this stone and this earth and the whole wide world', he proclaimed as he swaggered off along what he said was the boundary line. Provided four or five witnesses were present this ended the dispute. Either oath was too solemn to be gainsaid. The second in particular was convincing: who would do anything as grave as to take the world on his shoulder for the sake of an erring rope in a measurer's hand? Four or five friends of both parties attended as witnesses. Fear of being asked to take this solemn oath was a considerable deterrent against disturbing the stones. Sometimes the older disputant took an oath, with or without earth or stone, that the disputed land was his, and so proved his title to it.

When the boundary had been recently delimited the disputants might consult their other neighbours, especially if these were older than they were themselves. Or they might ask the opinion of one, two or three very old men from another village as likely to be impartial. If they consulted only one, they had both to consent formally to employing him. Sometimes, when a dispute was dragging on interminably, an old man cut in with an offer to show them where the boundary was, with earth and a stone on his shoulder.

When friends or neighbours were called in they might settle the dispute by arguing. When old men were asked, they had to point out the boundary afresh but not till after they had taken earth and a stone on their shoulders and made a solemn oath to carry these through all eternity if they delimited falsely. When the old men were from the same villages as the disputants, they were unpaid; when from another village they were each given a Turkish pound.

627 By the second method of settlement of the elders in Munë took two
623 or three napoleons from each disputant as a pledge of his future
423 behaviour, and arranged for five or six elders as well as some
[of boundary disputes --Analyst]

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ordinary householders to meet at an early date at the boundary. In presence of the assembled company the claimant swore with earth and a stone on his shoulders that the boundary was where he said. The elders then dug to see if they could find the stones. If they did they gave judgement in the claimant's favour and vice versa. If the losing disputant did not accept their ruling they kept his pledge. In Martanesh, according to Mr Lef Nosi, the case was entrusted to a single elder. First he tried to decide it by questioning the neighbours of the disputants. If he doubted what they said he put them to the ordeal of an oath on bread and the Koran. If he still thought one or more of them was lying he bade them set up the boundary stones where they wished. If they dared to do so he could say no more, but sometimes they jibbed at this final perjury and then his judgement prevailed. If the loser objected to his allowing the neighbours to mark the boundary, he hushed him by bidding him let them perjure themselves and then offering to indemnify him out of his own pocket for his loss, but here the elder was on safe ground. Shame prevented the loser from accepting this offer.

When the elders failed to effect a settlement the injured party in Shijan complained to the government—not always unsuccessfully. Shijan was so near Elbasan that the government's writ ran there even in Turkish times. In many other places, in modern as in Turkish times, it was thought that if elders had failed it was useless to apply to the government, and a shooting match began. In Lumë the man who had taken the oath with earth and a stone took the initiative. In a fury at finding he had risked his soul with an oath for nothing he apostrophized his absent enemy, 'I put the stone on my shoulder. You could have done it, but you wouldn't. Now I'll kill you.' When he succeeded the bitterest of feuds started. Sometimes for greater ignominy they beat each other with sticks. This too started a bitter feud.

When bigger units disputed a boundary each party generally engaged an elder, paying him a fee of 250–500 grosh in Martanesh in Mr Lef Nosi's time, against 50 for a quarrel between individuals. Elders, disputants and witnesses crowded to the boundary, where the elders questioned and argued interminably. If they failed to come to an agreement, murder soon followed. When both sides were sickened by the shuttlecock of the feud they called in famous elders from another unit who could not possibly have an interest in

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623 the matter and asked them to set up the boundary stones where they
628 thought right. But sometimes many lives had been lost in the
423 interval. Once the elders of Bytyç found, when summoned to intervene in a boundary dispute between Gash and Krasniqë, that in two days it had cost the lives of 124 men.

Characteristic processes often marked the arbitration. For example, when two village wards quarrelled in Çermenikë, the chief elders of the village summoned two of the oldest men in each and questioned them separately in the presence of witnesses. If their answers tallied, there could be no more question where the boundary lay. For ratification the old men were asked to walk along it, earth and stone on their shoulder, or to swear formally to its being the correct line. If there were discrepancies in their answers, the dispute was referred to the government authorities in Elbasan or, more probably, to elders from another village. If two villages of Kthellë quarrelled the three bajraktars went with the leading men and a sufficient number of hangers-on to the boundary. One village said where the line was, the other contradicted this. Finally, the most important of the bajraktars, lifting a stone set it on the shoulder of an old, wise, upright man and bade him set it down exactly on the boundary. When he had done so the line was established beyond controversy and no more murder could be done for it.[1]

423 To begin with the bloodshed method, if different villages or
628 tribes were involved, when men quarrelling over a boundary or
425 shepherds jostling over a grazing ground killed each other at the very time that the boundary was being delimited, there was no more need for elders. The tribal or village boundary was where heaps of stones marked the graves of the murdered men. If it was from a distance that they killed each other, the boundary of each village or tribe was by his grave and the ground in between became the common property of both. If one was only seriously wounded and was able to stagger or roll himself along into the foreign territory before he died, a cairn of stones was piled over him where he died, and though in foreign territory, became the boundary of his village or tribe. Boundaries so established were the most permanent; the

[1] In Mirditë boundary disputes between villages and tribes were sometimes decided with bloodshed or a rock, obviously very primitive methods. Indeed the latter, a glorification of physical strength, seems to antedate the discovery of gunpowder.

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In certain cases the bajraktar and the local headman could act alone. For example, in case of sacrilege against the church they had power to pronounce even a death sentence. In practice, however, they preferred to consult the tribe and the ecclesiastical authorities. After the Young Turks introduced their constitution in 1908 they tried to make everything in Albania very legal and proper. If land was bought, for example, they required a deed of conveyance where the word of witnesses had formerly sufficed. The best lawyer in the land might write out the document and great men witness it, but it had no legal validity until the bajraktar and local headmen had affixed their seals.

As a legal figure the bajraktar had special weight. If called to serve on a jury of twenty-four men, his single person was counted equal to the twelve jurors left unnamed by the elders. A peace made in his presence was particularly binding. If at all distinguished he was often called in by another tribe to settle a dispute that had baffled its own elders. In his own tribe, besides acting as judge in many ordinary cases, he was ultimate referee in all difficult cases. Boundary disputes, the most fertile source of trouble among these land-starved tribes, were often referred straight to him for settlement. Disobedience to his ruling might entail the worst penalties. Particularly in the Malësi e Madhe, he and the local headman had power to appoint elders to settle a quarrel. If these failed to do so, or were found to have based their decision on a false oath by one of the litigants, it fell to the bajraktar and the local headman to reopen the case and to pronounce a final judgement. If a headman judged a case and gave a verdict the bajraktar disliked, he could upset this verdict and substitute one of his own. But neither headman nor elders could upset his judgements; these were always final and unalterable.

All the above applies to the non-tribal areas of central Albania as much as to the northern tribes. Mus Ballgjini of Çermenikë, for instance, was almost more famous as a law-giver than as a military leader. By a seeming exception the bajraktar of the Perlat tribe of Kthellë did not judge but left such matters to the elders. The explanation of the anomaly probably lies in his notorious incompetence. It was every bajraktar's province to judge in peace as well as to lead in war.

In all areas the jurisdiction of the bajraktar was subject to certain limitations. If the commoners did not like one of his decisions,

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If the commoners did not like one of his[1]
692 even if made in concert with the headmen and elders, they were
[622] not bound to abide by it and could compel him to re-examine the case. Neither he nor a headman could, singly or in combination, fine a tribesman without first securing authority from the tribe. After all, he and the headman might have a personal grudge against the man and might fine him for no other reason. To take an example
[619] from the non-tribal valley of Bulqizë, Miftar Meta the bajraktar and Lam Isaku his assistant were much respected and admired but they had no power, on their sole responsibility, to fine a man from Fushaj, their own village. Still less had they power to fine a man from another village in Bulqizë. They could not act in either case
[623] until they had secured the backing of the culprit's village at a general meeting. Nothing less, it was felt, guaranteed the impartiality of the sentence.

693 If a bajraktar misconducted himself, all the headmen and
623 commoners of his tribe, or possibly the commoners alone, sat in judgement on him. They could not ostracize, expel or burn him out like an ordinary criminal; he was too inherently a tribal institution for that. But they could, and did fine him. In 1907,[1] the Kryezi tribe assembled in plenary session, one man from each house, and fined its bajraktar and headmen 100 rams and an ox for some judgements they could prove to have been unjustifiable and prejudiced. The commoners could also ask an erring bajraktar to give a rifle or other valuable as security for his good behaviour in the future.

693 The misconduct for which a bajraktar was fined was seldom more heinous than sending his sheep to pasture on another's ground or pronouncing a biased judgement. On the whole, each was so carefully selected and trained by his predecessor in office that he rarely committed the graver crimes. When one did, he was sure to be so 'strong', i.e. influential, that the tribesmen thought it more prudent to close their eyes to his iniquity. There was much grumbling at the venality of bajraktars, but neither the tribal law nor the Turkish government took cognizance of this offence. If
693 a bajraktar[1], serving as judge or arbitrator, took a bribe, the only
687 remedy lay in the individual tribesman's freedom to choose another law-giver next time. If a bajraktar accepted a 'present' for doing a favour, there was no remedy at all. His victim could only comfort himself by noting how God, or Allah, punished such greed. It was

[1] [the bajraktars--Analyst] = [the local milary, administrative and judicial head--Analyst]

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 271.

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621 of Turkish rule these were the famous law-givers Dedë Lleshi and
622 Likë Gjegjaj. Again, when Per Dedë Ndoj was senior headman of the village of Gojan in Mirditë, he took the lead in publicly executing a man of his own kin, Buçaj, for murdering a guest who belonged to the Martinaj kin in the same village. The story is related by Father Gjeçov.

623 This fifth type[1] was the recognized superior of the sixth, the body of men who were unitedly called 'village elders'. These consisted of all the brotherhood and kin elders in the village as well as the [634] village elder himself. For instance, in the district of Kurbin there were sixteen villages, each of which had its 'head (or village) elder'. But according to a document published on p. 129 of Father Gjeçov's book[2] there were altogether forty-five elders in Kurbin. Besides the sixteen 'head elders' there were twenty-nine ordinary 'village elders', some of them kin elders and some brotherhood elders. In Mirditë these village elders were known as 'canon elders', because it was their business to see that the law was respected and applied. To avoid confusion between the single village elder and the body of village elders these will henceforth be alluded to as canon elders.

634 The document mentioned by Father Gjeçov introduces us to the seventh type, a personage styled 'chief elder'. In the document he was chief of the 'forty-five elders of the region of Krujë' (i.e. Kurbin). There is no explicit information of how his position came to this man or whether it was hereditary in his family. It can only be inferred that as he was a Përvizi of Skuraj, and this family led Kurbin, the position was hereditary and a tribute to the outstanding strength of his family. In so large an area as Kurbin there could not be any question of all the villages being related by blood and owning allegiance to Përvizi as the descendant, master after master, of the master of the ancestral household. In other districts where a chief elder existed, it may be assumed similarly that he owed his position to the personal qualities of his family rather than to its descent.

Some other kinds of elder were found, both among the southern tribes and elsewhere, but it will be easier to understand their position after the characteristics and functions which were common to the elders have been elucidated.

554 Viewed as a human being, an elder was an ordinary man without privileges other than the corner seat, head of the roasted animal

1 [of elder -- i.e., the senior headman -- Analyst]
2 [Cat. 116, pp. 12-15 -- Analyst]

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compulsory. Any who failed to attend and could not justify their 623
absence were fined. Together with the general public, they had to [615]
investigate complaints against a senior elder or a bajraktar, and if
they found him guilty, they had to fine or ostracize him. In their
attempts to prevent breaches of the peace they were entitled to try
any method from peaceful persuasion to forcible restraint by the
whole village. When, for instance, a tribesman refused to accept
a judgement that was demonstrably lawful and unbiased, they
could call a General Assembly to discuss the case. A public fine [681]
generally ended the man's obduracy. If not, the village elders could
ask all the headmen and 'soldiers' of the tribe to come and bring him
to his senses by threatening to destroy his house and property. They
continued to apply the old law, the public preferring these methods
to those of modern officials.

Canon elders were subordinate to the bajraktar and the voivodes 623
of their tribe, acting as their assistants at General Assemblies. 634

In non-tribal districts like Shpat and Martanesh the canon elders
of Mirditë were represented by a body of men called 'local elders'.
These were hereditary, found in every village and restricted in
their law-giving to their own village.

Another type were called 'specialist elders' in the southern 693
tribal areas, 'regional elders' or 'mountain elders' in Martanesh, 622
and plain 'elders' in Theth. The great majority owed nothing to 634
heredity and everything to themselves, being ordinary men who
had gradually built up a reputation for good sense, conciliatory
temper and especially knowledge of the mountain law. A few were
hereditary elders who had displayed the same qualities. Except in a
few unusual cases they did not hand on their gifts or their position.
As it required time to build up their reputation, the generality
were older than herditary elders when they attained this position.
They began by settling petty troubles within their brotherhood and
gradually as their reputation grew, they extended their sphere of
action to their kin, village and district in succession. A brotherhood
elder must not interfere in another brotherhood, a kin elder in
another kin or a 'local elder' of Martanesh in another village. But
the specialists might travel far and wide outside their own social
unit judging and arbitrating wherever required. Provided that they
judged according to the law, their judgements were binding and
overrode any delivered previously by a local man. As gifted men do
not arise at will, they were never common but were found only

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693 here and there. After the introduction of modern codes of justice
622 they had little chance to emerge.
634 Above all elders, in both Mirditë and the adjacent tribes, came the Gjomarkaj family. This family was regarded as the source of all knowledge of the mountain law and represented the final court of appeal. The villagers of Martanesh carried many of their graver troubles to its head, but at the same time had often a 'special elder' whom they consulted in such cases. Selim Peshku, who died about 1910, was the latest example. The tree under which he sat dispensing justice in Martanesh is still shown. In the north the bishop
[793] or a specially gifted priest was the ultimate referee. They were consulted not so much for their knowledge of the law but because of their reputation for probity.

623 Functionally the brotherhood elders of Mirditë were represented in the Malësi e Madhe by the 'ward elders', who ruled and judged in their own small community, the village ward in which they lived.
[651] They were more commonly called *gjobtarë* ('fine-collectors') from their primary function of collecting fines. As legal functionaries they resembled specialist elders rather than brotherhood elders because they were ordinary tribesmen and owed their position as elders, not to hereditary right, but to special appointment. They were selected, however, not by the public like the specialists, but by the local bajraktar or voivode. On taking up an appointment to judge or arbitrate they were known as 'soul elders', on account of the solemn phrases with which they were commissioned. The commissioning bajraktar or voivode first asked, 'Do you pledge your souls, elders, that it was so?' On receiving their assent he laid a stone on the ground before them, saying, 'With body and soul, with a stone in front of you and with God's justice set these two people straight in any way that you can see'. It goes without saying that only upright men were willing or were asked to accept a charge laden with such danger to their soul after death. These northern ward elders had no connexion with the ward elders of Godolesh near Elbasan, who were seven in number for the six wards (mëhallë), all subordinate to the paid non-hereditary headman and his two assistants.

695 Another functional type, which was most important for the repression of crime and was found everywhere, was constituted by 'juror elders'. When trying a case, the judging elders might decide to make one of the disputants take an oath that he was not guilty,

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CHAPTER XIV

GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

619 Turkish suzerainty affected the life of the remoter areas so little that each tribe, and in non-tribal areas each region, was virtually a self-governing unit. The governing bodies in tribal areas were the General Assemblies and the Partial Assemblies. In Turkish times these meetings were often called *mexhlis* (from Arabic '*majlis*' meaning council, assembly, parliament). *Kuvend* is the Latin '*conventio*' (gathering) in Albanian dress. In non-tribal areas regional or village assemblies corresponded to the general and partial assemblies of the tribes.

The General Assembly was usually a tribal gathering, but the word *Kuvend* was used by the Albanians to indicate the national parliament during the German occupation in 1943–4 when Albanian nationalism expressed itself in rejecting the use of words of foreign origin.

In the fifteenth century there was a *Kuvend* of great historical importance when the men of the region of north Albania met to hear Lek Dukagjini, the lord of the extreme north, debate points of law with Skanderbeg, the lord of north central Albania.

[634] Tribal assemblies brought together one or more tribes. These were plenary, attended by the whole tribe (or region) on the basis of 'one man from each house'. They were convened and presided over by the highest authority available. This was the bajraktar in most tribes, but one of the Gjomarkaj family or a bajraktar in Mirditë. In Dibër, Mat and Kurbin it was the head of the leading family, and in Çermenikë the regional elder. Miss Durham found the president elected in Theth, and stated that this innovation was spreading. Where a General Assembly of two or more tribes took place the meeting resulted from a conference of the chief men of each tribe, convened by the highest dignitary in each tribe and presided over by the highest of these high dignitaries.

613 623 Partial Assemblies too were plenary and were convened and presided over by the head of the unit concerned. The more important were formed by a village or a kin. In a document preserved for

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

us by Father Gjeçov,[1] the last clause announces that though the Pecnikaj kin of Shalë laid down the law enunciated in clause 2, it had the support of the Lotaj, Abati (Abat) and Bobi (Bob) kins in doing so. Its first and its fourth clauses consider the adhesion of the brotherhood of Theth as well. Occasionally there was a partial meeting of a brotherhood, and at the bottom of the scale there were household meetings at which the master set some common problem before all the men in the family.

Generally speaking, assemblies of all types took place at irregular intervals, to meet some special need, though the demand that they should be called regularly once a year was not unknown.[2]

When a kin or smaller meeting was in question, the convener sent anyone he could find to call it. Bigger meetings were summoned by word of mouth by the public messenger. In Mat a gipsy beat out the summons on his drum and in Shpat church bells were rung.

Attendance at a plenary meeting was compulsory, non-attendance punishable by a fine. For instance, an elder of Kurbin who failed to turn up and could not satisfy the other elders that his absence was justified was fined five rams. An ordinary tribesman in the same area was fined one ram and in Kastrat 250 piastres. The strength and solidarity of the tribes were closely connected with the plenary character of their assemblies.

Most public meetings took place in the open air, as church houses were usually too small and schoolrooms and village halls did not exist. Meeting places had to be central and free from cultivation, rock, scrub and forest so as to provide adequate seating space In Catholic areas the yard of the church was commonly used for General Assemblies and in Moslem areas that of the mosque. Assemblies of a village or kin could be held in the most central of the smaller clearings of the area, and a house was big enough for a brotherhood or household assembly.

Some meeting-places were specially famous. At Lesh, a thriving seaport at the mouth of the river Drin, and not the malarial inland townlet into which it has been converted by the advance of the Drin towards Italy, Lek Dukagjini and Skanderbeg met by preference, as it was centrally situated for both their domains. The place of meeting was probably the grassy sward near the ruined church on the right bank of the Drin, opposite the modern town.

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 272

[2] See Appendix, Document V, § 16, p. 264.

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623 In Lower Martanesh Selim Lashku dispensed justice to the village of Martanesh under a branching tree by the *Gur i Kuvendit* (Stone of Assembly). At the spring called Gurrë Gega, which is at the confluence of the Shëmil and Gurakuq torrents in Çermenikë, he used to meet his famous contemporary of Gurakuq village, Mus Ballgjini, at plenary meetings of the twelve villages of Çermenikë. A list of the usual meeting-places of his day is to be found in Father Gjeçov's book.

The convener fixed the time and place of meeting. The favourite time was the early morning, as this left the whole day free for arguing.

634 The bajraktar presided over the General Assembly and sat cross-
619 legged on the ground in the most honourable place. Near him sat other dignitaries—voivodes, village elders, clan elders, village ancients and clan ancients in due order of social precedence. Facing them and well apart sat the rest of the tribe, the youth, the commoners, the public messengers and the fine-collectors (*gjobtarë*), in a half-circle in Mirditë, and elsewhere in a roughly shaped rectangle or circle. The essential thing was that each man present should see and be seen by everybody else, and should have room to advance, if required, to the dignitaries. Since neither youth nor voivodes and fine-collectors existed in southerly districts like Martanesh, General Assemblies there consisted only of the bajraktar, elders, commoners, and public messengers.

[695] Every effort was made to keep a meeting orderly. When a presiding dignitary, a judging elder or a witness was speaking no interruption was allowed. Insulting remarks and abuse were prohibited under pain of a fine that might amount to as many as five rams. Calling another a liar meant a fine of 500 piastres. For the better observance of these rules when a case was being tried, the disputants were not allowed to address the court. Each had to go some distance away with his elder in order to tell him his story quietly, and had to return to his place at the meeting to await judgement in silence. The elders drew apart from the meeting after their briefing, argued the case out with each other, and returned to the meeting to announce their decision in the hearing of all present. In this way only two or three men talked, the rest sat quiet and listened. In Mirditë a stranger might not take part in a general meeting, but in Lumë and Çermenikë, in the belief that a stranger could have 'nothing in his bosom or his pocket', that

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is to say, no interested motive for his opinion, he was actually encouraged to express his views. Among the Catholics of the far north the priest was permitted to speak, as though he were one of the tribesmen, but his views did not necessarily prevail.

It was unthinkable, of course, that the tribesmen should come without their arms in view of possible dangers on the way. So the law said explicitly that they might bring them. But as soon as they took their places cross-legged on the ground they had to lay their guns on the grass in front of them or on their laps and had to keep them so until the meeting ended. The Catholics sometimes let the priest coax them into depositing their arms in the church house for the duration of the meeting. If anyone raised his gun in anger, it was promptly taken from him by his neighbours. If anyone fired his gun the rest of the meeting immediately formed itself into a firing squad and killed him, and then went in a body to his house and burned it down. Even at the smallest meeting there were four or five important men present who kept a sharp look-out ready to prevent trouble. The priests too kept good watch, and a Franciscan found in Theth by Miss Durham in 1908 told the following story: 'We nearly had a row at the *mexhlis*[1] a little while ago. . . . I heard a fearful noise and as I ran out a lot of them got up into a bunch like bees and raised their rifles. They were just going to fire. They would not listen to me. I rushed into the church and rang the bell as hard as I could. It had a splendid effect. As soon as they heard the bell, from habit they all shoved their pistols into their belts and took their guns in their left hands and began to cross themselves. No one knew what had happened. They poured into the church to see. By the time we came out again. . . they were quieted.'

Proceedings usually began with a statement by the president that the tribe had assembled to consider certain matters in the manner required by God and the canon, that is to say, with justice and without innovations or departures from the established law. Great importance was attached to the latter point. The decisions of specialist elders were accepted only on condition that they conformed to the accepted law and did not constitute innovations. This proviso was thought unnecessary in the case of elders who had been bred to the law as the specialists had not, and were therefore trusted to stick to it. This conservatism maintained the strength of the law, the main factor in keeping the tribe together.

[1] General Assembly.

[i.e., at General Assembly meetings – Analyst]

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CHAPTER XV

ASSEMBLIES AND THEIR WORK

623 Assemblies sometimes dealt with internal matters such as criminal
634 trials, formulation of laws, local administration, and sometimes
619 with the external relations of the community. Internal affairs were dealt with, according to their gravity, by the tribe, village or kin, but a plenary assembly had to be called to consider foreign affairs.

619 During the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century
669 the northern tribes of Albania were singly or collectively in constant opposition to Turkish sovereignty, and plenary assemblies were summoned by tribes whenever they planned to break out into open revolt. Earlier in 1855 and 1862 there had been attacks on the Montenegrins by the Mirditë, which had followed on plenary assemblies of the Mirditë tribes.

In 1881 the Albanians of Kosovë formed the League of Prizren in order to struggle more effectively for independence of Turkey.
[631] All over Kosovë and what afterwards became the kingdom of Albania plenary meetings were held by tribes, and, where these did not exist as in south Albania, by districts, to decide on whether to join this League or not. Again in 1908, as Miss Durham relates,[1] the northern tribes held plenary meetings about accepting the new
[721] Turkish constitution. The Albanian attack on the Turkish garrisons in Skoplje and adjacent towns, that began the Balkan war of 1912, was prefaced by general assemblies of every tribe in Kosovë and north Albania. In the summer of 1914, when Esad Pashë Toptani revolted against Prince William of Wied, then *Mbret* (king) of Albania, his supporters raised central Albania in his favour by carrying the Koran in one hand and a crucifix in the other to plenary meetings of the villages and bidding the Assembly, generally consisting of Moslems only, choose between the Moslem Esad and the Christian 'Mbret'. In 1942 a plenary meeting of all Mat was convened by the subprefect of Mat in the hope of enforcing obedience to the Italian government of the day. The decisions reached at the meeting were embodied in a document

[1] *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 120, n. 1.

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721 Like tribes, villages sometimes met together to try to agree
623 about matters of common interest. Villages often quarrelled over
685 irrigation water, and a forest or pasture boundary. They quarrelled even oftener perhaps because the tracks of stolen animals led from one to the other; cattle-lifting and sheep-stealing were common. The most satisfactory way of dealing with troubles was for the two villages to meet in full assembly. After thrashing the matter out in public they generally reached a settlement, failing which they could only go to war. In the early years of the twentieth century cattle thieving was listed as one of the thirteen most important matters brought before General Assemblies in Martanesh. In 1942 it was still so active a disturber of the public peace that the pro-Fascist subprefect of Mat legislated for it among the questions which were the real occasion of his calling together the 5000 families of Mat.[1]

671 Law-giving was also an important function of General Assem-
619 blies. This activity came to an end with centralization and western
634 legal codes, and its nature can be studied in the documents quoted by Father Gjeçov and reproduced as an appendix to this book, pp. 261 sqq. These documents show the variety of matters with which the law-giving of the Assembly was concerned. For instance, Document I, coming from Malësi e Madhe and dated 1864, is wholly devoted to such subjects as betrothal, bride-price, divorce and abduction or elopement. Document XI, which comes from Kurbin in 1906, is much occupied with stealing and with tightening up the social fabric by making attendance at General Assemblies imperative and the authority of elders supreme. With the proclamation of Albanian independence of Turkey only six years ahead, it contains an interesting political note; no Kurbin man is to become a gendarme in Turkish service or to give one food and shelter; and no Moslem of Kurbin is to curry favour with the Turkish authorities by denouncing a Christian fellow-tribesman. Document XIII, which comes from Mat in 1942, is also dated by its politics enjoining support of the Italian régime in Albania.

671 In the midst of the variety of subjects in the documents, crimes
674 against life and property are continually appearing as the fundamental threats to the security of the community. A study of the documents shows them as reaffirming and modifying old and recognized laws, rather than formulating new ones. Assemblies

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, § 4, p. 273.

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[688] 681 It was not the theft but the sacrilege that on this occasion called the tribe of Orosh to a General Assembly and made them pronounce even the death sentence; without the sacrilege the fine would have been penalty enough. Murder of a priest, again heinous sacrilege, raised the same issues, but without hope of any reprieve from death save what secret flight might provide. Murder of a guest or of a man with whom the murderer had previously sworn an oath of peace, that is to say, of persons who had a right to protection, also came before a General Assembly and was punished by the severest penalties, including death. Yet theft in the ordinary way was [694] handled by elders and punished by a fine, and murder of the ordinary type was left to the victim's family and punished by blood vengeance. These were crimes against the individual and matter for individual handling. Sacrilege, however, and the murder of protected persons, were crimes against society, the former threatening the authority of the Church and the latter the tribal fabric.

689 When a man's general behaviour was a public menace or nuisance, he usually found himself before a General Assembly. To begin with, the elders of his social unit took the matter up as was their duty, attempting first to reason him into a better frame of mind. If this failed, they had to call a plenary meeting of the village to try the culprit and to carry out whatever sentence was pronounced. This was usually burning down his house and leaving his land untilled for a specific number of years. If he still persisted in his evil-doing, and this was serious socially speaking, the elders could call the whole tribe to their assistance. For public pests incited public extermination, and this required the sanction and the whole force of the tribe. Miss Durham relates what she calls 'an amazing case of wholesale justice' which occurred in the Mirditë tribe, Fan, in February 1912. A certain family in this tribe had become notorious for evil-doing, robbing, shooting and general misconduct. A 'gathering of the whole tribe' condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lie in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off. And on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was only five and another only twelve years old. It was even proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant in case she should bear a male and so renew the evil.[1]

[1] Durham, op. cit. p. 73.

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619 offenders, banishing others, and executing the ringleaders if these
672 had committed any crime entailing the death penalty.

619 Sometimes a village went to actual war with the rest of the tribe.
[72] As it never did so unless it knew itself to be very strong, the rest of the tribe was sometimes unable to reduce it. If the tribe was alone, the war went on until both sides were exhausted enough to cry halt. If the tribe was one of a group its heads could call in all the men of the other tribes to reduce the belligerent. In Mirditë a Gjomarkaj called the General Assembly which decided on this step, and led its members against the belligerent.

Sometimes, like a pestilent village, a tribe that formed part of a group made itself a nuisance to its neighbours. In that case the
[681] General Assembly of the other tribes in the group sentenced it wholesale to the usual penalties—fines for mild offenders, burning out for medium offenders and death for bad offenders. A whole tribe, however, could not be banished. It could only be ostracized, cut off from all intercourse with its neighbours; this penalty lasted until it consented to furnish the usual pledges for its future behaviour.

623 Village Assemblies dealt with matters of exclusively village interest. They regulated wood-cutting and irrigation rights, for example. They fixed the date at which beasts might be sent up to their summer pasturage on the high mountains. They stipulated the number of beasts that might be sent up by each family. They took steps to see that no one appropriated more than his fair share of forest, irrigation water or grazing. In so doing they made a valuable contribution to the public peace. Some aspects of
[682] murder also engaged their attention. The actual crime and revenge
[628] for it were the concern only of the families of the murderer and his victim. But it was the concern of the village that the range of revenge should not spread, increasing the number of avenging assassinations and so disturbing the village peace. So the law having laid down that the avenger must allow the murderer a day or two's grace to settle up his affairs before he was besieged in his house, the village had to extract a promise of this grace from the avenger. In cases where the grace lasted for thirty days, the village had to see that the murderer did not abuse his privilege and harry the victim's family. If he showed any such tendency, the village in General Assembly had to fine him and bring his period of grace to an untimely end.

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[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

681 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Breg i Shpellës, Viri, and Krue i Ri —will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a patch for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[233] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[423] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[487] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

[623] 16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 500 grosh.

[693] 17. 'Pledge elders' are not to take more than 10 grosh as their fee for a judgement, and commoners not more than 5 grosh.

[628] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after their feud has been compounded by order of the government will be fined 12 purses and expelled from the village and turned into a ghost.

681 231 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

[681] bajraktar, are perpetual like the law about fire[1] and other laws. Whoever breaks this law must pay an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, otherwise he will have his house burned.

The Youth of Shalë
April 30th, 1905

XI. Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin on August 5–7, 1906.
(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 129.)

[625] 1. Whoever joins the government police shall have his house burned and be excluded from funeral gatherings and hospitality.

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This judgement holds also for a horse and a mule.

If a cow is stolen and the theft denied, the accused's oath needs three compurgators. If he proves a thief the penalty is returning two for one to the owner and a fine of 250 grosh. So too for a donkey.

If a bell-goat or a bell-wether is stolen two for one to the owner and a fine of three rams. If the theft is denied the oath must be given by the accused and all the males in his house.

For every small animal two for one to the owner and a fine of two rams. If the theft is denied the oath is with all the males in the accused's house.

5. Setting fire to a house[2] means a fine of 2500 grosh; to an animals' fold, a haystack and a hedge, a fine of 1500 grosh and returning two for one to the owner.

[623] 6. A man who does not come to a General Assembly when summoned by the village elder will be fined one ram.

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POLITICS AND FEUDING

592 THE smallest political institution in tribal Gheg society is the household, the extended family living together, which is also an economic institution. The head of the household is the oldest male of the parental or grandparental generation, the patriarch. So strong is the feeling for age-grading in Albania that men will obey their fathers as faithfully at 40 and 50 as in their teens. Since all sons do not necessarily live with their fathers, but some may occupy separate houses, the institution of the household may thus be expanded spatially, although the relationships are maintained.

[672] The household is a unit of warfare; when a man commits murder within his own tribe, his [628] household suffers together. In seeking vengeance, a man can wipe out the blot on his family honor by killing the brother of his enemy; responsibility is held to be collective. If one member of a household kills another, which happens but very rarely,[1] nothing is done. The loss is that of the family.

621 The next unit is the village. It may be a compact group of houses, surrounded by its farmland and pasture; or it may consist of isolated homesteads, each in its own land. The latter is the more usual form. In either case, it has some central building, a mosque or a church; or it may merely have a flat place, usually shaded by an oak, where the elders • 623 meet. Each village is supposed to have 12 elders, whose office is partly hereditary, partly elective. Various families habitually furnish one man each to fill this position. The word for elder is *plak*, which Miss Durham traces back to the time of Strabo.[2] One of these elders is the *kryeplak*, literally, head elder. In one village in Has, when I measured the *kryeplak*, he told the recorder that he was "mayor" of the village. He calls the elders together when events arise that need their

[1] Miss Durham gives one instance from Dukagin (Durham, 1928, pp. 69-70).
[2] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

623 attention. These include the use of tribal lands, decisions whether or not to burn forest to make pasture, etc., although such matters usually involve several villages. The elders also convene as witnesses in oath-taking.

634 Above the village is the *bairak* (Turkish for banner, standard), a geographical area with some kind of natural unity, so that the people living in it habitually see more of each other than of those without. All of the village councils meet together for the *bairak* council, under the *bairaktar* (standard-bearer), or head of the *bairak* (fig. 10, *e*). [1] His office is hereditary in certain families. King Zog's father was *bairaktar* of Mat, the principal *bairak* of Mati; in Dibra Major Çen Eleze, who acted as host to our expedition, was one *bairaktar*, while Murat Kaloshi, his rival, was another. These men were great feudal leaders, maintaining large households of armed men, and dispensing
[177] lavish hospitality to all comers. Çen Eleze had sent two of his sons to the American Technical School in Tirana, where they learned modern agricultural methods as well as perfect English. These boys, huge fellows over 6 feet 3, were of great help to us when we visited Slatina.

The *bairaktar* can become an independent sovereign if he has a strong enough personality and if the tribal authority is weak, and that of
619 the central government likewise. At other times he is under the authority of the head of the tribe, an official chosen from a ruling household, and bearing a different title in each tribe. In Mirdita he is called *Kapedan* (Captain); in Puka, *Shpij e Krye Ziut* (Black-Head House); in Malsia e Madhe, *Shpij e Madhe* (Big House), the exact equivalent of the ancient Egyptian *per āa*, or Pharaoh.

124 Fifty men, comprising 5 per cent of our
619 metrical series, were office-holders in the Gheg tribal system. Eleven[8] were elders, 26 chief

[8] Four from Dukagin, 2 Puka, 4 Mirdita, 1 Zadrima.

1 [see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

124 elders,[4] 8 *bairaktars*,[5] and 5 retainers of a tribal
619 prince, Jon Markajon of Mirdita (fig. 10, *a*). Except for the chief elder of Karashegeç in
[463] Has, who was a baker, all of the elders, chief elders, and *bairaktars* were farmers. The baker was "mayor" of a village of bakers, outside the mountain area. All of these men were locals, born of local fathers and mothers taken from within the father's tribe. Preferences are thus shown for (a) agriculture as against handicrafts or trade, and (b) local as against outside descent.

Jon Markajon, the only tribal chief whom we met, and who entertained us very well at his capital in Orosh, would not allow us to measure him, although he summoned all of his subjects from nearby villages. The 5 retainers whom we measured in his house constituted his princely staff. Three of them were part-time farmers, and 2, full-time political employees. What their exact duties and titles
619 were, we did not determine. The ancient
642 tribal government of Ghegnia, if we may judge by the example of Mirdita, the one tribe in which it survived more or less intact until 1929, consisted of a graded hierarchy with three steps—elders and their chief, *bairaktars*, and tribal prince. Attached to the prince was his staff of special messengers, chamberlains, and guards.

The tribal government was in the hands of the prince and his council, which consisted of all of the elders of the tribe, with their chief elders, and the *bairaktars*. The heads of large and powerful households, even if they held no
[623] formal office, would be included. The council met in cases of murder within the tribe, of intertribal warfare, invasion, or other crises involving violence. It also met to decide on its own composition, i.e., to hear the petitions of neighboring *bairaks* to join it.

619 The strength of the prince as compared to
643 that of the council depended on the former's personality. During the last 50 years, for example, Mirdita has been ruled by the following princes: Bib Doda, a great and powerful man who died about 1913; Preng Bib Doda, his son, who was killed shortly after in a blood

[4] Nine from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Has, 4 Mirdita, 4 Zadrima, 3 Mati, and 1 Dibra.

[5] [see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[Covenant of Mat, 1942]

any political intriguers against the present régime who may be found 681
within its territory.

2. If, after the conclusion of this covenant, one man kills another [672]
with or without just cause, his family shall be punished by the people of Mat with banishment from Mat for three years and his property, both movable and immovable, shall be confiscated and become state property.

3. The same penalties shall be imposed on any man who runs off with a betrothed girl or a married woman.

4. When a domestic animal has been stolen and the thief cannot be found, the village to which the tracks lead must either pay the animal's value or prove that the tracks lead away from its land.

5. Whoever aids criminals and gives them food and shelter renders himself liable to the penalties detailed in clause 2.[1]

6. Whoever carries arms of any description without declaring them renders himself liable to the death penalty.

7. Whoever spreads false rumours about the policy of the State, public security or public finances to the detriment of the present régime and its policy shall be punished as laid down by the Lieutenant-General's decree No. 185.[2]

8. The people's representatives are to regulate and to examine all [692]
complaints which may be made concerning land, irrigation, water, roads and forests and if a commission succeeds in settling a dispute between two persons, the decision of the commission shall be inviolable. If it is contested, the contestants shall take the matter to the proper court.

9. Land in Mat is generally held without regular title-deeds and [1423]
ownership is proved by nothing but a written receipt (*senet*) and a meal according to the local custom. It appears that lately the ownership of properties bought 5, 10, 20 or 30 years ago with a receipt and a meal, as witnesses also confirm, is often disregarded or if regarded, is a constant source of disorders and murder. To put an end to such quarrelling the local Commission must not meddle with exchange of land so made until the Government has registered all the land according to the laws concerned.

10. The chairman of the Commission shall be the local sub-prefect, [624]
and its members the political secretary of the sub-prefecture, the gendarmerie commander, the Fascist Albanian militia's commander, and the representatives of the people who assist in drawing up the present covenant.

11. It is learned that Communists or, as some call them, Bolshevists, 681
have made their appearance among us. We must get rid of these persons 665

[1] (Author's note. At this time the term 'criminals' included not only transgressors of the law but also patriots resisting Italian rule.)

[2] (Author's note. No copy of this decree can be found.)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

671 the Italian example, and a Barrister and Solicitor Law, of 1931, modelled after the Austrian example.

625 The exemplary police and gendarmerie of Albania have been brought to a high degree of discipline and efficiency, the latter especially under the able command of Major General Sir Jocelyn Percy, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 648 Indeed by July the enrolment of supporters had outstripped our capacity to supply them from the stock of weapons locally available; and we saw that it was only by drawing on the arsenals of the Middle East that we might hope to appease their insatiable hunger for arms.

The petty arms traffic we had thus far indulged in had been made possible by the help of friendly Yugoslav officials, acting on their own initiative. We could not hope, however, to run consignments of rifles from the Middle East into Albania without the knowledge and at least the tacit approval of the Yugoslav Government. We had, indeed, counted on some measure of Yugoslav support; for the Albanian revolt had always been considered as a part of the general scheme for the defence of the Balkans against an attack by the Axis Powers. It now appeared that the Belgrade Government were too demoralised by enemy pressure to countenance our plans; and we even began to doubt whether they intended to resist the Germans at all. Accordingly some of us, myself among them, turned increasingly to the task of building up the forces of resistance in Yugoslavia. Thus four years were to go by before I was once more concerned with things Albanian.

2

[625] In August 1940 the direction of the Belgrade branch of the Albanian organisation was entrusted to Lieut.-Colonel Oakley-Hill, who had been for some years an officer in the Corps of Instructors to the Albanian gendarmerie. Hill's name, as we were to learn from personal experience, was a household word among the Ghegs, thanks to his rare command of the Albanian language and his genuine affection for the Albanians. He already knew many of the leading exiles in Belgrade and soon won their confidence by his sincerity and tireless industry on behalf of the Albanian cause. Thus, under his guidance, the work was advanced.

The Albanians had been demoralised by the fall of France, but the reports which reached Belgrade in September showed

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

arouse the suspicion or the greed of the combatants; and it is only a question of chance whether they are shot as spies, murdered for their property, or killed by a stray bullet. In time of revolution, " He that is not with me is against me ".

Next day we enjoyed the comforts of Ihsan's house and expounded our inflexible opposition to an anti-Communist front to various lesser politicians who came out from Tirana to meet us. The rest of the time we spent in discussions with Ihsan and his cousin, Liqa, who was renowned as a hunter. Ihsan disapproved of blood sports but, since the *chasse à l'homme* was a frequent feature of Albanian country life, he kept two machine-guns, a mortar, and a stock of hand-grenades in his gun-room as a matter of course. In the house he carried only a light automatic, but when he drove to Tirana, or went for a walk, he armed himself with a Mäuser parabellum. Such precautions seemed incongruous in so civilised a man; but, if blood feuds were less common in the plain than in the mountains, the preventive assassination of opponents was a time-honoured method of government. It was interesting, indeed, to see how centuries of despotic rule had engrained the habits of conspiracy in the life of an Albanian country gentleman. One evening at dinner I heard what I thought was an owl hooting in the garden.

" It must be my cousin Liqa," said Ihsan, going to the French windows, " it is his call."

Sure enough it was.

We left Ihsan[1] by night and set out towards our base, stopping in the mountains above Tirana to meet Jemal Herri. Jemal had once been chief of Zog's secret police; and, along with Muharrem Bairaktar, Prenk Previsi, and Fikri Dine, had formed the quadrumvirate by whose efforts the royal regime had been established. Like his colleagues, he had fallen from favour, but had followed Zog into exile in 1939, returning to Albania in 1941 with Oakley-Hill and the forces of the United Front. Now he stood second to Abas Kupi in the Zogist movement and had built up a small but efficient force of his own,

[1] [i.e. Ihsan Toptani. Cf. cat. 116, p. 185 -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

665 stiffened by a handful of German deserters and fugitives from [625] the labour gangs of the Todt Organisation. We had not previously met Jemal, for his relations with Abas Kupi were strained, and he had for some time been sulking in his tent. We knew, however, that he was in daily contact with Tirana and were anxious to enlist his support in disrupting the political manœuvres of the Germans.

[622] He[1] entertained us to lunch in the house of a village *hoja* and supplemented the usual hospitality of the mountains with highly spiced Yugoslav dishes specially prepared for us by his Bosnian mistress. In appearance he was a cross between Mussolini and Mephistopheles, with a powerful cast of face, ruthless yet somehow mask-like, malicious, and smooth. His violent temperament was curbed by iron self-control and disguised by an elaborate courtesy which might have seemed unctuous but for a hint of arrogance. In conversation he damned Abas Kupi with faint praise, seeking to drive a wedge between us and suggesting that we should send him supplies as an independent leader. We turned a guarded answer, but prevailed on him to send an urgent message to Fikri Dine, advising him to decline Neubacher's invitation to form a government.

000 In the afternoon Hare left for Shupal to persuade Abas Kupi to send a similar warning to Fikri. Meanwhile Maclean and I pressed across the valley and reached Bastar about midnight, only to find that Smiley had moved the camp. We therefore rode out along the range and, at 2 A.M., came on the new base, situated by the side of a gurgling stream on the edge of a broad, level clearing in the forest. We roused Smiley from his slumbers and when at last the flow of his curses had subsided he told us that he had good news: Headquarters had telegraphed approving the terms of our agreement with Abas Kupi. Now at last the revolt might begin.

5

* 669 NEXT morning, the last of June, we reviewed our situation 648 and judged it satisfactory. Headquarters had already ratified

1 [i.e. Jemal Herri, former chief of Zogist secret police-- Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

623 the matter and asked them to set up the boundary stones where they
625 thought right. But sometimes many lives had been lost in the
423 interval. Once the elders of Bytyç found, when summoned to intervene in a boundary dispute between Gash and Krasniqë, that in two days it had cost the lives of 124 men.

Characteristic processes often marked the arbitration. For example, when two village wards quarrelled in Çermenikë, the chief elders of the village summoned two of the oldest men in each and questioned them separately in the presence of witnesses. If their answers tallied, there could be no more question where the boundary lay. For ratification the old men were asked to walk along it, earth and stone on their shoulder, or to swear formally to its being the correct line. If there were discrepancies in their answers, the dispute was referred to the government authorities in Elbasan or, more probably, to elders from another village. If two villages of Kthellë quarrelled the three bajraktars went with the leading men and a sufficient number of hangers-on to the boundary. One village said where the line was, the other contradicted this. Finally, the most important of the bajraktars, lifting a stone set it on the shoulder of an old, wise, upright man and bade him set it down exactly on the boundary. When he had done so the line was established beyond controversy and no more murder could be done for it.[1]

423 To begin with the bloodshed method, if different villages or
628 tribes were involved, when men quarrelling over a boundary or
425 shepherds jostling over a grazing ground killed each other at the very time that the boundary was being delimited, there was no more need for elders. The tribal or village boundary was where heaps of stones marked the graves of the murdered men. If it was from a distance that they killed each other, the boundary of each village or tribe was by his grave and the ground in between became the common property of both. If one was only seriously wounded and was able to stagger or roll himself along into the foreign territory before he died, a cairn of stones was piled over him where he died, and though in foreign territory, became the boundary of his village or tribe. Boundaries so established were the most permanent; the

[1] In Mirditë boundary disputes between villages and tribes were sometimes decided with bloodshed or a rock, obviously very primitive methods. Indeed the latter, a glorification of physical strength, seems to antedate the discovery of gunpowder.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania-EG1

685 of theft which were no less universally regarded as shameful. A man who stole from another with whom he had broken bread as host or guest disgraced himself for ever. A woman must not steal for fun or spite. If she did, not only her husband's family, but the whole village felt ashamed and took steps to deal with her.

[672] The accomplice who helped the thief, the host who fed him and the receiver who hid the booty were all considered as no less guilty than the thief himself. 'A thief and his host are the same', and 'Like thief, like receiver' were common sayings. All had to suffer punishment in proportion to their share in the crime and booty. The owner of stolen goods had the right to remove them from the premises of a receiver and to claim compensation, and the receiver had no legal claim for redress as against the thief. On the other hand, if a man bought stolen goods in good faith he had to give them back to the rightful owner, but he was entitled to recover what he had paid for them from the thief.

All possible means of protection against theft were adopted by the mountain peoples. Every man carried a gun by day, and slept with it beside him at night. Dogs were kept in every house and 231 sheepfold. Domestic animals were branded with a mark that could not be destroyed, as when sheep had both their ears notched. [351] Farmyards were surrounded by walls too high to scale and had stout wooden gates heavily bolted at night. Thieves, however, could [417] make holes in the mud and stone walls, and frequently forced an entry that way. The walls of many village shops were lined with wood, so that a thief's chisel, striking it, would make sufficient noise to put the householder on the alert.

[625] In Turkish times many villages sent out armed patrols every night, composed not of professionals like the night watchman of the towns, but of unpaid villagers who served in turn as directed by the village headman. When there was danger of sheep-stealing on a large scale, the threatened villages sometimes bought the protection of some strong man. For example, the villagers of Reç, now in Yugoslavia, hired protection from sheep-stealers of Dibër by paying the Kaloshi family of Dibër a thousand napoleons a year. Nor were the parties deterred from contracting together by the fact that the Kaloshis were Moslems and Albanians, and the villagers of Reç were Orthodox and Macedonian Bulgars.

627 In the extreme north and south of the mountains, guns could 695 legitimately be used when a thief was caught in the act of breaking

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

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[Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin, Aug. 5-7, 1906]

8. As for jurors, in every crime committed in Kurbin, a murder excepted, the jurors must give their oath, saying, 'That it has been stolen from you, I don't know'.[1] 681 [695]

9. What an informant says is said with an oath of how it was in mind.[2]

10. If a man quarrels deliberately with another and without informing the village elder, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If he informs the village elder and the latter asks for a pledge of good behaviour from the one who is oppressing the other and this man refuses to give it, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If the village elder cannot put things right he gives both men a month's grace and informs the other elders who shall settle the quarrel in accordance with the local law.

11. Anyone who gives food or admittance to his house to a Christian or a Mohammedan who is a policeman in the service of the Sultan shall be fined 1500 grosh. [625] [574]

12. If a man breaks a pledge of security given and taken in the presence of elders and commoners in Kurbin, the elders and commoners are under an obligation to burn his house and to expel him from the tribe. [696]

Written in Delbinisht, Kurbin, at the spring of water under the mulberry tree near the Archbishop's palace on August 5th, 6th and 7th, 1906.

Gjin Pjetër Mark Pervizi of Skuraj, Kurbin, senior elder among the 45 elders of the environs of Krue, in the name of the elders and commoners.

Also present at this General Assembly and registrars of the aforesaid laws:

Mgr. Nikollë Kaçorri, witness.

Father Shtjefën K. Gjeçov, Franciscan, witness.

XII. Letter from Shalë dated May 12th, 1907.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanûn*, p. 127.)

1. Greetings from the bajraktar of Shalë, the notables and youth to you, chiefs and youth of Theth. We beg to inform you that the undermentioned laws have been enacted by the tribe of Lower Shalë. We let you know, asking if you too will abide by these laws. We laid down the

[1] The Italian version of clause 8 runs: *Il dovere del giurato per tutto ciò che accada nel territorio di Kurbini, salvo che nelle cause di uccisione, consiste nel giuramento di non cognoscere il colpevole.*

[2] The Italian translator has *La deposizione del delatore deve essere accompagnata dal giuramento.*

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

made it necessary for me to alight and push—getting 000
thoroughly splashed by the whizzing wheels while doing so—
and when at last, after almost superhuman exertions, we
gained the main road, the radiator was steaming like a house
on fire, and so was I. Further on a river barred our way,
but a crude ferry worked by a wire rope was plying across the
deepest part. Albanians, wearin the jackets with black [291]
fringes and black woollen boss s, by which I afterwards
learned to distinguish the Ghegs from the Toscs (the two
main divisions of the population) waded waist-high in the
stream and manœuvred us to a spot whence we were able to
drive through the flood in two or three feet of water and
reach the roadway on the other side.

We travelled on through level country where the fields 641
were green with crops and gay with scarlet poppies. Here
and there I saw men, in the white clothing of the Albanian
peasant, carrying rifles, and I remembered the tales I had
heard of Albanians working in the fields with rifles slung
at their backs. The custom still survives, but only in the
mountainous country north of Scutari where lawlessness is
rife and weapons have to be carried for protection. Else-
where the law forbidding the carrying of firearms is strictly
enforced, and armed peasants working in the fields are no
longer seen. In fact, I was told that those I saw near Scutari [626]
were probably civilian police who assist the regular police
in keeping order and are only on this account permitted to
carry arms.

The rain had stopped and the setting sun was shining 000

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

asked the two officers what they were doing there and received the reply I expected. I gathered, however, that their future was somewhat uncertain, since the Albanian Government was slow in carrying out promises in regard to pay, and even the money to cover sundry disbursements inevitable to the proper discharge of their duties was so far not forthcoming. In their company I dined one evening as the guest of the prefect of Scutari at, of all places, the Grand Hotel, and, to my intense surprise, the dinner was excellent in every way. That it was possible to galvanise the hotel staff into producing it was a convincing proof of the special powers possessed by our host, and I mentally took off my hat to him. The prefect of Scutari was evidently no ordinary man. The position, however, apart from minor matters such as dinner-giving, is really a responsible one and calls for special qualifications, for Scutari abuts on the

DRAWING WATER

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

625 wild and lawless country on the borders of Montenegro and
000 to the prefect is allotted the difficult task of maintaining order there. This part of Albania, which is exceedingly mountainous and extends northwards to the Serbian border, is the part which is most often visited by travellers and most frequently described in books of travel. Indeed, it is a matter of complaint amongst Albanians that so many books are published which deal with this particular portion of the country—a portion by no means representative of the whole—and convey the impression that all Albania is similar to it. My original intention had been to cross the border from Kolašin, in Montenegro, and travel down through this mountainous country to Scutari, but I was dissuaded by the Governor of Cettinje, who declared that it would be very unwise to attempt such a journey on account of the danger of being attacked by brigands, and although the idea of being attacked by brigands—so romantic and such excellent " copy "—rather appealed to me, I was not anxious to share the fate of two Americans who had recently been killed there. Afterwards I regretted that I had been induced to change my plans, for I learned that the two Americans had accidentally walked into an ambush that was intended for somebody else and that I might have made the trip with safety.

114 Those who want to know about these highlands of Albania will find a vivid description of them in " High Albania " by Miss Durham, a book which was written a year or two
000 before the war. At that time the blood-feud and the

175 a few roads and bridges, and found time to do some anthropometry.

642 After the war Albania became a republic, with a parliament. Feudal and tribal, illiterate and immobilized by the lack of roads, the people were not prepared for self-government.

643 After a number of violent episodes Ahmed Zog, son of the *bairaktar* of Mat in the tribe of Mati, became dictator, and in 1929 proclaimed himself king. Hated by the people of Elbasan because he had jilted the daughter of Verlatsi, their most prominent citizen, he was despised by his fellow mountaineers and by the Tosks as well, most of whom saw in his rule a threat to their freedom. On the rare occasions when he dared leave his palace, he had all roofs and windows searched and guarded, and even the cypress trees searched; and then he sent a double ahead of him.

He did, however, make a number of wise moves. One was to employ Colonel Stirling, famed as a companion of Lawrence in Arabia, as his personal adviser. Another was to employ General von Mirdach of the Austrian army to set up his military machine. A third was to give the British General Percy a free

● 625 hand in organizing a gendarmerie. General Percy brought with him a staff of British officers, which included Colonel Martin and Major Glegg. These experienced men selected an elite group of mountaineers to police the highroads, and to report and put down trouble. For the first time in history someone was taking intelligent steps to rid the mountains of feuding.

[124] We measured 62 of these gendarmes, all local men. Twenty-one came from Luma, 17 from Mati, 10 from Puka, 6 from Malsia e Jakovës, 4 from Dibra, 3 from Dukagin, and one from Malsia e Madhe. The British officers very wisely used Ghegs in Gheg country. To have introduced outsiders would have made trouble. Many of the men were serving within their own tribes and *bairaks*; too often they were in blood elsewhere. This new occupation for mountaineers gave them a chance to see more of the world than before, for they were required to train in Tirana or Scutari. Although the gendarme system made little or no direct change in the genetics of the mountaineers, for these men marry as their fathers

[World War I -- Analysis]

625 did, it let in new traders, craftsmen, and government officials, by the mere fact that the gendarmes secured the road and put down banditry.

631 643 In a vain attempt to deal the tribal system a deathblow, King Zog abolished all of the old divisions and boundaries, and all of the old system of government. He divided Albania into provinces, deliberately cutting across tribes and *bairaks* and ignoring natural geographical frontiers as completely as did the 1913 boundary commission. Kukës and Peshkopia became centers of administration, as did a remote hamlet in Mati named Bureli. In these new places he set up prefects and secretaries and soldiers.

124 We measured one "secretary of commune" in Mirdita, whom the tribesmen ignored. He was a native of Elbasan. He employed a local man to guard the telephone line, his only link with the extra-feudal world. In Bureli we measured a secretary of court and a schoolteacher, both Mati natives. Others whom we did not measure were outsiders. In Kukës we measured a government clerk, a schoolteacher, and a turnkey in the jail. In Peshkopia our score was 3 government clerks, 2 Big Dibra men and one local; a secretary of court, from Big Dibra; and a local country schoolteacher.

These 7 civil service employees whom we included in our series were all the products of the imposition of Zog's government on the Mountain Ghegs. Of these only 4 came from outside the area. Three of these were part of the group that fled Big Dibra after 1913.

000 The history of the mountain people of northern Albania since 1930, while interesting, is beyond the scope of this report. Some later anthropologist may study it with profit to discover the changes, technological, institutional, and anatomical, which may have taken place since our series was measured. Before moving on, we offer the following summary of the

105 preceding chapters:

1. As far as we know these mountains were uninhabited before 500 B.C. They were first effectively settled at this time or a little later by Illyrian-speaking Hallstatt Iron Age people moving southward and eastward from Bosnia.

2. The majority of the Hallstatt people in

1 [See cat 116, p.46a -- Analyst]

2 1 [See cat 116, pp. 3 b-46a -- Analyst] -47a

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583
rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162
women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585
bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834
important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581
one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609
days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should
cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585
born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842
it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman
bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589
married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562
has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to
do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right
to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt
twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836
ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842
priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585
betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal,
and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage."
"They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586
miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away.
In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great
trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31,
1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage."
And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia*."

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584
and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577
and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each
other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the
relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted,
and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626
the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585
it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be
forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the
Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or
immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states
that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

626 585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before 585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common. 584 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage 589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her 626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms, 689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given 562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself, 939 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Their wives and mothers, like women generally, are 581
well up in all the degrees of kinship and descent, and the preliminaries of betrothals are usually settled by them in the harem before they are submitted to the head of the family and communicated to the parties most nearly interested. Children are frequently 582
betrothed before they are ten years of age, and 584
occasionally while still in the cradle. In such cases, [583]
however, the arrangement is kept secret from the couple until the young man is in a position to marry. This usage is intended to prevent the Albanian youths marrying in the towns to which they resort for employment. A refusal on the part of a young 626 ●
man to fulfil an engagement made for him by his 584
parents, would inevitably result not only in a vendetta with the relatives of the rejected bride, but in social ostracism. Such cases are, however, extremely rare, for, as the bridegroom elect has, as a rule, never beheld the bride chosen for him, he can have no reason for refusing to marry her. In such an eventuality 582
national usage decrees that the younger brothers and sisters of the maiden may not marry until her matrimonial affairs are satisfactorily settled.

Women in Albania being less numerous than men, 583
it is not customary to require a portion with the [162]
bride, who is, on the contrary, as among the Vlachs and Bulgarians, practically purchased from her father or brothers for a sum of money which varies according to the wealth and standing of the respective families. The parents of the maiden, however, besides providing the materials for her trousseau, supply her with various articles of jewellery and a

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

his case. Since 1912 most of this administrative and penal legislation has been superseded of set purpose by European methods and laws, whereas the social content of the old mountain code has been left comparatively undisturbed, free to come into line with the ways of the West in its own time.

The community sense was fostered by every art the mountaineers knew. Each member of a household was encouraged to regard everything in it and everything its other members said and did as his own. The humblest man was encouraged to regard his village or group of villages as his personal property. If home, village or group of villages prospered, he rejoiced as if he had himself been advanced. If they were insulted or injured, he burned to avenge a personal affront. If they were disgraced by misconduct on the part of another member, he felt his own honour to be smirched. The patriotism so bred was narrow, perhaps, but it was genuine, free from egregious self-seeking, and by its emphasis on the need to keep the community's honour untarnished, a good deterrent from crime.

This close relationship between individual and community was also a curb on dictatorship. The ruling rank had always to respect the individual's property in the community's laws. They could not make any change in an existing law unless they obtained the consent of a General Assembly of their village or tribe. They could impose, but (except in the tribes which maintained fine-collectors) they could not collect fines; social pressure was necessary for that. In a very common punishment, social ostracism, they might play no more than a subordinate part. They could not pass heavy sentences like banishment or death unless a General Assembly demanded them, and if it did, they could not resist its will. In short, the elders voiced, but did not dictate, popular sentiment.

They were no privileged oligarchy either. They might sit in the seat of honour or get the lamb's head and eye at a banquet, but they had no official residences, horses or guards of honour provided for them at public expense. They lived in houses that were often meaner than those of their subordinates; they ate the same food and toiled in the same way in their fields and among their flocks. In fact, the self-government of the Albanian mountaineers went far towards being true democracy in the Anglo-American sense of that much-abused word. In its primitive way it was really government of the People, by the People, for the People. It had

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

694 paid, for which reason both elders and litigants thought bargaining about it superfluous.

The litigants having formally consented to pay his fee, the elder next asked each of them to bring him a pledge. This served a threefold purpose. Once given, it could not be taken back till the case was settled and the fee paid. The litigants might repent of going to law or of engaging this particular elder, but unless they forfeited their pledges, they could neither stop the case nor change the elder. The pledge was, secondly, the elder's security for payment of his fee. As soon as he had delivered judgement he was entitled to his fee, and until it was paid he was entitled to retain the litigant's pledge. Occasionally in Zerqan an elder trusted a client enough to dispense with a pledge, and some in Martanesh asked only a token one, such as a cigarette, thus paying the integrity of their clients a high compliment. The normal pledge was of greater value than the fee, or share of the fee, payable by each litigant. Since pledges had been instituted in days so distant that money was hardly—if at all—known, a material article such as a gun, a revolver, a watch or a silver tobacco-box was generally handed over. It was for the elder to choose which it should be.

696 626 In Mirditë the article deposited was known as the 'pledge of acceptance or agreement', because its third purpose was to bind the litigants to accept the elder's decision. If one was refractory the elder had the right to retain his pledge. In a certain boundary case Cen Elezi of Dibër, having stipulated for a fee of twelve napoleons from each litigant, asked each to bring his tobacco-box as a pledge. As his son put it, this did not nearly cover his fee but was rather a preliminary 'symbol of acceptance' of his decision. Indiscipline in such matters naturally weakened the social fabric by destroying one of its most unifying factors, the authority of elders. Various steps were taken to reinforce decisions. Selim Peshku of Martanesh charged fees that ranged from five gold Turkish pounds to one, but he never took up a case until the larger sum had been deposited in pledge of submission to his judgement, and in case of recalcitrancy he showed no scruples about pocketing the pledge money. The disparity between his lowest fee and his unvarying pledge shows that he was trying, not so much to safeguard his own fee, as to maintain social discipline. Mirditë sought the same end by enacting that a judgement delivered without pledge being taken was invalid before the law and that a verbal

pledge was valueless; something concrete and tangible must be given. 696 626

The pledges deposited, the elder set to work on the case in earnest, questioning any villager who had information, visiting the scene of trouble, interviewing any private informant who volunteered to give evidence, and so arriving at the rights and wrongs of the simpler cases. In more difficult cases he put one of the litigants to the oath, dictating his terms and stipulating the number of 'good men and true' who were to be persuaded by the litigant to take it with him. This rarely failed to show which litigant was in the wrong, and the elder came forthwith to his decision with confidence. 695

When the litigants were friendly, they might agree to engage two elders. In that case they selected them one after the other by the same method of mutual consent as they would have selected one. They also agreed to divide the cost in elders' fees and meals. That done, they laid the case before the elders, one after the other, and bargained with each about his fee and the number of meals he was to be given. These rewards were not necessarily the same for both elders. Sometimes they visited the elders together; more often each visited one only. In the usual way each was required to deposit a pledge with the elders. 694

When the litigants were not friendly, and this was the most common contingency, each found an elder for himself, without consulting the other or considering his views on the man. Each brought his own elder whatever pledge he desired; this meant that one litigant might have to deposit a gun and the other a tobacco-box. Each also bore the sole responsibility for his elder's fee and meals and made for himself the best bargain about them that he could.

A pair of elders worked on these same lines; singly perhaps during the period of investigation, certainly meeting at its conclusion to argue out the pros and cons of the case. If each represented a separate litigant, each tended to favour his own client, so introducing a new principle. The elder was no longer only a judge as he was when he was engaged by the two litigants; he was also the advocate of his own litigant, trying to do the best for him by arguing against the advocate of the other litigant. The loser was more likely to contest the decision under such circumstances. 695

When the two elders had hammered out an agreement they sent for the two disputants, said they had come to an agreement, and

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

promise—if they did, there would be no shooting. Each had to give 696
this guarantor a pledge of the usual type—rifle, revolver, watch—
which was laid before the elders. The elders then delivered their
judgement, the two disputants accepted it and had their pledges
returned. If a disputant broke his promise and shot his rival, the
village Council of Elders would fine the guarantor, asking him why
he had let the man break his word. In this way, through the medium [624]
of the guarantor a good deal of pressure was brought to bear on the
loser to make him keep the peace. In the Elbasan area it was agreed [574]
that a disputant who gave a meal to the elders thereby accepted
their judgement, so that the strong instincts of hospitality came
into play. In Mirditë the elders whose decision was flouted 695
bade the disputants 'go to Shupal (St Paul's Church) or the
Grykë e Oroshit (Defile of Orosh)', i.e. bring the matter up before
the next General Assembly for the tribe at one or other of these
famous meeting-places. If the loser would not abide by the decision
of the General Assembly he could be fined by the tribe, ostracized
or even banished for a period. Occasionally a strong man sub-
jected to such sanctions killed the offending elder; by so doing he
involved himself in yet another blood feud. In Mirditë and adjacent
areas emphasis was laid on the fact that the recusant loser had
himself chosen and approved the offending elder, and had signified
the same by giving him a pledge. By these acts he had stripped
himself of the right to take back the pledge or to express active
disapproval of the judgement given. Only in the event of the
judgement's being demonstrably biased or unfair were the dis-
putants allowed to challenge it. 'A crooked judgement can be
annulled', the law stated. Often the crookedness was established
by the loser going secretly to ask another elder for his opinion. In
that event the disputant had everywhere the right to appeal against
the judgement and to call for a new examination of the case by
another elder or pair of elders. In some parts, the law ruled that
'the law does not admit of elder on elder, and trial on trial', and
that a man who had 'chosen and approved' elders had no right to
call in others.

Frivolous changing of elders was restrained by the extra expense 693
this entailed. In Lumë, for instance, if two brothers were dis-
pleased by the manner in which their chosen elders were dividing
their property, they could call in one more elder, a *staraplak*
(ancient), whose decision was final. But his regulation fee was five

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

us by Father Gjeçov,[1] the last clause announces that though the Pecnikaj kin of Shalë laid down the law enunciated in clause 2, it had the support of the Lotaj, Abati (Abat) and Bobi (Bob) kins in doing so. Its first and its fourth clauses consider the adhesion of the brotherhood of Theth as well. Occasionally there was a partial meeting of a brotherhood, and at the bottom of the scale there were household meetings at which the master set some common problem before all the men in the family.

Generally speaking, assemblies of all types took place at irregular intervals, to meet some special need, though the demand that they should be called regularly once a year was not unknown.[2]

When a kin or smaller meeting was in question, the convener sent anyone he could find to call it. Bigger meetings were summoned by word of mouth by the public messenger. In Mat a gipsy beat out the summons on his drum and in Shpat church bells were rung.

Attendance at a plenary meeting was compulsory, non-attendance punishable by a fine. For instance, an elder of Kurbin who failed to turn up and could not satisfy the other elders that his absence was justified was fined five rams. An ordinary tribesman in the same area was fined one ram and in Kastrat 250 piastres. The strength and solidarity of the tribes were closely connected with the plenary character of their assemblies.

Most public meetings took place in the open air, as church houses were usually too small and schoolrooms and village halls did not exist. Meeting places had to be central and free from cultivation, rock, scrub and forest so as to provide adequate seating space In Catholic areas the yard of the church was commonly used for General Assemblies and in Moslem areas that of the mosque. Assemblies of a village or kin could be held in the most central of the smaller clearings of the area, and a house was big enough for a brotherhood or household assembly.

Some meeting-places were specially famous. At Lesh, a thriving seaport at the mouth of the river Drin, and not the malarial inland townlet into which it has been converted by the advance of the Drin towards Italy, Lek Dukagjini and Skanderbeg met by preference, as it was centrally situated for both their domains. The place of meeting was probably the grassy sward near the ruined church on the right bank of the Drin, opposite the modern town.

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 272

[2] See Appendix, Document V, § 16, p. 264.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

family, the oath had to be taken on all their heads. On the appointed 695
day, the accuser went to the suspect's house, where the suspect gathered all the males in his family and drew their heads together. After laying his hands on their heads to establish the contact which would involve them in his perjury, if any, he took the oath, saying, 'By the heads of my sons, I have not done you the wrong of which you have accused me, and I do not know who has done it'. The gravity of this oath made it particularly useful in ending embittered disputes before they came to bloodshed, for only a man very sure of his position or one utterly unscrupulous would swear it.

Social oaths were designed to check lawlessness and breaches of [626]
the peace within the tribe and were the commonest types. In Document II, Mnelë and Gomsiqe swear[1] to stick together whatever may betide for mutual defence against external danger. Sometimes the tribe, or at least the brotherhood in the Malësi e Madhe, swore that they would not enter a certain house. Though this oath was never taken except to make the law-breaker obey a tribal judgement, it was not considered a good oath, and breaking it soon after it was sworn was advocated. Sometimes, too, a village would assemble and take oath not to send their animals to the summer grazing grounds before a fixed date or to cut wood in each other's forests. In Lurë irrigation rights still depended on oaths taken by the various claimants several generations ago and still binding on
their descendants. This example shows how the perpetuity of [694]
oaths prevented renewals of litigation; a right once settled, remained settled.

When about to pronounce a decision or just after pronouncing it, elders frequently took oath that they had judged or would judge righteously. In all the tribal area they inevitably carried a stone on their shoulder to signify that they must carry it throughout eternity if their oath was false. In Shalë their formula was, 'With body and soul, with good luck and good fortune, so far as I can tell I have decided this matter without guile, without bribery and without prejudice'.

[1] See Appendix, Document II, p. 262.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

of stones was made where he was killed; on this every passer-by was expected to throw a green leaf, a blade of grass or a pebble while expressing a wish for the repose of his soul. In Shkrel, according to one informant, a stone was stuck at the head and another at the foot, as though the place was a real grave, but a *muranë* was not made. Any relatives who wished to mourn him went to his grave, not to the place where he had been killed. Exceptionally, what seem real graves may be seen near the meadows of Tërnovë above Zerqan; ten or twelve in number, each roughly outlined with stones, they are known as 'the murdered graves' and are said to contain the bodies of men who fell there in a long-past battle between the villages of Tërnovë and Sopot. Again exceptionally, when Muharrem Bajraktar of Lumë fled in 1934 to Yugoslavia, the Spahi family, his hereditary enemies, killed one of his servants. Muharrem said this man was not to be buried in Bicaj, his native village, but by the wayside where he fell, so that when he himself returned from exile he should see the grave and be reminded to take vengeance.

The ideal was to take vengeance as soon as possible. In Kurbin the piled stones served to make the dead man's kinsmen hasten to take vengeance, reminding them of his death and so 'heating their blood'. For the same purpose the Catholics of the north frequently buried the man in his blood-stained clothes; the Mohammedans, however, obedient to the dictum that all who profess their faith must go to the grave in a clean winding sheet, discarded this custom. A still stranger reminder of the need to take vengeance, a little bottle filled with the dead man's blood, was used all over north Albania and in Kosovë. This bottle the relatives looked at day and night. As soon as the blood 'boiled', i.e. fermented, they seized their rifles, cocked their skull-caps over one ear to show their determination, and rushed forth to kill the murderer. If the blood did not 'boil', they might accept a money indemnity instead of taking a life. In western Mat they dipped a rag in the dead man's blood; when it looked stained and brown, they knew the hour to avenge him had struck. None of these reminders was found as far south as Çermenikë and Shpat.

Public opinion also spurred the avenger on. A man slow to kill his enemy was thought 'disgraced' and was described as 'low-class' and 'bad'. Among the Highlanders he risked finding that other men had contemptuously come to sleep with his wife, his

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

626 daughter could not marry into a 'good' family and his son must
*628 marry a 'bad' girl. As far south as Godolesh on the outskirts of
558 Elbasan, he paid visits at his peril; his coffee cup was only half-filled, and before being handed to him it was passed under the host's left arm, or even his left leg, to remind him of his disgrace. He was often mocked openly.

All over north Albania it was permissible for the victim's kin to burn down the murderer's house. The veteran Mirash Nue of
[574] Vuksan in Shalë boasted that once he saved his house from this fate by sending a message to the avenger which ran: 'Spare the ashes on my hearth for the sake of the open house I've kept.' The avenger, touched by the reminder of Mirash's noted hospitality, yielded to the plea. In 1935 a Dibran took to the mountains after wounding a fellow-villager with whom he was at feud; on recovering, his victim did not dare to sleep at home in case he returned under cover of darkness to repair his bad marksmanship by setting fire to the house and burning him to death. In hot blood an avenger might in some places do as much material damage as possible to the murderer, burning his hay as well as his house, scything his ripening grain and harrowing over his growing maize. For fear of reprisals in kind he could nowhere harm his children or animals.

685 Burning down a murderer's house is said in Martanesh to have
*628 been a recent innovation, and in Dibër and Lumë to have been formerly much more common than in recent times. Various considerations suggest that the latter view is correct. The reason given in Lumë for the waning of the custom is that it grew progressively more serious as people abandoned the straw huts in which they once lived and built themselves stone houses; the huts were cheap and easy to rebuild, but the houses were not so easily replaced. With poverty as general and murder as frequent as they used to be, it is obvious that if burning the murderer's stone house and destroying his crops had been freely permitted, the life of the tribe could not have gone on. To restrict the attacks on property, sanctions were introduced. In Dibër an avenger guilty of incendiarism was banished in perpetuity by the community. In Krujë the crime was deprecated as doubly unwise; it might cause further deaths, so involving the avenger in further feuds, and women and children might be among the victims, in which case the avenger would be covered with disgrace. In Shpat an avenger who burned his enemy's house found the whole community against him as

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

sometimes yielded to a friend's pleadings and allowed one or more 628* men in the 'imprisoned' man's household to come out and work. 697 The same friend went security to the murderer for the lives of the man or men released. In Shpat, if one of the men imprisoned [672] died, the avenger sent word that one of those hitherto free must shut himself up in his stead. It is not known whether this was the rule in other districts or not.

In earlier times, according to vague traditions still current in Çermenikë and Martanesh, only the actual murderer was shut up and the other men in his household were free to work and to travel. This tradition is supported by the history of the Balli family in the village of Fenars. Seven generations ago, i.e. about 175 years ago, Sali Balli of Martanesh killed a friend and was shut up by the avenger, while his four brothers went free. He grew so bored in his 'prison' that he ran away from Martanesh and settled in Fënars, where he founded a family now headed by Isuf Balli. The descendants of his brothers still live in the old home in Martanesh.

When an avenger felt too bitter to release indefinitely one or [462] more men in the imprisoned murderer's household, he was sometimes induced to make a minor concession. When all the men were shut up, women were able to hoe, to carry manure, to sow seed, to reap wheat and to harvest maize successfully, but they could not plough—so it was believed in north, though not in south, Albania, where the wives of many emigrants must to this day plough if they and their children are to eat. There was therefore danger in north Albania that if all the men were shut up during the ploughing season, the family would, in spite of the women's efforts, starve. This led to a ticket-of-leave system, called *besë*, literally 'pledged word', 'truce', or *kuvend*, 'agreement'. At the instance of a mutual friend the avenger granted the murderer leave for one or more men in his household to come out and work his land for a stipulated period, varying from three to twelve months. As so often, the forces [626] of public opinion reinforced the friend's urgings; indeed, it was said of an avenger who refused his enemy leave to plough that he 'was not to be entered in the register', i.e. could not be classed as a man, and of one who did not that he was both brave and honourable.

In Dukagjin the kanùn of murder was so stern that neither the 682 murderer nor his womenfolk were allowed to work his land if the 628* avenger was strong. Indeed, the avenger often worked it and carried home the produce, leaving the murderer's household

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

8. The Oath

A M 626 728 628 The oath played a most important part in the whole tribal area of Albania and Montenegro. The tribes lived, till recent times, in a constant state of blood-feud both with each other and within the tribes, and this was regulated only by means of sworn intervals of peace. In Montenegro you were in "krv" (blood) or under oath ("pod vjere"). In Albania, in "gjak" (blood) or under "besa." The tribesman as a rule kept the oath when formally sworn with rigid fidelity. A man forsworn was universally condemned. How by means of such oaths blood-feuds were settled we have told in another chapter.

A 626 783 *Manner of Taking Oath.*—Among the Albanian tribes there still exists the very antique custom of swearing the oath upon a stone. The priest and the hodja have succeeded in adding respectively the cross and Allah to his oath, but to the priest's vexation the mountain man persistently says, as he throws down the stone in the circle of headmen, "Per guri i per kruch" (by the stone and the cross), and puts the stone first. When a Catholic tribesman had confessed and received absolution he liked to come to church next time carrying a stone in proportion to the size of the sins confessed. What pact he had sworn on the stone I could not understand. The stone in this case was said to represent penitence Some priests forbade the practice; others said it was unnecessary, but allowed it because this visible sign of contrition seemed really to help them. "But," said Padre Kiri of Thethi, laughing, "when a man came with a rock on his shoulder I told him he might leave it at the door."

A reason suggested for this custom is that the penitent transferred his sin to the stone and so got rid of it.

In trials before the elders a man accused of crime would swear his innocence upon a stone and fling it down before his judges.

M 626 783 *Montenegro.*—I did not find the custom in Montenegro, but it was clearly common till recently. Prince Danilo, in his Code of 1855, decrees (Law 65): "If after this day a Montenegrin or Brdjanin present himself before justice with a stone tied to his neck, whether innocent or guilty he shall be flogged."

M 754 The custom, it appears, has been flogged out. But in spite of Danilo's floggings I still found the custom of throwing a stone with a curse on to the reputed grave of a bad man. On the western side of Montenegro are several stone piles, and many such are to be found in the Herzegovina, some of which have been excavated and proved to be prehistoric tumuli. Krsto firmly believed all such heaps to be "proklete gomile" (accursed heaps) over the body of a desperate criminal who

693 plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be
609 named by the "bairaktar" (head of the tribe). This is only done if the
682 matter cannot be settled by con-jurors chosen by the plaintiff.

The gjaksur has the right to object to two of the con-jurors, who must be replaced by others. The con-jurors are all men of standing in the tribe ("plect," elders; "kren," heads). They examine the facts and hear the accused ("gjaksur") and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood-gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. If they all agree but one, he may be replaced by two others. If still no agreement is come to, the gjaksur may bring more con-jurors, who are members of his family, up to the number of eight.

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the
[682 church (or mosque) before which the council has been held. In the
608] church the candles are lighted on the altar, and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood and is, therefore, innocent. Next swear those of his family who may have been summoned, and then all the con-jurors. After this the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood (*v.* Blood Brotherhood).

By Moslems the oath is sworn in the mosque.

693 Each of the con-jurors has to be paid a small fee for his services. The plaintiff in some cases can thus annoy the accused by insisting upon the full number of con-jurors allowed by the law. A priest counts as twelve con-jurors, and sometimes an important elder is reckoned as two.

628 The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.

● 627 To Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari, I am indebted for an
682 account of how two families can make peace voluntarily without appeal to the law. Having ascertained by means of emissaries that peace will be acceptable, the gjaksur and his relatives choose a feast day and enter the house of the injured family with their hands bound. A child placed the wrong way round in a cradle is carried with them. If the peace offer is accepted the lord of blood loosens their bonds and puts the child straight in the cradle. The blood-gelt is then arranged and paid. This custom existed among the Dukagini.

682 The above all refers to a murder committed by one man. But it
628 may happen that several men all fire at once and kill a man. A search

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

should strike the next man and the blow would entail a fight and blood. Women should walk the length of a distaff apart—they usually spin as they go—lest a blow given should draw their men into a fight. 671

Neither man nor woman must pass between two persons who have just been speaking together, for (? in some occult manner) this will cause them to quarrel. So strong is this belief that once in a small hut a woman gripped me by the shoulder, dragged me out, and squeezed herself between me and the wall in order to avoid passing between me and Marko, where there was plenty of room. Lek, I was told, had so ordained. I like to think that he did his best by means of house-burning and fines to diminish the very ancient custom of "blood," and that he did not deserve the Pope's excommunication. 671 576

As we have seen, house-burning and fine are the only punishments under the Canon. Nevertheless, by decree of the council of the whole tribe the death penalty can be inflicted. In February 1912 an amazing case of wholesale justice was reported to me which had recently taken place in Mirdita. A certain family of the Fandi bairak had long been notorious for evil-doing—robbing, shooting, and being a pest to the tribe. A gathering of all the heads condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lay in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off; and on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was but five and another but twelve years old. I protested against thus killing children who must be innocent and was told: "It was bad blood and must not be further propagated." Such was the belief in heredity that it was proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant, lest she should bear a male and so renew the evil. Three shots which missed were fired at her; she rushed to a man and called on him to protect her. He took her under his bess and she was spared. 681 687 [82] [671]

A case of private "justice," though it took place in South Albania at Postenani, a small isolated village, and so is not connected with the Canon of Lek, is so singular that it should be recorded. I stayed some days at the village and, when leaving, a crowd gathered to see me start. When we were on the way my guide asked if I had noticed a woman who had stood near the door; I had not. He said it was a pity, as she was a very brave woman and had saved her husband. They owned a house and some land; a child was born to them, and all went well till her husband's brother arrived. He was a bad man, and demoralized the village, not only by starting gambling with card games, but by drinking and teaching very vicious practices to the youth. The woman with dismay saw her husband taken with the gambling craze, playing away his goods, and nearing ruin. Then the child was ill. She prayed her husband to send for a doctor; but the nearest was a whole day's 681 683 [525]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

ride distant, and he replied it would cost too much. The child died. The woman then became desperate, and to save her husband she killed her brother-in-law. I asked, "Did she shoot him herself?" "No, she paid a Turk to waylay him on his way to market." The whole village was glad to be rid of him. Everyone knew she had done it. "But what did her husband say?" "At first he was angry, but he soon saw it was for the best. Now they live happily, but God has not given them another child." "Could he not have been handed over to justice instead of being shot?" "No, he was rich and would have bribed the Turkish authorities, and have been let off and been worse than ever." "Did not the Turkish authorities interfere about the murder?" "No, why should they? It was within the family, and all agreed it was right. She saved not only her husband but the whole village, and was a very brave woman."

3. Montenegro

The first written Code of Laws was drawn up for Montenegro by Vladika Petar I in 1796.

An examination of this Code shows that it is meant to deal with a state of affairs resembling that with which the Canon of Lek Dukagin deals, and is a step in advance. All early accounts of Montenegro show the tribes ceaselessly "in blood" with each other, and the rules and customs identical in most respects with those of the Dukagini. Nor is this surprising, for our examination of the Montenegrin tribes has shown that many are of Vlah and Albanian origin, and that the Montenegrin is not so much a Serb as a Serbized descendant of the older inhabitants.

Vladan Georgevitch, in *Europa i Crnagora* (Belgrade, 1912), gives many documents which show this resemblance of the customs of Montenegro to those of the Dukagini. From that of the Russian, Putchkov, dated March 21, 1760, we learn that the then Vladika Vasili was afraid of his own people and kept near Putchkov as a protection. This shows that in Montenegro, as in Albania, a man could not be shot if with a guest. "The people," he said, "are wild, and without great trouble no order could be made among them, for they recognized no right and knew no law. If any does harm to another, blood is at once taken, and the murderer flies to another district, where he is safe from punishment. Thus a Popovitch of Tzrmnitza Nahia killed a neighbour and, leaving wife and children, fled to Cetinje. They 'destroyed' his house—that is, they pulled off the thatch and pulled out a few stones." He reports that he saw many such houses. "If the murderer is of a powerful house he stays at home, and 'the house' wages war with that of the murdered man till peace is arranged by the headmen or the

[P77-120 blank]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

also made use of by the Albanian highlanders generally, when settling matters of importance. According to this writer, quoting from M. Ampère,[1] a similar custom also existed among the ancient Romans. Sylla, on leaving Rome to fight against Mithridates, required Cinna to swear, not by the national divinities, but on the Sacred Stone, and according to an ancient rite of the Etruscans, to make no innovations during his absence. Cinna, when pronouncing this oath, placed the stone on his shoulder, and then threw it backwards, while he pronounced, in a loud voice, the curses which should fall upon him were he false to his promise. The taking of this oath in Albania is attended with the same ceremonies. It is sworn by the elders of the *phara*, or clans, on the occasion of settling serious disputes, such as those concerning the boundaries of village lands, or other communal matters. The elders of the two tribes, Christian or Moslem, after taking the Oath of the Stone, assemble in council and settle the question at issue.

This oath, in another form, also enters into everyday speech. In course of conversation, when a Gheg wishes to emphasise what he is saying, he takes up in his hand, or points to, the nearest stone, saying, "By this weight" (*Per ket pésh*), and a Tosk makes use of the phrase, "By the heaviness of this stone" (*Per te rend te keti gúr*).[2]

The Supernals, with which the Albanian women terrify themselves and their children, appear to be, for the most part, like those of the Bulgarians,

[1] *Histoire des Romains à Rome.* [2] Wacen Effendi, *Op. cit.*

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000 were the Albanian mountains held by the Serbs who had put a price on his head.

576 627 "Safe?" said he, scornfully. "A man is always safe in another man's house. It has happened not once, but often, in these mountains, that a man has given shelter to a hunted man and found, while the guest sat at his fire, that he was harboring a man who had shot the son of the house not an hour before. The neighbors bring in the body, and the father sits beside it, with the murderer under his roof. And the father gives him coffee and food and drink and rolls cigarettes for him, until the guest is ready to go, and then he accompanies him for an hour's journey, so that none of the tribe can injure him, and says a courteous farewell to him on the trail. 'Go on a smooth road,' he says. 'There is a word of peace between us for a day and a night because you are my guest. After that I will follow you all my life, until I kill you.'"

I began to see the exquisite, infinite complications of that system of law and order, the Law of Lee, which guides these people in all their actions, and I thought, "This goes back beyond the Middle Ages," remembering the old Bible stories of the time when men lived similarly, under the laws of Moses.

000 But already the sense of perspective in time was growing dim; we were living in the past, not thinking of it, and the scores of future centuries in which men would spread over Europe, invent private property, build great cities and

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000 walked on, seeing even with our untrained eyes that the "white coal" of those thousand streams is enough to turn every wheel in a reorganized Europe, and dreaming—dreams that will never be realized.

•627 Then we saw the men stopping on the trail ahead, stopping with quick hands on their rifles, and, remembering in a strange kind of panic that [57] no one could be killed in the presence of a woman, I flung myself gasping up the slope, crying with my last half breath, "Long may you live!" to two strange men who appeared before us.

Then I collapsed, panting, on a grassy knoll, and dimly through my dizzy eyes I saw that the men, relaxing gladly, were sitting down around me and taking out their silver tobacco boxes.

"A Shoshi man," said Perolli, "with one of Pultit. I don't just get it; something to do with the blood feud. Let me listen."

We sat on the grassy knoll that seemed to be the edge at the end of the world, so far below it the valleys lay, and listened while the men of the tribes that were "in blood" talked easily together of unimportant matters and offered one another cigarettes.

The Shoshi man had taken off his turban and wore on his handsome head only the tiny round white cap, hardly larger than the curved palm of a hand, that covered his scalp lock. Around its edges the hair was shaved clean to the skull, and with his weather-browned face and scarlet sash bristling with knives he looked altogether the savage.

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He was an exile from his own tribe, we learned. 627 A man of the tribe had killed this man's brother in a quarrel over irrigation water; the chief men of the tribe had called a council and deplored the murder, condemning the murderer to pay ten thousand kronen to the murdered man's family. This had been done, but the brother rebelled against the decision. Blood could be paid for only in blood, he declared; such was the ancient Law of Lec, and who were the men of these young centuries, that they should set aside that law? Therefore he had shot and killed the man who had killed his brother, and, sending his wife to the chiefs to return the ten thousand kronen, he had fled to the house of a friend in Pultit.

Now it is the law that when the chiefs of a tribe take council together and arrive at a decision, they must consult all the members of the tribe involved in that decision; when they all agree to it, it must be carried out. The honor of the chiefs is involved. If any party to the agreement breaks it, then all the chiefs, together and separately, with all masculine members of their families, must not rest until they kill that man and clear their honor. So seven chiefs of Shoshi, with all their sons and brothers, were hunting this Shoshi man.

"As it should be," said one of our men, judicially, and quoted their proverb, "A goat is tied by the horns, a man by his word."

"That may be," said the Shoshi man, retorting with another, "but 'where the tooth aches

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

627 the tongue will go.' This matter was a sore tooth to me, and I had no sleep until I killed that man who killed my brother. As to the money, I have returned it. Money will not buy my brother's blood."

The men fell silent, smoking. "But why hasn't he been killed before now?" I demanded of Perolli, when their words had been translated to me.

"He is traveling with his friend, the man of Pultit," said Perolli. "He is under that man's protection. If the chiefs of Shoshi kill him, they will be in blood with the tribe of Pultit, whose hospitality they will have violated. Shoshi is already in blood with Shala, and——"

I exclaimed aloud. The endless complexities of the laws of these supposedly lawless people were too much for me. It was almost as bewildering as our own courts.

"Meantime," said Perolli, "the chiefs have torn down this man's house, and that would make it seem that they will reach some peaceful settlement."

"Would it?" said I.

"Of course. For if they meant not to stop until they killed him they would not have destroyed his house. I think that they will hold another council and simply banish him from the tribe and from the mountains."

"But if he does not go?"

"Oh, then, of course, they would really have to kill him. And of course they must kill him

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

now, if they meet him. But as long as the man of Pultit is with him, they will try not to meet him."

"So," said I, "wherever there are laws there are ways of getting around them. And," I continued, remembering, "these men of ours would have to be killing him now, if I were not here?"

"Certainly," said Perolli. "Our Shala men would have to, because Shala is in blood with Shoshi, and this is a Shoshi man."

"Even when his own chiefs are hunting him? Even if he were banished from the tribe?"

"Well, one doesn't stop to ask that. He wears the Shoshi braiding on his trousers."

"I see," said I, and after we had rested and talked and smoked together for some time, the Shoshi man rose leisurely to go. The man of Pultit rose instantly, with him, and each cast a searching glance over the valley before them. Then they hitched more comfortably over their shoulders the woven woolen straps that held their rifles, ran an alert hand over the knives and pistols in their sashes, threw away the butts of their cigarettes.

"Long life to you," they said, politely.

"And to you long life," we responded. "Go on a smooth trail."

In a moment the last glimpse of their heads had disappeared as they made their way down the steep path. The forest was very still, the sunlight on the wet rocks very golden, and for a hundred miles the mountains stretched into

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423 578 "With my own hands I laid the roof upon it. It is my house. I will not give up my house."

Frances and I hugged each other in silent convulsions of delight. My pen spilled ink on my excited hands as I tried to capture their words in shorthand. I was seeing, actually seeing with my own eyes, the invention of private property!

"What are they going to do about it?"

The question was not too tactful, nor too happily received, but they answered it. "They have already called a council of the whole village four [621] times," said Perolli. "They will do nothing about it.* Houses belong to the tribe. It is a large house, and the people have decided that her dead husband's brother shall have it for his household. She has been offered a place in it. If she does not want that, she can live wherever she likes in the tribe. No one will refuse shelter or food to her and her children. She has friends with whom she can live, since she quarrels with her husband's brother. All this is absurd, and they will not call another council to satisfy a foolish woman."

"I want my house," said the woman.

Then the oldest man—one of the little boys was playing with the silver chains around his neck, and another hung heavily against his shoulder, but his dignity was undisturbed and he was obviously chief of the chiefs—appealed to me.

609 423 "In your country, what would you do with such a woman?" And I perceived that I was

* [For data on this gnie - [107] vance, see cat. 116, pp. 97-101, 104-107 -- Analyst]

837 thing would mean a blood feud between tribes.
628 No man would make love to a girl of his own
619 tribe, of course; a tribe traces its ancestry back to a common ancestor, and it would be like an American's making love to his own sister. And if he seduced a girl of another tribe he would be involving hundreds of people. Men have to respect women in these mountains; they're killed if they don't, and not only they, but their families. A blood feud is no joke.

"However, I did hear of its happening once. The man's family had to send word to the family of the girl to whom he was betrothed, to say that he could not marry her because he was going to have a child by another woman. The three tribes met in council and prevented a blood feud, but the man's family had to pay his fiancée's tribe ten thousand kronen, and ten thousand kronen to the family of the man that the other girl was engaged to. Then those two married, and the first man married the girl who was going to have his child. But it was a terrible disgrace to both their families.

But he cut short our awed admiration for such a rigidly moral community. He was a man of Ipek, educated in Europe, and returned to Tirana, and his attitude to the ignorant tribes of these mountains was not one of admiration.

584 "They are really a wretched lot," he declared.
627 "Now, take a thing like this, for instance." And he told us that in a house a few miles down the valley there was a nine-year-old girl held prisoner. The story was this:

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584 627 A man of Pultit had betrothed his unborn child to the unborn child of a man of Shala, eighteen years ago. The two men, being friends, and one evening drinking rakejia together, had agreed that if one child proved to be a boy and the other a girl, they should marry. The wife of the Pultit man had protested; she did not like the tribe of Shala, and she did not like her husband's friend, perhaps because he was too fond of rakejia. Besides, she was an ambitious woman, and said that if she had a daughter she would marry her in Scutari. Wild, irrational woman! But the compact was made, and nothing was left to her but to hope that both children would be boys, or both girls.

However, she became the mother of a daughter, and the Shala man became the father of a son. The girl was eleven years old, and in a few more years would have been duly married in Shala, when the Serbs and Montenegrins, pouring down over the mountains in the retreat before the Austrians, suddenly invaded Albania, and in fighting those ancestral enemies the girl's father was killed. The mother immediately took her children and fled to Scutari.

Four years later, the girl now being of marriageable age, Shala sent to Scutari for her, and what was their outrage to discover that the mother not only would not give her up, but had actually betrothed her to a Scutari man! The gendarmes of Scutari make simple and direct justice difficult; mountain law does not apply

584 there. Two Shala men made an attempt to
627 carry off the girl, and were captured by superior forces and thrown into jail. Not killed, you perceive, but trapped, and talked over at length, and kept in a cage for some time, and at length freed, all most absurdly and unreasonably. They returned at once to their task, but they found it impossible to seize the girl again. She was closely guarded, not only by her mother, but by the family of the Scutari man to whom she was unjustly betrothed. So, finding that way to justice blocked, the Shala men caught her little sister, eight years old, and triumphantly escaped with her into the mountains.

She was not yet of marriageable age, and the Shala bridegroom must wait another six years, but justice had been done, though imperfectly. Pultit owed him a bride, and a Pultit bride he would have, with patience. The girl was brought to his house, and was even now being kept there, much against her will, while the family waited for her to grow old enough to be married.

000 "Those are things that we must change as soon as the government is strong enough," Perolli said, decisively, and we hoped that the government would be strong enough in time to rescue the girl, though the poor Shala lad, through no fault of his own, seemed doomed to live an unhappy bachelor.

In Padre Marjan's kitchen we found at least twenty visitors from the village; the men were there again, among them all the chiefs but

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000 ing one another across ravines and from far mountain slopes.

576 "Yes," he[1] said, "I am happy. I am happy, for Sadiri Luka[2] is a true Albanian, and when I go back to the plains I shall see that he is released from the price on his head which has been offered in Scutari."

"What!" we cried. Yes, he said, in a matter-of-fact tone, ten thousand kronen were officially offered for the head of Sadiri Luka.

"And he doesn't even carry a gun?"

"Why should he? He is among his own people. It is no shame to go unarmed among his own people. He would carry a rifle, certainly, if he had to go to Scutari."

"But you are from Scutari—we are all from Scutari—Cheremi, Rexh—and he asked us to his house?"

Perolli looked at us with scorn. We had been guests in the house of Sadiri Luka, he explained, with weary patience. If he had been twenty times a traitor to Albania, could a guest have killed him? And on the trail he had not carried a gun; no one could kill him, unarmed. He could go to Scutari in safety, if he went unarmed. But, of course, he would not do that, for that
627 would be shameful. For two years he had been living in upper Thethis, unable to go to Scutari without risking his life, though he was a merchant, and poor, and could have made a business for himself in Scutari. But it had all been a mistake, said Perolli, which he would clear up.

1 [Perolli, secretary to Albanian [194] minister of Interior - -Analyst]
2 [of Thethis - - Analyst]

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PEAKS OF SHALA

Sadiri Luka had lost all he owned in Ipek when the Serbs came in. He escaped with only his rugs and the few pieces of silver we had seen. But his flocks, which were in summer pasture on the high mountains, had not been taken. Sadiri Luka had come back to his people in upper Thethis, and in the winter he had brought his flocks there. And in the spring he had sent them back to their summer pasture, now on the other side of the 1913 frontier. For this the price had been put on his head, as a traitor. How could his shepherds come and go with his flocks across the new frontier, guarded by Serbian troops, unless he were a traitor to Albania, unless he had secret dealings with the Serbs? For two years his sheep had got safely to their summer pastures and back again, while all the other flocks of Thethis had been taken by the Serbs or killed at home because there was no longer pasture for them.

The explanation, however, was quite simple. Sadiri Luka was a successful smuggler of his sheep. He explained to Perolli how he did it, for both of them knew by heart these mountains, which were strange to the Serbs. Once safely across the frontier, the flocks were comparatively safe, for the high plateaus where they grazed were uninhabited and hard to reach; so far, none but Albanian shepherds of Ipek had seen them there. Sheep, when they had no bells or lambs, were silent things, and the flocks were moved by night. Sadiri Luka said that, if he had reached

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627 Thethis in time, he could have saved all the flocks by smuggling them through the ways he knew; already his shepherds were taking with them the few lambs born in Thethis in the last two years.

There was no question that Sadiri Luka was a true Albanian. For the Serbs had relied on their possession of the pasture lands to starve the tribes on the border into treason to Albania, so that the frontier could again be moved forward. Sadiri Luka, with his flocks, could have been a powerful weapon in Serbian hands, an object-lesson to the people of the advantages of friendship with Serbia which would have been well worth paying for. But he preferred to risk his sheep by smuggling them. The price on his head had been a mistake. The chiefs of Thethis had already said this to Perolli, and talk with Sadiri Luka had convinced him that it was true. Therefore he was very happy, and sang along the trail.

But joy is not a lasting thing on Albanian trails. We had gone but a little way, perhaps half an hour, when the skies opened again. The water fell with such force that we feared we would be washed from our foothold, and, gasping and drenched, clutching bowlders and deformed trees, we struggled into the shelter of a leaning cliff. We had hardly reached it when around its corner came two women under loads of wood. One was old and withered, with a strange, sharp expression; the other, as she put down her burden and straightened her back,

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showed us a most beautiful face. The pose of her head was regal, her forehead and eyes and mouth struck the heart with their perfection of beauty and sorrow.

"You are a happy girl," she said to Frances, after our greetings. "I have never before seen anyone so happy. Why do you come to our sad country?"

Frances said we came because we loved the Albanian people and wanted to know them better.

"We would bless the trails that led you to our house," they said, and added, "but ours is a sad house."

"Why?" we asked, and the old woman answered, while the younger stared into the sheets of rain that veiled Thethis from us.

The son of the house, Kol Marku, husband of the younger woman, was an exile from his home. His wife had been brought to his house only a week before the night when he killed his cousin, Pjeter Gjon. He had not meant to do it. With a number of other men they had been sitting by his fire, their rifles on their knees, as usual. They were cold and tired and had been talking of crops, when suddenly Kol's rifle spoke and Pjeter fell back and died. Kol swore that he had not touched the trigger, but when the body was carried to the house of Pjeter, Pjeter's family said that Kol had killed him in order to become the head of the family and move with his bride into Pjeter's rich house. They claimed blood vengeance, by the Law of Lec.

PEAKS OF SHALA

• 627 It was a killing within the tribe, a matter for the chiefs to settle. They had conferred, and decided that Kol's family should pay to the family of Pjeter twelve thousand kronen, or that value in goods. The family of Pjeter had refused to accept this. Again the chiefs met. Twelve hundred kronen had been blood payment within a tribe before the Balkan war, but everything was higher now, and the chiefs offered fifteen hundred kronen. But the old mother of Pjeter was bitter, and the family said that no money would pay for the blood of her only son. They demanded blood for blood, life for life; only the death of Kol or one of his brothers would pay the debt. Kol fled from the mountains and his brothers walked in fear.

Without their men the family could not live. The land was poor, was too hard for the women to work. The irrigation ditches were down, and they could not lift the rocks to rebuild them. And the lives of the men, hunted without rest, became no longer good to them, so that they became morose and sat always by the fire talking of death. Then the women went to Padre Marjan, to ask of him the last ultimate effort.

The good padre granted their plea. Wearing his holy robes and attended by twenty-four chiefs walking in silence, he took the crucifix itself from the church, and went to the house of Pjeter in upper Thethis. For twelve hours he stood, holding the crucifix before the eyes of that family and telling them as God's messenger that they

must forgive Kol. For twelve hours the twenty-four chiefs stood beside him, waiting. But the old mother was bitter, and upheld the spirits of her nephews, so that they refused. 627

Never before in all the mountains had anyone refused forgiveness asked by the crucifix itself. It had been carried back to the church above twenty-five bowed heads, and the people of Thethis knelt before it in shame. And Kol could not come home, the men could not work in the fields. The family was always hungry, and the young wife had wept till her eyes were dry of tears.

"We could not again ask Padre Marjan to take the crucifix," said the old woman, looking at us with eyes that begged that we would do so. But the young woman's eyes were somber and hopeless. The violence of the rain had lessened; below us we saw the green valley, the many little houses linked by tiny fields and a network of overflowing irrigation ditches, and the wounded church which had no steeple. But a column of smoke from the chimney showed that Padre Marjan was there. The women lifted their packs, bent forward under them, and slowly went out of sight down the trail. 000

Before we reached the level of the valley Padre Marjan had seen us, and came across the flat fields to escort us again to his door. He met us at the edge of a gorge in whose depths a waterfall turned the wheel of a mill beside a tiny house. Smoke seeped from the house roof to

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooo no eager clutching in it, no selfish, grasping, personal asking for personal happiness; he could have had no idea whether or not this strange woman would bring happiness into his house; his motives in asking her to marry him had their roots quite outside himself. He believed that she would help him in his work for the tribe.

And I thought that a woman might have a much worse life than in this remote, stranded fragment of primitive times still left among the Albanian mountains, where respect for women is not taught like courteous manners, but is as natural as breathing, so natural that it is never discussed nor even thought about, and where marriage is not centered in small egotisms, but in the larger idea of the family and the future.

But I must admit that to live that life requires other training than any daughter of the twentieth century has received, for one's ideas have little to do with one's actions; my mind might admire this alien concept of life, but I fear that nothing will ever lead a Western woman to marry for the good of anyone but herself.

"Why, Perolli," I said, "of course I can't marry a Shala chief!"

627 We came back to the fireplace where Padre Marjan was stirring the tantalizing contents of the cooking pots, and were clutched by a radiant Frances. She had ventured to speak to Padre Marjan about the family of Kol Marku.* And this was the news he had told her. The bitter old mother of Pjeter was relenting. Because the

* [See cat. 627, pp. 196-209 210] for case of Kol Marku --Analyst]

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holy Easter-time was near—so Padre Marjan 627
said, but we guessed that Padre Marjan himself had caused her change of heart—the family of Pjeter had told him the day before in upper Thethis that Kol Marku might come home, and the men of his family work in peace, for two weeks.

This was the law of the blood-feud truce; that the injured party might grant, when it desired to do so, on holy days or at a time of common danger from without, a reprieve of a stated length of time. During that time the families or tribes involved would meet and greet each other courteously, although on the day that the truce ended the law of the blood debt applied again, and they must kill each other at sight. The family of Pjeter had granted two weeks—fourteen days of burden lifted from the spirit of the family of Kol Marku. A great deal could be done in fourteen days, Padre Marjan said—fields cleared, ditches repaired, seed sown, family councils held. And he was hopeful that this was the beginning of complete forgiveness; perhaps in another year Kol Marku might come home to stay with his family. The news was being telephoned to the tribe in which he had taken refuge—a tribe in the valley of the Kiri, near Scutari—and in two days at most he would be in Thethis. Already the men of his family were working; we could see them from the windows of Padre Marjan's dining room, working in the rain with iron bar and hammer, attacking a gigantic

7: Amery G-8 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

665 Central Council, he had not been given office when the Partisan Provisional Government had been formed at the end of May 1944. Instead, he had been sent as the Government's delegate to the Northern Army, where his efforts to reconcile the Nationalist leaders might still serve Enver Hoja's ends. It had indeed been largely as a result of Mustafa's patient diplomacy that Tsen Elezi, Dan Kalloshi, and other Dibran notables came over to the Partisans; and the cordial relations which he had established with Muharrem Bairaktar had encouraged the Nationalists to believe that he was still working for an understanding with them. It is probable that he was; and indeed almost his last action had been to prepare for a meeting with Gani Kryeziu, his friend and protector in Belgrade.

627 Mystery still surrounds Mustafa's[1] death. The fatal ambush occurred some distance from the front; and, though he had with him several guards, no one ever saw his assailants or heard of them thereafter. Dibra is the land of ambushes, but many still believe that Mustafa was done to death on Enver Hoja's orders. Certain, is only that his work perished with him, and that, after his death, the Partisans no longer sought to reach an understanding with any of the Gheg chiefs.

We were sitting with Abas Kupi and Said when a courier brought the news of Mustafa's fate. Said wept, and the Agha said to us sadly:

"He was my friend, and a great patriot."

2

After Abas Kupi had told us of his decision to attack Durazzo, Maclean and I had returned with Ihaan to his farm at Topise. There we had tested and cleaned our weapons, destroyed superfluous documents, and sought to reduce the weight and bulk of our baggage. Whatever was left over was now confided to the Italian contingent of our Mission, who were constituted into a rear headquarters, despite the protest of their two officers who wanted to fight at our side. Having thus prepared ourselves for the battle, we drove with Ihaan to Luz, near the

1 [Mustafa Spirshi, rival of Enver Hoja -- Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

worked, and must forfeit the rest. To us the pound or two involved seems too insignificant to matter to either, but to most Albanians it was an important sum. In the event, for example, of the master's moving from one district to another, he might not dismiss the servant unless he gave him a full year's wages. If, however, he asked the servant to go with him and the servant refused, he must let him go but need give him no more than what he had so far earned. In the same spirit the law forbade the master to dismiss the servant for a frivolous reason, such as not liking him, and forbade the servant to run away for a frivolous reason, such as boredom. If the master disregarded this law, he must pay the servant a full year's wages, and if the servant disregarded it, he must be content with the wages he had earned to date. By exception, in Krasniqë, in north-east Albania, the master sought out his runaway servant, and after making him find a man to guarantee his future behaviour, brought him back to stay out his time.

If the master had good grounds for dismissing the servant, he must warn and forgive him twice. If the warnings went unheeded, the master said the elders must now judge between them. The servant then went and told his story to the chief elder—the bajraktar in tribal areas—who next asked the master what he had to say. Thus in possession of both sides of the story, the elders sat on the case and pronounced judgement; this turned generally on what money was to be paid to the servant.

If the servant were lazy, an all too common occurrence, or otherwise unsatisfactory, without being criminal, the Unwritten Law allowed his master to reprimand him reasonably and bade the servant swallow the reprimand. But the master must not use foul language or hit the man. For his motive might be to force him to leave before his time, apparently of his own volition, and so deprive himself of his full wages. If the master transgressed this law, the servant had leave to appeal to the elders, not only for payment of his wages in full, but also for compensation for the injury of being hit or violently abused.

The more serious crimes with which a servant might be charged included theft, murder and seducing a girl or young wife in his master's family. In the case of theft the issue depended largely on whether the servant stole from his master, in his master's village, or in another community. If he were caught red-handed robbing his master or subsequently admitted doing so, he was immediately

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628 the quickest, the second tried when the first failed, and the third
423 when the second failed. In practice recourse to the authorities was rare and seldom as effective as action by elders.

[695] When settlement was made by the parties themselves, one of the two men quarrelling might exclaim, 'Well, take it on your shoulders' —there was no need to specify what—'and set up the stones'. 'All right', replied the other as he bent to pick up a stone or a clod of earth or both to put on his shoulders. 'May I carry it on my shoulder in this world and in that if this ground isn't mine', or 'May I carry this stone and this earth and the whole wide world', he proclaimed as he swaggered off along what he said was the boundary line. Provided four or five witnesses were present this ended the dispute. Either oath was too solemn to be gainsaid. The second in particular was convincing: who would do anything as grave as to take the world on his shoulder for the sake of an erring rope in a measurer's hand? Four or five friends of both parties attended as witnesses. Fear of being asked to take this solemn oath was a considerable deterrent against disturbing the stones. Sometimes the older disputant took an oath, with or without earth or stone, that the disputed land was his, and so proved his title to it.

When the boundary had been recently delimited the disputants might consult their other neighbours, especially if these were older than they were themselves. Or they might ask the opinion of one, two or three very old men from another village as likely to be impartial. If they consulted only one, they had both to consent formally to employing him. Sometimes, when a dispute was dragging on interminably, an old man cut in with an offer to show them where the boundary was, with earth and a stone on his shoulder.

When friends or neighbours were called in they might settle the dispute by arguing. When old men were asked, they had to point out the boundary afresh but not till after they had taken earth and a stone on their shoulders and made a solemn oath to carry these through all eternity if they delimited falsely. When the old men were from the same villages as the disputants, they were unpaid; when from another village they were each given a Turkish pound.

627 By the second method of settlement the elders in Munë took two
628 or three napoleons from each disputant as a pledge of his future
423 behaviour, and arranged for five or six elders as well as some

Lot boundary disputes—Analysis

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ordinary householders to meet at an early date at the boundary. In the presence of the assembled company the claimant swore with earth and a stone on his shoulders that the boundary was where he said. The elders then dug to see if they could find the stones. If they did they gave judgement in the claimant's favour and vice versa. If the losing disputant did not accept their ruling they kept his pledge. In Martanesh, according to Mr Lef Nosi, the case was entrusted to a single elder. First he tried to decide it by questioning the neighbours of the disputants. If he doubted what they said he put them to the ordeal of an oath on bread and the Koran. If he still thought one or more of them was lying he bade them set up the boundary stones where they wished. If they dared to do so he could say no more, but sometimes they jibbed at this final perjury and then his judgement prevailed. If the loser objected to his allowing the neighbours to mark the boundary, he hushed him by bidding him let them perjure themselves and then offering to indemnify him out of his own pocket for his loss, but here the elder was on safe ground. Shame prevented the loser from accepting this offer.

When the elders failed to effect a settlement the injured party in Shijan complained to the government—not always unsuccessfully. Shijan was so near Elbasan that the government's writ ran there even in Turkish times. In many other places, in modern as in Turkish times, it was thought that if elders had failed it was useless to apply to the government, and a shooting match began. In Lumë the man who had taken the oath with earth and a stone took the initiative. In a fury at finding he had risked his soul with an oath for nothing he apostrophized his absent enemy, 'I put the stone on my shoulder. You could have done it, but you wouldn't. Now I'll kill you.' When he succeeded the bitterest of feuds started. Sometimes for greater ignominy they beat each other with sticks. This too started a bitter feud.

When bigger units disputed a boundary each party generally engaged an elder, paying him a fee of 250–500 grosh in Martanesh in Mr Lef Nosi's time, against 50 for a quarrel between individuals. Elders, disputants and witnesses crowded to the boundary, where the elders questioned and argued interminably. If they failed to come to an agreement, murder soon followed. When both sides were sickened by the shuttlecock of the feud they called in famous elders from another unit who could not possibly have an interest in

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is to say, no interested motive for his opinion, he was actually encouraged to express his views. Among the Catholics of the far north the priest was permitted to speak as though he were one of the tribesmen, but his views did not necessarily prevail.

It was unthinkable, of course, that the tribesmen should come without their arms in view of possible dangers on the way. So the law said explicitly that they might bring them. But as soon as they took their places cross-legged on the ground they had to lay their guns on the grass in front of them or on their laps and had to keep them so until the meeting ended. The Catholics sometimes let the priest coax them into depositing their arms in the church house for the duration of the meeting. If anyone raised his gun in anger, it was promptly taken from him by his neighbours. If anyone fired his gun the rest of the meeting immediately formed itself into a firing squad and killed him, and then went in a body to his house and burned it down. Even at the smallest meeting there were four or five important men present who kept a sharp look-out ready to prevent trouble. The priests too kept good watch, and a Franciscan found in Thrth by Miss Durham in 1908 told the following story: 'We nearly had a row at the *mesbli*[1] a little while ago.... I heard a fearful noise and as I ran out a lot of them got up into a bunch like bees and raised their rifles. They were just going to fire. They would not listen to me. I rushed into the church and rang the bell as hard as I could. It had a splendid effect. As soon as they heard the bell, from habit they all shoved their pistols into their belts and took their guns in their left hands and began to cross themselves. No one knew what had happened. They poured into the church to see. By the time we came out again...they were quieted.'

Proceedings usually began with a statement by the president that the tribe had assembled to consider certain matters in the manner required by God and the canon, that is to say, with justice and without innovations or departures from the established law. Great importance was attached to the latter point. The decisions of specialist elders were accepted only on condition that they conformed to the accepted law and did not constitute innovations. This proviso was thought unnecessary in the case of elders who had been bred to the law as the specialists had not, and were therefore trusted to stick to it. This conservatism maintained the strength of the law, the main factor in keeping the tribe together.

[1] General Assembly.

[...e, of General Assembly meetings - Analysis]

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Assemblies of tribe or village watched above all over their honour. Sometimes their interpretation of honour took strange lines. Father Gjeçov gives the following story from the Mirdite tribe of Spaç. The sister of a villager of Gomsiqe was married to a villager of Dush in the same tribe. It happened that on one occasion when she came to pay a visit to her brother she took ill and died. He and his friends laid her on a bier and carried her, not to their own cemetery, but to her husband's house in Dush, presumably to avoid the expense of burying her. When the village heard what they had done, they met in General Assembly, and after carefully appraising the dishonour brought on Gomsiqe by such a public exhibition of meanness, fined the man a cow. This they divided into fifteen portions, which they distributed among the fifteen houses of the village. The fine was justice at its most precise. If the man had buried his sister as he should have done, the funeral feast would have cost him a cow. The event took place about 1903.

Another type of meanness had a similar end. About 1872 a villager of Ure e Shtrejtë in the tribe of Drisht happened to call on a neighbour about midday and was kept for dinner. As they finished, his host scraped his plate. The visitor afterwards complained to the village of the disgrace brought on his own dinner-table by the host. The village met in General Assembly and fined the host 300 grush for his meanness. According to the law 'a dinner-table is disgraced in a guest's eyes when the host wipes or licks the porringer or scrapes his plate'.

The smallest General Assemblies—those of brotherhoods and households—dealt with what were essentially family matters. They met perhaps to decide on expelling or even killing any hopeless member if his misdeeds were serious enough to threaten the whole brotherhood or household with wholesale punishment by the tribe. They considered the pros and cons of buying an extra bit of land.

Tribal government was entirely democratic—of the people, by the people and for the people, but it differed from tribe to tribe and from time to time, enough to prevent unity. As the tribes in general would not have accepted the law of any one of them as supreme, it was ultimately necessary for Albanian unity that tribal government should be superseded by a modern system evolved in, and exercised from, a capital.

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As Father Gjeçov remarks, perjury harmed the soul, imposed a fine and disgraced the man in the eyes of his fellows. All three consequences worked powerfully in their different ways to keep oath-takers on the path of truth. A thief, for instance, might get as far as the door of a church or mosque, but there his heart would fail him and he would exclaim, 'Forgive me, I did steal it'. Then he would proceed to make the usual reparation. Even innocent men dreaded the oath and took it with great reluctance. In poverty-stricken Theth many were so afraid of it that even when wrongfully accused, they preferred to pay whatever fine was due for the crime. In Lurë people preferred to fear nothing so much. 'You may rob me of my life, but I will not break my oath', they used to say. As for oaths taken to settle disputes, generations afterwards the descendants of the original disputants were afraid to break the oath of their ancestors. This fear kept boundaries that had been trodden out by an elder under an oath immovable for all time, and preserved water rights. In modern Lurë there is some maldistribution of irrigation water, but no attempt is made to remedy this by force of law. Many years ago, the people say, their ancestors took an oath about the irrigation rights of each family and they dare not violate this oath. One of the derisory stories told in sophisticated Tirana about the Highlanders relates that they were such poor stuff that one said, when brought to court, 'I have sworn a solemn oath not to tell, but press me a little and I will speak'.

There were occasions, however, on which perjury was thought permissible or even commendable. A man of Lurë, who allowed to be conqueror in a murder case, would sometimes consider whether he might help to make peace between the parties if he forswore himself. If he decided 'but 'giving a living man for a dead one was no way of doing', he would swear a false oath. In the Malësi e Madhe, a village ward or a tribe had sometimes to swear not to enter a malefactor's house; when this punishment came to seem excessive it was thought advisable to break the oath.

In general, the modern mountaineers drew a distinction between their own old jury system and the law court that was superseding it. Reluctant though they remained to forswear themselves by their old system, they would do so joyfully in the modern court, especially if this saved a friend or relative or concealed their possession of a rifle; their weapon being their chief treasure, they would deny 'one times' on such that they had it. Instead of public censure

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of theft which were no less universally regarded as shameful. A man who stole from another with whom he had broken bread as host or guest disgraced himself for ever. A woman must not steal for fun or spite. If she did, not only her husband's family, but the whole village felt ashamed and took steps to deal with her.

The accomplice who helped the thief, the host who fed him and the receiver who hid the booty were all considered as no less guilty than the thief himself. 'A thief and his host are the same', and 'Like thief, like receiver' were common sayings. All had to suffer punishment in proportion to their share in the crime and booty. The owner of stolen goods had the right to remove them from the premises of a receiver and to claim compensation, and the receiver had no legal claim for redress as against the thief. On the other hand, if a man bought stolen goods in good faith he had to give them back to the rightful owner, but he was entitled to recover what he had paid for them from the thief.

All possible means of protection against theft were adopted by the mountain peoples. Every man carried a gun by day, and slept with it beside him at night. Dogs were kept in every house and sheepfold. Domestic animals were branded with a mark that could not be destroyed, as when sheep had both their ears notched. Farmyards were surrounded by walls too high to scale and had stout wooden gates heavily bolted at night. Thieves, however, could make holes in the mud and stone walls, and frequently forced an entry that way. The walls of many village shops were lined with wood, so that a thief's chisel, striking it, would make sufficient noise to put the householder on the alert.

In Turkish times many villages sent out armed patrols every night, composed not of professionals like the night watchman of the towns, but of unpaid villagers who served in turn as directed by the village headman. When there was danger of sheep-stealing on a large scale, the threatened villages sometimes bought the protection of some strong man. For example, the villagers of Reç, now in Yugoslavia, hired protection from sheep-stealers of Dibër by paying the Kaloshi family of Dibër a thousand napoleons a year. Nor were the parties deterred from contracting together by the fact that the Kaloshis were Moslems and Albanians, and the villagers of Reç were Orthodox and Macedonian Bulgars.

In the extreme north and south of the mountains, guns could legitimately be used when a thief was caught in the act of breaking

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into a house or sheepfold, though in some districts the house-holder or shepherd had to warn the thief three times before shooting in order to avoid a blood feud. The local law said, 'A thief's blood is lost'. In Mirditë, however, there was a saying that 'A blood feud is not stopped by felony', and there it was forbidden to kill a housebreaker at sight. This prohibition had been introduced to prevent men killing their enemies and placing their dead bodies in the farmyard to give the impression that they had been caught in the act of theft.

A man who robbed a child or a woman, stole a loaded packhorse, or another man's gun, could be shot even when not caught in the act, though a blood feud might follow such action.

In Turkish times, the authorities had to be informed of the death of anyone in the act of theft, but they did not punish the man who had killed him. They required only that he should keep watch and ward over the body till some official arrived and send word to the relatives to make arrangements for burial. After the funeral, the relatives and the killer resumed ordinary relations. Strong men, of course, sometimes overrode the ordinary rules and decencies. Thus Deli Beg, the overlord of Preze, an old market centre, was so determined to stop all raids on his flocks that he not only killed all thieves, but shamed them when dead. He tied their bodies on horses, with the heads propped up with a muleteer's forked stick, and drove them through the village streets. He never troubled to inform the authorities of the deaths.

There were elaborate rules for the detection of the thief who succeeded in escaping with his booty. In Lumë the village authorities had the right to search one house after another for the stolen property. Everywhere the victim might try and find it for himself. He would follow the tracks of a stolen animal, generally in the direction of the home of someone known to have a grudge against him. When the tracks ended at a house or its immediate surroundings, the master was regarded as convicted of the theft. 'Track on the ground, animal found', and the owner had the right to take it away immediately if it was still alive. The thief might refuse to produce it and the owner could then ask leave to search the premises. If such permission was not given, the owner had to turn to the elders to enlist their help, as he also had to do if it were found that the animal was dead.

When the beast's tracks stopped between two houses, the

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CHAPTER XXI

MURDER WITHIN THE FAMILY

When a man murdered his son, father, brother, paternal uncle, paternal uncle's son, or brother's son, the usual verdict was that in killing so near a relative the murderer had 'killed himself'. The victim's blood was therefore lost, 'no one sought-to-avenge him', and it had only been his 'ill-luck' so to die.

From another point of view it might be argued that since the murderer was the victim's nearest relative, other relatives could not act over his head and avenge the dead man. For example, when a man murdered his paternal uncle, if the latter left neither son nor brother, his blood was lost, for the murderer was his nearest relative and by killing him had only killed himself. On the other hand, if the uncle left either a son or a brother, that son or brother was nearer to him than the murderer and avenged his death. In view of his relationship to the criminal his vengeance generally took the form of exacting blood money. In the same way when a man murdered his brother's son, the victim's blood was lost if he left neither father nor brother. But if he left either, the murderer had to pay blood money. The rule of the nearest relative failed only if one brother killed another while their father was alive. Though the father was the nearest relative of the victim, the fratricide being only a neighbour by comparison, the victim's blood was lost. The father could not avenge him except by killing his surviving son, and even from the best of motives no decent father would kill a son.

The motive of the murderer seldom affected the situation. The murder of a son, an extremely rare occurrence, was oftenest due to his adultery with his young stepmother. His blood was lost, not because of his sin, but solely because the father who murdered him was his nearest relative. Again, one brother sometimes fell in love with the other's wife, and knowing, especially in north Albania, that if she became a widow he could by customary law marry her, could not always resist the temptation to make her a widow. The victim's blood was lost in spite of the murderer's motive, and the fratricide married the widow and suffered no disability except some loss of face.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

loss of face. At Krujë in 1930 when the authorities sought to punish a man who had murdered his brother during a quarrel, the widow swore that the pistol had gone off accidentally when her brother-in-law was trying to wrest it from her husband, who had threatened suicide. Having thus prevented the authorities from taking action, the widow made no effort to keep the true story of the murder quiet, but repeated it every day during the month when the women met for the ceremonial 'keening'. She was also openly commended by the public for preventing the government from shaming her husband's family by arresting the murderer.

Exceptionally, if the murderer's motive was bad by tribal standards, his relative was well avenged. For instance, if a man killed his cousin or nephew to get his land, the crime was considered so anti-social that the murderer was killed by the community, his blood was lost, and his family expelled. Again, exceptionally, a motive might be so good by tribal standards as to win the murderer public admiration. Thus children in Shalë were taught with great pride that once a tribesman killed his brother for killing a guest, for an Albanian's duty to his guest transcends the claims of blood relationship.

Two modifications of the general rule are to be noted. In Mirditë in spite of the victim's blood being lost, the murderer had to pay the tribe the fine due in cases of ordinary murder, 100 rams and an ox. In the Malësi e Madhe if the two brothers had separated the fratricide had to pay blood money to his brother's dependants. If the widow had no children, she took all the money; if she had a daughter only, she again took it all, for when the time came for the girl to marry, she would as 'head of the family' have to pay the wedding expenses; if she had a son, he took all the money, for his father's death had made him head of the family. The blood money was therefore alimony payable to the widow and orphans who had been robbed of their breadwinner. If the two brothers had not separated, the fratricide as a matter of course supported the widow and orphans along with the other members of his household and the question of alimony did not arise.

Parricide was thought the most abhorrent of all murders within the family. In a sense a father had the right to kill his son without being asked by anybody what he had done, but a son unnatural enough to kill his father could surely not have been got by that father, but must be a bastard. Even where his crime was regarded

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

as suicide so that he escaped with his life, and that was the commonest result, he was treated as 'a low-class fellow', visited by none but bad characters, and, if a Mohammedan, never given the greeting 'Peace be with thee'. In Mirditë, always more rigorous than other districts, he was considered so anti-social that he was either killed or expelled in perpetuity by his kinsmen, or, according to another version, by the whole village along with his kinsmen.

The murder of certain relatives did not concern the family. Thus, if a man murdered a relative by marriage, such as his son-in-law, father-in-law, wife's brother, or sister's husband, the crime ranked as an ordinary murder and was expiated with a life or with blood money. The marriage tie was disregarded; the important point was that, unlike two brothers living under separate roofs, murderer and victim belonged to different families. Such murders were very rare, for marriage relationships were always contracted to secure a valued friend, and no Albanian in his senses ever threw a friend lightly away. Again, if a man murdered his maternal uncle or his sister's son, murderer and victim belonged to different families, and blood money at least was payable for the crime. The contingency rarely arose, since a maternal uncle was regarded as a father and a sister's son as one's own child.

If a woman was taken in adultery, and her husband killed her and her paramour together—'kerchief and cap together'—he incurred no feud; their deaths went unavenged; it was a case of 'blood for blood', one equal to the other. To prove them guilty he sent for his wife's brother and her lover's brother to see them both lying dead; his message would run, 'I killed her because I caught her sinning'. The wife's brother would hand him a cartridge, saying, 'Here is a cartridge for my sister. Bravo for doing this'. The paramour's nearest relatives came to the house, drank coffee, and took away the corpse; the murderer accompanied them to their house, drank coffee, and so peace was established between them. If the paramour's brother was 'a gentleman', 'a man', he would give a cartridge to the husband, saying, 'I pardon your crime because my brother has sinned'. Even the father of the paramour might say to the murderer, 'A blessing on your rifle', and give him coffee as a sign that there was peace between them. In modern times the government accepted the evidence of the two bodies lying together and punished the husband with no more than two or three weeks' imprisonment.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband 684
who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard 607
in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it 682
was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back [585]
of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, [627]
he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he [586]
divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother or her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They [587]
preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman [627]
was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an aduleress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her 593
death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side 607
he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband 628
684

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

[607 had killed her out of ill-will. After her brother had killed a male
628 from his house, the husband would kill both her brother and her
684 lover; then peace would be made between all three families. In
593 Martanesh and Lumë if the husband did not kill the lover as well, the wife's brother, when threatening vengeance, would say, 'You killed the bitch; why didn't you kill the dog also?'

[606 Sometimes a husband had not the courage or the heart to kill his wife; then perhaps his people killed her. Or perhaps he sent word to her father that he had found her sinning and asked him to kill her. But the father generally replied to such husbands, 'Kill her yourself, because I gave her to you to look after'. If the wife suspected this interchange of messages, she might run away to her father. In that case her husband sent him word saying, 'Either kill that bitch or see me destroy you root and branch'. The father then either killed her or sent her to her husband to kill. If the father protected the wife, a blood feud began between him and the husband, for the latter could not bear the world to think that he had swallowed such a disgrace.

In Martanesh, it should be noted, it was permissible, as it was not elsewhere, to kill the lover and the wife separately, if they could not be found together. This seems to have been the case in Dibër also. About 1916 a man in Vleshjë (Dibër) found his wife unfaithful and killed the lover. The wife ran away, but the husband caught her, poured paraffin on her, and burned her alive, yet seems to have escaped her brother's vengeance.

684 If the outraged husband killed only the lover, then he had to fear
682 vengeance from the lover's family. In Lumë on the principle that
628 'vengeance is not abandoned because of guilt', vengeance was sometimes taken by a 'bad' brother for a man killed in adultery. He might kill the husband, forgive him, or demand blood money.

796 A gruesome story of collective punishment of a guilty pair comes
684 from Martanesh. About 1912 a young man was caught with a
627 young wife. The 'circle' of the young man took him and the 'circle' of the wife took her out to an appointed spot where they stood them up together. The youth's uncle shot him dead, and the girl's brother shot her, while the drums beat and the other men danced. The honour of the two families being thus cleared, they buried the two close together, but in separate graves, at cross-roads; no hoxha was present to commit them to the grave, nor were they washed and changed. In the neighbouring Zdrâjshë also a guilty

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was [582] too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 625 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

672 honour was in most places satisfied by a money payment. For
682 example, two men of Krujë were examining a revolver together,
*628 not knowing it was loaded, when it went off suddenly and killed one of them. The other was held guilty of murder, but in view of the circumstances escaped with a payment of twenty-five napoleons, the conventional six purses. If an animal killed somebody, the death was considered accidental and the payment of blood money sufficed. In Breg i Matit the grazing was good enough to carry a considerable head of cattle which wandered freely through the swamps, with consequent risk to the public from the bulls. If a man was killed by a bull which its owner knew to be dangerous, the latter had to pay blood money, failing which he was liable to be shot. If he did not know the animal's character, he was excused the payment of blood money but had to surrender the bull to its victim's relatives as a minor atonement.

Accidental though a murder might be, the murderer could not rely on saving his life with blood money. Especially while the crime was fresh, he was well advised to lie low until responsible men had weighed the case and confirmed its accidental character. After paying the money he was not absolutely safe unless he found a guarantor.

In Mirditë when blood money was accepted the murderer had also to pay fines of 100 rams and one ox to the tribe and of 500 grosh (piastres, i.e. one purse) to the family of the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë; the animals were eaten at a public banquet by the tribe. These fines were imposed on the murderer for disturbing the public peace. In cases of accidental murder, however, no fine was payable; the formula ran: 'The rifle which kills accidentally entails blood (really blood money) for blood, but not a fine or pursuit.'

627 The payment of blood money also solved the difficulties in
682 certain cases of murder within the family where atonement had to
*628 be made, yet could not properly be exacted in the form of a life for a life. For instance, if two brothers in Shkrel had separate households, when one killed the other's wife for any but a question of honour, the victim's husband could not kill his own brother for
[583] her sake but had the right to exact blood money; after all, he had been unjustly deprived of his wife's services and must buy another wife. If a married woman in Shkrel were killed, again unreservedly, by some member of her husband's family, her son, if fifteen years

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

of age or more, could not kill the murderer, his own relative, but exacted blood money. In Shalë another principle came into play. If the dead man's relatives did not succeed in killing the murderer within seven years, they accepted blood money. In places like Mirditë where a fine was exacted when blood money was accepted for a murder, no fine was payable in cases of wounding.

In Mirditë 'wounding went by the part'. If the wound was inflicted at the waist or upwards, even if the bullet only grazed the man's head, the aggressor had to pay three purses; if the wound was below the waist, he need pay no more than 750 grosh, i.e. 1½ purses. In Lumë if a wound left a man lame for life, the wound-money was assessed at seventeen napoleons, roughly four purses, or two-thirds of a man's value; if not, five napoleons were enough. In Krasniqë if a man was so wounded in the private parts that he could no longer be a husband, his assailant had to pay him twelve purses, double the price of a dead man. The doctor's expenses had always to be paid by the aggressor; in Martanesh these were customarily reckoned at 200–300 grosh (piastres), and if they were paid, wound money was sometimes not asked. In Mirditë the doctor's expenses were not fixed by custom but were due only when the victim's relatives regulated the matter, not when the headmen did so. In Çermenikë if a man wounded his enemy, that is to say, the man with whom he had a feud, he did not pay the doctor's expenses; if he accidentally wounded a friend or a neutral, he did. This rule was maintained by King Zog's government. Once an American missionary of Korchë had taken a class of boys for a walk in the country when one fell down a precipice and was gravely injured; the government refused to allow the American to leave Albania until the boy, months afterwards, was restored to health and the American had paid the doctor's bills.

As with a death, accident was no excuse. For example, in 1932 two men from Zdrâjshë in Çermenikë were cutting down a tree by the wayside, when a man from Neshtë, on his way to fetch maize, rode by. The woodcutters called to him to stop, but he paid no heed. As he passed, the tree fell, pinning him to the ground. He was carried home, where he lingered for three months and then died. After his death the woodcutters had to pay his family three purses for wounding him. Wounds inflicted by animals, though considered accidental, had also to be paid for. Those inflicted by dogs fell into a special category. In Shkrel the elders were summoned to

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

[681] 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Breg i Shpellës, Viri, and Krue i Ri—will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a patch for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[623] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[628] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[687] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

[623] 16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 500 grosh.

[699] 17. 'Pledge elders' are not to take more than 10 grosh as their fee for a judgement, and commoners not more than 5 grosh.

[628] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after their feud has been compounded by order of the government will be fined 12 purses and expelled from the village and turned into a ghost.

[681] 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Slavic People E26

had been stoned to death "many, many years ago." He never failed to add at least half a dozen stones and a multitude of curses to any heap we passed by the way. M 754

Vuk Vrchevitch, in his book on old customs at minor religious festivals, collected in the Bocche di Cattaro, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina, mentions in a footnote that it was customary in the middle of the nineteenth century in Montenegro, when "a man made a statement and at once recognized he had made a mistake, to strike it on a stone (u kamen udariti). He scratched a stone with the nails of his right hand to transfer the error to the stone." As the author thought it necessary to explain this custom to Serbian readers, it is clear that the custom was a local one. M 789 Sb 626

It is noteworthy that I can find no reference to swearing upon stones in old Serbian ballads, though swearing enough takes place in them. 783

That it is a custom of extreme antiquity there can be no doubt.

Lavrov (*v.* Jirecek) states that the Macedonian Slavs of old worshipped trees and stones. But tree- and pillar-worship is common to very many lands and existed in the Balkans long before the advent of the Slavs. Sir Arthur Evans describes the cult at Mycenæ and Dodona (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi). The oath on the stone may, therefore, belong to all and any of the Balkan people. SP 771 783 627

The Northern Slavs appear to have had some such oath. Helmoldus, in his *Chronica Slavorum* (*c.* 1160), tells that they "showed great reverence to their holy places, which were frequently sacred groves or springs, and would not lightly take an oath there, lest they should be overtaken by the wrath of the avenging god." When the church at Oldenburg was built and dedicated to St. John the Baptist in 1066 by the Saxons, "the Count bade the Slavs gather in the church to hear the Word of God . . . and the Slavs were restrained in future from *swearing by trees, fountains, and stones*; they were to bring those accused of crimes to the priest to be examined by the iron or the ploughshare" (*c.* 83). The steps taken by various races to "civilize" others are very interesting. Here the Saxons evidently consider the practice of ordeal by hot iron a more Christian method than that of swearing innocence upon an object believed to be sacred by the swearer.

Helmoldus's statement shows that this ordeal was not Slavonic. We must, therefore, suppose that the hot-iron ordeal, recommended in Stefan Dushan's Code (1349) as a means of testing serfs accused of crime, was borrowed from a neighbour land. Be this as it may, the ordeal was in use in South Slav districts till well into the nineteenth century.

Swearing on a stone has survived only in Albania as a means of self-justification; and it is not impossible that it has existed from A 783 627

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

A 783 627 pre-Slavonic times. One other trace maybe of holy trees and stones I saw in 1904 when riding through Albania, and never again.

My horse-boy picked up stones and thrust them in the forks of trees when we passed through a wood. To the horror of my companion, A [775 769] who was a colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society from South Albania, the boy declared he was doing so for the spirits of the dead to have something to tread on as they passed. Unfortunately the colporteur blamed him, and he would say no more about it. Hahn, in his Albanian studies, mentions this custom.

A 778 On this journey we passed two small woods where, I was told, no trees were ever cut because "a long while ago a church stood there." No one knew when. The "church" had probably been imagined, to account for the sanctity of the wood.

S 627 538 782 In Serbian tales and ballads the oaths are usually sworn by "God and St. John." Does St. John the Baptist represent a former oath on a holy spring? In Montenegro, SS. Petar Cetinski and Vasili of Ostrog were daily asked to bear witness to many dubious statements. No Montenegrin peasant can make a statement, whether true or false, without calling on God and one or other of his saints; and, alas! the old idea of the sanctity of an oath had evaporated and the statement was too often a lie.

Whereas I found the word of the Albanian tribesman reliable; but civilization may weaken his word, too.

M 782 Old King Nikola of Montenegro used to call Heaven to witness many remarkable statements. Once, when the Diplomatic Circle had been summoned to hear an unusually remarkable one, it is said that an astonished silence ensued, till one Minister Plenipotentiary, recovering his presence of mind, politely said: "Your Royal Highness is famed through Europe as . . . a poet."

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania E61

342 low-pitched roof is tiled in red, with dormer-like smoke-
712 holes, or tall, lidded chimneys. The strong wooden doors are round or square at the top; the doorways often formed by lintels and side-pieces of wood, or arched with stone. Windows are few, and very small, often mere loopholes or slits a few inches across. Glass is rare: the openings may be barred by twisted twigs. In the stone houses they are often outlined by a frame of regularly shaped and spaced blocks. The guest-room is lighted by rather larger windows, which are nowadays generally glazed, though old-fashioned paper windows still linger in some parts. The side of the house facing the road is blind, though sometimes a few narrow slits are pierced just under the eaves.

The peasants themselves give as a reason for building
342 such fortress-like houses that they have lived so long in
712 dread of hereditary enemies, often very numerous because
•627 of the constant blood-feuds. These, like feuds in all countries, often arose over a woman, a runaway or a stolen wife. They said to me frankly: "Under Turkey we could pursue our wives, and kill them with their lovers; but now we are forbidden to do this. A slit is wide enough for us to shoot through, not wide enough for us to be shot at. No enemy can see into the house through it, let alone climb in by it. And then a woman cannot go out by it to keep a tryst, nor can a man come in to find her." For similar reasons, all these dwellings have inside sanitation—small
[514] apse-like closets built of the same material as the house, and apparently clinging to it.

352 The ground floor contains the small dark kitchens where the women and children eat their meals. They have floors of hard earth, and fireplaces of the huge projecting kind, or
[359] small open fires with smoke-holes above, with a few cooking-
[415] vessels of baked clay set at their edges: the flour-chest stands behind the door. On either side are the storerooms. An open-fronted shed holds the carts and ploughs, with the
343 stables and barn not far off. The stable is lofty, its roof of bare rafters being continuous with the roof of the first floor, so that one may look down on the horses through the slits in the end rooms of this storey.

prevent enemies from climbing it and from piercing a hole in it to fire on the defenders from above, something that has often happened. Finally, the lavatory is built inside the house. 342 712 [514]

Just as the house of Sendra is the highest point in the evolution of Albanian housing architecture, so is the Kula, according to Nopcsa, the most complete form of defensive houses.

The word Kula is of Arabic origin, and has already been met in Byzantine writers since the 11th century (1). Moreover it is also known by the Serbs as early as 1350. Consequently, no Turkish intervention for the construction of the Kula, it is said by Nopcsa, was ever required.

The particular scope determines the building material, plan, dimensions and other construction details of such houses. These buildings are high, towerlike, built of solid stone, providing the greatest possible cover. Narrow loopholes are opened instead of windows, and small towers are built in well selected defensive places.

A veranda and a Kula mutually exclude each other, because if conditions of security allow the building of a house with an open peristoon, same conditions would render the construction of a kula useless. And vice-versa, nobody would ever think of constructing such a type of dwelling, where there is a danger that a veranda might be burned down at night time. This is confirmed by the geographical expansion of the «shpi» (house) and the «kula» (fortified house). Thus, there is a complete absence of typical, towerlike «kulas» in Mekija Malke, Zadrima, which is situated in a plain, as well as in Bregu-buna and Bregumetja, areas that enjoy greater security. On the contrary, in areas where statistics of crime show that a 21-32% of all deaths are caused by murder, we find the kula, while houses with a peristoon are absent. Because of the custom of vengeance male members of many families are bound inside their kula for years. [682] [627]

As for the origin of these tower-form houses which, according to Nopcsa, were multiplied in Middle Albania between the years 800 and 1074, Haberlandt believes that from a house-building point of view, they must be derived from the towers and dungeons propagated [177] [463]

1) **Anna Komnini**, v. 112 Bonn: Τὴν γὰρ ἀκρόπολιν, ἣν νῦν ὁ τῶν Φράγκων ἀπόκοπος ἀπόκειται Κάλαν, ἐν Κάλαις κατέλυεν ... (The acropolis, which is now by habit called Kala, was occupied by Celts ...) **Ch. Kadelan**, v. 326: Ὁ δὲ Βοημοῦνδος λαμπὰς τὰ μόρια ἄπαξ τὰς κρὰς ἔλαβε τοῦ κάστρου, Κάλα ὀνόματι ... (Voutiere had power enough so to take possession of a tower, called Kala, at the West of Antiochein ...)

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "It" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 176
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of [628]
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated 582
by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 602
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 611
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Klimenti, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tormnitza).

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Bogs is at the head of the Proni Thast, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Bogs intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Bogs and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it.

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shkoka and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Lohe" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church.

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas."

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *riculus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group.

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grisha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church

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Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Muslim tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Muslim. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Malsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1918, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra.*—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrusi and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji.*—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mala. It is all Muslim and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdita dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdita women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma.*—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Muslim tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

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655 plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be
609 named by the "bairaktar" (head of the tribe). This is only done if the
612 matter cannot be settled by con-jurors chosen by the plaintiff.

The gjakoer has the right to object to two of the con-jurors, who must be replaced by others. The con-jurors are all men of standing in the tribe ("plest," elders; "kren," heads). They examine the facts and hear the accused ("gjakoer") and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood-gelt to the noi i gjakut. This varied from about £15 to £50. If they all agree but one, he may be replaced by two others. If still no agreement is come to, the gjakoer may bring more con-jurors, who are members of his family, up to the number of eight.

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the
[32] church (or mosque) before which the council has been held. In the
608 church the candles are lighted on the altar, and in the presence of the priest the gjakoer swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood and is, therefore, innocent. Next swear those of his family who may have been summoned, and then all the con-jurors. After this the gjakoer and the noi i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood (v. Blood Brotherhood).

By Moslems the oath is sworn in the mosque.

693 Each of the con-jurors has to be paid a small fee for his services. The plaintiff in some cases can thus annoy the accused by insisting upon the full number of con-jurors allowed by the law. A priest counts as twelve con-jurors, and sometimes an important elder is reckoned as two.

● 621 The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.

627 To Mgr. Middia, now Archbishop of Scutari, I am indebted for an
623 account of how two families can make peace voluntarily without appeal to the law. Having ascertained by means of emissaries that peace will be acceptable, the gjakoer and his relatives choose a feast day and enter the house of the injured family with their hands bound. A child placed the wrong way round in a cradle is carried with them. If the peace offer is accepted the lord of blood loosens their bonds and puts the child straight in the cradle. The blood-gelt is then arranged and paid. This custom existed among the Dukagjini.

652 The above all refers to a murder committed by one man. But it
621 may happen that several men all fire at once and kill a man. A search

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for bullets is made in the body. If four men have fired and but three bullets are found, any one of them may be innocent of the death. If each can get twenty-four co-jurors to swear innocence with him, all secure acquittal. Any who cannot find twenty-four co-jurors are guilty and owe blood. If there are as many bullets as men, then all owe blood.

For killing a woman, which is a rare thing, blood may be taken. If she is unmarried, it is taken by her father's family; usually by her brother. If married, her father's family may take blood for her within the year. After that only her husband's family has the right to do so. Blood-guilt, if any, for a woman is very small. The tribe does not punish the murderer; it is purely a family affair. The death of a woman does not weaken the tribe, for she is of another blood and can easily be replaced from without; whereas a man cannot be replaced.

If a pregnant woman be killed two bloods can be claimed. Dom Kol Ashci told me that cases have occurred even in which a grave has been opened to settle the question of blood-guilt for the unborn child, and full payment claimed if it proved to be a male.

Cases in which killing is justified and is not punishable.—1. Blood may be taken for rape and none may be taken in return.

2. If the relatives of the man who is shot succeed in taking blood at once, about the murderer that day, the blood is laid and no more can be taken.

3. A woman taken in adultery may be killed along with her partner by her husband or brother, and no punishment follows. But should her husband kill her and not the man, her family can take blood for her.

In none of the above cases, I believe, does the tribe punish; nor has the tribe, at any rate in some places, the power to punish a crime committed within the "shpi" (house). When I was in Shala, at the priest's house in April, we heard two shots fired. Someone ran in to call the priest to a man who was *dying*; it was too late. In a dispute about the irrigation channels in the fields, a man had killed his own first cousin. Both were inmates of one large house. The crime caused genuine horror and was loudly discussed. Public opinion seemed to think something should be done—but what? It is the close duty of a house to take blood as atonement for blood that has been taken. But the house, having already lost a man, cannot make matters any better by taking more of its own blood. This could not be expected; nor could any outsider interfere in what was a matter for the house lord. He could not be both lord of blood and giaour—could not owe himself blood. It was, in fact, an example of *patria potestas*. He decided to do nothing but hold a fine funeral to show his regret for the loss; and so sure was he that he was acting correctly that he sent a boy to the priest's

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682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
178 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[92] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[27] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the
[68] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[93] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

608 628 banks of the Drin to shoot another lad with whose family he was in blood, and who was due to cross the river on the usual inflated sheep-
[501] skins. Drin ran swiftly, the sheep-skin float broke loose. Soon the foe was struggling for life in the torrent. The blood-seeker threw aside his rifle, dashed into the torrent and saved his foe at the risk of his own life. They then and there swore brotherhood and the feud ceased. This episode goes to prove that blood-taking is not vengeance. The drowning of the foe would have in no way settled the feud, for expiatory blood would not have been taken.

608 The old bairaktar of Nikaj heard that I was sister to the King of England and believed a blood alliance with me would be for the good of the tribe. The priest at whose house I was, however, laughed at him uproariously and he was hurt; so I never took part in the ritual.

In Albanian this brotherhood is called "Vllam" or "Vlaa me Tenzone" (brother in God). It is also very commonly called "probotim" or "probo," an obvious corruption of the Serb "pobratim." "Birazel" (? Turkish) was, I was told, used also by the Moslems.

The custom extends all over Albania, but of the South I have no details.

Serbs and Montenegrins

In Montenegro I was often assured that the custom was extinct, and I never came across a case. But it possibly still lingered in out-of-the-way places. People who wished to appear "civilized" in Montenegro were very apt to deny the existence of customs they thought would be despised. But it was admitted that "pobratimstvo" had but recently died out. Medakovitch in 1880 mentions it as prevalent.

The Orthodox Church, both in Serbia and Montenegro, adopted this pagan custom and tried to "Christianize" it.

Two forms of pobratimstvo were known:—

1. "Probratimstvo prichestno" (communion pobratimstvo). "Prichest" is the word for the Holy Communion. It was not, however, a case of the two parties taking the Communion together, but a special ceremony. In the Orthodox Church, when the people receive the Communion, the Host is put into the consecrated wine. The pope takes a portion of the soaked bread in a special spoon and gives it to the communicant. The ritual for pobratimstvo, so far as I could learn, was as follows: The two parties went together to church. The pope read a prayer. The two then took a large goblet full of wine, and both, setting their lips to it, sipped at once. They then broke bread and each ate a piece. They sipped and ate together thus three times and then kissed the cross, the Gospels, and the ikon, and lastly each other. It is a curious

[P157-190 blank]

543 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian 684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he 183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. The Levirate

587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the 688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Malsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose 628 between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

[577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

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ester, redden their lips and cheeks with iris powder 302
or carmine, and stain their nails and the palms of their hands with henna.

The social status of the Albanian women varies 562
according to district and creed. The Liaps and the Christians of Southern Albania and Epirus generally occupy the least enviable position, all the hard out- [462]
-of-door work devolving upon them. The Northern Albanians and also the Tosks, on the other hand, treat their wives with much greater consideration, consult them willingly in their affairs, both public and private, and accord them a position in the family almost equal to their own. And well do they merit the respect of their husbands and brothers. For often have they proved themselves to be fit companions for men, unmindful of fatigue, danger, and even death in the cause of liberty. When the armies of the Sultan menaced the privileges of which the people of Scutari had always been proud, it was the women who were the first to give the alarm and to excite the men to resist to the death, themselves following to aid in the combat. Restraining the [703]
tears natural to their sex, they would carry the mutilated bodies of their loved ones among the combatants in order to excite them to avenge their deaths. And the same women are said to have refused to receive back into their homes the husbands and sons who had for a moment turned their backs upon the enemy.

Albanian women, too, are often entrusted with 562
negotiations for truce or peace. Such is the respect 629
with which Albanians regard their women that they 729

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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may traverse the camps of belligerents with greater safety than men. The terms of treaties of peace, too, are often discussed by the women belonging to the hostile parties in the privacy of the harems of the chieftains. More ready, however, as a rule, are they to espouse and take part in the quarrels of their male relatives than to act as peacemakers, and, owing to their practice of carrying arms, they are always ready for a fray. Miss Mackenzie relates that, when traversing the Pass of Katchanik, her attention was directed by her escort to two Albanian women whom they chanced to meet. "Look at them," he cried, "they are women worth looking at, for well do they know how to handle a gun!"

"Are they Moslems?" asked the traveller.

"Assuredly."

"But they do not wear the yashmak."

"Not they, indeed," was the reply. "They have never worn it, and why should they? for they are fewer and more unapproachable than men."*

Such being the character of the Albanian women, it is not surprising that they have played a considerable part in the history of their country. It was, indeed, to the indomitable energy and courageous spirit of his mother, Khamko, that Ali Pasha, the "Lion of Ioannina," owed the earlier successes that paved the way for his subsequent brilliant career. Ali, who had during his father's lifetime been a wild and intractable boy, appears at his death to have submitted with the utmost docility to the authority of his mother. This lady, who was the daughter of a

* Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes.

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Bey of Konitza, and connected with some of the best Turk families, had not, until the death of her husband placed the responsibility for the well-being of the family in her hands, given any signs of the extraordinary strength of character and readiness of resource which afterwards distinguished her, qualities which were, however, sullied by an implacability of soul which only too nearly resembled that displayed by Olympias, the mother of Alexander, herself a native of Epirus. 159 175 562

"To my mother," said the tyrant of Ioannina on one occasion to the French Consul-General—"to my mother I owe everything, for my father left me but a mere hole (*spiloa*) and a few fields. My imagination, fired by the counsels of her who had twice given me birth—for she has made me both a *man* and a *vizier*—revealed to me the secret of my destiny."[1] The hereditary enemies of the family having at once taken advantage of its head being a minor, by seizing upon some of his lands, Khanko suddenly exchanged the distaff for the sword, and gathering round her the partisans of her house, and those among her late husband's vassals who still remained faithful, tried in various skirmishes her strength against that of the enemies of her family. In these raids she was accompanied by her young son, to whom she pointed out the lands of which he had been despoiled, and the estates of the despoilers. Braving every danger, the *Aghadina*, as Khanko was called by her followers, continued to harass her enemies by open hostility or secret intrigue until she was finally taken in an 159 175 562 628

[1] See pp. 295 and 319, *Post*.

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159 ambuscade by the men of Gardiki and Tchormovo,
175 together with Ali and her only daughter, Shainitza.
562 After having been subjected to every indignity and
628 outrage by their captors, Khamko and her children had the good fortune to be ransomed by the generosity of a Greek merchant for the sum of 22,800 piastres (£3700).

Hatred of those who had thus humiliated her took entire possession of the Aghadina's soul, and her one idea thenceforward was to train up her son as the avenger of her wrongs. With this object she commenced to instil into his mind those pernicious principles which he was only too well disposed to receive, and which may be summed up in the words [577] *Might is right*, an adage sufficiently popular among the turbulent Albanian clans. Ali's first attempt to vindicate his rights in the field was a complete failure. Having met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected, he fled from the fight, and was one of the first to re-enter Tepeleni. Khamko, furious at finding all her hopes blasted by what she deemed his cowardice, loaded him with reproaches, and thrusting her distaff into his hand, added, "Go, coward, and spin with the women in the harem; thou art fitter for that than for the career of arms!" Ali's fortunes indeed fluctuated for some time between success and failure. While he was absent on a campaign, Khamko found herself on her death-bed, and, though repeated and urgent messages were despatched to him, she died before he could arrive. The Aghadina in her will bequeathed to her son and daughter the task of immo- [789] lating to her *manes* the inhabitants of Gardiki and Tchormovo, at whose hands they had suffered such

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unpardonable indignities, and over her dead body the brother and sister swore to utterly exterminate her enemies.

Some years later Shainitza was grieving for the death of her favourite son, Aden Bey. So wild was her sorrow that she smashed with a hammer all his and her own diamond ornaments, burnt all her cashmeres and valuable furs, and forced his young widow to lie on straw mats spread on the ground instead of on a bed. The mirrors and ornaments of her serail were also destroyed, its windows were by her order painted black,[1] and everything which in any way recalled joy or happiness was banished from the palace. Roused from this abandonment of grief by the news of the fall of Gardiki,[2] she wrote to Ali reminding him of the oath they had sworn together over their mother's corpse, and of her wrongs and theirs, and urged him to have no mercy on the inhabitants of that town. "As for me," she added in conclusion, "it is only on cushions stuffed with the hair of the women of Gardiki that Shainitza will henceforward repose!"

Faithfully was the terrible oath, sworn to the dead, kept both by brother and sister. The chief men of Gardiki, to the number of some three hundred, induced by fair promises to meet Ali at the Khan of Valieré, were there ruthlessly massacred by the Christian troops under his Greek lieutenant, Thanasé

[1] See p. 265; and compare similar custom in folk-tale, p. 315.

[2] In 1822. A Greek folk-song graphically describes the gallant defence made by this town, which was taken by one of Ali's lieutenants, "Yussief the Arab" (*Greek Folk-songs*, p. 234).

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159 ing he had killed her, and overcome with grief and
175 remorse, shut himself up in his most private apart-
562 ments until he was informed by his physician that Emineh was not even wounded, but had merely fainted from emotion. His mind thus relieved, Ali shed tears, and, with all his tenderness for his favourite wife revived, proceeded to her apartment. Admittance being from fear refused him, he entered the chamber by force. The noise, however, and the sight of the tyrant, gave to the tender Emineh a shock which proved fatal, and she expired during the night in a state of delirium.

The death of Emineh was a terrible shock also to her murderer. Her memory perpetually haunted him, whether at the festal board or in the council chamber, and, above all, in the silent watches of the night. He feared to be left alone, and was frequently heard by his pages to start up, and exclaim: "Emineh! it is she!—it is she! Save me from her vengeance!" Years later, when the Dervish Sheikh, Youssouf, while boldly reproving the Vizier for his crimes and cruelties, pointed out from the window the tomb of the murdered Emineh, he was interrupted by Ali, who exclaimed with tears: "Stop, stop, my father! Thou hast named the name of Emineh; overwhelm me not with the weight of thy maledictions!"

628 An account of the Albanian women would hardly
578 be complete without some mention of the terrible blood-feuds (*Ram de Gâiat*), which, though often originating in the most trifling causes, result in great loss of life, and are frequently handed down from generation to generation. Sometimes these feuds

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exist between individuals or families only; at others, whole villages, or clans, are concerned in them. In carrying them on, however, certain traditional rules are punctiliously adhered to, and occasionally those concerned, finding the state of continual hostility irksome, agree to a *besa*, or truce, for a fixed period. When entire clans take part in the feud, each keeps strictly to its own wells or fountains, its public ovens and its markets. Such dissensions, however, rarely interrupt the usual occupation of a district, the land being tilled and the flocks pastured as usual in the daytime, the combatants assembling for the fray at evening on the common or in the market-place of the town or village. When a few men have bitten the dust, the hostile parties withdraw, in order to bury the dead, and the battle is over for the time.

Though women are not the principals in these vendetta, it is no uncommon thing for them to take part in the bloody frays to which they give rise, and for which their custom of carrying arms makes them always ready. Mrs. Blunt describes[1] a combat of this description which took place in the neighbourhood of Uskup (Skopia), the cause of contention being merely a hare, to which two sportsmen laid equal claim. As neither would give in, it was decided that the case should be tried by combat on the village green. The duel, however, soon became a general *melée*, relatives and friends joining the principals, and women fighting by the side of their husbands and brothers. One girl of seventeen, the sister of one of the sportsmen, fought, it is said, with a desperation and success

[1] *The People of Turkey*, vol. i. p. 60.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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worthy of a better cause, and fourteen victims fell, thus perpetuating the feud among the survivors.

On another occasion the breaking of a girl's pitcher at the fountain by two mischievous boys resulted in such a desperate contest between her friends and theirs that some sixty persons fell in the fight. It is said, however, that even on such occasions as these the men refrain, as far as possible, from striking or wounding the women, for the Albanian code of honour makes it impossible to attack a woman, whether armed or unarmed. The sacredness attached to their persons extends also to those whom they take under their protection. Escorted by a girl only, travellers may safely pass through the wildest parts of the country, and a man may cross, without fear, the lands of one with whom he is at feud, if he have the safe-conduct of a woman belonging to his enemy's family.

To such an extent is respect for women carried by the Albanians, that it is contrary to their notions of propriety ever to make women the subject of jokes or humorous stories. Insult or annoyance offered to a girl, or carrying off one without the consent of her parents, almost invariably results in bitter feuds between families, or fierce battles between tribes. As with most mountain people, the moral code is with the Skipetars exceedingly strict. Among many of the tribes any lapse from virtue on the part of a woman is punished with death, a subsequent marriage not being allowed to condone the fault. The penalty of adultery is of equally Draconic severity. The unfaithful wife is placed up to her shoulders in a pit, and

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

If, however, she returns home and marries into another 587
family, her father pays to her first husband's heirs, or to her son if she have one, half the dowry promised at her second betrothal. With the exception of her deceased husband's brother, a woman may not re-marry in the same village without the consent of his relatives. In the mountains of Pulati this is never given, and a vendetta follows if it is dispensed [628] with. If the betrothed man die, his brother has also the right to marry the betrothed maiden, but must pay to her parents, in addition to the dowry already promised, a hundred and fifty piastres.

An Albanian has the right to beat his wife if she 593
misconducts herself, but this right is little exercised except among the Lisps, who are the rudest and most brutal of all Albanians. He must, however, be careful not to draw blood even in the most trifling degree, for, if a wife receives a mere scratch in the course of a castigation, she complains to her parents, who cite the husband before the authorities. The penalty [681] consists chiefly in the payment of a considerable fine, which becomes the private property of the woman abused.

Divorce is not uncommon among the Moslem Al- 586
banians, who follow in this respect the customs of the [171] Ottomans, the husband paying to the discarded wife the sum specified in the marriage contract in view of such a contingency. The divorce generally takes place at the instance of the husband, but the wife may also claim it for a limited number of reasons. If, for instance, a man has left his native town or village, and does not return within the period fixed by the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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748 riddled with balls. The tribe of the Schialla, having heard of this insult to their religion, prepared to take
748 vengeance for it; but, the offenders being out of reach,
579 they made the family of Bobi, to which the bride
628 belonged, responsible. The Bobi engaged to obtain satisfaction within a week, or pay the penalty, and on the morrow the young men of the family set off for Bugna, where they killed two nephews of Tahir Mala. Not content, however, with this retribution, they entered the mosque, where they killed a pig, rubbed the doors with its blood, and placed the head on the ledge of the pulpit.

The Moslems, at this profanation of their mosque, hastened to complain to Mustapha Pasha, of Skodra, who prepared to send a military expedition against the Bobi. The latter, with the rest of the Schialla tribe, placed themselves under the protection of the Miridite Prince, Prenk Doda, who threatened the Pasha that, if troops were sent against the Schialla, he would not only support them, but call all the Christian highlanders to arms. The Pasha, alarmed at the prospect of a religious war for which he would be held responsible, then agreed to let the insulted cross atone for the polluted mosque, and cry quits with the Christians.

745 The number of Albanians affiliated to the Bektashi Order of Dervishes is said to be no fewer than 80,000. The lax observance of even the outward forms of Islam, characteristic of the followers of Hadji Bektash generally, is more especially observable in the conduct of the Skipetars, and has occasionally subjected them to persecution from their Osmanli Moslem neigh-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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also made use of by the Albanian highlanders generally, when settling matters of importance. According to this writer, quoting from M. Ampère,[1] a similar custom also existed among the ancient Romans. Sylla, on leaving Rome to fight against Mithridates, required Cinna to swear, not by the national divinities, but on the Sacred Stone, and according to an ancient rite of the Etruscans, to make no innovations during his absence. Cinna, when pronouncing this oath, placed the stone on his shoulder, and then threw it backwards, while he pronounced, in a loud voice, the curses which should fall upon him were he false to his promise. The taking of this oath in Albania is attended with the same ceremonies. It is sworn by the elders of the *phara*, or clans, on the occasion of settling serious disputes, such as those concerning the boundaries of village lands, or other communal matters. The elders of the two tribes, Christian or Moslem, after taking the Oath of the Stone, assemble in council and settle the question at issue.

This oath, in another form, also enters into everyday speech. In course of conversation, when a Ghog wishes to emphasise what he is saying, he takes up in his hand, or points to, the nearest stone, saying, "By this weight" (*Per kei pési*), and a Tosk makes use of the phrase, "By the heaviness of this stone" (*Per te rend te keti gér*).[2]

The Supersals, with which the Albanian women terrify themselves and their children, appear to be, for the most part, like those of the Bulgarians,

[1] *Histoire des Romains à Rome.* [2] Wason Elliott, *Op. cit.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The *Gjiad*, the terrible blood feud, or vendetta, before alluded to, may possibly, as suggested by Wassa Effendi, have been in its origin a sacrifice to the *manes* of murdered relatives. As the numerous class of vampire stories tends to show, the ancient belief that those who have died by violence cannot rest quietly in their graves still survives, and the slaying of their murderer, or at least of one of his kindred or clan, would thus be rather an act of religious duty towards the dead than of vengeance on the part of the living.

The majority of the ailments which afflict mankind are believed by the Albanians to be caused by magical influences, and I shall now proceed to give some illustrations of their folk-remedies. These are usually accompanied by some form of incantation, the secret of which is possessed only by some wise-woman who has inherited it from her mother, and who, in her turn, imparts it to her daughter. If, for instance, a person believes himself to have received a blow from one of the invisible Vilas, or some other supernal being, he has recourse to the witch-wife, who, after dressing the patient in white garments, conducts him to an uninhabited house in a retired situation. On arriving, she greets the mysterious powers whom she believes to be invisibly present. She then places her patient in a suppliant posture, gives him rose-water to drink, and both observe a solemn silence for some ten minutes, during which she makes certain mysterious signs and motions. After wishing the Vilas good-night, the witch-wife leads her patient home by a circuitous road.

Sometimes a circle is drawn round a person so afflicted,

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blue haze; above us were forested slopes, and 000
above them sheer, great cliffs throwing shadows across a dozen valleys. Our small grassy knoll was white with daisies and with fallen petals from a blossoming apple tree that arched above the cross. On it our men lay at ease, beautiful, graceful animals, their rifles swung from their shoulders and laid ready to their hands.

"Why are Shala and Shoshi in blood?" Frances 628 •
asked, casually, biting idly at the stem of a 576
daisy. Perolli did not know; he had gathered only the fact that there was a feud.

"Do we go through both tribes?" I wanted to know.

"Through Shala. Shoshi's farther down the river. We'll go around it."

"Are our men Shala or Shoshi?"

Perolli glanced at them. "Shala, by the pattern of the braiding on their trousers. So we won't have any troub —— Hello! That's a Shoshi man coming up the trail, now."

It was Alex who acted quickest. She was sitting on a rock beside me, her arms clasped about her knees; she rose instantly and, flinging out a hand in the gesture of greeting, cried in her most feminine voice those Albanian words that sound like, "Tune yet yetta!" and mean, "May you live long!"

The Shoshi man's hand was on his rifle, but his step had not faltered. He replied, coming on steadily, and the appropriateness of the greeting struck me, for if it had not been uttered by a

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[628] woman he would at that moment have been
576 dead. Our Shala men, with perfect courtesy, went through the formalities of greeting on the trail, and this is the form, translated to me by Rexh:

"Long life to you!"

"And to you, long life!"

"How could you?" meaning, "How could you get here?"

"Slowly, slowly, little by little."

No one who has ever seen those trails can doubt it.

291 The Shoshi man sat down, our men offered him cigarettes, and up the trail came a woman of Shoshi. She wore a tight, bell-shaped skirt of horizontal black and white stripes, made of cloth heavier and thicker than felt, the twelve-inch-wide marriage belt of heavy leather studded with pounds of nails, and a jacket covered with three-inch-thick fringe. Two heavy braids of black hair hung forward on her breasts, a colored handkerchief was bound around her head, and her face, smoothly weather browned, large eyed, delicately shaped, was the most beautiful that I
[854] had ever seen. On her back, held by woven woolen straps that crossed between her breasts, was a cradle tightly covered by a thick blanket;
[283] in one hand she held a bunch of raw wool, and from the other dangled a whirling spindle. Her feet were bare, and as she came up that trail which had exhausted me she sang softly to herself, dexterously spinning thread from the bunch of wool.

[Albanian mountain tribe -- [18] Analysis]

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room, furnished by a mattress laid on a raised platform of boards. Our saddlebags and blankets had been piled on the rough wooden floor, and Rexh held the torch while the bishop's servant poured cold water from a wooden bucket over our hands. Then he offered us a beautifully hand-woven towel of red-and-white striped linen, and when we had dried our hands he led us down a stone stairway, through a kitchen crowded with villagers, where an old woman tended cooking pots over a fire built on the earthen floor, and into the dining room.

There was a long, rude table covered with hand-woven linen, rough benches on each side of it. The bishop sat at its head, on a stool, and served the soup. The Franciscan brother and a meek little priest in black sat humbly near the foot of the table, and did not speak. There was nothing in the stone-floored, plaster-walled room except the table, the benches, and a rain-stained photograph on the discolored wall—a picture of a gathering of Albanian priests, taken many years ago in Tirana.

628 619 "The feud between Shala and Shoshi[1] looks very bad," said the bishop[2]. "I fear there will be many deaths. We do what we can to prevent it, all the authority of the Church is used against these feuds, but——" He shrugged his shoulders. "It is their way of enforcing their law, the Law of Lec, which has come down to them from prehistoric times. And the Albanians are very tenacious of their own customs."

1 [Albanian Mountain tribes -- [88] Analyst]
2 [Bishop of Pollit -- Analyst]

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He filled our glasses with red wine. "You must not mistake my people," he said. "The blood feud is bad, very bad, but it is their only way of enforcing laws, which are, in general, admirable.

"The blood feud is not a lawless thing, as strangers sometimes think. Nor has it anything to do with personal strife or hate. It is a form of capital punishment, such as all nations have, and it is governed by most strict laws.

"You must remember that in these mountains we have never been conquered by foreign governments. The Roman Empire claimed to have overpowered Albania, it is true, as later the Turks did, but neither Rome nor Constantinople was able to send its government into these mountains. The people live as they did before the days of Greece, except for the influence of the Church. It is a simple, communistic society, without private property or any organized government. The only law is the moral law, enforced by tradition, by custom, and by common consent. The father of the family becomes the chief of the tribe, but he has no power that conflicts with the moral law, the ancient Law of Lec. There is a tradition that all this group of tribes was once, long ago, given this moral law by a man named Lec, but that is doubtless a myth added to through the ages.

"This Law of Lec is based on personal honor, which is also the honor of the tribe. A man or a tribe must punish an insult to honor by killing

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the man who has given it. Thus, if a member of a tribe is killed unjustly by a man of another tribe; if a woman is stolen or injured or affronted; if any part of the tribal property is stolen; if a man or a tribe fails to keep a *besa* (a word of honor) in a matter of land or war or marriage or irrigation—you will find excellent and admirable irrigation systems here—then the crime is punished by death. But if these crimes are committed against a member of the same tribe, then the house of the guilty man is burned, and he is cast off by the tribe and must go into the wilderness and live alone.

"You will see this law working out in the case of Shala and Shoshi. Last week a Shala man crossing the lands of Shoshi—the two tribes having some time ago sworn a *besa* that they would keep the peace between them—saw a woman of Shoshi on the trail. He said to himself that he would like that woman for his son, who was unmarried, though of marriageable age, because his betrothed had died in childhood. So the man of Shala took the woman of Shoshi to his house for his son, and there she is now.

"Apparently," said the bishop, dryly, "she did not make any outcry, for her husband was in their house only a few yards away, and it is a question whether she and the son had not previously arranged the abduction. However, the husband was, of course, obliged to avenge his honor, and he went at once to the heights above Shala and shot the son. This was, according to

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the Law, an unjustifiable murder, since he should have killed the father who was the abductor. Therefore the father waited on the trail above Shoshi and shot the husband.

It should have stopped there, but Shoshi's honor is involved as long as a woman of the tribe is held unlawfully in the hands of Shala. So a hot-tempered Shoshi man has shot a man of Shala and it has become a blood feud between the two tribes. As the woman was born in Pultit, some say that Pultit's honor is also involved. So you see that the affair becomes complicated; I have been told by wise men that no less than sixteen deaths will wipe out the insults on both sides. You perhaps heard telephoning about it as you came in? The mountain sides have been ringing with it. But what can one do? Excommunication, of course. At every mass I tell my people that the anger of the Church will descend on all who take part in the killings, but the Law of Lec holds them, and it is, after all, their only civil law."

It took time to tell this, what with filling the glasses, serving the food platters of delicious stewed rabbit and bowls of macaroni, a dish the bishop had grown fond of in Rome—and then there were the cups of syrupy Turkish coffee to be ceremoniously served and drunk, and for hours, struggling with an agony of sleepiness, we had implored Perolli in English to make our excuses and let us go to bed, he refusing sternly, since it is the most terrible breach of mountain

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empires, discover America, and invent machines, ooo
became as faint to us as the old memory of a dream. By the next day we had forgotten it all; two weeks later I was to come back to a room with a rug on the floor, a window in the wall, a bed, and a stove, and feel such a sense of strangeness among them that, tired as I was, I could not sleep between the unfamiliar sheets. Now that I am back in my own century, writing of those days in the Albanian mountains, I understand why men so easily slip into the ancient savagery of war and all war's atrocities. All that we call civilization is like a tune heard yesterday, a little thing floating on the surface of our minds, which sometimes we can keep step to, and then in a moment it is gone so that we cannot remember it.

Upon the trail that day we were barbarians, 628
simple and primitive; we were isolated, small bits of warmth and energy in a hostile universe of stone and rain. And when, out of the gray mist of the trail ahead, another simple barbarian appeared, we greeted him with the unquestioning acceptance of understanding. He was a man of Pultit, bare in the rain save for turban, loin cloth, and opangi. He was bound for the house of the bishop to bring back the boy Sokol, whose father was dead.

Standing around him in the rain, we listened to the news. Three days earlier Plum had sheltered a woman who was leaving a cruel husband, a man of Shoshi. She had slept beneath Plum's roof one night on her way to her father's tribe.

[See cat 216, pp. 36-37 -- [41] Analysis]

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628 That morning, as Plum returned after taking his son to school, he had met the husband on the trail, and without a word the husband had shot him down. But as he died Plum had managed to reach his revolver and had killed the husband, saying, "This, from Sokol." And as Sokol was now the head of his family, he must return from school to the house where the women were mourning his father.

Cheremi thrice made the sign of the cross. "Plum was a good man," he said.

"And loved his son," Perolli added. For Plum with his last effort had avenged himself, had closed the account. He left no blood feud to darken the life of the little Eagle. The boy would be known as the son of a hero, and to-day would take his place as a chief and a member of all village councils.

000 The man of Pultit, having told us this news and wished us long life and smooth trails for our feet, went on down the mountain side, and gripping our staffs tighter in water-soaked hands, we resumed our climbing.

We had begun that day with ponchos over our sweaters; our gendarmes had begun it by taking off their jackets and trousers, so that the sluicing rain would not wet them. These garments were, in the packs, protected by ponchos, and, barelegged, barearmed, with only the colored sashes about their waists and cloths wound around their heads, the men went up and down the interminable trails as easily as panthers. Now and

with four strangers from far away and with a Mohammedan youth of Scutari. To-night Cheremi will be in Plani. I will say to Lulash that he may bring to Cheremi in Plani the hundred kronen which he owes him."

"Oo-ee-oo-oo!" The final shrill call came circling back among the peaks like ripples of disturbed water, and up through its circling came the answering call of the woman. Since he had been telephoning to a woman, Cheremi did not fire his rifle three times, for which my ears were grateful.

We went on. And once, as I clambered up the side of a rock pile that the child of a giant might have made in building a tower with blocks, my staff (ah, how grateful I was for that third leg!) dislodged a stone the size of my head, and Cheremi, turning like a cat, flung himself downward and caught it as it tottered on the trail's edge. Then I looked and saw, far below, the miniature images of a woman and a cradle, set among moving white spots that were sheep, and I saw that the rock would have gone down the slope like a bomb from an airplane and struck the cradle beside which the woman was sitting, and, I thought, spinning.

"One must be careful on the trails," said Cheremi, and as the men at that moment had finished a song with a joyous fusillade of rifle shots, I asked if people were not sometimes killed by stray bullets. Perolli said that of course it happened now and then, but everyone under-

stood that the killing was an accident and it 628
caused no blood feud. Accidents, he remarked, will happen anywhere, and he spoke of the death toll of automobiles, which at that moment seemed as far from my knowledge as the twenty centuries that separated us from them.

"Through the Land of the Eagle the news is 533
sung," the second gendarme began a new song, 186
thumbs against his ears and sixty-pound pack on his back, as he ascended the rocks above us. Cheremi took it up, repeating each line as the other improvised it, and under his breath Rexh translated them for me, storing them away in his memory, from which I later transferred them to my notebook. As I listened I glanced at Rrok Perolli, disguised servant of the new government about which they were making the song, but his face wore a cheerful and unconcerned expression, like a mask so perfect that it seems real.

"Through the Land of the Eagle the news is sung —— (It has a double rhyme as they sing it, Mrs. Lane, but I do not know the English to make it rhyme in your language)," said Rexh, apologetically.

"What have the men of Tirana been doing?
I am a son of the mountain eagles;
I do not give up my nest while there is life in my claws;
I do not yield to the gendarmes!
I will drown them in their own blood.
Rise, rise, and go to the door.
There is a sergeant with twenty soldiers.

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forever to the little feet that brought you to Thethis!"

The little feet were wearing at that moment two pairs of wrinkled, thick woolen stockings, indescribably ludicrous beneath the flapping legs of trousers around which I had not rewound the soaked woolen leggings, and Perolli and I were helpless with laughter as soon as the door had closed behind Lulash.

"How am I ever going to get to his house?" I asked, wiping my eyes.

"Oh, we'll have somebody make you some goatskin opangi," said Perolli. "He won't expect us very soon." He flung out his arms in a jubilant gesture. "A *besa* of peace from Shala!" he exclaimed. "I couldn't have hoped for that! It means peace through the whole north; it means internal security for northern Albania—if I can only get the other tribes to join it."

Frances and Alex came in, desperately anxious to know what had happened, and we three did a dance of pure delight. It was an inexpressible relief to know that Perolli would get out of Shala alive, and the *besa* was almost too much.

"But, Perolli," said Frances, when I had told the whole conversation, "do you mean to say that these people are—are absolutely moral? I mean, as we understand morality? No love making along all these mountain trails? No illegitimate children? Never?"

"Never? Well, I have heard of one case," said Perolli. "But don't forget that such a

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thing would mean a blood feud between tribes. No man would make love to a girl of his own tribe, of course; a tribe traces its ancestry back to a common ancestor, and it would be like an American's making love to his own sister. And if he seduced a girl of another tribe he would be involving hundreds of people. Men have to respect women in these mountains; they're killed if they don't, and not only they, but their families. A blood feud is no joke.

"However, I did hear of its happening once. The man's family had to send word to the family of the girl to whom he was betrothed, to say that he could not marry her because he was going to have a child by another woman. The three tribes met in council and prevented a blood feud, but the man's family had to pay his fiancée's tribe ten thousand kronen, and ten thousand kronen to the family of the man that the other girl was engaged to. Then those two married, and the first man married the girl who was going to have his child. But it was a terrible disgrace to both their families.

But he cut short our awed admiration for such a rigidly moral community. He was a man of Ipek, educated in Europe, and returned to Tirana, and his attitude to the ignorant tribes of these mountains was not one of admiration.

"They are really a wretched lot," he declared. "Now, take a thing like this, for instance." And he told us that in a house a few miles down the valley there was a nine-year-old girl held prisoner. The story was this:

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He had put on his turban; below its white folds 000
the silver chain dangled on his bare breast; above
it the muzzle of his rifle caught a glint of the
western sunlight.

"He says it is not a question of your safety; 628
it is a question of his honor. I was right, Mrs. 517
Lane; he says that he is in blood with the tribes
through which one goes to Scutari. If he travels
through them by night he will be killed, and in
the darkness no one will know who has done it.
He does not mind being killed, but to be killed
by some one his tribe cannot know and kill after-
ward would be black dishonor to him. It is true,
Mrs. Lane, and he is a great byraktor—the
byraktor of five hundred houses."

"But he need not go with me. You and the
Shala man will go with me. I only want his
mule. Is he afraid for his mule? I will give him
a paper, and if I am killed and the mule is stolen
he can get another mule from the Red Cross
house in Scutari."

I said this quite innocently, but the words taught
me what blazing eyes are. One hears of them; one
seldom sees them. But the byraktor's eyes seemed
actually to kindle into flame, and involuntarily I
shrank back when he turned them on me.

"He does not think of the mule, Mrs. Lane.
He thinks only of his honor. You must not say
such things. He says you cannot go on without
him; you are traveling under his protection, and
it is his honor that is concerned if anything hap-
pens to you."

7 [Shoshi warchief and [871] author's guide to Scutari -- analyst]

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577 628 I looked at the ring of utterly savage-looking men, half naked, with shaven heads and scalp-locks, surrounding me in those wild mountains, and suddenly I struggled not to laugh. If a magic vision could have shown me then to my friends at home, how they would have prayed that I escape alive, while the real difficulty was that these savages wanted only too embarrassingly to protect me.

"But, Rexh, it is absurd. I did not ask for his protection; I simply hired his mule. Tell him that he has brought me so far safely, so far I have traveled under his protection. I thank him, I thank him deeply, I am most grateful with my whole heart, but now I will leave his protection and travel onward." And to Rexh's words, with my hand on my heart, I added in Albanian, "I thank you from my heart."

The byraktor made a gesture, only a little gesture with his hand, but the violence of its fury I cannot describe. "You thank me! You have broken my honor!" he said, and even without Rexh's murmured translation I would have felt the menace of the silence that followed.

"But," I said, bewildered, "I am traveling with the Shala man. Isn't the Shala man protection? Besides, tell him I don't need protection. I am protected even here by the power of my own tribe."

"The Shala man shall take you in, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh. That too-handsome youth had hung back from the conversation, but Rexh's stern

[Shala tribe is in blood feud [272] with Shoshi tribe -- Analyst]

eye brought him into it. And then there was such a battle of words that the very rocks joined it. The byraktor stood listening, bending down a little, intent; Rexh—short, pudgy Rexh in his flannelette pajamas—drove home with fist on chubby fist his earnest words, and the Shala man called Heaven and the cliffs to witness his clamor. The byraktor turned his eyes from Rexh to the Shala man, from the Shala man to Rexh, and thoughtfully stroked his chin. Around us the other men stood attentive.

Then the Shala man turned and, lifting me from the trail to which I had dismounted, swung me again into the saddle. He pounded the saddle with his fist and exclaimed violently, his face congested with dark blood.

"It is all right, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh, grimly. "He will take you in. He has told the byraktor why he cannot take you to Scutari; it is because the gendarmes are looking for him to kill him. But he will take you in. After that the gendarmes can have him; he is of no use."

Even my fixed idea was shaken by those astounding, calm words.

"But, Rexh," I said, in horror, "I can't kill a man, even to get to Scutari to-night. Do you think the gendarmes will really kill him if he takes me in?" But one glance at the violently miserable Shala man answered the question.

"Yes, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh. "They will kill him by law, because he has killed some men. But, Mrs. Lane, he said he would take you to

577 Scutari and he must take you to Scutari. The
623 byraktor will tell you so."

"*Po, po,*" said the byraktor, agreeing, and, "*Po, po,*" said the others; and looking at the Shala man, I had no doubt that if he faltered on the way Rexh's tongue had barbs to drive him onward.

"But explain to the byraktor that it is not American custom—that I can't take a man to be killed, Rexh. I'm sorry," said I, for it did seem a pity to disappoint Rexh so, when he had so nicely arranged everything. I leaned from the saddle and spoke earnestly to the byraktor myself, Rexh's murmured translation for his ears while I held his eyes: "I must get to Scutari to-night. It is necessary. But I do not want to risk any man's life. I take my own life in my hands and go with it on the trail. No one else can carry it for me. That is American custom. It is American custom that I thank you now, and give back to you your protection, and go on alone. If it is not your custom, I am sorry, but by all American custom your honor is safe, and I am American, and Albanian law does not apply to me."

"You speak with a tongue of great learning," said the byraktor, but this time his manner was sympathetic. "However, my honor is my honor, and my protection goes with you all the way to your own tribe. I will go with you to Scutari."

"But I don't want the byraktor to be killed, either!" I wailed; and then the byraktor's

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

gendarme came forward. He was a low-browed, 577
rascally-looking fellow, a man with bad eyes like 628
those of an untrustworthy horse, and a charming smile. He was naked except for the wide scarlet sash around his loins and the tiny white cap over his scalplock.

"The honor of my byraktor is my honor," he said. "My byraktor is a good byraktor and a great byraktor. He is byraktor of five hundred houses. If he is killed, all the valley mourns. If he is killed in the dark and we never know who killed him so that we can kill that man, that is black dishonor for all the tribe of Shoshi. I am only one man, and if I am killed it does not matter. I will go with you to Scutari."

"Glory to your lips!" said the others. "Good! It is decided."

"Well," I thought, "all this is beautiful 628
rhetoric, but no one will kill him while I am with him." As for the danger in the darkness, I did not believe it for a moment. Who would shoot a person he could not see? So I said good-by to the byraktor—all our long and flowery speeches consumed another quarter of an hour, and the sunlight was climbing away over the mountains so rapidly that we could see it go—and I said good-by to all the others, and promised the frantic Shala man that indeed he should be paid what had been promised; I would send him the money by the gendarme, and I would send the mule and the hundred kronen to the byraktor—and then another difficulty arose. If I left the

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628 Shala man unprotected here, in the midst of the Shoshi men who had traveled amiably with him all that day—but he had never wandered beyond eyeshot of me—his life would be no safer than in the hands of the gendarmes of Scutari.

I actually felt despair when Rexh pointed this out. "Well, but he has to get back through the tribe of Shoshi somehow, anyway, hasn't he? Why on earth did he ever start this idiotic trip?"

"He wanted the money, Mrs. Lane, and he cannot think ahead. He came through Shoshi only for a joke. If he can get away alive from these men he can go back through Pultit."

"Well, ask the byraktor if he will give me this Shala man's worthless life. Ask him not to let his men shoot him until after to-morrow night. Ask him if the Shala man may stay safely under the byraktor's protection until the gendarme gets back with his money, and then go in peace."

ooo So this was arranged, and the Shala man, turning his beautiful eyes most languishingly to mine, fervently kissed my hands in Italian fashion; and again I said good-by to the byraktor, and at last, just as the last sunlight left the mountains, Rexh, the gendarme, the mule, and I continued our way toward Scutari.

We followed the winding trail along the banks of the Kiri River. Twilight was over the rushing waters and the cliffs; all along the way the trees were misty green with the youngest of new leaves, and the air was very pure and still. It was all peaceful and very beautiful, and, lulled

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 He overtook us, hurrying the mule with blows, and we fell in behind him, speculating now and then around which turn of the cliffs we would first see the Kiri bridge, that lovely succession of old stone arches, built long ago in the Italian style, and wondering what the girls in the Red Cross house would say when we so unexpectedly arrived.

628 The crash of the thing that happened was like an explosion—over before one had time to comprehend it. I happened to be looking toward the gendarme, a couple of yards ahead of me, walking at the donkey's head; I had just taken my eyes from the creamy blue river and I saw him reach for his rifle. A misty rain was falling; he had thrown my poncho over his shoulders; the strap that held his rifle ran under it. His gesture was quick and desperate, some part of the rifle caught on a rent in the poncho and the heavy oilcloth ripped apart with a loud tearing sound. The broken, frantic, struggling movement was printed on my eyeballs, and then with headlong leaps I had reached him: we stood beside a bowlder that had blocked my view of the trail, and in front of us were two rifles, pointed straight at us.

There were two men behind the rifles, but I swear that I saw only the rifles. I flung out my hand and heard the most fluting feminine voice I have ever commanded crying, "Long life to you!" And then the rifles fired.

I have tried to give the effect of the thing as

* [of Shoshi tribe acom [278] [anying author to Scuta. --Analyst]

628 it happened; I may now say at once that I was not killed, though I shouldn't have been at all surprised if I had next realized that I was dead. Instead, I saw two very haughty and displeased Albanians advancing up the trail. "And to you long life!" they said, stiffly, and turned their heads from the gendarme as they passed him. When they were quite gone I was startled to find myself in a heap on the trail, weeping aloud like a six-year-old. It's odd how such things take you; I suppose it was the surprise of it.

The gendarme did not seem unduly excited. He said he had killed the cousin of one of those men not long before, and had been a little afraid of meeting him on this road. He said they had lifted their rifles when they saw me, and the bullets had gone over our heads. He said that from now on, if I did not mind, he would wear my hat as a disguise, because there were more of that man's relatives about. And would I mind walking beside him until we passed the Kiri bridge? He would then be out of the dangerous territory. As for my poncho, he was very sorry that he had torn it. I assured him that it did not matter.

000 I walked beside him all the way to the Kiri bridge, and then got on the wooden saddle again and leaned back and rested. There was still an hour of traveling across the Scutari plain.

The sunlight faded from the silvering western sky, the western mountains were low dark shapes blotting out the stars. Far away a light twinkled

7; Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

•628 Anarchy knows no prisons — the most fundamental of social institutions — so that the only punishment inflicted among the tribesmen was death. Here lay the origin of the blood feud; the scourge of life in the mountains and a practice of the deepest social significance. In a community, any crime is an offence against society as a whole, and the appropriate penalties are prescribed in accordance with the law. Under anarchy, however, as in international relations, the importance of a crime lies less in its intrinsic character than in the challenge which it represents to the victim's prestige. All crimes, therefore, be they murder, rape, theft, or merely insult, are of equal weight; and the consideration which a man will receive from his fellows depends upon the speed and violence with which he avenges a wrong. Prestige, however, can only suffer from a public slight; and it was said among the Albanians that though a rough word in company would often lead to a feud of years, a blow unseen by third parties might well be forgotten.

The same considerations of prestige which lay at the root of the blood feuds were the cause of their persistence. The rights and wrongs of a particular vendetta might arouse little interest, but the manner of its prosecution was the public test of the power of the clans concerned. On rare occasions the aggressors might confess their guilt and the aggrieved forgo their pound of flesh for an indemnity in cash or kind. Otherwise the blood feud would be waged, perhaps without passion and with many truces, but relentlessly, sometimes even for generations, until both sides to the dispute were agreed that enough blood had flowed for the account to be closed with honour. The blood feuds were thus both an effect of anarchy, and, by the divisions which they multiplied among the mountaineers, a cause of its perpetuation. To such an extent, indeed, did they dominate the daily life of the Albanians — and naturally, for few things occupy a man's mind so effectively as the fear of sudden death — that, in most issues which arose among them, they took sides according to their feuds rather than their opinions.

183 Travellers returning from Albania have been wont to dwell on the famous code of honour, the Law of Lek, which is said to prescribe the rules of the blood feud and the general manners

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000 hearths at night. We watched their unfamiliar ways, studied
668 their starkly realist opinions, and by a hundred different
[662] arguments preached war against the Germans. Abas Kupi meanwhile worked hard to strengthen his faction, rewarding friends, corrupting enemies, and gently menacing the un-
628 decided. Above all he sought to impose a truce between the warring clans whose blood feuds threatened the unity of the Zogist cause. The *Hakmeria*, or blood feud, had its merits, for it was a great teacher of manners and of respect for the dignity of the individual. No Albanian indeed could strike
[683] another with impunity, and even schoolmasters had been known to pay with their lives for a hasty cuff in class. But the feuds took a heavy toll of life and suffering; and we met men from weak clans who had scarcely left their homes in twenty years for fear of neighbours with whom they were "in blood". Under the monarchy some attempt had been made to suppress the feuds; and they had begun to decline before the growing power of the Central Government. With the collapse, however, of Italian rule the mountaineers had returned to their ancient anarchy, and now blood feuds flourished on every side. As foreigners we stood in no danger from them, but they were none the less an important factor in our daily life. A guide would take us several hours out of our way to avoid crossing the territory of a clan with which he was "in blood"; chieftains would suddenly postpone a meeting, alarmed by rumours that their enemies were lying in wait; and sometimes at tribal gatherings we would see a man pass the coffee cup to his neighbour under his knee — the supreme mark of contempt for the man who had not even tried to avenge a wrong.

628 The persistence of the blood feuds presented Abas Kupi with a serious problem, for every time a clan was won to his cause their blood enemies would side automatically with his rivals. He therefore laboured patiently to reconcile the contending parties, and in accordance with the Law of Lek invited them to submit their feuds to his arbitration. There was, moreover, an ancient tradition that a general truce, or *besa*, might be proclaimed like the medieval "Truce of God" if a region was

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in danger of foreign attack. To secure such a *besa* and so restore the unity of Mati was now the Agha's foremost aim. 628

We were joined every now and then by groups of notables 662 who would accompany us on the march for two or three days. Among them came one, Hafuz Effendi, a shrunken, bird-like creature, who had been deputy of Mati under the Italians. Like many of the older Albanians Hafuz still wrote for preference in the Arabic script and for our benefit recited the opening *surahs* of the Koran. He had been on Essad Pasha's staff in the last war and since then, in the time-serving tradition of the Ottoman bureaucracy, had worked in turn for Fan Noli, Zog, and the Italians. During the occupation, indeed, he had twice betrayed Abas Kupi's hide-out to the Italians, and was even held responsible for the arrest of some of the guerillas. Now, however, that the Italians were gone, he piously proclaimed himself a democrat and had come to offer his services to Abas Kupi, in whom he discerned the paramount influence of the day. Such time-serving exceeded, even among the Albanians; and, despite his great age, he was mocked unmercifully by young and old. He was a guest, however, albeit self-invited, and while he was with us no one would have thought of harming him. Abas Kupi let him stay with us two days and then dismissed him to his house, but kindly; for it was now his policy to forget the past and to stretch out a hand to all who would support him.

Germanic names, such as Allemani and Walter, were found [551] among the Mati clans, derived, so it was said, from Crusaders who had settled in Albania on their way to the East. The 628 Walter clan had declared for Abas Kupi, but they were still suspect to the Zogists; for they had long been blood enemies of the King. One of them indeed, named Bekir, had tried in 1924 to assassinate Zog in the Tirana Parliament. He had only succeeded in wounding him and, to escape capture, had then locked himself up in the Parliament lavatory. There he had reloaded and prepared to stand siege, singing patriotic songs to keep up his courage. None of the deputies had dared to break in the door, for they knew that Bekir was armed;

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628 but after some parley he had been persuaded to surrender to Kotsuli, his party chief. Thanks to Kotsuli's efforts his sentence had been commuted to one of exile; and he had lived abroad, in Paris. Fifteen years later, when the Italians had driven Zog from the throne, Bekir had decided to return to Albania. There, business took him to Valona, and, late one night, staying in the chief hotel, he heard someone calling for help and beating against the wall. He went to investigate and found that some unfortunate man had locked himself up in the lavatory and could not get out. Bekir began to unpick the lock and, as he did so, a voice said from within:

"I am Kotsuli! I will reward your kindness."

"There is no need," replied Bekir, as he set free his former party chief, "for I am Walter. The debt was mine!"

We did not see Bekir, for his friendship with Kotsuli had led him into collaboration with the Germans, but the Walter clan received us well.

*669 Our progress through Mati was crowned by a grand gathering of the *Beys* in the stronghold of Dule, the chief of the powerful Allemani clan. Dule was a dark, inbred-looking man with sensitive, aquiline features wasted by consumption. For years he had pitted himself against Zog, but hatred of foreign rule had led him to join Abas Kupi; and he had astonished the tribes by his valour in the rising against the Italians. He was indeed a true *Caballero de la Triste Figura*, hiding a brave and generous nature beneath a decadent and ragged frame. A score or so of notables had assembled to meet us, and their bodyguards, camped about the keep, must have numbered close on a thousand men. Among them were Sul Kurti, a favourite of the King, known as the Lion of Mati, but grown old and heavy; Doda, the Italianised young *Bairaktar* of Kthelle, who was the leading Catholic among the Zogists and a cousin of the redoubtable Captain of Mirdita; and Yussuf Chelai, the dignified and courteous chief of the neighbouring clan. Yussuf Bey's presence was a pleasant surprise, for Allemanis and Chelais had long been "in blood"; and their reconciliation was a great triumph for Abas Kupi.

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000 "Where the Captain leads, I will follow."

We stretched out on his mud floor and slept a couple of hours, but then pressed on, not wishing to stay there long enough for news of our presence to reach Marko Joni. Our short rest had stiffened rather than refreshed us, but that night, at about ten o'clock, after a march of altogether twenty-two hours, we crawled into a low stone fortress near the village of Konai. There we were hospitably entertained by a cousin of Marko Joni, who inclined, however, to the Zogist cause. The 622 company that evening included Res Lufi, a chieftain from the borders of Mati and Mirdita, who was renowned for the success [628] with which he waged his blood feuds. Next day we were to pass a well where, some years earlier, he had drowned six of his blood enemies whom he had taken in their sleep.

000 From Konai the path to Mati led through Oroshi, the seat of the Abbot of Mirdita, and one of Marko Joni's strongholds. We judged it more prudent, therefore, to make a slight detour and set out in the morning to climb the Mali Shengjit, or Mount Saint John, a broad, wooded massif which separates the regions of Mirdita and Lura. The day was fine, but we made slow progress; for the going was rough and the men nearing the limit of endurance. In the late afternoon, however, we descended into Lura and stopped by the side of the path to smoke and chat with a farmer returning from the market. He spoke for some time of local politics and then added as an afterthought:

"They said in the market that Rome has fallen and that the English have landed in France!"

Our bodyguards greeted the news with wild shouts and fired their rifles into the air; the old man was embraced by all and sundry; and we left him still sitting by the roadside, bewildered that anyone should be excited by news of these distant events.

We pushed on next morning through the barren gorges of Matsukull and in the evening reached Sul Kurti's house on the fringes of the Mati valley. We found old Sul sitting on a carpet in his orchard enjoying the last hours of daylight with one of his sons. This young man had come from Tirana only the day before, and from him we learnt details of the battle in France. That night Sul gave us a banquet in honour of the landing and

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114 penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud.
[628] For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no
[577] doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

171 It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that
721 of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss
[826] Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants,
[842] its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance
[583] is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance
[302] of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the head by Albanians (p. 230), as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but
[628] quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other
000 primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

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embodied in a code there is an end to its spontaneous development. But to reach this stage the code must be an enacted code, written and recorded, and this the pronouncements of the Albanian law-givers failed to achieve. On the contrary their codes seem to have remained in the verbal custody of the village or tribal elders and subject to modification or reinterpretation from time to time by assemblies of clans or villages. It is at this stage that we have Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian customary law—law primitive enough in many ways to be compared with the customary law of tribes much less civilized than the Albanians; but it reached the point, and that some five hundred years ago, of becoming codified verbally by the efforts of individual law-givers, Skanderbeg in particular and the famous Lek Dukagjini, without having reached the stage of enactment. This was principally due to the fact that there was no one able to enforce sanctions over the Albanian community as a whole; individual Albanian chieftains had not the power, and Turkish rule interfered but little outside the towns. It was no doubt this absence of any such sanctions as those provided by an enacted law and enforced by a settled government, or merely even by the continuity in administration of a single ruling family, which was the primary cause of the firm establishment of the vendetta as the real sanction for all Albanian law and custom. At the same time, however, economic conditions have probably contributed to this result, for in a richer country the administration of justice might have been made profitable to any ruler strong enough to provide it. Thus Albanian customary law not only reflects an economic stage through which most nations have passed before the establishment of enacted codes, but also a condition, by no means unique but very far from universal, in which poor and isolated communities have resorted to the vendetta for the sanction of their law, and that in spite of any influence that Christianity or Islam might have had to prevent it. The etiquette of the vendetta itself is likewise a customary code not dissimilar to taboo in nature and origins; and without any more definite sanction, or naturally any sort of legislative enactment, regular and almost technical forms of procedure have come into existence in what virtually are regularly constituted courts. In this the Icelandic practices, as described in the sagas of Njal and Kormak, for instance, afford a near parallel to those of Albania, and Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian custom will prove of importance not

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merely to ethnologists and social anthropologists but also to those concerned with the early history of jurisprudence.

Apart from that the contents of this volume are likely to be of no little interest to the general reader as giving an account of the unfamiliar way of life of a people of very distinct and individual culture, who have throughout history taken pride and pleasure in their separateness. For the Albanians, direct descendants of the ancient Illyrians, still retain something of their ancient form of Aryan speech very distinct from that of other branches of the family; they still retain an ancient tribal system; and they still have that passionate love of independence which caused many of them to forsake their native mountains and form settlements in Greece, Calabria, and Sicily when their country was occupied by the Turks after the death of their leader Skanderbeg (George Castriota) in 1467. As a result of the Turkish conquest several of the Albanian tribes changed from Christianity to Islam, and there are now many Muslim Albanians as well as both Greek Orthodox and Roman Catholic Christians. The Mirdite, who constitute the biggest tribe, were perhaps at one time Orthodox, and are now staunch Catholics. But their profession of faith seems to have affected but little the adherence of the Albanians to their ancient customs.

J. H. HUTTON

NEW RADNOR
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lenders for the want of security), and in the less-developed north 562
she invested it in sheep, plough-oxen, or even horses which she 593
hired out on the 'half-and-half' system. Before a woman died, she 426
gave a little of her *pekul* to her daughters and the major part to her sons, but nothing to her husband, so making a last comment on the curiously detached relationship between them during their married life.

Except in the towns, no Albanian woman ever went into 357
domestic service. Each worked as a girl in her father's house and then in her husband's and, though never paid any money, was assured for life of whatever board, lodging and clothes these could provide. This applied even to families of the standing of Cen Elezi in Dibër. Consequently the Unwritten Law took no cognizance of female servants. On the other hand, men servants—mainly farm workers or herdsmen—were numerous enough to have been carefully legislated for.

Though such a servant ate out of the same dish as his master and slept in the sitting-room or elsewhere in the same conditions as the young unmarried men of the family, he had always to take a back seat—in the literal sense near the door and far from the fire; and, in the metaphorical sense, effacing himself. This befitted both his youth and his status. For his status was like that of a woman. 'It is for the master to command and for the servant to obey', said the Unwritten Law. If he were a shepherd, his views on the beasts under his care commanded his master's respect, but other servants were required to keep their opinions to themselves. In areas such 357
as Martanesh where women could not be killed in a blood feud, 628
a servant was as safe as they were from his master's enemies. 'Kill a servant? Faugh! As well kill a woman', was the sentiment.

There was, however, another aspect to his position: since he [574]
came from another family in his master's village or from another village altogether, he was not a member of his master's household but was its guest. As such he was entitled to protection by his master against all hurt from third parties. If he were hit, the offender must pay twice, compensating him for the personal injury of the blow and his master for the affront to his guest. If he were robbed, his master latterly complained to the police, but in the old days would have shot the robber out of hand in the north, but in Martanesh and farther south, not until he saw that the servant himself was too weak to resent the injury as honour demanded. If

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357 a servant were killed, a modern master again told the police, but
628 nevertheless both he and the servant's family considered themselves at feud with the murderer, the former to avenge the death of his guest and the latter to avenge the death of their relative; more often than not, the master made it 'tit for tat' by killing the murderer's servant. In former times a servant was most commonly killed because he was mixed up in a blood feud of his own. In that event his master went to see his enemy and warned him that the man was now in his service and, consequently, under his protection. If his enemy disregarded the warning, his master never rested until he had avenged the servant.

Again in the old days, vengeance took a fiercer turn when the servant was from a different community. He was then counted as a stranger, and the guest of his master's tribe or village, as well as of his master himself. If he were killed by one of this community, the others rose as one man, burned down the murderer's house and destroyed all his goods. The modern Albanian government has repressed this custom, but the servant's master and family still try to shoot the murderer.

The same public vengeance used to await the murderer of a local servant who was working for a stranger to the tribe or village. But in such a case it was the injury to its stranger guest which the community wished to avenge; in itself the death of the servant was a matter for private vengeance by his family. In aggravated cases, as when the murdered servant as well as his master was a stranger, the community might order the execution of the murderer by a firing squad. This was done in 1944 in the village of Dukat, in south-west Albania.

357 No Albanian ever stooped to become a servant except from dire necessity. Most commonly he wanted to marry, and having no spare cash, must earn enough to pay for his bride. He was usually engaged on St George's or St Demetrius's day in the Old Style calendar, and so on 6 May and 8 November in ours, dates which correspond roughly to the beginning and end of the dry season. His engagement was for six months or, more often, a year. His wages and his work depended on the bargain he made with his master before being hired. In the 1930's his wages, including food only, ranged according to his quality from one napoleon (16*s*. at par) to half a napoleon a month, payable monthly. In late Turkish times, when clothes as well as food were given, the rates were from

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If a dog was unusually fierce, it might be tied up early and loosed late. If a locality was dangerous or if the dog's master was at feud with someone, the dog might be loosed precisely at sundown and left free till exactly sunrise. As a result of the latter proviso a stranger who reached a village about sunset must ask immediately in the interest of his own safety whether his intended host is at feud with anyone. If he were, he called to his host from a safe distance —the fiercest dog did not stir unprovoked beyond the outskirts of its own farmyard. There followed an exchange of conventional questions and answers, designed to convince the host that the stranger came as a friend and not as an enemy. When convinced, the host bade the stranger stay where he was and forbade him to speak—this in case the dog charged in the direction of the voice. He then tied up the dog while some of his womenfolk went to inspect the stranger, and if satisfied that he was harmless, to bring him to the house.

When a house dog attacked a stranger the law considered three positions: (*a*) when the dog only threatened to bite, (*b*) when it succeeded in biting and (*c*) when it killed. In all three positions there was discrimination between attack by day and attack by night.

If during the daytime a house dog threatened to bite a stranger, the latter might kill it without incurring a penalty. The day was his time not the dog's, and he was in the right and the dog in the wrong. To attack him it must have broken its chain or pulled up the stake to which it had been tied. Its master too was at fault for not having observed that its chain and stake were insecure. Exceptionally in Martanesh the stranger was fined 100 grosh.

If again during the daytime a house dog succeeded in biting a stranger its master must indemnify the stranger, and that irrespective of whether the dog had been killed or not. In Dibër he escaped by paying the blood money due for wounding a man. In the more picturesque north he must keep the wounded man in his house free of charge until he recovered, pay any doctor's bills that might be incurred and pay the wounded man what he would have earned if well. The northerners were so poor that they found such expenses a heavy burden. In consequence they tested a dog's chain and stake from time to time and sent their womenfolk to escort a stranger to and from the house; they could not perform this task themselves because they did not enjoy a woman's immunity from attack by a lurking enemy. A poor man, desperate

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as he saw his dog about to bite, might even shoot the animal, regarding its loss as the lesser evil. Occasionally a man sought to disclaim responsibility, shouting that he was not a chain-making gypsy and only bought, and did not make, the faulty chain. The stranger would retort that he was not dog's meat. Then revolvers might be drawn and a blood feud begun. More probably the dog's owner sullenly invited the wounded man to partake of the hospitality demanded by the law.

If a house dog killed a stranger during the daytime, it was in most places as if its master had killed him and a blood feud sprang up between the two families. In Dibër, however, the payment of full blood money generally satisfied the bereaved family.

During the night the law was entirely on the side of the house dog and its master. No matter how the animal might threaten a stranger he might not kill it. If he did so, he must pay blood money or have a feud with its master, exactly as if it was the latter he had killed. The Kanùn says clearly that 'at night a dog is equivalent to a man'. Indeed, in some places such as Çermenikë the animal was thought more important and its murder by night was more serious. If a house dog succeeded in biting a stranger at night, the latter got nothing from its master—neither hospitality and doctor's fees nor indemnity for wages lost. From his neighbours he got mockery—'Fancy letting yourself be bitten by a dog. You're a fine man.' Even if a house dog killed a stranger at night there was no compensation, the death went unavenged. Once upon a time, in Lurë, a daughter-in-law of Demir Lleshi went out at night into her own farmyard. A neighbour's dog sprang on her and killed her, but since it was night time, the dog's time, her blood was lost. It was immaterial that the dog was trespassing and that she was on her own ground.

There was only one exception to these rules. If a house stood near a main road an aggressive dog might be killed during the night without penalty. A higher law stated that 'it is not right to cut a main road with a dog'. In the far north bajraktars and elders had been known to order fierce dogs near a main road to be kept chained at night as well as during the day.

The blood money which was payable on killing a house dog at night was generally the same as would be payable if a man had been killed. The blood money for a bitch was the same as for a dog; there was no discrimination between the sexes as there was in the

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231 case of murdered man and murdered woman. In some areas, such
685 as Kurbin, the blood money for a house dog was assessed by the
628 elders or government authorities.

A stranger who agreed in his simplicity to pay the owner what he demanded for his dead dog might find himself presented with a fine bill. The owner would say that the dog had saved his life on several occasions and was consequently worth six, ten or even twenty napoleons. Sometimes the owner asked the stranger, not for blood money, but for another dog of the same quality as the dead animal. The cost might exceed the conventional amount of blood money.

In the above cases a house dog had been killed in self-defence. When it was killed out of spite matters were much more serious. 'He who kills a house dog will steal your wife', says the Kanùn. Such killings usually took place at night because the aggressor would find it dangerous to approach the house in daylight. This aggravated the crime since the night was the dog's own time.

In Mirditë, Kurbin and Martanesh a man who killed a dog 'in its kennel', i.e. on its own ground and therefore spitefully, must pay its master 500 grosh, almost a fortune in these poverty-stricken areas. In north Albania his life was forfeit. When he had been killed by the dog's master, his relatives killed one of the latter's family, arguing that they could not permit their relative to be equated to a dog. In most cases the two parties being 'one for one' the dog's master then consented to make peace on condition of receiving blood money for the dead animal. He might stipulate, if he wished, that this should take the form of an ox or a horse and so cost more than the conventional blood money. Occasionally the feud was continued—it is on record that twelve men in the north once died for the sake of one dog. In any region a man who immediately pardoned the killer of his dog would be taunted as
[695] a weakling. In Lumë the man who was suspected of having killed a house dog found dead, a crime as costly as killing a man, could not clear himself unless he persuaded twenty-four elders to take oath with him.

231 The legal discrimination between defensive and spiteful killing
685 made it important for a man who killed a dog during the daytime
672 to establish his motive. He could do so simply and surely. If his bullet had struck the dog in the forehead or chest it was evident that the animal was charging him and he had fired in fear. If, on the

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other hand, he had shot the dog in the back he must have killed it out of spite.

Whereas house dogs remained at home and were chained up for half their lives, sheep dogs were normally free both day and night and divided their time between the mountain-side and the sheep-fold. Their function was to protect the flock from thieves and wolves. If these approached, they must bark a timely warning so as to bring the shepherds with their rifles and they must themselves attack the marauders. They must therefore be alert, courageous and fierce, true 'Molossian hounds'. In districts infested by wolves they wore iron collars set with iron spikes to prevent the wolf from tearing open their throat. In common with other sheep dogs in the Near and Middle East they did not handle the flock. That was led, or occasionally driven, by the shepherd unaided.

As fierceness was their most important asset, sheep dogs were given the same harsh upbringing as house dogs. Indeed, they were generally removed at a still earlier age from their mother so that they should not know even her caresses for long. But they were gentle enough with their flocks, from which they never parted. As puppies they were fed on ewe's or goat's milk—hence, said the peasants of Shpat, their later friendliness with the animals they guarded. In adult life they were fed on maize bread roughly baked in indigestible looking balls by the shepherds. Nevertheless, their strength and the sleekness of their coats showed that the diet was sufficient.

The law of the sheep dog varied from place to place according to the animal's position in the local economy. In the north, where men depended almost entirely on their flocks, the sheep dog was of paramount importance as the guardian of its master's whole livelihood and was protected by the law to the utmost. In areas such as Kurbin, where men combined agriculture with sheep-breeding, the sheep dog was of less importance to its master and some relaxation appears in the law. In fertile areas like Lumë or Krasniqë, where agriculture predominated, the sheep dog was still less important and the law less drastic. So in the north it was more serious to kill a sheep dog than a house dog and elsewhere the position was reversed.

Among the mountains of the north the law of the sheep dog was the same by day and by night. A passer-by might be bitten at any hour of the day or night, but if he killed the dog he would be killed

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by its master. No excuse for his crime could be tolerated. He might have lost his way or be a stranger (and so a guest to be protected). No matter! The mountain was the dog's ground day and night. Why had he gone near the sheep? Was it to steal one? There was no road through the flock. He should have stuck to the highway which was inalienably his, day and night. If he were killed by the dog, his family had no right to claim blood money or to start a feud; his 'blood was lost'. In Dibër the same harsh laws prevailed. In the partly pastoral, partly agricultural area of Kurbin a man who killed a sheep dog generally escaped with the payment of blood money; his life was not necessarily forfeit. In Martanesh, where the economy was similar, a man who killed a sheep dog in terror of his life and proved his motive was fined 100 grosh, the amount payable for a house dog in the same circumstances.

In the adjacent Çermenikë he was not even fined. In fertile Lumë the law was that 'a man can't lose his life for a dog', and on that theory a traveller on the mountain might kill a sheep dog which had refused to let him pass. For penalty he needed only to go to the dog's master and beg his pardon. He was generally afraid to go alone—the dog's master might suspect that he had killed the dog from spite and might be in an evil temper as a result. So he generally asked others to accompany him. These confessed his crime and asked for pardon. It was never refused. If he had killed a house dog during the daytime in this district, he would have had to pay blood money as for a murdered man, or would have been killed. On the rich plateau of Krasniqë sheep-rearing is relatively so unimportant that sheep dogs come under the same rules as house dogs. If, for instance, one bites a stranger on the mountain its master must pay for the wound.

Even in the gentler areas the spiteful or senseless killing of a sheep dog may start a blood feud. An extreme case occurred 'long ago' in Lumë. The sheep belonging to the Onuzi sept were sleeping in a mountain fold near the fold of the Doçi sept. The dogs began to fight among themselves and the Doçi shepherd killed an Onuzi dog. The Onuzi shepherd drew his revolver and shot the Doçi man dead. A general fight then started among the shepherds and in a few minutes six Onuzi and twelve Doçi men lay dead for the sake of a dog. The feud raged on for years, not ceasing until it was at last composed by direct order of the reigning Sultan.

Successive generations of travellers evolved practical expedients

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for dealing with sheep dogs. The first was to 'let sleeping dogs lie'. 231 If a traveller were so unfortunate as to find one in his path and 628 there was no shepherd in sight to call it in, he swerved aside, 683 keeping well to leeward in the hope that neither sound nor scent 685 of his presence would reach the dog. If a dog charged, the traveller might follow the example of Ulysses on his return home and sit down. The dog would probably sit down too and immobilize him until the shepherd's arrival, but it was not likely to charge again. This expedient was more favoured in central than in northern Albania. There the traveller preferred to climb a tree in the hope that the flock would soon pass, so releasing him. The dog was not really interested in him and went on with the flock. It has happened when, a flock was large and grazing, that a man has had to stay half a day up a tree, with several dogs barking under his feet; for it was customary in north Albania to leave a grazing flock in sole charge of the sheep dog for many hours. For that reason, as soon as a traveller heard sheep bells—and in that country of long narrow valleys enclosed by lofty mountains he might hear them half an hour away—he called out. If no answering shout came, he knew that there was no shepherd with the flock and laid his plans accordingly. As far south as Shpat fear of a sheep dog might send a traveller up a tree, but there rescue came swiftly because shepherds were forbidden to leave their flocks for long. Tracks in Shpat were too many and travellers too numerous to allow of lengthy hold-ups by sheep dogs. With the same motive of protecting travellers, shepherds in the few treeless areas of north Albania were required to remain with their flocks.

If, however, a flock was grazing near a main road, the sheep dog came under the law already enunciated that 'it is not right to cut a main road with a dog'. Day and night, when near such a road, the sheep dog must be kept under control by means of the shepherd's voice or a chain, preferably the latter as being surer. A traveller who found a sheep dog loose on such a road and received no answer to his call from the shepherd was entitled to kill the dog and did not have to compensate its master.

Shooting dogs had the run of the house and kitchen as well as 231 the farmyard and were never tied up. Born gentle, they were well 683 enough treated by their masters to remain so throughout their lives. They were not found in every house but only with the leisured or the lazy.

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231 A stranger who was bitten by a shooting dog could neither kill it
683 nor claim compensation for his wound. Indeed, he became a public butt for being feckless enough to let himself be bitten by so tame an animal.

231 If a stranger killed a shooting dog by mischance, he must
685 compensate the master in money—two napoleons were thought adequate in most places. Alternatively, he must give him another dog as good as the one he had killed. The hour of the crime was immaterial.

224 If a shooting dog was killed from motives of spite, a feud
628 followed as in the case of house and sheep dogs.

If a shooting dog put up a hare, only its master had the right to take the hare. It might be that the chase was long and that the hare was shot by a stranger before the dog's master caught it up. In that case the latter demanded the hare and offered the stranger a fresh cartridge in return for the one he had just expended. If the offer was refused a blood feud started, the first shot being fired by the stranger.

If two men went shooting with only one dog, they skinned the hares at the end of the day and divided them equally.

231 Pet dogs, like shooting dogs, were free of the house as well as the farmyard and ran loose day and night. Of indeterminate pedigree, they were about the size of small Aberdeens. They were not common in northern Albania, where their only purpose was to divert their master—it was thought great fun to hang a lighted cigarette round their necks. In central Albania where the average flock was small and always had a shepherd, they were much prized as watchdogs. They never failed at either house or sheepfold to bark warningly when unwelcome visitors approached. They were so brave that at sheepfolds they could dash out and tackle a marauding wolf, invariably losing their life in the unequal combat. On account of their usefulness their value was high, as much as six or seven napoleons.

The law when they killed (a virtually impossible contingency) or were killed was the same as it was for shooting dogs.

231 A few isolated rules remain to be mentioned. Clerics such as
793 priests among Catholics or Orthodox or hoxhas and sheikhs among Mohammedans were forbidden to keep house dogs. Their houses must be open day and night to their parishioners or passing strangers and might not be closed by dogs. If they kept sheep dogs

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they must not bring them home, but must leave them at the more or less distant sheepfold. There was no ban on their keeping shooting and pet dogs. 231/793

If a house dog disappeared temporarily during the mating season so that its master could not find it at dawn to tie it up for the day, he remained responsible for its conduct. It was held that a house dog loose under such conditions during the daytime was like one that had been duly tied up but had broken loose. Happily for its master and for strangers, a dog was generally too much occupied at such seasons with its own affairs to trouble about strangers. 231/672

If any type of dog fell into a snare set by a neighbour near its master's house, the neighbour must pay its full value. He had no doubt obtained its master's consent before he set the snare, but that did not relieve him of his liability for ensuing casualties. 231/672

Damage done by dogs must be paid for in money or by the dog's death. Each case was handled with a good deal of ceremony. If a dog ate a neighbour's eggs or killed his fowls, the latter asked its master to tie it up. If he refused, the neighbour had the right to kill the dog, and its master could not exact compensation. The neighbour generally took an oath in public that the dog had developed a habit of eating his eggs or killing his fowls, and that he had asked its master to tie it up and had been told to kill it. If he killed the dog without warning, he must in most places pay its value as assessed by the local elders. But in that case its master must first take oath that it had never eaten eggs or killed fowls. If the dog was commonly considered valuable, the neighbour would probably warn its master twice before he killed it. In Çermenikë and Martanesh the law was sterner; a delinquent dog had always to be killed, but if this were done without its master's leave, a blood feud started. In such cases the culprit was generally a house dog. 231/685 [628]

In cases of sheep-worrying the culprit was invariably a sheep dog. The general verdict was that the animal must die, but there was some variation in local methods of reaching this verdict. In north Albania and in Yugoslav Kosovë the dog's master must indemnify the sheep owner for every sheep worried and must take oath that the dog acted of its own impulse and had not been specially trained to kill sheep; any proof that it had been so trained would immediately cause him to be killed by the sheep owner. He must also kill the dog or keep it chained up in perpetuity. If the

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road two loaded donkeys might meet and pass, but two loaded 492
horses could not. When these met, one or the other had to step 499
aside from the road, turning back, if need be to find a suitable place in which to do so. This was almost invariably of nature's making; there were no artificial passing places as on narrow motor roads in England.

Load generally determined priority of passage. To use Albanian 494
phraseology, when a riding-saddle met a riding-saddle on a horse- 576
track the one with no saddle-bags or other load besides the rider had to turn back. The riding-saddle had to make way for the loaded pack-saddle, but had priority over an empty one. When two pack-saddles met, the one loaded and the other empty, the latter had to make way for the former. When they were both loaded or both empty, the one which was nearer a possible place at which to step off the road had to turn back. The same rules applied to carts. In the rare cases where there was plenty of room for two loaded horses or carts, there was no 'Keep right' or 'Keep left'; they could pass on whichever side they wished.

The rules about priority were apt to be honoured in the breach 494
rather than the observance. A man who was turned back on his road 628
felt, even if priority was not his, as much disgraced as if his gun had been taken from him. His honour was lost, and could not be redeemed unless he killed his rival. There have been many deaths for the sake of precedence. The men of Godolesh, who were satisfied when the offender was fined by the elders, were condemned by their neighbours as soft and citified. But even in Godolesh there was no more fertile cause of murder than disputes about who should have the right of way. The trouble arose because priority rules were often confused, especially on purpose by strong wilful men, with the general law of road ownership. As enunciated by Father [423]
Gjeçov, this law said that a village street or a public highway was nobody's individual perquisite, but belonged to one man as much as to another. Hence, the living and the dead—traveller and livestock, bride and corpse—had an absolute right to use either, and no man, even if the road passed close to the door of his house, could deny this right.

A road was free to all. It was for breaking this general law that [579]
highway robbery was punished so much more severely than other [685]
forms of theft, and that a traveller who killed a dangerous dog on a highway did not have to compensate its owner.

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complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in 423
Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times 487
a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man [685]
cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of
private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended
even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit
as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one
ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and
to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or [574]
village had married into the privileged ward[1] her kinsmen had leave [607]
to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even
one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto
their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into
being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families [614]
in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact,
the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter- 486
tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of 619
sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and
their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed
its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all
their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks
on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory,
and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the
road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking
advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus,
a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed
limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the
contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep
within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign
tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and
not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but
must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his
providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger 574
obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded 628
as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection 486
and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the 672
event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the
knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for
any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

1 [in the village of Godolesh --An alest]

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was 22 purses instead of the usual 12. If the murderer was slow to pay up, the tribe enforced payment. In addition, they burned down three of the *kulla* (h uses of two or more storeys) in the murderer's compound. If he did not possess so many, they burned his own *kullë* and two belonging to his nearest relatives. If between them they did not have so many, the tribe searched among his more distant relatives until they found the required number, going back a hundred generations if need be. They also destroyed his property—crops, livestock and the rest—so thoroughly that nothing of it remained. The same penalties were inflicted on a thief who stole sheep travelling or grazing within the protected area. On the other hand, if a traveller, public messenger or shepherd broke the conditions of the truce, straying, for example, from the prescribed path, he was no longer counted a public guest and lost his right to public protection and vengeance. He was still a private guest however. The last man in whose house he stayed before his mishap was bound to kill his murderer or to punish the man who robbed him.

This truce of sheep and shepherd has now died out. At the end of Turkish times it was already confined to the Gjakovë group of tribes in the extreme north-east, such as Nikaj, Mertur, Gash and Krasniq. But Father Gjeçov found traditions of its existence in the Dukagjin tribes of Shalë, Shosh, Kir, Gjâj and Toplanë, and also in Puke, Mirditë, Kthellë, Kurbìn and the mountains of Lesh. Father Gjeçov considers the custom to be so old that it dates from days 'before thin-necks began to vomit flame', that is to say, before firearms were invented.

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tribal, religious or personal—fostered the belief that moving 423
boundary stones made things specially hard for the sinner in the 685
next world. In this world the elders punished the misdeed with 783
a heavy fine—of varying amount in Mirditë, 30 rams and an ox in Bicaj of Lumë, 3000 grosh and 6 rams in Kastrat, and a Turkish pound and boycott in Godolesh. Everywhere the sinner was publicly disgraced even if he was not always boycotted as in Godolesh, and he had always to compensate his victim financially. He had in fact stolen land, a valuable article of property as representing a man's livelihood. Consequently his crime was punishable as a bad form of theft. In Mirditë a man who had not only moved the boundary stones but also killed his neighbour was fined 100 rams and an ox and publicly executed for his double crime.

Yet in Mirditë one very primitive method of moving a tribal 423
boundary was permissible. If a man had no forest or other source 425
of timber and he had desperate need of this, he might take his axe and go to a forest in a neighbouring tribe—naturally he did not penetrate very far from his own tribe's boundary. The noise his axe made as he felled and lopped a tree soon brought up the foresters. If he had presence of mind and strength of arm enough to drive his axe up to the shaft in the fallen tree, and if the foresters could not pull it out, the boundary of his tribe was advanced to the tree. This was the manner in which Gjokë Buca of Kaçinar won forest from Kushnen. The method may have been peculiar to Mirditë.

In the Malësi e Madhe a man who had a spinney might refuse to permit his neighbour who had none to cut timber to fence in his property. He might want to cut the timber himself next year. It was his own business whether he sold it or not. The other was getting food from his field; let him go and buy or beg wood elsewhere for his fence. Presumably what went for an individual tribesman went for his village or tribe.

When disputes arose, efforts were made to settle them before 628
they ended in bloodshed. Two types of dispute were distinguished, 423
public—as arising between tribe and tribe, village and village, ward of a village and ward of a village—and private, as arising between individual and individual.

Settlement in private disputes might be effected by the parties themselves, by elders or by the government. The first method was

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628 the quickest, the second tried when the first failed, and the third
423 when the second failed. In practice recourse to the authorities was rare and seldom as effective as action by elders.

[695] When settlement was made by the parties themselves, one of the two men quarrelling might exclaim, 'Well, take it on your shoulders' —there was no need to specify what—'and set up the stones'. 'All right', replied the other as he bent to pick up a stone or a clod of earth or both to put on his shoulders. 'May I carry it on my shoulder in this world and in that if this ground isn't mine', or 'May I carry this stone and this earth and the whole wide world', he proclaimed as he swaggered off along what he said was the boundary line. Provided four or five witnesses were present this ended the dispute. Either oath was too solemn to be gainsaid. The second in particular was convincing: who would do anything as grave as to take the world on his shoulder for the sake of an erring rope in a measurer's hand? Four or five friends of both parties attended as witnesses. Fear of being asked to take this solemn oath was a considerable deterrent against disturbing the stones. Sometimes the older disputant took an oath, with or without earth or stone, that the disputed land was his, and so proved his title to it.

When the boundary had been recently delimited the disputants might consult their other neighbours, especially if these were older than they were themselves. Or they might ask the opinion of one, two or three very old men from another village as likely to be impartial. If they consulted only one, they had both to consent formally to employing him. Sometimes, when a dispute was dragging on interminably, an old man cut in with an offer to show them where the boundary was, with earth and a stone on his shoulder.

When friends or neighbours were called in they might settle the dispute by arguing. When old men were asked, they had to point out the boundary afresh but not till after they had taken earth and a stone on their shoulders and made a solemn oath to carry these through all eternity if they delimited falsely. When the old men were from the same villages as the disputants, they were unpaid; when from another village they were each given a Turkish pound.

627 By the second method of settlement of the elders in Munë took two
623 or three napoleons from each disputant as a pledge of his future
423 behaviour, and arranged for five or six elders as well as some
[of boundary disputes — Analyst]

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ordinary householders to meet at an early date at the boundary. In 623
presence of the assembled company the claimant swore with earth 627
and a stone on his shoulders that the boundary was where he said. 423
The elders then dug to see if they could find the stones. If they did they gave judgement in the claimant's favour and vice versa. If the losing disputant did not accept their ruling they kept his pledge. In Martanesh, according to Mr Lef Nosi, the case was entrusted to a single elder. First he tried to decide it by questioning the neighbours of the disputants. If he doubted what they said he put [695] them to the ordeal of an oath on bread and the Koran. If he still thought one or more of them was lying he bade them set up the boundary stones where they wished. If they dared to do so he could say no more, but sometimes they jibbed at this final perjury and then his judgement prevailed. If the loser objected to his allowing the neighbours to mark the boundary, he hushed him by bidding him let them perjure themselves and then offering to indemnify him out of his own pocket for his loss, but here the elder was on safe ground. Shame prevented the loser from accepting this offer.

When the elders failed to effect a settlement the injured party in Shijan complained to the government—not always unsuccessfully. Shijan was so near Elbasan that the government's writ ran there even in Turkish times. In many other places, in modern as in Turkish times, it was thought that if elders had failed it was useless to apply to the government, and a shooting match began. In Lumë the man who had taken the oath with earth and a stone took the initiative. In a fury at finding he had risked his soul with an oath for nothing he apostrophized his absent enemy, 'I put the stone on my shoulder. You could have done it, but you wouldn't. Now I'll kill you.' When he succeeded the bitterest of feuds started. Sometimes for greater ignominy they beat each other with sticks. This too started a bitter feud.

When bigger units disputed a boundary each party generally 628
engaged an elder, paying him a fee of 250–500 grosh in Martanesh 623
in Mr Lef Nosi's time, against 50 for a quarrel between individuals. 423
Elders, disputants and witnesses crowded to the boundary, where the elders questioned and argued interminably. If they failed to come to an agreement, murder soon followed. When both sides were sickened by the shuttlecock of the feud they called in famous elders from another unit who could not possibly have an interest in

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623 the matter and asked them to set up the boundary stones where they
628 thought right. But sometimes many lives had been lost in the
423 interval. Once the elders of Bytyç found, when summoned to intervene in a boundary dispute between Gash and Krasniqë, that in two days it had cost the lives of 124 men.

Characteristic processes often marked the arbitration. For example, when two village wards quarrelled in Çermenikë, the chief elders of the village summoned two of the oldest men in each and questioned them separately in the presence of witnesses. If their answers tallied, there could be no more question where the boundary lay. For ratification the old men were asked to walk along it, earth and stone on their shoulder, or to swear formally to its being the correct line. If there were discrepancies in their answers, the dispute was referred to the government authorities in Elbasan or, more probably, to elders from another village. If two villages of Kthellë quarrelled the three bajraktars went with the leading men and a sufficient number of hangers-on to the boundary. One village said where the line was, the other contradicted this. Finally, the most important of the bajraktars, lifting a stone set it on the shoulder of an old, wise, upright man and bade him set it down exactly on the boundary. When he had done so the line was established beyond controversy and no more murder could be done for it.[1]

423 To begin with the bloodshed method, if different villages or
628 tribes were involved, when men quarrelling over a boundary or
425 shepherds jostling over a grazing ground killed each other at the very time that the boundary was being delimited, there was no more need for elders. The tribal or village boundary was where heaps of stones marked the graves of the murdered men. If it was from a distance that they killed each other, the boundary of each village or tribe was by his grave and the ground in between became the common property of both. If one was only seriously wounded and was able to stagger or roll himself along into the foreign territory before he died, a cairn of stones was piled over him where he died, and though in foreign territory, became the boundary of his village or tribe. Boundaries so established were the most permanent; the

[1] In Mirdite boundary disputes between villages and tribes were sometimes decided with bloodshed or a rock, obviously very primitive methods. Indeed the latter, a glorification of physical strength, seems to antedate the discovery of gunpowder.

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greediest man would not venture to disturb the cairn or to steal land for which another had lost his life. 423 628 [425]

Near boundaries of villages and tribes might be won with a boulder and distant boundaries with a slab of rock. In the former event what was a contest in throwing the heavy weight took place; in so poor a country the weight could only be a stone. When the two tribes had quarrelled over a boundary each selected a champion athlete to throw the weight. Whichever threw it farthest won the land in dispute for the tribe. Father Gjeçov does not make it clear where the men stood for the throw. When more distant boundaries were in question, each champion carried a slab of stone or a rock on his back until he dropped under it. The one who held out longest won all the ground he had covered for his tribe.

The relations between a boundary and adjoining structures, such as a fence, wall or house, and natural features like hedges, trees and ditches, were as carefully regulated as the site of the boundary.

A fence or a wall generally enclosed a farmyard and sometimes a field, a vineyard or the like. Fences were made of hurdles or, much oftener, withered Christ's Thorn, depending on what grew in the locality. In the marshes at the mouth of the river Mat withies were interlaced between living willow trees planted like posts in the ditches surrounding the fields. In well-watered areas inland hedges of living Christ's Thorn were common. Walls were usually dry, like Scottish dykes; the more pretentious had their stones bedded in mud. Dry or mud, they were rare round fields, because fences were easier to make and less trouble to maintain. In upland pastures there were neither fences nor walls, presumably because the boundaries were too long. The rules for both fences and walls were pretty much the same. 417 351

When an old farmyard was divided between two brothers or cousins who were on friendly terms, their respective portions were separated only by boundary stones. When they were not on friendly terms what they did depended on the degree of their enmity. If not embittered, they built a wall three spans wide (60 cm.) or a fence, centred exactly over the boundary line and possibly broken by a door that led from one yard to the other. Each built half of the barrier and became the recognized proprietor of what he built. When it was a wall he made a square niche on his own side to mark his ownership. When it was a fence he had no such material way of safeguarding his rights but could always rely on 417 423 596

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423 little 'headland' which formed along the top of the lower field as
134 the plough-oxen turned in their ploughing.) It was vital to save
[241] the upper field from being undermined by the tillage of the lower one. So the field-path (or headland) was always assigned to the upper field, with the boundary and the fence, if any, along its lower edge. The upper man was strictly forbidden to work the path, generally grass-grown, and so fairly cohesive. The lower man was even more strictly forbidden to cultivate right up to the path for fear he brought it down; since his own land slipped a little lower every year as he tilled it, the field-path soared higher above it. Only if the lower field was in grass did the law revert to its usual form. If the upper field was planted with maize and the lower one a grass meadow, all the land under the boundary stones belonged to the lower field because grass is in itself binding enough to stop landslides.

If a road or an irrigation channel divided the two fields, the upper bank belonged in most places to the upper man, and the lower to the other, since there seemed no risk that cultivation of the lower field would undermine the upper one. In Greater
[312] Dibër, however, no risks were taken. Both banks of an irrigation channel were given to the upper man in case the lower one worked too close to it. In any area, the owner of a lower field who made a drain for it had to make it four finger-breadths from his own boundary to make sure it did not damage the upper field.

[342] If building a new house, the owner of the lower field had to keep it far enough away from the boundary to do no damage to the fence, as any such damage would make the upper field slip. On the other hand, the owner of the upper field had licence to build his house as close to the fence as if the site were flat, that is to say, with only half the width of a footpath intervening, but he was never foolhardy enough to do so.

Sometimes it was the lower man who received protection from the law. In Martanesh, for example, when the upper one built a fence or wall round his field, he had to leave the boundary stones as well clear of it as if the field were flat. This was in case it moved and encroached on the boundary.

423 Sometimes a fence was misplaced. Even if it was only one cm.
628 inside the neighbour's land, it had to be moved. In Bicaj the neighbour sent a mutual friend to say so to the owner; if the latter ignored the message the neighbour took down the fence and saw

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that when next it was erected it was correctly sited, otherwise shooting began. In the Martanesh area the village headman, with two official and two unofficial assistants, was usually called in to set the fence up on the exact boundary line. If the offender moved it forward again, the elders sent word to his relatives that if he touched it again, there would be shooting. So restrained, he usually settled down. 423 628

An opening was never to be made in a fence by force or without the owner's leave. Only a foolish and 'lawless' man would do such a thing; it could only be the preliminary to using the field as a road, or to stealing something. [685]

Fines were imposed as a deterrent. These amounted to 50 grosh in Turkish times and 100 koronë in the 1920's in the Malësi e Madhe, with 150 grosh and 3 rams in Kastrat in 1892; even if the offender closed the gap again, he had no right to make it in the first instance. If he destroyed a fence altogether in the marshes at the mouth of the Mat he was fined 250 grosh, five times the amount imposed for opening a way through it. If he did not pay the fine he was killed by the owner. As many as three lives have often been lost for one opening.

So with a wall in the marshland of the Mat. If it was holed, the owner asked the offender furiously if he was agreeable to having elders assess the damage. If the offender objected to assessment or refused payment, the owner shot him; at best he was sharply fined by the village. A breach in a fence or wall had always to be repaired by the owner.

Elsewhere manners were milder. In Martanesh there was no punishment at all for making a hole in a fence. In Perlat permission to make one was readily given either as a favour or in exchange for a passage through the other man's. In Fulqet a traveller could make one without leave if the highway was deep in mud and the only dry ground within reach was the field behind the fence. Often enough the owner of fence and field shot at him, but this was illegal; there was only one legitimate way of keeping the traveller to the muddy road. This was for the owner of field and fence to fill up the holes in the road with stones. If he took this trouble and the traveller still trespassed on his field he had full right to shoot him. [491]

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A 'bajraktar' of tender years could evict a greybeard commoner 576
from the corner seat, and the greybeard would be distressed if 554
left in it. A worthless and ignorant 'bajraktar' got the head of the roast lamb while successful and learned commoners had no precedence by right—they belonged to their father's tribe and were counted aliens in the bajraktar's. Sometimes, however, the tribesmen gave them precedence as a courtesy.

When a bajraktar or any male in his family, infants excepted, 764
died in his bed, a black flag was stuck at the head of his grave to mark his rank during life. Otherwise he and his were treated in death like ordinary mortals. If he himself was murdered, the 628
ensuing blood feud was no worse than it would have been for a commoner—Lek had laid down that in death one man was as good as another. Besides, another bajraktar succeeded him and with the office continuing, the personality of the holder had no special significance. His family alone had to show a sense of his unusual importance; it could not stain its honour by accepting blood money instead of killing the assassin. If a bajraktar was killed by somebody in another tribe, his tribe undertook to hunt down the assassin, but this was no more than it would have done for any tribesman dead in comparable circumstances. Conversely, when a bajraktar killed anyone, his victim's family sought his blood precisely as they would have sought a commoner's.

As between bajraktars, seniority of the ancestor's appointment 576
determined precedence. Gjejaj of Dukaj, the first bajraktar in 554
Perlat, lived long before there was a bajraktar of Rrshen. His modern representative was, as already said above, so weak that Perlat had abandoned him to follow the Rrshen man's leadership. Yet in everything social, by virtue of his ancestor's seniority, he walked ahead of his supplanter. Once, however, a Kthellë tribesman entertained all three bajraktars of his tribe together. There is no record of how he seated them, but when the roast lamb appeared, he split the head in two, gave the two halves to two of the bajraktars and a shoulder to the third. Half a head being reasonably equated to a shoulder, he thus gave equal honour to all three men and did justice both to descent and to strength.

When a bajraktar encountered a beg, as a bey is called in north Albania, the latter sat in the corner because a beg is bigger than a bajraktar. When bajraktar and agha met, the bajraktar sat in the corner. Such a meeting was rare in the north owing to the paucity

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554 of aghas. The title of agha was a courtesy title bestowed by the
576 populace. By special provision of the Turkish Government there had been hereditary aghas since the Turkish conquest at Botush in Yugoslav Kosovë; these, says their representative in Albania, took precedence of all bajraktars in Albania and Kosovë.

578 Given the pride of a bajraktar in his standard and of a 'first
628 family' in its descent, a clash between the two was not uncommon. When this took the form of an ordinary isolated quarrel, elders were called in from another tribe to judge between the disputants. Their own tribe did not venture to try the issue, knowing that it might suffer, as outside elders could not do, for an unwelcome judgement. If the elders failed to effect a settlement, shooting began between the parties, both bajraktar and 'first family' being followed by his own kin. A man related to both followed the one to whom he was more nearly related; this at least in theory. In practice they often showed a naive sense of which side their bread was buttered and joined the disputant with the stronger following.

628 Sometimes a long struggle for precedence developed between
662 'first family' tenacious of its ancient privileges and an ambitious
578 bajraktar. In Lurë, for instance, both the Catholic Zef Doçi of Lurë e Vjetër (Old Lurë) and the Mohammedan Ibrahim Gjoçi of Kreje had long been rivals of the Mohammedan bajraktar Hakik Aliu Meta. In 1926 Gjoçi had the largest following, because he maintained the tribe with surpassing generosity. Within a decade he ate himself out of house and home, and then lost nearly all his power, retaining only the tribesmen's affection and respect for his past benefits. He therefore ceased to hamper the ambitions of the bajraktar. Zef Doçi, the 'first family' in the whole tribe, was a more obstinate rival, as his power rested less on his lavish doles than on his descent and personal wisdom. Ancestor after ancestor had been 'captains' in Turkish times, whereas Gjoçi and Meta had never been 'captains' till created by King Zog. The bajraktar began by undermining Doçi's position with traditional doles. He sent sheep to the poor at every festival and went guarantee for them in the shops during crises such as weddings and burials. 'So they all follow me now', he told the visitor with disarming simplicity. He had resorted to direct action, seizing every chance to kill off the guns in Doçi's family. In 1933 some brigands, who had killed one of Llesh Doçi's men, were harboured in a mountain sheepfold by the bajraktar's shepherds. Together with Zef and other relatives,

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Llesh ambushed the brigands and wounded one. As one of his men was killed, the two sides were 'one and one', equalized, and could have made peace. But the opportunity was too good for the bajraktar to miss. By the law of the mountains Llesh should not have attacked the sheepfold until he had asked the bajraktar to withdraw his protection from the brigands and had met with a refusal. So the bajraktar vowed he would not make peace but would have Doçi's blood for the 'injury'. Soon he learned that Zef Doçi and all his male relatives were at a wedding in a poor man's house. Under cover of darkness his followers crept up to the house and shooting through the windows killed two and wounded four of the wedding guests. A year later the bajraktar managed to have a third man from Zef's family killed, leaving Zef almost alone.

In his charities this bajraktar of Lurë took no account of the recipient's religion, helping a Catholic as readily as one of his fellow Mohammedans. If he discriminated between the two he would gain nothing from the Albanian government, which ignored religious differences. In Turkish times discrimination in favour of Mohammedans would have furthered his designs by winning approval from the Turkish government. He found, however, that the proved loyalty of his family to King Zog's stood him in even better stead. A marriage had also proved a useful asset. Metë Hoti, the best shot in Lurë, would have been expected to join Zef Doçi, because his mortal enemy, Dalip Kaci, followed Zef's enemy, the bajraktar. Unfortunately for Zef, Metë had a sister married to one of the bajraktar's household. Since joining Zef meant shooting at the bajraktar's men, Metë feared to have the blood of his nephews on his hands and continued reluctantly, side by side with his mortal enemy, to follow the bajraktar.

The result of the struggle can be shown by the numbers of the levies raised by the three captains for the Albanian government in 1926, 1933 and 1935 respectively. They were as follows:

	1926	1933	1935
Zef Doçi	150	50	23
Ibrahim Gjoçi	300	40	32
Bajraktar	4	300	400

It would have been interesting to revisit Lurë to see the effect on the position established by the Italian occupation. The bajraktar,

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between him and themselves on those grounds. Provided he was correctly descended from the master of the ancestral household through a succession of what were conventionally called 'eldest' brothers, and were really the most competent, they accepted him as their elder as unquestioningly as the English nation accepts its king. Sometimes a new elder seemed unfit for his duties. Then the others took him with them when they went to work, and told him how his dead father judged or arbitrated: the most telling and least offensive method of training him.

When a dispute occurred it was the duty of the aggrieved party to inform his brotherhood elder first of all. When he did so and the matter was trifling and lay between two members of his brotherhood, this elder judged the case out of hand. If the disputants belonged to different brotherhoods, he consulted with the elder of the second brotherhood. When the case was graver he carried it to his kin elder, who might judge it straight away or carry it to the village elder. The village elder might in his turn pronounce judgement forthwith or call a General Assembly of the village in order to thrash the matter out in public and get a backing for any decision taken. Often the aggrieved party went straight to the village elder who was accessible to all tribesmen. In that event neither his kin nor his brotherhood had the right to resent the man's going over their heads. Moreover, the village elder's superiority was so well established that no resentment was likely to be felt. In no case was it lawful for an aggrieved man to seek advice from an elder in an outside village before he had consulted one of his own. If a kin elder or the brotherhood elders in the kin oppressed others in the village it was the duty of the village elder to repress them; and he had the right to summon the elders of the other kins in the village, if necessary, to his support. Article 10 in the Convention of Kurbin[1] betrays a strong feeling that there must be no shooting until the village elder has been informed of the dispute and given a chance to settle it by quieter means.

Elders could also act collectively. In the old days no new law could be passed, nor any judgement affecting their social unit be pronounced, unless they were present and gave their approval. When the bajraktar summoned a General Assembly for such important purposes as concluding a truce, trying a serious case or enacting new laws of tribal behaviour, their attendance was

[1] See Appendix, Document XI, p. 271.

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695 asked if they were willing to accept this. In the most fortunate event the disputants consented and the elders communicated their decision. Each then said to his own man, 'Now bring me my dues and I'll return your pledge'. As soon as his fee was paid he gave back his pledge to his client. If the disputant had no ready money for the fee, a common enough occurrence, he said he would wait a month or two, provided that the disputant could find someone to go bail for him. When the term he had fixed was up without bringing payment of his fee, he sold the pledge and so recouped himself. If he got rather more for the pledge than the amount of his fee the disputant had no right to claim the extra money. The elder never sold the pledge before the date he had fixed. If within the term he fixed the disputant found enough money for his fee, he was no longer allowed to pay it directly but had to transmit it through his guarantor, who in return brought back his pledge from the elder. Sometimes the guarantor saw that the disputant would never be able to redeem his pledge and paid the elder's fee for him. Unfortunately, elders had no power behind them with which to enforce their judgement. Their work was in fact arbitration rather than judging in the English sense. It was, therefore, common for elders in central Albania to communicate their findings to the disputants and then to add, 'Now settle the matter as you like. We have decided that this one of you is in the right.' Too often the loser shot his successful rival, so starting a bad blood feud. Pjetër Gjoni of Theth had his house burgled, and the thief bribed the elders into putting too low a value on the stolen property, assessing it at two napoleons. Pjetër, who had already spent one napoleon on finding out who had been the thief, declared immediately that he would not abide by this judgement and killed the thief. In revenge the thief's family burned down Pjetër's house and carried off all his cattle.

696 Naturally many attempts were made to prevent such sequels to judgements. In Martanesh, Selim Peshku kept the pledges of both disputants for a time. This was against the rules, but Peshku had the peace of the community at heart and made 'anything for peace' his motto. In Zerqan all the elders in the village would meet and would fine a recusant before he could shoot the successful litigant. Sometimes in the same village the two elders refused to deliver judgement until the disputants had promised to abide by it and had each found a guarantor who undertook to see that they kept their

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682 The following story told by Miss Durham[1] throws light upon
628 the mind of a tribe on this point:

In the spring of 1908 a tribesman of Gjan, quarrelling with a tribesman of neighbouring Shosh, snatched a firebrand from the hearth and flung it in his face. It would have been bad enough to kill the man of Shosh, but it was worse to insult him with such a blow. The Gjan man, fearing the wrath to come, fled with all speed. The Shosh man was so enraged that, unable to catch the actual culprit and clear his honour by shooting him, he went to Gjan and shot 'an unhappy little boy, unarmed and but eight years old'...'whose only crime was that he belonged to the same tribe as the offender'....'Gjan was filled with rage. That Shosh had the right to take blood of any man of the tribe they freely admitted, but to kill a child was dishonourable.' On the following Whit Sunday a General Assembly of Shosh met to debate the case. 'Shosh was violently indignant over the affair and public opinion ran so high that the murderer had not dared to remain in the tribe but had fled. The *Mexhlis* now was held to decide whether his house should be burnt as punishment. Many were in favour of this. The difficulty was that there was no law under which this could be done. The blood had been taken *outside* the tribe; it was therefore not a crime against the tribe and not punishable by it. The duty of vengeance lay with the dead boy's family. All agreed that if they liked to come and fire the house Shosh would not oppose it. But as the near relatives were a crippled father and a child they were incapable of executing justice in the face of the opposition which would certainly be put up by the murderer's family. The question caused great excitement. The burning of the house would entail passing a new law to punish a man for a crime against another tribe. This would mean an entire reconstruction of the code and nothing less than considering themselves as a nation, and not as detached tribes.' Miss Durham asked 'whether it were not possible at least to pass a law to punish any man killing a child not of age to bear arms'. It was pointed out that if Shosh did so and neighbour tribes did not, Shosh would be at a disadvantage....The question was discussed for two days, and was undecided when Miss Durham left.

793 Proceedings at a General Assembly terminated in Catholic areas
212 with the drawing up of minutes by the priest, the only man present

[1] See *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 165.

[i.e. a ban on introducing innovations in tribal law--Analyst]

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671 *Tomori* on 7 November 1942. The greater part of this document deals with an entirely new situation and the methods by which the people of Mat undertake to adapt themselves to it. But even in this document there appears the familiar restatement of old laws against the familiar crimes of murder, theft and the abduction of women.

681 Differences in the penalties laid down for the same offence may possibly point to social and economic differences among the tribes. For example, in Nikaj, Shalë and Curraj (Documents VII and VIII) a defaulting debtor is to be deprived of civil rights and may be killed or robbed unless he meets his obligations. In Kastrat (V) he is fined twenty-three grosh as a defaulter, but much more heavily fined if his sureties have to pay his debt. Nikaj was a poorer area than Kastrat, and that fact may explain to some extent the difference in penalty. The treatment of stealing also differs as between Kastrat and Shalë which was the poorer of the two. In Kastrat the robber of another's house or sheepfold is to be fined 500 grosh and five rams, but in Shalë (X) the thief who steals a single animal—a ewe, a goat, a cow—is to have 'his harvest burnt, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed'.

628 Some stories related by Father Gjeçov illustrate the application
682 and development of the law. About 1860 a villager of Fregënë in the Mirditë tribe of Dibër told a neighbour to kill a certain man and promised that when the time came to pay the blood money he would see to it. On the faith of this promise, the neighbour ambushed the man on the high road and shot him dead. A little later, Captain Bibë Doda, the Gjomarkaj of the day, went on tour for the purpose of composing current blood feuds. The Fregënë feud came up, among others, and the murderer was ordered to rebuild his victim's house by way of paying blood money. He asked his evil counsellor for the money he had promised, but the latter declined to pay. Captain Bibë and the heads of the tribe summoned this man, and asked him if he had told his neighbour to commit the murder and promised to pay the blood money. The man dared not deny doing so. Then Captain Bibë, together with the bajraktar of Dibër and other heads, reasoning that 'lips can't land a man in a blood feud' and 'words don't make a funeral', made it law that 'Murder depends on the finger'; that is to say, the murderer who must pay with his life or money for the crime is the man whose finger pulled the trigger. They then sentenced the Fregënë murderer to pay blood money for his crime, saying that

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while he had gone to the ambush by another's instructions he had 628
walked there on his own legs. As the instigator of the crime had 682
broken his promise about paying the blood money, they sentenced
him to have his house burned down by the tribe.

On one occasion Lek Dukagjini had come at Skanderbeg's 649
invitation to discuss some blood feuds at a General Assembly of all
the tribes in the land. Skanderbeg opposed the principle of 'a life 654
for a life' on the grounds that all men were *not* equal; the blood of
a physically fine man was different from that of a poor type. At
Lek's suggestion, however, he inquired of his mother, upon oath,
what sort of a man his father had been. On learning that he had
been a poor type, Skanderbeg at the next Assembly agreed to the
principle of equality!

About 1870, when Kolë Prenga the Great was Captain of 688
Mirditë, a jar of butter was stolen from the church house in Orosh 696
during the priest's absence. On his return his servant, who had
also been away at the time, informed him of the theft. The priest,
a Franciscan, informed the bajraktar of Orosh. The latter convened
the tribe (*bajrak*) but no one confessed to the theft. The bajraktar
then informed Captain Kola. The captain undertook to track down
the culprit, and one day ordered the tribe to assemble on the open
space in front of the church at Orosh. In spite of Captain Kola's
questions no one came forward to confess to the crime. Then
Captain Kola, together with the chiefs of the tribe, sentenced the
unknown thief to death and banishment from the tribe; his house,
too, was to be destroyed and his land left uncultivated. Not long
afterwards the thieves were discovered. They were two young men
of Orosh, Prengë Kolë Marku and another whose name has been
forgotten. Captain Kolë Prenga the Great again ordered the tribe
to assemble, one man from every house, at the church at Orosh.
The two young men also came by order to the meeting. Captain
Kola read out the sentence that had previously been pronounced.
The two thieves were stood in the middle of an open space,
unarmed and with their hands folded at the waist. The tribe stood
up awaiting the captain's order to fire. But the priest, filled with
pity for the culprits, begged the captain, the chiefs and the
commoners to grant them their lives. This was done, they paid
money to the church for their sacrilege, returned twice the quantity
of what they had stolen, paid the usual fine and were expelled from
the tribe.

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619 offenders, banishing others, and executing the ringleaders if these
672 had committed any crime entailing the death penalty.

619 Sometimes a village went to actual war with the rest of the tribe.
[72] As it never did so unless it knew itself to be very strong, the rest of the tribe was sometimes unable to reduce it. If the tribe was alone, the war went on until both sides were exhausted enough to cry halt. If the tribe was one of a group its heads could call in all the men of the other tribes to reduce the belligerent. In Mirditë a Gjomarkaj called the General Assembly which decided on this step, and led its members against the belligerent.

Sometimes, like a pestilent village, a tribe that formed part of a group made itself a nuisance to its neighbours. In that case the
[681] General Assembly of the other tribes in the group sentenced it wholesale to the usual penalties—fines for mild offenders, burning out for medium offenders and death for bad offenders. A whole tribe, however, could not be banished. It could only be ostracized, cut off from all intercourse with its neighbours; this penalty lasted until it consented to furnish the usual pledges for its future behaviour.

623 Village Assemblies dealt with matters of exclusively village interest. They regulated wood-cutting and irrigation rights, for example. They fixed the date at which beasts might be sent up to their summer pasturage on the high mountains. They stipulated the number of beasts that might be sent up by each family. They took steps to see that no one appropriated more than his fair share of forest, irrigation water or grazing. In so doing they made a valuable contribution to the public peace. Some aspects of
[682] murder also engaged their attention. The actual crime and revenge
[628] for it were the concern only of the families of the murderer and his victim. But it was the concern of the village that the range of revenge should not spread, increasing the number of avenging assassinations and so disturbing the village peace. So the law having laid down that the avenger must allow the murderer a day or two's grace to settle up his affairs before he was besieged in his house, the village had to extract a promise of this grace from the avenger. In cases where the grace lasted for thirty days, the village had to see that the murderer did not abuse his privilege and harry the victim's family. If he showed any such tendency, the village in General Assembly had to fine him and bring his period of grace to an untimely end.

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be put to the oath; such an ordeal was not for boys under twenty, old men over sixty, women, gipsies or lunatics. All of these were considered so irresponsible that even their sworn word carried no weight. One exception comes from Zerqan, where a woman accused of a petty theft like stealing a dress might take an oath in the semi-privacy of her home that she was innocent. If her fault was more serious, her oath was not accepted. A man—her husband or son or, failing these, her brother—had to take one for her, as he would have done for his senile father or his infant son. Another exception occurred in family oaths, as described later. But this exception was apparent rather than real. The infant boys who were present did not themselves take the oath. The master alone repeated the words dictated; the boys and other males were present solely to be implicated to the maximum extent possible in the dread consequences of perjury.

In criminal cases it was the suspect, the man who denied an accusation, who had to take the oath. In such cases its sole purpose was to clear him of suspicion; if he could take it, he was acquitted, and if he could not, he was convicted. The accuser was never allowed to support his accusation by an oath; even if he insisted that with his own eyes he had seen the crime being committed, he could not swear upon oath that what he said was true. For motives of spite might have induced him first to accuse his neighbour falsely, and then to swear a false oath. So the law said firmly 'It's for the denier to take the oath'.

Occasionally a suspect refused to take the oath. Then his accuser was at least tempted to shoot him. If it was a case of stealing he had to think twice; shooting the suspect would start a blood feud because 'murder for a fault (like stealing) isn't allowed', and perhaps the lost property was not worth the nuisance which the blood feud would cause. If it was a murder case, it did not much matter if he did shoot the suspect; he was already at feud with the murderer. In property cases refusals to take the oath seem to have been unknown when the dispute was in the hands of elders; if they ordered a disputant to take an oath, he dared not disobey for he knew that the whole community would gather to enforce the order. If one disputant, before the case had reached the elders, asked the other to take an oath that the property was his, his request was refused as often as not, and then shooting became inevitable.

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682 as suicide so that he escaped with his life, and that was the com-
627 monest result, he was treated as 'a low-class fellow', visited by
593 none but bad characters, and, if a Mohammedan, never given the greeting 'Peace be with thee'. In Mirditë, always more rigorous than other districts, he was considered so anti-social that he was either killed or expelled in perpetuity by his kinsmen, or, according to another version, by the whole village along with his kinsmen.

606 The murder of certain relatives did not concern the family. Thus,
628 if a man murdered a relative by marriage, such as his son-in-law, father-in-law, wife's brother, or sister's husband, the crime ranked as an ordinary murder and was expiated with a life or with blood money. The marriage tie was disregarded; the important point was that, unlike two brothers living under separate roofs, murderer and
[58] victim belonged to different families. Such murders were very rare, for marriage relationships were always contracted to secure a valued friend, and no Albanian in his senses ever threw a friend lightly away. Again, if a man murdered his maternal uncle or his sister's son, murderer and victim belonged to different families, and blood money at least was payable for the crime. The contingency rarely arose, since a maternal uncle was regarded as a father and a sister's son as one's own child.

623 If a woman was taken in adultery, and her husband killed her and
837 her paramour together—'kerchief and cap together'—he incurred
[illegible] no feud; their deaths went unavenged; it was a case of 'blood for
593 blood', one equal to the other. To prove them guilty he sent for his wife's brother and her lover's brother to see them both lying dead; his message would run, 'I killed her because I caught her sinning'. The wife's brother would hand him a cartridge, saying, 'Here is a cartridge for my sister. Bravo for doing this'. The paramour's nearest relatives came to the house, drank coffee, and took away the corpse; the murderer accompanied them to their house, drank coffee, and so peace was established between them. If the paramour's brother was 'a gentleman', 'a man', he would give a cartridge to the husband, saying, 'I pardon your crime because my brother has sinned'. Even the father of the paramour might say to the murderer, 'A blessing on your rifle', and give him coffee as a sign that there was peace between them. In modern times the government accepted the evidence of the two bodies lying together and punished the husband with no more than two or three weeks' imprisonment.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband 684
who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard 607
in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it 682
was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back [585]
of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, [627]
he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he [586]
divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother or her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They [587]
preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman [627]
was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an adulteress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her 593
death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side 607
he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband 628
684

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

[607] had killed her out of ill-will. After her brother had killed a male
628 from his house, the husband would kill both her brother and her
684 lover; then peace would be made between all three families. In
513 Martanesh and Lumë if the husband did not kill the lover as well, the wife's brother, when threatening vengeance, would say, 'You killed the bitch; why didn't you kill the dog also?'

[606] Sometimes a husband had not the courage or the heart to kill his wife; then perhaps his people killed her. Or perhaps he sent word to her father that he had found her sinning and asked him to kill her. But the father generally replied to such husbands, 'Kill her yourself, because I gave her to you to look after'. If the wife suspected this interchange of messages, she might run away to her father. In that case her husband sent him word saying, 'Either kill that bitch or see me destroy you root and branch': The father then either killed her or sent her to her husband to kill. If the father protected the wife, a blood feud began between him and the husband, for the latter could not bear the world to think that he had swallowed such a disgrace.

In Martanesh, it should be noted, it was permissible, as it was not elsewhere, to kill the lover and the wife separately, if they could not be found together. This seems to have been the case in Dibër also. About 1916 a man in Vleshjë (Dibër) found his wife unfaithful and killed the lover. The wife ran away, but the husband caught her, poured paraffin on her, and burned her alive, yet seems to have escaped her brother's vengeance.

684 If the outraged husband killed only the lover, then he had to fear
682 vengeance from the lover's family. In Lumë on the principle that
628 'vengeance is not abandoned because of guilt', vengeance was sometimes taken by a 'bad' brother for a man killed in adultery. He might kill the husband, forgive him, or demand blood money.

776 A gruesome story of collective punishment of a guilty pair comes
684 from Martanesh. About 1912 a young man was caught with a
627 young wife. The 'circle' of the young man took him and the 'circle' of the wife took her out to an appointed spot where they stood them up together. The youth's uncle shot him dead, and the girl's brother shot her, while the drums beat and the other men danced. The honour of the two families being thus cleared, they buried the two close together, but in separate graves, at cross-roads; no hoxha was present to commit them to the grave, nor were they washed and changed. In the neighbouring Zdrâjshë also a guilty

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couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was [582] too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 625 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

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682 father, his only means of doing so, was forbidden. Her son by
562 another husband, belonging as he did to another family, was free
628 to avenge her. If a woman's son killed her for any but the above
596 heinous crimes, her husband could not avenge her, since to do so
[607] he must kill his son. In Mirditë her brother could kill her son or other male in his family, but elsewhere it was held that her brother was as helpless as her husband because her son was a nearer relative and her nearest relative having killed her, her blood must be lost. If she was married for the second time and was killed by the son of her former marriage, her husband could kill his stepson, but as before, her brother's hands were tied, except in Mirditë, by the law of nearest relative.

When a man killed his brother's wife for any other reason than those stated above, her husband took no action if he and the murderer had not separated; the murder was a family affair. Her brother, however, killed one of them. If the two brothers had separated, the murderer had to pay blood money to her husband. If the husband did not exact it within a year, her brother killed either the murderer or her husband. Her husband never killed his brother: 'I'd never kill my brother for the sake of my wife', was a common saying.

When a woman was killed by her father or brother, her blood was always lost by the rule of nearest relative. If she was married, her husband did not, in most districts, continue friendly relations with the murderer, but in some, such as Krasniqë, he asked him for another girl and on receiving her forgot his annoyance at the other's [584] murder. The same was true if the murdered woman was only betrothed, for a betrothed girl 'is counted the man's wife'. When a woman was killed by some other man in her own family, by her uncle or her nephew for instance, by the rule of nearest relative her [593] blood was lost if she was neither married nor betrothed. If she was either and was not killed for a heinous crime, her husband felt he had been disgraced and avenged her by killing a male in her family.

When murders were committed by women, the situation was complicated by the fact that women belonged to two families, their husband's and their father's.

[672] If a woman murdered her husband, both his family and her father's were involved. The important factor was her motive, which was usually love for another man who had probably bought the necessary rat poison in the bazaar. If her lover was her

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husband's brother, she married him and her husband's blood was 682
lost exactly as if he had died by his brother's hand. If her lover 562
was an outsider, her husband's brother killed her. He had the 628
right to do so, woman though she was, for a question of honour 596
was involved, and for questions of honour women might lawfully be put to death. Her son by the dead man could not kill the murderess because matricide is not allowable. Her husband's son by another wife was under no such inhibition, for he was only her stepson and therefore no relative. If her father's family believed in her adulterous motive, they sent a cartridge to her husband's brother, thereby signifying that they gave him leave to kill her and would not avenge her death. If they did not believe in the alleged motive, they avenged her by killing a man in her husband's family and an unusually bitter feud resulted.

Sometimes her husband's brother was too high-spirited or too angry to rest content with killing the murderess and killed one of her male relatives as well; he would plead that a woman's blood could never equal a man's and that her male relatives were responsible for her misdeeds. Sometimes a murderess escaped alive to her [591] father's house. In that case she was held to have escaped from the suzerainty of her husband's family and became a stranger; as a stranger she must expiate her crime, but her sex shielded her personally and threw the onus of expiation on her male relatives—'Women don't have blood feuds'. Her husband's brother was therefore bound to kill one of her relatives. To avoid losing a male for his daughter's crime her father sometimes killed her himself, [628] a desperate act that always satisfied her husband's brother.

A woman rarely murdered any other man than her husband. If [593] she did murder her brother, it was assumed that it had happened by accident as he was her surest protector. There are no records of the murder of father or paternal uncle by a woman.

The last category of murders within the family includes the very rare cases in which a woman murdered a woman in her husband's or her father's family. If she murdered her mother or her daughter, both most unlikely contingencies if she were sane, the victim's blood was lost by law of nearest relative. In all other cases the result depended on whether her victim was single or married. Thus the murder of her unmarried sister, paternal aunt, brother's daughter, counted as a suicide and the victim's blood was lost. If she murdered her husband's sister, the victim's blood was again

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582 lost because the only possible avenger was the woman's husband,
562 who was not likely to kill the wife, who had cost him good money, for
628 the sake of his sister, though he was more likely to do so for the sake
596 of his father or brother. If she murdered a married woman of her
[607] own kin, her victim's husband exacted blood money from the males of her family or perhaps another girl. If she murdered a married woman in her husband's kin, his brother's wife, for example, or her own brother's wife, her victim's brother exacted blood money or even a life from the males in her family.

When a woman killed the wife of her husband's brother, her victim's husband had to suffer the loss of his chattel in silence. He could not kill the murderess because a man might not kill his brother's wife for any reason other than adultery or thieving. Nor could he kill her husband because a man might not kill his own brother. In his default his wife was avenged by her brother, who might kill either him or his brother if they were not separated, but only him if they were. Whatever the issue, her sex saved the murderess from expiating her crime.

[606] When a woman killed her mother-in-law or her daughter-in-law, her sex again saved her from expiating the crime. Her victim's brother was the only possible avenger, for no member of her husband's family could kill the murderess for anything except adultery and thieving. The avenger could kill any male in the family of the murderess; the marriage relationship did not count.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

351 * 628 the loopholes. A still richer man, or one with many enemies, had several doors in his courtyard wall and watch-towers at strategic points. (The turrets at each corner and in the middle of the long walls effectually commanded these entrances, and many loopholes in the walls provided space for many defenders to shoot from.) Shevqet Bey Verlaci of Elbasan had several posterns in his garden wall, each commanded by a watch-tower and each providing him in case of need with a possible means of escape.

* 628 574 Incidentally, back entrances in the mountains were useful for guests with enemies. These could enter unseen by other guests, among whom there might be one or more who would inform the enemy of his whereabouts, and so endanger his life. They were also useful if the master had sent a group of his followers to shoot his enemy; if they failed, they could creep in unseen by the guests; in case of failure on such an errand, they did not wish the attempt to be known.

● 628 A wanted man who wished to work in his fields might station a child herding goats or a woman minding a cow at a vantage point where an enemy could be detected and the watcher give him warning, so that he might seize his rifle and defend himself. As the enemy's trump card was surprise, he was likely to retreat when detected. Before the wanted man left the house the women and children would look through the windows to make sure no enemy was near. A man with blood on his hands might wish to go to the forest to cut firewood, a place too distant for his women to keep watch. In that case he might send a scout ahead to reconnoitre the [476] road, and himself follow rifle in hand. In Zdrâjshë, Çermenikë, the [423] communal hay-field was so far away that a wanted man made no attempt to go and cut his hay; the others, however, gave him his due share, though he had done nothing to earn it. A man who, in spite of risks, kept moving about might never stir outside, especially at night, without his rifle. He never told where he was going and travelled by an unlikely route and at unwonted times.

* 628 484 In the summer of 1935, to return from Tirana, whither he had been officially summoned, Murat Kaloshi of Dibër sent out an attendant to find a car willing to drive at once to Dibër, and within five minutes of its drawing up at the door of his lodging started. This was at 2 p.m., an hour when Tirana is plunged in sleep on a summer afternoon. He supped at the wayside inn of Lunik, an insignificant village without telegraphic communication, four or

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in the village of Kastrat on Nov. 2, 1891]

5. Whoever moves the stones of an old boundary and puts them in a new place will be fined 3000 grosh and 6 rams. 681 [423]

6. No one is to frighten a flock sheltering from the heat in a place it was in first.[1] Whoever does this will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams. [233]

7. The mill question remains inviolate as always and neither the Vukpalaj nor the Gjolaj may start a *degamë*,[2] and any miller who takes more than 5 per cent of the flour will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams. [256]

8. Any man who cuts down a tree under which animals take shelter from the heat or cuts off a mill or an irrigation stream will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.

9. Other fountains and springs are left under the old law, that is to say, whoever destroys a fountain or spring or prevents another from filling water-pots will be fined 500 grosh. [312]

10. Milling is by order of arrival. Any miller who mills for a man who comes later than another and breaks the order either out of favouritism or because corrupted by bribes will be fined 150 grosh and 3 rams. [256]

11. Whoever admits a stranger to huts on a mountain pasturage will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.[3]

IV. Truce Sworn between Nikaj and Mertur on August 10th, 1892. 628 619

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 121.)

The two tribes have sworn a truce with each other:

(1) As from August 14th up to the day of Our Lady of Mertur.

(2) As from December 26th up to the day of St Sebastian.

The guarantors of Flock and Shepherd, i.e. Nikaj and Mertur and the Bajraktars of Krasniqë and Gash.

V. Laws Enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on November 1st, 1892 A.D. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 126.)

At a general meeting held under the presidency of Brahim Beg the serxherde, Kasem Beg the bylikbash and the four and twenty chiefs (elders) of Kastrat, the following laws were enacted.

1. Whoever murders a man of Kastrat or of any of the other mountains will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[1] This must be a mistranslation. The Italian version of the sentence runs: *che nessuno ardisa impaurire il bastiame gravido.*

[2] The Italian version of this very obscure clause is as follows: *Le disposizioni riguardanti i mulini rimangono inaltarate per sempre e non possono causare litigi nè fra il povero nè fra il ricco*, clearly referring to the principle, enunciated again in § 10, which compels the miller to treat all his clients on the principle of 'first come, first served'. It is possible that the Albanian version has been misunderstood.

[3] This refers to the letting of some of the tribe's scanty pasturage to strangers.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

681 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Breg i Shpellës, Viri, and Krue i Ri—will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a patch for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[233] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[423] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[487] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one [623] week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 500 grosh.

[693] 17. 'Pledge elders' are not to take more than 10 grosh as their fee for a judgement, and commoners not more than 5 grosh.

[628] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after their feud has been compounded by order of the government will be fined 12 purses and expelled from the village and turned into a ghost.

681 231 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296]
225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837]
runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765]
shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696]
out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628]
been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585]
whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554]
collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894.

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491
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(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Pledge for Flocks + Shepherds in Nikaj + Curraj, St. John's Day, 1895]

68 [766] 3. Nobody may help to bury a murderer till three years have passed unless the master of the feud wishes. When somebody does help to bury him five purses must be paid to the master of the feud, either in money or in beasts, as may be arranged among themselves.

[628] 4. A murderer is never under a flock-and-shepherd guarantee until the murder has been avenged or the feud composed.

5. A cutter of pine slivers and a reaper with sickle are under a pledge of safety from the eve of St Anthony to the eve of Our Lady of Alshiqe.

6. A mower with scythe is under a pledge of safety.

7. A shooter is under a pledge of safety from the eve of St Anthony to the eve of Our Lady of Alshiqe.

8. The Ndermajë—Livath i Math (Great Meadow)—Shalë road and the Kodër Plak—Shalë road are under a pledge of safety for flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever steals small animals must pay 250 grosh and return two for every one stolen.

Whoever steals a cow or ox must pay 500 grosh and return two for every one stolen.

10. Whoever removes the tiles of a house must pay 500 grosh.

11. If a debtor does not meet his obligations he is to be accused before the head of his ward. If he still does not meet his obligations, he has no pledge of safety and may be robbed and killed until he enters the right path.

Guarantors: 3 tribes.

IX. Resolutions Made at Kashnjet, Mirditë, on August 17th, 1904.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 128.)

We, the tribe of Dibër, met for some business in General Assembly at Kashnjet and we have examined the business legally as required by God and the Canon of Mirditë.

1. Whoever murders one of his kin shall be expelled for fifteen years from the tribe, his land shall be left untilled and he shall pay a fine of 100 rams and an ox and have his house burned.

2. Whoever allows a man who has murdered one of his own kin to enter his house becomes as guilty as the murderer.

3. The kindred which does not take the lead against such culprits commits a fault against the whole tribe.

[Here follow the names of the leaders, headed by the bajraktar.]

In whatever business the tribe may have these people will take the lead of the whole tribe.

Witness:

Dom Ndue Melguzhi, Pepaj, parish priest of Kashnjet.

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[Laws of Shalë, May 12, 1907]

681 laws and gave our oath to abide by them and not to break them. The laws are as follows:

[628] 2. Pecnikaj enacted a law that when a man is murdered the murderer's heir shall find the guarantors and has three days of guaranteed safety. He has to go with the head of his ward to the victim's representative who shall give him a pledge of security for a week[1] and the murderer's 'brethren' shall bring forward two guarantors. If the victim's representative objects, he shall be left to nominate one and the murderer's 'brethren' shall nominate the other.

Whoever murders someone after the enacting of this law and the swearing of this oath has his safety guaranteed for three days.

Whoever commits a murder murders on his own responsibility and his own risk a person under the protection of Pecnikaj and will have a feud and will never be forgiven for that murder and if anyone kills him he does so by order of the whole tribe of Shalë.

3. Although this law was laid down by Pecnikaj, Lotaj, Abat and Bobi concur.

4. As representative for witnessing Theth's oath all Shalë has chosen Tahir Deli, who was at this meeting of the General Assembly.

5. Whoever murders someone in Shalë—apart from the actual murderer—must not burn his house.[2]

6. In case he burns his house[2] he must pay for a fine of four Martini rifles to the Youth of Shalë and must pay twice the value of the house and the damage done to the owner of the house.

7. If, after the 'brethren' of the murderer have gone to their homes, anyone goes to break into one of their houses either to burn it or to kill its men, he must pay to its owner and the Youth 20 purses and a life for a life.

8. Mules are under the protection of the Youth and anyone who takes them takes them subject to the appropriate penalty.

9. What is written in this letter is guaranteed by the bajraktar and the Youth of Shalë and the government's representative.

10. From Prekë Ndue Mashi to Ndue Ulë Bobi whoever pilfers a neighbour's unmilled grain must pay a fine of one ox to the Youth of the tribe and a ram to the government's representative.

XIII. Covenant of Mat.

(From the Albanian Newspaper *Tomori*, November 7th, 1942.)

681 1. The people of Mat, comprising 5000 families, hereby pledges itself either to denounce to the competent authorities or itself to arrest

[1] The Italian version above referred to seems to omit this provision for a week's security from revenge.

[2] According to the Italian translation the house of the murderer only shall be burned, and if anyone else's house is set on fire the murderer shall pay the specified fines.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Byzantine Civilization EH3

efforts. Jonas died in 1241 and was buried outside Constantinople with full Scythian honours. A huge mound was raised above him, on the sides of which twenty-five of his serving-men, who voluntarily offered themselves, were hanged. Twenty-five horses were also hanged, and the prince thus provided with a mounted escort in another world. Not long afterwards the East expelled the West, and the Comans took part in the expulsion. The markedly Mongol types still common in Macedonia and Bulgaria are partly, maybe, the legacy of the "Coman and Scythian from beyond the Danube." B 608 643

The custom of blood-brotherhood is so widely spread through the world that it was probably practised by other Balkan peoples besides the Comans.

It was very common among the North Albanian tribesmen, both Catholic and Moslem, when I was in the mountains. The Catholic Church regarded it as a pagan survival, and has made no effort to "Christianize" it, as has the Orthodox. The usage of ancient days is, therefore, little changed. In its crudest form the arm, or finger, of each was pricked by a thorn, and either party licked the other's blood. The favourite and more elaborate way was described to me by my old friend, Tony Precha, of Mirdite descent, thus: "I travelled through a dangerous district with a young Moslem when I was a lad. He asked me to be his brother. I had to ask permission of my father, the head of the house. He said theirs was a good house to be allied to. When some time had passed and we still wished for brotherhood, we met, and each tied a tight string round his little finger till it swelled, then pricked the finger, and each let his blood drop on a lump of sugar. I ate his lump and he mine. We were then of the same blood and swore brotherhood. Then I dined at his house, and we gave each other presents of socks knitted in beautiful patterns. He is now dead, but his brothers are my brothers and our children are cousins, and they cannot marry for more than a hundred years." A 608

The interdict against marriage, however, in a case of sworn brotherhood, applied only to the direct descendants of the couple and not to any collaterals. A 608 582

Sugar was used in this case because one party was Moslem. In the case of Christians the blood is always taken in raki or in wine. Red wine, doubtless because most resembling blood, is the correct medium.

Blood-brotherhood was, of course, not reckoned a "forbidden degree" by the Church, but in practice was strictly observed by the people.

The swearing of blood-brotherhood between some members of either side was one of the ways of making peace after a blood-feud. In Dushmani I met a high-spirited youth who had laid in wait on the A 608 628

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To the Land of the Eagle

831 Balkans than in more civilised and cultured parts of Europe, and the following true story attests to the lengths to which men are prepared to go in order to maintain the code.

628 577 931 A young peasant of Epirus who had only recently taken a wife had to go to the war. On leaving he placed her in the care of his brother, charging him by everything he held sacred to guard her honour as if it were his own. On his return, a few years later, he found that the trust had been betrayed—and by the brother himself—and that his wife was about to become a mother. The primitive peasant code demanded the death of both the guilty parties, and the soldier killed his wife with his own hand, but before he could go in pursuit of his brother, who had fled to the mountains, was arrested by the gendarmerie. At the subsequent trial he was sentenced to fifteen year's imprisonment—a sentence which is still unexpired. The man who told me the story said that he paid a visit to the gaol and had an interview with the prisoner, who at first stated that there had been a reconciliation between his brother and himself. The visitor, who knew that this could not possibly be true, said, "Why do you lie to me?" And, as the man remained silent, continued, "I know that you will go back when you are free and kill your brother. And what will be the use of that? It will only mean another long term of imprisonment."

The prisoner nodded. "Yes", he said. "But when my imprisonment is over I shall once more be able to live honourably amongst my own people."

Until, therefore, the disgrace has been wiped out by the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

blood of his brother this man cannot take his rightful position 628
in the family or in the community to which he belongs, and 577
rather than be an outcast and scorned by his people he is 831
prepared to spend a great part of his life in gaol. Such is the Balkan code of honour.

At Koritza I found that the money in circulation was no 436
longer Italian. Here, as at Tirana, one transacted business with the krone (or crown) instead of with the lira, as at Durazzo, Valona, Argyrocastron and in the South generally. The currency, moreover, was entirely metal, and consisted, in addition to the Austrian krone itself, of Turkish silver coins, Greek silver drachmae, Serbian dinars, and so forth—the basis being gold. There are no banks, but there are 453
money-changers who are always quite willing to cash British or American notes, and who have drawers full to the brim with gold—French napoleons, English sovereigns and half-sovereigns, and American five-dollar pieces. I had not seen so much gold at one time since the old days before the war when bank cashiers in English used to gather it up from the counter by the shovelful.

The absence of banks must, one would imagine, be a 453
considerable hindrance to the commercial development of a 457
country. Nevertheless it is remarkable how little difference it seems to make in Albania, and I began to wonder whether banks are, after all, as essential as we are prone to think. It was likely, however, at the time of which I am writing, that an Albanian bank would shortly be established with headquarters at Tirana. A proposal had been made by the

The Vendetta[1]

At that time, the blood feud and the 628
vendetta were the chief preoccupations of the mountain folk 577
and murders and killings were of frequent occurrence. Men were liable to be shot at any moment, and often were shot, solely because their ancestors of several generations back had quarrelled over some trivial matter. Albanians claim to-day that the vendetta is a thing of the past, but I had no difficulty in ascertaining that the claim is not well founded; vendetta crimes are still common, and even while I was in Scutari a murder "in revenge" was reported to the police.

The following story illustrates very well the sacrifices demanded by the code:—

A bitter blood feud had waged for several generations between two families in a remote mountain district. The head of one family died and the headship, and with it the duty of carrying on the vendetta, devolved upon another member of the family who was, as it happened, the village priest. One would have thought that his office would release him from the necessity of committing a murder. But it did not. He bided his time and shot his enemy dead. Then, as there was no other priest within many miles of the place, he officiated—difficult though it is to credit it—at the funeral of his victim.

Notwithstanding that a vendetta murder is committed [681]
in defence of the family honour it is, if the gendarmes succeed in tracing and arresting the perpetrator, invariably punished by hanging. The code of the mountaineers is so strict, however, that the penalty acts as no deterrent. A man who fails in his duty to kill an enemy of his house is outlawed

1 [two years before World 275 War I -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

628 [511] from his own fireside, and he would rather face the gallows than the contempt of his family.

Even apart from the vendetta, the Albanian of this type is sometimes rather too ready to use his gun. Shortly before I was in Scutari a man was killed in a quarrel. It seems that the local schoolmaster had occasion to chastise one of the scholars. The boy's father was angry about it and called on the schoolmaster to remonstrate, taking a friend with him. In the ensuing dispute all lost their tempers and the friend unwisely " butted in." Whereupon the schoolmaster drew a revolver and shot the man dead.

674 681 The act which makes the carrying of firearms illegal is very necessary, and it is a pity that it cannot be enforced in this part of Albania as it has been elsewhere. But the inaccessibility of the mountain villages, and the lawlessness which makes the carrying of a weapon almost obligatory for self-protection, are at the moment insuperable difficulties. All that the gendarmes have been able to do so far is to insist that rifles shall be deposited at the police post outside Scutari before their owners enter the town. This explains what at first puzzled me—why the men in the streets of Scutari and in the Scutari bazaar were decorated with belts full of cartridges and yet no guns or rifles were in evidence.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

8. The Oath

A M 626 728 628 The oath played a most important part in the whole tribal area of Albania and Montenegro. The tribes lived, till recent times, in a constant state of blood-feud both with each other and within the tribes, and this was regulated only by means of sworn intervals of peace. In Montenegro you were in "krv" (blood) or under oath ("pod vjere"). In Albania, in "gjak" (blood) or under "besa." The tribesman as a rule kept the oath when formally sworn with rigid fidelity. A man forsworn was universally condemned. How by means of such oaths blood-feuds were settled we have told in another chapter.

A 626 783 *Manner of Taking Oath.*—Among the Albanian tribes there still exists the very antique custom of swearing the oath upon a stone. The priest and the hodja have succeeded in adding respectively the cross and Allah to his oath, but to the priest's vexation the mountain man persistently says, as he throws down the stone in the circle of headmen, "Per guri i per kruch" (by the stone and the cross), and puts the stone first. When a Catholic tribesman had confessed and received absolution he liked to come to church next time carrying a stone in proportion to the size of the sins confessed. What pact he had sworn on the stone I could not understand. The stone in this case was said to represent penitence. Some priests forbade the practice; others said it was unnecessary, but allowed it because this visible sign of contrition seemed really to help them. "But," said Padre Kiri of Thethi, laughing, "when a man came with a rock on his shoulder I told him he might leave it at the door."

A reason suggested for this custom is that the penitent transferred his sin to the stone and so got rid of it.

In trials before the elders a man accused of crime would swear his innocence upon a stone and fling it down before his judges.

M 626 783 *Montenegro.*—I did not find the custom in Montenegro, but it was clearly common till recently. Prince Danilo, in his Code of 1855, decrees (Law 65): "If after this day a Montenegrin or Brdjanin present himself before justice with a stone tied to his neck, whether innocent or guilty he shall be flogged."

M 754 The custom, it appears, has been flogged out. But in spite of Danilo's floggings I still found the custom of throwing a stone with a curse on to the reputed grave of a bad man. On the western side of Montenegro are several stone piles, and many such are to be found in the Herzegovina, some of which have been excavated and proved to be prehistoric tumuli. Krsto firmly believed all such heaps to be "proklete gomile" (accursed heaps) over the body of a desperate criminal who

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

S 608 852 302 tonsure of his godchild, following the church practice of taking hair from the temples and the occiput, places upon his head a new cap—perhaps once a tribal emblem, at any rate a protective garment with special properties and associations—and makes and receives certain presents which witness to the contract of *kum*ship. It is thought that the hair of the S [782] [776] child was offered to the presiding spirit, or the genius of birth, who in turn have been connected with ancestral spirits, inhabiting streams and trees. As a precaution, the hair is carefully preserved; it is not allowed to fall to the ground, but caught in a cloth and afterwards rolled in wax, and either then or later it is placed or buried under a young rose tree. For the child concerned it is a passage rite. It is a S [551] current belief that a child is not safe until it has been baptised, and until then it is known by a protective, misleading nickname. The rite of tonsure also ensures its security, partly, surely, by fixing its identity and establishing relationship with a sponsor or protector, who becomes responsible in part for it, and with the society on which its life and strength depend. S 852 608 [755] Weakly children are baptised in haste, and where the tonsure rite has lost its first meaning, I have heard of it as an extra precautionary rite for ailing children. When a child is born sickly, or of parents whose other children have died early, there is a custom by which it is carried outside the house, say to a cross-roads. The father or woman who carries the child generally beseeches the first passer-by to stand as godfather. Sometimes the child is left for the first who finds it to pick up and adopt, or claim as godchild, and thus give it his protection. On Kosovo the child is moreover carefully bound round and laid, its face to the ground, with its head to the East. The finder turns the child over and reverses its position, pronouncing a blessing of long life.

A 852 608 628 The rôle of redeemer is clearly seen in an Albanian rite quoted by Hahn. The children to be sponsored, at the ceremonial reconciliation of parties of a blood feud, were brought in their cradles by women to the house of the wronged party, and set with the children's heads turned to the West. The

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Balkan Peoples E13

sign of their acceptance was the turning of the children round so that their heads were to the East, symbolising release from death, and in this case, pardon.

The special relationship between protector and protected, which has been stressed in descriptions of primitive society, was also characteristic of the Balkan peoples; the pardoned murderer, the man whose life had been spared, or who had claimed protection or some special boon—all of which naturally had to be done in a special way—was from then onwards not only the lifelong and intimate ally of his protector, but enjoyed the other's greatest respect and consideration.[1] It was laid down in the traditional regulations for concluding a vendetta that the party of the murderer should give a certain number of sponsor children and blood brothers, according to the number of lives owing, to be received by the offended person and his relatives in the usual way. This was not merely a means of securing peace by a sacred alliance but in the nature of a compensating fine. The murderer placed himself and his children at the mercy of the men he had wronged. From the conventions attaching to pardon and redemption the new relationship proceeds. It is possible that formerly a real substitute for the life in dispute was offered, and that it was entirely at the pleasure of the offended party to spare or to pardon the children. Only by a special ceremony could peace be made without blood. The feast which usually followed was a compensatory sacrifice and included a memorial of the dead. These customs amongst the South Slavs have died out; vendetta is no longer an open tribal business, and descriptions of the ceremonies are often lacking in detail, and particularly the important detail of the exact manner in which the *kum* received the children. However, the symbolical act of raising from death is occasionally mentioned, and on enquiry I found that it was remembered in tradition, here and there, unambiguously as such.

[1] There are common peasant sayings of the form: 'Of whom should you ask a favour if not of me, who helped you in the past?'

6: Troyanovitch E-4, 5 (no date)1909
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

S 628 A [628 752] deeds of their forefathers. With the Albanians the demand for revenge is even more terrible. When a doctor of the people trepans a patient, and the patient dies, the family demand in compensation the doctor's head, or that of some member of his family. In case of an insult or murder, not only are the father, brother, son, and near relatives called upon to take revenge, but even entire Brastvos, tribes, and Nahiye. Revenge or a money compensation must be had even after a hundred years. The relatives of a man who has been slain always preserve his bloodstained garments as an incitement to revenge. Formerly, when a powerful enemy entered the land, the vendetta was temporarily laid aside. When a Krvnik (one guilty of murder) is obliged to go to work, or for any reason to leave the house, he first sends his Pobratim or a friend of the dead man's family to demand a month's reprieve, or as long as he desires. This is called Besa (literally, 'trust'). S [574] If he obtains it, he might freely enter even the house itself of the murdered man. In general the harshness of the vendetta may be greatly mitigated. It is not an infrequent occurrence that immediately after a murder the murderer seeks refuge under the roof of some of the dead man's family, and thus 'places himself into their hands.' In this case they safeguard him for the sake of their own pride; and if he is in imminent peril there, they conduct him to other friends or kinsmen, and these on their part conduct him elsewhere, according to the arrangements made. Once he is out of their hands, however, they all watch for an opportunity to kill him. Grahovo, on the boundaries of Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, was at one time considered a neutral territory, where a murderer dare not be slain. Other sanctuaries for the fugitive were churches and cemeteries. This recalls the decisions of the ecclesiastical councils of the 6th and 9th centuries, by which criminals were protected in certain circumstances. In ancient times, for instance, when the delinquent took refuge in the sacred wood, the Celts and Germans withheld capital punishment from him. It is still a rule that no boys under fifteen are to be slain, and no women whatever. Hence, when blood has been shed by some family and it is threatened with reprisals (vendetta), only the women and boys under fifteen S [712] belonging to it are to be seen working in the fields, while the men remain in stone towers, which have been built for the purpose, and watch through the loopholes for the enemy.

S 628 608 When it becomes apparent that the hostile parties desire to become reconciled, a few men are chosen from the Vassoyevitch tribe (on the Montenegrin frontier, but under the dominion of the Turks), to whom is entrusted the task of settling the matter. These men are called Kmets. As a demonstration

cure. The Mountain Ghegs also grow much fruit on trees near their houses. The chief species are quinces, pears, and apples. 245

Women have charge of milking the cows and making butter, curds, and cheese. Small boys are usually employed as shepherds, and lead their flocks high on the mountains. In the summertime many Gheg families drive their cattle up to the Alpine meadows on the mountain passes, and keep them there weeks at a time while they make butter and cheese. While on these heights they live in small temporary houses (fig. 8, *c*).[1] The people of Klementi, however, who live in high valleys, drive their flocks to the plain of Scutari every year for winter pasture. [462] 221 233

Animal husbandry furnishes the Ghegs not only with much of their food, but also with a supply of energy, for they use oxen in ploughing, and horses for travel and the transport of goods. In the wintertime they keep their cows and horses indoors, while the pigs, in Catholic regions, have special sties. Late winter and early spring is the season when food is scarce. The corncrib may be empty, and only the seed corn hanging in bunches from the walls will remain untouched. The cows are dry, and the flitches of pork and bacon gone from the ceiling. 231 262

This is the time when the mountain people, their tempers more and more irritable, used to turn to raiding, and while some rustled each other's animals, others came down out of the mountains to steal cattle from the people on the plains. Mirdita raided Zadrima, and Mati raided the low country around Elbasan. This annual hunger was the result of a complete economic occupance of the land, coupled with an excess of births over deaths. Raiding brought in more food, but feuding caused more deaths. Between the two, plus a certain amount of emigration, the balance was reached. 261 628

Transportation in Ghegnia was, in 1929, as poor as anywhere in Europe. There were a certain number of roads over which people could walk, in some places ride animals, and in most, carry goods on animal back. In a few places the trails were too steep for animals, and men had to pack in goods by pannier. The principal road, which will be described later,[2] goes from Scutari and Lesh by way of Vau i Denjës to Puka, then on to Kukës, and across 491

1 [See cat. 116, p. 108.. Analyst
2 [See cat. 116 p 42a- Analyst

485 with cooking privileges at the fireplace, while the host brews coffee for sale, and also dispenses *raki*. After his guests are in for the night he locks the door, and cannot ordinarily be persuaded to unlock it before morning, no matter how urgent the needs of the guests to go outside. This precaution is necessary owing to the frequency of violence.

Some of the *hanjis* are local men. Others come from Kruja, the home of innkeepers. All of them live as bachelors. This system, like the *kiragi* business, brings a certain number of outsiders into the country. All in all there are probably 12 to 18 *hans* in Ghegnia, in addition to the one European-style hotel at
574 Peshkopia. The Catholics do not use this system; in their tribal areas guests are put up by important individuals through a system of re-
•[628] ciprocal hospitality. Since local feuds are usually more prevalent in Catholic than in Moslem country, travel across the former is relatively light.

438 There remains only the question of trade, which has been partly covered.[1] On the whole it may be said of the mountain Ghegs that they live by a regional, or geographic, and perhaps also ethnic, division of labor. The ordinary man is a farmer, who produces firewood, cereals, legumes, tobacco, wool, milk products, and sometimes wooden spoons. His wife produces cloth, crocheted stockings, embroidered scarfs, baskets, eggs, and a few other local products. These mountain products find their way to the market towns. Usually men and women come together; sometimes only the women make the trip, and sometimes the whole family stays at home, sending the goods by a *kiragi*.[2]

The Ghegs are able to export these things because they produce a slight surplus of agricultural products. One reason for the surplus may be that they use a number of labor-saving devices, including fulling and mealing mills run by water power.[3] This gives them more time for other pursuits, but does not increase their complexity of relations at home, since the mills are small and serve individual groups of related families.

1 [See cat. 116, pp. 20a-20b -- Analyst]
2 [See cat 116, pp 20a-20b Analyst]
3 [See cat 116 pp 17b-18a -- Analyst]

163 pressure is created. It varies from 4.2 in Mati
128 to 6.6 in Malsia e Madhe, with the largest families on either side of the mountains, the smallest in the middle. Even the smallest are too large for the landscape to feed without a change in methods of land utilization, a change which has not yet arrived.

166 In the country near Scutari, the city will take some of the excess. In the lands east of the Black Drin, migration onto the plain used to be possible, and habitual. Cvijič has shown[2] how, along the entire Dinaric chain, there has been for centuries a steady flow of population out of the mountains. In the center of the mountains, however, such emigration is not easy. Particularly in the old days when Catholics were not welcome in Moslem territory, the mountain people had to stay at home.
[628] There is only one universal, immemorial method of disposing of excess population under these circumstances. That is the method found in the Rif, in the Caucasus, in the Kafir country of Afghanistan, and in many other places—feuding. If enough males are killed off, the population remains constant.

165 Males only are killed. A few statistics on deaths by violence are available.[3] During the period 1901–05 the ratios in a number of northern communities were Toplana, 39 per cent; Dushman, 23 per cent; Spaç, 32 per cent; Shala, 26 per cent; Orosh, 21 per cent; Nikaj, Shoshi, and Kačinari, 25 per cent each. Double these figures and one finds between 42 per cent and 64 per cent of males dying in internecine
163 warfare. As if some natural mechanism were deliberately trying to compensate for this one-sided loss, we find a sex ratio of 163 male births to every 100 females born.

Sex ratios of this magnitude have been found before in feuding countries, and in fact the ratio of male births has been shown to rise in our own country in time of war. The biological explanation[4] is that people living under conditions of warfare marry and produce children at an earlier age than they would in time of peace. Some mechanism upon which all biologists do not agree selects the sperm cells, or the fertilized eggs, in the mother's

[2] Cvijič, 1918.

[3] Nopcsa, 1925. Data compiled by the Catholic clergy.

POLITICS AND FEUDING

592 THE smallest political institution in tribal Gheg society is the household, the extended family living together, which is also an economic institution. The head of the household is the oldest male of the parental or grandparental generation, the patriarch. So strong is the feeling for age-grading in Albania that men will obey their fathers as faithfully at 40 and 50 as in their teens. Since all sons do not necessarily live with their fathers, but some may occupy separate houses, the institution of the household may thus be expanded spatially, although the relationships are maintained.

[672] The household is a unit of warfare; when a man commits murder within his own tribe, his [628] household suffers together. In seeking vengeance, a man can wipe out the blot on his family honor by killing the brother of his enemy; responsibility is held to be collective. If one member of a household kills another, which happens but very rarely,[1] nothing is done. The loss is that of the family.

621 The next unit is the village. It may be a compact group of houses, surrounded by its farmland and pasture; or it may consist of isolated homesteads, each in its own land. The latter is the more usual form. In either case, it has some central building, a mosque or a church; or it may merely have a flat place, usually shaded by an oak, where the elders 623 meet. Each village is supposed to have 12 elders, whose office is partly hereditary, partly elective. Various families habitually furnish one man each to fill this position. The word for elder is *plak*, which Miss Durham traces back to the time of Strabo.[2] One of these elders is the *kryeplak*, literally, head elder. In one village in Has, when I measured the *kryeplak*, he told the recorder that he was "mayor" of the village. He calls the elders together when events arise that need their

[1] Miss Durham gives one instance from Dukagin (Durham, 1928, pp. 69-70).
[2] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

619 634 114 Travel in Ghegnia in the years 1908–13 would not have been easy, even for an experienced man. For a woman to have made these journeys is something of a miracle. Others may be the result of the process of amalgamation, for many of the "tribes" which she mentions were miserable fragments of former populations decimated by warfare, and massacred, in some cases, by the Serbs. By 1929 a considerable realignment must have taken place in the whole area north of the Drin, and especially in the regions which she designates as Postripa and Pulati. In any case the 10 groups of people whom I have designated as tribes were so considered by the people with whom I worked in 1929, and form more or less self-contained, intermarrying units, sufficient for our present purpose.

619 628 Under the tribal system warfare was almost continuous. The underlying cause was of course population pressure. The overt causes were seduction, theft of women, elopement, cattle-stealing, and general raiding. It did not take much to give offense, particularly in the late winter, when food was scarce. Even a man who had almost enough to eat himself would be under severe tension, because of the general nervous strain of his kinsmen and dependents, and consequent maladjustment within the household.

A chance blow, a harsh word, even a play on words which is very easy in Shqip, or above all a cruel joke—these seemingly minor conflicts often led to gunplay and murder, with 522 consequent feuding. I had several occasions to feel their Iron Age wit, so much like that of the Norse sagas. Once my host in Zadrima remarked, in front of many people, that I had the skinniest legs he had ever seen, and wondered how I could walk. The assembled company burst into Homeric roars. On another occasion, in a Puka *han*, I lifted my head suddenly and hit it a sound smack on a protruding nail, partially stunning myself in the process. This was the funniest thing in the world. Once again, when Farnsworth and I crawled into our sleeping bags for the night, the whole household laughed and laughed. When we asked what was the matter, they said, "Just think, if the house should catch on fire! You

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

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wouldn't be able to get out of those sacks, Ha! Ha! Ha!"

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619

What happens when a man kills another of the same tribe can best be learned from the following quotation from Miss Durham.[7]

Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. [Miss Durham is using "tribe" in the restricted sense, as before.] Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and order his house to be burnt. Among the Dukagini the council has power also to destroy his crops, cut down his fruit trees, slaughter his beasts, and condemn the land to lie unworked for a term of years. An incredible amount of food-stuff is thus wasted. In this group not only the man who has taken blood, but all the males of his "house," are liable for blood, so they, too, have to fly. The "house" is the home maybe of a whole family community—forty people. But the law is carried out to the last letter. Such desolated spots have I seen. But "It is the Canon, so must be obeyed," was the answer to any remonstrance I made. The women and children may scatter and find shelter in other houses if they can; they usually do. A man can save his house if he can return to it and defend it three days successfully, so that the men sent by the council cannot set fire to it; I saw "a very brave man" in Berisha who had three times saved his house thus. Or a man can save his house by inviting the head of another mehala [household] to act as house lord and defend it with his own men. This might cause severe fighting. The council, to prevent this, then as a rule agrees to burn the house only and spare the property. The amount of property to be destroyed was always decided by the council. . . . In addition to the burning of the house, in all tribes a fine has to be paid. . . . in sheep or cattle. . . . to the Turkish Government. In the case of Maltsia e Madhe this was paid . . . in Scutari. . . . punctually . . . . The Turkish Government had a certain hold on all the nearer tribes, for it could hold as hostage any member of a tribe which owed blood-gelt and came to market at Scutari. The outlying tribes of Dukagini by no means always either notified or paid for their murders.

[672]

Feuds being very weakening to a tribe, the headmen of the tribe or friends of the family would attempt to stop the feud. Blood-feuds of the Dukagini

[7] Durham, 1928, pp. 66-68.

[8] Miss Durham translated *bairaktar* as "head of the tribe." This explains her confusion between tribes and *bairaks* noted earlier.

and Pulati tribes are settled in the mountains; those of Maltsia e Madhe were settled in Scutari before the representatives of those tribes [to the Turkish Government] who lived there. 628 682 619

The peace-making is preceded by the "gjaksur" (he who owes blood) sending some friends to the "zoti i gjakut" (lord of blood) to ask for "besa" (promise of truce). This may be granted and further prolonged, and during the truce the gjaksur and his relatives are safe. To end the feud . . . twenty-four con-jurors are needed to swear the peace oath with the gjaksur. The plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be named by the "bairaktar"* . . . . They examine the facts and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. . . .

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the church (or mosque) before which the council has been held . . . and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood. [After the others have all sworn] . . . the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood. . . .

The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.*

Within the *bairak*, then, political mechanisms tended to reduce the frequency of murder by making it expensive. Murder between *bairaks* would likewise be discouraged if the central authority of the tribe were strong. Otherwise inter-*bairak* feuds could rage for decades before peacemaking. Whole tribes could likewise be in blood with each other, or with single *bairaks*, just as Mirdita was in blood with Lura during the period in which we are interested.

A central political authority tended to strengthen the ties between tribal members, and with the numerous council meetings that were called, members of the more prominent families got about frequently within their tribal boundaries. This would give them opportunity to arrange marriages some distance 619

* In this whole section I have used Miss Durham's spelling of local names, now obsolete. Also, I have left the definite article before *zoti i gjakut*, where it is grammatically superfluous.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG

000
631

and Constantinople. The proof of Illyricum's rising importance came when Diocletian made Illyricum one of[1] the four prefectures into which the empire was divided. Each of these was governed by a *praefectus praetorio.* This prefecturate of Illyricum consisted of Pannonia, Noricum, Crete and the Balkan peninsula except Thrace, which belonged to the prefecturate of the East. Until 379 Illyricum was included in the western partition of the empire, but in this year eastern Illyricum was annexed to the prefecturate of the East. This new frontier was a natural and logical one in so far as it corresponded to the line of demarcation between Latin and Greek-speaking people as it even now sets the boundary which separate Latin and Greek Christianity in the Balkan peninsula.

1 [i.e., Roman Empire--Analyst]

Epirus

THE southern part of the Kingdom of /31
Albania of today was the ancient
Epirus. This territory was bounded
on the north by the Ionian Sea and on the
south by the Ambracian Gulf. Its landward
sides were next to Illyria, Macedonia and
Thessaly. The terrain is essentially moun- /33
tainous. About the fourth century before 619
Christ these Epirots were divided in fourteen
tribes. Epirus at this time exerted no small 791
influence on Thessaly through the oracle of
Dodona. Historically, the part of Epirus was
passive. Epirus was divided into the smaller 631
kingdoms of Molossia, Thesprotia, Chaonia,
etc., which were formed into an Epirotic
League.

The chieftains of Molossia, who dominated /73
all Epirus, claimed to be descended from
Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who settled in the
country after the fall of Troy. (Plutarch also
relates that Achilles was known in this coun-
try under the name of "Aspetos" which in
Albanian means "swift.") Upon Pyrrhus'
death his kingdom was transmitted to Molossus,
his son by Andromache.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

000 (Ministria Komonda e Përgjithshme e Mprojtjes Kombëtare).

631 The administration of interior affairs of the State are based on the laws of May 13, 1928. The State is divided into 193 communes, administered by ten Prefectures. These are: Tirana, Durazzo, Scutari, Dibra, Kosova, Elbasan, Korça, Berat, Vlona and Gjinokastra. The prefectures are assisted by 31 sub-prefectures. The centrum is the Ministry of Interior Affairs at Tirana. Every prefecture has attached an administrative council composed of the Prefect as President (Chairman) of the Council, the Mayor, and the next high official of the prefecture are members in addition to the four aldermen elected by each commune for two years. The sub-prefectures are the assisting organs of the prefectures. Prefects, Sub-Prefects and the Mayors are appointed by the Albanian Government and are State officials.

Villages with more than 2,500 population are designated as communes; villages with less population are attached to communes for administrative purposes.

692 At the seat of every prefecture exists a Superior Court, with appellate jurisdiction,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

summits are clad in eternal snows, but at lower elevations stretch vast forests of pine and other trees, and rich pasturages on which the sheep and cattle of the Ghegs roam in summer. The land is cultivated to any considerable extent only in the south, where the climate is more suited to the production of crops, and the character of the people to the pursuit of agriculture.

Albania is divided into two *vilayets*, or provinces, called after the names of their chief towns, Scutari and Ioannina, the residences of the Ottoman Governors. The former, which is also called Northern Albania, is inhabited chiefly by the Ghegs and Miridites, and the latter by the Tosks, Khams, and Liaps, all of whom, however, are proud to call themselves by the national name of Skipetar.

Though nominally brought under the Turkish yoke and partially converted to Islam in the fifteenth century, after an heroic struggle of twenty-five years' duration under the famous Skanderbeg,[1] the Albanians long maintained a sort of semi-independence. As Moslems, they fought under their own leaders in the armies of the Sultans, who esteemed them among their bravest soldiers, and rewarded their services with numerous privileges and grants of property. The warlike Albanians were consequently never in spirit a conquered race, and the old feudal social system, which they were still able to maintain, aided by the nature of their country, made it occasionally possible for the chieftains to throw off, for a time at least, the authority of the Sublime Porte. The most

[1] "*Iskender Bey*, the Lord Alexander."

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 65

The various ministries of the government are: 645

1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
2. Ministry of the Interior
3. Ministry of National Defense
4. Ministry of Justice
5. Ministry of Finance
6. Ministry of Education
7. Ministry of Economy
8. Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
9. Ministry of Public Works
10. Ministry of Health

ARTICLE 66

The government may appoint a special Council of Ministers to deal with questions of national economy and defense.

The decree by which this Council is appointed shall determine its organization and scope.

TITLE III

Organs of the Local Governmental Units

ARTICLE 67

The people's councils are the governmental units in rural 631
districts, communes, subprefectures, and prefectures.

The people's councils are elected directly by the people: [666]
those of the rural districts for two years and those of the communes, subprefectures, and prefectures, for three years.

The people's councils of the communes, subprefectures, and prefectures hold regular meetings according to special regulations.

ARTICLE 68

The people's councils direct their own administrative 632
affairs, are responsible for economic and cultural matters 623
within their jurisdiction, maintain order, see that the laws

[Constitution]

and his assistants are appointed by the People's Convention. 693

District attorneys of the prefectures and subprefectures are appointed by the Attorney General. [646]

ARTICLE 86

All district attorneys are independent of the local governmental units and are responsible only to the Attorney General, from whom they receive orders and instructions.

ARTICLE 87

District attorneys are authorized to initiate penal actions and also to exercise the right of appeal as well as the right to intervene during a judicial or administrative trial. District attorneys can exercise the right of appeal against summary decisions of the courts and other administrative organs when such decisions are illegal. [692]

ARTICLE 88

The district attorney of the military courts of the national army of the People's Republic of Albania and other military attorneys are appointed by the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Republic. [701]

TITLE V

Relation Between the Executive and Administrative Departments

ARTICLE 89

The Presidium of the People's Convention may annul or suspend decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government when they are unconstitutional and illegal. 642

The government may annul or suspend decrees, ordinances, instructions and decisions of ministers when they are contrary to the laws, decrees, instructions and decisions of the government.

ARTICLE 90

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may suspend any illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils. 643 631

[Constitution]

643 The government or the ministers may annul or suspend
631 any illegal or irregular act of the executive committees. The higher executive committees have the same right over the lower executive committees.

The people's councils may annul or suspend any illegal or irregular act of their own executive committees.

The government and the executive committees of the higher people's councils may suspend the execution of every illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils or may propose the annulment of such acts.

ARTICLE 91

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may dissolve the lower people's councils and authorize new elections. Likewise they may suspend executive committees of the lower people's councils and order elections of new executive committees.

TITLE VI

The National Army

ARTICLE 92

701 The National Army is the armed force of the People's Republic of Albania. Its duty is to defend the independence of the state and the freedom of the people.

The army defends the frontiers of the state and guarantees internal peace and security.

ARTICLE 93

The Supreme Commander of the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania is appointed by the People's Convention.

The Supreme Commander directs all the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania.

PART THREE

186 *The Seal, Flag, and Capital City*

ARTICLE 94

The seal of the People's Republic of Albania depicts a field

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER II

THE UNWRITTEN LAW IN OUTLINE

To ensure for all, irrespective of their individual material wealth, a fair share of the essential grazing, arable land and irrigation, there has grown up a corpus of Unwritten Law. This was evolved at some unknown date by the mountaineers, as part of the legal framework which they had devised for every aspect of their life. They evolved all their laws—social, administrative, or pastoral—unaided. For many centuries before the Turks arrived in the fifteenth century, the country was split up into a number of principalities, none of which was strong enough for long to subject a neighbour to its rule. Though the Turks remained for four and a half centuries, they could never exert more than a nominal authority outside the chief towns. If they sent a punitive column into the interior, the people living in the mountains took evasive action, retreating to some peak until the inevitable departure of the intruders; their wealth was so small that they could carry or drive off most of it to their refuge, and so lost little from the raid. If the Turks sent tax or police officials, they fired on them at the first defile as a warning to return to their offices in town. There were no roads along which forces strong enough to be effective could march, in order to reduce them to real submission. The Turkish government, unable to enforce its will, accepted the situation and left the mountaineers to govern themselves, as they had presumably done under their native princes and chiefs. The first all-weather road to be built in North Albania was constructed in 1916 by the Austro-Hungarian armies during their temporary occupation; it ran from Shkodër to Durrës, with a branch to Tirana.

Every type of unwritten law has been constantly recast, added to, and restated down the centuries by a body of experts drawn from the rank of rulers. This rank exists because the mountaineers came to realize that an entity which is divided against itself cannot stand. Consequently, in every social unit—in house and village as in tribe or group of villages—the principle of subordination to a supreme head was accepted. In a household the headship is hereditary, with an important qualification. As the mountaineers are aware that

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XV

ASSEMBLIES AND THEIR WORK

623 634 619 Assemblies sometimes dealt with internal matters such as criminal trials, formulation of laws, local administration, and sometimes with the external relations of the community. Internal affairs were dealt with, according to their gravity, by the tribe, village or kin, but a plenary assembly had to be called to consider foreign affairs.

619 669 During the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century the northern tribes of Albania were singly or collectively in constant opposition to Turkish sovereignty, and plenary assemblies were summoned by tribes whenever they planned to break out into open revolt. Earlier in 1855 and 1862 there had been attacks on the Montenegrins by the Mirditë, which had followed on plenary assemblies of the Mirditë tribes.

In 1881 the Albanians of Kosovë formed the League of Prizren in order to struggle more effectively for independence of Turkey. [631] All over Kosovë and what afterwards became the kingdom of Albania plenary meetings were held by tribes, and, where these did not exist as in south Albania, by districts, to decide on whether to join this League or not. Again in 1908, as Miss Durham relates,[1] the northern tribes held plenary meetings about accepting the new [721] Turkish constitution. The Albanian attack on the Turkish garrisons in Skoplje and adjacent towns, that began the Balkan war of 1912, was prefaced by general assemblies of every tribe in Kosovë and north Albania. In the summer of 1914, when Esad Pashë Toptani revolted against Prince William of Wied, then *Mbret* (king) of Albania, his supporters raised central Albania in his favour by carrying the Koran in one hand and a crucifix in the other to plenary meetings of the villages and bidding the Assembly, generally consisting of Moslems only, choose between the Moslem Esad and the Christian 'Mbret'. In 1942 a plenary meeting of all Mat was convened by the subprefect of Mat in the hope of enforcing obedience to the Italian government of the day. The decisions reached at the meeting were embodied in a document

[1] *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 120, n. 1.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Office of Intelligence Research

Intelligence Report

No. 6628 Date: July 16, 1954

ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF ALBANIA

Abstract

●631 New local administrative divisions, details on which have just been made available though the receipt of the Albanian Official Gazette, were set up in Albania in July 1953 in conjunction with a general reorganization of the national government. This move followed the pattern set in the USSR and some other European satellites after Stalin's death. The administrative reorganization, the third since the Albanian Communists assumed control in 1944, was intended to give the central government more direct control over the local units. Elections for the new local bodies were held in March and April of this year.

I. REORGANIZATION OF JULY 1953

A Party-government decree of July 1953 called for reorganization of the administrative divisions of the country in order "to create the possibilities for a more operational direction" of the local authorities by the central government through decentralization of some functions of the latter.

To implement this decision, the People's Assembly on August 1, 1953 approved Law No. 1707 amending Article 71 of the Constitution and designating the People's Councils (Keshilla Popullore) as the organs of state power in villages, localities, cities, districts, and regions. These Councils were to be elected by popular vote for a term of three years. The law also authorized the Presidium of the Assembly to dissolve the People's Councils of localities, cities, and districts existing under the old administrative set-up and to appoint provisional executive committees for the newly created regions. These committees were to exercise the functions of the People's Councils until new elections were held.

[redacted]

631 On the basis of the amended Article 71 of the Constitution the Presidium of the Assembly on August 20 issued Decree No. 1716 stating that the People's Republic of Albania is divided into regions (qarqe), districts (rrethe), cities (qytete), localities (lokalitete), and villages (fshatra). The decree listed 10 regions, 55 districts, 4 cities with the rank of districts, 47 localities, 9 cities with the rank of locality, 2,609 villages, 11 cities with the rank of village, and 48 city wards with the rank of village; (See summary table listing various categories.)

The 4 cities with the rank of districts are Durres, Korce, Shkoder, and Tirana; the 9 cities with the rank of locality are Berat, Lushnje, Stalin Town, Kavaje, Elbasan, Gjirokaster, Pogradec, Vlore, and Fier; the 11 cities with the rank of village are Peshkopi, Shijak, Peqin, Permet, Delvine, Sarande, Tepelene, Bilish, Kukes, Lesho (Lesh), and Kruje.[1]

II. BACKGROUND ON ADMINISTRATIVE REORGANIZATIONS

The reorganization of the administrative divisions of 1953 was the third such measure taken by the Tirana Communist regime since the end of the war. The first measure was taken on November 6, 1947, when Law No. 546 was adopted, providing for the formation of administrative divisions of the country on the Soviet pattern. On the basis of that law, there were created 20 city, 573 locality, and 2,601 village People's Councils (Soviets).

The second reorganization occurred on March 11, 1949, when the People's Assembly passed Law No. 684 on the basis of which 25 districts, one city (Tirana), 185 localities, and 2,597 villages were created.[2]

The latest reorganization was taken in conjunction with the contraction and centralization of the national government, which in turn followed similar steps taken after Stalin's death in the USSR and in some of the other European satellites. Although the official announcement in Albania claimed that the reorganization of the local

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1. Law No. 1707 and Decree No. 1716 were published in Gazeta Zyrtare (Official Gazette), No. 14 of September 17, 1953. The decree contains a complete list of regions, districts, cities, localities, villages and city wards with the rank of village.
2. For further details, cf. DRE-IR-KER-42, New Administrative Divisions in Albania, June 8, 1949, OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

631 governmental units was intended to decentralize some of the functions of the national government and grant more competences to the local authorities, in reality the aim wasfor more direct ("operational") control of the local government by Tirana. This was indicated by the reduction in the number of highest local government bodies from 26 districts and one city to 10 regions. Local elections for the new administrative divisions were held in March and April 1954.

State--PD, Wash.,D.C.

SUMMARY TABLE OF ALBANIAN REGIONS, DISTRICTS, LOCALITIES, AND VILLAGES

(Based on 1953 Administrative Reorganization)

Regions (Qarqe)	Districts (Krethe)	Cities with rank of districts	Localities (Lokalitete)	Cities with rank of locality	Villages (Fshatra)	Cities with rank of village	City wards with rank of village
Berat	5	—	3	3	370	—	5 + 2 = 7 [a]
Diber	5	—	3	—	228	1	
Durres	3	1	2	1	135	1	6 + 3 = 9 [b]
Elbasan	5	—	3	1	296	1	4
Gjirokaster	6	—	6	1	397	4	5
Korye	8	1	6	1	348	1	5
Kukes	3	—	5	—	154	1	
Shkoder	8	1	6	—	313	1	7
Tirane	5	1	11	—	210	1	
Vlore	5	—	2	2	218	—	7 + 4 = 11 [c]
	53	4	47	9	2609	11	48

a. 5 wards for the city of Berat and 2 for the city of Lushnje.
b. 6 wards for the city of Durres and 3 for the city of Kavaje.
3. 7 wards for the city of Vlore and 4 for the city of Fier.

625 did, it let in new traders, craftsmen, and government officials, by the mere fact that the gendarmes secured the road and put down banditry.

631 643 In a vain attempt to deal the tribal system a deathblow, King Zog abolished all of the old divisions and boundaries, and all of the old system of government. He divided Albania into provinces, deliberately cutting across tribes and *bairaks* and ignoring natural geographical frontiers as completely as did the 1913 boundary commission.[1] Kukës and Peshkopia became centers of administration, as did a remote hamlet in Mati named Bureli. In these new places he set up prefects and secretaries and soldiers.

124 We measured one "secretary of commune" in Mirdita, whom the tribesmen ignored. He was a native of Elbasan. He employed a local man to guard the telephone line, his only link with the extra-feudal world. In Bureli we measured a secretary of court and a schoolteacher, both Mati natives. Others whom we did not measure were outsiders. In Kukës we measured a government clerk, a schoolteacher, and a turnkey in the jail. In Peshkopia our score was 3 government clerks, 2 Big Dibra men and one local; a secretary of court, from Big Dibra; and a local country schoolteacher.

These 7 civil service employees whom we included in our series were all the products of the imposition of Zog's government on the Mountain Ghegs. Of these only 4 came from outside the area. Three of these were part of the group that fled Big Dibra after 1913.

000 The history of the mountain people of northern Albania since 1930, while interesting, is beyond the scope of this report. Some later anthropologist may study it with profit to discover the changes, technological, institutional, and anatomical, which may have taken place since our series was measured. Before moving on, we offer the following summary of the

105 preceding chapters:[2]

1. As far as we know these mountains were uninhabited before 500 B.C. They were first effectively settled at this time or a little later by Illyrian-speaking Hallstatt Iron Age people moving southward and eastward from Bosnia.

2. The majority of the Hallstatt people in

[1] [See cat 116, p. 46a -- Analyst]

[2] [See cat 116, pp. 3 b-46a -- Analyst] -47a

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 65

645

The various ministries of the government are:

1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
2. Ministry of the Interior
3. Ministry of National Defense
4. Ministry of Justice
5. Ministry of Finance
6. Ministry of Education
7. Ministry of Economy
8. Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
9. Ministry of Public Works
10. Ministry of Health

ARTICLE 66

The government may appoint a special Council of Ministers to deal with questions of national economy and defense.

The decree by which this Council is appointed shall determine its organization and scope.

TITLE III

Organs of the Local Governmental Units

ARTICLE 67

The people's councils are the governmental units in rural 631
districts, communes, subprefectures, and prefectures.

The people's councils are elected directly by the people: [666]
those of the rural districts for two years and those of the communes, subprefectures, and prefectures, for three years.

The people's councils of the communes, subprefectures, and prefectures hold regular meetings according to special regulations.

ARTICLE 68

The people's councils direct their own administrative 632
affairs, are responsible for economic and cultural matters 623
within their jurisdiction, maintain order, see that the laws

[Constitution]

632 are carried out, uphold the rights of citizens, and pass local
623 budgets.

The people's councils make decisions within their own jurisdiction in conformity with the constitution and the laws, decrees, and ordinances of high departments of government.

ARTICLE 69

In the exercise of their local functions, the people's councils must cooperate with the people as well as the workers' organizations, and they should be inspired by their initiative.

ARTICLE 70

With the exception of the rural districts, the executive committees elected by the people's councils are the executive and administrative organs of these councils.

The executive committee is composed of a chairman, a secretary, and members.

ARTICLE 71

In the rural districts the executive body of the people's council is composed of one chairman and one secretary.

ARTICLE 72

The people's council of the rural district calls a convention to which it gives an account of its activities.

The rights and duties of the local convention are defined by law.

ARTICLE 73

The executive organs of the people's council depend on the people's council and also on the executive and administrative organs of the state.

ARTICLE 74

The people's councils may create special offices and sections to direct various administrative affairs.

The activities of these offices or subdivisions are directed by the executive committee and are under the jurisdiction of the people's council as well as the respective higher councils and ministries concerned.

[Constitution]

enclosed by two sheaves of wheat. The sheaves are tied at the bottom with a ribbon on which is written the date, May 24, 1944. 186

Between the tips of the ears of wheat there is a red pentagonic star. In the center of the field is a black double-headed eagle.

ARTICLE 95

The official flag of the People's Republic of Albania has a red field, in the center of which is a black double-headed eagle. Over the eagle is a pentagonic star, embroidered in gold. The length and breadth of the flag is one by one and forty.

ARTICLE 96

The capital city of the People's Republic of Albania is Tirana. 633

Tirana, March 14, 1946

The Secretary Sali Mborja

The President of the Constituent Assembly (signed) Tuk Jakova

Presidium of the Constituent Assembly

Decree No. 24

Tirana, March 15, 1946

Promulgation of the Constitution of The People's Republic of Albania

According to Law No. 195 of January 12, 1946, the Presidium of the Constituent Assembly decrees the promulgation of the constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, as approved by the Constituent Assembly of March 14, 1946. 643

Dr. Omer Nishani
General Lt. Kochi Xoxe
General Major Myslim Peza
Nako Spiru
Sami Baholli
General Col. Enver Hoxha
Dr. Medar Shtylla
Prof. S. Maleshova
Col. Ramadan Chitaku
Dr. Manol Konomi
Hasan Pulo
Qiriako Harito
Pandi Kristo

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

701 escorting him to town, guarding him during his stay there and escorting him home again. If they refused without justifiable cause to give him such service, he withdrew his support from them at least for a time.

622 The bajraktar[1] was also much occupied with local administration.
634 Here he was assisted by one or more headmen, hereditary officials like himself. Independently or together, he and they checked quarrelling, judged and formulated new laws. He was admittedly their superior, and when their views diverged his prevailed. If pressure of work made him think an increase in their number desirable, he had power to make extra appointments provided only that he first submitted the names of his nominees to the Turkish government for approval. In short, he was the acknowledged head of the local administration.

[617] As supreme administrative head the bajraktar had power to summon a general meeting for administrative as well as military purposes. If the matter at issue was important and affected the whole tribe, he sent the *kasnec* (tribal messenger) to command the presence of one man per house. If narrower issues were involved he summoned only one or more headmen and the local *gjobtarë*
[692] (fine-collectors) or other elders. Plenary meetings dealt with anti-social acts grave enough to involve the death penalty or expulsion, judged cases of sacrilege against the church, tightened up tribal discipline by enacting new or re-enacting old laws, decided whether to revolt or not against the Turkish government, and heard important messages from the government. In 1908 a plenary
[642] meeting[1] was held by each tribe to decide whether or not it should accept the Young Turk Constitution. Smaller meetings handled business where fines were sufficient punishment for transgression. Notably they regulated grazing rights, fixing the day for a general move to summer pastures, stipulating how many animals each family might feed on a common. They also regulated wood-cutting rights and controlled the supply of water for irrigation. The bajraktar[1] presided at all such meetings, took an active part in the deliberations, and signed or set his seal on any minutes that were
[565] kept. He and the elders, as being socially superior, sat apart from the commoners. In the Malësi e Madhe he sat on the ground while the tribesmen stood respectfully on their feet.

[1] See M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 74.

[the local military leader--Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

as King Zog's man and therefore anathema to the Italians, must have lost much ground. Zef Doçi as his enemy and as a good Catholic may have regained some.

According to Albanian tradition there were no bajraktars before the Turks came, and headmen were literally the head men of their tribe. This would seem to be confirmed by a document dated 1403 which cited Alexius Kastrati, as headman of the tribe of that name, in a list of Albanian chiefs who were rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Albanian tradition further alleges that the Turks aimed deliberately at weakening Albanian chieftains. So, on the one hand, Sultan Mahmut destroyed thirty-six kins, root and branch, and his son Mexhi a further number. On the other hand, Sultan after Sultan appointed bajraktars, ostensibly as military leaders but really as pillars of Turkish rule. By recognizing their nominees as administrative heads as well as military leaders they reduced the old headmen to a subordinate position, and thereby lessened their chances of engineering a successful revolt. This policy would explain why some bajraktars were social as well as administrative and military leaders, and others were not. The former presumably descended from headmen who were complaisant enough to accept Turkish rule, and the latter from strong men of lower position in tribes where the headmen were recalcitrant. The Turks must have trusted that pleasure in their official rank, and the increased possibilities of money-making would keep the bajraktars quiet in their turn. Recognizing the hereditary character of the bajraktar was another shrewd step on their part. As the non-hereditary delis and spahis aged or died, a hiatus unfavourable to their rule might arise. When it was a case of 'the bajraktar is old or dead, long live the bajraktar', they never lacked an agent. When King Zog, as Minister Ahmed Zogu, began to unify Albania he saw the danger from the numerous bajraktars. Accustomed to lead their tribes to war, unaccustomed to any restraint by a central authority, ignorant and untravelled for the most part and generally of autocratic temper, all of them might not have been willing to submit to the new government in Tirana. Methods of bringing them into line with or without their own wish had, therefore, to be devised. If one was willing to serve loyally, the government treated him as the Turks had long before treated a pliant headman. It made him an officer in the reserve, the modern equivalent of the ancient bajraktar, gave him the half-pay of his rank, and provided

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for his sons and nephews, granting them state scholarships on which to complete their education or military training abroad, and finding them employment as officials or officers when they came home. The most notable example of this 'pliant headman' type of bajraktar was Hakik Meta of Lurë, who was himself a captain and had several relatives who were officers in the Albanian army. If a bajraktar was likely to be recalcitrant, King Zog's government tried two methods. The first was a duplication of the system applied to the pliant headman type with reserve rank, half-pay and provision for relatives all included. Thus Gjon Markagjoni, the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë, who rebelled openly in 1921 against the central government, was rewarded for his subsequent submission by being made a lieutenant-colonel in the reserve. Cen Elezi of Dibër, whose father was killed in battle against King Zog's men in 1924, was later made a major. But fewer of the relatives of such men were educated at state expense, and the education given to those few was not so advanced—it seems to have been dangerous to put too much knowledge into their heads. And when they were ready for office they were kept in outlying unimportant districts, 'safe' areas.

The second and far more important method employed by King Zog with possible recalcitrants was the Turks' very own. The usual favours of rank in the reserve, half-pay and the provision for dependants were bestowed on a number of tribesmen who had given proof in the past of their loyalty to the régime and were 'strong' enough in the military sense to combat the influence of the obstinate bajraktars. Captain Mark Miri of Gurrëzë, who was a counterpoise to the Gjetë Coku family of Breg i Matit as well as to the bajraktar, was one example of this type. So was Major Miftar Selmani of Lumë, who was supposed to balance his fellow-villager, Muharrem Bajraktar. The transfer of the administrative powers of the bajraktars to state officials completed their weakening. The unity and stability which characterized King Zog's Albania to an extent surprising in a Balkan country were the best commentary on the policy.

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621 of Turkish rule these were the famous law-givers Dedë Lleshi and
622 Likë Gjegjaj. Again, when Per Dedë Ndoj was senior headman of the village of Gojan in Mirditë, he took the lead in publicly executing a man of his own kin, Buçaj, for murdering a guest who belonged to the Martinaj kin in the same village. The story is related by Father Gjeçov.

623 This fifth type[1] was the recognized superior of the sixth, the body of men who were[2] unitedly called 'village elders'. These consisted of all the brotherhood and kin elders in the village as well as the
[634] village elder himself. For instance, in the district of Kurbin there were sixteen villages, each of which had its 'head (or village) elder'. But according to a document published on p. 129 of Father Gjeçov's book[3] there were altogether forty-five elders in Kurbin. Besides the sixteen 'head elders' there were twenty-nine ordinary 'village elders', some of them kin elders and some brotherhood elders. In Mirditë these village elders were known as 'canon elders', because it was their business to see that the law was respected and applied. To avoid confusion between the single village elder and the body of village elders these will henceforth be alluded to as canon elders.

634 The document mentioned by Father Gjeçov introduces us to the seventh type, a personage styled 'chief elder'. In the document he was chief of the 'forty-five elders of the region of Krujë' (i.e. Kurbin). There is no explicit information of how his position came to this man or whether it was hereditary in his family. It can only be inferred that as he was a Përvizi of Skuraj, and this family led Kurbin, the position was hereditary and a tribute to the outstanding strength of his family. In so large an area as Kurbin there could not be any question of all the villages being related by blood and owning allegiance to Përvizi as the descendant, master after master, of the master of the ancestral household. In other districts where a chief elder existed, it may be assumed similarly that he owed his position to the personal qualities of his family rather than to its descent.

Some other kinds of elder were found, both among the southern tribes and elsewhere, but it will be easier to understand their position after the characteristics and functions which were common to the elders have been elucidated.

554 - Viewed as a human being, an elder was an ordinary man without privileges other than the corner seat, head of the roasted animal

1 [of elder--i.e., the senior headman--Analyst]
2 [cf. cat. 116, pp. 12-15--Analyst]

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compulsory. Any who failed to attend and could not justify their 623
absence were fined. Together with the general public, they had to [695]
investigate complaints against a senior elder or a bajraktar, and if
they found him guilty, they had to fine or ostracize him. In their
attempts to prevent breaches of the peace they were entitled to try
any method from peaceful persuasion to forcible restraint by the
whole village. When, for instance, a tribesman refused to accept
a judgement that was demonstrably lawful and unbiased, they
could call a General Assembly to discuss the case. A public fine [681]
generally ended the man's obduracy. If not, the village elders could
ask all the headmen and 'soldiers' of the tribe to come and bring him
to his senses by threatening to destroy his house and property. They
continued to apply the old law, the public preferring these methods
to those of modern officials.

Canon elders were subordinate to the bajraktar and the voivodes 623
of their tribe, acting as their assistants at General Assemblies. 634

In non-tribal districts like Shpat and Martanesh the canon elders
of Mirditë were represented by a body of men called 'local elders'.
These were hereditary, found in every village and restricted in
their law-giving to their own village.

Another type were called 'specialist elders' in the southern 693
tribal areas, 'regional elders' or 'mountain elders' in Martanesh, 622
and plain 'elders' in Theth. The great majority owed nothing to 634
heredity and everything to themselves, being ordinary men who
had gradually built up a reputation for good sense, conciliatory
temper and especially knowledge of the mountain law. A few were
hereditary elders who had displayed the same qualities. Except in a
few unusual cases they did not hand on their gifts or their position.
As it required time to build up their reputation, the generality
were older than herditary elders when they attained this position.
They began by settling petty troubles within their brotherhood and
gradually as their reputation grew, they extended their sphere of
action to their kin, village and district in succession. A brotherhood
elder must not interfere in another brotherhood, a kin elder in
another kin or a 'local elder' of Martanesh in another village. But
the specialists might travel far and wide outside their own social
unit judging and arbitrating wherever required. Provided that they
judged according to the law, their judgements were binding and
overrode any delivered previously by a local man. As gifted men do
not arise at will, they were never common but were found only

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693 here and there. After the introduction of modern codes of justice
622 they had little chance to emerge.
634 Above all elders, in both Mirditë and the adjacent tribes, came the Gjomarkaj family. This family was regarded as the source of all knowledge of the mountain law and represented the final court of appeal. The villagers of Martanesh carried many of their graver troubles to its head, but at the same time had often a 'special elder' whom they consulted in such cases. Selim Peshku, who died about 1910, was the latest example. The tree under which he sat dispensing justice in Martanesh is still shown. In the north the bishop
[793] or a specially gifted priest was the ultimate referee. They were consulted not so much for their knowledge of the law but because of their reputation for probity.

623 Functionally the brotherhood elders of Mirditë were represented in the Malësi e Madhe by the 'ward elders', who ruled and judged in their own small community, the village ward in which they lived.
[651] They were more commonly called *gjobtarë* ('fine-collectors') from their primary function of collecting fines. As legal functionaries they resembled specialist elders rather than brotherhood elders because they were ordinary tribesmen and owed their position as elders, not to hereditary right, but to special appointment. They were selected, however, not by the public like the specialists, but by the local bajraktar or voivode. On taking up an appointment to judge or arbitrate they were known as 'soul elders', on account of the solemn phrases with which they were commissioned. The commissioning bajraktar or voivode first asked, 'Do you pledge your souls, elders, that it was so?' On receiving their assent he laid a stone on the ground before them, saying, 'With body and soul, with a stone in front of you and with God's justice set these two people straight in any way that you can see'. It goes without saying that only upright men were willing or were asked to accept a charge laden with such danger to their soul after death. These northern ward elders had no connexion with the ward elders of Godolesh near Elbasan, who were seven in number for the six wards (mëhallë), all subordinate to the paid non-hereditary headman and his two assistants.

695 Another functional type, which was most important for the repression of crime and was found everywhere, was constituted by 'juror elders'. When trying a case, the judging elders might decide to make one of the disputants take an oath that he was not guilty.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

It was the law that every injustice done by Albanian to Albanian 692
must be righted by means of elders and pledges, not by killing. This was crystallized in the adage, 'Killing for a fault is not permissible'. If, for instance, a man caught his neighbour stealing his sheep he had no right to kill him. He should bring him before an elder who would set the proper legal machinery in motion against him, even sending him if necessary before a General Assembly.

Associated with the elders in the administration of justice were 693
the bajraktar and voivodes with, in Mirditë, the Gjomarkaj family. They were not judges in the Western European sense of public officers appointed to administer the law. They were men who judged by right of birth or weighty personality within their native area and they were permanent officers, irremovable so long as their physical powers lasted. They were always illiterate, trained only in the school of experience; practical men and not theorists. It was their special function to preserve the peace in their area by wise and just judging. They were in the literal sense of the words Justices of the Peace. But they could only interpret and apply the law. To make it was the prerogative of a General Assembly of the [634]
tribe.

As administrators elders received no fees, nor did they receive any when serving as juror or murder elders. But they were almost invariably paid for judging or arbitrating. In the Dibër area their fee was simply called 'pay', but it was camouflaged as 'sandals' in the north and Mirditë, and as 'coffee' in the south. In north Albania, where the formula was 'fee by the jobs', the fee was fixed and varied with the case. In Lumë, for instance, it was six Turkish pounds in a murder case and a watch worth one napoleon in a water dispute. In Mirditë it was five grosh for a case slight enough to finish in one morning and ten grosh for more serious cases in which the elder, stone on shoulder, had to give his oath. Ten grosh was the canonical fee in Kastrat after the Convention of 1892.[1] In Perlat the fee was adjusted to the client's means, an oke

[1] See Appendix, Document V, § 17, p. 264.

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CHAPTER XIV

GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

619 Turkish suzerainty affected the life of the remoter areas so little that each tribe, and in non-tribal areas each region, was virtually a self-governing unit. The governing bodies in tribal areas were the General Assemblies and the Partial Assemblies. In Turkish times these meetings were often called *mexhlis* (from Arabic '*majlis*' meaning council, assembly, parliament). *Kuvend* is the Latin '*conventio*' (gathering) in Albanian dress. In non-tribal areas regional or village assemblies corresponded to the general and partial assemblies of the tribes.

The General Assembly was usually a tribal gathering, but the word *Kuvend* was used by the Albanians to indicate the national parliament during the German occupation in 1943–4 when Albanian nationalism expressed itself in rejecting the use of words of foreign origin.

In the fifteenth century there was a *Kuvend* of great historical importance when the men of the region of north Albania met to hear Lek Dukagjini, the lord of the extreme north, debate points of law with Skanderbeg, the lord of north central Albania.

[L34] Tribal assemblies brought together one or more tribes. These were plenary, attended by the whole tribe (or region) on the basis of 'one man from each house'. They were convened and presided over by the highest authority available. This was the bajraktar in most tribes, but one of the Gjomarkaj family or a bajraktar in Mirditë. In Dibër, Mat and Kurbin it was the head of the leading family, and in Çermenikë the regional elder. Miss Durham found the president elected in Theth, and stated that this innovation was spreading. Where a General Assembly of two or more tribes took place the meeting resulted from a conference of the chief men of each tribe, convened by the highest dignitary in each tribe and presided over by the highest of these high dignitaries.

613 623 Partial Assemblies too were plenary and were convened and presided over by the head of the unit concerned. The more important were formed by a village or a kin. In a document preserved for

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us by Father Gjeçov,[1] the last clause announces that though the 613
Pecnikaj kin of Shalë laid down the law enunciated in clause 2, it 623
had the support of the Lotaj, Abati (Abat) and Bobi (Bob) kins
in doing so. Its first and its fourth clauses consider the adhesion of
the brotherhood of Theth as well. Occasionally there was a partial
meeting of a brotherhood, and at the bottom of the scale there were [593]
household meetings at which the master set some common
problem before all the men in the family.

Generally speaking, assemblies of all types took place at irregular
intervals, to meet some special need, though the demand that they
should be called regularly once a year was not unknown.[2]

When a kin or smaller meeting was in question, the convener 202
sent anyone he could find to call it. Bigger meetings were summoned
by word of mouth by the public messenger. In Mat a gipsy beat
out the summons on his drum and in Shpat church bells were rung.

Attendance at a plenary meeting was compulsory, non-attendance 619
punishable by a fine. For instance, an elder of Kurbin who failed 634
to turn up and could not satisfy the other elders that his absence 626
was justified was fined five rams. An ordinary tribesman in the
same area was fined one ram and in Kastrat 250 piastres. The [619]
strength and solidarity of the tribes were closely connected with
the plenary character of their assemblies.

Most public meetings took place in the open air, as church
houses were usually too small and schoolrooms and village halls did
not exist. Meeting places had to be central and free from cultiva-
tion, rock, scrub and forest so as to provide adequate seating space
In Catholic areas the yard of the church was commonly used for
General Assemblies and in Moslem areas that of the mosque.
Assemblies of a village or kin could be held in the most central of
the smaller clearings of the area, and a house was big enough for
a brotherhood or household assembly.

Some meeting-places were specially famous. At Lesh, a thriving
seaport at the mouth of the river Drin, and not the malarial inland
townlet into which it has been converted by the advance of the
Drin towards Italy, Lek Dukagjini and Skanderbeg met by
preference, as it was centrally situated for both their domains.
The place of meeting was probably the grassy sward near the ruined
church on the right bank of the Drin, opposite the modern town.

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 272
[2] See Appendix, Document V, § 16, p. 264.

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623 In Lower Martanesh Selim Lashku dispensed justice to the village of Martanesh under a branching tree by the *Gur i Kuvendit* (Stone of Assembly). At the spring called Gurrë Gega, which is at the confluence of the Shëmil and Gurakuq torrents in Çermenikë, he used to meet his famous contemporary of Gurakuq village, Mus Ballgjini, at plenary meetings of the twelve villages of Çermenikë. A list of the usual meeting-places of his day is to be found in Father Gjeçov's book.

The convener fixed the time and place of meeting. The favourite time was the early morning, as this left the whole day free for arguing.

634 The bajraktar presided over the General Assembly and sat cross-
619 legged on the ground in the most honourable place. Near him sat other dignitaries—voivodes, village elders, clan elders, village ancients and clan ancients in due order of social precedence. Facing them and well apart sat the rest of the tribe, the youth, the commoners, the public messengers and the fine-collectors (*gjobtarë*), in a half-circle in Mirditë, and elsewhere in a roughly shaped rectangle or circle. The essential thing was that each man present should see and be seen by everybody else, and should have room to advance, if required, to the dignitaries. Since neither youth nor voivodes and fine-collectors existed in southerly districts like Martanesh, General Assemblies there consisted only of the bajraktar, elders, commoners, and public messengers.

[695] Every effort was made to keep a meeting orderly. When a presiding dignitary, a judging elder or a witness was speaking no interruption was allowed. Insulting remarks and abuse were prohibited under pain of a fine that might amount to as many as five rams. Calling another a liar meant a fine of 500 piastres. For the better observance of these rules when a case was being tried, the disputants were not allowed to address the court. Each had to go some distance away with his elder in order to tell him his story quietly, and had to return to his place at the meeting to await judgement in silence. The elders drew apart from the meeting after their briefing, argued the case out with each other, and returned to the meeting to announce their decision in the hearing of all present. In this way only two or three men talked, the rest sat quiet and listened. In Mirditë a stranger might not take part in a general meeting, but in Lumë and Çermenikë, in the belief that a stranger could have 'nothing in his bosom or his pocket', that

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is to say, no interested motive for his opinion, he was actually encouraged to express his views. Among the Catholics of the far north the priest was permitted to speak, as though he were one of the tribesmen, but his views did not necessarily prevail.

It was unthinkable, of course, that the tribesmen should come without their arms in view of possible dangers on the way. So the law said explicitly that they might bring them. But as soon as they took their places cross-legged on the ground they had to lay their guns on the grass in front of them or on their laps and had to keep them so until the meeting ended. The Catholics sometimes let the priest coax them into depositing their arms in the church house for the duration of the meeting. If anyone raised his gun in anger, it was promptly taken from him by his neighbours. If anyone fired his gun the rest of the meeting immediately formed itself into a firing squad and killed him, and then went in a body to his house and burned it down. Even at the smallest meeting there were four or five important men present who kept a sharp look-out ready to prevent trouble. The priests too kept good watch, and a Franciscan found in Theth by Miss Durham in 1908 told the following story: 'We nearly had a row at the *mexhlis*[1] a little while ago. . . . I heard a fearful noise and as I ran out a lot of them got up into a bunch like bees and raised their rifles. They were just going to fire. They would not listen to me. I rushed into the church and rang the bell as hard as I could. It had a splendid effect. As soon as they heard the bell, from habit they all shoved their pistols into their belts and took their guns in their left hands and began to cross themselves. No one knew what had happened. They poured into the church to see. By the time we came out again. . . they were quieted.'

Proceedings usually began with a statement by the president that the tribe had assembled to consider certain matters in the manner required by God and the canon, that is to say, with justice and without innovations or departures from the established law. Great importance was attached to the latter point. The decisions of specialist elders were accepted only on condition that they conformed to the accepted law and did not constitute innovations. This proviso was thought unnecessary in the case of elders who had been bred to the law as the specialists had not, and were therefore trusted to stick to it. This conservatism maintained the strength of the law, the main factor in keeping the tribe together.

[1] General Assembly.

[i.e., at General Assembly meetings -- Analyst]

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who could write. Though strictly speaking a stranger, he was 713 expected by every tribe, Mirditë included, to attend all its meetings 212 and to act as clerk. Sometimes each man present, sometimes only 634 the president, appended his mark, generally a Turkish seal, to the document. The priest signed as witness, added the date and place, [217] and placed it in the church archives for safe keeping and future reference.

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CHAPTER XV

ASSEMBLIES AND THEIR WORK

623 634 619 Assemblies sometimes dealt with internal matters such as criminal trials, formulation of laws, local administration, and sometimes with the external relations of the community. Internal affairs were dealt with, according to their gravity, by the tribe, village or kin, but a plenary assembly had to be called to consider foreign affairs.

619 669 During the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century the northern tribes of Albania were singly or collectively in constant opposition to Turkish sovereignty, and plenary assemblies were summoned by tribes whenever they planned to break out into open revolt. Earlier in 1855 and 1862 there had been attacks on the Montenegrins by the Mirditë, which had followed on plenary assemblies of the Mirditë tribes.

In 1881 the Albanians of Kosovë formed the League of Prizren in order to struggle more effectively for independence of Turkey. [631] All over Kosovë and what afterwards became the kingdom of Albania plenary meetings were held by tribes, and, where these did not exist as in south Albania, by districts, to decide on whether to join this League or not. Again in 1908, as Miss Durham relates,[1] the northern tribes held plenary meetings about accepting the new [721] Turkish constitution. The Albanian attack on the Turkish garrisons in Skoplje and adjacent towns, that began the Balkan war of 1912, was prefaced by general assemblies of every tribe in Kosovë and north Albania. In the summer of 1914, when Esad Pashë Toptani revolted against Prince William of Wied, then *Mbret* (king) of Albania, his supporters raised central Albania in his favour by carrying the Koran in one hand and a crucifix in the other to plenary meetings of the villages and bidding the Assembly, generally consisting of Moslems only, choose between the Moslem Esad and the Christian 'Mbret'. In 1942 a plenary meeting of all Mat was convened by the subprefect of Mat in the hope of enforcing obedience to the Italian government of the day. The decisions reached at the meeting were embodied in a document

[1] *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 120, n. 1.

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721 Like tribes, villages sometimes met together to try to agree
623 about matters of common interest. Villages often quarrelled over
685 irrigation water, and a forest or pasture boundary. They quarrelled even oftener perhaps because the tracks of stolen animals led from one to the other; cattle-lifting and sheep-stealing were common. The most satisfactory way of dealing with troubles was for the two villages to meet in full assembly. After thrashing the matter out in public they generally reached a settlement, failing which they could only go to war. In the early years of the twentieth century cattle thieving was listed as one of the thirteen most important matters brought before General Assemblies in Martanesh. In 1942 it was still so active a disturber of the public peace that the pro-Fascist subprefect of Mat legislated for it among the questions which were the real occasion of his calling together the 5000 families of Mat.[1]

671 Law-giving was also an important function of General Assem-
619 blies. This activity came to an end with centralization and western
634 legal codes, and its nature can be studied in the documents quoted by Father Gjeçov and reproduced as an appendix to this book, pp. 261 sqq. These documents show the variety of matters with which the law-giving of the Assembly was concerned. For instance, Document I, coming from Malësi e Madhe and dated 1864, is wholly devoted to such subjects as betrothal, bride-price, divorce and abduction or elopement. Document XI, which comes from Kurbin in 1906, is much occupied with stealing and with tightening up the social fabric by making attendance at General Assemblies imperative and the authority of elders supreme. With the proclamation of Albanian independence of Turkey only six years ahead, it contains an interesting political note; no Kurbin man is to become a gendarme in Turkish service or to give one food and shelter; and no Moslem of Kurbin is to curry favour with the Turkish authorities by denouncing a Christian fellow-tribesman. Document XIII, which comes from Mat in 1942, is also dated by its politics enjoining support of the Italian régime in Albania.

671 In the midst of the variety of subjects in the documents, crimes
674 against life and property are continually appearing as the fundamental threats to the security of the community. A study of the documents shows them as reaffirming and modifying old and recognized laws, rather than formulating new ones. Assemblies

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, § 4, p. 273.

623 attention. These include the use of tribal lands, decisions whether or not to burn forest to make pasture, etc., although such matters usually involve several villages. The elders also convene as witnesses in oath-taking.

634 Above the village is the *bairak* (Turkish for banner, standard), a geographical area with some kind of natural unity, so that the people living in it habitually see more of each other than of those without. All of the village councils meet together for the *bairak* council, under the *bairaktar* (standard-bearer), or head of the *bairak* (fig. 10, *e*). His office is hereditary in certain families. King Zog's father was *bairaktar* of Mat, the principal *bairak* of Mati; in Dibra Major Çen Eleze, who acted as host to our expedition, was one *bairaktar*, while Murat Kaloshi, his rival, was another. These men were great feudal leaders, maintaining large households of armed men, and dispensing [177] lavish hospitality to all comers. Çen Eleze had sent two of his sons to the American Technical School in Tirana, where they learned modern agricultural methods as well as perfect English. These boys, huge fellows over 6 feet 3, were of great help to us when we visited Slatina.

The *bairaktar* can become an independent sovereign if he has a strong enough personality and if the tribal authority is weak, and that of 619 the central government likewise. At other times he is under the authority of the head of the tribe, an official chosen from a ruling household, and bearing a different title in each tribe. In Mirdita he is called *Kapedan* (Captain); in Puka, *Shpij e Krye Ziut* (Black-Head House); in Malsia e Madhe, *Shpij e Madhe* (Big House), the exact equivalent of the ancient Egyptian *per āa*, or Pharaoh.

124 619 Fifty men, comprising 5 per cent of our metrical series, were office-holders in the Gheg tribal system. Eleven[8] were elders, 26 chief

[8] Four from Dukagin, 2 Puka, 4 Mirdita, 1 Zadrima.

[see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

619 643 feud; his cousin, Marka Gjoni, a weak character; his son, Jon Markajon, the incumbent in 1929, a man powerful enough to maintain the tribal system in defiance of the central government, to have his men exempted from military service and taxation, and to exact from Ahmed Zog an annual stipend in return for which he would keep his men quiet.

634 619 Each tribe in Ghegnia is an aggregation of *bairaks*. In 1929 we found 13 *bairaks* in Malsia e Madhe, 6 in Dukagin, 7 in Malsia e Jakovës, 2 in Has, 5 in Luma, 7 in Puka, 5 in Mirdita, one in Zadrima, 4 in Mati, 4 in Dibra, making 54 in all. The names of these, as recorded on our measurement blanks, are:

Malsia e Madhe: Klementi, Gruda, Hoti, Kastrati, Koplik, Greisha, Shkrelli, Riola, Reçi, Loya, Postripa, Triepsh, and Kraja.
Dukagin: Shoshi, Shala, Kiri, Dushman, Pulati, Toplana.
Malsia e Jakovës: Krasniqi, Gashi, Bituç, Marina, Vunshaj, Merturi, Nakaj.
Has: Vlana, Ershan.
Luma: Biçani, Kalishi, Ujmisht, Dolovisht, Çaja (Gorë, a Serbian-speaking *bairak*, is sometimes also counted with Luma).
Puka: Kabash, Puka, Çerar, Mal i Zi, Berisha, Buxhon, Iballja.
Mirdita: Dibri, Fan, Orosh, Speç, Kushnen.
Zadrima: Zadrima.
Mati: Mat, Lura, Kthella, Selita.
Dibra: Reçi, Stashani, Sheheri Poshtar, Sheheri Epert.

This list cannot be wrong in the cases of Puka and Mirdita, for the members of these tribes use the names *shtat bairaket* and *pes bairaket*, meaning *seven bairaks* and *five bairaks*, to designate their tribes. In Luma, Malsia e Jakovës, and Malsia e Madhe the picture is complicated by the presence of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, which not only cuts through *bairaks*, but has caused wholesale migrations and flights within the lifetimes of the subjects measured. Dozens of *fis* of a few households each have shifted about, and it is hard to tell to which *bairak* each belonged at the time the series was measured.

619 634 114 Miss Durham, who made her observations between 1908–13, some 20 years ahead of

[a] Three from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Malsia e Jakovës, 1 Puka, 1 Mirdita, 2 Dibra. All of these except the Mirdita man bore reserve titles.

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me, found the tribal rosters different in some areas from those I later encountered. She calls Malsia e Madhe not a tribe at all, but a confederation of tribes. Of these Klementi is given 4 *bairaks*, Seltzi, Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi, while the other 9, Gruda, Hoti, Skreli (Shkrelli), Klementi (Kilmeni), Lohe (Loya), Rechi (Reçi), Rioli (Riola), Kopliku, and Grizha (Greisha), are said to have consisted of a single *bairak* each. Triepsh and Kraja were not listed, doubtless because they lay over the Montenegrin border even before the imposition of the 1913 boundary. She did not include Postripa in the confederacy, but made it a separate group of tribes.

These were Mazreku, Drishti, Shlaku, Dushmani, and Summa. Only one of these, Dushmani, is given 2 *bairaks*, the others having one each. Dushman is the only one of these names which appears on my list, where it is given the status of a *bairak* of Dukagin. I measured in the village of Postripa itself, and am surprised that no subjects from these separate "tribes" appeared. What I was told was called Dukagin, she lists as "the Pulati group," dividing this into Upper and Lower Pulati. She grants Lower Pulati 4 small, one-*bairak* tribes: Plani, Ghoanni, Mgula, and Kiri. Upper Pulati is given Shala, with 4 *bairaks*, Thethi, Petsaj, Lothaj, and Lekaj; Shoshi, number of *bairaks* not stated; Toplana, same; Nikaj, same. Merturi, which intermarried with Nikaj and is now called part of Malsia e Jakovës, she listed with Puka as a part of Berisha. The reason for this was that "Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago."[6]

Mal i Zi, listed in my roster as a *bairak* of Puka, she assigns to Luma. She makes Gashi, a *bairak* of Malsia e Jakovës, a separate tribe. She also grants tribal independence to the *bairak* of Lura, which she places at the head of a confederation including Mati and Dibra, and to Kthella, which she divides into 3 *bairaks*, Kthella, Selita, and Perlati.

1/1 [See Cat. 116, p 31 b Analyst]

It is my impression that some of these differences are due to a confusion on Miss Durham's part between *fis* and *bairak*, *bairak* and tribe. On page 68 she translates *bairaktar* as "head of the tribe." Had she not gone wrong somewhere it would have been remarkable.

[6] Durham, 1928, p. 27.

619 634 114 Travel in Ghegnia in the years 1908–13 would not have been easy, even for an experienced man. For a woman to have made these journeys is something of a miracle. Others may be the result of the process of amalgamation, for many of the "tribes" which she mentions were miserable fragments of former populations decimated by warfare, and massacred, in some cases, by the Serbs. By 1929 a considerable realignment must have taken place in the whole area north of the Drin, and especially in the regions which she designates as Postripa and Pulati. In any case the 10 groups of people whom I have designated as tribes were so considered by the people with whom I worked in 1929, and form more or less self-contained, intermarrying units, sufficient for our present purpose.

619 628 Under the tribal system warfare was almost continuous. The underlying cause was of course population pressure. The overt causes were seduction, theft of women, elopement, cattle-stealing, and general raiding. It did not take much to give offense, particularly in the late winter, when food was scarce. Even a man who had almost enough to eat himself would be under severe tension, because of the general nervous strain of his kinsmen and dependents, and consequent maladjustment within the household.

A chance blow, a harsh word, even a play on words which is very easy in Shqip, or above all a cruel joke—these seemingly minor conflicts often led to gunplay and murder, with 522 consequent feuding. I had several occasions to feel their Iron Age wit, so much like that of the Norse sagas. Once my host in Zadrima remarked, in front of many people, that I had the skinniest legs he had ever seen, and wondered how I could walk. The assembled company burst into Homeric roars. On another occasion, in a Puka *han*, I lifted my head suddenly and hit it a sound smack on a protruding nail, partially stunning myself in the process. This was the funniest thing in the world. Once again, when Farnsworth and I crawled into our sleeping bags for the night, the whole household laughed and laughed. When we asked what was the matter, they said, "Just think, if the house should catch on fire! You

124 has to face in the field. Half the Luma sample came from Biçani, which comprises over half the tribe. As one can readily see, these Moslems marry within their own *bairaks* most commonly.

614 634 In Puka it is manifest that Kabash and Çeret form each a single *fis*. Berisha, the oldest known *fis* in Ghegnia, has a companion *fis*, Thach, in its *bairak*, with which it sometimes marries. Buxhon and Iballja each have more than one *fis*, as do Puka and Mal i Zi. On the whole the *bairaks* of Puka, whether single or multiple as regards *fis*, are exogamous. Since marriage across the Drin is frequent, many of the men from Buxhon, Berisha, and Iballja may have had mothers from the Lower Pulati section of Dukagin.

We were able to get a complete list of the *fis* in the tribe of Puka, except for Mal i Zi, as follows:

1. *Kabash*, *bairak* and *fis*. Three hundred houses, located in Kabash, Puka, and Iballja.
2. *Marin*, a *fis* of 30 houses in Puka village of Puka *bairak*.
3. *Guian*, a *fis* of 3 or 4 houses only, in Puka village.
4. *Kashnet*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak* only.
5. *Shkrella*, 20 houses, Puka *bairak*, related to the Shkrelli people in Malsia e Madhe.
6. *Krasniq*, with obvious affiliations, 10 houses, Puka village.
7. *Shala*, with obvious affiliations, 60 houses, Puka *bairak*.
8. *Thach*, this is the only *fis* in Buxhon, and one of two in Kabash, the other being Kabash *fis*.
9. *Berisha*, *bairak* and *fis*, a single unit.
10. *Kcheira*, a *fis* in Çeret.
11. *Shosh*, with obvious affiliations, a *fis* in Çeret.
12. *Çereti*, also a *fis* in Çeret.

614 634 361 In Mal i Zi there are said to be many other *fis* besides these 12. The above list shows 7 different *fis* in the single bairak of Puka, with 3 of them limited to a single village. This situation reflects the location of Puka village

[1] Kashnet and Guian of Puka also appear here. Vik, Mesouli, seem to be others.

614 634 361 at a natural stopping point on the Roman road, where other trails come in. It is also a trading center, and one of administration. Its geographical position has brought in people from many places, and it stands in striking contrast to the more isolated *bairaks* of the same tribe, which in some cases have only one *fis* each. If Mal i Zi has many *fis* as well, that is because it too is conveniently located on the road.

In Mirdita exactly the opposite situation is found; the 3 *bairaks* of Orosh, Spaç, and Kushnen all belong to one *fis*, although one village in Orosh is eligible for marriage with these Dukagini. This village was once part of [124] Kthella. Two of our subjects were the sons of women from this village. Fan and Dibri marry both with Dukagini and within their own *fis*, of which there are several.[1] In our series Kushneni married only Dibri, which was nearest; Fan mostly Orosh, for the same reason. One blank bears the astounding information that its subject was the son of an Orosh father and a Kushnen mother. This is undoubtedly some kind of a mistake, possibly similar to the situation noted above.

614 634 Zadrima is only one *bairak*, all Catholic except a few small villages nearest Scutari. Despite its lowland habitat it retains its tribal organization, as well as its Gheg speech, and hence was included in this series. We did not obtain a record of its *fis*.

All 4 *bairaks* of Mati contain 2 or more *fis* each. The 3-part Catholic *bairaks* in the north form an intermarrying group and married with Mirdita extensively in the old days. In the time of our series, Lura was in blood with the Mirdites and the exchange of wives had been broken off. Very rarely do these northerners intermarry with the men of Mat. If this job were to be done again, the 3 northern *bairaks* should be given separate consideration for they are a genetic unit apart from Mat. The northerners are frequently tall, the Mat men almost uniformly short. In Dibra the 4 *bairaks* were almost wholly endogamous, and again separate treatment would be profitable. If we had measured 600 more men, the series would have been a better one.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

H 755 Monastery, I saw three. They stood with their hands on their knees and their heads thrust under the desk from which the pope was to read the Lessons. The desk being draped, their heads were hidden and their hind-quarters protruded grotesquely. If they could refrain from crowing during the reading of the Lessons they would be cured. The cure failed. Hardly had the pope begun to read when a hideous and unearthly din arose beneath his desk. No one intervened; no one even smiled. The pope read steadily, though his voice was drowned by the noise. At the end the three were led away—uncured. But I was A told that as a rule the cure is successful. It may well be, for the Balkan [761 peasant is very much affected by suggestion. He pines if he believes 754] he has been cursed; he dies if he believes his death is "egil" (written in the Book of Fate). I did not see or hear of a case of crowing hysteria in Albania.

M In Montenegro I was told a remedy for fever. It was to make fire with 753 a fire-drill of wood. The patient helped to work the drill. The fire went 278 out of him and into the wood and he was cured. Perhaps the exertion of drilling produced sweat and so relieved the patient. Krsto believed greatly in this cure.

6. Soothsaying

A For some inscrutable reason man in many lands has thought his 787 gods were likely to choose the insides of animals as a means for revealing the future.

"Plucking the entrails of an offering forth, they could not find a heart within the beast." So the augurs warned Cæsar to beware the ides of March. Balkan folk still find their fate written in the bones of certain animals.

I first saw the bones read at Selchan, a village in the Spata mountains, near Elbasan. It was in those days a very remote spot, and a Russian Consul was the only foreigner who had visited it within memory. A Most of the male population were "wanted" by the Turkish Govern- [636 ment. But for the purpose of my visit the friendly Albanian Mutasarif 702] of Elbasan arranged a truce. We were halted outside the village for a parley, and also to give time to all the men of military age (whom the Government was trying to conscript for the Army) to hide in the bushes. I was then received with great joy, and even greater hospitality. The ancient headman, Constantine Suliman, a fine figure in a white A fustanella, swore friendship, and hustled the women to spread a noble 346 banquet of roast lamb, stewed fowl, cheese, milk, and maize-bread.

The district had neither church nor mosque. Every inhabitant had

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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SECTION II.

CHAPTER VIII.

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Albania and Southern Yugoslavia. The Costumes worn by Men and Women.

After experiencing nearly five hundred years of Turkish rule it is not surprising to find that much of the costume in Albania and in southern Yugoslavia, which as far north as Pljevlja and Priboj was part of Turkey in Europe until 1913, if not actually Turkish in character shows very strong Turkish influence.

There is also much greater variety in the garments worn by the hill tribes and the peasants and the townsfolk, therefore in the description of those in the collection it has been found advisable to group specimens on some of the Plates so as to give an indication of a complete costume such, for example, as that of the Bulgarian woman from Monastir (Bitolj) (Plate IX), the Catholic woman from Scutari (Plate V) and the essential parts of a woman's dress from Zadrima (Plate X).

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Franz, Baron Nopcsa says that as early as 1912 international European dress had begun to be adopted, more particularly by the men, the young Catholics of Scutari deprecating the older styles, and wearing a combination of European garments with the older head-dress, the fez, and shoes. The younger women also have to some extent discarded the wide trousered skirt and the veil; therefore as all the specimens in this collection belong to the period previous to 1914 they represent native dress when it had its own individuality and, as such, will become increasingly valuable as records.

The following short lists of garments worn by women and men in some of the different districts have been compiled from the collection, and from the works of Baron Nopcsa* and Max Tilke†.

A Catholic woman from Scutari would wear:

(a) A shirt ("kmis") with sleeves, sometimes gathered at the wrist, either short in the body or of three-quarter length.

(b) A full-trousered skirt, often of striped silk, similar to the Moslem example on Plate VIe or "enormous baggy trousers formed of a very wide and much gathered skirt of imported, glazed, purple-black calico, the lower edge of which was sewn together leaving a hole at each corner for the feet. This was not really a trouser, as the legs were not divided, and was very cumbrous" (M.E.D.).

(c) Some form of girdle, either striped silk or a long strip of material with embroidered ends (Plate XVIF).

(d) A sleeveless coat ("giubba") with full skirt reaching to the knees (Plate XIII).

(e) A square of dark or light cloth as a head-dress, or a large net or gauze, embroidered veil, the latter being worn by married women only.

* Franz, Baron Nopcsa: "Albanien, Bauten und Geräte." Berlin, 1935.
† Max Tilke: "The Costume of Eastern Europe." London, 1926.

[Text continues on p. 36]

S: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

646 who is in full possession of all his citizenship rights and can read and write the Albanian language, may be elected as a deputy.

641 All citizens are equal before the law and their citizenship and political rights secured.

645 Confiscation of property is definitely abolished.

659 The State recognizes no official religion, all religions are equal and have full rights and receive equally favorable treatment in every respect.

641 Foreigners enjoy equal rights with Albanian citizens, except they cannot vote nor hold parliamentary and certain other offices.

645 The official business of the State is carried on by the eight Ministries, namely: Ministry of Interior Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Brëndëshme), Ministry of Justice (Ministria e Drejtësisë), Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme), Ministry of Public Instructions (Ministria e Arësimit), Ministry of Finance (Ministria e Financave), Ministry of National Economy (Ministria e Ekonomisë Kombëtare), Ministry of Public Works (Ministria e Punëve Botore), and Ministry of National Defense (Ministria Komonda e Përgjithshme e Mprojtjes Kombëtare).

PEAKS OF SHALA

Lulash. The fireplace was full of bubbling pots and sizzling pans; the padre, helped informally by whoever happened to be nearest, was preparing our luncheon. My dilemma was announced; I stood before them shoeless. A boy ran at once across the village and returned streaming, as though he had been in a river, bringing two pieces of goatskin, tanned with the soft brown hair on it.

To the eager interest of everyone, I set my feet on the pieces, and there were many exclamations of wonder at their smallness and at the curious shape of them, the toes so close together and making a point, instead of arching, each one separately, as the toes of their people do, and they would have been glad to examine them more closely—asking one another, as Rexh explained, if I would or would not take off the strangely woven stockings later. Meanwhile the boy with a nail drew the outlines of my feet on the leather and went away with it to his house, where the opangi would be made.

While this was happening the older men of the tribe went back to the cold bedroom with Perolli, each one adding his own *besa* of loyalty to the one Lulash had sworn, and asking many questions about the aims and strength of the Tirana government. They[1] would not yet call it the Albanian government; they could not comprehend the idea of the state, so familiar to us that we never examine it. "Government" meant to them not only the consent of the governed, but the active participation of everyone in govern-

[1] [men from village of Thethis-- [153] Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

641-829 ing; they had, indeed, no conception of what we mean by "government." When they say "government" they mean what we mean when we say, in a group, "Well, now we're all agreed, let's go on and do it."

185 Perolli spent that morning—and indeed most of his time in the few succeeding days that we were together—trying to explain the idea of a representative government to these simple communist people. And he told us that within six weeks the Albanian government would really come up into the mountains. The plan was to begin by sending into the tribes men from Tirana who could read and write; they would be connecting links between Tirana and the tribes, sitting in all the tribal councils, making reports to Tirana and explaining the wishes of the Tirana parliament to the mountaineers.

These men would bring in with them, of course, the private-property ideas of southern Albania (which is just changing from the feudal system to modern capitalism), and I felt a regret, purely romantic, perhaps, at the inevitable disappearance of this last surviving remnant of the Aryan primitive communism in which our own forefathers lived, and at the replacing of Lulash by men like our politicians. I am a conservative, even a reactionary; I should like to keep the Albanian mountains what they are. But no one can stop the changes in human affairs; the eternal swing of the pendulum goes on; we have shop stewards in England and a Plumb plan in

[Constitution]

Private property may be limited, and when the general 421
welfare of the community calls for it, it may be expropriated [425]
by a law, which shall provide in each case what the amount of compensation shall be to the owner.

Likewise other branches of economy or enterprises may 471
also be nationalized whenever the interest of the people demands or requires it.

Monopolies, trusts, cartels, etc., created for the purpose of imposing prices and monopolizing markets to the detriment of national economy, are prohibited.

ARTICLE 10

The land belongs to those who till it. The conditions 423
under which an institution or a person can own land which they do not cultivate shall be established by law.

Large estates may under no circumstances be owned by private individuals.

The maximum amount of land that may be owned individually is determined by law.

The state especially favors and protects the small and 652
middle peasants by its economic policy, by means of credit, and by its taxation system.

ARTICLE 11

The state, by means of economic and other measures, 466
encourages the working classes to unite and organize themselves against economic exploitation.

The state protects the workers by guaranteeing them the right to organize, by limiting their hours of work, and by establishing minimum wages. The state supports the workers by means of social security laws and vacations with pay at the expense of the employers.

The state especially protects minors by regulating their 464
employment.

TITLE III

Rights and Duties of Citizens

ARTICLE 12

All citizens are equal before the law. They must obey 641
the Constitution and all laws of the land.

[Constitution]

641 No privilege because of family, position in life, wealth,
554 or cultural level is recognized.

ARTICLE 13

[563] All citizens are equal regardless of nationality, race, or
[659] religion. Any act which grants privileges or takes away rights from any citizen because of nationality, race, or religion is unconstitutional and carries with it punishments as provided by law. It is unconstitutional and punishable by law to stir up hatred and dissension among nationalities, races, or religions.

ARTICLE 14

666 All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen are
641 eligible to elect and be elected in all organs of state, regardless of sex, nationality, race, creed, cultural level, or residence.

Members of the armed forces also have these rights.

The right to vote is universal, equal, direct, and secret.

The right to vote is forfeited by those who have been disqualified by law.

ARTICLE 15

562 Women are equal to men in all walks of life, private, political, or social.

Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same work. And women have similar rights with regard to social security.

745 The government especially protects the interests of mothers and young children, by assuring vacations with pay before and after childbirth and also by building maternity hospitals and nurseries.

ARTICLE 16

659 Freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed to all citizens.

The church is separated from the state.

Religious communities are free to exercise and practice their creeds.

9: Albania (no date) 1946 EG1 Albania EG1

[Constitution]

It is forbidden to use the church and religion for political purposes. 659

Likewise, political organizations based on religion are also forbidden.

The state may assist religious communities materially.

ARTICLE 17

Marriage and family are protected by the state. The legal conditions of marriage and family are fixed by law. 585

Legal marriages can be performed only by competent representatives of the government. After celebrating a civil marriage a citizen may celebrate a religious marriage according to the rules of his creed.

The courts of the state only are competent to determine all questions concerning marriage. [692]

Parents have the same obligations towards their illegitimate children as to those born in wedlock. Illegitimate children have the same rights as those born in wedlock. [848]

ARTICLE 18

Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of organization, freedom of assembly and of public demonstration. are guaranteed to all citizens. 641

ARTICLE 19

Personal inviolability is guaranteed to all citizens. Nobody can be arrested for more than three days without a court warrant or without the approval of the district attorney. 671 641 [694]

No person shall be punished for a crime without the decision of a competent judge in conformity with the law which defines the crime and the competence of the court.

No punishment shall be determined and inflicted except as prescribed by law.

No person shall be punished without a hearing nor without being summoned to defend himself according to law, except in a case where his absence is legally established.

The administrative organs of the state may give jail sentences for common law misdemeanors as prescribed by law.

[Constitution]

671 641 No citizens may be exiled or interned within the state except as prescribed by law.

The People's Republic of Albania protects the rights of its citizens in foreign lands.

ARTICLE 20

694 A home cannot be violated.

No person can enter a house and search it against the wishes of the owner, except when he holds a court order in his hands.

No search can be made except in the presence of two witnesses. The owner of the house also has a right to be present.

ARTICLE 21

205 The secrecy of mail and other correspondence cannot be violated except in cases of criminal investigations, military mobilization, or state of war.

ARTICLE 22

461 In the People's Republic of Albania work is a privilege and a duty.

Every citizen has a right to be paid according to his work and to receive from society as much as he gives to it.

ARTICLE 23

647 All citizens have a right to be employed in government work according to specific regulations laid down by law.

Citizens appointed or elected to public office are bound to perform their duties conscientiously.

ARTICLE 24

[729] 657 It is the duty of the state to adequately support disabled soldiers at public expense and to enable them to resume their work. The state shall support the families of those who died in battle and of all war victims.

ARTICLE 25

The state takes care of the health of the people by organizing and controlling health service, hospitals, and sanatoriums.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 26

The state takes care of the physical education of the people, especially that of the youth, with a view to improving health and increasing the capacity of the people for work and the defense of the state. 657

ARTICLE 27

Freedom of scientific and artistic work is guaranteed. 517
The state promotes science and the arts in such a way as to further the culture and welfare of the public.

The rights of authors are protected by law.

ARTICLE 28

In order to raise the cultural level, the state gives to all 871
classes of people every chance to attend schools and other cultural institutions.

The state is particularly interested in the education of youth.

Minors are protected by law. [858]

The schools belong to the state. Private schools can be opened only by special permission. All their activities are supervised by the state. Elementary education is free and obligatory.

Schools are separated from the church.

ARTICLE 29

Citizens have the right to petition state organs for 641
redress of wrongs.

Citizens have the right to complain against any illegal or irregular decision of an administrative organ of the state.

ARTICLE 30

Every citizen can complain in competent courts against officials who have acted unjustly in the discharge of their duty.

ARTICLE 31

Citizens are entitled to seek from the state or from an 695
official compensation for damages incurred as a result of illegal or irregular punishment.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 32

641 Defense of the country is the highest duty and greatest privilege of any citizen.

[687] Treachery against the people is the greatest crime.

Military service is obligatory for all citizens.

ARTICLE 33

651 Every citizen must pay taxes according to his income.

The state fixes taxes, and exemption from the same is determined by law.

ARTICLE 34

687 Citizens cannot use the rights given them by this constitution in order to change the constitutional regime of the People's Republic of Albania in an undemocratic manner. Any act of this kind is illegal and carries with it punishment as prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 35

563 In the People's Republic of Albania national minorities enjoy all the rights enjoyed by other citizens as well as freedom to use their own language and develop their own culture.

ARTICLE 36

641 The People's Republic of Albania gives the right of refuge to citizens of other countries who are persecuted for their activities in behalf of democracy, national liberation, rights of the workers, or scientific and cultural freedom.

PART TWO
STATE ORGANIZATIONS

TITLE I
Highest Organs of the State

646 (a) People's Convention

ARTICLE 37

The People's Convention (Parliament) is the highest organ of the state of the People's Republic of Albania.

ARTICLE 38

The People's Convention maintains the sovereignty of the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

loss of face. At Krujë in 1930 when the authorities sought to punish a man who had murdered his brother during a quarrel, the widow swore that the pistol had gone off accidentally when her brother-in-law was trying to wrest it from her husband, who had threatened suicide. Having thus prevented the authorities from taking action, the widow made no effort to keep the true story of the murder quiet, but repeated it every day during the month when the women met for the ceremonial 'keening'. She was also openly commended by the public for preventing the government from shaming her husband's family by arresting the murderer.

Exceptionally, if the murderer's motive was bad by tribal standards, his relative was well avenged. For instance, if a man killed his cousin or nephew to get his land, the crime was considered so anti-social that the murderer was killed by the community, his blood was lost, and his family expelled. Again, exceptionally, a motive might be so good by tribal standards as to win the murderer public admiration. Thus children in Shalë were taught with great pride that once a tribesman killed his brother for killing a guest, for an Albanian's duty to his guest transcends the claims of blood relationship.

Two modifications of the general rule are to be noted. In Mirditë in spite of the victim's blood being lost, the murderer had to pay the tribe the fine due in cases of ordinary murder, 100 rams and an ox. In the Malësi e Madhe if the two brothers had separated the fratricide had to pay blood money to his brother's dependants. If the widow had no children, she took all the money; if she had a daughter only, she again took it all, for when the time came for the girl to marry, she would as 'head of the family' have to pay the wedding expenses; if she had a son, he took all the money, for his father's death had made him head of the family. The blood money was therefore alimony payable to the widow and orphans who had been robbed of their breadwinner. If the two brothers had not separated, the fratricide as a matter of course supported the widow and orphans along with the other members of his household and the question of alimony did not arise.

Parricide was thought the most abhorrent of all murders within the family. In a sense a father had the right to kill his son without being asked by anybody what he had done, but a son unnatural enough to kill his father could surely not have been got by that father, but must be a bastard. Even where his crime was regarded

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

he found it to his interest to stay away permanently. If he found the climate or the soil of his new home kindlier, he might sell his paternal holding through an intermediary and with the proceeds buy land in his new home. Before he ran away, he had probably sent his wife to her parents, who no doubt lived in another village. There he visited her at intervals until he was installed in his new property, when he sent for her and their children, if any. A voluntary exile, it may be added, was content to leave his wife in his brother's charge; a compulsory exile took her with him. Good examples of voluntary exiles turned permanent from motives of advantage are provided by the many Bojdan families from Bicaj in Lumë, who in recent centuries involved themselves in blood feuds and fled to Kosovë. Their feuds were compounded in every instance, but the greater fertility in Kosovë was not to be resisted. To-day their descendants live scattered as far apart as Kaçanik and Blacë, near Skopljë. They still preserve memories of their kinship one with another and with Bicaj; in fact, till the break-up of the Turkish empire in Europe after the Balkan wars interposed new frontiers between the Albanian lands, they made occasional pilgrimages to the homes of their ancestors in Bicaj.

Sometimes an exiled murderer set up a small business, selling cigarettes and cleaning shoes, and made money as he could never have done in his mountain village. Sometimes, too, he entered the service of a rich man and in return for his devotion was given a grant of land.

The emergence of a central government which punished murder tended to increase the number of permanent exiles and to make the strong as well as the weak run away. An Albanian would face boldly enough the vengeance of his victim's relatives, but he detested being imprisoned by the government. A man of Bashabun, near Elbasan, killed a neighbour years ago. Blood money was paid, and so far as his victim's family was concerned, he was free to return home. Unwilling, however, to serve the short term of imprisonment to which the government would condemn him, he remained in exile in Bosnia. A Milot murderer remained in exile after the payment of blood money had closed the feud, because he feared imprisonment by the government. In an accidental meeting with his victim's brother, both forgot the closing of the feud and shot at each other, the brother killing the murderer. Then only the taking of the oath with twenty-four men cleared him from the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

682 accusation of taking government money to kill the murderer after
641 he had taken blood money from the family.

[167] The same fear of government action was at work in Kosovë, a province largely populated by Albanians but assigned to Yugoslavia after the Turkish empire broke up in 1912. A steady drift towards Albania proper went on among the Kosovars. Some were impelled by land hunger to go and take up the free land which the Albanian government had offered them; others came to evade Yugoslav justice. By contrast with the Albanian government, which did not yet punish severely homicide that was justifiable by tribal law, the Yugoslav government hanged most murderers. To avoid this ignominy, a Kosovar murderer preferred to emigrate, lock, stock and barrel, to Albania. Most interestingly, this emigration was the ebb of the tide that within recent centuries peopled Kosovë with Albanians.

[621] Sometimes a murderer did not run away of his own accord, but was forcibly expelled by the community. Although when murder was not punished by government, only the weak ran away voluntarily, the community expelled a strong man as readily as a weak
[619] one. In tribal districts like Mirditë which contained several villages, the murderer's village could not expel him without the other villages' consent and help. If the village resisted the expulsion, the tribe as a whole had the right to 'proclaim' the village or to call in other tribes to bring it to reason. In small tribes like Nikaj the murderer's kinsmen could expel him independently of the tribe. In non-tribal districts like Shpat, where each village was a self-contained unit, it needed to ask no one before expelling a murderer.

682 A man sentenced to communal expulsion was always one whose
*628 crime struck at the roots of society as understood in the mountains.
674 Perhaps he had violated the acknowledged sanctity of the 'pledged word' by killing his enemy during a public truce or even after making peace with him. Perhaps he had infringed the sacred laws of hospitality by killing his host or guest. Perhaps he threatened family solidarity by killing a cousin to get his land. Perhaps he had killed a man to steal his rifle and thereby as good as robbed him of his manhood, for a man without a rifle is as nothing, no better than a woman. Perhaps he had committed sacrilege by killing someone, possibly the priest himself, inside the territory of church or mosque, or by breaking into the church to steal.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG-1

From Podgorica to Scutari

made it necessary for me to alight and push—getting 000
thoroughly splashed by the whizzing wheels while doing so—
and when at last, after almost superhuman exertions, we
gained the main road, the radiator was steaming like a house
on fire, and so was I. Further on a river barred our way,
but a crude ferry worked by a wire rope was plying across the
deepest part. Albanians, wearing the jackets with black [291]
fringes and black woollen bosses, by which I afterwards
learned to distinguish the Ghegs from the Toscs (the two
main divisions of the population) waded waist-high in the
stream and manœuvred us to a spot whence we were able to
drive through the flood in two or three feet of water and
reach the roadway on the other side.

We travelled on through level country where the fields 641
were green with crops and gay with scarlet poppies. Here
and there I saw men, in the white clothing of the Albanian
peasant, carrying rifles, and I remembered the tales I had
heard of Albanians working in the fields with rifles slung
at their backs. The custom still survives, but only in the
mountainous country north of Scutari where lawlessness is
rife and weapons have to be carried for protection. Else-
where the law forbidding the carrying of firearms is strictly
enforced, and armed peasants working in the fields are no
longer seen. In fact, I was told that those I saw near Scutari [625]
were probably civilian police who assist the regular police
in keeping order and are only on this account permitted to
carry arms.

The rain had stopped and the setting sun was shining 000

ference of Ambassadors had scarcely drawn 175 x
the boundary lines to the northeast, the Albanian-Montenegrin-Serbian frontier, than a new war crisis appeared in the offing, none the less serious than that of the preceding November. After a great deal of debate the Great Powers decided to occupy Scutari, and, on May 13, an international contingent of marines entered Scutari. At this time Scutari was governed by Vice-Admiral Cecil Burney.

Of the provisional government, which was 642 •
operating at this time in Albania, we wish to 175 x
point out that it received its authority by the proclamation of independence of November 28, 1912, and this status was confirmed, on December 20, 1912, by the Conference of Ambassadors having taken cognizance thereof.

The official title of the new government was "The Provisional Albanian Government" and was placed under the presidency of Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora and the vice-presidency of Monsignor Nicholas Kachori, Catholic Prelate of Durazzo.

The territory over which they ruled was unique because of its miniature size. Their jurisdiction extended about a stone's throw

[See category 116, pp. 45-46 --Analyst]

642 175 from Valona, and the funds necessary for the support of any government was sadly lacking. The principal work of this government was to uphold the Albanian cause and defend the rights of the people. However, the government was a virtual prisoner within the walls of Valona and was exposed to the machinations of the Balkan intrigues. To the north of Valona were the troops of Serbia, to the south those of the Greeks, and to the east, barely twenty miles from the city, was the ubiquitous Djavid Pasha, avowed destroyer of Albania. To complete the vicious net that the Balkans hoped to cast about the new Albania, the sea was blocked by a Greek squadron.

By April of the year 1913, the territory of the provisional government had been enlarged by the addition of territories in central and northern Albania evacuated by the Serbian troops. The government then proceeded to establish in these areas local authorities patterned and based upon the "Organic Law of Albania."

175 One of the great sins of the Conference of Ambassadors and the International Commission of Control was the evil of procrastination, in which both indulged. Had a ruling prince

The Republic of Albania

ON Christmas evening of 1924, Ahmed 642
Bey Zogu won over the considerate and 643
intelligent elements of the population. He re-entered Tirana and was greeted by the whole town with shouts of cheer and gratitude and was hailed as the leader who would direct Albania into a peaceful and prosperous future. As soon as harmony and tranquility had been restored, the young leader called upon the Albanians for the election of a Constitutional Assembly, which body declared Albania a republic in January, 1925, and the Albanians showed unwavering loyalty by electing, on January 31, 1925, Ahmed Bey Zogu as their first president.

The new president studied the needs, re- 663
quirements and the psychology of his people. 642
He was determined to make Albania into a peaceful and united nation, and, through his obvious efforts, he won the support and admiration of the strongest and sturdiest clans of Albania. These clans, which had never paid taxes to the Sultans of Turkey, now began to

663 pay taxes to the new government. As a further
642 sign of their loyalty, they laid down their arms, returned to their homes and their farms, thoroughly convinced that the new president will safeguard the interests of the nation.

Through his highly developed penchant for law and order, President Ahmed Bey Zogu won the cooperation of the Beys of Albania. Until this time the Beys of Albania were too proud to unite under another Bey as their chief. They had engaged in petty quarrels and waged war against each other like the Barons of mediaeval England. The firm hand of Ahmed Bey Zogu tended towards forming them into a national union, and they accepted Ahmed Bey Zogu as their chief and president.

In reaching these ends, Ahmed Bey Zogu proved himself a magnet rather than an autocrat or tyrant. In his way he has given ample evidence to his people that his chief aim in life, and his only objective is to put Albania on an equal rank with other civilized nations.

The Kingdom of Albania

642 THE peak of President Zogu's success was reached on September 1, 1928, when, upon the acclamation of his subjects, Albania was declared a democratic, constitutional, hereditary monarchy and this able leader was proclaimed the King of the Albanians, under the title of King Zog I.

643 King Zog's rise to the throne of Albania is in keeping with the psychology of the Albanian people. In this rugged country, the idea of a king has taken very deep root, and in the mind of the Albanian no president can fill the places occupied by King Pyrrhus, Alexander the Great and Scanderbeg the Great.

Under King Zog, Albania has been making steady progress toward modernization of such magnitude that it can be favorably compared to that promoted by other leaders of great nations who have assumed power and built an united country out of what might have been chaos.

When we consider that Albania has passed through the upheaval of the world war fol-

System of Government

642 ALBANIA is a democratic, constitutional, hereditary monarchy, ruled by a king of the ancient dynasty of the Zogus of Mati, which family was interrelated by marriage in the fifteenth century with Scanderbeg the Great, Albania's national hero-king.

643 According to the Constitution, the monarchy is hereditary in the male line in the Zogu dynasty. In case of the absence of a direct heir, the ruling king designates, with the approval of Parliament, his own successor from the male line of his family.

The king names the Prime Minister and the cabinet.

646 Parliament is composed of a House of Representatives, deputies to which are elected by free, equal, universal and direct suffrage of all male citizens. One deputy for every 15,000 population is elected for the term of four years. Parliament consists now of 56[1] deputies.

Any citizen of 30 years of age and over,

[1] [Errata: should be 58. Cat. 116--Analyst]

[76] Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

175 famous of these chieftains were Kara Mohammed of Scutari, and Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The former, at the end of the last century, aimed at an independent sovereignty, which his son, Mustapha Pasha, asserted
175 in open rebellion in 1831; and the latter, notwith-
669 standing the frightful cruelties of which he was guilty, still lives in tale and song as the mighty upholder of Albanian independence against Ottoman tyranny. Subsequent risings have, however, resulted only in the death or banishment of the most influential members of leading families, the last *coup d'état* of this description having been carried out at Prisrend and
[423] Uskup in 1881. The great landholders are now all Moslems, the property of which the Christian proprietors were despoiled at the end of last century by Ali Pasha having, on his death, been appropriated by the Sultan.

671 But, whether Christian or Moslem, each section of the Albanian nation has its own traditional laws and usages by which their social life is alone regulated. The Miridites claim to have received theirs from the Dukadjini princes, who, according to them, were the ancestors of their own chieftains. Their internal
642 government is a species of aristocratic republic, all
623 matters affecting the community being decided in council by the chiefs, the elders, and other hereditary functionaries.

342 The dwellings of the Albanians are quite in keeping with the character and mode of life of their occupants. Even at Ioannina, where the customs more closely approximate to those of the Greeks, the houses have a gloomy appearance from without, being shut in by

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

133 symmetry into a tangle of high and broken ranges. The valleys they enclose are narrow but fertile, and from them powerful streams pursue their twisted courses down to the Adriatic.

361 Albania has many times been overrun in the strife of empires for the control of the Straits of Otranto; and it is in the almost inaccessible fastnesses of the interior rather than in the rich coastal plain that the remnant of the Illyrians have made their homes. There they have found freedom; for, so wild and rugged are the mountains, and so poor the prospect of wealth which they offer, that none of Albania's conquerors have attempted to rule them except in name.

To this day the majority of the Albanians live in the mountains; but at different times — when the growth of population in the highlands has pressed too hard upon the means of subsistence, or when political conditions have been favourable — families have moved down to the plains or to the towns. Thus, in the seventeenth century, under the protection of Islam, the tribesmen of the North flowed back into the Kossovo. But [181] the trend has been a slow one; for the Albanians prize freedom above all else, and many that have descended to the plains have returned again to the mountains. The plains are rich, but, as the malaria saps a man's strength, so work on the big estates destroys his independence, and submission to the laws of the conqueror corrupts his soul. Thus the lowlands have ever been the province of the foreign overlord, and it is in the mountains, beyond the reach of invaders and guarded by the armed might of the clans, that the moral and material strength of Albania resides.

642 The steep and rugged mountains, the deep and pathless forests, the drifts of snow in winter, and the spate of the rivers in spring and autumn have preserved the Albanians from foreign conquerors. But these obstacles to communications, which have so often turned back hostile armies, have operated powerfully against the growth of a centralised Albanian state. Geography has thus combined with contending foreign Powers to promote disunity among the Albanians. The ancient Illyrian and Pelasgian kingdoms were seldom even allied, and, under the Turkish Empire, the country was divided for political and

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

administrative ends. Indeed, save for the short-lived rule of 642 Skanderbeg, there had never been an independent Albania until modern times. It is therefore small matter for surprise that the Albanians have hardly acquired a national or state consciousness; nor indeed, outside of the towns and the coastal plain, has nature encouraged, or their way of life given rise to, social organisation in any form.

At the time of which I write, the family, or clan, was the 621 basic, indeed the only unit of society among the Gheg mountaineers; and was held together by common ownership of the means of production and common interest in their defence. The head, or chief, of the clan still preserved patriarchal powers, sometimes even of life and death over its members. He arranged their marriages, allotted them their tasks, settled their disputes, and decided what courses they should follow in the burning issues of blood feuds and politics. In recent years, however, the [619] spread of Western ideas had weakened the traditional respect for the patriarchal authority; nor was there any sufficient intermediate patriotism of the province or the village to take its place. Indeed, the village community as we know it did not exist, for the village of the Gheg highlands was but a group of houses, each often as much as a mile from its neighbour. There were no village councils or other corporate institutions, and the feuds between the inhabitants prevailed over their common interests. The ancient tribal system was thus dissolving into anarchy, for where there is no community there can be no law. Indeed, the cry of "stop thief!" would have 000 been almost inconceivable among the Albanians, "Because", as Wordsworth wrote of other highlanders:

> the good old rule
> Sufficeth them, the simple plan,
> That they should take, who have the power,
> And they should keep who can.

In such circumstances, each man had to be his own law-giver, and alone, or at best with the help of his family, defended his rights or punished those that trespassed against him.

Anarchy knows no prisons — the most fundamental of social

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

181 of their political genius is attested by the number of remarkable men of action which their race has given to the world. Alexander the Great, Pyrrhus of Epirus, the Köprülüs, Mehmet Ali of Egypt, Ali of Yannina, Condouriotis, Crispi, and Kemal Ataturk may justly be reckoned among them; not to speak of more than twenty Grand Viziers, and a host of Generals and politicians who served the empires of Macedon, Rome, and Turkey. Yet it is significant of the disunity and intractability of their nation that, although Albanians have often risen to rule empires, only twice in a thousand years — under Skanderbeg and under Zog; and then only with foreign support — has an Albanian ruled Albania.

The Albanians were thus remarkable as individuals rather than as a people, representative perhaps of the highest levels to which man can attain without submitting to the yoke and goad of a community. Their life was too harsh and their amenities too few to permit of any flowering of culture, but, though their circumstances were primitive beyond measure, yet they were [142] never barbarous. Their aquiline features and delicate hands were matched by a dignity of bearing and tolerance of outlook eloquent of the natural distinction of their race. Pyrrhus had called them *shkipetare*, or Sons of the Eagle, and their fierce and predatory natures well deserved the name. Keen of eye and cold of heart, they were bold in decision, but, like all mercenaries, unpredictable in battle. Freedom and vengeance were their ruling passions; and they lived without joy and died with reluctance rather than regret. Ungovernably proud, they were impatient of all restraint, utterly unteachable, deaf to appeals, suspicious of intentions, hard to lead, and impossible to drive; great gentlemen and great robbers, prizing honour above honesty, gold more than both and power beyond them all.

3

142 THE independence of Albania was not achieved by the exertions of the Albanians: the mountaineers among them had never been other than independent, while the townsmen had wel-

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

comed Turkish protection against the Slavs and Greeks who 642
threatened them on every side. It resulted rather from the jealousies of the Powers; and it was their representatives who determined the territories of the new state with such singular disregard for economic and ethnological considerations that they left as many Albanians outside the boundaries of Albania as within them.

The total number of Albanians has been generally com- [162]
puted at some two millions. Of these, upwards of one million lived within the frontiers which were proposed by the Ambassadors' Conference in 1913, ratified in 1926, and once more restored in 1945. Of the remainder, more than six hundred thousand inhabited the Kossovo, while the others were scattered in Montenegro, Macedonia, and Epirus. The amputa- [243]
tion of the Kossovo was a heavy loss to the new state; for the region was the natural granary of the northern provinces, and the standard of living of the Ghegs rose or fell according as they were allowed or denied free access to it.

The economic and social structure of the Ghegs, or Northern 184
Albanians, was one of tribal anarchy, save in the coastal plain 621
and the Kossovo, where there were feudal estates. Islam and [162]
Roman Catholicism were the accepted religions: the Moslems inhabiting Central and North-eastern Albania with the Kossovo, the Catholics Mirdita and the inaccessible ranges of the north-west. A way of life near to the tribal system of the Ghegs still survived in the mountains of Southern Albania, but the Tosk tribes had never wholly recovered from the repressions of Ali the Lion and had increasingly disintegrated into communities of landowning peasants. The broad plains of the South, however, remained divided into feudal estates, owned by an Ottomanised ruling class and worked in part by an Orthodox Christian peasantry. Thus, while the distinction between Moslems and Catholics was one of geography and history, the Catholics being those Albanians whom the Turks had never subdued, that between Moslems and Orthodox was one rather of class and of cash.

It was scarcely to be expected that a conference of ambassa- 578
dors would quickly set up a strong state among a people divided 642

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

578 by geography, dialect, religion, and tradition, as well as by the 612 new frontiers assigned to them. Nor indeed were the Powers conspicuous by their efforts to achieve Albanian unity. The German Prince of Wied, whom they chose as head of the new state, arrived in Durazzo in March 1914, with no previous experience of the Balkans and little enough of fallen human nature. He found his principality torn between three armed factions, each supported by foreign gold and inspired by the personal ambition of their leaders. These were Prenk Bib Doda Pasha, hereditary Captain of the Catholic Mirdita; Essad Pasha Toptani, a former general of the Turkish army and the most powerful chief in Central Albania; and Ismail Kemal Vlora, a cousin of the Grand Vizier Ferid Pasha and the chief man among the Tosks. On his arrival the Prince invited these warlike men to dinner, and, in the course of conversation, Prenk Bib Doda turned to him and remarked:

"If Albania is to be ruled peacefully, three persons ought to be hanged: Ismail Kemal, Essad Pasha, and myself! If all three of us were dead Albania would fare much better!"

Seldom in history has such disinterested advice been tendered by a subject to his sovereign. Prince William, however, failed to act upon it and within six months he was driven from his throne, never to return, by the bashi-bazouks of Essad Pasha and Ismail Kemal.

In the years of the first World War and of its aftermath, Prenk and Ismail Kemal intrigued and counter-intrigued with the agents of the Powers whose armies marched and countermarched across Albania. But they were not destined to see the final settlement: Ismail Kemal died in Italy in 1918, apparently of natural causes, while Prenk and Essad were both murdered in 1920 at the instigation of the Italian Government; the latter while attending the Peace Conference in Paris. In Albania strife and confusion persisted for a time; but, with the passing of the old leaders and in face of the determination of Italy, Yugoslavia, and Greece to deny to each other the control of the Straits of Otranto, the internal political situation slowly crystallised into a recognisable form.

A new generation of political leaders now came forward,

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CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

PART ONE
FUNDAMENTAL LAWS

TITLE I
The People's Republic of Albania

ARTICLE 1

642 Albania is a People's Republic in which all powers are derived from and belong to the people.

ARTICLE 2

In the People's Republic of Albania the people rule by means of various representative organs of state, namely, the People's councils which came into existence during the struggle for national liberation against fascism and reaction and which represent the greatest victory of the large masses of the Albanian people.

These organs are freely elected by the people from the local councils to the People's Convention.

ARTICLE 3

[666] All the representative organs of the state are elected by the citizens by free elections, and by universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot.

In all organs of the state the representatives of the people are responsible to their constituents.

The constituents have the right to recall their representatives at any time. The exercise of this right is to be regulated by a special law.

ARTICLE 4

All the organs of the state exercise their functions according to this constitution, and according to laws and regulations passed by the high organs of state.

3 [p. 2 is blank]

[Constitution]

642 All activities of the administrative organs of the state and courts must be based on law.

TITLE II
Social and Economic Measures

ARTICLE 5

471 In the People's Republic of Albania the means of production comprises all the wealth of the people owned by the state, the cooperative organizations of the people, and private individuals whether real or legal entities.

The wealth of the people includes mines and all other sub-surface resources, as well as waterways, natural wealth, forests, pasture land, airways, postal service, telegraph, telephone, radio stations, and banks.

[439] Foreign trade is under the control of the state.

ARTICLE 6

185 In order to protect the vital interests of the people and to improve the standard of living and in order to exploit all the economical forces the state undertakes to direct the economic life and development by an overall planned economy. The state, by controlling its economy and the cooperatives, exercises a general control over private economy as well.

[575] The state, in order to carry out the general economic plan, relies on the trade unions of the working men and civil servants, the cooperatives of the peasants, and other organizations of the laboring masses.

ARTICLE 7

471 The state regulates and directs by law the use of the collective wealth of the people. The collective wealth of the people is especially favored by the state.

ARTICLE 8

474 The state is especially interested in the cooperative movement of the people which it favors and assists.

ARTICLE 9

421 Private property and private initiative are guaranteed
[428] by the state. Private inheritance is guaranteed. Nobody may use private property to the detriment of the public.

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[Constitution]

ARTICLE 52

The constitution can be changed or amended only by the People's Convention. 642

Bills for changes or amendments in the constitutions may be proposed by the Presidium, the Government, or by two-fifths of the members of the People's Convention.

Changes or amendments to the constitution must be passed by an absolute majority of the members of the Convention.

(b) *The Presidium of the People's Convention*

ARTICLE 53 643

The People's Convention elects its own Presidium which shall consist of a president, two-vice-presidents, a secretary, and seven members.

ARTICLE 54

The Presidium of the People's Convention has the following duties:

1. It calls the People's Convention.
2. It designates the elections for the Popular Convention.
3. It makes authentic interpretations as to the constitutionality of the laws. These interpretations are then submitted to the People's Convention for approval.
4. It makes authentic interpretations of the laws and issues decrees.
5. It promulgates the laws passed by the Convention.
6. It exercises the right of pardon in accordance with the prescriptions of the law.
7. It awards decorations and honorary titles upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
8. It ratifies international treaties, except when it considers it necessary for ratification to be made by the People's Convention.

[Constitution]

and his assistants are appointed by the People's Convention. 693

District attorneys of the prefectures and subprefectures are appointed by the Attorney General. [646]

ARTICLE 86

All district attorneys are independent of the local governmental units and are responsible only to the Attorney General, from whom they receive orders and instructions.

ARTICLE 87

District attorneys are authorized to initiate penal actions and also to exercise the right of appeal as well as the right to intervene during a judicial or administrative trial. District attorneys can exercise the right of appeal against summary decisions of the courts and other administrative organs when such decisions are illegal. [692]

ARTICLE 88

The district attorney of the military courts of the national army of the People's Republic of Albania and other military attorneys are appointed by the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Republic. [701]

TITLE V

Relation Between the Executive and Administrative Departments

ARTICLE 89

The Presidium of the People's Convention may annul or suspend decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government when they are unconstitutional and illegal. 642

The government may annul or suspend decrees, ordinances, instructions and decisions of ministers when they are contrary to the laws, decrees, instructions and decisions of the government.

ARTICLE 90

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may suspend any illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils. 643 631

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

701 escorting him to town, guarding him during his stay there and escorting him home again. If they refused without justifiable cause to give him such service, he withdrew his support from them at least for a time.

622 The bajraktar[1] was also much occupied with local administration.
634 Here he was assisted by one or more headmen, hereditary officials like himself. Independently or together, he and they checked quarrelling, judged and formulated new laws. He was admittedly their superior, and when their views diverged his prevailed. If pressure of work made him think an increase in their number desirable, he had power to make extra appointments provided only that he first submitted the names of his nominees to the Turkish government for approval. In short, he was the acknowledged head of the local administration.

[619] As supreme administrative head the bajraktar had power to summon a general meeting for administrative as well as military purposes. If the matter at issue was important and affected the whole tribe, he sent the *kasnec* (tribal messenger) to command the presence of one man per house. If narrower issues were involved he summoned only one or more headmen and the local *gjobtarë* [693] (fine-collectors) or other elders. Plenary meetings dealt with anti-social acts grave enough to involve the death penalty or expulsion, judged cases of sacrilege against the church, tightened up tribal discipline by enacting new or re-enacting old laws, decided whether to revolt or not against the Turkish government, and heard important messages from the government. In 1908 a plenary [642] meeting[1] was held by each tribe to decide whether or not it should accept the Young Turk Constitution. Smaller meetings handled business where fines were sufficient punishment for transgression. Notably they regulated grazing rights, fixing the day for a general move to summer pastures, stipulating how many animals each family might feed on a common. They also regulated wood-cutting rights and controlled the supply of water for irrigation. The bajraktar[1] presided at all such meetings, took an active part in the deliberations, and signed or set his seal on any minutes that were [565] kept. He and the elders, as being socially superior, sat apart from the commoners. In the Malësi e Madhe he sat on the ground while the tribesmen stood respectfully on their feet.

[1] See M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 74.

[1] [the local military leader--Analyst]

In certain cases the bajraktar and the local headman could act alone. For example, in case of sacrilege against the church they had power to pronounce even a death sentence. In practice, however, they preferred to consult the tribe and the ecclesiastical authorities. After the Young Turks introduced their constitution in 1908 they tried to make everything in Albania very legal and proper. If land was bought, for example, they required a deed of conveyance where the word of witnesses had formerly sufficed. The best lawyer in the land might write out the document and great men witness it, but it had no legal validity until the bajraktar and local headmen had affixed their seals.

As a legal figure the bajraktar had special weight. If called to serve on a jury of twenty-four men, his single person was counted equal to the twelve jurors left unnamed by the elders. A peace made in his presence was particularly binding. If at all distinguished he was often called in by another tribe to settle a dispute that had baffled its own elders. In his own tribe, besides acting as judge in many ordinary cases, he was ultimate referee in all difficult cases. Boundary disputes, the most fertile source of trouble among these land-starved tribes, were often referred straight to him for settlement. Disobedience to his ruling might entail the worst penalties. Particularly in the Malësi e Madhe, he and the local headman had power to appoint elders to settle a quarrel. If these failed to do so, or were found to have based their decision on a false oath by one of the litigants, it fell to the bajraktar and the local headman to reopen the case and to pronounce a final judgement. If a headman judged a case and gave a verdict the bajraktar disliked, he could upset this verdict and substitute one of his own. But neither headman nor elders could upset his judgements; these were always final and unalterable.

All the above applies to the non-tribal areas of central Albania as much as to the northern tribes. Mus Ballgjini of Çermenikë, for instance, was almost more famous as a law-giver than as a military leader. By a seeming exception the bajraktar of the Perlat tribe of Kthellë did not judge but left such matters to the elders. The explanation of the anomaly probably lies in his notorious incompetence. It was every bajraktar's province to judge in peace as well as to lead in war.

In all areas the jurisdiction of the bajraktar was subject to certain limitations. If the commoners did not like one of his decisions,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[Covenant of Mat, 1942]

681 whether they be young or old, and must not let them exist within the
[665] boundaries of the district of Mat. If there are any such persons, the people of Mat, together with the local authorities, must destroy them, not only with the rifle, but also with the fist. For no one can endure a person who is a traitor and has neither character nor morals. The entire people must disown such men and attack them with all its strength until it destroys them root and branch.

[642] 12. By statutory law the Albanian and the Italian peoples are brothers with the same mother and the same father. That is to say, the two peoples have the same father who is the King Emperor and the King of both Albania and Italy. So we shall destroy anyone who insults the King by talking against him and we shall punish the fellow as specified in clause 2.

13. This Covenant which we have made at a plenary meeting of the people of Mat is to remain valid until the end of the General War, and anyone who breaks it is to be considered a traitor to his country and to the régime, that is to say, a betrayer of his fatherland and the régime.

Sgd. Beqir Sitki Hasa
Chairman of Commission
Sub-Prefect of Mat.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

648 and modernizing the banking system. Albania even acquired
643 a radio station, and air travel became a reality. The King
175 brought in foreign experts, particularly Austrians. Some of them I have known; and while they had the usual reservations about the political institutions of Albania, they respected his energy and sincerity of social purpose.

648 At this point Mussolini was unfortunately smitten with
175 irrational imperialist ambition: if Hitler could have his empire of the master race, he himself was called upon to reconstruct the dominions of ancient Rome. Italian troops landed in Albania on April 7, 1939, shortly after the fall of France. They quickly overpowered the small defense army, and Zogu had to seek refuge abroad. The crown was thereupon offered to King Victor Emmanuel III, of Italy, who docilely accepted it. It is worth noting that the reception accorded the Italians was not too unfriendly, because some sections of the population expected to profit from the political change. Using Albania as an advance base, the Duce attacked Greece on October 28, 1940; but the valiant Greeks put his armies to rout and occupied nearly half of Albania. The Germans, defeating Yugoslavia, took over the rest of Albania, but confined themselves to routine control. Two resistance movements were formed, the one pro-Zogu and primarily against Italy, and the other Communist with the Germans as its principal target. The second, the National Liberation Front, was the stronger, primarily because it boldly drafted men into its partisan forces and because it maintained ruthless discipline. British commandos in the Adriatic therefore quite naturally aided it. As a result, the Front was able to assume control of
175 the country as soon as the Germans retreated.

648 The provisional government formed by General Enver
● 642 Hoxha, commander in chief of the National Liberation Front, was recognized by the United States, Great Britain, and Rus-

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

sia in 1945. A republic was established during the following year. General Hoxha and his followers meanwhile made no secret of their devotion to the Communist cause, although their utterances took on the usual protective coloring. At a Congress in the little town of Permeti, on May 24, 1944, the Front had "guaranteed freedom of religion and of conscience, and equality of rights for all religions." Hoxha's partisans, like Tito's, were frequently seen at religious services. Albania, a turbulent and weapon-toting country addicted to blood feuds and similar practices, was one of the most tolerant of nations from the religious point of view. In 1930 nearly three-fifths of the total population of 1,003,000 were Mohammedans, while the members of the Greek Orthodox Church constituted another fifth. Catholics in union with Rome were noticeably in the minority, scarcely more than one-tenth of the professedly religious reported in the census, and were concentrated in the extreme north of the country. Their major religious, charitable, and educational institutions were in Scutari, an ancient town on a beautiful mountain-surrounded lake, afflicted with mosquitoes and malarial fever. Ancient ties with Italy, which Mussolini so wantonly divested of moral and diplomatic import, had led to the existence of a considerable number of religious of Italian origin in Albania, and also to the settlement of many Albanians in Italy. This fact would no doubt have given rise to some antipathy even under normal conditions. Yet on the whole few in Albania were apprehensive when the war ended. The age-old tradition of religious peace seemed to preclude violent change.

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Albania had a rude awakening. General Hoxha was interested in nothing less than freedom of religion. Information concerning the fate of the Moslem majority is meager and difficult to come by. But laborious piecing together of news items from Albanian radio broadcasts and newspapers makes

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6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1
Baltic Countries RB1

A.

in the Soviet Union itself prior to the War against Hitler. They are almost wholly isolated. Information concerning the cultural life of the Albanian people is limited to what can be obtained from broadcasts over the government radio station.

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A.

Hoxha did not join forces with Marshal Tito when that leader broke with the Kremlin, but was soon made aware that Albania was wholly isolated and that his Yugoslav neighbor gave asylum to dissidents who plotted a *coup d'état*. That such an undertaking might well meet with success seems probable. But Italy retains its interest in the strategic and economic advantages of the Albanian area, and its assent would be required; and currently, with the struggle for Trieste in the foreground, no entente is conceivable. The Russians apparently maintain a small body of troops in the vicinity of Tirana, but have in no other wise manifested great concern. Apparently they consider Hoxha a negligible problem child. It is apparent, however, that the Russian garrison makes impossible any attempt to overthrow the dictatorship from within the country.

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II

B

The fate of the three erstwhile Baltic Republics—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—illustrates the sad truth that in troubled and imperialistic parts of the world it does not pay to be a small nation. Each of the three had a solid folk or tribal core round which language, mores, and religious tradition had developed. For brief periods each managed to acquire a precarious independence. But they lay along the great Baltic seacoast route from Western Europe. German colonization efforts, spearheaded by the Teutonic Knights, went this way, and later came solidly entrenched land barons. There were periods of Swedish and Polish domination. Finally, as a result of the Treaty of Nystad, which in 1721 ended the Swedish

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124 elders,[4] 8 *bairaktars*,[6] and 5 retainers of a tribal
619 prince, Jon Markajon of Mirdita (fig. 10, *a*).
[463] Except for the chief elder of Karashegeç in Has, who was a baker, all of the elders, chief elders, and *bairaktars* were farmers. The baker was "mayor" of a village of bakers, outside the mountain area. All of these men were locals, born of local fathers and mothers taken from within the father's tribe. Preferences are thus shown for (a) agriculture as against handicrafts or trade, and (b) local as against outside descent.

Jon Markajon, the only tribal chief whom we met, and who entertained us very well at his capital in Orosh, would not allow us to measure him, although he summoned all of his subjects from nearby villages. The 5 retainers whom we measured in his house constituted his princely staff. Three of them were part-time farmers, and 2, full-time political employees. What their exact duties and titles
619 were, we did not determine. The ancient
642 tribal government of Ghegnia, if we may judge by the example of Mirdita, the one tribe in which it survived more or less intact until 1929, consisted of a graded hierarchy with three steps—elders and their chief, *bairaktars*, and tribal prince. Attached to the prince was his staff of special messengers, chamberlains, and guards.

The tribal government was in the hands of the prince and his council, which consisted of all of the elders of the tribe, with their chief elders, and the *bairaktars*. The heads of large and powerful households, even if they held no
[623] formal office, would be included. The council met in cases of murder within the tribe, of intertribal warfare, invasion, or other crises involving violence. It also met to decide on its own composition, i.e., to hear the petitions of neighboring *bairaks* to join it.

619 The strength of the prince as compared to
643 that of the council depended on the former's personality. During the last 50 years, for example, Mirdita has been ruled by the following princes: Bib Doda, a great and powerful man who died about 1913; Preng Bib Doda, his son, who was killed shortly after in a blood

[4] Nine from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Has, 4 Mirdita, 4 Zadrima, 3 Mati, and 1 Dibra.

*[see cat. 1110, p. 110 - Analyst]

175 a few roads and bridges, and found time to do some anthropometry.

642 After the war Albania became a republic, with a parliament. Feudal and tribal, illiterate and immobilized by the lack of roads, the people were not prepared for self-government.

643 After a number of violent episodes Ahmed Zog, son of the *bairaktar* of Mat in the tribe of Mati, became dictator, and in 1929 proclaimed himself king. Hated by the people of Elbasan because he had jilted the daughter of Verlatsi, their most prominent citizen, he was despised by his fellow mountaineers and by the Tosks as well, most of whom saw in his rule a threat to their freedom. On the rare occasions when he dared leave his palace, he had all roofs and windows searched and guarded, and even the cypress trees searched; and then he sent a double ahead of him.

He did, however, make a number of wise moves. One was to employ Colonel Stirling, famed as a companion of Lawrence in Arabia, as his personal adviser. Another was to employ General von Mirdach of the Austrian army to set up his military machine. A third was to give the British General Percy a free

625 hand in organizing a gendarmerie. General Percy brought with him a staff of British officers, which included Colonel Martin and Major Glegg. These experienced men selected an elite group of mountaineers to police the highroads, and to report and put down trouble. For the first time in history someone was taking intelligent steps to rid the mountains of feuding.

[124] We measured 62 of these gendarmes, all local men. Twenty-one came from Luma, 17 from Mati, 10 from Puka, 6 from Malsia e Jakovës, 4 from Dibra, 3 from Dukagin, and one from Malsia e Madhe. The British officers very wisely used Ghegs in Gheg country. To have introduced outsiders would have made trouble. Many of the men were serving within their own tribes and *bairaks*; too often they were in blood elsewhere. This new occupation for mountaineers gave them a chance to see more of the world than before, for they were required to train in Tirana or Scutari. Although the gendarme system made little or no direct change in the genetics of the mountaineers, for these men marry as their fathers

[World War I -- Analyst]

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EF1

Italian shipping centers, also Foggia, reputed to be a prospective bombing base for long-range American operations against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the eastern and central Mediterranean basin and much of North Africa, more important than ever in the latest British and American strategy, would be within bombing radius of Jugoslav and Albanian airfields. Tito's withdrawal from the Soviet camp made it necessary to rely solely on Albanian bases for carrying these plans into execution. Without Saseno and the Albanian airfields (of which there were about ten by latest report, half of them developed to the point where they could serve heavy planes), Soviet submarines would be barred from the Mediterranean and Soviet bombers would be pushed back to the Danube valley. We of course have no direct information about the extent of recent Soviet activity on Saseno. However, foreign intelligence services in contact with underground elements inside Albania believe that although newspaper stories about elaborate concrete submarine pens are exaggerated the scale of fortifications makes Saseno a formidable threat to naval movements in the Mediterranean in time of war as well as to military installations in Italy and North Africa. 648

With such valuable eggs in its little Albanian basket,[1] the Kremlin naturally ordered Prime Minister Hoxha to show the utmost diligence in rooting out any dangerous nationalist sentiments that might appear in the Albanian Communist Party. There had been a nationalist movement of some promise in Albania during the war, but its leaders had lost standing for various reasons—some because they collaborated with the Communists, some because they collaborated with the Nazis when the latter replaced the Italians after the Italian capitulation, some because American and British propaganda tended to favor the Albanian Communists as a way of helping the Jugoslav Partisans, especially after the Allied landing in Italy made it seem possible that Churchill might succeed in having an Allied expedition sent into the Balkans. When Hoxha set up his government in Tirana in November 1944 he maintained the appearance of collaboration with such non-Communist resistance elements as still existed and were willing to join the new "Democratic Front," the organization which now replaced the openly Communist "National Liberation Front" of the war years. But the need for concessions to patriotic 665 186 665 642

1 [i.e. Russian political and strategic interests, see cat. 116, pp. 228-229.---Analyst]

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
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665 nationalist and democratic forces in the country diminished as the Communist Party tightened its hold; and following the one-ticket 642 elections of December 2, 1945, it came to an end. The monarchy was abolished in fact as well as in name, the People's Democratic Republic of Albania was proclaimed and the non-Communists who had been collaborating with Hoxha fled abroad or were shot. There followed the agrarian "reforms," the nationalization (confiscation) of such small industry as existed in the country, the elimination of independent shopkeepers and the other measures which so much pleased the Soviet commentator quoted earlier.

186 648 Among the strongest incentives to Albanian nationalistic feeling are Albania's claim to the Kossovo area in Jugoslavia, where there is an Albanian minority, and Greece's claim to the Northern Epirus district in southern Albania, where there is a Greek minority. Propaganda in favor of one annexation and counter-propaganda against the other are the habitual stock-in-trade of Albanian patriots.

648 Italy annexed Kossovo to Albania in 1941—one of Mussolini's cheap rewards for the Nazi victory in Jugoslavia. The action strengthened the Jugoslav resistance, notably on the part of the Serb Chetniks, for the Kossovo plain holds a special place in Serb history and in the hearts of Serb patriots. In the end the district went back to Jugoslavia, after the Italians and later the Germans had been expelled. One of the returns which Hoxha had to make for Tito's material and moral support was to put an end to the former annexationist propaganda in that direction.

Developments on the other front were more favorable to Hoxha. Britain always had been a friend and protector of Greece, from imperial interest as well as Byronic sentiment, and the United States had taken over a share in that rôle under the Truman Doctrine. Hoxha could point to the fact that the two Western Powers were hostile to the Greek Communists as well as to his own Communist régime, whereas the Soviet Union was friendly to both; and on this basis he could argue that if the Greek Royal Government won it would have British and perhaps American support in claiming Northern Epirus, whereas if the Greek Communists won they would be instructed by the Soviet Government to withdraw any claim on another Communist country's territory. On balance, Communism

648, 665, 642, 433 Albania EG1

[For the economic and political position of Albania under Soviet control since the death of Stalin, see 85: Zinner, R1 Soviet Union, Category 116, Pp. 157B-163B.]

9: Albania EG1 Albania EG1
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[For the complete English translation of the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania as approved by the Constituent Assembly of 14 March 1946, see category 116, entire source.]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

him. His Canon was handed down orally to the elders and in their hands has been somewhat modified in different districts, but was in force through all the North Albanian mountains, both Moslem and Christian. Truly "in force," for "Lek said so" obtained more obedience than the Ten Commandments, and the teaching of the hodjas and the priests was often vain if it ran counter to that of Lek.

Who was Lek Dukagin? The Dukagini were chieftains in North Albania, and the few references to them show they ruled wide lands. In 1309 King Urosh II signed himself "King of Serbia, Chelmie, Dioclie, and Albania," and his successors styled themselves "King of Albania" till Stefan Dushan's death in 1356; but the Serbs, though they exacted tribute and labour from certain districts, do not seem to have penetrated and influenced the mountains. Only thus can we account for the fact that, except near Scutari, the place-names are Albanian, and that so soon as the Serb Empire began crumbling on Dushan's death the names of Albanian chieftains appear. The oldest reference to the Dukagini I can find is a letter, *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia* (No. 133), from Pope Innocent III to the "noble man Demetrius, Prince of Albania," replying to one asking for religious instruction, and a document of 1216, explaining that "Demetrius is son of Progon and brother of Gini, Count of Albania."

Hopf (*Chroniques inédits Greco-Romanes*, Berlin, 1873) gives, as a result of much search, a pedigree of the Dukagini. The earliest is "Tanusius I, Dux Ginus, Lord of Zadrima, the Black Mountain (Mal i zi on the Drin?), Pulati, and Shati." He is probably the "Dux Ginius Tanuschus Albanensis" who is taken prisoner by Johannis Scotus, Charles of Sicily's Captain, at Durazzo in 1281 (*v. Acta et Dip.*, No. 455). "Gini" is Albanian for John. "Dukagini" is Duke John; "dux," in the sense of leader or chief. The title "duca" hails from Venice, just as do "gubernador" and "kapetan" in Montenegro.

From Tanusius Dux Ginus descends Lek (Alexander) I. He was a chieftain who aided the Venetians against the Turks. A dispatch from Alessio, December 1387 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 413), states that the brothers Lek and Paul Dukagin permit free passage through their lands to the Ragusans. In 1393 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 501), the "noble lords, Progon and Tanus, brothers, sons of the late lord Lek Dukagin, lords of the castle of Alessio," in their own names and on behalf of their relatives, hand over Alessio to the Venetians, being unable to hold it against the Turks. This Tanus is described by Hopf as lord of Fandi (now part of Mirdita). As he was lord also of Alessio this shows his lands to have been wide. He had a son, Paul, lord of Gurikuchi, Salita, etc., whose son, Lek II, is probably the Lek of the Canon. Hopf describes him as lord of Dagno and Zadrima between 1444 and 1459. These were the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice,
143 and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.
[688] Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

671 Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law
681 of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth
174 century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

682 Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any [574] house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He [609] at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

3: Redlich
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[For biographical information on King Zog I see category 116, pp. 97-102.]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

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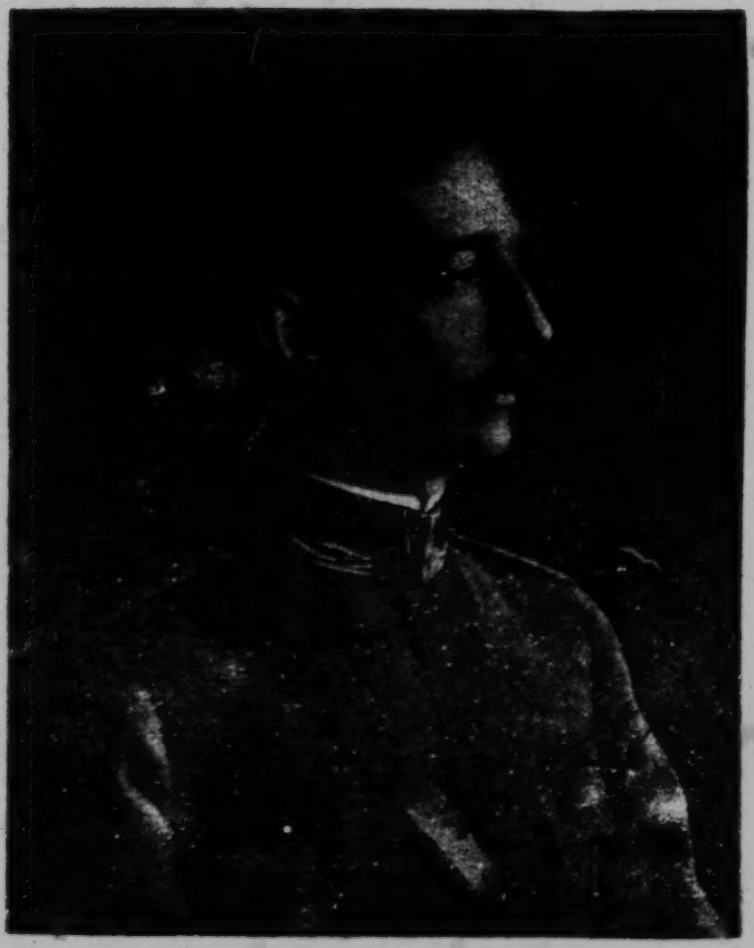

HIS MAJESTY KING ZOG I

KING OF THE ALBANIANS

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E61

The Republic of Albania

ON Christmas evening of 1924, Ahmed Bey Zogu won over the considerate and intelligent elements of the population. He re-entered Tirana and was greeted by the whole town with shouts of cheer and gratitude and was hailed as the leader who would direct Albania into a peaceful and prosperous future. As soon as harmony and tranquility had been restored, the young leader called upon the Albanians for the election of a Constitutional Assembly, which body declared Albania a republic in January, 1925, and the Albanians showed unwavering loyalty by electing, on January 31, 1925, Ahmed Bey Zogu as their first president.

The new president studied the needs, requirements and the psychology of his people. He was determined to make Albania into a peaceful and united nation, and, through his obvious efforts, he won the support and admiration of the strongest and sturdiest clans of Albania. These clans, which had never paid taxes to the Sultans of Turkey, now began to

The Kingdom of Albania

643 THE peak of President Zogu's success was reached on September 1, 1928, when, upon the acclamation of his subjects, Albania was declared a democratic, constitutional, hereditary monarchy and this able leader was proclaimed the King of the Albanians, under the title of King Zog I.

643 King Zog's rise to the throne of Albania is in keeping with the psychology of the Albanian people. In this rugged country, the idea of a king has taken very deep root, and in the mind of the Albanian no president can fill the places occupied by King Pyrrhus, Alexander the Great and Scanderbeg the Great.

Under King Zog, Albania has been making steady progress toward modernization of such magnitude that it can be favorably compared to that promoted by other leaders of great nations who have assumed power and built an united country out of what might have been chaos.

When we consider that Albania has passed through the upheaval of the world war fol-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

643 lowed by several uprisings, and, when we realize that, following the world war, Albania was pillaged by her neighbors, and, lastly, when we comprehend in some measure the tremendous task that confronted the king as the ruler of a torn and sadly mutilated country endeavoring, in the role of a new and independent nation, to struggle to its feet, and against terrific economic, social, and political odds to take its place in the family of nations, when he was called upon to face innumerable problems in organizing a government without money and to create a peaceful nation out of chaos, only then can we appreciate the great achievements of King Zog. He has met and beneficially solved the numerous post-war problems, social, political, cultural and economic, which confronted Albania, creating the necessary administration of government and freeing the country of invaders.

197 The promotion of national consciousness was pushed ahead by the use of a common language in which school-books, newspapers and literary works have to be printed, substituting for the local dialects. The law of agra-
423 rian reform of 1930 laid the foundation for
[565] the creation of a nationalistically-inclined
class of small peasant proprietors.

643

HIS MAJESTY KING ZOG I AT HIS DESK

(facing p. 74)

System of Government

642 ALBANIA is a democratic, constitutional, hereditary monarchy, ruled by a king of the ancient dynasty of the Zogus of Mati, which family was interrelated by marriage in the fifteenth century with Scanderbeg the Great, Albania's national hero-king.

643 According to the Constitution, the monarchy is hereditary in the male line in the Zogu dynasty. In case of the absence of a direct heir, the ruling king designates, with the approval of Parliament, his own successor from the male line of his family.

The king names the Prime Minister and the cabinet.

646 Parliament is composed of a House of Representatives, deputies to which are elected by free, equal, universal and direct suffrage of all male citizens. One deputy for every 15,000 population is elected for the term of four years. Parliament consists now of 56[1] deputies.

Any citizen of 30 years of age and over,

[1] [Errata: should be 58. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116--Analyst]

871 ten in Albanian, and Albanian was the only language the boys knew. Three months later they were speaking, reading, and writing English, and 000 the first school year began. In March, when we came to Tirana, they were the finest upstanding lot of youngsters that ever made a teacher proud, and our arrival was celebrated by an evening's entertainment, for which the boys extemporized little plays in English, political parodies so witty that they brought tears of mirth to the eyes. I do not think the record of those boys is equaled anywhere, and to find Rexh among them was the happy ending to the story.

• 643 "And now, Ahmet Bey is Minister of the Interior! Who is chief of the Mati, then?"

"His mother is chief when he is away, Mrs. Lane."

"Is he a good Minister of the Interior?"

"He works very hard. I think he did not have much schooling. He came from the court of Abdul Hamid when he was sixteen—you remember the *comitadj* told you—and he has been fighting ever since. He came to Tirana last December when there was the strike."

"No, Rexh! A strike? In Tirana?"

"It is a long story, Mrs. Lane. If you would have a coffee with me, I would tell it all."

We left the others wandering down the Durazzo road and back, and sat at a little table beneath a plane tree by the white arches of the café. A waiter brought us cups of Turkish coffee, and while the crowd went slowly past us

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and bursts of Albanian song came through the open windows and a great yellow moon rose behind the white minaret, Rexh told the tale of the first strike in Albanian history.

"It was at the time of the Merdite trouble. I do not know what you have heard of the Republic of the Merdite; it was a Serbian plan to get the Merdite country. The people were starving, and the Serbs promised them corn, and I think there was money for the Merdite chiefs, because some of them signed a paper that said there was a Republic of the Merdite and the Serbs sent that paper to Europe. Then other chiefs fought these chiefs that signed it, and the Serbs came in, and Ahmet Bey Mati was sent with our soldiers to fight the Serbs. It is five days to the Merdite, when the trails are good.

"You know, Mrs. Lane, Albania has no king. We have four regents, that we call quarter-kings. We laugh when we say it. 'There goes a quarter-king,' we say. There are the Ministers elected by Parliament, and their chief, the Prime Minister; they are the real kings. They do things, and then afterward the quarter-kings have to say, 'Yes, that is what we would have done.'

"While Ahmet Bey was gone to the Merdite with all our soldiers, there were only three quarter-kings in Tirana. One was gone to Geneva; he was a good one. One that was here was a good one. One was a friend of Castoldi, the Italian. No good Albanian, Mrs. Lane, is a friend of Italy. And the last

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[202] mountains, and other men telephoned it with their voices to Ahmet. So he came secretly around Prishtini's men, and came walking day and night to Tirana. He left his men in the Merdite to hold the Serbs, and took the twelve hundred fresh men from the Catholic part of the Mati."

[203] "Ahmet is Mohammedan?"

"Yes, Mrs. Lane. His family has been Mohammedan since Scanderbeg died."

"In the morning I shall go to see Ahmet. He must be a remarkable man."

Rexh considered this statement. "He is a good man, yes. We have a saying in the mountains, Mrs. Lane. 'Ask a thousand men, then follow your own advice.' I think that is what Ahmet does."

I had interviewed, without exceptional enthusiasm, each member of the Albanian Cabinet save Ahmet, the Hawk, chief of the Mati. But I am not, in general, enthusiastic about the Ministers or members of Parliament that I have met in any country. In democratic countries their profession gives their minds a remarkable agility, like that of the elephant on the rolling ball. The muscular development of the elephant a-pilin' teak in the slushy mushy creek has more interest for me. This is a matter of personal taste. However, I am about to become so enthusiastic about Ahmet Bey Mati that it seems well to mention that my enthusiasms are few, and not

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we could see appeared to be all right, everyone assured us that everything was all right. I went into Ahmet Bey's office prepared to exchange the elaborate forms of mountain courtesy and to look at Ahmet, no more.

The office was bare. No overstuffed furniture, no rugs. Bare floor, bare walls, an unpainted wooden table, and Ahmet. He was keen, self-controlled, hard willed. That was the first impression. The second was that he was the best-dressed man, in a European sense, that I had seen for a long time. He was dressed like the successful American business man who gives *carte blanche* to a very good tailor and forgets clothes. He rose, said, "*Tu njet jeta*" ("I am glad you have come"), and while he said it he looked at me as a scientist looks at a microscope slide. Then he offered me a chair, sat down, and added, "Can I be of service to you, madame?"

The shock was such that my mind blinked. Then I said that I wished to visit Mati and the Merdite, and had come to the Ministry of the Interior to arrange for the trip. Ahmet offered me a cigarette, and lighted it, and my mind waked to alertness, for I saw that he was making time in which to choose his reply. There *was* something wrong; our feeling was right! I would trip him into giving me a clew.

Our eyes met as I thanked him for the cigarette, and I saw that he saw that I knew he had been hesitating. Idiot that I was, to betray it, I thought. And he said, "This is a difficult time

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in Albania, madame. I cannot tell you whether you can go to the mountains or not. I cannot discuss our difficulties with you to-day. In ten days' time they will be ended. I must ask you to wait ten days, perhaps less, certainly no more. Then if you can come to see me again, I will tell you anything you want to know. If it is possible for you to go into the mountains, of course you will go as guest of the Albanian government."

Everything had been said. He accompanied me to the door, said: "Long may you live! Go on a smooth trail!" and held the door open, simultaneously for me to go out and for the next caller to come in. The door shut. And I said, "That is one of the few great men I have met."

All that day, at intervals, I recalled that interview and marveled. How had that man come from his background? From the leisurely, evasive, allusive talks of the mountains, from the intricate subtleties of Abdul Hamid's court, where had he got that incisiveness, that direct, driving force? It was genius, I said; nothing less. I went about asking, "Is Ahmet Bey a patriot?" For if he were not, certainly he was one of the most dangerous men in Albania.

I was told that he was a nephew of Essad Pasha, who sold Albania to Serbia for the title of its king, and was assassinated by Albanians in Paris. I was told that Ahmet had sold timber rights in the Mati to Italians, but had later revoked the sale. I was told that he was a very rich man, and that he held the forty thousand

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643 fighting men of the Mati in his hand. I was told that the Serbs, in one of their 1921 raids, had burned the Great House in the Mati, the house in which his family had lived for five centuries. 000 Nothing else, apparently, was known about him.

Walking that night at sunset time with all Tirana, we were surprised to observe that the soldiers lounging around the fires in the courtyard of their barracks were not the same soldiers who had been there the night before. These were new men, recruits, and—by the pattern of their trousers—men from the plains of the south. Raw peasant youths, they looked. None of them carried rifles on their backs, and the few rifles we saw were held awkwardly, as by unpracticed hands. Of course there is a constant flow of recruits through Tirana, for as the government disarms the mountaineers it endeavors to build up a trained citizen army, on the Swiss plan. But we guessed, by the absence of the seasoned soldiers, that there was battle, or danger of battle, somewhere else in Albania.

Incredible, as we walked homeward under the white moon, that on this spring night men could be killing one another. Incredible, in this magic of moon and rippling water and a little owl calling love notes from the dark cypress, that anywhere there was anything but peace. The tall carved wooden gate of our courtyard was romantic in the shadow of Government House; our little house was picturesque with black shadows on white plaster; there was glamour everywhere.

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665 A new generation of political leaders now came forward[1] many of whom were to play an important part in this story. In the South, the Orthodox Bishop Fan Noli, with a group of returned emigrants from the United States, formed a party professing Radical principles. He met with some support, especially among the landless Orthodox peasantry, but his movement suffered from the difficulties of applying advanced Western ~~political~~ theories to tribal or feudal communities where the Ottoman tradition of government ~~still~~ prevailed. The Moslems of the South also formed a party, to which most of the Tosk beys adhered. Prominent among its leaders were Ali Klissura, Midhat Frasheri, and Mehdi Frasheri, who represented perhaps the most enlightened element among the Albanians, combining a Western education with practical experience of administration in the Ottoman civil service. Mehdi Frasheri indeed had been Governor of Jerusalem under the Turks, and was later to surprise his colleagues in the League of Nations Assembly by a speech on the Palestine Mandate such as they had scarcely expected from the Albanian delegate. In the North there were tribal factions rather than political parties. The leader of the Catholics was Jon Marko Joni, who had become Captain of the Mirdita in succession to Prenk Bib Doda and was for a time the protagonist of a Serbian inspired plan for the creation of an autonomous Mirdite Republic. Bairam Bey Tsuri and Tsena Bey Kryeziu, two hot-tempered guerilla leaders, contended for supremacy among the Moslem clans of the north-east, while Mustafa Kruya and Sufi Elezi
643 were paramount in Kruya and in Dibra. But the strongest man in the country, drawing his power, like Essad Pasha before him, from the fighting men of Mati and the rich landowners of Central Albania, was Ahmet Bey Zog.

643 159 Ahmet Zog was born in 1895 of a family of Mati Beys with a long tradition of distinguished service to the Ottoman Empire. When he was but a boy his grandfather, Jemal Pasha, conspired with Marshal Rejeb Pasha to carve out an independent Albanian kingdom from the ruin of Turkish power in Europe. The Marshal was at the time in command of the Turkish armies in Tripoli and planned to sail to Albania with his best troops as soon as Jemal Pasha should raise the standard of revolt. But

[1] [After Paris Peace Conference, 1920 -- Analyst]

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Sultan Abdul Hamid, sitting in the Yildiz at the centre of his web of spies, got wind of the conspiracy. He dared not recall Rejeb Pasha or order his arrest; for he knew that the African army was loyal to the Marshal, and feared that such a move might provoke the very revolt which he wished to prevent. Instead he simulated a political crisis, and, dismissing his Divan, offered the Ministry of War to Rejeb. The Marshal accepted, confident that the secret of his conspiracy was well kept, and thinking perhaps that he could carry out his plans the more easily, once in control of the whole military machine of the Empire. He accordingly repaired to Stamboul, and, on his arrival, was summoned to an audience at the Yildiz. The Imperial Guard, an Albanian unit, was drawn up in his honour; and if he came with misgivings they must have been dispelled by the marks of confidence and affection with which the Sultan received him. From the Imperial presence Rejeb Pasha drove back to the capital and proceeded to the Ministry of War to take up his new functions. He was shown into his office, where obsequious secretaries lit his cigarette and brought him a cup of coffee. Of it he drank and died: the Sultan's agents had poisoned it.

The conspiracy was scotched, but it would have been no easy task for the Turkish authorities to have arrested Jemal Pasha Zog among the mountaineers of Mati. The Sultan, however, judged it politic to forget, and was content to have young Ahmed Zog brought to Stamboul as a hostage for his grandfather's loyalty. The old ruler took a liking to the boy and had him brought up in the palace and educated at the officers' school in the Galata Saray. He sent him for his holidays to Macedonia, the Crimea, the Caucasus, and Egypt — but never to his home — and even made him for a time one of his A.D.C.s. Thus at an early age Zog absorbed the principles of Oriental government, and learned from its greatest living exponent the art of playing off his enemies one against another.

When the Young Turks deposed the Sultan, Zog escaped through Macedonia to his home in Mati. He was still a mere boy, but he led his clansmen against the Serbs during the Balkan Wars, and on one occasion raided as far as the suburbs

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of Skoplje. In the first World War he made common cause with 643
the Austrians, and, thanks to his influence in Mati, was made a 159
colonel in the Albanian forces formed under their aegis. It was not long, however, before an incident, illustrative of the man's character, brought him into conflict with his allies. It had originally been agreed that the Albanian forces should march under their own national flag, but the Austrian authorities presently issued an order that they should fly instead the colours of the Dual Monarchy. Three Albanian officers resisted the change and were shot on the order of an over-zealous Austrian colonel. When Zog heard of their deaths, he arrested the first three Austrian officers he could lay hands on, and had them executed in reprisal. This action confronted the Austrian general commanding in Albania with a delicate problem; he could hardly overlook such a gesture of defiance, yet he feared to proceed against Zog lest by so doing he should alienate the men of Mati and other Albanians friendly to Austria. In the end the order concerning the colours was rescinded, and Zog was posted to the Imperial Headquarters: an appointment which amounted in practice to honourable confinement in Vienna. There he was kindly received by the old Emperor, and once again internment gave him the chance to learn something of the ways of another great Empire which had long played a leading part in the Balkans. Constantinople and Vienna were not, perhaps, bad schools for a future ruler of Albania.

As soon as the war was over, Zog returned to Albania and 643
set about reorganising his faction. Despite his youth — he was 669
only twenty-five in 1920 — he soon became the strongest single 159
influence in the land and was the real power either in, or behind, the many governments that followed one another up to 1924. His authority derived from the rifles of the Gheg tribesmen and the money-bags of the Gheg *beys*; and it would seem that, in return for their support, he assigned to them a lavish share in the fruits of power. The preference thus shown to the Ghegs was a natural cause of discontent among the Tosks and combined with personal jealousies to create a revolutionary situation. Bishop Fan Noli joined forces with Ali Klissura and the

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643 Tosk *beys*, and won the support of Mustafa Kruya, the cunning
669 Gheg chieftain who swayed Kruya province. With considerable
[159] skill they isolated Zog from his supporters, and in 1924 seized power by insurrection and drove him across the border into Yugoslavia.

The conflict between Zog and Fan Noli has sometimes been characterised as a struggle for power between " conservatives " and " progressives " ; but in this, as in almost all Albanian revolts, the division between the contending parties was one of geography and faction rather than of opinion or class. Much was offered to the masses in the programmes of both sides, but the practice in either case redounded chiefly to the advantage of the men in power. It will perhaps be sufficient comment on the policies of the Fan Noli regime to record the Bishop's own verdict on the causes of his failure : " By insisting on the agrarian reforms ", he afterwards wrote, " I aroused the wrath of the landed aristocracy : by failing to carry them out I lost the support of the peasant masses ".[1]

Zog meanwhile had been joined in Belgrade by Tsena Bey Kryeziu, the head of a powerful Jakova clan which could boast of having given fourteen Pashas to the Ottoman Empire. Tsena had a numerous following among the Albanians on both sides of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, as well as friends in high places in Belgrade. He now made common cause with Zog, and together they plotted a counter-revolution. Zog rallied round him a group of Albanian *émigrés*, and with their help prepared the tribes inside Albania for a rising. Tsena meanwhile, with the approval of the Yugoslav authorities, raised and trained an army of Kossovars, who were to form the spearhead of the revolt. The Yugoslav Government abetted the conspiracy as a means of increasing their influence in Albania : they supplied Zog and Tsena with money and with arms, and stiffened their tribal levies with veterans from General Wrangel's White Russian army, which was then concentrated in Yugoslavia. The Powers closed their eyes to these unneighbourly proceedings, and, in December of 1924, Zog and Tsena marched into Albania at the head of their Kossovar and Russian troops.

[1] Quoted by J. Swire in *Albania : the Rise of a Kingdom*, p. 444.

Their supporters rose in revolt; the government forces were 643
defeated; and a fortnight later Zog occupied Tirana. Fan 669
Noli escaped to Italy and later emigrated to the United States; Ali Klissura settled in Paris; and Mustafa Kruya went to Italy, where he became the goad with which in later years the Italians threatened Zog. These three were condemned to death *in contumaciam*; but most of the Tosk leaders were seemingly reconciled to the new regime.

It was widely expected that Zog would rule as the instru- 643
ment of the Yugoslavs to whom he owed the success of his 648
revolution;[1] and indeed the powerful influence of Tsena, who was his brother-in-law as well as his Minister of Interior, was exercised in favour of friendship with Belgrade. The policy of a country, however, is more often the effect of its circumstances than their cause. The Yugoslavs had brought the new regime to power, but they were in no position to supply it with the financial and technical assistance without which it could scarcely be maintained. Of necessity, therefore, Zog inclined increasingly towards the Italians, who were quick to seize any opportunity of re-establishing their influence in Albania. Tsena Kryeziu, however, resolutely opposed a pro-Italian policy. He was first and foremost a Kossovar; and his whole purpose in supporting the revolt had been to restore good relations with Belgrade and so reduce the effects of the frontier barrier which separated his people from their fellow Albanians. His efforts, however, were doomed to failure by the inability of the Yugoslavs to compete against the financial support which the Italians offered to Zog. His influence swiftly declined; and, after the signing of the Pact of Tirana, Zog appointed him Albanian Minister in Belgrade, to remove him from the centre of affairs. It is possible that Tsena there conspired with the Yugoslavs to repeat against Zog the same revolutionary tactics as he had carried out with him against Fan Noli. Be this as it may, in October 1927 he was shot dead in a café in Prague by an Albanian student. The responsibility for the crime was commonly ascribed to Zog; and, though his complicity was never established, Tsena's brothers, Gani, Hassan, and Said, judged it prudent to emigrate to Yugoslavia.

[1] [Cf. category 669, pp. 17-19 for data on 1924 revolution — Analyst]

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643 Within a year of Tsena's murder Zog cemented his personal position by the assumption of the crown and style of King of the Albanians. The republican sympathies of the Tosk *beys* were disarmed by their mutual jealousies; and the new regime was established among the Ghegs by the efforts of a quadrumvirate of chiefs. These were Muharrem Bairaktar, Fikri Dine, Jemal Herri, and Prenk Previsi, who had all followed Zog into exile in Yugoslavia and had played an important part in the subsequent revolution. In the discharge of their duties they acquired considerable influence, but when they had served the royal purpose Zog broke their power, which might one day have challenged his own. In their place he installed new men, who proved more obedient to his wishes as they were more dependent upon his favour. Thus, in a period of five years, the royal dictatorship was made absolute.

648 315 Meanwhile Italian influence grew in Albania until the country's foreign relations and economic development came to be largely under Italian direction. Such a trend was indeed almost as inevitable in the economic as in the diplomatic sphere, for Albania possesses few natural resources which might have attracted the attention of other Powers. At one time, however, it appeared that the Albanian oil deposits might become of international interest; and an instructive tale is told of their emergence on the diplomatic scene. At one of the many international conferences which followed the last war, Albania was represented by Faik Bey Konitza, a man of considerable wit and distinction. Faik Bey was anxious to secure British support for his country's claims, and, after several unsuccessful applications, was reluctantly granted an interview by Lord Curzon. Curzon received Faik standing, and coldly invited him to be brief. The Albanian delegate bowed and replied:

"Your Excellency, in Albania there is oil."

Curzon's eyes lit up: "Sit down, my dear fellow," he said, suddenly unbending; and to the astonishment of the impatient secretaries their discussion was prolonged beyond the hour. Nor will the reader be surprised to learn that at the plenary session, next morning, the rights of a small nation were generously vindicated by the majestic eloquence of the British Foreign

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Secretary. *Si non è vero è ben trovato,* for a concession was in fact granted to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. For a variety of reasons, however, by no means exclusively commercial, the development of the oil-field was left to the Italians.

Italian influence in Albania was strong, but the King brooked little interference in the internal administration of the country. He drove hard bargains for every concession, insisted on retaining a British mission to train the gendarmerie, and gained from the Italians far more than he ever gave them. So long as Italy's ambitions were limited to assuring her predominance in the Adriatic such a situation was not unsatisfactory, for then her chief concern was to prevent other Powers extending their influence to Albania rather than to control the country herself. But when Mussolini decided that Albania should become the bridgehead from which his forces would march to the East, he was forced to recognise that Zog was of too independent a temper to serve this grand design. In April 1939, therefore, he decreed the invasion and annexation of Albania. The Italian landing at Durazzo was gallantly contested by the commandant of Kruya, a certain Abas Kupi. Otherwise there was no resistance. The King declined the unequal encounter and crossed into Greece with Queen Geraldine and their newborn son. From Greece he came by devious routes to Paris, and, after the fall of France, settled in London. The most loyal, or anti-Italian, of his subjects followed him into exile, and, for the most part, found hospitality in Yugoslavia or Turkey. Meanwhile, under the general amnesty proclaimed by the Italians, his chief opponents, including Ali Klissura and Mustafa Kruya, returned to Albania. An Italian Viceroy was installed in Tirana, the friends of Italy were rewarded, and a puppet government was set up on the bayonets of the invaders.

Zog had found Albania in chaos; he left her with at least the rudiments of a modern state. Roads had been built; the framework of an administration created; and order, if not law, enforced. The King governed, indeed, in the oriental tradition, but it was also the tradition of his people. He corrupted his enemies, or played them off one against the other, and adminis-

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643 tered justice less with regard for the law than with an understanding of when harshness or mercy would most impress the public mind. No doubt he favoured the Ghegs at the expense of the Tosks, and left unredeemed his repeated promises of agrarian reform. No ruler, however, can escape his special obligations to his supporters; and what is possible, rather than what is desirable, must always be the test by which a statesman is judged. It is no mean political achievement to have kept Albania united for fifteen years above the cross-currents of foreign intrigue and the shifting sands of her own domestic feuds. That is the real measure of Zog's capacity to rule; and the universal respect of his enemies is perhaps the surest title of his fame.

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*669 as soon as they had driven the Italians from Albania, they would turn and rend one another. We smiled indulgently at such prophecies; not only out of scepticism but because, in the summer of 1940, the headaches of victory still seemed very remote.

Our chief concern at the time was for the leadership of the movement. Gani Kryeziu, as he himself admitted, had been too long in exile to assume the role of leader inside Albania, while Abas Kupi seemed barred from it by his illiteracy. To [643] our surprise, however, Gani suggested that King Zog was the obvious choice, both by virtue of his personal ability and because, in a country as factious as Albania, the proud chiefs would more readily gather round the man whom they had once acknowledged as king than round some self-appointed leader. Abas Kupi somewhat naturally shared this view and so indeed did Mustafa Jinishi, who explained that his friends could wait for the defeat of Italy to settle their accounts with the King. This unexpected identity of views convinced us that Zog would make the best leader for the Albanian revolt; and we urged that arrangements be made to bring him in touch with the movement in Belgrade. The Foreign Office, however, hesitated to sanction any step which might commit us to the King's cause, so that the leadership of the United Front remained undefined.

*669 648 The United Front was the fruit of long hours spent in patient planning in the extra-territorial security of the Legation and in conspiratorial meetings in dark corners of Belgrade. We changed these meeting-places continually, but our favourite was a deserted flat on the top story of a tall, modern building in the Kralya Milana. It was unfurnished, except for a rickety table and two benches abandoned by the owner; but through its dusty windows we could look out over the city to the Sava valley and the plain beyond. The climate of conspiracy is naturally productive of suspicions, and we used to take infinite precautions to preserve the secrecy of our meetings with the Albanian leaders. We would approach the rendezvous by devious routes; change taxis on the way; or leave our cars

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British officer since the German invasion. Kemp's presence in 000
that disputed region had given rise to violent protests from the Yugoslav Partisans, who had insisted on his recall. He brought us, however, most welcome news, for he had personally spoken with Gani and Said Kryeziu in their hide-out in the mountains, and reported that their morale was high and their will to fight unimpaired, in spite of illness and long months of imprisonment.

In quest of further information on Albania we[1] sought out 643 ●
Ekrem Bey Libohovo, who had been King Zog's Minister of Court but had deserted him to become one of the chief instruments of the Italian regime. Ekrem Bey had been Prime Minister of Albania at the time of Mussolini's fall and, judging that the moment had come to change sides once more, flew over to Rome on the eve of the armistice and chose to remain in the Allied zone. We drove over to see him at Lecce, where he was virtually interned, and learnt from him many interesting details of the past history of some of the leading Albanians and of the relationships between them. Such information, though of little value alone, was well worth acquiring; for it is only by the continual comparison of opinions and anecdotes that it becomes possible to assess the accuracy of political reports. On this occasion a curious incident enlivened our conversation. Ekrem Bey was relating the circumstances of the Italian invasion of Albania and spoke of his conduct at the time as he must so often have done to Italian visitors during the Fascist regime:

"As you know," he said, "when the Italians landed, the King left the country, and with him I went to Greece. . . . I went to Greece. . . . I went to Greece. . . ." He repeated himself like a broken record, suddenly at a loss to know how to extricate himself from the embarrassing story on which he had embarked: the truth was that, within forty-eight hours of arriving in Greece, he had returned to Tirana and become Italy's Quisling in Albania. At last he gave it up and with a wan smile and self-deprecating gesture said:

"I really must see what has happened to the coffee."

Verily the way of the transgressor is hard.

1 [British Intelligence Agents, in April 1944 -- Analyst]

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or compounded and, above all, what sides the clan should take 596
in the strife of political factions. Tsen Lezi had long been a supporter of Abas Kupi and he received us well.

It was already May, but in the mountains we had still lived /133
amid the gales and snow of winter. Next morning, however, as we descended from Tsen Lezi's house, we came out of the mists into the sunlight and saw the broad Mati valley spread out below us like a promised land. Fat sheep and cattle grazed in the undulating pastures; whitewashed houses, the tallest in Albania, were scattered over the low, wooded hills; and beyond the sparkling river the ground rose steeply to the wild glens of Mirdita. The guerillas had not left the mountains since autumn; and now, at the sight of the sunlit valley, the long line of men winding down the hillside broke into a strident song. Presently Abas Kupi called a halt and we sat down to refresh our eyes with the view. Hitherto I had always looked on mountains as holiday grounds; but the guerillas' song touched some atavistic chord in me and for the first time I experienced the weary highlander's longing for the plain.

Mati was rich and populated, the region where the tribal /101
system of the mountains mingled with the feudalism of the coastal plain. The land and flocks were still owned and worked in common by the different clans; but their chiefs were already known as *Beys*; and the wealthier among them employed hired labour and rented out some of their fields to poorer families. The men of Mati were reputed devout Moslems and, as is often the way of the pious, they lived well; renowned for their lavish hospitality and comfortably appointed houses. They had prospered especially under the monarchy; 143
for King Zog was a man of Mati and his first care had been for the people of his valley. Many, though they could not [212]
read nor write, had been given appointments in the civil service; and, following the tradition of the Turks, Zog had conferred reserve commissions on most of the *Beys*. This was not indeed to compel them to military service, but to bind them more closely to his cause by the payment of an honourable and regular pension. The valley had benefited, moreover, 653
from an ambitious programme of public works; a road and

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[653] several bridges had been built; and Burrel had been made the model provincial capital of Albania. The grateful memory 643 of these past benefits and a just pride in their king's achievements in a broader field were fortified by the lapse in the payment of pensions which had followed his expulsion. The men of Mati were thus staunch for King Zog; we found his picture in almost every house we visited, and at night, sitting round the fire, listened to tales of his adventures and even epic poems celebrating his exploits. There were of course exceptions, as I learned one night when I asked a veteran chieftain why he had embraced the Zogist cause. The cunning old warrior eyed me closely and answered with a wealth of meaning: "I am a monarchist in case the King should come back."

*669 Our progress through the valley was leisurely and public, and indeed was intended by Abas Kupi as a demonstration to show the Zogist flag and to parade the new British Mission — the outward and visible sign of Allied support. We had brought horses with us, but the marches were short, and Abas Kupi always went on foot with his men. As a mark of respect, therefore, we left our bodyguards to lead our beasts and followed his example. We marched escorted by a bodyguard of a hundred picked guerillas, a force sufficient both to overawe any local opposition and to prevent the Germans from attacking us with anything less than a battalion. Of this indeed there was little risk; for the bridges over the Mati had been blown in the rising against the Italians, and an enemy would have had to leave his transports at the entrance to the valley. We should thus have had ample warning of his approach and would have ambushed him, or dispersed into the hills. The Germans, however, wisely preferred to let sleeping dogs lie. They knew that Abas Kupi's relations with the Partisans were strained, and, despite the presence of British officers in his camp, had no intention of diverting him from his domestic conflicts by an ill-timed and provocative attack.

000 We passed through rolling fields and leafy forests; and each day brought us to some new village where we were feasted by the clans. Their houses varied in size nd archi-

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Germans. I had been waiting for this opening and asked :

" Do you hold a reconciliation between the Partisans and Nationalist leaders like Abas Kupi to be possible ? "

" Yes, if they will fight the Germans as we do."

" Can they be persuaded to fight again ? "

[643] " I[1] fear there is only one way. If Zog will come to the radio and tell them to fight, then they will. You know that I have worked against him all my life, but I tell you now that he is the only man who can raise the Ghegs and so prevent civil war."

We finished talking towards midnight, when I took leave of Aqif and of my hosts ; for, unless I crossed the Drin before daybreak, I should be delayed on the west bank until the following night. The crossing was guarded by a gendarmerie post ; and the river was in spate. My obol, however, won the favour of the aged ferryman, who punted us over on a raft right under the nose of the sleeping gendarmes. A guide from 579 Aziz Dino Hoja led the way beyond the river and I was followed by Kolaver, my personal bodyguard. This Kolaver was a lean and wolfish fellow, and a source of constant anxiety to my companions. He had started life as a brigand, but in the time of King Zog had turned gendarme, not indeed from any change of heart, but because he appreciated that, under a strong government, only the police can rob with impunity. When the Italians had invaded Albania he had returned to the mountains, judging that under their laxer rule it would be more profitable as well as more patriotic to pursue his calling after the manner of his youth. In those troubled times, however, brigandage proved a hard life ; and a solid if unusual interest in the King's restoration had led him to join Abas Kupi. He had attached himself to me during our progress through Mati, and at an early stage had been caught stealing in our camp. Abas Kupi had threatened him with death, but I had interceded on his behalf, because he was a gay rogue, and had saved him from his deserts by accepting responsibility for his future conduct. Thereafter he protected my belongings as if they had been the Holy Grail, and attended to my campaigning comforts with almost motherly devotion. Other people's

[1] [Aqif Llesh, a life-time opponent of Zog, cf. cat. nb. p. 133 -- Analyst.]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

VI

WAR ON TWO FRONTS

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> The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderberg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the Pope, the King of Naples and the Venetian Republic would join in the defence of a free and Christian people who guarded the sea coast of the Adriatic and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy.
>
> GIBBON: *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (Chapter LXVII)

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*669 ● 643 701

THE affairs of the Albanian Nationalists drew swiftly on towards their crisis. On the 18th August Fikri Dine and General Prenk Previsi, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, drove out from Tirana and were conducted to Abas Kupi's headquarters. It was only a few days since Fikri had cut off the funds and food supplies of the Zogists in a last attempt to compel Abas Kupi's submission to his government. Now he and the General were come almost as suppliants to confess their failure to obtain arms or money from the Germans and their conviction that there was nothing more to be hoped for from a policy of "collaboration". They had played the German card against the Partisans and lost. Now they turned naturally to Abas Kupi to sound him as to his hopes of British support and to learn whether they might still save their skins by rallying to his cause.

*669 186

This was the moment for which Abas Kupi had been waiting through all the years of his struggle in the mountains. In his eyes the creation of a resistance movement and the search for an agreement with the Allied Mission had been but

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

preparations for the day when he could call all Albanians to a general revolt against an enemy too weak ever to regain the initiative. Then, but only then, the military advantage would lie with the insurgents, and the ravages of war would be redeemed by the fruits of victory: power for the leaders and loot for the rank and file. Once before, at the time of the collapse of Italy, he had believed that the time had come and had thrown all his forces into a general revolt. Then, if events had favoured the guerillas, he might have been the arbiter of Albania's destinies, for he had been strong in his own following and had held the balance of power between the Ballists and the Partisans. In those days he had meant to give the "collaborationists" short shrift; but since then the civil war had taken a heavy toll of his strength, and he was now in no position to reject reinforcements from whatever quarter they might come. Fikri and his friends still represented a force to be reckoned with, and, in the eyes of many, their "collaboration" had been all but justified by the fear of Communism which had inspired it. Besides, once they had joined him in the mountains, they would be in his power, and he would be the master. With their support he would make good the losses of the civil war and might hope to do great execution among the retreating Germans. Thereafter the British could no longer refuse him their help, and he would thus be strong enough to compel Enver Hoja to come to terms.

669* 186

Abas Kupi therefore proposed to his two visitors that the leaders of the Government and of the Balli Kombetar should leave Tirana with all their forces and join him in the mountains to attack the Germans. If they complied he would give them his protection and allocate to them a share of such supplies as he might receive from the British. If they refused he would still take the field alone, but would then regard them as his enemies. All afternoon the three debated this proposal and the Prime Minister and the Commander-in-Chief saw little alternative but to accept. Bitter experience, however, had taught them to distrust the friendship of Great Powers, and, before committing themselves to the precarious refuge of the mountains, they wanted to be sure that Abas Kupi's hopes of

669* 643 701

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 ● 643 701

British support were more likely of fulfilment than those which they had once founded upon the Germans. They asked, therefore, for assurances that the British command would support their operations with military supplies, and would view their defection to the Allied cause with favour. If the Agha could obtain such assurances from the British Mission they would accept his proposal, and he might count on them as on his own men.

*669 648

As soon as Fikri and the General were gone, Abas Kupi despatched a messenger to summon us to an urgent meeting. Accordingly we set out in Ihsan's carriage on the following evening, and, driving through the night along dusty cart tracks, reached the lonely farm-house where the Agha slept. The hour was too late for discussions, but next morning we went out together to a cool and shaded apple orchard where the master of the house had spread bright-coloured rugs for our conference. There Abas Kupi told us of his meeting with the "collaborationist" leaders and declared himself ready, despite the civil war, to attack the Germans as soon as we should give the assurances which Fikri had required. His proposal corresponded closely to our own most sanguine expectations, but we heard him with affected reserve; for we could not tell what would be the reactions of the staff officers in Bari. We saw, however, that the Agha himself was excited by the prospect of action, and to allay his impatience at once drew up a report for our Headquarters which was enciphered and transmitted in his presence. In this we admitted that British encouragement for the projected concentration of Nationalists under Abas Kupi's command might feed fuel to the flames of civil war. At the same time we were sure that it would contribute to the discomfiture of the Germans, who might otherwise make good their retreat through North Albania with little loss. We also pointed out that the entry of the Nationalists into the war against Germany would provide us with a last opportunity for intervening to stop the civil war and to prevent the incorporation of Albania in the Soviet system.

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When our business was done and we had eaten we left the orchard and went our several ways: Abas Kupi to Kurbenesh to negotiate alliances with its chiefs; Ihsan to Tirana to keep

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 648 to attack the Germans. Meanwhile, leaving Maclean and myself at Topise, Smiley set out with Zogist guides to reconnoitre the approaches to Durazzo.

●643 701 That night, when we had gone, Fikri Dine, General Prenk Previsi, and representatives of the Balli Kombetar drove out from Tirana to the Agha's headquarters to learn of our reply. Their discussions lasted through the night, but before dawn the die was cast. They returned to the capital, and, at noon on the 29th August, Fikri Dine announced the resignation of his government in a proclamation which declared that his efforts to save Albania from Communism had been frustrated by the total absence of German support.

The resignation of the government was the signal for the political leaders to disperse, and completed the isolation of the Germans. They sought to persuade, and at length to compel, the loyalty of their former associates, but when they struck the birds had already flown. Fikri Dine made his way to Dibra, hoping to raise the tribes to his support, but the Partisans were already masters of the region, and the chiefs who had been his friends had gone over to the winning side. For some days he wandered as an outlaw through the lands he had once swayed; but his utmost efforts only rallied to his cause some two hundred men, the remnants of the Dibran gendarmerie. With these he then retired through Mirdita to the Catholic region of Kurbenesh, which lies to the west of Mati. Kurbenesh was the seat of Prenk Previsi's influence, and there Fikri found the general with a body of picked officers and men of the Albanian army. Their combined following was less than five hundred strong — all that remained of the Albanian armed forces.

*669 665 The Ballist leaders meanwhile hesitated to entrust themselves to the Gheg chieftains and went into hiding near, or even in, Tirana, to wait until their forces should arrive from the South. Midhat Frasheri and Ali Klissura were variously reported held or shot by the Germans, but when the smoke of rumour cleared it was found that they were in Shiyak. There Abas Ermenye, the movement's energetic military commander, was concentrating the remnants of the Ballist forces, which presently amounted to some eight hundred men.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

which presently amounted to some eight hundred men. 000

In Tirana the Germans sought desperately for friends among the Albanians; at last, on 6th September, they succeeded in forming the shadow of a government under the presidency of Ibrahim Bey Bichaku. The new administration, however, could not rely on a hundred men; and Ibrahim was recommended for office solely by the affection of the German Minister, with whom he played ping-pong every day. As if to mock the impotence of this government Mustafa Kruya, the "arch-collaborationist", now left for Vienna, never to return. Only Jon Marko Joni still hesitated, but he too abandoned the capital and retired to Scutari to watch the fortunes of the Zogists. The days of "collaboration" were over, and Tirana was become nothing but a German redoubt. 727 643

Meanwhile the Moslem North was up in arms. The Partisans had overrun Dibra; and the Dibran chiefs, many of them former "collaborationists", had been won over to the L.N.C. by their own incomparable opportunism and the wise diplomacy of Mustafa Jinishi. Tsen Elezi and Dan Kalloshi abandoned the Double Eagle for the Red Star; and, under Partisan direction, their forces were variously engaged in the civil war or the war of liberation. Further north in Liuma Muharrem Bairaktar had already taken the field in the last days of August. He had prepared his attack for some weeks and was finally stung to action by an ultimatum from the German commander in Kukes, who demanded the surrender of two Austrian officers who had deserted from their regiment and had sought his protection. The Partisans had not yet entered Liuma, but Muharrem had already conferred with Mustafa Jinishi, and, though he declined to join the L.N.C., he had agreed to full military co-operation with their forces. 669*

But the fiercest struggle against the Germans in all Albania was led by Gani Kryeziu and his brother, Hassan, with the help of Simcox and his Mission. Since the end of July Gani had been receiving arms from our Headquarters; and the communiqués of his operations were broadcast in the Albanian transmissions of Radio Bari. His influence grew with his successes and the knowledge that he enjoyed British support; 186 669*

000 son had been killed in the R.A.F. raid on Petch. The tradition of hospitality, however, proved stronger than a father's resentment; he feasted us on sucking pig and grapes, and placed his house at our disposal. There, in the evening, we were joined 643 by Abas Kupi, who came with Fikri Dine and the leaders of the Balli Kombetar.

Fikri was stocky and dark, with grey, rather lifeless eyes and a greedy mouth. He looked tough; his speech was blunt; his manner arrogant. He was not, however, without subtlety, and we found him possessed of a distinct sense of humour. The first encounter with British officers must have been embarrassing, for a former " collaborationist " premier, but, to our great relief, Fikri sought neither to explain nor to excuse his conduct. Instead he told us the history of his attempts to procure arms and money from the Germans, and, with disarming frankness and a touch of irony, described the causes of his failure. He had tried to exploit them for his own ends, and his only regret was that his intrigues had been foiled. There is an element of exploitation in all politics, and Fikri's rage at being made himself the dupe was so sincere that it could not but compel a certain professional sympathy. When he had done with the past he questioned me anxiously about British policy towards Albania, and his own verdict was not perhaps mistaken.

"I know," he said, " that you English have an interest in our country because we have a sea coast and you are a sea power. Many of us count on that, but I have learnt from bitter experience that in politics little interests are often sacrificed to greater ones."

701 With Fikri came General Prenk Previsi, the Commander-in-Chief of the Albanian army and the paramount influence in Kurbenesh. He was a dark, rather weak-faced man, and wore a blue-green field uniform with red facings and highly polished riding-boots. We thought him a light-opera general, but as yet he took little part in proceedings and remained in the background, surrounded by a group of down-at-heel staff officers.

665 In Malibardhe we also met for the first time Ali Bey Klissura, who stood second only to Midhat Frasheri in the Balli Kombetar. A powerful landowner from the south, Ali

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1943 EG1 Albania EG1

with him at the beginning of the civil war. Such recriminations might appear academic, but they disguised a natural and urgent conflict of interests. The two parties could no longer help each other in Albania; they might soon rend each other in exile; and, now that resistance had ceased, Zogists and Ballists appeared as rivals for British favour, rather than as allies against the Partisans. The Agha had resolved to dissociate himself from men who had "collaborated" with the Germans, but the Ballists still hoped to shelter behind his name. We never asked what passed between them that day; but, when their meeting was over, the Ballist leaders bade us farewell and returned towards the mountains looking like condemned men.

Midhat and Ali were followed by Fikri Dine, who came to discuss the advantages of resistance or flight, and to enquire what reception he might expect from the British if he should land in Italy. Despite his defection to our side we could offer little encouragement to a former "Quisling"; and the Agha advised him to win back in the mountains the reputation he had lost in Tirana. He left us to return to Dibra, but our camp remained a rallying-point for Nationalists of every kind who clung instinctively to Abas Kupi. Among them came a delegation from the Catholic mountaineers of the Maltsia i Madhe, inviting him to organise their resistance against the Partisans. Abas Kupi received them in our presence and declined their proposal, saying:

"It would be against the wishes of the British, and, though they may forsake me, yet I will never turn against them."

5

THE weather had been fine when we came down into the plain; but October is the malarial season, and our nights were plagued by innumerable mosquitoes. Our supplies of quinine were long since exhausted, but we were luckily spared the fever which ravaged the ranks of our Turkomans and Albanians. At first we spent the days out of doors, resting on the bright coloured rugs which our host would spread for us in the sun-

[Constitution]

nation and state, and exercises all the sovereign rights under the constitution with the exception of those rights which the constitution itself has assigned to the Presidium of the People's Convention or to the government. 646

ARTICLE 39

Legislative powers are exercised only by the People's Convention.

ARTICLE 40

The People's Convention is elected by all the citizens, with one representative for every 20,000 people. [666]

ARTICLE 41

The People's Convention is elected for four years.

ARTICLE 42

At the beginning of each session the People's Convention elects a president, vice-president and secretary. The president presides over the meetings according to the rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 43

The People's Convention is called by a decree of the Presidium in ordinary and extraordinary sessions. [643]

Ordinary sessions meet twice annually, March 15 and October 15. If the People's Convention is not called on these two dates, it will meet on its own initiative and without a decree of the Presidium.

Extraordinary sessions of the People's Convention are called when the Presidium deems it necessary or when one-third of the members request its convocation.

ARTICLE 44

The People's Convention makes its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 45

No bill can become a law until it is passed by the relative majority in a session when the majority of its members take part.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 52

The constitution can be changed or amended only by the People's Convention. 642

Bills for changes or amendments in the constitutions may be proposed by the Presidium, the Government, or by two-fifths of the members of the People's Convention.

Changes or amendments to the constitution must be passed by an absolute majority of the members of the Convention.

(b) *The Presidium of the People's Convention*

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ARTICLE 53

The People's Convention elects its own Presidium which shall consist of a president, two-vice-presidents, a secretary, and seven members.

ARTICLE 54

The Presidium of the People's Convention has the following duties:

1. It calls the People's Convention.
2. It designates the elections for the Popular Convention.
3. It makes authentic interpretations as to the constitutionality of the laws. These interpretations are then submitted to the People's Convention for approval.
4. It makes authentic interpretations of the laws and issues decrees.
5. It promulgates the laws passed by the Convention.
6. It exercises the right of pardon in accordance with the prescriptions of the law.
7. It awards decorations and honorary titles upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
8. It ratifies international treaties, except when it considers it necessary for ratification to be made by the People's Convention.

[Constitution]

643

9. It appoints and recalls envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to foreign countries upon recommendation of the Government.
10. It accepts credentials and letters of recall from foreign diplomats.
11. It proclaims general mobilization and declare war in case of armed aggression against the People's Republic of Albania between the two sessions of the People's Convention; in case of urgent necessity it fullfills international obligations of the Republic to the international peace organizations or allied nations.
12. It appoints and dismisses ministers between the two sessions of the People's Convention upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
13. It appoints assistant ministers upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
14. It creates commissions within the government and designates their chairmen upon recommendation of the Prime Misister.
15. It assigns duties to a ministry or to a government commission.
16. On the basis of decisions made by the People's Convention or upon recommendation of the government, it submits various questions to a popular referendum.

The decrees of the Presidium of the People's Convention are signed by the president and by the secretary.

ARTICLE 55

643 646 The Presidium of the People's Convention is responsible for its activities to the People's Convention. The Convention may revoke its Presidium and replace it by another; it may dismiss some members and replace them by others before their term expires.

ARTICLE 56

When the People's Convention is dissolved, the Presidium

[Constitution]

continues in power until another People's Convention elects a new Presidium. 646

The Presidium convokes the People's Convention within one month after its election. 643

TITLE II

Administrative Organs of the State

ARTICLE 57

The Government is the highest executive and administrative organ of the People's Republic of Albania. 645

The government is appointed and dismissed by the People's Convention.

The government is responsible to the People's Convention and must account to it for its activities. Between the two sessions of the People's Convention the government is responsible to the Presidium of the Convention before which it must render full account of its activities.

ARTICLE 58

The government performs its duties according to the constitution and the laws. The government issues the decrees necessary for carrying out laws on the basis of a special authorization; it gives binding instructions for the execution of laws.

Orders, decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government must be signed by the Prime Minister and the minister in charge of the department concerned.

ARTICLE 59

The government directs and coordinates the functioning of the ministries, committees, and all other institutions which come under its jurisdiction.

The government outlines the economic plan of the state, submits the annual budget to the People's Convention for its approval, and supervises its execution; directs the credit and monetary systems; takes all necessary measures to uphold the constitution and the rights of all citizens; directs all military forces; keeps in touch with foreign governments; carries out treaties with foreign countries and other international obliga-

and his assistants are appointed by the People's Convention. 693

District attorneys of the prefectures and subprefectures are appointed by the Attorney General. [646]

ARTICLE 86

All district attorneys are independent of the local governmental units and are responsible only to the Attorney General, from whom they receive orders and instructions.

ARTICLE 87

District attorneys are authorized to initiate penal actions and also to exercise the right of appeal as well as the right to intervene during a judicial or administrative trial. [692] District attorneys can exercise the right of appeal against summary decisions of the courts and other administrative organs when such decisions are illegal.

ARTICLE 88

The district attorney of the military courts of the national army of the People's Republic of Albania and other military attorneys are appointed by the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Republic. [701]

TITLE V

Relation Between the Executive and Administrative Departments

ARTICLE 89

The Presidium of the People's Convention may annul or suspend decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government when they are unconstitutional and illegal. 642

The government may annul or suspend decrees, ordinances, instructions and decisions of ministers when they are contrary to the laws, decrees, instructions and decisions of the government.

ARTICLE 90

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may suspend any illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils. 643 631

[Constitution]

643 The government or the ministers may annul or suspend
631 any illegal or irregular act of the executive committees. The higher executive committees have the same right over the lower executive committees.

The people's councils may annul or suspend any illegal or irregular act of their own executive committees.

The government and the executive committees of the higher people's councils may suspend the execution of every illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils or may propose the annulment of such acts.

ARTICLE 91

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may dissolve the lower people's councils and authorize new elections. Likewise they may suspend executive committees of the lower people's councils and order elections of new executive committees.

TITLE VI

The National Army

ARTICLE 92

701 The National Army is the armed force of the People's Republic of Albania. Its duty is to defend the independence of the state and the freedom of the people.

The army defends the frontiers of the state and guarantees internal peace and security.

ARTICLE 93

The Supreme Commander of the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania is appointed by the People's Convention.

The Supreme Commander directs all the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania.

PART THREE

186 *The Seal, Flag, and Capital City*

ARTICLE 94

The seal of the People's Republic of Albania depicts a field

[Constitution]

enclosed by two sheaves of wheat. The sheaves are tied at the bottom with a ribbon on which is written the date, May 24, 1944. 186

Between the tips of the ears of wheat there is a red pentagonic star. In the center of the field is a black double-headed eagle.

ARTICLE 95

The official flag of the People's Republic of Albania has a red field, in the center of which is a black double-headed eagle. Over the eagle is a pentagonic star, embroidered in gold. The length and breadth of the flag is one by one and forty.

ARTICLE 96

The capital city of the People's Republic of Albania is Tirana. 633

Tirana, March 14, 1946

The Secretary
Sali Mborja

The President of the Constituent Assembly 000
(signed) Tuk Jakova

Presidium of the Constituent Assembly

Decree No. 24

Tirana, March 15, 1946

Promulgation of the Constitution of The People's Republic of Albania

According to Law No. 195 of January 12, 1946, the Presidium of the Constituent Assembly decrees the promulgation of the constitution of the People's Republic of Albania, as approved by the Constituent Assembly of March 14, 1946. 643

Dr. Omer Nishani
General Lt. Kochi Xoxe
General Major Myslim Peza
Nako Spiru
Sami Baholli
General Col. Enver Hoxha
Dr. Medar Shtylla
Prof. S. Maleshova
Col. Ramadan Chitaku
Dr. Manol Konomi
Hasan Pulo
Qiriako Harito
Pandi Kristo

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

Communism came to this land not because of the abuses of capitalism or because of a yearning of workers to unite, but through a political movement which developed against the background of the World War. The independence of the country and the inviolability of its boundaries were guaranteed by the peace treaties after the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. At the same time the Great Powers held that Italy had a special diplomatic and strategic stake in the welfare of her neighbor across the Adriatic Sea. As a result Italian interests in Albania expanded greatly after 1920, and to every intent and purpose the foreign trade of the two countries was pooled. But Yugoslavia naturally sought to challenge the primacy of Italy in the Adriatic area, and its support is held to have largely made it possible for Ahmed Zogu, Prime Minister in a government constituted as a Regency, to take over the rule of the country during 1924. Shortly thereafter, a Republic was proclaimed, and Zogu was elected President for a term of seven years. A skillful diplomat and political leader, he improved relations with both Greece and Yugoslavia, and signed the Treaty of Tirana in 1926 with Italy. This, accompanied by a sizable grant of financial assistance from Italian banks, gave recognition to the common interest of both countries in maintaining the independence of Albania. A year later they entered a defensive alliance. When it was alleged that these developments conceded to Mussolini rights which he exploited unduly, Zogu curbed the opposition with dramatic swiftness. He proclaimed himself King, on September 1, 1928, and was responsible for a constitution which recognized no political liberties but insured freedom of religion. Zogu, a benevolent dictator, made an honest effort to improve the cultural and economic life of the country, building roads, fostering health and hygiene, erecting schools, fighting a vigorous battle against illiteracy,

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

648 and modernizing the banking system. Albania even acquired
643 a radio station, and air travel became a reality. The King
175 brought in foreign experts, particularly Austrians. Some of them I have known; and while they had the usual reservations about the political institutions of Albania, they respected his energy and sincerity of social purpose.

648 At this point Mussolini was unfortunately smitten with
175 irrational imperialist ambition: if Hitler could have his empire of the master race, he himself was called upon to reconstruct the dominions of ancient Rome. Italian troops landed in Albania on April 7, 1939, shortly after the fall of France. They quickly overpowered the small defense army, and Zogu had to seek refuge abroad. The crown was thereupon offered to King Victor Emmanuel III, of Italy, who docilely accepted it. It is worth noting that the reception accorded the Italians was not too unfriendly, because some sections of the population expected to profit from the political change. Using Albania as an advance base, the Duce attacked Greece on October 28, 1940; but the valiant Greeks put his armies to rout and occupied nearly half of Albania. The Germans, defeating Yugoslavia, took over the rest of Albania, but confined themselves to routine control. Two resistance movements were formed, the one pro-Zogu and primarily against Italy, and the other Communist with the Germans as its principal target. The second, the National Liberation Front, was the stronger, primarily because it boldly drafted men into its partisan forces and because it maintained ruthless discipline. British commandos in the Adriatic therefore quite naturally aided it. As a result, the Front was able to assume control of
175 the country as soon as the Germans retreated.

648 The provisional government formed by General Enver
642 Hoxha, commander in chief of the National Liberation Front, was recognized by the United States, Great Britain, and Rus-

Ahmed Zogou

Ahmed Zogou is still in the early thirties. He is a strong 643
man and consequently has enemies, and several attempts have already been made upon his life. The story goes that on one occasion he was shot at and wounded in two places whilst presiding at a sitting of the Chamber. Taking his revolver from his pocket he placed it on the table in front of him and proceeded with the business in hand—whereupon

FETCHING WATER

the deputies as one man rose to their feet with arms upraised. They were taking no chances.

The Hotel Internationale being full, I obtained quarters 485
at the Hotel Continental.[1] This is the hotel fancied by the English and is run on modern lines. It even possesses that extreme rarity, a bathroom—probably, with the exception of one at the British Legation, the only one in

[1] [in Tirana -- Analyst]

124 elders,[4] 8 *bairaktars*,[5] and 5 retainers of a tribal
619 prince, Jon Markajon of Mirdita (fig. 10, *a*). 1
[463] Except for the chief elder of Karashegeç in Has, who was a baker, all of the elders, chief elders, and *bairaktars* were farmers. The baker was "mayor" of a village of bakers, outside the mountain area. All of these men were locals, born of local fathers and mothers taken from within the father's tribe. Preferences are thus shown for (a) agriculture as against handicrafts or trade, and (b) local as against outside descent.

Jon Markajon, the only tribal chief whom we met, and who entertained us very well at his capital in Orosh, would not allow us to measure him, although he summoned all of his subjects from nearby villages. The 5 retainers whom we measured in his house constituted his princely staff. Three of them were part-time farmers, and 2, full-time political employees. What their exact duties and titles
619 were, we did not determine. The ancient
642 tribal government of Ghegnia, if we may judge by the example of Mirdita, the one tribe in which it survived more or less intact until 1929, consisted of a graded hierarchy with three steps—elders and their chief, *bairaktars*, and tribal prince. Attached to the prince was his staff of special messengers, chamberlains, and guards.

The tribal government was in the hands of the prince and his council, which consisted of all of the elders of the tribe, with their chief elders, and the *bairaktars*. The heads of large and powerful households, even if they held no
[623] formal office, would be included. The council met in cases of murder within the tribe, of intertribal warfare, invasion, or other crises involving violence. It also met to decide on its own composition, i.e., to hear the petitions of neighboring *bairaks* to join it.

619 The strength of the prince as compared to
643 that of the council depended on the former's personality. During the last 50 years, for example, Mirdita has been ruled by the following princes: Bib Doda, a great and powerful man who died about 1913; Preng Bib Doda, his son, who was killed shortly after in a blood

[4] Nine from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Has, 4 Mirdita, 4 Zadrima, 3 Mati, and 1 Dibra.

1 [see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

619 643 feud; his cousin, Marka Gjoni, a weak character; his son, Jon Markajon, the incumbent in 1929, a man powerful enough to maintain the tribal system in defiance of the central government, to have his men exempted from military service and taxation, and to exact from Ahmed Zog an annual stipend in return for which he would keep his men quiet.

634 619 Each tribe in Ghegnia is an aggregation of *bairaks*. In 1929 we found 13 *bairaks* in Malsia e Madhe, 6 in Dukagin, 7 in Malsia e Jakovës, 2 in Has, 5 in Luma, 7 in Puka, 5 in Mirdita, one in Zadrima, 4 in Mati, 4 in Dibra, making 54 in all. The names of these, as recorded on our measurement blanks, are:

Malsia e Madhe: Klementi, Gruda, Hoti, Kastrati, Koplik, Greisha, Shkrelli, Riola, Reçi, Loya, Postripa, Triepsh, and Kraja.
Dukagin: Shoshi, Shala, Kiri, Dushman, Pulati, Toplana.
Malsia e Jakovës: Krasniqi, Gashi, Bituç, Marina, Vunshaj, Merturi, Nakaj.
Has: Vlana, Ershan.
Luma: Biçani, Kalishi, Ujmisht, Dolovisht, Çaja (Gorë, a Serbian-speaking *bairak*, is sometimes also counted with Luma).
Puka: Kabash, Puka, Çerer, Mal i Zi, Berisha, Buxhon, Iballja.
Mirdita: Dibri, Fan, Orosh, Speç, Kushnen.
Zadrima: Zadrima.
Mati: Mat, Lura, Kthella, Selita.
Dibra: Reçi, Stashani, Sheheri Poshtar, Sheheri Epert.

This list cannot be wrong in the cases of Puka and Mirdita, for the members of these tribes use the names *shtat bairaket* and *pes bairaket*, meaning *seven bairaks* and *five bairaks*, to designate their tribes. In Luma, Malsia e Jakovës, and Malsia e Madhe the picture is complicated by the presence of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, which not only cuts through *bairaks*, but has caused wholesale migrations and flights within the lifetimes of the subjects measured. Dozens of *fis* of a few households each have shifted about, and it is hard to tell to which *bairak* each belonged at the time the series was measured.

619 634 114 Miss Durham, who made her observations between 1908–13, some 20 years ahead of

* Three from Malsia e Madhe, 1 Malsia e Jakovës, 1 Puka, 1 Mirdita, 2 Dibra. All of these except the Mirdita man bore reserve titles.

175 a few roads and bridges, and found time to do some anthropometry.

642 After the war Albania became a republic, with a parliament. Feudal and tribal, illiterate and immobilized by the lack of roads, the people were not prepared for self-government.

643 After a number of violent episodes Ahmed Zog, son of the *bairaktar* of Mat in the tribe of Mati, became dictator, and in 1929 proclaimed himself king. Hated by the people of Elbasan because he had jilted the daughter of Verlatsi, their most prominent citizen, he was despised by his fellow mountaineers and by the Tosks as well, most of whom saw in his rule a threat to their freedom. On the rare occasions when he dared leave his palace, he had all roofs and windows searched and guarded, and even the cypress trees searched; and then he sent a double ahead of him.

He did, however, make a number of wise moves. One was to employ Colonel Stirling, famed as a companion of Lawrence in Arabia, as his personal adviser. Another was to employ General von Mirdach of the Austrian army to set up his military machine. A third was to give the British General Percy a free

625 hand in organizing a gendarmerie. General Percy brought with him a staff of British officers, which included Colonel Martin and Major Glegg. These experienced men selected an elite group of mountaineers to police the highroads, and to report and put down trouble. For the first time in history someone was taking intelligent steps to rid the mountains of feuding.

[124] We measured 62 of these gendarmes, all local men. Twenty-one came from Luma, 17 from Mati, 10 from Puka, 6 from Malsia e Jakovës, 4 from Dibra, 3 from Dukagin, and one from Malsia e Madhe. The British officers very wisely used Ghegs in Gheg country. To have introduced outsiders would have made trouble. Many of the men were serving within their own tribes and *bairaks*; too often they were in blood elsewhere. This new occupation for mountaineers gave them a chance to see more of the world than before, for they were required to train in Tirana or Scutari. Although the gendarme system made little or no direct change in the genetics of the mountaineers, for these men marry as their fathers

[World War I -- Analyst]

625 did, it let in new traders, craftsmen, and government officials, by the mere fact that the gendarmes secured the road and put down banditry.

631 643 In a vain attempt to deal the tribal system a deathblow, King Zog abolished all of the old divisions and boundaries, and all of the old system of government. He divided Albania into provinces, deliberately cutting across tribes and *bairaks* and ignoring natural geographical frontiers as completely as did the 1913 boundary commission.[1] Kukës and Peshkopia became centers of administration, as did a remote hamlet in Mati named Bureli. In these new places he set up prefects and secretaries and soldiers.

124 We measured one "secretary of commune" in Mirdita, whom the tribesmen ignored. He was a native of Elbasan. He employed a local man to guard the telephone line, his only link with the extra-feudal world. In Bureli we measured a secretary of court and a schoolteacher, both Mati natives. Others whom we did not measure were outsiders. In Kukës we measured a government clerk, a schoolteacher, and a turnkey in the jail. In Peshkopia our score was 3 government clerks, 2 Big Dibra men and one local; a secretary of court, from Big Dibra; and a local country schoolteacher.

These 7 civil service employees whom we included in our series were all the products of the imposition of Zog's government on the Mountain Ghegs. Of these only 4 came from outside the area. Three of these were part of the group that fled Big Dibra after 1913.

000 The history of the mountain people of northern Albania since 1930, while interesting, is beyond the scope of this report. Some later anthropologist may study it with profit to discover the changes, technological, institutional, and anatomical, which may have taken place since our series was measured. Before moving on, we offer the following summary of the

105 preceding chapters:[2]

1. As far as we know these mountains were uninhabited before 500 B.C. They were first effectively settled at this time or a little later by Illyrian-speaking Hallstatt Iron Age people moving southward and eastward from Bosnia.

2. The majority of the Hallstatt people in

[1] [See cat 116, p. 46a -- Analyst]

[2] [See cat 116, pp. 3b-46a -- Analyst] -47a

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania E61

000 which we know the least; and much of what we think we know is rumor or conjecture.

Albanians are accustomed to having the world know little about their affairs, and are even accustomed to the rôle of satellite—though their national spirit, which exists in spite of the vivacity of their religious and tribal conflicts, forbids one from saying that they are reconciled to it. The last time I was in the country, a good many years ago, Italy and Jugoslavia were contending for predominance. Italy won, expelled King Zog and in 1939 annexed the country. Ciano has recorded the arrival in Rome of the sad-faced group of Albanians summoned to make obeisance to the Duce, lacking only the iron collars of the slaves that used to grace the old imperial triumphs. But after Mussolini was hung up by his heels and Tito was accepted as one of the Allied victors all this was rectified. The new
665 Albanian dictator, Enver Hoxha (pronounced Hodzha), was a
643 Communist guerrilla who had been in contact with the Jugoslav
648 Partisans during the war. Indeed, an emissary from Tito, Miladin Popovich, is credited with having organized the Albanian Communists into a unified party in November 1941. Hoxha was an original member, and Tito's influence over him, dating from that time, endured until the Cominform row broke the Communist world front in 1948. Though Hoxha was never Tito's creature to the extent that the successors to Zog had been Mussolini's, he looked to Jugoslavia from the start for almost everything in the way of practical relief, technical assistance and even funds. From Moscow he received, apart from a small military mission, only remote ideological control and the prestige of enjoying at second hand the patronage which Stalin accorded Tito.

000 While Jugoslavia herself was an obedient satellite this seemed to be satisfactory to Moscow. Soviet enthusiasm for what was being done in Albania was reflected in the Moscow press. Take, for example, this report published in *Trud* in April 1948 from a special correspondent who had just visited the country:

> In the Democratic Front, a political organization has been created that unites all the forces of the people. . . . Agrarian reform has been effected, putting an end to the feudal system of landownership. . . . Industrial enterprises, transportation, communications, etc., in the coun-

644

HER MAJESTY THE LATE QUEEN MOTHER

P. iv

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E-G1

644

Sisters of His Majesty King Zog I

RIGHT TO LEFT:

HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS NAFIE AND HER IMPERIAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS SENIE

p.vi(a)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Sisters of His Majesty King Zog I

RIGHT TO LEFT:
THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES PRINCESS RUHIE (RUHIJE), PRINCESS MAXHIDE (MADJIDE) AND PRINCESS MUZEJEN (MYZEJEN).

p. vi(a)

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

644

THE ROYAL PALACE IN TIRANA

(facing p. 58)

361 this height have the appearance of a colorful checkerboard of the gods.

363 Tirana also has many modern boulevards, recently laid, equalling the cement boulevards of any cosmopolitan city, as well as all the modern conveniences that one finds in other capitals of the world.

367 In the large city park, music is provided every afternoon by the Royal Court Orchestra and where people promenade to the strains of Beethoven, Puccini, Strauss and Wagner.

In the center of Tirana is located the beautiful Royal Palace, lying in the midst of an immense, well-cared for garden. This garden 351 is one of the show places of Tirana and has a large collection of rare flowers.

344 Also in the central part of the city in a vast square are to be found a group of modern and most convenient office buildings, wherein the various departments of the government—the Prime Minister's office, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, the Ministry for Interior Affairs, the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of National Economy, the Ministry of Public Instructions, the Ministry of Public Works, the Parliament and others—are housed.

000 All foreign legations, except that of Great

Khamko, changed him from a wild, rapacious and almost incorrigible youth into an intelligent and judicious young man after the death of his father. Through her influential connections—she was related to many well known families of Albania—she exercised her strength of character which gave to Ali Pasha everything that he was to have.

A modern magnificent example of Albanian womanhood was the mother of the present ruler. At the death of her husband, Sadié, daughter of Emin Bey Toptani, a member of one of the most illustrious and ruling families of Central Albania, was left with her ten-year-old son, now King of the Albanians, and six daughters. Without counting the costs and led on by her courageous spirit, she assumed the leadership of the people of her adopted district of Mati and through her keen sense of judgment, resourcefulness and integrity and her instinctive knowledge of statescraft, she ably ruled the district while her son was away in school. She well merits the extravagant praise that she receives for she was no ordinary woman. Queen Mother Sadié displayed the highest qualities of character and purpose that were no less noble than those

644 of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great.

The late Queen Mother aided her people to an unlimited extent, without rest or pause. She showed marvelous ability of leadership in the darkest days of Albania. She earned the everlasting gratitude of the people. And today her resting place is one of veneration and pilgrimage.

After King Zog ascended the throne, the Queen Mother and her six daughters devoted themselves to helping their fellowmen. Of these six daughters, one is a widow, two others are married and the three remaining are single.

644 741 575 Before her death, the Queen Mother gave large donations and devoted her time towards the organization of women movements, charitable institutions, orphanages, hospitals and similar activities for the welfare of the Albanian people at large. It was this beloved Queen Mother and her daughter, Princess Senié, who were directly responsible for the creation and organization on a modern basis of the Albanian Red Cross. Also through the work of the Queen Mother and Princess Senié, the Albanian National Women's Society, the

ALBANIAN WOMEN

"Gruja Shqipëtare," came into existence in 575
1929, as the first woman's organization in 644
Albania. This Society has branches through- 741
out the country, not only with the object to educate the women and children and further the interests of womanhood, but also to donate clothing, food and warmth to the needy. The Queen Mother also encouraged the organization of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

The Princesses Muzejen, Madjidé and Ruhijé are directly responsible and can justly be proud of the work they have done and are doing for the furtherance of the arts, music, sports and allied subjects. These three sisters of King Zog are active participants and patronesses of the National Union of Albanian Youth.

Princess Madjidé (Maxhidé), who takes a keen interest in sports, does much to further the interests and welfare of the Albanian youth. She has aptly been chosen as the patroness of the Royal Albanian Touring and Automobile Club.

The proper upbringing and education of 644
their children occupies most of the time of the Princesses Adilé and Nafié, but they never

644 fail to contribute their assistance to whatever is being done for Albanian womanhood and youth.

Therefore, there is little wonder that the six sisters of King Zog are so well-beloved by all Albanians.

562 The moral code of the Albanians is sharply drawn in respect to their women. It is considered a very grave breach of etiquette to make them the object of jokes or stories. Any unfaithfulness on the part of Albanian women is very, very rare. However, under certain specified reasons, as provided by law, divorces are possible both in the Moslem and Christian religions.

814 The intellectual occupations also attract the
562 attention of Albanian women. It is thus that Albanian erudition is honored with the presence of a woman, Dora d'Istra, who has written numerous volumes that are authorities, such as "La Suisse allemande et l'Ascension du Moenich," "La Vie monastique dans l'Eglise Orientale," "Les Femmes en Orient," etc. This capable writer is an ardent feminist, in the sensible use of the word and she has done much in directing the Albanian women to intellectual freedom.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

646 who is in full possession of all his citizenship rights and can read and write the Albanian language, may be elected as a deputy.

641 All citizens are equal before the law and their citizenship and political rights secured.

425 Confiscation of property is definitely abolished.

659 The State recognizes no official religion, all religions are equal and have full rights and receive equally favorable treatment in every respect.

641 Foreigners enjoy equal rights with Albanian citizens, except they cannot vote nor hold parliamentary and certain other offices.

645 The official business of the State is carried on by the eight Ministries, namely: Ministry of Interior Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Brëndëshme), Ministry of Justice (Ministria e Drejtësisë), Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme), Ministry of Public Instructions (Ministria e Arësimit), Ministry of Finance (Ministria e Financave), Ministry of National Economy (Ministria e Ekonomisë Kombëtare), Ministry of Public Works (Ministria e Punëve Botore), and Ministry of National Defense (Ministria Komonda e Përgjithshme e Mprojtjes Kombëtare).

[Constitution]

continues in power until another People's Convention elects a new Presidium. 646

The Presidium convokes the People's Convention within one month after its election. 643

TITLE II

Administrative Organs of the State

ARTICLE 57

The Government is the highest executive and administrative organ of the People's Republic of Albania. 645

The government is appointed and dismissed by the People's Convention.

The government is responsible to the People's Convention and must account to it for its activities. Between the two sessions of the People's Convention the government is responsible to the Presidium of the Convention before which it must render full account of its activities.

ARTICLE 58

The government performs its duties according to the constitution and the laws. The government issues the decrees necessary for carrying out laws on the basis of a special authorization; it gives binding instructions for the execution of laws.

Orders, decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government must be signed by the Prime Minister and the minister in charge of the department concerned.

ARTICLE 59

The government directs and coordinates the functioning of the ministries, committees, and all other institutions which come under its jurisdiction.

The government outlines the economic plan of the state, submits the annual budget to the People's Convention for its approval, and supervises its execution; directs the credit and monetary systems; takes all necessary measures to uphold the constitution and the rights of all citizens; directs all military forces; keeps in touch with foreign governments; carries out treaties with foreign countries and other international obliga-

[Constitution]

.645 tions; submits bills prepared by the government and by various ministries to the People's Convention; decides on how ministries and other government institutions shall be organized; and creates committees to execute economic, cultural, and defensive measures on a national scale.

ARTICLE 60

The government is composed of the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Ministers, the Chairman of the Committee for Economic Planning, and the Chairman of the Commitee of Control.

The members of the government take the oath of office before the Presidium of the People's Convention.

ARTICLE 61

The Prime Minister represents the government, presides over all meetings, and directs all the activities of the government.

ARTICLE 62

The members of the government head the various administrative departments of the State.

The Cabinet may have also Ministers without portfolio.

ARTICLE 63

[687] Members of the government are held criminally responsible for the violation of the constitution or any other law in the performance of their duties.

They are also responsible for any damage they may cause the state for acting contrary to law.

The exact responsibilities of members of the government will be stated in a special law.

ARTICLE 64

Ministers and government committees are authorized to issue orders, regulations, and instructions relating to laws and decrees of the government.

Each minister supervises the execution of the governmental laws, decrees, and instructions in his own department and is held responsible for their execution in his particular administrative branch.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 65

The various ministries of the government are: 645

1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
2. Ministry of the Interior
3. Ministry of National Defense
4. Ministry of Justice
5. Ministry of Finance
6. Ministry of Education
7. Ministry of Economy
8. Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
9. Ministry of Public Works
10. Ministry of Health

ARTICLE 66

The government may appoint a special Council of Ministers to deal with questions of national economy and defense.

The decree by which this Council is appointed shall determine its organization and scope.

TITLE III

Organs of the Local Governmental Units

ARTICLE 67

The people's councils are the governmental units in rural 631
districts, communes, subprefectures, and prefectures.

The people's councils are elected directly by the people: [666]
those of the rural districts for two years and those of the communes, subprefectures, and prefectures, for three years.

The people's councils of the communes, subprefectures, and prefectures hold regular meetings according to special regulations.

ARTICLE 68

The people's councils direct their own administrative 632
affairs, are responsible for economic and cultural matters 623
within their jurisdiction, maintain order, see that the laws

[Constitution]

TITLE IV

Courts and Department of the Attorney General

(a) *Courts* 692

ARTICLE 75

The judicial organs of the People's Republic of Albania are: The Supreme Court, the People's Courts of the prefectures and subprefectures, and the Military Courts.

Special Courts may be created by law for specific questions. [698]

ARTICLE 76

The courts give their decisions in the name of the people.

The courts are independent in the exercise of their own functions. They are separated from all the administrative branches of government. Their decisions cannot be altered except by higher courts.

The higher courts are empowered within the law to control lower courts.

The Ministry of Justice directs and controls all matters of judicial administration and organization. [645]

ARTICLE 77

The courts try cases according to law. 695

ARTICLE 78

In principle, court sessions are open to the public.

ARTICLE 79

In principle, the decisions of the courts are given for the entire bench. The judicial personnel of the subprefectures and prefectures sitting as a court of original jurisdiction is composed of permanent judges and juries, both of whom have equal rights.

Penal verdicts of more than ten years cannot be given by a court of original jurisdiction but only by a court of the prefecture or by a higher court.

ARTICLE 80

The official language in all courts is Albanian. 191 695

System of Government

642 ALBANIA is a democratic, constitutional, hereditary monarchy, ruled by a king of the ancient dynasty of the Zogus of Mati, which family was interrelated by marriage in the fifteenth century with Scanderbeg the Great, Albania's national hero-king.

643 According to the Constitution, the monarchy is hereditary in the male line in the Zogu dynasty. In case of the absence of a direct heir, the ruling king designates, with the approval of Parliament, his own successor from the male line of his family.

The king names the Prime Minister and the cabinet.

646 Parliament is composed of a House of Representatives, deputies to which are elected by free, equal, universal and direct suffrage of all male citizens. One deputy for every 15,000 population is elected for the term of four years. Parliament consists now of 56[1] deputies.

Any citizen of 30 years of age and over,

[1] [Errata: should be 58.[76] Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116--Analyst]

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

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641 All citizens are equal before the law and their citizenship and political rights secured.

425 Confiscation of property is definitely abolished.

659 The State recognizes no official religion, all religions are equal and have full rights and receive equally favorable treatment in every respect.

641 Foreigners enjoy equal rights with Albanian citizens, except they cannot vote nor hold parliamentary and certain other offices.

645 The official business of the State is carried on by the eight Ministries, namely: Ministry of Interior Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Brëndëshme), Ministry of Justice (Ministria e Drejtësisë), Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme), Ministry of Public Instructions (Ministria e Arësimit), Ministry of Finance (Ministria e Financave), Ministry of National Economy (Ministria e Ekonomisë Kombëtare), Ministry of Public Works (Ministria e Punëve Botore), and Ministry of National Defense (Ministria Komonda e Përgjithshme e Mprojtjes Kombëtare).

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 32

641 Defense of the country is the highest duty and greatest privilege of any citizen.

[687] Treachery against the people is the greatest crime.

Military service is obligatory for all citizens.

ARTICLE 33

651 Every citizen must pay taxes according to his income.

The state fixes taxes, and exemption from the same is determined by law.

ARTICLE 34

687 Citizens cannot use the rights given them by this constitution in order to change the constitutional regime of the People's Republic of Albania in an undemocratic manner. Any act of this kind is illegal and carries with it punishment as prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 35

563 In the People's Republic of Albania national minorities enjoy all the rights enjoyed by other citizens as well as freedom to use their own language and develop their own culture.

ARTICLE 36

641 The People's Republic of Albania gives the right of refuge to citizens of other countries who are persecuted for their activities in behalf of democracy, national liberation, rights of the workers, or scientific and cultural freedom.

PART TWO
STATE ORGANIZATIONS

TITLE I
Highest Organs of the State

646 (a) People's Convention

ARTICLE 37

The People's Convention (Parliament) is the highest organ of the state of the People's Republic of Albania.

ARTICLE 38

The People's Convention maintains the sovereignty of the

[Constitution]

nation and state, and exercises all the sovereign rights under the constitution with the exception of those rights which the constitution itself has assigned to the Presidium of the People's Convention or to the government. 646

ARTICLE 39

Legislative powers are exercised only by the People's Convention.

ARTICLE 40

The People's Convention is elected by all the citizens, with one representative for every 20,000 people. [666]

ARTICLE 41

The People's Convention is elected for four years.

ARTICLE 42

At the beginning of each session the People's Convention elects a president, vice-president and secretary. The president presides over the meetings according to the rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 43

The People's Convention is called by a decree of the Presidium in ordinary and extraordinary sessions. [643]

Ordinary sessions meet twice annually, March 15 and October 15. If the People's Convention is not called on these two dates, it will meet on its own initiative and without a decree of the Presidium.

Extraordinary sessions of the People's Convention are called when the Presidium deems it necessary or when one-third of the members request its convocation.

ARTICLE 44

The People's Convention makes its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 45

No bill can become a law until it is passed by the relative majority in a session when the majority of its members take part.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 46

646 Laws become effective fifteen days after they are promulgated in the official Journal, except when it is designated otherwise in the law itself.

ARTICLE 47

The People's Convention appoints various committees for specific purposes.

The People's Convention appoints a committee to examine the credentials of the people's representatives in its first session.

Upon recommendation of this committee the People's convention approves or rejects the credentials of the people's representatives.

ARTICLE 48

The People's Convention may investigate matters of general interest through special committees.

All organs of the state must give facts and information when these committees demand it.

ARTICLE 49

All members of the People's Convention enjoy parliamentary immunity.

Members of the People's Convention and of the Presidium cannot be arrested or prosecuted without the approval of the People's Convention, except in case of *flagrante delicto*.

ARTICLE 50

In case of war or similar emergency the People's Convention may convene longer than its normal term so long as the emergency exists.

The People's Convention may also shorten its term.

ARTICLE 51

[666] The date for new parliamentary election must be fixed before the convention dissolves.

The interval between the day of dissolution of the People's Convention and the day of the new elections must not exceed three months nor be less than two months.

[Constitution]

643

9. It appoints and recalls envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to foreign countries upon recommendation of the Government.
10. It accepts credentials and letters of recall from foreign diplomats.
11. It proclaims general mobilization and declare war in case of armed aggression against the People's Republic of Albania between the two sessions of the People's Convention; in case of urgent necessity it fullfills international obligations of the Republic to the international peace organizations or allied nations.
12. It appoints and dismisses ministers between the two sessions of the People's Convention upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
13. It appoints assistant ministers upon recommendation of the Prime Minister.
14. It creates commissions within the government and designates their chairmen upon recommendation of the Prime Misister.
15. It assigns duties to a ministry or to a government commission.
16. On the basis of decisions made by the People's Convention or upon recommendation of the government, it submits various questions to a popular referendum.

The decrees of the Presidium of the People's Convention are signed by the president and by the secretary.

ARTICLE 55

643 The Presidium of the People's Convention is responsible
646 for its activities to the People's Convention. The Convention may revoke its Presidium and replace it by another; it may dismiss some members and replace them by others before their term expires.

ARTICLE 56

When the People's Convention is dissolved, the Presidium

9: Albania (no date) 1946 EG1 Albania EG1

[Constitution]

continues in power until another People's Convention elects a new Presidium. 646

The Presidium convokes the People's Convention within one month after its election. 643

TITLE II

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The government performs its duties according to the constitution and the laws. The government issues the decrees necessary for carrying out laws on the basis of a special authorization; it gives binding instructions for the execution of laws.

Orders, decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government must be signed by the Prime Minister and the minister in charge of the department concerned.

ARTICLE 59

The government directs and coordinates the functioning of the ministries, committees, and all other institutions which come under its jurisdiction.

The government outlines the economic plan of the state, submits the annual budget to the People's Convention for its approval, and supervises its execution; directs the credit and monetary systems; takes all necessary measures to uphold the constitution and the rights of all citizens; directs all military forces; keeps in touch with foreign governments; carries out treaties with foreign countries and other international obliga-

[Constitution]

191 Any citizen who does not know Albanian may use his own
695 language through an interpreter.

ARTICLE 81

692 The Supreme Court is elected for four years by the People's Convention of the Republic and by secret ballot.

The courts of the prefectures are elected for three years by the people's councils of the prefecture and by secret ballot.

[666] The judges of the subprefectures are also elected for three years by the people's councils of the subprefecture and by secret ballot.

A person may be elected judge many times.

The manner of election to all courts will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 82

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial body of the People's Republic of Albania.

[698] The Supreme Court can arbitrate any conflict of jurisdiction between the civil and military courts as well as between courts and any other bodies.

Cases in which the Supreme Court acts as a court of original or secondary jurisdiction will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 83

The Supreme Court passes on the legality of all court decisions of the Republic.

693 Only the District Attorney may exercise an appeal
[692] against a summary decision of the courts. The decision given on such an appeal has no effect on the cause tried except when the law provides otherwise.

(b) *Department of the Attorney General*

ARTICLE 84

693 The Department of the Attorney General is the organ of
646 the People's Convention which supervises the execution of the law by the ministries and other administrative bodies as well as by all public officials and citizens.

ARTICLE 85

The Attorney General of the People's Republic of Albania

[Constitution]

and his assistants are appointed by the People's Convention. 693

District attorneys of the prefectures and subprefectures are appointed by the Attorney General. [646]

ARTICLE 86

All district attorneys are independent of the local governmental units and are responsible only to the Attorney General, from whom they receive orders and instructions.

ARTICLE 87

District attorneys are authorized to initiate penal actions and also to exercise the right of appeal as well as the right to intervene during a judicial or administrative trial. District attorneys can exercise the right of appeal against summary decisions of the courts and other administrative organs when such decisions are illegal. [692]

ARTICLE 88

The district attorney of the military courts of the national army of the People's Republic of Albania and other military attorneys are appointed by the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Republic. [701]

TITLE V

Relation Between the Executive and Administrative Departments

ARTICLE 89

The Presidium of the People's Convention may annul or suspend decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government when they are unconstitutional and illegal. 642

The government may annul or suspend decrees, ordinances, instructions and decisions of ministers when they are contrary to the laws, decrees, instructions and decisions of the government.

ARTICLE 90

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may suspend any illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils. 643 631

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

while he had gone to the ambush by another's instructions he had 628
walked there on his own legs. As the instigator of the crime had 682
broken his promise about paying the blood money, they sentenced
him to have his house burned down by the tribe.

On one occasion Lek Dukagjini had come at Skanderbeg's 649
invitation to discuss some blood feuds at a General Assembly of all
the tribes in the land. Skanderbeg opposed the principle of 'a life 554
for a life' on the grounds that all men were *not* equal; the blood of
a physically fine man was different from that of a poor type. At
Lek's suggestion, however, he inquired of his mother, upon oath,
what sort of a man his father had been. On learning that he had
been a poor type, Skanderbeg at the next Assembly agreed to the
principle of equality!

About 1870, when Kolë Prenga the Great was Captain of 688
Mirditë, a jar of butter was stolen from the church house in Orosh 696
during the priest's absence. On his return his servant, who had
also been away at the time, informed him of the theft. The priest,
a Franciscan, informed the bajraktar of Orosh. The latter convened
the tribe (*bajrak*) but no one confessed to the theft. The bajraktar
then informed Captain Kola. The captain undertook to track down
the culprit, and one day ordered the tribe to assemble on the open
space in front of the church at Orosh. In spite of Captain Kola's
questions no one came forward to confess to the crime. Then
Captain Kola, together with the chiefs of the tribe, sentenced the
unknown thief to death and banishment from the tribe; his house,
too, was to be destroyed and his land left uncultivated. Not long
afterwards the thieves were discovered. They were two young men
of Orosh, Prengë Kolë Marku and another whose name has been
forgotten. Captain Kolë Prenga the Great again ordered the tribe
to assemble, one man from every house, at the church at Orosh.
The two young men also came by order to the meeting. Captain
Kola read out the sentence that had previously been pronounced.
The two thieves were stood in the middle of an open space,
unarmed and with their hands folded at the waist. The tribe stood
up awaiting the captain's order to fire. But the priest, filled with
pity for the culprits, begged the captain, the chiefs and the
commoners to grant them their lives. This was done, they paid
money to the church for their sacrilege, returned twice the quantity
of what they had stolen, paid the usual fine and were expelled from
the tribe.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania G61

the man's veracity and set him down in my own mind as one of the confirmed political grumblers to be found in every country of the globe. That the gendarmes had been to the town and confiscated the weapons was probable, since the new law against the carrying of arms—a very necessary regulation in a country in which the blood feud and the vendetta still flourish—had to be enforced. It is possible, too, that without the knowledge of the authorities, individual gendarmes may have favoured certain of their co-religionists, for there is a good deal of religious intolerance in Albania [646] even yet. The Albanian parliament, however, is not, as one might expect, divided into two antagonistic parties, Christian and Mohammedan, and I was assured by various informants that within the Chamber religious differences are dropped, and that the deputies, whether Mohammedan or Christian, have one united aim—the good of their country.

It is a far cry from politics to a hairy woman, but I hope the discursiveness of a book of travel makes the sudden change of subject permissible. Attracted by a crowd at the entrance to a booth in the main street of Permeti I approached, curious to know what might be going on. Folk were passing in and out, and I assumed that it was an entertainment of some kind. Here was an opportunity of seeing for myself the local substitute for picture-palace or music-hall. I paid a small coin and entered. Within was a large room empty save for a few wooden benches and a small stand or stage covered with drapery. Some gaping yokels sat on the benches staring at the stage in furtive silence. People

[Constitution]

671 641 No citizens may be exiled or interned within the state except as prescribed by law.

The People's Republic of Albania protects the rights of its citizens in foreign lands.

ARTICLE 20

694 A home cannot be violated.

No person can enter a house and search it against the wishes of the owner, except when he holds a court order in his hands.

No search can be made except in the presence of two witnesses. The owner of the house also has a right to be present.

ARTICLE 21

205 The secrecy of mail and other correspondence cannot be violated except in cases of criminal investigations, military mobilization, or state of war.

ARTICLE 22

461 In the People's Republic of Albania work is a privilege and a duty.

Every citizen has a right to be paid according to his work and to receive from society as much as he gives to it.

ARTICLE 23

647 All citizens have a right to be employed in government work according to specific regulations laid down by law.

Citizens appointed or elected to public office are bound to perform their duties conscientiously.

ARTICLE 24

[729] 657 It is the duty of the state to adequately support disabled soldiers at public expense and to enable them to resume their work. The state shall support the families of those who died in battle and of all war victims.

ARTICLE 25

The state takes care of the health of the people by organizing and controlling health service, hospitals, and sanatoriums.

648, 665, 642, 433

Albania EG1

[For the economic and political position of Albania under Soviet control since the death of Stalin, see 85: Zinner, R1 Soviet Union, Category 116, Pp. 157B-163B.]

[For a discussion of the nature, scope and probable future trends (up to 1970) of Soviet economic relations with the East European satellites since World War II, and the degree of inter-satellite economic integration, see 60: Bergson, R1 Soviet Union, category 116, pp. 321-355]

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[179 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming
614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167 the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[669 died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza). 103 779 596 614

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it. [582] [221 648]

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church. 619 614 779 [174 794]

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas." 619 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group. [779 294] 648

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 619 779 103 [776] [628 166] 648 779

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

648 and priests, which have not been interfered with, the Jugoslav Govern-
779 ment has tried to plant a Serb bishop in Scutari on their behalf. They should be exchanged for some Albanians in Serb territory. The whole of the Maltsia e Madhe district is included in the diocese of Scutari.

There is a sprinkling of Serb place-names in the district, but most of them are Albanized, showing how, on the retreat of Serb rule, the older race reasserted itself.

3. The Pulati Group

175 Polati, Pilot, Pulati occurs as the name of a large mountain district
794 and as a bishopric at an early date.[1] In 877 a bishop of Polati is mentioned by the Council of Delmitano. Then Pope Alexander II, in a letter written to the Archbishop of Antivari in 1062, puts Pulati and its bishop under his care. Towards the end of that century Antivari, owing doubtless to the growing power of the Serbs, ceased to be an archbishopric, though it was still a bishopric, and Pulati is mentioned by Callixtus II in 1121 as under the Archbishop of Ragusa. In 1251 the Archbishopric of Antivari was restored, and Pulati again mentioned as under Antivari. Between 1372 and 1421 is a gap in which Farlati tells us that Helena, widow of Stefan Dushan, and her son, Urosh, "vexed most bitterly the Catholics, and spoiled them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty." No bishop is then mentioned. The Church was kept alive by the Franciscans, who faced danger and hardship in the mountains. Again, under the Turks, extreme misery is mentioned, and bishops are intermittent. It was reported that here were then still some twenty thousand Catholics. But, in spite of missionary effort, the Church almost lapsed. In 1653 Marcus Crisius traversed Pulati and reported: "It is incredible how ignorant the people now are of religion." Up till 1520 there were two bishoprics, Pulatenses Majores, and Pulatenses Minores. To Pulati Minor bishops were appointed from 1345 to 1520; then the two dioceses were united. It appears that it was hard to find men to accept the post, and some of those who did, broke down under the difficulties. Thus Bishop Serafinus, who learnt Albanian and worked very hard, had to retire through illness. Even though the Church of St. Nikola, at Ghoanni, "was rebuilt in 1703 more elegantly and larger and is called a cathedral," it was a humble enough edifice.

In *Illyricum Sacrum* (1817) a contemporary account mentions that Pulati is in the deepest recesses of the roughest mountains; that it

[1] *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia*, and Farlati.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra.*—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji.*—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma.*—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

 614

district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania. 619 173 [166]

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them. [648] [186 727]

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude. 619 173

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether 619 101 779

787 During that war I again heard the bones fatally read. An Albanian friend of mine in Podgoritza, owner of the local omnibus, was a great student of bones. He spent his leisure reading them as we others do books. One day he begged me to come for something very important, for my eye and ear alone.

The windows of his little room were closely curtained to prevent spying, and in the half-darkness was a pile of bladebones. He chose one and showed me a white opaque spot on it as large as a sixpence, and gravely asked if I knew what it meant. Now an opaque spot in certain places means death. "Yes," said he, "but what a spot! Did you ever see such a large one?" I never had, nor had he. He was troubled and anxious and pondered and pondered. The position of the spot meant someone must die soon. But it was so large, it must mean a great man. "Could it mean anything less than a king?" That was what he wished to ask me.

There flashed through my brain: "Are they plotting to assassinate King Nikola?" (He was very unpopular, for the war was going badly for Montenegro.) I discreetly said: "I do not know." He decided that it must mean a king—and shortly.

Just about a fortnight afterwards King George of Greece was assassinated. It was quite impossible that the seer should have known of any plot. We had hardly any news from other fronts.

It was one of those coincidences which, in the popular mind, overwhelm a thousand previous failures and annihilate reason. My poor friend was awestruck at the revelation that had been granted him.

648 The last time I heard, and probably ever shall hear, the bones read was
721 at Durazzo, when the Prince zu Wied was there, in the fatal summer of 1914. Durazzo was seething with representatives of every Power that had a finger in the Balkan pie. France, Russia, and Serbia were doing all they could to start a war. Italy was active. Fighting was going on and the hospitals were full of wounded. On the quay a very ragged mountain man insisted on speaking with "the Kralitza" as they
787 called me. He had come a long distance to consult me. He was eager and excited. Pulling a fowl's breast-bone from his sash, he held it against the blazing sun. The bone glowed red. The others said he was stupid and did not know how to read the bones. But he insisted and cried vehemently: "Gjak! gjak (blood, blood) everywhere, everywhere nothing but blood and more blood." And about a week or two afterwards the Great War began, and blood has not yet ceased flowing in the Near East.

Enough examples. That very many people believe the bones is undoubtable. I have been at meals where elder men have stopped

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

648 All foreign legations, except that of Great Britain, are located in Tirana. The British Legation is in Durazzo (Durrës).

366 To an eager tourist Tirana's allure will lie in the bazaars located in the side streets away from the center of the city, where craftsmen have plied their trades for centuries. Side by side are the shops of the silver- and goldsmiths and the displays of pottery, tapestry, and the laces and skillful handwork of the Albanian women will catch the feminine eye.

363 Those who never tire of the unique and intriguing will be swept along through a maze of streets that have nothing in common with the progressive edifices in the modern section of Tirana. Through these narrow streets which offer every form of merchandise in its own interesting way, the explorer will come

342 on the outskirts of the city to the small huts of peasants made of sun-baked bricks of surprising endurance surrounded by the usual fence or wall, and here one touches a life that is different—prompted by traditions and cultures that have come down from person to person, perhaps from the days when modern progress was not even a dream.

346 Among the numerous other sights not to be missed in Tirana are the Mosque of Suleiman

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

652 Albania's national budget for the year 1936-37 is as follows:

Income	18,584,042 gold Francs
Expense	18,879,427 gold Francs
Deficit	295,385 gold Francs

Albania has contracted two loans, namely: A loan of 50,000,000 gold Francs, redeemable 1653 in forty years. This loan was made by the Society for the Economic Development of Albania (SVEA), in 1927, to be used exclusively for the purpose of developing the projects of public works, such as constructing bridges, building roads, the improvement of the port of Durazzo (Durrës) and for furthering agricultural development. As security for this loan the incomes on salt, matches, cigarette paper and playing cards were pledged.

648 The second loan of 100,000,000 gold Francs 652 was agreed upon in 1931 by the Italian Government, the whole sum of which was to be liquidated by annual installments of not over 10,000,000 gold Francs, to be used to balance the budget as long as the investments, presently in course, will have beneficially assisted in giving economic stability to the nation, so that the necessary expenses may be taken care of by Albania's own resources, and a part of

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG Albania EG1

such annual installment also to be applied to-648
wards further development of public works, 652
agriculture and for the furtherance of education.

In 1936, Italy and Albania agreed upon several new agreements, conventions and treaties, one of which covers the liquidation of the aforesaid two loans and provides for other loans to be used by the Albanian Government for the further economic development and welfare of the Kingdom of Albania.

The following eight Agreements were duly ratified by Italy and Albania and ratification documents were exchanged on May 30, 1936:

(1) A Protocole, signed January 28, 1936, as supplementary to the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of January 20, 1924;

(2) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, liquidating the loan of 100,000,000 gold Francs of June 26, 1931;

(3) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, with the aim of systemizing the financial situation of Albania;

(4) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, for a loan of 10,000,000 gold Francs for agricultural development;

(5) An Agreement, signed March 19,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E61

648 1936, for a loan, creating a monopoly on
652 tobacco in Albania as security for such loan;

(6) A Convention, signed March 19, 1936, for the further development of the port of Durazzo (Durrës);

(7) A Convention, signed March 19, 1936, relating to veterinarian research and sanitation measures;

(8) A Provisional Agreement of Commerce, signed March 19, 1936.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Foreign Representation

• 648 THE Kingdom of Albania has concluded treaties of amity, arbitration, commerce, extradition, navigation and consular conventions with numerous foreign countries.

Albania is a member of the League of Nations since December 17, 1920, and also a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.

Albania is one of the signatories to the Universal Postal Union Convention, signed at Cairo, March 20, 1934.

Albania, on May 6, 1935, acceded to the International Telecommunication Convention and the Radiocommunication Regulations Annexed thereto of Madrid, of December 9, 1932.

It is the earnest wish of King Zog I and the Albanian Government, according to a statement made personally by the king to the author, to continue in amity and peace with all nations alike.

Albania maintains diplomatic and consular

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E6 !

relations with practically all foreign nations, 648 having legations in Ankara, Athens, Belgrade, Cairo, London, Paris, Rome, Sofia, Washington, and in other capitals, and consulates-general or consulates in various cities of Austria, Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Dominion of Canada, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Holland, Hungary, Italy, Luxembourg, Rumania, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United States of America, Yugoslavia, and so forth. Albania has also appointed permanent press representatives—Chiefs of Press Service of the Albanian Government and/or Press Attachés to Austria, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Dominion of Canada, France, Great Britain, Haiti, India, Irish Free State, Mexico, United States of America and in other countries.

A permanent delegate to the League of Nations resides in Geneva, Switzerland.

Austria, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Iran (Persia), Italy, Latvia, Rumania, Russia, Turkey, the United States of America, Yugoslavia and other countries have legations in Albania, while numerous other nations maintain consulates-general or consulates in Tirana and other cities of Albania.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

freedom of Turkey, they are thought to be Turks. And—this is of greater importance—when the Albanians rose to fight for the freedom of Albania, they fought behind a curtain of impenetrable silence.

They were surrounded by a battle line. The Slavs were north and east; the Greeks were south; the Italians were west. Albania was cut off from the outside world in 1910; for thirteen years she has been cut off from the world. No telegraph or telephone lines ran from Albania to Europe; no mail got through without censorship, no traveler without passport visé from enemies. Letters for Europe must still go by messenger through Jugo-Slavia, or by Italian steamer to Italian ports. During May and June, 1922, while I was in Tirana, Albania's communication with Europe was completely closed by the Italians, in retaliation for Albania's protest against the establishing of Italian post offices in Albanian cities.

Behind this veil of silence, the truth about Albania lies hidden. Only one newspaper correspondent, to my knowledge, has visited Albania in recent years—Mr. Maurer of the Chicago *Post*. Mr. Kenneth Roberts of the *Saturday Evening Post* lay for ten days ill in Tirana, left with all haste for Montenegro, and later wrote of Albania—entertainingly. News of Albania bears the date lines of Belgrade, Rome, Athens. Since 1910 it has been as accurate as news of France bearing a Berlin date line. This is only

Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

175 The outbreak of the first World War shattered the precarious equilibrium on which the infant state of Albania had reposed. The armies of Serbia, Italy, Austria-Hungary, and France occupied parts of the country, sometimes in accordance with the dictates of military necessity, but not least with a view to staking out their claims against the day of settlement. The victory left Great Britain and France supreme in the Levant and in the Balkans, and Albania was accordingly restored to her independence within the frontiers of 1913.

648 The Empires of Russia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey lay prostrate or dismembered, and Albania now became the object of fierce rivalry between Italy and the new Adriatic power of Yugoslavia. Both states naturally strove to control the Straits of Otranto; Italy prevailed, and, in 1926, by the Pact of Tirana, acquired a virtual protectorate over Albania. The Duce might for a time rest content with Italian supremacy in the Adriatic; but, as one step leads to another, so the mastery of this route to the Levant led him to turn his eyes to the Levant itself. He revolved ambitious plans for its conquest by sea and land, and designed that Albania should serve him, not only as the key to the Adriatic, but also as the bridgehead of a new Roman Empire in the Balkans. Accordingly, in April 1939, when diplomacy had failed to compel Albania's subservience, he occupied the country and began to build a network of roads along which Italian armies might march to the East in the footsteps of the Legions.

000 Each of these episodes from Albania's past is but a variation on the underlying theme of the struggle of the Powers to control, or at least deny to their rivals, the key to the Adriatic road to the East. The recent war, accompanied by the return of Germany and Russia to the ranks of the rivals for the dominion of the Levant, gave a new impetus to this struggle. At times it was submerged in the broader conflict which engulfed the world; yet ever and again it reasserted itself, developing a momentum of its own, regardless of alliances or enmities: for if war is an extension of politics, both are projections of geography.

In this struggle for the control of Albania the Albanian

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Their supporters rose in revolt; the government forces were 643
defeated; and a fortnight later Zog occupied Tirana. Fan 669
Noli escaped to Italy and later emigrated to the United States; Ali Klissura settled in Paris; and Mustafa Kruya went to Italy, where he became the goad with which in later years the Italians threatened Zog. These three were condemned to death *in contumaciam*; but most of the Tosk leaders were seemingly reconciled to the new regime.

It was widely expected that Zog would rule as the instru- 643
ment of the Yugoslavs to whom he owed the success of his 648
revolution;[1] and indeed the powerful influence of Tsena, who was his brother-in-law as well as his Minister of Interior, was exercised in favour of friendship with Belgrade. The policy of a country, however, is more often the effect of its circumstances than their cause. The Yugoslavs had brought the new regime to power, but they were in no position to supply it with the financial and technical assistance without which it could scarcely be maintained. Of necessity, therefore, Zog inclined increasingly towards the Italians, who were quick to seize any opportunity of re-establishing their influence in Albania. Tsena Kryeziu, however, resolutely opposed a pro-Italian policy. He was first and foremost a Kossovar; and his whole purpose in supporting the revolt had been to restore good relations with Belgrade and so reduce the effects of the frontier barrier which separated his people from their fellow Albanians. His efforts, however, were doomed to failure by the inability of the Yugoslavs to compete against the financial support which the Italians offered to Zog. His influence swiftly declined; and, after the signing of the Pact of Tirana, Zog appointed him Albanian Minister in Belgrade, to remove him from the centre of affairs. It is possible that Tsena there conspired with the Yugoslavs to repeat against Zog the same revolutionary tactics as he had carried out with him against Fan Noli. Be this as it may, in October 1927 he was shot dead in a café in Prague by an Albanian student. The responsibility for the crime was commonly ascribed to Zog; and, though his complicity was never established, Tsena's brothers, Gani, Hassan, and Said, judged it prudent to emigrate to Yugoslavia.

[1] [Cf. category 669, pp. 17-19 for data on 1924 revolution — Analyst]

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643 Within a year of Tsena's murder Zog cemented his personal position by the assumption of the crown and style of King of the Albanians. The republican sympathies of the Tosk *beys* were disarmed by their mutual jealousies; and the new regime was established among the Ghegs by the efforts of a quadrumvirate of chiefs. These were Muharrem Bairaktar, Fikri Dine, Jemal Herri, and Prenk Previsi, who had all followed Zog into exile in Yugoslavia and had played an important part in the subsequent revolution. In the discharge of their duties they acquired considerable influence, but when they had served the royal purpose Zog broke their power, which might one day have challenged his own. In their place he installed new men, who proved more obedient to his wishes as they were more dependent upon his favour. Thus, in a period of five years, the royal dictatorship was made absolute.

648 315 Meanwhile Italian influence grew in Albania until the country's foreign relations and economic development came to be largely under Italian direction. Such a trend was indeed almost as inevitable in the economic as in the diplomatic sphere, for Albania possesses few natural resources which might have attracted the attention of other Powers. At one time, however, it appeared that the Albanian oil deposits might become of international interest; and an instructive tale is told of their emergence on the diplomatic scene. At one of the many international conferences which followed the last war, Albania was represented by Faik Bey Konitza, a man of considerable wit and distinction. Faik Bey was anxious to secure British support for his country's claims, and, after several unsuccessful applications, was reluctantly granted an interview by Lord Curzon. Curzon received Faik standing, and coldly invited him to be brief. The Albanian delegate bowed and replied:

"Your Excellency, in Albania there is oil."

Curzon's eyes lit up: "Sit down, my dear fellow," he said, suddenly unbending; and to the astonishment of the impatient secretaries their discussion was prolonged beyond the hour. Nor will the reader be surprised to learn that at the plenary session, next morning, the rights of a small nation were generously vindicated by the majestic eloquence of the British Foreign

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Secretary. *Si non è vero è ben trovato*, for a concession was 648
in fact granted to the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. For a 315
variety of reasons, however, by no means exclusively commercial, the development of the oil-field was left to the Italians.

Italian influence in Albania was strong, but the King brooked 643
little interference in the internal administration of the country. 648
He drove hard bargains for every concession, insisted on retaining a British mission to train the gendarmerie, and gained from the Italians far more than he ever gave them. So long as Italy's ambitions were limited to assuring her predominance in the Adriatic such a situation was not unsatisfactory, for then her chief concern was to prevent other Powers extending their influence to Albania rather than to control the country herself. But when Mussolini decided that Albania should become the bridgehead from which his forces would march to the East, he was forced to recognise that Zog was of too independent a temper to serve this grand design. In April 1939, therefore, he decreed the invasion and annexation of Albania. The Italian landing at Durazzo was gallantly contested by the commandant of Kruya, a certain Abas Kupi. Otherwise there was no resistance. The King declined the unequal encounter and crossed into Greece with Queen Geraldine and their newborn son. From Greece he came by devious routes to Paris, and, after the fall of France, settled in London. The most loyal, or anti-Italian, of his subjects followed him into exile, and, for the most part, found hospitality in Yugoslavia or Turkey. Meanwhile, under the general amnesty proclaimed by the Italians, his chief opponents, including Ali Klissura and Mustafa Kruya, returned to Albania. An Italian Viceroy was installed in Tirana, the friends of Italy were rewarded, and a puppet government was set up on the bayonets of the invaders.

Zog had found Albania in chaos; he left her with at least 643
the rudiments of a modern state. Roads had been built; the framework of an administration created; and order, if not law, enforced. The King governed, indeed, in the oriental tradition, but it was also the tradition of his people. He corrupted his enemies, or played them off one against the other, and adminis-

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tunes of the battle intently, but, with the fall of France — the protectress of the Little Entente and the ally of the Salonika Front — a great fear swept over them, and many forsook the common cause. It is to the everlasting credit of the Albanian leaders that in this darkest hour they scornfully rejected the fair proposals of the Italian Government. Others might turn back but they stood firm beside us, manfully resolved to free their country with our help or to die in the attempt.

Italy was now in the war; and, as the summer advanced, we could no longer doubt that our enemies intended to subjugate the Balkans. We[1] were therefore instructed to prepare plans for neutralising Albania as a base for Italian attacks against Yugoslavia or Greece. Albania itself contained few technical installations or other nerve-centres whose sabotage would seriously hinder the enemy; but Italian armies advancing thence into the Balkans must depend for their communications on the Albanian roads. These ran through some of the most rugged country in Europe, and beside them lived a race of men who looked on guerilla warfare as their natural calling. We therefore decided to work upon the Albanians so that, when the time came, they would rise in revolt and close the mountain roads against the Italian armies.

A first step was to form an Albanian revolutionary movement which would include as many enemies of Italy as we might persuade to work together. It was still too early to launch such a movement inside Albania, for the Albanians were not yet ready to receive its leaders, nor able to protect their operations. Instead we thought it wiser, as Zog and Tsena had done in 1924, to build up the necessary organisation in Yugoslavia. There we might lay our plans undisturbed, equip a striking force of Kossovars, and accumulate war material while our agents prepared the ground across the border. The revolt might thus be securely mounted on neutral soil and carried into Albania when the Balkan campaign began.

The Kossovo seemed to be the natural starting-point for the revolt, being an extension of Albania within the political frontiers of Yugoslavia. Many of its inhabitants were united

[1] [Cf. cat 116, pp 25-28, for information on British intelligence organization to which author belonged -- Analyst]

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*669 648 by family ties to the tribesmen across the border and were thus exceptionally placed to smuggle arms, agents, or propaganda into Albania. Moreover, a force of Kossovars acting as the spearhead of the rising would not be resisted as an invasion but fraternally acclaimed as a liberating army. The support of the Kossovars were thus essential to our plans, but most of their leaders inclined towards the Axis Powers, who had promised to unite the region to Albania. Gani alone supported the Allies, so that the Kryeziu family became the natural rallying point for our movement. Indeed, long before we had come on to the scene, Gani had taken steps to organise those Albanians who had taken refuge in Yugoslavia in 1939 from the Italians. In response to Italian pressure, most of them had been confined to remote villages of Bosnia and Voivodina, but Gani provided for their needs and interceded in Belgrade on their behalf. The majority of these exiles were army officers and monarchists, and, although they were glad of Gani's help and money, they were naturally suspicious of the Kryezius as enemies of the King. Gani therefore suggested that, to make sure of their wholehearted support, we should send to Turkey for Abas Kupi, the defender of Durazzo and the most popular of the monarchist leaders.

186 159 Abas Agha Kupi, or Bazi Sani as the tribesmen called him, could neither read nor write: indeed only with difficulty could he sign his name. Born in the nineties, he was, like Skanderbeg, a native of Kruya, where his father had been a respected member of the Bektashi community. One of his uncles had been a passionate Albanian nationalist and had fired the boy's imagination by tales of Turkish prisons and guerilla war. One day, when young Abas was but fifteen years old, nationalist insurgents seized Kruya and hoisted Skanderbeg's flag — the black eagles on the red ground — upon the castle tower. The boy went out to join them, but they told him that he was too young to fight and sent him home in tears. A few days later the town was reoccupied by "loyalist" troops under Essad Pasha, who at once gave orders to pull down the offending flag and restore the Star and Crescent. A soldier climbed on to the tower to carry out the order, but young Abas snatched up his

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*669 as soon as they had driven the Italians from Albania, they would turn and rend one another. We smiled indulgently at such prophecies; not only out of scepticism but because, in the summer of 1940, the headaches of victory still seemed very remote.

Our chief concern at the time was for the leadership of the movement. Gani Kryeziu, as he himself admitted, had been too long in exile to assume the role of leader inside Albania, while Abas Kupi seemed barred from it by his illiteracy. To [643] our surprise, however, Gani suggested that King Zog was the obvious choice, both by virtue of his personal ability and because, in a country as factious as Albania, the proud chiefs would more readily gather round the man whom they had once acknowledged as king than round some self-appointed leader. Abas Kupi somewhat naturally shared this view and so indeed did Mustafa Jinishi, who explained that his friends could wait for the defeat of Italy to settle their accounts with the King. This unexpected identity of views convinced us that Zog would make the best leader for the Albanian revolt; and we urged that arrangements be made to bring him in touch with the movement in Belgrade. The Foreign Office, however, hesitated to sanction any step which might commit us to the King's cause, so that the leadership of the United Front remained undefined.

*669 648 The United Front was the fruit of long hours spent in patient planning in the extra-territorial security of the Legation and in conspiratorial meetings in dark corners of Belgrade. We changed these meeting-places continually, but our favourite was a deserted flat on the top story of a tall, modern building in the Kralya Milana. It was unfurnished, except for a rickety table and two benches abandoned by the owner; but through its dusty windows we could look out over the city to the Sava valley and the plain beyond. The climate of conspiracy is naturally productive of suspicions, and we used to take infinite precautions to preserve the secrecy of our meetings with the Albanian leaders. We would approach the rendezvous by devious routes; change taxis on the way; or leave our cars

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outside some other door. The Italians were indeed on our trail, but it would seem that we overrated the efficiency of their agents. Some months later, when I had left Yugoslavia and was living in Constantinople, I was shown an intercepted Italian intelligence report: it stated that I had secretly returned to Belgrade, gave my spurious name and supposed address, and added that I was disguised by a beard! The weather was already turning cold and I could not help pitying the wretched O.V.R.A. agent who was detailed to watch my doubtless innocent double. But besides the O.V.R.A. we had also to dodge the Yugoslav political police; for, since the fall of France, Prince Paul's first object was to avoid anything which might provoke the anger of the Axis Powers. From time to time the Yugoslav Foreign Minister would protest against our activities among the Albanian exiles, but Sir Ronald Campbell was able to reassure him in all sincerity; for our relations with the diplomatic staff were governed by the ancient precept: "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth".

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The Albanian leaders were of exemplary discretion, but the same could not always be said of their followers. One afternoon I returned with Sandy Glen from lunch to find two or three hundred Albanian wood-cutters, variously armed with axes and knives, grouped outside the Legation. A few of them were in earnest consultation with John Bennett, who presently discovered what was afoot. Someone, it seemed, had told them that the British would pay them a hundred dinars apiece to wreck the Italian Legation, and, like prudent men, they had come to collect their money in advance!

Nevertheless the work made progress. Our couriers passed from the Kossovo into Albania, preaching the aims of the United Front among the tribal chiefs, and gathering political and military information. Soon we were in communication with Muharrem Bairaktar, the lord of Liuma, who promised his support. Next, as propaganda, we began to send waggon-loads of corn across the border to distribute among our potential supporters. Later, rifles and ammunition were concealed beneath the corn. Thus, bit by bit, the United Front was extended to Albania and the ground was prepared for revolt.

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Indeed by July the enrolment of supporters had outstripped our capacity to supply them from the stock of weapons locally available; and we saw that it was only by drawing on the arsenals of the Middle East that we might hope to appease their insatiable hunger for arms.

The petty arms traffic we had thus far indulged in had been made possible by the help of friendly Yugoslav officials, acting on their own initiative. We could not hope, however, to run consignments of rifles from the Middle East into Albania without the knowledge and at least the tacit approval of the Yugoslav Government. We had, indeed, counted on some measure of Yugoslav support; for the Albanian revolt had always been considered as a part of the general scheme for the defence of the Balkans against an attack by the Axis Powers. It now appeared that the Belgrade Government were too demoralised by enemy pressure to countenance our plans; and we even began to doubt whether they intended to resist the Germans at all. Accordingly some of us, myself among them, turned increasingly to the task of building up the forces of resistance in Yugoslavia. Thus four years were to go by before I was once more concerned with things Albanian.

2

In August 1940 the direction of the Belgrade branch of the [625] Albanian organisation was entrusted to Lieut.-Colonel Oakley-Hill, who had been for some years an officer in the Corps of Instructors to the Albanian gendarmerie. Hill's name, as we were to learn from personal experience, was a household word among the Ghegs, thanks to his rare command of the Albanian language and his genuine affection for the Albanians. He already knew many of the leading exiles in Belgrade and soon won their confidence by his sincerity and tireless industry on behalf of the Albanian cause. Thus, under his guidance, the work was advanced.

The Albanians had been demoralised by the fall of France, but the reports which reached Belgrade in September showed

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that they had rallied with the news of the Luftwaffe's defeat in the Battle of Britain; a trend that was maintained with the growing certainty that the British Government meant to fight to the end. Men's minds were therefore receptive to the idea of revolt, but without arms they could not pass from ideas to action. In default of arms, money was sent across the border to maintain the goodwill of the clans and also in the hope that, by the natural operation of the law of supply and demand, it might lead to the discovery of unknown arsenals. The return, however, was small in comparison with the outlay; and the absence of concealed supplies of weapons was presently attested by the rise in the price of rifles. Meanwhile Prince Paul's Government, strong only in its determination to appease the Axis Powers, began actively to disrupt the work of the United Front. To please the Italians they expelled Parker from Skoplje; confined Abas Kupi to Sarajevo; and forbade the Kryeziu brothers to visit their estates in the Kossovo. In the face of these restrictions Oakley-Hill had no choice but to beguile the impatience of the exiles as best he might and wait upon events.

On 4th November 1940, to the dismay of the British, and, as it now appears, the displeasure of the Germans, the Italian armies in Albania invaded Greece. The Duce thus sought a military solution to the Balkan problem; but though Roman in its inspiration, his plan proved singularly Italian in its execution. The ragged Greek soldiery, for years the butt of journalists because of a supposed dislike of fighting in the rain, surprised and routed the vanguard of the Italians in the defiles of the Pindus. The vaunted Alpini and Bersaglieri were hurled back in disorder into Albania. The Italian *débâcle* assumed spectacular proportions; Korcha, Pogradets, Gjinocastro, Saranda, and Himara fell in turn; Valona was threatened; and for a moment it seemed that the Italians would be driven into the Adriatic. R.A.F. machines appeared in Greece; and, with rumours of a new British Expeditionary Force, British stocks rose once more throughout the Balkans.

The Albanians believed that their freedom was at hand.

*669 The Albanians believed that their freedom was at hand.
648 On the front[1] the Greek troops were everywhere acclaimed as liberators, and whole Albanian units went over to them from the Italian armies. From London King Zog offered his sword to the King of the Hellenes. In Belgrade the United Front prepared to launch a general revolt which, in subjunction to a Greek offensive, might engulf the Italian armies in irretrievable disaster. The Albanians put forward no political conditions: all that they hoped was to free their country and preserve its independence; all that they asked was that some thousands of rifles with ammunition be sent from Salonika to the United Front in Belgrade. The rifles were available, and the Yugoslav Government, suddenly emboldened by the example of the Greeks, hinted that they would turn a blind eye to their passage. The plans for the revolt were approved in London and the British Military Mission in Athens were instructed to urge them upon the Greek General Staff. The Greeks, however, alternating between extremes of confidence at the prospects of their forthcoming offensive and of discouragement at the condition of their equipment, argued that Greek troops would use the rifles better than Albanian irregulars. Some of them, moreover, cherished ambitions of annexing the region variously known as Southern Albania or Northern Epirus, and were perhaps reluctant to take any step which might make them beholden to the Albanians. The plans for revolt were therefore shelved; and the natural distress of the Albanian leaders was deepened by the Hellenising policies which the Greek administration pursued in the occupied Albanian territories. The final Greek offensive was held by the Italians, though not without great difficulty, along a line of fortified positions originally built in the time of King Zog. The line had been considerably reinforced by the Italians, but there were British military observers who believed that it might well have been carried if guerillas could have impeded its supply in the critical moments of the battle.

The Italians thus stabilised their front in Albania; and, as the spring of 1941 wore on, the situation in the Balkans steadily
000 deteriorated. The infiltration of German troops into Roumania and Bulgaria assumed the proportions of occupation; and it

[1] [In the Winter of 1940.--Analyst]

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soon appeared that the Germans intended to crush Greek resistance by an invasion from the north-east. Surrounded on all sides by hostile armies, the weak but discerning Regent of Yugoslavia prepared to yield to German demands; but he misjudged the generous temper of the Serbian nation; and before he could hand them over to their hereditary enemies a group of determined officers borne on the tide of a whole people's wrath swept him and his defeatist entourage from power. The new Yugoslav Government understood that war with Germany was certain, but they regarded the prospect with some confidence, for their army was considered the best in the Balkans. Men still remembered that little Serbia had resisted the might of the Austrian Empire for more than two years, and the news that a British army had landed at Salonika encouraged the hope that history would repeat itself. Moreover, the Greek victories in the Pindus supported the belief that the valour of a warlike people fighting in defence of their own soil was still a match for the superior equipment of invaders.

Unlike the Greeks, the new Yugoslav Government and their military advisers set great hopes on an Albanian revolt. Surrounded as they were to almost the full extent of their land frontiers by German and Italian armies, they were wholly dependent for their communications with the British on the railway which runs through Macedonia to Salonika. The enemy were concentrated on either side of it, in Bulgaria and Albania, and at any moment by a successful attack might cut this precious life-line and seal off Yugoslavia from the outside world. In this unenviable situation they naturally welcomed a project which might prevent an Italian eruption into Macedonia and would perhaps enable their own armies to take the offensive. To attack the Italians in Albania, indeed, appealed to the Yugoslavs especially; for, by joining hands with the Greeks and opening communications with the British through the Adriatic Sea, they might hope to prolong their resistance and would at least assure their retreat.

The Yugoslav General Staff thus gave its blessing to the aims of the United Front and, in the midst of the chaos which it had inherited, sought to give the Albanian leaders such

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*669 648 help as it could. But in Belgrade all was confusion; for, though the military revolt had stimulated the patriotism of the masses, it had finally distracted an administration already demoralised and never efficient. Precious time was lost before the Albanian exiles could be assembled from the remote villages to which they had been banished; no transport could at first be found to take them to the Kossovo; and when at last they reached Jakova they were arrested as fifth columnists by the local corps-commander. Thanks to Oakley-Hill they were speedily released, but it was only to find that Gani's tribesmen, who were to have formed the spearhead of the revolt, had been called up and drafted to the Northern front.

The Albanian leaders were still struggling to obtain facilities from a command floundering in a morass of conflicting instructions when the Germans bombed Belgrade and the invasion began. That same evening they were joined by Said Kryeziu, who had remained in the capital up to the outbreak of hostilities: with him came a special liaison officer from the General Staff who at last regularised their position with the Corps Commander, and made it possible for them to begin their work. Unprepared though they were, the Albanian leaders had seen enough of Corps Headquarters and decided not to wait for a problematical increase of strength. Accordingly, on the evening of 7th April, Gani, Said, and Hassan Kryeziu, Abas Kupi and Mustafa Jinishi crossed the border into Albania with a force of barely three hundred men. With them marched Oakley-Hill.

*669 They met with no initial resistance from the Italians and were well received by the local population. The enthusiasm of the tribesmen, however, was tempered by their doubts as to the outcome of the main struggle; and recruits were slow to come in. Nevertheless they soon mustered more than a thousand men and with these advanced westward through the mountains into the Catholic regions of Nikai and Mertur. They twice engaged and defeated strong Italian patrols, and with growing forces pushed on to a point fifteen miles north of Scutari. The Catholic tribes, however, refused to rally to them; and, since they could not attack Scutari alone, they decided to fall back

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*669 homes and presently made their peace with the authorities, others were captured and interned; but the greater part remained discreetly in remote mountain villages, waiting upon events.

Thus the revolt of the United Front collapsed, its organisation was dissolved, and its leaders were dispersed and cut off from communication with their allies. To those of us who watched from outside, ignorant whether Abas Kupi or Gani Kryeziu even lived, it seemed that the whole of our work was destroyed. Yet, as the leaders were scattered, so the seed of revolt was sown, and in the fullness of time there was to be a harvest.

3

*669 648 In the summer of 1941, when the last hopes of a Balkan front had been dispelled by the German victories in Crete, Stirling was called away to more urgent duties in connection with the Arab World. His place in Constantinople was taken by Mrs. Hasluck, but otherwise the whole organisation which had grown up to promote an Albanian revolt was dissolved. For close on two years, therefore, the responsibilities of observing the Albanian situation, keeping touch with the exiles and seeking to re-establish communications with Albania devolved upon Mrs. Hasluck alone. The triple barrier of German, Bulgarian, and Italian counter-espionage proved a formidable obstacle to her efforts; and indeed informed opinion in the "D" Organisation long despaired of Albanian resistance. Mrs. Hasluck, however, remained convinced that a revolt was preparing in Albania, and worked tirelessly to glean information from the Albanian exiles and the rare Albanians who visited Constantinople. Also — and this was perhaps her greatest service — she despatched to Cairo a continuous series of reports, memoranda, and telegrams, which saved the increasingly bureaucratic headquarters of the "D" Organisation from altogether forgetting that Albania existed.

All attempts to establish a regular courier system between

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Turkey and Albania failed, but from such scraps of information as had filtered through by the end of 1942, it seemed probable that there were guerilla bands in the Albanian mountains. Rumours reaching General Mihailovitch's headquarters lent colour to this view; but, in spite of repeated enquiries, it was not found possible to ascertain the names of the guerilla leaders, their political allegiance, or even the approximate regions in which they operated.

Meanwhile, as the converging Allied armies closed in on the Axis forces in Tunisia, the British General Staff began revolving plans for military operations in Southern Italy and the Adriatic. It was therefore decided that the time had come to send a British Mission to Albania to find out what guerilla forces were there and to report upon their circumstances.

Such a Mission was fraught with difficulties and dangers, even when compared with such other missions as had already been sent to the resistance movements of Europe. As a rule, British liaison officers infiltrated into occupied territory were carefully briefed beforehand as to the general situation which would confront them, while their physical reception was usually prearranged with the local resistance forces. The "D" Organisation, however, were wholly in the dark as to the situation in Albania, and did not even know for certain whether an Albanian resistance movement existed at all. Thus, to the sufficient dangers of an incursion into enemy territory would be added the anxieties of a journey into the unknown.

Under such conditions the success of the Mission must in the main depend upon the choice of emissaries. Now there was no one available who combined the necessary youth with first-hand knowledge of Albania; and, by a process of selection as blind as it was fortunate, the lot fell upon Bill Maclean. Maclean was of Highland stock, tall and fair-haired, disguising a toughness of steel beneath an elegant and almost lackadaisical exterior. He was a natural guerilla leader, relying only on himself and gifted with a sure eye for ground and an instinctive insight into other men's intentions. Most at ease in extremes of violent action or dream-mastered sloth, he was spurred by love of adventure rather than by ambition and delighted in all

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000 that was extravagant and strange. He had joined the Scots Greys in 1939 and, as a subaltern in Palestine during the Arab rising, had first seen guerilla warfare from the " receiving end ". Later he had served with Wingate in the Abyssinian revolt, and there had proved his worth as a leader of irregulars. Alone with a body of Amhara he had besieged an Italian army in Gondar for four months, and in the final assault had been the first to enter the city.

With Maclean went David Smiley, an officer of the Household Cavalry who had served in Abyssinia, Syria, and the Western Desert. Of sturdier build than his companion, there was no velvet glove over Smiley's claw. He knew his own mind and spoke it on all occasions, not aggressively nor even bluntly, yet in a manner so direct that it left little room for argument and no doubt whatever as to his feelings, his views, or his intentions. Seldom given to speculation, he lived firmly in the present, enjoying the good things of life and all that was agreeable or beautiful, though as an occasional patron rather than a connoisseur or devotee. He liked his friends and disliked his enemies, but otherwise was more interested in things than in men and found a rare satisfaction in organising a camp or testing the accuracy of a new weapon. Maclean regarded action as only one of the ingredients of adventure; Smiley lived for action alone and was happiest on a dangerous reconnaissance, or on those expeditions which gratified his passion for " blowing things up ". A crack cavalry officer, a skilful saboteur, and a resourceful man, Smiley supplied the technical knowledge and the capacity for taking pains which accounted for no small part of the Mission's success.

*669 648 The two officers were instructed in the art of parachuting and the use of the latest demolition devices; and, since no man could say with any accuracy what lay before them, Mrs. Hasluck gave them a short, but, it appears, intensive course in Albanian customs, psychology, and folk-lore. Then, in April 1943, they were duly fitted out with submachine-guns and bags of gold to protect their persons and promote their policies and were taken to Derna, in Cyrenaica, the operational base for the Balkans. With them also went Garry Duffy, a sabotage expert from the

1 [Cf. category 116, pp. 49-50 --Analyst]

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Royal Engineers, and Corporal Williamson of the Black Watch, their wireless operator. 669* 648

From Derna they were flown to Epirus and there were dropped to one of the British Missions which were already working with the Greek resistance movement. Albania was only a few miles away, but the Greeks knew nothing of the Albanian guerillas; and Maclean and Smiley therefore walked across the border to find them for themselves. They were received in the villages with elaborate courtesy and hospitality, but met with none of the pro-Allied enthusiasm which had been the rule in Greece. Despite their strikingly Nordic appearance, they were presently detained as Greek spies and stood in danger of their lives until they had satisfied their captors that they were genuine British officers. Even then an atmosphere of suspicion surrounded them; they were conscious all the time of being watched; and yet their efforts to come into touch with the guerillas were baffled at every turn. At last one night they came face to face with a representative of the "Partisans"; he brought them to the guerilla camp; and gradually they discovered the true nature of the Albanian resistance movement. [609]

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Two seeds of revolt had been planted in Albania: the United Front, built up by British efforts and led by chiefs of proven valour; and a Communist cell, Russian instructed and composed of new men. The fortunes of war had cut them off in turn from their patrons, and for a long time they were no more than bands of wanted fugitives; a powerful ferment, but powerless of themselves. Revolutions are not made without leaders, but never by leaders alone. Some men indeed are always ready to risk their lives for their ideals, but the mass of a people will not defy their rulers unless the hopes of happiness which they set upon revolt are sharply stimulated by the goad of their present discontents. Now the Albanians experienced no violent crises of an economic or social nature such as nourished, and in large measure underlay, the resistance movements of Greece 669*

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BRITISH MISSION AND PARTISAN LEADERS, SUMMER 1943

(*Left to Right*) Behar Shtylla, Enver Hoja, Duffy, Smiley, Spiro Moisi (Military Chief of Staff), Maclean, Hands, Ramadan Bacha, Dali Ndreu

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PARTISANS OF THE FIRST BRIGADE ON THE MARCH, SUMMER 1943

[-52 b-]

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*669 tional opposition to the Italians, accepting the ~~accomplished~~
665 fact of Italian rule, but continuing to demand the return of Albanian independence. For ideological reasons they inclined towards the Western Democracies, but their enthusiasm for the Allied cause was severely restrained, both by hatred of Communism and by fears that an Allied victory might once again deprive them of the Kossovo, as well as of their southern provinces. In taking up arms, therefore, against the Italians, their generous resolve to liberate Albania was perhaps seconded by their desire to win the political support of the Allies and to prove to their own people that they were no less patriotic than the Communists.

Thus, by the end of 1942, there were two distinct resistance movements, the Communist-directed L.N.C., which comprised, without combining, Abas Kupi's group, and the conservative Balli Kombetar. It is doubtful whether at this time their total effectives exceeded six thousand men; and their operations still caused their enemies little more than spasmodic annoyance. Nevertheless, they formed a rallying point for discontented elements of every kind; and the Italians justly feared that, in a country where the carrying of arms was so general, their activities might suddenly assume alarming proportions. In the spring of 1943, therefore, the Italian High Command decided to bring the strength of their army of occupation up to five and a half divisions; a proportion of one Italian soldier to every three Albanians of military age.

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*669 It was at this stage in the growth of the resistance movement
648 that Maclean and Smiley had crossed the border into Albania.
● At first Partisans and Ballists had alike regarded them with undisguised suspicion; but each in turn soon recognised that a British Mission might bring them powerful moral and material support; and they began to compete with one another for the favour of the British officers.

Maclean found the Partisan forces predominantly composed

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of youths, and including a number of women's units. Poorly organised and ill-equipped, their morale was none the less remarkable; and there could be no doubt that they were actively, if not always effectively, fighting the Italians. After careful investigation, therefore, Maclean recommended that they should receive British support. Considerable quantities of arms, ammunition, and gold sovereigns were dropped to them by parachute; and with the help of these supplies a number of new bands were raised. Maclean and Smiley, moreover, personally undertook the training of two shock brigades of Partisans, which were later to form the backbone of the L.N.C. army.

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Both officers spent several weeks with the Central Council of the L.N.C. and came to know the leaders of the movement well. Mustafa Jinishi and Ymer Dyshnitsa seemed the most co-operative and agreeable; Enver Hoja, their leader, the best organiser, but more dogmatic and less friendly; Seifullah Maleshova, the cleverest, but of a sarcastic turn of mind and, so it seemed to the Englishmen, deeply imbued with the anti-British prejudices of the Comintern. A powerful but more sinister figure was Ali Dushanovitch, a Serb from the Kossovo, reputed to be Tito's delegate to the L.N.C. Ali seemed to exercise great influence over the Partisan leaders and would sometimes intervene most effectively in their discussions, striding up and down, biting his nails and delivering scathing criticisms of British policy in the Balkans. In the course of their journeys, Maclean and Smiley also met Muslim Peza and Baba Faya and, while admiring their personal qualities, soon discovered the extent of their political impotence.

In general, they found the leaders of the L.N.C. often slow to co-operate and always suspicious of British intentions. Indeed, every time Maclean gave support to the Balli Kombetar in their operations against the Italians he found himself accused by Enver Hoja of deliberately seeking to strengthen reactionary elements in Albania. Nor could he escape coming to the conclusion that the Communist leaders were more interested in eliminating their rivals and seizing political power after the war than in the immediate task of killing Italians. Despite

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these mutual suspicions, however, relations between them remained cordial, and their differences of political opinion were often the subject of good-natured chaff. On one occasion Enver Hoja treated Smiley to a considerable speech, advocating a new world order on Communist lines. They were standing in front of a map of the world; and when Enver had finished he pointed to the map and said:

"And how would you like to see the world?"

"I'd also like to see it painted red all over," Smiley answered, adding after a pause: "but not the red you're thinking of!"

The forces of the Balli Kombetar seemed to Maclean and Smiley weaker in numbers, organisation, and morale than those of the L.N.C. Some indeed of their leaders paid more heed to British advice than did the Communists, but their zeal for war was severely restrained by the enjoyment of their present riches. While, therefore, the British officers gave them some supplies of arms and money, and occasionally took part in their operations against the enemy, the greater part of their efforts was devoted to the training and supplying of the Partisans.

In the seven months that their mission lasted the two British officers gave proof of tireless energy and travelled through almost every district of South and Central Albania. Wherever they went they stirred up unrest among the Albanians and provided the sinews of revolt in the shape of arms and of gold. They soon found, however, that they could not personally supervise the activities of all the different guerilla groups; and accordingly, at their request, new teams of British officers, wireless operators, and saboteurs were dropped to the principal centres of Albanian resistance.

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THE victories won by the Allies in the spring and summer of 1943 brought about a crisis in the affairs of Italy. Sicily was occupied by British and American armies; in Rome divided

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counsels prevailed; and it seemed to many that Italy would sue 669*
for peace before the summer was out. The western regions of 648
the Balkans were mainly garrisoned by Italian armies; and it was therefore widely believed that an Allied invasion of Italy would be followed almost at once by landings on the east coast of the Adriatic, designed to receive, or if necessary to compel, the surrender of the Italian forces of occupation. Such speculation aroused hopes of early liberation among the Albanians; and men hastened to join the insurgent forces to take part in the final destruction of the enemy.

The prospect of an Italian collapse, however, brought the insurgent leaders up against the problem of who was to succeed to the government of Albania; and, believing that power would lie with the strongest guerilla forces, they sharpened their daggers for internal strife. The Partisans were convinced that the British and Americans would do all in their power to oppose the setting up of a Communist state in Albania, and they therefore determined to eliminate all possible rivals before an Allied landing could take place. They knew that the Albanian Fascists and collaborationists were too discredited to be a danger to them once the Italians had surrendered, and they therefore directed their energies against the Balli Kombetar, who were their natural class enemies. The Ballists, for their part, were not slow to take up the challenge; and relations between the two parties soon deteriorated to a point where armed clashes occurred.

Alarmed by the danger of civil war, Abas Kupi decided to 669*
intervene in the dispute. His aim was to restore the monarchy and preserve the interests of the Ghegs; and, wishing to prevent the preponderance alike of Communist or of Republican influence, he sought to include both parties in a United Front in which he and his friends might hold the balance of power. He therefore took the initiative in proposing to his colleagues on the Central Council of the L.N.C., and to the Ballist leaders, that they should come to terms. The Ballists accepted the suggestion at once, for they knew that it was favoured by the British and were besides aware of their own military weakness; but among the Communist leaders opinion was divided.

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offered an alliance to the L.N.C.; but they refused to recognise the Zogists;[1] and from this time his relations with Enver Hoja steadily deteriorated. A clash was feared; but a few weeks later a German punitive expedition drove the main body of the Partisans back across the Shkumbi; and geographical separation imposed an uneasy truce on both sides. 669* 665

Meanwhile Gani, Said, and Hassan Kryeziu had returned to the Jakova mountains. With the other prisoners at Ventotteno they had been transferred to a camp on the mainland in the summer of 1943, following rumours of an Allied descent on the island, and had escaped to Rome in the confusion that followed the announcement of the armistice. There they had found Mehmet Bey Konitza, an Albanian of distinction, whose advice the Germans had sought in deciding which Albanian internees might safely be allowed to return to their homes. Mehmet Bey was an old friend of the Kryeziu family and had surreptitiously entered their names upon his list, thus procuring for them the necessary travel permits. With these they had returned to Jakova and, after spending one night in their family home, had taken to the mountains with a bodyguard of a hundred men. 669*

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By the autumn of 1943 the number of British Missions operating in Albania had become so considerable that it was decided to recall Maclean to report and to send in a more senior officer, Brigadier Davies, to take command. Accordingly, in November, Maclean and Smiley were evacuated by Motor Torpedo-Boat from the neighbourhood of Valona,[2] and, after preparing in Cairo the first detailed report to be received on the Albanian situation, were sent to London to acquaint the Foreign Secretary and other interested parties with their experiences and opinions. 669* 648

[1] Also known as the "Legality" movement, after the name which Zog had given to his party in the revolution of 1924.

[2] By a curious coincidence the boat which evacuated Maclean and Smiley brought in my former colleague, Sandy Glen, who was to spend some weeks reconnoitring the South Albanian coast for the Admiralty. ooo

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Maclean and Smiley were naturally given to improvisation and had always travelled light. Brigadier Davies, however, felt the need of a more numerous staff, and, in accordance with accepted military standards of establishment, set up a headquarters composed of a full complement of staff officers G. and Q. This impressive but unwieldy organisation was served by a chief clerk and a signals officer commanding several wireless operators, and was furnished with the latest collapsible camp furniture, as well as several hundredweight of stationery. Its defence, however, was entrusted to unreliable tribal levies; and its mobility was doubtfully assured by a baggage-train of more than a hundred mules, hard to feed and impossible to hide. Maclean's more instinctive methods of work were now replaced by regular military schedules. Orders were given for the whole mission to stand to at sunrise and at sunset. As a precautionary measure action stations were assumed whenever a shot was heard — an unfortunate decision in view of the Albanian propensity for *feu de joie*; and the guerillas were astonished or amused by the precise but incomprehensible evolutions of their allies. Altogether it was magnificent but, to paraphrase Marshal Bosquet, it was not guerilla war.

The Brigadier had been in Albania little more than a month and was still feeling his way among its complex and unfamiliar problems when winter fastened on the mountains — the harshest winter of the war. Short of food and almost destitute of boots and warm clothing, the Central Council of the L.N.C. were hard put to it to keep their forces in being at all. Then, to make matters worse, the Germans began a series of determined punitive operations, designed to destroy the guerilla movement altogether. The leaders of the L.N.C. were in many ways inefficient from a military point of view. Their endurance, however, was boundless; and, relying on their superior mobility, made possible by living off the country and on short rations, they were prepared to take what often seemed to the British officers to be quite unnecessary risks. Brigadier Davies was an older man than Enver Hoja; and his staff was both bigger and more accustomed to heavy baggage and sustaining food than were the Communist leaders. He had meant

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BRIGADIER DAVIES AND HIS STAFF, AUTUMN 1943
(*Left to Right*) Smythe, Davies, Hare, Nicholls, Maclean, Smiley

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PARTISANS IN LIBERATED POGRADETZ, OCTOBER 1943
The Partisans slogan "Death to Fascism; Liberty to the People" is inscribed over the door

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at first to remain permanently with the Central Council, but already in the autumn he had found it difficult to keep pace with their forced marches. He decided, therefore, to limit his contact with them to messengers and occasional meetings and began to move southwards, planning to return to Italy to make a personal report on the Albanian situation. Then came the snow. The Brigadier's boots gave way at the end of a long march: they could not be replaced. His Chief-of-Staff, Colonel Nicholls, contracted frostbite in his feet and for ten days dared not take off his boots in case he could not get them on again. Meanwhile the German trap was closing round them; their baggage-train was ambushed; and their mules, wireless sets, and stores were captured. Food became desperately short; the Partisan forces disintegrated; and the Brigadier now lost touch altogether both with the Central Council and with his own submissions.

He planned to break through to a safer district to the south, but blizzard conditions impeded the march, and, on the 7th of January, the Mission took refuge in a sheepfold above the little village of Kostengje. There, next morning, they were ambushed by a band of Albanian quislings. The enemy surrounded them on three sides, and, keeping just out of range of the British submachine-guns, poured a steady rifle fire into the wattle structure where they sheltered. To have stayed there would have been certain death; the only hope of escape lay in climbing some hundreds of feet up a steep and bare snow slope behind the sheepfold. The attempt was made; the Brigadier was hit three times, twice in the stomach; and two other members of the party were wounded with him. These three were captured and brought back to Tirana, where they were handed over to the Germans. Nicholls reached the crest of the ridge with the survivors; among them Alan Hare, the Brigadier's ablest staff officer, who had refused to leave his wounded chief until ordered to escape. After a sixteen hours' march they shook off their pursuers and a few days later decided to disperse; Hare to the south to resume wireless contact with Headquarters and Nicholls to the north in search of help. Hare could still walk, though already very lame from frostbite; but when

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Nicholls tried to go on he found that he could no longer stand. Gangrene had set in in both his feet; and for several days he had to be dragged over the rough mountain paths, sitting on his overcoat. At length he was found a mule, but he was already too weak to ride unsupported and fell, dislocating his shoulder. Few men can have suffered more, but Nicholls refused to give in. Three weeks after the ambush he was at last rescued by Seymour, a survivor from one of the British sub-missions to the north, who brought him to the house of Ihsan Bey Toptani, near to Tirana. Ihsan sent for a doctor; an amputation was attempted; but it was too late. The limit of endurance had been passed and a few hours later Nicholls [1] was dead.

The remaining officers and men of the Headquarters and of the various sub-missions in North and Central Albania wandered for several weeks in the high mountains. Some were captured by the enemy, others were attacked by robbers for their gold and weapons, and yet others marched on through the snow in search of food and shelter. But the capture of the Brigadier had brought about a sharp fall in British prestige; and the mountaineers, fearful of German reprisals, turned hostile and barred their doors against the fugitives. In the end most of the survivors found their way to Abas Kupi's territory, where they were given hospitality and protection. There they were reorganised by Hare and Seymour, who were presently able to renew wireless communications with Cairo and to send out a report of the winter's disaster.

Meanwhile the main body of the L.N.C. had made their way back into South Albania by forced marches, twice narrowly escaping encirclement and annihilation. They regrouped in the mountains near Berat, and, thanks to British support, eventually recovered from their defeats. Abas Kupi for his part bowed before the storm and disbanded most of his forces to their homes, maintaining only a bodyguard of some two hundred men. He now devoted himself to organising a firm basis for his movement in Central Albania and to extending its influence to the principal towns and among the chiefs of the North. Meanwhile he suspended operations against the

[1] Nicholls was posthumously awarded the George Cross.

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Germans, waiting for campaigning weather to come again and for the clouds to lift from the political situation.

To the observers in London and Cairo, intently watching the movements of the tiny flags on their staff maps, it seemed as if the backbone of the Albanian revolt had been broken. The forces of the L.N.C. were said to be reduced to seven thousand men and these were confined to the mountains of the South; in Central Albania the Zogist forces were virtually disbanded; and few believed that Gani Kryeziu would again raise an effective force. Yet the need for some reorganisation was urgent; for, with the summer, the Germans were expected to begin their withdrawal from the Balkans; and the High Command had counted on the guerillas to harass their retreat through Albania. Moreover, Albania possessed a Mediterranean coast-line; and His Majesty's Government could not be altogether indifferent to the country's political future. Following, therefore, on Maclean's report to the interested authorities in London, it was decided to work for a reconciliation between the Zogists and the L.N.C. and to encourage them to united action against the Germans. This was believed to be the course best calculated to inflict the maximum losses on the German army in its retreat, and most likely, by the broadening of the resistance movement which it would imply, to lead to the eventual establishment of a truly representative Albanian Government. To give effect to these decisions Maclean was invited to go back to Albania, this time to Abas Kupi's area.

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000 On the way back to Bari we stopped near Brindisi to call on Count Carlo Frasso, who was held to be an Italian expert on Albania. Count Carlo was reputed a friend of the British, but as *Co-Belligerency* was still in its infancy, we had been instructed to present ourselves to him under false names. This was to be the cause of some merriment, for the Duke of Spoleto — once uncrowned king of Croatia — was staying with the Count, and at dinner, as is sometimes the way of royalty, bombarded us with questions about our families. This called for flights of fancy on our part appropriate to our fictitious names; and to each other's great amusement we spent much of the meal telling the Duke of the eccentricities of our imaginary relatives. Apart, however, from this diversion and our enjoyment of the Count's excellent hospitality, we also learnt something of the personality and influence of Nureddin Bey Vlora, a nephew of Ismail Kemal. Our host knew him well and described him as: " too great a patriot to accept foreign domination, but too great a gentleman to work with the Communists ".

*669 648 Bari was the operational base on which the British liaison officers with the Balkan guerilla movements depended for their supplies and day-to-day instructions. Accordingly, when all other preparations were completed, we attended a conference at the Headquarters of the " D " Organisation where the charter of our mission and our exact terms of reference were discussed. Our final instructions as then agreed were:

1. To reorganise and co-ordinate the activities of the British missions in Gheg Albania:
2. To raise the Ghegs in general, and the Zogist forces of Abas Kupi in particular, against the Germans:
3. To attempt to bring about co-operation between the Zogist movement and the L.N.C.

We were to be responsible to the H.Q. Balkan Air Force, under the command of Air-Marshal Elliot, and through him to General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson,[1] the Supreme Allied

[1] Now Field-Marshal Lord Wilson.

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*669 Commander in the Mediterranean theatre of operations.
648 Political matters were to be referred to the Foreign Office, through the diplomatic staff of the Resident Minister of State, Mr. Harold Macmillan; but Maclean was authorised to communicate direct with the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in cases of overriding importance and urgency. Details of policy were to await our estimate of the situation. We were, however, authorised to promise arms to all who would fight the Germans, though we were given to understand that no supplies would be sent to any guerilla leader until he had first taken the field.

000 Once we had received our final instructions there was no more to be done until the experts in wind and weather should appoint a day for our departure. They wasted no time; and on 17th April, the anniversary of Maclean's first landing in Albania, we drove out along the road that follows the flat and dreary Apulian shore to Brindisi, where an aeroplane was waiting. We spent the morning supervising the packing of our gear into steel containers specially designed for parachuting, and watched them being loaded on to the 'plane. For the rest of the day we sought to kill time and subdue our own nervous impatience speculating on the problems that lay ahead of us, reading papers, playing cards, or walking the cold and windy streets of Brindisi.

Towards evening we drove out to the aerodrome, and, after taking leave of the staff officers who had accompanied us thus far, took off half an hour before sunset. The 'plane was a U.S. Dakota and through the big door in its flank, left open for our jump, we watched the Italian coast recede while sea and sky melted into one another as the darkness drew on. Our pilot had to locate two dropping-grounds: the first destined to receive our gear but judged too rocky for our own descent, the second where we were to jump ourselves. The flight across the Adriatic lasted perhaps three-quarters of an hour; and it was barely night when we made out the signal fires of the first of our targets. Here the American despatcher, assisted by Peter Kemp, who had come to see us off — " somewhat literally ", as Smiley remarked — heaved the containers out into space. In

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000 weeks, so that his appreciation of events was necessarily tentative. He saw little hope, however, of reconciling Zogists and Partisans, and believed that our Headquarters gravely underrated the difficulties of bringing Abas Kupi back into the fight. Hare's state of health, as well as his length of service in Albania, would fully have entitled him to seek evacuation; and indeed we had been ordered to relieve both him and Seymour. We judged, however, that his support would be a great strength to us and easily prevailed on him to remain. Seymour also volunteered to stay to help ensure continuity of policy.

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[622] THE evening after we had reached Derye we received the visit of Kiamil, the headman of the village, who had protected and provided for the British Mission during the anxious winter months. Kiamil was an Albanian of the old school, dressed in a handsome, dark-blue cloak and remarkable by the extraordinary whiteness of his hands. He was indeed afflicted with a curious complex, whereby he felt impelled to wash his hands and mouth every hour of the day, a proceeding which excited the wonder of the villagers, though without in any degree inducing their emulation. He spoke Turkish, Arabic, and a little French, having studied at Salonika; and was eager for news of the Near East where he had travelled as a young man. A pious Moslem he would touch no alcohol, and in any case refused to take food or drink outside his own house. He greeted us with the old-fashioned salaam, discussed general topics for half an hour, and then delivered a message from Abas Kupi to say that he had learned of our arrival, and was on his way to meet us.

* 669 648 Abas Kupi duly reached Derye on the following evening[1] with a force of about a hundred men. He put off meeting us that night, pleading fatigue from the march, but came next morning to the house where we were lodged, accompanied by a few armed bodyguards. He was dressed now in riding-

[1] [late April, 1944 -- Analyst]

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breeches and a grey " redingote " which heightened his likeness to Napoleon ; but he looked older and leaner than when I had seen him in Belgrade. We sat cross-legged round the hearth in the upper room ; and when the exchange of formal greetings was done Maclean spoke of the aims of our Mission. He explained that we had been charged to help the Ghegs in their war against the Germans and to co-ordinate their operations with the overall strategy of the Allies. He then reviewed the military and political situation of the contending Powers, leading up to the conclusion that an Allied victory was at hand. The time had therefore come for all Albanians to lay aside their personal differences and to unite to wrest from the invaders the independence for which they had already sacrificed so much.

Abas Kupi replied at some length, but, it seemed to me, wearily, as if he had lost faith in the power of words. He welcomed us to his regions with warmth and courtesy, and expressed his deep indignation that Albanians should have been responsible for the capture of Brigadier Davies. A harsh winter and lack of arms had forced him on to the defensive ; but now that we had come he hoped that we would soon make it possible for him to lead a new and final rising against the Germans. From these preliminaries he turned to questions of policy. His people were at a loss to understand why Albania was not among the United Nations, or why the Allies did not recognise King Zog who, as he remarked, had been a victim of Fascist aggression when Mr. Neville Chamberlain still believed in peace. They were anxious, moreover, for the future of the Kossovo and of Southern Albania and hoped for some assurance that these provinces would not be ceded to Yugoslavia or Greece without first consulting the wishes of the local populations. Our support of the Albanian Communists was also a cause of deep concern ; and it was widely believed that, at the Teheran Conference, Albania had been assigned to the Soviet sphere of influence.

" We Albanians," he concluded, " are few and poor, but in proportion to our strength we have made great efforts and great sacrifices in the common cause. So far we have received

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no encouragement nor recognition from the great Allies; but I still put my trust in Great Britain as I did in 1940. I have fought and I will continue to fight, but you must send me arms and make some gesture that you have our country's interest at heart, for we are Albanian patriots and not British agents."

Maclean turned a gentle answer, judging that it would be premature to try and thrash out these delicate problems at our first meeting. He proposed, however, that I should go to Abas Kupi's Headquarters to study his difficulties and explain our policy in greater detail. The Agha at once agreed, and, before leaving us, promised to send guides within a few days to bring me to him. Meanwhile we turned to the task of reorganising the British Missions.

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SEYMOUR and Hare had established their base in Derye because it was near to the Tirana road and thus suitable as an observation post. The very conditions, however, which made the village easily accessible to visitors or couriers from the capital exposed it to the danger of sudden enemy raids. The British officers were thus obliged to lead a strictly conspiratorial existence, which severely restricted the scope of their activities. They seldom ventured out in daylight; most of their business was conducted through intermediaries; and fear of detection forced them to relegate their wireless set and operator to a rear base in the mountains. This rear base was a day's march away, so that all communictions with Headquarters in Italy suffered a delay of at least twenty-four hours. The drawbacks of this situation had hitherto been outweighed by its advantages; Seymour and Hare might indeed have enjoyed greater freedom and security in some remote mountain village, but, under winter conditions, they would then have been cut off from their chief sources of intelligence and supply. Now, however, that the snow was melting and that the mountain paths were practicable once more, Derye ceased to be convenient without becoming safe. There were already rumours that the Germans had wind of the Mission's whereabouts; and Maclean therefore

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to preserve our military status while assuring our comfort; 000
but, despite our badges of rank and decorations, we seldom contrived to look anything but irregular. Maclean wore light Albanian sandals, jodhpurs, and a heavy, green regimental tunic. Smiley favoured corduroy trousers and a battledress blouse. My own clothes were a hard-wearing cord tunic and trousers, the latter tucked Russian fashion into soft knee-length field-boots. These were heavy, but a great protection against rocks and thorns, and invaluable in the uncertainties of the night march. Mindful of Napoleon's dictum on the importance of an army's stomach, each of us wore a broad sash wound about his waist. This was a most necessary, as well as colourful, garment, protecting our digestions from insidious changes of temperature and fortifying them against the successive feasts and fasts of an outlaw's life. For arms each of us carried a Merlin submachine-gun and a Colt ·45 automatic. The submachine-gun was accurate up to about two hundred yards and deadly in an ambush. Its moral effect, moreover, was as great as its killing power; and an irresolute enemy was often driven back merely by its noise and rate of fire. The ·45 Colt was intended for our personal protection in camp or in the house; it was very powerful at close range; and a single shot from it might knock down an assailant, even if it only hit him in the hand.

On arriving in Ziber our[1] attention had at once been 669*
engaged by the presence in a neighbouring village of nineteen 648
British officers and men: the remnant of the various Missions scattered in the disasters of the previous winter. Their chief concern, and indeed duty, had been first to survive, and then to recover their strength, of which frostbite and illness had taken a heavy toll. There was indeed little else that they could have done; for the winter and Abas Kupi's policy of expectant neutrality had made offensive operations impossible. For several months now Hare and Seymour had formed the only active part of the Mission. The others had accordingly been relegated to the safety of the mountains, where they had nothing to do but guard the wireless set and collect the occa-

[1] [i.e. Amery's liaison group -- Analyst]

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sional supplies that were dropped from Italy. There they had waited for the spring; herded into a single room, often short of food though not, apparently, of alcohol, and a prey to all the demoralising influences of boredom and inactivity.

Maclean was rightly determined that our Mission should carry as little ballast as possible, and at once decided to be rid of a concentration of men who had to be fed and protected but could not be usefully employed. The greater part were therefore sent south for evacuation by sea from the coastal area held by the Partisans. A few, however, were kept to strengthen the three other British Missions in Northern Albania, whose activities Maclean was to co-ordinate. The most northerly of these was in the region of Nikai and Mertur, beyond the Kukes–Scutari road: there Squadron-Leader Neel and Captain Hibberdine maintained intermittent contact with Gani Kryeziu and watched the situation among the Catholic tribes. The next consisted of Major Riddle, Captain Simcox, Captain Lis — a Polish officer — and Lieutenant Hibbert. The valley of the Black Drin was their area; and they worked with Muharrem Bairaktar and the chiefs of Dibra. Finally, Captain Smythe kept a lonely watch in the Peza region, south of Tirana, where Zogist and Partisan influences intermingled. By a fortunate coincidence Hibberdine was already at Seymour's rear base; and Maclean now sent for Riddle and Smythe to tell us of the situation in their districts.

000 Our presence in Ziber was a source of considerable profit to the villagers; they earned a subsidy by providing us with a guard, sold us food at exorbitant prices and improved every opportunity of pilfering our stores. We had little, therefore, to fear from their indiscretion; and indeed the bonds of interest which united them to our cause were fortified by the knowledge that they would suffer dire reprisals from the Germans if we were discovered, and from Abas Kupi if we were betrayed. Nevertheless their constant attentions were expensive and wearisome; and there was always the risk that some stranger passing through the village might see us and spread the news abroad. We decided, therefore, to abandon the haunts of men

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me by the hand into a dark and dusty room, hung with rifles and submachine-guns. It was thronged with Zogist notables and their bodyguards: wild and rugged men, corrugated with cartridge-belts, and festooned with pistols, daggers, and hand-grenades. Most of them were dressed in black, baggy Turkish breeches, braided homespun jackets of black or brown, with multicoloured sashes wound about their waists, and white fezes or skull-caps on their heads. A few besides were in uniform retained from the time of their service in the Albanian army, or looted from the Italians; while others, especially the leaders, wore tweed or leather jackets, variously combined with local or military costume.

We sat down, Turkish fashion, by the fire; and, while we drank coffee and exchanged greetings, the guerillas milled around, or sat together in small groups, whispering intently. To a stranger this whispering seemed sinister and blatantly conspiratorial, but the others took no offence at it. Necessity indeed imposed a communal way of life on the guerillas; each man was watched by his fellows in his every movement, and it was only by whispering that any privacy of discussion could be preserved.

I had been there perhaps half an hour when, at a sign from Abas Kupi, the guerillas filed out of the room, and we remained alone with Shaqir, my interpreter, and Colonel Murad Basha. Basha had been a regular officer under King Zog and had joined Abas Kupi in Belgrade in 1940. He was now the Zogist Chief-of-Staff, but struck me from the first as pedantic and too quick to see the difficulties in any scheme. He was indeed to prove a defeatist influence at the Zogist Headquarters, for, though personally no coward, he was terrified of action, like so many senior officers who have won their spurs on the square rather than in the field.

I began our discussions by showing Abas Kupi my credentials: these were a letter from Stirling, who had been his friend, and a *besa* given me by King Zog. This was a covenant enjoining upon all Albanians the duty of protecting my life and, should their zeal prove unavailing, of avenging my death. My *bona fides* thus established I recalled our meeting in Belgrade

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*669 648 in 1940 and asked the Agha to tell me of his experiences in the years between. I wanted to hear the story for its own sake, and thought besides that his interpretation of the past would afford the most natural explanation of his present outlook. He[1] smiled and began the detailed narrative of his adventures, enlivened by occasional flashes of sardonic humour, but unadorned except for matter-of-fact accounts of his own feelings at the time. He spoke in a low voice, prodding the glowing embers on the hearth as he talked, and looking up every now and then to see if the point of his sentence had reached me through the interpreter. It was near midnight before he had done; but it was a good story, and through it shone the consistency of the man and the skill with which he had preserved his independence from all those who had sought to use him for their own ends. Of these we were but the latest; and, next day, in a brief message to Maclean, I wrote: "Here is a fish whom many have hooked but none have ever landed".

[665] We continued our talks in the morning and discussed the structure and policy of the Zogist movement. Its main fighting strength was drawn from the regions of Mati, Kruya, and Tirana, each of which had some special connection with the royalist cause. Zog was a man of Mati, and in his reign the valley had grown rich above all other districts in Albania. Tirana had been his chosen capital, whose claims he had consistently defended against the rival cities of Scutari and Valona. As for Kruya, it was Abas Kupi's birthplace, and he had governed it for fifteen years under the King. The Agha claimed that the clans in these three districts might muster ten thousand men; but they were ill-equipped and desperately short of ammunition. The movement, however, was spreading beyond Central Albania and already commanded the support of a number of former army and gendarmerie officers, the bulk of the Tirana merchants as well as certain Gheg chieftains and prominent Tosks. I was given the list of the members of the Central Committee and recognised the names of several well-known men, mostly landowners or intellectuals, but with a good record of opposition against the Italians.

The Agha's immediate aim was to build up alliances with

[1] [i.e. Abas Kupi, leader of Zogist movement--Analyst]

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the chiefs of Dibra and of the Catholic tribes beyond the Drin. He made no secret, however, of the advances that had been made to him by the Tirana Government and the Balli Kombetar, and told me frankly of his contacts with the " collaborationist " leaders. These men knew as well as he did that the Germans had lost the war, and were only too anxious to " work their passage home ". He saw no reason, therefore, why he should not exploit such influence as they still possessed ; for it was not in his nature to hate or to persecute those whom he no longer feared.

I now broached the subject of the Partisans, but saw at once that he regarded them as enemies. They were indeed the real danger to his cause, as contrasted with the " collaborationists " whose power to hurt him had long been on the wane. His natural inclination had been to destroy them before they grew too strong and he had only refrained from attacking them out of respect for the wishes of the British. I urged various arguments upon him in favour of reconciliation, but, though he agreed to its advantages, he doubted whether it was any longer possible.

" If you will impose friendship between us," he said, " I shall be glad. But I know these men and, *Wallahi !* they will not have it."

We now turned to the critical subject of military action. The Agha regarded himself as at war with the Germans and pointed to the presence of British military Missions on his territory as proof of this claim. He admitted, indeed, that he had not taken the offensive since the autumn ; but the winter had been harsh, and all his energies had gone into building up a strong organisation with which he might lead a general rising when the time came. The people besides had been demoralised by the failure of their revolt the year before. The British Missions had incited them to action ; there had been no British landing ; instead their homes had been burnt, their relatives interned, and their flocks carried off. The Germans were not as pestilential as the Italians, but they were ruthless fellows, and the tribesmen would hesitate to attack them again, at least until we sent them arms and ammunition. The time

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648 [*669] had surely come, moreover, for the Allies to take the Albanian people into their confidence; they had made great sacrifices for a nation of only a million people; and, if they were now called upon to shed their blood once more, they deserved to be told what was to be their future. Meanwhile he could only repeat his demands for the recognition by the Allies of King Zog, the inclusion of Albania among the United Nations, and an assurance that the fate of the frontier provinces would not be settled without first consulting the wishes of their inhabitants.

We broke off our discussions for the midday meal and afterwards I prolonged the hour of siesta, reflecting on the Agha's words and preparing my answer. The substance of his remarks was that he saw no prospect of reaching agreement with the Partisans, and that the Zogists would require supplies of arms and certain political concessions before they could again attack the Germans. As I saw it the second of these two issues comprehended the first. The two parties would probably fail to come to terms of their own accord, but British intervention might still impose an uneasy alliance and so avert civil war. Such intervention, however, would scarcely be justified unless both parties were already engaged against the Germans. To bring the Zogists into action, therefore, was not only an end desirable in itself but also the only means whereby the rival resistance movements might still be reconciled.

Having thus simplified my problem, I had next to consider how to persuade Abas Kupi to take the field. I knew for certain that the Foreign Office would never grant such political concessions as he had requested; nor could I hope that our Headquarters would send him arms until he had first given proof of his good faith by renewing the attack. Words are seldom by themselves sufficient to alter the direction of a political movement. A first step, however, to bringing him back into the war was to answer his objections and show good cause why he should fight. I had therefore to make it plain that, in the British view, the onus was on him to win military and political support by his actions and not on us to induce him to engage the common enemy. To this end I now worked

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out a line of argument which in its essentials was to become our Mission's "party line". When we renewed our talks that afternoon I tried it out for the first time. 648

"I was in Belgrade," I began, "when you joined us there in the dark days of 1940; and no one knows better than I how much you have done in the common cause. If I speak frankly then it is because I know that you are our friend." It might be that in the past justice had not been done to Albania. But if mistakes had been made the task of correcting them was infinitely complicated by the intestine divisions of the Albanians. Abas Kupi had asked that we should recognise King Zog; but the Partisans were implacably opposed to his restoration; and the Partisans were fighting the Germans. He had proposed the formation of an Albanian Government in London; but there was no agreement among the Albanian political parties and we could not tell which of them most nearly represented the will of the Albanian people. He had also demanded Albania's inclusion among the United Nations, but there was as yet no Albanian sovereign body with which that organisation might treat. It was all most regrettable but it was not altogether our fault: for the time being, therefore, we could only pledge ourselves to restore Albania to independence. He had spoken, too, of self-determination for the Kossovo and Southern Albania. The Yugoslavs and Greeks, however, also had some claim to these regions and they were fighting the Germans. We only wanted to see justice done, but we were not alone among the Allies; and he must realise that Albania's claims might well be prejudiced by his continued inactivity.

He had asked that we should send him arms. This had been our chief purpose in coming to Albania, and we should do so on as large a scale as possible as soon as he took the field. We might wish to do so before, but there were strong reasons why we could not. Our arsenals were not inexhaustible, and from all over Europe and Asia came appeals for arms from men who were fighting the enemy with their bare hands. In Albania the Partisans were already at war and we should be very wrong to reduce their supplies in favour of a non-belligerent. The Agha had told us that the Zogists were our

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648 friends while the Partisans were only instruments of Russia. It might be true, but we could not for that divert arms from their men who were fighting to his who were not. The Russians were our allies and to do so would be to invite Russian accusations that we were thinking more about our post-war interests than about the prosecution of the war. No doubt the Russians also had an eye on the future, but at least the Communists justified the support they got by the number of Germans they killed. It was up to the Zogists to do the same; for we should certainly not weaken our alliance with Russia for their sake. Hitler's last hope was to divide us and we meant to disappoint him. The Agha might guess for himself where our sympathies lay; Great Britain was not a monarchy for nothing, but the Zogists must prove their worth if they wanted our support.

"If you fight," I concluded, "we will send you arms. If you fight we will do all in our power to resolve your differences with the Partisans. Play your part and we will play ours. The future of your King and country is in your own hands."

Abas Kupi was plainly disconcerted by these arguments, and for some moments after I had done there was a stony silence. It was indeed scarcely to be expected that we should reach agreement so early; and he may well have believed that, just as he had pitched his own demands high, so there might be an element of bargaining in my absolute rejection of all concessions. I was convinced, however, by the tone of an altercation which now arose between Abas Kupi and Murad Basha that Abas wanted to fight but was held back by unseen forces. These might be merely lack of arms, or perhaps the contrary opinions of his supporters, but in either case he would be unlikely to admit to them for fear of losing prestige in our eyes. If my instinct was right, we should make no further progress by direct negotiations until we had studied the Zogist movement for ourselves. I had heard that the Agha was soon to make a progress through Mati and Kruya and therefore asked if Maclean and I might accompany him. This would give us the chance of meeting the Zogist chiefs and members of the Central Committee, and of gauging the state of public opinion for ourselves. He welcomed the proposal; and the tension

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between us was insensibly eased by the prospect of a further exchange of views. 648

It was already dark when we made an end of our discussions, but Abas Kupi none the less decided that we should move that same evening to another village. I thought at first that this was a precaution against surprise attacks but, on enquiry, was told the simpler truth: in the two days that we had been there the bodyguard had devoured such food as the village could spare and no more could be obtained for the evening meal without straining the loyalty of the inhabitants. Hunger indeed was the sternest taskmaster of the guerillas, and the struggle to find food kept them continually on the move. We set out, therefore, into the night and, after an hour's march, came to a village where I was lodged with Abas Kupi and his staff in a large, two-storied house. [261].

A blizzard sprang up in the night and we woke to find the face of the mountains whitened with snow. I was impatient to join Maclean and discuss my impressions with him, but the fury of the elements kept us indoors all day. By next morning, however, the gale had dropped; I therefore took leave of Abas Kupi and, crossing the range, rode back into the camp at dusk.

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TWELVE days had passed since we had landed in Albania[1] and we had by now reorganised the network of British Missions and assured our own mobility and communications with Headquarters. Our next task was to complete a reconnaissance of the situation which confronted us. According to our information there were some twenty-five thousand German troops in Albania, belonging, most of them, to the XXI Mountain Corps. The Corps Headquarters were in Tirana, and controlled the 297th Infantry Division, deployed in Central and Southern Albania, and the 181st Mountain Division, based on Scutari.[1] There were besides some units in the South belonging to the 727

[1] The 181st Mountain Division was also responsible for internal security in Southern Montenegro.

[1] [i.e. on the night of 18th April, 1944 -- Ed.]

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186 poorest villages through which we passed the women would run out and kiss his hands or hold up their children to him.

000 Night overtook us in the trough between the range and Mount Kruya ; and an hour or so later we were received into a dilapidated house, built in a hollow some two hundred feet below the main Mati–Kruya road. There we were to meet representatives of the Zogist Central Committee next morning. Our position was exposed, and doubly so since our presence there was already known to the Committee in Tirana. Abas Kupi therefore posted sentries along the paths leading towards the house, and we slept that night with one eye open.

*669 648 The representatives of the Zogist Committee, Salih Hoja Vuchitern and Teke Zelenitsa, arrived in the small hours of the morning. Both were badly shaken, for, by a strange irony, the car in which they had travelled from Tirana had been "strafed" on the road by an R.A.F. fighter 'plane. The pilot could hardly have been expected to know that they were on the business of the British Mission, but it was an unfortunate prelude to our talks. Salih Hoja was a Balkan politician of the old school, a blend of peasant guile and Byzantine diplomacy. He had been a powerful influence under King Zog ; but now his close-cropped hair was grown white with years, his voice was querulous, and his hand shook. Zelenitza was a younger man and had been an official in the palace. He was of an acid disposition, and, though more westernised than old Salih, lacked his courtesy and understanding. The two men had come out to press for political concessions, and we saw from the start that they would not agree to fight until some at least of their demands had been granted. Such an attitude was not indeed unnatural, for they were primarily politicians and knew that, once fighting started, it would be too late for them to intervene. Questions of policy would then tend to become subordinated to the immediate needs of war, and the control of the Zogist movement would pass out of their hands.

They began accordingly by repeating the principal demands which Abas Kupi had already made : the inclusion of Albania among the United Nations, the recognition of King Zog, self-determination for the Kossovo, and military support for the

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Zogist movement. Then in great detail, supported by a wealth of documentary evidence, they spoke to us of the Communist danger in the Balkans, and of the close connection between Moscow, Tito, and the L.N.C. Much of this we knew already, but they laboured the point as if we had not fully understood their meaning. So steeped were they, indeed, in their studies of the Eastern Question that they could not believe that any British Government would allow, let alone encourage, the spread of Russian influence to the Adriatic sea.

We answered, as on previous occasions, that if we had never ceased to recognise King Zog no problem would arise. We could not, however, recognise him now without causing serious concern to the Partisans, who were actively fighting the Germans. It was perhaps true that the Partisans reflected Russian rather than British interests; but, in our eyes, the Zogists could only maintain their claim to be our friends if they resumed the fight against the common enemy. Our alliance with Russia was the foundation of our policy, and we should therefore take no step which we could not openly justify before our Soviet allies.

When we had done, old Salih Hoja shook his head and answered:

"We know your victory is certain, but do you really need our sacrifices to justify your policy? When I was young it was enough that Great Britain had an interest at stake for her representatives to be sure that they were justified in defending it. We have already suffered once from your policies of appeasement. Believe me, the outlook for small nations will remain dark until you assert yourselves again."

We were troubled by the old man's answer, but our instructions were clear and we could not concede his demands. After some discussion, therefore, the two Zogist representatives rose to leave, promising to refer our opinions to their colleagues on the Central Committee and to send us an answer in writing.

Soon after the two men had gone a stranger was brought in by the bodyguards, bearing a letter for Abas Kupi. It was

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from Mustafa Kruya, and invited us to meet him and Mark Joni Markai for an exchange of views. Both men were still openly collaborating with the Germans and we decided that we could not take part in the talks ourselves. We agreed, however, that Abas Kupi should do so, for Mark was the son of the Captain of Mirdita and his attitude might decide the fate of Gheg resistance. The Mirdite clansmen were great warriors, and their hereditary Captain reputed worth more than five thousand rifles. Their region, moreover, marched with Mati, and, if we could bind together the Mirdites and Zogists, we should have a powerful force with which to attack the enemy and a wide expanse of territory into which we could withdraw from his wrath. Jon Marko Joni had long sided with the Axis, but we were not without hopes of obtaining his support : the tide of war was flowing in our favour, and it was believed that he had his price.

Abas Kupi left us, therefore, and that night met the two " collaborationists " in the Bektashi convent on the summit of Mount Kruya. It must have been a strange reunion, for Abas had not seen Mustafa since 1941, and, in the intervening years, each had sought to encompass the other's downfall and assassination. Neither, however, showed any sign of embarrassment, for, like wise men, they were guided by the injunction of Bias to " love as if you should hereafter hate and hate as if you should hereafter love ".

Mustafa and Mark knew that the Germans would soon be powerless to help them ; they could expect no mercy from the Communists ; and it was only by coming to terms with the Zogists that they might hope to " work their passage home ". At the same time, before they broke with the Germans, who still represented a positive, if wasting, asset, they wanted to make sure that Albania had not already been assigned to the Russian sphere of influence and that the Zogists were really strong enough to help them. They had come, therefore, to seek terms from Abas Kupi, and to learn how far he could count on British support. He never told us what answer he had given them, and, under the circumstances, we thought it more politic not to enquire.

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clapping. It was, I recalled, under rather similar circumstances that the Duke of Wellington once exclaimed : " I hope these gallant fellows will frighten the enemy ; they certainly frighten me ! "

Afterwards we watched Zogist teams at their mortar and machine-gun training, and were then shown over the depleted stock of mortars and automatic weapons which the Zogists still retained from the revolt against the Italians.

Abas Kupi took no part in these unreal parades, but watched them from a distance, chatting with the local peasants and smelling a rose which one of them had given him. He joined us, however, when we began to inspect his stock of weapons and gently reminded us that his poverty in arms was in part the result of British policy. In the previous autumn an Italian division had surrendered to him and had volunteered to fight for the Allies. He had little use for them as soldiers and had planned to disarm them and distribute their weapons to his mountaineers. The British Mission, however, with its natural preference for regular soldiers as against guerillas, had insisted on letting the Italians keep their arms. All had gone well at first, but, with the approach of winter, the Italians had lost heart and had marched back into Tirana with all their equipment.

The written reply of the Central Committee reached us while we were still in Shupal. It proved to be a twenty-page memorandum, recapitulating in execrable French all the demands which Salih Hoja had made to us by the Kruya road, and which we had then flatly rejected. On the vital issues of fighting the Germans and of coming to terms with the L.N.C. there was no word. This seemed to us intolerable prevarication and we decided to demand an immediate explanation from Abas Kupi. We signified, therefore, through our interpreter, that we wished to speak with him ; and he led us out from the crowded headquarters into a field where carpets had been spread. Our irritation had by this time somewhat subsided, but Maclean made a good show of anger and protested vehemently against the useless repetition of inadmissible arguments.

[Cf. pp. 118-119.—Analyst]

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"We have risked our lives," he concluded, "to find out how we can help your movement; and now you bring us this nonsense as a reply."

There was a pause; and then with a deprecating smile Abas Kupi explained that the members of the Committee had really prepared the memorandum for their first meeting with us. The typist had failed to finish it in time, but now that the fair copy was ready they had felt that it would be a pity not to send it to us.

The tension between us was dispelled by this ridiculous admission, and the conversation now took a more serious turn. Rather to our surprise, Abas Kupi invited us to arrange for him to meet the Partisan leaders as soon as possible. His declared object was to achieve a common front with them against the Germans, and he laid down as his only condition that a British officer should be present throughout their discussions. This he regarded as an essential safeguard so that we might judge for ourselves which party was responsible, should the negotiations break down. To bring Partisans and Zogists together round a table would be the first step towards a reconciliation; and we might then hope to bring pressure to bear on both sides to prevent them from flying apart. We therefore welcomed the proposal and promised to transmit it at once to our Headquarters, and, through them, to our colleagues with the L.N.C.

The Agha then briefly referred to his earlier demands for the recognition of the King, the inclusion of Albania among the United Nations, and the self-determination of the frontier provinces. These were issues of high policy to which his Central Committee attached the greatest importance; and, as a mere soldier, he would be very reluctant to go against their advice. He would, however, do so without hesitation on orders from King Zog. The King was in London, and Abas Kupi, therefore, proposed that we should refer our differences to him and ask for his private instructions.

"Let the King send a message through your Mission," he said, "and if he tells me to fight with my bare hands, I will."

This request seemed to us an inspired alternative to the

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impracticable demands for public assurances. We had indeed resolutely set ourselves against all political concessions, but to transmit a private message would involve no commitment. It seemed only natural that a monarchist leader should wish to consult his king before taking the field; and we could see no good reason why we should not help him to do so. We felt certain besides that the King's instructions would be favourable to our policy; and once armed with a mandate from him for war Abas Kupi would be free to disregard the objections of his Central Committee.

We undertook, therefore, to transmit this second proposal also to our Headquarters, and prepared to return to our base on Mount Bastar to despatch the necessary telegrams. Several days must pass before we could expect an answer and we planned meanwhile to visit Riddle's mission in the valley of the Black Drin. Abas Kupi for his part had work in Shiyak, the province beyond Durazzo, and it was agreed that we should meet again in the first days of June.

8

We rode into camp at dusk on the 21st of May, and, turning our riding ponies out to grass, joined Smiley and Hare where they reclined upon the hillside, meditating over a bottle of Marsala. The Italian orderlies presently set food before us, replaced the empty bottles with new, and wrapped blankets round our shoulders, for the mountain air was cool. Thus we prolonged the summer night exchanging news and discussing plans. In our absence Hare had been down into the plain to take soundings of opinion in Tirana and to find means of passing subversive propaganda to the enemy troops. He had picked up much interesting information and had made some useful contacts, but it would be some time before his propaganda campaign could produce results. Smiley meanwhile had reconnoitred the nearest German positions and had looked after half a dozen U.S. airmen who had baled out near Tirana and had been rescued by the Zogists. He had also received

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Starting from this estimate of their military potential we had next to decide whether the Zogists could again be made to fight. Abas Kupi, we believed, wanted war; for he needed British backing and was prepared to pay the price. Till now, however, he had been held back by the danger of a Partisan attack, the opposition of his political advisors, and the fear of reprisals and poverty of weapons which paralysed the clans. Arms we could supply once fighting had begun, and money enough to compensate for reprisals; but to reconcile Zogists and Partisans, and to convert the Zogist Committee to our way of thinking were thornier problems. Abas Kupi knew that to remain neutral as between Germans and Partisans was to court isolation and to risk falling between two stools. Originally, when the Axis Powers had been supreme, he had worked with the Communists against the Italians; later, as the Axis star declined, he had hoped to use the Germans to destroy the Communists. We had now convinced him that such a course would fatally compromise his relations with us; and, since in the last analysis the fate of the Monarchist cause would depend on our support, he was once more prepared to join hands with the Communists against the Germans. Whether they would prove equally amenable seemed uncertain, but we had at least brought the Agha to agree to negotiations; and it was now up to our Headquarters and to our colleagues with the L.N.C. to do their part. Their task would doubtless be easier if Abas Kupi attacked the Germans; but here we entered on a vicious circle, for it was to a large extent his fear of the Partisans which inhibited him from taking the field.

But the chief obstacle to action, and the root cause of the defeatism of Abas Kupi's political advisers, was their mistrust of British policy. They suspected that we had already assigned Albania to the Russian zone of influence, and regarded such a prospect not as liberation but as a change of masters. They had therefore demanded political assurances from us, as a test of our intentions; and, by refusing to commit ourselves, we had only seemed to confirm their worst suspicions. We had feared for a time that our negotiations must end in deadlock, but Abas Kupi's alternative request for private instructions from

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*669 648 King Zog now seemed to offer an escape from the impasse. Zog was in London, the heart of Allied councils, and thus surely in the best position to decide where his honour and interests lay. If he would order Abas Kupi to take the field, then there would be an end of political wrangling and we could look forward to fighting in like measure as we sent arms. Instructions from Zog thus appeared as the cure to all our ills, but it was vital that they should be sent quickly. The clouds of civil war were already gathering in the South, and unless the Zogists took the field before they broke, the whole situation would be lost. It was essential, moreover, that our request should not be refused; for, if we again met Abas Kupi with empty hands, he must conclude either that the King was opposed to war, or that, so far from extending recognition to him, the British Government was not even prepared to enlist his informal co-operation. A decision so fundamental to our policy and so urgently required seemed to justify a direct communication with the Foreign Secretary. This concluded with the words: "There is grave danger that without this measure of encouragement Abas Kupi will go the way of General Mihailovitch".

000 I spent the whole day on the ridge drafting my report, and towards evening returned to the camp with a sense, seldom before experienced, that I had understood what I had seen and expressed what I had understood. That night we discussed my draft among ourselves, and, when each had put forward his amendments, drew up the final text. Throughout the time of our mission we made a practice of thus debating among ourselves the messages which one of us had drafted. These discussions were often long and sometimes heated, but I can recall no single instance of a telegram which was despatched without first being unanimously agreed. In this way we gradually developed a common approach to our problems and a common doctrine of revolt. This was to prove a great strength; for it meant that, even when separated from one another we could still rely that all our actions would be informed by the same purpose and interpretation of events.

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Muharrem Bairaktar, and the British Missions. The clan thus had a foot in every camp, and, by a masterly display of "trimming", survived both the war and the revolution.

The fortress of the Elezis had been partly destroyed by the Germans, who had set fire to it to punish Tsen for harbouring a British officer. The fortunate intervention of a thunderstorm had saved much of the building from the flames; but there had been no time for repairs, and it was now altogether deserted. We dismounted there, none the less, and despatched messengers to Sohodoll, who presently returned with Tsen's two sons, Gani and Islam. Both spoke English well, having studied at the American college in Tirana, and reminded us irresistibly of Mr. Can and Mr. Can't in the famous Eno's advertisement. Islam was gay and debonair, clad in a new tweed suit of a pinkish colour. Gani was dour, glum, and down-at-heel.

"Make yourselves at home!" said Islam cheerfully, as we sat down among the ruins of their house. A light rain fell on us through the holes in the roof, and the wind whistled through the open doorways.

"What a summer!" grumbled Gani.

"It may be good for the crops," suggested Maclean.

"No, they will be very bad," Gani replied in sepulchral tones.

"As bad as last year?" I hazarded.

"Much worse," he answered, drawing down the corners of his mouth.

Abandoning agriculture, Maclean then enquired after the health of the Elezi family.

"Thank you," Gani answered, "none of them are dead yet."

After these depressing preliminaries Maclean delivered his set speech, explaining the purpose of our mission, urging the Ghegs to fight the Germans, and stressing the dangers of their continued neutrality. Both brothers declared that they were willing to fight but argued, like Ramadan Kalloshi, that they were not strong enough to give a lead. They showed us, however, that they were seriously concerned by our policy of supporting the Partisans.

"As you know," said Islam, "there are three parties in Albania: the agents of Germany, the agents of Russia, and

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the agents of England. That is quite natural, but what none of us can understand is why the agents of Russia are paid in English gold."

"Perhaps it's what they mean by lease-lend," Gani muttered.

We ate our midday meal with Gani and Islam, and in the afternoon called on Tsen's brother, Ersat, to learn something of the Dibran Partisans. He treated us to a vigorous tirade against most of the Gheg leaders, including his own brother; but his words were not matched by his deeds, for his following was small. The Gheg Partisans were still too few to undertake any actions on their own, and were waiting for Enver Hoja to launch his northern expedition.

Towards evening we abandoned the Dibran lowlands and climbed into the rugged glens of Liuma, where the snow was not yet wholly melted. Our way led up a stony gully which ended abruptly in a long slope of shifting scree. It was steep, and the going treacherous; and we dismounted, leading our ponies for the last few hundred feet. Heavy thunderclouds were billowing up at the head of the gully, and on the crest stood a square, stone barrack, grim and windswept — the lair of Osman Lita, the Black Douglas of the Liuman march. Dark, cruel, and grasping, Osman was growing old, not with the dignity which years can bring, but with a thickening of the body and wandering of the mind. He received us indeed with traditional hospitality, but I slept little that night, for it was a house of fear.

Next day we conferred with his son, Sherif, who was now the effective leader of the tribe; a lean and hungry man with cold, light eyes, who had worked for the Italians in Montenegro, spying on Mihailovitch. He listened impassively while I explained our policy, but when he understood that he could hope for neither arms nor subsidies until he fought the Germans he shook his head and answered bitterly:

"Words without gold are to us like chaff without corn."

From Osman Lita's house we climbed for some two thousand feet to a broad, moorland plateau. To the west the

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ground ran down steeply to a tributary torrent of the Drin, 000
while to the east the snow-capped summit of Mount Korab rose near ten thousand feet into the sky. We pushed on for close on five hours, through woods and over moors, and soon after nightfall reached the lonely house which was Riddle's base. There we found Tony Neel, who had come south to meet us with three deserters from the enemy—a German corporal and two Turkoman soldiers in German uniform.

Maclean had served in Abyssinia with Wingate and had been greatly impressed by his doctrine of the " striking force ". Wingate had held that lone British liaison officers, armed only with the weapons of persuasion, were in a weak position to influence the strategy of foreign guerilla leaders. If, on the other hand, they disposed of a disciplined body of men, or " striking force ", under their own direct command, they might be able to impose their will upon their guerilla allies. The guerillas might be reluctant to fight, but the " striking force " could always attack the enemy alone ; and Wingate believed that by their example they would often draw the guerilla leaders into operations which they could never have persuaded them to undertake on their own. In applying his theory to the Abyssinian campaign Wingate had trained small " striking forces " of native troops in the Sudan, and had marched them into Abyssinia under the command of British officers. By virtue of their superior discipline, these forerunners of the Burma Chindits had soon become the nuclei around which the guerillas had gathered, and had thus served as the instruments through which British strategy was imposed on the plans of the Abyssinians.

The hesitations of the Zogist leaders made us long for such 669*
a force, and, at an early stage, we had decided to try and recruit 648
one from the Central Asian troops which the Germans employed for garrison duties. These were for the most part deserters, or prisoners, from the Red Army, who had been reorganised under the command of German officers. There was reason to believe that they had only joined the Germans reluctantly, or for purely mercenary reasons ; and we thought it likely that they would welcome a chance to change sides again and

* [i.e. as described in paragraph above --Analyst]

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"work their passage home". We reckoned, moreover, that they would prove good soldiers for our purpose, for they were descended from the hordes of Tamerlane, and their warlike instincts had been fortified by a thorough training in the Russian and German armies. We had accordingly instructed all missions to seek contact with these Turkomans and stir them up to kill their officers and desert to the guerillas. Hare was already engaged on plans for their subversion in Central Albania, but the first successful approach had been made by Tony Neel.

Neel had paid a surprise call on the Bairaktar of Krasniqi, a Gheg chieftain who maintained independent relations with both British and Germans, and had found him in conference with a German corporal named Brandt. Brandt had been wearing a Turkoman flash on his uniform; and Neel had at once set to work to induce him to desert with his men. Brandt had shown interest, but they had found it difficult to come to an understanding, for, in the absence of a suitable interpreter, they could only communicate in broken Italian and sign language. Brandt had agreed, however, to come and talk matters over with us, and had brought with him two sample Turkomans — Tajiks [1] from the high Pamirs, and both fine-looking men.

I spent much of the night talking to Brandt and trying to decide whether the man was genuine in his wish to change sides and what might be his motives. He claimed to be a German Balt, whose family had lived in Russia before the revolution and had then retired to Esthonia. By profession he was an entomologist, and had travelled in Persia and Afghanistan before the war in search of butterflies. He had fled to Germany at the time of the Russian occupation of the Baltic States, and had been conscripted into the German army. There he had attracted attention by his knowledge of Turki and Persian, and had been employed as interpreter to the German Mission sent to Afghanistan to work with the Fakir of

[1] The Tajiks are, of course, of Iranian and not Turki stock. The German army, however, classified all Central Asian volunteers as "Turkoman", and, for the sake of convenience, I have held throughout to this classification.

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come for an all-out effort against the Germans; at the same time we stressed that we could only send him arms in proportion to the scale of the actions which he undertook. In reply he spoke of the advantages of building up a reserve of weapons before taking the offensive, but, seeing that our instructions on this point were binding, said: 669*

"Since first we worked together in 1940 I have regarded myself as a soldier of the Allies. You represent the Allied Commander-in-Chief, and I must obey your orders. I have told you my objections, now I will do my duty; in ten days from now we will attack the Germans wherever we can. Give me such help as you think right and send me a British officer, trained in sabotage. I promise you that he will have work enough!" [648]

Such complete and unconditional agreement surpassed our wildest hopes and we at once announced that we would attach a British officer to Gani's forces. Our choice fell naturally on Simcox, for he was trained in sabotage and already had experience of conditions north of the Drin. Maclean accordingly sent him that same afternoon to Riddle's base to collect such arms and explosives as he could, and then to join Gani with them. Gani welcomed our decision and in return invited us to take his brother, Said, with us to help in our negotiations with Abas Kupi.

"Let him be the pledge of my good faith," he said. He then addressed the assembled chiefs, explaining the terms of our agreement, and adding: "I put my trust in Great Britain, but my efforts alone will not be enough. If Albania is to be saved you must all play your part."

They shook their heads, a disconcerting gesture which, among the Albanians, signifies approval. We saw, however, that they would take no risks until they knew that our alliance with Gani had borne fruit. Each agreed in principle to fight, but, as old Salimani put it:

"First you must send us arms and then the other thing." And here he rubbed his thumb against his forefinger and rolled his eyes.

* [Gani Kryezin, famous Gheg chieftain -- Analyst]

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IV

CROSS-ROADS

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> It is an entertaining pursuit to speculate upon the subtleties of legal theory or to trace from age to age the transmission of the perennial maxims of political wisdom; it is more instructive to discover, in any time and under any system of government, the identity of the agents and ministers of power. That task has all too often been ignored or evaded.
>
> RONALD SYME: *The Roman Revolution* (Chapter XXII)

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SIX weeks had passed since we had jumped into Albania; six weeks in which we had repaired the shattered network of British Missions and seen for ourselves how matters stood among the Ghegs. Meanwhile the war, the mighty complex of interlocking human struggles, of which ours was but one, had entered on a new phase. British and American troops had landed in France; Rome had fallen; and to the East, between the Black and Baltic seas, the Red armies rolled inexorably forward, now, for the first time, carrying the battle beyond the boundaries of Russia. The final assault on Hitler's "Fortress Europe" had begun; and, as the fate of the occupied countries was once more committed to the chances of battle, the Eastern Question returned to the fore. The telegrams waiting for us at base warned us that the German garrisons in the Balkans might soon be withdrawn to defend the Reich itself. They also informed us that Partisan troops were marching slowly northwards, breathing death and destruction to Abas Kupi and "the reactionary *Bairaktars*". The time had therefore come to make an end of reconnaissance and to draw up a final plan of action. Our talks with Abas Kupi were accordingly postponed till the following day, and we held a council of war

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among ourselves. There we took stock of what we had learned, 669 648
and sought to impose a definite pattern on the many projects
we had so often revolved on the march, or discussed around
the hearth at night. Our[1] first aim from the beginning had been 725
to raise the Ghegs against the Germans, both with the laudable
object of killing our enemies wherever and whenever possible,
and, above all, so as to disrupt their overland communications:
the main road from Tirana to Scutari and its lateral links with [491]
Macedonia — the roads from Tirana to Dibra and from Scutari
to Kukes and Prizren. These roads were important targets;
for the German troops in Albania depended upon them for
their communications with the Reich, and they also afforded
the second of the two lines of retreat open to the enemy's
garrisons in Greece.

The thinkers who inspire, and the historians who record, 000
the course of revolutions tend naturally to dwell on those
ideological issues which lend them their distinctive character.
In the making, however, they more often appear to the revolutionary, as wars do to the strategist, in terms of power and
technique. The first object, therefore, of our reconnaissances
had been to discover what was the distribution of power in
North Albania.

The strongest force in the land was still the German army, [727]
but the roots of its strength were abroad, and our journeys 619
had shown us that its influence was on the wane. Among the
Ghegs power lay in the armed might and resources of the tribes,
and, to a much smaller extent, in the wealth of the merchants
and the landowners of the plain. The strength of the tribes
was sapped by their disunity and was never canalised into any
higher unit of organisation than the tribe itself. Nevertheless,
geographical barriers tended to separate the tribes into distinct
regional groups; and, within one or more such groups, they
were sometimes brought together by a man pre-eminent among
them by his personal ability, family tradition, or wealth. Such
a leader enjoyed influence rather than authority; for his
following was never more than a loose, voluntary, and shifting
confederacy of tribes and parts of tribes, intolerant of any form
of discipline. These confederacies were none the less the

[1] [British underground liaison officers — Analyst]

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*669 [619] had for some time been receiving military supplies from the British and would thus be well equipped with mortars and automatic weapons. They were convinced, moreover, that, if Enver Hoja should fail to conquer the North by his own efforts, he could always count on the help of Marshal Tito, and, in the last instance, of Soviet Russia itself.

*669 648 The knowledge that their rivals enjoyed foreign support admonished the Ghegs of their own isolation, and they rightly concluded that their only hope of escaping destruction lay in securing foreign backing for themselves. Seeing that the Partisans were inspired by the Russians and armed by the British, the first reaction of many among them had been to turn to the Germans for help. This, indeed, was the policy pursued by Jon Marko Joni and by Fikri Dine, who sought, though somewhat half-heartedly, to crush the L.N.C. with levies equipped and supported by the Germans. Neither of these leaders any longer believed in a German victory, but they hoped to use the German army to suppress the social revolution before the Allies came. Their policy, however, was openly condemned by Gani Kryeziu and later by Abas Kupi, who both recognised that its success was improbable and that its failure must be disastrous. They held instead that it was only by obtaining British support that the Ghegs might be saved and that they must therefore do all in their power to comply with British demands. These leaders understood, if they did not always approve, our motives in supporting the L.N.C., but they could not believe that a British government would ever allow a Communist, and therefore Russian-controlled, regime to be set up at the entrance to the Adriatic. There were thus two schools of thought among the Gheg leaders as to how best to meet the danger of Communism.

Anglophiles and " collaborationists " publicly accused each other of betraying their common interests, but the line of distinction between them was often blurred and fluctuating. The Anglophiles could scarcely regret the losses which the " collaborationists " inflicted on the L.N.C. ; and the " collaborationists ", for their part, regarded the Anglophiles as exponents of an alternative, rather than a contrary, policy to

which they too might rally if their own efforts should meet with failure. The gulf between them was further narrowed by the growing uncertainty with which they regarded their own policies. The "collaborationists" on the one hand doubted whether the Germans had ever intended to suppress a conflict which diverted Albanian energies into fratricidal channels. The Anglophiles on the other balanced uneasily between extremes of hope and fear: hope that the British would support them as they did General Zervas; fear that they would be abandoned like General Mihailovitch.

At the time of our landing in Albania, Gheg opinion had still been not unevenly divided between these two schools of thought; and we had been impressed by the number of people who expected or hoped for a separate peace between England and Germany. The growing weakness of the Germans, however, had inclined the chiefs increasingly towards us; and we had seen that even Jon Marko Joni thought of changing sides. This was our opportunity; for now that the Gheg leaders recognised that without our help their cause was doomed, they must be prepared to accept our terms. There was thus good reason to believe that they might soon be brought to battle.

Having thus analysed the rifle power of the Ghegs and the motives which might lead them to fight, we had next to consider what form of warfare they might be capable of waging. This called for some enquiry into the fundamental principles of revolt — a branch of the military art on which the text-books of the Staff College offered but little guidance. Our masters had been Lawrence and Wingate: from Wingate we had learned the theory of the "striking force"; from Lawrence much about example and the use of gold. Neither, however, had encountered the curious dichotomy of revolt which faced us in Albania and which was the cause of so much confusion at Headquarters. Lawrence, indeed, had written that "revolt was more like peace than like war", but this had only been to state the problem. War and revolt were both extensions of politics; but it seemed to us that revolt was really war in reverse — the process whereby the vertical relationship between

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665 stiffened by a handful of German deserters and fugitives from
[625] the labour gangs of the Todt Organisation. We had not previously met Jemal, for his relations with Abas Kupi were strained, and he had for some time been sulking in his tent. We knew, however, that he was in daily contact with Tirana and were anxious to enlist his support in disrupting the political manœuvres of the Germans.

[622] He[1] entertained us to lunch in the house of a village *hoja* and supplemented the usual hospitality of the mountains with highly spiced Yugoslav dishes specially prepared for us by his Bosnian mistress. In appearance he was a cross between Mussolini and Mephistopheles, with a powerful cast of face, ruthless yet somehow mask-like, malicious, and smooth. His violent temperament was curbed by iron self-control and disguised by an elaborate courtesy which might have seemed unctuous but for a hint of arrogance. In conversation he damned Abas Kupi with faint praise, seeking to drive a wedge between us and suggesting that we should send him supplies as an independent leader. We turned a guarded answer, but prevailed on him to send an urgent message to Fikri Dine, advising him to decline Neubacher's invitation to form a government.

000 In the afternoon Hare left for Shupal to persuade Abas Kupi to send a similar warning to Fikri. Meanwhile Maclean and I pressed across the valley and reached Bastar about midnight, only to find that Smiley had moved the camp. We therefore rode out along the range and, at 2 A.M., came on the new base, situated by the side of a gurgling stream on the edge of a broad, level clearing in the forest. We roused Smiley from his slumbers and when at last the flow of his curses had subsided he told us that he had good news: Headquarters had telegraphed approving the terms of our agreement with Abas Kupi. Now at last the revolt might begin.

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* 69 NEXT morning, the last of June, we reviewed our situation
● 648 and judged it satisfactory. Headquarters had already ratified

1 [i.e. Jemal Herri, former chief of Zogist secret police-- Analyst]

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our agreement with Abas Kupi; they now signalled that six 'plane-loads of war material had been earmarked for our Mission and were assembled in the hangars of the airfield at Brindisi. Meanwhile Merret had reported that the rear base had been set up in the mountains of Murait, to the east of Matsukull, and that he was standing by to receive air sorties. There was also a letter from Simcox confirming from personal experience that Gani Kryeziu's forces were in action against the Germans and requesting that we should reinforce him with another British officer and a wireless set. In five days' time we were due to meet the assembled Gheg leaders in the Plain of Lura, and now that Gani's example was seconded by our agreement with Abas Kupi we might look forward with confidence to the outcome of this meeting. Events seemed to be moving according to plan and we might hope that, within a few weeks, perhaps even a few days, the Ghegs would be up in arms.

Our immediate task was to decide the line we should adopt at the Lura meeting and we were thus engaged when Hare rode into camp from Shupal. We shouted to him the good news that our agreement with Abas Kupi had been approved, but he laughed ironically and called back:

"Too late! It looks as if he's had it."

He walked over to where we sat and explained that the First Partisan Division had driven the Zogists out of Shengyerg that night and had occupied the valley as far as Derye. Abas Kupi was concentrating his forces in Shupal and had sent warning to the Partisan commander that he would resist any attempt to penetrate further into his territory.

This news spelled the ruin of our hopes; civil war now seemed inevitable; nor was it any longer in our power to avert the tragedy. We had persuaded Abas Kupi to offer negotiation with the L.N.C.; we had brought him to attack the Gyoles bridge; we had agreed together the conditions on which he could take the field. Our part was done; and now only the Supreme Allied Command, or the hand of God, might still restrain Enver Hoja. These sombre reflections were still further darkened by forebodings of what lay ahead. Once

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they knew what was afoot! I stopped and cursed myself for a fool: this resentment was puerile. No doubt the Partisans were the aggressors, but if their roles had been reversed Abas Kupi would have acted in much the same way as Enver Hoja. Appeals to justice and honour were notoriously the prerogative of the weaker side; and it was sheer sentimentalism to expect that the comradeship born in the hour of mortal danger should survive the approach of victory. The war had been a struggle for power and so would be the peace; and in Albania these things were settled by the sword. But if I could stifle my indignation I could not suppress my shame that the British Empire should be worsted in the game of power politics and its influence shot away with the very rifles and bullets we had ourselves provided.

The night brought no news, and in the morning Hare set out for Shengyerg to meet the Partisan leaders. We were due in Lura in three days, and it was time to decide what we should say to the Gheg chiefs. Our first instinct had been to cancel the meeting, lest the Partisans should consider it a provocation. On second thoughts, however, we decided that we should gain no credit from Enver Hoja for such a gesture of appeasement, while it was just possible that, if the Gheg leaders showed themselves united, he might hesitate to strike. Besides, we felt that it would be unworthy of us as British representatives to call off a meeting which we ourselves had summoned, in the faint hope of placating allies whom we could not control. If we had to break with Abas Kupi or any of the other Gheg leaders it were better that it should be done in public. We decided, therefore, to go ahead with the meeting and accordingly made arrangements to leave for Lura in the afternoon. In spite of the threat to his regions Abas Kupi agreed to come with us; and we were glad of the pretext for removing him from the scene of trouble.

That afternoon, when the mules had been saddled and the advance guard was already on the move, our wireless operator suddenly reported reception of a most urgent telegram. We called a halt and waited anxiously while it was

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deciphered. It was very short, stated categorically that no further supplies would be sent to the Partisans if they attacked the Zogists, and instructed us to find out what were now Abas Kupi's conditions for coming to terms with them. Our spirits rose at once; for this could only mean that our Headquarters had decided to intervene in Abas Kupi's favour, and that they were not prepared to lend themselves to a manœuvre which must subvert alike our military aims and our political interests in Albania.

We consulted briefly with the Agha and telegraphed back to Headquarters that he remained ready to meet the Partisan leaders on two conditions. The first was that a British officer should be present throughout the conversations, so that we might see for ourselves which of the two parties was responsible if the talks ended in deadlock. The second was that the Partisans should recognise the Zogists as an independent movement. No definite proposals for agreement could be advanced until preliminary discussions had taken place, but we were convinced that Abas Kupi was genuinely anxious to come to terms with the Partisans. We suggested, however, that, if our Headquarters seriously contemplated promoting negotiations between the two parties, it would be wise to obtain suitable instructions for Abas Kupi from King Zog.

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The business of deciphering the telegram from Headquarters and of enciphering and transmitting our reply had taken some considerable time. It was thus already late when Maclean, Smiley, and I set out with Said and a small bodyguard to catch up with Abas Kupi, who had gone ahead with the main body. Darkness overtook us as we crossed the range, but about midnight we found the Agha and his staff in the village of Gurre Madhe, on the south-western confines of Mati. There we stayed the night.

Next morning we set out to cross the Mati valley and in the full heat of the noon came to the river ford. The sun was scorching; the air still and laden with dust kicked up by the long line of marching men. Just above the ford was a deep pool, and with one accord the guerillas stripped and plunged into its ice-cool waters. We swam and sun-bathed for perhaps

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wild man ran back into the woods. Presently a messenger arrived from Merret's camp and handed Maclean a telegram.[1] He read it and passed it to me. It was sent from Headquarters and told us that a Major Smith would be dropped to us that night with proposals for effecting a reconciliation between the L.N.C. and the Zogists.

" The plot is just about ripe for a *deus ex machina*," Maclean remarked drily.

We told the leaders the news, and their spirits rose at once at the prospect of this dramatic, last-minute intervention. They had never quite believed that we would abandon them, and now they were convinced that the Smith Mission would soon put the Partisans in their place. All agreed to stay with us that night to hear what Smith might have to propose, and we therefore moved off in a body towards our base. There the thoughtful Merret had prepared an excellent dinner in honour of our guests, including trout dynamited in a near-by stream and four bottles of Italian champagne, procured in Dibra by his courier. The grim mood went from us, and the evening was enlivened by Abas Kupi's tales of his youthful exploits and Muharrem's more dubious reminiscences of the lighter side of exile in Paris. The most extravagant story of the evening was produced by Said Kryeziu. It concerned the disreputable activities of a great-uncle who, to escape from his creditors, his blood enemies, and the Turkish police, had solemnly committed suicide by drinking six bottles of brandy on end.

We lit the signal fires at midnight, and, by the light of the moon, saw the aeroplane almost as soon as we heard the drone of its engines. It circled once over the camp, then flew straight across the fires. Two parachutes opened and Smith and his operator swung down to earth. They landed safely, and, when they had extricated themselves from their harness and the embraces of the guerillas, we led them back to the camp fire for a hot drink.

Smith proved to be a solid young man with a shock of fair hair and a jutting chin. His manner was decidedly brisk and he looked very boyish, dressed in shorts and a thick pullover. He had been for some months a liaison officer with the L.N.C.

[1] [Following the Partisan seizure of Zogist Hqs. at Shupal -- Auth.]

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and had only been evacuated from South Albania a few days before. From what he told us he was on excellent terms with most of the Partisan leaders, and he seemed to be well enough informed of the situation in the regions they controlled. His instructions were to propose an immediate armistice between the Zogists and the L.N.C., and to invite both sides to send delegates to Bari to confer with representatives of the Supreme Allied Commander.

"There," so he said, "we can knock their heads together and make them see sense."

He seemed uncertain exactly how the latter process was to be achieved, but brushed aside our suggestion that the Partisans were acting only too sensibly from their own point of view. At first sight it all seemed a trifle amateurish, but his instructions were confirmed in writing over the signature of Air-Marshal Elliot, and he told us that a reconciliation had just been achieved between General Zervas and the E.A.M. on similar lines. We concluded, therefore, that our Headquarters had decided to adopt a firmer attitude in dealing with the Partisans; and, since failure must be disastrous to British prestige in Albania, we presumed that they were prepared if necessary to enforce the solution which Smith was to propose.

In the morning Smith showed Abas Kupi his credentials in the form of a letter of recommendation from the Air-Marshal, and explained to him his proposals. The Agha at once agreed to the suggestion of an armistice and, after a moment's discussion with Said, accepted the invitation to a conference in Bari with the Partisan leaders. He offered to go there himself and asked that he might take with him two other delegates, one of whom would be Said. This choice was most welcome to us; for we knew that Said was a personal friend of many of the Partisan leaders and was genuinely anxious to come to terms with them. He was empowered, moreover, to represent his brother, Gani, and Muharrem Bairaktar, and so might also conclude agreements with the L.N.C. on their behalf.

Thus, in less than half an hour, Smith had secured Abas Kupi's assent to his proposals and had completed half of his mission. Our business was concluded; the Agha bade us

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*669 looking back, we observed tall pillars of smoke, shot with flame, rising from the far side of the valley. We trained our glasses on them and saw that several houses were on fire in the villages of Patin and Kurdari. Among them were the homes of our good friends Yussuf Chelai and of Dule Allemani, whose hospitality we had enjoyed only the night before. The Partisans were burning down the strongholds of the Mati *Beys*.

[648] We had hitherto somewhat innocently assumed that, as Allied officers, we should be allowed, and might even be obliged, to move freely between the contending parties to the civil war. Smith, however, now casually remarked that our Headquarters had accepted Enver Hoja's proposal that the Partisans should take any British officers they might "meet" in Zogist territory under their "protection". No word of this invidious agreement had reached us in our telegrams; and we stopped in our tracks, cursing the staff officers in Bari for their neglect of duty and Smith for his unseasonable reticence. Our base was less than two hours' march away, and for all we knew might already be occupied by the Partisans. We saw at once that our first care must be to avoid falling into their hands, since our capture would deprive Headquarters of all contact with Abas Kupi and might thus prove fatal to the success of the Smith Mission. Our first instinct was to turn back towards the valley, but night was already falling, and we were uncertain where the Partisans had halted. We stopped, therefore, in a lonely house on the side of the mountain, and despatched a messenger to reconnoitre the situation at our base and summon Hare to join us if he were still free.

The night was undisturbed, but our scout returned early next morning with bad news. The Partisans had been in possession of our base for two days; Hare had ordered his guards not to resist, and had been marched off with his wireless operator to the L.N.C. headquarters. Our kit and stores had been looted, our wireless set and war-chest removed. The poor man wept with indignation as he told his tale and finally burst out:

"But you don't yet know the worst. The Zogist guards

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Germans; and the younger boy gave us a graphic description of a raid in which he had wounded a German corporal in the stomach and "finished him off" by shooting out his eyes at point-blank range. 669*

I was spellbound by the child's detailed and exultant account of how he had killed the grown man: an awful example of the Nemesis which by many and devious ways was everywhere overtaking the German conquerors of Europe. At the time I applauded the deed, in part perhaps *pour encourager les autres*; but the tribesmen, more human in that their values were solely individual, shook their heads and condemned the Partisans for dragging children into a struggle which they could not understand. Abas Kupi talked kindly to the two boys and, after keeping them for a day with his bodyguard, arranged to send them back to their homes. The recruiting of children for war or revolution will be variously admired or deplored; the fact remains that the enthusiasm and devotion of such boys — and there were many of them in the ranks of the Partisans — were of no small account in deciding the success of the Albanian revolution. 000

We had some talk with Abas Kupi before he began the advance into Mati, and referred to his recent understanding with Fikri Dine and Mustafa Kruya, brutally reminding him of the fatal results that would attend any similar accommodation with the Germans. He sullenly denied any act, or even thought, of "collaboration" with the enemy, and countered our charges with the accusation that we were again dropping supplies to the Partisans. This we rejected as impossible; for our Headquarters had informed us, and Smith had confirmed, that no arms would be dropped to either side so long as the civil war continued. The tone of the conversation became increasingly unfriendly; and the exchange of accusations only served to reveal the mistrust which had invaded our relations. We knew, however, that our Headquarters were gravely concerned by the news that German troops had appeared in Mati, and by the reports of Abas Kupi's "collaboration" which they were continually receiving from the Partisans. We 669* 648

*669 believed, therefore, that it was only by speaking our minds with
● 648 perhaps exaggerated bluntness that we could hope to offset the pressure from Tirana and so keep the Agha to the straight and narrow path. In the event our efforts were rewarded; and before he left for Mati Abas Kupi undertook not to pursue the Partisans beyond his regions.

Our immediate aim was still to bring Abas Kupi and Said Kryeziu to Bari to meet our staff officers and the newly appointed Partisan delegates. Enver Hoja indeed still refused to agree to negotiations, but it seemed just possible that he might prove more willing to come to terms if Abas Kupi now defeated the Partisans in Mati. Our task meanwhile was to overcome the physical obstacles which stood in the way of his journey to Italy. This must be made by air or sea; and, while our submissions were instructed to reconnoitre possible landing grounds for aircraft, Smiley went down to the coast in search of a suitable embarkation point.

000 Davis, our wireless operator, now reported the breakdown in a vital part of the engine with which the batteries of our transmitter were charged. Our communications with Italy were thus threatened with early interruption; and Maclean accordingly left with Said for a village near Tirana to try and arrange for the necessary repairs. Meanwhile I was to remain with Abas Kupi and observe the course of his offensive against the Partisans.

I spent the 21st July in Bastar, for I was feverish and my throat swollen. There, towards evening, I heard the news of the attempt on Hitler's life — an incident which was sure to impress the Albanians and which I at once reported to Abas Kupi as evidence that the end was near. Next day brought
*669 little improvement in my condition and, learning that the Zogist troops were not even in contact with the Partisans, I determined to delay my departure till the following morning. That same afternoon, however, I was awakened from a troubled sleep to learn that the Partisans had launched a counter-attack from Shengyerg and were less than an hour's march away. Still weak with fever, and riding a very old, white horse, I made

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*669 opinions had always been divided as to the merits of the Smith Mission: Abas Kupi was suspected of "collaboration"; and it was argued that, although the Partisans were engaged in civil war, they none the less continued, if somewhat infrequently, to fight the Germans. This view was fortified by constant appeals for arms from the British liaison officers with the Partisans; each of whom was primarily concerned, and naturally so, with making a success of his particular mission. The policy of mediation was thus rapidly undermined; and, within a fortnight of Smith's arrival in Albania, the Partisans *669 648 were once more receiving regular supplies of arms. These were dropped, among other units, to the Partisans in Mati, who were thus reinforced with British weapons at the height of their operations against the Zogists.

No word of this important decision had reached us at the time, and we had vigorously denied Abas Kupi's accusations that supplies were again being dropped to the Partisans. Now, more than a fortnight after the event, and in reply to our own pressing enquiries, our Headquarters admitted the facts. The Agha's charges were thus shown to have been well founded, and we reflected bitterly that our innocent denial of them might cause our own good faith to be called into question. Still more discouraging was the knowledge that Headquarters had gone back on their word without explanation and were abandoning the policy of mediation so dramatically initiated by Smith. It was not for us, as a Mission in the field, to complain of changes of policy; and we could only protest at the failure to keep us informed of a decision which touched us so closely. We saw, however, from their replies that, in departing from the terms of the Smith proposals, our Headquarters had not adopted a new policy, but were merely drifting before events which, in this context, meant the pressure of the Partisans. We decided, therefore, to make a last bid to save the situation by putting alternative but definite policies before them, in the hope that these might at least serve to clear their minds.

We urged them to stand by the Smith proposals, stressing that there was still time to stop the civil war if only they were prepared to bring the necessary pressure to bear on Enver

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Hoja. This would involve the cutting off of all supplies to the Partisans and of all propaganda in their favour, and at least the threat of an eventual British occupation. This, we were convinced, was the policy which would best promote our military, as well as our political, interests. At the same time, if such a policy was no longer practicable, then it would only remain for us to transfer our entire support to the Partisans. If we were to decide on such a course, then we must invite Abas Kupi to take refuge in Italy, since we could not, without loss of prestige, allow the destruction of a man with whom we had been so closely identified. We should also have to encourage such Nationalist leaders as Gani Kryeziu, or Muharrem Bairaktar, to join the L.N.C. while they might still hope to obtain favourable terms of admission. Such a policy was necessarily one of appeasement and would imply the relegation of Albania to the Soviet sphere of influence. It might, however, limit the extent of the civil war, and would enable us to cut our losses with the least dishonour.

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Rather to our surprise, Headquarters agreed that these alternative policies represented the only courses of action still open to us. They lacked authority, however, to decide which of the two should be adopted, and therefore signalled back that they were referring the whole question to London for settlement. We received this news with dismay, for prompt action was the essence of either policy. At any moment Enver Hoja might overpower the Zogists; and their defeat would rule out the adoption of the former course and deprive us of any credit we might have gained from the latter. As a Mission, however, we had exhausted the possibilities of intervention, and could now only wait for instructions and upon events.

Under the circumstances, we judged that our presence at Zogist headquarters could only be a source of mutual embarrassment, both to Abas Kupi and to ourselves. We could not explain away the fact that arms were again being dropped to the Partisans; nor could we any longer pretend that our Headquarters were working to end the civil war. There was little, therefore, that we could achieve by meeting, and, though we

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At the beginning of the civil war our rear base at Murait had been overrun by the Germans. We knew that some of its personnel had found refuge with the Partisans, but had remained without news of Merret and Sergeants Jones and Jenkins. We had begun to fear that they must have perished, or been taken prisoner, when, at the beginning of August, Merret walked into our camp, followed next day by the two sergeants and a crowd of Italian camp-followers. Merret now told us that their base had been overrun by the Germans and Partisans in turn. Caught between these two fires they had withdrawn into the forests of Lura, where they had eked out a precarious and frugal existence until the retreat of the Partisans had enabled them to join the Zogist forces near Matsukull. Save for Sergeant Jones, who was suffering from a bad bout of malaria, they seemed none the worse for their experience; and Merret now set out to make a close reconnaissance of Tirana airfield.

We remained a fortnight encamped beneath the olive trees, waiting for instructions from Headquarters and revolving plans for our uncertain future. A few political leaders came out to see us from Tirana, all imploring British intervention to end the civil war. We heard them patiently, but turned guarded answers, for we were now as ignorant of British intentions as they. Among other visitors came Kiamil, the headman of Derye, who had sheltered Hare and Seymour through the winter. Kiamil had sought to remain neutral during the civil war, but the Partisans could not forgive his close association with the British and had burnt down his house and carried off his cattle — in all some two hundred sheep and eight cows. Robbed of all his substance, he was on his way to Tirana to seek the hospitality of a merchant whom he had once befriended. We could only hope that this earlier act of kindness would be better rewarded than had been his service to the Allied cause.

Each day brought its visits, and much time was spent in the questioning of couriers and spies. Meanwhile kind sympathisers brought us French and Italian books from Tirana to

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the reverse slopes of the Kruya mountains, and the Germans, who guarded the city and the main road. He was thus shorn of more than half of his fighting strength; and the prestige of his movement was undermined, on the one hand by his failure to obtain British support, and on the other by his refusal to come to terms with the Germans. He still remained the most powerful of the Nationalist leaders, and still had funds enough to keep his forces on a war footing for some weeks. All knew, however, that, unless he could win outside support, he was doomed; and now, for the first time, his authority was challenged by discontented elements within the Zogist movement. These blamed his hesitations as the cause of their disasters and looked to Jemal Herri for a lead. 669*

At the height of this crisis in his affairs[1] Abas Kupi came to our "hide-out" in the swamp to tell us how matters stood and to seek our help. He sat down on Smiley's sleeping-bag and, using Said as interpreter, told us of his defeat in quiet tones but with brutal frankness. He spoke with biting sarcasm of the defection of the men of Mati, and scornfully contrasted Jemal Herri's feverish intrigues with his military unpreparedness. For the first time, too, he commended the skill and persistence of his opponents and showed that he was under no illusion as to their strength. He then appealed for British help, recalling his past services to the Allied cause and representing that his defeat must also be ours. For a moment we were at a loss for a reply; and, seeing us hesitate, he exclaimed: [648]

"If you can't help me to reach an understanding with the Communists, then only the Fascists can help me to defend myself against them."

We urged the folly of committing himself to a defeated cause, especially when British policy was still undecided. His situation might be critical; it was not yet hopeless; and the continued presence of our Mission showed that we had not yet abandoned him. We were not in a position to give him official advice, for we were still in the dark as to our government's instructions. Our personal opinion, however, was that he should keep his hands clean of all stain of "collaboration"

[1] [i.e. in mid-August, 1944. Cf. Cat. nb, pp. 242-243. - Analyst]

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British support were more likely of fulfilment than those which they had once founded upon the Germans. They asked, therefore, for assurances that the British command would support their operations with military supplies, and would view their defection to the Allied cause with favour. If the Agha could obtain such assurances from the British Mission they would accept his proposal, and he might count on them as on his own men.

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As soon as Fikri and the General were gone, Abas Kupi despatched a messenger to summon us to an urgent meeting. Accordingly we set out in Ihsan's carriage on the following evening, and, driving through the night along dusty cart tracks, reached the lonely farm-house where the Agha slept. The hour was too late for discussions, but next morning we went out together to a cool and shaded apple orchard where the master of the house had spread bright-coloured rugs for our conference. There Abas Kupi told us of his meeting with the "collaborationist" leaders and declared himself ready, despite the civil war, to attack the Germans as soon as we should give the assurances which Fikri had required. His proposal corresponded closely to our own most sanguine expectations, but we heard him with affected reserve; for we could not tell what would be the reactions of the staff officers in Bari. We saw, however, that the Agha himself was excited by the prospect of action, and to allay his impatience at once drew up a report for our Headquarters which was enciphered and transmitted in his presence. In this we admitted that British encouragement for the projected concentration of Nationalists under Abas Kupi's command might feed fuel to the flames of civil war. At the same time we were sure that it would contribute to the discomfiture of the Germans, who might otherwise make good their retreat through North Albania with little loss. We also pointed out that the entry of the Nationalists into the war against Germany would provide us with a last opportunity for intervening to stop the civil war and to prevent the incorporation of Albania in the Soviet system.

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When our business was done and we had eaten we left the orchard and went our several ways: Abas Kupi to Kurbenesh to negotiate alliances with its chiefs; Ihsan to Tirana to keep

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in touch with the political leaders; and Maclean to Vorre to reconnoitre the German ammunition dumps. I prepared meanwhile to return with Davis to Mukai, but our departure was delayed by the discovery that our mules had been stolen. Towards evening, however, I managed to borrow substitutes, and, loading the wireless set and batteries on one of these, joined Smiley and Said in the small hours of 21st August. Maclean returned next day; but our hopes of rest were intercepted by the intelligence of a Partisan advance, and we moved, therefore, into the neighbourhood of Kruya. It was quite a short march but agonizing for Said, who was stricken by a sharp attack of malaria. The poor fellow, indeed, was so ill that he had to be supported in the saddle; and that evening, alarmed by his condition, we sent into Kruya for a doctor.

The city of Skanderbeg could boast of only two physicians, and the first of these declined our courier's invitation for fear of the Germans. The second, however, accepted without hesitation, saying that at his age he was afraid of no one. He was, indeed, a hundred and eight years old, but sat his horse like a young man and made light of a two hours' ride through the mountains. His drooping, tobacco-stained moustache suggested that abstinence was not the secret of his longevity; and at lunch, when he ate meat and drank wine with the rest of us, he told us that he had been married five times. The old mountaineer obviously enjoyed the adventure and told us that he was glad to be able to help the enemies of the Germans. Despite his years, the desire for revenge still smouldered in him, and he explained that the Austrians had shot two of his grandsons in the last war. He was delighted, moreover, to attend Said and recalled that, as a medical officer, he had served under one of his ancestors in the Turkish army. He had learnt his medicine in Istanbul in the seventies of the last century, and was ignorant of later developments in the art of healing. Nevertheless his potions revived Said, and he successfully relieved minor ailments in others of our party.

Meanwhile, throughout the Balkans, the revolution of events proceeded with ever-increasing momentum. On 24th

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August Roumania declared against the Germans; and on the following day Bulgaria sued for an armistice. In two days Hitler's empire had been stripped of two of its provinces; and, by a natural process, the news of these defections excited the emulation of the Albanian leaders. On the evening of 26th August Ihsan Toptani arrived in our camp with an urgent message from Nureddin Vlora. This was to tell us that a joint meeting of the leaders of the Government and of the Balli Kombetar had unanimously endorsed Fikri Dine's provisional agreement with Abas Kupi. We reported the news at once to our Headquarters, and late in the night of 27th August received their reply. It authorised us to inform Abas Kupi that, although the British authorities had little confidence in Fikri Dine and his associates, they would be prepared to reconsider their attitude towards these men if they now gave positive proofs of their intention to fight the Germans. The Agha's own good-will had already been acquired by a decision to supply him with arms in proportion to his actions; and we might now expect that this latest instruction would also satisfy the demands of the "collaborationists". That same night, therefore, we despatched a courier to Abas Kupi to arrange for a meeting.

Next day, anticipating his reply, we went down into the plain to another farm of Ihsan Toptani's in the region of Topise. There, in the evening, five men from Abas Kupi's bodyguard came for us and drove us by truck back across the plain in the direction of Kruya. We had covered perhaps ten miles when our driver pulled up beside two Zogist sentries standing by the road. We climbed down from the truck and were directed through the maize fields towards a farm-house. There we found the Agha seated on a log in the orchard, while a score of his guards rested beneath the trees.

We exchanged the customary greetings, and, after we had drunk coffee together, Maclean gave him assurances that we should send him supplies in proportion to his actions, and that we should be prepared to reconsider our attitude towards the "collaborationists" if they now declared against the Germans. Then, convinced that this was the Agha's last chance, he told

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him that unless the Zogists attacked the Germans at once, our Mission would be withdrawn. Stung by this ultimatum and the lack of confidence which it implied, the Agha reminded us sharply of the shortcomings of our own Headquarters. They had failed to secure instructions for him from King Zog; they had failed to take advantage of his offer to meet the Partisan leaders; and they had never fulfilled the agreement we had concluded with him in July for supplying his forces with arms. Worse still, they had refused to give him any assurances for the future of Albania's frontiers, and had deliberately abandoned the policy of mediation between the rival parties to the civil war initiated by the Smith Mission. His arguments were strong, but we declined to discuss what we could not defend, and the Agha grew silent, seeing that we were not to be drawn. For several moments he sat downcast, plucking at the grass, and then, looking up, said quietly:

"I will give your message to Fikri Dine and his friends: let them join me if they will. For my part I have decided to attack Durazzo within three days."

For fully a minute none of us spoke as we turned over in our minds the significance of his words. Durazzo was the chief port and second city of Albania; and it was there that Abas Kupi had first raised the standard of resistance against the Italian invaders. To capture Durazzo now, at the outset of the campaign, would revenge the glorious defeat of 1939 and bring fresh lustre to the Agha's tarnished laurels. It would, moreover, open sea communications with Italy, and might enable us to run in military supplies in bulk and even to obtain the support of a Commando. It still remained to be seen whether the Zogist forces were equal to the enterprise, but we decided to give the attempt every encouragement. Maclean therefore promised our support, and we shook hands with the Agha in token of agreement.

To give practical effect to his resolve, Abas Kupi now issued orders for all available Zogist forces to concentrate in the region of Preza. Then, that his main effort might be promoted by diversions elsewhere, he wrote to his confederates among the Catholic chiefs of the North, bidding them stand by

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*669 648 to attack the Germans. Meanwhile, leaving Maclean and myself at Topise, Smiley set out with Zogist guides to reconnoitre the approaches to Durazzo.

643 701 That night, when we had gone, Fikri Dine, General Prenk Previsi, and representatives of the Balli Kombetar drove out from Tirana to the Agha's headquarters to learn of our reply. Their discussions lasted through the night, but before dawn the die was cast. They returned to the capital, and, at noon on the 29th August, Fikri Dine announced the resignation of his government in a proclamation which declared that his efforts to save Albania from Communism had been frustrated by the total absence of German support.

The resignation of the government was the signal for the political leaders to disperse, and completed the isolation of the Germans. They sought to persuade, and at length to compel, the loyalty of their former associates, but when they struck the birds had already flown. Fikri Dine made his way to Dibra, hoping to raise the tribes to his support, but the Partisans were already masters of the region, and the chiefs who had been his friends had gone over to the winning side. For some days he wandered as an outlaw through the lands he had once swayed; but his utmost efforts only rallied to his cause some two hundred men, the remnants of the Dibran gendarmerie. With these he then retired through Mirdita to the Catholic region of Kurbenesh, which lies to the west of Mati. Kurbenesh was the seat of Prenk Previsi's influence, and there Fikri found the general with a body of picked officers and men of the Albanian army. Their combined following was less than five hundred strong — all that remained of the Albanian armed forces.

*669 665 The Ballist leaders meanwhile hesitated to entrust themselves to the Gheg chieftains and went into hiding near, or even in, Tirana, to wait until their forces should arrive from the South. Midhat Frasheri and Ali Klissura were variously reported held or shot by the Germans, but when the smoke of rumour cleared it was found that they were in Shiyak. There Abas Ermenye, the movement's energetic military commander, was concentrating the remnants of the Ballist forces, which presently amounted to some eight hundred men.

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had served in Fan Noli's government and had been condemned to death *in absentia* during Zog's regime for participating in a "Communist" conspiracy. He had spent fourteen years of his exile in France, and there had acquired a style of eloquence and point of view which savoured strongly of the Third Republic. In appearance indeed, with his florid complexion, untidy, greying hair and thick horn-rimmed spectacles, he might well have been a protagonist of the Radical Socialist Party. 665

Ali had returned to Albania when the Italians had driven out King Zog and had resumed his place among the Republican leaders. Later he had become one of the founders of the Balli Kombetar, and had fought with some success in the revolt against the Italians. As an ardent Liberal and Nationalist, however, he cordially detested Communism and was generally supposed to have played a leading part in organising the Ballist effort against the Partisans. Zog had condemned him to death as a Communist; Enver Hoja as a Fascist. The wheel of political fortune has strange turns, but in both cases Ali was absent at the trial.

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THE Zogist forces had been in action for a fortnight,[1] and Abas Kupi waited with growing concern for the aeroplanes which should bring supplies from Italy. His war-chest was empty, his men were down to their last cartridge, but we knew now that the help which we had promised would never come. Now, just as we had brought the Agha and his confederates back into the struggle, our Headquarters ordered Maclean to return to Bari "to report". Smiley, with Sergeants Jenkins and Jones, our team of saboteurs, were to accompany him. I was to take over command of the Mission, but with express instructions not to urge Abas Kupi to attack the Germans, nor to hold out to him any hope of support if he should. My role was textually defined as that of "a neutral observer", although how a British officer attached to forces actively fighting the Germans could be "neutral" presented a 669* 648

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problem which neither Maclean nor I could ever solve.

These orders sealed the fate of the Zogist movement; for, without supplies, the Agha could not wage war, and without British support he must go down before the Partisans. They also marked the failure of our Mission. With the knowledge and approval of our Headquarters we had promised arms to Abas Kupi if he should fight. He had fought, but now there were to be no arms. We were to go back on our word. The guilt of this betrayal was not ours, but it meant that we should be dishonoured in the eyes of the Albanians; and we felt as if we had been stabbed in the back.

Sober reflection, however, reminded us that a soldier has no right to complain because he feels himself dishonoured by a change of policy. Great issues cannot always be decided over night, and, by an inevitable process, the operations of a military staff are guided by old directives even while new ones are under discussion. So it had been with Albania. When Abas Kupi had announced his decision to fight, our staff officers had still been guided by the directive to send arms to all who attacked the Germans. Policy towards Albania had even then been under review; but an immediate decision had to be taken, and they had therefore given the Agha the assurances which he required. Thus encouraged he had taken the field; but before supplies could be sent there came a change in policy, and it was decided thenceforth to support the Partisans alone. Nor could the clock be put back just because the Agha had attacked the Germans; for, as our instructions showed, that was no longer the real issue in London, any more than in Albania. To explain, however, is not to excuse; and we knew that to support only the Partisans was to surrender Albania to the Russians. They were our allies; but this surrender was none the less a defeat for the British Empire, and the cause of it lay in some defect either of understanding on the part of our statesmen or of vital strength in the imperial body politic. Of this defect our dishonour was a symptom and it was natural that it should hurt us.

Our first reaction had been to contest these orders, but a brief exchange of telegrams with Headquarters convinced us

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that their decision was irrevocable. From shame and policy, however, we still hesitated to tell the Albanians the truth. To have done so indeed might altogether have destroyed Abas Kupi's authority; for, now that he had been driven from his strongholds, his influence rested solely on the presence of our Mission and the hopes of British support which it inspired. We feared, too, that the news of our betrayal might provoke fierce dissensions among the Nationalist leaders and so bring about the common ruin. Time would reveal the position soon enough; and when they pressed us for news of supplies we only answered that we were without instructions.

The Nationalists, indeed, were still full of hope; and, at a council of war in Malibardhe, Midhat Frasheri expounded an ambitious plan for the creation of an anti-German bloc of all the northern chiefs. The mainstay of such a bloc was to be Jon Marko Joni, who might raise three thousand rifles and could open the vast region of Mirdita to the Nationalists. Midhat's plan was accepted; and that same day Abas Kupi and his confederates marched off to win the Captain of the Mirdites to their cause. They were playing their last card.

Maclean and I stayed on in Malibardhe to wait till the Agha should return. Abas Ermenye meanwhile continued to harass the German retreat with a mixed force of Zogists and Ballists; and Smiley blew up another bridge. The weather remained fine, but the days were drawing in, and the nights were cold. The Turkomans grumbled, for they had only summer uniforms, and two men sold their rifles to buy warm clothes. The rank and file of the Albanians seemed to sense that the end was near, and they no longer even asked when the aeroplanes would come from Italy. Every night, however, they gathered round to hear the wireless, but their despondency only grew as every broadcast poured out propaganda for the Partisans and made no mention of their own struggle. Food supplies, too, began to fail; and every morning we woke to find that another contingent of tribesmen had deserted. The atmosphere was tense and without hope.

At nightfall on the 20th September Abas Kupi returned

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793 barn, decorated only by a crude, wooden cross, erected on a bare altar of rough stones. At the door one of the congregation stood guard over the rifles of his fellows, but each of us retained his pistol or his knife.

[771] For the Mirdites, Christianity is, above all, an expression of nationalism; and the elevation of the Host that day appeared to me less as an act of faith than as a gesture of defiance against the foreign invader marching under the banner yesterday of Islam, now of Communism.

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WHEN Maclean had seen that our Headquarters were inflexibly set on his recall, he had asked that a boat be sent to embark him from the coast between the estuaries of the Mati and the Drin. The staff officers in Bari, however, refused this request and ordered him instead to hand himself over to the Partisans for evacuation through Southern Albania. In explanation they alleged difficulties with the Navy; but, as we suspected at the time and later verified, their real and puerile design was to prove to Enver Hoja that Maclean and Smiley had really been withdrawn. We saw at once that in the eyes of the Albanians Maclean's departure to the camp of the L.N.C. must impose an intolerable humiliation on Abas Kupi. We also feared that Enver Hoja's attitude towards our Mission might make such a journey as dangerous as it would be dishonourable.

We therefore multiplied excuses for delay, making much of the difficulties of travel while the rivers were in spate, and discovering objections to each rendezvous which our Headquarters proposed. Such stratagems served for a time, but orders from Bari grew increasingly peremptory; and Maclean had just decided that he could procrastinate no longer when suddenly an urgent telegram from Headquarters countermanded all previous instructions. As we were later to learn, a commissar had spoken out of turn at the L.N.C. Divisional Headquarters, and the British liaison officers had thus discovered

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the real intentions of the Partisans. These were to march Maclean and Smiley south as prisoners to show the people Enver Hoja's power. Three days later our Headquarters signalled that the whole Mission would now be withdrawn by sea.

The prospect of Italy was welcome, but we knew that we could not leave Albania with honour if we abandoned Abas Kupi to his fate. We could not forget that he had stood by us in the dark days after the fall of France, and, though necessity might now compel us to desert his cause, we resolved at least to save his life. In his hour of need, however, our Headquarters forgot the past, and, to appease the unappeasable, prepared to sacrifice a proven friend. To their eternal dishonour, they informed us that they would not evacuate Abas Kupi, lest such a move should impair their relations with the Partisans.

In the kaleidoscope of politics all alliances and relationships are subject to the eternal laws of change. Interests converge only to separate again; ideologies and principles serve their turn in the unending struggle for power. It is therefore often necessary and — since, in the anarchy of international affairs, necessity is law — legitimate to abandon causes long supported and to dissolve the pledged bonds of alliance; for it is not open to a whole people to be faithful unto death. But it is always wrong to abandon to their fate men who have served us well. We may have to jettison their interest and abjure our support of their movements, but, if we cannot fulfil their hopes, we should leave no stone unturned to save at least their lives.

Ashamed of our Headquarters' cowardice, we now resolved not to await a Motor-Torpedo-Boat from Bari but to advise Abas Kupi to charter an Albanian craft in which we might cross to Italy together. We therefore sent Petrit to Preza to warn his father of our situation. Three days later the Agha joined us at Velyes with two hundred men, the last remnant of the Zogist forces. He had marched for twenty-seven hours, fighting two actions against the Germans on the way, and wading through the flooded courses of Mati and Fani. His

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OUR discussions with the authorities in Bari lasted six days, and we already despaired that Abas Kupi would ever reach Italy in his own boat. The last hope of saving his life — if indeed he still lived — was to return ourselves and bring him out; but our Headquarters remained stubbornly opposed to a plan which might strain their relations with Enver Hoja. Our telegram to the Foreign Secretary, however, had not been without effect; and before leaving Italy Mr. Eden had recommended that Abas Kupi should be rescued. His opinion could scarcely be ignored, but our Headquarters nevertheless referred for instructions to the Supreme Command, alleging that, however desirable politically, the Agha's evacuation might have unfavourable military consequences. Maclean was accordingly summoned to Naples to put the case for Abas Kupi before the Supreme Allied Commander, General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson.

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Maclean flew from Bari on the 3rd November, and I joined him on the following evening in the spacious palace of Caserta, the seat of the Supreme Command. General Wilson had made us his guests; and, as such, we were accommodated in comfortable booths in the precincts of a building where King Bomba had kept his hounds. "The Kennels", as this guest compound was irreverently known, had witnessed many Balkan dramas; and the previous occupants of our beds had been the rival Greek Generals, Zervas and Sarafis, who had just subscribed, and were soon to denounce, an insincere alliance.

That night we dined with Mr. Harold Macmillan, who was at this time Resident Minister-of-State in the Mediterranean area. His intervention might decide the outcome of our visit; and, when the meal was over, we sought to enlist his support for our plans. He heard us impassively, staring straight in front of him from the depths of his armchair, his attention apparently centred on his pipe. Then with the same disconcerting detachment he made himself devil's advocate and

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*669 [648] raised every possible objection to our arguments. Our answers, however, seemed to accord with his own inner thoughts; and at length he dismissed the subject, saying:

"Of course we must save Abas Kupi. Personally I'd be all for bringing Mihailovitch out as well."

This robust attitude was a welcome contrast to the appeasing climate of Bari, and it was with renewed confidence that we made our way next morning to the Supreme Commander's offices. An orderly directed us to the General's ante-room, where a young A.D.C. was busy on the telephone, arranging an air passage to Cairo for a lady friend's pekinese. He offered us a drink, and, while waiting, showed us the signed photographs of war-time celebrities with which the walls were covered. Presently a group of staff officers emerged from the adjoining room and announced that the General's morning meeting was over. It was now our turn.

The Supreme Allied Commander, or "Jumbo", as the British army knew him, stood in the middle of the room, his bulky person clad in corduroy trousers and a thick, khaki pullover. He welcomed us with fatherly kindness and led us to a corner of the room where half a dozen deep armchairs had been set in a semicircle after the manner of an Arab *majlis*. He sat us down on either side of him and asked us to point out on a map of Albania the dispositions of Germans, Zogists, and Partisans. He followed our explanations closely, peering over narrow, horn-rimmed spectacles, and then began to ply us with curiously disconnected questions, taking rough notes in pencil of points in our replies. Presently he put down his writing-pad and, after a moment's pause, announced:

"Yes, I agree with you, the fellow's been our friend and we must get him out. We'll do it quite openly; and we'll tell Hoja too; but," and here his beady eyes twinkled, "not until your man's safe in Italy."

He then heaved himself out of the armchair, and, walking over to his desk, called down the telephone for his Chief-of-Staff. A moment later we were joined by General Gammel, who was asked to prepare orders for Abas Kupi's rescue. Maclean was put in charge of the operation. We had won.

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Communism came to this land not because of the abuses of capitalism or because of a yearning of workers to unite, but through a political movement which developed against the background of the World War. The independence of the country and the inviolability of its boundaries were guaranteed by the peace treaties after the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1918. At the same time the Great Powers held that Italy had a special diplomatic and strategic stake in the welfare of her neighbor across the Adriatic Sea. As a result Italian interests in Albania expanded greatly after 1920, and to every intent and purpose the foreign trade of the two countries was pooled. But Yugoslavia naturally sought to challenge the primacy of Italy in the Adriatic area, and its support is held to have largely made it possible for Ahmed Zogu, Prime Minister in a government constituted as a Regency, to take over the rule of the country during 1924. Shortly thereafter, a Republic was proclaimed, and Zogu was elected President for a term of seven years. A skillful diplomat and political leader, he improved relations with both Greece and Yugoslavia, and signed the Treaty of Tirana in 1926 with Italy. This, accompanied by a sizable grant of financial assistance from Italian banks, gave recognition to the common interest of both countries in maintaining the independence of Albania. A year later they entered a defensive alliance. When it was alleged that these developments conceded to Mussolini rights which he exploited unduly, Zogu curbed the opposition with dramatic swiftness. He proclaimed himself King, on September 1, 1928, and was responsible for a constitution which recognized no political liberties but insured freedom of religion. Zogu, a benevolent dictator, made an honest effort to improve the cultural and economic life of the country, building roads, fostering health and hygiene, erecting schools, fighting a vigorous battle against illiteracy,

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648 and modernizing the banking system. Albania even acquired
643 a radio station, and air travel became a reality. The King
175 brought in foreign experts, particularly Austrians. Some of them I have known; and while they had the usual reservations about the political institutions of Albania, they respected his energy and sincerity of social purpose.

648 At this point Mussolini was unfortunately smitten with
175 irrational imperialist ambition: if Hitler could have his empire of the master race, he himself was called upon to reconstruct the dominions of ancient Rome. Italian troops landed in Albania on April 7, 1939, shortly after the fall of France. They quickly overpowered the small defense army, and Zogu had to seek refuge abroad. The crown was thereupon offered to King Victor Emmanuel III, of Italy, who docilely accepted it. It is worth noting that the reception accorded the Italians was not too unfriendly, because some sections of the population expected to profit from the political change. Using Albania as an advance base, the Duce attacked Greece on October 28, 1940; but the valiant Greeks put his armies to rout and occupied nearly half of Albania. The Germans, defeating Yugoslavia, took over the rest of Albania, but confined themselves to routine control. Two resistance movements were formed, the one pro-Zogu and primarily against Italy, and the other Communist with the Germans as its principal target. The second, the National Liberation Front, was the stronger, primarily because it boldly drafted men into its partisan forces and because it maintained ruthless discipline. British commandos in the Adriatic therefore quite naturally aided it. As a result, the Front was able to assume control of
175 the country as soon as the Germans retreated.

648 The provisional government formed by General Enver
642 Hoxha, commander in chief of the National Liberation Front, was recognized by the United States, Great Britain, and Rus-

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sia in 1945. A republic was established during the following year. General Hoxha and his followers meanwhile made no secret of their devotion to the Communist cause, although their utterances took on the usual protective coloring. At a Congress in the little town of Permeti, on May 24, 1944, the Front had "guaranteed freedom of religion and of conscience, and equality of rights for all religions." Hoxha's partisans, like Tito's, were frequently seen at religious services. Albania, a turbulent and weapon-toting country addicted to blood feuds and similar practices, was one of the most tolerant of nations from the religious point of view. In 1930 nearly three-fifths of the total population of 1,003,000 were Mohammedans, while the members of the Greek Orthodox Church constituted another fifth. Catholics in union with Rome were noticeably in the minority, scarcely more than one-tenth of the professedly religious reported in the census, and were concentrated in the extreme north of the country. Their major religious, charitable, and educational institutions were in Scutari, an ancient town on a beautiful mountain-surrounded lake, afflicted with mosquitoes and malarial fever. Ancient ties with Italy, which Mussolini so wantonly divested of moral and diplomatic import, had led to the existence of a considerable number of religious of Italian origin in Albania, and also to the settlement of many Albanians in Italy. This fact would no doubt have given rise to some antipathy even under normal conditions. Yet on the whole few in Albania were apprehensive when the war ended. The age-old tradition of religious peace seemed to preclude violent change.

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Albania had a rude awakening. General Hoxha was interested in nothing less than freedom of religion. Information concerning the fate of the Moslem majority is meager and difficult to come by. But laborious piecing together of news items from Albanian radio broadcasts and newspapers makes

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in the Soviet Union itself prior to the War against Hitler. They are almost wholly isolated. Information concerning the cultural life of the Albanian people is limited to what can be obtained from broadcasts over the government radio station.

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Hoxha did not join forces with Marshal Tito when that leader broke with the Kremlin, but was soon made aware that Albania was wholly isolated and that his Yugoslav neighbor gave asylum to dissidents who plotted a *coup d'état*. That such an undertaking might well meet with success seems probable. But Italy retains its interest in the strategic and economic advantages of the Albanian area, and its assent would be required; and currently, with the struggle for Trieste in the foreground, no entente is conceivable. The Russians apparently maintain a small body of troops in the vicinity of Tirana, but have in no other wise manifested great concern. Apparently they consider Hoxha a negligible problem child. It is apparent, however, that the Russian garrison makes impossible any attempt to overthrow the dictatorship from within the country.

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The fate of the three erstwhile Baltic Republics—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—illustrates the sad truth that in troubled and imperialistic parts of the world it does not pay to be a small nation. Each of the three had a solid folk or tribal core round which language, mores, and religious tradition had developed. For brief periods each managed to acquire a precarious independence. But they lay along the great Baltic seacoast route from Western Europe. German colonization efforts, spearheaded by the Teutonic Knights, went this way, and later came solidly entrenched land barons. There were periods of Swedish and Polish domination. Finally, as a result of the Treaty of Nystad, which in 1721 ended the Swedish

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XIX

FROM SUB-SATELLITE TO SATELLITE

> We are linked by unbreakable fraternity and unity with the heroic people of Tito's Jugoslavia, a guarantee of the freedom, the independence and the sovereignty of our—and all—democratic peoples in the Balkan peninsula. This fraternity and this unity ensured our country unselfish and fraternal aid during the war, and now make possible the all-round development of our new life.
>
> Prime Minister Enver Hoxha of Albania, New Year's Eve, 1948

THE diplomatic representatives of the Western nations are harassed in all the satellite states; and since any inquiry of even the most routine sort is called spying, and movement is restricted arbitrarily to specified areas, they occupy themselves mainly with reporting on the local press and complaining to the Foreign Office about the abuse they find heaped on them there. In Tirana, the tiny Albanian capital, they are especially isolated and feel especially frustrated. France and Italy are the only important Western Powers maintaining legations there, and their small staffs are under rigorous surveillance. The lack of official information about Albanian affairs is not compensated for by news in the press, local or foreign. Albanian newspapers are insignificant except as propaganda organs, and even so are few in number and more puerile if possible than those in satellite capitals with some traditions of cosmopolitanism. Foreign journalists, except Communists or fellow-travellers, have been banned from the country since soon after the war. Albania thus is the satellite about which we know the least, and much of what we think we know is rumor or conjecture.

000 which we know the least; and much of what we think we know is rumor or conjecture.

Albanians are accustomed to having the world know little about their affairs, and are even accustomed to the role of satellite--though their national spirit, which exists in spite of the vivacity of their religious and tribal conflicts, forbids one from saying that they are reconciled to it. The last time I was in the country, a good many years ago, Italy and Jugoslavia were contending for predominance. Italy won, expelled King Zog and in 1939 annexed the country. Ciano has recorded the arrival in Rome of the sad-faced group of Albanians summoned to make obeisance to the Duce, lacking only the iron collars of the slaves that used to grace the old imperial triumphs. But after Mussolini was hung up by his heels and Tito was accepted as one of the Allied victors all this was rectified. The new
665 Albanian dictator, Enver Hoxha (pronounced Hodzha), was a
643 Communist guerrilla who had been in contact with the Jugoslav
648 Partisans during the war. Indeed, an emissary from Tito, Miladin Popovich, is credited with having organized the Albanian Communists into a unified party in November 1941. Hoxha was an original member; and Tito's influence over him, dating from that time, endured until the Cominform row broke the Communist world front in 1948. Though Hoxha was never Tito's creature to the extent that the successors to Zog had been Mussolini's, he looked to Jugoslavia from the start for almost everything in the way of practical relief, technical assistance and even funds. From Moscow he received, apart from a small military mission, only remote ideological control and the prestige of enjoying at second hand the patronage which Stalin accorded Tito.

000 While Jugoslavia herself was an obedient satellite this seemed to be satisfactory to Moscow. Soviet enthusiasm for what was being done in Albania was reflected in the Moscow press. Take, for example, this report published in Trud in April 1948 from a special correspondent who had just visited the country:

In the Democratic Front, a political organization has been created that unites all the forces of the people. . . . Agrarian reform has been effected, putting an end to the feudal system of landownership . . . Industrial enterprises, transportation, communications, etc., in the coun-

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Albania is enclosed by Jugo-

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slavia on two sides, and her only other land neighbor is Greece, a traditional enemy and at present particularly disliked by Communist Albanians because of her "Monarcho-Fascist" government. When Hoxha established his régime at Tirana in November 1944, the Jugoslav Government had been the first to recognize it and establish diplomatic relations. Albania's first and for a time only economic treaty was with Jugoslavia, a customs union was created between the two countries and the Albanian currency was tied to the Jugoslav dinar. Close and continuing political coöperation seemed assured by the pact of friendship which was arranged when Hoxha paid a state visit to Belgrade in June 1946. The reorganization of the Albanian Army was carried out with the help of a Jugoslav military mission. The study of the Serbo-Croat language became compulsory in Albanian schools, Jugoslav and Soviet flags flanked the Albanian flag in schoolrooms, and Tito's and Stalin's photographs flanked those of Hoxha in government offices. To complete the picture, Albania was allowed to play only a secondary rôle in international affairs. This was underscored by the fact that the Soviet Union did not grant her a treaty of guarantee like those made with the other satellites and that the Cominform failed to admit the Albanian Party to membership.

Nevertheless, when Tito's expulsion from the Cominform faced Hoxha with the choice between Belgrade and Moscow he did not hesitate. It was inconceivable to him—as to others—that Stalin would be unable to change the guard at Belgrade if he so desired. C. L. Sulzberger, chief foreign correspondent of *The New York Times*, a connoisseur of things Albanian, suggests that Hoxha may have foreseen how things were going as early as 1947 and that he arranged then to throw in his lot with Moscow.[3] It is true that he did complain in 1947 about the Jugoslav program for Albania to produce raw materials and buy Jugoslav goods in return—a piquant preview of what Tito would say later about Stalin's idea of proper relations between Communist states. Nevertheless, such murmurs of discontent seemed insignificant in comparison with the frequent messages of ebullient friendship that passed back and forth between the two heads of state. In June 1948, however, Hoxha rushed to be

[3] *The New York Times*, April 5, 1949.

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in at the kill. Perhaps he had chafed secretly under the weight of so much kindness from Belgrade; more likely, his heart was not really in what he was doing and he wished to disarm suspicions by showing especial vehemence against his friend and benefactor. Whatever the reason, Albania was the first of the Communist states to attack Tito openly, and the Albanian press and radio led the way to each new level of intensity in the campaign of invective against him.

Even after Hoxha had seated himself as prominently as possible on the Moscow steamroller he did not feel secure. The technical, commercial and military agents of Tito's "reactionary" régime were gone, the customs union with Jugoslavia had been dissolved, railway and other communications had been cut, oil shipments to Jugoslavia had ceased and Jugoslav imports had been halted. The Russian military and civilian mission (which first arrived in February 1946) had been increased to something between two and five thousand; there was a major-general of the Soviet Army on hand to instruct the Albanian Army; and there was another high officer to supervise the police. But the Soviet Army itself was far away. Albania no longer had direct contact with any Cominform state. The only routes by which Soviet assistance could arrive were by plane from Hungary or Bulgaria over Jugoslav territory, by ship through the Dardanelles and the Aegean, by rail across Austria to the Allied-controlled port of Trieste and then by ship down the Adriatic, or (most roundabout of all, although actually sometimes used) by ship from the Baltic via Gibraltar. The economic situation of the country was deteriorating. There was not enough food. Grain and other supplies had been required from Jugoslavia in the past to tide over bad crops. Not merely were such shipments as now arrived at Durazzo and Valona in Soviet bottoms quite insufficient to fill similar needs but a good part of them were consigned to the Greek guerrillas. The war in Greece was not going well, and the strain of keeping up a good face about it was increased by the fact that the wounded and refugees who sought shelter in Albania were, of course, Greeks—Communist Greeks, yes, but not disliked much less on that account by the Albanians who had to look after them. Worst of all, Tito was not simply holding his own at home, he was counterattacking abroad with propaganda for the independence of all Communist governments and parties. Hoxha

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648 wondered whether this might not appeal to certain of his followers who had been indoctrinated originally by Jugoslav instructors or who had joined the Party for national even more than social objectives. Many younger members in particular had taken to Communism as a *pis aller* when all other methods of protesting against the extinction of Albanian independence seemed to be blocked.

The Russian stake in Albania was too great for the Kremlin to risk letting her slip over into the Tito camp. For a second member of the Communist family—even the least and meanest—to go whoring after false gods would be intolerable. Furthermore, in this period the Party line still described Tito as an isolated megalomaniac. If even a minor figure like Hoxha joined him it would signify that he was the head of something like an international movement.

But more than face was at stake. This pinpoint of barren land, malarial swamps and snow-capped mountains could be serviceable in the over-all strategy of even a colossus like Russia. Whenever Tito decided to close the Greek-Jugoslav frontier—which it became certain he would do eventually, once the Greek Communist Party had accepted the Cominform line [4]—Albania would offer the only remaining road for Soviet supplies to reach the Communist bands operating in northwest Greece; while if the Greek war had to be liquidated the only refuge for the guerrillas would be in Albania.

The value of Albania in Soviet strategy also extends far outside the Balkans. In the event of war with the West the Russians would find submarine bases beyond the Turkish-controlled Dardanelles immensely valuable. They had shown that they were aware of this immediately after the war, when engineers of the Soviet mission took over the Italian naval station on the island of Saseno, off the port of Valona. Soviet submarines based on Saseno, which commands the Strait of Otranto and is only 50 miles from the Italian coast, would close off the Adriatic from the main body of Mediterranean waters. This meant that so long as Jugoslavia belonged to the Cominform bloc, Soviet and Jugoslav craft operating from the Jugoslav harbors of Kotor and Split would be free to attack Bari, Ancona and other

[4] The Greek-Jugoslav frontier was closed formally by the Jugoslav Government July 23, 1949, but had been closed in fact some time earlier (*cf.* Chapter XVI).

Italian shipping centers, also Foggia, reputed to be a prospective bombing base for long-range American operations against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the eastern and central Mediterranean basin and much of North Africa, more important than ever in the latest British and American strategy, would be within bombing radius of Jugoslav and Albanian airfields. Tito's withdrawal from the Soviet camp made it necessary to rely solely on Albanian bases for carrying these plans into execution. Without Saseno and the Albanian airfields (of which there were about ten by latest report, half of them developed to the point where they could serve heavy planes), Soviet submarines would be barred from the Mediterranean and Soviet bombers would be pushed back to the Danube valley. We of course have no direct information about the extent of recent Soviet activity on Saseno. However, foreign intelligence services in contact with underground elements inside Albania believe that although newspaper stories about elaborate concrete submarine pens are exaggerated the scale of fortifications makes Saseno a formidable threat to naval movements in the Mediterranean in time of war as well as to military installations in Italy and North Africa. 648

With such valuable eggs in its little Albanian basket,[2] the Kremlin naturally ordered Prime Minister Hoxha to show the utmost diligence in rooting out any dangerous nationalist sentiments that might appear in the Albanian Communist Party. There had been a nationalist movement of some promise in Albania during the war, but its leaders had lost standing for various reasons—some because they collaborated with the Communists, some because they collaborated with the Nazis when the latter replaced the Italians after the Italian capitulation, some because American and British propaganda tended to favor the Albanian Communists as a way of helping the Jugoslav Partisans, especially after the Allied landing in Italy made it seem possible that Churchill might succeed in having an Allied expedition sent into the Balkans. When Hoxha set up his government in Tirana in November 1944 he maintained the appearance of collaboration with such non-Communist resistance elements as still existed and were willing to join the new "Democratic Front," the organization which now replaced the openly Communist "National Liberation Front" of the war years. But the need for concessions to patriotic 665 186 665 642

[2] [i.e. Russian political and strategic interests; see cat. 116, pp. 228-229.—Analyst]

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665 nationalist and democratic forces in the country diminished as the Communist Party tightened its hold; and following the one-ticket
642 elections of December 2, 1945, it came to an end. The monarchy was abolished in fact as well as in name, the People's Democratic Republic of Albania was proclaimed and the non-Communists who had been collaborating with Hoxha fled abroad or were shot. There followed the agrarian "reforms," the nationalization (confiscation) of such small industry as existed in the country, the elimination of independent shopkeepers and the other measures which so much pleased the Soviet commentator quoted earlier.

186 Among the strongest incentives to Albanian nationalistic feeling
648 are Albania's claim to the Kossovo area in Jugoslavia, where there is an Albanian minority, and Greece's claim to the Northern Epirus district in southern Albania, where there is a Greek minority. Propaganda in favor of one annexation and counter-propaganda against the other are the habitual stock-in-trade of Albanian patriots.

648 Italy annexed Kossovo to Albania in 1941—one of Mussolini's cheap rewards for the Nazi victory in Jugoslavia. The action strengthened the Jugoslav resistance, notably on the part of the Serb Chetniks, for the Kossovo plain holds a special place in Serb history and in the hearts of Serb patriots. In the end the district went back to Jugoslavia, after the Italians and later the Germans had been expelled. One of the returns which Hoxha had to make for Tito's material and moral support was to put an end to the former annexationist propaganda in that direction.

Developments on the other front were more favorable to Hoxha. Britain always had been a friend and protector of Greece, from imperial interest as well as Byronic sentiment, and the United States had taken over a share in that rôle under the Truman Doctrine. Hoxha could point to the fact that the two Western Powers were hostile to the Greek Communists as well as to his own Communist régime, whereas the Soviet Union was friendly to both; and on this basis he could argue that if the Greek Royal Government won it would have British and perhaps American support in claiming Northern Epirus, whereas if the Greek Communists won they would be instructed by the Soviet Government to withdraw any claim on another Communist country's territory. On balance, Communism

did not come out badly as a defender of Albanian interests, for the lands in jeopardy in the south constitute nearly a quarter of the entire territory of Albania and are much more important to the country's existence than the territory claimed from Jugoslavia. Recently, with Communist fortunes at a low ebb in Greece and with Jugoslav-Albanian relations as bad as possible, the situation has been reversed. Hoxha can still claim, however, that a Communist victory all around is the only guarantee of a safe solution of the quarrel with Greece, and he also is now free to attack the treatment received by the Albanians in Kossovo and to say that if only there were a "true" Communist régime in Belgrade it would do them favors which a "false" comrade like Tito refused. 648

Basically, however, Hoxha felt insecure, and not only for the reasons mentioned a few paragraphs back. He must constantly have wondered how he himself stood in the Kremlin. What was the Soviet estimate of his own fidelity? He had been Tito's friend, had protested countless times how much he loved him, how he would fight to the death for him. What could he do to demonstrate that he, Hoxha, who had gone back so easily on one ally, would remain faithful to the next? 000

Hoxha's second-in-command was Lieutenant General Koci Xoxe (pronounced Dzodze), Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior, organizing secretary of the Communist Party, an able theoretician and adept also at ruthless action. Like Hoxha he had been Tito's close collaborator, but he had not hesitated a fraction of a second longer than his chief in announcing his switch to the anti-Tito camp, and he vied with Hoxha in denouncing their old ally's ideological errors and political perfidy and in lauding Stalin as the fount of Communist wisdom and the Soviet Union as Albania's only protector. During the summer of 1948 as Minister of the Interior he conducted the purge of Titoist suspects in the government and Party. 665 661

What more convincing proof of his own fidelity could Hoxha offer Stalin than to be willing to sacrifice even this outstanding friend and colleague? To denounce Xoxe would be almost like denouncing himself, but preferable. He called the Central Committee of the Party to meet in Berat in September, and after it had listened to his account of how Xoxe, who had been purging Titoists, was himself a

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were sold in the markets of Belgrade and in the profiteers' shops at a hundred times the price paid for them.*

For some months after Xoxe's death the Jugoslav Government took much abuse from the Albanian Government and press (though not without returning it), and accepted many rebuffs, probably on the theory that nationalist elements still existed in the Albanian Communist Party and might at any time stage an anti-Cominform coup. With some outside help a revolt might indeed have been precipitated. However, the risk that it might end up an anti-Communist revolution rather than a pro-Tito one deterred the Jugoslavs from giving indiscriminate help to anti-Hoxha elements, while the Western Powers were afraid that any incident in the Balkans might provide an excuse for Soviet intervention, particularly while the Greek civil war was still in progress. Italy, Albania's nearest influential neighbor to the west, was not at all anxious to see the Albanian question reopened, with the possibility that the country might be divided between Jugoslavia and Greece. As pointed out to me by Count Sforza in the spring of 1950 (when there were rumors that a concerted effort might be made to overthrow Hoxha), Italian interests are safer with a small nation rather than a large or middle-sized one occupying the opposite coast of the Strait of Otranto. He added: "Besides our political reasons for wishing Albania to remain united and independent we have a moral one. I always opposed the idea of making the Albanians into Italians by force. Any government in which I am Foreign Minister will oppose making them into Jugoslavs and Greeks."

Hoxha thus remained in office. Whether he was still Number 1 or had become a figurehead under Mehmet Shehu—or whether, as some say, Shehu had himself been liquidated at Moscow's orders—is not established. But although the chance of a successful revolt in Albania seemed to recede, the danger of an Albanian-Greek clash remained. The retreat of the Greek guerrillas into Northern Epirus provided many chances for incidents and there was even some fear lest the Soviets might instruct the Greek Communists to try if possible to

* "Albania: From a Writer's Travel Diary," by Arkadi Perventsev, in *New Times*, Moscow, November 23, 1949.

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tempt the Government forces to pursue them across the Albanian frontier. A Greek invasion of Albania would place the Jugoslav Government in a dilemma—whether to support the Cominform enemy against the Greek "Monarcho-Fascists," or to renege and incur criticism as a secret ally of reaction? Tito feared that the Soviets might put him on this spot and use whatever action he took as a pretext for intervening themselves. Events elsewhere gave color to the idea that Moscow might be planning a coup. The autumn of 1949 saw the beginning of the great Budapest trial at which the Hungarian Government accused Laszlo Rajk, former Minister of the Interior, of plotting with Tito to overthrow the régime. In Belgrade, Mosha Pijade asserted that the Soviets were seeking an excuse for armed action against Jugoslavia. If they were unable to make the Rajk trial serve their purpose, he said, they would foment a Greek-Albanian war, accuse Tito of being in secret alliance with Athens and either go to Hoxha's assistance themselves against both Jugoslavia and Greece or send their satellite armies.

Tito's position was legally a complicated one, for in spite of everything that had happened the Jugoslav-Albanian pact of mutual assistance was still in force. Tito had so far avoided taking the initiative in abrogating an agreement with any of his former Cominform allies. The other six members of the Soviet bloc had one after another denounced their treaties with Jugoslavia. Albania only had held back, in order not to release Tito from his uncomfortable position. At last Tito felt that the risk of having to carry out his treaty obligations to Albania or of being accused of aiding and abetting the Athens Government and its Western backers was intolerable. On November 12, 1949, it was announced in Belgrade that the Albanian treaty had been cancelled.

The picture of Jugoslav-Albanian relations given by the Jugoslav note was the contrary, of course, of that painted by the *New Times* of Moscow in the excerpt quoted above, but rather recalled what the correspondent of *The Worker* and various Soviet reporters had been accustomed to write in the days before it occurred to anybody to deny Tito's benevolence toward Hoxha. According to the Belgrade story there was no phase of Albanian life which did not owe a debt to Jugoslav generosity. In 1946 the Jugoslav Government had sent

8: Armstrong S-4 (no date) 1951 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania E61

Albania 20,000 tons of wheat "without demand for any form of payment;" in 1947 it had granted 2,000 million dinars for Albanian development, a sum which "amounted to over half of the total Albanian budget;" and in 1948 it had made a new grant of 3,000 million dinars, which like the grant of the year before carried no conditions as to repayment. Thanks to these grants Albania had obtained Jugoslav locomotives, cars, trucks, ships and agricultural machines. When in addition she asked for an automatic telephone exchange for Tirana, a printing plant and a radio station, she had received them as outright gifts. She also had requested and received the loan of Jugoslav experts and workers in various fields, besides Jugoslav military instructors and teachers for her schools; and she had sent over 1,500 Albanian pupils to study in Jugoslavia on Jugoslav scholarships. This and much more the Jugoslavs had done, said the Jugoslav note, to give practical application to "the principle of true Socialist aid to a backward country, aid free of all exploitation, not conditioned by political concessions." It added: "For the first time a new Socialist form of economic coöperation came into being in the relations between two Socialist countries, that is to say, a coöperation freed of the capitalist features of the economically weaker being exploited by the economically stronger." Bukharin himself could not have argued the merits of the case more convincingly.

A 648 Y 648

Heaping coals of fire on Hoxha's head, the Jugoslav note quoted expressions of everlasting gratitude and friendship voiced by Hoxha on the basis of all this support from "the brotherly peoples of Marshal Tito's Jugoslavia." Why, it inquired, had that gratitude failed and that friendship ceased? The answer was that Hoxha had allowed himself to become the tool of the very persons who wished to "eradicate" the Jugoslav-Albanian example of true Socialist coöperation. Those persons, *i.e.* the men in the Kremlin, were afraid of the impression caused by that coöperation, found it "hateful" and had determined not to permit it to continue.

Almost automatically, the man whom Hoxha had executed as an alleged tool of Jugoslavia, personifying nationalist and anti-Soviet errors, became in Belgrade eyes a true hero, a martyr to his determination to preserve Albanian national rights and combat Stalinist

Y 648

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291 **No. 1985-88.** One of a pair of leggings for a Zadrima woman is illustrated at
286 "E" on Plate X. The foundation is of knitting done in coarse wool, the foot
531 portion striped in yellow and green, two stitches of each colour alternately, and the top portion in the design indicated at "E", in red and black.

The part below the latter is covered as far down as the ankle with red felt upon which braided patterns in scarlet, yellow and white are sewn down, and five rows of fine stitchery taken right through the knitting divide each set of motives.

The outer side of the legging is the part that has been drawn. On the inner side is a plainer panel, divided for the whole length of the felt, finished off with a felt flap, and both sides of the division hooked together with strong brass hooks and eyes. This arrangement ensures a well-fitted legging which is warm, comfortable and decorative. Over the knitted foot part a leather "opanga" would be worn.

[177] "Similar leggings, with local differences of pattern and colour, were formerly worn in many districts. This was the only pair I was able to obtain." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER XIII.

Women's Jeleks.

In addition to the jelek on Plate X worn by a Zadrima woman, there are five others from Albania in the collection.

These little sleeveless jackets or zouaves are worn by both women and men in many districts and are usually beautifully decorated, chiefly by braiding, which is done by Albanian tailors. Amongst those not yet described is one of outstanding workmanship and design, that presented to Miss Durham by the Beys forming the provisional government of Berat in July, 1913, in token of gratitude. She says, "Korcha was occupied by Greek troops in the Balkan war of 1912-13, and the Greeks claimed it. Along with Mr. H. W. Nevinson (the famous war correspondent), I rode
[721] three days over the mountains, arriving at Berat early in the morning, and drafted
648 a telegram to the Council of Ambassadors in London as a petition from the inhabitants of Korcha saying they wished to remain Albanian, and Korcha remains Albanian to this day as a result of that desperate ride."

No. 1937-19. This jelek, which has a foundation of black face cloth, either Austrian or Italian in origin, is entirely covered with gold embroidery, both raised and flat, in which expert use is made of gold thread or passing, gold cord, purl and sequins.

The design on the front, of conventional eight and four-petalled flowers connected by graceful curves and mingled with raised geometrical forms, is so elaborate that a reduced drawing of it would be unsatisfactory, but a small portion of one corner of actual size is reproduced in Fig. 7b, which also shows the four rows of plaited gold passing divided by three rows of gold cord which border the whole garment.

The back has a large bi-symmetrical motive which fills most of the space, and is bordered by the same design that almost encircles the armhole. A part of this border from near the lower edge at the back is given on Fig. 7a. The little added flaps at the front, usually found on jeleks, are absent from this specimen, being re-

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, 175
that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the 794
vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, 619
and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," 779
not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the [651]
mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati 794
extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani.*—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three 614
stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, 619
Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population). 779

2. *Ghoanni.*—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula.*—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala.*—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of 173
Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and [582]
three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

Taxation on new property does not exist
651 all new buildings being fully free of all taxation for a long number of years.

457 The Albanian Government is always ready to extend all facilities in its power to encourage foreign industries to establish business branches, factories and store houses for their products.

651 Customs duties are low, in some instances negligible or entirely eliminated.

000 When we consider the fact that a Ford automobile, costing in the United States about $500.00, with the customs duties and taxes sells in France for about $1,200.00, and that if the same automobile would be shipped directly to Albania, where the parts would be assimilated and sold from Albania, the automobile would be available to the European public for about $650.00 to $800.00, this clearly gives us a good example of low customs duties and taxation in Albania.

From Albania it is easily and most conveniently possible to supply the needs of Bulgaria, Greece, Italy, Rumania, Yugoslavia, and other countries.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

454 Existing laws and current legislation en-
457 courage the investment of foreign capital and technical experience. Albania imposes no embargo upon the re-export of capital or dividends, nor are there any exchange restrictions. The fact of the matter is that foreign investments are absolutely safe and not subject to confiscation. Albania's record for protecting foreigners and foreign capital is irreproachable. Taxation is moderate and equi-
651 table.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 32

641 Defense of the country is the highest duty and greatest privilege of any citizen.

[687] Treachery against the people is the greatest crime.

Military service is obligatory for all citizens.

ARTICLE 33

651 Every citizen must pay taxes according to his income.

The state fixes taxes, and exemption from the same is determined by law.

ARTICLE 34

687 Citizens cannot use the rights given them by this constitution in order to change the constitutional regime of the People's Republic of Albania in an undemocratic manner. Any act of this kind is illegal and carries with it punishment as prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 35

563 In the People's Republic of Albania national minorities enjoy all the rights enjoyed by other citizens as well as freedom to use their own language and develop their own culture.

ARTICLE 36

641 The People's Republic of Albania gives the right of refuge to citizens of other countries who are persecuted for their activities in behalf of democracy, national liberation, rights of the workers, or scientific and cultural freedom.

PART TWO
STATE ORGANIZATIONS

TITLE I
Highest Organs of the State

646 (a) People's Convention

ARTICLE 37

The People's Convention (Parliament) is the highest organ of the state of the People's Republic of Albania.

ARTICLE 38

The People's Convention maintains the sovereignty of the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

number is limited only by the amount of winter grazing available, which small owners find, and have always found, in the oak zone. In Turkish times, when Albania and Macedonia were both Turkish provinces and had no customs barriers between them as they have now, large owners sought it on the roomy plain of Salonica. Since Albanian emancipation in 1912 they have been confined to the more meagre pastures on the seaward side of the coastal plain at home, a restriction which has entailed a considerable cutting down of their flocks and herds. Nevertheless, in 1936–7 taxes were paid on 1,424,965 sheep, 773,969 goats, 144,763 cattle and 44,318 horses in the whole of Albania;[1] there are no separate figures for its northern half. Many more animals ran about the houses, unregistered and free of tax. For Albanians the importance of sheep lies, it should be noted, not only in their wool and meat as in England, but in their milk and the butter and cheese made from it.

If only the coastal plain were more spacious, it would be a perfect complement to the mountains for pastoralism on the grand scale. In the portion south of Lesh the rivers Drin, Mat and Ishm, entering the sea at points less than 6 miles apart, have created what is virtually one vast delta of mud and swamp, lush undergrowth, and trees that have come too quickly to maturity. Farther south, swamps of the same type cover much of the Plain of Durrës, and a great lagoon extends to the very outskirts of the town. Two more lagoons and a series of swamps mark the estuaries of the rivers Shkumbî and Seman on the coast of Myzeqe. More marshes and the lagoon of Kakarriq outline the course of the River Buenë in the north.

On the coast the average yearly rainfall is 39–47 inches, against 57 at Shkodër, 67 at Krujë and 72 at Pukë, an inland place 39 miles east of Shkodër. Albania is one of the wettest countries in Europe because so many of its ranges run from north to south and are high enough to intercept the rain-laden clouds that drift in from the west. The first rains fall in October when it is still hot on the coastal plain. The moisture and the heat combine to produce a luxuriant crop of new grass by the time that the sheep come down from the mountains.

This grass is found, not only in the hay meadows and swamps, but also, owing to the violence of the winter rains, on all the arable land,

[1] Gashi, *Shqipnija*, p. 117.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

693 here and there. After the introduction of modern codes of justice
622 they had little chance to emerge.
634 Above all elders, in both Mirditë and the adjacent tribes, came the Gjomarkaj family. This family was regarded as the source of all knowledge of the mountain law and represented the final court of appeal. The villagers of Martanesh carried many of their graver troubles to its head, but at the same time had often a 'special elder' whom they consulted in such cases. Selim Peshku, who died about 1910, was the latest example. The tree under which he sat dispensing justice in Martanesh is still shown. In the north the bishop
[793] or a specially gifted priest was the ultimate referee. They were consulted not so much for their knowledge of the law but because of their reputation for probity.

623 Functionally the brotherhood elders of Mirditë were represented in the Malësi e Madhe by the 'ward elders', who ruled and judged in their own small community, the village ward in which they lived.
[651] They were more commonly called *gjobtarë* ('fine-collectors') from their primary function of collecting fines. As legal functionaries they resembled specialist elders rather than brotherhood elders because they were ordinary tribesmen and owed their position as elders, not to hereditary right, but to special appointment. They were selected, however, not by the public like the specialists, but by the local bajraktar or voivode. On taking up an appointment to judge or arbitrate they were known as 'soul elders', on account of the solemn phrases with which they were commissioned. The commissioning bajraktar or voivode first asked, 'Do you pledge your souls, elders, that it was so?' On receiving their assent he laid a stone on the ground before them, saying, 'With body and soul, with a stone in front of you and with God's justice set these two people straight in any way that you can see'. It goes without saying that only upright men were willing or were asked to accept a charge laden with such danger to their soul after death. These northern ward elders had no connexion with the ward elders of Godolesh near Elbasan, who were seven in number for the six wards (mëhallë), all subordinate to the paid non-hereditary headman and his two assistants.

695 Another functional type, which was most important for the repression of crime and was found everywhere, was constituted by 'juror elders'. When trying a case, the judging elders might decide to make one of the disputants take an oath that he was not guilty.

Every inhabitant had two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Constantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all children that had meanwhile been born.

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of ancient days.

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more?

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania E61

than the Swiss Franc in the regular course 453
of exchange.

The Albanian National Bank has six active branches in the various towns of Albania.

It is rapidly becoming more desirable to establish new banks in Albania, for at present there is only the Albanian National Bank and a branch of a Yugoslavian bank, and with the rapid increase of trade and general impetus to business, there are greater demands for other banking institutions which are becoming a necessity.

The national budget of Albania for the 652
financial year of 1933-34 showed the following figures.

Income	24,563,040	gold Francs
Expense	23,921,683	gold Francs

The national budget for the financial year of 1934-35 showed the following figures:

Income	18,506,500	gold Francs
Expense	18,888,192	gold Francs
Deficit	381,692	gold Francs

For the financial year of 1935-36 the figures of the national budget were as follows:

Income	17,237,191	gold Francs
Expense	18,035,563	gold Francs
Deficit	798,372	gold Francs

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

652 Albania's national budget for the year 1936-37 is as follows:

Income	18,584,042 gold Francs
Expense	18,879,427 gold Francs
Deficit	295,385 gold Francs

Albania has contracted two loans, namely: A loan of 50,000,000 gold Francs, redeemable
653 in forty years. This loan was made by the Society for the Economic Development of Albania (SVEA), in 1927, to be used exclusively for the purpose of developing the projects of public works, such as constructing bridges, building roads, the improvement of the port of Durazzo (Durrës) and for furthering agricultural development. As security for this loan the incomes on salt, matches, cigarette paper and playing cards were pledged.

648 The second loan of 100,000,000 gold Francs
652 was agreed upon in 1931 by the Italian Government, the whole sum of which was to be liquidated by annual installments of not over 10,000,000 gold Francs, to be used to balance the budget as long as the investments, presently in course, will have beneficially assisted in giving economic stability to the nation, so that the necessary expenses may be taken care of by Albania's own resources, and a part of

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

such annual installment also to be applied to- 648
wards further development of public works, 652
agriculture and for the furtherance of education.

In 1936, Italy and Albania agreed upon several new agreements, conventions and treaties, one of which covers the liquidation of the aforesaid two loans and provides for other loans to be used by the Albanian Government for the further economic development and welfare of the Kingdom of Albania.

The following eight Agreements were duly ratified by Italy and Albania and ratification documents were exchanged on May 30, 1936:

(1) A Protocole, signed January 28, 1936, as supplementary to the Treaty of Commerce and Navigation of January 20, 1924;

(2) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, liquidating the loan of 100,000,000 gold Francs of June 26, 1931;

(3) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, with the aim of systemizing the financial situation of Albania;

(4) An Agreement, signed March 19, 1936, for a loan of 10,000,000 gold Francs for agricultural development;

(5) An Agreement, signed March 19,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

1936, for a loan, creating a monopoly on tobacco in Albania as security for such loan;

(6) A Convention, signed March 19, 1936, for the further development of the port of Durazzo (Durrës);

(7) A Convention, signed March 19, 1936, relating to veterinarian research and sanitation measures;

(8) A Provisional Agreement of Commerce, signed March 19, 1936.

[Constitution]

Private property may be limited, and when the general 421
welfare of the community calls for it, it may be expropriated [425]
by a law, which shall provide in each case what the amount of compensation shall be to the owner.

Likewise other branches of economy or enterprises may 471
also be nationalized whenever the interest of the people demands or requires it.

Monopolies, trusts, cartels, etc., created for the purpose of imposing prices and monopolizing markets to the detriment of national economy, are prohibited.

ARTICLE 10

The land belongs to those who till it. The conditions 423
under which an institution or a person can own land which they do not cultivate shall be established by law.

Large estates may under no circumstances be owned by private individuals.

The maximum amount of land that may be owned individually is determined by law.

The state especially favors and protects the small and 652
middle peasants by its economic policy, by means of credit, and by its taxation system.

ARTICLE 11

The state, by means of economic and other measures, 466
encourages the working classes to unite and organize themselves against economic exploitation.

The state protects the workers by guaranteeing them the right to organize, by limiting their hours of work, and by establishing minimum wages. The state supports the workers by means of social security laws and vacations with pay at the expense of the employers.

The state especially protects minors by regulating their 464
employment.

TITLE III

Rights and Duties of Citizens

ARTICLE 12

All citizens are equal before the law. They must obey 641
the Constitution and all laws of the land.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

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648 The second loan of 100,000,000 gold Francs 652 was agreed upon in 1931 by the Italian Government, the whole sum of which was to be liquidated by annual installments of not over 10,000,000 gold Francs, to be used to balance the budget as long as the investments, presently in course, will have beneficially assisted in giving economic stability to the nation, so that the necessary expenses may be taken care of by Albania's own resources, and a part of

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

or compounded and, above all, what sides the clan should take 596
in the strife of political factions. Tsen Lezi had long been a supporter of Abas Kupi and he received us well.

It was already May, but in the mountains we had still lived /133
amid the gales and snow of winter. Next morning, however, as we descended from Tsen Lezi's house, we came out of the mists into the sunlight and saw the broad Mati valley spread out below us like a promised land. Fat sheep and cattle grazed in the undulating pastures; whitewashed houses, the tallest in Albania, were scattered over the low, wooded hills; and beyond the sparkling river the ground rose steeply to the wild glens of Mirdita. The guerillas had not left the mountains since autumn; and now, at the sight of the sunlit valley, the long line of men winding down the hillside broke into a strident song. Presently Abas Kupi called a halt and we sat down to refresh our eyes with the view. Hitherto I had always looked on mountains as holiday grounds; but the guerillas' song touched some atavistic chord in me and for the first time I experienced the weary highlander's longing for the plain.

Mati was rich and populated, the region where the tribal /101
system of the mountains mingled with the feudalism of the coastal plain. The land and flocks were still owned and worked in common by the different clans; but their chiefs were already known as *Beys*; and the wealthier among them employed hired labour and rented out some of their fields to poorer families. The men of Mati were reputed devout Moslems and, as is often the way of the pious, they lived well; renowned for their lavish hospitality and comfortably appointed houses. They had prospered especially under the monarchy; 143
for King Zog was a man of Mati and his first care had been [212]
for the people of his valley. Many, though they could not read nor write, had been given appointments in the civil service; and, following the tradition of the Turks, Zog had conferred reserve commissions on most of the *Beys*. This was not indeed to compel them to military service, but to bind them more closely to his cause by the payment of an honourable and regular pension. The valley had benefited, moreover, 653
from an ambitious programme of public works; a road and

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

[653] several bridges had been built; and Burrel had been made the model provincial capital of Albania. The grateful memory 643 of these past benefits and a just pride in their king's achievements in a broader field were fortified by the lapse in the payment of pensions which had followed his expulsion. The men of Mati were thus staunch for King Zog; we found his picture in almost every house we visited, and at night, sitting round the fire, listened to tales of his adventures and even epic poems celebrating his exploits. There were of course exceptions, as I learned one night when I asked a veteran chieftain why he had embraced the Zogist cause. The cunning old warrior eyed me closely and answered with a wealth of meaning: "I am a monarchist in case the King should come back."

*669 Our progress through the valley was leisurely and public, and indeed was intended by Abas Kupi as a demonstration to show the Zogist flag and to parade the new British Mission — the outward and visible sign of Allied support. We had brought horses with us, but the marches were short, and Abas Kupi always went on foot with his men. As a mark of respect, therefore, we left our bodyguards to lead our beasts and followed his example. We marched escorted by a bodyguard of a hundred picked guerillas, a force sufficient both to overawe any local opposition and to prevent the Germans from attacking us with anything less than a battalion. Of this indeed there was little risk; for the bridges over the Mati had been blown in the rising against the Italians, and an enemy would have had to leave his transports at the entrance to the valley. We should thus have had ample warning of his approach and would have ambushed him, or dispersed into the hills. The Germans, however, wisely preferred to let sleeping dogs lie. They knew that Abas Kupi's relations with the Partisans were strained, and, despite the presence of British officers in his camp, had no intention of diverting him from his domestic conflicts by an ill-timed and provocative attack.

000 We passed through rolling fields and leafy forests; and each day brought us to some new village where we were feasted by the clans. Their houses varied in size nd archi-

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Agriculture

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UNTIL the last two decades Albania has had little time to devote herself to agricultural pursuits. She was too busy defending her land from the foreign invaders. The Turks had a saying: "To the Armenians, the pen, to the Albanians, the sword." This is not true any longer. With the people completely happy and content under the beneficial rule of King Zog I, they have turned their backs upon the sword or beaten it into the plough. They have settled down to developing their homeland.

• 654
243

The fertile plains and hillsides of Albania are devoted solely to farming, thus making the country almost essentially agricultural. Since the land is the main source of livelihood for the majority of the people, it is one of the chief aims of the government to care for the prosperity of the farmers. For this purpose the government has undertaken a project of model farms to demonstrate methods which may be of assistance and instruction to the natives. The best example of this is maize,

AGRICULTURE

Almost three-fourths of the cultivated soil of Albania is devoted to raising maize of the white and yellow variety, very much similar to the German maize grown in the vicinity of Baden. As there are such tremendously large quantities of this food material, the model farms are doing their best to accustom the farmer to the use of maize as feed for cattle to substitute it for grain for direct consumption. This is efficiently demonstrated by trial efforts to fatten different types of cattle and the experiment has met with success. The government is also conducting considerable propaganda work in various agricultural fields through these model farms. A considerable portion of this crop is exported. 654 243

The next in importance to maize is wheat, the growth of which has been bettered and greatly increased under governmental direction. This grain is grown largely in the south where the dry soil and intermittent rains are more suitable for its growth. The government imported several thousands of pounds of wheat of the Montana variety and distributed it to be used for sowing purposes; this has brought about excellent results. This importation was necessary because of the de-

654 243 sirability to improve the quality and the quantity of the domestic crop in order to be able to export wheat into the eastern neighboring country, Greece, and elsewhere.

243 Besides maize and wheat, there are numerous other grainfruits grown in rather equally large proportions. Rye is to be found in the mountainous regions of the east and northeast; oats and barley are grown in almost all sections of the country.

It is also to be noted with interest the rapid growth in the production of rice in Albania. This particular industry thrives in the districts of Elbasan and Berat. Here are many rice plantations and improvements in the irri- [3/2] gation system which has been rather antiquated to a certain extent, and since such a great supply of water is necessary, there have been great strides made in bettering the method of agriculture which will, without doubt, greatly enhance the production of rice.

248 Hemp is also raised successfully.

Flax and cotton are also cultivated and the crops show a steady increase.

245 Following in importance to the stabilizing grainfruits, the growth of olives holds a position of note. Albania possesses about 1,500,-

249 started which will, in all probability, help not only to increase the production of tobacco, but also to improve the quality and preparation of the leaf, so that it will find a better and more ready market the world over. This program has already been set in motion and it is believed that it will be of considerable importance toward increasing national wealth.

245 In the fertile orchards and gardens of Albania there is hardly any kind of fruit missing; the cultivation of these is carried on on a vast scale, and offers a more prosperous future. There are figs, lemons, oranges, cherries, apples, pears, pomegranates, pistachios, mulberries, apricots, peaches, melons, tomatoes, almonds and nuts grown in a large number of sections of Albania and an ample quantity exists for export. Within the last three [654] years, the government has distributed about 200,000 fruit trees, gratis, to the fruit growers with the view of increasing production.

The Citrus fruit is preeminently Albanian and more than 300,000 pieces are exported annually.

249 The sumac, used by dyers, is the principal cultivation of the Mirdites and in the district of Scutari and Durazzo. There is a certain amount of export trade in the wood and leaves.

MINERALS AND MINING

135 trians discovered lignite near Tirana and along the side road to Elbasan and also an abundance of copper near Pukë. The French unearthed lignite at Pogradec and copper in several places near Korça.

654 The Albanian Government, since 1925, has given greater and more systematic assistance to the mining industry and to the research and study of geological conditions and possibilities.

There were eighteen mining concessions granted between the years 1922 and 1928 and twenty-one more concessions given out in 1929, thus giving these industries a strong impetus.

There are numerous concessions for oil, copper, iron, lead, asbestos, talcum, plaster and marls of cement, lignite, asphalt, chrome, et cetera, still available to responsible companies and individuals.

315 316 Some of the large international mining enterprises have begun a continually increasing activity in Albania—the Anglo-Persian Oil Company, Standard Oil Company, the Franco-Albanian Syndicate, Azienda Italiana Petroli Albania (AIPA), Societa Italiana Miniere di Selenizza, and others.

[Constitution]

671 641 No citizens may be exiled or interned within the state except as prescribed by law.

The People's Republic of Albania protects the rights of its citizens in foreign lands.

ARTICLE 20

694 A home cannot be violated.

No person can enter a house and search it against the wishes of the owner, except when he holds a court order in his hands.

No search can be made except in the presence of two witnesses. The owner of the house also has a right to be present.

ARTICLE 21

205 The secrecy of mail and other correspondence cannot be violated except in cases of criminal investigations, military mobilization, or state of war.

ARTICLE 22

461 In the People's Republic of Albania work is a privilege and a duty.

Every citizen has a right to be paid according to his work and to receive from society as much as he gives to it.

ARTICLE 23

641 All citizens have a right to be employed in government work according to specific regulations laid down by law.

Citizens appointed or elected to public office are bound to perform their duties conscientiously.

ARTICLE 24

[729] 657 It is the duty of the state to adequately support disabled soldiers at public expense and to enable them to resume their work. The state shall support the families of those who died in battle and of all war victims.

ARTICLE 25

The state takes care of the health of the people by organizing and controlling health service, hospitals, and sanatoriums.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 26

The state takes care of the physical education of the people, especially that of the youth, with a view to improving health and increasing the capacity of the people for work and the defense of the state. 657

ARTICLE 27

Freedom of scientific and artistic work is guaranteed. 517
The state promotes science and the arts in such a way as to further the culture and welfare of the public.

The rights of authors are protected by law.

ARTICLE 28

In order to raise the cultural level, the state gives to all 871
classes of people every chance to attend schools and other cultural institutions.

The state is particularly interested in the education of youth.

Minors are protected by law. [858]

The schools belong to the state. Private schools can be opened only by special permission. All their activities are supervised by the state. Elementary education is free and obligatory.

Schools are separated from the church.

ARTICLE 29

Citizens have the right to petition state organs for 641
redress of wrongs.

Citizens have the right to complain against any illegal or irregular decision of an administrative organ of the state.

ARTICLE 30

Every citizen can complain in competent courts against officials who have acted unjustly in the discharge of their duty.

ARTICLE 31

Citizens are entitled to seek from the state or from an 695
official compensation for damages incurred as a result of illegal or irregular punishment.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

646 who is in full possession of all his citizenship rights and can read and write the Albanian language, may be elected as a deputy.

641 All citizens are equal before the law and their citizenship and political rights secured.

425 Confiscation of property is definitely abolished.

659 The State recognizes no official religion, all religions are equal and have full rights and receive equally favorable treatment in every respect.

641 Foreigners enjoy equal rights with Albanian citizens, except they cannot vote nor hold parliamentary and certain other offices.

645 The official business of the State is carried on by the eight Ministries, namely: Ministry of Interior Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Brëndëshme), Ministry of Justice (Ministria e Drejtësisë), Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Ministria e Punëve të Jashtme), Ministry of Public Instructions (Ministria e Arësimit), Ministry of Finance (Ministria e Financave), Ministry of National Economy (Ministria e Ekonomisë Kombëtare), Ministry of Public Works (Ministria e Punëve Botore), and Ministry of National Defense (Ministria Komonda e Përgjithshme e Mprojtjes Kombëtare).

[Constitution]

641 No privilege because of family, position in life, wealth,
554 or cultural level is recognized.

ARTICLE 13

[563] All citizens are equal regardless of nationality, race, or
[659] religion. Any act which grants privileges or takes away rights from any citizen because of nationality, race, or religion is unconstitutional and carries with it punishments as provided by law. It is unconstitutional and punishable by law to stir up hatred and dissension among nationalities, races, or religions.

ARTICLE 14

666 All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen are
641 eligible to elect and be elected in all organs of state, regardless of sex, nationality, race, creed, cultural level, or residence.

Members of the armed forces also have these rights.

The right to vote is universal, equal, direct, and secret.

The right to vote is forfeited by those who have been disqualified by law.

ARTICLE 15

562 Women are equal to men in all walks of life, private, political, or social.

Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same work. And women have similar rights with regard to social security.

745 The government especially protects the interests of mothers and young children, by assuring vacations with pay before and after childbirth and also by building maternity hospitals and nurseries.

ARTICLE 16

659 Freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed to all citizens.

The church is separated from the state.

Religious communities are free to exercise and practice their creeds.

[Constitution]

It is forbidden to use the church and religion for political purposes. 659

Likewise, political organizations based on religion are also forbidden.

The state may assist religious communities materially.

ARTICLE 17

Marriage and family are protected by the state. The legal conditions of marriage and family are fixed by law. 585

Legal marriages can be performed only by competent representatives of the government. After celebrating a civil marriage a citizen may celebrate a religious marriage according to the rules of his creed.

The courts of the state only are competent to determine all questions concerning marriage. [692]

Parents have the same obligations towards their illegitimate children as to those born in wedlock. Illegitimate children have the same rights as those born in wedlock. [848]

ARTICLE 18

Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of organization, freedom of assembly and of public demonstration. are guaranteed to all citizens. 641

ARTICLE 19

Personal inviolability is guaranteed to all citizens. Nobody can be arrested for more than three days without a court warrant or without the approval of the district attorney. 671 641 [694]

No person shall be punished for a crime without the decision of a competent judge in conformity with the law which defines the crime and the competence of the court.

No punishment shall be determined and inflicted except as prescribed by law.

No person shall be punished without a hearing nor without being summoned to defend himself according to law, except in a case where his absence is legally established.

The administrative organs of the state may give jail sentences for common law misdemeanors as prescribed by law.

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798 one surmise that the Communists have tried to neutralize the Moslem population by breaking it up into mutually hostile factions. It is known that purges of Mohammedan leaders who were insufficiently cooperative have occurred. Islam is today divided into several sects. Hoxha's aides sought first to play one of these against another, and selected the strongest, the *Bektashi*, for the role of principal collaborator; but there ensued a weird series of assassinations, or purges, impossible to interpret. All we really know is that government broadcasts beamed to the Near East stress that Albania demonstrates the ability of Communism to carry out its program successfully while granting complete freedom of faith to Mohammedans. The names of some Moslem leaders who have perished are known, as is that of Hafiz Musa Hashi Alija, who is currently cast in the precarious role of chief adviser to the government on Islamic matters.

795 News concerning the fate of the Orthodox Church is also 658 much more fragmentary than one could desire. Historically, in Albania, this Church was free of strong confessional ties with Constantinople and Athens, and from time to time some of its leaders took under serious advisement the possibility of reunion with Rome. Accordingly Communist efforts after 1945 to "nationalize" Orthodoxy and to foster its allegiance to Moscow met with resistance. It was not until January, 1948, that a small delegation of the clergy visited Moscow, Kiev, and Leningrad. The official press reported that the head of this group had expressed, in behalf of his colleagues, the view that the "strength of the Russian Church" would insure protection against "all the other Churches, and particularly the Vatican," which might seek to "absorb and destroy the Albanian Church." During the same year, a Russian bishop visited Tirana, Albania's capital city; and the Orthodox Church Conference of that year convened in Moscow. This

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conference, it will be remembered, condemned both the Protestant Ecumenical Movement and the Vatican, "center of Fascism and of plots against the Slavic peoples." 795 659

The fact that the Primate, Archbishop Christopher Kissi, did not attend any of these assemblies was strongly indicative of a lack of appreciation for Communist conceptions of the role and functions of the Church. Indeed, it would have been strange if he had attended. The Orthodox Church, like all other religious bodies in Albania, had suffered from the Land Reform Law promulgated during August, 1945, which gave the Party the right to confiscate and nationalize property it has claimed elsewhere. By the close of 1948, Moslem and Orthodox ecclesiastics were completely dependent financially on the state. During the next year, the Archbishop was deposed and arrested. The government's published contention was that he "had worked against our interests and the interests of the people by collaborating with the Unitarian Church during the period of Fascist occupation." Two other prelates, Bishop Ireneo and Bishop Agathangjeli, were arrested. How many other members of the clergy have been taken into custody, deported to labor camps, or executed, no one knows. There is a report that Bishop Irenaeus Banushi was put to death during 1947. 793 661 [423]

However, the full fury of Hoxha's enmity fell upon the Roman Catholic Church. The Germans had withdrawn in November, 1944. A month later the government seized all printing establishments, and the Catholic press was abolished. At the same time a number of ecclesiastical offices were searched, and some members of the clergy were taken into custody. Religious youth organizations were banned, and only the Antifascist Youth Front, avowedly pro-Communist, was permitted to function. In February, 1945, the first "People's Court" to convene in Scutari sentenced one of the best known Al- 795 661 [883]

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Under this reign of terror, the Catholic population of approximately 100,000 was reduced to dire poverty, impotence, and silence. The laity suffered almost as grievously as the clergy. Catholics holding positions of public trust were ousted. Priests were forbidden to minister to the sick in hospitals or prisons. To consort in any way with a priest meant probable imprisonment or worse. By the middle of August, 1951, Catholics who still ventured to practice their religion openly were served by not more than sixty-two priests. On the third day of that month, the government published a decree concerning the status of the Roman Catholic Church. This document, having announced that the Church no longer "has any kind of organizational, economic, or political ties with the Pope," went on to ordain that the clergy must accompany religious teaching with the inculcation of sentiments of loyalty to the "people's power of the Albanian People's Republic," and that appointments to ecclesiastical positions must have the approval of the government. This decree was approved at a convention of Catholics meeting in Scutari in 1951. At the same time the government announced that Catholicism in Albania had repudiated all forms of allegiance to the Papacy, "enemy of the people."

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> Comrade Tuk Jakova, disassociating himself from the political program of the Party and of the State in so far as religion and in particular the Catholic clergy are concerned, has not evinced the right attitude toward this clergy or acted against it vigorously. Not seeing the very grave danger which is present in the reactionary clergy, Comrade Jakova has not hated them in an adequate way.

It would therefore appear that while Mohammedanism has been spared the full rigors of the antireligious crusade in Albania, the Christian Churches have suffered as perhaps nowhere else in satellite Europe. Bereft of leadership and of education, depleted through violent death, deportation to labor camps, and escape to other countries, they have been reduced to a status almost as primitive as that of the Churches

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Albania E61

did not come out badly as a defender of Albanian interests, for the lands in jeopardy in the south constitute nearly a quarter of the entire territory of Albania and are much more important to the country's existence than the territory claimed from Jugoslavia. Recently, with Communist fortunes at a low ebb in Greece and with Jugoslav-Albanian relations as bad as possible, the situation has been reversed. Hoxha can still claim, however, that a Communist victory all around is the only guarantee of a safe solution of the quarrel with Greece, and he also is now free to attack the treatment received by the Albanians in Kossovo and to say that if only there were a "true" Communist régime in Belgrade it would do them favors which a "false" comrade like Tito refused. 648

Basically, however, Hoxha felt insecure, and not only for the reasons mentioned a few paragraphs back. He must constantly have wondered how he himself stood in the Kremlin. What was the Soviet estimate of his own fidelity? He had been Tito's friend, had protested countless times how much he loved him, how he would fight to the death for him. What could he do to demonstrate that he, Hoxha, who had gone back so easily on one ally, would remain faithful to the next? 000

Hoxha's second-in-command was Lieutenant General Koci Xoxe (pronounced Dzodze), Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior, organizing secretary of the Communist Party, an able theoretician and adept also at ruthless action. Like Hoxha he had been Tito's close collaborator, but he had not hesitated a fraction of a second longer than his chief in announcing his switch to the anti-Tito camp, and he vied with Hoxha in denouncing their old ally's ideological errors and political perfidy and in lauding Stalin as the fount of Communist wisdom and the Soviet Union as Albania's only protector. During the summer of 1948 as Minister of the Interior he conducted the purge of Titoist suspects in the government and Party. 665 661

What more convincing proof of his own fidelity could Hoxha offer Stalin than to be willing to sacrifice even this outstanding friend and colleague? To denounce Xoxe would be almost like denouncing himself, but preferable. He called the Central Committee of the Party to meet in Berat in September, and after it had listened to his account of how Xoxe, who had been purging Titoists, was himself a

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Titoist, it voted that this was indeed so and that he in turn should be purged. Also implicated were Pandi Christo, former President of the Control Commission, Nosti Kerentyi, former President of the State Planning Commission, both like Xoxe members of the Politburo, and more than a dozen other influential officials and party members. As a first step, Xoxe was removed from his key post and nominated as Minister of Industry. Moscow-chosen and Moscow-trained Major-General Mehmet Shehu helped Hoxha direct this manœuvre and succeeded Xoxe as the Number 2 man of the régime. Xoxe's new post was announced by the Albanian radio October 2, 1948. Before the month was up he had been deprived of it, expelled from the Party and arrested with Christo and the others as "agents of Trotskyite Jugoslav agents." He was convicted as "chief bandit" of "the Trotskyite group of enemies of the people," [5] and shot on June 11, 1949.

Hoxha may have had other motives besides a desire to offer Stalin the most dramatic burnt-offering possible as proof of his own zeal and fidelity. He may have seized on the chance to get rid of his nearest rival. Nor must we rule out the possibility that Communists sometimes act for the reasons they allege. Hoxha may have told the truth about Xoxe. The Minister of the Interior may have purged a few minor Titoists in order to cover up the fact that he had left more important ones at large, and that with them he was plotting to take Albania into the anti-Cominform camp at the first opportunity.

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A writer in the *New Times* of Moscow has given us a summary of Soviet opinion of Xoxe:

> Koci Xoxe was a shifty little man who combined the brutality of a wolf with the cowardice of a jackal. He wormed his way into the Ministry of the Interior and the Central Committee of the Party. He flooded the country with sleuths of Tito, helped the latter to organize the economic invasion of Albania, violated the foreign trade monopoly and the sovereign rights of the Republic. Tito speculators made their way into the country and plundered Albania's commodity reserves, buying up with devaluated dinars cattle, grain, olive oil, fruit, wool, wine, tobacco, as well as valuable handicraft ware, the work of Albanian peasants. The goods were shipped by truck and boat to Jugoslavia, and

[5] Tirana radio, home service transmission, June 10, 1949.

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in the Soviet Union itself prior to the War against Hitler. They are almost wholly isolated. Information concerning the cultural life of the Albanian people is limited to what can be obtained from broadcasts over the government radio station.

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Hoxha did not join forces with Marshal Tito when that leader broke with the Kremlin, but was soon made aware that Albania was wholly isolated and that his Yugoslav neighbor gave asylum to dissidents who plotted a *coup d'état*. That such an undertaking might well meet with success seems probable. But Italy retains its interest in the strategic and economic advantages of the Albanian area, and its assent would be required; and currently, with the struggle for Trieste in the foreground, no entente is conceivable. The Russians apparently maintain a small body of troops in the vicinity of Tirana, but have in no other wise manifested great concern. Apparently they consider Hoxha a negligible problem child. It is apparent, however, that the Russian garrison makes impossible any attempt to overthrow the dictatorship from within the country.

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The fate of the three erstwhile Baltic Republics—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—illustrates the sad truth that in troubled and imperialistic parts of the world it does not pay to be a small nation. Each of the three had a solid folk or tribal core round which language, mores, and religious tradition had developed. For brief periods each managed to acquire a precarious independence. But they lay along the great Baltic seacoast route from Western Europe. German colonization efforts, spearheaded by the Teutonic Knights, went this way, and later came solidly entrenched land barons. There were periods of Swedish and Polish domination. Finally, as a result of the Treaty of Nystad, which in 1721 ended the Swedish

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of the mountaineers. This ancient code of conduct has undoubtedly exercised a restraining influence on the clansmen and helped to soften the grim realities of anarchy. None the less it was our experience that, like other codes of chivalry and laws of war, it was honoured as much in the breach as in the observance. This was perhaps a recent development, born of the crisis of the times or of the influence of Western ideas unaccompanied by Western conditions. Be this as it may, what most impressed us in the way of life of the Albanians was not the stray survivals of their ancient customs but the extent to which they lived without a law at all.

If anarchy was the way, poverty was the standard of their lives. They subsisted mainly from their flocks and upon maize, grown wherever the valleys offered soil for their wooden ploughs to scratch, or traded in the towns against hides and dairy produce. Their fare was simple; their clothing homespun; the forests gave them fuel, and, with the rocks of the mountain, their building materials. They lived, Turkish fashion, on the ground, and, beyond a few rugs, mattresses, and cooking utensils, required no other furniture or amenities. Tobacco, salt, sugar, and coffee, were their luxuries; weapons their chief expenditure and pride.

But besides this pastoral economy there was another source of wealth from which the mountaineers, and especially the chief men among them, drew their strength. Bad communications made coercion difficult, but the poverty of the clans made the power of money great. Elsewhere this might have been of no great moment, but in the Balkans the clashing interests of the Powers afforded frequent opportunities for holding the Central Government to ransom, or indulging in mercenary enterprise on behalf of the foreigner. Such enterprise had ever been a time-honoured means of livelihood among the Albanians; and, if the Eastern Question had caused the ruin of their merchants, it had also created boom conditions for their mercenaries. Such indeed had been the influx of gold and arms into the mountains in the past hundred years that it was perhaps not too much to say that the whole economy and strength of many of the clans had become dependent on subsidies received for "political

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662 services" from the Central Government or from foreign Powers. Nor were the chiefs the only ones to gain, for the profits of a mercenary leader depend on the strength of his following. The rival chieftains competed for the support of the smaller fry; and these passed in and out of the orbits of their betters according to their hopes of wealth or fears of defeat. Thus in time the foreign gold circulated down to the poorest shepherd.

Such practices were lucrative and naturally congenial to the Albanians; for they despised manual labour as a task for women, regarding only fighting and its preparations as man's work. Mercenary enterprise, moreover, was conducive to social stability, for the chief derived his wealth not from the exploitation of his clansmen but from the subsidies of the foreigner or the spoils of war. A common interest in his success induced a spirit of partnership among his followers, while the fierce competition of rivals encouraged his liberality or corrected his avarice. At the same time each accession of strength which he derived from his foreign paymasters was almost automatically balanced by the complementary reinforcement of his rivals by other foreign Powers. Mercenary enterprise thus proved to be an expanding economy; and, to guard against the dangers of a slump, the rival chiefs were not above stimulating the flow of subsidies by timely collusion.

The Albanians were of the Balkans; and so the natural insecurity of their lives, inherent in the anarchy and poverty of their circumstances, was aggravated, if at times enriched, by the struggle of the Powers to spread their influence along the road to the East. Life under such conditions could not but be "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short"; yet from its very
181 grimness the Albanians drew their strength. Anarchy developed their independence, not only in their relations to other men, but in their thoughts; for they were free from all those prejudices, taboos, and inhibitions which limit the outlook of those who belong to an organised community. Poverty lent a severe pragmatism to their thought, so that they judged only by results, knowing that, if man cannot live by bread alone, he cannot even subsist without it. Insecurity sharpened their awareness and deepened their understanding of human nature, trying their values by the acid test of survival.

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hearths at night. We watched their unfamiliar ways, studied their starkly realist opinions, and by a hundred different arguments preached war against the Germans. Abas Kupi meanwhile worked hard to strengthen his faction, rewarding friends, corrupting enemies, and gently menacing the undecided. Above all he sought to impose a truce between the warring clans whose blood feuds threatened the unity of the Zogist cause. The *Hakmeria*, or blood feud, had its merits, for it was a great teacher of manners and of respect for the dignity of the individual. No Albanian indeed could strike another with impunity, and even schoolmasters had been known to pay with their lives for a hasty cuff in class. But the feuds took a heavy toll of life and suffering; and we met men from weak clans who had scarcely left their homes in twenty years for fear of neighbours with whom they were "in blood". Under the monarchy some attempt had been made to suppress the feuds; and they had begun to decline before the growing power of the Central Government. With the collapse, however, of Italian rule the mountaineers had returned to their ancient anarchy, and now blood feuds flourished on every side. As foreigners we stood in no danger from them, but they were none the less an important factor in our daily life. A guide would take us several hours out of our way to avoid crossing the territory of a clan with which he was "in blood"; chieftains would suddenly postpone a meeting, alarmed by rumours that their enemies were lying in wait; and sometimes at tribal gatherings we would see a man pass the coffee cup to his neighbour under his knee — the supreme mark of contempt for the man who had not even tried to avenge a wrong.

The persistence of the blood feuds presented Abas Kupi with a serious problem, for every time a clan was won to his cause their blood enemies would side automatically with his rivals. He therefore laboured patiently to reconcile the contending parties, and in accordance with the Law of Lek invited them to submit their feuds to his arbitration. There was, moreover, an ancient tradition that a general truce, or *besa*, might be proclaimed like the medieval "Truce of God" if a region was

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in danger of foreign attack. To secure such a *besa* and so restore the unity of Mati was now the Agha's foremost aim. 628

We were joined every now and then by groups of notables who would accompany us on the march for two or three days. Among them came one, Hafuz Effendi, a shrunken, bird-like creature, who had been deputy of Mati under the Italians. Like many of the older Albanians Hafuz still wrote for preference in the Arabic script and for our benefit recited the opening *surahs* of the Koran. He had been on Essad Pasha's staff in the last war and since then, in the time-serving tradition of the Ottoman bureaucracy, had worked in turn for Fan Noli, Zog, and the Italians. During the occupation, indeed, he had twice betrayed Abas Kupi's hide-out to the Italians, and was even held responsible for the arrest of some of the guerillas. Now, however, that the Italians were gone, he piously proclaimed himself a democrat and had come to offer his services to Abas Kupi, in whom he discerned the paramount influence of the day. Such time-serving exceeded, even among the Albanians; and, despite his great age, he was mocked unmercifully by young and old. He was a guest, however, albeit self-invited, and while he was with us no one would have thought of harming him. Abas Kupi let him stay with us two days and then dismissed him to his house, but kindly; for it was now his policy to forget the past and to stretch out a hand to all who would support him. 662

Germanic names, such as Allemani and Walter, were found among the Mati clans, derived, so it was said, from Crusaders who had settled in Albania on their way to the East. The Walter clan had declared for Abas Kupi, but they were still suspect to the Zogists; for they had long been blood enemies of the King. One of them indeed, named Bekir, had tried in 1924 to assassinate Zog in the Tirana Parliament. He had only succeeded in wounding him and, to escape capture, had then locked himself up in the Parliament lavatory. There he had reloaded and prepared to stand siege, singing patriotic songs to keep up his courage. None of the deputies had dared to break in the door, for they knew that Bekir was armed; [551] 628

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554 of aghas. The title of agha was a courtesy title bestowed by the
576 populace. By special provision of the Turkish Government there had been hereditary aghas since the Turkish conquest at Botush in Yugoslav Kosovë; these, says their representative in Albania, took precedence of all bajraktars in Albania and Kosovë.

578 Given the pride of a bajraktar in his standard and of a 'first
668 family' in its descent, a clash between the two was not uncommon. When this took the form of an ordinary isolated quarrel, elders were called in from another tribe to judge between the disputants. Their own tribe did not venture to try the issue, knowing that it might suffer, as outside elders could not do, for an unwelcome judgement. If the elders failed to effect a settlement, shooting began between the parties, both bajraktar and 'first family' being followed by his own kin. A man related to both followed the one to whom he was more nearly related; this at least in theory. In practice they often showed a naive sense of which side their bread was buttered and joined the disputant with the stronger following.

628 Sometimes a long struggle for precedence developed between
662a 'first family' tenacious of its ancient privileges and an ambitious
578 bajraktar. In Lurë, for instance, both the Catholic Zef Doçi of Lurë e Vjetër (Old Lurë) and the Mohammedan Ibrahim Gjoçi of Kreje had long been rivals of the Mohammedan bajraktar Hakik Alia Meta. In 1926 Gjoçi had the largest following, because he maintained the tribe with surpassing generosity. Within a decade he ate himself out of house and home, and then lost nearly all his power, retaining only the tribesmen's affection and respect for his past benefits. He therefore ceased to hamper the ambitions of the bajraktar. Zef Doçi, the 'first family' in the whole tribe, was a more obstinate rival, as his power rested less on his lavish doles than on his descent and personal wisdom. Ancestor after ancestor had been 'captains' in Turkish times, whereas Gjoçi and Meta had never been 'captains' till created by King Zog. The bajraktar began by undermining Doçi's position with traditional doles. He sent sheep to the poor at every festival and went guarantee for them in the shops during crises such as weddings and burials. 'So they all follow me now', he told the visitor with disarming simplicity. He had resorted to direct action, seizing every chance to kill off the guns in Doçi's family. In 1933 some brigands, who had killed one of Llesh Doçi's men, were harboured in a mountain sheepfold by the bajraktar's shepherds. Together with Zef and other relatives,

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Llesh ambushed the brigands and wounded one. As one of his men was killed, the two sides were 'one and one', equalized, and could have made peace. But the opportunity was too good for the bajraktar to miss. By the law of the mountains Llesh should not have attacked the sheepfold until he had asked the bajraktar to withdraw his protection from the brigands and had met with a refusal. So the bajraktar vowed he would not make peace but would have Doçi's blood for the 'injury'. Soon he learned that Zef Doçi and all his male relatives were at a wedding in a poor man's house. Under cover of darkness his followers crept up to the house and shooting through the windows killed two and wounded four of the wedding guests. A year later the bajraktar managed to have a third man from Zef's family killed, leaving Zef almost alone.

In his charities this bajraktar of Lurë took no account of the recipient's religion, helping a Catholic as readily as one of his fellow Mohammedans. If he discriminated between the two he would gain nothing from the Albanian government, which ignored religious differences. In Turkish times discrimination in favour of Mohammedans would have furthered his designs by winning approval from the Turkish government. He found, however, that the proved loyalty of his family to King Zog's stood him in even better stead. A marriage had also proved a useful asset. Metë Hoti, the best shot in Lurë, would have been expected to join Zef Doçi, because his mortal enemy, Dalip Kaci, followed Zef's enemy, the bajraktar. Unfortunately for Zef, Metë had a sister married to one of the bajraktar's household. Since joining Zef meant shooting at the bajraktar's men, Metë feared to have the blood of his nephews on his hands and continued reluctantly, side by side with his mortal enemy, to follow the bajraktar.

The result of the struggle can be shown by the numbers of the levies raised by the three captains for the Albanian government in 1926, 1933 and 1935 respectively. They were as follows:

	1926	1933	1935
Zef Doçi	150	50	23
Ibrahim Gjoçi	300	40	32
Bajraktar	4	300	400

It would have been interesting to revisit Lurë to see the effect on the position established by the Italian occupation. The bajraktar,

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as King Zog's man and therefore anathema to the Italians, must have lost much ground. Zef Doçi as his enemy and as a good Catholic may have regained some.

According to Albanian tradition there were no bajraktars before the Turks came, and headmen were literally the head men of their tribe. This would seem to be confirmed by a document dated 1403 which cited Alexius Kastrati, as headman of the tribe of that name, in a list of Albanian chiefs who were rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Albanian tradition further alleges that the Turks aimed deliberately at weakening Albanian chieftains. So, on the one hand, Sultan Mahmut destroyed thirty-six kins, root and branch, and his son Mexhi a further number. On the other hand, Sultan after Sultan appointed bajraktars, ostensibly as military leaders but really as pillars of Turkish rule. By recognizing their nominees as administrative heads as well as military leaders they reduced the old headmen to a subordinate position, and thereby lessened their chances of engineering a successful revolt. This policy would explain why some bajraktars were social as well as administrative and military leaders, and others were not. The former presumably descended from headmen who were complaisant enough to accept Turkish rule, and the latter from strong men of lower position in tribes where the headmen were recalcitrant. The Turks must have trusted that pleasure in their official rank, and the increased possibilities of money-making would keep the bajraktars quiet in their turn. Recognizing the hereditary character of the bajraktar was another shrewd step on their part. As the non-hereditary delis and spahis aged or died, a hiatus unfavourable to their rule might arise. When it was a case of 'the bajraktar is old or dead, long live the bajraktar', they never lacked an agent. When King Zog, as Minister Ahmed Zogu, began to unify Albania he saw the danger from the numerous bajraktars. Accustomed to lead their tribes to war, unaccustomed to any restraint by a central authority, ignorant and untravelled for the most part and generally of autocratic temper, all of them might not have been willing to submit to the new government in Tirana. Methods of bringing them into line with or without their own wish had, therefore, to be devised. If one was willing to serve loyally, the government treated him as the Turks had long before treated a pliant headman. It made him an officer in the reserve, the modern equivalent of the ancient bajraktar, gave him the half-pay of his rank, and provided

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for his sons and nephews, granting them state scholarships on which to complete their education or military training abroad, and finding them employment as officials or officers when they came home. The most notable example of this 'pliant headman' type of bajraktar was Hakik Meta of Lurë, who was himself a captain and had several relatives who were officers in the Albanian army. If a bajraktar was likely to be recalcitrant, King Zog's government tried two methods. The first was a duplication of the system applied to the pliant headman type with reserve rank, half-pay and provision for relatives all included. Thus Gjon Markagjoni, the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë, who rebelled openly in 1921 against the central government, was rewarded for his subsequent submission by being made a lieutenant-colonel in the reserve. Cen Elezi of Dibër, whose father was killed in battle against King Zog's men in 1924, was later made a major. But fewer of the relatives of such men were educated at state expense, and the education given to those few was not so advanced—it seems to have been dangerous to put too much knowledge into their heads. And when they were ready for office they were kept in outlying unimportant districts, 'safe' areas.

The second and far more important method employed by King Zog with possible recalcitrants was the Turks' very own. The usual favours of rank in the reserve, half-pay and the provision for dependants were bestowed on a number of tribesmen who had given proof in the past of their loyalty to the régime and were 'strong' enough in the military sense to combat the influence of the obstinate bajraktars. Captain Mark Miri of Gurrëzë, who was a counterpoise to the Gjetë Coku family of Breg i Matit as well as to the bajraktar, was one example of this type. So was Major Miftar Selmani of Lumë, who was supposed to balance his fellow-villager, Muharrem Bajraktar. The transfer of the administrative powers of the bajraktars to state officials completed their weakening. The unity and stability which characterized King Zog's Albania to an extent surprising in a Balkan country were the best commentary on the policy.

The Republic of Albania

ON Christmas evening of 1924, Ahmed 642 Bey Zogu won over the considerate and 643 intelligent elements of the population. He re-entered Tirana and was greeted by the whole town with shouts of cheer and gratitude and was hailed as the leader who would direct Albania into a peaceful and prosperous future. As soon as harmony and tranquility had been restored, the young leader called upon the Albanians for the election of a Constitutional Assembly, which body declared Albania a republic in January, 1925, and the Albanians showed unwavering loyalty by electing, on January 31, 1925, Ahmed Bey Zogu as their first president.

The new president studied the needs, requirements and the psychology of his people. 663 642 He was determined to make Albania into a peaceful and united nation, and, through his obvious efforts, he won the support and admiration of the strongest and sturdiest clans of Albania. These clans, which had never paid taxes to the Sultans of Turkey, now began to

• 663 pay taxes to the new government. As a further
642 sign of their loyalty, they laid down their arms, returned to their homes and their farms, thoroughly convinced that the new president will safeguard the interests of the nation.

Through his highly developed penchant for law and order, President Ahmed Bey Zogu won the cooperation of the Beys of Albania. Until this time the Beys of Albania were too proud to unite under another Bey as their chief. They had engaged in petty quarrels and waged war against each other like the Barons of mediaeval England. The firm hand of Ahmed Bey Zogu tended towards forming them into a national union, and they accepted Ahmed Bey Zogu as their chief and president.

In reaching these ends, Ahmed Bey Zogu proved himself a magnet rather than an autocrat or tyrant. In his way he has given ample evidence to his people that his chief aim in life, and his only objective is to put Albania on an equal rank with other civilized nations.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

class of small peasants proprietors. The sta- 423
bility of the country has been further promoted by the pacification of the outlying districts.

During the more recent years of the reign 663
of King Zog, his actions and work have all tended toward the true pacification and reconciliation of divided interests, to internal union and prosperity, and to the political and social progress of Albania.

The work accomplished for Albania by King Zog can be outlined briefly as follows: a highway construction program; new roads built; new modern bridges constructed throughout the country; new government and public buildings erected in Tirana and other cities; better housing; greater trade relationship; increased exports and imports; general development of the country and of some of the mineral resources; establishment and stabilization of the Albanian currency; hospitals and clinics built in the various cities; codification and improving changes of the laws; the assurance of absolute safety and security throughout the country by organizing the militia and the gendarmerie, thereby giving to Albania for the first time a permanent mili-

• 663 tary and police force; reforms in the government service; improvement of the ports; modernization and improvement of agriculture and similar industries for increase of home production; in the educational field much has been done by the building of a large number of new schools, libraries and placing education under government subsidy and supervision; introduced the Boy Scouts organization making membership compulsory between the ages of 12 and 18, this was done for the upbuilding of health and character of the Albanian youth, and numerous other improvements were made by King Zog.

In foreign policies, King Zog is for peace and true friendship equally with all nations.

Free from all those prejudices which separate society and create dissension, tolerant to men of other beliefs, fair and impartial to men of other races, he so obviously succeeded in welding all the conflicting elements of his country into a strong and prosperous whole.

000 It is evident that the golden opportunity for Albania has arrived. Under the able guidance of King Zog I, Albania is being restored to all of those things which were hers from the days of antiquity. It must be realized

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[For the economic and political position of Albania under Soviet control since the death of Stalin, see 85: Zinner, R1 Soviet Union, Category 116, Pp. 157B-163B.]

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•665 A new generation of political leaders now came forward[1] many of whom were to play an important part in this story. In the South, the Orthodox Bishop Fan Noli, with a group of returned emigrants from the United States, formed a party professing Radical principles. He met with some support, especially among the landless Orthodox peasantry, but his movement suffered from the difficulties of applying advanced Western political theories to tribal or feudal communities where the Ottoman tradition of government still prevailed. The Moslems of the South also formed a party, to which most of the Tosk beys adhered. Prominent among its leaders were Ali Klissura, Midhat Frasheri, and Mehdi Frasheri, who represented perhaps the most enlightened element among the Albanians, combining a Western education with practical experience of administration in the Ottoman civil service. Mehdi Frasheri indeed had been Governor of Jerusalem under the Turks, and was later to surprise his colleagues in the League of Nations Assembly by a speech on the Palestine Mandate such as they had scarcely expected from the Albanian delegate. In the North there were tribal factions rather than political parties. The leader of the Catholics was Jon Marko Joni, who had become Captain of the Mirdita in succession to Prenk Bib Doda and was for a time the protagonist of a Serbian inspired plan for the creation of an autonomous Mirdite Republic. Bairam Bey Tsuri and Tsena Bey Kryeziu, two hot-tempered guerilla leaders, contended for supremacy among the Moslem clans of the north-east, while Mustafa Kruya and Sufi Elezi
643 were paramount in Kruya and in Dibra. But the strongest man in the country, drawing his power, like Essad Pasha before him, from the fighting men of Mati and the rich landowners of Central Albania, was Ahmet Bey Zog.

643 Ahmet Zog was born in 1895 of a family of Mati Beys with
159 a long tradition of distinguished service to the Ottoman Empire. When he was but a boy his grandfather, Jemal Pasha, conspired with Marshal Rejeb Pasha to carve out an independent Albanian kingdom from the ruin of Turkish power in Europe. The Marshal was at the time in command of the Turkish armies in Tripoli and planned to sail to Albania with his best troops as soon as Jemal Pasha should raise the standard of revolt. But

1 [After Paris Peace Conference, 1920 -- Analyst]

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sustained in the days when he had fought against Zog. Although illiterate, the man was no peasant, but delicately made and with all the grace of movement of a mountaineer. He spoke little, but with a charm of expression and gesture and a warmth of tone which overcame the impersonality of interpreted conversation. From the start he agreed to work whole-heartedly with Gani; and, despite their different views on the subject of the monarchy, the two became fast friends. Abas Kupi made his home with the Kryezius; and, in the intervals of their conspiracies, Said spent much of his time translating the newspapers to him and the broadcasts from Allied stations.

We had broadened our movement to the Right by including [665] Abas Kupi and the monarchist exiles; now, on Said's advice, we took in Mustafa Jinishi, a member of the Communist Party and a brilliant propagandist. Paris had been the main centre of the Albanian Communists, but, though we did not know it, the Germans had already deported most of their leaders back to Albania. There, the Fascist government let them remain at large, for at this time the Communist Parties throughout the world were still denouncing our struggle with Nazi Germany as an imperialist war. The influence of the Albanian Communists was reputed insignificant, but we were glad to have Mustafa Jinishi for his personal qualities and earnestly hoped that his willingness to work with us might be a sign of a change of heart in Moscow.

Our movement might now be justly termed a United Front of Albanian resistance to Italy. Indeed Abas Kupi, Gani Kryeziu, and Mustafa Jinishi represented, in so far as a people as profoundly anarchic as the Albanians could be said to have representatives at all, the chief factions among the *émigrés* and in Albania, which were prepared to fight for their country's freedom. These three men had been at daggers drawn until a few days before; now, thanks to British intervention and Said Kryeziu's patient diplomacy, they had come together to fight against their common enemy. The sole basis, however, of their alliance was the Italian occupation of their country, which barred them equally from all hope of power. They became great personal friends, but they would sometimes tell us that,

* [British Intelligence. Cf. cat. 11b, pp. 25-28 -- Analyst]

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*669 the operations of the bands assumed the form of a general revolt.

At the end of 1941 there were several small groups of outlaws in the Albanian mountains, of which the most important were that of Abas Kupi in the Kruya region and that of the Communist leaders near Korcha. The winter was, as always among highlanders, a time of preparation; and, with the spring of 1942, there appeared among the Tosks a number of "Partisan" units which all belonged to the same organisation. Mystery still surrounds the beginnings of the Albanian Partisan movement. The original instructions, however, for its formation, and the detailed plans for its constitution, were apparently brought to the Albanian Communist leaders by two emissaries of Tito who went under the pseudonyms of Ali and Miladin. By the summer of 1943 close liaison had been established between the Albanian and Yugoslav Partisans, and it was observed that Yugoslav representatives often exerted a decisive influence on the counsels of the Albanians.

*669 665 The leaders of the Albanian Partisans did not admit that their movement was Communist, although their rank and file habitually styled themselves as such. They presented themselves instead as a coalition of men of goodwill, dedicated to freeing Albania from foreign domination, purging the country of Fascist elements, and creating conditions in which the people might freely elect a government of their own choosing. In practice, exclusive control of the movement was retained in the hands of a small committee, all of whom were Communists. This committee, besides directing policy, appointed the guerilla commanders, the political commissars, and the regional organisers. The former were most often, and the two latter invariably, Communists; while, in accordance with the best conspiratorial traditions, all three were kept under observation by Party members who held no official position at all. By these methods, seconded by the salutary liquidation of those who disobeyed or disagreed, the Partisan movement presently achieved a degree of discipline and cohesion of which few observers believed Albanians to be capable. At an early stage the Red Star badge

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and the clenched fist salute were introduced into their ceremonies; an ingenious propaganda disseminated the usual adulation of Russia and denigration of all non-Communist elements; and the political and military structure of the movement reproduced, even in certain minute details, the pattern common to all the Communist guerillas in the Balkans and apparently evolved by the Party from experience in China and Spain. 669* 665

The principal persons on the committee were Seifullah Maleshova, Enver Hoja, Ymer Dyshnitsa, and Mustafa Jinishi. Seifullah was of an older generation than the others and had been a member of the Party for more than twenty years. A brilliant propagandist and talented writer, he was popularly known as " the Red Poet ", and was in charge of the propaganda section of the movement. Years of exile and conspiracy, however, had sapped his energies and, despite his seniority, he was not to be the leader. This post was reserved for Enver Hoja, a schoolmaster from Korcha, still in his early thirties and possessed of rare organising ability. Ymer Dyshnitsa was a pliable young doctor of great personal charm and considerable culture: he had studied in France and Belgium and was the diplomat of the movement. Mustafa Jinishi had already played a part in the United Front in Belgrade and, despite occasional lapses from Stalinist orthodoxy, was the most popular leader with the rank and file by virtue of his ready wit and daring personal exploits.

The Partisans were essentially a Tosk movement, and at first recruited their forces mainly from the youth of the towns and the landless peasants. Later, they sought to extend their influence north of the Shkumbi, but there they looked in vain for similar elements from whom they might draw their strength. Instead they found a pastoral people, scarcely touched by Western, or indeed any, education, and loyal to their hereditary chieftains. Under these conditions the Communist leaders rightly decided that, unless they could win the support of some at least of these Gheg chiefs, they could not hope to make any progress in the North at all. 669*

The most important of the Gheg guerilla bands was that of Abas Kupi, but there were also two strong groups in the regions

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*669 of Peza and Martanesh. The first and stronger of these was led by Muslim Peza, the veteran Robin Hood of Albania, who had been ten years an outlaw, first against Zog and now against the Italians; the other by Baba Faya, a Bektashi abbot, whom the Italians had sought to arrest for his open denunciations of their rule. By appeals to their patriotism and promises of arms and gold, of which they stood in desperate need, Mustafa Jinishi persuaded these two veterans to join the Partisans. He then made his way north to confer with Abas Kupi, who readily agreed that they should make common cause against a common enemy.

*669 665 By gaining the support of these Gheg chiefs the Partisan movement acquired immense prestige throughout Albania, as well as a new respectability in the eyes of those who had hitherto been alarmed by the known Communist allegiance of its leaders. In September 1942, at a conference held at Peza, the several Partisan groups were for the first time formally embodied in a movement proclaimed under the name of *Levisiya Nacional Clirimtare* (National Liberation Movement), or L.N.C.,[1] as it will hereinafter be called. The leadership of the L.N.C. was vested in a Central Council of ten members, the most important of whom were the three Gheg chiefs, Abas Kupi, Muslim Peza, and Baba Faya, and the Communist leaders, Enver Hoja, Seifullah Maleshova, Mustafa Jinishi, and Ymer Dyshnitsa.

It seemed to many as if the Partisan movement had been broadened by the inclusion of non-Communists among its leaders. The real effect of the merger, however, was to enable the Communists to extend their influence among the Ghegs, without in any way limiting their full control over the Partisan movement among the Tosks. The three Gheg chiefs derived their strength from local influence; and had therefore to spend most of their time in their own districts, preserving the balance of power between the clans and holding together guerilla forces which, in their absence, would soon have dispersed. As a result they could seldom meet to confer and could not hope to attend

[1] The L.N.C. was later more often known as F.N.C. (National Liberation Front). For the sake of convenience, however, I have preferred to retain the earlier description throughout.

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the day-to-day deliberations of their fellow members of the Central Council. The real control of the movement was thus left in the hands of the Communists, whose authority sprang solely from their party and whose mobility was untrammelled by territorial responsibilities. The Communists, moreover, soon gained control of the forces of Muslim Peza and Baba Faya. These two were guerilla leaders of the old school, brave in battle and cunning enough in business, but ignorant, lazy, and hard-drinking. Baba Faya indeed was an adventurer of purely mercenary talent, and Muslim, though a man of parts, was blinded by a fatal devotion to Mustafa Jlnishi. They were thus easily persuaded to delegate more and more of their work, and with it of their power, to the political commissars attached to them by the Central Council. Abas Kupi alone preserved his independence. He refused to admit political commissars among his forces and treated those who were sent to him as no more than the Council's liaison officers. He attended personally to every detail of the organisation of his bands; and such was his distrust of human intentions in general, and those of the Communist Party in particular, that he deliberately sacrificed military efficiency rather than delegate his authority to men whose disloyalty or imprudence might permit the infiltration of Communist influence among his troops. He was careful, however, to avoid giving offence to his Communist colleagues; and they for their part were content to let him be a law unto himself so long as they could gain prestige for their movement and mask their own political affiliations by the use of his name.

Meanwhile the conservative elements among the Tosks had formed a resistance movement of their own, known as the Balli Kombetar, or National Union, which took the field against the Italians at the end of 1942. It was chiefly recruited from the landowners and their peasant following and from that part of the youth of the towns which had not joined the L.N.C. The policy of the Balli Kombetar was Republican, Liberal, and strongly Nationalist; and among its leaders were such men as Midhat Frasheri and Ali Klissura, who had been prominent opponents of King Zog. Until the end of 1942 the Ballist leaders had formed what might be described as the constitu-

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*669 tional opposition to the Italians, accepting the ~~accomplished~~
665 fact of Italian rule, but continuing to demand the return of Albanian independence. For ideological reasons they inclined towards the Western Democracies, but their enthusiasm for the Allied cause was severely restrained, both by hatred of Communism and by fears that an Allied victory might once again deprive them of the Kossovo, as well as of their southern provinces. In taking up arms, therefore, against the Italians, their generous resolve to liberate Albania was perhaps seconded by their desire to win the political support of the Allies and to prove to their own people that they were no less patriotic than the Communists.

Thus, by the end of 1942, there were two distinct resistance movements, the Communist-directed L.N.C., which comprised, without combining, Abas Kupi's group, and the conservative Balli Kombetar. It is doubtful whether at this time their total effectives exceeded six thousand men; and their operations still caused their enemies little more than spasmodic annoyance. Nevertheless, they formed a rallying point for discontented elements of every kind; and the Italians justly feared that, in a country where the carrying of arms was so general, their activities might suddenly assume alarming proportions. In the spring of 1943, therefore, the Italian High Command decided to bring the strength of their army of occupation up to five and a half divisions; a proportion of one Italian soldier to every three Albanians of military age.

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*669 It was at this stage in the growth of the resistance movement
648 that Maclean and Smiley had crossed the border into Albania. At first Partisans and Ballists had alike regarded them with undisguised suspicion; but each in turn soon recognised that a British Mission might bring them powerful moral and material support; and they began to compete with one another for the favour of the British officers.

Maclean found the Partisan forces predominantly composed

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*669 the territories which they had thus brought under their control, the Partisans rewarded their supporters, punished their enemies, and laid down the rudiments of a Communist administration which soon began to organise the civilian population in support of the revolution. Meanwhile the Ballist leaders began, first surreptitiously and then more openly, to visit their friends in the Tirana Government and to seek their help to defend Albania [727] from Communism. The Germans were quick to seize this opportunity of diverting Albanian energies into internecine channels; they forgot the Ballist raids on their convoys; and accordingly made sufficient arms available through the Tirana Government to re-equip the Ballist bands and send them back into the mountains as counter-guerillas. The civil war in Southern Albania was thus indefinitely prolonged, to the exhaustion of the Albanians and the repose of the German army.

*669 By driving the Ballists into the arms of the Tirana Government, and so of the Germans, Enver Hoja succeeded in branding them as "collaborationists". At the same time, this deliberate political manœuvre revealed his social revolutionary intentions and alarmed Abas Kupi and the chief men among the Ghegs. Abas Kupi indeed had been the architect of the policy of alliance with the Balli Kombetar and, at Mukai, had entered into formal obligations towards them on behalf of the L.N.C. He therefore regarded Enver Hoja's change of front as a personal betrayal and came increasingly to suspect that his Communist colleagues meant to attack him, just as they had attacked the Ballists, unless he submitted to full Communist control. Accordingly, when his entreaties and rebukes had alike failed to persuade Enver Hoja to abandon the civil war, he determined to separate himself from a movement whose leaders he could not trust and already feared. He therefore set about consolidating his faction in Mati, Kruya, and Tirana, and took soundings among the leading Albanians who were known to favour a restoration of the monarchy. Then, in December 1943, at a congress held in the village of Herri in the mountains north of Tirana, he proclaimed the formation of the Zogist movement. True to his ideas of a United Front, he at once

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offered an alliance to the L.N.C.; but they refused to recognise the Zogists;[1] and from this time his relations with Enver Hoja steadily deteriorated. A clash was feared; but a few weeks later a German punitive expedition drove the main body of the Partisans back across the Shkumbi; and geographical separation imposed an uneasy truce on both sides. 669* 665

Meanwhile Gani, Said, and Hassan Kryeziu had returned to the Jakova mountains. With the other prisoners at Ventotteno they had been transferred to a camp on the mainland in the summer of 1943, following rumours of an Allied descent on the island, and had escaped to Rome in the confusion that followed the announcement of the armistice. There they had found Mehmet Bey Konitza, an Albanian of distinction, whose advice the Germans had sought in deciding which Albanian internees might safely be allowed to return to their homes. Mehmet Bey was an old friend of the Kryeziu family and had surreptitiously entered their names upon his list, thus procuring for them the necessary travel permits. With these they had returned to Jakova and, after spending one night in their family home, had taken to the mountains with a bodyguard of a hundred men. 669*

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By the autumn of 1943 the number of British Missions operating in Albania had become so considerable that it was decided to recall Maclean to report and to send in a more senior officer, Brigadier Davies, to take command. Accordingly, in November, Maclean and Smiley were evacuated by Motor Torpedo-Boat from the neighbourhood of Valona,[2] and, after preparing in Cairo the first detailed report to be received on the Albanian situation, were sent to London to acquaint the Foreign Secretary and other interested parties with their experiences and opinions. 669* 648

[1] Also known as the "Legality" movement, after the name which Zog had given to his party in the revolution of 1924.

[2] By a curious coincidence the boat which evacuated Maclean and Smiley brought in my former colleague, Sandy Glen, who was to spend some weeks reconnoitring the South Albanian coast for the Admiralty. ooo

*669 648 in 1940 and asked the Agha to tell me of his experiences in the years between. I wanted to hear the story for its own sake, and thought besides that his interpretation of the past would afford the most natural explanation of his present outlook. He smiled and began the detailed narrative of his adventures, enlivened by occasional flashes of sardonic humour, but unadorned except for matter-of-fact accounts of his own feelings at the time. He spoke in a low voice, prodding the glowing embers on the hearth as he talked, and looking up every now and then to see if the point of his sentence had reached me through the interpreter. It was near midnight before he had done; but it was a good story, and through it shone the consistency of the man and the skill with which he had preserved his independence from all those who had sought to use him for their own ends. Of these we were but the latest; and, next day, in a brief message to Maclean, I wrote: "Here is a fish whom many have hooked but none have ever landed".

[665] We continued our talks in the morning and discussed the structure and policy of the Zogist movement. Its main fighting strength was drawn from the regions of Mati, Kruya, and Tirana, each of which had some special connection with the royalist cause. Zog was a man of Mati, and in his reign the valley had grown rich above all other districts in Albania. Tirana had been his chosen capital, whose claims he had consistently defended against the rival cities of Scutari and Valona. As for Kruya, it was Abas Kupi's birthplace, and he had governed it for fifteen years under the King. The Agha claimed that the clans in these three districts might muster ten thousand men; but they were ill-equipped and desperately short of ammunition. The movement, however, was spreading beyond Central Albania and already commanded the support of a number of former army and gendarmerie officers, the bulk of the Tirana merchants as well as certain Gheg chieftains and prominent Tosks. I was given the list of the members of the Central Committee and recognised the names of several well-known men, mostly landowners or intellectuals, but with a good record of opposition against the Italians.

The Agha's immediate aim was to build up alliances with

1 [i.e. Abas Kupi, leader of Zogist movement -- Analyst]

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000 two " supply drops " from Italy, consisting of medical supplies, tinned rations, overcoats, sleeping-bags, and, most precious of all, our mail, with copies of the weekly newspapers and back numbers of *The Times*. No military stores had been dropped, since the Zogists were not yet fighting, but there were enough uniforms and rifles to equip our bodyguards, as well as a selection of pistols and submachine-guns which might serve as gifts to the guerilla leaders.

I slept late next morning and was aroused by Baptista, one of the Italian orderlies, lustily singing *Sole Mio* just outside my tent. The sun was indeed shining, and the cheerful fellow, seeing me wake, ran off towards the cookhouse and presently returned with a steaming plate of bacon and eggs — an unaccustomed luxury, for it was nearly three weeks since I had tasted breakfast. An hour or so later I climbed to the crest of the ridge above the camp and there sat down on a ledge in the shade of a clump of pines. It was now time to reflect on the lessons of our journey with Abas Kupi and to knit them together into a report for our Headquarters.

*669 665 Our progress through Mati and Kruya had lasted eighteen days ; in that time we had met Zogists of every condition, and had conferred at length with the local chieftains, officers, and politicians who were the leaders of the movement. Our first problem had been to assess the fighting strength of the Zogists : a baffling task, for guerilla armies are born of the changing moods of a people, and not even Abas Kupi knew for certain how many men would rally to his call. By dint, however, of reckoning up the rifle power of the separate clans which supported him, and by checking and cross-checking estimates of the forces engaged in the fighting of the previous autumn, we concluded that Abas Kupi could raise at least five thousand rifles at short call. Such a force might increase two- or three-fold if fortune and the Allies favoured the Monarchist cause ; but, though success would quickly swell the numbers of the Zogists, they would not long endure defeat, losses, or reprisals. Rifles there were enough, for every male over the age of fifteen went armed, but ammunition was short, and the supply of mortars and automatic weapons negligible.

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Starting from this estimate of their military potential we had next to decide whether the Zogists could again be made to fight. Abas Kupi, we believed, wanted war; for he needed British backing and was prepared to pay the price. Till now, however, he had been held back by the danger of a Partisan attack, the opposition of his political advisors, and the fear of reprisals and poverty of weapons which paralysed the clans. Arms we could supply once fighting had begun, and money enough to compensate for reprisals; but to reconcile Zogists and Partisans, and to convert the Zogist Committee to our way of thinking were thornier problems. Abas Kupi knew that to remain neutral as between Germans and Partisans was to court isolation and to risk falling between two stools. Originally, when the Axis Powers had been supreme, he had worked with the Communists against the Italians; later, as the Axis star declined, he had hoped to use the Germans to destroy the Communists. We had now convinced him that such a course would fatally compromise his relations with us; and, since in the last analysis the fate of the Monarchist cause would depend on our support, he was once more prepared to join hands with the Communists against the Germans. Whether they would prove equally amenable seemed uncertain, but we had at least brought the Agha to agree to negotiations; and it was now up to our Headquarters and to our colleagues with the L.N.C. to do their part. Their task would doubtless be easier if Abas Kupi attacked the Germans; but here we entered on a vicious circle, for it was to a large extent his fear of the Partisans which inhibited him from taking the field.

But the chief obstacle to action, and the root cause of the defeatism of Abas Kupi's political advisers, was their mistrust of British policy. They suspected that we had already assigned Albania to the Russian zone of influence, and regarded such a prospect not as liberation but as a change of masters. They had therefore demanded political assurances from us, as a test of our intentions; and, by refusing to commit ourselves, we had only seemed to confirm their worst suspicions. We had feared for a time that our negotiations must end in deadlock, but Abas Kupi's alternative request for private instructions from

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found a Gheg leader who was at war with the enemy. Nor 669* was this all ; for, although he declined to join their movement, Gani was on excellent terms with the Partisans.

The Kryeziu brothers had been living as outlaws in the Jakova mountains since their escape from Italy. They had mobilised a small force, and, some months before, had begun stirring up disaffection among the neighbouring tribes and in the Kossovo. Their activities had presently alarmed the Germans, who had sent out a punitive expedition to suppress them. Guided by a blood enemy of the Kryezius, the Germans had surrounded Gani in his hide-out, and, but for the providential approach of night, must have destroyed him. As it was, he had shot his way out into the darkness, killing seven of the enemy for the loss of two of his own men. Since then Gani had twice attacked German patrols sent into the region and had driven them off with losses.

Besides Gani's men there were also a few Partisans in the Jakova mountains belonging to the so-called "Kosmet" (Kossovo Metohia) group and in close touch with Marshal Tito. They had often pressed Gani to join their movement, but he had always refused, knowing that it was completely Communist controlled. At the same time he regarded them as allies in the common struggle against the Germans and had used his influence with the mountaineers to obtain protection and hospitality for them. This had been no easy task, for Kossovar opinion regarded the Partisans with unconcealed hostility as agents of Slavdom.

Said Kryeziu's companion was a certain Lazar Fundo, a 665 Vlach from Korcha, who worked as Gani's chief propagandist and political adviser. Fundo was a man of fine and sensitive features, then in his forties, and combined great personal gentleness with an utterly ruthless intellect ; a peculiar blend often to be observed among those who have received their early training in the ranks of the Communist Party or the militant orders of the Roman Church. Fundo had indeed been a Communist, and had served the Party for nearly fifteen years, both at the Comintern headquarters in Moscow and on missions in Europe and Asia. But the prestige which

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665 he enjoyed among the Party leaders had only served to excite the jealousy of Seifullah Maleshova, then the only other Albanian Communist. National character proved stronger than ideology ; and Maleshova had pursued his rival with all the implacable determination of a mountain blood feud. For years he had bided his time, but in 1938, during the Moscow trials, had denounced Fundo as a Right-Wing Deviationist and fellow conspirator of Bukharin. Fundo had been in Paris at the time, working among the Balkan exiles, and had obeyed the summons to return to Moscow with a clear conscience. There he had been tried before a Party Court, but the charges against him had been dismissed, thanks to the intervention of George Dimitroff, who was his personal friend. A few weeks later his passport had been returned to him and he had been ordered to go back to Paris to complete his mission. But meanwhile he had undergone an unpredictable change of heart. He had arrived in Moscow an orthodox Stalinist, prepared to justify the " purges " which were then at their height : he left the Soviet capital convinced that thousands of honest Communists were being done to death solely to make way for the unlimited dictatorship of Stalin and his faction. He had himself been spared, thanks to the favour he enjoyed in high places ; but the experience had converted him to those very deviationary tendencies of which he had falsely been accused. Back in Paris he openly advocated the reintroduction of democracy into the constitution of the Party and began to consort with the Trotskyist and Bukharinist exiles. His lapse from orthodoxy was soon known to Maleshova ; he was again denounced, and again invited to return to Moscow. This time, however, he prudently declined.

Disillusioned with Communism, Fundo had turned to Social-Democracy, and in 1938 had gone back to Albania, planning to found an Albanian Socialist Party. The Italians, however, had arrested him in the summer of 1939, and had sent him to the concentration camp at Ventotteno. There he had later been joined by the Kryeziu brothers, and the three had soon become fast friends. They had escaped together with the collapse of Italy, and Fundo had followed Gani

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back to Jakova as his political adviser. There he had prepared 665 ● some brilliant leaflets for distribution in the Kossovo and had been a great influence for good in the Kryeziu's camp. To us he seemed a valuable ally; for in a dark and confused world he looked to the British Commonwealth as the least defective of human institutions.

We had several talks with Fundo and he told us something of his experiences as an official of the Comintern. Among other duties he had once been responsible for briefing Tito, then one of the senior European agents of the Communist Party. He told us that in those days Tito was considered in ooo Moscow as one of their bravest and most loyal workers, endowed with great strength of character and the gift of leadership. His intellectual qualities, however, were not rated so high, and whenever he was sent on a difficult mission the Comintern provided him with one or more companions to guide his energies and make sure that he followed the "party line". Unfortunately for our Missions in Yugoslavia Fundo was no longer in a position to tell us who were now the brains behind the Marshal.

Gani had appointed the 5th of June for our meeting, and 669* we therefore set out from Vlahn, accompanied by Muharrem Bairaktar, Said, Fundo, and Mehmet Ali, our host. We travelled by night, for our bodyguard was now nearly a hundred strong and we wanted to keep our movements secret from the Germans, at least until our talks with Gani were over. Our way led through fields and woods across a broad plain, watered by tributary streams of the Drin. The level going seemed strange after long weeks of climbing in the mountains; and, in the night, the stunted trees wreathed in waves of ground mist gave me the impression of riding along the bed of the sea. Just before the dawn it grew very cold; then, as the sun rose, we left the plain and followed a path into the forest of Bitutch. There we presently came upon a small detachment of Gani's men, posted to guard the approaches to his camp. They recognised Said, and brought us to the clearing where Gani was encamped. We embraced each other, glad that our paths

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Ihsan drove Nureddin back to Tirana in the afternoon and returned for dinner, bringing with him Midhat Bey Frasheri, the President of the Balli Kombetar. Midhat Bey had been in turn an official of the Sublime Porte, a member of the Committee of Union and Progress, and a powerful influence in the early struggles of the Albanian state. He had retired from public life under the monarchy, for he was a strong Republican, and since then had eked out his living from the proceeds of a bookshop. Steeped in the cultures of Europe and of the Near East, he was a man of austere ways, a romantic conservative, possessed of burning patriotism and a Catonian faith in the virtues of aristocracy. Now over seventy years old, he was a spare, straight figure, with determined yet sensitive features and a skin like parchment. On first acquaintance he seemed inordinately shy and was afflicted with a slight stutter. He was gifted, however, with a dry but sparkling wit, and his talk at dinner that night assured our entertainment and compelled our admiration.

When the meal was over we turned to grimmer topics. We bluntly accused the Balli Kombetar of "collaborating" with the Germans and threatened to denounce the movement and its leaders as enemies of the Allies unless they at once abandoned their fight against the Partisans. Midhat Bey was too honest to dissemble and answered that it was now too late. A revolution was in progress in South Albania in which the Communists, organised in the L.N.C., sought to overthrow the existing social order defended by the Balli Kombetar. Both movements had their origin in the resistance to the Italians, and at Mukai, in 1943, had concluded an alliance for joint operations against the Axis armies. The Ballists had been loyal to the alliance; but, after the Italian capitulation, Enver Hoja had attacked them, so that he should not have to share with rivals the prize of political power. This civil war had no connection with the struggle for National Liberation, which both parties had at first continued to prosecute. The Partisans, however, had shown themselves reckless of the cost of war to the civilian population and strong in the arms they received from the British. They had pressed hard upon the Ballists; and the

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arouse the suspicion or the greed of the combatants; and it is only a question of chance whether they are shot as spies, murdered for their property, or killed by a stray bullet. In time of revolution, " He that is not with me is against me ". 000

Next day we enjoyed the comforts of Ihsan's house and expounded our inflexible opposition to an anti-Communist front to various lesser politicians who came out from Tirana to meet us. The rest of the time we spent in discussions with Ihsan and his cousin, Liqa, who was renowned as a hunter. Ihsan disapproved of blood sports but, since the *chasse à l'homme* was a frequent feature of Albanian country life, he kept two machine-guns, a mortar, and a stock of hand-grenades in his gun-room as a matter of course. In the house he carried only a light automatic, but when he drove to Tirana, or went for a walk, he armed himself with a Mäuser parabellum. Such precautions seemed incongruous in so civilised a man; but, if blood feuds were less common in the plain than in the mountains, the preventive assassination of opponents was a time-honoured method of government. It was interesting, indeed, to see how centuries of despotic rule had engrained the habits of conspiracy in the life of an Albanian country gentleman. One evening at dinner I heard what I thought was an owl hooting in the garden.

" It must be my cousin Liqa," said Ihsan, going to the French windows, " it is his call."

Sure enough it was.

We left Ihsan[1] by night and set out towards our base, stopping in the mountains above Tirana to meet Jemal Herri. Jemal had once been chief of Zog's secret police; and, along with Muharrem Bairaktar, Prenk Previsi, and Fikri Dine, had formed the quadrumvirate by whose efforts the royal regime had been established. Like his colleagues, he had fallen from favour, but had followed Zog into exile in 1939, returning to Albania in 1941 with Oakley-Hill and the forces of the United Front. Now he stood second to Abas Kupi in the Zogist movement and had built up a small but efficient force of his own, 665 625

[1] [i.e. Ihsan Toptani. Cf. cat. 116, p. 185 -- Analyst]

665 [625] stiffened by a handful of German deserters and fugitives from the labour gangs of the Todt Organisation. We had not previously met Jemal, for his relations with Abas Kupi were strained, and he had for some time been sulking in his tent. We knew, however, that he was in daily contact with Tirana and were anxious to enlist his support in disrupting the political manœuvres of the Germans.

[622] He[1] entertained us to lunch in the house of a village *hoja* and supplemented the usual hospitality of the mountains with highly spiced Yugoslav dishes specially prepared for us by his Bosnian mistress. In appearance he was a cross between Mussolini and Mephistopheles, with a powerful cast of face, ruthless yet somehow mask-like, malicious, and smooth. His violent temperament was curbed by iron self-control and disguised by an elaborate courtesy which might have seemed unctuous but for a hint of arrogance. In conversation he damned Abas Kupi with faint praise, seeking to drive a wedge between us and suggesting that we should send him supplies as an independent leader. We turned a guarded answer, but prevailed on him to send an urgent message to Fikri Dine, advising him to decline Neubacher's invitation to form a government.

000 In the afternoon Hare left for Shupal to persuade Abas Kupi to send a similar warning to Fikri. Meanwhile Maclean and I pressed across the valley and reached Bastar about midnight, only to find that Smiley had moved the camp. We therefore rode out along the range and, at 2 A.M., came on the new base, situated by the side of a gurgling stream on the edge of a broad, level clearing in the forest. We roused Smiley from his slumbers and when at last the flow of his curses had subsided he told us that he had good news: Headquarters had telegraphed approving the terms of our agreement with Abas Kupi. Now at last the revolt might begin.

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61 648 NEXT morning, the last of June, we reviewed our situation and judged it satisfactory. Headquarters had already ratified

1 [i.e. Jemal Herri, former chief of Zogist secret police-- Analyst]

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*669 648 to attack the Germans. Meanwhile, leaving Maclean and myself at Topise, Smiley set out with Zogist guides to reconnoitre the approaches to Durazzo.

643 701 That night, when we had gone, Fikri Dine, General Prenk Previsi, and representatives of the Balli Kombetar drove out from Tirana to the Agha's headquarters to learn of our reply. Their discussions lasted through the night, but before dawn the die was cast. They returned to the capital, and, at noon on the 29th August, Fikri Dine announced the resignation of his government in a proclamation which declared that his efforts to save Albania from Communism had been frustrated by the total absence of German support.

The resignation of the government was the signal for the political leaders to disperse, and completed the isolation of the Germans. They sought to persuade, and at length to compel, the loyalty of their former associates, but when they struck the birds had already flown. Fikri Dine made his way to Dibra, hoping to raise the tribes to his support, but the Partisans were already masters of the region, and the chiefs who had been his friends had gone over to the winning side. For some days he wandered as an outlaw through the lands he had once swayed; but his utmost efforts only rallied to his cause some two hundred men, the remnants of the Dibran gendarmerie. With these he then retired through Mirdita to the Catholic region of Kurbenesh, which lies to the west of Mati. Kurbenesh was the seat of Prenk Previsi's influence, and there Fikri found the general with a body of picked officers and men of the Albanian army. Their combined following was less than five hundred strong — all that remained of the Albanian armed forces.

*669 665 The Ballist leaders meanwhile hesitated to entrust themselves to the Gheg chieftains and went into hiding near, or even in, Tirana, to wait until their forces should arrive from the South. Midhat Frasheri and Ali Klissura were variously reported held or shot by the Germans, but when the smoke of rumour cleared it was found that they were in Shiyak. There Abas Ermenye, the movement's energetic military commander, was concentrating the remnants of the Ballist forces, which presently amounted to some eight hundred men.

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*669 unless we were withdrawn from Albania within five days, patrols would be sent out to capture us and bring us to trial before a Partisan court-martial.

That Enver Hoja should thus have dared to impugn the good faith of British officers, let alone to threaten their arrest and trial, is eloquent of the hostility, or at least the contempt which he felt for the British authorities. He had rashly chosen, however, to deliver his ultimatum at a time when his delegates in Bari were negotiating an agreement with the British Command. The terms which they had obtained were unexpectedly favourable, but our outraged staff officers now broke off discussions, declaring that they would not ratify the agreement until Enver Hoja had withdrawn his allegations and his ultimatum. For some days relations between the Partisan Government and our Headquarters were strained, but our staff officers remained unyielding, and at last Enver Hoja climbed down and gave reluctant assurances for the honourable treatment of all British officers in Albania. The incident was thus closed to the satisfaction of our Headquarters, but, despite Enver Hoja's apparent submission, the real victory was to the Partisans. They had succeeded in creating the impression in Bari that support of the Zogists must involve further " unpleasantness " ; and once our Headquarters had ratified the agreement with them the fear of " unpleasantness " became a powerful cause of appeasement.

• 665 829 Politics is not yet an exact science, and many of our staff officers still clung to the hope that Enver Hoja's intransigence would be moderated by opposition from within the L.N.C. In the last week of August, however, Mustafa Jinishi, Enver Hoja's only serious rival, was killed in an ambush in Dibra. Mustafa had been a Communist, but had suffered from a peculiarly Albanian brand of deviation. He had subscribed to the doctrine that the ruling classes must be dispossessed of the ownership of the means of production, but had believed that this principle could hardly be applied to the tribal society of the Ghegs. There the means of production were already owned in common by the tribe, and the authority of the chiefs

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was derived not from ownership, but rather from personal qualities, tradition, or subsidies received from abroad. Mustafa had therefore considered that education, health, and administration were the chief requirements of a community whose economic structure was not of itself an obstacle to the Revolution. These theoretical conclusions had suggested a policy of gradualism, and in this he had beenfortified by more practical considerations. The strength of Albania lay in the mountains; and Mustafa knew that, even if the Partisans occupied Tirana, they could only compel the submission of the tribes with the help of foreign troops. His patriotic instinct recoiled from such an expedient; and he considered, besides, that a population of only a million could ill afford the employment of violent means to attain an end which a Marxist interpretation of history showed to be in any case inevitable. He had therefore concluded that the Albanian Communist Party must persuade where it could not profitably compel, and had thus envisaged a period of prolonged co-operation with the Nationalist chiefs.

The study of the divergences of opinion within the Communist Party, as within the Early Church, is more amusing than instructive; and Mustafa Jinishi's position is perhaps best described by saying that, while he had regarded the United Front as a strategy, Enver Hoja thought of it only as tactics. In infinity the two are indistinguishable, but here below the difference is a fruitful source of controversy. Already in Belgrade Mustafa had advocated Communist collaboration with Abas Kupi and Gani Kryeziu. Later, as a member of the Central Council of the L.N.C., he had played a prominent part in winning non-Communist support for the Partisan cause. In the early days Enver Hoja had welcomed his efforts for tactical reasons, and it was not until the time of the Italian armistice that the breach between them had become open. Then, at Abas Kupi's instance, Mustafa had concluded the agreement at Mukai for a military alliance with the Ballists; but Enver Hoja had branded the agreement as Right Wing deviation, and had persuaded the Central Council to withhold its ratification. Thereafter Mustafa's influence in the movement had declined, and, alone of the members of the

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665 Central Council, he had not been given office when the Partisan Provisional Government had been formed at the end of May 1944. Instead, he had been sent as the Government's delegate to the Northern Army, where his efforts to reconcile the Nationalist leaders might still serve Enver Hoja's ends. It had indeed been largely as a result of Mustafa's patient diplomacy that Tsen Elezi, Dan Kalloshi, and other Dibran notables came over to the Partisans; and the cordial relations which he had established with Muharrem Bairaktar had encouraged the Nationalists to believe that he was still working for an understanding with them. It is probable that he was; and indeed almost his last action had been to prepare for a meeting with Gani Kryeziu, his friend and protector in Belgrade.

627 Mystery still surrounds Mustafa's[1] death. The fatal ambush occurred some distance from the front; and, though he had with him several guards, no one ever saw his assailants or heard of them thereafter. Dibra is the land of ambushes, but many still believe that Mustafa was done to death on Enver Hoja's orders. Certain, is only that his work perished with him, and that, after his death, the Partisans no longer sought to reach an understanding with any of the Gheg chiefs.

We were sitting with Abas Kupi and Said when a courier brought the news of Mustafa's fate. Said wept, and the Agha said to us sadly:

"He was my friend, and a great patriot."

2

*667 AFTER Abas Kupi had told us of his decision to attack Durazzo, Maclean and I had returned with Ihsan to his farm at Topise. There we had tested and cleaned our weapons, destroyed superfluous documents, and sought to reduce the weight and bulk of our baggage. Whatever was left over was now confided to the Italian contingent of our Mission, who were constituted into a rear headquarters, despite the protest of their two officers who wanted to fight at our side. Having thus prepared ourselves for the battle, we drove with Ihsan to Luz, near the

1 [Mustafa Jmishi, rival of Enver Hoja -- Analyst]

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*669 might be the will of the people, the interests of the leaders worked irresistibly for civil war. That night hopes had been high, but in the morning they were shattered by a despatch from the Zogist headquarters. The Agha had indeed attacked and wiped out a German patrol, but this had been only an incident in the day's fighting. The real battle had been between Zogists and Partisans; and, while they had rent one another, the Germans had watched, and must have smiled, from the ramparts of the citadel. The struggle had been long and bitter, but in the end the Partisans had prevailed. Kruya was lost to the Zogists; and, under cover of night, the Agha had withdrawn his forces across the plain from the last of his strongholds.

665 186 While the battle still raged around Kruya we were joined in Mazjhe by Midhat Frasheri and Abas Ermenye, the military commander of the Balli Kombetar. Midhat came on a mule; Abas Ermenye rode a coal-black charger, and, in his blue-green uniform and flat, old-fashioned *képi*, looked like a hero from the Carlist wars. Nor was his romantic appearance belied by his conversation, for he quoted freely from the poems of André Chenier and the speeches of the French revolutionary heroes. He was tall and dark, with sensitive features, but there was something pedantic about his manner; and he seemed always to be worrying about himself. He was a young professor, fired with nationalist sentiment, and fascinated by the glamour of arms. Already, when a colleague of Enver Hoja's at the *Lycée* at Korcha, Abas Ermenye had sought to organise his students to resist the Italian invasion. He had fled to Greece rather than endure foreign rule, and there, in 1940, had vainly sought to raise a force of Albanian *émigrés* to fight alongside the Greek armies. With the fall of Athens he had been captured by the Italians, and had been sent to the concentration camp at Ventotteno, where he had remained nearly two years. In 1942, however, he had been allowed to return to Albania, and, a few months later, had taken to the mountains to organise the Ballist forces in the region of Korcha. Maclean had worked with him against the Italians in 1943,

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and thought him the ablest of the Ballist military leaders; and indeed of those warriors who, like Skender Mucho, Safet Butka, and Husni Lepenitsa, had once been household names among the Tosks, he was now the sole survivor. At heart a reformer, Abas Ermenye sought in the field an escape from the imbroglio of Ballist politics. He knew only that he fought against Communism, and, perhaps just because he doubted whether the Balli Kombetar any longer offered a real alternative, he spared neither himself nor his men.

669*

Midhat and Abas Ermenye had come as political and military delegates of the Balli Kombetar to inform us officially that their whole Central Committee was now in the mountains, and that they had decided to begin operations next day. Abas Ermenye planned to open the campaign with an ambush on the Tirana-Scutari road, and asked that we should send a British officer to watch the conduct of his men and to certify the results of the action. We agreed at once to this request, and Merret was chosen as our liaison officer with the forces of the Balli Kombetar. On the following evening Abas Ermenye duly laid his ambush, and, with a force of two hundred men, surprised a German convoy of forty trucks. Merret afterwards reported that three trucks were burnt, eighteen looted and damaged, eight motor cycles destroyed, and more than thirty Germans killed.

As further evidence of their good-will the Ballist leaders also sent us one Staff-Sergeant Schumacher of the U.S. Air Force, whose 'plane had been shot down to the south of Durazzo in the previous November. After wandering for two days among the coastal lagoons, Schumacher had been rescued by the Ballists, and for nearly a year had been cared for and hidden from the Germans on a farm belonging to Nureddin Vlora. We already had with us another U.S. airman, Sergeant Corsentino, rescued by the Zogists, and the two were to prove a most valuable addition to our Mission, helping in ambushes, road watching, and the drudgery of cipher traffic.

On the 10th September, after an abortive attempt against a bridge, we moved to Preza, where the Zogists and Ballists

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000 son had been killed in the R.A.F. raid on Petch. The tradition of hospitality, however, proved stronger than a father's resentment; he feasted us on sucking pig and grapes, and placed his house at our disposal. There, in the evening, we were joined 643 by Abas Kupi, who came with Fikri Dine and the leaders of the Balli Kombetar.

Fikri was stocky and dark, with grey, rather lifeless eyes and a greedy mouth. He looked tough; his speech was blunt; his manner arrogant. He was not, however, without subtlety, and we found him possessed of a distinct sense of humour. The first encounter with British officers must have been embarrassing, for a former " collaborationist " premier, but, to our great relief, Fikri sought neither to explain nor to excuse his conduct. Instead he told us the history of his attempts to procure arms and money from the Germans, and, with disarming frankness and a touch of irony, described the causes of his failure. He had tried to exploit them for his own ends, and his only regret was that his intrigues had been foiled. There is an element of exploitation in all politics, and Fikri's rage at being made himself the dupe was so sincere that it could not but compel a certain professional sympathy. When he had done with the past he questioned me anxiously about British policy towards Albania, and his own verdict was not perhaps mistaken.

"I know," he said, " that you English have an interest in our country because we have a sea coast and you are a sea power. Many of us count on that, but I have learnt from bitter experience that in politics little interests are often sacrificed to greater ones."

701 With Fikri came General Prenk Previsi, the Commander-in-Chief of the Albanian army and the paramount influence in Kurbenesh. He was a dark, rather weak-faced man, and wore a blue-green field uniform with red facings and highly polished riding-boots. We thought him a light-opera general, but as yet he took little part in proceedings and remained in the background, surrounded by a group of down-at-heel staff officers.

665 In Malibardhe we also met for the first time Ali Bey Klissura, who stood second only to Midhat Frasheri in the Balli Kombetar. A powerful landowner from the south, Ali

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had served in Fan Noli's government and had been condemned to death *in absentia* during Zog's regime for participating in a "Communist" conspiracy. He had spent fourteen years of his exile in France, and there had acquired a style of eloquence and point of view which savoured strongly of the Third Republic. In appearance indeed, with his florid complexion, untidy, greying hair and thick horn-rimmed spectacles, he might well have been a protagonist of the Radical Socialist Party. 665

Ali had returned to Albania when the Italians had driven out King Zog and had resumed his place among the Republican leaders. Later he had become one of the founders of the Balli Kombetar, and had fought with some success in the revolt against the Italians. As an ardent Liberal and Nationalist, however, he cordially detested Communism and was generally supposed to have played a leading part in organising the Ballist effort against the Partisans. Zog had condemned him to death as a Communist; Enver Hoja as a Fascist. The wheel of political fortune has strange turns, but in both cases Ali was absent at the trial.

7

THE Zogist forces had been in action for a fortnight,[1] and Abas Kupi waited with growing concern for the aeroplanes which should bring supplies from Italy. His war-chest was empty, his men were down to their last cartridge, but we knew now that the help which we had promised would never come. Now, just as we had brought the Agha and his confederates back into the struggle, our Headquarters ordered Maclean to return to Bari "to report". Smiley, with Sergeants Jenkins and Jones, our team of saboteurs, were to accompany him. I was to take over command of the Mission, but with express instructions not to urge Abas Kupi to attack the Germans, nor to hold out to him any hope of support if he should. My role was textually defined as that of "a neutral observer", although how a British officer attached to forces actively fighting the Germans could be "neutral" presented a 669* 648

[1] [autumn, 1944 -- Analyst]

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*669 Next day, the 19th September, the "Kosmet" forces departed in the direction of Gani's headquarters, but the 5th Brigade remained in Dobreit and presently surrounded the British Mission's base. Their commissar then came and curtly informed Simcox that he must follow him to the L.N.C. headquarters at Berat. Simcox objected that as a British officer he could only take orders from Maclean, or from Bari; but the commissar explained that Enver Hoja was no longer prepared to countenance the activities of British missions not accredited to the L.N.C. To solve the deadlock Simcox offered to refer the matter to Bari by wireless, but the commissar put an armed guard round the transmitter and disclosed his real intentions by declining to allow its operation. Enraged at such treatment, Simcox refused to move; but the Partisans pulled down his tent while he still sat inside it and, after pillaging his camp, forcibly marched him off towards the south. On the journey he was kept a close prisoner and was submitted to every indignity. His kit was looted; his papers were searched; and the Partisans deprived a British officer of his arms. Thus he was brought to Berat, where he was handed over to the British Mission and evacuated by sea to Bari.

[665] At the first halt on this march, Lazar Fundo was called before the commissar, and, on identification, was stripped, laid out on the ground and beaten to death. Fundo had resigned from the Communist Party in 1938; and his murder was officially explained by Enver Hoja as "execution for treason to the movement".

While the 5th Brigade was thus engaged, the leaders of the Kosmet forces came into Gani's headquarters and summoned him to join the L.N.C. or bear the consequences of a refusal. Gani declined their summons and ignored their threats; and the array of his troops admonished the Partisans of the danger of seeking to force his hand. They resorted therefore to guile, and, pleading their incompetence to negotiate, invited Said to come with them to meet Dali Ndreou, the Commander of the 1st L.N.C. Division, who was, they said, in the neighbourhood. Said imprudently accepted, and was lured a day's journey to the south in search of the elusive commander. That night he

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which we know the least; and much of what we think we know is rumor or conjecture.

Albanians are accustomed to having the world know little about their affairs, and are even accustomed to the rôle of satellite—though their national spirit, which exists in spite of the vivacity of their religious and tribal conflicts, forbids one from saying that they are reconciled to it. The last time I was in the country, a good many years ago, Italy and Jugoslavia were contending for predominance. Italy won, expelled King Zog and in 1939 annexed the country. Ciano has recorded the arrival in Rome of the sad-faced group of Albanians summoned to make obeisance to the Duce, lacking only the iron collars of the slaves that used to grace the old imperial triumphs. But after Mussolini was hung up by his heels and Tito was accepted as one of the Allied victors all this was rectified. The new Albanian dictator, Enver Hoxha (pronounced Hodzha), was a Communist guerrilla who had been in contact with the Jugoslav Partisans during the war. Indeed, an emissary from Tito, Miladin Popovich, is credited with having organized the Albanian Communists into a unified party in November 1941. Hoxha was an original member, and Tito's influence over him, dating from that time, endured until the Cominform row broke the Communist world front in 1948. Though Hoxha was never Tito's creature to the extent that the successors to Zog had been Mussolini's, he looked to Jugoslavia from the start for almost everything in the way of practical relief, technical assistance and even funds. From Moscow he received, apart from a small military mission, only remote ideological control and the prestige of enjoying at second hand the patronage which Stalin accorded Tito.

While Jugoslavia herself was an obedient satellite this seemed to be satisfactory to Moscow. Soviet enthusiasm for what was being done in Albania was reflected in the Moscow press. Take, for example, this report published in *Trud* in April 1948 from a special correspondent who had just visited the country:

> In the Democratic Front, a political organization has been created that unites all the forces of the people. . . . Agrarian reform has been effected, putting an end to the feudal system of landownership. . . . Industrial enterprises, transportation, communications, etc., in the coun-

Italian shipping centers, also Foggia, reputed to be a prospective 648
bombing base for long-range American operations against the Soviet Union. Meanwhile, the eastern and central Mediterranean basin and much of North Africa, more important than ever in the latest British and American strategy, would be within bombing radius of Jugoslav and Albanian airfields. Tito's withdrawal from the Soviet camp made it necessary to rely solely on Albanian bases for carrying these plans into execution. Without Saseno and the Albanian airfields (of which there were about ten by latest report, half of them developed to the point where they could serve heavy planes), Soviet submarines would be barred from the Mediterranean and Soviet bombers would be pushed back to the Danube valley. We of course have no direct information about the extent of recent Soviet activity on Saseno. However, foreign intelligence services in contact with underground elements inside Albania believe that although newspaper stories about elaborate concrete submarine pens are exaggerated the scale of fortifications makes Saseno a formidable threat to naval movements in the Mediterranean in time of war as well as to military installations in Italy and North Africa.

With such valuable eggs in its little Albanian basket,[1] the Kremlin 665
naturally ordered Prime Minister Hoxha to show the utmost dili- 186
gence in rooting out any dangerous nationalist sentiments that might appear in the Albanian Communist Party. There had been a nationalist movement of some promise in Albania during the war, but its leaders had lost standing for various reasons—some because they collaborated with the Communists, some because they collaborated with the Nazis when the latter replaced the Italians after the Italian capitulation, some because American and British propaganda tended to favor the Albanian Communists as a way of helping the Jugoslav Partisans, especially after the Allied landing in Italy made it seem possible that Churchill might succeed in having an Allied expedition sent into the Balkans. When Hoxha set up his government in Tirana 665
in November 1944 he maintained the appearance of collaboration 642
with such non-Communist resistance elements as still existed and were willing to join the new "Democratic Front," the organization which now replaced the openly Communist "National Liberation Front" of the war years. But the need for concessions to patriotic

1 [i.e. Russian political and strategic interests, see cat. 116, pp. 228-229. --- Analyst]

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665 nationalist and democratic forces in the country diminished as the Communist Party tightened its hold, and following the one-ticket 642 elections of December 2, 1945, it came to an end. The monarchy was abolished in fact as well as in name, the People's Democratic Republic of Albania was proclaimed and the non-Communists who had been collaborating with Hoxha fled abroad or were shot. There followed the agrarian "reforms," the nationalization (confiscation) of such small industry as existed in the country, the elimination of independent shopkeepers and the other measures which so much pleased the Soviet commentator quoted earlier.

186 Among the strongest incentives to Albanian nationalistic feeling 648 are Albania's claim to the Kossovo area in Jugoslavia, where there is an Albanian minority, and Greece's claim to the Northern Epirus district in southern Albania, where there is a Greek minority. Propaganda in favor of one annexation and counter-propaganda against the other are the habitual stock-in-trade of Albanian patriots.

648 Italy annexed Kossovo to Albania in 1941—one of Mussolini's cheap rewards for the Nazi victory in Jugoslavia. The action strengthened the Jugoslav resistance, notably on the part of the Serb Chetniks, for the Kossovo plain holds a special place in Serb history and in the hearts of Serb patriots. In the end the district went back to Jugoslavia, after the Italians and later the Germans had been expelled. One of the returns which Hoxha had to make for Tito's material and moral support was to put an end to the former annexationist propaganda in that direction.

Developments on the other front were more favorable to Hoxha. Britain always had been a friend and protector of Greece, from imperial interest as well as Byronic sentiment, and the United States had taken over a share in that rôle under the Truman Doctrine. Hoxha could point to the fact that the two Western Powers were hostile to the Greek Communists as well as to his own Communist régime, whereas the Soviet Union was friendly to both; and on this basis he could argue that if the Greek Royal Government won it would have British and perhaps American support in claiming Northern Epirus, whereas if the Greek Communists won they would be instructed by the Soviet Government to withdraw any claim on another Communist country's territory. On balance, Communism

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did not come out badly as a defender of Albanian interests, for the lands in jeopardy in the south constitute nearly a quarter of the entire territory of Albania and are much more important to the country's existence than the territory claimed from Jugoslavia. Recently, with Communist fortunes at a low ebb in Greece and with Jugoslav-Albanian relations as bad as possible, the situation has been reversed. Hoxha can still claim, however, that a Communist victory all around is the only guarantee of a safe solution of the quarrel with Greece, and he also is now free to attack the treatment received by the Albanians in Kossovo and to say that if only there were a "true" Communist régime in Belgrade it would do them favors which a "false" comrade like Tito refused.

Basically, however, Hoxha felt insecure, and not only for the reasons mentioned a few paragraphs back. He must constantly have wondered how he himself stood in the Kremlin. What was the Soviet estimate of his own fidelity? He had been Tito's friend, had protested countless times how much he loved him, how he would fight to the death for him. What could he do to demonstrate that he, Hoxha, who had gone back so easily on one ally, would remain faithful to the next?

Hoxha's second-in-command was Lieutenant General Koci Xoxe (pronounced Dzodze), Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of the Interior, organizing secretary of the Communist Party, an able theoretician and adept also at ruthless action. Like Hoxha he had been Tito's close collaborator, but he had not hesitated a fraction of a second longer than his chief in announcing his switch to the anti-Tito camp, and he vied with Hoxha in denouncing their old ally's ideological errors and political perfidy and in lauding Stalin as the fount of Communist wisdom and the Soviet Union as Albania's only protector. During the summer of 1948 as Minister of the Interior he conducted the purge of Titoist suspects in the government and Party.

What more convincing proof of his own fidelity could Hoxha offer Stalin than to be willing to sacrifice even this outstanding friend and colleague? To denounce Xoxe would be almost like denouncing himself, but preferable. He called the Central Committee of the Party to meet in Berat in September, and after it had listened to his account of how Xoxe, who had been purging Titoists, was himself a

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665 661 Titoist, it voted that this was indeed so and that he in turn should be purged. Also implicated were Pandi Christo, former President of the Control Commission, Nosti Kerentyi, former President of the State Planning Commission, both like Xoxe members of the Politburo, and more than a dozen other influential officials and party members. As a first step, Xoxe was removed from his key post and nominated as Minister of Industry. Moscow-chosen and Moscow-trained Major-General Mehmet Shehu helped Hoxha direct this manœuvre and succeeded Xoxe as the Number 2 man of the régime. Xoxe's new post was announced by the Albanian radio October 2, 1948. Before the month was up he had been deprived of it, expelled from the Party and arrested with Christo and the others as "agents of Trotskyite Jugoslav agents." He was convicted as "chief bandit" of "the Trotskyite group of enemies of the people," [5] and shot on June 11, 1949.

Hoxha may have had other motives besides a desire to offer Stalin the most dramatic burnt-offering possible as proof of his own zeal and fidelity. He may have seized on the chance to get rid of his nearest rival. Nor must we rule out the possibility that Communists sometimes act for the reasons they allege. Hoxha may have told the truth about Xoxe. The Minister of the Interior may have purged a few minor Titoists in order to cover up the fact that he had left more important ones at large, and that with them he was plotting to take Albania into the anti-Cominform camp at the first opportunity.

000 A writer in the *New Times* of Moscow has given us a summary of Soviet opinion of Xoxe:

> Koci Xoxe was a shifty little man who combined the brutality of a wolf with the cowardice of a jackal. He wormed his way into the Ministry of the Interior and the Central Committee of the Party. He flooded the country with sleuths of Tito, helped the latter to organize the economic invasion of Albania, violated the foreign trade monopoly and the sovereign rights of the Republic. Tito speculators made their way into the country and plundered Albania's commodity reserves, buying up with devaluated dinars cattle, grain, olive oil, fruit, wool, wine, tobacco, as well as valuable handicraft ware, the work of Albanian peasants. The goods were shipped by truck and boat to Jugoslavia, and

[5] Tirana radio, home service transmission, June 10, 1949.

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[Covenant of Mat, 1942]

any political intriguers against the present régime who may be found within its territory. 681

2. If, after the conclusion of this covenant, one man kills another with or without just cause, his family shall be punished by the people of Mat with banishment from Mat for three years and his property, both movable and immovable, shall be confiscated and become state property. [672]

3. The same penalties shall be imposed on any man who runs off with a betrothed girl or a married woman.

4. When a domestic animal has been stolen and the thief cannot be found, the village to which the tracks lead must either pay the animal's value or prove that the tracks lead away from its land.

5. Whoever aids criminals and gives them food and shelter renders himself liable to the penalties detailed in clause 2.[1]

6. Whoever carries arms of any description without declaring them renders himself liable to the death penalty.

7. Whoever spreads false rumours about the policy of the State, public security or public finances to the detriment of the present régime and its policy shall be punished as laid down by the Lieutenant-General's decree No. 185.[2]

8. The people's representatives are to regulate and to examine all complaints which may be made concerning land, irrigation, water, roads and forests and if a commission succeeds in settling a dispute between two persons, the decision of the commission shall be inviolable. If it is contested, the contestants shall take the matter to the proper court. [692]

9. Land in Mat is generally held without regular title-deeds and ownership is proved by nothing but a written receipt (*senet*) and a meal according to the local custom. It appears that lately the ownership of properties bought 5, 10, 20 or 30 years ago with a receipt and a meal, as witnesses also confirm, is often disregarded or if regarded, is a constant source of disorders and murder. To put an end to such quarrelling the local Commission must not meddle with exchange of land so made until the Government has registered all the land according to the laws concerned. [423]

10. The chairman of the Commission shall be the local sub-prefect, and its members the political secretary of the sub-prefecture, the gendarmerie commander, the Fascist Albanian militia's commander, and the representatives of the people who assist in drawing up the present covenant. [624]

11. It is learned that Communists or, as some call them, Bolshevists, have made their appearance among us. We must get rid of these persons. 681 665

[1] (Author's note. At this time the term 'criminals' included not only transgressors of the law but also patriots resisting Italian rule.)

[2] (Author's note. No copy of this decree can be found.)

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[Covenant of Mat, 1942]

681 whether they be young or old, and must not let them exist within the
[665] boundaries of the district of Mat. If there are any such persons, the people of Mat, together with the local authorities, must destroy them, not only with the rifle, but also with the fist. For no one can endure a person who is a traitor and has neither character nor morals. The entire people must disown such men and attack them with all its strength until it destroys them root and branch.

[642] 12. By statutory law the Albanian and the Italian peoples are brothers with the same mother and the same father. That is to say, the two peoples have the same father who is the King Emperor and the King of both Albania and Italy. So we shall destroy anyone who insults the King by talking against him and we shall punish the fellow as specified in clause 2.

13. This Covenant which we have made at a plenary meeting of the people of Mat is to remain valid until the end of the General War, and anyone who breaks it is to be considered a traitor to his country and to the régime, that is to say, a betrayer of his fatherland and the régime.

Sgd. Beqir Sitki Hasa
Chairman of Commission
Sub-Prefect of Mat.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF ALBANIA

PART ONE
FUNDAMENTAL LAWS

TITLE I
The People's Republic of Albania

ARTICLE 1

642 Albania is a People's Republic in which all powers are derived from and belong to the people.

ARTICLE 2

In the People's Republic of Albania the people rule by means of various representative organs of state, namely, the People's councils which came into existence during the struggle for national liberation against fascism and reaction and which represent the greatest victory of the large masses of the Albanian people.

These organs are freely elected by the people from the local councils to the People's Convention.

ARTICLE 3

[666] All the representative organs of the state are elected by the citizens by free elections, and by universal, equal, direct, and secret ballot.

In all organs of the state the representatives of the people are responsible to their constituents.

The constituents have the right to recall their representatives at any time. The exercise of this right is to be regulated by a special law.

ARTICLE 4

All the organs of the state exercise their functions according to this constitution, and according to laws and regulations passed by the high organs of state.

[Constitution]

641 No privilege because of family, position in life, wealth,
554 or cultural level is recognized.

ARTICLE 13

[563] All citizens are equal regardless of nationality, race, or
[659] religion. Any act which grants privileges or takes away rights from any citizen because of nationality, race, or religion is unconstitutional and carries with it punishments as provided by law. It is unconstitutional and punishable by law to stir up hatred and dissension among nationalities, races, or religions.

ARTICLE 14

666 All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen are
641 eligible to elect and be elected in all organs of state, regardless of sex, nationality, race, creed, cultural level, or residence.

Members of the armed forces also have these rights.

The right to vote is universal, equal, direct, and secret.

The right to vote is forfeited by those who have been disqualified by law.

ARTICLE 15

562 Women are equal to men in all walks of life, private, political, or social.

Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same work. And women have similar rights with regard to social security.

745 The government especially protects the interests of mothers and young children, by assuring vacations with pay before and after childbirth and also by building maternity hospitals and nurseries.

ARTICLE 16

659 Freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed to all citizens.

The church is separated from the state.

Religious communities are free to exercise and practice their creeds.

[Constitution]

nation and state, and exercises all the sovereign rights under the constitution with the exception of those rights which the constitution itself has assigned to the Presidium of the People's Convention or to the government. 646

ARTICLE 39

Legislative powers are exercised only by the People's Convention.

ARTICLE 40

The People's Convention is elected by all the citizens, with one representative for every 20,000 people. [666]

ARTICLE 41

The People's Convention is elected for four years.

ARTICLE 42

At the beginning of each session the People's Convention elects a president, vice-president and secretary. The president presides over the meetings according to the rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 43

The People's Convention is called by a decree of the Presidium in ordinary and extraordinary sessions. [643]

Ordinary sessions meet twice annually, March 15 and October 15. If the People's Convention is not called on these two dates, it will meet on its own initiative and without a decree of the Presidium.

Extraordinary sessions of the People's Convention are called when the Presidium deems it necessary or when one-third of the members request its convocation.

ARTICLE 44

The People's Convention makes its own rules of procedure.

ARTICLE 45

No bill can become a law until it is passed by the relative majority in a session when the majority of its members take part.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 46

646 Laws become effective fifteen days after they are promulgated in the official Journal, except when it is designated otherwise in the law itself.

ARTICLE 47

The People's Convention appoints various committees for specific purposes.

The People's Convention appoints a committee to examine the credentials of the people's representatives in its first session.

Upon recommendation of this committee the People's convention approves or rejects the credentials of the people's representatives.

ARTICLE 48

The People's Convention may investigate matters of general interest through special committees.

All organs of the state must give facts and information when these committees demand it.

ARTICLE 49

All members of the People's Convention enjoy parliamentary immunity.

Members of the People's Convention and of the Presidium cannot be arrested or prosecuted without the approval of the People's Convention, except in case of *flagrante delicto.*

ARTICLE 50

In case of war or similar emergency the People's Convention may convene longer than its normal term so long as the emergency exists.

The People's Convention may also shorten its term.

ARTICLE 51

[666] The date for new parliamentary election must be fixed before the convention dissolves.

The interval between the day of dissolution of the People's Convention and the day of the new elections must not exceed three months nor be less than two months.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 65

The various ministries of the government are: 645

1. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
2. Ministry of the Interior
3. Ministry of National Defense
4. Ministry of Justice
5. Ministry of Finance
6. Ministry of Education
7. Ministry of Economy
8. Ministry of Agriculture and Forestry
9. Ministry of Public Works
10. Ministry of Health

ARTICLE 66

The government may appoint a special Council of Ministers to deal with questions of national economy and defense.

The decree by which this Council is appointed shall determine its organization and scope.

TITLE III

Organs of the Local Governmental Units

ARTICLE 67

The people's councils are the governmental units in rural 631
districts, communes, subprefectures, and prefectures.

The people's councils are elected directly by the people: [666]
those of the rural districts for two years and those of the communes, subprefectures, and prefectures, for three years.

The people's councils of the communes, subprefectures, and prefectures hold regular meetings according to special regulations.

ARTICLE 68

The people's councils direct their own administrative 632
affairs, are responsible for economic and cultural matters 623
within their jurisdiction, maintain order, see that the laws

[Constitution]

191 695 Any citizen who does not know Albanian may use his own language through an interpreter.

ARTICLE 81

692 The Supreme Court is elected for four years by the People's Convention of the Republic and by secret ballot.

The courts of the prefectures are elected for three years by the people's councils of the prefecture and by secret ballot.

[666] The judges of the subprefectures are also elected for three years by the people's councils of the subprefecture and by secret ballot.

A person may be elected judge many times.

The manner of election to all courts will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 82

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial body of the People's Republic of Albania.

[698] The Supreme Court can arbitrate any conflict of jurisdiction between the civil and military courts as well as between courts and any other bodies.

Cases in which the Supreme Court acts as a court of original or secondary jurisdiction will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 83

The Supreme Court passes on the legality of all court decisions of the Republic.

693 [692] Only the District Attorney may exercise an appeal against a summary decision of the courts. The decision given on such an appeal has no effect on the cause tried except when the law provides otherwise.

(b) *Department of the Attorney General*

ARTICLE 84

693 646 The Department of the Attorney General is the organ of the People's Convention which supervises the execution of the law by the ministries and other administrative bodies as well as by all public officials and citizens.

ARTICLE 85

The Attorney General of the People's Republic of Albania

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made its appearance in the form of an irredentistic movement, which made its first manifestation in 1878 by the formation of the Albanian League at Prizren under the presidentship of Abdul Bey Frasheri, supported by the leader of the Mirdites—Prenk Bib Doda.

It was about the year 1880 that the Turkish Government relaxed the interdiction on Albanians, and national societies, with the object of furthering Albanian independence and political autonomy, sprang into existence. The particular work of these organizations was to re-awaken the dormant nationalism of the Albanians, to re-kindle the patriotism of the former centuries.

The rise into power of Sultan Abdul Hamid, surnamed the "Red Sultan," marked the beginning of the persecution of those engaged in the Albanian movement crystalized in these Albanian societies. His Grand Vizier was none other than Ferid Pasha, who, curiously enough, had a deep interest in Albanian politics. At this period, Prenk Bib Doda, the leader of the Mirdites, had been president of the Albanian League. The Red Sultan's bodyguard was composed of Albanian mountaineers. Numerous of the Turkish Grand Viziers,

politicians, statesmen and high army officers were pure Albanians. These positions of importance held by Albanians could not help but rebound to the aid of their country. Thus went forward the movement for independence and prepared the minds of the Albanians for those events which were to take place in the few crowded years just prior to the world war.

In 1908, Sultan Abdul Hamid was informed that he must bow to the inevitable and promulgate the Turkish Constitution, and, thus, usher in the heyday of a new political life in the land of the Shqipetars. In the following year, the Red Sultan strove to overthrow the Constitution, but was frustrated by the Albanians. The Albanians delegated Essad Pasha Toptani to inform Sultan Abdul Hamid that, so far as Albania was concerned, he was dethroned. Although true that this self-government came tragically late, for, alas, fate decreed that only the next day the tables should be turned on the Albanians by the intrigues of their neighbors, however, the seed had been sown and the Albanians had at last started on the path toward independence. Thus, a glorious chapter was closed in preparation for the sordid workings of the European and Balkan diplomacy in Albania.

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Rise of Albanian Nationalism

668 IN any discussion of the Albanian policy and the awakening of the dormant spirit of the Albanians, due consideration should be given to the Albanian League (Albanian National League), for it was the one great and dominant force that made for the re-arousing of the ancient Sons of the Eagle, the Shqipetars, to a full sense of their responsibility as loyal countrymen.

175 668 To possess a complete and just view of the Albanian question, it is necessary to turn back to the days of 1877 and 1878, the period of the great Balkan upheaval occasioned by the Russo-Turkish war. The Albanians were invited by the Montenegrins to join in this war, but the Albanians refused to participate in any conflict. With the close of the war, however, at the convening of the Congress of Berlin, Albania as one of the oppressed nations, brought before that Congress a petition for the full recognition of Albanian nationality and political autonomy. It was this petition that caused the Iron Chancellor,

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Prince von Bismarck, when Lord Salisbury proposed that some attention be given the Albanian question, to cry out, "there is no Albanian Nationality." 175-X 668

As a result of the Congress of Berlin, Albania was divided quite generously amongst her neighbors, with little regard for national groups or local sentiment.

Not only was this arrangement contrary to the liking of the Albanians, but it was also grossly unfair. The Albanians registered a vigorous protest, which received no attention due to Prince von Bismarck's erroneous statement that there was no Albanian nationality. Not receiving any attention, the Albanians decided, if they were to have any sort of political autonomy, it must come through their own efforts. Thus, to promote the cause of the Albanians as a nationality and to sound to the world the clarion call of the desire of the Albanians for national independence and self-government, the Albanian League for the Defense of the Rights of the Albanian Nationality was organized with headquarters at Prizren.

The first act of the League was to issue a

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175 protest against the parcelling out of Albanian
668 territory.

By reason of the irresistible force of this League, the European powers who were signatories of the Berlin Treaty found it advisable, as well as necessary, to modify their original decision.

Space forbids us to go into details concerning the dealings between the Albanian League and the "Young Turks," whose success was largely due to the Albanian support,
175 which led up ultimately to the winning of
669 Albanian autonomy. At one time, the "Young Turks" attempted to disarm the northern Albanians, who, by the way, had been their main source of aid in the overthrow and dethronement of the Red Sultan. The loyal Albanians, equal to the occasion, did not bow to the apparently inevitable. In July, 1910, the Albanian chieftains met in Ferizovitch, where they decided that the crying need of the hour was autonomous administration. Insurrections followed, because of the failure of the "Young Turks" to accede to the wishes of the Albanian chieftains. Two attempts were made by the Turks to crush the Albanians; finally, they were, to all appearances, subdued,

175 was a great deal of doubt in the minds of many as to the degree of good faith and sincerity to be expected from the Balkan States, however, the important fact was that Albania had been driven to the wall and made to face the crucial test. The Balkan States were repeatedly successful in their military operations and threw the Turks into a wild and disorderly retreat. The whole of Albania was placed under the command of Balkan military leaders, with the one exception of the fortress of Janina. Central and northern Albania was overrun by the Montenegrins and Serbs, while southern Albania was occupied by the Greeks. Forthwith, Albania was treated as a conquered nation, and the occupation was considered a permanent one.

175 668 The Albanians were not easily beguiled by wily statesmen, especially when they happened to be Balkans. Even though the darkness of abject slavery seemed to have descended upon them, even when an autonomous Albania seemed but an unsubstantial dream, all this did not prevent them from banding together in a brave effort to defend their own. Only a miracle would be their salvation, and, a miracle man arose in the person of Ismail

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

175 Qemal Bey Vlora of Valona, an old Albanian
• 668 leader, who volunteered to use all of his power to bring about the redemption of Albania.

At the beginning of the Balkan invasion Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora was in Constantinople, where he was tendered a seat in the Turkish Ministry, which, by the way, had for its sole purpose the annexation of Albania to the cause of Turkey. However, he refused the offer that he might better devote all his time to the interests of Albania.

Being apprised of the invasion, he resolved to save Albania by a "coup de main." Hurriedly leaving Constantinople to preside over a meeting of Albanian leaders at Bucharest, where he received assurances of support of such leaders, he at last arrived in Albania accompanied by a few friends. His first act was to call together at Valona a meeting, and as a direct result thereof, on November 28, 1912, the national emblem, symbolized in a red flag bearing the double-headed black eagle of Scanderbeg, was flown above the city. On the same day he proclaimed the independence of Albania. A provisional government was established with Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora as its president, and a Provisional National

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175 Assembly was commissioned to take care of
66 the enactment of a series of laws for the welfare of Albania.

About this time it came to light that Austria and Italy had been concerned as to the future of Albania as far back as 1900, at which time they entered into an agreement guaranteeing the integrity of Albania, if and when the Turkish Empire be dismembered and Albania assume the position of an independent nation.

This agreement was not generally known to exist, and, in truth, came about through an interchange of notes between the two nations, taking place on the eve of Italy's acceptance of her place in the Entente as against the League of the Central Powers. Some reference is made of this agreement in the Italian Green Book of 1914-1915, and is contained in the seventy-first document of the Green Book. The exact text of the formal agreement is not universally known and, to the knowledge of the author, has not been published. There is some question in regard to whether Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora had any knowledge of the existence of such an agreement, but perhaps he was cognizant of it.

The natural curiosity of the reader will

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 and Yugoslavia. The condition of their country was one of relative prosperity; for the Italian occupation had enriched the people, while the recovery of the Kossovo had made supplies of food plentiful and cheap. At the same time the endemic poverty of the Albanians was such that, having little to lose and small hope of acquiring wealth by lawful means, they welcomed [181] disorder whenever it was attended by opportunities of plunder. To this natural lawlessness occasioned by their poverty was added a proud people's impatience of foreign rule. If the Italians had been less in evidence, their occupation might have been more easily tolerated. As it was, the Albanians bitterly resented the intrusions into their daily lives of the ubiquitous *carabinieri*, whose efforts to enforce order among a people accustomed to anarchy were as unpopular as they were vain.

Besides these general causes of discontent, the one inherent in the circumstances of the Albanians, the other in the character of their conquerors, there were other influences making for unrest of a more local, if no less important, application. In [184] North Albania the mercenary factor in the economy of the tribes made revolt a constant possibility. So rugged indeed was their region, and so complete the absence of social or political inhibitions among them, that the Ghegs could always be provoked to insurrection whenever the expectations of victory or gain appeared commensurate to the risks involved. In South Albania the causes of discontent were of a more usual character and sprang from the naturally conflicting interests of the landless peasants and the *Beys* whose estates they worked. The wretched lot of the Moslem peasantry might be somewhat alleviated by the sense of belonging to the same community as their masters; but the religious distinction which separated the Orthodox *rayah* from the Islamised landowners only served to increase their class consciousness. These Orthodox peasants had long been ripe for revolt; and indeed Fan Noli had sought to exploit their discontent in the revolution of 1924. Now, however, for the first time they found effective leaders in the youth of the towns.

177 668 The spread of Italian influence during the reign of King Zog had encouraged the growth of a new class of officials and

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

177 668 merchants whose children had received a European education, either in the foreign schools that were introduced into Albania, or in their studies abroad. These young men had no roots in landed property or among the tribes and could find no outlet for their energies within the narrow limits of independent Albania such as the Ottoman Empire had offered earlier generations. They were thus peculiarly susceptible to the influence of revolutionary ideas. In other countries such young men often inclined to Fascism, but in Albania Fascism was the creed of the foreign overlord and, in their search for faith and discipline, they therefore turned to the Communists. It is unlikely that there were ever more than two, or at the most three, thousand of these young men, but they were to be the backbone of the Communist organisation and the leaders under whom the landless peasants were organised. The combined discontent of these two classes — the youth of the towns and the landless peasants — produced a social revolutionary movement, which presently won the support of many of the richer peasants as well by its appeal to their patriotism or their land-hunger. This, in turn, provoked the more conservative elements to combine for the defence of their own interests; and so the general unrest among the Tosks was increased.

*669 The general poverty of the Albanians, their resentment of foreign rule, the anarchy and mercenary economy of the Ghegs, and the growth of a crisis in social relationships among the Tosks were thus the conditions out of which the Albanian resistance movement grew. Its several parts, though mainly nourished by domestic discontents, were soon invested with a pro-Allied and anti-Axis character by leaders who were variously animated by the desire to free their country, the hope of obtaining foreign support, and the opportunity of exploiting the popular hatred of the Italians. For long these different movements were but armed bands of outlaws, more concerned with maintaining themselves than with attacking the enemy. Nevertheless, as the prestige of the Italians declined with the succession of their defeats, so more and more people grew convinced that there was less to be feared from resistance than there was to be gained. Then, with the help of British and Communist agents,

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

hearths at night. We watched their unfamiliar ways, studied their starkly realist opinions, and by a hundred different arguments preached war against the Germans. Abas Kupi meanwhile worked hard to strengthen his faction, rewarding friends, corrupting enemies, and gently menacing the undecided. Above all he sought to impose a truce between the warring clans whose blood feuds threatened the unity of the Zogist cause. The *Hakmeria*, or blood feud, had its merits, for it was a great teacher of manners and of respect for the dignity of the individual. No Albanian indeed could strike another with impunity, and even schoolmasters had been known to pay with their lives for a hasty cuff in class. But the feuds took a heavy toll of life and suffering; and we met men from weak clans who had scarcely left their homes in twenty years for fear of neighbours with whom they were "in blood". Under the monarchy some attempt had been made to suppress the feuds; and they had begun to decline before the growing power of the Central Government. With the collapse, however, of Italian rule the mountaineers had returned to their ancient anarchy, and now blood feuds flourished on every side. As foreigners we stood in no danger from them, but they were none the less an important factor in our daily life. A guide would take us several hours out of our way to avoid crossing the territory of a clan with which he was "in blood"; chieftains would suddenly postpone a meeting, alarmed by rumours that their enemies were lying in wait; and sometimes at tribal gatherings we would see a man pass the coffee cup to his neighbour under his knee — the supreme mark of contempt for the man who had not even tried to avenge a wrong.

The persistence of the blood feuds presented Abas Kupi with a serious problem, for every time a clan was won to his cause their blood enemies would side automatically with his rivals. He therefore laboured patiently to reconcile the contending parties, and in accordance with the Law of Lek invited them to submit their feuds to his arbitration. There was, moreover, an ancient tradition that a general truce, or *besa*, might be proclaimed like the medieval "Truce of God" if a region was

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

795 banian writers, the Reverend Lazarus Shanjoha, to death. He
661 had favored close ties of friendship with Italy for many years, and so the sentence was ascribed to the National Liberation Front's fanatical detestation of all things Italian, and not to antireligious prejudice.

653 Ilya Ehrenburg, major Soviet propagandist, visited Al-
668 bania during the November of 1945. Upon his return to Mos-
687 cow he described Scutari, more than half the population of which was Roman Catholic, as a vicious hotbed of reaction. At the time of his visit the city was preparing for its first post-war elections. A handful of students at the diocesan seminary for the training of priests circulated mimeographed sheets urging that the recipients vote against the National Front. These sheets bore the signature of the "Albanian Union." Spurred on by Ehrenburg's denunciation, the government jailed and tortured some of the distributors. They revealed the names of the seminarians, who as a matter of fact constituted the complete membership of the Albanian Union. A spectacular trial of those held guilty of having plotted to overthrow the State with the help of "Anglo-American imperialists" became in reality a forum before which the Catholic Church was indicted for high treason. The Rector of the seminary and one of his fellow Jesuits were accused of responsibility for the conspiracy, found guilty, and executed. Others received heavy prison sentences. Nowhere else had a court acted more grimly.

653 The liquidation of virtually all Catholic activities followed
798 swiftly, with more cruel and vengeful treatment of the clergy
661 than has been witnessed even in Hungary and Yugoslavia. The Papal Nuncio was expelled, as were all priests and religious born in Italy. Education was reserved to the State, even nursery schools being taken from the Church. Catholic Action was suppressed. The seminaries were closed. Ecclesias-

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[779 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before,
173 after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
614 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167] the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
● [669] died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra*.—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji*.—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma*.—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

175 668 protest against the parcelling out of Albanian territory.

By reason of the irresistible force of this League, the European powers who were signatories of the Berlin Treaty found it advisable, as well as necessary, to modify their original decision.

Space forbids us to go into details concerning the dealings between the Albanian League and the "Young Turks," whose success was largely due to the Albanian support, 175 which led up ultimately to the winning of 669 Albanian autonomy. At one time, the "Young Turks" attempted to disarm the northern Albanians, who, by the way, had been their main source of aid in the overthrow and dethronement of the Red Sultan. The loyal Albanians, equal to the occasion, did not bow to the apparently inevitable. In July, 1910, the Albanian chieftains met in Ferizovitch, where they decided that the crying need of the hour was autonomous administration. Insurrections followed, because of the failure of the "Young Turks" to accede to the wishes of the Albanian chieftains. Two attempts were made by the Turks to crush the Albanians; finally, they were, to all appearances, subdued,

but no sooner had the Turkish armies withdrawn from Albania than the invincible Shqipetars rose again and once more sent forth their cry of defiance. The Albanians were repeatedly successful in the month of May, 1912. Southern Albania joined forces with the insurgents, and together demanded autonomy and recognition as a separate government. In August of the same year, the Turkish regime surrendered to the demands of the unconquerable Albanians.

The concessions granted by Turkey, after cessation of hostilities, were surprising. Albania was recognized as an autonomous province, constituting four Albanian vilayets, namely, Monastir, Kosova, Scutari and Janina; further, it was provided that these vilayets shall be ruled by native governors, in accordance with local customs and laws. There were many other minor concessions, but a very important one was the fact that Turkey admitted that Albania was composed of four vilayets. This was the first attempt to set a boundary line for Albania.

The Balkan question was one of the most delicate that has ever been presented to Southeastern Europe. When one reflects that, dec-

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

175 provinces were still in the hands and under the control of an irresponsible "brigandesque camarilla." This was one of the momentous problems that was to cause Prince of Wied a great deal of trouble and, later, cost the lives of thousands of innocent human beings.

669 175 Affairs in Albania had scarcely returned to normalcy[1] when again the principality was thrown into a state of ferment and confusion by a small agrarian revolt in central Albania. The Albanian Government had the whole situation well in hand and would have been successful were it not that certain foreign newspaper correspondents sent the false alarm to Durazzo that the rebels were arriving at the gates of the city. This caused the populace to rush frantically to ships lying in the harbor, while the prince failed to gain his point in the hill country in an effort to save the city itself. By means of intrigue and duplicity, it was not long until the whole of central Albania was in a state of revolt.

While negotiations were being carried on with the rebels, it was next to impossible to bring about a state of quietness and normalcy to a populace that had so many times suffered gross betrayal. Prince of Wied found himself

1 [after the institution of the Prince of Weid as Prince of Albania in 1913--Analyst]

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

unable to staunch the stream of violence and [669] confusion, or bring under control the forces 175 at the bottom of the mad uproar.

In the mean time, the Greeks took advantage of the situation in central Albania and completed the devastation of southern Albania, thereby violating the Treaty of Corfu. Meanwhile, to resist the incorporation of southern Albania in the new Albanian Principality, Greece instigated during February the constitution of a "Provisional Government of Autonomous Epirus," supported by Greeks masquerading as insurgents. An attempt was made through the necessary channels to expel the Greeks from southern Albania and to further strengthen the government at Durazzo. Just at this time, however, there resounded throughout the world the ominous report of the assassin's gun, which felled the Austro-Hungarian Crown Prince, Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and the world war, with its dire consequences, was imminent. In this deadly and all-including conflict, the Albanian problem was forgotten.

At the end of a most troublesome six months rule, on September 3, 1914, Prince of Wied and his family embarked upon the Italian

175x time in maneuvering between these two charged currents, but finally he resigned, when on February 23, 1924, an unsuccessful attempt to shoot him, during a session of Parliament, was made by a fanatic student. He was succeeded by Shefqet Verlaci, who became Prime Minister, but Ahmed Bey Zogu continued to maintain his influence in the course of politics which he had initiated and directed until now.

669 175x Agitation and arguments, calculated to stir the instincts of the thoughtless masses, taken among the people, finally let loose a new revolution, which proved to be quite serious. The revolutionary movement, led by Fan Noli (Theophan Stylian Noli), Bishop of the Albanian-Orthodox Church, who managed to gain sufficient prestige to launch a revolution in June, 1924.

Ahmed Bey Zogu sought refuge in Yugoslavia.

For a time it seemed that the destiny of Albania was in the hands of Bishop Fan Noli, but fate doles out strange verdicts and Noli was unsuccessful. In his role as leader, he was looked to as the one to settle the agrarian question, but he was unable to produce results.

ALBANIAN INDEPENDENCE

His fatal error, however, was in petitioning the League of Nations for the loan of huge sums of money for Albania. His manner of presenting the request displayed lack of diplomacy, and many members of the League looked upon him with an eye of suspicion, while others were deeply offended at his action. The final blow came when he entered into diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia and accorded recognition to a Soviet Russian Minister with a large staff, who was to use the Albanian capital, Tirana, as a center for Soviet propaganda in Europe. Fascist Italy and conservative England frowned upon Noli's policy. They could not properly tolerate sovietism in Albania, where about ninety-five per cent of the inhabitants were land-owners, who were most reluctant to submit to any radical experiments. With the continued growth of unrest and discontent, revolt gained headway while Bishop Noli's political drama waned and he left Albania.

About three years ago, Bishop Fan Noli, so long King Zog's bitterest opponent, was ill and in poverty in the United States of America, and at the end of 1933 applied to King Zog for help. The King in his generous way sent

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

175 famous of these chieftains were Kara Mohammed of Scutari, and Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The former, at the end of the last century, aimed at an independent sovereignty, which his son, Mustapha Pasha, asserted 175 in open rebellion in 1831; and the latter, notwith- 669 standing the frightful cruelties of which he was guilty, still lives in tale and song as the mighty upholder of Albanian independence against Ottoman tyranny. Subsequent risings have, however, resulted only in the death or banishment of the most influential members of leading families, the last *coup d'état* of this description having been carried out at Prisrend and [423] Uskup in 1881. The great landholders are now all Moslems, the property of which the Christian proprietors were despoiled at the end of last century by Ali Pasha having, on his death, been appropriated by the Sultan.

671 But, whether Christian or Moslem, each section of the Albanian nation has its own traditional laws and usages by which their social life is alone regulated. The Miridites claim to have received theirs from the Dukadjini princes, who, according to them, were the ancestors of their own chieftains. Their internal 642 government is a species of aristocratic republic, all 623 matters affecting the community being decided in council by the chiefs, the elders, and other hereditary functionaries.

342 The dwellings of the Albanians are quite in keeping with the character and mode of life of their occupants. Even at Ioannina, where the customs more closely approximate to those of the Greeks, the houses have a gloomy appearance from without, being shut in by

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

unpardonable indignities, and over her dead body the brother and sister swore to utterly exterminate her enemies.

Some years later Shainitza was grieving for the death of her favourite son, Aden Bey. So wild was her sorrow that she smashed with a hammer all his and her own diamond ornaments, burnt all her cashmeres and valuable furs, and forced his young widow to lie on straw mats spread on the ground instead of on a bed. The mirrors and ornaments of her serail were also destroyed, its windows were by her order painted black,[1] and everything which in any way recalled joy or happiness was banished from the palace. Roused from this abandonment of grief by the news of the fall of Gardiki,[2] she wrote to Ali reminding him of the oath they had sworn together over their mother's corpse, and of her wrongs and theirs, and urged him to have no mercy on the inhabitants of that town. "As for me," she added in conclusion, "it is only on cushions stuffed with the hair of the women of Gardiki that Shainitza will henceforward repose!"

Faithfully was the terrible oath, sworn to the dead, kept both by brother and sister. The chief men of Gardiki, to the number of some three hundred, induced by fair promises to meet Ali at the Khan of Valieré, were there ruthlessly massacred by the Christian troops under his Greek lieutenant, Thanasé

[1] See p. 265; and compare similar custom in folk-tale, p. 315.

[2] In 1802. A Greek folk-song graphically describes the gallant defence made by this town, which was taken by one of Ali's lieutenants, "Yousouf the Arab" (*Greek Folk-songs*, p. 234).

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

175 Vaghia,[1] not one escaping. Shainitza caused the town
159 to be razed to the ground, and, after cutting off the
[669] hair of the women with every insult which she could heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove them forth with their children to the mountains, menacing any with a like doom who should venture to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath. The traveller passing through the valley of Drynopolis may to this day see in the wall of the khan the tablet which records, in letters of gold, the number of the dead and the date of their sacrifice to the *manes* of the mother and the fury of the sister of the Vizier of Ioannina.

[428] In a codicil to her will, Khamko directed that a *hadji*, or pilgrim, should be despatched on her part to lay offerings on the tomb of the Prophet, and pray
788 there for the repose of her soul. Such pilgrimages and offerings may, however, only be made when the expenses are defrayed with money lawfully and honestly acquired. And as it was found on inquiry into the estate of the late Veli Bey, Ali's ancestor, that the property to be sold for this purpose had been taken by force or fraud from a Christian, the pilgrim-
175 age was disallowed by the religious authorities.
159
562 Such extreme ferocity of disposition as that mani-
[152] fested by Khamko and Shainitza is, however, exceptional among Albanian women, and even in Ali Pasha's

[1] The Greek poet, Aristotle Valaorites, has made Thanasé Vaghia the subject of one of his most striking poems, Ὁ βρυκόλακας, "The Vampire," a translation of which may be found in my *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 121. The tragedy of Ἡ κυρὰ φροσύνη, "The Lady Phrosyne," by the same writer, part of which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica, gives a vivid picture of Ali Pasha and his Court.

6: Lane
669

EG1 Albania EG1

/For a description of the rebellion staged by the mountain Ghegs in Tirana and Durazzo in March 1922 against the newly formed Albanian Toshk Government, and of the main participants, see category 116, pp. 289, 301-349. For an account of the historical, economic, and political background of the rebellion, see pp. 289-301./

7: Amery EG1 Albania EG1
669

[For an account of the Resistance movement in Albania by a British Intelligence agent assigned to the Zogist forces led by Abas Kupi, which were abandoned in 1944 in favor of the Communist-led Partisans, see category 116, entire source.]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

of Skoplje. In the first World War he made common cause with 643
the Austrians, and, thanks to his influence in Mati, was made a 159
colonel in the Albanian forces formed under their aegis. It was not long, however, before an incident, illustrative of the man's character, brought him into conflict with his allies. It had originally been agreed that the Albanian forces should march under their own national flag, but the Austrian authorities presently issued an order that they should fly instead the colours of the Dual Monarchy. Three Albanian officers resisted the change and were shot on the order of an over-zealous Austrian colonel. When Zog heard of their deaths, he arrested the first three Austrian officers he could lay hands on, and had them executed in reprisal. This action confronted the Austrian general commanding in Albania with a delicate problem: he could hardly overlook such a gesture of defiance, yet he feared to proceed against Zog lest by so doing he should alienate the men of Mati and other Albanians friendly to Austria. In the end the order concerning the colours was rescinded, and Zog was posted to the Imperial Headquarters: an appointment which amounted in practice to honourable confinement in Vienna. There he was kindly received by the old Emperor, and once again internment gave him the chance to learn something of the ways of another great Empire which had long played a leading part in the Balkans. Constantinople and Vienna were not, perhaps, bad schools for a future ruler of Albania.

As soon as the war was over, Zog returned to Albania and 643
set about reorganising his faction. Despite his youth — he was 669
only twenty-five in 1920 — he soon became the strongest single 159
influence in the land and was the real power either in, or behind, the many governments that followed one another up to 1924. His authority derived from the rifles of the Gheg tribesmen and the money-bags of the Gheg *beys*; and it would seem that, in return for their support, he assigned to them a lavish share in the fruits of power. The preference thus shown to the Ghegs was a natural cause of discontent among the Tosks and combined with personal jealousies to create a revolutionary situation. Bishop Fan Noli joined forces with Ali Klissura and the

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

643 Tosk *beys*, and won the support of Mustafa Kruya, the cunning
● 669 Gheg chieftain who swayed Kruya province. With considerable
[159] skill they isolated Zog from his supporters, and in 1924 seized power by insurrection and drove him across the border into Yugoslavia.

The conflict between Zog and Fan Noli has sometimes been characterised as a struggle for power between "conservatives" and "progressives"; but in this, as in almost all Albanian revolts, the division between the contending parties was one of geography and faction rather than of opinion or class. Much was offered to the masses in the programmes of both sides, but the practice in either case redounded chiefly to the advantage of the men in power. It will perhaps be sufficient comment on the policies of the Fan Noli regime to record the Bishop's own verdict on the causes of his failure: "By insisting on the agrarian reforms", he afterwards wrote, "I aroused the wrath of the landed aristocracy: by failing to carry them out I lost the support of the peasant masses".[1]

Zog meanwhile had been joined in Belgrade by Tsena Bey Kryeziu, the head of a powerful Jakova clan which could boast of having given fourteen Pashas to the Ottoman Empire. Tsena had a numerous following among the Albanians on both sides of the Yugoslav-Albanian border, as well as friends in high places in Belgrade. He now made common cause with Zog, and together they plotted a counter-revolution. Zog rallied round him a group of Albanian *émigrés*, and with their help prepared the tribes inside Albania for a rising. Tsena meanwhile, with the approval of the Yugoslav authorities, raised and trained an army of Kossovars, who were to form the spearhead of the revolt. The Yugoslav Government abetted the conspiracy as a means of increasing their influence in Albania: they supplied Zog and Tsena with money and with arms, and stiffened their tribal levies with veterans from General Wrangel's White Russian army, which was then concentrated in Yugoslavia. The Powers closed their eyes to these unneighbourly proceedings, and, in December of 1924, Zog and Tsena marched into Albania at the head of their Kossovar and Russian troops.

[1] Quoted by J. Swire in *Albania: the Rise of a Kingdom*, p. 444.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

Their supporters rose in revolt; the government forces were 643
defeated; and a fortnight later Zog occupied Tirana. Fan 669
Noli escaped to Italy and later emigrated to the United States; Ali Klissura settled in Paris; and Mustafa Kruya went to Italy, where he became the goad with which in later years the Italians threatened Zog. These three were condemned to death *in contumaciam*; but most of the Tosk leaders were seemingly reconciled to the new regime.

It was widely expected that Zog would rule as the instru- 643
ment of the Yugoslavs to whom he owed the success of his 648
revolution;[1] and indeed the powerful influence of Tsena, who was his brother-in-law as well as his Minister of Interior, was exercised in favour of friendship with Belgrade. The policy of a country, however, is more often the effect of its circumstances than their cause. The Yugoslavs had brought the new regime to power, but they were in no position to supply it with the financial and technical assistance without which it could scarcely be maintained. Of necessity, therefore, Zog inclined increasingly towards the Italians, who were quick to seize any opportunity of re-establishing their influence in Albania. Tsena Kryeziu, however, resolutely opposed a pro-Italian policy. He was first and foremost a Kossovar; and his whole purpose in supporting the revolt had been to restore good relations with Belgrade and so reduce the effects of the frontier barrier which separated his people from their fellow Albanians. His efforts, however, were doomed to failure by the inability of the Yugoslavs to compete against the financial support which the Italians offered to Zog. His influence swiftly declined; and, after the signing of the Pact of Tirana, Zog appointed him Albanian Minister in Belgrade, to remove him from the centre of affairs. It is possible that Tsena there conspired with the Yugoslavs to repeat against Zog the same revolutionary tactics as he had carried out with him against Fan Noli. Be this as it may, in October 1927 he was shot dead in a café in Prague by an Albanian student. The responsibility for the crime was commonly ascribed to Zog; and, though his complicity was never established, Tsena's brothers, Gani, Hassan, and Said, judged it prudent to emigrate to Yugoslavia.

[1] [Cf. category 669, pp. 17-19 for data on 1924 revolution — Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XV

ASSEMBLIES AND THEIR WORK

623 634 619 Assemblies sometimes dealt with internal matters such as criminal trials, formulation of laws, local administration, and sometimes with the external relations of the community. Internal affairs were dealt with, according to their gravity, by the tribe, village or kin, but a plenary assembly had to be called to consider foreign affairs.

619 669 During the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century the northern tribes of Albania were singly or collectively in constant opposition to Turkish sovereignty, and plenary assemblies were summoned by tribes whenever they planned to break out into open revolt. Earlier in 1855 and 1862 there had been attacks on the Montenegrins by the Mirditë, which had followed on plenary assemblies of the Mirditë tribes.

In 1881 the Albanians of Kosovë formed the League of Prizren in order to struggle more effectively for independence of Turkey. [631] All over Kosovë and what afterwards became the kingdom of Albania plenary meetings were held by tribes, and, where these did not exist as in south Albania, by districts, to decide on whether to join this League or not. Again in 1908, as Miss Durham relates,[1] the northern tribes held plenary meetings about accepting the new [721] Turkish constitution. The Albanian attack on the Turkish garrisons in Skoplje and adjacent towns, that began the Balkan war of 1912, was prefaced by general assemblies of every tribe in Kosovë and north Albania. In the summer of 1914, when Esad Pashë Toptani revolted against Prince William of Wied, then *Mbret* (king) of Albania, his supporters raised central Albania in his favour by carrying the Koran in one hand and a crucifix in the other to plenary meetings of the villages and bidding the Assembly, generally consisting of Moslems only, choose between the Moslem Esad and the Christian 'Mbret'. In 1942 a plenary meeting of all Mat was convened by the subprefect of Mat in the hope of enforcing obedience to the Italian government of the day. The decisions reached at the meeting were embodied in a document

[1] *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 120, n. 1.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

published in the Albanian newspaper *Tomori* on 7 November 1942,[1] a curious mixture of Fascist ideology and ancient mountain law. But the decisions were honoured only in the breach. A few months later, many hundreds of families represented at the meeting were homeless, victims of Italian reprisals for their persistent revolts.

Sometimes a tribe met in plenary session to deal with inter-tribal matters. It might have quarrelled with a neighbour over a grazing or forest boundary between their territories, or the neighbour might be harbouring one of its dangerous criminals. In either case the tribe had to meet in plenary session, first of all to discover by public argument the best way of enforcing its boundary rights or procuring the surrender of the criminal, and secondly to secure public sanction for the steps it decided on. These might even include war. Miss Durham describes a General Assembly of Shalë which she witnessed in 1908.[2] The Moslem tribes to the north and east, surreptitiously armed by the Turkish government, had threatened to massacre Shalë and its Catholic associates if they did not embrace Islam by the next Ramazan. Shalë met in General Assembly, and amid scenes of wild enthusiasm passed a resolution to warn its Moslem neighbours that within seven days of their receiving notice Shalë and its fellow-Catholics would be at war with them.

Sometimes a pair of tribes met in plenary assembly for mutual aid. Several examples of contracts made on such occasions are given by Father Gjeçov; translations of three appear as Documents IV, VII and VIII.[3] In the first the tribes of Nikaj and Mertur pledge the safety of man and beast at certain times of the year. The second is between the tribes of Nikaj and Shalë in 1894, and the third, dated 1895, is between Nikaj and Curraj, a 'brotherhood' of Nikaj. In these latter, each contracting party guarantees the safety of the other's tribesmen when travelling along certain specified roads in its territory; in the first Shalë's guarantee is extended to tribesmen of Shosh, its western neighbour, and Nikaj's guarantee to tribesmen of Mertur, its eastern neighbour. In this way they facilitated a considerable amount of movement from tribe to tribe. Such documents were really an early form of passport, allowing the tribesmen of one tribe 'to pass freely without let or hindrance' in the territory of the other.

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, p. 272.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 71, 72. [3] See Appendix, pp. 263, 265, 267.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

him. His Canon was handed down orally to the elders and in their hands has been somewhat modified in different districts, but was in force through all the North Albanian mountains, both Moslem and Christian. Truly "in force," for "Lek said so" obtained more obedience than the Ten Commandments, and the teaching of the hodjas and the priests was often vain if it ran counter to that of Lek.

Who was Lek Dukagin? The Dukagini were chieftains in North Albania, and the few references to them show they ruled wide lands. In 1309 King Urosh II signed himself "King of Serbia, Chelmie, Dioclie, and Albania," and his successors styled themselves "King of Albania" till Stefan Dushan's death in 1356; but the Serbs, though they exacted tribute and labour from certain districts, do not seem to have penetrated and influenced the mountains. Only thus can we account for the fact that, except near Scutari, the place-names are Albanian, and that so soon as the Serb Empire began crumbling on Dushan's death the names of Albanian chieftains appear. The oldest reference to the Dukagini I can find is a letter, *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia* (No. 133), from Pope Innocent III to the "noble man Demetrius, Prince of Albania," replying to one asking for religious instruction, and a document of 1216, explaining that "Demetrius is son of Progon and brother of Gini, Count of Albania."

Hopf (*Chroniques inédits Greco-Romanes*, Berlin, 1873) gives, as a result of much search, a pedigree of the Dukagini. The earliest is "Tanusius I, Dux Ginus, Lord of Zadrima, the Black Mountain (Mal i zi on the Drin?), Pulati, and Shati." He is probably the "Dux Ginius Tanuschus Albanensis" who is taken prisoner by Johannis Scotus, Charles of Sicily's Captain, at Durazzo in 1281 (*v. Acta et Dip.*, No. 455). "Gini" is Albanian for John. "Dukagini" is Duke John; "dux," in the sense of leader or chief. The title "duca" hails from Venice, just as do "gubernador" and "kapetan" in Montenegro.

From Tanusius Dux Ginus descends Lek (Alexander) I. He was a chieftain who aided the Venetians against the Turks. A dispatch from Alessio, December 1387 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 413), states that the brothers Lek and Paul Dukagin permit free passage through their lands to the Ragusans. In 1393 (*Acta et Dip.*, No. 501), the "noble lords, Progon and Tanus, brothers, sons of the late lord Lek Dukagin, lords of the castle of Alessio," in their own names and on behalf of their relatives, hand over Alessio to the Venetians, being unable to hold it against the Turks. This Tanus is described by Hopf as lord of Fandi (now part of Mirdita). As he was lord also of Alessio this shows his lands to have been wide. He had a son, Paul, lord of Gurikuchi, Salita, etc., whose son, Lek II, is probably the Lek of the Canon. Hopf describes him as lord of Dagno and Zadrima between 1444 and 1459. These were the

173 643 days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice, and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.

[688] Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

671 681 174 Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

682 Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any [574] house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He [609] at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

should strike the next man and the blow would entail a fight and 671
blood. Women should walk the length of a distaff apart—they usually spin as they go—lest a blow given should draw their men into a fight.

Neither man nor woman must pass between two persons who have 671
just been speaking together, for (? in some occult manner) this will 576
cause them to quarrel. So strong is this belief that once in a small hut a woman gripped me by the shoulder, dragged me out, and squeezed herself between me and the wall in order to avoid passing between me and Marko, where there was plenty of room. Lek, I was told, had so ordained. I like to think that he did his best by means of house-burning and fines to diminish the very ancient custom of "blood," and that he did not deserve the Pope's excommunication.

As we have seen, house-burning and fine are the only punishments 681
under the Canon. Nevertheless, by decree of the council of the whole 627
tribe the death penalty can be inflicted. In February 1912 an amazing case of wholesale justice was reported to me which had recently taken place in Mirdita. A certain family of the Fandi bairak had long been notorious for evil-doing—robbing, shooting, and being a pest to the tribe. A gathering of all the heads condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lay in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off; and on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was but five and another but twelve years old. I protested against thus killing children who must be innocent and was told: [827]
"It was bad blood and must not be further propagated." Such was the belief in heredity that it was proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant, lest she should bear a male and so renew the evil. Three shots which missed were fired at her; she rushed to a man and [671]
called on him to protect her. He took her under his besa and she was spared.

A case of private "justice," though it took place in South Albania 681
at Postenani, a small isolated village, and so is not connected with the 183
Canon of Lek, is so singular that it should be recorded. I stayed some days at the village and, when leaving, a crowd gathered to see me start. When we were on the way my guide asked if I had noticed a woman who had stood near the door; I had not. He said it was a pity, as she was a very brave woman and had saved her husband. They owned a house and some land; a child was born to them, and all went well till her husband's brother arrived. He was a bad man, and demoralized the village, not only by starting gambling with card games, but by [525]
drinking and teaching very vicious practices to the youth. The woman with dismay saw her husband taken with the gambling craze, playing away his goods, and nearing ruin. Then the child was ill. She prayed her husband to send for a doctor; but the nearest was a whole day's

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

which is a court of original jurisdiction in 692
cases where sums over 2,500 Gold Francs are involved.

At the location of every sub-prefecture exists a Magistrate's court, with jurisdiction in civil and commercial affairs up to the sum of 2,500 Gold Francs.

Appellate and Supreme Courts are located in Tirana.

All courts have also criminal jurisdiction.

The laws administered by the courts are 671
based on the law of February 7, 1929.

The laws are administered on the basis of the Civil Code of May 1, 1929, which was prepared on the basis of the Italian, French and Swiss Codes; a Criminal Code of January 1, 1928, based on the Italian Codice Penale; the Commercial Code of March 10, 1932, with all modern inclusions covering bankruptcy and negotiable instruments; the Code of Civil Procedure of April 1, 1929, which is based on the Austrian and Italian Civil Procedure. The Civil Procedure Code and Criminal Procedure Code are under consideration for revision.

There is a Notarial Law of 1929, based on

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

the Italian example, and a Barrister and Solicitor Law, of 1931, modelled after the Austrian example.

The exemplary police and gendarmerie of Albania have been brought to a high degree of discipline and efficiency, the latter especially under the able command of Major General Sir Jocelyn Percy, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

175 famous of these chieftains were Kara Mohammed of Scutari, and Ali Pasha of Ioannina. The former, at the end of the last century, aimed at an independent sovereignty, which his son, Mustapha Pasha, asserted
175 in open rebellion in 1831; and the latter, notwith-
669 standing the frightful cruelties of which he was guilty, still lives in tale and song as the mighty upholder of Albanian independence against Ottoman tyranny. Subsequent risings have, however, resulted only in the death or banishment of the most influential members of leading families, the last *coup d'état* of this description having been carried out at Prisrend and
[423] Uskup in 1881. The great landholders are now all Moslems, the property of which the Christian proprietors were despoiled at the end of last century by Ali Pasha having, on his death, been appropriated by the Sultan.

671 But, whether Christian or Moslem, each section of the Albanian nation has its own traditional laws and usages by which their social life is alone regulated. The Miridites claim to have received theirs from the Dukadjini princes, who, according to them, were the ancestors of their own chieftains. Their internal
642 government is a species of aristocratic republic, all
623 matters affecting the community being decided in council by the chiefs, the elders, and other hereditary functionaries.

342 The dwellings of the Albanians are quite in keeping with the character and mode of life of their occupants. Even at Ioannina, where the customs more closely approximate to those of the Greeks, the houses have a gloomy appearance from without, being shut in by

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

of the mountaineers. This ancient code of conduct has undoubtedly exercised a restraining influence on the clansmen and helped to soften the grim realities of anarchy. None the less it was our experience that, like other codes of chivalry and laws of war, it was honoured as much in the breach as in the observance. This was perhaps a recent development, born of the crisis of the times or of the influence of Western ideas unaccompanied by Western conditions. Be this as it may, what most impressed us in the way of life of the Albanians was not the stray survivals of their ancient customs but the extent to which they lived without a law at all.

If anarchy was the way, poverty was the standard of their lives. They subsisted mainly from their flocks and upon maize, grown wherever the valleys offered soil for their wooden ploughs to scratch, or traded in the towns against hides and dairy produce. Their fare was simple; their clothing homespun; the forests gave them fuel, and, with the rocks of the mountain, their building materials. They lived, Turkish fashion, on the ground, and, beyond a few rugs, mattresses, and cooking utensils, required no other furniture or amenities. Tobacco, salt, sugar, and coffee, were their luxuries; weapons their chief expenditure and pride.

But besides this pastoral economy there was another source of wealth from which the mountaineers, and especially the chief men among them, drew their strength. Bad communications made coercion difficult, but the poverty of the clans made the power of money great. Elsewhere this might have been of no great moment, but in the Balkans the clashing interests of the Powers afforded frequent opportunities for holding the Central Government to ransom, or indulging in mercenary enterprise on behalf of the foreigner. Such enterprise had ever been a time-honoured means of livelihood among the Albanians; and, if the Eastern Question had caused the ruin of their merchants, it had also created boom conditions for their mercenaries. Such indeed had been the influx of gold and arms into the mountains in the past hundred years that it was perhaps not too much to say that the whole economy and strength of many of the clans had become dependent on subsidies received for "political

9: Albania (no date) 1946 EGl Albania EGl

[Constitution]

It is forbidden to use the church and religion for political purposes. 659

Likewise, political organizations based on religion are also forbidden.

The state may assist religious communities materially.

ARTICLE 17

Marriage and family are protected by the state. The legal conditions of marriage and family are fixed by law. 585

Legal marriages can be performed only by competent representatives of the government. After celebrating a civil marriage a citizen may celebrate a religious marriage according to the rules of his creed.

The courts of the state only are competent to determine all questions concerning marriage. [692]

Parents have the same obligations towards their illegitimate children as to those born in wedlock. Illegitimate children have the same rights as those born in wedlock. [848]

ARTICLE 18

Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of organization, freedom of assembly and of public demonstration. are guaranteed to all citizens. 641

ARTICLE 19

Personal inviolability is guaranteed to all citizens. Nobody can be arrested for more than three days without a court warrant or without the approval of the district attorney. 671 641 [694]

No person shall be punished for a crime without the decision of a competent judge in conformity with the law which defines the crime and the competence of the court.

No punishment shall be determined and inflicted except as prescribed by law.

No person shall be punished without a hearing nor without being summoned to defend himself according to law, except in a case where his absence is legally established.

The administrative organs of the state may give jail sentences for common law misdemeanors as prescribed by law.

[Constitution]

671 No citizens may be exiled or interned within the state
641 except as prescribed by law.

The People's Republic of Albania protects the rights of its citizens in foreign lands.

ARTICLE 20

694 A home cannot be violated.

No person can enter a house and search it against the wishes of the owner, except when he holds a court order in his hands.

No search can be made except in the presence of two witnesses. The owner of the house also has a right to be present.

ARTICLE 21

205 The secrecy of mail and other correspondence cannot be violated except in cases of criminal investigations, military mobilization, or state of war.

ARTICLE 22

461 In the People's Republic of Albania work is a privilege and a duty.

Every citizen has a right to be paid according to his work and to receive from society as much as he gives to it.

ARTICLE 23

641 All citizens have a right to be employed in government work according to specific regulations laid down by law.

Citizens appointed or elected to public office are bound to perform their duties conscientiously.

ARTICLE 24

[729] It is the duty of the state to adequately support disabled
657 soldiers at public expense and to enable them to resume their work. The state shall support the families of those who died in battle and of all war victims.

ARTICLE 25

The state takes care of the health of the people by organizing and controlling health service, hospitals, and sanatoriums.

10: Hasluck
671

EG1 Albania EG1

[For the translated texts of a number of laws passed at General Assemblies see category 116, pp. 261-274.]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

But Albanian customary law is of particular interest in that we now have it reported in detail when at a stage half way from the purely customary stage to that of enactment and a written law. 671

Sir Henry Maine in his *Ancient Law* traces the development of jurisprudence from a stage at which 'it is certain that . . . no sort of legislature, nor even a distinct author of law, is contemplated or conceived of. Law has scarcely reached the footing of custom; it is rather a habit. . . . The only authoritative statement of right and wrong is a judicial sentence after the facts, not one presupposing a law which has been violated.' This is the stage of culture reflected in the Homeric poems, or seen in Iceland as described in the sagas, in which is found no sovereign ruler, nor any legislative command, nor any definite sanction, but justice is effected by the pronouncements—θέμιστες, or 'dooms'—of individual chieftains. Maine regarded this stage of law as changing with a decline in the kingly office to one in which an aristocracy, or at least an oligarchy, whether secular or religious, became the repository of all juridical knowledge. The 'accurate preservation of the customs of the race or tribe . . . was . . . insured by confiding them to the recollection of a limited portion of the community'. Except for such customary law, entrusted thus to a privileged order, 'there is' said Maine 'no such thing as unwritten law in the world'. English case law, of course, is as much written law as codified and enacted law, though the method of writing it down is different. Customary law may of course continue to exist as a body of unwritten law alongside a body of divergent enacted law, a condition familiar enough in India under British rule. Maine goes on to point out that 'when primitive law has once been embodied in a code, there is an end to what may be called its spontaneous development'. A new era begins with the codes, in which modifications are to be attributed to a conscious desire for alteration.

It is unnecessary here to discuss the precise extent to which Maine's theory of the nature and origin of primitive law can still be regarded as valid. At best it is incomplete for he takes little or no account of taboo on which early codes such as those of Hammurabi or of Moses were based, and the taboos which preceded early codes of law seem to have been in the main rather social or communal in origin than arising from the individual pronouncements of chieftains or deemsters. Maine however was no doubt right enough in pointing out that when primitive law has been

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

embodied in a code there is an end to its spontaneous development. But to reach this stage the code must be an enacted code, written and recorded, and this the pronouncements of the Albanian law-givers failed to achieve. On the contrary their codes seem to have remained in the verbal custody of the village or tribal elders and subject to modification or reinterpretation from time to time by assemblies of clans or villages. It is at this stage that we have Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian customary law—law primitive enough in many ways to be compared with the customary law of tribes much less civilized than the Albanians; but it reached the point, and that some five hundred years ago, of becoming codified verbally by the efforts of individual law-givers, Skanderbeg in particular and the famous Lek Dukagjini, without having reached the stage of enactment. This was principally due to the fact that there was no one able to enforce sanctions over the Albanian community as a whole; individual Albanian chieftains had not the power, and Turkish rule interfered but little outside the towns.

It was no doubt this absence of any such sanctions as those provided by an enacted law and enforced by a settled government, or merely even by the continuity in administration of a single ruling family, which was the primary cause of the firm establishment of the vendetta as the real sanction for all Albanian law and custom. At the same time, however, economic conditions have probably contributed to this result, for in a richer country the administration of justice might have been made profitable to any ruler strong enough to provide it. Thus Albanian customary law not only reflects an economic stage through which most nations have passed before the establishment of enacted codes, but also a condition, by no means unique but very far from universal, in which poor and isolated communities have resorted to the vendetta for the sanction of their law, and that in spite of any influence that Christianity or Islam might have had to prevent it. The etiquette of the vendetta itself is likewise a customary code not dissimilar to taboo in nature and origins; and without any more definite sanction, or naturally any sort of legislative enactment, regular and almost technical forms of procedure have come into existence in what virtually are regularly constituted courts. In this the Icelandic practices, as described in the sagas of Njal and Kormak, for instance, afford a near parallel to those of Albania, and Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian custom will prove of importance not

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER II

THE UNWRITTEN LAW IN OUTLINE

To ensure for all, irrespective of their individual material wealth, a fair share of the essential grazing, arable land and irrigation, there has grown up a corpus of Unwritten Law. This was evolved at some unknown date by the mountaineers, as part of the legal framework which they had devised for every aspect of their life. They evolved all their laws—social, administrative, or pastoral—unaided. For many centuries before the Turks arrived in the fifteenth century, the country was split up into a number of principalities, none of which was strong enough for long to subject a neighbour to its rule. Though the Turks remained for four and a half centuries, they could never exert more than a nominal authority outside the chief towns. If they sent a punitive column into the interior, the people living in the mountains took evasive action, retreating to some peak until the inevitable departure of the intruders; their wealth was so small that they could carry or drive off most of it to their refuge, and so lost little from the raid. If the Turks sent tax or police officials, they fired on them at the first defile as a warning to return to their offices in town. There were no roads along which forces strong enough to be effective could march, in order to reduce them to real submission. The Turkish government, unable to enforce its will, accepted the situation and left the mountaineers to govern themselves, as they had presumably done under their native princes and chiefs. The first all-weather road to be built in North Albania was constructed in 1916 by the Austro-Hungarian armies during their temporary occupation; it ran from Shkodër to Durrës, with a branch to Tirana.

Every type of unwritten law has been constantly recast, added to, and restated down the centuries by a body of experts drawn from the rank of rulers. This rank exists because the mountaineers came to realize that an entity which is divided against itself cannot stand. Consequently, in every social unit—in house and village as in tribe or group of villages—the principle of subordination to a supreme head was accepted. In a household the headship is hereditary, with an important qualification. As the mountaineers are aware that

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

his case. Since 1912 most of this administrative and penal legislation has been superseded of set purpose by European methods and laws, whereas the social content of the old mountain code has been left comparatively undisturbed, free to come into line with the ways of the West in its own time.

The community sense was fostered by every art the mountaineers knew. Each member of a household was encouraged to regard everything in it and everything its other members said and did as his own. The humblest man was encouraged to regard his village or group of villages as his personal property. If home, village or group of villages prospered, he rejoiced as if he had himself been advanced. If they were insulted or injured, he burned to avenge a personal affront. If they were disgraced by misconduct on the part of another member, he felt his own honour to be smirched. The patriotism so bred was narrow, perhaps, but it was genuine, free from egregious self-seeking, and by its emphasis on the need to keep the community's honour untarnished, a good deterrent from crime.

This close relationship between individual and community was also a curb on dictatorship. The ruling rank had always to respect the individual's property in the community's laws. They could not make any change in an existing law unless they obtained the consent of a General Assembly of their village or tribe. They could impose, but (except in the tribes which maintained fine-collectors) they could not collect fines; social pressure was necessary for that. In a very common punishment, social ostracism, they might play no more than a subordinate part. They could not pass heavy sentences like banishment or death unless a General Assembly demanded them, and if it did, they could not resist its will. In short, the elders voiced, but did not dictate, popular sentiment.

They were no privileged oligarchy either. They might sit in the seat of honour or get the lamb's head and eye at a banquet, but they had no official residences, horses or guards of honour provided for them at public expense. They lived in houses that were often meaner than those of their subordinates; they ate the same food and toiled in the same way in their fields and among their flocks. In fact, the self-government of the Albanian mountaineers went far towards being true democracy in the Anglo-American sense of that much-abused word. In its primitive way it was really government of the People, by the People, for the People. It had

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

692 It had its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and [671] left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their 361 diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geo- 221 graphy of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

623 Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As 484 a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, [619] country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. 671 More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

[693] The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each [621] community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such

[The legal system -- analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

eminence that what he said is still as sacred as Holy Writ to the 671 mountaineers of Mirditë and all the tribes to the north, including those unjustly incorporated in Yugoslavia in 1912–13. According to tradition it was he who framed the laws by which the mountaineers still live. More probably, like Solon of Athens, he revised and codified existing laws, though apparently without setting them down on paper. Numerous items in his code resemble those known among the Romans and other ancient peoples, and in the versions we have there are many signs of evolution from earlier forms. The code is said to be best preserved in Mirditë, where its items were collected about 1913 by the eminent Franciscan scholar, Father Shtjefen Gjeçov, though his book was not published until 1933. A few years previously he had been murdered by Yugoslavs, as is related in a brother Franciscan's preface to the book.[1]

Little is known of Lek's[1] personality. He must have been a man 673 of standing as well as genius and fine character to have imposed his will on the rude mountaineers of his time, so he may well have belonged to the princely medieval family of north Albania which took its name from Dukagjin, a district lying between the Great Mountains (*Malësi e Madhe*) of the far north and the river Drin, and inhabited by twelve tribes of which Shalë is the chief. Tradition represents him as an older contemporary of Skanderbeg, the national hero of modern Albania, who, born in 1403, died in 1467 after resisting the Turkish invaders of his country as gallantly and as unavailingly as William Wallace of Scotland resisted the English. The Mirditë tribes are also reported to have been living near [671] Mt. Bishtrik in north-east Albania when they learned Lek's code. As they moved to their present fastness under Turkish pressure in the fifteenth century,[2] we are fairly safe in maintaining that Lek's legislation has survived at least five centuries of oral transmission, a high tribute to its quality and to his personality.

Traditions gathered in areas as far apart in every sense as Moslem Lumë in east Albania and Catholic Shalë and Shkrel in the north say that Lek's main stronghold was the now ruined fort of Drisht near Shkodër. He had another in Has in east Albania which commanded the ford crossing the Drin at Spas, five hours below Kukës; it is perched above the water on the last of a line of

[1] An Italian translation of Lek Dukagjini's canon was published in Rome in 1941 by the Reale Accademia d'Italia.

[2] M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins*, etc., p. 30.

[1] [i.e. Lek Dukagjini, an ancient lawgiver --- Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

173 denuded peaks linked by perilous natural bridges. The track, once paved in parts, which leads eastwards from Drisht to Shalë is still called 'Lek's road', and there is a 'Lek's rock' in several districts, notably Shalë, Berishë and Surroj. He fought on against the Turks for at the least twelve years after Skanderbeg died, and surrendered only when the Turks promised to respect the unwritten laws of the mountains. He then fled to Hungary, where he died.

These traditions are as persistent as they are widespread; those given here tally reasonably well with what Miss Durham heard among the Catholics thirty years earlier. The detail about Lek's conditional surrender is curious, recalling the similar terms given to the Greeks of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. But there can be no proving or disproving the traditions, unless evidence is eventually found in the Vatican archives; the records in Albanian churches have been burned again and again, together with the buildings. It seems likely, however, that popular memory has confused Lek the law-giver with a warrior of later date.[1]

671 To mountaineers everywhere Lek the law-giver's code is known as his *kanún*, for which reason Father Gjeçov's book is entitled *Kanuni i Lek Dukagjinit* ('The Code of Lek Dukagjini'). The editor rightly derives the word from the Greek κανών ('rule'), but does not give its interesting pedigree. It came, not directly from Greek, for north Albania has never been under Greek influence, but through Turkish and Arabic. In the words of Professor H. A. R. Gibb, 'the Greek word was very early incorporated into Arabic as qānūn, pl. qawānīn. The Islamic jurists adopted it to designate an administrative regulation, as distinct from the Revealed Law (*Sharī'a*), and many centuries later the Ottoman Sultans adopted it as the designation of their legislative rescripts. The point of retaining this term was that it suggested no interference with, or modification of, the Revealed Law.' To Turkish officials stationed in Albania after its conquest, Lek's code was naturally a *kanún*. Aloof though the Albanian mountaineers held themselves from these officials, they learned a number of their technical terms, as will appear from other examples in this book. They made *kanún* so much their own that they still say something is illegal in pure Albanian (*ligja nuk e ep*, lit. 'the law does not give it') or in mixed Turkish and Albanian (*kanuni nuk e ep*). But,

[1] Perhaps Lek Dukagjini III, 1459–79.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

curiously, they never call Lek's code anything but *kanün*, and so the Catholics amongst them are the only Christians in Europe who have a Canon Law that is not ecclesiastical.

Lek's power, says a tradition referred to in Father Gjeçov's book, extended as far south as the town of Lesh, which he made his capital. Overcoming every difficulty of geography and human obstructiveness, he used to convoke the mountain chiefs to parliament there and after discussion promulgated his laws. No less a personage than Skanderbeg was among the deputies. On p. 121 of Father Gjeçov's book there is a lively description of the argument between the two Alexanders—both Lek and Skander are Albanian forms of Alexander—which ended in their both proclaiming the important doctrine that all men are equal in the sight of the law.

Skanderbeg, if primarily a warrior, was also a law-giver, and it is his code which still guides the mountaineers of Dibër, Mat and Krujë, the three districts with which he was chiefly associated. His family took its patronymic Kastrioti from the hill-fort of Kastriot in Dibër; it was at Krujë that his stout resistance to the Turks made the Pope of the day hail him as the Champion of Christendom. His jurisdiction extended no farther, suggesting that without his military exploits his fame as a law-giver would have faded. In areas farther south where the mountaineers still obey unwritten laws, as in Martanesh and Shpat, no law-giver is remembered a generation or two after his death. The northern limit of Skanderbeg's jurisdiction was fixed by Lek with characteristic wisdom, according to a tradition prevalent in Milot. Once when Skanderbeg was at Dibër and Lek at Shkodër, the former suggested that they should come and meet each other, the point at which they met to be the boundary line between their spheres of influence. When Lek agreed, Skanderbeg set off at sunrise, the canonical time for beginning a journey. But Lek set off four hours earlier and so met his rival at the Kullë Pashaj ('Pasha's Tower') in Mat, which remains to this day the boundary between the two *kanüns*. In general Lek was too clever for Skanderbeg. Once, says another tradition from Milot, Lek, who had a he-goat while Skanderbeg had a steer, suggested that they should swop animals. When this had been done, Lek was heard to mutter: 'He-goat this year, he-goat next year; steer this year, ox next year.'

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

dismissed with only the wages due until then. Since it was in a sense his own house and his own father that he had robbed, he could not be given a second chance; he was too obviously devoid of ordinary decency to be trusted again. And since the law forbade his master to strike him, he could not be beaten as a thievish woman might be, till he reformed. 357 685

Dismissal did not end his story. He had to pay the statutory fine for housebreaking and to bring his late master two of everything he had stolen. If he had no money for the fine, he had to find a surety for the amount and then go and earn it elsewhere. After European legal codes were introduced at the end of the 1920's, these unwritten laws lost much of their force, and it was rather by threatening to get the thief sent to prison that an injured master obtained restitution. [671]

In less sophisticated days a servant who was only suspected of robbing his master could be tried by the ordeal of the oath. If this proved him innocent, his master had to pay him six *qese* ('purses') for unjustly accusing him, besides a full year's wages and clothes. If it was later found that he had perjured himself, the elders fined him twenty-four *qese*, of which half went to the church (or mosque) and half to the tribe; he had also to return to his master the six *qese* and the unearned wages and clothes which he had won from him by perjury. It sometimes transpired, however, that the informant who had disclosed his perjury had lied himself. Then the elders once more declared the servant innocent, ordered the church and tribe to return his twenty-four *qese*, and the informant to pay him a year's wages and clothes besides six *qese* for the false accusation. [695]

If a servant stole in his master's village or another community, punishment depended on who had instigated the crime. If his master had done so, he and not the servant was in fault, and it was for him to make reparation to the victim. He must also dismiss the servant forthwith as a public nuisance; but since the man was only his tool, he must pay him a full year's wages. If, on the other hand, a servant stole on his own initiative, the fault was his and it was for him alone to make restitution. In addition, he might be legally dismissed with no more than the wages he had earned. [672]

Much the same laws applied when a servant committed a murder. If he did so at his master's instigation, both were punished. He must be dismissed, but his master must pay him a full year's wages. The resultant blood feud was primarily his concern, but if he 357 682 672

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER VI

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

In spite of the modernization which Albanian laws had undergone since 1912, brothers still separated according to the laws they had learned from their fathers. The only change introduced by the civil code adapted from the Swiss models was that economic provision must now be made for the daughters of the family, who had formerly been given only a nominal sum when their father's home was broken up. [671] 592 884

There were several reasons for breaking up an old home. When a communal household was already full of men, each with his wife and children, it could no longer spare a room for each boy as he grew up and married. Some of the men must hive off, although many disliked the idea of separating from their brothers. As the Albanian proverb says, 'When the hive is full the bees must swarm'.

Quarrelling was another cause of separation. Often the brothers themselves quarrelled, the younger resenting the elder's control of his person and of the family purse, or 'the devil entering both their hearts' they quarrelled about nothing. In the latter case climate might play a role. Theth, for example, lay so high that the peasants were confined to their houses for several months each winter. Then brother got on brother's nerves, high words were spoken and the younger demanded a separation or the elder threatened to expel him. When the milder weather came to release them from confinement, their tempers cooled, but each was too proud to retract the word he had spoken in haste. A financial cause operated in villages near towns, such as Godolesh and Shijan near Elbasan. With the bazaar at hand each brother wanted to control the purse, which he could not do unless he had a separate establishment. Often too brothers must separate because their wives quarrelled. The companionship enforced by communal life naturally bore harder on the women who lacked the blood tie and similarity of upbringing that might neutralize clashes of temperament among the men. Occasionally brothers separated while their father was still alive. If this was their own wish they lost face and 592

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XII

ELDERS

[671] It is impossible to understand the laws and customs of the Albanian 622 mountains without a knowledge of the varieties and responsibilities of the elders. A man could be an elder not only in the literal sense but as a legal personage. Seven types developed in sequence one from another among the southern tribes.

588 Everywhere the word for 'elder' is (sing.) *plak* (plur. *pleq*), which is pure Albanian and means literally 'old man'. There is a corresponding feminine (sing.) *plaka*, 'old woman'. In households of any size there might be several men and women who were really old in years and were 'elders' in the literal sense. These were the first type. The majority were ordinary people and had no legal importance.

592 The idea of age disappears with the second type, found in every household irrespective of its size. Here there were always one man and one woman who bore the special title of 'old man (or elder) of the house' and 'old woman (or elder) of the house'. These under their more usual Albanian titles of master of the household and mistress of the household were not necessarily elders in the sense of 'older people'. They might have attained their position when under forty and have found themselves in authority at that comparatively early age over older men and women.

615 The third category of elders appeared as soon as a household 596 split up and each brother or male cousin in it acquired his own house. Then, a 'brotherhood' (*vllazni*) was formed. In this community each new house was as much a separate entity as the parent one, and was no longer under the control of the master and mistress, the 'elders' of the old joint home. It had its own 'elders' of both sexes who managed all its affairs, external and internal. The 'old man' of the joint home, now administering a much smaller household, thus lost a proportionate share of his importance. But the new masters also lost some of theirs. So long as the family lived together any competent adult among them might deputise for the master in village or tribal affairs or in the administration of the communal home, but from the day they separated,

619 even pass a sentence of death, for the 'quarters of the body are a matter for the tribes but the head belongs to Gjomarkaj', says the law. In virtue of these rights, if a village rebelled against the authorities of its tribe, word had to be sent to the Gjomarkaj family, which then summoned the other subtribes and led them against the insurgent villagers and reduced them to reason by fining some, banishing others and destroying others root and branch.

[671] But there were limitations to the head's power. Laws made in concert for themselves by the elders and commonalty of a village about such matters as instigation to crime, breaking one's pledged word, murder and robbery could not be upset by either the tribal authorities or the Gjomarkaj[1] family, provided that these new laws were not innovations contrary to the spirit of the ancient law of the mountains.

1 [the leading family in the region of Orosh, Dibër, Fan, Kushnen and Spaç for several hundred years--Analy

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

is to say, no interested motive for his opinion, he was actually 634 encouraged to express his views. Among the Catholics of the far 619 north the priest was permitted to speak,[1] as though he were one of [793] the tribesmen, but his views did not necessarily prevail.

It was unthinkable, of course, that the tribesmen should come without their arms in view of possible dangers on the way. So the law said explicitly that they might bring them. But as soon as they took their places cross-legged on the ground they had to lay their guns on the grass in front of them or on their laps and had to keep them so until the meeting ended. The Catholics sometimes let the priest coax them into depositing their arms in the church house for the duration of the meeting. If anyone raised his gun in anger, [627] it was promptly taken from him by his neighbours. If anyone fired his gun the rest of the meeting immediately formed itself into a firing squad and killed him, and then went in a body to his house and burned it down. Even at the smallest meeting there were four [623] or five important men present who kept a sharp look-out ready to prevent trouble. The priests too kept good watch, and a Franciscan found in Theth by Miss Durham in 1908 told the following story: 'We nearly had a row at the *mexhlis*[1] a little while ago.... I heard a fearful noise and as I ran out a lot of them got up into a bunch like bees and raised their rifles. They were just going to fire. They would not listen to me. I rushed into the church and rang the bell as hard as I could. It had a splendid effect. As soon as they heard the bell, from habit they all shoved their pistols into their belts and took their guns in their left hands and began to cross themselves. No one knew what had happened. They poured into the church to see. By the time we came out again...they were quieted.'

Proceedings usually began with a statement by the president that the tribe had assembled to consider certain matters in the manner required by God and the canon, that is to say, with justice [671] and without innovations or departures from the established law. Great importance was attached to the latter point. The decisions of specialist elders were accepted only on condition that they conformed to the accepted law and did not constitute innovations. This proviso was thought unnecessary in the case of elders who had been bred to the law as the specialists had not, and were therefore trusted to stick to it. This conservatism maintained the strength of the law, the main factor in keeping the tribe together.

[1] General Assembly.

1 [i.e., at General Assembly meetings -- Analyst]

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721 Like tribes, villages sometimes met together to try to agree
623 about matters of common interest. Villages often quarrelled over
685 irrigation water, and a forest or pasture boundary. They quarrelled even oftener perhaps because the tracks of stolen animals led from one to the other; cattle-lifting and sheep-stealing were common. The most satisfactory way of dealing with troubles was for the two villages to meet in full assembly. After thrashing the matter out in public they generally reached a settlement, failing which they could only go to war. In the early years of the twentieth century cattle thieving was listed as one of the thirteen most important matters brought before General Assemblies in Martanesh. In 1942 it was still so active a disturber of the public peace that the pro-Fascist subprefect of Mat legislated for it among the questions which were the real occasion of his calling together the 5000 families of Mat.[1]

671 Law-giving was also an important function of General Assem-
619 blies. This activity came to an end with centralization and western
634 legal codes, and its nature can be studied in the documents quoted by Father Gjeçov and reproduced as an appendix to this book, pp. 261 sqq. These documents show the variety of matters with which the law-giving of the Assembly was concerned. For instance, Document I, coming from Malësi e Madhe and dated 1864, is wholly devoted to such subjects as betrothal, bride-price, divorce and abduction or elopement. Document XI, which comes from Kurbin in 1906, is much occupied with stealing and with tightening up the social fabric by making attendance at General Assemblies imperative and the authority of elders supreme. With the proclamation of Albanian independence of Turkey only six years ahead, it contains an interesting political note; no Kurbin man is to become a gendarme in Turkish service or to give one food and shelter; and no Moslem of Kurbin is to curry favour with the Turkish authorities by denouncing a Christian fellow-tribesman. Document XIII, which comes from Mat in 1942, is also dated by its politics enjoining support of the Italian régime in Albania.

671 In the midst of the variety of subjects in the documents, crimes
674 against life and property are continually appearing as the fundamental threats to the security of the community. A study of the documents shows them as reaffirming and modifying old and recognized laws, rather than formulating new ones. Assemblies

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, § 4, p. 273.

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were called together to deal with specific problems and their findings emphasize aspects of the law relevant to these problems. The agenda of the assemblies therefore, reveal a good deal of social history. For example, in Document III from Kastrat dated 1891, six of its eleven provisions deal with the use of mills, fountains and springs. Document V, also from Kastrat dated 1892, restates what must have been established law about the constant threat of murder and theft, but it also includes provision for dealing with the owner of a dog entering a field or vineyard without a wooden collar, and the person who washes clothes at the place where the district gets its water.

In 1894 again Kastrat decrees penalties against the man who takes a woman to live with him without marrying her; against anyone tearing his face in mourning for the dead; against persons obstructing chiefs and fine-collectors in carrying out the tribal law.

The documents from Nikaj and Shalë also throw light on the social order to which they refer and its special problems at the time of their formulation. Document VII, dated 1894, is concerned mainly with safety from attack on the roads and the 'pledge of safety' for certain classes of people—mowers and reapers, shooters, women, etc. It was found necessary to reiterate many of the same provisions with the penalties attached to their breach in the following year in Document VIII.

A letter from Shalë to Theth, dated 1907 (XII), asks that the latter shall subscribe to a number of rules about murder and the position of the murderer laid down by Shalë, and after discussing this important subject, states that the rules are under the authority of the Youth.

Document XI (1906) is particularly interesting from an historical point of view, as it combines concern with the usual domestic issue of stealing with anxiety about the machinery of government, and reflects the opposition of the tribe to the Turkish sovereign. There are clauses about non-attendance at General Assemblies and about the use of elders to settle disputes. Heavy penalties are laid down for men joining the Turkish government police, complaining to the government about a Christian, or for anyone giving food or entry to his house to any policeman whether Christian or Mohammedan.

The most recent of the documents (XIII) is the so-called Covenant of Mat which appeared in the Albanian newspaper

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671 *Tomori* on 7 November 1942. The greater part of this document deals with an entirely new situation and the methods by which the people of Mat undertake to adapt themselves to it. But even in this document there appears the familiar restatement of old laws against the familiar crimes of murder, theft and the abduction of women.

681 Differences in the penalties laid down for the same offence may possibly point to social and economic differences among the tribes. For example, in Nikaj, Shalë and Curraj (Documents VII and VIII) a defaulting debtor is to be deprived of civil rights and may be killed or robbed unless he meets his obligations. In Kastrat (V) he is fined twenty-three grosh as a defaulter, but much more heavily fined if his sureties have to pay his debt. Nikaj was a poorer area than Kastrat, and that fact may explain to some extent the difference in penalty. The treatment of stealing also differs as between Kastrat and Shalë which was the poorer of the two. In Kastrat the robber of another's house or sheepfold is to be fined 500 grosh and five rams, but in Shalë (X) the thief who steals a single animal—a ewe, a goat, a cow—is to have 'his harvest burnt, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed'.

628 Some stories related by Father Gjeçov illustrate the application
682 and development of the law. About 1860 a villager of Fregënë in the Mirditë tribe of Dibër told a neighbour to kill a certain man and promised that when the time came to pay the blood money he would see to it. On the faith of this promise, the neighbour ambushed the man on the high road and shot him dead. A little later, Captain Bibë Doda, the Gjomarkaj of the day, went on tour for the purpose of composing current blood feuds. The Fregënë feud came up, among others, and the murderer was ordered to rebuild his victim's house by way of paying blood money. He asked his evil counsellor for the money he had promised, but the latter declined to pay. Captain Bibë and the heads of the tribe summoned this man, and asked him if he had told his neighbour to commit the murder and promised to pay the blood money. The man dared not deny doing so. Then Captain Bibë, together with the bajraktar of Dibër and other heads, reasoning that 'lips can't land a man in a blood feud' and 'words don't make a funeral', made it law that 'Murder depends on the finger'; that is to say, the murderer who must pay with his life or money for the crime is the man whose finger pulled the trigger. They then sentenced the Fregënë murderer to pay blood money for his crime, saying that

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 167 721 727 the trees and, as for arms, did not know what they were, except for two or three kinds of javelins and darts."

Thus he describes them as a savage horde, but gives no information as to tribes or chiefs.

It was fully another century before the Serbs were finally established and settled. Presbyter Diocleas, though hopelessly confused in his details about dates and persons, probably records a true tradition in his *Chronicles* when he describes the invasion of the pagan Slavs thus: "The Christians, seeing themselves placed in great tribulation and persecution, began gathering themselves together on mountain-tops, and strove to construct strongholds and castles and edifices, that they might escape from the hands of the Slavs till God should visit them and set them free."

H A 342 The mountain dwellings of the Vlahs and the Albanians still bear witness to the flight of the old inhabitant before the invader. To what extent the partly Romanized Illyrian populations became intermixed with the Serb it is impossible to say, but the Serb differs so much from the Northern Slav-speaking peoples (Poles, Czechs, Russians) that a considerable admixture of other blood is suggested. That this differed in various regions is shown by the place-names. Slavonic names are thickest in Serbia (pre-war), in Macedonia, and in Bosnia—that is, in the most fertile districts. They are rarest of all in North Albania, and are scanty in South Albania and in Thrace. In Montenegro and the Herzegovina there is a sprinkling of non-Slavonic names. Antique Greek and Roman names appear mainly on the coasts. Inland, "Nish" preserves the Roman (? pre-Roman) name of "Naissus"; and "Uskub" (Turkish) and "Shkupi" (Albanian) preserve the old "Scupi," now completely distorted by the Serbs into "Skoplje."

A 103 197

A 173 How much of what survives of tribe and tribe law is a remnant of the Illyrians and the "peligones," and how much is Slavonic, can hardly now be determined; but it is of interest to note that tribe and tribe law have survived longest in those districts which were least under Serb rule—Albania, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina.

2. Tribe Law in North Albania

THE CANON OF LEK DUKAGIN

A 671 173 Whenever in the mountains I asked why anything was done, I was told, "Because Lek ordered it." Law, custom, usage, were all attributed to Lek. That he must have been a man of strong personality to have thus set a mark on a people is obvious; but very little is known about

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

659 The legal status of religious establishments was clarified
•671 by a law dated November 26, 1949. The principal stipulations were these:

All clergymen or lay officials must be approved by the State; and any who act illegally "must be dismissed from their posts immediately."

Any communication addressed to the public by a Church official—speech, message, or pastoral letter—must be submitted in advance for censorship.

The education of youth is conducted by the State, and "religious institutions have nothing to do with it."

Religious orders were not to assume management of any hospital or other charitable institution, or to possess real property.

795 Measures taken against the Catholic minority were so bru-
661 tal that even Communist functionaries protested. At a Congress of the People's Party, held on March 31, 1952, General Hoxha sternly upbraided Tuk Jakova, one of the principal Communist Party leaders, for questioning the wisdom of the persecution. Hoxha's words, as reprinted, read in part:

> Comrade Tuk Jakova, disassociating himself from the political program of the Party and of the State in so far as religion and in particular the Catholic clergy are concerned, has not evinced the right attitude toward this clergy or acted against it vigorously. Not seeing the very grave danger which is present in the reactionary clergy, Comrade Jakova has not hated them in an adequate way.

It would therefore appear that while Mohammedanism has been spared the full rigors of the antireligious crusade in Albania, the Christian Churches have suffered as perhaps nowhere else in satellite Europe. Bereft of leadership and of education, depleted through violent death, deportation to labor camps, and escape to other countries, they have been reduced to a status almost as primitive as that of the Churches

782 elders. Even if they are persuaded to swear on the cross, they will not forego the stone, which is the symbol which gives their oath
787 validity. They are also great believers in omens, and in divination. Men versed in this skill read the future by observing the sternal bones of fowl and the scapulae of sheep. I have witnessed a performance of the latter. The bone has its special divisions, each of which has meaning. On the sheep's scapula the joint socket is the house, and its depth or shallowness indicates whether the house will be empty or full of wealth. This can be used to predict success or failure of crops. The ridge on the blade shows whether or not flocks will multiply. Small holes on the blade are cradles, and the diviner can tell how close to the family, i.e., the "house," the birth will be by the distance from the socket. When you hold the blade up to the firelight or lamp, the shape and position of the marrow will tell where and when there will be fighting. Opaque white spots mean death, and their position indicates whether they will be within or without the household of the enquirer.

182 All of these rituals are concerned with the
783 maintenance of equilibrium in Gheg society. Oaths give authority to agreements, and cannot be broken until a crisis arrives which is stronger than that which the oath-breaking will produce. By clever use of the divining bones, a knowledgeable man can evaluate the state of affairs in his neighborhood, and give warnings; he can also precipitate decisions from wavering allies, for if he is a diviner of reputation, his words will be believed. Very often what he predicts will come true.

Special ritual routines common to members of both official religions restore equilibrium after the crises of birth, marriage, and death. All of these rituals which reinforce their social habits are of much greater importance to the Ghegs than the rites of church or mosque, which are not as well adjusted to this partic-
671 ular form of society. Another such mechanism is traditional law, codified and memorized as the Law of Lek Dukagin, which expresses the mountain attitude toward marriage and the selection of wives, and toward the blood feud. It serves to crystallize forms of behavior and inhibit change in those who are trained from childhood to believe in its infallible authority.

[see cat. 116, pp. 37a-b - Analyst]

-37b

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

family's means permitted, and that there was a sufficiency of 592 coffee, sugar and cigarettes to maintain its dignity with visitors. He must also pay government dues and instalments of the price of any bride who was marrying into the family. Until the newer ways of to-day came in, he had further to buy a rifle for every youth in the family who came of military age. If he sent another man to market in his stead, as he was entitled to do, he often put a reserve price on the produce and always instructed his deputy about what he was to buy. On his return the latter must give a full account of his stewardship, saying what he had received for the produce and what he had spent, proving that he had made no unauthorized purchases, and handing over the remaining money intact. If the master grew so physically incapacitated that he could no longer make the long, arduous journey over the mountains to market (*pazàr*), he usually appointed one of the others, preferably the future master, to the permanent post of 'bazaar-man'. The latter then kept the family purse, but in other respects remained subordinate to the master.

It resulted naturally from the master's hold on the family purse [426] that only he could lend money or contract a debt recoverable in law. If any of his subordinates made a loan or pledged the family credit on behalf of a friend, the borrower might lawfully repudiate the debt on the plea that it was not lawfully contracted. Generally, however, the master first scolded the culprit well for transgressing the law and then told the borrower that the loan was made on his authority, so leaving him no option but to repay it. In the same way, when subordinates borrowed, both they and the master were within their rights if they said the loan was illegally contracted and refused to repay it. More often than not, for the honour of the family, the master paid up. Again, in such matters as going surety for a loan, a woman's chastity, or a man's life, which were great features of Albanian life, only the master might act, subject to one exception. Each man's rifle and revolver were his personal [422] property—to keep, to barter, to sell or to pledge without any reference to the master. Consequently, each subordinate might go surety up to the value of his arms. He usually did so with circumspection, however, for if he lost them he must not ask the master to replace them. The master was also responsible for any material 592 damage done to a neighbour by his subordinates. If, for instance, 672 they had stolen or killed a cow, or had set fire to a haystack, it was

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he who must find the money for compensating the injured neighbour. He sought it naturally in the common purse according to the law that 'the mishaps of a son are shared by his father and brothers'. If however, a subordinate killed a neighbour, it was just as likely that he himself or another subordinate would have to pay the penalty of a life for a life as that the master would have to do so. Presumably this anomalous division of responsibility arose because if the master alone were responsible for a murder, he would be so closely guarded that there would be no catching him and the murdered man's death would remain unavenged.[1]

Though the master's authority, resting as it did on his customary and traditional acceptance as his predecessor's choice or on his election by general consent of the household, was essentially moral, it was also backed by certain powers of enforcement. He had the right to beat a culprit, to leave him hungry, or to tie him up in a room or cellar until he came to a more proper frame of mind. This applied equally to the women; in fact, the commonest victim of tying up in a cellar was a girl who had jibbed at a proposed marriage. When a subordinate was grossly at fault and seemed incorrigible, the master might threaten to give him his portion and turn him out to fend for himself, and if the man did not reform, he would carry out the threat. In Krujë the author was present when a father expelled one of his sons for killing the other. In Turkish times the master had another salutary form of punishment at his disposal. This was taking away a culprit's arms for a week or two, so reducing him to the status of women and greybeards. 'Once shamed, twice shy' was almost invariably the result. But the best of masters might be helpless with a shiftless subordinate who had grown too old to beat. So long as the latter avoided gross misdemeanours like murder, he might idle with impunity. For physical reasons the master could not force him to work, and except in extreme cases the Unwritten Law disapproved of turning him out to sink or swim as an angry English parent might do.[2] The law said

[1] It is perhaps more likely that this vicarious responsibility of any member of the family instead of the master only is the survival of the more ancient practice unmodified by more civilized conventions. It is typical of the blood feud in more primitive societies than that of Albania. (Ed.)

[2] In Montenegrin tribal law the disobedient son might be fined the first time, confined and beaten the second and third time, and only expelled after that, expulsion involving disinheritance. *Vide* Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 84. (Ed.)

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500 to 50 *grosh* ('piastres') a year, payable in two instalments, the first after six months' service and the second at the end of his term. 357

According to a list from Shkrel where wages were still on an 'all-found' basis, a servant must be given a complete set of clothes —a shirt, drawers, cloth cap, scarf, cow-hide sandals, socks, trousers and sleeveless jacket. He got sandals as often as he needed a new pair, and a set of the other things three times a year: when first engaged, at the end of three months, and during his last month. On leaving he was given three okes of wool, which his female relatives could work up for him. [291]

Disputes hardly ever arose over the servant's food or clothes, but were common about his work. As an Albanian of Koplik said picturesquely, 'Before a man is hired he talks like an angel, and then turns out a devil', so that 'half the men who lie in cemeteries have died of worry over servants'. The same speaker told a lively folk-tale of a master who was delighted to get a servant cheap and then found him come very dear indeed. Every time he asked him to do something, the man said it had not been mentioned in their bargain and he could not do it unless he got a rise in wages. Little attempt to get 'references' seems to have been made, perhaps because in the old days a would-be servant would have shot the giver of an adverse 'character' for slandering him. There was also a feeling that a servant's engagement was too temporary to take seriously. Once when the author inquired uneasily about a servant she had been urged to hire, an old mountaineer replied, 'What does it matter? you're not going to marry him'.

'Any gains made or any damage done by a servant are his master's', said the law. If, for instance, a servant somehow gained a horse, he could not send it to his own family, but must give it to his master. On the loss side of the ledger, if a servant unintentionally damaged a neighbour's property, say, by killing his horse, it was not he but his master who must make restitution, and his master could not keep back any of his wages for that purpose. Fining a servant was absolutely forbidden. [672] [422]

The relations of master and man with each other and with the outside world were regulated in detail by the Unwritten Law, using the servant's wages as its chief instrument. Thus if the two parted prematurely, the master being to blame, he must pay the servant his full wages for the year. When the servant was to blame, he had no right to more than the money for which he had so far

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dismissed with only the wages due until then. Since it was in a sense his own house and his own father that he had robbed, he could not be given a second chance; he was too obviously devoid of ordinary decency to be trusted again. And since the law forbade his master to strike him, he could not be beaten, as a thievish woman might be, till he reformed. 357 685

Dismissal did not end his story. He had to pay the statutory fine for housebreaking and to bring his late master two of everything he had stolen. If he had no money for the fine, he had to find a surety for the amount and then go and earn it elsewhere. After European legal codes were introduced at the end of the 1920's, these unwritten laws lost much of their force, and it was rather by threatening to get the thief sent to prison that an injured master obtained restitution. [671]

In less sophisticated days a servant who was only suspected of robbing his master could be tried by the ordeal of the oath. If this proved him innocent, his master had to pay him six *qese* ('purses') for unjustly accusing him, besides a full year's wages and clothes. If it was later found that he had perjured himself, the elders fined him twenty-four *qese*, of which half went to the church (or mosque) and half to the tribe; he had also to return to his master the six *qese* and the unearned wages and clothes which he had won from him by perjury. It sometimes transpired, however, that the informant who had disclosed his perjury had lied himself. Then the elders once more declared the servant innocent, ordered the church and tribe to return his twenty-four *qese*, and the informant to pay him a year's wages and clothes besides six *qese* for the false accusation. [695]

If a servant stole in his master's village or another community, punishment depended on who had instigated the crime. If his master had done so, he and not the servant was in fault, and it was for him to make reparation to the victim. He must also dismiss the servant forthwith as a public nuisance; but since the man was only his tool, he must pay him a full year's wages. If, on the other hand, a servant stole on his own initiative, the fault was his and it was for him alone to make restitution. In addition, he might be legally dismissed with no more than the wages he had earned. [672]

Much the same laws applied when a servant committed a murder. If he did so at his master's instigation, both were punished. He must be dismissed, but his master must pay him a full year's wages. The resultant blood feud was primarily his concern, but if he 357 682 672

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357 escaped from the district, his master might lawfully be shot in his
182 stead. When, however, a servant murdered on his own respon-
672 sibility, he alone should suffer for the crime. His master was entitled, in dismissing him, to keep back the portion of his wages for which he had not worked, and according to Lek's Kanùn ought not to be shot in his stead. Skanderbeg's law, however, held him as liable in this case as in the former.

357 The only available information about a servant's seducing a girl
684 or young wife in his master's family comes from Martanesh and Shkrel and dates from past times. In Martanesh the law con-
[608] demned the man to death for incest because his master was his 'father' and the young woman his 'sister'. In Shkrel he was killed
[836] at once if he had sinned with a young wife, but if with a girl he was dismissed with orders to hold his tongue, and only if he talked did the girl's father go and shoot him. As for the girl, she was married
[836] to her fiancé as quickly as possible. He was not told that she was pregnant by another man, and would not have cared if he had been. He wanted her as wife and worker and felt sure that he was man enough to keep her straight after marriage; beatings always worked
[848] wonders. The child was sent to the servant as soon as born; he never acknowledged it but either killed it or exposed it by the wayside. The father did not dare to beat the girl in case she ran away to the servant; at all costs he had to keep her for her fiancé, who had presumably paid a good proportion of her bride-price and would have killed him had he failed to deliver her. Presumably the fact that a servant was held to be of little or no account saved the wife or girl from the usual punishment for adultery.[1]

357 Sometimes, despite their being 'brother' and 'sister', a servant
[562] married his master's daughter. Thus an ancestor of Bicaj was a Catholic of Gjugjë in Mirditë who entered the service of Hysen Agë Shteki of Bicaj, turned Moslem, and married Hysen Agë's daughter. Even in modern times a servant may be given his master's daughter in marriage. This is particularly likely to happen if his master is Moslem and he a Christian who agrees to change his religion. His master then looks on his own consent to the marriage as an act of piety. Servants varied in importance according to the master they served. Thus the servant of a Moslem priest (*hoxhë*) had more power than an ordinary peasant's and less than a bajraktar's —at least in the days before most bajraktars were shorn of their

[1] See Chapter XXI.

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231 case of murdered man and murdered woman. In some areas, such
685 as Kurbin, the blood money for a house dog was assessed by the
628 elders or government authorities.

A stranger who agreed in his simplicity to pay the owner what he demanded for his dead dog might find himself presented with a fine bill. The owner would say that the dog had saved his life on several occasions and was consequently worth six, ten or even twenty napoleons. Sometimes the owner asked the stranger, not for blood money, but for another dog of the same quality as the dead animal. The cost might exceed the conventional amount of blood money.

In the above cases a house dog had been killed in self-defence. When it was killed out of spite matters were much more serious. 'He who kills a house dog will steal your wife', says the Kanùn. Such killings usually took place at night because the aggressor would find it dangerous to approach the house in daylight. This aggravated the crime since the night was the dog's own time.

In Mirditë, Kurbin and Martanesh a man who killed a dog 'in its kennel', i.e. on its own ground and therefore spitefully, must pay its master 500 grosh, almost a fortune in these poverty-stricken areas. In north Albania his life was forfeit. When he had been killed by the dog's master, his relatives killed one of the latter's family, arguing that they could not permit their relative to be equated to a dog. In most cases the two parties being 'one for one' the dog's master then consented to make peace on condition of receiving blood money for the dead animal. He might stipulate, if he wished, that this should take the form of an ox or a horse and so cost more than the conventional blood money. Occasionally the feud was continued—it is on record that twelve men in the north once died for the sake of one dog. In any region a man who immediately pardoned the killer of his dog would be taunted as
[195] a weakling. In Lumë the man who was suspected of having killed a house dog found dead, a crime as costly as killing a man, could not clear himself unless he persuaded twenty-four elders to take oath with him.

231 The legal discrimination between defensive and spiteful killing
685 made it important for a man who killed a dog during the daytime
672 to establish his motive. He could do so simply and surely. If his bullet had struck the dog in the forehead or chest it was evident that the animal was charging him and he had fired in fear. If, on the

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other hand, he had shot the dog in the back he must have killed it out of spite. 231 [685] [672]

Whereas house dogs remained at home and were chained up for half their lives, sheep dogs were normally free both day and night and divided their time between the mountain-side and the sheep-fold. Their function was to protect the flock from thieves and wolves. If these approached, they must bark a timely warning so as to bring the shepherds with their rifles and they must themselves attack the marauders. They must therefore be alert, courageous and fierce, true 'Molossian hounds'. In districts infested by wolves they wore iron collars set with iron spikes to prevent the wolf from tearing open their throat. In common with other sheep dogs in the Near and Middle East they did not handle the flock. That was led, or occasionally driven, by the shepherd unaided.

As fierceness was their most important asset, sheep dogs were given the same harsh upbringing as house dogs. Indeed, they were generally removed at a still earlier age from their mother so that they should not know even her caresses for long. But they were gentle enough with their flocks, from which they never parted. As puppies they were fed on ewe's or goat's milk—hence, said the peasants of Shpat, their later friendliness with the animals they guarded. In adult life they were fed on maize bread roughly baked in indigestible looking balls by the shepherds. Nevertheless, their strength and the sleekness of their coats showed that the diet was sufficient.

The law of the sheep dog varied from place to place according to the animal's position in the local economy. In the north, where men depended almost entirely on their flocks, the sheep dog was of paramount importance as the guardian of its master's whole livelihood and was protected by the law to the utmost. In areas such as Kurbin, where men combined agriculture with sheep-breeding, the sheep dog was of less importance to its master and some relaxation appears in the law. In fertile areas like Lumë or Krasniqë, where agriculture predominated, the sheep dog was still less important and the law less drastic. So in the north it was more serious to kill a sheep dog than a house dog and elsewhere the position was reversed. 231 685 628 633

Among the mountains of the north the law of the sheep dog was the same by day and by night. A passer-by might be bitten at any hour of the day or night, but if he killed the dog he would be killed

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they must not bring them home, but must leave them at the more or less distant sheepfold. There was no ban on their keeping shooting and pet dogs. 231 793

If a house dog disappeared temporarily during the mating season so that its master could not find it at dawn to tie it up for the day, he remained responsible for its conduct. It was held that a house dog loose under such conditions during the daytime was like one that had been duly tied up but had broken loose. Happily for its master and for strangers, a dog was generally too much occupied at such seasons with its own affairs to trouble about strangers. 231 672

If any type of dog fell into a snare set by a neighbour near its master's house, the neighbour must pay its full value. He had no doubt obtained its master's consent before he set the snare, but that did not relieve him of his liability for ensuing casualties. 224 672

Damage done by dogs must be paid for in money or by the dog's death. Each case was handled with a good deal of ceremony. If a dog ate a neighbour's eggs or killed his fowls, the latter asked its master to tie it up. If he refused, the neighbour had the right to kill the dog, and its master could not exact compensation. The neighbour generally took an oath in public that the dog had developed a habit of eating his eggs or killing his fowls, and that he had asked its master to tie it up and had been told to kill it. If he killed the dog without warning, he must in most places pay its value as assessed by the local elders. But in that case its master must first take oath that it had never eaten eggs or killed fowls. If the dog was commonly considered valuable, the neighbour would probably warn its master twice before he killed it. In Çermenikë and Martanesh the law was sterner; a delinquent dog had always to be killed, but if this were done without its master's leave, a blood feud started. In such cases the culprit was generally a house dog. 231 685 [628]

In cases of sheep-worrying the culprit was invariably a sheep dog. The general verdict was that the animal must die, but there was some variation in local methods of reaching this verdict. In north Albania and in Yugoslav Kosovë the dog's master must indemnify the sheep owner for every sheep worried and must take oath that the dog acted of its own impulse and had not been specially trained to kill sheep; any proof that it had been so trained would immediately cause him to be killed by the sheep owner. He must also kill the dog or keep it chained up in perpetuity. If the

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compromise reconciled the public's need to use the road and the 494
individual's wish to protect his crop without incurring the 491
intolerable expense of making a fence or wall. One neighbour 423
put two hurdles across his half of the road, one where it entered and the other where it left his land; both were low enough for men to jump over and high enough to keep back animals. Each had a hole at the bottom that was too small for animals to crawl through but big enough to let logs through when they were [313]
dragged down from the mountain for fuel; logs for fuel were such a necessity of life that they could not be denied a road. The other neighbour threw across his half of the road the Christ's Thorn which grows all over the plains of Albania, thus making a formidable barrier for men and beasts. Shutting up this half of the road did not matter; animals had no right in any case to go near a sown field, and the other man's hurdle was sufficient for human traffic. After harvest the thorns were removed, leaving that half of the road clear. The hurdle remained in place, as the clear half of the road was wide enough for the traffic.

In 1935 a man from Nangë in Lumë blocked the road along an irrigation channel for the summer, half of it with a low wall and half with thorns, so that men, but not animals, could still travel on it. He had wished to sow maize in his adjoining field and been too poor and short-handed to construct a fence to keep out animals. Since irrigation was so important, there was a special law that [312]
'a road beside an irrigation channel can't be shut up'. Conse- [672]
quently, his act was highly illegal. But his poverty was thought to excuse it, and he had mitigated his offence by making a new road for animals at the top of his field, where there was no maize. In so doing he had confused the right to block a road for the summer only and the need, when closing one permanently, to provide a substitute. For the law forbidding a man to block an old road permanently was not rigid. If he had good reason for the change, secured the consent of the elders (a most important point), and provided a satisfactory substitute, he could even move a very old road. It was only if he failed to satisfy these conditions that he had to leave it where it was. The poor man just mentioned transgressed by not consulting the elders; their unusual clemency lay in refraining, out of consideration for his poverty, from reopening the road.

When a man applied for leave to close an old village road, he 491
generally pleaded damage by passers-by or a need for more land to 423

complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in 423
Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times 487
a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man [685]
cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of
private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended
even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit
as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one-
ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and
to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or [574]
village had married into the privileged ward* her kinsmen had leave [607]
to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even
one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto
their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into
being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families [614]
in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact,
the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter- 486
tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of 619
sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and
their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed
its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all
their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks
on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory,
and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the
road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking
advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus,
a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed
limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the
contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep
within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign
tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and
not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but
must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his
providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger 574
obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded 628
as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection 486
and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the 672
event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the
knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for
any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

* [in the village of Gadolesh --An 3/45+]

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was 22 purses instead of the usual 12. If the murderer was slow to pay up, the tribe enforced payment. In addition, they burned down three of the *kulla* (houses of two or more storeys) in the murderer's compound. If he did not possess so many, they burned his own *kullë* and two belonging to his nearest relatives. If between them they did not have so many, the tribe searched among his more distant relatives until they found the required number, going back a hundred generations if need be. They also destroyed his property—crops, livestock and the rest—so thoroughly that nothing of it remained. The same penalties were inflicted on a thief who stole sheep travelling or grazing within the protected area. On the other hand, if a traveller, public messenger or shepherd broke the conditions of the truce, straying, for example, from the prescribed path, he was no longer counted a public guest and lost his right to public protection and vengeance. He was still a private guest however. The last man in whose house he stayed before his mishap was bound to kill his murderer or to punish the man who robbed him.

This truce of sheep and shepherd has now died out. At the end of Turkish times it was already confined to the Gjakovë group of tribes in the extreme north-east, such as Nikaj, Mertur, Gash and Krasniq. But Father Gjeçov found traditions of its existence in the Dukagjin tribes of Shalë, Shosh, Kir, Gjâj and Toplanë, and also in Puke, Mirditë, Kthellë, Kurbin and the mountains of Lesh. Father Gjeçov considers the custom to be so old that it dates from days 'before thin-necks began to vomit flame', that is to say, before firearms were invented.

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417 public memory. If only one of the two wanted a barrier, he had to
423 build it unaided and entirely on his own ground, leaving the
596 boundary stones on his neighbour's side. In this case its position relative to these stones was enough to show whose it was, but he nevertheless constructed the usual niche on his own side. He could not, however, build the wall right against the boundary stones but had to leave its width free between them and its outer base. For the law said that any rain that fell on a man's house or wall must run off on his own ground and not damage his neighbour's property. It needed no legal compulsion, of course, to make him construct the various buildings in his own yard in such a position that their drips did not damage his fence. Incidentally the 60 cm. of free space served at need for a footpath. When two brothers were embittered, each built a partition wall, naturally without a communicating door.

685 If a man wilfully damaged a tree or other property on his neighbour's land he had to answer for his crime by paying damages. If a stranger who did not know he was trespassing on another's property and was not warned off by a shout from the owner did similar damage, he, too, had to appear before the elders.
● [672] But if he could prove ignorance of trespass, he had no damage to
[351] pay. To keep animals under control so that they should not stray to another's property, a wall or at least a fence round the yard was an essential concomitant of a house. This too had to be its own thickness inside its owner's boundary to guarantee that rain drips
[1125] did not damage the ground next door. In the Malësi e Madhe the man building the wall could claim any timber that during building operations fell not more than half-way down on his neighbour's side. But whatever fell more than half-way or reached the ground—even the scrap of land he had left himself between the wall and the boundary—became his neighbour's. This discrimination applied to every form of wall.

351 Sometimes when one of two brothers was enclosing his yard he
596 was permitted to utilize his neighbour's wall for one side of his
417 enclosure. There was no risk of this confusing the ownership of the wall, for the neighbour, when building it, had not only put a proprietor's niche on his own side but had also left the boundary stones outside so that they fell within the new yard. A more distant relative could not utilize an existing wall, but had to build one of his own, parallel to the neighbour's and distant by the

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Disobedience to accepted authority was not permitted to an 687 individual tribesman, a villager or even a tribe if that formed part, like the Mirditë tribes, of a group of tribes. Several of the Documents end by indicating the penalties that await tribesmen who defy the authority of the General Assembly that had laid down the preceding laws for the public good.

Examples of penalties prescribed are a fine of 3000 grosh, a choice between being burnt out or paying an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, and a sentence of having one's house burned down and oneself expelled. Number XIII, the Fascist document from Mat, simply declares that any delinquent will be called a traitor. In each case the whole tribe was to meet again in General Assembly and go in a body to carry out the sentence. According to Document XI the breaker of a pledge guaranteed by the General Assembly of the Elders and Commoners of Kurbin was warned that the said Elders and Commoners would be obliged to burn his house and expel him.'

Elders were seldom tried before a General Assembly. They were 693 kept in check by the fact that if their judgements were found unfair they lost not only face but also fees, for they were seldom asked to judge again. If there were complaints against one he was first asked, like an erring bajraktar or voivode, for a pledge; if he refused to give it he was haled before the General Assembly.

If a disputant flouted an elder's just and carefully considered judgement, he found himself before a General Assembly. For an elder represented a lawful authority. 'If you don't like the decision, 619 go to St Paul's church or the Defile of Orosh (*Grykë e Oroshit*)' 612 was the formula in Mirditë in such cases, church and defile being the favourite meeting-places for the General Assemblies of all its five tribes. If the Assembly upheld the elder's judgement, the penalty usually imposed was banishment for three years for the culprit and his family, the burning down of his house, the destruction of his crops and trees, and leaving his land untilled until he returned.

Sometimes a village was a public nuisance, harrying travellers, stealing its neighbours' beasts, cutting off their irrigation or mill water, trespassing on their forest or grazing, and so on. The bajraktar, voivodes, elders, and all the commoners in the rest of the tribe then gathered in General Assembly, one man from each house, and brought the village to its senses, fining the more harmless

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619 offenders, banishing others, and executing the ringleaders if these
672 had committed any crime entailing the death penalty.

619 Sometimes a village went to actual war with the rest of the tribe.
[72] As it never did so unless it knew itself to be very strong, the rest of the tribe was sometimes unable to reduce it. If the tribe was alone, the war went on until both sides were exhausted enough to cry halt. If the tribe was one of a group its heads could call in all the men of the other tribes to reduce the belligerent. In Mirditë a Gjomarkaj called the General Assembly which decided on this step, and led its members against the belligerent.

Sometimes, like a pestilent village, a tribe that formed part of a group made itself a nuisance to its neighbours. In that case the
[681] General Assembly of the other tribes in the group sentenced it wholesale to the usual penalties—fines for mild offenders, burning out for medium offenders and death for bad offenders. A whole tribe, however, could not be banished. It could only be ostracized, cut off from all intercourse with its neighbours; this penalty lasted until it consented to furnish the usual pledges for its future behaviour.

623 Village Assemblies dealt with matters of exclusively village interest. They regulated wood-cutting and irrigation rights, for example. They fixed the date at which beasts might be sent up to their summer pasturage on the high mountains. They stipulated the number of beasts that might be sent up by each family. They took steps to see that no one appropriated more than his fair share of forest, irrigation water or grazing. In so doing they made a valuable contribution to the public peace. Some aspects of
[682] murder also engaged their attention. The actual crime and revenge
[628] for it were the concern only of the families of the murderer and his victim. But it was the concern of the village that the range of revenge should not spread, increasing the number of avenging assassinations and so disturbing the village peace. So the law having laid down that the avenger must allow the murderer a day or two's grace to settle up his affairs before he was besieged in his house, the village had to extract a promise of this grace from the avenger. In cases where the grace lasted for thirty days, the village had to see that the murderer did not abuse his privilege and harry the victim's family. If he showed any such tendency, the village in General Assembly had to fine him and bring his period of grace to an untimely end.

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695 be put to the oath; such an ordeal was not for boys under twenty, old men over sixty, women, gipsies or lunatics. All of these were [562] considered so irresponsible that even their sworn word carried no [592] weight. One exception comes from Zerqan, where a woman accused of a petty theft like stealing a dress might take an oath in the semi-privacy of her home that she was innocent. If her fault was more serious, her oath was not accepted. A man—her husband [672] or son or, failing these, her brother—had to take one for her, as he would have done for his senile father or his infant son. Another exception occurred in family oaths, as described later. But this exception was apparent rather than real. The infant boys who were present did not themselves take the oath. The master alone repeated the words dictated; the boys and other males were present solely to be implicated to the maximum extent possible in the dread consequences of perjury.

In criminal cases it was the suspect, the man who denied an accusation, who had to take the oath. In such cases its sole purpose was to clear him of suspicion; if he could take it, he was acquitted, and if he could not, he was convicted. The accuser was never allowed to support his accusation by an oath; even if he insisted that with his own eyes he had seen the crime being committed, he could not swear upon oath that what he said was true. For motives of spite might have induced him first to accuse his neighbour falsely, and then to swear a false oath. So the law said firmly 'It's for the denier to take the oath'.

695 Occasionally a suspect refused to take the oath. Then his 628 accuser was at least tempted to shoot him. If it was a case of stealing he had to think twice; shooting the suspect would start a blood feud because 'murder for a fault (like stealing) isn't allowed', and perhaps the lost property was not worth the nuisance which the blood feud would cause. If it was a murder case, it did not much matter if he did shoot the suspect; he was already at feud with the murderer. In property cases refusals to take the oath seem to have been unknown when the dispute was in the hands of elders; if they ordered a disputant to take an oath, he dared not disobey for he knew that the whole community would gather to enforce the order. If one disputant, before the case had reached the elders, asked the other to take an oath that the property was his, his request was refused as often as not, and then shooting became inevitable.

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compurgators took the oath and half stood listening with their 695
hands folded at the waist. As only the former touched the Gospel they were called 'oath-hands'. Possibly Father Gjeçov's information came from a different area of Dukagjin, or even since his time the details may have been modified.

The compurgators took the oath on the day officially appointed. The suspect took it a few minutes, a day or several days earlier, as best suited the general convenience, and generally in the presence of the compurgators only. The taking of the oath by the compurgators was a more public affair. The accuser's presence was in most places indispensable. If he would not, or could not, attend the ceremony, he had to give up trying to get his rights by an oath and had to find a private detective to take up the case. In Zerqan, apparently, the accuser did not need to be present, in theft cases at least. The number and quality of other witnesses varied in some places, such as Kurbin, with the gravity of the case, and in others with local custom. In Fulqet, Godolesh and Çermenikë it was obligatory for the village to turn out; otherwise the oath was not considered valid. In Mirditë the elders trying the case had to be present and so too in Theth, Dibër and Çermenikë; if, however, one of them found it inconvenient to attend, he could, in Dibër at least, send a deputy. In Lurë the Catholic priest had to be present when the suspect was Catholic, as had the Moslem sheikh of Ceren when he was a Moslem. In the Malësi e Madhe, Bytyç and Martanesh, an oath was valid if witnessed by the accuser and a few of his friends.

In grave cases a whole family might be asked to take the oath. In [672]
that event the master spoke in his usual capacity of household representative, for the rest of the family as well as himself, and it was forbidden to ask them to repeat his words. In Mirditë the women and children were not involved, but in Malësi e Madhe all the males of the family had to be present regardless of their age, and the master held an infant boy in his arms while he swore that he and they were innocent. In Martanesh, too, the accused had to bring all his sons, all his brothers and all his brothers' sons to the ceremony. The suspect had to swear to the whole family's ignorance as well as innocence of the crime.

In most districts this oath was taken at any of the usual places for 695
oath-taking, but in Martanesh it was taken in the most solemn 672
circumstances possible, at the grave of Balim Sulltan. It was a very 783

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695 serious oath, entailing the extinction of the whole family if the
672 oath-taker perjured himself. This was symbolized clearly in the
783 Malësi e Madhe ceremony. The master's perjury, if any, and its penalties would, it was believed, run through his body and the infant's like an electric current and destroy both. The wording of the oath seems to have been suitably strong as well as comprehensive. The only available example comes from the Malësi e Madhe, and runs, 'By this holy oath of the Lord, if I did it, may He reward me. As for the male of yours who has been killed, neither I nor my kinsmen, male or female, have killed him with our hands or our guns or with a guest's or agent's hands or gun.'

695 The family oath was reserved for men who were expected to deny
[685] a serious crime of which there was strong evidence that they were guilty. In the Malësi e Madhe, and apparently in Martanesh also, this was murder. So in these areas a family oath was tantamount to one with twenty-four compurgators. In Mirditë and Kurbin it was chiefly used in theft cases. If a sheep or goat in Kurbin was stolen, the thief had to return two sheep or goats to the owner, and pay a fine besides; if, however, he denied the theft, he must swear with his whole family that he was innocent. By contrast, a man who denied stealing an ox, a horse or a mule, was only ordered to take the oath with six compurgators. The theft of these animals was less serious than stealing a sheep or goat; for they only represented wealth, whereas the sheep and goats provided food for their owner.

[694] In Mirditë the accuser had the right to ask a family oath of any man whom he strongly suspected, and could also say that he must take it with a jury. In that event he had to specify the various families in the village who were to compose the jury. For the Malësi e Madhe there is no evidence, but in Martanesh a jury was seldom required in family oaths. Group oaths were used in cases where the suspect, told to take the oath with twenty-four compurgators, failed to find so many ready to swear to his innocence and volunteered to take the oath with all the males of his family in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum. If he did so, nothing more was required of him.

In Mirditë, as Father Gjeçov informs us, a truculent accuser might also ask the oath by the head of the suspect's son; in that case the accused could not refuse to take it, unfair and dangerous to the child though it was. If there were more than one boy in the

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such phrases as 'May Sheikh Ibrahim cut short my life' and 'May the bread kill me'. Sometimes the mechanism was crude and obvious, as in Jove's thunderbolts, the lightning that struck the perjurer dead, set his house on fire, or killed his livestock. Even if a perjurer escaped death, it was expected all over the country that he would fall ill or go from bad to worse till he came to ruin. Poverty and sickness must be his lot. His family might even die out, most dreadful of calamities. His son might be born with a physical defect, lame or blind or with a withered arm or too many fingers to his hands. A man of Tërnovë, near Martanesh, took a false oath, and as a result one of his eyes a year later was as large as his fist. 783

There were also social penalties to be faced. A man detected in a false oath became an outcast, despised and condemned by all his fellows, and was never again invited into any house in the tribe. In grosser cases in the Malësi e Madhe he might even be expelled by the tribe. In Mirditë his family was branded with shame for seven generations. All over the Catholic areas he was also fined. In Mirditë there were elaborate rules for these fines. If there had been a jury of twenty-four, the perjurer had to pay 100 rams and an ox to the Gjomarkaj family. If the jury had been smaller, the fine, which was presumably of the same amount, went to the tribe. In addition, the perjurer had to pay a fine to the Church and 500 grosh to each compurgator for leading him into perjury and outrage to the Church, and so exposing him to the usual punishments for perjury and sacrilege. For the Divine wrath fell on an unwitting no less than on a witting perjurer. It was no excuse for a compurgator in God's eyes that he had forsworn himself in reliance on the suspect's oath; he had had the responsibility of ascertaining the facts for himself. The compurgators and the perjurer had to go to church in order to obtain absolution for their sins. Just before leaving, the perjurer had to leave money on the altar to pay all the fines he had contracted to pay when he took the oath before the compurgators. In the Malësi e Madhe he had to give six purses to the Church as well as one to each compurgator. In Martanesh which is, of course, completely Moslem, the same compensation was payable to each compurgator in a perjury case, but in neighbouring Zerqan the practice was unknown. The fine was obviously a considerable deterrent to would-be perjurers, especially when the jury was large. 687 [672] [558] [783]

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685 of theft which were no less universally regarded as shameful. A man who stole from another with whom he had broken bread as host or guest disgraced himself for ever. A woman must not steal for fun or spite. If she did, not only her husband's family, but the whole village felt ashamed and took steps to deal with her.

[672] The accomplice who helped the thief, the host who fed him and the receiver who hid the booty were all considered as no less guilty than the thief himself. 'A thief and his host are the same', and 'Like thief, like receiver' were common sayings. All had to suffer punishment in proportion to their share in the crime and booty. The owner of stolen goods had the right to remove them from the premises of a receiver and to claim compensation, and the receiver had no legal claim for redress as against the thief. On the other hand, if a man bought stolen goods in good faith he had to give them back to the rightful owner, but he was entitled to recover what he had paid for them from the thief.

All possible means of protection against theft were adopted by the mountain peoples. Every man carried a gun by day, and slept with it beside him at night. Dogs were kept in every house and
231 sheepfold. Domestic animals were branded with a mark that could not be destroyed, as when sheep had both their ears notched.
[351] Farmyards were surrounded by walls too high to scale and had stout wooden gates heavily bolted at night. Thieves, however, could
[417] make holes in the mud and stone walls, and frequently forced an entry that way. The walls of many village shops were lined with wood, so that a thief's chisel, striking it, would make sufficient noise to put the householder on the alert.

[625] In Turkish times many villages sent out armed patrols every night, composed not of professionals like the night watchman of the towns, but of unpaid villagers who served in turn as directed by the village headman. When there was danger of sheep-stealing on a large scale, the threatened villages sometimes bought the protection of some strong man. For example, the villagers of Reç, now in Yugoslavia, hired protection from sheep-stealers of Dibër by paying the Kaloshi family of Dibër a thousand napoleons a year. Nor were the parties deterred from contracting together by the fact that the Kaloshis were Moslems and Albanians, and the villagers of Reç were Orthodox and Macedonian Bulgars.

627 In the extreme north and south of the mountains, guns could
695 legitimately be used when a thief was caught in the act of breaking

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685 [683] Assembly by his neighbour from whose tobacco box he had inadvertently rolled a cigarette. In every tribe and village, a man's honour was so stained by the theft of his gun or his wife that he had to shoot the thief and take the consequences of the ensuing blood feud.

The penalties imposed depended also on the nature of the articles stolen. North Albania was predominantly pastoral and, as the safety of the flock of sheep depended on the bell-animal, penalties for stealing this animal were heavy.[1] In Lumë the owner could demand six or seven sheep for the thief: 'as well steal the whole flock as its leader.' In Perlat stealing a bell-wether was such a disgraceful act that in the blood feud against the thief's family, even a woman could be killed. The bell of the leading animal was even more precious than the animal itself, and in Perlat, if it were stolen, it had to be returned and a sheep with it. In Labinot, the bell was thought too unlucky to be hung round an animal's neck again, and instead of returning it, the thief had to pay twice its value or be shot. In Mirditë a fine of 500 grosh was imposed for the dishonour done to the owner.

The two-for-one rule was applied to thefts of all farm animals, with the exception of pigs and cocks. The man who stole a pig had to pay 500 grosh in hard cash. This sum was often ten times the value of the animal, but the pig was the mainstay of the poor man and required special protection. The same sum of 500 grosh had to be paid for a cock, as 'the cock is the poor man's watch'. It was said that in Krasniqë an actual watch had to be paid instead of the money penalty.

685 562 [462] [672] Firewood was usually collected by women, and when they stole it their husbands were held responsible. It was common practice to seize the axe with which the thief cut the wood and the rope with which she slung it on her back. These articles were sometimes used as visible evidence of her guilt, sometimes retained as compensation, or as a guarantee for the payment of the penalty, or of the fee due to the elder who dealt with the case. Women might steal other things than firewood, and responsibility was always placed on the husband. It is recorded that, during the reign of King Zog, men might even be imprisoned for their wives' thefts. It was they who had to take the oath if an oath was required. The woman did not, however, get off scot free. In most areas she was

[1] Vide supra, p. 173.

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CHAPTER XXI

MURDER WITHIN THE FAMILY

682 When a man murdered his son, father, brother, paternal uncle,
627 paternal uncle's son, or brother's son, the usual verdict was that
596 in killing so near a relative the murderer had 'killed himself'. The victim's blood was therefore lost, 'no one sought-to-avenge him', and it had only been his 'ill-luck' so to die.

From another point of view it might be argued that since the murderer was the victim's nearest relative, other relatives could not act over his head and avenge the dead man. For example, when a man murdered his paternal uncle, if the latter left neither son nor brother, his blood was lost, for the murderer was his nearest relative and by killing him had only killed himself. On the other hand, if the uncle left either a son or a brother, that son or brother was nearer to him than the murderer and avenged his death. In view of his relationship to the criminal his vengeance generally took the form of exacting blood money. In the same way when a man murdered his brother's son, the victim's blood was lost if he left neither father nor brother. But if he left either, the murderer had to pay blood money. The rule of the nearest relative failed only if one brother killed another while their father was alive. Though the father was the nearest relative of the victim, the fratricide being only a neighbour by comparison, the victim's blood was lost. The father could not avenge him except by killing his surviving son, and even from the best of motives no decent father would kill a son.

[672] The motive of the murderer seldom affected the situation. The murder of a son, an extremely rare occurrence, was oftenest due
[684] to his adultery with his young stepmother. His blood was lost, not because of his sin, but solely because the father who murdered him
[587] was his nearest relative. Again, one brother sometimes fell in love with the other's wife, and knowing, especially in north Albania,
[607] that if she became a widow he could by customary law marry her, could not always resist the temptation to make her a widow. The
[558] victim's blood was lost in spite of the murderer's motive, and the fratricide married the widow and suffered no disability except some loss of face.

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loss of face. At Krujë in 1930 when the authorities sought to punish a man who had murdered his brother during a quarrel, the widow swore that the pistol had gone off accidentally when her brother-in-law was trying to wrest it from her husband, who had threatened suicide. Having thus prevented the authorities from taking action, the widow made no effort to keep the true story of the murder quiet, but repeated it every day during the month when the women met for the ceremonial 'keening'. She was also openly commended by the public for preventing the government from shaming her husband's family by arresting the murderer.

Exceptionally, if the murderer's motive was bad by tribal standards, his relative was well avenged. For instance, if a man killed his cousin or nephew to get his land, the crime was considered so anti-social that the murderer was killed by the community, his blood was lost, and his family expelled. Again, exceptionally, a motive might be so good by tribal standards as to win the murderer public admiration. Thus children in Shalë were taught with great pride that once a tribesman killed his brother for killing a guest, for an Albanian's duty to his guest transcends the claims of blood relationship.

Two modifications of the general rule are to be noted. In Mirditë in spite of the victim's blood being lost, the murderer had to pay the tribe the fine due in cases of ordinary murder, 100 rams and an ox. In the Malësi e Madhe if the two brothers had separated the fratricide had to pay blood money to his brother's dependants. If the widow had no children, she took all the money; if she had a daughter only, she again took it all, for when the time came for the girl to marry, she would as 'head of the family' have to pay the wedding expenses; if she had a son, he took all the money, for his father's death had made him head of the family. The blood money was therefore alimony payable to the widow and orphans who had been robbed of their breadwinner. If the two brothers had not separated, the fratricide as a matter of course supported the widow and orphans along with the other members of his household and the question of alimony did not arise.

Parricide was thought the most abhorrent of all murders within the family. In a sense a father had the right to kill his son without being asked by anybody what he had done, but a son unnatural enough to kill his father could surely not have been got by that father, but must be a bastard. Even where his crime was regarded

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couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the [582] inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 628 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

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682 father, his only means of doing so, was forbidden. Her son by
562 another husband, belonging as he did to another family, was free
628 to avenge her. If a woman's son killed her for any but the above
596 heinous crimes, her husband could not avenge her, since to do so
[607] he must kill his son. In Mirditë her brother could kill her son or other male in his family, but elsewhere it was held that her brother was as helpless as her husband because her son was a nearer relative and her nearest relative having killed her, her blood must be lost. If she was married for the second time and was killed by the son of her former marriage, her husband could kill his stepson, but as before, her brother's hands were tied, except in Mirditë, by the law of nearest relative.

When a man killed his brother's wife for any other reason than those stated above, her husband took no action if he and the murderer had not separated; the murder was a family affair. Her brother, however, killed one of them. If the two brothers had separated, the murderer had to pay blood money to her husband. If the husband did not exact it within a year, her brother killed either the murderer or her husband. Her husband never killed his brother: 'I'd never kill my brother for the sake of my wife', was a common saying.

When a woman was killed by her father or brother, her blood was always lost by the rule of nearest relative. If she was married, her husband did not, in most districts, continue friendly relations with the murderer, but in some, such as Krasniqë, he asked him for another girl and on receiving her forgot his annoyance at the other's
[584] murder. The same was true if the murdered woman was only betrothed, for a betrothed girl 'is counted the man's wife'. When a woman was killed by some other man in her own family, by her uncle or her nephew for instance, by the rule of nearest relative her
[593] blood was lost if she was neither married nor betrothed. If she was either and was not killed for a heinous crime, her husband felt he had been disgraced and avenged her by killing a male in her family.

When murders were committed by women, the situation was complicated by the fact that women belonged to two families, their husband's and their father's.

[672] If a woman murdered her husband, both his family and her father's were involved. The important factor was her motive, which was usually love for another man who had probably bought the necessary rat poison in the bazaar. If her lover was her

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*628 details; vengeance could not be taken indiscriminately, but was
596 governed by a multiplicity of rules. Thus, a murdered man found his most natural avenger in his brother, especially if they had not separated. If his father was not too old, and his son too young, to bear arms, they shared the brother's obligation. In slightly less degree so did his father's brother and cousin in the male line, and their sons and grandsons, that is to say, all the other males who were in the collective sense his 'father', 'brother' and 'son', through being at the time, or having recently been, members of his household. If his son was in the cradle, the child's mother and the neighbours told him of the crime as he grew up and urged him, failing another avenger, not to rest till he had done his duty. No matter which of these relatives took revenge, his 'rifle could be hung up' and 'go to sleep', to quote the picturesque phrases of Dibër and the North. The lawful representative of his murdered kinsman because he belonged to the same household, he had only made the two sides equal, with one of two results; either peace could be made or the feud continued between the same two families.

A man might kill his enemy where and when he could—in a chance encounter, in a meeting deliberately sought or in a carefully laid ambush. If he was 'strong' with plenty of good shots in his house, he and his family went alone on set expeditions. If he was weak he was probably accompanied by friends, who included friends in the ordinary sense, relatives by marriage, dependants and servants. They came, not for pay, but on his invitation or of their own accord. Invitations, always verbal, requested the recipients to come with so many rifles to such-and-such a place by
[571] such-and-such a day and hour. Those invited were bound to come; those who volunteered were praised by the public for their bravery and devotion, a much coveted distinction. The distance from which they came was immaterial; a feud had no geographical limits.

[572] If the enemy fell to the rifle of a friend, the shot was always credited to the 'master', who was expected to assume responsibility for it. The enemy accepted the kill as a bout in the feud and either made peace or continued the feud with his original antagonist. The friend who fired the fatal shot could 'hang up his rifle' and let it 'go to sleep'; he did not need its protection for he was quit of the affair. If he had been alone when he killed the man, he would have 'brought the feud home', i.e. involved himself in a separate feud with the victim's family while leaving his friend's feud unaffected.

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CHAPTER XXIV

BLOOD FEUD

III. EXPIATOR AND EXPIATION

In most cases of murder one life only was forfeit to the avenger; 554 'one for one' was the formula. This was irrespective of the social 682 standing or the character of the victim. Hence the murder of a standard-bearer (bajraktar) was neither better nor worse than the murder of the least of clansmen, and that of a priest was neither better nor worse than that of a layman.

The formula of 'one for one' was disregarded only in a few cases. 554 In Lumë, a district which prided itself on its 'spirit', 'two for one' 628* was the rule when a man killed his social superior; nothing less 682 would content his victim's injured pride. In most districts a man who suffered the more grievous forms of bereavement, losing his wife, guest or child at a murderer's hands, took double or even triple vengeance. In the Malësi e Madhe the victim's family, if 'strong' with all the pride that the epithet denotes, might kill two of the murderer's relatives if they found them together, though not otherwise. Spiro Toli of Shënjon, near Elbasan, a man as proud as any Lumjan of his 'spirit', felt so degraded when his brother was killed by a hireling at another's bidding, and that hireling a gipsy, that he killed both the instigator and the hireling. Pride, of course, was the ruling motive in every blood feud. By his successful crime the murderer had proved himself the better man, and the victim could not endure this inferiority and was bound to strike back in kind.

The person of the expiator seems to have undergone an historical 628* development. Long ago, 'blood feuds went by the finger', that is to 672 say, only the actual murderer, the man whose finger had pulled the trigger, was made to expiate his crime. Father Gjeçov aptly compares Deuteronomy xxiv, 16. In modern times the merging of the individual in his family was stressed as in the case of the avenger, and expiation might be made by any male who lived in the same house as the murderer and was in either the actual or classificatory sense his 'father', 'brother' or 'son'.

This rule was subject to several important reservations. The

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The man killed in the murderer's stead must not be too old, feeble-minded, or physically frail to carry arms, for such men were counted women, and women could not be killed in blood feuds. If the avenger killed such a man, he lost caste, was publicly branded as 'low-class' and made it certain that the feud would not be closed. It was also illegal to kill boys who were still too young to carry arms, that is to say, under fifteen or in some cases twenty. In the Malësi e Madhe, however, it was held that one must take vengeance where one could, and that in default of an adult enemy one might kill a boy. Even in that region such a crime was not committed except by a very bad man or one who was frenzied with rage at the recent murder of a relative or otherwise. For instance, in 1933 a subaltern of the Alije family, whose wife had been carried off by another Dibran, refrained for some years from avenging the insult in the way demanded by mountain law. Taunted with this restraint at a chance meeting in a café, he put aside the civilization acquired during his military education in Albania and in Italy and rushed for his revolver. As he was unable to find the man who had taunted him, he lay in wait for the latter's schoolboy son, aged fourteen, and shot him dead.

The men of Shalë said that vengeance on a boy was commoner in Pult than in their own tribe; the men of Pult, they added contemptuously, were in every way their inferiors. Much the same was said by the tribesmen of Lurë of their neighbours in Mirditë and Kthellë, who returned the compliment in kind. In Lumë a man who took such vengeance was never again given the greeting 'Peace be with thee', which is every good Mohammedan's due from his fellows. The manner of such vengeance was inevitably very brutal. Thus two men from Shlak, when working in Bardhanjol, found the small son of their enemy and tore him in two; they are said not to have troubled to kill him first. More often the enemy wrenched the cradle off a woman's back and in her presence cut the infant's throat. A particularly nasty case was reported about 1932 from Shalë, one of the most backward regions of Albania. While two families were quarrelling about a piece of land, the wife of Grimës one day voiced her opinions so volubly in Gjelosh's house that he lost his temper and pushed her out. She fell down some steps by the door and bruised her hip. She showed the bruise to the gendarmerie, who were sympathetic enough to arrest Gjelosh and to imprison him for three months. The woman, who cared more

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for the violation of her honour by the push than for the bruise, was not satisfied and instigated her son, a boy of twelve or thirteen, to vindicate her honour by killing Gjelosh's son, who was of the same age. Since the boys habitually herded their goats together, her son found an opportunity of pushing the other boy over a rock and as he lay there helpless he stoned him till he died. Then Gjelosh, still in prison, paid a man to kill the little murderer. Grimës retorted by killing Gjelosh's remaining son and dooming Gjelosh's family to extinction.

Two instances, both from Beshkash in western Mat, in which a child was killed by a woman in revenge for the death of a relative, are recorded. In the first (about 1918) the only son of Pushko Zefi of Beshkash had been killed, and the cousins, who were his natural avengers, did not seem inclined to do their duty. Maddened by their inaction, the victim's sister, who was married in Perlat, took the opportunity provided by a visit to her old home and called at the enemy's house. On being left alone for a moment with a small boy in the kitchen, she cut his throat. Another woman in Beshkash, crazed by the murder of her grown-up son by Pal Dede Hajo, went to Pal's house and cut off the head of a little boy she found asleep in his cradle.

Since women do not have rifles or blood feuds according to the Kanùn, a woman could not possibly be killed to avenge a murder. It follows that when a woman avenged a murdered relative, she could not be killed in return, and indeed this did not happen very often. The tabu on killing a woman in any circumstances was reinforced by all the forces of public opinion and superstition. Killing a woman save when taken in adultery or incorrigible pilfering was the most disgraceful thing that an Albanian could do. Only one who came from 'a low-class family' would do it, he never again had any luck with his rifle and he could not hope to have his crime pardoned, but must wash away his crime with his blood. He need pay with only one life, but if his victim was a married woman, he could hardly hope to save it, for two or even three families sought to take it. The dead woman's husband wished to avenge his wife, her father his daughter, and, in Martanesh, her maternal uncle his niece. At Shënjon, near Elbasan, the father asked the husband if he meant to kill the enemy; if from cowardice or weakness he said no, the father at once set about tracking down the enemy. Since 'rifles can't weigh'—that is, discriminate—a

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562 woman was sometimes shot accidentally in a man's stead in spite of
*628 the tabu. In that unhappy event in Kurbin a woman in the
● 672 murderer's family might be killed in return. If, too, a feud was
784 unusually bitter, as was, for instance, the Kaloshi family one in Dibër, all barriers of law and disgrace were thrown down; 'kill at all costs' was the order of the day, and in its execution women and children were as likely as men to suffer.

This tabu on killing women had several sources. In the first place, a woman was 'a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was the vehicle by which a family was carried on, and killing her might mean the loss of more than one man to her husband's family. Then she carried no arms, and therefore was classed with old men, children, and lunatics as safe from an avenger. Again, she was
[421] always regarded as an article of property, belonging in her maiden days to her father and afterwards to her husband; her father had the right to her work till she married, and her husband afterwards; in token of this work her father sold her dear, and her husband bought her dear. Articles of property could not be damaged in the course of blood feuds. There was also the feeling that it was a disgrace for a 'strong' man to kill anything so inferior as a woman.

The tabu on killing women was so strong that when one committed a murder, not she but one of the males in the family expiated the crime, if expiation were possible. Murders by women fell into two categories, the first outside and the second inside the family. In both cases the murderess might commit the crime on her own account or butt into a men's quarrel to avenge a murdered relative.

* 628 One more class of expiator remains to be considered. It some-
672 times happened that a man hired an outsider to kill his enemy. In
[754] the Breg i Matit some held that such a man was a 'witch', and
676 since witches could not have blood feuds, he must go scot-free and his hireling suffer, like any other murderer. In most places, if the instigator could not be discovered, or if time was passing without vengeance being taken on him, the hireling was killed. These practices were exceptional, and in general the feud was credited to the principal rather than to the subordinate who fired the fatal shot.

[554] Vanity as well as justice came into the question, for the instigator was usually a more important person than his instrument, and killing him brought the avenger more glory.

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If expiation took the form of blood money, no distinction was made for age; the payment for a worn-out man of eighty or an able-bodied man of thirty was the same as for a boy of five or an infant of a few weeks. As when a life was taken for a life, no distinction was made for social standing or moral character; the payment for a bajraktar was the same as for a labourer. A female's 'blood', however, cost only half a male's. In the early days when these payments were determined, money was so distributed that the rich had a great deal, while the poor, who formed the bulk of the population, were all but penniless. The fear of having to pay a large sum in blood money was therefore a considerable deterrent against murder.

Blood money was accepted only in Mirditë and north Albania. Elsewhere it was scorned. 'Blood money and bride-price do you no good', said Lumë. 'We don't sell blood for money; that is a low thing to do', said Çermenikë, a boast repeated in Dibër in even stronger terms. In Labinot and Godolesh blood could not be washed away with money on the north Albanian system. In all these districts the formula after a murder was 'either pardon or kill'.

It must be admitted that neither lived up to its pretensions, the north being more truculent and the other districts less truculent than they claimed. In the Malësi e Madhe, for instance, only weak, low-class families would accept blood money; if other families did so, they were held to have 'disgraced themselves'. Indeed, a bajraktar's household, a voivode's or a 'leading family' should seek for fifty years, if need be, to kill the murderer of one of their men. On the other hand, a Çermenikë man sometimes accepted blood money, but if he so demeaned himself, his aim was to ruin his enemy and he fixed the price accordingly. In Dibër no man would accept blood money for a male relative unless it was accompanied by the present of a rifle as a conventional sign that he was still free to kill the murderer if he could. In Lumë a subtle use was sometimes made of blood money. Normally, when a life had been paid for a life, peace was made. But when an inferior killed his superior, the latter's relative would not make peace till he had killed two of the other's men. At the peace-making the first was paired with the original victim and for the second the superior's relative paid blood money.

Given the stigma attached to blood money, it was seldom paid except in lighter cases. After an accidental murder, for instance,

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672 honour was in most places satisfied by a money payment. For
682 example, two men of Krujë were examining a revolver together,
*628 not knowing it was loaded, when it went off suddenly and killed one of them. The other was held guilty of murder, but in view of the circumstances escaped with a payment of twenty-five napoleons, the conventional six purses. If an animal killed somebody, the death was considered accidental and the payment of blood money sufficed. In Breg i Matit the grazing was good enough to carry a considerable head of cattle which wandered freely through the swamps, with consequent risk to the public from the bulls. If a man was killed by a bull which its owner knew to be dangerous, the latter had to pay blood money, failing which he was liable to be shot. If he did not know the animal's character, he was excused the payment of blood money but had to surrender the bull to its victim's relatives as a minor atonement.

Accidental though a murder might be, the murderer could not rely on saving his life with blood money. Especially while the crime was fresh, he was well advised to lie low until responsible men had weighed the case and confirmed its accidental character. After paying the money he was not absolutely safe unless he found a guarantor.

In Mirditë when blood money was accepted the murderer had also to pay fines of 100 rams and one ox to the tribe and of 500 grosh (piastres, i.e. one purse) to the family of the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë; the animals were eaten at a public banquet by the tribe. These fines were imposed on the murderer for disturbing the public peace. In cases of accidental murder, however, no fine was payable; the formula ran: 'The rifle which kills accidentally entails blood (really blood money) for blood, but not a fine or pursuit.'

627 The payment of blood money also solved the difficulties in
682 certain cases of murder within the family where atonement had to
*628 be made, yet could not properly be exacted in the form of a life for a life. For instance, if two brothers in Shkrel had separate households, when one killed the other's wife for any but a question of honour, the victim's husband could not kill his own brother for
[583] her sake but had the right to exact blood money; after all, he had been unjustly deprived of his wife's services and must buy another wife. If a married woman in Shkrel were killed, again unreservedly, by some member of her husband's family, her son, if fifteen years

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of age or more, could not kill the murderer, his own relative, but exacted blood money. In Shalë another principle came into play. If the dead man's relatives did not succeed in killing the murderer within seven years, they accepted blood money. In places like Mirditë where a fine was exacted when blood money was accepted for a murder, no fine was payable in cases of wounding.

In Mirditë 'wounding went by the part'. If the wound was inflicted at the waist or upwards, even if the bullet only grazed the man's head, the aggressor had to pay three purses; if the wound was below the waist, he need pay no more than 750 grosh, i.e. 1½ purses. In Lumë if a wound left a man lame for life, the wound-money was assessed at seventeen napoleons, roughly four purses, or two-thirds of a man's value; if not, five napoleons were enough. In Krasniqë if a man was so wounded in the private parts that he could no longer be a husband, his assailant had to pay him twelve purses, double the price of a dead man. The doctor's expenses had always to be paid by the aggressor; in Martanesh these were customarily reckoned at 200–300 grosh (piastres), and if they were paid, wound money was sometimes not asked. In Mirditë the doctor's expenses were not fixed by custom but were due only when the victim's relatives regulated the matter, not when the headmen did so. In Çermenikë if a man wounded his enemy, that is to say, the man with whom he had a feud, he did not pay the doctor's expenses; if he accidentally wounded a friend or a neutral, he did. This rule was maintained by King Zog's government. Once an American missionary of Korchë had taken a class of boys for a walk in the country when one fell down a precipice and was gravely injured; the government refused to allow the American to leave Albania until the boy, months afterwards, was restored to health and the American had paid the doctor's bills.

As with a death, accident was no excuse. For example, in 1932 two men from Zdrâjshë in Çermenikë were cutting down a tree by the wayside, when a man from Neshtë, on his way to fetch maize, rode by. The woodcutters called to him to stop, but he paid no heed. As he passed, the tree fell, pinning him to the ground. He was carried home, where he lingered for three months and then died. After his death the woodcutters had to pay his family three purses for wounding him. Wounds inflicted by animals, though considered accidental, had also to be paid for. Those inflicted by dogs fell into a special category. In Shkrel the elders were summoned to

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assess the doctor's expenses, which were then paid by the animal's owner.

A murderer might also expiate his crime, voluntarily or involuntarily, by exile. If voluntarily, he ran away fearing for his life, but only a weak man who was personally a coward, or had few adult males in his family to keep the enemy at bay, consented to show the white feather.

Voluntary exile might be temporary or permanent. In the former case the murderer did not give up the idea of eventually making his peace with the victim's family and securing their permission to return home.

A normal exile's hope of ending his feud lay in several directions. The victim's family might become so weakened by other blood feuds that they knew themselves to be no longer formidable and sank their pride enough to accept blood money in full payment. They might even become poor enough to be tempted by the offer of money. Or they might consider an absence of ten or twenty years' duration as part atonement and for the rest content themselves with blood money. They might even, on the intervention of friends, forgive the crime outright. In Çermenikë, in the days when 'murder went by the finger' and a murderer's relatives could not make vicarious atonement for his crime, he commonly retired to another district for four or five years, after which the victim's family probably gave a conditional assent to his return. If he risked returning, he kept discreetly out of the way while mutual friends interceded for him. Occasionally they secured his pardon; more often he had to withdraw for a further period of four or five years. During this second absence the enemy's heart almost certainly softened enough to make his next return definite.

Voluntary exile might become permanent for several reasons. It might, for instance, be so protracted that the murderer grew used to his new surroundings and, ceasing to hanker for his old home, settled down where he was. Hysen Agë Jella, of Tirana, having killed Ramiz Bey Toptan, also of Tirana, fled to Bulqizë and took refuge with the noted brigand, Sul Hupi. Under the latter's protection and by reason of his own wealth and prestige, he acquired such a position in Bulqizë that when eventually the feud with the Toptans was closed, he did not return to Tirana, preferring to remain in Bulqizë.

Again, an exiled murderer sometimes prospered so much that

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subsisting at the time of his expulsion were voided by that fact. 682* When his banishment was temporary, his marriage engagements 628* remained binding. [584]

Even in cases of temporary banishment the murderer's separation from his tribe was thoroughgoing. For the specified period 'he could not light a cigarette in a single house of the tribe', as the men of Lurë put it. Nor could he, or his, return to borrow honey, that most important commodity where sugar is scarce. In Mirditë a tribesman who admitted him to his house for any of the above purposes was publicly 'burned, roasted and expelled' for breaking tribal discipline.

The banished murderer's obligation to take root whether he 682 wished it or not in some alien spot is another of the factors which produced the many colonies of diverse origin in Albanian lands. The exiles, home-sick like exiles the world over, often gave the name of their ancestral village to their new settlement.

If the murderer did not choose to go into exile of his own accord, [697] he was condemned by the avenger to virtual imprisonment in his house. Sometimes he shut himself up voluntarily; more often, especially in north Albania, he was peremptorily ordered to do so by the avenger. For the period of his 'imprisonment' fear that the avenger was lurking near prevented him from stirring outside during the daytime and restricted his movements to the night hours. If he left home, he had by dawn to find shelter under a friend's roof and he could not continue his travels until the next night fell. These disabilities were his so long as he eluded the avenger, and he might do so for years, as in the case of a native of Sheshaj who had been shut up by his enemy for twenty-five years. At Belsh in Dumre, as a result of this confinement, two men who had been shut up for twelve years were 'waxen and yellow as the dead'. They longed to walk in the sunlight and were bored indoors where they could do nothing to pass the time except strip maize [286] and knit (most curiously, knitting is one of the staple occupations [462] of the men, but not the women, in Dumre). But they could not help themselves, since it was certain death to step outside during the daytime.

Just as the murderer's house could not be burned down in case 172 women and children perished in the conflagration, so his 'imprison- 682 ment' could not be allowed to stop the work of the family in case 628* women and children died of starvation. There were several

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provisions for carrying on the work. The first was the law that women, children, servants and domestic animals must not be shut up. So in comparative security the able-bodied women, on whom fell the heaviest burden, tilled the fields, went to market, ground corn at the mill and fetched water from the spring and firewood from the forest. The boys and aged women herded the cows, sheep and goats. The servants took part in any or all of these tasks, but few households could afford the luxury of servants.

A social phenomenon alleged to be a by-product of this immunity of women and children is interesting. To-day a good proportion of the agricultural work of Albania is done by women, while the men idle; a generation ago the bulk of it was so done. The men of to-day excuse their idling by saying it is a habit formed when they or their fathers were shut up by blood feuds; whatever their natural inclination to work, they were then driven perforce into allowing their women to toil alone to feed the family. This plea may or may not be valid; as the frequency of blood feuds decreased, the men's industry increased.

In bad feuds the immunity of women and children was sometimes denied. Even to-day the women of Murat Kaloshi's household cannot stir outside his compound except under heavy escort; failing that, they would be shot without pity by his enemies. The numerous children in his household are growing up illiterate four minutes' walk from an excellent school; if they attended this school, a battalion of gendarmes or men-at-arms could hardly ensure their safety. Another bad case is to be found at Milot, where even the boys in the cradle in Gjin Bardhoku's house have to share the men's imprisonment. In Çermenikë the immunity of women was never absolute; there was always a danger that the avenger might lose his temper and kill them. Within living memory two women in Fenars, one of the more accessible villages in Çermenikë, once tried to plough and were discovered by the avenger. On their declining to desist as he bade them, he fired at them with unexpectedly fortunate results. He wounded both but only severely enough to make them fall to the ground while letting go the oxen. They made a speedy recovery and, each wound counting as half a 'blood', the avenger was considered to have taken vengeance. The two parties were then 'measure for measure' and made peace.

Again with a view to feeding the murderer's family an avenger

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sometimes yielded to a friend's pleadings and allowed one or more 628*
men in the 'imprisoned' man's household to come out and work. 697
The same friend went security to the murderer for the lives of the
man or men released. In Shpat, if one of the men imprisoned [672]
died, the avenger sent word that one of those hitherto free must shut himself up in his stead. It is not known whether this was the rule in other districts or not.

In earlier times, according to vague traditions still current in Çermenikë and Martanesh, only the actual murderer was shut up and the other men in his household were free to work and to travel. This tradition is supported by the history of the Balli family in the village of Fenars. Seven generations ago, i.e. about 175 years ago, Sali Balli of Martanesh killed a friend and was shut up by the avenger, while his four brothers went free. He grew so bored in his 'prison' that he ran away from Martanesh and settled in Fënars, where he founded a family now headed by Isuf Balli. The descendants of his brothers still live in the old home in Martanesh.

When an avenger felt too bitter to release indefinitely one or [462]
more men in the imprisoned murderer's household, he was sometimes induced to make a minor concession. When all the men were shut up, women were able to hoe, to carry manure, to sow seed, to reap wheat and to harvest maize successfully, but they could not plough—so it was believed in north, though not in south, Albania, where the wives of many emigrants must to this day plough if they and their children are to eat. There was therefore danger in north Albania that if all the men were shut up during the ploughing season, the family would, in spite of the women's efforts, starve. This led to a ticket-of-leave system, called *besë*, literally 'pledged word', 'truce', or *kuvend*, 'agreement'. At the instance of a mutual friend the avenger granted the murderer leave for one or more men in his household to come out and work his land for a stipulated period, varying from three to twelve months. As so often, the forces [626]
of public opinion reinforced the friend's urgings; indeed, it was said of an avenger who refused his enemy leave to plough that he 'was not to be entered in the register', i.e. could not be classed as a man, and of one who did not that he was both brave and honourable.

In Dukagjin the kanùn of murder was so stern that neither the 682
murderer nor his womenfolk were allowed to work his land if the 628*
avenger was strong. Indeed, the avenger often worked it and carried home the produce, leaving the murderer's household

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[681] bajraktar, are perpetual like the law about fire[1] and other laws. Whoever breaks this law must pay an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, otherwise he will have his house burned.

The Youth of Shalë
April 30th, 1905

XI. Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin on August 5–7, 1906.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanun*, p. 129.)

[625] 1. Whoever joins the government police shall have his house burned and be excluded from funeral gatherings and hospitality.

[798] 2. A man who goes to complain to the Turkish government about a Christian shall pay a fine of 1000 grosh.

[695] 3. A man who steals from his neighbour or breaks into his house must, if he denies doing so, give his oath with 12 compurgators. If he proves to be a robber, he must pay a fine of 1000 grosh, and return to the owner of the house two for every article stolen.

4. If an ox is stolen and the accused denies the theft he must give his oath with 6 compurgators. If on enquiry he proves a thief, he must pay a fine of 500 grosh and return to the animal's owner two oxen for the one stolen.

This judgement holds also for a horse and a mule.

If a cow is stolen and the theft denied, the accused's oath needs three compurgators. If he proves a thief the penalty is returning two for one to the owner and a fine of 250 grosh. So too for a donkey.

If a bell-goat or a bell-wether is stolen two for one to the owner and a fine of three rams. If the theft is denied the oath must be given by the accused and all the males in his house.

For every small animal two for one to the owner and a fine of two rams. If the theft is denied the oath is with all the males in the accused's house.

5. Setting fire to a house[2] means a fine of 2500 grosh; to an animals' fold, a haystack and a hedge, a fine of 1500 grosh and returning two for one to the owner.

[623] 6. A man who does not come to a General Assembly when summoned by the village elder will be fined one ram.

[672] 7. If word is sent to the elders to come to a General Assembly anyone who does not come must pay a fine of five rams. If he has an excuse this will be weighed by the other elders.

[1] The Italian version already alluded to (Gjeçov's *Codice di Lek Dukagjini ossia Diritto Consuetudinario delle Montagne d'Albania*, Tradotto dal P. Paolo Dodaj, Roma, 1941) here reads *il mugnaio*, 'the miller' (cf. supra p. 263).

[2] The Italian version reads *La violazione* (*per furto*) *del focolare domestico*, and taking fire from a neighbour's hearth without permission is frequently taboo among primitive peoples.

[Covenant of Mat, 1942]

any political intriguers against the present régime who may be found 681
within its territory.

2. If, after the conclusion of this covenant, one man kills another [672]
with or without just cause, his family shall be punished by the people of Mat with banishment from Mat for three years and his property, both movable and immovable, shall be confiscated and become state property.

3. The same penalties shall be imposed on any man who runs off with a betrothed girl or a married woman.

4. When a domestic animal has been stolen and the thief cannot be found, the village to which the tracks lead must either pay the animal's value or prove that the tracks lead away from its land.

5. Whoever aids criminals and gives them food and shelter renders himself liable to the penalties detailed in clause 2.[1]

6. Whoever carries arms of any description without declaring them renders himself liable to the death penalty.

7. Whoever spreads false rumours about the policy of the State, public security or public finances to the detriment of the present régime and its policy shall be punished as laid down by the Lieutenant-General's decree No. 185.[2]

8. The people's representatives are to regulate and to examine all [692]
complaints which may be made concerning land, irrigation, water, roads and forests and if a commission succeeds in settling a dispute between two persons, the decision of the commission shall be inviolable. If it is contested, the contestants shall take the matter to the proper court.

9. Land in Mat is generally held without regular title-deeds and [423]
ownership is proved by nothing but a written receipt (*senet*) and a meal according to the local custom. It appears that lately the ownership of properties bought 5, 10, 20 or 30 years ago with a receipt and a meal, as witnesses also confirm, is often disregarded or if regarded, is a constant source of disorders and murder. To put an end to such quarrelling the local Commission must not meddle with exchange of land so made until the Government has registered all the land according to the laws concerned.

10. The chairman of the Commission shall be the local sub-prefect, [624]
and its members the political secretary of the sub-prefecture, the gendarmerie commander, the Fascist Albanian militia's commander, and the representatives of the people who assist in drawing up the present covenant.

11. It is learned that Communists or, as some call them, Bolshevists, 681
have made their appearance among us. We must get rid of these persons 665

[1] (Author's note. At this time the term 'criminals' included not only transgressors of the law but also patriots resisting Italian rule.)

[2] (Author's note. No copy of this decree can be found.)

POLITICS AND FEUDING

592 THE smallest political institution in tribal Gheg society is the household, the extended family living together, which is also an economic institution. The head of the household is the oldest male of the parental or grandparental generation, the patriarch. So strong is the feeling for age-grading in Albania that men will obey their fathers as faithfully at 40 and 50 as in their teens. Since all sons do not necessarily live with their fathers, but some may occupy separate houses, the institution of the household may thus be expanded spatially, although the relationships are maintained.

●[672] The household is a unit of warfare; when a man commits murder within his own tribe, his [628] household suffers together. In seeking vengeance, a man can wipe out the blot on his family honor by killing the brother of his enemy; responsibility is held to be collective. If one member of a household kills another, which happens but very rarely,[1] nothing is done. The loss is that of the family.

621 The next unit is the village. It may be a compact group of houses, surrounded by its farmland and pasture; or it may consist of isolated homesteads, each in its own land. The latter is the more usual form. In either case, it has some central building, a mosque or a church; or it may merely have a flat place, usually shaded by an oak, where the elders 623 meet. Each village is supposed to have 12 elders, whose office is partly hereditary, partly elective. Various families habitually furnish one man each to fill this position. The word for elder is *plak*, which Miss Durham traces back to the time of Strabo.[2] One of these elders is the *kryeplak*, literally, head elder. In one village in Has, when I measured the *kryeplak*, he told the recorder that he was "mayor" of the village. He calls the elders together when events arise that need their

[1] Miss Durham gives one instance from Dukagin (Durham, 1928, pp. 69-70).
[2] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

521 wouldn't be able to get out of those sacks, Ha! Ha! Ha!"

628 682 619 What happens when a man kills another of the same tribe can best be learned from the following quotation from Miss Durham.[7]

Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. [Miss Durham is using "tribe" in the restricted sense, as before.] Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and order his house to be burnt. Among the Dukagini the council has power also to destroy his crops, cut down his fruit trees, slaughter his beasts, and condemn the land to lie unworked for a term of years. An incredible amount of food-stuff is thus wasted. In this group not only the man who has taken blood, but all the males of his "house," are liable for blood, so they, too, have to fly. The "house" is the home maybe of a whole family community—forty people. But the law is carried out to the last letter. Such desolated spots have I seen. But "It is the Canon, so must be obeyed," was the answer to any remonstrance I made. The women and children may scatter and find shelter in other houses if they can: they usually do. A man can save his house if he can return to it and defend it three days successfully, so that the men sent by the council cannot set fire to it. I saw "a very brave man" in Berisha who had three times saved his house thus. Or a man can save his house by inviting the head of another mehala [household] to act as house lord and defend it with his own men. This might cause severe fighting. The council, to prevent this, then as a rule agrees to burn the house only and spare the property. The amount of property to be destroyed was always decided by the council. . . . In addition to the burning of the house, in all tribes a fine has to be paid. . . . in sheep or cattle. . . . to the Turkish Government. In the case of Maltsia e Madhe this was paid . . . in Scutari. . . . punctually . . . . The Turkish Government had a certain hold on all the nearer tribes, for it could hold as hostage any member of a tribe which owed blood-gelt and came to market at Scutari. The outlying tribes of Dukagini by no means always either notified or paid for their murders.

[672]

Feuds being very weakening to a tribe, the headmen of the tribe or friends of the family would attempt to stop the feud. Blood-feuds of the Dukagini

[7] Durham, 1928, pp. 66-68.

[8] Miss Durham translated *bairaktar as* "head of the tribe." This explains her confusion between tribes and *bairaks* noted earlier.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders. The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for

[1] See Chapter V. [2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

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357 worked, and must forfeit the rest. To us the pound or two involved seems too insignificant to matter to either, but to most Albanians it was an important sum. In the event, for example, of the master's moving from one district to another, he might not dismiss the servant unless he gave him a full year's wages. If, however, he asked the servant to go with him and the servant refused, he must let him go but need give him no more than what he had so far earned. In the same spirit the law forbade the master to dismiss the servant for a frivolous reason, such as not liking him, and forbade the servant to run away for a frivolous reason, such as boredom. If the master disregarded this law, he must pay the servant a full year's wages, and if the servant disregarded it, he must be content with the wages he had earned to date. By exception, in Krasniqë, in north-east Albania, the master sought out his runaway servant, and after making him find a man to guarantee his future behaviour, brought him back to stay out his time.

[622] If the master had good grounds for dismissing the servant, he must warn and forgive him twice. If the warnings went unheeded, the master said the elders must now judge between them. The servant then went and told his story to the chief elder—the bajraktar in tribal areas—who next asked the master what he had to say. Thus in possession of both sides of the story, the elders sat on the case and pronounced judgement; this turned generally on what money was to be paid to the servant.

[466] If the servant were lazy, an all too common occurrence, or otherwise unsatisfactory, without being criminal, the Unwritten Law allowed his master to reprimand him reasonably and bade the servant swallow the reprimand. But the master must not use foul language or hit the man. For his motive might be to force him to leave before his time, apparently of his own volition, and so deprive himself of his full wages. If the master transgressed this law, the servant had leave to appeal to the elders, not only for payment of his wages in full, but also for compensation for the injury of being hit or violently abused.

357 The more serious crimes with which a servant might be charged [674] included theft, murder and seducing a girl or young wife in his 685 master's family. In the case of theft the issue depended largely on whether the servant stole from his master, in his master's village, or in another community. If he were caught red-handed robbing his master or subsequently admitted doing so, he was immediately

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

721 Like tribes, villages sometimes met together to try to agree
623 about matters of common interest. Villages often quarrelled over
685 irrigation water, and a forest or pasture boundary. They quarrelled even oftener perhaps because the tracks of stolen animals led from one to the other; cattle-lifting and sheep-stealing were common. The most satisfactory way of dealing with troubles was for the two villages to meet in full assembly. After thrashing the matter out in public they generally reached a settlement, failing which they could only go to war. In the early years of the twentieth century cattle thieving was listed as one of the thirteen most important matters brought before General Assemblies in Martanesh. In 1942 it was still so active a disturber of the public peace that the pro-Fascist subprefect of Mat legislated for it among the questions which were the real occasion of his calling together the 5000 families of Mat.[1]

671 Law-giving was also an important function of General Assem-
619 blies. This activity came to an end with centralization and western
634 legal codes, and its nature can be studied in the documents quoted by Father Gjeçov and reproduced as an appendix to this book, pp. 261 sqq. These documents show the variety of matters with which the law-giving of the Assembly was concerned. For instance, Document I, coming from Malësi e Madhe and dated 1864, is wholly devoted to such subjects as betrothal, bride-price, divorce and abduction or elopement. Document XI, which comes from Kurbin in 1906, is much occupied with stealing and with tightening up the social fabric by making attendance at General Assemblies imperative and the authority of elders supreme. With the proclamation of Albanian independence of Turkey only six years ahead, it contains an interesting political note; no Kurbin man is to become a gendarme in Turkish service or to give one food and shelter; and no Moslem of Kurbin is to curry favour with the Turkish authorities by denouncing a Christian fellow-tribesman. Document XIII, which comes from Mat in 1942, is also dated by its politics enjoining support of the Italian régime in Albania.

671 In the midst of the variety of subjects in the documents, crimes
674 against life and property are continually appearing as the fundamental threats to the security of the community. A study of the documents shows them as reaffirming and modifying old and recognized laws, rather than formulating new ones. Assemblies

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, § 4, p. 273.

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were called together to deal with specific problems and their findings emphasize aspects of the law relevant to these problems. The agenda of the assemblies therefore, reveal a good deal of social history. For example, in Document III from Kastrat dated 1891, six of its eleven provisions deal with the use of mills, fountains and springs. Document V, also from Kastrat dated 1892, restates what must have been established law about the constant threat of murder and theft, but it also includes provision for dealing with the owner of a dog entering a field or vineyard without a wooden collar, and the person who washes clothes at the place where the district gets its water.

In 1894 again Kastrat decrees penalties against the man who takes a woman to live with him without marrying her; against anyone tearing his face in mourning for the dead; against persons obstructing chiefs and fine-collectors in carrying out the tribal law.

The documents from Nikaj and Shalë also throw light on the social order to which they refer and its special problems at the time of their formulation. Document VII, dated 1894, is concerned mainly with safety from attack on the roads and the 'pledge of safety' for certain classes of people—mowers and reapers, shooters, women, etc. It was found necessary to reiterate many of the same provisions with the penalties attached to their breach in the following year in Document VIII.

A letter from Shalë to Theth, dated 1907 (XII), asks that the latter shall subscribe to a number of rules about murder and the position of the murderer laid down by Shalë, and after discussing this important subject, states that the rules are under the authority of the Youth.

Document XI (1906) is particularly interesting from an historical point of view, as it combines concern with the usual domestic issue of stealing with anxiety about the machinery of government, and reflects the opposition of the tribe to the Turkish sovereign. There are clauses about non-attendance at General Assemblies and about the use of elders to settle disputes. Heavy penalties are laid down for men joining the Turkish government police, complaining to the government about a Christian, or for anyone giving food or entry to his house to any policeman whether Christian or Mohammedan.

The most recent of the documents (XIII) is the so-called Covenant of Mat which appeared in the Albanian newspaper

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

682 accusation of taking government money to kill the murderer after
641 he had taken blood money from the family.

[167] The same fear of government action was at work in Kosovë, a province largely populated by Albanians but assigned to Yugoslavia after the Turkish empire broke up in 1912. A steady drift towards Albania proper went on among the Kosovars. Some were impelled by land hunger to go and take up the free land which the Albanian government had offered them; others came to evade Yugoslav justice. By contrast with the Albanian government, which did not yet punish severely homicide that was justifiable by tribal law, the Yugoslav government hanged most murderers. To avoid this ignominy, a Kosovar murderer preferred to emigrate, lock, stock and barrel, to Albania. Most interestingly, this emigration was the ebb of the tide that within recent centuries peopled Kosovë with Albanians.

[621] Sometimes a murderer did not run away of his own accord, but was forcibly expelled by the community. Although when murder was not punished by government, only the weak ran away voluntarily, the community expelled a strong man as readily as a weak
[619] one. In tribal districts like Mirditë which contained several villages, the murderer's village could not expel him without the other villages' consent and help. If the village resisted the expulsion, the tribe as a whole had the right to 'proclaim' the village or to call in other tribes to bring it to reason. In small tribes like Nikaj the murderer's kinsmen could expel him independently of the tribe. In non-tribal districts like Shpat, where each village was a self-contained unit, it needed to ask no one before expelling a murderer.

682 A man sentenced to communal expulsion was always one whose
*628 crime struck at the roots of society as understood in the mountains.
674 Perhaps he had violated the acknowledged sanctity of the 'pledged word' by killing his enemy during a public truce or even after making peace with him. Perhaps he had infringed the sacred laws of hospitality by killing his host or guest. Perhaps he threatened family solidarity by killing a cousin to get his land. Perhaps he had killed a man to steal his rifle and thereby as good as robbed him of his manhood, for a man without a rifle is as nothing, no better than a woman. Perhaps he had committed sacrilege by killing someone, possibly the priest himself, inside the territory of church or mosque, or by breaking into the church to steal.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

628 [577] from his own fireside, and he would rather face the gallows than the contempt of his family.

Even apart from the vendetta, the Albanian of this type is sometimes rather too ready to use his gun. Shortly before I was in Scutari a man was killed in a quarrel. It seems that the local schoolmaster had occasion to chastise one of the scholars. The boy's father was angry about it and called on the schoolmaster to remonstrate, taking a friend with him. In the ensuing dispute all lost their tempers and the friend unwisely "butted in." Whereupon the schoolmaster drew a revolver and shot the man dead.

674 681 The act which makes the carrying of firearms illegal is very necessary, and it is a pity that it cannot be enforced in this part of Albania as it has been elsewhere. But the inaccessibility of the mountain villages, and the lawlessness which makes the carrying of a weapon almost obligatory for self-protection, are at the moment insuperable difficulties. All that the gendarmes have been able to do so far is to insist that rifles shall be deposited at the police post outside Scutari before their owners enter the town. This explains what at first puzzled me—why the men in the streets of Scutari and in the Scutari bazaar were decorated with belts full of cartridges and yet no guns or rifles were in evidence.

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562 *628 672 784 woman was sometimes shot accidentally in a man's stead in spite of the tabu. In that unhappy event in Kurbin a woman in the murderer's family might be killed in return. If, too, a feud was unusually bitter, as was, for instance, the Kaloshi family one in Dibër, all barriers of law and disgrace were thrown down; 'kill at all costs' was the order of the day, and in its execution women and children were as likely as men to suffer.

This tabu on killing women had several sources. In the first place, a woman was 'a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was the vehicle by which a family was carried on, and killing her might mean the loss of more than one man to her husband's family. Then she carried no arms, and therefore was classed with old men, children, and lunatics as safe from an avenger. Again, she was [421] always regarded as an article of property, belonging in her maiden days to her father and afterwards to her husband; her father had the right to her work till she married, and her husband afterwards; in token of this work her father sold her dear, and her husband bought her dear. Articles of property could not be damaged in the course of blood feuds. There was also the feeling that it was a disgrace for a 'strong' man to kill anything so inferior as a woman.

The tabu on killing women was so strong that when one committed a murder, not she but one of the males in the family expiated the crime, if expiation were possible. Murders by women fell into two categories, the first outside and the second inside the family. In both cases the murderess might commit the crime on her own account or butt into a men's quarrel to avenge a murdered relative.

*628 672 One more class of expiator remains to be considered. It sometimes happened that a man hired an outsider to kill his enemy. In [754] the Breg i Matit some held that such a man was a 'witch', and 676 since witches could not have blood feuds, he must go scot-free and his hireling suffer, like any other murderer. In most places, if the instigator could not be discovered, or if time was passing without vengeance being taken on him, the hireling was killed. These practices were exceptional, and in general the feud was credited to the principal rather than to the subordinate who fired the fatal shot.

[554] Vanity as well as justice came into the question, for the instigator was usually a more important person than his instrument, and killing him brought the avenger more glory.

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173 days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice,
643 and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.

[688] Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

671 Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law
● 681 of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth
174 century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

682 Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who
[574] has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He
[609] at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

should strike the next man and the blow would entail a fight and 671
blood. Women should walk the length of a distaff apart—they usually spin as they go—lest a blow given should draw their men into a fight.

Neither man nor woman must pass between two persons who have 671
just been speaking together, for (? in some occult manner) this will 576
cause them to quarrel. So strong is this belief that once in a small hut a woman gripped me by the shoulder, dragged me out, and squeezed herself between me and the wall in order to avoid passing between me and Marko, where there was plenty of room. Lek, I was told, had so ordained. I like to think that he did his best by means of house-burning and fines to diminish the very ancient custom of "blood," and that he did not deserve the Pope's excommunication.

As we have seen, house-burning and fine are the only punishments 681
under the Canon. Nevertheless, by decree of the council of the whole 627
tribe the death penalty can be inflicted. In February 1912 an amazing case of wholesale justice was reported to me which had recently taken place in Mirdita. A certain family of the Fandi bairak had long been notorious for evil-doing—robbing, shooting, and being a pest to the tribe. A gathering of all the heads condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lay in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off; and on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was but five and another but twelve years old. I protested against thus killing children who must be innocent and was told: [827]
"It was bad blood and must not be further propagated." Such was the belief in heredity that it was proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant, lest she should bear a male and so renew the evil. Three shots which missed were fired at her; she rushed to a man and [671]
called on him to protect her. He took her under his besa and she was spared.

A case of private "justice," though it took place in South Albania 681
at Postenani, a small isolated village, and so is not connected with the 183
Canon of Lek, is so singular that it should be recorded. I stayed some days at the village and, when leaving, a crowd gathered to see me start. When we were on the way my guide asked if I had noticed a woman who had stood near the door; I had not. He said it was a pity, as she was a very brave woman and had saved her husband. They owned a house and some land; a child was born to them, and all went well till her husband's brother arrived. He was a bad man, and demoralized the village, not only by starting gambling with card games, but by [525]
drinking and teaching very vicious practices to the youth. The woman with dismay saw her husband taken with the gambling craze, playing away his goods, and nearing ruin. Then the child was ill. She prayed her husband to send for a doctor; but the nearest was a whole day's

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

681 ride distant, and he replied it would cost too much. The child died.
183 The woman then became desperate, and to save her husband she killed her brother-in-law. I asked, "Did she shoot him herself?" "No, she
627 paid a Turk to waylay him on his way to market." The whole village was glad to be rid of him. Everyone knew she had done it. "But what did her husband say?" "At first he was angry, but he soon saw it was for the best. Now they live happily, but God has not given them another child." "Could he not have been handed over to justice instead of being shot?" "No, he was rich and would have bribed the Turkish authorities, and have been let off and been worse than ever." "Did not the Turkish authorities interfere about the murder?" "No, why should they? It was within the family, and all agreed it was right. She saved not only her husband but the whole village, and was a very brave woman."

3. Montenegro

The first written Code of Laws was drawn up for Montenegro by Vladika Petar I in 1796.

An examination of this Code shows that it is meant to deal with a state of affairs resembling that with which the Canon of Lek Dukagin deals, and is a step in advance. All early accounts of Montenegro show the tribes ceaselessly "in blood" with each other, and the rules and customs identical in most respects with those of the Dukagini. Nor is this surprising, for our examination of the Montenegrin tribes has shown that many are of Vlah and Albanian origin, and that the Montenegrin is not so much a Serb as a Serbized descendant of the older inhabitants.

Vladan Georgevitch, in *Europa i Crnagora* (Belgrade, 1912), gives many documents which show this resemblance of the customs of Montenegro to those of the Dukagini. From that of the Russian, Putchkov, dated March 21, 1760, we learn that the then Vladika Vasili was afraid of his own people and kept near Putchkov as a protection. This shows that in Montenegro, as in Albania, a man could not be shot if with a guest. "The people," he said, "are wild, and without great trouble no order could be made among them, for they recognized no right and knew no law. If any does harm to another, blood is at once taken, and the murderer flies to another district, where he is safe from punishment. Thus a Popovitch of Tzrmnitza Nahia killed a neighbour and, leaving wife and children, fled to Cetinje. They 'destroyed' his house—that is, they pulled off the thatch and pulled out a few stones." He reports that he saw many such houses. "If the murderer is of a powerful house he stays at home, and 'the house' wages war with that of the murdered man till peace is arranged by the headmen or the

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587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

776 beliefs and rites one can hardly doubt. As is well known, the gods of the heathens became the devils of the Christians.

776 Marko was greatly afraid of Beelzebub and mentioned him with
777 a curse and a whisper. Belial and Beelzebub were supposed to be the most active. The tribesman followed the advice of his priest and put
[304] a cross on his house and tattooed himself with a cross, but he further protected himself with more ancient signs; he planted the skulls of horses, goats, and oxen on poles round his house and fields. Some houses had rows of skulls. I wondered whether, in old days, human ones had figured there, too.

The horse-skull was most valued not only in Albania, but also in Bosnia and in Montenegro. Where civilization has penetrated the horse-skull was often replaced by a twisted petroleum tin whitewashed. Short-sighted devils, seeing it from a distance, could easily have mistaken it for the real thing and fought shy.

[793] Priests are but human. I found one Catholic priest had a whole array of horse- and other skulls round his beehives. He laughed it off when I remarked on it, and added that bees were very liable to disease. He evidently wanted to be on the safe side.

754 I often found in the mountains a distinct fear of being drawn, or "written," as they always called it. At Vraka I asked if I might draw the interior of a house. The woman was doubtful. She at last said I was not to "write" her or her children, and, to make sure, she drove the children out of the house. In Luria I was told not to "write" anyone or any house. At Lohja was a wonderful old man, who was reputed to be 110, who boasted that he had sinned but twice in his life—and then it was not his fault. Men in plenty he had killed, but never dishonourably or for money. The company suggested that I should "write" him. Much flattered, the old man sat still for a while, but when everyone shouted that the sketch was exactly like him, he became greatly alarmed, and earnestly begged me never to destroy what I had "written" about him, for at the moment it was torn he would drop down dead. I preserved the sketch, and five years later found him still going strong.

754 At Seltzi, in the Klimenti tribe, I was told the best way to detect
787 a shtriga is to keep the bones of the pig you ate on the last day of Carnival. All through the Balkans the pig, abhorred by Turk and Jew, is a sign of Christianity. On Easter Day you make a cross with the pig's bones and tie it on the church door when the church is full of people. If any shtrigas are in the church they cannot get out except carried on the shoulders of the man who made the cross. They run
754 wildly round and round and can be caught.

681 There was, so far as I could learn, no traditional punishment for a

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witch in Albania; and though there can be no doubt that one has now 754
and then been done away with, the general idea was that it was best [68]
not to interfere lest worse should follow.

Marko strongly believed this. A woman a few doors away from us was a shtriga, and he ascribed much ill-luck to her. He avoided her as much as possible, and did not speak with her. When the autumn began to turn cold, numbers of mice that had summered in the cornfields came into the house. My room swarmed, and they ran over me at [136]
night. I told Marko to buy a trap. He seldom forgot things, and when I asked for the trap in the evening, I was surprised that he had not bought one. Again next day I asked him not to forget the mouse-trap; and again there was no trap. Then Teresi, his wife, came to me and said: "Please do not ask Marko to buy a trap; he does not want to." "But why?" She hesitated. "Marko thinks the mice are sent." "Sent?" I asked. "But who can send them?" "Marko thinks that woman—the shtriga—has sent them." I was delighted and asked: "How do people send mice?" "Marko says that with Beelzebub all things are possible." "But why should we not kill the mice?" "Because she would be angry and send something worse. Perhaps rats! Who knows?"

It was clearly impossible to trap the mice. I considered the situation, and next day asked if we might have a cat. Marko thought deeply. He then said it was natural for a cat to kill mice; we, in fact, should [136
be powerless to prevent it, and should not be responsible. The cat was 825]
obtained—a splendid mouser; and so we defeated the shtriga. It is clearly better not to incense them.

Men also are magicians, but I think not so often. A magician appeared at Nikaj when I was there. He was believed by the priest, whose guest I was, and by Marko to be so diabolical that the former ordered him to leave the parish, and neither of them would let me go out without a strong bodyguard; so I never got near him. He was famed for being able to raise many devils by dancing and wagging one leg behind him, and was believed to have come to Nikaj because most of the women were shtrigas.

A magician in Albanian is "maghistar" or "menghistar." Magic is "maghi" or "menghi"; "menghi" is also a remedy. In early days medicine and magic were one and the same. The words appear to be derived from, or connected with, "magus." The wise man of old used spells just as did the "wise woman" of the English village.

A strange tale which all believed was told of such a man who had worked much harm with magic in the Djakova district. One of the local beys, therefore, arrested him and locked him up. When he had been some time imprisoned the bey was one day entertaining guests on a feast day. The party was dull, and someone asked where that magician

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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If, however, she returns home and marries into another 587
family, her father pays to her first husband's heirs, or to her son if she have one, half the dowry promised at her second betrothal. With the exception of her deceased husband's brother, a woman may not re-marry in the same village without the consent of his relatives. In the mountains of Pulati this is never given, and a vendetta follows if it is dispensed [628] with. If the betrothed man die, his brother has also the right to marry the betrothed maiden, but must pay to her parents, in addition to the dowry already promised, a hundred and fifty piastres.

An Albanian has the right to beat his wife if she 593
misconducts herself, but this right is little exercised except among the Liaps, who are the rudest and most brutal of all Albanians. He must, however, be careful not to draw blood even in the most trifling degree, for, if a wife receives a mere scratch in the course of a castigation, she complains to her parents, who cite the husband before the authorities. The penalty consists chiefly in the payment of a considerable fine, [681] which becomes the private property of the woman abused.

Divorce is not uncommon among the Moslem Al- 586
banians, who follow in this respect the customs of the [171] Ottomans, the husband paying to the discarded wife the sum specified in the marriage contract in view of such a contingency. The divorce generally takes place at the instance of the husband, but the wife may also claim it for a limited number of reasons. If, for instance, a man has left his native town or village, and does not return within the period fixed by the

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embodied in a code there is an end to its spontaneous development. But to reach this stage the code must be an enacted code, written and recorded, and this the pronouncements of the Albanian law-givers failed to achieve. On the contrary their codes seem to have remained in the verbal custody of the village or tribal elders and subject to modification or reinterpretation from time to time by assemblies of clans or villages. It is at this stage that we have Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian customary law—law primitive enough in many ways to be compared with the customary law of tribes much less civilized than the Albanians; but it reached the point, and that some five hundred years ago, of becoming codified verbally by the efforts of individual law-givers, Skanderbeg in particular and the famous Lek Dukagjini, without having reached the stage of enactment. This was principally due to the fact that there was no one able to enforce sanctions over the Albanian community as a whole; individual Albanian chieftains had not the power, and Turkish rule interfered but little outside the towns.

It was no doubt this absence of any such sanctions as those provided by an enacted law and enforced by a settled government, or merely even by the continuity in administration of a single ruling family, which was the primary cause of the firm establishment of the vendetta as the real sanction for all Albanian law and custom. At the same time, however, economic conditions have probably contributed to this result, for in a richer country the administration of justice might have been made profitable to any ruler strong enough to provide it. Thus Albanian customary law not only reflects an economic stage through which most nations have passed before the establishment of enacted codes, but also a condition, by no means unique but very far from universal, in which poor and isolated communities have resorted to the vendetta for the sanction of their law, and that in spite of any influence that Christianity or Islam might have had to prevent it. The etiquette of the vendetta itself is likewise a customary code not dissimilar to taboo in nature and origins; and without any more definite sanction, or naturally any sort of legislative enactment, regular and almost technical forms of procedure have come into existence in what virtually are regularly constituted courts. In this the Icelandic practices, as described in the sagas of Njal and Kormak, for instance, afford a near parallel to those of Albania, and Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian custom will prove of importance not

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a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders. The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for

[1] See Chapter V. [2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

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compulsory. Any who failed to attend and could not justify their 623
absence were fined. Together with the general public, they had to [695]
investigate complaints against a senior elder or a bajraktar, and if
they found him guilty, they had to fine or ostracize him. In their
attempts to prevent breaches of the peace they were entitled to try
any method from peaceful persuasion to forcible restraint by the
whole village. When, for instance, a tribesman refused to accept
a judgement that was demonstrably lawful and unbiased, they
could call a General Assembly to discuss the case. A public fine [681]
generally ended the man's obduracy. If not, the village elders could
ask all the headmen and 'soldiers' of the tribe to come and bring him
to his senses by threatening to destroy his house and property. They
continued to apply the old law, the public preferring these methods
to those of modern officials.

Canon elders were subordinate to the bajraktar and the voivodes 623
of their tribe, acting as their assistants at General Assemblies. 634

In non-tribal districts like Shpat and Martanesh the canon elders
of Mirditë were represented by a body of men called 'local elders'.
These were hereditary, found in every village and restricted in
their law-giving to their own village.

Another type were called 'specialist elders' in the southern 693
tribal areas, 'regional elders' or 'mountain elders' in Martanesh, 622
and plain 'elders' in Theth. The great majority owed nothing to 634
heredity and everything to themselves, being ordinary men who
had gradually built up a reputation for good sense, conciliatory
temper and especially knowledge of the mountain law. A few were
hereditary elders who had displayed the same qualities. Except in a
few unusual cases they did not hand on their gifts or their position.
As it required time to build up their reputation, the generality
were older than herditary elders when they attained this position.
They began by settling petty troubles within their brotherhood and
gradually as their reputation grew, they extended their sphere of
action to their kin, village and district in succession. A brotherhood
elder must not interfere in another brotherhood, a kin elder in
another kin or a 'local elder' of Martanesh in another village. But
the specialists might travel far and wide outside their own social
unit judging and arbitrating wherever required. Provided that they
judged according to the law, their judgements were binding and
overrode any delivered previously by a local man. As gifted men do
not arise at will, they were never common but were found only

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671 *Tomori* on 7 November 1942. The greater part of this document deals with an entirely new situation and the methods by which the people of Mat undertake to adapt themselves to it. But even in this document there appears the familiar restatement of old laws against the familiar crimes of murder, theft and the abduction of women.

681 Differences in the penalties laid down for the same offence may possibly point to social and economic differences among the tribes. For example, in Nikaj, Shalë and Curraj (Documents VII and VIII) a defaulting debtor is to be deprived of civil rights and may be killed or robbed unless he meets his obligations. In Kastrat (V) he is fined twenty-three grosh as a defaulter, but much more heavily fined if his sureties have to pay his debt. Nikaj was a poorer area than Kastrat, and that fact may explain to some extent the difference in penalty. The treatment of stealing also differs as between Kastrat and Shalë which was the poorer of the two. In Kastrat the robber of another's house or sheepfold is to be fined 500 grosh and five rams, but in Shalë (X) the thief who steals a single animal—a ewe, a goat, a cow—is to have 'his harvest burnt, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed'.

628 Some stories related by Father Gjeçov illustrate the application
682 and development of the law. About 1860 a villager of Fregënë in the Mirditë tribe of Dibër told a neighbour to kill a certain man and promised that when the time came to pay the blood money he would see to it. On the faith of this promise, the neighbour ambushed the man on the high road and shot him dead. A little later, Captain Bibë Doda, the Gjomarkaj of the day, went on tour for the purpose of composing current blood feuds. The Fregënë feud came up, among others, and the murderer was ordered to rebuild his victim's house by way of paying blood money. He asked his evil counsellor for the money he had promised, but the latter declined to pay. Captain Bibë and the heads of the tribe summoned this man, and asked him if he had told his neighbour to commit the murder and promised to pay the blood money. The man dared not deny doing so. Then Captain Bibë, together with the bajraktar of Dibër and other heads, reasoning that 'lips can't land a man in a blood feud' and 'words don't make a funeral', made it law that 'Murder depends on the finger'; that is to say, the murderer who must pay with his life or money for the crime is the man whose finger pulled the trigger. They then sentenced the Fregënë murderer to pay blood money for his crime, saying that

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[688] It was not the theft but the sacrilege that on this occasion called
681 the tribe of Orosh to a General Assembly and made them pronounce even the death sentence; without the sacrilege the fine would have been penalty enough. Murder of a priest, again heinous sacrilege, raised the same issues, but without hope of any reprieve from death save what secret flight might provide. Murder of a guest or of a man with whom the murderer had previously sworn an oath of peace, that is to say, of persons who had a right to protection, also came before a General Assembly and was punished by the severest
[696] penalties, including death. Yet theft in the ordinary way was handled by elders and punished by a fine, and murder of the ordinary type was left to the victim's family and punished by blood vengeance. These were crimes against the individual and matter for individual handling. Sacrilege, however, and the murder of protected persons, were crimes against society, the former threatening the authority of the Church and the latter the tribal fabric.

689 When a man's general behaviour was a public menace or nuisance,
623 he usually found himself before a General Assembly. To begin with, the elders of his social unit took the matter up as was their duty, attempting first to reason him into a better frame of mind. If this failed, they had to call a plenary meeting of the village to try the culprit and to carry out whatever sentence was pronounced. This was usually burning down his house and leaving his land untilled for a specific number of years. If he still persisted in his evil-doing, and this was serious socially speaking, the elders could call the whole tribe to their assistance. For public pests incited public extermination, and this required the sanction and the whole force of the tribe. Miss Durham relates what she calls 'an amazing case of wholesale justice' which occurred in the Mirditë tribe, Fan, in February 1912. A certain family in this tribe had become notorious for evil-doing, robbing, shooting and general misconduct. A 'gathering of the whole tribe' condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lie in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off. And on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was only five and another only twelve years old. It was even proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant in case she should bear a male and so renew the evil.[1]

[1] Durham, op. cit. p. 75.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

619 offenders, banishing others, and executing the ringleaders if these
672 had committed any crime entailing the death penalty.

619 Sometimes a village went to actual war with the rest of the tribe.
[72] As it never did so unless it knew itself to be very strong, the rest of the tribe was sometimes unable to reduce it. If the tribe was alone, the war went on until both sides were exhausted enough to cry halt. If the tribe was one of a group its heads could call in all the men of the other tribes to reduce the belligerent. In Mirditë a Gjomarkaj called the General Assembly which decided on this step, and led its members against the belligerent.

Sometimes, like a pestilent village, a tribe that formed part of a group made itself a nuisance to its neighbours. In that case the
[681] General Assembly of the other tribes in the group sentenced it wholesale to the usual penalties—fines for mild offenders, burning out for medium offenders and death for bad offenders. A whole tribe, however, could not be banished. It could only be ostracized, cut off from all intercourse with its neighbours; this penalty lasted until it consented to furnish the usual pledges for its future behaviour.

623 Village Assemblies dealt with matters of exclusively village interest. They regulated wood-cutting and irrigation rights, for example. They fixed the date at which beasts might be sent up to their summer pasturage on the high mountains. They stipulated the number of beasts that might be sent up by each family. They took steps to see that no one appropriated more than his fair share of forest, irrigation water or grazing. In so doing they made a valuable contribution to the public peace. Some aspects of
[682] murder also engaged their attention. The actual crime and revenge
[628] for it were the concern only of the families of the murderer and his victim. But it was the concern of the village that the range of revenge should not spread, increasing the number of avenging assassinations and so disturbing the village peace. So the law having laid down that the avenger must allow the murderer a day or two's grace to settle up his affairs before he was besieged in his house, the village had to extract a promise of this grace from the avenger. In cases where the grace lasted for thirty days, the village had to see that the murderer did not abuse his privilege and harry the victim's family. If he showed any such tendency, the village in General Assembly had to fine him and bring his period of grace to an untimely end.

10: Haslucк F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XXII

BLOOD FEUD

I. FAMILY VENGEANCE AND COLLECTIVE VENGEANCE

To understand the fabric of the Albanian blood feud it is essential 621 to remember several things. Till after the 1914–18 war communica- 628* tions in Albania were so bad, government centres so few and the 596 gendarmerie so ill-organized that communities were largely self- 619 governing. These communities consisted in the narrower sense of the family, and in the wider sense of the tribe. If a person was injured, the family in most cases, and the tribe in a few cases, by the law of self-government punished the wrongdoer. Since the individual was almost completely submerged in his family, an injury to him was an injury to the whole family and might be punished by any of its members. When the tribal community was involved, the injury might again be avenged by any of its members. When the injury took the form of murder, vengeance generally [681] took the Mosaic form of a life for a life, but sometimes was achieved by the exaction of blood money or the imposition of exile.

When the family of a murdered man, in default of government 628* action, took the punishment of the murderer into its own hands 596 and killed him or one of his male relatives, the head of his family might admit that both sides were equal and make peace. On the other hand, while still admitting that both sides were equal he might prefer to continue the feud by killing a second male from the avenging family; that done, a second life was forfeit on his side. In this way the feud might rage backwards and forwards for years or even generations, each family being in turn murderer and victim, hunter and hunted. 'To take vengeance' was 'to take the blood' (that is, of the man already killed, not of him who was to make atonement); the criminal was called 'the bloodstained', and avenger and criminal thought of each other as the 'enemy'. In north Albania the criminal was also called the 'agent' and the avenger the 'master of the blood of the victim', i.e. the master of the house in which the victim lived. 'To incur a feud' was 'to fall into blood' or 'enmity'.

This simple outline was filled in with all manner of elaborate

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

*628 inside the blazing building, his death was certain, and that if he
682 came out, he had a sporting chance of escaping the avenger's bullets. He had, therefore, no choice but to leave the burning house. In the same way when gendarmes surrounded a house in which a desperate criminal was hidden, he preferred to run the gauntlet of their fire rather than wait tamely to be seized and led off perhaps to death as a menace to society. This was particularly
• [681] true of Turkish times, when dangerous criminals were generally shot out of hand when arrested.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

APPENDIX

LAWS PASSED AT GENERAL ASSEMBLIES

(TRANSLATED FROM THE ORIGINAL ALBANIAN)

I. Some Laws Ratified by the Prefecture of Shkodër.

681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 128–9.)

1. Bride-price is not to be altered. The amount fixed seven years ago remains in force. It is, therefore, 600 grosh, a sum which includes everything. Whoever acts contrary to this order will be fined 1000 grosh. [583]

2. Girls will be betrothed by their father, or if they have no father by their brother and, failing him, by their nearest male cousin. Women are not to interfere in betrothals. [584]

3. Every betrothal will be arranged openly not secretly, and there will be a go-between as witness. When the betrothal has been completed and rifles have been fired off in front of the betrothed girl's house, the men who have the right to betroth her will go to the parish priest in order to register the names of the betrothed pair, the registrar and the witnesses, together with all the circumstances. Whosoever does not abide by this decree will be fined 1000 grosh.

4. Whoever refuses to go through the marriage ceremony when the priest comes for that purpose will be fined 1000 grosh. [585]

5. Whoever incites a married woman to run away will be fined eight purses.

6. Whoever gives a bride to a man who has divorced his lawfully wedded wife will be fined 1000 grosh. [587]

7. Whoever shall dare to send away his lawfully wedded wife in order to take another woman in unlawful wedlock will be fined 1000 grosh.

8. Whoever sells his daughter or sister or other female of his blood relations will be fined, like the buyer, 1000 grosh.

9. On the basis of the ancient customs, which are still observed among the Christians of the mountains of Shkodër concerning betrothals, marriages, enticing of other men's wives, running away of wives and other similar causes of trouble, some laws have been enacted for the repression of the aforesaid evil acts and have been approved by His Lordship the Archbishop of Shkodër, Mgr Luigi Çurçi, and by the mountain chiefs. These laws after being weighed by the Government Council have been approved and ordered to be put into execution.

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●681 10. The government authorities therefore by this Decree order that the nine points above-mentioned shall be observed and put into execution without fail or opposition.

Issued by the Government Authorities of Shkodër
Shkodër, Albania
May 9th, 1864

L.S. Mareshali
Civil and Military Representative of the
Government with the Prefecture of Shkodër

ISMAIL PASHA

[619] II. Solemn Pledge between Mnelë and Gomsiqe, February 13th, 1873.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 118.)

At the meeting we are holding to-day we have decided to write out the following document in order to have it for reference.

We, the tribesmen of Mnelë and Gomsiqe, comprising 150 houses, have solemnly promised each other to hold ourselves ready and of one mind for every need that may eventuate.

The witnesses of this pledge are:

[Here follow the names of 15 tribesmen, headed by the bajraktar.]

Written this day of February 13th, 1873.

III. Laws Enacted by the Twenty-four Elders and Agreed by the Chiefs, etc. Written in the Village of Kastrat on November 2nd, 1891.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 125.)

1. From Krue i Ri, which belongs to all Kastrat, up to She i Gurit; from Vorr Gjolaj to Breg i Gurrës, marching with Gjelosh Luce; from Shkamb Gropë Mollë to Brigje; from Gjekë Petroviqi to Çukë e Gurrës...whoever quarrels or fires a weapon within these limits will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[312] 2. Whoever refuses to allow a woman to fill her water-pitchers at fountains and springs saying she has no right to a share of the water, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

3. Whoever calls another names in the above-mentioned places or calls another's mother and father names, will be fined, if he is full 15 years old, 250 grosh and 3 rams.

4. Whoever goes to do a mischief in a mill must, if he is full 12 years old, pay a fine of 250 grosh to the miller and 500 grosh and 3 rams to the chiefs.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws enacted in the village of Kastrat on Nov. 2, 1891]

5. Whoever moves the stones of an old boundary and puts them in a new place will be fined 3000 grosh and 6 rams. 681 [473]

6. No one is to frighten a flock sheltering from the heat in a place it was in first.[1] Whoever does this will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams. [233]

7. The mill question remains inviolate as always and neither the Vukpalaj nor the Gjolaj may start a *degamë*,[2] and any miller who takes more than 5 per cent of the flour will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams. [256]

8. Any man who cuts down a tree under which animals take shelter from the heat or cuts off a mill or an irrigation stream will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.

9. Other fountains and springs are left under the old law, that is to say, whoever destroys a fountain or spring or prevents another from filling water-pots will be fined 500 grosh. [312]

10. Milling is by order of arrival. Any miller who mills for a man who comes later than another and breaks the order either out of favouritism or because corrupted by bribes will be fined 150 grosh and 3 rams. [256]

11. Whoever admits a stranger to huts on a mountain pasturage will be fined 500 grosh and 6 rams.[3]

IV. Truce Sworn between Nikaj and Mertur on August 10th, 1892. 628 619

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 121.)

The two tribes have sworn a truce with each other:

(1) As from August 14th up to the day of Our Lady of Mertur.

(2) As from December 26th up to the day of St Sebastian.

The guarantors of Flock and Shepherd, i.e. Nikaj and Mertur and the Bajraktars of Krasniqë and Gash.

V. Laws Enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on November 1st, 1892 A.D. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 126.)

At a general meeting held under the presidency of Brahim Beg the serxherde, Kasem Beg the bylikbash and the four and twenty chiefs (elders) of Kastrat, the following laws were enacted.

1. Whoever murders a man of Kastrat or of any of the other mountains will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

[1] This must be a mistranslation. The Italian version of the sentence runs: *che nessuno ardisa impaurire il bastiame gravido.*

[2] The Italian version of this very obscure clause is as follows: *Le disposizioni riguardanti i mulini rimangono inaltarate per sempre e non possono causare litigi nè fra il povero nè fra il ricco*, clearly referring to the principle, enunciated again in § 10, which compels the miller to treat all his clients on the principle of 'first come, first served'. It is possible that the Albanian version has been misunderstood.

[3] This refers to the letting of some of the tribe's scanty pasturage to strangers.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

681 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Breg i Shpellës, Viri, and Krue i Ri—will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a patch for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[233] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[423] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[487] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one [623] week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 500 grosh.

[693] 17. 'Pledge elders' are not to take more than 10 grosh as their fee for a judgement, and commoners not more than 5 grosh.

[628] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after their feud has been compounded by order of the government will be fined 12 purses and expelled from the village and turned into a ghost.

681 231 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296] 225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837] runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765] shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696] out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628] been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585] whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554] collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894. 681 491 574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

681 solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj
[491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed
[574] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[495] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[3,13] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[224] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prendo's Day, 1894]

If any man meddles with one by force he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety. [681]

If any man dishonours a woman or ravishes her he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety.

The Gjklika family is not under a pledge of safety.

Ndue Lika's family is under a pledge of safety for its flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever touches sheep belonging to Nikaj or Shalë must pay 500 grosh or give a Martini rifle, the value of which is 500 grosh. He must also return two animals for every one stolen and pay 500 grosh to the owner of the stolen animals.

10. A detective is to receive 100 grosh for tracking down a sheep and twenty for tracking down a cow or an ox.

11. If a Nikaj or a Shalë man goes to a house to kill someone, he has leave to do whatever the fingers of his hand or the muzzle of his rifle can do. But chisels, wood and any form of iron are not to be used.

Whoever breaks this law, unless he is killed and buried, must pay 20 purses and until he pays them he must look out for his life. If he is killed, the matter must be left at a head for a head.

12. Whoever plays false to this pledge treating it with contempt or ignoring it must give an oath with 24 persons who must say they know nothing, as arranged by the other tribes. If he cannot give such an oath he must pay 20 purses like a man who kills another. [695]

13. A borrower who owes money to someone must go to the head of his ward. If he does not give this head satisfaction, he must go to the Bajraktar. If he does not give the Bajraktar satisfaction he is without protection. He may be robbed and killed until he enters the way of the Bajraktar.

14. The roads from Shalë and Nikaj to Shosh and Mertur are guaranteed by Shalë and Nikaj and if they are cut, 20 purses must be paid. [691]

15. The chapels (*koniqet*) of Nikaj and Shalë in which no candle is lit to St John, St Nicolas and St Bastian (Sebastian), are under a pledge of safety. [718]

16. Complaints in Shkodër and Gjakovë are annulled. [694]

VIII. Pledge for Flocks and Shepherds in Nikaj and Curraj, St John's Day, 1895.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 120.)

1. Any man who kills a shepherd will have his house burned down and his land kept untilled for three years.

2. His neighbours will not have their houses burned down but must pay five purses, 1000 grosh of it for the master of the feud and three purses for the guarantors.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Pledge for Flocks + Shepherds in Nikaj + Curraj, St. John's Day, 1895]

68 [766] 3. Nobody may help to bury a murderer till three years have passed unless the master of the feud wishes. When somebody does help to bury him five purses must be paid to the master of the feud, either in money or in beasts, as may be arranged among themselves.

[628] 4. A murderer is never under a flock-and-shepherd guarantee until the murder has been avenged or the feud composed.

5. A cutter of pine slivers and a reaper with sickle are under a pledge of safety from the eve of St Anthony to the eve of Our Lady of Alshiqe.

6. A mower with scythe is under a pledge of safety.

7. A shooter is under a pledge of safety from the eve of St Anthony to the eve of Our Lady of Alshiqe.

8. The Ndermajë—Livath i Math (Great Meadow)—Shalë road and the Kodër Plak—Shalë road are under a pledge of safety for flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever steals small animals must pay 250 grosh and return two for every one stolen.

Whoever steals a cow or ox must pay 500 grosh and return two for every one stolen.

10. Whoever removes the tiles of a house must pay 500 grosh.

11. If a debtor does not meet his obligations he is to be accused before the head of his ward. If he still does not meet his obligations, he has no pledge of safety and may be robbed and killed until he enters the right path.

Guarantors: 3 tribes.

IX. Resolutions Made at Kashnjet, Mirditë, on August 17th, 1904.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 128.)

We, the tribe of Dibër, met for some business in General Assembly at Kashnjet and we have examined the business legally as required by God and the Canon of Mirditë.

1. Whoever murders one of his kin shall be expelled for fifteen years from the tribe, his land shall be left untilled and he shall pay a fine of 100 rams and an ox and have his house burned.

2. Whoever allows a man who has murdered one of his own kin to enter his house becomes as guilty as the murderer.

3. The kindred which does not take the lead against such culprits commits a fault against the whole tribe.

[Here follow the names of the leaders, headed by the bajraktar.]

In whatever business the tribe may have these people will take the lead of the whole tribe.

Witness:

Dom Ndue Melguzhi, Pepaj, parish priest of Kashnjet.

10· Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

X. Decisions Taken on April 30th, 1905, by the Youth of Shalë. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 126–7.)

1. As from to-day up to Ash Wednesday the percentage on loans at interest is to be paid with 25 okes of grain. If this is not paid by Ash Wednesday, a percentage of 30 okes is to be taken by force from the debtor. [426]

As interest 100 grosh or 100 okes of grain as the creditor wishes are to be paid. Let him take 100 grosh if it suits him, or if he says, 'I'll have grain', let them give him 100 okes of grain.

2. Grain is never to be given to anybody by a man of Shalë unless it is wanted for a funeral meal or it is desired to make a present of not more than 20 okes. [431] [765]

3. Raki is never to be produced by a man of Shalë at a funeral meal except during the seven weeks of Lent. [273]

4. No man of Shalë is ever to give away more than 100 grosh either outside or inside the tribe. [431]

A godmother is not to present a red *xhamadam* (sleeveless jacket). [608]

No woman is to go to a wedding in a party of five or more and they are not to seek a woman outside the same house.[1] [585]

5. Whoever fires the first shot in the yard of a church or inside its boundaries is to have his house burned and must pay 20 purses under the guarantee of flock-cum-shepherd and the youth of Shalë.

6. If a man disturbs a mass that is being said and if the priest, crucifix in hand, says, 'So-and-so has troubled me', the offender will have his house burned and must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

7. Whoever touches Church property must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

8. Whoever molests the Church servant must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

9. If anyone borrows coffee and sugar from the priest for a funeral meal and does not return them to him within four weeks, and if the priest complains, he must pay a fine of one ox to the tribe. [765] [426]

10. Whoever steals an ewe, goat and cow from a man of Shalë and whoever does anything to his neighbour that disgraces him, shall have his harvest burned, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed. He will pay fines of one ox to the youth and 2 rams to the government representative.

11. These laws, enacted by the youth of Shalë together with the

[1] The last clause of § 4 is given as in Mrs Hasluck's MS., but there seems to be some mistake, as the corresponding passage in the Italian version of Father Gjeçov's *Kanùn* runs:

Lo shalano non può fare il compare più di 5 volte, e non può chiedere che si leghino in comparto più di 5 famiglie.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[681] bajraktar, are perpetual like the law about fire[1] and other laws. Whoever breaks this law must pay an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, otherwise he will have his house burned.

The Youth of Shalë
April 30th, 1905

XI. Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin on August 5–7, 1906.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 129.)

[625] 1. Whoever joins the government police shall have his house burned and be excluded from funeral gatherings and hospitality.

[798] 2. A man who goes to complain to the Turkish government about a Christian shall pay a fine of 1000 grosh.

[675] 3. A man who steals from his neighbour or breaks into his house must, if he denies doing so, give his oath with 12 compurgators. If he proves to be a robber, he must pay a fine of 1000 grosh, and return to the owner of the house two for every article stolen.

4. If an ox is stolen and the accused denies the theft he must give his oath with 6 compurgators. If on enquiry he proves a thief, he must pay a fine of 500 grosh and return to the animal's owner two oxen for the one stolen.

This judgement holds also for a horse and a mule.

If a cow is stolen and the theft denied, the accused's oath needs three compurgators. If he proves a thief the penalty is returning two for one to the owner and a fine of 250 grosh. So too for a donkey.

If a bell-goat or a bell-wether is stolen two for one to the owner and a fine of three rams. If the theft is denied the oath must be given by the accused and all the males in his house.

For every small animal two for one to the owner and a fine of two rams. If the theft is denied the oath is with all the males in the accused's house.

5. Setting fire to a house[2] means a fine of 2500 grosh; to an animals' fold, a haystack and a hedge, a fine of 1500 grosh and returning two for one to the owner.

[623] 6. A man who does not come to a General Assembly when summoned by the village elder will be fined one ram.

[672] 7. If word is sent to the elders to come to a General Assembly anyone who does not come must pay a fine of five rams. If he has an excuse this will be weighed by the other elders.

[1] The Italian version already alluded to (Gjeçov's *Codice di Lek Dukagjini ossia Diritto Consuetudinario delle Montagne d'Albania*, Tradotto dal P. Paolo Dodaj, Roma, 1941) here reads *il mugnaio*, 'the miller' (cf. supra p. 263).

[2] The Italian version reads *La violazione (per furto) del focolare domestico*, and taking fire from a neighbour's hearth without permission is frequently taboo among primitive peoples.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin, Aug. 5-7, 1906]

8. As for jurors, in every crime committed in Kurbin, a murder excepted, the jurors must give their oath, saying, 'That it has been stolen from you, I don't know'.[1] 681 [695]

9. What an informant says is said with an oath of how it was in mind.[2]

10. If a man quarrels deliberately with another and without informing the village elder, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If he informs the village elder and the latter asks for a pledge of good behaviour from the one who is oppressing the other and this man refuses to give it, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If the village elder cannot put things right he gives both men a month's grace and informs the other elders who shall settle the quarrel in accordance with the local law.

11. Anyone who gives food or admittance to his house to a Christian or a Mohammedan who is a policeman in the service of the Sultan shall be fined 1500 grosh. [625] [574]

12. If a man breaks a pledge of security given and taken in the presence of elders and commoners in Kurbin, the elders and commoners are under an obligation to burn his house and to expel him from the tribe. [696]

Written in Delbinisht, Kurbin, at the spring of water under the mulberry tree near the Archbishop's palace on August 5th, 6th and 7th, 1906.

Gjin Pjetër Mark Pervizi of Skuraj, Kurbin, senior elder among the 45 elders of the environs of Krue, in the name of the elders and commoners.

Also present at this General Assembly and registrars of the aforesaid laws:

Mgr. Nikollë Kaçorri, witness.

Father Shtjefën K. Gjeçov, Franciscan, witness.

XII. Letter from Shalë dated May 12th, 1907.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 127.)

1. Greetings from the bajraktar of Shalë, the notables and youth to you, chiefs and youth of Theth. We beg to inform you that the undermentioned laws have been enacted by the tribe of Lower Shalë. We let you know, asking if you too will abide by these laws. We laid down the

[1] The Italian version of clause 8 runs: *Il dorere del giurato per tutto ciò che accada nel territorio di Kurbini, salvo che nelle cause di uccisione, consiste nel giuramento di non cognoscere il colpevole.*

[2] The Italian translator has *La deposizione del delatore deve essere accompagnata dal giuramento.*

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

[Laws of Shalë, May 12, 1907]

681 laws and gave our oath to abide by them and not to break them. The laws are as follows:

[628] 2. Pecnikaj enacted a law that when a man is murdered the murderer's heir shall find the guarantors and has three days of guaranteed safety. He has to go with the head of his ward to the victim's representative who shall give him a pledge of security for a week[1] and the murderer's 'brethren' shall bring forward two guarantors. If the victim's representative objects, he shall be left to nominate one and the murderer's 'brethren' shall nominate the other.

Whoever murders someone after the enacting of this law and the swearing of this oath has his safety guaranteed for three days.

Whoever commits a murder murders on his own responsibility and his own risk a person under the protection of Pecnikaj and will have a feud and will never be forgiven for that murder and if anyone kills him he does so by order of the whole tribe of Shalë.

3. Although this law was laid down by Pecnikaj, Lotaj, Abat and Bobi concur.

4. As representative for witnessing Theth's oath all Shalë has chosen Tahir Deli, who was at this meeting of the General Assembly.

5. Whoever murders someone in Shalë—apart from the actual murderer—must not burn his house.[2]

6. In case he burns his house[2] he must pay for a fine of four Martini rifles to the Youth of Shalë and must pay twice the value of the house and the damage done to the owner of the house.

7. If, after the 'brethren' of the murderer have gone to their homes, anyone goes to break into one of their houses either to burn it or to kill its men, he must pay to its owner and the Youth 20 purses and a life for a life.

8. Mules are under the protection of the Youth and anyone who takes them takes them subject to the appropriate penalty.

9. What is written in this letter is guaranteed by the bajraktar and the Youth of Shalë and the government's representative.

10. From Prekë Ndue Mashi to Ndue Ulë Bobi whoever pilfers a neighbour's unmilled grain must pay a fine of one ox to the Youth of the tribe and a ram to the government's representative.

XIII. Covenant of Mat.

(From the Albanian Newspaper *Tomori*, November 7th, 1942.)

681 1. The people of Mat, comprising 5000 families, hereby pledges itself either to denounce to the competent authorities or itself to arrest

[1] The Italian version above referred to seems to omit this provision for a week's security from revenge.

[2] According to the Italian translation the house of the murderer only shall be burned, and if anyone else's house is set on fire the murderer shall pay the specified fines.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

[Covenant of Mat, 1942]

any political intriguers against the present régime who may be found within its territory. 681

2. If, after the conclusion of this covenant, one man kills another with or without just cause, his family shall be punished by the people of Mat with banishment from Mat for three years and his property, both movable and immovable, shall be confiscated and become state property. [672]

3. The same penalties shall be imposed on any man who runs off with a betrothed girl or a married woman.

4. When a domestic animal has been stolen and the thief cannot be found, the village to which the tracks lead must either pay the animal's value or prove that the tracks lead away from its land.

5. Whoever aids criminals and gives them food and shelter renders himself liable to the penalties detailed in clause 2.[1]

6. Whoever carries arms of any description without declaring them renders himself liable to the death penalty.

7. Whoever spreads false rumours about the policy of the State, public security or public finances to the detriment of the present régime and its policy shall be punished as laid down by the Lieutenant-General's decree No. 185.[2]

8. The people's representatives are to regulate and to examine all complaints which may be made concerning land, irrigation, water, roads and forests and if a commission succeeds in settling a dispute between two persons, the decision of the commission shall be inviolable. If it is contested, the contestants shall take the matter to the proper court. [692]

9. Land in Mat is generally held without regular title-deeds and ownership is proved by nothing but a written receipt (*senet*) and a meal according to the local custom. It appears that lately the ownership of properties bought 5, 10, 20 or 30 years ago with a receipt and a meal, as witnesses also confirm, is often disregarded or if regarded, is a constant source of disorders and murder. To put an end to such quarrelling the local Commission must not meddle with exchange of land so made until the Government has registered all the land according to the laws concerned. [423]

10. The chairman of the Commission shall be the local sub-prefect, and its members the political secretary of the sub-prefecture, the gendarmerie commander, the Fascist Albanian militia's commander, and the representatives of the people who assist in drawing up the present covenant. [624]

11. It is learned that Communists or, as some call them, Bolshevists, have made their appearance among us. We must get rid of these persons. 681 665

[1] (Author's note. At this time the term 'criminals' included not only transgressors of the law but also patriots resisting Italian rule.)

[2] (Author's note. No copy of this decree can be found.)

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[Covenant of Mat, 1942]

681 whether they be young or old, and must not let them exist within the
[665] boundaries of the district of Mat. If there are any such persons, the people of Mat, together with the local authorities, must destroy them, not only with the rifle, but also with the fist. For no one can endure a person who is a traitor and has neither character nor morals. The entire people must disown such men and attack them with all its strength until it destroys them root and branch.

[642] 12. By statutory law the Albanian and the Italian peoples are brothers with the same mother and the same father. That is to say, the two peoples have the same father who is the King Emperor and the King of both Albania and Italy. So we shall destroy anyone who insults the King by talking against him and we shall punish the fellow as specified in clause 2.

13. This Covenant which we have made at a plenary meeting of the people of Mat is to remain valid until the end of the General War, and anyone who breaks it is to be considered a traitor to his country and to the régime, that is to say, a betrayer of his fatherland and the régime.

Sgd. Beqir Sitki Hasa
Chairman of Commission
Sub-Prefect of Mat.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

of the padres, being Albanian mountain men themselves, thought this right, though they admitted that the beating was sometimes cruelly severe. A 593 681

In some ways the women have more freedom than among the Montenegrins, for they are permitted to give their opinion freely on important subjects, and it is often asked, and they join in general conversation. Nor do their husbands ever apologize for their existence. M A 562

In Montenegro, on the other hand, as often as not the master of the house has shouted: "Be quiet, woman," when his wife only wanted to ask some innocent question. I never heard any of Iké's views except when Krsto was out, and one was always hearing, "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head!" hurled at the women. The Albanian woman, on the other hand, would joke and chaff the men; would even, in the streets of Scutari, call their husbands out of the drink-shop and tell them they had had enough. Nor does the Albanian woman have to bow humbly and kiss the hand of every male visitor as does the Montenegrin peasant woman. Among the Dukagini I found the men would even fetch water—a thing no Montenegrin "junak" would condescend to do.

A curious case illustrating the rights of the husband occurred while I was in Albania. A mountain woman left her husband and came to Scutari, where she lived by prostitution among the Turkish garrison. The husband's honour was blackened, but if he killed his wife he would owe blood to her family. He therefore consulted her brother, her nearest surviving male relative. The brother agreed that his family, too, was blackened, and gave the man the cartridge wherewith to shoot her. Shot she was, and public opinion considered the husband had acted rightly and cleaned the honour of both families. I said that in such a case divorce should be permitted, but was told that so long as she was alive the family honour would still be black; a divorce would be useless. A 577 684

5. Marriage Customs in Montenegro

In Montenegro, and all through the Serb-speaking lands, marriages were arranged by the head of the house. The young people were rarely consulted. A century ago in Montenegro infant and child betrothals were not uncommon, and the young couple did not see each other before marriage. Old Serbian ballads show that exogamy was the rule, for the hero, we are usually told, "sought his bride from afar." Such marriages were designed to strengthen the "house." We find in ballads and tales the youth who laments to his father that no wife has yet been found for him; to whom his father replies: "I have long sought M 583 M [582]

A 754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A [163 761] Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So A [751] terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh A [853 777] air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The M 754 same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but 853 the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the A 755 child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air and sunlight.

A 754 755 Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away. It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead. The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He A [681] rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying, 'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

A 754 776 777 In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special precaution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors, the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

The Vendetta[1]

At that time, the blood feud and the 628
vendetta were the chief preoccupations of the mountain folk 577
and murders and killings were of frequent occurrence. Men were liable to be shot at any moment, and often were shot, solely because their ancestors of several generations back had quarrelled over some trivial matter. Albanians claim to-day that the vendetta is a thing of the past, but I had no difficulty in ascertaining that the claim is not well founded; vendetta crimes are still common, and even while I was in Scutari a murder "in revenge" was reported to the police.

The following story illustrates very well the sacrifices demanded by the code:—

A bitter blood feud had waged for several generations between two families in a remote mountain district. The head of one family died and the headship, and with it the duty of carrying on the vendetta, devolved upon another member of the family who was, as it happened, the village priest. One would have thought that his office would release him from the necessity of committing a murder. But it did not. He bided his time and shot his enemy dead. Then, as there was no other priest within many miles of the place, he officiated—difficult though it is to credit it—at the funeral of his victim.

Notwithstanding that a vendetta murder is committed [681] in defence of the family honour it is, if the gendarmes succeed in tracing and arresting the perpetrator, invariably punished by hanging. The code of the mountaineers is so strict, however, that the penalty acts as no deterrent. A man who fails in his duty to kill an enemy of his house is outlawed

1 [two years before World 275 War I -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

628 [511] from his own fireside, and he would rather face the gallows than the contempt of his family.

Even apart from the vendetta, the Albanian of this type is sometimes rather too ready to use his gun. Shortly before I was in Scutari a man was killed in a quarrel. It seems that the local schoolmaster had occasion to chastise one of the scholars. The boy's father was angry about it and called on the schoolmaster to remonstrate, taking a friend with him. In the ensuing dispute all lost their tempers and the friend unwisely " butted in." Whereupon the schoolmaster drew a revolver and shot the man dead.

674 681 The act which makes the carrying of firearms illegal is very necessary, and it is a pity that it cannot be enforced in this part of Albania as it has been elsewhere. But the inaccessibility of the mountain villages, and the lawlessness which makes the carrying of a weapon almost obligatory for self-protection, are at the moment insuperable difficulties. All that the gendarmes have been able to do so far is to insist that rifles shall be deposited at the police post outside Scutari before their owners enter the town. This explains what at first puzzled me—why the men in the streets of Scutari and in the Scutari bazaar were decorated with belts full of cartridges and yet no guns or rifles were in evidence.

173 days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice,
643 and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.
[688] Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

671 Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law
681 of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth
174 century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

682 Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who
[574] has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He
[609] at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

order his house to be burnt. Among the Dukagini the council has 682
power also to destroy his crops, cut down his fruit trees, slaughter his 609
beasts, and condemn the land to lie unworked for a term of years. An incredible amount of food-stuff is thus wasted. In this group not only the man who has taken blood, but all the males of his "house," are liable for blood, so they, too, have to fly. The "house" is the home maybe of a whole family community—forty people. But the law is carried out to the last letter. Such desolated spots have I seen. But "It is the Canon, so must be obeyed," was the answer to any remonstrance I made. The women and children may scatter and find shelter in other houses if they can; they usually do. A man can save his house if he can return to it and defend it three days successfully, so that the men sent by the council cannot set fire to it; I saw "a very brave man" in Berisha who had three times saved his house thus. Or a man can save his house by inviting the head of another mehala to act as house lord and defend it with his own men. This might cause severe fighting. The council, to prevent this, then as a rule agrees to burn the house only and spare the property. The amount of property to be destroyed was always to be decided by the council.

In Maltsia e Madhe a man was allowed to redeem his house by paying from £5 to £10 by a modification of the old law.

In addition to the burning of the house, in all tribes a fine has to be paid. Fines are paid in sheep or cattle. The fines varied in different districts. In both groups a fine had to be paid to the Turkish Government. In the case of Maltsia e Madhe this was paid to the Sergerdé and the Bulukbashes, who represented the tribes in Scutari. It was generally paid punctually. "Lek decreed that a fine must be paid, so it must be." Moreover, the Turkish Government had a certain hold on all the nearer tribes, for it could hold as hostage any member of a tribe which owed blood-gelt and came to market at Scutari. The outlying tribes of Dukagini by no means always either notified or paid for their murders.

Feuds being very weakening to a tribe, the headmen of the tribe or friends of the family would attempt to stop the feud. Blood-feuds of the Dukagini and Pulati tribes are settled in the mountains; those of Maltsia e Madhe were settled in Scutari before the representatives of those tribes who lived there.

The peace-making is preceded by the "gjaksur" (he who owes 682
blood) sending some friends to the "zoti i gjakut" (lord of blood) to ask 609
for "besa" (promise of truce). This may be granted and further pro- 693
longed, and during the truce the gjaksur and his relatives are safe. To end the feud, "me paitue gjak" (pacify the blood), twenty-four con-jurors are needed to swear the peace oath with the gjaksur. The

693 plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be
609 named by the "bairaktar" (head of the tribe). This is only done if the
682 matter cannot be settled by con-jurors chosen by the plaintiff.

The gjaksur has the right to object to two of the con-jurors, who must be replaced by others. The con-jurors are all men of standing in the tribe ("plect," elders; "kren," heads). They examine the facts and hear the accused ("gjaksur") and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood-gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. If they all agree but one, he may be replaced by two others. If still no agreement is come to, the gjaksur may bring more con-jurors, who are members of his family, up to the number of eight.

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the
[682 church (or mosque) before which the council has been held. In the
608] church the candles are lighted on the altar, and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood and is, therefore, innocent. Next swear those of his family who may have been summoned, and then all the con-jurors. After this the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood (*v.* Blood Brotherhood).

By Moslems the oath is sworn in the mosque.

693 Each of the con-jurors has to be paid a small fee for his services. The plaintiff in some cases can thus annoy the accused by insisting upon the full number of con-jurors allowed by the law. A priest counts as twelve con-jurors, and sometimes an important elder is reckoned as two.

628 The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.

627 To Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari, I am indebted for an
682 account of how two families can make peace voluntarily without appeal to the law. Having ascertained by means of emissaries that peace will be acceptable, the gjaksur and his relatives choose a feast day and enter the house of the injured family with their hands bound. A child placed the wrong way round in a cradle is carried with them. If the peace offer is accepted the lord of blood loosens their bonds and puts the child straight in the cradle. The blood-gelt is then arranged and paid. This custom existed among the Dukagini.

682 The above all refers to a murder committed by one man. But it
628 may happen that several men all fire at once and kill a man. A search

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

for bullets is made in the body. If four men have fired and but three 682a
bullets are found, any one of them may be innocent of the death. 628
If each can get twenty-four con-jurors to swear innocence with him, all secure acquittal. Any who cannot find twenty-four con-jurors are guilty and owe blood. If there are as many bullets as men, then all owe blood.

For killing a woman, which is a rare thing, blood may be taken. 682
If she is unmarried, it is taken by her father's family; usually by her brother. If married, her father's family may take blood for her within the year. After that only her husband's family has the right to do so. Blood-gelt, if any, for a woman is very small. The tribe does not punish the murderer; it is purely a family affair. The death of a woman does not weaken the tribe, for she is of another blood and can easily be replaced from without; whereas a man cannot be replaced.

If a pregnant woman be killed two bloods can be claimed. Dom 682
Kol Ashti told me that cases have occurred even in which a grave has 843
been opened to settle the question of blood-gelt for the unborn child, and full payment claimed if it proved to be a male.

Cases in which killing is justified and is not punishable.—1. Blood may 684
be taken for rape and none may be taken in return.

2. If the relatives of the man who is shot succeed in taking blood 682
at once, shoot the murderer that day, the blood is laid and no more can be taken.

3. A woman taken in adultery may be killed along with her partner 684
by her husband or brother, and no punishment follows. But should her husband kill her and not the man, her family can take blood for her.

In none of the above cases, I believe, does the tribe punish; nor has 682
the tribe, at any rate in some places, the power to punish a crime 578
committed within the "shpi" (house). When I was in Shala, at the priest's house in 1908, we heard two shots fired. Someone ran in to call the priest to a man who was dying; it was too late. In a dispute [685]
about the irrigation channels in the fields, a man had killed his own first cousin. Both were inmates of one large house. The crime excited genuine horror and was loudly discussed. Public opinion seemed to think something should be done—but what? It is the clear duty of a house to take blood as atonement for blood that has been taken. But the house, having already lost a man, cannot make matters any better by taking more of its own blood. This could not be expected; nor could any outsider interfere in what was a matter for the house lord. He could not be both lord of blood and gjaksur—could not owe himself blood. It was, in fact, an example of *patria potestas*. He decided to do nothing but hold a fine funeral to show his regret for the loss; and so sure was he that he was acting correctly that he sent a boy to the priest's

682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
578 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the
[608] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

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he who must find the money for compensating the injured neighbour. He sought it naturally in the common purse according to the law that 'the mishaps of a son are shared by his father and brothers'. If however, a subordinate killed a neighbour, it was just as likely that he himself or another subordinate would have to pay the penalty of a life for a life as that the master would have to do so. Presumably this anomalous division of responsibility arose because if the master alone were responsible for a murder, he would be so closely guarded that there would be no catching him and the murdered man's death would remain unavenged.[1]

Though the master's authority, resting as it did on his customary and traditional acceptance as his predecessor's choice or on his election by general consent of the household, was essentially moral, it was also backed by certain powers of enforcement. He had the right to beat a culprit, to leave him hungry, or to tie him up in a room or cellar until he came to a more proper frame of mind. This applied equally to the women; in fact, the commonest victim of tying up in a cellar was a girl who had jibbed at a proposed marriage. When a subordinate was grossly at fault and seemed incorrigible, the master might threaten to give him his portion and turn him out to fend for himself, and if the man did not reform, he would carry out the threat. In Krujë the author was present when a father expelled one of his sons for killing the other. In Turkish times the master had another salutary form of punishment at his disposal. This was taking away a culprit's arms for a week or two, so reducing him to the status of women and greybeards. 'Once shamed, twice shy' was almost invariably the result. But the best of masters might be helpless with a shiftless subordinate who had grown too old to beat. So long as the latter avoided gross misdemeanours like murder, he might idle with impunity. For physical reasons the master could not force him to work, and except in extreme cases the Unwritten Law disapproved of turning him out to sink or swim as an angry English parent might do.[2] The law said

[1] It is perhaps more likely that this vicarious responsibility of any member of the family instead of the master only is the survival of the more ancient practice unmodified by more civilized conventions. It is typical of the blood feud in more primitive societies than that of Albania. (Ed.)

[2] In Montenegrin tribal law the disobedient son might be fined the first time, confined and beaten the second and third time, and only expelled after that, expulsion involving disinheritance. *Vide* Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 84. (Ed.)

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dismissed with only the wages due until then. Since it was in a sense his own house and his own father that he had robbed, he could not be given a second chance; he was too obviously devoid of ordinary decency to be trusted again. And since the law forbade his master to strike him, he could not be beaten, as a thievish woman might be, till he reformed.

Dismissal did not end his story. He had to pay the statutory fine for housebreaking and to bring his late master two of everything he had stolen. If he had no money for the fine, he had to find a surety for the amount and then go and earn it elsewhere. After European legal codes were introduced at the end of the 1920's, these unwritten laws lost much of their force, and it was rather by threatening to get the thief sent to prison that an injured master obtained restitution.

In less sophisticated days a servant who was only suspected of robbing his master could be tried by the ordeal of the oath. If this proved him innocent, his master had to pay him six *qese* ('purses') for unjustly accusing him, besides a full year's wages and clothes. If it was later found that he had perjured himself, the elders fined him twenty-four *qese*, of which half went to the church (or mosque) and half to the tribe; he had also to return to his master the six *qese* and the unearned wages and clothes which he had won from him by perjury. It sometimes transpired, however, that the informant who had disclosed his perjury had lied himself. Then the elders once more declared the servant innocent, ordered the church and tribe to return his twenty-four *qese*, and the informant to pay him a year's wages and clothes besides six *qese* for the false accusation.

If a servant stole in his master's village or another community, punishment depended on who had instigated the crime. If his master had done so, he and not the servant was in fault, and it was for him to make reparation to the victim. He must also dismiss the servant forthwith as a public nuisance; but since the man was only his tool, he must pay him a full year's wages. If, on the other hand, a servant stole on his own initiative, the fault was his and it was for him alone to make restitution. In addition, he might be legally dismissed with no more than the wages he had earned.

Much the same laws applied when a servant committed a murder. If he did so at his master's instigation, both were punished. He must be dismissed, but his master must pay him a full year's wages. The resultant blood feud was primarily his concern, but if he

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357 escaped from the district, his master might lawfully be shot in his
882 stead. When, however, a servant murdered on his own respon-
672 sibility, he alone should suffer for the crime. His master was entitled, in dismissing him, to keep back the portion of his wages for which he had not worked, and according to Lek's Kanùn ought not to be shot in his stead. Skanderbeg's law, however, held him as liable in this case as in the former.

357 The only available information about a servant's seducing a girl
664 or young wife in his master's family comes from Martanesh and Shkrel and dates from past times. In Martanesh the law con-
[608] demned the man to death for incest because his master was his 'father' and the young woman his 'sister'. In Shkrel he was killed
[836] at once if he had sinned with a young wife, but if with a girl he was dismissed with orders to hold his tongue, and only if he talked did the girl's father go and shoot him. As for the girl, she was married
[836] to her fiancé as quickly as possible. He was not told that she was pregnant by another man, and would not have cared if he had been. He wanted her as wife and worker and felt sure that he was man enough to keep her straight after marriage; beatings always worked
[848] wonders. The child was sent to the servant as soon as born; he never acknowledged it but either killed it or exposed it by the wayside. The father did not dare to beat the girl in case she ran away to the servant; at all costs he had to keep her for her fiancé, who had presumably paid a good proportion of her bride-price and would have killed him had he failed to deliver her. Presumably the fact that a servant was held to be of little or no account saved the wife or girl from the usual punishment for adultery.[1]

357 Sometimes, despite their being 'brother' and 'sister', a servant
[562] married his master's daughter. Thus an ancestor of Bicaj was a Catholic of Gjugjë in Mirditë who entered the service of Hysen Agë Shteki of Bicaj, turned Moslem, and married Hysen Agë's daughter. Even in modern times a servant may be given his master's daughter in marriage. This is particularly likely to happen if his master is Moslem and he a Christian who agrees to change his religion. His master then looks on his own consent to the marriage as an act of piety. Servants varied in importance according to the master they served. Thus the servant of a Moslem priest (*hoxhë*) had more power than an ordinary peasant's and less than a bajraktar's —at least in the days before most bajraktars were shorn of their

[1] See Chapter XXI.

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as he saw his dog about to bite, might even shoot the animal, 231
regarding its loss as the lesser evil. Occasionally a man sought to 683
disclaim responsibility, shouting that he was not a chain-making 628
gypsy and only bought, and did not make, the faulty chain. The stranger would retort that he was not dog's meat. Then revolvers might be drawn and a blood feud begun. More probably the dog's owner sullenly invited the wounded man to partake of the hospitality demanded by the law.

If a house dog killed a stranger during the daytime, it was in most places as if its master had killed him and a blood feud sprang up between the two families. In Dibër, however, the payment of full blood money generally satisfied the bereaved family.

During the night the law was entirely on the side of the house dog 231
and its master. No matter how the animal might threaten a stranger 685
he might not kill it. If he did so, he must pay blood money or have 683
a feud with its master, exactly as if it was the latter he had killed. 628
The Kanùn says clearly that 'at night a dog is equivalent to a man'. 623
Indeed, in some places such as Çermenikë the animal was thought more important and its murder by night was more serious. If a house dog succeeded in biting a stranger at night, the latter got nothing from its master—neither hospitality and doctor's fees nor indemnity for wages lost. From his neighbours he got mockery—'Fancy letting yourself be bitten by a dog. You're a fine man.' Even if a house dog killed a stranger at night there was no compensation, the death went unavenged. Once upon a time, in Lurë, a daughter-in-law of Demir Lleshi went out at night into her own farmyard. A neighbour's dog sprang on her and killed her, but since it was night time, the dog's time, her blood was lost. It was immaterial that the dog was trespassing and that she was on her own ground.

There was only one exception to these rules. If a house stood 231
near a main road an aggressive dog might be killed during the night 685
without penalty. A higher law stated that 'it is not right to cut 628
a main road with a dog'. In the far north bajraktars and elders had been known to order fierce dogs near a main road to be kept chained at night as well as during the day.

The blood money which was payable on killing a house dog at night was generally the same as would be payable if a man had been killed. The blood money for a bitch was the same as for a dog; there was no discrimination between the sexes as there was in the

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Then, to guard against the man's forswearing himself they stipu- 695
lated that a certain number of men must swear at the same time to his innocence. These might or might not be more than men of standing and reputed probity. Whether or not, they were called 'juror elders' for the period covered by the oath.

A subsection of juror elders was known as 'murder elders'. Men [682]
of unusually high repute who never shot without cause or stole or burned a neighbour's property, but not necessarily drawn from the ranks of canon elders, these were qualified by their character for swearing to the innocence of a man accused of murder. This crime being the most serious of all, twenty-four of them had to be found on each occasion. As usual, half were nominated by the judging elders and half found by the accused. When the first half had given their oath the accused was virtually cleared and the oath he then gave was only a formality. In Lumë the more important 'murder elders' refused to waste time on giving their oath in cases of petty crime but always came forward in murder cases if they thought the accused innocent. The mere fact of their coming forward in a case sometimes ended it, the rest of the proceedings seeming farcical by comparison.

In the more organized north there were, besides the Gjomarkaj 619
family, recognized substitutes for elders. The Hereditary Captain of Mirditë represented the family which had ruled over the Alpine region of Orosh and its kindred of Dibër, Fan, Kushnen and Spaç for several hundred years and was said by some to be descended from the Albanian national hero, Skanderbeg. It had remained Catholic, and its long pedigree may be found in the church registers of Orosh. This family was the 'foundation of law'. Specially difficult cases in Mirditë were referred straight to its head for solution. Any case which three pairs of elders had failed to settle was taken to the chieftains of the subtribes and finally to the head of the Gjomarkaj family. Beyond this there was no appeal. Outsiders, even Mohammedan outsiders, were often glad to refer knotty problems to the family. In view of his exalted position the head had many legal rights. He took precedence in every assembly wherever and whenever met. He had the right to summon chieftains and populace to a General Assembly. Whenever necessary he could summon one man per family to a General Assembly in Shën Pal. At every trial or arbitration he could intervene. He had the right to uproot a family and expel it from Mirditë. He could

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682 The following story told by Miss Durham[1] throws light upon
628 the mind of a tribe on this point:-

In the spring of 1908 a tribesman of Gjan, quarrelling with a tribesman of neighbouring Shosh, snatched a firebrand from the hearth and flung it in his face. It would have been bad enough to kill the man of Shosh, but it was worse to insult him with such a blow. The Gjan man, fearing the wrath to come, fled with all speed. The Shosh man was so enraged that, unable to catch the actual culprit and clear his honour by shooting him, he went to Gjan and shot 'an unhappy little boy, unarmed and but eight years old'...'whose only crime was that he belonged to the same tribe as the offender'....'Gjan was filled with rage. That Shosh had the right to take blood of any man of the tribe they freely admitted, but to kill a child was dishonourable.' On the following Whit Sunday a General Assembly of Shosh met to debate the case. 'Shosh was violently indignant over the affair and public opinion ran so high that the murderer had not dared to remain in the tribe but had fled. The *Mexhlis* now was held to decide whether his house should be burnt as punishment. Many were in favour of this. The difficulty was that there was no law under which this could be done. The blood had been taken *outside* the tribe; it was therefore not a crime against the tribe and not punishable by it. The duty of vengeance lay with the dead boy's family. All agreed that if they liked to come and fire the house Shosh would not oppose it. But as the near relatives were a crippled father and a child they were incapable of executing justice in the face of the opposition which would certainly be put up by the murderer's family. The question caused great excitement. The burning of the house would entail passing a new law to punish a man for a crime against another tribe. This would mean an entire reconstruction of the code and nothing less than considering themselves as a nation, and not as detached tribes.' Miss Durham asked 'whether it were not possible at least to pass a law to punish any man killing a child not of age to bear arms'. It was pointed out that if Shosh did so and neighbour tribes did not, Shosh would be at a disadvantage.... The question was discussed for two days, and was undecided when Miss Durham left.

793 Proceedings at a General Assembly terminated in Catholic areas
212 with the drawing up of minutes by the priest, the only man present

[1] See *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 165.

[i.e. a ban on introducing innovations in tribal law --Analyst]

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671 *Tomori* on 7 November 1942. The greater part of this document deals with an entirely new situation and the methods by which the people of Mat undertake to adapt themselves to it. But even in this document there appears the familiar restatement of old laws against the familiar crimes of murder, theft and the abduction of women.

681 Differences in the penalties laid down for the same offence may possibly point to social and economic differences among the tribes. For example, in Nikaj, Shalë and Curraj (Documents VII and VIII) a defaulting debtor is to be deprived of civil rights and may be killed or robbed unless he meets his obligations. In Kastrat (V) he is fined twenty-three grosh as a defaulter, but much more heavily fined if his sureties have to pay his debt. Nikaj was a poorer area than Kastrat, and that fact may explain to some extent the difference in penalty. The treatment of stealing also differs as between Kastrat and Shalë which was the poorer of the two. In Kastrat the robber of another's house or sheepfold is to be fined 500 grosh and five rams, but in Shalë (X) the thief who steals a single animal—a ewe, a goat, a cow—is to have 'his harvest burnt, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed'.

628 682 Some stories related by Father Gjeçov illustrate the application and development of the law. About 1860 a villager of Fregënë in the Mirditë tribe of Dibër told a neighbour to kill a certain man and promised that when the time came to pay the blood money he would see to it. On the faith of this promise the neighbour ambushed the man on the high road and shot him dead. A little later, Captain Bibë Doda, the Gjomarkaj of the day, went on tour for the purpose of composing current blood feuds. The Fregënë feud came up, among others, and the murderer was ordered to rebuild his victim's house by way of paying blood money. He asked his evil counsellor for the money he had promised, but the latter declined to pay. Captain Bibë and the heads of the tribe summoned this man, and asked him if he had told his neighbour to commit the murder and promised to pay the blood money. The man dared not deny doing so. Then Captain Bibë, together with the bajraktar of Dibër and other heads, reasoning that 'lips can't land a man in a blood feud' and 'words don't make a funeral', made it law that 'Murder depends on the finger'; that is to say, the murderer who must pay with his life or money for the crime is the man whose finger pulled the trigger. They then sentenced the Fregënë murderer to pay blood money for his crime, saying that

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while he had gone to the ambush by another's instructions he had 628
walked there on his own legs. As the instigator of the crime had 682
broken his promise about paying the blood money, they sentenced him to have his house burned down by the tribe.

On one occasion Lek Dukagjini had come at Skanderbeg's 649
invitation to discuss some blood feuds at a General Assembiv of all the tribes in the land. Skanderbeg opposed the principle of 'a life 554
for a life' on the grounds that all men were *not* equal; the blood of a physically fine man was different from that of a poor type. At Lek's suggestion, however, he inquired of his mother, upon oath, what sort of a man his father had been. On learning that he had been a poor type, Skanderbeg at the next Assembly agreed to the principle of equality!

About 1870, when Kolë Prenga the Great was Captain of 688
Mirditë, a jar of butter was stolen from the church house in Orosh 696
during the priest's absence. On his return his servant, who had also been away at the time, informed him of the theft. The priest, a Franciscan, informed the bajraktar of Orosh. The latter convened the tribe (*bajrak*) but no one confessed to the theft. The bajraktar then informed Captain Kola. The captain undertook to track down the culprit, and one day ordered the tribe to assemble on the open space in front of the church at Orosh. In spite of Captain Kola's questions no one came forward to confess to the crime. Then Captain Kola, together with the chiefs of the tribe, sentenced the unknown thief to death and banishment from the tribe; his house, too, was to be destroyed and his land left uncultivated. Not long afterwards the thieves were discovered. They were two young men of Orosh, Prengë Kolë Marku and another whose name has been forgotten. Captain Kolë Prenga the Great again ordered the tribe to assemble, one man from every house, at the church at Orosh. The two young men also came by order to the meeting. Captain Kola read out the sentence that had previously been pronounced. The two thieves were stood in the middle of an open space, unarmed and with their hands folded at the waist. The tribe stood up awaiting the captain's order to fire. But the priest, filled with pity for the culprits, begged the captain, the chiefs and the commoners to grant them their lives. This was done, they paid money to the church for their sacrilege, returned twice the quantity of what they had stolen, paid the usual fine and were expelled from the tribe.

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619 offenders, banishing others, and executing the ringleaders if these
672 had committed any crime entailing the death penalty.

619 Sometimes a village went to actual war with the rest of the tribe.
[72] As it never did so unless it knew itself to be very strong, the rest of the tribe was sometimes unable to reduce it. If the tribe was alone, the war went on until both sides were exhausted enough to cry halt. If the tribe was one of a group its heads could call in all the men of the other tribes to reduce the belligerent. In Mirditë a Gjomarkaj called the General Assembly which decided on this step, and led its members against the belligerent.

Sometimes, like a pestilent village, a tribe that formed part of a group made itself a nuisance to its neighbours. In that case the
[681] General Assembly of the other tribes in the group sentenced it wholesale to the usual penalties—fines for mild offenders, burning out for medium offenders and death for bad offenders. A whole tribe, however, could not be banished. It could only be ostracized, cut off from all intercourse with its neighbours; this penalty lasted until it consented to furnish the usual pledges for its future behaviour.

623 Village Assemblies dealt with matters of exclusively village interest. They regulated wood-cutting and irrigation rights, for example. They fixed the date at which beasts might be sent up to their summer pasturage on the high mountains. They stipulated the number of beasts that might be sent up by each family. They took steps to see that no one appropriated more than his fair share of forest, irrigation water or grazing. In so doing they made a valuable contribution to the public peace. Some aspects of
[682] murder also engaged their attention. The actual crime and revenge
[628] for it were the concern only of the families of the murderer and his victim. But it was the concern of the village that the range of revenge should not spread, increasing the number of avenging assassinations and so disturbing the village peace. So the law having laid down that the avenger must allow the murderer a day or two's grace to settle up his affairs before he was besieged in his house, the village had to extract a promise of this grace from the avenger. In cases where the grace lasted for thirty days, the village had to see that the murderer did not abuse his privilege and harry the victim's family. If he showed any such tendency, the village in General Assembly had to fine him and bring his period of grace to an untimely end.

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685 oath', but in theft cases he was often called the 'thief', and this
695 from the outset of the case until he was cleared. Father Gjeçov also calls the oath-taker in criminal cases 'the accused', but this seems a literary term chosen by himself rather than a popular usage in Mirditë. In theft cases, the accuser was most often described by a periphrasis—being called in Godolesh the 'plaintiff', in Mirditë 'the owner of the lost property', in Martanesh 'the owner of the stolen property', 'the injured party' or 'the man robbed', in Fulqet 'the injured party', and in Zerqan 'the owner of the property'.

695 In murder cases, save for Father Gjeçov's occasional 'loader',
[692] the accuser was always called 'the man with the feud', the 'avenger' (lit. 'the owner of the blood'), and in disputes about property 'the plaintiff'.

When an oath has been sworn by a suspect or a claimant to property, the innocence of the one or the claim of the other had generally to be established by the oath of a predetermined number of compurgators.

[693] It was legally impossible for a suspect to clear himself by his unsupported oath. In the words of a proverb 'A wolf licks his own flesh and eats a stranger's'. An oath-taker might not flinch from perjury in order to establish his own innocence or his claim to a property, but as compurgator he was likely to be more scrupulous. So the law said there could be no complete oath without a jury. But as usual it made exceptions. When a suspect or claimant was ordered to swear one of the very solemn oaths in which perjury involved the extinction of his whole family, his personal stake was so great that a jury was dispensed with. The best example comes from Martanesh, where a jury was necessary in oaths sworn on the Koran or bread, but not in family oaths sworn at Balim Sulltan's grave.

[694] It was both the right and the duty of the members of the jury to gather all available evidence about the case and to make up their minds about its rights and wrongs before they came finally to court to record their verdict. An interval was therefore left between the nominations of jurors and the final oath-taking, in order to give them time to investigate the case. As a last step in their collection of evidence they then gathered to hear the oath-taker take the prescribed oath. They brought in their verdict by exercising their right to decide whether or not to take the oath. To

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into a house or sheepfold, though in some districts the house-holder or shepherd had to warn the thief three times before shooting in order to avoid a blood feud. The local law said, 'A thief's blood is lost'. In Mirditë, however, there was a saying that 'A blood feud is not stopped by felony', and there it was forbidden to kill a housebreaker at sight. This prohibition had been introduced to prevent men killing their enemies and placing their dead bodies in the farmyard to give the impression that they had been caught in the act of theft. 627 685

A man who robbed a child or a woman, stole a loaded packhorse, or another man's gun, could be shot even when not caught in the act, though a blood feud might follow such action.

In Turkish times, the authorities had to be informed of the death of anyone in the act of theft, but they did not punish the man who had killed him. They required only that he should keep watch and ward over the body till some official arrived and send word to the relatives to make arrangements for burial. After the funeral, the relatives and the killer resumed ordinary relations. Strong men, of course, sometimes overrode the ordinary rules and decencies. Thus Deli Beg, the overlord of Preze, an old market centre, was so determined to stop all raids on his flocks that he not only killed all thieves, but shamed them when dead. He tied their bodies on horses, with the heads propped up with a muleteer's forked stick, and drove them through the village streets. He never troubled to inform the authorities of the deaths. 687

There were elaborate rules for the detection of the thief who succeeded in escaping with his booty. In Lumë the village authorities had the right to search one house after another for the stolen property. Everywhere the victim might try and find it for himself. He would follow the tracks of a stolen animal, generally in the direction of the home of someone known to have a grudge against him. When the tracks ended at a house or its immediate surroundings, the master was regarded as convicted of the theft. 'Track on the ground, animal found', and the owner had the right to take it away immediately if it was still alive. The thief might refuse to produce it and the owner could then ask leave to search the premises. If such permission was not given, the owner had to turn to the elders to enlist their help, as he also had to do if it were found that the animal was dead. 685 694

When the beast's tracks stopped between two houses, the

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CHAPTER XXI

MURDER WITHIN THE FAMILY

682 When a man murdered his son, father, brother, paternal uncle,
627 paternal uncle's son, or brother's son, the usual verdict was that
596 in killing so near a relative the murderer had 'killed himself'. The victim's blood was therefore lost, 'no one sought-to-avenge him', and it had only been his 'ill-luck' so to die.

From another point of view it might be argued that since the murderer was the victim's nearest relative, other relatives could not act over his head and avenge the dead man. For example, when a man murdered his paternal uncle, if the latter left neither son nor brother, his blood was lost, for the murderer was his nearest relative and by killing him had only killed himself. On the other hand, if the uncle left either a son or a brother, that son or brother was nearer to him than the murderer and avenged his death. In view of his relationship to the criminal his vengeance generally took the form of exacting blood money. In the same way when a man murdered his brother's son, the victim's blood was lost if he left neither father nor brother. But if he left either, the murderer had to pay blood money. The rule of the nearest relative failed only if one brother killed another while their father was alive. Though the father was the nearest relative of the victim, the fratricide being only a neighbour by comparison, the victim's blood was lost. The father could not avenge him except by killing his surviving son, and even from the best of motives no decent father would kill a son.

[672] The motive of the murderer seldom affected the situation. The murder of a son, an extremely rare occurrence, was oftenest due
[584] to his adultery with his young stepmother. His blood was lost, not because of his sin, but solely because the father who murdered him
[587] was his nearest relative. Again, one brother sometimes fell in love with the other's wife, and knowing, especially in north Albania,
[602] that if she became a widow he could by customary law marry her, could not always resist the temptation to make her a widow. The
[558] victim's blood was lost in spite of the murderer's motive, and the fratricide married the widow and suffered no disability except some loss of face.

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loss of face. At Krujë in 1930 when the authorities sought to 682
punish a man who had murdered his brother during a quarrel, the 627
widow swore that the pistol had gone off accidentally when her 596
brother-in-law was trying to wrest it from her husband, who had
threatened suicide. Having thus prevented the authorities from [641]
taking action, the widow made no effort to keep the true story of
the murder quiet, but repeated it every day during the month [765]
when the women met for the ceremonial 'keening'. She was also
openly commended by the public for preventing the government
from shaming her husband's family by arresting the murderer.

Exceptionally, if the murderer's motive was bad by tribal stan- [672]
dards, his relative was well avenged. For instance, if a man killed
his cousin or nephew to get his land, the crime was considered so
anti-social that the murderer was killed by the community, his blood
was lost, and his family expelled. Again, exceptionally, a motive
might be so good by tribal standards as to win the murderer public
admiration. Thus children in Shalë were taught with great pride
that once a tribesman killed his brother for killing a guest, for an [574]
Albanian's duty to his guest transcends the claims of blood
relationship.

Two modifications of the general rule are to be noted. In Mirditë in spite of the victim's blood being lost, the murderer had to pay the tribe the fine due in cases of ordinary murder, 100 rams and an ox. In the Malësi e Madhe if the two brothers had separated the fratricide had to pay blood money to his brother's dependants. If the widow had no children, she took all the money; if she had a daughter only, she again took it all, for when the time came for the girl to marry, she would as 'head of the family' have to pay the wedding expenses; if she had a son, he took all the money, for his father's death had made him head of the family. The blood money was therefore alimony payable to the widow and orphans who had been robbed of their breadwinner. If the two brothers had not separated, the fratricide as a matter of course supported the widow and orphans along with the other members of his household and the question of alimony did not arise.

Parricide was thought the most abhorrent of all murders within 682
the family. In a sense a father had the right to kill his son without 627
being asked by anybody what he had done, but a son unnatural 593
enough to kill his father could surely not have been got by that
father, but must be a bastard. Even where his crime was regarded

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682 as suicide so that he escaped with his life, and that was the com-
627 monest result, he was treated as 'a low-class fellow', visited by
593 none but bad characters, and, if a Mohammedan, never given the greeting 'Peace be with thee'. In Mirditë, always more rigorous than other districts, he was considered so anti-social that he was either killed or expelled in perpetuity by his kinsmen, or, according to another version, by the whole village along with his kinsmen.

606 The murder of certain relatives did not concern the family. Thus,
628 if a man murdered a relative by marriage, such as his son-in-law, father-in-law, wife's brother, or sister's husband, the crime ranked as an ordinary murder and was expiated with a life or with blood money. The marriage tie was disregarded; the important point was that, unlike two brothers living under separate roofs, murderer and
[581] victim belonged to different families. Such murders were very rare, for marriage relationships were always contracted to secure a valued friend, and no Albanian in his senses ever threw a friend lightly away. Again, if a man murdered his maternal uncle or his sister's son, murderer and victim belonged to different families, and blood money at least was payable for the crime. The contingency rarely arose, since a maternal uncle was regarded as a father and a sister's son as one's own child.

628 If a woman was taken in adultery, and her husband killed her and
831 her paramour together—'kerchief and cap together'—he incurred
684 no feud; their deaths went unavenged; it was a case of 'blood for
593 blood', one equal to the other. To prove them guilty he sent for his wife's brother and her lover's brother to see them both lying dead; his message would run, 'I killed her because I caught her sinning'. The wife's brother would hand him a cartridge, saying, 'Here is a cartridge for my sister. Bravo for doing this'. The paramour's nearest relatives came to the house, drank coffee, and took away the corpse; the murderer accompanied them to their house, drank coffee, and so peace was established between them. If the paramour's brother was 'a gentleman', 'a man', he would give a cartridge to the husband, saying, 'I pardon your crime because my brother has sinned'. Even the father of the paramour might say to the murderer, 'A blessing on your rifle', and give him coffee as a sign that there was peace between them. In modern times the government accepted the evidence of the two bodies lying together and punished the husband with no more than two or three weeks' imprisonment.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother of her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an adulteress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband

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[607] had killed her out of ill-will. After her brother had killed a male
628 from his house, the husband would kill both her brother and her
684 lover; then peace would be made between all three families. In
593 Martanesh and Lumë if the husband did not kill the lover as well, the wife's brother, when threatening vengeance, would say, 'You killed the bitch; why didn't you kill the dog also?'

[606] Sometimes a husband had not the courage or the heart to kill his wife; then perhaps his people killed her. Or perhaps he sent word to her father that he had found her sinning and asked him to kill her. But the father generally replied to such husbands, 'Kill her yourself, because I gave her to you to look after'. If the wife suspected this interchange of messages, she might run away to her father. In that case her husband sent him word saying, 'Either kill that bitch or see me destroy you root and branch'. The father then either killed her or sent her to her husband to kill. If the father protected the wife, a blood feud began between him and the husband, for the latter could not bear the world to think that he had swallowed such a disgrace.

In Martanesh, it should be noted, it was permissible, as it was not elsewhere, to kill the lover and the wife separately, if they could not be found together. This seems to have been the case in Dibër also. About 1916 a man in Vleshjë (Dibër) found his wife unfaithful and killed the lover. The wife ran away, but the husband caught her, poured paraffin on her, and burned her alive, yet seems to have escaped her brother's vengeance.

684 If the outraged husband killed only the lover, then he had to fear
682 vengeance from the lover's family. In Lumë on the principle that
628 'vengeance is not abandoned because of guilt', vengeance was sometimes taken by a 'bad' brother for a man killed in adultery. He might kill the husband, forgive him, or demand blood money.

776 A gruesome story of collective punishment of a guilty pair comes
684 from Martanesh. About 1912 a young man was caught with a
627 young wife. The 'circle' of the young man took him and the 'circle' of the wife took her out to an appointed spot where they stood them up together. The youth's uncle shot him dead, and the girl's brother shot her, while the drums beat and the other men danced. The honour of the two families being thus cleared, they buried the two close together, but in separate graves, at cross-roads; no hoxha was present to commit them to the grave, nor were they washed and changed. In the neighbouring Zdrâjshë also a guilty

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couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the [582] inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 628 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

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682 father, his only means of doing so, was forbidden. Her son by
562 another husband, belonging as he did to another family, was free
628 to avenge her. If a woman's son killed her for any but the above
596 heinous crimes, her husband could not avenge her, since to do so
[607] he must kill his son. In Mirditë her brother could kill her son or other male in his family, but elsewhere it was held that her brother was as helpless as her husband because her son was a nearer relative and her nearest relative having killed her, her blood must be lost. If she was married for the second time and was killed by the son of her former marriage, her husband could kill his stepson, but as before, her brother's hands were tied, except in Mirditë, by the law of nearest relative.

When a man killed his brother's wife for any other reason than those stated above, her husband took no action if he and the murderer had not separated; the murder was a family affair. Her brother, however, killed one of them. If the two brothers had separated, the murderer had to pay blood money to her husband. If the husband did not exact it within a year, her brother killed either the murderer or her husband. Her husband never killed his brother: 'I'd never kill my brother for the sake of my wife', was a common saying.

When a woman was killed by her father or brother, her blood was always lost by the rule of nearest relative. If she was married, her husband did not, in most districts, continue friendly relations with the murderer, but in some, such as Krasniqë, he asked him for another girl and on receiving her forgot his annoyance at the other's [584] murder. The same was true if the murdered woman was only betrothed, for a betrothed girl 'is counted the man's wife'. When a woman was killed by some other man in her own family, by her uncle or her nephew for instance, by the rule of nearest relative her [593] blood was lost if she was neither married nor betrothed. If she was either and was not killed for a heinous crime, her husband felt he had been disgraced and avenged her by killing a male in her family.

When murders were committed by women, the situation was complicated by the fact that women belonged to two families, their husband's and their father's.

[672] If a woman murdered her husband, both his family and her father's were involved. The important factor was her motive, which was usually love for another man who had probably bought the necessary rat poison in the bazaar. If her lover was her

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husband's brother, she married him and her husband's blood was 682
lost exactly as if he had died by his brother's hand. If her lover 562
was an outsider, her husband's brother killed her. He had the 623
right to do so, woman though she was, for a question of honour 596
was involved, and for questions of honour women might lawfully be put to death. Her son by the dead man could not kill the murderess because matricide is not allowable. Her husband's son by another wife was under no such inhibition, for he was only her stepson and therefore no relative. If her father's family believed in her adulterous motive, they sent a cartridge to her husband's brother, thereby signifying that they gave him leave to kill her and would not avenge her death. If they did not believe in the alleged motive, they avenged her by killing a man in her husband's family and an unusually bitter feud resulted.

Sometimes her husband's brother was too high-spirited or too angry to rest content with killing the murderess and killed one of her male relatives as well; he would plead that a woman's blood could never equal a man's and that her male relatives were responsible for her misdeeds. Sometimes a murderess escaped alive to her [591] father's house. In that case she was held to have escaped from the suzerainty of her husband's family and became a stranger; as a stranger she must expiate her crime, but her sex shielded her personally and threw the onus of expiation on her male relatives—'Women don't have blood feuds'. Her husband's brother was therefore bound to kill one of her relatives. To avoid losing a male for his daughter's crime her father sometimes killed her himself, [628] a desperate act that always satisfied her husband's brother.

A woman rarely murdered any other man than her husband. If [593] she did murder her brother, it was assumed that it had happened by accident as he was her surest protector. There are no records of the murder of father or paternal uncle by a woman.

The last category of murders within the family includes the very rare cases in which a woman murdered a woman in her husband's or her father's family. If she murdered her mother or her daughter, both most unlikely contingencies if she were sane, the victim's blood was lost by law of nearest relative. In all other cases the result depended on whether her victim was single or married. Thus the murder of her unmarried sister, paternal aunt, brother's daughter, counted as a suicide and the victim's blood was lost. If she murdered her husband's sister, the victim's blood was again

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Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son
562 had been killed at a third person's instigation, took his revolver and
*628 killed the instigator. Unfortunately for her, the date was about
[682] 1923 when a modern government was already functioning; she was arrested and tried for murder, but in view of the circumstances she was condemned to no more than a year and a half's imprisonment. The public were astonished to find that the government had punished a woman on much the same terms as a man.

[593] Assuming that a woman could steel herself to murder anyone, it is natural to find her avenging her father, son or brother. Given primitive Albanian ideas about the proprieties between husband and wife, and the feeling that the wife remained a member of her father's household, it is somewhat surprising to find one avenging her husband. A woman of western Mat went one day to the bazaar and there saw the man who had murdered her husband. In spite of the press of people she drew a revolver and shot him dead; as she had come provided with the weapon, there is little doubt that she did not act on the spur of the moment. About 1883 Fatime Almetaj, a woman born in Kostejë near Martanesh and married in Përvall, was busy baking one day while her husband talked to a neighbour. On hearing a gunshot she rushed out to find her husband already dead and the neighbour running away. She ran inside, seized her husband's rifle and again rushed out. The neighbour had already reached his own doorstep when she fired. As soon as she saw him fall dead, she re-entered her house and resumed her baking; her husband had been avenged, there were others in the family to feed, and the dough was getting cold. In neither of these cases do records show whose life the enemy took in return for the one she had taken; by right it should have been one of the males in her husband's family.

593 In certain cases both the avenger and the expiator of a murder
*628 might be drawn from outside the household directly concerned.
[826] For instance, if a murderer and his brother were separated, the avenger might kill the latter while his blood was boiling, a period estimated in Dibër at one hour and in Mirditë and elsewhere at twenty-four hours. When his blood had cooled he must not molest the separated brother, and might be required to find a guarantor that he would not do so. Conversely, a man separated from his murdered brother might avenge him during the regulation period, but not afterwards.

613 Sometimes the rule of 'boiling blood' was extended to larger
*628

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CHAPTER XXIII

BLOOD FEUD

II. COURSE OF THE FEUD

682 The fatal shot fired, a murderer's life was in such instant danger
*628 from the avenger that it behoved him to fly with all speed. But
[876] often his 'blood seized him' so that 'his legs gave way under him' and he was rooted to the spot from shock. Custom therefore prescribed in Shkodër, Lumë and Godolesh that he must drop on the ground a cartridge or an article of clothing such as his fez, sash, or handkerchief; in Elbasan, Shpat and Çermenikë that he must lick the muzzle of his rifle or pistol; alternatively, in Elbasan that he must inhale the smoke of the gunpowder or let his comrades slap his face; in Labinot that he must hold the cartridge case in his mouth and bite his little finger and suck the blood, and in Mat that he must eat a little gunpowder. That done successfully, 'his blood was set free', 'the seizure passed', and he was able to run away.

577 When an article of clothing was left behind, it served to identify the murderer; where none was left, word had to be sent to the victim's family. It was everywhere 'held dishonourable' to kill and not to tell. It was also thought unfair for reasons that varied with the locality. In Mirditë the victim's relatives might go mad if they did not know the identity of the murderer; in north Albania the murderer's kinsmen would not know to hide while the avenger's blood was boiling; in south Albania the crime might be laid at the wrong door. Besides, the normal murder was matter for boasting; committed only to avenge some wrong or insult, it showed that the murderer was spirited enough to resent ill-treatment.

Latterly, when the government was attempting to repress murder, the murderer, certain of arrest, left no token and did not inform the relatives. The community, however, was always on the watch and from its members' observation of those who came from the direction of the shots and from their knowledge of the whereabouts of the victim's enemies at the time, the murderer's identity was established—at all events to the satisfaction of the community.

In the early days of a feud the father or brother of the victim might in his furious rage kill the murderer and shoot a second time

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at the lifeless corpse. When the feud was older, it was not permitted to kill and shoot again. A murderer seldom looked at the corpse, a fact which gave men quick-witted enough to feign death a chance to escape. In some places, such as Mirditë, the murderer was expected to turn the dead man in the right direction for one of his religion—with his head towards the east if Christian, whether Catholic or Orthodox, towards Mecca if Mohammedan, and to rest his rifle against his head; if unable to touch him, he had to tell the first man he met to attend to those matters. In Shpat the murderer left the cartridge-case by his victim, allegedly not to 'set his own blood free', as in Lumë, but to avoid carrying away a thing that was unlucky because stained with blood and sin. In Mat and the Malësi e Madhe, the murderer's own life being in grave danger from the avenger, it was thought 'brave' to tread in the victim's blood as a last insult.

A murderer must not rob his victim; he had killed him only to defend his honour and not to enrich himself. As was popularly said, 'low-class fellows' take a man's rifle, watch, money or clothes; 'good-class men' take only vengeance. In some places sanctions reinforced public disapproval of the robber-murderer. In Lumë he saddled himself with one and a half feuds, i.e. the need to pay for the murder with blood money as well as a life; in Mirditë, where he was expected to lay the dead man's rifle against his head, he incurred two feuds. Certain exceptions to the rule were admitted. A murderer could everywhere, except in Mirditë, take his victim's rifle to prove that he 'had really trodden in his blood', but he must afterwards send the weapon to the family. On similar terms he might take the dead man's watch also. When the murderer was a hired assassin, he commonly took a token from his victim, usually his cap, to prove to his paymaster that he had earned his money. When a man's enemy lived at a distance, he might again take his cap to prove to his own friends and neighbours that he had killed him. Robbery of the corpse by a third person was not to be feared; since everybody within range, the dead man's relatives included, rushed up at the sound of the shot, there was publicity enough to prevent such an outrage. As for the supernatural dangers thought to beset the bodies of persons dead in ordinary circumstances, it was well known that Satan feared a rifle too much to approach the body of the murdered man.

When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads

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302 When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads
*628 except for a tuft on the crown, as a few old men and young boys still do, the Highlanders of north Albania asserted that a murderer
862 had licence to cut off his victim's head. The tuft, they said, was left so that an enemy might conveniently carry the head when he cut it off; failing such a handle, he would thrust his finger into the dead man's mouth, an intolerable insult. The veracity of this story appears doubtful, since although the Highlanders, Slavs, and Turks all cut off heads, Albanians as far inland as Elbasan shaved their head save for the tuft on the crown, and it is unlikely that all anticipated murder by Slavs or Turks. Whatever the purpose, the tuft was not confined to Albanians, but was seen in 1926 worn by small boys in the Turkish villages in south Serbia where the population was of mixed Turkish and Bulgarian stock.

*628 A murderer usually announced his crime to the victim's family
766 by a crude message to fetch him from such-and-such a place and
682 bury him. He was always expected to surrender the body, but if a feud was unusually bitter, the murderer might forbid the body to be buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way. If he was backed by enough men to make his ban effective, the body was buried in the secrecy of night. Sometimes he forbade it to be taken even at night to the cemetery; in that event it had to be buried elsewhere. A story comes from Sopot in Dibër. About 1893 Abas Kamber's enemy killed one of his men and forbade him to carry the body to the cemetery. Abas, strong though he was, could do nothing but bury it in the courtyard of his house. Just before it was lowered into the grave, the enemy repented and sent him leave to bury it in the cemetery. To show that he was not always prepared to do the enemy's bidding, Abas sent back the message that he would not dig up the body again and concluded that burial as it had begun.

Hiding the body was universally deprecated. When men stole a grazing cow, it was said they killed it, roasted and ate what they could of the meat and hid the remainder. But it was not to eat a man's flesh that they killed him and they must not conceal his body like the cow's. If they did, the feud was doubly embittered.

*628 By rights a man was never buried where he was killed. Even if
764 the spot were two days distant, or if, like Kol Mali's victim, he had
682 lain three weeks undiscovered, he was carried home for burial. 'He had been theirs', his relatives said, and neither distance nor a natural repugnance could prevent them from doing their duty by him. In the northern mountains, in Mirditë and in Kurbin, a heap

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of stones was made where he was killed; on this every passer-by was expected to throw a green leaf, a blade of grass or a pebble while expressing a wish for the repose of his soul. In Shkrel, according to one informant, a stone was stuck at the head and another at the foot, as though the place was a real grave, but a *muranë* was not made. Any relatives who wished to mourn him went to his grave, not to the place where he had been killed. Exceptionally, what seem real graves may be seen near the meadows of Tërnovë above Zerqan; ten or twelve in number, each roughly outlined with stones, they are known as 'the murdered graves' and are said to contain the bodies of men who fell there in a long-past battle between the villages of Tërnovë and Sopot. Again exceptionally, when Muharrem Bajraktar of Lumë fled in 1934 to Yugoslavia, the Spahi family, his hereditary enemies, killed one of his servants. Muharrem said this man was not to be buried in Bicaj, his native village, but by the wayside where he fell, so that when he himself returned from exile he should see the grave and be reminded to take vengeance.

The ideal was to take vengeance as soon as possible. In Kurbin the piled stones served to make the dead man's kinsmen hasten to take vengeance, reminding them of his death and so 'heating their blood'. For the same purpose the Catholics of the north frequently buried the man in his blood-stained clothes; the Mohammedans, however, obedient to the dictum that all who profess their faith must go to the grave in a clean winding sheet, discarded this custom. A still stranger reminder of the need to take vengeance, a little bottle filled with the dead man's blood, was used all over north Albania and in Kosovë. This bottle the relatives looked at day and night. As soon as the blood 'boiled', i.e. fermented, they seized their rifles, cocked their skull-caps over one ear to show their determination, and rushed forth to kill the murderer. If the blood did not 'boil', they might accept a money indemnity instead of taking a life. In western Mat they dipped a rag in the dead man's blood; when it looked stained and brown, they knew the hour to avenge him had struck. None of these reminders was found as far south as Çermenikë and Shpat.

Public opinion also spurred the avenger on. A man slow to kill his enemy was thought 'disgraced' and was described as 'low-class' and 'bad'. Among the Highlanders he risked finding that other men had contemptuously come to sleep with his wife, his

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a man willing to burn women and children to death and to harm property; in Shpat property was so sacrosanct that one must not touch even 'the leaf of the leek' belonging to one's enemy.

When the community decided to burn out a man whom they had sentenced to banishment for committing a heinous murder, their numbers and their power to exclude him completely from the tribal life made it impossible for him to resist. It was otherwise with the victim's kin. For want of power to exclude the murderer from more than their own section of tribal life they could not make him submit tamely, and in their attempts to use force they were often baffled by the fire-resisting principles on which most mountain houses were built. With the walls of stone, only the roof and the outer door were inflammable, and with no matches available these could only be set alight by blazing brands, probably of pitch pine, brought from another house. If the murderer was a rich man, he lived in a house surrounded by a courtyard wide enough to keep incendiaries at a safe distance from both roof and doorway; one or two towers in the walls of the courtyard sufficiently protected its gateway. If the murderer was poor, his house had no courtyard. But like the rich man's, it consisted of two or more storeys, the stable on the ground floor and the living-rooms above. The roof was, therefore, too high for the avenger to throw firebrands among the rafters. The door was surmounted by machicoulis through which the defenders could shoot or pour boiling water, and loopholes at the corners of the living-rooms commanded the approaches; in cases of bitter feud the door was sometimes covered outside with tin plates. Windows in a stable being thought unnecessary, the door was the only break in the solid walls of the ground floor. Sometimes avengers who were weak in guns hired men to fire the murderer's house. These hirelings came especially from Mirditë, for Mirdites were notoriously brave enough to face the risk entailed and poor enough to think only of the money offered; this amounted to some thirty napoleons (£40 in the 1930's) per man.

When an avenger burned down the murderer's house in hot blood, his motive was to do the murderer as much damage as possible. When he burned it down in cold blood, his motive was to drive the murderer into the open to be shot at. A murderer not infrequently shut himself up in his house during the daytime and stirred outside only at night, so remaining beyond the avenger's reach. When his house was set on fire, he knew that if he remained

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*628 inside the blazing building, his death was certain, and that if he
•682 came out, he had a sporting chance of escaping the avenger's bullets. He had, therefore, no choice but to leave the burning house. In the same way when gendarmes surrounded a house in which a desperate criminal was hidden, he preferred to run the gauntlet of their fire rather than wait tamely to be seized and led off perhaps to death as a menace to society. This was particularly
[681] true of Turkish times, when dangerous criminals were generally shot out of hand when arrested.

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CHAPTER XXIV

BLOOD FEUD

III. EXPIATOR AND EXPIATION

In most cases of murder one life only was forfeit to the avenger; 554
'one for one' was the formula. This was irrespective of the social 682
standing or the character of the victim. Hence the murder of a standard-bearer (bajraktar) was neither better nor worse than the murder of the least of clansmen, and that of a priest was neither better nor worse than that of a layman.

The formula of 'one for one' was disregarded only in a few cases. 554
In Lumë, a district which prided itself on its 'spirit', 'two for one' 628*
was the rule when a man killed his social superior; nothing less 682
would content his victim's injured pride. In most districts a man who suffered the more grievous forms of bereavement, losing his wife, guest or child at a murderer's hands, took double or even triple vengeance. In the Malësi e Madhe the victim's family, if 'strong' with all the pride that the epithet denotes, might kill two of the murderer's relatives if they found them together, though not otherwise. Spiro Toli of Shënjon, near Elbasan, a man as proud as any Lumjan of his 'spirit', felt so degraded when his brother was killed by a hireling at another's bidding, and that hireling a gipsy, that he killed both the instigator and the hireling. Pride, of course, was the ruling motive in every blood feud. By his successful crime the murderer had proved himself the better man, and the victim could not endure this inferiority and was bound to strike back in kind.

The person of the expiator seems to have undergone an historical 628*
development. Long ago, 'blood feuds went by the finger', that is to 672
say, only the actual murderer, the man whose finger had pulled the trigger, was made to expiate his crime. Father Gjeçov aptly compares Deuteronomy xxiv, 16. In modern times the merging of the individual in his family was stressed as in the case of the avenger, and expiation might be made by any male who lived in the same house as the murderer and was in either the actual or classificatory sense his 'father', 'brother' or 'son'.

This rule was subject to several important reservations. The

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If expiation took the form of blood money, no distinction was made for age; the payment for a worn-out man of eighty or an able-bodied man of thirty was the same as for a boy of five or an infant of a few weeks. As when a life was taken for a life, no distinction was made for social standing or moral character; the payment for a bajraktar was the same as for a labourer. A female's 'blood', however, cost only half a male's. In the early days when these payments were determined, money was so distributed that the rich had a great deal, while the poor, who formed the bulk of the population, were all but penniless. The fear of having to pay a large sum in blood money was therefore a considerable deterrent against murder.

Blood money was accepted only in Mirditë and north Albania. Elsewhere it was scorned. 'Blood money and bride-price do you no good', said Lumë. 'We don't sell blood for money; that is a low thing to do', said Çermenikë, a boast repeated in Dibër in even stronger terms. In Labinot and Godolesh blood could not be washed away with money on the north Albanian system. In all these districts the formula after a murder was 'either pardon or kill'.

It must be admitted that neither lived up to its pretensions, the north being more truculent and the other districts less truculent than they claimed. In the Malësi e Madhe, for instance, only weak, low-class families would accept blood money; if other families did so, they were held to have 'disgraced themselves'. Indeed, a bajraktar's household, a voivode's or a 'leading family' should seek for fifty years, if need be, to kill the murderer of one of their men. On the other hand, a Çermenikë man sometimes accepted blood money, but if he so demeaned himself, his aim was to ruin his enemy and he fixed the price accordingly. In Dibër no man would accept blood money for a male relative unless it was accompanied by the present of a rifle as a conventional sign that he was still free to kill the murderer if he could. In Lumë a subtle use was sometimes made of blood money. Normally, when a life had been paid for a life, peace was made. But when an inferior killed his superior, the latter's relative would not make peace till he had killed two of the other's men. At the peace-making the first was paired with the original victim and for the second the superior's relative paid blood money.

Given the stigma attached to blood money, it was seldom paid except in lighter cases. After an accidental murder, for instance,

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honour was in most places satisfied by a money payment. For example, two men of Krujë were examining a revolver together, not knowing it was loaded, when it went off suddenly and killed one of them. The other was held guilty of murder, but in view of the circumstances escaped with a payment of twenty-five napoleons, the conventional six purses. If an animal killed somebody, the death was considered accidental and the payment of blood money sufficed. In Breg i Matit the grazing was good enough to carry a considerable head of cattle which wandered freely through the swamps, with consequent risk to the public from the bulls. If a man was killed by a bull which its owner knew to be dangerous, the latter had to pay blood money, failing which he was liable to be shot. If he did not know the animal's character, he was excused the payment of blood money but had to surrender the bull to its victim's relatives as a minor atonement.

Accidental though a murder might be, the murderer could not rely on saving his life with blood money. Especially while the crime was fresh, he was well advised to lie low until responsible men had weighed the case and confirmed its accidental character. After paying the money he was not absolutely safe unless he found a guarantor.

In Mirditë when blood money was accepted the murderer had also to pay fines of 100 rams and one ox to the tribe and of 500 grosh (piastres, i.e. one purse) to the family of the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë; the animals were eaten at a public banquet by the tribe. These fines were imposed on the murderer for disturbing the public peace. In cases of accidental murder, however, no fine was payable; the formula ran: 'The rifle which kills accidentally entails blood (really blood money) for blood, but not a fine or pursuit.'

The payment of blood money also solved the difficulties in certain cases of murder within the family where atonement had to be made, yet could not properly be exacted in the form of a life for a life. For instance, if two brothers in Shkrel had separate households, when one killed the other's wife for any but a question of honour, the victim's husband could not kill his own brother for her sake but had the right to exact blood money; after all, he had been unjustly deprived of his wife's services and must buy another wife. If a married woman in Shkrel were killed, again unreservedly, by some member of her husband's family, her son, if fifteen years

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of age or more, could not kill the murderer, his own relative, but exacted blood money. In Shalë another principle came into play. If the dead man's relatives did not succeed in killing the murderer within seven years, they accepted blood money. In places like Mirditë where a fine was exacted when blood money was accepted for a murder, no fine was payable in cases of wounding.

In Mirditë 'wounding went by the part'. If the wound was inflicted at the waist or upwards, even if the bullet only grazed the man's head, the aggressor had to pay three purses; if the wound was below the waist, he need pay no more than 750 grosh, i.e. 1½ purses. In Lumë if a wound left a man lame for life, the wound-money was assessed at seventeen napoleons, roughly four purses, or two-thirds of a man's value; if not, five napoleons were enough. In Krasniqë if a man was so wounded in the private parts that he could no longer be a husband, his assailant had to pay him twelve purses, double the price of a dead man. The doctor's expenses had always to be paid by the aggressor; in Martanesh these were customarily reckoned at 200–300 grosh (piastres), and if they were paid, wound money was sometimes not asked. In Mirditë the doctor's expenses were not fixed by custom but were due only when the victim's relatives regulated the matter, not when the headmen did so. In Çermenikë if a man wounded his enemy, that is to say, the man with whom he had a feud, he did not pay the doctor's expenses; if he accidentally wounded a friend or a neutral, he did. This rule was maintained by King Zog's government. Once an American missionary of Korchë had taken a class of boys for a walk in the country when one fell down a precipice and was gravely injured; the government refused to allow the American to leave Albania until the boy, months afterwards, was restored to health and the American had paid the doctor's biils.

As with a death, accident was no excuse. For example, in 1932 two men from Zdrâjshë in Çermenikë were cutting down a tree by the wayside, when a man from Neshtë, on his way to fetch maize, rode by. The woodcutters called to him to stop, but he paid no heed. As he passed, the tree fell, pinning him to the ground. He was carried home, where he lingered for three months and then died. After his death the woodcutters had to pay his family three purses for wounding him. Wounds inflicted by animals, though considered accidental, had also to be paid for. Those inflicted by dogs fell into a special category. In Shkrel the elders were summoned to

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672 assess the doctor's expenses, which were then paid by the animal's
682 owner.

*628 A murderer might also expiate his crime, voluntarily or involun-
682 tarily, by exile. If voluntarily, he ran away fearing for his life, but only a weak man who was personally a coward, or had few adult males in his family to keep the enemy at bay, consented to show the white feather.

Voluntary exile might be temporary or permanent. In the former case the murderer did not give up the idea of eventually making his peace with the victim's family and securing their permission to return home.

A normal exile's hope of ending his feud lay in several directions. The victim's family might become so weakened by other blood feuds that they knew themselves to be no longer formidable and sank their pride enough to accept blood money in full payment. They might even become poor enough to be tempted by the offer of money. Or they might consider an absence of ten or twenty years' duration as part atonement and for the rest content themselves with blood money. They might even, on the intervention of friends, forgive the crime outright. In Çermenikë, in the days when 'murder went by the finger' and a murderer's relatives could not make vicarious atonement for his crime, he commonly retired to another district for four or five years, after which the victim's family probably gave a conditional assent to his return. If he risked returning, he kept discreetly out of the way while mutual friends interceded for him. Occasionally they secured his pardon; more often he had to withdraw for a further period of four or five years. During this second absence the enemy's heart almost certainly softened enough to make his next return definite.

Voluntary exile might become permanent for several reasons. It might, for instance, be so protracted that the murderer grew used to his new surroundings and, ceasing to hanker for his old home, settled down where he was. Hysen Agë Jella, of Tirana, having killed Ramiz Bey Toptan, also of Tirana, fled to Bulqizë and took refuge with the noted brigand, Sul Hupi. Under the latter's protection and by reason of his own wealth and prestige, he acquired such a position in Bulqizë that when eventually the feud with the Toptans was closed, he did not return to Tirana, preferring to remain in Bulqizë.

Again, an exiled murderer sometimes prospered so much that

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he found it to his interest to stay away permanently. If he found the climate or the soil of his new home kindlier, he might sell his paternal holding through an intermediary and with the proceeds buy land in his new home. Before he ran away, he had probably sent his wife to her parents, who no doubt lived in another village. There he visited her at intervals until he was installed in his new property, when he sent for her and their children, if any. A voluntary exile, it may be added, was content to leave his wife in his brother's charge; a compulsory exile took her with him. Good examples of voluntary exiles turned permanent from motives of advantage are provided by the many Bojdan families from Bicaj in Lumë, who in recent centuries involved themselves in blood feuds and fled to Kosovë. Their feuds were compounded in every instance, but the greater fertility in Kosovë was not to be resisted. To-day their descendants live scattered as far apart as Kaçanik and Blacë, near Skopljë. They still preserve memories of their kinship one with another and with Bicaj; in fact, till the break-up of the Turkish empire in Europe after the Balkan wars interposed new frontiers between the Albanian lands, they made occasional pilgrimages to the homes of their ancestors in Bicaj.

Sometimes an exiled murderer set up a small business, selling cigarettes and cleaning shoes, and made money as he could never have done in his mountain village. Sometimes, too, he entered the service of a rich man and in return for his devotion was given a grant of land.

The emergence of a central government which punished murder tended to increase the number of permanent exiles and to make the strong as well as the weak run away. An Albanian would face boldly enough the vengeance of his victim's relatives, but he detested being imprisoned by the government. A man of Bashabun, near Elbasan, killed a neighbour years ago. Blood money was paid, and so far as his victim's family was concerned, he was free to return home. Unwilling, however, to serve the short term of imprisonment to which the government would condemn him, he remained in exile in Bosnia. A Milot murderer remained in exile after the payment of blood money had closed the feud, because he feared imprisonment by the government. In an accidental meeting with his victim's brother, both forgot the closing of the feud and shot at each other, the brother killing the murderer. Then only the taking of the oath with twenty-four men cleared him from the

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682 accusation of taking government money to kill the murderer after
641 he had taken blood money from the family.

[167] The same fear of government action was at work in Kosovë, a province largely populated by Albanians but assigned to Yugoslavia after the Turkish empire broke up in 1912. A steady drift towards Albania proper went on among the Kosovars. Some were impelled by land hunger to go and take up the free land which the Albanian government had offered them; others came to evade Yugoslav justice. By contrast with the Albanian government, which did not yet punish severely homicide that was justifiable by tribal law, the Yugoslav government hanged most murderers. To avoid this ignominy, a Kosovar murderer preferred to emigrate, lock, stock and barrel, to Albania. Most interestingly, this emigration was the ebb of the tide that within recent centuries peopled Kosovë with Albanians.

[621] Sometimes a murderer did not run away of his own accord, but was forcibly expelled by the community. Although when murder was not punished by government, only the weak ran away voluntarily, the community expelled a strong man as readily as a weak
[619] one. In tribal districts like Mirditë which contained several villages the murderer's village could not expel him without the other villages' consent and help. If the village resisted the expulsion, the tribe as a whole had the right to 'proclaim' the village or to call in other tribes to bring it to reason. In small tribes like Nikaj the murderer's kinsmen could expel him independently of the tribe. In non-tribal districts like Shpat, where each village was a self-contained unit, it needed to ask no one before expelling a murderer.

682 A man sentenced to communal expulsion was always one whose
*628 crime struck at the roots of society as understood in the mountains.
674 Perhaps he had violated the acknowledged sanctity of the 'pledged word' by killing his enemy during a public truce or even after making peace with him. Perhaps he had infringed the sacred laws of hospitality by killing his host or guest. Perhaps he threatened family solidarity by killing a cousin to get his land. Perhaps he had killed a man to steal his rifle and thereby as good as robbed him of his manhood, for a man without a rifle is as nothing, no better than a woman. Perhaps he had committed sacrilege by killing someone, possibly the priest himself, inside the territory of church or mosque, or by breaking into the church to steal.

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For any such anti-social murder no ordinary vengeance, no pardon was possible. The community assembled and passed judgement in the time-honoured formula that so-and-so 'is burned, roasted, cut down and expelled from the tribe'. Without loss of time—probably immediately after passing sentence—they burned the man's house, killed, roasted and ate his sheep, goats and cows, cut down his trees, and drove him into exile. They further required him to make public confession of his guilt by himself applying the burning brand to his house. In Mirditë and elsewhere he had at the same time to make himself a public scapegoat, saying as he lit the fire, 'On my head be the ill-luck of the village and the tribe'. If he and the other men in the house who were qualified to represent him refused to set the house alight, the head of his clan bade his next nearest relative do so. The fire once started, the whole village or tribe kept it going until its work was done, for it was essential that the whole community should take part in executing the communal sentence. But they could not touch the fire until the criminal had lighted it. In the same way, the murderer had to be the first to apply the axe to his trees and vines; if he jibbed, his nearest relative took his place and the work was completed by the whole community. If he had a vegetable garden it was destroyed in the same fashion. On the same day all his edible livestock was roasted and consumed by the community at a public banquet. This was by way of a fine. He himself, with his wife and children, was escorted to the tribal frontier to make sure that he was not killed on the way. At the frontier he was ordered never to return again. In Shpat he was literally drummed out of the village; the community hired gipsies to lead the way beating drums, and all the men sang to mark their joy at getting rid of a bad character.

The community destroyed the murderer's house, fruit trees and livestock not to punish him directly for his crime, but to make it impossible for him to defy the sentence of exile by remaining in his home. For the essential feature of their sentence was the condemnation to exile, the expulsion of an undesirable, of one whose act had dishonoured the whole tribe and must be repudiated by the whole tribe. Since robbery was not their motive, the murderer was free to take his money with him; in any case, it could not be seen, securely hidden as it was in a purse in his armpit.

Sometimes the expulsion was for ever, sometimes for three, five,

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682 ten or twenty years, according to the crime. In Mirditë, pre-
*628 sumably under church influence, the murderer of a priest was expelled for ever, and other anti-social criminals for five to fifteen years. In Martanesh the injured man might after an interval intercede with the local elders and secure a remission of part of the sentence; otherwise the murderer and his descendants must remain in exile. Several local traditions maintain that sentences of perpetual banishment were formerly much commoner. In Martanesh no such sentence has been pronounced for 200 years, and in Shpat none for 100 years. In Lurë any murderer used to be banished in perpetuity; witness the numerous families of Lurë origin who now live in Prizren, Tetovo, Reka and other places in Yugoslavia.

428 In Lurë when a man was sentenced to perpetual banishment, his
682 nearest kinsmen, those who would have been his heirs in the event of his dying childless, divided up his land. His family was in fact reckoned as extinct so far as the tribe was concerned. In Mirditë also he was considered as dead to the tribe. Father Gjeçov gives two accounts of what happened there to his land. For ordinary expulsions it was left uncultivated and used for public grazing.
[688] When a man was expelled for breaking into a church or for killing a priest, his land was bought by his nearest kinsmen and the money given to the church. In Shpat again the murderer's nearest kinsmen divided up his land; but there the elders valued it and the kinsmen paid the murderer the estimated sum before he was drummed out; if they could not raise the money, the village found
[423] it, subject to recovering it later from the kinsmen. On the other hand, when a murderer was banished only for a term of years, his land everywhere remained uncultivated until his return, when he built a house and resumed cultivation. During his absence, his ownership of the land was uncontested, but he was not allowed to derive any profit from it. A voluntary exile was in a different position; he could empower a kinsman to work his land and throughout his absence to remit to him in his place of exile an agreed proportion of the profits.

682 When a man was expelled for good, the community signalled the
*628 same by tearing up the four corner-stones of the foundations of his
584 house after they had burned it down. When his banishment was temporary, the corner-stones were left in place to await his return. Again when his banishment was perpetual, there could be no more giving or taking in marriage for him in the village; any engagements

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subsisting at the time of his expulsion were voided by that fact. 682
When his banishment was temporary, his marriage engagements 628*
remained binding. [584]

Even in cases of temporary banishment the murderer's separation from his tribe was thoroughgoing. For the specified period 'he could not light a cigarette in a single house of the tribe', as the men of Lurë put it. Nor could he, or his, return to borrow honey, that most important commodity where sugar is scarce. In Mirditë a tribesman who admitted him to his house for any of the above purposes was publicly 'burned, roasted and expelled' for breaking tribal discipline.

The banished murderer's obligation to take root whether he 682
wished it or not in some alien spot is another of the factors which produced the many colonies of diverse origin in Albanian lands. The exiles, home-sick like exiles the world over, often gave the name of their ancestral village to their new settlement.

If the murderer did not choose to go into exile of his own accord, [697]
he was condemned by the avenger to virtual imprisonment in his house. Sometimes he shut himself up voluntarily; more often, especially in north Albania, he was peremptorily ordered to do so by the avenger. For the period of his 'imprisonment' fear that the avenger was lurking near prevented him from stirring outside during the daytime and restricted his movements to the night hours. If he left home, he had by dawn to find shelter under a friend's roof and he could not continue his travels until the next night fell. These disabilities were his so long as he eluded the avenger, and he might do so for years, as in the case of a native of Sheshaj who had been shut up by his enemy for twenty-five years. At Belsh in Dumre, as a result of this confinement, two men who had been shut up for twelve years were 'waxen and yellow as the dead'. They longed to walk in the sunlight and were bored indoors where they could do nothing to pass the time except strip maize [286]
and knit (most curiously, knitting is one of the staple occupations [462]
of the men, but not the women, in Dumre). But they could not help themselves, since it was certain death to step outside during the daytime.

Just as the murderer's house could not be burned down in case 172
women and children perished in the conflagration, so his 'imprison- 682
ment' could not be allowed to stop the work of the family in case 628*
women and children died of starvation. There were several

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*628 672 682 provisions for carrying on the work. The first was the law that women, children, servants and domestic animals must not be shut up. So in comparative security the able-bodied women, on whom fell the heaviest burden, tilled the fields, went to market, ground corn at the mill and fetched water from the spring and firewood from the forest. The boys and aged women herded the cows, sheep and goats. The servants took part in any or all of these tasks, but few households could afford the luxury of servants.

[462] A social phenomenon alleged to be a by-product of this immunity of women and children is interesting. To-day a good proportion of the agricultural work of Albania is done by women, while the men idle; a generation ago the bulk of it was so done. The men of to-day excuse their idling by saying it is a habit formed when they or their fathers were shut up by blood feuds; whatever their natural inclination to work, they were then driven perforce into allowing their women to toil alone to feed the family. This plea may or may not be valid; as the frequency of blood feuds decreased, the men's industry increased.

*628 672 In bad feuds the immunity of women and children was sometimes denied. Even to-day the women of Murat Kaloshi's household cannot stir outside his compound except under heavy escort; failing that, they would be shot without pity by his enemies. The numerous children in his household are growing up illiterate four minutes' walk from an excellent school; if they attended this school, a battalion of gendarmes or men-at-arms could hardly ensure their safety. Another bad case is to be found at Milot, where even the boys in the cradle in Gjin Bardhoku's house have to share the men's imprisonment. In Çermenikë the immunity of women was never absolute; there was always a danger that the avenger might lose his temper and kill them. Within living memory two women in Fenars, one of the more accessible villages in Çermenikë, once tried to plough and were discovered by the avenger. On their declining to desist as he bade them, he fired at them with unexpectedly fortunate results. He wounded both but only severely enough to make them fall to the ground while letting go the oxen. They made a speedy recovery and, each wound counting as half a 'blood', the avenger was considered to have taken vengeance. The two parties were then 'measure for measure' and made peace.

*628 697 Again with a view to feeding the murderer's family an avenger

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sometimes yielded to a friend's pleadings and allowed one or more men in the 'imprisoned' man's household to come out and work. The same friend went security to the murderer for the lives of the man or men released. In Shpat, if one of the men imprisoned died, the avenger sent word that one of those hitherto free must shut himself up in his stead. It is not known whether this was the rule in other districts or not.

In earlier times, according to vague traditions still current in Çermenikë and Martanesh, only the actual murderer was shut up and the other men in his household were free to work and to travel. This tradition is supported by the history of the Balli family in the village of Fenars. Seven generations ago, i.e. about 175 years ago, Sali Balli of Martanesh killed a friend and was shut up by the avenger, while his four brothers went free. He grew so bored in his 'prison' that he ran away from Martanesh and settled in Fënars, where he founded a family now headed by Isuf Balli. The descendants of his brothers still live in the old home in Martanesh.

When an avenger felt too bitter to release indefinitely one or more men in the imprisoned murderer's household, he was sometimes induced to make a minor concession. When all the men were shut up, women were able to hoe, to carry manure, to sow seed, to reap wheat and to harvest maize successfully, but they could not plough—so it was believed in north, though not in south, Albania, where the wives of many emigrants must to this day plough if they and their children are to eat. There was therefore danger in north Albania that if all the men were shut up during the ploughing season, the family would, in spite of the women's efforts, starve. This led to a ticket-of-leave system, called *besë*, literally 'pledged word', 'truce', or *kuvend*, 'agreement'. At the instance of a mutual friend the avenger granted the murderer leave for one or more men in his household to come out and work his land for a stipulated period, varying from three to twelve months. As so often, the forces of public opinion reinforced the friend's urgings; indeed, it was said of an avenger who refused his enemy leave to plough that he 'was not to be entered in the register', i.e. could not be classed as a man, and of one who did not that he was both brave and honourable.

In Dukagjin the kanùn of murder was so stern that neither the murderer nor his womenfolk were allowed to work his land if the avenger was strong. Indeed, the avenger often worked it and carried home the produce, leaving the murderer's household

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682 dependent on charity. At best the elders fixed a sum to be paid by
*628 the murderer for leave to work his own land: the money paid, the avenger gave his word not to molest him; or a 'strong' friend guaranteed his safety as he tilled his fields. This arrangement continued until he was killed elsewhere or the avenger consented to make peace.

*628 Various devices were tried to outwit an avenger too venomous
[562] to make the smallest concession to his 'imprisoned' enemy. The
[427] commonest was for the murderer to let his land to a neutral on the usual Albanian terms of 'halves'. Once some men of Lurë, trusting to the prevailing immunity of women from attack, dressed in their wives' clothes and went out to work. They were soon discovered and compelled to return home. Frequently a woman was made to work alongside the men, the assumption being that from fear of accidentally hitting the women and so disgracing himself the avenger would not fire on the party. The man who murdered the brother of Kodhel Dede of Nezhar in Shpat belonged to a large family, the members of which went to work with a woman between every two men. Kodhel thus found it impossible to kill one of them and after a long period of years made peace. Sometimes a man's wife kept watch while he worked; if she signalled the enemy's approach, he seized his rifle and prepared to defend himself. During Kodhel Dede's feud with the Trepsanishti family he found himself long baulked by the vigilance of his enemy's wife.
[796] At last his chance came on the eve of 15 August. The wife had her
[782] mind set on making *melata* (sacrificial foods) for distribution on the festival, and, forgetting her husband who was at work on the threshing floor, she went home to make them. Kodhel, who had crept up through a maize field, shot her husband as soon as her back was turned. In the hilly landscape of Fulqet in west Mat a different sort of watch was kept. The 'imprisoned' men, aided by friends, dug a hole on top of a hill commanding a wide view. One of their best shots, rifle in hand, settled down in this hole ready to snipe the avenger if he tried to kill any of the men at work.

*628 Work in the fields apart, an 'imprisoned' murderer might for
572 short periods leave his house under escort of a friend. This friend
682 had to be 'strong', otherwise the murderer might be killed by his enemy, a lasting disgrace to the man whose protégé he was for the time being. Sometimes murderer and avenger had a common friend who took the former out; in that case the friend ran less risk

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of losing his protégé, but even so he had to be fairly 'strong'. In 628*
Mat such a friend might take the murderer out three times with [572]
impunity. Afterwards he was sure to receive a message from the 682
avenger which ran, 'Don't stir out again. Stay indoors. It was for your sake that I didn't fire.'

In the majority of cases the murderer neither ran away nor was shut up, but went about his normal business, taking certain precautions. An Albanian never despised his enemy; the strongest man will say, 'I am stronger than he is, but a rifle doesn't care for bravery, a rifle kills'. He remembers also that an enemy is ever on the watch: 'A wooden stake rots, but an enemy doesn't.' Yet another saying—this from west Mat—'Wood rots, a wrong doesn't'. 'A feud can't be forgotten.' 'A man with an enemy is like a hare sitting on its form, he must watch all the time.'

The first precaution a hunted man had to take at home was never to answer the door himself.

Since the laws of hospitality were rigid and seldom transgressed, 574
a guest seldom killed, or was killed by, his host. Frok Gjeta of 628*
Kthellë, however, had lost his father at a guest's hands; three men had called and been unsuspectingly admitted; the old man was hospitably making coffee when they suddenly opened fire and killed him.

About 1910 some men called at a house in Orenjë, in Çermenikë, and were admitted by its widowed mistress as guests. They seized the only adult male in the house, her stripling son and, hanging him head downwards by a rope slung across a rafter, demanded money and avowed that they were avenging the murder of one of their kin by the family. The son said he had no money; the mother screamed that she had a little, but they hanged her son.

Another precaution commonly taken by a 'wanted' man was to 628*
live in a house of more than one storey. Such a house never had 351
more than slits for windows in the ground floor and those in the [342]
upper room were square holes without glass, across which stone shutters were drawn at night. In Çermenikë the outside staircase that led down to the stables on the ground floor was always fenced in carefully with wood. For greater security the women lived on the ground floor protecting the men who lived above. If a man were rich enough, he built a high wall round the house; this gave him the freedom of his courtyard. In this case all the windows looked inwards on the court; the outer walls were blank save for

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

to be pardoned; he said it was 'disgraceful', and the plea was allowed. 628* 788

The Highlanders had still another method. They called a 'St John' an infant which had not yet been sent to have its hair cut by its godfather, it being believed that St John the Baptist was Christ's godfather. When the time for peace-making seemed due, the friends brought pressure to bear to secure forgiveness. This promised, they arranged to take the murderer on a certain day to his enemy's house, his hands again tied behind his back, and take a 'St John' in its cradle with them. Probably they did not bring the murderer into view; at most they kept him in the background. One of the visitors turned the cradle with the infant, who was, as always, well strapped in, upside down, saying to the host, 'Put it straight; Turn it right side up!' If he were willing, and few were not, for leaving the infant upside down might kill it and leave him with innocent blood on his hands, he turned the cradle right side up, saying, 'All right, I pardon him for the sake of God and the Saint'. Then he went and without another word untied the murderer's hands. Next he said, 'A pardon for my murder; a pardon for my father's (or brother's) murder; be it forgiven', and turned to embrace the murderer. Coffee was then served and drunk by all amid general conversation—the Highlanders are unusually lively. Having fixed a day when they would all go to eat a meal with meat at the murderer's house they took their leave. This meal at the murderer's concluded the proceedings; afterwards all went about their business; no cross was made on the enemy's door as in Kurbin. [776] [854]

Friends were not the only interveners. Occasionally the Turkish government took a hand, declaring on penalty of imprisonment, internment and burning out that all feuds more than seven years old were to be compounded by a money payment and not reopened. When during the 1914–18 war Austria-Hungary was in occupation of all north Albania, she also ordered blood feuds to be ended with a money payment; the resentment of Çermenikë at this attempt to force them to make peace on northern terms is still hot. Sometimes a whole community itself interfered. The procedure of west Mat was typical. When a man had been killed on either side and the feud was 'one for one', the neighbours took effective steps to prevent its continuance. They each forbade the avenger to come on his land to kill his enemy; if he did so, he would be considered a trespasser 628* 682

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

and would have a feud with the owner. If, after this warning, the neighbour saw the avenger trying to kill his enemy on his land, he shot at him, and if he killed him, he had no feud, for he had forbidden him to raise his rifle on his land.

Religious influences also were brought to bear on the two enemies. The Bojdani sheikh of Bicaj in Lumë often intervened when there was shooting, both before and after the murder was committed; telling both parties they were in the wrong, he induced them to make peace. There is no record known to the author of an Orthodox priest acquiring influence enough to end a feud, and a Roman Catholic parish priest, though not ridiculed by his flock as his Orthodox brother too often was, had no power to curse people who kept up blood feuds, and without such power he could not compose a feud. Even a bishop was powerless in such cases. Jesuits, on the other hand, had the power and on occasion exercised it; it is commonly believed to this day that they are sent by the Pope and they are correspondingly feared. Every ten years or so, summoned by the archbishop or the priest in charge, at the instance of the village, they toured the Roman Catholic districts, their main object being to compose blood feuds. In 1932 three priests went to Shkrel for the best part of a week. Due warning of their advent had been given, and all devout Roman Catholics were bidden to attend church every day. Banners depicting the flames of hell and the crimes which earned them were hung round the church and the sermons were in the same strain. On the second day these placed emphasis on the privileged position of Roman Catholics; in return for this good Catholics should settle their blood feuds rather than risk losing the blessing of the church for themselves and their families during their lifetime and after it burial in consecrated ground. On the third day the priests inveighed against keeping up grudges; those who cherished their blood feuds risked the curse of God. This meant that nothing would go right for them. They would be shunned by everyone—an engaged girl could not marry with the blessing of the Church, but only by civil marriage—if indeed her betrothed did not prefer to give her up, although this meant losing her bride-price. On this occasion in Shkrel the vehemence of the priests' exhortations and the fear of the consequences of the curse resulted in the termination of several outstanding feuds.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

521

wouldn't be able to get out of those sacks, Ha! Ha! Ha!"

628
682
619

What happens when a man kills another of the same tribe can best be learned from the following quotation from Miss Durham.[7]

Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. [Miss Durham is using "tribe" in the restricted sense, as before.] Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and order his house to be burnt. Among the Dukagini the council has power also to destroy his crops, cut down his fruit trees, slaughter his beasts, and condemn the land to lie unworked for a term of years. An incredible amount of food-stuff is thus wasted. In this group not only the man who has taken blood, but all the males of his "house," are liable for blood, so they, too, have to fly. The "house" is the home maybe of a whole family community—forty people. But the law is carried out to the last letter. Such desolated spots have I seen. But "It is the Canon, so must be obeyed," was the answer to any remonstrance I made. The women and children may scatter and find shelter in other houses if they can; they usually do. A man can save his house if he can return to it and defend it three days successfully, so that the men sent by the council cannot set fire to it; I saw "a very brave man" in Berisha who had three times saved his house thus. Or a man can save his house by inviting the head of another mehala [household] to act as house lord and defend it with his own men. This might cause severe fighting. The council, to prevent this, then as a rule agrees to burn the house only and spare the property. The amount of property to be destroyed was always decided by the council. . . . In addition to the burning of the house, in all tribes a fine has to be paid. . . . in sheep or cattle. . . . to the Turkish Government. In the case of Maltsia e Madhe this was paid . . . in Scutari. . . . punctually . . . . The Turkish Government had a certain hold on all the nearer tribes, for it could hold as hostage any member of a tribe which owed blood-gelt and came to market at Scutari. The outlying tribes of Dukagini by no means always either notified or paid for their murders.

[672]

Feuds being very weakening to a tribe, the headmen of the tribe or friends of the family would attempt to stop the feud. Blood-feuds of the Dukagini

[7] Durham, 1928, pp. 66-68.

[8] Miss Durham translated *bairaktar* as "head of the tribe." This explains her confusion between tribes and *bairaks* noted earlier.

and Pulati tribes are settled in the mountains; those of Maltsia e Madhe were settled in Scutari before the representatives of those tribes [to the Turkish Government] who lived there. 628 682 619

The peace-making is preceded by the "gjaksur" (he who owes blood) sending some friends to the "zoti i gjakut" (lord of blood) to ask for "besa" (promise of truce). This may be granted and further prolonged, and during the truce the gjaksur and his relatives are safe. To end the feud . . . twenty-four con-jurors are needed to swear the peace oath with the gjaksur. The plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be named by the "bairaktar"* . . . . They examine the facts and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. . . .

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the church (or mosque) before which the council has been held . . . and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood. [After the others have all sworn] . . . the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood. . . .

The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.*

Within the *bairak*, then, political mechanisms tended to reduce the frequency of murder by making it expensive. Murder between *bairaks* would likewise be discouraged if the central authority of the tribe were strong. Otherwise inter-*bairak* feuds could rage for decades before peacemaking. Whole tribes could likewise be in blood with each other, or with single *bairaks*, just as Mirdita was in blood with Lura during the period in which we are interested.

A central political authority tended to strengthen the ties between tribal members, and with the numerous council meetings that were called, members of the more prominent families got about frequently within their tribal boundaries. This would give them opportunity to arrange marriages some distance 619

* In this whole section I have used Miss Durham's spelling of local names, now obsolete. Also, I have left the definite article before *zoti i gjakut*, where it is grammatically superfluous.

prevent enemies from climbing it and from piercing a hole in it to fire on the defenders from above, something that has often happened. Finally, the lavatory is built inside the house. 342 712 [514]

Just as the house of Scodra is the highest point in the evolution of Albanian housig architecture, so is the Kula, according to Nopcsa, the most complete form of defensive houses.

The word Kula is of Arabic origin, and has already been met in Byzantine writers since the 11th century (1). Morever it is also known by the Serbs as early as 1350. Consequently, no Turkish intervention for the construction of the Kula, it is said by Nopcsa, was ever required.

The particular scope determines the building material, plan, dimensions and other construction details of such houses. These buildings are high, towerlike, built of solid stone, providing the greatest possible cover. Narrow loopholes are opened instead of windows, and small towers are built in well selected defensive places.

A veranda and a Kula mutually exclude each other, because if conditions of security allow the building of a house with an open prostoon, same conditions would render the construction of a kula useless. And vice-versa, nobody would ever think of constructing such a type of dwelling, where there is a danger that a veranda might be burned down at night time. This is confirmed by the geographical expansion of the «shpi» (house) and the «kula» (fortified house). Thus, there is a complete absence of typical, towerlike «kulas» in Melcija Madhe, Zadrima, which is situated in a plain, as well as in Bregubuns and Bregumatja, areas that enjoy greater security. On the contrary, in areas where statistics of crime show that a 21-32% of all deaths are caused by murder, we find the kula, while houses with a prostoon are absent. Because of the custom of vengence male members of many families are bound inside their kula for years. [682] [627]

As for the origin of these tower-form houses which, according to Nopcsa, were multiplied in Middle Albania between the years 890 and 1274, Haberlandt believes that from a house-building point of view, they must be derived from the towers and donjons propagated [177] [463]

1) **Anna Komnini**, 2, 124 Bonn: Τὴν μέντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλᾶ νῦν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴωθεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον... (The acropolis, which is now by habit called **kula**, was occupied by Celts...) **G. Kedrinos**, 2, 366: Ὁ Βούρτζης ἰσχυσε λαβεῖν τὸ μέτρον ἑνὸς τῶν πρὸς δύσιν Ἀντιοχείας πύργων, Κάλα τοῦνομα... (Vourtzes had power enough as to take possession of a tower, called **Kala**, at the West of Antiocheia...)

682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
578 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the
[608] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

● 683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

The question as to whether a wound had really been given accidentally was, of course, a fertile source of dispute. In a land where everyone carried fire-arms there were surprisingly few accidents. 683

THEFT

Theft within the Tribe.—The procedure for trial is the same as with murder. The plaintiff appeals to the bairaktar if he has previously not been able to obtain redress by appealing to the head of the family which has robbed him. 685

A sufficient number of con-jurors must then be found before whom the accused may swear his innocence and who will swear it with him. [693]

There is a fixed number for various thefts. Eight for horse-stealing, six for cattle-, and two for sheep- or goat-stealing.

A thief found guilty has to pay twice the value of the article stolen: give two sheep for one. Half the value of the article stolen is divided between the elders who have tried the case. For anything stolen off Church land as much as ten times the value may be demanded; and in olden times I was assured that a fancy value was placed upon a stolen cock—possibly because it was held to have great power against evil spirits. If a man's only cock was stolen, it is easy to see that these might suddenly attack him when unprotected.

If the house or cattle-shed is broken into, an extra fine of about £4 has to be paid.

The number of con-jurors depends on the value of the stolen article, and may be as many as ten.

Theft from another Tribe.—As in the Highlands of Scotland of old, lifting cattle from across the border of another tribe was considered rather a sporting event than a crime. 685 721

Mountain bands who raided the environs of Scutari and carried off Turkish goods were heroes. The practice was precisely the same as that of the Chetniks of Montenegro and the Hayduks of Bosnia. This custom had been modified, and the tendency was to arrange intertribal theft by arbitration—the procedure being the same as that with theft within the tribe, except that heads of both tribes took part in them.

This was usual in Maltsia e Madhe. But in the Dukagini tribes, especially the distant ones, much cattle- and horse-theft went on between tribes who, owing to blood-feud, had not a "besa" (peace oath) with each other. When I was in Nikaj, one of the wildest of the tribes, Nikaj and Krasnichi were on the worst terms. Watch-fires twinkled at night on the Krasnichi mountains, and talk was all of horse-stealing and cattle-lifting.

7; Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

hearths at night. We watched their unfamiliar ways, studied their starkly realist opinions, and by a hundred different arguments preached war against the Germans. Abas Kupi meanwhile worked hard to strengthen his faction, rewarding friends, corrupting enemies, and gently menacing the undecided. Above all he sought to impose a truce between the warring clans whose blood feuds threatened the unity of the Zogist cause. The *Hakmeria*, or blood feud, had its merits, for it was a great teacher of manners and of respect for the dignity of the individual. No Albanian indeed could strike another with impunity, and even schoolmasters had been known to pay with their lives for a hasty cuff in class. But the feuds took a heavy toll of life and suffering; and we met men from weak clans who had scarcely left their homes in twenty years for fear of neighbours with whom they were "in blood". Under the monarchy some attempt had been made to suppress the feuds; and they had begun to decline before the growing power of the Central Government. With the collapse, however, of Italian rule the mountaineers had returned to their ancient anarchy, and now blood feuds flourished on every side. As foreigners we stood in no danger from them, but they were none the less an important factor in our daily life. A guide would take us several hours out of our way to avoid crossing the territory of a clan with which he was "in blood"; chieftains would suddenly postpone a meeting, alarmed by rumours that their enemies were lying in wait; and sometimes at tribal gatherings we would see a man pass the coffee cup to his neighbour under his knee — the supreme mark of contempt for the man who had not even tried to avenge a wrong.

The persistence of the blood feuds presented Abas Kupi with a serious problem, for every time a clan was won to his cause their blood enemies would side automatically with his rivals. He therefore laboured patiently to reconcile the contending parties, and in accordance with the Law of Lek invited them to submit their feuds to his arbitration. There was, moreover, an ancient tradition that a general truce, or *besa*, might be proclaimed like the medieval "Truce of God" if a region was

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

If a dog was unusually fierce, it might be tied up early and loosed late. If a locality was dangerous or if the dog's master was at feud with someone, the dog might be loosed precisely at sundown and left free till exactly sunrise. As a result of the latter proviso a stranger who reached a village about sunset must ask immediately in the interest of his own safety whether his intended host is at feud with anyone. If he were, he called to his host from a safe distance —the fiercest dog did not stir unprovoked beyond the outskirts of its own farmyard. There followed an exchange of conventional questions and answers, designed to convince the host that the stranger came as a friend and not as an enemy. When convinced, the host bade the stranger stay where he was and forbade him to speak—this in case the dog charged in the direction of the voice. He then tied up the dog while some of his womenfolk went to inspect the stranger, and if satisfied that he was harmless, to bring him to the house.

When a house dog attacked a stranger the law considered three positions: (*a*) when the dog only threatened to bite, (*b*) when it succeeded in biting and (*c*) when it killed. In all three positions there was discrimination between attack by day and attack by night.

If during the daytime a house dog threatened to bite a stranger, the latter might kill it without incurring a penalty. The day was his time not the dog's, and he was in the right and the dog in the wrong. To attack him it must have broken its chain or pulled up the stake to which it had been tied. Its master too was at fault for not having observed that its chain and stake were insecure. Exceptionally in Martanesh the stranger was fined 100 grosh.

If again during the daytime a house dog succeeded in biting a stranger its master must indemnify the stranger, and that irrespective of whether the dog had been killed or not. In Dibër he escaped by paying the blood money due for wounding a man. In the more picturesque north he must keep the wounded man in his house free of charge until he recovered, pay any doctor's bills that might be incurred and pay the wounded man what he would have earned if well. The northerners were so poor that they found such expenses a heavy burden. In consequence they tested a dog's chain and stake from time to time and sent their womenfolk to escort a stranger to and from the house; they could not perform this task themselves because they did not enjoy a woman's immunity from attack by a lurking enemy. A poor man, desperate

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

as he saw his dog about to bite, might even shoot the animal, regarding its loss as the lesser evil. Occasionally a man sought to disclaim responsibility, shouting that he was not a chain-making gypsy and only bought, and did not make, the faulty chain. The stranger would retort that he was not dog's meat. Then revolvers might be drawn and a blood feud begun. More probably the dog's owner sullenly invited the wounded man to partake of the hospitality demanded by the law.

If a house dog killed a stranger during the daytime, it was in most places as if its master had killed him and a blood feud sprang up between the two families. In Dibër, however, the payment of full blood money generally satisfied the bereaved family.

During the night the law was entirely on the side of the house dog and its master. No matter how the animal might threaten a stranger he might not kill it. If he did so, he must pay blood money or have a feud with its master, exactly as if it was the latter he had killed. The Kanùn says clearly that 'at night a dog is equivalent to a man'. Indeed, in some places such as Çermenikë the animal was thought more important and its murder by night was more serious. If a house dog succeeded in biting a stranger at night, the latter got nothing from its master—neither hospitality and doctor's fees nor indemnity for wages lost. From his neighbours he got mockery—'Fancy letting yourself be bitten by a dog. You're a fine man.' Even if a house dog killed a stranger at night there was no compensation, the death went unavenged. Once upon a time, in Lurë, a daughter-in-law of Demir Lleshi went out at night into her own farmyard. A neighbour's dog sprang on her and killed her, but since it was night time, the dog's time, her blood was lost. It was immaterial that the dog was trespassing and that she was on her own ground.

There was only one exception to these rules. If a house stood near a main road an aggressive dog might be killed during the night without penalty. A higher law stated that 'it is not right to cut a main road with a dog'. In the far north bajraktars and elders had been known to order fierce dogs near a main road to be kept chained at night as well as during the day.

The blood money which was payable on killing a house dog at night was generally the same as would be payable if a man had been killed. The blood money for a bitch was the same as for a dog; there was no discrimination between the sexes as there was in the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

other hand, he had shot the dog in the back he must have killed it out of spite. 231 685 672

Whereas house dogs remained at home and were chained up for half their lives, sheep dogs were normally free both day and night and divided their time between the mountain-side and the sheep-fold. Their function was to protect the flock from thieves and wolves. If these approached, they must bark a timely warning so as to bring the shepherds with their rifles and they must themselves attack the marauders. They must therefore be alert, courageous and fierce, true 'Molossian hounds'. In districts infested by wolves they wore iron collars set with iron spikes to prevent the wolf from tearing open their throat. In common with other sheep dogs in the Near and Middle East they did not handle the flock. That was led, or occasionally driven, by the shepherd unaided.

As fierceness was their most important asset, sheep dogs were given the same harsh upbringing as house dogs. Indeed, they were generally removed at a still earlier age from their mother so that they should not know even her caresses for long. But they were gentle enough with their flocks, from which they never parted. As puppies they were fed on ewe's or goat's milk—hence, said the peasants of Shpat, their later friendliness with the animals they guarded. In adult life they were fed on maize bread roughly baked in indigestible looking balls by the shepherds. Nevertheless, their strength and the sleekness of their coats showed that the diet was sufficient.

The law of the sheep dog varied from place to place according to the animal's position in the local economy. In the north, where men depended almost entirely on their flocks, the sheep dog was of paramount importance as the guardian of its master's whole livelihood and was protected by the law to the utmost. In areas such as Kurbin, where men combined agriculture with sheep-breeding, the sheep dog was of less importance to its master and some relaxation appears in the law. In fertile areas like Lumë or Krasniqë, where agriculture predominated, the sheep dog was still less important and the law less drastic. So in the north it was more serious to kill a sheep dog than a house dog and elsewhere the position was reversed. 231 685 628 683

Among the mountains of the north the law of the sheep dog was the same by day and by night. A passer-by might be bitten at any hour of the day or night, but if he killed the dog he would be killed

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

by its master. No excuse for his crime could be tolerated. He might have lost his way or be a stranger (and so a guest to be protected). No matter! The mountain was the dog's ground day and night. Why had he gone near the sheep? Was it to steal one? There was no road through the flock. He should have stuck to the highway which was inalienably his, day and night. If he were killed by the dog, his family had no right to claim blood money or to start a feud; his 'blood was lost'. In Dibër the same harsh laws prevailed. In the partly pastoral, partly agricultural area of Kurbin a man who killed a sheep dog generally escaped with the payment of blood money; his life was not necessarily forfeit. In Martanesh, where the economy was similar, a man who killed a sheep dog in terror of his life and proved his motive was fined 100 grosh, the amount payable for a house dog in the same circumstances.

In the adjacent Çermenikë he was not even fined. In fertile Lumë the law was that 'a man can't lose his life for a dog', and on that theory a traveller on the mountain might kill a sheep dog which had refused to let him pass. For penalty he needed only to go to the dog's master and beg his pardon. He was generally afraid to go alone—the dog's master might suspect that he had killed the dog from spite and might be in an evil temper as a result. So he generally asked others to accompany him. These confessed his crime and asked for pardon. It was never refused. If he had killed a house dog during the daytime in this district, he would have had to pay blood money as for a murdered man, or would have been killed. On the rich plateau of Krasniqë sheep-rearing is relatively so unimportant that sheep dogs come under the same rules as house dogs. If, for instance, one bites a stranger on the mountain its master must pay for the wound.

Even in the gentler areas the spiteful or senseless killing of a sheep dog may start a blood feud. An extreme case occurred 'long ago' in Lumë. The sheep belonging to the Onuzi sept were sleeping in a mountain fold near the fold of the Doçi sept. The dogs began to fight among themselves and the Doçi shepherd killed an Onuzi dog. The Onuzi shepherd drew his revolver and shot the Doçi man dead. A general fight then started among the shepherds and in a few minutes six Onuzi and twelve Doçi men lay dead for the sake of a dog. The feud raged on for years, not ceasing until it was at last composed by direct order of the reigning Sultan.

Successive generations of travellers evolved practical expedients

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

for dealing with sheep dogs. The first was to 'let sleeping dogs lie'. 231 628 683 685 If a traveller were so unfortunate as to find one in his path and there was no shepherd in sight to call it in, he swerved aside, keeping well to leeward in the hope that neither sound nor scent of his presence would reach the dog. If a dog charged, the traveller might follow the example of Ulysses on his return home and sit down. The dog would probably sit down too and immobilize him until the shepherd's arrival, but it was not likely to charge again. This expedient was more favoured in central than in northern Albania. There the traveller preferred to climb a tree in the hope that the flock would soon pass, so releasing him. The dog was not really interested in him and went on with the flock. It has happened when, a flock was large and grazing, that a man has had to stay half a day up a tree, with several dogs barking under his feet; for it was customary in north Albania to leave a grazing flock in sole charge of the sheep dog for many hours. For that reason, as soon as a traveller heard sheep bells—and in that country of long narrow valleys enclosed by lofty mountains he might hear them half an hour away—he called out. If no answering shout came, he knew that there was no shepherd with the flock and laid his plans accordingly. As far south as Shpat fear of a sheep dog might send a traveller up a tree, but there rescue came swiftly because shepherds were forbidden to leave their flocks for long. Tracks in Shpat were too many and travellers too numerous to allow of lengthy hold-ups by sheep dogs. With the same motive of protecting travellers, shepherds in the few treeless areas of north Albania were required to remain with their flocks.

If, however, a flock was grazing near a main road, the sheep dog came under the law already enunciated that 'it is not right to cut a main road with a dog'. Day and night, when near such a road, the sheep dog must be kept under control by means of the shepherd's voice or a chain, preferably the latter as being surer. A traveller who found a sheep dog loose on such a road and received no answer to his call from the shepherd was entitled to kill the dog and did not have to compensate its master.

Shooting dogs had the run of the house and kitchen as well as 231 the farmyard and were never tied up. Born gentle, they were well 683 enough treated by their masters to remain so throughout their lives. They were not found in every house but only with the leisured or the lazy.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

231 A stranger who was bitten by a shooting dog could neither kill it
683 nor claim compensation for his wound. Indeed, he became a public butt for being feckless enough to let himself be bitten by so tame an animal.

231 If a stranger killed a shooting dog by mischance, he must
685 compensate the master in money—two napoleons were thought adequate in most places. Alternatively, he must give him another dog as good as the one he had killed. The hour of the crime was immaterial.

224 If a shooting dog was killed from motives of spite, a feud
686 followed as in the case of house and sheep dogs.

If a shooting dog put up a hare, only its master had the right to take the hare. It might be that the chase was long and that the hare was shot by a stranger before the dog's master caught it up. In that case the latter demanded the hare and offered the stranger a fresh cartridge in return for the one he had just expended. If the offer was refused a blood feud started, the first shot being fired by the stranger.

If two men went shooting with only one dog, they skinned the hares at the end of the day and divided them equally.

231 Pet dogs, like shooting dogs, were free of the house as well as the farmyard and ran loose day and night. Of indeterminate pedigree, they were about the size of small Aberdeens. They were not common in northern Albania, where their only purpose was to divert their master—it was thought great fun to hang a lighted cigarette round their necks. In central Albania where the average flock was small and always had a shepherd, they were much prized as watchdogs. They never failed at either house or sheepfold to bark warningly when unwelcome visitors approached. They were so brave that at sheepfolds they could dash out and tackle a marauding wolf, invariably losing their life in the unequal combat. On account of their usefulness their value was high, as much as six or seven napoleons.

The law when they killed (a virtually impossible contingency) or were killed was the same as it was for shooting dogs.

231 A few isolated rules remain to be mentioned. Clerics such as
793 priests among Catholics or Orthodox or hoxhas and sheikhs among Mohammedans were forbidden to keep house dogs. Their houses must be open day and night to their parishioners or passing strangers and might not be closed by dogs. If they kept sheep dogs

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

685 formula then applied was 'The beast or an oath'. Each house had
694 to make oath separately that it did not harbour the stolen property. The same routine was followed when the tracks stopped between two villages, the villages as a whole having to take oath.

The tracks of an animal might be destroyed by the thief, or the property stolen might not be an animal at all. In such cases, the owner had to rely on information supplied by third parties, and this was seldom lacking in small communities where there were few secrets. If the whereabouts of the stolen property was discovered, the suspected thief might admit the crime, and if so, the owner and he might settle about repayment themselves, or leave it
685 to the elders to do so. If the suspect denied the theft, the owner
695 informed the village headman of his loss and of the identity of the suspected thief, and the latter called an Assembly to which he summoned owner and suspect. A suspect who did not appear was declared guilty and ordered to pay for the stolen goods. If the suspect came, the owner was given the choice between ordeal by oath and trial on the evidence of an eye-witness, and the proceedings then took the ordinary form.

The convicted thief had first of all to make restitution in accordance with the 'twofold' or 'two-for-one' rule, which exacted twice the value of the stolen goods in kind or money. In Mirditë, when animals were given in restitution, their selection was left to the thief, and, to quote from Father Gjeçov, 'it sufficed if they could walk on their feet'. In Martanesh a committee of two or three was appointed by the thief to make the choice, and this committee had to be accepted by the owner. In addition to restitution, a penalty might be imposed, either in the form of a fine or by ordering an extra number of compurgators if the oath was to be taken. The amount of the fine was largely fixed by tradition though the elders might vary it according to extenuating or aggravating circumstances.

There were various generally recognized kinds of aggravating circumstances. For instance, if a thief lost, spoiled, or ate what he had taken, the penalties were often heavy. In Martanesh and adjoining districts a loser could put any value he liked on a stolen
[683] article that had been destroyed. In Zerqan, it was regarded as a disgrace to the owner of a stolen sheep if it was eaten by the thief on the mountain. Punishment then was not only for the theft, but for the injury to the honour of the victim.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Another aggravated form of theft was that which took place on the public highway. There was a rule that 'the public highway must not be cut'. If a robber stole a wayfarer's horse, mule, donkey or sheep, shooting inevitably took place; if the thief survived, he had to return the animal, and to pay whatever the Village Assembly decreed. A man very often turned highwayman because he thought his victim was in his debt. If this belief turned out to be mistaken, he had to pay a fine for cutting the highway, besides returning the stolen animal and compensating the owner for the loss of its services. When a sheep had been taken, and was not returned at once, the thief might even be expelled from the village with all his family. 685

Robbery of a Catholic church was sacrilege and a very serious view was taken of it. The thief was shot by the tribe and could not be avenged. His family was expelled and his nearest relatives bought his land, the price going to the church. Stealing from the priest's house or from church lands was still sacrilege, but not so severely punished. In addition to returning two-for-one, the thief had to pay a fine for violating the sanctuary of the house or lands and another to the community for the threat to it. In Mirditë the same penalties were imposed if the theft occurred elsewhere but the booty was hidden in the church. 685 688

Thefts from Orthodox churches and Moslem shrines were also regarded as sacrilege, but not thefts from the houses of Orthodox priests or Moslem clerics, as they were usually at some distance from the places of worship and no sanctity attached to them.

Breaking into any house in order to steal was regarded as a very serious crime, for it brought dishonour as well as material loss to the householder. Opening the farmyard gate or the house door, without giving due warning and being invited to enter, was regarded as housebreaking and punished as such. In Krasniqë, the fine for burgling a house was four times that for burgling a sheepfold. Stealing out on the lonely mountain was regarded as still less heinous, and only one article had to be given in restitution; nor was any fine imposed. 683 685

A man might be dishonoured by other forms of theft than that of housebreaking. In the Malësi e Madhe, a fine of 500 grosh was imposed on the man who helped himself to another's tobacco box or cigarette, and a mere touch on another's pocket might bring a fine. A story is told of a man who was shot at a General

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

685 [683] Assembly by his neighbour from whose tobacco box he had inadvertently rolled a cigarette. In every tribe and village, a man's honour was so stained by the theft of his gun or his wife that he had to shoot the thief and take the consequences of the ensuing blood feud.

The penalties imposed depended also on the nature of the articles stolen. North Albania was predominantly pastoral and, as the safety of the flock of sheep depended on the bell-animal, penalties for stealing this animal were heavy.[1] In Lumë the owner could demand six or seven sheep for the thief: 'as well steal the whole flock as its leader.' In Perlat stealing a bell-wether was such a disgraceful act that in the blood feud against the thief's family, even a woman could be killed. The bell of the leading animal was even more precious than the animal itself, and in Perlat, if it were stolen, it had to be returned and a sheep with it. In Labinot, the bell was thought too unlucky to be hung round an animal's neck again, and instead of returning it, the thief had to pay twice its value or be shot. In Mirditë a fine of 500 grosh was imposed for the dishonour done to the owner.

The two-for-one rule was applied to thefts of all farm animals, with the exception of pigs and cocks. The man who stole a pig had to pay 500 grosh in hard cash. This sum was often ten times the value of the animal, but the pig was the mainstay of the poor man and required special protection. The same sum of 500 grosh had to be paid for a cock, as 'the cock is the poor man's watch'. It was said that in Krasniqë an actual watch had to be paid instead of the money penalty.

685 562 [462] [672] Firewood was usually collected by women, and when they stole it their husbands were held responsible. It was common practice to seize the axe with which the thief cut the wood and the rope with which she slung it on her back. These articles were sometimes used as visible evidence of her guilt, sometimes retained as compensation, or as a guarantee for the payment of the penalty, or of the fee due to the elder who dealt with the case. Women might steal other things than firewood, and responsibility was always placed on the husband. It is recorded that, during the reign of King Zog, men might even be imprisoned for their wives' thefts. It was they who had to take the oath if an oath was required. The woman did not, however, get off scot free. In most areas she was

[1] Vide supra, p. 173.

for bullets is made in the body. If four men have fired and but three 682
bullets are found, any one of them may be innocent of the death. 628
If each can get twenty-four con-jurors to swear innocence with him, all secure acquittal. Any who cannot find twenty-four con-jurors are guilty and owe blood. If there are as many bullets as men, then all owe blood.

For killing a woman, which is a rare thing, blood may be taken. 682
If she is unmarried, it is taken by her father's family; usually by her brother. If married, her father's family may take blood for her within the year. After that only her husband's family has the right to do so. Blood-gelt, if any, for a woman is very small. The tribe does not punish the murderer; it is purely a family affair. The death of a woman does not weaken the tribe, for she is of another blood and can easily be replaced from without; whereas a man cannot be replaced.

If a pregnant woman be killed two bloods can be claimed. Dom 682
Kol Ashti told me that cases have occurred even in which a grave has 843
been opened to settle the question of blood-gelt for the unborn child, and full payment claimed if it proved to be a male.

Cases in which killing is justified and is not punishable.—1. Blood may 684
be taken for rape and none may be taken in return.

2. If the relatives of the man who is shot succeed in taking blood 682
at once, shoot the murderer that day, the blood is laid and no more can be taken.

3. A woman taken in adultery may be killed along with her partner 684
by her husband or brother, and no punishment follows. But should her husband kill her and not the man, her family can take blood for her.

In none of the above cases, I believe, does the tribe punish; nor has 682
the tribe, at any rate in some places, the power to punish a crime 578
committed within the "shpi" (house). When I was in Shala, at the priest's house in 1908, we heard two shots fired. Someone ran in to call the priest to a man who was dying; it was too late. In a dispute [685]
about the irrigation channels in the fields, a man had killed his own first cousin. Both were inmates of one large house. The crime excited genuine horror and was loudly discussed. Public opinion seemed to think something should be done—but what? It is the clear duty of a house to take blood as atonement for blood that has been taken. But the house, having already lost a man, cannot make matters any better by taking more of its own blood. This could not be expected; nor could any outsider interfere in what was a matter for the house lord. He could not be both lord of blood and gjaksur—could not owe himself blood. It was, in fact, an example of *patria potestas*. He decided to do nothing but hold a fine funeral to show his regret for the loss; and so sure was he that he was acting correctly that he sent a boy to the priest's

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe. 609 579

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes. 726

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep. 684 848

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head. 685

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider. 423

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side. 428

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has 842 554 562 592

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

583 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian 684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he 183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. The Levirate

587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the 688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Maltsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose [628] between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

[577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Sometimes the brother-in-law was unmarried, but this did not help 587
matters, such marriages being prohibited by the Church. To stop the 688
practice it was usual to excommunicate not only the couple but the whole "house" which permitted it, until the "levirate wife" was dismissed. I visited, at Apripa Gurit, a house of eighteen people thus under the ban. The son, a fine young fellow, had taken his elder brother's young widow to wife one month after her husband's death: this by tribe rule is the correct time. She had been married a very short time to her first husband and had not yet borne a child. The whole household was very uneasy about the excommunication, and offered the priest in my presence first thirty and then fifty guldens and pictures and candles for the church. But they stubbornly refused to put a stop to the "levirate marriage"; it would not be honourable. The young man himself was very certain of this. It was a duty he owed to his brother, and, no matter what the consequences, he would do it. He said they had found a girl, and arranged that he should marry her in a year's time. Till then he must cohabit with his sister-in-law. This he assured me very earnestly.

At Thethi Shala I found a case of a man who had thus taken his 587
uncle's widow and his brother's widow. He then proposed taking a legitimate wife as well and had paid most of the purchase money. Only then did the bride's parents learn of the two other "wives." They said he should not have their daughter till the other two were 578
dismissed. He replied she was paid for, and was his property and 684
threatened vengeance.

The parents appealed to the padre, who sheltered them and the girl at the church-house, and succeeded in arranging a marriage for her with a man at a safe distance. The parents returned the first purchase money. "The aunt and sister-in-law" arrangement continued. The 595
padre at Thethi had routed out all polygamous arrangements in his parish but two.

He said that the people had a deep-rooted belief that it was right 587
thus to take as wife the widow of uncle, cousin, or brother if she con- 577
tinued to live in the communal house. If this was not permitted she must be sent home to her people. They could see no alternative, and pleaded: "It is our old custom. Do not interfere with it."

In the wild and distant tribes of Nikaj, Toplana, and Berisha the 587
custom was extremely common among the Christians. Thus at Nikaj, out of three hundred houses about fifty had sister-in-law concubinage, and other houses similarly kept aunts, so a large proportion of the children were illegitimate in the eyes of the Church, but not of the people. The legitimate wives were very apt to bolt with another man, and there was much blood-feud. In Berisha I was told that the sister-in-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

628 worthy of a better cause, and fourteen victims fell,
562 thus perpetuating the feud among the survivors.
578

On another occasion the breaking of a girl's pitcher at the fountain by two mischievous boys resulted in such a desperate contest between her friends and theirs that some sixty persons fell in the fight. It is said, however, that even on such occasions as these
562 the men refrain, as far as possible, from striking or
577 wounding the women, for the Albanian code of
484 honour makes it impossible to attack a woman, whether armed or unarmed. The sacredness attached to their persons extends also to those whom they take under their protection. Escorted by a girl only, travellers may safely pass through the wildest parts of the country, and a man may cross, without fear, the lands of one with whom he is at feud, if he have the safe-conduct of a woman belonging to his enemy's family.

577 To such an extent is respect for women carried by
562 the Albanians, that it is contrary to their notions of
522 propriety ever to make women the subject of jokes or humorous stories. Insult or annoyance offered to a
578 girl, or carrying off one without the consent of her
562 parents, almost invariably results in bitter feuds between families, or fierce battles between tribes. As with most mountain people, the moral code is with the Skipetars exceedingly strict. Among many of
● 684 the tribes any lapse from virtue on the part of a woman is punished with death, a subsequent marriage not being allowed to condone the fault. The penalty of adultery is of equally Draconic severity. The unfaithful wife is placed up to her shoulders in a pit, and

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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then literally buried under a heap of stones, which are piled upon and around her; and her husband has a right to slay the partner of her guilt wherever he may find him. Such cases are, however, of extremely rare occurrence. 684

Considering this rigidity of morals it is a rather curious fact that two clans, or tribes—the Clementi and the Castrati—ascribe their origin to irregular connections between the daughters of shepherds and strangers, exiles from other countries. The stories are almost identical. That of the Clementi is as follows:— 173

A young man named Clement, clerk to a priest of Moratcha, a district of Montenegro, weary of the tyranny of his superior, ran away, and, not knowing which way to go, made for the road leading from Selze to Scutari. Arriving at a place called Tamara, he came upon a flockmaster of Triepsei, who, astonished to see a youth dressed as he was in such a place, inquired his business there. Without disclosing whence he came, Clement related his misfortunes, and declared his intention of going to Scutari in order to seek service with some family of position. Touched with pity, and fearing for him the dangers of the way, the shepherd invited the stranger to stay with him and help him to keep his flocks. Clement accepted the offer; and when the number of sheep he was to receive as wages was settled, he followed his new master home. 173 539

The shepherd was rich in flocks and lands, possessed of a second wife with a young family, and also of a grown-up daughter, Bubce, who was both ugly

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

357 escaped from the district, his master might lawfully be shot in his
682 stead. When, however, a servant murdered on his own respon-
672 sibility, he alone should suffer for the crime. His master was entitled, in dismissing him, to keep back the portion of his wages for which he had not worked, and according to Lek's Kanùn ought not to be shot in his stead. Skanderbeg's law, however, held him as liable in this case as in the former.

357 The only available information about a servant's seducing a girl
684 or young wife in his master's family comes from Martanesh and Shkrel and dates from past times. In Martanesh the law con-
[608] demned the man to death for incest because his master was his 'father' and the young woman his 'sister'. In Shkrel he was killed
[836] at once if he had sinned with a young wife, but if with a girl he was dismissed with orders to hold his tongue, and only if he talked did the girl's father go and shoot him. As for the girl, she was married
[836] to her fiancé as quickly as possible. He was not told that she was pregnant by another man, and would not have cared if he had been. He wanted her as wife and worker and felt sure that he was man enough to keep her straight after marriage; beatings always worked
[848] wonders. The child was sent to the servant as soon as born; he never acknowledged it but either killed it or exposed it by the wayside. The father did not dare to beat the girl in case she ran away to the servant; at all costs he had to keep her for her fiancé, who had presumably paid a good proportion of her bride-price and would have killed him had he failed to deliver her. Presumably the fact that a servant was held to be of little or no account saved the wife or girl from the usual punishment for adultery.[1]

357 Sometimes, despite their being 'brother' and 'sister', a servant
[562] married his master's daughter. Thus an ancestor of Bicaj was a Catholic of Gjugjë in Mirditë who entered the service of Hysen Agë Shteki of Bicaj, turned Moslem, and married Hysen Agë's daughter. Even in modern times a servant may be given his master's daughter in marriage. This is particularly likely to happen if his master is Moslem and he a Christian who agrees to change his religion. His master then looks on his own consent to the marriage as an act of piety. Servants varied in importance according to the master they served. Thus the servant of a Moslem priest (*hoxhë*) had more power than an ordinary peasant's and less than a bajraktar's —at least in the days before most bajraktars were shorn of their

[1] See Chapter XXI.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

695 With a few exceptions, the greatest precautions were taken to conceal the witness's identity, as the criminal would have killed him if he had discovered who he was. In Mirditë he was allowed to object to the nomination of men whom he thought too indiscreet to preserve his incognito, and those eventually selected had to take an oath that so long as they lived they would not without his permission divulge his identity. He was always interviewed in all secrecy; often the accuser alone knew who he was. He might be taken to an empty house where the elders awaited him, or led at night to the house of an elder who questioned him from a balcony while he stood unseen by all the inmates, the elder included, in the dark farmyard. In the Malësi e Madhe he was often given a rendezvous by night in another village altogether. In Zerqan he usually met the committee in some lonely spot at sunset, with them on one side of a thick hedge and him on the other so that they could not see him. However often he was interviewed, it was always in the same secrecy.

No doubt owing to the danger involved in trying to bring a criminal to justice, a witness was always given a fee. With the delicacy characteristic of Albanians the fee was cloaked under the name of *kēpucē* (lit. 'shoe'), presumably in allusion to the shoe-leather which he wore out in finding or conveying his information. Consequently, *kēpucar* means literally the 'man who gets shoe-money'.

In the case of theft the witness's fee was not allowed to exceed the value of the stolen property. It was generally determined by agreement between witness and accuser at their first meeting, often after lively bargaining, particularly if the witness was greedy enough to ask more than he should. When the accuser let it be known that he was looking for a witness, he often specified the fee he was willing to pay. When the theft took place in a house, the fee
[577] was doubled, because human life had been endangered and the house's honour tarnished; house-breaking always implied that the men in it were weak or the womenfolk light. In Kurbin and Lumë, for example, four napoleons were paid to an informant who found an ox that had been stolen from the farmyard or stable under the house, but only its value, which was always less than four napoleons, in those districts when it had been stolen while grazing outside.

• 684. A man who disclosed a woman's adultery to her husband
695 received no fee; and a friend was not allowed to take money for

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

such a service. In this type of crime there was, of course, no trial in view; the husband's rifle was the only possible arbiter. 695 [684]

The examination which an eye-witness had to pass was very stiff. As a first step, he had to take oath before the elders that he would tell the truth without prejudice or spite; the man he accused was not to be troubled till his accusation was proved to be just. The only extant example of his oath, which comes from Çermenikë, runs, 'Look upon this earth, these mountains, these plains, this sky. You must carry them (through all eternity) if you lie', said the elders. 'Let me carry them. It is as I say,' the witness replied. Sometimes an elder recognized the witness and, knowing him to be of good character, did not ask him to risk his future by taking an oath. Even if he did not recognize him but only liked his manner and general appearance, he might excuse him.

When everything was set for cross-examination, the elders questioned the witness closely, noting any discrepancies in his statements, and looking out for any sign that the accusation was false. If it was a case of perjury, they had to be specially patient [687] and careful as the penalties involved were so much heavier. The witness was not a professional like our detectives. Often he was a man so trusted by the thief that he had constant access to his house and so was in a position to see the stolen goods as soon as produced.

The witness had to give a detailed description of the crime and stolen property to the elders. In most cases of theft he must have either seen the thief in the act of stealing or leaving the scene of the theft or observed the stolen goods in the house or hand of the thief. When an ox had been stolen, he had to say where he saw the animal, where the thief had killed it, sold its hide and so on. When several oxen had been stolen he had to report according to their colouring that one was black, another white and a third dappled, that the thief took first this road, then that, killed one ox at such and such a spot and sold another to so-and-so. Whatever he said was subject to confirmation. When he alleged a sale, the elders sent independent agents to inquire whether it had really taken place. When he said the ox had been eaten, he had to produce concrete evidence, a token such as a bit of the skin, a horn, or some other part. This was the most conclusive of all possible evidence.

If the witness stood up well to the cross-examination, the elders declared that the suspect was guilty and must make the statutory

CHAPTER XXI

MURDER WITHIN THE FAMILY

682 When a man murdered his son, father, brother, paternal uncle,
627 paternal uncle's son, or brother's son, the usual verdict was that
596 in killing so near a relative the murderer had 'killed himself'. The victim's blood was therefore lost, 'no one sought-to-avenge him', and it had only been his 'ill-luck' so to die.

From another point of view it might be argued that since the murderer was the victim's nearest relative, other relatives could not act over his head and avenge the dead man. For example, when a man murdered his paternal uncle, if the latter left neither son nor brother, his blood was lost, for the murderer was his nearest relative and by killing him had only killed himself. On the other hand, if the uncle left either a son or a brother, that son or brother was nearer to him than the murderer and avenged his death. In view of his relationship to the criminal his vengeance generally took the form of exacting blood money. In the same way when a man murdered his brother's son, the victim's blood was lost if he left neither father nor brother. But if he left either, the murderer had to pay blood money. The rule of the nearest relative failed only if one brother killed another while their father was alive. Though the father was the nearest relative of the victim, the fratricide being only a neighbour by comparison, the victim's blood was lost. The father could not avenge him except by killing his surviving son, and even from the best of motives no decent father would kill a son.

[672] The motive of the murderer seldom affected the situation. The murder of a son, an extremely rare occurrence, was oftenest due
[684] to his adultery with his young stepmother. His blood was lost, not because of his sin, but solely because the father who murdered him
[587] was his nearest relative. Again, one brother sometimes fell in love with the other's wife, and knowing, especially in north Albania,
[607] that if she became a widow he could by customary law marry her, could not always resist the temptation to make her a widow. The
[558] victim's blood was lost in spite of the murderer's motive, and the fratricide married the widow and suffered no disability except some loss of face.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

682 as suicide so that he escaped with his life, and that was the com-
627 monest result, he was treated as 'a low-class fellow', visited by
593 none but bad characters, and, if a Mohammedan, never given the greeting 'Peace be with thee'. In Mirditë, always more rigorous than other districts, he was considered so anti-social that he was either killed or expelled in perpetuity by his kinsmen, or, according to another version, by the whole village along with his kinsmen.

606 The murder of certain relatives did not concern the family. Thus,
628 if a man murdered a relative by marriage, such as his son-in-law, father-in-law, wife's brother, or sister's husband, the crime ranked as an ordinary murder and was expiated with a life or with blood money. The marriage tie was disregarded; the important point was that, unlike two brothers living under separate roofs, murderer and
[581] victim belonged to different families. Such murders were very rare, for marriage relationships were always contracted to secure a valued friend, and no Albanian in his senses ever threw a friend lightly away. Again, if a man murdered his maternal uncle or his sister's son, murderer and victim belonged to different families, and blood money at least was payable for the crime. The contingency rarely arose, since a maternal uncle was regarded as a father and a sister's son as one's own child.

623 If a woman was taken in adultery, and her husband killed her and
837 her paramour together—'kerchief and cap together'—he incurred
684 no feud; their deaths went unavenged; it was a case of 'blood for
593 blood', one equal to the other. To prove them guilty he sent for his wife's brother and her lover's brother to see them both lying dead; his message would run, 'I killed her because I caught her sinning'. The wife's brother would hand him a cartridge, saying, 'Here is a cartridge for my sister. Bravo for doing this'. The paramour's nearest relatives came to the house, drank coffee, and took away the corpse; the murderer accompanied them to their house, drank coffee, and so peace was established between them. If the paramour's brother was 'a gentleman', 'a man', he would give a cartridge to the husband, saying, 'I pardon your crime because my brother has sinned'. Even the father of the paramour might say to the murderer, 'A blessing on your rifle', and give him coffee as a sign that there was peace between them. In modern times the government accepted the evidence of the two bodies lying together and punished the husband with no more than two or three weeks' imprisonment.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

This custom of the wife's brother giving a cartridge to a husband who had murdered his erring wife explains the phrase often heard in Albania, 'a bride with a cartridge on her back'. In Martanesh it was an old, but long disused, custom to tie a cartridge on the back of a bride's veil as she left her father's house; this cartridge she was to give to her husband on her wedding night, and he would keep it against the day when he found her unfaithful and then kill her with it. This custom, if it existed elsewhere, has been forgotten, but the phrase is universally known.

In Lumë, if a husband suspected his wife of illicit love-making, he could not tell her people because he was being disgraced. He could only lie in wait till he caught the pair together and then kill them. Sometimes when he could not catch them together, he divorced her; in one instance a man did so on the insistence of his kinsmen, who thought themselves as well as the husband disgraced by the wife's notoriously loose living. He admitted that he could not manage her, divorced her for the sake of the family honour, and then, being too poor to pay the bride-price of another wife, lived alone. Divorcing the wife also ensured that the husband ran no risk of having a feud with either her brother or her lover's family. The Highlanders held similar views—the husband could not question his wife or tell her lover not to come to the house; he could again do nothing but lie in wait until he caught them. A few Highlanders held that the husband might inform her people of her misconduct; if they believed him, they would say, 'Kill her', or perhaps kill her themselves; in either case her death went unavenged. They preferred to kill such a wife for they were Catholics in the main, and as such could not remarry if they divorced their wife. As it was permissible in Martanesh to kill the guilty pair separately, an adulterous wife was never divorced but always killed. If a woman was divorced in Mat, her brother always asked what wrong she had done; if she had been an adulteress, he killed her, provided that the husband first killed the lover. In north-east Albania, if the lover was the husband's brother, divorce was thought the easiest way out. Only an exceptionally brutal man would kill his brother; the average man would prefer to say to his wife, 'You have committed this sin, and are divorced'.

If the husband killed only his wife, her brother avenged her death in most cases; without seeing his sister dead by her lover's side he was unwilling to believe in her guilt and apt to think the husband

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

had killed her out of ill-will. After her brother had killed a male from his house, the husband would kill both her brother and her lover; then peace would be made between all three families. In Martanesh and Lumë if the husband did not kill the lover as well, the wife's brother, when threatening vengeance, would say, 'You killed the bitch; why didn't you kill the dog also?'

Sometimes a husband had not the courage or the heart to kill his wife; then perhaps his people killed her. Or perhaps he sent word to her father that he had found her sinning and asked him to kill her. But the father generally replied to such husbands, 'Kill her yourself, because I gave her to you to look after'. If the wife suspected this interchange of messages, she might run away to her father. In that case her husband sent him word saying, 'Either kill that bitch or see me destroy you root and branch'. The father then either killed her or sent her to her husband to kill. If the father protected the wife, a blood feud began between him and the husband, for the latter could not bear the world to think that he had swallowed such a disgrace.

In Martanesh, it should be noted, it was permissible, as it was not elsewhere, to kill the lover and the wife separately, if they could not be found together. This seems to have been the case in Dibër also. About 1916 a man in Vleshjë (Dibër) found his wife unfaithful and killed the lover. The wife ran away, but the husband caught her, poured paraffin on her, and burned her alive, yet seems to have escaped her brother's vengeance.

If the outraged husband killed only the lover, then he had to fear vengeance from the lover's family. In Lumë on the principle that 'vengeance is not abandoned because of guilt', vengeance was sometimes taken by a 'bad' brother for a man killed in adultery. He might kill the husband, forgive him, or demand blood money.

A gruesome story of collective punishment of a guilty pair comes from Martanesh. About 1912 a young man was caught with a young wife. The 'circle' of the young man took him and the 'circle' of the wife took her out to an appointed spot where they stood them up together. The youth's uncle shot him dead, and the girl's brother shot her, while the drums beat and the other men danced. The honour of the two families being thus cleared, they buried the two close together, but in separate graves, at cross-roads; no hoxha was present to commit them to the grave, nor were they washed and changed. In the neighbouring Zdrâjshë also a guilty

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was [582] too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 625 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [573] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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of the padres, being Albanian mountain men themselves, thought this right, though they admitted that the beating was sometimes cruelly severe. A 593 681

In some ways the women have more freedom than among the Montenegrins, for they are permitted to give their opinion freely on important subjects, and it is often asked, and they join in general conversation. Nor do their husbands ever apologize for their existence. M A 562

In Montenegro, on the other hand, as often as not the master of the house has shouted: "Be quiet, woman," when his wife only wanted to ask some innocent question. I never heard any of Iké's views except when Krsto was out, and one was always hearing, "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head!" hurled at the women. The Albanian woman, on the other hand, would joke and chaff the men; would even, in the streets of Scutari, call their husbands out of the drink-shop and tell them they had had enough. Nor does the Albanian woman have to bow humbly and kiss the hand of every male visitor as does the Montenegrin peasant woman. Among the Dukagini I found the men would even fetch water—a thing no Montenegrin "junak" would condescend to do.

A curious case illustrating the rights of the husband occurred while I was in Albania. A mountain woman left her husband and came to Scutari, where she lived by prostitution among the Turkish garrison. The husband's honour was blackened, but if he killed his wife he would owe blood to her family. He therefore consulted her brother, her nearest surviving male relative. The brother agreed that his family, too, was blackened, and gave the man the cartridge wherewith to shoot her. Shot she was, and public opinion considered the husband had acted rightly and cleaned the honour of both families. I said that in such a case divorce should be permitted, but was told that so long as she was alive the family honour would still be black; a divorce would be useless. A 577 684

5. Marriage Customs in Montenegro

In Montenegro, and all through the Serb-speaking lands, marriages were arranged by the head of the house. The young people were rarely consulted. A century ago in Montenegro infant and child betrothals were not uncommon, and the young couple did not see each other before marriage. Old Serbian ballads show that exogamy was the rule, for the hero, we are usually told, "sought his bride from afar." Such marriages were designed to strengthen the "house." We find in ballads and tales the youth who laments to his father that no wife has yet been found for him; to whom his father replies: "I have long sought M 583 M [582]

for bullets is made in the body. If four men have fired and but three 682
bullets are found, any one of them may be innocent of the death. 678
If each can get twenty-four con-jurors to swear innocence with him, all secure acquittal. Any who cannot find twenty-four con-jurors are guilty and owe blood. If there are as many bullets as men, then all owe blood.

For killing a woman, which is a rare thing, blood may be taken. 682
If she is unmarried, it is taken by her father's family; usually by her brother. If married, her father's family may take blood for her within the year. After that only her husband's family has the right to do so. Blood-gelt, if any, for a woman is very small. The tribe does not punish the murderer; it is purely a family affair. The death of a woman does not weaken the tribe, for she is of another blood and can easily be replaced from without; whereas a man cannot be replaced.

If a pregnant woman be killed two bloods can be claimed. Dom 682
Kol Ashti told me that cases have occurred even in which a grave has 843
been opened to settle the question of blood-gelt for the unborn child, and full payment claimed if it proved to be a male.

Cases in which killing is justified and is not punishable.—1. Blood may 684
be taken for rape and none may be taken in return.

2. If the relatives of the man who is shot succeed in taking blood 682
at once, shoot the murderer that day, the blood is laid and no more can be taken.

3. A woman taken in adultery may be killed along with her partner 684
by her husband or brother, and no punishment follows. But should her husband kill her and not the man, her family can take blood for her.

In none of the above cases, I believe, does the tribe punish; nor has 682
the tribe, at any rate in some places, the power to punish a crime 578
committed within the "shpi" (house). When I was in Shala, at the priest's house in 1908, we heard two shots fired. Someone ran in to call the priest to a man who was dying; it was too late. In a dispute [685]
about the irrigation channels in the fields, a man had killed his own first cousin. Both were inmates of one large house. The crime excited genuine horror and was loudly discussed. Public opinion seemed to think something should be done—but what? It is the clear duty of a house to take blood as atonement for blood that has been taken. But the house, having already lost a man, cannot make matters any better by taking more of its own blood. This could not be expected; nor could any outsider interfere in what was a matter for the house lord. He could not be both lord of blood and gjaksur—could not owe himself blood. It was, in fact, an example of *patria potestas*. He decided to do nothing but hold a fine funeral to show his regret for the loss; and so sure was he that he was acting correctly that he sent a boy to the priest's

The question as to whether a wound had really been given accidentally was, of course, a fertile source of dispute. In a land where everyone carried fire-arms there were surprisingly few accidents. 683

THEFT

Theft within the Tribe.—The procedure for trial is the same as with murder. The plaintiff appeals to the bairaktar if he has previously not been able to obtain redress by appealing to the head of the family which has robbed him. 685

A sufficient number of con-jurors must then be found before whom the accused may swear his innocence and who will swear it with him. [493]

There is a fixed number for various thefts. Eight for horse-stealing, six for cattle-, and two for sheep- or goat-stealing.

A thief found guilty has to pay twice the value of the article stolen: give two sheep for one. Half the value of the article stolen is divided between the elders who have tried the case. For anything stolen off Church land as much as ten times the value may be demanded; and in olden times I was assured that a fancy value was placed upon a stolen cock—possibly because it was held to have great power against evil spirits. If a man's only cock was stolen, it is easy to see that these might suddenly attack him when unprotected.

If the house or cattle-shed is broken into, an extra fine of about £4 has to be paid.

The number of con-jurors depends on the value of the stolen article, and may be as many as ten.

Theft from another Tribe.—As in the Highlands of Scotland of old, lifting cattle from across the border of another tribe was considered rather a sporting event than a crime. 685 721

Mountain bands who raided the environs of Scutari and carried off Turkish goods were heroes. The practice was precisely the same as that of the Chetniks of Montenegro and the Hayduks of Bosnia. This custom had been modified, and the tendency was to arrange intertribal theft by arbitration—the procedure being the same as that with theft within the tribe, except that heads of both tribes took part in them.

This was usual in Maltsia e Madhe. But in the Dukagini tribes, especially the distant ones, much cattle- and horse-theft went on between tribes who, owing to blood-feud, had not a "besa" (peace oath) with each other. When I was in Nikaj, one of the wildest of the tribes, Nikaj and Krasnichi were on the worst terms. Watch-fires twinkled at night on the Krasnichi mountains, and talk was all of horse-stealing and cattle-lifting.

579 A quarrel broke out between Krasnichi and Shala. Shala had a besa
685 with Krasnichi, but the Krasnichi had harried some Christian villages
609 near Djakova which claimed descent from Shala. Shala therefore declared the besa ended and raided Krasnichi at night, stealing three mules. This caused complications, for Shala and Krasnichi do not border with each other. Krasnichi sent three headmen to Nikaj to accuse Nikaj of having sheltered and fed the mule-stealers on their way, and being thus party to the theft. The Nikaj men and three Krasnichi sat all day at the foot of the big wooden cross in front of the church and argued furiously—Nikaj loudly protesting ignorance and innocence of the whole affair and bidding Krasnichi to go to Shala.

Vexed with Shala for getting them into trouble thus, a day or two afterwards Nikaj went a-raiding to Shala and stole two fine horses. Shala sent delegates and complained that the theft was unfair. The horses were not Shala horses but belonged to guests—some Klimenti men who had come under besa to pasture some beasts. The horses were, therefore, under besa, too, and should not be touched. Nikaj only replied rudely: "You should not leave the horses of guests straying about." And my horse and Marko's were put at night into one of the church outbuildings to secure them from retort. The two horse-stealers, however, kindly offered to sell the horses to Shala for five hundred piastres apiece. Shala was enraged. The sitting lasted till late, and the debate was put off till to-morrow. But next day the Shala men and the horses had all disappeared in the night. The two horse-thieves came in hot indignation to the church house to ask the Franciscan's advice. They considered that in stealing their own horses back and going off with them Shala had played a dirty trick and acted most unfairly. The Franciscan, Marko, and I all shouted with laughter: "Bravo, Shala!" The two thieves were hurt. In all innocence they told of the great pains they had taken to steal the horses in the first place, and now they had been robbed. It was most unfair. Nor could the padre make them see it in another light; for to them robbery from a tribe with which there is no besa was rather a merit than a crime.

Nikaj argued that if Shala had the right to take back these horses, then Shala should restore the three mules taken from Krasnichi. A delegate came from Shala to debate this and to ask, "Are you in besa with Krasnichi? If so, we return the mules." As Nikaj was in blood with Krasnichi and only a day or two before had refused to have anything to do with the mule matter, Nikaj could not defend its proposition. Shala withdrew, leaving Nikaj furious and the poor horse-thieves much depressed.

609 Such raids, of course, easily start blood-feuds. The more civilized
579 tribes and the intelligent headmen, who were increasing in number

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe.

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes.

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep.

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head.

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider.

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

342 A man's house, simple or elaborate, was his own, and he could
423 do what he would with it up to a point. But he held it on conditions
685 laid down by the Unwritten Law. This law defined a house as 'any hut or building of one, two, or more storeys that has a hearth and emits smoke', and insisted that poor house and rich house are alike inviolable. A stranger might not enter either without first hailing the master by name. If very discreet, he would call out from some distance; if bolder or on friendly terms with the family, he might lawfully enter the yard first. If no one answered his call, he must wait there or go away. On no account might he push the door open; that would make him a housebreaker. In the old days it would have cost him the usual penalties for theft, a fine of five hundred *grosh* ('piastres') for housebreaking, plus the obligation to send the family two of every article found missing after his visit, and even more recently it caused strife that might end in shooting. It was of no use for him to plead that he knew the master was from home; he knew also that somebody must have been left in the master's place.

The law allowed a man to erect a new house anywhere on his
[351] own ground, subject to the all-important provision that it did no harm to his neighbour's house and ground. In this connexion the term 'house' comprised, not only the dwelling, but also the farmyard wall or fence, and everything that this enclosed. It followed that a new house must be kept at least the width of its eaves from the neighbour's boundary to make sure that the rain dripping from them should not damage his property. The method most commonly adopted to ensure this was to leave space enough for a man to pass on foot between the new house and the neighbour's boundary. If a man wanted plenty of elbow-room, however, he might build his house as much as two *pashë* ('fathoms') from the boundary. As his visitors were as free as members of his family to use the empty
[491] space, a sizeable road was soon trodden out. Sometimes, too, a man who looked into the future left room for a road that was still non-existent but might one day be wanted by the community, in which contingency his house would otherwise have had to be pulled down and rebuilt elsewhere.

There were also a number of minor rules to be remembered in building. According to the law in Fulqet, if several men had contiguous land, they must build their houses as near as possible to the point at which their land met. Otherwise their several dogs

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

would not recognize them and when A came to till his field, B's dog would treat him as an intruder and bite him, and he would have no legal claim to compensation for the injury. It is not known if this law obtained elsewhere, but the common sense on which it is based makes it probable that it did. Again, in the Moslem villages near enough to Elbasan to conform to the rigidity with which Moslem townsmen secluded their women, it was not permitted to make windows in a wall overlooking a neighbour's farmyard; the latter's womenfolk must be free to move about their yard unwatched. This ban on windows—which was Moslem, not Albanian—hardly extended to remoter Moslem villages, as women there enjoyed almost as much liberty as did their Christian ancestresses.

A man's ownership of his house and land was so absolute that he and his might emigrate temporarily or for good without losing their title to either house or land. Even if the family absented itself for a hundred years, no one might squat on its property. If the emigrant, before leaving, sold his land 'together with all that is on it', and one leaving for good usually did so, the piece constituting the site of the house remained his in spite of the terms of sale, and so long as one stone stood on another, no one might use the site. In Mirditë, however, a fixed term was set to this law; if the emigrant did not return within ten years, his house might be occupied by whosoever wanted it.

Every dwelling that emitted smoke might have one or more of the following accessories—yard, vegetable garden, field, road, boundary and, in suitable latitudes, vineyard. Of these the boundary and road were the most indispensable.[1] Every owner of a dwelling that emitted smoke had a right to graze his animals on the summer and winter pasturage owned by his village and to cut firewood and timber for his own use in the public coppices and forests. If he cared to build a bothy for his shepherds on a summer pasture or to break in ground for a field or vegetable garden on a common near his village, he was welcome to do so. He must first secure the consent of the elders of the village, who generally put the common weal before individual convenience. Their permission given, no one could stop his tilling the ground, nor turn him out. Theoretically every dwelling that emitted smoke should also have a portion of irrigation water, but the right to sell water often made this provision a dead letter.

[1] See Chapters VIII and IX.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

357 worked, and must forfeit the rest. To us the pound or two involved seems too insignificant to matter to either, but to most Albanians it was an important sum. In the event, for example, of the master's moving from one district to another, he might not dismiss the servant unless he gave him a full year's wages. If, however, he asked the servant to go with him and the servant refused, he must let him go but need give him no more than what he had so far earned. In the same spirit the law forbade the master to dismiss the servant for a frivolous reason, such as not liking him, and forbade the servant to run away for a frivolous reason, such as boredom. If the master disregarded this law, he must pay the servant a full year's wages, and if the servant disregarded it, he must be content with the wages he had earned to date. By exception, in Krasniqë, in north-east Albania, the master sought out his runaway servant, and after making him find a man to guarantee his future behaviour, brought him back to stay out his time.

[627] If the master had good grounds for dismissing the servant, he must warn and forgive him twice. If the warnings went unheeded, the master said the elders must now judge between them. The servant then went and told his story to the chief elder—the bajraktar in tribal areas—who next asked the master what he had to say. Thus in possession of both sides of the story, the elders sat on the case and pronounced judgement; this turned generally on what money was to be paid to the servant.

[466] If the servant were lazy, an all too common occurrence, or otherwise unsatisfactory, without being criminal, the Unwritten Law allowed his master to reprimand him reasonably and bade the servant swallow the reprimand. But the master must not use foul language or hit the man. For his motive might be to force him to leave before his time, apparently of his own volition, and so deprive himself of his full wages. If the master transgressed this law, the servant had leave to appeal to the elders, not only for payment of his wages in full, but also for compensation for the injury of being hit or violently abused.

357 The more serious crimes with which a servant might be charged
[674] included theft, murder and seducing a girl or young wife in his
685 master's family. In the case of theft the issue depended largely on whether the servant stole from his master, in his master's village, or in another community. If he were caught red-handed robbing his master or subsequently admitted doing so, he was immediately

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dismissed with only the wages due until then. Since it was in a sense his own house and his own father that he had robbed, he could not be given a second chance; he was too obviously devoid of ordinary decency to be trusted again. And since the law forbade his master to strike him, he could not be beaten as a thievish woman might be, till he reformed. 357 685

Dismissal did not end his story. He had to pay the statutory fine for housebreaking and to bring his late master two of everything he had stolen. If he had no money for the fine, he had to find a surety for the amount and then go and earn it elsewhere. After European legal codes were introduced at the end of the 1920's, these unwritten laws lost much of their force, and it was rather by threatening to get the thief sent to prison that an injured master obtained restitution. [671]

In less sophisticated days a servant who was only suspected of robbing his master could be tried by the ordeal of the oath. If this proved him innocent, his master had to pay him six *qese* ('purses') for unjustly accusing him, besides a full year's wages and clothes. If it was later found that he had perjured himself, the elders fined him twenty-four *qese*, of which half went to the church (or mosque) and half to the tribe; he had also to return to his master the six *qese* and the unearned wages and clothes which he had won from him by perjury. It sometimes transpired, however, that the informant who had disclosed his perjury had lied himself. Then the elders once more declared the servant innocent, ordered the church and tribe to return his twenty-four *qese*, and the informant to pay him a year's wages and clothes besides six *qese* for the false accusation. [695]

If a servant stole in his master's village or another community, punishment depended on who had instigated the crime. If his master had done so, he and not the servant was in fault, and it was for him to make reparation to the victim. He must also dismiss the servant forthwith as a public nuisance; but since the man was only his tool, he must pay him a full year's wages. If, on the other hand, a servant stole on his own initiative, the fault was his and it was for him alone to make restitution. In addition, he might be legally dismissed with no more than the wages he had earned. [672]

Much the same laws applied when a servant committed a murder. If he did so at his master's instigation, both were punished. He must be dismissed, but his master must pay him a full year's wages. The resultant blood feud was primarily his concern, but if he 357 682 672

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as he saw his dog about to bite, might even shoot the animal, regarding its loss as the lesser evil. Occasionally a man sought to disclaim responsibility, shouting that he was not a chain-making gypsy and only bought, and did not make, the faulty chain. The stranger would retort that he was not dog's meat. Then revolvers might be drawn and a blood feud begun. More probably the dog's owner sullenly invited the wounded man to partake of the hospitality demanded by the law.

If a house dog killed a stranger during the daytime, it was in most places as if its master had killed him and a blood feud sprang up between the two families. In Dibër, however, the payment of full blood money generally satisfied the bereaved family.

During the night the law was entirely on the side of the house dog and its master. No matter how the animal might threaten a stranger he might not kill it. If he did so, he must pay blood money or have a feud with its master, exactly as if it was the latter he had killed. The Kanùn says clearly that 'at night a dog is equivalent to a man'. Indeed, in some places such as Çermenikë the animal was thought more important and its murder by night was more serious. If a house dog succeeded in biting a stranger at night, the latter got nothing from its master—neither hospitality and doctor's fees nor indemnity for wages lost. From his neighbours he got mockery—'Fancy letting yourself be bitten by a dog. You're a fine man.' Even if a house dog killed a stranger at night there was no compensation, the death went unavenged. Once upon a time, in Lurë, a daughter-in-law of Demir Lleshi went out at night into her own farmyard. A neighbour's dog sprang on her and killed her, but since it was night time, the dog's time, her blood was lost. It was immaterial that the dog was trespassing and that she was on her own ground.

There was only one exception to these rules. If a house stood near a main road an aggressive dog might be killed during the night without penalty. A higher law stated that 'it is not right to cut a main road with a dog'. In the far north bajraktars and elders had been known to order fierce dogs near a main road to be kept chained at night as well as during the day.

The blood money which was payable on killing a house dog at night was generally the same as would be payable if a man had been killed. The blood money for a bitch was the same as for a dog; there was no discrimination between the sexes as there was in the

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231 case of murdered man and murdered woman. In some areas, such
685 as Kurbin, the blood money for a house dog was assessed by the
628 elders or government authorities.

A stranger who agreed in his simplicity to pay the owner what he demanded for his dead dog might find himself presented with a fine bill. The owner would say that the dog had saved his life on several occasions and was consequently worth six, ten or even twenty napoleons. Sometimes the owner asked the stranger, not for blood money, but for another dog of the same quality as the dead animal. The cost might exceed the conventional amount of blood money.

In the above cases a house dog had been killed in self-defence. When it was killed out of spite matters were much more serious. 'He who kills a house dog will steal your wife', says the Kanùn. Such killings usually took place at night because the aggressor would find it dangerous to approach the house in daylight. This aggravated the crime since the night was the dog's own time.

In Mirditë, Kurbin and Martanesh a man who killed a dog 'in its kennel', i.e. on its own ground and therefore spitefully, must pay its master 500 grosh, almost a fortune in these poverty-stricken areas. In north Albania his life was forfeit. When he had been killed by the dog's master, his relatives killed one of the latter's family, arguing that they could not permit their relative to be equated to a dog. In most cases the two parties being 'one for one' the dog's master then consented to make peace on condition of receiving blood money for the dead animal. He might stipulate, if he wished, that this should take the form of an ox or a horse and so cost more than the conventional blood money. Occasionally the feud was continued—it is on record that twelve men in the north once died for the sake of one dog. In any region a man who immediately pardoned the killer of his dog would be taunted as
[695] a weakling. In Lumë the man who was suspected of having killed a house dog found dead, a crime as costly as killing a man, could not clear himself unless he persuaded twenty-four elders to take oath with him.

231 The legal discrimination between defensive and spiteful killing
685 made it important for a man who killed a dog during the daytime
672 to establish his motive. He could do so simply and surely. If his bullet had struck the dog in the forehead or chest it was evident that the animal was charging him and he had fired in fear. If, on the

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other hand, he had shot the dog in the back he must have killed it out of spite.

Whereas house dogs remained at home and were chained up for half their lives, sheep dogs were normally free both day and night and divided their time between the mountain-side and the sheep-fold. Their function was to protect the flock from thieves and wolves. If these approached, they must bark a timely warning so as to bring the shepherds with their rifles and they must themselves attack the marauders. They must therefore be alert, courageous and fierce, true 'Molossian hounds'. In districts infested by wolves they wore iron collars set with iron spikes to prevent the wolf from tearing open their throat. In common with other sheep dogs in the Near and Middle East they did not handle the flock. That was led, or occasionally driven, by the shepherd unaided.

As fierceness was their most important asset, sheep dogs were given the same harsh upbringing as house dogs. Indeed, they were generally removed at a still earlier age from their mother so that they should not know even her caresses for long. But they were gentle enough with their flocks, from which they never parted. As puppies they were fed on ewe's or goat's milk—hence, said the peasants of Shpat, their later friendliness with the animals they guarded. In adult life they were fed on maize bread roughly baked in indigestible looking balls by the shepherds. Nevertheless, their strength and the sleekness of their coats showed that the diet was sufficient.

The law of the sheep dog varied from place to place according to the animal's position in the local economy. In the north, where men depended almost entirely on their flocks, the sheep dog was of paramount importance as the guardian of its master's whole livelihood and was protected by the law to the utmost. In areas such as Kurbin, where men combined agriculture with sheep-breeding, the sheep dog was of less importance to its master and some relaxation appears in the law. In fertile areas like Lumë or Krasniqë, where agriculture predominated, the sheep dog was still less important and the law less drastic. So in the north it was more serious to kill a sheep dog than a house dog and elsewhere the position was reversed.

Among the mountains of the north the law of the sheep dog was the same by day and by night. A passer-by might be bitten at any hour of the day or night, but if he killed the dog he would be killed

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231 by its master. No excuse for his crime could be tolerated. He
628 might have lost his way or be a stranger (and so a guest to be
683 protected). No matter! The mountain was the dog's ground day
685 and night. Why had he gone near the sheep? Was it to steal one? There was no road through the flock. He should have stuck to the highway which was inalienably his, day and night. If he were killed by the dog, his family had no right to claim blood money or to start a feud; his 'blood was lost'. In Dibër the same harsh laws prevailed. In the partly pastoral, partly agricultural area of Kurbin a man who killed a sheep dog generally escaped with the payment of blood money; his life was not necessarily forfeit. In Martanesh, where the economy was similar, a man who killed a sheep dog in terror of his life and proved his motive was fined 100 grosh, the amount payable for a house dog in the same circumstances.

In the adjacent Çermenikë he was not even fined. In fertile Lumë the law was that 'a man can't lose his life for a dog', and on that theory a traveller on the mountain might kill a sheep dog which had refused to let him pass. For penalty he needed only to go to the dog's master and beg his pardon. He was generally afraid to go alone—the dog's master might suspect that he had killed the dog from spite and might be in an evil temper as a result. So he generally asked others to accompany him. These confessed his crime and asked for pardon. It was never refused. If he had killed a house dog during the daytime in this district, he would have had to pay blood money as for a murdered man, or would have been killed. On the rich plateau of Krasniqë sheep-rearing is relatively so unimportant that sheep dogs come under the same rules as house dogs. If, for instance, one bites a stranger on the mountain its master must pay for the wound.

Even in the gentler areas the spiteful or senseless killing of a sheep dog may start a blood feud. An extreme case occurred 'long ago' in Lumë. The sheep belonging to the Onuzi sept were sleeping in a mountain fold near the fold of the Doçi sept. The dogs began to fight among themselves and the Doçi shepherd killed an Onuzi dog. The Onuzi shepherd drew his revolver and shot the Doçi man dead. A general fight then started among the shepherds and in a few minutes six Onuzi and twelve Doçi men lay dead for the sake of a dog. The feud raged on for years, not ceasing until it was at last composed by direct order of the reigning Sultan.

Successive generations of travellers evolved practical expedients

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for dealing with sheep dogs. The first was to 'let sleeping dogs lie'. 231 If a traveller were so unfortunate as to find one in his path and 628 there was no shepherd in sight to call it in, he swerved aside, 683 keeping well to leeward in the hope that neither sound nor scent 685 of his presence would reach the dog. If a dog charged, the traveller might follow the example of Ulysses on his return home and sit down. The dog would probably sit down too and immobilize him until the shepherd's arrival, but it was not likely to charge again. This expedient was more favoured in central than in northern Albania. There the traveller preferred to climb a tree in the hope that the flock would soon pass, so releasing him. The dog was not really interested in him and went on with the flock. It has happened when, a flock was large and grazing, that a man has had to stay half a day up a tree, with several dogs barking under his feet; for it was customary in north Albania to leave a grazing flock in sole charge of the sheep dog for many hours. For that reason, as soon as a traveller heard sheep bells—and in that country of long narrow valleys enclosed by lofty mountains he might hear them half an hour away—he called out. If no answering shout came, he knew that there was no shepherd with the flock and laid his plans accordingly. As far south as Shpat fear of a sheep dog might send a traveller up a tree, but there rescue came swiftly because shepherds were forbidden to leave their flocks for long. Tracks in Shpat were too many and travellers too numerous to allow of lengthy hold-ups by sheep dogs. With the same motive of protecting travellers, shepherds in the few treeless areas of north Albania were required to remain with their flocks.

If, however, a flock was grazing near a main road, the sheep dog came under the law already enunciated that 'it is not right to cut a main road with a dog'. Day and night, when near such a road, the sheep dog must be kept under control by means of the shepherd's voice or a chain, preferably the latter as being surer. A traveller who found a sheep dog loose on such a road and received no answer to his call from the shepherd was entitled to kill the dog and did not have to compensate its master.

Shooting dogs had the run of the house and kitchen as well as 231 the farmyard and were never tied up. Born gentle, they were well 683 enough treated by their masters to remain so throughout their lives. They were not found in every house but only with the leisured or the lazy.

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231 A stranger who was bitten by a shooting dog could neither kill it
683 nor claim compensation for his wound. Indeed, he became a public butt for being feckless enough to let himself be bitten by so tame an animal.

231 If a stranger killed a shooting dog by mischance, he must
685 compensate the master in money—two napoleons were thought adequate in most places. Alternatively, he must give him another dog as good as the one he had killed. The hour of the crime was immaterial.

224 If a shooting dog was killed from motives of spite, a feud
628 followed as in the case of house and sheep dogs.

If a shooting dog put up a hare, only its master had the right to take the hare. It might be that the chase was long and that the hare was shot by a stranger before the dog's master caught it up. In that case the latter demanded the hare and offered the stranger a fresh cartridge in return for the one he had just expended. If the offer was refused a blood feud started, the first shot being fired by the stranger.

If two men went shooting with only one dog, they skinned the hares at the end of the day and divided them equally.

231 Pet dogs, like shooting dogs, were free of the house as well as the farmyard and ran loose day and night. Of indeterminate pedigree, they were about the size of small Aberdeens. They were not common in northern Albania, where their only purpose was to divert their master—it was thought great fun to hang a lighted cigarette round their necks. In central Albania where the average flock was small and always had a shepherd, they were much prized as watchdogs. They never failed at either house or sheepfold to bark warningly when unwelcome visitors approached. They were so brave that at sheepfolds they could dash out and tackle a marauding wolf, invariably losing their life in the unequal combat. On account of their usefulness their value was high, as much as six or seven napoleons.

The law when they killed (a virtually impossible contingency) or were killed was the same as it was for shooting dogs.

231 A few isolated rules remain to be mentioned. Clerics such as
793 priests among Catholics or Orthodox or hoxhas and sheikhs among Mohammedans were forbidden to keep house dogs. Their houses must be open day and night to their parishioners or passing strangers and might not be closed by dogs. If they kept sheep dogs

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they must not bring them home, but must leave them at the more or less distant sheepfold. There was no ban on their keeping shooting and pet dogs. 231 793

If a house dog disappeared temporarily during the mating season so that its master could not find it at dawn to tie it up for the day, he remained responsible for its conduct. It was held that a house dog loose under such conditions during the daytime was like one that had been duly tied up but had broken loose. Happily for its master and for strangers, a dog was generally too much occupied at such seasons with its own affairs to trouble about strangers. 231 672

If any type of dog fell into a snare set by a neighbour near its master's house, the neighbour must pay its full value. He had no doubt obtained its master's consent before he set the snare, but that did not relieve him of his liability for ensuing casualties. 224 672

Damage done by dogs must be paid for in money or by the dog's death. Each case was handled with a good deal of ceremony. If a dog ate a neighbour's eggs or killed his fowls, the latter asked its master to tie it up. If he refused, the neighbour had the right to kill the dog, and its master could not exact compensation. The neighbour generally took an oath in public that the dog had developed a habit of eating his eggs or killing his fowls, and that he had asked its master to tie it up and had been told to kill it. If he killed the dog without warning, he must in most places pay its value as assessed by the local elders. But in that case its master must first take oath that it had never eaten eggs or killed fowls. If the dog was commonly considered valuable, the neighbour would probably warn its master twice before he killed it. In Çermenikë and Martanesh the law was sterner; a delinquent dog had always to be killed, but if this were done without its master's leave, a blood feud started. In such cases the culprit was generally a house dog. 231 685 [628]

In cases of sheep-worrying the culprit was invariably a sheep dog. The general verdict was that the animal must die, but there was some variation in local methods of reaching this verdict. In north Albania and in Yugoslav Kosovë the dog's master must indemnify the sheep owner for every sheep worried and must take oath that the dog acted of its own impulse and had not been specially trained to kill sheep; any proof that it had been so trained would immediately cause him to be killed by the sheep owner. He must also kill the dog or keep it chained up in perpetuity. If the

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231 sheep owner found it loose again he would kill it without more ado
685 or, less probably, he would start a feud with its master. A sheep owner of Koplik who complained about another's dog must be able to say that he could produce two witnesses. This might cause the dog's master to pay up at once for the dead sheep. On the other hand, he might say that the witnesses, being friends of the sheep owner, were not to be believed, and that the only evidence he could accept was a public oath by the sheep owner. If the latter took the oath the dog's master must pay him the value of two sheep for every one killed. He was left to decide whether he would kill his dog or keep it chained up. In the latter event the evil soon worked its own cure. The dog would worry sheep whenever it could escape from its chain and he, tiring of paying for its ravages, would shoot it. The sheep owner does not seem to have had the right to kill it. In Mirditë a sheep dog might be shot by the sheep owner for worrying sheep, but not unless caught 'Flesh in mouth'. In Martanesh, too, this was the rule. In neither place was any compensation due to the dog's master.

If a dog harried a drove of pregnant animals, causing some to abort their young in their terror, it might be killed by the shepherd. Its blood was then equated to that of the aborted animals. If it evaded the shepherd, its master must pay in full for each abortion; he was 'keeping a tame wolf'. If a dog killed a foal or calf, whether playfully or not, its master must pay the accepted value of the dead animal.

With mad dogs the rule all over Albania was 'Kill if you can, and the sooner the better'. The owners neither expected nor received compensation. Many of them broadcast the news that their dog was mad and asked for it to be killed as speedily as possible.

road two loaded donkeys might meet and pass, but two loaded horses could not. When these met, one or the other had to step aside from the road, turning back, if need be to find a suitable place in which to do so. This was almost invariably of nature's making; there were no artificial passing places as on narrow motor roads in England.

Load generally determined priority of passage. To use Albanian phraseology, when a riding-saddle met a riding-saddle on a horse-track the one with no saddle-bags or other load besides the rider had to turn back. The riding-saddle had to make way for the loaded pack-saddle, but had priority over an empty one. When two pack-saddles met, the one loaded and the other empty, the latter had to make way for the former. When they were both loaded or both empty, the one which was nearer a possible place at which to step off the road had to turn back. The same rules applied to carts. In the rare cases where there was plenty of room for two loaded horses or carts, there was no 'Keep right' or 'Keep left'; they could pass on whichever side they wished.

The rules about priority were apt to be honoured in the breach rather than the observance. A man who was turned back on his road felt, even if priority was not his, as much disgraced as if his gun had been taken from him. His honour was lost, and could not be redeemed unless he killed his rival. There have been many deaths for the sake of precedence. The men of Godolesh, who were satisfied when the offender was fined by the elders, were condemned by their neighbours as soft and citified. But even in Godolesh there was no more fertile cause of murder than disputes about who should have the right of way. The trouble arose because priority rules were often confused, especially on purpose by strong wilful men, with the general law of road ownership. As enunciated by Father Gjeçov, this law said that a village street or a public highway was nobody's individual perquisite, but belonged to one man as much as to another. Hence, the living and the dead—traveller and livestock, bride and corpse—had an absolute right to use either, and no man, even if the road passed close to the door of his house, could deny this right.

A road was free to all. It was for breaking this general law that highway robbery was punished so much more severely than other forms of theft, and that a traveller who killed a dangerous dog on a highway did not have to compensate its owner.

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685 A man could not, without the elders' consent, close an old road
491 that, having been used by his fellow-travellers, bridal parties and
494 funeral processions, was public property. If he did, it was reopened
423 by the elders, sometimes by force. He was often fined too. If he had ploughed it up, so that its line was uncertain, they sought out an old trustworthy man and made him show them under oath and in the presence of witnesses where it had been. Then the offender was ordered to open it again, removing any fence he had erected and, by way of penalty, to give a meal and small fee to the old man and the witnesses. If he shut it up once more he was liable to be shot.

491 As always, there were exceptions to the general rule. Owing to
494 the marshy nature of the land most of the fields near the mouth of
423 the river Mat were enclosed by hedges of living willow and
[487] communicated with each other by stiles, not gates. If the public, having formed a shorter route, no longer used a certain field-path, the owner of the field could close the path and the stiles at either end without any compulsion to reopen them; the public had the shorter road and one was enough. If a man bought a field which had a road round it and a right-of-way through it, he had the right to close the latter and to make the public go by the road; only if a long detour was involved could he be forced to leave the right-of-way open. On the other hand, if his new-bought field was bordered not by a road but by another field, he could not block the right-of-way unless he made a new road entirely within his own boundaries. This was substantially the law which governed changes of road all over north Albania. In Lumë a distinction was drawn between permanent roads which had to remain open all the year round and winter roads which could be closed in summer. The first were known as 'roads with a boundary'; the most important led to the high pastures on Mount Gjalicë. Winter roads generally went through fields and were closed to men and animals from seed-time to harvest; as soon as the crop was in, the roads were opened to traffic. If somebody had great need to use one during the season, he might take what he could carry and go along the very edge of the sown land, taking pains not to damage the growing crop. He could not make a habit of this or take his horse and must not forget to ask leave from the owner of the land. Again, a few roads to the Alpine pastures passed through wheat fields on their way. As a necessary link with the high pastures they could not be completely closed even when the fields were under crop. An ingenious

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might mean his going a long way round in future, the third owner could not oppose their wish. Again the land on both sides of an alley which three families used might belong to a fourth man. If he persuaded or bribed two of the three to let him plough it up, the third man had to acquiesce. A third type of blind alley began and ended in a single field.

All types of alley were private property reserved for the sole use of their owner, joint or single, and his family and lawful visitors. If he found anyone else on it he could turn him back as an intruder, and if he refused to comply could shoot him. This was irrespective of whether he did damage or not. An honest man would not trespass. Consequently, a trespasser's intentions were felonious. In Labinot a 'foreigner' from another village was licensed to use the blind alley once. He might be unaware that he was trespassing. In Zerqan, too, if he did not trespass more than once most owners said nothing to avoid disgracing themselves. A foreigner has his rights. In truculent Lumë no allowance was made for ignorance. About 1900 three men lost their lives because a stranger from the town of Prizren rode by pure mischance along a blind alley in a field in the village of Stiqan and resisted the owner's attempt to turn him back. In all districts a fellow-villager who trespassed could not plead ignorance as a stranger could; consequently his fault was graver. Even so he was not shot in Zerqan till other measures had been tried and failed. First the owner asked him not to use the blind alley again. If he persisted the owner complained to the village and the village forbade the man to go by the path. If he still persisted the village fined him. If he still persisted the owner shot him. Such was the theory, but in practice a strong man skipped the diplomatic stages and shot the offender at his first or second offence. Sometimes a fellow-villager who had a genuine need to use a private road, for instance, to regulate his irrigation water, might be given permission to do so. But he had to go on foot and could not take his horse.

In Godolesh, exceptionally, the question of damages affected the rules for blind alleys. Such paths traversed the market gardens on which the village still depended for most of its livelihood. Usually each belonged to several owners, any of whom might use it throughout its length, though they were forbidden to introduce animals as these might damage the fruit and vegetables. A trespasser was pardoned up to three times, then one or more owners

complained against him to the elders, and he was fined ten grosh in 423
Turkish and two gold francs in modern times. In Turkish times 487
a strong man often forced his way through and only a weak man, [685]
cowed by the guns levelled at him, turned back. The principle of
private ownership was carried so far in this village that it extended
even to a certain garden road which was not blind but had an exit
as well as an entrance. This was reserved for the villagers of one
ward, and forbidden to their animals, to the rest of the village and
to 'foreigners', with one exception. If a girl from another ward or [574]
village had married into the privileged ward[1] her kinsmen had leave [607]
to use the forbidden path when on their way to visit her. If even
one man in the ward objected, however, he had the right to veto
their passage. It is not known how this unusual privilege came into
being. The most obvious explanation would be that the families [614]
in the ward descended from a common male ancestor, but, in fact,
the families were of very mixed descent.

In the extreme north the individual's safety on certain inter- 486
tribal thoroughfares was ensured by what was called the 'truce of 619
sheep and shepherd', because it mainly concerned shepherds and
their flocks. Actually travellers and public messengers also enjoyed
its protection. Two or more tribes, meeting in full assembly of all
their bajraktars, heads, and youth, swore a solemn truce to attacks
on life and property on a given route or routes within their territory,
and guaranteed its observance. They prescribed the limits of the
road which it covered, regulated the behaviour of persons taking
advantage of it, and enunciated penalties for breaking it. Thus,
a shepherd could lead his flock and graze it only within a prescribed
limit. A traveller or public messenger journeying from one of the
contracting tribes to another had both going and coming to keep
within the points fixed. As soon as he had set foot in the foreign
tribe's territory he had to go straight to the bajraktar's house and
not turn aside to any other. He must not venture out alone but
must always be accompanied by the bajraktar or a guide of his
providing. So long as shepherd, traveller or public messenger 574
obeyed these rules and kept to the prescribed road, he was regarded 628
as a public guest and consequently was guaranteed public protection 486
and, what was almost more important, public vengeance in the 672
event of being murdered or robbed. Protection came from the
knowledge of the penalties which the foreign tribe would exact for
any harm done him. If he were murdered the price of his blood

1 [in the village of Godolesh --An 2/45t]

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expression 'to take on the shoulder', which is frequently heard in speech all over the country in the sense of 'to destroy' or 'to ruin', seems to derive from this obviously very ancient method of making oath. 'If I don't act justly, may I carry this weight in this world and the next', the elder swore solemnly as, irrespective of whether he was Catholic, Orthodox or Moslem, he embarked on his delimitation. In most cases he believed that if he were unfair the earth and stone would punish him literally as he said. 'Earth will rot us all one day; we can't put it lightly on our shoulders like a stone. It's a very serious thing; we stake our soul by touching it', were some of the expressions used to explain the general fear. Some men were so frightened of the dread symbols that they would not undertake to delimit a boundary, saying, 'It's a serious business to undertake such a thing; it brings you up against God's justice'. A few others, it must be confessed, were sceptical enough in consideration of a bribe to defy the consequences of perjury and to delimit unfairly.

Boundary stones then were set up by elders in the presence of witnesses as an abiding memorial to the ownership of the land they outlined. 'A fence may rot, a boundary does not', said the proverb. 'Let ever so many be killed; a field, or mountain, a vineyard cannot be seized by force; the boundary stones say who is the lawful owner', was another aphorism. In many places it was customary, generation after generation, to 'ride the marches' once a year so that the old could show the young where the stones were and so forge the next link in the endless chain of memory. Like its British counterpart, the custom gave occasion for a public holiday. Often performed, as in Nangë, at the spring festival of 'Summer Day', all men and boys in a village went round every known boundary in it. They saw that the boundary stones were still in place and not sunk out of sight, noted their position, and cleared away thorns and other concealing overgrowth. Often, as in Nangë, they were led by gypsies banging joyously on drums.

It was thought a sin to move boundary stones, since they had been set up in such solemn circumstances by elders, the highest tribal authorities. But land-hunger was so prevalent that the sin was all too common. With the lapse of time, too, boundary stones might sink out of sight in the ground and the boundary line be obliterated. Disputes over boundaries were consequently endless. To prevent them there were various deterrents. Men of weight—

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tribal, religious or personal—fostered the belief that moving boundary stones made things specially hard for the sinner in the next world. In this world the elders punished the misdeed with a heavy fine—of varying amount in Mirditë, 30 rams and an ox in Bicaj of Lumë, 3000 grosh and 6 rams in Kastrat, and a Turkish pound and boycott in Godolesh. Everywhere the sinner was publicly disgraced even if he was not always boycotted as in Godolesh, and he had always to compensate his victim financially. He had in fact stolen land, a valuable article of property as representing a man's livelihood. Consequently his crime was punishable as a bad form of theft. In Mirditë a man who had not only moved the boundary stones but also killed his neighbour was fined 100 rams and an ox and publicly executed for his double crime.

Yet in Mirditë one very primitive method of moving a tribal boundary was permissible. If a man had no forest or other source of timber and he had desperate need of this, he might take his axe and go to a forest in a neighbouring tribe—naturally he did not penetrate very far from his own tribe's boundary. The noise his axe made as he felled and lopped a tree soon brought up the foresters. If he had presence of mind and strength of arm enough to drive his axe up to the shaft in the fallen tree, and if the foresters could not pull it out, the boundary of his tribe was advanced to the tree. This was the manner in which Gjokë Buca of Kaçinar won forest from Kushnen. The method may have been peculiar to Mirditë.

In the Malësi e Madhe a man who had a spinney might refuse to permit his neighbour who had none to cut timber to fence in his property. He might want to cut the timber himself next year. It was his own business whether he sold it or not. The other was getting food from his field; let him go and buy or beg wood elsewhere for his fence. Presumably what went for an individual tribesman went for his village or tribe.

When disputes arose, efforts were made to settle them before they ended in bloodshed. Two types of dispute were distinguished, public—as arising between tribe and tribe, village and village, ward of a village and ward of a village—and private, as arising between individual and individual.

Settlement in private disputes might be effected by the parties themselves, by elders or by the government. The first method was

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417 public memory. If only one of the two wanted a barrier, he had to
423 build it unaided and entirely on his own ground, leaving the
596 boundary stones on his neighbour's side. In this case its position relative to these stones was enough to show whose it was, but he nevertheless constructed the usual niche on his own side. He could not, however, build the wall right against the boundary stones but had to leave its width free between them and its outer base. For the law said that any rain that fell on a man's house or wall must run off on his own ground and not damage his neighbour's property. It needed no legal compulsion, of course, to make him construct the various buildings in his own yard in such a position that their drips did not damage his fence. Incidentally the 60 cm. of free space served at need for a footpath. When two brothers were embittered, each built a partition wall, naturally without a communicating door.

685 If a man wilfully damaged a tree or other property on his neighbour's land he had to answer for his crime by paying damages. If a stranger who did not know he was trespassing on another's property and was not warned off by a shout from the owner did similar damage, he, too, had to appear before the elders.
[672] But if he could prove ignorance of trespass, he had no damage to
[351] pay. To keep animals under control so that they should not stray to another's property, a wall or at least a fence round the yard was an essential concomitant of a house. This too had to be its own thickness inside its owner's boundary to guarantee that rain drips
[425] did not damage the ground next door. In the Malësi e Madhe the man building the wall could claim any timber that during building operations fell not more than half-way down on his neighbour's side. But whatever fell more than half-way or reached the ground—even the scrap of land he had left himself between the wall and the boundary—became his neighbour's. This discrimination applied to every form of wall.

351 Sometimes when one of two brothers was enclosing his yard he
596 was permitted to utilize his neighbour's wall for one side of his
417 enclosure. There was no risk of this confusing the ownership of the wall, for the neighbour, when building it, had not only put a proprietor's niche on his own side but had also left the boundary stones outside so that they fell within the new yard. A more distant relative could not utilize an existing wall, but had to build one of his own, parallel to the neighbour's and distant by the

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regulation width from the boundary. If this involved him in more 351
expense it also saved him and his descendants from ever quarrelling 596
about the wall. It also gave his dog room enough to run round his 417
house at night, a not unimportant point. But even a brother could not be allowed to erect a building against his neighbour's wall. The risk from the drips of rain from it was too serious.

If one neighbour wished to fence or wall in his field he did 578
no wrong, strictly speaking, by building the barrier along the 423
middle of the grass-grown footpath along the boundary between 417
fields, and so on the very boundary line. But this caused so many quarrels that in Mirditë and the Malësi e Madhe the law bade him leave the width of his barrier free between its outer base and the boundary, just as he must do when building a wall across his courtyard. In its wisdom the law was providing for the future.

Theoretically, a man could not only build his fence or wall 423
along a boundary line, but could also ask his neighbour to make 685
half of it. In practice, however, the neighbour might be too lazy 417
or might say he was too poor or too ill to do his bit. In Kastrat[1] he could be fined 250 grosh and three rams for his unneighbourliness, and this possibility sometimes drove him to action. In the ingenious Malësi e Madhe the first man might in malice run up a fence parallel to the boundary but with an opening sixteen spans (3·20 metres) wide at either end. This ensured that his animals strayed through the opening on to his bad neighbour's field and ate it up. To give the neighbour no chance to make him move his fence he ran it up four spans, half the width of the horse-track, from the boundary. Most men, however, preferred to make the whole fence themselves, constructing it at least half the width of a footpath from the boundary. If two neighbours made half the fence each, but one made his half badly, this man was at fault—whether his sheep strayed into the good fencer's field or the good fencer's into his. The loss always fell on him; in the first case he had to compensate his neighbour, and in the second he had no right to be compensated for the damage done by the animals. 417

Sometimes a man wished to fence in a field which was bounded by a road. In Krasniqë and some other hilly districts he had to leave a strip of his land as well to allow for the fence slipping down on to the road, an ever likely possibility.

Most hedges of dead thorn were directly over the boundary line, 417 685

[1] See Appendix, Document V, § 11, p. 264.

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417 and if properly placed to begin with, caused no trouble. The same
●685 was true of living hedges inland. On the other hand, living hedges in the marshy areas near the mouth of the river Mat sometimes
[241] grew so tall that they damaged the neighbouring land with their shade. To prevent this, the owner had to lop overgrown trees once every three years. Failing this, his neighbour could complain to the headman; inevitably they gave him leave to cut the trees down to the root on the owner's ground, an intrusion that was in itself a punishment, and fined the owner 250–450 grosh for breaking the law about lopping.

423 Similar rules regulated the planting of fruit and other trees, olives
245 being included among the former. In Mirditë a fruit tree might be planted only 5 'feet' (1 metre) from the boundary; another kind had to be at least 10 feet away. In Godolesh, a great fruit-growing area, a fruit tree could be planted on the very boundary, but in adjacent Labinot it had to be a span away. In Shkrel it could be planted anywhere on one's own ground, as it never caused trouble
[685] by itself. As with living hedges, care had to be taken that a tree did not cast harmful shade over a neighbour's land. If one did so in Shkrel the owner agreed amicably to lop it, raising no objections unless he had already quarrelled with his neighbour over something else. In Mirditë he was bound to lop the offending branches; if he failed to do so his neighbour could lop them as high as he could reach with a hook, the handle of which did not exceed 3½ spans in length. In the mountains of Lesh the owner had to uproot the tree or to pay annual damages to his neighbour. In Godolesh the neighbour was entitled to stretch as far as he could and cut the too luxuriant branches with his short-handled axe. If a tree was doing no damage to neighbouring ground, it could not be lopped except by its owner. A man who transgressed this law in Mirditë had to pay its owner 500 grosh.

312 Sometimes an open drain adjoined a boundary. When it was
423 first cut, each of the two neighbours provided half the ground
476 required, did half the work and retained the earth excavated from his own side. Three stones, one big and two small, were left at the head to mark the boundary; the two other sets, normally placed in the middle and at the foot, were removed to make room for the water; as the drain discharged into a bigger channel, they could not possibly be left at the foot. The boundary naturally ran exactly down the middle. In most places the drain had to be cleared out

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that when next it was erected it was correctly sited, otherwise shooting began. In the Martanesh area the village headman, with two official and two unofficial assistants, was usually called in to set the fence up on the exact boundary line. If the offender moved it forward again, the elders sent word to his relatives that if he touched it again, there would be shooting. So restrained, he usually settled down.

An opening was never to be made in a fence by force or without the owner's leave. Only a foolish and 'lawless' man would do such a thing; it could only be the preliminary to using the field as a road, or to stealing something.

Fines were imposed as a deterrent. These amounted to 50 grosh in Turkish times and 100 koronë in the 1920's in the Malësi e Madhe, with 150 grosh and 3 rams in Kastrat in 1892; even if the offender closed the gap again, he had no right to make it in the first instance. If he destroyed a fence altogether in the marshes at the mouth of the Mat he was fined 250 grosh, five times the amount imposed for opening a way through it. If he did not pay the fine he was killed by the owner. As many as three lives have often been lost for one opening.

So with a wall in the marshland of the Mat. If it was holed, the owner asked the offender furiously if he was agreeable to having elders assess the damage. If the offender objected to assessment or refused payment, the owner shot him; at best he was sharply fined by the village. A breach in a fence or wall had always to be repaired by the owner.

Elsewhere manners were milder. In Martanesh there was no punishment at all for making a hole in a fence. In Perlat permission to make one was readily given either as a favour or in exchange for a passage through the other man's. In Fulqet a traveller could make one without leave if the highway was deep in mud and the only dry ground within reach was the field behind the fence. Often enough the owner of fence and field shot at him, but this was illegal; there was only one legitimate way of keeping the traveller to the muddy road. This was for the owner of field and fence to fill up the holes in the road with stones. If he took this trouble and the traveller still trespassed on his field he had full right to shoot him.

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233 nor produce nor an exchange for summering the flocks brought to
437 the Crown (Kunora) by tribesmen living north of Shkodër, but
427 welcomed them because their sheep manured the fields. Com-
[241] paratively recently, Lurë gave a Selitë man leave to summer his flocks gratis on Mt Murije, which, lacking their manure, would hardly have been worth the labour of tilling. Dervish Ali of Fulqet too was glad to let hundreds of sheep graze free in his meadows on Mt Dragû. Surroj and Arrn pastured sheep belonging to the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë without payment, because they also had so little arable land.

609 Except where the soil was so poor that the manure was welcome,
685 as in Lurë, or where grazing was very plentiful, as in Theth, outsiders were rigidly excluded from alps which were owned or rented by a community. Nangë said it had not enough feed for its own flocks. Martenesh, Gurrëzë and Breg i Matit said they did not want their pastures disturbed by strangers. All infringements of the ban, both petty and grave, were punished by fines.

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721 Like tribes, villages sometimes met together to try to agree
623 about matters of common interest. Villages often quarrelled over
685 irrigation water, and a forest or pasture boundary. They quarrelled even oftener perhaps because the tracks of stolen animals led from one to the other; cattle-lifting and sheep-stealing were common. The most satisfactory way of dealing with troubles was for the two villages to meet in full assembly. After thrashing the matter out in public they generally reached a settlement, failing which they could only go to war. In the early years of the twentieth century cattle thieving was listed as one of the thirteen most important matters brought before General Assemblies in Martanesh. In 1942 it was still so active a disturber of the public peace that the pro-Fascist subprefect of Mat legislated for it among the questions which were the real occasion of his calling together the 5000 families of Mat.[1]

671 Law-giving was also an important function of General Assem-
619 blies. This activity came to an end with centralization and western
634 legal codes, and its nature can be studied in the documents quoted by Father Gjeçov and reproduced as an appendix to this book, pp. 261 sqq. These documents show the variety of matters with which the law-giving of the Assembly was concerned. For instance, Document I, coming from Malësi e Madhe and dated 1864, is wholly devoted to such subjects as betrothal, bride-price, divorce and abduction or elopement. Document XI, which comes from Kurbin in 1906, is much occupied with stealing and with tightening up the social fabric by making attendance at General Assemblies imperative and the authority of elders supreme. With the proclamation of Albanian independence of Turkey only six years ahead, it contains an interesting political note; no Kurbin man is to become a gendarme in Turkish service or to give one food and shelter; and no Moslem of Kurbin is to curry favour with the Turkish authorities by denouncing a Christian fellow-tribesman. Document XIII, which comes from Mat in 1942, is also dated by its politics enjoining support of the Italian régime in Albania.

671 In the midst of the variety of subjects in the documents, crimes
674 against life and property are continually appearing as the fundamental threats to the security of the community. A study of the documents shows them as reaffirming and modifying old and recognized laws, rather than formulating new ones. Assemblies

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, § 4, p. 273.

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More often a suspect volunteered unasked to take an oath. For 695
example, about 1931 a man in Zerqan shot his wife for some reason unknown and was then, very properly by local standards, hunted by her relatives. In desperation he offered to take an oath with twelve compurgators, the statutory number for a murdered woman, that he had not killed her. He managed to persuade all twelve to [696]
take the oath, and so, though the public still believed him guilty, he secured a formal acquittal and escaped further molestation by her relatives.

Here is another example. In the early 1930's a villager of Nangë in Lumë killed a neighbour, in order to marry the widow. The victim's cousin, as required by ancient custom, shot the woman and tried to shoot the man. He missed him again and again, but made his life such a misery that the man volunteered to take an oath with twenty-four compurgators, the statutory number for a man, that he had not killed his neighbour. Less lucky than the scamp of Zerqan, he was left to the cousin's vengeance. One compurgator failed to come to take the oath, so convicting him. It transpired later that the cousin had bribed this compurgator with two napoleons not to come, but the verdict of the oath could not be quashed and the case retried.

In property disputes the choice of the oath-taker depended 685
almost universally on the wishes of the elders. When they decided 695
that a dispute about land, or irrigation water was to be settled by an oath, they generally said that one of the disputants must swear that the property was his. Most often they preferred the man in possession, but sometimes they chose the one with the weaker claim in the hope that he would shrink from the ordeal, and so bring the dispute to a speedy end. In Çermenikë, and no doubt elsewhere, when there was some disparity of age they selected the older disputant, on the assumption that his greater age would mean greater knowledge of the facts. Very occasionally, before the dispute was laid before the elders one disputant bade the other take the very serious oath on the head of his son. Sometimes, particularly in boundary disputes, the elders put neither disputant to the oath. Instead, they chose an old man who had no direct interest in the dispute, but had learned the facts from his father and was trusted.

There were various names for the two principals. In all types of case and in all areas the oath-taker was called 'the master of the

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685 oath', but in theft cases he was often called the 'thief', and this
695 from the outset of the case until he was cleared. Father Gjeçov also calls the oath-taker in criminal cases 'the accused', but this seems a literary term chosen by himself rather than a popular usage in Mirditë. In theft cases, the accuser was most often described by a periphrasis—being called in Godolesh the 'plaintiff', in Mirditë 'the owner of the lost property', in Martanesh 'the owner of the stolen property', 'the injured party' or 'the man robbed', in Fulqet 'the injured party', and in Zerqan 'the owner of the property'.

695 In murder cases, save for Father Gjeçov's occasional 'loader',
[682] the accuser was always called 'the man with the feud', the 'avenger' (lit. 'the owner of the blood'), and in disputes about property 'the plaintiff'.

When an oath has been sworn by a suspect or a claimant to property, the innocence of the one or the claim of the other had generally to be established by the oath of a predetermined number of compurgators.

[693] It was legally impossible for a suspect to clear himself by his unsupported oath. In the words of a proverb 'A wolf licks his own flesh and eats a stranger's'. An oath-taker might not flinch from perjury in order to establish his own innocence or his claim to a property, but as compurgator he was likely to be more scrupulous. So the law said there could be no complete oath without a jury. But as usual it made exceptions. When a suspect or claimant was ordered to swear one of the very solemn oaths in which perjury involved the extinction of his whole family, his personal stake was so great that a jury was dispensed with. The best example comes from Martanesh, where a jury was necessary in oaths sworn on the Koran or bread, but not in famiiy oaths sworn at Balim Sulltan's grave.

[694] It was both the right and the duty of the members of the jury to gather all available evidence about the case and to make up their minds about its rights and wrongs before they came finally to court to record their verdict. An interval was therefore left between the nominations of jurors and the final oath-taking, in order to give them time to investigate the case. As a last step in their collection of evidence they then gathered to hear the oath-taker take the prescribed oath. They brought in their verdict by exercising their right to decide whether or not to take the oath. To

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695 serious oath, entailing the extinction of the whole family if the
672 oath-taker perjured himself. This was symbolized clearly in the
783 Malësi e Madhe ceremony. The master's perjury, if any, and its penalties would, it was believed, run through his body and the infant's like an electric current and destroy both. The wording of the oath seems to have been suitably strong as well as comprehensive. The only available example comes from the Malësi e Madhe, and runs, 'By this holy oath of the Lord, if I did it, may He reward me. As for the male of yours who has been killed, neither I nor my kinsmen, male or female, have killed him with our hands or our guns or with a guest's or agent's hands or gun.'

695 The family oath was reserved for men who were expected to deny
[685] a serious crime of which there was strong evidence that they were guilty. In the Malësi e Madhe, and apparently in Martanesh also, this was murder. So in these areas a family oath was tantamount to one with twenty-four compurgators. In Mirditë and Kurbin it was chiefly used in theft cases. If a sheep or goat in Kurbin was stolen, the thief had to return two sheep or goats to the owner, and pay a fine besides; if, however, he denied the theft, he must swear with his whole family that he was innocent. By contrast, a man who denied stealing an ox, a horse or a mule, was only ordered to take the oath with six compurgators. The theft of these animals was less serious than stealing a sheep or goat; for they only represented wealth, whereas the sheep and goats provided food for their owner.

[694] In Mirditë the accuser had the right to ask a family oath of any man whom he strongly suspected, and could also say that he must take it with a jury. In that event he had to specify the various families in the village who were to compose the jury. For the Malësi e Madhe there is no evidence, but in Martanesh a jury was seldom required in family oaths. Group oaths were used in cases where the suspect, told to take the oath with twenty-four compurgators, failed to find so many ready to swear to his innocence and volunteered to take the oath with all the males of his family in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum. If he did so, nothing more was required of him.

In Mirditë, as Father Gjeçov informs us, a truculent accuser might also ask the oath by the head of the suspect's son; in that case the accused could not refuse to take it, unfair and dangerous to the child though it was. If there were more than one boy in the

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695 atonement. If the witness had come forward after the suspect had [687] taken an oath and been acquitted, the elders declared the suspect's oath invalid, pronounced him guilty, and sentenced him, not only to the usual penalties for his crime, but also to punishment for perjury.

[685] Apart from what his perjury, if any, cost him, the convicted thief had to pay the value of the stolen property, the witness's fee and the elders' fee. He had to hand the witness's fee to the owner of the stolen goods, who had to pass it on to the witness, whose anonymity was thus preserved. In order to extract the witness's fee the elders commonly valued the stolen property at a good deal more than its real price; when the thief paid up, the owner retained the real price and handed the surplus to the witness. In Mirditë, says Father Gjeçov, the accuser who failed to warn the suspect at the outset that he had a witness, could not, even if the suspect was convicted, recover more than half the witness's fee. There does not seem to have been a similar law elsewhere.

If a thief continued to deny the theft and refused to pay his various fines after being declared guilty on a witness's evidence, the elders said he must take an oath that he was innocent, and then the compurgators stepped in, forbidding him to perjure himself and so confirming his conviction. This was in Mirditë and Lumë. In Martanesh, the law apparently went further. If a man convicted by a witness of having stolen from a house—the worst type of theft—denied the theft, was ordered to prove his innocence by an oath, and succeeded in doing so, and if the accuser still persisted in his accusation, the latter was asked to produce his witness before a new committee of elders. If a searching cross-examination convinced these that he was telling the truth, they ordered the thief to swear with forty-eight compurgators that he was innocent. This was double the number usual even in murder cases, and far more than he could ever hope to find.

695 The cross-examining elders sometimes concluded that the 687 witness was lying. In Dukagjin, when quite certain of this, they made him instead of the thief pay for the stolen property. In the Malësi e Madhe, attended by their followers, they went and burned down his house, killed him if they caught him, and confiscated his property, making it common land on which all were free to graze, although none could plant grapes or sow maize. If some time elapsed before they discovered he had lied and if in the meantime

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they had punished the man he denounced, they repaid any moneys 695
taken from this man out of the false witness's property, selling 687
a portion of it if necessary.

In some southern areas manners were softer. In Çermenikë and Zerqan a lying witness was dismissed with a contemptuous word, suffering only disgrace in the accuser's eyes. Since his identity had never transpired, the public thought neither more nor less of him than before.

Sometimes the witness convicted himself of being the thief. This 685
happened especially when he knew too many details, describing too 695
exactly, for instance, the colour of a stolen animal's hair, the number of its spots, or the shape and twirls of its horns. The elders then called him the thief outright and sentenced him to pay their fee as well as the value of the stolen property and the amount he had extracted from the accuser as his own fee. 'So you wanted to steal twice over from him, did you?' they would exclaim. In Martanesh [558]
they also disgraced him publicly. The elder in whose yard he was being secretly examined called out to the accuser to come and seize him like the thief he was; during his cross-examination the accuser had remained, as was everywhere customary, out of earshot. As the yard was bolted for the night, the thief could not escape. Next day he was led out in front of the assembled village, denounced by the elders, and publicly sentenced to pay the sums described above. It often happened that they saw him then for the first time.

In Mirditë, it sometimes happened that a witness, observing that he had failed to convince the elders, and certain of his evidence, came forward publicly, seized the thief (or murderer) by the arm and denounced him as the criminal. Such courage never failed to win credence for his story.

If the witness was dismissed as a liar or convicted as the thief, the accuser lost the money he had paid him as well as the value of his lost property. That explains why a suspect could not be put to the oath a second time, yet could be retried as it were on a witness's evidence. It cost the accuser nothing to make a suspect take an oath, so that if the law had allowed 'oath after oath', a litigiously minded man might have made himself an endless nuisance to suspect, elders, compurgators and general public. But there was no such risk with a witness. The accuser had to prepay him whatever fee they agreed on, and if he had been foolish enough to trust an unsatisfactory person, he lost his money

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CHAPTER X

THEFT AS A CRIME

685 Most of the material on theft comes from the history of Turkish times. The Turks, none too efficient in the towns, did not even try to control the mountaineers, and theft was, therefore, very common. During the twenty years between the Great Wars, the only period of independence that Albania had enjoyed for 500 years, theft was not one of the major crimes. This was often commented on by Major-General Sir Jocelyn Percy, who, as Organizer in Chief of the Albanian Gendarmerie, had cognizance for twelve years of every crime committed in the country. When the first British officers arrived in Albania in 1943, the machinery of modern government had already broken down. In view of that fact, and of the general effect of war conditions, it was not surprising that they should have found the mountaineers stealing frequently and on a large scale.

In the eyes of the law, thieves were divided into several categories according to the gravity of their crime. In Mirditë they were pilferers, robbers or highwaymen. The pilferer 'pinched' a small article from a house; the robber stole a beast with his own hands; and the highwayman robbed with violence. In Fulqet the categories were pilferer, timid thief and complete thief. The pilferer was a bad type because he came near enough to a house to steal clothes on its fence; the timid thief stole sheep in the forest; and the complete thief broke into houses and was ready to kill as well as to rob. In Dibër a thief with sandals was never so bad as a thief in shoes, stealing only a sheep or two, whereas the thief shod and dressed in European fashion was a serious menace. Here there was a sly reference to government officials and gendarmes, the only persons dressed in the 'French' manner whom the average Dibian knows.

Thieves were also classified according to their motives. A pilferer was usually prompted by innate wickedness and was consequently incorrigible. Others, especially the Highlanders of the north-west, stole for fun and were, therefore, worse than murderers who had some compelling motive for their crime. Many stole because

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everyone else did, and they would only have been laughed at if they 685 had refrained. As the proverb says, 'One bunch of grapes, seeing another ripening, then ripens itself'. Then there were incidental offenders: a man who could not recover a debt might distrain on his debtor by turning highwayman and seizing his pack-pony or sheep on the public road; or men might steal out of spite. The debt recovered or the spite vented, such thieves usually became law-abiding citizens again. Though poverty is, and always has been, extreme in this mountainous land, hunger rarely made a man steal. Few broke into a house to help themselves because of the risks involved. Many, however, would catch a lamb or kid on the mountain where the risks were less and, after killing it, make a cooking-vessel of its paunch and boil the meat over a gipsy fire. Sheep stealing often took place on a grand scale between family [579] and family, village and village or tribe and tribe. There are many popular tales of forays for fun or glory. 'Ragging' the other house, village or tribe and, more especially, the hated Serbs and Montenegrins, was a recognized sport, and the bigger the booty the greater the glory. There was a picnic atmosphere about such expeditions. A hundred men might go, half to drive the sheep and half to take pot-shots at pursuers. As soon as the first party found the flock they killed the bell-wether and cut off its head. One of them held this out, bell and all, to the other sheep and ran off at top speed. As the sheep galloped helter-skelter after the head, the rest of the party ran hither and thither shouting and cursing, laughing and beating the sheep with sticks to make them run faster. Being pressed for time, they left the leader's carcass on the ground. They usually disarmed the shepherd and carried him off to prevent his giving the alarm. On releasing him they gave him what they pleased.

On the whole there was little shame about individual and group thieving, although there were many expressions of disapproval. The men of Lumë had a saying, 'Better be a good-for-nothing than a thief', which was in direct contradiction to their reputation. The Malesors asserted that all other tribes were thieves, but that they themselves never stole. The Catholics of Kthellë used to say that it was better not to sleep too softly like the Moslems of Mat, whose oxen had often been driven away, killed and eaten before they got out of their beds. The man who stole because he had been stolen from evoked universal admiration. There were, however, two forms

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685 of theft which were no less universally regarded as shameful. A man who stole from another with whom he had broken bread as host or guest disgraced himself for ever. A woman must not steal for fun or spite. If she did, not only her husband's family, but the whole village felt ashamed and took steps to deal with her.

[672] The accomplice who helped the thief, the host who fed him and the receiver who hid the booty were all considered as no less guilty than the thief himself. 'A thief and his host are the same', and 'Like thief, like receiver' were common sayings. All had to suffer punishment in proportion to their share in the crime and booty. The owner of stolen goods had the right to remove them from the premises of a receiver and to claim compensation, and the receiver had no legal claim for redress as against the thief. On the other hand, if a man bought stolen goods in good faith he had to give them back to the rightful owner, but he was entitled to recover what he had paid for them from the thief.

All possible means of protection against theft were adopted by the mountain peoples. Every man carried a gun by day, and slept with it beside him at night. Dogs were kept in every house and 231 sheepfold. Domestic animals were branded with a mark that could not be destroyed, as when sheep had both their ears notched. [351] Farmyards were surrounded by walls too high to scale and had *stout wooden gates heavily* bolted at night. Thieves, however, could [417] make holes in the mud and stone walls, and frequently forced an entry that way. The walls of many village shops were lined with wood, so that a thief's chisel, striking it, would make sufficient noise to put the householder on the alert.

[625] In Turkish times many villages sent out armed patrols every night, composed not of professionals like the night watchman of the towns, but of unpaid villagers who served in turn as directed by the village headman. When there was danger of sheep-stealing on a large scale, the threatened villages sometimes bought the protection of some strong man. For example, the villagers of Reç, now in Yugoslavia, hired protection from sheep-stealers of Dibër by paying the Kaloshi family of Dibër a thousand napoleons a year. Nor were the parties deterred from contracting together by the fact that the Kaloshis were Moslems and Albanians, and the villagers of Reç were Orthodox and Macedonian Bulgars.

627 In the extreme north and south of the mountains, guns could 685 legitimately be used when a thief was caught in the act of breaking

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into a house or sheepfold, though in some districts the house-627
holder or shepherd had to warn the thief three times before 685
shooting in order to avoid a blood feud. The local law said, 'A thief's blood is lost'. In Mirditë, however, there was a saying that 'A blood feud is not stopped by felony', and there it was forbidden to kill a housebreaker at sight. This prohibition had been introduced to prevent men killing their enemies and placing their dead bodies in the farmyard to give the impression that they had been caught in the act of theft.

A man who robbed a child or a woman, stole a loaded packhorse, or another man's gun, could be shot even when not caught in the act, though a blood feud might follow such action.

In Turkish times, the authorities had to be informed of the 687
death of anyone in the act of theft, but they did not punish the man who had killed him. They required only that he should keep watch and ward over the body till some official arrived and send word to the relatives to make arrangements for burial. After the funeral, the relatives and the killer resumed ordinary relations. Strong men, of course, sometimes overrode the ordinary rules and decencies. Thus Deli Beg, the overlord of Preze, an old market centre, was so determined to stop all raids on his flocks that he not only killed all thieves, but shamed them when dead. He tied their bodies on horses, with the heads propped up with a muleteer's forked stick, and drove them through the village streets. He never troubled to inform the authorities of the deaths.

There were elaborate rules for the detection of the thief who 685
succeeded in escaping with his booty. In Lumë the village 694
authorities had the right to search one house after another for the stolen property. Everywhere the victim might try and find it for himself. He would follow the tracks of a stolen animal, generally in the direction of the home of someone known to have a grudge against him. When the tracks ended at a house or its immediate surroundings, the master was regarded as convicted of the theft. 'Track on the ground, animal found', and the owner had the right to take it away immediately if it was still alive. The thief might refuse to produce it and the owner could then ask leave to search the premises. If such permission was not given, the owner had to turn to the elders to enlist their help, as he also had to do if it were found that the animal was dead.

When the beast's tracks stopped between two houses, the

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685 formula then applied was 'The beast or an oath'. Each house had
694 to make oath separately that it did not harbour the stolen property. The same routine was followed when the tracks stopped between two villages, the villages as a whole having to take oath.

The tracks of an animal might be destroyed by the thief, or the property stolen might not be an animal at all. In such cases, the owner had to rely on information supplied by third parties, and this was seldom lacking in small communities where there were few secrets. If the whereabouts of the stolen property was discovered, the suspected thief might admit the crime, and if so, the owner and he might settle about repayment themselves, or leave it
685 to the elders to do so. If the suspect denied the theft, the owner
695 informed the village headman of his loss and of the identity of the suspected thief, and the latter called an Assembly to which he summoned owner and suspect. A suspect who did not appear was declared guilty and ordered to pay for the stolen goods. If the suspect came, the owner was given the choice between ordeal by oath and trial on the evidence of an eye-witness, and the proceedings then took the ordinary form.

The convicted thief had first of all to make restitution in accordance with the 'twofold' or 'two-for-one' rule, which exacted twice the value of the stolen goods in kind or money. In Mirditë, when animals were given in restitution, their selection was left to the thief, and, to quote from Father Gjeçov, 'it sufficed if they could walk on their feet'. In Martanesh a committee of two or three was appointed by the thief to make the choice, and this committee had to be accepted by the owner. In addition to restitution, a penalty might be imposed, either in the form of a fine or by ordering an extra number of compurgators if the oath was to be taken. The amount of the fine was largely fixed by tradition though the elders might vary it according to extenuating or aggravating circumstances.

There were various generally recognized kinds of aggravating circumstances. For instance, if a thief lost, spoiled, or ate what he had taken, the penalties were often heavy. In Martanesh and adjoining districts a loser could put any value he liked on a stolen
[683] article that had been destroyed. In Zerqan, it was regarded as a disgrace to the owner of a stolen sheep if it was eaten by the thief on the mountain. Punishment then was not only for the theft, but for the injury to the honour of the victim.

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Another aggravated form of theft was that which took place on the public highway. There was a rule that 'the public highway must not be cut'. If a robber stole a wayfarer's horse, mule, donkey or sheep, shooting inevitably took place; if the thief survived, he had to return the animal, and to pay whatever the Village Assembly decreed. A man very often turned highwayman because he thought his victim was in his debt. If this belief turned out to be mistaken, he had to pay a fine for cutting the highway, besides returning the stolen animal and compensating the owner for the loss of its services. When a sheep had been taken, and was not returned at once, the thief might even be expelled from the village with all his family. 685

Robbery of a Catholic church was sacrilege and a very serious view was taken of it. The thief was shot by the tribe and could not be avenged. His family was expelled and his nearest relatives bought his land, the price going to the church. Stealing from the priest's house or from church lands was still sacrilege, but not so severely punished. In addition to returning two-for-one, the thief had to pay a fine for violating the sanctuary of the house or lands and another to the community for the threat to it. In Mirditë the same penalties were imposed if the theft occurred elsewhere but the booty was hidden in the church. 685 688

Thefts from Orthodox churches and Moslem shrines were also regarded as sacrilege, but not thefts from the houses of Orthodox priests or Moslem clerics, as they were usually at some distance from the places of worship and no sanctity attached to them.

Breaking into any house in order to steal was regarded as a very serious crime, for it brought dishonour as well as material loss to the householder. Opening the farmyard gate or the house door, without giving due warning and being invited to enter, was regarded as housebreaking and punished as such. In Krasniqë, the fine for burgling a house was four times that for burgling a sheepfold. Stealing out on the lonely mountain was regarded as still less heinous, and only one article had to be given in restitution; nor was any fine imposed. 683 685

A man might be dishonoured by other forms of theft than that of housebreaking. In the Malësi e Madhe, a fine of 500 grosh was imposed on the man who helped himself to another's tobacco box or cigarette, and a mere touch on another's pocket might bring a fine. A story is told of a man who was shot at a General

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685 [683] Assembly by his neighbour from whose tobacco box he had inadvertently rolled a cigarette. In every tribe and village, a man's honour was so stained by the theft of his gun or his wife that he had to shoot the thief and take the consequences of the ensuing blood feud.

The penalties imposed depended also on the nature of the articles stolen. North Albania was predominantly pastoral and, as the safety of the flock of sheep depended on the bell-animal, penalties for stealing this animal were heavy.[1] In Lumë the owner could demand six or seven sheep for the thief: 'as well steal the whole flock as its leader.' In Perlat stealing a bell-wether was such a disgraceful act that in the blood feud against the thief's family, even a woman could be killed. The bell of the leading animal was even more precious than the animal itself, and in Perlat, if it were stolen, it had to be returned and a sheep with it. In Labinot, the bell was thought too unlucky to be hung round an animal's neck again, and instead of returning it, the thief had to pay twice its value or be shot. In Mirditë a fine of 500 grosh was imposed for the dishonour done to the owner.

The two-for-one rule was applied to thefts of all farm animals, with the exception of pigs and cocks. The man who stole a pig had to pay 500 grosh in hard cash. This sum was often ten times the value of the animal, but the pig was the mainstay of the poor man and required special protection. The same sum of 500 grosh had to be paid for a cock, as 'the cock is the poor man's watch'. It was said that in Krasniqë an actual watch had to be paid instead of the money penalty.

685 562 [462] 672 Firewood was usually collected by women, and when they stole it their husbands were held responsible. It was common practice to seize the axe with which the thief cut the wood and the rope with which she slung it on her back. These articles were sometimes used as visible evidence of her guilt, sometimes retained as compensation, or as a guarantee for the payment of the penalty, or of the fee due to the elder who dealt with the case. Women might steal other things than firewood, and responsibility was always placed on the husband. It is recorded that, during the reign of King Zog, men might even be imprisoned for their wives' thefts. It was they who had to take the oath if an oath was required. The woman did not, however, get off scot free. In most areas she was

[1] Vide supra, p. 173.

beaten by her husband, and no matter how severe the punishment, 562
her[1] brother, who was her natural protector, would be too ashamed 685
of her conduct to interfere. If a thieving woman did not mend her [593]
ways, her husband usually divorced her. The southern Catholics, [586]
anxious to reform erring wives and to avoid divorce, sometimes sent
wrongdoers to spend a night in the lonely church of Shen Ndue in
the forest above the village of Laç in Kurbin. This treatment is
said to have been effective in many cases!

By the laws of hospitality, a man never robbed his guest nor 574
a guest his host. If a third party robbed either, the other did his 685
best to find the thief and the stolen goods. But such laws were not
always respected, and penalties were prescribed for their breach.
In Mirditë a guest who stole was ostracized as well as having to
pay the usual penalty. In Kurbin he was expelled for ever from
the tribe. If a guest in Mirditë was robbed by a fellow-guest, their
host demanded double redress from the criminal—for the injury
to his guest and for housebreaking. If a guest was robbed after
leaving his host's house, it was still the host's duty to punish the
thief, as the latter would know where the victim had been.

1 [i.e. the Albanian wife, as recorded during the reign of King Zog --Analyst]

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at the lifeless corpse. When the feud was older, it was not permitted 682
to kill and shoot again. A murderer seldom looked at the corpse, [764]
a fact which gave men quick-witted enough to feign death a chance 628*
to escape. In some places, such as Mirditë, the murderer was expected to turn the dead man in the right direction for one of his religion—with his head towards the east if Christian, whether Catholic or Orthodox, towards Mecca if Mohammedan, and to rest his rifle against his head; if unable to touch him, he had to tell the first man he met to attend to those matters. In Shpat the murderer left the cartridge-case by his victim, allegedly not to [777]
'set his own blood free', as in Lumë, but to avoid carrying away a thing that was unlucky because stained with blood and sin. In Mat and the Malësi e Madhe, the murderer's own life being in grave danger from the avenger, it was thought 'brave' to tread in the victim's blood as a last insult.

A murderer must not rob his victim; he had killed him only to [685]
defend his honour and not to enrich himself. As was popularly said, 'low-class fellows' take a man's rifle, watch, money or clothes; 'good-class men' take only vengeance. In some places sanctions reinforced public disapproval of the robber-murderer. In Lumë he saddled himself with one and a half feuds, i.e. the need to pay for the murder with blood money as well as a life; in Mirditë, where *he was expected to lay the dead man's rifle against his head*, he incurred two feuds. Certain exceptions to the rule were admitted. A murderer could everywhere, except in Mirditë, take his victim's rifle to prove that he 'had really trodden in his blood', but he must afterwards send the weapon to the family. On similar terms he might take the dead man's watch also. When the murderer was a hired assassin, he commonly took a token from his victim, usually his cap, to prove to his paymaster that he had earned his money. When a man's enemy lived at a distance, he might again take his cap to prove to his own friends and neighbours that he had killed him. Robbery of the corpse by a third person was not to be feared; since everybody within range, the dead man's relatives included, [764]
rushed up at the sound of the shot, there was publicity enough to prevent such an outrage. As for the supernatural dangers thought to beset the bodies of persons dead in ordinary circumstances, it was well known that Satan feared a rifle too much to approach the body of the murdered man.

When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads

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626 daughter could not marry into a 'good' family and his son must
*628 marry a 'bad' girl. As far south as Godolesh on the outskirts of
558 Elbasan, he paid visits at his peril; his coffee cup was only half-filled, and before being handed to him it was passed under the host's left arm, or even his left leg, to remind him of his disgrace. He was often mocked openly.

All over north Albania it was permissible for the victim's kin to burn down the murderer's house. The veteran Mirash Nue of
[574] Vuksan in Shalë boasted that once he saved his house from this fate by sending a message to the avenger which ran: 'Spare the ashes on my hearth for the sake of the open house I've kept.' The avenger, touched by the reminder of Mirash's noted hospitality, yielded to the plea. In 1935 a Dibran took to the mountains after wounding a fellow-villager with whom he was at feud; on recovering, his victim did not dare to sleep at home in case he returned under cover of darkness to repair his bad marksmanship by setting fire to the house and burning him to death. In hot blood an avenger might in some places do as much material damage as possible to the murderer, burning his hay as well as his house, scything his ripening grain and harrowing over his growing maize. For fear of reprisals in kind he could nowhere harm his children or animals.

685 Burning down a murderer's house is said in Martanesh to have
*628 been a recent innovation, and in Dibër and Lumë to have been formerly much more common than in recent times. Various considerations suggest that the latter view is correct. The reason given in Lumë for the waning of the custom is that it grew progressively more serious as people abandoned the straw huts in which they once lived and built themselves stone houses; the huts were cheap and easy to rebuild, but the houses were not so easily replaced. With poverty as general and murder as frequent as they used to be, it is obvious that if burning the murderer's stone house and destroying his crops had been freely permitted, the life of the tribe could not have gone on. To restrict the attacks on property, sanctions were introduced. In Dibër an avenger guilty of incendiarism was banished in perpetuity by the community. In Krujë the crime was deprecated as doubly unwise; it might cause further deaths, so involving the avenger in further feuds, and women and children might be among the victims, in which case the avenger would be covered with disgrace. In Shpat an avenger who burned his enemy's house found the whole community against him as

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a man willing to burn women and children to death and to harm 685 *
property; in Shpat property was so sacrosanct that one must not 628
touch even 'the leaf of the leek' belonging to one's enemy. [421]

When the community decided to burn out a man whom they 682
had sentenced to banishment for committing a heinous murder, 628 *
their numbers and their power to exclude him completely from the tribal life made it impossible for him to resist. It was otherwise with the victim's kin. For want of power to exclude the murderer from more than their own section of tribal life they could not make him submit tamely, and in their attempts to use force they were often baffled by the fire-resisting principles on which most mountain houses were built. With the walls of stone, only the roof and [342]
the outer door were inflammable, and with no matches available these could only be set alight by blazing brands, probably of pitch pine, brought from another house. If the murderer was a rich man, he lived in a house surrounded by a courtyard wide enough to keep incendiaries at a safe distance from both roof and doorway; one or two towers in the walls of the courtyard sufficiently protected its gateway. If the murderer was poor, his house had no courtyard. But like the rich man's, it consisted of two or more storeys, the stable on the ground floor and the living-rooms above. The roof was, therefore, too high for the avenger to throw firebrands among the rafters. The door was surmounted by machicoulis through which the defenders could shoot or pour boiling water, and loopholes at the corners of the living-rooms commanded the approaches; in cases of bitter feud the door was sometimes covered outside with tin plates. Windows in a stable being thought unnecessary, the door was the only break in the solid walls of the ground floor. Sometimes avengers who were weak in guns hired men to fire the murderer's house. These hirelings came especially from Mirditë, for Mirdites were notoriously brave enough to face the risk entailed and poor enough to think only of the money offered; this amounted to some thirty napoleons (£40 in the 1930's) per man.

When an avenger burned down the murderer's house in hot blood, his motive was to do the murderer as much damage as possible. When he burned it down in cold blood, his motive was to drive the murderer into the open to be shot at. A murderer not infrequently shut himself up in his house during the daytime and stirred outside only at night, so remaining beyond the avenger's reach. When his house was set on fire, he knew that if he remained

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 32

641 Defense of the country is the highest duty and greatest privilege of any citizen.

[687] Treachery against the people is the greatest crime. Military service is obligatory for all citizens.

ARTICLE 33

651 Every citizen must pay taxes according to his income. The state fixes taxes, and exemption from the same is determined by law.

ARTICLE 34

687 Citizens cannot use the rights given them by this constitution in order to change the constitutional regime of the People's Republic of Albania in an undemocratic manner. Any act of this kind is illegal and carries with it punishment as prescribed by law.

ARTICLE 35

563 In the People's Republic of Albania national minorities enjoy all the rights enjoyed by other citizens as well as freedom to use their own language and develop their own culture.

ARTICLE 36

641 The People's Republic of Albania gives the right of refuge to citizens of other countries who are persecuted for their activities in behalf of democracy, national liberation, rights of the workers, or scientific and cultural freedom.

PART TWO
STATE ORGANIZATIONS

TITLE I
Highest Organs of the State

646 (a) People's Convention

ARTICLE 37

The People's Convention (Parliament) is the highest organ of the state of the People's Republic of Albania.

ARTICLE 38

The People's Convention maintains the sovereignty of the

[Constitution]

645 tions; submits bills prepared by the government and by various ministries to the People's Convention; decides on how ministries and other government institutions shall be organized; and creates committees to execute economic, cultural, and defensive measures on a national scale.

ARTICLE 60

The government is composed of the Prime Minister, the Deputy Prime Minister, the Ministers, the Chairman of the Committee for Economic Planning, and the Chairman of the Commitee of Control.

The members of the government take the oath of office before the Presidium of the People's Convention.

ARTICLE 61

The Prime Minister represents the government, presides over all meetings, and directs all the activities of the government.

ARTICLE 62

The members of the government head the various administrative departments of the State.

The Cabinet may have also Ministers without portfolio.

ARTICLE 63

[687] Members of the government are held criminally responsible for the violation of the constitution or any other law in the performance of their duties.

They are also responsible for any damage they may cause the state for acting contrary to law.

The exact responsibilities of members of the government will be stated in a special law.

ARTICLE 64

Ministers and government committees are authorized to issue orders, regulations, and instructions relating to laws and decrees of the government.

Each minister supervises the execution of the governmental laws, decrees, and instructions in his own department and is held responsible for their execution in his particular administrative branch.

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If the commoners did not like one of his[1]
692 even if made in concert with the headmen and elders, they were
[622] not bound to abide by it and could compel him to re-examine the case. Neither he nor a headman could, singly or in combination, fine a tribesman without first securing authority from the tribe. After all, he and the headman might have a personal grudge against the man and might fine him for no other reason. To take an example
[619] from the non-tribal valley of Bulqizë, Miftar Meta the bajraktar and Lam Isaku his assistant were much respected and admired but they had no power, on their sole responsibility, to fine a man from Fushaj, their own village. Still less had they power to fine a man from another village in Bulqizë. They could not act in either case
[623] until they had secured the backing of the culprit's village at a general meeting. Nothing less, it was felt, guaranteed the impartiality of the sentence.

693 If a bajraktar misconducted himself, all the headmen and
623 commoners of his tribe, or possibly the commoners alone, sat in judgement on him. They could not ostracize, expel or burn him out like an ordinary criminal; he was too inherently a tribal institution for that. But they could, and did fine him. In 1907,[1] the Kryezi tribe assembled in plenary session, one man from each house, and fined its bajraktar and headmen 100 rams and an ox for some judgements they could prove to have been unjustifiable and prejudiced. The commoners could also ask an erring bajraktar to give a rifle or other valuable as security for his good behaviour in the future.

693 The misconduct for which a bajraktar was fined was seldom more heinous than sending his sheep to pasture on another's ground or pronouncing a biased judgement. On the whole, each was so carefully selected and trained by his predecessor in office that he rarely committed the graver crimes. When one did, he was sure to be so 'strong', i.e. influential, that the tribesmen thought it more prudent to close their eyes to his iniquity. There was much grumbling at the venality of bajraktars, but neither the tribal law nor the Turkish government took cognizance of this offence. If
693 a bajraktar,[1] serving as judge or arbitrator, took a bribe, the only
687 remedy lay in the individual tribesman's freedom to choose another law-giver next time. If a bajraktar accepted a 'present' for doing a favour, there was no remedy at all. His victim could only comfort himself by noting how God, or Allah, punished such greed. It was

[1] [the bajraktars--Analyst] [the local military, administrative and judicial head--Analyst]

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 271.

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popularly believed in Shkrel that the three sons of Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar, and the three daughters of the Voivode Preng Mirashi, had turned out badly because the deeds of Vatë and Preng had been evil.

In time of war a bajraktar from the north-west group received triple pay and triple rations. A bajraktar of Shalë received double pay and double rations, one portion as a person and the other as standard-bearer. He also received pay and rations for three servants, two of whom followed him to the war both to guard and to serve him, while the third, a specially trusted man, remained behind in his house in Shalë as guardian of his property, women-folk and children. The allowances for these servants were only what ordinary soldiers received, food and *katik* (pocket-money: in Turkish, any relish eaten with bread) at the rate of one grosh per day, which was barely sufficient for their tobacco.

As an administrator a bajraktar was unpaid in so far as he had no fixed salary. He earned something, however, by his judgements, for which he was paid at the same rate as an elder. In the Malësi e Madhe, as often as he appointed elders, he too received a fee, although they did all the work and he did not stir from home. If they could not agree on a verdict, the litigants appealed to him. He then received a double fee, one the same as the elders' and the other in respect of his own journey to the scene of the quarrel. In other tribes or groups of tribes he did not get off so lightly; he had always to judge the case himself before he received any payment. The fees varied with the importance of the case and the rapacity of the bajraktar. In the tribal, but not in the non-tribal, areas any fines imposed were divided between the bajraktar and the headmen or 'good families' of his tribe. In the Malësi e Madhe a bajraktar who was summoned to Shkodër received ten grosh (50 koronë) per day from the Turkish government for his expenses. But everywhere a bajraktar's best source of income was bribes.

The bajraktar was both the military and administrative head of his tribe. His military and administrative precedence came 'from the staff in his hand', the flag stick of Turkish donation, but descent was the test for social precedence, and priority of descent was not always his. In many tribes there were 'good families' who descended from an older brother or a social superior of his ancestor, and on that account had, generation after generation, taken social precedence of his family.

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Disobedience to accepted authority was not permitted to an individual tribesman, a villager or even a tribe if that formed part, like the Mirditë tribes, of a group of tribes. Several of the Documents end by indicating the penalties that await tribesmen who defy the authority of the General Assembly that had laid down the preceding laws for the public good.

Examples of penalties prescribed are a fine of 3000 grosh, a choice between being burnt out or paying an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, and a sentence of having one's house burned down and oneself expelled. Number XIII, the Fascist document from Mat, simply declares that any delinquent will be called a traitor. In each case the whole tribe was to meet again in General Assembly and go in a body to carry out the sentence. According to Document XI the breaker of a pledge guaranteed by the General Assembly of the Elders and Commoners of Kurbin was warned that the said Elders and Commoners would be obliged to burn his house and expel him.'

Elders were seldom tried before a General Assembly. They were kept in check by the fact that if their judgements were found unfair they lost not only face but also fees, for they were seldom asked to judge again. If there were complaints against one he was first asked, like an erring bajraktar or voivode, for a pledge; if he refused to give it he was haled before the General Assembly.

If a disputant flouted an elder's just and carefully considered judgement, he found himself before a General Assembly. For an elder represented a lawful authority. 'If you don't like the decision, go to St Paul's church or the Defile of Orosh (*Grykë e Oroshit*)' was the formula in Mirditë in such cases, church and defile being the favourite meeting-places for the General Assemblies of all its five tribes. If the Assembly upheld the elder's judgement, the penalty usually imposed was banishment for three years for the culprit and his family, the burning down of his house, the destruction of his crops and trees, and leaving his land untilled until he returned.

Sometimes a village was a public nuisance, harrying travellers, stealing its neighbours' beasts, cutting off their irrigation or mill water, trespassing on their forest or grazing, and so on. The bajraktar, voivodes, elders, and all the commoners in the rest of the tribe then gathered in General Assembly, one man from each house, and brought the village to its senses, fining the more harmless

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such phrases as 'May Sheikh Ibrahim cut short my life' and 'May the bread kill me'. Sometimes the mechanism was crude and obvious, as in Jove's thunderbolts, the lightning that struck the perjurer dead, set his house on fire, or killed his livestock. Even if a perjurer escaped death, it was expected all over the country that he would fall ill or go from bad to worse till he came to ruin. Poverty and sickness must be his lot. His family might even die out, most dreadful of calamities. His son might be born with a physical defect, lame or blind or with a withered arm or too many fingers to his hands. A man of Tërnovë, near Martanesh, took a false oath, and as a result one of his eyes a year later was as large as his fist. 783

There were also social penalties to be faced. A man detected in a false oath became an outcast, despised and condemned by all his fellows, and was never again invited into any house in the tribe. In grosser cases in the Malësi e Madhe he might even be expelled by the tribe. In Mirditë his family was branded with shame for seven generations. All over the Catholic areas he was also fined. In Mirditë there were elaborate rules for these fines. If there had been a jury of twenty-four, the perjurer had to pay 100 rams and an ox to the Gjomarkaj family. If the jury had been smaller, the fine, which was presumably of the same amount, went to the tribe. In addition, the perjurer had to pay a fine to the Church and 500 grosh to each compurgator for leading him into perjury and outrage to the Church, and so exposing him to the usual punishments for perjury and sacrilege. For the Divine wrath fell on an unwitting no less than on a witting perjurer. It was no excuse for a compurgator in God's eyes that he had forsworn himself in reliance on the suspect's oath; he had had the responsibility of ascertaining the facts for himself. The compurgators and the perjurer had to go to church in order to obtain absolution for their sins. Just before leaving, the perjurer had to leave money on the altar to pay all the fines he had contracted to pay when he took the oath before the compurgators. In the Malësi e Madhe he had to give six purses to the Church as well as one to each compurgator. In Martanesh which is, of course, completely Moslem, the same compensation was payable to each compurgator in a perjury case, but in neighbouring Zerqan the practice was unknown. The fine was obviously a considerable deterrent to would-be perjurers, especially when the jury was large. 687 [672] [558] [783]

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687 As Father Gjeçov remarks, perjury harmed the soul, imposed a fine and disgraced the man in the eyes of his fellows. All three consequences worked powerfully in their different ways to keep oath-takers on the path of truth. A thief, for instance, might get [783] as far as the door of a church or mosque, but there his heart would fail him and he would exclaim, 'Forgive me, I did steal it'. Then he would proceed to make the usual reparation. Even innocent men dreaded the oath and took it with great reluctance. In poverty-stricken Theth many were so afraid of it that even when wrongfully accused, they preferred to pay whatever fine was due for the crime. 782 In Lurë people professed to fear nothing so much. 'You may rob [627] me of my life, but I will not break my oath', they used to say. As [423] for oaths taken to settle disputes, generations afterwards the descendants of the original disputants were afraid to break the oath of their ancestors. This fear kept boundaries that had been trodden out by an elder under an oath immovable for all time, and preserved water rights. In modern Lurë there is some maldistribution of irrigation water, but no attempt is made to remedy this by force of law. Many years ago, the people say, their ancestors took an oath about the irrigation rights of each family and they dare not violate this oath. One of the derisory stories told in sophisticated Tirana about the Highlanders relates that they were such poor stuff that one said, when brought to court, 'I have sworn a solemn oath not to tell, but press me a little and I will speak'.

There were occasions, however, on which perjury was thought permissible or even commendable. A man of Lumë, when asked to be compurgator in a murder case, would sometimes consider whether he might help to make peace between the parties if he forswore himself. If he decided that 'giving a living man for a dead one was no way of doing', he would swear a false oath. In the Malësi e Madhe, a village ward or a tribe had sometimes to swear not to enter a malefactor's house; when this punishment came to seem excessive it was thought advisable to break the oath.

695 In general, the modern mountaineers drew a distinction between 687 their own old jury system and the law court that was superseding it. Reluctant though they remained to forswear themselves by their old system, they would do so joyfully in the modern court, especially if this saved a friend or relative or concealed their possession of a rifle; this weapon being their chief treasure, they would deny '500 times' on oath that they had it. Instead of public censure

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they met with public commendation in such cases. The modernity of the court-house was against the oath; there had been no time for the growth of stories about punishment for perjury in it. For the same reason the new church in Nikaj was not thought so good a place for taking an oath as was the old one.

It happened inevitably that some men were sceptical or sacrilegious enough to take a false oath and plausible enough to persuade the requisite number of compurgators to swear to their innocence. A thief could send a stolen cow to graze with his own, yoke the stolen ox into the plough with one of his own and hang a bell on the neck of the stolen sheep or goat. The real owner might recognize the animal, but he could not claim it. The public too might recognize it, but they had to shut their eyes. The law said, 'what is won by an oath belongs to him who wins it'. The law disliked this principle but had to accept it because there was no way of bringing home a crime to a man who had been cleared by an oath. This legal defect made it essential that honourable and knowledgeable compurgators should be chosen. The same defect made every tribal authority, in the interests of justice, foster the general fear of perjury to the utmost.

In spite of the fear of punishment for perjury, some jesting stories, which are possibly apocryphal, were told of perjurers. Once there was a headman in the village of Peladhi, near Zerqan, who wrapped up a block of wood in a cloth as if it were a Koran and summoned the village to swear on it that they would no longer go and cut wood illicitly in each other's forest. They took the oath and, believing they had done so on the Koran, kept it. He too took the oath, but knowing it to be void because taken only on a profane bit of wood went afterwards to his neighbour's forest and cut all the wood he wanted.

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such a service. In this type of crime there was, of course, no trial 695
in view; the husband's rifle was the only possible arbiter. [684]

The examination which an eye-witness had to pass was very stiff. As a first step, he had to take oath before the elders that he would tell the truth without prejudice or spite; the man he accused was not to be troubled till his accusation was proved to be just. The only extant example of his oath, which comes from Çermenikë, runs, 'Look upon this earth, these mountains, these plains, this sky. You must carry them (through all eternity) if you lie', said the elders. 'Let me carry them. It is as I say,' the witness replied. Sometimes an elder recognized the witness and, knowing him to be of good character, did not ask him to risk his future by taking an oath. Even if he did not recognize him but only liked his manner and general appearance, he might excuse him.

When everything was set for cross-examination, the elders questioned the witness closely, noting any discrepancies in his statements, and looking out for any sign that the accusation was false. If it was a case of perjury, they had to be specially patient [687] and careful as the penalties involved were so much heavier. The witness was not a professional like our detectives. Often he was a man so trusted by the thief that he had constant access to his house and so was in a position to see the stolen goods as soon as produced.

The witness had to give a detailed description of the crime and stolen property to the elders. In most cases of theft he must have either seen the thief in the act of stealing or leaving the scene of the theft or observed the stolen goods in the house or hand of the thief. When an ox had been stolen, he had to say where he saw the animal, where the thief had killed it, sold its hide and so on. When several oxen had been stolen he had to report according to their colouring that one was black, another white and a third dappled, that the thief took first this road, then that, killed one ox at such and such a spot and sold another to so-and-so. Whatever he said was subject to confirmation. When he alleged a sale, the elders sent independent agents to inquire whether it had really taken place. When he said the ox had been eaten, he had to produce concrete evidence, a token such as a bit of the skin, a horn, or some other part. This was the most conclusive of all possible evidence.

If the witness stood up well to the cross-examination, the elders declared that the suspect was guilty and must make the statutory

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

695 atonement. If the witness had come forward after the suspect had [687] taken an oath and been acquitted, the elders declared the suspect's oath invalid, pronounced him guilty, and sentenced him, not only to the usual penalties for his crime, but also to punishment for perjury.

[685] Apart from what his perjury, if any, cost him, the convicted thief had to pay the value of the stolen property, the witness's fee and the elders' fee. He had to hand the witness's fee to the owner of the stolen goods, who had to pass it on to the witness, whose anonymity was thus preserved. In order to extract the witness's fee the elders commonly valued the stolen property at a good deal more than its real price; when the thief paid up, the owner retained the real price and handed the surplus to the witness. In Mirditë, says Father Gjeçov, the accuser who failed to warn the suspect at the outset that he had a witness, could not, even if the suspect was convicted, recover more than half the witness's fee. There does not seem to have been a similar law elsewhere.

If a thief continued to deny the theft and refused to pay his various fines after being declared guilty on a witness's evidence, the elders said he must take an oath that he was innocent, and then the compurgators stepped in, forbidding him to perjure himself and so confirming his conviction. This was in Mirditë and Lumë. In Martanesh, the law apparently went further. If a man convicted by a witness of having stolen from a house—the worst type of theft—denied the theft, was ordered to prove his innocence by an oath, and succeeded in doing so, and if the accuser still persisted in his accusation, the latter was asked to produce his witness before a new committee of elders. If a searching cross-examination convinced these that he was telling the truth, they ordered the thief to swear with forty-eight compurgators that he was innocent. This was double the number usual even in murder cases, and far more than he could ever hope to find.

695 The cross-examining elders sometimes concluded that the 687 witness was lying. In Dukagjin, when quite certain of this, they made him instead of the thief pay for the stolen property. In the Malësi e Madhe, attended by their followers, they went and burned down his house, killed him if they caught him, and confiscated his property, making it common land on which all were free to graze, although none could plant grapes or sow maize. If some time elapsed before they discovered he had lied and if in the meantime

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they had punished the man he denounced, they repaid any moneys 695
taken from this man out of the false witness's property, selling 687
a portion of it if necessary.

In some southern areas manners were softer. In Çermenikë and Zerqan a lying witness was dismissed with a contemptuous word, suffering only disgrace in the accuser's eyes. Since his identity had never transpired, the public thought neither more nor less of him than before.

Sometimes the witness convicted himself of being the thief. This 685
happened especially when he knew too many details, describing too 695
exactly, for instance, the colour of a stolen animal's hair, the number of its spots, or the shape and twirls of its horns. The elders then called him the thief outright and sentenced him to pay their fee as well as the value of the stolen property and the amount he had extracted from the accuser as his own fee. 'So you wanted to steal twice over from him, did you?' they would exclaim. In Martanesh [558]
they also disgraced him publicly. The elder in whose yard he was being secretly examined called out to the accuser to come and seize him like the thief he was; during his cross-examination the accuser had remained, as was everywhere customary, out of earshot. As the yard was bolted for the night, the thief could not escape. Next day he was led out in front of the assembled village, denounced by the elders, and publicly sentenced to pay the sums described above. It often happened that they saw him then for the first time.

In Mirditë, it sometimes happened that a witness, observing that he had failed to convince the elders, and certain of his evidence, came forward publicly, seized the thief (or murderer) by the arm and denounced him as the criminal. Such courage never failed to win credence for his story.

If the witness was dismissed as a liar or convicted as the thief, the accuser lost the money he had paid him as well as the value of his lost property. That explains why a suspect could not be put to the oath a second time, yet could be retried as it were on a witness's evidence. It cost the accuser nothing to make a suspect take an oath, so that if the law had allowed 'oath after oath', a litigiously minded man might have made himself an endless nuisance to suspect, elders, compurgators and general public. But there was no such risk with a witness. The accuser had to prepay him whatever fee they agreed on, and if he had been foolish enough to trust an unsatisfactory person, he lost his money.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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795 banian writers, the Reverend Lazarus Shanjoha, to death. He
661 had favored close ties of friendship with Italy for many years, and so the sentence was ascribed to the National Liberation Front's fanatical detestation of all things Italian, and not to antireligious prejudice.

659 Ilya Ehrenburg, major Soviet propagandist, visited Al-
668 bania during the November of 1945. Upon his return to Mos-
687 cow he described Scutari, more than half the population of which was Roman Catholic, as a vicious hotbed of reaction. At the time of his visit the city was preparing for its first post-war elections. A handful of students at the diocesan seminary for the training of priests circulated mimeographed sheets urging that the recipients vote against the National Front. These sheets bore the signature of the "Albanian Union." Spurred on by Ehrenburg's denunciation, the government jailed and tortured some of the distributors. They revealed the names of the seminarians, who as a matter of fact constituted the complete membership of the Albanian Union. A spectacular trial of those held guilty of having plotted to overthrow the State with the help of "Anglo-American imperialists" became in reality a forum before which the Catholic Church was indicted for high treason. The Rector of the seminary and one of his fellow Jesuits were accused of responsibility for the conspiracy, found guilty, and executed. Others received heavy prison sentences. Nowhere else had a court acted more grimly.

659 The liquidation of virtually all Catholic activities followed
798 swiftly, with more cruel and vengeful treatment of the clergy
661 than has been witnessed even in Hungary and Yugoslavia. The Papal Nuncio was expelled, as were all priests and religious born in Italy. Education was reserved to the State, even nursery schools being taken from the Church. Catholic Action was suppressed. The seminaries were closed. Ecclesias-

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice,
643 and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.

[688] Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

671 Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law
681 of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth
174 century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

682 Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any
[574] house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He
[609] at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

583 work to do again. No one thought it unreasonable, and the wedding was postponed till she had finished. I created great horror by saying it would be better to find another man to fit the already made garments.

All the gifts exchanged are keenly scrutinized, and the respective families argue as to whether they have been properly treated.

582 *Forbidden Degrees.*—Among the Catholics, of course, the usual laws have to be observed. But the people maintain far more rigid ones of their own. As we have shown in the chapter on tribes, no couple tracing origin from the same male ancestor, no matter how remote, is marriageable in North Albania, whether they be Christian or Moslem. Neither are those related by "hair-cutting" or by "sworn brotherhood" marriageable.

Priests cannot refuse to marry such if there be no other impediment, but I was assured it was very rarely they were asked to do so. Though I made many inquiries, I heard of but one case of a priest being asked to marry a couple with a remote common ancestor. Being an Albanian 684 tribesman, he thought it very repulsive, but as the pair had cohabited, he 183 consented; nor by Church law could he have refused. The bridegroom was shot soon afterwards by the outraged relatives.

3. The Levirate

587 On one point the tribesman came into severe collision with the 688 Church. He considered it his bounden duty to marry the widow, not only of his brother, but of any male of the house, except his father. In Maltsia e Madhe this custom had died out, and blood-feud arose [628] between Hoti and Kastrati because a case had occurred, and the Hoti considered their honour blackened. But among the Catholic Dukagini the custom, in spite of most strenuous efforts of the Church, was still common. Among the Moslem tribes and among the Moslems of Scutari I was assured it was almost universal.

[577] From the tribesman's point of view the position was this: A widow left with young children must remain in the family house and rear them. If they are daughters, she can be returned to her own people when they are old enough not to need her. If there is a son, she has the right to live in the house permanently, but she cannot marry outside the house, as no strange man can be brought into it. It would be cruel to condemn a young woman to celibacy; it would not be honourable. Therefore, even though her brothers-in-law were already married by the rites of the Church, one or other of them must take her as wife. The priest in vain called it concubinage. The man said she was his legal wife and his legal wife agreed with the arrangement.

Sometimes the brother-in-law was unmarried, but this did not help 587
matters, such marriages being prohibited by the Church. To stop the 688 ●
practice it was usual to excommunicate not only the couple but the whole "house" which permitted it, until the "levirate wife" was dismissed. I visited, at Apripa Gurit, a house of eighteen people thus under the ban. The son, a fine young fellow, had taken his elder brother's young widow to wife one month after her husband's death: this by tribe rule is the correct time. She had been married a very short time to her first husband and had not yet borne a child. The whole household was very uneasy about the excommunication, and offered the priest in my presence first thirty and then fifty guldens and pictures and candles for the church. But they stubbornly refused to put a stop to the "levirate marriage"; it would not be honourable. The young man himself was very certain of this. It was a duty he owed to his brother, and, no matter what the consequences, he would do it. He said they had found a girl, and arranged that he should marry her in a year's time. Till then he must cohabit with his sister-in-law. This he assured me very earnestly.

At Thethi Shala I found a case of a man who had thus taken his 587
uncle's widow and his brother's widow. He then proposed taking a legitimate wife as well and had paid most of the purchase money. Only then did the bride's parents learn of the two other "wives." They said he should not have their daughter till the other two were [578
dismissed. He replied she was paid for, and was his property and 684]
threatened vengeance.

The parents appealed to the padre, who sheltered them and the girl at the church-house, and succeeded in arranging a marriage for her with a man at a safe distance. The parents returned the first purchase money. "The aunt and sister-in-law" arrangement continued. The 595
padre at Thethi had routed out all polygamous arrangements in his parish but two.

He said that the people had a deep-rooted belief that it was right 587
thus to take as wife the widow of uncle, cousin, or brother if she con- 577
tinued to live in the communal house. If this was not permitted she must be sent home to her people. They could see no alternative, and pleaded: "It is our old custom. Do not interfere with it."

In the wild and distant tribes of Nikaj, Toplana, and Berisha the 587
custom was extremely common among the Christians. Thus at Nikaj, out of three hundred houses about fifty had sister-in-law concubinage, and other houses similarly kept aunts, so a large proportion of the children were illegitimate in the eyes of the Church, but not of the people. The legitimate wives were very apt to bolt with another man, and there was much blood-feud. In Berisha I was told that the sister-in-

587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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846 is spread, the national head-dress, ornamented with sequins, is placed on her head, and all her necklaces [301] are hung round her neck, to receive the friends and acquaintances who now flock in to offer their congratulations. In some parts of Albania, and especially [431] among the Moslems, it is customary to bring hand- [688] some presents to the infant. As each visitor did her best to outshine her neighbour in the value of her gift, this usage, among the Roman Catholic Miridites, became so ruinously expensive, that the ban of the Church was finally laid upon it. The visitors to the mother and baby consequently now bring with them only an egg, with which they rub the face of the new arrival, with the wish, "*Pashi bar*" (May it be always white!)—*i.e.*, never have cause to blush for its actions.

852 When the baby is three days old the Fates are be- [776] lieved to arrive and decide what its fortune is to be. When two of the Weird Sisters have had their say, the third speaks, and her decision is final.[1] On the evening of this day, which is called the child's *Poganik*,[2] all the relatives of the family assemble uninvited, each bringing a small loaf, a girdle cake, and a wooden flask of wine. On these they feast and drink healths to the mother and child, the formula addressed to the latter being, "May he have strong legs!" [777] The women then set to work to make a large cake, all present touching, "for luck," the sieve used to sift the flour. As the dough is being kneaded coins are put into it, and when baked it is broken in pieces

[1] See "The Story of the Child," p. 319.
[2] The meaning of this term appears to have been lost by the Albanians.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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bours. One of their chief offences, in the eyes of the strictly orthodox, is the scant attention paid by the wives of these sectarians to the law of *namekhram*, or wearing the veil, it being their practice to appear unveiled before their husband's friends when he gives them permission to do so.

Cloistered life is not more popular with the women of Albania than with those of the rest of Turkey. In Islam there is, of course, no such resource for disappointed maidens, and marriage being as much the rule among Christians, whether orthodox Greek or Roman Catholic, as among Moslems, nunneries are not numerous, and their inmates are but few. Those which exist, however, offer a welcome asylum to the small section of women whom circumstances have doomed to a life of celibacy, and who the more willingly enter them as they, by so doing, acquire a degree of liberty which could never be theirs while living as unmarried women in the house of their father or brother. For in the East, as I have before remarked, convent rule is remarkably lax, and, beyond attending the prescribed church services, no very strict account is required of the way in which the good sisters spend their time. If report speaks true, they do not always refrain from making use of the opportunities for flirtation afforded them by their emancipation from conventional restraint.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

power by modern governments. The value of the difference to the 357
servant was that the more important his master, the better he
himself was protected.

It is the rule in all denominations that priests may not carry [793]
arms. This is no drawback to anybody under a modern administra- 357
tion, but in Turkish times it meant that a priest's servant was more 688
exposed to danger than an armed layman's. The Catholic church
tried to make up for the deficiency by special legislation of which
Father Gjeçov gives a full account. Thus, though a priest's servant
had a certain freedom to attend to his own business, any message
he carried to a house was treated as coming from the priest.
Whoever molested him molested the priest, and might be fined
according to the gravity of the offence but not less than ten lambs,
which went, not to the servant, but to the church and tribe.
Whoever killed the servant started a feud with his family only, if the [574]
servant were local, but with the whole parish if he were a stranger—
here can be recognized the principle of the community's guest—
and if the murderer was local, the parish burned his house and took
a hundred lambs and an ox from him as fine. If labourers hired by
the church were molested, the offender had to pay a fine, divisible
between them and the church; the more numerous they were, the
heavier the fine; on an average this amounted to ten lambs. If an
offender refused to pay, the parish went in a body and took what
it wanted from his sheepfold. In short, the church treated any
wrong to a defenceless priest's servant as a major crime.

The retainers of great men were essentially a bodyguard, and 592
were only maintained by men with blood feuds. Some lived at
home and joined their patron for some special, and usually brief,
occasion; others lived for long periods with him, constantly ready
for whatever service he might ask. They occasionally received a gold
piece as reward; more often they were paid in kind—by being lent
money without interest for a funeral or a wedding feast, by being
given grain in bad years, by having a useful word said in the ear of
the authorities to extract them from some difficulty. While his own
children were small, the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë had eight
young relatives living permanently with him, brief holidays at
home excepted. They waited at meals or carried messages to the
servants with the lofty air of medieval pages of noble blood. Until
exiled during the war of 1939–45, Shevqet Vërlaci, the formidable
Bey of Elbasan, was guarded night and day by relays of peasants

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In certain cases the bajraktar and the local headman could act alone. For example, in case of sacrilege against the church they had power to pronounce even a death sentence. In practice, however, they preferred to consult the tribe and the ecclesiastical authorities. After the Young Turks introduced their constitution in 1908 they tried to make everything in Albania very legal and proper. If land was bought, for example, they required a deed of conveyance where the word of witnesses had formerly sufficed. The best lawyer in the land might write out the document and great men witness it, but it had no legal validity until the bajraktar and local headmen had affixed their seals.

As a legal figure the bajraktar had special weight. If called to serve on a jury of twenty-four men, his single person was counted equal to the twelve jurors left unnamed by the elders. A peace made in his presence was particularly binding. If at all distinguished he was often called in by another tribe to settle a dispute that had baffled its own elders. In his own tribe, besides acting as judge in many ordinary cases, he was ultimate referee in all difficult cases. Boundary disputes, the most fertile source of trouble among these land-starved tribes, were often referred straight to him for settlement. Disobedience to his ruling might entail the worst penalties. Particularly in the Malësi e Madhe, he and the local headman had power to appoint elders to settle a quarrel. If these failed to do so, or were found to have based their decision on a false oath by one of the litigants, it fell to the bajraktar and the local headman to reopen the case and to pronounce a final judgement. If a headman judged a case and gave a verdict the bajraktar disliked, he could upset this verdict and substitute one of his own. But neither headman nor elders could upset his judgements; these were always final and unalterable.

All the above applies to the non-tribal areas of central Albania as much as to the northern tribes. Mus Ballgjini of Çermenikë, for instance, was almost more famous as a law-giver than as a military leader. By a seeming exception the bajraktar of the Perlat tribe of Kthellë did not judge but left such matters to the elders. The explanation of the anomaly probably lies in his notorious incompetence. It was every bajraktar's province to judge in peace as well as to lead in war.

In all areas the jurisdiction of the bajraktar was subject to certain limitations. If the commoners did not like one of his decisions,

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while he had gone to the ambush by another's instructions he had 628
walked there on his own legs. As the instigator of the crime had 682
broken his promise about paying the blood money, they sentenced
him to have his house burned down by the tribe.

On one occasion Lek Dukagjini had come at Skanderbeg's 649
invitation to discuss some blood feuds at a General Assembiv of all
the tribes in the land. Skanderbeg opposed the principle of 'a life 554
for a life' on the grounds that all men were *not* equal; the blood of
a physically fine man was different from that of a poor type. At
Lek's suggestion, however, he inquired of his mother, upon oath,
what sort of a man his father had been. On learning that he had
been a poor type, Skanderbeg at the next Assembly agreed to the
principle of equality!

About 1870, when Kolë Prenga the Great was Captain of 688
Mirditë, a jar of butter was stolen from the church house in Orosh 696
during the priest's absence. On his return his servant, who had
also been away at the time, informed him of the theft. The priest,
a Franciscan, informed the bajraktar of Orosh. The latter convened
the tribe (*bajrak*) but no one confessed to the theft. The bajraktar
then informed Captain Kola. The captain undertook to track down
the culprit, and one day ordered the tribe to assemble on the open
space in front of the church at Orosh. In spite of Captain Kola's
questions no one came forward to confess to the crime. Then
Captain Kola, together with the chiefs of the tribe, sentenced the
unknown thief to death and banishment from the tribe; his house,
too, was to be destroyed and his land left uncultivated. Not long
afterwards the thieves were discovered. They were two young men
of Orosh, Prengë Kolë Marku and another whose name has been
forgotten. Captain Kolë Prenga the Great again ordered the tribe
to assemble, one man from every house, at the church at Orosh.
The two young men also came by order to the meeting. Captain
Kola read out the sentence that had previously been pronounced.
The two thieves were stood in the middle of an open space,
unarmed and with their hands folded at the waist. The tribe stood
up awaiting the captain's order to fire. But the priest, filled with
pity for the culprits, begged the captain, the chiefs and the
commoners to grant them their lives. This was done, they paid
money to the church for their sacrilege, returned twice the quantity
of what they had stolen, paid the usual fine and were expelled from
the tribe.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[688] It was not the theft but the sacrilege that on this occasion called the tribe of Orosh to a General Assembly and made them pronounce even the death sentence; without the sacrilege the fine would have been penalty enough. Murder of a priest, again heinous sacrilege, raised the same issues, but without hope of any reprieve from death save what secret flight might provide. Murder of a guest or of a man with whom the murderer had previously sworn an oath of peace, that is to say, of persons who had a right to protection, also came before a General Assembly and was punished by the severest penalties, including death. Yet theft in the ordinary way was [696] handled by elders and punished by a fine, and murder of the ordinary type was left to the victim's family and punished by blood vengeance. These were crimes against the individual and matter for individual handling. Sacrilege, however, and the murder of protected persons, were crimes against society, the former threatening the authority of the Church and the latter the tribal fabric.

689 When a man's general behaviour was a public menace or nuisance, he usually found himself before a General Assembly. To begin with, the elders of his social unit took the matter up as was their duty, attempting first to reason him into a better frame of mind. If this failed, they had to call a plenary meeting of the village to try the culprit and to carry out whatever sentence was pronounced. This was usually burning down his house and leaving his land untilled for a specific number of years. If he still persisted in his evil-doing, and this was serious socially speaking, the elders could call the whole tribe to their assistance. For public pests incited public extermination, and this required the sanction and the whole force of the tribe. Miss Durham relates what she calls 'an amazing case of wholesale justice' which occurred in the Mirditë tribe, Fan, in February 1912. A certain family in this tribe had become notorious for evil-doing, robbing, shooting and general misconduct. A 'gathering of the whole tribe' condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lie in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off. And on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was only five and another only twelve years old. It was even proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant in case she should bear a male and so renew the evil.[1]

[1] Durham, op. cit. p. 75.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

(Godolesh and Lumë). The first two phrases are evidently old 695
Albanian and have nothing exclusively Moslem about them; the 782
second (lit. 'May I see God') has even a Catholic ring. The third is widely known all over the Moslem world and in certain areas which were once under Moslem rule. But it is used in a magical rather than a religious sense. It is found in magical formulae among the Arabs of Egypt and the Christian Greeks of the island of Zea, next door neighbour to Euboea.[1]

The only invocation of the Deity which the author recorded among the Orthodox was in Shpat and ran as follows: 'By that Christ in Whom we believe.' It is evidently a Church formula.

There was no sign that any of these oaths was preferred to the 771
others; they seemed to have equal value. Readers who know the 776
Catholics and the Orthodox, the two religions which divided Albania before the Turks came in the fifteenth century, will be struck by the paucity of references to Christ and the Virgin Mary and by the emphasis on God; this may be a further indication that the oaths go back to pagan days when neither Christ nor the Virgin was known.

Formulae for invoking Catholic saints were such as 'By that 695
St Nicolas' in Kurbin and 'By the candle of St Nicolas' among 782
the Highlanders of Breg i Matit and Gurrëzë. Both were very grave oaths. The candle in the second is the wax taper lit before pictures of the saint by the devout; oath-takers seem to have feared that perjury would extinguish the flame of their life as easily as a candle could be put out. Of all their saints too, the Catholic Highlanders preferred St Nicolas. No Moslem saints were invoked as such; it was rather by their graves than themselves that oaths were taken. A strange oath, which comes from Surroj, was an exception. This ran 'By this patron saint of coffee'. Coffee, the peasants of Surroj explained, has a 'very important' patron saint. All over Albania coffee-house keepers make a libation to him every morning by pouring away the first cup of coffee that they make. They hope that after being placated in this way the saint will send them many customers. Some believe that he lies buried somewhere in the east of the Turkish empire, possibly in Arabia.

Catholic priests and Moslem clergymen—hoxhas and sheikhs 695
among the Sunnis, abbots (*baba*, sing.; *baballar*, plur.) among the 688
Bektashis—were respected as men of God, and Bektashi abbots 793

[1] See *Folklore*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 195 (June 1926).

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

695 even became saints at their death, but an oath 'by the priest' or
688 'by that hoxha' was never taken; it would have been regarded as
793 sacrilege.

695 A most interesting oath was taken by both the Orthodox and the
792 Moslems of Berat town and district. Its commonest forms were
[770] 'By Him of Tomorr' and 'By the Holy One of Tomorr'. The deity that dwelt in pagan days on the summit of Tomorr, the lofty, beautiful mountain that dominates the town of Berat, is still a living force in the district. He was, indeed, so dreaded that even in conversation he could not be named, but only darkly alluded to. 'By that mountain top' is no less solemn an oath than the more definite pair already given. No man had been known to swear any of them falsely.

[821] By what was perhaps a survival of early nature worship, oath-takers sometimes invoked natural objects as in the oaths, 'By this bright light which is dawning', 'By this evening which is coming', 'By this night we have to-night'. These were all given by Catholics in Perlat. The first two were used for oaths taken in the morning and the third for those taken in the evening. Moslems in Godolesh and Labinot sometimes swore 'By this sun' and 'By this earth'. The latter was a very solemn oath, earth being weighty for two reasons: man was made of it and it lies heavy on a dead man who committed sins such as perjury during his lifetime. Apparently oaths were not taken 'by this fire' or 'by this moon'; perhaps both fire and moon lack the inevitability and stability that fitted dawn and darkness, the sun and the earth, for worship by primitive Albanians.

695 Among oaths by sacred buildings were such as 'By this church'
782 among Catholics and 'By this mosque' among Moslems. They were
778 chiefly employed conversationally, and meant little more than our own expression 'on my honour'. Indeed, a man of Lurë used them indifferently, irrespective of whether he or his hearer were Catholic or Moslem. But when a Moslem of Martanesh swore 'by this holy place' as he stood in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum, his oath was very solemn. So, too, were the oaths in Bulqizë 'by that shrine', the domed tomb of Sheikh Fejza; in Tirana by the grave of Sulejman Pasha, the seventeenth-century founder of the town; in Krujë by the tombs of two Bektashi abbots; in Nangë, Lumë, by the tomb of the Khalveti saint, Sheikh Hasan; and in Surroj, by the grave of Sheikh Hasan's brother, Sheikh Ibrahim. In the last case the formula was rather unusual; standing in the mausoleum (*teqe*) the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Another aggravated form of theft was that which took place on the public highway. There was a rule that 'the public highway must not be cut'. If a robber stole a wayfarer's horse, mule, donkey or sheep, shooting inevitably took place; if the thief survived, he had to return the animal, and to pay whatever the Village Assembly decreed. A man very often turned highwayman because he thought his victim was in his debt. If this belief turned out to be mistaken, he had to pay a fine for cutting the highway, besides returning the stolen animal and compensating the owner for the loss of its services. When a sheep had been taken, and was not returned at once, the thief might even be expelled from the village with all his family. 685

Robbery of a Catholic church was sacrilege and a very serious view was taken of it. The thief was shot by the tribe and could not be avenged. His family was expelled and his nearest relatives bought his land, the price going to the church. Stealing from the priest's house or from church lands was still sacrilege, but not so severely punished. In addition to returning two-for-one, the thief had to pay a fine for violating the sanctuary of the house or lands and another to the community for the threat to it. In Mirditë the same penalties were imposed if the theft occurred elsewhere but the booty was hidden in the church. 685 688

Thefts from Orthodox churches and Moslem shrines were also regarded as sacrilege, but not thefts from the houses of Orthodox priests or Moslem clerics, as they were usually at some distance from the places of worship and no sanctity attached to them.

Breaking into any house in order to steal was regarded as a very serious crime, for it brought dishonour as well as material loss to the householder. Opening the farmyard gate or the house door, without giving due warning and being invited to enter, was regarded as housebreaking and punished as such. In Krasniqë, the fine for burgling a house was four times that for burgling a sheepfold. Stealing out on the lonely mountain was regarded as still less heinous, and only one article had to be given in restitution; nor was any fine imposed. 683 685

A man might be dishonoured by other forms of theft than that of housebreaking. In the Malësi e Madhe, a fine of 500 grosh was imposed on the man who helped himself to another's tobacco box or cigarette, and a mere touch on another's pocket might bring a fine. A story is told of a man who was shot at a General

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

would have found themselves involved in a new feud with the household of the man they had killed, but by the local rule of 'circle after circle' he died as proxy for the real criminal and no new feud entered into the question. There seems to have been no time limit to their extended vengeance.

National solidarity was recognized in the debatable border lands where Slav and Albanian lived side by side. If an Albanian was killed by a Slav, any Albanian would kill any Slav in revenge. The crime, it was felt, had pitted the Albanian family against the Slav family. This national sentiment was so strong that though there has never been any love lost between Gegs (north Albanians) and Tosks (south Albanians), no Geg would allow a Slav to kill a Tosk without seeking in return to kill any Slav he could find. The less warlike Tosks did not feel a similar impulse. If one of their number or a Geg were killed by their Bulgarian or Greek neighbours, they left vengeance to the victim's family.

The community also acted as a single family when certain public servants were killed. If the victim were a Roman Catholic priest, he might lawfully be avenged by his parish, the tribe in which the parish lay, and his own family. If action were taken by the parish or tribe, the matter ended. The avenger's act closed the feud, and, fearing no retribution, he could hang up his rifle. If the priest's family afterwards killed another of the murderer's men, they began a new feud. Generally the family did not wait for the parish or the tribe to act. When a Mohammedan or an Orthodox priest was killed, it fell to his relatives to avenge the crime; the feeling that sacrilege had been committed was too slight to drive their parishioners into action.

If a field-guard of Lumë were killed, he was publicly avenged. If the murderer was from another village, any of the field-guard's fellow villagers could lawfully kill any man from the murderer's village during the first twenty-four hours, and afterwards he could kill the murderer or any other man in his household. In either case he could hang up his rifle. If the field-guard were killed by a fellow-villager, the village expelled the murderer. On the other hand, if a miller were killed, vengeance rested with his family; the village could not act. A field-guard was a public necessity; without his services the village economy would suffer, and he must be given public protection. A miller had taken up his work for the sake of private gain and was not a public necessity; if he were not at the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

682 *628 ten or twenty years, according to the crime. In Mirditë, presumably under church influence, the murderer of a priest was expelled for ever, and other anti-social criminals for five to fifteen years. In Martanesh the injured man might after an interval intercede with the local elders and secure a remission of part of the sentence; otherwise the murderer and his descendants must remain in exile. Several local traditions maintain that sentences of perpetual banishment were formerly much commoner. In Martanesh no such sentence has been pronounced for 200 years, and in Shpat none for 100 years. In Lurë any murderer used to be banished in perpetuity; witness the numerous families of Lurë origin who now live in Prizren, Tetovo, Reka and other places in Yugoslavia.

428 682 In Lurë when a man was sentenced to perpetual banishment, his nearest kinsmen, those who would have been his heirs in the event of his dying childless, divided up his land. His family was in fact reckoned as extinct so far as the tribe was concerned. In Mirditë also he was considered as dead to the tribe. Father Gjeçov gives two accounts of what happened there to his land. For ordinary expulsions it was left uncultivated and used for public grazing. [688] When a man was expelled for breaking into a church or for killing a priest, his land was bought by his nearest kinsmen and the money given to the church. In Shpat again the murderer's nearest kinsmen divided up his land; but there the elders valued it and the kinsmen paid the murderer the estimated sum before he was drummed out; if they could not raise the money, the village found it, subject to recovering it later from the kinsmen. [423] On the other hand, when a murderer was banished only for a term of years, his land everywhere remained uncultivated until his return, when he built a house and resumed cultivation. During his absence, his ownership of the land was uncontested, but he was not allowed to derive any profit from it. A voluntary exile was in a different position; he could empower a kinsman to work his land and throughout his absence to remit to him in his place of exile an agreed proportion of the profits.

682 *628 584 When a man was expelled for good, the community signalled the same by tearing up the four corner-stones of the foundations of his house after they had burned it down. When his banishment was temporary, the corner-stones were left in place to await his return. Again when his banishment was perpetual, there could be no more giving or taking in marriage for him in the village; any engagements

562 a daughter and no son she has the right to remain a hundred days
592 in the house. Then if the heirs order her to leave she must go, but her
[583] daughter remains as part of the heir's household, and he has the right to choose her husband and dispose of her. In practice the widow may
587 remain in the house as "levirate wife" of one of her brothers-in-law, and very commonly does so among the Dukagini. In Maltsia e Madhe the practice is obsolete.

589 If the widow has had a son who has predeceased his father, she
562 has more consideration. If the house is a small one, she may live in it if capable of carrying on. If a large one, she may live as a member of the heir's household so long as she is unmarried. If she elects to return
[593] to her father, the heir, or heirs, must supply her regularly with wool for spinning, bread, cheese, and other necessaries so long as she remains unmarried.

421 A married daughter has no right to anything whatever of her father's property; she no longer belongs to his "house."

TRIBAL BUSINESS

623 Business relating to the whole tribe requires a very large council. In a large tribe the council may be about a hundred. It includes the heads of houses, the heads of mehalas, the bariaktar, and twelve specially chosen elders famed for their intelligence. Such a council, for example, was needed to decide if each tribe would accept the Turkish Constitution in 1908; to decide if a tribe would revolt or aid another that has revolted; what side it would take in war, and so forth. Smaller councils dealt with pasture lands; how many beasts each house might pasture upon the common lands; the date at which pasturing might begin.

421 The rights of wood-cutting, too, were thus regulated. Certain groups
311 had rights in certain woods. Unluckily no one ever thought of replanting. Great harm has been done by deciding to burn a forest in the
[134] hope of obtaining pasture land; only too often the result being that the winter rain carried away the soil and left bare rock. The water
312 supply is also controlled by council, especially in those districts where an ingenious system of channels carries water great distances and takes it across valleys on rude aqueducts made of hollowed tree-stems.
689 In time of scarcity the number of hours per week in which a man may turn the water into his fields is jealously regulated. Purposely defiling wells and springs was punishable.

671 Not only all the above laws are ascribed to Lek, but many rules intended to keep the peace. For example, that men marching abreast must keep the length of a gun-barrel apart, lest in turning hastily it

626 585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 585 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 584 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common. The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 589 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 626 689 562 939 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms, and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself, and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's 689
dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to 562
one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after [428] which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping [689] with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, 689
so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church 562
at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard 773
a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man 585
refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in 583
blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed 578
daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" 577
that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 583

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[688] 681 It was not the theft but the sacrilege that on this occasion called the tribe of Orosh to a General Assembly and made them pronounce even the death sentence; without the sacrilege the fine would have been penalty enough. Murder of a priest, again heinous sacrilege, raised the same issues, but without hope of any reprieve from death save what secret flight might provide. Murder of a guest or of a man with whom the murderer had previously sworn an oath of peace, that is to say, of persons who had a right to protection, also came before a General Assembly and was punished by the severest penalties, including death. Yet theft in the ordinary way was [696] handled by elders and punished by a fine, and murder of the ordinary type was left to the victim's family and punished by blood vengeance. These were crimes against the individual and matter for individual handling. Sacrilege, however, and the murder of protected persons, were crimes against society, the former threatening the authority of the Church and the latter the tribal fabric.

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[1] Durham, op. cit. p. 75.

682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
576 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the
[608] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

000 (Ministria Komonda e Përgjithshme e Mprojtjes Kombëtare).

631 The administration of interior affairs of the State are based on the laws of May 13, 1928. The State is divided into 193 communes, administered by ten Prefectures. These are: Tirana, Durazzo, Scutari, Dibra, Kosova, Elbasan, Korça, Berat, Vlona and Gjinokastra. The prefectures are assisted by 31 sub-prefectures. The centrum is the Ministry of Interior Affairs at Tirana. Every prefecture has attached an administrative council composed of the Prefect as President (Chairman) of the Council, the Mayor, and the next high official of the prefecture are members in addition to the four aldermen elected by each commune for two years. The sub-prefectures are the assisting organs of the prefectures. Prefects, Sub-Prefects and the Mayors are appointed by the Albanian Government and are State officials.

Villages with more than 2,500 population are designated as communes; villages with less population are attached to communes for administrative purposes.

692 At the seat of every prefecture exists a Superior Court, with appellate jurisdiction,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

which is a court of original jurisdiction in 692
cases where sums over 2,500 Gold Francs are involved.

At the location of every sub-prefecture exists a Magistrate's court, with jurisdiction in civil and commercial affairs up to the sum of 2,500 Gold Francs.

Appellate and Supreme Courts are located in Tirana.

All courts have also criminal jurisdiction.

The laws administered by the courts are 671
based on the law of February 7, 1929.

The laws are administered on the basis of the Civil Code of May 1, 1929, which was prepared on the basis of the Italian, French and Swiss Codes; a Criminal Code of January 1, 1928, based on the Italian Codice Penale; the Commercial Code of March 10, 1932, with all modern inclusions covering bankruptcy and negotiable instruments; the Code of Civil Procedure of April 1, 1929, which is based on the Austrian and Italian Civil Procedure. The Civil Procedure Code and Criminal Procedure Code are under consideration for revision.

There is a Notarial Law of 1929, based on

9: Albania (no date) 1946 EG1 Albania EG1

[Constitution]

It is forbidden to use the church and religion for political purposes. 659

Likewise, political organizations based on religion are also forbidden.

The state may assist religious communities materially.

ARTICLE 17

Marriage and family are protected by the state. The legal conditions of marriage and family are fixed by law. 585

Legal marriages can be performed only by competent representatives of the government. After celebrating a civil marriage a citizen may celebrate a religious marriage according to the rules of his creed.

The courts of the state only are competent to determine all questions concerning marriage. [692]

Parents have the same obligations towards their illegitimate children as to those born in wedlock. Illegitimate children have the same rights as those born in wedlock. [848]

ARTICLE 18

Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of organization, freedom of assembly and of public demonstration. are guaranteed to all citizens. 641

ARTICLE 19

Personal inviolability is guaranteed to all citizens. Nobody can be arrested for more than three days without a court warrant or without the approval of the district attorney. 671 641 [694]

No person shall be punished for a crime without the decision of a competent judge in conformity with the law which defines the crime and the competence of the court

No punishment shall be determined and inflicted except as prescribed by law.

No person shall be punished without a hearing nor without being summoned to defend himself according to law, except in a case where his absence is legally established

The administrative organs of the state may give jail sentences for common law misdemeanors as prescribed by law.

[Constitution]

TITLE IV

Courts and Department of the Attorney General

(a) *Courts* 692

ARTICLE 75

The judicial organs of the People's Republic of Albania are: The Supreme Court, the People's Courts of the prefectures and subprefectures, and the Military Courts.

Special Courts may be created by law for specific questions. [698]

ARTICLE 76

The courts give their decisions in the name of the people.

The courts are independent in the exercise of their own functions. They are separated from all the administrative branches of government. Their decisions cannot be altered except by higher courts.

The higher courts are empowered within the law to control lower courts.

The Ministry of Justice directs and controls all matters of judicial administration and organization. [645]

ARTICLE 77

The courts try cases according to law. 695

ARTICLE 78

In principle, court sessions are open to the public.

ARTICLE 79

In principle, the decisions of the courts are given for the entire bench. The judicial personnel of the subprefectures and prefectures sitting as a court of original jurisdiction is composed of permanent judges and juries, both of whom have equal rights.

Penal verdicts of more than ten years cannot be given by a court of original jurisdiction but only by a court of the prefecture or by a higher court.

ARTICLE 80

The official language in all courts is Albanian. 191 695

[Constitution]

191 695 Any citizen who does not know Albanian may use his own language through an interpreter.

ARTICLE 81

692 The Supreme Court is elected for four years by the People's Convention of the Republic and by secret ballot.

The courts of the prefectures are elected for three years by the people's councils of the prefecture and by secret ballot.

[666] The judges of the subprefectures are also elected for three years by the people's councils of the subprefecture and by secret ballot.

A person may be elected judge many times.

The manner of election to all courts will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 82

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial body of the People's Republic of Albania.

[698] The Supreme Court can arbitrate any conflict of jurisdiction between the civil and military courts as well as between courts and any other bodies.

Cases in which the Supreme Court acts as a court of original or secondary jurisdiction will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 83

The Supreme Court passes on the legality of all court decisions of the Republic.

693 [692] Only the District Attorney may exercise an appeal against a summary decision of the courts. The decision given on such an appeal has no effect on the cause tried except when the law provides otherwise.

(b) *Department of the Attorney General*

ARTICLE 84

693 646 The Department of the Attorney General is the organ of the People's Convention which supervises the execution of the law by the ministries and other administrative bodies as well as by all public officials and citizens.

ARTICLE 85

The Attorney General of the People's Republic of Albania

and his assistants are appointed by the People's Convention. 693

District attorneys of the prefectures and subprefectures are appointed by the Attorney General. [646]

ARTICLE 86

All district attorneys are independent of the local governmental units and are responsible only to the Attorney General, from whom they receive orders and instructions.

ARTICLE 87

District attorneys are authorized to initiate penal actions and also to exercise the right of appeal as well as the right to intervene during a judicial or administrative trial. [692] District attorneys can exercise the right of appeal against summary decisions of the courts and other administrative organs when such decisions are illegal.

ARTICLE 88

The district attorney of the military courts of the national army of the People's Republic of Albania and other military attorneys are appointed by the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Republic. [701]

TITLE V

Relation Between the Executive and Administrative Departments

ARTICLE 89

The Presidium of the People's Convention may annul or suspend decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government when they are unconstitutional and illegal. 642

The government may annul or suspend decrees, ordinances, instructions and decisions of ministers when they are contrary to the laws, decrees, instructions and decisions of the government.

ARTICLE 90

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may suspend any illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils. 643 631

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders. The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for

[1] See Chapter V. [2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geography of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

701 escorting him to town, guarding him during his stay there and escorting him home again. If they refused without justifiable cause to give him such service, he withdrew his support from them at least for a time.

622 634 The bajraktar was also much occupied with local administration. Here he was assisted by one or more headmen, hereditary officials like himself. Independently or together, he and they checked quarrelling, judged and formulated new laws. He was admittedly their superior, and when their views diverged his prevailed. If pressure of work made him think an increase in their number desirable, he had power to make extra appointments provided only that he first submitted the names of his nominees to the Turkish government for approval. In short, he was the acknowledged head of the local administration.

[619] As supreme administrative head the bajraktar had power to summon a general meeting for administrative as well as military purposes. If the matter at issue was important and affected the whole tribe, he sent the *kasnec* (tribal messenger) to command the presence of one man per house. If narrower issues were involved he summoned only one or more headmen and the local *gjobtarë* [692] (fine-collectors) or other elders. Plenary meetings dealt with anti-social acts grave enough to involve the death penalty or expulsion, judged cases of sacrilege against the church, tightened up tribal discipline by enacting new or re-enacting old laws, decided whether to revolt or not against the Turkish government, and [642] heard important messages from the government. In 1908 a plenary meeting[1] was held by each tribe to decide whether or not it should accept the Young Turk Constitution. Smaller meetings handled business where fines were sufficient punishment for transgression. Notably they regulated grazing rights, fixing the day for a general move to summer pastures, stipulating how many animals each family might feed on a common. They also regulated wood-cutting rights and controlled the supply of water for irrigation. The bajraktar presided at all such meetings, took an active part in the deliberations, and signed or set his seal on any minutes that were [565] kept. He and the elders, as being socially superior, sat apart from the commoners. In the Malësi e Madhe he sat on the ground while the tribesmen stood respectfully on their feet.

[1] See M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 74.

[the local military leader--Analyst]

In certain cases the bajraktar and the local headman could act alone. For example, in case of sacrilege against the church they had power to pronounce even a death sentence. In practice, however, they preferred to consult the tribe and the ecclesiastical authorities. After the Young Turks introduced their constitution in 1908 they tried to make everything in Albania very legal and proper. If land was bought, for example, they required a deed of conveyance where the word of witnesses had formerly sufficed. The best lawyer in the land might write out the document and great men witness it, but it had no legal validity until the bajraktar and local headmen had affixed their seals.

As a legal figure the bajraktar had special weight. If called to serve on a jury of twenty-four men, his single person was counted equal to the twelve jurors left unnamed by the elders. A peace made in his presence was particularly binding. If at all distinguished he was often called in by another tribe to settle a dispute that had baffled its own elders. In his own tribe, besides acting as judge in many ordinary cases, he was ultimate referee in all difficult cases. Boundary disputes, the most fertile source of trouble among these land-starved tribes, were often referred straight to him for settlement. Disobedience to his ruling might entail the worst penalties. Particularly in the Malësi e Madhe, he and the local headman had power to appoint elders to settle a quarrel. If these failed to do so, or were found to have based their decision on a false oath by one of the litigants, it fell to the bajraktar and the local headman to reopen the case and to pronounce a final judgement. If a headman judged a case and gave a verdict the bajraktar disliked, he could upset this verdict and substitute one of his own. But neither headman nor elders could upset his judgements; these were always final and unalterable.

All the above applies to the non-tribal areas of central Albania as much as to the northern tribes. Mus Ballgjini of Çermenikë, for instance, was almost more famous as a law-giver than as a military leader. By a seeming exception the bajraktar of the Perlat tribe of Kthellë did not judge but left such matters to the elders. The explanation of the anomaly probably lies in his notorious incompetence. It was every bajraktar's province to judge in peace as well as to lead in war.

In all areas the jurisdiction of the bajraktar was subject to certain limitations. If the commoners did not like one of his decisions,

[the local military leader and administrative head -- Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

692 [622] If the commoners did not like one of his even if made in concert with the headmen and elders, they were not bound to abide by it and could compel him to re-examine the case. Neither he nor a headman could, singly or in combination, fine a tribesman without first securing authority from the tribe. After all, he and the headman might have a personal grudge against the man and might fine him for no other reason. To take an example [619] from the non-tribal valley of Bulqizë, Miftar Meta the bajraktar and Lam Isaku his assistant were much respected and admired but they had no power, on their sole responsibility, to fine a man from Fushaj, their own village. Still less had they power to fine a man from another village in Bulqizë. They could not act in either case [623] until they had secured the backing of the culprit's village at a general meeting. Nothing less, it was felt, guaranteed the impartiality of the sentence.

693 623 If a bajraktar misconducted himself, all the headmen and commoners of his tribe, or possibly the commoners alone, sat in judgement on him. They could not ostracize, expel or burn him out like an ordinary criminal; he was too inherently a tribal institution for that. But they could, and did fine him. In 1907,[1] the Kryezi tribe assembled in plenary session, one man from each house, and fined its bajraktar and headmen 100 rams and an ox for some judgements they could prove to have been unjustifiable and prejudiced. The commoners could also ask an erring bajraktar to give a rifle or other valuable as security for his good behaviour in the future.

693 The misconduct for which a bajraktar was fined was seldom more heinous than sending his sheep to pasture on another's ground or pronouncing a biased judgement. On the whole, each was so carefully selected and trained by his predecessor in office that he rarely committed the graver crimes. When one did, he was sure to be so 'strong', i.e. influential, that the tribesmen thought it more prudent to close their eyes to his iniquity. There was much grumbling at the venality of bajraktars, but neither the tribal law nor the Turkish government took cognizance of this offence. If 693 687 a bajraktar,* serving as judge or arbitrator, took a bribe, the only remedy lay in the individual tribesman's freedom to choose another law-giver next time. If a bajraktar accepted a 'present' for doing a favour, there was no remedy at all. His victim could only comfort himself by noting how God, or Allah, punished such greed. It was

* [the bajraktars--Analyst] [the local military, administrative and judicial head--Analyst]

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 271.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XIII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

It was the law that every injustice done by Albanian to Albanian 692
must be righted by means of elders and pledges, not by killing. This was crystallized in the adage, 'Killing for a fault is not permissible'. If, for instance, a man caught his neighbour stealing his sheep he had no right to kill him. He should bring him before an elder who would set the proper legal machinery in motion against him, even sending him if necessary before a General Assembly.

Associated with the elders in the administration of justice were 693
the bajraktar and voivodes with, in Mirditë, the Gjomarkaj family. They were not judges in the Western European sense of public officers appointed to administer the law. They were men who judged by right of birth or weighty personality within their native area and they were permanent officers, irremovable so long as their physical powers lasted. They were always illiterate, trained only in the school of experience; practical men and not theorists. It was their special function to preserve the peace in their area by wise and just judging. They were in the literal sense of the words Justices of the Peace. But they could only interpret and apply the law. To make it was the prerogative of a General Assembly of the [634]
tribe.

As administrators elders received no fees, nor did they receive any when serving as juror or murder elders. But they were almost invariably paid for judging or arbitrating. In the Dibër area their fee was simply called 'pay', but it was camouflaged as 'sandals' in the north and Mirditë, and as 'coffee' in the south. In north Albania, where the formula was 'fee by the jobs', the fee was fixed and varied with the case. In Lumë, for instance, it was six Turkish pounds in a murder case and a watch worth one napoleon in a water dispute. In Mirditë it was five grosh for a case slight enough to finish in one morning and ten grosh for more serious cases in which the elder, stone on shoulder, had to give his oath. Ten grosh was the canonical fee in Kastrat after the Convention of 1892.[1] In Perlat the fee was adjusted to the client's means, an oke

[1] See Appendix, Document V, § 17, p. 264.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

published in the Albanian newspaper *Tomori* on 7 November 1942,[1] a curious mixture of Fascist ideology and ancient mountain law. But the decisions were honoured only in the breach. A few months later, many hundreds of families represented at the meeting were homeless, victims of Italian reprisals for their persistent revolts.

Sometimes a tribe met in plenary session to deal with inter-tribal matters. It might have quarrelled with a neighbour over a grazing or forest boundary between their territories, or the neighbour might be harbouring one of its dangerous criminals. In either case the tribe had to meet in plenary session, first of all to discover by public argument the best way of enforcing its boundary rights or procuring the surrender of the criminal, and secondly to secure public sanction for the steps it decided on. These might even include war. Miss Durham describes a General Assembly of Shalë which she witnessed in 1908.[2] The Moslem tribes to the north and east, surreptitiously armed by the Turkish government, had threatened to massacre Shalë and its Catholic associates if they did not embrace Islam by the next Ramazan. Shalë met in General Assembly, and amid scenes of wild enthusiasm passed a resolution to warn its Moslem neighbours that within seven days of their receiving notice Shalë and its fellow-Catholics would be at war with them.

Sometimes a pair of tribes met in plenary assembly for mutual aid. Several examples of contracts made on such occasions are given by Father Gjeçov; translations of three appear as Documents IV, VII and VIII.[3] In the first the tribes of Nikaj and Mertur pledge the safety of man and beast at certain times of the year. The second is between the tribes of Nikaj and Shalë in 1894, and the third, dated 1895, is between Nikaj and Curraj, a 'brotherhood' of Nikaj. In these latter, each contracting party guarantees the safety of the other's tribesmen when travelling along certain specified roads in its territory; in the first Shalë's guarantee is extended to tribesmen of Shosh, its western neighbour, and Nikaj's guarantee to tribesmen of Mertur, its eastern neighbour. In this way they facilitated a considerable amount of movement from tribe to tribe. Such documents were really an early form of passport, allowing the tribesmen of one tribe 'to pass freely without let or hindrance' in the territory of the other.

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, p. 272.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 71, 72. [3] See Appendix, pp. 263, 265, 267.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

each seeking their support. Had four refused at this stage to take 695
the oath Asllan would at once have been publicly convicted—if less than four, two substitutes would have had to be produced for every one that refused; two for one, four for two, and six for three, and there would have been no extension of the time limit. In this case, however, all the compurgators agreed to swear to Asllan's innocence, and he himself, towards the end of the week, swore on the Koran that he had nothing to do with the theft. Later the compurgators, led by Qazim's nominees, took the oath of Asllan's innocence before the whole village. Actually, Qazim cut short the proceedings after six or seven had sworn, as by then the compurgators most likely to know the truth had sworn to the suspect's innocence.

Having celebrated his acquittal with a banquet to the compur- [696]
gators, Asllan two days later yoked the stolen ox, hidden during the case in a lonely sheepfold, to his plough. Now, although the mistake—either designed or accidental—of the compurgators was obvious, there was no legal machinery for annulling the verdict. In [777]
the opinion of the village, however, Asllan received his punishment when shortly afterwards his son was born lame.[1]

Qazim in Labinot put his case into the hands of the headman of [692]
his village. In the tribal north he would have entrusted it to the elder of his brotherhood, ward or village or perhaps to the bajraktar of his tribe.

Tribal officials, being hereditary, had more authority to act for 69
their community than had the temporary headman in non-tribal 622
districts such as Labinot. In Milot, the most northerly village of 694
Kurbin, the victim tackled the suspect himself, asking him first if he had committed the outrage and then if he would take oath that he had not. In view of the fieriness of Albanian tempers this information is surprising—one would expect shooting to put an abrupt end to such an interview—but it is confirmed by information from the neighbouring village of Laç. When one of its inhabitants denied having received a loan, the lender asked him directly to swear in the presence of two or three witnesses that he had never been lent the money.

Only men of military age and capacity had standing enough to 695

[1] A very similar system of compurgators exists among the Naga tribes of Assam. There, however, though in some tribes there is no means of modifying the verdict if an oath prove to be false, in others a compurgator who discovers that his principal is lying can 'withdraw his life', otherwise in danger from the false oath, and so reopen the case *ab initio*. (Ed.)

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

681 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Breg i Shpellës, Viri, and Krue i Ri—will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a patch for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[233] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[423] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[487] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one [623] week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 500 grosh.

[693] 17. 'Pledge elders' are not to take more than 10 grosh as their fee for a judgement, and commoners not more than 5 grosh.

[628] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after their feud has been compounded by order of the government will be fined 12 purses and expelled from the village and turned into a ghost.

681 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck
231 may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[Covenant of Mat, 1942]

any political intriguers against the present régime who may be found within its territory. 681

2. If, after the conclusion of this covenant, one man kills another with or without just cause, his family shall be punished by the people of Mat with banishment from Mat for three years and his property, both movable and immovable, shall be confiscated and become state property. [672]

3. The same penalties shall be imposed on any man who runs off with a betrothed girl or a married woman.

4. When a domestic animal has been stolen and the thief cannot be found, the village to which the tracks lead must either pay the animal's value or prove that the tracks lead away from its land.

5. Whoever aids criminals and gives them food and shelter renders himself liable to the penalties detailed in clause 2.[1]

6. Whoever carries arms of any description without declaring them renders himself liable to the death penalty.

7. Whoever spreads false rumours about the policy of the State, public security or public finances to the detriment of the present régime and its policy shall be punished as laid down by the Lieutenant-General's decree No. 185.[2]

8. The people's representatives are to regulate and to examine all complaints which may be made concerning land, irrigation, water, roads and forests and if a commission succeeds in settling a dispute between two persons, the decision of the commission shall be inviolable. If it is contested, the contestants shall take the matter to the proper court. [692]

9. Land in Mat is generally held without regular title-deeds and ownership is proved by nothing but a written receipt (*senet*) and a meal according to the local custom. It appears that lately the ownership of properties bought 5, 10, 20 or 30 years ago with a receipt and a meal, as witnesses also confirm, is often disregarded or if regarded, is a constant source of disorders and murder. To put an end to such quarrelling the local Commission must not meddle with exchange of land so made until the Government has registered all the land according to the laws concerned. [423]

10. The chairman of the Commission shall be the local sub-prefect, and its members the political secretary of the sub-prefecture, the gendarmerie commander, the Fascist Albanian militia's commander, and the representatives of the people who assist in drawing up the present covenant. [624]

11. It is learned that Communists or, as some call them, Bolshevists, have made their appearance among us. We must get rid of these persons. 681 665

[1] (Author's note. At this time the term 'criminals' included not only transgressors of the law but also patriots resisting Italian rule.)

[2] (Author's note. No copy of this decree can be found.)

[Constitution]

191 Any citizen who does not know Albanian may use his own
695 language through an interpreter.

ARTICLE 81

692 The Supreme Court is elected for four years by the People's Convention of the Republic and by secret ballot.

The courts of the prefectures are elected for three years by the people's councils of the prefecture and by secret ballot.

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A person may be elected judge many times.

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ARTICLE 82

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial body of the People's Republic of Albania.

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Cases in which the Supreme Court acts as a court of original or secondary jurisdiction will be defined by law.

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The Supreme Court passes on the legality of all court decisions of the Republic.

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(b) *Department of the Attorney General*

ARTICLE 84

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ARTICLE 85

The Attorney General of the People's Republic of Albania

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

order his house to be burnt. Among the Dukagini the council has power also to destroy his crops, cut down his fruit trees, slaughter his beasts, and condemn the land to lie unworked for a term of years. An incredible amount of food-stuff is thus wasted. In this group not only the man who has taken blood, but all the males of his "house," are liable for blood, so they, too, have to fly. The "house" is the home maybe of a whole family community—forty people. But the law is carried out to the last letter. Such desolated spots have I seen. But "It is the Canon, so must be obeyed," was the answer to any remonstrance I made. The women and children may scatter and find shelter in other houses if they can; they usually do. A man can save his house if he can return to it and defend it three days successfully, so that the men sent by the council cannot set fire to it; I saw "a very brave man" in Berisha who had three times saved his house thus. Or a man can save his house by inviting the head of another mehala to act as house lord and defend it with his own men. This might cause severe fighting. The council, to prevent this, then as a rule agrees to burn the house only and spare the property. The amount of property to be destroyed was always to be decided by the council. 682 609

In Maltsia e Madhe a man was allowed to redeem his house by paying from £5 to £10 by a modification of the old law.

In addition to the burning of the house, in all tribes a fine has to be paid. Fines are paid in sheep or cattle. The fines varied in different districts. In both groups a fine had to be paid to the Turkish Government. In the case of Maltsia e Madhe this was paid to the Sergerdé and the Bulukbashes, who represented the tribes in Scutari. It was generally paid punctually. "Lek decreed that a fine must be paid, so it must be." Moreover, the Turkish Government had a certain hold on all the nearer tribes, for it could hold as hostage any member of a tribe which owed blood-gelt and came to market at Scutari. The outlying tribes of Dukagini by no means always either notified or paid for their murders.

Feuds being very weakening to a tribe, the headmen of the tribe or friends of the family would attempt to stop the feud. Blood-feuds of the Dukagini and Pulati tribes are settled in the mountains; those of Maltsia e Madhe were settled in Scutari before the representatives of those tribes who lived there.

The peace-making is preceded by the "gjaksur" (he who owes blood) sending some friends to the "zoti i gjakut" (lord of blood) to ask for "besa" (promise of truce). This may be granted and further prolonged, and during the truce the gjaksur and his relatives are safe. To end the feud, "me paitue gjak" (pacify the blood), twenty-four con-jurors are needed to swear the peace oath with the gjaksur. The 682 609 693

693 plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be
609 named by the "bairaktar" (head of the tribe). This is only done if the
682 matter cannot be settled by con-jurors chosen by the plaintiff.

The gjaksur has the right to object to two of the con-jurors, who must be replaced by others. The con-jurors are all men of standing in the tribe ("plect," elders; "kren," heads). They examine the facts and hear the accused ("gjaksur") and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood-gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. If they all agree but one, he may be replaced by two others. If still no agreement is come to, the gjaksur may bring more con-jurors, who are members of his family, up to the number of eight.

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the
[78 church (or mosque) before which the council has been held. In the
608] church the candles are lighted on the altar, and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood and is, therefore, innocent. Next swear those of his family who may have been summoned, and then all the con-jurors. After this the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood (*v.* Blood Brotherhood).

By Moslems the oath is sworn in the mosque.

693 Each of the con-jurors has to be paid a small fee for his services. The plaintiff in some cases can thus annoy the accused by insisting upon the full number of con-jurors allowed by the law. A priest counts as twelve con-jurors, and sometimes an important elder is reckoned as two.

628 The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.

627 To Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari, I am indebted for an
682 account of how two families can make peace voluntarily without appeal to the law. Having ascertained by means of emissaries that peace will be acceptable, the gjaksur and his relatives choose a feast day and enter the house of the injured family with their hands bound. A child placed the wrong way round in a cradle is carried with them. If the peace offer is accepted the lord of blood loosens their bonds and puts the child straight in the cradle. The blood-gelt is then arranged and paid. This custom existed among the Dukagini.

682 The above all refers to a murder committed by one man. But it
628 may happen that several men all fire at once and kill a man. A search

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
576 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the
[608] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

Government and Law

The question as to whether a wound had really been given accidentally was, of course, a fertile source of dispute. In a land where everyone carried fire-arms there were surprisingly few accidents. 683

THEFT

Theft within the Tribe.—The procedure for trial is the same as with murder. The plaintiff appeals to the bairaktar if he has previously not been able to obtain redress by appealing to the head of the family which has robbed him. 685

A sufficient number of con-jurors must then be found before whom the accused may swear his innocence and who will swear it with him. [693]

There is a fixed number for various thefts. Eight for horse-stealing, six for cattle-, and two for sheep- or goat-stealing.

A thief found guilty has to pay twice the value of the article stolen: give two sheep for one. Half the value of the article stolen is divided between the elders who have tried the case. For anything stolen off Church land as much as ten times the value may be demanded; and in olden times I was assured that a fancy value was placed upon a stolen cock—possibly because it was held to have great power against evil spirits. If a man's only cock was stolen, it is easy to see that these might suddenly attack him when unprotected.

If the house or cattle-shed is broken into, an extra fine of about £4 has to be paid.

The number of con-jurors depends on the value of the stolen article, and may be as many as ten.

Theft from another Tribe.—As in the Highlands of Scotland of old, lifting cattle from across the border of another tribe was considered rather a sporting event than a crime. 685 721

Mountain bands who raided the environs of Scutari and carried off Turkish goods were heroes. The practice was precisely the same as that of the Chetniks of Montenegro and the Hayduks of Bosnia. This custom had been modified, and the tendency was to arrange intertribal theft by arbitration—the procedure being the same as that with theft within the tribe, except that heads of both tribes took part in them.

This was usual in Maltsia e Madhe. But in the Dukagini tribes, especially the distant ones, much cattle- and horse-theft went on between tribes who, owing to blood-feud, had not a "besa" (peace oath) with each other. When I was in Nikaj, one of the wildest of the tribes, Nikaj and Krasnichi were on the worst terms. Watch-fires twinkled at night on the Krasnichi mountains, and talk was all of horse-stealing and cattle-lifting.

[Constitution]

and his assistants are appointed by the People's Convention. 693

District attorneys of the prefectures and subprefectures are appointed by the Attorney General. [646]

ARTICLE 86

All district attorneys are independent of the local governmental units and are responsible only to the Attorney General, from whom they receive orders and instructions.

ARTICLE 87

District attorneys are authorized to initiate penal actions and also to exercise the right of appeal as well as the right to intervene during a judicial or administrative trial. District attorneys can exercise the right of appeal against summary decisions of the courts and other administrative organs when such decisions are illegal. [692]

ARTICLE 88

The district attorney of the military courts of the national army of the People's Republic of Albania and other military attorneys are appointed by the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Republic. [701]

TITLE V

Relation Between the Executive and Administrative Departments

ARTICLE 89

The Presidium of the People's Convention may annul or suspend decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government when they are unconstitutional and illegal. 642

The government may annul or suspend decrees, ordinances, instructions and decisions of ministers when they are contrary to the laws, decrees, instructions and decisions of the government.

ARTICLE 90

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may suspend any illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils. 643 631

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692 It had its defects, of course; sometimes a judge took a bribe or a man bore false witness in spite of the deterrents devised against such malpractices. Yet the legal system worked well on the whole, was often speedier and always cheaper than any European counterpart, and [671] left few crimes unsolved. What chiefly precluded modern Albanian governments from adopting the unwritten laws, however, was their 261 diversity. This was mainly due to the isolation in which the geo- 221 graphy of their country compels the mountaineers to live, and the fact that they do not settle permanently at altitudes more than 3000 feet above sea-level, but live on the lower slopes of the mountains enclosing their settlement and in summer graze the upper slopes as far as the mountain crests, where a carefully demarcated boundary indicates the end of their property.

623 Communications were as dangerous as they were difficult. As 784 a result the principle of delegating one man to represent a big geographical unit was not established until modern times. It was regularly practised in small units, where the delegate had to travel only a short distance, and that through known, if not friendly, [619] country. It was enough that one man should represent his house at a General Meeting of his village or tribe, but it was unthinkable to the mountaineers to hold General Meetings at which laws for the whole area might be passed as in an English Parliament. At best two adjoining communities might meet to settle a dispute about their common boundary or a road or forest, and after much argument make laws about the matter that were binding on both. 671 More usually, a village or tribe drew up or revised rules for its own governance without any regard to what others, ten, twenty or fifty miles away, were doing. The outlines of a law might approximate in different groups, especially if there had been some ancestral connexion between them, but the details of the law were as varied as the minds that shaped them in the various communities.

[693] The isolation in which it lived bred a fierce individualism in each 221 community. This prevented it from submitting to the laws of another, except in an emergency. Then it might call in an elder from outside to decide a case and afterwards consider his ruling law. Such an elder had to be specially renowned for wisdom and sound judgement, and with one known exception his influence never ran far beyond the distance he could ride in safety and comfort from his own community.

That exception was Lek Dukagjini, an ancient law-giver of such

4/n [the legal system -- analyst]

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If the commoners did not like one of his[1]
692 even if made in concert with the headmen and elders, they were
[622] not bound to abide by it and could compel him to re-examine the case. Neither he nor a headman could, singly or in combination, fine a tribesman without first securing authority from the tribe. After all, he and the headman might have a personal grudge against the man and might fine him for no other reason. To take an example
[619] from the non-tribal valley of Bulqizë, Miftar Meta the bajraktar and Lam Isaku his assistant were much respected and admired but they had no power, on their sole responsibility, to fine a man from Fushaj, their own village. Still less had they power to fine a man from another village in Bulqizë. They could not act in either case
[623] until they had secured the backing of the culprit's village at a general meeting. Nothing less, it was felt, guaranteed the impartiality of the sentence.

693 If a bajraktar misconducted himself, all the headmen and
623 commoners of his tribe, or possibly the commoners alone, sat in judgement on him. They could not ostracize, expel or burn him out like an ordinary criminal; he was too inherently a tribal institution for that. But they could and did fine him. In 1907,[1] the Kryezi tribe assembled in plenary session, one man from each house, and fined its bajraktar and headmen 100 rams and an ox for some judgements they could prove to have been unjustifiable and prejudiced. The commoners could also ask an erring bajraktar to give a rifle or other valuable as security for his good behaviour in the future.

693 The misconduct for which a bajraktar was fined was seldom more heinous than sending his sheep to pasture on another's ground or pronouncing a biased judgement. On the whole, each was so carefully selected and trained by his predecessor in office that he rarely committed the graver crimes. When one did, he was sure to be so 'strong', i.e. influential, that the tribesmen thought it more prudent to close their eyes to his iniquity. There was much grumbling at the venality of bajraktars, but neither the tribal law nor the Turkish government took cognizance of this offence. If
693a a bajraktar[1] serving as judge or arbitrator, took a bribe, the only
687 remedy lay in the individual tribesman's freedom to choose another law-giver next time. If a bajraktar accepted a 'present' for doing a favour, there was no remedy at all. His victim could only comfort himself by noting how God, or Allah, punished such greed. It was

[1] See Appendix, Document XII, p. 271.

[1] [the bajraktars--Analyst] [the local military, administrative and judicial head--Analyst]

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popularly believed in Shkrel that the three sons of Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar, and the three daughters of the Voivode Preng Mirashi, had turned out badly because the deeds of Vatë and Preng had been evil.

In time of war a bajraktar from the north-west group received triple pay and triple rations. A bajraktar of Shalë received double pay and double rations, one portion as a person and the other as standard-bearer. He also received pay and rations for three servants, two of whom followed him to the war both to guard and to serve him, while the third, a specially trusted man, remained behind in his house in Shalë as guardian of his property, womenfolk and children. The allowances for these servants were only what ordinary soldiers received, food and *katik* (pocket-money: in Turkish, any relish eaten with bread) at the rate of one grosh per day, which was barely sufficient for their tobacco.

As an administrator a bajraktar was unpaid in so far as he had no fixed salary. He earned something, however, by his judgements, for which he was paid at the same rate as an elder. In the Malësi e Madhe, as often as he appointed elders, he too received a fee, although they did all the work and he did not stir from home. If they could not agree on a verdict, the litigants appealed to him. He then received a double fee, one the same as the elders' and the other in respect of his own journey to the scene of the quarrel. In other tribes or groups of tribes he did not get off so lightly; he had always to judge the case himself before he received any payment. The fees varied with the importance of the case and the rapacity of the bajraktar. In the tribal, but not in the non-tribal, areas any fines imposed were divided between the bajraktar and the headmen or 'good families' of his tribe. In the Malësi e Madhe a bajraktar who was summoned to Shkodër received ten grosh (50 koronë) per day from the Turkish government for his expenses. But everywhere a bajraktar's best source of income was bribes.

The bajraktar was both the military and administrative head of his tribe. His military and administrative precedence came 'from the staff in his hand', the flag stick of Turkish donation, but descent was the test for social precedence, and priority of descent was not always his. In many tribes there were 'good families' who descended from an older brother or a social superior of his ancestor, and on that account had, generation after generation, taken social precedence of his family.

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and first cup of coffee, which were offered to any man of standing. 554
He lived in the same style as the rest of his social unit and was their equal in the eyes of the law. The latter point was clearer in the old days. If he were killed an ordinary blood feud ensued; if this was compounded, the price of his blood was no higher than an ordinary man's. If he killed someone, his life was forfeit in the usual manner to his victim's family. If he committed a crime against the community, he was liable to the usual punishments for such a crime and could be asked to give the community a rifle or other recognized article as security for his good behaviour in future. He had also the same social obligations as humbler tribesmen. These included serving in the tribal 'army', feeding the tribal 'youth', doing forced labour for the government, sharing communal labour for the village, and subscribing to public objects like buying an extra piece of communal pasturage or forest. He had also, like common men, to do military service and work annually without payment for a short period on the roads.

As a legal personage, however, an elder was on a higher footing 693
than ordinary tribesmen. If, for instance, a village elder were to 622
witness an oath in a case grave enough to require twenty-four 613
jurors, his single person counted as the twelve jurors who were left unspecified by the judging elder. Another elder did not count as high, for a village elder ranked higher than a kin elder, and the latter higher than a brotherhood elder. An elder's duties were twofold, administrative and legal. The former were an expansion of the master's, for he had to take the same fatherly care of his brotherhood, kin or village that a master took of his household and had to run it on much the same system. On the external side he had to present its case skilfully to higher authorities and defend it from oppression. Internally he must maintain law and order by checking the chief evils, assassination and damage to property. He had to try to nip quarrels in the bud by persuasive reasoning, arbitrate when they menaced and judge when they developed. He had to lend the weight of his presence not only to the giving of an oath but also to the bequeathing of a legacy to church or mosque, the planting of boundary stones, and (generally) the separation of brothers. The embodiment of the tribal law, he was at once advocate, judge and law-giver.

An elder's age and wealth did not matter to the ordinary 613
members of his social unit, who drew no invidious comparisons 554 622

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compulsory. Any who failed to attend and could not justify their absence were fined. Together with the general public, they had to investigate complaints against a senior elder or a bajraktar, and if they found him guilty, they had to fine or ostracize him. In their attempts to prevent breaches of the peace they were entitled to try any method from peaceful persuasion to forcible restraint by the whole village. When, for instance, a tribesman refused to accept a judgement that was demonstrably lawful and unbiased, they could call a General Assembly to discuss the case. A public fine generally ended the man's obduracy. If not, the village elders could ask all the headmen and 'soldiers' of the tribe to come and bring him to his senses by threatening to destroy his house and property. They continued to apply the old law, the public preferring these methods to those of modern officials.

Canon elders were subordinate to the bajraktar and the voivodes of their tribe, acting as their assistants at General Assemblies.

In non-tribal districts like Shpat and Martanesh the canon elders of Mirditë were represented by a body of men called 'local elders'. These were hereditary, found in every village and restricted in their law-giving to their own village.

Another type were called 'specialist elders' in the southern tribal areas, 'regional elders' or 'mountain elders' in Martanesh, and plain 'elders' in Theth. The great majority owed nothing to heredity and everything to themselves, being ordinary men who had gradually built up a reputation for good sense, conciliatory temper and especially knowledge of the mountain law. A few were hereditary elders who had displayed the same qualities. Except in a few unusual cases they did not hand on their gifts or their position. As it required time to build up their reputation, the generality were older than herditary elders when they attained this position. They began by settling petty troubles within their brotherhood and gradually as their reputation grew, they extended their sphere of action to their kin, village and district in succession. A brotherhood elder must not interfere in another brotherhood, a kin elder in another kin or a 'local elder' of Martanesh in another village. But the specialists might travel far and wide outside their own social unit judging and arbitrating wherever required. Provided that they judged according to the law, their judgements were binding and overrode any delivered previously by a local man. As gifted men do not arise at will, they were never common but were found only

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693 here and there. After the introduction of modern codes of justice
622 they had little chance to emerge.
634 Above all elders, in both Mirditë and the adjacent tribes, came the Gjomarkaj family. This family was regarded as the source of all knowledge of the mountain law and represented the final court of appeal. The villagers of Martanesh carried many of their graver troubles to its head, but at the same time had often a 'special elder' whom they consulted in such cases. Selim Peshku, who died about 1910, was the latest example. The tree under which he sat dispensing justice in Martanesh is still shown. In the north the bishop
[793] or a specially gifted priest was the ultimate referee. They were consulted not so much for their knowledge of the law but because of their reputation for probity.

623 Functionally the brotherhood elders of Mirditë were represented in the Malësi e Madhe by the 'ward elders', who ruled and judged in their own small community, the village ward in which they lived.
[651] They were more commonly called *gjobtarë* ('fine-collectors') from their primary function of collecting fines. As legal functionaries they resembled specialist elders rather than brotherhood elders because they were ordinary tribesmen and owed their position as elders, not to hereditary right, but to special appointment. They were selected, however, not by the public like the specialists, but by the local bajraktar or voivode. On taking up an appointment to judge or arbitrate they were known as 'soul elders', on account of the solemn phrases with which they were commissioned. The commissioning bajraktar or voivode first asked, 'Do you pledge your souls, elders, that it was so?' On receiving their assent he laid a stone on the ground before them, saying, 'With body and soul, with a stone in front of you and with God's justice set these two people straight in any way that you can see'. It goes without saying that only upright men were willing or were asked to accept a charge laden with such danger to their soul after death. These northern ward elders had no connexion with the ward elders of Godolesh near Elbasan, who were seven in number for the six wards (mëhallë), all subordinate to the paid non-hereditary headman and his two assistants.

695 Another functional type, which was most important for the repression of crime and was found everywhere, was constituted by 'juror elders'. When trying a case, the judging elders might decide to make one of the disputants take an oath that he was not guilty.

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CHAPTER XIII

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

It was the law that every injustice done by Albanian to Albanian 692
must be righted by means of elders and pledges, not by killing. This was crystallized in the adage, 'Killing for a fault is not permissible'. If, for instance, a man caught his neighbour stealing his sheep he had no right to kill him. He should bring him before an elder who would set the proper legal machinery in motion against him, even sending him if necessary before a General Assembly.

Associated with the elders in the administration of justice were 693
the bajraktar and voivodes with, in Mirditë, the Gjomarkaj family. They were not judges in the Western European sense of public officers appointed to administer the law. They were men who judged by right of birth or weighty personality within their native area and they were permanent officers, irremovable so long as their physical powers lasted. They were always illiterate, trained only in the school of experience; practical men and not theorists. It was their special function to preserve the peace in their area by wise and just judging. They were in the literal sense of the words Justices of the Peace. But they could only interpret and apply the law. To make it was the prerogative of a General Assembly of the [634]
tribe.

As administrators elders received no fees, nor did they receive any when serving as juror or murder elders. But they were almost invariably paid for judging or arbitrating. In the Dibër area their fee was simply called 'pay', but it was camouflaged as 'sandals' in the north and Mirditë, and as 'coffee' in the south. In north Albania, where the formula was 'fee by the jobs', the fee was fixed and varied with the case. In Lumë, for instance, it was six Turkish pounds in a murder case and a watch worth one napoleon in a water dispute. In Mirditë it was five grosh for a case slight enough to finish in one morning and ten grosh for more serious cases in which the elder, stone on shoulder, had to give his oath. Ten grosh was the canonical fee in Kastrat after the Convention of 1892.[1] In Perlat the fee was adjusted to the client's means, an oke

[1] See Appendix, Document V, § 17, p. 264.

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693 of coffee if he were poor, a sheep if he were rich. Farther south, the fee varied with the elder's importance and the bargain he made beforehand. In Martanesh it was ordinarily one Turkish pound, but Selim Peshku accepted this only in easy cases; he asked, and was gladly given, three or even five in more complicated cases. Cen Elezi of Dibër asked in 1938 twelve napoleons from each of two cousins who were quarrelling about a boundary. Two elders employed in a dispute were usually paid alike, each disputant paying half the total. But when each disputant bargained separately with his elder, one elder might be paid more than the other. Even where fees were conventionally fixed as in Lumë, an elder often bargained for a larger one. An elder who came from a distance was naturally paid more, as he had to spend at least one night and two days away from home. An average fee in Shkrel for such cases was one napoleon, whereas for cases near at hand it was a silver Turkish dollar in Turkish times or 10–20 koronë in 1932. Almost always an elder was given a sheep in addition; 'an elder without a sheep doesn't do', it was said. Elders could not exact prepayment; it was evidently felt by the old law-givers that if prepaid they might be tempted to default on the work. At the same time they had to be protected from the litigant who tried to default on their fee. A litigant had, therefore, to deposit a rifle or a silver watch or a silver tobacco box or the like at the outset of the case as a pledge that he would pay the fee at the end of the case. Judgement pronounced, he paid the fee and was given back his pledge. Because of this arrangement elders were called 'pledge elders' when they undertook work involving a fee.

693 [574] [262] In addition to his fee and sheep an elder also expected at least one meal for himself and his party. It had to be of the highest class, with meat and rice pilaff, and the meat had to be goat, ewe or ram, more rarely beef and never that inferior thing, chicken. When the elder's party was small, the sheep-breeders of the north gave *mazë*, a delicious dish compounded of butter, cheese and maize flour. In Kosovë the meal was generally taken from the richer disputant so as to save the poorer litigant expense, or from the one who had insisted on calling in elders. In Martanesh it was taken from the one who had caused the trouble. In Shalë, on the contrary, each elder ate at his own client's expense except in road cases, where both elders and their suites ate at the expense of the litigant in fault. In Zerqan, if the case dragged on so long that the

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elders required two meals, each disputant had to provide one; if 693 the case was shorter and only one meal was required, the two disputants halved the expense and both sat down at the table with the elders, not always with too good a grace on the loser's part. If dinner-time found the party up on the mountain, far away from either disputant's house, the food had to be sent up to them there. If supper-time found the party still at work or only just finished, they all ate and slept in the house of one disputant. The expenses of feeding the elders and their party had, despite its burden, to be faced by the poorest man when wronged, for without an elder's intervention he would be trampled on by his fellows. The thought of its cost sometimes acted as a deterrent to the litigiously minded.

Litigants themselves chose the elder who was to judge between 694 them, much as Englishmen choose their lawyer. In non-tribal areas litigants were completely free to select whichever elder they trusted most, irrespective of where he lived. In tribal areas they were obliged to choose one from their own village, at least to begin with. It is obvious that such an elder was likely to have some independent knowledge of the case and its rights and wrongs. In Mirditë and Kthellë a litigant who insisted on going outside his own village had to engage the bajraktar or a voivode of his tribe, not a smaller man, and must not go outside his tribe. The higher fee required by the bajraktar and voivode was usually enough to make the man stick to his own village. If a quarrel was not bitter, the two parties often agreed to entrust the case to a single elder and to divide the cost of his fee and meals. They then said to each other, 'Whom shall we have?' and mentioned various names. After debating—usually at some length—the merits of the owners of the names they fixed on one. Each then asked the other ceremoniously, 'Have you confidence in this elder?' 'I have', the other replied. Great importance was attached to this unanimity; it made the elder's decision more binding on both disputants, procuring in fact judgement by consent.

The preliminaries over, the two litigants contacted the elder, generally by going to his house, and told him their trouble. 'Are you willing to leave it to me?' he would ask. On their consenting formally to do so he stated his fee. This depended in Mirditë on the importance of the case and elsewhere on the importance of the elder, the distance he had to travel, and the astuteness of the litigants. In Martanesh a gold Turkish pound was commonly

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promise—if they did, there would be no shooting. Each had to give 696
this guarantor a pledge of the usual type—rifle, revolver, watch—
which was laid before the elders. The elders then delivered their
judgement, the two disputants accepted it and had their pledges
returned. If a disputant broke his promise and shot his rival, the
village Council of Elders would fine the guarantor, asking him why
he had let the man break his word. In this way, through the medium [620]
of the guarantor a good deal of pressure was brought to bear on the
loser to make him keep the peace. In the Elbasan area it was agreed [574]
that a disputant who gave a meal to the elders thereby accepted
their judgement, so that the strong instincts of hospitality came
into play. In Mirditë the elders whose decision was flouted 695
bade the disputants 'go to Shupal (St Paul's Church) or the
Grykë e Oroshit (Defile of Orosh)', i.e. bring the matter up before
the next General Assembly for the tribe at one or other of these
famous meeting-places. If the loser would not abide by the decision
of the General Assembly he could be fined by the tribe, ostracized
or even banished for a period. Occasionally a strong man sub-
jected to such sanctions killed the offending elder; by so doing he
involved himself in yet another blood feud. In Mirditë and adjacent
areas emphasis was laid on the fact that the recusant loser had
himself chosen and approved the offending elder, and had signified
the same by giving him a pledge. By these acts he had stripped
himself of the right to take back the pledge or to express active
disapproval of the judgement given. Only in the event of the
judgement's being demonstrably biased or unfair were the dis-
putants allowed to challenge it. 'A crooked judgement can be
annulled', the law stated. Often the crookedness was established
by the loser going secretly to ask another elder for his opinion. In
that event the disputant had everywhere the right to appeal against
the judgement and to call for a new examination of the case by
another elder or pair of elders. In some parts, the law ruled that
'the law does not admit of elder on elder, and trial on trial', and
that a man who had 'chosen and approved' elders had no right to
call in others.

Frivolous changing of elders was restrained by the extra expense 693
this entailed. In Lumë, for instance, if two brothers were dis-
pleased by the manner in which their chosen elders were dividing
their property, they could call in one more elder, a *staraplak*
(ancient), whose decision was final. But his regulation fee was five

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693 napoleons. In cases other than those of division of property he received only two napoleons. He took over the two pledges from the original elders, and as these were redeemed from him at a price by the two disputants, the first pair lost their time and trouble and received nothing. If a disputant in Martanesh was disgruntled he could call in a regional elder, but he had to pay, not only the fee of the elder whose judgement he questioned, but also that of the regional elder. One of Selim Peshku's devices for making a recalcitrant litigant keep the peace was to bid him bring another elder and he, Selim, would pay the fee as well as return the litigant's pledge. The man, knowing no elder would reverse a decision by Selim Peshku and somewhat stunned by the latter's generous offers, invariably submitted.

[694] Another check on frivolous lawsuits was the arrangement under which the litigants were not allowed to tell their stories to the second pair of elders. These were briefed by the first pair, apart from the litigants, who were also required to stay with their comrades among the general public while the new elders argued out the case. There was, in theory at least, no possibility of the new elders being 'got at'. In Mirditë, the head and fount of the law, rules were more stringent. The disputants were not allowed to choose the second pair of elders; this was done by the first pair. They had also to hand over to the second pair the pledges they had taken from the disputants. If the second pair found the first pair's judgements sound, the disputants had to pay a fee to both the first and the second pairs. If, however, they found the first pair's judgement unsound, they, by this time the holders of the pledges of the litigants, were paid their fees by the first pair, who in addition got no fee at all for their previous trouble. A third pair of elders might be chosen in Mirditë but no more. After that it was a matter for the expensive chieftains or the Gjomarkaj family to settle. In Kurbin, too, it was the rule that when elders failed to come to an agreement, it was they and not the litigants who chose the second pair. In disputes about water, land, boundaries and the like up to sixteen elders might be chosen, two by two. If any pair came to an agreement, their predecessors and the litigants had to accept their decision. Each of the successful pair received a napoleon as his fee; the unsuccessful elders received nothing. When the sixteen possibilities within the tribe had been exhausted without result, elders were called in from an outside tribe, naturally

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at an enhanced fee. These outside elders were generally taken from old, important tribes like Mirditë, Beshkash, Kthellë and Lesh, or from Krujë town. 693

Here then we have the working basis of their judgements. The elder or elders originally judging the case had an interest in settling the matter because they received a fee for their judgement. They had a further interest in settling it quickly because their fee was fixed at the outset, and by contrast with lawyers in a western law court they received no more if the case dragged on. Delay over one case also entailed a risk of being unable to undertake other cases that might arise. They had an interest in not splitting hairs with each other, for that might preclude their coming to an agreement and cause their supersession by others, with consequent loss of fees. They had an interest in not giving a crooked judgement because that might lawfully be upset, again causing them to lose their fees. They had, lastly, an interest in not taking bribes, for an elder who was detected in that was detected only once; he was never again asked to be an elder.

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Disobedience to accepted authority was not permitted to an 687
individual tribesman, a villager or even a tribe if that formed part, like the Mirditë tribes, of a group of tribes. Several of the Documents end by indicating the penalties that await tribesmen who defy the authority of the General Assembly that had laid down the preceding laws for the public good.

Examples of penalties prescribed are a fine of 3000 grosh, a choice between being burnt out or paying an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, and a sentence of having one's house burned down and oneself expelled. Number XIII, the Fascist document from Mat, simply declares that any delinquent will be called a traitor. In each case the whole tribe was to meet again in General Assembly and go in a body to carry out the sentence. According to Document XI the breaker of a pledge guaranteed by the General Assembly of the Elders and Commoners of Kurbin was warned that the said Elders and Commoners would be obliged to burn his house and expel him.'

Elders were seldom tried before a General Assembly. They were 693
kept in check by the fact that if their judgements were found unfair they lost not only face but also fees, for they were seldom asked to judge again. If there were complaints against one he was first asked, like an erring bajraktar or voivode, for a pledge; if he refused to give it he was haled before the General Assembly.

If a disputant flouted an elder's just and carefully considered judgement, he found himself before a General Assembly. For an elder represented a lawful authority. 'If you don't like the decision, 619
go to St Paul's church or the Defile of Orosh (*Grykë e Oroshit*)' 672
was the formula in Mirditë in such cases, church and defile being the favourite meeting-places for the General Assemblies of all its five tribes. If the Assembly upheld the elder's judgement, the penalty usually imposed was banishment for three years for the culprit and his family, the burning down of his house, the destruction of his crops and trees, and leaving his land untilled until he returned.

Sometimes a village was a public nuisance, harrying travellers, stealing its neighbours' beasts, cutting off their irrigation or mill water, trespassing on their forest or grazing, and so on. The bajraktar, voivodes, elders, and all the commoners in the rest of the tribe then gathered in General Assembly, one man from each house, and brought the village to its senses, fining the more harmless

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CHAPTER XVI

THE OATH

I. OATH-TAKER AND COMPURGATORS

695 Elders faced with a knotty case concerning property might put one of the disputants to the oath. The victim of the crime, suspecting who had committed it, might test his suspicions by asking that the man should make oath in public that he was innocent. It was only by oath too that a suspect could clear himself; mere protestations of innocence were not enough. 'Denial means an oath', said the law. The oath (*be*, oath; *beja*, the oath) was in fact a most efficient instrument of tribal justice, cutting gordian knots for elders, settling the ownership of property, clearing the innocent and convicting the guilty. It was equally efficient as an instrument of social cohesion, binding the tribe when occasion arose to concerted action against crime within and danger without.

The subject is difficult to understand, because of its remoteness from English practice. The following example from life gives the general scheme of the ordeal, for such it was. The story comes from Labinot, a village well south of the tribal area; but with one or two small exceptions each item might have come from anywhere in the tribal north. It is a criminal case, but if the words 'claimant' and 'oath-taker' be substituted for 'accuser' and 'suspect' it can be read as a property dispute. The general procedure was the same in both cases.

A Moslem of Labinot called Qazim who had lost a plough-ox suspected Asllan, a fellow-villager, of having stolen it, and through the headman demanded an oath from the suspect. The latter, though [693] protesting his innocence, agreed. A few days later when the accusation was formally laid at the Village Assembly, Qazim, as was his right, immediately began to name half the number of twelve compurgators insisted on by the headman. These were chosen on account of their connexion with the accused—had this not existed he could have refused to accept them. Asllan was then told to find six other compurgators and attend the Assembly with them again a week later.

The week was spent by the compurgators in investigating the case, by the accuser and accused in visits to the compurgators,

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685 oath', but in theft cases he was often called the 'thief', and this
695 from the outset of the case until he was cleared. Father Gjeçov also calls the oath-taker in criminal cases 'the accused', but this seems a literary term chosen by himself rather than a popular usage in Mirditë. In theft cases, the accuser was most often described by a periphrasis—being called in Godolesh the 'plaintiff', in Mirditë 'the owner of the lost property', in Martanesh 'the owner of the stolen property', 'the injured party' or 'the man robbed', in Fulqet 'the injured party', and in Zerqan 'the owner of the property'.

695 In murder cases, save for Father Gjeçov's occasional 'loader',
[682] the accuser was always called 'the man with the feud', the 'avenger' (lit. 'the owner of the blood'), and in disputes about property 'the plaintiff'.

When an oath has been sworn by a suspect or a claimant to property, the innocence of the one or the claim of the other had generally to be established by the oath of a predetermined number of compurgators.

[693] It was legally impossible for a suspect to clear himself by his unsupported oath. In the words of a proverb 'A wolf licks his own flesh and eats a stranger's'. An oath-taker might not flinch from perjury in order to establish his own innocence or his claim to a property, but as compurgator he was likely to be more scrupulous. So the law said there could be no complete oath without a jury. But as usual it made exceptions. When a suspect or claimant was ordered to swear one of the very solemn oaths in which perjury involved the extinction of his whole family, his personal stake was so great that a jury was dispensed with. The best example comes from Martanesh, where a jury was necessary in oaths sworn on the Koran or bread, but not in family oaths sworn at Balim Sulltan's grave.

[694] It was both the right and the duty of the members of the jury to gather all available evidence about the case and to make up their minds about its rights and wrongs before they came finally to court to record their verdict. An interval was therefore left between the nominations of jurors and the final oath-taking, in order to give them time to investigate the case. As a last step in their collection of evidence they then gathered to hear the oath-taker take the prescribed oath. They brought in their verdict by exercising their right to decide whether or not to take the oath. To

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return a verdict in the oath-taker's favour they turned up on the 695
appointed day to repeat his oath themselves in public. They returned one against him in either of two ways; either they refused during the period of investigation to take the oath, or they did not turn up to do so on the appointed day. In the case of early refusals some modifications were allowed, but at the final oath-taking the law was rigid. If even one compurgator failed to turn up the suspect or claimant lost his case; there was no question of majority vote. They took no oath until the end of the case. They were not sworn, as elders were, to investigate fairly and to bring in a true verdict.

The general rule for selections was that half the compurgators 693
in criminal cases were chosen by the oath-taker and half by the 695
accuser or by the elders: the latter in Mirditë, Godolesh and Fulqet, the former in the Malësi e Madhe, Lumë, Martanesh, Zerqan and Labinot. In disputes about property the elders almost everywhere named the jurors. Whether they did or not seems to have depended mainly on whether they were local or from a distance. When local, they knew the character of each potential juror and could safely make their selection. When from a distance they did not have enough knowledge to choose, and preferred to leave the choice in the hands of the claimant. In Kurbin when house quarrelled with house or village with village about irrigation water, the claimant named twelve of the twenty-four compurgators required.

It did not much matter who were chosen as compurgators by a suspect. The practical certainty that they were his partisans and would clear him made their oath comparatively unimportant. For that reason they were not allowed to take it until the accuser's nominees had done so. In Mirditë the suspect was expected to announce their names to the elders before the ceremony, but elsewhere, as in Zerqan and the Malësi e Madhe, he had only to bring them along to the oath-taking. The only person he was forbidden to include was himself; 'though 100 compurgators are needed the suspect can't be one', said the law. If he liked he could even include a gipsy. He seldom or never did so, of course; regard for his own prestige prevented him from choosing so low a creature. On the other hand, it mattered very much who were named by the accuser. His quota took the oath first and so gave the others their cue. Their oath was weighty for several reasons. As the accuser's

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695 nominees they were supposedly free from bias in the suspect's
693 favour. Then they were very carefully selected.

Since the truth or falsity of the result of the ordeal depended in the first place on their probity, and since it had to be certain that one or more of them would refuse to sell his soul by swearing falsely to a criminal's innocence, their personal honour had to be beyond question—they must never have been caught, for instance, swearing a false oath or taking bribes. They had further to be free from ill-will against either party—they must not be malicious. It was also important that they should have some knowledge of the case at either first or second hand. Hence the accuser liked to name the suspect's relatives and neighbours, as in the case of Qazim of Labinot, men who came from the suspect's village if not his brotherhood. In the case of a stolen animal, for example, the relatives in particular might have seen the meat being eaten by the suspect's family or the bones being gnawed by his dog. In all cases of theft a near relative would know that the suspect was not at home at the time. But if any of the suspect's relatives were unscrupulous the accuser naturally preferred to nominate others. Better an ignorant but upright compurgator.

[5x3] Certain members of a tribe could not be compurgators. A gipsy, we have said, might serve on a suspect's behalf, though he might not be put to the oath to discharge himself of an accusation or to make good his claim to a property. Old men, boys and lunatics were never allowed to take oath either as suspects or as compurgators; nor were women except in very rare cases.

A Moslem hoxha or sheikh counted as only one compurgator, but, being regarded as a man of weight, tended to come high on the accuser's list. A Catholic priest was theoretically exempted by his office from being put to the oath as either suspect or compurgator, but if named as compurgator, he counted in his single person as equal to twenty-four. If a bajraktar of Mirditë or one of the Gjomarkaj family was chosen as compurgator in a case involving twenty-four, the court named twelve others and declared the bajraktar or Gjomarkaj equivalent to the remainder.

The suspect had the right to object to the accuser's nominees if they were not in a position to know the truth of the case, or to risk taking an oath to clear him. If his objection was obviously well founded, the accuser had to change his nominees. The suspect was also protected from ill-will on the part of a compurgator. As

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soon as they were named, the presiding authorities were legally 695
bound to ask if he thought any of them would leave him in the 693
lurch out of jealousy or spite. If he could produce reasonable evidence that any of them would, those he mentioned had to be changed. But only up to a maximum of three where twenty-four had been prescribed, and of two where twelve or eight had been. In Zerqan, however, the suspect could not raise objections to the accuser's nominees; in compensation the replacement rules were somewhat relaxed.

Men sometimes declined nomination. Those proud of their high reputation for uprightness disdained to be mixed up in a case where the suspect was notorious for evil-doing, even if it was known that for once he was wrongfully accused. Others would not lend their weight to a petty case and consented to take the oath only in serious matters, such as murder.

In most of the tribal areas, a man whose wife was pregnant could [777]
ask to be excused. It was believed that it would be a crime for him to take the oath. If he swore falsely, through inadvertence or not, his sin would be visited on the unborn child, bringing it into the world lame or with such deformity as six fingers instead of five. Sometimes he agreed to take the oath if it were postponed until after the child was born, but more often his brother or cousin took it in his stead.

Refusals for such personal reasons as the above almost always took place as soon as the nominations were made. No difficulty was made about accepting them and before the Assembly dispersed another compurgator was named in each recusant's place. Later refusals were never prompted by anything but disbelief, real or feigned, in the suspect, and were treated differently. At the same time as the compurgators were named, the authorities informed the suspect of the precise terms of the oath which he and his compurgators must take to vindicate him, and of the time of the ceremony. It then became his duty, not only to find his own quota of compurgators, but also to inform the accuser's compurgators that they had been nominated. His own never caused much difficulty. One or more of the others might decline. A compurgator who could not believe the suspect's oath dared not repeat it himself. Possibly the suspect was likeable enough but 'an oath can't be taken out of favouritism'. Other nominees did not refuse out of hand but waited until they had made some inquiries into the case and

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695 cross-questioned the suspect. Anyone who discovered that the man
693 was guilty sent in his refusal to go on the jury. Sometimes, too, a nominee was bribed or persuaded by the accuser into refusing. Or one might have a grudge against the suspect, and, though knowing him to be innocent, might seek to gratify his grudge by declining to take the oath.

On every occasion when a named compurgator eventually declined to serve, the suspect had to find two substitutes for him, and these had to satisfy the accuser. If the first pair suggested did not please him, the suspect had to search until he found two who did. In Çermenikë he was allowed twenty-four hours in which to find them. But if more than three out of a total of twelve or eight, or one out of a smaller number, declined, this provision did not apply. It was concluded that the oath could not be taken, and without more ado the suspect was pronounced guilty; he had in criminal cases to pay the legal penalty for the crime, and in disputes to forfeit the property he claimed. Occasionally, as in Zerqan, when the recusants were strongly suspected of refusing from motives of spite, an accuser might overlook their refusal and inform the suspect that he need not even find one at all. More often, however, a Zerqan accuser followed the usual practice and exacted two compurgators for every one that drew back. In Fulqet it was the Village Assembly, not the suspect, who selected substitutes for recusants.

The number of compurgators depended on the nature of the case. For such trifling matters as the theft of a pig, sheep or goat a 'little jury' of one man sufficed. Otherwise a jury consisted of anything from two to twenty-four men, according to the importance of the case. In murder cases there was a universal rule that twenty-four compurgators were necessary when the victim was a man and only twelve when she was a woman. In most other cases the number required varied with the locality. Although it might have been expected that economic factors would explain these variations, that where horses, for instance, were scarce, the case would be thought more important and the number of compurgators increased in proportion, this does not appear to have been so.

If a dog was killed in the farmyard in Lumë, twenty-four compurgators, the customary number for a murdered man, were required. The murder of a dog was as serious in Lumë as the murder of a man, as is further indicated by the fact that the same

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blood money had to be paid. Possibly, too, there was a feeling here as in other areas that the dog's owner might have emerged into the farmyard and been killed by its assassin. In all cases of damage to property the number of compurgators depended, not only on the value of the property, but also on the risk to the owner's life which the crime entailed. This risk depended largely on the site of the crime. If, for example, a house was set on fire, it was reckoned that one of the men in it might have lost his life; if not burned to death he might have been shot by the incendiary when trying to escape from the burning building. The oath in such a case was on that account with twenty-four compurgators. But if a haystack was fired six were enough. The risk to life was infinitesimal, and the value of the haystack much inferior to that of a house. Similar considerations graded thefts. If a house was burgled by a thief who went upstairs and stole bedding or kitchen utensils there were again twenty-four compurgators. For a thief wicked and desperate enough to enter another's house was an obvious killer. A thief who bored a hole in the wall of the farmyard and stole something from the yard was certainly 'a big thief', but so much less of a menace to his victim's life that he was put to the oath in Kurbin, Fulqet and Zerqan with only twelve compurgators. A thief who stole at a distance from the farm buildings needed only six in Fulqet. In Zerqan, however, even this form of theft was considered heinous enough to demand twelve compurgators.

Some of the same principles operated in thefts of sheep and goats. In Martanesh, the Malësi e Madhe and Shalë only one compurgator was required when a single sheep or goat was stolen at a distance from the farm buildings. The animal's value was small and the risk to a man's life infinitesimal. The number of compurgators increased, up to a maximum of twenty-four in Martanesh and twelve in Shalë, with the number of animals stolen. In Fulqet the grading was more detailed. If a single sheep or goat was stolen at a distance, the suspect, most exceptionally, required no compurgators to back him up; it was enough if he swore himself that he was innocent. If, however, the stolen animal was a bell-wether, the most valuable animal in the flock because it led it, he had to take the oath with six compurgators.[1] If an ordinary sheep or goat was stolen from the farmyard he had to find four compurgators, and if several animals were so stolen, twelve. In Labinot the law was

[1] Vide infra, p. 208.

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695 more severe, three to six compurgators being needed when only
693 one goat had been stolen in the most innocuous circumstances, while grazing in the forest. In Kurbin the law was still more drastic. Whether the stolen animal was an ordinary sheep or a bell-wether, an ordinary goat or a bell-goat, and whether the theft took place in the lonely forest or in the fold at the farm, the suspect had to take the oath with all his family, the gravest oath of all.

In disputes about property the number of compurgators mainly depended on its value. In Kurbin as many as twenty-four might be prescribed in irrigation disputes, this number probably reflecting the frequency with which such quarrels ended in murder. In Fulqet there were twenty-four compurgators in land disputes but in neighbouring Dibër twelve were enough. In Fulqet all the land is under water, but in Dibër very little can be irrigated. A rod of land in Fulqet is consequently more valuable—better worth fighting for—than a rod in Dibër.

The number of compurgators was not absolutely fixed by law and so might vary with the case. In all areas it was settled by the elders in disputes about property, but in criminal cases the usage differed. In Mirditë, Labinot and Godolesh the elders again said how many there should be, but in Malësi e Madhe, Fulqet and Martanesh the accuser had this privilege. Too often the number then depended on the degree of ill-feeling between the parties. The angrier the accuser was, the more compurgators he demanded. For the more they were, the more trouble the suspect had in persuading them to take the oath that would acquit him.

The compurgators, it should be mentioned, received no payment for their trouble except for the meal given them in most places by the suspect.

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696 compurgators that the land was his. He took the oath, but the other refused to accept its verdict and the quarrel continued. The whole village denounced this as 'very shameful'.

Some losers were made to accept the verdict in the realization [558] that resistance would only plunge them into the difficulties of a blood feud, and others submitted in fear of losing 'face'. The [696] elders had normally little machinery for enforcing the verdict. In one difficult case observed by the author in Çermenike however, they succeeded by the unusual device of putting both claimants to the oath. An old, forceful man had quarrelled about irrigation water with a young rascal who was his distant relative. The elders decided that if the young man could take the oath, he should have the water; if he could not, the old man must not think the water his but must take oath on another day that it was his by right. As the young man was a notorious liar, it was not expected that he would be able to muster the requisite number of compurgators. But to the general surprise he succeeded and took the oath. The elders decreed that he should have water for six hours every five days. The old man seemed at first to acquiesce in this decree, but later held up the water and turned out his own compurgators to take oath along with himself that it was his. But the elders would not countenance such disobedience, particularly as he had originally submitted to the verdict of his relative's oath; and by refusing to come and witness his oath they prevented it from being taken. Eventually he gave in, and allowed the young man to have water according to the oath that he had sworn as prescribed by the elders.

693 696 Another interesting case occurred in Dibër about 1935. Cen Elezi was asked to arbitrate between two cousins in Çidhnë in south Lumë, who were quarrelling about a piece of land. He asked a fee of twelve napoleons from each and accepted their silver boxes in pledge thereof. The boxes were silver but not worth anything like his fee, so they were only a token pledge. Cen then went to see the land and discovered that neither cousin knew exactly where its boundaries lay. He pointed this out and said that this and their relationship made arbitration difficult. One of them, whom he named, must therefore take oath with six named and six unnamed compurgators that the land was his. First of all, however, he must set up the boundary stones in their proper places. On the day arranged Cen could not go himself to witness the oath. He

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sent the cousins word to that effect and said he was sending a deputy. When the latter arrived, he found the named cousin ready to take the oath but no humility scones in place. He refused to witness the oath because God's condition had not been observed. The matter was referred back to Gen. who said that since the cousin prior to the oath had been unable to take it as enjoined, the other must have the land. If they did not wish to accept this judgement, let them bring him four napoleons each as his fee for the incomplete oath, and let them find another elder and he would pay his expenses; he was no guarantor to make them accept his judgement. The cousins prepared to accept his decision, but when the winner began to plough the land, the loser shot one of his men dead and wounded another; the feud continued for many years.

The oath derived its efficiency as a legal instrument from superstitious fear of punishment for perjury. God, as the Almighty, was naturally the chief agent of this punishment. 'Don't let God catch a perjurer', said the aphorism. In invocations the connexion between oath and Deity was simple. The oath-taker called God or one of His saints to witness to the truth of what he was about to swear, and did so in the full knowledge that if he angered Him by perjury, he must expect a manifestation of Divine wrath. There was a very definite belief that God was watching. In oaths sworn on a sacred object or building, such as 'By this good thing of the Lord', there was an indirect invocation of the Deity, but also while the oath-taker swore, he had to keep his hand on the sacred object—Gospel, crucifix, altar, church door, Koran, saint's grave—just as a witness in an English law court must take the oath with his hand on the Bible. This act established physical contact between the oath-taker and the Deity or saint with whom the sacred object or building was associated. Thus sought vindication was a very salient thought. In this account these contacts were preferred above all others. Probably the contact also made the vindication (that punishment was certain. All over the Near East the principle of direct contact with holy things plays an important role. This is most familiar in cases of sickness, as when people knot rags to sacred graves or trees; the holy influences with which they have thus linked their persons penetrate their whole being and cure their maladies. Many instances will be found in the author's book *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. But suppliants for such favours must placate the holy influences with prayers or

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the accuser come and witness their oath or produce a *kepucar*. An accuser who had good reason to be dissatisfied with the suspect's acquittal was entitled to pursue his inquiries and, securing fresh evidence of the suspect's guilt from an eye-witness, to lay this before the elders with a demand that the case should be reconsidered. Indeed, many elders after delivering a verdict of "not guilty" reminded the accuser that if he was dissatisfied he was at liberty to find a *kepucar*. He could not, of course, have the suspect put to the oath a second time; "oath upon oath" was not allowed by the law.

An eye-witness had always to come forward of his own accord; the accuser could not go and look for him directly. In ordinary cases, the accuser let it be known through private channels that he would be glad to find one, but in the cases of arson and murder of a dog already mentioned, the Village Assembly might issue a public appeal for information. No time limit was ever set. Information given a year or more after the crime had been committed was treated as seriously as if it were only a day old.

In every type of case the witness first approached the accuser saying, that he had found the stolen property, the murderer, or the falsity of the oath as the case might be. The accuser then had to go to the suspect and demand restitution. In Mirdité, at least, he had to be accompanied by two friends who were sometimes asked afterwards to confirm that he had warned the suspect. If the latter refused to make atonement, the accuser had to warn him that he had a witness. If the suspect persisted in his refusal, saying, "Produce your witness", the accuser then, but only then, settled the witness's fee and secured his information. The elders then formed a committee for the purpose of cross-examining the witness. In Zadrima this committee of five or six was appointed by the suspect and two of the friends of the accuser. In Mirdité it was selected from the assembly (being, although men had to be taken as companions by their honour, washed and unfit to cross-examine witnesses). In the Malésia Madhe the committee was formed by the headman and one to four headmen, the qualities which such personages were believed to inherit along with their position were thought sufficient equipment for dealing with a witness. Elsewhere one elder was considered enough in simple cases; he was chosen by the suspect at the bidding of the accuser, by the two together, or by the other elders.

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[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

[681] 2. Wounding a man means a fine of 1500 grosh and 12 rams.

[627] 3. Whoever fines another without doing it through a General Assembly and by common consent, will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

4. Whoever disputes with another or calls him names or aims his rifle at him in the following places—Berg, Shpellë, Vrri, and Kmetë—will be fined 1000 grosh and 10 rams.

5. Whoever breaks down another's hedge in order to make a path for himself must pay 150 grosh (3 rams) to the owner of the hedge.

6. Whoever murders anyone on the high road will be fined 3000 grosh and 24 rams.

7. Whoever robs another's house or sheepfold will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

8. Whoever dishonours a woman or an engaged girl will be fined 3000 grosh and 10 rams.

[692] 9. Whoever does not wish to engage elders and goes away saying 'May I never forgive you' will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

[233] 10. Whoever lets his animals graze on another's land will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

[403] 11. A man who will not hear of fencing in his portion of land, going halves in the fence with his neighbour, will be fined 250 grosh and 3 rams.

12. A man who does not meet his obligations at the term fixed will be fined 23 grosh.

13. Whoever steals an ox, a cow or a horse in his own village will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

14. A man who does not respond to the village's call to come to a General Assembly or some other requirement of the village will be fined 250 grosh.

[487] 15. A man who closes a gap which has always been in the hedge will be fined 150 grosh.

16. The chiefs are to meet in General Assembly once a year, one week after St John's Day. Whoever does not conform to this decision will be fined 100 grosh.

[645] 17. Those chiefs who [illegible] [illegible] will be fined [illegible] grosh.

[illegible] 18. Whoever murders his adversary after [illegible] has been pardoned by order of the government will be fined 2 rams and expelled from the village and turned into a [illegible].

[668] 19. A dog which enters a vineyard with a wooden collar on its neck may not be killed. A dog which enters a vineyard or field without a wooden collar may be killed.

20. Whoever brings a house-dog with him to church or to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.

[Constitution]

It is forbidden to use the church and religion for political purposes. 659

Likewise, political organizations based on religion are also forbidden.

The state may assist religious communities materially.

ARTICLE 17

Marriage and family are protected by the state. The legal conditions of marriage and family are fixed by law. 585

Legal marriages can be performed only by competent representatives of the government. After celebrating a civil marriage a citizen may celebrate a religious marriage according to the rules of his creed.

The courts of the state only are competent to determine all questions concerning marriage. [692]

Parents have the same obligations towards their illegitimate children as to those born in wedlock. Illegitimate children have the same rights as those born in wedlock. [848]

ARTICLE 18

Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of organization, freedom of assembly and of public demonstration. are guaranteed to all citizens. 641

ARTICLE 19

Personal inviolability is guaranteed to all citizens. Nobody can be arrested for more than three days without a court warrant or without the approval of the district attorney. 671 641 [694]

No person shall be punished for a crime without the decision of a competent judge in conformity with the law which defines the crime and the competence of the court.

No punishment shall be determined and inflicted except as prescribed by law.

No person shall be punished without a hearing nor without being summoned to defend himself according to law, except in a case where his absence is legally established.

The administrative organs of the state may give jail sentences for common law misdemeanors as prescribed by law.

[Constitution]

671 641 No citizens may be exiled or interned within the state except as prescribed by law.

The People's Republic of Albania protects the rights of its citizens in foreign lands.

ARTICLE 20

694 A home cannot be violated.

No person can enter a house and search it against the wishes of the owner, except when he holds a court order in his hands.

No search can be made except in the presence of two witnesses. The owner of the house also has a right to be present.

ARTICLE 21

205 The secrecy of mail and other correspondence cannot be violated except in cases of criminal investigations, military mobilization, or state of war.

ARTICLE 22

461 In the People's Republic of Albania work is a privilege and a duty.

Every citizen has a right to be paid according to his work and to receive from society as much as he gives to it.

ARTICLE 23

641 All citizens have a right to be employed in government work according to specific regulations laid down by law.

Citizens appointed or elected to public office are bound to perform their duties conscientiously.

ARTICLE 24

[729] 657 It is the duty of the state to adequately support disabled soldiers at public expense and to enable them to resume their work. The state shall support the families of those who died in battle and of all war victims.

ARTICLE 25

The state takes care of the health of the people by organizing and controlling health service, hospitals, and sanatoriums.

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elders required two meals, each disputant had to provide one; if 693 the case was shorter and only one meal was required, the two disputants halved the expense and both sat down at the table with the elders, not always with too good a grace on the loser's part. If dinner-time found the party up on the mountain, far away from either disputant's house, the food had to be sent up to them there. If supper-time found the party still at work or only just finished, they all ate and slept in the house of one disputant. The expenses of feeding the elders and their party had, despite its burden, to be faced by the poorest man when wronged, for without an elder's intervention he would be trampled on by his fellows. The thought of its cost sometimes acted as a deterrent to the litigiously minded.

Litigants themselves chose the elder who was to judge between 694 them, much as Englishmen choose their lawyer. In non-tribal areas litigants were completely free to select whichever elder they trusted most, irrespective of where he lived. In tribal areas they were obliged to choose one from their own village, at least to begin with. It is obvious that such an elder was likely to have some independent knowledge of the case and its rights and wrongs. In Mirditë and Kthellë a litigant who insisted on going outside his own village had to engage the bajraktar or a voivode of his tribe, not a smaller man, and must not go outside his tribe. The higher fee required by the bajraktar and voivode was usually enough to make the man stick to his own village. If a quarrel was not bitter, the two parties often agreed to entrust the case to a single elder and to divide the cost of his fee and meals. They then said to each other, 'Whom shall we have?' and mentioned various names. After debating—usually at some length—the merits of the owners of the names they fixed on one. Each then asked the other ceremoniously, 'Have you confidence in this elder?' 'I have', the other replied. Great importance was attached to this unanimity; it made the elder's decision more binding on both disputants, procuring in fact judgement by consent.

The preliminaries over, the two litigants contacted the elder, generally by going to his house, and told him their trouble. 'Are you willing to leave it to me?' he would ask. On their consenting formally to do so he stated his fee. This depended in Mirditë on the importance of the case and elsewhere on the importance of the elder, the distance he had to travel, and the astuteness of the litigants. In Martanesh a gold Turkish pound was commonly

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694 paid, for which reason both elders and litigants thought bargaining about it superfluous.

The litigants having formally consented to pay his fee, the elder next asked each of them to bring him a pledge. This served a threefold purpose. Once given, it could not be taken back till the case was settled and the fee paid. The litigants might repent of going to law or of engaging this particular elder, but unless they forfeited their pledges, they could neither stop the case nor change the elder. The pledge was, secondly, the elder's security for payment of his fee. As soon as he had delivered judgement he was entitled to his fee, and until it was paid he was entitled to retain the litigant's pledge. Occasionally in Zerqan an elder trusted a client enough to dispense with a pledge, and some in Martanesh asked only a token one, such as a cigarette, thus paying the integrity of their clients a high compliment. The normal pledge was of greater value than the fee, or share of the fee, payable by each litigant. Since pledges had been instituted in days so distant that money was hardly—if at all—known, a material article such as a gun, a revolver, a watch or a silver tobacco-box was generally handed over. It was for the elder to choose which it should be.

696 626 In Mirditë the article deposited was known as the 'pledge of acceptance or agreement', because its third purpose was to bind the litigants to accept the elder's decision. If one was refractory the elder had the right to retain his pledge. In a certain boundary case Cen Elezi of Dibër, having stipulated for a fee of twelve napoleons from each litigant, asked each to bring his tobacco-box as a pledge. As his son put it, this did not nearly cover his fee but was rather a preliminary 'symbol of acceptance' of his decision. Indiscipline in such matters naturally weakened the social fabric by destroying one of its most unifying factors, the authority of elders. Various steps were taken to reinforce decisions. Selim Peshku of Martanesh charged fees that ranged from five gold Turkish pounds to one, but he never took up a case until the larger sum had been deposited in pledge of submission to his judgement, and in case of recalcitrancy he showed no scruples about pocketing the pledge money. The disparity between his lowest fee and his unvarying pledge shows that he was trying, not so much to safeguard his own fee, as to maintain social discipline. Mirditë sought the same end by enacting that a judgement delivered without pledge being taken was invalid before the law and that a verbal

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pledge was valueless; something concrete and tangible must be given. 696 626

The pledges deposited, the elder set to work on the case in earnest, questioning any villager who had information, visiting the scene of trouble, interviewing any private informant who volunteered to give evidence, and so arriving at the rights and wrongs of the simpler cases. In more difficult cases he put one of the litigants to the oath, dictating his terms and stipulating the number of 'good men and true' who were to be persuaded by the litigant to take it with him. This rarely failed to show which litigant was in the wrong, and the elder came forthwith to his decision with confidence. 695

When the litigants were friendly, they might agree to engage two elders. In that case they selected them one after the other by the same method of mutual consent as they would have selected one. They also agreed to divide the cost in elders' fees and meals. That done, they laid the case before the elders, one after the other, and bargained with each about his fee and the number of meals he was to be given. These rewards were not necessarily the same for both elders. Sometimes they visited the elders together; more often each visited one only. In the usual way each was required to deposit a pledge with the elders. 694

When the litigants were not friendly, and this was the most common contingency, each found an elder for himself, without consulting the other or considering his views on the man. Each brought his own elder whatever pledge he desired; this meant that one litigant might have to deposit a gun and the other a tobacco-box. Each also bore the sole responsibility for his elder's fee and meals and made for himself the best bargain about them that he could.

A pair of elders worked on these same lines; singly perhaps during the period of investigation, certainly meeting at its conclusion to argue out the pros and cons of the case. If each represented a separate litigant, each tended to favour his own client, so introducing a new principle. The elder was no longer only a judge as he was when he was engaged by the two litigants; he was also the advocate of his own litigant, trying to do the best for him by arguing against the advocate of the other litigant. The loser was more likely to contest the decision under such circumstances. 695

When the two elders had hammered out an agreement they sent for the two disputants, said they had come to an agreement, and

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693 napoleons. In cases other than those of division of property he received only two napoleons. He took over the two pledges from the original elders, and as these were redeemed from him at a price by the two disputants, the first pair lost their time and trouble and received nothing. If a disputant in Martanesh was disgruntled he could call in a regional elder, but he had to pay, not only the fee of the elder whose judgement he questioned, but also that of the regional elder. One of Selim Peshku's devices for making a recalcitrant litigant keep the peace was to bid him bring another elder and he, Selim, would pay the fee as well as return the litigant's pledge. The man, knowing no elder would reverse a decision by Selim Peshku and somewhat stunned by the latter's generous offers, invariably submitted.

[694] Another check on frivolous lawsuits was the arrangement under which the litigants were not allowed to tell their stories to the second pair of elders. These were briefed by the first pair, apart from the litigants, who were also required to stay with their comrades among the general public while the new elders argued out the case. There was, in theory at least, no possibility of the new elders being 'got at'. In Mirditë, the head and fount of the law, rules were more stringent. The disputants were not allowed to choose the second pair of elders; this was done by the first pair. They had also to hand over to the second pair the pledges they had taken from the disputants. If the second pair found the first pair's judgements sound, the disputants had to pay a fee to both the first and the second pairs. If, however, they found the first pair's judgement unsound, they, by this time the holders of the pledges of the litigants, were paid their fees by the first pair, who in addition got no fee at all for their previous trouble. A third pair of elders might be chosen in Mirditë but no more. After that it was a matter for the expensive chieftains or the Gjomarkaj family to settle. In Kurbin, too, it was the rule that when elders failed to come to an agreement, it was they and not the litigants who chose the second pair. In disputes about water, land, boundaries and the like up to sixteen elders might be chosen, two by two. If any pair came to an agreement, their predecessors and the litigants had to accept their decision. Each of the successful pair received a napoleon as his fee; the unsuccessful elders received nothing. When the sixteen possibilities within the tribe had been exhausted without result, elders were called in from an outside tribe, naturally

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each seeking their support. Had four refused at this stage to take the oath Asllan would at once have been publicly convicted—if less than four, two substitutes would have had to be produced for every one that refused; two for one, four for two, and six for three, and there would have been no extension of the time limit. In this case, however, all the compurgators agreed to swear to Asllan's innocence, and he himself, towards the end of the week, swore on the Koran that he had nothing to do with the theft. Later the compurgators, led by Qazim's nominees, took the oath of Asllan's innocence before the whole village. Actually, Qazim cut short the proceedings after six or seven had sworn, as by then the compurgators most likely to know the truth had sworn to the suspect's innocence.

Having celebrated his acquittal with a banquet to the compurgators, Asllan two days later yoked the stolen ox, hidden during the case in a lonely sheepfold, to his plough. Now, although the mistake—either designed or accidental—of the compurgators was obvious, there was no legal machinery for annulling the verdict. In the opinion of the village, however, Asllan received his punishment when shortly afterwards his son was born lame.[1]

Qazim in Labinot put his case into the hands of the headman of his village. In the tribal north he would have entrusted it to the elder of his brotherhood, ward or village or perhaps to the bajraktar of his tribe.

Tribal officials, being hereditary, had more authority to act for their community than had the temporary headman in non-tribal districts such as Labinot. In Milot, the most northerly village of Kurbin, the victim tackled the suspect himself, asking him first if he had committed the outrage and then if he would take oath that he had not. In view of the fieriness of Albanian tempers this information is surprising—one would expect shooting to put an abrupt end to such an interview—but it is confirmed by information from the neighbouring village of Laç. When one of its inhabitants denied having received a loan, the lender asked him directly to swear in the presence of two or three witnesses that he had never been lent the money.

Only men of military age and capacity had standing enough to

[1] A very similar system of compurgators exists among the Naga tribes of Assam. There, however, though in some tribes there is no means of modifying the verdict if an oath prove to be false, in others a compurgator who discovers that his principal is lying can 'withdraw his life', otherwise in danger from the false oath, and so reopen the case *ab initio*. (Ed.)

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685 oath', but in theft cases he was often called the 'thief', and this
695 from the outset of the case until he was cleared. Father Gjeçov also calls the oath-taker in criminal cases 'the accused', but this seems a literary term chosen by himself rather than a popular usage in Mirditë. In theft cases, the accuser was most often described by a periphrasis—being called in Godolesh the 'plaintiff', in Mirditë 'the owner of the lost property', in Martanesh 'the owner of the stolen property', 'the injured party' or 'the man robbed', in Fulqet 'the injured party', and in Zerqan 'the owner of the property'.

695 In murder cases, save for Father Gjeçov's occasional 'loader',
[682] the accuser was always called 'the man with the feud', the 'avenger' (lit. 'the owner of the blood'), and in disputes about property 'the plaintiff'.

When an oath has been sworn by a suspect or a claimant to property, the innocence of the one or the claim of the other had generally to be established by the oath of a predetermined number of compurgators.

[693] It was legally impossible for a suspect to clear himself by his unsupported oath. In the words of a proverb 'A wolf licks his own flesh and eats a stranger's'. An oath-taker might not flinch from perjury in order to establish his own innocence or his claim to a property, but as compurgator he was likely to be more scrupulous. So the law said there could be no complete oath without a jury. But as usual it made exceptions. When a suspect or claimant was ordered to swear one of the very solemn oaths in which perjury involved the extinction of his whole family, his personal stake was so great that a jury was dispensed with. The best example comes from Martanesh, where a jury was necessary in oaths sworn on the Koran or bread, but not in famiiy oaths sworn at Balim Sulltan's grave.

[694] It was both the right and the duty of the members of the jury to gather all available evidence about the case and to make up their minds about its rights and wrongs before they came finally to court to record their verdict. An interval was therefore left between the nominations of jurors and the final oath-taking, in order to give them time to investigate the case. As a last step in their collection of evidence they then gathered to hear the oath-taker take the prescribed oath. They brought in their verdict by exercising their right to decide whether or not to take the oath. To

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CHAPTER XVII

THE OATH

II. THE OATH-TAKING

When the elders first sat on the case in small or large Assembly, either they or the accuser issued full directions for taking the oath, prescribing the time, the place, the sacred formula, the sacred object and the terms in which it had to be taken. 194

In the case from Labinot the Assembly—or rather the presiding elders—decreed that the suspect should take the oath about a week later. The case being one of simple theft, they considered this interval long enough for the suspect to find the compurgators and for these to make the necessary inquiries. In Mirditë, the Malësi e Madhe and Dibër too, the elders fixed the date for taking the oath at their first Assembly; it was near or remote according to the clarity or obscurity of the case. A month was the average allowance in the Malësi e Madhe, but in graver cases a year might be allowed. In Zerqan the day was not fixed until after the suspect had found his compurgators. This done, he informed the accuser that whenever the latter chose, he was ready to take the oath. The accuser then appointed the day without consulting the elders.

After fixing the date, the elders warned the suspect that if the oath was not taken by that date, he would lose his case. At the same time they informed the accuser that he must have patience for the appointed term. If the oath was not taken when stated, he would gain his case by default. Sometimes, however, the final oath-taking was postponed. In Labinot and Zerqan postponements were not favoured; it was considered that legal business should not be allowed to drag on; obviously the longer the period of uncertainty the greater the danger of gun-work. In Mirditë, however, if the case was so complicated that the compurgators could not complete their investigations or make up their minds, they had the right to postpone taking the oath for as much as six months or even longer; it was only the named compurgators who sought to exercise this right. In the Malësi e Madhe the right of postponement lay with the accuser, not the compurgators. Any compurgator who was still dubious about the case could ask the accuser to extend the

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694 time limit. The request was always granted. But a second could not be made by the same compurgator. If the final day slipped by unnoticed, as sometimes happened when it was distant, an extension was generally arranged by mutual agreement.

In Catholic areas the incidence of Lent might delay matters, as Catholics did not take oaths during holy seasons.

In most districts it was the elders who said where the oath was to be taken, but in Kurbin and Lumë it was the accuser. A spiteful accuser of north Lumë, for instance, could send a suspect, with all his compurgators, to take the oath in south Dibër, a four days' journey there and back, with all expenses falling on the suspect. It was probably to prevent such displays of malice that the choice of place generally rested with the elders.

695 There was often a close connexion between the place at which,
778 and the sacred object on which, the oath had to be taken. The chief sacred objects on which Catholics were called to swear were the Gospel, the crucifix and the local church or its altar. Among Moslems, there were the Koran, the local mosque and a saint's grave. The Gospel in the one case and the Koran in the other was usually chosen. Dibër, a purely Sunni Moslem district, and somewhat fanatical, claimed to take the oath only on the Koran.

North Albanians went to church to swear on the Gospel or crucifix, but to their scandal the Catholics of Kurbin, Mirditë and Lurë had these sacred emblems carried to the suspect's house. Indeed, in Kurbin and Lurë an oath was never taken on the Gospel except outside the precincts of the church; the same was presumably true in Mirditë. No reason for the taboo is known; perhaps the combined sanctity of Gospel and church was thought to involve too much risk. When swearing on an altar, the oath-takers had naturally to enter the church, but when swearing on the church itself they remained outside, touching only a stone in the south door, possibly the threshold, perhaps a door-jamb. Sometimes they repeated the prescribed oath in the neighbourhood of the church. Oaths were most commonly taken on the church in cases of petty theft; graver cases demanded an oath on the Gospel or crucifix.

Moslem procedure was in general so similar to Catholic that it seems to have been inherited from the days when all the area under study was Catholic. To swear on a mosque, as the Moslems of Çermenikë sometimes did, it was enough to touch its door-jamb or threshold, precisely in the Catholic manner. To swear on the Koran,

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695 serious oath, entailing the extinction of the whole family if the
672 oath-taker perjured himself. This was symbolized clearly in the
783 Malësi e Madhe ceremony. The master's perjury, if any, and its penalties would, it was believed, run through his body and the infant's like an electric current and destroy both. The wording of the oath seems to have been suitably strong as well as comprehensive. The only available example comes from the Malësi e Madhe, and runs, 'By this holy oath of the Lord, if I did it, may He reward me. As for the male of yours who has been killed, neither I nor my kinsmen, male or female, have killed him with our hands or our guns or with a guest's or agent's hands or gun.'

695 The family oath was reserved for men who were expected to deny
[685] a serious crime of which there was strong evidence that they were guilty. In the Malësi e Madhe, and apparently in Martanesh also, this was murder. So in these areas a family oath was tantamount to one with twenty-four compurgators. In Mirditë and Kurbin it was chiefly used in theft cases. If a sheep or goat in Kurbin was stolen, the thief had to return two sheep or goats to the owner, and pay a fine besides; if, however, he denied the theft, he must swear with his whole family that he was innocent. By contrast, a man who denied stealing an ox, a horse or a mule, was only ordered to take the oath with six compurgators. The theft of these animals was less serious than stealing a sheep or goat; for they only represented wealth, whereas the sheep and goats provided food for their owner.

[694] In Mirditë the accuser had the right to ask a family oath of any man whom he strongly suspected, and could also say that he must take it with a jury. In that event he had to specify the various families in the village who were to compose the jury. For the Malësi e Madhe there is no evidence, but in Martanesh a jury was seldom required in family oaths. Group oaths were used in cases where the suspect, told to take the oath with twenty-four compurgators, failed to find so many ready to swear to his innocence and volunteered to take the oath with all the males of his family in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum. If he did so, nothing more was required of him.

In Mirditë, as Father Gjeçov informs us, a truculent accuser might also ask the oath by the head of the suspect's son; in that case the accused could not refuse to take it, unfair and dangerous to the child though it was. If there were more than one boy in the

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family, the oath had to be taken on all their heads. On the appointed day, the accuser went to the suspect's house, where the suspect gathered all the males in his family and drew their heads together. After laying his hands on their heads to establish the contact which would involve them in his perjury, if any, he took the oath, saying, 'By the heads of my sons, I have not done you the wrong of which you have accused me, and I do not know who has done it'. The gravity of this oath made it particularly useful in ending embittered disputes before they came to bloodshed, for only a man very sure of his position or one utterly unscrupulous would swear it. 695

Social oaths were designed to check lawlessness and breaches of the peace within the tribe and were the commonest types. In Document II, Mnelë and Gomsiqe swear[1] to stick together whatever may betide for mutual defence against external danger. Sometimes the tribe, or at least the brotherhood in the Malësi e Madhe, swore that they would not enter a certain house. Though this oath was never taken except to make the law-breaker obey a tribal judgement, it was not considered a good oath, and breaking it soon after it was sworn was advocated. Sometimes, too, a village would assemble and take oath not to send their animals to the summer grazing grounds before a fixed date or to cut wood in each other's forests. In Lurë irrigation rights still depended on oaths taken by the various claimants several generations ago and still binding on their descendants. This example shows how the perpetuity of oaths prevented renewals of litigation; a right once settled, remained settled. [626] [694]

When about to pronounce a decision or just after pronouncing it, elders frequently took oath that they had judged or would judge righteously. In all the tribal area they inevitably carried a stone on their shoulder to signify that they must carry it throughout eternity if their oath was false. In Shalë their formula was, 'With body and soul, with good luck and good fortune, so far as I can tell I have decided this matter without guile, without bribery and without prejudice'.

[1] See Appendix, Document II, p. 262.

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into a house or sheepfold, though in some districts the house-627
holder or shepherd had to warn the thief three times before 685
shooting in order to avoid a blood feud. The local law said, 'A thief's blood is lost'. In Mirditë, however, there was a saying that 'A blood feud is not stopped by felony', and there it was forbidden to kill a housebreaker at sight. This prohibition had been introduced to prevent men killing their enemies and placing their dead bodies in the farmyard to give the impression that they had been caught in the act of theft.

A man who robbed a child or a woman, stole a loaded packhorse, or another man's gun, could be shot even when not caught in the act, though a blood feud might follow such action.

In Turkish times, the authorities had to be informed of the [682]
death of anyone in the act of theft, but they did not punish the man who had killed him. They required only that he should keep watch and ward over the body till some official arrived and send word to the relatives to make arrangements for burial. After the funeral, the relatives and the killer resumed ordinary relations. Strong men, of course, sometimes overrode the ordinary rules and decencies. Thus Deli Beg, the overlord of Preze, an old market centre, was so determined to stop all raids on his flocks that he not only killed all thieves, but shamed them when dead. He tied their bodies on horses, with the heads propped up with a muleteer's forked stick, and drove them through the village streets. He never troubled to inform the authorities of the deaths.

There were elaborate rules for the detection of the thief who 685
succeeded in escaping with his booty. In Lumë the village 694
authorities had the right to search one house after another for the stolen property. Everywhere the victim might try and find it for himself. He would follow the tracks of a stolen animal, generally in the direction of the home of someone known to have a grudge against him. When the tracks ended at a house or its immediate surroundings, the master was regarded as convicted of the theft. 'Track on the ground, animal found', and the owner had the right to take it away immediately if it was still alive. The thief might refuse to produce it and the owner could then ask leave to search the premises. If such permission was not given, the owner had to turn to the elders to enlist their help, as he also had to do if it were found that the animal was dead.

When the beast's tracks stopped between two houses, the

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685 formula then applied was 'The beast or an oath'. Each house had
694 to make oath separately that it did not harbour the stolen property. The same routine was followed when the tracks stopped between two villages, the villages as a whole having to take oath.

The tracks of an animal might be destroyed by the thief, or the property stolen might not be an animal at all. In such cases, the owner had to rely on information supplied by third parties, and this was seldom lacking in small communities where there were few secrets. If the whereabouts of the stolen property was discovered, the suspected thief might admit the crime, and if so, the owner and he might settle about repayment themselves, or leave it
685 to the elders to do so. If the suspect denied the theft, the owner
695 informed the village headman of his loss and of the identity of the suspected thief, and the latter called an Assembly to which he summoned owner and suspect. A suspect who did not appear was declared guilty and ordered to pay for the stolen goods. If the suspect came, the owner was given the choice between ordeal by oath and trial on the evidence of an eye-witness, and, the proceedings then took the ordinary form.

The convicted thief had first of all to make restitution in accordance with the 'twofold' or 'two-for-one' rule, which exacted twice the value of the stolen goods in kind or money. In Mirditë, when animals were given in restitution, their selection was left to the thief, and, to quote from Father Gjeçov, 'it sufficed if they could walk on their feet'. In Martanesh a committee of two or three was appointed by the thief to make the choice, and this committee had to be accepted by the owner. In addition to restitution, a penalty might be imposed, either in the form of a fine or by ordering an extra number of compurgators if the oath was to be taken. The amount of the fine was largely fixed by tradition though the elders might vary it according to extenuating or aggravating circumstances.

There were various generally recognized kinds of aggravating circumstances. For instance, if a thief lost, spoiled, or ate what he had taken, the penalties were often heavy. In Martanesh and adjoining districts a loser could put any value he liked on a stolen
[683] article that had been destroyed. In Zerqan, it was regarded as a disgrace to the owner of a stolen sheep if it was eaten by the thief on the mountain. Punishment then was not only for the theft, but for the injury to the honour of the victim.

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[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prendo's Day, 1894]

If any man meddles with one by force he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety. [681]

If any man dishonours a woman or ravishes her he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety.

The Gjklika family is not under a pledge of safety.

Ndue Lika's family is under a pledge of safety for its flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever touches sheep belonging to Nikaj or Shalë must pay 500 grosh or give a Martini rifle, the value of which is 500 grosh. He must also return two animals for every one stolen and pay 500 grosh to the owner of the stolen animals.

10. A detective is to receive 100 grosh for tracking down a sheep and twenty for tracking down a cow or an ox.

11. If a Nikaj or a Shalë man goes to a house to kill someone, he has leave to do whatever the fingers of his hand or the muzzle of his rifle can do. But chisels, wood and any form of iron are not to be used.

Whoever breaks this law, unless he is killed and buried, must pay 20 purses and until he pays them he must look out for his life. If he is killed, the matter must be left at a head for a head.

12. Whoever plays false to this pledge treating it with contempt or ignoring it must give an oath with 24 persons who must say they know nothing, as arranged by the other tribes. If he cannot give such an oath he must pay 20 purses like a man who kills another. [695]

13. A borrower who owes money to someone must go to the head of his ward. If he does not give this head satisfaction, he must go to the Bajraktar. If he does not give the Bajraktar satisfaction he is without protection. He may be robbed and killed until he enters the way of the Bajraktar.

14. The roads from Shalë and Nikaj to Shosh and Mertur are guaranteed by Shalë and Nikaj and if they are cut, 20 purses must be paid. [691]

15. The chapels (*koniqet*) of Nikaj and Shalë in which no candle is lit to St John, St Nicolas and St Bastian (Sebastian), are under a pledge of safety. [718]

16. Complaints in Shkodër and Gjakovë are annulled. [694]

VIII. Pledge for Flocks and Shepherds in Nikaj and Curraj, St John's Day, 1895.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 120.)

1. Any man who kills a shepherd will have his house burned down and his land kept untilled for three years.

2. His neighbours will not have their houses burned down but must pay five purses, 1000 grosh of it for the master of the feud and three purses for the guarantors.

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 26

The state takes care of the physical education of the people, especially that of the youth, with a view to improving health and increasing the capacity of the people for work and the defense of the state. 657

ARTICLE 27

Freedom of scientific and artistic work is guaranteed. 517
The state promotes science and the arts in such a way as to further the culture and welfare of the public.

The rights of authors are protected by law.

ARTICLE 28

In order to raise the cultural level, the state gives to all 871
classes of people every chance to attend schools and other cultural institutions.

The state is particularly interested in the education of youth.

Minors are protected by law. [858]

The schools belong to the state. Private schools can be opened only by special permission. All their activities are supervised by the state. Elementary education is free and obligatory.

Schools are separated from the church.

ARTICLE 29

Citizens have the right to petition state organs for 641
redress of wrongs.

Citizens have the right to complain against any illegal or irregular decision of an administrative organ of the state.

ARTICLE 30

Every citizen can complain in competent courts against officials who have acted unjustly in the discharge of their duty.

ARTICLE 31

Citizens are entitled to seek from the state or from an 695
official compensation for damages incurred as a result of illegal or irregular punishment.

[Constitution]

TITLE IV

Courts and Department of the Attorney General

(a) *Courts* 692

ARTICLE 75

The judicial organs of the People's Republic of Albania are: The Supreme Court, the People's Courts of the prefectures and subprefectures, and the Military Courts.

Special Courts may be created by law for specific questions. [698]

ARTICLE 76

The courts give their decisions in the name of the people.

The courts are independent in the exercise of their own functions. They are separated from all the administrative branches of government. Their decisions cannot be altered except by higher courts.

The higher courts are empowered within the law to control lower courts.

The Ministry of Justice directs and controls all matters of judicial administration and organization. [645]

ARTICLE 77

The courts try cases according to law. 695

ARTICLE 78

In principle, court sessions are open to the public.

ARTICLE 79

In principle, the decisions of the courts are given for the entire bench. The judicial personnel of the subprefectures and prefectures sitting as a court of original jurisdiction is composed of permanent judges and juries, both of whom have equal rights.

Penal verdicts of more than ten years cannot be given by a court of original jurisdiction but only by a court of the prefecture or by a higher court.

ARTICLE 80

The official language in all courts is Albanian. 191 695

[Constitution]

191 695 Any citizen who does not know Albanian may use his own language through an interpreter.

ARTICLE 81

692 The Supreme Court is elected for four years by the People's Convention of the Republic and by secret ballot.

The courts of the prefectures are elected for three years by the people's councils of the prefecture and by secret ballot.

[666] The judges of the subprefectures are also elected for three years by the people's councils of the subprefecture and by secret ballot.

A person may be elected judge many times.

The manner of election to all courts will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 82

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial body of the People's Republic of Albania.

[698] The Supreme Court can arbitrate any conflict of jurisdiction between the civil and military courts as well as between courts and any other bodies.

Cases in which the Supreme Court acts as a court of original or secondary jurisdiction will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 83

The Supreme Court passes on the legality of all court decisions of the Republic.

693 [692] Only the District Attorney may exercise an appeal against a summary decision of the courts. The decision given on such an appeal has no effect on the cause tried except when the law provides otherwise.

(b) *Department of the Attorney General*

ARTICLE 84

693 646 The Department of the Attorney General is the organ of the People's Convention which supervises the execution of the law by the ministries and other administrative bodies as well as by all public officials and citizens.

ARTICLE 85

The Attorney General of the People's Republic of Albania

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a first-born may be inefficient, the mantle of a dead or dying head falls on the son who in the opinion of all the adult males in the household is the best fitted to keep it together, irrespective of whether he is the eldest or not.[1] This combination of birth and unanimity of choice gives these heads the strength of inevitability, so that they can be neither envied nor rebelled and intrigued against, but must be recognized and implicitly obeyed by their subordinates—a most important factor in keeping the peace.

Before the Turks left in 1912, the headship of a northern village or tribe descended in the same family, always to the head it had chosen for itself. Since 1912 successive Albanian governments have slightly modified this system. In non-tribal areas like Mat, Martanesh and Shpat there has been less need for a change; as far back as we can go, the head of the average village or group of villages has been elected by the community for his personal qualities in the same way as the head of a house. A few villages of Mat, however, had long been ruled by the landlords (*begs* or *beys*) who owned them; after 1912 the power of these landlords, the Zogu family excepted, was curtailed by the central government like that of the bajraktars of the north.

In the old days the laws were administered as well as enacted or revised by the ruling rank, who were collectively known as elders. The system was elaborate, with public trials over which elders presided, and at which evidence was taken from witnesses on oath as well as from the plaintiff and the accused, and a jury might be asked to render a verdict. Fines were the usual penalty for petty misdemeanours, and temporary banishment, permanent expulsion or death for serious offences; a modified form of imprisonment also existed. Offences against the cohesion of the social fabric, as understood by the mountaineers, were reckoned more serious than crimes against an individual. Thus parricide was graver than fratricide; the first struck a blow at parental authority, an essential part of the social structure, but since one brother had no right to rule another except in special cases, fratricide was little worse than an ordinary murder and hardly a public concern.[2] The murder of a neighbour or the theft of his property seldom entered the serious category until the criminal became an habitual offender. Then the community, regarding the man as a social menace from whom none of its members was safe, took whatever action the law laid down for

[1] See Chapter V. [2] See Chapter V, p. 38.

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695 With a few exceptions, the greatest precautions were taken to conceal the witness's identity, as the criminal would have killed him if he had discovered who he was. In Mirditë he was allowed to object to the nomination of men whom he thought too indiscreet to preserve his incognito, and those eventually selected had to take an oath that so long as they lived they would not without his permission divulge his identity. He was always interviewed in all secrecy; often the accuser alone knew who he was. He might be taken to an empty house where the elders awaited him, or led at night to the house of an elder who questioned him from a balcony while he stood unseen by all the inmates, the elder included, in the dark farmyard. In the Malësi e Madhe he was often given a rendezvous by night in another village altogether. In Zerqan he usually met the committee in some lonely spot at sunset, with them on one side of a thick hedge and him on the other so that they could not see him. However often he was interviewed, it was always in the same secrecy.

No doubt owing to the danger involved in trying to bring a criminal to justice, a witness was always given a fee. With the delicacy characteristic of Albanians the fee was cloaked under the name of *këpucë* (lit. 'shoe'), presumably in allusion to the shoe-leather which he wore out in finding or conveying his information. Consequently, *këpucar* means literally the 'man who gets shoe-money'.

In the case of theft the witness's fee was not allowed to exceed the value of the stolen property. It was generally determined by agreement between witness and accuser at their first meeting, often after lively bargaining, particularly if the witness was greedy enough to ask more than he should. When the accuser let it be known that he was looking for a witness, he often specified the fee he was willing to pay. When the theft took place in a house, the fee [577] was doubled, because human life had been endangered and the house's honour tarnished; house-breaking always implied that the men in it were weak or the womenfolk light. In Kurbin and Lumë, for example, four napoleons were paid to an informant who found an ox that had been stolen from the farmyard or stable under the house, but only its value, which was always less than four napoleons, in those districts when it had been stolen while grazing outside.

684 A man who disclosed a woman's adultery to her husband 695 received no fee; and a friend was not allowed to take money for

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dismissed with only the wages due until then. Since it was in a sense his own house and his own father that he had robbed, he could not be given a second chance; he was too obviously devoid of ordinary decency to be trusted again. And since the law forbade his master to strike him, he could not be beaten, as a thievish woman might be, till he reformed. 357 685

Dismissal did not end his story. He had to pay the statutory fine for housebreaking and to bring his late master two of everything he had stolen. If he had no money for the fine, he had to find a surety for the amount and then go and earn it elsewhere. After European legal codes were introduced at the end of the 1920's, these unwritten laws lost much of their force, and it was rather by threatening to get the thief sent to prison that an injured master obtained restitution. [671]

In less sophisticated days a servant who was only suspected of robbing his master could be tried by the ordeal of the oath. If this proved him innocent, his master had to pay him six *qese* ("purses") for unjustly accusing him, besides a full year's wages and clothes. If it was later found that he had perjured himself, the elders fined him twenty-four *qese*, of which half went to the church (or mosque) and half to the tribe; he had also to return to his master the six *qese* and the unearned wages and clothes which he had won from him by perjury. It sometimes transpired, however, that the informant who had disclosed his perjury had lied himself. Then the elders once more declared the servant innocent, ordered the church and tribe to return his twenty-four *qese*, and the informant to pay him a year's wages and clothes besides six *qese* for the false accusation. [695]

If a servant stole in his master's village or another community, punishment depended on who had instigated the crime. If his master had done so, he and not the servant was in fault, and it was for him to make reparation to the victim. He must also dismiss the servant forthwith as a public nuisance; but since the man was only his tool, he must pay him a full year's wages. If, on the other hand, a servant stole on his own initiative, the fault was his and it was for him alone to make restitution. In addition, he might be legally dismissed with no more than the wages he had earned. [672]

Much the same laws applied when a servant committed a murder. If he did so at his master's instigation, both were punished. He must be dismissed, but his master must pay him a full year's wages. The resultant blood feud was primarily his concern, but if he 357 682 672

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231 case of murdered man and murdered woman. In some areas, such
685 as Kurbin, the blood money for a house dog was assessed by the
628 elders or government authorities.

A stranger who agreed in his simplicity to pay the owner what he demanded for his dead dog might find himself presented with a fine bill. The owner would say that the dog had saved his life on several occasions and was consequently worth six, ten or even twenty napoleons. Sometimes the owner asked the stranger, not for blood money, but for another dog of the same quality as the dead animal. The cost might exceed the conventional amount of blood money.

In the above cases a house dog had been killed in self-defence. When it was killed out of spite matters were much more serious. 'He who kills a house dog will steal your wife', says the Kanùn. Such killings usually took place at night because the aggressor would find it dangerous to approach the house in daylight. This aggravated the crime since the night was the dog's own time.

In Mirditë, Kurbin and Martanesh a man who killed a dog 'in its kennel', i.e. on its own ground and therefore spitefully, must pay its master 500 grosh, almost a fortune in these poverty-stricken areas. In north Albania his life was forfeit. When he had been killed by the dog's master, his relatives killed one of the latter's family, arguing that they could not permit their relative to be equated to a dog. In most cases the two parties being 'one for one' the dog's master then consented to make peace on condition of receiving blood money for the dead animal. He might stipulate, if he wished, that this should take the form of an ox or a horse and so cost more than the conventional blood money. Occasionally the feud was continued—it is on record that twelve men in the north once died for the sake of one dog. In any region a man who immediately pardoned the killer of his dog would be taunted as
[695] a weakling. In Lumë the man who was suspected of having killed a house dog found dead, a crime as costly as killing a man, could not clear himself unless he persuaded twenty-four elders to take oath with him.

231 The legal discrimination between defensive and spiteful killing
685 made it important for a man who killed a dog during the daytime
672 to establish his motive. He could do so simply and surely. If his bullet had struck the dog in the forehead or chest it was evident that the animal was charging him and he had fired in fear. If, on the

the quickest, the second tried when the first failed, and the third when the second failed. In practice recourse to the authorities was rare and seldom as effective as action by elders.

When settlement was made by the parties themselves, one of the two men quarrelling might exclaim, 'Well, take it on your shoulders' —there was no need to specify what—'and set up the stones'. 'All right', replied the other as he bent to pick up a stone or a clod of earth or both to put on his shoulders. 'May I carry it on my shoulder in this world and in that if this ground isn't mine', or 'May I carry this stone and this earth and the whole wide world', he proclaimed as he swaggered off along what he said was the boundary line. Provided four or five witnesses were present this ended the dispute. Either oath was too solemn to be gainsaid. The second in particular was convincing: who would do anything as grave as to take the world on his shoulder for the sake of an erring rope in a measurer's hand? Four or five friends of both parties attended as witnesses. Fear of being asked to take this solemn oath was a considerable deterrent against disturbing the stones. Sometimes the older disputant took an oath, with or without earth or stone, that the disputed land was his, and so proved his title to it.

When the boundary had been recently delimited the disputants might consult their other neighbours, especially if these were older than they were themselves. Or they might ask the opinion of one, two or three very old men from another village as likely to be impartial. If they consulted only one, they had both to consent formally to employing him. Sometimes, when a dispute was dragging on interminably, an old man cut in with an offer to show them where the boundary was, with earth and a stone on his shoulder.

When friends or neighbours were called in they might settle the dispute by arguing. When old men were asked, they had to point out the boundary afresh but not till after they had taken earth and a stone on their shoulders and made a solemn oath to carry these through all eternity if they delimited falsely. When the old men were from the same villages as the disputants, they were unpaid; when from another village they were each given a Turkish pound.

By the second method of settlement the elders in Munë took two or three napoleons from each disputant as a pledge of his future behaviour, and arranged for five or six elders as well as some

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ordinary householders to meet at an early date at the boundary. In 623
presence of the assembled company the claimant swore with earth 627
and a stone on his shoulders that the boundary was where he said. 423
The elders then dug to see if they could find the stones. If they did they gave judgement in the claimant's favour and vice versa. If the losing disputant did not accept their ruling they kept his pledge. In Martanesh, according to Mr Lef Nosi, the case was entrusted to a single elder. First he tried to decide it by questioning the neighbours of the disputants. If he doubted what they said he put [695] ●
them to the ordeal of an oath on bread and the Koran. If he still thought one or more of them was lying he bade them set up the boundary stones where they wished. If they dared to do so he could say no more, but sometimes they jibbed at this final perjury and then his judgement prevailed. If the loser objected to his allowing the neighbours to mark the boundary, he hushed him by bidding him let them perjure themselves and then offering to indemnify him out of his own pocket for his loss, but here the elder was on safe ground. Shame prevented the loser from accepting this offer.

When the elders failed to effect a settlement the injured party in Shijan complained to the government—not always unsuccessfully. Shijan was so near Elbasan that the government's writ ran there even in Turkish times. In many other places, in modern as in Turkish times, it was thought that if elders had failed it was useless to apply to the government, and a shooting match began. In Lumë the man who had taken the oath with earth and a stone took the initiative. In a fury at finding he had risked his soul with an oath for nothing he apostrophized his absent enemy, 'I put the stone on my shoulder. You could have done it, but you wouldn't. Now I'll kill you.' When he succeeded the bitterest of feuds started. Sometimes for greater ignominy they beat each other with sticks. This too started a bitter feud.

When bigger units disputed a boundary each party generally 628
engaged an elder, paying him a fee of 250–500 grosh in Martanesh 623
in Mr Lef Nosi's time, against 50 for a quarrel between individuals. 423
Elders, disputants and witnesses crowded to the boundary, where the elders questioned and argued interminably. If they failed to come to an agreement, murder soon followed. When both sides were sickened by the shuttlecock of the feud they called in famous elders from another unit who could not possibly have an interest in

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In certain cases the bajraktar and the local headman could act alone. For example, in case of sacrilege against the church they had power to pronounce even a death sentence. In practice, however, they preferred to consult the tribe and the ecclesiastical authorities. After the Young Turks introduced their constitution in 1908 they tried to make everything in Albania very legal and proper. If land was bought, for example, they required a deed of conveyance where the word of witnesses had formerly sufficed. The best lawyer in the land might write out the document and great men witness it, but it had no legal validity until the bajraktar and local headmen had affixed their seals.

As a legal figure the bajraktar had special weight. If called to serve on a jury of twenty-four men, his single person was counted equal to the twelve jurors left unnamed by the elders. A peace made in his presence was particularly binding. If at all distinguished he was often called in by another tribe to settle a dispute that had baffled its own elders. In his own tribe, besides acting as judge in many ordinary cases, he was ultimate referee in all difficult cases. Boundary disputes, the most fertile source of trouble among these land-starved tribes, were often referred straight to him for settlement. Disobedience to his ruling might entail the worst penalties. Particularly in the Malësi e Madhe, he and the local headman had power to appoint elders to settle a quarrel. If these failed to do so, or were found to have based their decision on a false oath by one of the litigants, it fell to the bajraktar and the local headman to reopen the case and to pronounce a final judgement. If a headman judged a case and gave a verdict the bajraktar disliked, he could upset this verdict and substitute one of his own. But neither headman nor elders could upset his judgements; these were always final and unalterable.

All the above applies to the non-tribal areas of central Albania as much as to the northern tribes. Mus Ballgjini of Çermenikë, for instance, was almost more famous as a law-giver than as a military leader. By a seeming exception the bajraktar of the Perlat tribe of Kthellë did not judge but left such matters to the elders. The explanation of the anomaly probably lies in his notorious incompetence. It was every bajraktar's province to judge in peace as well as to lead in war.

In all areas the jurisdiction of the bajraktar was subject to certain limitations. If the commoners did not like one of his decisions,

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compulsory. Any who failed to attend and could not justify their absence were fined. Together with the general public, they had to investigate complaints against a senior elder or a bajraktar, and if they found him guilty, they had to fine or ostracize him. In their attempts to prevent breaches of the peace they were entitled to try any method from peaceful persuasion to forcible restraint by the whole village. When, for instance, a tribesman refused to accept a judgement that was demonstrably lawful and unbiased, they could call a General Assembly to discuss the case. A public fine generally ended the man's obduracy. If not, the village elders could ask all the headmen and 'soldiers' of the tribe to come and bring him to his senses by threatening to destroy his house and property. They continued to apply the old law, the public preferring these methods to those of modern officials.

Canon elders were subordinate to the bajraktar and the voivodes of their tribe, acting as their assistants at General Assemblies.

In non-tribal districts like Shpat and Martanesh the canon elders of Mirditë were represented by a body of men called 'local elders'. These were hereditary, found in every village and restricted in their law-giving to their own village.

Another type were called 'specialist elders' in the southern tribal areas, 'regional elders' or 'mountain elders' in Martanesh, and plain 'elders' in Theth. The great majority owed nothing to heredity and everything to themselves, being ordinary men who had gradually built up a reputation for good sense, conciliatory temper and especially knowledge of the mountain law. A few were hereditary elders who had displayed the same qualities. Except in a few unusual cases they did not hand on their gifts or their position. As it required time to build up their reputation, the generality were older than herditary elders when they attained this position. They began by settling petty troubles within their brotherhood and gradually as their reputation grew, they extended their sphere of action to their kin, village and district in succession. A brotherhood elder must not interfere in another brotherhood, a kin elder in another kin or a 'local elder' of Martanesh in another village. But the specialists might travel far and wide outside their own social unit judging and arbitrating wherever required. Provided that they judged according to the law, their judgements were binding and overrode any delivered previously by a local man. As gifted men do not arise at will, they were never common but were found only

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683 here and there. After the introduction of modern codes of justice
622 they had little chance to emerge.

634 Above all elders, in both Mirditë and the adjacent tribes, came the Gjomarkaj family. This family was regarded as the source of all knowledge of the mountain law and represented the final court of appeal. The villagers of Martanesh carried many of their graver troubles to its head, but at the same time had often a 'special elder' whom they consulted in such cases. Selim Peshku, who died about 1910, was the latest example. The tree under which he sat dispensing justice in Martanesh is still shown. In the north the bishop
[793] or a specially gifted priest was the ultimate referee. They were consulted not so much for their knowledge of the law but because of their reputation for probity.

623 Functionally the brotherhood elders of Mirditë were represented in the Malësi e Madhe by the 'ward elders', who ruled and judged in their own small community, the village ward in which they lived.
[651] They were more commonly called *gjobtarë* ('fine-collectors') from their primary function of collecting fines. As legal functionaries they resembled specialist elders rather than brotherhood elders because they were ordinary tribesmen and owed their position as elders, not to hereditary right, but to special appointment. They were selected, however, not by the public like the specialists, but by the local bajraktar or voivode. On taking up an appointment to judge or arbitrate they were known as 'soul elders', on account of the solemn phrases with which they were commissioned. The commissioning bajraktar or voivode first asked, 'Do you pledge your souls, elders, that it was so?' On receiving their assent he laid a stone on the ground before them, saying, 'With body and soul, with a stone in front of you and with God's justice set these two people straight in any way that you can see'. It goes without saying that only upright men were willing or were asked to accept a charge laden with such danger to their soul after death. These northern ward elders had no connexion with the ward elders of Godolesh near Elbasan, who were seven in number for the six wards (mëhallë), all subordinate to the paid non-hereditary headman and his two assistants.

695 Another functional type, which was most important for the repression of crime and was found everywhere, was constituted by 'juror elders'. When trying a case, the judging elders might decide to make one of the disputants take an oath that he was not guilty.

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Then, to guard against the man's forswearing himself they stipulated that a certain number of men must swear at the same time to his innocence. These might or might not be more than men of standing and reputed probity. Whether or not, they were called 'juror elders' for the period covered by the oath.

A subsection of juror elders was known as 'murder elders'. Men of unusually high repute who never shot without cause or stole or burned a neighbour's property, but not necessarily drawn from the ranks of canon elders, these were qualified by their character for swearing to the innocence of a man accused of murder. This crime being the most serious of all, twenty-four of them had to be found on each occasion. As usual, half were nominated by the judging elders and half found by the accused. When the first half had given their oath the accused was virtually cleared and the oath he then gave was only a formality. In Lumë the more important 'murder elders' refused to waste time on giving their oath in cases of petty crime but always came forward in murder cases if they thought the accused innocent. The mere fact of their coming forward in a case sometimes ended it, the rest of the proceedings seeming farcical by comparison.

In the more organized north there were, besides the Gjomarkaj family, recognized substitutes for elders. The Hereditary Captain of Mirditë represented the family which had ruled over the Alpine region of Orosh and its kindred of Dibër, Fan, Kushnen and Spaç for several hundred years and was said by some to be descended from the Albanian national hero, Skanderbeg. It had remained Catholic, and its long pedigree may be found in the church registers of Orosh. This family was the 'foundation of law'. Specially difficult cases in Mirditë were referred straight to its head for solution. Any case which three pairs of elders had failed to settle was taken to the chieftains of the subtribes and finally to the head of the Gjomarkaj family. Beyond this there was no appeal. Outsiders, even Mohammedan outsiders, were often glad to refer knotty problems to the family. In view of his exalted position the head had many legal rights. He took precedence in every assembly wherever and whenever met. He had the right to summon chieftains and populace to a General Assembly. Whenever necessary he could summon one man per family to a General Assembly in Shën Pal. At every trial or arbitration he could intervene. He had the right to uproot a family and expel it from Mirditë. He could

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pledge was valueless; something concrete and tangible must be given. 696 626

The pledges deposited, the elder set to work on the case in earnest, questioning any villager who had information, visiting the scene of trouble, interviewing any private informant who volunteered to give evidence, and so arriving at the rights and wrongs of the simpler cases. In more difficult cases he put one of the litigants to the oath, dictating his terms and stipulating the number of 'good men and true' who were to be persuaded by the litigant to take it with him. This rarely failed to show which litigant was in the wrong, and the elder came forthwith to his decision with confidence. 695

When the litigants were friendly, they might agree to engage two elders. In that case they selected them one after the other by the same method of mutual consent as they would have selected one. They also agreed to divide the cost in elders' fees and meals. That done, they laid the case before the elders, one after the other, and bargained with each about his fee and the number of meals he was to be given. These rewards were not necessarily the same for both elders. Sometimes they visited the elders together; more often each visited one only. In the usual way each was required to deposit a pledge with the elders. 694

When the litigants were not friendly, and this was the most common contingency, each found an elder for himself, without consulting the other or considering his views on the man. Each brought his own elder whatever pledge he desired; this meant that one litigant might have to deposit a gun and the other a tobacco-box. Each also bore the sole responsibility for his elder's fee and meals and made for himself the best bargain about them that he could.

A pair of elders worked on these same lines; singly perhaps during the period of investigation, certainly meeting at its conclusion to argue out the pros and cons of the case. If each represented a separate litigant, each tended to favour his own client, so introducing a new principle. The elder was no longer only a judge as he was when he was engaged by the two litigants; he was also the advocate of his own litigant, trying to do the best for him by arguing against the advocate of the other litigant. The loser was more likely to contest the decision under such circumstances. 695

When the two elders had hammered out an agreement they sent for the two disputants, said they had come to an agreement, and

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695 asked if they were willing to accept this. In the most fortunate event the disputants consented and the elders communicated their decision. Each then said to his own man, 'Now bring me my dues and I'll return your pledge'. As soon as his fee was paid he gave back his pledge to his client. If the disputant had no ready money for the fee, a common enough occurrence, he said he would wait a month or two, provided that the disputant could find someone to go bail for him. When the term he had fixed was up without bringing payment of his fee, he sold the pledge and so recouped himself. If he got rather more for the pledge than the amount of his fee the disputant had no right to claim the extra money. The elder never sold the pledge before the date he had fixed. If within the term he fixed the disputant found enough money for his fee, he was no longer allowed to pay it directly but had to transmit it through his guarantor, who in return brought back his pledge from the elder. Sometimes the guarantor saw that the disputant would never be able to redeem his pledge and paid the elder's fee for him. Unfortunately, elders had no power behind them with which to enforce their judgement. Their work was in fact arbitration rather than judging in the English sense. It was, therefore, common for elders in central Albania to communicate their findings to the disputants and then to add, 'Now settle the matter as you like. We have decided that this one of you is in the right.' Too often the 628 loser shot his successful rival, so starting a bad blood feud. Pjetër Gjoni of Theth had his house burgled, and the thief bribed the elders into putting too low a value on the stolen property, assessing it at two napoleons. Pjetër, who had already spent one napoleon on finding out who had been the thief, declared immediately that he would not abide by this judgement and killed the thief. In revenge the thief's family burned down Pjetër's house and carried off all his cattle.

696 Naturally many attempts were made to prevent such sequels to judgements. In Martanesh, Selim Peshku kept the pledges of both disputants for a time. This was against the rules, but Peshku had the peace of the community at heart and made 'anything for peace' his motto. In Zerqan all the elders in the village would meet and would fine a recusant before he could shoot the successful litigant. Sometimes in the same village the two elders refused to deliver judgement until the disputants had promised to abide by it and had each found a guarantor who undertook to see that they kept their

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promise—if they did, there would be no shooting. Each had to give 696
this guarantor a pledge of the usual type—rifle, revolver, watch—
which was laid before the elders. The elders then delivered their
judgement, the two disputants accepted it and had their pledges
returned. If a disputant broke his promise and shot his rival, the
village Council of Elders would fine the guarantor, asking him why
he had let the man break his word. In this way, through the medium [62]
of the guarantor a good deal of pressure was brought to bear on the
loser to make him keep the peace. In the Elbasan area it was agreed [57]
that a disputant who gave a meal to the elders thereby accepted
their judgement, so that the strong instincts of hospitality came
into play. In Mirditë the elders whose decision was flouted 695
bade the disputants 'go to Shupal (St Paul's Church) or the
Grykë e Oroshit (Defile of Orosh)', i.e. bring the matter up before
the next General Assembly for the tribe at one or other of these
famous meeting-places. If the loser would not abide by the decision
of the General Assembly he could be fined by the tribe, ostracized
or even banished for a period. Occasionally a strong man sub-
jected to such sanctions killed the offending elder; by so doing he
involved himself in yet another blood feud. In Mirditë and adjacent
areas emphasis was laid on the fact that the recusant loser had
himself chosen and approved the offending elder, and had signified
the same by giving him a pledge. By these acts he had stripped
himself of the right to take back the pledge or to express active
disapproval of the judgement given. Only in the event of the
judgement's being demonstrably biased or unfair were the dis-
putants allowed to challenge it. 'A crooked judgement can be
annulled', the law stated. Often the crookedness was established
by the loser going secretly to ask another elder for his opinion. In
that event the disputant had everywhere the right to appeal against
the judgement and to call for a new examination of the case by
another elder or pair of elders. In some parts, the law ruled that
'the law does not admit of elder on elder, and trial on trial', and
that a man who had 'chosen and approved' elders had no right to
call in others.

Frivolous changing of elders was restrained by the extra expense 693
this entailed. In Lumë, for instance, if two brothers were dis-
pleased by the manner in which their chosen elders were dividing
their property, they could call in one more elder, a *staraplak*
(ancient), whose decision was final. But his regulation fee was five

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623 In Lower Martanesh Selim Lashku dispensed justice to the village of Martanesh under a branching tree by the *Gur i Kuvendit* (Stone of Assembly). At the spring called Gurrë Gega, which is at the confluence of the Shëmil and Gurakuq torrents in Çermenikë, he used to meet his famous contemporary of Gurakuq village, Mus Ballgjini, at plenary meetings of the twelve villages of Çermenikë. A list of the usual meeting-places of his day is to be found in Father Gjeçov's book.

The convener fixed the time and place of meeting. The favourite time was the early morning, as this left the whole day free for arguing.

634 The bajraktar presided over the General Assembly and sat cross-
619 legged on the ground in the most honourable place. Near him sat other dignitaries—voivodes, village elders, clan elders, village ancients and clan ancients in due order of social precedence. Facing them and well apart sat the rest of the tribe, the youth, the commoners, the public messengers and the fine-collectors (*gjobtarë*), in a half-circle in Mirditë, and elsewhere in a roughly shaped rectangle or circle. The essential thing was that each man present should see and be seen by everybody else, and should have room to advance, if required, to the dignitaries. Since neither youth nor voivodes and fine-collectors existed in southerly districts like Martanesh, General Assemblies there consisted only of the bajraktar, elders, commoners, and public messengers.

[695] Every effort was made to keep a meeting orderly. When a presiding dignitary, a judging elder or a witness was speaking no interruption was allowed. Insulting remarks and abuse were prohibited under pain of a fine that might amount to as many as five rams. Calling another a liar meant a fine of 500 piastres. For the better observance of these rules when a case was being tried, the disputants were not allowed to address the court. Each had to go some distance away with his elder in order to tell him his story quietly, and had to return to his place at the meeting to await judgement in silence. The elders drew apart from the meeting after their briefing, argued the case out with each other, and returned to the meeting to announce their decision in the hearing of all present. In this way only two or three men talked, the rest sat quiet and listened. In Mirditë a stranger might not take part in a general meeting, but in Lumë and Çermenikë, in the belief that a stranger could have 'nothing in his bosom or his pocket', that

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CHAPTER XVI

THE OATH

I. OATH-TAKER AND COMPURGATORS

695 Elders faced with a knotty case concerning property might put one of the disputants to the oath. The victim of the crime, suspecting who had committed it, might test his suspicions by asking that the man should make oath in public that he was innocent. It was only by oath too that a suspect could clear himself; mere protestations of innocence were not enough. 'Denial means an oath', said the law. The oath (*be*, oath; *beja*, the oath) was in fact a most efficient instrument of tribal justice, cutting gordian knots for elders, settling the ownership of property, clearing the innocent and convicting the guilty. It was equally efficient as an instrument of social cohesion, binding the tribe when occasion arose to concerted action against crime within and danger without.

The subject is difficult to understand, because of its remoteness from English practice. The following example from life gives the general scheme of the ordeal, for such it was. The story comes from Labinot, a village well south of the tribal area; but with one or two small exceptions each item might have come from anywhere in the tribal north. It is a criminal case, but if the words 'claimant' and 'oath-taker' be substituted for 'accuser' and 'suspect' it can be read as a property dispute. The general procedure was the same in both cases.

A Moslem of Labinot called Qazim who had lost a plough-ox suspected Asllan, a fellow-villager, of having stolen it, and through the headman demanded an oath from the suspect. The latter, though [693] protesting his innocence, agreed. A few days later when the accusation was formally laid at the Village Assembly, Qazim, as was his right, immediately began to name half the number of twelve compurgators insisted on by the headman. These were chosen on account of their connexion with the accused—had this not existed he could have refused to accept them. Asllan was then told to find six other compurgators and attend the Assembly with them again a week later.

The week was spent by the compurgators in investigating the case, by the accuser and accused in visits to the compurgators,

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each seeking their support. Had four refused at this stage to take the oath Asllan would at once have been publicly convicted—if less than four, two substitutes would have had to be produced for every one that refused; two for one, four for two, and six for three, and there would have been no extension of the time limit. In this case, however, all the compurgators agreed to swear to Asllan's innocence, and he himself, towards the end of the week, swore on the Koran that he had nothing to do with the theft. Later the compurgators, led by Qazim's nominees, took the oath of Asllan's innocence before the whole village. Actually, Qazim cut short the proceedings after six or seven had sworn, as by then the compurgators most likely to know the truth had sworn to the suspect's innocence.

Having celebrated his acquittal with a banquet to the compurgators, Asllan two days later yoked the stolen ox, hidden during the case in a lonely sheepfold, to his plough. Now, although the mistake—either designed or accidental—of the compurgators was obvious, there was no legal machinery for annulling the verdict. In the opinion of the village, however, Asllan received his punishment when shortly afterwards his son was born lame.[1]

Qazim in Labinot put his case into the hands of the headman of his village. In the tribal north he would have entrusted it to the elder of his brotherhood, ward or village or perhaps to the bajraktar of his tribe.

Tribal officials, being hereditary, had more authority to act for their community than had the temporary headman in non-tribal districts such as Labinot. In Milot, the most northerly village of Kurbin, the victim tackled the suspect himself, asking him first if he had committed the outrage and then if he would take oath that he had not. In view of the fieriness of Albanian tempers this information is surprising—one would expect shooting to put an abrupt end to such an interview—but it is confirmed by information from the neighbouring village of Laç. When one of its inhabitants denied having received a loan, the lender asked him directly to swear in the presence of two or three witnesses that he had never been lent the money.

Only men of military age and capacity had standing enough to

[1] A very similar system of compurgators exists among the Naga tribes of Assam. There, however, though in some tribes there is no means of modifying the verdict if an oath prove to be false, in others a compurgator who discovers that his principal is lying can 'withdraw his life', otherwise in danger from the false oath, and so reopen the case *ab initio*. (Ed.)

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695 be put to the oath; such an ordeal was not for boys under twenty, old men over sixty, women, gipsies or lunatics. All of these were [562] considered so irresponsible that even their sworn word carried no [592] weight. One exception comes from Zerqan, where a woman accused of a petty theft like stealing a dress might take an oath in the semi-privacy of her home that she was innocent. If her fault was more serious, her oath was not accepted. A man—her husband [672] or son or, failing these, her brother—had to take one for her, as he would have done for his senile father or his infant son. Another exception occurred in family oaths, as described later. But this exception was apparent rather than real. The infant boys who were present did not themselves take the oath. The master alone repeated the words dictated; the boys and other males were present solely to be implicated to the maximum extent possible in the dread consequences of perjury.

In criminal cases it was the suspect, the man who denied an accusation, who had to take the oath. In such cases its sole purpose was to clear him of suspicion; if he could take it, he was acquitted, and if he could not, he was convicted. The accuser was never allowed to support his accusation by an oath; even if he insisted that with his own eyes he had seen the crime being committed, he could not swear upon oath that what he said was true. For motives of spite might have induced him first to accuse his neighbour falsely, and then to swear a false oath. So the law said firmly 'It's for the denier to take the oath'.

695 Occasionally a suspect refused to take the oath. Then his 628 accuser was at least tempted to shoot him. If it was a case of stealing he had to think twice; shooting the suspect would start a blood feud because 'murder for a fault (like stealing) isn't allowed', and perhaps the lost property was not worth the nuisance which the blood feud would cause. If it was a murder case, it did not much matter if he did shoot the suspect; he was already at feud with the murderer. In property cases refusals to take the oath seem to have been unknown when the dispute was in the hands of elders; if they ordered a disputant to take an oath, he dared not disobey for he knew that the whole community would gather to enforce the order. If one disputant, before the case had reached the elders, asked the other to take an oath that the property was his, his request was refused as often as not, and then shooting became inevitable.

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More often a suspect volunteered unasked to take an oath. For 695 example, about 1931 a man in Zerqan shot his wife for some reason unknown and was then, very properly by local standards, hunted by her relatives. In desperation he offered to take an oath with twelve compurgators, the statutory number for a murdered woman, that he had not killed her. He managed to persuade all twelve to [696] take the oath, and so, though the public still believed him guilty, he secured a formal acquittal and escaped further molestation by her relatives.

Here is another example. In the early 1930's a villager of Nangë in Lumë killed a neighbour, in order to marry the widow. The victim's cousin, as required by ancient custom, shot the woman and tried to shoot the man. He missed him again and again, but made his life such a misery that the man volunteered to take an oath with twenty-four compurgators, the statutory number for a man, that he had not killed his neighbour. Less lucky than the scamp of Zerqan, he was left to the cousin's vengeance. One compurgator failed to come to take the oath, so convicting him. It transpired later that the cousin had bribed this compurgator with two napoleons not to come, but the verdict of the oath could not be quashed and the case retried.

In property disputes the choice of the oath-taker depended 685 almost universally on the wishes of the elders. When they decided 695 that a dispute about land, or irrigation water was to be settled by an oath, they generally said that one of the disputants must swear that the property was his. Most often they preferred the man in possession, but sometimes they chose the one with the weaker claim in the hope that he would shrink from the ordeal, and so bring the dispute to a speedy end. In Çermenikë, and no doubt elsewhere, when there was some disparity of age they selected the older disputant, on the assumption that his greater age would mean greater knowledge of the facts. Very occasionally, before the dispute was laid before the elders one disputant bade the other take the very serious oath on the head of his son. Sometimes, particularly in boundary disputes, the elders put neither disputant to the oath. Instead, they chose an old man who had no direct interest in the dispute, but had learned the facts from his father and was trusted.

There were various names for the two principals. In all types of case and in all areas the oath-taker was called 'the master of the

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685 oath', but in theft cases he was often called the 'thief', and this
695 from the outset of the case until he was cleared. Father Gjeçov also calls the oath-taker in criminal cases 'the accused', but this seems a literary term chosen by himself rather than a popular usage in Mirditë. In theft cases, the accuser was most often described by a periphrasis—being called in Godolesh the 'plaintiff', in Mirditë 'the owner of the lost property', in Martanesh 'the owner of the stolen property', 'the injured party' or 'the man robbed', in Fulqet 'the injured party', and in Zerqan 'the owner of the property'.

695 In murder cases, save for Father Gjeçov's occasional 'loader',
[682] the accuser was always called 'the man with the feud', the 'avenger' (lit. 'the owner of the blood'), and in disputes about property 'the plaintiff'.

When an oath has been sworn by a suspect or a claimant to property, the innocence of the one or the claim of the other had generally to be established by the oath of a predetermined number of compurgators.

[673] It was legally impossible for a suspect to clear himself by his unsupported oath. In the words of a proverb 'A wolf licks his own flesh and eats a stranger's'. An oath-taker might not flinch from perjury in order to establish his own innocence or his claim to a property, but as compurgator he was likely to be more scrupulous. So the law said there could be no complete oath without a jury. But as usual it made exceptions. When a suspect or claimant was ordered to swear one of the very solemn oaths in which perjury involved the extinction of his whole family, his personal stake was so great that a jury was dispensed with. The best example comes from Martanesh, where a jury was necessary in oaths sworn on the Koran or bread, but not in famiiy oaths sworn at Balim Sulltan's grave.

[694] It was both the right and the duty of the members of the jury to gather all available evidence about the case and to make up their minds about its rights and wrongs before they came finally to court to record their verdict. An interval was therefore left between the nominations of jurors and the final oath-taking, in order to give them time to investigate the case. As a last step in their collection of evidence they then gathered to hear the oath-taker take the prescribed oath. They brought in their verdict by exercising their right to decide whether or not to take the oath. To

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return a verdict in the oath-taker's favour they turned up on the 695
appointed day to repeat his oath themselves in public. They returned one against him in either of two ways; either they refused during the period of investigation to take the oath, or they did not turn up to do so on the appointed day. In the case of early refusals some modifications were allowed, but at the final oath-taking the law was rigid. If even one compurgator failed to turn up the suspect or claimant lost his case; there was no question of majority vote. They took no oath until the end of the case. They were not sworn, as elders were, to investigate fairly and to bring in a true verdict.

The general rule for selections was that half the compurgators 693
in criminal cases were chosen by the oath-taker and half by the 695
accuser or by the elders: the latter in Mirditë, Godolesh and Fulqet, the former in the Malësi e Madhe, Lumë, Martanesh, Zerqan and Labinot. In disputes about property the elders almost everywhere named the jurors. Whether they did or not seems to have depended mainly on whether they were local or from a distance. When local, they knew the character of each potential juror and could safely make their selection. When from a distance they did not have enough knowledge to choose, and preferred to leave the choice in the hands of the claimant. In Kurbin when house quarrelled with house or village with village about irrigation water, the claimant named twelve of the twenty-four compurgators required.

It did not much matter who were chosen as compurgators by a suspect. The practical certainty that they were his partisans and would clear him made their oath comparatively unimportant. For that reason they were not allowed to take it until the accuser's nominees had done so. In Mirditë the suspect was expected to announce their names to the elders before the ceremony, but elsewhere, as in Zerqan and the Malësi e Madhe, he had only to bring them along to the oath-taking. The only person he was forbidden to include was himself; 'though 100 compurgators are needed the suspect can't be one', said the law. If he liked he could even include a gipsy. He seldom or never did so, of course; regard for his own prestige prevented him from choosing so low a creature. On the other hand, it mattered very much who were named by the accuser. His quota took the oath first and so gave the others their cue. Their oath was weighty for several reasons. As the accuser's

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695 nominees they were supposedly free from bias in the suspect's
693 favour. Then they were very carefully selected.

Since the truth or falsity of the result of the ordeal depended in the first place on their probity, and since it had to be certain that one or more of them would refuse to sell his soul by swearing falsely to a criminal's innocence, their personal honour had to be beyond question—they must never have been caught, for instance, swearing a false oath or taking bribes. They had further to be free from ill-will against either party—they must not be malicious. It was also important that they should have some knowledge of the case at either first or second hand. Hence the accuser liked to name the suspect's relatives and neighbours, as in the case of Qazim of Labinot, men who came from the suspect's village if not his brotherhood. In the case of a stolen animal, for example, the relatives in particular might have seen the meat being eaten by the suspect's family or the bones being gnawed by his dog. In all cases of theft a near relative would know that the suspect was not at home at the time. But if any of the suspect's relatives were unscrupulous the accuser naturally preferred to nominate others. Better an ignorant but upright compurgator.

[54] Certain members of a tribe could not be compurgators. A gipsy, we have said, might serve on a suspect's behalf, though he might not be put to the oath to discharge himself of an accusation or to make good his claim to a property. Old men, boys and lunatics were never allowed to take oath either as suspects or as compurgators; nor were women except in very rare cases.

A Moslem hoxha or sheikh counted as only one compurgator, but, being regarded as a man of weight, tended to come high on the accuser's list. A Catholic priest was theoretically exempted by his office from being put to the oath as either suspect or compurgator, but if named as compurgator, he counted in his single person as equal to twenty-four. If a bajraktar of Mirditë or one of the Gjomarkaj family was chosen as compurgator in a case involving twenty-four, the court named twelve others and declared the bajraktar or Gjomarkaj equivalent to the remainder.

The suspect had the right to object to the accuser's nominees if they were not in a position to know the truth of the case, or to risk taking an oath to clear him. If his objection was obviously well founded, the accuser had to change his nominees. The suspect was also protected from ill-will on the part of a compurgator. As

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soon as they were named, the presiding authorities were legally 695
bound to ask if he thought any of them would leave him in the 693
lurch out of jealousy or spite. If he could produce reasonable evidence that any of them would, those he mentioned had to be changed. But only up to a maximum of three where twenty-four had been prescribed, and of two where twelve or eight had been. In Zerqan, however, the suspect could not raise objections to the accuser's nominees; in compensation the replacement rules were somewhat relaxed.

Men sometimes declined nomination. Those proud of their high reputation for uprightness disdained to be mixed up in a case where the suspect was notorious for evil-doing, even if it was known that for once he was wrongfully accused. Others would not lend their weight to a petty case and consented to take the oath only in serious matters, such as murder.

In most of the tribal areas, a man whose wife was pregnant could [777]
ask to be excused. It was believed that it would be a crime for him to take the oath. If he swore falsely, through inadvertence or not, his sin would be visited on the unborn child, bringing it into the world lame or with such deformity as six fingers instead of five. Sometimes he agreed to take the oath if it were postponed until after the child was born, but more often his brother or cousin took it in his stead.

Refusals for such personal reasons as the above almost always took place as soon as the nominations were made. No difficulty was made about accepting them and before the Assembly dispersed another compurgator was named in each recusant's place. Later refusals were never prompted by anything but disbelief, real or feigned, in the suspect, and were treated differently. At the same time as the compurgators were named, the authorities informed the suspect of the precise terms of the oath which he and his compurgators must take to vindicate him, and of the time of the ceremony. It then became his duty, not only to find his own quota of compurgators, but also to inform the accuser's compurgators that they had been nominated. His own never caused much difficulty. One or more of the others might decline. A compurgator who could not believe the suspect's oath dared not repeat it himself. Possibly the suspect was likeable enough but 'an oath can't be taken out of favouritism'. Other nominees did not refuse out of hand but waited until they had made some inquiries into the case and

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695 cross-questioned the suspect. Anyone who discovered that the man
693 was guilty sent in his refusal to go on the jury. Sometimes, too, a nominee was bribed or persuaded by the accuser into refusing. Or one might have a grudge against the suspect, and, though knowing him to be innocent, might seek to gratify his grudge by declining to take the oath.

On every occasion when a named compurgator eventually declined to serve, the suspect had to find two substitutes for him, and these had to satisfy the accuser. If the first pair suggested did not please him, the suspect had to search until he found two who did. In Çermenikë he was allowed twenty-four hours in which to find them. But if more than three out of a total of twelve or eight, or one out of a smaller number, declined, this provision did not apply. It was concluded that the oath could not be taken, and without more ado the suspect was pronounced guilty; he had in criminal cases to pay the legal penalty for the crime, and in disputes to forfeit the property he claimed. Occasionally, as in Zerqan, when the recusants were strongly suspected of refusing from motives of spite, an accuser might overlook their refusal and inform the suspect that he need not even find one at all. More often, however, a Zerqan accuser followed the usual practice and exacted two compurgators for every one that drew back. In Fulqet it was the Village Assembly, not the suspect, who selected substitutes for recusants.

The number of compurgators depended on the nature of the case. For such trifling matters as the theft of a pig, sheep or goat a 'little jury' of one man sufficed. Otherwise a jury consisted of anything from two to twenty-four men, according to the importance of the case. In murder cases there was a universal rule that twenty-four compurgators were necessary when the victim was a man and only twelve when she was a woman. In most other cases the number required varied with the locality. Although it might have been expected that economic factors would explain these variations, that where horses, for instance, were scarce, the case would be thought more important and the number of compurgators increased in proportion, this does not appear to have been so.

If a dog was killed in the farmyard in Lumë, twenty-four compurgators, the customary number for a murdered man, were required. The murder of a dog was as serious in Lumë as the murder of a man, as is further indicated by the fact that the same

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blood money had to be paid. Possibly, too, there was a feeling here as in other areas that the dog's owner might have emerged into the farmyard and been killed by its assassin. In all cases of damage to property the number of compurgators depended, not only on the value of the property, but also on the risk to the owner's life which the crime entailed. This risk depended largely on the site of the crime. If, for example, a house was set on fire, it was reckoned that one of the men in it might have lost his life; if not burned to death he might have been shot by the incendiary when trying to escape from the burning building. The oath in such a case was on that account with twenty-four compurgators. But if a haystack was fired six were enough. The risk to life was infinitesimal, and the value of the haystack much inferior to that of a house. Similar considerations graded thefts. If a house was burgled by a thief who went upstairs and stole bedding or kitchen utensils there were again twenty-four compurgators. For a thief wicked and desperate enough to enter another's house was an obvious killer. A thief who bored a hole in the wall of the farmyard and stole something from the yard was certainly 'a big thief', but so much less of a menace to his victim's life that he was put to the oath in Kurbin, Fulqet and Zerqan with only twelve compurgators. A thief who stole at a distance from the farm buildings needed only six in Fulqet. In Zerqan, however, even this form of theft was considered heinous enough to demand twelve compurgators.

Some of the same principles operated in thefts of sheep and goats. In Martanesh, the Malësi e Madhe and Shalë only one compurgator was required when a single sheep or goat was stolen at a distance from the farm buildings. The animal's value was small and the risk to a man's life infinitesimal. The number of compurgators increased, up to a maximum of twenty-four in Martanesh and twelve in Shalë, with the number of animals stolen. In Fulqet the grading was more detailed. If a single sheep or goat was stolen at a distance, the suspect, most exceptionally, required no compurgators to back him up; it was enough if he swore himself that he was innocent. If, however, the stolen animal was a bell-wether, the most valuable animal in the flock because it led it, he had to take the oath with six compurgators.[1] If an ordinary sheep or goat was stolen from the farmyard he had to find four compurgators, and if several animals were so stolen, twelve. In Labinot the law was

[1] Vide infra, p. 208.

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695 more severe, three to six compurgators being needed when only
693 one goat had been stolen in the most innocuous circumstances, while grazing in the forest. In Kurbin the law was still more drastic. Whether the stolen animal was an ordinary sheep or a bell-wether, an ordinary goat or a bell-goat, and whether the theft took place in the lonely forest or in the fold at the farm, the suspect had to take the oath with all his family, the gravest oath of all.

In disputes about property the number of compurgators mainly depended on its value. In Kurbin as many as twenty-four might be prescribed in irrigation disputes, this number probably reflecting the frequency with which such quarrels ended in murder. In Fulqet there were twenty-four compurgators in land disputes but in neighbouring Dibër twelve were enough. In Fulqet all the land is under water, but in Dibër very little can be irrigated. A rod of land in Fulqet is consequently more valuable—better worth fighting for—than a rod in Dibër.

The number of compurgators was not absolutely fixed by law and so might vary with the case. In all areas it was settled by the elders in disputes about property, but in criminal cases the usage differed. In Mirditë, Labinot and Godolesh the elders again said how many there should be, but in Malësi e Madhe, Fulqet and Martanesh the accuser had this privilege. Too often the number then depended on the degree of ill-feeling between the parties. The angrier the accuser was, the more compurgators he demanded. For the more they were, the more trouble the suspect had in persuading them to take the oath that would acquit him.

The compurgators, it should be mentioned, received no payment for their trouble except for the meal given them in most places by the suspect.

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694 time limit. The request was always granted. But a second could not be made by the same compurgator. If the final day slipped by unnoticed, as sometimes happened when it was distant, an extension was generally arranged by mutual agreement.

In Catholic areas the incidence of Lent might delay matters, as Catholics did not take oaths during holy seasons.

In most districts it was the elders who said where the oath was to be taken, but in Kurbin and Lumë it was the accuser. A spiteful accuser of north Lumë, for instance, could send a suspect, with all his compurgators, to take the oath in south Dibër, a four days' journey there and back, with all expenses falling on the suspect. It was probably to prevent such displays of malice that the choice of place generally rested with the elders.

695 There was often a close connexion between the place at which,
778 and the sacred object on which, the oath had to be taken. The chief sacred objects on which Catholics were called to swear were the Gospel, the crucifix and the local church or its altar. Among Moslems, there were the Koran, the local mosque and a saint's grave. The Gospel in the one case and the Koran in the other was usually chosen. Dibër, a purely Sunni Moslem district, and somewhat fanatical, claimed to take the oath only on the Koran.

North Albanians went to church to swear on the Gospel or crucifix, but to their scandal the Catholics of Kurbin, Mirditë and Lurë had these sacred emblems carried to the suspect's house. Indeed, in Kurbin and Lurë an oath was never taken on the Gospel except outside the precincts of the church; the same was presumably true in Mirditë. No reason for the taboo is known; perhaps the combined sanctity of Gospel and church was thought to involve too much risk. When swearing on an altar, the oath-takers had naturally to enter the church, but when swearing on the church itself they remained outside, touching only a stone in the south door, possibly the threshold, perhaps a door-jamb. Sometimes they repeated the prescribed oath in the neighbourhood of the church. Oaths were most commonly taken on the church in cases of petty theft; graver cases demanded an oath on the Gospel or crucifix.

Moslem procedure was in general so similar to Catholic that it seems to have been inherited from the days when all the area under study was Catholic. To swear on a mosque, as the Moslems of Çermenikë sometimes did, it was enough to touch its door-jamb or threshold, precisely in the Catholic manner. To swear on the Koran,

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some preferred to go to the mosque, as the Catholics in the north went to church. But more often the Moslems, like the Catholics of Kurbin, went to the suspect's house. Since no possible sanctity could attach to a private house, it seems to have been the sacred book rather than the building which gave such oaths their value. In Zdrâjshë and Zerqan, indeed, it was openly said that provided an oath was taken on the Koran, the place where it was taken did not matter. It is probable that the same view was held in Krasniqë in the north-east, where oaths were taken in either the mosque or one of the shady spots called *ulicë*. It seems possible that these groves might be sacred because growing on the sites of former churches, but the local Moslems said that there had never been churches there and that no sanctity attached to the spots.[1] When taking oath by a sacred grave, Moslems usually entered the mausoleum; for such oaths there was no Catholic parallel.

In Zerqan a suspect must never be asked to take an oath in or near his own house, for if he swore falsely the house might collapse or otherwise come to grief. This fear was not acknowledged in the many other areas where such oaths were common, but it may have been implicit. If a suspect staked his own house by taking the oath in it, he would naturally try harder than ever to avoid perjury.

In mixed districts the suspect and the accuser might be of different faiths. In that event when the decision lay with the elders, the suspect's religion decided whether it was in the church or mosque, on the Gospel or the Koran, that the oath should be taken. When the decision lay with the accuser his wishes prevailed. In such districts the jury too was often mixed. They had all to take the same oath as the suspect. So Catholics had to make oath in a mosque and on the Koran if the suspect was a Moslem; and in the opposite case Moslems had to make it in a church and on the Gospel. In Vinjollë, lying some six miles north of Krujë, after it became Moslem an oath could still be taken on the Gospel as well as on the Koran. In Lurë, when it was abandoning Catholicism, a man could swear, at least in conversation, by the mosque or church, according to which came into his head first, irrespective of his own or his hearer's religion.

Moslems but not Catholics might take oath at a sacred grave. This might stand in a single mausoleum or form part of a monastery. The most important of these graves were Sulejman Pasha's at

[1] But doubtless a pagan survival of the sacred grove (*lucus*). (Ed.)

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695 Tirana, Sheikh Hasan's at Nangë in Lumë, Sheikh Ibrahim's at
778 Surroj across the river Drin from Nangë, Sheikh Fejza's at Bulqizë, Balim Sulltan's at Martanesh, and those of two abbots at Krujë. Sulejman Pasha and Sheikh Ibrahim lie in an isolated mausoleum,
[795] Balim Sulltan in a cave, ~~and the~~ others in monasteries. These saints belonged to different sects; Sulejman Pasha, the soldier who founded Tirana in the seventeenth century, was a Sunni; Sheikh Hasan, founder of the monastery at Nangë, and his brother, Sheikh Ibrahim of Surroj, were Khalvetis; Balim Sulltan of Martanesh and the two abbots of Krujë were Bektashis; and Sheikh Fejza, founder of the monastery at Bulqizë, a dissident Bektashi. Sometimes it did not matter to what sect the buried saint belonged. Sheikh Hasan of Nangë was so renowned that the local population, even if not Khalvetis, took their oaths on his grave and never in the mosque, and Catholic as well as Moslem oath-takers came in serious cases to his grave from Shkodër, four days away. Sulejman Pasha's grave drew oath-takers from as far away as Martanesh; these had long since forgotten his history, and, though ardent Bektashis, did not care that he was a Sunni. Sunni Albanians are not so liberal however; taught to abhor the Bektashis as unorthodox Moslems, they left the graves of Balim Sulltan of Martanesh and the two abbots of Krujë to Bektashi oath-takers. Sheikh Fejza, abhorred by Sunnis as almost a Bektashi and by Bektashis as a backslider from their faith, commanded allegiance only among his own followers in Bulqizë. Oaths used to be taken in three mausolea in the Bektashi monastery at Krujë, but by 1930 the abbot refused to open one for such a purpose. Once, as an oath was being taken in this mausoleum, both disputants fell dead; there had been roguery on both sides as the buried saint was quick to detect. Ever afterwards the abbots restricted oath-takers to the two mausolea in which the saints seemed slower to wrath.

695 Among invocations of the Deity used in oaths, the following are
782 recorded: 'By the Lord' (Perlat and Shkrel); 'By this Lord Who gave me life' (Perlat); 'By this Lord Who is in Heaven' (Shalë); 'By Our Lady' (Shkrel); and 'By the Blood of Christ' (Shalë). In all these the influence of the Church is evident, but there are hints in the Albanian originals that some are older than the Church.

The Deity was invoked by Moslems as follows: 'By that Lord' (Godolesh); 'By God' (Dibër); 'By God, with God, from God'[1]

[1] *Vallahi, billahi, tallahi.*

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(Godolesh and Lumë). The first two phrases are evidently old 695
Albanian and have nothing exclusively Moslem about them; the 782
second (lit. 'May I see God') has even a Catholic ring. The third is widely known all over the Moslem world and in certain areas which were once under Moslem rule. But it is used in a magical rather than a religious sense. It is found in magical formulae among the Arabs of Egypt and the Christian Greeks of the island of Zea, next door neighbour to Euboea.[1]

The only invocation of the Deity which the author recorded among the Orthodox was in Shpat and ran as follows: 'By that Christ in Whom we believe.' It is evidently a Church formula.

There was no sign that any of these oaths was preferred to the 771
others; they seemed to have equal value. Readers who know the 776
Catholics and the Orthodox, the two religions which divided Albania before the Turks came in the fifteenth century, will be struck by the paucity of references to Christ and the Virgin Mary and by the emphasis on God; this may be a further indication that the oaths go back to pagan days when neither Christ nor the Virgin was known.

Formulae for invoking Catholic saints were such as 'By that 695
St Nicolas' in Kurbin and 'By the candle of St Nicolas' among 782
the Highlanders of Breg i Matit and Gurrëzë. Both were very grave oaths. The candle in the second is the wax taper lit before pictures of the saint by the devout; oath-takers seem to have feared that perjury would extinguish the flame of their life as easily as a candle could be put out. Of all their saints too, the Catholic Highlanders preferred St Nicolas. No Moslem saints were invoked as such; it was rather by their graves than themselves that oaths were taken. A strange oath, which comes from Surroj, was an exception. This ran 'By this patron saint of coffee'. Coffee, the peasants of Surroj explained, has a 'very important' patron saint. All over Albania coffee-house keepers make a libation to him every morning by pouring away the first cup of coffee that they make. They hope that after being placated in this way the saint will send them many customers. Some believe that he lies buried somewhere in the east of the Turkish empire, possibly in Arabia.

Catholic priests and Moslem clergymen—hoxhas and sheikhs 695
among the Sunnis, abbots (*baba*, sing.; *baballar*, plur.) among the 688
Bektashis—were respected as men of God, and Bektashi abbots 793

[1] See *Folklore*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 195 (June 1926).

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695 even became saints at their death, but an oath 'by the priest' or
688 'by that hoxha' was never taken; it would have been regarded as
793 sacrilege.

695 A most interesting oath was taken by both the Orthodox and the
792 Moslems of Berat town and district. Its commonest forms were
[776] 'By Him of Tomorr' and 'By the Holy One of Tomorr'. The deity that dwelt in pagan days on the summit of Tomorr, the lofty, beautiful mountain that dominates the town of Berat, is still a living force in the district. He was, indeed, so dreaded that even in conversation he could not be named, but only darkly alluded to. 'By that mountain top' is no less solemn an oath than the more definite pair already given. No man had been known to swear any of them falsely.

[821] By what was perhaps a survival of early nature worship, oath-takers sometimes invoked natural objects as in the oaths, 'By this bright light which is dawning', 'By this evening which is coming', 'By this night we have to-night'. These were all given by Catholics in Perlat. The first two were used for oaths taken in the morning and the third for those taken in the evening. Moslems in Godolesh and Labinot sometimes swore 'By this sun' and 'By this earth'. The latter was a very solemn oath, earth being weighty for two reasons: man was made of it and it lies heavy on a dead man who committed sins such as perjury during his lifetime. Apparently oaths were not taken 'by this fire' or 'by this moon'; perhaps both fire and moon lack the inevitability and stability that fitted dawn and darkness, the sun and the earth, for worship by primitive Albanians.

695 Among oaths by sacred buildings were such as 'By this church'
782 among Catholics and 'By this mosque' among Moslems. They were
778 chiefly employed conversationally, and meant little more than our own expression 'on my honour'. Indeed, a man of Lurë used them indifferently, irrespective of whether he or his hearer were Catholic or Moslem. But when a Moslem of Martanesh swore 'by this holy place' as he stood in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum, his oath was very solemn. So, too, were the oaths in Bulqizë 'by that shrine', the domed tomb of Sheikh Fejza; in Tirana by the grave of Sulejman Pasha, the seventeenth-century founder of the town; in Krujë by the tombs of two Bektashi abbots; in Nangë, Lumë, by the tomb of the Khalveti saint, Sheikh Hasan; and in Surroj, by the grave of Sheikh Hasan's brother, Sheikh Ibrahim. In the last case the formula was rather unusual; standing in the mausoleum (*teqe*) the

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oath-taker began by saying 'May Sheikh Ibrahim cut short my life'. 695 In the other cases he used some vague formula such as 'By this 782 holy place' or 'By this shrine'. 778

Oaths by smaller sacred objects were all very similar. The formula used in swearing on an altar was in Shalë 'By this altar'; on a church door in the Malësi e Madhe and Kurbin, 'By these things of the Lord'; on a crucifix or gospel in Mirditë, 'By this holy thing of God'; in Kurbin 'By this thing of God'. The more fanatical of the Moslems preferred to swear on the Koran under a Turkish, or rather Arabic, name. Thus 'By this holy book' was liked in Lumë, and 'By this sacred book' everywhere. Others, as in Vinjollë and Zerqan, swore 'By this thing of God', or if in Godolesh, 'By the holy thing of this our God'. The last oath is very close to the oath of Catholic Mirditë on the Gospel, and there is little doubt that this Moslem oath was once Catholic or Orthodox. Indeed, it may have been pagan. The vagueness of their phraseology made the transference from one religion to another easy. A similar vagueness characterizes most of the oaths in this paragraph. Its origin lay in the simple Albanian's idea of respect for a sacred object; he thought that naming a person or thing detracted from the majesty of that person or thing. Besides preserving the efficacy of ancient oaths through later changes of religion, this vagueness also reduced any repugnance which a Catholic or Moslem in a mixed jury might feel at being asked to swear on the holy book of the other's religion. It has even led Catholics of Lurë, when Islam was fast displacing Catholicism, to anticipate the future conversion by swearing the essentially Moslem oath 'By this *hajmali* (sacred book)' on the Christian Gospel.

A curious and most solemn oath among Catholics was 'by the stone'. This was not any ordinary stone that the oath-taker might pick up regardless of his religion, but was a special one found only among Catholics. Triangular in shape, it had a hole in each of its three corners for attaching the balance in which persons minded to offer votive candles to church weighed the wax of which each was to be made. It derived such sanctity from this association with the church that an oath on it was as serious as one on the Gospel or crucifix. Such an oath was in fact reserved for occasions of special gravity, as when a man suspected of a heinous crime was put to the ordeal, or a whole tribe swore to refrain from acts disturbing the public peace, or a community took oath to stick together through

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695 thick and thin. No memory of oath or stone survives in areas such
782 as Çermenikë and Lumë, which abandoned Catholicism some
778 centuries ago.

A number of very solemn oaths were taken on objects that had no obvious association with religion, and these seem to date from the oldest days of Albanian existence. Thus an oath in very common use all over the country was 'By bread'. Among the Catholics where the priests combated everything that they thought was pagan, this oath was more often heard in conversation than in ordeals, but among the Orthodox and Moslems it held a higher place. The most solemn oath of the Orthodox of Shpat was 'By that Christ in Whom we believe and by that bread we eat'. The Moslems generally used a loaf, treating it like a Koran.

Sometimes at least in Martanesh an uncooked maize-cob served instead of a loaf. Both in Martanesh and in Lumë salt was often added; the formula then was in Lumë 'By the bounties of the Lord'.

One advantage of swearing on bread was that the oath could be taken, and peace made as soon as trouble arose. If two men who had met in a house quarrelled, one accusing the other of letting his animals stray into his maize-field or of cutting firewood in his forest or the like, the accused could immediately clear himself, provided two or three other men were present as witnesses; no set jury was necessary. All he had to do was to lay his right hand on bread and say, 'May the bread kill me'. This oath was known in places as far apart as Labinot and Lumë. It has already been said that though a woman could not make oath on the Koran, she might, in Zerqan if accused of petty pilfering, make one on bread. Men in Godolesh, which was an Orthodox village till 1910, sometimes swore 'by this bread' but did not consider it one of their most serious oaths.

695 The reason for choosing bread for such a serious occasion as an
778 ordeal is not certain. The Orthodox oath from Shpat speaks of eating it so that the idea of its being the staff of life seems present. Its conjunction with salt in Lumë and Martanesh supports this idea. On the other hand, the influence of Holy Communion also seems at work. The Orthodox of Albania as of Greece speak of it as the Body of Christ, and on that account consider it sinful to cut rather than break it before beginning to eat. Moslems regard even crumbs of it as too sacred to tread on. Most probably the idea that

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it is the staff of life is the oldest, and religious conceptions come later. As essential to life, it was suited to oath-taking; as shown by the oath 'May the bread kill me', it had power to punish perjury with death. 695 778

Two more formulae remain to be mentioned. The first was 'By my head', and the second 'By the head of my son'. The former was thought justifiable; one might do as one pleased with one's own head. But a man who swore on his son's head was strongly disapproved of; only a low fellow, it was thought, would risk his child's life by such an oath. Nothing less was involved, as appears in the following full formula for a land dispute. 'By the head of the son that I have, this land is mine. If it is not mine, may I weep for the son that I have.'[1] 695 782 [826]

When the time came to take the oath, both Catholics and Moslems behaved as if about to perform an act of worship. Catholics removed their caps and made the oath bareheaded; they also crossed themselves as they began. Sunni Moslems performed the ceremonial ablutions incumbent on them before they pray. By their preliminaries the Catholics sought to indicate respect for the Deity; by theirs the Sunnis sought also to make their oath binding —without them, so they believed, it would be null and void. The Moslems of Martanesh, being Bektashis, did not perform the ceremonial ablutions, but suspect and compurgator when taking the oath in a house had to stand facing Mecca, with the witnesses behind them. As each man's turn came, he advanced towards the Koran or loaf of bread, knelt, and laying hand on the book or bread repeated the prescribed words. This reverence for the sacred emblem was shown by both religions, sometimes with quaint little ceremonies. Thus, when the Catholics of Lurë swore in the open on the Gospel, as was their common practice, they picked up some grass or other greenery and held it over the book while they recited the oath; the purpose of the grass is not clear.[2] After the conversion of Vinjollë to Islam from Catholicism oaths were sworn indifferently, as has already been said, on the Gospel or Koran. When at a house, the sacred book was laid on fresh grass near the house or on a clean place in the farmyard. Each oath-taker kissed it three times, before venturing to put his hand on it and repeat the oath. 695 788

[1] The oath on a son's head is common to the Moslem world and if perjured involves the son as well as his father in eternal damnation.

[2] Possibly it involved the false swearer in withering like the plucked grass.

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695 Ordinarily the Gospel might be open or closed and the Koran bare
788 or wrapped in a cloth. A most interesting survival from Christianity comes from Fulqet, where the men, who now are all good Sunni Moslems, tapped their breasts with their fingers when making an oath; the gesture had lost the definite form of making the sign of the cross, but its origin seemed unmistakable.

695 The oath was taken in two stages. First the suspect swore in the presence of all the compurgators that he was innocent of the crime, and then the compurgators swore in the presence of witnesses that the suspect was innocent. He and they swore in the same manner. Bareheaded and making the sign of the cross if Catholic, with hands and face ritually cleansed if Moslem, each in turn invoked the Deity or laid his hand on the sacred object prescribed and repeated the oath. The compurgators did not as a rule take the oath until the suspect had done so and thereby assumed all possible responsibility before God and man for its truth. But, exceptionally, in Lumë a suspected murderer—and probably a suspected thief too—did not take the oath at all unless the compurgators, fearing that he had committed the crime, and lacking convincing proof one way or the other, wished to secure such evidence as his oath provided. In Zerqan a suspect took the oath only when the compurgators doubted his innocence.

Of the compurgators the accuser's nominees came first, headed by the suspect's nearest relatives and neighbours, the most responsible because the most knowledgeable of them all. As soon as the first two or three had taken the oath the others shed their fears of perjuring themselves and took it in their turn. Lastly came the suspect's quota, free of qualms. When the jury was large, the accuser often interrupted the proceedings before all the suspect's quota had sworn. Since his own nominees, 'good men and true', and the first of the suspect's quota had taken the oath, there could be no doubt that the remainder would do so. In Dukagjin, the Gjakovë highlands (Malësi-e Jakovës), and a few other areas in that neighbourhood, only half of the compurgators ever recited the oath; the others merely put their hand on the Gospel and passed by. The first man recited the oath in full, the second touched the Gospel and passed by, and so on. According to the Franciscan priest of Theth the even numbers were there to vindicate the odd numbers, the only complete oath-takers, but Father Gjeçov describes the custom somewhat differently. He says that half the

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compurgators took the oath and half stood listening with their hands folded at the waist. As only the former touched the Gospel they were called 'oath-hands'. Possibly Father Gjeçov's information came from a different area of Dukagjin, or even since his time the details may have been modified.

The compurgators took the oath on the day officially appointed. The suspect took it a few minutes, a day or several days earlier, as best suited the general convenience, and generally in the presence of the compurgators only. The taking of the oath by the compurgators was a more public affair. The accuser's presence was in most places indispensable. If he would not, or could not, attend the ceremony, he had to give up trying to get his rights by an oath and had to find a private detective to take up the case. In Zerqan, apparently, the accuser did not need to be present, in theft cases at least. The number and quality of other witnesses varied in some places, such as Kurbin, with the gravity of the case, and in others with local custom. In Fulqet, Godolesh and Çermenikë it was obligatory for the village to turn out; otherwise the oath was not considered valid. In Mirditë the elders trying the case had to be present and so too in Theth, Dibër and Çermenikë; if, however, one of them found it inconvenient to attend, he could, in Dibër at least, send a deputy. In Lurë the Catholic priest had to be present when the suspect was Catholic, as had the Moslem sheikh of Ceren when he was a Moslem. In the Malësi e Madhe, Bytyç and Martanesh, an oath was valid if witnessed by the accuser and a few of his friends.

In grave cases a whole family might be asked to take the oath. In that event the master spoke in his usual capacity of household representative, for the rest of the family as well as himself, and it was forbidden to ask them to repeat his words. In Mirditë the women and children were not involved, but in Malësi e Madhe all the males of the family had to be present regardless of their age, and the master held an infant boy in his arms while he swore that he and they were innocent. In Martanesh, too, the accused had to bring all his sons, all his brothers and all his brothers' sons to the ceremony. The suspect had to swear to the whole family's ignorance as well as innocence of the crime.

In most districts this oath was taken at any of the usual places for oath-taking, but in Martanesh it was taken in the most solemn circumstances possible, at the grave of Balim Sulltan. It was a very

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695 serious oath, entailing the extinction of the whole family if the
672 oath-taker perjured himself. This was symbolized clearly in the
783 Malësi e Madhe ceremony. The master's perjury, if any, and its penalties would, it was believed, run through his body and the infant's like an electric current and destroy both. The wording of the oath seems to have been suitably strong as well as comprehensive. The only available example comes from the Malësi e Madhe, and runs, 'By this holy oath of the Lord, if I did it, may He reward me. As for the male of yours who has been killed, neither I nor my kinsmen, male or female, have killed him with our hands or our guns or with a guest's or agent's hands or gun.'

695 The family oath was reserved for men who were expected to deny
[685] a serious crime of which there was strong evidence that they were guilty. In the Malësi e Madhe, and apparently in Martanesh also, this was murder. So in these areas a family oath was tantamount to one with twenty-four compurgators. In Mirditë and Kurbin it was chiefly used in theft cases. If a sheep or goat in Kurbin was stolen, the thief had to return two sheep or goats to the owner, and pay a fine besides; if, however, he denied the theft, he must swear with his whole family that he was innocent. By contrast, a man who denied stealing an ox, a horse or a mule, was only ordered to take the oath with six compurgators. The theft of these animals was less serious than stealing a sheep or goat; for they only represented wealth, whereas the sheep and goats provided food for their owner.

[694] In Mirditë the accuser had the right to ask a family oath of any man whom he strongly suspected, and could also say that he must take it with a jury. In that event he had to specify the various families in the village who were to compose the jury. For the Malësi e Madhe there is no evidence, but in Martanesh a jury was seldom required in family oaths. Group oaths were used in cases where the suspect, told to take the oath with twenty-four compurgators, failed to find so many ready to swear to his innocence and volunteered to take the oath with all the males of his family in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum. If he did so, nothing more was required of him.

In Mirditë, as Father Gjeçov informs us, a truculent accuser might also ask the oath by the head of the suspect's son; in that case the accused could not refuse to take it, unfair and dangerous to the child though it was. If there were more than one boy in the

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family, the oath had to be taken on all their heads. On the appointed day, the accuser went to the suspect's house, where the suspect gathered all the males in his family and drew their heads together. After laying his hands on their heads to establish the contact which would involve them in his perjury, if any, he took the oath, saying, 'By the heads of my sons, I have not done you the wrong of which you have accused me, and I do not know who has done it'. The gravity of this oath made it particularly useful in ending embittered disputes before they came to bloodshed, for only a man very sure of his position or one utterly unscrupulous would swear it.

Social oaths were designed to check lawlessness and breaches of the peace within the tribe and were the commonest types. In Document II, Mnelë and Gomsiqe swear[1] to stick together whatever may betide for mutual defence against external danger. Sometimes the tribe, or at least the brotherhood in the Malësi e Madhe, swore that they would not enter a certain house. Though this oath was never taken except to make the law-breaker obey a tribal judgement, it was not considered a good oath, and breaking it soon after it was sworn was advocated. Sometimes, too, a village would assemble and take oath not to send their animals to the summer grazing grounds before a fixed date or to cut wood in each other's forests. In Lurë irrigation rights still depended on oaths taken by the various claimants several generations ago and still binding on their descendants. This example shows how the perpetuity of oaths prevented renewals of litigation; a right once settled, remained settled.

When about to pronounce a decision or just after pronouncing it, elders frequently took oath that they had judged or would judge righteously. In all the tribal area they inevitably carried a stone on their shoulder to signify that they must carry it throughout eternity if their oath was false. In Shalë their formula was, 'With body and soul, with good luck and good fortune, so far as I can tell I have decided this matter without guile, without bribery and without prejudice'.

[1] See Appendix, Document II, p. 262.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE OATH

III. VERDICT AND PENALTIES

695 The only way of bringing in a verdict in the suspect's favour was, as has already been said, by his taking the prescribed oath himself and inducing the prescribed number of compurgators to repeat it. This done, he was acquitted (*u-la*, lit. 'he was washed').

By contrast, there were several ways of reaching an adverse verdict. The suspect might pronounce it himself. Sometimes superstitious fear made him refuse at the first asking to take the oath. This only occurred when he knew he was guilty of the crime, or had no lawful right to the disputed property. Sometimes a bolder suspect got as far as the door of the church or mosque, and then was stricken with sudden fear of the perjury he was about to commit, confessed to the crime and faced up to the consequences. A slyer suspect, hoping that the matter was forgotten, sometimes let the day for taking the oath pass. But the accuser was generally on the watch and frustrated his hope. First he informed his own elder that the appointed day had come and gone without the oath being taken. This elder having passed on the information to the suspect's elder the two dignitaries went together to the man's house, pointed out that the term was up and declared that since he had not taken the oath he had lost his case.

There were at least three ways by which the compurgators might bring in a verdict of guilty. The first was when three out of twenty-four compurgators, two out of twelve or eight, and one of a smaller number, informed the suspect soon after their nomination that they did not have enough confidence in his innocence to take the oath that would clear him.

Again, if the compurgators did not believe the suspect's oath, they could take one of two courses. They might tell him there and then to go and pay the penalty for his crime because they did not believe his oath and must refuse to acquit him with their own. Some of them were, of course, certain to know the truth from other sources and so could check his oath. Or they might wait till the day of taking the oath and then, without giving the suspect any warning,

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fail to turn up. If even one so failed, the suspect was declared guilty. Indeed, the easiest and least obnoxious way of convicting the suspect was not to turn up for the oath. Such was the almost universal rule. In the Malësi e Madhe, however, a message was sent to a missing compurgator to make sure that he had not merely forgotten the date. If he replied that he had not come on purpose because he thought the suspect was guilty, the case ended, a verdict of guilty being returned. If he replied that he was absent for personal reasons, an attempt was made to find two others to take his place at once; if this succeeded, the oath was taken. If only one compurgator did not attend in Bytyç, the oath could be taken, particularly if the reason for the compurgator's default was the newly discovered pregnancy of his wife. These rules applied only to the accuser's quota. If one of the suspect's compurgators failed to turn up, any bystander who could be persuaded to join the jury might be substituted. As the suspect was not bound to disclose the names of his quota, the public was often unaware that the second man was a substitute and not the suspect's first choice. 695

In Mirditë the verdict was virtually known before the taking of the oath. When the suspect felt ready to take the oath he invited the compurgators to a meal in his house. If they declined his invitation it meant that they thought him guilty and would not take the oath. If they accepted his invitation he could sleep in peace, secure in the knowledge that whenever the time came for them to take the oath, they would do so. Once they had eaten his food, the oath was as good as taken. This custom may have developed because the suspect had to assemble the compurgators to hear him take the oath and was forbidden by his instincts of hospitality to leave them unfed. In Labinot, Çermenikë and Zerqan, the suspect also offered the compurgators a high-class meal, with meat and rice pilaff, but not till after they had taken the oath, and only if he had been cleared. The meal was thought to ratify the oath and to reward the compurgators in some measure for their trouble. [574]

A loser who did not abide by the verdict of the oath lost 'face'. 696 Some years ago, a family in Fulqet died out. Two neighbours, more or less related to the family, claimed its land, one taking possession of it and the other gathering a stackful of hay from it. Even the women quarrelled so fiercely over it that they had to be separated by gendarmes and the elders intervened and said that the relative in possession must take an oath with twenty-four

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sent the cousins word to that effect and said he was sending a deputy. 693
When the latter arrived, he found the named cousin ready to take 696
the oath but no boundary stones in place. He refused to witness the oath because Cen's condition had not been observed. The matter was referred back to Cen, who said that since the cousin put to the oath had been unable to take it as enjoined, the other must have the land. If they did not wish to accept this judgement, let them bring him four napoleons each as his fee for the incomplete oath, and let them find another elder and he would pay his expenses; he was no guarantor to make them accept his judgement. The cousins prepared to accept his decision, but when the winner began to plough the land, the loser shot one of his men dead and wounded another; the feud continued for many years.

The oath derived its efficiency as a legal instrument from super- 782
stitious fear of punishment for perjury. God, as the Almighty, was [695]
naturally the chief agent of this punishment. 'Don't let God catch a perjurer', said the aphorism. In invocations the connexion between oath and Deity was simple. The oath-taker called God or one of His saints to witness to the truth of what he was about to swear, and did so in the full knowledge that if he angered Him by perjury, he must expect a manifestation of Divine wrath. There was a very definite belief that God was watching. In oaths sworn on a sacred object or building, such as 'By this good thing of the Lord', there was an indirect invocation of the Deity, but also while the oath-taker swore, he had to keep his hand on the sacred object—Gospel, crucifix, altar, church door, Koran, saint's grave—just as a witness in an English law court must take the oath with his hand [178]
on the Bible. This act established physical contact between the oath-taker and the Deity or saint with which the sacred object or building was associated. To a simple tribesman this was a very solemn thought. On this account these contact oaths were preferred above all others. Probably the contact also made the tribesman think punishment more certain. All over the Near East the principle of direct contact with holy things plays an important role. This is most familiar in cases of sickness, as when people knot rags to sacred graves or trees; the holy influences with which they have thus linked their persons penetrate their whole being and cure their maladies. Many instances will be found in the author's book *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. But suppliants for such favours must placate the holy influences with prayers or

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687 As Father Gjeçov remarks, perjury harmed the soul, imposed a fine and disgraced the man in the eyes of his fellows. All three consequences worked powerfully in their different ways to keep oath-takers on the path of truth. A thief, for instance, might get [783] as far as the door of a church or mosque, but there his heart would fail him and he would exclaim, 'Forgive me, I did steal it'. Then he would proceed to make the usual reparation. Even innocent men dreaded the oath and took it with great reluctance. In poverty-stricken Theth many were so afraid of it that even when wrongfully accused, they preferred to pay whatever fine was due for the crime. 782 In Lurë people professed to fear nothing so much. 'You may rob [627] me of my life, but I will not break my oath', they used to say. As [423] for oaths taken to settle disputes, generations afterwards the descendants of the original disputants were afraid to break the oath of their ancestors. This fear kept boundaries that had been trodden out by an elder under an oath immovable for all time, and preserved water rights. In modern Lurë there is some maldistribution of irrigation water, but no attempt is made to remedy this by force of law. Many years ago, the people say, their ancestors took an oath about the irrigation rights of each family and they dare not violate this oath. One of the derisory stories told in sophisticated Tirana about the Highlanders relates that they were such poor stuff that one said, when brought to court, 'I have sworn a solemn oath not to tell, but press me a little and I will speak'.

There were occasions, however, on which perjury was thought permissible or even commendable. A man of Lumë, when asked to be compurgator in a murder case, would sometimes consider whether he might help to make peace between the parties if he forswore himself. If he decided that 'giving a living man for a dead one was no way of doing', he would swear a false oath. In the Malësi e Madhe, a village ward or a tribe had sometimes to swear not to enter a malefactor's house; when this punishment came to seem excessive it was thought advisable to break the oath.

695 In general, the modern mountaineers drew a distinction between 687 their own old jury system and the law court that was superseding it. Reluctant though they remained to forswear themselves by their old system, they would do so joyfully in the modern court, especially if this saved a friend or relative or concealed their possession of a rifle; this weapon being their chief treasure, they would deny '500 times' on oath that they had it. Instead of public censure

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they met with public commendation in such cases. The modernity 695 of the court-house was against the oath; there had been no time for 687 the growth of stories about punishment for perjury in it. For the same reason the new church in Nikaj was not thought so good a place for taking an oath as was the old one.

It happened inevitably that some men were sceptical or sacrilegious enough to take a false oath and plausible enough to persuade the requisite number of compurgators to swear to their innocence. A thief could send a stolen cow to graze with his own, yoke the stolen ox into the plough with one of his own and hang a bell on the neck of the stolen sheep or goat. The real owner might recognize the animal, but he could not claim it. The public too might recognize it, but they had to shut their eyes. The law said, 'what is won by an oath belongs to him who wins it'. The law disliked this principle but had to accept it because there was no way of bringing home a crime to a man who had been cleared by an oath. This legal defect made it essential that honourable and knowledgeable compurgators should be chosen. The same defect made every tribal authority, in the interests of justice, foster the general fear of perjury to the utmost.

In spite of the fear of punishment for perjury, some jesting [522] stories, which are possibly apocryphal, were told of perjurers. Once there was a headman in the village of Peladhi, near Zerqan, who wrapped up a block of wood in a cloth as if it were a Koran and summoned the village to swear on it that they would no longer go and cut wood illicitly in each other's forest. They took the oath and, believing they had done so on the Koran, kept it. He too took the oath, but knowing it to be void because taken only on a profane bit of wood went afterwards to his neighbour's forest and cut all the wood he wanted.

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CHAPTER XIX

WITNESS (KËPUCAR)

695 While compurgators empanelled for an ordeal by oath were collecting evidence about the case, neither they nor their informants were on oath, and the verdict depended on whether they judged it right or wrong to swear to the suspect's innocence at the conclusion of their inquiries. Many cases, however, were decided on the evidence of a single informant known as a *këpucar*, who was generally sworn in before being allowed to speak. As he was also severely cross-examined by elders and the verdict depended on the impression made by his evidence, he approximated more closely to the English witness than did the compurgators to the English jury.

An informant was a man who gave information leading to the detection of a criminal, above all when a secret murder or a cunningly concealed theft had taken place. His information had to be based on personal observation.

It was believed that all criminal problems could be solved either by oath or a witness. In some of the most secret crimes, as when a haystack was burned or a dog killed in his own farmyard, there was practically no hope of discovering the criminal save by witness. There were other occasions on which trial by witness was chosen in preference to ordeal by oath. If a witness was known to exist, many elders, particularly in Mirditë, declared forthwith that an oath was superfluous. In Martanesh and Zerqan they often waited to see if a witness would come forward before they ordered the suspect to take an oath. In other cases the accuser was allowed to choose between the two methods. He might do so at the outset of the case, when everything was still vague. In Labinot, for example, as soon as the Village Assembly was notified of the crime, both accuser and suspect being present, the headman habitually asked the accuser which method he was using. Whatever his reply, the suspect himself, in a fury at being under suspicion, gave the accuser the choice of method. Or the choice might be offered when the preparations for the suspect's taking the oath were almost concluded. In Mirditë, for instance, as soon as the compurgators announced that they were ready to clear the suspect, the elders bade

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the accuser come and witness their oath or produce a *këpucar*. An accuser who had good reason to be dissatisfied with the suspect's acquittal was entitled to pursue his inquiries and, securing fresh evidence of the suspect's guilt from an eye-witness, to lay this before the elders with a demand that the case should be reconsidered. Indeed, many elders after delivering a verdict of 'not guilty' reminded the accuser that if he was dissatisfied he was at liberty to find a *këpucar*. He could not, of course, have the suspect put to the oath a second time; 'oath upon oath' was not allowed by the law. 195

An eye-witness had always to come forward of his own accord; the accuser could not go and look for him directly. In ordinary cases, the accuser let it be known through private channels that he would be glad to find one, but in the cases of arson and murder of a dog already mentioned, the Village Assembly might issue a public appeal for information. No time limit was ever set. Information given a year or more after the crime had been committed was treated as seriously as if it were only a day old.

In every type of case the witness first approached the accuser saying, that he had found the stolen property, the murderer, or the falsity of the oath as the case might be. The accuser then had to go to the suspect and demand restitution. In Mirditë, at least, he had to be accompanied by two friends who were sometimes asked afterwards to confirm that he had warned the suspect. If the latter refused to make atonement, the accuser had to warn him that he had a witness. If the suspect persisted in his refusal, saying, 'Produce your witness', the accuser then, but only then, settled the witness's fee and secured his information. The elders then formed a committee for the purpose of cross-examining the witness. In Zerqan this consisted of five or six men appointed by the suspect and two or three friends of the accuser. In Mirditë it was selected from the *pritëtarë* (sing. *pritëtar*), men fitted to be judges or compurgators by their honour, wisdom and experience in cross-examining witnesses. In the Malësi e Madhe the committee was formed by the bajraktar and one to four headmen; the qualities which such personages were believed to inherit along with their position were thought sufficient equipment for dealing with a witness. Elsewhere one elder was considered enough in simple cases; he was chosen by the suspect at the bidding of the accuser, by the two together, or by the other elders. 193

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695 With a few exceptions, the greatest precautions were taken to conceal the witness's identity, as the criminal would have killed him if he had discovered who he was. In Mirditë he was allowed to object to the nomination of men whom he thought too indiscreet to preserve his incognito, and those eventually selected had to take an oath that so long as they lived they would not without his permission divulge his identity. He was always interviewed in all secrecy; often the accuser alone knew who he was. He might be taken to an empty house where the elders awaited him, or led at night to the house of an elder who questioned him from a balcony while he stood unseen by all the inmates, the elder included, in the dark farmyard. In the Malësi e Madhe he was often given a rendezvous by night in another village altogether. In Zerqan he usually met the committee in some lonely spot at sunset, with them on one side of a thick hedge and him on the other so that they could not see him. However often he was interviewed, it was always in the same secrecy.

No doubt owing to the danger involved in trying to bring a criminal to justice, a witness was always given a fee. With the delicacy characteristic of Albanians the fee was cloaked under the name of *këpucë* (lit. 'shoe'), presumably in allusion to the shoe-leather which he wore out in finding or conveying his information. Consequently, *këpucar* means literally the 'man who gets shoe-money'.

In the case of theft the witness's fee was not allowed to exceed the value of the stolen property. It was generally determined by agreement between witness and accuser at their first meeting, often after lively bargaining, particularly if the witness was greedy enough to ask more than he should. When the accuser let it be known that he was looking for a witness, he often specified the fee he was willing to pay. When the theft took place in a house, the fee [577] was doubled, because human life had been endangered and the house's honour tarnished; house-breaking always implied that the men in it were weak or the womenfolk light. In Kurbin and Lumë, for example, four napoleons were paid to an informant who found an ox that had been stolen from the farmyard or stable under the house, but only its value, which was always less than four napoleons, in those districts when it had been stolen while grazing outside.

684 A man who disclosed a woman's adultery to her husband 695 received no fee; and a friend was not allowed to take money for

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such a service. In this type of crime there was, of course, no trial 695 in view; the husband's rifle was the only possible arbiter. [684]

The examination which an eye-witness had to pass was very stiff. As a first step, he had to take oath before the elders that he would tell the truth without prejudice or spite; the man he accused was not to be troubled till his accusation was proved to be just. The only extant example of his oath, which comes from Çermenikë, runs, 'Look upon this earth, these mountains, these plains, this sky. You must carry them (through all eternity) if you lie', said the elders. 'Let me carry them. It is as I say,' the witness replied. Sometimes an elder recognized the witness and, knowing him to be of good character, did not ask him to risk his future by taking an oath. Even if he did not recognize him but only liked his manner and general appearance, he might excuse him.

When everything was set for cross-examination, the elders questioned the witness closely, noting any discrepancies in his statements, and looking out for any sign that the accusation was false. If it was a case of perjury, they had to be specially patient [687] and careful as the penalties involved were so much heavier. The witness was not a professional like our detectives. Often he was a man so trusted by the thief that he had constant access to his house and so was in a position to see the stolen goods as soon as produced.

The witness had to give a detailed description of the crime and stolen property to the elders. In most cases of theft he must have either seen the thief in the act of stealing or leaving the scene of the theft or observed the stolen goods in the house or hand of the thief. When an ox had been stolen, he had to say where he saw the animal, where the thief had killed it, sold its hide and so on. When several oxen had been stolen he had to report according to their colouring that one was black, another white and a third dappled, that the thief took first this road, then that, killed one ox at such and such a spot and sold another to so-and-so. Whatever he said was subject to confirmation. When he alleged a sale, the elders sent independent agents to inquire whether it had really taken place. When he said the ox had been eaten, he had to produce concrete evidence, a token such as a bit of the skin, a horn, or some other part. This was the most conclusive of all possible evidence.

If the witness stood up well to the cross-examination, the elders declared that the suspect was guilty and must make the statutory

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695 atonement. If the witness had come forward after the suspect had
[687] taken an oath and been acquitted, the elders declared the suspect's oath invalid, pronounced him guilty, and sentenced him, not only to the usual penalties for his crime, but also to punishment for perjury.

[685] Apart from what his perjury, if any, cost him, the convicted thief had to pay the value of the stolen property, the witness's fee and the elders' fee. He had to hand the witness's fee to the owner of the stolen goods, who had to pass it on to the witness, whose anonymity was thus preserved. In order to extract the witness's fee the elders commonly valued the stolen property at a good deal more than its real price; when the thief paid up, the owner retained the real price and handed the surplus to the witness. In Mirditë, says Father Gjeçov, the accuser who failed to warn the suspect at the outset that he had a witness, could not, even if the suspect was convicted, recover more than half the witness's fee. There does not seem to have been a similar law elsewhere.

If a thief continued to deny the theft and refused to pay his various fines after being declared guilty on a witness's evidence, the elders said he must take an oath that he was innocent, and then the compurgators stepped in, forbidding him to perjure himself and so confirming his conviction. This was in Mirditë and Lumë. In Martanesh, the law apparently went further. If a man convicted by a witness of having stolen from a house—the worst type of theft—denied the theft, was ordered to prove his innocence by an oath, and succeeded in doing so, and if the accuser still persisted in his accusation, the latter was asked to produce his witness before a new committee of elders. If a searching cross-examination convinced these that he was telling the truth, they ordered the thief to swear with forty-eight compurgators that he was innocent. This was double the number usual even in murder cases, and far more than he could ever hope to find.

695 The cross-examining elders sometimes concluded that the
687 witness was lying. In Dukagjin, when quite certain of this, they made him instead of the thief pay for the stolen property. In the Malësi e Madhe, attended by their followers, they went and burned down his house, killed him if they caught him, and confiscated his property, making it common land on which all were free to graze, although none could plant grapes or sow maize. If some time elapsed before they discovered he had lied and if in the meantime

they had punished the man he denounced, they repaid any moneys 695 taken from this man out of the false witness's property, selling 687 a portion of it if necessary.

In some southern areas manners were softer. In Çermenikë and Zerqan a lying witness was dismissed with a contemptuous word, suffering only disgrace in the accuser's eyes. Since his identity had never transpired, the public thought neither more nor less of him than before.

Sometimes the witness convicted himself of being the thief. This 685 happened especially when he knew too many details, describing too 695 exactly, for instance, the colour of a stolen animal's hair, the number of its spots, or the shape and twirls of its horns. The elders then called him the thief outright and sentenced him to pay their fee as well as the value of the stolen property and the amount he had extracted from the accuser as his own fee. 'So you wanted to steal twice over from him, did you?' they would exclaim. In Martanesh [558] they also disgraced him publicly. The elder in whose yard he was being secretly examined called out to the accuser to come and seize him like the thief he was; during his cross-examination the accuser had remained, as was everywhere customary, out of earshot. As the yard was bolted for the night, the thief could not escape. Next day he was led out in front of the assembled village, denounced by the elders, and publicly sentenced to pay the sums described above. It often happened that they saw him then for the first time.

In Mirditë, it sometimes happened that a witness, observing that he had failed to convince the elders, and certain of his evidence, came forward publicly, seized the thief (or murderer) by the arm and denounced him as the criminal. Such courage never failed to win credence for his story.

If the witness was dismissed as a liar or convicted as the thief, the accuser lost the money he had paid him as well as the value of his lost property. That explains why a suspect could not be put to the oath a second time, yet could be retried as it were on a witness's evidence. It cost the accuser nothing to make a suspect take an oath, so that if the law had allowed 'oath after oath', a litigiously minded man might have made himself an endless nuisance to suspect, elders, compurgators and general public. But there was no such risk with a witness. The accuser had to prepay him whatever fee they agreed on, and if he had been foolish enough to trust an unsatisfactory person, he lost his money.

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685 formula then applied was 'The beast or an oath'. Each house had
694 to make oath separately that it did not harbour the stolen property. The same routine was followed when the tracks stopped between two villages, the villages as a whole having to take oath.

The tracks of an animal might be destroyed by the thief, or the property stolen might not be an animal at all. In such cases, the owner had to rely on information supplied by third parties, and this was seldom lacking in small communities where there were few secrets. If the whereabouts of the stolen property was discovered, the suspected thief might admit the crime, and if so, the owner and he might settle about repayment themselves, or leave it
685 to the elders to do so. If the suspect denied the theft, the owner
695 informed the village headman of his loss and of the identity of the suspected thief, and the latter called an Assembly to which he summoned owner and suspect. A suspect who did not appear was declared guilty and ordered to pay for the stolen goods. If the suspect came, the owner was given the choice between ordeal by oath and trial on the evidence of an eye-witness, and the proceedings then took the ordinary form.

The convicted thief had first of all to make restitution in accordance with the 'twofold' or 'two-for-one' rule, which exacted twice the value of the stolen goods in kind or money. In Mirditë, when animals were given in restitution, their selection was left to the thief, and, to quote from Father Gjeçov, 'it sufficed if they could walk on their feet'. In Martanesh a committee of two or three was appointed by the thief to make the choice, and this committee had to be accepted by the owner. In addition to restitution, a penalty might be imposed, either in the form of a fine or by ordering an extra number of compurgators if the oath was to be taken. The amount of the fine was largely fixed by tradition though the elders might vary it according to extenuating or aggravating circumstances.

There were various generally recognized kinds of aggravating circumstances. For instance, if a thief lost, spoiled, or ate what he had taken, the penalties were often heavy. In Martanesh and adjoining districts a loser could put any value he liked on a stolen
[683] article that had been destroyed. In Zerqan, it was regarded as a disgrace to the owner of a stolen sheep if it was eaten by the thief on the mountain. Punishment then was not only for the theft, but for the injury to the honour of the victim.

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[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prende's Day, 1894]

681 solemnly pledged to safety for whoever goes to spend the night in Nikaj
[491] or Shalë. If any tribesman of Shalë who goes along this road is killed
[574] by a tribesman of Nikaj, the guest of all Shalë is killed, from dawn of day till the fall of night. If any tribesman of Nikaj who goes along this road is killed by a tribesman of Shalë, the guest of all Nikaj is killed, from the dawn of day till fall of night.

Between the same points the road is safe for Shosh and Mertur and is under the protection of Nikaj and Shalë. If a tribesman of Shosh kills a tribesman of Mertur he kills the guest of Shalë; if a tribesman of Mertur kills a tribesman of Shosh, he kills a guest of Nikaj.

[695] Whoever resorts to violence on this road must make an oath with twelve men taking the oath and twelve standing by.[1]

[233] 2. A flock and its shepherd are not to be killed by anyone; their safety is solemnly pledged and guaranteed. Any man who kills them must pay 20 purses or be killed and have his life equated to theirs.

3. If the pledge of safety is broken and a tribesman of one tribe kills during the period of pledge and guarantee and a tribesman of the other tribe does not so kill, twenty-four men of the tribe that had a man killed must take oath saying, 'You killed me when guaranteed'.

4. The whole road to Curraj up to the Krue i Ftofët (Cold Spring) is under a pledge of safety.

5. Mowers and reapers with scythe and sickle are under a pledge of safety in both summer and winter pasturages.

[313] Cutters of pine slivers and timber are under a perpetual pledge of safety.

[204] Shooters are under a pledge of safety from St Nicholas's Day in summer (May 9th) to St Nicholas's Day in winter (December 6th).

[312] A man irrigating during the night is under a pledge of safety.

6. A house with hearth and flour-bin and the keep of a house are not under a pledge of safety.

[231] Sheepfolds are under a pledge of safety.

7. If anyone goes out from the keep or the house in order to go to the sheepfold which is under a pledge of safety he must say, 'Look, man, we're going to the animals (or the fold), which are under a pledge of safety.'

[562] 8. As for women in Shkodër and Gjakovë:

If any of them wants herself to run away or to behave badly for the fun of it, good luck to her.

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: It was the custom in Dukagjin to make half, not all, of the jurors take an oath. If twenty-four jurors are ordered, twelve go and lay their hand on the Gospel and the other twelve stand listening with folded hands. In many mountain districts unless the principal person concerned excuses someone, it is the custom of all the jurors to go and lay their hand on the Gospel while repeating the words of the oath.)

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prendo's Day, 1894]

If any man meddles with one by force he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety. 681

If any man dishonours a woman or ravishes her he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety.

The Gjklika family is not under a pledge of safety.

Ndue Lika's family is under a pledge of safety for its flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever touches sheep belonging to Nikaj or Shalë must pay 500 grosh or give a Martini rifle, the value of which is 500 grosh. He must also return two animals for every one stolen and pay 500 grosh to the owner of the stolen animals.

10. A detective is to receive 100 grosh for tracking down a sheep and twenty for tracking down a cow or an ox.

11. If a Nikaj or a Shalë man goes to a house to kill someone, he has leave to do whatever the fingers of his hand or the muzzle of his rifle can do. But chisels, wood and any form of iron are not to be used.

Whoever breaks this law, unless he is killed and buried, must pay 20 purses and until he pays them he must look out for his life. If he is killed, the matter must be left at a head for a head.

12. Whoever plays false to this pledge treating it with contempt or ignoring it must give an oath with 24 persons who must say they know nothing, as arranged by the other tribes. If he cannot give such an oath he must pay 20 purses like a man who kills another. [695]

13. A borrower who owes money to someone must go to the head of his ward. If he does not give this head satisfaction, he must go to the Bajraktar. If he does not give the Bajraktar satisfaction he is without protection. He may be robbed and killed until he enters the way of the Bajraktar.

14. The roads from Shalë and Nikaj to Shosh and Mertur are guaranteed by Shalë and Nikaj and if they are cut, 20 purses must be paid. [491]

15. The chapels (*koniqet*) of Nikaj and Shalë in which no candle is lit to St John, St Nicolas and St Bastian (Sebastian), are under a pledge of safety. [718]

16. Complaints in Shkodër and Gjakovë are annulled. [694]

VIII. Pledge for Flocks and Shepherds in Nikaj and Curraj, St John's Day, 1895.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 120.)

1. Any man who kills a shepherd will have his house burned down and his land kept untilled for three years.

2. His neighbours will not have their houses burned down but must pay five purses, 1000 grosh of it for the master of the feud and three purses for the guarantors.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

[681] bajraktar, are perpetual like the law about fire[1] and other laws. Whoever breaks this law must pay an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, otherwise he will have his house burned.

The Youth of Shalë
April 30th, 1905

XI. Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin on August 5–7, 1906.
(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 129.)

[625] 1. Whoever joins the government police shall have his house burned and be excluded from funeral gatherings and hospitality.

[798] 2. A man who goes to complain to the Turkish government about a Christian shall pay a fine of 1000 grosh.

[675] 3. A man who steals from his neighbour or breaks into his house must, if he denies doing so, give his oath with 12 compurgators. If he proves to be a robber, he must pay a fine of 1000 grosh, and return to the owner of the house two for every article stolen.

4. If an ox is stolen and the accused denies the theft he must give his oath with 6 compurgators. If on enquiry he proves a thief, he must pay a fine of 500 grosh and return to the animal's owner two oxen for the one stolen.

This judgement holds also for a horse and a mule.

If a cow is stolen and the theft denied, the accused's oath needs three compurgators. If he proves a thief the penalty is returning two for one to the owner and a fine of 250 grosh. So too for a donkey.

If a bell-goat or a bell-wether is stolen two for one to the owner and a fine of three rams. If the theft is denied the oath must be given by the accused and all the males in his house.

For every small animal two for one to the owner and a fine of two rams. If the theft is denied the oath is with all the males in the accused's house.

5. Setting fire to a house[2] means a fine of 2500 grosh; to an animals' fold, a haystack and a hedge, a fine of 1500 grosh and returning two for one to the owner.

[623] 6. A man who does not come to a General Assembly when summoned by the village elder will be fined one ram.

[672] 7. If word is sent to the elders to come to a General Assembly anyone who does not come must pay a fine of five rams. If he has an excu e this will be weighed by the other elders.

[1] The Italian version already alluded to (Gjeçov's *Codice di Lek Dukagjini ossia Diritto Consuetudinario delle Montagne d'Albania*, Tradotto dal P. Paolo Dodaj, Roma, 1941) here reads *il mugnaio*, 'the miller' (cf. supra p. 263).

[2] The Italian version reads *La violazione (per furto) del focolare domestico*, and taking fire from a neighbour's hearth without permission is frequently taboo among primitive peoples.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin, Aug. 5-7, 1906]

8. As for jurors, in every crime committed in Kurbin, a murder excepted, the jurors must give their oath, saying, 'That it has been stolen from you, I don't know'.[1] 681 [695]

9. What an informant says is said with an oath of how it was in mind.[2]

10. If a man quarrels deliberately with another and without informing the village elder, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If he informs the village elder and the latter asks for a pledge of good behaviour from the one who is oppressing the other and this man refuses to give it, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If the village elder cannot put things right he gives both men a month's grace and informs the other elders who shall settle the quarrel in accordance with the local law.

11. Anyone who gives food or admittance to his house to a Christian or a Mohammedan who is a policeman in the service of the Sultan shall be fined 1500 grosh. [625] [574]

12. If a man breaks a pledge of security given and taken in the presence of elders and commoners in Kurbin, the elders and commoners are under an obligation to burn his house and to expel him from the tribe. [696]

Written in Delbinisht, Kurbin, at the spring of water under the mulberry tree near the Archbishop's palace on August 5th, 6th and 7th, 1906.

Gjin Pjetër Mark Pervizi of Skuraj, Kurbin, senior elder among the 45 elders of the environs of Krue, in the name of the elders and commoners.

Also present at this General Assembly and registrars of the aforesaid laws:

Mgr. Nikollë Kaçorri, witness.

Father Shtjefën K. Gjeçov, Franciscan, witness.

XII. Letter from Shalë dated May 12th, 1907.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 127.)

1. Greetings from the bajraktar of Shalë, the notables and youth to you, chiefs and youth of Theth. We beg to inform you that the undermentioned laws have been enacted by the tribe of Lower Shalë. We let you know, asking if you too will abide by these laws. We laid down the

[1] The Italian version of clause 8 runs: *Il dorere del giurato per tutto ciò che accada nel territorio di Kurbini, salvo che nelle cause di uccisione, consiste nel giuramento di non cognoscere il colpevole.*

[2] The Italian translator has *La deposizione del delatore deve essere accompagnata dal giuramento.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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[539]

Remorseless, Death, I know thou art,
Yet, from a mother lone,
How couldst thou take her only son,
Her boy, her dearest one?

Why didst thou not, my treasured child,
My only darling son—
Why didst thou not resist his blow?
My boy, my dearest one!

Ah! knew'st thou not, within my heart,
Should'st thou from me be gone,
Thou ope'st a wound must ever bleed?
My boy, my dearest one!

[152] Sometimes, too, as among the Greek women, a mourner finds no adequate outlet for her grief in the conventional dirges, and, inspired by sorrow, bursts into an improvised lament for the lost son, brother, or husband, extolling his virtues and bewailing his fate.

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It is said that when an Albanian of the mountains is led to execution by the authorities for any crime but that of theft, which is by these people alone considered disgraceful, he walks to his doom with head erect and bearing dignified, improvising as he goes his own dirge, in which he relates the circumstances that have led to his premature departure from the world. His mother and sisters follow him to the place of execution, their hearts devoured with grief, but wearing smiles on their lips, in order that their relative may, on his side, show no sign of weakness. Intently they listen to his death-song, the words of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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which they treasure in their memories, and hand down to their posterity.[1]

The funeral, in conformity with the usual Eastern custom, takes place within four-and-twenty hours after death. Before the corpse leaves the house, it is measured with a string, which is then thrown up into the rafters. If the deceased has not a silver ring on his finger, a coin is placed, as among the Greeks, on the mouth; and one of the relatives seats himself three times on that part of the floor on which he breathed his last. On the way to the burial ground, the men surround the bier, the women follow behind, and resume their wailings as the procession leaves the house. Arrived at the mosque, or church, the men enter, but the women remain without, weeping, shrieking, and lamenting continually. Before leaving the church, the men give the dead a last kiss, the women doing the same at the grave. The body is laid in the bare earth, and a stone slab is placed over it, on which the earth is cast. At this stage of the proceedings, the cries of the women become quite heartrending; they crowd round the grave, and can with difficulty be prevented from throwing themselves

[1] This calls to mind Burns' spirited song, "MacPherson's Lament," the words of which might fittingly be used by an Albanian *pallikar:*

"I've lived a life of sturt and strife;
I die by treacherie;
It burns my heart, I must depart,
And not avenged be.
Sae rantingly, sae wantonly,
Sae dauntingly gaed he;
He played a spring, and danced it round,
Beneath the gallows tree."

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

694 paid, for which reason both elders and litigants thought bargaining about it superfluous.

The litigants having formally consented to pay his fee, the elder next asked each of them to bring him a pledge. This served a threefold purpose. Once given, it could not be taken back till the case was settled and the fee paid. The litigants might repent of going to law or of engaging this particular elder, but unless they forfeited their pledges, they could neither stop the case nor change the elder. The pledge was, secondly, the elder's security for payment of his fee. As soon as he had delivered judgement he was entitled to his fee, and until it was paid he was entitled to retain the litigant's pledge. Occasionally in Zerqan an elder trusted a client enough to dispense with a pledge, and some in Martanesh asked only a token one, such as a cigarette, thus paying the integrity of their clients a high compliment. The normal pledge was of greater value than the fee, or share of the fee, payable by each litigant. Since pledges had been instituted in days so distant that money was hardly—if at all—known, a material article such as a gun, a revolver, a watch or a silver tobacco-box was generally handed over. It was for the elder to choose which it should be.

696 In Mirditë the article deposited was known as the 'pledge of
626 acceptance or agreement', because its third purpose was to bind the litigants to accept the elder's decision. If one was refractory the elder had the right to retain his pledge. In a certain boundary case Cen Elezi of Dibër, having stipulated for a fee of twelve napoleons from each litigant, asked each to bring his tobacco-box as a pledge. As his son put it, this did not nearly cover his fee but was rather a preliminary 'symbol of acceptance' of his decision. Indiscipline in such matters naturally weakened the social fabric by destroying one of its most unifying factors, the authority of elders. Various steps were taken to reinforce decisions. Selim Peshku of Martanesh charged fees that ranged from five gold Turkish pounds to one, but he never took up a case until the larger sum had been deposited in pledge of submission to his judgement, and in case of recalcitrancy he showed no scruples about pocketing the pledge money. The disparity between his lowest fee and his unvarying pledge shows that he was trying, not so much to safeguard his own fee, as to maintain social discipline. Mirditë sought the same end by enacting that a judgement delivered without pledge being taken was invalid before the law and that a verbal

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pledge was valueless; something concrete and tangible must be given. 696 626

The pledges deposited, the elder set to work on the case in earnest, questioning any villager who had information, visiting the scene of trouble, interviewing any private informant who volunteered to give evidence, and so arriving at the rights and wrongs of the simpler cases. In more difficult cases he put one of the litigants to the oath, dictating his terms and stipulating the number of 'good men and true' who were to be persuaded by the litigant to take it with him. This rarely failed to show which litigant was in the wrong, and the elder came forthwith to his decision with confidence. 695

When the litigants were friendly, they might agree to engage two elders. In that case they selected them one after the other by the same method of mutual consent as they would have selected one. They also agreed to divide the cost in elders' fees and meals. That done, they laid the case before the elders, one after the other, and bargained with each about his fee and the number of meals he was to be given. These rewards were not necessarily the same for both elders. Sometimes they visited the elders together; more often each visited one only. In the usual way each was required to deposit a pledge with the elders. 694

When the litigants were not friendly, and this was the most common contingency, each found an elder for himself, without consulting the other or considering his views on the man. Each brought his own elder whatever pledge he desired; this meant that one litigant might have to deposit a gun and the other a tobacco-box. Each also bore the sole responsibility for his elder's fee and meals and made for himself the best bargain about them that he could.

A pair of elders worked on these same lines; singly perhaps during the period of investigation, certainly meeting at its conclusion to argue out the pros and cons of the case. If each represented a separate litigant, each tended to favour his own client, so introducing a new principle. The elder was no longer only a judge as he was when he was engaged by the two litigants; he was also the advocate of his own litigant, trying to do the best for him by arguing against the advocate of the other litigant. The loser was more likely to contest the decision under such circumstances. 695

When the two elders had hammered out an agreement they sent for the two disputants, said they had come to an agreement, and

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695 asked if they were willing to accept this. In the most fortunate event the disputants consented and the elders communicated their decision. Each then said to his own man, 'Now bring me my dues and I'll return your pledge'. As soon as his fee was paid he gave back his pledge to his client. If the disputant had no ready money for the fee, a common enough occurrence, he said he would wait a month or two, provided that the disputant could find someone to go bail for him. When the term he had fixed was up without bringing payment of his fee, he sold the pledge and so recouped himself. If he got rather more for the pledge than the amount of his fee the disputant had no right to claim the extra money. The elder never sold the pledge before the date he had fixed. If within the term he fixed the disputant found enough money for his fee, he was no longer allowed to pay it directly but had to transmit it through his guarantor, who in return brought back his pledge from the elder. Sometimes the guarantor saw that the disputant would never be able to redeem his pledge and paid the elder's fee for him. Unfortunately, elders had no power behind them with which to enforce their judgement. Their work was in fact arbitration rather than judging in the English sense. It was, therefore, common for elders in central Albania to communicate their findings to the disputants and then to add, 'Now settle the matter as you like. We have decided that this one of you is in the right.' Too often the 628 loser shot his successful rival, so starting a bad blood feud. Pjetër Gjoni of Theth had his house burgled, and the thief bribed the elders into putting too low a value on the stolen property, assessing it at two napoleons. Pjetër, who had already spent one napoleon on finding out who had been the thief, declared immediately that he would not abide by this judgement and killed the thief. In revenge the thief's family burned down Pjetër's house and carried off all his cattle.

696 Naturally many attempts were made to prevent such sequels to judgements. In Martanesh, Selim Peshku kept the pledges of both disputants for a time. This was against the rules, but Peshku had the peace of the community at heart and made 'anything for peace' his motto. In Zerqan all the elders in the village would meet and would fine a recusant before he could shoot the successful litigant. Sometimes in the same village the two elders refused to deliver judgement until the disputants had promised to abide by it and had each found a guarantor who undertook to see that they kept their

promise—if they did, there would be no shooting. Each had to give 696
this guarantor a pledge of the usual type—rifle, revolver, watch—
which was laid before the elders. The elders then delivered their
judgement, the two disputants accepted it and had their pledges
returned. If a disputant broke his promise and shot his rival, the
village Council of Elders would fine the guarantor, asking him why
he had let the man break his word. In this way, through the medium [620]
of the guarantor a good deal of pressure was brought to bear on the
loser to make him keep the peace. In the Elbasan area it was agreed [574]
that a disputant who gave a meal to the elders thereby accepted
their judgement, so that the strong instincts of hospitality came
into play. In Mirditë the elders whose decision was flouted 695
bade the disputants 'go to Shupal (St Paul's Church) or the
Grykë e Oroshit (Defile of Orosh)', i.e. bring the matter up before
the next General Assembly for the tribe at one or other of these
famous meeting-places. If the loser would not abide by the decision
of the General Assembly he could be fined by the tribe, ostracized
or even banished for a period. Occasionally a strong man subjected to such sanctions killed the offending elder; by so doing he
involved himself in yet another blood feud. In Mirditë and adjacent
areas emphasis was laid on the fact that the recusant loser had
himself chosen and approved the offending elder, and had signified
the same by giving him a pledge. By these acts he had stripped
himself of the right to take back the pledge or to express active
disapproval of the judgement given. Only in the event of the
judgement's being demonstrably biased or unfair were the disputants allowed to challenge it. 'A crooked judgement can be
annulled', the law stated. Often the crookedness was established
by the loser going secretly to ask another elder for his opinion. In
that event the disputant had everywhere the right to appeal against
the judgement and to call for a new examination of the case by
another elder or pair of elders. In some parts, the law ruled that
'the law does not admit of elder on elder, and trial on trial', and
that a man who had 'chosen and approved' elders had no right to
call in others.

Frivolous changing of elders was restrained by the extra expense 693
this entailed. In Lumë, for instance, if two brothers were displeased by the manner in which their chosen elders were dividing
their property, they could call in one more elder, a *staraplak*
(ancient), whose decision was final. But his regulation fee was five

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while he had gone to the ambush by another's instructions he had 628
walked there on his own legs. As the instigator of the crime had 682
broken his promise about paying the blood money, they sentenced
him to have his house burned down by the tribe.

On one occasion Lek Dukagjini had come at Skanderbeg's 649
invitation to discuss some blood feuds at a General Assembly of all
the tribes in the land. Skanderbeg opposed the principle of 'a life 554
for a life' on the grounds that all men were *not* equal; the blood of
a physically fine man was different from that of a poor type. At
Lek's suggestion, however, he inquired of his mother, upon oath,
what sort of a man his father had been. On learning that he had
been a poor type, Skanderbeg at the next Assembly agreed to the
principle of equality!

About 1870, when Kolë Prenga the Great was Captain of 688
Mirditë, a jar of butter was stolen from the church house in Orosh 696
during the priest's absence. On his return his servant, who had
also been away at the time, informed him of the theft. The priest,
a Franciscan, informed the bajraktar of Orosh. The latter convened
the tribe (*bajrak*) but no one confessed to the theft. The bajraktar
then informed Captain Kola. The captain undertook to track down
the culprit, and one day ordered the tribe to assemble on the open
space in front of the church at Orosh. In spite of Captain Kola's
questions no one came forward to confess to the crime. Then
Captain Kola, together with the chiefs of the tribe, sentenced the
unknown thief to death and banishment from the tribe; his house,
too, was to be destroyed and his land left uncultivated. Not long
afterwards the thieves were discovered. They were two young men
of Orosh, Prengë Kolë Marku and another whose name has been
forgotten. Captain Kolë Prenga the Great again ordered the tribe
to assemble, one man from every house, at the church at Orosh.
The two young men also came by order to the meeting. Captain
Kola read out the sentence that had previously been pronounced.
The two thieves were stood in the middle of an open space,
unarmed and with their hands folded at the waist. The tribe stood
up awaiting the captain's order to fire. But the priest, filled with
pity for the culprits, begged the captain, the chiefs and the
commoners to grant them their lives. This was done, they paid
money to the church for their sacrilege, returned twice the quantity
of what they had stolen, paid the usual fine and were expelled from
the tribe.

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[688] 681 It was not the theft but the sacrilege that on this occasion called the tribe of Orosh to a General Assembly and made them pronounce even the death sentence; without the sacrilege the fine would have been penalty enough. Murder of a priest, again heinous sacrilege, raised the same issues, but without hope of any reprieve from death save what secret flight might provide. Murder of a guest or of a man with whom the murderer had previously sworn an oath of peace, that is to say, of persons who had a right to protection, also came before a General Assembly and was punished by the severest penalties, including death. Yet theft in the ordinary way was [696] handled by elders and punished by a fine, and murder of the ordinary type was left to the victim's family and punished by blood vengeance. These were crimes against the individual and matter for individual handling. Sacrilege, however, and the murder of protected persons, were crimes against society, the former threatening the authority of the Church and the latter the tribal fabric.

689 623 When a man's general behaviour was a public menace or nuisance, he usually found himself before a General Assembly. To begin with, the elders of his social unit took the matter up as was their duty, attempting first to reason him into a better frame of mind. If this failed, they had to call a plenary meeting of the village to try the culprit and to carry out whatever sentence was pronounced. This was usually burning down his house and leaving his land untilled for a specific number of years. If he still persisted in his evil-doing, and this was serious socially speaking, the elders could call the whole tribe to their assistance. For public pests incited public extermination, and this required the sanction and the whole force of the tribe. Miss Durham relates what she calls 'an amazing case of wholesale justice' which occurred in the Mirditë tribe, Fan, in February 1912. A certain family in this tribe had become notorious for evil-doing, robbing, shooting and general misconduct. A 'gathering of the whole tribe' condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lie in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off. And on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was only five and another only twelve years old. It was even proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant in case she should bear a male and so renew the evil.[1]

[1] Durham, op. cit. p. 75.

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each seeking their support. Had four refused at this stage to take the oath Asllan would at once have been publicly convicted—if less than four, two substitutes would have had to be produced for every one that refused; two for one, four for two, and six for three, and there would have been no extension of the time limit. In this case, however, all the compurgators agreed to swear to Asllan's innocence, and he himself, towards the end of the week, swore on the Koran that he had nothing to do with the theft. Later the compurgators, led by Qazim's nominees, took the oath of Asllan's innocence before the whole village. Actually, Qazim cut short the proceedings after six or seven had sworn, as by then the compurgators most likely to know the truth had sworn to the suspect's innocence.

Having celebrated his acquittal with a banquet to the compurgators, Asllan two days later yoked the stolen ox, hidden during the case in a lonely sheepfold, to his plough. Now, although the mistake—either designed or accidental—of the compurgators was obvious, there was no legal machinery for annulling the verdict. In the opinion of the village, however, Asllan received his punishment when shortly afterwards his son was born lame.[1]

Qazim in Labinot put his case into the hands of the headman of his village. In the tribal north he would have entrusted it to the elder of his brotherhood, ward or village or perhaps to the bajraktar of his tribe.

Tribal officials, being hereditary, had more authority to act for their community than had the temporary headman in non-tribal districts such as Labinot. In Milot, the most northerly village of Kurbin, the victim tackled the suspect himself, asking him first if he had committed the outrage and then if he would take oath that he had not. In view of the fieriness of Albanian tempers this information is surprising—one would expect shooting to put an abrupt end to such an interview—but it is confirmed by information from the neighbouring village of Laç. When one of its inhabitants denied having received a loan, the lender asked him directly to swear in the presence of two or three witnesses that he had never been lent the money.

Only men of military age and capacity had standing enough to

[1] A very similar system of compurgators exists among the Naga tribes of Assam. There, however, though in some tribes there is no means of modifying the verdict if an oath prove to be false, in others a compurgator who discovers that his principal is lying can 'withdraw his life', otherwise in danger from the false oath, and so reopen the case *ab initio*. (Ed.)

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More often a suspect volunteered unasked to take an oath. For 695
example, about 1931 a man in Zerqan shot his wife for some reason unknown and was then, very properly by local standards, hunted by her relatives. In desperation he offered to take an oath with twelve compurgators, the statutory number for a murdered woman, that he had not killed her. He managed to persuade all twelve to [696]
take the oath, and so, though the public still believed him guilty, he secured a formal acquittal and escaped further molestation by her relatives.

Here is another example. In the early 1930's a villager of Nangë in Lumë killed a neighbour, in order to marry the widow. The victim's cousin, as required by ancient custom, shot the woman and tried to shoot the man. He missed him again and again, but made his life such a misery that the man volunteered to take an oath with twenty-four compurgators, the statutory number for a man, that he had not killed his neighbour. Less lucky than the scamp of Zerqan, he was left to the cousin's vengeance. One compurgator failed to come to take the oath, so convicting him. It transpired later that the cousin had bribed this compurgator with two napoleons not to come, but the verdict of the oath could not be quashed and the case retried.

In property disputes the choice of the oath-taker depended 685
almost universally on the wishes of the elders. When they decided 695
that a dispute about land, or irrigation water was to be settled by an oath, they generally said that one of the disputants must swear that the property was his. Most often they preferred the man in possession, but sometimes they chose the one with the weaker claim in the hope that he would shrink from the ordeal, and so bring the dispute to a speedy end. In Çermenikë, and no doubt elsewhere, when there was some disparity of age they selected the older disputant, on the assumption that his greater age would mean greater knowledge of the facts. Very occasionally, before the dispute was laid before the elders one disputant bade the other take the very serious oath on the head of his son. Sometimes, particularly in boundary disputes, the elders put neither disputant to the oath. Instead, they chose an old man who had no direct interest in the dispute, but had learned the facts from his father and was trusted.

There were various names for the two principals. In all types of case and in all areas the oath-taker was called 'the master of the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

fail to turn up. If even one so failed, the suspect was declared 695
guilty. Indeed, the easiest and least obnoxious way of convicting the suspect was not to turn up for the oath. Such was the almost universal rule. In the Malësi e Madhe, however, a message was sent to a missing compurgator to make sure that he had not merely forgotten the date. If he replied that he had not come on purpose because he thought the suspect was guilty, the case ended, a verdict of guilty being returned. If he replied that he was absent for personal reasons, an attempt was made to find two others to take his place at once; if this succeeded, the oath was taken. If only one compurgator did not attend in Bytyç, the oath could be taken, particularly if the reason for the compurgator's default was the newly discovered pregnancy of his wife. These rules applied only to the accuser's quota. If one of the suspect's compurgators failed to turn up, any bystander who could be persuaded to join the jury might be substituted. As the suspect was not bound to disclose the names of his quota, the public was often unaware that the second man was a substitute and not the suspect's first choice.

In Mirditë the verdict was virtually known before the taking of [574]
the oath. When the suspect felt ready to take the oath he invited the compurgators to a meal in his house. If they declined his invitation it meant that they thought him guilty and would not take the oath. If they accepted his invitation he could sleep in peace, secure in the knowledge that whenever the time came for them to take the oath, they would do so. Once they had eaten his food, the oath was as good as taken. This custom may have developed because the suspect had to assemble the compurgators to hear him take the oath and was forbidden by his instincts of hospitality to leave them unfed. In Labinot, Çermenikë and Zerqan, the suspect also offered the compurgators a high-class meal, with meat and rice pilaff, but not till after they had taken the oath, and only if he had been cleared. The meal was thought to ratify the oath and to reward the compurgators in some measure for their trouble.

A loser who did not abide by the verdict of the oath lost 'face'. 696
Some years ago, a family in Fulqet died out. Two neighbours, more or less related to the family, claimed its land, one taking possession of it and the other gathering a stackful of hay from it. Even the women quarrelled so fiercely over it that they had to be separated by gendarmes and the elders intervened and said that the relative in possession must take an oath with twenty-four

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

696 compurgators that the land was his. He took the oath, but the other refused to accept its verdict and the quarrel continued. The whole village denounced this as 'very shameful'.

Some losers were made to accept the verdict by the realization [558] that resistance would only plunge them into the difficulties of a blood feud, and others submitted in fear of losing 'face'. The [696] elders had normally little machinery for enforcing the verdict. In one difficult case observed by the author in Çermenikë however, they succeeded by the unusual device of putting both claimants to the oath. An old, forceful man had quarrelled about irrigation water with a young rascal who was his distant relative. The elders decided that if the young man could take the oath, he should have the water; if he could not, the old man must not think the water his but must take oath on another day that it was his by right. As the young man was a notorious liar, it was not expected that he would be able to muster the requisite number of compurgators. But to the general surprise he succeeded, and took the oath. The elders decreed that he should have water for six hours every five days. The old man seemed at first to acquiesce in this decree, but later held up the water and turned out his own compurgators to take oath along with himself that it was his. But the elders would not countenance such disobedience, particularly as he had originally submitted to the verdict of his relative's oath; and by refusing to come and witness his oath they prevented it from being taken. Eventually he gave in, and allowed the young man to have water according to the oath that he had sworn as prescribed by the elders.

693 Another interesting case occurred in Dibër about 1935. Cen
696 Elezi was asked to arbitrate between two cousins in Çajë, in south Lumë, who were quarrelling about a piece of land. He asked a fee of twelve napoleons from each, and accepted their tobacco boxes in pledge thereof. The boxes were silver but not worth anything like his fee, so they were only a token pledge. Cen then went to see the land and discovered that neither cousin knew exactly where its boundaries lay. He pointed this out and said that this and their relationship made arbitration difficult. One of them, whom he named, must therefore take oath with six named and six unnamed compurgators that the land was his. First of all, however, he must set up the boundary stones in their proper places. On the day arranged Cen could not go himself to witness the oath. He

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

sent the cousins word to that effect and said he was sending a deputy. 693
When the latter arrived, he found the named cousin ready to take 696
the oath but no boundary stones in place. He refused to witness the oath because Cen's condition had not been observed. The matter was referred back to Cen, who said that since the cousin put to the oath had been unable to take it as enjoined, the other must have the land. If they did not wish to accept this judgement, let them bring him four napoleons each as his fee for the incomplete oath, and let them find another elder and he would pay his expenses; he was no guarantor to make them accept his judgement. The cousins prepared to accept his decision, but when the winner began to plough the land, the loser shot one of his men dead and wounded another; the feud continued for many years.

The oath derived its efficiency as a legal instrument from super- 782
stitious fear of punishment for perjury. God, as the Almighty, was [695]
naturally the chief agent of this punishment. 'Don't let God catch a perjurer', said the aphorism. In invocations the connexion between oath and Deity was simple. The oath-taker called God or one of His saints to witness to the truth of what he was about to swear, and did so in the full knowledge that if he angered Him by perjury, he must expect a manifestation of Divine wrath. There was a very definite belief that God was watching. In oaths sworn on a sacred object or building, such as 'By this good thing of the Lord', there was an indirect invocation of the Deity, but also while the oath-taker swore, he had to keep his hand on the sacred object—Gospel, crucifix, altar, church door, Koran, saint's grave—just as a witness in an English law court must take the oath with his hand [178]
on the Bible. This act established physical contact between the oath-taker and the Deity or saint with which the sacred object or building was associated. To a simple tribesman this was a very solemn thought. On this account these contact oaths were preferred above all others. Probably the contact also made the tribesman think punishment more certain. All over the Near East the principle of direct contact with holy things plays an important role. This is most familiar in cases of sickness, as when people knot rags to sacred graves or trees; the holy influences with which they have thus linked their persons penetrate their whole being and cure their maladies. Many instances will be found in the author's book *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. But suppliants for such favours must placate the holy influences with prayers or

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296] 225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837] runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765] shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696] out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628] been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585] whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554] collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894. 681 491 574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1
[Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin, Aug. 5-7, 1906]

8. As for jurors, in every crime committed in Kurbin, a murder excepted, the jurors must give their oath, saying, 'That it has been stolen from you, I don't know.'[1] 681 [695]

9. What an informant says is said with an oath of how it was in mind.[2]

10. If a man quarrels deliberately with another and without informing the village elder, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If he informs the village elder and the latter asks for a pledge of good behaviour from the one who is oppressing the other and this man refuses to give it, he will be fined 500 grosh.

If the village elder cannot put things right he gives both men a month's grace and informs the other elders who shall settle the quarrel in accordance with the local law.

11. Anyone who gives food or admittance to his house to a Christian or a Mohammedan who is a policeman in the service of the Sultan shall be fined 1500 grosh. [625] [574]

12. If a man breaks a pledge of security given and taken in the presence of elders and commoners in Kurbin, the elders and commoners are under an obligation to burn his house and to expel him from the tribe. [696]

Written in Delbinisht, Kurbin, at the spring of water under the mulberry tree near the Archbishop's palace on August 5th, 6th and 7th, 1906.

Gjin Pjetër Mark Pervizi of Skuraj, Kurbin, senior elder among the 45 elders of the environs of Krue, in the name of the elders and commoners.

Also present at this General Assembly and registrars of the aforesaid laws:

Mgr. Nikollë Kaçorri, witness.

Father Shtjefën K. Gjeçov, Franciscan, witness.

XII. Letter from Shalë dated May 12th, 1907.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 127.)

1. Greetings from the bajraktar of Shalë, the notables and youth to you, chiefs and youth of Theth. We beg to inform you that the undermentioned laws have been enacted by the tribe of Lower Shalë. We let you know, asking if you too will abide by these laws. We laid down the

[1] The Italian version of clause 8 runs: *Il dovere del giurato per tutto ciò che accada nel territorio di Kurbini, salvo che nelle cause di uccisione, consiste nel giuramento di non cognoscere il colpevole.*

[2] The Italian translator has *La deposizione del delatore deve essere accompagnata dal giuramento.*

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

he found it to his interest to stay away permanently. If he found the climate or the soil of his new home kindlier, he might sell his paternal holding through an intermediary and with the proceeds buy land in his new home. Before he ran away, he had probably sent his wife to her parents, who no doubt lived in another village. There he visited her at intervals until he was installed in his new property, when he sent for her and their children, if any. A voluntary exile, it may be added, was content to leave his wife in his brother's charge; a compulsory exile took her with him. Good examples of voluntary exiles turned permanent from motives of advantage are provided by the many Bojdan families from Bicaj in Lumë, who in recent centuries involved themselves in blood feuds and fled to Kosovë. Their feuds were compounded in every instance, but the greater fertility in Kosovë was not to be resisted. To-day their descendants live scattered as far apart as Kaçanik and Blacë, near Skopljë. They still preserve memories of their kinship one with another and with Bicaj; in fact, till the break-up of the Turkish empire in Europe after the Balkan wars interposed new frontiers between the Albanian lands, they made occasional pilgrimages to the homes of their ancestors in Bicaj.

Sometimes an exiled murderer set up a small business, selling cigarettes and cleaning shoes, and made money as he could never have done in his mountain village. Sometimes, too, he entered the service of a rich man and in return for his devotion was given a grant of land.

The emergence of a central government which punished murder tended to increase the number of permanent exiles and to make the strong as well as the weak run away. An Albanian would face boldly enough the vengeance of his victim's relatives, but he detested being imprisoned by the government. A man of Bashabun, near Elbasan, killed a neighbour years ago. Blood money was paid, and so far as his victim's family was concerned, he was free to return home. Unwilling, however, to serve the short term of imprisonment to which the government would condemn him, he remained in exile in Bosnia. A Milot murderer remained in exile after the payment of blood money had closed the feud, because he feared imprisonment by the government. In an accidental meeting with his victim's brother, both forgot the closing of the feud and shot at each other, the brother killing the murderer. Then only the taking of the oath with twenty-four men cleared him from the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

subsisting at the time of his expulsion were voided by that fact. 682 When his banishment was temporary, his marriage engagements 628* remained binding. [584]

Even in cases of temporary banishment the murderer's separation from his tribe was thoroughgoing. For the specified period 'he could not light a cigarette in a single house of the tribe', as the men of Lurë put it. Nor could he, or his, return to borrow honey, that most important commodity where sugar is scarce. In Mirditë a tribesman who admitted him to his house for any of the above purposes was publicly 'burned, roasted and expelled' for breaking tribal discipline.

The banished murderer's obligation to take root whether he 682 wished it or not in some alien spot is another of the factors which produced the many colonies of diverse origin in Albanian lands. The exiles, home-sick like exiles the world over, often gave the name of their ancestral village to their new settlement.

If the murderer did not choose to go into exile of his own accord, [697] he was condemned by the avenger to virtual imprisonment in his house. Sometimes he shut himself up voluntarily; more often, especially in north Albania, he was peremptorily ordered to do so by the avenger. For the period of his 'imprisonment' fear that the avenger was lurking near prevented him from stirring outside during the daytime and restricted his movements to the night hours. If he left home, he had by dawn to find shelter under a friend's roof and he could not continue his travels until the next night fell. These disabilities were his so long as he eluded the avenger, and he might do so for years, as in the case of a native of Sheshaj who had been shut up by his enemy for twenty-five years. At Belsh in Dumre, as a result of this confinement, two men who had been shut up for twelve years were 'waxen and yellow as the dead'. They longed to walk in the sunlight and were bored indoors where they could do nothing to pass the time except strip maize [786] and knit (most curiously, knitting is one of the staple occupations [462] of the men, but not the women, in Dumre). But they could not help themselves, since it was certain death to step outside during the daytime.

Just as the murderer's house could not be burned down in case 672 women and children perished in the conflagration, so his 'imprison- 682 ment' could not be allowed to stop the work of the family in case 628* women and children died of starvation. There were several

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

*628 672 682 provisions for carrying on the work. The first was the law that women, children, servants and domestic animals must not be shut up. So in comparative security the able-bodied women, on whom fell the heaviest burden, tilled the fields, went to market, ground corn at the mill and fetched water from the spring and firewood from the forest. The boys and aged women herded the cows, sheep and goats. The servants took part in any or all of these tasks, but few households could afford the luxury of servants.

[462] A social phenomenon alleged to be a by-product of this immunity of women and children is interesting. To-day a good proportion of the agricultural work of Albania is done by women, while the men idle; a generation ago the bulk of it was so done. The men of to-day excuse their idling by saying it is a habit formed when they or their fathers were shut up by blood feuds; whatever their natural inclination to work, they were then driven perforce into allowing their women to toil alone to feed the family. This plea may or may not be valid; as the frequency of blood feuds decreased, the men's industry increased.

*628 672 In bad feuds the immunity of women and children was sometimes denied. Even to-day the women of Murat Kaloshi's household cannot stir outside his compound except under heavy escort; failing that, they would be shot without pity by his enemies. The numerous children in his household are growing up illiterate four minutes' walk from an excellent school; if they attended this school, a battalion of gendarmes or men-at-arms could hardly ensure their safety. Another bad case is to be found at Milot, where even the boys in the cradle in Gjin Bardhoku's house have to share the men's imprisonment. In Çermenikë the immunity of women was never absolute; there was always a danger that the avenger might lose his temper and kill them. Within living memory two women in Fenars, one of the more accessible villages in Çermenikë, once tried to plough and were discovered by the avenger. On their declining to desist as he bade them, he fired at them with unexpectedly fortunate results. He wounded both but only severely enough to make them fall to the ground while letting go the oxen. They made a speedy recovery and, each wound counting as half a 'blood', the avenger was considered to have taken vengeance. The two parties were then 'measure for measure' and made peace.

*628 697 Again with a view to feeding the murderer's family an avenger

sometimes yielded to a friend's pleadings and allowed one or more 628*
men in the 'imprisoned' man's household to come out and work. 697 ●
The same friend went security to the murderer for the lives of the [672]
man or men released. In Shpat, if one of the men imprisoned
died, the avenger sent word that one of those hitherto free must shut himself up in his stead. It is not known whether this was the rule in other districts or not.

In earlier times, according to vague traditions still current in Çermenikë and Martanesh, only the actual murderer was shut up and the other men in his household were free to work and to travel. This tradition is supported by the history of the Balli family in the village of Fenars. Seven generations ago, i.e. about 175 years ago, Sali Balli of Martanesh killed a friend and was shut up by the avenger, while his four brothers went free. He grew so bored in his 'prison' that he ran away from Martanesh and settled in Fënars, where he founded a family now headed by Isuf Balli. The descendants of his brothers still live in the old home in Martanesh.

When an avenger felt too bitter to release indefinitely one or [462]
more men in the imprisoned murderer's household, he was sometimes induced to make a minor concession. When all the men were shut up, women were able to hoe, to carry manure, to sow seed, to reap wheat and to harvest maize successfully, but they could not plough—so it was believed in north, though not in south, Albania, where the wives of many emigrants must to this day plough if they and their children are to eat. There was therefore danger in north Albania that if all the men were shut up during the ploughing season, the family would, in spite of the women's efforts, starve. This led to a ticket-of-leave system, called *besë*, literally 'pledged word', 'truce', or *kuvend*, 'agreement'. At the instance of a mutual friend the avenger granted the murderer leave for one or more men in his household to come out and work his land for a stipulated period, varying from three to twelve months. As so often, the forces [626]
of public opinion reinforced the friend's urgings; indeed, it was said of an avenger who refused his enemy leave to plough that he 'was not to be entered in the register', i.e. could not be classed as a man, and of one who did not that he was both brave and honourable.

In Dukagjin the kanùn of murder was so stern that neither the 682
murderer nor his womenfolk were allowed to work his land if the 628*
avenger was strong. Indeed, the avenger often worked it and carried home the produce, leaving the murderer's household

[Constitution]

TITLE IV

Courts and Department of the Attorney General

(a) *Courts*

692

ARTICLE 75

The judicial organs of the People's Republic of Albania are: The Supreme Court, the People's Courts of the prefectures and subprefectures, and the Military Courts.

Special Courts may be created by law for specific questions. [698]

ARTICLE 76

The courts give their decisions in the name of the people.

The courts are independent in the exercise of their own functions. They are separated from all the administrative branches of government. Their decisions cannot be altered except by higher courts.

The higher courts are empowered within the law to control lower courts.

The Ministry of Justice directs and controls all matters of judicial administration and organization. [645]

ARTICLE 77

The courts try cases according to law. 695

ARTICLE 78

In principle, court sessions are open to the public.

ARTICLE 79

In principle, the decisions of the courts are given for the entire bench. The judicial personnel of the subprefectures and prefectures sitting as a court of original jurisdiction is composed of permanent judges and juries, both of whom have equal rights.

Penal verdicts of more than ten years cannot be given by a court of original jurisdiction but only by a court of the prefecture or by a higher court.

ARTICLE 80

The official language in all courts is Albanian. 191 695

[Constitution]

191 695 Any citizen who does not know Albanian may use his own language through an interpreter.

ARTICLE 81

692 The Supreme Court is elected for four years by the People's Convention of the Republic and by secret ballot.

The courts of the prefectures are elected for three years by the people's councils of the prefecture and by secret ballot.

[666] The judges of the subprefectures are also elected for three years by the people's councils of the subprefecture and by secret ballot.

A person may be elected judge many times.

The manner of election to all courts will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 82

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial body of the People's Republic of Albania.

[698] The Supreme Court can arbitrate any conflict of jurisdiction between the civil and military courts as well as between courts and any other bodies.

Cases in which the Supreme Court acts as a court of original or secondary jurisdiction will be defined by law.

ARTICLE 83

The Supreme Court passes on the legality of all court decisions of the Republic.

693 [692] Only the District Attorney may exercise an appeal against a summary decision of the courts. The decision given on such an appeal has no effect on the cause tried except when the law provides otherwise.

(b) *Department of the Attorney General*

ARTICLE 84

693 646 The Department of the Attorney General is the organ of the People's Convention which supervises the execution of the law by the ministries and other administrative bodies as well as by all public officials and citizens.

ARTICLE 85

The Attorney General of the People's Republic of Albania

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 765 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 582 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 614 619 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North. Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 779 186 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 614 779 582 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress. When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGI Albania EGI

THE FIGHTING MEN FROM THE MOUNTAINS WHO CAME INTO TIRANA TO DEFEND THE GOVERNMENT WHILE ELEZ JUSUF WAS IN TIRANA

In this group are men from seven tribes, distinguishable by the pattern of their trousers.

701

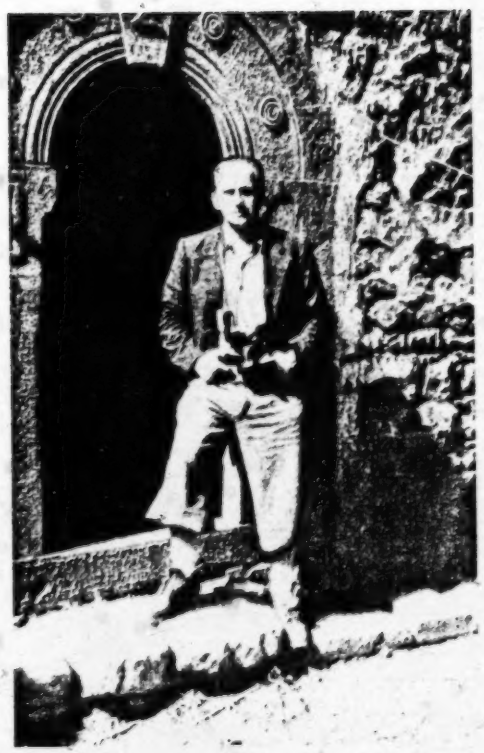
3260

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

761

GENERAL PRENK PREVISI,
COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ALBANIAN ARMY

622



IHSAN BEY TOPTANI

[-2442-]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

VI

WAR ON TWO FRONTS

> The instant ruin of his country may redound to the hero's glory; yet had he balanced the consequences of submission and resistance, a patriot perhaps would have declined the unequal contest which must depend on the life and genius of one man. Scanderberg might indeed be supported by the rational, though fallacious, hope, that the Pope, the King of Naples and the Venetian Republic would join in the defence of a free and Christian people who guarded the sea coast of the Adriatic and the narrow passage from Greece to Italy.
>
> GIBBON: *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, (Chapter LXVII)

1

THE affairs of the Albanian Nationalists drew swiftly on towards their crisis. On the 18th August Fikri Dine and General Prenk Previsi, the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces, drove out from Tirana and were conducted to Abas Kupi's headquarters. It was only a few days since Fikri had cut off the funds and food supplies of the Zogists in a last attempt to compel Abas Kupi's submission to his government. Now he and the General were come almost as suppliants to confess their failure to obtain arms or money from the Germans and their conviction that there was nothing more to be hoped for from a policy of "collaboration". They had played the German card against the Partisans and lost. Now they turned naturally to Abas Kupi to sound him as to his hopes of British support and to learn whether they might still save their skins by rallying to his cause.

This was the moment for which Abas Kupi had been waiting through all the years of his struggle in the mountains. In his eyes the creation of a resistance movement and the search for an agreement with the Allied Mission had been but

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

preparations for the day when he could call all Albanians to a general revolt against an enemy too weak ever to regain the initiative. Then, but only then, the military advantage would lie with the insurgents, and the ravages of war would be redeemed by the fruits of victory: power for the leaders and loot for the rank and file. Once before, at the time of the collapse of Italy, he had believed that the time had come and had thrown all his forces into a general revolt. Then, if events had favoured the guerillas, he might have been the arbiter of Albania's destinies, for he had been strong in his own following and had held the balance of power between the Ballists and the Partisans. In those days he had meant to give the "collaborationists" short shrift; but since then the civil war had taken a heavy toll of his strength, and he was now in no position to reject reinforcements from whatever quarter they might come. Fikri and his friends still represented a force to be reckoned with, and, in the eyes of many, their "collaboration" had been all but justified by the fear of Communism which had inspired it. Besides, once they had joined him in the mountains, they would be in his power, and he would be the master. With their support he would make good the losses of the civil war and might hope to do great execution among the retreating Germans. Thereafter the British could no longer refuse him their help, and he would thus be strong enough to compel Enver Hoja to come to terms.

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Abas Kupi therefore proposed to his two visitors that the leaders of the Government and of the Balli Kombetar should leave Tirana with all their forces and join him in the mountains to attack the Germans. If they complied he would give them his protection and allocate to them a share of such supplies as he might receive from the British. If they refused he would still take the field alone, but would then regard them as his enemies. All afternoon the three debated this proposal and the Prime Minister and the Commander-in-Chief saw little alternative but to accept. Bitter experience, however, had taught them to distrust the friendship of Great Powers, and, before committing themselves to the precarious refuge of the mountains, they wanted to be sure that Abas Kupi's hopes of

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British support were more likely of fulfilment than those which they had once founded upon the Germans. They asked, therefore, for assurances that the British command would support their operations with military supplies, and would view their defection to the Allied cause with favour. If the Agha could obtain such assurances from the British Mission they would accept his proposal, and he might count on them as on his own men.

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As soon as Fikri and the General were gone, Abas Kupi despatched a messenger to summon us to an urgent meeting. Accordingly we set out in Ihsan's carriage on the following evening, and, driving through the night along dusty cart tracks, reached the lonely farm-house where the Agha slept. The hour was too late for discussions, but next morning we went out together to a cool and shaded apple orchard where the master of the house had spread bright-coloured rugs for our conference. There Abas Kupi told us of his meeting with the "collaborationist" leaders and declared himself ready, despite the civil war, to attack the Germans as soon as we should give the assurances which Fikri had required. His proposal corresponded closely to our own most sanguine expectations, but we heard him with affected reserve; for we could not tell what would be the reactions of the staff officers in Bari. We saw, however, that the Agha himself was excited by the prospect of action, and to allay his impatience at once drew up a report for our Headquarters which was enciphered and transmitted in his presence. In this we admitted that British encouragement for the projected concentration of Nationalists under Abas Kupi's command might feed fuel to the flames of civil war. At the same time we were sure that it would contribute to the discomfiture of the Germans, who might otherwise make good their retreat through North Albania with little loss. We also pointed out that the entry of the Nationalists into the war against Germany would provide us with a last opportunity for intervening to stop the civil war and to prevent the incorporation of Albania in the Soviet system.

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When our business was done and we had eaten we left the orchard and went our several ways: Abas Kupi to Kurbenesh to negotiate alliances with its chiefs; Ihsan to Tirana to keep

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*669 648 to attack the Germans. Meanwhile, leaving Maclean and myself at Topise, Smiley set out with Zogist guides to reconnoitre the approaches to Durazzo.

643 701 That night, when we had gone, Fikri Dine, General Prenk Previsi, and representatives of the Balli Kombetar drove out from Tirana to the Agha's headquarters to learn of our reply. Their discussions lasted through the night, but before dawn the die was cast. They returned to the capital, and, at noon on the 29th August, Fikri Dine announced the resignation of his government in a proclamation which declared that his efforts to save Albania from Communism had been frustrated by the total absence of German support.

The resignation of the government was the signal for the political leaders to disperse, and completed the isolation of the Germans. They sought to persuade, and at length to compel, the loyalty of their former associates, but when they struck the birds had already flown. Fikri Dine made his way to Dibra, hoping to raise the tribes to his support, but the Partisans were already masters of the region, and the chiefs who had been his friends had gone over to the winning side. For some days he wandered as an outlaw through the lands he had once swayed; but his utmost efforts only rallied to his cause some two hundred men, the remnants of the Dibran gendarmerie. With these he then retired through Mirdita to the Catholic region of Kurbenesh, which lies to the west of Mati. Kurbenesh was the seat of Prenk Previsi's influence, and there Fikri found the general with a body of picked officers and men of the Albanian army. Their combined following was less than five hundred strong — all that remained of the Albanian armed forces.

*669 665 The Ballist leaders meanwhile hesitated to entrust themselves to the Gheg chieftains and went into hiding near, or even in, Tirana, to wait until their forces should arrive from the South. Midhat Frasheri and Ali Klissura were variously reported held or shot by the Germans, but when the smoke of rumour cleared it was found that they were in Shiyak. There Abas Ermenye, the movement's energetic military commander, was concentrating the remnants of the Ballist forces, which presently amounted to some eight hundred men.

000 son had been killed in the R.A.F. raid on Petch. The tradition of hospitality, however, proved stronger than a father's resentment; he feasted us on sucking pig and grapes, and placed his house at our disposal. There, in the evening, we were joined 643 by Abas Kupi, who came with Fikri Dine and the leaders of the Balli Kombetar.

Fikri was stocky and dark, with grey, rather lifeless eyes and a greedy mouth. He looked tough; his speech was blunt; his manner arrogant. He was not, however, without subtlety, and we found him possessed of a distinct sense of humour. The first encounter with British officers must have been embarrassing, for a former " collaborationist " premier, but, to our great relief, Fikri sought neither to explain nor to excuse his conduct. Instead he told us the history of his attempts to procure arms and money from the Germans, and, with disarming frankness and a touch of irony, described the causes of his failure. He had tried to exploit them for his own ends, and his only regret was that his intrigues had been foiled. There is an element of exploitation in all politics, and Fikri's rage at being made himself the dupe was so sincere that it could not but compel a certain professional sympathy. When he had done with the past he questioned me anxiously about British policy towards Albania, and his own verdict was not perhaps mistaken.

"I know," he said, " that you English have an interest in our country because we have a sea coast and you are a sea power. Many of us count on that, but I have learnt from bitter experience that in politics little interests are often sacrificed to greater ones."

• 701 With Fikri came General Prenk Previsi, the Commander-in-Chief of the Albanian army and the paramount influence in Kurbenesh. He was a dark, rather weak-faced man, and wore a blue-green field uniform with red facings and highly polished riding-boots. We thought him a light-opera general, but as yet he took little part in proceedings and remained in the background, surrounded by a group of down-at-heel staff officers.

665 In Malibardhe we also met for the first time Ali Bey Klissura, who stood second only to Midhat Frasheri in the Balli Kombetar. A powerful landowner from the south, Ali

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VII

DEFEAT IN VICTORY

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> I believed I was on the right road. . . . But fate was merciless to me when it threw me into this maelstrom. I wanted much, I started much, but the gale of the world carried away me and my work.
>
> GENERAL DRAJA MIHAILOVITCH: *Final speech at his trial in Belgrade, 11th July, 1946*

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Now when Abas Kupi saw that all was lost, he wasted no time in vain regrets or feeble reproaches but manfully resolved to bring his affairs to an honourable conclusion. Pride and resentment might still incline him to join with Muharrem Bairaktar and the Captain of Mirdita to wage a forlorn guerilla against the Partisans, but he had been four years the ally of the British, and loyalty, as well as judgment, forbade him to prolong a struggle which we had condemned. He decided, therefore, as a patriot to spare his countrymen from further useless bloodshed, and, like a prudent man, prepared to make good his own escape. That same afternoon he marched out towards Preza to bid his confederate chiefs farewell and to disband the Zogist forces to their homes. Thereafter he would only maintain a bodyguard, and, having discharged his last duties towards his followers, would return and seek our help to leave Albania and join his king.

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In the Agha's absence we were committed to the care of General Prenk Previsi, the former "collaborationist" Commander-in-Chief. We rode north-eastwards, therefore, from Malibardhe, and, after a two hours' journey through rolling, wooded country, came on his headquarters, a lonely, stone

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house deep in the forest of Skurrai. Sentries were posted along the paths leading to it, and, warned by them of our approach, the General came out to meet us surrounded by his staff. We exchanged formal salutes and, standing in the rain, endured a speech of welcome. The Albanian officers were then marshalled in a row for presentation, while the General explained with the ostentatious precision of an instructor on a tactical exercise the dispositions which he had taken for our defence. Such military proceedings astonished the guerillas, but, determined not to be outdone, we gratified the General's vanity and our own sense of humour by inviting him to inspect our Turkoman troops.

Prenk Previsi had until recently been our enemy, but, as is often the way of defeated generals in their dealings with the winning side, he now sought to establish a bond of professional sympathy between us as brother officers. As a first step to this end he proposed, in accordance with what he doubtless believed to be British military custom, that we divide our party into officers and men. It was hard to say, however, who were the officers among the guerillas; and we had grown accustomed, after the manner of the tribal chiefs, to a changing entourage of Zogist and Ballist delegates, favourites, interpreters, buffoons, and bodyguards, who followed us wherever we went. We declined, therefore, to attempt a distinction which must have been invidious, and, among proud men, might have been imprudent. For a moment we feared a social crisis, but on a sudden inspiration I suggested to the General that our motley retinue might be classified as our *État-major*. Maclean bit his lip not to laugh, but honour was satisfied by this ridiculous formula; for, despite his rank and military pretensions, Prenk Previsi was, as I had surmised, but a tribesman in uniform.

We now repaired together towards the house, a solid, two-storied building set on the edge of a low cliff and fronted with a trellis-work portico overgrown with vines. A round arch surmounted by an engraved cross marked the doorway and, passing under it, we were conducted up a steep flight of steps to the guest-room. A log fire blazed on the hearth, but,

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000 instead of the usual carpets and cushions, the floor on both sides of the room was piled three feet deep with banks of fresh bracken.

• 701 Our host and protector, General Prenk Previsi, had played an important part in the revolution of 1924, and, with Muharrem Bairaktar, Fikri Dine, and Jemal Herri, had formed the quadrumvirate by whose efforts Zog's regime had been established among the Ghegs. When he had served the royal purpose Zog had deprived him of his command and had promoted him to an appointment on the General Staff, where he had enjoyed honour without exercising influence. More pliable than his fellow quadrumvirs, Prenk Previsi had laid aside his political ambitions and had devoted an unusual talent for intrigue to his advancement in the military career. He had won the favour of General Pariani, the head of the Italian Military Mission, and had been chosen by him to accompany the Italian armies in the Abyssinian War as Albanian observer. On his return he had been appointed Albanian Military Attaché in Rome, and his subsequent submission to the Italian crown had been rewarded with the rank of General. The Italians had given him a command during the Greek campaign, but he had been suspected of correspondence with the enemy and had been transferred to Scutari as Albanian adviser to the Italian Commandant. He had employed the next two years in building up a faction among the Albanian officers, but had stood aside from the general revolt against the Italians, retiring with his chief supporters to his native district of Kurbenesh. There he had remained until, in November 1943, the Council of Regency set up under the Germans had summoned him to the Supreme Command.

701 727 His career as Commander-in-Chief had been stormy; for, while it was German policy to divide and rule, Prenk Previsi was determined to keep all the Albanian armed forces under his own command. His struggle with the Germans was necessarily unequal, but he emerged triumphant from their first challenge to his authority. The Germans had decided to raise an Albanian S.S. Division for the German army, and had offered command of the first brigade to a certain Salami

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Chelai. This Chelai was a Captain on the Reserve, and as such came under the jurisdiction of Prenk Previsi. Now the General was naturally opposed to the formation of an Albanian unit which would not be subject to his authority, and had therefore ordered Chelai to decline the appointment. On German advice, however, Chelai disregarded this order; and one morning the General observed him entering the German Corps Headquarters, dressed in Colonel's uniform. Injured in his dignity, he resolved "to make an example" and ordered Chelai's immediate "execution". An hour later, as the wretched man emerged from his conference, the General's A.D.C.s and orderlies despatched him on the steps of the German Headquarters with two hand-grenades and a volley from their submachine-guns. The General himself enjoyed the proceedings from his office window; and a large crowd gathered to demonstrate their approval. The Germans were not unnaturally enraged by such high-handed defiance, and demanded Prenk Previsi's instant dismissal and punishment. The old Regent, Mehdi Bey, however, had learnt his politics under the Ottoman Empire, and, summoning the General in the presence of the German Commanding Officer, said to him:

"I must ask you to apologise to our German friend for the mess your men have made on his doorstep. Next time you have to shoot an officer, see that it is done in a barracks and not in the street."

The German took the hint; an S.S. division was later formed in the Kossovo, but the attempt was never repeated within the frontiers of the old kingdom.

Prenk Previsi survived the incident, but his relations with the Germans were permanently impaired. His requests for arms and ammunition for the Albanian army were thenceforth invariably rejected; and a letter which he had addressed to General Fistun on this subject was returned to him like a schoolboy's unsatisfactory exercise with "Nein" scrawled across the top of it in green ink. It was this slight which had finally decided him to turn against the Germans, and, now that he was with their enemies, he unburdened himself of all his pent-up resentment. The account of his "collaboration"

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

701 was scarcely creditable to himself, but it was eloquent of the almost pathological incapacity of the Germans to win the sympathies of those who might so easily have been their friends.

We came to know Prenk Previsi well in the next few weeks, and, though experience only confirmed our first estimate of his vain and vacillating temper, we found him a good fellow and at times an interesting companion. In his cups he liked nothing better than to be called " Pasha " by his officers, but his observations on affairs were often shrewd, and once he inadvertently revealed to us the secret of oriental government. Our food had been falling off in quality, and, in the hope of improvement, we tried in turn an Italian, a Russian, and a Turkoman cook. The General shared our meals, and we accordingly asked his opinion as to which of these cooks we should keep.

" Use all three," he answered, " but stir up jealousy between them and let each one fear that you think to dismiss him. Then we shall eat well."

We tested his advice and were obliged to confess that it was sound.

*669 We remained a week in Skurrai, watching the summer fade out of the year. The leaves were already turning in the forest; and almost every day there were showers of rain. The evenings set in colder; and the General now had a fire lit in front of the house so that we might enjoy the last hours of daylight in its warmth. We passed the time in anecdote and speculation, and I began to take lessons in Italian from Mario and Franco. Sometimes Mario would sing for us, or we would call on the Turkomans to dance. Ihsan Toptani joined us on the 25th September with the news that one of his servants had been arrested by the Partisans while bringing back to us the spare charging-engine for our wireless. The Partisans had kept the engine, and had beaten the boy so hard to learn of our whereabouts that a week later he was still unfit for work. Merret also arrived from the south with Sergeant Jones, and reported that the Germans were retiring northward unhindered, while Zogists and Partisans still wasted their strength in civil war.

[Constitution]

and his assistants are appointed by the People's Convention. 693

District attorneys of the prefectures and subprefectures are appointed by the Attorney General. [646]

ARTICLE 86

All district attorneys are independent of the local governmental units and are responsible only to the Attorney General, from whom they receive orders and instructions.

ARTICLE 87

District attorneys are authorized to initiate penal actions and also to exercise the right of appeal as well as the right to intervene during a judicial or administrative trial. [692] District attorneys can exercise the right of appeal against summary decisions of the courts and other administrative organs when such decisions are illegal.

ARTICLE 88

The district attorney of the military courts of the national army of the People's Republic of Albania and other military attorneys are appointed by the Commander-in-chief of the armed forces of the Republic. [701]

TITLE V

Relation Between the Executive and Administrative Departments

ARTICLE 89

The Presidium of the People's Convention may annul or suspend decrees, instructions, and decisions of the government when they are unconstitutional and illegal. 642

The government may annul or suspend decrees, ordinances, instructions and decisions of ministers when they are contrary to the laws, decrees, instructions and decisions of the government.

ARTICLE 90

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may suspend any illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils. 643 631

[Constitution]

643 The government or the ministers may annul or suspend
631 any illegal or irregular act of the executive committees. The higher executive committees have the same right over the lower executive committees.

The people's councils may annul or suspend any illegal or irregular act of their own executive committees.

The government and the executive committees of the higher people's councils may suspend the execution of every illegal or irregular act of the lower people's councils or may propose the annulment of such acts.

ARTICLE 91

The Presidium of the People's Convention and the higher people's councils may dissolve the lower people's councils and authorize new elections. Likewise they may suspend executive committees of the lower people's councils and order elections of new executive committees.

TITLE VI

The National Army

ARTICLE 92

701 The National Army is the armed force of the People's Republic of Albania. Its duty is to defend the independence of the state and the freedom of the people.

The army defends the frontiers of the state and guarantees internal peace and security.

ARTICLE 93

The Supreme Commander of the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania is appointed by the People's Convention.

The Supreme Commander directs all the armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania.

PART THREE

186 *The Seal, Flag, and Capital City*

ARTICLE 94

The seal of the People's Republic of Albania depicts a field

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CHAPTER XI

BAJRAKTARS

It is an Albanian tradition that when the Turks began to raise Albanian levies for their army they chose specially brave tribesmen to lead the levies and called them by the Turkish name of *deli*, meaning 'madman' or 'desperado'. At a later date they called them *spahis* (cavalrymen), and at a still later date *bajraktars* (standard-bearers), from the Turk *bajrak*, standard. So the word bajraktar conveys the business of the man so-called, and the origin of his title. He was the military leader of his tribe and owed his appointment to the Turks, not to his fellow-Albanians.

Neither delis nor spahis seem to have been blood ancestors of the bajraktars. Each tribe knows how its first bajraktar won his flag but never says that he was either a deli or a spahi. In the folk-tales which purport to recount their deeds, the spahis figure not as heroes but as ordinary cavalrymen of the type we still find in Algeria. Certain families, notably in Lumë and Yugoslav Losovë, are surnamed Spahi. These claim descent not from medieval bravos but from relatively modern cavalrymen, and they are not bajraktars. The memory of the delis and their deeds survives only in folk-tales and an occasional personal name. The bajraktar of Hot at the beginning of the century was Deli Metë Çuni. In the folk-tales the delis, more fortunate than the spahis, preserve their reputation as doughty fighters.

Tribal traditions agree that most *bajraks* were bestowed on the original holder like a Victoria Cross, for valour in battle. The combats were generally against the Serbs and Montenegrins, natural enemies of the Albanians as they were their nearest neighbours, and had not ceased ever since they appeared in the Balkans to steal ancient Albanian territory. Some bajraks are said to have been gained hundreds of years ago, and others only a few generations since. The historical details in the traditions are generally meagre and the chronology vague, but these defects make on the whole for greater credibility, assuring us that no lively imagination has been at work. To minds running as Albanian

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

703 minds do on courage as the highest of virtues, the traditions are a great inspiration.[1]

721 703 The following traditions are samples. The bajrak of Hot was won four hundred years ago by an ancestor of Deli Metë Çuni who distinguished himself by cutting off Montenegrin heads, a pastime in which the family has ever since indulged with gusto. Sul Alija, the great-grandfather of Adem Bajrami, who lived four generations ago, was made bajraktar of Krasniqe in reward for the bravery he displayed during a war between Turkey and Montenegro. Sefer Ahmeti was given his bajrak at Moraç near Belgrade after a battle against the Serbs. The first bajraktar of Nikaj also won his standard at Moraç, possibly in the same battle. Kolë Voci, who lived six generations ago, became the first bajraktar of Shalë-Gimaj in consequence of killing a Serbian bajraktar and carrying his head and standard to the officer commanding the Turkish forces. In the same battle the bajraktar of Plan was killed, but Voci caught up and saved his bajrak from capture by the enemy. Avdi Kola, a later bajraktar of Gimaj, was proud to boast that since Voçi won the flag no male of his house had died in his bed.

701 Certain tribes had more than one bajraktar, some as many as five. Where there were two or more bajraktars the senior took precedence over the junior. If a senior bajraktar was killed in battle it was the junior's duty to take his flag.

The office of the tribal bajraktar was hereditary, going from father to son. If a bajraktar died without leaving a son he was succeeded by his brother, his brother's son, or in default of these, a cousin in the male line. If he was too old or too ill before his death to act, these relatives deputised for him. If the natural heir was a minor at his father's death, his father's brother or nephew took office until he came of full age and powers when twenty, twenty-five, or even thirty years of age, the date varying according to his capabilities. In 1933 Kolë Ndue was senior bajraktar of

[the standard, the holder of which was the military leader of his tribe -- Analyst]

[1] The bajrak was not, however, always granted for military valour but was sometimes conferred for less martial reasons. For instance, Pec Peci of Pecnikaj, Shalë, was summoned to the presence of the head of the Begolli family to explain why he, a peasant, had seven wives, while the great Begolli contented himself with only three. Pec's explanation, that only one of the women was really his wife and the others servants who looked after his land and flocks as menservants might have done, though known to be untrue, so fascinated Begolli by its astuteness that he forthwith made Pec bajraktar not only of Shalë, but also of all Dukagjin.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Shalë but only as trustee for the small son of Lush Prela, his 701
predecessor, killed some years before.

Succession from father to son depended on merit, and was determined in the lifetime of the reigning bajraktar. A son who was obviously unfit was passed over in favour of his younger brother. Both, if unfit, might be superseded by their paternal uncle or cousin in the male line.

If the natural precedence between brothers was once lost, the bajrak generally passed from the elder's heirs for good. Only when the son of a dispossessed elder brother turned out much more competent than the other heirs of his generation could he regain the glory which his father's weakness had lost. For example, Muharrem Bajraktar, the standard-bearer of Ujmishtë, Lumë, was the son of Nezir Bajraktar, a younger son. His cousin, Liman, son of the elder brother to whom Nezir was preferred, was almost as capable as he was but had no right to compete with him for the succession.

For grave cause the claims of heredity were sometimes disregarded. If a bajraktar's family produced no competent male for several generations, another family might wrest the standard from its feeble hands. The transfer had naturally to be approved by the tribe. Muharrem Bajraktar of Ujmishtë, Lumë, descended not from the original bajraktar who lived at Shkavec, Lumë, but from the family which superseded the feckless descendants of the original man some generations ago. The first bajraktar of Nikç was Gilë Prëntashi, but eventually the family degenerated to such an extent that the bajrak was taken over by Turk Vuksani, a very distant cousin who lived in the same quarter as the natural heir. A more remarkable transfer took place early in this century in Perlat. For three generations there had not been a good male in the family of its bajraktar. Then Prenk Pasha, consulted as the head of the Gjomarkaj family of Mirditë and therefore the source of all wisdom, advised Perlat to desert its inadequate leader for his sister's son, the bajraktar of the neighbouring tribe of Rrshen. Perlat took the advice and followed this man and after him his son Zef Bardhoku, thus going right outside the tribe in the quest for a better leader.

With the exception of the bajraktar* of Lumë, all bajraktars 701
hitherto discussed were military leaders of tribes which were wholly 795
or predominantly Catholic. Mirditë, Bogë, Vukël, Shalë, Nikaj,

*[the tribe military leader -- Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

701 Mertur and some others were wholly Catholic. Nikç, Selcë, Hot,
795 Kthellë and Lurë were more or less mixed Catholic and Mohammedan. Certain tribes such as Has, Bytyç and Krasniq are at the time of writing completely Mohammedan but were partly Catholic until three or four generations ago, as their genealogies testify. Lumë asserts that it has been completely Mohammedan since the
[613] coming of the Turks five centuries ago. It was also not fully tribal,
[619] since each bajraktar's[1] following consisted not of a single kin or agglomeration of kins with the same ancestors, but of a number of little kins of varying ancestry.

701 There were also bajraktars in certain non-tribal areas, such as
[619] Shpat and Martanesh in central Albania. Here the dignity was not hereditary and localized, but moved with successive holders from family to family, from quarter to quarter or even from village to village. Fitness for military leadership of the local levies was always demanded, and that quality did not necessarily remain from one generation to another, in the same family, quarter or village. Hysejn Zavolina of the village of Shelcan was a famous bajraktar in Shpat in the last years of Turkish rule, but it was at Fushë e Kuqe in the more central village of Gjinar that he set up his standard. Hysejn Ramaj became bajraktar of Martanesh because he was as popular as he was competent. After having carried his standard to
[793] victory in Montenegro he 'got religion' and turned dervish. As Baba Hysejn (Abbot Hysejn) he presided first over the Bektashi monastery (tege) at Krujë and then over that at Martanesh and was buried in the monastery of Zerqan. When he took to the cloister the bajrak passed to Murat Xhabolli, who was from the Gjoni quarter and quite a different family. The great lawgiver, Mus Ballgjini, of the village of Gurakuq was bajraktar of the district of Çermenikë when Turkish rule over Albania ended, but his son did not inherit the office. When Albania developed a conscript army of European type, there could be no more bajraktars in central Albania. Officers led the conscripts, and there was no hereditary principle to preserve the ancient title as there was among the tribes of the north.

701 In certain areas of the north there were no bajraktars.[1] Since
619 beys were feudal lords of the soil it fell to them to lead their henchmen in war. So wherever there were beys of any importance there were no bajraktars. Mat was the classic instance. There were bajraktars to the north of it in tribal Kthellë and Lurë; there were

[1] [the local military leader --Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

bajraktars to the south of it in non-tribal Martanesh; but there was none within its own boundaries. There factions, not tribes, were the social units, and all power, military and otherwise, was concentrated in the hands of four powerful bey families.

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10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

701 escorting him to town, guarding him during his stay there and escorting him home again. If they refused without justifiable cause to give him such service, he withdrew his support from them at least for a time.

622 The bajraktar[1] was also much occupied with local administration.
634 Here he was assisted by one or more headmen, hereditary officials like himself. Independently or together, he and they checked quarrelling, judged and formulated new laws. He was admittedly their superior, and when their views diverged his prevailed. If pressure of work made him think an increase in their number desirable, he had power to make extra appointments provided only that he first submitted the names of his nominees to the Turkish government for approval. In short, he was the acknowledged head of the local administration.

[619] As supreme administrative head the bajraktar had power to summon a general meeting for administrative as well as military purposes. If the matter at issue was important and affected the whole tribe, he sent the *kasnec* (tribal messenger) to command the presence of one man per house. If narrower issues were involved he summoned only one or more headmen and the local *gjobtarë*
[692] (fine-collectors) or other elders. Plenary meetings dealt with anti-social acts grave enough to involve the death penalty or expulsion, judged cases of sacrilege against the church, tightened up tribal discipline by enacting new or re-enacting old laws, decided whether to revolt or not against the Turkish government, and
[642] heard important messages from the government. In 1908 a plenary meeting[1] was held by each tribe to decide whether or not it should accept the Young Turk Constitution. Smaller meetings handled business where fines were sufficient punishment for transgression. Notably they regulated grazing rights, fixing the day for a general move to summer pastures, stipulating how many animals each family might feed on a common. They also regulated wood-cutting rights and controlled the supply of water for irrigation. The bajraktar[1] presided at all such meetings, took an active part in the deliberations, and signed or set his seal on any minutes that were
[565] kept. He and the elders, as being socially superior, sat apart from the commoners. In the Malësi e Madhe he sat on the ground while the tribesmen stood respectfully on their feet.

[1] See M. E. Durham, *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, p. 74.

[1 [the local military leader--Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

popularly believed in Shkrel that the three sons of Vatë Marashi, the bajraktar, and the three daughters of the Voivode Preng Mirashi, had turned out badly because the deeds of Vatë and Preng had been evil.

In time of war a bajraktar from the north-west group received triple pay and triple rations. A bajraktar of Shalë received double pay and double rations, one portion as a person and the other as standard-bearer. He also received pay and rations for three servants, two of whom followed him to the war both to guard and to serve him, while the third, a specially trusted man, remained behind in his house in Shalë as guardian of his property, women-folk and children. The allowances for these servants were only what ordinary soldiers received, food and *katik* (pocket-money: in Turkish, any relish eaten with bread) at the rate of one grosh per day, which was barely sufficient for their tobacco.

As an administrator a bajraktar was unpaid in so far as he had no fixed salary. He earned something, however, by his judgements, for which he was paid at the same rate as an elder. In the Malësi e Madhe, as often as he appointed elders, he too received a fee, although they did all the work and he did not stir from home. If they could not agree on a verdict, the litigants appealed to him. He then received a double fee, one the same as the elders' and the other in respect of his own journey to the scene of the quarrel. In other tribes or groups of tribes he did not get off so lightly; he had always to judge the case himself before he received any payment. The fees varied with the importance of the case and the rapacity of the bajraktar. In the tribal, but not in the non-tribal, areas any fines imposed were divided between the bajraktar and the headmen or 'good families' of his tribe. In the Malësi e Madhe a bajraktar who was summoned to Shkodër received ten grosh (50 koronë) per day from the Turkish government for his expenses. But everywhere a bajraktar's best source of income was bribes.

The bajraktar was both the military and administrative head of his tribe. His military and administrative precedence came 'from the staff in his hand', the flag stick of Turkish donation, but descent was the test for social precedence, and priority of descent was not always his. In many tribes there were 'good families' who descended from an older brother or a social superior of his ancestor, and on that account had, generation after generation, taken social precedence of his family.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

554 Modern civilization with its army and dense array of gendarmes [701] and officials swept away the military and administrative functions of the bajraktar, but his social position remained untouched. So in Krasniqë, Sali Mena, the bajraktar in 1939, had the precedence because he descended from the eldest son of Gjô Vata of the village of Bunjaj; but Hakik Meta, the bajraktar of Lurë, remained inferior to Doçi, Nezhë and Vlad families in that tribe because their ancestors were from better families than his.

576 554 Social precedence was marked in several characteristically Albanian ways. For instance, if the bajraktar of Perlat in Kthellë met a Simonaj and a Gjet-Kolaj at a feast, his seat would be third from the corner and his portion of meat only the leg. The Simonaj would sit in the corner and get the head and the Gjet-Kolaj would sit next to him and get the shoulder. Even in wartime a bajraktar was kept in his civilian place except during the actual fighting. On the way to and from the battlefield he sat in the seat and ate the portion of meat that appertained to him by descent. In 1935 Lurë was mustered to check a revolt at Fier in central Albania. The bajraktar's men carried the flag out of Lurë into Mat, and by arrangement met Zef Doçi's men at Burrel in Mat. There, though both were on a warlike errand, Zef Doçi sat in the chief seat and the bajraktar and his flag in the fourth. The revolt was suppressed before the tribesmen advanced beyond Burrel. If they had gone on, rifles would have cracked at Fier before Zef Doçi had to yield [619] the first place to the bajraktar. If one of the bajraktars of Kthellë found it necessary to discuss something with one of the six 'good families', he could not ask its head to come and see him as he would an ordinary tribesman. Instead, he must gird up his own loins and go and see the other. If they disagreed during the discussion, he could not persist in his own view but had to fall in with the other's. Trivial though this insistence on correct precedence and its manifestations may seem, it had its value in maintaining tribal discipline. Slackening of the social framework in communities so backward as these tribesmen would only have ended in anarchy.

The 'first families' excepted, the bajraktar was unquestioned first among the tribesmen, this being signified in the usual manner of corner seat and choicest portion of meat. Any male of his family old enough to walk enjoyed the same precedence and was, by the courteous and diplomatic, addressed as 'bajraktar'.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Llesh ambushed the brigands and wounded one. As one of his men was killed, the two sides were 'one and one', equalized, and could have made peace. But the opportunity was too good for the bajraktar to miss. By the law of the mountains Llesh should not have attacked the sheepfold until he had asked the bajraktar to withdraw his protection from the brigands and had met with a refusal. So the bajraktar vowed he would not make peace but would have Doçi's blood for the 'injury'. Soon he learned that Zef Doçi and all his male relatives were at a wedding in a poor man's house. Under cover of darkness his followers crept up to the house and shooting through the windows killed two and wounded four of the wedding guests. A year later the bajraktar managed to have a third man from Zef's family killed, leaving Zef almost alone.

In his charities this bajraktar of Lurë took no account of the recipient's religion, helping a Catholic as readily as one of his fellow Mohammedans. If he discriminated between the two he would gain nothing from the Albanian government, which ignored religious differences. In Turkish times discrimination in favour of Mohammedans would have furthered his designs by winning approval from the Turkish government. He found, however, that the proved loyalty of his family to King Zog's stood him in even better stead. A marriage had also proved a useful asset. Metë Hoti, the best shot in Lurë, would have been expected to join Zef Doçi, because his mortal enemy, Dalip Kaci, followed Zef's enemy, the bajraktar. Unfortunately for Zef, Metë had a sister married to one of the bajraktar's household. Since joining Zef meant shooting at the bajraktar's men, Metë feared to have the blood of his nephews on his hands and continued reluctantly, side by side with his mortal enemy, to follow the bajraktar.

The result of the struggle can be shown by the numbers of the levies raised by the three captains for the Albanian government in 1926, 1933 and 1935 respectively. They were as follows:

	1926	1933	1935
Zef Doçi	150	50	23
Ibrahim Gjoçi	300	40	32
Bajraktar	4	300	400

It would have been interesting to revisit Lurë to see the effect on the position established by the Italian occupation. The bajraktar,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

as King Zog's man and therefore anathema to the Italians, must have lost much ground. Zef Doçi as his enemy and as a good Catholic may have regained some.

According to Albanian tradition there were no bajraktars before the Turks came, and headmen were literally the head men of their tribe. This would seem to be confirmed by a document dated 1403 which cited Alexius Kastrati, as headman of the tribe of that name, in a list of Albanian chiefs who were rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Albanian tradition further alleges that the Turks aimed deliberately at weakening Albanian chieftains. So, on the one hand, Sultan Mahmut destroyed thirty-six kins, root and branch, and his son Mexhi a further number. On the other hand, Sultan after Sultan appointed bajraktars, ostensibly as military leaders but really as pillars of Turkish rule. By recognizing their nominees as administrative heads as well as military leaders they reduced the old headmen to a subordinate position, and thereby lessened their chances of engineering a successful revolt. This policy would explain why some bajraktars were social as well as administrative and military leaders, and others were not. The former presumably descended from headmen who were complaisant enough to accept Turkish rule, and the latter from strong men of lower position in tribes where the headmen were recalcitrant. The Turks must have trusted that pleasure in their official rank, and the increased possibilities of money-making would keep the bajraktars quiet in their turn. Recognizing the hereditary character of the bajraktar was another shrewd step on their part. As the non-hereditary delis and spahis aged or died, a hiatus unfavourable to their rule might arise. When it was a case of 'the bajraktar is old or dead, long live the bajraktar', they never lacked an agent. When King Zog, as Minister Ahmed Zogu, began to unify Albania he saw the danger from the numerous bajraktars. Accustomed to lead their tribes to war, unaccustomed to any restraint by a central authority, ignorant and untravelled for the most part and generally of autocratic temper, all of them might not have been willing to submit to the new government in Tirana. Methods of bringing them into line with or without their own wish had, therefore, to be devised. If one was willing to serve loyally, the government treated him as the Turks had long before treated a pliant headman. It made him an officer in the reserve, the modern equivalent of the ancient bajraktar, gave him the half-pay of his rank, and provided

[1 Local military and administrative leaders--Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

for his sons and nephews, granting them state scholarships on which to complete their education or military training abroad, and finding them employment as officials or officers when they came home. The most notable example of this 'pliant headman' type of bajraktar was Hakik Meta of Lurë, who was himself a captain and had several relatives who were officers in the Albanian army. If a bajraktar was likely to be recalcitrant, King Zog's government tried two methods. The first was a duplication of the system applied to the pliant headman type with reserve rank, half-pay and provision for relatives all included. Thus Gjon Markagjoni, the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë, who rebelled openly in 1921 against the central government, was rewarded for his subsequent submission by being made a lieutenant-colonel in the reserve. Cen Elezi of Dibër, whose father was killed in battle against King Zog's men in 1924, was later made a major. But fewer of the relatives of such men were educated at state expense, and the education given to those few was not so advanced—it seems to have been dangerous to put too much knowledge into their heads. And when they were ready for office they were kept in outlying unimportant districts, 'safe' areas.

The second and far more important method employed by King Zog with possible recalcitrants was the Turks' very own. The usual favours of rank in the reserve, half-pay and the provision for dependants were bestowed on a number of tribesmen who had given proof in the past of their loyalty to the régime and were 'strong' enough in the military sense to combat the influence of the obstinate bajraktars. Captain Mark Miri of Gurrëzë, who was a counterpoise to the Gjetë Coku family of Breg i Matit as well as to the bajraktar, was one example of this type. So was Major Miftar Selmani of Lumë, who was supposed to balance his fellow-villager, Muharrem Bajraktar. The transfer of the administrative powers of the bajraktars to state officials completed their weakening. The unity and stability which characterized King Zog's Albania to an extent surprising in a Balkan country were the best commentary on the policy.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

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2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

H 755 Monastery, I saw three. They stood with their hands on their knees and their heads thrust under the desk from which the pope was to read the Lessons. The desk being draped, their heads were hidden and their hind-quarters protruded grotesquely. If they could refrain from crowing during the reading of the Lessons they would be cured. The cure failed. Hardly had the pope begun to read when a hideous and unearthly din arose beneath his desk. No one intervened; no one even smiled. The pope read steadily, though his voice was drowned by the noise. At the end the three were led away—uncured. But I was A told that as a rule the cure is successful. It may well be, for the Balkan [761 peasant is very much affected by suggestion. He pines if he believes 754] he has been cursed; he dies if he believes his death is "egil" (written in the Book of Fate). I did not see or hear of a case of crowing hysteria in Albania.

M In Montenegro I was told a remedy for fever. It was to make fire with 753 a fire-drill of wood. The patient helped to work the drill. The fire went 278 out of him and into the wood and he was cured. Perhaps the exertion of drilling produced sweat and so relieved the patient. Krsto believed greatly in this cure.

6. Soothsaying

A For some inscrutable reason man in many lands has thought his 787 gods were likely to choose the insides of animals as a means for revealing the future.

"Plucking the entrails of an offering forth, they could not find a heart within the beast." So the augurs warned Cæsar to beware the ides of March. Balkan folk still find their fate written in the bones of certain animals.

I first saw the bones read at Selchan, a village in the Spata mountains, near Elbasan. It was in those days a very remote spot, and a Russian Consul was the only foreigner who had visited it within memory. A Most of the male population were "wanted" by the Turkish Govern- [636 ment. But for the purpose of my visit the friendly Albanian Mutasarif 702] of Elbasan arranged a truce. We were halted outside the village for a parley, and also to give time to all the men of military age (whom the Government was trying to conscript for the Army) to hide in the bushes. I was then received with great joy, and even greater hospitality. The ancient headman, Constantine Suliman, a fine figure in a white A fustanella, swore friendship, and hustled the women to spread a noble 346 banquet of roast lamb, stewed fowl, cheese, milk, and maize-bread.

The district had neither church nor mosque. Every inhabitant had

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

Every inhabitant had A
two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military 553
service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Con- 702
stantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe 651
was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who A
was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when 852
a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all 771
children that had meanwhile been born.

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of A
ancient days. 574

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and A
held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the 787
marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more?

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read M
there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set 787
the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in M
vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, 781
into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

enter, redden their lips and cheeks with iris powder 302
or carmine, and stain their nails and the palms of
their hands with henna.

The social status of the Albanian women varies 562
according to district and creed. The Liaps and the
Christians of Southern Albania and Epirus generally
occupy the least enviable position, all the hard out- [462]
of-door work devolving upon them. The Northern
Albanians and also the Tosks, on the other hand, treat
their wives with much greater consideration, consult
them willingly in their affairs, both public and private,
and accord them a position in the family almost
equal to their own. And well do they merit
the respect of their husbands and brothers. For
often have they proved themselves to be fit com-
panions for men, unmindful of fatigue, danger, and
even death in the cause of liberty. When the
armies of the Sultan menaced the privileges of which
the people of Scutari had always been proud, it was
the women who were the first to give the alarm and
to excite the men to resist to the death, themselves
following to aid in the combat. Restraining the [703]
tears natural to their sex, they would carry the
mutilated bodies of their loved ones among the com-
batants in order to excite them to avenge their deaths.
And the same women are said to have refused to
receive back into their homes the husbands and sons
who had for a moment turned their backs upon the
enemy.

Albanian women, too, are often entrusted with 562
negotiations for truce or peace. Such is the respect 628
with which Albanians regard their women that they 728

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XI

BAJRAKTARS

It is an Albanian tradition that when the Turks began to raise Albanian levies for their army they chose specially brave tribesmen to lead the levies and called them by the Turkish name of *deli*, meaning 'madman' or 'desperado'. At a later date they called them *spahis* (cavalrymen), and at a still later date *bajraktars* (standard-bearers), from the Turk *bajrak*, standard. So the word bajraktar conveys the business of the man so-called, and the origin of his title. He was the military leader of his tribe and owed his appointment to the Turks, not to his fellow-Albanians.

Neither delis nor spahis seem to have been blood ancestors of the bajraktars. Each tribe knows how its first bajraktar won his flag but never says that he was either a deli or a spahi. In the folk-tales which purport to recount their deeds, the spahis figure not as heroes but as ordinary cavalrymen of the type we still find in Algeria. Certain families, notably in Lumë and Yugoslav Losovë, are surnamed Spahi. These claim descent not from medieval bravos but from relatively modern cavalrymen, and they are not bajraktars. The memory of the delis and their deeds survives only in folk-tales and an occasional personal name. The bajraktar of Hot at the beginning of the century was Deli Metë Çuni. In the folk-tales the delis, more fortunate than the spahis, preserve their reputation as doughty fighters.

Tribal traditions agree that most *bajraks* were bestowed on the original holder like a Victoria Cross, for valour in battle. The combats were generally against the Serbs and Montenegrins, natural enemies of the Albanians as they were their nearest neighbours, and had not ceased ever since they appeared in the Balkans to steal ancient Albanian territory. Some bajraks are said to have been gained hundreds of years ago, and others only a few generations since. The historical details in the traditions are generally meagre and the chronology vague, but these defects make on the whole for greater credibility, assuring us that no lively imagination has been at work. To minds running as Albanian

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

703 minds do on courage as the highest of virtues, the traditions are a great inspiration.[1]

721 The following traditions are samples. The bajrak of Hot was
703 won four hundred years ago by an ancestor of Deli Metë Çuni who distinguished himself by cutting off Montenegrin heads, a pastime in which the family has ever since indulged with gusto. Sul Alija, the great-grandfather of Adem Bajrami, who lived four generations ago, was made bajraktar of Krasniqe in reward for the bravery he displayed during a war between Turkey and Montenegro. Sefer Ahmeti was given his bajrak at Moraç near Belgrade after a battle against the Serbs. The first bajraktar of Nikaj also won his standard at Moraç, possibly in the same battle. Kolë Voci, who lived six generations ago, became the first bajraktar of Shalë-Gimaj in consequence of killing a Serbian bajraktar and carrying his head and standard to the officer commanding the Turkish forces. In the same battle the bajraktar of Plan was killed, but Voci caught up and saved his bajrak from capture by the enemy. Avdi Kola, a later bajraktar of Gimaj, was proud to boast that since Voci won the flag no male of his house had died in his bed.

701 Certain tribes had more than one bajraktar, some as many as five. Where there were two or more bajraktars the senior took precedence over the junior. If a senior bajraktar was killed in battle it was the junior's duty to take his flag.

The office of the tribal bajraktar was hereditary, going from father to son. If a bajraktar died without leaving a son he was succeeded by his brother, his brother's son, or in default of these, a cousin in the male line. If he was too old or too ill before his death to act, these relatives deputised for him. If the natural heir was a minor at his father's death, his father's brother or nephew took office until he came of full age and powers when twenty, twenty-five, or even thirty years of age, the date varying according to his capabilities. In 1933 Kolë Ndue was senior bajraktar of

[the standard, the holder of which was the military leader of his tribe -- Analyst]

[1] The bajrak was not, however, always granted for military valour but was sometimes conferred for less martial reasons. For instance, Pec Peci of Pecnikaj, Shalë, was summoned to the presence of the head of the Begolli family to explain why he, a peasant, had seven wives, while the great Begolli contented himself with only three. Pec's explanation, that only one of the women was really his wife and the others servants who looked after his land and flocks as menservants might have done, though known to be untrue, so fascinated Begolli by its astuteness that he forthwith made Pec bajraktar not only of Shalë, but also of all Dukagjin.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

bajraktars to the south of it in non-tribal Martanesh; but there was none within its own boundaries. There factions, not tribes, were the social units, and all power, military and otherwise, was concentrated in the hands of four powerful bey families. 701 619

From first to last the primary function of a bajraktar was military. When one learned that war was imminent and troops were required, he had immediately to inform the tribe in the first instance by firing eight shots in quick succession into the air, and in the second by sending out the official runner called *kasnec* with news and a statement of how many men were wanted. One from each house was the usual number. The muster was soon complete, for it was thought shameful to hang back or to hide at home and no time was wasted hunting for deserters. When all had gathered, the march began. Two tribesmen in some cases, and in others four, led off singing. Next came a man closely connected with the bajraktar, preferably his eldest son, carrying the flag. The rank and file followed, firing constantly into the air to show their joy at the call to arms. Any sign of depression at leaving their homes would have been thought disgraceful and unmanly. The best warriors among them had the bajraktar in their midst and would guard him and the flag with their lives till they all came marching home again. No equipment was issued to bajraktars or 'soldiers'; each brought his own rifle and pistols and came in his ordinary clothes. Nor was any military training given them. Their value as soldiers depended upon the rifle practice which they had had at home. It was usually sufficient to make them all good shots. After a few months the war ended and they came home again, still in their peasant clothes and again firing into the air for joy. 701 703 [705] [707]

In time of peace the bajraktar performed civilian duties. One of the chief was caring for the poor. If they got into trouble or needed work he intervened with the authorities. If they were benighted he gave them free board and lodging. On high occasions he sent them a ram on which to feast. So that they could buy on credit what they needed for their weddings and funerals he went guarantee for them at the village shops; perhaps he even paid for the goods when the following harvest failed and left them unable themselves to clear the debt. At times he lent them money without interest. In return he asked only that if required they would put their rifles at his disposal, joining him in attacking an enemy, spending some weeks annually in his house as unpaid or poorly paid guards, [735] 701

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

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4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

big courtyard gates, and having no windows to the 342
street on the ground floor. Like all Oriental houses, they are only of two stories; the upper, which contains the living rooms of the family, being reached by an outside wooden staircase under cover of the broad pent of the roof projecting over the landing or gallery on which all the rooms open.

In more remote towns, such as Prisrend or Skodra, 363
the streets look dreary and deserted in the extreme, besides being extremely narrow and ill-paved, if paved at all, and the bazaars and shops are exceedingly 347
mean and poor. The furniture consists chiefly of a 352
low divan with very hard cushions, a few chairs and a mirror, and the lime-washed walls are sometimes decorated with a dado representing a landscape, executed in the crudest possible style chiefly in one colour. A shelf often runs round the walls to hold 353
the copper *ibriks* and other utensils, and above it are 415
hung the rich assortment of arms which is the pride 411
of every family.

In the mountain districts the houses of the beys 342
are complete fortresses, being surrounded by high 711
walls pierced with loopholes for musketry. Only in times of open hostility, however, is it necessary to take any precautions against possible foes, for an Albanian's notion of honour does not allow him to 181
slay a man in his own house, deadly as may be his 577
feud with him. The villages of these districts are 361
generally remote from each other, perched in high and inaccessible situations. The furniture of the 352
cottages is limited to a few mats and rugs, a *sofra*, the low stand on which meals are served in Turkish

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

712 Albania is also a seat of historic interest having been the battle ground for many wars with the Greeks and the Turks. The national hero of Albania—Scanderbeg the Great—lived in Kruja, where, as a silent testimonial to this great hero's strength, are the remains of the old fortress. It looms directly above the town on a cliff, and the old Tower and lower massive walls still stand. If these old stones could speak, what a story they could tell of the Albanian struggle and strife against the invader! Throughout the country many strategic points are heavily fortified and many watch towers raise their white heads on mountain tops.

574 The Albanians are by far the most hospitable people in Southeastern Europe. Their doors are never closed and a friend cannot ask too much. They are charmingly naive in their manners and delightfully quaint in their cus-
461 toms. There is nothing of the hurried, hysterical existence in Albania; the natives are leisurely and get the full benefit out of their
493 sunny, mellow days. The city man is aware of a pleasant surprise at the lack of the constant blare of the motor horn; the peaceful serenity of the golden days is only broken by the occasional honk of the droschka and the cries of the street vendors.

cries of the street vendors. The nights, even 000
during the summer, are delightfully cool and
enjoyable; sitting in one of the comfortable
café gardens of Tirana with a cup of delicious 275
coffee! The old saying of "being killed with
kindness" is literally true in this unique
kingdom.

Upon leaving Tirana, the capital of Alba- 153
nia, and journeying further into the heart of 311
the country, one comes more in contact with
the native aspect of this country in all of its
charm. The land, in the vicinity of Tirana,
is smooth and devoted to wide, rich fields of
maize and wheat. A few miles further on the
landscape loses its cultivated appearance and
the scenery becomes more wild and desolate,
and at the same time extraordinarily beauti-
ful. From plains the country rapidly rises
into rolling hills and rugged rocky mountains,
and becomes a country from Wonderland.

The first point of interest along this route 712
are the ruins of the Petrela Castle, which
dominated this district until the rise of Tirana
about 1600. However, fragments of tile pro-
claim the fact that it was built for fortifying
purposes in ancient times, but the more evi-
dent pro-Turkish brick and stone mortar de-

7/2 cisively date its construction in the early fifteenth century, as well as being frequently mentioned in the old histories of Scanderbeg the Great. Even to-day this point has not lost its strategic value as is proven by the trenches dug during the world war. Directly beneath these magnificent old ruins, a half-deserted village still holds its weekly bazaars—a strange contrast of the unceasing incongruity between the old and the new.

346 At this point are also four monasteries of dervishes: two Khalveti, one Rifai and one Hajati. The surrounding slopes are ablaze with irises during April, making a colorful and dainty setting for such severe buildings.

133 As the solidly-built road twists and turns up the majestic sides of the Krraba Pass, magnificent gorges, which form the head of the valley and which were cut in the course of the ages by winter torrents, come into view. At the summit of this mighty pass, eight hundred metres above sea-level and eighteen miles from Tirana, it is possible to gain a glimpse, on a clear day, of Durazzo (Durrës) and the Adriatic Sea. After having reached the top, the road, a result of much blasting, travels along the ridge of the mountains for some dis-

Here also Mohammed II left several
pure-blooded Turks, a plantation which does 56
not seem to have occurred in any other place, for the great majority of the natives in this town today are of the Moslem faith, and strongly resemble the dark and powerful physiques of the Turks. The Christian inhabitants of Elbasan are all Orthodox, as this is the seat of an Orthodox Archbishop. The older Albanian colony has almost confined itself to the castle area, whereas, the Vlachs, first cousins to Rumanians, more recent inhabitants, have satisfied themselves with the southern area of the town.

The great, impressive old castle built by 712
Mohammed II is still in a fair state of preservation on two of its rectangular sides. The main part of the havoc that has been wrought upon this magnificent old pile was caused by Reshid Mehmed Pasha in 1832, when he quelled an insurrection in this area. The other part of the damage is due to the natural ravages of time and the elements. The castle proper is 1,060 by 1,000 feet and its massive old walls are nine feet thick. A small, daintily-designed mosque stood over the South Gate until 1920, when it was destroyed. There is no material evidence to 000

DURAZZO

/03 Durazzo, the principal port of Albania, is one of the richest in historic traditions in the world. About six hundred years before our time counting, Durazzo was the city of Epidamnus which later became Dyrrachium, one of the powerful and most important Corinthean possessions. While it was called Epidamnus it experienced a leading role in the Peloponnesian war caused by the politics in that city. It was in old Dyrrachium that Caesar and Pompeius fought the greatest battle of that ancient civilization for the supremacy of the world; it is the so-called Porta Romana, and was the gateway for the Imperial Roman legions into their more easternly possessions by way of the Via Egnatia which began here and led through Salonica to Constantinople. Remnants of the Roman-
• [712] built city walls, with the gate of the old Roman fortress, are still standing, relics of the mighty civilization that existed many centuries before Christ. In the third century before Christ Durazzo was the prosperous capital of Roman Epirus and had also, previously, been the capital of the old independent Epirotic Kingdom. Later, in the middle ages, Durazzo was under the Doges of Venice,

Scutari

103 OF all the cities in Albania there are very few that can lay claim to as much romance as can Scutari (Shkodra). In the past it has seen the foreign invaders swarm all around in the neighboring districts 712 only to be repulsed at the walls of the Rozafat Citadel which surrounds Scutari.

36 This ancient city in northern Albania is encircled by the lofty peaks of the north Albanian Alps and is situated on the southern extremity of the lake of Scutari at the conflux of the Bojana, Drin and Kiri rivers.

175 The Labeatans, a branch tribe of the Illyrians, resided in this district about two centuries before Christ, when for a time Scutari was the capital of Illyria. King Gentius ruled over this strongly fortified city until 168 before Christ, at which time the Romans occupied the city under Praetor Ancicius. It was left to the Emperor Diocletian to unite the city into the Roman Empire and he named Scutari as the capital of the province of Praevalis; in this capacity it remained until

VALONA

317 Another product important to Valona is salt which is taken from the lagoons of the village of Arta, lying near Valona.

712 An excursion not to be missed is from Valona to Kanina. The road, going to the southwards, leads through luxuriant olive groves, fruity vineyards and waving fields of towering maize. About 400 meters above the town of Kanina stands the mighty Kanina Fortress, a relic of Byzantium. For its age, this veteran of so many attacks stands with comparatively few marks of the ravages of time and war. In the center of the village of 346 Kanina, directly under this fortress, is a Con- 764 vent of the Dervishes. Immediately in front of this building, a great tree proudly waves its branches far overhead, for this tree is the guardian of the last resting place of Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora, the father of modern Albania.

Valona has further interest historically for it was here that Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora proclaimed Albania's independence on November 28, 1912.

Berat

361 WHOSE who have seen Berat have been justly profuse in praising it. With its stately old Cathedral and many inter-
[346] esting and unique churches and mosques, and above all its splendid castles, gems of architecture, it is worthy of its high reputation and
[712] the admiration of all peoples. The ruins of the fortresses and once handsome loggias only enhance the beauty of this city.

The town itself lies on an unsurpassingly picturesque defile of the Osum River, and resembles the exquisite pictures by the old masters of quaint cathedral cities.

In this city stand many palaces of those old noble families, as the Vloras' and the Vrionis', who centuries ago held the power of princes in their own districts.

Here to-day all is fraternal harmony with Moslem and Christian living side by side.

245 The principal means of livelihood of the inhabitants of Berat is the olive trade, which is supported by all the vicinity as the chief crop.

p. 162

Kruja

361 KRUJA is one of the oldest towns of Albania. It is situated in a highly strategic position 1,500 feet up the mountain side and the great, well preserved [712] ruins of the Scanderbeg fortress loom like a sentinel over the town. On account of its fortified walls, many of the houses, some dating from the early fifteenth century, have escaped from the ravages of the invaders. And thus one finds all types of interesting architecture scattered throughout the city which bear mute witness to the influence of those who for so short a time tried to gain a foothold in this unconquerable country.

To one whose eye is ever eager for the adventurous and romantic setting, they need travel no further. Approaching Kruja from the south, the beholder feels as if he had taken a centuries-long step backward. The whole aspect is mediaeval. The town clings to the mountain side and every corner turned makes one tingle with anticipation for the unexpected. This lovely gem of an old world town

Other Towns of Interest

36d

TO anyone familiar with Albanian history the name of Tepelene is well known. For this town, in southern Albania, is the birthplace of Ali Pasha Tepelene, born in 1741. The castle of this leader still stands although part of it has sunk into ruins. During the days of Napoleon one of the country's greatest fortresses stood near this town.

[912]

Argyrokastro (Gjinokastra) is a progressive city where many of the old families of this region live in comfortable homes. Being the largest city in the district it is a market place of note. The famous Ali Pasha Tepelene resided here for some time and his castle still remains. For the art devotee, the interiors of the churches, convents and mosques of Argyrokastro will give unfailing delight.

[36b]

The city of mosques in Albania is Leskovik. Here are many of the most beautiful specimen of mosque architecture to be found in the country. There is also a large bazaar in Leskovik that will interest even the most seasoned traveller.

[34b] [36b]

342 types of housing may evolve by combining a two-room house to a prostylon house » (i.e. with a veranda). Starting from this idea, he proceeds to the explanation of how more elaborate housing types were created, such as those seen in the Scodra valley.

To illustrate this, Nopcsa gives the plan of the upper floor of a house in Kastrati (Fig. 71) and remarks that: « The plan of this house shows that it belongs to the same type as the Prel Ivanaj house we saw above (Fig. 68-69) and that the veranda is substituted

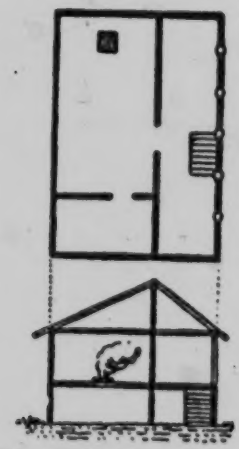

Fig. 70. Plan and section of a house in Vuksanlekaj (area of the Hoti tribe) (Nopcsa, fig. 28)

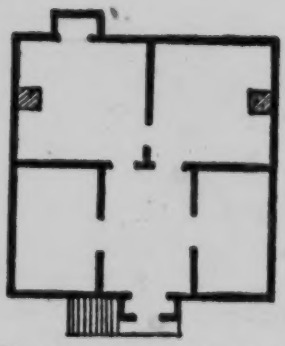

Fig. 71. Plan of a house in Kastrati (Nopcsa, fig. 30)

[712] by a space enclosed by walls ». The staircase is also here external but, in order to protect the people, when they leave the house from the bullets of ambushing enemies, this staircase has been included into an enclosed entrance, which protrudes from the house in the form of a separate cabin outside its front wall. The small additional [514] cabin at the back of the house includes the lavatory.

This enclosed entrance which, according to Nopcsa « constitutes an original Albanian construction », is shown on Fig. 72, picturing a house of Kolaj. This entrance also includes a passage which ends at an enclosed staircase. This house, with its four rooms, two in the front and two in the back, can be considered, according to Nopcsa,

342 I am not in a position to conclude as to the correctness of his results. In any case, the arguments put forward (p. 51) by Nopcsa in its support, cannot be considered as strong in my opinion. In the first [192] place, the word plas, which in Albanian means palace, may have originated from ancient Dalmatian. But the Latin word «palatium» has been naturalised in the Greek countries already since the Augustan days, and this does not prove that there was any Latin influance upon their building modes, as neither the word «δοκίτιον» (alb. shpit) originating from the Latin word hospitium, has any relation to Roman architecture.

Housing types impressed on medieval coins of some Albanian towns can be but little proof since, according to his own remark, houses such as the one represented on a coin of Scodra (end of 14th century) can be found even to-day in the area of Delvinon in Epirus; namely, they are connected with Greek monumental architecture.

342 712 This question will be better clarified, in my opinion, by the examination of another housing type, the Kula, which is widely spread in Albania.

The house in Albania does not serve as a protection against weather only, but it should also provide security against enemies. This double purpose obliges the Albanians to build even less comfortable houses, if these are to enable their inhabitants to enjoy a peaceful night and, if needed, to defend themselves in case of emergency from them. In Nothern Albania the most primitive system of defence at home consists in a mere hiding place, built with solid materials within the very house. This shelter is usually of 2.5 m. long and 1.5 m. high and it is covered with slabs of stone. The place is entered through an opening of 0.75 m. square, so that the entire [513] shelter does not differ in appearance from an oven. The head as well as male members of the family spend their nights in this shelter.

It is evident that the use of such a kind of quarters cannot continue over a long time. For this reason, even when they were to build a most primitive single-room house of stone, Albanians have tried to [361] obtain security by other means, i.e. by keeping the enemy as far from their houses as possible. The means to this aim are: building of the house in a secluded spot on a highest possible site, but not too far away from the fields, so that inhabitans may be able to reach their house in the shortest possible time in case of emergency; small windows, arranged in such a way as to afford covering fire on all approaches; a strong roof, difficult to reach, in order to

prevent enemies from climbing it and from piercing a hole in it to 342
fire on the defenders from above, something that has often happened. 712
Finally, the lavatory is built inside the house. [514]

Just as the house of Scodra is the highest point in the evolution of Albanian housig architecture, so is the Kula, according to Nopcsa, the most complete form of defensive houses.

The word Kula is of Arabic origin, and has already been met in Byzantine writers since the 11th eentury (1). Morever it is also known by the Serbs as early as 1350. Consequently, no Turkish intervention for the construction of the Kula, it is said by Nopcsa, was ever required.

The particular scope determines the building material, plan, dimensions and other construction details of such houses. These buildings are high, towerlike, built of solid stone, providing the greatest possible cover. Narrow loopholes are opened instead of windows, and small towers are built in well selected defensive places.

A veranda and a Kula mutually exclude each other, because if conditions of security allow the building of a house with an open prostoon, same conditions would render the construction of a kula useless. And vice-versa, nobody would ever think of constructing such a type of dwelling, where there is a danger that a veranda might be burned down at night time. This is confirmed by the geographical expansion of the «shpi» (house) and the «kula» (fortified house). Thus, there is a complete absence of typical, towerlike «kulas» in Melcija Madhe, Zadrima, which is situated in a plain, as well as in Bregubuns and Bregumatja, areas that enjoy greater security. On the contrary, in areas where statistics of crime show that a 21-32% [682] of all deaths are caused by murder, we find the kula, while houses [627] with a prostoon are absent. Because of the custom of vengence male members of many families are bound inside their kula for years.

As for the origin of these tower-form houses which, according to Nopcsa, were multiplied in Middle Albania between the years 890 [177] and 1274, Haberlandt believes that from a house-building point of [463] view, they must be derived from the towers and donjons propagated

1) **Anna Komnini**, 2, 124 Bonn: Τὴν μέντοι ἀκρόπολιν, ὅπερ κουλᾶ νῦν ἡ συνήθεια καλεῖν εἴωθεν, ἔτι Κελτοὶ κατεῖχον... (The acropolis, which is now by habit called kula, was occupied by Celts...) **G. Kedrinos**, 2, 366: Ὁ Βούρτζης ἰσχυσε λαβεῖν τὸ μέτρον ἑνὸς τῶν πρὸς δύσιν Ἀντιοχείας πύργων, Κάλα τοὔνομα... (Vourtzes had power enough as to take possession of a tower, called Kala, at the West of Antiocheia...)

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

in Central and Southern Europe from the 12th to the 15th centuries. He moreover tends to consider their «naturalisation» as the work of travelling builders, who belonged to the builders' guilds, because of the fact that they are called «mastori» in Albania.

A 342 712 177 [463]

Nopcsa remarks to the above, (p. 54) that the word «maistor» has been used in Serbia since 1350 and that it is common in Byzantium in the form of «Protomaistor». It would, however, be more correct to say that the words «maistor» and «protomaistor» that originate in the Latin word «magister» (earlier: μάγιστρος, μαγίστωρ) have had the meaning of a nobleman or a teacher first, and later that of

A [192]

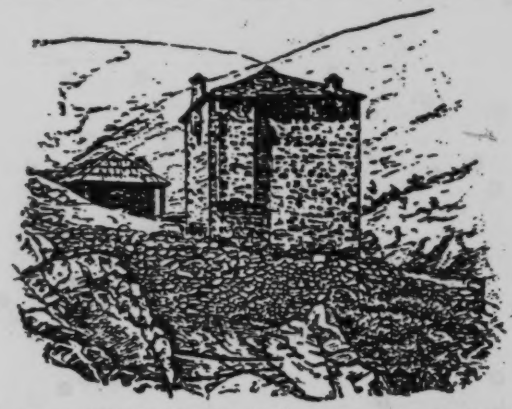

Fig. 75. A kula in Sapatsi, in the area of the Berisha tribe
(Nopcsa, fig. 41)

a craftsman and a master-artisan, since the first Byzantine years; and they are used in exactly the same spelling in modern Greek language, under exactly the same form as in Albania, i.e. mastoras-mastoroi and protomastoras. A great number of villages in Epirus, Western Mecedonia and the Pindus, especially in the areas of Konitsa, Korytsa, Metsovon, Malakassi, Houliarades, Tzoumerka and Voïon, are known as «Μαστοροχώρια» (builders' villages), because almost all their inhabitants have been builders by profession centuries ago. For months on end, carrying the tools of their craft, they travelled all over the Balcan peninsula as far as Bucharest and Constantinople, and more so in Epirus and Albania, in groups or guilds, under the leadership

A [192]
G [331] [467] [484]
A [463]

1) Sophocles' Dictionary: Μάγιστρος and Μαγίστωρ: master-workman, master-builder.

2 [i.e. Haberlandt - ANALYST.]

9:Megas I,B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece EH1
Albania EG1

of a masterbuilder (1). Haberlandt is then right when he states that the construction of Albanian towers was the work of travelling builder's guilds. The origin, however, of these builders must not be sought, as Haberlandt suggests, in the countries over the Adriatic and in Southern Italy; neither, as Nopcsa thinks, in Northern Italy and the Alpine regions, but in the Balkan peninsula itself, in an area which is very near to Albania as well, and whose inhabitants knew both the Albanian language and their customs well, so that they could freely enter that rough and inhospitable country. (2).

It is true that in Greece towers are only found in Mani, because social conditions and especially the vendetta have made defensive measures against personal and family enemies necessary, exactly as in Chimara and Albania. Before the liberation of Thessaly, however, the system of the above fortified towers was widely prevalent there,

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1) Here below I am giving a translation of a recently published survey by Mrs. **A. Hadjimihali**: «La maison grecque». «Each of these builders' villages has specialised in some part of building. Certain villages supplied builders, others decorators, others painters, woodworkers, etc. All these builders were known under the general name of «μαστόροι», whatever their speciality was. The master- builders, each leading a group of builders, formed notable guilds known under the local name of «ἰωνάφι». In Yannena, the builders' guild counted about 450 members, belonging to various branches of building art.

Each master-builder was the head of a group of about 10-20 men. Groups, however, who undertook big construction projects, had sometimes up to 100 men: builders, marble sculpters, decorators, painters, carpenters, turners, woodcarvers, etc. These builder guilds were leaving their villages under the leadership of their masters towards the middle of February and went to the place where work had been found. Their departure was cause for feasts, and so was their return in December, or round Christmas to the latest. (A desctription of these fiests is given here). These guilds were thus travelling from Macedonia and Epirus, all over the Balkan peniusula as far as Bucharest, Constantinople and even Asia Minor. Buildings constructed by these groups are found in all these countries: Graceful bridges on bold arches, famous churches, monasteries, immense caravan serajs, houses of noblemen, public buildings, palaces, minarets, mosques, bell-towers, etc.» (L'Hellénisme Contemporain, Serie B, year 3, (1949) p. 250)

See also note 2 on page 79. Builders of Epirus, who have constructed the beautiful noblehouses of Western Macedonia, seem to be fully aware of the value and perfection of their work. One of the most beautiful houses of Siatista, built in 1754, has the following inscription on a glass pane: «Should you ask, my lords, what builder built this house, Nacos is his name, and he comes from Konitsa». (Ὁ Φάρος τῆς Βορ. Ἑλλάδος, 1939 p. 242).

2) **Ph. Koukoules.** Περὶ τὴν βυζαντινὴν οἰκίαν, p. 117.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Albania EG1

S 563 184 352 [516] [354]

ing, smoking cigarettes, and enjoying coffee and sweet cakes. Green creepers twine round the balconies; and the gardens are never without a medlar and a walnut-tree. In winter the women like to squat on their heels, warming their hands over a *mangal*, or open brazier, often made of brass or copper, decorated with pierced and incised patterns, and filled with glowing charcoal or hot wood-ashes, while the Turkish coffee-pot (*džezver*) comes to the boil. In richer houses small elaborately carved and inlaid wooden Turkish tables are set out for the plates of cakes and cigarettes.

The kitchen, the *podrum*, and the storerooms are on the ground floor, and the usual sheds and stables stand near the house, within the enclosure.

CM 342 563

The town type of Moslem dwelling follows what may be called the Old Macedonian or Turkish-Oriental style. I have found houses of this kind from Novi Pazar to Istambul. They are two or three storeys high; and are distinguished by their wide, overhanging eaves, formed by the projecting beams and rafters, sometimes supported by wooden brackets, their balconies and large roofed-in verandahs on the upper storeys, their airy passages, on which all the rooms open, and their shallow wide stairs, leading from floor to floor. The low-pitched roofs are sometimes thatched, sometimes covered with red curly tiles. In Novi Pazar, within the last three or four years, the overhanging eaves have been cut away from many of the houses in the main street in a distressing effort to acquire a modern appearance.

XIII

A 342 712

(6) *Houses of the* (*Moslem*) *Albanians in Metohija*, usually two storeys high, are more like fortresses than houses, and are known as *kule*, or towers. House and grounds, with the usual dependent outbuildings, are surrounded by a strong and high wall of brick or stone, entered only by the equally strong outer door. In some cases the house itself is part of the boundary wall. Its walls are strong and thick, also of stone or hard red bricks, never whitewashed. The

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs
Albania E61

342 low-pitched roof is tiled in red, with dormer-like smoke-
712 holes, or tall, lidded chimneys. The strong wooden doors are round or square at the top ; the doorways often formed by lintels and side-pieces of wood, or arched with stone. Windows are few, and very small, often mere loopholes or slits a few inches across. Glass is rare : the openings may be barred by twisted twigs. In the stone houses they are often outlined by a frame of regularly shaped and spaced blocks. The guest-room is lighted by rather larger windows, which are nowadays generally glazed, though old-fashioned paper windows still linger in some parts. The side of the house facing the road is blind, though sometimes a few narrow slits are pierced just under the eaves.

342 The peasants themselves give as a reason for building
712 such fortress-like houses that they have lived so long in dread of hereditary enemies, often very numerous because
627 of the constant blood-feuds. These, like feuds in all countries, often arose over a woman, a runaway or a stolen wife. They said to me frankly : "Under Turkey we could pursue our wives, and kill them with their lovers ; but now we are forbidden to do this. A slit is wide enough for us to shoot through, not wide enough for us to be shot at. No enemy can see into the house through it, let alone climb in by it. And then a woman cannot go out by it to keep a tryst, nor can a man come in to find her." For similar reasons, all these dwellings have inside sanitation—small
[514] apse-like closets built of the same material as the house, and apparently clinging to it.

352 The ground floor contains the small dark kitchens where the women and children eat their meals. They have floors of hard earth, and fireplaces of the huge projecting kind, or
[354] small open fires with smoke-holes above, with a few cooking-
[415] vessels of baked clay set at their edges : the flour-chest stands behind the door. On either side are the storerooms. An open-fronted shed holds the carts and ploughs, with the
343 stables and barn not far off. The stable is lofty, its roof of bare rafters being continuous with the roof of the first floor, so that one may look down on the horses through the slits in the end rooms of this storey.

342 The simplest stone buildings are made of dry masonry. Windows are lacking. The roof may be made of two rows of boards, 30-40 centimeters wide and rather thick, which are weighted down with stones or with a beam at the eaves. Occasionally they may have a hipped roof covered with stone slabs (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). More common are buildings of mortar and stone. When the interior is partitioned, interior walls are of lighter material, wickerwork or wooden boards. Whereas in Rumania and most of the southern Slav [171] area the entrance leads to the central kitchen, on each side of which are symmetrical rooms, in Albania the hearths are located on either side of the building and there is only a passage between the two side rooms (figs. 50, 51) (Nopcsa, 1925: 39).

More often than one-story houses, one finds two-story ones (only the kulas may have more than two stories). The ground floor has storage rooms and stables, while the second story has two rooms. The stairway to the second story is located on the outside. Often one finds a two-story house that has a veranda along the whole front and a massive masonry stairway leading up to it (fig. 49). When the veranda is encompassed by the side walls of the house it is called a shamashin, when not enclosed, čardak (Nopcsa, 1925: 43). In the veranda house, the basement space under the veranda and the rooms may be partitioned off with dry masonry or wooden boards into small rooms for storage and animals (Nopcsa, 1925: 44).

The stairs leading up to the second story may have wooden banisters. The roof may project over the stairs, or a separate canopy roof may be built over them. Sometimes a small stairway house is built over it (fig. 53) which makes for greater security when stepping out of the house. (The position of the door is always an important factor in Albania). Nopcsa (1925: 53) believes that this staircase is an independent development. One part of the veranda may be walled in to form a small room (fig. 50). The pattern of building separate houses for family members when the family gets too large is not known in Albania. However, in northern Albania this is given consideration when building additions to the house or making changes. If one needs more room, the building is enlarged or a room may be subdivided. Fig. 51 represents modification of a building into two separate units each with its own stairway.

342 Kulas are high tower-like structures of massive masonry that 312 can be defended by a few men. Instead of windows they have loop- [341] holes and sometimes have a bastion-like defense structure on their upper story (fig. 54). Special construction for defense is found even in some of the simple one-room dairy houses. Thus, in one inside corner may be erected a structure, 2.5 meters long and 1.5 meters high, of solid walls covered with a slab roof. It looks very much like an oven, especially as the opening is only 75 centimeters high and 75 centimeters wide (Nopcsa, 1925: 52).

The door of the kula is generally to one side. Stairs to the second story are on the inside and may be merely ladders that lean

on the wall. When the stairway leads to the second floor on the outside, the ground floor is generally used by women and also has the stables (Nopcsa, 1925: 58). Since the space in the kula is limited, women commonly reside in a one-story women's house, which is not necessarily built like the kula. If the kula gets too small for the family a second one may be built; the new entrance facing the old. They try to have the entrance protected by some other building and not directly in view. 342 712

Interior partitioning walls are never of stone, as this is too heavy and would have to be continued to the ground floor. Partitions are generally of woven brushwood, boards or sometimes large objects are placed so as to form a division. Windows are missing entirely in simpler houses. In the mountains they are small, narrow, glassless and resemble loopholes. They are just large enough to look through, and at night are shut with heavy boards. The fireplace is always along the short wall of the house. It is square in form and made of stone slabs bordered by wooden beams, or of stones that are half buried in the ground. When the floor is of wood an area 20 centimeters deep is cut out for the fireplace and filled with mud for insulation from the fire. This is necessary in two-story houses. The fireplace generally rises only 10 centimeters above the floor. A horizontal beam may extend from the wall over the fireplace. On it is attached a metal chain on which hangs the cauldron. Sometimes a grating of wood is suspended over it for drying meat and to attach pots. The ceiling usually does not project over the fireplace. Sometimes a baldachine-like structure is placed over it; this is a wooden frame, filled with wickerwork and plastered with mud. Between the wall and the fireplace there is often a built-in stone bench. This is sometimes set into a niche. Occasionally there is a smokehole set over the niche (fig. 55) (Nopcsa, 1925: 81). 342 342 354 [417] [352]

Farm Buildings. The yard enclosure is generally a fence of wicker. Occasionally the fields are also enclosed, but less completely. The fence may consist of poles stuck into the ground at regular intervals and bound in two or three places with twine. It may be of wickerwork or poles set close to one another and fastened with a horizontal beam close to the top. Dry masonry is also used (Nopcsa, 1925: 15-16). The yard may be enclosed by stone walls, 7-8 feet high, which are connected with the buildings, together with which they form an enclosure (fig. 43) (Patsch, 1904: 26-27). Nopcsa maintains that the high enclosures and large portals are lacking in Catholic settlements. I was unable to find out just how prevalent high stone walls are in Albania. While one might assume them to be an advantage in defense, one finds that many of the fortress-like buildings are surrounded by extremely weak fences (Nopcsa, 1925: figs. 9, 39, 41). 351 [712]

The kukor is a frame of horizontal boards set on poles 2 meters high. It is not roofed over and is reached by a ladder, generally a notched tree trunk. It is used for the safekeeping of meat, etc. (Houses do not have an attic for storage.) (Nopcsa, 1925: 19-20). The koš for the storage of corn is the same as that used in Serbia, i.e. a circular wickerwork structure. 343 [251] [171]

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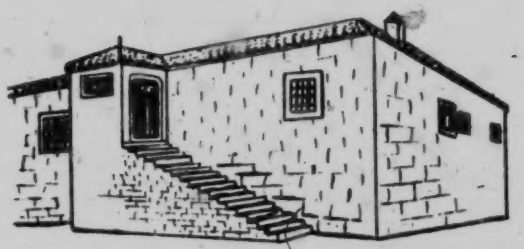

Fig. 53 Building with Stairway House

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712.

Fig. 54 Kule in Northern Albania

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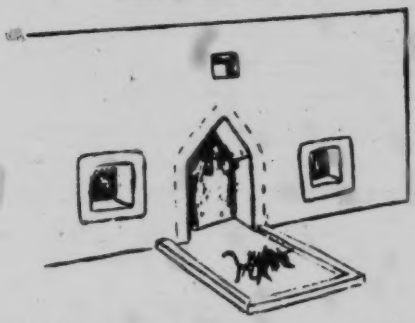

Fig. 55 Fireplace with Niches and Opening for Smoke

[P.86-M]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

me by the hand into a dark and dusty room, hung with rifles and submachine-guns. It was thronged with Zogist notables and their bodyguards: wild and rugged men, corrugated with cartridge-belts, and festooned with pistols, daggers, and hand-grenades. Most of them were dressed in black, baggy Turkish breeches, braided homespun jackets of black or brown, with multicoloured sashes wound about their waists, and white fezes or skull-caps on their heads. A few besides were in uniform retained from the time of their service in the Albanian army, or looted from the Italians; while others, especially the leaders, wore tweed or leather jackets, variously combined with local or military costume.

We sat down, Turkish fashion, by the fire; and, while we drank coffee and exchanged greetings, the guerillas milled around, or sat together in small groups, whispering intently. To a stranger this whispering seemed sinister and blatantly conspiratorial, but the others took no offence at it. Necessity indeed imposed a communal way of life on the guerillas; each man was watched by his fellows in his every movement, and it was only by whispering that any privacy of discussion could be preserved.

I had been there perhaps half an hour when, at a sign from Abas Kupi, the guerillas filed out of the room, and we remained alone with Shaqir, my interpreter, and Colonel Murad Basha. Basha had been a regular officer under King Zog and had joined Abas Kupi in Belgrade in 1940. He was now the Zogist Chief-of-Staff, but struck me from the first as pedantic and too quick to see the difficulties in any scheme. He was indeed to prove a defeatist influence at the Zogist Headquarters, for, though personally no coward, he was terrified of action, like so many senior officers who have won their spurs on the square rather than in the field.

I began our discussions by showing Abas Kupi my credentials: these were a letter from Stirling, who had been his friend, and a *besa* given me by King Zog. This was a covenant enjoining upon all Albanians the duty of protecting my life and, should their zeal prove unavailing, of avenging my death. My *bona fides* thus established I recalled our meeting in Belgrade

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[79 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before,
173 after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
614 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167] the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[669] died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

Government and Law

The question as to whether a wound had really been given accidentally was, of course, a fertile source of dispute. In a land where everyone carried fire-arms there were surprisingly few accidents. 683

THEFT

Theft within the Tribe.—The procedure for trial is the same as with murder. The plaintiff appeals to the bairaktar if he has previously not been able to obtain redress by appealing to the head of the family which has robbed him. 685

A sufficient number of con-jurors must then be found before whom the accused may swear his innocence and who will swear it with him. [693]

There is a fixed number for various thefts. Eight for horse-stealing, six for cattle-, and two for sheep- or goat-stealing.

A thief found guilty has to pay twice the value of the article stolen: give two sheep for one. Half the value of the article stolen is divided between the elders who have tried the case. For anything stolen off Church land as much as ten times the value may be demanded; and in olden times I was assured that a fancy value was placed upon a stolen cock—possibly because it was held to have great power against evil spirits. If a man's only cock was stolen, it is easy to see that these might suddenly attack him when unprotected.

If the house or cattle-shed is broken into, an extra fine of about £4 has to be paid.

The number of con-jurors depends on the value of the stolen article, and may be as many as ten.

Theft from another Tribe.—As in the Highlands of Scotland of old, lifting cattle from across the border of another tribe was considered rather a sporting event than a crime. 685 721

Mountain bands who raided the environs of Scutari and carried off Turkish goods were heroes. The practice was precisely the same as that of the Chetniks of Montenegro and the Hayduks of Bosnia. This custom had been modified, and the tendency was to arrange intertribal theft by arbitration—the procedure being the same as that with theft within the tribe, except that heads of both tribes took part in them.

This was usual in Maltsia e Madhe. But in the Dukagini tribes, especially the distant ones, much cattle- and horse-theft went on between tribes who, owing to blood-feud, had not a "besa" (peace oath) with each other. When I was in Nikaj, one of the wildest of the tribes, Nikaj and Krasnichi were on the worst terms. Watch-fires twinkled at night on the Krasnichi mountains, and talk was all of horse-stealing and cattle-lifting.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

787 During that war I again heard the bones fatally read. An Albanian friend of mine in Podgoritza, owner of the local omnibus, was a great student of bones. He spent his leisure reading them as we others do books. One day he begged me to come for something very important, for my eye and ear alone.

The windows of his little room were closely curtained to prevent spying, and in the half-darkness was a pile of bladebones. He chose one and showed me a white opaque spot on it as large as a sixpence, and gravely asked if I knew what it meant. Now an opaque spot in certain places means death. "Yes," said he, "but what a spot! Did you ever see such a large one?" I never had, nor had he. He was troubled and anxious and pondered and pondered. The position of the spot meant someone must die soon. But it was so large, it must mean a great man. "Could it mean anything less than a king?" That was what he wished to ask me.

There flashed through my brain: "Are they plotting to assassinate King Nikola?" (He was very unpopular, for the war was going badly for Montenegro.) I discreetly said: "I do not know." He decided that it must mean a king—and shortly.

Just about a fortnight afterwards King George of Greece was assassinated. It was quite impossible that the seer should have known of any plot. We had hardly any news from other fronts.

It was one of those coincidences which, in the popular mind, overwhelm a thousand previous failures and annihilate reason. My poor friend was awestruck at the revelation that had been granted him.

648 The last time I heard, and probably ever shall hear, the bones read was
●721 at Durazzo, when the Prince zu Wied was there, in the fatal summer of 1914. Durazzo was seething with representatives of every Power that had a finger in the Balkan pie. France, Russia, and Serbia were doing all they could to start a war. Italy was active. Fighting was going on and the hospitals were full of wounded. On the quay a very ragged mountain man insisted on speaking with "the Kralitza" as they
787 called me. He had come a long distance to consult me. He was eager and excited. Pulling a fowl's breast-bone from his sash, he held it against the blazing sun. The bone glowed red. The others said he was stupid and did not know how to read the bones. But he insisted and cried vehemently: "Gjak! gjak (blood, blood) everywhere, everywhere nothing but blood and more blood." And about a week or two afterwards the Great War began, and blood has not yet ceased flowing in the Near East.

Enough examples. That very many people believe the bones is undoubtable. I have been at meals where elder men have stopped

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

that they had rallied with the news of the Luftwaffe's defeat in the Battle of Britain; a trend that was maintained with the growing certainty that the British Government meant to fight to the end. Men's minds were therefore receptive to the idea of revolt, but without arms they could not pass from ideas to action. In default of arms, money was sent across the border to maintain the goodwill of the clans and also in the hope that, by the natural operation of the law of supply and demand, it might lead to the discovery of unknown arsenals. The return, however, was small in comparison with the outlay; and the absence of concealed supplies of weapons was presently attested by the rise in the price of rifles. Meanwhile Prince Paul's Government, strong only in its determination to appease the Axis Powers, began actively to disrupt the work of the United Front. To please the Italians they expelled Parker from Skoplje; confined Abas Kupi to Sarajevo; and forbade the Kryeziu brothers to visit their estates in the Kossovo. In the face of these restrictions Oakley-Hill had no choice but to beguile the impatience of the exiles as best he might and wait upon events.

669* 648

On 4th November 1940, to the dismay of the British, and, as it now appears, the displeasure of the Germans, the Italian armies in Albania invaded Greece. The Duce thus sought a military solution to the Balkan problem; but though Roman in its inspiration, his plan proved singularly Italian in its execution. The ragged Greek soldiery, for years the butt of journalists because of a supposed dislike of fighting in the rain, surprised and routed the vanguard of the Italians in the defiles of the Pindus. The vaunted Alpini and Bersaglieri were hurled back in disorder into Albania. The Italian *débâcle* assumed spectacular proportions; Korcha, Pogradets, Gjinocastro, Saranda, and Himara fell in turn; Valona was threatened; and for a moment it seemed that the Italians would be driven into the Adriatic. R.A.F. machines appeared in Greece; and, with rumours of a new British Expeditionary Force, British stocks rose once more throughout the Balkans.

721

The Albanians believed that their freedom was at hand. 000

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

114 penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud.
[23] For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no
[577] doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

171 It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that
721 of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss
[826] Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants,
[842] its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance
[583] is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance
[302] of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the head by Albanians (p. 230), as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but
[628] quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other
000 primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

703 minds do on courage as the highest of virtues, the traditions are a great inspiration.[1]

721 703 The following traditions are samples. The bajrak of Hot was won four hundred years ago by an ancestor of Deli Metë Çuni who distinguished himself by cutting off Montenegrin heads, a pastime in which the family has ever since indulged with gusto. Sul Alija, the great-grandfather of Adem Bajrami, who lived four generations ago, was made bajraktar of Krasniqe in reward for the bravery he displayed during a war between Turkey and Montenegro. Sefer Ahmeti was given his bajrak at Moraç near Belgrade after a battle against the Serbs. The first bajraktar of Nikaj also won his standard at Moraç, possibly in the same battle. Kolë Voci, who lived six generations ago, became the first bajraktar of Shalë-Gimaj in consequence of killing a Serbian bajraktar and carrying his head and standard to the officer commanding the Turkish forces. In the same battle the bajraktar of Plan was killed, but Voci caught up and saved his bajrak from capture by the enemy. Avdi Kola, a later bajraktar of Gimaj, was proud to boast that since Voçi won the flag no male of his house had died in his bed.

701 Certain tribes had more than one bajraktar, some as many as five. Where there were two or more bajraktars the senior took precedence over the junior. If a senior bajraktar was killed in battle it was the junior's duty to take his flag.

The office of the tribal bajraktar was hereditary, going from father to son. If a bajraktar died without leaving a son he was succeeded by his brother, his brother's son, or in default of these, a cousin in the male line. If he was too old or too ill before his death to act, these relatives deputised for him. If the natural heir was a minor at his father's death, his father's brother or nephew took office until he came of full age and powers when twenty, twenty-five, or even thirty years of age, the date varying according to his capabilities. In 1933 Kolë Ndue was senior bajraktar of [the standard, the holder of which was the military leader of his tribe -- Analyst]

[1] The bajrak was not, however, always granted for military valour but was sometimes conferred for less martial reasons. For instance, Pec Peci of Pecnikaj, Shalë, was summoned to the presence of the head of the Begolli family to explain why he, a peasant, had seven wives, while the great Begolli contented himself with only three. Pec's explanation, that only one of the women was really his wife and the others servants who looked after his land and flocks as menservants might have done, though known to be untrue, so fascinated Begolli by its astuteness that he forthwith made Pec bajraktar not only of Shalë, but also of all Dukagjin.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XV

ASSEMBLIES AND THEIR WORK

623 Assemblies sometimes dealt with internal matters such as criminal
634 trials, formulation of laws, local administration, and sometimes
619 with the external relations of the community. Internal affairs were dealt with, according to their gravity, by the tribe, village or kin, but a plenary assembly had to be called to consider foreign affairs.

619 During the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century
669 the northern tribes of Albania were singly or collectively in constant opposition to Turkish sovereignty, and plenary assemblies were summoned by tribes whenever they planned to break out into open revolt. Earlier in 1855 and 1862 there had been attacks on the Montenegrins by the Mirditë, which had followed on plenary assemblies of the Mirditë tribes.

In 1881 the Albanians of Kosovë formed the League of Prizren in order to struggle more effectively for independence of Turkey.
[631] All over Kosovë and what afterwards became the kingdom of Albania plenary meetings were held by tribes, and, where these did not exist as in south Albania, by districts, to decide on whether to join this League or not. Again in 1908, as Miss Durham relates,[1] the northern tribes held plenary meetings about accepting the new
[721] Turkish constitution. The Albanian attack on the Turkish garrisons in Skoplje and adjacent towns, that began the Balkan war of 1912, was prefaced by general assemblies of every tribe in Kosovë and north Albania. In the summer of 1914, when Esad Pashë Toptani revolted against Prince William of Wied, then *Mbret* (king) of Albania, his supporters raised central Albania in his favour by carrying the Koran in one hand and a crucifix in the other to plenary meetings of the villages and bidding the Assembly, generally consisting of Moslems only, choose between the Moslem Esad and the Christian 'Mbret'. In 1942 a plenary meeting of all Mat was convened by the subprefect of Mat in the hope of enforcing obedience to the Italian government of the day. The decisions reached at the meeting were embodied in a document

[1] *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 120, n. 1.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

published in the Albanian newspaper *Tomori* on 7 November 1942,[1] a curious mixture of Fascist ideology and ancient mountain law. But the decisions were honoured only in the breach. A few months later, many hundreds of families represented at the meeting were homeless, victims of Italian reprisals for their persistent revolts.

Sometimes a tribe met in plenary session to deal with inter-tribal matters. It might have quarrelled with a neighbour over a grazing or forest boundary between their territories, or the neighbour might be harbouring one of its dangerous criminals. In either case the tribe had to meet in plenary session, first of all to discover by public argument the best way of enforcing its boundary rights or procuring the surrender of the criminal, and secondly to secure public sanction for the steps it decided on. These might even include war. Miss Durham describes a General Assembly of Shalë which she witnessed in 1908.[2] The Moslem tribes to the north and east, surreptitiously armed by the Turkish government, had threatened to massacre Shalë and its Catholic associates if they did not embrace Islam by the next Ramazan. Shalë met in General Assembly, and amid scenes of wild enthusiasm passed a resolution to warn its Moslem neighbours that within seven days of their receiving notice Shalë and its fellow-Catholics would be at war with them.

Sometimes a pair of tribes met in plenary assembly for mutual aid. Several examples of contracts made on such occasions are given by Father Gjeçov; translations of three appear as Documents IV, VII and VIII.[3] In the first the tribes of Nikaj and Mertur pledge the safety of man and beast at certain times of the year. The second is between the tribes of Nikaj and Shalë in 1894, and the third, dated 1895, is between Nikaj and Curraj, a 'brotherhood' of Nikaj. In these latter, each contracting party guarantees the safety of the other's tribesmen when travelling along certain specified roads in its territory; in the first Shalë's guarantee is extended to tribesmen of Shosh, its western neighbour, and Nikaj's guarantee to tribesmen of Mertur, its eastern neighbour. In this way they facilitated a considerable amount of movement from tribe to tribe. Such documents were really an early form of passport, allowing the tribesmen of one tribe 'to pass freely without let or hindrance' in the territory of the other.

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, p. 272.
[2] Op. cit., pp. 71, 72.
[3] See Appendix, pp. 263, 265, 267.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

721 Like tribes, villages sometimes met together to try to agree
623 about matters of common interest. Villages often quarrelled over
685 irrigation water, and a forest or pasture boundary. They quarrelled even oftener perhaps because the tracks of stolen animals led from one to the other; cattle-lifting and sheep-stealing were common. The most satisfactory way of dealing with troubles was for the two villages to meet in full assembly. After thrashing the matter out in public they generally reached a settlement, failing which they could only go to war. In the early years of the twentieth century cattle thieving was listed as one of the thirteen most important matters brought before General Assemblies in Martanesh. In 1942 it was still so active a disturber of the public peace that the pro-Fascist subprefect of Mat legislated for it among the questions which were the real occasion of his calling together the 5000 families of Mat.[1]

671 Law-giving was also an important function of General Assem-
619 blies. This activity came to an end with centralization and western
634 legal codes, and its nature can be studied in the documents quoted by Father Gjeçov and reproduced as an appendix to this book, pp. 261 sqq. These documents show the variety of matters with which the law-giving of the Assembly was concerned. For instance, Document I, coming from Malësi e Madhe and dated 1864, is wholly devoted to such subjects as betrothal, bride-price, divorce and abduction or elopement. Document XI, which comes from Kurbin in 1906, is much occupied with stealing and with tightening up the social fabric by making attendance at General Assemblies imperative and the authority of elders supreme. With the proclamation of Albanian independence of Turkey only six years ahead, it contains an interesting political note; no Kurbin man is to become a gendarme in Turkish service or to give one food and shelter; and no Moslem of Kurbin is to curry favour with the Turkish authorities by denouncing a Christian fellow-tribesman. Document XIII, which comes from Mat in 1942, is also dated by its politics enjoining support of the Italian régime in Albania.

671 In the midst of the variety of subjects in the documents, crimes
674 against life and property are continually appearing as the fundamental threats to the security of the community. A study of the documents shows them as reaffirming and modifying old and recognized laws, rather than formulating new ones. Assemblies

[1] See Appendix, Document XIII, § 4, p. 273.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

offenders, banishing others, and executing the ringleaders if these had committed any crime entailing the death penalty.

Sometimes a village went to actual war with the rest of the tribe. As it never did so unless it knew itself to be very strong, the rest of the tribe was sometimes unable to reduce it. If the tribe was alone, the war went on until both sides were exhausted enough to cry halt. If the tribe was one of a group its heads could call in all the men of the other tribes to reduce the belligerent. In Mirditë a Gjomarkaj called the General Assembly which decided on this step, and led its members against the belligerent.

Sometimes, like a pestilent village, a tribe that formed part of a group made itself a nuisance to its neighbours. In that case the General Assembly of the other tribes in the group sentenced it wholesale to the usual penalties—fines for mild offenders, burning out for medium offenders and death for bad offenders. A whole tribe, however, could not be banished. It could only be ostracized, cut off from all intercourse with its neighbours; this penalty lasted until it consented to furnish the usual pledges for its future behaviour.

Village Assemblies dealt with matters of exclusively village interest. They regulated wood-cutting and irrigation rights, for example. They fixed the date at which beasts might be sent up to their summer pasturage on the high mountains. They stipulated the number of beasts that might be sent up by each family. They took steps to see that no one appropriated more than his fair share of forest, irrigation water or grazing. In so doing they made a valuable contribution to the public peace. Some aspects of murder also engaged their attention. The actual crime and revenge for it were the concern only of the families of the murderer and his victim. But it was the concern of the village that the range of revenge should not spread, increasing the number of avenging assassinations and so disturbing the village peace. So the law having laid down that the avenger must allow the murderer a day or two's grace to settle up his affairs before he was besieged in his house, the village had to extract a promise of this grace from the avenger. In cases where the grace lasted for thirty days, the village had to see that the murderer did not abuse his privilege and harry the victim's family. If he showed any such tendency, the village in General Assembly had to fine him and bring his period of grace to an untimely end.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins

H 721 175 326

the Serb chieftain. Maybe Novak was by race one of the "under-dogs" of the old Serb Empire—a serf or slave.

M 836 554

In a Montenegrin ballad, dictated to me by Krsto and which I do not know in print, the smith again appears as low caste. Milosh of Drobnjak bids his sister take his brown horse to be shod by Suljo the Gipsy. Suljo refuses to do so unless he may kiss her. Milosh rides away on the unshod horse, and on his return rode to Suljo's. "When Suljo saw him he was afeared. He took his cap in his left hand, and in his right, the hammer and tongs to shoe Milosh's brown horse. But Milosh smote the gipsy with his sword. Though he struck him but lightly, he cleft him in twain. And thus spoke Milosh: 'Well, Suljo! Dost wish to kiss my sister now?' "

The smith was low class and of another race.

How different from these benighted ideas are those of our higher civilization. It is universally recognized that the making and selling of machines for killing the people over the border is the most honourable of trades. Far from being classed as a Black Gipsy, the armament dealer receives a title, and can marry anybody's daughter.

H M A 784 721

But a fear or dislike of iron has been widespread. When one considers its great usefulness and the ages it has been in use, it is incomprehensible that the idea it was uncanny should have been so persistent. No iron tool, we are told, was used in building the Temple at Jerusalem. Iron might not be used to repair the Pons Sublicius at Rome. Roman priests had to shave with bronze, not iron razors. The uncanny properties of magnetic iron and the rooted dislike of the human race for innovations are not enough to account for it; and it appears that this dread of iron was transferred to the workers of it and long clung to them.

M 777 775

I found the uncanny power of iron still recognized in the Balkans. Iron drives off evil spirits. When I was living in Montenegro many a "junak" (hero) who boasted freely of his courage did not like passing a graveyard at night. That cheeriest of boasters, Krsto, was hurt when I told him such fear was not compatible with "junashtvo." If obliged to pass such places after dark he thought it indispensable to carry a knife. This was not meant for stabbing the ghost. Oh, no! He would have run away at its first appearance. It was to keep the ghost off. In fact, the necessary piece of iron. One would have thought the revolver every man carried had iron enough to frighten any ghost. Not at all. A knife it must be. This, no doubt, because the belief dates from many centuries before the invention of fire-arms, to the days when a knife was the handiest piece of portable iron; and ever since then it has remained the recognized protector.

A 764

In North Albania a shovel or hoe was always left in a grave until

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291 286 531 **No. 1935-68.** One of a pair of leggings for a Zadrima woman is illustrated at "E" on Plate X. The foundation is of knitting done in coarse wool, the foot portion striped in yellow and green, two stitches of each colour alternately, and the top portion in the design indicated at "E", in red and black.

The part below the latter is covered as far down as the ankle with red felt upon which braided patterns in scarlet, yellow and white are sewn down, and five rows of fine stitchery taken right through the knitting divide each set of motives.

The outer side of the legging is the part that has been drawn. On the inner side is a plainer panel, divided for the whole length of the felt, finished off with a felt flap, and both sides of the division hooked together with strong brass hooks and eyes. This arrangement ensures a well-fitted legging which is warm, comfortable and decorative. Over the knitted foot part a leather "opanga" would be worn.

[177] "Similar leggings, with local differences of pattern and colour, were formerly worn in many districts. This was the only pair I was able to obtain." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER XIII.

Women's Jeleks.

In addition to the jelek on Plate X worn by a Zadrima woman, there are five others from Albania in the collection.

These little sleeveless jackets or zouaves are worn by both women and men in many districts and are usually beautifully decorated, chiefly by braiding, which is done by Albanian tailors. Amongst those not yet described is one of outstanding workmanship and design, that presented to Miss Durham by the Beys forming the provisional government of Berat in July, 1913, in token of gratitude. She says, "Korcha was occupied by Greek troops in the Balkan war of 1912-13, and the Greeks claimed it. Along with Mr. H. W. Nevinson (the famous war correspondent), I rode three days over the mountains, arriving at Berat early in the morning, and drafted a telegram to the Council of Ambassadors in London as a petition from the inhabitants of Korcha saying they wished to remain Albanian, and Korcha remains Albanian to this day as a result of that desperate ride."

[721] 648

No. 1937-19. This jelek, which has a foundation of black face cloth, either Austrian or Italian in origin, is entirely covered with gold embroidery, both raised and flat, in which expert use is made of gold thread or passing, gold cord, purl and sequins.

The design on the front, of conventional eight and four-petalled flowers connected by graceful curves and mingled with raised geometrical forms, is so elaborate that a reduced drawing of it would be unsatisfactory, but a small portion of one corner of actual size is reproduced in Fig. 7b, which also shows the four rows of plaited gold passing divided by three rows of gold cord which border the whole garment.

The back has a large bi-symmetrical motive which fills most of the space, and is bordered by the same design that almost encircles the armhole. A part of this border from near the lower edge at the back is given on Fig. 7a. The little added flaps at the front, usually found on jeleks, are absent from this specimen, being re-

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1

777 754 and catch it there, thus literally "saving your face," as did the women of Konjitza in Bosnia.

A 753 754 777 Illness being very largely ascribed to Evil Eye or magic, amulets in Albania are usually called "derman" or "ilatch," both of which words also mean remedy.

A 755 *Sympathetic Magic.*—In this the disease is supposed to act in accord with some object or other and disappears as it does.

A cure for jaundice was thus performed by a Moslem wise man on the child of a Scutari Christian. He tied some red wool round the child and some yellow wool round a red rose in the garden. He ordered the red to go out of the rose into the child, and the yellow to go out of the child into the rose. In a few days the rose wilted and yellowed and the child recovered its rosy cheeks. The efficacy of the cure was undoubted.

Marko had another he thought better, because it could be carried out at any time of year. You put a small fish in a bucket of water. The patient had to stare at it as it swam round and round. If he stared at it long and steadily enough, the disease went out of the patient into the fish, which died.

A [722 164] In 1912–13, owing to the Albanian Revolution and the Balkan wars, large numbers of the mountain tribesmen who pasture their beasts on the Bojana plains in winter were unable to return to the mountains, and were blocked in the malaria swamps all the summer, with terrible consequences. Almost all were struck down with a virulent form of the disease. I went through the worst districts with a load of quinine, and found the people trying to cure their greatly enlarged spleens by slowly roasting the spleen of a sheep at a fire, and muttering spells which ordered their own spleens to diminish as that of the sheep shrivelled at the fire.

A 164 776 753 A [755] Epilepsy was not uncommon in the mountains. It was looked upon as a possession by evil spirits. I once saw a woman fall down suddenly in a fit. Some men at once rushed up and, telling me to get out of the way, fired their revolvers alongside of her head. This was to scare away the evil spirit. As she soon recovered, they believed they had done so. I once saved a woman under similar circumstances from being flogged. Luckily she recovered quickly. But it is not so very long ago that lunatics were flogged in England.

A 777 755 Marko knew of a certain cure for epilepsy, but difficult to obtain. If you see a snake swallowing a frog, you must throw a black handkerchief over it. This scares the snake and it disgorges the frog. Keep the handkerchief, and when someone falls in a fit, throw it over him. He will then disgorge the disease as the snake did the frog. We kept a careful look-out, on our travels, for a snake eating a frog, but we never found one.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

PEAKS OF SHALA

533
539

'Thirty houses I leave behind me,
And into Montenegro I go.
I go to King Nichola of Montenegro;
He will give me meat and bread.'
Durgat Pasha on the top of the mountain,
Durgat Pasha with Shala around him,
Durgat Pasha had no bread or water,
Durgat Pasha's rifles had nothing to eat.
And the fighting men of Shala were all around him,
The fighting of Shala was terrible.
Durgat Pasha went out of his way to Puka.
Puka and Iballa greeted him.
When he came to Bashchellek
All of Scutari came to greet him.
The people of Scutari were frightened.
Durgat Pasha was going to die,
And Scutari rubbed his face with a sack,
Scutari gave him food and drink.
Then rose Salo Kali of Scutari.
'My rifles I cannot give,
I have made *besa* with one hundred men;
Our rifles are not for Durgat Pasha.'
'Leave the *besa*, Salo Kali,
Take your hammer and shoe the horses.
That is your business, Salo Kali.
What have you to do with rifles?'
'I have made *besa* with one hundred men;
Our rifles are not for Durgat Pasha.'
Durgat Pasha rubbed his forehead.
'I have never seen this kind of people,
I never saw a nation like Shala or Shoshi.
What can be done with the Shqiptars?'
These were the words of Durgat Pasha.

"That is the song of Durgat Pasha," said the 725
bandit. "When I came home from the fighting,
the men of Durgat Pasha had burned my house,

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

725 and my wife and my sons were dead. It was then I gave *besa* to myself never to hang my rifle on the wall and never to cut my beard until all Albania was free. And I went to fight the Serbs at Chafa Bullit. That was good fighting. All day we fought, and at night we lay by the camp fires and the women gave us bread and meat. All day long, while we were fighting, the women were on the trails bringing us bread and meat. Then we were tired and slept, and the air was good, not like the air in houses. And in the morning, when the stars were pale, we raised the war cry and killed more Serbs. It was a good life.

"It was at this time that the chiefs of Kossova came secretly by night through the Serbian lines to the house of Ahmet Bey Mati, and I was called by Ahmet to take them to Valona. He said that a word would be spoken in Valona to make Albania free. I said to Ahmet: 'The Montenegrins hold Scutari and the seacoast even to San Giovanni, the European Powers are in Durazzo, the Serbs have Kossova and the Dibra, the Greeks are in the south. What is talk of freedom? This is not a time to talk; it is a time to fight.' Ahmet said, 'Before the war cry, the council of chiefs.' Ahmet is chief of the Mati, head of the family that has ruled the Mati since the days of Scanderbeg. He was a boy of sixteen, newly come from the court of Sultan Abdul Hamid; he did not wear the clothes of the Malisori, and the chiefs of the Mati laced

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

his opangi before every battle, because he did not know how to lace opangi. Yet it must be said that it was his coming that saved the Mati from the Serbs. He came quickly, killing seven horses between Monastir and Borelli, and he told the chiefs what to do, and they saved the Mati. It was hot fighting. For five months he had been fighting and sleeping on the rocks. His chiefs loved him.

"I said, 'I am killing Serbs, and have no wish to go to Valona.' Ahmet said: 'When my father died, my older brother sent me from my country to the Turks. I do not know the trails. The chiefs of Kossova are my guests, and they do not know the trails. We must go to Valona through Elbassan, where the Serbs are. There is a meeting of all the chiefs of Albania in Valona. If we are killed by the Serbs, there will be no chiefs of the Malisori at that meeting. There will be only Toshks—men of the plains.' I said: 'To-night the moon will be dark. We must start as soon as we can see the small stars.'

"In three nights we were at the house of Asif Pasha in Elbassan. No, nothing disturbed us on the way, except that we were obliged to kill with our hands the dogs that sometimes came upon us from the villages. The Serbs were everywhere, and we could not use our guns. When we came to the house of Asif Pasha, the chiefs of Kossova with Ahmet slept in one room, and I sat with Asif Pasha by the fire in another room. Elbassan was held by many hundred Serbian sol-

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

725 diers. At midnight five officers with thirty soldiers came to the door. They came in, and would not take coffee. They stood, and said: 'Who are the twelve men who sleep to-night in this house? Do not lie, for we know that they are here.'

"Asif Pasha said, 'This is one of them.' I said, 'I will tell you who they are, but I beg you not to let them know that I have told. I am only a servant, and they are great chiefs. They are byraktors of five villages of the Mati, three villages of the Merdite, and three villages of Shala and Shoshi. They have come to Elbassan to talk with the Serbs. They have come secretly, hiding from the other chiefs. I do not know why. I beg you not to tell them that I have told, for they are tired and dirty, and they are sleeping while the women clean their clothes so that they will be clean to-morrow when they go to speak to your chiefs.'

"The officers sat down then, and one of them wrote. He wrote the names of the chiefs as I gave them to him, and he wrote what I said, that the Malisori were tired of fighting, and had little ammunition, and did not like their chiefs that made them fight. While he wrote, Asif Pasha gave them rakejia, and more and more rakejia, but no coffee. When the Serbs had become foolish I went to the other room where the chiefs were listening with their rifles in their hands, and I took them all by a way I knew, out of Elbassan.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

"So we came to Valona, to the house of Ismail Kemal Bey Vlora, the same who had been Grand Vizier of Abdul Hamid. He had come on an Austrian warship to Durazzo, and there they had tried to kill him, and he had come secretly, as we had come, to Valona. Valona was the only free village in Albania then, except our mountain villages. There was a council in his house. Chiefs of all the tribes from Kossova to Janina were there, and when the council was ended Ismail Kemal Bey brought the flag of Scanderbeg, which had always been hidden in his house, and with a rope he made it run to the top of a pole on his house. It was the red flag with the two-headed black eagle on it. I stood in the street and saw it go to the top of the pole. The chiefs were on the balcony, and Ismail Kemal Bey wept. Many men had tears on their cheeks. In the streets they cried, 'Rroft Shqiperia!' and embraced one another. They said that the spirit of Scanderbeg lived, and that Albania was free. But I said, 'The time has not come when I can hang my gun on the wall or cut my beard.'

"The next night I started secretly back through the Serbian lines with Ahmet and the chiefs of Kossova, to come to our own mountains and kill the Serbs. We had been twenty-two days in Valona, and for those twenty-two days I had not been a *comitadj*. I was glad to be one again."

For the moment the fortunes of war were with the drangojt; the heavier clouds had been driven

[Bandit-- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

among ourselves. There we took stock of what we had learned, and sought to impose a definite pattern on the many projects we had so often revolved on the march, or discussed around the hearth at night. Our[1] first aim from the beginning had been to raise the Ghegs against the Germans, both with the laudable object of killing our enemies wherever and whenever possible, and, above all, so as to disrupt their overland communications: the main road from Tirana to Scutari and its lateral links with Macedonia — the roads from Tirana to Dibra and from Scutari to Kukes and Prizren. These roads were important targets; for the German troops in Albania depended upon them for their communications with the Reich, and they also afforded the second of the two lines of retreat open to the enemy's garrisons in Greece.

The thinkers who inspire, and the historians who record, the course of revolutions tend naturally to dwell on those ideological issues which lend them their distinctive character. In the making, however, they more often appear to the revolutionary, as wars do to the strategist, in terms of power and technique. The first object, therefore, of our reconnaissances had been to discover what was the distribution of power in North Albania.

The strongest force in the land was still the German army, but the roots of its strength were abroad, and our journeys had shown us that its influence was on the wane. Among the Ghegs power lay in the armed might and resources of the tribes, and, to a much smaller extent, in the wealth of the merchants and the landowners of the plain. The strength of the tribes was sapped by their disunity and was never canalised into any higher unit of organisation than the tribe itself. Nevertheless, geographical barriers tended to separate the tribes into distinct regional groups; and, within one or more such groups, they were sometimes brought together by a man pre-eminent among them by his personal ability, family tradition, or wealth. Such a leader enjoyed influence rather than authority; for his following was never more than a loose, voluntary, and shifting confederacy of tribes and parts of tribes, intolerant of any form of discipline. These confederacies were none the less the

[1] [British underground liaison officers--Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

escape from foreign soldiers was no great problem for an able-bodied man fighting in his own country. This elusiveness of the guerillas drove their opponents to indirect retaliation ; they imprisoned their families and confiscated their property, and even proceeded against the harmless villagers who had failed to denounce or to prevent their operations. Thus, in revolt, the heaviest burden fell not on the combatants, as in war, but on the wives and children, the cattle and the homes which remained as hostages in the hands of the enemy. 000

It followed from this that the elements most naturally inclined to revolt were the young who had no family responsibilities and the " have-nots ", who had no property to lose. To them revolt offered faith, discipline, and a way of life ; and the strength which they acquired collectively in battle afforded hopes of wealth and power in the event of victory. They started from nothing ; their organisation was moulded in the forge of war ; its growth was slow. Prolonged guerilla warfare was thus their natural military expression. By the same token, those with a stake in the country were at a disadvantage in guerilla war ; for their families and possessions were so many hostages in the hands of the enemy. Heroes among them might sacrifice their all to fight for freedom ; the braver sort would run great risks for great gains ; but the majority would only take the field if they knew that their families and homes were safe from enemy reprisals. Without such protection, indeed, either they would withdraw their support from the revolt or else the social order itself would be transformed by the destruction through reprisals of the property relationships on which it was based. The leaders of an established society would therefore tend to postpone revolt until their hopes of victory outweighed their fears of reprisals. At the same time — and this was their great advantage over the other sort of revolutionaries — if they once decided to fight, they would not have to create a new organisation but would go into action with the full force of an organised community behind them. [1]

Applied to the situation in Albania, this theory explained the difference between the Partisans and the Gheg tribal confederacies, and showed that their military efforts must 669* 619 725

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, pp. 165-167 -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

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naturally develop along different lines. The Partisans had started as a small Communist cell, destitute of resources, and had slowly recruited their forces from among the landless peasants and the youth of the towns. By joining an avowedly social-revolutionary movement these recruits had become outlaws; there could be no turning back; and, since they lacked personal wealth or the backing of a tribe, they were easily subjected to the discipline of a movement on which they depended for their daily bread. With no resources of their own, the Partisans had to fight if they would eat, and thus were driven from one raid to another by sheer necessity. Nor was their zeal for war and plunder restrained by fear of reprisals against property; for they were, by definition, of the dispossessed. Indeed they might even welcome reprisals; for, by adding to the number of the dispossessed, reprisals added to the number of their potential supporters, while the destruction of property which they involved weakened the economic foundations of a hostile social order. The operations of the Partisans, therefore, took the form of sustained guerilla raids; and their movement fed on the devastation which it caused and grew, Phoenix-like, from the ashes of its own defeats. Sometimes they attacked the Germans; more often they plundered their richer compatriots; but whether they advanced the cause of national liberation or of social revolution, the bitterness of their enemies convinced them that they could never lay aside their arms with impunity, except as masters of Albania. Thus discipline was seconded by experience of battle, and morale was fortified by the knowledge that their only hope of safety lay in victory.

The conditions of a Gheg rising were altogether different, for the Gheg leaders were the representatives of the existing social order; and their strength was rooted in the tribal system. Gheg armies were nothing but the tribes on a war footing; and each contingent marched under the orders of its own tribal chief. In the simple conditions of highland life considerable forces might thus be mustered at little more than a day's notice; and each tribesman in them would be a natural guerilla and an accurate marksman. Discipline, however, was rare; the habit of team work unknown; and at every stage in a

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

campaign protracted negotiations supplied the place of concise orders. But, besides being invertebrate, Gheg armies were also short-winded; for they depended for their food supplies on the bounty of the clans, and no region could long support the expense of a campaign. The tribesmen, moreover, were shepherds and farmers, and, as such, were continually distracted by domestic cares and especially sensitive to the threat of reprisals against property. To obtain their support, therefore, the revolt must be a paying proposition; and it was essential to show that the prospects of plunder or subsidies would exceed the probable costs of fighting and outweigh the expectation of losses through reprisals.

669* 619 725

This fundamental consideration lent certain distinctive features to the warfare of the Ghegs. They required a sufficient extent of territory as a "safe harbour" into which the non-combatants might withdraw with their flocks and movable property beyond the reach of enemy punitive expeditions. They sought to raise the strongest possible fighting force, not only for its weight in the attack, but also to deter the enemy from lightly sending out troops to devastate their homes. Above all, they aimed at achieving a decisive victory in the shortest possible time, so as to win the spoils of war without incurring expenses or reprisals. The Gheg tribes were thus wholly unsuited to sustained guerilla raids which involved living on the country and might lead to heavy reprisals. Instead, their natural form of offensive war was a general revolt, based on the full extent of their territory, supported by the strongest available forces and directed to attaining their objective in the shortest possible time.

We had seen for ourselves that no single Gheg leader swayed a broad enough region or a sufficient following to challenge the Germans alone. But if the five great chieftains, Abas Kupi, Gani Kryeziu, Muharrem Bairaktar, Jon Marko Joni, and Fikri Dine, were to rise up together they would encounter the German army on more equal terms. Their combined territories would provide an impenetrable "safe harbour" where the non-combatants could withdraw with their flocks and where the tribesmen might await military

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 supplies from Italy without fear of enemy interception. Their
619 combined forces, moreover, would amount to somewhere
725 between fifteen and twenty-five thousand rifles, which would
● be rapidly reinforced with mortars and machine-guns from the Allied arsenals. Such an army would be comparable in numbers, if not in equipment, and superior in valour, if inferior in discipline, to that of the L.N.C.; nor was it by any means certain that the Germans still possessed the energy or could spare the troops for its suppression. We concluded, therefore, that Gheg resistance against the Germans must take the form of a general revolt.

*669 This conception of a general revolt had for some weeks been shaping in our minds; and we had already prepared the ground for its fulfilment in our preliminary negotiations with the Gheg leaders. Gani Kryeziu was already fighting the Germans; agreement with Abas Kupi seemed to hang on instructions from King Zog; Muharrem Bairaktar had announced his readiness to take the field if armed; and Jon Marko Joni and Fikri Dine had sounded Abas Kupi to learn on what terms they might now change sides. Starting from this foundation the next step was to reach final agreement with Abas Kupi. Once this had been done we would summon a congress of all the Gheg leaders and their satellite chiefs and invite them to proclaim a general revolt of North Albania. At such a congress Abas Kupi and Gani Kryeziu would naturally exert all their influence to bring the other leaders into the war beside them; and we were confident that Muharrem Bairaktar and the Dibran chiefs would not be slow to follow their example. Jon Marko Joni might show more reluctance but, despite his close connections with the enemy, we doubted whether he would long resist the prospects of plunder, the hopes of power, and the promises of rifles and gold.

Our chances of success, however, were threatened by the danger of a conflict between the Zogists and the Partisans; and this it was our duty to prevent for weighty reasons, military and political: military, because civil war must consume the energies of both resistance movements at the expense of their operations against the Germans; political, because the

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*669 assigned some hundred men to Maclean for operations against the Germans. Meanwhile he remained himself at Mazjhe, holding the bulk of his troops in reserve.

I was at this time some five hours' march from Mazjhe, in the village of Kurat, with twenty-eight Tajiks and some forty Albanians under Petrit. There, on the afternoon of the 5th September, I was joined by Maclean and Smiley with a force of a hundred and fifty Zogists commanded by Ndue Palli, a Catholic chieftain and former Captain of Gendarmerie, who had fought with Abas Kupi at Durazzo. Ndue was tall and lean, with a sorrowful yet questing look, and a way of walking which reminded us irresistibly of a bloodhound on the scent. He proved, however, a pleasant and resourceful companion and a loyal ally.

725 Petrit[1] and I had already planned to attack a German post that night,[2] but now that Maclean had come with reinforcements we decided to wait until the following day, when our combined forces might attempt a more serious operation. In the evening, therefore, we held a council of war and chose for our target a German Battery Headquarters which was commended by its lonely situation and the belief that it contained large supplies of ammunition.

We slept perhaps four hours, and then, with a small bodyguard set out into the night to reconnoitre the German positions. After an hour's march through the woods our guide turned aside from the path and led us uphill to a rounded summit tufted with a clump of trees. As the night faded out of the sky we saw that we were standing on a range of barren hills, running roughly north and south. Beyond us to the west, and perhaps two thousand yards away, ran another range parallel to our own, but lower and thickly wooded. The fold of ground between lay under a blanket of mist, through which gleamed a single light — the duty office of the enemy's camp. Taking advantage of the obscurity we now crawled some five hundred yards downhill to a projecting knoll, where we crouched in the bracken and waited, chilled and cramped, to watch the Germans awake.

After what seemed an age the sun rose behind us, and, as

[1] [i.e. Petrit Kupi, son of Zogist leader -- Analyst]
[2] [in mid-August 1944 -- Analyst]

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the mists parted, we saw that a road ran along the bottom between the two ranges. Beside the road, and perhaps four hundred feet below us, stood a wooden hut, where the solitary light still burned. Beyond, in the side of the wooded range opposite, we presently made out three or four barracks or store-houses. As yet no one stirred, but towards six o'clock a German soldier emerged from the lighted hut and stamped up and down on the road, blowing on his hands. Presently he turned into the wood, and a few minutes later a bugle sounded the *réveillé*. This was the moment for which we had waited, for we hoped that the movements of the men would reveal the positions of the camp. We therefore searched the wood closely through our glasses, and, as the soldiers woke up and set about their several routines, we became aware of a number of camouflaged tents and dug-outs which had thus far escaped our notice.

At seven o'clock six lorries drove up from the south and were loaded up from what we guessed to be a store-house by a working party of Italians, supervised by a German N.C.O. The drivers manœuvred clumsily on the narrow road, and once one of them backed his lorry into the ditch. His angry shouts were wafted up to us on the hillside, but, with the help of the Italians, his machine was presently righted; and by eight o'clock the whole convoy had driven away. Each of us drew a rough sketch of all that he saw, and tried, besides, to count the number of the enemy. This proved a harder task, for the soldiers were continually disappearing and reappearing among the trees; but we finally computed the strength of the garrison at some thirty men. Towards nine o'clock the activity of the camp subsided; and, feeling that we had seen enough, we crawled back infinitely slowly to the shelter of the clump of trees on the ridge above. There, with the enemy positions still in full view, we sat down to concert our plan of attack.

We decided to assemble our forces behind the eastern range two hours before dark, and, dividing them into three parts, to develop a pincer movement against the Battery Headquarters. Maclean, with Petrit, Ndue Palli, and a hundred Zogists would cross the bottom to the right of the German positions and approach them from the north. At the same time I would

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●725 take our twenty-eight Tajiks as the other arm of the pincer and carry out a similar manœuvre, but from the south. Maclean would launch the attack with the Albanians; and, once the Germans were fully engaged, I was to fall on them from behind with the Tajiks. Smiley, meanwhile, would remain on the eastern range with a reserve of some forty Albanians and three machine-guns. With these he would keep the road covered and might complete the discomfiture of the enemy should they try to escape eastwards. Finally, a small group of Albanians were to burn down a wooden bridge on the road, three kilometres from the camp, to prevent the enemy from receiving early reinforcements.

Back at Kurat the day passed slowly, though not without incident. This was the morning when the Tajiks murdered their N.C.O.; a deed which convinced us that, after the excitement of mutiny, their temper urgently required the discipline of battle and the cold douche of danger. Abas Kupi came also to discuss plans; and towards midday we received the first report from the young German officer in the Corps Headquarters in Tirana. This gave us, among a mass of other information, the identifications of the post we were going to attack. It was the headquarters of the Third Battery of the 297th Artillery Regiment. With so much business, there was no time to rest before the action; and, almost as soon as we had eaten, we set out to join our forces, already concentrating behind the eastern range. We reached the assembly point at five o'clock, and climbed to the crest of the range for a further brief reconnaissance. All was quiet in the German camp; we wished each other good luck, and departed each to his allotted task.

In the morning I had agreed with a light heart to take command of the Tajiks, but, as we marched off to the attack, I was oppressed by sombre reflections. I knew nothing of their training or their ways, and spoke besides so little of their language that I could not hope to make them understand my orders in the heat of battle. This ignorance might jeopardise the whole operation; but, as I anxiously considered how to impose my will on these wild Asiatics, there suddenly came

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back to me a fragment from a long-forgotten conversation with a friend who had once commanded an Indian brigade:

"It doesn't matter what you say to native troops," he had told me, "because they won't understand you. What matters is what you do. March in front of them and they'll do whatever you do; and, if you don't run away, they'll be as good as the Guards."

I had been in Cairo at the time, ill from jaundice, and had forgotten his words with the next glass of medicine. Now, by some strange freak of memory, the sick-bed talk was become a counsel of action; and I remembered that Ivan and Mishka at least considered the Tajiks as "native troops". I went, therefore, to the head of the column, though not without some apprehension; the danger from the Germans in front might be part of the day's work; but only that morning the Tajiks had murdered their N.C.O., and I had to steel myself not to look back too often over my shoulder.

We crossed the low ground, where a tongue of woodland stretched out from the western range, and, hurrying over the road, climbed on to the crest of the range itself. There we turned northwards, and, devoutly hoping that the Germans were off their guard, moved silently towards them through the trees. Presently we came to a low thorn fence, broken only by a stile, on the far side of which lay a clearing perhaps fifty yards wide. Beyond, the woods sloped steeply down to the enemy positions. I decided that we should cross the clearing and lie up in the fringes of the wood beyond, to wait until Maclean should begin the attack. I led the way, therefore, over the stile, and had gone perhaps ten yards when a machine-gun opened up savagely from a clump of trees some forty yards away. I looked round to see how many of the Tajiks were already across the fence, and, as I turned my head, somehow lost my balance and fell to the ground. I thought at first that I had only slipped, and it was some time before I realised that a bullet had caught me under the chin. The wound indeed was little worse than a deep shaving cut, and caused me neither pain nor serious loss of blood. The Tajiks, however, ran back, seeing me fall; and I lay in the clearing alone. The machine-gun

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725 was silent, the gunner taking me perhaps for dead. I waited for a moment, then sprang up and ran for the fence. The German opened up at once, and his bullets hissed round me like furious insects as I vaulted the stile and made for the shelter of the trees. The Tajiks rallied when they saw me safe, and, gathering round me, opened a blind and ragged fire in the direction of the machine-gun.

I checked them as soon as I had recovered my breath and my wits, and, more by instinct than by reasoning, worked my way round the flank of the machine-gun post. When I judged we were well past it I lay down, and, while the Tajiks got into position, tried to decide what to do next. It is sometimes a weakness to see things from the other man's point of view, but, as I imagined myself among the German defenders, I knew that they were beaten. After months of inactivity they had been startled from rest, perhaps from sleep, by our approach. Their machine-gunners had seen a few Turkoman deserters, but, in the darkness of the wood, they could not tell how many were their assailants, or where the attack would come from next. Their nerves must be strained by the uncertainty; and, while they would soon recover confidence, they might collapse altogether if I acted at once. The alarm had been given, and I therefore decided not to wait for Maclean's signal but to go in to the attack.

For a few seconds I vainly racked my brain for orders which the men would understand. Then on a sudden inspiration I stood up, and, hoisting my astrakhan cap on the muzzle of my submachine-gun, ran forward shouting "Hurrah". The Tajiks did not misunderstand, and, spreading out on either side, charged through the trees, shoulders hunched and eyes glinting. The machine-gunners fled; we dropped over the crest of the ridge, and saw the huts and dug-outs of the enemy less than fifty feet below. I shouted "Hurrah" again, and the Tajiks bounded down the hill like wolves, letting out blood-curdling yells and pouring a withering fire into the camp. As we carried the first buildings I saw a German standing twenty yards from me, stripped to the waist, with a *Schmeizer* pistol in his hand. For a moment we looked at each other without

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moving, then he crumpled to the ground, pressing his hands to his naked stomach. I had not heard the shot, but looked round to see Achmet grinning from ear to ear. We pressed forward, and, as I passed the dying German, I noticed that he was still a boy, with straight, fair hair and blue, staring eyes. His hands were clasped over his wound as if in prayer, and the blood was oozing quietly away through his fingers. Looking back a moment later I saw a Turkoman stripping him of his Wellington boots.

The enemy now returned a ragged fire, but we had taken them by surprise and they could not see us clearly for the trees. Several of them were shot down; and, as we came to close quarters, the rest broke and fled towards the road. There they ran into Smiley's machine-guns and were driven back, leaving one of their number dead. We were already masters of their camp; and they, too weak to counter-attack, fell back towards the south, sniping us from the cover of the wood.

Maclean and the Albanians had arrived on the scene just as we had gone in to the assault and had at once advanced to the attack. The first dead German, indeed, had fallen to Petrit Kupi's rifle; but, for some mysterious reason, the main body of the Albanians had failed to follow; and when we took the camp only Maclean, Petrit, and three of their bodyguards were there to join us. The rest of the Zogist forces now surrounded us, and, unaware that the Germans had fled, discharged volley after volley into the camp to our anger and alarm. Nothing could stop them; and the victorious Tajiks were forced to take cover from their Albanian allies in the German slit trenches and dug-outs. Unable to make ourselves heard, Maclean and I sat behind a clump of trees and despondently surveyed the battle-field. A few yards away a Tajik was dying in the arms of one of his comrades. Several dead Germans lay outside the tents and huts; and a group of Italian prisoners huddled behind a heap of rubble under Mishka I's watchful eye. Spent shots whined around us, and it was beginning to grow dark. I felt suddenly tired and intolerably thirsty.

More than half an hour must have passed before Petrit

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managed to persuade the Zogists to cease fire. Night had already fallen, and it was now too dark to plunder the camp systematically. We told the men, therefore, to carry off such supplies as were easily portable, and, retiring across the road, climbed towards the eastern range. There we found Smiley and Ndue Palli, who produced a most welcome flask of *raki*. We sat down to enjoy it, and were discussing the next move when suddenly a flare burst in the sky above us, casting a lurid, metallic light over the hillside. A moment later two mortar bombs fell quite close, followed by a burst of tracer bullets fired at long range. German reinforcements had arrived; and, withdrawing slowly beyond the range, we trekked back to Kurat.

We had at last drawn blood; and a Zogist officer with a Tajik lay among the dead to show the Germans who had been their enemies. At least ten Germans had been killed and twelve Italians from the labour corps captured. One Tajik and one Albanian had also been wounded. The honours of the day went to the Tajiks; and, now that we had seen them in action, we felt convinced of their military virtues and more confident of their loyalty. The Albanians had borne themselves less valiantly, but the fight had raised their spirits, and that evening both Petrit and Ndue Palli eagerly discussed plans for the next attack.

We went early to bed, but, while it was still night, I was startled from a fathomless sleep by the wail and burst of a mortar bomb. It was 3 A.M., and the room was already empty, save for Kolaver, who sat cross-legged in a corner watching over me.

"That was already the third bomb," he said with a smile. "It is good to sleep so soundly."

I dressed hurriedly, and, going out to where the Tajiks were encamped, found Maclean and Smiley walking up and down in the moonlight. They reckoned that the Germans were preparing a counter-attack, and were discussing whether to resist or to retire. Kurat stood on high ground and the Tajiks had already taken up defensive positions. The village elders,

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe.

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes.

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep.

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head.

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider.

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has

A 764 the body was laid in it, in order to prevent any devil lurking there to seize the dead.

I remember waiting by the tiny grave dug for a child at Thethi Shala in the graveyard. Someone tripped over the long protruding handle of the shovel and dislodged it. The old gravedigger dashed forward and replaced it at once, and drew it out only as the little corpse was lowered. The Franciscan, an Albanian, who stood by the graveside, acquiesced. "It is the custom," he said when questioned. Possibly, like the rest of us, he could not keep demons at bay unaided.

M A 776 777 778 Iron keeps off all spirits, good and bad, it appears; for no knife must touch the fowl's breast-bone or sheep's blade-bone in which the Albanian and Montenegrin soothsayers read the future. No one can tell you why; but everyone knows it would be the height of folly to try to read a bone that has been cleaned with a knife—it would not tell the truth.

A 726 Colonel Aubrey Herbert, that friend of the Turks and Albanians, whose untimely death has left an unfillable gap, gave me a curious instance of the belief in the magic of iron. During the Balkan war of 1913 the Turkish general, Djavid Pasha, retreated with what was left of his army into South Albania, where "he occupied the house of a friend of mine. The tide of war was running fiercely against the Turks and the general wanted to consult the spirits. The family carpenter was ordered to make a three-legged table without any nails in it—T 778 775 'for the spirits hate metal,' said Djavid. The young Turks invoked the spirit of Nazim Pasha, who had been shot by Enver and his friends. . . . When no answer came, the absent ghost of Nazim was cursed for refusing to give information."

Even the absence of iron could not induce the spirit of the murdered man to advise his murderers.

6. Hair. Some Beliefs and Customs connected with it

A 121 In many lands much mystery surrounds hair, that strange substance that grows continually from youth to age; which is part of the person, but can be cut off without pain and is, therefore, the most convenient substitute or symbol for the whole person.

S 754 By means of hair spells can be wrought even in an electric-lighted European capital. Draga Mashin, the mistress of the luckless young King Alexander Obrenovitch, forced him to marry her and make her queen by clipping some of her hair in little bits and mixing it with appropriate spells in his food. Having thus eaten a portion of her, he was hopelessly in her power. At least, so we were assured by one of

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000 was faultless and, with a sure understanding of the British character, he brought us whisky, for which he had combed Tirana, and excellent cigarettes made of Albanian tobaccos specially blended to his taste. At lunch the talk skimmed lightly from anecdotes to mutual acquaintances in the capitals of Europe; and, with the added charms of feminine company, the barriers of nationality and politics were seemingly dissolved by the pleasures of social intercourse. Such a gathering of Albanian landowners and British officers must have appeared to a Partisan observer as proof positive of the sinister machinations of international reaction. The thought passed through my mind, but I cannot pretend that it seriously diminished my enjoyment of the occasion.

*669 186 [726] When we had eaten, Ihsan took the other guests apart, and we remained alone with Nureddin. He told us at once that he had just been invited by the Germans either to assume the Premiership or to enter the Council of Regency. His natural instinct had been to decline the thankless task, but he would accept the responsibility if he could thereby assist the Allied cause. The idea of having a friend as head of the "collaborationist" government was certainly tempting and might offer opportunities for attacking the Germans from within. Nevertheless, we strongly advised Nureddin to refuse an invitation which might lead other Albanian Nationalists to line up with the Germans in an anti-Communist front. We then expounded our general policy, condemning collaboration in any form and stressing that we could only support those Albanians who fought against the Germans. We spoke, too, of our concern that the Ballists should be fighting with the enemy against the Partisans and appealed to Nureddin to use his influence with their leaders to bring about a change of policy. He told us that the Ballists would not only cease fighting the Partisans but would gladly co-operate with them against the Germans if only Enver Hoja would abandon his attempt to impose a social revolution on Albania by force. If we could restrain the L.N.C. he was confident that the Ballists would prove amenable; if we could not, then they must fight as best they could, for their lives and property were at stake.

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the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

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619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

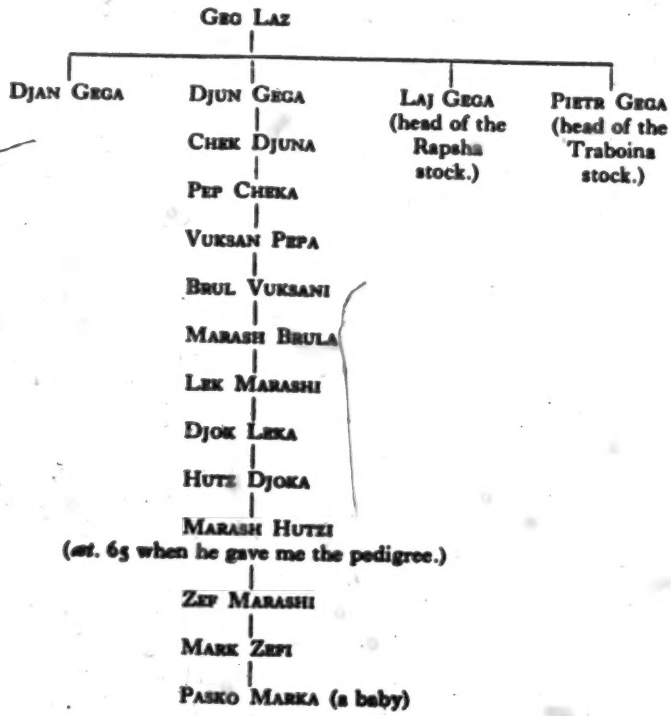
[79 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming
614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167] the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[668] died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

me not to give him more than his share. One of the Franciscans gave him shelter, for he was generally beloved, but he did not survive the winter. I mourned him at the time, but was later glad that he had died before his beloved tribe was handed to the enemy. The name "Hoti" is older than the arrival of Geg Laz. Jirecek, quoting the Venetian archives, states that the Hoti ("montanea Ottanorum") allied itself in 1474 with Ivan Tzrnojevitch and fought the Turks. The "Anas" must then have been numerous.



The tribe of Nikaj (see below) is also related to Hoti. Marash Hutzi said that Nikaj descends from a son of Krasnich. Baron Nopcsa learnt from another quarter that Nik was another brother of Geg Laz. That they are related is clear, for they are not intermarriageable.

Hoti usually marries the neighbour tribe Kastrati. As Kastrati mainly marries Hoti, after so many generations the two must be very closely related. But old Marash was extremely proud of the strict exogamy of the tribe. To marry "one's own blood" he looked on with unspeakable horror. I asked how many generations must pass before the descendants

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Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra.

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra*.—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji*.—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma*.—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

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district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania.

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether

682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
576 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the
[608] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

POSTSCRIPT

175 Then the Young Turk movement rose. Albanians seized upon it, precipitated the revolution at Uskub in Kossova, and were the deciding factor in terrifying the Sultan and winning the Constitution which promised to respect the languages and laws of subject peoples in Turkey. When these promises were broken, when Montenegro and Serbia invaded Albania, the chiefs raised the flag of Scanderbeg and wrote their own Constitution of Lushnija. The Six Powers, in an effort to maintain the Balkan equilibrium, gave Albania a German king. As soon as the Powers were engaged in the Great War, Albania drove him out. During the war she impartially fought both sides whenever they invaded Albanian territory. When the war ended, when Jugo-Slavia replaced Austria as Italy's rival on the Adriatic, and England and France quarreled, Albania played a shrewd game at Versailles and Geneva and became officially an independent republic.

175 727 Still blockaded after ten years of war and blockade, still fighting invaders in the Mati and the Dibra, she became an independent republic. Her people, from Hoti and Gruda to Corfu, from the Merdite to the Adriatic, were refugees. Her flocks had been killed, her villages burned, her orchards hacked down, her irrigation systems destroyed. She had a provisional government, hardly strong enough to hold itself together. She could not have a permanent government until her boundaries were fixed by the League of Nations.

POSTSCRIPT

She had great natural wealth and no debts, 175
but she had no currency of her own, no banks, 727
no credit system. She had hides, wool, and olive oil to export, but all her frontiers were closed by enemies. She had minerals, forests, water power, oil, harbors, but no machines of any kind, no trained men, no commercial organization. She had the strongest men, the bravest fighters, the most indomitable national spirit in Europe, but few of her people could read or write. Certainly more than half the population was ill from malnutrition and malaria, and she had probably the highest infantile mortality rate in Europe.

This was the new Albania which must somehow maintain itself. And if the curtain of silence behind which this Balkan drama is played were a stone wall shutting out her neighbors, the situation would not be so difficult. But Italy—promised southern Albania by the secret Treaty of London in 1915 which induced her to join the Allies against Germany, and cheated of her payment—has authority from the League of Nations to occupy Albania again if the Albanians fail to maintain a stable government. Serbia is still intriguing to push farther south and west the boundary lines not yet entirely fixed by the League of Nations.

There were other difficulties. Because the 175
Toshks are the Albanians who can read and 727
write, the weak provisional government was 578
Toshk. Around the fires in their mountain houses, the Ghegs were saying that only cow-

[After World War I - Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

POSTSCRIPT

175 ardly Toshks would allow free Albania to bow
727 to a League of Nations—a League of the very
578 Powers who were her enemies. The Ghegs, they said, were no such shameful trucklers. And every fire had its refugee guests who had fled from burning villages, leaving terror and death behind them. These refugees cried to their brother Ghegs for vengeance. Did the Ghegs call themselves men and Albanians? they demanded. "Our teeth in the throats of the Serbs!" the Ghegs replied.

Meanwhile in Tirana the Toshks were talking softly of patience, and of more patience, of waiting month after month for a commission and yet another commission from the League of Nations. The Toshks—with that threat of Italian invasion over them—were demanding peace, peace at any cost. Albania must wait for the League of Nations to fix the boundaries, must acquiesce in any boundaries fixed, must be quiet, must wait.

While they waited, the people starved. Prices in Albania are higher than in the United States —higher in dollars. The homespun garments have worn out; there is nothing to replace them. Fields have been devastated, and no men left alive to till them. Flocks have disappeared, horses and mules are gone. And as the boundaries have been fixed, mile by mile upon a map, Dibra and Mati have lost their market cities, Dukaghini and Merdite have lost their grazing lands, the tribes of Hoti and Gruda and Castrati have been cut in two. Still, the Albanian gov-

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ernment spoke of peace, demanded peace, and— 175
determined to have peace—set about disarming 727
the Ghegs in the very face of their enemies. 578

This was the Albania into whose capital I 000
blithely rode, in the rattling little Ford, on that spring night of 1922. I pass over all the minor political disputes, the ambitions of selfish men, the mistakes of foolish ones, the bitter rivalry between Elbassan, to the south, Scutari, to the north, and Tirana, in the center, for the honor and profit of being Albania's capital. Tirana 361
was, tentatively, the capital; made so because it was everywhere conceded to be the least progressive, the most hopelessly Mohammedan, the most dangerously un-Albanian city in the country. The government had made Tirana the capital for the same reason that the teacher puts the worst boy of the class in the front seat. But this was no solace to Scutari or Elbassan.

Tirana, the white, low town, drowsed in the sun; * water rippled in the gutters of the winding, walled streets; donkeys laden with cedar boughs, the brooms of Tirana, carefully picked their footing on the uneven cobbles; women with gayly painted cradles on their backs trudged behind the donkeys. Men in rags of their homespun white garments and Scanderbeg jackets and colored sashes sat all day on the low walls around the mosques. The fez makers, amid their piles of raw wool and mixing bowls and heating irons, were talking politics, and so were the men in the street of the coppersmiths, which is musical from

* [In spring 1922 [301] -- Analyst]

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among ourselves. There we took stock of what we had learned, 669* and sought to impose a definite pattern on the many projects 648 we had so often revolved on the march, or discussed around the hearth at night. Our[1] first aim from the beginning had been 725 to raise the Ghegs against the Germans, both with the laudable object of killing our enemies wherever and whenever possible, and, above all, so as to disrupt their overland communications: the main road from Tirana to Scutari and its lateral links with [491] Macedonia — the roads from Tirana to Dibra and from Scutari to Kukes and Prizren. These roads were important targets; for the German troops in Albania depended upon them for their communications with the Reich, and they also afforded the second of the two lines of retreat open to the enemy's garrisons in Greece.

The thinkers who inspire, and the historians who record, 000 the course of revolutions tend naturally to dwell on those ideological issues which lend them their distinctive character. In the making, however, they more often appear to the revolutionary, as wars do to the strategist, in terms of power and technique. The first object, therefore, of our reconnaissances had been to discover what was the distribution of power in North Albania.

The strongest force in the land was still the German army, [727] but the roots of its strength were abroad, and our journeys 619 had shown us that its influence was on the wane. Among the Ghegs power lay in the armed might and resources of the tribes, and, to a much smaller extent, in the wealth of the merchants and the landowners of the plain. The strength of the tribes was sapped by their disunity and was never canalised into any higher unit of organisation than the tribe itself. Nevertheless, geographical barriers tended to separate the tribes into distinct regional groups; and, within one or more such groups, they were sometimes brought together by a man pre-eminent among them by his personal ability, family tradition, or wealth. Such a leader enjoyed influence rather than authority; for his following was never more than a loose, voluntary, and shifting confederacy of tribes and parts of tribes, intolerant of any form of discipline. These confederacies were none the less the

[1] [British underground liaison officers — Analyst]

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*669 after some of the stiffest fighting in the whole rising; Muharrem Bairaktar occupied Kukes, while Fikri Dine seized Dibra. The hold of the Italians was reduced to the ports of Valona and Durazzo, and the cities of Scutari and Tirana. There the Italian garrisons remained in control; but already their commanders were negotiating with members of the British Military Missions, and it seemed for a moment as if Albania might pass altogether out of the enemy's power. The Germans, however, were as quick to react in the Balkans as in Italy itself. A parachute division was flown to Tirana, and quickly dispersed the guerillas hanging on the fringes of the city. The Germans then marched against Abas Kupi, took Kruya by storm after a three-day battle, and threw the Agha and his men back into Mati. Another division was rushed into South Albania from Macedonia and methodically drove the Partisans out of the towns and back into the mountains. Within a fortnight the insurgents were everywhere on the defensive.

• 727 The Germans, however, were faced[1] with an acute shortage of manpower; and their High Command decided that no more than two and a half divisions could be spared for the pacification and garrisoning of Albania. They therefore deployed these forces so as to defend the coast from invasion across the Adriatic and to guard the principal towns and the roads on which they would depend for the maintenance of their communications. The rest of the country they determined to neutralise by policy rather than force. As a first step they arranged the release of most of the Albanian leaders whom the Italians had imprisoned for political reasons, and announced their intention of withdrawing from Albania as soon as the war was ended. They then encouraged the Albanians to reconstitute their state and persuaded Mehdi Frasheri, Lef Nosi, and Pater Anton Arapi to form a Council of Regency.

These three were men of honourable repute, representative of the chief religious communities and generally respected as elder statesmen who had played their part in the creation of an independent Albania a generation before. Under their aegis there was presently formed a government whose members were

[1] [Following Italian capitulation in mid-1943--Analyst]

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for the most part untainted by collaboration with the Italians. 727
On taking office they at once proclaimed Albania's neutrality in the World War, citing the example of Egypt as a precedent for the presence of belligerent forces on the soil of a neutral Power. They next repealed the Fascist constitution, allowed some measure of freedom of the Press and of association, and announced a general amnesty for all who had taken up arms against the Italians. This regime compared favourably with that of the Italians; and, since it was now clear that Albania would remain in the Axis zone, at least until the end of the winter, all but the boldest spirits took advantage of the amnesty. The new government, however, lacked the arms or the money to enforce its authority over the country; and the Germans wisely declined to make good the deficiency; for they already feared that the Albanians might one day turn against them. The writ of Tirana might run in the towns and the coastal plain where German troops were stationed; but the rest of Albania relapsed into its traditional state of anarchy; and in each district power was abandoned to the rival chiefs and guerilla leaders. Such a situation, accompanied as it was by continued supplies of comparatively cheap food from the Kossovo, was not displeasing to the Albanians; and German policy, seconded by the approach of winter, was presently rewarded by a general relaxation of the political tension and a decline in the activities of the guerillas.

Now, when Enver Hoja saw that the Germans did not 669*
intend to impose their rule beyond the towns and the main network of communications, he determined henceforward to devote the greater part of the energies of the L.N.C. to the liquidation of their political rivals. He accordingly refused to ratify the Mukai agreement and, in October 1943, issued a directive to all Partisan units to attack and destroy the forces of the Balli Kombetar wherever they might find them, even if it should mean suspending operations against the Germans. Civil war broke out; the superior discipline and equipment of the Partisans prevailed; and in a few weeks the Ballist forces were driven back into those areas where the presence of German troops prevented the further prosecution of the struggle. In

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*669 the territories which they had thus brought under their control, the Partisans rewarded their supporters, punished their enemies, and laid down the rudiments of a Communist administration which soon began to organise the civilian population in support of the revolution. Meanwhile the Ballist leaders began, first surreptitiously and then more openly, to visit their friends in the Tirana Government and to seek their help to defend Albania [727] from Communism. The Germans were quick to seize this opportunity of diverting Albanian energies into internecine channels; they forgot the Ballist raids on their convoys; and accordingly made sufficient arms available through the Tirana Government to re-equip the Ballist bands and send them back into the mountains as counter-guerillas. The civil war in Southern Albania was thus indefinitely prolonged, to the exhaustion of the Albanians and the repose of the German army.

*669 665 By driving the Ballists into the arms of the Tirana Government, and so of the Germans, Enver Hoja succeeded in branding them as "collaborationists". At the same time, this deliberate political manœuvre revealed his social revolutionary intentions and alarmed Abas Kupi and the chief men among the Ghegs. Abas Kupi indeed had been the architect of the policy of alliance with the Balli Kombetar and, at Mukai, had entered into formal obligations towards them on behalf of the L.N.C. He therefore regarded Enver Hoja's change of front as a personal betrayal and came increasingly to suspect that his Communist colleagues meant to attack him, just as they had attacked the Ballists, unless he submitted to full Communist control. Accordingly, when his entreaties and rebukes had alike failed to persuade Enver Hoja to abandon the civil war, he determined to separate himself from a movement whose leaders he could not trust and already feared. He therefore set about consolidating his faction in Mati, Kruya, and Tirana, and took soundings among the leading Albanians who were known to favour a restoration of the monarchy. Then, in December 1943, at a congress held in the village of Herri in the mountains north of Tirana, he proclaimed the formation of the Zogist movement. True to his ideas of a United Front, he at once

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between us was insensibly eased by the prospect of a further exchange of views. 648

It was already dark when we made an end of our discussions, but Abas Kupi none the less decided that we should move that same evening to another village. I thought at first that this was a precaution against surprise attacks but, on enquiry, was told the simpler truth: in the two days that we had been there the bodyguard had devoured such food as the village could spare and no more could be obtained for the evening meal without straining the loyalty of the inhabitants. Hunger indeed was the sternest taskmaster of the guerillas, and the struggle to find food kept them continually on the move. We set out, therefore, into the night and, after an hour's march, came to a village where I was lodged with Abas Kupi and his staff in a large, two-storied house. [261]

A blizzard sprang up in the night and we woke to find the face of the mountains whitened with snow. I was impatient to join Maclean and discuss my impressions with him, but the fury of the elements kept us indoors all day. By next morning, however, the gale had dropped; I therefore took leave of Abas Kupi and, crossing the range, rode back into the camp at dusk.

6

TWELVE days had passed since we had landed in Albania[1] and we had by now reorganised the network of British Missions and assured our own mobility and communications with Headquarters. Our next task was to complete a reconnaissance of the situation which confronted us. According to our information there were some twenty-five thousand German troops in Albania, belonging, most of them, to the XXI Mountain Corps. The Corps Headquarters were in Tirana, and controlled the 297th Infantry Division, deployed in Central and Southern Albania, and the 181st Mountain Division, based on Scutari.[1] There were besides some units in the South belonging to the 727

[1] The 181st Mountain Division was also responsible for internal security in Southern Montenegro.

[1] [i.e. on the night of 18th April, 1944 -- Ana/1st]

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[727] XXII Mountain Corps, whose Headquarters were at Yannina. The Kossovo was independently garrisoned, mainly by the German-officered Albanian division, S.S. Skanderbeg. The *669 Partisans, who now formed the chief Albanian resistance movement, were reported to have nearly fifteen thousand men under arms. Except, however, for insignificant groups these were all among the Tosks, south of the river Shkumbi. The Ballist forces were also concentrated in the South and about Tirana, but were now reduced to little more than five thousand men. We were thus tolerably informed of the numbers and circumstances of our German enemies and Partisan allies, but knew almost nothing of the military potentialities of the Zogist movement in particular, or of the Ghegs in general. Maclean and I therefore set out on 3rd May to join Abas Kupi and study conditions in Mati and Kruya for ourselves. Meanwhile Smiley and Hare remained at base to reconnoitre the precise dispositions of the Germans and to take soundings of opinion in Tirana.

[342] Abas Kupi and his staff had assembled in the fortress home of Tsen Lezi,[1] set in a cleft in the mountains high above the Mati valley. We joined him there about nightfall and found [352] the Zogist leaders seated round the hearth at the end of a long and narrow hall, lit only by the flames of the fire. The skins of sheep and goats were spread out on the floor as carpets, and the walls and rude crossbeams which supported the roof were black and shiny with soot. So must have been the keep of Dunsinane. Tsen Lezi, the master of the house, was wild and woolly like an aged bear, and grunted as he ambled out to greet us. His eyes were small and bright; his bushy moustache sprouted in all directions; and his clothes were brown and furry, homespun from the shearings of his sheep. 596 He ruled sternly over his family, or clan, for there were more than sixty of them living in the house, and directed every detail of dynastic policy: what land or livestock should be bought or sold, which of the children should be sent to school, what marriages should be made, what blood feuds prosecuted

[1] A Mati chieftain, not to be confused with the Dibran leader, Tsen Elezi.

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All of these men had taken part that autumn in the rising against the Italians, and many had seen their homes burnt and their livestock slaughtered in the accompanying reprisals. They had fought, however, with spirit, for they had been exasperated by Italian rule, and had believed that the hour of liberation, and of looting, was at hand. Now the situation was very different: they bore little hatred against the Germans; for the German yoke sat upon them lightly, and, in their remote regions, months might pass without their even seeing a German soldier. They knew indeed that an Allied victory was certain but, although they meant to play their part in the final destruction of the enemy, they had a wholesome respect for his ruthless ways. Only six months before they had risen in premature revolt; the price had been heavy; and they intended to make doubly sure of the fruits of victory before they again exposed their families and property to the risk of reprisals. 669* 727

They received us with every mark of friendship and respect, but we saw that they would not easily be moved to fight. The fear of reprisals had become an obsession with them; and, when we urged them to take the field, they only pointed to the ruins of Burrel and to the gutted houses which in almost every village recalled the passage of an Italian army. Burrel was the capital of Mati, built by King Zog as the model provincial city of Albania. It had once numbered some ten thousand inhabitants and had boasted solid public buildings, schools, a hospital, and modern houses such as had never been seen in these backward regions. In the rising of 1943 the clansmen of Mati had rushed the town and captured it, driving the Italian garrison back into their fortified barracks. The Italian command in Tirana had despatched reinforcements to the relief of the garrison; but Abas Kupi had lain in wait for them on the Qafa Stamm pass and for three days had disputed their crossing of the Skanderbeg range. Meanwhile the men of Mati had looted Burrel and decimated its defenders. In the end the Italians had reoccupied the city, and had set fire in revenge to every building in it. Nothing now remained but the gutted shell of its buildings, altogether deserted, with [361]

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*669 [72]

the grass growing up between the paving-stones — a silent reminder to the people of the valley of the price of revolt.

We spent two days with the *Beys* of Mati; and the results of their discussions with us and with Abas Kupi were embodied in a formal resolution. The chiefs reaffirmed their loyalty to the Zogist movement, and proclaimed a general *besa*, or truce of blood feuds to last until the end of the war. They declared that they would resist any attempts by the Partisans to enter their territories, but rejected an invitation from the Central Government to send forces to join in a drive against them. They offered to provide our Mission with guards, guides, hospitality, and information, and appointed Abas Kupi to negotiate with us on their behalf. Finally, they agreed in principle to fight against the Germans, but left it to the Agha to settle with us the exact terms on which they should take the field.

These decisions were the best that we could hope for at this stage, and we therefore took leave of the assembled *Beys*, after warning them in appropriate speeches of the dangers of continued neutrality. We now marched north-west towards Burrel and were received at dusk into the ruined house of one of Abas Kupi's bodyguards. In the night, soon after we had retired, we were woken by the sound of a car. We jumped up hurriedly, and, pulling on our boots, sprang to arms outside, fearing a surprise attack. Our visitor, however, proved to be an Albanian officer, a spy of Abas Kupi's, who had come out to give us information of recent changes in German troop dispositions. He brought besides grave political news which was confirmed next morning in a message from Smiley. The Partisans had held a congress at Permeti, where resolutions had been passed calling for the formation of an L.N.C. provisional government, and demanding that Abas Kupi be declared an Enemy of the People. The clouds of civil war were already gathering in the South.

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000 We had descended into the Mati valley from the Ziber mountains and for two days had followed the left bank of the river,

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Map to illustrate the situation in Northern Albania, and the activities of the Maclean Mission, April–November 1944

[-162a-]

accordingly, and, trusting to their consent, pressed on at once with our plans for revolt. Merret was sent with Sergeants Jones and Jenkins to establish a rear base in the mountains of Matsukull, north of the river Mati, where supplies might be received in greater safety than at our camp on Mount Bastar. Meanwhile, with Abas Kupi's approval, we despatched messengers to the leading Gheg chiefs, inviting them to meet us on the 4th of July in the Plain of Lura.

The details of our agreement were kept a strict secret, but the news that we had agreed was soon widely known; and morale rose among the Zogists. The mountains, however, are a great whispering gallery; and it was not long before an account of our discussions was in Enver Hoja's hands.

4

[727] THE Germans, meanwhile,[1] had launched a political offensive which required our immediate attention. The "collaborationist" Prime Minister, Rejeb Bey Mitrovitsa, had been forced to resign on the suspicion that his failure to proceed actively against the Partisans had not been altogether involuntary. Since then Dr. Neubacher, the German Minister of State in the Balkans, had arrived by 'plane from Belgrade and had approached a number of Albanian political leaders, including some of known pro-Allied sympathies. To these he had represented that, whatever their sympathies in the war, it was now their duty as patriots to form a coalition government to stem the advance of the Communists. He had promised subsidies and military supplies, and had hinted darkly that he had good reason to believe that the British would no longer view such action with disfavour.

We saw at once that the formation of an anti-Communist front under German aegis must confuse the public mind and seriously prejudice our plans for a revolt of the Ghegs. A week would pass before our Headquarters could approve the terms of our agreement with Abas Kupi, or send the first consignment of supplies; and we therefore decided to go down

[1] [in mid-1944 -- Analyst]

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000 petty humiliation which he could devise. The young man's life in the regiment had been made unendurable, until one evening in the mess he had lost his temper and slapped the new Captain's face. He had been placed under open arrest for striking a superior officer, and had been warned by a friend that reduction to the ranks would be his punishment. He had therefore deserted and found employment in Jemal Herri's bodyguard as a machine-gun instructor. He came to us now, haggard and almost toothless, though still only twenty years old; a desperate fellow with his hand against every man's. He made no pretence of hating the Nazi regime but told us frankly that he only sought to work for us because he had cut himself off from his own kind.

In such men professional pride sometimes supplies the place of honour, so that they make good agents. We decided, therefore, to put him to the test, and sent him to Tirana to spy on his compatriots. We never heard what happened to him there; but some days later he arrived at the headquarters of a Partisan unit and asked to be sent to the nearest British liaison officer. He claimed to bring important information, but the Partisans were taking no chances and cut his throat.

10

*66? 72? We still[1] remained without instructions; but the march of events did not wait on the deliberations of our staff officers and diplomats. The days of German rule in the Balkans were numbered. The Red army was advancing into Roumania; Bucharest lay in the grip of a political crisis; and the leaders of Bulgaria prepared to abandon a lost cause. The Germans had already begun to withdraw their troops from Greece and no longer made any secret that they would soon be leaving Albania. The prospect of their withdrawal conjured up the spectre of a Communist victory; and the Nationalist leaders in Tirana were made desperate by their fears for the future. The bankruptcy of the policy of "collaboration" was plain to all; and we judged that, in their terror of Communism, the Nation-

[1] [i.e. in mid-August 1944 -- Analyst]

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alists would resort to any course of action which offered even the hope of British support.

We therefore decided that the time was ripe for a last attempt to raise a Nationalist revolt against the Germans. Abas Kupi seemed to be the natural leader for such a revolt, by virtue of his military power, his personal prestige, and his long connection with the British. The civil war, however, had made great inroads on his strength; and we knew that he could not fight alone. At the same time we surmised that the Ballist leaders, the Captain of Mirdita, and even the members of the Government might now be persuaded to seek their safety and the forgiveness of the Allies by rallying to the Agha's cause.

Accordingly, on the afternoon of 16th August, Maclean and I set out from Mukai and met Abas Kupi in the foothills of the range above the plain of Kruya. We sat with him for two hours, urging that the Germans were weak and that, if he attacked them now, he might still influence our Headquarters to decide their policy in his favour. We reminded him too that, though we could make no promise of political support, we were always ready to supply him with arms as soon as he should take the field. Our arguments were strengthened by his own despair, and, if he heard us without enthusiasm, it was also without objection.

We left him at sunset and pushed on across the plain to Ihsan Toptani's farm. There we had planned a meeting with Nureddin Vlora, through whose intermediary we hoped to convey our views to the leaders of the Government and of the Balli Kombetar. Nureddin was well qualified for such a task by his known pro-British sympathies, and his personal and political influence might make him a powerful advocate of our thesis. Ihsan told us, however, that the Germans had begun a reign of terror in the capital and had arrested a number of Albanians on the mere suspicion of favouring the Allies. At such a moment Nureddin did not wish to attract attention by leaving Tirana, and had therefore suggested that we postpone our meeting until the present "terror" had subsided. Such prudence was certainly justifiable, but it seemed to us that the German policy of repression must excite the indignation of the

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

half an hour, and then towards midday Ihsan summoned the carriage to take us to our meeting with Nureddin Vlora. We drove out past the ultra-modern Hôtel Daiti, the centre of "collaborationist" intrigue, and beyond King Zog's palace, a tall, yellow building set in an overgrown park, entered the smart, residential quarter of the town. For some minutes our coachman followed a broad, shady avenue and then, turning into a side road, pulled up outside a modern villa built in a small garden. I got down from the carriage and saw two German soldiers standing on the other side of the road. For a fraction of a second I feared that we had been betrayed, but Ihsan quickly explained that they were only guarding the German Minister's residence. We were to lunch in the villa opposite.

This villa belonged to a friend of Nureddin and might well have been in Paris from the taste and style of its decoration. Our charming, French-speaking hostess let us in herself, and I stayed talking with her while Ihsan and her husband went to fetch Nureddin. Suddenly there was a knock at the door, and I was dismissed to the dining-room while she went out to answer it. She was back in a few moments and told me with a smile that the visitor had been a young attaché from the German Legation opposite, who had come to ask permission to retrieve his dog from the garden. Our host and Ihsan presently returned with Nureddin; and we sat down to an excellent lunch with delicious Turkish dishes, good Italian wine, and genuine Benedictine. Our hostess served us herself, having given her maid the day off for greater safety.

727 Nureddin was resplendent in white ducks and a white silk bush-shirt, and seemed as fit and debonair as at our first meeting. He began by discussing the demoralisation of the Germans and the reign of terror which they had recently inaugurated. Their strength was ebbing away, their friends were already deserting, and in the rising tide of revolt they sought to preserve their authority by making themselves feared. Their first important victim had been the Ballist leader, Skender Mucho. They had shot him two days before without trial, but on the suspicion — so the *Gestapo* headquarters had

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let it be known — that he had been in touch with the British. Since then they had arrested some forty prominent Ballists believed to entertain pro-Allied sympathies, and had deported them to the notorious concentration camp at Zemun, in Yugoslavia. Nor were their relations with the Albanian Government of a more cordial nature: they had altogether lost confidence in Fikri Dine, and dared not supply him with the arms and funds which they had promised, lest he should turn against them. They knew themselves defeated; they were haunted by the fear of revolt, and started even at their own shadows. Bitter intrigues flourished among them; and the S.S. General Fistun, who had assumed supreme command in Albania after the attempt on Hitler's life, had arrested a number of his own officers on grounds of political unreliability.

Nureddin had described the despair of the Germans with satisfaction: he now discussed the prospects of the Albanians with dismay. The Partisans already hung on the fringes of Tirana, and there was scarcely a night when they did not raid into its suburbs. Unless preventive measures were taken they would break into the city when the Germans left, and, as he delicately put it:

"I dread to think what may happen, for life in the mountains has made some of these boys rather rough."

He went on to speak of his fears of violent revolution and of the destruction of the "cultured classes". The situation was desperate, and, unless the British were prepared to restrain the Partisans, the Albanian Nationalists were politically and personally doomed. He paused a moment and added:

"If there is anything we can still do to gain your help, tell me; and you may be sure that I will do everything in my power to see that the Nationalist leaders follow your advice."

I had been waiting for such an opening, and answered:

"It is already the eleventh hour and I can promise nothing. But if all of you will now turn on the Germans and attack them with all your forces, perhaps something can still be saved."

The news from Roumania and Bulgaria illustrated my argument and Nureddin only asked:

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000 "To whom should we rally?"

"You will find us with Abas Kupi," I answered, and he signified that he had understood.

We were still talking when a middle-aged man of heavy build with close-cropped grey hair and vinous countenance came into the room. He greeted me in fluent, rather clipped English; and indeed, but for the suspicion of a foreign accent, he might well have been a retired colonel from a British cavalry regiment. This was Nureddin's brother, Jemaleddin Vlora Pasha, the last Albanian to bear the title. Jemaleddin had been a dignitary at the court of Sultan Reshad and had married a daughter of the Khedive of Egypt. After the downfall of the Ottoman Empire he had lived for some years in Cairo, where he had known Lord Lloyd and other leading Englishmen connected with the Middle East. Unlike his brother, he played little part in politics, but he remembered the strong anti-Communist prejudices of his English friends and simply could not believe that we would ever abandon his country to the Partisans. Revolution was spreading over the Balkans like an irresistible flood; kings, statesmen, and generals were engulfed in a common ruin; and, while the Partisans hammered at the gates of Tirana, the last Pasha of Albania turned to me and said:

"You really must do something, my dear fellow, or we shall have a lot of trouble with these rotters up in the mountains."

"Whom the Gods would destroy . . ."

.727 From these conversations we walked back through Tirana towards Ihsan's flat. The sun shone, and the crowd in the streets reproduced all the contrasts of Albanian life. Ragged peasants in white caps and baggy breeches rubbed shoulders with smart, Italianised young officials. There were old-fashioned Balkan merchants, some still wearing the red fez of Turkish times; down-at-heel soldiers of the regular army; and Ballist irregulars, armed to the teeth and swathed in bandoliers. Every now and then we also passed small groups of German officers and soldiers, hurrying to their offices with

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bulging brief-cases, or strolling towards the shops and cafés. 727 ●
Boyish in their tropical kit, pestered by pedlars and jostled by the oriental throng, they reminded me irresistibly of British troops in the Middle East. I had served myself in Cairo and Jerusalem; and it was a new experience, and perhaps not uninstructive, to see an army of occupation from the point of view of the native.

Ihsan had arranged for me to meet two other political leaders and I spent the next hour or so in his house, answering their questions and urging them to take up arms against the Germans. Having thus diff sed my arguments into the political world of Tirana, I went out again to reconnoitre the *Wehrmacht*, *Luftwaffe*, and *Gestapo* headquarters. My purpose was to check up on rumours that the Germans had begun to evacuate them, and also to find out how they were defended in case we should ever have a chance to attempt an insurrection. We were thus engaged when suddenly an open carriage pulled up beside us, and one of Abas Kupi's officers jumped out and shook me warmly by the hand. His mission seemed analagous to my own, and I trusted his discretion as well as his goodwill. It was the second time, however, that I had been recognised that day, and we were thus ominously reminded how small was the Albanian capital.

The day's work was done, and there was nothing to be 000
gained by further delay. We stopped to buy a filigree cigarette case as a souvenir of my visit, and then returned to Ihsan's house to pick up the carriage. We drove back along the same dirty streets by which we had entered the city and reached the "check-post" about half an hour before sunset. A convoy of some thirty trucks was waiting for the night to leave for Scutari; and a company or so of German soldiers sat smoking by the roadside. The gendarmes were checking the papers of two young Albanians driving a small car; and it seemed for a moment that they would ask for ours. One of them, however, recognised Ihsan's coachman and waved us on with a friendly smile.

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which presently amounted to some eight hundred men.

In Tirana the Germans sought desperately for friends among the Albanians; at last, on 6th September, they succeeded in forming the shadow of a government under the presidency of Ibrahim Bey Bichaku. The new administration, however, could not rely on a hundred men; and Ibrahim was recommended for office solely by the affection of the German Minister, with whom he played ping-pong every day. As if to mock the impotence of this government Mustafa Kruya, the "arch-collaborationist", now left for Vienna, never to return. Only Jon Marko Joni still hesitated, but he too abandoned the capital and retired to Scutari to watch the fortunes of the Zogists. The days of "collaboration" were over, and Tirana was become nothing but a German redoubt.

Meanwhile the Moslem North was up in arms. The Partisans had overrun Dibra; and the Dibran chiefs, many of them former "collaborationists", had been won over to the L.N.C. by their own incomparable opportunism and the wise diplomacy of Mustafa Jinishi. Tsen Elezi and Dan Kalloshi abandoned the Double Eagle for the Red Star; and, under Partisan direction, their forces were variously engaged in the civil war or the war of liberation. Further north in Liuma Muharrem Bairaktar had already taken the field in the last days of August. He had prepared his attack for some weeks and was finally stung to action by an ultimatum from the German commander in Kukes, who demanded the surrender of two Austrian officers who had deserted from their regiment and had sought his protection. The Partisans had not yet entered Liuma, but Muharrem had already conferred with Mustafa Jinishi, and, though he declined to join the L.N.C., he had agreed to full military co-operation with their forces.

But the fiercest struggle against the Germans in all Albania was led by Gani Kryeziu and his brother, Hassan, with the help of Simcox and his Mission. Since the end of July Gani had been receiving arms from our Headquarters; and the communiqués of his operations were broadcast in the Albanian transmissions of Radio Bari. His influence grew with his successes and the knowledge that he enjoyed British support;

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• 727 In the panic frenzy of defeat the Germans lashed out in all directions, arresting harmless townsmen on the mere suspicion of being Partisans, Zogists, or Ballists. They were too demoralised, however, to hunt the guerillas any longer, and we could now move freely in the plain, except along the coast or in the towns. The defection of the " collaborationists " was followed by that of the Albanians in German employment, and we were visited one night by a young man of good family who was the chief interpreter to the *Gestapo*. A tall, dark fellow, with his uniform cap set at a rakish angle, his jack-boots highly polished and a cigarette hanging from his lips, he might have been the villain in a melodrama. He spoke English, indeed, with a peculiarly *villainous* accent, but drew for us a vivid picture of the confusion in Tirana, concealing his own fears behind a mask of irony. Now, when they most needed unity, the German commanders were torn by intrigues and recriminations. Their despair, moreover, had induced in them a mood of romanticism, and they vied with one another to win personal popularity by distributing autographed telescopes and pistols to their Albanian friends. The Albanian gendarmes and officials had disappeared, and the only remaining evidence of political activity was the German Minister's daily game of ping-pong with Ibrahim Bichaku. Meanwhile the *Luftwaffe* headquarters were besieged with staff officers demanding passages to Germany.

Yet, despite this apparent confusion, the Germans pressed on with their preparations for retreat; and Merret, who was watching the Tirana–Scutari road, reported as many as two hundred trucks moving northwards in a single night. The general withdrawal had not yet been ordered, but officers and men knew that it was at hand and looked anxiously over their shoulders. And well they might, for the way home lay through Montenegro and Bosnia, and many feared that they might only escape from Albania to be done to death by Tito's Partisans. Guessing their mood, we judged that the time had come to carry the work of subversion into the ranks of the German army itself, and, through a hundred different channels, we now spread the wildest rumours among them, alternately

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raising and shattering their hopes. More particularly we renewed our efforts to recruit a striking force from their non-German troops, sending out two Turkish-speaking *hojas* to incite the Turkoman units on Cape Rodonit to revolt. 727

Meanwhile, with the help of Abas Kupi's organisation, we also penetrated the mind of the German Command. A young German officer who worked in the Operations Bureau of the Corps Headquarters in Tirana had confided in an Albanian friend that he did not mean to trust his life to the hazards of the retreat. He proposed instead to remain in Albania and had asked for advice as to where he might best hide himself. His friend was a Zogist, and, after devious negotiations, the German offered to supply us with exact details of the German Order of Battle and with advance copies of all Operational Orders. In return he asked us for a safe conduct, so that, when the Corps Headquarters were withdrawn, he might escape to our Mission, to be sent home as soon as the war was over and spared internment as a prisoner of war. We accepted his terms at once, and for the next two months were able to inform our Headquarters, and the R.A.F., of the intentions and daily movements of every company of German troops throughout Albania.

Smiley, meanwhile, had been reconnoitring the approaches to Durazzo in the company of the Commandant of the Durazzo gendarmerie. He passed four German "check-posts" in the latter's car and then set out on foot with his interpreter, Halit Kola, to inspect the defences of the city. The two were thus busily engaged when they were stopped by a German patrol who asked for their identity cards. Halit produced a document of sorts which satisfied the Germans, but Smiley, having no papers, tried to bluff his way through by talking excitedly in Albanian. The corporal in charge of the patrol was stubborn, and, after a few moments' argument, Smiley turned his back on him and walked slowly away. The corporal drew his revolver and took aim; Smiley, unconscious of his danger, walked on. Halit waited breathless for the shot, but the German shook his head as if to say: "Why kill a poor Albanian peasant?" then with a shrug of his shoulders he put the weapon 000

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000 instead of the usual carpets and cushions, the floor on both sides of the room was piled three feet deep with banks of fresh bracken.

701 Our host and protector, General Prenk Previsi, had played an important part in the revolution of 1924, and, with Muharrem Bairaktar, Fikri Dine, and Jemal Herri, had formed the quadrumvirate by whose efforts Zog's regime had been established among the Ghegs. When he had served the royal purpose Zog had deprived him of his command and had promoted him to an appointment on the General Staff, where he had enjoyed honour without exercising influence. More pliable than his fellow quadrumvirs, Prenk Previsi had laid aside his political ambitions and had devoted an unusual talent for intrigue to his advancement in the military career. He had won the favour of General Pariani, the head of the Italian Military Mission, and had been chosen by him to accompany the Italian armies in the Abyssinian War as Albanian observer. On his return he had been appointed Albanian Military Attaché in Rome, and his subsequent submission to the Italian crown had been rewarded with the rank of General. The Italians had given him a command during the Greek campaign, but he had been suspected of correspondence with the enemy and had been transferred to Scutari as Albanian adviser to the Italian Commandant. He had employed the next two years in building up a faction among the Albanian officers, but had stood aside from the general revolt against the Italians, retiring with his chief supporters to his native district of Kurbenesh. There he had remained until, in November 1943, the Council of Regency set up under the Germans had summoned him to the Supreme Command.

701 727 His career as Commander-in-Chief had been stormy; for, while it was German policy to divide and rule, Prenk Previsi was determined to keep all the Albanian armed forces under his own command. His struggle with the Germans was necessarily unequal, but he emerged triumphant from their first challenge to his authority. The Germans had decided to raise an Albanian S.S. Division for the German army, and had offered command of the first brigade to a certain Salami

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

701 [727]

Chelai. This Chelai was a Captain on the Reserve, and as such came under the jurisdiction of Prenk Previsi. Now the General was naturally opposed to the formation of an Albanian unit which would not be subject to his authority, and had therefore ordered Chelai to decline the appointment. On German advice, however, Chelai disregarded this order; and one morning the General observed him entering the German Corps Headquarters, dressed in Colonel's uniform. Injured in his dignity, he resolved "to make an example" and ordered Chelai's immediate "execution". An hour later, as the wretched man emerged from his conference, the General's A.D.C.s and orderlies despatched him on the steps of the German Headquarters with two hand-grenades and a volley from their submachine-guns. The General himself enjoyed the proceedings from his office window; and a large crowd gathered to demonstrate their approval. The Germans were not unnaturally enraged by such high-handed defiance, and demanded Prenk Previsi's instant dismissal and punishment. The old Regent, Mehdi Bey, however, had learnt his politics under the Ottoman Empire, and, summoning the General in the presence of the German Commanding Officer, said to him:

"I must ask you to apologise to our German friend for the mess your men have made on his doorstep. Next time you have to shoot an officer, see that it is done in a barracks and not in the street."

The German took the hint; an S.S. division was later formed in the Kossovo, but the attempt was never repeated within the frontiers of the old kingdom.

Prenk Previsi survived the incident, but his relations with the Germans were permanently impaired. His requests for arms and ammunition for the Albanian army were thenceforth invariably rejected; and a letter which he had addressed to General Fistun on this subject was returned to him like a schoolboy's unsatisfactory exercise with "Nein" scrawled across the top of it in green ink. It was this slight which had finally decided him to turn against the Germans, and, now that he was with their enemies, he unburdened himself of all his pent-up resentment. The account of his "collaboration"

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

000 shine. Then the rains came, turning the ground into marshland, while a cold north wind kept us to the house. The length of our visit strained the resources of the region; supplies of food declined; and, instead of the old *raki* with which we had been welcomed, we were now sold a more bitter brew. Sometimes, in search of news or a more varied diet, we visited neighbouring villages; and, when the evenings were fine, we would stroll through the camp to watch the Turkomans dance round the fires and listen to their wild, sad songs. It grew dark quite early now, and we took to playing chess, at which the Agha cheated as blatantly as Napoleon. Thus ten days passed; and still we waited for the boat.

727 669 Meanwhile [1] the Germans had withdrawn from South Albania; they still held Tirana with a strong garrison; but the Corps Headquarters was already removed to Scutari. The Albanian Government disintegrated, some of the Ministers following the German generals, while others remained in the capital, or sought a precarious refuge in Durazzo. The Partisans surged forward in the wake of the German armies, and the Albanians submitted to a Communist government with very varying degrees of enthusiasm. A German defeat was good news under any circumstances; but the change of masters seemed a doubtful benefit to the Albanians; and we could but faintly rejoice at a victory which brought the Straits of Otranto under Russian influence. Our Headquarters, however, still seemed to believe that Enver Hoja was their friend, and summed up their policy towards the Partisans as follows:

"Gradual build-up of L.N.C. and its army will now take place. Our relations with the L.N.C. will be strengthened for post-war purposes."

Our own experience allowed us no such illusions, and we could only smile when the Director of all the Balkan Operations telegraphed us his congratulations and said:

"We are now reaping the benefit of eighteen months' hard work."

We had indeed worked hard, and there were some, though not enough, dead Germans to show for it: but the Russians had worked better, and theirs would be the reward.

1 [October, 1944 -- Analyst]

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

291
286
531

Great richness of effect is produced by such close work in gold, which can only be compared to expert church embroideries, or those decorating some diplomatic uniforms, although the technique is much finer than is usual on these latter garments.

No. 1935-75. A very elegant jelek of violet velvet, almost entirely covered with gold cord and matching violet silk braids and cords, which comes from Ipek (Pec) and belonged to a Moslem woman, has a rather pathetic history. "In the Balkan war of 1912-13 the Montenegrins took Ipek and treated the Moslem inhabitants with hideous brutality. Numbers fled with little but what they stood up in, and sold their garments to buy bread. This was sold by one of these poor victims who had been well-to-do." (M.E.D.). The front and back of the little jacket are illustrated in Plate XI at "A" and "B"; but the refined richness of the purple braiding round the edge and outlining the panels, and the rows of patterned cord work surrounding the gold motive in the centre of the back, cannot be successfully given, as if these parts were made dark as they are in the garment details could not be effectively shown. Gold cord braiding decorates the long narrow front panel (a part is shown at "b"), and there is a little running border on the collar (Plate XI "a"). The inside band, which appears light in the drawing (Plate XIA) consists of eight rows of plaited gold passing sewn down with purple silk. The two side panels in the front (Plate XI "c") have the gold ornament worked in twisted gold thread with the background filled in by rows of purple silk cord. The side panel at the back is similarly worked. Finally the front-opening has sixteen very handsome gold buttons, each made by covering a wooden mould with gold thread, a little purple cord as contrast to emphasize the arrangement of the wrapping, and seven coral beads (Plate XI "d").

[27]

The jacket is lined with a printed cotton lining of mid-Victorian design.

No. 1936-42. Fine black cloth is the foundation of the third jelek, which is bordered by five, plaited, black silk cords, which along the lower edge of the jacket form a large Ionic wave design, each spiral being centred by a rather poor variety of gilt ribbon.

The same ribbon is placed as a stripe down the front, and between it and the braided edge there is a neat little pattern of leaves with a wavy stem worked in gold cord.

The back of the jelek has a centre and two side panels handsomely braided in white silk cord. The design, with its four-petalled flower, has a great similarity to the one on the back of the Zadrima jelek on Plate X, but is much more finely planned and worked. Raised centres of cord enhance the effect of the flowers and form the mid-rib of the conventional leaves.

The white cord design has a fine black cord outline but the black background renders this almost invisible. A black and white braid sewn in close loops finishes off the curves at the lower edge, and on each of the little added flaps in the front there are ten half-buttons in gilt brass.

No. 1939-1. The fourth of the jeleks in this group is an example of one covered entirely with work in gold braid.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

A 286 513 583 531

The cover measures 8 feet (2·4 m.) by 5 feet 6 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of material which are joined by needlepoint insertion. Picots with three knots are worked closely along the two edges, and then these are joined by bars of knotted stitchery.

The ends and a little way up each side are also ornamented by similar picots into which a row of wrapped scallops, with smaller picots in bullion stitch, is worked.

These needlepoint trimmings are carried out in red, yellow and green silk, the foundation picots in red, and the scallops in three-inch lengths of each colour in series. Tassels of the mixed colours are added at the corners.

No. 1935-25. A delightful white silk gauze bedcover from Scutari which also formed part of a bridal outfit came from a Catholic family.

A [731 727]

"After the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 there was much distress and things from old family chests were offered for sale. This was one." (M.E.D.).

The spread measures 7 feet 8 inches (2·3 m.) by 5 feet 9 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of gauze seamed together. Each width of material has groups of stripes near the selvedges consisting of one wide and three narrow stripes of white, five narrow red and three pale green ones; measuring altogether 4¼ inches (11·4 cm.) across.

As two groups of these stripes are joined at the seams three wider groups appear to divide the cover into thirds with narrower bands down the sides. The ends are hemstitched and the hems ornamented by two rows of wrapped buttonholing, into which at distances of two inches little triangles of buttonhole stitch are worked, finished off by a floral motive done in an arrangement of picoted scallops and decorated with three gold sequins.

These little needlepoint motives are worked in sequence in red, green and a soft pink and the bedcover as a whole is charming.

No. 1936-57a. The strips of needlepoint insertion 4 feet 9 inches (1·4 m.) long and 2 inches (5 cm.) wide, and the 9 feet of inch-wide edging are intended for trimming another bedspread. Aniline dyes have been used for the silk thread, and purple, orange, yellow, maroon, emerald and pink are used in sequence for the circular motive in the centre of the insertion and for a few inches along the edge. The final effect is somewhat garish.

C. **A Cloth, possibly for a table.**

M 286 531

No. 1936-44. "A black and dark blue cloth from Kolashin, bought off a dealer in Montenegro, is a curious piece of weaving and I never saw another like it. It is evidently hand-made, native work." (M.E.D.).

This cloth which measures 40 inches (1 m.) by 29 inches (73·7 cm.) is made of two stripes of narrow material, which is tabby-woven in fine black wool, there being 32 warp and 32 weft picks to the inch.

It is entirely covered with a large lozenge design, almost filling the width of the material, bordered by five diagonal lines of small squares and each lozenge enclosing twenty-five repeats of a four-petalled flower in white with a dark blue spot in the centre (Fig. 10).

The whole of the pattern is produced by the use of a large number of free spools, for instance, in the diagonal lines of squares forming the divisions between the big lozenges a new spool is added for every alternate eight warp ends forming a small square, working over and under the next eight warps, and then passes on to the next groups of eight lower down.

In using the spools of white thread each line of pattern is worked backwards and forwards before the next two throws of weft are made.

3:Redlich 5-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

562 tissues, is made by the women who are so [E46] occupied with other duties! The Albanian wife in the cities is also acquainted with domestic industry—she knows not laziness. Many of them, being good housewives, try to flatter the tastes of their husbands. Culinary arts are by no means alien to her: her cakes and tarts may easily cause the best patissiers of Paris to cast an envious eye into her kitchen. She is her husband's companion, his daily associate, and he keeps the lady of his hearth informed of all his affairs and often asks her advice and seeks her suggestions.

Womanhood is universally respected in Albania. They are held in the highest regard in all places to the extent that she may go any place unmolested and even in a man's company he is the one who derives protection through her.

[728] Negotiations for a truce of peace have formerly been intrusted many times to women, for they were allowed protection and safety in an enemy's camp where a man would never have survived.

186 Even in Albanian history women have played many important roles; as above-mentioned she has been endowed with strong

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

enter, redden their lips and cheeks with iris powder 302
or carmine, and stain their nails and the palms of
their hands with henna.

The social status of the Albanian women varies 562
according to district and creed. The Liaps and the
Christians of Southern Albania and Epirus generally
occupy the least enviable position, all the hard out- [462]
of-door work devolving upon them. The Northern
Albanians and also the Tosks, on the other hand, treat
their wives with much greater consideration, consult
them willingly in their affairs, both public and private,
and accord them a position in the family almost
equal to their own. And well do they merit
the respect of their husbands and brothers. For
often have they proved themselves to be fit com-
panions for men, unmindful of fatigue, danger, and
even death in the cause of liberty. When the
armies of the Sultan menaced the privileges of which
the people of Scutari had always been proud, it was
the women who were the first to give the alarm and
to excite the men to resist to the death, themselves
following to aid in the combat. Restraining the [703]
tears natural to their sex, they would carry the
mutilated bodies of their loved ones among the com-
batants in order to excite them to avenge their deaths.
And the same women are said to have refused to
receive back into their homes the husbands and sons
who had for a moment turned their backs upon the
enemy.

Albanian women, too, are often entrusted with 562
negotiations for truce or peace. Such is the respect 628
with which Albanians regard their women that they 728

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

may traverse the camps of belligerents with greater safety than men. The terms of treaties of peace, too, are often discussed by the women belonging to the hostile parties in the privacy of the harems of the chieftains. More ready, however, as a rule, are they to espouse and take part in the quarrels of their male relatives than to act as peacemakers, and, owing to their practice of carrying arms, they are always ready for a fray. Miss Mackenzie relates that, when traversing the Pass of Katchanik, her attention was directed by her escort to two Albanian women whom they chanced to meet. "Look at them," he cried, "they are women worth looking at, for well do they know how to handle a gun!"

"Are they Moslems?" asked the traveller.

"Assuredly."

"But they do not wear the yashmak."

"Not they, indeed," was the reply. "They have never worn it, and why should they? for they are fiercer and more unapproachable than men."[1]

Such being the character of the Albanian women, it is not surprising that they have played a considerable part in the history of their country. It was, indeed, to the indomitable energy and courageous spirit of his mother, Khamko, that Ali Pasha, the "Lion of Ioannina," owed the earlier successes that paved the way for his subsequent brilliant career. Ali, who had during his father's lifetime been a wild and intractable boy, appears at his death to have submitted with the utmost docility to the authority of his mother. This lady, who was the daughter of a

[1] *Through Macedonia to the Albanian Lakes.*

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

8. The Oath

A M 626 728 628 The oath played a most important part in the whole tribal area of Albania and Montenegro. The tribes lived, till recent times, in a constant state of blood-feud both with each other and within the tribes, and this was regulated only by means of sworn intervals of peace. In Montenegro you were in "krv" (blood) or under oath ("pod vjere"). In Albania, in "gjak" (blood) or under "besa." The tribesman as a rule kept the oath when formally sworn with rigid fidelity. A man forsworn was universally condemned. How by means of such oaths blood-feuds were settled we have told in another chapter.

A 626 783 *Manner of Taking Oath.*—Among the Albanian tribes there still exists the very antique custom of swearing the oath upon a stone. The priest and the hodja have succeeded in adding respectively the cross and Allah to his oath, but to the priest's vexation the mountain man persistently says, as he throws down the stone in the circle of headmen, "Per guri i per kruch" (by the stone and the cross), and puts the stone first. When a Catholic tribesman had confessed and received absolution he liked to come to church next time carrying a stone in proportion to the size of the sins confessed. What pact he had sworn on the stone I could not understand. The stone in this case was said to represent penitence. Some priests forbade the practice; others said it was unnecessary, but allowed it because this visible sign of contrition seemed really to help them. "But," said Padre Kiri of Thethi, laughing, "when a man came with a rock on his shoulder I told him he might leave it at the door."

A reason suggested for this custom is that the penitent transferred his sin to the stone and so got rid of it.

In trials before the elders a man accused of crime would swear his innocence upon a stone and fling it down before his judges.

M 626 783 *Montenegro.*—I did not find the custom in Montenegro, but it was clearly common till recently. Prince Danilo, in his Code of 1855, decrees (Law 65): "If after this day a Montenegrin or Brdjanin present himself before justice with a stone tied to his neck, whether innocent or guilty he shall be flogged."

M 754 The custom, it appears, has been flogged out. But in spite of Danilo's floggings I still found the custom of throwing a stone with a curse on to the reputed grave of a bad man. On the western side of Montenegro are several stone piles, and many such are to be found in the Herzegovina, some of which have been excavated and proved to be prehistoric tumuli. Krsto firmly believed all such heaps to be "proklete gomile" (accursed heaps) over the body of a desperate criminal who

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

LAND OF THE HIGHLAND GHEGS

101 THE people who form the object of this study are the mountaineers who inhabit the Dinaric mountain chain on either side of the gorge cut by the river Drin on its way from the Serbian plain to the Adriatic. Most of their country lies inside the political boundaries of Albania, but parts of it have belonged to Yugoslavia for the past third of a century. [197] They speak the northern of the 2 Albanian languages, or dialects,[1] Gheg. They are not, however, the only Gheg speakers. There are [121] Lowland as well as Highland Ghegs. The present study concerns only the latter. The reason why they were specially chosen is that they still preserved, in 1929, a full tribal system of social organization, something very rare in Europe. This has one critical advantage: rules of preferential mating are definite, and are still observed. We know not only who marries whom, but we may also be sure that the same system has been going on for many generations. For a study of human genetics this material has obvious advantages.

The Highland Ghegs who form the object of our investigation belonged to 10 tribes, shown on figure 1.[1] These are Malsia e Madhe, Dukagin, Malsia e Jakovës, Has, Luma, Puka, Mirdita, Zadrima, Mati, and Dibra. Before 1913 all of the tribes, except Dukagin, which now touch Yugoslavia extended a certain distance into the present territory of that country. On parts of the northern border the overlap is an old one. Many of the Montenegrin gentes admit descent from Albanian families, and one finds every stage of linguistic and cultural assimilation between the 2 ethnic 728 units. Just north of Scutari, however, several 101 fully Albanian villages were handed over to Serbia after the Balkan War, and this caused both economic and political distress. Farther east, from Peia to Dibra, the boundary commission which laid out the border between the 2 countries at that time gave the Yugoslavs all of the strategic positions, and all of the market

[1] Gheg and Tosk in extreme dialectic forms are mutually incomprehensible. It would be hard to state definitely whether they are closely related languages or dialects of one language. Each has numerous local[2]

[1] [See cat. 116, p.6 -- Analyst]

[2] [cont. p. 7c -- Analyst]

[128] 101 towns along the Serbo-Albanian border which served as an economic outlet for both peoples.

This ethnic border is far from clear-cut. Several whole tribes of Ghegs live on the Kossovo plain, along with villages of Serbs. The ancestors of these Lowland Ghegs migrated there in the time of the Turks, after the defeat of the Tzar Dushan. These displaced Ghegs are probably descended from the highland tribes, but it would take much work to establish their exact relationships. We were unable to measure more than a few of them, and therefore shall not consider them in this study.

101 162 The Lowland Ghegs of Albania, who equally eluded our calipers, occupy the country from the tribal regions eastward[1] to the Adriatic and southward to the river Shkumbi, the traditional frontier between Ghegnia and Toskeria. Many of the Tosks are Greek Orthodox Christians. The Ghegs who are Christians are Roman Catholics. The majority of both divisions is Moslem. The most solidly Moslem part of Albania is the central region, in both Ghegnia and Toskeria, where the landscape is the least rugged. Both brands of Christianity lived through the Turkish regime most successfully in the mountains. In the south, beside the Tosks, are thousands of Vlachs—shepherds speaking Rumanian as their native tongue—and Bulgars. The Epirote borderland cuts through an area where Greek and Albanian villages overlap, causing trouble.

Throughout Albania one finds camps of nomadic gypsies, living by their traditional trades of metal-working, fortune-telling, horse-trading, etc. In the larger cities there is always a gypsy quarter, whose inhabitants also serve as musicians and prostitutes. In the Gheg country, however, there is no room for gypsy camps or quarters, and the only gypsies which I saw or heard of there were a single individual in Bicaj, and another in Kukës, both in the tribe of Luma.

[197] subdivisions. The official language of Albania is based on the southern Gheg dialect spoken in the city of Elbasan.

[1] [author must mean westward. - Analyst]

[Constitution]

671 No citizens may be exiled or interned within the state
641 except as prescribed by law.

The People's Republic of Albania protects the rights of its citizens in foreign lands.

ARTICLE 20

694 A home cannot be violated.

No person can enter a house and search it against the wishes of the owner, except when he holds a court order in his hands.

No search can be made except in the presence of two witnesses. The owner of the house also has a right to be present.

ARTICLE 21

205 The secrecy of mail and other correspondence cannot be violated except in cases of criminal investigations, military mobilization, or state of war.

ARTICLE 22

461 In the People's Republic of Albania work is a privilege and a duty.

Every citizen has a right to be paid according to his work and to receive from society as much as he gives to it.

ARTICLE 23

647 All citizens have a right to be employed in government work according to specific regulations laid down by law.

Citizens appointed or elected to public office are bound to perform their duties conscientiously.

ARTICLE 24

[729] It is the duty of the state to adequately support disabled
657 soldiers at public expense and to enable them to resume their work. The state shall support the families of those who died in battle and of all war victims.

ARTICLE 25

The state takes care of the health of the people by organizing and controlling health service, hospitals, and sanatoriums.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, [491] as in those of other nations, are said to have been formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

731 [1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

times happens, are ravaging the country, a number of women assemble, and, having captured some of the insects, form a mock funeral procession, and, with hair dishevelled, proceed to drown them in the nearest well or stream, singing in turn as they go the following dirge, which is repeated by the others in chorus: 789 731

> O locusts! O cockchafers! parents kind,
> Orphaned you have left us all behind!

This ceremony is believed to cause the death of the rest of the destructive swarm.

If one of a herd of cattle dies, its head is buried in the farmyard in order that a similar fate may not befall the rest of the herd. When an ox or cow is ill, "unspoken-over" water is brought and sprinkled over it. If several of the cattle are ailing, and in other cases of a serious nature, the water used is brought from three different wells or springs, and mixed together, its efficacy being believed to be thus increased to a threefold degree. 782 231

Very numerous are the ceremonies observed with the object of ensuring good, or averting bad, luck. In Northern Albania, when a youth, or man, is about to leave his home for a distant town a curious ceremony is performed, which is believed to ensure him a safe and successful journey. In front of the house-door the women place a jar filled with "unspoken-over" water, decorated with foliage and hung with earrings of gold and silver. The traveller touches the jar with his foot, takes in his hand the earrings and some of the foliage, and sets out, accompanied for a mile or two by his relatives, to whom, when they finally take 789 484

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

A 286 513 583 531

The cover measures 8 feet (2·4 m.) by 5 feet 6 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of material which are joined by needlepoint insertion. Picots with three knots are worked closely along the two edges, and then these are joined by bars of knotted stitchery.

The ends and a little way up each side are also ornamented by similar picots into which a row of wrapped scallops, with smaller picots in bullion stitch, is worked.

These needlepoint trimmings are carried out in red, yellow and green silk, the foundation picots in red, and the scallops in three-inch lengths of each colour in series. Tassels of the mixed colours are added at the corners.

No. 1935-25. A delightful white silk gauze bedcover from Scutari which also formed part of a bridal outfit came from a Catholic family.

A [731 727]

"After the Balkan Wars of 1912-13 there was much distress and things from old family chests were offered for sale. This was one." (M.E.D.).

The spread measures 7 feet 8 inches (2·3 m.) by 5 feet 9 inches (1·7 m.) and is made of three widths of gauze seamed together. Each width of material has groups of stripes near the selvedges consisting of one wide and three narrow stripes of white, five narrow red and three pale green ones; measuring altogether 4½ inches (11·4 cm.) across.

As two groups of these stripes are joined at the seams three wider groups appear to divide the cover into thirds with narrower bands down the sides. The ends are hemstitched and the hems ornamented by two rows of wrapped buttonholing, into which at distances of two inches little triangles of buttonhole stitch are worked, finished off by a floral motive done in an arrangement of picoted scallops and decorated with three gold sequins.

These little needlepoint motives are worked in sequence in red, green and a soft pink and the bedcover as a whole is charming.

No. 1936-57a. The strips of needlepoint insertion 4 feet 9 inches (1·4 m.) long and 2 inches (5 cm.) wide, and the 9 feet of inch-wide edging are intended for trimming another bedspread. Aniline dyes have been used for the silk thread, and purple, orange, yellow, maroon, emerald and pink are used in sequence for the circular motive in the centre of the insertion and for a few inches along the edge. The final effect is somewhat garish.

C. **A Cloth, possibly for a table.**

M 286 531

No. 1936-44. "A black and dark blue cloth from Kolashin, bought off a dealer in Montenegro, is a curious piece of weaving and I never saw another like it. It is evidently hand-made, native work." (M.E.D.).

This cloth which measures 40 inches (1 m.) by 29 inches (73·7 cm.) is made of two stripes of narrow material, which is tabby-woven in fine black wool, there being 32 warp and 32 weft picks to the inch.

It is entirely covered with a large lozenge design, almost filling the width of the material, bordered by five diagonal lines of small squares and each lozenge enclosing twenty-five repeats of a four-petalled flower in white with a dark blue spot in the centre (Fig. 10).

The whole of the pattern is produced by the use of a large number of free spools, for instance, in the diagonal lines of squares forming the divisions between the big lozenges a new spool is added for every alternate eight warp ends forming a small square, working over and under the next eight warps, and then passes on to the next groups of eight lower down.

In using the spools of white thread each line of pattern is worked backwards and forwards before the next two throws of weft are made.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

The man killed in the murderer's stead must not be too old, feeble-minded, or physically frail to carry arms, for such men were counted women, and women could not be killed in blood feuds. If the avenger killed such a man, he lost caste, was publicly branded as 'low-class' and made it certain that the feud would not be closed. It was also illegal to kill boys who were still too young to carry arms, that is to say, under fifteen or in some cases twenty. In the Malësi e Madhe, however, it was held that one must take vengeance where one could, and that in default of an adult enemy one might kill a boy. Even in that region such a crime was not committed except by a very bad man or one who was frenzied with rage at the recent murder of a relative or otherwise. For instance, in 1933 a subaltern of the Alije family, whose wife had been carried off by another Dibran, refrained for some years from avenging the insult in the way demanded by mountain law. Taunted with this restraint at a chance meeting in a café, he put aside the civilization acquired during his military education in Albania and in Italy and rushed for his revolver. As he was unable to find the man who had taunted him, he lay in wait for the latter's schoolboy son, aged fourteen, and shot him dead.

The men of Shalë said that vengeance on a boy was commoner in Pult than in their own tribe; the men of Pult, they added contemptuously, were in every way their inferiors. Much the same was said by the tribesmen of Lurë of their neighbours in Mirditë and Kthellë, who returned the compliment in kind. In Lumë a man who took such vengeance was never again given the greeting 'Peace be with thee', which is every good Mohammedan's due from his fellows. The manner of such vengeance was inevitably very brutal. Thus two men from Shlak, when working in Bardhanjol, found the small son of their enemy and tore him in two; they are said not to have troubled to kill him first. More often the enemy wrenched the cradle off a woman's back and in her presence cut the infant's throat. A particularly nasty case was reported about 1932 from Shalë, one of the most backward regions of Albania. While two families were quarrelling about a piece of land, the wife of Grimës one day voiced her opinions so volubly in Gjelosh's house that he lost his temper and pushed her out. She fell down some steps by the door and bruised her hip. She showed the bruise to the gendarmerie, who were sympathetic enough to arrest Gjelosh and to imprison him for three months. The woman, who cared more

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 dainty raiment, and exhaling a fragrant odour. They live in the mountains, but after nightfall frequently approach the abodes of men in order to allure mortal youths to join their dances. If a boy so favoured keeps his own counsel, he may join in these fairy revels with impunity, but should he venture to inform others of his relations with these nocturnal visitors, they revenge themselves by killing him.

The Ore is a being who constantly wanders about in order to hear and carry into effect the blessings and curses pronounced by men on each other. In North Albania the usual formula with which a beggar concludes his thanks and blessings for alms received is, "May the Ore hear and bring it to pass."

735 789

Among the malevolent supernals are three kinds of man-devouring female monsters. The Koutchédra (κουτζέδρα), the Dogsuckler (συκγεννιζα), and the Liouvía (λιουβία). The first figures frequently in folk-tale, and besides her cannibalistic propensities, is credited with the power of drying up the springs and fountains at which she drinks. The Dogsuckler is endowed with four eyes, two in the front of her head, and two in the back. The Liouvía is extremely partial to the flesh of little children.

776 753 Diseases are generally personalised as female monsters, whose touch is death. One of these is called in Elbassan the Phliame (φλιάμε), whose touch causes "the falling sickness." She is, however, never alluded to by name, it being said of her victim that "The Thing has attacked him." The plague and fatal epidemics generally are represented as more or less similar, but blind beings, called Koukoúdh (κουκούδ).

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

the byraktor that Shala had sworn a *besa* with the Tirana government, and then thought best not venture into mazes that I did not understand. But the byraktor was greatly interested on learning that I had been in Montenegro, and all that I knew about that part of Jugo-Slavia I told him; it was very little, but he seemed to see more than I did in the robbery of the Serbian Minister of Finance by Montenegrin bandits.

"The story was in the newspapers," I told him. "Some day there will be newspapers in Albania, and schools in the mountains, and then you will learn about these things when they happen."

"I have heard about the school in Thethis," he answered. "Schools are very good, but what my people need is food and clothes. We are very poor. We have too little land. A school is of no use to a child who is hungry, for hunger has no brains with which to learn. I do not care for a school in Shoshi until all my people have enough bread. It is not right to give the well-fed child a school, too; he has already more than other children, and the school will only make him wiser and prouder than the poorer ones. Already the families with fewer children are stronger than those with many, and that is not right. I do not want a school; I want land for my people, for food comes from land, and after food comes the school. There is no hope for the mountain people while enemies hold our valleys. First the Romans, then the Turks, then the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

bajraktars to the south of it in non-tribal Martanesh; but there was none within its own boundaries. There factions, not tribes, were the social units, and all power, military and otherwise, was concentrated in the hands of four powerful bey families. 101 619

From first to last the primary function of a bajraktar was military. When one learned that war was imminent and troops were required, he had immediately to inform the tribe in the first instance by firing eight shots in quick succession into the air, and in the second by sending out the official runner called *kasnec* with news and a statement of how many men were wanted. One from each house was the usual number. The muster was soon complete, for it was thought shameful to hang back or to hide at home and no time was wasted hunting for deserters. When all had gathered, the march began. Two tribesmen in some cases, and in others four, led off singing. Next came a man closely connected with the bajraktar, preferably his eldest son, carrying the flag. The rank and file followed, firing constantly into the air to show their joy at the call to arms. Any sign of depression at leaving their homes would have been thought disgraceful and unmanly. The best warriors among them had the bajraktar in their midst and would guard him and the flag with their lives till they all came marching home again. No equipment was issued to bajraktars or 'soldiers'; each brought his own rifle and pistols and came in his ordinary clothes. Nor was any military training given them. Their value as soldiers depended upon the rifle practice which they had had at home. It was usually sufficient to make them all good shots. After a few months the war ended and they came home again, still in their peasant clothes and again firing into the air for joy. 701 703 [705] [702]

In time of peace the bajraktar performed civilian duties. One of the chief was caring for the poor. If they got into trouble or needed work he intervened with the authorities. If they were benighted he gave them free board and lodging. On high occasions he sent them a ram on which to feast. So that they could buy on credit what they needed for their weddings and funerals he went guarantee for them at the village shops; perhaps he even paid for the goods when the following harvest failed and left them unable themselves to clear the debt. At times he lent them money without interest. In return he asked only that if required they would put their rifles at his disposal, joining him in attacking an enemy, spending some weeks annually in his house as unpaid or poorly paid guards, [735] 701

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

was expected to behave reasonably; in Mirditë if she were a trouble-maker her son might legally send her back to her brother, giving her three loads of grain for her support during the first year and nothing afterwards. On her death she might be buried by the son she lived with, as in Zerqan, or by all the sons in combination, as in Martanesh and the Malësi e Madhe. Here good feeling rather than the law dictated the usage.

Sometimes a minor—a small brother or the orphan of a dead brother—had to be arranged for. The essential was that he should receive his portion and not be left alone with his mother, as she might induce him to sell his land or might herself take a lover. If his grandfather were alive he remained with him. Otherwise he went to live with an older brother or an uncle. Exceptionally, in Shijan he lived by preference with his mother's brother, less probably with his father's brother, and still less probably with his own brother. His guardian worked his land or gave it to a third party to work for an agreed return and fed and clothed the minor with its produce until he came of age at fifteen. The guardian had also to feed and clothe his mother and any small brothers and sisters he might have. Sometimes a guardian brother remained in the father's house with the minor. He was its master, though not its owner, until the minor came of age. Then he must leave the house to the minor and himself move to new quarters.

Sometimes brothers who had separated joined up again. The 'remarriage' seldom lasted long; as the proverb puts it, 'a loaf once broken can't be put together again'. When they separated for the second time, their food and property were divided on the same principles as before. Due note was taken of any house they might have built or any land or livestock they might have bought during their temporary reunion; these were divided as usual, not according to the number of brothers, but according to the number of men. If one brother had died childless since the first separation, a completely new division of the property was necessary.

The division of food and property might be effected by elders, by the eldest brother, by a neighbour, or by a more distant relative, or by the father if alive. The factors governing the choice of one or other were, as usual, based on common sense. The division of property, as distinct from food, was often so complicated that only experienced men like elders could grapple with it. A father tended to favour his best loved son or daughter-in-law and was often ruled

that must be divided equally among all the brothers. If a house was built with it, that again must be divided equally. The law laid down 'What is in the house on Separation day is part of it'. 428

On the same principle, any debts due by the family such as government taxes or arrears of taxes were divided equally among the brothers.[1] Each had to discharge his share independently, the others accepting and being given no responsibility for it. Any payments due to the family, such as repayment of money borrowed, were similarly divided between the brothers. Bride-price was in a class by itself, being paid to the bride's father, both while he still lived with his brothers and afterwards as well. [426]

In a very few areas special charges on the family property were recognized. If, for instance, the youngest brother in Çermenikë did not yet have a gun, it was thought fair to give him money out of the common purse with which to buy one. In Perlat before the livestock was divided, two oxen and a few sheep were set aside for the wedding feast of an unmarried brother. In Mirditë the estimated cost of his wedding was paid to him, generally in kind, as in Perlat. Elsewhere, so far as is known, no such allowances were made.

Food and property of every description having been divided as described, accounts were balanced. Each brother paid up what money he had to pay and each received what money he had to receive. This concluded the division in most cases. It will be observed that no provision beyond 500 grosh was made for the daughters of the family. This was probably thought unnecessary by the old law-givers because a woman who had not reached extreme old age or been otherwise disabled was no burden to anybody. Her work, herding, spinning or even hoeing in the fields, was worth more to both brother and husband than the cost of her keep. An unmarried girl stayed with any of her brothers after their separation. She stood in the same relation to them all, it was thought, and was no nearer to the one than to the other. The modern civil code enacts, however, that a real and not a token provision shall be made for each daughter.

It sometimes happened that the father was alive when the brothers separated. If so, his welfare was provided for by the law. If the separation took place with his blessing he went to live with the son he liked and got on with best. This was almost invariably the youngest, who was thought nearer to him than the others, and 737

1 [at the time of separation--Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

737 if the youngest died, he went to the next youngest. Only one per cent of fathers chose to live with another son, and then a woman was generally to blame. If the youngest was unmarried or had a disagreeable wife who did not give much promise of looking after a troublesome old father-in-law, he went to a son with a kinder wife.

Since it was understood that he would live with his youngest son and that this son would have his house, he continued to live in his old familiar quarters. One room was allotted for his special use, but it frequently served as the general sitting-room as well because he only required one corner to sit in by day and to sleep in at night. For his support he might either keep one-eighth of his land in his own hands or arrange to be fed by his sons, either jointly or in turn. In the former case the son he lived with worked his bit of land, fed him with its produce, and eventually buried him. In consideration of the latter expense this son was allowed to keep his land and his room, though it meant getting a larger portion than his brothers. Sometimes the others contributed a little towards the old man's keep and the expenses of his funeral. In that case they had a claim [428] at his death to an equal share of his fraction of land and his room, payable in money.

When all his sons contracted to feed him in turn, he probably continued to live with the son with whom he was happiest, and month by month asked each of the others in turn for money with which to buy food. If they contracted to feed him jointly, each sent him an agreed quantity of food and clothing per year. In Mirditë this was fixed at 6 loads of maize, 3 pairs of sandals, 25 okes of salt and 2 bushels of haricot beans. Under this arrangement there was no eighth of land to be divided on his death. His room was kept by the son with whom he had lived, but this son must pay a proportionate share of its value to his brothers.

428 On Separation day after a room and an eighth of land had been
737 set aside for the father, the division of his property, both inherited and bought, proceeded as if he no longer existed, but he retained any title-deeds to all his former land which he might hold. His eighth was never enough to feed him, and the youngest son might become too impoverished to make up the deficiency, in which case his only resource was to pay lengthy visits to his other sons. With the title-deeds in his hands he was sure of his welcome; without them he might not be. So, too, if his sons had contracted to feed

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

him, possession of the title-deeds made it more certain that they would fulfil the contract. On his death the deeds passed to his sons. 428 737

These were the general rules for his maintenance, but there were a few variants. In Çermenikë a man who had managed to buy a large amount of land during his working years had the right to keep this back when his sons separated and to leave it all to the son with whom he lived, to the exclusion of the others. More often than not, he allowed it to be divided up with the land he inherited. Sometimes he was still able to earn a little. In Lumë his sons treated his earnings as family property, taking the cost of his funeral out of them and dividing up the rest. In Çermenikë the son he lived with paid the whole cost of his funeral and kept all his earnings. In Mat, a relatively fertile district, a yoke of land was set aside for him. On his death his richest son paid for his funeral and took his piece of land in exchange. In Perlat an ox was set aside on Separation day for the public meal at his funeral; it was kept and worked till required by the son with whom he lived; its work was supposed to compensate this son for the other expenses of the funeral. In all areas the father's portion of land was often given by richer families to the poor or, among the Catholics, to the church.

A father had in the last resort the right to banish a son from his house, or a son might insist on hiving off against his father's wish. 428 [593] In either case he need not give him a portion, but when he died the son would take his proportionate share of the food and property, exactly as if he had never been expelled. A son who separated from his father in these conditions must restrict himself to any land his father might have given him and must refrain from interfering with the rest of the land or other property. The consequences of a premature division of property may be seen in the following story from Perlat. Two men made such scenes about their father's remarriage that he bade them leave his house. Of a just, or simple, disposition, he divided his property into three, keeping one-third for himself and giving one apiece to his sons. Afterwards he had two more sons by his second wife, then found he could not leave [423] them more than his own portion of property, for land once divided cannot be taken back, says the law. So each of the two sons he loved best received only one-sixth, and each of the two sons he had come to dislike one-third, of his original property. An interesting variation of the above law is found in Kurbin. If a father gave a rebellious son a portion, he gave it only out of the land and

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

428 livestock which he had bought since the son's birth; it was half or a third or a quarter according to the number of his sons. He kept the rest of his property, and this passed on his death to the son or sons with whom he continued to live, the expelled son getting nothing. If, however, he had built his house since this son's birth, it fell on his death to the son he lived with, but this son must pay the expelled son the usual proportionate share of its value.

737 When there was an old mother she, like the father, usually went to live with the son she loved best; in 99 cases out of 100 this was the youngest. The problem of her support was not so difficult as [593] that of an old father. The relationship between the sons and their mother was so close that few quarrelled with her and refused her food and shelter. If 'wicked' enough to do so, the whole of their world cried shame and the old lady herself might react. A native of Shelcan in Shpat took his wife away and settled in Elbasan, leaving his mother in the village. She wished openly that he were dead. More important still, a mother had economic value and was seldom the useless encumbrance that most old fathers were. At her weakest she had strength enough to rock the cradle and to mind the house while her son's wife was out working in the fields. Besides, she had worked hard for the general benefit in her time, and that must not be forgotten. For all these reasons, in most places the son she lived with was content to feed and dress her. The others might or might not contribute. If they did, their contribution was generally voluntary and at their discretion. It normally took the form of small presents, such as a kerchief or a pair of sandals. It was not advisable to give such presents regularly, for that might make the son she lived with take them for granted. By exception, in Malësi e Madhe the law bade the other sons combine to send her three loads of maize every year as a contribution towards her keep. In Mat, if she stayed with one son, he must support her unaided; the others gave her no food or clothes. In this district, however, she might opt for staying a month with each son in turn, so making them share the expense of keeping her. In Godolesh, and in Shijan near Elbasan, she had the right, like the father, to take one-eighth of the general property. The son worked this land, fed her with its produce and eventually took it into his own holding in consideration of paying for her funeral. In practice she seldom exercised this right, preferring to run in and out of all her sons' houses in turn and getting a meal in any of them. She

10: Hasluck [illegible] (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

was expected to behave reasonably; in Mirditë if she were a trouble-maker her son might legally send her back to her brother, giving her three loads of grain for her support during the first year and nothing afterwards. On her death she might be buried by the son she lived with, as in Zerqan, or by all the sons in combination, as in Martanesh and the Malësi e Madhe. Here good feeling rather than the law dictated the usage.

Sometimes a minor—a small brother or the orphan of a dead brother—had to be arranged for. The essential was that he should receive his portion and not be left alone with his mother, as she might induce him to sell his land or might herself take a lover. If his grandfather were alive he remained with him. Otherwise he went to live with an older brother or an uncle. Exceptionally, in Shijan he lived by preference with his mother's brother, less probably with his father's brother, and still less probably with his own brother. His guardian worked his land or gave it to a third party to work for an agreed return and fed and clothed the minor with its produce until he came of age at fifteen. The guardian had also to feed and clothe his mother and any small brothers and sisters he might have. Sometimes a guardian brother remained in the father's house with the minor. He was its master, though not its owner, until the minor came of age. Then he must leave the house to the minor and himself move to new quarters.

Sometimes brothers who had separated joined up again. The 'remarriage' seldom lasted long; as the proverb puts it, 'a loaf once broken can't be put together again'. When they separated for the second time, their food and property were divided on the same principles as before. Due note was taken of any house they might have built or any land or livestock they might have bought during their temporary reunion; these were divided as usual, not according to the number of brothers, but according to the number of men. If one brother had died childless since the first separation, a completely new division of the property was necessary.

The division of food and property might be effected by elders, by the eldest brother, by a neighbour, or by a more distant relative, or by the father if alive. The factors governing the choice of one or other were, as usual, based on common sense. The division of property, as distinct from food, was often so complicated that only experienced men like elders could grapple with it. A father tended to favour his best loved son or daughter-in-law and was often ruled

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

644 of Olympias, the mother of Alexander the Great.

The late Queen Mother aided her people to an unlimited extent, without rest or pause. She showed marvelous ability of leadership in the darkest days of Albania. She earned the everlasting gratitude of the people. And today her resting place is one of veneration and pilgrimage.

After King Zog ascended the throne, the Queen Mother and her six daughters devoted themselves to helping their fellowmen. Of these six daughters, one is a widow, two others are married and the three remaining are single.

644 741 575 Before her death, the Queen Mother gave large donations and devoted her time towards the organization of women movements, charitable institutions, orphanages, hospitals and similar activities for the welfare of the Albanian people at large. It was this beloved Queen Mother and her daughter, Princess Senié, who were directly responsible for the creation and organization on a modern basis of the Albanian Red Cross. Also through the work of the Queen Mother and Princess Senié, the Albanian National Women's Society, the

ALBANIAN WOMEN

"Gruja Shqipëtare," came into existence in 575
1929, as the first woman's organization in 644
Albania. This Society has branches through- 741
out the country, not only with the object to educate the women and children and further the interests of womanhood, but also to donate clothing, food and warmth to the needy. The Queen Mother also encouraged the organization of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

The Princesses Muzejen, Madjidé and Ruhijé are directly responsible and can justly be proud of the work they have done and are doing for the furtherance of the arts, music, sports and allied subjects. These three sisters of King Zog are active participants and patronesses of the National Union of Albanian Youth.

Princess Madjidé (Maxhidé), who takes a keen interest in sports, does much to further the interests and welfare of the Albanian youth. She has aptly been chosen as the patroness of the Royal Albanian Touring and Automobile Club.

The proper upbringing and education of 644
their children occupies most of the time of the Princesses Adilé and Nafié, but they never

Public Health

• 743 THE care of the health of the general population has been undertaken in a particularly efficient and modern manner. The creation of the necessary institutions began immediately after the war.

Hospitals and clinics have been established and endowed in recent years by the king and the Albanian Government in Tirana and in all the principal cities of the country, all receiving government subsidies. All these hospitals are modern and have complete equipment with up-to-date instruments and necessities.

Hospitals of other nations have been most carefully studied and copied, and from time to time researches and studies are carried on under authorities in specific fields in special institutions in various countries for the modernization of these Albanian hospitals which are thereby kept absolutely up-to-date.

All health institutions in Albania have the necessary equipment for the special care of children.

PUBLIC HEALTH

The hygienic education of the people has 744
met with great success.

A part of the health program of Albania is the improvement of sanitation in all the villages and towns.

The Albanian doctors are graduates of the 759
medical schools of various foreign universities, mostly of Vienna, Austria, and are rapidly becoming specialists in their fields.

In addition to the hospitals, there are, 743
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To the Land of the Eagle

361 The village,[1] which is the birthplace of the wife of the national hero, Skanderbeg,—its only claim to notice, picturesqueness apart—possesses no inn or wine-shop, and I looked for refreshment in vain. It was a hot day and the walk up the hill had made me thirsty. Some men who met me in what I suppose was the market place, or centre of the village, gave me Turkish delight, good of its kind but hardly what I wanted after my climb in the hot sun, and with that I had to be satisfied. The village gave every sign of being an extremely poor one and many of the houses were in ruins. [291] There was a school in which sat a row of small boys all wearing their white fezzes, for the Moslem headcovering is worn both indoors and out. The castle I did not inspect. It looked more interesting from a distance, a remark which applies to Kanina as a whole.

164 The bane of Valona, as at Durazzo and elsewhere on the coast, is the mosquito, and the inhabitants of the district are great sufferers from the malaria it carries, as well as from 744 other diseases connected with or due to malaria. Certain philanthropic English people—of whom one of the most active is the Dowager Countess of Carnarvon, who has a small house at Valona—are doing what they can, with the limited funds and limited opportunities available, to help the local Albanians to fight the trouble. They have imported two nurses and three V.A.D. girls. The nurses work at the local hospital. The V.A.D. girls—voluntary helpers—superintend the measures which are being taken to treat, with petroleum and otherwise, the breeding and hibernating

1 [Valona -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG.

Kossovari Refugees

places of the mosquitoes. The mayor of Valona, whom I 744
met several times, is a progressive man, and has given much assistance by providing labour for cleaning out and filling ditches and so forth. He was also, I believe, successful in persuading the Government to pay some portion, at all events, of the nurses' salaries. Apart from this, however, the financial responsibility is borne by contributors to "The Albanian Fund," which, in addition to providing help 167
for the sufferers from malaria, attempts also to aid the Albanian refugees who are constantly arriving in a state of destitution from that portion of Serbia which at one time belonged, and, in the opinion of many, should still belong, to Albania. These unfortunate people are called Kossovari. The following extract from a copy of a report that was given 167
to me by Lady Carnarvon is typical :— 164

"On arriving at Durazzo I visited a group of Kossovari who were scattered in villages one or two hours away. Their condition was most pitiable. Many had died of malaria, numbers of the survivors were sick—I found in one house six, in another nine out of a family of eleven, prostrate on the ground. Some were able to work, but there was no work to be had, for the summer work was over. If it had not been for the maize given by the American Red Cross, they would have died—and the maize was coming to an end."

The story of the Kossovari refugees as set out in the
report throws a painful light on the pitiable position of

[Constitution]

641 554 No privilege because of family, position in life, wealth, or cultural level is recognized.

ARTICLE 13

[563] [659] All citizens are equal regardless of nationality, race, or religion. Any act which grants privileges or takes away rights from any citizen because of nationality, race, or religion is unconstitutional and carries with it punishments as provided by law. It is unconstitutional and punishable by law to stir up hatred and dissension among nationalities, races, or religions.

ARTICLE 14

666 641 All citizens who have reached the age of eighteen are eligible to elect and be elected in all organs of state, regardless of sex, nationality, race, creed, cultural level, or residence.

Members of the armed forces also have these rights.

The right to vote is universal, equal, direct, and secret.

The right to vote is forfeited by those who have been disqualified by law.

ARTICLE 15

562 Women are equal to men in all walks of life, private, political, or social.

Women shall receive the same pay as men for the same work. And women have similar rights with regard to social security.

745 The government especially protects the interests of mothers and young children, by assuring vacations with pay before and after childbirth and also by building maternity hospitals and nurseries.

ARTICLE 16

659 Freedom of conscience and religion is guaranteed to all citizens.

The church is separated from the state.

Religious communities are free to exercise and practice their creeds.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, [491] as in those of other nations, are said to have been formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 731 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

[1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

787 The cries of wild beasts and birds, and also the cir-
825 cumstances under which they are heard, or the animals themselves met with, have also their signification. If wolves howl in packs, it betokens, in some districts, a death; in others, severe frost. To meet a snake before sunrise, or about sunset, augurs the death of a relative. If the turtle-dove, which in Middle Albania builds in the towns and villages, sits on a roof and coos, it announces to the inmates the return of a relative from a foreign land. When a cuckoo, however, sits there and sings, or an owl hoots there, it betokens a death in the house. The croak of a raven in the vicinity of a house, or the hoot of an owl, announces to the expectant mother the birth of a girl. Sparrows flying in large flocks are held to be a sign of severe cold.

787 Various auguries are also drawn from the arrival in spring of the birds of passage, and the circumstances under which they are first seen. For instance, to see the first swallow or turtle-dove before breaking one's fast in the morning portends sickness. Accordingly, about the time when these birds are expected, and more particularly on the 1st of May, the precaution
751 is taken of placing by the bedside a small piece of
777 bread, which is eaten immediately on awakening in order to avoid any such risk. In Northern Albania, on the contrary, it is held that to see while fasting the first swallow brings luck. Here, too, when a mother,
755 whose child has been born with a running sore, sees the first stork, she places on her baby's head a stone, saying:

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 needle, a warning evidently to other fleas of the fate awaiting them.

The women in South Albania twist together a [751] number of coloured threads and tie them round the children's wrists and necks, in order to preserve them from sunburn or sunstroke, and draw a similar thread along the threshold of the house. They also roll up tightly little balls of rag, at which they stitch assiduously with a needle and thread; and when asked what they are doing, they reply, "We are sewing up the plague, snakes, and sickness." On this day no vegetables are eaten, the sweet cakes and dishes, in which the Ritza alone indulge, being believed to ensure a good [777] summer. The whole of this month is a close time for the ravens, as to kill one would bring bad luck to the vintage.

527 The North Albanians begin their year on the 1st
789 of March. On this day the cattle are decked with gar-
777 lands of flowers, and the Ghegs not only tie threads of
[805] many colours on the wrists and necks of their children, but themselves also wear one of red silk on the little finger of the right hand and the great toe of the right foot. When the first swallow has been seen, they take off these threads, and hang them on the rose-bushes, in order that the swallows may take them to their nests. [177] Von Hahn is of opinion that this graceful little custom is not indigenous, and it may indeed have been partly borrowed, either from the Bulgarians, or, through the neighbouring Vlachs, from the Roumanians, with whom, as I have already mentioned,[1] a similar usage exists. While I was at Salonica, one

[1] Vol. i. p. 335.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

A 754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A [163 761] Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So A [751] terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh A [853 777] air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The M 754 same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but 853 the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the A 755 child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air and sunlight.

A 754 755 Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away. It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead. The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He A [681] rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying, 'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

A 754 776 777 In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special precaution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors, the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

Gospels. In Serbian these are called "Zapis." They are enclosed in silver cases called by the Turkish word "hamaljija" both by Serbs and Albanians; or they are sewn up in leather. Such leather cases are usually triangular. Most of the Catholic women of Zadrima, Albania, wore two brass crucifixes on a chain and a leathern triangular amulet case. Such cases are often fixed to the horns of oxen. When a Christian finds a Christian "writing" has done no good, he will go on the sly to beg one from a Moslem, and vice versa. A S BP 777 A S BP

Priests, both Orthodox and Catholic, write an immense number of amulets, fold the paper neatly in a triangle, thread it on a string, and direct that it shall be tied over the spot where the pain is felt; and peasants will tramp many miles in search of this help. At Ochrida, where I had to examine the patients before the doctor saw them, I came across an up-to-date development of this treatment. A child was brought with his neck thickly swathed. When the wrappings were off, his neck was an alarming dull purple, as though horribly contused. The amulet had been written in copying ink and had come off on his skin! The mother fondly hoped its magic had soaked in. 777 793 751

In both Albania and Montenegro I have seen Moslems flock to a church or a well-known Christian shrine in search of a cure. At the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity, on the festival day at Plevlje, I saw two Turkish gendarmes bring in a lunatic with his arms tied behind him and lay him in front of the altar during service in order that he might be cured. A M 755

Several thousand peasants, Orthodox, Catholic, and Moslem, used to crowd on Trinity Sunday to the shrine of St. Vasil of Ostrog in Montenegro—a purely Montenegrin saint. The shrine of another local saint at the Piperski monastery is also in great repute. The best way to obtain a cure is to pass the night lying on the ground, with the head beneath the coffin, holding the relics. For this privilege a high fee was asked. At Ostrog I was told that a Moslem stricken with paralysis had been brought from Mostar on a mule, and had paid twenty-five napoleons to pass the night thus. Next day he was well and returned home happy. But he was an unbelieving Moslem, and soon declared he did not believe the saint had cured him: he had got well of himself. Next morning he awoke again paralysed, and the twenty-five napoleons were under his pillow. The saint withdrew the cure and returned the fee. M 776 778 755

An amulet with a good writing on it works good; but evil writing can in the same way work evil. A 777 754

While I was in Scutari a Turkish officer fell in love with a Catholic girl. He acted honourably and asked her hand of her parents. To their horror the girl not only wished to marry him, but she went to the A 588

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

H 744 278

In Bosnia a remedy for coughs was to burn oak-galls and inhale the smoke.

A 752 844

In all districts that I visited in the Balkans I found mud used to dress wounds by the common people; but never heard of a case of tetanus, though I have had hundreds of wounded through my hands. The land is very poorly, or not at all manured, which may explain this fact. The Austrian doctor in Scutari told me that in seven years he had had but two cases—both came up the river on ships, so were not local infections; also, though "Albanian women are not so well cared for at childbirth as an Austrian cow," he had never seen a case of puerperal fever, and believed neither the tetanus nor the puerperal-fever germs had reached these districts.

But with these two exceptions the Balkans are decimated with disease. It is a mistake to imagine that a rough, simple life produces health.

M A 751 164

The apparent sturdiness of the survivors blinds the outsider to the intensity of the struggle for existence and its mass of victims. Compulsory vaccination has immensely reduced small-pox in many districts. It is interesting to see how an epidemic will sweep up to the vaccination line—and there stop short. But exposure, hunger, and toil wear out many a peasant in early middle age; and disease takes a heavy toll as well. The two worst Balkan scourges are tuberculosis and syphilis. In Montenegro and in Albania there are districts where every individual is reputed to be infected with the latter. So, too, in Bosnia, and there alone it was being scientifically combated by the Austrian medical staff.

H 164

Of tuberculosis the Bosnian doctor—a Vienna-trained man—with whom I worked in Montenegro said: "We South Slavs are the most tuberculous people in Europe. Thirty per cent. of us are badly infected. I do not count an 'apex,' for I have one myself."

H 164

Leprosy is sometimes seen, but not often, and much skin disease is carried probably by dirt and vermin.

165

Finally, those individuals who succumb to neither disease nor hardship are unbelievably tough, and live on to a green old age, often active to the last. That there are as many centenarians as is popularly believed I doubt. No registers of birth have been kept and dates are fixed haphazard. A gay old boy at Rioli was said to be 102. Five years afterwards I met him again and he was 120. To prove this his family earnestly declared he must be very old, because his father lived at the time when the ancient Romans—those people who made the bits of money you dig up out of the ground—were living at Podgoritza. Others were grandfathers at the time of the Russo-Turkish War; of one it was said no one could remember him without white hair, and so

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

Diseases.—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

Wounds.—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

it was not." As "first aid" for a wound he prescribed the yolk of an 757
egg and a lot of salt, well mixed and applied on a pad of wool; after- 826
wards dress as above. It was very necessary, he said, to leave no 752
splinters of bone in a wound. He described how he had spent two hours removing seventeen splinters from a fractured tibia with some little forceps he had made himself. You must work slowly and very carefully. You must watch your patient and compare his symptoms with those of others. So you learn. He had lately mended the leg of a horse by slinging it to the branch of a tree and putting the limb in a splint.

A shot through the knee, he declared, was usually fatal, and one [761]
through the ankle was difficult to make a good job of. But three fingers' breadth below the knee-cap and three above the ankle he could always be sure of curing.

For inflammation he used leeches freely. Had just treated a woman successfully for apoplexy. She was "dead" on one side and speechless. He bled her from the temple on the "dead" side and seven times from the arm on the other side. She was better next day, and he bled her five times. She completely recovered. Marash expounded head-surgery. The head, he said, is like an egg. There is a shell, then a skin, and then the meat. If this skin is broken through you can do nothing; if it is not and the fractured skull is only pressing on the brain it is curable. He demonstrated how a flap should be cut and turned back. The broken pieces of bone must be carefully removed and replaced by a piece of hard-dried bottle-gourd chosen to fit the shape. The ointment must be added and the flap replaced and dressed. Some men were very clever at cutting away bone. He had never cut away skull-bone himself. A man in Mirdita had lately cut away a large piece of the skull of an injured man successfully. He indicated the upper part of the left parietal. The "kirijee" boy from whom I had hired horses then told us that he had a piece of bottle-gourd in his head. Had been knocked on the head and stunned in a quarrel, and been unconscious till a "hekim" had taken out the broken bone. Now he said he never felt any trouble except that his head itched a good deal. I felt his head carefully, and there certainly was a hard edge to be found.

Marash Hutzi had a great reputation for curing wounds and certainly deserved it. It is of interest to find that a strictly antiseptic method was being used so long ago as his grandfather's time in the Albanian mountains when in England we still washed our wounds with any pump-water. Marash was over sixty. Trephining, I was told, was still practised to cure pains in the head, but I did not meet a case.

A dressing much used for slight wounds was olive oil in which a 757
quantity of pounded leaves of the common St. John's wort (*Hypericum* 278
perforatum) had been macerated in the sun. This seemed to have some

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

757 278 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.

757 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or 753 boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 151 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought [563 a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and 326] pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him 759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

752 757 The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound [278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen, 757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He 278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

5. Remedies in Montenegro and Bosnia

M 755 759 In both of these lands there was less of "home-made" treatment and more trained doctors were practising. Especially in Bosnia, where there was an excellent and active Austrian medical service. In Montenegro matters were not so advanced. For the most part their trained men were trained in Russia, and about them the less said the better. Two I worked under at Podgoritza were unspeakable—dirty, ignorant, and cruel. The one good surgeon was Austrian-trained.

M 752 757 In Montenegro I learnt some local remedies from the older people. Vuk Vrchevitch gives an account of how a sword-cut, which severed three ribs on the right breast, was treated in 1853 by Marko Ilitchkovitch of Tzrmnitza. He poured wine into the gaping wound and rolled the patient backwards and forwards as though cleaning a barrel, and continued pouring wine and rolling till the wine came out clean and not blood-stained. He then drew the edges of the wound together and stitched them, and spread some ointment on the wound with a feather and more ointment on the bandage, which he finally bound round the patient. This dressing was changed every day, and the patient recovered in fifteen days. Asked why he washed it out with wine, the doctor replied: "We are divided at the waist into two storeys like a house. If I had left that blood which had flowed into the upper story it would have rotted there and the man would have died." Unluckily the prescription for the ointment is not given. The treatment resembles that of Marash Hutzi, and the wine and oil of the Good Samaritan.

M A 752 Till recently, skull surgery like that of Albania was practised in Montenegro and called "Sharonanje." According to Dr. S. Trojanovitch (*Narodna Starina*, viii, 1924) this operation is not known in other Slav lands. This is another proof that the Montenegrin descends from the older Balkan inhabitants rather than from the Serb.

M 752 The curator of the Belgrade Museum in 1902 told me the museum greatly wanted a trephined Montenegrin skull. A Montenegrin immigrant, an old man, was known to be trephined, and the museum staff awaited his death. He had recently died, but his relatives refused to sell his skull, kept guard over his grave, and threatened vengeance to any desecrator. An attempt was being made to bribe a Vlah from over the border to obtain the skull, but whether this succeeded I do not know.

I found it usual in Montenegro to wash wounds with wine or rakia, with the curious proviso that whichever you chose to have your wound washed with, you must drink for the rest of your life. Mitar, Krsto's eldest brother, had been shot right through the lungs in the Russo-

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

H 744 278

In Bosnia a remedy for coughs was to burn oak-galls and inhale the smoke.

A 752 844

In all districts that I visited in the Balkans I found mud used to dress wounds by the common people; but never heard of a case of tetanus, though I have had hundreds of wounded through my hands. The land is very poorly, or not at all manured, which may explain this fact. The Austrian doctor in Scutari told me that in seven years he had had but two cases—both came up the river on ships, so were not local infections; also, though "Albanian women are not so well cared for at childbirth as an Austrian cow," he had never seen a case of puerperal fever, and believed neither the tetanus nor the puerperal-fever germs had reached these districts.

But with these two exceptions the Balkans are decimated with disease. It is a mistake to imagine that a rough, simple life produces health.

M A 751 164

The apparent sturdiness of the survivors blinds the outsider to the intensity of the struggle for existence and its mass of victims. Compulsory vaccination has immensely reduced small-pox in many districts. It is interesting to see how an epidemic will sweep up to the vaccination line—and there stop short. But exposure, hunger, and toil wear out many a peasant in early middle age; and disease takes a heavy toll as well. The two worst Balkan scourges are tuberculosis and syphilis. In Montenegro and in Albania there are districts where every individual is reputed to be infected with the latter. So, too, in Bosnia, and there alone it was being scientifically combated by the Austrian medical staff.

H 164

Of tuberculosis the Bosnian doctor—a Vienna-trained man—with whom I worked in Montenegro said: "We South Slavs are the most tuberculous people in Europe. Thirty per cent. of us are badly infected. I do not count an 'apex,' for I have one myself."

Leprosy is sometimes seen, but not often, and much skin disease is carried probably by dirt and vermin.

H 164 165

Finally, those individuals who succumb to neither disease nor hardship are unbelievably tough, and live on to a green old age, often active to the last. That there are as many centenarians as is popularly believed I doubt. No registers of birth have been kept and dates are fixed haphazard. A gay old boy at Rioli was said to be 102. Five years afterwards I met him again and he was 120. To prove this his family earnestly declared he must be very old, because his father lived at the time when the ancient Romans—those people who made the bits of money you dig up out of the ground—were living at Podgoritza. Others were grandfathers at the time of the Russo-Turkish War; of one it was said no one could remember him without white hair, and so

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Slavic Peoples E16
Albania E61

SP 515 [177] Roman bath entirely disappears from the North Balkans, although public baths were known to the Avars also. At the present time, the Turkish bath is restricted to a specific cultural region, where a recent Asiatic influence has been concentrated. As it now retreats this excellent institution also falls into decay. But the bath and the use of steam for S [515] sweating, now universal amongst the South Slavs, rubbing [752] and massage, more or less symbolical washing and bathing, and the manipulation of broken limbs and the dressing of wounds, are to be reckoned amongst the oldest of their practices. Archaeological finds witness to healed wounds and S A fractures, but we know nothing of prehistoric trepanation amongst the South Slavs—the only European race, with the [752] Albanians and some Caucasians, which continued the practice almost within living memory.

SP 755 782 Offerings and vows, ritual performances and acts connected with fertility cults, were the basis of mystical healing. Hydrotherapy includes also the worship of water spirits, and, amongst Lithuanians, of a personified watery element. Niederle adds to this list of reconstructed primitive medicine the use of oils or unguents which preserved strength and health,[1] and a number of Eastern aromatics, known in primitive times.

S SP 177 773 789 [372] Plants introduced in historical times have added to the botanical mythology, and enjoy a symbolism of their own; just as field-glasses, pipe-lighters, petroleum, trains, firearms and other more recent gifts of material civilisation, receive their part in contemporary folk-lore, whose incorporating activity is only now beginning to decline, and in some cases, a magico-religious part. Firearms have developed a complete legend of their own; pipe-lighters are sometimes used for producing ritual fire, though matches are universally disqualified; and so on.

S 241 824 778 Wheat, which in the Middle Ages was cultivated only in a very limited area, and, in the early nineteenth century, was still little used in the interior of Serbia, has a universal ritual

[1] Cf. L. Niederle, *Slovenské Starožitnosti*, I, p. 127.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania EG 1
Montenegrins EF5

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centaurum, *Symphytum*, black willow, or bacon fat, or tar in some form. *Hajdučka trava* (*Betonica officinalis*?) cooked in butter, water and pine resin. Honey smeared on a plantain or a tobacco leaf (Montenegro). Alum is calcined, powdered and scattered on the wound, or dried, powdered centaury leaves, or charred deer's horn. At a later stage the wound is treated with white of egg mixed with salt and applied on cotton; or with the excrement of a pig. Clay mixed with brandy; potter's glaze well mixed with olive oil; rice cooked in vinegar; camphor and brandy applied on raw wool; mustard (the plant, *slačica*) with white of egg. Oil on a sour cabbage leaf; juice of ivy leaves fried with bacon fat; dry stinging nettle closes a wound. Ten drams of yellow wax, ten drams of incense, ten drams of white soap, three ivy berries pounded, are mixed and cooked slowly until the mixture thickens, when it should be put into cold water, taken out and squeezed until all the water is extracted. Olive oil, pine tar and the shredded inner bark of elder are cooked as a wound salve. The following prescription was given by an old surgeon near Dečani, who said that he used it for over forty years, and that during the troubled times of Turkish days he might, after a local raid, have as many as a dozen wounded men in his kitchen. Yellow beeswax is heated over a slow fire until soft, with sufficient olive oil to produce a creamy consistency, the inner bark of *Sambucus* is shredded and added together with a pinch or so of incense, and, if liked, some pine tar; all this should be very well stirred and allowed to simmer for some time. The wound should first be washed with brandy, the stronger the better. As a note on the subject of specialisation, this surgeon remarked that a bullet could be best extracted by a barber surgeon. An Albanian of the same district said that, in the old days, and now for the matter of that, he never used anything for a wound but stale goat's cheese, which was the best and handiest remedy, and drew out the bullet. An Albanian, practising folk-surgeon and veterinary surgeon at Vrelo, who made extensive journeys in and out of Albania and Montenegro, gave me

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania, EG1
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

the following: Heat about half a litre of olive oil and add a small piece of pine tar, the size of a walnut, a similar quantity of incense and of sheep fat, and a rather smaller lump of beeswax (he used more incense in his mixture than any other prescription known to me) and after mixing and adding these things gradually over the fire, add three herbs, which he called *stog*, *pësmëtin* and *bar i hajl* ('dog's weed'). When the mixture seems firm and comes away in a ball from the edge of the pan in which it is cooked, it should be strained through a clean white cloth, pressing it out hard as we do in cheese-making, and then put into another vessel and beaten up with a spoon or a stick until it froths. This was an example to me of how much trouble is taken to prepare these apparently simple remedies. The cooking, straining and beating took at least a couple of hours, sometimes the cooking took most of the day, and the process was finished the next day. This particular surgeon knew where the herbs that he needed grew, and kept a supply of them, but they had to be fresh picked, and for some reason he preferred to gather them at a high altitude, perhaps because as a mountain man he did not know their habitat in the plains. For incense and olive oil one had to find a shop or a villager who used these things. Although for the treatment of cattle there was a fixed tariff, he seldom took anything unless a voluntary present or his expenses for curing a wound. A story which reflected both to his moral credit and professional code tells that he had even cured where he was owed blood.

A 752 278

A [759]

Other remedies for wounds include: leaves of centaury and *Melissa officinalis* and the dust of a live coal pounded; for a more serious or larger wound, the marrow of pig's bones and the horns of cattle mixed with the yolk of an egg and a little pounded root of *Symphytum* (*gavez*); *Arum*, which is also used for tumours; *Helleborus*—a piece of the root is sometimes pushed into a wound; darnel; *Veronica* which is also used for skin diseases.

A S 278 752

In Albania, Montenegro and Hercegovina I found that both wounds and severe bruises, etc., were frequently treated

M A C 278 752

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Croats EF4

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by the application of a fresh-flayed sheep skin. This is, of course, a widespread method. In Montenegro and Metohija I saw the skin first steeped in brandy, for cases when a man had fallen or seriously injured himself or been kicked by a horse, etc. The word *maskalić*, used in Dalmatia in the sense of plaster, has locally the meaning of a fleece and nothing more in some of the island dialects (It. *mascalcia*). Blood-letting for bruises was generally practised by means of leeches, and is still recommended in parts of Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, etc. For *sijevalica*, *poganica*—the result of a blow or bruise, when the blood does not flow away and is supposed to become infected, or the result of witchcraft—leeches were first tried, and if this was not successful ointments or pounded horseradish root. For sores or boils of this origin on the legs and arms, a suitable incantation was said over leaves of ash (*Fraxinus excelsior*) and plum tree, and these were either eaten by the sufferer or bound over the part of the body affected. Further remedies for bruises, etc., are these: oil of hartshorn collected from a horn heated over the embers, mixed with brandy and incense and applied on blue paper; pounded leaves of *Clematis vitalba*, which if used in sufficient quantity, produces a wound. This is quoted by S. Banović from the Adriatic coast. The same plant is known to the peasantry of many districts as of assistance in evading conscription, so I have been told by recruits. Equal parts of incense, sea salt, pine tar, melted together with heat and applied on blue paper; honey and incense, or honey mixed with yolk of egg; roots of stinging nettle pounded with salt; a fish (*Rhodeus amarus*) with salt; the warm contents of the stomach of a newly killed sheep or goat, under a bandage made of the fresh skin of the animal, are applied for serious injuries, while honey and butter are eaten together for forty days in order to turn the blood away from the bruised part. Human excrement in urine or water is drunk for the same purpose. In Montenegro, for a severe bruise, a sheep is cut open and the injured member placed in the warm entrails. A decoction of pounded stinging nettles and *roska* is applied.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935

EF6 Serbs EF6

Albania EG1

Croats EF4

Montenegrins EF5

The fresh-flayed skin of a black cat; hot oak-wood ashes in water; pine tar. Fir resin and pine resin, beeswax, half a glass of vinegar are cooked slowly, and a little incense added; the mixture is stirred regularly until it boils, when it is applied to a bruise on blue paper. Burns are first cooled with wine vinegar, and a yolk of egg beaten up with brandy is applied; or water is poured over chalk, and when it clears, two parts of water are mixed with one part of olive oil and applied. Steaming is known for serious bruises in the South and West, and is mentioned for the East also, where the use of salt and onion is also given and *ubojni kamen*—a pigment used for sheep marking—also *lapis haematitis*, oxide of manganese, which as the common name implies, is practically a universal remedy.[1] Generally it is scraped or powdered and drunk in brandy, milk or water, but it can also be applied externally, dry or mixed with liquid. In the Sandjak and the Lim valley, for instance, both methods are used for bruises, but, taken in milk or brandy, it is also supposed to check haemaphthisis and is recommended for 'women's complaints', for excessive menstruation and for haematuria. I recorded that a midwife near Berane suggested this stone in a case of insufficient milk.

M A C S 278 752 S [231] S 278 752 757

BITES

Although in reality poisonous snakes are not in the majority, the bite of many harmless species, sometimes said to jump into the air in order to attack a man, is greatly feared, and no community is without a number of snake-bite prescriptions. The commonest first-aid measures are sucking, piercing, tight bandaging either above or on both sides of the wound, rubbing in of gunpowder, etc. Occasionally the amputation of a finger or toe is carried out on the spot. Emetics are taken; and it is often thought unwise to sleep for some time afterwards. A diet may be observed. After the flesh has been cut away as deeply as possible round the wound, vomiting is

M S 752

[1] *Ubojni kamen*, however, is sometimes a magical stone which an initiate to healing finds after dreaming of it. Both the magical stone and the ordinary stone give a drug when water is poured over them.

S M [755] [787] [778]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5
Albania EG

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The reference to the devil recalls a common belief that the snake carries poison, some say 'a devil' (*vrag*) in its tail, or that it passes to the tail when a snake dies (cf. Gl.Z.M. 12). A great number of snake-bite exorcisms found in mediaeval writings are preserved in more or in less corrupt forms, those which commemorate St Paul, for example, and refer to the legend of cure on Patmos.

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Dog bites and other animal bites are also counteracted with bandages, cauterisation and vomiting, but the characteristic treatment employs two methods non-popular in origin, blood-letting and the use of the cantharides fly. The universal first-aid remedy is to apply the halves of a bean or white pea, with saliva or chewed up, to the wound, but the fear of madness (*bijes*) has introduced many more complicated methods. It is held that not every person is susceptible to the disease, while in some even the bite of a healthy animal may prove fatal. Immunity is sometimes ensured by being born on the same day as the beast in question, and so on. A brief sketch of the beliefs concerning infection has been given above, and these hold good at the present time for many people. The effect of a bite of an animal is clearly very different from the action of snake or insect venom (*jad*, *otrov*), an expression seldom heard in connection with the former. Blood is extracted from the veins under the tip of the tongue, less usually from an incision made over the vertebral processes in the neck or on the temples. Another way of getting rid of the little mad dogs which cause the infection (*skotići*) is to take off one's clothes and leave them under a stone in the open for forty days, during which time the embryos incubate and can then be killed and wiped off the clothes.

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The Spanish fly is widely known as a remedy for dog bite and for gonorrhoea. The fly is drunk whole in brandy or eaten in a piece of bread; or, cut up or pounded, serves as an ingredient for other drugs. This remedy has long since passed into folk-medicine proper, and the collection and distribution of the insects—not always the true cantharides—are generally a personal monopoly. A certain Nikola Simonović,

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

for instance, living in a hamlet about five miles off the Peć-Berane route, collects certain 'green flies' on the trees where they swarm, on St John's Eve, and generally gives them where they are needed without payment. He catches them alone at sundown, and implies that the business has to be undertaken in a certain way, but I do not think that any particular ritual form is observed here. With the fly a warning is given that, should the dog who has inflicted the bite not be genuinely mad, the medicine will cause severe pains and vomiting and bring on a sickness. For madness the flies are taken in brandy; for gonorrhoea they are pounded with nutmeg and mixed with water. In other places these flies are caught by old women, and from some accounts it would seem not unlikely that charms or some form of minor ritual are used. The seeds of burdock, either raw and pounded or cooked in water, are taken internally. Onions and garlic, of course, are universal remedies. Garlic, with *Ruta graveolens* and salt give a variant, while onions with honey and vinegar make a suitable salve for the wound. White maggots found in rose hips are eaten in bread. The tubercles on the root of *Verbascum thapsus* pounded are given as a remedy, and if this identification of a popular name is correct it is interesting that one of the folk-doctors whom I met in the Lim region quoted it to me as a general antitoxic specific. It is also used for scrofula. The bite of a human being is treated with garlic, bacon fat and pine tar washed three times. A wolf bite was fumigated with resinous fir (*lučevina*), but this remedy was supposed to be ineffectual for the bite of any other creature, or for any other kind of wound.

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BLOOD-LETTING

Blood-letting was, and in remoter districts still is, chiefly the monopoly of the barber class. These operators generally have special instruments—a small cutting instrument with a short blade controlled by a spring, or a cylindrical multi-bladed *nešter* manipulated with a screw—which are used throughout the Near East by doctors of the old school. The peasant

S 752

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5
Albania EG1

S 752 of the root of *sodula* (*Symphytum*) spread on a cloth. Over this four splints are tied, so that the edges of them nearly meet and a tight woven bandage keeps them in place. The plaster and bandage should be renewed from time to time, and the first signs of inflammation are treated with salt water and massage. The surgeons use what implements they have easily to hand, an apple serves to place under the armpit, a ladder leaned against the house wall for a luxation ladder, the patient is made to hold on to a beam or a fence and so on. In Monte-
M 752 negro I observed that a fracture or dislocation after massage was bound with a bandage previously boiled in salt water. Many of the famous Albanian surgeons use nothing but steam
A 752 when manipulating (and this from water in which a red-hot stone has been dropped), raw unwashed sheep's wool for bandaging and neither splints nor anything else. In Monte-
C M 752 negro and Hercegovina I found that young nettle leaves and stems soaked in hot water were used for constant bathing of a fractured arm or leg, which when set was covered with raw wool over which splints were bound. In Serbia a hot poultice made of chaff is applied on a woollen cloth before adjusting
S 752 splints, or goat hair and nothing else is used. Not always, but more often than not, lotions and salves are applied after the preliminary setting, which are said to ensure a clean healing. The most important agent used is egg-white, or the ingredients already given in some of the plasters described above. An older report for Serbia records that fractured limbs were covered with a layer of chalk plaster. This is interesting in so far as the notice pre-dates the introduction of plaster of Paris into the general practice of Western medicine. The principle is not unknown at the present day. In the south I was told that a plaster of mud or clay would
M S serve, and in Montenegro again a plaster made with powdered charcoal. Horse-hair appears to have been used in plasters
752 757 and hemp seed and egg-white. A mixture of flax seed, egg-white and powdered alum is another setting and healing lotion. It might be remarked that rupture and rheumatism are also treated with river mud, allowed to dry in the sun, and worn

6: Troyanovitch E-4, 5 (no date)1909
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

S 628 A [628 752] deeds of their forefathers. With the Albanians the demand for revenge is even more terrible. When a doctor of the people trepans a patient, and the patient dies, the family demand in compensation the doctor's head, or that of some member of his family. In case of an insult or murder, not only are the father, brother, son, and near relatives called upon to take revenge, but even entire Brastvos, tribes, and Nahiye. Revenge or a money compensation must be had even after a hundred years. The relatives of a man who has been slain always preserve his bloodstained garments as an incitement to revenge. Formerly, when a powerful enemy entered the land, the vendetta was temporarily laid aside. When a Krvnik (one guilty of murder) is obliged to go to work, or for any reason to leave the house, he first sends his Pobratim or a friend of the dead man's family to demand a month's reprieve, or as long as he desires. This is called Besa (literally, ' trust '). S [574] If he obtains it, he might freely enter even the house itself of the murdered man. In general the harshness of the vendetta may be greatly mitigated. It is not an infrequent occurrence that immediately after a murder the murderer seeks refuge under the roof of some of the dead man's family, and thus ' places himself into their hands.' In this case they safeguard him for the sake of their own pride ; and if he is in imminent peril there, they conduct him to other friends or kinsmen, and these on their part conduct him elsewhere, according to the arrangements made. Once he is out of their hands, however, they all watch for an opportunity to kill him. Grahovo, on the boundaries of Herzegovina, Dalmatia, and Montenegro, was at one time considered a neutral territory, where a murderer dare not be slain. Other sanctuaries for the fugitive were churches and cemeteries. This recalls the decisions of the ecclesiastical councils of the 6th and 9th centuries, by which criminals were protected in certain circumstances. In ancient times, for instance, when the delinquent took refuge in the sacred wood, the Celts and Germans withheld capital punishment from him. It is still a rule that no boys under fifteen are to be slain, and no women whatever. Hence, when blood has been shed by some family and it is threatened with reprisals (vendetta), only the women and boys under fifteen S [712] belonging to it are to be seen working in the fields, while the men remain in stone towers, which have been built for the purpose, and watch through the loopholes for the enemy.

S 628 608 When it becomes apparent that the hostile parties desire to become reconciled, a few men are chosen from the Vassoyevitch tribe (on the Montenegrin frontier, but under the dominion of the Turks), to whom is entrusted the task of settling the matter. These men are called Kmets. As a demonstration

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

SECTION VII

MAGIC, MEDICINE, SOOTHSAYING

1. Magicians, Witches, and Vampires

In Albania many believe in witchcraft. It plays a great part in the 754
life of the people, who live in a constant state of protecting themselves from evil influences and inviting good ones. Both men and women practise magic. A witch is called "Shtriga." Illnesses and pains not caused by a wound are commonly believed to be the result of evil spells.

Shtrigas not only cause illness by spells; they suck people's blood [753]
and drain their lives slowly. Anæmia, tuberculosis, and all wasting diseases are ascribed to this. To be able to do it the shtriga takes the form of a moth or fly, and crawls into the house at night by the keyhole or a cranny.

Thus it is clear that these simple folk long ago realized that insects that fly by night cause fatal diseases, though it is but very recently that the species has been discovered by scientists. The Balkan tribesman did not think an insect unaided could work such harm and ascribed it to wicked human influence.

The shtriga can reduce herself or another person to insect size by smearing the body with an ointment which is a profound secret. Every inch of the body must be smeared or the part left will remain full-sized. In Scutari a young married woman, being pregnant, craved greatly for wine, but was too poor to buy any. Her mother-in-law, a shtriga, stripped her and smeared her so that she became small enough to pass through the keyhole of a certain cellar famed for good wine. "But do not mention the name of God till you are safely back," said the shtriga. Off flew the woman at night, entered the cellar, and drank freely, and felt so cheered and grateful that she cried: "Thank God!" At once she found herself standing naked in her usual form. "A shocking thing to happen to a respectable married woman," said my informant, who knew the parties and firmly believed the "facts." There she had to wait till next day, when the owner came to draw wine. He, good man, was astonished; but on hearing how it came about, kindly lent her clothes to go home in. "The cellar and keyhole are still there," I was told, "and prove the truth of this beyond doubt."

A shtriga, when glutted with blood, will go out in the dark and vomit it. If you can follow her undetected you must scrape up some

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

757 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by
278 homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.
757 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or
753 boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many
151 I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought
[563 a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and
326] pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him
759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can
752 survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house
757 in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound
[278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen,
757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He
278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he 757
was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some 278
and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse.

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the 761
Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is 753
said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad ear-ache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose.

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could [842
conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives 174]
as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it.

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 personifications of the powers of Nature. Of these imaginary beings, some belong exclusively to Albania, [171] while others may also be found among the superstitions of Slavs, Greeks, and Turks. The Vilas seem to approach most nearly to our own fairies; though, like the Nereids of the Greeks, they are of the full stature of mortals. Like our fairies, too, it is unlucky to mention them by name, and they are generally referred to as "Those outside," "The Happy Ones," the "Brides of May," or "The Brides of the Mountain." As a rule they are harmless, if not offended, and amuse themselves with elfish tricks, such as taking little children up to the roof of the house to play with and bringing them back safely. 776 They, however, take it very ill when mortals disturb 753 them in their haunts, and interrupt their banquets; and 761 so capricious are they, that they will place themselves invisibly in spots where they are likely to be disturbed, in order to have a little vent for their pent-up malice. The unlucky wight who sets an irreverent foot within their elfin rings receives a stroke from an invisible hand, and ere long sickens and dies. In consequence of this belief, it is said of one for whose death no adequate cause can be assigned, "He has received a blow."

776 The favourite haunts of the Vilas are retired and shady spots, but they also have a partiality for the gutters on the eaves of houses, which it is a rather risky matter to clean out, especially at night. The Vilas are said, in North Albania, to be of two kinds—well-disposed and beautiful beings, who ride about on fleet horses; and ill-disposed and hideous creatures,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 dainty raiment, and exhaling a fragrant odour. They live in the mountains, but after nightfall frequently approach the abodes of men in order to allure mortal youths to join their dances. If a boy so favoured keeps his own counsel, he may join in these fairy revels with impunity, but should he venture to inform others of his relations with these nocturnal visitors, they revenge themselves by killing him.

The Ore is a being who constantly wanders about in order to hear and carry into effect the blessings and curses pronounced by men on each other. In [735 789] North Albania the usual formula with which a beggar concludes his thanks and blessings for alms received is, "May the Ore hear and bring it to pass."

Among the malevolent supernals are three kinds of man-devouring female monsters. The Koutchédra (κουτζέδρα), the Dogsuckler (συκγεννεῖζα), and the Liouvía (λιουβία). The first figures frequently in folk-tale, and besides her cannibalistic propensities, is credited with the power of drying up the springs and fountains at which she drinks. The Dogsuckler is endowed with four eyes, two in the front of her head, and two in the back. The Liouvía is extremely partial to the flesh of little children.

776 753 Diseases are generally personalised as female monsters, whose touch is death. One of these is called in Elbassan the Phliame (φλιάμι), whose touch causes "the falling sickness." She is, however, never alluded to by name, it being said of her victim that "The Thing has attacked him." The plague and fatal epidemics generally are represented as more or less similar, but blind beings, called Koukoúdh (κουκούδ).

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

A horrible belief prevails among the Ghegs that when 776
men or women live to be a hundred years old their 753
breath becomes poisonous and kills healthy people. 761
Von Hahn says that old people suspected of causing 888
sickness in this way, especially when an epidemic is raging, have atoned for their longevity with a fiery death at the hands of their panic-stricken neighbours.[1]

A curious notion is also shared by Greeks and Alba- 776
nians that shadows are capable of assuming an indepen- 822
dent existence, and, being malevolently disposed, are able 761
to deal men blows which usually cause their death.

The Dif, or Dev (δίφι, δίβι, δεφ, δέβι), is, like the 776
Kūrdish supernal of the latter name,[2] a being possessed of extraordinary physical strength. "He is a regular Dif" is said of a remarkably strong man, as we say, "He is another Samson." According to the people of Elbassan, the Dif is an enormous giant who [823]
lives underground and never comes to the surface, and whose business it is to keep the cauldrons boiling which supply the hot and medicinal springs in the neighbourhood of that town. These springs, in com- 776
mon with those found in other parts of the country, 755
are much resorted to for curative purposes. Their waters are, however, drunk indiscriminately for all kinds of ailments, without regard to their various medicinal properties. The cures effected not being attributed to the water itself so much as to the influence of the magical beings who have their abodes in the springs and wells, people consequently go

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 163.

[2] See p. 155. Von Hahn suggests an Indian origin for this word, which, he says, he had found in no other part of Turkey. *Op. cit.* p. 162.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

The *Ghiak*, the terrible blood feud, or vendetta, 775
before alluded to, may possibly, as suggested by Wassa 628
Effendi, have been in its origin a sacrifice to the *manes* of murdered relatives. As the numerous class of vampire stories tends to show, the ancient belief that those who have died by violence cannot rest quietly in their graves still survives, and the slaying of their murderer, or at least of one of his kindred or clan, would thus be rather an act of religious duty towards the dead than of vengeance on the part of the living.

The majority of the ailments which afflict mankind 753
are believed by the Albanians to be caused by magical influences, and I shall now proceed to give some illustrations of their folk-remedies. These are usually 755
accompanied by some form of incantation, the secret of which is possessed only by some wise-woman who has inherited it from her mother, and who, in her turn, imparts it to her daughter. If, for instance, a person believes himself to have received a blow from one of the invisible Vilas, or some other supernal being, he 753 776
has recourse to the witch-wife, who, after dressing the patient in white garments, conducts him to an uninhabited house in a retired situation. On arriving, she greets the mysterious powers whom she believes to be invisibly present. She then places her patient in a suppliant posture, gives him rose-water to drink, and both observe a solemn silence for some ten minutes, during which she makes certain mysterious signs and motions. After wishing the Vilas good-night, the witch-wife leads her patient home by a circuitous road.

Sometimes a circle is drawn round a person so afflicted,

become a nursery for weeds. Employers—and one sees this, now, everywhere in Europe—must not pay higher wages than other employers, however easy and more efficient it may be to do so. Women who are married, or expect to marry, must not let a man's fancy wander from the woman who claims him. Doctors must let a patient die rather than take the case from another doctor. And women like Alex and Frances and me—for whom there is no generic term, except the meaningless "modern women"—must never, so long as they can keep on their feet, admit that they are ill.

How Alex felt I don't know; for myself, I was in a blue panic. I have never wanted anything so much as I wanted to collapse right there, in sheer terror. Pneumonia, in Shala, a hundred and fifty miles from a doctor, from medicines, [753] from even a bed. Pneumonia, among the Albanians, whose only medical knowledge of it was that it came from drinking rain water!

Perolli had been surprised by my exclamation. "Why didn't you say you were uncomfortable?" he said to Alex. "If I'd had any idea——"

"I'm all right," said Alex, getting the words out quickly and shutting her teeth hard.

"Well, what are you fussing about, then?" said Perolli to me, anxiously. "I'd take you girls to a fire if I could, but, you see, they're cooking in the kitchen, and naturally the padre doesn't want to take his guests there. We've been here three hours now; dinner ought to be

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 There was a constant movement in the room—women coming and going, nursing their babies and tucking blankets more tightly over the cradles, undressing the smaller children, who played naked about the fire until they were taken, unprotesting, to their blankets in other rooms, and bringing casks of water, and making corn bread.

One could always amuse the women by asking them about ages; they guessed mine all the way from sixteen to forty, and there was one of them, a splendid, smiling woman, good natured and competent, whose age I guessed to be forty. She laughed aloud, showing all her white, perfect teeth, and said that she was seventy-two, and that the byraktor was her daughter's son.

[753] "You have been drinking the new water," she said, wisely, though I had not mentioned the ache of my breathing. "You have the feeling of knives here," and she touched her chest. "But do not worry; it is all right; it is only the water, and when the rain stops you will not feel them any more." And she patted my shoulder comfortingly.

The question of the mule still hung unsettled. The byraktor seemed to be thinking deeply; he asked the Shala man many questions about Rrok Perolli. I caught the name and asked Rexh to listen, for I felt myself surrounded by web within web of intrigue, but Rexh said that the Shala man had nothing to tell, except that Perolli was in the mountains. I wondered whether to tell

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1

777 754 and catch it there, thus literally "saving your face," as did the women of Konjitza in Bosnia.

A 753 754 777 Illness being very largely ascribed to Evil Eye or magic, amulets in Albania are usually called "derman" or "ilatch," both of which words also mean remedy.

A 755 *Sympathetic Magic.*—In this the disease is supposed to act in accord with some object or other and disappears as it does.

A cure for jaundice was thus performed by a Moslem wise man on the child of a Scutari Christian. He tied some red wool round the child and some yellow wool round a red rose in the garden. He ordered the red to go out of the rose into the child, and the yellow to go out of the child into the rose. In a few days the rose wilted and yellowed and the child recovered its rosy cheeks. The efficacy of the cure was undoubted.

Marko had another he thought better, because it could be carried out at any time of year. You put a small fish in a bucket of water. The patient had to stare at it as it swam round and round. If he stared at it long and steadily enough, the disease went out of the patient into the fish, which died.

A [722 164] In 1912–13, owing to the Albanian Revolution and the Balkan wars, large numbers of the mountain tribesmen who pasture their beasts on the Bojana plains in winter were unable to return to the mountains, and were blocked in the malaria swamps all the summer, with terrible consequences. Almost all were struck down with a virulent form of the disease. I went through the worst districts with a load of quinine, and found the people trying to cure their greatly enlarged spleens by slowly roasting the spleen of a sheep at a fire, and muttering spells which ordered their own spleens to diminish as that of the sheep shrivelled at the fire.

A 164 776 753 A [755] Epilepsy was not uncommon in the mountains. It was looked upon as a possession by evil spirits. I once saw a woman fall down suddenly in a fit. Some men at once rushed up and, telling me to get out of the way, fired their revolvers alongside of her head. This was to scare away the evil spirit. As she soon recovered, they believed they had done so. I once saved a woman under similar circumstances from being flogged. Luckily she recovered quickly. But it is not so very long ago that lunatics were flogged in England.

A 777 755 Marko knew of a certain cure for epilepsy, but difficult to obtain. If you see a snake swallowing a frog, you must throw a black handkerchief over it. This scares the snake and it disgorges the frog. Keep the handkerchief, and when someone falls in a fit, throw it over him. He will then disgorge the disease as the snake did the frog. We kept a careful look-out, on our travels, for a snake eating a frog, but we never found one.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

Disease as a rule is attributed to evil spirits. I met with one notable exception. It was at the Serb monastery of Dechani. The dead body of a man had, some years previously, been found on a lonely track in the neighbourhood; there was no wound of any kind upon him. His death was a complete mystery, till a search showed that he had secreted on his person some small objects of value, stolen from the church. It was then clear to all that he had been struck dead by the Holy Mother of God. It is of interest to note that in an early Montenegrin ballad (Vuk Karadjitch, vol. i) the Holy Virgin figures as "Fiery Maria"; she is the sender of lightning and St. Elijah is the thunderer. Together with some other saints they scatter death over the land to cure the people of impious ways. Here, no doubt, we have pagan gods masquerading in Christian garb.

A 753 776 S 688 761 M 776 688 761

Sympathetic Magic in Montenegro.—In the Tzrmnitza valley I was told of a cure for hernia, performed by "wise women." The operator expected a fee of about twopence and the gift of a cheese or some eggs. She must know the exact name and bratstvo of the patient, but his presence was not necessary. She put some freshly drawn water in a long-necked jug ("ibrik") and set it to boil on the fire, saying: "Water, I call on you three times from heaven to earth—let the bowel of Mr. X return to its place." She crossed the water three times. When it boiled she poured it quickly into a shallow metal dish, repeating the above words, and turned the ibrik mouth downwards into the water. As the ibrik cooled a certain amount of the water would rise up into its neck. The more the luckier—for in such way should the bowel of Mr. X return to its place. The charm is repeated daily till relief is experienced. A fresh fee is exacted each time. I was told that five or six women in Gluhidol practised this art, and that Montenegrins afflicted abroad would write home to have the charm performed.

M 755

In Montenegro and in Albania an infallible cure for a scorpion-bite was oil in which scorpions had been soaked in the sun. Marko always had a bottle full of them in the window.

A M 755

Near Njegushi, Krsto showed me a perforated rock through which children had been passed to cure them of disease. This had been done especially at the time of the cholera epidemic in 1860. Old Mitar, Krsto's brother, remembered this well, and said that they had also tried placing people in the middle of a field and ploughing round them to isolate them from the disease, but, he added sadly, it had not done much good.

In the Tzrmnitza valley I learnt that a similar protection against cattle plague had been practised till recently. On news coming that cattle plague was in the neighbourhood, all were ordered to gather their beasts in a field. Two pairs of oxen were selected which must be

M 765 231

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1 ●
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

forth. Seventy to eighty years was nearer their age than a hundred; and many who looked sixty were younger. H 164 165

Women are early worn out. Especially in Montenegro, there is a very great difference in height between men and women. Women I found usually shorter than I am (5 ft. 3 ins.); whereas men well over six foot are not uncommon. The Montenegrins seemed proud of this difference, and when I said that of course, if a girl was married at fifteen and had four children before she was twenty she never grew to her full height, they were very angry indeed. M 142 165 583

Lunacy and Mental Diseases.—Lunacy is very generally believed to be possession by evil spirits, if the lunatic is a violent and dangerous one. Exorcisms are much used both by the Catholic and Orthodox priests. In Orthodox monasteries lunatics are often treated with great cruelty, and beaten and otherwise maltreated in order to drive out the spirits. I once saw an unfortunate man, almost naked, chained like a dog to a sort of kennel in the yard of a monastery. He was very quiet and half-dazed. The monks admitted that they beat him whenever he resisted or tried to escape. H A 164 753 776 ●

The women of the Balkans, completely exhausted as they only too often are by severe toil and perpetual child-bearing and lactation, often suffer from neurasthenia and "hysteria." A curious form is not uncommon among the women of Macedonia and Montenegro. I am told it occurs also in Russia. It begins as a hiccough, and becomes more and more intense until it is a violent and fast-recurring spasm of the diaphragm. The hiccoughs become louder and louder till they are an uninterrupted crowing like that of a hoarse rooster. So quick are they that the patient cannot breathe. Just as she appears to be in danger of choking, she suddenly pulls herself together, draws a long breath, gives a gasp or two, and recovers in a few minutes. At intervals the attacks may go on all day; nor, when the habit is acquired, is it easy to cure. To a certain extent it is under the patient's control; but not entirely. When I did relief work among the Bulgar peasants in Macedonia after the revolt in 1903, I met a case which had been reported as "a Turkish atrocity" by relief workers unacquainted with the complaint. I visited the village where she was. She was quite quiet. So soon as she heard I was an English relief agent she began to "crow" loudly and had one spasm after another. By way of a test I said: "Tell her if she makes that noise I will do nothing for her." And after some gasping she recovered and made no more noise while I was there. But she was not cured. H A 164 562

The Balkan remedy is one of suggestion. On a saint's day the patient is taken to the Orthodox church. On St. Petar's Day, at Moratchka H 755

[77] [596] [608] set its internal stability. The very act of vengeance is a ritual, as is the constant repetition of the need for vengeance. The rites of blood brotherhood and godfatherhood are rituals performed by Catholic and Moslem alike.

776 Both Catholics and Moslems believe in a host of malevolent spirits which pay the mountains a seasonal visit in the springtime, and which can sometimes be kept at bay by the use of amulets. These evil spirits are of course the symbols of the general hunger, illness, and irritability which beset the mountaineers at 753 this critical season. Catholics and Moslems alike attribute non-traumatic illnesses to spells cast by magicians, through the agency of hair and nail clippings. Wasting illnesses, such as consumption and cancer, may be attributed to vampires, sucking their victim's blood.

754 A vampire is said to be a human being, usually but not always a woman, who can change herself into an insect and fly into a room in which her victim is sleeping. As she fills with the blood, she has to leave now and then to spit it out. A person who finds such a gobbet of blood on the path is lucky; he can wrap it up and keep it as an amulet to protect him against vampires—and incidentally probably expose himself and his family to tuberculosis.

When people are hungry and ill, it is easy to suspect others of evil magic. The person named as a witch or vampire will of course be someone whose actions are eccentric or mysterious, who is a cause of disturbance in the community, and whose loss will not be greatly felt. If a child is suffering from malnutrition its parents may accuse some old woman, and drag her from her house. They will accuse her of having sucked blood from the child, and force her to spit in the child's mouth. Under protest she may spit merely in order to get away. If the child recovers, then the parents are sure she is a vampire; if the child dies she was innocent for her spittle did not cure it. People do not like being accused of witchcraft, or of having their aged grandmothers hauled off for trial; such actions, like the very suspicion itself, may result in bloodshed.

782 The Ghegs are great oath-swearers. Between blood feuds rivals will swear to keep the peace, on a stone in the presence of the

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
BULGARIA EE1
ALBANIA EE1

a belief that many diseases are caused by animals, ghost animals or spirits. Probably one of the most primitive notions of the mystery of pain and sickness, the bite of an invisible creature, is reflected in a fairly widespread name for almost any acute pain or attack, namely *zmija* (snake); while Albanian has *bolē* (a viper), possibly from the Slavonic *bol-* (pain), rather than equivalent to *belua*. In a manuscript of prescriptions of the eighteenth century the reader is told, 'How you may expel a snake from a man' (*Vetus corium combure, fumum per infundibulum in os patientis imitte, iaceat que capite deorsum verso cogetur exire serpens...*). Further, *ocymum basilicum* in vinegar is recommended, so that it will 'drive the snake and any other creature out of a man'.[1] When a child had an epileptic fit, said Miličević, 'a woman of the household goes up on to the roof of the house and hails the first passer-by by name: "Hie, Mark, listen! A snake bit our Johnny to-day but never again!"' Any one wasted by sickness and fever is said to look as though a snake had sucked him. A number of complaints are caused by or through lifeless things also, or bear similar names, but it can never be quite certain whether the analogy begins with a folk-etymology or through some other association. The common name for piles is *klin* or the plural, which at the same time means a nail, a wooden peg, a billet of wood, etc. Observances towards these objects exist for fear of the disease, and nails, etc., occur in the cures recommended. An instance is given by Vuk under *brus* (a whetstone), and an obscene expression for the anus. He adds: 'On Christmas eve the Bosnians hide all the whetstones in their houses lest their children suffer from piles.' The cures in which a connection exists between the animal name of the part of the body or of the disease and the remedy itself seem to be genuine folk-remedies; it is amongst these

[1] Fr. S. Gundrun-Oriovianin, *Luičova Ljekarula*, Zb. XIV, p. 83. Cf. Ginčev (*Nešto po bolgarska narodna medicina*, Sb.N.U. II, p. 86), who says that there was a belief that a snake could enter the body of a sleeper by his mouth and suck his insides, and that it could be expelled by eating the bladder of a weasel.

SECTION VII

MAGIC, MEDICINE, SOOTHSAYING

1. Magicians, Witches, and Vampires

In Albania many believe in witchcraft. It plays a great part in the 754
life of the people, who live in a constant state of protecting themselves from evil influences and inviting good ones. Both men and women practise magic. A witch is called "Shtriga." Illnesses and pains not caused by a wound are commonly believed to be the result of evil spells.

Shtrigas not only cause illness by spells; they suck people's blood [753]
and drain their lives slowly. Anæmia, tuberculosis, and all wasting diseases are ascribed to this. To be able to do it the shtriga takes the form of a moth or fly, and crawls into the house at night by the keyhole or a cranny.

Thus it is clear that these simple folk long ago realized that insects that fly by night cause fatal diseases, though it is but very recently that the species has been discovered by scientists. The Balkan tribesman did not think an insect unaided could work such harm and ascribed it to wicked human influence.

The shtriga can reduce herself or another person to insect size by smearing the body with an ointment which is a profound secret. Every inch of the body must be smeared or the part left will remain full-sized. In Scutari a young married woman, being pregnant, craved greatly for wine, but was too poor to buy any. Her mother-in-law, a shtriga, stripped her and smeared her so that she became small enough to pass through the keyhole of a certain cellar famed for good wine. "But do not mention the name of God till you are safely back," said the shtriga. Off flew the woman at night, entered the cellar, and drank freely, and felt so cheered and grateful that she cried: "Thank God!" At once she found herself standing naked in her usual form. "A shocking thing to happen to a respectable married woman," said my informant, who knew the parties and firmly believed the "facts." There she had to wait till next day, when the owner came to draw wine. He, good man, was astonished; but on hearing how it came about, kindly lent her clothes to go home in. "The cellar and keyhole are still there," I was told, "and prove the truth of this beyond doubt."

A shtriga, when glutted with blood, will go out in the dark and vomit it. If you can follow her undetected you must scrape up some

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

754 776 777

working harm to the world in general. It is interesting to find in Herrick's *Hesperides* a charm for stables:—

> Hang up hooks and shears to scare
> Hence the hag that rides the mare.

The scissors, too, are among the amulets worn on a silver chain by the women around Nish in Serbia. 777 754

Tony was proof against the Evil Eye, for he wore a powerful amulet. A similar one is used in other Balkan lands and in Hungary. A snake is caught by pinning down its head with a forked stick. The head is then cut off with silver—the sharpened edge of a large coin will do. It is then dried and enclosed between two silver St. Georges, and finally blessed by the priest. This protects against all spells. It is evidently a piece of sympathetic magic. Evil is to die as did the dragon—represented by the snake's head—slain by St. George.

Tony's wife was once bewitched and had sharp pains all over, but could not be sure who caused this. The same evil person attempted to bewitch Tony, but, protected by the snake's head, he only felt a few twinges. His wife, who suffered much, was cured by a dervish, who took some hair from the top of her head and from her armpits, tied it up, and burnt it while muttering some unknown charm. The pain went as the hair burnt and never came back. This and the case of the child both occurred at Djakova, at that time a wholly Albanian town. 755

Marko, too, was cured of similar pains. A Moslem gathered some herbs, but kept their species a secret. He fumigated them over a brazier, muttering a charm. He then tied them up, and Marko had to stand upright with his arms fully extended on either side. The Moslem put the bunch of herbs on Marko's head, drew them down the side of the face, along the arm, back to the body, and down the side of the body to the foot. He then repeated the operation on the other side, and cried: "Pain, pain, fly away from this man to the top of the highest mountain, where there is neither man, woman, nor child, bird nor beast, and stay there!" He burnt the herbs. The pain flew away and apparently remained on the mountain-top, for it never returned.

When I was in the Scutari hospital, very ill with acute sciatica, poor old Marko sought in vain for the right herbs and was grieved at his failure. 278

Shtrigas were said to be very numerous all through North Albania. At Zumi, near Djakova, I was told that perhaps one-third of the women were blood-suckers; and in Nikaj was assured by the Franciscan in charge that most of the women were shtrigas, and he strove continually against the vile deeds, in which they were assisted by the Devil. 754 776

That the whole cult is the remains of ancient, long pre-Christian

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

776 beliefs and rites one can hardly doubt. As is well known, the gods of the heathens became the devils of the Christians.

776 Marko was greatly afraid of Beelzebub and mentioned him with
777 a curse and a whisper. Belial and Beelzebub were supposed to be the most active. The tribesman followed the advice of his priest and put
[304] a cross on his house and tattooed himself with a cross, but he further protected himself with more ancient signs; he planted the skulls of horses, goats, and oxen on poles round his house and fields. Some houses had rows of skulls. I wondered whether, in old days, human ones had figured there, too.

The horse-skull was most valued not only in Albania, but also in Bosnia and in Montenegro. Where civilization has penetrated the horse-skull was often replaced by a twisted petroleum tin whitewashed. Short-sighted devils, seeing it from a distance, could easily have mistaken it for the real thing and fought shy.

[793] Priests are but human. I found one Catholic priest had a whole array of horse- and other skulls round his beehives. He laughed it off when I remarked on it, and added that bees were very liable to disease. He evidently wanted to be on the safe side.

754 I often found in the mountains a distinct fear of being drawn, or "written," as they always called it. At Vraka I asked if I might draw the interior of a house. The woman was doubtful. She at last said I was not to "write" her or her children, and, to make sure, she drove the children out of the house. In Luria I was told not to "write" anyone or any house. At Lohja was a wonderful old man, who was reputed to be 110, who boasted that he had sinned but twice in his life—and then it was not his fault. Men in plenty he had killed, but never dishonourably or for money. The company suggested that I should "write" him. Much flattered, the old man sat still for a while, but when everyone shouted that the sketch was exactly like him, he became greatly alarmed, and earnestly begged me never to destroy what I had "written" about him, for at the moment it was torn he would drop down dead. I preserved the sketch, and five years later found him still going strong.

754 At Seltzi, in the Klimenti tribe, I was told the best way to detect
787 a shtriga is to keep the bones of the pig you ate on the last day of Carnival. All through the Balkans the pig, abhorred by Turk and Jew, is a sign of Christianity. On Easter Day you make a cross with the pig's bones and tie it on the church door when the church is full of people. If any shtrigas are in the church they cannot get out except carried on the shoulders of the man who made the cross. They run
754 wildly round and round and can be caught.

681 There was, so far as I could learn, no traditional punishment for a

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

witch in Albania; and though there can be no doubt that one has now and then been done away with, the general idea was that it was best not to interfere lest worse should follow. 754 [681]

Marko strongly believed this. A woman a few doors away from us was a shtriga, and he ascribed much ill-luck to her. He avoided her as much as possible, and did not speak with her. When the autumn began to turn cold, numbers of mice that had summered in the cornfields came into the house. My room swarmed, and they ran over me at night. I told Marko to buy a trap. He seldom forgot things, and when I asked for the trap in the evening, I was surprised that he had not bought one. Again next day I asked him not to forget the mouse-trap; and again there was no trap. Then Teresi, his wife, came to me and said: "Please do not ask Marko to buy a trap; he does not want to." "But why?" She hesitated. "Marko thinks the mice are sent." "Sent?" I asked. "But who can send them?" "Marko thinks that woman—the shtriga—has sent them." I was delighted and asked: "How do people send mice?" "Marko says that with Beelzebub all things are possible." "But why should we not kill the mice?" "Because she would be angry and send something worse. Perhaps rats! Who knows?" [136]

It was clearly impossible to trap the mice. I considered the situation, and next day asked if we might have a cat. Marko thought deeply. He then said it was natural for a cat to kill mice; we, in fact, should be powerless to prevent it, and should not be responsible. The cat was obtained—a splendid mouser; and so we defeated the shtriga. It is clearly better not to incense them. [136 685]

Men also are magicians, but I think not so often. A magician appeared at Nikaj when I was there. He was believed by the priest, whose guest I was, and by Marko to be so diabolical that the former ordered him to leave the parish, and neither of them would let me go out without a strong bodyguard; so I never got near him. He was famed for being able to raise many devils by dancing and wagging one leg behind him, and was believed to have come to Nikaj because most of the women were shtrigas.

A magician in Albanian is "maghistar" or "menghistar." Magic is "maghi" or "menghi"; "menghi" is also a remedy. In early days medicine and magic were one and the same. The words appear to be derived from, or connected with, "magus." The wise man of old used spells just as did the "wise woman" of the English village.

A strange tale which all believed was told of such a man who had worked much harm with magic in the Djakova district. One of the local beys, therefore, arrested him and locked him up. When he had been some time imprisoned the bey was one day entertaining guests on a feast day. The party was dull, and someone asked where that magician

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

754 was who used to do wonders. The bey thought it a good idea, and the man was fetched from his cell. He was very willing to perform, and asked only for a bowl of water. One was brought, and he made an [787] incantation over it. He then said that if any guest would name a place he wished to see, it could be seen in the water. Someone asked for Malta, and Malta was duly reflected; the harbour, the quay, and a steamer just getting up steam. When it had been admired, the magician asked the bey: "Have I your permission, noble Bey, to go off in that steamer?"

"Certainly," said the bey.

The magician lifted his foot and put it on the steamer in the water-bowl, and immediately went off in that steamer and was never heard of again. No one but myself could see anything improbable in this amazing tale; with Beelzebub all things are possible.

2. The Evil Eye

754 761 The Evil Eye was rampant. At Vukli an unhappy woman told me it had killed all her eight children. A man there, to prove the power of his eye, had stared at a bunch of grapes, which had withered under his gaze and fallen to the ground before the awe-struck spectators. I did not meet this man.

754 Marko had a milch ewe he greatly valued. One day a mountain woman came to the door begging. He gave her bread, but she was not satisfied, and as she left she looked at the poor beast, which was perfectly well, and said: "What a fine ewe!" Soon afterwards it began to sicken. Marko sent for the vet., who said at once: "I can do nothing—someone has looked at this ewe. You must find her and make her remove the spell." She could not be found and the ewe died, Marko cut her up for mutton. I expressed horror. "The meat," said he, "is beautiful. There was nothing the matter with the ewe except a lot of yellow spots in its liver, made by that woman."

754 777 *Protection against Evil Eye.*—Many amulets are worn. Most horses and many cattle wear blue beads (sham turquoise), tufts of badger-hair, which is said to be very efficacious, or triangular leather cases containing inscriptions. A universal protection, as in many other parts of the world, is a horn or horns. Though the horse-skull is now popular to guard fields and houses, the original skull was probably a horned one, e.g. the familiar ox-skull carved on the frieze of many a classical and pseudo-classical building. A pair of boar's tusks, mounted as a crescent and hung round the neck, is a favourite amulet for a handsome [776] saddle-horse. It prevents evil spirits riding the horse at night and

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER IX.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

562 184 The domestic usages of the Albanians vary slightly, according to locality and religion, but are, in their main features, identical. And though the customs surrounding such family ceremonies as births, marriages, and deaths belong naturally more to the domain of women than of men, the latter are not less scrupulous in the fulfilment of the part in these observances which fall to their share.

156 181 Tribal and family pride being, as has been already seen, the leading feature of Albanian character, the desire of offspring, and especially male offspring, is naturally very strong with them. A childless man [554] is designated by an expression which signifies "without a root," and is looked upon as a most unfortunate [754] being. The wish, "May you be childless!" is also considered the most weighty curse that can be launched against a man by his enemy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the dearest wish of every woman's heart is consequently to be the mother of a numerous family of boys, both for the sake of the future prosperity of the tribe and for the present social consideration which their birth ensures to her. 843 When the fact that an Albanian woman is about to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 respected woman dies, the friends who come to offer
825 their condolences say to her relatives, "She was the Vittóre of the house."

In Elbassan the Vittóre also conveys the idea of a good genius, though the snake element is absent, and a wife who has presented her husband with a large family of sons is designated by this name.

775 Vampire beliefs are, generally speaking, more or less the same in Albania as in the rest of Turkey. The hair and beard of the "Restless One" are believed to grow in the tomb, and any one bending over the grave may hear him rattle and grind his teeth. Some
754 men are also held to possess the propensities of
774 vampires before death, and to be in the habit of unconsciously going forth by night to suck the blood of children and young maidens.

775 Strangely enough, in Elbassan and the neighbourhood, Von Hahn found no traces of the Vampire (βρυκολακ) pure and simple, as he elsewhere exists. Two connected species, however, came under his notice, the Lougát (λουγάτ) and the Karkantsoli (καρκαντσολι). The first was described as the corpse of a Turk with finger- and toe-nails of prodigious length, which, wrapped in its winding-sheet, roams about at night devouring everything it finds, and strangling any human being unfortunate enough to cross its path. The name of Lougát is also given generally in Northern Albania to a class of uncanny apparitions, which are believed to be the bewitched forms of persons who have led evil lives. These have the faculty of changing their forms with surprising and confusing rapidity, appearing successively as

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

755 in which he remains seated three days, at the end of which time he is washed with "unspoken-over" water.[1] This, which is also called by an Albanian word signifying "stolen," is water drawn from the well or fountain in silence and carried home without the bearer having spoken, or been spoken to, on the way, and it is believed to possess highly salutary virtues. Into the water some "sweet" or "heavy" leaves are thrown, the number and also the kind being determined by fixed rules according to the nature of the malady. Among the "sweet" leaves are those of the pomegranate, apple, and rose trees, and also, strange to say, of nettles; among the "heavy," those of the laurel, cypress, ivy, and other evergreens. Three days after such an ablution the patient is expected either to recover or to die. Should he be able to indicate the spot on which he received the blow, the earth is there sprinkled with rose-water in order to appease the offended beings, who are said to be extremely fond of this scent; or he there throws down something, the nature of which is known only to himself, in the belief that the malady from which he suffers will be transferred to the being who may chance to tread upon it.

[137 245] [782]

755 754 The effects of the evil eye are also removed by sprinkling the patient with "unspoken-over" water, three nettle stalks being dipped into it for that purpose, and giving him to eat three mulberry buds, the mulberry tree being one of the sovereign antidotes for that much dreaded influence.

755 Rheumatism in the hands or feet is cured by

[1] Such water is also used by the Greeks, who call it περὶ ἀκράτου.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

of these parti-coloured bracelets, with a tiny gold coin attached, was, on the 1st of March (Old Style), presented by the Roumanian Consul-General to each lady of his acquaintance, and I, for one, religiously wore my charm against the power of the March sun, which in the East generally is said to "blacken" the complexion, until the month was out. It was not, however, finally thrown to the swallows, but carried off by an English visitor as a curio. 527 789 777

On the 25th of this month the women go through the house beating on copper pans, in order to drive out any poisonous snakes that may have intended to take up their abode there. The two last days of March and the first of April are called *Plyáketé*, a word signifying "old," and referring to the past season, personified as "Old Mother Winter." If by the last-mentioned date Spring has not yet fully set in, the blame is laid at the door of the old women, who are evidently held to be in league with "Old Mother Winter." 789 [754]

On Easter Eve in some places, Selitza, for instance, the young men assemble with lighted torches, which they wave about as they walk in procession through the village. Arrived at the river, they throw them in, crying, "*Koré-ya* (O Maiden)! We throw thee into the water with these torches, so mayest thou never return!" the *Koré* evidently referring, as Von Hahn suggests,[1] to the malevolent supernals, Vilas, Dragouas, &c., before described. When the priest comes to bless the house on Easter Day, the women throw after him, as he leaves, hot embers from the 789 [372] [776] [788]

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 160.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

562 *628 672 784 woman was sometimes shot accidentally in a man's stead in spite of the tabu. In that unhappy event in Kurbin a woman in the murderer's family might be killed in return. If, too, a feud was unusually bitter, as was, for instance, the Kaloshi family one in Dibër, all barriers of law and disgrace were thrown down; 'kill at all costs' was the order of the day, and in its execution women and children were as likely as men to suffer.

This tabu on killing women had several sources. In the first place, a woman was 'a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was the vehicle by which a family was carried on, and killing her might mean the loss of more than one man to her husband's family. Then she carried no arms, and therefore was classed with old men, children, and lunatics as safe from an avenger. Again, she was [421] always regarded as an article of property, belonging in her maiden days to her father and afterwards to her husband; her father had the right to her work till she married, and her husband afterwards; in token of this work her father sold her dear, and her husband bought her dear. Articles of property could not be damaged in the course of blood feuds. There was also the feeling that it was a disgrace for a 'strong' man to kill anything so inferior as a woman.

The tabu on killing women was so strong that when one committed a murder, not she but one of the males in the family expiated the crime, if expiation were possible. Murders by women fell into two categories, the first outside and the second inside the family. In both cases the murderess might commit the crime on her own account or butt into a men's quarrel to avenge a murdered relative.

* 628 672 One more class of expiator remains to be considered. It sometimes happened that a man hired an outsider to kill his enemy. In [754] the Breg i Matit some held that such a man was a 'witch', and 676 since witches could not have blood feuds, he must go scot-free and his hireling suffer, like any other murderer. In most places, if the instigator could not be discovered, or if time was passing without vengeance being taken on him, the hireling was killed. These practices were exceptional, and in general the feud was credited to the principal rather than to the subordinate who fired the fatal shot. [554] Vanity as well as justice came into the question, for the instigator was usually a more important person than his instrument, and killing him brought the avenger more glory.

A 754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A [163 761] Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So A [751] terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh A [853 777] air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The M same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen 754 luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but 853 the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the A child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to 755 prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air and sunlight.

A Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony 754 Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was 755 forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away. It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead. The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He A rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and [681] denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying, 'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

A In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied 754 round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special pre- 776 caution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black 777 cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors, the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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prevents stumbling. A man I knew galloped for his life across the long, narrow, and slippery bridge at Djakova while some six others were firing at him. Usually one would have led the horse across. But horse and rider escaped unscathed. The former wore a fine pair of boar's tusks and the latter a piece of a meteorite, a good protection against bullets. One Albanian I knew wore a piece of meteorite continually in London and was never once shot at.

A 754 777 [776]

A small brass imitation of the boar's tusk amulet formed part of the headstall of the Turkish gendarmerie horse-trappings. I possess a charming little crescent formed of a pair of falcon's talons which I bought of a Maltsori woman who said it was a great "ilatch" (remedy).

As a single horn, a wolf's fang, a cock's spur, a crab's claw are all good. Of a Vlah at Prishtina I bought a dried mole's paw set in silver, especially recommended to keep a child in health. It is a miniature "Fatima Hand."

Another highly valued object in Albania was a "stone snail" (ammonite). Baron Nopcsa, when geologizing, tried to remove a big ammonite, conspicuous on a wayside rock in the mountains. The quarrying of it out was too difficult and he left it; but the stone snail was chipped in the attempt. Marko, who had great faith in stone snails, lamented this much. It was discussed in the mountains and folk agreed it was lucky it was no worse. God alone knew what might have happened had the stone snail been removed.

The cowrie is a potent defence, but is rare in North Albania, so not more than one or two per person are worn, usually round the neck or sewn to the cap—except by the women of Vraka, who always wear two, one on each side of the face, sewn to the hair-plait. The cowrie is worn by women and children, but not, so far as I have seen, by men.

Though the natural cowrie is scarce, cowrie-land being afar, a large number, if not all, of the silver circular pendants, common all through the west side of the Balkan peninsula, are clearly derived from the cowrie, as Fig. 19 shows. In the older examples the cowrie type is evident. Two wriggly lines imitate the lip of the shell and a round hole the end aperture. In modern specimens sometimes this hole is all that is left; the cowrie is forgotten. In some the shape of the cowrie is preserved, and filigree replaces the wriggly line of the shell lip. In others the circle evolves into a crescent, as the plate shows. It seems possible that the pear-shaped pendant, so common on Near-Eastern, African, and Asiatic ornaments, is, in fact, derived from the cowrie (e.g. Fig. 19, No. 4*a*).

The cock is very powerful against evil spirits, who "vanish at the crowing." A cock appears on each side of the ornamental head-band worn until recently by the Herzegovinian women round their caps.

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Yugoslavia EF1

777 754 and catch it there, thus literally "saving your face," as did the women of Konjitza in Bosnia.

A 753 754 777 Illness being very largely ascribed to Evil Eye or magic, amulets in Albania are usually called "derman" or "ilatch," both of which words also mean remedy.

A 755 *Sympathetic Magic.*—In this the disease is supposed to act in accord with some object or other and disappears as it does.

A cure for jaundice was thus performed by a Moslem wise man on the child of a Scutari Christian. He tied some red wool round the child and some yellow wool round a red rose in the garden. He ordered the red to go out of the rose into the child, and the yellow to go out of the child into the rose. In a few days the rose wilted and yellowed and the child recovered its rosy cheeks. The efficacy of the cure was undoubted.

Marko had another he thought better, because it could be carried out at any time of year. You put a small fish in a bucket of water. The patient had to stare at it as it swam round and round. If he stared at it long and steadily enough, the disease went out of the patient into the fish, which died.

A [722 164] In 1912–13, owing to the Albanian Revolution and the Balkan wars, large numbers of the mountain tribesmen who pasture their beasts on the Bojana plains in winter were unable to return to the mountains, and were blocked in the malaria swamps all the summer, with terrible consequences. Almost all were struck down with a virulent form of the disease. I went through the worst districts with a load of quinine, and found the people trying to cure their greatly enlarged spleens by slowly roasting the spleen of a sheep at a fire, and muttering spells which ordered their own spleens to diminish as that of the sheep shrivelled at the fire.

A 164 776 753 A [755] Epilepsy was not uncommon in the mountains. It was looked upon as a possession by evil spirits. I once saw a woman fall down suddenly in a fit. Some men at once rushed up and, telling me to get out of the way, fired their revolvers alongside of her head. This was to scare away the evil spirit. As she soon recovered, they believed they had done so. I once saved a woman under similar circumstances from being flogged. Luckily she recovered quickly. But it is not so very long ago that lunatics were flogged in England.

A 777 755 Marko knew of a certain cure for epilepsy, but difficult to obtain. If you see a snake swallowing a frog, you must throw a black handkerchief over it. This scares the snake and it disgorges the frog. Keep the handkerchief, and when someone falls in a fit, throw it over him. He will then disgorge the disease as the snake did the frog. We kept a careful look-out, on our travels, for a snake eating a frog, but we never found one.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

Gospels. In Serbian these are called "Zapis." They are enclosed in silver cases called by the Turkish word "hamaljija" both by Serbs and Albanians; or they are sewn up in leather. Such leather cases are usually triangular. Most of the Catholic women of Zadrima, Albania, wore two brass crucifixes on a chain and a leathern triangular amulet case. Such cases are often fixed to the horns of oxen. When a Christian finds a Christian "writing" has done no good, he will go on the sly to beg one from a Moslem, and vice versa. A S BP 777 A S BP

Priests, both Orthodox and Catholic, write an immense number of amulets, fold the paper neatly in a triangle, thread it on a string, and direct that it shall be tied over the spot where the pain is felt; and peasants will tramp many miles in search of this help. At Ochrida, where I had to examine the patients before the doctor saw them, I came across an up-to-date development of this treatment. A child was brought with his neck thickly swathed. When the wrappings were off, his neck was an alarming dull purple, as though horribly contused. The amulet had been written in copying ink and had come off on his skin! The mother fondly hoped its magic had soaked in. 777 793 751 A M

In both Albania and Montenegro I have seen Moslems flock to a church or a well-known Christian shrine in search of a cure. At the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity, on the festival day at Plevlje, I saw two Turkish gendarmes bring in a lunatic with his arms tied behind him and lay him in front of the altar during service in order that he might be cured. 755

Several thousand peasants, Orthodox, Catholic, and Moslem, used to crowd on Trinity Sunday to the shrine of St. Vasil of Ostrog in Montenegro—a purely Montenegrin saint. The shrine of another local saint at the Piperski monastery is also in great repute. The best way to obtain a cure is to pass the night lying on the ground, with the head beneath the coffin, holding the relics. For this privilege a high fee was asked. At Ostrog I was told that a Moslem stricken with paralysis had been brought from Mostar on a mule, and had paid twenty-five napoleons to pass the night thus. Next day he was well and returned home happy. But he was an unbelieving Moslem, and soon declared he did not believe the saint had cured him: he had got well of himself. Next morning he awoke again paralysed, and the twenty-five napoleons were under his pillow. The saint withdrew the cure and returned the fee. M 776 778 755

An amulet with a good writing on it works good; but evil writing can in the same way work evil. A 777 754

While I was in Scutari a Turkish officer fell in love with a Catholic girl. He acted honourably and asked her hand of her parents. To their horror the girl not only wished to marry him, but she went to the A 588

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

A 757 278 enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

A [262] The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

A [136]

A 164 136 So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

Diseases.—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

A 165 853 Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

A 854 754 M CM A 151

Wounds.—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives. From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

A 757 752

A 757 826 752

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

H 755 Monastery, I saw three. They stood with their hands on their knees and their heads thrust under the desk from which the pope was to read the Lessons. The desk being draped, their heads were hidden and their hind-quarters protruded grotesquely. If they could refrain from crowing during the reading of the Lessons they would be cured. The cure failed. Hardly had the pope begun to read when a hideous and unearthly din arose beneath his desk. No one intervened; no one even smiled. The pope read steadily, though his voice was drowned by the noise. At the end the three were led away—uncured. But I was A told that as a rule the cure is successful. It may well be, for the Balkan [761 peasant is very much affected by suggestion. He pines if he believes 754] he has been cursed; he dies if he believes his death is "egil" (written in the Book of Fate). I did not see or hear of a case of crowing hysteria in Albania.

M In Montenegro I was told a remedy for fever. It was to make fire with 753 a fire-drill of wood. The patient helped to work the drill. The fire went 278 out of him and into the wood and he was cured. Perhaps the exertion of drilling produced sweat and so relieved the patient. Krsto believed greatly in this cure.

6. Soothsaying

A For some inscrutable reason man in many lands has thought his 787 gods were likely to choose the insides of animals as a means for revealing the future.

"Plucking the entrails of an offering forth, they could not find a heart within the beast." So the augurs warned Cæsar to beware the ides of March. Balkan folk still find their fate written in the bones of certain animals.

I first saw the bones read at Selchan, a village in the Spata mountains, near Elbasan. It was in those days a very remote spot, and a Russian Consul was the only foreigner who had visited it within memory. A Most of the male population were "wanted" by the Turkish Govern- [636 ment. But for the purpose of my visit the friendly Albanian Mutasarif 702] of Elbasan arranged a truce. We were halted outside the village for a parley, and also to give time to all the men of military age (whom the Government was trying to conscript for the Army) to hide in the bushes. I was then received with great joy, and even greater hospitality. The ancient headman, Constantine Suliman, a fine figure in a white A fustanella, swore friendship, and hustled the women to spread a noble 346 banquet of roast lamb, stewed fowl, cheese, milk, and maize-bread.

The district had neither church nor mosque. Every inhabitant had

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

Teresi, had dreamed that I should receive bad news from home that day. I laughed and reminded him there was no post till Tuesday. At that moment there was a knock at the gate. The kavass from the British Consulate brought me a note to tell me of the death of King Edward VII. After this it was vain for me to say that dreams foretold nothing. Teresi had dreamed the death of King Edward and the matter was beyond dispute. A 787

The man who looked after my horse dreamed he had seen my sister in the bazaar buying butter and was greatly mystified. No one could explain it, but all were relieved when I had a letter from her saying she was quite well.

An Englishman who travelled in the mountains and was popular was dreamed of. He was seen fording with difficulty a river and hurting his hand as he climbed out. It was decided that he would get safely through a great danger.

It was considered extremely lucky to dream of climbing up a mountain—perhaps because the tribesman places Heaven on a mountain-top. It is lucky to dream of fishing.

7. The Curse

A curse is dreaded still in Balkan lands; it is closely related to a spell. But a spell is accompanied by pagan rites; a curse is without rites—it acts by suggestion. Someone believed to be powerful cries: "May you wither and die!" and you proceed to do so. A curse can be retrospective, and is then considered peculiarly horrible. One of the worst is for a mother to say to her son: "May my milk poison you!' Though he be a grown man she may thus harm him. A 754

A good example is found in the Serb ballad of the *Murderess Mother* (Karadjitch Collection). The mother was wroth with her son, Jovan: "O Jovan, 'tis five years since thy mother gave thee a wife, yet neither boy nor maiden has been born to thee. Someone hath cast a spell on thee; or evil people have wrought wickedness; or has someone cursed you on your marriage? or dost thou not like the maiden? or she like not thee? Something there must be. Kill thy wife, O my son, and I will give thee a better of better stock, who will bear thee offspring!" Jovan refuses with horror, and his mother unbuttoned the coat on her bosom, and tore open her shirt and drew forth both her breasts, crying: "O Jovan, disobedient son! If thou obeyest not thine old mother, may thy mother's milk be leprous to thee, which thou hast sucked from these breasts! Kill thy wife and I will give thee a better." And young Jovan was greatly afeared of his mother's terrible curse, S 754 538 842 593

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

S 754 538 842 593

and he thought: "Better that I lose my soul and then repent of my sin than that I should ruin my mother's desire (for offspring), and hearken not to my mother's curse." He then orders his young brother Bogdan to do the deed and bring back a bloody knife as token. Bogdan refuses, and Jovan wishes to kill him, too. Bogdan weeps and prays his mother to remove the curse. But she will not, and Bogdan consents and leads away his sister-in-law. She implores to be allowed to pass three days in church, and he grants her prayer. There a miracle is vouchsafed her and she bears a beautiful boy. Jovan and Bogdan rejoice. But the mother, even then, will not pardon their disobedience. Filled with wrath, she stabs herself, and, very properly, "the demons seized her soul."

Here is a picture of the ancient power of life and death that parents had over children as well as of the power and terror of a curse. We see, too, the dawning influence of the Church upon the minds of a savage people. The tale probably dates from the days when Christianity was beginning to break down the pagan customs of the peasantry.

S 754

Strange is it to find the retrospective curse in the official report of the trial at Salonika of the Serbian "Black Hand" officers in 1917. Naum Dimitrijevitch, a journalist, giving evidence about the lawless state of the Serbian Army on July 25, 1914, states: "Major Dobrosav Gjorgevitch came up quickly, cursing as he came my *father and mother*. He reached me and overwhelmed me with his horrible curses against the *father and mother* of the Prime Minister, Nikola Pashitch, and Stojan Protitch, Minister, and all the Radical members. . . . He shouted: 'Now you shall meet your God. You shall never get away from here.' Then he cursed the *father and mother* of Colonel Okanovitch, etc."

A M 754 161

Thus even among the *intelligentsia* the use of the retrospective curse persists. Pashitch's parents had long been dead. Small wonder the peasant still believes in it.

Mothers in Albania and Montenegro will still tell you, when a child has died, that a curse has been put on their breasts.

M 754 681

In Montenegro, in the days when the vladikas (bishops) were said to be rulers, they had no temporal power in fact. They had no way of enforcing orders save by terrifying recalcitrants with a threat of excommunication or by putting curses on them. The vladika's curse was greatly dreaded. When Danilo Petrovitch decided to rule as temporal Prince and refused to be made bishop, I fancy he shore himself of much power. The curses of Vladika Petar I were very powerful.

He is said to have cried to an evil-doer: "May leprosy devour you!" And a year afterwards the man died of it. To another he cried: "May your stock die out!" And Medakovitch, writing of Montenegro in

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

1844-54, tells the tale and says the entire bratstvo was extinct. The fishermen on the lake had to pay the vladika yearly a barrel of fish for fishing rights. No barrel arrived. They were asked why, and wickedly replied that they had not been able to catch any fish. The vladika was patient. Still no fish arrived. The fishermen then explained: "There are now no fish in the lake." "No," said the vladika firmly, "*there are none and there will be none.*" M 754 681 M 726 577

To everyone's horror the lake was fishless. The fishermen hurried to the vladika and prayed him to withdraw his curse. He kindly did so—and the fish reappeared.

This mighty prelate was canonized by the Montenegrin Church shortly after his death, and is the revered St. Petar Cetinski.

His curses, however, pale before that laid on the Greek statesman Venizelos in 1916. I give it to show what the Orthodox Church is capable of when roused, and the present belief in the curse in the Near East. Venizelos was denounced for having "betrayed the nation to the Anglo-French." "Therefore against the traitor Venizelos we have invoked the following injuries: the ulcers of Job, the whale of Jonah, the leprosy of Naaman, the bite of Death, the shuddering of the dying, the thunderbolt of Hell, and the malediction of God and man. We shall call for the same injuries upon those who, at the forthcoming elections, shall vote for the traitor Venizelos, and further pray for their hands to wither and for them to become deaf and blind. Amen." G 754 664

Curse-pits were dug, and crowds, filing by, put their curses upon stones and hurled them into the pits.

True, the ecclesiastics who laid the curse got into trouble. But they had, in fact, but expressed—flamboyantly—the feelings of the people. Venizelos, having once fallen, has never returned to power. The peasant has little faith in elections—he has every reason to doubt their efficacy; but of the efficacy of a real good curse he has ample evidence.

In Albania a curse may lie for generations on a family and end it. I visited the house of a family group at Plani in Pulati. The curse was that the family should not multiply, and I was assured it was dying out. No one knew who had laid the curse and all attempts to remove it had failed. Eighteen persons were living crowded in its one room. In cases of this kind it is obvious that unwholesome surroundings, bad water, or inherited disease is the origin of the "curse." To those so "cursed," however, the thing is a mystery, and mysterious means are the only ones used to combat it. A 754

All medicine begins as magic. The invention of the microscope has at last revealed many of the real "demons." But even in England there are still people who prefer quack remedies to scientific "demon"-slaying ones. A 121

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The district was known to swarm with witches and, though none of them said so, similar customs in other lands make it probable that the nickname was intended to shield its owner's identity. How better than by taking a Moslem name? A 551 553 [754]

A good example was my old friend, plucky old Mehmed Shpend of Shala, a well-known headman. It was incredible—nor did anyone pretend—that he had been baptized Mehmed the Raven. But when asked what his Christian name was he only grinned and twinkled, and said that "Mehmed Shpend" was "fort i bukur" ("very pretty").

A curious example of the belief that the Name is the Person occurred at Mount Athos at the beginning of this century. A Russian officer entered one of the monasteries as a monk. He was pious and much respected. Pondering over the sacred mysteries, it seemed fit to him that separate worship should be given to the Name of God. The idea found favour among some of the monks, and the cult of the name was instituted by them. The authorities at Athos forbade it, but the cult became more popular. It ended abruptly by the arrival of a Russian warship. The misguided monk was carried off and the heresy ended. The Russian Government, whether Tsarist or Bolshevist, stands no nonsense. G GR 776

The Importance of a Name.—In Montenegro it was believed that the naming of a child may have an influence on its fate. It is customary for the same man to be christening "kum" (godfather) to all the children of one family. But if one child after another dies it is clear that the kum is unsuitable; and, in order to make sure this time that the kum is pleasing to God, the next infant is left in its cradle by the wayside. The mother hides close by. The first wayfarer who rashly stoops and looks at the infant is at once claimed as kum and must not refuse. M 753 777 852

On the way up to Durmitor I saw a cradle all alone, and was about to investigate it when Krsto snatched hold of me, crying: "No! no! you will have to be kum!" He then halted and shouted out for the mother, saying that neither of us was going to be trapped into being kum. The mother came up laughing, with a sickle in her hand. She said she was merely cutting some grass and had brought the baby with her. It was already baptized; so we passed on safely. Being kum cost a deal of money and trouble. But we might have refused? "No," said Krsto decidedly; "if you are caught that is quite impossible." M [551 462]

Under such circumstances, and especially if the child is weakly, it is common to baptize it Zhivko (lively), or Vuk (wolf), or one of the many derivatives of Vuk—Vuksan, Vujadin, Vule, etc., or Dabizhiv (mayest thou live), in order to give strength. S [852]

The custom exists, too, in Serbia and Bosnia. In old days, in Montenegro, when the christening of children was part of the ceremony M 852 628

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous A [186] than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

Y A 292 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

562 561 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, Y too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

A [12] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with A their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their Y teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

M Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose 754 776 all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from 774 danger.

A Y M 777 "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and A 585 hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

[596] set its internal stability. The very act of vengeance is a ritual, as is the constant repetition of the need for vengeance. The rites of blood brotherhood and godfatherhood are rituals performed by Catholic and Moslem alike.

776 Both Catholics and Moslems believe in a host of malevolent spirits which pay the mountains a seasonal visit in the springtime, and which can sometimes be kept at bay by the use of amulets. These evil spirits are of course the symbols of the general hunger, illness, and irritability which beset the mountaineers at 753 this critical season. Catholics and Moslems alike attribute non-traumatic illnesses to spells cast by magicians, through the agency of hair and nail clippings. Wasting illnesses, such as consumption and cancer, may be attributed to vampires, sucking their victim's blood.

●754 A vampire is said to be a human being, usually but not always a woman, who can change herself into an insect and fly into a room in which her victim is sleeping. As she fills with the blood, she has to leave now and then to spit it out. A person who finds such a gobbet of blood on the path is lucky; he can wrap it up and keep it as an amulet to protect him against vampires—and incidentally probably expose himself and his family to tuberculosis.

When people are hungry and ill, it is easy to suspect others of evil magic. The person named as a witch or vampire will of course be someone whose actions are eccentric or mysterious, who is a cause of disturbance in the community, and whose loss will not be greatly felt. If a child is suffering from malnutrition its parents may accuse some old woman, and drag her from her house. They will accuse her of having sucked blood from the child, and force her to spit in the child's mouth. Under protest she may spit merely in order to get away. If the child recovers, then the parents are sure she is a vampire; if the child dies she was innocent for her spittle did not cure it. People do not like being accused of witchcraft, or of having their aged grandmothers hauled off for trial; such actions, like the very suspicion itself, may result in bloodshed.

782 The Ghegs are great oath-swearers. Between blood feuds rivals will swear to keep the peace, on a stone in the presence of the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

754

working harm to the world in general. It is interesting to find in 776 Herrick's *Hesperides* a charm for stables:— 777

> Hang up hooks and shears to scare
> Hence the hag that rides the mare.

The scissors, too, are among the amulets worn on a silver chain by 777 the women around Nish in Serbia. 754

Tony was proof against the Evil Eye, for he wore a powerful amulet. A similar one is used in other Balkan lands and in Hungary. A snake is caught by pinning down its head with a forked stick. The head is then cut off with silver—the sharpened edge of a large coin will do. It is then dried and enclosed between two silver St. Georges, and finally blessed by the priest. This protects against all spells. It is evidently a piece of sympathetic magic. Evil is to die as did the dragon—represented by the snake's head—slain by St. George.

Tony's wife was once bewitched and had sharp pains all over, but could not be sure who caused this. The same evil person attempted to bewitch Tony, but, protected by the snake's head, he only felt a few twinges. His wife, who suffered much, was cured by a dervish, who 755 took some hair from the top of her head and from her armpits, tied it up, and burnt it while muttering some unknown charm. The pain went as the hair burnt and never came back. This and the case of the child both occurred at Djakova, at that time a wholly Albanian town.

Marko, too, was cured of similar pains. A Moslem gathered some herbs, but kept their species a secret. He fumigated them over a brazier, muttering a charm. He then tied them up, and Marko had to stand upright with his arms fully extended on either side. The Moslem put the bunch of herbs on Marko's head, drew them down the side of the face, along the arm, back to the body, and down the side of the body to the foot. He then repeated the operation on the other side, and cried: "Pain, pain, fly away from this man to the top of the highest mountain, where there is neither man, woman, nor child, bird nor beast, and stay there!" He burnt the herbs. The pain flew away and apparently remained on the mountain-top, for it never returned.

When I was in the Scutari hospital, very ill with acute sciatica, 278 poor old Marko sought in vain for the right herbs and was grieved at his failure.

Shtrigas were said to be very numerous all through North Albania. 754 At Zumi, near Djakova, I was told that perhaps one-third of the women 776 were blood-suckers; and in Nikaj was assured by the Franciscan in charge that most of the women were shtrigas, and he strove continually against the vile deeds, in which they were assisted by the Devil.

That the whole cult is the remains of ancient, long pre-Christian

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

The favourite remedy in Scutari for the pulmonary form was a drink 757
made of the root of "bader" (*Iris Dalmatica*), which grows wild 278
plentifully. It soothed the throat and allayed coughing somewhat.

Diarrhœa.—A decoction of oak bark—a strong astringent—was efficacious.

Constipation.—There was no local remedy. It was a very common trouble and I was constantly asked for "English salts."

Opium "tea," made by boiling haphazard a handful of poppy-seed, was given recklessly to stop pain. It was common to give a small dose nightly to infants to keep them quiet. In a communal house, where some twenty people sleep together, a crying child is not tolerated. Children suffering from opium poisoning were often brought to the Austrian hospital, the mother being quite unaware of the cause of the child's state.

Animal Remedies.—When I was suffering from acute sciatica, was [755 ●
paralysed with pain, and quite helpless, Marko wanted to slaughter 758]
a sheep in the yard and wrap me in the raw hide. As is customary when people are ill, all the neighbours crowded into my room to cheer me. When I was on the point of collapse with pain and heat, the cat jumped on to my bad leg, hurting me horribly. The neighbours [787]
chorused: "Thank God! The cat has jumped on her. Now she will not die. The cat always knows."

Then the Austrian doctor carried me off to his hospital.

The reason given for the raw hide is that the sheep eats many herbs and their virtue will soak into the patient. But in fact the raw hide is a hot fomentation. Other beasts are used.

This same Austrian doctor told me he was called to a moribund man. The hut was crowded, it was midsummer, and the heat and stench indescribable. Ten days before, a black cat had been split and applied to the patient's abdomen and was still there.

Enteric Fever.—This is endemic all through the Balkans. In Albania a horrid remedy was believed in. The dung of a dog which had been dropped on a stone and dried in the sun was pounded and given in water. I vainly tried to prevent this on one occasion; but the dose had been prepared by the local priest, who had the greatest faith in it. This repulsive remedy was included in the official pharmacopœia of Vienna till 1795, to be used internally for dysentery and griping pains. In Albania, at any rate, patients survived the treatment. Did the dog's dung supply an intestinal bacillus which combated that of enteric?

Emetic.—Human excrement mixed with water was given. Mixed with rakia it was given to an habitual drunkard with the idea of curing him. The experiment failed.

The boiled flesh of the glass snake (*Pseudopus pallasi*), a common

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

not been unfrequent even in the present century, and 797
the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders 175
to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian [167]
agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, makes it probable that in course of time the country may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians 771
have among the Turks the reputation of being but 184
indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of the Albanians who call themselves members of the Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem [582] women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the [869] faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ; Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints [755] for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while [778] Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The [779] Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of 796
Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary 771
of the departure of her image from the Latin church in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years 173

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

173 since, when all the country was Christian, there stood in the city of Scutari a beautiful image of the Virgin Mary, to whose shrine thousands flocked every year from all parts of the country to offer their gifts, perform their devotions, and be healed of their infirmities. Such, indeed, was the healing power of [755] this Madonna that no sick person was ever known to kiss in faith her white feet and not depart completely cured.

For some cause or other, however, it fell out that there was dissension between the priest and the people, and one day the latter came to the church in great crowds, declaring that unless the priest yielded to them they would then and there abjure the faith of Christ and embrace in its stead that of Mohammed. The priest, whether right or wrong, still remaining firm, his congregation tore the rosaries and crosses from their necks, trampled them under their feet, and, going to the nearest mosque, were received by the Mollah into the fold of the True Believers. Grieved and displeased at this wholesale desertion of those who had received nothing but benefits at her hands, Our Lady of Skodra disappeared during the night from that ungrateful land. What new shrine the beautiful image had hallowed with its presence was, for a time, unknown. Some months later, however, tidings were brought that, on the night of her departure from Scutari, an image of the Madonna had miraculously entered the church of a remote village in Italy, and had there taken up its abode. A voice was also, it is said, heard crying out over Scutari that not till the last *Türki* (Moslem) had left the land of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

A horrible belief prevails among the Ghegs that when men or women live to be a hundred years old their breath becomes poisonous and kills healthy people. Von Hahn says that old people suspected of causing sickness in this way, especially when an epidemic is raging, have atoned for their longevity with a fiery death at the hands of their panic-stricken neighbours.[1] 776 753 761 888

A curious notion is also shared by Greeks and Albanians that shadows are capable of assuming an independent existence, and, being malevolently disposed, are able to deal men blows which usually cause their death. 776 822 761

The Dif, or Dev (δίφι, δίβι, δεφ, δέβι), is, like the Kūrdish supernal of the latter name,[2] a being possessed of extraordinary physical strength. "He is a regular Dif" is said of a remarkably strong man, as we say, "He is another Samson." According to the people of Elbassan, the Dif is an enormous giant who lives underground and never comes to the surface, and whose business it is to keep the cauldrons boiling which supply the hot and medicinal springs in the neighbourhood of that town. These springs, in common with those found in other parts of the country, are much resorted to for curative purposes. Their waters are, however, drunk indiscriminately for all kinds of ailments, without regard to their various medicinal properties. The cures effected not being attributed to the water itself so much as to the influence of the magical beings who have their abodes in the springs and wells, people consequently go 776 [823] 776 755

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 163.

[2] See p. 155. Von Hahn suggests an Indian origin for this word, which, he says, he had found in no other part of Turkey. *Op. cit.* p. 162.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 from one spring to another in the hope of propitiating
755 the various tutelary deities in charge of them.

The Dragoua are children who are born with
776 bunches of hair or feathers on their shoulders, by
845 means of which they are able to fly, or at least to take tremendous leaps. The mother of such a child must, it is said, be very careful to keep secret its peculiarities, for, should they be observed by a stranger, the child would die, and in any case it will not be long lived. On stormy nights the Dragoua leave their cradles, or beds, and, rising into the air, fight with the Koutchédras, the contest often waxing so hot that they uproot trees to use as weapons, which are, on the following morning, found strewn on the ground.

826 Another curious belief current in Albania maintains the actual existence there of men with tails, either like those of goats or of horses. Persons retaining these appendages of their remote ancestors are held to be always short and broad of figure, untiring walkers, and endowed with great physical strength. Von Hahn was of opinion that this is not a mere vague popular superstition, but has a foundation in fact. "Soliman of Dragoti, one of my cavasses at Ioannina," he says,[1] "maintained that in his part of the country tailed men of this sort were often to be seen, and that he had himself a tailed cousin, whom he had often, in youth, when bathing together, pulled by this gift of nature. An even more trustworthy authority, Theodoris, who had in his younger days been a klepht on Pindus, related that in his band there was, for several years, an undersized, broad-

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, pp. 163-4.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

The *Ghiak*, the terrible blood feud, or vendetta, 775
before alluded to, may possibly, as suggested by Wassa
Effendi, have been in its origin a sacrifice to the *manes* 628
of murdered relatives. As the numerous class of vampire stories tends to show, the ancient belief that those who have died by violence cannot rest quietly in their graves still survives, and the slaying of their murderer, or at least of one of his kindred or clan, would thus be rather an act of religious duty towards the dead than of vengeance on the part of the living.

The majority of the ailments which afflict mankind 753
are believed by the Albanians to be caused by magical influences, and I shall now proceed to give some illustrations of their folk-remedies. These are usually 755
accompanied by some form of incantation, the secret of which is possessed only by some wise-woman who has inherited it from her mother, and who, in her turn, imparts it to her daughter. If, for instance, a person believes himself to have received a blow from one of the invisible Vilas, or some other supernal being, he [753 776]
has recourse to the witch-wife, who, after dressing the patient in white garments, conducts him to an uninhabited house in a retired situation. On arriving, she greets the mysterious powers whom she believes to be invisibly present. She then places her patient in a suppliant posture, gives him rose-water to drink, and both observe a solemn silence for some ten minutes, during which she makes certain mysterious signs and motions. After wishing the Vilas good-night, the witch-wife leads her patient home by a circuitous road.

Sometimes a circle is drawn round a person so afflicted,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

•755 in which he remains seated three days, at the end of which time he is washed with "unspoken-over" water.[1] This, which is also called by an Albanian word signifying "stolen," is water drawn from the well or fountain in silence and carried home without the bearer having spoken, or been spoken to, on the way, and it is believed to possess highly salutary virtues. Into the water some "sweet" or "heavy" leaves are thrown, the number and also the kind being determined by fixed rules according to the nature of [137 245] the malady. Among the "sweet" leaves are those of the pomegranate, apple, and rose trees, and also, strange to say, of nettles; among the "heavy," those of the laurel, cypress, ivy, and other evergreens. Three days after such an ablution the patient is expected either to recover or to die. Should he be able to [782] indicate the spot on which he received the blow, the earth is there sprinkled with rose-water in order to appease the offended beings, who are said to be extremely fond of this scent; or he there throws down something, the nature of which is known only to himself, in the belief that the malady from which he suffers will be transferred to the being who may chance to tread upon it.

755 754 The effects of the evil eye are also removed by sprinkling the patient with "unspoken-over" water, three nettle stalks being dipped into it for that purpose, and giving him to eat three mulberry buds, the mulberry tree being one of the sovereign antidotes for that much dreaded influence.

755 Rheumatism in the hands or feet is cured by

[1] Such water is also used by the Greeks, who call it νερὸ ἄκματον.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

bathing the affected member three times in warm water, rubbing it with salt, and finally passing over it the blade of a knife with the words, "As this salt melts, so may the evil melt!" The house is then swept with a new broom, the sweeper saying as the dust is swept out, "So may all evil be swept away!" 755

If ringworm (οὔθι) appears with the new, it may be made to disappear with the waning moon, by covering the place with wood ashes, and repeating at the same time the charm:

> Came the spot and made him foul,
> Came the ash and made him whole.[1]

The remedy for the bite of a tarantula is to place the sufferer on a heap of dung, while nine women bearing the name of Maro[2] sit round him in a circle and chant the following incantation:— [136 164]

> Nine Maros here are we,
> And but one art thou.
> Thou hast worked, thy work succeeds;
> We have worked without success.
> Evil hast thou wrought,
> Good do thou now work,
> O mistress spider![3]

When an Albanian wife has no children, or is the mother of girls only, she, like her Greek sister, attributes her misfortune to some enemy of her family having tied together a number of nettles with this object, and has recourse to counter-spells in order to 842

[1] Ἐπῆ σόρκι ε τεφτούκι
Ἐπῆ χίνι ε τεφτίνι (lit. "drank it up").

[2] Perhaps, like the similar Greek name, a form of Maria or Mary.

[3] Tarantulas are called by the Albanians by the generic name for spider μαρμαγε. Comp. Von Hahn's *Albanesische Studien*, p. 157.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

787 825 The cries of wild beasts and birds, and also the circumstances under which they are heard, or the animals themselves met with, have also their signification. If wolves howl in packs, it betokens, in some districts, a death; in others, severe frost. To meet a snake before sunrise, or about sunset, augurs the death of a relative. If the turtle-dove, which in Middle Albania builds in the towns and villages, sits on a roof and coos, it announces to the inmates the return of a relative from a foreign land. When a cuckoo, however, sits there and sings, or an owl hoots there, it betokens a death in the house. The croak of a raven in the vicinity of a house, or the hoot of an owl, announces to the expectant mother the birth of a girl. Sparrows flying in large flocks are held to be a sign of severe cold.

787 Various auguries are also drawn from the arrival in spring of the birds of passage, and the circumstances under which they are first seen. For instance, to see the first swallow or turtle-dove before breaking one's fast in the morning portends sickness. Accordingly, about the time when these birds are expected, and more particularly on the 1st of May, the precaution [751 777] is taken of placing by the bedside a small piece of bread, which is eaten immediately on awakening in order to avoid any such risk. In Northern Albania, on the contrary, it is held that to see while fasting the first swallow brings luck. Here, too, when a mother, ●755 whose child has been born with a running sore, sees the first stork, she places on her baby's head a stone, saying:

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

755

Head thy poultice,
Head this stone.[1]

A few of the trifling occurrences of every-day life to which a superstitious significance is attached by the Albanians have their parallels in our own country. We say, for instance, when seized by a sudden shiver, "Some one is walking over my grave;" while an Albanian says, "Death is calling me," and mentally replies, "I am not yet ready." When attacked with a fit of hiccough, the Albanian believes that some friend is speaking of him, and calls over the names of all his relatives and acquaintances, in the belief that the one he mentions with the last hiccough will be the one who has uttered his name. If the eye itches, it denotes coming rain; if the right hand, vexation consequent on being called upon to pay money; if the left, the receipt of money; itching of the lips signifies the arrival of a friend or relative; of the nose, strife and discord. Humming in the right ear is looked upon as a good omen, and in the left the reverse. If a little child drops asleep just before a meal, the incident is regarded as most propitious for the whole household.

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In addition to the every-day observances with respect to auspicious and inauspicious actions and events, so many are attached to certain seasons and days of the year as to form quite a Calendar of Superstitions. Some tribes, the Ritza, for example, celebrate their New Year's Day on the 1st of September, and every

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777

[1] Κρυε τατ κιδυλ,
κρυε τερ γδυρ.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

A 754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A [763 761] Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So A [751] terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh A [853 777] air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The M 754 853 same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the A 755 child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air and sunlight.

A 754 755 Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away. It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead. The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He A [681] rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying, 'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

A 754 776 777 In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special precaution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors, the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1

777 754 and catch it there, thus literally "saving your face," as did the women of Konjitza in Bosnia.

A 753 754 777 Illness being very largely ascribed to Evil Eye or magic, amulets in Albania are usually called "derman" or "ilatch," both of which words also mean remedy.

A 755 *Sympathetic Magic.*—In this the disease is supposed to act in accord with some object or other and disappears as it does.

A cure for jaundice was thus performed by a Moslem wise man on the child of a Scutari Christian. He tied some red wool round the child and some yellow wool round a red rose in the garden. He ordered the red to go out of the rose into the child, and the yellow to go out of the child into the rose. In a few days the rose wilted and yellowed and the child recovered its rosy cheeks. The efficacy of the cure was undoubted.

Marko had another he thought better, because it could be carried out at any time of year. You put a small fish in a bucket of water. The patient had to stare at it as it swam round and round. If he stared at it long and steadily enough, the disease went out of the patient into the fish, which died.

A [722 164] In 1912–13, owing to the Albanian Revolution and the Balkan wars, large numbers of the mountain tribesmen who pasture their beasts on the Bojana plains in winter were unable to return to the mountains, and were blocked in the malaria swamps all the summer, with terrible consequences. Almost all were struck down with a virulent form of the disease. I went through the worst districts with a load of quinine, and found the people trying to cure their greatly enlarged spleens by slowly roasting the spleen of a sheep at a fire, and muttering spells which ordered their own spleens to diminish as that of the sheep shrivelled at the fire.

A 164 776 753 A [755] Epilepsy was not uncommon in the mountains. It was looked upon as a possession by evil spirits. I once saw a woman fall down suddenly in a fit. Some men at once rushed up and, telling me to get out of the way, fired their revolvers alongside of her head. This was to scare away the evil spirit. As she soon recovered, they believed they had done so. I once saved a woman under similar circumstances from being flogged. Luckily she recovered quickly. But it is not so very long ago that lunatics were flogged in England.

A 777 755 Marko knew of a certain cure for epilepsy, but difficult to obtain. If you see a snake swallowing a frog, you must throw a black handkerchief over it. This scares the snake and it disgorges the frog. Keep the handkerchief, and when someone falls in a fit, throw it over him. He will then disgorge the disease as the snake did the frog. We kept a careful look-out, on our travels, for a snake eating a frog, but we never found one.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins, EF5

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

Disease as a rule is attributed to evil spirits. I met with one notable exception. It was at the Serb monastery of Dechani. The dead body of a man had, some years previously, been found on a lonely track in the neighbourhood; there was no wound of any kind upon him. His death was a complete mystery, till a search showed that he had secreted on his person some small objects of value, stolen from the church. It was then clear to all that he had been struck dead by the Holy Mother of God. It is of interest to note that in an early Montenegrin ballad (Vuk Karadjitch, vol. i) the Holy Virgin figures as "Fiery Maria"; she is the sender of lightning and St. Elijah is the thunderer. Together with some other saints they scatter death over the land to cure the people of impious ways. Here, no doubt, we have pagan gods masquerading in Christian garb.

Sympathetic Magic in Montenegro.—In the Tzrmnitza valley I was told of a cure for hernia, performed by "wise women." The operator expected a fee of about twopence and the gift of a cheese or some eggs. She must know the exact name and bratstvo of the patient, but his presence was not necessary. She put some freshly drawn water in a long-necked jug ("ibrik") and set it to boil on the fire, saying: "Water, I call on you three times from heaven to earth—let the bowel of Mr. X return to its place." She crossed the water three times. When it boiled she poured it quickly into a shallow metal dish, repeating the above words, and turned the ibrik mouth downwards into the water. As the ibrik cooled a certain amount of the water would rise up into its neck. The more the luckier—for in such way should the bowel of Mr. X return to its place. The charm is repeated daily till relief is experienced. A fresh fee is exacted each time. I was told that five or six women in Gluhidol practised this art, and that Montenegrins afflicted abroad would write home to have the charm performed.

In Montenegro and in Albania an infallible cure for a scorpion-bite was oil in which scorpions had been soaked in the sun. Marko always had a bottle full of them in the window.

Near Njegushi, Krsto showed me a perforated rock through which children had been passed to cure them of disease. This had been done especially at the time of the cholera epidemic in 1860. Old Mitar, Krsto's brother, remembered this well, and said that they had also tried placing people in the middle of a field and ploughing round them to isolate them from the disease, but, he added sadly, it had not done much good.

In the Tzrmnitza valley I learnt that a similar protection against cattle plague had been practised till recently. On news coming that cattle plague was in the neighbourhood, all were ordered to gather their beasts in a field. Two pairs of oxen were selected which must be

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

Gospels. In Serbian these are called "Zapis." They are enclosed in silver cases called by the Turkish word "hamaljija" both by Serbs and Albanians; or they are sewn up in leather. Such leather cases are usually triangular. Most of the Catholic women of Zadrima, Albania, wore two brass crucifixes on a chain and a leathern triangular amulet case. Such cases are often fixed to the horns of oxen. When a Christian finds a Christian "writing" has done no good, he will go on the sly to beg one from a Moslem, and vice versa. A S BP 777 A S BP

Priests, both Orthodox and Catholic, write an immense number of amulets, fold the paper neatly in a triangle, thread it on a string, and direct that it shall be tied over the spot where the pain is felt; and peasants will tramp many miles in search of this help. At Ochrida, where I had to examine the patients before the doctor saw them, I came across an up-to-date development of this treatment. A child was brought with his neck thickly swathed. When the wrappings were off, his neck was an alarming dull purple, as though horribly contused. The amulet had been written in copying ink and had come off on his skin! The mother fondly hoped its magic had soaked in. 777 793 751

In both Albania and Montenegro I have seen Moslems flock to a church or a well-known Christian shrine in search of a cure. At the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity, on the festival day at Plevlje, I saw two Turkish gendarmes bring in a lunatic with his arms tied behind him and lay him in front of the altar during service in order that he might be cured. A M 755

Several thousand peasants, Orthodox, Catholic, and Moslem, used to crowd on Trinity Sunday to the shrine of St. Vasil of Ostrog in Montenegro—a purely Montenegrin saint. The shrine of another local saint at the Piperski monastery is also in great repute. The best way to obtain a cure is to pass the night lying on the ground, with the head beneath the coffin, holding the relics. For this privilege a high fee was asked. At Ostrog I was told that a Moslem stricken with paralysis had been brought from Mostar on a mule, and had paid twenty-five napoleons to pass the night thus. Next day he was well and returned home happy. But he was an unbelieving Moslem, and soon declared he did not believe the saint had cured him: he had got well of himself. Next morning he awoke again paralysed, and the twenty-five napoleons were under his pillow. The saint withdrew the cure and returned the fee. M 776 778 755

An amulet with a good writing on it works good; but evil writing can in the same way work evil. A 777 754

While I was in Scutari a Turkish officer fell in love with a Catholic girl. He acted honourably and asked her hand of her parents. To their horror the girl not only wished to marry him, but she went to the A 588

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

A 755 759 indicates that the first professional doctors inland were Turkish. Previous to the Turkish conquest, when the Serbian Empire was at its height, it is clear that there were no Serbian doctors of repute, for S 759 192 the archives of Ragusa and Venice contain letters asking that the medical man of one or other of the coast towns may be allowed to leave his post temporarily in order to visit an ailing Serbian magnate, and the ballads sometimes say of a sorely wounded hero: "Shall we send for a doctor from the coast?"

The Serbian for doctor is "ljechnik," from "ljechiti" (to heal). This S derives from Teutonic, and is akin to our old word "leech." The word A "doktor" also is used. The professional doctor was evidently a foreigner. 755 Magic was probably the oldest Balkan remedy for disease. Disease is an inexplicable mystery which demands a mystery to combat it. Wounds, on the contrary, are shrouded in no mystery and demand different treatment.

HERBAL REMEDIES IN ALBANIA

A *For Sciatica.*—(1) The limb is beaten with stinging-nettles till blistered 757 —a counter-irritant. I refused to allow this to be tried on me, though a 278 neighbour vowed it had cured her. (2) The limb is rubbed with a paste of roasted onions boiled in oil. This in the form of gentle massage gave M some relief.

CM Pounded onions are commonly used for dressing contusions where A the skin is broken in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and appear [757] to have a soothing effect. Such a dressing at least prevents dirty clothing from rubbing the wound and, by keeping it clean, assists healing.

A great variety of herbs and leaves are valued as "cures" when parboiled, and applied hot to sprains, contusions, abscesses, boils, etc. In most, if not all, cases it is the hot fomentation, frequently renewed, which does the cure, rather than the particular herb. Thus at Berisha they fomented Marko's sprained ankle with ferns (*Ceterach* and *Trichomanes nigra*) boiled with wild peppermint, taking much trouble to search for and find the right kinds. Boiled walnut leaves are also believed in.

For Weak Eyes.—Pound up wall pellitory, squeeze out the juice and mix with salt. To be dropped twice a day into the eye. Maximum dose, three drops.

For a Cough.—Oil in which some tortoise flesh has been boiled; or a decoction of wild-sage leaves boiled with honey.

The leaves of the wild sage dried and made into "tea" make a very pleasant drink used in Montenegro and Albania.

Tuberculosis.—This disease, in all its forms, ravages the Balkans.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
BULGARIA EE1
ALBANIANS EE1

 B S 753

a belief that many diseases are caused by animals, ghost animals or spirits. Probably one of the most primitive notions of the mystery of pain and sickness, the bite of an invisible creature, is reflected in a fairly widespread name for almost any acute pain or attack, namely *zmija* (snake); while Albanian has *bolē* (a viper), possibly from the Slavonic *bol-* (pain), rather than equivalent to *belua*. In a manuscript of prescriptions of the eighteenth century the reader is told, 'How you may expel a snake from a man' (*Vetus corium combure, fumum per infundibulum in os patientis imitte, iaceat que capite deorsum verso cogetur exire serpens...*). Further, *ocymum basilicum* in vinegar is recommended, so that it will 'drive the snake and any other creature out of a man'.[1] When a child had an epileptic fit, said Miličević, 'a woman of the household goes up on to the roof of the house and hails the first passer-by by name: "Hie, Mark, listen! A snake bit our Johnny to-day but never again!"' Any one wasted by sickness and fever is said to look as though a snake had sucked him. A number of complaints are caused by or through lifeless things also, or bear similar names, but it can never be quite certain whether the analogy begins with a folk-etymology or through some other association. The common name for piles is *klin* or the plural, which at the same time means a nail, a wooden peg, a billet of wood, etc. Observances towards these objects exist for fear of the disease, and nails, etc., occur in the cures recommended. An instance is given by Vuk under *brus* (a whetstone), and an obscene expression for the anus. He adds: 'On Christmas eve the Bosnians hide all the whetstones in their houses lest their children suffer from piles.' The cures in which a connection exists between the animal name of the part of the body or of the disease and the remedy itself seem to be genuine folk-remedies; it is amongst these

A 3 753
S 751
S [195]
S 755

[1] Fr. S. Gundrun-Oriovlanin, *Luičeva Ljekarula*, Zb. XIV, p. 83. Cf. Ginčev (*Nešto po bolgarska narodna medicina*, Sb.N.U. II, p. 86), who says that there was a belief that a snake could enter the body of a sleeper by his mouth and suck his insides, and that it could be expelled by eating the bladder of a weasel.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Historical Bulgaria EE7
Albania EG1
Croats EF4

open locks; plants which revivify by touch; plants which stupefy if they are trodden on; plants which can kill by mere contact. The conception of the Blessed Virgin was brought about, says a legend, by the Angel Gabriel striking her with a sprig of basil, upon which God had breathed. It is a theme paralleled in the ritual striking of the household with basil during or after prayer. There are endless folk-tales of similar parthenogenesis.

The folk-doctor, who is at the same time a seer, brings about this contact, and will then sometimes prescribe a further use of the herb. This was the case with an Albanian herb doctor near Peć, who, when giving out herbs to his patients, first lightly touched them with it on hands or head, and then detailed the preparation of this or that decoction or elixir. This formal introduction of patient to plant expresses the same idea as the gathering or other preparation of a medicine specially for a particular person, sometimes using spells or formulae introducing the patient's name, or selecting the plant to correspond with some characteristic of the patient, such as the 'female' varieties for women, and the 'male' for men. In the list of cures, a number of simple applications are included which cannot conceivably have much effect even upon the epidermis. These appear to be akin to the phylacteries, or Slavonic *nauzy*. For such reasons, if no other, the folk-herbalist, unlike the modern doctor, must also provide the plant himself, and carry it with him, or pick it specially. At Otok, in Dalmatia, the 'doctors'—who were mostly in league with or protected by the nymphs—dispensed their herbs under a fairy walnut tree. The doctor must know the name of his patient, who must either come himself or send a few threads of his shirt or three hairs of his head. The doctor, having said certain secret prayers, laid the plant on the sick man; but if the patient sent a messenger, he must receive the plant in the open and take it into the house himself, even if he was so ill that his friends must carry him into the yard to do so. The messenger must on no account enter any house with the plant before he had given it to the patient,

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61

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538 and their own families, because they have become so much
769 identified with the whole nation, its history, sorrows, and glories.

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778 So it is also with many of the Orthodox saints, especially
755 those who were benefactors of the country, such as St Sava
[776] and St Ana, to mention but two of many. Some of them have special ceremonies to be performed on their feast-days, others special places or tombs set apart for them. A great wealth of tradition and superstition surrounds them. At the monastery of Visoki Dečani legend exalts the tomb of King Stefan (Uroš III) Dečanski, or, as he is better known to the people, *Sveti Kralj Dečanski*, the holy king of Dečani, who founded the monastery and who is buried in the church. He was given a new tomb by King Alexander Obrenović in the nineteenth century, in which is enclosed one of his hands—all that now remains of him. This tomb, covered with an embroidered cloth, is placed to the north of the middle door of the ikonostasis, and, like those of so many important Serbian saints, has a sort of little passage underneath at the head end, which slants through to an aperture in the side. To this tomb come all those with
A ailments, who, if they wish to be cured, must creep under
778 and through it three times. Peasants from the neighbouring
● 755 villages believe that this rite will certainly cure them; and large numbers of Moslem Albanians as well as Orthodox Serbians visit the tomb with the same hope.

Once when I was there (May 1932) a Mohammedan Albanian peasant brought his wife and two kinswomen. The women, who had stiff legs, crept under the tomb the prescribed three times, while some other Albanians went to the sacristan monk, who read prayers and anointed their sores and injuries with holy oil, which he took from one of the little lamps or *kandila* burning before the tomb. No fee is charged; and this monk told me that every day sick peasants, mostly Albanians, of whom there are large numbers in the surrounding country, come for healing, and that many of them are cured.

PEAKS OF SHALA

756 The shouts redoubled, rifles cracked from
609 every rock, the church bell wildly rung, and through the clamor, deafened and a little dizzy, we came into the village of Thethis. The four chiefs, having greeted us ("Long life to you! Glory to your feet! Glory to the trails that brought you!" they said) preceded us up the last breathless quarter of a mile of trail, and all along the way the boys turned handsprings on the cliff tops.

361 The village of Thethis is built on the plateau that tops the gigantic, shiplike rock wedged in the narrow head of Shala Valley. All around it rise the mountains, snow capped, seamed with white waterfalls like rich quartz with streaks of silver; the shadows of them lie almost all day long across the village. Thethis itself is perhaps thirty large, oblong stone houses scattered at wide intervals on the flat land, and all the land is divided neatly into squares by stone fences—some fields for corn, some for grain, some for meadow. In the midst stands the church, two stories, oblong and gray like the houses, and a network of trodden paths leads to it.

It seemed a quiet, peaceful place. But on the mountains above it to the north the Serbian armies lay; their mountain-trained eyes were doubtless watching us as we crossed the sodden fields. This is the village, these are the chiefs, whose houses were destroyed by a company of soldiers sent from the struggling Albanian government in Tirana. The Serbs held the Albanian

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Historical Bulgaria EE2
Albania EG1
Croats EF4

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5; Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5
Albania EG1
Bulgaria EE1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8

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country, like the famous Sadik Sadiković who has published a book, a mixture of popular literature and tradition. An Albanian doctor near Peć is known throughout Metohija and Northern Albania, and has been sent for as far as Kossovo and Skoplje in his time. The descendants of families who have enjoyed a century or more of fame still practise—the Medikovići, the Karamanovići, Lelkovići, etc. (for further examples see Gl.Z.M. XII, p. 65).

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It is some special secret, knowledge or experience that qualifies the healer, whether he employ rational means or sorcery, or both. This can be efficaciously combined with natural gifts; second sight, relationship or friendship with the disease demons, power to separate soul from body. Power can be obtained by hatching a familiar (a cock after ten years lays an egg, which if carried about for forty days under the left armpit will hatch out a small, obedient familiar: details of course vary). Or again, by touching with the left forefinger the horn of a snail on Whitsun morning, the Bulgarian and East Serbian seeress becomes possessed of a healing finger, or rather, exorcising finger. On Zlatibor a woman puts the little finger of her left hand on the first snail in spring and says: 'As this snail draws back its horn so may every sickness that my finger touches draw back.' She is then able to heal (*zavarčati*, to *turn* illness). The stick which has separated a snake from a frog that it was about to eat henceforth has magical and healing power. At Otok to be lucky (*hasna*) in healing, the doctoress (*bajalica*) should stand on a snake's neck and strike its head with the left forefinger until the snake dies.[1]

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The Mohammedan Sherbetli of Macedonia served an apprenticeship to a sheikh, observing constant fasts, praying and leading a virtuous life. When he had qualified, the master gave him his hand (*el vermek*), that is, passed on his power to him.[2] The people generally distinguish very sharply be-

[1] Cf. J. Lovretić, *op. cit.*; S.E.Z. IX, etc.
[2] T. Djordjević, *Iz Turskog Folklora*, Godišnjica Nikole Čupića (1905), pp. 265, etc.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

S 756 563 124

race, but they also part with information for *sevap* (charity), out of gratitude for another service, or as a courtesy due to the sacred character of a guest. With many practising village seers and doctresses, it is impossible to learn anything, or at best a carefully edited version. All sorts of excuses are made; the priest has forbidden them to spread their superstitions, they have ceased from practice, or forgotten their art; they fear ill-luck, or most discouraging of all, 'You gentry don't believe in our peasant cures. They will do you no good.' Or: 'What can a poor old woman tell you? The doctors know better than we do.' Then, if the investigator really wants to get at the bottom of things, he must either apply for help as a patient himself, or, if his appearance might be against him, especially in the case of a man, he should send someone else whom he can trust. Spells are sometimes refused, too, because of the use of obscene words and gestures.

A 756 763 124

Once an old operator was dying, and sent for me to see him. Not long before I had visited his house and questioned him. He held my hands while he told me about the plants which he used for salves; and when it came to telling of his manipulations he desired to show me, as well as he could for his extreme weakness, on my own limbs. Perhaps he had some idea that in this way he passed on his power, for when I feared that he might weary under the enormous effort which he was making, and someone standing by, misunderstanding, suggested that he bothered the visitor, he insisted upon doing it in his own way. I would gladly have had him leave all until he felt better, for the women of three generations of his family were already crouching on the floor and weeping, but apparently it was very much on his mind, and he half hoped that this very action might hasten recovery, or as one of his daughters whispered to me, set free his soul. (This particular was a little surprising, for these people were Albanian Moslems and I did not know that they held these views regarding death-bed confession.) The old man said: 'If I live, I will teach you all I know, and show you everything. But now I must do as much as I can in case I die.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG-1

Swear that you will make only good use of what I tell you, that it be not a sin for me before God. Perhaps you will be able to tell me how to cure my disease and so more than repay me. Then I shall be able to tell you in a better way. But in any case I give you my secret now.'

A different case was my friend Ram Smail, another Albanian, and an unexpectedly patient collaborator. While I used to wander with him in the mountains near Peć, he picked the various herbs he knew, and explained their uses. He said one day: 'I am going to Asia. If you need me I will come back, or I will come to your country or I will send you herbs from Asia. I do this in friendship, because you are a stranger. I also shall be a stranger in Asia. I would not tell anyone from these parts. You go about unarmed, but what I tell you is a weapon. . . . I am leaving, besides, so it does not matter what you do afterwards.' In other words, I could inherit his practice, and, as he had more enemies than friends there owing to old feuds, he did not care if I killed off the whole population, once he was clear.

Many a man has learned the art of bone-setting or massage by watching others at work. The hospital servant and *feltscher* type of popular doctor are just as much respected as the self-taught or the inheritor of a tradition. A Serbian official document of 1836 mentions a certain Gavril Savić and his wife 'who, having suffered for a long time from wounds, have learned these remedies through treating themselves'. As a matter of fact anyone who knows a certain medicine or incantation can freely apply it, but on the principle that in this, as in all other things, some are 'lucky' and some are not, and a charm which may work with one may fail if recited by another. Hence the extreme care in guarding the monopoly of such secrets has a materialistic ground as well as a superstitious one. It is noteworthy that in many respects the same attitude is felt towards the priest. He owes his importance to his knowledge of prayers, to his reading and writing, and less to any belief in the gift of the Holy Spirit through the laying-on of hands. In the absence of a

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania EG1

These, with the knives of circumcision, complete the armamentarium of Turkish surgery in these parts.

The peasant doctor, on the other hand, seldom has any special instruments, but employs ordinary knives, sharp stones, crystals, thorns, lumps of sugar, needles, coins, and what he himself can make out of wood, such as splints. Here and there a special silver needle is kept for acupuncture and inoculation. Feathers are used in applying salves. The sorcerer or seeress has generally a black-handled knife, which should be made or specially or ritually prepared; and the rest of the paraphernalia is selected from objects in common use.

The barbers and travelling doctors have a fixed scale of charges, and so have many village specialists. When a man cannot pay immediately, he is required to leave a pledge. Such specialists can draw patients from a great distance, and make considerable profits, though in fear of restrictions, due, they say, to the jealousy of the gentlemen doctors. Most of them provide the drug, or prepare it specially for each patient; many keep a stock of their standard ointment or medicine; some only give advice and oral prescriptions. At Otok it was believed that the doctors would lose the protection of the *vile* if they charged more than a certain minimum fee. Those who write charms, and these are mostly Mohammedan *hodjas*, have also a fixed tariff.

Before the coming of qualified doctors to Serbia (first in 1819) who, until the foundation of the Medical Faculty at Belgrade in 1920, were trained abroad, and in early times were exclusively foreigners, the arts of healing were practised regularly by various native self-taught doctors, folk-doctors proper, and by travelling specialists, such as the *kaliatroi* from Epirus. These latter, whose learning was generally hereditary, travelled mostly in groups, and as far as Bosnia and Serbia. Members of this old school are still found in remoter places of the South and in Albania. In the provinces under Turkey the same system continued until very recent years, with here and there an oriental trained doctor in the towns.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania EG1

C S 278 757 sublimate of arsenic. Amongst the internal remedies of this class I found a mixture of gall nuts, flour and water, made into pellets about the size of peas, one of which is taken daily for a period of forty days. Half a kilogram of barley, a handful of lime and the fibre of a ripe maize cob are cooked slowly in a litre of water until the barley is soft, and drunk frequently as soon as the first symptoms of gonorrhoea have been recognised. In Hercegovina the treatment of syphilis C 278 757 in the early stages is to take a small quantity of two parts of sugar with one part of sulphur, to which some copper sulphate may be added, for seven mornings or until pustules appear on the skin. Sores are treated with sulphate of copper and sour milk or sour cabbage brine, or sprinkled with the salt and bound up with a sour cabbage leaf, or sprinkled with the ashes of a hedgehog roasted alive or a small viper. Pills of sulphur, copper sulphate, carnation, barley flour and lemon juice are eaten once to three times daily, while pills of mercury, arsenic, carnation, barley flour and lemon juice, or of mercury, dog's hair, arsenic, barley flour and lemon juice are used for fumigation. A little carnation, sulphate of copper, dry, white, dog's excrement are powdered and a small quantity blown through a tube into the back of the patient's throat, and a glass of cold water drunk immediately afterwards. This is done daily until the disease makes its appearance on the surface of the body, and then the same powder, which has been mixed with sour milk and left to stand for twenty-four hours in a copper dish, is rubbed on the skin. Dog's excrement is used for fumigation, and dog's C [751] blood and meat as a prophylactic. Fumigation with mercury alone is known in most provinces, and fumigation with gall S [278] [563] nuts, mercury and flour occurs. The Bosnian Mohammedans make pills for fumigation. An old man at Dečani does a trade with cakes for fumigation; they weigh about three ounces A and are about two inches in diameter and flat, oval in shape. 278 Boots, fire-arms, coats, generally the characteristic property 756 of Albanian highlanders, may be seen hanging in the wretched house of this patriarch, now nearly ninety, which have been

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Turkey MB1
Montenegrins EF5

left as pledges during treatment. The pills are a mixture of mercury and hen or goose dung, sometimes with fir resin, which has been baked in the sun or over a very slow fire on a flat brick or piece of iron. These are inhaled by the sufferer under a cloth, ten days running, while the patient keeps a strict diet, avoiding salt and strong meat. The following drug is taken three times a day for nine days in all venereal complaints: half a litre of *rakia*, some chalk, alum, camphor, and a spoonful of olive oil mixed and left to go sour; or nine insects found on an elm tree (*striži buba*) are roasted on a fire shovel and powdered and drunk in *rakia*. Some years ago a charlatan in the Smederevo district used to sell a mixture of these insects and powdered glass in brandy to the villagers.

A 273 756 S 278 756

Stern mentions that, in Turkey, in which he included the territory now under discussion, henna entered into the composition of antiluetic medicines. For this there is no evidence that I could discover in recent traditional medicine in the places he mentions, nor as far as I know is henna used in fumigation at all.

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Herbs are also used for fumigation, e.g. *Sedum telephium*, and others known as *Frenga trava*. The common coltsfoot has been pointed out to me as a specific.

ULCERS, GANGRENE

Cancer, ulcers, gangrene, lupus, festering wounds, etc., are mainly treated as special cases of wounds. Beliefs about animal parasites, etc., have already been discussed in an earlier part.

S 164 757

A folk-doctor is reported to have cut out a cancerous growth on the upper lip and cauterised the wound with a red-hot iron. He then applied an ointment and, when the ulcer reappeared later in the same place, he inserted a piece of arsenic and bound up the wound. At the present time a doctor has become famous in Montenegro, and as far as Berane, for curing cancer (*rak*) by cutting away the growth and binding on green figs 'with other herbs'. This method he

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

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with fresh opportunities and new objects. Contrast the uniformity of the magic and ritual of isolated groups, such as the Australians, with the richer material of Negro medicine and the even more elaborate systems of European and Asiatic magic and religion. The process of incorporation can be extended in all directions, and even general theories may be constructed to cover a whole series of practices. *Medressi*-educated Mohammedans, who are often widely read in occult arts and ancient medicine, peasant doctors and seers, occasionally invent or experiment, or think out a logical, all-embracing theory. These individuals are men rather than women. I recall a young Albanian at Peć who was an excellent representative of this type. There was not the least doubt that he was exceedingly intelligent and really studious or even scholarly. He possessed about a hundred fine manuscripts, some of his own copying, and a few printed books, and his chief studies were alchemy and the origin of language. His experiments also included getting into touch with spirits and devils, and finding out new methods of prediction, which he tested experimentally.

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The treatment of disease I described as markedly symptomatic. Diagnosis and cure are seldom combined into a system. When that happens the system or theory then becomes a general standardised method of handling characteristic diseases, the direction being given by one of the more obvious symptoms. The immediateness of approach otherwise is a method of trial and error, that might encourage empirical discovery. This is the only form of the experiment in common use. It is not systematised into experiment under varying conditions to discover the nature of a phenomenon, but it is a practical trial of the means of exploiting it. The process may be repeated when a case understood to be identically the same occurs again. It should be noticed that while quite different diseases may be considered as internal and external forms, for instance, of one and the same disease, the time of day, the age or name of the patient, and so on may alter the notion of what constitutes identical circumstances, or the place where an

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

The favourite remedy in Scutari for the pulmonary form was a drink made of the root of "bader" (*Iris Dalmatica*), which grows wild plentifully. It soothed the throat and allayed coughing somewhat.

Diarrhœa.—A decoction of oak bark—a strong astringent—was efficacious.

Constipation.—There was no local remedy. It was a very common trouble and I was constantly asked for "English salts."

Opium "tea," made by boiling haphazard a handful of poppy-seed, was given recklessly to stop pain. It was common to give a small dose nightly to infants to keep them quiet. In a communal house, where some twenty people sleep together, a crying child is not tolerated. Children suffering from opium poisoning were often brought to the Austrian hospital, the mother being quite unaware of the cause of the child's state.

Animal Remedies.—When I was suffering from acute sciatica, was paralysed with pain, and quite helpless, Marko wanted to slaughter a sheep in the yard and wrap me in the raw hide. As is customary when people are ill, all the neighbours crowded into my room to cheer me. When I was on the point of collapse with pain and heat, the cat jumped on to my bad leg, hurting me horribly. The neighbours chorused: "Thank God! The cat has jumped on her. Now she will not die. The cat always knows."

Then the Austrian doctor carried me off to his hospital.

The reason given for the raw hide is that the sheep eats many herbs and their virtue will soak into the patient. But in fact the raw hide is a hot fomentation. Other beasts are used.

This same Austrian doctor told me he was called to a moribund man. The hut was crowded, it was midsummer, and the heat and stench indescribable. Ten days before, a black cat had been split and applied to the patient's abdomen and was still there.

Enteric Fever.—This is endemic all through the Balkans. In Albania a horrid remedy was believed in. The dung of a dog which had been dropped on a stone and dried in the sun was pounded and given in water. I vainly tried to prevent this on one occasion; but the dose had been prepared by the local priest, who had the greatest faith in it. This repulsive remedy was included in the official pharmacopœia of Vienna till 1795, to be used internally for dysentery and griping pains. In Albania, at any rate, patients survived the treatment. Did the dog's dung supply an intestinal bacillus which combated that of enteric?

Emetic.—Human excrement mixed with water was given. Mixed with rakia it was given to an habitual drunkard with the idea of curing him. The experiment failed.

The boiled flesh of the glass snake (*Pseudopus pallasi*), a common

it was not." As "first aid" for a wound he prescribed the yolk of an 757
egg and a lot of salt, well mixed and applied on a pad of wool; after- 826
wards dress as above. It was very necessary, he said, to leave no 752
splinters of bone in a wound. He described how he had spent two hours removing seventeen splinters from a fractured tibia with some little forceps he had made himself. You must work slowly and very carefully. You must watch your patient and compare his symptoms with those of others. So you learn. He had lately mended the leg of a horse by slinging it to the branch of a tree and putting the limb in a splint.

A shot through the knee, he declared, was usually fatal, and one [761]
through the ankle was difficult to make a good job of. But three fingers' breadth below the knee-cap and three above the ankle he could always be sure of curing.

For inflammation he used leeches freely. Had just treated a woman successfully for apoplexy. She was "dead" on one side and speechless. He bled her from the temple on the "dead" side and seven times from the arm on the other side. She was better next day, and he bled her five times. She completely recovered. Marash expounded head-surgery. The head, he said, is like an egg. There is a shell, then a skin, and then the meat. If this skin is broken through you can do nothing; if it is not and the fractured skull is only pressing on the brain it is curable. He demonstrated how a flap should be cut and turned back. The broken pieces of bone must be carefully removed and replaced by a piece of hard-dried bottle-gourd chosen to fit the shape. The ointment must be added and the flap replaced and dressed. Some men were very clever at cutting away bone. He had never cut away skull-bone himself. A man in Mirdita had lately cut away a large piece of the skull of an injured man successfully. He indicated the upper part of the left parietal. The "kirijee" boy from whom I had hired horses then told us that he had a piece of bottle-gourd in his head. Had been knocked on the head and stunned in a quarrel, and been unconscious till a "hekim" had taken out the broken bone. Now he said he never felt any trouble except that his head itched a good deal. I felt his head carefully, and there certainly was a hard edge to be found.

Marash Hutzi had a great reputation for curing wounds and certainly deserved it. It is of interest to find that a strictly antiseptic method was being used so long ago as his grandfather's time in the Albanian mountains when in England we still washed our wounds with any pump-water. Marash was over sixty. Trephining, I was told, was still practised to cure pains in the head, but I did not meet a case.

A dressing much used for slight wounds was olive oil in which a 757
quantity of pounded leaves of the common St. John's wort (*Hypericum* 278
perforatum) had been macerated in the sun. This seemed to have some

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

757 278 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.

757 753 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 151 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought [563 326] a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him 759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

752 757 The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound [278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen, 757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He 278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he 757 was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some 278 and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse.

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the 761 Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is 753 said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad earache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose.

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could [842 conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives 174] as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it.

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

771 551 years ago as to whether it was to be Christian or Moslem. Therefore, in silent compromise, the elder members of the inhabitants had two names: the Moslem one used for public purposes, and the Christian one used privately and for baptisms and marriages, for these ceremonies a priest was smuggled in and out of the neighborhood by night. It was only about thirty years ago that the Christians felt free to declare openly their faith; this was due greatly to the intervention of the Austrians and Russians. However, those of the older generation retain their Moslem names but their children have been given Christian names only.

312 529 757 Perhaps of greatest interest to one visiting this fascinating country for health purposes, will be the healing springs at Llixha, only a few readily negotiable miles from Elbasan. These most unusual springs are certain cures for various forms of rheumatism. The sulphuric waters are so healing that merely by the repeated emptying of cans of water over the body in the oriental fashion many cures have been effected. The ground around these springs is very warm, and until forty years ago, before the useful invasion of the modern

3/2 baths and hotels, the natives dug large holes
751 near the springs of the desired temperature
529 and saturated themselves therein until cured. The weirdest phenomena of nature lies in the fact that the temperature of the springs is extremely varied: there are the cool, almost cold, enjoyable springs and others that are of varying degrees of heat up to the boiling point. It has been ascertained, however, that the mineral content of all the springs is the same. These famous sulphur baths have performed many seemingly miraculous cures, and are considered usurpers of Carlsbad; and what is more important, the price of living is unbelievably low. The price one pays a day
[435] in the average European capital would serve for three or four luxurious days in Albania. It is really amazing that the price of regained health should be so astonishingly moderate. The advent of comfortable and convenient hotels has greatly increased the value of these health-restoring springs, and make them the most desirable of their kind in Europe. One of the most outstanding of these hotels is the Park Hotel constructed on European lines with comfortable bathrooms, electric light and electrotherapy by a visiting doctor.

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A 755 759 indicates that the first professional doctors inland were Turkish. Previous to the Turkish conquest, when the Serbian Empire was at its height, it is clear that there were no Serbian doctors of repute, for S 759 192 the archives of Ragusa and Venice contain letters asking that the medical man of one or other of the coast towns may be allowed to leave his post temporarily in order to visit an ailing Serbian magnate, and the ballads sometimes say of a sorely wounded hero: "Shall we send for a doctor from the coast?"

S A 755 The Serbian for doctor is "ljechnik," from "ljechiti" (to heal). This derives from Teutonic, and is akin to our old word "leech." The word "doktor" also is used. The professional doctor was evidently a foreigner. Magic was probably the oldest Balkan remedy for disease. Disease is an inexplicable mystery which demands a mystery to combat it. Wounds, on the contrary, are shrouded in no mystery and demand different treatment.

HERBAL REMEDIES IN ALBANIA

A 757 278 *For Sciatica.*—(1) The limb is beaten with stinging-nettles till blistered —a counter-irritant. I refused to allow this to be tried on me, though a neighbour vowed it had cured her. (2) The limb is rubbed with a paste of roasted onions boiled in oil. This in the form of gentle massage gave M CM some relief.

A [757] Pounded onions are commonly used for dressing contusions where the skin is broken in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and appear to have a soothing effect. Such a dressing at least prevents dirty clothing from rubbing the wound and, by keeping it clean, assists healing.

A great variety of herbs and leaves are valued as "cures" when parboiled, and applied hot to sprains, contusions, abscesses, boils, etc. In most, if not all, cases it is the hot fomentation, frequently renewed, which does the cure, rather than the particular herb. Thus at Berisha they fomented Marko's sprained ankle with ferns (*Ceterach* and *Trichomanes nigra*) boiled with wild peppermint, taking much trouble to search for and find the right kinds. Boiled walnut leaves are also believed in.

For Weak Eyes.—Pound up wall pellitory, squeeze out the juice and mix with salt. To be dropped twice a day into the eye. Maximum dose, three drops.

For a Cough.—Oil in which some tortoise flesh has been boiled; or a decoction of wild-sage leaves boiled with honey.

The leaves of the wild sage dried and made into "tea" make a very pleasant drink used in Montenegro and Albania.

Tuberculosis.—This disease, in all its forms, ravages the Balkans.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

Diseases.—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

Wounds.—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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the peasant surgeon, at any rate, though few have as much to say to the credit of the other popular doctors and charm-mongers. Matavulj, who in the second half of the last century was a faithful observer of peasant life, has a different story. 'There would not be so many cripples, blind men, lamed and deformed, in Dalmatia, were it not for the "empirics", who aggravate diseases, especially wounds, with their miraculous ointments, so that those who become incapable of work take to the beggar's staff....Thousands of priests, land-owners, merchants, and other better and worse people (in smaller places) would flare up in defence of the village Aesculapians. They would enumerate in proof thousands of examples of how this and that village Aesculapius had cured Paul or Peter, when the "doctors had given him up".' Dr Preindlberger, of Sarajevo, examined sufferers treated by village surgeons for diseases of the eye, and his grim survey was published in 1913.[1] At the present time the self-taught operator at any rate is seldom able to practise at all.

It ought to appear that rational therapy is more characteristic in dealing with accidents or hurts whose immediate cause and symptoms are apparent, such as wounds and fractures; but again accidents can be ascribed to supernatural influences, and refusal to heal quickly to various mysterious causes. Long custom can become a superstition and mystical means be called in to assist the practical. Cauterisation of boils is not at all uncommon, but in Dalmatia there is a spell in which red-hot fire tongs are held close to the boil, so that the heat can be felt, while a conjuration is said. An Albanian doctor who employs exclusively empirical means gave me a prescription for a wound ointment containing ewe's fat. As I knew of several similar preparations which do not specify ewe's fat, I ventured to ask whether a male sheep would do as well, supposing that the gender was a mere habit of speech. He said quite plainly, no, an ewe's fat was certainly most efficacious, and failing that a she-goat's; he himself never used a sheep, but it might do if there was nothing else. This is a

[1] Preindlberger, *Prilozi narodnoj medicini*, Gl.Z.M. XII, pp. 63, etc.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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A 757 278 clear case of handing on a tradition in the form in which it was probably first accidentally learned, with the selection of one particular association, in this case, the sex of an animal. The accumulation of such analogies and the substitution of drugs on an arbitrary principle of similarity are the whole growth of folk-medicine, or at any rate account for most of its inconsistencies.

S 752 Folk-surgery more than any other branch reveals the importance of imitative practical methods, the influence of indirect contact with learned medicine, which accounts for pulse diagnosis, and the examination of urine, which can enter into the diagnosis for the evil eye, as well as for better authenticated complaints. Surgery also shows the workings of local ingenuity, and individual skill, of which the rupture belt illustrated by Hovorka is a remarkable example.[1]

C 752 It is in Southern Dalmatia that some of the most interesting accounts of folk-surgery have been collected; and it is here that it still mainly flourishes. For while the peasants have lived in the neighbourhood of the oldest centres of Adriatic culture, the villages themselves are remote and poor. Here in Dalmatia, older methods of Italian schools are still employed; terminology shows distinct learned influence; and purely local inventions evidently follow these suggestions. Here we have a recent tradition of lithotomy.

A description of folk-surgery given by Dr Lilek is still, after thirty years, up to date; and the skill of the surgeons whom he mentions by name is now sometimes transmitted to a younger generation, while their names are recorded in local memory, when the surgeons themselves are no longer alive.[2] Indeed, while Dr Lilek stated that certain practices were no longer in use (e.g. operation for conjunctivitis, hernia), I heard of their more recent existence in the immediate neighbourhood of Ston.

C [759] Amongst these folk-surgeons there is on the whole a startling absence of mystical outlook. Such a typical example is Pero

[1] O. Hovorka, *Narodna Medicina na poluostrvu Pelješcu*, Gl.Z.M. XII, p. 119.
[2] *Vide* Lilek: Gl.Z.M. V.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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no cure is possible. 'Black boil' (*crni prišt*, etc.) generally seems to refer to anthrax, but the principle of cure for all similar abscesses and boils throughout the territory consists in the application of heat or of poultices to hasten suppuration, followed by cauterisation sometimes, and rarely by opening with an instrument. At Duvno in Bosnia the boil is cauterised with gunpowder in the same way, and the wound is then sprinkled with alum and a sparrow bound over it; as a precaution honey and garlic are eaten before this operation. These remedies are practised by shepherds, who suffer considerably from the complaint, and believe that unless the boil is immediately cauterised no one can survive. Honey is said to prevent the disease turning to the 'heart'. Fresh blood of a cat; the gall bladder of a bear; the head of a hare, and a hare's fat; a black cock or frog cut open alive; goose dung; pine tar on blue paper, are used. S M C 75 278 164

The plant remedies appear somewhat limited. Slav and Albanian doctors in the south-eastern area recommend the leaves or decoction of the leaves of *Sambucus ebulus* (*zova*) for both internal and external use. Root of *Lappa communis* cooked in milk. Ivy leaves applied with vinegar. For boils and furuncles, in general, a decoction of the seeds or the inner bark of *vrgova* (*Boletus agaricus*?). The whole plant including the root of *Podagraria* (?) is pounded and applied to the boil for 24 hours, after which *Betonica officinalis* is used. The local name for *Aegopodium* is *Poganica trava*, corresponding to the English 'gout weed'. Elsewhere it is a remedy for rheumatism, etc., commonly known as *poganica*, which here means a black boil. If this case is accurately quoted—and there is no reason to suppose otherwise—it seems that it is a remarkable example of the working of popular etiology. A [278 164 757]

Gunpowder is the favourite agent. Another method on the lines of that given above is to cut a hole in a slice of dry bread and to lay it over the abscess, so that the surrounding flesh is protected. The gunpowder is poured into the circle and ignited. A piece of cloth, or better a twist of unspun wool is used, but when the boil is not on the face it is sur- S C 278 755 757

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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The reference to the devil recalls a common belief that the snake carries poison, some say 'a devil' (*vrag*) in its tail, or that it passes to the tail when a snake dies (cf. Gl.Z.M. 12). A great number of snake-bite exorcisms found in mediaeval writings are preserved in more or in less corrupt forms, those which commemorate St Paul, for example, and refer to the legend of cure on Patmos.

S 752 755

Dog bites and other animal bites are also counteracted with bandages, cauterisation and vomiting, but the characteristic treatment employs two methods non-popular in origin, blood-letting and the use of the cantharides fly. The universal first-aid remedy is to apply the halves of a bean or white pea, with saliva or chewed up, to the wound, but the fear of madness (*bijes*) has introduced many more complicated methods. It is held that not every person is susceptible to the disease, while in some even the bite of a healthy animal may prove fatal. Immunity is sometimes ensured by being born on the same day as the beast in question, and so on. A brief sketch of the beliefs concerning infection has been given above, and these hold good at the present time for many people. The effect of a bite of an animal is clearly very different from the action of snake or insect venom (*jad*, *otrov*), an expression seldom heard in connection with the former. Blood is extracted from the veins under the tip of the tongue, less usually from an incision made over the vertebral processes in the neck or on the temples. Another way of getting rid of the little mad dogs which cause the infection (*skotići*) is to take off one's clothes and leave them under a stone in the open for forty days, during which time the embryos incubate and can then be killed and wiped off the clothes.

S A 752 278 757

The Spanish fly is widely known as a remedy for dog bite and for gonorrhoea. The fly is drunk whole in brandy or eaten in a piece of bread; or, cut up or pounded, serves as an ingredient for other drugs. This remedy has long since passed into folk-medicine proper, and the collection and distribution of the insects—not always the true cantharides—are generally a personal monopoly. A certain Nikola Simonović,

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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for instance, living in a hamlet about five miles off the Peć-Berane route, collects certain 'green flies' on the trees where they swarm, on St John's Eve, and generally gives them where they are needed without payment. He catches them alone at sundown, and implies that the business has to be undertaken in a certain way, but I do not think that any particular ritual form is observed here. With the fly a warning is given that, should the dog who has inflicted the bite not be genuinely mad, the medicine will cause severe pains and vomiting and bring on a sickness. For madness the flies are taken in brandy; for gonorrhoea they are pounded with nutmeg and mixed with water. In other places these flies are caught by old women, and from some accounts it would seem not unlikely that charms or some form of minor ritual are used. The seeds of burdock, either raw and pounded or cooked in water, are taken internally. Onions and garlic, of course, are universal remedies. Garlic, with *Ruta graveolens* and salt give a variant, while onions with honey and vinegar make a suitable salve for the wound. White maggots found in rose hips are eaten in bread. The tubercles on the root of *Verbascum thapsus* pounded are given as a remedy, and if this identification of a popular name is correct it is interesting that one of the folk-doctors whom I met in the Lim region quoted it to me as a general antitoxic specific. It is also used for scrofula. The bite of a human being is treated with garlic, bacon fat and pine tar washed three times. A wolf bite was fumigated with resinous fir (*lučevina*), but this remedy was supposed to be ineffectual for the bite of any other creature, or for any other kind of wound.

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BLOOD-LETTING

Blood-letting was, and in remoter districts still is, chiefly the monopoly of the barber class. These operators generally have special instruments—a small cutting instrument with a short blade controlled by a spring, or a cylindrical multi-bladed *nefter* manipulated with a screw—which are used throughout the Near East by doctors of the old school. The peasant

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5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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of the neck for dog bite. Venous blood was let from the arm or leg for almost any illness due to bad blood, including headache. An incision was made above the veins in the hollow of the elbow, made to swell by a ligature on the upper arm, and blood extracted by means of a small cup or glass. In taking blood from the head at Levač they bind the neck, and when extracting it from the arm the operators tie a cord above the elbow. When an abdominal swelling appeared after intermittent fever it was diagnosed as a disease of the liver or the spleen. According to which side of the body it was found the doctors made a small cut in the lobe of the right or left ear and extracted a few drops of blood. The swelling was treated directly with a plaster of pine tar spread on bread, and the patient also drank a decoction of herbs, including *Artemisia*, *Malva*, *Marrubium*.

S 752

STEAMING AND FUMIGATION

Sweating is effected by bathing in hot water, by fumigation and by steaming. Throughout the territory a very usual method of procuring steam is still by the method of dropping a red-hot iron or stone into a large vessel of water, over which the patient leans or sits. Possibly this is an example of an older procedure for heating water preserved specifically in therapeutic associations, since, in daily life, it would seldom be necessary now to resort to this clumsier method, convenient only for the preparation of sherbet and hot alcoholic drinks. It is used for heating large quantities of water, when it is not convenient to do so over a fire, or when the container is of wood, but the point is still that for steaming in illness it is done when there is no practical necessity at all. This may simply be because the doctors who advise this method themselves come from a less advanced material culture environment and are often from mountain districts. Yet I have seen it done in towns, for example, at Peć, and regard it as a survival. Thus it was when a person was suffering from piles or constipation, he sat on a plank, balanced on two chairs, over a hole, and a copper pan of water was placed below him.

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S [252] [273]

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

The favourite remedy in Scutari for the pulmonary form was a drink 757
made of the root of "bader" (*Iris Dalmatica*), which grows wild 278
plentifully. It soothed the throat and allayed coughing somewhat.

Diarrhœa.—A decoction of oak bark—a strong astringent—was efficacious.

Constipation.—There was no local remedy. It was a very common trouble and I was constantly asked for "English salts."

Opium "tea," made by boiling haphazard a handful of poppy-seed, was given recklessly to stop pain. It was common to give a small dose nightly to infants to keep them quiet. In a communal house, where some twenty people sleep together, a crying child is not tolerated. Children suffering from opium poisoning were often brought to the Austrian hospital, the mother being quite unaware of the cause of the child's state.

Animal Remedies.—When I was suffering from acute sciatica, was [755
paralysed with pain, and quite helpless, Marko wanted to slaughter 758]
a sheep in the yard and wrap me in the raw hide. As is customary when people are ill, all the neighbours crowded into my room to cheer me. When I was on the point of collapse with pain and heat, the cat jumped on to my bad leg, hurting me horribly. The neighbours [787]
chorused: "Thank God! The cat has jumped on her. Now she will not die. The cat always knows."

Then the Austrian doctor carried me off to his hospital.

The reason given for the raw hide is that the sheep eats many herbs and their virtue will soak into the patient. But in fact the raw hide is a hot fomentation. Other beasts are used.

This same Austrian doctor told me he was called to a moribund man. The hut was crowded, it was midsummer, and the heat and stench indescribable. Ten days before, a black cat had been split and applied to the patient's abdomen and was still there.

Enteric Fever.—This is endemic all through the Balkans. In Albania a horrid remedy was believed in. The dung of a dog which had been dropped on a stone and dried in the sun was pounded and given in water. I vainly tried to prevent this on one occasion; but the dose had been prepared by the local priest, who had the greatest faith in it. This repulsive remedy was included in the official pharmacopœia of Vienna till 1795, to be used internally for dysentery and griping pains. In Albania, at any rate, patients survived the treatment. Did the dog's dung supply an intestinal bacillus which combated that of enteric?

Emetic.—Human excrement mixed with water was given. Mixed with rakia it was given to an habitual drunkard with the idea of curing him. The experiment failed.

The boiled flesh of the glass snake (*Pseudopus pallasi*), a common

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Birth, Marriage, and Death

In 1392 Bogavach Cuiavich of Rudine of his own free will releases 000
from servitude Radaca, daughter of John of Albania, whom he had bought of Braycho Ucarich.

This seems to have been the case of an actual slave. But the lot of others, when sold for a long term of service, can have been little better than slavery unless they fell into good hands.

ALBANIA

I heard of a similar custom of thus selling children for a term of A 597
years in Malacastra in South Albania. Here poor Moslems sometimes sent their daughters as far as Constantinople; and I was told that some of the Albanian beys thus purchased servant-girls from their mothers, and at the end of the term dowered them and married them to peasants on the estate. The Italian Consul at Valona, the first time I was there, told me he had thus purchased a servant girl.

Birth.—In Albania, as in Montenegro, childbirth received but the M A 844
most ignorant treatment. The death-rate of mothers and children was high.

There was great rejoicing among the mountain tribes when a boy was born and proportionate disappointment over a girl. For a son, especially a first-born, the whole family group turned out and fired rifles.

Some kind of spiritual relationship was held to exist between the child and the woman who cut the umbilical cord; but I learnt no particulars.

As in Montenegro, even in the towns there was the greatest reluctance to summon medical aid. In Scutari one day the Austrian doctor was summoned to a Moslem woman who was in the last stages of A
exhaustion. He found the child was already dead, and said that to [758]
save the woman's life it must be removed at once. The family refused to believe or permit this and dismissed him. Some hours later they fetched him again—but she was dead.

On the birth of a child, both in Scutari and the mountains, all the A
women neighbours go at once to visit the mother and take offerings [431
of eggs. For a boy, two, four, six, or eight—an even number—are 777]
brought; for a girl, one, three, five, or seven. One egg is broken over the child's face to protect it from the Evil Eye. Presumably this makes the child unrecognizable or hideous.

Both in Albania and Montenegro, and I believe in all Balkan lands, M A 854
infants are swaddled. The cradle is of wood and serves as a packing-case in which to carry the child on its mother's back. In Scutari the cradles A 854
are very gaily painted with conventional patterns of flowers and birds, 531

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

757 278 antiseptic properties. This plant is still used for similar purposes by homœopathists.

An ingenious way of keeping a limb warm is to wrap it in hot dough.

757 753 It was always difficult to persuade folk to have a running sore or boil cleaned up, as they believed that it was very healthy—a disease was coming out, therefore the more pus the better. I persuaded the father of a little girl who had scratched her face and got it covered with nasty sores to take her to the Austrian hospital. The doctor cleaned it up in a few days and the father was furious. He was sure the disease was now driven into the child and said he should hold the doctor guilty if she died. Luckily she flourished.

757 151 Two examples of resistance to pain and shock, out of very many I have known, will give an idea of Albanian toughness.

A Shala friend of mine, Cherim Nue, came one night from his mountains to Scutari to ask me for a "bar" (herb). He was in great pain with a swollen face. As he had two very bad teeth, I told him to go to the Turkish dentist and have them out, and gave him the fee—four chereks. Next day he returned triumphant to pay me back one cherek. He thought it a pity to waste four on the dentist, so he bought [563 a pair of dentistry forceps from a gipsy smith for three chereks and 326] pulled out his own teeth. He showed me how he had managed a good wrench by sitting on the ground and twisting his left leg over his right arm. He set up as dentist in the mountains, and last time I saw him 759 told me with glee that I had made his fortune. He had pulled out most of the teeth of the neighbourhood.

752 757 The following case gives an idea of what an Albanian peasant can survive: A man was standing on top of the steps of a village house in Zadrima loading a cart. He slipped and fell on to the sharp stakes that formed its sides and ripped open his abdomen. The peritoneum was badly torn and the bowels protruded. His family filled the wound [278] with a favourite remedy—mud mixed with grass; and he lay in his hut for a week. As he then appeared to be dying they put him on a cart and took him some six or eight hours over a bad track to the Austrian hospital at Scutari, where they arrived at midnight. The doctor who was called up told me that the man appeared to be moribund. The wound was in a horrible state of mixed mud, pus, and bowel. "More from professional instinct than because I thought it would be the least use, I cleaned it and dressed it. But I was so sure the man would die that I told his comrades they were to wait till next day to take his body home in the cart." To his surprise, when he went his rounds next morning the patient's high temperature had fallen, 757 the wound was going well, and he was comparatively cheerful. He 278 made good progress for some days, but had a fixed belief that "English

PUBLIC HEALTH

The hygienic education of the people has 744
met with great success.

A part of the health program of Albania is the improvement of sanitation in all the villages and towns.

The Albanian doctors are graduates of the 759
medical schools of various foreign universities, mostly of Vienna, Austria, and are rapidly becoming specialists in their fields.

In addition to the hospitals, there are, 743
naturally, clinics, dispensaries and other sanitary and hygienic institutions.

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

in touch with the political leaders; and Maclean to Vorre to reconnoitre the German ammunition dumps. I prepared meanwhile to return with Davis to Mukai, but our departure was delayed by the discovery that our mules had been stolen. Towards evening, however, I managed to borrow substitutes, and, loading the wireless set and batteries on one of these, joined Smiley and Said in the small hours of 21st August. Maclean returned next day; but our hopes of rest were intercepted by the intelligence of a Partisan advance, and we moved, therefore, into the neighbourhood of Kruya. It was quite a short march but agonizing for Said, who was stricken by a sharp attack of malaria. The poor fellow, indeed, was so ill that he had to be supported in the saddle; and that evening, alarmed by his condition, we sent into Kruya for a doctor.

The city of Skanderbeg could boast of only two physicians, and the first of these declined our courier's invitation for fear of the Germans. The second, however, accepted without hesitation, saying that at his age he was afraid of no one. He was, indeed, a hundred and eight years old, but sat his horse like a young man and made light of a two hours' ride through the mountains. His drooping, tobacco-stained moustache suggested that abstinence was not the secret of his longevity; and at lunch, when he ate meat and drank wine with the rest of us, he told us that he had been married five times. The old mountaineer obviously enjoyed the adventure and told us that he was glad to be able to help the enemies of the Germans. Despite his years, the desire for revenge still smouldered in him, and he explained that the Austrians had shot two of his grandsons in the last war. He was delighted, moreover, to attend Said and recalled that, as a medical officer, he had served under one of his ancestors in the Turkish army. He had learnt his medicine in Istanbul in the seventies of the last century, and was ignorant of later developments in the art of healing. Nevertheless his potions revived Said, and he successfully relieved minor ailments in others of our party.

Meanwhile, throughout the Balkans, the revolution of events proceeded with ever-increasing momentum. On 24th

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

A 755 indicates that the first professional doctors inland were Turkish. 759 Previous to the Turkish conquest, when the Serbian Empire was at its height, it is clear that there were no Serbian doctors of repute, for S the archives of Ragusa and Venice contain letters asking that the 759 medical man of one or other of the coast towns may be allowed to 192 leave his post temporarily in order to visit an ailing Serbian magnate, and the ballads sometimes say of a sorely wounded hero: "Shall we send for a doctor from the coast?"

The Serbian for doctor is "ljechnik," from "ljechiti" (to heal). This S derives from Teutonic, and is akin to our old word "leech." The word A "doktor" also is used. The professional doctor was evidently a foreigner. 755 Magic was probably the oldest Balkan remedy for disease. Disease is an inexplicable mystery which demands a mystery to combat it. Wounds, on the contrary, are shrouded in no mystery and demand different treatment.

HERBAL REMEDIES IN ALBANIA

A *For Sciatica.*—(1) The limb is beaten with stinging-nettles till blistered 757 —a counter-irritant. I refused to allow this to be tried on me, though a 276 neighbour vowed it had cured her. (2) The limb is rubbed with a paste of roasted onions boiled in oil. This in the form of gentle massage gave M some relief.

CM Pounded onions are commonly used for dressing contusions where A the skin is broken in Albania, Macedonia, and Montenegro, and appear [757] to have a soothing effect. Such a dressing at least prevents dirty clothing from rubbing the wound and, by keeping it clean, assists healing.

A great variety of herbs and leaves are valued as "cures" when parboiled, and applied hot to sprains, contusions, abscesses, boils, etc. In most, if not all, cases it is the hot fomentation, frequently renewed, which does the cure, rather than the particular herb. Thus at Berisha they fomented Marko's sprained ankle with ferns (*Ceterach* and *Trichomanes nigra*) boiled with wild peppermint, taking much trouble to search for and find the right kinds. Boiled walnut leaves are also believed in.

For Weak Eyes.—Pound up wall pellitory, squeeze out the juice and mix with salt. To be dropped twice a day into the eye. Maximum dose, three drops.

For a Cough.—Oil in which some tortoise flesh has been boiled; or a decoction of wild-sage leaves boiled with honey.

The leaves of the wild sage dried and made into "tea" make a very pleasant drink used in Montenegro and Albania.

Tuberculosis.—This disease, in all its forms, ravages the Balkans.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Croats EF4
Albania EG1

These, with the knives of circumcision, complete the armamentarium of Turkish surgery in these parts.

The peasant doctor, on the other hand, seldom has any special instruments, but employs ordinary knives, sharp stones, crystals, thorns, lumps of sugar, needles, coins, and what he himself can make out of wood, such as splints. Here and there a special silver needle is kept for acupuncture and inoculation. Feathers are used in applying salves. The sorcerer or seeress has generally a black-handled knife, which should be made or specially or ritually prepared; and the rest of the paraphernalia is selected from objects in common use.

The barbers and travelling doctors have a fixed scale of charges, and so have many village specialists. When a man cannot pay immediately, he is required to leave a pledge. Such specialists can draw patients from a great distance, and make considerable profits, though in fear of restrictions, due, they say, to the jealousy of the gentlemen doctors. Most of them provide the drug, or prepare it specially for each patient; many keep a stock of their standard ointment or medicine; some only give advice and oral prescriptions. At Otok it was believed that the doctors would lose the protection of the *vile* if they charged more than a certain minimum fee. Those who write charms, and these are mostly Mohammedan *hodjas*, have also a fixed tariff.

Before the coming of qualified doctors to Serbia (first in 1819) who, until the foundation of the Medical Faculty at Belgrade in 1920, were trained abroad, and in early times were exclusively foreigners, the arts of healing were practised regularly by various native self-taught doctors, folk-doctors proper, and by travelling specialists, such as the *kaliatroi* from Epirus. These latter, whose learning was generally hereditary, travelled mostly in groups, and as far as Bosnia and Serbia. Members of this old school are still found in remoter places of the South and in Albania. In the provinces under Turkey the same system continued until very recent years, with here and there an oriental trained doctor in the towns.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Croats EF4
Montenegrins EF5

the following: Heat about half a litre of olive oil and add a small piece of pine tar, the size of a walnut, a similar quantity of incense and of sheep fat, and a rather smaller lump of beeswax (he used more incense in his mixture than any other prescription known to me) and after mixing and adding these things gradually over the fire, add three herbs, which he called *stog*, *pësmëtin* and *bar i hajl* ('dog's weed'). When the mixture seems firm and comes away in a ball from the edge of the pan in which it is cooked, it should be strained through a clean white cloth, pressing it out hard as we do in cheese-making, and then put into another vessel and beaten up with a spoon or a stick until it froths. This was an example to me of how much trouble is taken to prepare these apparently simple remedies. The cooking, straining and beating took at least a couple of hours, sometimes the cooking took most of the day, and the process was finished the next day. This particular surgeon knew where the herbs that he needed grew, and kept a supply of them, but they had to be fresh picked, and for some reason he preferred to gather them at a high altitude, perhaps because as a mountain man he did not know their habitat in the plains. For incense and olive oil one had to find a shop or a villager who used these things. Although for the treatment of cattle there was a fixed tariff, he seldom took anything unless a voluntary present or his expenses for curing a wound. A story which reflected both to his moral credit and professional code tells that he had even cured where he was owed blood.

Other remedies for wounds include: leaves of centaury and *Melissa officinalis* and the dust of a live coal pounded; for a more serious or larger wound, the marrow of pig's bones and the horns of cattle mixed with the yolk of an egg and a little pounded root of *Symphytum* (*gavez*); *Arum*, which is also used for tumours; *Helleborus*—a piece of the root is sometimes pushed into a wound; darnel; *Veronica* which is also used for skin diseases.

In Albania, Montenegro and Hercegovina I found that both wounds and severe bruises, etc., were frequently treated

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

754 was who used to do wonders. The bey thought it a good idea, and the man was fetched from his cell. He was very willing to perform, and asked only for a bowl of water. One was brought, and he made an [787] incantation over it. He then said that if any guest would name a place he wished to see, it could be seen in the water. Someone asked for Malta, and Malta was duly reflected; the harbour, the quay, and a steamer just getting up steam. When it had been admired, the magician asked the bey: "Have I your permission, noble Bey, to go off in that steamer?"

"Certainly," said the bey.

The magician lifted his foot and put it on the steamer in the water-bowl, and immediately went off in that steamer and was never heard of again. No one but myself could see anything improbable in this amazing tale; with Beelzebub all things are possible.

2. The Evil Eye

754 The Evil Eye was rampant. At Vukli an unhappy woman told me 761 it had killed all her eight children. A man there, to prove the power of his eye, had stared at a bunch of grapes, which had withered under his gaze and fallen to the ground before the awe-struck spectators. I did not meet this man.

754 Marko had a milch ewe he greatly valued. One day a mountain woman came to the door begging. He gave her bread, but she was not satisfied, and as she left she looked at the poor beast, which was perfectly well, and said: "What a fine ewe!" Soon afterwards it began to sicken. Marko sent for the vet., who said at once: "I can do nothing—someone has looked at this ewe. You must find her and make her remove the spell." She could not be found and the ewe died. Marko cut her up for mutton. I expressed horror. "The meat," said he, "is beautiful. There was nothing the matter with the ewe except a lot of yellow spots in its liver, made by that woman."

754 *Protection against Evil Eye.*—Many amulets are worn. Most horses 777 and many cattle wear blue beads (sham turquoise), tufts of badger-hair, which is said to be very efficacious, or triangular leather cases containing inscriptions. A universal protection, as in many other parts of the world, is a horn or horns. Though the horse-skull is now popular to guard fields and houses, the original skull was probably a horned one, e.g. the familiar ox-skull carved on the frieze of many a classical and pseudo-classical building. A pair of boar's tusks, mounted as a crescent and hung round the neck, is a favourite amulet for a handsome [776] saddle-horse. It prevents evil spirits riding the horse at night and

2; Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

it was not." As "first aid" for a wound he prescribed the yolk of an 757
egg and a lot of salt, well mixed and applied on a pad of wool; after- 826
wards dress as above. It was very necessary, he said, to leave no 752
splinters of bone in a wound. He described how he had spent two hours removing seventeen splinters from a fractured tibia with some little forceps he had made himself. You must work slowly and very carefully. You must watch your patient and compare his symptoms with those of others. So you learn. He had lately mended the leg of a horse by slinging it to the branch of a tree and putting the limb in a splint.

A shot through the knee, he declared, was usually fatal, and one [761] through the ankle was difficult to make a good job of. But three fingers' breadth below the knee-cap and three above the ankle he could always be sure of curing.

For inflammation he used leeches freely. Had just treated a woman successfully for apoplexy. She was "dead" on one side and speechless. He bled her from the temple on the "dead" side and seven times from the arm on the other side. She was better next day, and he bled her five times. She completely recovered. Marash expounded head-surgery. The head, he said, is like an egg. There is a shell, then a skin, and then the meat. If this skin is broken through you can do nothing; if it is not and the fractured skull is only pressing on the brain it is curable. He demonstrated how a flap should be cut and turned back. The broken pieces of bone must be carefully removed and replaced by a piece of hard-dried bottle-gourd chosen to fit the shape. The ointment must be added and the flap replaced and dressed. Some men were very clever at cutting away bone. He had never cut away skull-bone himself. A man in Mirdita had lately cut away a large piece of the skull of an injured man successfully. He indicated the upper part of the left parietal. The "kirijee" boy from whom I had hired horses then told us that he had a piece of bottle-gourd in his head. Had been knocked on the head and stunned in a quarrel, and been unconscious till a "hekim" had taken out the broken bone. Now he said he never felt any trouble except that his head itched a good deal. I felt his head carefully, and there certainly was a hard edge to be found.

Marash Hutzi had a great reputation for curing wounds and certainly deserved it. It is of interest to find that a strictly antiseptic method was being used so long ago as his grandfather's time in the Albanian mountains when in England we still washed our wounds with any pump-water. Marash was over sixty. Trephining, I was told, was still practised to cure pains in the head, but I did not meet a case.

A dressing much used for slight wounds was olive oil in which a 757
quantity of pounded leaves of the common St. John's wort (*Hypericum* 278
perforatum) had been macerated in the sun. This seemed to have some

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he 757
was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some 278
and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse.

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the 761
Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is 753
said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad ear-ache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose.

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could [842
conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives 174]
as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it.

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

764 into it, and even the men are frequently heard to sob aloud. As soon as it is filled up, however, a sudden silence prevails, for now the *Kokiete*, the Greek [262] Kólyva (Κόλυβα)[1] is handed round, and it is accounted sinful to mourn whilst eating it. As each person takes a handful of this funeral dish, he says, "May he (or she) be forgiven."

765 On this and the two following days, the house of mourning is filled with a succession of condoling friends, who bring with them all the food necessary [252] for the family, for no cooking is done in it during this period. Others send presents of wine or spirits, the bearer of which delivers them with the words: "May I have come for your good." On the third day, the wailing at the grave is repeated, and continued in the house of mourning for forty days, being performed either early on the morning of each day, or on Sundays and feast days only, by the women of the house and those who visit them for this purpose.

[184] With members of the Orthodox Church it is customary, as among the Greeks, to exhume the bones at the end of three years. Moslems, however, have a great dislike to disturbing a dead body in any way.

765 The grief of relatives is, as a rule, less demon-
761 strative for the death of a woman; and for a man well stricken in years, no wailing takes place. In the latter case, the deceased has usually set aside one or more sheep to be sacrificed on his death as an atonement for his sins, the flesh of which serves for the funeral feast. At this feast, the guests drink "to

[1] See description of this funeral dish, vol. i. p. 99.

[Analyst's note: Kólyva is made of flour, boiled wheat, pomegranates, raisins, nuts, and spices.]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

765
761

the forgiveness" of the departed, and sing funeral songs in his honour.

When, as often happens, a man dies at a distance from his home, on the arrival of the tidings of his death, the funeral ceremonies are, with the exception of the actual interment, performed as above described. The women lament, friends hasten to comfort them, and the procession goes to church, the place of the bier being occupied by a youth, who carries the dish of *Kólyva*, on which is placed a cake for the priest.

765

Only slight changes are generally made in their dress by the Albanian women on the death of a relative. The chief mourners cut their hair short, turn their coats inside out, so that the fur lining alone is seen, and lay aside all ornaments. The nieces of the deceased allow their hair to hang loose for some months, or cut off a lock, and wear on their heads a black kerchief. A similar head-dress is assumed by the widow, who, if she has arrived at middle age, wears it for the rest of her life. If, however, she is still young, and intends to return to her father's house with the expectation of finding another husband, she wears at the same time her bridal apparel, and does not manifest such an exaggerated degree of grief.

[604]

[292 587]

Sometimes, as illustrated in the history of Shainitza[1] and in folk-tale,[2] the grief of the women finds expression in giving to their dwelling the most dismal and funereal appearance, by painting black either the whole of the outside of the house, or the shutters only, and covering up or removing from their usual places the mirrors and other ornaments.

[1] See p. 225. [2] P. 315.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 personifications of the powers of Nature. Of these imaginary beings, some belong exclusively to Albania, [171] while others may also be found among the superstitions of Slavs, Greeks, and Turks. The Vilas seem to approach most nearly to our own fairies; though, like the Nereids of the Greeks, they are of the full stature of mortals. Like our fairies, too, it is unlucky to mention them by name, and they are generally referred to as "Those outside," "The Happy Ones," the "Brides of May," or "The Brides of the Mountain." As a rule they are harmless, if not offended, and amuse themselves with elfish tricks, such as taking little children up to the roof of the house to play with and bringing them back safely. 776 They, however, take it very ill when mortals disturb 753 them in their haunts, and interrupt their banquets; and 761 so capricious are they, that they will place themselves invisibly in spots where they are likely to be disturbed, in order to have a little vent for their pent-up malice. The unlucky wight who sets an irreverent foot within their elfin rings receives a stroke from an invisible hand, and ere long sickens and dies. In consequence of this belief, it is said of one for whose death no adequate cause can be assigned, "He has received a blow."

776 The favourite haunts of the Vilas are retired and shady spots, but they also have a partiality for the gutters on the eaves of houses, which it is a rather risky matter to clean out, especially at night. The Vilas are said, in North Albania, to be of two kinds—well-disposed and beautiful beings, who ride about on fleet horses; and ill-disposed and hideous creatures,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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A horrible belief prevails among the Ghegs that when 776
men or women live to be a hundred years old their 753
breath becomes poisonous and kills healthy people. 761
Von Hahn says that old people suspected of causing 888
sickness in this way, especially when an epidemic is raging, have atoned for their longevity with a fiery death at the hands of their panic-stricken neighbours.[1]

A curious notion is also shared by Greeks and Albanians that shadows are capable of assuming an independent existence, and, being malevolently disposed, are able to deal men blows which usually cause their death. 776 822 761

The Dif, or Dev (δίφι, δίβι, δεφ, δίβι), is, like the Kūrdish supernal of the latter name,[2] a being possessed of extraordinary physical strength. "He is a regular Dif" is said of a remarkably strong man, as we say, "He is another Samson." According to the people of Elbassan, the Dif is an enormous giant who lives underground and never comes to the surface, and whose business it is to keep the cauldrons boiling which supply the hot and medicinal springs in the neighbourhood of that town. These springs, in common with those found in other parts of the country, are much resorted to for curative purposes. Their waters are, however, drunk indiscriminately for all kinds of ailments, without regard to their various medicinal properties. The cures effected not being attributed to the water itself so much as to the influence of the magical beings who have their abodes in the springs and wells, people consequently go 776 [823] 776 755

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 163.

[2] See p. 155. Von Hahn suggests an Indian origin for this word, which, he says, he had found in no other part of Turkey. *Op. cit.* p. 162.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

charred corpses, howling like wolves, donkeys, 775
pigs, black cats, crows, oil-jars, brooms, &c. The Karkantsoli is the reanimated corpse of a Gipsy, which is believed to wander about, more especially during [761] January nights, ridden by cats, and slaying men with its poisonous breath.

In Albania, as in all the remoter parts of Turkey, 172
there is no Pelasgian ruin to which is not attached 776
some legend of a treasure hidden, and either "guarded 789
by word and by spell," or placed in the safe keeping of a gigantic Negro, Djin, or other Supernal. Those who have concealed treasure in such places have also, it is believed, fixed the time at which it may be brought to light, and have left to their heirs a document containing a description of the hiding-place, the formula of the magic spell pronounced over it at the moment of burial, with the year, day, and hour, on which alone it can be recovered.[1] At the appointed time the heir goes to the spot indicated, pronounces the mysterious words, and the treasure immediately rises to the surface. Sometimes, however, the treasure is buried in such a way that, at the appointed time, it rises spontaneously to the surface, and any one finding it may appropriate it. The lucky person must, however, be careful to keep his own counsel in the matter, or he will be punished by finding the gold turned to charcoal, and will not long survive the incident. When the treasure is in the keeping of a Negro, he 776
occasionally spreads it out in the sunshine in order that it may not be damaged by the damp, and, at the

[1] Compare the Kürdish story of "The Armenian and the Dervish," p. 169.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, [491] as in those of other nations, are said to have been formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 731 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

[1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

PEAKS OF SHALA

776 heard them singing, and once, in the Wood of the Ora, which we will pass to-morrow, I heard 761 them[1] talking together in the twilight. I heard 776 them say that my cousin would die," said Cheremi, seriously.

"And did he die?"

"Of course," said he, surprised by the question. "He was a strong man, but within six weeks, sitting beside the fire one night, he said that he felt a pain in his heart, and in an hour he was dead." Cheremi crossed himself.

361 "But about the city of Pog. Does anyone ever go there? Could we go there?"

People sometimes went, he said; the shepherds always went to cut the branches of the trees, which belonged to the tribe of Pultit. How far was it from where we stood? He thought for [804] a time, and said, "Four hours." Albanians have no measure for distance except the time it takes to walk it, and this time corresponds with no measurement of ours. He had said that our walk of that day would be an hour and a half; we had already been exhausting every ounce of energy and breath for four, and were scarcely a third of the way.

"What does one find when one gets there?"

"Very little. There is the old wall which you see, and on the rock one can follow the lines of the walls of houses, built square and with many rooms, and from the rocks which have fallen they must have been tall houses. That is all, except that on some of the large stones one can

1 [The ora or nature spirits - [46] Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

property, however, he continued to regard as fair game; but, though he sometimes boasted to me of his plundering expeditions, he was careful for my sake to honour the eleventh commandment. 579

Our guide seemed only casually acquainted with the district, and was besides terrified by rumours that a German patrol had been seen by the river earlier that night. Kolaver, however, encouraged him to find the path by alternately promising glittering rewards and jabbing him in the ribs with my submachine-gun. At last, after wandering for nearly four hours through rolling woods and meadows, we reached the house of Ramadan Kalloshi, where Maclean and Riddle were asleep. 000

Murad, the head of the powerful Kalloshi clan, had followed Zog into exile and lay in Istanbul, stricken with epilepsy. In his absence the leadership of the family was divided between his son, Ramadan, and his half brother, Myftar. In accordance with Dibran practice these two had proceeded to a division of labour: Ramadan pursued a pro-Allied policy, keeping in touch with the British missions, the Zogists, and the L.N.C., while Myftar sided with the Axis and led the government forces against the Macedonian Partisans. Ramadan was a dark young man, with the smooth, round features, delicate eyebrows, and moustache of a Moghul miniature. His nature was sombre and brooding, but he spoke with breath-taking frankness. Next morning in the course of conversation Riddle enquired after the health of his relatives and asked: 669* 669* 761

"How is your cousin, Selim?"

"The dead one?" Ramadan queried.

"Forgive me," Riddle said, "I didn't know that he had died."

"Well, he's not dead yet," came the reply, "but the doctors say that there is little hope, so we call him 'the Dead One' and are dividing up his property!"

His words sounded blatantly cynical, but they were not meant to shock, and it struck me at the time that they were symbolic of the attitude of the Albanians towards the problems of the war. In their eyes the Germans, like Selim, were "dead", because past hope of recovery; and the approaching

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 [761] annihilation of both left no more room for hatred of the one than for love of the other. Like Ramadan, they were now solely concerned with staking out their claims to the succession, and saw no object in seeking to hasten or retard by a few days a process which was already moving swiftly to its appointed end. In such a mental climate all appeals to sentiment must fall on deaf ears; but Ramadan was quick to see the strength of our argument that the Gheg chiefs must attack the Germans if they wanted to receive Allied support. He pleaded indeed that his clan was too weak to begin such a struggle alone, but undertook to join in if Abas Kupi, or Muharrem Bairaktar, should give a lead. He also put forward the interesting suggestion that we should invite the Gheg leaders to a congress to discuss the terms on which they would agree to fight.

"They'll give each other courage," he said, "and with so many competing for Allied support you'll get them all cheaper!"

We marched northwards from our meeting with Ramadan Kalloshi, following the low range of hills above the Drin until we came to Sohodoll, the stronghold of the Elezis. Elezis and Kalloshis had long contended for supremacy in Dibra, and a blood feud had raged between them since the days of the Turkish occupation. The Kalloshis were supporters of King Zog; the Elezis, Republicans; but, for the time being, they observed a truce arranged by Fikri Dine. Tsen, the chief of the Elezis, had fought against the Italians in 1943, and had severely mauled a company of Germans who had sought to arrest Peter Kemp when a guest in his house. Fear of the Communists, however, had led him to make peace with Tirana; and he had gone there now to receive the salaried title of a Colonel in the government forces and a grant, it was said, of four thousand napoleons. His eldest son, Jelal, was with him, living at government expense in the *Daiti*, Tirana's one luxury hotel. His brother, Ersat, defended the Partisan interest in north Dibra; his nephew, Dali, commanded the first L.N.C. division; and two sons, Islam and Gani, were in touch, on their father's behalf, with Abas Kupi,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

782 other offerings. If they irritated them, as an oath-taker would do by perjuring himself, they could only expect punishment.

A most interesting example of the working of physical contact which is certainly of pagan origin was found in the Moslem district [778] of Sulovë, south-west of Elbasan. There the most hardened oath-taker dare not forswear himself in a serious case, for he must then take the oath with a coin in his mouth, and perjury would bring [764] him certain death. The coin was clearly Charon's obol, as was the coin slipped on to the chest of Albanian dead in many widely separated areas.

In the exclusively Catholic oath 'by the stone' the solemnity of the oath came from the contact with a holy thing, and punishment for perjury was inflicted in any form that the sacred object chose. When, however, elders swore their equally solemn oath with a stone, log of wood or other weight on their shoulder, or when a man, stone on shoulder, claimed repayment of a dead man's debt, no principle of contact was involved. There was rather a quite crude belief that a perjuring elder would be punished by having to carry the weight for ever and ever in the next world.

775 God punished the perjurer both in this world and in the next. When the man died, his soul was lost, for being 'heavy-laden before the Lord' it had nowhere to go. If he was an elder who had taken an oath with a stone on his shoulder, he was doomed to carry the stone through all eternity. The first of these terrors was evidently inspired by the Church. The second is an older fear. The elder, when taking the oath, often expressed his willingness to carry the stone in the next world if he perjured himself, but an accused man left his future condition to be inferred, except for the cryptic phrase 'If I did it, may He reward me', which he sometimes inserted in his oath. When he was thinking only of himself he meant, according to the Catholics of Kurbin, 'If I lie may God kill me. If I tell the truth, may He forgive me my sins.' When he contrasted himself with his accuser he meant, 'If I did it may I suffer for it. If I didn't, and you've made me run the risk of taking this oath without due cause, may *you* suffer for it.' This sentence seems to have died out among the Moslems.

[761] Death was the commonest, and most dreaded, form of punish-
783 ment in this world. In the most solemn oaths it was specified—a son's in the oath by the child's head, the oath-taker's own in the oaths by his own head, with Charon's coin in his mouth, and in

A 754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A [163 761] Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So A [751] terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh A [853 777] air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The M 754 853 same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the A 755 child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air and sunlight.

A 754 755 Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away. It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead. The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He A [681] rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying, 'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

A 754 776 777 In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special precaution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors, the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

Y 775 761 Several local Austrian governors told me that in the early years of the Austrian occupation the burning of lampirs' bodies was frequent. The Government forbade and suppressed the practice and caused much discontent. A recent case (told me in 1906) was caused by an outbreak of enteric at Vlasenitza. A young man died. His wife sickened and vowed that her husband had returned at night and sucked her blood. The terrified villagers wanted to dig up and burn his body. The authorities forbade it. The lampir was then seen and heard by many persons whose blood he sucked. Fifteen persons died. It would be interesting to know how many died of enteric, and how many because A they believed they were doomed to die by the lampir.

CM 761 The peasants all through Albania and Macedonia I found to be extraordinarily affected mentally if convinced they must die. They would then make no effort to live, but simply "lie down and die."

A 761 787 In Albania I heard of several cases in which a man's death being foretold by "reading it in a bone," he proceeded forthwith to sicken and die; and there seemed no reason to doubt the truth of this.

I have often seen a patient refuse all food under the belief that he would die in a week, and have resuscitated many who were very far gone by forcibly pouring egg and brandy into them. The result of the pick-me-up was sometimes comically quick. After an hour the patient would ask for another and decide to live. Without it he would certainly have died, as all the family continually said: "You are dying," A and did not try to make him eat.

761 775 Belief in the fatal visit of a lampir has, no doubt, caused death. Since the civilizing power of Austria has been removed a fresh instance of corpse-burning has been reported from Bosnia.

M 776 [177] *Vilas.*—Last but not least the "vila," a female spirit which haunts the mountains, is very capricious, and works much evil as well as some good. In Montenegro I was told vilas used to be plentiful, but had been driven away by the advent of artillery. Maybe some still haunted the deep limestone caverns.

M [761] Of old, vilas sometimes swore sisterhood with mortals, and even married them. But they were excessively jealous, and when a handsome youth wished to marry they were apt to kill the bride.

Krsto told me a tale "that happened a long time ago in Montenegro." A vila disguised herself as a beautiful maiden and caused two brothers to fall in love with her. She urged them to fight each other and promised herself to the conqueror. They fought and one was killed. The vila then laughed and flew away. The unhappy survivor killed himself.

M Y 776 787 I asked how, as both were dead, it was known that the vila had caused the trouble. Krsto merely replied it was a fact well known to all. But the sympathies of the vilas were Slavonic, for till recent times

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

Monastery, I saw three. They stood with their hands on their knees and their heads thrust under the desk from which the pope was to read the Lessons. The desk being draped, their heads were hidden and their hind-quarters protruded grotesquely. If they could refrain from crowing during the reading of the Lessons they would be cured. The cure failed. Hardly had the pope begun to read when a hideous and unearthly din arose beneath his desk. No one intervened; no one even smiled. The pope read steadily, though his voice was drowned by the noise. At the end the three were led away—uncured. But I was told that as a rule the cure is successful. It may well be, for the Balkan peasant is very much affected by suggestion. He pines if he believes he has been cursed; he dies if he believes his death is "egil" (written in the Book of Fate). I did not see or hear of a case of crowing hysteria in Albania.

In Montenegro I was told a remedy for fever. It was to make fire with a fire-drill of wood. The patient helped to work the drill. The fire went out of him and into the wood and he was cured. Perhaps the exertion of drilling produced sweat and so relieved the patient. Krsto believed greatly in this cure.

6. Soothsaying

For some inscrutable reason man in many lands has thought his gods were likely to choose the insides of animals as a means for revealing the future.

"Plucking the entrails of an offering forth, they could not find a heart within the beast." So the augurs warned Cæsar to beware the ides of March. Balkan folk still find their fate written in the bones of certain animals.

I first saw the bones read at Selchan, a village in the Spata mountains, near Elbasan. It was in those days a very remote spot, and a Russian Consul was the only foreigner who had visited it within memory. Most of the male population were "wanted" by the Turkish Government. But for the purpose of my visit the friendly Albanian Mutasarif of Elbasan arranged a truce. We were halted outside the village for a parley, and also to give time to all the men of military age (whom the Government was trying to conscript for the Army) to hide in the bushes. I was then received with great joy, and even greater hospitality. The ancient headman, Constantine Suliman, a fine figure in a white fustanella, swore friendship, and hustled the women to spread a noble banquet of roast lamb, stewed fowl, cheese, milk, and maize-bread.

The district had neither church nor mosque. Every inhabitant had

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

the younger from looking at the bones because we were all happy, so "why pry into unknown evils?"

It is not easy to say how the bones are read. Bone-readers will not tell their lore. I have pieced together the facts I gathered. The bone must be the breast-bone of a fowl (Fig. 20), or the blade-bone of a sheep or goat —no others serve. In Albania I found the fowl's bone most generally used, and in Montenegro the sheep's blade-bone. In both lands the fowl or sheep must have been bred by the house of the reader; otherwise, though it can tell of foreign affairs, it knows nothing of the fate of the house. The best fowl is a cock which is black without a white feather. It must be decapitated. If the neck were wrung the blood would all go wrong and the marks be useless.

This is the Albanian reading of the breast-bone: A good seer can tell at once if the fowl has been bought or bred. The keel is the part used. In the thickness of the neck-end (A) runs a line of marrow which tells the fortune of the house. A hole in it means the house-lord's death, and a break means an illness or accident. Breaks and branches from this main line show illness, accident, or death to members of the family. Red spots and patterns in the bone mean blood. Some holes mean graves, others cradles, according to where they are placed. I failed to learn where. The sides (B) of the bone tell public events. When a line belonging to the family forks it means a quarrel in the family.

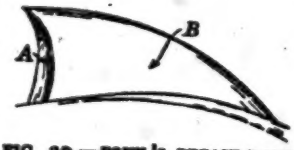

FIG. 20.—FOWL'S BREAST-BONE FOR SOOTHSAYING

The late Mgr. Cozzy, Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, told me that he had tried hard to learn how to read the bones, and a man who refused to tell him said: "You make black marks on paper and know what they mean; but I do not. God makes marks on bones and you do not know what they mean; but I do."

Such is the belief in bones in Albania that I believe men have died from sheer terror when their death has been read. Thus, an only son—well known to a friend of mine from Djakova—was at a family feast. He picked up a fowl's bone, looked at it, and threw it down with a cry. His father asked what was the matter and the youth said: "In three days you will bury me." His horrified father picked up the bone and saw the reading was only too true. He cried out in grief: "In three days we shall bury thee." His kith and kin wailed on all sides: "In three days we shall bury thee." The poor lad blenched and sickened. He could not eat, gave up hope, and died.

"When he saw in the bones he must die," said the Djakovan, "he died." And with more truth than he was aware of he added: "You

S 754 538 842 593 and he thought: "Better that I lose my soul and then repent of my sin than that I should ruin my mother's desire (for offspring), and hearken not to my mother's curse." He then orders his young brother Bogdan to do the deed and bring back a bloody knife as token. Bogdan refuses, and Jovan wishes to kill him, too. Bogdan weeps and prays his mother to remove the curse. But she will not, and Bogdan consents and leads away his sister-in-law. She implores to be allowed to pass three days in church, and he grants her prayer. There a miracle is vouchsafed her and she bears a beautiful boy. Jovan and Bogdan rejoice. But the mother, even then, will not pardon their disobedience. Filled with wrath, she stabs herself, and, very properly, "the demons seized her soul."

Here is a picture of the ancient power of life and death that parents had over children as well as of the power and terror of a curse. We see, too, the dawning influence of the Church upon the minds of a savage people. The tale probably dates from the days when Christianity was beginning to break down the pagan customs of the peasantry.

S 754 Strange is it to find the retrospective curse in the official report of the trial at Salonika of the Serbian "Black Hand" officers in 1917. Naum Dimitrijevitch, a journalist, giving evidence about the lawless state of the Serbian Army on July 25, 1914, states: "Major Dobrosav Gjorgevitch came up quickly, cursing as he came my *father and mother*. He reached me and overwhelmed me with his horrible curses against the *father and mother* of the Prime Minister, Nikola Pashitch, and Stojan Protitch, Minister, and all the Radical members. . . . He shouted: 'Now you shall meet your God. You shall never get away from here.' Then he cursed the *father and mother* of Colonel Okanovitch, etc."

A M 754 761 Thus even among the *intelligentsia* the use of the retrospective curse persists. Pashitch's parents had long been dead. Small wonder the peasant still believes in it.

Mothers in Albania and Montenegro will still tell you, when a child has died, that a curse has been put on their breasts.

M 754 681 In Montenegro, in the days when the vladikas (bishops) were said to be rulers, they had no temporal power in fact. They had no way of enforcing orders save by terrifying recalcitrants with a threat of excommunication or by putting curses on them. The vladika's curse was greatly dreaded. When Danilo Petrovitch decided to rule as temporal Prince and refused to be made bishop, I fancy he shore himself of much power. The curses of Vladika Petar I were very powerful.

He is said to have cried to an evil-doer: "May leprosy devour you!" And a year afterwards the man died of it. To another he cried: "May your stock die out!" And Medakovitch, writing of Montenegro in

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 184 are fired incessantly, and the strains of wild music echoing from the surrounding hills add to the animation of the scene.

The wedding ceremonies observed in Southern Albania, in so far as they differ from those of the Northern Albanians, resemble very closely the Greek country customs described in the preceding volume.[1]

764 171 The funeral observances of the Albanians also resemble in some degree those of the Greeks. Family ties are equally strong in both races, and the death of a relative is always a source of poignant grief to the survivors. The demonstrations of sorrow are loudest and most heartrending when a man or woman dies in the prime of life. When he is believed to be at the point of death, the women watching round him give utterance to frightfully piercing cries and shrieks, upon hearing which the friends hasten to the house of mourning in order to take part in the death chorus. When the last breath is drawn, all the near female relatives of the deceased who are not past middle age —wife, sisters, sisters-in-law, and daughters—testify their grief by beating their breasts, scratching their faces until the blood flows, and tearing out or cutting off their hair. In their utter abandonment of sorrow they also beat their heads against the walls of the room, calling wildly upon the deceased by his or her name, often exhausting themselves to such a degree as to lose for the time the use of their voices. With the weaker among them these frenzies of sorrow gene-

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[1] Chapter iii. An account of these ceremonies may be found in Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, and Dozon, *Contes Albanais*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

rally terminate in a fainting fit, while others have frequently to be restrained by their friends from doing themselves grievous bodily harm in their excitement. 763

The men of the family receive visits of condolence from those of their own sex, standing in the courtyard. The formula in which sympathy is usually expressed is, "May you continue to enjoy good health," the speaker at the same time putting his right hand on the shoulder of the mourner. The latter responds, "May our friends be well," and the visitor enters the house to express in the same way his sympathy to the women of the family. The corpse is washed and laid out according to the usages of the faith, Christian or Moslem, professed during lifetime, and is dressed in its best clothes, which are, however, taken off before burial. And now begins the formal wailing round the body, in which the women of the family are assisted by their neighbours. 764

The majority of the dirges used are, like those of the Greeks, conventional, every woman having her memory well stored with a *répertoire*, from which she selects those suited to the occasion. They are sung antiphonically, a verse or couplet being first chanted as a solo, and then repeated by the rest in chorus. The nearest relatives first lead the chant, and continue without interruption until either their voices or their memories are exhausted. It is then the turn of the other women, who, when they consider that one has had the lead long enough, stop her with a sign, and another lifts up her voice. Among the dirges sung for a youth killed in battle the following, which is in the Tosk dialect, is one of the oldest and best known. 764 533 [462]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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Remorseless, Death, I know thou art,
Yet, from a mother lone,
How couldst thou take her only son,
Her boy, her dearest one?

Why didst thou not, my treasured child,
My only darling son—
Why didst thou not resist his blow?
My boy, my dearest one!

Ah! knew'st thou not, within my heart,
Should'st thou from me be gone,
Thou ope'st a wound must ever bleed?
My boy, my dearest one!

[152] Sometimes, too, as among the Greek women, a mourner finds no adequate outlet for her grief in the conventional dirges, and, inspired by sorrow, bursts into an improvised lament for the lost son, brother, or husband, extolling his virtues and bewailing his fate.

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It is said that when an Albanian of the mountains is led to execution by the authorities for any crime but that of theft, which is by these people alone considered disgraceful, he walks to his doom with head erect and bearing dignified, improvising as he goes his own dirge, in which he relates the circumstances that have led to his premature departure from the world. His mother and sisters follow him to the place of execution, their hearts devoured with grief, but wearing smiles on their lips, in order that their relative may, on his side, show no sign of weakness. Intently they listen to his death-song, the words of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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which they treasure in their memories, and hand down to their posterity.[1]

The funeral, in conformity with the usual Eastern custom, takes place within four-and-twenty hours after death. Before the corpse leaves the house, it is measured with a string, which is then thrown up into the rafters. If the deceased has not a silver ring on his finger, a coin is placed, as among the Greeks, on the mouth; and one of the relatives seats himself three times on that part of the floor on which he breathed his last. On the way to the burial ground, the men surround the bier, the women follow behind, and resume their wailings as the procession leaves the house. Arrived at the mosque, or church, the men enter, but the women remain without, weeping, shrieking, and lamenting continually. Before leaving the church, the men give the dead a last kiss, the women doing the same at the grave. The body is laid in the bare earth, and a stone slab is placed over it, on which the earth is cast. At this stage of the proceedings, the cries of the women become quite heartrending; they crowd round the grave, and can with difficulty be prevented from throwing themselves

[1] This calls to mind Burns' spirited song, "MacPherson's Lament," the words of which might fittingly be used by an Albanian *pallikar:*

"I've lived a life of sturt and strife;
I die by treacherie;
It burns my heart, I must depart,
And not avenged be.
Sae rantingly, sae wantonly,
Sae dauntingly gaed he;
He played a spring, and danced it round,
Beneath the gallows tree."

PEAKS OF SHALA

776 "My father was a strong man and very wise; he married and had many children; he fought the Turks and the Austrians and the Serbs and the Italians. He had a good life. But he never went anywhere unless the ora went before him. In the morning when he left the house, if she was not there he returned and sat by the fire that day. Often on the trails he was with many people, but none but him ever saw the ora. She remained always the same, always the size of a twelve-year-old child, always very beautiful, shining white and with golden hair.

"When she turned aside on the trail, my father turned also, and the people did as he did, though he did not say why. My father was known as a very wise man. Many times he saved the lives of many people by following the ora."

Several of the older men in the intently listening circle shook their heads, as though they remembered this, and when I asked them with my eyes they said, "*Po! Po!*" which means, "Yes."

776 "When my father was sixty-five years old,
763 strong and healthy, one day the ora did not come. She did not come the next day, nor the next, nor the next, for many days. Then my father knew that she would not come again and that it was his time to die. So he arranged all his affairs and died. Just before he died he told us about the ora; he told us so that we would know why he was making ready for death, and it was because his ora had left him."

[At the makersat house of [64] Marke Gjonni--Andy st]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG9

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race, but they also part with information for *sevap* (charity), out of gratitude for another service, or as a courtesy due to the sacred character of a guest. With many practising village seers and doctresses, it is impossible to learn anything, or at best a carefully edited version. All sorts of excuses are made; the priest has forbidden them to spread their superstitions, they have ceased from practice, or forgotten their art; they fear ill-luck, or most discouraging of all, 'You gentry don't believe in our peasant cures. They will do you no good.' Or: 'What can a poor old woman tell you? The doctors know better than we do.' Then, if the investigator really wants to get at the bottom of things, he must either apply for help as a patient himself, or, if his appearance might be against him, especially in the case of a man, he should send someone else whom he can trust. Spells are sometimes refused, too, because of the use of obscene words and gestures.

A 756 763 124

Once an old operator was dying, and sent for me to see him. Not long before I had visited his house and questioned him. He held my hands while he told me about the plants which he used for salves; and when it came to telling of his manipulations he desired to show me, as well as he could for his extreme weakness, on my own limbs. Perhaps he had some idea that in this way he passed on his power, for when I feared that he might weary under the enormous effort which he was making, and someone standing by, misunderstanding, suggested that he bothered the visitor, he insisted upon doing it in his own way. I would gladly have had him leave all until he felt better, for the women of three generations of his family were already crouching on the floor and weeping, but apparently it was very much on his mind, and he half hoped that this very action might hasten recovery, or as one of his daughters whispered to me, set free his soul. (This particular was a little surprising, for these people were Albanian Moslems and I did not know that they held these views regarding death-bed confession.) The old man said: 'If I live, I will teach you all I know, and show you everything. But now I must do as much as I can in case I die.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E6-1

Swear that you will make only good use of what I tell you, that it be not a sin for me before God. Perhaps you will be able to tell me how to cure my disease and so more than repay me. Then I shall be able to tell you in a better way. But in any case I give you my secret now.'

A different case was my friend Ram Smail, another Albanian, and an unexpectedly patient collaborator. While I used to wander with him in the mountains near Peć, he picked the various herbs he knew, and explained their uses. He said one day: 'I am going to Asia. If you need me I will come back, or I will come to your country or I will send you herbs from Asia. I do this in friendship, because you are a stranger. I also shall be a stranger in Asia. I would not tell anyone from these parts. You go about unarmed, but what I tell you is a weapon. . . . I am leaving, besides, so it does not matter what you do afterwards.' In other words, I could inherit his practice, and, as he had more enemies than friends there owing to old feuds, he did not care if I killed off the whole population, once he was clear.

Many a man has learned the art of bone-setting or massage by watching others at work. The hospital servant and *feltscher* type of popular doctor are just as much respected as the self-taught or the inheritor of a tradition. A Serbian official document of 1836 mentions a certain Gavril Savić and his wife 'who, having suffered for a long time from wounds, have learned these remedies through treating themselves'. As a matter of fact anyone who knows a certain medicine or incantation can freely apply it, but on the principle that in this, as in all other things, some are 'lucky' and some are not, and a charm which may work with one may fail if recited by another. Hence the extreme care in guarding the monopoly of such secrets has a materialistic ground as well as a superstitious one. It is noteworthy that in many respects the same attitude is felt towards the priest. He owes his importance to his knowledge of prayers, to his reading and writing, and less to any belief in the gift of the Holy Spirit through the laying-on of hands. In the absence of a

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

the influence of the Roman missionaries. Tattooing is not confined to tribes tracing northern origin, but is more marked among them.

Among the Pulati and Dukagini, who trace a different origin, tattooing is common but not universal, and takes the form often of

[764]

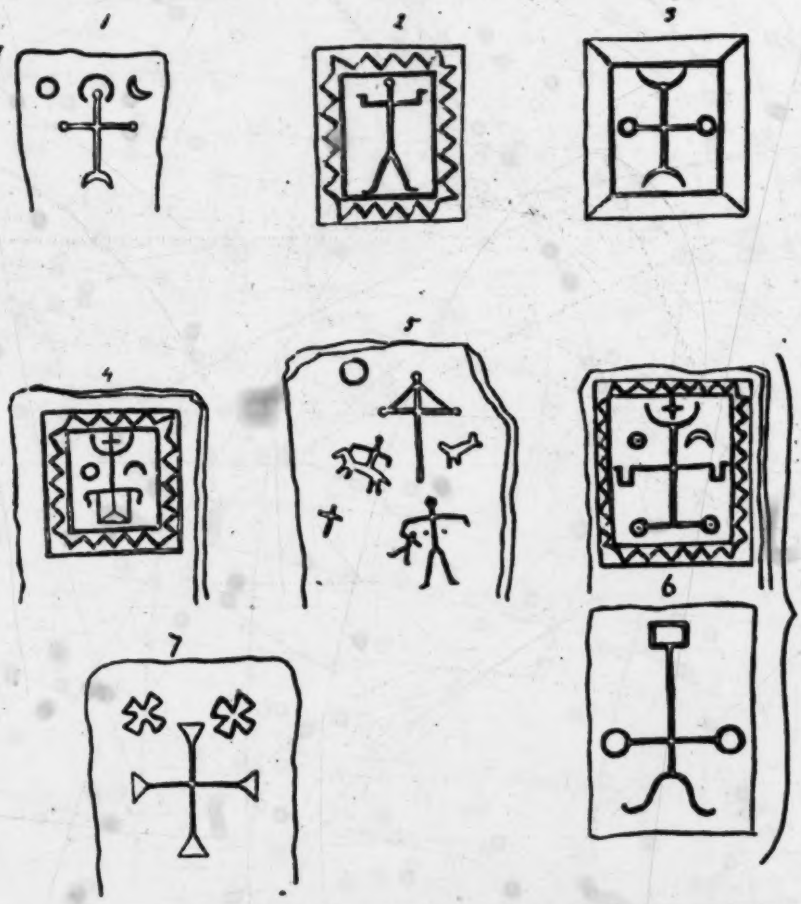


FIG. 8.—MODERN GRAVESTONES IN ROMAN CATHOLIC GRAVEYARD, DUSHMANI, NORTHERN ALBANIA

(Showing variants of Cross, Crescent, and Sun. All recent)

one tiny cross. I did not see a sun or moon tattoo, but found the sun and moon extremely common carved on graves, furniture, over doors, etc. Here the moon is carved as a semicircle with rays, just as shown in the Bosnian tattoos.

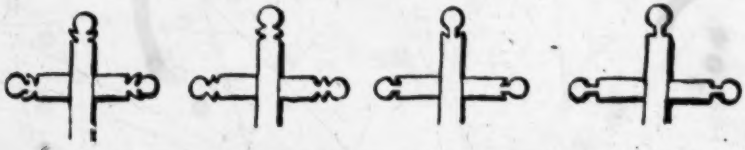
Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The finest carved rayed suns are those on the arms of the big wooden crosses in the Theti graveyard, which are beautifully chip-carved (Fig. 9, No. 3). Upon one of them a carved watch and chain marks the grave of the first tribesman of Thethi who possessed one. 531 764

Most interesting are some quite recent gravestones at Dushmani

[352]

4. "Sun and Moon" Chair, Shala. 2. Variant design of arm, end, and back. 3 Cross terminating in "suns," Thethi.



4. Series of common wooden crosses, showing all stages of patterns (Catholic cemeteries).

5. Wooden headpost and head and foot posts of Moslem graves (Hashi and Puka).

FIG. 9.—SUN AND MOON PATTERNS IN NORTH ALBANIA

(Fig. 8), whereon strange devices are carved, in some of which the cross and sun are turned into the figure of a man. A woman who came up told me I was drawing the grave of her mother (Fig. 8, No. 6). Asked what was the meaning of the things upon it, she said: "We poor people of the mountains cannot write. I put this to remember my mother. The sun and moon are 'per bukur' (to look pretty)."

[Text continues on p. 127]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The large uncarved wooden crosses in most of the graveyards of 531
Dukagini and Pulati (Fig. 9) show at the ends of the arms either (1) a sun 764
and crescent, (2) a sun alone, or (3) a sun with two notches below it—a transition form in which the carpenter has forgotten what the crescent is and merely chopped notches. The sun-wheel forms the back and the crescent and sun the ends of the arms of the typical wooden arm-chair in which the house-lord sits. Such chairs were used by all the tribes, but are now chiefly found in the further Dukagini tribes. The chip-carved distaffs of the women show the cross frequently; but chip-carving does not lend itself to curves, and the moon appears as an angle on which the cross stands. Some distaffs, however, suggest that their complicated designs are based on rayed curves, though they are now angular.

The cross and rayed sun are also traceable on many of the elaborately 291
knitted socks. Here, owing to the exigencies of the material, the sun 531
is square, but the rays are duly shown.

A rayed sun is part of the elaborate design embroidered on the scarlet cloak of the married Catholic women of Scutari. Of this design, which with variations consists always of similar elements, I have failed to find an explanation. "It must be some old story which we have forgotten," say the embroiderers, who are always men. The sun, an ear of wheat (? feather), a flowering plant, the dove and the serpent always appear. It is given to the bride by the bridegroom on her wedding- [585]
day. The sun, the wheat, and the flowers suggest fertility. And the facts that the serpent and dove were symbols of the mother goddess worshipped at Knossos, and that bird and serpent played an important part in Egyptian mythology, show that the origin of this Albanian pattern is, indeed, so old that it is no wonder the embroiderers have forgotten it (Figs. 10 and 11).

The sun and moon were firmly established as symbols in the Balkans 174
long before the Turk arrived. I think that probably the Turkish crescent 531
and star is really the rayed sun and moon, the sun being diminished so as to fit decoratively within the crescent.

On the wall of a house at Vuthaj, when the district was wholly 531
Moslem and almost closed to outsiders, I saw, in 1908, a large rayed 342
sun painted with a slim crescent beside it (Fig. 12, No. 10). More striking yet was the emblem at that time placed over the gate of the Turkish Konak at Prizren. It was a large wooden sun with long rays of unequal length. At the tip of each ray was a small wooden crescent. At this time there was huge excitement over the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, and I was warned neither to draw nor photograph anything in public. I made, therefore, only a memory sketch (Fig. 12, No. 9), but it gives a correct idea of this curious sign, which, as the

[Text continues on p. 129]

VALONA

317 Another product important to Valona is salt which is taken from the lagoons of the village of Arta, lying near Valona.

712 An excursion not to be missed is from Valona to Kanina. The road, going to the southwards, leads through luxuriant olive groves, fruity vineyards and waving fields of towering maize. About 400 meters above the town of Kanina stands the mighty Kanina Fortress, a relic of Byzantium. For its age, this veteran of so many attacks stands with comparatively few marks of the ravages of time and war. In the center of the village of 346 Kanina, directly under this fortress, is a Con- 764 vent of the Dervishes. Immediately in front of this building, a great tree proudly waves its branches far overhead, for this tree is the guardian of the last resting place of Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora, the father of modern Albania.

Valona has further interest historically for it was here that Ismail Qemal Bey Vlora proclaimed Albania's independence on November 28, 1912.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 184 are fired incessantly, and the strains of wild music echoing from the surrounding hills add to the animation of the scene.

The wedding ceremonies observed in Southern Albania, in so far as they differ from those of the Northern Albanians, resemble very closely the Greek country customs described in the preceding volume.[1]

764 171 The funeral observances of the Albanians also resemble in some degree those of the Greeks. Family ties are equally strong in both races, and the death of a relative is always a source of poignant grief to the survivors. 763 The demonstrations of sorrow are loudest and most heartrending when a man or woman dies in the prime of life. When he is believed to be at the point of death, the women watching round him give utterance to frightfully piercing cries and shrieks, upon hearing which the friends hasten to the house of mourning in order to take part in the death chorus. When the last breath is drawn, all the near female relatives of the deceased who are not past middle age —wife, sisters, sisters-in-law, and daughters—testify their grief by beating their breasts, scratching their faces until the blood flows, and tearing out or cutting off their hair. In their utter abandonment of sorrow they also beat their heads against the walls of the room, calling wildly upon the deceased by his or her name, often exhausting themselves to such a degree as to lose for the time the use of their voices. With the weaker among them these frenzies of sorrow gene-

[1] Chapter iii. An account of these ceremonies may be found in Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, and Dozon, *Contes Albanais*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

rally terminate in a fainting fit, while others have frequently to be restrained by their friends from doing themselves grievous bodily harm in their excitement. 763

The men of the family receive visits of condolence from those of their own sex, standing in the courtyard. The formula in which sympathy is usually expressed is, "May you continue to enjoy good health," the speaker at the same time putting his right hand on the shoulder of the mourner. The latter responds, "May our friends be well," and the visitor enters the house to express in the same way his sympathy to the women of the family. The corpse is washed and laid out according to the usages of the faith, Christian or Moslem, professed during lifetime, and is dressed in its best clothes, which are, however, taken off before burial. And now begins the formal wailing round the body, in which the women of the family are assisted by their neighbours. 764

The majority of the dirges used are, like those of the Greeks, conventional, every woman having her memory well stored with a *répertoire*, from which she selects those suited to the occasion. They are sung antiphonically, a verse or couplet being first chanted as a solo, and then repeated by the rest in chorus. The nearest relatives first lead the chant, and continue without interruption until either their voices or their memories are exhausted. It is then the turn of the other women, who, when they consider that one has had the lead long enough, stop her with a sign, and another lifts up her voice. Among the dirges sung for a youth killed in battle the following, which is in the Tosk dialect, is one of the oldest and best known. 764 533 [462]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

764
533 The ideas expressed in it may also be found in Greek and Roumanian folk-song.

[539]

Kyabése's bridge hard by,
Slain by treach'rous foes I lie.
Comrades, greet my mother well,
Bid her the two oxen sell;
Give the money to my Life,
To my dear, my promised wife.
Asks mother what doth me betide,
Say, I have wedded here a bride.
Asks she who holds me with her charms,
Tell her, three bullets in my breast,
Six in my legs and in my arms.
Asks she who came as bidden guest,
And at my wedding feast was seen;
The crows and ravens, say, were there;
They have the friends and neighbours been,
And they devoured the wedding fare!

Sometimes animals and inanimate objects, with which the deceased has been associated in his lifetime, are poetically represented as missing him and mourning his loss, as in this lament for a Tosk chieftain who has met with a violent death:—

[539]

Derwen Agha, *veh!*[1] all slain
Lie thy followers on the plain!
Hear thy sword cry from the wall,
"Where's my lord?" in sorrow's thrall,
"Where's my lord, that he no more
Draws and waves me as of yore?"
Hear thy charger from his stall,
"Where's my lord?" complain and call,
"Where's my lord, to fill my rack,
Girth the saddle on my back?
Where's my lord, that he bestride me,
Gaily through the mountains ride me?"

[1] The Albanian exclamation of distress.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

For the untimely death of a young wife, not yet a mother, the following may serve as a specimen :— 764 533

[539]

O willow-wand so golden,
No townswoman more slight;
O beautiful of feature,
As partridge on the height!

O swift as weaver's shuttle,
Where wilt thou henceforth bide?
O partridge on the red rock,
Thy dower in chest must hide!

Where wilt thou be this summer,
Reft from thy dear lord's side?
O beauteous dancing vine-branch,
Thou wast a virgin bride!

Like blade of grass thou grewest,
Refined as finest gold,
And thy short life, O joyless!
Few joys for thee did hold.

A mother's grief is expressed in these, the opening verses only, of a long dirge for an only son. As I have previously had occasion to mention, the women of South Albania especially manifest an excessive degree of grief for the death of children, and often refuse, when left childless, to survive them. 764 533 539

O Death! O thou who know'st no ruth!
Why rob me of my son?
Why tear him from my loving arms?
My boy, my dearest one!

No pity hadst thou in thy stroke!
Before thou laidst him prone,
Why torture him with cruel pains?—
My boy, my dearest one!

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

764
533
[539]

Remorseless, Death, I know thou art,
Yet, from a mother lone,
How couldst thou take her only son,
Her boy, her dearest one?

Why didst thou not, my treasured child,
My only darling son—
Why didst thou not resist his blow?
My boy, my dearest one!

Ah! knew'st thou not, within my heart,
Should'st thou from me be gone,
Thou ope'st a wound must ever bleed?
My boy, my dearest one!

[152] Sometimes, too, as among the Greek women, a mourner finds no adequate outlet for her grief in the conventional dirges, and, inspired by sorrow, bursts into an improvised lament for the lost son, brother, or husband, extolling his virtues and bewailing his fate.

696
763
152

It is said that when an Albanian of the mountains is led to execution by the authorities for any crime but that of theft, which is by these people alone considered disgraceful, he walks to his doom with head erect and bearing dignified, improvising as he goes his own dirge, in which he relates the circumstances that have led to his premature departure from the world. His mother and sisters follow him to the place of execution, their hearts devoured with grief, but wearing smiles on their lips, in order that their relative may, on his side, show no sign of weakness. Intently they listen to his death-song, the words of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

 696
763
152

which they treasure in their memories, and hand down to their posterity.[1]

The funeral, in conformity with the usual Eastern custom, takes place within four-and-twenty hours after death. Before the corpse leaves the house, it is measured with a string, which is then thrown up into the rafters. If the deceased has not a silver ring on his finger, a coin is placed, as among the Greeks, on the mouth; and one of the relatives seats himself three times on that part of the floor on which he breathed his last. On the way to the burial ground, the men surround the bier, the women follow behind, and resume their wailings as the procession leaves the house. Arrived at the mosque, or church, the men enter, but the women remain without, weeping, shrieking, and lamenting continually. Before leaving the church, the men give the dead a last kiss, the women doing the same at the grave. The body is laid in the bare earth, and a stone slab is placed over it, on which the earth is cast. At this stage of the proceedings, the cries of the women become quite heartrending; they crowd round the grave, and can with difficulty be prevented from throwing themselves

764

[1] This calls to mind Burns' spirited song, "MacPherson's Lament," the words of which might fittingly be used by an Albanian *palliker*:

"I've lived a life of sturt and strife;
I die by treacherie;
It burns my heart, I must depart,
And not avenged be.
Sae rantingly, sae wantonly,
Sae dauntingly gaed he;
He played a spring, and danced it round,
Beneath the gallows tree."

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

764 into it, and even the men are frequently heard to sob aloud. As soon as it is filled up, however, a sudden silence prevails, for now the *Kokiele*, the Greek [262] Kólyva (Κόλυβα)[1] is handed round, and it is accounted sinful to mourn whilst eating it. As each person takes a handful of this funeral dish, he says, "May he (or she) be forgiven."

765 On this and the two following days, the house of mourning is filled with a succession of condoling friends, who bring with them all the food necessary [252] for the family, for no cooking is done in it during this period. Others send presents of wine or spirits, the bearer of which delivers them with the words: "May I have come for your good." On the third day, the wailing at the grave is repeated, and continued in the house of mourning for forty days, being performed either early on the morning of each day, or on Sundays and feast days only, by the women of the house and those who visit them for this purpose.

[184] With members of the Orthodox Church it is customary, as among the Greeks, to exhume the bones at the end of three years. Moslems, however, have a great dislike to disturbing a dead body in any way.

765 761 The grief of relatives is, as a rule, less demonstrative for the death of a woman; and for a man well stricken in years, no wailing takes place. In the latter case, the deceased has usually set aside one or more sheep to be sacrificed on his death as an atonement for his sins, the flesh of which serves for the funeral feast. At this feast, the guests drink "to

[1] See description of this funeral dish, vol. i. p. 99.

[Analyst's note: Kólyva is made of flour, boiled wheat, pomegranates, raisins, nuts, and spices.]

PEAKS OF SHALA

though in a Paris restaurant one glass of mild 000
wine will make me realize that a second would be unwise. I don't explain this, I simply note the fact, and it gives me a different point of view on the chronicles of hard-drinking past centuries.

We sat there, talking, for an hour or more. 793
The bishop[1] said that he had never been out of the mountains except for a trip long ago to the Vatican in Rome; he had been there a year, and had conversed with his brother priests in Latin. Then he had come back to the mountains and had lived there ever since. His diocese included all the northern tribes, and he visited them from time to time, riding wherever a donkey could carry him, and walking where it could not. Ten years earlier he had had another foreign visitor, a Miss Durham of England; he had heard that she later wrote a book in which she told about the visit, and if he could have afforded it he would have liked to send for that book.

No, the Church had not very greatly altered [771]
the ancient customs of the people. They were all good Catholics, and attended mass. But [764]
they still buried the dead uncoffined, with three apples on the breast, and when they put a stone or a wooden slab above the grave they often carved on it, not only the cross, but also the sun. One would note, too, that at the rising and set- [788]
ting of the sun they made the sign of the cross to it.

He was not too intolerant of these things. After all, beyond the sun was always the good God.

1 [Franciscan Bishop of Pultit - [25] Analyst]

rem's open hostility. Their aim was to keep Muharrem neutral; ours was now to bring him back into the war. 669* 622

We left Riddle's base on the 29th of May, and, just before sunset, climbed on to the range that forms the eastern wall of the Drin gorges. The powerful river lay two thousand feet below us, narrowly compressed between smooth black cliffs, through which its deep and swirling waters ran a vivid blue, stained by the copper deposits in the rock. Beyond the jagged peaks of Liuma towered into the sky, and, with the approach of darkness, the scene became awe-inspiring, almost Wagnerian. We[1] followed a narrow path scratched in the face of the cliff above the river, and now and then passed little stone cairns beside it. Each marked a grave and guarded the bones of some traveller who had fallen to his blood enemy, lying in wait. The dead were buried where they had been killed; for the path was too steep and the way too long to bring their bodies home for funeral. 764

Night overtook us on the march, but we pressed on until we came to a cluster of buildings, surrounded by a high crenellated wall. This was Muharrem's[2] castle. Our guards called out and beat upon the gates, and, after an exchange of shouts with shadowy figures on the battlements, we were admitted to a wide courtyard. In front of us was a stone building, founded on a rock, and on the steps leading up to it stood the lord of Liuma, with a bodyguard beside him holding a torch of blazing pinewood. He bowed to us, introducing himself as Bairaktar, and led the way indoors to a room furnished with tables and upholstered chairs, the first I had seen in Albania. There we sat down for the customary exchange of greetings; and presently coffee was brought. 574 609

Muharrem was of stocky build, dressed in a plain grey uniform with a lumberjack's leather cap on his head. He looked not unlike Kaiser Wilhelm, with the same iron grey hair and moustache, loose mouth, and small piercing eyes. When at rest there was an almost abnormal concentration in his gaze, and sometimes a sly smile would cross his face, as if prompted by his inward thoughts. He was reserved of speech

1 [British liaison officers -- Analyst]

2 [Muharrem Bairaktar, chieftain of Liuma clan -- Analyst]

his household and his visitors. Bridal parties or funeral processions which tried to pass along his path to evade the difficulties of the highway were not so likely as habitual travellers to attempt to create a precedent, but he had the right to turn them back. If they tried to force their way past him he had the right to shoot them. Many a corpse, to quote Father Gjeçov, has found comrades in death before being buried, and many a bride has mourned the loss of a kinsman in her escort on the way to her bridegroom.

If, however, at a time when the highway was impassable, occasional travellers asked a man's leave to use his path he often granted their request. But he always made it clear that the right of passage was temporary and stipulated that his honour was not to be smirched or his property damaged. In Shkrel a man whose field adjoined a road liable to bogging in winter often left enough land in the field for a new road. This he did as alms. Any timber on either side of the new road remained his private property, and could not be cut down by anyone else though he was free to cut it as and when he pleased. He could also close the road at his pleasure; even if the public had used it for years, usage did not create a right and rob a man of his land. Sometimes a village, to suit its convenience rather than to meet its need, asked a man to allow the public to go through his land. He usually agreed, but always stipulated that if any damage was done or he needed to work the land, he should be entitled to close the right-of-way, informing his fellow-villagers that they must not come that way any more. If this became necessary, he was not required to provide an alternative, as a man who moved a public road must do. He had opened the road as a favour, and what was given as a favour could not be retained by force. The option of closing the road descended to his heirs.

The private ownership of a road is seen at its most interesting in the case of a blind alley. This was seldom wide enough to take two persons abreast and had an entrance but no exit. The commonest type led across a man's field from a public thoroughfare to his house, where it came to a dead end. In this case it was his sole property, and if he liked he could plough it up without consulting anybody. Another type served several houses, and was held jointly and equally by these. The common ownership had its drawbacks. Two out of three owners, for instance, might wish to plough up the section passing through their fields. Though this

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

A 'bajraktar' of tender years could evict a greybeard commoner 576
from the corner seat, and the greybeard would be distressed if 554
left in it. A worthless and ignorant 'bajraktar' got the head of the roast lamb while successful and learned commoners had no precedence by right—they belonged to their father's tribe and were counted aliens in the bajraktar's. Sometimes, however, the tribesmen gave them precedence as a courtesy.

When a bajraktar or any male in his family, infants excepted, 764
died in his bed, a black flag was stuck at the head of his grave to mark his rank during life. Otherwise he and his were treated in death like ordinary mortals. If he himself was murdered, the 628
ensuing blood feud was no worse than it would have been for a commoner—Lek had laid down that in death one man was as good as another. Besides, another bajraktar succeeded him and with the office continuing, the personality of the holder had no special significance. His family alone had to show a sense of his unusual importance; it could not stain its honour by accepting blood money instead of killing the assassin. If a bajraktar was killed by somebody in another tribe, his tribe undertook to hunt down the assassin, but this was no more than it would have done for any tribesman dead in comparable circumstances. Conversely, when a bajraktar killed anyone, his victim's family sought his blood precisely as they would have sought a commoner's.

As between bajraktars, seniority of the ancestor's appointment 576
determined precedence. Gjejaj of Dukaj, the first bajraktar in 554
Perlat, lived long before there was a bajraktar of Rrshen. His modern representative was, as already said above, so weak that Perlat had abandoned him to follow the Rrshen man's leadership. Yet in everything social, by virtue of his ancestor's seniority, he walked ahead of his supplanter. Once, however, a Kthellë tribesman entertained all three bajraktars of his tribe together. There is no record of how he seated them, but when the roast lamb appeared, he split the head in two, gave the two halves to two of the bajraktars and a shoulder to the third. Half a head being reasonably equated to a shoulder, he thus gave equal honour to all three men and did justice both to descent and to strength.

When a bajraktar encountered a beg, as a bey is called in north Albania, the latter sat in the corner because a beg is bigger than a bajraktar. When bajraktar and agha met, the bajraktar sat in the corner. Such a meeting was rare in the north owing to the paucity

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Assemblies of tribe or village watched above all over their honour. Sometimes their interpretation of honour took strange lines. Father Gjeçov gives the following story from the Mirditë tribe of Spaç. The sister of a villager of Gomsiqe was married to a villager of Dush in the same tribe. It happened that on one occasion when she came to pay a visit to her brother she took ill and died. He and his friends laid her on a bier and carried her, not to their own cemetery, but to her husband's house in Dush, presumably to avoid the expense of burying her. When the village heard what they had done, they met in General Assembly, and after carefully appraising the dishonour brought on Gomsiqe by such a public exhibition of meanness, fined the man a cow. This they divided into fifteen portions, which they distributed among the fifteen houses of the village. The fine was justice at its most precise. If the man had buried his sister as he should have done, the funeral feast would have cost him a cow. The event took place about 1903.

Another type of meanness had a similar end. About 1872 a villager of Urë e Shtrejtë in the tribe of Drisht happened to call on a neighbour about midday and was kept for dinner. As they finished, his host scraped his plate. The visitor afterwards complained to the village of the disgrace brought on his own dinner-table by the host. The village met in General Assembly and fined the host 500 grosh for his meanness. According to the law 'a dinner-table is disgraced in a guest's eyes when the host wipes or licks the porringer or scrapes his plate'.

The smallest General Assemblies—those of brotherhoods and households—dealt with what were essentially family matters. They met perhaps to decide on expelling or even killing any hopeless member if his misdeeds were serious enough to threaten the whole brotherhood or household with wholesale punishment by the tribe. They considered the pros and cons of buying an extra bit of land.

Tribal government was entirely democratic—of the people, by the people and for the people, but it differed from tribe to tribe and from time to time, enough to prevent unity. As the tribes in general would not have accepted the law of any one of them as supreme, it was ultimately necessary for Albanian unity that tribal government should be superseded by a modern system evolved in, and exercised from, a capital.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

other offerings. If they irritated them, as an oath-taker would do by perjuring himself, they could only expect punishment.

A most interesting example of the working of physical contact which is certainly of pagan origin was found in the Moslem district of Sulovë, south-west of Elbasan. There the most hardened oath-taker dare not forswear himself in a serious case, for he must then take the oath with a coin in his mouth, and perjury would bring him certain death. The coin was clearly Charon's obol, as was the coin slipped on to the chest of Albanian dead in many widely separated areas.

In the exclusively Catholic oath 'by the stone' the solemnity of the oath came from the contact with a holy thing, and punishment for perjury was inflicted in any form that the sacred object chose. When, however, elders swore their equally solemn oath with a stone, log of wood or other weight on their shoulder, or when a man, stone on shoulder, claimed repayment of a dead man's debt, no principle of contact was involved. There was rather a quite crude belief that a perjuring elder would be punished by having to carry the weight for ever and ever in the next world.

God punished the perjurer both in this world and in the next. When the man died, his soul was lost, for being 'heavy-laden before the Lord' it had nowhere to go. If he was an elder who had taken an oath with a stone on his shoulder, he was doomed to carry the stone through all eternity. The first of these terrors was evidently inspired by the Church. The second is an older fear. The elder, when taking the oath, often expressed his willingness to carry the stone in the next world if he perjured himself, but an accused man left his future condition to be inferred, except for the cryptic phrase 'If I did it, may He reward me', which he sometimes inserted in his oath. When he was thinking only of himself he meant, according to the Catholics of Kurbin, 'If I lie may God kill me. If I tell the truth, may He forgive me my sins.' When he contrasted himself with his accuser he meant, 'If I did it may I suffer for it. If I didn't, and you've made me run the risk of taking this oath without due cause, may *you* suffer for it.' This sentence seems to have died out among the Moslems.

Death was the commonest, and most dreaded, form of punishment in this world. In the most solemn oaths it was specified—a son's in the oath by the child's head, the oath-taker's own in the oaths by his own head, with Charon's coin in his mouth, and in

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

at the lifeless corpse. When the feud was older, it was not permitted to kill and shoot again. A murderer seldom looked at the corpse, a fact which gave men quick-witted enough to feign death a chance to escape. In some places, such as Mirditë, the murderer was expected to turn the dead man in the right direction for one of his religion—with his head towards the east if Christian, whether Catholic or Orthodox, towards Mecca if Mohammedan, and to rest his rifle against his head; if unable to touch him, he had to tell the first man he met to attend to those matters. In Shpat the murderer left the cartridge-case by his victim, allegedly not to 'set his own blood free', as in Lumë, but to avoid carrying away a thing that was unlucky because stained with blood and sin. In Mat and the Malësi e Madhe, the murderer's own life being in grave danger from the avenger, it was thought 'brave' to tread in the victim's blood as a last insult.

A murderer must not rob his victim; he had killed him only to defend his honour and not to enrich himself. As was popularly said, 'low-class fellows' take a man's rifle, watch, money or clothes; 'good-class men' take only vengeance. In some places sanctions reinforced public disapproval of the robber-murderer. In Lumë he saddled himself with one and a half feuds, i.e. the need to pay for the murder with blood money as well as a life; in Mirditë, where he was expected to lay the dead man's rifle against his head, he incurred two feuds. Certain exceptions to the rule were admitted. A murderer could everywhere, except in Mirditë, take his victim's rifle to prove that he 'had really trodden in his blood', but he must afterwards send the weapon to the family. On similar terms he might take the dead man's watch also. When the murderer was a hired assassin, he commonly took a token from his victim, usually his cap, to prove to his paymaster that he had earned his money. When a man's enemy lived at a distance, he might again take his cap to prove to his own friends and neighbours that he had killed him. Robbery of the corpse by a third person was not to be feared; since everybody within range, the dead man's relatives included, rushed up at the sound of the shot, there was publicity enough to prevent such an outrage. As for the supernatural dangers thought to beset the bodies of persons dead in ordinary circumstances, it was well known that Satan feared a rifle too much to approach the body of the murdered man.

When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

302 When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads
*628 except for a tuft on the crown, as a few old men and young boys
862 still do, the Highlanders of north Albania asserted that a murderer had licence to cut off his victim's head. The tuft, they said, was left so that an enemy might conveniently carry the head when he cut it off; failing such a handle, he would thrust his finger into the dead man's mouth, an intolerable insult. The veracity of this story appears doubtful, since although the Highlanders, Slavs, and Turks all cut off heads, Albanians as far inland as Elbasan shaved their head save for the tuft on the crown, and it is unlikely that all anticipated murder by Slavs or Turks. Whatever the purpose, the tuft was not confined to Albanians, but was seen in 1926 worn by small boys in the Turkish villages in south Serbia where the population was of mixed Turkish and Bulgarian stock.

*628 A murderer usually announced his crime to the victim's family
766 by a crude message to fetch him from such-and-such a place and
682 bury him. He was always expected to surrender the body, but if a feud was unusually bitter, the murderer might forbid the body to be buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way. If he was backed by enough men to make his ban effective, the body was buried in the secrecy of night. Sometimes he forbade it to be taken even at night to the cemetery; in that event it had to be buried elsewhere. A story comes from Sopot in Dibër. About 1893 Abas Kamber's enemy killed one of his men and forbade him to carry the body to the cemetery. Abas, strong though he was, could do nothing but bury it in the courtyard of his house. Just before it was lowered into the grave, the enemy repented and sent him leave to bury it in the cemetery. To show that he was not always prepared to do the enemy's bidding, Abas sent back the message that he would not dig up the body again and concluded that burial as it had begun.

Hiding the body was universally deprecated. When men stole a grazing cow, it was said they killed it, roasted and ate what they could of the meat and hid the remainder. But it was not to eat a man's flesh that they killed him and they must not conceal his body like the cow's. If they did, the feud was doubly embittered.

*628 By rights a man was never buried where he was killed. Even if
764 the spot were two days distant, or if, like Kol Mali's victim, he had
682 lain three weeks undiscovered, he was carried home for burial. 'He had been theirs', his relatives said, and neither distance nor a natural repugnance could prevent them from doing their duty by him. In the northern mountains, in Mirditë and in Kurbin, a heap

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

of stones was made where he was killed; on this every passer-by was expected to throw a green leaf, a blade of grass or a pebble while expressing a wish for the repose of his soul. In Shkrel, according to one informant, a stone was stuck at the head and another at the foot, as though the place was a real grave, but a *muranë* was not made. Any relatives who wished to mourn him went to his grave, not to the place where he had been killed. Exceptionally, what seem real graves may be seen near the meadows of Tërnovë above Zerqan; ten or twelve in number, each roughly outlined with stones, they are known as 'the murdered graves' and are said to contain the bodies of men who fell there in a long-past battle between the villages of Tërnovë and Sopot. Again exceptionally, when Muharrem Bajraktar of Lumë fled in 1934 to Yugoslavia, the Spahi family, his hereditary enemies, killed one of his servants. Muharrem said this man was not to be buried in Bicaj, his native village, but by the wayside where he fell, so that when he himself returned from exile he should see the grave and be reminded to take vengeance.

The ideal was to take vengeance as soon as possible. In Kurbin the piled stones served to make the dead man's kinsmen hasten to take vengeance, reminding them of his death and so 'heating their blood'. For the same purpose the Catholics of the north frequently buried the man in his blood-stained clothes; the Mohammedans, however, obedient to the dictum that all who profess their faith must go to the grave in a clean winding sheet, discarded this custom. A still stranger reminder of the need to take vengeance, a little bottle filled with the dead man's blood, was used all over north Albania and in Kosovë. This bottle the relatives looked at day and night. As soon as the blood 'boiled', i.e. fermented, they seized their rifles, cocked their skull-caps over one ear to show their determination, and rushed forth to kill the murderer. If the blood did not 'boil', they might accept a money indemnity instead of taking a life. In western Mat they dipped a rag in the dead man's blood; when it looked stained and brown, they knew the hour to avenge him had struck. None of these reminders was found as far south as Çermenikë and Shpat.

Public opinion also spurred the avenger on. A man slow to kill his enemy was thought 'disgraced' and was described as 'low-class' and 'bad'. Among the Highlanders he risked finding that other men had contemptuously come to sleep with his wife, his

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

place has been given to the Jugoslavs, has doubtless been destroyed. A 531
Here beyond doubt the Turkish "star" is the sun. The crescents at 342
the ray-tips suggest that many of the "twigs" of the Bosnian tattoos are really tiny crescents at the end of rays, and have in many cases been evolved into crosses.

We have examined tattooing and sun-symbols among the Catholics. Y
The Moslems of Bosnia, according to Truhelka, occasionally tattoo. [304]
I saw no examples myself.

But among the Moslems of North Albania tattooing is common. A 304
In the entirely Moslem districts of Hasi, Vuthaj, Arnji, and by the 531
Moslems of Luria it was not easy to make any investigation, and impossible to ask questions. The population received me kindly as the only female foreigner who had ever visited them. But the "giaour" was suspected of being the forerunner of foreign annexation, and any questions regarding beliefs would have led to difficulties and probably closed the route to me. I could only observe and make secret notes. I saw many tattooed Moslems in these districts but never a tattooed crescent and star. All, both here and at Scutari, were marked with a triangle, and sometimes with an Arabic inscription. Or with a double triangle—which forms a star and is, I suppose, the substitute for the rayed sun. This same triangle or double triangle (Fig. 7, Nos. 10–13) A
is commonly painted on Moslem houses both up-country and in Scutari, [342
where it sometimes contains a crescent within it. Oddly enough, the 531]
only time I saw the crescent and rayed sun (or star) without a cross as a tattoo it was on the hand of an old Catholic in Scutari (Fig. 12, No. 9).

But though the up-country Moslem does not tattoo the sun and A
crescent (probably because the Christians tattoo them along with the 764
cross), he cuts them out of wood—a circle for the sun and a sickle-shaped piece for the moon—and plants them at head and foot of his graves. Or the circle with a crescent below is cut in one piece and used as headpost (Fig. 9, No. 5). The Moslem Albanian, in fact, on quitting Christianity has rejected the cross but retained the ancient religious symbols of his pre-Christian ancestors—the sun and moon. He has not, except in the towns which were under Turkish influence, adopted the well-known Turkish gravestone with turban or fez upon it.

Emerging from these Moslem tribes I was amused to find that at A
Prizren, which was then by large majority Albanian, the sun and moon 531
figured over the door of the Serbian Orthodox Church. 346

In Montenegro, traces of sun and moon can be found. The arms of M
the solid stone crosses usual in the graveyards end as a rule in hemi- 764
spheres. Limestone is hard to tackle and no moon appears. When, 531
however, a cross is carved in relief on a slab the moon appears as a

[Text continues on p. 131

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Historical. Yugoslavia EF2

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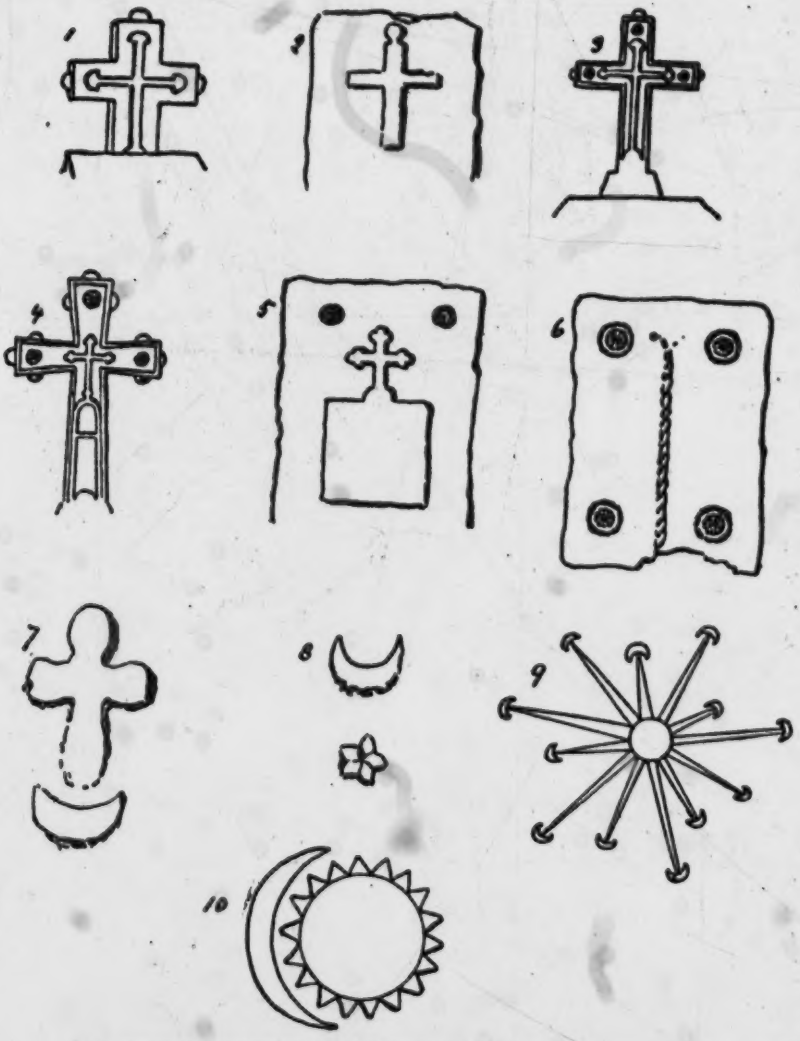

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FIG. 12.—MONTENEGRIN AND ALBANIAN SUN AND MOON DESIGNS

1–3. Modern Montenegrin gravestones, showing sun-and-moon cross. 4–8. Mediæval gravestones at Stolatz, Herzegovina, ascribed to Bogumil period. 9. Wooden sun with crescents on the Konak at Prizren (1908). 10. Rayed sun and crescent on Moslem house at Vulthaj.

Glass "turquoises" made the head-band yet more protective. Small cocks are still made as heads of pins to fasten the head-dress to the hair in the Herzegovina.

Y 777 172 In the prehistoric graves at Glasinatz in Bosnia, tiny bronze amulets, shaped like doves, have been found. In North Albania three wooden

A 764 777 301 M [301]

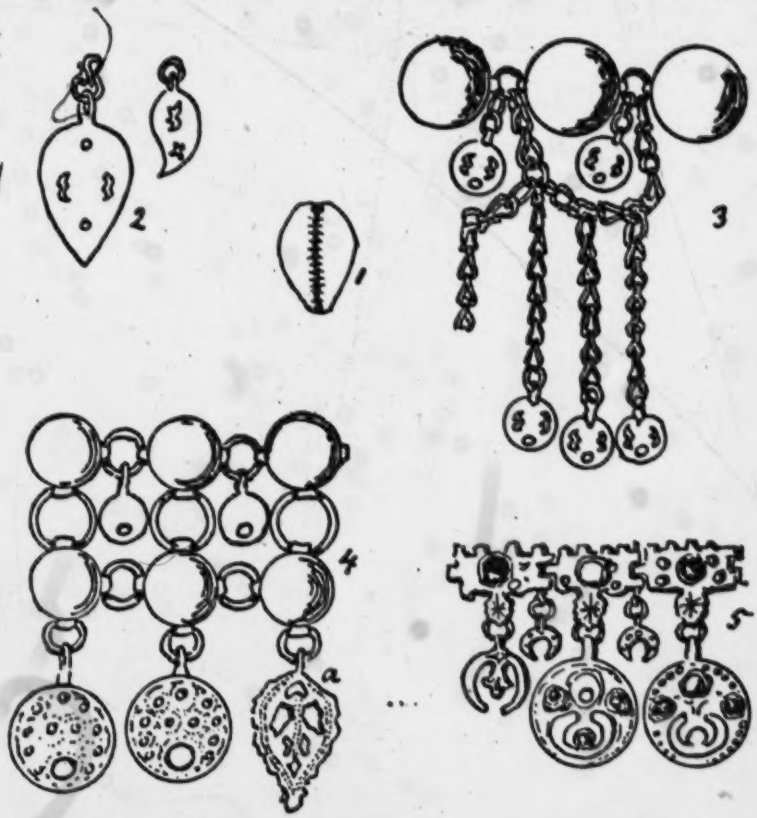

FIG. 19—SPECIMENS SHOWING EVOLUTION OF ORNAMENT FROM COWRY

1. Natural cowry. 2. Pendant common in North Albania. 3. Necklace from Kolashin, Montenegro (old specimen). 4. Breast ornament from Nikaj, North Albania (modern). 5. Old necklace, Scutari.

A [531] doves perch on many a wooden grave-cross. Especially good examples are at Boga. A dove forms part of the decorative design worked on the scarlet cloak worn by the Catholic married women of Scutari, as A 142 171 does also the serpent. My repeated inquiries failed to find any explanation of this dove. "It must be some old tale which we have forgotten," was the reply of the embroiderers. The Glasinatz amulets from ancient

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins

H 721 175 326

the Serb chieftain. Maybe Novak was by race one of the "under-dogs" of the old Serb Empire—a serf or slave.

In a Montenegrin ballad, dictated to me by Krsto and which I do not know in print, the smith again appears as low caste. Milosh of Drobnjak bids his sister take his brown horse to be shod by Suljo the Gipsy. Suljo refuses to do so unless he may kiss her. Milosh rides away on the unshod horse, and on his return rode to Suljo's. "When Suljo saw him he was afeared. He took his cap in his left hand, and in his right, the hammer and tongs to shoe Milosh's brown horse. But Milosh smote the gipsy with his sword. Though he struck him but lightly, he cleft him in twain. And thus spoke Milosh: 'Well, Suljo! Dost wish to kiss my sister now?' "

M 836 554

The smith was low class and of another race.

How different from these benighted ideas are those of our higher civilization. It is universally recognized that the making and selling of machines for killing the people over the border is the most honourable of trades. Far from being classed as a Black Gipsy, the armament dealer receives a title, and can marry anybody's daughter.

H M A 784

But a fear or dislike of iron has been widespread. When one considers its great usefulness and the ages it has been in use, it is incomprehensible that the idea it was uncanny should have been so persistent. No iron tool, we are told, was used in building the Temple at Jerusalem. Iron might not be used to repair the Pons Sublicius at Rome. Roman priests had to shave with bronze, not iron razors. The uncanny properties of magnetic iron and the rooted dislike of the human race for innovations are not enough to account for it; and it appears that this dread of iron was transferred to the workers of it and long clung to them.

721

I found the uncanny power of iron still recognized in the Balkans. Iron drives off evil spirits. When I was living in Montenegro many a "junak" (hero) who boasted freely of his courage did not like passing a graveyard at night. That cheeriest of boasters, Krsto, was hurt when I told him such fear was not compatible with "junashtvo." If obliged to pass such places after dark he thought it indispensable to carry a knife. This was not meant for stabbing the ghost. Oh, no! He would have run away at its first appearance. It was to keep the ghost off. In fact, the necessary piece of iron. One would have thought the revolver every man carried had iron enough to frighten any ghost. Not at all. A knife it must be. This, no doubt, because the belief dates from many centuries before the invention of fire-arms, to the days when a knife was the handiest piece of portable iron; and ever since then it has remained the recognized protector.

M 777 775

A 764

In North Albania a shovel or hoe was always left in a grave until

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Turkey MB1
Serbs EF6

A 764 the body was laid in it, in order to prevent any devil lurking there to seize the dead.

I remember waiting by the tiny grave dug for a child at Thethi Shala in the graveyard. Someone tripped over the long protruding handle of the shovel and dislodged it. The old gravedigger dashed forward and replaced it at once, and drew it out only as the little corpse was lowered. The Franciscan, an Albanian, who stood by the graveside, acquiesced. "It is the custom," he said when questioned. Possibly, like the rest of us, he could not keep demons at bay unaided.

M A 776 777 778 Iron keeps off all spirits, good and bad, it appears; for no knife must touch the fowl's breast-bone or sheep's blade-bone in which the Albanian and Montenegrin soothsayers read the future. No one can tell you why; but everyone knows it would be the height of folly to try to read a bone that has been cleaned with a knife—it would not tell the truth.

A 726 Colonel Aubrey Herbert, that friend of the Turks and Albanians, whose untimely death has left an unfillable gap, gave me a curious instance of the belief in the magic of iron. During the Balkan war of 1913 the Turkish general, Djavid Pasha, retreated with what was left of his army into South Albania, where "he occupied the house of a friend of mine. The tide of war was running fiercely against the Turks and the general wanted to consult the spirits. The family carpenter was ordered to make a three-legged table without any nails in it—T 'for the spirits hate metal,' said Djavid. The young Turks invoked the 778 spirit of Nazim Pasha, who had been shot by Enver and his friends. 775 . . . When no answer came, the absent ghost of Nazim was cursed for refusing to give information."

Even the absence of iron could not induce the spirit of the murdered man to advise his murderers.

6. Hair. Some Beliefs and Customs connected with it

A 121 In many lands much mystery surrounds hair, that strange substance that grows continually from youth to age; which is part of the person, but can be cut off without pain and is, therefore, the most convenient substitute or symbol for the whole person.

S 754 By means of hair spells can be wrought even in an electric-lighted European capital. Draga Mashin, the mistress of the luckless young King Alexander Obrenovitch, forced him to marry her and make her queen by clipping some of her hair in little bits and mixing it with appropriate spells in his food. Having thus eaten a portion of her, he was hopelessly in her power. At least, so we were assured by one of

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

173 582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173 166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared
765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 582 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 614 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North.

619 Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 779 186 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 614 779 582 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress. When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

764 into it, and even the men are frequently heard to sob aloud. As soon as it is filled up, however, a sudden silence prevails, for now the *Kokiete*, the Greek [262] Kólyva (Κόλυβα)[1] is handed round, and it is accounted sinful to mourn whilst eating it. As each person takes a handful of this funeral dish, he says, "May he (or she) be forgiven."

765 On this and the two following days, the house of mourning is filled with a succession of condoling friends, who bring with them all the food necessary [252] for the family, for no cooking is done in it during this period. Others send presents of wine or spirits, the bearer of which delivers them with the words: "May I have come for your good." On the third day, the wailing at the grave is repeated, and continued in the house of mourning for forty days, being performed either early on the morning of each day, or on Sundays and feast days only, by the women of the house and those who visit them for this purpose.

[184] With members of the Orthodox Church it is customary, as among the Greeks, to exhume the bones at the end of three years. Moslems, however, have a great dislike to disturbing a dead body in any way.

765 761 The grief of relatives is, as a rule, less demonstrative for the death of a woman; and for a man well stricken in years, no wailing takes place. In the latter case, the deceased has usually set aside one or more sheep to be sacrificed on his death as an atonement for his sins, the flesh of which serves for the funeral feast. At this feast, the guests drink "to

[1] See description of this funeral dish, vol. i. p. 99.

[Analyst's note: Kólyva is made of flour, boiled wheat, pomegranates, raisins, nuts, and spices.]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

765 761

the forgiveness" of the departed, and sing funeral songs in his honour.

When, as often happens, a man dies at a distance from his home, on the arrival of the tidings of his death, the funeral ceremonies are, with the exception of the actual interment, performed as above described. The women lament, friends hasten to comfort them, and the procession goes to church, the place of the bier being occupied by a youth, who carries the dish of *Kólyva*, on which is placed a cake for the priest.

765

Only slight changes are generally made in their dress by the Albanian women on the death of a relative. The chief mourners cut their hair short, turn their coats inside out, so that the fur lining alone is seen, and lay aside all ornaments. The nieces of the deceased allow their hair to hang loose for some months, or cut off a lock, and wear on their heads a black kerchief. A similar head-dress is assumed by the widow, who, if she has arrived at middle age, wears it for the rest of her life. If, however, she is still young, and intends to return to her father's house with the expectation of finding another husband, she wears at the same time her bridal apparel, and does not manifest such an exaggerated degree of grief.

[604] [292 587]

Sometimes, as illustrated in the history of Shainitza[1] and in folk-tale,[2] the grief of the women finds expression in giving to their dwelling the most dismal and funereal appearance, by painting black either the whole of the outside of the house, or the shutters only, and covering up or removing from their usual places the mirrors and other ornaments.

[1] See p. 225. [2] P. 315.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

loss of face. At Krujë in 1930 when the authorities sought to 682
punish a man who had murdered his brother during a quarrel, the 627
widow swore that the pistol had gone off accidentally when her 596
brother-in-law was trying to wrest it from her husband, who had
threatened suicide. Having thus prevented the authorities from [641]
taking action, the widow made no effort to keep the true story of
the murder quiet, but repeated it every day during the month [765]
when the women met for the ceremonial 'keening'. She was also
openly commended by the public for preventing the government
from shaming her husband's family by arresting the murderer.

Exceptionally, if the murderer's motive was bad by tribal stan- [672]
dards, his relative was well avenged. For instance, if a man killed
his cousin or nephew to get his land, the crime was considered so
anti-social that the murderer was killed by the community, his blood
was lost, and his family expelled. Again, exceptionally, a motive
might be so good by tribal standards as to win the murderer public
admiration. Thus children in Shalë were taught with great pride
that once a tribesman killed his brother for killing a guest, for an [574]
Albanian's duty to his guest transcends the claims of blood
relationship.

Two modifications of the general rule are to be noted. In Mirditë in spite of the victim's blood being lost, the murderer had to pay the tribe the fine due in cases of ordinary murder, 100 rams and an ox. In the Malësi e Madhe if the two brothers had separated the fratricide had to pay blood money to his brother's dependants. If the widow had no children, she took all the money; if she had a daughter only, she again took it all, for when the time came for the girl to marry, she would as 'head of the family' have to pay the wedding expenses; if she had a son, he took all the money, for his father's death had made him head of the family. The blood money was therefore alimony payable to the widow and orphans who had been robbed of their breadwinner. If the two brothers had not separated, the fratricide as a matter of course supported the widow and orphans along with the other members of his household and the question of alimony did not arise.

Parricide was thought the most abhorrent of all murders within 682
the family. In a sense a father had the right to kill his son without 627
being asked by anybody what he had done, but a son unnatural 593
enough to kill his father could surely not have been got by that
father, but must be a bastard. Even where his crime was regarded

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296]
225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837]
runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765]
shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696]
out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628]
been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585]
whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554]
collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894. 681 491 574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

10. Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

X. Decisions Taken on April 30th, 1905, by the Youth of Shalë. 681

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 126–7.)

1. As from to-day up to Ash Wednesday the percentage on loans at interest is to be paid with 25 okes of grain. If this is not paid by Ash Wednesday, a percentage of 30 okes is to be taken by force from the debtor. [426]

As interest 100 grosh or 100 okes of grain as the creditor wishes are to be paid. Let him take 100 grosh if it suits him, or if he says, 'I'll have grain', let them give him 100 okes of grain.

2. Grain is never to be given to anybody by a man of Shalë unless it is wanted for a funeral meal or it is desired to make a present of not more than 20 okes. [431] [765]

3. Raki is never to be produced by a man of Shalë at a funeral meal except during the seven weeks of Lent. [273]

4. No man of Shalë is ever to give away more than 100 grosh either outside or inside the tribe. [431]

A godmother is not to present a red *xhamadam* (sleeveless jacket). [608]

No woman is to go to a wedding in a party of five or more and they are not to seek a woman outside the same house.[1] [585]

5. Whoever fires the first shot in the yard of a church or inside its boundaries is to have his house burned and must pay 20 purses under the guarantee of flock-cum-shepherd and the youth of Shalë.

6. If a man disturbs a mass that is being said and if the priest, crucifix in hand, says, 'So-and-so has troubled me', the offender will have his house burned and must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

7. Whoever touches Church property must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

8. Whoever molests the Church servant must pay a fine of 2 oxen to the tribe.

9. If anyone borrows coffee and sugar from the priest for a funeral meal and does not return them to him within four weeks, and if the priest complains, he must pay a fine of one ox to the tribe. [765] [426]

10. Whoever steals an ewe, goat and cow from a man of Shalë and whoever does anything to his neighbour that disgraces him, shall have his harvest burned, his fields plucked bare and his grain panniers smashed. He will pay fines of one ox to the youth and 2 rams to the government representative.

11. These laws, enacted by the youth of Shalë together with the

[1] The last clause of § 4 is given as in Mrs Hasluck's MS., but there seems to be some mistake, as the corresponding passage in the Italian version of Father Gjeçov's *Kanùn* runs:

Lo shalano non può fare il compare più di 5 volte, e non può chiedere che si leghino in comparto più di 5 famiglie.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

B. The Japangi.

The japangi is the out-of-door cloak of a married woman, and is presented as a wedding gift from the bridegroom to his bride.* It is made of scarlet cloth or felt, often imported from Austria, and the handsome silk embroidery which decorates it is the work of Albanian men tailors. It is interesting to note that according to old archives "Scarlet cloth was one of the items the Venetians used to bestow on local Albanian chieftains in the days of Venetian domination in the Adriatic."† 291 294 531 [431]

The garment consists of two parts, the large circular cape and a rectangular flap for a hood which is attached to it (Plate XII a). Although the material is very wide there are some joinings, and a curved gore or a long dart is cut and joined together again to make the cloak fit well on the shoulders.

It is handsomely trimmed by three panels of embroidery, one on either side of the front, like the one at the left only in "b" on Plate XII, and one across the shoulders at the back (Plate XII c). These panels consist of strips, about an inch wide, of scarlet and dark red or maroon or black cloth seamed together to form a background of stripes upon which an elaborate pattern is solidly worked in chain-stitch in yellow, white, green and violet silk, the silk being home grown, spun and dyed in most cases. The joining of the front and back panels is disguised by a number of rows of plaited braids, plain yellow ones being used alternately with mixed red, black and white ones (Plate XII h). The silk strands of which the braids are made form a long fringe at either end (Plate XII g). "The embroidery is very noteworthy. It is done entirely by men, and the patterns are traditional and vary very little, a bird, possibly a dove (Plate XII f), a serpent (Plate XII e), flowers and an ear of corn (Plate XII d) are always included, and it was impossible to get any explanation from the embroiderers as to why these items were always to be found. After much discussion by one excellent worker with his fellows they decided that it must be some old tale, long forgotten. The flowers and corn may be fertility emblems as this is a marriage garment." (M.E.D.). [462]

When a woman becomes a widow she removes the embroidered panels and substitutes some black stripes instead, whose arrangement is shown at the right hand side of the front view of the japangi at "b" on Plate XII. A sketch (No.1935-27) by Miss Durham of a Scutarene widow wearing a japangi with black stripes can be seen in the museum collection. [765]

No. 1935-22. In addition to the japangi with the embroidery just described there are two other examples of the sets of embroidered panels, both from Scutari (Skodar), and one of which is drawn at "g" on Plate XII.

The fine felt stripes of which this ground is made are scarlet and very dark maroon, and the design and the technique of the embroideried work far outshines that of the other two specimens. Ivory silk chain-stitch, generally outlined in yellow, fills most of the important motives, but touches of pale blue, reseda green and violet appear here and there. The changes in the background colour enhance the richness of the general effect and part of the illustration at "g" on Plate XII has been filled in to give some idea of this variation in tone. The serpent, dove and corn

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man.* Vol. XXIII. No. 5, 1923.
† loc. cit.

[Text continues on p. 57]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

through which the animal is led. If the cow steps over the object with the right hoof, it is considered a good augury; if with the left, the omen is unfavourable. If a hen shakes her feathers in the house, or if one of her feathers hangs askew without falling, it foretells the arrival of a friend, or the receipt of news from an absent relative. Should the hen crow like a cock without turning its head to the East, it signifies a death or other serious misfortune. If, during the night, a cock crows at an unusual hour, it is either a sign of a change in the weather, or that important news will arrive in the morning. To an expectant mother, however, it announces that her child will be a boy. Should the dog howl while looking away from the dwelling, it is a sign of death; and if the cat mews repeatedly, that a member of the family will shortly fall ill. If, however, she licks herself frequently, it is merely a sign of rain.

Cats, I may here remark, are treated with great kindness by the Albanians, who, it is said, are not in the habit of laying to their charge the smashing of crockery, or the disappearance of provisions. According to a myth current among the Albanian highlanders, the cat was created by Jesus, who produced one from the sleeve of His mantle when dining in a house infested with mice. To kill a cat is consequently considered a most reprehensible action. When such a family pet dies, the children of the house call in their friends to assist in pussy's obsequies, and, after she has been carried in solemn procession to the grave, the little party sit down to a funeral feast, for which the mother willingly furnishes the necessary viands.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was [582] too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 625 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 628 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [573] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads
302 except for a tuft on the crown, as a few old men and young boys
*628 still do, the Highlanders of north Albania asserted that a murderer
862 had licence to cut off his victim's head. The tuft, they said, was left so that an enemy might conveniently carry the head when he cut it off; failing such a handle, he would thrust his finger into the dead man's mouth, an intolerable insult. The veracity of this story appears doubtful, since although the Highlanders, Slavs, and Turks all cut off heads, Albanians as far inland as Elbasan shaved their head save for the tuft on the crown, and it is unlikely that all anticipated murder by Slavs or Turks. Whatever the purpose, the tuft was not confined to Albanians, but was seen in 1926 worn by small boys in the Turkish villages in south Serbia where the population was of mixed Turkish and Bulgarian stock.

*628 A murderer usually announced his crime to the victim's family
● 766 by a crude message to fetch him from such-and-such a place and
682 bury him. He was always expected to surrender the body, but if a feud was unusually bitter, the murderer might forbid the body to be buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way. If he was backed by enough men to make his ban effective, the body was buried in the secrecy of night. Sometimes he forbade it to be taken even at night to the cemetery; in that event it had to be buried elsewhere. A story comes from Sopot in Dibër. About 1893 Abas Kamber's enemy killed one of his men and forbade him to carry the body to the cemetery. Abas, strong though he was, could do nothing but bury it in the courtyard of his house. Just before it was lowered into the grave, the enemy repented and sent him leave to bury it in the cemetery. To show that he was not always prepared to do the enemy's bidding, Abas sent back the message that he would not dig up the body again and concluded that burial as it had begun.

Hiding the body was universally deprecated. When men stole a grazing cow, it was said they killed it, roasted and ate what they could of the meat and hid the remainder. But it was not to eat a man's flesh that they killed him and they must not conceal his body like the cow's. If they did, the feud was doubly embittered.

*628 By rights a man was never buried where he was killed. Even if
764 the spot were two days distant, or if, like Kol Mali's victim, he had
682 lain three weeks undiscovered, he was carried home for burial. 'He had been theirs', his relatives said, and neither distance nor a natural repugnance could prevent them from doing their duty by him. In the northern mountains, in Mirditë and in Kurbin, a heap

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Pledge for Flocks + Shepherds in Nikaj + Curraj, St. Johns Day, 1895]

681 [766] 3. Nobody may help to bury a murderer till three years have passed unless the master of the feud wishes. When somebody does help to bury him five purses must be paid to the master of the feud, either in money or in beasts, as may be arranged among themselves.

[628] 4. A murderer is never under a flock-and-shepherd guarantee until the murder has been avenged or the feud composed.

5. A cutter of pine slivers and a reaper with sickle are under a pledge of safety from the eve of St Anthony to the eve of Our Lady of Alshiqe.

6. A mower with scythe is under a pledge of safety.

7. A shooter is under a pledge of safety from the eve of St Anthony to the eve of Our Lady of Alshiqe.

8. The Ndermajë—Livath i Math (Great Meadow)—Shalë road and the Kodër Plak—Shalë road are under a pledge of safety for flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever steals small animals must pay 250 grosh and return two for every one stolen.

Whoever steals a cow or ox must pay 500 grosh and return two for every one stolen.

10. Whoever removes the tiles of a house must pay 500 grosh.

11. If a debtor does not meet his obligations he is to be accused before the head of his ward. If he still does not meet his obligations, he has no pledge of safety and may be robbed and killed until he enters the right path.

Guarantors: 3 tribes.

IX. Resolutions Made at Kashnjet, Mirditë, on August 17th, 1904.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 128.)

We, the tribe of Dibër, met for some business in General Assembly at Kashnjet and we have examined the business legally as required by God and the Canon of Mirditë.

1. Whoever murders one of his kin shall be expelled for fifteen years from the tribe, his land shall be left untilled and he shall pay a fine of 100 rams and an ox and have his house burned.

2. Whoever allows a man who has murdered one of his own kin to enter his house becomes as guilty as the murderer.

3. The kindred which does not take the lead against such culprits commits a fault against the whole tribe.

[Here follow the names of the leaders, headed by the bajraktar.]

In whatever business the tribe may have these people will take the lead of the whole tribe.

Witness:

Dom Ndue Melguzhi, Pepaj, parish priest of Kashnjet.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

This want of restrictions may be attributed, partly to the smaller emphasis which south Albanians lay on descent in the male line, partly to the greater store which, probably under Greek influence, they set on relationships in general. North Albanians, when sent to work in south Albania, always expressed lively astonishment when they found, for instance, a southerner claiming as a relative a man who was only the brother of his wife's brother. 628* 184 [611] [602]

It occasionally happens that a young widow with a son remarried in another family, who probably lived in another village or even district, and had a son by her second husband. Almost without exception the son by her first husband remained with his father's family, so that the two boys grew up apart. Even if the first son accompanied his mother on her remarriage, he had at an early age to return to his father's family. There never was any doubt that the two boys belonged to different households. They recognized each other as brothers, however, and if one was killed, the other had as much right as a full brother on the father's side to avenge him. But if either wished to avenge another male in the other's household, he could only do so by joining an expedition led by the master of that household; he could not do so independently, for except to his half-brother he was an outsider. 628* [587] [768] [595]

'Women do not have rifles' ran the Kanùn. As a corollary 'Women do not have blood feuds', it continued. One result of these Kanùns was that women could not properly avenge their murdered relatives. It was also recognized that they were generally too timorous to do so. A few 'strong characters', however, had been known to lay aside their feminine fears and to kill an enemy. Thus the virgin Emin of Orenjë in Çermenikë avenged her father. When he was killed she was still in the cradle and as she grew up she became aware that her four cousins, the only males left in the family, did not show too much zeal in avenging him. When she was fifteen, she secretly bought a rifle and, seeing the enemy one day come within range of the windows of her home, she fired at him and killed him with the third shot. Then her cousins were trebly annoyed. She, a woman, had proved herself their superior in courage; for her crime one of their lives was forfeit; and they had hoped to compound the feud without further bloodshed, a hope she had destroyed. In fact, she had embittered the feud by putting the enemy to the shame of losing a relative at a woman's hands. Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son 562 628*

KORÇA

000 colored stones, giving the residences an appearance of wealth.

795 Korça is now[1] the residence of the head of the Albanian Orthodox Church.

769 The local hero of Korça is one Themistokli Gërmeni.

167 About 70% of the Albanian immigrants to other countries come from Korça.

361 Korça is two and a half hours by automobile from Florina, Greece, where the railroad comes from Salonica northward. Thus making Korça the point nearest to railway connection.

[1 [Errata: should be was until recently. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

Albania EG1

771 Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
[782] which at one point were most probably human sacrifices; the faith
[769] in the existence of certain snakes that guarded treasures and in the tutelary spirits of people; exposing the dead after the manner of the Parsi, as a result of that lack of respect for the corpse which springs from the knowldege of the eternity of the spirit--the ancient Thracians were jubilant whenever someone died, and they wailed when some-
[775] one was born--; werewolf conceptions; separation of the soul in sleep; wandering about of the dead, especially of evil people who in the form of a ghost or in a transformed human shape cause harm. The foreseeing of the future makes use of materialistic means in order to survive before the masses in a degenerate age which no longer knows
[787] or believes. It prophesies from the fissures that appear in a heated sheep's shoulder blade or hen's breast bone; also from the bright and dark spots in the light filtering through, or from the flight of birds.
[789] The old knowledge of the emanating, radiating spiritual forces of beings and things is used for magical purposes, for instance little pieces of paper that have something written on them and which are worn as a protection or drunk after they have been dissolved in water. The sun still lives among the Albanians as "God's reflection."

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/101: Illustrations./

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

792 until the return of Essad Pasha to power some six months later.

At the Greek monastery, which we reached by a track through a stream-bed so rough that it threatened to reduce the car to matchwood and scrap-iron, I was told another 769 interesting story. In a shrine in the monastery chapel lie 792 the remains of a great Albanian hero named John of Scutari, who was killed when fighting against the Bulgars in the year 1015. These saintly relics are an object of great veneration and, like the remains of Spiridione at Corfu and many others elsewhere, are believed to possess miraculous powers, and are brought out and carried in procession at times of national stress and on certain very special occasions. Some few months before my visit, so I was told by the baba, the Serbian bishop of Ochrida came to the monastery and asked to see, and was shown, the holy relics. The bishop then departed, and shortly afterwards a service was held in Ochrida cathedral which purported to celebrate the return of the sainted remains of St. John to their true home—Serbia. The claim of the bishop to have brought back with him the saint's body was substantiated by the placing, with much pomp and ceremony, of some object in a shrine already prepared for its reception. What this object really was is a matter for conjecture, as the body of St. John still lies undisturbed in the coffin which I myself saw through an ooo opening in the side of a tomb in the monastery chapel. If the story is true, what can have been the object of the bishop's deception? If on the other hand it is untrue,

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

A 783 627 pre-Slavonic times. One other trace maybe of holy trees and stones I saw in 1904 when riding through Albania, and never again.

My horse-boy picked up stones and thrust them in the forks of trees when we passed through a wood. To the horror of my companion, A who was a colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society from [775 South Albania, the boy declared he was doing so for the spirits of the 769] dead to have something to tread on as they passed. Unfortunately the colporteur blamed him, and he would say no more about it. Hahn, in his Albanian studies, mentions this custom.

A 778 On this journey we passed two small woods where, I was told, no trees were ever cut because "a long while ago a church stood there." No one knew when. The "church" had probably been imagined, to account for the sanctity of the wood.

S 627 538 782 In Serbian tales and ballads the oaths are usually sworn by "God and St. John." Does St. John the Baptist represent a former oath on a holy spring? In Montenegro, SS. Petar Cetinski and Vasili of Ostrog were daily asked to bear witness to many dubious statements. No Montenegrin peasant can make a statement, whether true or false, without calling on God and one or other of his saints; and, alas! the old idea of the sanctity of an oath had evaporated and the statement was too often a lie.

Whereas I found the word of the Albanian tribesman reliable; but civilization may weaken his word, too.

M 782 Old King Nikola of Montenegro used to call Heaven to witness many remarkable statements. Once, when the Diplomatic Circle had been summoned to hear an unusually remarkable one, it is said that an astonished silence ensued, till one Minister Plenipotentiary, recovering his presence of mind, politely said: "Your Royal Highness is famed through Europe as . . . a poet."

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

682 house to borrow sugar for the funeral feast—a request which was refused.
576 As I was the priest's guest, I could not attend the funeral; but it must have been interesting, for the murderer was one of the chief mourners—perhaps honestly so. My suggestion that he should be handed over
[692] to the Turkish authorities in Scutari for punishment was not received at all well by anyone; and it was pointed out to me that had it not
771 been the Will of God the man could not have died of only two bullets. Many men live with more in them. This curious case suggests that in earlier days the house lord may have had the power of life and death over his subjects.

MURDER OUTSIDE THE TRIBE

682 The tribe inflicts no punishment. The Turkish Government got its
628 fine if it could. Fines, in fact, being part of the Government's revenue, no effort was made to stop blood-taking by it.

The relatives of the murdered man take blood for him, of the family of the murderer if they can. An intertribal feud may become so intense that two whole tribes are "in blood." Peace can only be established by
[727] a Council of Elders of both tribes. When made, it was sometimes strengthened by marrying the daughter of one party to a man of the
[608] other. Or blood brotherhood may be sworn. The blood-gelt, fines, and the peace oath are as already described.

WOUNDING

683 A wound inflicted intentionally comes under the laws for blood. The house of the guilty man can be burnt and his goods can be seized (this in Dukagini), as in case of murder, if the elders examining the case think fit. He is liable to have his own blood taken by the injured man or his relatives. Blood of his son and brother may be taken (Dukagini).
[693] Con-jurors up to twenty-four may be called, but according to the nature of the injury a smaller number may suffice. The fine paid is in proportion to the wound, and is decided by the elders. The price to be paid for a death—a fatal wound—is taken as standard, and the wound reckoned as one-half, quarter, tenth, etc., of a death price. It is, in fact, payment for the amount of blood lost.

In the case of a wound given accidentally, the house is not burnt, but the wound must be paid for. A man I knew, playing with a rifle, accidentally shot a woman through the foot and, unfortunately, made her lame for life. He had to pay fifteen napoleons to her husband (for damaging his property), and had to undertake to pay a further fifteen should the woman die at any future time as a result of lameness.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

visible mark has a strong effect on primitive and childish minds—witness national flags and school and college colours. The missionizing "popes" of the Orthodox Church had every reason to denounce a practice which thus "sealed" part of the population and made it turn a deaf ear to the attractions of Byzantium.

To this day the object of the Orthodox is to wipe all that belongs to Rome from the peninsula. I found the bitterest dislike, even among the educated classes; and among the peasants neither side would admit that the other was Christian. In early days the struggle must have been even cruder than to-day.

3. Tattooing in Albania

We will trace these symbols farther south. In North Albania I noticed that every Catholic woman among the five large tribes (Kastrati, Shkreli, Hotí, Gruda, and Klementi) wore, if not too poor, a large silver filigree crescent and star stitched to the crown of her flat cap; or a similar design was embroidered and the "star" then larger. Asked why they wore a Turkish symbol, they crossed themselves and denied the charge indignantly, saying: "We wear it because we always do. It is not Turkish. We are good Catholics." They declared also it was "very old"; and were quite correct. For the sun and moon symbol, as we have seen, was long pre-Turkish in the Balkans. I next found that the bulk of these tribes-folk, both men and women, are tattooed on the back of the hand, the forearm, or the breast (seldom on all) with a cross; but never a plain cross. It has a crescent above and below it; or the arms terminate in small circles, as do those on Byzantine coins; or some in circles and some in crescents; or the cross is in the "sun-wheel" form. None of these people at all objected to showing the tattoos. I at once recognized in a simplified form the elements of the Bosnian designs. Most people said they did it because they were Catholics. Anxious to give a reason, one man said it was to ensure you Christian burial if you died abroad.

When I asked the Albanian tribesmen what was the meaning of the circle and crescent on the cross-arms, they said at once it was "Dielli"—the sun; and "Hana"—the moon. The cross was to show you were a Christian. What were the sun and moon for? The only reply was "per bukur" (for beauty). Often they laughed and gave none. Mgr. Ernesto Cozzy, then priest of Rechi and later Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, a Tyrolese whose knowledge of the mountain people was the result of years of sympathetic study, told me: "They have a number of curious pagan beliefs which they will not tell me. I have found that

[Text continues on p. 123]

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in con- 304
flict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. 771
So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. 531
Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died 114
in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to 771
Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle 174
I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is 776
the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and 174
floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern 776
and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his [787]
armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is [821]
driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda 531
tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear 304
tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from 173
the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, 777
search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone 787
wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs 771
and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part 174
of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine 278
are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells 765
are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal 759
lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all 755
Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

175* of Kruja to surrender the city and fortress to Scanderbeg. The Turkish Governor of Kruja, Sabel Pasha, obeyed the imperial order, and Scanderbeg became master of Albania at the age of forty.

[177] His first act, as Albania's leader, was to renounce Islamism and proclaim himself champion of the Christian faith. During this period of their history, the Albanians were all Christians.

Scanderbeg's personal influence was augmented by his marriage with Andronica, daughter of Arianites Comnenus, a prominent Albanian leader.

The Albanians upheld the standards of Scanderbeg, and with the aid of these loyal forces, Scanderbeg withstood the efforts of the Turks to regain possession of Albania for a period of twenty-three years. The story of Scanderbeg's coming to Kruja has been beautifully portrayed by the American poet, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, in his "Tales of a Wayside Inn."

"Anon from the castle walls
The crescent banner falls,
And the crowd beholds instead,
Like a portent in the sky,
Iskander's banner fly,

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

162 Korça, Berat and Vlona, the Orthodox are also numerous.

795 The Albanian Orthodox Church came into existence in 1922, after the Congress of Berat, with the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople. This Church has four metropolitans: Durazzo, Berat, Argyrocastro and Korça. The Roman Catholic Apostolic Delegate and Archbishop are at Scutari, and there are five Catholic bishoprics scattered throughout the country.

It is known that Christianity came early to Albania for St. Paul says, "Round about Illyria have I fully preached the Gospel of Christ." The Albanians claim him as the first missionary among them.

• 771 Although religion is a strong force with the Albanians, it does not interfere with their patriotism and powerful nationalism. In the face of a demand on their loyalty Moslem, Roman Catholic and Albanian Orthodox become brothers in one cause.

It can be said that Albania is the only country in Europe where there is no religious dissension; they have always remained united at every period of their national history.

POPULATION AND RELIGION

• 77 Mixed marriages are common in spite of the vast differences between Moslems and Christians.

162 361 504 Tirana, the capital, has about 35,000 inhabitants, Durazzo (Durrës), the main port of Albania, has 9,739, Valona (Vlona), second important port of Albania, 9,110, Elbasan 13,800, Scutari (Shkodra) 29,209, Argyrocastro (Gjinokastra) 12,500, Korça 25,000, Berat 10,500, Pogradec 3,400, Leskovik 2,500, Permet 3,000, Santi Quaranta (Saranda), the third port of Albania, 2,000, Delvina 4,000, Fier 3,700, Kruja, Kukës, Prizren Peshkopi, Dibër, Libohova, Kavaja, Lesh, Butrinto, Lushnja, Llixha, etc., are also well populated. San Giovanni di Medua is the fourth port of Albania. Butrinto Bay is also a harbour, measuring about a mile by 1,300 yards and has very good anchorage in 14 and 16 fathoms.

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000cessible on account of snow during the winter months.

778 Much festivity pervades in this part of the country in the summer months, for tradition has it that on the summit of Tomori is the grave of Iman Abbas Ali to which many natives make pilgrimages every August from
346 the 19th to 28th. For this purpose, a monastery has been built 1,900 feet below the summit by the Bektashi Dervishes, where the pilgrims and visitors may lodge in comfort before the strenuous climb to the topmost
776 point; and it is another native belief that that top is the seat of the ancient sky-god, related to the Zeus of Dodona and Homer's Olympia, and only certain, privileged mortals may reach his abode, others being warned away by
773 nose bleedings and sickness. Also, there is said to be an inaccessible tree bearing golden apples growing on the summit. The peasants
778 often take oath by "Father Tomori," which mountain they regard with superstitious awe. Tourists to Albania often hear this mountain referred to as "The Olympia of Albania."

• 771 It is the district of Shpat at the base of
551 Mount Bokanik just to the east of this richly historical center that was in constant dispute

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

771 551 years ago as to whether it was to be Christian or Moslem. Therefore, in silent compromise, the elder members of the inhabitants had two names: the Moslem one used for public purposes, and the Christian one used privately and for baptisms and marriages, for these ceremonies a priest was smuggled in and out of the neighborhood by night. It was only about thirty years ago that the Christians felt free to declare openly their faith; this was due greatly to the intervention of the Austrians and Russians. However, those of the older generation retain their Moslem names but their children have been given Christian names only.

312 529 757 Perhaps of greatest interest to one visiting this fascinating country for health purposes, will be the healing springs at Llixha, only a few readily negotiable miles from Elbasan. These most unusual springs are certain cures for various forms of rheumatism. The sulphuric waters are so healing that merely by the repeated emptying of cans of water over the body in the oriental fashion many cures have been effected. The ground around these springs is very warm, and until forty years ago, before the useful invasion of the modern

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

not been unfrequent even in the present century, and the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, makes it probable that in course of time the country may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians have among the Turks the reputation of being but indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of the Albanians who call themselves members of the Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ; Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary of the departure of her image from the Latin church in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XI.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-BELIEFS.

144 114 Mr. Stuart Glennie's suggestion[1] that the Albanians are probably a mixed Pelasgo-Aryan race, and that the Pelasgians, whose Larissas extend from Italy and Greece through Asia Minor to Northern Syria and Chaldea, were related to the Archaian White Race, the founders of civilisation in the Euphrates Valley, gives special interest to all their folk-lore.

●771 Survivals of ancient Nature-worship, which neither Christianity nor Islam has succeeded in eliminating, may be found in the form of the oaths still in 788 use in the Albanian highlands. Contact with the [177] outer world has taught the dwellers in towns to call upon the Virgin and Saints, or Allah and Mohammed, as witnesses to their word; but the oaths of the pastoral Skipetar are still "By sky and earth" (*Per kielh e per dhé*), "By mountain and plain" (*Per ket ziarm e per ket uï*), and "By sun and moon" (*Per ket dielh e per ket hân*). The curious ceremony of taking the "Oath of the Stone," which is said by Wassa Effendi[2] to have been a Pelasgian custom, is

[1] First made in Europe and Asia (1879), and more fully in papers on the Archaian White Races, read in 1887 at meetings of the Royal Historical Society and of the British Association.

[2] *Etudes sur l'Albanie et les Albanais.*

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PEAKS OF SHALA

000 shoulder-high rock and dashed to aid the rescue. It looked for a moment as though they would all go down upon Perolli below, but the horse got his footing and stood trembling, his head covered with streaming blankets.

I said then that I would walk, but it was not walking. It was jumping, scrambling, dropping. Those mountains were evidently created to be looked at, not to be walked upon. Bathed in perspiration, I stopped from time to time to eat a bit of snow, and twelve-year-old Rexh looked at me with compassion. He had walked nearly twenty miles that day and was still gay and fresh; the men were still singing.

788 "In a minute, Mrs. Lane, we will come to a resting place," the pitying Rexh encouraged me, and ~~in~~ perhaps half an hour my trembling legs brought me around a bowlder to see the two gendarmes stopped in the trail, crossing themselves. A wooden cross, blackened by storms and years, leaned forward above them, supported by a pile of stones on a small grassy knoll. Alex and Frances dropped from their ponies to lie panting beside me on the grass, while the guides, [117] smiling at our whim, stopped also. Each of them crossed himself before sitting down, for the mountain tribes have been Catholic almost ever since St. Paul preached in the Balkans, and missionary priests have put the cross at each resting place on the trails, to bring thoughts of God to weary men.

000 Below our feet the cliffs fell away, down into

[on Chafa Bishkasit [10] Mountains -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

though in a Paris restaurant one glass of mild wine will make me realize that a second would be unwise. I don't explain this, I simply note the fact, and it gives me a different point of view on the chronicles of hard-drinking past centuries.

We sat there, talking, for an hour or more. The bishop[1] said that he had never been out of the mountains except for a trip long ago to the Vatican in Rome; he had been there a year, and had conversed with his brother priests in Latin. Then he had come back to the mountains and had lived there ever since. His diocese included all the northern tribes, and he visited them from time to time, riding wherever a donkey could carry him, and walking where it could not. Ten years earlier he had had another foreign visitor, a Miss Durham of England; he had heard that she later wrote a book in which she told about the visit, and if he could have afforded it he would have liked to send for that book.

No, the Church had not very greatly altered the ancient customs of the people. They were all good Catholics, and attended mass. But they still buried the dead uncoffined, with three apples on the breast, and when they put a stone or a wooden slab above the grave they often carved on it, not only the cross, but also the sun. One would note, too, that at the rising and setting of the sun they made the sign of the cross to it.

He was not too intolerant of these things. After all, beyond the sun was always the good God.

1 [Franciscan Bishop of Pulit-[25] Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

POSTSCRIPT

known in European history by his Turkish name 795
of Iskander Bey Scanderbeg—who successfully revolted against Turkey and maintained Albanian independence for twenty-five years, defeating the Turks in thirteen great battles and innumerable small ones. After his death in 1467 [797]
some of the chiefs of the central mountain tribes, exhausted by a quarter century of war and confronting fresh Turkish armies, purchased their actual independence by a verbal submission and became nominally Mohammedan. When the Bechtaski sect—which may roughly be said to bear the relation to Islam that the Methodist bears to the Church of Rome—rose in Turkey, it found its most fertile ground among these Mohammedan Albanians. The northern mountain tribes have always remained Roman Catholic, and southern Albania Greek Catholic.

None of these creeds, however, have affected 771
national unity—Albania is the only Balkan 184
country in which religion and nationality are not synonymous—and all of them are rooted shallowly above the old religion of Albanians, which is the formless belief in a Great Unknown from which sprang the gods and mythology of ancient Greece. In southern Albania you will still hear the people taking oath *per kete djelle eghe per kete hene* (by the power of the sun and the moon). You will still hear them calling upon Zeus—Zaa or Zee, the Voice—and upon Athena—E Thana, The Intelligence. In the north, the Catholic mountaineer greets the rising sun with the sign

[See cat. 795, pp. [293] 292-293 --Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

POSTSCRIPT

of the cross, and hears in his forests the voices of the ora. This vague religion is unconscious. The Albanian himself does not recognize it, but it is the resisting subsoil which has prevented acknowledged religions from taking deep root. Families of all religions freely intermarry; Mohammedan women are unveiled, or Catholic women veiled, according to the fashion of their town; in the mountains neither are veiled. In Guri-Bardhe, a village of the Mati known as being fanatically Mohammedan, the women were quite willing to pose for photographs, and Limoni, the chief, was defying the local *hodji* by demanding a modern school; the *hodji* taught the children nothing worth while, he said. In the spring religious festivals—the two Easters and the fast of Ramazan—all Albanians in Tirana took part, and Mohammedan fezzes were thick in the midnight processions carrying Easter candles.

There has never been friction along the frontiers of the three religions. All Albanians united to resist the Romanizing and Germanizing influence of Catholicism, the attempt of Shiek ul Islam to cripple the Albanian language by a Turkish alphabet (a revolution was fought, and won, for the Latin alphabet in 1910), and the Hellenizing propaganda of certain Orthodox Churchmen.

But there is a real division in Albania. It lies between the Toshks, or southerners, and the Ghegs, who are the mountaineers. Men who have held their mountain fastnesses and main-

7: Amery G-6 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

trying their values by the acid test of survival. Nor were they[1] 177
isolated from the world around them; for the tides of invasion
that swept through their valleys, and the cross-currents of
foreign intrigue which penetrated into their mountains con-
tinually refreshed them with new ideas. Some of them, more-
over, travelled to the ends of the earth in the service of their
conquerors, to act, on their return, as a ferment among their
fellow countrymen. Likewise the three religions which they 795
honoured — the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox, and the
Moslem — were powerful vehicles for the spread of foreign
influences, whether from Pope or Patriarch or Sheikh-Ul-Islam.

These religions represented traditional loyalties rather than 771 ●
living creeds to the Albanians. Indeed religious devotion and
ideological fervour were alike alien to them, being based on
social concepts inapplicable to the anarchy in which they lived.
In the past, when politics had been conducted under the sign
of religion, they had freely apostatised to secure material
advantage. Likewise, in our time, they variously proclaimed
themselves Fascists, Communists, or Democrats, in obedience
to the calculations of interest rather than to the dictates of con-
viction. The growth among them of the Bektashi sect suggested
that, left to themselves, their religious instinct might have
developed towards some form of Pantheism, perhaps in the
tradition of the Oracle of Dodona and the hierarchy of gods
which Hellas inherited from the ancient Illyrians. Instead, the 181
contemplation of the endless struggle for survival and power
which characterised every phase of their daily life induced in
them an all-pervading materialism. In ideas they discerned
but the banners under which forces are gathered; and they
mistrusted words as a cloak for intentions rather than as a
means for their expression.

Politics they understood instinctively, for the relations
between the Great Powers were daily made manifest to them
in terms of golden coin and leaden shot. Besides, where there
is no law, all human relationships are understood in terms of the
struggle for power which underlies them and which is the very
stuff of politics. The life of the clans was indeed a great school
of *realpolitik*; and though the Albanians are few the fertility

[1] [the Albanians -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

793 barn, decorated only by a crude, wooden cross, erected on a bare altar of rough stones. At the door one of the congregation stood guard over the rifles of his fellows, but each of us retained his pistol or his knife.

[771] For the Mirdites, Christianity is, above all, an expression of nationalism; and the elevation of the Host that day appeared to me less as an act of faith than as a gesture of defiance against the foreign invader marching under the banner yesterday of Islam, now of Communism.

4

* 669 648 When Maclean had seen that our Headquarters were inflexibly set on his recall, he had asked that a boat be sent to embark him from the coast between the estuaries of the Mati and the Drin. The staff officers in Bari, however, refused this request and ordered him instead to hand himself over to the Partisans for evacuation through Southern Albania. In explanation they alleged difficulties with the Navy; but, as we suspected at the time and later verified, their real and puerile design was to prove to Enver Hoja that Maclean and Smiley had really been withdrawn. We saw at once that in the eyes of the Albanians Maclean's departure to the camp of the L.N.C. must impose an intolerable humiliation on Abas Kupi. We also feared that Enver Hoja's attitude towards our Mission might make such a journey as dangerous as it would be dishonourable.

We therefore multiplied excuses for delay, making much of the difficulties of travel while the rivers were in spate, and discovering objections to each rendezvous which our Headquarters proposed. Such stratagems served for a time, but orders from Bari grew increasingly peremptory; and Maclean had just decided that he could procrastinate no longer when suddenly an urgent telegram from Headquarters countermanded all previous instructions. As we were later to learn, a commissar had spoken out of turn at the L.N.C. Divisional Headquarters, and the British liaison officers had thus discovered

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

(Godolesh and Lumë). The first two phrases are evidently old 695
Albanian and have nothing exclusively Moslem about them; the 782
second (lit. 'May I see God') has even a Catholic ring. The third is widely known all over the Moslem world and in certain areas which were once under Moslem rule. But it is used in a magical rather than a religious sense. It is found in magical formulae among the Arabs of Egypt and the Christian Greeks of the island of Zea, next door neighbour to Euboea.[1]

The only invocation of the Deity which the author recorded among the Orthodox was in Shpat and ran as follows: 'By that Christ in Whom we believe.' It is evidently a Church formula.

There was no sign that any of these oaths was preferred to the 771
others; they seemed to have equal value. Readers who know the 776
Catholics and the Orthodox, the two religions which divided Albania before the Turks came in the fifteenth century, will be struck by the paucity of references to Christ and the Virgin Mary and by the emphasis on God; this may be a further indication that the oaths go back to pagan days when neither Christ nor the Virgin was known.

Formulae for invoking Catholic saints were such as 'By that 695
St Nicolas' in Kurbin and 'By the candle of St Nicolas' among 782
the Highlanders of Breg i Matit and Gurrëzë. Both were very grave oaths. The candle in the second is the wax taper lit before pictures of the saint by the devout; oath-takers seem to have feared that perjury would extinguish the flame of their life as easily as a candle could be put out. Of all their saints too, the Catholic Highlanders preferred St Nicolas. No Moslem saints were invoked as such; it was rather by their graves than themselves that oaths were taken. A strange oath, which comes from Surroj, was an exception. This ran 'By this patron saint of coffee'. Coffee, the peasants of Surroj explained, has a 'very important' patron saint. All over Albania coffee-house keepers make a libation to him every morning by pouring away the first cup of coffee that they make. They hope that after being placated in this way the saint will send them many customers. Some believe that he lies buried somewhere in the east of the Turkish empire, possibly in Arabia.

Catholic priests and Moslem clergymen—hoxhas and sheikhs 695
among the Sunnis, abbots (*baba*, sing.; *baballar*, plur.) among the 688
Bektashis—were respected as men of God, and Bektashi abbots 793

[1] See *Folklore*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 195 (June 1926).

312 with the household marks of the families which are allowed to used
[493] the particular canal concerned in turn--, the screeching ox cart whose
two wheels are two meters high because of the muddy roads, and
which is drawn by the animals driven on by the goad and harnessed
with a yoke on the nape of their necks; the wooden plow whose slade
501 and handle are both of one piece (Figure 9). The swimming bag made
of a goat's skin that is blown up and tied to the front of the body, and
the raft made of four such skins and a netting of intertwined osier
switches, upon which the swimmer puts his clothes bundle (Figure 6).
For the rest the people avail themselves of simple and double canoes,
with or without side boards that raise the edge of the boat, with or
without flanking beams that are nailed to the boat as floaters designed
to maintain the equilibrium (Figures 7 and 8). Plank boats also occur. To
husk the corn a mat of intertwined switches is placed on top of four
posts rammed into the ground, and the corn cobs are then beaten with
sticks one and one-half meters long, until the kernels have all fallen
411 to the ground through the plaited meshes (Figure 11). The long flint-
locks, which are quite often beautiful old heirlooms, have only sur-
vived still in the south; they are being replaced by the modern repeating
rifles, the pistols, and the handjars, the knife with the bone handle
221 of the shank of a cow, and the revolvers. The Albanians are to a
241 large extent farmers and in part migrating herders who commute back
and forth between their winter quarters in the plains towards the Adriatic,
where they work their fields, and their summer settlements on the
highland pastures to which they return after they have finished working
[312] the fields. During wanderings in the highlands they rub last year's
mountain snow on sheets of rock that have been scorched by the sun,
[202] in order to get water. The extensive settlement of the mountains has
given rise to the development of a good signalling system by means
183 of shooting and shouting and their transmission. Certain old customs
have been preserved that bespeak a life in firmly joined group com-
binations. To these belong the abducting of the bride, bride purchasing,
the engagment of children, sworn blood brotherhood, and revenge for
[162] murder. The Albanians are approximately seven-tenths Mohammedan,
771 two-tenths Greek Orthodox, and one-tenth Roman Catholic. Never-
theless, all kinds of remnants have been preserved attesting an earlier
spiritual life of the people which practiced a clairvoyant contemplation
of supernatural powers and processes, basing its knowledge and its
actions on the basis of its magical connection with these mysterious
forces. Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,

[see 1: Karutz, E1 Europe, cat. 116, p. 69a -- Analyst]

Albania EG1

771 Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
[782] which at one point were most probably human sacrifices; the faith
[769] in the existence of certain snakes that guarded treasures and in the tutelary spirits of people; exposing the dead after the manner of the Parsi, as a result of that lack of respect for the corpse which springs from the knowldege of the eternity of the spirit--the ancient Thracians were jubilant whenever someone died, and they wailed when some-
[775] one was born--; werewolf conceptions; separation of the soul in sleep; wandering about of the dead, especially of evil people who in the form of a ghost or in a transformed human shape cause harm. The foreseeing of the future makes use of materialistic means in order to survive before the masses in a degenerate age which no longer knows
[787] or believes. It prophesies from the fissures that appear in a heated sheep's shoulder blade or hen's breast bone; also from the bright and dark spots in the light filtering through, or from the flight of birds.
[789] The old knowledge of the emanating, radiating spiritual forces of beings and things is used for magical purposes, for instance little pieces of paper that have something written on them and which are worn as a protection or drunk after they have been dissolved in water. The sun still lives among the Albanians as "God's reflection."

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/101: Illustrations./

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Every inhabitant had two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Constantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all children that had meanwhile been born. A 553 702 651 A 852 771

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of ancient days. A 574

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more? A 787

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro. M 787 M 781

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M 184 551 576 third person without looking at his wife: "She is to bring coffee." Or turned his back and gave the order over his shoulder: "Bring coffee." If he had to mention his wife or present her, the older men still did so with a formal apology: "Da oprostish—moja zhena" ("If you will pardon me—my wife"). This I heard often enough. The mention of any female relative was avoided, and a man with daughters but no sons would emphatically declare he had no children. The girl child was made to feel her inferiority early. "A man feeds his son for himself, but his daughter for another man," she was told.

M 606 551 576 The name taboo till recently extended to other members of a household. The daughter-in-law, when brought to the family house, was not to call her new in-laws by their baptismal names.

"She dared not, for modesty," says Vuk Karadjitch. She addressed them all by nicknames which implied admiration or respect. Thus she called the elder brethren of the house Gospodin (sir), or Djever (brother-in-law), or even Ago (a great Aga). The younger more familiarly, as Sokolo (falcon), Miloshto (dear one), Zlatoye (golden one), or Krasni (the handsome). The elder women of the house were called Gospa (lady); the sisters-in-law Snasha, if they were the wives of the husband's brothers. If they were the unmarried sisters of the husband, who would all be very young in a land where girls are often married at fourteen, they were given fancy names, such as Lepotitza or Ubavitza (pretty little one), or Gospodjitza (little lady), or Golubitza (little dove). Beyond the family circle I found no trace of name taboo in Montenegro.

A 551 553 In the North Albanian mountains, however, in the Dukagin districts, it was decidedly unadvisable for a man's real name to be known. Especially in Shala, Shoshi, and Nikaj, I found it customary for men to adopt another name. It was a constant annoyance to the Franciscans that, though they baptized their flocks with good Albanian Christian names such as Kol (Nicholas), Gin (John), Ded (Dominic), or Pietr (Peter), the lads, on growing up, persisted in calling themselves by another name, preferably a Moslem one. They rigidly kept the fasts; they flocked to church on a feast day; according to their rather dim lights they fulfilled some, at least, of their religious duties. But they called themselves Hussein, or Ismail, or Mehmed, and no plea or threat of the priest could budge them. I was once asked by a Franciscan to express my horror of the practice to a whole party of men. I therefore said no one in England would believe they were Christians if they had such names. They did not like this and crossed themselves repeatedly in proof of their faith. But on this question they were obstinate. They did it "because they wished to," "because the names were beautiful" and, most convincing of all, "because we always do."

A 571 784

In Mer -

178 turi and Nikaj, the men adopt 2 sets of names,
795 Moslem and Christian, and employ the former
[55] while traveling to avoid trouble. They get used to these names and in many cases use them at home. In Hoti, the *bairaktar* once led his men against the invading Serbs, with the help of the Turkish government. In gratitude for his brave and successful conduct the Turks granted him special privileges, and he went over, with his family, to Islam. The rest of the *bairak* is still mostly Catholic, but the tendency in such a case is for the others to follow the leader. In Lura, where mixed families are found, the Catholics have given up keeping pigs so as not to offend the Moslems, and celebrate Moslem festivals as well as Christian ones, to avoid trouble. Very rarely a Mirdite will marry a Moslem woman from Mati, but when he does she becomes Catholic.

797 When the Turks introduced Islam, all
144 Ghegs were Catholics. Almost exclusively, the change has been in the Moslem direction. Hence we may assume that almost none of the present-day Catholics bear genetic elements brought in from outside the region by the Turks or their followers, while the same is not necessarily true of the Moslem Ghegs. *Bairak* by *bairak* and tribe by tribe, as conversion progressed, the line between the 2 religions has remained, by and large, a marital barrier. During the whole period of the Turkish rule, Catholics have furthermore been able to travel much less widely than Moslems, with resultant genetic implications.

771 In Albania one frequently hears the remark that "the Albanians are not very religious." This is usually said with pride, for the presence of 3 religions in so small a country is deemed a dangerous impediment to political unity. In one sense, the remark is quite true. Few Albanians are religious fanatics; few of them worry about their spiritual salvation. Most of the Catholics go to church with some regularity, and most of the Moslems keep Ramadan. However, their ancient way of life provides most of the ritual which they need to tide them over emotional crises, so that church and
771 mosque are in many ways superfluous. A
596 man's first loyalty is to his "blood," that is, his extended family. He spends much of his time, effort, and material goods keeping the family together and avenging any deed which has up-

[77] [596] [608] set its internal stability. The very act of vengeance is a ritual, as is the constant repetition of the need for vengeance. The rites of blood brotherhood and godfatherhood are rituals performed by Catholic and Moslem alike.

776 Both Catholics and Moslems believe in a host of malevolent spirits which pay the mountains a seasonal visit in the springtime, and which can sometimes be kept at bay by the use of amulets. These evil spirits are of course the symbols of the general hunger, illness, and irritability which beset the mountaineers at
753 this critical season. Catholics and Moslems alike attribute non-traumatic illnesses to spells cast by magicians, through the agency of hair and nail clippings. Wasting illnesses, such as consumption and cancer, may be attributed to vampires, sucking their victim's blood.

754 A vampire is said to be a human being, usually but not always a woman, who can change herself into an insect and fly into a room in which her victim is sleeping. As she fills with the blood, she has to leave now and then to spit it out. A person who finds such a gobbet of blood on the path is lucky; he can wrap it up and keep it as an amulet to protect him against vampires—and incidentally probably expose himself and his family to tuberculosis.

When people are hungry and ill, it is easy to suspect others of evil magic. The person named as a witch or vampire will of course be someone whose actions are eccentric or mysterious, who is a cause of disturbance in the community, and whose loss will not be greatly felt. If a child is suffering from malnutrition its parents may accuse some old woman, and drag her from her house. They will accuse her of having sucked blood from the child, and force her to spit in the child's mouth. Under protest she may spit merely in order to get away. If the child recovers, then the parents are sure she is a vampire; if the child dies she was innocent for her spittle did not cure it. People do not like being accused of witchcraft, or of having their aged grandmothers hauled off for trial; such actions, like the very suspicion itself, may result in bloodshed.

782 The Ghegs are great oath-swearers. Between blood feuds rivals will swear to keep the peace, on a stone in the presence of the

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much probably valuable material, for when many an ancient grave has 776
been opened and nothing but pottery and bits of bronze or iron found, 777
the treasure-seekers, enraged that the gold should have thus been 789
turned to rubbish because they did not know the formula, have smashed it all into small fragments.

One way to find treasure is to spread a layer of wood-ash over the 777
spot where it is believed to lie. Next morning, if it bears the footprint 782
of any bird or beast—a fox, sheep, etc.—such a creature must be sacrificed upon the spot. A black animal or bird with no touch of white on it is particularly efficacious.

In many places I had to declare to the headmen that I had not come to search for treasure.

Those good days are past. Albania is now being searched for petroleum, and, unless the kindly earth refuses to give it up, the land will be devoured by foreign speculators.

I was once taken a weary tramp in Berisha to see and explain a 777
marvel. On a great mass of rock was a slight hollow into which a man's 789
hand would fit, and near it a depression that was supposed to be like a mule's hoof-print. Both were natural weatherings of the rock. But the native theory was that ages ago, when the rock was soft, a man had hidden a treasure and made the rock flow over it. He had then marked the spot with his hand and the hoof-mark of his beast. Unless the right formula could be obtained there was nothing for it but to quarry and blast the huge mass, and without the formula even this might not avail. I vainly said the marks meant nothing. My excited escort would not let me leave till I had "written" (i.e. drawn) the marks, and promised that if learned men in England could explain them I would return and show them how to find the treasure.

"Hoof-marks" are favourite things in the Balkans. One was shown me on the shores of Lake Presba and ascribed to Sharatz, the magic horse of Marko Kralyevitch; and in a cave on the slopes of the Lovchen in Montenegro I was shown, as a great marvel, a small roundish depression—a hoof-mark, also "made when the rock was soft." Krsto thought it possible that Marko Kralyevitch had once stabled Sharatz here, and several people asked my opinion about it. In the long weary [517]
hours, when watching goats on the mountains, men ponder over such trifles and build fancies upon them. Weary and weary are those endless hours. I never met anyone who did not speak with hate of the watching of beasts he had had to do when young. Often was I asked to build a factory where a man would be given enough bread for a day's labour and no longer have to watch goats on the mountain. The foreigner is now starting works; I doubt if they bring the expected happiness. 777

In the hill-side on the left of the road from Djakova to Prizren I 772

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A 777 772 [776] was told there is a magic cave which contains an ancient city. No living being is in it, but the bazaar is full of every fine fruit, flesh, and garment. Few have reached it, for it is guarded by the "ore." One man wandered in, and was untouched till he tried to pick up something in the bazaar. Fiery serpents darted at him, his torch went out, and with great difficulty he reached the entrance, where he was found unconscious. Poisonous gases are, no doubt, the explanation. No one would undertake to guide me to the place.

3. Witches and Magic in Montenegro

M 754 Witches in Montenegro and all Serb-speaking lands are called "vjeshtitza." I was assured that they used to exist but did not now; but in fact they were still believed in. Here as in Albania it was believed that a witch could enter a house in the form of an insect and suck blood. Iké always hastened to kill a moth which entered the hut, and remarked that they did no good; and I have heard "Perhaps it is a vjeshtitza" murmured. Witches could sail upon water in the shell of an egg eaten on the 1st of March. Iké always smashed all egg-shells at once, saying it was best to do so, but gave no reason. Many people in England habitually smash their egg-shells—a custom probably handed down from days when a similar belief existed.

M [681] Witches, I was told, were stoned to death in old days if they were known to have killed anyone. As in many other lands, the test for a witch was to bind her and throw her into water. If she floated, she was a witch. This had happened, I was told, within the recollection of still-living persons. Medakovitch, writing of the eighteen-fifties, says that a blood-feud was caused by a fight, in which four men were killed, which arose over an attempt to duck a woman of the Raitchevitches.

M [593 843] While I was in Montenegro it was still the duty of the bride's brothers to guard her till the svatovi fetched her, lest some evil person should tie a knot in the fringes of her "strukka" (straight shawl, worn like a plaid)—for, if so, she would miscarry or bear a deformed child. Many knots would make delivery impossible.

M 791 I never heard a witch openly referred to, but there was talk of mysterious women "who knew many things." These supplied drugs and charms to ease labour and cause the childless to bear.

M 789 But I did not learn how these spells were made. In Serbia are still rites carried out which necessitate that the witch shall stand stark-naked under a tree at night. This suggests the holy trees and groves of old Slavonic beliefs.

M 278 789 A favourite medium for making magic ointment, I was told, is wax

Birth, Marriage, and Death

Among the Dukagini I met several virgins, but all wore women's 689
dress. As a rule, in all districts, the sworn virgin became servant to 562
one of the priests, and often joined the Third Order of St. Francis. Some became nuns or worked in one of the Scutari nunneries.

In the Maltsia e Madhe, in the case of a man with several daughters and no son, by his wish one could swear virginity and act as his son. He could bequeath to her his house and land for her lifetime, after [428]
which it reverted to the nearest male heir. Such a virgin had the right to sell her younger sisters. Such an one, aged about forty, I met in the Hoti tribe (Plate VIII).

In the Dukagini tribes, where the virgins do not wear men's dress, they cannot inherit and live on and work the land during their lifetime as in Maltsia e Madhe. The land goes to the next male heir, and he must pay the virgin yearly 300 okos of maize, 18 of rakija, and 30 of wine, and she can enforce payment by appeal to the Council of Elders.

One case only did I hear of a virgin breaking her vow. She had been for years servant to the priest of Baitza, and was accounted holy. On his death she was forty, and shocked the country-side by eloping [689]
with a Gusinje Moslem. No one dared follow to take vengeance in such a dangerous district, but it was piously hoped that she would pay the price of her crime in hell.

On the way from Berisha to Apripa we passed a huge rock. A virgin, 689
so holy that she was almost a saint, had vowed to carry it to the church 562
at Berisha. She carried it safely a long way. Then in the forest she heard 773
a shepherd fluting, and looked at him and admired him. Straightway she forgot the heavenly things on which she had fixed her mind; she dropped the rock, and when she tried to pick it up again found she had lost her miraculous strength. And there the rock stands.

In spite of many inquiries, I failed to hear of a case of a young man 585
refusing to marry his betrothed bride. People were surprised I should ask and always replied: "But why should he? God has made all women alike." On the other hand, I met some cases of blind fury ending in 583
blood-feud where a father had broken faith and sold his betrothed 578
daughter to someone else. I argued with one man who was "in blood" 577
that it was stupid to want to marry a girl he had never seen and who did not want him—people in other lands would laugh at him. He furiously replied that the girl had been paid for years ago by his father; the return of the bride-price made no difference; she was their property, and he would get her if he had to shoot her husband to do so. His honour and that of his whole house had been blackened. If people in other lands laughed at him it only showed they had no honour. 583

I asked often why the young men did not choose for themselves, 587

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000cessible on account of snow during the winter months.

778 Much festivity pervades in this part of the country in the summer months, for tradition has it that on the summit of Tomori is the grave of Iman Abbas Ali to which many natives make pilgrimages every August from
346 the 19th to 28th. For this purpose, a monastery has been built 1,900 feet below the summit by the Bektashi Dervishes, where the pilgrims and visitors may lodge in comfort before the strenuous climb to the topmost
776 point; and it is another native belief that that top is the seat of the ancient sky-god, related to the Zeus of Dodona and Homer's Olympia, and only certain, privileged mortals may reach his abode, others being warned away by
773 nose bleedings and sickness. Also, there is said to be an inaccessible tree bearing golden apples growing on the summit. The peasants
778 often take oath by "Father Tomori," which mountain they regard with superstitious awe. Tourists to Albania often hear this mountain referred to as "The Olympia of Albania."

771 It is the district of Shpat at the base of
551 Mount Bokanik just to the east of this richly historical center that was in constant dispute

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER XII.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-POESY—FOLK-TALES.

THE subject of Albanian folk-lore attracted many years ago the attention of Von Hahn, whose *Albanesische Studien* and *Griechische und Albanesische Märchen* are well known to folk-lorists throughout Europe. Other collections have since been made by French and Italian students of the language and lore of the Skipetars, not only in their native land, but also in their colonies in Italy, Sicily, and the Greek Islands, where, though long settled, they still remain a distinct race.[1]

Long contact with the neighbouring Greeks has, in South Albania, naturally resulted in much interborrowing of folk-tales, and it is often difficult to determine to which nationality a story originally belonged. M. Dozon finds also traces of a Slav origin in several tales contained in his collection, which may have been introduced either by the Bulgarians of Upper Macedonia, or by the Montenegrin settlers in Northern Albania. The pious Pagano-Christian element, as M. Dozon calls the legends of Saints which are found both in Greek and Armenian

[1] See, for instance, Jubany, *Raccolta*, &c.; and Dozon, *Contes Albanais* and *Manuel de la Langue Chkipe*. A small collection, untranslated, referred to by M. Dozon as *L'Abeille Chkipe*, but of which I have not been able to learn the exact title, has also been published at Cairo.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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538 folk-tales, is, however, almost entirely absent from
177 those of the Albanians. Of the so-called religious
773 legends current among the Skipetars, some are of Christian and others of Moslem origin. The following explanation, given by the highlanders, of the reason for the Moslem's distaste for pork, savours, however, rather of Bektashí scepticism. One day, they say, Mohammed went out in company with a Christian on a thieving expedition. Finding nothing else to lay their hands upon, the pair took possession of a sow, which, having killed, they proceeded to divide by drawing lots. As luck would have it, the head, shoulders, and best parts of the carcase fell to the Christian, while the Prophet received as his portion only the tail and the hams. Discontented with his share of the spoil, Mohammed proclaimed the pig unclean, and forbade his followers to eat thenceforward of its flesh.[1]

538 Some of the sayings proverbially current among
773 the Albanians have their origin in myths, which are for the most part of a religious character. The phrase, "The drop has fallen," used with reference to any one who has died suddenly, with the connected imprecation, "May the drop fall on thee!" are thus explained. While the rebellious angels were falling from heaven into the abyss, the angel Gabriel called a halt, and every one stopped exactly where he happened to be at that moment. Some had already reached the regions below the earth, others were on the earth itself, while a third section were still in mid-air, where they have remained suspended ever

[1] Compare Hecquard, *La Haute Albanie*, p. 510.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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since. If the tears of remorse which they are continually shedding happen to fall upon a human being he dies instantaneously. "Suspended devils" also occur in the Armenian legend of the Fall, already related.[1] 538 773

The saying, "Eat him, wolf, and make him burst, O Michael," refers to the part played by Satan in the following legend. When God created Adam, Satan, after inspecting him, observed that he did not think highly of His handiwork, and believed himself capable of producing something better. The Lord took Satan's remarks in good part, and gave him leave to try his hand at creation. Satan then kneaded some dough, as he had seen the Lord do, and fashioned it into the shape of a wolf, which he asserted to be equal to God's handiwork. "Thou must give thy creature life," said the Lord to him, "as I have given to mine." So Satan set about doing this, and he blew into the wolf till his black head became red and blue, but to no purpose, for it still remained lifeless. The Lord, finally becoming weary of his vain attempts, struck the wolf on the side with a staff and gave him life. Hence it is that the wolf has a hollow beneath his ribs. God then said to the wolf, "Creature, devour thy creator." What the Archangel Michael has to do with the story does not, however, appear.[2]

Another legend concerning the Devil describes him as fastened by a chain of enormous strength to a rock. The whole year through he gnaws at the links, 538 776

[1] Vol. I. p. 272.
[2] Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 165.

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A M 776 to my faithful Albanian horseboy, Shan, who had lived all his life in Montenegro. The horse was turned out to graze at night. Next morning, before mounting, I began to comb out its tangled mane with my fingers. Shan anxiously begged me not to. The vilas, he said, had been making love to it all night because it was a beauty. It had been covered with sweat. If I untied the knots the vilas had made we should have an accident. Shan, being an Albanian, probably meant the "ore" when he said "vila." I heard of no other case of a vila acting thus. But the ore are notorious for such conduct.

A M *Hidden Treasure.*—As in Albania, so all through Montenegro and 777 the Herzegovina, and probably in other Balkan lands, it is believed 773 that mighty treasures lie hidden. The treasure of the Royal Nemanjas 887 has yet to be found, and that of Voyvoda Momchilo at Pirlitor.

Opinions differ as to the best means of treasure-hunting. The most certain thing is when the site of the treasure is revealed in a dream; you are then sure to find it. If a steer that is perfectly black stands still on a spot, bellows, and butts his horns into the ground, there is almost surely treasure beneath. But there must not be a single white hair on the steer. If when the third cock crows in the morning a number are seen gathered together holding council, there is surely treasure beneath the spot.

Vuk Vrchevitch gives a good account of treasure-seeking in the Herzegovina. A certain man dreamed of hidden treasure. Early before the sun rose he went with some of his brethren in search of it, and took with him a black cock and a black wether. Arrived at the spot, he killed the wether and made a circle of blood round the site. They began to dig, and after a while reached a slab of stone. On this the black cock was sacrificed. They were now so near success that one of the brethren cried aloud: "God help us now and for ever." But God's name must not be invoked in aid of magic. When they raised the slab they found, indeed, a stone box—but the treasure had been turned to ashes.

Some poisoned water should be carried when treasure-hunting to kill the serpent which often guards it.

If a black stallion is led to the spot where treasure is suspected to lie and refuses to walk over it, it shows treasure is, or was, there. The foundation for these tales is the large number of Roman and prehistoric graves that have been opened. The ashes and fragments of iron and bronze found in them were ascribed to the fact that a wrong spell had been used and the treasure transmuted to something valueless A —in the eyes of the searchers.

777 *A Magic Plant.*—In Albania I was told there grows a most valuable 787 plant. Any stone or iron touched by a leaf of it at once falls to pieces. To persons thievishly inclined it is extremely useful. The difficulty is

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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776 825 respected woman dies, the friends who come to offer their condolences say to her relatives, "She was the Vittóre of the house."

In Elbassan the Vittóre also conveys the idea of a good genius, though the snake element is absent, and a wife who has presented her husband with a large family of sons is designated by this name.

775 Vampire beliefs are, generally speaking, more or less the same in Albania as in the rest of Turkey. The hair and beard of the "Restless One" are believed to grow in the tomb, and any one bending over the grave may hear him rattle and grind his teeth. Some 754 men are also held to possess the propensities of 774 vampires before death, and to be in the habit of unconsciously going forth by night to suck the blood of children and young maidens.

775 Strangely enough, in Elbassan and the neighbourhood, Von Hahn found no traces of the Vampire (βρυκολακ) pure and simple, as he elsewhere exists. Two connected species, however, came under his notice, the Lougát (λουγάτ) and the Karkantsoli (καρκαντσολι). The first was described as the corpse of a Turk with finger- and toe-nails of prodigious length, which, wrapped in its winding-sheet, roams about at night devouring everything it finds, and strangling any human being unfortunate enough to cross its path. The name of Lougát is also given generally in Northern Albania to a class of uncanny apparitions, which are believed to be the bewitched forms of persons who have led evil lives. These have the faculty of changing their forms with surprising and confusing rapidity, appearing successively as

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A 787 would not die because you do not believe it. We believe it; it is true to us."

It is not truth that sways men, but what men believe to be true; and that is a very different thing.

I had many strange examples given me of bone-reading which had come true. It is important that the meat be torn from the bone with the fingers and not touched with a knife.

M 787 The following details about blade-bone-reading are from Montenegro. Bone-reading, I believe, is also practised in Serbia and Bosnia.

The best sheep is a black one with no white hair. The right blade-bone should preferably be used and the meat torn off with the fingers. The joint-socket represents the house, and its depth or shallowness shows if the house will be full of wealth, i.e. harvest and crops. The ridge on the blade shows if the flocks will flourish. Small holes in the blade are cradles. Their position measured from the upper corner of the bone with the last joint of the thumb shows if the births will be within the house or without it, i.e. in the house where the bone is read or in that of a relative. The shapes formed by the marrow, as seen when held against the light, show where fighting will take place and when. A bone with no marks in the centre means a peaceful year. Red marks near the edge mean frontier fighting. Opaque white spots are death within or without the house, according to position. Other marks—I know not which—show banners and victory.

When a man has read the bone and another wishes to do so, it must not be passed from hand to hand, but must be laid down by one man and picked up by the other. Bone-reading in Montenegro is called "gatanje." To read a bone is "gatati." The shoulder-blade is called "lopatitza" (little shovel). Fastened to a stick it is often used to shovel the hearth ashes.

A M 787 *Dreams.*—In Albania and Montenegro, and, I believe, all through the Balkans, there is great belief in dreams. The ladies of the *intelligentsia* in Cetinje had dream-books (Italian) and discussed each other's dreams at length. Dream-books have circulated so much that it is not easy to tell which beliefs are old native ones.

M 787 777 In Montenegro I was told it was lucky to dream of a room full of corn. To dream of a dead man means that it will rain. A girl dreamed that her hair grew right down to the ground. The women told her this meant terrible disgrace would fall on her, and she was so upset that she came a considerable distance to consult me. I reassured her.

A 787 774 In Albania it seemed to be believed by many of the tribesmen that their "hi" (soul or shadow) left them sometimes during sleep and its experiences formed the dream. Dreams were very strongly believed in. One Sunday morning Marko, much perturbed, told me his wife,

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1
Montenegrins EF5

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the A [186] lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

Y A 292 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

562 561 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, Y too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

A [12] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with A their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their Y teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

M 754 776 774 Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

A Y M 777 "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and A 585 hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The Catholic thus goes safely to church and there the veil is raised. Evil spirits are powerless there; and as we have seen, when she leaves the sacred building she is carefully veiled and conveyed safely to her future home. Food and drink are given her by her attendants behind the veil; all possible precautions are taken, in fact, to prevent her soul escaping and harmful glances falling on her.

In early days in Montenegro the brides were so closely veiled when fetched from home by the svatovi that in the Martinovitch family, of Baitza near Cetinje, there is a tradition of a bride being accidentally exchanged for the bride of another wedding-party.

Two parties of svatovi started from Baitza to fetch brides from afar, and had to pass the night on the mountain-side. They met at the same wayside spring and encamped. The two girls begged to be allowed to sleep together. Next morning each party rode off with the wrong girl. The weddings were celebrated at once on arrival, and as no one had previously seen the girls and they, as was customary, knew nothing about their future bridegrooms, the mistake was not detected till a week after, when the girls' relatives came to pay the first visit to them. They were then infuriated to find that the carefully planned alliances had gone wrong and they had not acquired the "in-laws" they had intended. The respective bridegrooms expressed themselves quite satisfied. Not so the parents of brides. A violent quarrel took place. Blows were exchanged and a blood-feud was imminent. The annulment of the weddings was demanded, and peace was only restored by the metropolitan, who declared the marriages legal and the whole complication evidently the will of God, Who must be obeyed.

All Balkan people, so far as my experience goes, sleep with the head covered, no matter how hot it may be.

I remember a suffocating night in a wretched cottage at Bratonozhitch, Montenegro. I lay on a bench on one side of the hut, and the floor was covered by some sixteen persons of both sexes. So hot was it that the men stripped their shirts and slept in their breeches; but all buried their heads under thick, felt-like blankets.

Often have I been awakened from a much-needed midday sleep under a tree by a choking, horrible smell, and have found that some kindly creature while I slept had covered my head with a filthy towel or coat. Poor old Marko perpetually told me it was most unhealthy to sleep with an uncovered head. By way of warning he told me the horrible end of a neighbour of ours. He not only left his head uncovered, but he slept near an open window. The wind blew into his head and went round and round inside it, and the unhappy man, driven distracted, hanged himself in the vineyard.

A possible further reason for shrouding the head is the strange

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

mained through the ages in never ending mourning. Their traditional folklore told them that some day Scanderbeg shall return to them, walking upon the long beams of light from the sun rising across the jagged and altitudinous peaks of their native mountains. Then, will the voices of these ancient Shqipetars be raised in one mighty and thunderous shout that will resound from peak to peak and be re-echoed down the quiet valley of their native land in glad heralding of the return of the leader.

There is still a lane near the Quirinal in Rome which commemorates Scanderbeg's name and his visit to Rome.

The life and bravery of Scanderbeg has been made the subject of a Latin poem by de Bussieres, an Italian poem by Signora Sarrocchi, and an English tragedy, *Scanderbeg, or Love and Liberty*, by Whincop in 1747. This great leader was also described by an historian as "a saint like Saint Louis of France, a diplomat like Talleyrand, and a general like Alexander the Great."

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 respected woman dies, the friends who come to offer
825 their condolences say to her relatives, "She was the Vittóre of the house."

In Elbassan the Vittóre also conveys the idea of a good genius, though the snake element is absent, and a wife who has presented her husband with a large family of sons is designated by this name.

775 Vampire beliefs are, generally speaking, more or less the same in Albania as in the rest of Turkey. The hair and beard of the "Restless One" are believed to grow in the tomb, and any one bending over the grave may hear him rattle and grind his teeth. Some
754 men are also held to possess the propensities of
774 vampires before death, and to be in the habit of unconsciously going forth by night to suck the blood of children and young maidens.

775 Strangely enough, in Elbassan and the neighbourhood, Von Hahn found no traces of the Vampire (βρυκολακ) pure and simple, as he elsewhere exists. Two connected species, however, came under his notice, the Lougát (λουγάτ) and the Karkantsoli (καρκαντσολι). The first was described as the corpse of a Turk with finger- and toe-nails of prodigious length, which, wrapped in its winding-sheet, roams about at night devouring everything it finds, and strangling any human being unfortunate enough to cross its path. The name of Lougát is also given generally in Northern Albania to a class of uncanny apparitions, which are believed to be the bewitched forms of persons who have led evil lives. These have the faculty of changing their forms with surprising and confusing rapidity, appearing successively as

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

charred corpses, howling like wolves, donkeys, 775
pigs, black cats, crows, oil-jars, brooms, &c. The Karkantsoli is the reanimated corpse of a Gipsy, which is believed to wander about, more especially during [761]
January nights, ridden by cats, and slaying men with its poisonous breath.

In Albania, as in all the remoter parts of Turkey, 172
there is no Pelasgian ruin to which is not attached 776
some legend of a treasure hidden, and either "guarded 789
by word and by spell," or placed in the safe keeping of a gigantic Negro, Djin, or other Supernal. Those who have concealed treasure in such places have also, it is believed, fixed the time at which it may be brought to light, and have left to their heirs a document containing a description of the hiding-place, the formula of the magic spell pronounced over it at the moment of burial, with the year, day, and hour, on which alone it can be recovered.[1] At the appointed time the heir goes to the spot indicated, pronounces the mysterious words, and the treasure immediately rises to the surface. Sometimes, however, the treasure is buried in such a way that, at the appointed time, it rises spontaneously to the surface, and any one finding it may appropriate it. The lucky person must, however, be careful to keep his own counsel in the matter, or he will be punished by finding the gold turned to charcoal, and will not long survive the incident. When the treasure is in the keeping of a Negro, he 776
occasionally spreads it out in the sunshine in order that it may not be damaged by the damp, and, at the

[1] Compare the Kürdish story of "The Armenian and the Dervish," p. 169.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

The *Ghiak*, the terrible blood feud, or vendetta, 775 ●
before alluded to, may possibly, as suggested by Wassa 628
Effendi, have been in its origin a sacrifice to the *manes* of murdered relatives. As the numerous class of vampire stories tends to show, the ancient belief that those who have died by violence cannot rest quietly in their graves still survives, and the slaying of their murderer, or at least of one of his kindred or clan, would thus be rather an act of religious duty towards the dead than of vengeance on the part of the living.

The majority of the ailments which afflict mankind 753
are believed by the Albanians to be caused by magical influences, and I shall now proceed to give some illustrations of their folk-remedies. These are usually 755
accompanied by some form of incantation, the secret of which is possessed only by some wise-woman who has inherited it from her mother, and who, in her turn, imparts it to her daughter. If, for instance, a person believes himself to have received a blow from one of the invisible Vilas, or some other supernal being, he 753 776
has recourse to the witch-wife, who, after dressing the patient in white garments, conducts him to an uninhabited house in a retired situation. On arriving, she greets the mysterious powers whom she believes to be invisibly present. She then places her patient in a suppliant posture, gives him rose-water to drink, and both observe a solemn silence for some ten minutes, during which she makes certain mysterious signs and motions. After wishing the Vilas good-night, the witch-wife leads her patient home by a circuitous road.

Sometimes a circle is drawn round a person so afflicted,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 484 leave of him, he returns the earrings. It is considered a bad omen for the journey if the traveller should for any reason turn or look back. If he have left anything behind, he sends another to fetch it; and should a friend or stranger call to him from behind, he will not turn back to meet him, but remain standing where he is until the other comes up, a practice which foreigners, not understanding the reason for it, have [777] put down to discourtesy. If on the road the traveller meets a fox, or a flock of sheep, he considers it a good augury; a flock of goats, however, or a hare crossing the road, is held to signify ill luck.

778 775 484 Travellers in Upper Albania may frequently see stones placed in the forks or hollows of roadside trees. According to M. Hecquard,[1] this practice originates in the belief that the stones serve as resting-places for the feet of those unhappy beings for whom the rites of sepulture have not been properly performed, and who, while wandering in mid-air, can alight upon them as on the solid earth. To place a stone on a tree is also said in some mysterious way to diminish the fatigue of the pedestrian, and help him on his journey.

787 Omens and auguries, too, both good and evil, are drawn from all the trifling occurrences of every-day life, as well as from the observation of the phenomena of Nature, besides being sought for in the bones and entrails of slaughtered sheep and in the flight of birds. Among the omens read in the actions of the domestic animals are the following. When introducing a newly purchased cow into the farmyard, some object, made of iron or silver, is placed across the gateway

[1] *La Haute Albanie.*

Albania EG1

771 Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
[782] which at one point were most probably human sacrifices; the faith
[769] in the existence of certain snakes that guarded treasures and in the tutelary spirits of people; exposing the dead after the manner of the Parsi, as a result of that lack of respect for the corpse which springs from the knowldege of the eternity of the spirit--the ancient Thracians were jubilant whenever someone died, and they wailed when some-
[775] one was born--; werewolf conceptions; separation of the soul in sleep; wandering about of the dead, especially of evil people who in the form of a ghost or in a transformed human shape cause harm. The foreseeing of the future makes use of materialistic means in order to survive before the masses in a degenerate age which no longer knows
[787] or believes. It prophesies from the fissures that appear in a heated sheep's shoulder blade or hen's breast bone; also from the bright and dark spots in the light filtering through, or from the flight of birds.
[789] The old knowledge of the emanating, radiating spiritual forces of beings and things is used for magical purposes, for instance little pieces of paper that have something written on them and which are worn as a protection or drunk after they have been dissolved in water. The sun still lives among the Albanians as "God's reflection."

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/101: Illustrations./

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

Y. Several local Austrian governors told me that in the early years of
775 the Austrian occupation the burning of lampirs' bodies was frequent.
761 The Government forbade and suppressed the practice and caused much discontent. A recent case (told me in 1906) was caused by an outbreak of enteric at Vlasenitza. A young man died. His wife sickened and vowed that her husband had returned at night and sucked her blood. The terrified villagers wanted to dig up and burn his body. The authorities forbade it. The lampir was then seen and heard by many persons whose blood he sucked. Fifteen persons died. It would be interesting to know how many died of enteric, and how many because
A they believed they were doomed to die by the lampir.

CM The peasants all through Albania and Macedonia I found to be
761 extraordinarily affected mentally if convinced they must die. They would then make no effort to live, but simply "lie down and die."

A In Albania I heard of several cases in which a man's death being
761 foretold by "reading it in a bone," he proceeded forthwith to sicken
787 and die; and there seemed no reason to doubt the truth of this.

I have often seen a patient refuse all food under the belief that he would die in a week, and have resuscitated many who were very far gone by forcibly pouring egg and brandy into them. The result of the pick-me-up was sometimes comically quick. After an hour the patient would ask for another and decide to live. Without it he would certainly have died, as all the family continually said: "You are dying,"
A and did not try to make him eat.

761 Belief in the fatal visit of a lampir has, no doubt, caused death.
775 Since the civilizing power of Austria has been removed a fresh instance of corpse-burning has been reported from Bosnia.

M *Vilas.*—Last but not least the "vila," a female spirit which haunts
776 the mountains, is very capricious, and works much evil as well as
[177] some good. In Montenegro I was told vilas used to be plentiful, but had been driven away by the advent of artillery. Maybe some still haunted the deep limestone caverns.

M Of old, vilas sometimes swore sisterhood with mortals, and even
[761] married them. But they were excessively jealous, and when a handsome youth wished to marry they were apt to kill the bride.

Krsto told me a tale "that happened a long time ago in Montenegro." A vila disguised herself as a beautiful maiden and caused two brothers to fall in love with her. She urged them to fight each other and promised herself to the conqueror. They fought and one was killed. The vila
M then laughed and flew away. The unhappy survivor killed himself.

Y I asked how, as both were dead, it was known that the vila had
776 caused the trouble. Krsto merely replied it was a fact well known to all.
787 But the sympathies of the vilas were Slavonic, for till recent times

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

A 783 627 pre-Slavonic times. One other trace maybe of holy trees and stones I saw in 1904 when riding through Albania, and never again.

My horse-boy picked up stones and thrust them in the forks of trees when we passed through a wood. To the horror of my companion, A who was a colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society from [775 769] South Albania, the boy declared he was doing so for the spirits of the dead to have something to tread on as they passed. Unfortunately the colporteur blamed him, and he would say no more about it. Hahn, in his Albanian studies, mentions this custom.

A 778 On this journey we passed two small woods where, I was told, no trees were ever cut because "a long while ago a church stood there." No one knew when. The "church" had probably been imagined, to account for the sanctity of the wood.

S 627 538 782 In Serbian tales and ballads the oaths are usually sworn by "God and St. John." Does St. John the Baptist represent a former oath on a holy spring? In Montenegro, SS. Petar Cetinski and Vasili of Ostrog were daily asked to bear witness to many dubious statements. No Montenegrin peasant can make a statement, whether true or false, without calling on God and one or other of his saints; and, alas! the old idea of the sanctity of an oath had evaporated and the statement was too often a lie.

Whereas I found the word of the Albanian tribesman reliable; but civilization may weaken his word, too.

M 782 Old King Nikola of Montenegro used to call Heaven to witness many remarkable statements. Once, when the Diplomatic Circle had been summoned to hear an unusually remarkable one, it is said that an astonished silence ensued, till one Minister Plenipotentiary, recovering his presence of mind, politely said: "Your Royal Highness is famed through Europe as . . . a poet."

582 However, the Gheg father, if asked, would
●775 not give the answers detailed above as reasons for his choice of a bride for his son. He would voice a number of local rationalizations: that the son inherits body and soul from the father alone, the mother being merely a vehicle of

[1a] Coon, 1948, pp. 602-03.

582 775 reproduction; that it is dishonorable and unthinkable to marry any kin whatever. Since the mother's family is no relation, sons can continue to take their brides from it for generation after generation. The Law of Lek Dukagin, which the Gheg father would quote on such an occasion, has taken care of this subject once and forever.

583 The choice of a bride for his son is as much a political problem to a Gheg householder as it was to a 19th-century European king in the

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61

Again, to the tomb of King Uroš in the ruined church at Sopoćani come the peasants from that neighbourhood, to kiss it and light candles on it, or to lay on it gifts of scarves, stockings, handkerchiefs, and sometimes money; all of which are afterwards sold for the benefit of the church. The women also sit underneath it or lie against it to get cured. Sopoćani was one of the monasteries founded by Stefan Nemanja; and is situated up in the mountains fourteen kilometres from Novi Pazar. It was destroyed by the Turks after the Battle of Kosovo, but the ruins were re-roofed a few years ago. The peasants come here either for the *sabor* or assembly of peasants on the third day of the Feast of St Peter (July 1/14), or for the *slava* on the following day—the Feast of the Visitation. From all the neighbouring villages they come bringing their food, often roasting lambs whole on the adjacent mountain-sides, and afterwards dancing the *kolo* in the churchyard till late in the evening. But first of all it is the custom for everyone to go to church.

In the church of Priština, also, the women sit or lie underneath the table on which stands the holy ikon of *Sveti Bogorodica*, or the Holy Mother of God. At the Eastertide services I have seen old women sitting underneath it for long periods; and once one of them brought a Mohammedan Albanian boy to sit there too, in order to cure his weak legs. Here also the peasants rub their eyes and those of their children with the red fringe of the tablecloth of the ikon, in the hope of healing. This custom is found all over the country, wherever there are fringes or hangings on important tombs or ikons of special sanctity or renown.

Another curious belief is that sore eyes are cured by making decoctions of saints' eyes: so that in many churches the eyes of all the saints in the frescoes within arm's reach, especially those of figures of great authority or holiness, have been picked out. For instance in the frescoes of the Nemanja family at Dećani, few, if any, have a vestige of eye left. The women are continually picking them out, to take the bits of plaster home and boil them up for a lotion

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

782 other offerings. If they irritated them, as an oath-taker would do by perjuring himself, they could only expect punishment.

A most interesting example of the working of physical contact which is certainly of pagan origin was found in the Moslem district [778] of Sulovë, south-west of Elbasan. There the most hardened oath-taker dare not forswear himself in a serious case, for he must then take the oath with a coin in his mouth, and perjury would bring [768] him certain death. The coin was clearly Charon's obol, as was the coin slipped on to the chest of Albanian dead in many widely separated areas.

In the exclusively Catholic oath 'by the stone' the solemnity of the oath came from the contact with a holy thing, and punishment for perjury was inflicted in any form that the sacred object chose. When, however, elders swore their equally solemn oath with a stone, log of wood or other weight on their shoulder, or when a man, stone on shoulder, claimed repayment of a dead man's debt, no principle of contact was involved. There was rather a quite crude belief that a perjuring elder would be punished by having to carry the weight for ever and ever in the next world.

•775 God punished the perjurer both in this world and in the next. When the man died, his soul was lost, for being 'heavy-laden before the Lord' it had nowhere to go. If he was an elder who had taken an oath with a stone on his shoulder, he was doomed to carry the stone through all eternity. The first of these terrors was evidently inspired by the Church. The second is an older fear. The elder, when taking the oath, often expressed his willingness to carry the stone in the next world if he perjured himself, but an accused man left his future condition to be inferred, except for the cryptic phrase 'If I did it, may He reward me', which he sometimes inserted in his oath. When he was thinking only of himself he meant, according to the Catholics of Kurbin, 'If I lie may God kill me. If I tell the truth, may He forgive me my sins.' When he contrasted himself with his accuser he meant, 'If I did it may I suffer for it. If I didn't, and you've made me run the risk of taking this oath without due cause, may *you* suffer for it.' This sentence seems to have died out among the Moslems.

[761] Death was the commonest, and most dreaded, form of punish-783 ment in this world. In the most solemn oaths it was specified—a son's in the oath by the child's head, the oath-taker's own in the oaths by his own head, with Charon's coin in his mouth, and in

619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is
[103 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the
174 road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the
[197 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are
779] said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat,
174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo,
776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi.
614 They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti,
[166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli.
[582] They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the
174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem 103
valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms 779
the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, 596
and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say 614
is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza).

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five [582]
families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, [221
which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road 648]
and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it.

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty 619
Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku 614
and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district 779
not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its [174
mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts 794]
which are given to the Church.

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; 619
and has also a few houses of "Anas." 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, [779
another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling 294]
mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as 648
some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group.

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, 619
Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places 779
mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the 103
only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name [776]
from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, [628
who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in 166]
Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping- 648
off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 779

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in con- 304
flict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. 771
So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. 531
Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died 114
in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to 771
Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle 174
I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is 776
the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and 174
floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern 776
and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his [787]
armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is [821]
driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda 531
tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear 304
tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from 173
the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

754 776 777

working harm to the world in general. It is interesting to find in Herrick's *Hesperides* a charm for stables:—

> Hang up hooks and shears to scare
> Hence the hag that rides the mare.

The scissors, too, are among the amulets worn on a silver chain by the women around Nish in Serbia. 777 754

Tony was proof against the Evil Eye, for he wore a powerful amulet. A similar one is used in other Balkan lands and in Hungary. A snake is caught by pinning down its head with a forked stick. The head is then cut off with silver—the sharpened edge of a large coin will do. It is then dried and enclosed between two silver St. Ge ges, and finally blessed by the priest. This protects against all spells. It is evidently a piece of sympathetic magic. Evil is to die as did the dragon—represented by the snake's head—slain by St. George.

Tony's wife was once bewitched and had sharp pains all over, but could not be sure who caused this. The same evil person attempted to bewitch Tony, but, protected by the snake's head, he only felt a few twinges. His wife, who suffered much, was cured by a dervish, who took some hair from the top of her head and from her armpits, tied it up, and burnt it while muttering some unknown charm. The pain went as the hair burnt and never came back. This and the case of the child both occurred at Djakova, at that time a wholly Albanian town. 755

Marko, too, was cured of similar pains. A Moslem gathered some herbs, but kept their species a secret. He fumigated them over a brazier, muttering a charm. He then tied them up, and Marko had to stand upright with his arms fully extended on either side. The Moslem put the bunch of herbs on Marko's head, drew them down the side of the face, along the arm, back to the body, and down the side of the body to the foot. He then repeated the operation on the other side, and cried: "Pain, pain, fly away from this man to the top of the highest mountain, where there is neither man, woman, nor child, bird nor beast, and stay there!" He burnt the herbs. The pain flew away and apparently remained on the mountain-top, for it never returned.

When I was in the Scutari hospital, very ill with acute sciatica, poor old Marko sought in vain for the right herbs and was grieved at his failure. 278

Shtrigas were said to be very numerous all through North Albania. At Zumi, near Djakova, I was told that perhaps one-third of the women were blood-suckers; and in Nikaj was assured by the Franciscan in charge that most of the women were shtrigas, and he strove continually against the vile deeds, in which they were assisted by the Devil. 754 776

That the whole cult is the remains of ancient, long pre-Christian

776 beliefs and rites one can hardly doubt. As is well known, the gods of the heathens became the devils of the Christians.

776 Marko was greatly afraid of Beelzebub and mentioned him with
777 a curse and a whisper. Belial and Beelzebub were supposed to be the most active. The tribesman followed the advice of his priest and put
[304] a cross on his house and tattooed himself with a cross, but he further protected himself with more ancient signs; he planted the skulls of horses, goats, and oxen on poles round his house and fields. Some houses had rows of skulls. I wondered whether, in old days, human ones had figured there, too.

The horse-skull was most valued not only in Albania, but also in Bosnia and in Montenegro. Where civilization has penetrated the horse-skull was often replaced by a twisted petroleum tin whitewashed. Short-sighted devils, seeing it from a distance, could easily have mistaken it for the real thing and fought shy.

[793] Priests are but human. I found one Catholic priest had a whole array of horse- and other skulls round his beehives. He laughed it off when I remarked on it, and added that bees were very liable to disease. He evidently wanted to be on the safe side.

754 I often found in the mountains a distinct fear of being drawn, or "written," as they always called it. At Vraka I asked if I might draw the interior of a house. The woman was doubtful. She at last said I was not to "write" her or her children, and, to make sure, she drove the children out of the house. In Luria I was told not to "write" anyone or any house. At Lohja was a wonderful old man, who was reputed to be 110, who boasted that he had sinned but twice in his life—and then it was not his fault. Men in plenty he had killed, but never dishonourably or for money. The company suggested that I should "write" him. Much flattered, the old man sat still for a while, but when everyone shouted that the sketch was exactly like him, he became greatly alarmed, and earnestly begged me never to destroy what I had "written" about him, for at the moment it was torn he would drop down dead. I preserved the sketch, and five years later found him still going strong.

754 At Seltzi, in the Klimenti tribe, I was told the best way to detect
787 a shtriga is to keep the bones of the pig you ate on the last day of Carnival. All through the Balkans the pig, abhorred by Turk and Jew, is a sign of Christianity. On Easter Day you make a cross with the pig's bones and tie it on the church door when the church is full of people. If any shtrigas are in the church they cannot get out except carried on the shoulders of the man who made the cross. They run
754 wildly round and round and can be caught.

681 There was, so far as I could learn, no traditional punishment for a

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

754 was who used to do wonders. The bey thought it a good idea, and the man was fetched from his cell. He was very willing to perform, and asked only for a bowl of water. One was brought, and he made an [787] incantation over it. He then said that if any guest would name a place he wished to see, it could be seen in the water. Someone asked for Malta, and Malta was duly reflected; the harbour, the quay, and a steamer just getting up steam. When it had been admired, the magician asked the bey: "Have I your permission, noble Bey, to go off in that steamer?"

"Certainly," said the bey.

The magician lifted his foot and put it on the steamer in the water-bowl, and immediately went off in that steamer and was never heard of again. No one but myself could see anything improbable in this amazing tale; with Beelzebub all things are possible.

2. The Evil Eye

754 The Evil Eye was rampant. At Vukli an unhappy woman told me 761 it had killed all her eight children. A man there, to prove the power of his eye, had stared at a bunch of grapes, which had withered under his gaze and fallen to the ground before the awe-struck spectators. I did not meet this man.

754 Marko had a milch ewe he greatly valued. One day a mountain woman came to the door begging. He gave her bread, but she was not satisfied, and as she left she looked at the poor beast, which was perfectly well, and said: "What a fine ewe!" Soon afterwards it began to sicken. Marko sent for the vet., who said at once: "I can do nothing—someone has looked at this ewe. You must find her and make her remove the spell." She could not be found and the ewe died. Marko cut her up for mutton. I expressed horror. "The meat," said he, "is beautiful. There was nothing the matter with the ewe except a lot of yellow spots in its liver, made by that woman."

754 *Protection against Evil Eye.*—Many amulets are worn. Most horses 777 and many cattle wear blue beads (sham turquoise), tufts of badger-hair, which is said to be very efficacious, or triangular leather cases containing inscriptions. A universal protection, as in many other parts of the world, is a horn or horns. Though the horse-skull is now popular to guard fields and houses, the original skull was probably a horned one, e.g. the familiar ox-skull carved on the frieze of many a classical and pseudo-classical building. A pair of boar's tusks, mounted as a crescent and hung round the neck, is a favourite amulet for a handsome [776] saddle-horse. It prevents evil spirits riding the horse at night and

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

588 house of a relative of his to live there till the marriage was arranged and declared herself a Mohammedan. As she was not of age, her parents appealed to the archbishop, who intervened, and she was sent home. Then, to save her from Turkish influence, she was sent to friends at Podgoritza. Here she obstinately declared that she wished to be Moslem
777 till those in charge of her saw that she wore a Turkish amulet round her neck. They cut the string and threw the thing in the fire. Scarcely had it burnt up when she at once became Christian again. So ended her poor little romance, and I was told it was unlikely she would ever find a good husband owing to this fatal infatuation. Marko considered it, indeed, a mercy that the evil amulet had been discovered, and was horrified when I said I was sorry for her.

776 *Evil Spirits.*—In addition to witches and magicians in Albania there are many mischievous spirits. These are the "ore," a word which an Albanian often translates as "devil." The ore, however, are not the ordinary devils known to Christianity; they are relics of some pre-Christian beliefs, and are usually seen at night as fiery sparks, and delight to prevent a traveller from proceeding by circling round him and confusing him completely. Once, when starting from Scutari to Djakova, Tony Precha was thus stopped on the way. There is but one thing to be done, and that is to wait till the first cock crows, when they vanish at once.

Another delight of theirs is to ride horses at night and knot their manes. These knots should on no account be untied. The ore also guard hidden treasure, and by confusing the seeker prevent him from finding it.

The ore were generally believed to be females.

776 Much magic surrounds hidden treasure. Throughout the Balkans
777 there is a belief in masses of treasure hidden in ancient days. The hider
789 consigned it to the care of the earth "amanet," which may deliver it up only if certain formulæ are observed. A person ignorant of these formulæ may dig on the right spot and find nothing but sticks and stones. An example given me in the mountains was that of a man who buried some money at the foot of a tree, at the same time bidding the earth not to give it up till two mice had drawn a carriage round the tree. Unfortunately a man passing by heard this. He returned home, caught two mice, tamed them, and with some trouble harnessed them to a tiny box. He then returned to the tree, drove the mouse-chariot round it, dug on the spot, and found the money. I suggested that he might have done so without troubling to catch and train the mice, but was assured it was impossible. The earth would not have yielded that which had been consigned to it. Much time and ingenuity is spent over the search for treasure. It has led to the destruction of

much probably valuable material, for when many an ancient grave has been opened and nothing but pottery and bits of bronze or iron found, the treasure-seekers, enraged that the gold should have thus been turned to rubbish because they did not know the formula, have smashed it all into small fragments. 776 777 789

One way to find treasure is to spread a layer of wood-ash over the spot where it is believed to lie. Next morning, if it bears the footprint of any bird or beast—a fox, sheep, etc.—such a creature must be sacrificed upon the spot. A black animal or bird with no touch of white on it is particularly efficacious. 777 782

In many places I had to declare to the headmen that I had not come to search for treasure.

Those good days are past. Albania is now being searched for petroleum, and, unless the kindly earth refuses to give it up, the land will be devoured by foreign speculators.

I was once taken a weary tramp in Berisha to see and explain a marvel. On a great mass of rock was a slight hollow into which a man's hand would fit, and near it a depression that was supposed to be like a mule's hoof-print. Both were natural weatherings of the rock. But the native theory was that ages ago, when the rock was soft, a man had hidden a treasure and made the rock flow over it. He had then marked the spot with his hand and the hoof-mark of his beast. Unless the right formula could be obtained there was nothing for it but to quarry and blast the huge mass, and without the formula even this might not avail. I vainly said the marks meant nothing. My excited escort would not let me leave till I had "written" (i.e. drawn) the marks, and promised that if learned men in England could explain them I would return and show them how to find the treasure. 777 789

"Hoof-marks" are favourite things in the Balkans. One was shown me on the shores of Lake Presba and ascribed to Sharatz, the magic horse of Marko Kralyevitch; and in a cave on the slopes of the Lovchen in Montenegro I was shown, as a great marvel, a small roundish depression—a hoof-mark, also "made when the rock was soft." Krsto thought it possible that Marko Kralyevitch had once stabled Sharatz here, and several people asked my opinion about it. In the long weary hours, when watching goats on the mountains, men ponder over such trifles and build fancies upon them. Weary and weary are those endless hours. I never met anyone who did not speak with hate of the watching of beasts he had had to do when young. Often was I asked to build a factory where a man would be given enough bread for a day's labour and no longer have to watch goats on the mountain. The foreigner is now starting works; I doubt if they bring the expected happiness. [517] 777

In the hill-side on the left of the road from Djakova to Prizren I 772

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000cessible on account of snow during the winter months.

778 Much festivity pervades in this part of the country in the summer months, for tradition has it that on the summit of Tomori is the grave of Iman Abbas Ali to which many natives make pilgrimages every August from
346 the 19th to 28th. For this purpose, a monastery has been built 1,900 feet below the summit by the Bektashi Dervishes, where the pilgrims and visitors may lodge in comfort before the strenuous climb to the topmost
776 point; and it is another native belief that that top is the seat of the ancient sky-god, related to the Zeus of Dodona and Homer's Olympia, and only certain, privileged mortals may reach his abode, others being warned away by
773 nose bleedings and sickness. Also, there is said to be an inaccessible tree bearing golden apples growing on the summit. The peasants
778 often take oath by "Father Tomori," which mountain they regard with superstitious awe. Tourists to Albania often hear this mountain referred to as "The Olympia of Albania."

771 It is the district of Shpat at the base of
551 Mount Bokanik just to the east of this richly historical center that was in constant dispute

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

It is also to be noted, with interest to the archaeologist, that there have been many traces found in the neighborhood of ancient Roman baths, but the secret of their architecture has been lost during the Turkish occupation, if not before. 172

Further into the north and central part of the country is to be found the old Monastery of St. John Vladimir, the most important Orthodox monastery in Albania. Here abounds the richest folklore and tradition of the natives of Central Albania. St. John Vladimir is quite unknown to the rest of the Orthodox world, but great faith is placed in him by thousands of the people in that part of the country. History has it that John Vladimir was a Serbian prince, murdered in 1016 on the Island of Presba in Macedonia, by his brother-in-law, John Vladislav, the last of the mediaeval Bulgar Tsars of Ochrida. His body, buried in the Church of Our Lady at his birth place, soon became the object of a pious religious cult; and due to the gentleness of his personality, the horrible method of his death, and the strange lights said to be seen on his grave, the followers of his day proclaimed him a saint, and his last resting place became renowned for its miraculous powers. 176 [178]

776 nowned for its miraculous powers. Fearing that the Serbs would steal the body and transfer it to Durazzo, the Greeks who occupied temporarily this section in 1215, exposed that town to so many attacks that this plan was soon abandoned, and in the next century this district fell into the hands of Charles Thopia of Kruja, a Catholic, but little distinction was made in the two branches of the religion at that time. It was the same valiant Thopia who removed the body of this saint to the monastery where it now lies. This church was rebuilt at the end of the nineteenth century, but as it became too small for its congregation, it was demolished and rebuilt in 1901.

346 This old monastery, built on mediaeval plans, stands in a shady olive grove, where the low, long line of monastic buildings with picturesque red-tiled roofs, are surrounded by a moat and a bridge, giving suggestion of the drawbridge and of high, lofty walls of an ancient fortress. The interior is an irregular square courtyard with the cells of the monks lining each side, and shaded by old galleries, underneath which were the storerooms and stables. The wood of these picturesque gal-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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846 is spread, the national head-dress, ornamented with
[301] sequins, is placed on her head, and all her necklaces are hung round her neck, to receive the friends and acquaintances who now flock in to offer their congratulations. In some parts of Albania, and especially
[431] among the Moslems, it is customary to bring hand-
[688] some presents to the infant. As each visitor did her best to outshine her neighbour in the value of her gift, this usage, among the Roman Catholic Miridites, became so ruinously expensive, that the ban of the Church was finally laid upon it. The visitors to the mother and baby consequently now bring with them only an egg, with which they rub the face of the new arrival, with the wish, "*Pashi bar*" (May it be always white!)—*i.e.*, never have cause to blush for its actions.

852 When the baby is three days old the Fates are be-
[776] lieved to arrive and decide what its fortune is to be. When two of the Weird Sisters have had their say, the third speaks, and her decision is final.[1] On the evening of this day, which is called the child's *Poganik*,[2] all the relatives of the family assemble uninvited, each bringing a small loaf, a girdle cake, and a wooden flask of wine. On these they feast and drink healths to the mother and child, the formula addressed to the latter being, "May he have strong legs!" The women then set to work to make a large cake,
[777] all present touching, "for luck," the sieve used to sift the flour. As the dough is being kneaded coins are put into it, and when baked it is broken in pieces

[1] See "The Story of the Child," p. 319.
[2] The meaning of this term appears to have been lost by the Albanians.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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also made use of by the Albanian highlanders generally, when settling matters of importance. According to this writer, quoting from M. Ampère,[1] a similar custom also existed among the ancient Romans. Sylla, on leaving Rome to fight against Mithridates, required Cinna to swear, not by the national divinities, but on the Sacred Stone, and according to an ancient rite of the Etruscans, to make no innovations during his absence. Cinna, when pronouncing this oath, placed the stone on his shoulder, and then threw it backwards, while he pronounced, in a loud voice, the curses which should fall upon him were he false to his promise. The taking of this oath in Albania is attended with the same ceremonies. It is sworn by the elders of the *phars*, or clans, on the occasion of settling serious disputes, such as those concerning the boundaries of village lands, or other communal matters. The elders of the two tribes, Christian or Moslem, after taking the Oath of the Stone, assemble in council and settle the question at issue.

This oath, in another form, also enters into everyday speech. In course of conversation, when a Gheg wishes to emphasise what he is saying, he takes up in his hand, or points to, the nearest stone, saying, "By this weight" (*Per ket pésh*), and a Tosk makes use of the phrase, "By the heaviness of this stone" (*Per te rand te keti gúr*).[2]

The Supernals, with which the Albanian women terrify themselves and their children, appear to be, for the most part, like those of the Bulgarians,

[1] *Histoire des Romains à Rome.* [2] Wassa Effendi, *Op. cit.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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776 personifications of the powers of Nature. Of these imaginary beings, some belong exclusively to Albania, [171] while others may also be found among the superstitions of Slavs, Greeks, and Turks. The Vilas seem to approach most nearly to our own fairies; though, like the Nereids of the Greeks, they are of the full stature of mortals. Like our fairies, too, it is unlucky to mention them by name, and they are generally referred to as "Those outside," "The Happy Ones," the "Brides of May," or "The Brides of the Mountain." As a rule they are harmless, if not offended, and amuse themselves with elfish tricks, such as taking little children up to the roof of the house to play with and bringing them back safely. 776 They, however, take it very ill when mortals disturb 753 them in their haunts, and interrupt their banquets; and 761 so capricious are they, that they will place themselves invisibly in spots where they are likely to be disturbed, in order to have a little vent for their pent-up malice. The unlucky wight who sets an irreverent foot within their elfin rings receives a stroke from an invisible hand, and ere long sickens and dies. In consequence of this belief, it is said of one for whose death no adequate cause can be assigned, "He has received a blow."

776 The favourite haunts of the Vilas are retired and shady spots, but they also have a partiality for the gutters on the eaves of houses, which it is a rather risky matter to clean out, especially at night. The Vilas are said, in North Albania, to be of two kinds—well-disposed and beautiful beings, who ride about on fleet horses; and ill-disposed and hideous creatures,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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whose heads are covered with writhing serpents instead of hair. To meet the former is considered a good augury, but the appearance of the latter presages certain misfortune. 776●

Another and similar class of supernal beings, known by the Turkish name of Djins, attach themselves to dwellings, in which they perform the rôle generally attributed to good fairies, putting the house in order and plaiting the manes and tails of the horses in the stable. Sometimes, too, like the Nereids and Lamias of the Greeks and the Samodivas of the Bulgarians, they form matrimonial alliances with mortals. M. Hecquard[1] mentions a story of a man, living at Scutari, who declared himself to be married to one of these female Djins, who was able to fulfil every desire he expressed. However ancient or rare the coin he might show her, she always trebled it. This Djin was, according to her master's report, exceedingly jealous of mortal women, and would allow no servant in the house. Indeed, she had no need of one, for everything she or her husband required was ready to hand in a moment.

The Mauthia appears to be peculiar to Elbassan, and is described as a beautiful woman dressed in gold-gleaming garments, and wearing on her head a fez covered with jewels. The man who can succeed in getting this fez from her, whether by force or fraud, will be happy for the rest of his life. In Albanian fairy-lore the Peri, whose name is of Turkish origin, is of the masculine sex, and resembles a beautiful boy of twelve with a glistening white skin, clothed in

[1] *La Haute Albanie*, p. 343.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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776 dainty raiment, and exhaling a fragrant odour. They live in the mountains, but after nightfall frequently approach the abodes of men in order to allure mortal youths to join their dances. If a boy so favoured keeps his own counsel, he may join in these fairy revels with impunity, but should he venture to inform others of his relations with these nocturnal visitors, they revenge themselves by killing him.

The Ore is a being who constantly wanders about in order to hear and carry into effect the blessings and curses pronounced by men on each other. In [735 789] North Albania the usual formula with which a beggar concludes his thanks and blessings for alms received is, "May the Ore hear and bring it to pass."

Among the malevolent supernals are three kinds of man-devouring female monsters. The Koutchédra (κουτζέδρα), the Dogsuckler (σύκγεννεζα), and the Liouvía (λιουβία). The first figures frequently in folk-tale, and besides her cannibalistic propensities, is credited with the power of drying up the springs and fountains at which she drinks. The Dogsuckler is endowed with four eyes, two in the front of her head, and two in the back. The Liouvía is extremely partial to the flesh of little children.

776 753 Diseases are generally personalised as female monsters, whose touch is death. One of these is called in Elbassan the Phliame (φλιάμε), whose touch causes "the falling sickness." She is, however, never alluded to by name, it being said of her victim that "The Thing has attacked him." The plague and fatal epidemics generally are represented as more or less similar, but blind beings, called Koukoúdh (κουκούδ),

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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A horrible belief prevails among the Ghegs that when 776
men or women live to be a hundred years old their 753
breath becomes poisonous and kills healthy people. 761
Von Hahn says that old people suspected of causing 888
sickness in this way, especially when an epidemic is raging, have atoned for their longevity with a fiery death at the hands of their panic-stricken neighbours.[1]

A curious notion is also shared by Greeks and Alba- 776
nians that shadows are capable of assuming an indepen- 822
dent existence, and, being malevolently disposed, are able 761
to deal men blows which usually cause their death.

The Dif, or Dev (δίφι, δίβι, δεφ, δέβι), is, like the 776
Kūrdish supernal of the latter name,[2] a being possessed of extraordinary physical strength. "He is a regular Dif" is said of a remarkably strong man, as we say, "He is another Samson." According to the people of Elbassan, the Dif is an enormous giant who [823]
lives underground and never comes to the surface, and whose business it is to keep the cauldrons boiling which supply the hot and medicinal springs in the neighbourhood of that town. These springs, in com- 776
mon with those found in other parts of the country, 755
are much resorted to for curative purposes. Their waters are, however, drunk indiscriminately for all kinds of ailments, without regard to their various medicinal properties. The cures effected not being attributed to the water itself so much as to the influence of the magical beings who have their abodes in the springs and wells, people consequently go

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 163.

[2] See p. 155. Von Hahn suggests an Indian origin for this word, which, he says, he had found in no other part of Turkey. *Op. cit.* p. 162.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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776 from one spring to another in the hope of propitiating
755 the various tutelary deities in charge of them.

776 The Dragoua are children who are born with
845 bunches of hair or feathers on their shoulders, by means of which they are able to fly, or at least to take tremendous leaps. The mother of such a child must, it is said, be very careful to keep secret its peculiarities, for, should they be observed by a stranger, the child would die, and in any case it will not be long lived. On stormy nights the Dragoua leave their cradles, or beds, and, rising into the air, fight with the Koutchédras, the contest often waxing so hot that they uproot trees to use as weapons, which are, on the following morning, found strewn on the ground.

826 Another curious belief current in Albania maintains the actual existence there of men with tails, either like those of goats or of horses. Persons retaining these appendages of their remote ancestors are held to be always short and broad of figure, untiring walkers, and endowed with great physical strength. Von Hahn was of opinion that this is not a mere vague popular superstition, but has a foundation in fact. "Soliman of Dragoti, one of my cavasses at Ioannina," he says,[1] "maintained that in his part of the country tailed men of this sort were often to be seen, and that he had himself a tailed cousin, whom he had often, in youth, when bathing together, pulled by this gift of nature. An even more trustworthy authority, Theodoris, who had in his younger days been a klepht on Pindus, related that in his band there was, for several years, an undersized, broad-

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, pp. 163-4.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

shouldered, fair-complexioned man, called Kapitan Yannaki (Captain Johnny), who was reputed to possess a tail. In order to convince themselves of the truth of this report, half a dozen of his comrades (for he was uncommonly strong) had fallen upon him together when he was taking his noon-nap, and he himself had taken part in this ocular inspection. He distinctly remembered seeing a goat-like tail about four finger-breadths long, covered on the outer side with short reddish-coloured hairs." M. Von Hahn's endeavours to see for himself such a *lusus naturæ* were in vain, and the Turkish military surgeons, who inspected annually hundreds of recruits from all parts of the country, confessed that no specimen of the tailed man had ever come under their notice.

The villagers of the Ritza tribe hold in great honour a kind of good genius of the house which they call the Vittóre (βιττόρι), a word which signifies "ancient," and seems to convey the idea of a survival of ancestor worship. The Vittóre is in reality a little thick snake with a speckled skin, which lives in the house walls and seldom leaves its hole. These snakes are believed to live in the same house from generation to generation. They are regarded with great reverence by the family, and especially by the women, who heap benedictions upon them, and predict joyful or sorrowful events according to the sounds made by this house genius. On hearing any unusual or unaccountable noise the women say, "It is the Vittóre." If all the members of a household die, and the house is left empty, or passes into other hands, the Vittóre, too, abandons it, never to return. When an old and much

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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776 respected woman dies, the friends who come to offer
825 their condolences say to her relatives, "She was the Vittóre of the house."

In Elbassan the Vittóre also conveys the idea of a good genius, though the snake element is absent, and a wife who has presented her husband with a large family of sons is designated by this name.

775 Vampire beliefs are, generally speaking, more or less the same in Albania as in the rest of Turkey. The hair and beard of the "Restless One" are believed to grow in the tomb, and any one bending over the grave may hear him rattle and grind his teeth. Some
754 men are also held to possess the propensities of
774 vampires before death, and to be in the habit of unconsciously going forth by night to suck the blood of children and young maidens.

775 Strangely enough, in Elbassan and the neighbourhood, Von Hahn found no traces of the Vampire (βρυκολακ) pure and simple, as he elsewhere exists. Two connected species, however, came under his notice, the Lougát (λουγάτ) and the Karkantsoli (καρκαντσολι). The first was described as the corpse of a Turk with finger- and toe-nails of prodigious length, which, wrapped in its winding-sheet, roams about at night devouring everything it finds, and strangling any human being unfortunate enough to cross its path. The name of Lougát is also given generally in Northern Albania to a class of uncanny apparitions, which are believed to be the bewitched forms of persons who have led evil lives. These have the faculty of changing their forms with surprising and confusing rapidity, appearing successively as

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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charred corpses, howling like wolves, donkeys, 775
pigs, black cats, crows, oil-jars, brooms, &c. The Karkantsoli is the reanimated corpse of a Gipsy, which is believed to wander about, more especially during [761]
January nights, ridden by cats, and slaying men with its poisonous breath.

In Albania, as in all the remoter parts of Turkey, 172
there is no Pelasgian ruin to which is not attached 776
some legend of a treasure hidden, and either "guarded 789
by word and by spell," or placed in the safe keeping of a gigantic Negro, Djin, or other Supernal. Those who have concealed treasure in such places have also, it is believed, fixed the time at which it may be brought to light, and have left to their heirs a document containing a description of the hiding-place, the formula of the magic spell pronounced over it at the moment of burial, with the year, day, and hour, on which alone it can be recovered.[1] At the appointed time the heir goes to the spot indicated, pronounces the mysterious words, and the treasure immediately rises to the surface. Sometimes, however, the treasure is buried in such a way that, at the appointed time, it rises spontaneously to the surface, and any one finding it may appropriate it. The lucky person must, however, be careful to keep his own counsel in the matter, or he will be punished by finding the gold turned to charcoal, and will not long survive the incident. When the treasure is in the keeping of a Negro, he 776
occasionally spreads it out in the sunshine in order that it may not be damaged by the damp, and, at the

[1] Compare the Kûrdish story of "The Armenian and the Dervish," p. 169.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 appointed time, he never fails to bring it permanently to the surface.

776 825 A story is told of a shepherd who, when pasturing his sheep in Dibra, saw one day a snake curled up asleep on a great heap of gold. In order to induce him to leave it, the shepherd fetched a pail of milk, which he placed near the snake, and then retired to a little distance to watch his movements. As he had calculated, the snake gorged himself with the milk, and then returned to sleep on the gold heap. But the quantity of milk he had drunk made him thirsty and uneasy, and he wriggled and wriggled and could not rest. Finally he went off to get some water, and, the spring being at some distance, before he returned the shepherd had removed the whole of the treasure to a place of safety. What the snake did when he came back and found his property gone, the story omits to mention.

776 The Tosks hold that hidden treasures are guarded by fire-breathing winged snakes with human faces. These creatures they, however, call by the Greek name of Stoichiò (στοιχιὸ), which signifies generally an elemental spirit. On the eve of Sunday the Stoichiò relaxes its vigilance, and the treasure may then be seized by a bold and enterprising individual.

787 The existence of a treasure, and the spot where it is to be found, are held to be frequently revealed in dreams, which are repeated on three consecutive nights. As in the above-mentioned case, should the fortunate person take another into his confidence, the gold turns to charcoal and his days are numbered. The Albanian women, however, who are learned in the expounding of dreams, say that, as a rule, they go by contraries.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The *Ghiak*, the terrible blood feud, or vendetta, 775
before alluded to, may possibly, as suggested by Wassa 628
Effendi, have been in its origin a sacrifice to the *manes* of murdered relatives. As the numerous class of vampire stories tends to show, the ancient belief that those who have died by violence cannot rest quietly in their graves still survives, and the slaying of their murderer, or at least of one of his kindred or clan, would thus be rather an act of religious duty towards the dead than of vengeance on the part of the living.

The majority of the ailments which afflict mankind 753
are believed by the Albanians to be caused by magical influences, and I shall now proceed to give some illustrations of their folk-remedies. These are usually 755
accompanied by some form of incantation, the secret of which is possessed only by some wise-woman who has inherited it from her mother, and who, in her turn, imparts it to her daughter. If, for instance, a person believes himself to have received a blow from one of the invisible Vilas, or some other supernal being, he [753 776] has recourse to the witch-wife, who, after dressing the patient in white garments, conducts him to an uninhabited house in a retired situation. On arriving, she greets the mysterious powers whom she believes to be invisibly present. She then places her patient in a suppliant posture, gives him rose-water to drink, and both observe a solemn silence for some ten minutes, during which she makes certain mysterious signs and motions. After wishing the Vilas good-night, the witch-wife leads her patient home by a circuitous road.

Sometimes a circle is drawn round a person so afflicted,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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527 777 incident that occurs during its twelve hours is believed to presage the events of the corresponding months of the coming year, and the events of the first day of each month the character, lucky or unlucky, of the other days generally. It is unlucky to work in the [461] fields during the first week of October, and no corn is sown this month, as the crop would be sure to fail.

527 777 The period between the 15th of November and the 6th of January is, like the Greek *Fishoti* and the Bulgarian *Kulada*,[1] supposed to be the carnival •776 784 time of the Vilas and other supernal beings, who are, at that season, not only more active, but more powerful than at others, and especially during the night. After sunset, consequently, people refrain from going abroad, or drinking water, for fear of mischief, and give no credence to their dreams. They are also careful not to leave any article of wearing ap- [296] parel out of doors after nightfall, and if, by some oversight, a garment should be so left, it is washed before being used, in order to get rid of any spell cast upon it by the supernals.

527 777 Christmas, which bears a name (*Kolendravet*[2]) apparently connected with those by which it is known among the Bulgarians and Vlachs, is observed with ceremonies that recall those of more Northern nations, as well as with some similar to those of their last-mentioned neighbours. On the 24th and 25th of

[1] Vol. i. pp. 123 and 329.

[2] Von Hahn derives this name from the κολίνδρα, the ring-shaped cakes made at this season. I would, however, suggest the greater likelihood of the cakes having been named after the name of the feast in its various forms of (Albanian) *Kolendravet*, (Vlach) *Kolindi*, and (Bulgarian) *Kulada*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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of these parti-coloured bracelets, with a tiny gold coin attached, was, on the 1st of March (Old Style), presented by the Roumanian Consul-General to each lady of his acquaintance, and I, for one, religiously wore my charm against the power of the March sun, which in the East generally is said to "blacken" the complexion, until the month was out. It was not, however, finally thrown to the swallows, but carried off by an English visitor as a curio. 527 789 777

On the 25th of this month the women go through the house beating on copper pans, in order to drive out any poisonous snakes that may have intended to take up their abode there. The two last days of March and the first of April are called *Plyáketé*, a word signifying "old," and referring to the past season, personified as "Old Mother Winter." If by the last-mentioned date Spring has not yet fully set in, the blame is laid at the door of the old women, who are evidently held to be in league with "Old Mother Winter." 789 [754]

On Easter Eve in some places, Selitza, for instance, the young men assemble with lighted torches, which they wave about as they walk in procession through the village. Arrived at the river, they throw them in, crying, "*Koré-ya* (O Maiden)! We throw thee into the water with these torches, so mayest thou never return!" the *Koré* evidently referring, as Von Hahn suggests,[1] to the malevolent supernals, Vilas, Dragouas, &c., before described. When the priest comes to bless the house on Easter Day, the women throw after him, as he leaves, hot embers from the 789 [372] [776] [788]

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 160.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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538 177 773 folk-tales, is, however, almost entirely absent from those of the Albanians. Of the so-called religious legends current among the Skipetars, some are of Christian and others of Moslem origin. The following explanation, given by the highlanders, of the [262] reason for the Moslem's distaste for pork, savours, however, rather of Bektashí scepticism. One day, they say, Mohammed went out in company with a Christian on a thieving expedition. Finding nothing else to lay their hands upon, the pair took possession of a sow, which, having killed, they proceeded to divide by drawing lots. As luck would have it, the head, shoulders, and best parts of the carcase fell to the Christian, while the Prophet received as his portion only the tail and the hams. Discontented with his share of the spoil, Mohammed proclaimed the pig unclean, and forbade his followers to eat thenceforward of its flesh.[1]

538 773 Some of the sayings proverbially current among the Albanians have their origin in myths, which are for the most part of a religious character. The phrase, "The drop has fallen," used with reference to any one who has died suddenly, with the connected imprecation, "May the drop fall on thee!" are thus explained. While the rebellious angels were falling [776] from heaven into the abyss, the angel Gabriel called a halt, and every one stopped exactly where he happened to be at that moment. Some had already reached the regions below the earth, others were on the earth itself, while a third section were still in mid-air, where they have remained suspended ever

[1] Compare Hecquard, *La Haute Albanie*, p. 310.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

since. If the tears of remorse which they are continually shedding happen to fall upon a human being he dies instantaneously. "Suspended devils" also occur in the Armenian legend of the Fall, already related.[1]

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The saying, "Eat him, wolf, and make him burst, O Michael," refers to the part played by Satan in the following legend. When God created Adam, Satan, after inspecting him, observed that he did not think highly of His handiwork, and believed himself capable of producing something better. The Lord took Satan's remarks in good part, and gave him leave to try his hand at creation. Satan then kneaded some dough, as he had seen the Lord do, and fashioned it into the shape of a wolf, which he asserted to be equal to God's handiwork. "Thou must give thy creature life," said the Lord to him, "as I have given to mine." So Satan set about doing this, and he blew into the wolf till his black head became red and blue, but to no purpose, for it still remained lifeless. The Lord, finally becoming weary of his vain attempts, struck the wolf on the side with a staff and gave him life. Hence it is that the wolf has a hollow beneath his ribs. God then said to the wolf, "Creature, devour thy creator." What the Archangel Michael has to do with the story does not, however, appear.[2]

Another legend concerning the Devil describes him as fastened by a chain of enormous strength to a rock. The whole year through he gnaws at the links,

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[1] Vol. i. p. 272.
[2] Von Hahn, *Albanesische Studien*, p. 165.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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538 which, by Easter Eve, have become very thin. On
●776 the morning of Easter Sunday, however, the Saviour arrives with a new chain with which He again secures Satan to the rock.

A graceful little myth is related in some parts of Albania concerning the origin of the Cuckoo and the *Gyon*, or *Gyonit*, which is, I believe, a species of small
539 owl. The story goes that the cuckoo and the gyon were brother and sister, and had a brother named Gyon, who had been killed. Various causes are assigned for his death in the different versions of the story, that current among the Ritza tribe being that he was accidentally stabbed by his brother with a pair of scissors. In order the better to mourn his loss, the surviving brother was changed into the bird gyon, and the sister into a cuckoo. And so the gyon calls his brother all night long by his name, "*Gyon, Gyon!*" and the cuckoo in the daytime sings, "*Kou! Kou!*" which means, "Where art thou?"[1] In Elbassan, however, it is also said that the sister was changed into the blue flower, which is called the "cuckoo flower," or "cuckoo's bread," and when a woman finds this flower in the field she sings:

Cuckoo, cuckoo, more than cuckoo,
Saw'st thou me?
Saw I thee?
Saw'st thou thy dear brother, Gyon?
How they slew him like an ox?
Blood a spoonful,
Flesh a cupful;
Give me both thine hands!

[524 857] [1] It has occurred to me that the call of "Cuckoo," used by children both in the East and in the West when playing hide-and-seek, may have its origin in some such bird legend.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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The following little Tosk song refers to an unsuccessful rising in South Albania about 1835:— 538

From Corfu they tidings bear, 539
Tafilbouz is landing here; 173
On Avlona's shore he lands,
Three detachments he commands.

To the mosque they crowd and shout,
"Hodo, from thy house come out!"
Now may Allah be his shield,
If to them should Hodo yield!

O Hodo, O Sadik, Bekir, and Karafili!
Simon the Liap's brave sons!
'Mid the rattle of the guns,
They have fall'n, unhappy ones!
May the rest be lucky!

The national songs, as well as the folk-tales, of the land of their forefathers are also sacredly cherished by those Albanians who, as before mentioned, for centuries past have been settled in Southern Italy and Sicily. There the exploits of the heroic Scanderbeg are still celebrated, and at their feasts they sing how the hero of Croia [538]

Of hares and capons ate the flesh, [262]
Of partridges the heads ate; [264]

and how

His cups and forks were all of gold,
And of fine silk his napkins.

The women, too, in their Easter dances, relate how, as he went forth to battle, Death met him on the road, and revealed to him the secrets of the Book of Destiny; how he called to him his young son, and bade him tie his horse to a cypress on the seashore, plant his 538 776

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

538 banner beside it, and on it hang his sword, stained
776 with the blood of the Turk:

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Within its blade Death yet shall sleep,
And, 'neath that sombre tree,
The arms of their erst dreaded foe,
Shall they now silent be?

No! When the wind shall furious blow,
And waves my flag around,
When whinnies my good charger there,
My sword makes clanking sound,

The Turk shall hear, and, tremblingly,
He'll turn, with bated breath,
With visage blanched, and hear behind
Him, swiftly following, Death.

[854 533] The Gheg mother, in her mountain home, rocks her little ones to sleep and amuses their waking hours with such lullabies as these:

I.

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"*De! De!* Lambkin mine,
Where didst thou this even dine?"
"In the fields where waters flow,
'Neath the trees where cherries grow,"

"Tell me what thou there didst see?"
"Two twin birdies on a tree."
"What song did they sing to thee?"
"*Chili! Chili! Mangouli!*

I saw the old woman
'Mong corn ears all ripe;
I heard her a-playing
Upon the black pipe!"

PEAKS OF SHALA

sun is now the only living thing that saw that 361
city built."

We shaded our eyes with cupped hands and looked at it. The world was suddenly all aglitter, every leaf a heliograph, every giant slope of rock reflecting a thousand rays, and our eyes watered. But, gazing steadily, we saw the fragment of a wall, and below it, curling around the tall, slender cone of the mountain, traces of a road that had been walled, and a broken flight of four broad steps, torn apart by the roots of a tree. It was the only tree we could see on the three-thousand-foot height, but, like all the others of the forests, it was a gnarled, branchless trunk; its young boughs had been cut every spring to feed the goats.

"Does anyone live there now?"

"No," said Cheremi. "It[1] is the place where 776
the ora love to sit, and sometimes one hears them crying, like trees in a wind, when there is no wind. But no human person lives there."

"What is an ora?" I asked, when Perolli had translated.

"An ora—a spirit of the forest, soul of a tree or a rock.[2] Nature spirits," said Frances. "You know the Greek oreads? Well, that's the Greek name of the Albanian ora; the Greeks got them from the Albanians."

"And they still live in these mountains?"

"Apparently. Did you ever see an ora, Cheremi?" she asked him, in Albanian.

"No. Very few people see them. But I have

1 [Ancient city of Pog -- Analyst] [45] 2 [see also pp. 61-64 -- Analyst] pp. 66-76]

PEAKS OF SHALA

776 heard them singing, and once, in the Wood of the Ora, which we will pass to-morrow, I heard 761 them[1] talking together in the twilight. I heard 776 them say that my cousin would die," said Cheremi, seriously.

"And did he die?"

"Of course," said he, surprised by the question. "He was a strong man, but within six weeks, sitting beside the fire one night, he said that he felt a pain in his heart, and in an hour he was dead." Cheremi crossed himself.

361 "But about the city of Pog. Does anyone ever go there? Could we go there?"

People sometimes went, he said; the shepherds always went to cut the branches of the trees, which belonged to the tribe of Pultit. How far was it from where we stood? He thought for [804] a time, and said, "Four hours." Albanians have no measure for distance except the time it takes to walk it, and this time corresponds with no measurement of ours. He had said that our walk of that day would be an hour and a half; we had already been exhausting every ounce of energy and breath for four, and were scarcely a third of the way.

"What does one find when one gets there?"

"Very little. There is the old wall which you see, and on the rock one can follow the lines of the walls of houses, built square and with many rooms, and from the rocks which have fallen they must have been tall houses. That is all, except that on some of the large stones one can

1 [The ora or nature spirits - [46] Analyst]

[173]

"Doubtless it had a bird or snake for guardian, 789 and that spirit came and took it away again," 776 said Cheremi, and Perolli explained that when one buries a treasure one calls to some creature of the woods and intrusts the hoard to its care. "O spirit of the small gray serpent with poison in thy tooth, guard for me this treasure. Let no man see it for ten times ten years, and then deliver it only to those of my family," would be a simple formula, but usually more imagination is used. For instance, Perolli knew of a man who called the large magpie to watch him bury his treasure, and he said to the bird, "Let no one uncover this gold until two black mice have dragged three times around this tree a carriage made of an acorn cup, with a small mouse in it." But his incantation was overheard, and the crafty neighbor caught and dyed and trained the mice and made the carriage, and had them drag it three times around the tree, after which the magpie gave up the treasure. Otherwise it would have disappeared when a hand was laid upon it.

ooo "But does Cheremi really believe these things?" I asked myself, and, looking at his serious face and Perolli's, I was struck with the startling idea that Perolli believed them, too, in spite of his English suit and European education, and I felt in my own mind something like a soft landslide, uncovering possibilities of wild beliefs in myself. "Anything can happen in the mountains of Albania," I said, picking up my staff and rising, for the shadows of the western mountains were

1 [Image of gold, see cat. 116, p. 47. - [48] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

as courteous to the children's curiosity as the 609
children were to theirs—were keen and intelligent, but when it came to explaining electricity I was as helpless as they and could answer only with vague indications of some strange unknown force which we use without understanding it.

A woman, barefooted, barearmed, graceful as 776
a sculptor's hope of a statue, lifted the cover from the baking-pan, crossed herself, made the sign of the cross over the hot loaf, and took it up. Stooping, with the smoking golden disk between her hands, she stopped, suddenly struck motionless. The long, strange cry came again through the darkness, like a voice of the wind and the mountains and the night.

"Look here, Perolli," said I, my stretched nerves unexpectedly relaxing into the kind of anger that is part of fear, "what is that? Don't be an idiot! Tell me!"

"It is an ora,[1] if you must know," said Perolli, and he looked at me defiantly, as though he expected me to laugh.

"An ora!" said Frances, sitting up. The strange, unearthly call came again, very far away this time; we strained our ears to hear it. Then silence and the roaring of the river. The turbaned men in the circle of firelight, who had understood the word, nodded.

"Holy crickets! Rose Lane, we're actually hearing an oread!" Frances exclaimed. And Alex said: "Oh no! Undoubtedly there is some natural explanation."

1 [A nature spirit, see also [61] cat. 116, pp. 45-6 - Analyst pp. 66-76]

● 776 "How do you know there isn't what you call a natural explanation for an oread?" Frances demanded, and the wild notion crossed my mind that if Perolli had not been with fellow sharers of the blessings of Western civilization he would have been crossing himself instead of lighting another cigarette. Little Rexh, in his red fez, spoke earnestly: "Do not believe there are no ora or devils in these mountains, Mrs. Lane. There are very many of them."

"Of course," said I, and I do not know how much I believed it and how much I assumed that I did, in order to encourage our hosts to talk. "Do you often see ora in this village?" I said across the fire to the many intelligent, watching eyes, and Rexh picked up our words and turned them into Albanian or English as we talked.

"We do not see the ora," said a tall man with many heavy silver chains around his neck. "Do you see the ora in your country?"

"I do not think they live in the West," said I. "I think that they are very old, like the Albanians, and, like you, do not leave their mountains. This is the first time I have ever been where they live, and I should like to meet one." But I doubt if I should have said that if I had been outside those solid stone walls.

"Perhaps you will hear them talking when you go through the Wood of the Ora," said a woman whose three-year-old daughter was going to sleep in her lap.

"Very few people have seen them," said the

coffee maker[1], licking a cigarette and placing his 776
left hand on his heart as he offered it to me. I fitted it into my cigarette holder; he lifted a burning twig from the fire and lighted it. "Now my father was accompanied by an ora all his life, but he was the only one who saw it, and he told no one about it until just before he died."

"Did he ever talk with her?"

"No, but she always walked before him on every safe trail. He was sixteen when he first saw her; he was watching the goats in the mountains. She appeared before him, standing on the trail. He said that he knew at once that she was not of our kind, because she was so beautiful. She was about twelve years old, wearing clothing not like ours, but of a white and shining material —my father said that it was like mist and it was like silk and it was like fire, but he could not say what it was like. Her hair was golden. She stood on the trail and with her hand she made a sign to him to stop, and he stopped, and they looked at each other for a long time. Then he spoke to her, but she did not answer. She was not there. And my father went on, and found on the trail he would have taken a great rock that had just fallen, and he knew that the ora had saved his life.

"He came home, and said nothing. The next morning when he went out with the goats the ora was waiting outside the door, and she went before him all that day. Always after that, whenever he left the house, she went before him on the trails.

1 [at house of Marke Gjonni--[63] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

776 "My father was a strong man and very wise; he married and had many children; he fought the Turks and the Austrians and the Serbs and the Italians. He had a good life. But he never went anywhere unless the ora went before him. In the morning when he left the house, if she was not there he returned and sat by the fire that day. Often on the trails he was with many people, but none but him ever saw the ora. She remained always the same, always the size of a twelve-year-old child, always very beautiful, shining white and with golden hair.

"When she turned aside on the trail, my father turned also, and the people did as he did, though he did not say why. My father was known as a very wise man. Many times he saved the lives of many people by following the ora."

Several of the older men in the intently listening circle shook their heads, as though they remembered this, and when I asked them with my eyes they said, "*Po! Po!*" which means, "Yes."

776 "When my father[1] was sixty-five years old,
763 strong and healthy, one day the ora did not come. She did not come the next day, nor the next, nor the next, for many days. Then my father knew that she would not come again and that it was his time to die. So he arranged all his affairs and died. Just before he died he told us about the ora; he told us so that we would know why he was making ready for death, and it was because his ora had left him."

[1] [coffee makers at house of [64] Marke Gjonni-- Andy st]

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future. Twenty-five centuries had vanished, for me, as though they had never been.

"That lady ora was no doubt betrothed to one of her own people," said a man who had not previously spoken. "Now in my lost country of Ipek—may the Serbs who are murdering her feel our teeth in their throats!—I know a man who was married to an ora."

A woman, barefooted, wearing a skirt of heavy black and white wool, a wide, silver-studded leather belt and a blouse of sheer white, her two thick black braids of hair falling from beneath a crimson headkerchief almost to her knees, came out of the shadows beyond the fire and lowered from her shoulder a beautifully shaped wooden jar of water. She held it braced against her hip, and, stooping, poured a thin stream over our outstretched hands. We laved them, the water sinking into the ashes around the fire, and another woman handed us each a towel of hand-woven red-and-white-plaided linen. Then we sat expectantly, but only a wooden bowl of cheese was set on the floor before us.

It was goat's-milk cheese, rather like the cottage cheese of home, except that it was hard, cut in cubes, and of an acrid, sourish flavor. We each took a piece, nibbled it.

"Oh, Perolli, can't you tell them we're starving? It's almost one o'clock in the morning!" cried Frances, pathetically.

"Be patient," said Perolli. "How many times

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must I say that it isn't polite in Albania to be so greedy?"

"But it's eleven hours since any of us had a bite!" Frances protested. "Don't tell me Cheremi and our other men aren't starving."

"Albanians don't care so much about food," said Perolli. "I'm not hungry." He lit another cigarette, and, seeing the circle of politely incurious but keen eyes fixed on us, I said, "Tell them that we are very much interested in the story about the ora, and that we want to hear about the man who married one." And I surreptitiously prodded Alex, who, sitting bolt upright with her eyes open, was obviously asleep with fatigue.

The man who had spoken of that unearthly marriage rolled and licked a cigarette, offered it to Alex with his hand on his heart, rolled himself another, lighted both with a blazing twig, settled comfortably on his heels, and began.

"This man was my friend, well known to me and to all the families of Ipek. A strong man, a good fighter, and respected by all. But his life was not complete, for the girl his father had chosen for him had died, and he was not married. There were many girls he might have had, girls of Montenegro and even of Shala and Shoshi and Kossova, but he said that he did not wish to marry. He came to his thirty-seventh year and was not married.

"One night he was sitting alone in his house, making a cup of coffee in the ashes of the fire, when the door opened. He looked, and there was

776 a woman who had come out of the darkness. She was no woman of our tribe, nor of any other tribe of man, though she was dressed like our women. My friend looked at her and said to himself that he had never known women could be so beautiful. Men could be as beautiful as that, yes, but not women. And he knew, though he did not know how he knew, that she was not of our kind.

"He said to her, 'Long life to you!' and she replied, 'And to you long life!' She came and sat by his fire, and he gave her the cup of coffee one gives a guest. She drank it and returned the cup to him, saying, 'Good trails to your feet!' Then they looked at each other for some time without speaking.

"Then she said to him, 'Am I not beautiful?' And he said, 'Yes.' She said to him, 'Have you ever seen a woman more beautiful?' And he said, 'No.' And after she had been silent for a long time she said to him, 'Will you marry me?' And he said, 'No.'

"She said to him, 'Do you think you will find a woman more beautiful than I?' He looked at her between the eyes and said, 'I know that I shall never see a woman so beautiful.' She said, 'Then will you marry me?' And he said, 'No.'

"'Why will you not marry me?' she asked, and he said, 'I do not wish to marry.' So for a time they sat silent, and then she said, 'Do not forget me,' and went away.

"He told me these things, and I said to him, 'She was an ora.' He said, 'Yes, I know.' I said,

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'Was she a gypsy ora?' For, as you know, there 776
are two kinds of ora, and if she were a gypsy ora I would have been troubled for my friend. He said, 'No, she was a lady ora.' We spoke no more about it.

"Three years went by, to a day, and again it happened that my friend was sitting alone in his house, making a cup of coffee in the ashes of the fire, when again the door opened."

The man of Ipek stopped speaking, opened his [276]
silver tobacco box, and put a pinch of the long, fine, golden tobacco on a cigarette paper. He spread it carefully, twisted it into the cone shape of the Albanian cigarette, glanced at us to see that none of our cigarette holders were empty, and placed the white slender cone between his lips. He lighted it and drew several deliberate puffs. No one spoke. There was the red circle of firelight, the graceful black and white and colored figures huddled close to it, around us the shadows of the house, and beyond them the vast, murmurous blackness of the night and the mountains; the chill and mystery of them seemed to be pressing against the stone walls that kept them out, and the sound of the waterfall was like the sighing breaths of strange, wild things.

"My friend was sitting by his fire, like this, but he was alone. It was the third coming of that day of the year on which the ora had come out of the darkness, and when again the door opened he knew, without turning to see, who it was.

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776 "She came in, and he turned and said, 'Long life to you!' Then he saw that with her was a manservant, and that manservant was of her own kind. She said to my friend, 'And to you long life!' She sat by the fire, and he gave her coffee, and she drank, and the manservant stood in the shadows behind them.

"'Have you forgotten me?' she said, and my friend said, 'No.' They looked at each other, and she said, 'Am I not beautiful?' And he said, 'Yes.' Then she leaned close to him and said, 'Will you marry me?' And he said, 'No.'

"When he said that she rose, and she was more beautiful angry than she had been before. She said: 'Come with me. My father wishes to see you.'

"He said, 'What have I to do with your father?'

"She said, 'Come with me.'

"My friend did not know why he went, or how he went, or where he went. They came to a place in the mountains, but it was a strange place, and strange mountains—my friend could not describe that place. It was a place in our mountains, but such a place as no man had ever seen. There were trees that were alive; it was all my friend could say. There were many souls of trees about him, and they were ora, and among them was their king, who is the king of the ora. He stood before the king of the ora.

"The king looked at him and said, 'Will you marry my daughter?' And he said, 'No.'

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"The king said to him: 'My daughter has seen you. My daughter wishes to be your wife. She will be a good wife to you. She will bring you great happiness. She is my daughter, a lady ora.' 776

"My friend said: 'I thank you. Your daughter is very beautiful and very good. But I do not wish to marry.'

"The king of the ora said, 'If you will marry my daughter you will have all the heart desires. I will make you rich in the things that men call riches in the Land of the Eagle.'

"My friend said: 'I am a poor man. I am not a bey of the south, of the land of the Toshk, but I am a Gheg, a man of the mountains. All that I need I earn with my hands, and that is enough. I do not wish to marry.'

"Then the king of the ora rose, and he was not angry, but he was very terrible. He said, 'Marry my daughter.'

"And my friend married his lady daughter."

The man of Ipek seemed to think that the story was ended. But I, who had been scribbling all this down in my notebook, hidden in the shadow of Rexh, as Perolli translated it to me paragraph by paragraph, did not agree with him at all. "What happened?" I wanted to know.

"Nothing happened. His family came into the empty house and he was gone, leaving his gun on the wall and the empty coffee cup by the dead ashes of the fire. They were very much

776 afraid. My friend had not told any man but me about the visit of the ora three years before, and I said nothing. Some days went over the tops of the mountains, and no one knew where he had gone. Then he came back, and brought with him his wife, the ora."

The rest I got by questions.

"No one could see her except my friend," said the man of Ipek. "No one but he ever saw her. He built himself a beautiful house; there were rugs in it, and tables of carved wood, and bowls of copper and silver—all things that are beautiful. Cigarette holders of amber and silver with jeweled bowls, and sashes and turbans of silk, and cushions of silk, and beautiful jars for bringing water from the springs. All kinds of rich and beautiful things, and always great quantities of delicate and rich foods. The men of Ipek remember that house well.

"Yes, my friend is dead now. He lived in happiness with his wife for twenty years, and they had children whom he loved. But only he could see them, for to others they were invisible, like his wife. I have been in his house many times when she was there, but I never saw her. Others say they have seen strange things in that house; they have seen things moved by hands they could not see. But I never saw that. Only I know that my friend was happy with his wife and children. She was a lady ora, and kept his house well. The gypsy ora are dirty folk, but the lady ora love cleanliness and order. Every-

one respected my friend and his lady wife. Whenever he entered a village, all guns were fired in his honor, for men said, 'The man who married a lady ora is coming into the village.' Oh, it was all very well known in Ipek, among the people of my tribe who are now slaves to the cursed Serbs.

"When he died, no doubt she went back to her own people, taking their children with her. His family came to take back his house, and they found all manner of beautiful things, but no money. No money anywhere."

"What do you think of it?" I said to Frances. "Do you believe —— Great Scott! Of course it isn't true! I don't know what's wrong with my mind. Men don't marry tree spirits. It's absurd."

But, frankly, my conviction was that of the man who whistles cheerfully while passing a graveyard at night, because, of course, he does not believe in ghosts.

"There's some natural explanation," said Alex. "The man went away for some reason—perhaps he actually had found some of the treasure they say is buried in these mountains—and when he came back he invented the story to account for it."

"But he had told this man about seeing the ora three years earlier."

"Well, they're a very patient people. Perhaps he waited three years after he found the treasure before he dug it up."

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still see them, they must still be—— But of course it must be all imagination."

"And there was that sound we heard. I never heard anything like it before. Perolli, you said it was an ora."

He looked badgered. "I meant, whatever it was, it is what these people call an ora."

"Do the ora ever come into this village?" I demanded at large.

"We hear them in the village at night," said the coffee maker, quite casually, as he measured a spoonful of brown powder into the tiny pot. "No, we never see them. They call to us, and when we answer they talk, but we cannot understand their language. Always when we speak to them they answer in their own tongue."

"But, Cheremi, you heard them talking about your cousin's death," I said.

"We hear them talking together sometimes, yes," said the coffee maker. "If you go through the Wood of the Ora at twilight you will often hear them talking in some language you will understand—in Persian or Arabic or Greek or Albanian. Then if you listen perhaps you will hear them speak of you or of some one you know. But if you speak to them, they will be silent, and then they will go on talking together in their own language, which no man understands. It is no doubt the old language of the trees."

"But you cut the trees," said Alex.

"Yes," I cried, struck by it. "You cut all the

776 branches off the trees. Doesn't it cripple or hurt the ora?"

"The ora is a spirit," said the man of Ipek. "You cannot hurt a pure spirit that has no body. Ora are spirits of the forests, but they are not part of the trees. I understand it, but I do not say it very well. Even if you cut down a tree you do not kill the ora. An ora does not live, an ora simply is."

000 We were interrupted by Cheremi, who approached, knelt mysteriously by Perolli's side, and whispered. Perolli turned to us. "Our dinner is delayed," he said, "because they can find nothing to give to Rexh. They have only pork in the house, and they have sent through all the village and cannot find any eggs or goat's meat. A boy has gone now, over the mountains to the next village, to get something they can offer a Mohammedan. You see, their flocks were destroyed when the Serbs retreated through here, and if they kill one of the two sheep for us, it means losing the lambs next year."

"But, Miss Hardy, I can eat corn bread. That is all I need," said Rexh, earnestly.

"We can't tell them that now. We should have thought of it sooner," said Perolli. "We must wait at least until the boy comes back."

"Oh, my sainted grandmother!" cried poor Frances. "Aren't we going to have any dinner at all till breakfast time?"

"Is it because we are guests that our hosts are taking all this trouble to give Rexh the food a

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CHAPTER X

THE WATER ORA OF MALI SHARIT—THE COMING OF THE TRIBES TO EUROPE BEFORE THE SEAS WERE BORN, AND HOW THE FIRST GREEKS CAME IN BOATS—WHY ALEXANDER THE GREAT WAS BORN IN EMADHIJA, AND OF HIS JOURNEY TO MACEDONIA—THE SAD HOUSE OF KOL MARKU.

"THE water ora were an ancient race," said the old man. "They were here before the ora of the forests. I do not think there are very many of them left, and no man has seen them in my time, nor in the time of my father. But very long ago, before the tribes of Shala, Shoshi, and Pultit were founded by the three brothers from the land that is now the Merdite country, there was a man of their tribe who caught a water ora. It is a very old song, and much of it has been forgotten, but the man was a man from the Mali Sharit, and by three days he missed becoming the king of the world. In my father's time the thing that happened to him was still sung. I heard that song when I was a child, but I have forgotten the words of it. I remember only the thing that happened.

"The man of Mali Sharit went every day to the wood on the mountain, and in that wood was

776 a lake, small, but like the sky in clearness. I do
539 not know why he went; he was probably laying by green leaves to feed his sheep in the winter. But it happened that one day while he worked he saw a very beautiful girl lift her head from that clear water and look carefully in every direction. He was hidden by low leaves and she did not see him. When she saw no one, she came from the water into the sunshine, and danced in the sunshine. When she had danced until she wished no longer to dance, she went again into the water. The man of Mali Sharit went to the pool and looked into it, and it was like the sky in clearness.

"The next day this happened, and the next, and on the evening of the third day the man of Mali Sharit went to a wise old woman and told her what he had seen. He said: 'I am thirsty for this girl. If I cannot marry her I will marry no one and have no sons. Tell me what I can do.'

"The old woman thought, and said: 'I will tell you what to do. To-morrow you shall take to the edge of the pool a silver mirror and lay it beside the pool. And you shall take a rope and tie yourself round and round with your back against a tree trunk. And you shall stay there without moving while the girl comes from the pool and goes into it again. Then come and tell me what you saw.'

"The man of Mali Sharit did this. When the girl came from the water and saw the mirror she looked into it for a long time. Then she saw

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the man of Mali Sharit where he stood tied to the tree, and quickly she went back into the water. That day she had not danced.

"In the evening the old woman said: 'It is good. For three days you shall do again as you have done to-day. On the third day, lay beside the mirror a dress of white silk in which there has been cut no opening for the head to go through. The girl will put this on, in order to see it upon her in the mirror. But when her head is inside it, while she tries to find the opening that is not there, then loosen your ropes and leap quickly, and take her to your house as your wife.'

"All that the old woman had said was wise, and the man of Mali Sharit took the ora of the pool to his house as his wife. But that is not the end of the song."

The old man paused to adjust a freshly rolled cigarette in his silver holder. For a moment pale sunshine came through the slits of windows in bars of light across the colored rugs and the mass of loungers upon them; it struck a sparkle here and there from revolver hilt and silver chain. Then it went out, and only the firelight richly accented the duskiness. There was a constant coming and going on the long balcony outside the windows, for behind one of the closed doors Padre Marjan was hearing confessions and giving absolution or penance for sins.

"It's like some old, half-forgotten story," I said, puzzled. "I remember it, but only as he tells it."

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000 "Mmmh. So do I," said Alex. "I can't just remember what comes next."

"*Asht shum i buker* (It is very beautiful)," I said to the old man. "And what was the end of the song?"

539 "The man of Mali Sharit kept in his house the
776 ora of the pool," the old man continued, "and she was his wife. For six months he was not unhappy, for she was beautiful and she was good, but he longed to hear her speak. And when the six months of humbleness and modesty were gone and the time had come for her to laugh and be gay in his house, she was still silent. The man of Mali Sharit worked hard for her. He brought her fine wool to weave and he made a most beautiful cradle painted with figures of animals and of birds and of fishes, for he remembered that she was of the water. But when he gave her the wool she said nothing, and when he showed her the cradle she was silent. He said to her, 'Tell me what you want, that I may get it for you,' and she did not answer. He went into the woods to a place he knew, and fought the wild bees and brought her honey, and she ate the honey, smiling, but still she did not speak. He did other things that I do not remember; he did everything that his mind could devise, to make her break that stillness, and she did not. His home was always very still, and he was troubled. And when their son was born she loved the child, but she made no sound when he was born and she made no song when she nursed him.

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"And when a year had gone by since their marriage he could endure this stillness no longer. He went to the wise old woman and told her this and asked her how to make his wife speak. 776 539

"The old woman thought, and said, 'You will kill a sheep and take the bladder of the sheep and fill it with its blood. Secretly put the bladder into the cradle of the child. To-night speak sternly to your wife and command her to speak. If she does not answer, take your knife and say to her, 'Speak, or I will kill the child.' If then she does not speak, strike with your knife into the cradle and cut the bladder. When she sees the blood your wife will speak.'

"The man of Mali Sharit went with a heavy heart and a dark mind and did as the old woman had told him. He said to his wife, 'Speak!' and she was silent. He took out his knife and showed it to her, and she was silent. He laid his hand upon the cradle, he said he would kill the child, and she looked at him with terrible eyes and was silent. Then he struck, and the blood came red upon the blankets, and she spoke.

"She spoke with a sob and a scream. She lifted the cradle in her arms, and she said, 'Had you been patient for three days longer, I could have made you king of the world.' Then she wept, and her tears became a fountain, and the fountain became a mist, and the mist was gone. The man of Mali Sharit never saw his wife again, and as for the child, in three days he died. And I do not know what became of the man of Mali Sharit."

522 of humor which is never idle, and seldom comprehensible to the foreigner.

776 "Drangojt means the people with wings, Mrs. Lane," said Rexh, and thought that all was clear. "You know, the people born with little wings under their arms," he elaborated, when I regarded him blankly. "The people—I don't know how other to say it, Mrs. Lane. Wings, you know—what the birds fly with—wings. Under their arms. Don't you have people born with wings in your country?"

I said that if we had I knew nothing of it, and Rexh's forehead wrinkled with perplexity. "But perhaps—— Of course you are not a drangue, you would not know the American drangojt," he concluded, his face clearing. "You can usually tell them, though, by their running to their houses whenever it rains. First, you hear the dragon on the mountains; then, you see all the drangojt running to houses. That is the way you tell them; except, if you are their mother, then you see the wings when they are born. But if you are not their mother, you cannot see the wings, and you only know they are drangojt when they run to their houses in the rain."

"Are they afraid they'll get their wings wet?" said I, with great interest.

"Oh no! They are not afraid of anything. When the weather is thundering, that is the dragon fighting with the drangojt. So when they hear the dragon, all the drangojt go quickly to their houses to be ready if they are called to

fly and fight the dragon. Even the babies fly home with their cradles. There is no drangue so young that it could not anyway scratch the dragon."

That was the charm and delight of those days and nights, all too few, which I spent in the Albanian mountains. Around every turn in the trail the unexpected awaited us.

We gazed with new interest upon the gray clouds that struggled among the mountain tops. The dragon and the drangojt were fighting up there, then? Yes, indeed, said Rexh. When the drangojt had defeated the dragon, then he would go away and we would see the sun again. All the world, he said, would be taken by the dragon, and we would never see the sun again, if it were not for the brave drangojt. Once the dragon had almost taken the world—that was when the waters fell and the seas were born—and only the drangojt of Dukaghini had saved it then. That was long ago. "Long, long years of years ago," said Rexh. "I guess, even before these tribes of people and drangojt were ever called Dukaghini." At that time, the dragon had lost his three heads, and that was why there never since had been such a battle in the skies.

"How do you know all this, Rexh?" we asked, respectfully.

"It was told in the songs," said he.

"And do you know those songs?"

No, he said regretfully. He had heard some of them when he was very little—when he lived

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(Godolesh and Lumë). The first two phrases are evidently old 695
Albanian and have nothing exclusively Moslem about them; the 782
second (lit. 'May I see God') has even a Catholic ring. The third is widely known all over the Moslem world and in certain areas which were once under Moslem rule. But it is used in a magical rather than a religious sense. It is found in magical formulae among the Arabs of Egypt and the Christian Greeks of the island of Zea, next door neighbour to Euboea.[1]

The only invocation of the Deity which the author recorded among the Orthodox was in Shpat and ran as follows: 'By that Christ in Whom we believe.' It is evidently a Church formula.

There was no sign that any of these oaths was preferred to the 771
others; they seemed to have equal value. Readers who know the 776
Catholics and the Orthodox, the two religions which divided Albania before the Turks came in the fifteenth century, will be struck by the paucity of references to Christ and the Virgin Mary and by the emphasis on God; this may be a further indication that the oaths go back to pagan days when neither Christ nor the Virgin was known.

Formulae for invoking Catholic saints were such as 'By that 695
St Nicolas' in Kurbin and 'By the candle of St Nicolas' among 782
the Highlanders of Breg i Matit and Gurrëzë. Both were very grave oaths. The candle in the second is the wax taper lit before pictures of the saint by the devout; oath-takers seem to have feared that perjury would extinguish the flame of their life as easily as a candle could be put out. Of all their saints too, the Catholic Highlanders preferred St Nicolas. No Moslem saints were invoked as such; it was rather by their graves than themselves that oaths were taken. A strange oath, which comes from Surroj, was an exception. This ran 'By this patron saint of coffee'. Coffee, the peasants of Surroj explained, has a 'very important' patron saint. All over Albania coffee-house keepers make a libation to him every morning by pouring away the first cup of coffee that they make. They hope that after being placated in this way the saint will send them many customers. Some believe that he lies buried somewhere in the east of the Turkish empire, possibly in Arabia.

Catholic priests and Moslem clergymen—hoxhas and sheikhs 695
among the Sunnis, abbots (*baba*, sing.; *baballar*, plur.) among the 688
Bektashis—were respected as men of God, and Bektashi abbots 793

[1] See *Folklore*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 195 (June 1926).

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

695 even became saints at their death, but an oath 'by the priest' or
698 'by that hoxha' was never taken; it would have been regarded as
793 sacrilege.

695 A most interesting oath was taken by both the Orthodox and the
792 Moslems of Berat town and district. Its commonest forms were
[776] 'By Him of Tomorr' and 'By the Holy One of Tomorr'. The deity that dwelt in pagan days on the summit of Tomorr, the lofty, beautiful mountain that dominates the town of Berat, is still a living force in the district. He was, indeed, so dreaded that even in conversation he could not be named, but only darkly alluded to. 'By that mountain top' is no less solemn an oath than the more definite pair already given. No man had been known to swear any of them falsely.

[821] By what was perhaps a survival of early nature worship, oath-takers sometimes invoked natural objects as in the oaths, 'By this bright light which is dawning', 'By this evening which is coming', 'By this night we have to-night'. These were all given by Catholics in Perlat. The first two were used for oaths taken in the morning and the third for those taken in the evening. Moslems in Godolesh and Labinot sometimes swore 'By this sun' and 'By this earth'. The latter was a very solemn oath, earth being weighty for two reasons: man was made of it and it lies heavy on a dead man who committed sins such as perjury during his lifetime. Apparently oaths were not taken 'by this fire' or 'by this moon'; perhaps both fire and moon lack the inevitability and stability that fitted dawn and darkness, the sun and the earth, for worship by primitive Albanians.

695 Among oaths by sacred buildings were such as 'By this church'
782 among Catholics and 'By this mosque' among Moslems. They were
778 chiefly employed conversationally, and meant little more than our own expression 'on my honour'. Indeed, a man of Lurë used them indifferently, irrespective of whether he or his hearer were Catholic or Moslem. But when a Moslem of Martanesh swore 'by this holy place' as he stood in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum, his oath was very solemn. So, too, were the oaths in Bulqizë 'by that shrine', the domed tomb of Sheikh Fejza; in Tirana by the grave of Sulejman Pasha, the seventeenth-century founder of the town; in Krujë by the tombs of two Bektashi abbots; in Nangë, Lumë, by the tomb of the Khalveti saint, Sheikh Hasan; and in Surroj, by the grave of Sheikh Hasan's brother, Sheikh Ibrahim. In the last case the formula was rather unusual; standing in the mausoleum (*teqe*) the

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[607] had killed her out of ill-will. After her brother had killed a male
628 from his house, the husband would kill both her brother and her
684 lover; then peace would be made between all three families. In
593 Martanesh and Lumë if the husband did not kill the lover as well, the wife's brother, when threatening vengeance, would say, 'You killed the bitch; why didn't you kill the dog also?'

[606] Sometimes a husband had not the courage or the heart to kill his wife; then perhaps his people killed her. Or perhaps he sent word to her father that he had found her sinning and asked him to kill her. But the father generally replied to such husbands, 'Kill her yourself, because I gave her to you to look after'. If the wife suspected this interchange of messages, she might run away to her father. In that case her husband sent him word saying, 'Either kill that bitch or see me destroy you root and branch'. The father then either killed her or sent her to her husband to kill. If the father protected the wife, a blood feud began between him and the husband, for the latter could not bear the world to think that he had swallowed such a disgrace.

In Martanesh, it should be noted, it was permissible, as it was not elsewhere, to kill the lover and the wife separately, if they could not be found together. This seems to have been the case in Dibër also. About 1916 a man in Vleshjë (Dibër) found his wife unfaithful and killed the lover. The wife ran away, but the husband caught her, poured paraffin on her, and burned her alive, yet seems to have escaped her brother's vengeance.

684 If the outraged husband killed only the lover, then he had to fear
682 vengeance from the lover's family. In Lumë on the principle that
628 'vengeance is not abandoned because of guilt', vengeance was sometimes taken by a 'bad' brother for a man killed in adultery. He might kill the husband, forgive him, or demand blood money.

796 A gruesome story of collective punishment of a guilty pair comes
684 from Martanesh. About 1912 a young man was caught with a
627 young wife. The 'circle' of the young man took him and the 'circle' of the wife took her out to an appointed spot where they stood them up together. The youth's uncle shot him dead, and the girl's brother shot her, while the drums beat and the other men danced. The honour of the two families being thus cleared, they buried the two close together, but in separate graves, at cross-roads; no hoxha was present to commit them to the grave, nor were they washed and changed. In the neighbouring Zdrâjshë also a guilty

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

to be pardoned; he said it was 'disgraceful', and the plea was allowed. 628* 788

The Highlanders had still another method. They called a 'St John' an infant which had not yet been sent to have its hair cut by its godfather, it being believed that St John the Baptist was Christ's godfather. When the time for peace-making seemed due, the friends brought pressure to bear to secure forgiveness. This promised, they arranged to take the murderer on a certain day to his enemy's house, his hands again tied behind his back, and take a 'St John' in its cradle with them. Probably they did not bring the murderer into view; at most they kept him in the background. One of the visitors turned the cradle with the infant, who was, as always, well strapped in, upside down, saying to the host, 'Put it straight; Turn it right side up!' If he were willing, and few were not, for leaving the infant upside down might kill it and leave him with innocent blood on his hands, he turned the cradle right side up, saying, 'All right, I pardon him for the sake of God and the Saint'. Then he went and without another word untied the murderer's hands. Next he said, 'A pardon for my murder; a pardon for my father's (or brother's) murder; be it forgiven', and turned to embrace the murderer. Coffee was then served and drunk by all amid general conversation—the Highlanders are unusually lively. Having fixed a day when they would all go to eat a meal with meat at the murderer's house they took their leave. This meal at the murderer's concluded the proceedings; afterwards all went about their business; no cross was made on the enemy's door as in Kurbin. [776] [854]

Friends were not the only interveners. Occasionally the Turkish government took a hand, declaring on penalty of imprisonment, internment and burning out that all feuds more than seven years old were to be compounded by a money payment and not reopened. When during the 1914–18 war Austria-Hungary was in occupation of all north Albania, she also ordered blood feuds to be ended with a money payment; the resentment of Çermenikë at this attempt to force them to make peace on northern terms is still hot. Sometimes a whole community itself interfered. The procedure of west Mat was typical. When a man had been killed on either side and the feud was 'one for one', the neighbours took effective steps to prevent its continuance. They each forbade the avenger to come on his land to kill his enemy; if he did so, he would be considered a trespasser 628* 682

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

A 754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A [163 761] Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So A [751] terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh A [853 777] air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The M 754 same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but 853 the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the A 755 child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air and sunlight.

A 754 755 Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away. It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead. The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He A [681] rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying, 'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

A 754 776 777 In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special precaution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors, the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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prevents stumbling. A man I knew galloped for his life across the long, narrow, and slippery bridge at Djakova while some six others were firing at him. Usually one would have led the horse across. But horse and rider escaped unscathed. The former wore a fine pair of boar's tusks and the latter a piece of a meteorite, a good protection against bullets. One Albanian I knew wore a piece of meteorite continually in London and was never once shot at. A 754 777 [776]

A small brass imitation of the boar's tusk amulet formed part of the headstall of the Turkish gendarmerie horse-trappings. I possess a charming little crescent formed of a pair of falcon's talons which I bought of a Maltsori woman who said it was a great "ilatch" (remedy).

As a single horn, a wolf's fang, a cock's spur, a crab's claw are all good. Of a Vlah at Prishtina I bought a dried mole's paw set in silver, especially recommended to keep a child in health. It is a miniature "Fatima Hand."

Another highly valued object in Albania was a "stone snail" (ammonite). Baron Nopcsa, when geologizing, tried to remove a big ammonite, conspicuous on a wayside rock in the mountains. The quarrying of it out was too difficult and he left it; but the stone snail was chipped in the attempt. Marko, who had great faith in stone snails, lamented this much. It was discussed in the mountains and folk agreed it was lucky it was no worse. God alone knew what might have happened had the stone snail been removed.

The cowrie is a potent defence, but is rare in North Albania, so not more than one or two per person are worn, usually round the neck or sewn to the cap—except by the women of Vraka, who always wear two, one on each side of the face, sewn to the hair-plait. The cowrie is worn by women and children, but not, so far as I have seen, by men.

Though the natural cowrie is scarce, cowrie-land being afar, a large number, if not all, of the silver circular pendants, common all through the west side of the Balkan peninsula, are clearly derived from the cowrie, as Fig. 19 shows. In the older examples the cowrie type is evident. Two wriggly lines imitate the lip of the shell and a round hole the end aperture. In modern specimens sometimes this hole is all that is left; the cowrie is forgotten. In some the shape of the cowrie is preserved, and filigree replaces the wriggly line of the shell lip. In others the circle evolves into a crescent, as the plate shows. It seems possible that the pear-shaped pendant, so common on Near-Eastern, African, and Asiatic ornaments, is, in fact, derived from the cowrie (e.g. Fig. 19, No. 4*a*).

The cock is very powerful against evil spirits, who "vanish at the crowing." A cock appears on each side of the ornamental head-band worn until recently by the Herzegovinian women round their caps. Y 776 777

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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777 754 and catch it there, thus literally "saving your face," as did the women of Konjitza in Bosnia.

A 753 754 777 Illness being very largely ascribed to Evil Eye or magic, amulets in Albania are usually called "derman" or "ilatch," both of which words also mean remedy.

A 755 *Sympathetic Magic.*—In this the disease is supposed to act in accord with some object or other and disappears as it does.

A cure for jaundice was thus performed by a Moslem wise man on the child of a Scutari Christian. He tied some red wool round the child and some yellow wool round a red rose in the garden. He ordered the red to go out of the rose into the child, and the yellow to go out of the child into the rose. In a few days the rose wilted and yellowed and the child recovered its rosy cheeks. The efficacy of the cure was undoubted.

Marko had another he thought better, because it could be carried out at any time of year. You put a small fish in a bucket of water. The patient had to stare at it as it swam round and round. If he stared at it long and steadily enough, the disease went out of the patient into the fish, which died.

A [722 164] In 1912–13, owing to the Albanian Revolution and the Balkan wars, large numbers of the mountain tribesmen who pasture their beasts on the Bojana plains in winter were unable to return to the mountains, and were blocked in the malaria swamps all the summer, with terrible consequences. Almost all were struck down with a virulent form of the disease. I went through the worst districts with a load of quinine, and found the people trying to cure their greatly enlarged spleens by slowly roasting the spleen of a sheep at a fire, and muttering spells which ordered their own spleens to diminish as that of the sheep shrivelled at the fire.

A 164 776 753 A [755] Epilepsy was not uncommon in the mountains. It was looked upon as a possession by evil spirits. I once saw a woman fall down suddenly in a fit. Some men at once rushed up and, telling me to get out of the way, fired their revolvers alongside of her head. This was to scare away the evil spirit. As she soon recovered, they believed they had done so. I once saved a woman under similar circumstances from being flogged. Luckily she recovered quickly. But it is not so very long ago that lunatics were flogged in England.

A 777 755 Marko knew of a certain cure for epilepsy, but difficult to obtain. If you see a snake swallowing a frog, you must throw a black handkerchief over it. This scares the snake and it disgorges the frog. Keep the handkerchief, and when someone falls in a fit, throw it over him. He will then disgorge the disease as the snake did the frog. We kept a careful look-out, on our travels, for a snake eating a frog, but we never found one.

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

Disease as a rule is attributed to evil spirits. I met with one notable exception. It was at the Serb monastery of Dechani. The dead body of a man had, some years previously, been found on a lonely track in the neighbourhood; there was no wound of any kind upon him. His death was a complete mystery, till a search showed that he had secreted on his person some small objects of value, stolen from the church. It was then clear to all that he had been struck dead by the Holy Mother of God. It is of interest to note that in an early Montenegrin ballad (Vuk Karadjitch, vol. i) the Holy Virgin figures as "Fiery Maria"; she is the sender of lightning and St. Elijah is the thunderer. Together with some other saints they scatter death over the land to cure the people of impious ways. Here, no doubt, we have pagan gods masquerading in Christian garb.

Sympathetic Magic in Montenegro.—In the Tzrmnitza valley I was told of a cure for hernia, performed by "wise women." The operator expected a fee of about twopence and the gift of a cheese or some eggs. She must know the exact name and bratstvo of the patient, but his presence was not necessary. She put some freshly drawn water in a long-necked jug ("ibrik") and set it to boil on the fire, saying: "Water, I call on you three times from heaven to earth—let the bowel of Mr. X return to its place." She crossed the water three times. When it boiled she poured it quickly into a shallow metal dish, repeating the above words, and turned the ibrik mouth downwards into the water. As the ibrik cooled a certain amount of the water would rise up into its neck. The more the luckier—for in such way should the bowel of Mr. X return to its place. The charm is repeated daily till relief is experienced. A fresh fee is exacted each time. I was told that five or six women in Gluhidol practised this art, and that Montenegrins afflicted abroad would write home to have the charm performed.

In Montenegro and in Albania an infallible cure for a scorpion-bite was oil in which scorpions had been soaked in the sun. Marko always had a bottle full of them in the window.

Near Njegushi, Krsto showed me a perforated rock through which children had been passed to cure them of disease. This had been done especially at the time of the cholera epidemic in 1860. Old Mitar, Krsto's brother, remembered this well, and said that they had also tried placing people in the middle of a field and ploughing round them to isolate them from the disease, but, he added sadly, it had not done much good.

In the Tzrmnitza valley I learnt that a similar protection against cattle plague had been practised till recently. On news coming that cattle plague was in the neighbourhood, all were ordered to gather their beasts in a field. Two pairs of oxen were selected which must be

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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A 777 772 [776] was told there is a magic cave which contains an ancient city. No living being is in it, but the bazaar is full of every fine fruit, flesh, and garment. Few have reached it, for it is guarded by the "ore." One man wandered in, and was untouched till he tried to pick up something in the bazaar. Fiery serpents darted at him, his torch went out, and with great difficulty he reached the entrance, where he was found unconscious. Poisonous gases are, no doubt, the explanation. No one would undertake to guide me to the place.

3. Witches and Magic in Montenegro

M 754 Witches in Montenegro and all Serb-speaking lands are called "vjeshtitza." I was assured that they used to exist but did not now; but in fact they were still believed in. Here as in Albania it was believed that a witch could enter a house in the form of an insect and suck blood. Iké always hastened to kill a moth which entered the hut, and remarked that they did no good; and I have heard "Perhaps it is a vjeshtitza" murmured. Witches could sail upon water in the shell of an egg eaten on the 1st of March. Iké always smashed all egg-shells at once, saying it was best to do so, but gave no reason. Many people in England habitually smash their egg-shells—a custom probably handed down from days when a similar belief existed.

M [681] Witches, I was told, were stoned to death in old days if they were known to have killed anyone. As in many other lands, the test for a witch was to bind her and throw her into water. If she floated, she was a witch. This had happened, I was told, within the recollection of still-living persons. Medakovitch, writing of the eighteen-fifties, says that a blood-feud was caused by a fight, in which four men were killed, which arose over an attempt to duck a woman of the Raitchevitches.

M [593 843] While I was in Montenegro it was still the duty of the bride's brothers to guard her till the svatovi fetched her, lest some evil person should tie a knot in the fringes of her "strukka" (straight shawl, worn like a plaid)—for, if so, she would miscarry or bear a deformed child. Many knots would make delivery impossible.

M 791 I never heard a witch openly referred to, but there was talk of mysterious women "who knew many things." These supplied drugs and charms to ease labour and cause the childless to bear.

M 789 But I did not learn how these spells were made. In Serbia are still rites carried out which necessitate that the witch shall stand stark-naked under a tree at night. This suggests the holy trees and groves of old Slavonic beliefs.

M 278 789 A favourite medium for making magic ointment, I was told, is wax

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

they warned both Serbs and Montenegrins of the approach of the Turks, and saved Serb heroes by covering them with mist and hiding them from the foe. Y M 776 787

Some examples from the ballads show the character of vilas in "pre-artillery" days (Karadjitch Collection, vol. ii, No. 37). Marko Kralyevitch and Voyvoda Milosh ride over the mountains. Marko asks Milosh to sing to him. Milosh replies that last night he drank wine with the Vila Ravijojla and she forbade him to sing. Urged by Marko, Milosh sang. The vila tried to out-sing him, but Milosh had the finer voice, so the infuriated vila shot him in the throat with an arrow and he was like to die. Marko pursued her furiously on his horse, Sharatz. The vila flew up into the air. Marko hurled his war-club and brought her down, and threatened to smash her if she would not cure Milosh. Y M 776 533

The vila then called on him for sisterhood in the name of God and St. John, and promised to cure Milosh if he released her. He did so; she gathered herbs and made Milosh far stronger than before. The ballad ends by her advising the other vilas not to shoot at heroes when Marko is about. On several occasions afterwards she helps her "pobratim," Marko. The mediæval ballad-maker has depicted a wine-swilling, revengeful, and murderous fairy who suits her savage environment.

Jealousy and cruelty are seen in the *Death of the two Dragitchitches* (*op. cit.*, vol. i). Dragitch is about to celebrate a great festival. He is giving his daughter in marriage and marrying his two sons. His wife dreams that two ravens, with their wings bloody to the root, bring a black letter in their claws. She prays her husband to be satisfied with marrying their daughter and to put off the sons' wedding for a week. He refuses, and the train of groomsmen and the two bridegrooms ride off on fine horses. But the vilas watch them unseen and from behind the trees shoot their arrows. At midday a halt is called, and then only are the two young men missed. The father remembers the dream, and goes in search of them in fear: "By the side of the path he found his two sons. The accursed vilas had shot them. Dragitch cried out as doth a fierce serpent . . . then he drew his bright sword and cut off his sons' heads and put them in his saddle-bags. And he moved their bodies from the blood-stained path and covered them with leaves, saying: 'Farewell, my two sons, this day have I wedded ye.' " He carries home the heads, and tells his wife that he has brought her two golden apples as a gift. And the cursed vilas thank God (an odd thing for them to do) for the woe they have caused. M Y [585 587]

The phrase "beautiful as a vila" is in constant use in Montenegro, and in recent ballads the vila still warns Montenegro against invasion. A M 776 [767]

I once rode up-country on a handsome white stallion, which belonged

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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776 to my faithful Albanian horseboy, Shan, who had lived all his life in Montenegro. The horse was turned out to graze at night. Next morning, before mounting, I began to comb out its tangled mane with my fingers. Shan anxiously begged me not to. The vilas, he said, had been making love to it all night because it was a beauty. It had been covered with sweat. If I untied the knots the vilas had made we should have an accident. Shan, being an Albanian, probably meant the "ore" when he said "vila." I heard of no other case of a vila acting thus. But the ore are notorious for such conduct.

A M 777 773 887 *Hidden Treasure.*—As in Albania, so all through Montenegro and the Herzegovina, and probably in other Balkan lands, it is believed that mighty treasures lie hidden. The treasure of the Royal Nemanjas has yet to be found, and that of Voyvoda Momchilo at Pirlitor.

Opinions differ as to the best means of treasure-hunting. The most certain thing is when the site of the treasure is revealed in a dream; you are then sure to find it. If a steer that is perfectly black stands still on a spot, bellows, and butts his horns into the ground, there is almost surely treasure beneath. But there must not be a single white hair on the steer. If when the third cock crows in the morning a number are seen gathered together holding council, there is surely treasure beneath the spot.

Vuk Vrchevitch gives a good account of treasure-seeking in the Herzegovina. A certain man dreamed of hidden treasure. Early before the sun rose he went with some of his brethren in search of it, and took with him a black cock and a black wether. Arrived at the spot, he killed the wether and made a circle of blood round the site. They began to dig, and after a while reached a slab of stone. On this the black cock was sacrificed. They were now so near success that one of the brethren cried aloud: "God help us now and for ever." But God's name must not be invoked in aid of magic. When they raised the slab they found, indeed, a stone box—but the treasure had been turned to ashes.

Some poisoned water should be carried when treasure-hunting to kill the serpent which often guards it.

If a black stallion is led to the spot where treasure is suspected to lie and refuses to walk over it, it shows treasure is, or was, there. The foundation for these tales is the large number of Roman and prehistoric graves that have been opened. The ashes and fragments of iron and bronze found in them were ascribed to the fact that a wrong spell had been used and the treasure transmuted to something valueless —in the eyes of the searchers.

A 777 787 *A Magic Plant.*—In Albania I was told there grows a most valuable plant. Any stone or iron touched by a leaf of it at once falls to pieces. To persons thievishly inclined it is extremely useful. The difficulty is

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

forth. Seventy to eighty years was nearer their age than a hundred; and many who looked sixty were younger. H 164 165

Women are early worn out. Especially in Montenegro, there is a very great difference in height between men and women. Women I found usually shorter than I am (5 ft. 3 ins.); whereas men well over six foot are not uncommon. The Montenegrins seemed proud of this difference, and when I said that of course, if a girl was married at fifteen and had four children before she was twenty she never grew to her full height, they were very angry indeed. M 142 165 583

Lunacy and Mental Diseases.—Lunacy is very generally believed to be possession by evil spirits, if the lunatic is a violent and dangerous one. Exorcisms are much used both by the Catholic and Orthodox priests. In Orthodox monasteries lunatics are often treated with great cruelty, and beaten and otherwise maltreated in order to drive out the spirits. I once saw an unfortunate man, almost naked, chained like a dog to a sort of kennel in the yard of a monastery. He was very quiet and half-dazed. The monks admitted that they beat him whenever he resisted or tried to escape. H A 164 753 776

The women of the Balkans, completely exhausted as they only too often are by severe toil and perpetual child-bearing and lactation, often suffer from neurasthenia and "hysteria." A curious form is not uncommon among the women of Macedonia and Montenegro. I am told it occurs also in Russia. It begins as a hiccough, and becomes more and more intense until it is a violent and fast-recurring spasm of the diaphragm. The hiccoughs become louder and louder till they are an uninterrupted crowing like that of a hoarse rooster. So quick are they that the patient cannot breathe. Just as she appears to be in danger of choking, she suddenly pulls herself together, draws a long breath, gives a gasp or two, and recovers in a few minutes. At intervals the attacks may go on all day; nor, when the habit is acquired, is it easy to cure. To a certain extent it is under the patient's control; but not entirely. When I did relief work among the Bulgar peasants in Macedonia after the revolt in 1903, I met a case which had been reported as "a Turkish atrocity" by relief workers unacquainted with the complaint. I visited the village where she was. She was quite quiet. So soon as she heard I was an English relief agent she began to "crow" loudly and had one spasm after another. By way of a test I said: "Tell her if she makes that noise I will do nothing for her." And after some gasping she recovered and made no more noise while I was there. But she was not cured. H A 164 562

The Balkan remedy is one of suggestion. On a saint's day the patient is taken to the Orthodox church. On St. Petar's Day, at Moratchka H 755

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

A [186]

Y A 292 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

562 561 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

Y A

A [12] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

A Y

M 754 776 774 Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from danger.

A Y M 777 "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

A 585 777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

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A 784 the body was laid in it, in order to prevent any devil lurking there to seize the dead.

I remember waiting by the tiny grave dug for a child at Thethi Shala in the graveyard. Someone tripped over the long protruding handle of the shovel and dislodged it. The old gravedigger dashed forward and replaced it at once, and drew it out only as the little corpse was lowered. The Franciscan, an Albanian, who stood by the graveside, acquiesced. "It is the custom," he said when questioned. Possibly, like the rest of us, he could not keep demons at bay unaided.

M A 776 777 778 Iron keeps off all spirits, good and bad, it appears; for no knife must touch the fowl's breast-bone or sheep's blade-bone in which the Albanian and Montenegrin soothsayers read the future. No one can tell you why; but everyone knows it would be the height of folly to try to read a bone that has been cleaned with a knife—it would not tell the truth.

A 726 Colonel Aubrey Herbert, that friend of the Turks and Albanians, whose untimely death has left an unfillable gap, gave me a curious instance of the belief in the magic of iron. During the Balkan war of 1913 the Turkish general, Djavid Pasha, retreated with what was left of his army into South Albania, where "he occupied the house of a friend of mine. The tide of war was running fiercely against the Turks and the general wanted to consult the spirits. The family carpenter was ordered to make a three-legged table without any nails in it—T 778 775 'for the spirits hate metal,' said Djavid. The young Turks invoked the spirit of Nazim Pasha, who had been shot by Enver and his friends. . . . When no answer came, the absent ghost of Nazim was cursed for refusing to give information."

Even the absence of iron could not induce the spirit of the murdered man to advise his murderers.

6. Hair. Some Beliefs and Customs connected with it

A 121 In many lands much mystery surrounds hair, that strange substance that grows continually from youth to age; which is part of the person, but can be cut off without pain and is, therefore, the most convenient substitute or symbol for the whole person.

S 754 By means of hair spells can be wrought even in an electric-lighted European capital. Draga Mashin, the mistress of the luckless young King Alexander Obrenovitch, forced him to marry her and make her queen by clipping some of her hair in little bits and mixing it with appropriate spells in his food. Having thus eaten a portion of her, he was hopelessly in her power. At least, so we were assured by one of

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 538 554 302 And so they follow on, each matching his horse to his immense moustache. As Krsto used to say with a sigh, "One does not see such sights nowadays."

H 764 It is noteworthy that the warriors carved on the mediæval gravestones of Bosnia show no hair either on face or head. The work is very rude and shows no features either (Fig. 22).

A 302 In Albania, too, the moustache is very precious. My old friend Marko cherished a fine one. When he was young he declared he could easily tie its ends behind his head—the true test, he said, for a moustache.

A 776 554 In the fairy tales he used to tell, the villain was a "Chosé," a hairless man. They were always abominably wicked, he said.

The British Navy lost its prestige when clean-shaven officers appeared in Scutari in 1913.

A 302 293 554 When Marko was young and his moustache in its prime, he was kavass to the Turkish Embassy in Vienna, wore a gold-embroidered Albanian dress, and cut such a gallant figure that no less a person than one of the Rothschilds noticed him. The wealthy Jew asked the poor Albanian to quit Turkish service and be doorkeeper at the Rothschild palace. The salary offered was beyond Marko's wildest imagination. "I thought I should be a rich man," said he, "but the dog—yes, he was a dog—he told me his servants were clean-shaven and I must cut off my moustache. My moustache that I could tie behind my head! I said that not for all the gold of the Rothschilds would I cut it off." So Marko was never rich, and was never tired of telling of the insult.

So great is the respect for the moustache that the Catholic Church humours her Albanian flock, and bishops, abbots, and secular priests all wear the finest moustaches they can grow.

A [293] "If an Italian or Austrian comes here as a missionary," said a young Albanian Franciscan to me, roaring with laughter, "we shut him up till he's grown a decent moustache. It would be useless to send him to a mountain parish without one; they would hunt him out."

A 302 A great variety of head-shaves is found among both men and women of the Albanian mountains. The Catholic married women of Maltsia e Madhe shave the forehead and temples, and dye the hair black on marriage, and make their face look very large. A similar fashion is to be seen in many early Italian portraits of ladies. The Mirdite women and some of the allied groups wear a fringe over the forehead and do not dye the hair. The men of Maltsia e Madhe shave a great part of the head, and leave either one great lump on the top or two big side tufts; or they shave the back and leave the front. The temples are usually shaved, even by Scutarenes, who wear European dress.

A 292

[596] set its internal stability. The very act of vengeance is a ritual, as is the constant repetition of [608] the need for vengeance. The rites of blood brotherhood and godfatherhood are rituals performed by Catholic and Moslem alike.

776 Both Catholics and Moslems believe in a host of malevolent spirits which pay the mountains a seasonal visit in the springtime, and which can sometimes be kept at bay by the use of amulets. These evil spirits are of course the symbols of the general hunger, illness, and irritability which beset the mountaineers at 753 this critical season. Catholics and Moslems alike attribute non-traumatic illnesses to spells cast by magicians, through the agency of hair and nail clippings. Wasting illnesses, such as consumption and cancer, may be attributed to vampires, sucking their victim's blood.

754 A vampire is said to be a human being, usually but not always a woman, who can change herself into an insect and fly into a room in which her victim is sleeping. As she fills with the blood, she has to leave now and then to spit it out. A person who finds such a gobbet of blood on the path is lucky; he can wrap it up and keep it as an amulet to protect him against vampires—and incidentally probably expose himself and his family to tuberculosis.

When people are hungry and ill, it is easy to suspect others of evil magic. The person named as a witch or vampire will of course be someone whose actions are eccentric or mysterious, who is a cause of disturbance in the community, and whose loss will not be greatly felt. If a child is suffering from malnutrition its parents may accuse some old woman, and drag her from her house. They will accuse her of having sucked blood from the child, and force her to spit in the child's mouth. Under protest she may spit merely in order to get away. If the child recovers, then the parents are sure she is a vampire; if the child dies she was innocent for her spittle did not cure it. People do not like being accused of witchcraft, or of having their aged grandmothers hauled off for trial; such actions, like the very suspicion itself, may result in bloodshed.

782 The Ghegs are great oath-swearers. Between blood feuds rivals will swear to keep the peace, on a stone in the presence of the

585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and [533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house. [534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The [292 301] display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped; the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern [262] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker- [291] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell. [777] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait, punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take [777 842] the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

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enable her to bear male children. The ladies again sang songs of greeting. 585 Then the two bride-leaders manipulated the bride as though she were [777 a lay figure. She was absolutely passive. They raised her to her feet, 842] set her feet one after the other, shod in the wedding-boots, on to the steps of the carriage, and then on the ground. They then draped her with the red silk handkerchief sent her yesterday, and pinned it to the top of her head. Supported under the armpits she was slowly shuffled across the yard. It was but a few yards long, but her passage took full ten minutes. She was pelted with sweets, which a crowd of children gathered, and sprinkled with holy water, and led into the women's room. The bridegroom then arrived on foot and went to the men's room. I followed the bride. She was led backwards, and seated, still blinded by the veils, upon the chair in the corner. Her hands were laid on her sash and nervously grasped a folded handkerchief. Her immobility as her attendants handled her was so inhuman as to be almost horrible. One of her leaders carefully lifted a corner of her head-coverings and gave her lemonade to drink under it. The attendants [272] themselves were then ceremoniously served with refreshments. They then removed her wedding-boots and put on the slippers, raised her to her feet, lifted a corner of her veil, said good-bye under it, and withdrew. The poor bride still stirred never a finger, but the violent [152] heaving of her breast showed her on the verge of hysterics. She pulled herself together and the ordeal continued. One of the bridegroom's female relatives unpinned the red handkerchief from the bride's head and held it as a screen before her. Behind it her headdress was changed. Her white veil was removed, and a yellow beflowered silk one substituted.

The great moment had now come. We were to see her face. A lady on each side of her threw back the veil and showed her off. She was exposed to a crowd of staring females. Her head dropped modestly. Her attendants each placed a finger under her chin and raised it again. The sweat streamed down her face. They wiped it. They straightened her wide coat, settled her sash, and waved the flies off her. Such was her Spartan heroism that when a fly, unobserved by the attendants, crawled up her face, she did not even by a twitch show that she was alive. Then a front row of chairs was arranged and all the men came in. The bridegroom, witnesses, and father took their seats. The background was crowded with miscellaneous youths. They stared with all their eyes at the luckless girl, who in vain dropped or turned her head, only to have it put straight again.

Only the bridegroom held his head down and would not look. His 533 witnesses grasped his chin and made him look, and he faltered, "But 585 I've seen her already."

The wedding song then began:—

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working harm to the world in general. It is interesting to find in Herrick's *Hesperides* a charm for stables:—

> Hang up hooks and shears to scare
> Hence the hag that rides the mare.

The scissors, too, are among the amulets worn on a silver chain by the women around Nish in Serbia. 777 754

Tony was proof against the Evil Eye, for he wore a powerful amulet. A similar one is used in other Balkan lands and in Hungary. A snake is caught by pinning down its head with a forked stick. The head is then cut off with silver—the sharpened edge of a large coin will do. It is then dried and enclosed between two silver St. Georges, and finally blessed by the priest. This protects against all spells. It is evidently a piece of sympathetic magic. Evil is to die as did the dragon—represented by the snake's head—slain by St. George.

Tony's wife was once bewitched and had sharp pains all over, but could not be sure who caused this. The same evil person attempted to bewitch Tony, but, protected by the snake's head, he only felt a few twinges. His wife, who suffered much, was cured by a dervish, who 755 took some hair from the top of her head and from her armpits, tied it up, and burnt it while muttering some unknown charm. The pain went as the hair burnt and never came back. This and the case of the child both occurred at Djakova, at that time a wholly Albanian town.

Marko, too, was cured of similar pains. A Moslem gathered some herbs, but kept their species a secret. He fumigated them over a brazier, muttering a charm. He then tied them up, and Marko had to stand upright with his arms fully extended on either side. The Moslem put the bunch of herbs on Marko's head, drew them down the side of the face, along the arm, back to the body, and down the side of the body to the foot. He then repeated the operation on the other side, and cried: "Pain, pain, fly away from this man to the top of the highest mountain, where there is neither man, woman, nor child, bird nor beast, and stay there!" He burnt the herbs. The pain flew away and apparently remained on the mountain-top, for it never returned.

When I was in the Scutari hospital, very ill with acute sciatica, 278 poor old Marko sought in vain for the right herbs and was grieved at his failure.

Shtrigas were said to be very numerous all through North Albania. 754 At Zumi, near Djakova, I was told that perhaps one-third of the women 776 were blood-suckers; and in Nikaj was assured by the Franciscan in charge that most of the women were shtrigas, and he strove continually against the vile deeds, in which they were assisted by the Devil.

That the whole cult is the remains of ancient, long pre-Christian

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776 beliefs and rites one can hardly doubt. As is well known, the gods of the heathens became the devils of the Christians.

776 Marko was greatly afraid of Beelzebub and mentioned him with
●777 a curse and a whisper. Belial and Beelzebub were supposed to be the most active. The tribesman followed the advice of his priest and put
[304] a cross on his house and tattooed himself with a cross, but he further protected himself with more ancient signs; he planted the skulls of horses, goats, and oxen on poles round his house and fields. Some houses had rows of skulls. I wondered whether, in old days, human ones had figured there, too.

The horse-skull was most valued not only in Albania, but also in Bosnia and in Montenegro. Where civilization has penetrated the horse-skull was often replaced by a twisted petroleum tin whitewashed. Short-sighted devils, seeing it from a distance, could easily have mistaken it for the real thing and fought shy.

[793] Priests are but human. I found one Catholic priest had a whole array of horse- and other skulls round his beehives. He laughed it off when I remarked on it, and added that bees were very liable to disease. He evidently wanted to be on the safe side.

754 I often found in the mountains a distinct fear of being drawn, or "written," as they always called it. At Vraka I asked if I might draw the interior of a house. The woman was doubtful. She at last said I was not to "write" her or her children, and, to make sure, she drove the children out of the house. In Luria I was told not to "write" anyone or any house. At Lohja was a wonderful old man, who was reputed to be 110, who boasted that he had sinned but twice in his life—and then it was not his fault. Men in plenty he had killed, but never dishonourably or for money. The company suggested that I should "write" him. Much flattered, the old man sat still for a while, but when everyone shouted that the sketch was exactly like him, he became greatly alarmed, and earnestly begged me never to destroy what I had "written" about him, for at the moment it was torn he would drop down dead. I preserved the sketch, and five years later found him still going strong.

754 At Seltzi, in the Klimenti tribe, I was told the best way to detect
787a shtriga is to keep the bones of the pig you ate on the last day of Carnival. All through the Balkans the pig, abhorred by Turk and Jew, is a sign of Christianity. On Easter Day you make a cross with the pig's bones and tie it on the church door when the church is full of people. If any shtrigas are in the church they cannot get out except carried on the shoulders of the man who made the cross. They run
754 wildly round and round and can be caught.

681 There was, so far as I could learn, no traditional punishment for a

754 was who used to do wonders. The bey thought it a good idea, and the man was fetched from his cell. He was very willing to perform, and asked only for a bowl of water. One was brought, and he made an [787] incantation over it. He then said that if any guest would name a place he wished to see, it could be seen in the water. Someone asked for Malta, and Malta was duly reflected; the harbour, the quay, and a steamer just getting up steam. When it had been admired, the magician asked the bey: "Have I your permission, noble Bey, to go off in that steamer?"

"Certainly," said the bey.

The magician lifted his foot and put it on the steamer in the water-bowl, and immediately went off in that steamer and was never heard of again. No one but myself could see anything improbable in this amazing tale; with Beelzebub all things are possible.

2. The Evil Eye

754 761 The Evil Eye was rampant. At Vukli an unhappy woman told me it had killed all her eight children. A man there, to prove the power of his eye, had stared at a bunch of grapes, which had withered under his gaze and fallen to the ground before the awe-struck spectators. I did not meet this man.

754 Marko had a milch ewe he greatly valued. One day a mountain woman came to the door begging. He gave her bread, but she was not satisfied, and as she left she looked at the poor beast, which was perfectly well, and said: "What a fine ewe!" Soon afterwards it began to sicken. Marko sent for the vet., who said at once: "I can do nothing—someone has looked at this ewe. You must find her and make her remove the spell." She could not be found and the ewe died. Marko cut her up for mutton. I expressed horror. "The meat," said he, "is beautiful. There was nothing the matter with the ewe except a lot of yellow spots in its liver, made by that woman."

754 *Protection against Evil Eye.*—Many amulets are worn. Most horses 777 and many cattle wear blue beads (sham turquoise), tufts of badger-hair, which is said to be very efficacious, or triangular leather cases containing inscriptions. A universal protection, as in many other parts of the world, is a horn or horns. Though the horse-skull is now popular to guard fields and houses, the original skull was probably a horned one, e.g. the familiar ox-skull carved on the frieze of many a classical and pseudo-classical building. A pair of boar's tusks, mounted as a crescent and hung round the neck, is a favourite amulet for a handsome [776] saddle-horse. It prevents evil spirits riding the horse at night and

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588 house of a relative of his to live there till the marriage was arranged and declared herself a Mohammedan. As she was not of age, her parents appealed to the archbishop, who intervened, and she was sent home. Then, to save her from Turkish influence, she was sent to friends at Podgoritza. Here she obstinately declared that she wished to be Moslem till those in charge of her saw that she wore a Turkish amulet round her neck. They cut the string and threw the thing in the fire. Scarcely had it burnt up when she at once became Christian again. So ended her poor little romance, and I was told it was unlikely she would ever find a good husband owing to this fatal infatuation. Marko considered it, indeed, a mercy that the evil amulet had been discovered, and was horrified when I said I was sorry for her.

776 *Evil Spirits.*—In addition to witches and magicians in Albania there are many mischievous spirits. These are the "ore," a word which an Albanian often translates as "devil." The ore, however, are not the ordinary devils known to Christianity; they are relics of some pre-Christian beliefs, and are usually seen at night as fiery sparks, and delight to prevent a traveller from proceeding by circling round him and confusing him completely. Once, when starting from Scutari to Djakova, Tony Precha was thus stopped on the way. There is but one thing to be done, and that is to wait till the first cock crows, when they vanish at once.

Another delight of theirs is to ride horses at night and knot their manes. These knots should on no account be untied. The ore also guard hidden treasure, and by confusing the seeker prevent him from finding it.

The ore were generally believed to be females.

776 Much magic surrounds hidden treasure. Throughout the Balkans
777 there is a belief in masses of treasure hidden in ancient days. The hider
789 consigned it to the care of the earth "amanet," which may deliver it up only if certain formulæ are observed. A person ignorant of these formulæ may dig on the right spot and find nothing but sticks and stones. An example given me in the mountains was that of a man who buried some money at the foot of a tree, at the same time bidding the earth not to give it up till two mice had drawn a carriage round the tree. Unfortunately a man passing by heard this. He returned home, caught two mice, tamed them, and with some trouble harnessed them to a tiny box. He then returned to the tree, drove the mouse-chariot round it, dug on the spot, and found the money. I suggested that he might have done so without troubling to catch and train the mice, but was assured it was impossible. The earth would not have yielded that which had been consigned to it. Much time and ingenuity is spent over the search for treasure. It has led to the destruction of

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much probably valuable material, for when many an ancient grave has 776
been opened and nothing but pottery and bits of bronze or iron found, 777
the treasure-seekers, enraged that the gold should have thus been 789
turned to rubbish because they did not know the formula, have smashed it all into small fragments.

One way to find treasure is to spread a layer of wood-ash over the 777
spot where it is believed to lie. Next morning, if it bears the footprint 782
of any bird or beast—a fox, sheep, etc.—such a creature must be sacrificed upon the spot. A black animal or bird with no touch of white on it is particularly efficacious.

In many places I had to declare to the headmen that I had not come to search for treasure.

Those good days are past. Albania is now being searched for petroleum, and, unless the kindly earth refuses to give it up, the land will be devoured by foreign speculators.

I was once taken a weary tramp in Berisha to see and explain a 777
marvel. On a great mass of rock was a slight hollow into which a man's 789
hand would fit, and near it a depression that was supposed to be like a mule's hoof-print. Both were natural weatherings of the rock. But the native theory was that ages ago, when the rock was soft, a man had hidden a treasure and made the rock flow over it. He had then marked the spot with his hand and the hoof-mark of his beast. Unless the right formula could be obtained there was nothing for it but to quarry and blast the huge mass, and without the formula even this might not avail. I vainly said the marks meant nothing. My excited escort would not let me leave till I had "written" (i.e. drawn) the marks, and promised that if learned men in England could explain them I would return and show them how to find the treasure.

"Hoof-marks" are favourite things in the Balkans. One was shown me on the shores of Lake Presba and ascribed to Sharatz, the magic horse of Marko Kralyevitch; and in a cave on the slopes of the Lovchen in Montenegro I was shown, as a great marvel, a small roundish depression—a hoof-mark, also "made when the rock was soft." Krsto thought it possible that Marko Kralyevitch had once stabled Sharatz here, and several people asked my opinion about it. In the long weary [517]
hours, when watching goats on the mountains, men ponder over such trifles and build fancies upon them. Weary and weary are those endless hours. I never met anyone who did not speak with hate of the watching of beasts he had had to do when young. Often was I asked to build a factory where a man would be given enough bread for a day's labour and no longer have to watch goats on the mountain. The foreigner is now starting works; I doubt if they bring the expected happiness. 777

In the hill-side on the left of the road from Djakova to Prizren I 778

to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband [484]
leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
with which they console themselves testify. Unknown to their partners, they sew in their clothes [789]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

484 562 777 789 small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various 787 methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

152 593 The men on their side are not free from home-sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

[539]

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
From Fatherland as outlaws lorn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
Poisoned by my blood would pine!

527 535 The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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846 is spread, the national head-dress, ornamented with
[301] sequins, is placed on her head, and all her necklaces are hung round her neck, to receive the friends and acquaintances who now flock in to offer their congratulations. In some parts of Albania, and especially
[431] among the Moslems, it is customary to bring hand-
[688] some presents to the infant. As each visitor did her best to outshine her neighbour in the value of her gift, this usage, among the Roman Catholic Miridites, became so ruinously expensive, that the ban of the Church was finally laid upon it. The visitors to the mother and baby consequently now bring with them only an egg, with which they rub the face of the new arrival, with the wish, "*Pashi bar*" (May it be always white!)—*i.e.*, never have cause to blush for its actions.

852 When the baby is three days old the Fates are be-
[776] lieved to arrive and decide what its fortune is to be. When two of the Weird Sisters have had their say, the third speaks, and her decision is final.[1] On the evening of this day, which is called the child's *Poganik*,[2] all the relatives of the family assemble uninvited, each bringing a small loaf, a girdle cake, and a wooden flask of wine. On these they feast and drink healths to the mother and child, the formula addressed to the latter being, "May he have strong legs!"
[777] The women then set to work to make a large cake, all present touching, "for luck," the sieve used to sift the flour. As the dough is being kneaded coins are put into it, and when baked it is broken in pieces

[1] See "The Story of the Child," p. 319.
[2] The meaning of this term appears to have been lost by the Albanians.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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My greetings to my mother bear,
My greetings to my sisters fair,
Tell them my heart will love them e'er.
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!
Each day, when comes the even glow,
My prayers, on winds that softly blow,
For them to God on high shall go—
Stay, stay, O dearest brothers, stay!

As soon as the bride's relatives have left, the women raise her veil with the silver handle of a dagger, or some other object made of the same metal,[1] and whether she comes up to their expectations or not, they are in duty bound to sing:

How beautiful she is, the bride!
May God preserve her!
Her brow is high and white and wide,
May God preserve her!
Her eyebrows have the rainbow's curve,
May God preserve her!
Her eyes for coffee cups might serve,[2]
May God preserve her!
Her cheeks the rose's inmost fold
May God preserve her!
Her mouth a little box of gold
May God preserve her!
Her lips as red as cherries are
May God preserve her!
Her teeth than pearls are whiter far!
May God preserve her!
Like milk her skin is fair and white
May God preserve her!
Like cypress is she tall and slight
May God preserve her!

Among the Christian Albanians, the religious ceremony is now performed in the nuptial chamber, where 585

[1] Magical properties are attributed to this metal by the Albanians.
[2] Literally, "as large as coffee-cups"—*findjanes*.

[777]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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789 484 leave of him, he returns the earrings. It is considered a bad omen for the journey if the traveller should for any reason turn or look back. If he have left anything behind, he sends another to fetch it; and should a friend or stranger call to him from behind, he will not turn back to meet him, but remain standing where he is until the other comes up, a practice which foreigners, not understanding the reason for it, have put down to discourtesy. If on the road the traveller [777] meets a fox, or a flock of sheep, he considers it a good augury; a flock of goats, however, or a hare crossing the road, is held to signify ill luck.

778 775 484 Travellers in Upper Albania may frequently see stones placed in the forks or hollows of roadside trees. According to M. Hecquard,[1] this practice originates in the belief that the stones serve as resting-places for the feet of those unhappy beings for whom the rites of sepulture have not been properly performed, and who, while wandering in mid-air, can alight upon them as on the solid earth. To place a stone on a tree is also said in some mysterious way to diminish the fatigue of the pedestrian, and help him on his journey.

787 Omens and auguries, too, both good and evil, are drawn from all the trifling occurrences of every-day life, as well as from the observation of the phenomena of Nature, besides being sought for in the bones and entrails of slaughtered sheep and in the flight of birds. Among the omens read in the actions of the domestic animals are the following. When introducing a newly purchased cow into the farmyard, some object, made of iron or silver, is placed across the gateway

[1] *La Haute Albanie.*

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787 The cries of wild beasts and birds, and also the cir-
825 cumstances under which they are heard, or the animals themselves met with, have also their signification. If wolves howl in packs, it betokens, in some districts, a death; in others, severe frost. To meet a snake before sunrise, or about sunset, augurs the death of a relative. If the turtle-dove, which in Middle Albania builds in the towns and villages, sits on a roof and coos, it announces to the inmates the return of a relative from a foreign land. When a cuckoo, however, sits there and sings, or an owl hoots there, it betokens a death in the house. The croak of a raven in the vicinity of a house, or the hoot of an owl, announces to the expectant mother the birth of a girl. Sparrows flying in large flocks are held to be a sign of severe cold.

787 Various auguries are also drawn from the arrival in spring of the birds of passage, and the circumstances under which they are first seen. For instance, to see the first swallow or turtle-dove before breaking one's fast in the morning portends sickness. Accordingly, about the time when these birds are expected, and more particularly on the 1st of May, the precaution
751 is taken of placing by the bedside a small piece of-
777 bread, which is eaten immediately on awakening in order to avoid any such risk. In Northern Albania, on the contrary, it is held that to see while fasting the
755 first swallow brings luck. Here, too, when a mother, whose child has been born with a running sore, sees the first stork, she places on her baby's head a stone, saying:

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755

Head thy poultice,
Head this stone.[1]

A few of the trifling occurrences of every-day life 787
to which a superstitious significance is attached by the Albanians have their parallels in our own country. We say, for instance, when seized by a sudden shiver, "Some one is walking over my grave;" while an Albanian says, "Death is calling me," and mentally replies, "I am not yet ready." When attacked with a fit of hiccough, the Albanian believes that some friend is speaking of him, and calls over the names of all his relatives and acquaintances, in the belief that the one he mentions with the last hiccough will be the one who has uttered his name. If the eye itches, it denotes coming rain; if the right hand, vexation consequent on being called upon to pay money; if the left, the receipt of money; itching of the lips signifies the arrival of a friend or relative; of the nose, strife and discord. Humming in the right ear is looked upon as a good omen, and in the left the reverse. If a little child drops asleep just before a meal, the incident is regarded as most propitious for the whole household.

In addition to the every-day observances with respect 527
to auspicious and inauspicious actions and events, so 777
many are attached to certain seasons and days of the year as to form quite a Calendar of Superstitions. Some tribes, the Ritza, for example, celebrate their New Year's Day on the 1st of September, and every

[1] Κρυε τεν κεφαλ,
κρυε τερ γίουρ.

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incident that occurs during its twelve hours is believed to presage the events of the corresponding months of the coming year, and the events of the first day of each month the character, lucky or unlucky, of the other days generally. It is unlucky to work in the fields during the first week of October, and no corn is sown this month, as the crop would be sure to fail.

The period between the 15th of November and the 6th of January is, like the Greek *Fishoti* and the Bulgarian *Kulada*,[1] supposed to be the carnival time of the Vilas and other supernal beings, who are, at that season, not only more active, but more powerful than at others, and especially during the night. After sunset, consequently, people refrain from going abroad, or drinking water, for fear of mischief, and give no credence to their dreams. They are also careful not to leave any article of wearing apparel out of doors after nightfall, and if, by some oversight, a garment should be so left, it is washed before being used, in order to get rid of any spell cast upon it by the supernals.

Christmas, which bears a name (*Kolendravet*[2]) apparently connected with those by which it is known among the Bulgarians and Vlachs, is observed with ceremonies that recall those of more Northern nations, as well as with some similar to those of their last-mentioned neighbours. On the 24th and 25th of

[1] Vol. i. pp. 123 and 329.

[2] Von Hahn derives this name from the κολένδρα, the ring-shaped cakes made at this season. I would, however, suggest the greater likelihood of the cakes having been named after the name of the feast in its various forms of (Albanian) *Kolendravet*, (Vlach) *Kolindi*, and (Bulgarian) *Kulada*.

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December the housewife makes, besides other sweet cakes, some in the shape of rings, which are called *Koléndhra*. The one first made is termed "the cake of the oxen," and is hung up on the wall "for luck," and left there until the farmer goes out with his team to the fields. On this occasion the cake is taken down and broken to pieces on the head of one of the yoked oxen, and then divided between the pair.

Fire-ceremonies play a great part in the Christmas observances of the Albanian highlanders. As may have already been remarked in connection with birth-ceremonies, a protective and salutary character appears to attach to the fire on the hearth, and not only on such occasions, but on the eve of every important festival, the Albanian peasants light fires and keep them burning until sunset on the following day, even in summer; and from the crackling, or exploding, noises emitted by the wood in burning, they learn when the enemies of their house are conspiring against them, and whether the flocks will thrive, or the contrary. On ordinary occasions they consider it inauspicious when the thick end of a log burns before the thin, and are careful not to place one log across another. On Christmas Eve, however, all such precautions are considered unnecessary. The fire is piled up as high as the safety of the house will permit, as this is supposed to neutralise all evil effects of the non-observance of the foregoing precautions during the coming year. The largest log that can be found is brought home at sunset, when all the family, who are reunited for the festival, rise to greet it with the words, "Welcome, our log! God has destined thee for the fire! Bring

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789 needle, a warning evidently to other fleas of the fate awaiting them.

The women in South Albania twist together a [751] number of coloured threads and tie them round the children's wrists and necks, in order to preserve them from sunburn or sunstroke, and draw a similar thread along the threshold of the house. They also roll up tightly little balls of rag, at which they stitch assiduously with a needle and thread; and when asked what they are doing, they reply, "We are sewing up the plague, snakes, and sickness." On this day no vegetables are eaten, the sweet cakes and dishes, in which the Ritza alone indulge, being believed to ensure a good [777] summer. The whole of this month is a close time for the ravens, as to kill one would bring bad luck to the vintage.

527 The North Albanians begin their year on the 1st of March. On this day the cattle are decked with gar-
789 lands of flowers, and the Ghegs not only tie threads of
777 many colours on the wrists and necks of their children,
[805] but themselves also wear one of red silk on the little finger of the right hand and the great toe of the right foot. When the first swallow has been seen, they take off these threads, and hang them on the rose-bushes, in order that the swallows may take them to their nests.
[177] Von Hahn is of opinion that this graceful little custom is not indigenous, and it may indeed have been partly borrowed, either from the Bulgarians, or, through the neighbouring Vlachs, from the Roumanians, with whom, as I have already mentioned,[1] a similar usage exists. While I was at Salonica, one

[1] Vol. i. p. 335.

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of these parti-coloured bracelets, with a tiny gold coin attached, was, on the 1st of March (Old Style), presented by the Roumanian Consul-General to each lady of his acquaintance, and I, for one, religiously wore my charm against the power of the March sun, which in the East generally is said to "blacken" the complexion, until the month was out. It was not, however, finally thrown to the swallows, but carried off by an English visitor as a curio.

On the 25th of this month the women go through the house beating on copper pans, in order to drive out any poisonous snakes that may have intended to take up their abode there. The two last days of March and the first of April are called *Plyáketé*, a word signifying "old," and referring to the past season, personified as "Old Mother Winter." If by the last-mentioned date Spring has not yet fully set in, the blame is laid at the door of the old women, who are evidently held to be in league with "Old Mother Winter."

On Easter Eve in some places, Selitza, for instance, the young men assemble with lighted torches, which they wave about as they walk in procession through the village. Arrived at the river, they throw them in, crying, "*Koré-ya* (O Maiden)! We throw thee into the water with these torches, so mayest thou never return!" the *Koré* evidently referring, as Von Hahn suggests,[1] to the malevolent supernals, Vilas, Dragonas, &c., before described. When the priest comes to bless the house on Easter Day, the women throw after him, as he leaves, hot embers from the

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 160.

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789 hearth, in order that he may take away with him all
788 danger from fire for the coming year.

St. John's Eve is observed in Albania with the
789 customary bonfire, to leap over which is considered so
372 salutary that even the old people venture to do so at least once. A curious ceremony, performed about this season, when the spring sowing is concluded, may also be here mentioned. Standing with his back to the plough, the farmer rubs part of the
[136] handle with earth in the belief that the wild swine will thus be prevented from damaging his crops.

789 On the day on which the new moon is first seen, all possible work is avoided, and no important task of any kind, such as ploughing, sowing, or harvesting, is commenced, for it would be sure to be unsuccessful. The girls and children look at the moon through a sieve, and rub their faces with a piece of silver, while they sing:

[539]

Young moon!
Young maid!
Health to me;
Ill to thee!
Head as soft as dough be thine!
Head as hard as stone be mine!

●777 The 9th, 19th, and 29th days of every month are considered unlucky, as is also the Tuesday of every week, for setting out on a journey, or commencing any kind of work. Friday is also an inauspicious day
[241] for sowing, and Saturday for beginning to plough or dig.

PEAKS OF SHALA

drop falling from a rock, the delicate sound of ooo
our breathing and of the blood in our ears.

"Which proves nothing, of course. The sound wasn't in the right direction; the echoes didn't work," said Alex.

"Yes," I said. "But I wish they had. It would have given us such delightfully shivery sensations."

So we came up out of the wood,[1] and over the next mountain, and there on a slope, where the dead grass was splotched with patches of rotting snow and the soft earth trodden by the sharp hoofs of goats, we came back with a jolt to problems of unquestioned reality. For we met a 423
woman, herding the goats, who believes in 578
private property.

She was a tall, dark-eyed woman, handsome, but not beautiful. Her face, as we say, was full of character; and there was independence, even a shade of defiance, in her bearing as she stood watching us approach, her chin up, her eyes cool and steady, one hand grasping a peeled branch as a staff, her ragged skirt strained against her by the wind that blew down from the mountain pass. Her thick, dark hair hung forward [777]
over her shoulders in two braids, and from each dangled a charm of bright blue beads, defense against any demon she might meet in the mountains.

"Long life to you!" she said.

"And to you long life!" we replied, and, seeing her glance fall covetously on my cigarette—only

[1] [Wood of the Ore -- Analysis]

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value or money compensation to the other. In the cases, frequent enough, where each had had his own implements before the separation, he took these with him to his new home.

Beehives too were divided on the offset or compensation system; they were seldom enough to go round the brothers. Honey was divided on a food basis, equally among old and young.

Household utensils such as spoons, milk cogs, churns, wash-tubs, pots, saucepans and all wooden and earthenware vessels were also divided equally among the brothers. After being taken out of the house they were stacked in piles, one for each brother under the direction of whoever divided the property. It was almost never possible to find an article of the same type for each brother. So an article was laid on one pile and the offset on the others. Less often, an article of which there was only one was valued and a proportionate share of its value paid by its new owner to his brothers. There was never any furniture in the sense of tables, chairs and bedsteads to divide. At most, there were reed mats and straw-stuffed cushions in the sitting-room and some wooden stools in the kitchen. The stools might be divided equally among the brothers; the other things were generally treated as part of the house and left where they were.

Certain articles in the house were not subject to division. These included the portable oven, flour-bin, tongs, shovel and kitchen-crook, which were the symbols of family life; and the mill, caddy, [illegible] and cups forming the coffee outfit, which was the symbol of guest-friendship. The former remained in the kitchen and the latter in the sitting-room, irrespective of whether these rooms had been separated or left to one brother. Above all, it was unlucky to move the kitchen-crook; it was almost as sacred as the fire on the hearth on whose continuance depended the continuance of the family. Very occasionally, however, it was allotted like the rest of the property. Other articles were considered individual property and excluded from division on that account. These included the jack-knife, gun and revolver carried by each man (at least in the not-so-distant past), the trousseaux brought by the married women or being made by the girls, and the married women's pocket-money, wedding presents, possessions and livestock, or money lent at interest. All these continued to be the sole property of their owners. Bedding too was individual property, each brother's having been brought by his wife as part of her trousseau. If the

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lots for it or asked elders to divide it. When the brothers were a degree less friendly but the eldest nevertheless divided the property, the youngest was given first choice of the portions, the next youngest the second choice and the eldest what was left. The law ran: 'the eldest divides, the youngest chooses.' It is obvious that the risk of getting an inferior portion made the eldest divide carefully. In Mirditë by exception it was the middle brother who had first choice.

Lots varied: in Lumë they were drawn in the modern method with pieces of paper; one without holes, another with one hole, the third with two holes, and so on; and by the old-fashioned with a stone, a twig and a clod of earth. In the Malësi e Madhe grains of maize, coins and weeds as well as paper were used. Shijan preferred straw and grass, and Godolesh grains of maize and haricot beans. Maize was satisfactory when there were two brothers, as one variety has white grains and the other yellow, but when there were three brothers, haricot beans, which may be white, black or mottled, were preferred. Somewhat curiously, though stones and sticks were both plentiful, they were seldom used. In Shijan, for example, the lots were drawn with elaborate care. One of the relatives present at the division was sent some distance away and told to keep his eyes closed. Each brother selected his token and handed it to another relative. The first was recalled, given the tokens, and told to place each where he chose. Each brother was expected to accept the luck which his token had brought him, but if one objected, lots were drawn a second or even a third time, fresh tokens being chosen and a different relative asked to drop them each time. The brother who got the disputed land or other property two out of three times became its owner for good. The various positions of land and livestock, the piles of farm implements and household utensils and the rooms in the house (if this was partitioned) were drawn for in the same way. In Martanesh the procedure was shorter but there was again, for greater fairness, a man between the brothers and the person who made the decisive throw. Each brother gave his token to one of the bystanders, who carried it to the elder dividing the property. In ignorance of which token belonged to whom the elder cast them on the various portions. In Zerqan there was again an intermediary. Each brother had a secret, unpaid representative who gave a stone to a third person approved by all the brothers but ignorant of who represented each.

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592 This third person threw the token stones on this portion or that.
428 In Godolesh there was no intermediary. Each brother gave his
592 token to an elder in whom they all had confidence. As they were
777 selecting their tokens, he arranged tokens of his own on the ground, naming each aloud for the various portions of the land or house. He carefully refrained from looking at the brothers' tokens and threw them blindly one after another on his own. 'Here is the sitting-room, good luck to it. Here is the kitchen, good luck to it', he said of the house. Each brother then claimed his token and accepted his portion. With a similar phrase of good omen the elder divided the land. In Lumë there might or might not be an intermediary. The elder taking delivery of the tokens might place them himself or, if afraid he would be suspected of dishonesty, he might give them to another man to do so. Well-omened phrases were used, such as 'The luck of this stone lies there and of this twig here'. In the Malësi e Madhe the elder said which portion the bits of stick each represented, then drew them, as would be done in England. Here the procedure seems influenced by the European
[72] education of the priests.

623 The commonest fee for an elder dividing property between
428 brothers was two or three napoleons, but it might be as low as one or as high as ten. Everything depended on how much the brothers quarrelled over the division, and how hard they struggled against yielding one to the other. In Perlat the elder made a distinction between rich and poor, asking a sheep from a rich family but only a kilo of coffee from a poor one. In Mirditë he had the right to a sheep and a money fee as well; the latter was as agreed. In Lumë 'it does not do to have an elder without a sheep'. Wherever, as in Godolesh, officials arranged the separation, no fees were charged.

408 Everywhere one meal at least of meat and rice pilaff must be
574 given to whoever came from outside the family to separate the brothers. If these had no flocks, they must buy meat from someone who had. The expense of these meals, which was heavy for people so poor, was shared by all the brothers, the animals being taken out of the common stock before it was divided and the money for the rice, coffee and, if necessary, meat out of the common purse before the settling up of accounts. These meals were the first charge on the family property.

All stages of the division were watched by neighbours. Before the persons negotiating the separation sat down to the final meal,

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each seeking their support. Had four refused at this stage to take the oath Asllan would at once have been publicly convicted—if less than four, two substitutes would have had to be produced for every one that refused; two for one, four for two, and six for three, and there would have been no extension of the time limit. In this case, however, all the compurgators agreed to swear to Asllan's innocence, and he himself, towards the end of the week, swore on the Koran that he had nothing to do with the theft. Later the compurgators, led by Qazim's nominees, took the oath of Asllan's innocence before the whole village. Actually, Qazim cut short the proceedings after six or seven had sworn, as by then the compurgators most likely to know the truth had sworn to the suspect's innocence.

Having celebrated his acquittal with a banquet to the compurgators, Asllan two days later yoked the stolen ox, hidden during the case in a lonely sheepfold, to his plough. Now, although the mistake—either designed or accidental—of the compurgators was obvious, there was no legal machinery for annulling the verdict. In the opinion of the village, however, Asllan received his punishment when shortly afterwards his son was born lame.[1]

Qazim in Labinot put his case into the hands of the headman of his village. In the tribal north he would have entrusted it to the elder of his brotherhood, ward or village or perhaps to the bajraktar of his tribe.

Tribal officials, being hereditary, had more authority to act for their community than had the temporary headman in non-tribal districts such as Labinot. In Milot, the most northerly village of Kurbin, the victim tackled the suspect himself, asking him first if he had committed the outrage and then if he would take oath that he had not. In view of the fieriness of Albanian tempers this information is surprising—one would expect shooting to put an abrupt end to such an interview—but it is confirmed by information from the neighbouring village of Laç. When one of its inhabitants denied having received a loan, the lender asked him directly to swear in the presence of two or three witnesses that he had never been lent the money.

Only men of military age and capacity had standing enough to

[1] A very similar system of compurgators exists among the Naga tribes of Assam. There, however, though in some tribes there is no means of modifying the verdict if an oath prove to be false, in others a compurgator who discovers that his principal is lying can 'withdraw his life', otherwise in danger from the false oath, and so reopen the case *ab initio*. (Ed.)

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soon as they were named, the presiding authorities were legally bound to ask if he thought any of them would leave him in the lurch out of jealousy or spite. If he could produce reasonable evidence that any of them would, those he mentioned had to be changed. But only up to a maximum of three where twenty-four had been prescribed, and of two where twelve or eight had been. In Zerqan, however, the suspect could not raise objections to the accuser's nominees; in compensation the replacement rules were somewhat relaxed.

Men sometimes declined nomination. Those proud of their high reputation for uprightness disdained to be mixed up in a case where the suspect was notorious for evil-doing, even if it was known that for once he was wrongfully accused. Others would not lend their weight to a petty case and consented to take the oath only in serious matters, such as murder.

In most of the tribal areas, a man whose wife was pregnant could ask to be excused. It was believed that it would be a crime for him to take the oath. If he swore falsely, through inadvertence or not, his sin would be visited on the unborn child, bringing it into the world lame or with such deformity as six fingers instead of five. Sometimes he agreed to take the oath if it were postponed until after the child was born, but more often his brother or cousin took it in his stead.

Refusals for such personal reasons as the above almost always took place as soon as the nominations were made. No difficulty was made about accepting them and before the Assembly dispersed another compurgator was named in each recusant's place. Later refusals were never prompted by anything but disbelief, real or feigned, in the suspect, and were treated differently. At the same time as the compurgators were named, the authorities informed the suspect of the precise terms of the oath which he and his compurgators must take to vindicate him, and of the time of the ceremony. It then became his duty, not only to find his own quota of compurgators, but also to inform the accuser's compurgators that they had been nominated. His own never caused much difficulty. One or more of the others might decline. A compurgator who could not believe the suspect's oath dared not repeat it himself. Possibly the suspect was likeable enough but 'an oath can't be taken out of favouritism'. Other nominees did not refuse out of hand but waited until they had made some inquiries into the case and

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some preferred to go to the mosque, as the Catholics in the north 695 went to church. But more often the Moslems, like the Catholics of 778 Kurbin, went to the suspect's house. Since no possible sanctity could attach to a private house, it seems to have been the sacred book rather than the building which gave such oaths their value. In Zdrâjshë and Zerqan, indeed, it was openly said that provided an oath was taken on the Koran, the place where it was taken did not matter. It is probable that the same view was held in Krasniqë in the north-east, where oaths were taken in either the mosque or one of the shady spots called *ulicë*. It seems possible that these groves might be sacred because growing on the sites of former churches, but the local Moslems said that there had never been churches there and that no sanctity attached to the spots.[1] When taking oath by a sacred grave, Moslems usually entered the mausoleum; for such oaths there was no Catholic parallel.

In Zerqan a suspect must never be asked to take an oath in or [777] near his own house, for if he swore falsely the house might collapse or otherwise come to grief. This fear was not acknowledged in the many other areas where such oaths were common, but it may have been implicit. If a suspect staked his own house by taking the oath in it, he would naturally try harder than ever to avoid perjury.

In mixed districts the suspect and the accuser might be of different faiths. In that event when the decision lay with the elders, the suspect's religion decided whether it was in the church or mosque, on the Gospel or the Koran, that the oath should be taken. When the decision lay with the accuser his wishes prevailed. In such districts the jury too was often mixed. They had all to take the same oath as the suspect. So Catholics had to make oath in a mosque and on the Koran if the suspect was a Moslem; and in the opposite case Moslems had to make it in a church and on the Gospel. In Vinjollë, lying some six miles north of Krujë, after it became Moslem an oath could still be taken on the Gospel as well as on the Koran. In Lurë, when it was abandoning Catholicism, a man could swear, at least in conversation, by the mosque or church, according to which came into his head first, irrespective of his own or his hearer's religion.

Moslems but not Catholics might take oath at a sacred grave. This might stand in a single mausoleum or form part of a monastery. The most important of these graves were Sulejman Pasha's at

[1] But doubtless a pagan survival of the sacred grove (*lucus*). (Ed.)

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at the lifeless corpse. When the feud was older, it was not permitted to kill and shoot again. A murderer seldom looked at the corpse, a fact which gave men quick-witted enough to feign death a chance to escape. In some places, such as Mirditë, the murderer was expected to turn the dead man in the right direction for one of his religion—with his head towards the east if Christian, whether Catholic or Orthodox, towards Mecca if Mohammedan, and to rest his rifle against his head; if unable to touch him, he had to tell the first man he met to attend to those matters. In Shpat the murderer left the cartridge-case by his victim, allegedly not to 'set his own blood free', as in Lumë, but to avoid carrying away a thing that was unlucky because stained with blood and sin. In Mat and the Malësi e Madhe, the murderer's own life being in grave danger from the avenger, it was thought 'brave' to tread in the victim's blood as a last insult.

A murderer must not rob his victim; he had killed him only to defend his honour and not to enrich himself. As was popularly said, 'low-class fellows' take a man's rifle, watch, money or clothes; 'good-class men' take only vengeance. In some places sanctions reinforced public disapproval of the robber-murderer. In Lumë he saddled himself with one and a half feuds, i.e. the need to pay for the murder with blood money as well as a life; in Mirditë, where he was expected to lay the dead man's rifle against his head, he incurred two feuds. Certain exceptions to the rule were admitted. A murderer could everywhere, except in Mirditë, take his victim's rifle to prove that he 'had really trodden in his blood', but he must afterwards send the weapon to the family. On similar terms he might take the dead man's watch also. When the murderer was a hired assassin, he commonly took a token from his victim, usually his cap, to prove to his paymaster that he had earned his money. When a man's enemy lived at a distance, he might again take his cap to prove to his own friends and neighbours that he had killed him. Robbery of the corpse by a third person was not to be feared; since everybody within range, the dead man's relatives included, rushed up at the sound of the shot, there was publicity enough to prevent such an outrage. As for the supernatural dangers thought to beset the bodies of persons dead in ordinary circumstances, it was well known that Satan feared a rifle too much to approach the body of the murdered man.

When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads

Birth, Marriage, and Death

In 1392 Bogavach Cuiavich of Rudine of his own free will releases from servitude Radaca, daughter of John of Albania, whom he had bought of Braycho Ucarich.

This seems to have been the case of an actual slave. But the lot of others, when sold for a long term of service, can have been little better than slavery unless they fell into good hands.

ALBANIA

I heard of a similar custom of thus selling children for a term of years in Malacastra in South Albania. Here poor Moslems sometimes sent their daughters as far as Constantinople; and I was told that some of the Albanian beys thus purchased servant-girls from their mothers, and at the end of the term dowered them and married them to peasants on the estate. The Italian Consul at Valona, the first time I was there, told me he had thus purchased a servant girl.

Birth.—In Albania, as in Montenegro, childbirth received but the most ignorant treatment. The death-rate of mothers and children was high.

There was great rejoicing among the mountain tribes when a boy was born and proportionate disappointment over a girl. For a son, especially a first-born, the whole family group turned out and fired rifles.

Some kind of spiritual relationship was held to exist between the child and the woman who cut the umbilical cord; but I learnt no particulars.

As in Montenegro, even in the towns there was the greatest reluctance to summon medical aid. In Scutari one day the Austrian doctor was summoned to a Moslem woman who was in the last stages of exhaustion. He found the child was already dead, and said that to save the woman's life it must be removed at once. The family refused to believe or permit this and dismissed him. Some hours later they fetched him again—but she was dead.

On the birth of a child, both in Scutari and the mountains, all the women neighbours go at once to visit the mother and take offerings of eggs. For a boy, two, four, six, or eight—an even number—are brought; for a girl, one, three, five, or seven. One egg is broken over the child's face to protect it from the Evil Eye. Presumably this makes the child unrecognizable or hideous.

Both in Albania and Montenegro, and I believe in all Balkan lands, infants are swaddled. The cradle is of wood and serves as a packing-case in which to carry the child on its mother's back. In Scutari the cradles are very gaily painted with conventional patterns of flowers and birds,

. 2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

A 754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A [163 761] Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So A [751] terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh A [853 777] air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The M same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen 754 luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but 853 the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the A child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to 755 prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air and sunlight.

A Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony 754 Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was 755 forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away. It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead. The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He A rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and [681] denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying, 'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

A In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied 754 round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special pre- 776 caution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black 777 cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors, the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Yugoslavia EF1

prevents stumbling. A man I knew galloped for his life across the long, narrow, and slippery bridge at Djakova while some six others were firing at him. Usually one would have led the horse across. But horse and rider escaped unscathed. The former wore a fine pair of boar's tusks and the latter a piece of a meteorite, a good protection against bullets. One Albanian I knew wore a piece of meteorite continually in London and was never once shot at. A 754 777 [776]

A small brass imitation of the boar's tusk amulet formed part of the headstall of the Turkish gendarmerie horse-trappings. I possess a charming little crescent formed of a pair of falcon's talons which I bought of a Maltsori woman who said it was a great "ilatch" (remedy).

As a single horn, a wolf's fang, a cock's spur, a crab's claw are all good. Of a Vlah at Prishtina I bought a dried mole's paw set in silver, especially recommended to keep a child in health. It is a miniature "Fatima Hand."

Another highly valued object in Albania was a "stone snail" (ammonite). Baron Nopcsa, when geologizing, tried to remove a big ammonite, conspicuous on a wayside rock in the mountains. The quarrying of it out was too difficult and he left it; but the stone snail was chipped in the attempt. Marko, who had great faith in stone snails, lamented this much. It was discussed in the mountains and folk agreed it was lucky it was no worse. God alone knew what might have happened had the stone snail been removed.

The cowrie is a potent defence, but is rare in North Albania, so not more than one or two per person are worn, usually round the neck or sewn to the cap—except by the women of Vraka, who always wear two, one on each side of the face, sewn to the hair-plait. The cowrie is worn by women and children, but not, so far as I have seen, by men.

Though the natural cowrie is scarce, cowrie-land being afar, a large number, if not all, of the silver circular pendants, common all through the west side of the Balkan peninsula, are clearly derived from the cowrie, as Fig. 19 shows. In the older examples the cowrie type is evident. Two wriggly lines imitate the lip of the shell and a round hole the end aperture. In modern specimens sometimes this hole is all that is left; the cowrie is forgotten. In some the shape of the cowrie is preserved, and filigree replaces the wriggly line of the shell lip. In others the circle evolves into a crescent, as the plate shows. It seems possible that the pear-shaped pendant, so common on Near-Eastern, African, and Asiatic ornaments, is, in fact, derived from the cowrie (e.g. Fig. 19, No. 4*a*).

The cock is very powerful against evil spirits, who "vanish at the crowing." A cock appears on each side of the ornamental head-band worn until recently by the Herzegovinian women round their caps. Y 776 777

Glass "turquoises" made the head-band yet more protective. Small cocks are still made as heads of pins to fasten the head-dress to the hair in the Herzegovina.

In the prehistoric graves at Glasinatz in Bosnia, tiny bronze amulets, shaped like doves, have been found. In North Albania three wooden

A 764 ● 777 301 M [301]

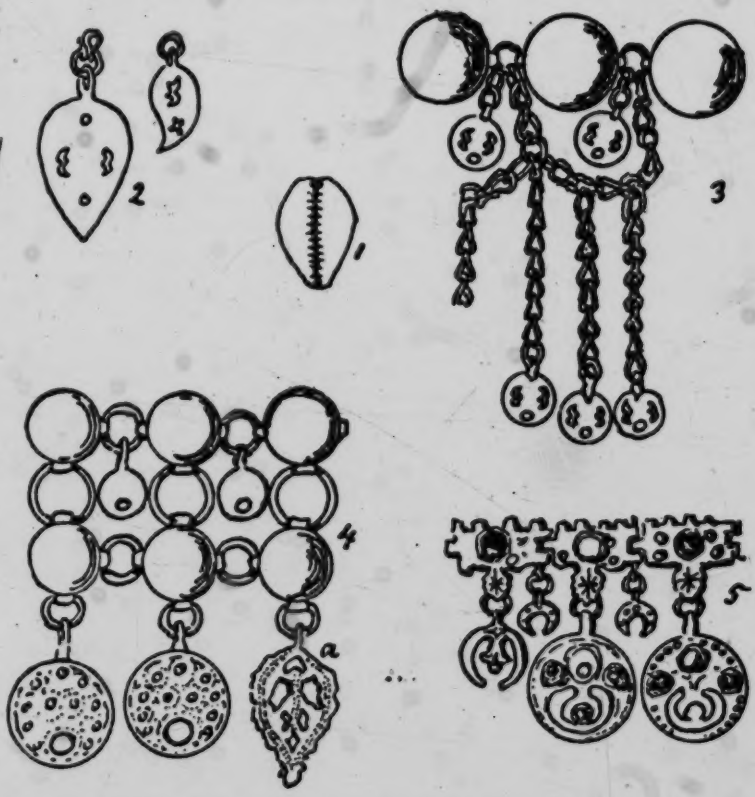

FIG. 19—SPECIMENS SHOWING EVOLUTION OF ORNAMENT FROM COWRY

1. Natural cowry. 2. Pendant common in North Albania. 3. Necklace from Kolashin, Montenegro (old specimen). 4. Breast ornament from Nikaj, North Albania (modern). 5. Old necklace, Scutari.

A [531] doves perch on many a wooden grave-cross. Especially good examples are at Boga. A dove forms part of the decorative design worked on the scarlet cloak worn by the Catholic married women of Scutari, as A 142 does also the serpent. My repeated inquiries failed to find any explanation of this dove. "It must be some old tale which we have forgotten," 171 was the reply of the embroiderers. The Glasinatz amulets from ancient

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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777 754 and catch it there, thus literally "saving your face," as did the women of Konjitza in Bosnia.

A 753 754 777 Illness being very largely ascribed to Evil Eye or magic, amulets in Albania are usually called "derman" or "ilatch," both of which words also mean remedy.

A 755 *Sympathetic Magic.*—In this the disease is supposed to act in accord with some object or other and disappears as it does.

A cure for jaundice was thus performed by a Moslem wise man on the child of a Scutari Christian. He tied some red wool round the child and some yellow wool round a red rose in the garden. He ordered the red to go out of the rose into the child, and the yellow to go out of the child into the rose. In a few days the rose wilted and yellowed and the child recovered its rosy cheeks. The efficacy of the cure was undoubted.

Marko had another he thought better, because it could be carried out at any time of year. You put a small fish in a bucket of water. The patient had to stare at it as it swam round and round. If he stared at it long and steadily enough, the disease went out of the patient into the fish, which died.

A [722 164] In 1912–13, owing to the Albanian Revolution and the Balkan wars, large numbers of the mountain tribesmen who pasture their beasts on the Bojana plains in winter were unable to return to the mountains, and were blocked in the malaria swamps all the summer, with terrible consequences. Almost all were struck down with a virulent form of the disease. I went through the worst districts with a load of quinine, and found the people trying to cure their greatly enlarged spleens by slowly roasting the spleen of a sheep at a fire, and muttering spells which ordered their own spleens to diminish as that of the sheep shrivelled at the fire.

A 164 776 753 A [755] Epilepsy was not uncommon in the mountains. It was looked upon as a possession by evil spirits. I once saw a woman fall down suddenly in a fit. Some men at once rushed up and, telling me to get out of the way, fired their revolvers alongside of her head. This was to scare away the evil spirit. As she soon recovered, they believed they had done so. I once saved a woman under similar circumstances from being flogged. Luckily she recovered quickly. But it is not so very long ago that lunatics were flogged in England.

A 777 755 Marko knew of a certain cure for epilepsy, but difficult to obtain. If you see a snake swallowing a frog, you must throw a black handkerchief over it. This scares the snake and it disgorges the frog. Keep the handkerchief, and when someone falls in a fit, throw it over him. He will then disgorge the disease as the snake did the frog. We kept a careful look-out, on our travels, for a snake eating a frog, but we never found one.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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Bulgaria EE1
Serbs EF6

M 755 231 brothers and not yet have begotten a calf. Two youths were also chosen, also brothers who had not yet begotten a child. The oxen were yoked to ploughs. The ploughs were started from opposite sides of the field. When one plough reached the spot whence the other had started and a complete furrow surrounded the herd of beasts, the assembled peasants fired their guns over the herd and each drove his own home. The ceremony was called "oborivanje" (ploughing round).

M 777 842 Under magic, too, one may class various beliefs about pregnancy. A pregnant woman must not see a snake or the child will be marked like one. She must not see or hear a sheep being slaughtered or the child will snore; must not eat the meat of a cow in calf, or a lump will grow under the child's neck.

A pregnant woman can learn what will be the sex of her child by throwing a piece of dried fish-roe into the fire. If it goes off "pop, pop," there will be a boy; if it fizzles out miserably, a girl.

Should she crave for anything during pregnancy she must beware of touching herself with her hand, for should she crave wine and touch her face, the child will be marked on this spot with a red stain; or milk, and it will be marked with white. Patches of white hair are said to be thus produced. If she craves pig meat, the child will grow bristles on the spot touched. These are all attempts to explain personal peculiarities, and similar beliefs prevail still even in England.

If anyone jumps over a child in a cradle, the child will be stunted. The cradle must be jealously watched. This is reason rather than magic, for if the cradle be kicked over by a careless jumper, injury to the spine might well result. The belief that the jump causes the evil is a protective belief for the child.

It is not easy to say where magic ends and medicine begins. Those who sought the help of a European doctor took care to supplement his treatment with amulets and charms—just as English patients will go on taking someone's patent mixture, warranted to cure everything, and follow a doctor's prescription at the same time.

Bul 777 755 When looking after wounded Bulgars at Ochrida in 1904 I noticed that a wounded child wore round his neck an antique Greek silver coin—a rather fine specimen. I asked the child's mother to sell it to me. She said she must ask leave. When she next appeared she had asked consent of the grandmother, and it was not to be sold. As a great favour it had been lent for this child to wear. It had been many generations in the family and had cured countless persons. As a matter of curiosity I asked what price it was valued at, and received the reply, "Not all the gold in the world could buy it"—which settled the matter.

A S BP All through the Balkans great value is set on written amulets. The 777 Moslems write sentences from the Koran, the Christians from the

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Serbs EF6

Gospels. In Serbian these are called "Zapis." They are enclosed in silver cases called by the Turkish word "hamaljija" both by Serbs and Albanians; or they are sewn up in leather. Such leather cases are usually triangular. Most of the Catholic women of Zadrima, Albania, wore two brass crucifixes on a chain and a leathern triangular amulet case. Such cases are often fixed to the horns of oxen. When a Christian finds a Christian "writing" has done no good, he will go on the sly to beg one from a Moslem, and vice versa.

A S BP 777

A S BP 777 793 751

Priests, both Orthodox and Catholic, write an immense number of amulets, fold the paper neatly in a triangle, thread it on a string, and direct that it shall be tied over the spot where the pain is felt; and peasants will tramp many miles in search of this help. At Ochrida, where I had to examine the patients before the doctor saw them, I came across an up-to-date development of this treatment. A child was brought with his neck thickly swathed. When the wrappings were off, his neck was an alarming dull purple, as though horribly contused. The amulet had been written in copying ink and had come off on his skin! The mother fondly hoped its magic had soaked in.

A M 755

In both Albania and Montenegro I have seen Moslems flock to a church or a well-known Christian shrine in search of a cure. At the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity, on the festival day at Plevlje, I saw two Turkish gendarmes bring in a lunatic with his arms tied behind him and lay him in front of the altar during service in order that he might be cured.

M 776 778 755

Several thousand peasants, Orthodox, Catholic, and Moslem, used to crowd on Trinity Sunday to the shrine of St. Vasil of Ostrog in Montenegro—a purely Montenegrin saint. The shrine of another local saint at the Piperski monastery is also in great repute. The best way to obtain a cure is to pass the night lying on the ground, with the head beneath the coffin, holding the relics. For this privilege a high fee was asked. At Ostrog I was told that a Moslem stricken with paralysis had been brought from Mostar on a mule, and had paid twenty-five napoleons to pass the night thus. Next day he was well and returned home happy. But he was an unbelieving Moslem, and soon declared he did not believe the saint had cured him: he had got well of himself. Next morning he awoke again paralysed, and the twenty-five napoleons were under his pillow. The saint withdrew the cure and returned the fee.

A 777 784

An amulet with a good writing on it works good; but evil writing can in the same way work evil.

A 588

While I was in Scutari a Turkish officer fell in love with a Catholic girl. He acted honourably and asked her hand of her parents. To their horror the girl not only wished to marry him, but she went to the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

A 777 772 [776] was told there is a magic cave which contains an ancient city. No living being is in it, but the bazaar is full of every fine fruit, flesh, and garment. Few have reached it, for it is guarded by the "ore." One man wandered in, and was untouched till he tried to pick up something in the bazaar. Fiery serpents darted at him, his torch went out, and with great difficulty he reached the entrance, where he was found unconscious. Poisonous gases are, no doubt, the explanation. No one would undertake to guide me to the place.

3. Witches and Magic in Montenegro

M 754 Witches in Montenegro and all Serb-speaking lands are called "vjeshtitza." I was assured that they used to exist but did not now; but in fact they were still believed in. Here as in Albania it was believed that a witch could enter a house in the form of an insect and suck blood. Iké always hastened to kill a moth which entered the hut, and remarked that they did no good; and I have heard "Perhaps it is a vjeshtitza" murmured. Witches could sail upon water in the shell of an egg eaten on the 1st of March. Iké always smashed all egg-shells at once, saying it was best to do so, but gave no reason. Many people in England habitually smash their egg-shells—a custom probably handed down from days when a similar belief existed.

M [681] Witches, I was told, were stoned to death in old days if they were known to have killed anyone. As in many other lands, the test for a witch was to bind her and throw her into water. If she floated, she was a witch. This had happened, I was told, within the recollection of still-living persons. Medakovitch, writing of the eighteen-fifties, says that a blood-feud was caused by a fight, in which four men were killed, which arose over an attempt to duck a woman of the Raitchevitches.

M [593 843] While I was in Montenegro it was still the duty of the bride's brothers to guard her till the svatovi fetched her, lest some evil person should tie a knot in the fringes of her "strukka" (straight shawl, worn like a plaid)—for, if so, she would miscarry or bear a deformed child. Many knots would make delivery impossible.

M 791 I never heard a witch openly referred to, but there was talk of mysterious women "who knew many things." These supplied drugs and charms to ease labour and cause the childless to bear.

M 789 But I did not learn how these spells were made. In Serbia are still rites carried out which necessitate that the witch shall stand stark-naked under a tree at night. This suggests the holy trees and groves of old Slavonic beliefs.

M 278 789 A favourite medium for making magic ointment, I was told, is wax

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

to my faithful Albanian horseboy, Shan, who had lived all his life in Montenegro. The horse was turned out to graze at night. Next morning, before mounting, I began to comb out its tangled mane with my fingers. Shan anxiously begged me not to. The vilas, he said, had been making love to it all night because it was a beauty. It had been covered with sweat. If I untied the knots the vilas had made we should have an accident. Shan, being an Albanian, probably meant the "ore" when he said "vila." I heard of no other case of a vila acting thus. But the ore are notorious for such conduct.

A M 777 773 887 *Hidden Treasure.*—As in Albania, so all through Montenegro and the Herzegovina, and probably in other Balkan lands, it is believed that mighty treasures lie hidden. The treasure of the Royal Nemanjas has yet to be found, and that of Voyvoda Momchilo at Pirlitor.

Opinions differ as to the best means of treasure-hunting. The most certain thing is when the site of the treasure is revealed in a dream; you are then sure to find it. If a steer that is perfectly black stands still on a spot, bellows, and butts his horns into the ground, there is almost surely treasure beneath. But there must not be a single white hair on the steer. If when the third cock crows in the morning a number are seen gathered together holding council, there is surely treasure beneath the spot.

Vuk Vrchevitch gives a good account of treasure-seeking in the Herzegovina. A certain man dreamed of hidden treasure. Early before the sun rose he went with some of his brethren in search of it, and took with him a black cock and a black wether. Arrived at the spot, he killed the wether and made a circle of blood round the site. They began to dig, and after a while reached a slab of stone. On this the black cock was sacrificed. They were now so near success that one of the brethren cried aloud: "God help us now and for ever." But God's name must not be invoked in aid of magic. When they raised the slab they found, indeed, a stone box—but the treasure had been turned to ashes.

Some poisoned water should be carried when treasure-hunting to kill the serpent which often guards it.

If a black stallion is led to the spot where treasure is suspected to lie and refuses to walk over it, it shows treasure is, or was, there. The foundation for these tales is the large number of Roman and prehistoric graves that have been opened. The ashes and fragments of iron and bronze found in them were ascribed to the fact that a wrong spell had been used and the treasure transmuted to something valueless —in the eyes of the searchers.

A 777 787 *A Magic Plant.*—In Albania I was told there grows a most valuable plant. Any stone or iron touched by a leaf of it at once falls to pieces. To persons thievishly inclined it is extremely useful. The difficulty is

A 292 171 male jealousy is quite insufficient; for, in fact, the veiled Moslem woman can "carry on" incognito with far more ease than can her unveiled and recognizable Christian sister. Nor, at any rate, in the A [186] lands we are considering, is the Christian husband a whit less jealous than the Moslem. All Christian Scutari was once in a hubbub over the scandalous and shocking conduct of the Austrian doctor and Italian Consul-General. These two gentlemen had publicly exchanged wives on the Consular lawn-tennis court, and these shameless women had each played against her own husband.

Y A 292 I was seriously consulted and failed to convince the disgusted Scutarenes that the proceeding was harmless. How could you tell where it would end?

562 561 When I first went to Scutari, in 1901, all the Catholic married women wore a long lace veil pinned across the lower part of the face and draped over the head. Unmarried Catholic girls still, I believe, shroud their heads entirely in a thick cotton wrapper, leaving only a peep-hole.

Most of the Orthodox peasants of Macedonia, both Bulgar and Greek, wore a large handkerchief folded into a triangle over their heads and arranged the two long corners across the mouth and tucked them in securely on either side. The mouth was very often thus covered, Y too, by Montenegrin maidens; and by Christian women in Bosnia.

A [12] Sir James George Frazer states, giving many examples, that the covering of the mouth is connected with the belief that the soul may escape by it or evil spirits enter by it, and that complete veiling is probably a protection also from the Evil Eye.

That the mouth is the important spot is shown by the Moslem girls of Bosnia, who, when caught unveiled at a well, or on the hill-side with A their flocks, will sometimes seize a handkerchief hastily between their Y teeth and then seem to think themselves sufficiently protected.

M Now evil eyes and bad spirits swarm in the Balkans; and the 754 soul always escapes by the nose or mouth. "My soul was in my nose 776 all the time!" cries the Montenegrin when telling of an escape from 774 danger.

A "That brought your soul into your nose!" said the horse-boy when V my horse nearly came down with me. The tying of a handkerchief M over the holes through which it might escape is a very reasonable 777 precaution.

292 Women who do not protect themselves with a veil, deck themselves and their children with a mass of beads and dingle-dangles. These things are to act as it were as lightning-conductors to attract the glance of the Evil Eye and save their persons from it. The veiled and A 585 hooded woman wears no ornament outside her outdoor garment.

777 The bride, both Catholic and Moslem, is veiled from head to foot.

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Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

The Catholic thus goes safely to church and there the veil is raised. Evil spirits are powerless there; and as we have seen, when she leaves the sacred building she is carefully veiled and conveyed safely to her future home. Food and drink are given her by her attendants behind the veil; all possible precautions are taken, in fact, to prevent her soul escaping and harmful glances falling on her.

In early days in Montenegro the brides were so closely veiled when fetched from home by the svatovi that in the Martinovitch family, of Baitza near Cetinje, there is a tradition of a bride being accidentally exchanged for the bride of another wedding-party.

Two parties of svatovi started from Baitza to fetch brides from afar, and had to pass the night on the mountain-side. They met at the same wayside spring and encamped. The two girls begged to be allowed to sleep together. Next morning each party rode off with the wrong girl. The weddings were celebrated at once on arrival, and as no one had previously seen the girls and they, as was customary, knew nothing about their future bridegrooms, the mistake was not detected till a week after, when the girls' relatives came to pay the first visit to them. They were then infuriated to find that the carefully planned alliances had gone wrong and they had not acquired the "in-laws" they had intended. The respective bridegrooms expressed themselves quite satisfied. Not so the parents of brides. A violent quarrel took place. Blows were exchanged and a blood-feud was imminent. The annulment of the weddings was demanded, and peace was only restored by the metropolitan, who declared the marriages legal and the whole complication evidently the will of God, Who must be obeyed.

All Balkan people, so far as my experience goes, sleep with the head covered, no matter how hot it may be.

I remember a suffocating night in a wretched cottage at Bratonozhitch, Montenegro. I lay on a bench on one side of the hut, and the floor was covered by some sixteen persons of both sexes. So hot was it that the men stripped their shirts and slept in their breeches; but all buried their heads under thick, felt-like blankets.

Often have I been awakened from a much-needed midday sleep under a tree by a choking, horrible smell, and have found that some kindly creature while I slept had covered my head with a filthy towel or coat. Poor old Marko perpetually told me it was most unhealthy to sleep with an uncovered head. By way of warning he told me the horrible end of a neighbour of ours. He not only left his head uncovered, but he slept near an open window. The wind blew into his head and went round and round inside it, and the unhappy man, driven distracted, hanged himself in the vineyard.

A possible further reason for shrouding the head is the strange

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Montenegrins EF5
Turkey MB1
Serbs EF6

A 784 the body was laid in it, in order to prevent any devil lurking there to seize the dead.

I remember waiting by the tiny grave dug for a child at Thethi Shala in the graveyard. Someone tripped over the long protruding handle of the shovel and dislodged it. The old gravedigger dashed forward and replaced it at once, and drew it out only as the little corpse was lowered. The Franciscan, an Albanian, who stood by the graveside, acquiesced. "It is the custom," he said when questioned. Possibly, like the rest of us, he could not keep demons at bay unaided.

M A 776 777 778 Iron keeps off all spirits, good and bad, it appears; for no knife must touch the fowl's breast-bone or sheep's blade-bone in which the Albanian and Montenegrin soothsayers read the future. No one can tell you why; but everyone knows it would be the height of folly to try to read a bone that has been cleaned with a knife—it would not tell the truth.

A 726 Colonel Aubrey Herbert, that friend of the Turks and Albanians, whose untimely death has left an unfillable gap, gave me a curious instance of the belief in the magic of iron. During the Balkan war of 1913 the Turkish general, Djavid Pasha, retreated with what was left of his army into South Albania, where "he occupied the house of a friend of mine. The tide of war was running fiercely against the Turks and the general wanted to consult the spirits. The family carpenter was ordered to make a three-legged table without any nails in it—T 778 775 'for the spirits hate metal,' said Djavid. The young Turks invoked the spirit of Nazim Pasha, who had been shot by Enver and his friends. . . . When no answer came, the absent ghost of Nazim was cursed for refusing to give information."

Even the absence of iron could not induce the spirit of the murdered man to advise his murderers.

6. Hair. Some Beliefs and Customs connected with it

A 121 In many lands much mystery surrounds hair, that strange substance that grows continually from youth to age; which is part of the person, but can be cut off without pain and is, therefore, the most convenient substitute or symbol for the whole person.

S 754 By means of hair spells can be wrought even in an electric-lighted European capital. Draga Mashin, the mistress of the luckless young King Alexander Obrenovitch, forced him to marry her and make her queen by clipping some of her hair in little bits and mixing it with appropriate spells in his food. Having thus eaten a portion of her, he was hopelessly in her power. At least, so we were assured by one of

11:Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Croats EF4

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from madder; reddish brown from green walnuts (*Juglans regia*) and blue from copper sulphate.

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Metallic decorations are also worn, and are almost always hand made by the men; large ornaments and belt clasps of silver or silvered brass are worn at the waist, silver coins and imitation coins are worn as a trimming to caps, and as necklaces and pendants to girdles. Ear-rings are also worn by some Slav peasants, especially Moslems. "The little ornament made of a small brass thimble and coloured beads was worn as a dangle at the end of the long pigtail. The pair of long plaits on either side of the face of the Bosnian woman in the frontispiece are ornamented with coins, tassels of beads and this thimble."

"Many of the objects worn on head-dresses are amulets to keep off the "evil eye" and include also such things as cowries and, in Bosnia, small mirrors." (M.E.D.).

CHAPTER III.

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Women's Costume in the Central and Coastal Areas of Yugoslavia.

The main features of the costume worn (by all but the Moslem women) in the central and coastal areas of Yugoslavia are shown by the illustration of the Orthodox Bosnian woman (see Frontispiece).

In this area three cultures have influenced costume and its decoration, Central European culture which has travelled along the river valleys from the north, Mediterranean culture through Italian influence on the Dalmatian coast, and Balkan culture with its own Oriental tendencies. The married woman's costume consists of a long or medium length *shirt*, embroidered at the neck, front-opening and on the sleeves. The shorter type is similar in style to that shown on Plate IA, and the longer to that on Plate IXA, but without the embroidery at the bottom edge. A full, fairly long *skirt* of woollen or felted cloth is worn in the winter, and in summer may be exchanged for a linen skirt, sometimes closely pleated, with wide horizontal bands of cross-stitch or embroidery. A *girdle* of either folded linen with embroidery, or a tablet-woven belt such as is shown (Plate IVe) with its end hanging down in front, is worn around the waist and helps to keep up the heavy *apron* of tapestry weaving with its deep fringe (Plate III). A *short coat* of woollen cloth with embroidered decoration, often sleeveless, is added for outdoor wear, and in winter a longer coat with side gores replaces it. This is also often sleeveless.

In the coastal area and some other parts of old Bosnia and Herzegovina a *jelek*, or zouave, is worn, similar in shape but differing in colour from those in Plates X and XI, which are from the southern area.

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Married women in many districts of Bosnia wear their hair in two plaits hanging down over either shoulder in front, and as a *head-dress* have a diagonally folded kerchief, generally cream or white in colour, with the back corner embroidered and a red ribbon along the edge. In the coastal district a fringe is also added to the head-dress (Plate IVa).

On the feet thick *woollen stockings* ("sharapa") are worn, and over these, handsomely decorated short socks, which act as slippers in the house and are replaced by leather "opanke" for out-of-doors (Figure 9).

[Text continues on p. 14]

ALBANIA YESTERDAY AND TODAY

000cessible on account of snow during the winter months.

• 778 Much festivity pervades in this part of the country in the summer months, for tradition has it that on the summit of Tomori is the grave of Iman Abbas Ali to which many natives make pilgrimages every August from 346 the 19th to 28th. For this purpose, a monastery has been built 1,900 feet below the summit by the Bektashi Dervishes, where the pilgrims and visitors may lodge in comfort before the strenuous climb to the topmost 776 point; and it is another native belief that that top is the seat of the ancient sky-god, related to the Zeus of Dodona and Homer's Olympia, and only certain, privileged mortals may reach his abode, others being warned away by 773 nose bleedings and sickness. Also, there is said to be an inaccessible tree bearing golden apples growing on the summit. The peasants 778 often take oath by "Father Tomori," which mountain they regard with superstitious awe. Tourists to Albania often hear this mountain referred to as "The Olympia of Albania."

771 It is the district of Shpat at the base of 551 Mount Bokanik just to the east of this richly historical center that was in constant dispute

AN INTIMATE GLIMPSE INTO ALBANIA

It is also to be noted, with interest to the 172
archaeologist, that there have been many traces found in the neighborhood of ancient Roman baths, but the secret of their architecture has been lost during the Turkish occupation, if not before.

Further into the north and central part of 176
the country is to be found the old Monastery of St. John Vladimir, the most important Orthodox monastery in Albania. Here abounds the richest folklore and tradition of the natives of Central Albania. St. John Vladimir is quite unknown to the rest of the Orthodox world, but great faith is placed in him by thousands of the people in that part of the country. History has it that John Vladimir was a Serbian prince, murdered in 1016 on the Island of Presba in Macedonia, by his brother-in-law, John Vladislav, the last of the mediaeval Bulgar Tsars of Ochrida. His body, buried in the Church of Our Lady at his birth place, soon became the object of a pious religious cult; and due to the gentleness of his personality, the horrible method of his death, and the strange lights said to be seen on his grave, the followers of his day proclaimed him [178]
a saint, and his last resting place became renowned for its miraculous powers.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 AlbaniaEG1

leries and the long proportions of the build- 346
ings, and the rich-hued tiles of the roof combined to make a unique harmony of color design. However, these cells have been uninhabited for some time, as the Orthodox monks have almost died out in Albania, and the monastery is now under the jurisdiction of a priest; but in due respect to their former occupants the wives of the priests do not go beyond the threshold of this old monument sacred to the memory of the devout ones who dwelt therein. To-day most of the cells are tenanted by the servants and aged dependents of the monastery, also, a modern comfortable guest-house is maintained for the use of visitors.

The remains of the saint are placed in the 779
chapel, where the faithful peasants, on the days of pilgrimage and exposition in early September, make wild efforts to get close enough to place a handkerchief or scarf on the coffin and to preserve these in case of illness, at which time, if worn, are believed to possess healing powers, especially against malaria and other fevers.

Returning to the highroad one soon arrives 342
at Bradshesh, where the peculiarity in the

Alessio

361 ANOTHER city wealthy with memories of the past is Alessio (Lesh), the ancient Lissos, situated southward from Scutari on the left bank of the Drin River. This city still lives in the shadows of its ancient glory; the great ruins of her ancient [344] Acropolis and the strong, old Citadel sur- [344] round the present-day St. Nicholas Church which is built on the same spot where the St. Nicholas Cathedral stood, which was Scan- [778] derbeg's burial place in 1468. Sometime after Scanderbeg had been laid to rest here, the Turks, entering Alessio, made his tomb a place of veneration.

It was to this town that the chieftains of central Albania invited Scanderbeg to come when they offered him their allegiance. This great warrior had many faithful followers among the families of Alessio, and upon one of his visits, twenty-five years after he first went to Alessio to become their ruler, Scanderbeg died here.

Alessio (Lesh in the Albanian language)

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

not been unfrequent even in the present century, and 797
the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders 175
to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian
agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, [167]
makes it probable that in course of time the country
may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians 771
have among the Turks the reputation of being but 184
indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same
opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of
the Albanians who call themselves members of the
Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem [582]
women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the [869]
faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ;
Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian
saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints [755]
for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while [778]
Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-
beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which
both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The [779]
Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast
adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of
the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some
Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of 796
Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary 771
of the departure of her image from the Latin church
in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief
of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years 173

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 leave of him, he returns the earrings. It is considered
484 a bad omen for the journey if the traveller should for any reason turn or look back. If he have left anything behind, he sends another to fetch it; and should a friend or stranger call to him from behind, he will not turn back to meet him, but remain standing where he is until the other comes up, a practice which foreigners, not understanding the reason for it, have
[777] put down to discourtesy. If on the road the traveller meets a fox, or a flock of sheep, he considers it a good augury; a flock of goats, however, or a hare crossing the road, is held to signify ill luck.

778 Travellers in Upper Albania may frequently see
775 stones placed in the forks or hollows of roadside trees.
484 According to M. Hecquard,[1] this practice originates in the belief that the stones serve as resting-places for the feet of those unhappy beings for whom the rites of sepulture have not been properly performed, and who, while wandering in mid-air, can alight upon them as on the solid earth. To place a stone on a tree is also said in some mysterious way to diminish the fatigue of the pedestrian, and help him on his journey.

787 Omens and auguries, too, both good and evil, are drawn from all the trifling occurrences of every-day life, as well as from the observation of the phenomena of Nature, besides being sought for in the bones and entrails of slaughtered sheep and in the flight of birds. Among the omens read in the actions of the domestic animals are the following. When introducing a newly purchased cow into the farmyard, some object, made of iron or silver, is placed across the gateway

[1] *La Haute Albanie.*

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

694 time limit. The request was always granted. But a second could not be made by the same compurgator. If the final day slipped by unnoticed, as sometimes happened when it was distant, an extension was generally arranged by mutual agreement.

In Catholic areas the incidence of Lent might delay matters, as Catholics did not take oaths during holy seasons.

In most districts it was the elders who said where the oath was to be taken, but in Kurbin and Lumë it was the accuser. A spiteful accuser of north Lumë, for instance, could send a suspect, with all his compurgators, to take the oath in south Dibër, a four days' journey there and back, with all expenses falling on the suspect. It was probably to prevent such displays of malice that the choice of place generally rested with the elders.

695 There was often a close connexion between the place at which,
778 and the sacred object on which, the oath had to be taken. The chief sacred objects on which Catholics were called to swear were the Gospel, the crucifix and the local church or its altar. Among Moslems, there were the Koran, the local mosque and a saint's grave. The Gospel in the one case and the Koran in the other was usually chosen. Dibër, a purely Sunni Moslem district, and somewhat fanatical, claimed to take the oath only on the Koran.

North Albanians went to church to swear on the Gospel or crucifix, but to their scandal the Catholics of Kurbin, Mirditë and Lurë had these sacred emblems carried to the suspect's house. Indeed, in Kurbin and Lurë an oath was never taken on the Gospel except outside the precincts of the church; the same was presumably true in Mirditë. No reason for the taboo is known; perhaps the combined sanctity of Gospel and church was thought to involve too much risk. When swearing on an altar, the oath-takers had naturally to enter the church, but when swearing on the church itself they remained outside, touching only a stone in the south door, possibly the threshold, perhaps a door-jamb. Sometimes they repeated the prescribed oath in the neighbourhood of the church. Oaths were most commonly taken on the church in cases of petty theft; graver cases demanded an oath on the Gospel or crucifix.

Moslem procedure was in general so similar to Catholic that it seems to have been inherited from the days when all the area under study was Catholic. To swear on a mosque, as the Moslems of Çermenikë sometimes did, it was enough to touch its door-jamb or threshold, precisely in the Catholic manner. To swear on the Koran,

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

some preferred to go to the mosque, as the Catholics in the north 695 went to church. But more often the Moslems, like the Catholics of 778 Kurbin, went to the suspect's house. Since no possible sanctity could attach to a private house, it seems to have been the sacred book rather than the building which gave such oaths their value. In Zdrâjshë and Zerqan, indeed, it was openly said that provided an oath was taken on the Koran, the place where it was taken did not matter. It is probable that the same view was held in Krasniqë in the north-east, where oaths were taken in either the mosque or one of the shady spots called *ulicë*. It seems possible that these groves might be sacred because growing on the sites of former churches, but the local Moslems said that there had never been churches there and that no sanctity attached to the spots.[1] When taking oath by a sacred grave, Moslems usually entered the mausoleum; for such oaths there was no Catholic parallel.

In Zerqan a suspect must never be asked to take an oath in or [777] near his own house, for if he swore falsely the house might collapse or otherwise come to grief. This fear was not acknowledged in the many other areas where such oaths were common, but it may have been implicit. If a suspect staked his own house by taking the oath in it, he would naturally try harder than ever to avoid perjury.

In mixed districts the suspect and the accuser might be of different faiths. In that event when the decision lay with the elders, the suspect's religion decided whether it was in the church or mosque, on the Gospel or the Koran, that the oath should be taken. When the decision lay with the accuser his wishes prevailed. In such districts the jury too was often mixed. They had all to take the same oath as the suspect. So Catholics had to make oath in a mosque and on the Koran if the suspect was a Moslem; and in the opposite case Moslems had to make it in a church and on the Gospel. In Vinjollë, lying some six miles north of Krujë, after it became Moslem an oath could still be taken on the Gospel as well as on the Koran. In Lurë, when it was abandoning Catholicism, a man could swear, at least in conversation, by the mosque or church, according to which came into his head first, irrespective of his own or his hearer's religion.

Moslems but not Catholics might take oath at a sacred grave. This might stand in a single mausoleum or form part of a monastery. The most important of these graves were Sulejman Pasha's at

[1] But doubtless a pagan survival of the sacred grove (*lucus*). (Ed.)

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

695 Tirana, Sheikh Hasan's at Nangë in Lumë, Sheikh Ibrahim's at
778 Surroj across the river Drin from Nangë, Sheikh Fejza's at Bulqizë, Balim Sulltan's at Martanesh, and those of two abbots at Krujë. Sulejman Pasha and Sheikh Ibrahim lie in an isolated mausoleum, [795] Balim Sulltan in a cave, and the others in monasteries. These saints belonged to different sects; Sulejman Pasha, the soldier who founded Tirana in the seventeenth century, was a Sunni; Sheikh Hasan, founder of the monastery at Nangë, and his brother, Sheikh Ibrahim of Surroj, were Khalvetis; Balim Sulltan of Martanesh and the two abbots of Krujë were Bektashis; and Sheikh Fejza, founder of the monastery at Bulqizë, a dissident Bektashi. Sometimes it did not matter to what sect the buried saint belonged. Sheikh Hasan of Nangë was so renowned that the local population, even if not Khalvetis, took their oaths on his grave and never in the mosque, and Catholic as well as Moslem oath-takers came in serious cases to his grave from Shkodër, four days away. Sulejman Pasha's grave drew oath-takers from as far away as Martanesh; these had long since forgotten his history, and, though ardent Bektashis, did not care that he was a Sunni. Sunni Albanians are not so liberal however; taught to abhor the Bektashis as unorthodox Moslems, they left the graves of Balim Sulltan of Martanesh and the two abbots of Krujë to Bektashi oath-takers. Sheikh Fejza, abhorred by Sunnis as almost a Bektashi and by Bektashis as a backslider from their faith, commanded allegiance only among his own followers in Bulqizë. Oaths used to be taken in three mausolea in the Bektashi monastery at Krujë, but by 1930 the abbot refused to open one for such a purpose. Once, as an oath was being taken in this mausoleum, both disputants fell dead; there had been roguery on both sides as the buried saint was quick to detect. Ever afterwards the abbots restricted oath-takers to the two mausolea in which the saints seemed slower to wrath.

695 Among invocations of the Deity used in oaths, the following are
782 recorded: 'By the Lord' (Perlat and Shkrel); 'By this Lord Who gave me life' (Perlat); 'By this Lord Who is in Heaven' (Shalë); 'By Our Lady' (Shkrel); and 'By the Blood of Christ' (Shalë). In all these the influence of the Church is evident, but there are hints in the Albanian originals that some are older than the Church.

The Deity was invoked by Moslems as follows: 'By that Lord' (Godolesh); 'By God' (Dibër); 'By God, with God, from God'[1]

[1] *Vallahi, billahi, tallahi.*

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695 even became saints at their death, but an oath 'by the priest' or
698 'by that hoxha' was never taken; it would have been regarded as
793 sacrilege.

695 A most interesting oath was taken by both the Orthodox and the
792 Moslems of Berat town and district. Its commonest forms were
[776] 'By Him of Tomorr' and 'By the Holy One of Tomorr'. The deity that dwelt in pagan days on the summit of Tomorr, the lofty, beautiful mountain that dominates the town of Berat, is still a living force in the district. He was, indeed, so dreaded that even in conversation he could not be named, but only darkly alluded to. 'By that mountain top' is no less solemn an oath than the more definite pair already given. No man had been known to swear any of them falsely.

[821] By what was perhaps a survival of early nature worship, oath-takers sometimes invoked natural objects as in the oaths, 'By this bright light which is dawning', 'By this evening which is coming', 'By this night we have to-night'. These were all given by Catholics in Perlat. The first two were used for oaths taken in the morning and the third for those taken in the evening. Moslems in Godolesh and Labinot sometimes swore 'By this sun' and 'By this earth'. The latter was a very solemn oath, earth being weighty for two reasons: man was made of it and it lies heavy on a dead man who committed sins such as perjury during his lifetime. Apparently oaths were not taken 'by this fire' or 'by this moon'; perhaps both fire and moon lack the inevitability and stability that fitted dawn and darkness, the sun and the earth, for worship by primitive Albanians.

695 Among oaths by sacred buildings were such as 'By this church'
782 among Catholics and 'By this mosque' among Moslems. They were
778 chiefly employed conversationally, and meant little more than our own expression 'on my honour'. Indeed, a man of Lurë used them indifferently, irrespective of whether he or his hearer were Catholic or Moslem. But when a Moslem of Martanesh swore 'by this holy place' as he stood in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum, his oath was very solemn. So, too, were the oaths in Bulqizë 'by that shrine', the domed tomb of Sheikh Fejza; in Tirana by the grave of Sulejman Pasha, the seventeenth-century founder of the town; in Krujë by the tombs of two Bektashi abbots; in Nangë, Lumë, by the tomb of the Khalveti saint, Sheikh Hasan; and in Surroj, by the grave of Sheikh Hasan's brother, Sheikh Ibrahim. In the last case the formula was rather unusual; standing in the mausoleum (*teqe*) the

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oath-taker began by saying 'May Sheikh Ibrahim cut short my life'. In the other cases he used some vague formula such as 'By this holy place' or 'By this shrine'.

Oaths by smaller sacred objects were all very similar. The formula used in swearing on an altar was in Shalë 'By this altar'; on a church door in the Malësi e Madhe and Kurbin, 'By these things of the Lord'; on a crucifix or gospel in Mirditë, 'By this holy thing of God'; in Kurbin 'By this thing of God'. The more fanatical of the Moslems preferred to swear on the Koran under a Turkish, or rather Arabic, name. Thus 'By this holy book' was liked in Lumë, and 'By this sacred book' everywhere. Others, as in Vinjollë and Zerqan, swore 'By this thing of God', or if in Godolesh, 'By the holy thing of this our God'. The last oath is very close to the oath of Catholic Mirditë on the Gospel, and there is little doubt that this Moslem oath was once Catholic or Orthodox. Indeed, it may have been pagan. The vagueness of their phraseology made the transference from one religion to another easy. A similar vagueness characterizes most of the oaths in this paragraph. Its origin lay in the simple Albanian's idea of respect for a sacred object; he thought that naming a person or thing detracted from the majesty of that person or thing. Besides preserving the efficacy of ancient oaths through later changes of religion, this vagueness also reduced any repugnance which a Catholic or Moslem in a mixed jury might feel at being asked to swear on the holy book of the other's religion. It has even led Catholics of Lurë, when Islam was fast displacing Catholicism, to anticipate the future conversion by swearing the essentially Moslem oath 'By this *hajmali* (sacred book)' on the Christian Gospel.

A curious and most solemn oath among Catholics was 'by the stone'. This was not any ordinary stone that the oath-taker might pick up regardless of his religion, but was a special one found only among Catholics. Triangular in shape, it had a hole in each of its three corners for attaching the balance in which persons minded to offer votive candles to church weighed the wax of which each was to be made. It derived such sanctity from this association with the church that an oath on it was as serious as one on the Gospel or crucifix. Such an oath was in fact reserved for occasions of special gravity, as when a man suspected of a heinous crime was put to the ordeal, or a whole tribe swore to refrain from acts disturbing the public peace, or a community took oath to stick together through

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

695 thick and thin. No memory of oath or stone survives in areas such
782 as Çermenikë and Lumë, which abandoned Catholicism some
778 centuries ago.

A number of very solemn oaths were taken on objects that had no obvious association with religion, and these seem to date from the oldest days of Albanian existence. Thus an oath in very common use all over the country was 'By bread'. Among the Catholics where the priests combated everything that they thought was pagan, this oath was more often heard in conversation than in ordeals, but among the Orthodox and Moslems it held a higher place. The most solemn oath of the Orthodox of Shpat was 'By that Christ in Whom we believe and by that bread we eat'. The Moslems generally used a loaf, treating it like a Koran.

Sometimes at least in Martanesh an uncooked maize-cob served instead of a loaf. Both in Martanesh and in Lumë salt was often added; the formula then was in Lumë 'By the bounties of the Lord'.

One advantage of swearing on bread was that the oath could be taken, and peace made as soon as trouble arose. If two men who had met in a house quarrelled, one accusing the other of letting his animals stray into his maize-field or of cutting firewood in his forest or the like, the accused could immediately clear himself, provided two or three other men were present as witnesses; no set jury was necessary. All he had to do was to lay his right hand on bread and say, 'May the bread kill me'. This oath was known in places as far apart as Labinot and Lumë. It has already been said that though a woman could not make oath on the Koran, she might, in Zerqan if accused of petty pilfering, make one on bread. Men in Godolesh, which was an Orthodox village till 1910, sometimes swore 'by this bread' but did not consider it one of their most serious oaths.

695 The reason for choosing bread for such a serious occasion as an
776 ordeal is not certain. The Orthodox oath from Shpat speaks of eating it so that the idea of its being the staff of life seems present. Its conjunction with salt in Lumë and Martanesh supports this idea. On the other hand, the influence of Holy Communion also seems at work. The Orthodox of Albania as of Greece speak of it as the Body of Christ, and on that account consider it sinful to cut rather than break it before beginning to eat. Moslems regard even crumbs of it as too sacred to tread on. Most probably the idea that

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

it is the staff of life is the oldest, and religious conceptions come later. As essential to life, it was suited to oath-taking; as shown by the oath 'May the bread kill me', it had power to punish perjury with death. 695 778

Two more formulae remain to be mentioned. The first was 'By my head', and the second 'By the head of my son'. The former was thought justifiable; one might do as one pleased with one's own head. But a man who swore on his son's head was strongly disapproved of; only a low fellow, it w thought, would risk his child's life by such an oath. Nothing less was involved, as appears in the following full formula for a land dispute. 'By the head of the son that I have, this land is mine. If it is not mine, may I weep for the son that I have.'[1] 695 782 [826]

When the time came to take the oath, both Catholics and Moslems behaved as if about to perform an act of worship. Catholics removed their caps and made the oath bareheaded; they also crossed themselves as they began. Sunni Moslems performed the ceremonial ablutions incumbent on them before they pray. By their preliminaries the Catholics sought to indicate respect for the Deity; by theirs the Sunnis sought also to make their oath binding —without them, so they believed, it would be null and void. The Moslems of Martanesh, being Bektashis, did not perform the ceremonial ablutions, but suspect and compurgator when taking the oath in a house had to stand facing Mecca, with the witnesses behind them. As each man's turn came, he advanced towards the Koran or loaf of bread, knelt, and laying hand on the book or bread repeated the prescribed words. This reverence for the sacred emblem was shown by both religions, sometimes with quaint little ceremonies. Thus, when the Catholics of Lurë swore in the open on the Gospel, as was their common practice, they picked up some grass or other greenery and held it over the book while they recited the oath; the purpose of the grass is not clear.[2] After the conversion of Vinjollë to Islam from Catholicism oaths were sworn indifferently, as has already been said, on the Gospel or Koran. When at a house, the sacred book was laid on fresh grass near the house or on a clean place in the farmyard. Each oath-taker kissed it three times, before venturing to put his hand on it and repeat the oath. 695 788

[1] The oath on a son's head is common to the Moslem world and if perjured involves the son as well as his father in eternal damnation.

[2] Possibly it involved the false swearer in withering like the plucked grass.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

sent the cousins word to that effect and said he was sending a deputy. 693
When the latter arrived, he found the named cousin ready to take 696
the oath but no boundary stones in place. He refused to witness the oath because Cen's condition had not been observed. The matter was referred back to Cen, who said that since the cousin put to the oath had been unable to take it as enjoined, the other must have the land. If they did not wish to accept this judgement, let them bring him four napoleons each as his fee for the incomplete oath, and let them find another elder and he would pay his expenses; he was no guarantor to make them accept his judgement. The cousins prepared to accept his decision, but when the winner began to plough the land, the loser shot one of his men dead and wounded another; the feud continued for many years.

The oath derived its efficiency as a legal instrument from super- 782
stitious fear of punishment for perjury. God, as the Almighty, was [695]
naturally the chief agent of this punishment. 'Don't let God catch a perjurer', said the aphorism. In invocations the connexion between oath and Deity was simple. The oath-taker called God or one of His saints to witness to the truth of what he was about to swear, and did so in the full knowledge that if he angered Him by perjury, he must expect a manifestation of Divine wrath. There was a very definite belief that God was watching. In oaths sworn on a sacred object or building, such as 'By this good thing of the Lord', there was an indirect invocation of the Deity, but also while the oath-taker swore, he had to keep his hand on the sacred object—Gospel, crucifix, altar, church door, Koran, saint's grave—just as a witness in an English law court must take the oath with his hand [778]
on the Bible. This act established physical contact between the oath-taker and the Deity or saint with which the sacred object or building was associated. To a simple tribesman this was a very solemn thought. On this account these contact oaths were preferred above all others. Probably the contact also made the tribesman think punishment more certain. All over the Near East the principle of direct contact with holy things plays an important role. This is most familiar in cases of sickness, as when people knot rags to sacred graves or trees; the holy influences with which they have thus linked their persons penetrate their whole being and cure their maladies. Many instances will be found in the author's book *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. But suppliants for such favours must placate the holy influences with prayers or

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

other offerings. If they irritated them, as an oath-taker would do by perjuring himself, they could only expect punishment.

A most interesting example of the working of physical contact which is certainly of pagan origin was found in the Moslem district of Sulovë, south-west of Elbasan. There the most hardened oath-taker dare not forswear himself in a serious case, for he must then take the oath with a coin in his mouth, and perjury would bring him certain death. The coin was clearly Charon's obol, as was the coin slipped on to the chest of Albanian dead in many widely separated areas.

In the exclusively Catholic oath 'by the stone' the solemnity of the oath came from the contact with a holy thing, and punishment for perjury was inflicted in any form that the sacred object chose. When, however, elders swore their equally solemn oath with a stone, log of wood or other weight on their shoulder, or when a man, stone on shoulder, claimed repayment of a dead man's debt, no principle of contact was involved. There was rather a quite crude belief that a perjuring elder would be punished by having to carry the weight for ever and ever in the next world.

God punished the perjurer both in this world and in the next. When the man died, his soul was lost, for being 'heavy-laden before the Lord' it had nowhere to go. If he was an elder who had taken an oath with a stone on his shoulder, he was doomed to carry the stone through all eternity. The first of these terrors was evidently inspired by the Church. The second is an older fear. The elder, when taking the oath, often expressed his willingness to carry the stone in the next world if he perjured himself, but an accused man left his future condition to be inferred, except for the cryptic phrase 'If I did it, may He reward me', which he sometimes inserted in his oath. When he was thinking only of himself he meant, according to the Catholics of Kurbin, 'If I lie may God kill me. If I tell the truth, may He forgive me my sins.' When he contrasted himself with his accuser he meant, 'If I did it may I suffer for it. If I didn't, and you've made me run the risk of taking this oath without due cause, may *you* suffer for it.' This sentence seems to have died out among the Moslems.

Death was the commonest, and most dreaded, form of punishment in this world. In the most solemn oaths it was specified—a son's in the oath by the child's head, the oath-taker's own in the oaths by his own head, with Charon's coin in his mouth, and in

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl
[Solemn Pledge for Flock + Shepherd in Nikaj + Shalë, St. Prendo's Day, 1894]

If any man meddles with one by force he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety. [681]

If any man dishonours a woman or ravishes her he has meddled with a person under a pledge of safety.

The Gjklika family is not under a pledge of safety.

Ndue Lika's family is under a pledge of safety for its flock and shepherd.

9. Whoever touches sheep belonging to Nikaj or Shalë must pay 500 grosh or give a Martini rifle, the value of which is 500 grosh. He must also return two animals for every one stolen and pay 500 grosh to the owner of the stolen animals.

10. A detective is to receive 100 grosh for tracking down a sheep and twenty for tracking down a cow or an ox.

11. If a Nikaj or a Shalë man goes to a house to kill someone, he has leave to do whatever the fingers of his hand or the muzzle of his rifle can do. But chisels, wood and any form of iron are not to be used.

Whoever breaks this law, unless he is killed and buried, must pay 20 purses and until he pays them he must look out for his life. If he is killed, the matter must be left at a head for a head.

12. Whoever plays false to this pledge treating it with contempt or ignoring it must give an oath with 24 persons who must say they know nothing, as arranged by the other tribes. If he cannot give such an oath he must pay 20 purses like a man who kills another. [695]

13. A borrower who owes money to someone must go to the head of his ward. If he does not give this head satisfaction, he must go to the Bajraktar. If he does not give the Bajraktar satisfaction he is without protection. He may be robbed and killed until he enters the way of the Bajraktar.

14. The roads from Shalë and Nikaj to Shosh and Mertur are guaranteed by Shalë and Nikaj and if they are cut, 20 purses must be paid. [491]

15. The chapels (*koniqet*) of Nikaj and Shalë in which no candle is lit to St John, St Nicolas and St Bastian (Sebastian), are under a pledge of safety. [778]

16. Complaints in Shkodër and Gjakovë are annulled. [694]

VIII. Pledge for Flocks and Shepherds in Nikaj and Curraj, St John's Day, 1895.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 120.)

1. Any man who kills a shepherd will have his house burned down and his land kept untilled for three years.

2. His neighbours will not have their houses burned down but must pay five purses, 1000 grosh of it for the master of the feud and three purses for the guarantors.

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

saint can further their political aims, and, to me, at all events, the matter still remains a mystery.

In addition to the belief in the powers of St. John of Scutari—a belief which has a religious background—the local people hold other beliefs, some of which date back to very remote times. The graves of the babas are accounted holy, and are usually covered with cloths put there by pious persons who need assistance. And at a certain spot in the masonry of the ancient city wall there is a window or aperture at which it is customary for women who are unable to nurse their babies to place offerings of bread. When the wall was originally built, many centuries ago, a woman was sacrificed by being enclosed alive in the masonry at this particular spot. The sacrifice, quite a usual one in those days when any constructional work of importance was begun, was intended to propitiate evil spirits who might interfere with the progress of the work. On this occasion an opening was left, so the story goes, through which the unhappy woman might suckle her baby, and it is on this account that the place is supposed to possess the power of stimulating the flow of natural milk in those who make offerings there.

The tourist, should he penetrate so far, will find much to interest him in Elbasan, especially on market day, when it is packed with country folk in an astonishing variety of costumes. The surroundings are delightful. There are several parks and open spaces of which the most remarkable is a small square to the south of the town surrounded by

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

A 783 627 pre-Slavonic times. One other trace maybe of holy trees and stones I saw in 1904 when riding through Albania, and never again.

My horse-boy picked up stones and thrust them in the forks of trees when we passed through a wood. To the horror of my companion, A who was a colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society from [775 South Albania, the boy declared he was doing so for the spirits of the 769] dead to have something to tread on as they passed. Unfortunately the colporteur blamed him, and he would say no more about it. Hahn, in his Albanian studies, mentions this custom.

A On this journey we passed two small woods where, I was told, no ●778 trees were ever cut because "a long while ago a church stood there." No one knew when. The "church" had probably been imagined, to account for the sanctity of the wood.

S In Serbian tales and ballads the oaths are usually sworn by "God 627 and St. John." Does St. John the Baptist represent a former oath on 538 a holy spring? In Montenegro, SS. Petar Cetinski and Vasili of Ostrog 782 were daily asked to bear witness to many dubious statements. No Montenegrin peasant can make a statement, whether true or false, without calling on God and one or other of his saints; and, alas! the old idea of the sanctity of an oath had evaporated and the statement was too often a lie.

Whereas I found the word of the Albanian tribesman reliable; but civilization may weaken his word, too.

M Old King Nikola of Montenegro used to call Heaven to witness 782 many remarkable statements. Once, when the Diplomatic Circle had been summoned to hear an unusually remarkable one, it is said that an astonished silence ensued, till one Minister Plenipotentiary, recovering his presence of mind, politely said: "Your Royal Highness is famed through Europe as . . . a poet."

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Turkey MB1
Serbs EF6

A 764 the body was laid in it, in order to prevent any devil lurking there to seize the dead.

I remember waiting by the tiny grave dug for a child at Thethi Shala in the graveyard. Someone tripped over the long protruding handle of the shovel and dislodged it. The old gravedigger dashed forward and replaced it at once, and drew it out only as the little corpse was lowered. The Franciscan, an Albanian, who stood by the graveside, acquiesced. "It is the custom," he said when questioned. Possibly, like the rest of us, he could not keep demons at bay unaided.

M A 776 777 778 Iron keeps off all spirits, good and bad, it appears; for no knife must touch the fowl's breast-bone or sheep's blade-bone in which the Albanian and Montenegrin soothsayers read the future. No one can tell you why; but everyone knows it would be the height of folly to try to read a bone that has been cleaned with a knife—it would not tell the truth.

A 726 Colonel Aubrey Herbert, that friend of the Turks and Albanians, whose untimely death has left an unfillable gap, gave me a curious instance of the belief in the magic of iron. During the Balkan war of 1913 the Turkish general, Djavid Pasha, retreated with what was left of his army into South Albania, where "he occupied the house of a friend of mine. The tide of war was running fiercely against the Turks and the general wanted to consult the spirits. The family carpenter was ordered to make a three-legged table without any nails in it—T 778 775 'for the spirits hate metal,' said Djavid. The young Turks invoked the spirit of Nazim Pasha, who had been shot by Enver and his friends. . . . When no answer came, the absent ghost of Nazim was cursed for refusing to give information."

Even the absence of iron could not induce the spirit of the murdered man to advise his murderers.

6. Hair. Some Beliefs and Customs connected with it

A 121 In many lands much mystery surrounds hair, that strange substance that grows continually from youth to age; which is part of the person, but can be cut off without pain and is, therefore, the most convenient substitute or symbol for the whole person.

S 754 By means of hair spells can be wrought even in an electric-lighted European capital. Draga Mashin, the mistress of the luckless young King Alexander Obrenovitch, forced him to marry her and make her queen by clipping some of her hair in little bits and mixing it with appropriate spells in his food. Having thus eaten a portion of her, he was hopelessly in her power. At least, so we were assured by one of

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939) 1941
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61

S
538 and their own families, because they have become so much
769 identified with the whole nation, its history, sorrows, and glories.

II

S
778 So it is also with many of the Orthodox saints, especially
755 those who were benefactors of the country, such as St Sava
[776] and St Ana, to mention but two of many. Some of them have special ceremonies to be performed on their feast-days, others special places or tombs set apart for them. A great wealth of tradition and superstition surrounds them. At the monastery of Visoki Dečani legend exalts the tomb of King Stefan (Uroš III) Dečanski, or, as he is better known to the people, *Sveti Kralj Dečanski*, the holy king of Dečani, who founded the monastery and who is buried in the church. He was given a new tomb by King Alexander Obrenović in the nineteenth century, in which is enclosed one of his hands—all that now remains of him. This tomb, covered with an embroidered cloth, is placed to the north of the middle door of the ikonostasis, and, like those of so many important Serbian saints, has a sort of little passage underneath at the head end, which slants through to an aperture in the side. To this tomb come all those with
A ailments, who, if they wish to be cured, must creep under
● 778 and through it three times. Peasants from the neighbouring
755 villages believe that this rite will certainly cure them; and large numbers of Moslem Albanians as well as Orthodox Serbians visit the tomb with the same hope.

Once when I was there (May 1932) a Mohammedan Albanian peasant brought his wife and two kinswomen. The women, who had stiff legs, crept under the tomb the prescribed three times, while some other Albanians went to the sacristan monk, who read prayers and anointed their sores and injuries with holy oil, which he took from one of the little lamps or *kandila* burning before the tomb. No fee is charged; and this monk told me that every day sick peasants, mostly Albanians, of whom there are large numbers in the surrounding country, come for healing, and that many of them are cured.

10: Lodge S-5 (1919, 1939)1941

EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania E61

Again, to the tomb of King Uroš in the ruined church at Sopoćani come the peasants from that neighbourhood, to kiss it and light candles on it, or to lay on it gifts of scarves, stockings, handkerchiefs, and sometimes money; all of which are afterwards sold for the benefit of the church. The women also sit underneath it or lie against it to get cured. Sopoćani was one of the monasteries founded by Stefan Nemanja; and is situated up in the mountains fourteen kilometres from Novi Pazar. It was destroyed by the Turks after the Battle of Kosovo, but the ruins were re-roofed a few years ago. The peasants come here either for the *sabor* or assembly of peasants on the third day of the Feast of St Peter (July 1/14), or for the *slava* on the following day—the Feast of the Visitation. From all the neighbouring villages they come bringing their food, often roasting lambs whole on the adjacent mountain-sides, and afterwards dancing the *kolo* in the churchyard till late in the evening. But first of all it is the custom for everyone to go to church.

In the church of Priština, also, the women sit or lie underneath the table on which stands the holy ikon of *Sveti Bogorodica*, or the Holy Mother of God. At the Eastertide services I have seen old women sitting underneath it for long periods; and once one of them brought a Mohammedan Albanian boy to sit there too, in order to cure his weak legs. Here also the peasants rub their eyes and those of their children with the red fringe of the tablecloth of the ikon, in the hope of healing. This custom is found all over the country, wherever there are fringes or hangings on important tombs or ikons of special sanctity or renown.

Another curious belief is that sore eyes are cured by making decoctions of saints' eyes: so that in many churches the eyes of all the saints in the frescoes within arm's reach, especially those of figures of great authority or holiness, have been picked out. For instance in the frescoes of the Nemanja family at Dećani, few, if any, have a vestige of eye left. The women are continually picking them out, to take the bits of plaster home and boil them up for a lotion

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is 622
possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, 623
may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly 175
in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, 174
leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts 175
has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). 619
All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how [582]
distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of
families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of [628]
great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated
by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not 582
intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not 602
count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence 611
it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these 779
exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the 582
marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

619 2. *Hoti.*—A tribe situated south of Gruda and extending to the
[423 lake of Scutari. It owned also large winter pastures on the plains by
648] the Boyana, and, as do the other Maltsia e Madhe tribes, descended yearly with great flocks. But in 1913, when both Hoti and Gruda were given by the Powers to Montenegro, the frontier line deprived them of their winter pasture. The gentlemen sent to draw frontiers had their heads full only of "strategy," and would not see that they were condemning a people to die of hunger. Both Gruda and Hoti have been thus ruined.

[79 When I knew the tribe it was all Catholic but three houses—those
614] of the bairaktar, which became Moslem seven generations before, after winning great honour from the Turks in a fight against Dulcigno.
173 Marash Hutzi, the hereditary surgeon of the tribe, a singularly charming
614 and intelligent old man, told me that the ancestor of Hoti, Geg Laz, came from Bosnia, and arrived with all his family shortly after the building of the church of Gruda. On arriving they found people, "Anas," living on the land and settled among them. From these "Anas" twelve houses of Hoti trace descent, and are intermarriageable with
[167] the descendants of Geg Laz. From what part of Bosnia they came he could not tell. Geg was head of a large family group of herdsmen which trekked southward, doubtless to escape serfdom under a Moslem overlord. Geg Laz had three brothers: Piper Laz, Vaso Laz, and Krasni Laz. Piper and Vaso, as we shall see, were ancestors of the Piperi and Vasojevitch tribes, which became Montenegrin in the eighteenth
197 century. Krasni was ancestor of the Moslem Albanian tribe Krasnichi. Thus of the four, two are now Serbophone and Orthodox; one Catholic and Albanophone, and the other Moslem and Albanophone.

619 Hoti, when I knew it, was the leader tribe of Maltsia e Madhe, and
721 had earned this right by valour in war. Hoti's energy in 1878 thwarted the decree of the Berlin Congress and saved Tuzhi and the Plava-Gusinje districts from Montenegro. My poor old friend, Marash Hutzi, told how he, as a young man, had rushed round and summoned Hoti to the rescue, and put such a force on the frontier that Montenegro dared not risk occupying the districts.

613 Geg Laz had four sons, each of whom became head of a group ("vlaznii"). Marash gave his pedigree as in the table on the page opposite.

In few other lands in Europe can a man give the names of his forbears for three hundred years. Poor Marash, who was one of the best,
[669 died of pneumonia during the revolt of the tribes against Turkish rule
727 in 1911. His house and all he owned was burnt. I met him in an exhausted state among the refugees. He smiled and pulled from his breast the two picture postcards I had sent him from London, the only things he had saved from the wreck. I helped him, and he begged

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

619 of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was
582 no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

779 He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

619 3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is
[103 probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the
174] road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

596 Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the
[197 tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are
779] said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

619 4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat,
174 mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo,
776 possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

619 5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and
614 widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti,
[166] who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli.

[582] They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the
174 tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem 103
valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms 779
the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, 596
and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say 614
is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza).

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five [582]
families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, [221
which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road 648]
and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it.

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty 619
Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku 614
and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district 779
not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its [174
mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts 794]
which are given to the Church.

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; 619
and has also a few houses of "Anas." 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, [779
another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling 294]
mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as 648
some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group.

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, 619
Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places 779
mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the 103
only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name [776]
from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, [628
who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in 166]
Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping- 648
off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 779

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

648 and priests, which have not been interfered with, the Jugoslav Govern-
779 ment has tried to plant a Serb bishop in Scutari on their behalf. They should be exchanged for some Albanians in Serb territory. The whole of the Maltsia e Madhe district is included in the diocese of Scutari.

There is a sprinkling of Serb place-names in the district, but most of them are Albanized, showing how, on the retreat of Serb rule, the older race reasserted itself.

3. The Pulati Group

175 Polati, Pilot, Pulati occurs as the name of a large mountain district
794 and as a bishopric at an early date.[1] In 877 a bishop of Polati is mentioned by the Council of Delmitano. Then Pope Alexander II, in a letter written to the Archbishop of Antivari in 1062, puts Pulati and its bishop under his care. Towards the end of that century Antivari, owing doubtless to the growing power of the Serbs, ceased to be an archbishopric, though it was still a bishopric, and Pulati is mentioned by Callixtus II in 1121 as under the Archbishop of Ragusa. In 1251 the Archbishopric of Antivari was restored, and Pulati again mentioned as under Antivari. Between 1372 and 1421 is a gap in which Farlati tells us that Helena, widow of Stefan Dushan, and her son, Urosh, "vexed most bitterly the Catholics, and spoiled them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty." No bishop is then mentioned. The Church was kept alive by the Franciscans, who faced danger and hardship in the mountains. Again, under the Turks, extreme misery is mentioned, and bishops are intermittent. It was reported that here were then still some twenty thousand Catholics. But, in spite of missionary effort, the Church almost lapsed. In 1653 Marcus Crisius traversed Pulati and reported: "It is incredible how ignorant the people now are of religion." Up till 1520 there were two bishoprics, Pulatenses Majores, and Pulatenses Minores. To Pulati Minor bishops were appointed from 1345 to 1520; then the two dioceses were united. It appears that it was hard to find men to accept the post, and some of those who did, broke down under the difficulties. Thus Bishop Serafinus, who learnt Albanian and worked very hard, had to retire through illness. Even though the Church of St. Nikola, at Ghoanni, "was rebuilt in 1703 more elegantly and larger and is called a cathedral," it was a humble enough edifice.

In *Illyricum Sacrum* (1817) a contemporary account mentions that Pulati is in the deepest recesses of the roughest mountains; that it

[1] *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia*, and Farlati.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, 175 that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the 794 vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, 619 and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," 779 not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the [651] mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati 794 extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani.*—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three 614 stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, 619 Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population). 779

2. *Ghoanni.*—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula.*—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala.*—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of 173 Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and [582] three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

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Baron Nopcsa considers the ancestor Nikol to have been brother and not son to Krasan. 619 173

THE PUKA GROUP

This is sometimes reckoned a large tribe of seven bairaks. Sometimes as a group of tribes. 614 619

It is an important group, as here are the oldest of all the population. Much is probably of indigenous origin with little immigration.

1. *Berisha-Merturi.*—The Berisha people state that they have always been in their present homeland. They formerly, says Nopcsa, occupied more, but were driven from Ibalja by the Thachi. With great patience the Baron traced some very extensive pedigrees with certainty back to 1370, and with probability to 1270, an extraordinarily detailed piece of oral tradition. Merturi split off from Berisha eleven generations ago. Even in the days when the district was included in the Serb Empire we find no Slav names in these pedigrees, and only two, Sokol (falcon) and Uk (wolf), occur later. As above mentioned, both Gruda and Kuchi also trace descent in part from Berisha. I would particularly direct ethnologists to this region before it is penetrated and broken up by roads.

Merturi, I was told, was an ancient Roman name "Merituri," but I have not traced it. That the Romans had a route through the district is shown by the place-names "Valbona" and "Apripa." Berisha-Merturi is all Catholic.

2. *Cheriti.*—Part Catholic, part Moslem. These people also stated that they were "very old," but I have no particulars. [779]

3. *Komani.*—Catholic. In this tribe land are the ruins and the ancient graveyard known as Kalja Dalmaches, or tower of the Dalmatians, which is generally considered to be the remains of the Illyrian tribe of the Delmates or Dalmates, driven from the coast by the Romans. The present inhabitants seem to have no tradition of descent from these people, and no tradition, in fact, about them at all, so are clearly later immigrants.

The name Komani occurs also for a district in Montenegro, not far from Podgoritza. One is tempted to connect it with the Cumans or Komans, who were used as hired troops by various Balkan rulers, especially the Bulgars, in the Middle Ages. But we have no definite tale of their movements.

4. *Chiri.*—All Catholic.

5. *Dushaj.*—Catholic.

6. *Kabashi.*—Moslem. Nopcsa reports they came about 250 years ago to their present site.

7. *Puka.*—All Moslem.

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THE POSTRIPA GROUP

619 Postripa is obviously a name bequeathed by the Romans. It consists
175 of five tribes, all included in the Diocese of Pulati. Much of Postripa is Moslem, for it was quarrelled about by several bishops. In 1702 Pope Clement XI, who was of Albanian blood on his mother's side, sent Vicentius Zmajevitch as Visitator Apostolicus, who reported among other lamentable things that three bishops were all claiming Postripa, and that meanwhile the people are left "without leader or shepherd, like a scattered flock subject to oppression and persecution."

In Postripa are included five tribes:—

619 1. *Mazreku.*—A small Catholic tribe. That the place was in ancient
175 days a centre of civilization is shown by the considerable ruins of an
614 abbey, Shenkol Shati, believed to have belonged to the Benedictines and to be the one mentioned by several ancient writers as not far from Scutari. It is now lost in a tangle of trees and brushwood. There is
[784] a strong feeling throughout Albania against felling trees on the spot where a church once existed—a feeling that probably goes back to the very ancient days of sacred groves. The abbey presumably fell into ruin when the Serbs seized the district in the Middle Ages. The hatred
[798] of the Serb Orthodox for the Catholics was shown in 1913 in the Balkan War, when the Montenegrin troops, whose object was said to be "to liberate Christians," fell upon the little church of Mazreku, trampled the Host under foot, dressed up in the priestly vestments, danced about, and amused themselves by cutting off the noses from images of the saints and firing bullets into the crucifix.

2. *Drishti.*—A small Moslem tribe that was almost annihilated in 1913 by the Montenegrins. Drishti is the site of the ancient city of Drivasto, in ancient days a bishopric, mentioned as early as 877. The town was entirely destroyed by the Turks, who beheaded the leaders before the walls of Scutari—then too besieged—in order to terrify the Scutarines into submission. The wasted spot was afterwards settled by incomers from the neighbourhood of mixed origin. And in the period when three bishops were quarrelling for Postripa the Drishti folk all turned Moslem.

3. *Shlaku.*—A tribe of one bairak on the right bank of the Drin, in a
[779] very poor district. It is all Catholic and traces origin from Toplana (*q.v.*).

4. *Dushmani.*—A Catholic tribe of two bairaks—Temali and Dushmani. Dushmani takes its name from a chieftain family which ruled here. In 1403 "Goranimus, Damianus, and Nenada, brothers Dusmani, Lords of Polati Minor," offer themselves as subjects to Venice and swear fidelity on condition that Venice will guarantee them in possession

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

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173
582 must not be confounded with the town of Dibra, and of which I have no information. Both these two bairaks can marry the former three.

173
166 I was told by members of the groups that the Mirdite-Shala-Shoshi came from the Pestriku mountains, near Djakova, when the Turks were first pressing westward. Before this emigration they had formed part of the Ipek group of tribes and were all Christian. (There is some reason to believe that at one time the Mirdites were Orthodox.) They further stated that when the Turks took Scutari and were harrying the land they fled back for a time to their old Pestriku mountains, and only returned to their present position some 259 years ago. The name "Mirdite" is of late occurrence—about the middle of the seventeenth century. It is possible that before their second shifting they were known only as Dukagini. Of Lek Dukagin they are extremely proud, and state that the Bijelopavlitchi (sons of White Paul) in Montenegro are de-
292 scended from his nephew, Pal i bardhe (Paul the White). They declared
765 Skender Beg to have been related to him, and for this reason the Mirdite women wear the black giurdan in mourning for him, worn otherwise only by men.

614 These three bairaks, Orosho, Spachi, and Kusneni, marry principally
582 with Kthela and Luria.

KTHELA

701 In war Kthela marches with Mirdita. These two had the right to
614 lead the tribes to all wars in the South. Hoti led to all wars in the North.
619 Kthela consists of three bairaks: Kthela, all Catholic; Selati and Perlati, mixed Catholic and Moslem.

4. The Wholly Moslem Tribes

619 These lie for the most part east of the Christian groups, on the more
● 779 fertile and lower-lying lands. They were reluctant to admit foreigners
186 and averse to being questioned. Since I visited them they have been largely exterminated by the Serbs and Montenegrins, and how much is left of their former strength and number is unknown.

DIBRA GROUP

619 1. *Luria.*—Was the head of the group and consisted of one bairak
614 of some two hundred houses, in twenty of which there were some
779 Catholics. In 1908 Mohammedanism was making rapid progress.
582 When Christian, which it was till recently, it married as a rule with

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

619 614

Mirdita. Since adopting Islam it has married into the two other Moslem 779 tribes of the group, Matija and Dibra. 582

2. *Matija* is wholly Moslem. It had a very bad reputation when I [186 was travelling in Albania, and was so much averse to foreigners that 609] I did not visit it. It was about the only tribe that refused to accept blood-gelt and insisted on blood, and the more civilized tribes of [628] Maltsia e Madhe used to say: "We are not so bad as Matija." It was notorious for constant cattle-stealing from the herds wintering on the plains and was said to consist of about twelve hundred houses. It has since come before the public, as its chief, Ahmed Zogu, with a large [669 number of armed men at his back, aspired to rule Albania. He was 648] expelled by the Albanians in 1924, but was returned forcibly to the country by the support of Belgrade, and it is said of other Powers, who saw in him a ready tool to assist their schemes. By first giving territory to the Serbs and then great concessions to Italy he has now put Albania into a difficulty, and she has become a bone of contention between Jugoslavia and Italy. In 1908, when all the tribes were eager for an independent Albania, no one could have foreseen its destinies would be thrown into the hands of the wildest and least educated of the tribes.

3. *Dibra.*—This tribe, too, I found unvisitable. It had as bad a reputation as Matija, but has suffered cruelly as a result of war, for the frontier has been drawn between the Dibrani and the town of Dibra, their market. This has caused great discontent both sides of the frontier, and some fighting. A frontier under no circumstances should cut a tribe land in half—if those who draw it wish to maintain peace.

Dibra and Matija formed part of the Principality of Skender Beg in the old days. Luria belonged to Dukagini.

4. *Arnji.*—A small independent tribe on the left bank of the river Mola. It is all Moslem and an offshoot of Berisha. I was the only foreigner who had passed through it for many years, and a long debate [186 was held before I was admitted as guest. The women all wore Mirdite 291] dress, and I was told the tribe married mainly Mirdite women.

PRIZREN GROUP

1. *Ljuma.*—When I knew it, this was a large and strong Moslem 727 tribe. In 1912–13 it suffered very heavily. A Serb officer in my presence 619 described how he and his battalion had bayoneted all the women and children in part of the tribe, because "women bear men," and laughed till he choked over his beer. The Serbs were "liberating the land from the Turkish yoke." On subsequent inquiry I learnt that some 1,400 persons had been massacred. Part of this tribe is now under Serb rule.

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614 Along with Ljuma were grouped Bruti, Mal i zi (the Black Mountain, not to be confounded with Montenegro), Rechi, Vlas, and some other small groups—all offshoots of older tribes, especially of Shala and the Fandi bairak of Mirdita.

DJAKOVA GROUP

614 1. *Gashi*.—All Moslem. About eight hundred houses. I did not
619 visit it.

779 2. *Hashi*.—A very large tribe of, it was said, about a thousand houses, almost all Moslem. They had never seen a woman in European dress, and were greatly amused at my arrival armed only with an umbrella. They occupy the Pestriku mountains, traditionally a former [186] home of the Mirdites. They were hospitable and allowed me to pass through their land, but were so unused to foreigners and so afraid that their admission might bring about foreign annexation that I asked no questions about origin or anything personal.

[103 173] 3. *Tropopoja*.—Three hundred Moslem houses—I did not visit. The town of Djakova was founded by an offshoot of the Merturi-Berisha, and I was told derives its name from St. Jak (St. Giacomo), and that its founders were Christians. But when I visited it almost the whole of its large population was Moslem. There was a small Catholic church and school. Except for one hundred Serb families the town was solid Albanian. Two stocks claimed descent from the original founders: the Merturi and the Vula. The Vula was a large and powerful family, and I was told I could travel anywhere safely with a Vula as guide. I did so. He carried no weapon.

A large number of villages surround Djakova. These I found to be all Albanian, tracing descent from Berisha, Shala, Fandi, and other bairaks of Mirdita, as do many inhabitants of the town. None intermarry with their tribe of origin. The villages were mixed Catholic and Moslem. There were no Serb villages. The district is now part of Jugoslavia, and the population doubtless much changed by immigration and emigration.

IPEK GROUP

614 1. *Ipek* (now called Petch) and its villages.—A large Albanian
619 population of many stocks flowed down from the mountains when the
173 Serbs evacuated it in 1640 and reoccupied the lands formerly taken from their ancestors.

Some villages traced origin from Berisha and Shala. Dechani was populated by descendants of the ancient Shala stock (*q.v.*). This

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district, too, is now part of Jugoslavia, and has suffered much at the hands of Serb and Montenegrin. The lands are being colonized by Serbs. Many Albanians have fled into Albania.

2. *Gusinje.*—This, in all probability, descends from some of the last of the Bosniaks who trekked south. Though largely Serbophone, the pre-war Gusinjans were so violently anti-Serb that when the Treaty of Berlin awarded them to Montenegro they resisted annexation so fiercely that the plan was dropped. Terrible vengeance was taken for this by the Montenegrins in 1913 and the Serbs in 1919. Men, women, and children were mercilessly slaughtered. Some thousands fled to Scutari for protection. A British force was there then. So greatly had these refugees suffered that they preferred to die of fever in the Scutari swamps to returning to Gusinje, where, as they said, the Serbs had thrown down food to attract a crowd of hungry children and had then thrown a bomb into the midst of them.

But the Powers permitted the Serbs to keep the district. The advent of the Serb has, in fact, reproduced the conditions of the Middle Ages, when the Turks advanced. I note the facts in order to enable an observer fifty or more years hence to learn how much of an original population is wiped out or absorbed by a conqueror.

3. *Plava.*—I did not visit, as it was opposed to admitting strangers. I was told by old Marash Hutzi, of Hoti, that part of Plava derived from Hoti, but that part was of very old stock called Pagani; but he did not know if Pagani were Moslems or Catholics. "Pagani," or "Paganezi," occurs as a proper name in some Durazzo and Ragusa documents of the thirteenth century. Possibly it was a usual term for "country people" among those of the coast and the towns who spoke a Latin dialect. The "Pagani" of Plava may be an "island" of an ancient population, e.g. Vlah.

To sum up briefly, the present tribes of Albania are in all probability mainly descended from the pre-Slav Balkan inhabitants. In the Serb Empire the herdsmen were recognized as Vlah and Albanian. A very large proportion of the Albanian mountains were, as we have seen, given along with their inhabitants to Serbian monasteries. Under Turkish rule the power of the monasteries naturally dwindled rapidly, and the Albanian serfs, more especially as they were largely, if not entirely, Catholic, would as rapidly break loose from servitude.

That the refugees who came into these mountains later were also of the herdsman class there is little reason to doubt. They came with their flocks, and are to this day strictly pastoral.

As we shall see in studying the Montenegrin tribes, the ultimate fate of these refugees has been largely influenced by whether they settled in land which was under the Orthodox Church, or whether

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch 852
the cradle while they sing:

Poganik, When the boy grows a man,
A weaver we'll make him,
And money he'll bring us.[1] [539 562]

And for a girl:

Poganik, When our girl grows up tall,
She shall go to the valley
And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother 846
nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by 553
the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal 852
rite of the churches to which they respectively 779

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on. [463 286]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 belong. With the Moslems no religious character is
852 attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male
[779] relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father
[608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his godchild;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a
[302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 Although the Albanian beys have neither written
554 charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these
[779 177] ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER X.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR CULTURE-BELIEFS.

779 THOUGH speaking the same language, observing the same customs, and cherishing the same traditions and aspirations, the Albanians, as may have been seen from the foregoing chapter, are, in matters of religious belief, divided by three Creeds, the Moslem, Orthodox Greek, and Roman Catholic. The Moslems constitute about one-half of the population, and of the remaining half the majority follow the rites of the Eastern Church.

797 175 After the loss of their independence the Albanians began by degrees to abandon the faith of their forefathers for that of their conquerors. Islam, however, made but slow progress among them until towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the Porte promulgated a law assuring the possession of their property to those Albanian families who would bring up one of their sons in the Moslem faith. A Tosk proverb [538] says, "Where the sword is, there is the faith;" and the advantages which a nation of mercenary soldiers could not fail to find in belonging to the religion of the dominant race, soon made conversion so general that the populations of whole villages, towns, and even districts would simultaneously apostatise to Islam. Wholesale perversions, such as these, have

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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not been unfrequent even in the present century, and 797
the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders 175
to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian
agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, [167]
makes it probable that in course of time the country
may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians 771
have among the Turks the reputation of being but 184
indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same
opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of
the Albanians who call themselves members of the
Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem [582]
women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the [869]
faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ;
Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian
saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Chris-
tians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints [755]
for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while [778]
Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-
beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which
both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The [779]
Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast
adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of
the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some
Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administra-
tion of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of 796
Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary 771
of the departure of her image from the Latin church
in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems par-
ticipate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief
of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years 173

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

A 779 582 Finally he said he supposed he could not; but that such a case had never occurred, and he hoped he should never have to do anything so horrible. So long as he lived in the mountains he was safe.

I dared not ask how many cousins in the female line he had married in all good faith.

A 614 The tribe is sometimes a group of several stocks, in which case marriage within the tribe is possible between them. These groups are called "bairaks" (standards: Turk.). Some tribes consist of but one bairak. The head is the "bairaktar" (standard-bearer). This post is hereditary from father to eldest son. Of old the bairaktar is said to have been important. In my time he had lost ground and was often quite cut out in council by abler men.

A 596 Each bairak contains many groups, called "vlaznii" (brethren), consisting of a family group including second cousins or even further. The Turkish word "mehala" is also used for these groups.

H 114 779 A vivid picture of North Albania before the coming of the Turk is given by Father Brocardus, a Dominican who wrote an account of the routes suitable for the Crusaders in 1332, and presented it to his sovereign, Lord Philippe de Valois. He shows Albania under Serb rule. Especially he recommends the route from Brindisi to Durazzo, and thence across "Abbanie where the people are devout and obedient to the Church of Rome," and thence by way of the Blaques (Vlahs of the Pindus) to Thessalonica.

Of the Kingdom of Rassie (Serbia) he says that it is a land where Catholics are treated with insult and violence. He proposes to the King of France: "Some movements to assail it, and certain easy conditions for taking it. . . . Among other things there is one which does much to make the capture of the said Kingdom of Rassie more easy. Be it known there are two nations, the one the Abbanois, and the H [794] other the Latins, who are both of the faith and owe obedience to the Church of Rome, according to which they have Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, and religious and secular priests of lower estate and degree. The Latins have six cities and as many bishops. These are Antivari—the Archiepiscopate—Cattaro, Dulcigno, Suacinense, Scutari, and Drivasto. In these cities only Latins live, and some are without the walls. In all their dioceses are Abbanois, who have also four cities: that is to say Polat Major, Polat Minor, Sabbate, and Albanie, which H together with the Latins are all subject to the Archbishop of Antivari" 197 (these "cities" are, in fact, districts), "and his Church. And though 212 these *Abbanois have a language quite other from that of the Latins, they* 245 *use the Latin letters in all their books*. Thus the power of the Latins is enclosed within the circuit of the cities which are theirs, though they H 702 have some vineyards and fields without the cities. . . . The Abbanois

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

nation, which is the greatest, could put into the field more than 15,000 men on horseback, well fitted to wage war in the manner of their country, valiant and good fighters. And the said nations, both Latins and Abbanois, are harshly oppressed under the intolerable and very hard servitude of the most hateful and abominable lordship of the Slavs. Indeed, they are a downtrodden people; their clergy is lowered and humbled; their bishops and abbots often imprisoned; their nobles disinherited and imprisoned; their churches, both cathedrals and collegiate, are dispersed and deprived of power; their monasteries and priories lost and destroyed. They, one and all, would think to consecrate their hands in the blood of the said Slavs if they saw coming a Prince of France who would be their leader and chief against the said Slavs, the enemies of truth and of our faith. One thousand French horse and five or six infantry, along with the said Abbanois and Latins, could conquer at their ease the whole of this Kingdom of Rassie, such as it is."

This passage, written almost at the height of Serb power, shows clearly that the Serb conqueror had failed to destroy the Albanian sense of nationality, and failed to force the Serbian Orthodox Church upon the people; and that there was a very large Albanophone population with a Catholic clergy of its own. The bishoprics of Antivari, Scutari, Sappa, and Pulati still exist, and have survived both Serb and Turk. Into this reserve of Albanian nationality the refugees from the surrounding districts fled when the Turks advanced. The mountain population, then as now, was no doubt scattered in isolated houses or family groups of several houses on the mountain pastures, and not gathered into towns or villages. They formed "katuns." That the population was numerous is shown by the many ecclesiastical and political documents, correspondence with the Vatican, Venice, and Ragusa, and old Serbian archives. Thus in 1348 Tsar Stefan Dushan gives to the monastery he is founding at Prizren nine Albanian "katuns" near Prizren, the said Albanians to give serf labour to the monastery. He gives also some land in Upper Pulati, together with its inhabitants. Several still existing place-names are mentioned: Shikje, Krue e Madhe (the great spring of water), and Sakati. "The existing Catholic clergy at Shikje who have vineyards" are to pay a tribute of wine to the monastery (an Orthodox one), and so are certain other districts. The people of Lower Pulati are to pay tribute of 100,000 silk cocoons. Several mills are handed to the monastery and in one case the miller, Zan, and his brethren are mentioned. No one may erect a mill on Church land, under penalty of a fine and loss of the mill. (The Church alone has the right to grind corn. This would give it immense power.) Large districts of Lower Pulati are given to the Serb Church, including the

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2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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they penetrated yet farther into the Albanophone and Catholic Albanian mountains. In the latter case they have remained Albanian; in the former they have been Serbized, and have also acquired doubtless some Slav blood. That the Vlah (Roman-Illyrian) forms a considerable part of the present Albanian inhabitants is indicated by Brocardus's reference to "Latini" and Farlati's to "Blachia."

5. The Tribes of Montenegro up to 1913

The tribes of Montenegro, as they existed up to the beginning of the Great War, have not been recorded in English. I therefore describe them in some detail, for they are the last example of the development of a wholly tribal nation into a State in Europe. I say the last because the tribal system of Albania had disappeared, save in the Northern mountains, long before Albania became independent. When I first went to Montenegro in 1900 it consisted of about thirty tribes. I say "about," for some were recent compounds and not, strictly speaking, tribes.

Montenegro was divided into two parts—Montenegro and the Brda. The first was old Montenegro with some additions on the Herzegovinian side; the second, the mountain mass that borders on Albania. The real "plemé" (tribe) in each consisted of a group of people believing itself to be descended from a common male ancestor. In some cases there was a tale of some previous inhabitants, and in others of later settlers who had been admitted as part of the tribe. I regret that I did not collect the tale of ancestry of each tribe instead of the details of a few, but these will serve to show how a tribe was formed and developed.

Each tribe till recently was exogamous, except when the tribe descended from two or more separate stocks, which were then intermarriageable. Male blood alone counted.

Each tribe was divided into several "bratstvos" (groups of brothers literally) consisting of many cousins and brothers, each calling the other "brother" or "sister." In my time a bratstvo was not reckoned farther than and including second cousins; but in former days it extended farther. When I first lived in my guide's, Krsto's, hovel at Njegushi, I was amazed at the number of his brothers. The neighbours were equally surprised by my narrow idea of a "brother." When I said I believed I had cousins whom I had never seen and whose names I did not know, all were horrified and said the English were no better than dogs. They could not understand a bratstvo that did not live on its own patch of ground. Scattering over the world they thought

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2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
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to the four quarters of the heavens—north, south, east, and west. These locks are at once destroyed. Handsome gifts are then exchanged, the kumpare giving sometimes as much as two or three gold napoleons, and receiving some embroidered garments or the elaborately patterned knitted socks which are favourite ceremonial gifts. A great feast, of course, follows. The child's father and the kumpare are now brothers, and their children are not intermarriageable till the seventh degree. In olden days I was assured they were never intermarriageable, and ranked exactly as consanguines. Near Scutari this prohibition had lapsed altogether. Among the Pulati and Dukagini it was still believed in. At Thethi Shala in 1908 a man rushed into the church to stop a marriage on the ground that the parties were cousins by hair-cutting. The Franciscan who was officiating refused to recognize the impediment and married the couple. Whereupon the outraged tribesman ran hot-foot to the Bishop of Pulati and denounced the Franciscan for having celebrated an incestuous marriage. The bishop refused to listen to him. He and his friends then hastened to Scutari, and begged the Turkish Vali to denounce the marriage. The Vali said he did not care whom the Christians married. The bridegroom belonged to a very strong house and so was not molested, and the matter dropped.

The Moslems cut but three locks of hair because four makes a cross, whereas a triangle is a popular Moslem pattern (*v.* Tattoos). But the Montenegrin, as we have seen, cut three for the Holy Trinity.

The clipping of the four locks out of doors to the four quarters of the heavens has all the appearance of being a dedication to the sun. Sun-worship, as we have seen, was widely spread in the Balkans. When we find this ceremony considered of high importance in the very district where sun and moon symbols are still commonly carved and tattooed, we are tempted to connect them. That the rite is ancient and pre-Christian cannot be doubted.

The Catholic Church strives to suppress the notion of "hair-cutting incest." The Orthodox Church, by admitting hair-cutting as part of the baptismal ceremonial, has perpetuated it; for baptismal godfatherhood prohibits the marriage of descendants of either party till the seventh degree. "Hair-cutting incest," therefore, prohibits marriage between the descendants of the Duke of York and the Karageorgevitch, for the papers were careful to inform us that locks of hair were duly clipped when the Duke and Duchess of York acted as godparents to the heir to the Serbian throne. Their Royal Highnesses took part in a pagan ceremony of unknown antiquity. You can never tell what a Balkan alliance will let you in for.

The hair-cutting in the Russian baptism is probably an importation from Byzantium, as is also the unshorn priest. A deacon, on ordination,

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
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A 175

Its present frontier was first decided by the Council of Ambassadors in 1913, but was held in suspense until 1921 when the Supreme Council sanctioned it.

A 175 779

The population of Albania is 68% Moslem, 21% Eastern Orthodox and 11% Roman Catholic.

B 175

Realising that the Balkan Peninsula has been disputed territory for centuries, with sovereignty alternating between Byzantines, Venetians, Slavs, Huns, Magyars, Turks and Austrians, it is not surprising that the different types of costume and decoration have intermingled, and so a difficult problem is presented when one has to deal with such a collection as this.

Y A 121

However, it has seemed best to divide the material into that from (1) the central and coastal area, which shows mainly Austrian and Italian influence, and (2) the southern section, with Albania, which was so largely influenced by Turkish rule, and where at the present time there are perhaps more Turkish costumes worn than in Turkey itself.

CHAPTER II.

Materials and their production.

Y A 286 439

The materials used in making and decorating the garments worn in the central, coastal and southern parts of Yugoslavia and Albania fall into two categories, home-produced, and those purchased in shops and markets, which are often imported goods.

The materials used in the south and Albania differ somewhat from those used in the other areas. The latter are dealt with first.

A Y [462]

Cloths.

Materials upon which embroidery is to be worked are usually made by the women themselves and are of two kinds, that made from flax and hemp, woven into linen (" platno ") which is used for shirts, skirts for summer wear and headshawls or kerchiefs ; and " sukno ", made entirely of sheep's wool, hand spun and woven in the home on a simple, rather clumsy type of hand-loom. " The woollen material thus produced is used for the sleeveless wrap ' zubun ', the short cloth coat with sleeves worn by younger women, and the long cloth coat worn in winter by women of all ages and districts."* " The peasant men throughout Yugoslavia wear garments of this woollen material " (M.E.D.).

A S [291 286 287 402]

That most important feature of most costumes, the apron, has homespun hemp for its warps and woollen yarn for weft. " Some of the thick woollen stuff, white in Albania and brown amongst the Serbs, of which men's clothes were made was beaten to a thick, hard felt in fulling mills worked by water power. Heavy hammers of walnut wood hammered the stuff for forty hours." (M.E.D.).

Imported cloths include calico for shirts and printed cotton for linings, apparently English, fine woollen cloth from Austria and Italy for the jelek worn by middle-class women and also for some of the handsomer types of coats.

* Milan Karanovic. " Costume of the Women of Zmiyagne " Sarajevo, 1926.

693 plaintiff (lord of blood) has the right to name them. Or they may be
609 named by the "bairaktar" (head of the tribe). This is only done if the
682 matter cannot be settled by con-jurors chosen by the plaintiff.

The gjaksur has the right to object to two of the con-jurors, who must be replaced by others. The con-jurors are all men of standing in the tribe ("plect," elders; "kren," heads). They examine the facts and hear the accused ("gjaksur") and decide if peace can be made and on what terms. If all twenty-four agree to take the peace oath with him he is then reckoned innocent, and he and his family do not owe any further blood, but pay blood-gelt to the zoti i gjakut. This varied from about £25 to £50. If they all agree but one, he may be replaced by two others. If still no agreement is come to, the gjaksur may bring more con-jurors, who are members of his family, up to the number of eight.

Agreement having been come to, the whole party goes into the
[782 church (or mosque) before which the council has been held. In the
608] church the candles are lighted on the altar, and in the presence of the priest the gjaksur swears his innocence. He no longer owes blood and is, therefore, innocent. Next swear those of his family who may have been summoned, and then all the con-jurors. After this the gjaksur and the zoti i gjakut frequently ratify the peace by swearing blood brotherhood (*v.* Blood Brotherhood).

By Moslems the oath is sworn in the mosque.

693 Each of the con-jurors has to be paid a small fee for his services. The plaintiff in some cases can thus annoy the accused by insisting upon the full number of con-jurors allowed by the law. A priest counts as twelve con-jurors, and sometimes an important elder is reckoned as two.

628 The oath being taken and the blood-gelt paid, the man is free to return to his burnt house and repair it. Being as a rule of solid stone, only the roof and woodwork need renewing. If he is a popular man, other members of the tribe help him both to pay the fine and start life again.

627 To Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari, I am indebted for an
682 account of how two families can make peace voluntarily without appeal to the law. Having ascertained by means of emissaries that peace will be acceptable, the gjaksur and his relatives choose a feast day and enter the house of the injured family with their hands bound. A child placed the wrong way round in a cradle is carried with them. If the peace offer is accepted the lord of blood loosens their bonds and puts the child straight in the cradle. The blood-gelt is then arranged and paid. This custom existed among the Dukagini.

682 The above all refers to a murder committed by one man. But it
628 may happen that several men all fire at once and kill a man. A search

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

much probably valuable material, for when many an ancient grave has been opened and nothing but pottery and bits of bronze or iron found, the treasure-seekers, enraged that the gold should have thus been turned to rubbish because they did not know the formula, have smashed it all into small fragments. 776 777 789

One way to find treasure is to spread a layer of wood-ash over the spot where it is believed to lie. Next morning, if it bears the footprint of any bird or beast—a fox, sheep, etc.—such a creature must be sacrificed upon the spot. A black animal or bird with no touch of white on it is particularly efficacious. 777 782

In many places I had to declare to the headmen that I had not come to search for treasure.

Those good days are past. Albania is now being searched for petroleum, and, unless the kindly earth refuses to give it up, the land will be devoured by foreign speculators.

I was once taken a weary tramp in Berisha to see and explain a marvel. On a great mass of rock was a slight hollow into which a man's hand would fit, and near it a depression that was supposed to be like a mule's hoof-print. Both were natural weatherings of the rock. But the native theory was that ages ago, when the rock was soft, a man had hidden a treasure and made the rock flow over it. He had then marked the spot with his hand and the hoof-mark of his beast. Unless the right formula could be obtained there was nothing for it but to quarry and blast the huge mass, and without the formula even this might not avail. I vainly said the marks meant nothing. My excited escort would not let me leave till I had "written" (i.e. drawn) the marks, and promised that if learned men in England could explain them I would return and show them how to find the treasure. 777 789

"Hoof-marks" are favourite things in the Balkans. One was shown me on the shores of Lake Presba and ascribed to Sharatz, the magic horse of Marko Kralyevitch; and in a cave on the slopes of the Lovchen in Montenegro I was shown, as a great marvel, a small roundish depression—a hoof-mark, also "made when the rock was soft." Krsto thought it possible that Marko Kralyevitch had once stabled Sharatz here, and several people asked my opinion about it. In the long weary hours, when watching goats on the mountains, men ponder over such trifles and build fancies upon them. Weary and weary are those endless hours. I never met anyone who did not speak with hate of the watching of beasts he had had to do when young. Often was I asked to build a factory where a man would be given enough bread for a day's labour and no longer have to watch goats on the mountain. The foreigner is now starting works; I doubt if they bring the expected happiness. [517] 777

In the hill-side on the left of the road from Djakova to Prizren I 772

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

755 in which he remains seated three days, at the end of which time he is washed with "unspoken-over" water.[1] This, which is also called by an Albanian word signifying "stolen," is water drawn from the well or fountain in silence and carried home without the bearer having spoken, or been spoken to, on the way, and it is believed to possess highly salutary virtues. Into the water some "sweet" or "heavy" leaves are thrown, the number and also the kind being determined by fixed rules according to the nature of [137 245] the malady. Among the "sweet" leaves are those of the pomegranate, apple, and rose trees, and also, strange to say, of nettles; among the "heavy," those of the laurel, cypress, ivy, and other evergreens. Three days after such an ablution the patient is expected either to recover or to die. Should he be able to [782] indicate the spot on which he received the blow, the earth is there sprinkled with rose-water in order to appease the offended beings, who are said to be extremely fond of this scent; or he there throws down something, the nature of which is known only to himself, in the belief that the malady from which he suffers will be transferred to the being who may chance to tread upon it.

755 754 The effects of the evil eye are also removed by sprinkling the patient with "unspoken-over" water, three nettle stalks being dipped into it for that purpose, and giving him to eat three mulberry buds, the mulberry tree being one of the sovereign antidotes for that much dreaded influence.

755 Rheumatism in the hands or feet is cured by

[1] Such water is also used by the Greeks, who call it κρὴ ἄκρατον.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

•782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, [491] as in those of other nations, are said to have been formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 731 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

[1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

times happens, are ravaging the country, a number of women assemble, and, having captured some of the insects, form a mock funeral procession, and, with hair dishevelled, proceed to drown them in the nearest well or stream, singing in turn as they go the following dirge, which is repeated by the others in chorus: 789 731

> O locusts! O cockchafers! parents kind,
> Orphaned you have left us all behind!

This ceremony is believed to cause the death of the rest of the destructive swarm.

If one of a herd of cattle dies, its head is buried in the farmyard in order that a similar fate may not befall the rest of the herd. When an ox or cow is ill, "unspoken-over" water is brought and sprinkled over it. If several of the cattle are ailing, and in other cases of a serious nature, the water used is brought from three different wells or springs, and mixed together, its efficacy being believed to be thus increased to a threefold degree. 782 231

Very numerous are the ceremonies observed with the object of ensuring good, or averting bad, luck. In Northern Albania, when a youth, or man, is about to leave his home for a distant town a curious ceremony is performed, which is believed to ensure him a safe and successful journey. In front of the house-door the women place a jar filled with "unspoken-over" water, decorated with foliage and hung with earrings of gold and silver. The traveller touches the jar with his foot, takes in his hand the earrings and some of the foliage, and sets out, accompanied for a mile or two by his relatives, to whom, when they finally take 789 484

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

695 Tirana, Sheikh Hasan's at Nangë in Lumë, Sheikh Ibrahim's at
778 Surroj across the river Drin from Nangë, Sheikh Fejza's at Bulqizë, Balim Sulltan's at Martanesh, and those of two abbots at Krujë. Sulejman Pasha and Sheikh Ibrahim lie in an isolated mausoleum, [795] Balim Sulltan in a cave, and the others in monasteries. These saints belonged to different sects; Sulejman Pasha, the soldier who founded Tirana in the seventeenth century, was a Sunni; Sheikh Hasan, founder of the monastery at Nangë, and his brother, Sheikh Ibrahim of Surroj, were Khalvetis; Balim Sulltan of Martanesh and the two abbots of Krujë were Bektashis; and Sheikh Fejza, founder of the monastery at Bulqizë, a dissident Bektashi. Sometimes it did not matter to what sect the buried saint belonged. Sheikh Hasan of Nangë was so renowned that the local population, even if not Khalvetis, took their oaths on his grave and never in the mosque, and Catholic as well as Moslem oath-takers came in serious cases to his grave from Shkodër, four days away. Sulejman Pasha's grave drew oath-takers from as far away as Martanesh; these had long since forgotten his history, and, though ardent Bektashis, did not care that he was a Sunni. Sunni Albanians are not so liberal however; taught to abhor the Bektashis as unorthodox Moslems, they left the graves of Balim Sulltan of Martanesh and the two abbots of Krujë to Bektashi oath-takers. Sheikh Fejza, abhorred by Sunnis as almost a Bektashi and by Bektashis as a backslider from their faith, commanded allegiance only among his own followers in Bulqizë. Oaths used to be taken in three mausolea in the Bektashi monastery at Krujë, but by 1930 the abbot refused to open one for such a purpose. Once, as an oath was being taken in this mausoleum, both disputants fell dead; there had been roguery on both sides as the buried saint was quick to detect. Ever afterwards the abbots restricted oath-takers to the two mausolea in which the saints seemed slower to wrath.

695 Among invocations of the Deity used in oaths, the following are
782 recorded: 'By the Lord' (Perlat and Shkrel); 'By this Lord Who gave me life' (Perlat); 'By this Lord Who is in Heaven' (Shalë); 'By Our Lady' (Shkrel); and 'By the Blood of Christ' (Shalë). In all these the influence of the Church is evident, but there are hints in the Albanian originals that some are older than the Church.

The Deity was invoked by Moslems as follows: 'By that Lord' (Godolesh); 'By God' (Dibër); 'By God, with God, from God'[1]

[1] *Vallahi, billahi, tallahi.*

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

(Godolesh and Lumë). The first two phrases are evidently old 695
Albanian and have nothing exclusively Moslem about them; the 782
second (lit. 'May I see God') has even a Catholic ring. The third is widely known all over the Moslem world and in certain areas which were once under Moslem rule. But it is used in a magical rather than a religious sense. It is found in magical formulae among the Arabs of Egypt and the Christian Greeks of the island of Zea, next door neighbour to Euboea.[1]

The only invocation of the Deity which the author recorded among the Orthodox was in Shpat and ran as follows: 'By that Christ in Whom we believe.' It is evidently a Church formula.

There was no sign that any of these oaths was preferred to the 771
others; they seemed to have equal value. Readers who know the 776
Catholics and the Orthodox, the two religions which divided Albania before the Turks came in the fifteenth century, will be struck by the paucity of references to Christ and the Virgin Mary and by the emphasis on God; this may be a further indication that the oaths go back to pagan days when neither Christ nor the Virgin was known.

Formulae for invoking Catholic saints were such as 'By that 695
St Nicolas' in Kurbin and 'By the candle of St Nicolas' among 782
the Highlanders of Breg i Matit and Gurrëzë. Both were very grave oaths. The candle in the second is the wax taper lit before pictures of the saint by the devout; oath-takers seem to have feared that perjury would extinguish the flame of their life as easily as a candle could be put out. Of all their saints too, the Catholic Highlanders preferred St Nicolas. No Moslem saints were invoked as such; it was rather by their graves than themselves that oaths were taken. A strange oath, which comes from Surroj, was an exception. This ran 'By this patrón saint of coffee'. Coffee, the peasants of Surroj explained, has a 'very important' patron saint. All over Albania coffee-house keepers make a libation to him every morning by pouring away the first cup of coffee that they make. They hope that after being placated in this way the saint will send them many customers. Some believe that he lies buried somewhere in the east of the Turkish empire, possibly in Arabia.

Catholic priests and Moslem clergymen—hoxhas and sheikhs 695
among the Sunnis, abbots (*baba*, sing.; *baballar*, plur.) among the 688
Bektashis—were respected as men of God, and Bektashi abbots 793

[1] See *Folklore*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 195 (June 1926).

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl·

695 even became saints at their death, but an oath 'by the priest' or
698 'by that hoxha' was never taken; it would have been regarded as
793 sacrilege.

695 A most interesting oath was taken by both the Orthodox and the
792 Moslems of Berat town and district. Its commonest forms were
[770] 'By Him of Tomorr' and 'By the Holy One of Tomorr'. The deity that dwelt in pagan days on the summit of Tomorr, the lofty, beautiful mountain that dominates the town of Berat, is still a living force in the district. He was, indeed, so dreaded that even in conversation he could not be named, but only darkly alluded to. 'By that mountain top' is no less solemn an oath than the more definite pair already given. No man had been known to swear any of them falsely.

[821] By what was perhaps a survival of early nature worship, oath-takers sometimes invoked natural objects as in the oaths, 'By this bright light which is dawning', 'By this evening which is coming', 'By this night we have to-night'. These were all given by Catholics in Perlat. The first two were used for oaths taken in the morning and the third for those taken in the evening. Moslems in Godolesh and Labinot sometimes swore 'By this sun' and 'By this earth'. The latter was a very solemn oath, earth being weighty for two reasons: man was made of it and it lies heavy on a dead man who committed sins such as perjury during his lifetime. Apparently oaths were not taken 'by this fire' or 'by this moon'; perhaps both fire and moon lack the inevitability and stability that fitted dawn and darkness, the sun and the earth, for worship by primitive Albanians.

695 Among oaths by sacred buildings were such as 'By this church'
782 among Catholics and 'By this mosque' among Moslems. They were
778 chiefly employed conversationally, and meant little more than our own expression 'on my honour'. Indeed, a man of Lurë used them indifferently, irrespective of whether he or his hearer were Catholic or Moslem. But when a Moslem of Martanesh swore 'by this holy place' as he stood in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum, his oath was very solemn. So, too, were the oaths in Bulqizë 'by that shrine', the domed tomb of Sheikh Fejza; in Tirana by the grave of Sulejman Pasha, the seventeenth-century founder of the town; in Krujë by the tombs of two Bektashi abbots; in Nangë, Lumë, by the tomb of the Khalveti saint, Sheikh Hasan; and in Surroj, by the grave of Sheikh Hasan's brother, Sheikh Ibrahim. In the last case the formula was rather unusual; standing in the mausoleum (*teqe*) the

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

oath-taker began by saying 'May Sheikh Ibrahim cut short my life'. In the other cases he used some vague formula such as 'By this holy place' or 'By this shrine'.

Oaths by smaller sacred objects were all very similar. The formula used in swearing on an altar was in Shalë 'By this altar'; on a church door in the Malësi e Madhe and Kurbin, 'By these things of the Lord'; on a crucifix or gospel in Mirditë, 'By this holy thing of God'; in Kurbin 'By this thing of God'. The more fanatical of the Moslems preferred to swear on the Koran under a Turkish, or rather Arabic, name. Thus 'By this holy book' was liked in Lumë, and 'By this sacred book' everywhere. Others, as in Vinjollë and Zerqan, swore 'By this thing of God', or if in Godolesh, 'By the holy thing of this our God'. The last oath is very close to the oath of Catholic Mirditë on the Gospel, and there is little doubt that this Moslem oath was once Catholic or Orthodox. Indeed, it may have been pagan. The vagueness of their phraseology made the transference from one religion to another easy. A similar vagueness characterizes most of the oaths in this paragraph. Its origin lay in the simple Albanian's idea of respect for a sacred object; he thought that naming a person or thing detracted from the majesty of that person or thing. Besides preserving the efficacy of ancient oaths through later changes of religion, this vagueness also reduced any repugnance which a Catholic or Moslem in a mixed jury might feel at being asked to swear on the holy book of the other's religion. It has even led Catholics of Lurë, when Islam was fast displacing Catholicism, to anticipate the future conversion by swearing the essentially Moslem oath 'By this *hajmali* (sacred book)' on the Christian Gospel.

A curious and most solemn oath among Catholics was 'by the stone'. This was not any ordinary stone that the oath-taker might pick up regardless of his religion, but was a special one found only among Catholics. Triangular in shape, it had a hole in each of its three corners for attaching the balance in which persons minded to offer votive candles to church weighed the wax of which each was to be made. It derived such sanctity from this association with the church that an oath on it was as serious as one on the Gospel or crucifix. Such an oath was in fact reserved for occasions of special gravity, as when a man suspected of a heinous crime was put to the ordeal, or a whole tribe swore to refrain from acts disturbing the public peace, or a community took oath to stick together through

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695 thick and thin. No memory of oath or stone survives in areas such
782 as Çermenikë and Lumë, which abandoned Catholicism some
778 centuries ago.

A number of very solemn oaths were taken on objects that had no obvious association with religion, and these seem to date from the oldest days of Albanian existence. Thus an oath in very common use all over the country was 'By bread'. Among the Catholics where the priests combated everything that they thought was pagan, this oath was more often heard in conversation than in ordeals, but among the Orthodox and Moslems it held a higher place. The most solemn oath of the Orthodox of Shpat was 'By that Christ in Whom we believe and by that bread we eat'. The Moslems generally used a loaf, treating it like a Koran.

Sometimes at least in Martanesh an uncooked maize-cob served instead of a loaf. Both in Martanesh and in Lumë salt was often added; the formula then was in Lumë 'By the bounties of the Lord'.

One advantage of swearing on bread was that the oath could be taken, and peace made as soon as trouble arose. If two men who had met in a house quarrelled, one accusing the other of letting his animals stray into his maize-field or of cutting firewood in his forest or the like, the accused could immediately clear himself, provided two or three other men were present as witnesses; no set jury was necessary. All he had to do was to lay his right hand on bread and say, 'May the bread kill me'. This oath was known in places as far apart as Labinot and Lumë. It has already been said that though a woman could not make oath on the Koran, she might, in Zerqan if accused of petty pilfering, make one on bread. Men in Godolesh, which was an Orthodox village till 1910, sometimes swore 'by this bread' but did not consider it one of their most serious oaths.

695 The reason for choosing bread for such a serious occasion as an
776 ordeal is not certain. The Orthodox oath from Shpat speaks of eating it so that the idea of its being the staff of life seems present. Its conjunction with salt in Lumë and Martanesh supports this idea. On the other hand, the influence of Holy Communion also seems at work. The Orthodox of Albania as of Greece speak of it as the Body of Christ, and on that account consider it sinful to cut rather than break it before beginning to eat. Moslems regard even crumbs of it as too sacred to tread on. Most probably the idea that

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it is the staff of life is the oldest, and religious conceptions come later. As essential to life, it was suited to oath-taking; as shown by the oath 'May the bread kill me', it had power to punish perjury with death.

Two more formulae remain to be mentioned. The first was 'By my head', and the second 'By the head of my son'. The former was thought justifiable; one might do as one pleased with one's own head. But a man who swore on his son's head was strongly disapproved of; only a low fellow, it was thought, would risk his child's life by such an oath. Nothing less was involved, as appears in the following full formula for a land dispute. 'By the head of the son that I have, this land is mine. If it is not mine, may I weep for the son that I have.'[1]

When the time came to take the oath, both Catholics and Moslems behaved as if about to perform an act of worship. Catholics removed their caps and made the oath bareheaded; they also crossed themselves as they began. Sunni Moslems performed the ceremonial ablutions incumbent on them before they pray. By their preliminaries the Catholics sought to indicate respect for the Deity; by theirs the Sunnis sought also to make their oath binding —without them, so they believed, it would be null and void. The Moslems of Martanesh, being Bektashis, did not perform the ceremonial ablutions, but suspect and compurgator when taking the oath in a house had to stand facing Mecca, with the witnesses behind them. As each man's turn came, he advanced towards the Koran or loaf of bread, knelt, and laying hand on the book or bread repeated the prescribed words. This reverence for the sacred emblem was shown by both religions, sometimes with quaint little ceremonies. Thus, when the Catholics of Lurë swore in the open on the Gospel, as was their common practice, they picked up some grass or other greenery and held it over the book while they recited the oath; the purpose of the grass is not clear.[2] After the conversion of Vinjollë to Islam from Catholicism oaths were sworn indifferently, as has already been said, on the Gospel or Koran. When at a house, the sacred book was laid on fresh grass near the house or on a clean place in the farmyard. Each oath-taker kissed it three times, before venturing to put his hand on it and repeat the oath.

[1] The oath on a son's head is common to the Moslem world and if perjured involves the son as well as his father in eternal damnation.

[2] Possibly it involved the false swearer in withering like the plucked grass.

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sent the cousins word to that effect and said he was sending a deputy. 693
When the latter arrived, he found the named cousin ready to take 696
the oath but no boundary stones in place. He refused to witness the oath because Cen's condition had not been observed. The matter was referred back to Cen, who said that since the cousin put to the oath had been unable to take it as enjoined, the other must have the land. If they did not wish to accept this judgement, let them bring him four napoleons each as his fee for the incomplete oath, and let them find another elder and he would pay his expenses; he was no guarantor to make them accept his judgement. The cousins prepared to accept his decision, but when the winner began to plough the land, the loser shot one of his men dead and wounded another; the feud continued for many years.

The oath derived its efficiency as a legal instrument from superstitious fear of punishment for perjury. God, as the Almighty, was 782 [695]
naturally the chief agent of this punishment. 'Don't let God catch a perjurer', said the aphorism. In invocations the connexion between oath and Deity was simple. The oath-taker called God or one of His saints to witness to the truth of what he was about to swear, and did so in the full knowledge that if he angered Him by perjury, he must expect a manifestation of Divine wrath. There was a very definite belief that God was watching. In oaths sworn on a sacred object or building, such as 'By this good thing of the Lord', there was an indirect invocation of the Deity, but also while the oath-taker swore, he had to keep his hand on the sacred object—Gospel, crucifix, altar, church door, Koran, saint's grave—just as a witness in an English law court must take the oath with his hand [778]
on the Bible. This act established physical contact between the oath-taker and the Deity or saint with which the sacred object or building was associated. To a simple tribesman this was a very solemn thought. On this account these contact oaths were preferred above all others. Probably the contact also made the tribesman think punishment more certain. All over the Near East the principle of direct contact with holy things plays an important role. This is most familiar in cases of sickness, as when people knot rags to sacred graves or trees; the holy influences with which they have thus linked their persons penetrate their whole being and cure their maladies. Many instances will be found in the author's book *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans*. But suppliants for such favours must placate the holy influences with prayers or

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782 other offerings. If they irritated them, as an oath-taker would do by perjuring himself, they could only expect punishment.

A most interesting example of the working of physical contact which is certainly of pagan origin was found in the Moslem district [778] of Sulovë, south-west of Elbasan. There the most hardened oath-taker dare not forswear himself in a serious case, for he must then take the oath with a coin in his mouth, and perjury would bring [764] him certain death. The coin was clearly Charon's obol, as was the coin slipped on to the chest of Albanian dead in many widely separated areas.

In the exclusively Catholic oath 'by the stone' the solemnity of the oath came from the contact with a holy thing, and punishment for perjury was inflicted in any form that the sacred object chose. When, however, elders swore their equally solemn oath with a stone, log of wood or other weight on their shoulder, or when a man, stone on shoulder, claimed repayment of a dead man's debt, no principle of contact was involved. There was rather a quite crude belief that a perjuring elder would be punished by having to carry the weight for ever and ever in the next world.

775 God punished the perjurer both in this world and in the next. When the man died, his soul was lost, for being 'heavy-laden before the Lord' it had nowhere to go. If he was an elder who had taken an oath with a stone on his shoulder, he was doomed to carry the stone through all eternity. The first of these terrors was evidently inspired by the Church. The second is an older fear. The elder, when taking the oath, often expressed his willingness to carry the stone in the next world if he perjured himself, but an accused man left his future condition to be inferred, except for the cryptic phrase 'If I did it, may He reward me', which he sometimes inserted in his oath. When he was thinking only of himself he meant, according to the Catholics of Kurbin, 'If I lie may God kill me. If I tell the truth, may He forgive me my sins.' When he contrasted himself with his accuser he meant, 'If I did it may I suffer for it. If I didn't, and you've made me run the risk of taking this oath without due cause, may *you* suffer for it.' This sentence seems to have died out among the Moslems.

[761] Death was the commonest, and most dreaded, form of punish-
783 ment in this world. In the most solemn oaths it was specified—a son's in the oath by the child's head, the oath-taker's own in the oaths by his own head, with Charon's coin in his mouth, and in

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687 As Father Gjeçov remarks, perjury harmed the soul, imposed a fine and disgraced the man in the eyes of his fellows. All three consequences worked powerfully in their different ways to keep oath-takers on the path of truth. A thief, for instance, might get [783] as far as the door of a church or mosque, but there his heart would fail him and he would exclaim, 'Forgive me, I did steal it'. Then he would proceed to make the usual reparation. Even innocent men dreaded the oath and took it with great reluctance. In poverty-stricken Theth many were so afraid of it that even when wrongfully accused, they preferred to pay whatever fine was due for the crime. 782 In Lurë people professed to fear nothing so much. 'You may rob [627] me of my life, but I will not break my oath', they used to say. As [423] for oaths taken to settle disputes, generations afterwards the descendants of the original disputants were afraid to break the oath of their ancestors. This fear kept boundaries that had been trodden out by an elder under an oath immovable for all time, and preserved water rights. In modern Lurë there is some maldistribution of irrigation water, but no attempt is made to remedy this by force of law. Many years ago, the people say, their ancestors took an oath about the irrigation rights of each family and they dare not violate this oath. One of the derisory stories told in sophisticated Tirana about the Highlanders relates that they were such poor stuff that one said, when brought to court, 'I have sworn a solemn oath not to tell, but press me a little and I will speak'.

There were occasions, however, on which perjury was thought permissible or even commendable. A man of Lumë, when asked to be compurgator in a murder case, would sometimes consider whether he might help to make peace between the parties if he forswore himself. If he decided that 'giving a living man for a dead one was no way of doing', he would swear a false oath. In the Malësi e Madhe, a village ward or a tribe had sometimes to swear not to enter a malefactor's house; when this punishment came to seem excessive it was thought advisable to break the oath.

695 In general, the modern mountaineers drew a distinction between 687 their own old jury system and the law court that was superseding it. Reluctant though they remained to forswear themselves by their old system, they would do so joyfully in the modern court, especially if this saved a friend or relative or concealed their possession of a rifle; this weapon being their chief treasure, they would deny '500 times' on oath that they had it. Instead of public censure

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682 dependent on charity. At best the elders fixed a sum to be paid by
*628 the murderer for leave to work his own land: the money paid, the avenger gave his word not to molest him; or a 'strong' friend guaranteed his safety as he tilled his fields. This arrangement continued until he was killed elsewhere or the avenger consented to make peace.

*628 Various devices were tried to outwit an avenger too venomous
[562] to make the smallest concession to his 'imprisoned' enemy. The
[627] commonest was for the murderer to let his land to a neutral on the usual Albanian terms of 'halves'. Once some men of Lurë, trusting to the prevailing immunity of women from attack, dressed in their wives' clothes and went out to work. They were soon discovered and compelled to return home. Frequently a woman was made to work alongside the men, the assumption being that from fear of accidentally hitting the women and so disgracing himself the avenger would not fire on the party. The man who murdered the brother of Kodhel Dede of Nezhar in Shpat belonged to a large family, the members of which went to work with a woman between every two men. Kodhel thus found it impossible to kill one of them and after a long period of years made peace. Sometimes a man's wife kept watch while he worked; if she signalled the enemy's approach, he seized his rifle and prepared to defend himself. During Kodhel Dede's feud with the Trepsanishti family he found himself long baulked by the vigilance of his enemy's wife.
[796] At last his chance came on the eve of 15 August. The wife had her
[782] mind set on making *melata* (sacrificial foods) for distribution on the festival, and, forgetting her husband who was at work on the threshing floor, she went home to make them. Kodhel, who had crept up through a maize field, shot her husband as soon as her back was turned. In the hilly landscape of Fulqet in west Mat a different sort of watch was kept. The 'imprisoned' men, aided by friends, dug a hole on top of a hill commanding a wide view. One of their best shots, rifle in hand, settled down in this hole ready to snipe the avenger if he tried to kill any of the men at work.

*628 Work in the fields apart, an 'imprisoned' murderer might for
572 short periods leave his house under escort of a friend. This friend
682 had to be 'strong', otherwise the murderer might be killed by his enemy, a lasting disgrace to the man whose protégé he was for the time being. Sometimes murderer and avenger had a common friend who took the former out; in that case the friend ran less risk

771 Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
[782] which at one point were most probably human sacrifices; the faith
[769] in the existence of certain snakes that guarded treasures and in the tutelary spirits of people; exposing the dead after the manner of the Parsi, as a result of that lack of respect for the corpse which springs from the knowldege of the eternity of the spirit--the ancient Thracians were jubilant whenever someone died, and they wailed when some-
[775] one was born--; werewolf conceptions; separation of the soul in sleep; wandering about of the dead, especially of evil people who in the form of a ghost or in a transformed human shape cause harm. The foreseeing of the future makes use of materialistic means in order to survive before the masses in a degenerate age which no longer knows
[787] or believes. It prophesies from the fissures that appear in a heated sheep's shoulder blade or hen's breast bone; also from the bright and dark spots in the light filtering through, or from the flight of birds.
[789] The old knowledge of the emanating, radiating spiritual forces of beings and things is used for magical purposes, for instance little pieces of paper that have something written on them and which are worn as a protection or drunk after they have been dissolved in water. The sun still lives among the Albanians as "God's reflection."

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To the Land of the Eagle

saint can further their political aims, and, to me, at all events, the matter still remains a mystery.

In addition to the belief in the powers of St. John of Scutari—a belief which has a religious background—the local people hold other beliefs, some of which date back to very remote times. The graves of the babas are accounted holy, and are usually covered with cloths put there by pious persons who need assistance. And at a certain spot in the masonry of the ancient city wall there is a window or aperture at which it is customary for women who are unable to nurse their babies to place offerings of bread. When the wall was originally built, many centuries ago, a woman was sacrificed by being enclosed alive in the masonry at this particular spot. The sacrifice, quite a usual one in those days when any constructional work of importance was begun, was intended to propitiate evil spirits who might interfere with the progress of the work. On this occasion an opening was left, so the story goes, through which the unhappy woman might suckle her baby, and it is on this account that the place is supposed to possess the power of stimulating the flow of natural milk in those who make offerings there.

The tourist, should he penetrate so far, will find much to interest him in Elbasan, especially on market day, when it is packed with country folk in an astonishing variety of costumes. The surroundings are delightful. There are several parks and open spaces of which the most remarkable is a small square to the south of the town surrounded by

[596] [608] set its internal stability. The very act of vengeance is a ritual, as is the constant repetition of the need for vengeance. The rites of blood brotherhood and godfatherhood are rituals performed by Catholic and Moslem alike.

776 Both Catholics and Moslems believe in a host of malevolent spirits which pay the mountains a seasonal visit in the springtime, and which can sometimes be kept at bay by the use of amulets. These evil spirits are of course the symbols of the general hunger, illness, and irritability which beset the mountaineers at

753 this critical season. Catholics and Moslems alike attribute non-traumatic illnesses to spells cast by magicians, through the agency of hair and nail clippings. Wasting illnesses, such as consumption and cancer, may be attributed to vampires, sucking their victim's blood.

754 A vampire is said to be a human being, usually but not always a woman, who can change herself into an insect and fly into a room in which her victim is sleeping. As she fills with the blood, she has to leave now and then to spit it out. A person who finds such a gobbet of blood on the path is lucky; he can wrap it up and keep it as an amulet to protect him against vampires—and incidentally probably expose himself and his family to tuberculosis.

When people are hungry and ill, it is easy to suspect others of evil magic. The person named as a witch or vampire will of course be someone whose actions are eccentric or mysterious, who is a cause of disturbance in the community, and whose loss will not be greatly felt. If a child is suffering from malnutrition its parents may accuse some old woman, and drag her from her house. They will accuse her of having sucked blood from the child, and force her to spit in the child's mouth. Under protest she may spit merely in order to get away. If the child recovers, then the parents are sure she is a vampire; if the child dies she was innocent for her spittle did not cure it. People do not like being accused of witchcraft, or of having their aged grandmothers hauled off for trial; such actions, like the very suspicion itself, may result in bloodshed.

782 The Ghegs are great oath-swearers. Between blood feuds rivals will swear to keep the peace, on a stone in the presence of the

782 elders. Even if they are persuaded to swear on the cross, they will not forego the stone, which is the symbol which gives their oath
787 validity. They are also great believers in omens, and in divination. Men versed in this skill read the future by observing the sternal bones of fowl and the scapulae of sheep. I have witnessed a performance of the latter. The bone has its special divisions, each of which has meaning. On the sheep's scapula the joint socket is the house, and its depth or shallowness indicates whether the house will be empty or full of wealth. This can be used to predict success or failure of crops. The ridge on the blade shows whether or not flocks will multiply. Small holes on the blade are cradles, and the diviner can tell how close to the family, i.e., the "house," the birth will be by the distance from the socket. When you hold the blade up to the firelight or lamp, the shape and position of the marrow will tell where and when there will be fighting. Opaque white spots mean death, and their position indicates whether they will be within or without the household of the enquirer.

182 All of these rituals are concerned with the
788 maintenance of equilibrium in Gheg society. Oaths give authority to agreements, and cannot be broken until a crisis arrives which is stronger than that which the oath-breaking will produce. By clever use of the divining bones, a knowledgeable man can evaluate the state of affairs in his neighborhood, and give warnings; he can also precipitate decisions from wavering allies, for if he is a diviner of reputation, his words will be believed. Very often what he predicts will come true.

Special ritual routines common to members of both official religions restore equilibrium after the crises of birth, marriage, and death. All of these rituals which reinforce their social habits are of much greater importance to the Ghegs than the rites of church or mosque, which are not as well adjusted to this partic-
671 ular form of society. Another such mechanism is traditional law, codified and memorized as the Law of Lek Dukagin, which expresses the mountain attitude toward marriage and the selection of wives, and toward the blood feud. It serves to crystallize forms of behavior and inhibit change in those who are trained from childhood to believe in its infallible authority.

[See ext 116, pp. 37a-b - Anal yst]

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623 expression 'to take on the shoulder', which is frequently heard in
789 speech all over the country in the sense of 'to destroy' or 'to ruin', seems to derive from this obviously very ancient method of making oath. 'If I don't act justly, may I carry this weight in this world and the next', the elder swore solemnly as, irrespective of whether he was Catholic, Orthodox or Moslem, he embarked on his delimitation. In most cases he believed that if he were unfair the earth and stone would punish him literally as he said. 'Earth will rot us all one day; we can't put it lightly on our shoulders like a stone. It's a very serious thing; we stake our soul by touching it', were some of the expressions used to explain the general fear. Some men were so frightened of the dread symbols that they would not undertake to delimit a boundary, saying, 'It's a serious business to undertake such a thing; it brings you up against God's justice'. A few others, it must be confessed, were sceptical enough in consideration of a bribe to defy the consequences of perjury and to delimit unfairly.

423 Boundary stones then were set up by elders in the presence of
527 witnesses as an abiding memorial to the ownership of the land they outlined. 'A fence may rot, a boundary does not', said the proverb. 'Let ever so many be killed; a field, or mountain, a vineyard cannot be seized by force; the boundary stones say who is the lawful owner', was another aphorism. In many places it was customary, generation after generation, to 'ride the marches' once a year so that the old could show the young where the stones were and so forge the next link in the endless chain of memory. Like its British counterpart, the custom gave occasion for a public holiday. Often performed, as in Nangë, at the spring festival of 'Summer Day', all men and boys in a village went round every known boundary in it. They saw that the boundary stones were still in place and not sunk out of sight, noted their position, and cleared away thorns and other concealing overgrowth. Often, as in Nangë, they were led by gypsies banging joyously on drums.

423 It was thought a sin to move boundary stones, since they had
685 been set up in such solemn circumstances by elders, the highest
783 tribal authorities. But land-hunger was so prevalent that the sin was all too common. With the lapse of time, too, boundary stones might sink out of sight in the ground and the boundary line be obliterated. Disputes over boundaries were consequently endless. To prevent them there were various deterrents. Men of weight—

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tribal, religious or personal—fostered the belief that moving boundary stones made things specially hard for the sinner in the next world. In this world the elders punished the misdeed with a heavy fine—of varying amount in Mirditë, 30 rams and an ox in Bicaj of Lumë, 3000 grosh and 6 rams in Kastrat, and a Turkish pound and boycott in Godolesh. Everywhere the sinner was publicly disgraced even if he was not always boycotted as in Godolesh, and he had always to compensate his victim financially. He had in fact stolen land, a valuable article of property as representing a man's livelihood. Consequently his crime was punishable as a bad form of theft. In Mirditë a man who had not only moved the boundary stones but also killed his neighbour was fined 100 rams and an ox and publicly executed for his double crime.

Yet in Mirditë one very primitive method of moving a tribal boundary was permissible. If a man had no forest or other source of timber and he had desperate need of this, he might take his axe and go to a forest in a neighbouring tribe—naturally he did not penetrate very far from his own tribe's boundary. The noise his axe made as he felled and lopped a tree soon brought up the foresters. If he had presence of mind and strength of arm enough to drive his axe up to the shaft in the fallen tree, and if the foresters could not pull it out, the boundary of his tribe was advanced to the tree. This was the manner in which Gjokë Buca of Kaçinar won forest from Kushnen. The method may have been peculiar to Mirditë.

In the Malësi e Madhe a man who had a spinney might refuse to permit his neighbour who had none to cut timber to fence in his property. He might want to cut the timber himself next year. It was his own business whether he sold it or not. The other was getting food from his field; let him go and buy or beg wood elsewhere for his fence. Presumably what went for an individual tribesman went for his village or tribe.

When disputes arose, efforts were made to settle them before they ended in bloodshed. Two types of dispute were distinguished, public—as arising between tribe and tribe, village and village, ward of a village and ward of a village—and private, as arising between individual and individual.

Settlement in private disputes might be effected by the parties themselves, by elders or by the government. The first method was

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compurgators took the oath and half stood listening with their 695
hands folded at the waist. As only the former touched the Gospel they were called 'oath-hands'. Possibly Father Gjeçov's information came from a different area of Dukagjin, or even since his time the details may have been modified.

The compurgators took the oath on the day officially appointed. The suspect took it a few minutes, a day or several days earlier, as best suited the general convenience, and generally in the presence of the compurgators only. The taking of the oath by the compurgators was a more public affair. The accuser's presence was in most places indispensable. If he would not, or could not, attend the ceremony, he had to give up trying to get his rights by an oath and had to find a private detective to take up the case. In Zerqan, apparently, the accuser did not need to be present, in theft cases at least. The number and quality of other witnesses varied in some places, such as Kurbin, with the gravity of the case, and in others with local custom. In Fulqet, Godolesh and Çermenikë it was obligatory for the village to turn out; otherwise the oath was not considered valid. In Mirditë the elders trying the case had to be present and so too in Theth, Dibër and Çermenikë; if, however, one of them found it inconvenient to attend, he could, in Dibër at least, send a deputy. In Lurë the Catholic priest had to be present when the suspect was Catholic, as had the Moslem sheikh of Ceren when he was a Moslem. In the Malësi e Madhe, Bytyç and Martanesh, an oath was valid if witnessed by the accuser and a few of his friends.

In grave cases a whole family might be asked to take the oath. In [672]
that event the master spoke in his usual capacity of household representative, for the rest of the family as well as himself, and it was forbidden to ask them to repeat his words. In Mirditë the women and children were not involved, but in Malësi e Madhe all the males of the family had to be present regardless of their age, and the master held an infant boy in his arms while he swore that he and they were innocent. In Martanesh, too, the accused had to bring all his sons, all his brothers and all his brothers' sons to the ceremony. The suspect had to swear to the whole family's ignorance as well as innocence of the crime.

In most districts this oath was taken at any of the usual places for 695
oath-taking, but in Martanesh it was taken in the most solemn 672
circumstances possible, at the grave of Balim Sulltan. It was a very 783

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695 serious oath, entailing the extinction of the whole family if the
672 oath-taker perjured himself. This was symbolized clearly in the
783 Malësi e Madhe ceremony. The master's perjury, if any, and its penalties would, it was believed, run through his body and the infant's like an electric current and destroy both. The wording of the oath seems to have been suitably strong as well as comprehensive. The only available example comes from the Malësi e Madhe, and runs, 'By this holy oath of the Lord, if I did it, may He reward me. As for the male of yours who has been killed, neither I nor my kinsmen, male or female, have killed him with our hands or our guns or with a guest's or agent's hands or gun.'

695 The family oath was reserved for men who were expected to deny
[6 serious crime of which there was strong evidence that they were guilty. In the Malësi e Madhe, and apparently in Martanesh also, this was murder. So in these areas a family oath was tantamount to one with twenty-four compurgators. In Mirditë and Kurbin it was chiefly used in theft cases. If a sheep or goat in Kurbin was stolen, the thief had to return two sheep or goats to the owner, and pay a fine besides; if, however, he denied the theft, he must swear with his whole family that he was innocent. By contrast, a man who denied stealing an ox, a horse or a mule, was only ordered to take the oath with six compurgators. The theft of these animals was less serious than stealing a sheep or goat; for they only represented wealth, whereas the sheep and goats provided food for their owner.

[694] In Mirditë the accuser had the right to ask a family oath of any man whom he strongly suspected, and could also say that he must take it with a jury. In that event he had to specify the various families in the village who were to compose the jury. For the Malësi e Madhe there is no evidence, but in Martanesh a jury was seldom required in family oaths. Group oaths were used in cases where the suspect, told to take the oath with twenty-four compurgators, failed to find so many ready to swear to his innocence and volunteered to take the oath with all the males of his family in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum. If he did so, nothing more was required of him.

In Mirditë, as Father Gjeçov informs us, a truculent accuser might also ask the oath by the head of the suspect's son; in that case the accused could not refuse to take it, unfair and dangerous to the child though it was. If there were more than one boy in the

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other offerings. If they irritated them, as an oath-taker would do by perjuring himself, they could only expect punishment.

A most interesting example of the working of physical contact which is certainly of pagan origin was found in the Moslem district of Sulovë, south-west of Elbasan. There the most hardened oath-taker dare not forswear himself in a serious case, for he must then take the oath with a coin in his mouth, and perjury would bring him certain death. The coin was clearly Charon's obol, as was the coin slipped on to the chest of Albanian dead in many widely separated areas.

In the exclusively Catholic oath 'by the stone' the solemnity of the oath came from the contact with a holy thing, and punishment for perjury was inflicted in any form that the sacred object chose. When, however, elders swore their equally solemn oath with a stone, log of wood or other weight on their shoulder, or when a man, stone on shoulder, claimed repayment of a dead man's debt, no principle of contact was involved. There was rather a quite crude belief that a perjuring elder would be punished by having to carry the weight for ever and ever in the next world.

God punished the perjurer both in this world and in the next. When the man died, his soul was lost, for being 'heavy-laden before the Lord' it had nowhere to go. If he was an elder who had taken an oath with a stone on his shoulder, he was doomed to carry the stone through all eternity. The first of these terrors was evidently inspired by the Church. The second is an older fear. The elder, when taking the oath, often expressed his willingness to carry the stone in the next world if he perjured himself, but an accused man left his future condition to be inferred, except for the cryptic phrase 'If I did it, may He reward me', which he sometimes inserted in his oath. When he was thinking only of himself he meant, according to the Catholics of Kurbin, 'If I lie may God kill me. If I tell the truth, may He forgive me my sins.' When he contrasted himself with his accuser he meant, 'If I did it may I suffer for it. If I didn't, and you've made me run the risk of taking this oath without due cause, may *you* suffer for it.' This sentence seems to have died out among the Moslems.

Death was the commonest, and most dreaded, form of punishment in this world. In the most solemn oaths it was specified—a son's in the oath by the child's head, the oath-taker's own in the oaths by his own head, with Charon's coin in his mouth, and in

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

such phrases as 'May Sheikh Ibrahim cut short my life' and 'May the bread kill me'. Sometimes the mechanism was crude and obvious, as in Jove's thunderbolts, the lightning that struck the perjurer dead, set his house on fire, or killed his livestock. Even if a perjurer escaped death, it was expected all over the country that he would fall ill or go from bad to worse till he came to ruin. Poverty and sickness must be his lot. His family might even die out, most dreadful of calamities. His son might be born with a physical defect, lame or blind or with a withered arm or too many fingers to his hands. A man of Tërnovë, near Martanesh, took a false oath, and as a result one of his eyes a year later was as large as his fist. 783

There were also social penalties to be faced. A man detected in a false oath became an outcast, despised and condemned by all his fellows, and was never again invited into any house in the tribe. In grosser cases in the Malësi e Madhe he might even be expelled by the tribe. In Mirditë his family was branded with shame for seven generations. All over the Catholic areas he was also fined. In Mirditë there were elaborate rules for these fines. If there had been a jury of twenty-four, the perjurer had to pay 100 rams and an ox to the Gjomarkaj family. If the jury had been smaller, the fine, which was presumably of the same amount, went to the tribe. In addition, the perjurer had to pay a fine to the Church and 500 grosh to each compurgator for leading him into perjury and outrage to the Church, and so exposing him to the usual punishments for perjury and sacrilege. For the Divine wrath fell on an unwitting no less than on a witting perjurer. It was no excuse for a compurgator in God's eyes that he had forsworn himself in reliance on the suspect's oath; he had had the responsibility of ascertaining the facts for himself. The compurgators and the perjurer had to go to church in order to obtain absolution for their sins. Just before leaving, the perjurer had to leave money on the altar to pay all the fines he had contracted to pay when he took the oath before the compurgators. In the Malësi e Madhe he had to give six purses to the Church as well as one to each compurgator. In Martanesh which is, of course, completely Moslem, the same compensation was payable to each compurgator in a perjury case, but in neighbouring Zerqan the practice was unknown. The fine was obviously a considerable deterrent to would-be perjurers, especially when the jury was large. 687 [672] [558] [783]

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687 As Father Gjeçov remarks, perjury harmed the soul, imposed a fine and disgraced the man in the eyes of his fellows. All three consequences worked powerfully in their different ways to keep oath-takers on the path of truth. A thief, for instance, might get [783] as far as the door of a church or mosque, but there his heart would fail him and he would exclaim, 'Forgive me, I did steal it'. Then he would proceed to make the usual reparation. Even innocent men dreaded the oath and took it with great reluctance. In poverty-stricken Theth many were so afraid of it that even when wrongfully accused, they preferred to pay whatever fine was due for the crime. 782 In Lurë people professed to fear nothing so much. 'You may rob [627] me of my life, but I will not break my oath', they used to say. As [423] for oaths taken to settle disputes, generations afterwards the descendants of the original disputants were afraid to break the oath of their ancestors. This fear kept boundaries that had been trodden out by an elder under an oath immovable for all time, and preserved water rights. In modern Lurë there is some maldistribution of irrigation water, but no attempt is made to remedy this by force of law. Many years ago, the people say, their ancestors took an oath about the irrigation rights of each family and they dare not violate this oath. One of the derisory stories told in sophisticated Tirana about the Highlanders relates that they were such poor stuff that one said, when brought to court, 'I have sworn a solemn oath not to tell, but press me a little and I will speak'.

There were occasions, however, on which perjury was thought permissible or even commendable. A man of Lumë, when asked to be compurgator in a murder case, would sometimes consider whether he might help to make peace between the parties if he forswore himself. If he decided that 'giving a living man for a dead one was no way of doing', he would swear a false oath. In the Malësi e Madhe, a village ward or a tribe had sometimes to swear not to enter a malefactor's house; when this punishment came to seem excessive it was thought advisable to break the oath.

695 In general, the modern mountaineers drew a distinction between their own old jury system and the law court that was superseding it. 687 Reluctant though they remained to forswear themselves by their old system, they would do so joyfully in the modern court, especially if this saved a friend or relative or concealed their possession of a rifle; this weapon being their chief treasure, they would deny '500 times' on oath that they had it. Instead of public censure

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

*628 682 and would have a feud with the owner. If, after this warning, the neighbour saw the avenger trying to kill his enemy on his land, he shot at him, and if he killed him, he had no feud, for he had forbidden him to raise his rifle on his land.

*628 793 Religious influences also were brought to bear on the two enemies. The Bojdani sheikh of Bicaj in Lumë often intervened when there was shooting, both before and after the murder was committed; telling both parties they were in the wrong, he induced them to make peace. There is no record known to the author of an Orthodox priest acquiring influence enough to end a feud, and a Roman Catholic parish priest, though not ridiculed by his flock as his Orthodox brother too often was, had no power to curse people who kept up blood feuds, and without such power he could not compose a feud. Even a bishop was powerless in such cases. Jesuits, on the other hand, had the power and on occasion exercised it; it is commonly believed to this day that they are sent by the Pope and they are correspondingly feared. Every ten years or so, summoned by the archbishop or the priest in charge, at the instance of the village, they toured the Roman Catholic districts, their main object being to compose blood feuds. In 1932 three priests went to Shkrel for the best part of a week. Due warning of their advent had been given, and all devout Roman Catholics were [793] bidden to attend church every day. Banners depicting the flames of hell and the crimes which earned them were hung round the church and the sermons were in the same strain. On the second day these placed emphasis on the privileged position of Roman Catholics; in return for this good Catholics should settle their blood feuds rather than risk losing the blessing of the church for themselves and their families during their lifetime and after it burial in consecrated ground. On the third day the priests inveighed against keeping up grudges; those who cherished their blood feuds risked the curse of God. This meant that nothing would go right for them. They would be shunned by everyone—an engaged girl could not marry with the blessing of the Church, but only by civil marriage—if indeed her betrothed did not prefer to give her up, although this meant losing her bride-price. On this occasion in Shkrel the vehemence of the priests' exhortations and the fear of the consequences of the curse resulted in the termination of several outstanding feuds.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

8. The Oath

A M 626 728 628 The oath played a most important part in the whole tribal area of Albania and Montenegro. The tribes lived, till recent times, in a constant state of blood-feud both with each other and within the tribes, and this was regulated only by means of sworn intervals of peace. In Montenegro you were in "krv" (blood) or under oath ("pod vjere"). In Albania, in "gjak" (blood) or under "besa." The tribesman as a rule kept the oath when formally sworn with rigid fidelity. A man forsworn was universally condemned. How by means of such oaths blood-feuds were settled we have told in another chapter.

A 626 783 *Manner of Taking Oath.*—Among the Albanian tribes there still exists the very antique custom of swearing the oath upon a stone. The priest and the hodja have succeeded in adding respectively the cross and Allah to his oath, but to the priest's vexation the mountain man persistently says, as he throws down the stone in the circle of headmen, "Per guri i per kruch" (by the stone and the cross), and puts the stone first. When a Catholic tribesman had confessed and received absolution he liked to come to church next time carrying a stone in proportion to the size of the sins confessed. What pact he had sworn on the stone I could not understand. The stone in this case was said to represent penitence. Some priests forbade the practice; others said it was unnecessary, but allowed it because this visible sign of contrition seemed really to help them. "But," said Padre Kiri of Thethi, laughing, "when a man came with a rock on his shoulder I told him he might leave it at the door."

A reason suggested for this custom is that the penitent transferred his sin to the stone and so got rid of it.

In trials before the elders a man accused of crime would swear his innocence upon a stone and fling it down before his judges.

M 626 783 *Montenegro.*—I did not find the custom in Montenegro, but it was clearly common till recently. Prince Danilo, in his Code of 1855, decrees (Law 65): "If after this day a Montenegrin or Brdjanin present himself before justice with a stone tied to his neck, whether innocent or guilty he shall be flogged."

M 754 The custom, it appears, has been flogged out. But in spite of Danilo's floggings I still found the custom of throwing a stone with a curse on to the reputed grave of a bad man. On the western side of Montenegro are several stone piles, and many such are to be found in the Herzegovina, some of which have been excavated and proved to be prehistoric tumuli. Krsto firmly believed all such heaps to be "proklete gomile" (accursed heaps) over the body of a desperate criminal who

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Slavic People NE16

had been stoned to death "many, many years ago." He never failed to add at least half a dozen stones and a multitude of curses to any heap we passed by the way. M 754

Vuk Vrchevitch, in his book on old customs at minor religious festivals, collected in the Bocche di Cattaro, Montenegro, and the Herzegovina, mentions in a footnote that it was customary in the middle of the nineteenth century in Montenegro, when "a man made a statement and at once recognized he had made a mistake, to strike it on a stone (u kamen udariti). He scratched a stone with the nails of his right hand to transfer the error to the stone." As the author thought it necessary to explain this custom to Serbian readers, it is clear that the custom was a local one. M 789 Sb 626

It is noteworthy that I can find no reference to swearing upon stones in old Serbian ballads, though swearing enough takes place in them. 783

That it is a custom of extreme antiquity there can be no doubt.

Lavrov (*v.* Jirecek) states that the Macedonian Slavs of old worshipped trees and stones. But tree- and pillar-worship is common to very many lands and existed in the Balkans long before the advent of the Slavs. Sir Arthur Evans describes the cult at Mycenæ and Dodona (*Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xxi). The oath on the stone may, therefore, belong to all and any of the Balkan people. SP 771 783 627

The Northern Slavs appear to have had some such oath. Helmoldus, in his *Chronica Slavorum* (*c.* 1160), tells that they "showed great reverence to their holy places, which were frequently sacred groves or springs, and would not lightly take an oath there, lest they should be overtaken by the wrath of the avenging god." When the church at Oldenburg was built and dedicated to St. John the Baptist in 1066 by the Saxons, "the Count bade the Slavs gather in the church to hear the Word of God . . . and the Slavs were restrained in future from *swearing by trees, fountains, and stones*; they were to bring those accused of crimes to the priest to be examined by the iron or the ploughshare" (*c.* 83). The steps taken by various races to "civilize" others are very interesting. Here the Saxons evidently consider the practice of ordeal by hot iron a more Christian method than that of swearing innocence upon an object believed to be sacred by the swearer.

Helmoldus's statement shows that this ordeal was not Slavonic. We must, therefore, suppose that the hot-iron ordeal, recommended in Stefan Dushan's Code (1349) as a means of testing serfs accused of crime, was borrowed from a neighbour land. Be this as it may, the ordeal was in use in South Slav districts till well into the nineteenth century.

Swearing on a stone has survived only in Albania as a means of self-justification; and it is not impossible that it has existed from A 783 627

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6

A 783 627 pre-Slavonic times. One other trace maybe of holy trees and stones I saw in 1904 when riding through Albania, and never again.

My horse-boy picked up stones and thrust them in the forks of trees when we passed through a wood. To the horror of my companion, A [775 769] who was a colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society from South Albania, the boy declared he was doing so for the spirits of the dead to have something to tread on as they passed. Unfortunately the colporteur blamed him, and he would say no more about it. Hahn, in his Albanian studies, mentions this custom.

A 778 On this journey we passed two small woods where, I was told, no trees were ever cut because "a long while ago a church stood there." No one knew when. The "church" had probably been imagined, to account for the sanctity of the wood.

S 627 538 782 In Serbian tales and ballads the oaths are usually sworn by "God and St. John." Does St. John the Baptist represent a former oath on a holy spring? In Montenegro, SS. Petar Cetinski and Vasili of Ostrog were daily asked to bear witness to many dubious statements. No Montenegrin peasant can make a statement, whether true or false, without calling on God and one or other of his saints; and, alas! the old idea of the sanctity of an oath had evaporated and the statement was too often a lie.

Whereas I found the word of the Albanian tribesman reliable; but civilization may weaken his word, too.

M 782 Old King Nikola of Montenegro used to call Heaven to witness many remarkable statements. Once, when the Diplomatic Circle had been summoned to hear an unusually remarkable one, it is said that an astonished silence ensued, till one Minister Plenipotentiary, recovering his presence of mind, politely said: "Your Royal Highness is famed through Europe as . . . a poet."

THE POSTRIPA GROUP

619 175 Postripa is obviously a name bequeathed by the Romans. It consists of five tribes, all included in the Diocese of Pulati. Much of Postripa is Moslem, for it was quarrelled about by several bishops. In 1702 Pope Clement XI, who was of Albanian blood on his mother's side, sent Vicentius Zmajevitch as Visitator Apostolicus, who reported among other lamentable things that three bishops were all claiming Postripa, and that meanwhile the people are left "without leader or shepherd, like a scattered flock subject to oppression and persecution."

In Postripa are included five tribes:—

619 175 614 1. *Mazreku.*—A small Catholic tribe. That the place was in ancient days a centre of civilization is shown by the considerable ruins of an abbey, Shenkol Shati, believed to have belonged to the Benedictines and to be the one mentioned by several ancient writers as not far from Scutari. It is now lost in a tangle of trees and brushwood. There is [784] a strong feeling throughout Albania against felling trees on the spot where a church once existed—a feeling that probably goes back to the very ancient days of sacred groves. The abbey presumably fell into ruin when the Serbs seized the district in the Middle Ages. The hatred [798] of the Serb Orthodox for the Catholics was shown in 1913 in the Balkan War, when the Montenegrin troops, whose object was said to be "to liberate Christians," fell upon the little church of Mazreku, trampled the Host under foot, dressed up in the priestly vestments, danced about, and amused themselves by cutting off the noses from images of the saints and firing bullets into the crucifix.

2. *Drishti.*—A small Moslem tribe that was almost annihilated in 1913 by the Montenegrins. Drishti is the site of the ancient city of Drivasto, in ancient days a bishopric, mentioned as early as 877. The town was entirely destroyed by the Turks, who beheaded the leaders before the walls of Scutari—then too besieged—in order to terrify the Scutarines into submission. The wasted spot was afterwards settled by incomers from the neighbourhood of mixed origin. And in the period when three bishops were quarrelling for Postripa the Drishti folk all turned Moslem.

3. *Shlaku.*—A tribe of one bairak on the right bank of the Drin, in a [779] very poor district. It is all Catholic and traces origin from Toplana (*q.v.*).

4. *Dushmani.*—A Catholic tribe of two bairaks—Temali and Dushmani. Dushmani takes its name from a chieftain family which ruled here. In 1403 "Goranimus, Damianus, and Nenada, brothers Dusmani, Lords of Pulati Minor," offer themselves as subjects to Venice and swear fidelity on condition that Venice will guarantee them in possession

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

527 777 incident that occurs during its twelve hours is believed to presage the events of the corresponding months of the coming year, and the events of the first day of each month the character, lucky or unlucky, of the other days generally. It is unlucky to work in the [461] fields during the first week of October, and no corn is sown this month, as the crop would be sure to fail.

527 777 776 ●784 The period between the 15th of November and the 6th of January is, like the Greek *Fishoti* and the Bulgarian *Kulada*,[1] supposed to be the carnival time of the Vilas and other supernal beings, who are, at that season, not only more active, but more powerful than at others, and especially during the night. After sunset, consequently, people refrain from going abroad, or drinking water, for fear of mischief, and give no credence to their dreams. They are also careful not to leave any article of wearing ap- [296] parel out of doors after nightfall, and if, by some oversight, a garment should be so left, it is washed before being used, in order to get rid of any spell cast upon it by the supernals.

527 777 Christmas, which bears a name (*Kolendravet*[2]) apparently connected with those by which it is known among the Bulgarians and Vlachs, is observed with ceremonies that recall those of more Northern nations, as well as with some similar to those of their last-mentioned neighbours. On the 24th and 25th of

[1] Vol. i. pp. 123 and 329.

[2] Von Hahn derives this name from the κολένδρα, the ring-shaped cakes made at this season. I would, however, suggest the greater likelihood of the cakes having been named after the name of the feast in its various forms of (Albanian) *Kolendravet*, (Vlach) *Kolindi*, and (Bulgarian) *Kulada*.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

embodied in a code there is an end to its spontaneous development. But to reach this stage the code must be an enacted code, written and recorded, and this the pronouncements of the Albanian law-givers failed to achieve. On the contrary their codes seem to have remained in the verbal custody of the village or tribal elders and subject to modification or reinterpretation from time to time by assemblies of clans or villages. It is at this stage that we have Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian customary law—law primitive enough in many ways to be compared with the customary law of tribes much less civilized than the Albanians; but it reached the point, and that some five hundred years ago, of becoming codified verbally by the efforts of individual law-givers, Skanderbeg in particular and the famous Lek Dukagjini, without having reached the stage of enactment. This was principally due to the fact that there was no one able to enforce sanctions over the Albanian community as a whole; individual Albanian chieftains had not the power, and Turkish rule interfered but little outside the towns.

It was no doubt this absence of any such sanctions as those provided by an enacted law and enforced by a settled government, or merely even by the continuity in administration of a single ruling family, which was the primary cause of the firm establishment of the vendetta as the real sanction for all Albanian law and custom. At the same time, however, economic conditions have probably contributed to this result, for in a richer country the administration of justice might have been made profitable to any ruler strong enough to provide it. Thus Albanian customary law not only reflects an economic stage through which most nations have passed before the establishment of enacted codes, but also a condition, by no means unique but very far from universal, in which poor and isolated communities have resorted to the vendetta for the sanction of their law, and that in spite of any influence that Christianity or Islam might have had to prevent it. The etiquette of the vendetta itself is likewise a customary code not dissimilar to taboo in nature and origins; and without any more definite sanction, or naturally any sort of legislative enactment, regular and almost technical forms of procedure have come into existence in what virtually are regularly constituted courts. In this the Icelandic practices, as described in the sagas of Njal and Kormak, for instance, afford a near parallel to those of Albania, and Mrs Hasluck's account of Albanian custom will prove of importance not

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

for the violation of her honour by the push than for the bruise, was not satisfied and instigated her son, a boy of twelve or thirteen, to vindicate her honour by killing Gjelosh's son, who was of the same age. Since the boys habitually herded their goats together, her son found an opportunity of pushing the other boy over a rock and as he lay there helpless he stoned him till he died. Then Gjelosh, still in prison, paid a man to kill the little murderer. Grimës retorted by killing Gjelosh's remaining son and dooming Gjelosh's family to extinction.

Two instances, both from Beshkash in western Mat, in which a child was killed by a woman in revenge for the death of a relative, are recorded. In the first (about 1918) the only son of Pushko Zefi of Beshkash had been killed, and the cousins, who were his natural avengers, did not seem inclined to do their duty. Maddened by their inaction, the victim's sister, who was married in Perlat, took the opportunity provided by a visit to her old home and called at the enemy's house. On being left alone for a moment with a small boy in the kitchen, she cut his throat. Another woman in Beshkash, crazed by the murder of her grown-up son by Pal Dede Hajo, went to Pal's house and cut off the head of a little boy she found asleep in his cradle.

Since women do not have rifles or blood feuds according to the Kanùn, a woman could not possibly be killed to avenge a murder. It follows that when a woman avenged a murdered relative, she could not be killed in return, and indeed this did not happen very often. The tabu on killing a woman in any circumstances was reinforced by all the forces of public opinion and superstition. Killing a woman save when taken in adultery or incorrigible pilfering was the most disgraceful thing that an Albanian could do. Only one who came from 'a low-class family' would do it, he never again had any luck with his rifle and he could not hope to have his crime pardoned, but must wash away his crime with his blood. He need pay with only one life, but if his victim was a married woman, he could hardly hope to save it, for two or even three families sought to take it. The dead woman's husband wished to avenge his wife, her father his daughter, and, in Martanesh, her maternal uncle his niece. At Shënjon, near Elbasan, the father asked the husband if he meant to kill the enemy; if from cowardice or weakness he said no, the father at once set about tracking down the enemy. Since 'rifles can't weigh'—that is, discriminate—a

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

562 woman was sometimes shot accidentally in a man's stead in spite of
*628 the tabu. In that unhappy event in Kurbin a woman in the
672 murderer's family might be killed in return. If, too, a feud was
784 unusually bitter, as was, for instance, the Kaloshi family one in Dibër, all barriers of law and disgrace were thrown down; 'kill at all costs' was the order of the day, and in its execution women and children were as likely as men to suffer.

This tabu on killing women had several sources. In the first place, a woman was 'a sack for carrying' things, i.e. she was the vehicle by which a family was carried on, and killing her might mean the loss of more than one man to her husband's family. Then she carried no arms, and therefore was classed with old men, children, and lunatics as safe from an avenger. Again, she was
[421] always regarded as an article of property, belonging in her maiden days to her father and afterwards to her husband; her father had the right to her work till she married, and her husband afterwards; in token of this work her father sold her dear, and her husband bought her dear. Articles of property could not be damaged in the course of blood feuds. There was also the feeling that it was a disgrace for a 'strong' man to kill anything so inferior as a woman.

The tabu on killing women was so strong that when one committed a murder, not she but one of the males in the family expiated the crime, if expiation were possible. Murders by women fell into two categories, the first outside and the second inside the family. In both cases the murderess might commit the crime on her own account or butt into a men's quarrel to avenge a murdered relative.

*628 One more class of expiator remains to be considered. It some-
672 times happened that a man hired an outsider to kill his enemy. In
[754] the Breg i Matit some held that such a man was a 'witch', and
676 since witches could not have blood feuds, he must go scot-free and his hireling suffer, like any other murderer. In most places, if the instigator could not be discovered, or if time was passing without vengeance being taken on him, the hireling was killed. These practices were exceptional, and in general the feud was credited to the principal rather than to the subordinate who fired the fatal shot.

[554] Vanity as well as justice came into the question, for the instigator was usually a more important person than his instrument, and killing him brought the avenger more glory.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

SECTION VIII

SOME BALKAN TABOOS. IRON. HAIR

1. Propitiating the Stranger

In a land where magic is still practised it is not surprising to find some ancient taboos still alive.

Of the many things that mankind fears, the unknown is perhaps the most dreaded. Therefore in old days, when travellers were scarce, save on well-marked trade routes, the stranger was an object of great suspicion. Who could tell what evil spells he might work? Magic was then the great danger; to-day it is "politik," the mysterious power of secret diplomacy. The stranger is still suspect in lands much nearer home.

In those parts of the Balkans where the tribal system was still in force, the reluctance of the tribe to admit a stranger was still marked. Off the beaten track a guide was a necessity, not merely to show the way but to act as a passport and explain one. In many places the peasant believed firmly in hidden treasure, and every stranger was suspected of knowing the spell by which to acquire and run off with it. A reason for the stranger's presence is required.

Krsto Pejovitch, when I first went up-country with him, began to explain me so soon as we got off the highroad. He was showman, so to speak, and I was the monkey to his organ-grinding. On arrival at a han he would begin loudly: "She can read and write several languages. She can make pictures without a machine [i.e. draw]. She can sing. She can," etc. According to Krsto there were few things I could not do. Moreover, the Montenegrin proverb says: "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head," and as I wore my hair short, an uncommon thing in those days, the simple folk accepted the fact that my wits were necessarily long. Krsto would point this out, and add, in an aside, to bachelors: "She is not married, and God knows how rich."

When I protested, he declared this was the right way to conduct a tour, and he knew all about it. I had come to see real Montenegrin life—and I saw it. But so long as I live I shall feel for the luckless dancing bear who is prodded up to perform once more when dead tired, and remember the days when I could not make a note or a sketch except before a changing crowd as curious as monkeys, which flocked to see a woman who could not only write but write English. As often

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5
Serbs EF6
Bulgaria EE1

began and I was propitiated on all sides. It was the thing to ask me into the nearest house and stuff me with food, and for days my hotel bills were almost nil. But that was in the days of the Obrenovitch, when the Karageorgevitches had been exiled for ever and ever for having murdered Prince Michael. They now reign over wide lands for having murdered the Archduke Ferdinand. S 186 114

We, too, have a stranger craze. We still hedge the stranger with difficulties until, or unless, we think fit to feast him at the Guildhall, hoping earnestly that by thus feeding the beast we may induce him to work magic in our favour with tariffs or arm his compatriots on our behalf.

2. The Name Taboo

Among many primitive races all the world over a man's name is part of himself. Just as spells to hurt a man may be wrought by means of bits of his hair or nails, so, too, can evil be worked by using his name. The name is, therefore, a thing to be carefully guarded. Thus is the name taboo explained by authorities on the subject. A 784 551 121

The taboo is common in the Balkans. In 1904, among the Bulgars of Macedonia, I had to classify long lists of refugees. Woman after woman would give her name as "Maria," and refuse, with tears running down her cheeks, to give her husband's name, or any clue to her identity, save perhaps the name of her father in a distant village. "They are ashamed. You must not ask such a thing," I was told. I had asked an indecent question and hurt their feelings. "Ask another woman." The Maria in question would hurry from the room, while I learnt from a woman of the same village that the husband's name was Dmitri, son of George. This constantly happened when I have dealt with Bulgar and Albanian refugees. The explanation always is that they are "modest." A B 784 551 576

In Montenegro the custom was nearly dead—but not quite. Old folk still thought it improper for man and wife to name each other. The schoolmaster at Tzrmnitza told me that there were still many who had never done so. Savo Vuletitch, himself a Montenegrin, in one of his admirable tales of Montenegro, tells how "Petar Radisitch, though he had lived on the best of terms with his wife for full twenty years, had never called her by her name, nor even spoken to her as a human being, on any subject, if it were possible for a stranger to overhear. Had he to speak to her in public he muttered through his teeth, and she did the same by him. To have done otherwise would have been shameful." M 784 551 576

A plan I found adopted was that the man gave his order in the

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M 184 551 576 third person without looking at his wife: "She is to bring coffee." Or turned his back and gave the order over his shoulder: "Bring coffee." If he had to mention his wife or present her, the older men still did so with a formal apology: "Da oprostish—moja zhena" ("If you will pardon me—my wife"). This I heard often enough. The mention of any female relative was avoided, and a man with daughters but no sons would emphatically declare he had no children. The girl child was made to feel her inferiority early. "A man feeds his son for himself, but his daughter for another man," she was told.

M 606 551 576 The name taboo till recently extended to other members of a household. The daughter-in-law, when brought to the family house, was not to call her new in-laws by their baptismal names.

"She dared not, for modesty," says Vuk Karadjitch. She addressed them all by nicknames which implied admiration or respect. Thus she called the elder brethren of the house Gospodin (sir), or Djever (brother-in-law), or even Ago (a great Aga). The younger more familiarly, as Sokolo (falcon), Miloshto (dear one), Zlatoye (golden one), or Krasni (the handsome). The elder women of the house were called Gospa (lady); the sisters-in-law Snasha, if they were the wives of the husband's brothers. If they were the unmarried sisters of the husband, who would all be very young in a land where girls are often married at fourteen, they were given fancy names, such as Lepotitza or Ubavitza (pretty little one), or Gospodjitza (little lady), or Golubitza (little dove). Beyond the family circle I found no trace of name taboo in Montenegro.

A 551 553 In the North Albanian mountains, however, in the Dukagin districts, it was decidedly unadvisable for a man's real name to be known. Especially in Shala, Shoshi, and Nikaj, I found it customary for men to adopt another name. It was a constant annoyance to the Franciscans that, though they baptized their flocks with good Albanian Christian names such as Kol (Nicholas), Gin (John), Ded (Dominic), or Pietr (Peter), the lads, on growing up, persisted in calling themselves by another name, preferably a Moslem one. They rigidly kept the fasts; they flocked to church on a feast day; according to their rather dim lights they fulfilled some, at least, of their religious duties. But they called themselves Hussein, or Ismail, or Mehmed, and no plea or threat of the priest could budge them. I was once asked by a Franciscan to express my horror of the practice to a whole party of men. I therefore said no one in England would believe they were Christians if they had such names. They did not like this and crossed themselves repeatedly in proof of their faith. But on this question they were obstinate. They did it "because they wished to," "because the names were beautiful" and, most convincing of all, "because we always do."

A [571 784] ●

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Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

Both the name and the food taboos being even to-day so common in the Balkans, it is strange to find Herodotus, so many centuries ago, mentioning both as peculiar customs of the Ionians and explaining them thus: "Even those who esteemed themselves the most noble of the Ionians on first settling in the country brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women whose husbands they put to death. In consequence of this violence the women made a compact which they delivered to their daughters never to sit at meals with their husbands nor to call them by their appropriate names" (Bk. I, c. xlvi). He, however, expressly states that these Ionians were of very mixed origin, saying that: "Molossians, Pelasgians of Arcadia, and Dorians of Epidaurus were mingled with them." These are some of the oldest known Balkan tribes. The Molossians especially were in South Albania. The food and name taboos were thus possibly brought from the Balkans to Asia by the men. Judging by the present Balkan peoples, it is far more likely that the customs should have been enforced by them on their captured wives than that Herodotus's explanation should be correct.

B 262 175 171 562

4. Taboo on Showing the Face

The amount of veiling done by the women varies very considerably among the Balkan peoples, I know. The most closely veiled and hooded of all were the Moslem Slavs of Mostar and Serajevo. The Moslem Slav, whether called Serb or Croat, is a very strict Mohammedan.

A H 784 562

This may be because the Bosnians and Herzegovinians—the Bosnians more especially—adopted Islam in many cases as early as the fifteenth century, whereas the Albanians, upon whom it sits far more lightly, and a very large number of whom belong to the heretical Bektashi sect, became Mohammedan mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some in the nineteenth. The women of the Moslem Albanian mountain tribes are never veiled, and will come to market and bargain freely with any man, their faces more exposed than those of many Christians.

A 794 562 292 171

In the towns, which were under the rule of Turkish officials whose womenfolk possibly set the fashions, the Albanian Moslem women were all more or less closely veiled. In Dulcigno they almost exceeded the hooding of Mostar, and have preserved the custom under the rule of the Montenegrin, which was forced upon them by the pious efforts of Mr. Gladstone.

A 292 171

The veiling of women was, however, not unknown in Ancient Greece, and the veiling or partial veiling of both men and women was practised in various primitive and non-Moslem lands. The usual explanation of

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the Serb chieftain. Maybe Novak was by race one of the "under-dogs" of the old Serb Empire—a serf or slave.

In a Montenegrin ballad, dictated to me by Krsto and which I do not know in print, the smith again appears as low caste. Milosh of Drobnjak bids his sister take his brown horse to be shod by Suljo the Gipsy. Suljo refuses to do so unless he may kiss her. Milosh rides away on the unshod horse, and on his return rode to Suljo's. "When Suljo saw him he was afeared. He took his cap in his left hand, and in his right, the hammer and tongs to shoe Milosh's brown horse. But Milosh smote the gipsy with his sword. Though he struck him but lightly, he cleft him in twain. And thus spoke Milosh: 'Well, Suljo! Dost wish to kiss my sister now?' "

The smith was low class and of another race.

How different from these benighted ideas are those of our higher civilization. It is universally recognized that the making and selling of machines for killing the people over the border is the most honourable of trades. Far from being classed as a Black Gipsy, the armament dealer receives a title, and can marry anybody's daughter.

But a fear or dislike of iron has been widespread. When one considers its great usefulness and the ages it has been in use, it is incomprehensible that the idea it was uncanny should have been so persistent. No iron tool, we are told, was used in building the Temple at Jerusalem. Iron might not be used to repair the Pons Sublicius at Rome. Roman priests had to shave with bronze, not iron razors. The uncanny properties of magnetic iron and the rooted dislike of the human race for innovations are not enough to account for it; and it appears that this dread of iron was transferred to the workers of it and long clung to them.

I found the uncanny power of iron still recognized in the Balkans. Iron drives off evil spirits. When I was living in Montenegro many a "junak" (hero) who boasted freely of his courage did not like passing a graveyard at night. That cheeriest of boasters, Krsto, was hurt when I told him such fear was not compatible with "junashtvo." If obliged to pass such places after dark he thought it indispensable to carry a knife. This was not meant for stabbing the ghost. Oh, no! He would have run away at its first appearance. It was to keep the ghost off. In fact, the necessary piece of iron. One would have thought the revolver every man carried had iron enough to frighten any ghost. Not at all. A knife it must be. This, no doubt, because the belief dates from many centuries before the invention of fire-arms, to the days when a knife was the handiest piece of portable iron; and ever since then it has remained the recognized protector.

In North Albania a shovel or hoe was always left in a grave until

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in con- 304
flict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. 771
So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. 531
Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died 114
in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to 771
Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle 174
I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is 776
the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and 174
floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern 776
and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his [787]
armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is [821]
driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda 531
tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear 304
tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from 173
the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

776 beliefs and rites one can hardly doubt. As is well known, the gods of the heathens became the devils of the Christians.

776 Marko was greatly afraid of Beelzebub and mentioned him with
777 a curse and a whisper. Belial and Beelzebub were supposed to be the most active. The tribesman followed the advice of his priest and put
[304] a cross on his house and tattooed himself with a cross, but he further protected himself with more ancient signs; he planted the skulls of horses, goats, and oxen on poles round his house and fields. Some houses had rows of skulls. I wondered whether, in old days, human ones had figured there, too.

The horse-skull was most valued not only in Albania, but also in Bosnia and in Montenegro. Where civilization has penetrated the horse-skull was often replaced by a twisted petroleum tin whitewashed. Short-sighted devils, seeing it from a distance, could easily have mistaken it for the real thing and fought shy.

[793] Priests are but human. I found one Catholic priest had a whole array of horse- and other skulls round his beehives. He laughed it off when I remarked on it, and added that bees were very liable to disease. He evidently wanted to be on the safe side.

754 I often found in the mountains a distinct fear of being drawn, or "written," as they always called it. At Vraka I asked if I might draw the interior of a house. The woman was doubtful. She at last said I was not to "write" her or her children, and, to make sure, she drove the children out of the house. In Luria I was told not to "write" anyone or any house. At Lohja was a wonderful old man, who was reputed to be 110, who boasted that he had sinned but twice in his life—and then it was not his fault. Men in plenty he had killed, but never dishonourably or for money. The company suggested that I should "write" him. Much flattered, the old man sat still for a while, but when everyone shouted that the sketch was exactly like him, he became greatly alarmed, and earnestly begged me never to destroy what I had "written" about him, for at the moment it was torn he would drop down dead. I preserved the sketch, and five years later found him still going strong.

754 At Seltzi, in the Klimenti tribe, I was told the best way to detect
787 a shtriga is to keep the bones of the pig you ate on the last day of Carnival. All through the Balkans the pig, abhorred by Turk and Jew, is a sign of Christianity. On Easter Day you make a cross with the pig's bones and tie it on the church door when the church is full of people. If any shtrigas are in the church they cannot get out except carried on the shoulders of the man who made the cross. They run
754 wildly round and round and can be caught.

681 There was, so far as I could learn, no traditional punishment for a

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754 was who used to do wonders. The bey thought it a good idea, and the man was fetched from his cell. He was very willing to perform, and asked only for a bowl of water. One was brought, and he made an [787] incantation over it. He then said that if any guest would name a place he wished to see, it could be seen in the water. Someone asked for Malta, and Malta was duly reflected; the harbour, the quay, and a steamer just getting up steam. When it had been admired, the magician asked the bey: "Have I your permission, noble Bey, to go off in that steamer?"

"Certainly," said the bey.

The magician lifted his foot and put it on the steamer in the water-bowl, and immediately went off in that steamer and was never heard of again. No one but myself could see anything improbable in this amazing tale; with Beelzebub all things are possible.

2. The Evil Eye

754 761 The Evil Eye was rampant. At Vukli an unhappy woman told me it had killed all her eight children. A man there, to prove the power of his eye, had stared at a bunch of grapes, which had withered under his gaze and fallen to the ground before the awe-struck spectators. I did not meet this man.

754 Marko had a milch ewe he greatly valued. One day a mountain woman came to the door begging. He gave her bread, but she was not satisfied, and as she left she looked at the poor beast, which was perfectly well, and said: "What a fine ewe!" Soon afterwards it began to sicken. Marko sent for the vet., who said at once: "I can do nothing—someone has looked at this ewe. You must find her and make her remove the spell." She could not be found and the ewe died. Marko cut her up for mutton. I expressed horror. "The meat," said he, "is beautiful. There was nothing the matter with the ewe except a lot of yellow spots in its liver, made by that woman."

754 *Protection against Evil Eye.*—Many amulets are worn. Most horses 777 and many cattle wear blue beads (sham turquoise), tufts of badger-hair, which is said to be very efficacious, or triangular leather cases containing inscriptions. A universal protection, as in many other parts of the world, is a horn or horns. Though the horse-skull is now popular to guard fields and houses, the original skull was probably a horned one, e.g. the familiar ox-skull carved on the frieze of many a classical and pseudo-classical building. A pair of boar's tusks, mounted as a crescent and hung round the neck, is a favourite amulet for a handsome [776] saddle-horse. It prevents evil spirits riding the horse at night and

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to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

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The favourite remedy in Scutari for the pulmonary form was a drink 757
made of the root of "bader" (*Iris Dalmatica*), which grows wild 278
plentifully. It soothed the throat and allayed coughing somewhat.

Diarrhœa.—A decoction of oak bark—a strong astringent—was efficacious.

Constipation.—There was no local remedy. It was a very common trouble and I was constantly asked for "English salts."

Opium "tea," made by boiling haphazard a handful of poppy-seed, was given recklessly to stop pain. It was common to give a small dose nightly to infants to keep them quiet. In a communal house, where some twenty people sleep together, a crying child is not tolerated. Children suffering from opium poisoning were often brought to the Austrian hospital, the mother being quite unaware of the cause of the child's state.

Animal Remedies.—When I was suffering from acute sciatica, was [755
paralysed with pain, and quite helpless, Marko wanted to slaughter 758]
a sheep in the yard and wrap me in the raw hide. As is customary when people are ill, all the neighbours crowded into my room to cheer me. When I was on the point of collapse with pain and heat, the cat jumped on to my bad leg, hurting me horribly. The neighbours [787]
chorused: "Thank God! The cat has jumped on her. Now she will not die. The cat always knows."

Then the Austrian doctor carried me off to his hospital.

The reason given for the raw hide is that the sheep eats many herbs and their virtue will soak into the patient. But in fact the raw hide is a hot fomentation. Other beasts are used.

This same Austrian doctor told me he was called to a moribund man. The hut was crowded, it was midsummer, and the heat and stench indescribable. Ten days before, a black cat had been split and applied to the patient's abdomen and was still there.

Enteric Fever.—This is endemic all through the Balkans. In Albania a horrid remedy was believed in. The dung of a dog which had been dropped on a stone and dried in the sun was pounded and given in water. I vainly tried to prevent this on one occasion; but the dose had been prepared by the local priest, who had the greatest faith in it. This repulsive remedy was included in the official pharmacopœia of Vienna till 1795, to be used internally for dysentery and griping pains. In Albania, at any rate, patients survived the treatment. Did the dog's dung supply an intestinal bacillus which combated that of enteric?

Emetic.—Human excrement mixed with water was given. Mixed with rakia it was given to an habitual drunkard with the idea of curing him. The experiment failed.

The boiled flesh of the glass snake (*Pseudopus pallasi*), a common

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● 787 During that war I again heard the bones fatally read. An Albanian friend of mine in Podgoritza, owner of the local omnibus, was a great student of bones. He spent his leisure reading them as we others do books. One day he begged me to come for something very important, for my eye and ear alone.

The windows of his little room were closely curtained to prevent spying, and in the half-darkness was a pile of bladebones. He chose one and showed me a white opaque spot on it as large as a sixpence, and gravely asked if I knew what it meant. Now an opaque spot in certain places means death. "Yes," said he, "but what a spot! Did you ever see such a large one?" I never had, nor had he. He was troubled and anxious and pondered and pondered. The position of the spot meant someone must die soon. But it was so large, it must mean a great man. "Could it mean anything less than a king?" That was what he wished to ask me.

There flashed through my brain: "Are they plotting to assassinate King Nikola?" (He was very unpopular, for the war was going badly for Montenegro.) I discreetly said: "I do not know." He decided that it must mean a king—and shortly.

Just about a fortnight afterwards King George of Greece was assassinated. It was quite impossible that the seer should have known of any plot. We had hardly any news from other fronts.

It was one of those coincidences which, in the popular mind, overwhelm a thousand previous failures and annihilate reason. My poor friend was awestruck at the revelation that had been granted him.

648 The last time I heard, and probably ever shall hear, the bones read was
721 at Durazzo, when the Prince zu Wied was there, in the fatal summer of 1914. Durazzo was seething with representatives of every Power that had a finger in the Balkan pie. France, Russia, and Serbia were doing all they could to start a war. Italy was active. Fighting was going on and the hospitals were full of wounded. On the quay a very ragged mountain man insisted on speaking with "the Kralitza" as they
787 called me. He had come a long distance to consult me. He was eager and excited. Pulling a fowl's breast-bone from his sash, he held it against the blazing sun. The bone glowed red. The others said he was stupid and did not know how to read the bones. But he insisted and cried vehemently: "Gjak! gjak (blood, blood) everywhere, everywhere nothing but blood and more blood." And about a week or two afterwards the Great War began, and blood has not yet ceased flowing in the Near East.

Enough examples. That very many people believe the bones is undoubtable. I have been at meals where elder men have stopped

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

484 562 777 789 small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various 787 methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

152 593 The men on their side are not free from home-sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

[539]

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
From Fatherland as outlaws lorn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
Poisoned by my blood would pine!

527 535 The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 appointed time, he never fails to bring it permanently to the surface.

776 A story is told of a shepherd who, when pasturing
825 his sheep in Dibra, saw one day a snake curled up asleep on a great heap of gold. In order to induce him to leave it, the shepherd fetched a pail of milk, which he placed near the snake, and then retired to a little distance to watch his movements. As he had calculated, the snake gorged himself with the milk, and then returned to sleep on the gold heap. But the quantity of milk he had drunk made him thirsty and uneasy, and he wriggled and wriggled and could not rest. Finally he went off to get some water, and, the spring being at some distance, before he returned the shepherd had removed the whole of the treasure to a place of safety. What the snake did when he came back and found his property gone, the story omits to mention.

776 The Tosks hold that hidden treasures are guarded by fire-breathing winged snakes with human faces. These creatures they, however, call by the Greek name of Stoichiò (στοιχιὸ), which signifies generally an elemental spirit. On the eve of Sunday the Stoichiò relaxes its vigilance, and the treasure may then be seized by a bold and enterprising individual.

•787 The existence of a treasure, and the spot where it is to be found, are held to be frequently revealed in dreams, which are repeated on three consecutive nights. As in the above-mentioned case, should the fortunate person take another into his confidence, the gold turns to charcoal and his days are numbered. The Albanian women, however, who are learned in the expounding of dreams, say that, as a rule, they go by contraries.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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789 484 leave of him, he returns the earrings. It is considered a bad omen for the journey if the traveller should for any reason turn or look back. If he have left anything behind, he sends another to fetch it; and should a friend or stranger call to him from behind, he will not turn back to meet him, but remain standing where he is until the other comes up, a practice which foreigners, not understanding the reason for it, have [777] put down to discourtesy. If on the road the traveller meets a fox, or a flock of sheep, he considers it a good augury; a flock of goats, however, or a hare crossing the road, is held to signify ill luck.

778 775 484 Travellers in Upper Albania may frequently see stones placed in the forks or hollows of roadside trees. According to M. Hecquard,[1] this practice originates in the belief that the stones serve as resting-places for the feet of those unhappy beings for whom the rites of sepulture have not been properly performed, and who, while wandering in mid-air, can alight upon them as on the solid earth. To place a stone on a tree is also said in some mysterious way to diminish the fatigue of the pedestrian, and help him on his journey.

787 Omens and auguries, too, both good and evil, are drawn from all the trifling occurrences of every-day life, as well as from the observation of the phenomena of Nature, besides being sought for in the bones and entrails of slaughtered sheep and in the flight of birds. Among the omens read in the actions of the domestic animals are the following. When introducing a newly purchased cow into the farmyard, some object, made of iron or silver, is placed across the gateway

[1] *La Haute Albanie.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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through which the animal is led. If the cow steps over the object with the right hoof, it is considered a good augury; if with the left, the omen is unfavourable. If a hen shakes her feathers in the house, or if one of her feathers hangs askew without falling, it foretells the arrival of a friend, or the receipt of news from an absent relative. Should the hen crow like a cock without turning its head to the East, it signifies a death or other serious misfortune. If, during the night, a cock crows at an unusual hour, it is either a sign of a change in the weather, or that important news will arrive in the morning. To an expectant mother, however, it announces that her child will be a boy. Should the dog howl while looking away from the dwelling, it is a sign of death; and if the cat mews repeatedly, that a member of the family will shortly fall ill. If, however, she licks herself frequently, it is merely a sign of rain.

Cats, I may here remark, are treated with great kindness by the Albanians, who, it is said, are not in the habit of laying to their charge the smashing of crockery, or the disappearance of provisions. According to a myth current among the Albanian highlanders, the cat was created by Jesus, who produced one from the sleeve of His mantle when dining in a house infested with mice. To kill a cat is consequently considered a most reprehensible action. When such a family pet dies, the children of the house call in their friends to assist in pussy's obsequies, and, after she has been carried in solemn procession to the grave, the little party sit down to a funeral feast, for which the mother willingly furnishes the necessary viands.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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787 825 The cries of wild beasts and birds, and also the circumstances under which they are heard, or the animals themselves met with, have also their signification. If wolves howl in packs, it betokens, in some districts, a death; in others, severe frost. To meet a snake before sunrise, or about sunset, augurs the death of a relative. If the turtle-dove, which in Middle Albania builds in the towns and villages, sits on a roof and coos, it announces to the inmates the return of a relative from a foreign land. When a cuckoo, however, sits there and sings, or an owl hoots there, it betokens a death in the house. The croak of a raven in the vicinity of a house, or the hoot of an owl, announces to the expectant mother the birth of a girl. Sparrows flying in large flocks are held to be a sign of severe cold.

787 Various auguries are also drawn from the arrival in spring of the birds of passage, and the circumstances under which they are first seen. For instance, to see the first swallow or turtle-dove before breaking one's fast in the morning portends sickness. Accordingly, about the time when these birds are expected, and more particularly on the 1st of May, the precaution [751 777] is taken of placing by the bedside a small piece of bread, which is eaten immediately on awakening in order to avoid any such risk. In Northern Albania, on the contrary, it is held that to see while fasting the first swallow brings luck. Here, too, when a mother, 755 whose child has been born with a running sore, sees the first stork, she places on her baby's head a stone, saying:

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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755

Head thy poultice,
Head this stone.[1]

A few of the trifling occurrences of every-day life 787
to which a superstitious significance is attached by the Albanians have their parallels in our own country. We say, for instance, when seized by a sudden shiver, "Some one is walking over my grave;" while an Albanian says, "Death is calling me," and mentally replies, "I am not yet ready." When attacked with a fit of hiccough, the Albanian believes that some friend is speaking of him, and calls over the names of all his relatives and acquaintances, in the belief that the one he mentions with the last hiccough will be the one who has uttered his name. If the eye itches, it denotes coming rain; if the right hand, vexation consequent on being called upon to pay money; if the left, the receipt of money; itching of the lips signifies the arrival of a friend or relative; of the nose, strife and discord. Humming in the right ear is looked upon as a good omen, and in the left the reverse. If a little child drops asleep just before a meal, the incident is regarded as most propitious for the whole household.

In addition to the every-day observances with respect 527
to auspicious and inauspicious actions and events, so 777
many are attached to certain seasons and days of the year as to form quite a Calendar of Superstitions. Some tribes, the Ritza, for example, celebrate their New Year's Day on the 1st of September, and every

[1] Κρυε τεν κιδολ,
κρυε τεμ γόυρ.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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December the housewife makes, besides other sweet cakes, some in the shape of rings, which are called *Koléndhra*. The one first made is termed "the cake of the oxen," and is hung up on the wall "for luck," and left there until the farmer goes out with his team to the fields. On this occasion the cake is taken down and broken to pieces on the head of one of the yoked oxen, and then divided between the pair.

Fire-ceremonies play a great part in the Christmas observances of the Albanian highlanders. As may have already been remarked in connection with birth-ceremonies, a protective and salutary character appears to attach to the fire on the hearth, and not only on such occasions, but on the eve of every important festival, the Albanian peasants light fires and keep them burning until sunset on the following day, even in summer; and from the crackling, or exploding, noises emitted by the wood in burning, they learn when the enemies of their house are conspiring against them, and whether the flocks will thrive, or the contrary. On ordinary occasions they consider it inauspicious when the thick end of a log burns before the thin, and are careful not to place one log across another. On Christmas Eve, however, all such precautions are considered unnecessary. The fire is piled up as high as the safety of the house will permit, as this is supposed to neutralise all evil effects of the non-observance of the foregoing precautions during the coming year. The largest log that can be found is brought home at sunset, when all the family, who are reunited for the festival, rise to greet it with the words, "Welcome, our log! God has destined thee for the fire! Bring

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789 372 good luck to us and to our flocks!" Before the family sit down to supper a small quantity of food from every dish on the table is placed upon the burning log. Some branches of a cherry tree are also put on the fire, and, when partially burnt, are taken off again and kept.

857 533 Soon after midnight, the boys, in companies of from ten to fifteen, go singing from house to house, and receive, in reward for their carols, a ring-cake from each housewife.

527 789 ●787 [372] On the Eve of St. Basil (January 1) the fire is also kept burning all night, and the half-burnt cherry branches are again thrown on and withdrawn, to be wholly consumed on the Eve of the Epiphany, when the ashes are collected and strewn in the vineyard. The fire of St. Basil's Eve is often watched by an expectant mother, who thus hopes to ensure an easy confinement. In the morning people wash themselves and their children with "unspoken-over" water, and draw omens from the character, gay or sad, of the person who first enters the house. A cock is also sacrificed, for it is auspicious to spill blood in the house on St. Basil's Day.

789 [787] On the Eve of Epiphany the fire is also kept alight all night, and in the morning the character of the coming seasons is prophesied from the set of the wind. If a south wind blows, it indicates a full harvest and sickness; if the wind is from the east, a scanty harvest and a healthy year are predicted; if from the north, a late spring. The Christians, on the Feast of Epiphany, sprinkle their vineyards with holy water, in the hope of ensuring a plentiful crop of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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grapes. They also place at the four corners of each 789
plot four vine stems tied together with straw bands, and under them a piece of a cake called a *kophtopite*, made specially for the purpose, wine being one of its ingredients. A round loaf is rolled from the gate to the middle of the vineyard, and then distributed to the ravens, crows, and other birds which damage the grapes, with this invitation, "Assemble, O crows and ravens, so that we may eat and drink, and that you may do us no more harm!"

On the 1st of February, St. Tryphon's Day, it is 789
considered lucky to work in the fields, but not in the 787
vineyards. On the 2nd, the "Feast of the Puri- [372]
fication," all kinds of small pulse and cereals are cooked together in a pot, and this mess, called *karkasina*, forms the staple food of the day. On the eve of the 1st of March, a kind of divination is performed by throwing into the fire a particular kind of leaf and pronouncing at the same time the name of a member of the family. If the leaf makes an explosive noise while burning, it is held to be a good omen for the person indicated, but if it burns quietly, the reverse.[1] On this vigil a clod of earth, on which a few drops of wolf's milk have been sprinkled, is thrown against the door in order that the cows and goats may milk well. In the morning the cattle are whipped with
cherry branches, in order that they may enjoy good [515]
health, and people wash themselves with wine with a view to preserving themselves from vermin during the summer. As an additional precaution, they also 789
catch a flea, which they impale on the point of a new

[1] The ancient φελλαμαγγία.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER VIII

IN THE HOUSE OF PADRE MARJAN—LULASH GIVES A WORD OF HONOR AND DISCUSSES MARRIAGE—THE STOLEN DAUGHTER OF SHALA.

PADRE MARJAN sat with us, but did not eat, as it was a fast day. An apparently endless succession of dishes—soup, lamb, omelettes, pork chops, chicken—was brought in by Cheremi and served by Rexh in his red fez. Poor little Rexh! He ate nothing but a bit of corn bread; he said the pork chops had been broiled in the fireplace, and he feared that some of the fat had spattered into the cooking pots. He was not sure, but he feared so, and he thought it safer not to eat anything prepared in them.

The lamb's head, skinned but otherwise intact, was served separately, boiled, and the delicacy of the meal was its brains, which we got at by cutting through the skull. When the chicken came, Cheremi presented it with awe in his eyes, and after we had eaten he whispered behind his hand to Perolli. In the kitchen, he said, they were talking of the chicken; it was not of Padre Marjan's raising, but it had been hatched and brought up in the village, and they were sure that its breastbone would foretell the immediate future of Thethis. Would we let him have it?

● 787 Perolli took up the thin bone and very carefully cleaned it of every clinging bit of flesh. Then, with an apology to Padre Marjan, he held it up to the light from the window. Through the translucent bone the marrow, clouded with clotted blood, showed clearly, and Perolli read it with serious eyes, pointing out to us its meaning. There was a clot that meant a battle, a battle to the north, and there was a widening red line running from a dark spot; the signs were clear. The government would grow more powerful, and there would be war to the north, war with the Serbs.

He gave the bone to Cheremi, who tiptoed toward the kitchen with it. I strained my ears to hear how it was received; I thought that the portent of strong government might make the people think it unwise to hand Perolli over to the Serbs; they must know that in any case his death would be avenged by soldiers from Tirana. But would it, since he was traveling "on a vacation"? Governments do not usually back up their secret-service men who fail on the job. There was no sound from the kitchen, and we entertained Padre Marjan by showing him how, in America, we use the wishbone to foretell a part of the future. But any wishbone will do that for us, while in Albania only the breastbone of a hen that has lived all her life in the family will foretell that family's future.

000 Outside, it continued to rain, if that state of the air when it is surely half water can be called

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771 Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
[782] which at one point were most probably human sacrifices; the faith
[769] in the existence of certain snakes that guarded treasures and in the tutelary spirits of people; exposing the dead after the manner of the Parsi, as a result of that lack of respect for the corpse which springs from the knowldege of the eternity of the spirit--the ancient Thracians were jubilant whenever someone died, and they wailed when some-
[775] one was born--; werewolf conceptions; separation of the soul in sleep; wandering about of the dead, especially of evil people who in the form of a ghost or in a transformed human shape cause harm. The foreseeing of the future makes use of materialistic means in order to survive before the masses in a degenerate age which no longer knows
• [787] or believes. It prophesies from the fissures that appear in a heated sheep's shoulder blade or hen's breast bone; also from the bright and dark spots in the light filtering through, or from the flight of birds.
[789] The old knowledge of the emanating, radiating spiritual forces of beings and things is used for magical purposes, for instance little pieces of paper that have something written on them and which are worn as a protection or drunk after they have been dissolved in water. The sun still lives among the Albanians as "God's reflection."

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/101: Illustrations./

Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

Y 775 761 Several local Austrian governors told me that in the early years of the Austrian occupation the burning of lampirs' bodies was frequent. The Government forbade and suppressed the practice and caused much discontent. A recent case (told me in 1906) was caused by an outbreak of enteric at Vlasenitza. A young man died. His wife sickened and vowed that her husband had returned at night and sucked her blood. The terrified villagers wanted to dig up and burn his body. The authorities forbade it. The lampir was then seen and heard by many persons whose blood he sucked. Fifteen persons died. It would be interesting to know how many died of enteric, and how many because A they believed they were doomed to die by the lampir.

CM 761 The peasants all through Albania and Macedonia I found to be extraordinarily affected mentally if convinced they must die. They would then make no effort to live, but simply "lie down and die."

A 761 ●787 In Albania I heard of several cases in which a man's death being foretold by "reading it in a bone," he proceeded forthwith to sicken and die; and there seemed no reason to doubt the truth of this.

I have often seen a patient refuse all food under the belief that he would die in a week, and have resuscitated many who were very far gone by forcibly pouring egg and brandy into them. The result of the pick-me-up was sometimes comically quick. After an hour the patient would ask for another and decide to live. Without it he would certainly have died, as all the family continually said: "You are dying," A and did not try to make him eat.

761 775 Belief in the fatal visit of a lampir has, no doubt, caused death. Since the civilizing power of Austria has been removed a fresh instance of corpse-burning has been reported from Bosnia.

M 776 [177] *Vilas.*—Last but not least the "vila," a female spirit which haunts the mountains, is very capricious, and works much evil as well as some good. In Montenegro I was told vilas used to be plentiful, but had been driven away by the advent of artillery. Maybe some still haunted the deep limestone caverns.

M [761] Of old, vilas sometimes swore sisterhood with mortals, and even married them. But they were excessively jealous, and when a handsome youth wished to marry they were apt to kill the bride.

Krsto told me a tale "that happened a long time ago in Montenegro." A vila disguised herself as a beautiful maiden and caused two brothers to fall in love with her. She urged them to fight each other and promised herself to the conqueror. They fought and one was killed. The vila M then laughed and flew away. The unhappy survivor killed himself.

Y 776 787 I asked how, as both were dead, it was known that the vila had caused the trouble. Krsto merely replied it was a fact well known to all. But the sympathies of the vilas were Slavonic, for till recent times

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they warned both Serbs and Montenegrins of the approach of the Turks, and saved Serb heroes by covering them with mist and hiding them from the foe. Y M 776 787

Some examples from the ballads show the character of vilas in "pre-artillery" days (Karadjitch Collection, vol. ii, No. 37). Marko Kralyevitch and Voyvoda Milosh ride over the mountains. Marko asks Milosh to sing to him. Milosh replies that last night he drank wine with the Vila Ravijojla and she forbade him to sing. Urged by Marko, Milosh sang. The vila tried to out-sing him, but Milosh had the finer voice, so the infuriated vila shot him in the throat with an arrow and he was like to die. Marko pursued her furiously on his horse, Sharatz. The vila flew up into the air. Marko hurled his war-club and brought her down, and threatened to smash her if she would not cure Milosh. Y M 776 533

The vila then called on him for sisterhood in the name of God and St. John, and promised to cure Milosh if he released her. He did so; she gathered herbs and made Milosh far stronger than before. The ballad ends by her advising the other vilas not to shoot at heroes when Marko is about. On several occasions afterwards she helps her "pobratim," Marko. The mediæval ballad-maker has depicted a wine-swilling, revengeful, and murderous fairy who suits her savage environment.

Jealousy and cruelty are seen in the *Death of the two Dragitchitches* (*op. cit.*, vol. i). Dragitch is about to celebrate a great festival. He is giving his daughter in marriage and marrying his two sons. His wife dreams that two ravens, with their wings bloody to the root, bring a black letter in their claws. She prays her husband to be satisfied with marrying their daughter and to put off the sons' wedding for a week. He refuses, and the train of groomsmen and the two bridegrooms ride off on fine horses. But the vilas watch them unseen and from behind the trees shoot their arrows. At midday a halt is called, and then only are the two young men missed. The father remembers the dream, and goes in search of them in fear: "By the side of the path he found his two sons. The accursed vilas had shot them. Dragitch cried out as doth a fierce serpent . . . then he drew his bright sword and cut off his sons' heads and put them in his saddle-bags. And he moved their bodies from the blood-stained path and covered them with leaves, saying: 'Farewell, my two sons, this day have I wedded ye.' " He carries home the heads, and tells his wife that he has brought her two golden apples as a gift. And the cursed vilas thank God (an odd thing for them to do) for the woe they have caused. M Y [585 587]

The phrase "beautiful as a vila" is in constant use in Montenegro, and in recent ballads the vila still warns Montenegro against invasion. A M 776 [787]

I once rode up-country on a handsome white stallion, which belonged

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to my faithful Albanian horseboy, Shan, who had lived all his life in Montenegro. The horse was turned out to graze at night. Next morning, before mounting, I began to comb out its tangled mane with my fingers. Shan anxiously begged me not to. The vilas, he said, had been making love to it all night because it was a beauty. It had been covered with sweat. If I untied the knots the vilas had made we should have an accident. Shan, being an Albanian, probably meant the "ore" when he said "vila." I heard of no other case of a vila acting thus. But the ore are notorious for such conduct.

A M 777 773 887 *Hidden Treasure.*—As in Albania, so all through Montenegro and the Herzegovina, and probably in other Balkan lands, it is believed that mighty treasures lie hidden. The treasure of the Royal Nemanjas has yet to be found, and that of Voyvoda Momchilo at Pirlitor.

Opinions differ as to the best means of treasure-hunting. The most certain thing is when the site of the treasure is revealed in a dream; you are then sure to find it. If a steer that is perfectly black stands still on a spot, bellows, and butts his horns into the ground, there is almost surely treasure beneath. But there must not be a single white hair on the steer. If when the third cock crows in the morning a number are seen gathered together holding council, there is surely treasure beneath the spot.

Vuk Vrchevitch gives a good account of treasure-seeking in the Herzegovina. A certain man dreamed of hidden treasure. Early before the sun rose he went with some of his brethren in search of it, and took with him a black cock and a black wether. Arrived at the spot, he killed the wether and made a circle of blood round the site. They began to dig, and after a while reached a slab of stone. On this the black cock was sacrificed. They were now so near success that one of the brethren cried aloud: "God help us now and for ever." But God's name must not be invoked in aid of magic. When they raised the slab they found, indeed, a stone box—but the treasure had been turned to ashes.

Some poisoned water should be carried when treasure-hunting to kill the serpent which often guards it.

If a black stallion is led to the spot where treasure is suspected to lie and refuses to walk over it, it shows treasure is, or was, there. The foundation for these tales is the large number of Roman and prehistoric graves that have been opened. The ashes and fragments of iron and bronze found in them were ascribed to the fact that a wrong spell had been used and the treasure transmuted to something valueless —in the eyes of the searchers.

A 777 787 *A Magic Plant.*—In Albania I was told there grows a most valuable plant. Any stone or iron touched by a leaf of it at once falls to pieces. To persons thievishly inclined it is extremely useful. The difficulty is

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H 755 Monastery, I saw three. They stood with their hands on their knees and their heads thrust under the desk from which the pope was to read the Lessons. The desk being draped, their heads were hidden and their hind-quarters protruded grotesquely. If they could refrain from crowing during the reading of the Lessons they would be cured. The cure failed. Hardly had the pope begun to read when a hideous and unearthly din arose beneath his desk. No one intervened; no one even smiled. The pope read steadily, though his voice was drowned by the noise. At the end the three were led away—uncured. But I was A told that as a rule the cure is successful. It may well be, for the Balkan [761 peasant is very much affected by suggestion. He pines if he believes 754] he has been cursed; he dies if he believes his death is "egil" (written in the Book of Fate). I did not see or hear of a case of crowing hysteria in Albania.

M In Montenegro I was told a remedy for fever. It was to make fire with 753 a fire-drill of wood. The patient helped to work the drill. The fire went 278 out of him and into the wood and he was cured. Perhaps the exertion of drilling produced sweat and so relieved the patient. Krsto believed greatly in this cure.

6. Soothsaying

A For some inscrutable reason man in many lands has thought his ● 787 gods were likely to choose the insides of animals as a means for revealing the future.

"Plucking the entrails of an offering forth, they could not find a heart within the beast." So the augurs warned Cæsar to beware the ides of March. Balkan folk still find their fate written in the bones of certain animals.

I first saw the bones read at Selchan, a village in the Spata mountains, near Elbasan. It was in those days a very remote spot, and a Russian Consul was the only foreigner who had visited it within memory. A Most of the male population were "wanted" by the Turkish Govern- [636 ment. But for the purpose of my visit the friendly Albanian Mutasarif 702] of Elbasan arranged a truce. We were halted outside the village for a parley, and also to give time to all the men of military age (whom the Government was trying to conscript for the Army) to hide in the bushes. I was then received with great joy, and even greater hospitality. The ancient headman, Constantine Suliman, a fine figure in a white A fustanella, swore friendship, and hustled the women to spread a noble 346 banquet of roast lamb, stewed fowl, cheese, milk, and maize-bread.

The district had neither church nor mosque. Every inhabitant had

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Every inhabitant had two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Constantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all children that had meanwhile been born. A 553 702 651 A 852 771

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of ancient days. A 574

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more? A 787

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro. M 787 M 781

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the younger from looking at the bones because we were all happy, so "why pry into unknown evils?"

It is not easy to say how the bones are read. Bone-readers will not tell their lore. I have pieced together the facts I gathered. The bone must be the breast-bone of a fowl (Fig. 20), or the blade-bone of a sheep or goat —no others serve. In Albania I found the fowl's bone most generally used, and in Montenegro the sheep's blade-bone. In both lands the fowl or sheep must have been bred by the house of the reader; otherwise, though it can tell of foreign affairs, it knows nothing of the fate of the house. The best fowl is a cock which is black without a white feather. It must be decapitated. If the neck were wrung the blood would all go wrong and the marks be useless.

This is the Albanian reading of the breast-bone: A good seer can tell at once if the fowl has been bought or bred. The keel is the part used. In the thickness of the neck-end (A) runs a line of marrow which tells the fortune of the house. A hole in it means the house-lord's death, and a break means an illness or accident. Breaks and branches from this main line show illness, accident, or death to members of the family. Red spots and patterns in the bone mean blood. Some holes mean graves, others cradles, according to where they are placed. I failed to learn where. The sides (B) of the bone tell public events. When a line belonging to the family forks it means a quarrel in the family.

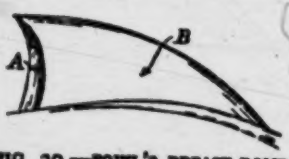

FIG. 20.—FOWL'S BREAST-BONE FOR SOOTHSAYING

The late Mgr. Cozzy, Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, told me that he had tried hard to learn how to read the bones, and a man who refused to tell him said: "You make black marks on paper and know what they mean; but I do not. God makes marks on bones and you do not know what they mean; but I do."

Such is the belief in bones in Albania that I believe men have died from sheer terror when their death has been read. Thus, an only son—well known to a friend of mine from Djakova—was at a family feast. He picked up a fowl's bone, looked at it, and threw it down with a cry. His father asked what was the matter and the youth said: "In three days you will bury me." His horrified father picked up the bone and saw the reading was only too true. He cried out in grief: "In three days we shall bury thee." His kith and kin wailed on all sides: "In three days we shall bury thee." The poor lad blenched and sickened. He could not eat, gave up hope, and died.

"When he saw in the bones he must die," said the Djakovan, "he died." And with more truth than he was aware of he added: "You

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

A would not die because you do not believe it. We believe it; it is true
● 787 to us."

It is not truth that sways men, but what men believe to be true; and that is a very different thing.

I had many strange examples given me of bone-reading which had come true. It is important that the meat be torn from the bone with the fingers and not touched with a knife.

M The following details about blade-bone-reading are from Monte-
787 negro. Bone-reading, I believe, is also practised in Serbia and Bosnia.

The best sheep is a black one with no white hair. The right blade-bone should preferably be used and the meat torn off with the fingers. The joint-socket represents the house, and its depth or shallowness shows if the house will be full of wealth, i.e. harvest and crops. The ridge on the blade shows if the flocks will flourish. Small holes in the blade are cradles. Their position measured from the upper corner of the bone with the last joint of the thumb shows if the births will be within the house or without it, i.e. in the house where the bone is read or in that of a relative. The shapes formed by the marrow, as seen when held against the light, show where fighting will take place and when. A bone with no marks in the centre means a peaceful year. Red marks near the edge mean frontier fighting. Opaque white spots are death within or without the house, according to position. Other marks—I know not which—show banners and victory.

When a man has read the bone and another wishes to do so, it must not be passed from hand to hand, but must be laid down by one man and picked up by the other. Bone-reading in Montenegro is called "gatanje." To read a bone is "gatati." The shoulder-blade is called "lopatitza" (little shovel). Fastened to a stick it is often used to shovel the hearth ashes.

A *Dreams.*—In Albania and Montenegro, and, I believe, all through the
M Balkans, there is great belief in dreams. The ladies of the *intelligentsia*
787 in Cetinje had dream-books (Italian) and discussed each other's dreams at length. Dream-books have circulated so much that it is not easy to tell which beliefs are old native ones.

M In Montenegro I was told it was lucky to dream of a room full
787 of corn. To dream of a dead man means that it will rain. A girl dreamed
777 that her hair grew right down to the ground. The women told her this meant terrible disgrace would fall on her, and she was so upset that she came a considerable distance to consult me. I reassured her.

A In Albania it seemed to be believed by many of the tribesmen that
787 their "hi" (soul or shadow) left them sometimes during sleep and its
[774] experiences formed the dream. Dreams were very strongly believed in. One Sunday morning Marko, much perturbed, told me his wife,

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

Teresi, had dreamed that I should receive bad news from home that day. I laughed and reminded him there was no post till Tuesday. At that moment there was a knock at the gate. The kavass from the British Consulate brought me a note to tell me of the death of King Edward VII. After this it was vain for me to say that dreams foretold nothing. Teresi had dreamed the death of King Edward and the matter was beyond dispute. A 787

The man who looked after my horse dreamed he had seen my sister in the bazaar buying butter and was greatly mystified. No one could explain it, but all were relieved when I had a letter from her saying she was quite well.

An Englishman who travelled in the mountains and was popular was dreamed of. He was seen fording with difficulty a river and hurting his hand as he climbed out. It was decided that he would get safely through a great danger.

It was considered extremely lucky to dream of climbing up a mountain—perhaps because the tribesman places Heaven on a mountain-top. It is lucky to dream of fishing.

7. The Curse

A curse is dreaded still in Balkan lands; it is closely related to a spell. But a spell is accompanied by pagan rites; a curse is without rites—it acts by suggestion. Someone believed to be powerful cries: "May you wither and die!" and you proceed to do so. A curse can be retrospective, and is then considered peculiarly horrible. One of the worst is for a mother to say to her son: "May my milk poison you!' Though he be a grown man she may thus harm him. A 754

A good example is found in the Serb ballad of the *Murderess Mother* (Karadjitch Collection). The mother was wroth with her son, Jovan: "O Jovan, 'tis five years since thy mother gave thee a wife, yet neither boy nor maiden has been born to thee. Someone hath cast a spell on thee; or evil people have wrought wickedness; or has someone cursed you on your marriage? or dost thou not like the maiden? or she like not thee? Something there must be. Kill thy wife, O my son, and I will give thee a better of better stock, who will bear thee offspring!" Jovan refuses with horror, and his mother unbuttoned the coat on her bosom, and tore open her shirt and drew forth both her breasts, crying: "O Jovan, disobedient son! If thou obeyest not thine old mother, may thy mother's milk be leprous to thee, which thou hast sucked from these breasts! Kill thy wife and I will give thee a better." And young Jovan was greatly afeared of his mother's terrible curse, S 754 538 842 593

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

SECTION VIII

SOME BALKAN TABOOS. IRON. HAIR

1. Propitiating the Stranger

In a land where magic is still practised it is not surprising to find some ancient taboos still alive. A M 186 784

Of the many things that mankind fears, the unknown is perhaps the most dreaded. Therefore in old days, when travellers were scarce, save on well-marked trade routes, the stranger was an object of great suspicion. Who could tell what evil spells he might work? Magic was then the great danger; to-day it is "politik," the mysterious power of secret diplomacy. The stranger is still suspect in lands much nearer home.

In those parts of the Balkans where the tribal system was still in force, the reluctance of the tribe to admit a stranger was still marked. Off the beaten track a guide was a necessity, not merely to show the way but to act as a passport and explain one. In many places the peasant believed firmly in hidden treasure, and every stranger was suspected of knowing the spell by which to acquire and run off with it. A reason for the stranger's presence is required. A M [787]

Krsto Pejovitch, when I first went up-country with him, began to explain me so soon as we got off the highroad. He was showman, so to speak, and I was the monkey to his organ-grinding. On arrival at a han he would begin loudly: "She can read and write several languages. She can make pictures without a machine [i.e. draw]. She can sing. She can," etc. According to Krsto there were few things I could not do. Moreover, the Montenegrin proverb says: "Long hair, short wits, a woman's head," and as I wore my hair short, an uncommon thing in those days, the simple folk accepted the fact that my wits were necessarily long. Krsto would point this out, and add, in an aside, to bachelors: "She is not married, and God knows how rich." M 186 114 787 M [562]

When I protested, he declared this was the right way to conduct a tour, and he knew all about it. I had come to see real Montenegrin life—and I saw it. But so long as I live I shall feel for the luckless dancing bear who is prodded up to perform once more when dead tired, and remember the days when I could not make a note or a sketch except before a changing crowd as curious as monkeys, which flocked to see a woman who could not only write but write English. As often M 186 114

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG

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with fresh opportunities and new objects. Contrast the uniformity of the magic and ritual of isolated groups, such as the Australians, with the richer material of Negro medicine and the even more elaborate systems of European and Asiatic magic and religion. The process of incorporation can be extended in all directions, and even general theories may be constructed to cover a whole series of practices. *Medressi*-educated Mohammedans, who are often widely read in occult arts and ancient medicine, peasant doctors and seers, occasionally invent or experiment, or think out a logical, all-embracing theory. These individuals are men rather than women. I recall a young Albanian at Peć who was an excellent representative of this type. There was not the least doubt that he was exceedingly intelligent and really studious or even scholarly. He possessed about a hundred fine manuscripts, some of his own copying, and a few printed books, and his chief studies were alchemy and the origin of language. His experiments also included getting into touch with spirits and devils, and finding out new methods of prediction, which he tested experimentally.

A
[756]
[782]
[791]

The treatment of disease I described as markedly symptomatic. Diagnosis and cure are seldom combined into a system. When that happens the system or theory then becomes a general standardised method of handling characteristic diseases, the direction being given by one of the more obvious symptoms. The immediateness of approach otherwise is a method of trial and error, that might encourage empirical discovery. This is the only form of the experiment in common use. It is not systematised into experiment under varying conditions to discover the nature of a phenomenon, but it is a practical trial of the means of exploiting it. The process may be repeated when a case understood to be identically the same occurs again. It should be noticed that while quite different diseases may be considered as internal and external forms, for instance, of one and the same disease, the time of day, the age or name of the patient, and so on may alter the notion of what constitutes identical circumstances, or the place where an

782 elders. Even if they are persuaded to swear on the cross, they will not forego the stone, which is the symbol which gives their oath
•787 validity. They are also great believers in omens, and in divination. Men versed in this skill read the future by observing the sternal bones of fowl and the scapulae of sheep. I have witnessed a performance of the latter. The bone has its special divisions, each of which has meaning. On the sheep's scapula the joint socket is the house, and its depth or shallowness indicates whether the house will be empty or full of wealth. This can be used to predict success or failure of crops. The ridge on the blade shows whether or not flocks will multiply. Small holes on the blade are cradles, and the diviner can tell how close to the family, i.e., the "house," the birth will be by the distance from the socket. When you hold the blade up to the firelight or lamp, the shape and position of the marrow will tell where and when there will be fighting. Opaque white spots mean death, and their position indicates whether they will be within or without the household of the enquirer.

182 All of these rituals are concerned with the
788 maintenance of equilibrium in Gheg society. Oaths give authority to agreements, and cannot be broken until a crisis arrives which is stronger than that which the oath-breaking will produce. By clever use of the divining bones, a knowledgeable man can evaluate the state of affairs in his neighborhood, and give warnings; he can also precipitate decisions from wavering allies, for if he is a diviner of reputation, his words will be believed. Very often what he predicts will come true.

Special ritual routines common to members of both official religions restore equilibrium after the crises of birth, marriage, and death. All of these rituals which reinforce their social habits are of much greater importance to the Ghegs than the rites of church or mosque, which are not as well adjusted to this partic-
671 ular form of society. Another such mechanism is traditional law, codified and memorized as the Law of Lek Dukagin, which expresses the mountain attitude toward marriage and the selection of wives, and toward the blood feud. It serves to crystallize forms of behavior and inhibit change in those who are trained from childhood to believe in its infallible authority.

[See cat 116, pp. 37a-b - Analyst]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

unpardonable indignities, and over her dead body the brother and sister swore to utterly exterminate her enemies.

Some years later Shainitza was grieving for the death of her favourite son, Aden Bey. So wild was her sorrow that she smashed with a hammer all his and her own diamond ornaments, burnt all her cashmeres and valuable furs, and forced his young widow to lie on straw mats spread on the ground instead of on a bed. The mirrors and ornaments of her serail were also destroyed, its windows were by her order painted black,[1] and everything which in any way recalled joy or happiness was banished from the palace. Roused from this abandonment of grief by the news of the fall of Gardiki,[2] she wrote to Ali reminding him of the oath they had sworn together over their mother's corpse, and of her wrongs and theirs, and urged him to have no mercy on the inhabitants of that town. "As for me," she added in conclusion, "it is only on cushions stuffed with the hair of the women of Gardiki that Shainitza will henceforward repose!"

Faithfully was the terrible oath, sworn to the dead, kept both by brother and sister. The chief men of Gardiki, to the number of some three hundred, induced by fair promises to meet Ali at the Khan of Valieré, were there ruthlessly massacred by the Christian troops under his Greek lieutenant, Thanasé

[1] See p. 265; and compare similar custom in folk-tale, p. 315.

[2] In 1802. A Greek folk-song graphically describes the gallant defence made by this town, which was taken by one of Ali's lieutenants, "Yousóuf the Arab" (*Greek Folk-songs*, p. 234).

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

175 Vaghia,[1] not one escaping. Shainitza caused the town
159 to be razed to the ground, and, after cutting off the
[669] hair of the women with every insult which she could heap upon them, this tigress in human form drove them forth with their children to the mountains, menacing any with a like doom who should venture to give food or shelter to the objects of her wrath. The traveller passing through the valley of Drynopolis may to this day see in the wall of the khan the tablet which records, in letters of gold, the number of the dead and the date of their sacrifice to the *manes* of the mother and the fury of the sister of the Vizier of Ioannina.

[428] In a codicil to her will, Khamko directed that a *hadji*, or pilgrim, should be despatched on her part to lay offerings on the tomb of the Prophet, and pray
● 788 there for the repose of her soul. Such pilgrimages and offerings may, however, only be made when the expenses are defrayed with money lawfully and honestly acquired. And as it was found on inquiry into the estate of the late Veli Bey, Ali's ancestor, that the property to be sold for this purpose had been taken by force or fraud from a Christian, the pilgrim-
175 age was disallowed by the religious authorities.
159 Such extreme ferocity of disposition as that mani-
562 fested by Khamko and Shainitza is, however, excep-
[152] tional among Albanian women, and even in Ali Pasha's

[1] The Greek poet, Aristotle Valaorites, has made Thanasé Vaghia the subject of one of his most striking poems, Ὁ βρυκόλακας, "The Vampire," a translation of which may be found in my *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 121. The tragedy of Ἡ κυρὰ φροσύνη, "The Lady Phrosyne," by the same writer, part of which I saw acted in an open-air theatre at Salonica, gives a vivid picture of Ali Pasha and his Court.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880)-1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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and lame. Clement, being young and active, and also attentive to his new duties, soon gained the affection of his master, and, at the same time, that of his daughter, who, seeing no chance of ever being asked in marriage by her equal, took it into her head to make the shepherd lad fall in love with her. Clement long resisted the allurements of the uncomely Bubce, and pointed out to her the danger they would both run should any understanding between them come to her father's ears, and also the misery that would follow for her a union with a penniless man. "It is not our danger, but my deformity that thou fearest," the shrewd Bubce would reply, and, her devotion finally touching the heart of Clement, the lovers met frequently in secret.

Finding herself compelled to take her stepmother into her confidence, the latter, fearing that her husband's pride would impel him to some act of violence were the state of affairs to come suddenly to his knowledge, tried to prepare him for the news, and made him swear by St. Nicholas not to do harm to any one. The angry father, in spite of his oath, at first threatened to kill both his daughter and her lover, and reproached them bitterly for the dishonour they had brought upon his house. Bubce, however, took all the blame upon herself, and her tears and prayers, joined to those of his wife, who reminded him of the oath he had sworn "by St. Nicholas," and which is of all oaths the most binding on an Albanian, finally prevailed with him. Clement might marry his daughter, but on condition that neither of them ever again should appear before him. So the couple

[788]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

585 if compelled to do so, in order to show how great is her regret at leaving the paternal roof.[1] In fact, her behaviour throughout is intended to typify her reluctance to exchange the single for the married state. Meantime the guests divert themselves with liqueurs, [262 463] coffee, and sweets, and the performances of the professional musicians hired for the occasion.

About ten o'clock a cart arrives from the bridegroom's abode to fetch the bride's baggage, which is [415 531] packed in a large wooden box ornamented with designs of flowers rudely executed. When it starts every one shouts, "*Per heir*" (Good luck!), and among the Christians, several women accompany the cart [788] outside the gate, sprinkling both it and its contents with holy water. A few minutes afterwards, all the male guests invited by the bridegroom's friends set out, preceded by his father, who leads a richly caparisoned horse on which the bride will ride home. As they leave the house the women sing:

[539]

Happy may thy journey be,
Eldest of our family.
Holy sign of cross now make,
To the right thy way then take.
If to us thou bring fair bride,
May the sugar-plums taste sweet,
If a foul one by thy side
That they bitter taste were meet.

585 Arrived at their destination, the party range them-
262 selves around the courtyard, where glasses of cognac and water, and sweets and sugar-plums of various kinds

[1] The Mongols of Tibet observe a similar custom. See *Journal of Sarat Chandra Das*, published by the Royal Geographical Society.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER XI.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-BELIEFS.

144 114 Mr. Stuart Glennie's suggestion[1] that the Albanians are probably a mixed Pelasgo-Aryan race, and that the Pelasgians, whose Larissas extend from Italy and Greece through Asia Minor to Northern Syria and Chaldea, were related to the Archaian White Race, the founders of civilisation in the Euphrates Valley, gives special interest to all their folk-lore.

771 Survivals of ancient Nature-worship, which neither Christianity nor Islam has succeeded in eliminating, may be found in the form of the oaths still in 788 use in the Albanian highlands. Contact with the [177] outer world has taught the dwellers in towns to call upon the Virgin and Saints, or Allah and Mohammed, as witnesses to their word; but the oaths of the pastoral Skipetar are still "By sky and earth" (*Per kielh e per dhé*), "By mountain and plain" (*Per ket ziarm e per ket uï*), and "By sun and moon" (*Per ket dielh e per ket hán*). The curious ceremony of taking the "Oath of the Stone," which is said by Wassa Effendi[2] to have been a Pelasgian custom, is

[1] First made in Europe and Asia (1879), and more fully in papers on the Archaian White Races, read in 1887 at meetings of the Royal Historical Society and of the British Association.

[2] *Etudes sur l'Albanie et les Albanais.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

also made use of by the Albanian highlanders generally, when settling matters of importance. According to this writer, quoting from M. Ampère,[1] a similar custom also existed among the ancient Romans. Sylla, on leaving Rome to fight against Mithridates, required Cinna to swear, not by the national divinities, but on the Sacred Stone, and according to an ancient rite of the Etruscans, to make no innovations during his absence. Cinna, when pronouncing this oath, placed the stone on his shoulder, and then threw it backwards, while he pronounced, in a loud voice, the curses which should fall upon him were he false to his promise. The taking of this oath in Albania is attended with the same ceremonies. It is sworn by the elders of the *phars*, or clans, on the occasion of settling serious disputes, such as those concerning the boundaries of village lands, or other communal matters. The elders of the two tribes, Christian or Moslem, after taking the Oath of the Stone, assemble in council and settle the question at issue.

This oath, in another form, also enters into everyday speech. In course of conversation, when a Gheg wishes to emphasise what he is saying, he takes up in his hand, or points to, the nearest stone, saying, "By this weight" (*Per ket pésh*), and a Tosk makes use of the phrase, "By the heaviness of this stone" (*Per te rond te keti gúr*).[2]

The Supernals, with which the Albanian women terrify themselves and their children, appear to be, for the most part, like those of the Bulgarians,

[1] *Histoire des Romains à Rome.* [2] Wassa Effendi, *Op. cit.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

of these parti-coloured bracelets, with a tiny gold coin attached, was, on the 1st of March (Old Style), presented by the Roumanian Consul-General to each lady of his acquaintance, and I, for one, religiously wore my charm against the power of the March sun, which in the East generally is said to "blacken" the complexion, until the month was out. It was not, however, finally thrown to the swallows, but carried off by an English visitor as a curio. 527 789 777

On the 25th of this month the women go through the house beating on copper pans, in order to drive out any poisonous snakes that may have intended to take up their abode there. The two last days of March and the first of April are called *Plyáketé*, a word signifying "old," and referring to the past season, personified as "Old Mother Winter." If by the last-mentioned date Spring has not yet fully set in, the blame is laid at the door of the old women, who are evidently held to be in league with "Old Mother Winter." 789 [754]

On Easter Eve in some places, Selitza, for instance, the young men assemble with lighted torches, which they wave about as they walk in procession through the village. Arrived at the river, they throw them in, crying, "*Koré-ya* (O Maiden)! We throw thee into the water with these torches, so mayest thou never return!" the *Koré* evidently referring, as Von Hahn suggests,[1] to the malevolent supernals, Vilas, Dragouas, &c., before described. When the priest comes to bless the house on Easter Day, the women throw after him, as he leaves, hot embers from the 789 [372] [776] [788]

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 160.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 hearth, in order that he may take away with him all
788 danger from fire for the coming year.

St. John's Eve is observed in Albania with the
789 customary bonfire, to leap over which is considered so
372 salutary that even the old people venture to do so at least once. A curious ceremony, performed about this season, when the spring sowing is concluded, may also be here mentioned. Standing with his back to the plough, the farmer rubs part of the
[136] handle with earth in the belief that the wild swine will thus be prevented from damaging his crops.

789 On the day on which the new moon is first seen, all possible work is avoided, and no important task of any kind, such as ploughing, sowing, or harvesting, is commenced, for it would be sure to be unsuccessful. The girls and children look at the moon through a sieve, and rub their faces with a piece of silver, while they sing:

[539]

Young moon!
Young maid!
Health to me;
Ill to thee!
Head as soft as dough be thine!
Head as hard as stone be mine!

777 The 9th, 19th, and 29th days of every month are considered unlucky, as is also the Tuesday of every week, for setting out on a journey, or commencing any kind of work. Friday is also an inauspicious day
[241] for sowing, and Saturday for beginning to plough or dig.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

The Liouvia[1] *and the Beauty of the Earth.*[2]

There was once a Vlach[3] who was very rich and had a big sheep farm. A king once happened to be travelling that way, and stopped at his house, and the Vlach gave him the best of all he had. That same night the Vlach's wife gave birth to a son. The king made the father promise to have his son taught various languages, and gave him a cross, saying, "When thy son is fifteen years old, give him this cross and tell him to come to me in such and such a town." This said, he went away. 539

The Vlach did as the king had advised, and the boy learnt to speak several languages. On his fifteenth birthday, his father gave him the cross. He read the inscription it bore, which was, "I am the king, thy godfather; come to me in such and such a town." When he had read it, he said to his father:

"See what the king has written for me. I must go to him."

So the father gave him a companion.

On the way, the boy, being hungry, descended a ravine, at the bottom of which was a spring. When he had finished his meal, he saw his companion standing on the top of a rock with a great stone in his hand, and heard him say:

"Take off thy clothes, give them to me, and take mine; then swear that thou wilt reveal to no man what has passed between us." [788]

[1] This appears to me the most correct way of rendering phonetically the word Λιουβία.

[2] Dozon, *Manuel Chkipe*, No. xvi., and *Contes Albanais*, No. xii.

[3] See vol. i. chap. i., "The Vlachs."

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

539 The boy pronounced this oath, "If I die and come
788 to life again, then only will I denounce thee."

When they had changed dresses, the companion mounted the horse, and they arrived at the king's palace. The latter, on seeing the cross, took the youth who presented it for his godson, and, giving him his hand, led him to his private apartment. As to the son of the Vlach, he remained in the basement, and spoke to each person there in his own language.

539 The companion pretended to be ill. The king went to see him, and asked him what he ailed.

"I feel very ill," he replied.

"What shall we do for you?"

"Get me one of the cabbages guarded by the Liouvía."

"So many kings, and so many more powerful than I, have gone to take one, and have never succeeded," replied the king.

"Command the youth who is downstairs to go. If he refuses, threaten him."

Then the king said to the boy, "Willy, nilly, thou must go to such and such a place, and bring back a cabbage" (the companion pretended to be ill because he knew that if the son of the Vlach went for the cabbage, he would never come back).

The boy passed his days and nights in weeping, and knew not what to do. One night he saw in a dream an old man, who said to him, "My son, dry thy tears; this is what thou must do. Take forty loads of honey and forty loads of milk, and manage to arrive about noon, for then the Liouvía is out hunting, and is not in her den."

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 shoulder-high rock and dashed to aid the rescue. It looked for a moment as though they would all go down upon Perolli below, but the horse got his footing and stood trembling, his head covered with streaming blankets.

I said then that I would walk, but it was not walking. It was jumping, scrambling, dropping. Those mountains were evidently created to be looked at, not to be walked upon. Bathed in perspiration, I stopped from time to time to eat a bit of snow, and twelve-year-old Rexh looked at me with compassion. He had walked nearly twenty miles that day and was still gay and fresh; the men were still singing.

788 "In a minute, Mrs. Lane, we will come to a resting place," the pitying Rexh encouraged me, and in perhaps half an hour my trembling legs brought me around a bowlder to see the two gendarmes stopped in the trail, 1 crossing themselves. A wooden cross, blackened by storms and years, leaned forward above them, supported by a pile of stones on a small grassy knoll. Alex and Frances dropped from their ponies to lie panting beside me on the grass, while the guides, [דרו] smiling at our whim, stopped also. Each of them crossed himself before sitting down, for the mountain tribes have been Catholic almost ever since St. Paul preached in the Balkans, and missionary priests have put the cross at each resting place on the trails, to bring thoughts of God to weary men.

000 Below our feet the cliffs fell away, down into

1 [on Chafa Bishkasit [10] Mountains -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

though in a Paris restaurant one glass of mild 000
wine will make me realize that a second would be unwise. I don't explain this, I simply note the fact, and it gives me a different point of view on the chronicles of hard-drinking past centuries.

We sat there talking, for an hour or more. 793
The bishop[1] said that he had never been out of the mountains except for a trip long ago to the Vatican in Rome; he had been there a year, and had conversed with his brother priests in Latin. Then he had come back to the mountains and had lived there ever since. His diocese included all the northern tribes, and he visited them from time to time, riding wherever a donkey could carry him, and walking where it could not. Ten years earlier he had had another foreign visitor, a Miss Durham of England; he had heard that she later wrote a book in which she told about the visit, and if he could have afforded it he would have liked to send for that book.

No, the Church had not very greatly altered [771]
the ancient customs of the people. They were all good Catholics, and attended mass. But [764]
they still buried the dead uncoffined, with three apples on the breast, and when they put a stone or a wooden slab above the grave they often carved on it, not only the cross, but also the sun. One would note, too, that at the rising and set- [788]
ting of the sun they made the sign of the cross to it.

He was not too intolerant of these things. After all, beyond the sun was always the good God.

1 [Franciscan Bishop of Pulti - [25] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 "To-day," I said, "we get to Scutari." For the pains in my lungs had returned and I had lain all night half waking, haunted by fever visions and voices.

"Yes, yes," said the Shala man. "I swear it! To-day we get to Scutari!" But the byraktor looked at him, saying nothing, a quizzical look in his dark eyes, and leisurely went on with his coffee making.

"Rexh," I said at five o'clock, "why don't they start?"

"I don't know, Mrs. Lane," he replied, earnestly. "They will not tell." He sat listening to every casual word, and thinking deeply. A dozen times I had suggested that we should be starting.

"Tell the byraktor we must go!" I said at six o'clock, impatient in the doorway. For a long time all the world had been a clear gray, shadowed only by the falling rain. "I pay a hundred kronen for his mule only because it gets me to Scutari to-night."

Rexh announced this firmly to the byraktor; the byraktor, listening attentively, assented with a shake of his head.

[188] At seven o'clock I walked madly up and down the small stone porch.* The byraktor's gendarme had arrived; he stood washing his face in a stone basin filled with rain water; at every splash in it he raised his head and solemnly crossed himself and made the sign of the cross toward the dawn. Inside the house, the byraktor was deep in conversation with his grandmother.

*[At house of Shoshi [260] warchief -- Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

it is the staff of life is the oldest, and religious conceptions come later. As essential to life, it was suited to oath-taking; as shown by the oath 'May the bread kill me', it had power to punish perjury with death. 695 778

Two more formulae remain to be mentioned. The first was 'By my head', and the second 'By the head of my son'. The former was thought justifiable; one might do as one pleased with one's own head. But a man who swore on his son's head was strongly disapproved of; only a low fellow, it was thought, would risk his child's life by such an oath. Nothing less was involved, as appears in the following full formula for a land dispute. 'By the head of the son that I have, this land is mine. If it is not mine, may I weep for the son that I have.'[1] 695 782 [826]

When the time came to take the oath, both Catholics and Moslems behaved as if about to perform an act of worship. Catholics removed their caps and made the oath bareheaded; they also crossed themselves as they began. Sunni Moslems performed the ceremonial ablutions incumbent on them before they pray. By their preliminaries the Catholics sought to indicate respect for the Deity; by theirs the Sunnis sought also to make their oath binding —without them, so they believed, it would be null and void. The Moslems of Martanesh, being Bektashis, did not perform the ceremonial ablutions, but suspect and compurgator when taking the oath in a house had to stand facing Mecca, with the witnesses behind them. As each man's turn came, he advanced towards the Koran or loaf of bread, knelt, and laying hand on the book or bread repeated the prescribed words. This reverence for the sacred emblem was shown by both religions, sometimes with quaint little ceremonies. Thus, when the Catholics of Lurë swore in the open on the Gospel, as was their common practice, they picked up some grass or other greenery and held it over the book while they recited the oath; the purpose of the grass is not clear.[2] After the conversion of Vinjollë to Islam from Catholicism oaths were sworn indifferently, as has already been said, on the Gospel or Koran. When at a house, the sacred book was laid on fresh grass near the house or on a clean place in the farmyard. Each oath-taker kissed it three times, before venturing to put his hand on it and repeat the oath. 695 788

[1] The oath on a son's head is common to the Moslem world and if perjured involves the son as well as his father in eternal damnation.

[2] Possibly it involved the false swearer in withering like the plucked grass.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

695 Ordinarily the Gospel might be open or closed and the Koran bare
788 or wrapped in a cloth. A most interesting survival from Christianity comes from Fulqet, where the men, who now are all good Sunni Moslems, tapped their breasts with their fingers when making an oath; the gesture had lost the definite form of making the sign of the cross, but its origin seemed unmistakable.

695 The oath was taken in two stages. First the suspect swore in the presence of all the compurgators that he was innocent of the crime, and then the compurgators swore in the presence of witnesses that the suspect was innocent. He and they swore in the same manner. Bareheaded and making the sign of the cross if Catholic, with hands and face ritually cleansed if Moslem, each in turn invoked the Deity or laid his hand on the sacred object prescribed and repeated the oath. The compurgators did not as a rule take the oath until the suspect had done so and thereby assumed all possible responsibility before God and man for its truth. But, exceptionally, in Lumë a suspected murderer—and probably a suspected thief too—did not take the oath at all unless the compurgators, fearing that he had committed the crime, and lacking convincing proof one way or the other, wished to secure such evidence as his oath provided. In Zerqan a suspect took the oath only when the compurgators doubted his innocence.

Of the compurgators the accuser's nominees came first, headed by the suspect's nearest relatives and neighbours, the most responsible because the most knowledgeable of them all. As soon as the first two or three had taken the oath the others shed their fears of perjuring themselves and took it in their turn. Lastly came the suspect's quota, free of qualms. When the jury was large, the accuser often interrupted the proceedings before all the suspect's quota had sworn. Since his own nominees, 'good men and true', and the first of the suspect's quota had taken the oath, there could be no doubt that the remainder would do so. In Dukagjin, the Gjakovë highlands (Malësi e Jakovës), and a few other areas in that neighbourhood, only half of the compurgators ever recited the oath; the others merely put their hand on the Gospel and passed by. The first man recited the oath in full, the second touched the Gospel and passed by, and so on. According to the Franciscan priest of Theth the even numbers were there to vindicate the odd numbers, the only complete oath-takers, but Father Gjeçov describes the custom somewhat differently. He says that half the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

*628 thrown over his head, a sign of mourning and penitence, as well as his hands tied behind his back, a sign of helplessness, remained standing near the door, while his friends sat down round the hearth. The host gave coffee to them, but not to him; his forgiveness was not yet assured, and without such assurance he could not drink his coffee. The friends pleaded with the host to untie his hands; they threatened as well as pleaded saying, 'If you like, forgive him—otherwise kill us along with him'. At length one of two things happened. The host consented to pardon the murderer, got up to throw down his collar and to untie his hands, and bade him sit down and drink coffee, saying, 'You are pardoned, friend'. More frequently, he said he could not at once pardon the man, but would give him a truce of six months, a year, or more; in sign of his mollification he probably gave him coffee, though he sent him away with his hands still tied behind his back and his collar over his head.

*628 If the murderer were pardoned, a meal with meat was given in all 788 but the poorest houses—these must content themselves with coffee. On the departure of the guests a further ceremony took place. The host saw the party off as he would on any other occasion. On leaving the house he took a hammer and chipped out a little cross on the door. Each of the others in turn took the hammer and chipped out a little more, first the host's party and then the visitors. The host said, 'God send us no more grief' and 'May he be forgiven'. Each guest said, 'Honour to you for pardoning him!' After chipping out his portion each dropped the hammer on the ground for the next man to pick up; this was to make sure of not handing on the feud to him. The last man on the murderer's side threw the hammer away, repeating, 'Honour to you for pardoning him!' The cross signified that the family had had an enemy, had fired shots; the more crosses on a door, the more valiant the family. In Kurbin there are houses with ten or twelve. Since the district is now predominantly Mohammedan, the chipping of the cross is an interesting survival from the time when they were all Roman Catholic. The following day or the next the enemy paid a visit with his friends to the murderer's, and was regaled with coffee and a meal with meat; in every case the chief intermediary was an honoured guest. It may be added that modernization has attacked the ceremonies; as early as 1930 a murderer from the Saseri family of Krujë refused to have his hands tied when he went to his enemy's

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

to be pardoned; he said it was 'disgraceful', and the plea was allowed. 628* 788

The Highlanders had still another method. They called a 'St John' an infant which had not yet been sent to have its hair cut by its godfather, it being believed that St John the Baptist was Christ's godfather. When the time for peace-making seemed due, the friends brought pressure to bear to secure forgiveness. This promised, they arranged to take the murderer on a certain day to his enemy's house, his hands again tied behind his back, and take a 'St John' in its cradle with them. Actually they did not bring the murderer into view; at most they kept him in the background. One of the visitors turned the cradle with the infant, who was, as always, well strapped in, upside down, saying to the host, 'Put it straight; Turn it right side up!' If he were willing, and few were not, for leaving the infant upside down might kill it and leave him with innocent blood on his hands, he turned the cradle right side up, saying, 'All right, I pardon him for the sake of God and the Saint'. Then he went and without another word untied the murderer's hands. Next he said, 'A pardon for my murder; a pardon for my father's (or brother's) murder; be it forgiven', and turned to embrace the murderer. Coffee was then served and drunk by all amid general conversation—the Highlanders are unusually lively. Having fixed a day when they would all go to eat a meal with meat at the murderer's house they took their leave. This meal at the murderer's concluded the proceedings; afterwards all went about their business; no cross was made on the enemy's door as in Kurbin. [176] [854]

Friends were not the only interveners. Occasionally the Turkish government took a hand, declaring on penalty of imprisonment, internment and burning out that all feuds more than seven years old were to be compounded by a money payment and not reopened. When during the 1914–18 war Austria-Hungary was in occupation of all north Albania, she also ordered blood feuds to be ended with a money payment; the resentment of Çermenikë at this attempt to force them to make peace on northern terms is still hot. Sometimes a whole community itself interfered. The procedure of west Mat was typical. When a man had been killed on either side and the feud was 'one for one', the neighbours took effective steps to prevent its continuance. They each forbade the avenger to come on his land to kill his enemy; if he did so, he would be considered a trespasser 628* 682

782 elders. Even if they are persuaded to swear on the cross, they will not forego the stone, which is the symbol which gives their oath
787 validity. They are also great believers in omens, and in divination. Men versed in this skill read the future by observing the sternal bones of fowl and the scapulae of sheep. I have witnessed a performance of the latter. The bone has its special divisions, each of which has meaning. On the sheep's scapula the joint socket is the house, and its depth or shallowness indicates whether the house will be empty or full of wealth. This can be used to predict success or failure of crops. The ridge on the blade shows whether or not flocks will multiply. Small holes on the blade are cradles, and the diviner can tell how close to the family, i.e., the "house," the birth will be by the distance from the socket. When you hold the blade up to the firelight or lamp, the shape and position of the marrow will tell where and when there will be fighting. Opaque white spots mean death, and their position indicates whether they will be within or without the household of the enquirer.

182 All of these rituals are concerned with the
783 maintenance of equilibrium in Gheg society. Oaths give authority to agreements, and cannot be broken until a crisis arrives which is stronger than that which the oath-breaking will produce. By clever use of the divining bones, a knowledgeable man can evaluate the state of affairs in his neighborhood, and give warnings; he can also precipitate decisions from wavering allies, for if he is a diviner of reputation, his words will be believed. Very often what he predicts will come true.

Special ritual routines common to members of both official religions restore equilibrium after the crises of birth, marriage, and death. All of these rituals which reinforce their social habits are of much greater importance to the Ghegs than the rites of church or mosque, which are not as well adjusted to this partic-
671 ular form of society. Another such mechanism is traditional law, codified and memorized as the Law of Lek Dukagin, which expresses the mountain attitude toward marriage and the selection of wives, and toward the blood feud. It serves to crystallize forms of behavior and inhibit change in those who are trained from childhood to believe in its infallible authority.

[See cat 11b, pp. 37a-b - Analyst]

598 house of a relative of his to live there till the marriage was arranged and declared herself a Mohammedan. As she was not of age, her parents appealed to the archbishop, who intervened, and she was sent home. Then, to save her from Turkish influence, she was sent to friends at Podgoritza. Here she obstinately declared that she wished to be Moslem
777 till those in charge of her saw that she wore a Turkish amulet round her neck. They cut the string and threw the thing in the fire. Scarcely had it burnt up when she at once became Christian again. So ended her poor little romance, and I was told it was unlikely she would ever find a good husband owing to this fatal infatuation. Marko considered it, indeed, a mercy that the evil amulet had been discovered, and was horrified when I said I was sorry for her.

776 *Evil Spirits.*—In addition to witches and magicians in Albania there are many mischievous spirits. These are the "ore," a word which an Albanian often translates as "devil." The ore, however, are not the ordinary devils known to Christianity; they are relics of some pre-Christian beliefs, and are usually seen at night as fiery sparks, and delight to prevent a traveller from proceeding by circling round him and confusing him completely. Once, when starting from Scutari to Djakova, Tony Precha was thus stopped on the way. There is but one thing to be done, and that is to wait till the first cock crows, when they vanish at once.

Another delight of theirs is to ride horses at night and knot their manes. These knots should on no account be untied. The ore also guard hidden treasure, and by confusing the seeker prevent him from finding it.

The ore were generally believed to be females.

776 Much magic surrounds hidden treasure. Throughout the Balkans
777 there is a belief in masses of treasure hidden in ancient days. The hider consigned it to the care of the earth "amanet," which may deliver it
789 up only if certain formulæ are observed. A person ignorant of these formulæ may dig on the right spot and find nothing but sticks and stones. An example given me in the mountains was that of a man who buried some money at the foot of a tree, at the same time bidding the earth not to give it up till two mice had drawn a carriage round the tree. Unfortunately a man passing by heard this. He returned home, caught two mice, tamed them, and with some trouble harnessed them to a tiny box. He then returned to the tree, drove the mouse-chariot round it, dug on the spot, and found the money. I suggested that he might have done so without troubling to catch and train the mice, but was assured it was impossible. The earth would not have yielded that which had been consigned to it. Much time and ingenuity is spent over the search for treasure. It has led to the destruction of

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

much probably valuable material, for when many an ancient grave has been opened and nothing but pottery and bits of bronze or iron found, the treasure-seekers, enraged that the gold should have thus been turned to rubbish because they did not know the formula, have smashed it all into small fragments. 776 777 789

One way to find treasure is to spread a layer of wood-ash over the spot where it is believed to lie. Next morning, if it bears the footprint of any bird or beast—a fox, sheep, etc.—such a creature must be sacrificed upon the spot. A black animal or bird with no touch of white on it is particularly efficacious. 777 782

In many places I had to declare to the headmen that I had not come to search for treasure.

Those good days are past. Albania is now being searched for petroleum, and, unless the kindly earth refuses to give it up, the land will be devoured by foreign speculators.

I was once taken a weary tramp in Berisha to see and explain a marvel. On a great mass of rock was a slight hollow into which a man's hand would fit, and near it a depression that was supposed to be like a mule's hoof-print. Both were natural weatherings of the rock. But the native theory was that ages ago, when the rock was soft, a man had hidden a treasure and made the rock flow over it. He had then marked the spot with his hand and the hoof-mark of his beast. Unless the right formula could be obtained there was nothing for it but to quarry and blast the huge mass, and without the formula even this might not avail. I vainly said the marks meant nothing. My excited escort would not let me leave till I had "written" (i.e. drawn) the marks, and promised that if learned men in England could explain them I would return and show them how to find the treasure. 777 789

"Hoof-marks" are favourite things in the Balkans. One was shown me on the shores of Lake Presba and ascribed to Sharatz, the magic horse of Marko Kralyevitch; and in a cave on the slopes of the Lovchen in Montenegro I was shown, as a great marvel, a small roundish depression—a hoof-mark, also "made when the rock was soft." Krsto thought it possible that Marko Kralyevitch had once stabled Sharatz here, and several people asked my opinion about it. In the long weary hours, when watching goats on the mountains, men ponder over such trifles and build fancies upon them. Weary and weary are those endless hours. I never met anyone who did not speak with hate of the watching of beasts he had had to do when young. Often was I asked to build a factory where a man would be given enough bread for a day's labour and no longer have to watch goats on the mountain. The foreigner is now starting works; I doubt if they bring the expected happiness. [517] 777

In the hill-side on the left of the road from Djakova to Prizren I 778

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

159 ambuscade by the men of Gardiki and Tchormovo,
175 together with Ali and her only daughter, Shainitza.
562 After having been subjected to every indignity and
628 outrage by their captors, Khamko and her children had the good fortune to be ransomed by the generosity of a Greek merchant for the sum of 22,800 piastres (£3700).

Hatred of those who had thus humiliated her took entire possession of the Aghadina's soul, and her one idea thenceforward was to train up her son as the avenger of her wrongs. With this object she commenced to instil into his mind those pernicious principles which he was only too well disposed to receive, and which may be summed up in the words [577] *Might is right*, an adage sufficiently popular among the turbulent Albanian clans. Ali's first attempt to vindicate his rights in the field was a complete failure. Having met with a more vigorous resistance than he expected, he fled from the fight, and was one of the first to re-enter Tepeleni. Khamko, furious at finding all her hopes blasted by what she deemed his cowardice, loaded him with reproaches, and thrusting her distaff into his hand, added, "Go, coward, and spin with the women in the harem; thou art fitter for that than for the career of arms!" Ali's fortunes indeed fluctuated for some time between success and failure. While he was absent on a campaign, Khamko found herself on her death-bed, and, though repeated and urgent messages were despatched to him, she died before he could arrive. The Aghadina in her will bequeathed to her son and daughter the task of immo- [789] lating to her *manes* the inhabitants of Gardiki and Tchormovo, at whose hands they had suffered such

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband [484]
leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
with which they console themselves testify. Unknown to their partners, they sew in their clothes [789]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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small objects, which they themselves have worn, as talismans to ensure their safe return, and during their often protracted absences they resort to various methods of divination, either with or without the aid of a professional wise woman, in order to discover how their beloved spouses fare, where they sojourn, and how they are occupied.

The men on their side are not free from home-sickness, and many are the pathetic little exile-songs, in which their longings for their native mountains, and for the beloved ones from whom they are, for a time, separated, find expression. One may serve as a specimen:

Now in Bender, now in Buda,
  Bide we lone and desolate.
Patience, heart! What boots complaining,
  So it hath been willed by Fate.

Yet this grievous bitter exile
  Cannot longer still be borne;
Is't naught that we like felons wander
  From Fatherland as outlaws lorn?

Who the exile's griefs can number?
  Say whose woes can equal mine?
E'en the viper, should she sting me,
  Poisoned by my blood would pine!

The amusements of the Albanian women are, for the most part, limited to birth and wedding festivities, at which singing and dancing are the principal features. Albanian dances are of two kinds: the Pyrrhic, as it is called by travellers, which is usually indulged in by the men, and a kind of "kerchief dance," which is affected by the women, the two sexes always performing separately. The women dance in couples,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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776 dainty raiment, and exhaling a fragrant odour. They live in the mountains, but after nightfall frequently approach the abodes of men in order to allure mortal youths to join their dances. If a boy so favoured keeps his own counsel, he may join in these fairy revels with impunity, but should he venture to inform others of his relations with these nocturnal visitors, they revenge themselves by killing him.

The Ore is a being who constantly wanders about in order to hear and carry into effect the blessings and curses pronounced by men on each other. In North Albania the usual formula with which a beggar concludes his thanks and blessings for alms received is, "May the Ore hear and bring it to pass." [735 789]

Among the malevolent supernals are three kinds of man-devouring female monsters. The Koutchédra (κουτζέδρα), the Dogsuckler (συκγεννεζα), and the Liouvía (λιουβία). The first figures frequently in folk-tale, and besides her cannibalistic propensities, is credited with the power of drying up the springs and fountains at which she drinks. The Dogsuckler is endowed with four eyes, two in the front of her head, and two in the back. The Liouvía is extremely partial to the flesh of little children.

776 753 Diseases are generally personalised as female monsters, whose touch is death. One of these is called in Elbassan the Phliame (φλιάμι), whose touch causes "the falling sickness." She is, however, never alluded to by name, it being said of her victim that "The Thing has attacked him." The plague and fatal epidemics generally are represented as more or less similar, but blind beings, called Koukoúdh (κουκούδ).

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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charred corpses, howling like wolves, donkeys, 775
pigs, black cats, crows, oil-jars, brooms, &c. The Karkantsoli is the reanimated corpse of a Gipsy, which is believed to wander about, more especially during [761]
January nights, ridden by cats, and slaying men with its poisonous breath.

In Albania, as in all the remoter parts of Turkey, 172
there is no Pelasgian ruin to which is not attached 776
some legend of a treasure hidden, and either "guarded by word and by spell," or placed in the safe keeping 789
of a gigantic Negro, Djin, or other Supernal. Those who have concealed treasure in such places have also, it is believed, fixed the time at which it may be brought to light, and have left to their heirs a document containing a description of the hiding-place, the formula of the magic spell pronounced over it at the moment of burial, with the year, day, and hour, on which alone it can be recovered.[1] At the appointed time the heir goes to the spot indicated, pronounces the mysterious words, and the treasure immediately rises to the surface. Sometimes, however, the treasure is buried in such a way that, at the appointed time, it rises spontaneously to the surface, and any one finding it may appropriate it. The lucky person must, however, be careful to keep his own counsel in the matter, or he will be punished by finding the gold turned to charcoal, and will not long survive the incident. When the treasure is in the keeping of a Negro, he 776
occasionally spreads it out in the sunshine in order that it may not be damaged by the damp, and, at the

[1] Compare the Kürdish story of "The Armenian and the Dervish," p. 169.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, [491] as in those of other nations, are said to have been formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 731 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

[1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

times happens, are ravaging the country, a number of women assemble, and, having captured some of the insects, form a mock funeral procession, and, with hair dishevelled, proceed to drown them in the nearest well or stream, singing in turn as they go the following dirge, which is repeated by the others in chorus: 789 731

> O locusts! O cockchafers! parents kind,
> Orphaned you have left us all behind!

This ceremony is believed to cause the death of the rest of the destructive swarm.

If one of a herd of cattle dies, its head is buried in the farmyard in order that a similar fate may not befall the rest of the herd. When an ox or cow is ill, "unspoken-over" water is brought and sprinkled over it. If several of the cattle are ailing, and in other cases of a serious nature, the water used is brought from three different wells or springs, and mixed together, its efficacy being believed to be thus increased to a threefold degree. 782 231

Very numerous are the ceremonies observed with the object of ensuring good, or averting bad, luck. In Northern Albania, when a youth, or man, is about to leave his home for a distant town a curious ceremony is performed, which is believed to ensure him a safe and successful journey. In front of the house-door the women place a jar filled with "unspoken-over" water, decorated with foliage and hung with earrings of gold and silver. The traveller touches the jar with his foot, takes in his hand the earrings and some of the foliage, and sets out, accompanied for a mile or two by his relatives, to whom, when they finally take 789 484

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 484 leave of him, he returns the earrings. It is considered a bad omen for the journey if the traveller should for any reason turn or look back. If he have left anything behind, he sends another to fetch it; and should a friend or stranger call to him from behind, he will not turn back to meet him, but remain standing where he is until the other comes up, a practice which foreigners, not understanding the reason for it, have put down to discourtesy. If on the road the traveller [777] meets a fox, or a flock of sheep, he considers it a good augury; a flock of goats, however, or a hare crossing the road, is held to signify ill luck.

778 775 484 Travellers in Upper Albania may frequently see stones placed in the forks or hollows of roadside trees. According to M. Hecquard,[1] this practice originates in the belief that the stones serve as resting-places for the feet of those unhappy beings for whom the rites of sepulture have not been properly performed, and who, while wandering in mid-air, can alight upon them as on the solid earth. To place a stone on a tree is also said in some mysterious way to diminish the fatigue of the pedestrian, and help him on his journey.

787 Omens and auguries, too, both good and evil, are drawn from all the trifling occurrences of every-day life, as well as from the observation of the phenomena of Nature, besides being sought for in the bones and entrails of slaughtered sheep and in the flight of birds. Among the omens read in the actions of the domestic animals are the following. When introducing a newly purchased cow into the farmyard, some object, made of iron or silver, is placed across the gateway

[1] *La Haute Albanie.*

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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December the housewife makes, besides other sweet cakes, some in the shape of rings, which are called *Koléndhra.* The one first made is termed "the cake of the oxen," and is hung up on the wall "for luck," and left there until the farmer goes out with his team to the fields. On this occasion the cake is taken down and broken to pieces on the head of one of the yoked oxen, and then divided between the pair.

Fire-ceremonies play a great part in the Christmas observances of the Albanian highlanders. As may have already been remarked in connection with birth-ceremonies, a protective and salutary character appears to attach to the fire on the hearth, and not only on such occasions, but on the eve of every important festival, the Albanian peasants light fires and keep them burning until sunset on the following day, even in summer; and from the crackling, or exploding, noises emitted by the wood in burning, they learn when the enemies of their house are conspiring against them, and whether the flocks will thrive, or the contrary. On ordinary occasions they consider it inauspicious when the thick end of a log burns before the thin, and are careful not to place one log across another. On Christmas Eve, however, all such precautions are considered unnecessary. The fire is piled up as high as the safety of the house will permit, as this is supposed to neutralise all evil effects of the non-observance of the foregoing precautions during the coming year. The largest log that can be found is brought home at sunset, when all the family, who are reunited for the festival, rise to greet it with the words, "Welcome, our log! God has destined thee for the fire! Bring

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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789 372 good luck to us and to our flocks!" Before the family sit down to supper a small quantity of food from every dish on the table is placed upon the burning log. Some branches of a cherry tree are also put on the fire, and, when partially burnt, are taken off again and kept.

857 533 Soon after midnight, the boys, in companies of from ten to fifteen, go singing from house to house, and receive, in reward for their carols, a ring-cake from each housewife.

527 789 787 [372] On the Eve of St. Basil (January 1) the fire is also kept burning all night, and the half-burnt cherry branches are again thrown on and withdrawn, to be wholly consumed on the Eve of the Epiphany, when the ashes are collected and strewn in the vineyard. The fire of St. Basil's Eve is often watched by an expectant mother, who thus hopes to ensure an easy confinement. In the morning people wash themselves and their children with "unspoken-over" water, and draw omens from the character, gay or sad, of the person who first enters the house. A cock is also sacrificed, for it is auspicious to spill blood in the house on St. Basil's Day.

789 [787] On the Eve of Epiphany the fire is also kept alight all night, and in the morning the character of the coming seasons is prophesied from the set of the wind. If a south wind blows, it indicates a full harvest and sickness; if the wind is from the east, a scanty harvest and a healthy year are predicted; if from the north, a late spring. The Christians, on the Feast of Epiphany, sprinkle their vineyards with holy water, in the hope of ensuring a plentiful crop of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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grapes. They also place at the four corners of each plot four vine stems tied together with straw bands, and under them a piece of a cake called a *kophtopite*, made specially for the purpose, wine being one of its ingredients. A round loaf is rolled from the gate to the middle of the vineyard, and then distributed to the ravens, crows, and other birds which damage the grapes, with this invitation, "Assemble, O crows and ravens, so that we may eat and drink, and that you may do us no more harm!" 789

On the 1st of February, St. Tryphon's Day, it is considered lucky to work in the fields, but not in the vineyards. On the 2nd, the "Feast of the Purification," all kinds of small pulse and cereals are cooked together in a pot, and this mess, called *karkasina*, forms the staple food of the day. On the eve of the 1st of March, a kind of divination is performed by throwing into the fire a particular kind of leaf and pronouncing at the same time the name of a member of the family. If the leaf makes an explosive noise while burning, it is held to be a good omen for the person indicated, but if it burns quietly, the reverse.[1] On this vigil a clod of earth, on which a few drops of wolf's milk have been sprinkled, is thrown against the door in order that the cows and goats may milk well. In the morning the cattle are whipped with cherry branches, in order that they may enjoy good health, and people wash themselves with wine with a view to preserving themselves from vermin during the summer. As an additional precaution, they also catch a flea, which they impale on the point of a new 789 787 [372] [515] 789

[1] The ancient φολλεμμοῦς.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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789 needle, a warning evidently to other fleas of the fate awaiting them.

The women in South Albania twist together a [751] number of coloured threads and tie them round the children's wrists and necks, in order to preserve them from sunburn or sunstroke, and draw a similar thread along the threshold of the house. They also roll up tightly little balls of rag, at which they stitch assiduously with a needle and thread; and when asked what they are doing, they reply, "We are sewing up the plague, snakes, and sickness." On this day no vegetables are eaten, the sweet cakes and dishes, in which the Ritza alone indulge, being believed to ensure a good [777] summer. The whole of this month is a close time for the ravens, as to kill one would bring bad luck to the vintage.

527 The North Albanians begin their year on the 1st of March. On this day the cattle are decked with gar-
789 lands of flowers, and the Ghegs not only tie threads of
777 many colours on the wrists and necks of their children, [805] but themselves also wear one of red silk on the little finger of the right hand and the great toe of the right foot. When the first swallow has been seen, they take off these threads, and hang them on the rose-bushes, in order that the swallows may take them to their nests. [177] Von Hahn is of opinion that this graceful little custom is not indigenous, and it may indeed have been partly borrowed, either from the Bulgarians, or, through the neighbouring Vlachs, from the Roumanians, with whom, as I have already mentioned,[1] a similar usage exists. While I was at Salonica, one

[1] Vol. I. p. 335.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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of these parti-coloured bracelets, with a tiny gold coin attached, was, on the 1st of March (Old Style), presented by the Roumanian Consul-General to each lady of his acquaintance, and I, for one, religiously wore my charm against the power of the March sun, which in the East generally is said to "blacken" the complexion, until the month was out. It was not, however, finally thrown to the swallows, but carried off by an English visitor as a curio.

On the 25th of this month the women go through the house beating on copper pans, in order to drive out any poisonous snakes that may have intended to take up their abode there. The two last days of March and the first of April are called *Plyáketé*, a word signifying "old," and referring to the past season, personified as "Old Mother Winter." If by the last-mentioned date Spring has not yet fully set in, the blame is laid at the door of the old women, who are evidently held to be in league with "Old Mother Winter."

On Easter Eve in some places, Selitza, for instance, the young men assemble with lighted torches, which they wave about as they walk in procession through the village. Arrived at the river, they throw them in, crying, "*Koré-ya* (O Maiden)! We throw thee into the water with these torches, so mayest thou never return!" the *Koré* evidently referring, as Von Hahn suggests,[1] to the malevolent supernals, Vilas, Dragouas, &c., before described. When the priest comes to bless the house on Easter Day, the women throw after him, as he leaves, hot embers from the

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 160.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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789 hearth, in order that he may take away with him all
788 danger from fire for the coming year.

St. John's Eve is observed in Albania with the
789 customary bonfire, to leap over which is considered so
372 salutary that even the old people venture to do so at least once. A curious ceremony, performed about this season, when the spring sowing is concluded, may also be here mentioned. Standing with his back to the plough, the farmer rubs part of the
[136] handle with earth in the belief that the wild swine will thus be prevented from damaging his crops.

789 On the day on which the new moon is first seen, all possible work is avoided, and no important task of any kind, such as ploughing, sowing, or harvesting, is commenced, for it would be sure to be unsuccessful. The girls and children look at the moon through a sieve, and rub their faces with a piece of silver, while they sing:

[539]

Young moon!
Young maid!
Health to me;
Ill to thee!
Head as soft as dough be thine!
Head as hard as stone be mine!

777 The 9th, 19th, and 29th days of every month are considered unlucky, as is also the Tuesday of every week, for setting out on a journey, or commencing any kind of work. Friday is also an inauspicious day
[241] for sowing, and Saturday for beginning to plough or dig.

PEAKS OF SHALA

[173]

"Doubtless it had a bird or snake for guardian, 789 and that spirit came and took it away again," 776 said Cheremi, and Perolli explained that when one buries a treasure one calls to some creature of the woods and intrusts the hoard to its care. "O spirit of the small gray serpent with poison in thy tooth, guard for me this treasure. Let no man see it for ten times ten years, and then deliver it only to those of my family," would be a simple formula, but usually more imagination is used. For instance, Perolli knew of a man who called the large magpie to watch him bury his treasure, and he said to the bird, "Let no one uncover this gold until two black mice have dragged three times around this tree a carriage made of an acorn cup, with a small mouse in it." But his incantation was overheard, and the crafty neighbor caught and dyed and trained the mice and made the carriage, and had them drag it three times around the tree, after which the magpie gave up the treasure. Otherwise it would have disappeared when a hand was laid upon it.

"But does Cheremi really believe these things?" I asked myself, and, looking at his serious face and Perolli's, I was struck with the startling idea that Perolli believed them, too, in spite of his English suit and European education, and I felt in my own mind something like a soft landslide, uncovering possibilities of wild beliefs in myself. "Anything can happen in the mountains of Albania," I said, picking up my staff and rising, for the shadows of the western mountains were

1 [Image of gold, see cat. 116, p. 47.- [48] Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

[423] informant in Bytyç their business was to prop up the big stone. The association of the three, one big and two small, was so distinct that it could be seen at a glance that they were boundary stones.

In old days, in places as far apart as Kurvelesh in south-west Albania and Lumë in the north-east, some pieces of charcoal, generally three, were put under the big boundary stone; in Lumë a fragment of tile was added. Centuries might pass, but charcoal and tile remained as imperishable evidence of the true line of the [623] boundary. In case one neighbour charged the other with moving the stones the elders dug these up; if they found no charcoal under them they knew they had been moved and dug all round until they came on charcoal and with it the original boundary. A man who went to move boundary stones always went on a dark night when the buried charcoal was as invisible as himself, and so far as was known his ingenuity never ran to taking a handful with him from home.

Boundary stones were set up with all the ceremony befitting [623] a mark that was to last for ever. All the members of the families concerned, the village elders, as many children and youths of the village as possible, as many men from neighbouring villages as possible and all the tribal elders gathered to witness the event and [804] to preserve its memory for their lifetime. When the entity to be divided—field, farmyard, vineyard, etc.—had been measured with a rope or by pacing into the required number of portions, the elder chosen to delimit the boundary put any chance stone and a clod of earth on his right shoulder, and after swearing upon his soul to delimit justly, moved forward along the boundary line followed by all the witnesses. It was his duty to walk in a straight line in order to iron out every possibility of future conflict—'a boundary mustn't twist' said the law—but if he deviated slightly no one 789 could correct him; it was his responsibility. All the objector could 423 do was to say, 'Well, lead the way and if you don't act righteously may that weight lie heavy on you in the other life'. At the two ends and in the middle the elder—no one else—dug a hole in which he set up the big stone at one end, packing the smaller ones round it. When he finished, he laid his hand on the big stone and solemnly cursed anyone who should seek to move it, saying in Mirditë, 'Whoever moves this stone, shall be weighted down with it in the life beyond'. In Lumë the curse was vaguer, 'Here are your boundaries, men', said the elder. 'Don't move them because it's bad'—in this world where quarrelling results and in the other

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

where damnation follows. When the last big stone was in place the witnesses fired in the air to signify that the ceremony was over. 423 [789]

When a geographical feature was available, it was often utilized as a boundary. For instance, an irrigation channel might be recognized as such. The dividing line between the neighbours then ran down the middle. It could not be diverted or otherwise interfered with by either neighbour, since it contained running water and had been made long years before—a point that gave it the permanence indispensable in a boundary. In Mirditë a very old tree sometimes marked the division between two pieces of land. In all areas growing trees of any age might outline forest and even village boundaries. Notches were cut in each; all the ground this side of a notch belonged to one neighbour and all on that to the other. Between big units such as villages or forests, though not small ones like fields or houses, a watershed or a torrent bed often formed the boundary. 'God has separated the two; nature has decided their boundaries', said the people of such cases. Sometimes a road was the boundary between the villages; a field-path was never important enough for this purpose. Finally, in some [609] groups of villages near Elbasan, such as Godolesh, Griqan and Labinot, there was so much buying of land in one village by natives of the others that no very definite line was drawn between their territories, though the boundaries of individual properties were as clearly marked and as fiercely defended as they were elsewhere. In the north, since no outsider could buy land in a village, there was no fluidity of boundary, whether village or private.

The delimiting elder was usually one of the recognized elders of 623 the village. Sometimes only one was employed, more often there 789 was one for each new neighbour, and in sprawling areas like Martanesh ten or even fifteen men might be asked to help. In Shijan elders often worked only 'for the good of their soul' and took no fee; elsewhere they charged one to two napoleons according to local rates. In Surroj they asked no less than four napoleons but seldom received them; to save this heavy fee, the older of the new neighbours set up the boundary stones, and only if he seemed to be cheating did a younger man think it necessary to call in an elder. That elder carried the earth and stone of the oath on his shoulder. In Çermenikë, however, he carried them in his hands and in Labinot he did not carry them at all, only spoke of doing so. Both these usages seem degenerations from the original. The

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

expression 'to take on the shoulder', which is frequently heard in speech all over the country in the sense of 'to destroy' or 'to ruin', seems to derive from this obviously very ancient method of making oath. 'If I don't act justly, may I carry this weight in this world and the next', the elder swore solemnly as, irrespective of whether he was Catholic, Orthodox or Moslem, he embarked on his delimitation. In most cases he believed that if he were unfair the earth and stone would punish him literally as he said. 'Earth will rot us all one day; we can't put it lightly on our shoulders like a stone. It's a very serious thing; we stake our soul by touching it', were some of the expressions used to explain the general fear. Some men were so frightened of the dread symbols that they would not undertake to delimit a boundary, saying, 'It's a serious business to undertake such a thing; it brings you up against God's justice'. A few others, it must be confessed, were sceptical enough in consideration of a bribe to defy the consequences of perjury and to delimit unfairly.

Boundary stones then were set up by elders in the presence of witnesses as an abiding memorial to the ownership of the land they outlined. 'A fence may rot, a boundary does not', said the proverb. 'Let ever so many be killed: a field, or mountain, a vineyard cannot be seized by force; the boundary stones say who is the lawful owner', was another aphorism. In many places it was customary, generation after generation, to 'ride the marches' once a year so that the old could show the young where the stones were and so forge the next link in the endless chain of memory. Like its British counterpart, the custom gave occasion for a public holiday. Often performed, as in Nangë, at the spring festival of 'Summer Day', all men and boys in a village went round every known boundary in it. They saw that the boundary stones were still in place and not sunk out of sight, noted their position, and cleared away thorns and other concealing overgrowth. Often, as in Nangë, they were led by gypsies banging joyously on drums.

It was thought a sin to move boundary stones, since they had been set up in such solemn circumstances by elders, the highest tribal authorities. But land-hunger was so prevalent that the sin was all too common. With the lapse of time, too, boundary stones might sink out of sight in the ground and the boundary line be obliterated. Disputes over boundaries were consequently endless. To prevent them there were various deterrents. Men of weight—

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771 Thus their practices and beliefs included: building sacrifices,
[782] which at one point were most probably human sacrifices; the faith
[769] in the existence of certain snakes that guarded treasures and in the tutelary spirits of people; exposing the dead after the manner of the Parsi, as a result of that lack of respect for the corpse which springs from the knowldege of the eternity of the spirit--the ancient Thracians were jubilant whenever someone died, and they wailed when some-
[775] one was born--; werewolf conceptions; separation of the soul in sleep; wandering about of the dead, especially of evil people who in the form of a ghost or in a transformed human shape cause harm. The foreseeing of the future makes use of materialistic means in order to survive before the masses in a degenerate age which no longer knows
[787] or believes. It prophesies from the fissures that appear in a heated sheep's shoulder blade or hen's breast bone; also from the bright and dark spots in the light filtering through, or from the flight of birds.
[789] The old knowledge of the emanating, radiating spiritual forces of beings and things is used for magical purposes, for instance little pieces of paper that have something written on them and which are worn as a protection or drunk after they have been dissolved in water. The sun still lives among the Albanians as "God's reflection."

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/101: Illustrations./

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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saint can further their political aims, and, to me, at all events, the matter still remains a mystery.

In addition to the belief in the powers of St. John of Scutari—a belief which has a religious background—the local people hold other beliefs, some of which date back to very remote times. The graves of the babas are accounted holy, and are usually covered with cloths put there by pious persons who need assistance. And at a certain spot in the masonry of the ancient city wall there is a window or aperture at which it is customary for women who are unable to nurse their babies to place offerings of bread. When the wall was originally built, many centuries ago, a woman was sacrificed by being enclosed alive in the masonry at this particular spot. The sacrifice, quite a usual one in those days when any constructional work of importance was begun, was intended to propitiate evil spirits who might interfere with the progress of the work. On this occasion an opening was left, so the story goes, through which the unhappy woman might suckle her baby, and it is on this account that the place is supposed to possess the power of stimulating the flow of natural milk in those who make offerings there.

The tourist, should he penetrate so far, will find much to interest him in Elbasan, especially on market day, when it is packed with country folk in an astonishing variety of costumes. The surroundings are delightful. There are several parks and open spaces of which the most remarkable is a small square to the south of the town surrounded by

Epirus

THE southern part of the Kingdom of Albania of today was the ancient Epirus. This territory was bounded on the north by the Ionian Sea and on the south by the Ambracian Gulf. Its landward sides were next to Illyria, Macedonia and Thessaly. The terrain is essentially mountainous. About the fourth century before Christ these Epirots were divided in fourteen tribes. Epirus at this time exerted no small influence on Thessaly through the oracle of Dodona. Historically, the part of Epirus was passive. Epirus was divided into the smaller kingdoms of Molossia, Thesprotia, Chaonia, etc., which were formed into an Epirotic League.

The chieftains of Molossia, who dominated all Epirus, claimed to be descended from Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, who settled in the country after the fall of Troy. (Plutarch also relates that Achilles was known in this country under the name of "Aspetos" which in Albanian means "swift.") Upon Pyrrhus' death his kingdom was transmitted to Molossus, his son by Andromache.

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
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with fresh opportunities and new objects. Contrast the uniformity of the magic and ritual of isolated groups, such as the Australians, with the richer material of Negro medicine and the even more elaborate systems of European and Asiatic magic and religion. The process of incorporation can be extended in all directions, and even general theories may be constructed to cover a whole series of practices. *Medressi*-educated Mohammedans, who are often widely read in occult arts and ancient medicine, peasant doctors and seers, occasionally invent or experiment, or think out a logical, all-embracing theory. These individuals are men rather than women. I recall a young Albanian at Peć who was an excellent representative of this type. There was not the least doubt that he was exceedingly intelligent and really studious or even scholarly. He possessed about a hundred fine manuscripts, some of his own copying, and a few printed books, and his chief studies were alchemy and the origin of language. His experiments also included getting into touch with spirits and devils, and finding out new methods of prediction, which he tested experimentally.

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[756]
[787]
[791]

The treatment of disease I described as markedly symptomatic. Diagnosis and cure are seldom combined into a system. When that happens the system or theory then becomes a general standardised method of handling characteristic diseases, the direction being given by one of the more obvious symptoms. The immediateness of approach otherwise is a method of trial and error, that might encourage empirical discovery. This is the only form of the experiment in common use. It is not systematised into experiment under varying conditions to discover the nature of a phenomenon, but it is a practical trial of the means of exploiting it. The process may be repeated when a case understood to be identically the same occurs again. It should be noticed that while quite different diseases may be considered as internal and external forms, for instance, of one and the same disease, the time of day, the age or name of the patient, and so on may alter the notion of what constitutes identical circumstances, or the place where an

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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bours. One of their chief offences, in the eyes of the strictly orthodox, is the scant attention paid by the wives of these sectarians to the law of *namekhram*, or wearing the veil, it being their practice to appear unveiled before their husband's friends when he gives them permission to do so.

Cloistered life is not more popular with the women of Albania than with those of the rest of Turkey. In Islam there is, of course, no such resource for disappointed maidens, and marriage being as much the rule among Christians, whether orthodox Greek or Roman Catholic, as among Moslems, nunneries are not numerous, and their inmates are but few. Those which exist, however, offer a welcome asylum to the small section of women whom circumstances have doomed to a life of celibacy, and who the more willingly enter them as they, by so doing, acquire a degree of liberty which could never be theirs while living as unmarried women in the house of their father or brother. For in the East, as I have before remarked, convent rule is remarkably lax, and, beyond attending the prescribed church services, no very strict account is required of the way in which the good sisters spend their time. If report speaks true, they do not always refrain from making use of the opportunities for flirtation afforded them by their emancipation from conventional restraint.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

railing at him, threatened to make him set up a separate home, 593
which would reduce both him and her to a lower level of comfort. Custom, it is true, under the stress of hard necessity, sanctioned his working alongside her in the fields, but only on condition that he did not indulge in unnecessary or frivolous conversation with her. The only explanation which Albanians offered of these [83]
restrictions was that a husband and a wife felt 'ashamed' in each other's presence. The same feeling existed all over the Balkans until they came under strong western influences a generation ago. Before that every decorous peasant bride, whatever her race or religion, refrained for several years after her marriage from speaking at all to her husband in public and spoke to him in whispers only in private, meanwhile keeping her eyes modestly downcast. This behaviour seems to originate in an idea which is prevalent throughout the Near East. The Greeks say that since only [789]
the celibate life is really holy, the matrimonial state is one of sin and therefore of shame. In I Cor. vii, 8, St Paul voiced it when he wrote, 'I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I'. Moslems, too, believe this, in spite of many being polygamists. There is, for instance, a married as well as a celibate branch of the Bektashi Order of dervishes, but it has so few supporters that at the central monastery at Haci Bektas in the heart of Asia Minor its headquarters are little more than a poverty-stricken excrescence on the enormous, wealthy headquarters of the celibates, and in Albania it has only the [792]
monastery at Qesarakë in the south-east, compared with the seventy maintained for the celibates in different parts of the country.

Now the Unwritten Law of Albania ordained that every married 574
woman had the right to visit her own relatives at least once a year. 593
Since these frequently lived in a different village, she could not travel to or from them without an escort, which neither custom nor the law allowed her husband to provide in person. Since brothers were everywhere allowed to talk to each other's wives, no difficulty arose in a communal household, where any man except the husband could accompany a wife to her parents' home and fetch her back. In a house with only one man matters were more complicated. If his mother were alive and physically fit for the journey, she might go with his wife, but who would then cook his supper and prepare his bed for the night? If his mother were dead

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

701 Mertur and some others were wholly Catholic. Nikç, Selcë, Hot,
795 Kthellë and Lurë were more or less mixed Catholic and Mohammedan. Certain tribes such as Has, Bytyç and Krasniq are at the time of writing completely Mohammedan but were partly Catholic until three or four generations ago, as their genealogies testify. Lumë asserts that it has been completely Mohammedan since the
[68] coming of the Turks five centuries ago. It was also not fully tribal,
[619] since each bajraktar's following consisted not of a single kin or agglomeration of kins with the same ancestors, but of a number of little kins of varying ancestry.

701 There were also bajraktars in certain non-tribal areas, such as
[69] Shpat and Martanesh in central Albania. Here the dignity was not hereditary and localized, but moved with successive holders from family to family, from quarter to quarter or even from village to village. Fitness for military leadership of the local levies was always demanded, and that quality did not necessarily remain from one generation to another, in the same family, quarter or village. Hysejn Zavolina of the village of Shelcan was a famous bajraktar in Shpat in the last years of Turkish rule, but it was at Fushë e Kuqe in the more central village of Gjinar that he set up his standard. Hysejn Ramaj became bajraktar of Martanesh because he was as popular as he was competent. After having carried his standard to
[79] victory in Montenegro he 'got religion' and turned dervish. As Baba Hysejn (Abbot Hysejn) he presided first over the Bektashi monastery (tege) at Krujë and then over that at Martanesh and was buried in the monastery of Zerqan. When he took to the cloister the bajrak passed to Murat Xhabolli, who was from the Gjoni quarter and quite a different family. The great lawgiver, Mus Ballgjini, of the village of Gurakuq was bajraktar of the district of Çermenikë when Turkish rule over Albania ended, but his son did not inherit the office. When Albania developed a conscript army of European type, there could be no more bajraktars in central Albania. Officers led the conscripts, and there was no hereditary principle to preserve the ancient title as there was among the tribes of the north.

701 In certain areas of the north there were no bajraktars. Since
619 beys were feudal lords of the soil it fell to them to lead their henchmen in war. So wherever there were beys of any importance there were no bajraktars. Mat was the classic instance. There were bajraktars to the north of it in tribal Kthellë and Lurë; there were

[the local military leader -- Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Albania EG2

nation, which is the greatest, could put into the field more than 15,000 H 762
men on horseback, well fitted to wage war in the manner of their
country, valiant and good fighters. And the said nations, both Latins H
and Abbanois, are harshly oppressed under the intolerable and very 636
hard servitude of the most hateful and abominable lordship of the 798
Slavs. Indeed, they are a downtrodden people; their clergy is lowered
and humbled; their bishops and abbots often imprisoned; their nobles
disinherited and imprisoned; their churches, both cathedrals and
collegiate, are dispersed and deprived of power; their monasteries and
priories lost and destroyed. They, one and all, would think to con-
secrate their hands in the blood of the said Slavs if they saw coming
a Prince of France who would be their leader and chief against the
said Slavs, the enemies of truth and of our faith. One thousand French
horse and five or six infantry, along with the said Abbanois and Latins,
could conquer at their ease the whole of this Kingdom of Rassie,
such as it is."

This passage, written almost at the height of Serb power, shows H
clearly that the Serb conqueror had failed to destroy the Albanian [186]
sense of nationality, and failed to force the Serbian Orthodox Church
upon the people; and that there was a very large Albanophone popula- A
tion with a Catholic clergy of its own. The bishoprics of Antivari, 194
Scutari, Sappa, and Pulati still exist, and have survived both Serb and 779
Turk. Into this reserve of Albanian nationality the refugees from the
surrounding districts fled when the Turks advanced. The mountain A
population, then as now, was no doubt scattered in isolated houses or 361
family groups of several houses on the mountain pastures, and not
gathered into towns or villages. They formed "katuns." That the popu- H
lation was numerous is shown by the many ecclesiastical and political A
documents, correspondence with the Vatican, Venice, and Ragusa, 161
and old Serbian archives. Thus in 1348 Tsar Stefan Dushan gives to H
the monastery he is founding at Prizren nine Albanian "katuns" near A
Prizren, the said Albanians to give serf labour to the monastery. He 792
gives also some land in Upper Pulati, together with its inhabitants. 566
Several still existing place-names are mentioned: Shikje, Krue e Madhe 103
(the great spring of water), and Sakati. "The existing Catholic clergy
at Shikje who have vineyards" are to pay a tribute of wine to the H
monastery (an Orthodox one), and so are certain other districts. The 651
people of Lower Pulati are to pay tribute of 100,000 silk cocoons. 792
Several mills are handed to the monastery and in one case the miller, 233
Zan, and his brethren are mentioned. No one may erect a mill on Church H
land, under penalty of a fine and loss of the mill. (The Church alone 256
has the right to grind corn. This would give it immense power.) Large H
districts of Lower Pulati are given to the Serb Church, including the 794

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

The Becktashi Monastery

241 grew wheat, oats, and other cereals, as well as maize, the staple food of the poorer classes. The slopes of the hills were covered with olives, and altogether the country round Elbasan seemed "a land flowing with milk and honey". [231] Honey in the literal sense, however, is a neglected product, and is only gathered wild, though in a country like Albania, which is exceedingly rich in flowers, scientific bee-keeping ought to be a profitable adjunct to vegetable and fruit growing.

792 Excursions farther afield were made possible by the kindness of the prefect of Elbasan, Mr. Izet Dibra, who placed a Ford car at my disposal. One such excursion took me to a Becktashi, or dervish, monastery, and another to a Greek monastery, both visits proving of considerable interest. At the first we (for Mr. Nossi was with me) were received by a dignified old priest who was wearing the same kind of flowing white robes and tall white hat as the dervish I had met at Koritza. While we sat in a vine-covered arbour outside the entrance smoking cigarettes and drinking coffee he told us how the monastery had been attacked during the revolution of 1914 by adherents of the Suni sect. The revolution was that in which Prince William of Wied, the [795] regent, was deposed; and the Sunis are a sect of Mohammedans who hate their fellow religionists the Becktashis with a hatred only possible to religious fanatics. Under cover of the revolution they not only burned down the monastery chapel, but also arrested the old "baba" (priest) who was entertaining us, and kept him in prison

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

To the Land of the Eagle

792 until the return of Essad Pasha to power some six months later.

At the Greek monastery, which we reached by a track through a stream-bed so rough that it threatened to reduce the car to matchwood and scrap-iron, I was told another interesting story. In a shrine in the monastery chapel lie the remains of a great Albanian hero named John of Scutari, who was killed when fighting against the Bulgars in the year 1015. These saintly relics are an object of great veneration and, like the remains of Spiridione at Corfu and many others elsewhere, are believed to possess miraculous powers, and are brought out and carried in procession at times of national stress and on certain very special occasions. Some few months before my visit, so I was told by the baba, the Serbian bishop of Ochrida came to the monastery and asked to see, and was shown, the holy relics. The bishop then departed, and shortly afterwards a service was held in Ochrida cathedral which purported to celebrate the return of the sainted remains of St. John to their true home—Serbia. The claim of the bishop to have brought back with him the saint's body was substantiated by the placing, with much pomp and ceremony, of some object in a shrine already prepared for its reception. What this object really was is a matter for conjecture, as the body of St. John still lies undisturbed in the coffin which I myself saw through an opening in the side of a tomb in the monastery chapel. If the story is true, what can have been the object of the bishop's deception? If on the other hand it is untrue,

RITUAL LIFE

[124] 162 FORTY-TWO per cent of our series was recorded as Catholic, and the rest, except for one man,[1] as Moslem. These figures reflect the approximate proportions of the 2 faiths in Ghegnia. Their territorial distribution is shown on figure 3. All of Mirdita, all of Dukagin, about half of Malsia e Madhe, most of Zadrima, and some *bairaks* of Mati, Puka, and Malsia e Jakovës are Catholic. Catholics occupy on the whole the least accessible areas, and those closest to Rome. Moslems occupy those nearest the direction of Istanbul, along the main roads, and in the vicinity of the larger towns.

795 793 While Islam is but 4 centuries old in Albania, Catholicism has been there at least 4 times as long. During the last 12 centuries many changes have taken place in the number and location of bishoprics and parishes, and in the number of communicants. At the time of our study, there was a bishop in Zadrima, to whom the parish priests of Mirdita reported; another took care of the territory north of the Drin. Some of the priests, like Father Krasnichi whom we visited in Mirdita, were native Albanians trained in Rome, others Austrians, Germans, or Italians. All were men of physical stamina and courage, for theirs was a difficult and rigorous assignment. Some were [792] Franciscans. In Zadrima, near the bishop's residence, was a nunnery with about a dozen inhabitants.

795 Many of the Moslems of northern Albania belong to an extremely heterodox brotherhood, that of the Bektashi. The tomb of the founder of the order lies in the inner recess of a long cave, really an ancient sandstone quarry, in the cliff outside the city of Cairo. His successor lives in a house at the entrance to the cave. The head of the order and all of his henchmen in residence are Albanians. The reason for this curious circumstance is that the Khedivial family of Egypt was originally Albanian, and they brought their spiritual chief, with the coffins

[1] Both parents came from Dibra. He was Greek Orthodox, how or why I could not discover.

[See cat 116, p. 35c -- Analyst]

795 of his predecessors, to Cairo with them. Although for two generations the royal family has abjured the Bektashi tenets and worshipped according to Hanafi rites, the shrine and its occupants remain. Young men who wish to become dervishes go, if they are able, to Cairo,

[162]

FIG. 3. Territorial distribution of religions.

[191] and receive their instruction at the central shrine. That is why many of the dervishes in Ghegnia spoke Arabic, and had some knowledge of other Moslem countries. Besides the [792] village dervishes, the Bektashis have a number of monasteries, located in Has and Malsia e Jakovës. We measured the abbot of one of them, who was a Has man.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

of their lands, which have been attacked by the Turks. Venice, assured of their "fame, probity, and virtues," confirms them in possession of their farms, goods, and all things in the said districts. Venice, in truth, was glad of any tribe that would be a buffer between the Turks and Scutari. The tribe was, I was told, "very old." It numbered 160 houses when I was there.

5. *Summa.*—A mainly Catholic tribe on the right bank of the Kiri. The name occurs in a document of Tsar Dushan, who in 1335 gives to the monastery of Dechani, among other districts, "the Albanian Katun, Tuzi," along with a number of luckless Albanians who are named; "Petrus Suma, Mataguzh (the village of Matagushi was burnt by the Montenegrins in 1912) with his brothers Laz and Prijezda . . . Progon Mira, Marcus Suma, etc." The present Suma tribe states that it comes from Mirdita. But as the Mirdites do not seem to have arrived till early in the fifteenth century, the "Suma" referred to in 1335 must be the elder population. All the above tribes are included in the diocese of Pulati.

THE MIRDITE GROUP

The Mirdite tribe is the largest of all. It is wholly Catholic. When I was there (1908) it was reckoned as some three thousand houses with an average of ten to a house. It had then an ecclesiastical head—the mitred abbot, Premi Dochi, whose title was derived from a Benedictine abbey, which existed near Oroshi formerly.

It had an hereditary chief, Prenk, son of Bib Doda. The abbot was one of the most remarkable men Albania has produced. His death, near the close of the Great War, has been an irreparable loss; and the death of Prenk Bib Doda, who was killed in a blood feud soon after, deprived the Mirdites of, at any rate, a picturesque figurehead. He left no son, and his next heir, a cousin, Mark Ghoni, displayed such cowardice in 1914, when he fled from the front and said he had come "to fetch vaseline to clean the rifles," that he lost all chance of chieftainship. Poor old Prenk realized that the days of chiefs were passed, and left his property to the Mirdite tribe and not to his relatives, for none, he said, were worthy of leadership. Thus ended the quasi-independence of Mirdita. The tribe consists of five bairaks. The three original ones, Oroshi, Spachi, and Kusneni, trace origin from the brother of the Shala-Shoshi brethren who said "Mir dit" and went off. Being consanguineous, these three bairaks do not intermarry, nor do they marry Shala or Shoshi. The two other bairaks are Fandi, which tells that it formerly was part of the Luria group, but joined the Mirdites when Ljuma turned Moslem (? eighteenth century), and Dibri, which

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

776 beliefs and rites one can hardly doubt. As is well known, the gods of the heathens became the devils of the Christians.

776 Marko was greatly afraid of Beelzebub and mentioned him with
777 a curse and a whisper. Belial and Beelzebub were supposed to be the most active. The tribesman followed the advice of his priest and put
[304] a cross on his house and tattooed himself with a cross, but he further protected himself with more ancient signs; he planted the skulls of horses, goats, and oxen on poles round his house and fields. Some houses had rows of skulls. I wondered whether, in old days, human ones had figured there, too.

The horse-skull was most valued not only in Albania, but also in Bosnia and in Montenegro. Where civilization has penetrated the horse-skull was often replaced by a twisted petroleum tin whitewashed. Short-sighted devils, seeing it from a distance, could easily have mistaken it for the real thing and fought shy.

[793] Priests are but human. I found one Catholic priest had a whole array of horse- and other skulls round his beehives. He laughed it off when I remarked on it, and added that bees were very liable to disease. He evidently wanted to be on the safe side.

754 I often found in the mountains a distinct fear of being drawn, or "written," as they always called it. At Vraka I asked if I might draw the interior of a house. The woman was doubtful. She at last said I was not to "write" her or her children, and, to make sure, she drove the children out of the house. In Luria I was told not to "write" anyone or any house. At Lohja was a wonderful old man, who was reputed to be 110, who boasted that he had sinned but twice in his life—and then it was not his fault. Men in plenty he had killed, but never dishonourably or for money. The company suggested that I should "write" him. Much flattered, the old man sat still for a while, but when everyone shouted that the sketch was exactly like him, he became greatly alarmed, and earnestly begged me never to destroy what I had "written" about him, for at the moment it was torn he would drop down dead. I preserved the sketch, and five years later found him still going strong.

754 At Seltzi, in the Klimenti tribe, I was told the best way to detect
787 a shtriga is to keep the bones of the pig you ate on the last day of Carnival. All through the Balkans the pig, abhorred by Turk and Jew, is a sign of Christianity. On Easter Day you make a cross with the pig's bones and tie it on the church door when the church is full of people. If any shtrigas are in the church they cannot get out except carried on the shoulders of the man who made the cross. They run
754 wildly round and round and can be caught.

681 There was, so far as I could learn, no traditional punishment for a

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

the first time. The morning broke cold and grey; a steady downpour of rain fell from an angry sky. The waters of Mati and Fani rose before our eyes; and the old mountaineer who was our host warned us that the rivers would soon become impassable. The night again brought rumours of a Partisan advance, and next day we decided to cross the valley, hoping that the flood which might still allow our passage would rise behind us to bar the way to our pursuers. We set out from the fortress at dusk and successfully negotiated the two rivers, which already ran breast-high at the fords. Lights were burning in the enemy block-house, but, though their sudden extinction made us fear that we had been observed, no attempt was made to dispute our crossing of the road. Beyond it we entered a narrow ravine, and, after an hour's march, were received into the poor but hospitable village of Rasfik.

Next day we continued the march northwards, and, on the last evening of September, halted in a small village set on the southern shoulder of Mount Velyes, the broad, grey pyramid of rock which rises five thousand feet above the ancient city of Llesh. Llesh itself was hidden from us by a fold in the ground, but from a neighbouring height we could see the ruins of the castle where Skanderbeg expired, brooding over the defection of his Western Allies and the triumph of the Orient. Beyond, the broad belt of the coastal plain dissolved through stagnant lagoons into the living sea. Velyes was in Mirdita, but, with much courtesy and a few pieces of our gold, the General won the alliance of the local *Bairaktars*. Jon Marko Joni's friendship was more uncertain, but, in the common distress, he too gave his consent to our sojourn in his territory.

Our host in Velyes was the village priest, a kindly fellow who placed his rambling house at our disposal and tolerantly invited our Moslem Turkomans to sleep and shelter in his church. He too had once come out from Scutari burning with zeal to reform the manners of the mountaineers. But twenty years had passed since then; and now he contented himself with the little luxuries of tribal life, using his slender influence to help his friends, or foster the temporal interests of the Roman cause. Once I attended a service in his church: a low, stone

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

• 793 barn, decorated only by a crude, wooden cross, erected on a bare altar of rough stones. At the door one of the congregation stood guard over the rifles of his fellows, but each of us retained his pistol or his knife.

[771] For the Mirdites, Christianity is, above all, an expression of nationalism; and the elevation of the Host that day appeared to me less as an act of faith than as a gesture of defiance against the foreign invader marching under the banner yesterday of Islam, now of Communism.

4

* 669 648 WHEN Maclean had seen that our Headquarters were inflexibly set on his recall, he had asked that a boat be sent to embark him from the coast between the estuaries of the Mati and the Drin. The staff officers in Bari, however, refused this request and ordered him instead to hand himself over to the Partisans for evacuation through Southern Albania. In explanation they alleged difficulties with the Navy; but, as we suspected at the time and later verified, their real and puerile design was to prove to Enver Hoja that Maclean and Smiley had really been withdrawn. We saw at once that in the eyes of the Albanians Maclean's departure to the camp of the L.N.C. must impose an intolerable humiliation on Abas Kupi. We also feared that Enver Hoja's attitude towards our Mission might make such a journey as dangerous as it would be dishonourable.

We therefore multiplied excuses for delay, making much of the difficulties of travel while the rivers were in spate, and discovering objections to each rendezvous which our Headquarters proposed. Such stratagems served for a time, but orders from Bari grew increasingly peremptory; and Maclean had just decided that he could procrastinate no longer when suddenly an urgent telegram from Headquarters countermanded all previous instructions. As we were later to learn, a commissar had spoken out of turn at the L.N.C. Divisional Headquarters, and the British liaison officers had thus discovered

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

power by modern governments. The value of the difference to the 357
servant was that the more important his master, the better he himself was protected.

It is the rule in all denominations that priests may not carry [793]
arms. This is no drawback to anybody under a modern administra- 357
tion, but in Turkish times it meant that a priest's servant was more 688
exposed to danger than an armed layman's. The Catholic church tried to make up for the deficiency by special legislation of which Father Gjeçov gives a full account. Thus, though a priest's servant had a certain freedom to attend to his own business, any message he carried to a house was treated as coming from the priest. Whoever molested him molested the priest, and might be fined according to the gravity of the offence but not less than ten lambs, which went, not to the servant, but to the church and tribe. Whoever killed the servant started a feud with his family only, if the
servant were local, but with the whole parish if he were a stranger— [574]
here can be recognized the principle of the community's guest—and if the murderer was local, the parish burned his house and took a hundred lambs and an ox from him as fine. If labourers hired by the church were molested, the offender had to pay a fine, divisible between them and the church; the more numerous they were, the heavier the fine; on an average this amounted to ten lambs. If an offender refused to pay, the parish went in a body and took what it wanted from his sheepfold. In short, the church treated any wrong to a defenceless priest's servant as a major crime.

The retainers of great men were essentially a bodyguard, and 592
were only maintained by men with blood feuds. Some lived at home and joined their patron for some special, and usually brief, occasion; others lived for long periods with him, constantly ready for whatever service he might ask. They occasionally received a gold piece as reward; more often they were paid in kind—by being lent money without interest for a funeral or a wedding feast, by being given grain in bad years, by having a useful word said in the ear of the authorities to extract them from some difficulty. While his own children were small, the Hereditary Captain of Mirditë had eight young relatives living permanently with him, brief holidays at home excepted. They waited at meals or carried messages to the servants with the lofty air of medieval pages of noble blood. Until exiled during the war of 1939–45, Shevqet Vërlaci, the formidable Bey of Elbasan, was guarded night and day by relays of peasants

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

231 683 A stranger who was bitten by a shooting dog could neither kill it nor claim compensation for his wound. Indeed, he became a public butt for being feckless enough to let himself be bitten by so tame an animal.

231 685 If a stranger killed a shooting dog by mischance, he must compensate the master in money—two napoleons were thought adequate in most places. Alternatively, he must give him another dog as good as the one he had killed. The hour of the crime was immaterial.

224 626 If a shooting dog was killed from motives of spite, a feud followed as in the case of house and sheep dogs.

If a shooting dog put up a hare, only its master had the right to take the hare. It might be that the chase was long and that the hare was shot by a stranger before the dog's master caught it up. In that case the latter demanded the hare and offered the stranger a fresh cartridge in return for the one he had just expended. If the offer was refused a blood feud started, the first shot being fired by the stranger.

If two men went shooting with only one dog, they skinned the hares at the end of the day and divided them equally.

231 Pet dogs, like shooting dogs, were free of the house as well as the farmyard and ran loose day and night. Of indeterminate pedigree, they were about the size of small Aberdeens. They were not common in northern Albania, where their only purpose was to divert their master—it was thought great fun to hang a lighted cigarette round their necks. In central Albania where the average flock was small and always had a shepherd, they were much prized as watchdogs. They never failed at either house or sheepfold to bark warningly when unwelcome visitors approached. They were so brave that at sheepfolds they could dash out and tackle a marauding wolf, invariably losing their life in the unequal combat. On account of their usefulness their value was high, as much as six or seven napoleons.

The law when they killed (a virtually impossible contingency) or were killed was the same as it was for shooting dogs.

231 793 A few isolated rules remain to be mentioned. Clerics such as priests among Catholics or Orthodox or hoxhas and sheikhs among Mohammedans were forbidden to keep house dogs. Their houses must be open day and night to their parishioners or passing strangers and might not be closed by dogs. If they kept sheep dogs

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

they must not bring them home, but must leave them at the more or less distant sheepfold. There was no ban on their keeping shooting and pet dogs. 231 793

If a house dog disappeared temporarily during the mating season so that its master could not find it at dawn to tie it up for the day, he remained responsible for its conduct. It was held that a house dog loose under such conditions during the daytime was like one that had been duly tied up but had broken loose. Happily for its master and for strangers, a dog was generally too much occupied at such seasons with its own affairs to trouble about strangers. 231 672

If any type of dog fell into a snare set by a neighbour near its master's house, the neighbour must pay its full value. He had no doubt obtained its master's consent before he set the snare, but that did not relieve him of his liability for ensuing casualties. 224 672

Damage done by dogs must be paid for in money or by the dog's death. Each case was handled with a good deal of ceremony. If a dog ate a neighbour's eggs or killed his fowls, the latter asked its master to tie it up. If he refused, the neighbour had the right to kill the dog, and its master could not exact compensation. The neighbour generally took an oath in public that the dog had developed a habit of eating his eggs or killing his fowls, and that he had asked its master to tie it up and had been told to kill it. If he killed the dog without warning, he must in most places pay its value as assessed by the local elders. But in that case its master must first take oath that it had never eaten eggs or killed fowls. If the dog was commonly considered valuable, the neighbour would probably warn its master twice before he killed it. In Çermenikë and Martanesh the law was sterner; a delinquent dog had always to be killed, but if this were done without its master's leave, a blood feud started. In such cases the culprit was generally a house dog. 231 685 [628]

In cases of sheep-worrying the culprit was invariably a sheep dog. The general verdict was that the animal must die, but there was some variation in local methods of reaching this verdict. In north Albania and in Yugoslav Kosovë the dog's master must indemnify the sheep owner for every sheep worried and must take oath that the dog acted of its own impulse and had not been specially trained to kill sheep; any proof that it had been so trained would immediately cause him to be killed by the sheep owner. He must also kill the dog or keep it chained up in perpetuity. If the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

693 here and there. After the introduction of modern codes of justice
622 they had little chance to emerge.
634 Above all elders, in both Mirditë and the adjacent tribes, came the Gjomarkaj family. This family was regarded as the source of all knowledge of the mountain law and represented the final court of appeal. The villagers of Martanesh carried many of their graver troubles to its head, but at the same time had often a 'special elder' whom they consulted in such cases. Selim Peshku, who died about 1910, was the latest example. The tree under which he sat dispensing justice in Martanesh is still shown. In the north the bishop [693] or a specially gifted priest was the ultimate referee. They were consulted not so much for their knowledge of the law but because of their reputation for probity.

623 Functionally the brotherhood elders of Mirditë were represented in the Malësi e Madhe by the 'ward elders', who ruled and judged in their own small community, the village ward in which they lived. [651] They were more commonly called *gjobtarë* ('fine-collectors') from their primary function of collecting fines. As legal functionaries they resembled specialist elders rather than brotherhood elders because they were ordinary tribesmen and owed their position as elders, not to hereditary right, but to special appointment. They were selected, however, not by the public like the specialists, but by the local bajraktar or voivode. On taking up an appointment to judge or arbitrate they were known as 'soul elders', on account of the solemn phrases with which they were commissioned. The commissioning bajraktar or voivode first asked, 'Do you pledge your souls, elders, that it was so?' On receiving their assent he laid a stone on the ground before them, saying, 'With body and soul, with a stone in front of you and with God's justice set these two people straight in any way that you can see'. It goes without saying that only upright men were willing or were asked to accept a charge laden with such danger to their soul after death. These northern ward elders had no connexion with the ward elders of Godolesh near Elbasan, who were seven in number for the six wards (mëhallë), all subordinate to the paid non-hereditary headman and his two assistants.

695 Another functional type, which was most important for the repression of crime and was found everywhere, was constituted by 'juror elders'. When trying a case, the judging elders might decide to make one of the disputants take an oath that he was not guilty.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

is to say, no interested motive for his opinion, he was actually 634 encouraged to express his views. Among the Catholics of the far 619 north the priest was permitted to speak, as though he were one of [793] the tribesmen, but his views did not necessarily prevail.

It was unthinkable, of course, that the tribesmen should come without their arms in view of possible dangers on the way. So the law said explicitly that they might bring them. But as soon as they took their places cross-legged on the ground they had to lay their guns on the grass in front of them or on their laps and had to keep them so until the meeting ended. The Catholics sometimes let the priest coax them into depositing their arms in the church house for the duration of the meeting. If anyone raised his gun in anger, [627] it was promptly taken from him by his neighbours. If anyone fired his gun the rest of the meeting immediately formed itself into a firing squad and killed him, and then went in a body to his house and burned it down. Even at the smallest meeting there were four [623] or five important men present who kept a sharp look-out ready to prevent trouble. The priests too kept good watch, and a Franciscan found in Theth by Miss Durham in 1908 told the following story: 'We nearly had a row at the *mexhlis*[1] a little while ago. . . I heard a fearful noise and as I ran out a lot of them got up into a bunch like bees and raised their rifles. They were just going to fire. They would not listen to me. I rushed into the church and rang the bell as hard as I could. It had a splendid effect. As soon as they heard the bell, from habit they all shoved their pistols into their belts and took their guns in their left hands and began to cross themselves. No one knew what had happened. They poured into the church to see. By the time we came out again. . . they were quieted.'

Proceedings usually began with a statement by the president that the tribe had assembled to consider certain matters in the manner required by God and the canon, that is to say, with justice [67] and without innovations or departures from the established law. Great importance was attached to the latter point. The decisions of specialist elders were accepted only on condition that they conformed to the accepted law and did not constitute innovations. This proviso was thought unnecessary in the case of elders who had been bred to the law as the specialists had not, and were therefore trusted to stick to it. This conservatism maintained the strength of the law, the main factor in keeping the tribe together.

[1] General Assembly.

[i.e., at General Assembly meetings -- Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

682 The following story told by Miss Durham[1] throws light upon
628 the mind of a tribe on this point:

In the spring of 1908 a tribesman of Gjan, quarrelling with a tribesman of neighbouring Shosh, snatched a firebrand from the hearth and flung it in his face. It would have been bad enough to kill the man of Shosh, but it was worse to insult him with such a blow. The Gjan man, fearing the wrath to come, fled with all speed. The Shosh man was so enraged that, unable to catch the actual culprit and clear his honour by shooting him, he went to Gjan and shot 'an unhappy little boy, unarmed and but eight years old'...'whose only crime was that he belonged to the same tribe as the offender'...'Gjan was filled with rage. That Shosh had the right to take blood of any man of the tribe they freely admitted, but to kill a child was dishonourable.' On the following Whit Sunday a General Assembly of Shosh met to debate the case. 'Shosh was violently indignant over the affair and public opinion ran so high that the murderer had not dared to remain in the tribe but had fled. The *Mexhlis* now was held to decide whether his house should be burnt as punishment. Many were in favour of this. The difficulty was that there was no law under which this could be done. The blood had been taken *outside* the tribe; it was therefore not a crime against the tribe and not punishable by it. The duty of vengeance lay with the dead boy's family. All agreed that if they liked to come and fire the house Shosh would not oppose it. But as the near relatives were a crippled father and a child they were incapable of executing justice in the face of the opposition which would certainly be put up by the murderer's family. The question caused great excitement. The burning of the house would entail passing a new law to punish a man for a crime against another tribe. This would mean an entire reconstruction of the code and nothing less than considering themselves as a nation, and not as detached tribes.' Miss Durham asked 'whether it were not possible at least to pass a law to punish any man killing a child not of age to bear arms'. It was pointed out that if Shosh did so and neighbour tribes did not, Shosh would be at a disadvantage.... The question was discussed for two days, and was undecided when Miss Durham left.

793 Proceedings at a General Assembly terminated in Catholic areas
212 with the drawing up of minutes by the priest, the only man present

[1] See *Some Tribal Origins* etc., p. 165.

[i.e. a ban on introducing innovations in tribal law --Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

who could write. Though strictly speaking a stranger, he was 793
expected by every tribe, Mirditë included, to attend all its meetings 212
and to act as clerk. Sometimes each man present, sometimes only 634
the president, appended his mark, generally a Turkish seal, to the
document. The priest signed as witness, added the date and place, [217]
and placed it in the church archives for safe keeping and future
reference.

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

(Godolesh and Lumë). The first two phrases are evidently old 695
Albanian and have nothing exclusively Moslem about them; the 782
second (lit. 'May I see God') has even a Catholic ring. The third is widely known all over the Moslem world and in certain areas which were once under Moslem rule. But it is used in a magical rather than a religious sense. It is found in magical formulae among the Arabs of Egypt and the Christian Greeks of the island of Zea, next door neighbour to Euboea.[1]

The only invocation of the Deity which the author recorded among the Orthodox was in Shpat and ran as follows: 'By that Christ in Whom we believe.' It is evidently a Church formula.

There was no sign that any of these oaths was preferred to the 771
others; they seemed to have equal value. Readers who know the 776
Catholics and the Orthodox, the two religions which divided Albania before the Turks came in the fifteenth century, will be struck by the paucity of references to Christ and the Virgin Mary and by the emphasis on God; this may be a further indication that the oaths go back to pagan days when neither Christ nor the Virgin was known.

Formulae for invoking Catholic saints were such as 'By that 695
St Nicolas' in Kurbin and 'By the candle of St Nicolas' among 782
the Highlanders of Breg i Matit and Gurrëzë. Both were very grave oaths. The candle in the second is the wax taper lit before pictures of the saint by the devout; oath-takers seem to have feared that perjury would extinguish the flame of their life as easily as a candle could be put out. Of all their saints too, the Catholic Highlanders preferred St Nicolas. No Moslem saints were invoked as such; it was rather by their graves than themselves that oaths were taken. A strange oath, which comes from Surroj, was an exception. This ran 'By this patron saint of coffee'. Coffee, the peasants of Surroj explained, has a 'very important' patron saint. All over Albania coffee-house keepers make a libation to him every morning by pouring away the first cup of coffee that they make. They hope that after being placated in this way the saint will send them many customers. Some believe that he lies buried somewhere in the east of the Turkish empire, possibly in Arabia.

Catholic priests and Moslem clergymen—hoxhas and sheikhs 695
among the Sunnis, abbots (*baba*, sing.; *baballar*, plur.) among the 688
Bektashis—were respected as men of God, and Bektashi abbots 793

[1] See *Folklore*, Vol. XXXVII, p. 195 (June 1926).

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

695 even became saints at their death, but an oath 'by the priest' or
688 'by that hoxha' was never taken; it would have been regarded as
793 sacrilege.

695 A most interesting oath was taken by both the Orthodox and the
792 Moslems of Berat town and district. Its commonest forms were
[779] 'By Him of Tomorr' and 'By the Holy One of Tomorr'. The deity that dwelt in pagan days on the summit of Tomorr, the lofty, beautiful mountain that dominates the town of Berat, is still a living force in the district. He was, indeed, so dreaded that even in conversation he could not be named, but only darkly alluded to. 'By that mountain top' is no less solemn an oath than the more definite pair already given. No man had been known to swear any of them falsely.

[821] By what was perhaps a survival of early nature worship, oath-takers sometimes invoked natural objects as in the oaths, 'By this bright light which is dawning', 'By this evening which is coming', 'By this night we have to-night'. These were all given by Catholics in Perlat. The first two were used for oaths taken in the morning and the third for those taken in the evening. Moslems in Godolesh and Labinot sometimes swore 'By this sun' and 'By this earth'. The latter was a very solemn oath, earth being weighty for two reasons: man was made of it and it lies heavy on a dead man who committed sins such as perjury during his lifetime. Apparently oaths were not taken 'by this fire' or 'by this moon'; perhaps both fire and moon lack the inevitability and stability that fitted dawn and darkness, the sun and the earth, for worship by primitive Albanians.

695 Among oaths by sacred buildings were such as 'By this church'
782 among Catholics and 'By this mosque' among Moslems. They were
778 chiefly employed conversationally, and meant little more than our own expression 'on my honour'. Indeed, a man of Lurë used them indifferently, irrespective of whether he or his hearer were Catholic or Moslem. But when a Moslem of Martanesh swore 'by this holy place' as he stood in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum, his oath was very solemn. So, too, were the oaths in Bulqizë 'by that shrine', the domed tomb of Sheikh Fejza; in Tirana by the grave of Sulejman Pasha, the seventeenth-century founder of the town; in Krujë by the tombs of two Bektashi abbots; in Nangë, Lumë, by the tomb of the Khalveti saint, Sheikh Hasan; and in Surroj, by the grave of Sheikh Hasan's brother, Sheikh Ibrahim. In the last case the formula was rather unusual; standing in the mausoleum (*teqe*) the

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

*628 and would have a feud with the owner. If, after this warning, the
682 neighbour saw the avenger trying to kill his enemy on his land, he shot at him, and if he killed him, he had no feud, for he had forbidden him to raise his rifle on his land.

*628 Religious influences also were brought to bear on the two
793 enemies. The Bojdani sheikh of Bicaj in Lumë often intervened when there was shooting, both before and after the murder was committed; telling both parties they were in the wrong, he induced them to make peace. There is no record known to the author of an Orthodox priest acquiring influence enough to end a feud, and a Roman Catholic parish priest, though not ridiculed by his flock as his Orthodox brother too often was, had no power to curse people who kept up blood feuds, and without such power he could not compose a feud. Even a bishop was powerless in such cases. Jesuits, on the other hand, had the power and on occasion exercised it; it is commonly believed to this day that they are sent by the Pope and they are correspondingly feared. Every ten years or so, summoned by the archbishop or the priest in charge, at the instance of the village, they toured the Roman Catholic districts, their main object being to compose blood feuds. In 1932 three priests went to Shkrel for the best part of a week. Due warning of their advent had been given, and all devout Roman Catholics were
783 bidden to attend church every day. Banners depicting the flames of hell and the crimes which earned them were hung round the church and the sermons were in the same strain. On the second day these placed emphasis on the privileged position of Roman Catholics; in return for this good Catholics should settle their blood feuds rather than risk losing the blessing of the church for themselves and their families during their lifetime and after it burial in consecrated ground. On the third day the priests inveighed against keeping up grudges; those who cherished their blood feuds risked the curse of God. This meant that nothing would go right for them. They would be shunned by everyone—an engaged girl could not marry with the blessing of the Church, but only by civil marriage—if indeed her betrothed did not prefer to give her up, although this meant losing her bride-price. On this occasion in Shkrel the vehemence of the priests' exhortations and the fear of the consequences of the curse resulted in the termination of several outstanding feuds.

Montenegrins EF5
Balkan Peoples E13
Serbs EF6

Magic, Medicine, Soothsaying

A S BP 777

Gospels. In Serbian these are called "Zapis." They are enclosed in silver cases called by the Turkish word "hamaljija" both by Serbs and Albanians; or they are sewn up in leather. Such leather cases are usually triangular. Most of the Catholic women of Zadrima, Albania, wore two brass crucifixes on a chain and a leathern triangular amulet case. Such cases are often fixed to the horns of oxen. When a Christian finds a Christian "writing" has done no good, he will go on the sly to beg one from a Moslem, and vice versa.

A S BP 777 793 751

Priests, both Orthodox and Catholic, write an immense number of amulets, fold the paper neatly in a triangle, thread it on a string, and direct that it shall be tied over the spot where the pain is felt; and peasants will tramp many miles in search of this help. At Ochrida, where I had to examine the patients before the doctor saw them, I came across an up-to-date development of this treatment. A child was brought with his neck thickly swathed. When the wrappings were off, his neck was an alarming dull purple, as though horribly contused. The amulet had been written in copying ink and had come off on his skin! The mother fondly hoped its magic had soaked in.

A M 755

In both Albania and Montenegro I have seen Moslems flock to a church or a well-known Christian shrine in search of a cure. At the Orthodox Church of the Holy Trinity, on the festival day at Plevlje, I saw two Turkish gendarmes bring in a lunatic with his arms tied behind him and lay him in front of the altar during service in order that he might be cured.

M 776 778 755

Several thousand peasants, Orthodox, Catholic, and Moslem, used to crowd on Trinity Sunday to the shrine of St. Vasil of Ostrog in Montenegro—a purely Montenegrin saint. The shrine of another local saint at the Piperski monastery is also in great repute. The best way to obtain a cure is to pass the night lying on the ground, with the head beneath the coffin, holding the relics. For this privilege a high fee was asked. At Ostrog I was told that a Moslem stricken with paralysis had been brought from Mostar on a mule, and had paid twenty-five napoleons to pass the night thus. Next day he was well and returned home happy. But he was an unbelieving Moslem, and soon declared he did not believe the saint had cured him: he had got well of himself. Next morning he awoke again paralysed, and the twenty-five napoleons were under his pillow. The saint withdrew the cure and returned the fee.

A 777 754

An amulet with a good writing on it works good; but evil writing can in the same way work evil.

A 588

While I was in Scutari a Turkish officer fell in love with a Catholic girl. He acted honourably and asked her hand of her parents. To their horror the girl not only wished to marry him, but she went to the

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2

H 538 554 302 And so they follow on, each matching his horse to his immense moustache. As Krsto used to say with a sigh, "One does not see such sights nowadays."

H 764 It is noteworthy that the warriors carved on the mediæval gravestones of Bosnia show no hair either on face or head. The work is very rude and shows no features either (Fig. 22).

A 302 In Albania, too, the moustache is very precious. My old friend Marko cherished a fine one. When he was young he declared he could easily tie its ends behind his head—the true test, he said, for a moustache.

A 776 554 In the fairy tales he used to tell, the villain was a "Choué," a hairless man. They were always abominably wicked, he said.

The British Navy lost its prestige when clean-shaven officers appeared in Scutari in 1913.

A 302 293 554 When Marko was young and his moustache in its prime, he was kavass to the Turkish Embassy in Vienna, wore a gold-embroidered Albanian dress, and cut such a gallant figure that no less a person than one of the Rothschilds noticed him. The wealthy Jew asked the poor Albanian to quit Turkish service and be doorkeeper at the Rothschild palace. The salary offered was beyond Marko's wildest imagination. "I thought I should be a rich man," said he, "but the dog—yes, he was a dog—he told me his servants were clean-shaven and I must cut off my moustache. My moustache that I could tie behind my head! I said that not for all the gold of the Rothschilds would I cut it off." So Marko was never rich, and was never tired of telling of the insult.

So great is the respect for the moustache that the Catholic Church humours her Albanian flock, and bishops, abbots, and secular priests all wear the finest moustaches they can grow.

A [293] "If an Italian or Austrian comes here as a missionary," said a young Albanian Franciscan to me, roaring with laughter, "we shut him up till he's grown a decent moustache. It would be useless to send him to a mountain parish without one; they would hunt him out."

A 302 A great variety of head-shaves is found among both men and women of the Albanian mountains. The Catholic married women of Maltsia e Madhe shave the forehead and temples, and dye the hair black on marriage, and make their face look very large. A similar fashion is to be seen in many early Italian portraits of ladies. The Mirdite women and some of the allied groups wear a fringe over the forehead and do not dye the hair. The men of Maltsia e Madhe shave a great part of the head, and leave either one great lump on the top or two big side tufts; or they shave the back and leave the front. The temples are usually shaved, even by Scutarenes, who wear European dress.

A 292

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

conference, it will be remembered, condemned both the Protestant Ecumenical Movement and the Vatican, "center of Fascism and of plots against the Slavic peoples." 795 653

The fact that the Primate, Archbishop Christopher Kissi, did not attend any of these assemblies was strongly indicative of a lack of appreciation for Communist conceptions of the role and functions of the Church. Indeed, it would have been strange if he had attended. The Orthodox Church, like all other religious bodies in Albania, had suffered from the Land Reform Law promulgated during August, 1945, which gave the Party the right to confiscate and nationalize property it has claimed elsewhere. By the close of 1948, Moslem and Orthodox ecclesiastics were completely dependent financially on the state. During the next year, the Archbishop was deposed and arrested. The government's published contention was that he "had worked against our interests and the interests of the people by collaborating with the Unitarian Church during the period of Fascist occupation." Two other prelates, Bishop Ireneo and Bishop Agathangjeli, were arrested. How many other members of the clergy have been taken into custody, deported to labor camps, or executed, no one knows. There is a report that Bishop Irenaeus Banushi was put to death during 1947. 793 661 [423]

However, the full fury of Hoxha's enmity fell upon the Roman Catholic Church. The Germans had withdrawn in November, 1944. A month later the government seized all printing establishments, and the Catholic press was abolished. At the same time a number of ecclesiastical offices were searched, and some members of the clergy were taken into custody. Religious youth organizations were banned, and only the Antifascist Youth Front, avowedly pro-Communist, was permitted to function. In February, 1945, the first "People's Court" to convene in Scutari sentenced one of the best known Al- 795 661 [883]

RITUAL LIFE

[124] 162 FORTY-TWO per cent of our series was recorded as Catholic, and the rest, except for one man,[1] as Moslem. These figures reflect the approximate proportions of the 2 faiths in Ghegnia. Their territorial distribution is shown on figure 3.[1] All of Mirdita, all of Dukagin, about half of Malsia e Madhe, most of Zadrima, and some *bairaks* of Mati, Puka, and Malsia e Jakovës are Catholic. Catholics occupy on the whole the least accessible areas, and those closest to Rome. Moslems occupy those nearest the direction of Istanbul, along the main roads, and in the vicinity of the larger towns.

795 793 While Islam is but 4 centuries old in Albania, Catholicism has been there at least 4 times as long. During the last 12 centuries many changes have taken place in the number and location of bishoprics and parishes, and in the number of communicants. At the time of our study, there was a bishop in Zadrima, to whom the parish priests of Mirdita reported; another took care of the territory north of the Drin. Some of the priests, like Father Krasnichi whom we visited in Mirdita, were native Albanians trained in Rome, others Austrians, Germans, or Italians. All were men of physical stamina and courage, for theirs was a difficult and rigorous assignment. Some were [792] Franciscans. In Zadrima, near the bishop's residence, was a nunnery with about a dozen inhabitants.

795 Many of the Moslems of northern Albania belong to an extremely heterodox brotherhood, that of the Bektashi. The tomb of the founder of the order lies in the inner recess of a long cave, really an ancient sandstone quarry, in the cliff outside the city of Cairo. His successor lives in a house at the entrance to the cave. The head of the order and all of his henchmen in residence are Albanians. The reason for this curious circumstance is that the Khedivial family of Egypt was originally Albanian, and they brought their spiritual chief, with the coffins

[1] Both parents came from Dibra. He was Greek Orthodox, how or why I could not discover.

[1] [See cat 116, p. 35c -- Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem 103
valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms 779
the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, 596
and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say 614
is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza).

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five [582]
families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, [221
which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road 648]
and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it.

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty 619
Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku 614
and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district 779
not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its [174
mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts 794]
which are given to the Church.

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; 619
and has also a few houses of "Anas." 596

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, [779
another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling 294]
mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as 648
some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group.

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, 619
Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places 779
mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the 103
only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name [776]
from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, [628
who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in 166]
Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping- 648
off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church 779

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

and priests, which have not been interfered with, the Jugoslav Government has tried to plant a Serb bishop in Scutari on their behalf. They should be exchanged for some Albanians in Serb territory. The whole of the Maltsia e Madhe district is included in the diocese of Scutari.

There is a sprinkling of Serb place-names in the district, but most of them are Albanized, showing how, on the retreat of Serb rule, the older race reasserted itself.

3. The Pulati Group

Polati, Pilot, Pulati occurs as the name of a large mountain district and as a bishopric at an early date.[1] In 877 a bishop of Polati is mentioned by the Council of Delmitano. Then Pope Alexander II, in a letter written to the Archbishop of Antivari in 1062, puts Pulati and its bishop under his care. Towards the end of that century Antivari, owing doubtless to the growing power of the Serbs, ceased to be an archbishopric, though it was still a bishopric, and Pulati is mentioned by Callixtus II in 1121 as under the Archbishop of Ragusa. In 1251 the Archbishopric of Antivari was restored, and Pulati again mentioned as under Antivari. Between 1372 and 1421 is a gap in which Farlati tells us that Helena, widow of Stefan Dushan, and her son, Urosh, "vexed most bitterly the Catholics, and spoiled them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty." No bishop is then mentioned. The Church was kept alive by the Franciscans, who faced danger and hardship in the mountains. Again, under the Turks, extreme misery is mentioned, and bishops are intermittent. It was reported that here were then still some twenty thousand Catholics. But, in spite of missionary effort, the Church almost lapsed. In 1653 Marcus Crisius traversed Pulati and reported: "It is incredible how ignorant the people now are of religion." Up till 1520 there were two bishoprics, Pulatenses Majores, and Pulatenses Minores. To Pulati Minor bishops were appointed from 1345 to 1520; then the two dioceses were united. It appears that it was hard to find men to accept the post, and some of those who did, broke down under the difficulties. Thus Bishop Serafinus, who learnt Albanian and worked very hard, had to retire through illness. Even though the Church of St. Nikola, at Ghoanni, "was rebuilt in 1703 more elegantly and larger and is called a cathedral," it was a humble enough edifice.

In *Illyricum Sacrum* (1817) a contemporary account mentions that Pulati is in the deepest recesses of the roughest mountains; that it

[1] *Acta et Diplomata Res Albaniæ Illustrantia*, and Farlati.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

includes five districts or parishes, Sciossi, Kiri, Planti, and Givagni, 175 that the territory of Shala is also in Pulati, and that "in it are the 794 vestiges of an ancient city called Mauricum and the remains of seventeen sacred edifices, of which one was said to have belonged to the Benedictines." Mention is also made of the tribes of Salza (now Seltzi), Toplana, 619 and Duscman (Dushmani), all of which still exist, and of "Blachia," 779 not now identifiable. All the above-mentioned, we are told, "faithfully cultivate the Catholic faith. Like the Klementi and others of the [651] mountain folk, they are free from Turkish servitude and free from all Turkish taxes." We thus see clearly that under their own clergy they occupied the same position as did Montenegro under its clergy. The popular tale that Montenegro alone resisted absorption by the Turk is not true.

The Montenegrin tribes, owing to the continuous support of Russia, however, obtained recognition, and were enabled to establish a ruling family, whereas the Albanian tribes, divided into several dioceses and with no leading Albanian family, did not succeed in forming an organic whole.

Pulati is difficult to define, as the limits of the diocese of Pulati 794 extend farther than the district called Pulati by the people. Lower Pulati includes four tribes:—

1. *Plani.*—A Catholic tribe of one bairak, and consists of three 614 stocks, which are intermarriageable and trace descent from Klementi, 619 Merturi, and from the "Anas" (ancient population). 779

2. *Ghoanni.*—A small Catholic tribe of whose origin I have no information. The Bishop of Pulati has his humble residence in this tribe land.

3. *Mgula.*—Also a small Catholic tribe.

4. *Kiri* traces descent from two stocks—one from Kuchi, the other from Ipek. It is Catholic.

The other tribes of the diocese of Pulati, in what is called Upper Pulati, are:—

1. *Shala.*—A large tribe which played much part in Albania's struggle for independence, occupies all the upper part of the valley of the river Shala, and reaches to the summits of the mountains, which form the watershed on either side. Shala consists of four bairaks which all descend from a common ancestor. Shala, Shoshi, and part of 173 Mirdita tell that they descend from three brothers, who fled from eastward, presumably from Kosovo, when it was overrun by the Turks some time in the fifteenth century. One had a saddle ("shala" in Albanian); the second a winnowing sieve ("shoshi"), and the third had nothing, so he said "Mir dit" (Good day) and went off. Shala, Shoshi, and [582] three bairaks of Mirdita, being thus consanguineous, do not intermarry. Shala tells that when its ancestor arrived there were already small,

CHAPTER IX

THE CHIEFS OF SHALA PROBATE A WILL—WE VISIT THE HOUSE OF LULASH—A JOURNEY TO UPPER THETHIS.

000 I MAY say that such agitators will have a very bad time of it, as doubtless all agitators deserve to have, since all agitators always have 428 had it. There was a conference that afternoon 794 in the padre's bedroom, and this time it was the padre who wanted the principle of private property established. A man had died and left a piece of land to the Church, and the padre[1] wanted the land to build the school on. Four chiefs of Shala sat beside the desk, on a bench brought in for the purpose, and Padre Marjan, gaunt and earnest in his Franciscan robe, talked the case out before Perolli.[2] (Perolli was no longer a hunted man who might be turned over to the Serbs; he was now an honored guest, emissary from an allied tribe, whose words were heard with respect.)

Padre Marjan had written down the testator's dying words in a notebook. He read them, those little mysterious marks on paper. They said that the man had made much land—every foot of earth is made by incredible labor of uprooting bowlders and building stone walls to catch

[1] [Padre Marjan of Thethis [156] -- Analyst]
[2] [Secretary of Albanian Ministry of Interior -- Analyst]

washed-down soil—and he felt that he was leaving enough land to the tribe to stand as his contribution, without this one small piece. That piece he wished the tribe to give to the Church. 428 794

There was also a statement from the man's wife, saying that her husband had long wished the Church to have that piece of land, and that she and her children wished it also.

"Those words are written words," said Perolli, gravely, the eyes of all upon him. "Therefore they are holy words; they are as the words of the saints."

"That is doubtless so," said one of the chiefs. "But this man was not a saint, and, besides, how can he give away land? Land belongs to the tribe of Shala." [423]

"It is not as though I wished to take the land from Shala," said Padre Marjan. "I do not want it for myself. I wish to build a school upon it, and the school will be for all the children of Shala. It will be for the good of the tribe, that their children can learn to read and write."

"Glory to your lips," said another chief. "But since it is for the children of Shala, let it be built on the land of Shala. Build our school upon it, and all our tribe will bless you."

"But this man left the land to the Church, for the welfare of his soul. It is written here upon this paper that the land belongs to the Church. It is the Church that will build the school in Thethis; I myself am already teaching your children, and even when the new teacher comes from

PEAKS OF SHALA

428 794 Tirana the school will be under my care. I am the servant of the Church in Thethis, and this land must belong to the Church."

"We will think about it," said the chiefs.

"Shall it be said," demanded the padre, "that the Americans have come from far across strange seas to bring money to build a school for the children of Thethis, and that the people of Thethis will not give even one small piece of land?"

"But," said I to Frances, "why do you want to take land from the tribe and give it to the Church?"

"The Church is the only light they have up here; the only center of inspiration and learning," said Frances. "See how the people come to the padre's kitchen; see what he means to them. I'm not a Catholic, but can't you see that if the school is to be a community center the Church must have it? They don't know how to make it what we want it to be, themselves."

"Very well," said the chiefs. "You may have the land, Padre Marjan."

291 My opangi[1] had arrived. The edges of the leather had been turned upward and joined across the toes by an intricately woven network of rawhide thongs. Another network made a heel piece, and there were thongs to go around the ankles. With the opangi came a pair of short, knitted purple socks reaching just to the ankle, where they ended in points bound with black braid and stiff with gold and silver

1 [Albanian handmade shoes] Analysis

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Balkan Peoples E13

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

Both the name and the food taboos being even to-day so common in the Balkans, it is strange to find Herodotus, so many centuries ago, mentioning both as peculiar customs of the Ionians and explaining them thus: "Even those who esteemed themselves the most noble of the Ionians on first settling in the country brought no wives, but married a number of Carian women whose husbands they put to death. In consequence of this violence the women made a compact which they delivered to their daughters never to sit at meals with their husbands nor to call them by their appropriate names" (Bk. I, c. xlvi). He, however, expressly states that these Ionians were of very mixed origin, saying that: "Molossians, Pelasgians of Arcadia, and Dorians of Epidaurus were mingled with them." These are some of the oldest known Balkan tribes. The Molossians especially were in South Albania. The food and name taboos were thus possibly brought from the Balkans to Asia by the men. Judging by the present Balkan peoples, it is far more likely that the customs should have been enforced by them on their captured wives than that Herodotus's explanation should be correct.

B 262 175 171 562

4. Taboo on Showing the Face

The amount of veiling done by the women varies very considerably among the Balkan peoples, I know. The most closely veiled and hooded of all were the Moslem Slavs of Mostar and Serajevo. The Moslem Slav, whether called Serb or Croat, is a very strict Mohammedan.

A H 784 562

This may be because the Bosnians and Herzegovinians—the Bosnians more especially—adopted Islam in many cases as early as the fifteenth century, whereas the Albanians, upon whom it sits far more lightly, and a very large number of whom belong to the heretical Bektashi sect, became Mohammedan mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and some in the nineteenth. The women of the Moslem Albanian mountain tribes are never veiled, and will come to market and bargain freely with any man, their faces more exposed than those of many Christians.

A 794 562 292 171

In the towns, which were under the rule of Turkish officials whose womenfolk possibly set the fashions, the Albanian Moslem women were all more or less closely veiled. In Dulcigno they almost exceeded the hooding of Mostar, and have preserved the custom under the rule of the Montenegrin, which was forced upon them by the pious efforts of Mr. Gladstone.

A 292 171

The veiling of women was, however, not unknown in Ancient Greece, and the veiling or partial veiling of both men and women was practised in various primitive and non-Moslem lands. The usual explanation of

162 Korça, Berat and Vlona, the Orthodox are also numerous.

795 The Albanian Orthodox Church came into existence in 1922, after the Congress of Berat, with the consent of the Patriarch of Constantinople. This Church has four metropolitans: Durazzo, Berat, Argyrocastro and Korça. The Roman Catholic Apostolic Delegate and Archbishop are at Scutari, and there are five Catholic bishoprics scattered throughout the country.

It is known that Christianity came early to Albania for St. Paul says, "Round about Illyria have I fully preached the Gospel of Christ." The Albanians claim him as the first missionary among them.

771 Although religion is a strong force with the Albanians, it does not interfere with their patriotism and powerful nationalism. In the face of a demand on their loyalty Moslem, Roman Catholic and Albanian Orthodox become brothers in one cause.

It can be said that Albania is the only country in Europe where there is no religious dissension; they have always remained united at every period of their national history.

175 395 A.D., when this district passed from the East Roman Empire into the increasing power of Byzantium. From this period on into the Middle Ages, Scutari fought one invader after another in an effort to retain its integrity. First the Serbs were repulsed and then the Turks. In the early fifteenth century, the Venetians gained possession of Scutari and the surrounding territory, but it was not long until the Turks were again at the citadel of Scutari, and for ten long, dreary months, 1478-79, Scutari withstood the armies of Sultan Mohammed II, and finally was brought under Turkish rule but remained unconquered.

During the Balkan war, Scutari was the last city to withstand the Turks. Until January 29, 1912, Vali (Governor) Hassan Riza was able to hold and protect Scutari against the Serbs and Montenegrins, and afterwards Essad Pasha Toptani took over the command with his avaricious and ambitious schemes for personal glorification. The attacks of the Montenegrins and Serbs continued until April 22, 1913.

195 A Roman Catholic Archbishopric is established in Scutari.

KORÇA

000 colored stones, giving the residences an appearance of wealth.

775 Korça is now[1] the residence of the head of the Albanian Orthodox Church.

769 The local hero of Korça is one Themistokli Gërmeni.

167 About 70% of the Albanian immigrants to other countries come from Korça.

361 Korça is two and a half hours by automobile from Florina, Greece, where the railroad comes from Salonica northward. Thus making Korça the point nearest to railway connection.

1 [Errata: should be was until recently. Cf. Errata sheet, p. 269, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

798 riddled with balls. The tribe of the Schialla, having heard of this insult to their religion, prepared to take vengeance for it; but, the offenders being out of reach, they made the family of Bobi, to which the bride belonged, responsible. The Bobi engaged to obtain satisfaction within a week, or pay the penalty, and on the morrow the young men of the family set off for Bugna, where they killed two nephews of Tahir Mala. Not content, however, with this retribution, they entered the mosque, where they killed a pig, rubbed the doors with its blood, and placed the head on the ledge of the pulpit.

798 579 628

The Moslems, at this profanation of their mosque, hastened to complain to Mustapha Pasha, of Skodra, who prepared to send a military expedition against the Bobi. The latter, with the rest of the Schialla tribe, placed themselves under the protection of the Miridite Prince, Prenk Doda, who threatened the Pasha that, if troops were sent against the Schialla, he would not only support them, but call all the Christian highlanders to arms. The Pasha, alarmed at the prospect of a religious war for which he would be held responsible, then agreed to let the insulted cross atone for the polluted mosque, and cry quits with the Christians.

795 The number of Albanians affiliated to the Bektashi Order of Dervishes is said to be no fewer than 80,000. The lax observance of even the outward forms of Islam, characteristic of the followers of Hadji Bektash generally, is more especially observable in the conduct of the Skipetars, and has occasionally subjected them to persecution from their Osmanli Moslem neigh-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

bours. One of their chief offences, in the eyes of the strictly orthodox, is the scant attention paid by the wives of these sectarians to the law of *namekhram*, or wearing the veil, it being their practice to appear unveiled before their husband's friends when he gives them permission to do so.

Cloistered life is not more popular with the women of Albania than with those of the rest of Turkey. In Islam there is, of course, no such resource for disappointed maidens, and marriage being as much the rule among Christians, whether orthodox Greek or Roman Catholic, as among Moslems, nunneries are not numerous, and their inmates are but few. Those which exist, however, offer a welcome asylum to the small section of women whom circumstances have doomed to a life of celibacy, and who the more willingly enter them as they, by so doing, acquire a degree of liberty which could never be theirs while living as unmarried women in the house of their father or brother. For in the East, as I have before remarked, convent rule is remarkably lax, and, beyond attending the prescribed church services, no very strict account is required of the way in which the good sisters spend their time. If report speaks true, they do not always refrain from making use of the opportunities for flirtation afforded them by their emancipation from conventional restraint.

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

000 human, for few of us are accurately just to our enemies, and the Hungarian, Austrian, Serbian, Italian, and Greek soldiers who have campaigned in Albania have returned to describe the country as hell with variations. The one European who has spoken to me of the Albanians without horror is a doctor in Budapest. He had worked in Serbia during the war, and there had encountered a terribly wounded Albanian still alive on a battlefield. The doctor bent over him to examine his wounds, and the Albanian bit off the doctor's little finger.

"I cannot think of that man without admiration," said the doctor, looking thoughtfully at his mutilated hand. "I can't blame him for this; I had not spoken to him, and he thought I was an enemy. He was a splendid fellow—stood the most frightful agony without a murmur, and kept his spirit like a lion. I did what I could for him—had no hope of saving him—and that night, wounded as he was, he got away. I hope he reached home alive. Some day I'm going to see Albania."

795 I spoke of Albanians as a Christian minority in the old Turkish Empire. One of the most frequent errors about Albania is the belief that it is Mohammedan; this report has been used for political propaganda. The Albanians became Christians before the Roman conquest, and were Christians when they were subjugated by Turkey. They remained Christian without exception until after the death of George Kastriotes—

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

POSTSCRIPT

known in European history by his Turkish name of Iskander Bey Scanderbeg—who successfully revolted against Turkey and maintained Albanian independence for twenty-five years, defeating the Turks in thirteen great battles and innumerable small ones. After his death in 1467 some of the chiefs of the central mountain tribes, exhausted by a quarter century of war and confronting fresh Turkish armies, purchased their actual independence by a verbal submission and became nominally Mohammedan. When the Bechtaski sect—which may roughly be said to bear the relation to Islam that the Methodist bears to the Church of Rome—rose in Turkey, it found its most fertile ground among these Mohammedan Albanians. The northern mountain tribes have always remained Roman Catholic, and southern Albania Greek Catholic.

None of these creeds, however, have affected national unity—Albania is the only Balkan country in which religion and nationality are not synonymous—and all of them are rooted shallowly above the old religion of Albanians, which is the formless belief in a Great Unknown from which sprang the gods and mythology of ancient Greece. In southern Albania you will still hear the people taking oath *per kete djelle eghe per kete hene* (by the power of the sun and the moon). You will still hear them calling upon Zeus—Zaa or Zee, the Voice—and upon Athena—E Thana, The Intelligence. In the north, the Catholic mountaineer greets the rising sun with the sign

[See cat. 795, pp. 292-293 -- Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

or incapacitated, one of his wife's relatives must come for her and bring her back, but that meant the extra trouble of letting them know that she was coming.

Each member of a household had a personal name. Though this was usually determined by the religion professed, Moslem first names were not uncommon among the Catholics. The usual cause seems to have been no more than a personal whim. Thus the junior bajraktar ('standard-bearer')[1] of Shalë, a Catholic, was called Avdi because his father was very friendly with a Moslem of that name at the time of his birth. Another interesting anomaly is found in the forty-three Orthodox villages of Shpat, near Elbasan, where the older men have two names, a Moslem one for public use and an Orthodox one for private. For some decades before Albania freed herself from Turkish rule these villages were pressed by the Moslems of Elbasan to abandon Christianity and, to save their faith and lives, camouflaged themselves as Moslems, giving themselves Moslem names, keeping the Ramazan fast, and so on, but evading circumcision. At intervals they fetched an Orthodox priest from Elbasan under cover of night so that in some dark stable he might marry the newly wed with Christian rites and baptize the newly born. So, to name only two examples, the apparently Moslem Tahir Baduri of Shelcan and Ymer Tullumi of Bujars are really the Christian Spiro Baduri and Vasil Tullumi. Religious persecution having ended when Albanian independence was attained, the Orthodox of Shpat shed their Moslem camouflage and gave only Christian names to their children. If Godolesh, the picturesque village north of Elbasan, had managed to hold out for only two years more against the pressure to 'turn Turk', it, too, might now still have been Christian. It failed to hold out, so that its middle-aged and young inhabitants are fanatical Moslems but the old still visit Orthodox churches in secrecy and grieve that they must lie in a Moslem grave. One sturdy old woman, who married soon after the conversion to Islam, boasted that she had had all her four sons baptized. One of them confirmed this to the author, saying he had often been told by Christian and Moslem alike that he smelt less than did other Moslems, an agreeable peculiarity which he attributed to his baptism. The Greeks too, who introduced Orthodox Christianity into Albania, subscribed to the belief that baptism takes away the smell from which all Moslems suffer.

[1] See Chapter XI.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

428 592 Alternatively, both sitting-room and kitchen were measured with a rope and divided into two. A partition wall of lath and plaster or, more probably, of lath and mud was then run up in both. This left half of each with the old door and, where it existed, the old staircase, while the other two halves had neither door nor staircase; a new door and, if required, a new staircase, were built for these, generally on the opposite side of the house. Each brother then took possession of his new home, a small poor place but his own with its own egress to the outside world.

[562] [795] In the Mohammedan villages near Elbasan there were regulations about windows which aimed, like the building laws, at protecting women from prying eyes. In Godolesh the brother getting the upper room in a two-storeyed house was told to blind the windows overlooking the yard if his brother's kitchen, as was probable, opened on to this; otherwise his brother's womenfolk would not have full freedom to move about the yard. The brother getting the middle storey in a three-storeyed house was given similar instructions, but the brother with the topmost floor might leave all his windows open as they were too high to overlook the yard. In Labinot all windows overlooking another's property must, irrespective of their height, be blinded. Such regulations were not enforced in Christian villages.

When the old house had two rooms as well as a kitchen the division was less complicated. To begin with, one room was assigned to each brother. If one was bigger than the other they were both valued and due compensation paid to the brother with the smaller one. As for the kitchen, either it was divided in two or it was given to one brother and its estimated value paid to the other so that he could build a new kitchen for himself on his own land.

Continuing to live under the same roof imposed certain mutual obligations on the brothers. If the flimsy partition wall or the roof needed repairs, both must share the expense in equal proportions. If one could not or would not pay his quota the other was entitled to repair only his own section of the roof, leaving his brother's to the ravages of the weather; or he might try to extract the money from his brother by force; until lately, he might even shoot him in truculent Lumë. As for the partition wall, he probably repaired it at his own expense for the sake of his personal privacy.

To avoid such quarrels and to secure more houseroom the buying out method of dividing the old home was preferred. The

Shalë but only as trustee for the small son of Lush Prela, his 701
predecessor, killed some years before.

Succession from father to son depended on merit, and was determined in the lifetime of the reigning bajraktar. A son who was obviously unfit was passed over in favour of his younger brother. Both, if unfit, might be superseded by their paternal uncle or cousin in the male line.

If the natural precedence between brothers was once lost, the bajrak generally passed from the elder's heirs for good. Only when the son of a dispossessed elder brother turned out much more competent than the other heirs of his generation could he regain the glory which his father's weakness had lost. For example, Muharrem Bajraktar, the standard-bearer of Ujmishtë, Lumë, was the son of Nezir Bajraktar, a younger son. His cousin, Liman, son of the elder brother to whom Nezir was preferred, was almost as capable as he was but had no right to compete with him for the succession.

For grave cause the claims of heredity were sometimes disregarded. If a bajraktar's family produced no competent male for several generations, another family might wrest the standard from its feeble hands. The transfer had naturally to be approved by the tribe. Muharrem Bajraktar of Ujmishtë, Lumë, descended not from the original bajraktar who lived at Shkavec, Lumë, but from the family which superseded the feckless descendants of the original man some generations ago. The first bajraktar of Nikç was Gilë Prëntashi, but eventually the family degenerated to such an extent that the bajrak was taken over by Turk Vuksani, a very distant cousin who lived in the same quarter as the natural heir. A more remarkable transfer took place early in this century in Perlat. For three generations there had not been a good male in the family of its bajraktar. Then Prenk Pasha, consulted as the head of the Gjomarkaj family of Mirditë and therefore the source of all wisdom, advised Perlat to desert its inadequate leader for his sister's son, the bajraktar of the neighbouring tribe of Rrshen. Perlat took the advice and followed this man and after him his son Zef Bardhoku, thus going right outside the tribe in the quest for a better leader.

With the exception of the bajraktar* of Lumë, all bajraktars 701
hitherto discussed were military leaders of tribes which were wholly 795
or predominantly Catholic. Mirditë, Bogë, Vukël, Shalë, Nikaj,

*[the tribe military leader -- Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

701 Mertur and some others were wholly Catholic. Nikç, Selcë, Hot,
795 Kthellë and Lurë were more or less mixed Catholic and Mohammedan. Certain tribes such as Has, Bytyç and Krasniq are at the time of writing completely Mohammedan but were partly Catholic until three or four generations ago, as their genealogies testify. Lumë asserts that it has been completely Mohammedan since the
[618] coming of the Turks five centuries ago. It was also not fully tribal,
[619] since each bajraktar's 1 following consisted not of a single kin or agglomeration of kins with the same ancestors, but of a number of little kins of varying ancestry.

701 There were also bajraktars in certain non-tribal areas, such as
[619] Shpat and Martanesh in central Albania. Here the dignity was not hereditary and localized, but moved with successive holders from family to family, from quarter to quarter or even from village to village. Fitness for military leadership of the local levies was always demanded, and that quality did not necessarily remain from one generation to another, in the same family, quarter or village. Hysejn Zavolina of the village of Shelcan was a famous bajraktar in Shpat in the last years of Turkish rule, but it was at Fushë e Kuqe in the more central village of Gjinar that he set up his standard. Hysejn Ramaj became bajraktar of Martanesh because he was as popular as he was competent. After having carried his standard to
[619] victory in Montenegro he 'got religion' and turned dervish. As Baba Hysejn (Abbot Hysejn) he presided first over the Bektashi monastery (tege) at Krujë and then over that at Martanesh and was buried in the monastery of Zerqan. When he took to the cloister the bajrak passed to Murat Xhabolli, who was from the Gjoni quarter and quite a different family. The great lawgiver, Mus Ballgjini, of the village of Gurakuq was bajraktar of the district of Çermenikë when Turkish rule over Albania ended, but his son did not inherit the office. When Albania developed a conscript army of European type, there could be no more bajraktars in central Albania. Officers led the conscripts, and there was no hereditary principle to preserve the ancient title as there was among the tribes of the north.

701 In certain areas of the north there were no bajraktars 1 Since
619 beys were feudal lords of the soil it fell to them to lead their henchmen in war. So wherever there were beys of any importance there were no bajraktars. Mat was the classic instance. There were bajraktars to the north of it in tribal Kthellë and Lurë; there were

1 [the local military leader --Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

695 Tirana, Sheikh Hasan's at Nangë in Lumë, Sheikh Ibrahim's at
778 Surroj across the river Drin from Nangë, Sheikh Fejza's at Bulqizë, Balim Sulltan's at Martanesh, and those of two abbots at Krujë. Sulejman Pasha and Sheikh Ibrahim lie in an isolated mausoleum, [795] Balim Sulltan in a cave, and the others in monasteries. These saints belonged to different sects; Sulejman Pasha, the soldier who founded Tirana in the seventeenth century, was a Sunni; Sheikh Hasan, founder of the monastery at Nangë, and his brother, Sheikh Ibrahim of Surroj, were Khalvetis; Balim Sulltan of Martanesh and the two abbots of Krujë were Bektashis; and Sheikh Fejza, founder of the monastery at Bulqizë, a dissident Bektashi. Sometimes it did not matter to what sect the buried saint belonged. Sheikh Hasan of Nangë was so renowned that the local population, even if not Khalvetis, took their oaths on his grave and never in the mosque, and Catholic as well as Moslem oath-takers came in serious cases to his grave from Shkodër, four days away. Sulejman Pasha's grave drew oath-takers from as far away as Martanesh; these had long since forgotten his history, and, though ardent Bektashis, did not care that he was a Sunni. Sunni Albanians are not so liberal however; taught to abhor the Bektashis as unorthodox Moslems, they left the graves of Balim Sulltan of Martanesh and the two abbots of Krujë to Bektashi oath-takers. Sheikh Fejza, abhorred by Sunnis as almost a Bektashi and by Bektashis as a backslider from their faith, commanded allegiance only among his own followers in Bulqizë. Oaths used to be taken in three mausolea in the Bektashi monastery at Krujë, but by 1930 the abbot refused to open one for such a purpose. Once, as an oath was being taken in this mausoleum, both disputants fell dead; there had been roguery on both sides as the buried saint was quick to detect. Ever afterwards the abbots restricted oath-takers to the two mausolea in which the saints seemed slower to wrath.

695 Among invocations of the Deity used in oaths, the following are
782 recorded: 'By the Lord' (Perlat and Shkrel); 'By this Lord Who gave me life' (Perlat); 'By this Lord Who is in Heaven' (Shalë); 'By Our Lady' (Shkrel); and 'By the Blood of Christ' (Shalë). In all these the influence of the Church is evident, but there are hints in the Albanian originals that some are older than the Church.

The Deity was invoked by Moslems as follows: 'By that Lord' (Godolesh); 'By God' (Dibër); 'By God, with God, from God'[1]

[1] *Vallahi, billahi, tallahi.*

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

798 one surmise that the Communists have tried to neutralize the Moslem population by breaking it up into mutually hostile factions. It is known that purges of Mohammedan leaders who were insufficiently cooperative have occurred. Islam is today divided into several sects. Hoxha's aides sought first to play one of these against another, and selected the strongest, the *Bektashi*, for the role of principal collaborator; but there ensued a weird series of assassinations, or purges, impossible to interpret. All we really know is that government broadcasts beamed to the Near East stress that Albania demonstrates the ability of Communism to carry out its program successfully while granting complete freedom of faith to Mohammedans. The names of some Moslem leaders who have perished are known, as is that of Hafiz Musa Hashi Alija, who is currently cast in the precarious role of chief adviser to the government on Islamic matters.

●795 News concerning the fate of the Orthodox Church is also 659 much more fragmentary than one could desire. Historically, in Albania, this Church was free of strong confessional ties with Constantinople and Athens, and from time to time some of its leaders took under serious advisement the possibility of reunion with Rome. Accordingly Communist efforts after 1945 to "nationalize" Orthodoxy and to foster its allegiance to Moscow met with resistance. It was not until January, 1948, that a small delegation of the clergy visited Moscow, Kiev, and Leningrad. The official press reported that the head of this group had expressed, in behalf of his colleagues, the view that the "strength of the Russian Church" would insure protection against "all the other Churches, and particularly the Vatican," which might seek to "absorb and destroy the Albanian Church." During the same year, a Russian bishop visited Tirana, Albania's capital city; and the Orthodox Church Conference of that year convened in Moscow. This

?: Amery G-6 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

trying their values by the acid test of survival. Nor were they 177
isolated from the world around them; for the tides of invasion that swept through their valleys, and the cross-currents of foreign intrigue which penetrated into their mountains continually refreshed them with new ideas. Some of them, moreover, travelled to the ends of the earth in the service of their conquerors, to act, on their return, as a ferment among their fellow countrymen. Likewise the three religions which they 795
honoured — the Roman Catholic, the Orthodox, and the Moslem — were powerful vehicles for the spread of foreign influences, whether from Pope or Patriarch or Sheikh-Ul-Islam.

These religions represented traditional loyalties rather than 771
living creeds to the Albanians. Indeed religious devotion and ideological fervour were alike alien to them, being based on social concepts inapplicable to the anarchy in which they lived. In the past, when politics had been conducted under the sign of religion, they had freely apostatised to secure material advantage. Likewise, in our time, they variously proclaimed themselves Fascists, Communists, or Democrats, in obedience to the calculations of interest rather than to the dictates of conviction. The growth among them of the Bektashi sect suggested that, left to themselves, their religious instinct might have developed towards some form of Pantheism, perhaps in the tradition of the Oracle of Dodona and the hierarchy of gods which Hellas inherited from the ancient Illyrians. Instead, the 181
contemplation of the endless struggle for survival and power which characterised every phase of their daily life induced in them an all-pervading materialism. In ideas they discerned but the banners under which forces are gathered; and they mistrusted words as a cloak for intentions rather than as a means for their expression.

Politics they understood instinctively, for the relations between the Great Powers were daily made manifest to them in terms of golden coin and leaden shot. Besides, where there is no law, all human relationships are understood in terms of the struggle for power which underlies them and which is the very stuff of politics. The life of the clans was indeed a great school of *realpolitik*; and though the Albanians are few the fertility

[the Albanians -- Analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

000 from the baroque splendours of Lecce and the bourgeois pleasures of its black-market restaurant.

2

We rose at daybreak and emerged from the sheepfold to find ourselves on the edge of a broad grassland plateau set in an amphitheatre of rock peaks. This was broken only towards the east, where a wooded gorge led down towards the village of Shengyerg. The scene was impressive but desolate; for, although the thaw was far advanced, there was at this height but little sign of spring. Moreover, such snow as still remained, mostly on the higher slopes and in ravines seldom reached by the sun, was everywhere thickly powdered with grey dust. This phenomenon was widely observed that year in the Western Balkans and was attributed by scientists to a recent eruption of Vesuvius, four hundred miles away.

We breakfasted off hard-boiled eggs and presently set out towards the valley with an escort of a dozen of the guerillas. We went slowly, for we were not yet in training, and, after some four hours' walk across the plateau and down the gorge leading from it, came out on to a ridge overlooking Shengyerg. [361] There we halted and through our glasses studied the white houses scattered over the hillside, each at least half a mile from its neighbour. Among them, distinguishable from the others only by its squat minaret, stood a mosque; for despite its name, [745] which in Albanian means Saint George, Shengyerg was a Moslem village. We could detect no sign of anything untoward and so made our way quite openly down to the house which belonged to Seymour's interpreter, a schoolmaster named Shaqir. There we stopped for a midday rest and, after restoring our carbohydrates with a bottle of cherry brandy — a most welcome gift which the British Mission had sent us in greeting — attacked the lavish if starchy fare which our host presently set before us.

*669 Shengyerg was a place of some strategic importance for it was the terminus of a motor road, at this time[1] still blocked by

1 [late April 1944 -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E G1

241 grew wheat, oats, and other cereals, as well as maize, the staple food of the poorer classes. The slopes of the hills were covered with olives, and altogether the country round Elbasan seemed "a land flowing with milk and honey". [231] Honey in the literal sense, however, is a neglected product, and is only gathered wild, though in a country like Albania, which is exceedingly rich in flowers, scientific bee-keeping ought to be a profitable adjunct to vegetable and fruit growing.

792 Excursions farther afield were made possible by the kindness of the prefect of Elbasan, Mr. Izet Dibra, who placed a Ford car at my disposal. One such excursion took me to a Becktashi, or dervish, monastery, and another to a Greek monastery, both visits proving of considerable interest. At the first we (for Mr. Nossi was with me) were received by a dignified old priest who was wearing the same kind of flowing white robes and tall white hat as the dervish I had met at Koritza. While we sat in a vine-covered arbour outside the entrance smoking cigarettes and drinking coffee he told us how the monastery had been attacked during the revolution of 1914 by adherents of the Sunni sect. The revolution was that in which Prince William of Wied, the [795] regent, was deposed; and the Sunis are a sect of Mohammedans who hate their fellow religionists the Becktashis with a hatred only possible to religious fanatics. Under cover of the revolution they not only burned down the monastery chapel, but also arrested the old "baba" (priest) who was entertaining us, and kept him in prison

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

conference, it will be remembered, condemned both the Protestant Ecumenical Movement and the Vatican, "center of Fascism and of plots against the Slavic peoples." 795 ● 653

The fact that the Primate, Archbishop Christopher Kissi, did not attend any of these assemblies was strongly indicative of a lack of appreciation for Communist conceptions of the role and functions of the Church. Indeed, it would have been strange if he had attended. The Orthodox Church, like all other religious bodies in Albania, had suffered from the Land Reform Law promulgated during August, 1945, which gave the Party the right to confiscate and nationalize property it has claimed elsewhere. By the close of 1948, Moslem and Orthodox ecclesiastics were completely dependent financially on the state. During the next year, the Archbishop was deposed and arrested. The government's published contention was that he "had worked against our interests and the interests of the people by collaborating with the Unitarian Church during the period of Fascist occupation." Two other prelates, Bishop Ireneo and Bishop Agathangjeli, were arrested. How many other members of the clergy have been taken into custody, deported to labor camps, or executed, no one knows. There is a report that Bishop Irenaeus Banushi was put to death during 1947. 793 661 [423]

However, the full fury of Hoxha's enmity fell upon the Roman Catholic Church. The Germans had withdrawn in November, 1944. A month later the government seized all printing establishments, and the Catholic press was abolished. At the same time a number of ecclesiastical offices were searched, and some members of the clergy were taken into custody. Religious youth organizations were banned, and only the Antifascist Youth Front, avowedly pro-Communist, was permitted to function. In February, 1945, the first "People's Court" to convene in Scutari sentenced one of the best known Al- 795 661 [883]

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

795 banian writers, the Reverend Lazarus Shanjoha, to death. He
661 had favored close ties of friendship with Italy for many years, and so the sentence was ascribed to the National Liberation Front's fanatical detestation of all things Italian, and not to antireligious prejudice.

659 Ilya Ehrenburg, major Soviet propagandist, visited Al-
668 bania during the November of 1945. Upon his return to Mos-
687 cow he described Scutari, more than half the population of which was Roman Catholic, as a vicious hotbed of reaction. At the time of his visit the city was preparing for its first post-war elections. A handful of students at the diocesan seminary for the training of priests circulated mimeographed sheets urging that the recipients vote against the National Front. These sheets bore the signature of the "Albanian Union." Spurred on by Ehrenburg's denunciation, the government jailed and tortured some of the distributors. They revealed the names of the seminarians, who as a matter of fact constituted the complete membership of the Albanian Union. A spectacular trial of those held guilty of having plotted to overthrow the State with the help of "Anglo-American imperialists" became in reality a forum before which the Catholic Church was indicted for high treason. The Rector of the seminary and one of his fellow Jesuits were accused of responsibility for the conspiracy, found guilty, and executed. Others received heavy prison sentences. Nowhere else had a court acted more grimly.

659 The liquidation of virtually all Catholic activities followed
798 swiftly, with more cruel and vengeful treatment of the clergy
661 than has been witnessed even in Hungary and Yugoslavia. The Papal Nuncio was expelled, as were all priests and religious born in Italy. Education was reserved to the State, even nursery schools being taken from the Church. Catholic Action was suppressed. The seminaries were closed. Ecclesias-

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe

Albania EG1

659 The legal status of religious establishments was clarified
671 by a law dated November 26, 1949. The principal stipulations were these:

All clergymen or lay officials must be approved by the State; and any who act illegally "must be dismissed from their posts immediately."

Any communication addressed to the public by a Church official—speech, message, or pastoral letter—must be submitted in advance for censorship.

The education of youth is conducted by the State, and "religious institutions have nothing to do with it."

Religious orders were not to assume management of any hospital or other charitable institution, or to possess real property.

● 795 Measures taken against the Catholic minority were so bru-
661 tal that even Communist functionaries protested. At a Congress of the People's Party, held on March 31, 1952, General Hoxha sternly upbraided Tuk Jakova, one of the principal Communist Party leaders, for questioning the wisdom of the persecution. Hoxha's words, as reprinted, read in part:

> Comrade Tuk Jakova, disassociating himself from the political program of the Party and of the State in so far as religion and in particular the Catholic clergy are concerned, has not evinced the right attitude toward this clergy or acted against it vigorously. Not seeing the very grave danger which is present in the reactionary clergy, Comrade Jakova has not hated them in an adequate way.

It would therefore appear that while Mohammedanism has been spared the full rigors of the antireligious crusade in Albania, the Christian Churches have suffered as perhaps nowhere else in satellite Europe. Bereft of leadership and of education, depleted through violent death, deportation to labor camps, and escape to other countries, they have been reduced to a status almost as primitive as that of the Churches

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1
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A.
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in the Soviet Union itself prior to the War against Hitler. They are almost wholly isolated. Information concerning the cultural life of the Albanian people is limited to what can be obtained from broadcasts over the government radio station.

A.
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Hoxha did not join forces with Marshal Tito when that leader broke with the Kremlin, but was soon made aware that Albania was wholly isolated and that his Yugoslav neighbor gave asylum to dissidents who plotted a *coup d'état*. That such an undertaking might well meet with success seems probable. But Italy retains its interest in the strategic and economic advantages of the Albanian area, and its assent would be required; and currently, with the struggle for Trieste in the foreground, no entente is conceivable. The Russians apparently maintain a small body of troops in the vicinity of Tirana, but have in no other wise manifested great concern. Apparently they consider Hoxha a negligible problem child. It is apparent, however, that the Russian garrison makes impossible any attempt to overthrow the dictatorship from within the country.

II

B
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The fate of the three erstwhile Baltic Republics—Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia—illustrates the sad truth that in troubled and imperialistic parts of the world it does not pay to be a small nation. Each of the three had a solid folk or tribal core round which language, mores, and religious tradition had developed. For brief periods each managed to acquire a precarious independence. But they lay along the great Baltic seacoast route from Western Europe. German colonization efforts, spearheaded by the Teutonic Knights, went this way, and later came solidly entrenched land barons. There were periods of Swedish and Polish domination. Finally, as a result of the Treaty of Nystad, which in 1721 ended the Swedish

RITUAL LIFE

[124] 162 FORTY-TWO per cent of our series was recorded as Catholic, and the rest, except for one man,[1] as Moslem. These figures reflect the approximate proportions of the 2 faiths in Ghegnia. Their territorial distribution is shown on figure 3. All of Mirdita, all of Dukagin, about half of Malsia e Madhe, most of Zadrima, and some *bairaks* of Mati, Puka, and Malsia e Jakovës are Catholic. Catholics occupy on the whole the least accessible areas, and those closest to Rome. Moslems occupy those nearest the direction of Istanbul, along the main roads, and in the vicinity of the larger towns.

795 793 While Islam is but 4 centuries old in Albania, Catholicism has been there at least 4 times as long. During the last 12 centuries many changes have taken place in the number and location of bishoprics and parishes, and in the number of communicants. At the time of our study, there was a bishop in Zadrima, to whom the parish priests of Mirdita reported; another took care of the territory north of the Drin. Some of the priests, like Father Krasnichi whom we visited in Mirdita, were native Albanians trained in Rome, others Austrians, Germans, or Italians. All were men of physical stamina and courage, for theirs was a difficult and rigorous assignment. Some were [792] Franciscans. In Zadrima, near the bishop's residence, was a nunnery with about a dozen inhabitants.

795 Many of the Moslems of northern Albania belong to an extremely heterodox brotherhood, that of the Bektashi. The tomb of the founder of the order lies in the inner recess of a long cave, really an ancient sandstone quarry, in the cliff outside the city of Cairo. His successor lives in a house at the entrance to the cave. The head of the order and all of his henchmen in residence are Albanians. The reason for this curious circumstance is that the Khedivial family of Egypt was originally Albanian, and they brought their spiritual chief, with the coffins

[1] Both parents came from Dibra. He was Greek Orthodox, how or why I could not discover.

[See cat 116, p. 35c -- Analyst]

795 of his predecessors, to Cairo with them. Although for two generations the royal family has abjured the Bektashi tenets and worshipped according to Hanafi rites, the shrine and its occupants remain. Young men who wish to become dervishes go, if they are able, to Cairo,

[162]

FIG. 3. Territorial distribution of religions.

[191] and receive their instruction at the central shrine. That is why many of the dervishes in Ghegnia spoke Arabic, and had some knowledge of other Moslem countries. Besides the [792] village dervishes, the Bektashis have a number of monasteries, located in Has and Malsia e Jakovës. We measured the abbot of one of them, who was a Has man.

795 Despite its centuries in Ghegnia, Catholicism
182 has failed to change many of the customs of the mountaineers, such as the *fis* system with cross-cousin marriage, trial marriage, the levirate, blood brotherhood, and the swearing of virginity. The reason is of course that the needs which these customs fill have not been eliminated. The Moslem faith permits them and thus has become more popular. Islam is deemed the more fashionable and more civilized religion. The people of the towns, rich men, army officers, and other sophisticates are usually Moslems. Most Catholics are poor. This attitude is of course a hold-over from the period of Turkish domination. Many Albanians admired the Turks. Many spoke Turkish by preference. I recall once riding along a lane in Zadrima with my interpreter, Mr. Frasheri, who reprimanded 2 old harvesters whom we passed for talking Turkish together. Bishop Fan Noli suggests that they may have been Turkish-speaking refugees from the towns of Prizren, Peia, or Podgoritza.

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795 There is a certain dietary difference between
262 Catholics and Moslems. The former eat pork,
273 especially in the wintertime. The Moslems curl up their nostrils and gag at the smell of pork, and will not enter a room where it is cooking. In its place they use much mutton fat in their cooking. Catholics drink wine when they can get it; Moslems care for their alcoholic needs with *raki*. These differences are probably of no biological importance, as far as the growth and development of the individual are concerned, but they do serve to intensify the mutual antipathy of the 2 religious groups and inhibit a genetic interchange.

582 In Lura, in a population not exceeding a few
178 hundred individuals, Catholics and Moslems
795 intermarry. In a single household the father may be Catholic, the mother Moslem, and the children will choose their own religions. This is the only place in Ghegnia where this happens. Lura is in process of change from Catholicism to Islam. As the latter gains ground, mixed households are found. The government of Ahmed Zog made much of this isolated situation, urging other Albanians to follow the example of the Lurans in the interests of national unity.

178 Various stages in this process of shifting are
795 found in different tribes and *bairaks*. In Mer-

In Mer –.

178 795 [55] turi and Nikaj, the men adopt 2 sets of names, Moslem and Christian, and employ the former while traveling to avoid trouble. They get used to these names and in many cases use them at home. In Hoti, the *bairaktar* once led his men against the invading Serbs, with the help of the Turkish government. In gratitude for his brave and successful conduct the Turks granted him special privileges, and he went over, with his family, to Islam. The rest of the *bairak* is still mostly Catholic, but the tendency in such a case is for the others to follow the leader. In Lura, where mixed families are found, the Catholics have given up keeping pigs so as not to offend the Moslems, and celebrate Moslem festivals as well as Christian ones, to avoid trouble. Very rarely a Mirdite will marry a Moslem woman from Mati, but when he does she becomes Catholic.

797 144 When the Turks introduced Islam, all Ghegs were Catholics. Almost exclusively, the change has been in the Moslem direction. Hence we may assume that almost none of the present-day Catholics bear genetic elements brought in from outside the region by the Turks or their followers, while the same is not necessarily true of the Moslem Ghegs. *Bairak* by *bairak* and tribe by tribe, as conversion progressed, the line between the 2 religions has remained, by and large, a marital barrier. During the whole period of the Turkish rule, Catholics have furthermore been able to travel much less widely than Moslems, with resultant genetic implications.

771 In Albania one frequently hears the remark that "the Albanians are not very religious." This is usually said with pride, for the presence of 3 religions in so small a country is deemed a dangerous impediment to political unity. In one sense, the remark is quite true. Few Albanians are religious fanatics; few of them worry about their spiritual salvation. Most of the Catholics go to church with some regularity, and most of the Moslems keep Ramadan. However, their ancient way of life provides most of the ritual which they need to tide them over emotional crises, so that church and mosque are in many ways superfluous. A 771 596 man's first loyalty is to his "blood," that is, his extended family. He spends much of his time, effort, and material goods keeping the family together and avenging any deed which has up-

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

retired to the pasturage of Beston, which the shepherd gave to his daughter, taking with them the sheep which constituted Clement's wages. Here they settled down and prospered, leaving behind them great wealth in flocks, and a numerous family of descendants. At the present day the tribe of the Clementi number 500 families, or 5400 souls.

Social morality is pushed to its extremest limit by the Miridite mountaineers. Though their women enjoy the greatest freedom, an unmarried girl cannot, out of doors, speak to a man not a relative of her family without risking the loss of her reputation, a calamity which few would care to survive. M. Hecquard cites a case in point, related to him by an Albanian *abbé*, which well illustrates the value that an Albanian girl sets on her honour. A man happened to remark in joke to a girl, the sister of one of his friends, and before several other persons, that he had seen her in conversation with a young man, whose name he mentioned. On the following Easter Sunday, when all the tribe were congregated, the girl, who was under fifteen, on leaving the church after partaking, as is customary on that day, of the Eucharist, called God to witness to her innocence, and seizing a pistol from one of her relatives, shot herself through the heart. Two days afterwards, the man whose careless words had been the cause of the tragedy fell by the hand of the victim's brother.

Among the Albanians exogamy is the general rule, which is carried out by the Miridite chieftains to the extent of carrying off by force a woman from one of the neighbouring Moslem tribes. The wives of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

not been unfrequent even in the present century, and 797
the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders 175
to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian [167]
agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, makes it probable that in course of time the country may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians 771
have among the Turks the reputation of being but 184
indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of the Albanians who call themselves members of the Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem [582]
women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the [869]
faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ; Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Christians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints [755]
for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while [778]
Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The [779]
Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administration of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of 796
Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary 771
of the departure of her image from the Latin church in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems participate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years 173

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Skiperi would Our Lady of Scutari forgive her 173
children, and return to her ancient shrine.

The scene on this day in the great square building, 796
which, with its bare walls and absence of ornament, [346]
bears little resemblance to a Romish church, is most
striking and strange. The mass performed on the
occasion is listened to by a congregation whose
waists are perfect arsenals, bristling with pistols and
yataghans of every shape and pattern. There are [291]
wild-looking, fierce-moustachioed highlanders, white- [411]
kilted Mussulmans, chieftains blazing with gold em-
broidery, and milder citizens in more homely garb, all
assembled in honour of the Madonna, before whose
shrine their ancestors had worshipped. Yet, notwith-
standing their participation in the religious rites of 577
their neighbours, the Albanians are not less tenacious 579
of their own honour than of that of the creed they
profess, any insult offered to a Christian church being
promptly retaliated upon a Moslem mosque, and *vice
versâ*. Of this the following incident, which occurred
about the middle of the century, offers a striking
illustration.

A certain Tahir Mala, of Bugna, belonging to the 585
Moslem tribe of the Gascii, having married his son to
a maiden of the Christian Schialla, set out to bring
the bride home, accompanied, according to national
custom, by a numerous train, and preceded by the
tribal banners. On the return journey, they stopped,
as usual, every now and then to fire volleys into the air.
Their way, however, lying past a Christian cemetery,
the cross, standing in the midst, offered a mark for
their pistols too tempting to be resisted, and was soon 798

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XI

MASS IN THE CHURCH OF THETHIS—A MOUNTAIN CHIEF SEEKS A WIFE—DOWN THE VALLEY OF THE LUMI SHALA, WHILE THE DRANGOJT FIGHT THE DRAGON—HOW REXH CAME TO SCUTARI.

THE next morning was Sunday, and we were awakened by the church bell. It hung in a belfry over the padre's kitchen, and the padre pulled the rope himself. Then tucking his brown robe about his bare ankles, he descended the broken, draughty stairs to the church, and we followed him through blasts of cold rain that the wind drove through holes that had been made in the walls by the invading Serbs. 796

The church itself was bleak and cold; a bare room, whitewashed, with the stations of the Cross represented by crudely colored lithographs stained by the damp. A railing separated the body of the church from the altar, where a very brightly colored picture of the Virgin hung, surrounded by wreaths of paper flowers, above a rough table with a bit of brocade spread carefully upon it. We girls were given a bench inside the railing, and sat there in a row, in our many-times-water-soaked sweaters and trousers. Outside the railing all the women and [346]

PEAKS OF SHALA

796 children and half the men of the village knelt on the cold floor, and their rain-drenched garments, threadbare and patched, made pools of water about their knees. The rain was still pouring down, as undiminished as a river, and the sound of it and of the waterfalls filled the chill place.

Padre Marjan began the mass, his high Albanian voice chanting the Latin, and the congregation made the responses in the same tongue. A ragged, barefooted man came to swing the censer for the padre, and Perolli, in his neat English tweeds, revolver and knife swinging at the belt, also assisted, going behind the altar with the padre to help him put a brocaded robe over the brown one, and reverently handing the cup and the wine. Rexh, in his red Mohammedan fez, watched it all with serious eyes, his head around the edge of the doorway.

851 After mass the padre dashed upstairs to look at our cooking dinner, and hastened down again for a christening.[1] I am not familiar with Catholic ceremonial, but nothing could have been more touching than Padre Marjan, thin, worn by fasting and work, barefooted, the edge of his brown robe showing below the front hem of a white cotton garment, bringing into the arms of the Church the tiny, wrinkled infant strapped in its painted cradle. The woman who held it looked at him with a sort of apprehensive anxiety; the crowd pressed informally around them. Every time the padre turned to fetch the little glass bottle of oil, or the tin can of holy

[1] [In church of Upper Thethis--[204] Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

682 dependent on charity. At best the elders fixed a sum to be paid by
*628 the murderer for leave to work his own land: the money paid, the avenger gave his word not to molest him; or a 'strong' friend guaranteed his safety as he tilled his fields. This arrangement continued until he was killed elsewhere or the avenger consented to make peace.

*628 Various devices were tried to outwit an avenger too venomous
[562] to make the smallest concession to his 'imprisoned' enemy. The
[627] commonest was for the murderer to let his land to a neutral on the usual Albanian terms of 'halves'. Once some men of Lurë, trusting to the prevailing immunity of women from attack, dressed in their wives' clothes and went out to work. They were soon discovered and compelled to return home. Frequently a woman was made to work alongside the men, the assumption being that from fear of accidentally hitting the women and so disgracing himself the avenger would not fire on the party. The man who murdered the brother of Kodhel Dede of Nezhar in Shpat belonged to a large family, the members of which went to work with a woman between every two men. Kodhel thus found it impossible to kill one of them and after a long period of years made peace. Sometimes a man's wife kept watch while he worked; if she signalled the enemy's approach, he seized his rifle and prepared to defend himself. During Kodhel Dede's feud with the Trepsanishti family he found himself long baulked by the vigilance of his enemy's wife.
[796] At last his chance came on the eve of 15 August. The wife had her
[782] mind set on making *melata* (sacrificial foods) for distribution on the festival, and, forgetting her husband who was at work on the threshing floor, she went home to make them. Kodhel, who had crept up through a maize field, shot her husband as soon as her back was turned. In the hilly landscape of Fulqet in west Mat a different sort of watch was kept. The 'imprisoned' men, aided by friends, dug a hole on top of a hill commanding a wide view. One of their best shots, rifle in hand, settled down in this hole ready to snipe the avenger if he tried to kill any of the men at work.

*628 Work in the fields apart, an 'imprisoned' murderer might for
572 short periods leave his house under escort of a friend. This friend
682 had to be 'strong', otherwise the murderer might be killed by his enemy, a lasting disgrace to the man whose protégé he was for the time being. Sometimes murderer and avenger had a common friend who took the former out; in that case the friend ran less risk

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

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In Homoljski district the deliverer not only performed the symbolical opening of the fetters, but drew his 'brother' under the pot chains or through a hoop made by a wild-rose-tree branch which was split, or under a branch of the tree bent to the ground to form an arch. At Sokobanja, also, the rite could be done at the hearth. Brotherhood in the ordinary way could be made at the hearth and by passing under the pot chains. Touching the pot chains among the Albanians gave a fugitive the right of asylum, and automatically involved the householder's *besa*. Should a pilgrim to the monastery of St John of Rila, when creeping through an opening in a certain stone as custom recommends, not be able to get through and another gave him his hand to help him, they afterwards went before a priest to get a blessing on their accidental brotherhood.[1] In the district of Homoljski there are further purifications with water, elaborate burials or floating away of objects used in the rites, fumigation and drinking potions, e.g. of the coals used for the divining, etc., etc. The purpose that is understood is shown by the burial of a bird or animal under the tree which has been used. The rite of redemption can be done thus:

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On the eve of a feast day the seeress clears a space round a wild-rose bush which has sprouted that year, scatters ashes on the roots and leaves a piece of bread there. Crossing herself and walking backwards she repeats: 'I have seen you (this is said to the young branches), you have not seen me or him', until she catches sight of a living creature. Then she stops, turns her back to the tree, crosses herself with her left hand and says: 'As he looked at you so look at him.' She leaves immediately without looking back. Before the next dawn, she, the redeemer, the sick person and the latter's mother, go to the bush again, the mother having made ready a jar of water drawn at midnight, a bunch of basil,

[1] *v.* Načov, *op. cit.* The rites of creeping under something may be compared with the old Norse ceremony of making brotherhood by creeping under a 'halter of turf'; cf. K. Weinhold, *Altnordisches Leben* (Berlin, 1886), p. 287.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

CHAPTER X.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR CULTURE-BELIEFS.

779 THOUGH speaking the same language, observing the same customs, and cherishing the same traditions and aspirations, the Albanians, as may have been seen from the foregoing chapter, are, in matters of religious belief, divided by three Creeds, the Moslem, Orthodox Greek, and Roman Catholic. The Moslems constitute about one-half of the population, and of the remaining half the majority follow the rites of the Eastern Church.

●797 175 After the loss of their independence the Albanians began by degrees to abandon the faith of their forefathers for that of their conquerors. Islam, however, made but slow progress among them until towards the close of the sixteenth century, when the Porte promulgated a law assuring the possession of their property to those Albanian families who would bring up one of their sons in the Moslem faith. A Tosk proverb [538] says, "Where the sword is, there is the faith;" and the advantages which a nation of mercenary soldiers could not fail to find in belonging to the religion of the dominant race, soon made conversion so general that the populations of whole villages, towns, and even districts would simultaneously apostatise to Islam. Wholesale perversions, such as these, have

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

not been unfrequent even in the present century, and 797
the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders 175
to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian
agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere, [167]
makes it probable that in course of time the country
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Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians 771
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faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ;
Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian
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tians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints [755]
for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while [778]
Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-
beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which
both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The [779]
Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast
adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of
the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some
Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administra-
tion of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of 796
Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary 771
of the departure of her image from the Latin church
in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems par-
ticipate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief
of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years 173

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

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known in European history by his Turkish name 795
of Iskander Bey Scanderbeg—who successfully revolted against Turkey and maintained Albanian independence for twenty-five years, defeating the Turks in thirteen great battles and innumerable small ones. After his death in 1467 [797]
some of the chiefs of the central mountain tribes, exhausted by a quarter century of war and confronting fresh Turkish armies, purchased their actual independence by a verbal submission and became nominally Mohammedan. When the Bechtaski sect—which may roughly be said to bear the relation to Islam that the Methodist bears to the Church of Rome—rose in Turkey, it found its most fertile ground among these Mohammedan Albanians. The northern mountain tribes have always remained Roman Catholic, and southern Albania Greek Catholic.

None of these creeds, however, have affected 771
national unity—Albania is the only Balkan 184
country in which religion and nationality are not synonymous—and all of them are rooted shallowly above the old religion of Albanians, which is the formless belief in a Great Unknown from which sprang the gods and mythology of ancient Greece. In southern Albania you will still hear the people taking oath *per keie djelle eghe per kete hene* (by the power of the sun and the moon). You will still hear them calling upon Zeus—Zaa or Zee, the Voice—and upon Athena—E Thana, The Intelligence. In the north, the Catholic mountaineer greets the rising sun with the sign

[See cat. 795, pp. [293] 292-293 -- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

I Go a-Missionising

it might be renewed. I had a most uncomfortable night in a bedroom with three beds, of which two were occupied by Albanians who slept in their clothes and snored. The third bed I shared with a host of predatory creatures who seemed to have been fasting for months in anticipation of my arrival. At five the next morning, when I had sunk from sheer exhaustion into a fitful slumber, I was aroused by the other two men getting up, and saw my late antagonists, bloated and swollen with their feast, slowly climbing the wall. Even at eight there were still a few stragglers toiling painfully homewards—the rearguard of the victorious army.

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The Missionary School is a private philanthropic concern, not as yet under the U.S. Missionary Board. It has been kept going, in the face of many difficulties, practically continuously since 1908. The Greeks, who were at that time in power, knowing that their treatment of the Albanian people was not likely to increase their prestige in either Great Britain or America, had no desire that an American should be a witness of it, and threw every possible obstacle in the way of the establishment of the school. It speaks highly for Mr. Kennedy's persistence that in spite of this he succeeded in his endeavour. The school is strictly non-sectarian and at the present time is attended by a large number of scholars, both Christian and Mohammedan.

On the afternoon of the Sunday which I spent at Koritza we went out a-missionising. A conveyance of the buggy type took us to a village in the plain which offered I suppose, a promising field. The journey was not speedy,

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2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

Converting the Imaum

Permission was thereupon[1] asked to hold a " meeting ". But at this there was some hesitation, since the head-man himself was away and in his absence no one cared to accept the responsibility of granting such permission. Failing the meeting, we now asked to be allowed to see the village school and were at once taken to a little room adjoining the mosque, wherein sat a dozen boys in fezzes of every conceivable shape and pattern receiving instruction from a young Albanian school-teacher. The lesson was suspended and we were given seats, the boys staring at us meanwhile with interest and curiosity.

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After some general conversation—which, of course, I was unable to follow, as it was in Albanian—the missionary produced a bundle of leaflets and having distributed them began what was, I imagine, a little sermon or homily. To this the imaum, the teacher, and the scholars listened attentively, the imaum nodding his head at every remark with which he found himself in agreement. The boys then sang to us—a horrible noise—and Mr. and Mrs. Kennedy replied with a duet from the hymn-book. This ended the proceedings.

I admired the missionary's tactful determination, but I admired the tolerance of the imaum still more. What English parson would permit a Mohammedan priest to interrupt the village school with a sermon and a distribution of Mohammedan tracts ?

Later that day I had another object-lesson of the same kind. We visited a monastery belonging to the Dervish sect of the Mohammedans, an influential body who owned

[1] [by American missionary of imaum in village near Koritza --- Analyst]

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG-1

To the Land of the Eagle

797 most of the surrounding land. The head of the fraternity received us in an upper room furnished in Turkish fashion with carpets, divans, and cushions. He was a big man with a great brown beard, a prominent nose, and a huge white hat, and he sat cross-legged in the Oriental way. After he had entertained us with coffee, cigarettes, and conversation, the harmonium was carried upstairs and deposited in the middle of the room—an astonishing anachronism in that atmosphere of Omar Khayyam—and hymns were sung to him for the good of his soul. Leaflets were left, as if by accident, on the divan, as well as a hymn-book—all printed in Albanian—and so a little more of "the Lord's work"
000 was accomplished. But I wished I could see into the dervish's mind and read what he really thought of it all. And I wondered what would happen if he were to turn the tables and attempt a little missionary work on his own account. The situation would have been unusual, and might have proved amusing.

The translation of the Bible into a somewhat limited language like Albanian has its pitfalls. In one of Mr. Kennedy's tracts the quotation "Blessed are the poor in spirit" occurred. This, unfortunately, had been rendered by the Albanian translator, and, more unluckily still, had been printed by the printer, as "Blessed are the weak-minded"!
538 The dervish, in answer to a question I put to him through Mr. Kennedy, said that there was no Albanian literature, and that such poetry and legend as there was had survived only through being handed down orally. This, he explained,

In Mer –

178 turi and Nikaj, the men adopt 2 sets of names,
795 Moslem and Christian, and employ the former
[55] while traveling to avoid trouble. They get used to these names and in many cases use them at home. In Hoti, the *bairaktar* once led his men against the invading Serbs, with the help of the Turkish government. In gratitude for his brave and successful conduct the Turks granted him special privileges, and he went over, with his family, to Islam. The rest of the *bairak* is still mostly Catholic, but the tendency in such a case is for the others to follow the leader. In Lura, where mixed families are found, the Catholics have given up keeping pigs so as not to offend the Moslems, and celebrate Moslem festivals as well as Christian ones, to avoid trouble. Very rarely a Mirdite will marry a Moslem woman from Mati, but when he does she becomes Catholic.

797 When the Turks introduced Islam, all
144 Ghegs were Catholics. Almost exclusively, the change has been in the Moslem direction. Hence we may assume that almost none of the present-day Catholics bear genetic elements brought in from outside the region by the Turks or their followers, while the same is not necessarily true of the Moslem Ghegs. *Bairak* by *bairak* and tribe by tribe, as conversion progressed, the line between the 2 religions has remained, by and large, a marital barrier. During the whole period of the Turkish rule, Catholics have furthermore been able to travel much less widely than Moslems, with resultant genetic implications.

771 In Albania one frequently hears the remark that "the Albanians are not very religious." This is usually said with pride, for the presence of 3 religions in so small a country is deemed a dangerous impediment to political unity. In one sense, the remark is quite true. Few Albanians are religious fanatics; few of them worry about their spiritual salvation. Most of the Catholics go to church with some regularity, and most of the Moslems keep Ramadan. However, their ancient way of life provides most of the ritual which they need to tide them over emotional crises, so that church and
771 mosque are in many ways superfluous. A
596 man's first loyalty is to his "blood," that is, his extended family. He spends much of his time, effort, and material goods keeping the family together and avenging any deed which has up-

175 road must have been much less patronized, for there was no one either to keep it up or guard it. Furthermore, what goods would come out of Moesia and Dacia would go to Byzantium rather than to Rome. In the 4th and 5th centuries A.D., the Goths over-ran parts of eastern Ghegnia, and traditions about them remain in the tribe of Luma, where some of these northerners may have settled. In A.D. 535, Justinian defeated them and claimed Ghegnia for the Eastern Empire.

175 797 It was probably just at the period when the traffic over the Puka road was at its height, about the 4th century of the Christian era, that the tribesmen on either side of it may have been first converted to Christianity. Constantine himself, the first Christian emperor, may have passed through Ghegnia, for he was a Dardanian, a native of Niš. Our first record of Christian establishments in the mountains is dated A.D. 877[13] when there was already a bishop at Pulati, and by the 14th century we hear of 2 bishoprics, Pulatenses Majores and Pulatenses Minores, which were united in 1520. Another bishopric had its seat in the village of Drivasto (Drishti), in Postripa.[14]

175 Early in the 6th century the southern Slavs invaded the Balkans. A century later some of them moved westward from the Plain of Kossovo through the Drin Gates into Gheg territory, probably following the old Roman road. Their arrival at the Adriatic is still memorialized by the Slavic name of the tribe Zadrima, and a number of other place names. For 700 years the Serbian kings maintained a nominal rule over this mountain country. Now and then they disturbed the Catholic Albanian population, as in 1335, when the Tzar Dushan gave to the Orthodox monastery of Dechani[15] the land of the village of Summa, on the right bank of the Kiri in the Pulati bishopric, along with neighboring Albanian districts, and a number of bondsmen whose names read very much like those on our measurement blanks. Between 1372 and 1427, "Helena, widow of Stefan Dushan, and her son, Urosh [sic], 'vexed most bitterly the Catholics, and spoiled

1 1 [see p. 43b. Analyst]

[13] Durham, 1928, pp. 24–25, 28.

[14] Farlati, 1817, pp. ix–xiv, tells the story of these Albanian Bishoprics; see also Šufflay, 1916, p. 188.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

175 them of their goods, and reduced them to extreme poverty.' "[16]

During the Slavic period it is likely that the invaders had some effect upon the genetic composition of the mountain people, for Slavic names, such as Orosh, are common enough in Ghegnia, the Slavs certainly had access to much of the country, and Slavic speech had a considerable effect on the Albanian vocabulary. This was not, however, as important an invasion from the standpoint of biological interest as others that followed.

During the brief period between the end of the Old Serbian Empire and the time of the Turks, the Ghegs were left alone. The Turks began their invasion of Albania at the end of the 14th century, after the battle of Kossovo, in 1389. They met in battle the formidable Scanderbeg[17] (George Castrioti), the most famous of all Ghegs. He and his successors held them off from his fortress at Kruja (or Croya) until after 1479, the date of the fall of Scutari. The Turks never won control of all the highlands. Indeed, all of Mirdita and Dukagin, and parts of other tribes, remained Catholic throughout the Turkish period. Remaining Catholic meant that they were able to keep their country free of Turks. It also [553] meant that they usually stayed at home. However, many of the Christians adopted Moslem names which they used when they left their tribal territory to visit market towns, and this custom was still going on in 1929.

175 797 All of the Ghegs who were converted to Islam did not change their faith through necessity. Many of them saw solid advantages in making the shift. A Moslem could carry a gun openly anywhere, and could shoot Christians at will, for they were outlaws. He could travel in Turkish territory without having to worry about being caught, and he could obtain many economic advantages over his Christian relatives, whose marital arrangements, unlike his own, produced a religious conflict. He could join the Turkish army, and rise to high rank; many Turkish generals were Albanians. Other Albanians became high court officials. One of

[16] Durham, 1928, p. 29.
[17] Durham, 1928, pp. 24–25
[17] See Fan Noli, 1947.

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)1950 EG1 Albania EG1

175 797 them founded the royal house of present-day Egypt. The Turks appreciated their Albanian subjects and favored them over many others. That is one reason why three-fourths of Albanians are still Moslem, and why Albania remained so long a part of the Turkish Empire.

175 177 Although the Turks probably did not add much genetically to the Gheg population, they did introduce some economic changes which may have had some effect on it. It was through the Turks that New World plants reached the Balkans, although in some places not before 1850. They added maize, haricot beans, and tobacco to the list of plants which would grow in the valleys and on the mountain slopes. Maize and haricot beans gave them new foodstuffs, but it is questionable if they yield more calories per acre than the earlier crops—small grains and broad-beans. Tobacco gave the mountaineers a new habit and a new need, and also a cash crop. On the debit side of the ledger, with their religion the Turks produced a prohibition against pork, ~~and de~~prived their converts of an important food source.

Besides these agricultural and dietary changes the Turks introduced *hans*, or inns, 1 along the more traveled roads in Moslem territory. Some of these *hans* probably occupy the same locations as Roman hostels. The professions of *hanji* (innkeeper), and *kiraji* (renter of horses) seem to have been Turkish innovations. In Turkish times, many Albanians [166] migrated to other countries; tens of thousands went to the Plain of Kossovo, apparently from the Gheg country, and many others to Greece, where there are still Albanian-speaking districts in Attica and the Peloponnesus. Many thousands entered the Turkish army, and other government services. Meanwhile, tens of thousands of Christian Albanians, fleeing the Turks, settled in Italy and Sicily, where their descendants still maintain their ethnic identity.

Probably the most important single introduction of the Turks, however, was firearms. Gunsmiths in the market towns found the mountaineers eager to obtain the new weapons with which they could not only defend their home valleys from invaders, but also work off

1 [see cat 116, pp. 20b-21a. -- Analyst]

[14] See Jireček, 1916, pp. 63–93.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

the Gruda church was built three hundred and eighty years ago, soon after their arrival. This dates their settlement at the beginning of the sixteenth century—that is, after the Turks had annexed Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Djell and Berisha stocks are intermarriageable. About half the tribe was Catholic and half Moslem. It is now scattered and partly destroyed. The Powers awarded it to Montenegro in 1913 as a war

FIG. 1.—SKETCH MAP OF ALBANIAN TRIBES IN 1913

prize in spite of the prayers of the people. It was devastated and many refugees fled to Scutari. Again, after the Great War, it was badly handled by the incoming Serbs, who were active against Moslem and Catholic alike. They even tore the rings from the hands of a poor old lady whose only crime was that she was Catholic. I saw many hapless refugees in Scutari in 1921, but was powerless to help them. As in the days of the Turk, a new foe was forcing a shifting of the peoples.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

THE POSTRIPA GROUP

619 175 Postripa is obviously a name bequeathed by the Romans. It consists of five tribes, all included in the Diocese of Pulati. Much of Postripa is Moslem, for it was quarrelled about by several bishops. In 1702 Pope Clement XI, who was of Albanian blood on his mother's side, sent Vicentius Zmajevitch as Visitator Apostolicus, who reported among other lamentable things that three bishops were all claiming Postripa, and that meanwhile the people are left "without leader or shepherd, like a scattered flock subject to oppression and persecution."

In Postripa are included five tribes:—

619 175 614 1. *Mazreku.*—A small Catholic tribe. That the place was in ancient days a centre of civilization is shown by the considerable ruins of an abbey, Shenkol Shati, believed to have belonged to the Benedictines and to be the one mentioned by several ancient writers as not far from Scutari. It is now lost in a tangle of trees and brushwood. There is [784] a strong feeling throughout Albania against felling trees on the spot where a church once existed—a feeling that probably goes back to the very ancient days of sacred groves. The abbey presumably fell into ruin when the Serbs seized the district in the Middle Ages. The hatred [798] of the Serb Orthodox for the Catholics was shown in 1913 in the Balkan War, when the Montenegrin troops, whose object was said to be "to liberate Christians," fell upon the little church of Mazreku, trampled the Host under foot, dressed up in the priestly vestments, danced about, and amused themselves by cutting off the noses from images of the saints and firing bullets into the crucifix.

2. *Drishti.*—A small Moslem tribe that was almost annihilated in 1913 by the Montenegrins. Drishti is the site of the ancient city of Drivasto, in ancient days a bishopric, mentioned as early as 877. The town was entirely destroyed by the Turks, who beheaded the leaders before the walls of Scutari—then too besieged—in order to terrify the Scutarines into submission. The wasted spot was afterwards settled by incomers from the neighbourhood of mixed origin. And in the period when three bishops were quarrelling for Postripa the Drishti folk all turned Moslem.

3. *Shlaku.*—A tribe of one bairak on the right bank of the Drin, in a [775] very poor district. It is all Catholic and traces origin from Toplana (*q.v.*).

4. *Dushmani.*—A Catholic tribe of two bairaks—Temali and Dushmani. Dushmani takes its name from a chieftain family which ruled here. In 1403 "Goranimus, Damianus, and Nenada, brothers Dusmani, Lords of Polati Minor," offer themselves as subjects to Venice and swear fidelity on condition that Venice will guarantee them in possession

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Skiperi would Our Lady of Scutari forgive her 173
children, and return to her ancient shrine.

The scene on this day in the great square building, 796
which, with its bare walls and absence of ornament, [346]
bears little resemblance to a Romish church, is most
striking and strange. The mass performed on the
occasion is listened to by a congregation whose
waists are perfect arsenals, bristling with pistols and
yataghans of every shape and pattern. There are [291]
wild-looking, fierce-moustachioed highlanders, white- [411]
kilted Mussulmans, chieftains blazing with gold em-
broidery, and milder citizens in more homely garb, all
assembled in honour of the Madonna, before whose
shrine their ancestors had worshipped. Yet, notwith-
standing their participation in the religious rites of 577
their neighbours, the Albanians are not less tenacious 579
of their own honour than of that of the creed they
profess, any insult offered to a Christian church being
promptly retaliated upon a Moslem mosque, and *vice versâ*. Of this the following incident, which occurred
about the middle of the century, offers a striking
illustration.

A certain Tahir Mala, of Bugna, belonging to the 585
Moslem tribe of the Gascii, having married his son to
a maiden of the Christian Schialla, set out to bring
the bride home, accompanied, according to national
custom, by a numerous train, and preceded by the
tribal banners. On the return journey, they stopped,
as usual, every now and then to fire volleys into the air.
Their way, however, lying past a Christian cemetery,
the cross, standing in the midst, offered a mark for
their pistols too tempting to be resisted, and was soon 798

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

798 riddled with balls. The tribe of the Schialla, having heard of this insult to their religion, prepared to take vengeance for it; but, the offenders being out of reach, they made the family of Bobi, to which the bride belonged, responsible. The Bobi engaged to obtain satisfaction within a week, or pay the penalty, and on the morrow the young men of the family set off for Bugna, where they killed two nephews of Tahir Mala. Not content, however, with this retribution, they entered the mosque, where they killed a pig, rubbed the doors with its blood, and placed the head on the ledge of the pulpit.

798 579 628

The Moslems, at this profanation of their mosque, hastened to complain to Mustapha Pasha, of Skodra, who prepared to send a military expedition against the Bobi. The latter, with the rest of the Schialla tribe, placed themselves under the protection of the Miridite Prince, Prenk Doda, who threatened the Pasha that, if troops were sent against the Schialla, he would not only support them, but call all the Christian highlanders to arms. The Pasha, alarmed at the prospect of a religious war for which he would be held responsible, then agreed to let the insulted cross atone for the polluted mosque, and cry quits with the Christians.

795 The number of Albanians affiliated to the Bektashi Order of Dervishes is said to be no fewer than 80,000. The lax observance of even the outward forms of Islam, characteristic of the followers of Hadji Bektash generally, is more especially observable in the conduct of the Skipetars, and has occasionally subjected them to persecution from their Osmanli Moslem neigh-

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 Mohammedan can eat?" I asked. "They're Roman Catholics, aren't they? Shouldn't we have brought a Mohammedan into their house?"

"Oh, that makes no difference," said Perolli. • 798 "One religion or another—all religions are the same in the sight of God. Mohammedan or Catholic, we are all human, we all respect one another. No, our hosts don't mind the trouble; they're only sorry that they have nothing but pork in the house."

"What would happen, Rexh, if you ate pork without knowing it?" said I.

[262] "Nothing, Mrs. Lane. Nothing would happen even if I ate it, knowing I was doing it. But for me it is wrong to eat pork, so I would never do that. For these others," he explained, carefully, looking very serious and very twelve-year-old, "it is not wrong to eat pork. It is not the pork itself that matters, Mrs. Lane. It is doing what is wrong that matters. See"—he sat up, making his points gravely with straight forefinger—"some things are wrong for the Catholics to do; they are right for me. I can have nine wives, but the Catholics can have only one. They can eat pork, but that is wrong for me. There are many things like that. Each must do what he thinks is right. It does not matter what it is. Men think differently. But God knows whether they do what seems right to them. And in the end we all go to the same heaven, if we have been good."

"Good*ness*, Rexh!" I murmured, feebly. I

[77]

* [Rexh = Mohammedan -- Analyst]

ask you, is that the talk you would expect between Mohammedan and Catholic in the Near East? What about massacres, and holy wars, and all that?

"What about them?" said Perolli, when I asked him. "They may be in Asia Minor—though, myself, I think religion hasn't much to do with the fighting between Christian and Turk. But we don't have them in Albania. We are all Albanians, first. And second, the Virgin Mary is the mother of all good people, Mohammedan or Catholic. Why should we fight each other?"

And he told of Italy's attempt to block Albania's entry into the League of Nations by asserting that the people were Mohammedan, and of the Albanian Mohammedans' quiet retort in sending to Geneva a delegation led by an archbishop followed by I forget how many bishops. Then he told about the people in Kossova, who are both Catholic and Mohammedan, going to the mosque by day and attending mass by night; that is because they were conquered by the Turks, who told them they must become followers of Mohammed. "Very well," they said, since it made little difference to them. But then the priests told them that they must not forsake the Church. "Very well," they said again. And they are called in Albania a word which means, "half-and-half."

"All that is not important," said Perolli, his attention wandering, for the group around the

POSTSCRIPT

771 of the cross, and hears in his forests the voices
184 of the ora. This vague religion is unconscious. The Albanian himself does not recognize it, but it is the resisting subsoil which has prevented
[582] acknowledged religions from taking deep root. Families of all religions freely intermarry;
[292] Mohammedan women are unveiled, or Catholic women veiled, according to the fashion of their town; in the mountains neither are veiled. In Guri-Bardhe, a village of the Mati known as being fanatically Mohammedan, the women were quite willing to pose for photographs, and Limoni, the chief, was defying the local *hodji* by demanding a modern school; the *hodji* taught the children nothing worth while, he said. In the spring
[798] religious festivals—the two Easters and the fast of Ramazan—all Albanians in Tirana took part, and Mohammedan fezzes were thick in the midnight processions carrying Easter candles.

[186] There has never been friction along the frontiers of the three religions. All Albanians united to resist the Romanizing and Germanizing influence of Catholicism, the attempt of Shiek ul Islam to cripple the Albanian language by a Turkish alphabet (a revolution was fought, and won, for the Latin alphabet in 1910), and the Hellenizing propaganda of certain Orthodox Churchmen.

184 But there is a real division in Albania. It lies
578 between the Toshks, or southerners, and the Ghegs, who are the mountaineers. Men who have held their mountain fastnesses and main-

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

or incapacitated, one of his wife's relatives must come for her and bring her back, but that meant the extra trouble of letting them know that she was coming.

Each member of a household had a personal name. Though this was usually determined by the religion professed, Moslem first names were not uncommon among the Catholics. The usual cause seems to have been no more than a personal whim. Thus the junior bajraktar ('standard-bearer')[1] of Shalë, a Catholic, was called Avdi because his father was very friendly with a Moslem of that name at the time of his birth. Another interesting anomaly is found in the forty-three Orthodox villages of Shpat, near Elbasan, where the older men have two names, a Moslem one for public use and an Orthodox one for private. For some decades before Albania freed herself from Turkish rule these villages were pressed by the Moslems of Elbasan to abandon Christianity and, to save their faith and lives, camouflaged themselves as Moslems, giving themselves Moslem names, keeping the Ramazan fast, and so on, but evading circumcision. At intervals they fetched an Orthodox priest from Elbasan under cover of night so that in some dark stable he might marry the newly wed with Christian rites and baptize the newly born. So, to name only two examples, the apparently Moslem Tahir Baduri of Shelcan and Ymer Tullumi of Bujars are really the Christian Spiro Baduri and Vasil Tullumi. Religious persecution having ended when Albanian independence was attained, the Orthodox of Shpat shed their Moslem camouflage and gave only Christian names to their children. If Godolesh, the picturesque village north of Elbasan, had managed to hold out for only two years more against the pressure to 'turn Turk', it, too, might now still have been Christian. It failed to hold out, so that its middle-aged and young inhabitants are fanatical Moslems but the old still visit Orthodox churches in secrecy and grieve that they must lie in a Moslem grave. One sturdy old woman, who married soon after the conversion to Islam, boasted that she had had all her four sons baptized. One of them confirmed this to the author, saying he had often been told by Christian and Moslem alike that he smelt less than did other Moslems, an agreeable peculiarity which he attributed to his baptism. The Greeks too, who introduced Orthodox Christianity into Albania, subscribed to the belief that baptism takes away the smell from which all Moslems suffer.

[1] See Chapter XI.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

[681] bajraktar, are perpetual like the law about fire[1] and other laws. Whoever breaks this law must pay an ox to the tribe and 300 grosh and a ram to the government's representative, otherwise he will have his house burned.

The Youth of Shalë
April 30th, 1905

XI. Laws Enacted by the Tribe of Kurbin on August 5–7, 1906.
(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, p. 129.)

[625] 1. Whoever joins the government police shall have his house burned and be excluded from funeral gatherings and hospitality.

[798] 2. A man who goes to complain to the Turkish government about a Christian shall pay a fine of 1000 grosh.

[695] 3. A man who steals from his neighbour or breaks into his house must, if he denies doing so, give his oath with 12 compurgators. If he proves to be a robber, he must pay a fine of 1000 grosh, and return to the owner of the house two for every article stolen.

4. If an ox is stolen and the accused denies the theft he must give his oath with 6 compurgators. If on enquiry he proves a thief, he must pay a fine of 500 grosh and return to the animal's owner two oxen for the one stolen.

This judgement holds also for a horse and a mule.

If a cow is stolen and the theft denied, the accused's oath needs three compurgators. If he proves a thief the penalty is returning two for one to the owner and a fine of 250 grosh. So too for a donkey.

If a bell-goat or a bell-wether is stolen two for one to the owner and a fine of three rams. If the theft is denied the oath must be given by the accused and all the males in his house.

For every small animal two for one to the owner and a fine of two rams. If the theft is denied the oath is with all the males in the accused's house.

5. Setting fire to a house[2] means a fine of 2500 grosh; to an animals' fold, a haystack and a hedge, a fine of 1500 grosh and returning two for one to the owner.

[623] 6. A man who does not come to a General Assembly when summoned by the village elder will be fined one ram.

[672] 7. If word is sent to the elders to come to a General Assembly anyone who does not come must pay a fine of five rams. If he has an excuse this will be weighed by the other elders.

[1] The Italian version already alluded to (Gjeçov's *Codice di Lek Dukagjini ossia Diritto Consuetudinario delle Montagne d'Albania*, Tradotto dal P. Paolo Dodaj, Roma, 1941) here reads *il mugnaio*, 'the miller' (cf. supra p. 263).

[2] The Italian version reads *La violazione (per furto) del focolare domestico*, and taking fire from a neighbour's hearth without permission is frequently taboo among primitive peoples.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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sia in 1945. A republic was established during the following year. General Hoxha and his followers meanwhile made no secret of their devotion to the Communist cause, although their utterances took on the usual protective coloring. At a Congress in the little town of Permeti, on May 24, 1944, the Front had "guaranteed freedom of religion and of conscience, and equality of rights for all religions." Hoxha's partisans, like Tito's, were frequently seen at religious services. Albania, a turbulent and weapon-toting country addicted to blood feuds and similar practices, was one of the most tolerant of nations from the religious point of view. In 1930 nearly three-fifths of the total population of 1,003,000 were Mohammedans, while the members of the Greek Orthodox Church constituted another fifth. Catholics in union with Rome were noticeably in the minority, scarcely more than one-tenth of the professedly religious reported in the census, and were concentrated in the extreme north of the country. Their major religious, charitable, and educational institutions were in Scutari, an ancient town on a beautiful mountain-surrounded lake, afflicted with mosquitoes and malarial fever. Ancient ties with Italy, which Mussolini so wantonly divested of moral and diplomatic import, had led to the existence of a considerable number of religious of Italian origin in Albania, and also to the settlement of many Albanians in Italy. This fact would no doubt have given rise to some antipathy even under normal conditions. Yet on the whole few in Albania were apprehensive when the war ended. The age-old tradition of religious peace seemed to preclude violent change.

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Albania had a rude awakening. General Hoxha was interested in nothing less than freedom of religion. Information concerning the fate of the Moslem majority is meager and difficult to come by. But laborious piecing together of news items from Albanian radio broadcasts and newspapers makes

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•798 one surmise that the Communists have tried to neutralize the Moslem population by breaking it up into mutually hostile factions. It is known that purges of Mohammedan leaders who were insufficiently cooperative have occurred. Islam is today divided into several sects. Hoxha's aides sought first to play one of these against another, and selected the strongest, the *Bektashi*, for the role of principal collaborator; but there ensued a weird series of assassinations, or purges, impossible to interpret. All we really know is that government broadcasts beamed to the Near East stress that Albania demonstrates the ability of Communism to carry out its program successfully while granting complete freedom of faith to Mohammedans. The names of some Moslem leaders who have perished are known, as is that of Hafiz Musa Hashi Alija, who is currently cast in the precarious role of chief adviser to the government on Islamic matters.

795 News concerning the fate of the Orthodox Church is also
659 much more fragmentary than one could desire. Historically, in Albania, this Church was free of strong confessional ties with Constantinople and Athens, and from time to time some of its leaders took under serious advisement the possibility of reunion with Rome. Accordingly Communist efforts after 1945 to "nationalize" Orthodoxy and to foster its allegiance to Moscow met with resistance. It was not until January, 1948, that a small delegation of the clergy visited Moscow, Kiev, and Leningrad. The official press reported that the head of this group had expressed, in behalf of his colleagues, the view that the "strength of the Russian Church" would insure protection against "all the other Churches, and particularly the Vatican," which might seek to "absorb and destroy the Albanian Church." During the same year, a Russian bishop visited Tirana, Albania's capital city; and the Orthodox Church Conference of that year convened in Moscow. This

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795 661 banian writers, the Reverend Lazarus Shanjoha, to death. He had favored close ties of friendship with Italy for many years, and so the sentence was ascribed to the National Liberation Front's fanatical detestation of all things Italian, and not to antireligious prejudice.

653 668 687 Ilya Ehrenburg, major Soviet propagandist, visited Albania during the November of 1945. Upon his return to Moscow he described Scutari, more than half the population of which was Roman Catholic, as a vicious hotbed of reaction. At the time of his visit the city was preparing for its first postwar elections. A handful of students at the diocesan seminary for the training of priests circulated mimeographed sheets urging that the recipients vote against the National Front. These sheets bore the signature of the "Albanian Union." Spurred on by Ehrenburg's denunciation, the government jailed and tortured some of the distributors. They revealed the names of the seminarians, who as a matter of fact constituted the complete membership of the Albanian Union. A spectacular trial of those held guilty of having plotted to overthrow the State with the help of "Anglo-American imperialists" became in reality a forum before which the Catholic Church was indicted for high treason. The Rector of the seminary and one of his fellow Jesuits were accused of responsibility for the conspiracy, found guilty, and executed. Others received heavy prison sentences. Nowhere else had a court acted more grimly.

653 798 661 The liquidation of virtually all Catholic activities followed swiftly, with more cruel and vengeful treatment of the clergy than has been witnessed even in Hungary and Yugoslavia. The Papal Nuncio was expelled, as were all priests and religious born in Italy. Education was reserved to the State, even nursery schools being taken from the Church. Catholic Action was suppressed. The seminaries were closed. Ecclesias-

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tical property was deeded over to "the people," and the priests who were permitted to remain in office were restricted to one room in their rectories. The only Catholic bishop who is thought to have survived lives in an isolated mountain village. By the close of 1948, virtually every widely respected and well educated priest had been executed or imprisoned. Francis Gjini, Bishop, Abbot, and Albanian representative of the Papal Nuncio; George Volaj, Bishop of Sappa; Matthias Prennushi, Provincial of the Franciscans—all were put to death. Vincent Prennushi, Archbishop of Durazzo, died in prison.

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Under this reign of terror, the Catholic population of approximately 100,000 was reduced to dire poverty, impotence, and silence. The laity suffered almost as grievously as the clergy. Catholics holding positions of public trust were ousted. Priests were forbidden to minister to the sick in hospitals or prisons. To consort in any way with a priest meant probable imprisonment or worse. By the middle of August, 1951, Catholics who still ventured to practice their religion openly were served by not more than sixty-two priests. On the third day of that month, the government published a decree concerning the status of the Roman Catholic Church. This document, having announced that the Church no longer "has any kind of organizational, economic, or political ties with the Pope," went on to ordain that the clergy must accompany religious teaching with the inculcation of sentiments of loyalty to the "people's power of the Albanian People's Republic," and that appointments to ecclesiastical positions must have the approval of the government. This decree was approved at a convention of Catholics meeting in Scutari in 1951. At the same time the government announced that Catholicism in Albania had repudiated all forms of allegiance to the Papacy, "enemy of the people."

PEAKS OF SHALA

776 heard them singing, and once, in the Wood of the Ora, which we will pass to-morrow, I heard 761 them[1] talking together in the twilight. I heard 776 them say that my cousin would die," said Cheremi, seriously.

"And did he die?"

"Of course," said he, surprised by the question. "He was a strong man, but within six weeks, sitting beside the fire one night, he said that he felt a pain in his heart, and in an hour he was dead." Cheremi crossed himself.

361 "But about the city of Pog. Does anyone ever go there? Could we go there?"

People sometimes went, he said; the shepherds always went to cut the branches of the trees, which belonged to the tribe of Pultit. How far was it from where we stood? He thought for [804] a time, and said, "Four hours." Albanians have no measure for distance except the time it takes to walk it, and this time corresponds with no measurement of ours. He had said that our walk of that day would be an hour and a half; we had already been exhausting every ounce of energy and breath for four, and were scarcely a third of the way.

"What does one find when one gets there?"

"Very little. There is the old wall which you see, and on the rock one can follow the lines of the walls of houses, built square and with many rooms, and from the rocks which have fallen they must have been tall houses. That is all, except that on some of the large stones one can

1 [The ora or nature spirits - [46] Analyst]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

423 informant in Bytyç their business was to prop up the big stone. The association of the three, one big and two small, was so distinct that it could be seen at a glance that they were boundary stones.

In old days, in places as far apart as Kurvelesh in south-west Albania and Lumë in the north-east, some pieces of charcoal, generally three, were put under the big boundary stone; in Lumë a fragment of tile was added. Centuries might pass, but charcoal and tile remained as imperishable evidence of the true line of the [623] boundary. In case one neighbour charged the other with moving the stones the elders dug these up; if they found no charcoal under them they knew they had been moved and dug all round until they came on charcoal and with it the original boundary. A man who went to move boundary stones always went on a dark night when the buried charcoal was as invisible as himself, and so far as was known his ingenuity never ran to taking a handful with him from home.

Boundary stones were set up with all the ceremony befitting [623] a mark that was to last for ever. All the members of the families concerned, the village elders, as many children and youths of the village as possible, as many men from neighbouring villages as possible and all the tribal elders gathered to witness the event and [804] to preserve its memory for their lifetime. When the entity to be divided—field, farmyard, vineyard, etc.—had been measured with a rope or by pacing into the required number of portions, the elder chosen to delimit the boundary put any chance stone and a clod of earth on his right shoulder, and after swearing upon his soul to delimit justly, moved forward along the boundary line followed by all the witnesses. It was his duty to walk in a straight line in order to iron out every possibility of future conflict—'a boundary mustn't twist' said the law—but if he deviated slightly no one 789 could correct him; it was his responsibility. All the objector could 423 do was to say, 'Well, lead the way and if you don't act righteously may that weight lie heavy on you in the other life'. At the two ends and in the middle the elder—no one else—dug a hole in which he set up the big stone at one end, packing the smaller ones round it. When he finished, he laid his hand on the big stone and solemnly cursed anyone who should seek to move it, saying in Mirditë, 'Whoever moves this stone, shall be weighted down with it in the life beyond'. In Lumë the curse was vaguer, 'Here are your boundaries, men', said the elder. 'Don't move them because it's bad'—in this world where quarrelling results and in the other

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 needle, a warning evidently to other fleas of the fate awaiting them.

The women in South Albania twist together a [751] number of coloured threads and tie them round the children's wrists and necks, in order to preserve them from sunburn or sunstroke, and draw a similar thread along the threshold of the house. They also roll up tightly little balls of rag, at which they stitch assiduously with a needle and thread; and when asked what they are doing, they reply, "We are sewing up the plague, snakes, and sickness." On this day no vegetables are eaten, the sweet cakes and dishes, in which the Ritza alone indulge, being believed to ensure a good [777] summer. The whole of this month is a close time for the ravens, as to kill one would bring bad luck to the vintage.

527 The North Albanians begin their year on the 1st of March. On this day the cattle are decked with gar-
789 lands of flowers, and the Ghegs not only tie threads of
777 many colours on the wrists and necks of their children,
• [805] but themselves also wear one of red silk on the little finger of the right hand and the great toe of the right foot. When the first swallow has been seen, they take off these threads, and hang them on the rose-bushes, in order that the swallows may take them to their nests. [177] Von Hahn is of opinion that this graceful little custom is not indigenous, and it may indeed have been partly borrowed, either from the Bulgarians, or, through the neighbouring Vlachs, from the Roumanians, with whom, as I have already mentioned,[1] a similar usage exists. While I was at Salonica, one

[1] Vol. I. p. 335.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

Where is the man, love of such mother, wife, 539
Who holds within his heart, counts not his life
As naught, as naught whatever he
May sacrifice, to keep his loved one free.

* * * * *

Come! Oh, ye generous sons, brave children, come!
And you, ye cherished husbands, hasten home.
Come to the arms of those who, with your fall,
Would have lost loved ones, country, home, and all!
Come back and rest from war's dread strife and din,
And teach your sons a hero's name to win!

The following ballad graphically describes a struggle 533
which took place in 1795 between the Ghegs under 173
Mahmoud Pasha of Scutari and the Tosks under Kourd Pasha of Berat.

Beat, beat, O valiant hearts of Ghegs, with noble pride! 539
The hosts of Tosks we've scattered far and wide; 173
For warrior Scutari has now at length,
With Roumeli's famed hero tried her strength.

To Hussein Mollah hear them call with glee,
"Now onward march, Tabácchi and Terzi,
Tosk has met Gheg. Come thou, our Laureate,
And make a song this fight to celebrate."

Kourd Pasha's at Berat, there let him bide;
Mean is his rank to stand Mahmoud beside;
What's he before Mahmoud Pasha, our lord?
How dares he 'gainst his master draw the sword?

Rebel is Kourd Pasha and *verlazi*,[1]
To his liege lord a traitor foul is he;
With fear he trembles when afar the drum,
Three hours[2] away, proclains Mahmoud doth come. [805 822]

[1] One who takes arms against his suzerain.
[2] Distance in the East is always calculated by time

644 fail to contribute their assistance to whatever is being done for Albanian womanhood and youth.

Therefore, there is little wonder that the six sisters of King Zog are so well-beloved by all Albanians.

562 The moral code of the Albanians is sharply drawn in respect to their women. It is considered a very grave breach of etiquette to make them the object of jokes or stories. Any unfaithfulness on the part of Albanian women is very, very rare. However, under certain specified reasons, as provided by law, divorces are possible both in the Moslem and Christian religions.

814 562 The intellectual occupations also attract the attention of Albanian women. It is thus that Albanian erudition is honored with the presence of a woman, Dora d'Istra, who has written numerous volumes that are authorities, such as "La Suisse allemande et l'Ascension du Moenich," "La Vie monastique dans l'Eglise Orientale," "Les Femmes en Orient," etc. This capable writer is an ardent feminist, in the sensible use of the word and she has done much in directing the Albanian women to intellectual freedom.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in con- 304
flict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. 771
So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. 531
Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died 114
in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to 771
Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle 174
I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is 776
the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and 174
floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern 776
and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his [787]
armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is [821]
driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda 531
tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear 304
tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from 173
the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

ively to a lion, a tiger, and an eagle,[1] and in the others we have besides the "Mother of Night," the Mother of the Sun, of the Moon, and of the Wind, who protect the princess against their own sons.[2] 538 171

The Three Brothers and the Three Sisters.[3]

There were, and there were not. There were once three brothers who had three sisters, and they married them, and gave the first to the Sun, the second to the Moon, and the third to the South Wind.[4] 539

Some time afterwards, I don't know how long, the brothers said to each other, "Let us go to our sisters and see how they fare." So without wasting time they made ready for the journey, took their provisions, and set off. As they were going the night overtook them when they were on a plain near a mountain. So they stopped there, took out their provisions, and made a fire. Supper finished, the eldest of the brothers said to the others:

"Lie down and sleep, and I will watch and keep guard for fear that some one might come to rob or kill us."

So the two younger ones slept, and he mounted guard. Presently a Koutchédra, seeing the light, came up, and, her mouth watering at the sight of the men, she threw herself upon the one who was watching, to eat him. But he with a shot from

[1] Hahn, Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια; No. 12, *Gr. und Alb. Märchen*, No. 25.
[2] *Ibid.* No. 10.
[3] Dozon, *Langue Chkipe*, No. xxiv., *Contes Albanais*, No. xv.
[4] *Yougo.* In Albanian, as in Servian and Bulgarian, the moon and the south are masculine, and from this circumstance M. Dozon was of opinion that this story is of Slav origin. [821]

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

695 even became saints at their death, but an oath 'by the priest' or
698 'by that hoxha' was never taken; it would have been regarded as
793 sacrilege.

695 A most interesting oath was taken by both the Orthodox and the
792 Moslems of Berat town and district. Its commonest forms were
[770] 'By Him of Tomorr' and 'By the Holy One of Tomorr'. The deity that dwelt in pagan days on the summit of Tomorr, the lofty, beautiful mountain that dominates the town of Berat, is still a living force in the district. He was, indeed, so dreaded that even in conversation he could not be named, but only darkly alluded to. 'By that mountain top' is no less solemn an oath than the more definite pair already given. No man had been known to swear any of them falsely.

[821] By what was perhaps a survival of early nature worship, oath-takers sometimes invoked natural objects as in the oaths, 'By this bright light which is dawning', 'By this evening which is coming', 'By this night we have to-night'. These were all given by Catholics in Perlat. The first two were used for oaths taken in the morning and the third for those taken in the evening. Moslems in Godolesh and Labinot sometimes swore 'By this sun' and 'By this earth'. The latter was a very solemn oath, earth being weighty for two reasons: man was made of it and it lies heavy on a dead man who committed sins such as perjury during his lifetime. Apparently oaths were not taken 'by this fire' or 'by this moon'; perhaps both fire and moon lack the inevitability and stability that fitted dawn and darkness, the sun and the earth, for worship by primitive Albanians.

695 Among oaths by sacred buildings were such as 'By this church'
782 among Catholics and 'By this mosque' among Moslems. They were
778 chiefly employed conversationally, and meant little more than our own expression 'on my honour'. Indeed, a man of Lurë used them indifferently, irrespective of whether he or his hearer were Catholic or Moslem. But when a Moslem of Martanesh swore 'by this holy place' as he stood in Balim Sulltan's mausoleum, his oath was very solemn. So, too, were the oaths in Bulqizë 'by that shrine', the domed tomb of Sheikh Fejza; in Tirana by the grave of Sulejman Pasha, the seventeenth-century founder of the town; in Krujë by the tombs of two Bektashi abbots; in Nangë, Lumë, by the tomb of the Khalveti saint, Sheikh Hasan; and in Surroj, by the grave of Sheikh Hasan's brother, Sheikh Ibrahim. In the last case the formula was rather unusual; standing in the mausoleum (*teqe*) the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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men or women live to be a hundred years old their 753
breath becomes poisonous and kills healthy people. 761
Von Hahn says that old people suspected of causing 888
sickness in this way, especially when an epidemic is raging, have atoned for their longevity with a fiery death at the hands of their panic-stricken neighbours.[1]

A curious notion is also shared by Greeks and Albanians that shadows are capable of assuming an independent existence, and, being malevolently disposed, are able to deal men blows which usually cause their death. 776 822 761

The Dif, or Dev (δίφι, δίβι, δεφ, δίβι), is, like the Kūrdish supernal of the latter name,[2] a being possessed of extraordinary physical strength. "He is a regular Dif" is said of a remarkably strong man, as we say, "He is another Samson." According to the people of Elbassan, the Dif is an enormous giant who lives underground and never comes to the surface, and whose business it is to keep the cauldrons boiling which supply the hot and medicinal springs in the neighbourhood of that town. These springs, in common with those found in other parts of the country, are much resorted to for curative purposes. Their waters are, however, drunk indiscriminately for all kinds of ailments, without regard to their various medicinal properties. The cures effected not being attributed to the water itself so much as to the influence of the magical beings who have their abodes in the springs and wells, people consequently go 776 [823] 776 755

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 163.

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Who holds within his heart, counts not his life
As naught, as naught whatever he
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Come! Oh, ye generous sons, brave children, come!
And you, ye cherished husbands, hasten home.
Come to the arms of those who, with your fall,
Would have lost loved ones, country, home, and all!
Come back and rest from war's dread strife and din,
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The hosts of Tosks we've scattered far and wide; 173
For warrior Scutari has now at length,
With Roumeli's famed hero tried her strength.

To Hussein Mollah hear them call with glee,
"Now onward march, Tabácchi and Terzi,
Tosk has met Gheg. Come thou, our Laureate,
And make a song this fight to celebrate."

Kourd Pasha's at Berat, there let him bide;
Mean is his rank to stand Mahmoud beside;
What's he before Mahmoud Pasha, our lord?
How dares he 'gainst his master draw the sword?

Rebel is Kourd Pasha and *verlazi*,[1]
To his liege lord a traitor foul is he;
With fear he trembles when afar the drum,
Three hours[2] away, proclains Mahmoud doth come. [805 822]

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PEAKS OF SHALA

color. Most of them were sitting on low stools, 592
embroidering or working opangi, and the white-garbed men lounged at their feet, closer to the fire, resting on elbows and smoking.

There was the delicate negotiation about the 000
mule. The byraktor owned one, but he did not want to take it to Scutari. I left that to Rexh; the byraktor listened to him as courteously as though the boy had been twenty years older, and Rexh bargained with him as with an equal. A hundred kronen, Rexh said, tentatively, at last, but even at that terrific price the byraktor did not seem eager to make the trip (for, of course, he himself would go where his mule went) and Rexh thought best to drop the question for a while.

"Where do you come from?" one of the youths 823
asked me; and when I had replied, "In what direction from here is America?"

"California, the part of America from which I come," I answered—and did not very greatly stretch the truth—"is directly through the earth, on the other side."

Why they* sat up in such excitement I did not know; I had expected surprise, but not such a volley of questions, not such a visible sensation. Rexh sat replying to them, earnestly explaining, making a gesture now and then; their eyes followed his hands, fascinated. His talk became a monologue; it went on and on; all work stopped, cigarettes burned to heedless fingers, the coffee bubbled unnoticed by the byraktor. Little Rexh,

* [Shoshi people at [253] warchief's house --Analyst]

823 sitting erect in his pajama coat, the streaks of red dye now dried fantastically on his chubby face, held them all spellbound, while I begged him in vain to tell me what he was saying.

"It is nothing, Mrs. Lane," he answered me, at last. "I am telling them about the map. I am telling them that the map is not flat, as it looks, but round, like a ball."

He was telling them that the earth was round! And hearing my voice, they appealed to me in a bombardment of questions.

"Is the earth really round?"

"Yes."

"You have seen it? You know that it is round?"

"Yes."

"You have been around it, yourself?"

"Yes," I said, mendaciously.

They sat back and considered this. Then they asked particulars. They could understand that the earth was curved, for they had seen that the mountains were not flat, so it would be possible for the earth to be curved. But were the seas curved also? Would water curve? I said that it would, that, indeed, it did.

Had I been upon the great spaces of water and seen that they were curved?

I had been upon the seas, I said, and they were curved. They did not look curved, because the earth was so large and the eye saw so little of it, but they were curved, for one could go quite around the earth on them.

PEAKS OF SHALA

They smoked over this for some time. The 823
byraktor rescued his coffee pot, in deep abstraction. I did not expect them to believe what I had said. How could they? It must have appeared to them the wildest of fairy tales (although in all Albania there are no fairies, and therefore —I suppose that is the reason—there are no Albanian fairy tales). Men suffered much at the hands of our ancestors for telling them the monstrous idea that the flat earth is round. I wished I knew what thoughts were taking shape behind those dark Albanian eyes.

Then the byraktor looked up. "If the solid earth is round," he said, "and if the water lies upon it in a curve, then this earth is moving very rapidly. For if the earth were standing still the water would fall off."

My astonishment was profound. I felt myself 000
a child beside that mind, and I thought that a man who could so wrestle with a new fact and evolve from it an even more amazing conclusion was no man for me to contend with in a little matter of hiring a mule and getting, somehow, to Scutari.

Presently large flocks of sheep and goats were 231
driven through the room[1], past the fire, and into 562
the darkness beyond the arched doorway. Raindrenched shepherdesses, half clad in rags, followed them, and having, with much noise of tearing branches, given them their dried oak boughs to eat during the night, the shepherdesses returned and sat by the fire, addressing the byraktor in tones of accustomed equality.

1 [In house of Sheshi warchief [255] -- Analyst]

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

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Again, in some of my examples the symbolism is an accretion, perhaps indicating a phase of decay. On these grounds alone, until the history of each case is better known, we could not unreservedly accept any symbolist or psycho-analytical theory which has so far been advanced to explain the growth of ritual and magic. At any rate, we would have to start from the complicated hypothesis that even symbols and associations derive their forms and stability from the historical process as much as from the tenor of individual mental life.

Terminology

The evidence of language has to be used with extreme caution. Medical terms are remarkably irregular, and vary from place to place—from person to person—more, perhaps, than the technical vocabulary of any other common activity. Sometimes the term in use is vague and the concept clear and particular; sometimes the words used have a definite concrete sense, but are generalised in meaning and usage. The names of plants and animals vary also: sometimes the vocabulary is rich and precise, sometimes it is rudimentary. Among many Albanians for instance, from North Albania or present-day South Yugoslavia, I remarked that plant names were very vague, and that they were mostly given in the form 'plant for cows', 'plant for bees', 'herb for fish', etc., yet a great variety of useful plants were known and played an important part in normal economy and medicine. There are Serbian peasant herbalists who may know up to a hundred medicinal species, which they describe minutely, but they have not got names for them all. The fact that many common plant names are of foreign origin is no more a proof of their recent introduction or recent medicinal use than that houses as such were unknown in Bosnia before the word *han* became a common term. Centaury is known by at least half a dozen names, some of Romance and Greek origin, but *Betonica officinalis* and *Hyoscyamus* are also called *kičica*, elsewhere a name for centaury, and are also used for wounds, etc. *Prase* in the meaning of 'scrofula' looks like a *calque*, but there is no evidence to show

A
[824]
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buildings, fortress-like structure and small windows. House types thus serve as a clear index to the amount of feuding in any particular area. Where veranda houses prevail, conditions are fairly peaceful. This factor explains the almost mutually exclusive distribution of kulas and veranda houses in mountain areas, although how far this is borne out in lowland areas, I am unable to say. 341 578

Location and Types of Settlements. In the mountain regions west of Lake Scutari to Lake Ohrid one finds single farmsteads comprising one or two buildings. Only in the plains and at the foot of the mountains does one find Cvijić's Ibar type of settlements (Nopcsa, 1925: 6). This type is characterized by widely spaced, dense hamlets (Cvijić, 1918: 219). In southern Albania the village form is variable but agglomerated villages with crooked roads predominate (Cvijić, 1925: 224, Map IV). 361 [133] [341] [491]

House Types. Buildings of wickerwork and plaster are found only in the coastal plains, and even there they are rare (fig. 47). In the extreme north one finds houses of boards or logs. Most buildings are of stone; one finds some use of dry masonry, but generally mortar is used. Stone is preferred because it gives protection from fire and gunshot. In south and central Albania bond timbers are inserted into the stone walls; this pattern is lacking in northern Albania. The combination of stone foundation and wooden second story, found in Serbia, Bosnia, Rumania and Siebenburgen is missing in Albania (Nopcsa, 1925: 30). 342 184 [171]

Roofing may be of straw, shingles, slate, stone slabs or tiles. The simplest buildings in the mountains have roofs of corn stalks. Tiles are common both in the coastal and mountain regions. Roofing of stone slabs is widely distributed; most dairy houses in the high mountains are covered in this manner (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). High shingled roofs, common in Bosnia and eastern Montenegro, are found only in the extreme north of Albania. Gabled roofs predominate north of the Drin River; south of it one finds hipped roofs. Widely projecting eaves are absent. The kulas may have low pyramidal roofs and occasionally desk roofs. In general, roofs tend to be flat. When the roof is hipped, the chimney tends to be in the center of the short side (Nopcsa, 1925: 31-32). Chimneys are not typical. [171]

The simplest type of house is the one-room log house with a low roof of short thick shingles. Cracks in the wall are stuffed with moss; windows are lacking, and light enters through the open door and openings in the roof. The open fireplace has hung over it a deflector of boards plastered with mud; smoke escapes through the roof (Nopcsa, 1925: 33). 342 [354]

In the coastal regions of northern Albania, reed is abundant and walls are made of woven reeds. The roof is likewise of reeds. These buildings are generally plastered on the outside. Occasionally the roof is of unfired bricks (Nopcsa, 1925: 35). [824] [184]

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BULGARIA EE1

A 342 343 When stables are not present, man and animals may live together in the same one-room house; occasionally a breast-high fence serves as a separation. Even in a one-room house there is a separate entrance for the animals. Occasionally stables are made of wood. I was unable to find more information on them, but it would appear that horses are more frequently kept in a stable on the ground floor than in a separate building. Sheds for storage are better made than the stables and rest on stone foundations to permit circulation of air (Nopcsa, 1925: 22). In northern Albania there are no separate houses for hay.

A 342 226 [824] Buildings Outside the Village. Cone-like huts (kačor) are used as temporary buildings by fishermen in the swampy regions of the coast. They are made of rough branches that interlock at the top. They are 2 meters in diameter and 2.5-3 meters high, covered with reeds which make them waterproof (Nopcsa, 1925: 8).

A 342 [84] In the plains near Scutari, one finds semi-subterranean buildings. A deep excavation, 8 by 3 by .30 meters is made; on the long sides a wall 40 centimeters high of dry masonry is built up and on the short sides a wall 2 meters high. The gabled roof is of straw, and earth is built up until it touches the eaves. Grass soon begins to grow over the roof and it is not easily recognizable. The door is on the gabled side, the fireplace opposite it. This structure is used by shepherds and their cattle in winter. Similar buildings are found in Wallachia (fig. 63) (Nopcsa, 1925: 9).

A [233]

A 343 In the barren mountains of northern Albania one finds storage houses built against the slope of a hill. Only a side wall and a front wall are erected. Horizontal beams are laid over this, then wooden boards, and lastly earth. Here one also finds dairy huts made of masonry, rarely of wood, resembling the simple one-unit house. They are meant for summer use and are erected on the sunny slopes. Each one has an enclosure in which the sheep are kept at night. The enclosure is irregular in shape and the fence is of wicker or of stone.

BULGARIA

B 342 [127] Data on the Bulgarian farm houses have been derived mainly from the works of J. F. Gollert on Central Bulgaria (1937) and East Bulgaria (1934). Cvijić, in his work La Péninsule Balkanique, deals but briefly with Bulgaria, commenting that his Mixed type predominates and that one finds "une mélange extraordinaire de formes d'ancienne maisons" (Cvijić, 1918: 251).

B 131 Central Bulgaria is the region extending from the Ihtimanska Sredna Gora to the Tundža River in the east; the northern boundary includes the southern slopes of the Balkan Mountains, and in the south it terminates at the Rhodopes. It includes mountainous regions in the north and the lowlands of the Marica River. East Bulgaria

B [133]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

witch in Albania; and though there can be no doubt that one has now 754
and then been done away with, the general idea was that it was best [681]
not to interfere lest worse should follow.

Marko strongly believed this. A woman a few doors away from us was a shtriga, and he ascribed much ill-luck to her. He avoided her as much as possible, and did not speak with her. When the autumn began to turn cold, numbers of mice that had summered in the cornfields came into the house. My room swarmed, and they ran over me at [136] night. I told Marko to buy a trap. He seldom forgot things, and when I asked for the trap in the evening, I was surprised that he had not bought one. Again next day I asked him not to forget the mouse-trap; and again there was no trap. Then Teresi, his wife, came to me and said: "Please do not ask Marko to buy a trap; he does not want to." "But why?" She hesitated. "Marko thinks the mice are sent." "Sent?" I asked. "But who can send them?" "Marko thinks that woman—the shtriga—has sent them." I was delighted and asked: "How do people send mice?" "Marko says that with Beelzebub all things are possible." "But why should we not kill the mice?" "Because she would be angry and send something worse. Perhaps rats! Who knows?"

It was clearly impossible to trap the mice. I considered the situation, and next day asked if we might have a cat. Marko thought deeply. He then said it was natural for a cat to kill mice; we, in fact, should [136 be powerless to prevent it, and should not be responsible. The cat was [825] obtained—a splendid mouser; and so we defeated the shtriga. It is clearly better not to incense them.

Men also are magicians, but I think not so often. A magician appeared at Nikaj when I was there. He was believed by the priest, whose guest I was, and by Marko to be so diabolical that the former ordered him to leave the parish, and neither of them would let me go out without a strong bodyguard; so I never got near him. He was famed for being able to raise many devils by dancing and wagging one leg behind him, and was believed to have come to Nikaj because most of the women were shtrigas.

A magician in Albanian is "maghistar" or "menghistar." Magic is "maghi" or "menghi"; "menghi" is also a remedy. In early days medicine and magic were one and the same. The words appear to be derived from, or connected with, "magus." The wise man of old used spells just as did the "wise woman" of the English village.

A strange tale which all believed was told of such a man who had worked much harm with magic in the Djakova district. One of the local beys, therefore, arrested him and locked him up. When he had been some time imprisoned the bey was one day entertaining guests on a feast day. The party was dull, and someone asked where that magician

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

shouldered, fair-complexioned man, called Kapitan Yannaki (Captain Johnny), who was reputed to possess a tail. In order to convince themselves of the truth of this report, half a dozen of his comrades (for he was uncommonly strong) had fallen upon him together when he was taking his noon-nap, and he himself had taken part in this ocular inspection. He distinctly remembered seeing a goat-like tail about four finger-breadths long, covered on the outer side with short reddish-coloured hairs." M. Von Hahn's endeavours to see for himself such a *lusus naturæ* were in vain, and the Turkish military surgeons, who inspected annually hundreds of recruits from all parts of the country, confessed that no specimen of the tailed man had ever come under their notice.

The villagers of the Ritza tribe hold in great honour a kind of good genius of the house which they call the Vittóre (βιττόρι), a word which signifies "ancient," and seems to convey the idea of a survival of ancestor worship. The Vittóre is in reality a little thick snake with a speckled skin, which lives in the house walls and seldom leaves its hole. These snakes are believed to live in the same house from generation to generation. They are regarded with great reverence by the family, and especially by the women, who heap benedictions upon them, and predict joyful or sorrowful events according to the sounds made by this house genius. On hearing any unusual or unaccountable noise the women say, "It is the Vittóre." If all the members of a household die, and the house is left empty, or passes into other hands, the Vittóre, too, abandons it, never to return. When an old and much

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 respected woman dies, the friends who come to offer
825 their condolences say to her relatives, "She was the Vittóre of the house."

In Elbassan the Vittóre also conveys the idea of a good genius, though the snake element is absent, and a wife who has presented her husband with a large family of sons is designated by this name.

775 Vampire beliefs are, generally speaking, more or less the same in Albania as in the rest of Turkey. The hair and beard of the "Restless One" are believed to grow in the tomb, and any one bending over the grave may hear him rattle and grind his teeth. Some
754 men are also held to possess the propensities of
774 vampires before death, and to be in the habit of unconsciously going forth by night to suck the blood of children and young maidens.

775 Strangely enough, in Elbassan and the neighbourhood, Von Hahn found no traces of the Vampire (βρυκολακ) pure and simple, as he elsewhere exists. Two connected species, however, came under his notice, the Lougát (λουγάτ) and the Karkantsoli (καρκαντσολι). The first was described as the corpse of a Turk with finger- and toe-nails of prodigious length, which, wrapped in its winding-sheet, roams about at night devouring everything it finds, and strangling any human being unfortunate enough to cross its path. The name of Lougát is also given generally in Northern Albania to a class of uncanny apparitions, which are believed to be the bewitched forms of persons who have led evil lives. These have the faculty of changing their forms with surprising and confusing rapidity, appearing successively as

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 appointed time, he never fails to bring it permanently to the surface.

776 A story is told of a shepherd who, when pasturing his sheep in Dibra, saw one day a snake curled up
825 asleep on a great heap of gold. In order to induce him to leave it, the shepherd fetched a pail of milk, which he placed near the snake, and then retired to a little distance to watch his movements. As he had calculated, the snake gorged himself with the milk, and then returned to sleep on the gold heap. But the quantity of milk he had drunk made him thirsty and uneasy, and he wriggled and wriggled and could not rest. Finally he went off to get some water, and, the spring being at some distance, before he returned the shepherd had removed the whole of the treasure to a place of safety. What the snake did when he came back and found his property gone, the story omits to mention.

776 The Tosks hold that hidden treasures are guarded by fire-breathing winged snakes with human faces. These creatures they, however, call by the Greek name of Stoichiò (στοιχιὸ), which signifies generally an elemental spirit. On the eve of Sunday the Stoichiò relaxes its vigilance, and the treasure may then be seized by a bold and enterprising individual.

787 The existence of a treasure, and the spot where it is to be found, are held to be frequently revealed in dreams, which are repeated on three consecutive nights. As in the above-mentioned case, should the fortunate person take another into his confidence, the gold turns to charcoal and his days are numbered. The Albanian women, however, who are learned in the expounding of dreams, say that, as a rule, they go by contraries.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

through which the animal is led. If the cow steps 787
over the object with the right hoof, it is considered a good augury; if with the left, the omen is unfavourable. If a hen shakes her feathers in the house, or if one of her feathers hangs askew without falling, it foretells the arrival of a friend, or the receipt of news from an absent relative. Should the hen crow like a cock without turning its head to the East, it signifies a death or other serious misfortune. If, during the night, a cock crows at an unusual hour, it is either a sign of a change in the weather, or that important news will arrive in the morning. To an expectant mother, however, it announces [843]
that her child will be a boy. Should the dog howl while looking away from the dwelling, it is a sign of death; and if the cat mews repeatedly, that a member of the family will shortly fall ill. If, however, she licks herself frequently, it is merely a sign of rain.

Cats, I may here remark, are treated with great 231
kindness by the Albanians, who, it is said, are not 825
in the habit of laying to their charge the smashing of crockery, or the disappearance of provisions. According to a myth current among the Albanian highlanders, the cat was created by Jesus, who produced one from the sleeve of His mantle when dining in a house infested with mice. To kill a cat is con- [577]
sequently considered a most reprehensible action. When such a family pet dies, the children of the 766
house call in their friends to assist in pussy's obsequies, and, after she has been carried in solemn procession to the grave, the little party sit down to a funeral feast, for which the mother willingly furnishes the necessary viands.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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787 The cries of wild beasts and birds, and also the circumstances under which they are heard, or the animals themselves met with, have also their signification. If wolves howl in packs, it betokens, in some districts, a death; in others, severe frost. To meet a snake before sunrise, or about sunset, augurs the death of a relative. If the turtle-dove, which in Middle Albania builds in the towns and villages, sits on a roof and coos, it announces to the inmates the return of a relative from a foreign land. When a cuckoo, however, sits there and sings, or an owl hoots there, it betokens a death in the house. The croak of a raven in the vicinity of a house, or the hoot of an owl, announces to the expectant mother the birth of a girl. Sparrows flying in large flocks are held to be a sign of severe cold.

787 Various auguries are also drawn from the arrival in spring of the birds of passage, and the circumstances under which they are first seen. For instance, to see the first swallow or turtle-dove before breaking one's fast in the morning portends sickness. Accordingly, about the time when these birds are expected, and more particularly on the 1st of May, the precaution is taken of placing by the bedside a small piece of bread, which is eaten immediately on awakening in order to avoid any such risk. In Northern Albania, on the contrary, it is held that to see while fasting the first swallow brings luck. Here, too, when a mother, whose child has been born with a running sore, sees the first stork, she places on her baby's head a stone, saying:

To the Land of the Eagle

000 inn. We sat outside at a table under the vines like a family party, and were joined in true democratic fashion by the driver and the mechanic of the lorry. I thought with regret of the snobbish class-distinctions of my native land. How much happier we should be if only we could abolish them!

361 The Albanian countryside at this spot was but sparsely inhabited, and houses were few and far apart. The occasional villages were tumble-down and poverty-stricken. At one place the mosque had fallen into ruins—perhaps the result of an earthquake—and no one had troubled to build it up again.

181 The Albanian, like the Turk, is something of a fatalist. He is also lazy. Doubtless it was the will of Allah that the mosque should collapse—why, then, trouble to rebuild it?

825 The broken minaret was crowned with an enormous stork's-nest on which stood the owner clapping its long beak. The stork, being a sacred bird, was in no danger, having once established itself, of being disturbed or turned out of its home.

000 Our way lay amongst mountains—soft green mountains with rounded outlines, very different in type from the jagged rocks of Montenegro. Their sides were splashed with the gold of broom and the yellow of sage, and with the purple of some wild-flower which grew in regular stripes in the crevices of out-cropping rock-strata. The air was scented and soft.

We travelled on for some hours without any incident beyond an occasional stoppage to tighten a bolt, to retrieve a loose nut, or to do some minor repairs to the engine. At 241 length the plain of Argyrocastron came into view—a wide, well-cultivated valley many miles in extent, where green

1 [near Argyrocastron-- 166 Analyst]

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

it was not." As "first aid" for a wound he prescribed the yolk of an 757
egg and a lot of salt, well mixed and applied on a pad of wool; after- 826
wards dress as above. It was very necessary, he said, to leave no 752
splinters of bone in a wound. He described how he had spent two hours removing seventeen splinters from a fractured tibia with some little forceps he had made himself. You must work slowly and very carefully. You must watch your patient and compare his symptoms with those of others. So you learn. He had lately mended the leg of a horse by slinging it to the branch of a tree and putting the limb in a splint.

A shot through the knee, he declared, was usually fatal, and one [761]
through the ankle was difficult to make a good job of. But three fingers' breadth below the knee-cap and three above the ankle he could always be sure of curing.

For inflammation he used leeches freely. Had just treated a woman successfully for apoplexy. She was "dead" on one side and speechless. He bled her from the temple on the "dead" side and seven times from the arm on the other side. She was better next day, and he bled her five times. She completely recovered. Marash expounded head-surgery. The head, he said, is like an egg. There is a shell, then a skin, and then the meat. If this skin is broken through you can do nothing; if it is not and the fractured skull is only pressing on the brain it is curable. He demonstrated how a flap should be cut and turned back. The broken pieces of bone must be carefully removed and replaced by a piece of hard-dried bottle-gourd chosen to fit the shape. The ointment must be added and the flap replaced and dressed. Some men were very clever at cutting away bone. He had never cut away skull-bone himself. A man in Mirdita had lately cut away a large piece of the skull of an injured man successfully. He indicated the upper part of the left parietal. The "kirijee" boy from whom I had hired horses then told us that he had a piece of bottle-gourd in his head. Had been knocked on the head and stunned in a quarrel, and been unconscious till a "hekim" had taken out the broken bone. Now he said he never felt any trouble except that his head itched a good deal. I felt his head carefully, and there certainly was a hard edge to be found.

Marash Hutzi had a great reputation for curing wounds and certainly deserved it. It is of interest to find that a strictly antiseptic method was being used so long ago as his grandfather's time in the Albanian mountains when in England we still washed our wounds with any pump-water. Marash was over sixty. Trephining, I was told, was still practised to cure pains in the head, but I did not meet a case.

A dressing much used for slight wounds was olive oil in which a 757
quantity of pounded leaves of the common St. John's wort (*Hypericum* 278
perforatum) had been macerated in the sun. This seemed to have some

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 from one spring to another in the hope of propitiating
755 the various tutelary deities in charge of them.

776 The Dragoua are children who are born with
845 bunches of hair or feathers on their shoulders, by means of which they are able to fly, or at least to take tremendous leaps. The mother of such a child must, it is said, be very careful to keep secret its peculiarities, for, should they be observed by a stranger, the child would die, and in any case it will not be long lived. On stormy nights the Dragoua leave their cradles, or beds, and, rising into the air, fight with the Koutchédras, the contest often waxing so hot that they uproot trees to use as weapons, which are, on the following morning, found strewn on the ground.

826 Another curious belief current in Albania maintains the actual existence there of men with tails, either like those of goats or of horses. Persons retaining these appendages of their remote ancestors are held to be always short and broad of figure, untiring walkers, and endowed with great physical strength. Von Hahn was of opinion that this is not a mere vague popular superstition, but has a foundation in fact. "Soliman of Dragoti, one of my cavasses at Ioannina," he says,[1] "maintained that in his part of the country tailed men of this sort were often to be seen, and that he had himself a tailed cousin, whom he had often, in youth, when bathing together, pulled by this gift of nature. An even more trustworthy authority, Theodoris, who had in his younger days been a klepht on Pindus, related that in his band there was, for several years, an undersized, broad-

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, pp. 163-4.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

shouldered, fair-complexioned man, called Kapitan Yannaki (Captain Johnny), who was reputed to possess a tail. In order to convince themselves of the truth of this report, half a dozen of his comrades (for he was uncommonly strong) had fallen upon him together when he was taking his noon-nap, and he himself had taken part in this ocular inspection. He distinctly remembered seeing a goat-like tail about four finger-breadths long, covered on the outer side with short reddish-coloured hairs." M. Von Hahn's endeavours to see for himself such a *lusus naturæ* were in vain, and the Turkish military surgeons, who inspected annually hundreds of recruits from all parts of the country, confessed that no specimen of the tailed man had ever come under their notice. 826

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10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

114 penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud.
[626] For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no
[571] doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

171 It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that
721 of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss
[826] Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants,
[842] its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance
[583] is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the
[302] head by Albanians (p. 230). as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but
[628] quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other
000 primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

it is the staff of life is the oldest, and religious conceptions come later. As essential to life, it was suited to oath-taking; as shown by the oath 'May the bread kill me', it had power to punish perjury with death. 695 778

Two more formulae remain to be mentioned. The first was 'By my head', and the second 'By the head of my son'. The former was thought justifiable; one might do as one pleased with one's own head. But a man who swore on his son's head was strongly disapproved of; only a low fellow, it was thought, would risk his child's life by such an oath. Nothing less was involved, as appears in the following full formula for a land dispute. 'By the head of the son that I have, this land is mine. If it is not mine, may I weep for the son that I have.'[1] 695 782 [826]

When the time came to take the oath, both Catholics and Moslems behaved as if about to perform an act of worship. Catholics removed their caps and made the oath bareheaded; they also crossed themselves as they began. Sunni Moslems performed the ceremonial ablutions incumbent on them before they pray. By their preliminaries the Catholics sought to indicate respect for the Deity; by theirs the Sunnis sought also to make their oath binding —without them, so they believed, it would be null and void. The Moslems of Martanesh, being Bektashis, did not perform the ceremonial ablutions, but suspect and compurgator when taking the oath in a house had to stand facing Mecca, with the witnesses behind them. As each man's turn came, he advanced towards the Koran or loaf of bread, knelt, and laying hand on the book or bread repeated the prescribed words. This reverence for the sacred emblem was shown by both religions, sometimes with quaint little ceremonies. Thus, when the Catholics of Lurë swore in the open on the Gospel, as was their common practice, they picked up some grass or other greenery and held it over the book while they recited the oath; the purpose of the grass is not clear.[2] After the conversion of Vinjollë to Islam from Catholicism oaths were sworn indifferently, as has already been said, on the Gospel or Koran. When at a house, the sacred book was laid on fresh grass near the house or on a clean place in the farmyard. Each oath-taker kissed it three times, before venturing to put his hand on it and repeat the oath. 695 788

[1] The oath on a son's head is common to the Moslem world and if perjured involves the son as well as his father in eternal damnation.

[2] Possibly it involved the false swearer in withering like the plucked grass.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

Again, a woman from Tërbaç, near Elbasan, hearing that her son
562 had been killed at a third person's instigation, took his revolver and
*628 killed the instigator. Unfortunately for her, the date was about
[682] 1923 when a modern government was already functioning; she was arrested and tried for murder, but in view of the circumstances she was condemned to no more than a year and a half's imprisonment. The public were astonished to find that the government had punished a woman on much the same terms as a man.

[593] Assuming that a woman could steel herself to murder anyone, it is natural to find her avenging her father, son or brother. Given primitive Albanian ideas about the proprieties between husband and wife, and the feeling that the wife remained a member of her father's household, it is somewhat surprising to find one avenging her husband. A woman of western Mat went one day to the bazaar and there saw the man who had murdered her husband. In spite of the press of people she drew a revolver and shot him dead; as she had come provided with the weapon, there is little doubt that she did not act on the spur of the moment. About 1883 Fatime Almetaj, a woman born in Kostejë near Martanesh and married in Përvall, was busy baking one day while her husband talked to a neighbour. On hearing a gunshot she rushed out to find her husband already dead and the neighbour running away. She ran inside, seized her husband's rifle and again rushed out. The neighbour had already reached his own doorstep when she fired. As soon as she saw him fall dead, she re-entered her house and resumed her baking; her husband had been avenged, there were others in the family to feed, and the dough was getting cold. In neither of these cases do records show whose life the enemy took in return for the one she had taken; by right it should have been one of the males in her husband's family.

593 In certain cases both the avenger and the expiator of a murder
*628 might be drawn from outside the household directly concerned.
[826] For instance, if a murderer and his brother were separated, the avenger might kill the latter while his blood was boiling, a period estimated in Dibër at one hour and in Mirditë and elsewhere at twenty-four hours. When his blood had cooled he must not molest the separated brother, and might be required to find a guarantor that he would not do so. Conversely, a man separated from his murdered brother might avenge him during the regulation period, but not afterwards.

613 Sometimes the rule of 'boiling blood' was extended to larger
*628

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XXIII

BLOOD FEUD

II. COURSE OF THE FEUD

The fatal shot fired, a murderer's life was in such instant danger from the avenger that it behoved him to fly with all speed. But often his 'blood seized him' so that 'his legs gave way under him' and he was rooted to the spot from shock. Custom therefore prescribed in Shkodër, Lumë and Godolesh that he must drop on the ground a cartridge or an article of clothing such as his fez, sash, or handkerchief; in Elbasan, Shpat and Çermenikë that he must lick the muzzle of his rifle or pistol; alternatively, in Elbasan that he must inhale the smoke of the gunpowder or let his comrades slap his face; in Labinot that he must hold the cartridge case in his mouth and bite his little finger and suck the blood, and in Mat that he must eat a little gunpowder. That done successfully, 'his blood was set free', 'the seizure passed', and he was able to run away.

When an article of clothing was left behind, it served to identify the murderer; where none was left, word had to be sent to the victim's family. It was everywhere 'held dishonourable' to kill and not to tell. It was also thought unfair for reasons that varied with the locality. In Mirditë the victim's relatives might go mad if they did not know the identity of the murderer; in north Albania the murderer's kinsmen would not know to hide while the avenger's blood was boiling; in south Albania the crime might be laid at the wrong door. Besides, the normal murder was matter for boasting; committed only to avenge some wrong or insult, it showed that the murderer was spirited enough to resent ill-treatment.

Latterly, when the government was attempting to repress murder, the murderer, certain of arrest, left no token and did not inform the relatives. The community, however, was always on the watch and from its members' observation of those who came from the direction of the shots and from their knowledge of the whereabouts of the victim's enemies at the time, the murderer's identity was established—at all events to the satisfaction of the community.

In the early days of a feud the father or brother of the victim might in his furious rage kill the murderer and shoot a second time

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

A 757 278 enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

A [262] The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

A [136]

So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

A 164 136 *Diseases.*—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

A 165 853 Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

A 854 754 M CM A 151

A 757 752 *Wounds.*—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

A 757 826 752 From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

should strike the next man and the blow would entail a fight and 671
blood. Women should walk the length of a distaff apart—they usually spin as they go—lest a blow given should draw their men into a fight.

Neither man nor woman must pass between two persons who have 671
just been speaking together, for (? in some occult manner) this will 576
cause them to quarrel. So strong is this belief that once in a small hut a woman gripped me by the shoulder, dragged me out, and squeezed herself between me and the wall in order to avoid passing between me and Marko, where there was plenty of room. Lek, I was told, had so ordained. I like to think that he did his best by means of house-burning and fines to diminish the very ancient custom of "blood," and that he did not deserve the Pope's excommunication.

As we have seen, house-burning and fine are the only punishments 681
under the Canon. Nevertheless, by decree of the council of the whole 627
tribe the death penalty can be inflicted. In February 1912 an amazing case of wholesale justice was reported to me which had recently taken place in Mirdita. A certain family of the Fandi bairak had long been notorious for evil-doing—robbing, shooting, and being a pest to the tribe. A gathering of all the heads condemned all the males of the family to death. Men were appointed to lay in wait for them on a certain day and pick them off; and on that day the whole seventeen of them were shot. One was but five and another but twelve years old. I protested against thus killing children who must be innocent and was told: [827]
"It was bad blood and must not be further propagated." Such was the belief in heredity that it was proposed to kill an unfortunate woman who was pregnant, lest she should bear a male and so renew the evil. Three shots which missed were fired at her; she rushed to a man and [671]
called on him to protect her. He took her under his besa and she was spared.

A case of private "justice," though it took place in South Albania 681
at Postenani, a small isolated village, and so is not connected with the 183
Canon of Lek, is so singular that it should be recorded. I stayed some days at the village and, when leaving, a crowd gathered to see me start. When we were on the way my guide asked if I had noticed a woman who had stood near the door; I had not. He said it was a pity, as she was a very brave woman and had saved her husband. They owned a house and some land; a child was born to them, and all went well till her husband's brother arrived. He was a bad man, and demoralized the village, not only by starting gambling with card games, but by [525]
drinking and teaching very vicious practices to the youth. The woman with dismay saw her husband taken with the gambling craze, playing away his goods, and nearing ruin. Then the child was ill. She prayed her husband to send for a doctor; but the nearest was a whole day's

ooolives. Careful! Don't let him suspect I'm talking about it.)"

Albanians, with their many languages, are used to such conversations. I hope I deceived Lulash; my training in dissimulation has been small. I was rather dizzy.

"From what does their happiness come, then?" said I. ("For Heaven's sake, what happened to make him do that?")

581 "Happiness," said Lulash, "comes from the
828 skies. It comes from sunshine, and from light and shadow on the mountains, and from green things in the spring. It comes also from rest when one is tired, and from food when one is hungry, and from fire when one is cold. It comes from singing together, and from walking on hard trails and being harder than the rocks; and there is a kind of happiness that comes to a man in battle, but that is a different kind. For us, marriage has nothing to do with happiness."

ooo Perolli, translating, added, "He did it because the Albanian government has helped the American school here."

Then for the first time I really looked at Lulash. He had been until then simply a marvelously beautiful animal; a man such as men must have been before cities and machines and office desks brought dull skins and eyes, joy rides, padded shoulders, and crippling collars. Now I perceived that he was also a real person.

He saw beyond immediate gain for himself or his people. He had refused any advantages to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

who had heard him. So they built a hut for her to live in. But she did nothing but weep and recount her misfortunes. The king having heard her once or twice lamenting in this way, approached and asked her why she wept; so the maiden told him her story. Then the king took her for his wife, and as for the slave, he cut her into a thousand pieces, the biggest of which was not larger than that! 539

The following story strikingly illustrates the fatalistic beliefs entertained by the Albanians in common with the generality of Orientals. The incident of the substituted letter is of common occurrence in Greek as well as Albanian folk-tale.[1] [829] [538]

The Story of the Child; or, The Fates.[2]

There was once an old man and an old woman who had no children. At last, after I don't know how many years, God gave them a son, and their joy had no bounds when they found that the Lord had at length thus remembered them. Two nights had passed since it was born, and the third was coming on when the Three Women would appear to assign to the infant its destiny.[3]

The same night it rained so heavily that no one dared put his nose out of doors for fear of being carried off by the water and drowned. However, who should arrive in the midst of the rain but a Pasha,

[1] See, for instance, "The Three Brothers and the Dev," p. 156; Dozon's "La Boîte Merveilleuse," *Manuel*, &c., No. xviii., *Contes*, No. xi.; and Hahn's Tinote story of "Kosta and the Drakos," in the Νεοελληνικὴ Παραμυθία.

[2] Dozon, *Langue Chkipe*, No. xx.; *Contes Albanais*, No. xiii. [3] See p. 244.

PEAKS OF SHALA

Lulash. The fireplace was full of bubbling pots and sizzling pans; the padre, helped informally by whoever happened to be nearest, was preparing our luncheon. My dilemma was announced; I stood before them shoeless. A boy ran at once across the village and returned streaming, as though he had been in a river, bringing two pieces of goatskin, tanned with the soft brown hair on it.

To the eager interest of everyone, I set my feet on the pieces, and there were many exclamations of wonder at their smallness and at the curious shape of them, the toes so close together and making a point, instead of arching, each one separately, as the toes of their people do, and they would have been glad to examine them more closely—asking one another, as Rexh explained, if I would or would not take off the strangely woven stockings later. Meanwhile the boy with a nail drew the outlines of my feet on the leather and went away with it to his house, where the opangi would be made.

While this was happening the older men of the tribe went back to the cold bedroom with Perolli, each one adding his own *besa* of loyalty to the one Lulash had sworn, and asking many questions about the aims and strength of the Tirana government. They* would not yet call it the Albanian government; they could not comprehend the idea of the state, so familiar to us that we never examine it. "Government" meant to them not only the consent of the governed, but the active participation of everyone in govern-

* [men from village of Thethis-- [153] Analyst]

641 829 ing; they had, indeed, no conception of what we mean by "government." When they say "government" they mean what we mean when we say, in a group, "Well, now we're all agreed, let's go on and do it."

185 Perolli spent that morning—and indeed most of his time in the few succeeding days that we were together—trying to explain the idea of a representative government to these simple communist people. And he told us that within six weeks the Albanian government would really come up into the mountains. The plan was to begin by sending into the tribes men from Tirana who could read and write; they would be connecting links between Tirana and the tribes, sitting in all the tribal councils, making reports to Tirana and explaining the wishes of the Tirana parliament to the mountaineers.

These men would bring in with them, of course, the private-property ideas of southern Albania (which is just changing from the feudal system to modern capitalism), and I felt a regret, purely romantic, perhaps, at the inevitable disappearance of this last surviving remnant of the Aryan primitive communism in which our own forefathers lived, and at the replacing of Lulash by men like our politicians. I am a conservative, even a reactionary; I should like to keep the Albanian mountains what they are. But no one can stop the changes in human affairs; the eternal swing of the pendulum goes on; we have shop stewards in England and a Plumb plan in

PEAKS OF SHALA

ooo empty coffee cup to Sadiri Luka, saying, "*Per te mire* (All good to you)," and rose. He would not stay to share the food which the women were even then bringing, for there was a sick man in upper Thethis, too ill to come to confession, who had sent, begging the padre to come to him. The sick man's son waited for him at the door, and two chiefs laced his opangi, gave him his staff, and went with him a little way on the trail.

574 It was midafternoon, and since early morning
264 the women had been preparing the feast they offered us.[1] A special dispensation had been asked, and granted by Padre Marjan, for that feast, for though this was Lent, we were not Catholics, and never before had Americans been guests in upper Thethis. Far and wide the rumor had gone that in our own tribe we were daughters of chiefs, and it was with apologies that the village offered us its best.

When we had washed our hands in water poured from a silver pitcher, and dried them on a towel of white silk, a large brass tray was set on four midget legs in the midst of our cushions, and the other guests withdrew to places near the walls. Much urging persuaded Sadiri Luka to sit with us and share such parts of the feast as did not break the Lenten fast. Newly made wooden spoons were given us, and a silver bowl of hot chicken broth was set in the center of the tray.

829 Sadiri Luka spoke little, but his remarks were sound and well considered. While our spoons

1 [At house of Sadiri Luka, [190] wealthy man of upper Thethis -- Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

rhythmically dipped the delicious broth, he said 829 that the whole question of good government in Albania depended upon the fixing of the frontiers, and that the League of Nations talks too much and does too little. He suggested, as explanation of this fact, that the League is made of human beings.

While we gorged upon pieces of miraculously tender roasted lamb, fished from a heaping platter, he said that any definite frontier, however unjust, would be better than the prolonged uncertainty which daily encouraged further Serbian invasions.

While we chose morsels of stewed chicken, he said that the greater danger was not from Serbia, which fought with artillery, but from Italy, now driven to intrigue. Italy, having been promised southern Albania and much of the eastern Adriatic coast in return for joining the Allies in the Great War, had now been cheated of payment, driven from Albania by the Albanians, and refused Fiume. However, Italy had authority from the League of Nations to occupy Albania again if the Albanians could not maintain a stable government. Italy would, therefore, do two things; first she would spend money and munitions in trying to stir rebellion within Albania and in encouraging the already savage discontent of Montenegro, Bosnia, and Croatia; then she would develop an aggressive foreign policy, drop all pretense of accord with France or England, and fight it out with Jugo-Slavia.

PEAKS OF SHALA

829 When this occurred, of course both Serbia and Italy would fall on Albania; any trouble in the Balkans was a signal for that.

[262] The chicken being taken away, we were given a bowl of little cakes, light as whipped cream, cooked in brown butter and served with honey. Sadiri Luka said that the only hope of peace in the Balkans was a Balkan federation; nothing less, he said, would persuade the European Powers and Turkey to leave the Balkans alone. It was true that for fifteen centuries the Slavs had been attacking Albania and tearing territory from her; it was true that more than a million Albanians were suffering under Serbian and Greek rule to-day; it was true that Albanians had won the Greek war of independence, and the Young Turk revolution, and their own revolution, only to see their country mutilated by their neighbors and by European diplomacy. But if it were possible for free Albania to live, he believed she would be the leader in a movement for a Balkan federation, and he pointed out that, with frontiers free and military expenses pooled, all the Balkan peoples could develop lands and mines, water power and industries, and in time readjust their boundaries by purchase, which would be cheaper than war.

000 This solution was so logical that I suspected it to be in the realm of pure fantasy, for I have long observed that human affairs and logic have little in common. But we listened with great interest to these opinions of Sadiri Luka, which

[At house of Sadiri [192] Luka of Thethis --analyst]

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

*669 unless we were withdrawn from Albania within five days, patrols would be sent out to capture us and bring us to trial before a Partisan court-martial.

That Enver Hoja should thus have dared to impugn the good faith of British officers, let alone to threaten their arrest and trial, is eloquent of the hostility, or at least the contempt which he felt for the British authorities. He had rashly chosen, however, to deliver his ultimatum at a time when his delegates in Bari were negotiating an agreement with the British Command. The terms which they had obtained were unexpectedly favourable, but our outraged staff officers now broke off discussions, declaring that they would not ratify the agreement until Enver Hoja had withdrawn his allegations and his ultimatum. For some days relations between the Partisan Government and our Headquarters were strained, but our staff officers remained unyielding, and at last Enver Hoja climbed down and gave reluctant assurances for the honourable treatment of all British officers in Albania. The incident was thus closed to the satisfaction of our Headquarters, but, despite Enver Hoja's apparent submission, the real victory was to the Partisans. They had succeeded in creating the impression in Bari that support of the Zogists must involve further " unpleasantness " ; and once our Headquarters had ratified the agreement with them the fear of " unpleasantness " became a powerful cause of appeasement.

665 829 Politics is not yet an exact science, and many of our staff officers still clung to the hope that Enver Hoja's intransigence would be moderated by opposition from within the L.N.C. In the last week of August, however, Mustafa Jinishi, Enver Hoja's only serious rival, was killed in an ambush in Dibra. Mustafa had been a Communist, but had suffered from a peculiarly Albanian brand of deviation. He had subscribed to the doctrine that the ruling classes must be dispossessed of the ownership of the means of production, but had believed that this principle could hardly be applied to the tribal society of the Ghegs. There the means of production were already owned in common by the tribe, and the authority of the chiefs

7: Amery G-5 (1943-44) 1948 EG1 Albania EG1

was derived not from ownership, but rather from personal qualities, tradition, or subsidies received from abroad. Mustafa had therefore considered that education, health, and administration were the chief requirements of a community whose economic structure was not of itself an obstacle to the Revolution. These theoretical conclusions had suggested a policy of gradualism, and in this he had beenfortified by more practical considerations. The strength of Albania lay in the mountains; and Mustafa knew that, even if the Partisans occupied Tirana, they could only compel the submission of the tribes with the help of foreign troops. His patriotic instinct recoiled from such an expedient; and he considered, besides, that a population of only a million could ill afford the employment of violent means to attain an end which a Marxist interpretation of history showed to be in any case inevitable. He had therefore concluded that the Albanian Communist Party must persuade where it could not profitably compel, and had thus envisaged a period of prolonged co-operation with the Nationalist chiefs.

The study of the divergences of opinion within the Communist Party, as within the Early Church, is more amusing than instructive; and Mustafa Jinishi's position is perhaps best described by saying that, while he had regarded the United Front as a strategy, Enver Hoja thought of it only as tactics. In infinity the two are indistinguishable, but here below the difference is a fruitful source of controversy. Already in Belgrade Mustafa had advocated Communist collaboration with Abas Kupi and Gani Kryeziu. Later, as a member of the Central Council of the L.N.C., he had played a prominent part in winning non-Communist support for the Partisan cause. In the early days Enver Hoja had welcomed his efforts for tactical reasons, and it was not until the time of the Italian armistice that the breach between them had become open. Then, at Abas Kupi's instance, Mustafa had concluded the agreement at Mukai for a military alliance with the Ballists; but Enver Hoja had branded the agreement as Right Wing deviation, and had persuaded the Central Council to withhold its ratification. Thereafter Mustafa's influence in the movement had declined, and, alone of the members of the

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

hear him. He offers her sweets which have been left 585
there purposely, but still she heeds him not. This comedy may, if the bridegroom be timid and the bride reserved, be prolonged until the third evening after the marriage, in which case the courage and virtue of the bride are extolled by the women in song. On the third evening, however, custom requires the bride to respond to her husband's advances. On the three days following the wedding the bride, dressed as before, stands like a statue in the reception-room to receive the women visitors who flock to the house in order to inspect her.

The ceremonies attending the nuptials of the [369]
mountain people are almost precisely similar to those customary in the towns, with the exception that the bride is not veiled when conducted to her husband's home. A romantic reserve, however, surrounds the 593
interviews between the young couple, who, especially 831
if the husband be one of a numerous family and have no private apartments, can only meet in secret until they have children of their own. The mountaineers cherish this custom, which, they contend, by surrounding with a halo of romance and mystery the relations of the young couple, tends to keep their love for each 585
other fresh and warm. The wedding processions of the 184
Moslems and Christians are only to be distinguished by the more picturesque effect of those of the former. Many of the company, dressed in rich apparel glitter- [291]
ing with gold embroidery, accompany the bride on [531]
horseback, indulging as they go, whenever they arrive at a spot sufficiently spacious, in the manly old Os- [524]
manli game of throwing the *djerid*, or spear. Pistols

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

railing at him, threatened to make him set up a separate home, 593
which would reduce both him and her to a lower level of comfort. Custom, it is true, under the stress of hard necessity, sanctioned his working alongside her in the fields, but only on condition that he did not indulge in unnecessary or frivolous conversation with her. The only explanation which Albanians offered of these [83]
restrictions was that a husband and a wife felt 'ashamed' in each other's presence. The same feeling existed all over the Balkans until they came under strong western influences a generation ago. Before that every decorous peasant bride, whatever her race or religion, refrained for several years after her marriage from speaking at all to her husband in public and spoke to him in whispers only in private, meanwhile keeping her eyes modestly downcast. This behaviour seems to originate in an idea which is prevalent throughout the Near East. The Greeks say that since only [589]
the celibate life is really holy, the matrimonial state is one of sin and therefore of shame. In I Cor. vii, 8, St Paul voiced it when he wrote, 'I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I'. Moslems, too, believe this, in spite of many being polygamists. There is, for instance, a married as well as a celibate branch of the Bektashi Order of dervishes, but it has so few supporters that at the central monastery at Haci Bektas in the heart of Asia Minor its headquarters are little more than a poverty-stricken excrescence on the enormous, wealthy headquarters of the celibates, and in Albania it has only the [792]
monastery at Qesarakë in the south-east, compared with the seventy maintained for the celibates in different parts of the country.

Now the Unwritten Law of Albania ordained that every married 574
woman had the right to visit her own relatives at least once a year. 593
Since these frequently lived in a different village, she could not travel to or from them without an escort, which neither custom nor the law allowed her husband to provide in person. Since brothers were everywhere allowed to talk to each other's wives, no difficulty arose in a communal household, where any man except the husband could accompany a wife to her parents' home and fetch her back. In a house with only one man matters were more complicated. If his mother were alive and physically fit for the journey, she might go with his wife, but who would then cook his supper and prepare his bed for the night? If his mother were dead

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania EG1

Women and the Moral Standard

361 sheep's heads, and every conceivable kind of foodstuff both
[562] animate and inanimate. Here the only women to be seen are peasants with loads of grass and fodder, or gipsies with bags slung across their shoulders and distaffs in their hands, for it is not considered respectable for women to walk in the main streets of the town, though in the more secluded parts you may occasionally meet high-heeled Mohammedan ladies whose veils do not quite hide the fact that they are smartly dressed in the European fashion.

562 One rarely sees men and women together in Albania, and
831 in consequence one gets the impression, rightly or wrongly, that the company of women is not valued, and that women are regarded only as household drudges and the mothers of children. Nevertheless—or perhaps on this account—the standard of morality is high both in Albania and throughout the Balkans, and breaches of the moral code are rare. In all uncivilised and half-civilised communities the same characteristic is observable, for a wife is regarded as property just as much as a sheep or a bullock or a house, and it is the primitive man's first instinct to keep his property inviolate. Doubtless the women as well as the men have come to regard this point of view as normal, and it is to this, together with a healthy fear of the consequences which any lapse must inevitably bring, that the chastity of the Balkan women is chiefly to be attributed, though a simple religious faith accepted without questioning may also play some part.
831 At all events, whatever the reason, the fact remains that the standard of conduct is, in this particular, higher in the

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
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To the Land of the Eagle

831 Balkans than in more civilised and cultured parts of Europe, and the following true story attests to the lengths to which men are prepared to go in order to maintain the code.

628 577 931 A young peasant of Epirus who had only recently taken a wife had to go to the war. On leaving he placed her in the care of his brother, charging him by everything he held sacred to guard her honour as if it were his own. On his return, a few years later, he found that the trust had been betrayed—and by the brother himself—and that his wife was about to become a mother. The primitive peasant code demanded the death of both the guilty parties, and the soldier killed his wife with his own hand, but before he could go in pursuit of his brother, who had fled to the mountains, was arrested by the gendarmerie. At the subsequent trial he was sentenced to fifteen year's imprisonment—a sentence which is still unexpired. The man who told me the story said that he paid a visit to the gaol and had an interview with the prisoner, who at first stated that there had been a reconciliation between his brother and himself. The visitor, who knew that this could not possibly be true, said, "Why do you lie to me?" And, as the man remained silent, continued, "I know that you will go back when you are free and kill your brother. And what will be the use of that? It will only mean another long term of imprisonment."

The prisoner nodded. "Yes", he said. "But when my imprisonment is over I shall once more be able to live honourably amongst my own people."

Until, therefore, the disgrace has been wiped out by the

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blood of his brother this man cannot take his rightful position 628
in the family or in the community to which he belongs, and 577
rather than be an outcast and scorned by his people he is 831
prepared to spend a great part of his life in gaol. Such is the Balkan code of honour.

At Koritza I found that the money in circulation was no 436
longer Italian. Here, as at Tirana, one transacted business with the krone (or crown) instead of with the lira, as at Durazzo, Valona, Argyrocastron and in the South generally. The currency, moreover, was entirely metal, and consisted, in addition to the Austrian krone itself, of Turkish silver coins, Greek silver drachmae, Serbian dinars, and so forth—the basis being gold. There are no banks, but there are 453
money-changers who are always quite willing to cash British or American notes, and who have drawers full to the brim with gold—French napoleons, English sovereigns and half-sovereigns, and American five-dollar pieces. I had not seen so much gold at one time since the old days before the war when bank cashiers in English used to gather it up from the counter by the shovelful.

The absence of banks must, one would imagine, be a 453
considerable hindrance to the commercial development of a 457
country. Nevertheless it is remarkable how little difference it seems to make in Albania, and I began to wonder whether banks are, after all, as essential as we are prone to think. It was likely, however, at the time of which I am writing, that an Albanian bank would shortly be established with headquarters at Tirana. A proposal had been made by the

533 How beautiful is the bride, Mashallah, Mashallah.
585 She has a forehead for a "perishan" (gold ornament of coins, etc.).
Her eyebrows are like braid, Mashallah, etc.
Her eyes large as coffee cups, Mashallah, etc.
Her nose is like a gold coin ("muskala").
Her cheeks like sweet cake ("gurabi," given at night by the bride to the bridegroom).
Her mouth is like a casket, Mashallah, etc.
Her teeth like pearls.
Her neck like a lily. Her figure is like a standard

585 sang the ladies, the men roaring: "She is, she is!" in a high falsetto, pressing their hands on their ears, and the small boys yelling "Mashallah," a strange cry at a Catholic wedding. All the time her two attendants [152] patted, straightened, and wiped the bride. My neighbour whispered to me: "They often faint." I anxiously watched her panting and swaying, and was relieved when the bridegroom left the room and the men followed. The ladies then bent the bride's knees and she plopped on to the chair. By now she was almost hypnotized, and mechanically at intervals tried to rise, but was at once replaced unless a child came in, when it was correct for her to rise for a moment. Then came midday and the wedding dinner, to which I did not stay. The bride is allowed to withdraw for a time. She does not eat with the guests. Her attendants [264] put little bits of food into her mouth. If very modest she does not take it, but when left alone secretly consumes some food she has hidden in her marriage coffer. On my return she was again enthroned. I was given three tumblers of wine and a dish of sweets and told to consume them, and did my best. I was then given a special view of all the bride's ornaments, and invited to return at night for the final ceremony. This I did not do. It was described as follows: The two attendants prepare the bed at midnight. They undress the bride and put a long silk shirt on her; lay her forcibly on the bed, and withdraw. The two male [833 533] witnesses then lead or drag in the bridegroom and prepare him. The wedding guests all stand outside the door when the couple are left alone, and sing epithalamia of an encouraging nature and shout advice through the keyhole. The bride has to feed the bridegroom with the "gurabi" (cake) she has brought in her wedding coffer.

The company sings continually till told the marriage has been consummated. In a short time the bride and bridegroom emerge completely redressed. She wears a married woman's dress. They are greeted as man and wife and at last left in peace.

585 The whole of the next week the bride may be visited at any hour
574 of the day and must not speak a word, but sit rigid as before.

At the end of the week she has a holiday and goes back to her own people on the Sunday. On the Wednesday her husband is invited to

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of the shortage of women. This, I believe, is largely caused by the high 583
rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162
women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585
bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834
important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581
one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609
days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should
cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585
born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842
it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman
bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589
married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562
has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to
do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right
to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt
twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836
ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842
priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585
betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal,
and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage."
"They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586
miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away.
In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great
trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31,
1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage."
And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia.*"

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584
and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577
and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each
other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the
relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted,
and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626
the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585
it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be
forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the
Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or
immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states
that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

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357 escaped from the district, his master might lawfully be shot in his
682 stead. When, however, a servant murdered on his own respon-
672 sibility, he alone should suffer for the crime. His master was entitled, in dismissing him, to keep back the portion of his wages for which he had not worked, and according to Lek's Kanùn ought not to be shot in his stead. Skanderbeg's law, however, held him as liable in this case as in the former.

357 The only available information about a servant's seducing a girl
684 or young wife in his master's family comes from Martanesh and Shkrel and dates from past times. In Martanesh the law con-
[608] demned the man to death for incest because his master was his 'father' and the young woman his 'sister'. In Shkrel he was killed
[836] at once if he had sinned with a young wife, but if with a girl he was dismissed with orders to hold his tongue, and only if he talked did the girl's father go and shoot him. As for the girl, she was married
[836] to her fiancé as quickly as possible. He was not told that she was pregnant by another man, and would not have cared if he had been. He wanted her as wife and worker and felt sure that he was man enough to keep her straight after marriage; beatings always worked
[848] wonders. The child was sent to the servant as soon as born; he never acknowledged it but either killed it or exposed it by the wayside. The father did not dare to beat the girl in case she ran away to the servant; at all costs he had to keep her for her fiancé, who had presumably paid a good proportion of her bride-price and would have killed him had he failed to deliver her. Presumably the fact that a servant was held to be of little or no account saved the wife or girl from the usual punishment for adultery.[1]

357 Sometimes, despite their being 'brother' and 'sister', a servant
[562] married his master's daughter. Thus an ancestor of Bicaj was a Catholic of Gjugjë in Mirditë who entered the service of Hysen Agë Shteki of Bicaj, turned Moslem, and married Hysen Agë's daughter. Even in modern times a servant may be given his master's daughter in marriage. This is particularly likely to happen if his master is Moslem and he a Christian who agrees to change his religion. His master then looks on his own consent to the marriage as an act of piety. Servants varied in importance according to the master they served. Thus the servant of a Moslem priest (*hoxhë*) had more power than an ordinary peasant's and less than a bajraktar's —at least in the days before most bajraktars were shorn of their

[1] See Chapter XXI.

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couple were buried in any sort of hole, but in separate graves [766] without a hoxha or being washed on boards and changed. In Lumë 684 other customs prevailed. Both were buried in the cemetery in the 627 ordinary way, unless they had been caught outside in some wood or thicket, in which case they were buried where they were killed.

Public opinion is growing against such double murders. It was [582] too often the custom to give young girls to old men, with the inevitable result that the young wives were apt to fall in love with men more of their own age and had therefore to be killed by their fathers.

At Zdrâjshë, when a bride was found on marriage to be pregnant 836 by another man, the unusually mild divorced her at once, but the 625 general rule was to have her killed. The groom locked up the bride, 606 sent for her father, and bade him find her lover. The father always 684 asked for three or four days' respite during which he made inquiries. 593 If the bride had indeed done wrong, an honest father sought out and killed the lover and then came to shoot his own daughter. Or perhaps he gave the bridegroom a cartridge and bade him shoot her with it. All the principles involved are well illustrated by a story [184] from Lurë, still the most undisciplined of all Albanian tribes. About 1928 Metë Hoti, having taken a bride from Vehib Runa in Gur, found her within three months of bearing a child by another man. He sent her back to her father, bidding him find the lover and kill them both. The father would not kill his daughter and persisted [672] in his refusal in spite of Metë's threats to kill the whole family if he did not do so. The father's kinsmen supported Metë, and when he came one night and killed the father, mother, daughter and infant and four other people in the house, they refused to avenge these deaths because the father had transgressed against the unwritten law. For the same reason the government merely imprisoned Metë for a few months.

A woman might be killed for various reasons by a man in her 682 husband's or her father's family. For example, her husband or his 562 representative had leave to kill her for heinous crimes like adultery, 596 incorrigible pilfering, or murdering one of his relatives, but if they 623 killed her for any other reason, her father killed one of them. Two [593] principles were involved: one, that a man bought only the services of his wife and not her life; the other, that a woman retained till her dying day her right to protection by her father's family. Her son by the murderer could not avenge her, because killing his

forever to the little feet that brought you to Thethis!"

The little feet were wearing at that moment two pairs of wrinkled, thick woolen stockings, indescribably ludicrous beneath the flapping legs of trousers around which I had not rewound the soaked woolen leggings, and Perolli and I were helpless with laughter as soon as the door had closed behind Lulash.

"How am I ever going to get to his house?" I asked, wiping my eyes.

"Oh, we'll have somebody make you some goatskin opangi," said Perolli. "He won't expect us very soon." He flung out his arms in a jubilant gesture. "A *besa* of peace from Shala!" he exclaimed. "I couldn't have hoped for that! It means peace through the whole north; it means internal security for northern Albania—if I can only get the other tribes to join it."

Frances and Alex came in, desperately anxious to know what had happened, and we three did a dance of pure delight. It was an inexpressible relief to know that Perolli would get out of Shala alive, and the *besa* was almost too much.

"But, Perolli," said Frances, when I had told the whole conversation, "do you mean to say that these people are—are absolutely moral? I mean, as we understand morality? No love making along all these mountain trails? No illegitimate children? Never?"

"Never? Well, I have heard of one case," said Perolli. "But don't forget that such a

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

837 thing would mean a blood feud between tribes.
628 No man would make love to a girl of his own
619 tribe, of course; a tribe traces its ancestry back to a common ancestor, and it would be like an American's making love to his own sister. And if he seduced a girl of another tribe he would be involving hundreds of people. Men have to respect women in these mountains; they're killed if they don't, and not only they, but their families. A blood feud is no joke.

"However, I did hear of its happening once. The man's family had to send word to the family of the girl to whom he was betrothed, to say that he could not marry her because he was going to have a child by another woman. The three tribes met in council and prevented a blood feud, but the man's family had to pay his fiancée's tribe ten thousand kronen, and ten thousand kronen to the family of the man that the other girl was engaged to. Then those two married, and the first man married the girl who was going to have his child. But it was a terrible disgrace to both their families.

But he cut short our awed admiration for such a rigidly moral community. He was a man of Ipek, educated in Europe, and returned to Tirana, and his attitude to the ignorant tribes of these mountains was not one of admiration.

584 "They are really a wretched lot," he declared.
627 "Now, take a thing like this, for instance." And he told us that in a house a few miles down the valley there was a nine-year-old girl held prisoner. The story was this:

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

682 as suicide so that he escaped with his life, and that was the com-
627 monest result, he was treated as 'a low-class fellow', visited by
593 none but bad characters, and, if a Mohammedan, never given the greeting 'Peace be with thee'. In Mirditë, always more rigorous than other districts, he was considered so anti-social that he was either killed or expelled in perpetuity by his kinsmen, or, according to another version, by the whole village along with his kinsmen.

606 The murder of certain relatives did not concern the family. Thus,
628 if a man murdered a relative by marriage, such as his son-in-law, father-in-law, wife's brother, or sister's husband, the crime ranked as an ordinary murder and was expiated with a life or with blood money. The marriage tie was disregarded; the important point was that, unlike two brothers living under separate roofs, murderer and
[581] victim belonged to different families. Such murders were very rare, for marriage relationships were always contracted to secure a valued friend, and no Albanian in his senses ever threw a friend lightly away. Again, if a man murdered his maternal uncle or his sister's son, murderer and victim belonged to different families, and blood money at least was payable for the crime. The contingency rarely arose, since a maternal uncle was regarded as a father and a sister's son as one's own child.

623 If a woman was taken in adultery, and her husband killed her and
837 her paramour together—'kerchief and cap together'—he incurred
634 no feud; their deaths went unavenged; it was a case of 'blood for
593 blood', one equal to the other. To prove them guilty he sent for his wife's brother and her lover's brother to see them both lying dead; his message would run, 'I killed her because I caught her sinning'. The wife's brother would hand him a cartridge, saying, 'Here is a cartridge for my sister. Bravo for doing this'. The paramour's nearest relatives came to the house, drank coffee, and took away the corpse; the murderer accompanied them to their house, drank coffee, and so peace was established between them. If the paramour's brother was 'a gentleman', 'a man', he would give a cartridge to the husband, saying, 'I pardon your crime because my brother has sinned'. Even the father of the paramour might say to the murderer, 'A blessing on your rifle', and give him coffee as a sign that there was peace between them. In modern times the government accepted the evidence of the two bodies lying together and punished the husband with no more than two or three weeks' imprisonment.

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[Laws enacted in Kastrat and Bajzë on Nov. 1, 1892]

Whoever brings pigs or sheep to Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh. 681
Whoever washes clothes at Shpellë will be fined 50 grosh.[1] [231]

21. A man who leaves his sureties to pay his debt is to pay a fine of [296]
225 grosh to his creditor and 150 grosh to the chiefs and 5 rams.

VI. Supplement dated 1894.

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 124–5.)

1. Whoever takes a woman to live with him without marrying her or [837]
runs off with a married woman or a girl shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 500 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

2. Whoever tears his face in mourning and lamentation for the dead, [765]
shall pay 1000 grosh to the Church, 1000 grosh to the chiefs and 10 rams.

3. Whoever does not permit the chiefs and fine-collectors to carry [696]
out a tribal law will be fined 500 grosh and 5 rams.

4. Whoever commits a murder during a truce or after the feud has [628]
been compounded will be fined 6 purses and 10 rams.

5. Whoever fires a rifle in a house where there is a wedding shall, [585]
whether he be a guest or the master of the house, pay 500 grosh and 5 rams.

The same fine shall be paid by whoever annoys another with abuse at table whether at a dinner or a wedding.

6. Whoever acts contrary to these laws, whether he be chief, fine- [554]
collector, or commoner, shall pay 3000 grosh.

Brahim Beg *serxherde*
Kasem Beg *bylikbash*
Dodë Prençi bajraktar
Zenel Shebani
Gjokë Doda
Keq Prela
Zef Gjeka
Prelë Toma
Gjelosh Nika
Vukusa' Leka
Brahim Vuksani

[In front of each of these names there is a Turkish seal.]

VII. Solemn Pledge for Flock and Shepherd in Nikaj and Shalë, St Prende's Day 1894. 681 491 574

(From Father Gjeçov, *Kanùn*, pp. 119–20.)

1. As regards roads it has been enacted as follows:
From the fountain in Faqe to the crucifix in Brazhdë the road is

[1] (Note by Father Gjeçov: Shpellë is the place where Bajzë and district take water.)

593 maternal uncle's children. Then when the bride joins her husband in his father's house, she will come directly under the supervision of her paternal aunt, a woman whom she has already seen, and who represents an extension of her own family in the strange household. Such an ideal arrangement still makes no provision for a selection of mates on the basis of personality adjustments. It merely makes the change from one household to the other a little easier than if the girl were a total stranger. Very often a girl's fiancé is killed and she has to marry one of his brothers, a cousin, or someone of an entirely different family, and there will be no familiar aunt to smooth things over, but instead a suspicious and exacting mother-in-law, with whom her only ties are through her husband.

583 It is no wonder that brides sometimes run away. If they come home their fathers usually return them. Not infrequently they elope and if they are lucky settle in some city, or distant countryside where the limb of Lek Dukagin's [538] law is not long enough to reach them. Gheg epic poetry, which the traveler hears sung night after night in private houses, hans, and gendarmeries, dwells frequently on the theme of elopement. One hears at length about couple after couple, hopelessly in love, who break all of the rules, run away, and meet a tragic but inexorable fate. In the epics they seldom if ever make good their escape. In real life I believe that they sometimes succeed, and their elopements, successful or otherwise, help reduce the population of the mountains.

589 If a young woman is faced with a marriage which she cannot bring herself to consummate, and if she has enough strength of character to take the following step, she can avoid matrimony by becoming a "sworn virgin" (fig. 10, *d*). She summons a meeting of the 12 elders of her community and in their presence swears perpetual chastity. By this means she not only gets out of her engagement, but also prevents a feud between her father's kin and those of [838] her fiancé. At this point she becomes technically a man. She may or may not don masculine clothing. She will carry a gun, and fight like other men. She will plough and reap, and do all of the tasks of a man. If she breaks her oath, the elders will, in theory, burn

[see cat. 116, p. 110 -- Analyst]

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585 married by P. Francesco one ran away six weeks ago and cannot be found.

584 When I was there in 1908 things were better, but old customs clung. The main idea of the clergy was to insist that a betrothal must not be broken off, but to prohibit child betrothals.

583 All priests were ordered to question the girl as to her wishes before
585 celebrating the marriage. Few girls, however, have the courage to resist the commands of the house and the usage of the tribe. Among the wilder tribes girls who objected were still sometimes carried off bound with cords and forced to comply; and, cohabitation having taken place, the priest married them.

581 Among the Dukagini tribes infant betrothal was still common.
584 The fine old bairaktar of Nikaj, Bash Bairimi, told me that he thanked God he owed no one blood; all his five sons were alive and four were married. The fifth, aged twenty-five, was yet unmarried. Not because Bash grudged the money. He would pay willingly, but could find no maiden good enough. He wanted good blood. A woman of bad stock makes endless trouble. He had betrothed the four elder lads to unborn brides; but had not done this with the fifth and was sorry, for all good maidens were already betrothed. He was looking out for a suitable widow. Money, he repeated, was no object; he would not stick at a few more napoleons to buy a really suitable woman.

583 A result of high bride-price and shortage of women was a good deal of woman-stealing between the outlying tribes. I was told that many of the blood-feuds of Shala were based upon the abduction of girls from neighbour tribes. If a betrothed girl went off with another man, willingly or unwillingly, a blood-feud always started. She was the property of the family that had bought her and had no rights over her person.

584 *Escape from Betrothal.*—In one way only could a girl evade a marriage
589 she disliked. If she could find twelve elders of her tribe group to act as con-jurors she could swear perpetual virginity. If she broke the vow the honour of the con-jurors was blackened and a blood-feud ensued. It was not easy for her to find twelve con-jurors.

689 Having succeeded and taken the vow in the church or mosque, her
626 status is, I believe, unique. In the Maltsia e Madhe she can, if she pleases, dress as a man. She associates with the men on equal terms,
689 and eats and smokes with them. She may carry arms. The reason given
562 is that as she has no man to support her she must support herself,
839 and a herdsman's life is the only way. I met altogether four virgins who wore men's clothes, but none carried arms. I heard of three more. One in the Djakova district was said to have served in the Turkish Army undetected.

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe.

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes.

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep.

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head.

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider.

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has

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rate of mortality in childbirth and the extremely hard lives of the 162
women.

A girl, once betrothed, is the property of the family which has 585
bought her, and must be *intacta virgo* when handed over. The most 834
important object of marriage is to obtain sons. A sonless man had no 581
one to avenge him, and his soul would never rest. Therefore in old 609
days, when a girl was handed over, it was usual that the couple should
cohabit, but no marriage ceremony should take place till a son was 585
born. The Church has actively fought this custom and almost abolished 842
it. But some cases still occur. Even when the unfortunate woman
bore several daughters she might still be treated as worthless; and a 589
married woman who has borne only daughters and is left as a widow 562
has not the right to stay in the family house, but may be permitted to
do so. If this is not allowed, her own nearest male relative has the right
to sell her again—cheap. I heard of a nephew who had sold his aunt
twice.

In a report on the missionary work in Albania made by the Fran- 836
ciscan father Donato Maria di Trento in 1740, he states that the 842
priests are doing all they can to prevent parents from allowing the 585
betrothed to cohabit before marriage, which custom, he says, is universal,
and describes as "a most foul torrent of universal concubinage."
"They will not contract marriage till offspring is obtained."

Girls being thus married without any choice of their own, and being 586
miserable in strange surroundings, were naturally apt to run away.
In the above report this is constantly mentioned as cause of great
trouble and feud. Thus Padre Candido reports from Gruda, January 31,
1740: "Women are running away every day, even after marriage."
And P. Bonaventura says: "The women are running away *a grandissima furia.*"

The custom of child betrothal and payment of parents is described 584
and signed by thirteen padres and the Bishop of Scutari in 1731, 577
and it is stated that it is great disgrace for the betrothed to see each
other before they cohabit, or for the bride even to speak with the
relatives of the bridegroom. The two parties are never consulted,
and "in this country the youth never make love."

To counteract these difficulties the Mission makes much use of 626
the local custom of swearing a common oath in which those swearing 585
it call down all kinds of imprecations on their heads should they be
forsworn. Consequent upon the swearing of many such oaths the
Mission reports sixty-four marriages celebrated either before or
immediately after cohabitation. P. Bonaventura triumphantly states
that thirteen married by him are still with their husbands; but of those

and a fringe is made of hair combed forward over the shaven area. 585
The shaven temple makes the face look very wide.

In order to promote fertility, among the Dukagini it was not [842] uncommon to keep a pair of goats or sheep penned in the corner of the living-room, even when it was at the top of a tall tower and some twenty people lived in it.

On marriage, no kind of privacy is observed. Bride and bridegroom [592] take their place in the common apartment.

A colossal feast is usual at a wedding, and in the old days it might last several days. A Djakovan friend told me that three oxen, fifteen sheep, and God knows how many fowls had been eaten at his. At all weddings any amount of firing takes place. The tribesman goes on shooting so long as he has a cartridge left, for sheer joy of the "pop-bang." One man I knew fired his whole stock of six hundred cartridges.

Weddings in the Towns.—In Scutari I was guest at two Catholic weddings. The bridegroom saw the bride for the first time in church. She was brought in closely veiled and unveiled only before the altar. Weddings were always on a Monday or Saturday—usually a Monday. "It would be most inconvenient to marry on any other day," was the sole explanation findable.

This is what took place: The marriage had been arranged by the 584 relatives on each side after long conferences. On Sunday afternoon I was invited to the bridegroom's house to see the "gifts." No bride- 583 price in money is paid. Four Scutari ladies in full dress sat on the floor 585 at one end of the room and three men at the other, in charge of the "gifts." These were always the same, and varied only in quality according to the bridegroom's means. The "gifts" were a pair of boots, a pair of slippers, and four boxes of scented soap (or perfume), which were in charge of the men. The ladies watched over a large red silk hand- [291] kerchief, a pair of white cotton stockings (with pink suspenders sewn on a card, a greatly admired novelty), a pair of scissors, needles and pins in a casket, a distaff to make her a good housewife, and a handsome [301] necklace of large silver-gilt coins, set in filigree. This is called the "dupa." It is worn by all married women, and is sometimes of gold and very valuable. No doubt it represents the bride-price.

The boots had high gilt heels, yellow uppers, pink elastic sides, [291] and patent-leather toes, embroidered minutely with wreaths of flowers. They were filled with sweetly scented flowers, that the bride's path on earth might be sweet. We admired the gifts and awaited the arrival of the relative who was to take them to the bride. He arrived with several others; and they dragged from another room the bridegroom, who resisted strongly because "he was so shy." Bride and bridegroom [576] have to assume a superhuman modesty.

585 The presents were tied up in two gaily coloured handkerchiefs. We went into the yard. The ladies joined hands and so did the men, and [533] stood in opposite rows singing alternate verses. The men asked if the bride was ready, and the ladies sang she was a lump of sugar. The youth who was acting as gift-carrier was then sprinkled with holy water by the mistress of the house, and went on his errand. All was over for that day. On Monday, at 9 a.m., we were called to the bridegroom's house. [534] A large party of male relatives and friends was gathered there, with a violin, tambouritza, and concertina. The bridegroom and his two witnesses sat in the yard on chairs. I went to the women's room. The [542 301] display was gorgeous. On full-dress occasions the Scutarene Catholic ladies' dress touches the sublime. The exquisite fineness of the embroidered white silk veils, the skill with which they were draped; the coral and gold stitched "salman" which gleamed through the veil and stood in a peak over the forehead; the long tassels of seed-pearls or filigree gold that hung from the ears; the lavish display on neck and breast of great gold coins, and the great scarlet cloaks made up a scene of real magnificence. Each lady sat, a vast heap, on the floor, her huge purple-black "branaveks" (bloomers) billowing round her and the skirts of her scarlet stiffly embroidered "djuba" spreading like a peacock's tail behind her, with all the solemn dignity of an Eastern [262] idol. Coffee and piles of sweets circulated. An empty chair in the corner awaited the bride. Then an ox-cart creaked down the lane. The oxen were decked with marigolds. They brought the bride's coffer. We went to meet it. The women joined hands and sang a song of greeting, while with difficulty ten men carried the huge painted chest into the women's room. It contained all the bride's clothing; all her husband's underclothing (she has to make him at least two dozen of everything); and all the house-linen (likewise her work). Two of the bridegroom's female relatives now went in a gaily decorated carriage to fetch the bride. The horses' heads were beflagged with the coloured handker- [281] chiefs which play a large part in the life of the people. The ladies took with them a parasol for the bride and the scarlet cloak ("japangi"), which is the gift always of the bridegroom to the bride, and is worn by married women only. The bride was to be conveyed to the cathedral.

The bridegroom then entered the women's room to say farewell. [777] He wept real tears and was dragged away weeping and resisting, the ladies sprinkling him with holy water as he left. After a long wait, punctuated with coffee, sweets, and rakia, a cry arose: "They are coming!" In the carriage were the two female bride-leaders, neither of whom may be the mother. A sister, aunt, or sister-in-law may take [777 842] the duty. Between them sat the bride motionless, rigid, and closely veiled; and opposite sat a little boy whose presence is necessary to

enable her to bear male children. The ladies again sang songs of greeting. Then the two bride-leaders manipulated the bride as though she were a lay figure. She was absolutely passive. They raised her to her feet, set her feet one after the other, shod in the wedding-boots, on to the steps of the carriage, and then on the ground. They then draped her with the red silk handkerchief sent her yesterday, and pinned it to the top of her head. Supported under the armpits she was slowly shuffled across the yard. It was but a few yards long, but her passage took full ten minutes. She was pelted with sweets, which a crowd of children gathered, and sprinkled with holy water, and led into the women's room. The bridegroom then arrived on foot and went to the men's room. I followed the bride. She was led backwards, and seated, still blinded by the veils, upon the chair in the corner. Her hands were laid on her sash and nervously grasped a folded handkerchief. Her immobility as her attendants handled her was so inhuman as to be almost horrible. One of her leaders carefully lifted a corner of her head-coverings and gave her lemonade to drink under it. The attendants themselves were then ceremoniously served with refreshments. They then removed her wedding-boots and put on the slippers, raised her to her feet, lifted a corner of her veil, said good-bye under it, and withdrew. The poor bride still stirred never a finger, but the violent heaving of her breast showed her on the verge of hysterics. She pulled herself together and the ordeal continued. One of the bridegroom's female relatives unpinned the red handkerchief from the bride's head and held it as a screen before her. Behind it her headdress was changed. Her white veil was removed, and a yellow beflowered silk one substituted.

The great moment had now come. We were to see her face. A lady on each side of her threw back the veil and showed her off. She was exposed to a crowd of staring females. Her head dropped modestly. Her attendants each placed a finger under her chin and raised it again. The sweat streamed down her face. They wiped it. They straightened her wide coat, settled her sash, and waved the flies off her. Such was her Spartan heroism that when a fly, unobserved by the attendants, crawled up her face, she did not even by a twitch show that she was alive. Then a front row of chairs was arranged and all the men came in. The bridegroom, witnesses, and father took their seats. The background was crowded with miscellaneous youths. They stared with all their eyes at the luckless girl, who in vain dropped or turned her head, only to have it put straight again.

Only the bridegroom held his head down and would not look. His witnesses grasped his chin and made him look, and he faltered, "But I've seen her already."

The wedding song then began:—

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse. 757 278

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad ear-ache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose. 761 753

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it. [842 174]

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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bathing the affected member three times in warm water, rubbing it with salt, and finally passing over it the blade of a knife with the words, "As this salt melts, so may the evil melt!" The house is then swept with a new broom, the sweeper saying as the dust is swept out, "So may all evil be swept away!" 755

If ringworm (οὔθι) appears with the new, it may be made to disappear with the waning moon, by covering the place with wood ashes, and repeating at the same time the charm:

> Came the spot and made him foul,
> Came the ash and made him whole.[1]

The remedy for the bite of a tarantula is to place the sufferer on a heap of dung, while nine women bearing the name of Maro[2] sit round him in a circle and chant the following incantation:— [136 164]

> Nine Maros here are we,
> And but one art thou.
> Thou hast worked, thy work succeeds;
> We have worked without success.
> Evil hast thou wrought,
> Good do thou now work,
> O mistress spider![3]

When an Albanian wife has no children, or is the mother of girls only, she, like her Greek sister, attributes her misfortune to some enemy of her family having tied together a number of nettles with this object, and has recourse to counter-spells in order to 842

[1] Ἐρθ σίρθι ε πυρτόθι
Ἐρθ χίνι ε πυρτίνι (lit. "drank it up").

[2] Perhaps, like the similar Greek name, a form of Maria or Mary.

[3] Tarantulas are called by the Albanians by the generic name for spider μαρμαγκα. Comp. Von Hahn's *Albanesische Studien*, p. 157.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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842 remove the charm. If an Albanian, having lost his first wife, marries a second in what the relatives of the deceased may consider indecent haste, they revenge themselves upon him by pouring water upon the grave of his dead wife, in the belief that this will have the effect of causing his second spouse to be childless.

761 751 Among the Christian Tosks, if two or more children of a family have died in infancy, the next born baby is passed three times through a kind of iron tripod. If yet another child dies, the next baby is placed where four roads meet, a silver cross, for which nine women who bear the name of Maro have given the metal, is laid on its body, and the first passer-by is [608] asked to be godfather or godmother to it.

782 In some places, the neighbourhood of Dibra, for instance, black sheep are said to be sacrificed by witch-wives for the benefit of sick persons. Similar sacrifices appear to be now substituted for those of human beings, who, in the popular traditions of the Albanians, [491] as in those of other nations, are said to have been formerly buried under the foundations of important buildings;[1] for Von Hahn relates that, during the present century, when a new bridge was about to be built by the Governor-General's orders over the rapid river Arcen, twelve sheep were sacrificed, their heads being buried under the piers, in order that they might be able to withstand the force of the current.

789 731 When swarms of locusts or cockchafers, as some-

[1] See, for instance, the Greek song of "The Bridge of Arta," *Greek Folk-songs*, p. 81; and "The Monastery of Argis" in Alexandri's *Ballades de la Roumanie*.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

penalties; and finally the conventions which govern the blood-feud. For the blood-feud has occupied from time immemorial, and no doubt still occupies, a very important place in Albanian life, providing the ultimate sanction in all cases in which personal honour is concerned, and on points of personal honour the Albanian is particularly sensitive; and the blood-feud is regulated by a number of very well understood even if unwritten rules and principles.

It is interesting to compare Albanian customary law with that of other headhunters, for the Albanians (see p. 230 below and Miss Durham, *Tribal Origins, etc.*, pp. 172 ff.) till recently at any rate were headhunters. The belief underlying headhunting generally is that life is a material substance residing *par excellence* in the head, and that the abstraction of an enemy's head enables the life-substance in it to be carried off to the head-taker's home to replenish the stock there and increase the fertility of its inhabitants, its crops, and its livestock. Incidentally a surplus of life-substance is necessary to beget children, and hence comes the importance of head-taking as a preliminary to marriage. The tuft left on the head by Albanians (p. 230), as by many Indian tribes and castes, by Chinese, American Indians and others, was probably left originally to shelter life-substance regarded as residing, as in the case of Samson, in the hair. Some Naga tribesmen of Assam give the same account of the purpose of this uncut tuft as do Mrs Hasluck's Albanians, that it is kept to carry away the head by. But this explanation has no doubt arisen from the fact that it is so used in practice. Among the Assam headhunters the vendetta is a communal or a village affair rather than a family one, and there is no taboo on taking the heads of women in pursuance of it, but quite the contrary. In this respect the Albanian practice is more suggestive of that of the Pathans of the North-West Frontier of India. Otherwise the unwritten law of Albania has much similarity with that of south-east Asia and Oceania. The communal destruction of an offender's house at which all members of the community must assist, for instance, is widely distributed from Assam to New Zealand; the banishment of a murderer for life or for a term of years according to the circumstances of the homicide, the association of compurgators with an accused person in the taking of an oath, the assessment of blood-money, are used in the Assam hills much as in the Albanian mountains, and probably in many other primitive areas also. But Albanian customary law is of particular

438 On the other side of the picture lie the craftsmen and shopkeepers in the towns, some Albanian, others Turkish, others Serbian. These craftsmen live off the exports from the mountains and from the other agricultural regions around them, and supply the mountaineers with their needs, including firearms and ammunition, as well as the objects previously listed.

So far the picture is simple, mountaineers on one side of the fence, townsmen on the other. A mountaineer may become a townsman, but never the reverse. At several points, however, the security of the mountains is penetrated: by the itinerant masons who build *kullas*,[1] by the *hanjis*[2] and *kiragis*[3] who handle traffic and care for travelers, and by the shopkeepers, who are themselves usually Ghegs, and who are found in the larger tribal villages, usually but one to a settlement. I can recall but one in Mirdita, none in Shoshi, while in the country villages of Dibra, Luma, and Puka, along the main roads, there were several. These men sold tea and sugar, needles and thread, cigarette papers, salt and pepper, a little candy, candles, kerosene, kerchiefs, and matches. They saved a trip to town for minor purchases.

511 With this balance of production and trade,[4] the Ghegs barely succeed in making a living. If their average income could be accurately assessed, it would be one of the lowest in Europe. The ordinary farmer has just enough clothing to cover his family. In some cases I have seen brothers with one suit between them; one had to stay indoors while the other went out. This was in Merturi. The ordinary household has just enough food to get through the year, saving the next year's seed and selling a little in the town. Many houses are the scenes of tightened belts and near starvation
[842] every spring. Since there is no knowledge of
[165] contraception, many children are born. As ideas of sanitation are also lacking, many people die, and the population is always a little greater than the threshold of tolerance. Feuds, sudden death, and emigration are necessary safety valves. Another very recent one is enlistment in the gendarmerie.

1 [See Cat. 116, pp. 14b – 15a -- Analyst]
2 [See cat 116, pp. 20b - 21a -- Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116 pp. 20a - 20b - Analyst]
4 [See cat. 116 pp 21a – b -- Analyst]

000 TO THE anthropologist, selective marriage systems, such as cross-cousin and parallel-cousin, are run-of-the-mill phenomena. But the anthropologist is used to dealing primarily with non-European peoples, living far from centers of civilization. To the sociologist brought up on European and American subject matter it is an event to discover a "primitive" system in operation only 250 miles from Rome, in the 20th century.

592 As our study of material culture made clear, the Gheg family, like that of the early Israelites, or of the Chinese of any period, is an economic institution. One household, consisting of a man, his wife or wives, his sons, unmarried daughters, and son's children, lives in a single house or group of houses, and all ordinarily work together. The most complicated tasks which confront them require the co-operation of such a group, but no more, except in rare events when neighboring kinsmen may be called in. Isolation and political insecurity enhance the frequency and strength of the mutual relations of the family members. In some of the tribes, notably Dukagin, these households number up to 30 or 40 persons; the Arabic word *mehalla* (military camp) is used to designate them.

[462] A sex division of labor clearly separates the work of the women from that of the men. Each needs the other. A houseful of widows and unmarried women would be unthinkable, as would a house occupied by men alone. The family must be a balanced unit. If a man dies his place must be filled if possible; if a woman fails to bear children another must be found [842] who can. The family must continue, and since so many men are killed before they reach maturity, it must produce boys. The birth of girls is less important because they are not killed, and because they leave the family to get married.

582 For a number of very good reasons, it is considered desirable to obtain wives for one's sons from a distance. In the first place, if a

[127] [1] The principal source of this chapter is my own records. However, I also made use of Miss M. E.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

for bullets is made in the body. If four men have fired and but three 682
bullets are found, any one of them may be innocent of the death. 628
If each can get twenty-four con-jurors to swear innocence with him, all secure acquittal. Any who cannot find twenty-four con-jurors are guilty and owe blood. If there are as many bullets as men, then all owe blood.

For killing a woman, which is a rare thing, blood may be taken. 682
If she is unmarried, it is taken by her father's family; usually by her brother. If married, her father's family may take blood for her within the year. After that only her husband's family has the right to do so. Blood-gelt, if any, for a woman is very small. The tribe does not punish the murderer; it is purely a family affair. The death of a woman does not weaken the tribe, for she is of another blood and can easily be replaced from without; whereas a man cannot be replaced.

If a pregnant woman be killed two bloods can be claimed. Dom 682
Kol Ashti told me that cases have occurred even in which a grave has 843
been opened to settle the question of blood-gelt for the unborn child, and full payment claimed if it proved to be a male.

Cases in which killing is justified and is not punishable.—1. Blood may 684
be taken for rape and none may be taken in return.

2. If the relatives of the man who is shot succeed in taking blood 682
at once, shoot the murderer that day, the blood is laid and no more can be taken.

3. A woman taken in adultery may be killed along with her partner 684
by her husband or brother, and no punishment follows. But should her husband kill her and not the man, her family can take blood for her.

In none of the above cases, I believe, does the tribe punish; nor has 682
the tribe, at any rate in some places, the power to punish a crime 578
committed within the "shpi" (house). When I was in Shala, at the priest's house in 1908, we heard two shots fired. Someone ran in to call the priest to a man who was dying; it was too late. In a dispute [685]
about the irrigation channels in the fields, a man had killed his own first cousin. Both were inmates of one large house. The crime excited genuine horror and was loudly discussed. Public opinion seemed to think something should be done—but what? It is the clear duty of a house to take blood as atonement for blood that has been taken. But the house, having already lost a man, cannot make matters any better by taking more of its own blood. This could not be expected; nor could any outsider interfere in what was a matter for the house lord. He could not be both lord of blood and gjaksur—could not owe himself blood. It was, in fact, an example of *patria potestas*. He decided to do nothing but hold a fine funeral to show his regret for the loss; and so sure was he that he was acting correctly that he sent a boy to the priest's

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER IX.

ALBANIAN WOMEN: THEIR FAMILY CEREMONIES.

562 184 THE domestic usages of the Albanians vary slightly, according to locality and religion, but are, in their main features, identical. And though the customs surrounding such family ceremonies as births, marriages, and deaths belong naturally more to the domain of women than of men, the latter are not less scrupulous in the fulfilment of the part in these observances which fall to their share.

156 181 Tribal and family pride being, as has been already seen, the leading feature of Albanian character, the desire of offspring, and especially male offspring, is naturally very strong with them. A childless man [554] is designated by an expression which signifies "without a root," and is looked upon as a most unfortunate [754] being. The wish, "May you be childless!" is also considered the most weighty curse that can be launched against a man by his enemy. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the dearest wish of every woman's heart is consequently to be the mother of a numerous family of boys, both for the sake of the future prosperity of the tribe and for the present social consideration which their birth ensures to her. 843 When the fact that an Albanian woman is about to

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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become a mother is announced to her husband's 843
family, she becomes thenceforward the object of the most devoted attention on their part, the slightest wish or preference she may express being immediately gratified. Custom, however, forbids her eating certain things, such as pomegranates and snails, and she must not dye her hair more than three times before her baby is born, or some unlucky accident would be sure to happen to her or to the infant.

As soon as the baby is born it is washed, and a 844
sickle, with which straw has just been cut, is laid for a few seconds on its stomach to prevent colics. The maternal grandmother, whose privilege it is to per- [603]
form this office for the baby, then proceeds to swathe its little body tightly in broad swaddling bands of white woollen stuff, and finally deposits it in a narrow [352]
wooden cradle. A jar of water is taken to the Hodja [855]
or the Papas, according to the creed of the mother, to be blessed, and with some of its contents all the women who officiated at the birth wash their hands. The rest of the water is placed near the mother, and all the women who visit her during the five ensuing days dip their fingers in it and sprinkle her, expressing at the same time a wish that she may have a plentiful supply of milk for the baby, Albanian women [853]
making a point of nursing their own children. The relatives are now admitted to felicitate the mother and admire the baby, with the exception of its father, whom custom obliges to keep out of the way and refrain from seeing his child until it is eight days old. The mother is presently placed on a state bed, 846
over which a magnificently embroidered silk coverlet

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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through which the animal is led. If the cow steps over the object with the right hoof, it is considered a good augury; if with the left, the omen is unfavourable. If a hen shakes her feathers in the house, or if one of her feathers hangs askew without falling, it foretells the arrival of a friend, or the receipt of news from an absent relative. Should the hen crow like a cock without turning its head to the East, it signifies a death or other serious misfortune. If, during the night, a cock crows at an unusual hour, it is either a sign of a change in the weather, or that important news will arrive in the morning. To an expectant mother, however, it announces that her child will be a boy. Should the dog howl while looking away from the dwelling, it is a sign of death; and if the cat mews repeatedly, that a member of the family will shortly fall ill. If, however, she licks herself frequently, it is merely a sign of rain.

Cats, I may here remark, are treated with great kindness by the Albanians, who, it is said, are not in the habit of laying to their charge the smashing of crockery, or the disappearance of provisions. According to a myth current among the Albanian highlanders, the cat was created by Jesus, who produced one from the sleeve of His mantle when dining in a house infested with mice. To kill a cat is consequently considered a most reprehensible action. When such a family pet dies, the children of the house call in their friends to assist in pussy's obsequies, and, after she has been carried in solemn procession to the grave, the little party sit down to a funeral feast, for which the mother willingly furnishes the necessary viands.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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wooden cradle. A jar of water is taken to the Hodja [855]
or the Papas, according to the creed of the mother, to be blessed, and with some of its contents all the women who officiated at the birth wash their hands. The rest of the water is placed near the mother, and all the women who visit her during the five ensuing days dip their fingers in it and sprinkle her, expressing at the same time a wish that she may have a plentiful supply of milk for the baby, Albanian women [853]
making a point of nursing their own children. The relatives are now admitted to felicitate the mother and admire the baby, with the exception of its father, whom custom obliges to keep out of the way and refrain from seeing his child until it is eight days old. The mother is presently placed on a state bed, 846
over which a magnificently embroidered silk coverlet

Birth, Marriage, and Death

In 1392 Bogavach Cuiavich of Rudine of his own free will releases 000
from servitude Radaca, daughter of John of Albania, whom he had bought of Braycho Ucarich.

This seems to have been the case of an actual slave. But the lot of others, when sold for a long term of service, can have been little better than slavery unless they fell into good hands.

ALBANIA

I heard of a similar custom of thus selling children for a term of A 597
years in Malacastra in South Albania. Here poor Moslems sometimes sent their daughters as far as Constantinople; and I was told that some of the Albanian beys thus purchased servant-girls from their mothers, and at the end of the term dowered them and married them to peasants on the estate. The Italian Consul at Valona, the first time I was there, told me he had thus purchased a servant girl.

Birth.—In Albania, as in Montenegro, childbirth received but the M A 844
most ignorant treatment. The death-rate of mothers and children was high.

There was great rejoicing among the mountain tribes when a boy was born and proportionate disappointment over a girl. For a son, especially a first-born, the whole family group turned out and fired rifles.

Some kind of spiritual relationship was held to exist between the child and the woman who cut the umbilical cord; but I learnt no particulars.

As in Montenegro, even in the towns there was the greatest reluctance to summon medical aid. In Scutari one day the Austrian doctor was summoned to a Moslem woman who was in the last stages of A
exhaustion. He found the child was already dead, and said that to [758]
save the woman's life it must be removed at once. The family refused to believe or permit this and dismissed him. Some hours later they fetched him again—but she was dead.

On the birth of a child, both in Scutari and the mountains, all the A
women neighbours go at once to visit the mother and take offerings [431
of eggs. For a boy, two, four, six, or eight—an even number—are 777]
brought; for a girl, one, three, five, or seven. One egg is broken over the child's face to protect it from the Evil Eye. Presumably this makes the child unrecognizable or hideous.

Both in Albania and Montenegro, and I believe in all Balkan lands, M A 854
infants are swaddled. The cradle is of wood and serves as a packing-case in which to carry the child on its mother's back. In Scutari the cradles A 854
are very gaily painted with conventional patterns of flowers and birds, 531

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Montenegrins EF5

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Some Tribal Origins, Laws, and Customs of the Balkans

In Bosnia a remedy for coughs was to burn oak-galls and inhale the smoke.

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In all districts that I visited in the Balkans I found mud used to dress wounds by the common people; but never heard of a case of tetanus, though I have had hundreds of wounded through my hands. The land is very poorly, or not at all manured, which may explain this fact. The Austrian doctor in Scutari told me that in seven years he had had but two cases—both came up the river on ships, so were not local infections; also, though "Albanian women are not so well cared for at childbirth as an Austrian cow," he had never seen a case of puerperal fever, and believed neither the tetanus nor the puerperal-fever germs had reached these districts.

But with these two exceptions the Balkans are decimated with disease. It is a mistake to imagine that a rough, simple life produces health.

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The apparent sturdiness of the survivors blinds the outsider to the intensity of the struggle for existence and its mass of victims. Compulsory vaccination has immensely reduced small-pox in many districts. It is interesting to see how an epidemic will sweep up to the vaccination line—and there stop short. But exposure, hunger, and toil wear out many a peasant in early middle age; and disease takes a heavy toll as well. The two worst Balkan scourges are tuberculosis and syphilis. In Montenegro and in Albania there are districts where every individual is reputed to be infected with the latter. So, too, in Bosnia, and there alone it was being scientifically combated by the Austrian medical staff.

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Of tuberculosis the Bosnian doctor—a Vienna-trained man—with whom I worked in Montenegro said: "We South Slavs are the most tuberculous people in Europe. Thirty per cent. of us are badly infected. I do not count an 'apex,' for I have one myself."

Leprosy is sometimes seen, but not often, and much skin disease is carried probably by dirt and vermin.

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Finally, those individuals who succumb to neither disease nor hardship are unbelievably tough, and live on to a green old age, often active to the last. That there are as many centenarians as is popularly believed I doubt. No registers of birth have been kept and dates are fixed haphazard. A gay old boy at Rioli was said to be 102. Five years afterwards I met him again and he was 120. To prove this his family earnestly declared he must be very old, because his father lived at the time when the ancient Romans—those people who made the bits of money you dig up out of the ground—were living at Podgoritza. Others were grandfathers at the time of the Russo-Turkish War; of one it was said no one could remember him without white hair, and so

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

776 from one spring to another in the hope of propitiating
755 the various tutelary deities in charge of them.

The Dragoua are children who are born with
776 bunches of hair or feathers on their shoulders, by
845 means of which they are able to fly, or at least to take tremendous leaps. The mother of such a child must, it is said, be very careful to keep secret its peculiarities, for, should they be observed by a stranger, the child would die, and in any case it will not be long lived. On stormy nights the Dragoua leave their cradles, or beds, and, rising into the air, fight with the Koutchédras, the contest often waxing so hot that they uproot trees to use as weapons, which are, on the following morning, found strewn on the ground.

826 Another curious belief current in Albania maintains the actual existence there of men with tails, either like those of goats or of horses. Persons retaining these appendages of their remote ancestors are held to be always short and broad of figure, untiring walkers, and endowed with great physical strength. Von Hahn was of opinion that this is not a mere vague popular superstition, but has a foundation in fact. "Soliman of Dragoti, one of my cavasses at Ioannina," he says,[1] "maintained that in his part of the country tailed men of this sort were often to be seen, and that he had himself a tailed cousin, whom he had often, in youth, when bathing together, pulled by this gift of nature. An even more trustworthy authority, Theodoris, who had in his younger days been a klepht on Pindus, related that in his band there was, for several years, an undersized, broad-

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, pp. 163-4.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

become a mother is announced to her husband's 843
family, she becomes thenceforward the object of the most devoted attention on their part, the slightest wish or preference she may express being immediately gratified. Custom, however, forbids her eating certain things, such as pomegranates and snails, and she must not dye her hair more than three times before her baby is born, or some unlucky accident would be sure to happen to her or to the infant.

As soon as the baby is born it is washed, and a 844
sickle, with which straw has just been cut, is laid for a few seconds on its stomach to prevent colics. The [603]
maternal grandmother, whose privilege it is to perform this office for the baby, then proceeds to swathe its little body tightly in broad swaddling bands of white woollen stuff, and finally deposits it in a narrow [352]
wooden cradle. A jar of water is taken to the Hodja [855]
or the Papas, according to the creed of the mother, to be blessed, and with some of its contents all the women who officiated at the birth wash their hands. The rest of the water is placed near the mother, and all the women who visit her during the five ensuing days dip their fingers in it and sprinkle her, expressing at the same time a wish that she may have a plentiful supply of milk for the baby, Albanian women [853]
making a point of nursing their own children. The relatives are now admitted to felicitate the mother and admire the baby, with the exception of its father, whom custom obliges to keep out of the way and refrain from seeing his child until it is eight days old. The mother is presently placed on a state bed, 846
over which a magnificently embroidered silk coverlet

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

846 is spread, the national head-dress, ornamented with sequins, is placed on her head, and all her necklaces [301] are hung round her neck, to receive the friends and acquaintances who now flock in to offer their congratulations. In some parts of Albania, and especially [431] among the Moslems, it is customary to bring hand- [688] some presents to the infant. As each visitor did her best to outshine her neighbour in the value of her gift, this usage, among the Roman Catholic Miridites, became so ruinously expensive, that the ban of the Church was finally laid upon it. The visitors to the mother and baby consequently now bring with them only an egg, with which they rub the face of the new arrival, with the wish, "*Pashi bar*" (May it be always white!)—*i.e.*, never have cause to blush for its actions.

852 When the baby is three days old the Fates are be- [776] lieved to arrive and decide what its fortune is to be. When two of the Weird Sisters have had their say, the third speaks, and her decision is final.[1] On the evening of this day, which is called the child's *Poganik*,[2] all the relatives of the family assemble uninvited, each bringing a small loaf, a girdle cake, and a wooden flask of wine. On these they feast and drink healths to the mother and child, the formula addressed to the latter being, "May he have strong legs!" [777] The women then set to work to make a large cake, all present touching, "for luck," the sieve used to sift the flour. As the dough is being kneaded coins are put into it, and when baked it is broken in pieces

[1] See "The Story of the Child," p. 319.
[2] The meaning of this term appears to have been lost by the Albanians.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

over the infant. In the case of a boy all now touch the cradle while they sing: 852

> *Poganik*, When the boy grows a man,
> A weaver we'll make him,
> And money he'll bring us.[1]

[539 562]

And for a girl:

> *Poganik*, When our girl grows up tall,
> She shall go to the valley
> And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air. 846

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal rite of the churches to which they respectively 553 852 779

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on. [463 286]

and gradually reforming matters, were working towards punishing them in the same manner as theft within the tribe. 609 579

The fights between Montenegro and the Turks were usually brought about in this manner. The Montenegrins raided the Turkish borders, especially Herzegovina, till the Turks sent punitive expeditions. All sheep-stealers were considered heroes. 726

So far as my own experience goes I never had a thing stolen from me when among the Albanian tribes ; they dealt honestly by me always.

FINES FOR OTHER MATTERS

In the case of rape the injured family may take blood; or it may compound for peace and accept about £30. The father of an illegitimate child must pay for its keep. 684 848

For killing a sheep or cattle a fine of about £2 to £3 per head. 685

For cutting wood in the forest of others, £2.

For stealing fruit, etc., according to value.

For putting a beast to graze on someone else's pasture, £2.

For putting beasts to graze on your own tribal pasture before the right season, £4.

(The sums given are only approximately taken at the then value of piastres.)

INHERITANCE

No land may be sold or bequeathed to a member of another tribe or any outsider. 423 428

The possessor of land can only sell it to his nearest male relative on his father's side.

Women cannot inherit land.

The house and such land as belongs to it is inherited by all a man's sons equally. As a matter of practice they continue living in it, and the eldest son is "zoti i shpis" (house-lord). I have seen a young man of twenty-eight years ordering his old uncles about in most peremptory manner. Expressing surprise at the way they obeyed, I was told: "They must—God has made him house-lord."

Failing sons, the property belongs equally to the nearest male relatives of the deceased, who usually would be his brothers. The eldest is then house-lord.

Should a man leave a wife who has had no children, she is of no account, and must leave the house and return to her father's house. Should she have a son under the age of fifteen she remains to mind the house till he inherits it. Till he is fifteen a guardian takes charge of his affairs. At fifteen he is of age and can carry arms. If the widow has 842 554 562 592

[Constitution]

It is forbidden to use the church and religion for political purposes. 659

Likewise, political organizations based on religion are also forbidden.

The state may assist religious communities materially.

ARTICLE 17

Marriage and family are protected by the state. The legal conditions of marriage and family are fixed by law. 585

Legal marriages can be performed only by competent representatives of the government. After celebrating a civil marriage a citizen may celebrate a religious marriage according to the rules of his creed.

The courts of the state only are competent to determine all questions concerning marriage. [692]

Parents have the same obligations towards their illegitimate children as to those born in wedlock. Illegitimate children have the same rights as those born in wedlock. [848]

ARTICLE 18

Freedom of speech, freedom of press, freedom of organization, freedom of assembly and of public demonstration. are guaranteed to all citizens. 641

ARTICLE 19

Personal inviolability is guaranteed to all citizens. Nobody can be arrested for more than three days without a court warrant or without the approval of the district attorney. 671 641 [694]

No person shall be punished for a crime without the decision of a competent judge in conformity with the law which defines the crime and the competence of the court.

No punishment shall be determined and inflicted except as prescribed by law.

No person shall be punished without a hearing nor without being summoned to defend himself according to law, except in a case where his absence is legally established.

The administrative organs of the state may give jail sentences for common law misdemeanors as prescribed by law.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

357 escaped from the district, his master might lawfully be shot in his
182 stead. When, however, a servant murdered on his own respon-
672 sibility, he alone should suffer for the crime. His master was entitled, in dismissing him, to keep back the portion of his wages for which he had not worked, and according to Lek's Kanùn ought not to be shot in his stead. Skanderbeg's law, however, held him as liable in this case as in the former.

357 The only available information about a servant's seducing a girl
684 or young wife in his master's family comes from Martanesh and Shkrel and dates from past times. In Martanesh the law con-
[608] demned the man to death for incest because his master was his 'father' and the young woman his 'sister'. In Shkrel he was killed
[836] at once if he had sinned with a young wife, but if with a girl he was dismissed with orders to hold his tongue, and only if he talked did the girl's father go and shoot him. As for the girl, she was married
[837] to her fiancé as quickly as possible. He was not told that she was pregnant by another man, and would not have cared if he had been. He wanted her as wife and worker and felt sure that he was man enough to keep her straight after marriage; beatings always worked
[848] wonders. The child was sent to the servant as soon as born; he never acknowledged it but either killed it or exposed it by the wayside. The father did not dare to beat the girl in case she ran away to the servant; at all costs he had to keep her for her fiancé, who had presumably paid a good proportion of her bride-price and would have killed him had he failed to deliver her. Presumably the fact that a servant was held to be of little or no account saved the wife or girl from the usual punishment for adultery.[1]

357 Sometimes, despite their being 'brother' and 'sister', a servant
[562] married his master's daughter. Thus an ancestor of Bicaj was a Catholic of Gjugjë in Mirditë who entered the service of Hysen Agë Shteki of Bicaj, turned Moslem, and married Hysen Agë's daughter. Even in modern times a servant may be given his master's daughter in marriage. This is particularly likely to happen if his master is Moslem and he a Christian who agrees to change his religion. His master then looks on his own consent to the marriage as an act of piety. Servants varied in importance according to the master they served. Thus the servant of a Moslem priest (*hoxhë*) had more power than an ordinary peasant's and less than a bajraktar's —at least in the days before most bajraktars were shorn of their

[1] See Chapter XXI.

PEAKS OF SHALA

796 children and half the men of the village knelt on the cold floor, and their rain-drenched garments, threadbare and patched, made pools of water about their knees. The rain was still pouring down, as undiminished as a river, and the sound of it and of the waterfalls filled the chill place.

Padre Marjan began the mass, his high Albanian voice chanting the Latin, and the congregation made the responses in the same tongue. A ragged, barefooted man came to swing the censer for the padre, and Perolli, in his neat English tweeds, revolver and knife swinging at the belt, also assisted, going behind the altar with the padre to help him put a brocaded robe over the brown one, and reverently handing the cup and the wine. Rexh, in his red Mohammedan fez, watched it all with serious eyes, his head around the edge of the doorway.

851 After mass the padre dashed upstairs to look at our cooking dinner, and hastened down again for a christening.[1] I am not familiar with Catholic ceremonial, but nothing could have been more touching than Padre Marjan, thin, worn by fasting and work, barefooted, the edge of his brown robe showing below the front hem of a white cotton garment, bringing into the arms of the Church the tiny, wrinkled infant strapped in its painted cradle. The woman who held it looked at him with a sort of apprehensive anxiety; the crowd pressed informally around them. Every time the padre turned to fetch the little glass bottle of oil, or the tin can of holy

[1] [In church of Upper Thethis--[204] Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

water, or the square of crocheted cotton lace that 851 he laid over the cradle, the packed bodies gave way for him, and one child or another picked up the end of his trailing robe to keep it from beneath muddy, bare feet.

At the end, "Is it a boy or a girl?" he asked.

"A girl," the woman whispered. And the padre ended his solemn words with the name, "Regina."

The woman sighed and her tenseness relaxed. It must have been a great moment for the mother, I thought; some one said that she had carried the cradle forty miles over the mountains for this christening. We did want to give the baby something; for the hundredth time we regretted not having brought presents, and a hurried ransacking of all our possessions produced only a little colored sport handkerchief. But when we gave it to ~~the baby it~~ was as though we had presented a golden bowl; the excitement, the passing from hand to hand, the reverent marveling over such weaving, such color!

We found Perolli upstairs in the kitchen, grinning to himself, and when we asked him why, he said the christening was a joke on the padre. The woman was not the child's mother; the real mother, married by Albanian custom, had not yet got around to having the church ceremony, and the priest in the village forty miles away had refused to christen the child until the parents were married by the Church. But the devout neighbor, knowing that the infant was in danger

851 of hell fire, had brought it over the mountains and had it christened as her own, and Padre Marjan, all unsuspecting, had performed the ceremony.

Not half an hour later an almost naked man, streaming with rain as though he had swum the forty miles, appeared, breathless, with a water-soaked note from the other priest, and Padre Marjan read it aghast. "Merely parochial business," he said, tucking it in his belt and bending over the bubbling pots in the fireplace to taste and season. But his brown face remained wrinkled with worry.

581 A matter far more serious distracted attention from this complication in Church affairs, for Perolli, 1 taking me aside, said to me 2 "You say you love the Albanians and the Albanian mountains. Do you want to stay here?"

"I'd love to stay here for years," I said. "It's the most beautiful country I've ever seen, and the most interesting people. But I can't, of course. Why?"

"Because you can, if you really do want to," said he. "I have a proposal of marriage for you."

"What!" said I. "You're joking!"

"Not at all," said Perolli, indignantly. "Do you think marriage is a thing to joke about?"

"But I never know what you mean," I complained. "And why should anyone want to marry me, here?"

"You needn't take it as a compliment to your

1 [Sec. to the Minister of the Interior -- Analyst] [206] 2 [Author -- Analyst]

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missionaries were surprised to find that Catholic priests in Albania baptized male children of the Turks (that is, Moslems) solely because of a superstition; "Solo per alcune superstitioni." (1)

1. J. Radonich, op. cit., p. 103

Another report, bearing a somewhat later date (1646), by the vice-prefect of the mission in Albania, Fra Gregoria Romano Trassini, states that children of Moslems baptized by Christian priests, later on live as "Turks." (2) Toma Tomichich, Archbishop of Skoplje,

2. Ibidem, p. 116

in 1755 in his report to the Congregation 'de propaganda fide' in Rome, speaks of baptism of children of the "Dvoverci in his diocese. He also states that real "Turks" (that is, Moslems who seem more probably to have been Albanians, rather than Turks - M. S. F.), frequently used to invite Catholic priests to baptize their male children because they were convinced that if the children were baptized, then a witch would not devour them ("Accio le streghe non mangino i loro figlioli"/" In order that witches do not devour their children"/). (3) Finally, we have a report from

3. Ibidem, pp 641-642.

the middle of the nineteenth century that the Albanian Moslems used to have their children baptized in order to cure them of illness, but that the Catholic priests were forbidden to perform such baptisms. (4)

4. G. v. Hahn, "Albanesische Studien" (Jena, 1854), p. 38.

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Not only in Hahn's time, but even today there are among the Albanian Moslems those who have been baptized; today, however, there are fewer of these than at an earlier time. Among the Albanian Moslems, and especially among the Moslem gypsies in the area of Preshovo and Buianovci, there is a custom in families where child mortality is high, to place a newborn baby out on the road. If the first man to find the child is a Moslem, he takes the baby, and accepts and performs the "shishano kumstvo." (a colloquialism, meaning an incomplete performance of the ritual of a godfather) /122/ If the first one to find the baby is a Christian, he becomes the baby's godfather at the baptism

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performed according to the Orthodox ritual. Such a Moslem child, after he grows up, customarily goes to church, and holds great esteem for his godfather. Thus is the case, for example, of an Albanian whose first name is Nenad, living in the village of Moravica (1948).

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There are not as many first-hand and precise reports about baptized Moslems whose mother tongue is Serbian. This, however, does not mean that these Moslems resorted to such baptism to a lesser extent than other Moslems. The scarcity of reports is due only to the fact that there are generally fewer written records about the people's life in earlier periods in the regions where they lived.

During 1623 and 1624, Peter Masarech (from 1624 on he was bishop of Prizren), papal visitor, traveled through the Balkan countries. He submitted an exhaustive report about his travels, in which he answered the fifty-four questions asked in the instructions given him by the Congregation 'de propaganda fide'. In answer to question number twenty-four, Masarech asserts that Bosnian Franciscans baptized "Turkish" children, not because they, the Franciscans, were superstitious, but because of the superstitions of the parents who had their children baptized in order that such children would have good fortune, be victorious in battle, and would escape misfortune, fears, evil spirits, and similar calamities. In certain localities children were baptized by coercion. (1)

1. K. Draganovich, "Izvješće apostolskog vizitatora Petra Masarechija o prilikama kat. naroda u Bugarskoj, Srbiji, Srijemu, Slavoniji i Bosni, g. 1623 i 1624." /"Report by Peter Masarech, apostolic visitor, on the conditions of the Catholic population in Bulgaria, Serbia, Srem, Slavonia, and Bosnia, in 1623 and 1624"/, Starine, XXXIX (Zagreb, 1938), p. 14.

At that time the Bosnian Franciscans performed priestly functions not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but also in Slavonia, those parts of Hungary which were under the Turks, and in Belgrade. The above report, therefore, can be accepted as valid not only for Bosnia alone, but also for the above mentioned regions.

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There is one special example which has been preserved in a folk poem. Two variants of this poem about Kushtrim Vasoievich were published ten years ago. According to the first

The other rite, godfatherhood, has its
608 motivation in exactly the same circumstances;
852 but it is made to coincide with another rite of passage, that of the first haircut of a baby boy, the son of one of the participants. The father, child, and prospective godfather meet outdoors, in the presence of other kin. The godfather holds the boy in his lap, and snips off 4 locks of hair, if Christian, and 3, if Moslem. The difference lies in the refusal of the Moslem to make the sign of the cross. The godfather then burns the hair. A feast follows, during which the godfather gives the father a present of cash, the father reciprocating with a gift of fine clothing.

604 Both of these rites[1] place the descendants of
614 the 2 principals in an incest relationship. They do not, however, apply to collateral kin, for if *A* and *B* become blood brothers or godfathers, *A*'s brother's son can still wed *B*'s daughter, while *A*'s son cannot. This complicates the picture beyond this simple *fis* system and provides a number of special relationships to meet individual requirements. Needless, to say, the local Catholic clergy frown on both these practices.

1 [blood brotherhood and godfatherhood, see Cat. 116, pp. 29a - 29b .. Analyst']

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

846 is spread, the national head-dress, ornamented with sequins, is placed on her head, and all her necklaces [301] are hung round her neck, to receive the friends and acquaintances who now flock in to offer their congratulations. In some parts of Albania, and especially [431] among the Moslems, it is customary to bring hand- [688] some presents to the infant. As each visitor did her best to outshine her neighbour in the value of her gift, this usage, among the Roman Catholic Miridites, became so ruinously expensive, that the ban of the Church was finally laid upon it. The visitors to the mother and baby consequently now bring with them only an egg, with which they rub the face of the new arrival, with the wish, "*Pashi bar*" (May it be always white!)—*i.e.*, never have cause to blush for its actions.

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[1] See "The Story of the Child," p. 319.
[2] The meaning of this term appears to have been lost by the Albanians.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

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the cradle while they sing:

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> A weaver we'll make him,
> And money he'll bring us.[1]

[539 562]

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> And bring us much water.

The company now separate, each person carrying home with her a piece of the Poganik cake, which is believed to possess beneficial qualities, and distributes it among the members of her household. When they have left, honey and other delicacies are laid out for the refection of the Fateful Three, the dogs are shut up, and the gates left open.

Until the baby is forty days old neither mother 846
nor child must leave the house, nor, after sunset, the room, for fear of supernal beings. During this period the fire is carefully kept up, and an ember of it must on no account be given to a neighbour, or all kinds of evil will ensue. Whoever has occasion to enter the house after nightfall, must leap over a firebrand laid on the threshold. Music and singing are also rigidly refrained from for fear of attracting the powers of the air.

The ceremony of naming the child is performed by 553
the Christian Albanians according to the baptismal 852
rite of the churches to which they respectively 779

[1] Weaving was formerly a trade in high repute with the artisan class of Albanians, who left their homes to work in the towns where it was carried on. [463 286]

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

553 belong. With the Moslems no religious character is
852 attached to giving the baby a name, the eldest male
[779] relative of the family fulfilling this duty for its youngest member. If, however, the child is a boy, the curious and interesting ceremony of cutting its hair is performed when it is a week old. The father
[608 171] invites to fulfil this office for his child the man he most esteems, be he Moslem or Christian, and a bond of friendship is thus formed, called "the St. Nikolo," similar in its character to the *pobratim* of the Slavs, or the ἀδελφοποιτὸς of the Greeks, and also partaking in its assumed relationship of the nature of the tie between a Greek *Nono* and the family of his godchild;[1] he is considered a near relative, and may enter the women's apartments. This substitute for a
[302] godfather cuts off, with a pair of scissors, some of the baby's hair in the form of a tonsure, and puts the lock, together with some coins, in a purse which is kept closed for three days. At the end of that period the money is taken out, and the hair thrown into the fire.

A similar practice is observed by the Roman Catholic Miridites on the first anniversary of a boy's birth, but it is performed under the auspices of St. Giovanni, instead of those of St. Nikolo.[2]

581 Although the Albanian beys have neither written
554 charters, armorial bearings, nor insignia, matrimonial alliances between their families are regulated with the most rigid observance of rank and precedence.

[1] See *The Christian Women*, p. 72.

[2] The Roman Catholic priests do their best to discourage many of these
[779 177] ancient customs, the efforts of their Church never tending to stimulate national feeling, but rather to crush it entirely.

Every inhabitant had two names: a Christian name, under cover of which he refused military service; and a Moslem one, under which he refused to pay poll-tax. Constantine Suliman declared the plan worked admirably, and his tribe was practically independent. Pressed by my Christian interpreter, who was grieved at the absence of any religion, our host said that when a priest occasionally visited the place he was allowed to baptize all children that had meanwhile been born.

It was a fit spot for seeing, for the first time, the soothsaying of ancient days.

The two armed men sent with me as escort gorged the meal, and grinned affably at the heads of tribesmen which now and then bobbed up from behind bushes to peep at us.

Then Constantine Suliman picked up the fowl's breast-bone and held it against the sun. He carefully traced all the lines made by the marrow, and said gravely: "One of us five will die within a fortnight." All took it very seriously, except my interpreter, who was an employé of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and said it was very wrong to read bones, but was uneasy. He and I survived the fortnight. I have always hoped that Constantine Suliman was not the one—if any—who was shot. I saw him last, against the sky, waving dignified farewells to us, and remember him as the man who had lived eighty years and never seen peace, but had kept his honour clean according to his lights—and which of us can say more?

All through the North Albanian mountains I found the reading of bones common and greatly believed in. In times of danger and political tension the primitive rite in wild surroundings was sometimes strangely dramatic.

In Montenegro, too, the custom was common. I saw the bones read there in October 1912, just before Montenegro declared war and set the war-ball rolling which has not yet quite stopped. Battalions of up-country Montenegrins were pouring into Podgoritza and camping near the barracks. I wandered among them. An old man a-squat on the ground with some comrades was hungrily devouring some food they had brought with them. He raised a well-picked mutton bladebone against the autumn sun and stared and stared. I waited, and he cried out despairingly. His comrades jeered. But the old man turned to me and said: "I see blood everywhere—much blood." The younger men said it must be Turkish blood and were cheerful. But the old grey-head had seen war before they were born and was uncomforted. Sadly he told me he feared it meant evil, and I left him staring into the bone in vain search of hope. He read, indeed, but too truly. The war of 1912, into which Montenegro rushed with such hope of greatness and glory, was the beginning of the end of Montenegro.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Byzantine Civilization EH3
Hellenic Greece EH5
Serbs EF6

the Serbian *intelligentsia*, formerly Minister at the Court of St. James's. Possibly the belief that Draga dabbled in witchcraft was one reason why the populace cheerfully acquiesced in her murder. Near-Eastern politics are more often swayed by old-world beliefs than some folk are aware of.

By chance one night in Krsto's hut I learnt that the ancient rite of dedication by hair is part of the Orthodox baptismal ceremony. I was showing my folding pair of nail-scissors when Pope Gjuro exclaimed in admiration that they were just the thing for clipping hair at baptisms. Old Gjuro himself, of course, wore a beard, and his unclipped locks flowed on his shoulders. Hair, as we have seen, can be used to work grievous harm. "The simplest way of avoiding this peril," says Sir James George Frazer, "is not to cut the hair at all." Samson's strength lay in his hair. Kings, medicine-men, and others who were very holy, have gone unshorn, and so to this day do the priests of the Orthodox Church, the direct descendants of the priests of pre-Christian cults. Firmicus (Julius Maternus) wrote the *Errors of Religion* about A.D. 350, and described "men who stay in temples in an unkempt state, and walk abroad thus and never cut their hair, and who would announce something to men as if said by gods." Firmicus was a Sicilian and had, doubtless, been taught by Rome, for he did not connect holiness with hairiness as did Byzantium.

One of the many bitter complaints brought against the Church of Rome by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Byzantium (1043–58), was that Latin clerks shave the beard. So abhorrent did this practice seem to the Byzantine that he refused the Communion to shaven clerks. Thus a deep-rooted belief in the magic power of hair was one of the several odd reasons which helped to split the Church and ultimately affect the fate of Europe.

Rome, not given to haggling over unimportant details, did not and does not object to moustachioed and bearded priests should local custom prefer them. The Orthodox Church makes no exceptions. In the more civilized lands the Orthodox pope now likes to twist his locks into a "bun" pinned up under his high hat when he is not officiating. But up-country I have seen strange popes whose tangled black locks streamed in the wind, and whose faces were muffled to the eyes in beard that had never been profaned by steel: wild men of the mountains with knife and revolver in belt.

Hair-cutting as a dedication of the person is an old Balkan rite. Daremburg and Saglio, in the *Dictionnaire d'Antiquités*, figure a marble slab found in Thessaly, on which are carven two neat pigtails, "offered to Poseidon by the sons of Dumachos," says the inscription. In a storm hair would thus be cut off and thrown overboard with the hope that

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Hellenic Greece EH5
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

H 302 782 Poseidon would kindly accept it as substitute for the body. In this case evidently he did so.

G 302 852 The Orthodox Church, too, dedicates the child, after immersion and unction, by "clipping off four locks of hair as sign of the Cross, the pope saying: 'The servant of God is shorn in the name of God.' The pieces of hair are mixed with some wax from the candle and dropped into the font by the child's father" (Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Roman Church*). The hair, no doubt, is dropped into the holy water to save it from being used for spells by some wicked person.

My friend Mr. Stroud Read, who has lived much in Greece, tells me that there is a tendency there now to omit the hair-cutting from baptism, the pope sometimes refusing to have it done in church, but that it is done, nevertheless, by the laity at home after returning from the church. Someone is invited to be hair-cutter, and the clippings are dropped into a pan of hot charcoal.

M 852 582 608 The two ceremonies were formerly separate ones in Montenegro. Pope Gjuro told me there used to be two kumstvos (sponsorships): Shishano Kumstvo (shearing kumstvo), and Mokro (wet) or Krsteno Kumstvo (baptism). The former, as a separate kumstvo, is now extinct. It used to carry with it spiritual relationship and prevent the intermarriage of the direct descendants of the sponsor and those of the child's father for several generations. The marriage circle was thus further restricted and drove folk farther afield in search of a wife. Medakovitch, describing the ceremony as done by the laity between 1840 and 1850, says it was done some time after baptism. Three locks were cut in the name of the Trinity and thrown on the dunghill. At that time the ceremony did not form an obstacle to marriage.

A 852 [174] About three years after my nail-scissors had become an ecclesiastical implement I learnt in the Albanian mountains what is probably the most complete form in which the ceremony now survives. It is performed habitually by both Moslems and Christians. The Catholic priests try to suppress this pagan practice, which, nevertheless, their flock considers quite as important as baptism and even more so. A careful study of those pagan practices adopted by one Church and abhorred by the other might throw light on the centres or origin of such practices.

A 852 608 In North Albania the "kumpare i floksh" (sponsor of hair) is chosen when the child is about two years old. He is a man with whom the head of the house wishes to be related. The family being assembled out of doors, the kumpare (conpatrem, compère) sits down on the ground, and first takes another child on his knees to ensure that his "hair child" shall not be the last his parents have. He then takes his "hair child," whose hair as yet has never been cut, and snips off four locks of hair

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Great Russians RF2

to the four quarters of the heavens—north, south, east, and west. These locks are at once destroyed. Handsome gifts are then exchanged, the kumpare giving sometimes as much as two or three gold napoleons, and receiving some embroidered garments or the elaborately patterned knitted socks which are favourite ceremonial gifts. A great feast, of course, follows. The child's father and the kumpare are now brothers, and their children are not intermarriageable till the seventh degree. In olden days I was assured they were never intermarriageable, and ranked exactly as consanguines. Near Scutari this prohibition had lapsed altogether. Among the Pulati and Dukagini it was still believed in. At Thethi Shala in 1908 a man rushed into the church to stop a marriage on the ground that the parties were cousins by hair-cutting. The Franciscan who was officiating refused to recognize the impediment and married the couple. Whereupon the outraged tribesman ran hot-foot to the Bishop of Pulati and denounced the Franciscan for having celebrated an incestuous marriage. The bishop refused to listen to him. He and his friends then hastened to Scutari, and begged the Turkish Vali to denounce the marriage. The Vali said he did not care whom the Christians married. The bridegroom belonged to a very strong house and so was not molested, and the matter dropped.

The Moslems cut but three locks of hair because four makes a cross, whereas a triangle is a popular Moslem pattern (*v.* Tattoos). But the Montenegrin, as we have seen, cut three for the Holy Trinity.

The clipping of the four locks out of doors to the four quarters of the heavens has all the appearance of being a dedication to the sun. Sun-worship, as we have seen, was widely spread in the Balkans. When we find this ceremony considered of high importance in the very district where sun and moon symbols are still commonly carved and tattooed, we are tempted to connect them. That the rite is ancient and pre-Christian cannot be doubted.

The Catholic Church strives to suppress the notion of "hair-cutting incest." The Orthodox Church, by admitting hair-cutting as part of the baptismal ceremonial, has perpetuated it; for baptismal godfatherhood prohibits the marriage of descendants of either party till the seventh degree. "Hair-cutting incest," therefore, prohibits marriage between the descendants of the Duke of York and the Karageorgevitch, for the papers were careful to inform us that locks of hair were duly clipped when the Duke and Duchess of York acted as godparents to the heir to the Serbian throne. Their Royal Highnesses took part in a pagan ceremony of unknown antiquity. You can never tell what a Balkan alliance will let you in for.

The hair-cutting in the Russian baptism is probably an importation from Byzantium, as is also the unshorn priest. A deacon, on ordination,

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1

S 608 852 302 tonsure of his godchild, following the church practice of taking hair from the temples and the occiput, places upon his head a new cap—perhaps once a tribal emblem, at any rate a protective garment with special properties and associations—and makes and receives certain presents which witness to the contract of *kum*ship. It is thought that the hair of the S [782] [776] child was offered to the presiding spirit, or the genius of birth, who in turn have been connected with ancestral spirits, inhabiting streams and trees. As a precaution, the hair is carefully preserved; it is not allowed to fall to the ground, but caught in a cloth and afterwards rolled in wax, and either then or later it is placed or buried under a young rose tree. For the child concerned it is a passage rite. It is a S [551] current belief that a child is not safe until it has been baptised, and until then it is known by a protective, misleading nickname. The rite of tonsure also ensures its security, partly, surely, by fixing its identity and establishing relationship with a sponsor or protector, who becomes responsible in part for it, and with the society on which its life and strength depend. S 852 608 [755] Weakly children are baptised in haste, and where the tonsure rite has lost its first meaning, I have heard of it as an extra precautionary rite for ailing children. When a child is born sickly, or of parents whose other children have died early, there is a custom by which it is carried outside the house, say to a cross-roads. The father or woman who carries the child generally beseeches the first passer-by to stand as godfather. Sometimes the child is left for the first who finds it to pick up and adopt, or claim as godchild, and thus give it his protection. On Kosovo the child is moreover carefully bound round and laid, its face to the ground, with its head to the East. The finder turns the child over and reverses its position, pronouncing a blessing of long life.

A 852 608 628 The rôle of redeemer is clearly seen in an Albanian rite quoted by Hahn. The children to be sponsored, at the ceremonial reconciliation of parties of a blood feud, were brought in their cradles by women to the house of the wronged party, and set with the children's heads turned to the West. The

5: Kemp E-4, 5 (1926-1933)1935
EF6 Serbs EF6
Albania EG1
Balkan Peoples E13

A 852 608 628 S B 608 628 178 852

sign of their acceptance was the turning of the children round so that their heads were to the East, symbolising release from death, and in this case, pardon.

The special relationship between protector and protected, which has been stressed in descriptions of primitive society, was also characteristic of the Balkan peoples; the pardoned murderer, the man whose life had been spared, or who had claimed protection or some special boon—all of which naturally had to be done in a special way—was from then onwards not only the lifelong and intimate ally of his protector, but enjoyed the other's greatest respect and consideration.[1] It was laid down in the traditional regulations for concluding a vendetta that the party of the murderer should give a certain number of sponsor children and blood brothers, according to the number of lives owing, to be received by the offended person and his relatives in the usual way. This was not merely a means of securing peace by a sacred alliance but in the nature of a compensating fine. The murderer placed himself and his children at the mercy of the men he had wronged. From the conventions attaching to pardon and redemption the new relationship proceeds. It is possible that formerly a real substitute for the life in dispute was offered, and that it was entirely at the pleasure of the offended party to spare or to pardon the children. Only by a special ceremony could peace be made without blood. The feast which usually followed was a compensatory sacrifice and included a memorial of the dead. These customs amongst the South Slavs have died out; vendetta is no longer an open tribal business, and descriptions of the ceremonies are often lacking in detail, and particularly the important detail of the exact manner in which the *kum* received the children. However, the symbolical act of raising from death is occasionally mentioned, and on enquiry I found that it was remembered in tradition, here and there, unambiguously as such.

[1] There are common peasant sayings of the form: 'Of whom should you ask a favour if not of me, who helped you in the past?'

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

become a mother is announced to her husband's 843
family, she becomes thenceforward the object of the most devoted attention on their part, the slightest wish or preference she may express being immediately gratified. Custom, however, forbids her eating certain things, such as pomegranates and snails, and she must not dye her hair more than three times before her baby is born, or some unlucky accident would be sure to happen to her or to the infant.

As soon as the baby is born it is washed, and a 844
sickle, with which straw has just been cut, is laid for a few seconds on its stomach to prevent colics. The maternal grandmother, whose privilege it is to per- [603]
form this office for the baby, then proceeds to swathe its little body tightly in broad swaddling bands of white woollen stuff, and finally deposits it in a narrow [352]
wooden cradle. A jar of water is taken to the Hodja [855]
or the Papas, according to the creed of the mother, to be blessed, and with some of its contents all the women who officiated at the birth wash their hands. The rest of the water is placed near the mother, and all the women who visit her during the five ensuing days dip their fingers in it and sprinkle her, expressing at the same time a wish that she may have a plentiful supply of milk for the baby, Albanian women [853]
making a point of nursing their own children. The relatives are now admitted to felicitate the mother and admire the baby, with the exception of its father, whom custom obliges to keep out of the way and refrain from seeing his child until it is eight days old. The mother is presently placed on a state bed, 846
over which a magnificently embroidered silk coverlet

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

were publicly mocked as 'low-class fellows'. Sometimes they had no choice, being so disobedient and unruly that their father compelled them to leave his house. Or they got on so badly with each other that he feared there would be murder done.

Three factors militated against separation. There was the sense of family which was so strong that four or five generations, numbering twenty souls or more, might live under one roof. Secondly, it was economically to the advantage of each man that the household should remain together. In a large household all branches of the pastoral and agricultural life were possible, but in a small one activities must be restricted; one and the same person could not tend cows and oxen, ewes and lambs. With good reason the proverb says 'Separation ruins a family'. In the bad old days too, it was strategically good for brothers to stick together; the more guns in a house the stronger it was.

When separation had been decided on, the family possessions were divided equally without any regard for primogeniture. Everything that could be eaten or drunk—dairy produce, grain, haricot beans, eggs, honey, raki—was considered food and divided equally among the mouths to be fed, and everything else—land, livestock, farm implements, house, household utensils—was considered property and divided equally between the brothers.

The law of food, as expanded, laid down that every living soul in the house on the day of separation, male and female, sick and well, greybeard and infant drawing its first breath, should receive the same share of food. Supposing one of the two brothers had besides his wife ten children, and the other two, the first received twelve portions of food and the second four. Then the age clause was variously interpreted. In Dibër even a child still in the womb was allotted a full portion, but elsewhere one born so little as an hour after the conclusion of the separation received nothing and the prospective father naturally tried to protect himself against this loss by delaying the separation, if possible, until the child had been born. In Lumë and Mirditë a child less than a year old was not given food, the idea being that its mother's milk would suffice for it throughout the coming year—partly to avoid conception Albanian children were everywhere suckled until they were three years of age. In other areas a new-born child received its quota on the assumption that before a year was out it would 'eat a little, spill a little and let the cat eat a little'. Separation generally, though not

A 754 of the blood on a silver coin, wrap it up, and wear it as an amulet. It will protect you from all blood-sucking shtrigas.

A [163 761] Shtrigas especially like the blood of children. Child mortality in all Balkan lands is exceedingly high. It is not unusual to find women who have borne from eight to twelve children, of whom none, or but one or two, survive. Nor could I ever make them believe that it was the way in which the babes were kept that was the real cause. So A [751] terrified are the mothers that the Evil Eye may fall on the child that they guard it by keeping its heavy wooden cradle wrapped in a thick woollen coverlet. No Evil Eye, and no ray of light or breath of fresh A [853 777] air, can penetrate. When suckling, the mother takes the cradle on her knees or kneels over it, and raises just enough of the rug to enable her to give the breast; both cradle and child are hung with amulets. The M same method, too, is popular in Montenegro and Bosnia. I have seen 754 luckless infants as white as bleached celery, slowly pining away; but 853 the poor mother believed the pining due to a shtriga, who had put a curse on her breast and poisoned her milk, or had looked at the A child with an Evil Eye. Only the very strong survive. Marko used to 755 prescribe washing the child with a decoction of walnut leaves. Neither he nor anyone else would believe me when I begged for fresh air and sunlight.

A Only she who has caused the evil can undo it. My old friend, Tony 754 Precha, who was a mine of old-world lore, told me how a shtriga was 755 forced to do this: "The child of our neighbour was slowly pining away. It was the work of a shtriga. One day it died. I saw it cold and dead. The father, in a fury, shouted that he knew who had killed it. He A [681] rushed out and caught a woman and dragged her in. She screamed and denied that she had done it. He dragged her to the dead child, crying, 'Spit in its mouth!' She refused, and struggled and screamed. If she did not spit before the sun went down it would be too late. She knew this, and that was why she would not spit, for it was already late. Then the father, in despair, put his pistol to her head and shouted, 'Spit or I fire!' She spat. The father threw her out of the door. Then we watched the child. Very slowly it began to revive, and in three hours it was quite well. The father had saved it by acting at once." And Tony saw this with his own eyes.

How apt are most of us to believe that *post hoc* is *propter hoc*.

A In Albania evil spirits are most active in the spring. Garlic is tied 754 round children's necks on or about Shrove Tuesday as a special pre- 776 caution. In Shala, and, I believe, other tribes, the women tie a black 777 cord with three knots in it to the doorposts along with a pair of scissors, the wool-carding comb, and some berries (species unknown). This is not merely to protect the house, but to prevent shtrigas and bad spirits

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

Diseases.—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

Wounds.—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

854 etc. There is a wooden grating—a ladder of laths—inside the cradle,
531 on which the child rests upon a cushion or mattress. It is covered usually with the cotton-stuffed coverlet ("jorgan") of the East, and over all is the thick cradle cover above described.

2. Marriage

581 Marriages in the old days might be called "political." They were
584 alliances made by the head of the house with the consent of his brethren, for the purpose of strengthening the "house" and thereby the tribe, exactly as up to the present day Royal alliances have been made. The two young people had no voice in the matter, and were often betrothed before birth. A man would promise the next daughter born to him to a chief of another tribe who had a newly born son. The bride was purchased. In Montenegro, and, I believe, in the other Balkan lands, only a symbolic payment is now made. Among the Northern mountain tribes of Albania the bride-price, I found, was still paid in money or kind.

ALBANIA

583 Among the mountain tribes I found antique usages. House-lords
584 were anxious to dispose of their daughters and obtain wives of good stock for their sons. Early betrothal they declared necessary. Later on you could not find a good wife for your son. They were already disposed of. Everywhere they declared there were fewer women than men. In Maltsia e Madhe the price for a girl of good family was twenty napoleons: ten were paid on betrothal and the balance when the girl was handed over. I saw infants in the cradle who were already sold.
582 In this district the age for marriage had been raised lately, and some fathers told me they would not marry a girl under sixteen nor a boy under eighteen unless the house was very short of women to do the work. Then a boy of sixteen might be married to an older woman, sometimes to a widow. In the Pulati and Dukagini tribes girls were still sometimes married at thirteen and fourteen, and boys at fifteen or sixteen. I met a man of thirty who had a son of fifteen. His father
[152] had married him to a widow of thirty. She was now old, and he complained bitterly that he could not get rid of her.

583 In Pulati and Dukagini the bride-price was less—sixteen to eighteen
162 napoleons as a rule. An elderly widow might change hands for a rifle or some other article. In all these districts, if a man lost his wife he was sometimes hard put to it to find money for another. A man with many sons found it not easy to wive them all well. There was complaint

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

538 776 banner beside it, and on it hang his sword, stained with the blood of the Turk:

539

Within its blade Death yet shall sleep,
And, 'neath that sombre tree,
The arms of their erst dreaded foe,
Shall they now silent be?

No! When the wind shall furious blow,
And waves my flag around,
When whinnies my good charger there,
My sword makes clanking sound,

The Turk shall hear, and, tremblingly,
He'll turn, with bated breath,
With visage blanched, and hear behind
Him, swiftly following, Death.

[854 533] The Gheg mother, in her mountain home, rocks her little ones to sleep and amuses their waking hours with such lullabies as these:

I.

539 854

"*De! De!* Lambkin mine,
Where didst thou this even dine?"
"In the fields where waters flow,
'Neath the trees where cherries grow,"

"Tell me what thou there didst see?"
"Two twin birdies on a tree."
"What song did they sing to thee?"
"*Chili! Chili! Mangouli!*

I saw the old woman
'Mong corn ears all ripe;
I heard her a-playing
Upon the black pipe!"

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

II.

Oloria! Boloria!
Come and listen to my story!

A sieve my master bade me bring,
To sift the flour some cakes to make;
A faggot in the oven fling,
When they were made the cakes to bake;
That he a lady bride might take.

Said he, "I'll do to her no ill,
Nor will I my dear wifie kill;
My sheep and goats shall be her care,
And bread and nuts shall be her fare."

539
854
[252]

PEAKS OF SHALA

[628] woman he would at that moment have been
576 dead. Our Shala men, with perfect courtesy, went through the formalities of greeting on the trail, and this is the form, translated to me by Rexh:

"Long life to you!"

"And to you, long life!"

"How could you?" meaning, "How could you get here?"

"Slowly, slowly, little by little."

No one who has ever seen those trails can doubt it.

291 The Shoshi man sat down, our men offered him cigarettes, and up the trail came a woman of Shoshi.[1] She wore a tight, bell-shaped skirt of horizontal black and white stripes, made of cloth heavier and thicker than felt, the twelve-inch-wide marriage belt of heavy leather studded with pounds of nails, and a jacket covered with three-inch-thick fringe. Two heavy braids of black hair hung forward on her breasts, a colored handkerchief was bound around her head, and her face, smoothly weather browned, large eyed, delicately shaped, was the most beautiful that I
[854] had ever seen. On her back, held by woven woolen straps that crossed between her breasts, was a cradle tightly covered by a thick blanket;
[283] in one hand she held a bunch of raw wool, and from the other dangled a whirling spindle. Her feet were bare, and as she came up that trail which had exhausted me she sang softly to herself, dexterously spinning thread from the bunch of wool.

[1] [Albanian mountain tribe -- [12] Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

Cheremi, our gayer gendarme, rose quickly 576
and went to meet her. He took her by the hand and laid his cheek caressingly against hers. He was like a child, Cheremi, with his happy face, deep wrinkled with laughter, the mischievous twinkle in his eyes, his bursts of wit and song. But he looked all of his forty years as he gazed tenderly at the woman of Shoshi.

"She is a woman of my people," he said, leading her gallantly to us.

"Are you a woman?" said Frances Hardy, correctly, in Albanian.

"I am born of Shala[1] married in Shoshi," she 591
answered. Her voice was soft, and her hands and feet would have been madness to a sculptor. In any Paris restaurant those slender fingers, almond nails, and delicate wrists, aristocratic, well bred, would have been a sensation.

We admired the baby, excavating it from five [854]
folds of blankets to do so. How they live beneath the smothering I do not know; a Western baby would die in three hours. We asked the mother how old she was. Eighteen, she said, and she had been married three years.

"And have you been home since?"

"Ah no," she said, with a wistful smile.

"Born in Shala," said Cheremi. "But she was married in Shoshi, and in Shoshi she will die."

"I wonder what she thinks of us," I said, for, 000
though she must have felt great curiosity about these strange beings, dropped apparently from the sky upon her well-known trails, she did not

[1] [Albanian Mountain [13] tribe -- Analyst]

PEAKS OF SHALA

291 There were ten or twelve children—little girls half naked, with serious, beautiful faces and long-lashed brown eyes; small boys dignified in little long tight trousers of white wool beautifully braided in black, short fringed black jackets, and colored sashes and turbans like those of their [854] fathers. Two cradles stood near the fire, covered tightly over high footboards and headboards with heavy blankets; presently a woman partly uncovered one and, kneeling, offered her breast to the tiny baby tied down in it. Only the baby's puckered little face showed; arms and legs tightly bound, it lay motionless and uncomplaining, and when it was fed the mother kissed it tenderly and covered it again, carefully smoothing the many folds of thick wool and tucking the ends tightly beneath the cradle.

576 Meantime Cheremi was taking off our shoes and stockings and bathing our feet in cold water brought by one of the women. This was proper, since when guests arrive the member of the family nearest to them by ties of blood or affection acts as their servant, and Cheremi, being an Albanian who knew us, was judged to stand in that position. By the time we had drawn on dry woolen stockings from our packs the first 576 cup of coffee was ready. To the boiling water in 272 the tiny pot the coffee maker added two spoonfuls of the powdered coffee, two of sugar, stirred the mixture till it foamed, and poured it into a handleless little cup which he offered Perolli. But Perolli indicated me, and without the

[In home of Marka [58] Gjonni of Pulhi—Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

washing his bed and his clothes; he had hated lice with an astonishing hatred; he said they were small devils who would grow to be large devils, and the woman did not think this was true, but she had washed all the beds, also all the house, and now it was like an American house and had no lice.

"But that isn't what she meant. She meant that she doesn't see why we are washing," said Alex, lifting her dripping face above a pool and rubbing it with one hand. It isn't easy to wash in a waterfall, with no place to lay the soap.

"We do this every morning," Frances explained in Albanian. "It is American custom." The woman looked as though she thought it rather foolish, still, if it were the custom——

"Also," said Frances, "every morning we wash the children and the babies, all over, from head to foot."

"Yes?" said the woman, indifferently. "Here babies stay in their cradles. Children go into the water when they are old enough to swim. Then only in the summer, when it is not cold."

Frances gave it up. We came back from the waterfall, on a path that was like a terrace of heaven overlooking all the world of mountains and valleys and swirling clouds. We were already wet to the skin with rain, but that did not matter, for we had before us the day's walking in it, and our indifference to wet clothes and feet was already quite Albanian. And the morning, and the mountain air, and the water-gushing

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

tree-trunk. A similar section[1] split lengthways and hollowed out, made two wash-tubs for laundry work. Toilet appliances, a basin and ewer bought in the bazaar, and paraffin lamps from the same source, completed the list of additions.

The above outline omits many small variations in Albanian houses and furniture as irrelevant to the main subject of this book. Mention must be made, however, of certain houses which differed widely from the average type. The first were found among the Highlanders (Alb. *Malësorë*, 'mountaineers'), the semi-nomads who wintered on the soggy plains at the mouth of the river Mat. These houses had walls of planking or wattle and daub, with roofs of tiles or strips of wood. They rested on vertical sections of tree trunks about two feet high which had been laid at close intervals on the ground but had not been driven into it like piles. In this way they kept snug and dry even during the winter floods. All over Albania granaries were raised some distance from the ground in order to keep out the rats, but so far as is known, there were no houses on stilts except at the mouth of the Mat.

A number of Highland houses also contained a child's play-pen which might be as little as twenty-five inches long, wide and high. A shallow porringer projected from one of the top bars, chipped from the same piece of wood as the bar itself. In this pen Highland children spent all their winter days from the time they could crawl until they were three years old. They had no toys, but practised walking round the pen, sometimes stopping to eat a little bread and milk from the porringer with the diminutive home-made, wooden spoon which was tied to the bar, or merely gazing broodingly at the fire. The mothers meanwhile cooked, spun or gossiped, each secure in the knowledge that her child was on the dry floor of the kitchen and not sitting outside in the quagmire of mud that reached up to the very doorstep. The Highlanders said they invented both the houses and the play-pen themselves, but it is possible that they were at least advised by the Austro-Hungarian troops who were stationed in the neighbourhood for part of the war of 1914–18.

In Shpat, near Elbasan, huts were built for many bridegrooms. In the higher villages trunks of young trees about as tall as a man's waist were planted in a rectangle of the size desired, their boughs, while still green and flexible, were laced in and out of these uprights, and cross-pieces of timber were nailed to the uprights

[1] [i.e., of tree-trunk--Analyst]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

to be pardoned; he said it was 'disgraceful', and the plea was allowed. 628* 788

The Highlanders had still another method. They called a 'St John' an infant which had not yet been sent to have its hair [776] cut by its godfather, it being believed that St John the Baptist was Christ's godfather. When the time for peace-making seemed due, the friends brought pressure to bear to secure forgiveness. This promised, they arranged to take the murderer on a certain day to his enemy's house, his hands again tied behind his back, and take a 'St John' in its cradle with them. Probably they did not bring [854] the murderer into view; at most they kept him in the background. One of the visitors turned the cradle with the infant, who was, as always, well strapped in, upside down, saying to the host, 'Put it straight; Turn it right side up!' If he were willing, and few were not, for leaving the infant upside down might kill it and leave him with innocent blood on his hands, he turned the cradle right side up, saying, 'All right, I pardon him for the sake of God and the Saint'. Then he went and without another word untied the murderer's hands. Next he said, 'A pardon for my murder; a pardon for my father's (or brother's) murder; be it forgiven', and turned to embrace the murderer. Coffee was then served and drunk by all amid general conversation—the Highlanders are unusually lively. Having fixed a day when they would all go to eat a meal with meat at the murderer's house they took their leave. This meal at the murderer's concluded the proceedings; afterwards all went about their business; no cross was made on the enemy's door as in Kurbin.

Friends were not the only interveners. Occasionally the Turkish 628* government took a hand, declaring on penalty of imprisonment, 682 internment and burning out that all feuds more than seven years old were to be compounded by a money payment and not reopened. When during the 1914–18 war Austria-Hungary was in occupation of all north Albania, she also ordered blood feuds to be ended with a money payment; the resentment of Çermenikë at this attempt to force them to make peace on northern terms is still hot. Sometimes a whole community itself interfered. The procedure of west Mat was typical. When a man had been killed on either side and the feud was 'one for one', the neighbours took effective steps to prevent its continuance. They each forbade the avenger to come on his land to kill his enemy; if he did so, he would be considered a trespasser

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

Birth, Marriage, and Death

In 1392 Bogavach Cuiavich of Rudine of his own free will releases 000
from servitude Radaca, daughter of John of Albania, whom he had bought of Braycho Ucarich.

This seems to have been the case of an actual slave. But the lot of others, when sold for a long term of service, can have been little better than slavery unless they fell into good hands.

ALBANIA

I heard of a similar custom of thus selling children for a term of A 597
years in Malacastra in South Albania. Here poor Moslems sometimes sent their daughters as far as Constantinople; and I was told that some of the Albanian beys thus purchased servant-girls from their mothers, and at the end of the term dowered them and married them to peasants on the estate. The Italian Consul at Valona, the first time I was there, told me he had thus purchased a servant girl.

Birth.—In Albania, as in Montenegro, childbirth received but the M A 844
most ignorant treatment. The death-rate of mothers and children was high.

There was great rejoicing among the mountain tribes when a boy was born and proportionate disappointment over a girl. For a son, especially a first-born, the whole family group turned out and fired rifles.

Some kind of spiritual relationship was held to exist between the child and the woman who cut the umbilical cord; but I learnt no particulars.

As in Montenegro, even in the towns there was the greatest reluctance to summon medical aid. In Scutari one day the Austrian doctor was summoned to a Moslem woman who was in the last stages of A
exhaustion. He found the child was already dead, and said that to [758]
save the woman's life it must be removed at once. The family refused to believe or permit this and dismissed him. Some hours later they fetched him again—but she was dead.

On the birth of a child, both in Scutari and the mountains, all the A
women neighbours go at once to visit the mother and take offerings [431
of eggs. For a boy, two, four, six, or eight—an even number—are 777]
brought; for a girl, one, three, five, or seven. One egg is broken over the child's face to protect it from the Evil Eye. Presumably this makes the child unrecognizable or hideous.

Both in Albania and Montenegro, and I believe in all Balkan lands, M A 854
infants are swaddled. The cradle is of wood and serves as a packing-case in which to carry the child on its mother's back. In Scutari the cradles A 854
are very gaily painted with conventional patterns of flowers and birds, 531

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples . . .
Albania E61

poor. We have no money, no work. We want factories. 181
We want the English to help us to build factories." It was the same complaint, though couched in slightly different terms, as that of the peasant at Koritza—" This country no goddamned good! No money, no work, no nothin'!" I was getting used to it.

" But ", I exclaimed, " what on earth do you want factories for? These hats, for example—suppose a company started a factory here to make fezzes, they would turn out in a week as many fezzes as these people make in a year. The fez-makers would be thrown out of work and the market would be flooded."

The young man waved a deprecating hand. " Yes, yes ", he said. " But we should export the hats to other countries and the foreign trade would make us rich."

The same old story—getting rich! getting rich! getting rich! I laughed, and asked him to put the case to the fez-maker. The man made some short answer and went on with his work.

" What does he say? " I demanded.

" He says ", was the reply, " ' We want no factories here '."

That evening—a Saturday and a market day—I stood 000
on the long bridge which spans the river to the south of the town watching the stream of men, women, and children, returning to their homes in the distant villages. One strapping girl carried on her head a wooden cradle within [854]
which a baby was firmly bound with long strips of webbing.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Contemporary Macedonians EF8
Montenegrins EF5

A 757 278 enough creature near Scutari, was esteemed as very good for consumptive patients.

A [262] The flesh of the common land tortoise was thought of great value for all convalescents. When I came out of hospital Marko had prepared a savoury stew for my supper. I ate heartily. "Thank God!" cried the good old man, "you have eaten 'breshké,' and you will soon be strong and well." He fetched the shell of the large tortoise which had provided my meal.

A [136]

A 164 136 So common are these tortoises that an Albanian proverb says: "There is no mountain without a wolf and no plain without a tortoise."

Diseases.—Intestinal troubles of all kinds are rife in the Balkans, owing to bad food, and in some districts to a morbid appetite for very acid food. Intestinal worms—tape, thread, and round—are very common. A preparation of buckthorn is given.

A 165 853 Infant mortality is excessively high all through the Balkans. If a mother can nurse her child till the flocks are giving milk plentifully it stands a chance; if not, it is fed on parboiled maize-flour and heavy maize-bread. The abdomen swells greatly, and the child often dies; and, as I have stated, desire to preserve the child from the Evil Eye causes many to be half-suffocated in the cradle. Only the toughest survive, and they are very tough. The Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians, whom I have had charge of as sick or wounded, do not suffer from shock, nor are they as sensitive to pain as West Europeans.

A 854 754 M CM A 151

Wounds.—The Albanian tribesmen were far cleverer with wounds than with sickness. They had a traditional antiseptic treatment which was very successful. Old Marash Hutzi of Hoti, who had learnt the art from his grandfather, explained it to me. A wound must never be touched with water; it must be thoroughly washed out with rakia (brandy distilled from grapes). He judged the state of a wound by smelling it carefully. When well washed—when it perforated a limb he poured rakia right through—he dressed it with an ointment he made from white wax, olive oil, pine resin, and a decoction of the bark of green elder twigs. If deep, he plugged it with wool soaked in this ointment. In hot weather the dressings should be changed twice a day; and so long as the wound was foul he washed it daily with rakia. He saved a leg—compound comminuted fracture caused by horse-kick—which the Turkish military surgeon was going to amputate and made a quite usable, though rather shortened, limb of it. The grateful patient gave him thirty francs, the biggest fee the good old man had ever received. He had made his own instruments—some probes, forceps, a small saw made from a barrel hoop, and some knives.

A 757 826 752 From his grandfather's and his own experience he had a fair knowledge of where the main arteries ran, "where it was safe to cut and where

8:Coon E-5 (1929-30;46-48)196 EG1 Albania EG1
Highland Ghegs

CRADLING

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THE EVIDENCE ACCUMULATES

I WROTE, in 1939, "There has been much discussion upon the subject of occipital flattening, both in Albania and in Asia Minor; there are two definite schools, one which believes that it is natural and racially determined, the other that it is a form of artificial deformation caused by cradling. My own position lies between these two extremes; occipital flattening is without doubt a phenomenon associated with the entire mechanical orientation of the cranium in the Dinaric race, and especially with the position of the foramen magnum to the rear of that usual in most races. As such, it is undeniably inherited.

"At the same time, the use of the Albanian cradle, in which the shoulders are bound but the head is not, may in some instances have caused an intensification of this flattening, since the heads of some living Albanians are unquestionably deformed. However, since cradling practices are regionally uniform in Albania, the geographical distribution of this character is wholly racial in pattern."[1]

I also promised in a footnote: "A detailed study of this question will be published in the author's "The Physical Anthropology of Northern Albania," the provisional title of the present monograph. Since then evidence has been accumulating that "some instances" should be changed to "most instances." Father Ewing found that Lebanese children born in Brooklyn show much less flattening than their parents, and 2 Harvard graduate students, Mr. David de Harport and Mr. William Laughlin, working under my direction, found the same thing among Tosks in Greater Boston.[2] 1

141 In the course of the present monograph 6 pieces of evidence have appeared in other contexts. In chapter 10, on "The Mountain Gheg Phenotype," on page 62,[2] and table 4,[3] we saw that the sigma ratios for head length, head breadth, and the cephalic index are abnormally high, both as a total and within tribes, and this applies especially to the ceph-

1 [see cat. 116, p. 90b -- Analyst]

[1] Coon, 1939, p. 600.

2 [see cat. 116, pp. 62a-62e -- Analyst]
3 [see cat. 116, pp. 54f-54m -- Analyst]

304 854 The literature of the entire subject of cranial deformation has been ably covered by Dingwall,[3] who quotes some Albanian instances in which intentional molding was observed. Miss Hasluck confirms this for Macedonia, and has a paper on the subject for Albania in preparation.[4] It is hard to say how much of the cranial deformation in Albania is intentional, and how much the unconscious result of cradling.

THE TECHNIQUE OF CRADLING

854 Albanian mothers, like mothers in other countries, are often faced with a "baby-sitter" problem. A young woman wants to go out in the fields to work, or to the market for shopping, and she cannot leave her baby alone. Besides, if she is to be gone for any length of time she must have her baby with her to nurse it. When she is on the march she cannot afford to immobilize her hands by carrying it in her arms. Walking-time is spinning-time in Albania. These are some of the practical reasons for a cradle. Other reasons are emotional and historical. The cradle is a part of Albanian culture, like the hearth and the loom—one of the material symbols of the activities of men, women, and children in families. Our grandfathers were cradled, and our grandfathers were wise and generous men, and brave warriors.

After he has been washed, blessed, and swaddled, the baby is laid in the cradle, which is lined with soft blankets. A thin pillow protects his head from the wood. There may be some variation on this point, as to how thin and how soft the pillow is. Once on his back, the baby is bound to the cradle-board at the shoulders and also lower down. This keeps him from moving about, and his shoulders stay flat. He can move his head about as much as this position will allow. Although the head is not bound, its easiest position in rest is squarely on the occipital bone.

The child rides and nurses and sleeps in this cradle most of the time until he is taken out for good, which is said to vary between 6 months and a year, or even longer. During this period it is changed from swaddling

[3] Dingwall, 1931.
[4] Hasluck, 1947, pp. 130-31.

854 clothes to garments which permit freer movements. When the time for uncradling draws near, the mother takes the child out now and then to see if it can sit up; when it is able to sit by itself on a blanket while she works, she may remove it from the cradle altogether.

Armenian as well as Albanian informants tell me that 2 factors govern the age at which the child is uncradled: its "strength," or ability to "sit up without falling down," and the [304] preference of the parents. A "strong" baby, therefore, would be released earlier in life than a "weak" baby, and a difference between a year's cradling and 6 months' might make all the difference between no visible flattening and an extreme case. One is also tempted to postulate that a "strong" baby's bones would resist deformation more than those of a "weak" baby, particularly if weakness were a reflection of nutrition in a hungry land, as in many parts of the Gheg mountains. When parental choice is added, we find reasons enough to explain variations in the frequency of flattening.

Thanks to the generosity of Mr. Dmitri Peterson of Somerville, Massachusetts, we have a scale model of such a cradle to study first hand. Mr. Peterson was taught the trade of carpenter in Albania as a young man, and has made many such cradles. Although his home was in southern Albania, my photographs and memory of Gheg cradles showed them to be much the same. The cradle made by Mr. Peterson consists essentially of 2 boards, a backboard on which the baby lies, and a headboard shielding the top of his head. Other boards form the sides. A footboard, which is the same piece of wood as the front rocker, has been cut crescent-wise to let the baby's feet through. He could, however, brace against it with his feet if he tried.

The cradle depicted in figure 11, *a*, on the other hand, has a sling of yarn for the head to rest on, and only a low headboard. The footboard is low, but straight. This cradle was photographed in Zadrima. Baron Nopcsa[5] illustrates another cradle from "Planti (Gebiet von Pulti)," which I presume is in Malsia e Madhe (fig. 11, *d*). It had a headboard and a

1 [See p. 111 - Arm. 1]
2 [See p. 111 - Arm. 1]

[5] Nopcsa, 1925, p. 109.

854 curved footboard, like Mr. Peterson's. In Haberlandt's work[6] 2 are shown, both of the Peterson variety. One was from Scutari (fig. 11, *b*)[1] the other belonged to Vlachs in central Albania (fig. 11, *c*).[2]

854 304 Were one to make a detailed study of cradle types in the Gheg mountains, tribe by tribe and village by village, one would probably find variations both in form and in use which might further help explain local differences in head form. It may for example be no coincidence that the Zadrima cradle has no headboard, while the Zadrima sample is high in occipital and very low in lambdoid flattening. It is not inconceivable that a baby who had outgrown his cradle and who had learned to brace his feet on the footboard might push his head against the headboard if there were one, and give himself lambdoid flattening. On the other hand, a slanting pillow might have the same effect.

Sometimes one finds both kinds on the same head; presumably the child was occipitally flattened first, then, as he outgrew his cradle, lambdoid flattening appeared. If during the process of flattening the smooth union of the parietals and the occipital bone were impeded, and an irregular bone growth resulted, the anomaly called bathrocephaly would be added. It is possible that, in some cases, bathrocephaly might be the only discernible after-effect of cradling; that the bones would spring rather than flatten. What is badly needed is some experimental work on this subject; until that is done it must remain partly speculative, since these types of deformation also occur on heads which have not been cradled, in lower frequencies and in less extreme degree.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF DEFORMATION

304 *128 On figure 7[3] the frequencies and percentages of the various categories of occipital flattening, lambdoid flattening, and bathrocephaly have been given. Table 23[4] shows how these 3 phenomena are related. Less than a third (31.40%) of the men had unflattened heads, and 27 per cent also lacked bathrocephaly.

[6] Haberlandt, 1917, p. 11, table III, no. 12, and p. 95, fig. 29.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 111 --Analyst]
2 [See cat. 116, p. 111 -- Analyst]
3 [See cat. 116, p. 92b --Analyst]
4 [See cat. 116, p. 93d --Analyst]

8: Coon E-5 (1929-30; 46-48) 1950 EGI Albania EGI
Highland Ghegs

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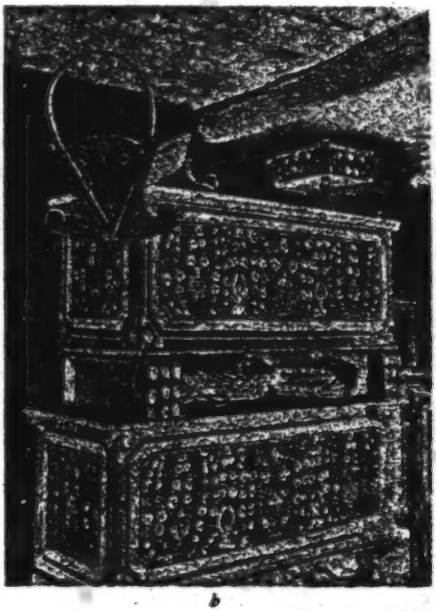
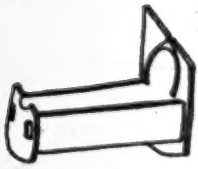
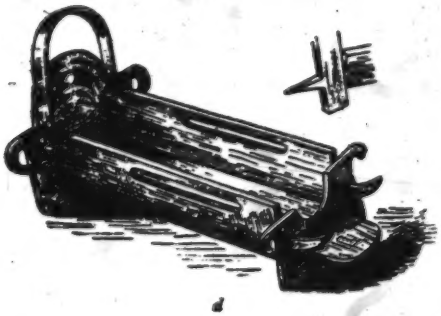
a



b



c



d

Cradles. *a*, Zadrima cradle. *b*, Cradle from Scutari (Haberlandt, 1917, fig. 29). *c*, Vlach cradle (Haberlandt, 1917, table 3, no. *12*). *d*, Cradle from Planti (Nopsca, 1925, fig. 78).

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

become a mother is announced to her husband's 843
family, she becomes thenceforward the object of the most devoted attention on their part, the slightest wish or preference she may express being immediately gratified. Custom, however, forbids her eating certain things, such as pomegranates and snails, and she must not dye her hair more than three times before her baby is born, or some unlucky accident would be sure to happen to her or to the infant.

As soon as the baby is born it is washed, and a 844
sickle, with which straw has just been cut, is laid for a few seconds on its stomach to prevent colics. The maternal grandmother, whose privilege it is to per- [603]
form this office for the baby, then proceeds to swathe its little body tightly in broad swaddling bands of white woollen stuff, and finally deposits it in a narrow [352]
wooden cradle. A jar of water is taken to the Hodja [855]
or the Papas, according to the creed of the mother, to be blessed, and with some of its contents all the women who officiated at the birth wash their hands. The rest of the water is placed near the mother, and all the women who visit her during the five ensuing days dip their fingers in it and sprinkle her, expressing at the same time a wish that she may have a plentiful supply of milk for the baby, Albanian women [853]
making a point of nursing their own children. The relatives are now admitted to felicitate the mother and admire the baby, with the exception of its father, whom custom obliges to keep out of the way and refrain from seeing his child until it is eight days old. The mother is presently placed on a state bed, 846
over which a magnificently embroidered silk coverlet

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To the Land of the Eagle

361 shop-keepers, and children. The children have an ideal
857 existence—from the child's point of view. Down the centre of every street runs a little trickling stream of water in which they can play and mess about to their hearts' content, and there are no nurses to reprove them for making themselves wet or scold them for dirtying their clothes.

856 In Podgradetz, as elsewhere in Albania, the children are often quite pretty. Their good looks, however, seldom last to maturity—at least the good looks of the girls, who deteriorate so rapidly in appearance after about the age of sixteen that they seem to skip a whole period and become old women immediately.

000 While I was in Podgradetz I made the acquaintance of the schoolmaster and the doctor. The schoolmaster invited me into the school where he was giving the third and fourth classes—girls—an arithmetic lesson. Without any trace of shyness the children came out from the class one by one and did sums on the blackboard. They seemed bright and intelligent, and I was not surprised when the teacher told me that he had found the girls more intelligent and quicker than the boys.

The doctor, who also ran the chemist's shop, as is customary in these parts, was a cheery little man bursting with local patriotism. To use an Americanism, " he boosted his home town some ". He praised the water, the air, the scenery. He took me up a hill in rear of the town and showed me the view. " Is there anywhere in the world a finer prospect than this ? " he demanded. The local wine,

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

789 372 good luck to us and to our flocks!" Before the family sit down to supper a small quantity of food from every dish on the table is placed upon the burning log. Some branches of a cherry tree are also put on the fire, and, when partially burnt, are taken off again and kept.

857 533 Soon after midnight, the boys, in companies of from ten to fifteen, go singing from house to house, and receive, in reward for their carols, a ring-cake from each housewife.

527 789 787 [372] On the Eve of St. Basil (January 1) the fire is also kept burning all night, and the half-burnt cherry branches are again thrown on and withdrawn, to be wholly consumed on the Eve of the Epiphany, when the ashes are collected and strewn in the vineyard. The fire of St. Basil's Eve is often watched by an expectant mother, who thus hopes to ensure an easy confinement. In the morning people wash themselves and their children with "unspoken-over" water, and draw omens from the character, gay or sad, of the person who first enters the house. A cock is also sacrificed, for it is auspicious to spill blood in the house on St. Basil's Day.

789 [787] On the Eve of Epiphany the fire is also kept alight all night, and in the morning the character of the coming seasons is prophesied from the set of the wind. If a south wind blows, it indicates a full harvest and sickness; if the wind is from the east, a scanty harvest and a healthy year are predicted; if from the north, a late spring. The Christians, on the Feast of Epiphany, sprinkle their vineyards with holy water, in the hope of ensuring a plentiful crop of

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

538 776 which, by Easter Eve, have become very thin. On the morning of Easter Sunday, however, the Saviour arrives with a new chain with which He again secures Satan to the rock.

A graceful little myth is related in some parts of Albania concerning the origin of the Cuckoo and the *Gyon*, or *Gyonit*, which is, I believe, a species of small owl. 539 The story goes that the cuckoo and the gyon were brother and sister, and had a brother named Gyon, who had been killed. Various causes are assigned for his death in the different versions of the story, that current among the Ritza tribe being that he was accidentally stabbed by his brother with a pair of scissors. In order the better to mourn his loss, the surviving brother was changed into the bird gyon, and the sister into a cuckoo. And so the gyon calls his brother all night long by his name, "*Gyon, Gyon!*" and the cuckoo in the daytime sings, "*Kou! Kou!*" which means, "Where art thou?"[1] In Elbassan, however, it is also said that the sister was changed into the blue flower, which is called the "cuckoo flower," or "cuckoo's bread," and when a woman finds this flower in the field she sings:

Cuckoo, cuckoo, more than cuckoo,
Saw'st thou me?
Saw I thee?
Saw'st thou thy dear brother, Gyon?
How they slew him like an ox?
Blood a spoonful,
Flesh a cupful;
Give me both thine hands!

[1] It has occurred to me that the call of "Cuckoo," used by children both in the East and in the West when playing hide-and-seek, may have its origin in some such bird legend.

[524 857]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EG1 Albania EG1

before the Serbs were coming back to their tribes 178
and telling about the American school in Scutari, 871
so that all the people wanted their children to
learn to read and write. The chiefs themselves, [212]
hearing that there was a Tirana government, and
not being able to write or read letters about it,
or to learn from newspapers (oh, simple-minded,
mediæval people!) the truth about European
politics, saw what education meant.

The people had taken rocks from the moun- 871
tains and made the schoolhouse. They had cut
precious trees and made the benches and the
desks. They had made a slate of a slab of the
native rock, set in a rough wooden frame; they
wrote upon it with softer rocks. From Italy,
across the Adriatic to Durazzo, up to Tirana, to
Scutari, and into the mountains—a two weeks'
journey by donkey and river ferry—the bishop
had got three copy books and a bottle of ink.
Pens had been made from twigs. The priest had
one book printed in Albanian.

Since the boys must herd the flocks in the [857]
mountains, they could not spend the day in 233
school. There is so little land that the goats and
sheep are fed from trees. The shepherd climbs
a tree, carefully cuts the tender branches, and
throws them down to the nibbling beasts that
eat the young buds and strip off the juicy bark.
There is no tree in all the mountains that the
shepherds have not climbed; not a tree that is
not a branchless, gnarled trunk.

So the school was open from six to nine in the 871

PEAKS OF SHALA

871 The boy who got the cake of soap walked every morning nine miles over the mountains to [857] reach school at seven o'clock, and at nine, after school, he walked back and took out the goats and spent all day climbing trees and cutting twigs for them to eat.

Padre Marjan said that as soon as he knew the Americans would build the school he had started teaching, and he had written to the government in Tirana and asked if it would help. He brought from the desk the letter he had received in reply. Written by hand, for the poverty-stricken young government had no typewriters, and sent by messenger into the mountains, in six weeks it had reached Thethis, and the padre kept it wrapped in a bit of hand-woven silk. Frances spelled it out; it said that the government would give a hundred kronen a month to pay the teacher. It was signed for the Minister of the Interior by Rrok Perolli.

000 "My sainted grandmother!" cried Frances. "Where is Perolli?" At that very minute the chiefs might be sending word to the Serbs to come and get him. The chiefs themselves would surely not violate the hospitality of their priest, but the Serbs would have no reverence for it and they were only a few miles away. When we thought what a bargain the chiefs might drive with the Serbs for Perolli it seemed too much to hope that one of them, at least, would not hand him over.

Padre Marjan spoke warmly of Perolli, whom he had so innocently betrayed; he said that he

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

593 and moil the whole blessed day', she ended, sadly rather than
562 bitterly.

462 Toil and moil she did. The daily duties of every peasant woman
512 in her position included fetching firewood from the forest and water from the river or spring, besides cooking, washing and baking for the household. At certain seasons she must also do farm work, so long as she retained a measure of youth. Her husband did heavy work like ploughing, scything hay, or cutting oak leaves for winter fodder. But she must carry the manure from the stable to the fields in spring, help her husband to sow and earth up the maize and, while he stayed indoors, reap it. She must carry home the hay and fodder and feed them to the animals. If grain was trodden out by horses or oxen, her husband drove them; if threshed with flails, she wielded them. If there was no miller, she conveyed the grist to the mill, ground it, and brought back the flour. Only if there were a miller did these tasks devolve on her husband, and then it was only in order to keep her virtue above suspicion. In poor families she was herself the beast of burden, and when young was expected to carry up to seventy pounds. In richer families she had a horse or donkey to do the actual carrying, unless her home was under snow in winter. Then she must brave the snow that confined the animal to its stable and bring in supplies of firewood and water, fodder and flour. Paucity of workers prevented her husband from having more than a couple of milch-goats or ewes, and these were tethered; it was she who tethered, watered and milked them. It was she, too, who turned their milk into curds (*kos*) or butter and cheese, arduous tasks in summer when milk sours easily. She also saw to the poultry and in her spare time knitted or span.

857 Fortunately for the women, there was almost no peasant house-
576 hold in which a young husband and wife were the only workers.
512 The eldest child, boy or girl, began at seven or eight years of age to herd the goats as they roamed in search of food and saw to them morning and evening. This gave the mother some relief and provided the family with more food and, by the sale of the goats
516 themselves or the kids, more money. When very small, the girl
462 must spin or knit as she herded; when in her teens, she must sew
512 her trousseau; but no extra tasks were expected of boy herds. Since, too, a man's mother and sisters never lost their legal right to share his home, a family might include the husband's mother and even

2:Edmonds T-3 (1926?) 1927 E13 Balkan Peoples
Albania E61

To the Land of the Eagle

361 shop-keepers, and children. The children have an ideal
857 existence—from the child's point of view. Down the centre of every street runs a little trickling stream of water in which they can play and mess about to their hearts' content, and there are no nurses to reprove them for making themselves wet or scold them for dirtying their clothes.

856 In Podgradetz, as elsewhere in Albania, the children are often quite pretty. Their good looks, however, seldom last to maturity—at least the good looks of the girls, who deteriorate so rapidly in appearance after about the age of sixteen that they seem to skip a whole period and become old women immediately.

000 While I was in Podgradetz I made the acquaintance of the schoolmaster and the doctor. The schoolmaster invited me into the school where he was giving the third and fourth classes—girls—an arithmetic lesson. Without any trace of shyness the children came out from the class one by one and did sums on the blackboard. They seemed bright and intelligent, and I was not surprised when the teacher told me that he had found the girls more intelligent and quicker than the boys.

The doctor, who also ran the chemist's shop, as is customary in these parts, was a cheery little man bursting with local patriotism. To use an Americanism, " he boosted his home town some ". He praised the water, the air, the scenery. He took me up a hill in rear of the town and showed me the view. " Is there anywhere in the world a finer prospect than this ? " he demanded. The local wine,

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 26

The state takes care of the physical education of the people, especially that of the youth, with a view to improving health and increasing the capacity of the people for work and the defense of the state. 657

ARTICLE 27

Freedom of scientific and artistic work is guaranteed. 517
The state promotes science and the arts in such a way as to further the culture and welfare of the public.

The rights of authors are protected by law.

ARTICLE 28

In order to raise the cultural level, the state gives to all 871
classes of people every chance to attend schools and other cultural institutions.

The state is particularly interested in the education of youth.

Minors are protected by law. [858]

The schools belong to the state. Private schools can be opened only by special permission. All their activities are supervised by the state. Elementary education is free and obligatory.

Schools are separated from the church.

ARTICLE 29

Citizens have the right to petition state organs for 641
redress of wrongs.

Citizens have the right to complain against any illegal or irregular decision of an administrative organ of the state.

ARTICLE 30

Every citizen can complain in competent courts against officials who have acted unjustly in the discharge of their duty.

ARTICLE 31

Citizens are entitled to seek from the state or from an 695
official compensation for damages incurred as a result of illegal or irregular punishment.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

The man killed in the murderer's stead must not be too old, feeble-minded, or physically frail to carry arms, for such men were counted women, and women could not be killed in blood feuds. If the avenger killed such a man, he lost caste, was publicly branded as 'low-class' and made it certain that the feud would not be closed. It was also illegal to kill boys who were still too young to carry arms, that is to say, under fifteen or in some cases twenty. In the Malësi e Madhe, however, it was held that one must take vengeance where one could, and that in default of an adult enemy one might kill a boy. Even in that region such a crime was not committed except by a very bad man or one who was frenzied with rage at the recent murder of a relative or otherwise. For instance, in 1933 a subaltern of the Alije family, whose wife had been carried off by another Dibran, refrained for some years from avenging the insult in the way demanded by mountain law. Taunted with this restraint at a chance meeting in a café, he put aside the civilization acquired during his military education in Albania and in Italy and rushed for his revolver. As he was unable to find the man who had taunted him, he lay in wait for the latter's schoolboy son, aged fourteen, and shot him dead.

The men of Shalë said that vengeance on a boy was commoner in Pult than in their own tribe; the men of Pult, they added contemptuously, were in every way their inferiors. Much the same was said by the tribesmen of Lurë of their neighbours in Mirditë and Kthellë, who returned the compliment in kind. In Lumë a man who took such vengeance was never again given the greeting 'Peace be with thee', which is every good Mohammedan's due from his fellows. The manner of such vengeance was inevitably very brutal. Thus two men from Shlak, when working in Bardhanjol, found the small son of their enemy and tore him in two; they are said not to have troubled to kill him first. More often the enemy wrenched the cradle off a woman's back and in her presence cut the infant's throat. A particularly nasty case was reported about 1932 from Shalë, one of the most backward regions of Albania. While two families were quarrelling about a piece of land, the wife of Grimës one day voiced her opinions so volubly in Gjelosh's house that he lost his temper and pushed her out. She fell down some steps by the door and bruised her hip. She showed the bruise to the gendarmerie, who were sympathetic enough to arrest Gjelosh and to imprison him for three months. The woman, who cared more

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 We were awakened in the damp chill of a watery gray dawn, and with surprise found ourselves on its unfamiliar softness, in the bleak room of unpainted boards. Padre Marjan was knocking at the door. In a moment he entered, barefooted, in his long brown robe girded with cord, and, going to the incongruous office desk, he carefully unlocked a lower drawer and took out a box of soap. There were twenty small cakes of soap in the box. He took out one, carefully, put the box back in the drawer, locked it.

871 He[1] had been followed by a small boy, a very
861 serious child, and visibly nervous. About eleven years old, he wore the long, tight, black-braided white trousers, colored sash, and woolly, fringed short black jacket of his people, but they were all soaking wet and very old, mended and mended again until hardly any of the original fabric was left. His bare feet were blue with cold, and so were his bare arms, for the Scanderbeg jacket has no sleeves, and he did not wear a shirt. He stood very straight, and swallowed hard, keeping his face impassive.

Padre Marjan turned to him, holding the cake of soap. He spoke earnestly and at some little length. He then presented the cake of soap to the child, who bent a knee to receive it, and kissed the padre's hand and then the soap. An impressive little ceremonial, which we witnessed, wide eyed, from the mattress where we sat huddled among the blankets. Rain was still sluicing

1 [Padre Marjan of Thethis-- [134] Analyst]

6: Lane T-3 (no date) 1923 EGl Albania EGl

against the windows, so that the water on them was surely as thick as the glass.

We looked inquiringly at Frances, who understood Albanian. Her eyes shone, she was so excited. "It's a school prize!" she said, and, listening, "He's the best scholar in school; already he can read and write. Isn't it splendid!" The boy saluted us gravely; one saw that he had just gone through a profound emotional experience. "Long may you live!" said he, and went out.

Padre Marjan said that the school had been opened ten days before. On the first day there were forty-three pupils, on the second day sixty-two, on the third day ninety-seven. All the tribe was sending its children to live with relatives in Thethis and go to school. No more than ninety-seven could get into the padre's living room; the others must wait until, with the money Alex and Frances had collected, the schoolhouse could be built. There were no benches or desks, of course; the children stood packed tightly in the cold room, and he taught them by writing with a piece of chalk on the walls. Already this boy could read and write words of one syllable and merited a cake of soap. Padre Marjan, at his own expense, had sent two hundred miles to Tirana for fifty cakes of soap, to be used as prizes. There was, of course, no other soap in the tribe; a more magnificent gift could not have been imagined.

The boy who got the cake of soap walked

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

When describing how Albanian men used to shave their heads
302 except for a tuft on the crown, as a few old men and young boys
*628 still do, the Highlanders of north Albania asserted that a murderer
● 862 had licence to cut off his victim's head. The tuft, they said, was left so that an enemy might conveniently carry the head when he cut it off; failing such a handle, he would thrust his finger into the dead man's mouth, an intolerable insult. The veracity of this story appears doubtful, since although the Highlanders, Slavs, and Turks all cut off heads, Albanians as far inland as Elbasan shaved their head save for the tuft on the crown, and it is unlikely that all anticipated murder by Slavs or Turks. Whatever the purpose, the tuft was not confined to Albanians, but was seen in 1926 worn by small boys in the Turkish villages in south Serbia where the population was of mixed Turkish and Bulgarian stock.

*628 A murderer usually announced his crime to the victim's family
766 by a crude message to fetch him from such-and-such a place and
682 bury him. He was always expected to surrender the body, but if a feud was unusually bitter, the murderer might forbid the body to be buried in the cemetery in the ordinary way. If he was backed by enough men to make his ban effective, the body was buried in the secrecy of night. Sometimes he forbade it to be taken even at night to the cemetery; in that event it had to be buried elsewhere. A story comes from Sopot in Dibër: About 1893 Abas Kamber's enemy killed one of his men and forbade him to carry the body to the cemetery. Abas, strong though he was, could do nothing but bury it in the courtyard of his house. Just before it was lowered into the grave, the enemy repented and sent him leave to bury it in the cemetery. To show that he was not always prepared to do the enemy's bidding, Abas sent back the message that he would not dig up the body again and concluded that burial as it had begun.

Hiding the body was universally deprecated. When men stole a grazing cow, it was said they killed it, roasted and ate what they could of the meat and hid the remainder. But it was not to eat a man's flesh that they killed him and they must not conceal his body like the cow's. If they did, the feud was doubly embittered.

*628 By rights a man was never buried where he was killed. Even if
764 the spot were two days distant, or if, like Kol Mali's victim, he had
682 lain three weeks undiscovered, he was carried home for burial. 'He had been theirs', his relatives said, and neither distance nor a natural repugnance could prevent them from doing their duty by him. In the northern mountains, in Mirditë and in Kurbin, a heap

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

197 great measure to the profession of three creeds by the Albanian people, Turkish only being taught in the Moslem schools; in the Roman Catholic, Italian; and in the Orthodox Christian, Greek. The only section of the Albanians who can boast of any degree of culture are the Khams, and even this is not indigenous, but is borrowed entirely from the Epirote Greeks of Ioannina and its neighbourhood.

871 The education of the vast majority of Albanian
565 girls, whether Moslem or Christian, is of a purely
562 domestic character, and, with the exception of a small number of Gheg and Tosk maidens of the better class, who are taught a little reading and writing and a great deal of etiquette by old lady *hodjas*, they are entirely unlettered. From the age of twelve to the
562 time of their marriage, which generally takes place
571 before they are sixteen, both Moslem and Christian
●868 girls are condemned to complete seclusion from the outer world. The customs of the Christians in this respect are, indeed, more rigid than those of the Moslems, for their daughters are not, during this interval, allowed to present themselves before visitors even of their own sex. Time is not, however, allowed to hang heavily upon the hands of these maidens, whatever their position and prospects. Besides taking an active part in all household duties, there is the important task to accomplish of getting ready her trousseau, and this involves the spinning, weaving, sewing, and embroidering of the various stuffs, cotton, linen, woollen, and silken, of which it is to be composed.

369 The peasant and country girls generally, both of
562

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

M
286
531

It requires seven spools to work each flower, and an attempt to show how much is worked by each is made in Figure 10, where lines enclose the work done by the individual spools.

Some warp stripes in white form a border down the selvedges, and white weft stripes enclose a small square repeat in white and blue which divides the main pattern from the ends.

Twisted and knotted warp ends form a fringe which finishes off the whole.

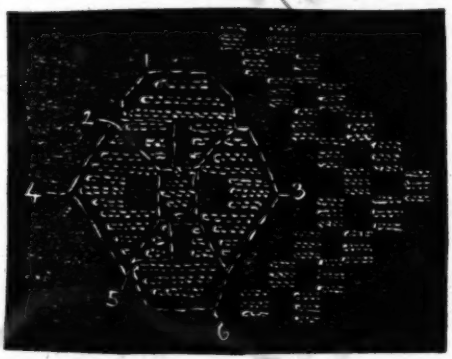


FIG. 10.—A motive from the Kolašin cloth, showing portion of pattern worked by each spool.

S
A
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286
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868
174

The study of such a collection of work as this impresses one with the artistic achievement of the peasant peoples of these two mountainous countries where the conditions of life are hard, and where the arts of weaving and embroidery have grown out of the daily needs of the people and that inborn desire to make homely things beautiful.

Much naive charm, as well as expert manipulation, is expressed in the variations of the patterns in embroidery and tapestry weaving that have descended for generations from mother to daughter, and the technical skill displayed in the workmanship can be the more appreciated when one realizes the limitations imposed by the use of home grown, spun and dyed materials, and primitive tools. The tribal groups or social communities which form the nucleus of most villages have played a large part in perpetuating traditional patterns and craftsmanship, and have therefore some responsibility for many of the beautiful pieces of work.

The more sophisticated garments worn in the towns, particularly in Albania, owe something of their attractiveness to Byzantine art, which has come through Turkish influence, and is traceable in the fine braided patterns worked by the Albanian tailors, which both in beauty of design and workmanship are unsurpassed elsewhere.

In conclusion, I should like to express the personal pleasure I have had in working through this interesting and valuable collection so generously given to Bankfield Museum by Miss Durham, and my indebtedness to Dr. Hodge, the Keeper, for affording me the opportunity of doing so.

Manchester University,
May 1939.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

not been unfrequent even in the present century, and 797
the prevailing tendency on the part of the highlanders 175
to become Moslems, and of the Orthodox Christian [167]
agriculturists to emigrate to Greece and elsewhere,
makes it probable that in course of time the country
may become entirely Moslem.

Like the Kūrds, however, the Moslem Albanians 771
have among the Turks the reputation of being but 184
indifferent followers of the Prophet, and the same
opinion is entertained by their Greek neighbours of
the Albanians who call themselves members of the
Orthodox Church. Christian men marry Moslem [582]
women, and *vice versâ*; the sons are brought up in the [869]
faith of Mohammed, and the daughters in that of Christ;
Moslems revere the Virgin Mary and the Christian
saints, and make pilgrimages to their shrines; Chris-
tians reciprocally resort to the tombs of Moslem saints [755]
for the cure of ailments or in fulfilment of vows; while [778]
Christians and Moslems alike mingle with their culture-
beliefs, ancient rites and superstitious usages, which
both creeds have proved powerless to eradicate. The [779]
Miridites and some tribes of Ghegs on the coast
adopted the Roman Catholic creed about the end of
the last century, and follow the Latin rite with some
Oriental differences, as, for instance, the administra-
tion of the Eucharist in both kinds to the laity.

The celebration of the Festival of Our Lady of 796
Skodra (or Scutari), which is held on the anniversary 771
of the departure of her image from the Latin church
in that town, and in which Christians and Moslems par-
ticipate, is a striking example of the half-hearted belief
of the Skipetars. The story goes that, many years 173

Public Instruction

WE often read in books appearing from the pen of persons who never have been in Albania nor taken the trouble to study the question, that the Albanians are illiterate and have no schools, but we can easily prove the exact opposite to be the truth.

Among Albanian statesmen, officials and individuals, we find graduates from the Universities of Brown (Providence), Cambridge, Constantinople (Robert's College), Harvard, London, Oxford, Paris, Vienna, and other celebrated centers of learning.

National law in Albania makes education compulsory through the elementary schools, thereby putting knowledge within the reach of every child.

Education in Albania has been nationalized by law passed in Parliament and sanctioned by the King of the Albanians and all institutions of learning are placed under the control of the Minister of Public Instructions. By the same law all private schools have been

87 | abolished and were replaced by schools created by the government.

The law suppressing the private schools had become a necessity. Of course these private schools filled a beneficial purpose, for prior to 1920 the system of education was in a chaotic state. Foreign societies and organizations, interested politically or religiously, came into the country and established private schools. These served a need there is no question, but, in a country with three different religions like in Albania, the aims of such private schools did not coincide with any national views although they were open to all Albanian people equally. At first, these schools were only primary, but gradually they broadened into secondary grades. It is obvious that such schools, operated by independent capital and interests, would be hard to control—impossible to make any definite system of education. Finally, by the above-mentioned law passed unanimously by the Albanian Parliament, the education and instruction of all Albanian people became the exclusive right of the State. Primary instruction became compulsory and given gratuitously. This law became effective in the fall of 1933.

Thus, out of chaos, order has been established.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

by 1,100 teachers in these primary schools. 000

At the present time the number of advanced 873
schools stands at twenty, six of which are 874
gymnasiums and five are pedagogic institutions. Among these are to be found commercial, technical, agricultural and domestic science schools. In the latter school alone there are over 3,000 students in attendance. All of these advanced schools make the knowledge of two foreign languages compulsory.

Here the elementary school and gymnasium 873
of the Franciscan Fathers is worthy of spe- 872
cial mention, which is one of the oldest educational institutions in Albania.

Also the Gymnasium of the Jesuits, with which is maintained an affiliated Theological Seminary, is another of the well established and progressive institutions.

There are a large number of kindergartens scattered throughout the entire country.

All these schools, elementary, normal, ad- 871
vanced, are conducted in the Albanian language.

The years 1933 and 1934 proved to be years of great and beneficial reconstruction of the educational system in Albania on a permanent and broader basis.

• 871 Scholarships are paid by the Albanian Government. However, if the winners of these scholarships be of rich parentage, they pass the financial part of the scholarship to the next deserving and needy pupil.

For the past few years the king and the government have been encouraging and financially assisting Albanian students to take courses, as well as graduate work, in foreign colleges and universities. Thus, we find several hundred Albanian students in the colleges and universities of various countries every year. To-day there are Albanian students in American, Austrian, Canadian, English, Egyptian, French, German, Indian, Swiss and Turkish colleges and universities, and such students receive the necessary financial wherewithal from the king personally and/or from the Albanian Government.

874 For the past ten years there have been in Kavaja, Albania, farm schools for boys and girls, which were established by Dr. C. Telford Erickson, and were taken over in 1930 by the Near East Foundation. These two schools were moved to a new location on ground contributed by the Albanian Government on the coast of the Adriatic midway

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

the sound upbuilding of the Albanian citizen of to-morrow. 575 883

Prior to the establishment of the National Union of Albanian Youth, King Zog I introduced and made obligatory the Boy-Scout system for boys between the ages of 12 and 18.

There is naturally great need for more schools, especially colleges, and the Albanian Government is continually improving on the existing educational system and new schools are opened as the budget and conditions permit. 871

It can be truthfully stated that the present educational system in Albania is of a high standard.

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

197 great measure to the profession of three creeds by the Albanian people, Turkish only being taught in the Moslem schools; in the Roman Catholic, Italian; and in the Orthodox Christian, Greek. The only section of the Albanians who can boast of any degree of culture are the Khams, and even this is not indigenous, but is borrowed entirely from the Epirote Greeks of Ioannina and its neighbourhood.

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571 before they are sixteen, both Moslem and Christian
868 girls are condemned to complete seclusion from the outer world. The customs of the Christians in this respect are, indeed, more rigid than those of the Moslems, for their daughters are not, during this interval, allowed to present themselves before visitors even of their own sex. Time is not, however, allowed to hang heavily upon the hands of these maidens, whatever their position and prospects. Besides taking an active part in all household duties, there is the important task to accomplish of getting ready her trousseau, and this involves the spinning, weaving, sewing, and embroidering of the various stuffs, cotton, linen, woollen, and silken, of which it is to be composed.

369
562 The peasant and country girls generally, both of

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 above them, and here and there snow drifts flung up among smoky-gray clouds. Thirty-two waterfalls I counted from that window, veining the mountains with wandering streaks of silver.
● 871 But our gaze came back and fastened upon the school.

"I didn't know they had one in the mountains!" exclaimed Alex, thinking of her Mountain School Fund. "I thought our school at Thethis would be the first one!"

"Padre Marjan certainly said so when he walked down to ask us for it," said Frances.

"Perhaps this isn't a school," said I. Though it looked like one, the little square stone house through whose open doorway we saw rows of
[291] benches, and boys sitting on them, barefooted, wearing the long, tight, white trousers braided with black that hang low on the hip bones, the gorgeous sashes, and the short black jackets thick with fringe, that were white centuries ago, but were changed to mourning when Scanderbeg died for Albanian liberty.

It was a school. The pale, meek priest[1] in black, who is the bishop's ecclesiastical household, showed it to us with pride; he is the teacher.
178 The Turks and the Austrians had blocked all
871 attempts to bring schools into the mountains, he said, and the people, not knowing that schools existed, were naturally not eager to have them. But now the Land of the Eagle was said to be free, after so many centuries of Turkish rule in the valleys, and refugee children who had fled

1 [bishop of Pultit --Analyst]

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before the Serbs were coming back to their tribes 178
and telling about the American school in Scutari, 871
so that all the people wanted their children to
learn to read and write. The chiefs themselves, [212]
hearing that there was a Tirana government, and
not being able to write or read letters about it,
or to learn from newspapers (oh, simple-minded,
mediæval people!) the truth about European
politics, saw what education meant.

The people had taken rocks from the moun- 871
tains and made the schoolhouse. They had cut
precious trees and made the benches and the
desks. They had made a slate of a slab of the
native rock, set in a rough wooden frame; they
wrote upon it with softer rocks. From Italy,
across the Adriatic to Durazzo, up to Tirana, to
Scutari, and into the mountains—a two weeks'
journey by donkey and river ferry—the bishop
had got three copy books and a bottle of ink.
Pens had been made from twigs. The priest had
one book printed in Albanian.

Since the boys must herd the flocks in the [857]
mountains, they could not spend the day in 233
school. There is so little land that the goats and
sheep are fed from trees. The shepherd climbs
a tree, carefully cuts the tender branches, and
throws them down to the nibbling beasts that
eat the young buds and strip off the juicy bark.
There is no tree in all the mountains that the
shepherds have not climbed; not a tree that is
not a branchless, gnarled trunk.

So the school was open from six to nine in the 871

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871 mornings, and the boys came to it, some from ten, twelve, fifteen miles away, and after school they walked back again and took out the flocks. The school had been open six weeks; already the copy books were half filled with beautiful, neat writing, and the boys not only read easily from their one book, but had no difficulty with sentences that Perolli wrote on the slate.

I asked the priest what I could send him from Paris, and his eyes filled with tears as he asked, hesitating a little for fear it was too much, if I could send just a little white paper and half a dozen pencils. The ink was almost gone; they could make more from berries, but he would like the boys to see pencils and learn how to use them. And, of course, when the two copy books were filled, there would be no more paper.

Returning from the dusky schoolroom through the gray slant of the rain, we found in the bishop's house the most handsome man we had [291] yet seen. Tall and lithe, wearing the tight black jacket, scarlet sash, and snowy woolen trousers braided in black, he amazed us by his animal beauty and grace. His silver chain was of the finest pattern, a ring was on a hand that might have been perfectly gloved on Fifth Avenue, and his quiet air of the aristocrat would have made him remarkable in any company. Beside him was a manly little boy perhaps seven years old. He wore with the same grace a miniature copy of the mountain costume. His manners were perfection of grave courtesy, his eyes were

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carried tied around his waist in a pouch of goat's 609
skin. He put them carefully into our hands, and 574
we tried to return the gift with some pieces of hoarded candy. But he gazed in dismay at the strange things, and nothing would persuade him to taste them. A colored handkerchief, however, was accepted in an ecstasy that made him dumb; he could only lay it upon his heart and touch our hands to his forehead. Another chief came with a fat hen, others with eggs; all were eager to roll cigarettes for us, all were smiling, and in a hundred beautiful phrases they overwhelmed us with thanks for our coming, for our presence, for the school that Alex and Frances had promised Thethis. For this was to be the first of the [871]
mountain schools, and Alex, who had come into the mountains to decide where to put the other two, was delighted to learn that already, before the school building was begun, Padre Marjan had started the school, and Lulash had promised a hundred trees to be burned to make lime for the building.

We sat talking of these things while Padre Marjan set pots of soup to boiling in the fireplace, broke eggs, unlocked his box of precious flour, busied himself with all preparations for dinner, climbing over and around the tangle of lounging bodies, until another outbreak of echoing noises announced the arrival of Frances and Perolli and Rexh and our men with the packs. We felt a little tension with Perolli's arrival, seeing the keen eyes of the men fixed on his English

PEAKS OF SHALA

000 We were awakened in the damp chill of a watery gray dawn, and with surprise found ourselves on its unfamiliar softness, in the bleak room of unpainted boards. Padre Marjan was knocking at the door. In a moment he entered, barefooted, in his long brown robe girded with cord, and, going to the incongruous office desk, he carefully unlocked a lower drawer and took out a box of soap. There were twenty small cakes of soap in the box. He took out one, carefully, put the box back in the drawer, locked it.

871 861 He had been followed by a small boy, a very serious child, and visibly nervous. About eleven years old, he wore the long, tight, black-braided white trousers, colored sash, and woolly, fringed short black jacket of his people, but they were all soaking wet and very old, mended and mended again until hardly any of the original fabric was left. His bare feet were blue with cold, and so were his bare arms, for the Scanderbeg jacket has no sleeves, and he did not wear a shirt. He stood very straight, and swallowed hard, keeping his face impassive.

Padre Marjan turned to him, holding the cake of soap. He spoke earnestly and at some little length. He then presented the cake of soap to the child, who bent a knee to receive it, and kissed the padre's hand and then the soap. An impressive little ceremonial, which we witnessed, wide eyed, from the mattress where we sat huddled among the blankets. Rain was still sluicing

[Padre Marjan of Thethis-- [134] Analyst]

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against the windows, so that the water on them was surely as thick as the glass.

We looked inquiringly at Frances, who understood Albanian. Her eyes shone, she was so excited. "It's a school prize!" she said, and, listening, "He's the best scholar in school; already he can read and write. Isn't it splendid!" The boy saluted us gravely; one saw that he had just gone through a profound emotional experience. "Long may you live!" said he, and went out.

Padre Marjan said that the school had been opened ten days before. On the first day there were forty-three pupils, on the second day sixty-two, on the third day ninety-seven. All the tribe was sending its children to live with relatives in Thethis and go to school. No more than ninety-seven could get into the padre's living room; the others must wait until, with the money Alex and Frances had collected, the schoolhouse could be built. There were no benches or desks, of course; the children stood packed tightly in the cold room, and he taught them by writing with a piece of chalk on the walls. Already this boy could read and write words of one syllable and merited a cake of soap. Padre Marjan, at his own expense, had sent two hundred miles to Tirana for fifty cakes of soap, to be used as prizes. There was, of course, no other soap in the tribe; a more magnificent gift could not have been imagined.

The boy who got the cake of soap walked

PEAKS OF SHALA

871 The boy who got the cake of soap walked every morning nine miles over the mountains to [857] reach school at seven o'clock, and at nine, after school, he walked back and took out the goats and spent all day climbing trees and cutting twigs for them to eat.

Padre Marjan said that as soon as he knew the Americans would build the school he had started teaching, and he had written to the government in Tirana and asked if it would help. He brought from the desk the letter he had received in reply. Written by hand, for the poverty-stricken young government had no typewriters, and sent by messenger into the mountains, in six weeks it had reached Thethis, and the padre kept it wrapped in a bit of hand-woven silk. Frances spelled it out; it said that the government would give a hundred kronen a month to pay the teacher. It was signed for the Minister of the Interior by Rrok Perolli.

ooo "My sainted grandmother!" cried Frances. "Where is Perolli?" At that very minute the chiefs might be sending word to the Serbs to come and get him. The chiefs themselves would surely not violate the hospitality of their priest, but the Serbs would have no reverence for it and they were only a few miles away. When we thought what a bargain the chiefs might drive with the Serbs for Perolli it seemed too much to hope that one of them, at least, would not hand him over.

Padre Marjan spoke warmly of Perolli, whom he had so innocently betrayed; he said that he

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the byraktor that Shala had sworn a *besa* with the Tirana government, and then thought best not venture into mazes that I did not understand. But the byraktor was greatly interested on learning that I had been in Montenegro, and all that I knew about that part of Jugo-Slavia I told him; it was very little, but he seemed to see more than I did in the robbery of the Serbian Minister of Finance by Montenegrin bandits.

"The story was in the newspapers," I told him. "Some day there will be newspapers in Albania, and schools in the mountains, and then you will learn about these things when they happen."

"I have heard about the school in Thethis," he answered. "Schools are very good, but what my people need is food and clothes. We are very poor. We have too little land. A school is of no use to a child who is hungry, for hunger has no brains with which to learn. I do not care for a school in Shoshi until all my people have enough bread. It is not right to give the well-fed child a school, too; he has already more than other children, and the school will only make him wiser and prouder than the poorer ones. Already the families with fewer children are stronger than those with many, and that is not right. I do not want a school; I want land for my people, for food comes from land, and after food comes the school. There is no hope for the mountain people while enemies hold our valleys. First the Romans, then the Turks, then the

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POSTSCRIPT

France—who had got Rexh into the American school, handicapped though he was with lack of schooling and with his Gheg tongue, and he had worked hard to justify her commendation.

"I do my best, Mrs. Lane. At first I was very stupid, for I could not understand the Toshk boys, and I could not understand the teachers when they asked me questions, and I was two years behind with the books. But now they speak English, and I have learned Toshk. So I am happy, and my report card is very good. I would like to show you my next one. Now that you have come, I have some one to show it to. It is a joke on me, because, though you said you would come back, I did not think you ever would. And aren't you happy to find the school really here?"

For we had talked a great deal about the school, a year before when it was only a plan and a hope. Of all the work done by American children in Europe, this school is most beautiful to me. It was not much the Junior Red Cross did in Albania—only a few months of Frances Hardy's house for refugee children in Scutari, only a little medical work that stopped too soon—but it did build the Vocational School, and Albania will never forget it. Half of the country's little income goes for the 1,100 schools started since 1912, but none of them can be equipped or staffed like the Vocational School. It opened in July, with sixty boys to learn English. For there are no technical books writ-

POSTSCRIPT

871 ten in Albanian, and Albanian was the only language the boys knew. Three months later they were speaking, reading, and writing English, and
000 the first school year began. In March, when we came to Tirana, they were the finest upstanding lot of youngsters that ever made a teacher proud, and our arrival was celebrated by an evening's entertainment, for which the boys extemporized little plays in English, political parodies so witty that they brought tears of mirth to the eyes. I do not think the record of those boys is equaled anywhere, and to find Rexh among them was the
643 happy ending to the story.

"And now, Ahmet Bey is Minister of the Interior! Who is chief of the Mati, then?"

"His mother is chief when he is away, Mrs. Lane."

"Is he a good Minister of the Interior?"

"He works very hard. I think he did not have much schooling. He came from the court of Abdul Hamid when he was sixteen—you remember the *comitadj* told you—and he has been fighting ever since. He came to Tirana last December when there was the strike."

"No, Rexh! A strike? In Tirana?"

"It is a long story, Mrs. Lane. If you would have a coffee with me, I would tell it all."

We left the others wandering down the Durazzo road and back, and sat at a little table beneath a plane tree by the white arches of the café. A waiter brought us cups of Turkish coffee, and while the crowd went slowly past us

March 1922 -- Analysis

[Constitution]

ARTICLE 26

The state takes care of the physical education of the people, especially that of the youth, with a view to improving health and increasing the capacity of the people for work and the defense of the state. 657

ARTICLE 27

Freedom of scientific and artistic work is guaranteed. 517
The state promotes science and the arts in such a way as to further the culture and welfare of the public.

The rights of authors are protected by law.

ARTICLE 28

In order to raise the cultural level, the state gives to all 871
classes of people every chance to attend schools and other cultural institutions.

The state is particularly interested in the education of youth.

Minors are protected by law. [858]

The schools belong to the state. Private schools can be opened only by special permission. All their activities are supervised by the state. Elementary education is free and obligatory.

Schools are separated from the church.

ARTICLE 29

Citizens have the right to petition state organs for 641
redress of wrongs.

Citizens have the right to complain against any illegal or irregular decision of an administrative organ of the state.

ARTICLE 30

Every citizen can complain in competent courts against officials who have acted unjustly in the discharge of their duty.

ARTICLE 31

Citizens are entitled to seek from the state or from an 695
official compensation for damages incurred as a result of illegal or irregular punishment.

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it might be renewed. I had a most uncomfortable night in a bedroom with three beds, of which two were occupied by Albanians who slept in their clothes and snored. The third bed I shared with a host of predatory creatures who seemed to have been fasting for months in anticipation of my arrival. At five the next morning, when I had sunk from sheer exhaustion into a fitful slumber, I was aroused by the other two men getting up, and saw my late antagonists, bloated and swollen with their feast, slowly climbing the wall. Even at eight there were still a few stragglers toiling painfully homewards—the rearguard of the victorious army.

871
797

The Missionary School is a private philanthropic concern, not as yet under the U.S. Missionary Board. It has been kept going, in the face of many difficulties, practically continuously since 1908. The Greeks, who were at that time in power, knowing that their treatment of the Albanian people was not likely to increase their prestige in either Great Britain or America, had no desire that an American should be a witness of it, and threw every possible obstacle in the way of the establishment of the school. It speaks highly for Mr. Kennedy's persistence that in spite of this he succeeded in his endeavour. The school is strictly non-sectarian and at the present time is attended by a large number of scholars, both Christian and Mohammedan.

On the afternoon of the Sunday which I spent at Koritza we went out a-missionising. A conveyance of the buggy type took us to a village in the plain which offered I suppose, a promising field. The journey was not speedy,

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The Education Question

was due to the fact that Albania had for such a great part of 538
its existence been a subject race. Under Turkish domination
the Turkish language was made compulsory and was taught
in the schools, and Albanian books were confiscated. The
Turks were followed by the Greeks, who were even more
bitter against the printing of Albanian and subjected every

THE NEW SHOES

house to a rigorous search and burned every Albanian book
that had escaped the Turks. Asking about education, I 871
was told that it is only very lately that the country has had
a chance of settling down and attending to this very important
matter. During the war it was occupied at different times
by the Austrians, the Italians, and the French, and education,
like everything else, was in a state of chaos. Now, however,

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Albania E61

To the Land of the Eagle

871 there is an improvement, and in the principal towns there are
[562] not only schools for boys but schools for girls also. The villagers, however, with the aversion from change and progress which is characteristic of the peasant in all countries, oppose the education of the girls. What do they want with education? Is it not their job to attend to the house, to work in the fields, to wait on their lords and masters and to bear them children? So say these village folk,—and I seem to have heard arguments on the education question, in essentials exactly the same though perhaps not quite so crudely put, uttered by persons in a certain civilised country who ought to know better.

362 During my stay in Koritza I explored the town thoroughly The Mohammedan quarter swarms with children—quaint little creatures in all sorts of garments, the girls for the most part wearing the orthodox Turkish trousers. They seem happy enough, though dirty. The Christian section of the town does not lag behind the Mohammedan in this particular, and there are no signs whatever of a decreasing birth-rate. As you walk along the rather narrow streets, open and half-open doorways give glimpses of shady courtyards where women sit spinning and sewing and nursing their babies. There are plants in tubs, and trellises, and vines, and always a pump to supply the household with water, for Koritza is proud of its water, which is very pure and fresh. In the business parts crowds of men fill the streets, and they carry all sorts of things—fish on a string, the entrails of sheep, dead mutton, live kids, the raw pelts of goats and cattle,

874 schools created by the State where the same courses are obtainable.

The professional schools of Berat, Argyrokastro, Korça and Scutari, the courses of which conflicted with State instruction, were closed. As a substitute, a type of school more helpful was created—"Shkollë Qytetse"—with a curriculum of four years responding to the needs of the localities in which it has branches: at Berat, Durazzo and Korça.

The technical school of Tirana is one of the best of its kind. The professors are specialists chosen for their abilities along technical lines. The section for agriculture, which existed in the old technical school, has been formed into an entirely new and separate school also at Tirana.

872 Since the State has taken over the educational system, public instruction has made great progress in all Albanian districts, new schools have sprung up in all districts throughout the nation. Since 1933 sixty more schools have opened their doors. This brings the total of public schools to the fifth grade to 577 and it is contemplated to improve these schools to provide eight years of study. There are now more than 41,000 students instructed by 1,100 teachers in these primary schools.

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

by 1,100 teachers in these primary schools. 000

At the present time the number of advanced 873
schools stands at twenty, six of which are 874
gymnasiums and five are pedagogic institutions. Among these are to be found commercial, technical, agricultural and domestic science schools. In the latter school alone there are over 3,000 students in attendance. All of these advanced schools make the knowledge of two foreign languages compulsory.

Here the elementary school and gymnasium 873
of the Franciscan Fathers is worthy of spe- 872
cial mention, which is one of the oldest educational institutions in Albania.

Also the Gymnasium of the Jesuits, with which is maintained an affiliated Theological Seminary, is another of the well established and progressive institutions.

There are a large number of kindergartens scattered throughout the entire country.

All these schools, elementary, normal, ad- 871
vanced, are conducted in the Albanian language.

The years 1933 and 1934 proved to be years of great and beneficial reconstruction of the educational system in Albania on a permanent and broader basis.

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

Thus, out of chaos, order has been estab- 000
lished.

There have been created nine normal 873
schools, a combination of the State and pri- 874
vate normal schools. Also, five professional schools were founded.

The normal school for girls at Korça and the private institute for girls, "Naim Frasheri," were suppressed. The institute for girls, "Kyrias," was transferred as a branch of the Gymnasium at Tirana. The normal school operated by the Stigmatines Sisters was transferred as a branch of the Gymnasium of Scutari.

In the place of these abolished institutions, a large educational center for girls, "Nana Mbretneshë," was founded at Tirana, and is one of the most excellent institutions of learning in Albania. The late Queen Mother organized this school into normal and secondary sections. The complete course lasts eight years.

At Korça, a girl's school was created for the former students of the "Naim Frashëri" school, the course of which lasts four years.

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Albania EG1

An Albanian Schoolboy

The doctor at Podgradetz had given me an introduction to the head of the Normal School at Elbasan, and on the first opportunity I called there. The school, a large building standing in its own grounds, accommodates a hundred boarders as well as a hundred day-scholars of ages from 14 to 18. It has a staff of ten professors, all of whom speak French and have been educated at various continental universities. The students gave me the impression of being bright and intelligent. One, whom I afterwards met in the town, fastened on to me and would not be dislodged. He knew a little English and was not going to let slip such an opportunity of acquiring some more. He spoke quite decently although he had only learned for a year. I wondered, supposing the position were reversed, if an English school-boy would become as proficient in Albanian in the time. Mr. Giovanni, the headmaster, was, like the Podgradetz doctor, optimistic about his country's future. He, too, had ideals, and it was very satisfactory to find a man of his stamp in charge of the education of the rising generation. Such men will be the making of Albania, for in the long run education on broad and sane lines will do more for the country than either "organising the gendarmerie" or granting concessions to foreign capitalists.

Mr. Giovanni, being occupied with his duties at the school, passed me on to a friend of his who spoke English, Mr. Lef Nossi, who showed me Elbasan and its environs and was as kind and helpful as anyone possibly could be. Here again was another man of the right stamp—widely read, travelled, and deeply interested in Albania, its past, present,

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871 Scholarships are paid by the Albanian Government. However, if the winners of these scholarships be of rich parentage, they pass the financial part of the scholarship to the next deserving and needy pupil.

For the past few years the king and the government have been encouraging and financially assisting Albanian students to take courses, as well as graduate work, in foreign colleges and universities. Thus, we find several hundred Albanian students in the colleges and universities of various countries every year. To-day there are Albanian students in American, Austrian, Canadian, English, Egyptian, French, German, Indian, Swiss and Turkish colleges and universities, and such students receive the necessary financial wherewithal from the king personally and/or from the Albanian Government.

874 For the past ten years there have been in Kavaja, Albania, farm schools for boys and girls, which were established by Dr. C. Telford Erickson, and were taken over in 1930 by the Near East Foundation. These two schools were moved to a new location on ground contributed by the Albanian Government on the coast of the Adriatic midway

PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

between Kavaja and Durazzo, and were 874
housed in new buildings constructed by the
Near East Foundation. The construction is [346]
American,[1] but the architectural motive is
taken from such examples of Albanian architecture as the ancient Scanderbeg Tower of Kruja. The result is that the major portion of the buildings harmonize well with the rural landscape of Albania. The two schools are called the "Albanian-American Institute." They are supported by the Albanian Government and the Near East Foundation. The Boys' School has a large farm and work on the farm is the basis for education in farming, training peasant boys in advanced farming and the art of good citizenship. Originally this school provided a four-year course, but with the approval of the Ministry of Public Instructions, the four years have been reduced to a three-year course. The Girls' School, formerly a normal institution where young women were trained for teaching in village schools, is now a Folk School and the curriculum includes: cooking and food preservation, household sanitation and baby care, weaving, pottery, mending and dress-making, poultry, bees, and gardening. The teaching in

1 [Two farm schools taken over in 1930 by the Near East Foundation--Analyst]

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874 both schools is done by trained Albanian teachers and under the direction of American specialists. An experimental village school is administered by the Girls' Schools staff in a nearby village. These two schools have been operating successfully and under the supervision of the Albanian Ministry of Public Instructions. The number of young men and women who have graduated from these schools have carried their acquired knowledge into practical usage and conclusively proved that the good training given them is bearing fruit.

575 883 One of the new movements of great advantage and assistance to the children of Albania is the National Union of Albanian Youth, organized by the late Queen Mother and the sisters of the king in 1928. To-day this is one of the strongest recognized organizations in the country. Among the main objects of this Union are the physical, moral and patriotic upbuilding of the Albanian youth, encouragement in the arts, music, etc., and a greater impetus to sports—baseball, football, gymnastics, rowing, skiing, swimming, tennis, et cetera. Thus, we realize the care given to

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883 tage and assistance to the children of Albania is the National Union of Albanian Youth, organized by the late Queen Mother and the sisters of the king in 1928. To-day this is one of the strongest recognized organizations in the country. Among the main objects of this Union are the physical, moral and patriotic upbuilding of the Albanian youth, encouragement in the arts, music, etc., and a greater impetus to sports—baseball, football, gymnastics, rowing, skiing, swimming, tennis, et cetera. Thus, we realize the care given to

3: Redlich S-3 (no date) 1936 EG1 Albania EG1

the sound upbuilding of the Albanian citizen of to-morrow. 575 883

Prior to the establishment of the National Union of Albanian Youth, King Zog I introduced and made obligatory the Boy-Scout system for boys between the ages of 12 and 18.

There is naturally great need for more schools, especially colleges, and the Albanian Government is continually improving on the existing educational system and new schools are opened as the budget and conditions permit. 871

It can be truthfully stated that the present educational system in Albania is of a high standard.

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Albania EG1

conference, it will be remembered, condemned both the Protestant Ecumenical Movement and the Vatican, "center of Fascism and of plots against the Slavic peoples." 795 659

The fact that the Primate, Archbishop Christopher Kissi, did not attend any of these assemblies was strongly indicative of a lack of appreciation for Communist conceptions of the role and functions of the Church. Indeed, it would have been strange if he had attended. The Orthodox Church, like all other religious bodies in Albania, had suffered from the Land Reform Law promulgated during August, 1945, which gave the Party the right to confiscate and nationalize property it has claimed elsewhere. By the close of 1948, Moslem and Orthodox ecclesiastics were completely dependent financially on the state. During the next year, the Archbishop was deposed and arrested. The government's published contention was that he "had worked against our interests and the interests of the people by collaborating with the Unitarian Church during the period of Fascist occupation." Two other prelates, Bishop Ireneo and Bishop Agathangjeli, were arrested. How many other members of the clergy have been taken into custody, deported to labor camps, or executed, no one knows. There is a report that Bishop Irenaeus Banushi was put to death during 1947. 793 661 [423]

However, the full fury of Hoxha's enmity fell upon the Roman Catholic Church. The Germans had withdrawn in November, 1944. A month later the government seized all printing establishments, and the Catholic press was abolished. At the same time a number of ecclesiastical offices were searched, and some members of the clergy were taken into custody. Religious youth organizations were banned, and only the Antifascist Youth Front, avowedly pro-Communist, was permitted to function. In February, 1945, the first "People's Court" to convene in Scutari sentenced one of the best known Al- 795 661 [883]

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER VI

THE SEPARATION OF BROTHERS

In spite of the modernization which Albanian laws had undergone since 1912, brothers still separated according to the laws they had learned from their fathers. The only change introduced by the civil code adapted from the Swiss models was that economic provision must now be made for the daughters of the family, who had formerly been given only a nominal sum when their father's home was broken up. [671] 592 884

There were several reasons for breaking up an old home. When a communal household was already full of men, each with his wife and children, it could no longer spare a room for each boy as he grew up and married. Some of the men must hive off, although many disliked the idea of separating from their brothers. As the Albanian proverb says, 'When the hive is full the bees must swarm'.

Quarrelling was another cause of separation. Often the brothers themselves quarrelled, the younger resenting the elder's control of his person and of the family purse, or 'the devil entering both their hearts' they quarrelled about nothing. In the latter case climate might play a role. Theth, for example, lay so high that the peasants were confined to their houses for several months each winter. Then brother got on brother's nerves, high words were spoken and the younger demanded a separation or the elder threatened to expel him. When the milder weather came to release them from confinement, their tempers cooled, but each was too proud to retract the word he had spoken in haste. A financial cause operated in villages near towns, such as Godolesh and Shijan near Elbasan. With the bazaar at hand each brother wanted to control the purse, which he could not do unless he had a separate establishment. Often too brothers must separate because their wives quarrelled. The companionship enforced by communal life naturally bore harder on the women who lacked the blood tie and similarity of upbringing that might neutralize clashes of temperament among the men. Occasionally brothers separated while their father was still alive. If this was their own wish they lost face and 592

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

building itself was allotted to one of the brothers, almost everywhere the youngest, who became its sole owner and master. But he must pay each of his brothers a proportionate share of its value, half if he had only one brother, a third if he had two and so on. Sometimes two brothers who had decided to divide the old house with a partition wall, according to the first method of division, quarrelled irreconcilably about the position of this wall. Then they might switch over to the second method, one buying out the other. If they could not afford to do this, one might legally pull down his own section of the house, take away the timber and stones, and build himself a new house on his own land.

Sometimes four brothers separated two by two, one pair remaining in the old home and the other going out. In that case the former paid between them half the assessed value of the house to the outgoing pair. Sometimes the four separated one by one, two remaining in the old home as before and two going out. In this case the old home was divided by a partition into two portions, one for each of the two brothers remaining in it and one-quarter of its value was taken from each of them and given to each outgoing brother.

In Dibër and Perlat, possibly elsewhere, the outgoing brothers received an extra portion of land as a site for the house they must build. In Perlat a distinction was made between irrigable and non-irrigable land. The extra portion given in the case of the latter, which was nearly worthless, might amount to as much as 120 *pashë*.

Almost everywhere the old home was valued as it stood, but a system not recorded elsewhere prevailed in Perlat. This took no account of the timber, stones and mud (for mortar) which went to the building of the house because these cost nothing but labour, and the labour had been provided as a joint enterprise by the family when still united. (But the brothers, remembering what the mason who built the house had been paid, divided that sum equally between themselves; it was generally no more than 6 or 7 napoleons.) As usual, the brother allotted the house paid cash to his outgoing brothers. The drawback to this system was that it did not provide for fluctuations in the value of money.

The old house was generally given to the youngest because he was thought too young to be able to build one for himself. 'The man who has not built himself a house or celebrated his daughter's wedding does not know what trouble is', runs the proverb. The

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

428 older brothers had had time to acquire friends and could make
●384 their own way in the world, but the baby of the family knew nothing about anything except his father's house.

[403] After the land and the house had been divided, the boundaries between the holdings were demarcated. The house, it should be said, included land round it and also any cattle or sheepfolds.
312 When the land was under water, irrigation channels were marked
428 out at the same time as the boundaries. Where the father had possessed one field with an irrigation channel running down its whole length, his sons tapped this channel without difficulty, each digging a small transverse channel from it on his own portion of the field. Where the stream was farther off the brothers jointly dug a channel to the point where their land met, after which each made a separate channel through his own ground; by preference each took this down his own side of the little path between his field and his brother's. When the water came from above a field so narrow that it must be divided short-ways, the brother getting the lower half was entitled to dig an irrigation channel down the side of his brother's land. But the area it occupied must be measured and an equivalent amount of land subtracted from his holding and added to his brother's. It was, of course, always stream irrigation that was in question.

The period for which each brother might irrigate was also settled when they separated. This was usually a matter of simple arithmetic. If, for example, the father had had the right to irrigate for two days, each of the two brothers was given the right for one day and each of three brothers for sixteen hours. In Mirditë, where few streams could be utilized, irrigation water was divided by the oke; unfortunately there is no information available as to how this was done.

Drinking water was seldom regulated; 'God has given it' and almost everywhere in excess. There was so little in some villages near Shkodër, however, that it was divided by the jugful, at least during the dry season. When brothers separated in these villages their portion of drinking water was decided. Division was as with food, by heads, so many jugfuls per person.

428 Milling rights varied from district to district. Where they were by hours or days each brother's quota was settled on the day of separation. It was again arithmetical, each of two brothers getting half the father's period and each of three getting one-third.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

The man killed in the murderer's stead must not be too old, feeble-minded, or physically frail to carry arms, for such men were counted women, and women could not be killed in blood feuds. If the avenger killed such a man, he lost caste, was publicly branded as 'low-class' and made it certain that the feud would not be closed. It was also illegal to kill boys who were still too young to carry arms, that is to say, under fifteen or in some cases twenty. In the Malësi e Madhe, however, it was held that one must take vengeance where one could, and that in default of an adult enemy one might kill a boy. Even in that region such a crime was not committed except by a very bad man or one who was frenzied with rage at the recent murder of a relative or otherwise. For instance, in 1933 a subaltern of the Alije family, whose wife had been carried off by another Dibran, refrained for some years from avenging the insult in the way demanded by mountain law. Taunted with this restraint at a chance meeting in a café, he put aside the civilization acquired during his military education in Albania and in Italy and rushed for his revolver. As he was unable to find the man who had taunted him, he lay in wait for the latter's schoolboy son, aged fourteen, and shot him dead.

The men of Shalë said that vengeance on a boy was commoner in Pult than in their own tribe; the men of Pult, they added contemptuously, were in every way their inferiors. Much the same was said by the tribesmen of Lurë of their neighbours in Mirditë and Kthellë, who returned the compliment in kind. In Lumë a man who took such vengeance was never again given the greeting 'Peace be with thee', which is every good Mohammedan's due from his fellows. The manner of such vengeance was inevitably very brutal. Thus two men from Shlak, when working in Bardhanjol, found the small son of their enemy and tore him in two; they are said not to have troubled to kill him first. More often the enemy wrenched the cradle off a woman's back and in her presence cut the infant's throat. A particularly nasty case was reported about 1932 from Shalë, one of the most backward regions of Albania. While two families were quarrelling about a piece of land, the wife of Grimës one day voiced her opinions so volubly in Gjelosh's house that he lost his temper and pushed her out. She fell down some steps by the door and bruised her hip. She showed the bruise to the gendarmerie, who were sympathetic enough to arrest Gjelosh and to imprison him for three months. The woman, who cared more

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2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Historical Yugoslavia EF2
Serbs EP6

Some Balkan Taboos. Iron. Hair

In the Pulati mountains the head is often shaved, except for the perchin. A 302

In olden days a boy did not rank as a male till his head had been shaved. This was not done till after the ceremony of the first hair-cutting, described above. When once shaved he could be killed for blood-vengeance as male blood of the tribe. A 302 554 885

Mothers would defer the head-shave if they could for a year or two in consequence, but it was a practice not approved of.

The heads of both girls and boys are shaved in the mountains, and a fringe is left over the girl's forehead. A 302

When I was in Kosovo vilayet in 1908 I found that among the scattered Serbian peasants the heads of both girls and boys were S 302

A [302]

FIG. 23.—VARIETIES OF ALBANIAN HEAD-SHAVES

shaved. Both had a perchin, and the girls a fringe over the forehead. So soon as the girl was betrothed her hair was allowed to grow. In the rare case of her remaining unmarried I was told she would keep her head shaved. S 584 554

In the Albanian mountains, where the girls were betrothed as children, I found the hair was not allowed to grow till they were marriageable. A 534 302

Wood-ash and water in the mountains is the usual shaving mixture. Even in civilized places methods were sometimes barbaric. I watched a barber, who stood at the gates of Ragusa on a market-day, inviting incoming peasants to indulge in a shave before entering the town. The patient sat cross-legged on the ground. The barber gripped his head between his knees, spat freely on the razor blade, and set to work. A H 302

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Montenegrins EF5

to my faithful Albanian horseboy, Shan, who had lived all his life in Montenegro. The horse was turned out to graze at night. Next morning, before mounting, I began to comb out its tangled mane with my fingers. Shan anxiously begged me not to. The vilas, he said, had been making love to it all night because it was a beauty. It had been covered with sweat. If I untied the knots the vilas had made we should have an accident. Shan, being an Albanian, probably meant the "ore" when he said "vila." I heard of no other case of a vila acting thus. But the ore are notorious for such conduct.

A M 777 773 887 *Hidden Treasure.*—As in Albania, so all through Montenegro and the Herzegovina, and probably in other Balkan lands, it is believed that mighty treasures lie hidden. The treasure of the Royal Nemanjas has yet to be found, and that of Voyvoda Momchilo at Pirlitor.

Opinions differ as to the best means of treasure-hunting. The most certain thing is when the site of the treasure is revealed in a dream; you are then sure to find it. If a steer that is perfectly black stands still on a spot, bellows, and butts his horns into the ground, there is almost surely treasure beneath. But there must not be a single white hair on the steer. If when the third cock crows in the morning a number are seen gathered together holding council, there is surely treasure beneath the spot.

Vuk Vrchevitch gives a good account of treasure-seeking in the Herzegovina. A certain man dreamed of hidden treasure. Early before the sun rose he went with some of his brethren in search of it, and took with him a black cock and a black wether. Arrived at the spot, he killed the wether and made a circle of blood round the site. They began to dig, and after a while reached a slab of stone. On this the black cock was sacrificed. They were now so near success that one of the brethren cried aloud: "God help us now and for ever." But God's name must not be invoked in aid of magic. When they raised the slab they found, indeed, a stone box—but the treasure had been turned to ashes.

Some poisoned water should be carried when treasure-hunting to kill the serpent which often guards it.

If a black stallion is led to the spot where treasure is suspected to lie and refuses to walk over it, it shows treasure is, or was, there. The foundation for these tales is the large number of Roman and prehistoric graves that have been opened. The ashes and fragments of iron and bronze found in them were ascribed to the fact that a wrong spell had been used and the treasure transmuted to something valueless —in the eyes of the searchers.

A 777 787 *A Magic Plant.*—In Albania I was told there grows a most valuable plant. Any stone or iron touched by a leaf of it at once falls to pieces. To persons thievishly inclined it is extremely useful. The difficulty is

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

their young wives in charge of their parents. 463
For with the Skipetars, as with the majority of 593
Oriental peoples, patriarchal customs still survive, 591
and all the sons bring home their brides to the paternal roof, there to remain in subjection to the parents-in-law until they shall themselves be heads of families.

The highest aspiration of an Albanian wife is to be the 562
mother of boys, and she is less proud of her own beauty 593
and the rank of her family than of the number of her 181
sons and of their valour. The mother of many sons is sure of the lasting affection of her husband, enjoys the respect and consideration of the rest of his family, and wields great authority in the household to which she has come as a stranger. As they never permanently 888
leave the paternal roof, she may look forward to their 593
support and affection in her old age, and to see their children growing up around her. When her husband [484]
leaves his home for a sojourn at a distance, custom requires that she should manifest no grief at his departure. Instead of accompanying him to the threshold, and watching his familiar figure disappear in the distance, or going to meet him on his arrival, she hides herself at both the moment of his arrival and of 484
his departure. A woman's tears or joy, they say, must 562
not soften a man's heart when his duty lies before [152]
him. Neither must they ask for news of them at any time during their absence. Yet in the depth of their hearts no wives more regret the absence of their husbands, as the touching little superstitious observances [777]
with which they console themselves testify. Un- [789]
known to their partners, they sew in their clothes

4: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
EG1 Albania EG1

A horrible belief prevails among the Ghegs that when 776
men or women live to be a hundred years old their 753
breath becomes poisonous and kills healthy people. 761
Von Hahn says that old people suspected of causing 888
sickness in this way, especially when an epidemic is raging, have atoned for their longevity with a fiery death at the hands of their panic-stricken neighbours.[1]

A curious notion is also shared by Greeks and Albanians that shadows are capable of assuming an independent existence, and, being malevolently disposed, are able to deal men blows which usually cause their death. 776 822 761

The Dif, or Dev (δίφι, δίβι, δεφ, δέβι), is, like the Kūrdish supernal of the latter name,[2] a being possessed of extraordinary physical strength. "He is a regular Dif" is said of a remarkably strong man, as we say, "He is another Samson." According to the people of Elbassan, the Dif is an enormous giant who lives underground and never comes to the surface, [823] and whose business it is to keep the cauldrons boiling which supply the hot and medicinal springs in the neighbourhood of that town. These springs, in common with those found in other parts of the country, are much resorted to for curative purposes. Their waters are, however, drunk indiscriminately for all kinds of ailments, without regard to their various medicinal properties. The cures effected not being attributed to the water itself so much as to the influence of the magical beings who have their abodes in the springs and wells, people consequently go 776 776 755

[1] *Albanesische Studien*, p. 163.

[2] See p. 155. Von Hahn suggests an Indian origin for this word, which, he says, he had found in no other part of Turkey. *Op. cit.* p. 162.

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGI Albania EGI

CHAPTER V

THE MASTER OF THE HOUSE

592 Some co-ordinating authority is obviously necessary when many workers, most of them occupied with different duties, live under the same roof. The Unwritten Law therefore requires that in each family there shall be a patriarchal system of government, with one man master of the house and everybody else subordinate to him.

When there was only one man in a house, he became automatically its unquestioned master. If he died while his children were small, his brother or, much less often, his wife's brother saw to the family until the eldest boy grew old enough to take charge as master. When there were two or more men in a household, the master was elected, not born, to his position. Most frequently he was chosen in early youth by his predecessor, but should the latter die prematurely, he was elected at a general meeting of the men of the household. The women were not invited to this meeting nor were their views ascertained. The former method was preferred because it enabled the future master to be trained by his predecessor with incessant talk about the matters that would fall within his competence—relations with the authorities, relations with neighbours, household management, laws on roads, field boundaries, pasturage rights and so on. If he had to be elected by the household, he must rely on his own good sense and experience, supplemented by consultations with his subordinates or neighbours. Since its publication in 1933 Father Gjeçov's book on Lek's Kanùn has become available for reference, but previously heads of households had only the unwritten laws for guidance.

When a new master was being chosen, primogeniture was one of the factors taken into consideration. Albanians regarded their [88] elders with deference and, consequently, obeyed them more willingly. A very young master, however, such as might emerge from exclusive reliance on the accident of birth, could be a misfortune for his family.

Primogeniture, however, counted for nothing compared to administrative qualities such as knowledge of the law, shrewd judgement, even temper and fair-mindedness. A reigning master

10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

it was the offender's birthright to remain in the house, to eat at the common table, and to have his wife and children maintained out of the family purse. A striking illustration of this weakness of the communal system was to be seen in Shalë in the 1930's, when Mirash Nue's family included his wife, his elder son Pal, Pal's wife and four children, and his younger son Gjon. Since he, Mirash, was too old to work and Pal was a wastrel, Gjon alone ploughed to feed the household and fetched firewood to keep it warm. To get money for government taxes and his father's coffee and cigarettes, he worked for the priest in his spare time. He had been unable to earn enough to pay for a bride and at thirty years of age was still unmarried, a calamity in primitive Albanian eyes. Pal, not criminal, just lazy and selfish, and saved from beating by his father's advanced years and his own age, paid no attention to either his father's upbraidings or the barely concealed contempt of the neighbours and turned up unfailingly for the meals he had done nothing to provide.

The master received no money payments for his services but enjoyed certain privileges. His clothes were often newer and of better cloth than those of his subordinates; more silver chains crossed his breast, and more silver rings glittered on his fingers. He was entitled to have his own bedding and coffee utensils and to keep them until he died. If he chose to buy himself a riding horse, a watch, or arms richly inlaid with silver and bright stones, he might do so. His subordinates, though left to walk while he rode, to learn the time from the sun by day and from the crowing of a cock at night, and to content themselves with the plainest of rifles and revolvers, did not seem to resent his magnificence. He represented the family, and the worthier he appeared in externals as well as in mind and character, the greater the glory reflected on each of them.

Indoors the master sat in the place of honour in the sitting-room, the right-hand chimney corner as one looked from the fireplace towards the door. Though marked deference was usually shown to old people, he never gave up this place to his aged father or elder brother except in the districts of Shpat, Çermenikë and Shalë, where age took precedence over social position. The other men grouped themselves cross-legged in front of the fire, the future master facing it squarely, older men flanking him, and younger men sitting behind him. The youngest of all, who had to do such work as shutting the door, bringing firewood, and carrying in supper, sat next to the door; he was described as the serving man. When

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

CHAPTER XII

ELDERS

[671] It is impossible to understand the laws and customs of the Albanian
622 mountains without a knowledge of the varieties and responsibilities of the elders. A man could be an elder not only in the literal sense but as a legal personage. Seven types developed in sequence one from another among the southern tribes.

888 Everywhere the word for 'elder' is (sing.) *plak* (plur. *pleq*), which is pure Albanian and means literally 'old man'. There is a corresponding feminine (sing.) *plaka*, 'old woman'. In households of any size there might be several men and women who were really old in years and were 'elders' in the literal sense. These were the first type. The majority were ordinary people and had no legal importance.

592 The idea of age disappears with the second type, found in every household irrespective of its size. Here there were always one man and one woman who bore the special title of 'old man (or elder) of the house' and 'old woman (or elder) of the house'. These under their more usual Albanian titles of master of the household and mistress of the household were not necessarily elders in the sense of 'older people'. They might have attained their position when under forty and have found themselves in authority at that comparatively early age over older men and women.

63 The third category of elders appeared as soon as a household
596 split up and each brother or male cousin in it acquired his own house. Then, a 'brotherhood' (*vllazni*) was formed. In this community each new house was as much a separate entity as the parent one, and was no longer under the control of the master and mistress, the 'elders' of the old joint home. It had its own 'elders' of both sexes who managed all its affairs, external and internal. The 'old man' of the joint home, now administering a much smaller household, thus lost a proportionate share of his importance. But the new masters also lost some of theirs. So long as the family lived together any competent adult among them might deputise for the master in village or tribal affairs or in the administration of the communal home, but from the day they separated,

10:Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EG1 Albania EG1

The man killed in the murderer's stead must not be too old, feeble-minded, or physically frail to carry arms, for such men were counted women, and women could not be killed in blood feuds. If the avenger killed such a man, he lost caste, was publicly branded as 'low-class' and made it certain that the feud would not be closed. It was also illegal to kill boys who were still too young to carry arms, that is to say, under fifteen or in some cases twenty. In the Malësi e Madhe, however, it was held that one must take vengeance where one could, and that in default of an adult enemy one might kill a boy. Even in that region such a crime was not committed except by a very bad man or one who was frenzied with rage at the recent murder of a relative or otherwise. For instance, in 1933 a subaltern of the Alije family, whose wife had been carried off by another Dibran, refrained for some years from avenging the insult in the way demanded by mountain law. Taunted with this restraint at a chance meeting in a café, he put aside the civilization acquired during his military education in Albania and in Italy and rushed for his revolver. As he was unable to find the man who had taunted him, he lay in wait for the latter's schoolboy son, aged fourteen, and shot him dead.

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10: Hasluck F-5 (1926-1939)1954 EGl Albania EGl

If expiation took the form of blood money, no distinction was made for age; the payment for a worn-out man of eighty or an able-bodied man of thirty was the same as for a boy of five or an infant of a few weeks. As when a life was taken for a life, no distinction was made for social standing or moral character; the payment for a bajraktar was the same as for a labourer. A female's 'blood', however, cost only half a male's. In the early days when these payments were determined, money was so distributed that the rich had a great deal, while the poor, who formed the bulk of the population, were all but penniless. The fear of having to pay a large sum in blood money was therefore a considerable deterrent against murder.

Blood money was accepted only in Mirditë and north Albania. Elsewhere it was scorned. 'Blood money and bride-price do you no good', said Lumë. 'We don't sell blood for money; that is a low thing to do', said Çermenikë, a boast repeated in Dibër in even stronger terms. In Labinot and Godolesh blood could not be washed away with money on the north Albanian system. In all these districts the formula after a murder was 'either pardon or kill'.

It must be admitted that neither lived up to its pretensions, the north being more truculent and the other districts less truculent than they claimed. In the Malësi e Madhe, for instance, only weak, low-class families would accept blood money; if other families did so, they were held to have 'disgraced themselves'. Indeed, a bajraktar's household, a voivode's or a 'leading family' should seek for fifty years, if need be, to kill the murderer of one of their men. On the other hand, a Çermenikë man sometimes accepted blood money, but if he so demeaned himself, his aim was to ruin his enemy and he fixed the price accordingly. In Dibër no man would accept blood money for a male relative unless it was accompanied by the present of a rifle as a conventional sign that he was still free to kill the murderer if he could. In Lumë a subtle use was sometimes made of blood money. Normally, when a life had been paid for a life, peace was made. But when an inferior killed his superior, the latter's relative would not make peace till he had killed two of the other's men. At the peace-making the first was paired with the original victim and for the second the superior's relative paid blood money.

Given the stigma attached to blood money, it was seldom paid except in lighter cases. After an accidental murder, for instance,